

# Placing Modern Greece

*The Dynamics of Romantic Hellenism,  
1770–1840*

CONSTANZE GÜTHENKE

CLASSICAL PRESENCES The texts, ideas, images, and material culture of ancient Greece and Rome have always been crucial to attempts to appropriate the past in order to authenticate the present. They underlie the mapping of change and the assertion and challenging of values and identities, old and new. *Classical Presences* brings the latest scholarship to bear on the contexts, theory, and practice of such use, and abuse, of the classical past.

OXFORD  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

from a Claude glass, the representations of Greece, too, tend to hide their structure while creating an effect of greater immediacy.

Just as the social and intellectual context for viewing Greece changed during the late eighteenth century, so Greece itself as an object did not stand still either. Next to the different forms and uses of Hellenism as a cultural programme, awareness was growing of the geo-political position of contemporary Greece too. Greece as a political entity did of course not yet exist other than as a part of the Ottoman Empire, and it was in the late eighteenth century still best referred to by its cartographic term of 'Turkey in Europe'. Within the administrative order of the Ottoman Empire, that separated its domains by religious affiliation, most of modern-day Greece belonged to the *millet-i rum*, that is, the Christian Orthodox ('Roman' or *rum*) community. Criteria for the political identification of individual and community raised questions of great relevance and with ample scope for dissent both in Europe and in the area that would become the Greek nation; but to its European onlookers the Greek peninsula, peopled by Orthodox Christians, was in the late eighteenth century relevant first and foremost for its strategic importance in the European balance of power. In 1770 the Peloponnese had become the site of a series of insurrections, as a buffer during the war that Catherine the Great's Russia led against the Ottoman Empire (1768–74). This is not to suggest *Realpolitik* as a simple explanation for Greece's increasing visibility on a European political map, or to belittle the significance attributed to Greece for its ancient heritage by the Western European or the Russian side;<sup>2</sup> quite on the contrary, the discursive use that was made of Greece's potential in that context might help to explain the distance between expectations and results on the side of all those who participated. The prospect of Russian support for insurrection, by the 'saviours' from the North, had activated Greek hopes for a reinvigorated, independent pursuit of Orthodoxy (in its Byzantine territorial extension) and it had triggered local uprisings against Turkish rule, although to little avail. The insurrections were put down quickly and, despite a victory of the Russian fleet near Çeşme, the result was little more than Turkish reprisals and a

<sup>2</sup> On Catherine's Enlightenment hopes for establishing Russia as a new Byzantium as well as a part of Europe, see Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford, 1994), 195–234.

## 2

### 'I love this land of Greece above all else. It has the colour of my heart': The Greek Landscape of the German Soul

One of the actual objects that brought direct and indirect vision together around 1800 was the Claude glass, so named after the sixteenth-century painter Claude Lorrain and the particular hue his landscapes seemed to communicate. The Claude glass, a small, portable, and slightly convex tinted mirror, that was mainly popularized by travellers and visual artists as a seeing and sketching aid, was to be used on site, and it created slightly reduced reflections with a softened edge and a lowered colour key, that could then serve as models for drawings and paintings.<sup>1</sup> The structure of this photographic device meant, of course, that being on site, standing in and opposite the landscape that was seen, was a precondition; at the same time, the vision had to be indirect, through a mirror, with the onlooker not so much seeing through a lens, as actively looking away from the scene and, obliquely, into the mirror. Aside from the place which such a mechanism had in Grand Tour itineraries and travel to the South, it is worth stressing that the necessary entanglement with materiality operates along similar lines as we find in the preoccupations with Greece: not only, or not so much the artificiality of vision, but the fact that at the basis of most representations is an awareness of their material condition that is indispensable to the view, and shaped by it in return. Like the landscape images drawn

<sup>1</sup> For a history of the object, Arnaud Maillet, *The Claude Glass: Use and Meaning of the Black Mirror in Western Art* (New York, 2004).

reinforcement of the status quo. In Germany, the echo of such political unrest was not a widely and publicly resounding one, as it would be during the 1821 War of Independence, but it reverberated sufficiently in smaller intellectual circles where it merged with an increasing academic interest in contemporary Greece, propagated mainly by scholars and university teachers. The political hopes expressed for the future of Greece, and its input into the discussion of ideas of liberty were, in the decades following the unsuccessful 1770 uprising, accompanied by keen, if not always accurate, attention to the geographical and physical conditions of the country.<sup>3</sup> Travel accounts, mainly by French and British authors, in this context acquired an extra cache of translators and a growing readership.

One of the literary texts that worked the appealing legacy of travel literature into its fabric is Friedrich Hölderlin's novel *Hyperion oder Der Eremit in Griechenland* (1797–9), in which the different strands are brought together that contribute to the imagination of Greece at the turn of the nineteenth century. In this key text, topographical descriptions of Greece, some of them relying on travel literature, are used to fit a personal philosophy of identity, which uses the sharp relief of modernity against antiquity to chart the progress of the individual as both artist and political being. Hölderlin relies on the data, but also on the artistic aspect, of travel accounts, or rather, of travel imagery of Greece, to fashion for the first time a deliberately (and painfully) modern Greece whose terrain is seen and experienced through the eyes of an equally inescapably modern Greek character: that of Hyperion, who himself shoulders the legacy, the potential, and the responsibility of the traveller. I preface the look at Hölderlin's own contribution to the image of Greece with a prehistory of some of the topoi he uses, such as the logic of travel accounts or the motif of climate, which feed into the logic of Hyperion's material Greece and which give to the peculiarity of German Greece a greater depth than that presumed by the catchphrase of the 'tyranny of Greece over Germany'.

<sup>3</sup> Gerhard Grimm, on the basis of catalogues of printed books between 1750 and 1830, argues that university teaching (due to the increased mobility of both teachers and students after the reduction of universities post-1800) served as the main carrier of information, with writings on 'Landeskunde' as its medium: 'Griechenland in Forschung und Lehre an den deutschen Universitäten vor dem Ausbruch des griechischen Unabhängigkeitskrieges', *Institute of Balkan Studies Symposium* (1985), 29–46.

### THE LEGACY OF THE TRAVELLERS: CLIMATE, CULTURE, AND CONTINUITY

It would be impossible to characterize period travel accounts without reference to the pervasive argument that geographical and climatic conditions determine national character. This approach can claim a long history reaching back to antiquity—Winckelmann prominently and repeatedly quotes Hippocrates as one source for his account of environmental effects—and it is certainly not limited to Greece; but it is here that it has enjoyed a particularly lasting success.<sup>4</sup> Of course, it was Winckelmann himself who put into circulation one of the soon-to-be-favourite sound-bites of European Hellenism: his famous dictum 'Good taste . . . began its formation first under the Greek sky'<sup>5</sup> acquired a status of ready-made quotation on any aspect of either Greece or European Hellenism, that has long outgrown its centrality to Winckelmann's own argument.<sup>6</sup> Still, his writings are suffused with images of nature, and they remain paradigmatic for the success of postulating a certain immediacy of Greek culture in relation to its natural environment, a recurring key motif in the imagination of modern Greece.

The effort to establish a systematic connection between the climatic and geographical environment on the one hand and a set of national characteristics on the other is best seen in echoing relation to slightly earlier French accounts of cultural history such as those of Montesquieu, G. L. L. Buffon, or Jean-Baptiste Dubos.<sup>7</sup> According to

<sup>4</sup> The theme is recurrent from Herodotus to recent literary criticism, and it is alive and well. Eratosthenis Kapsomenos, *O Σολομός και η Ελληνική πολιτισμική παράδοση* (Athens, 1998), 32f., 57, for example, makes use of an unquestioned concept of Mediterranean nature as an interpretive tool for the 'Mediterranean sensibility' of Solomos; it is characterized by its balance, mildness, and beauty, and its ability to unify men when it makes them aware of their autonomy. For a different, and more innovative, approach, Jonathan Bate, *The Song of the Earth* (London, 2000), 94–118, who argues for the impact of climatic events on the production of poetry.

<sup>5</sup> Winckelmann, *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst*, ed. Ludwig Uhlig (Stuttgart, 1969), 1.

<sup>6</sup> Lepenies speaks of the air of compromise that characterizes Winckelmann's 1755 text: 'Johann Joachim Winckelmann. Kunst- und Naturgeschichte im achtzehnten Jahrhundert', in T. Gaehgtien (ed.), *J. J. Winckelmann, 1717–1768* (Hamburg, 1986), 221–37.

<sup>7</sup> Montesquieu, *De l'esprit des lois* (1748), pt. III; Dubos, *Réflexions critiques sur la poésie et sur la peinture* (1719). These accounts in turn, of course, owe much to the corpus of Hippocratic writings on climatic influences, e.g. *Airs, Water, Places*.

those, the Greek cultural area, past and present, and the European West are to be interpreted in terms of their relative location, as in the received Aristotelian model of three climatic zones. Aristotle, relying on established character categories of North and South, had classified political characteristics along geographical analogy, setting the rough, unrestrained and violent sense of freedom of the Northern zones against the Southern indolence and willingness to be enslaved;<sup>8</sup> Greece in this scheme, avoiding either form of excess, stood for the possibility of free development, and a stable political order to boot. And yet, how far does Greece stretch in this pattern? French thinkers investing in the theory of climate followed the Renaissance tendency to designate the entire area of the 'Romania' (the heartland of the Latin West, including France) as the temperate zone; German scholars, entering the debate a little later, in the second half of the eighteenth century, and especially concerned with the respective positions of France and Germany, extended the argument along similar lines, drawing on the notion of central Western Europe as potentially bridging the gap between the balanced yet superseded Mediterranean South, and the North as the fount of freedom.<sup>9</sup> Kant, for example, in his *Lectures on Physical Geography* (1765),<sup>10</sup> followed Buffon's axiom of the three climatic zones and located Germany firmly in the middle of the temperate zone, which proves the flexible and in fact supra-geographical, or certainly supra-territorial, nature of this system of classification. Herder's works on universal history in the 1770s finally integrated the imagery and the speculations on the relevance of climate into a complex notion of reflective historical understanding, as outlined above; relying on the formative effect of geographical factors, they chart the position and development of Greece through the imagery of human age. The cultural stage of the ancient Greek civilization (which is the only time and place of Greek history that is reached by the arch of Herder's spotlight) is the analogue to the age of maturing youth, the period of 'youth and bridal bloom,'

<sup>8</sup> Aristotle, *Politics* 7. 7.

<sup>9</sup> See Gonthier-Louis Fink 'Von Winckelmann bis Herder: Die deutsche Klimathese in europäischer Perspektive', in Gerhard Sauder (ed.), *Johann Gottfried Herder 1744-1803* (Hamburg, 1987), 156-76; Peter Szondi, *Poetik und Geschichtsphilosophie I. Antike und Moderne in der Ästhetik der Goethezeit* (Frankfurt/M., 1974), 25 f.

<sup>10</sup> Published in 1802, by F. T. Rink, as *Physische Geographie*.

of 'the dream of the young man and the fancy tales of the maiden'.<sup>11</sup> It is Greece's particular location and varied geographical set-up as a country largely composed of coastal areas and islands that to his mind had a beneficial effect on cultural exchange and cultural influences from and into Greece. At the same time, it is the natural environment itself that is seen to have fostered the natural progression of Greece's geographically highly secluded parts towards political and cultural maturity: 'The land of so many separate parts sheltered some tribes in their valleys, others by their coast or on their island, so that out of the long years of youthful activity, which the scattered tribes and kingdoms enjoyed, grew the grand and free mentality of the Greek Muse.'<sup>12</sup>

Herder, like the majority of those making a plea for the Greek heritage in Germany, never visited Greece himself; still, he was not only contributing to the state of historical theory, but was also well read in contemporary travel accounts circulating in Europe. Travel writings, such as those Herder mentions in the *Ideen* alone, include those of Cornelis de Bruyn, Richard Chandler, the Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier, H. A. O. Reichard, J. H. von Riedesel, and James Stuart.<sup>13</sup> Whether commenting on Greece ancient or modern, therefore, a historical model dominates his account of place, explicating the historicity of the setting in terms of its relative permanence.

#### TRAVEL ACCOUNTS AND IMAGINARY TRAVEL

This is not the place to introduce systematically the range and character of travel accounts of Greece, the majority of them English or French, with only a few in German.<sup>14</sup> Still, even a limited sample

<sup>11</sup> Auch eine *Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*, in SWS v. 495, 497.

<sup>12</sup> 'Im vielgetheilten Lande schützte diesen Stamm sein Tal, jenen seine Küste und Insel und so erwuchs aus der langen jugendlichen Regsamkeit zerstreuter Stämme und Königreiche die große freie Denkart der Griechischen Muse?' *Ideen*, bk. 13, in *Werke*, vi. 521.

<sup>13</sup> Hans-Wolf Jäger, 'Herder als Leser von Reiseliteratur', in Wolfgang Griep and Hans-Wolf Jäger (eds.), *Reisen im 18. Jahrhundert. Neue Untersuchungen* (Heidelberg, 1986), 181-95.

<sup>14</sup> For in-depth studies, see e.g. Helen Angelomatis-Tsougarakis, *The Eve of the Greek Revival: British Travellers' Perceptions of Early Nineteenth Century Greece* (London,

can highlight the origin, function, and dissemination of some of the imagery steadily employed in the representation of Greece. Different as the accounts are in style and intention, particularly before the increase in actual travel from the 1800s onwards, they share the fascination with the actual, and therefore telling, location of classical culture and the survival of the material environment once home to an ancient civilization.

Most European travel accounts regarding Greece rested on the now familiar pattern of comparison between the contemporary scene and the past, with Greece's material presence opening up the issue of continuity. A writer and traveller like Robert Wood, in *Ruins of Palmyra* (1753), or in his slightly later *Essay on the Original Genius and Writings of Homer with a Comparative View of the Ancient and Present State of the Troade* (London, 1769 and 1775), widely read in Germany and translated into German in 1773,<sup>15</sup> proceeded by matching contemporary locality to Homeric description, in what he called his own 'poetical geography':

classical ground not only makes us always relish the poet, or historian more, but sometimes helps us to understand them better. Where we thought the present state of the country was the best comment on an antient author, we made our draftsman take a view, or make a plan of it. This sort of entertainment we extended to poetical geography, and spent a fortnight with great pleasure, in making a map of the Scamandrian plain, with Homer in our hands.<sup>16</sup>

His argument that the understanding of classical literature is enhanced by the knowledge and description of the actual locale also proved to be a powerful impetus for contemporary Homeric scholarship across Europe (notably on C. G. Heyne and subsequently

1990); Olga Augustinos, *French Odysseys: Greece in French Travel Literature from the Renaissance to the Romantic Era* (Baltimore, 1994); Richard Bechtle, *Studien zum Griechenlandsbild deutscher Reisender* (Esslingen, 1959); David Constantine, *Early Greek Travellers and the Hellenic Ideal* (Cambridge, 1984); Iulia Chatzipanagioti, "'Graecia Mendax': Das Bild der Griechen in der französischen Reiseliteratur des 18. Jahrhunderts: Ein Beitrag zur Fremdwahrnehmungs- und Stereotypenforschung", doctoral dissertation, Vienna (1997); Robert Eisner, *Travelers to an Antique Land* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1993).

<sup>15</sup> Circulated initially by J. D. Michaelis and C. G. Heyne in scholarly and literary circles in Göttingen, it was read by Herder and Goethe amongst others. See Constantine, *Early Greek Travellers*, 73 ff.

<sup>16</sup> Wood, *The Ruins of Palmyra, otherwise Tadmor, in the désart* (London, 1753), 3.

A. F. Wolf's *Prolegomena ad Homerum*). In Germany, though, it would appear to have been the scholarly interest, the theory of outside observation, that outweighed, yet included in its structure, the desire for literal 'theory': for going there to watch.

By European standards, and particularly with respect to Greece and the Levant, German travellers were rather conspicuous by their absence. Between 1700 and 1810, nineteen German works were published which concerned themselves with areas of the Ottoman Empire, especially Greece. Out of the nineteen only twelve were the result of 'autopsy', of the writer's own travel and seeing with his own eyes. For the same period and area there are, by comparison, fifty-three French and forty-four English publications.<sup>17</sup> Certain socio-cultural factors may explain the imbalance. Germany was not one of the strongest trading partners of the Ottoman Empire. Nor was Germany as involved in colonial undertakings and policies in the East, affecting relations with the Sublime Porte and ambassadorial business, as were England and France. Thirdly, Germany lacked the kind of social system that would have encouraged a travel ideal along the lines of the aristocratic Grand Tour and at the same time would have provided the sources of enlightened patronage to facilitate extended scholarly travel.<sup>18</sup> Still, there was an increasing fascination among the German educated class with travel and travel literature; particularly within the, itself rather fragmentary, network of the German principalities, travel proved a successful means to establish a network of intellectual contact. Travels to France and Switzerland were valued, trips to England were a particular favourite with the liberally inclined, Italy was an increasingly popular destination, and commercial ties with Eastern Europe made travel in this area not uncommon.<sup>19</sup> An interest in travel writing on Greece there was, though, particularly after the events of 1770, and it is difficult to

<sup>17</sup> Numbers are taken from the database of travel literature prepared by Chatzipanagioti-Sangmeister, referred to in her article 'Friedrich Wilhelm Murhard (1778–1853) ή οι Γερμανοί παξιδιώτες αλλόζων πορεία', in Asterios Argyriou et al. (eds.), *Ο Ελληνικός Κόσμος ανάμεσα στην Ανατολή και τη Δύση 1453–1981* (Athens, 1999), 207–21, 213; see also the catalogue of accounts in Loukia Droulia, *On Travel Literature and Related Subjects: References and Approaches* (Athens, 1993).

<sup>18</sup> Constantine, *Early Greek Travellers*, 2.

<sup>19</sup> See e.g. Wolfgang Griep and Hans-Werner Jäger (eds.), *Reise und soziale Realität am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Heidelberg, 1983).

separate those travelling from those writing at home. The reservoir of travel accounts, together with literary and scholarly material published at home, formed, after all, part of a unique European network of texts providing reference material for each other.<sup>20</sup>

By the logic of the travel account, seeing material remains amounted to a 'substantiation of the Ideal';<sup>21</sup> to identify certain geophysical constants allowed observers to localize and authenticate the past at the same time. Still, disappointment, or rather the threat of discontinuity, was never far in these comparisons, as it had to be for Greece to retain the dynamic of its place. In his *Annotations to Thoughts on the Imitation of Greek Works of Art*, Winckelmann himself comments on contemporary Greece and the Greeks, and he does so in starkly unfavourable terms: barbarism has eliminated science, ignorance is covering the country. Monuments are either destroyed or exported. No traces of freedom are left. Entire islands, such as Samos, 'lie fallow'; 'the change and the sad look of the ground' and the 'restrained free movement of the wind across the uncultivated and overgrown banks' show that 'even the physical nature of the country has lost its erstwhile shape through neglect.'<sup>22</sup> What survives, nonetheless, is the appeal of the landscape of Attica, and the beauty of the island Greeks in particular. On what testimony Winckelmann claims such expertise, however, becomes clear in a similar passage in his later *History of Ancient Art*:

The most beautiful race among the Greeks, especially in regard to complexion, must have been beneath the skies of Ionia, in Asia Minor, according to the testimony of Hippocrates and Lucian... This province is also productive, even in the present day, of beautiful *Bildungen*, as appears from the statement of an observant traveller of the sixteenth century... For in this land, on account of its situation, and in the islands of the Archipelago, the sky is much clearer, and the temperature—which is intermediate between warm and cold—more constant and uniform than it is even in Greece.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>20</sup> For examples of the textual cross-references in English and French accounts, see David Constantine, 'The Question of Authenticity in Early Accounts of Greece', in G. W. Clarke (ed.), *Rediscovering Hellenism: The Hellenic Inheritance and the English Imagination* (Cambridge, 1989), 1–22.

<sup>21</sup> Constantine, *Early Greek Travellers*, 4.

<sup>22</sup> Winckelmann, *Gedanken*, 82f.

<sup>23</sup> Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst*, i. 3.13.

His comments upon the manifest decline, visible not only in the ruins but in the landscape and its inhabitants, Winckelmann shares with many of the travellers. Even for Pierre Augustin Guys, who in his *Voyage littéraire de la Grèce ou lettres sur les Grecs anciens et modernes* (1771) tries to compare the modern Greeks favourably to their ancestors, the temptation to portray them as a fragmented version of the past—'comme dans ces statues mutilées' (i. 21)—is irresistible. Guys was well acquainted with Winckelmann's writings, as is revealed by more than just his focus on statuesque beauty and the conditions of fine art.<sup>24</sup> The ambiguity of Winckelmann's deliberations on the possibility of imitation of ancient art may find an echo in the fragmented state of the scene offered to Guys's eyes and in some of the more negative traits of the present Greek character he describes in other sections; and yet, contemporary Greece becomes literally a living piece of art: 'I recognize, under the same sky, the very same genius, which once produced the Painters and Poets; I see there the *tableaux vivants* and the animated models after whom talent could still work now with success' (ii. 4).

What emerges with particular force is the necessity of a supportive natural environment, a conducive climate;<sup>25</sup> as the seat of genius, it can promote artistic sensibility, as it itself partakes of artistic qualities.

In Greece, nature alone once created the Painters, Sculptors, Musicians and Poets, in a word all the men of genius who have spread such *éclat* over this happy country. A lively and pleasant imagination, an active spirit, a fine organization, a delicate taste and especially an extraordinary sensitivity, all these qualities combined under the most beautiful sky, in view of the most smiling landscapes, under a government most appropriate to develop, to extend and to increase the genius which, without freedom, has no resources: this is what happened to the Greeks and what we find there. (i. 7–8)

Phrased this way, Greece, old and new, is the scene where natural conditions, viewed from a contemporary artistic perspective, can

<sup>24</sup> Constantine, *Early Greek Travellers*, 147 ff. Guys is known to have owned copies of Winckelmann's works, and longer sections of the *Voyage littéraire* (chs. 31–4) are devoted to the production of Greek art, closely corresponding to Winckelmann's *Gedanken*. There is also evidence of correspondence between the two, although none of the letters have survived. (References in text are to volume/page numbers of the 1771 edition of the *Voyage*.)

<sup>25</sup> Guys expresses his general approval of Montesquieu's theory, despite minor corrections regarding Turkey, in the 30th letter of the *Voyage littéraire*.

only come to full fruition when combined with a socio-political environment that is distinguished by freedom and attention to the individual. As in Winckelmann, imagination and environment are thus dependent on each other in a productive fashion; moreover, they are regarded as a means to further social cohesion, as becomes clear when Guys gives the country's physical condition as one reason for the patriotism of the ancients: 'The beauty of the land and of the climate: since the local physique is not the weakest link which attaches us to our common mother' (ii. 165).<sup>26</sup> Guys's account consists of a series of letters to his patron, a Monsieur M., which reveal the impact that the prospect of Greece supposedly has on him as its observer and on his act of quasi-artistic production in the form of travel writing; thus he writes of the liberty with which he can put his ideas on paper, inspired by an 'enthousiasme grec': 'I throw my ideas on paper, I use the liberty you allow me to deliver to you my thoughts and my speculations. You will notice that the Greek enthusiasm makes me digress and carries me further than I should go. I have experienced it already' (ii. 23).

The same sentiment is repeated a little further down in the geographical metaphor of the writer losing himself in his reflections like a man in a field: 'I have abandoned myself to my thoughts: I have strayed, without noticing, like a man who has entered a big meadow where one cannot distinguish a path in the soft grass which covers it; he takes a walk in every sense, he loses himself, he picks the flowers he chances upon, he stops and he retraces his steps to find the path he ought to take' (ii. 42).

What Guys thematizes here, beyond the playful tone and the stress on the 'pleasure of carrying the mind back to scenes of antiquity' (ii. 8), is the polyvalence of liberty as a condition, object, and effect of artistic production, intimated through the prospect of Greece. What is also clear is that this is an enthusiasm and an effect that attaches mainly and probably only to the visitor: the Greek people themselves, for better or worse, are tied, by virtue of such positively connoted continuity, to a 'stability' that makes their modernity, their losing themselves in a grassy field of reflection, highly unlikely.

<sup>26</sup> The two other reasons which Guys adduces for the ancients' patriotism are, notably, their natural inclination and their thorough education.

This particular pairing of doubt about the restitution of a Greece in tatters with optimism that the Greek ground with its traces of the past has a beneficial effect on the traveller as a modern, reflective subject, is no less apparent in some of the rare German accounts. In line with the educational purposes acknowledged throughout most European travel accounts, German travellers paid particular attention to the advancement of *Bildung* gained in the experience of travel. A. L. Schlözer, for example, academic and explorer, distinguished travelling for its own sake as the most valuable kind: 'the journey is an end in itself, its aim is *Humanität*'.<sup>27</sup> One such account is the first part of *Fragments for the better Acquaintance with Today's Greece, Collected on a Journey by J. L. S. Bartholdy in the Year 1803–1804 (Bruchstücke zur näheren Kenntnis des heutigen Griechenlands, gesammelt auf einer Reise von J. L. S. Bartholdy—Im Jahre 1803–1804)*, published in Berlin in 1805.<sup>28</sup> Throughout, Bartholdy prides himself on replacing the usual sweeping evaluation of the contemporary Greeks as a degenerate group of people fallen under the barbarian Ottoman yoke with a more careful account of their social history and geography; in the end, all the same, he joins the side of those stressing the decline and barrenness of the Greek land. Significantly, he distinguishes the two camps of argument for and against a Greek cultural revival in terms of their characterization of the natural and agricultural state of Greece: the faction arguing for favourable conditions (largely French, according to Bartholdy) describe Greece's rich soil and agrarian potential, whereas those predicting a negative future stress the rocky ground and the irreversible erosion of fertile soil. The author himself expresses his own final evaluation through the image of the Greek landscape as a formerly densely wooded area,

<sup>27</sup> A. L. Schlözer, *Vorlesungen über Land- und Seereisen, nach dem Kollegheft des stud. jur. E. F. Haupt* (Göttingen, 1962), 13, a series of lectures, which Schlözer delivered regularly at the University of Göttingen between 1772 and 1795. See also H. E. Bödeker, 'Reisen: Bedeutung und Funktion für die deutsche Aufklärungsgesellschaft', in Griep and Jäger, *Reisen im 18. Jahrhundert*, 91–110.

<sup>28</sup> References in text are to page numbers of this edition. Although Bartholdy is little known today, he enjoyed a curious Greek afterlife in the novel *Xouth the Ape, or The Morals of the Age* (1848) by Iakovos Pitsipios. In Pitsipios's social satire, a quite fictional, yet allegedly fiercely anti-Greek Bartholdy commits murder in the Greek circles of Paris and is, for his sins, transformed into an ape. After many adventures, stretching as far as South America, he ends as pet-servant to an Athenian *nouveau riche*, by Pitsipios's reckoning by far the worst punishment imaginable.

which has subsequently been cut down and possesses hardly enough foundation to maintain its autonomous natural growth:

To me, Greece seems like a once magnificent forest full of the most ancient and rare trees. Those have all been cut down and all hope is lost that new trees can be grafted onto the old stumps. Moreover, it is precisely those wretched stumps that hamper new cultivation, although it is nothing short of impossible to uproot and remove them in order to plant a new plantation. How, and if at all, this new plantation is going to prosper lies in darkness, especially since now foreign kinds of wood will be made indigenous where nature herself once gave bountifully and freely. (p. 455)<sup>29</sup>

Bartholdy's extended image of old stumps hindering new growth re-injects both metaphor and ambivalence (which usually goes with metaphor) into an agrarian economic debate that had literalized the importance of nature for discussing Greece, as if the interpretation of Greek nature as significant formed the centre through which all talk of its conditions had to pass in regular circles. Greece, its past understood as a historical, social, and cultural unit, shifts with the figure of the ancient forest now cut down to a curiously unwieldy territory where history is effectively dead nature. Indirectly, Bartholdy seems to bear out Niklas Luhmann's observation that nature, as a means of justification for social interaction, can easily function as a term of obstruction ('Sperrbegriff').<sup>30</sup> For Luhmann, who is interested in historical models of how social behaviour is explained, an argument from nature, as opposed to an argument from individual character, for example, stands in the way of increasing individualization. In Bartholdy's case, environment, as real physical environment and as the past that shapes culture, halts free development, too. Future prospering is uncertain, and foreign grafts, made indigenous, may resuscitate the forest of Greek culture, literally

<sup>29</sup> 'Mir erscheint Griechenland wie ein ehemals herrlicher Wald, der voll der ältesten und seltensten Bäume stand. Diese sind sämtlich gefällt worden, und die Hoffnung, frische Stämme den alten Stümpfen aufzusetzen, ist verloren. Ja es erschweren diese schlechten Stubben eben die neue Kultur, obgleich es nichts weniger als unmöglich ist, sie auszurotten und wegzuräumen, und eine neue Schonung anzulegen. Ob und wie diese nun gedeihen werde, liegt verborgen; zumal da man jetzt fremde Hölzer einheimisch machen wird, wo zuvor die Natur alles freiwillig und freudig gab.'

<sup>30</sup> Niklas Luhmann, *Liebe als Passion: Zur Codierung von Intimität* (Frankfurt/M., 1982), 139.

and metaphorically, but may just as well be rejected.<sup>31</sup> Nature *may* be a means and a medium of cultural translation and communication, but 'going native', the import of foreign grafts, woods, or elements, is potentially, and structurally, obstructing development as much as the stumps of the past do. At the same time, he confirms the still-beneficial effect of the material reality of the Greek soil upon the sufficiently perceptive traveller—in other words, the current state of Greece, much as it obstructs its own future progress, enables somebody else's. In a 'Letter to My Brother', which is attached to the published manuscript, Bartholdy conscientiously lists the items of classical literature and contemporary accounts he had studied in preparation for the journey, among them especially the one by Guys, and he states: 'It is certainly no mere figment of the imagination that a certain feeling of sacredness takes hold of us when we stand on classical ground; and every man who values science, art, freedom, normativity, and originality cannot help but be overcome by it.'<sup>32</sup>

Despite the value attached to the immediate experience of Greece, the ultimate beneficiaries were therefore to be the writers and readers of travel accounts. Wood, in 1753, had still seemed doubtful whether the immediacy of travel could be translated: 'The particular pleasure, it is true, which an imagination warmed upon the spot receives from those scenes of heroic actions, the traveller can only feel, nor is it to be communicated by description.'<sup>33</sup> Yet the experience of Greek nature in mediated form could be equally beneficial for the reader and writer of travel literature, even if their imagination was warmed in a cooler spot. As we saw, the comparison of Greece present, in its natural and material manifestations, with its past follows a pattern that represents and thereby stimulates the workings of the imagination

<sup>31</sup> On the openness of organic imagery, in the context of German debates about the nation, to lend itself to arguments for purity as much as assimilation, see Brian Vick, 'Greek Origins and Organic Metaphors: Ideals of Cultural Autonomy in Neohumanist Germany from Winckelmann to Curtius', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 63/3 (2002), 483–500.

<sup>32</sup> 'Daß sich unser auf klassischem Boden ein gewisses heiliges Gefühl bemächtigt, ist wahrlich kein bloßes Hirngespinnst, und jeder Mensch, dem Wissenschaft, dem Kunst, dem Freiheit, dem Gesetzlichkeit und Originalität etwas gelten, muß mehr oder weniger in Griechenland davon ergriffen werden.' Bartholdy, 'Brief an meinen Bruder von meiner Reise nach Griechenland', in *Bruchstücke*, 77.

<sup>33</sup> Wood, *Ruins of Palmyra*, 3.



as a distinctly human, subjective and modern faculty. The imagination, in other words the aesthetic experience of Greece, was tightly bound up with concepts of freedom, which in turn rendered the experience particularly valued. With Greece, historical and artistic freedom is the subject-matter, located in the physical remains of the past, while the workings of the imagination implied a complementary free interplay of the mental faculties. With the increasing relevance given to the imagination as a subjective faculty, representation could compete with the place of autopsy. Yet what about the fictional manifestations of the travel experience? While the particular materiality of Greece plays a part in giving rise to imagination and reflection, it is the fictionalizing act that links the 'realities' and the 'imaginary' (to use Iser's terms), transgressing the one while concretizing and giving material weight to the other, with the result of drawing attention to the workings of the imaginary.<sup>34</sup>

Whether it is in the travellers' desire to comply with the taste of the audience or an educational intention to further *Bildung*, the fictional and the authentic, as much as the past and the afterlife of the past, overlap in the tight network spun between and above the travel literature in circulation. One such model case is that of the Abbé Barthélemy's *Voyage du jeune Anacharsis en Grèce* (1788). An important numismatist and epigraphist and himself the translator of Wood's accounts into French, Barthélemy's work was a fictive travel account, set in the Hellenistic period, informed by the current state of scholarship and by ancient precedent and facts compiled from ancient authors alike. Going through four editions until 1821, it would deserve mention for its sheer literary impact alone. An almost instant success across Europe, it triggered a vogue of *romans grecs* and was translated into several languages, including Modern Greek.<sup>35</sup> The fictional history of the young Scythian prince Anacharsis, unfolding over six volumes, follows his educational journey of nearly thirty years through the Greek world of the fourth century BC. Given his genealogy as Anacharsis the Younger, he recalls his namesake, also a Scythian traveller from the North, mentioned by Herodotus, whose *Histories* are themselves an exercise in

<sup>34</sup> Iser, *The Fictive and the Imaginary*, 2–21.

<sup>35</sup> There were three partial (two by Georgios Sakellarios, and one by Rhigas Velinilis) and one complete translation (by Chrysoverges Kouropalatis) into Greek between 1797 and 1819; see Augustinos, *French Odysseys*, 38 ff.

linking climate and relative North and South position to cultural development or stasis (the more extreme the geographical distance, the more static the society).<sup>36</sup> Barthélemy's, by extension, is a Greek land where historical significance, physical beauty, and the cultivation of present society mirror each other, arranged in one extensive *tableau vivant*. Attention is lavished on pleasurable natural features, their tranquillity, colour, and luminescence; a benign climate provides an environment as fertile and prosperous as its society is cultivated; Greece, it is not wrong to say, becomes essentially 'a graceful extension of French culture'.<sup>37</sup> According to this contemporary ideal of simplicity which equates the natural with the quietly cultivated, 'his sketches of Greek scenery were a perfect setting of his image of Greek civilization: smooth and unruffled surfaces, regular and symmetrical lines, and smiling valleys sheltered by majestic mountains'.<sup>38</sup> Still, and despite the ostensibly unruffled equation, the spectre of Greek decline is not kept at bay here either: for Anacharsis the Younger returns to his northern homeland after the historical Greek–Macedonian battle at Chaironeia (338 BC), which he vocally considers tantamount to the defeat and demise of Greek liberty. The contemporary Greek nature of Barthélemy operative in the semi-fictional Greece of Anacharsis the Younger, recalling the Greece of Herodotus, who gave History its name yet was treated for much of his afterlife as a fictionalizing geographer, is underpinned, and in that sense necessarily undermined, by the very weight of the historiography of Greece as it was current in the eighteenth century (the decline of Greek liberty at the end of the fourth century)—as much as by the weight of literary tradition.

As a scholar and collector Barthélemy was personal tutor to the Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier, ambassador to the Sublime Porte from 1783 to 1791, where he made sure that he spawned his own literary genealogy. Choiseul-Gouffier's own *Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce* was published, in two parts, in 1782 (excerpts appearing from 1778) and 1809.<sup>39</sup> His account, mainly concerned with the description of antiquities, nevertheless comments on the political present; certainly

<sup>36</sup> For a comparison of the two Anacharses, see François Hartog, *Memories of Odysseus: Frontier Tales from Ancient Greece* (Chicago, 2001).

<sup>37</sup> Augustinos, *French Odysseys*, 39.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 46.

<sup>39</sup> For Choiseul-Gouffier's eventful political biography see *ibid.* 157–73.

in the first volume, where he expresses some pro-Greek sentiment in the form of hope for impending cultural revival, while he is equally aware of the disillusioning dichotomy between the past and the present. The *Voyage Pittoresque* was widely read in Germany and partially translated, by H. A. O. Reichard, in 1780 and 1782. One of its readers was Gerhard von Halem, a high civil servant at Oldenburg, poet, dramatist, and regular contributor to literary periodicals, such as H. Ch. Boie's *Museum*. His little-known literary anthology of 1798, *Blüthen aus Trümmern (Blossoms from Ruins)*, is also a combination of documentation, scholarly respectability, and a well-considered appeal to the imagination: essentially a compilation of von Halem's own tales and dramatic scenes of contemporary Greece, as fashioned by him, it relies to a great extent on some of the travel accounts mentioned already. It is not entirely clear what motivated his choice,<sup>40</sup> yet it is clear from his letters (his regular correspondents included, apart from H. Ch. Boie, the writer and translator of classical literature Friedrich Graf Stolberg, and the Homeric translator Wilhelm Voss) that he was well acquainted with those taking a strong interest in classical antiquity and travel literature alike.<sup>41</sup>

The overarching theme of *Blüthen aus Trümmern* is the promise of new cultural life arising before the eyes of the Greek traveller. The folding of the fictive into the material gleaned from travel accounts, which themselves explore the fault-line between the factual and the workings of the imagination, runs alongside von Halem's deliberate plea for the benefits of the travels of the mind. In the process of imaginary travel, so the collection suggests, the cultural and political situation of Germany seeks to be reflected in the contemporary Greek land and its imagination. The perspective of the work's introduction, therefore, is that of a man in possession of his humanness, affected by the aspect before him:

Fresh bloom out of ruins; new life sprouting from decay; what more could nature offer to move the man more deeply who contemplates his environment

<sup>40</sup> Hardly any literature is available on Halem, who also took a strong documentary-fictional interest in the Middle Ages, and no literature at all on *Blüthen aus Trümmern*, to shed light on his choice of subject-matter. For some material, see L. W. C. von Halem, *Gerhard Anton von Halem's Selbstbiographie nebst einer Sammlung von Briefen an ihn* (Oldenburg, 1840; repr. Bern, 1970).

<sup>41</sup> Boie's translation of Chandler's *Travels in Asia Minor* was published in 1776, that of Chandler's *Travels in Greece* one year later, in cooperation with Voss.

in full awareness of his humanity? ... It is a truly beautiful idyll that reality has offered to the latest sentimental visitor to the islands of the archipelago [Choiseul-Gouffier]. He grasped the scenery with love and thus represented in it also a fitting image of the new contemporary Greece. Beautiful rejuvenating nature, irresistibly breaking through the ruins of the once cultivated (*gebildet*) Hellas, it preserves itself in its lovely ancient simplicity: thus is the character of this wondrous country and above all of this field of islands which the hand of an almighty power had gently sown across the wide open sea.<sup>42</sup>

Despite the reference to Choiseul-Gouffier as his source, the use of literary terms such as *Scene*, *Bild*, and *Idyll* for the view presented to him as a sentimental spectator indicates the artistic quality of beautiful Greek nature. The transformation of Greece into an aesthetic object justifies the involvement of the reader's imagination and renders the immediate effect, mediated in artistic representation, accessible to all of a similar sensibility:

Oftentimes, when I had wandered long among the ruins of ancient Greek architecture and among the sheer number of broken marble architraves, cornices, and column drums, under the guidance of Tournefort, le Roy, Choiseul-Gouffier, and Stuart, often I then rejoiced to see some people between the ruins. And how grateful was I to the travellers, Spon, Wheeler, Guys, Chandler, Savary, and the others, that they had made those people still more familiar to me! With delight I recognized the features of the ancient Greek spirit in them, which had persevered, despite millennia of barbarity.

It was my pleasure to collect those features, to paint little miniatures of the new Greece and to intensify the colour by making use of the entire palette afforded by the oscillation of the modern Ottoman and the ancient Greek spirit. While the Fury of war was marching through the German fatherland

<sup>42</sup> 'Blüthen aus Trümmern; junges Leben, das aus Verwesung keimt; ist irgend etwas in der Natur, was inniger rühre den Menschen, der, in vollem Gefühle seiner Menschheit, sinnend um sich her schaut? ... Wohl ist es ein schönes Idyll, was die Wirklichkeit hier dem jüngsten gefühlvollen Besucher der Inseln des Archipelagus [Choiseul-Gouffier] darbietet. Mit Liebe faßte er die Scene auf, und gab uns in ihr zugleich ein treffendes Bild des neuen Griechenlandes. Sich verjüngende schöne Natur, die durch die Trümmer des einst gebildeten Hellas unaufhaltsam hervorbricht, und sich erhält in lieblicher Ureinfaß, das ist der Charakter dieses merkwürdigen Landes, und vor allem der Insel-Saat, welche die Hand der Allmacht mild in das weite Meer ausstreute'; Gerhard von Halem, *Blüthen aus Trümmern* (Bremen, 1798), 3 ff. Further references in text are to page number of this edition.

torching its prettiest pastures, I took flight to Tempe. I kindly invite those of an equal mind to this valley of peace. (pp. 7 f.)<sup>43</sup>

In other words, Greek nature is essentially and 'naturally' predisposed to be translated into and communicated in aesthetic form. What is more, by presenting imaginary travels to Greece, in an act of artistic creation, as a valid alternative to war-torn Germany, Halem outlines clearly the pattern and the *raison d'être* whereby artistic production and aesthetic perception enable the individual to identify their own position within a political context. This relation between individual and national *Bildung* and the political situation of the present, negotiated against the backdrop of Greece as a literary setting, is even more pronounced in the first dramatic fragment of the collection. 'Der Pilger von Pathmos' unfolds as a dialogue between Theobald, a hermit monk, and Koras, a young pilgrim stranded on the island of Patmos after a storm; in the exchange of life-stories that follows, the old Athenian monk tells of his former travels across Europe in search of the freedom gone from Greece. Encouraged by the example of the Maniots,<sup>44</sup> yet doubtful because the insurrection of 1770, despite the Greek-Russian victory at Çeşme, has been abandoned, he now hopes for the 'flame of freedom' to be rekindled and 'through civic unity and action to perfect our ennoblement' (p. 18). The young pilgrim, who appropriately reveals himself

<sup>43</sup> 'Oft, wenn ich unter Anleitung der Tournefort, le Roy, Choiseul-Gouffier, und der Stuart lange unter den Trümmern der alten Griechischen Baukunst, unter dieser Menge zerbrochener Marmor-Gesimse, Karnisse und Säulenfüße umher gewandelt war, oft freute ich mich dann, wenn ich durch diese Trümmer hie und da auch Menschen erblickte. Wie dankte ich daher den Reisenden, Spon, Wheeler, Guys, Chandler, Savary und anderen, daß sie mir diese Menschen noch näher brachten! Denn mit Entzücken erkannte ich in ihnen die Züge Alt-Griechischen Geistes, der sich erhielt trotz der Barbarey der Jahrtausende. Diese Züge zu sammeln, kleine Scenen aus dem neuen Griechenland zu malen, und, zur Erhöhung des Colorits, die mannigfaltigen Farben, welche wechselnd Neu-Osmanischer und Alt-Hellenischer Geist darboten, zu nutzen, das machte mir Freude. Während die Furie des Krieges ihre Fackel schwang, und die schönsten Fluren des deutschen Vaterlandes verheerte, flüchtete ich nach Tempe. Freundlich lade ich die Gleichführenden zu mir ein in dies Thal des Friedens.'

<sup>44</sup> The Mani, the southernmost peninsula of the Peloponnese, was part of the ancient province of Laconia. That its inhabitants are descendants of the Spartans who fled the Slav invasions in the seventh century is first suggested by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*De administrando imperio*) in the tenth century. Cf. Elizabeth Rawson, *The Spartan Tradition in European Thought* (Oxford, 1969), 119. The Mani was one of the areas heavily involved in the unsuccessful insurrection of 1770. See also below, Chapter 3.

to be the son of a Maniot fighter, recounts the vigil at his father's tomb which led him to forgo the world and turn to a monastic existence. This would be little more than a familiar educational tale, if not that the natural setting is given a functional character: it is the scenery surrounding the Maniot's grave that induces the memory of lost Greek freedom. The old monk eventually persuades Koras to follow the example of St John, whose living memorial is the island of Patmos, the material basis of the story, as a whole, and to return from there to the world. Again, the choice of Patmos is not accidental, and it tightens the network of significant, generative, and entirely cultural landscapes. Von Halem's sketch of transitional, activating landscapes draws on a common source with Hölderlin's *Hyperion*, namely Choiseul-Gouffier's account of his visit to Patmos. To Choiseul-Gouffier his stay on the island was particularly memorable for an encounter with a monk, who approached him to enquire about the state of affairs in Europe and, more precisely, the fate of Voltaire and Rousseau.<sup>45</sup> Choiseul-Gouffier's monk proceeds to tell him of his studies in Italy and his subsequent return to Greece, where he sought a life renouncing the world of politics and learning.<sup>46</sup>

In that sense, a Greek location functions as the alternative to a place of instruction and activity that has apparently lost its promise and edge, replacing the disappointment of modern learning with a promise of instruction from and through nature. While the monk's education in Italy is completely in line with historical accuracy (Italy had long provided centres of learning for Greek students), the shift of privilege from a tired post-Roman territory to a renewing Greek scene is instructive, and would certainly not have gone unnoticed by the eye of a readership trained on the value of Hellenism. The setting in von Halem's version is therefore not only relevant insofar as it holds or induces memory, but it also plays an active part in developing the faculties of those inhabiting it:

Follow me first to my bower close by; I built it on the rocky slope with a view of the wide archipelago.—Here we are—you can see, the harsh ground yields hardly any vegetation. Every morning I heap new earth onto the tender roots

<sup>45</sup> Choiseul-Gouffier, *Voyage pittoresque*, i, 165. Von Halem himself mentions the story in his commentary (p. 224).

<sup>46</sup> Choiseul-Gouffier, *Voyage pittoresque*, 166.

since Wieland.<sup>50</sup> Yet by superimposing the natural and geographical imagery of Greece metaphorically on Germany, von Halem achieves a more direct comparison. Despite the critical attitude towards Germany that is implied, the application of metaphor establishes a framework by which aspirations of freedom and cultural emancipation (particularly to be located in the island world) become the common and justified ground for comparison between Germany and Greece. Remembering the aesthetic susceptibility required by von Halem of his reader, it is the very act of imagining the Greek land as an aesthetic object that enables writer and reader alike to derive productive insights from it. To make that particular comparison at all, in other words, and to base it on the example of nature, proves the ground(s) of comparison already.

The last part of the story describes the return of the Maniot boy Koras to Greece, with the aim 'to prepare his fellow citizens for the era of freedom' (p. 24). Von Halem has him journey across the Balkan peninsula to meet the *Morlaken* people. The Morlachs or Morlacchi, a people of uncertain ethnic origin and sometimes confusedly named as 'Vlachs' too, had by the end of the eighteenth century become the subject of ethnographic curiosity, not unlike that later bestowed on the Greek klefts, for the half-appalling and half-appealing mixture of free barbarity and unspoilt virtue that was attributed to their origins and customs. Halem's Koras, appropriately, encounters here scenes of a ready hospitality grounded in natural freedom:

Then [Koras] descended into the lovely Kotar valleys; here the hospitable Morlach opens his paltry hut to every traveller, here the sacred bond of friendship is tied at the foot of the altars, here freedom walks hand in hand still with innocence, as it did in the golden age. With the evening twilight he would often climb the mountains and listen for the folk songs of the Morlachs. They celebrated the deeds of their ancestral heroes, accompanied by the monotonous sound of the strung Guzla. Other wayfarers, hearing the familiar sounds from afar, would join in their song and thus it echoed to and fro until it reached a bend in the valley and died away in the ravines. (p. 24).<sup>51</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Conrad Wiedemann, 'Römische Staatsnation und griechische Kulturnation: Zum Paradigmenwechsel zwischen Gottsched und Winckelmann', in F. N. Memmeyer and C. Wiedemann (eds.), *Akten des VII. Internationalen Germanistenkongresses, Göttingen* 1985, ix (Tübingen, 1986), 173–8, 178, traces the motif from Wieland to Friedrich Schlegel and Wilhelm von Humboldt, yet credits it with little importance.

<sup>51</sup> 'Dann senkte [Koras] sich in die anmuthigen Thäler von Kotar, wo der gastfreye Morlake jedem Reisenden seine arme Hütte öffnet, wo der Freundschaft heiliges Band

exposed by the rain and little by little my care is rewarded by friendly shade.... My spirit finally broke through the limits of my need and soared onto the open sea. And to my mind the ruins which came before my eyes everywhere soon became more than stones and boulders. I had an intimation of better times now long gone (pp. 11 ff.).<sup>47</sup>

The imagery of the barren ground is a familiar motif; combined with that of the unrestrained view over Greece, it focuses on the transcendence inspired in the observer (and, by analogy, the reader), an effect enhanced by the sight of ruins as material mediators, surrounded by an impoverished nature.<sup>48</sup> The monk Theobald's past travels in search of freedom, remembered and told from that heightened perspective, are the point where geographical description and geographical metaphor merge. Crossing the Rhine from France, where the Greek spirit exists like an unripe fruit threatened by decay before its time, Germany, in contrast, presents itself to Theobald as

an archipelago of German principalities, separated in dangerous currents, exposed to the stormy sea of their rulers' interests. Its inhabitants are distinguished by their respectability, prudence, and industriousness and they deserve to be united one day in the greater interest of humankind. Yet it is more likely that the islands of our archipelago should join up to become a solid land-mass than that Germany should see the light of unification. (p. 14).<sup>49</sup>

The parallel between the multiplicity of German principalities and the city-states of ancient Greece had been a topos of German writings

<sup>47</sup> '... Folge mir erst in meine nahe Laube, die ich mir am Abhang des Felsen baute im Anblick des großen Inselmeers.—Hier ist sie.—Du siehst, schwer gedehlt das Gesträuch in diesem kargen Boden. Jeglichen Morgen häufe ich die Erde auf die zarten Wurzeln, die der Regen entblößte. Allmählig lohnt doch freundlicher Schatten meine Sorge.... Mein Geist durchbrach dann des Bedürfnisses Schranken, und schwebte ins breite Meer hinaus. Die Ruinen, die aller Orten meinem Blicke sich zeigten, wurden bald mehr als Steinmassen für mich. Ich ahnete verfllossene schönere Zeiten.'

<sup>48</sup> For the artistic representation of ruins as both indicating a transitional stage or as confirming continuity, see Heinrich Bühlbacher, *Konstruktive Zerstörungen: Ruinen-darstellungen in der Literatur zwischen 1774 und 1832* (Bielefeld, 1999), 13 f; Reinhard Zimmermann, *Künstlerische Ruinen: Studien zu ihrer Bedeutung und Form* (Wiesbaden, 1989), 252 ff.

<sup>49</sup> 'Ein Archipel deutscher Staaten, die durch die Wogen des Interesses ihrer Gebieter in manchen gefährlichen Strömungen getrennt sind. Die Bewohner, ausgezeichnet durch Biedersinn, Besonnenheit und Fleiß, verdienen es, daß einst das größere Interesse der Menschheit sie vereine. Aber eher versammeln sich unsers Archipelagus Inseln zu festem Lande, ehe Deutschland jene Vereinigung sieht.'

The literary interest in folk motifs and its implications is treated in more detail in Chapter 3 below;<sup>52</sup> what is notable here is the way folk songs echo in a graceful nature, which responds as their natural habitat. The last prospect of the narrative, now on the Ionian island of Cephalonia, is a panoramic one from above towards the west:<sup>53</sup> 'At last Koras stood high up on Cephalonia, looking across the wide sea, lost in thought. Night fell. He admired the full moon rising above the ocean's surface and he was overcome by sentiments he had never felt before. The waves of the Adriatic came rushing toward him with a name: Bonaparte; and: Bonaparte! the land echoed far and wide' (p. 25).<sup>54</sup> The mountain view as such, which we encounter time and again in the landscape descriptions of the period, is reminiscent of Rousseau's *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, where St Preux reflects on a mountain view as affecting the imagination and inducing, in its total perspective, transcendence and ease among a range of other sensations.<sup>55</sup> In von Halem's case, nature, as it is viewed, responds to the

am Fuß der Altäre geknüpft wird, wo noch, wie im goldenen Alter, Freyheit Hand in Hand wandelt mit Unschuld. Oft in der Dämmerung des Abends erstieg er die Gebirge, und horchte den Morlachischen Volksesängen. Sie feyerten die Thaten ihrer Helden der Vorzeit, und eintönig erklangen der Guzla Saiten zu dem Gesänge. Andre Vorüberstreifende, die fern schon die kundigen Töne vernahmen, stimmten laut in ihr Lied ein, und fort tönte der Wechselgesang, bis etwa ein Thal sich krümmte und der Laut in den Klüften verhallte.'

<sup>52</sup> According to von Halem, his information on the Morlachs was taken from the writings of the Countess Rosenberg and from Herder's *Volkslieder*. A collection of Croatian songs included in Alberto Fortis's *Viaggio in Dalmazia* (Venice, 1774), some of which Herder had included in his collection, were, however, largely pastiches of songs written by the Franciscan A. Kačić Miošić (1704–60); the latter had composed them in the tone and style of old Serbo-Croat heroic songs to help generate national consciousness among his people under foreign (Turkish and Venetian) dominance; see Ulrich Gäter, 'Kommentar', in Herder, *Werke*, iii, ed. Gäter (Frankfurt/M., 1990), 839–927, 859 f; on the Morlachs as an object of curiosity, see Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, 315–24.

<sup>53</sup> On the recent invention of the panorama as an art-form at the time, see Stephan Ottermann, *Das Panorama: Geschichte eines Massenmediums* (Frankfurt/M., 1980), 5 ff.

<sup>54</sup> 'Zuletzt stand Koras auf den Höhen von Cephalonia, und schaute denkend in das weite Meer aus. Es ward Nacht. Bewundernd sah er den Vollmond über die Meeresfläche hervorgehn, und nie gefühlte Empfindungen ergriffen den Seher. Da rauschten ihm Adria's Wogen den Namen: Bonaparte entgegen; und: Bonaparte! wiederhallten fern die Gestade.'

<sup>55</sup> J.-J. Rousseau, *Julie ou La Nouvelle Héloïse*, in *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Bernard Gagnebin and Marcel Raymond, ii (Paris, 1969), first part, 23rd letter, pp. 7 f.

liberating view by reciprocating with a political message.<sup>56</sup> This one mini-drama, then, combines all the hallmarks of the discourse of Greek nature: freedom, understood as aesthetic, political, and individual, is generated by placing Greece.

Of the other fourteen episodes of von Halem's anthology, some, such as 'The Bishop of Damala', or 'The Needle-Worker', feature verses or verse dialogues inspired by folk motifs and songs taken from his literary sources, such as Chandler and Guys, as he duly acknowledges in his comments. Turkish-Ottoman tales are combined with first-person narratives of Greek resistance and stories of Western travellers searching for antiquities or, in one case, for Homer's tomb on the island of Nio.<sup>57</sup> Locale and natural scenery serve throughout to enhance the feelings, are means of teaching, or carriers of metaphor, as for example in the story 'Delli of Casas', where the Greek narrator describes a Turkish garden: 'I thought the leafy bower was pressing upon me like the Ottoman's despotism' (p. 59), while a storm shaking the leaves announces the impending arrival of Greek freedom; nature is moreover presented as the object of perfect imitation in folk art, such as stitching or song, and as the object of reverence, such as when, in the closing story, the island of Nio, not unlike Patmos before, is in its entirety revealed as the resting-place of Homer. In addition, it is noticeable that apart from few exceptions the island setting prevails. Halem, in his introduction, continues the organic image of the 'Insel-Saat': 'There lives a people here, separate from the mainland and its corruption, which has mostly maintained its original character and remained close to nature, without much law-making or science' (p. 4). Well known across the corpus of travel literature, the motif of the Greek archipelago as closer to nature, and hence as a place endowed with greater residual as well as potential freedom, will continue to feature strongly in the writings surrounding the Greek War of Independence, on which more

<sup>56</sup> In 1797, Napoleonic troops had taken over the Ionian Islands (among them Cephalonia) from Venetian rule. Their arrival there had initially been greeted with enthusiasm for the ideals of the French Revolution, complete with commemorative poems and the planting of Trees of Liberty.

<sup>57</sup> Several islands have, following the strong biographical tradition of Homer in antiquity, laid claim to Homer's tomb, among them Chios and especially Ios, whose old demotic name is Nio; see von Halem, *Blüthen*, 245; Bartholdy, *Bruchstücke*, 203. See also the appendix 'Homer's Tomb' in Constantine, *Early Greek Travellers*, 215–18.

below.<sup>58</sup> Herder had already speculated that 'the ancients made their happy homes on islands and not without reason, for here they would likely have found the most free and happy peoples',<sup>59</sup> and it is the vision of individual islands interlinked across a connecting yet liberating element that accounts for the appeal of the archipelago model: be it in the guise of political community—von Halem's 'Archipelago of German principalities'—or in the valued notion of the bond, especially the bond of friendship, linking individuals and including the art of correspondence practised by von Halem and his circle, as much as the cult of friendship which the early Romantics would raise to a programmatic level.

Apart from the special case of the archipelago, which recurs frequently with regard to Greece, the topos of the island utopia, preferably in the South, holds generally a prominent position in German and European literature of the second half of the eighteenth century, especially in the wake of the discovery of the Pacific island of Otahiti by Cook and Forster in 1772.<sup>60</sup> The model setting need therefore not be Greek, but the imagined island communities each often bear traces of a direct or indirect Hellenism, for which, given their over-determined self-containment, they provide an eminently suitable location. Like Romantic symbols, islands tend to point beyond themselves, and if Hellenism is partly about the transcendental potential of a contained, material location, then islands tinged by Greekness function particularly well in their contexts of representation. Friedrich von Stolberg, one of von Halem's close literary correspondents and, very appropriately for island utopias, a translator of Plato, published a work entitled *Die Insel* (1788). Its first part is a dialogue, led by a character named Sophron, developing plans for a utopia; the second part is a collection of poetry such as it might be created on this utopian island.<sup>61</sup> Despite choosing a small Danubian, and hence realistically located, island as the location to inspire such utopian reveries, the exchange is strongly modelled on the precepts of

<sup>58</sup> For British travellers, see Angelomatis-Tsougarakis, *Eye of the Greek Revival*, 95, 237.

<sup>59</sup> Herder, *Ideen*, bk. 13, *Werke*, vi. 518.

<sup>60</sup> Heinrich Brunner, *Die poetische Insel: Inseln und Inselvorstellungen in der deutschen Literatur* (Stuttgart, 1967), 144.

<sup>61</sup> For a detailed synopsis see Götz Müller, *Die Utopie in der deutschen Literatur* (Stuttgart, 1989), 130–8.

the Socratic dialogue; Sophron, to round it all out, is introduced as the son of a German politician who has only recently returned from a formative educational journey to Italy, Greece, Egypt, and Switzerland. Although as a literary work Stolberg's piece remained largely without influence, it sketches the semantic grid in which locality as specific and 'real' (a Danubian island, not an unknown place), but also as raised to a Greek status, becomes meaningful; a location moreover, that produces meaning through the reflective approach of the experienced traveller. Among the spate of eighteenth-century utopian narratives mapped onto the world of the South, Wilhelm Heine's novel *Ardinghello and the Islands of the Blest* (*Ardinghello und die glückseligen Inseln*, 1787), a title strongly reminiscent of F. W. Zachariae's *Tahiti or the Islands of the Blest* of 1777,<sup>62</sup> is a particularly stark example: here the ideal world of social experiment first overlaps with the geographically extremely accurate, only to be overtaken, subsequently, by the uneasy encroachment of real political events. *Ardinghello*, which is mainly set in sixteenth-century Italy, leads only very late in the book to the foundation of an artistic community of aesthetically like-minded, libertarian souls on the Cycladic islands of Naxos and Paros (at the time indeed part of the Venetian-ruled Duchy of the Archipelago), which are described following detailed contemporary travel accounts (especially Choiseul-Gouffier); the community itself meanwhile is modelled after certain precepts of the Platonic state, such as the separation of men and women and the communal upbringing of children, although with strong Bacchanalian overtones (Naxos being, after all, an island with cultic connections to Dionysos). The episode, however, ends with the remarkably abrupt invasion of the realistic into this still-brittle commune: the utopian plan of further expanding the territory of these blessed islands is cut short by the arrival of the Ottomans and their historical takeover of the island territory—and that is the end of the novel. Heine closes curtly: 'The special secret of our constitution, revealed only to those who had excelled themselves through heroic deeds or brilliance of mind, was this: to bring to an end altogether the rule of the Turks in this happy clime, and to elevate humanity back to

<sup>62</sup> A letter by Boie to von Halem of September 1787 shows that both von Halem and Stolberg knew the work; L. W. C. von Halem, *Selbstbiographie*, 65.

its former dignity. Yet after a period of bliss, relentless fate intervened.<sup>63</sup> What distinguishes *Ardinghella*, therefore, is the thickness of the ropes that tie the utopian community down to a realistic and geographically and historically verifiable setting. It is not an *ou-topos*, or an exotically far-flung location; instead, its meaning derives precisely from the promising actuality of its environment. No matter how many or how few people, relatively speaking, travelled to that part of the world (Heinse almost certainly did not, even though he repeatedly expressed a desire to travel there),<sup>64</sup> the Greek archipelago was reassuringly *there*.

Yet even if the 'actual' Greece, as a founding site for the exotic commune, may be unexpectedly and oddly determined by the real political situation of the Ottoman Mediterranean, Greece, as a place of origin and displacement alike, is part of the aesthetic programme of the novel. Set for the most part in Renaissance Italy, the novel is largely a series of reflections on the relations between the creative arts and questions of artistic autonomy, held together by a rather wild coming-of-age plot, and it was at the time largely celebrated or reviled for its alleged aesthetic immorality and libertarian attitude.<sup>65</sup> In the series of dialogues on art, however, which form the backbone of the work, landscape as an aesthetic object is given the central role. The mentor-figure of the novel, who inspires the utopia in the first place, is the Greek exile Demetri; to him in particular is given the position of identifying landscape as a work of art of nature, and thus of conflating natural and artistic beauty. Landscapes, ambivalent in Heinse as both the natural prospect and the artistic genre, are in Demetri's opinion given the status of prime genre for painting; they

<sup>63</sup> 'Das besondere Geheimnis unserer Staatsverfassung, welches nur denen anvertraut ward, die sich durch Heldentaten und großen Verstand ausgezeichnet hatten, bestand darin: der ganzen Regierung der Türken in diesem heitem Klima ein Ende zu machen und die Menschheit wieder zu ihrer Würde zu erheben. Doch verleitete dies nach seligem Zeitraum das unerbitliche Schicksal.' Wilhelm Heinse, *Ardinghella und die glückseligen Inseln* (Stuttgart, 1975), 376.

<sup>64</sup> The archipelago is also a constantly recurring point of utopian reference in his correspondence, see W. Brecht, *Heinse und der Ästhetische Immoralismus: Zur Geschichte der Italienischen Renaissance in Deutschland* (Berlin, 1911), 46 ff.

<sup>65</sup> On the recent revival of interest in Heinse's work, see the essay collection *Das Maß des Bacchanten: Wilhelm Heines Überlebenskunst*, ed. Gert Theile (Munich, 1998).

are instances of a true 'Poetry of Nature'.<sup>66</sup> Although instances of actual Greek locality and descriptions of a specifically Greek landscape are comparatively few in the novel, which moves to the Greek archipelago only in its very last section, it is significant that the heightened awareness of the value of aesthetic landscape is voiced by the character of the exiled Greek: his (spatial) displacement from his *natural* affinity with Greece, Greece being the literal breeding-ground of that which is considered truly beautiful in art, allows Demetri to adopt the stance of the (non-Greek) modern artist who is distinguished by a similar (temporal) distance from the original realization of Greek spirit and art.

The modern Greek as a leadership figure realizing and reflecting his displacement is a character who reappears a little after Heinse's publication in the shape of Hölderlin's Hyperion, and Heinse himself was the mentor of Friedrich Hölderlin, certainly as far as a theory of the visual arts was concerned.<sup>67</sup> If *Ardinghella* and *Hyperion* share the sentiment of a lost nature and the attempt to regain it in a specifically modern Greek setting, Heinse's energetic revival of a sensuous utopia still offers an answer very different to that suggested by Hölderlin.

#### HÖLDERLIN'S HYPERION: THE GREEK LANDSCAPE OF THE GERMAN SOUL

The work of Friedrich Hölderlin (1770–1843) in many ways exemplifies the challenge of the realization and spatial visualization of the ideal, based on a correspondence between internal and external landscapes. In his poetry, specific landscapes, identified by concrete place-names, cohere aesthetically with a poetic and philosophical

<sup>66</sup> *Ardinghella*, 195. In his upgrading of the landscape genre in painting, Heinse slots into a contemporary discussion that valued that genre less highly and thus pre-empted artistic debate by a decade; see Ulrich Port, *Die Schönheit der Natur erbeuten: Problemgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum ästhetischen Modell von Hölderlins Hyperion* (Würzburg, 1999), 258.

<sup>67</sup> For their personal contact in Hölderlin's Frankfurt period (1796–98), see Port, 'Die Schönheit, 292 ff.; Ulrich Gaier, 'Mein ehrlich Meister': Hölderlin im Gespräch mit Heinse, in *Theile, Maß des Bacchanten*, 25–44; on Hölderlin's reception of *Ardinghella* further Elisabeth Stoelzel, *Hölderlin in Tübingen und die Anfänge seines Hyperion* (Tübingen, 1938), 19 f.

programme that focuses on reality production and the role of the aesthetic in between the rational and the sensory: in the realm of the imagination. The transcendental is at the same time again not apolitical but very much about society, individuality, and unity.

The landscape descriptions in Hölderlin's work as a whole are noteworthy for their wealth of precise geographical detail. Images of Swabia and the Swiss Alps (his mythological new Hesperia) in particular are complemented by the depiction of Greece and other environments representative of the transalpine, Mediterranean, and, in this sense, 'Greek' world (including the landscapes of the South of France).<sup>68</sup> Hölderlin's use of travel writing in the composition of *Hyperion* is well documented.<sup>69</sup> for the all-important setting of Greece, the land he never visited in actuality, Hölderlin is known to have drawn on the usual suspects, such as Chandler's *Travels in Asia Minor* and *Travels in Greece* (published in German translation by H. Ch. Boie and Wilhelm Voss in 1776/7) and Choiseul-Gouffier's *Voyage pittoresque*. There is also evidence that he knew Barthélemy's *Anacharsis*.<sup>70</sup> As would be expected, the source material undergoes its own process of modification. We are faced with a reality that is concrete, but not independent. Since Hölderlin's poetic landscape is the mirror of internal, mental processes, that is, the medium of their externalization, there is only 'one level of objective reality, shaped to the demands of aesthetic experience'.<sup>71</sup> Just as in the poeticized world of the other Romantics, even if Hölderlin stood at an odd angle to them as a close-knit group, there is not a question of imposing an ideal upon a material reality, but of mutual creation—and it is a set of issues that is particularly implicated in Greek modernity.

<sup>68</sup> David Constantine, *The Significance of Locality in the Poetry of Friedrich Hölderlin* (London, 1979); Romano Guardini, *Form und Sinn der Landschaft in den Dichtungen Hölderlins* (Stuttgart, 1946).

<sup>69</sup> Martin Anderle, *Die Landschaft in den Gedichten Hölderlins: Die Funktion des Konkreten im idealistischen Weltbild* (Bonn, 1986); Friedrich Beißner, 'Über die Realien des "Hyperion"', in *Hölderlin-Jahrbuch*, 8 (1954), 93–109; Constantine, *The Significance of Locality*, and *Hölderlin* (Oxford, 1988), ch. 5; Werner Volke, 'O Lacedaemons heiliger Schutt!' Hölderlins Griechenland: Imaginierte Realien—Realisierte Imagination', in *Hölderlin-Jahrbuch*, 24 (1984/5), 63–86.

<sup>70</sup> Volke, 'Hölderlin's Griechenland', 74 ff.

<sup>71</sup> Raymond Immerwahr, 'Reality as an Object of Romantic Experience in Early German Romanticism', *Colloquia Germanica* (1969), 133–61, 152.

The novel *Hyperion oder der Eremit in Griechenland*, its first part published in 1797, the second in 1799, stands at the end of a series of Hölderlin's attempts to contain the *Hyperion* theme in appropriate form.<sup>72</sup> The theme of a young, near-contemporary Greek, the story is set around 1770, and of his individual search for freedom is a study in the realization of ideals, caught in a network of mutually reinforcing cognitive, spiritual, emotional, and political facets. The final version is constructed as a series of confessional letters from *Hyperion* to his German friend Bellarmin, recounting his path from Greece and his youth through a period of quasi-exile in Germany to his recent return to his homeland; the second part contains some additional letters from Diotima, the guiding female figure, inset within *Hyperion's* letters. Hölderlin's choice of form combines the *Bildungsroman* and novel of letters with the confessional tradition, all genres allowing for a high degree of reflection on subjectivity.<sup>73</sup> The 'healing anamnesis'<sup>74</sup> mirrored in the letters implies that *Hyperion's* German exile is a necessary stage, and hence a structurally functional location both in spatial and temporal terms. His return to the Greek 'Vaterlandsboden', his home ground, is predicated upon his sojourn in a place temporally, spatially, and cognitively removed, an Archimedean lever to ascertain *Hyperion's* identity, and the novel, indicatively, finishes with *Hyperion* recollecting his contemplation of nature in Germany. The German perspective, maintained in the framework of establishing a German addressee for his letters, is a condition for recalling his origin and his progress across Greece, marking Greece as a place of memory.

Hölderlin outlined his plans for the novel *Hyperion* in a letter to his friend Caspar Neuffer in 1793: 'What you have said so well about *terra incognita* in the realm of poetry, pertains especially to a novel. Predecessors enough, few who chanced upon new and beautiful

<sup>72</sup> For the textual evolution of *Hyperion* see the critical apparatus in the *Grosse Stuttgarter Ausgabe* (GSA), iii. 295–335. I quote from Friedrich Hölderlin, *Sämtliche Werke und Briefe*, ed. Jochen Schmidt (Frankfurt/M., 1994), vol. ii, based on the GSA with a slightly modernized orthography. Page numbers cited parenthetically.

<sup>73</sup> For the genre of *confessio* and its effect on Hölderlin, see Ulrich Gaier, *Hölderlin: Eine Einführung* (Tübingen, 1993), 113–19; on *Hyperion* as a poetic novel see Lawrence Ryan, 'Hölderlins *Hyperion*—ein romantischer Roman?', in *Über Hölderlin*, ed. Jochen Schmidt (Frankfurt/M., 1970), 175–212.

<sup>74</sup> The expression is Gaier's, *Hölderlin*, 120.



territory, and still immeasurable realms to be discovered and worked on!<sup>75</sup> The image of territorial exploration, already coloured by anxiety that territory is always somebody else's, is not accidental: one of the characteristics of Hölderlin's style is his use of geographical or landscape metaphor to show individual and artistic progress and in the process trace a philosophy of subjective identity. In a letter to Neuffer the following year, Hölderlin again stresses the spatial aspect of his philosophical and aesthetic project when he insists that what is needed is the 'step across the Kantian borderline'.<sup>76</sup> In the spatial aspect of the landscape image, in the 'beautiful land' that is Greece, the experience of transcendence is verbalized. The view becomes a figure for the act of cognition. Or, in Eckart Lobsien's words: 'What happens in descriptions of landscape is something akin to a verbal reconstruction of what the conditions of cognition of landscape as landscape are. This means that descriptive sequences yield less a representation of landscape than they thematize the cognitive field from which landscapes arise.'<sup>77</sup> Hyperion's ideal is a synthesis, a completeness of nature that signifies both return, or rejuvenation, and maturation, a completion which Hölderlin captures in the spatial image of 'the eccentric course, which man covers, in general and in particular, from one point (of more or less pure simplicity) to another point (of more or less complete *Bildung*)'.<sup>78</sup> So, too, in his description of the ideal at the outset of the novel, spatial vantage-point and metaphor merge: 'To be one with all... this is the summit of thoughts and pleasures, the height of the sacred mountain' (p. 16). This ascent is inscribed in the nature of Greece as experienced by Hyperion. 'What once was nature will become ideal' (p. 73), he insists

<sup>75</sup> 'Was Du so schön von der *terra incognita* im Reiche der Poesie sagst, trifft ganz genau besonders bei einem Romane zu. Vorgänger genug, wenige, die auf neues schönes Land gerietten, u. noch eine Unermesslichkeit zur Entdeckung und Bearbeitung!' Letter to Neuffer, 21 July 1793, *GSIA* vi. 87; the English translation is that of Friedrich Hölderlin, *Essays and Letters on Theory*, trans. and ed. Thomas Pfau (Albany, NY, 1988), 122.

<sup>76</sup> Letter to Neuffer, 10 July 1794, *GSIA* vi. 137. At the time Hölderlin envisages a philosophy of the subject that sets nature, spirit, and freedom as principles manifested in the subject; he does so by having recourse to Platonic ideas of the Beautiful, so as to surpass Kant's and Schiller's Transcendental Idealism; see Gater, *Hölderlin*, 81–7.

<sup>77</sup> *Landschaft in Texten: Zu Geschichte und Phänomenologie der literarischen Beschreibung* (Stuttgart, 1981), 84.

<sup>78</sup> Prologue to 'Fragment von Hyperion' (1794), 177.

later, to express the inevitable process of growing beyond nature. In the same speech, Hyperion speaks of this process also as one of fermentation ('Gärung'), one of his favourite organic metaphors for the natural and sometimes violent process of transformation. The growth 'out of' nature is reminiscent of Schiller's overcoming of the *naive*, which is only constituted in the very process. On the level of setting and imagery to describe Hyperion this means that the Greek landscape is *realia* and metaphor at the same time. A meaningful specific natural environment, that of Greece, with additional nature imagery as metaphor for the development of subjectivity superimposed upon it, emerges as one of the structuring principles in the treatment of landscape and locality in *Hyperion*, and it is the focus of analysis here.

To make sense of Hölderlin's locating the Greek land, it helps to understand better first his own system of how antiquity and modernity are related. Within that framework, the site of modern Greece can, and more specifically has to, function as the link between an ancient, Greek ideal and a modern, Western identity. Increasingly in Hölderlin's thought this relationship between antiquity and modernity is fuelled by a consciousness of their essential difference, and by 1801, at the end of writing *Hyperion*, he declares that 'I have laboured long over this and know by now that, with the exception of what must be the highest for the Greeks and us—namely the living relationship and destiny—we likely have nothing in common with them'.<sup>79</sup>

Hellas, or antiquity, is not a model in the sense that modernity could ever be built upon its imitation. Like Schiller's analysis of modernity *vis-à-vis* nature, or Bhabha's split national subject generating its own narration from a distance to itself, Hölderlin's claim rests on the same basic, but far-reaching, structure of relating to the similar but not identical, an argument that leaves a modern Greece exactly and deliberately on that fault-line.<sup>80</sup> In Hölderlin's theory of

<sup>79</sup> 'Ich habe lange daran laborirt und weiß nun, daß außer dem, was bei den Griechen und uns das höchste seyn muß, nemlich dem lebendigen Verhältnis und Geschick, wir nicht wohl etwas gleich mit ihnen haben dürfen.' Letter to Böhlendorff, 4 Dec. 1801, *GSIA* vi. 426.

<sup>80</sup> Homi Bhabha, 'DissemiNation: Time, Narrative, and the Margins of the Modern Nation', in id. (ed.), *Nation and Narration* (London, 1990), 292–322.

culture, aspiring to the ideal means for each, ancient and modern, to realize (or to have realized) its own character freely. As he has it in the same letter to Böhlendorff: 'we cannot imitate [the Greeks] as regards especially what is proper, what is national to us. As I said, the free employment of what is proper to us is the most difficult.'<sup>81</sup> Comparison and observation are built into what it means to be modern, though. Hellas was not a place of nature as *opposed* to art, but it underwent its own reflexive and hence artistic development, its 'nature', in that sense, but also in a literal sense, expressing harmony and fullness.<sup>82</sup> It reached its own maximum, with a modern new maximum to be achieved on a different plane.<sup>83</sup> Again, here is the familiar recasting of a wavering, spiralling line of history into three-dimensional space.<sup>84</sup> Hellas, in its beauty once supremely free, is beyond retrieval, as the conditions triggering its character have irreversibly changed; yet Hyperion's Greek land is still supremely beautiful, and the episode of Hyperion's visit to the ruins of Athens expresses the temporary hope of a new flourishing on its grounds: 'Lie still, I thought as we returned on board, lie still, you slumbering land! Soon fresh young life will sprout from you to grow towards the blessings of the sky. Soon the clouds will not rain in vain any longer, soon the sun will find the old pupils' (p. 101). The realization of Hyperion's visions is, however, infinitely deferred by the turn of events, summarized in the closing words of the novel: 'These were my thoughts. More soon' (p. 175). It is the present Greek nature that allows a glimpse of the link between the ancient and the modern ideal, different as they are, yet there is no structural provision for the glimpse to become an open view.

<sup>81</sup> To Böhlendorff (as n. 79). See also Peter Szondi, "Überwindung des Klassizismus"—Der Brief an Böhlendorff vom 4. Dezember 1801, in his *Hölderlin-Studien: Mit einem Traktat über philologische Erkenntnis* (Frankfurt/M., 1967), 85–104; also stressing the essential difference of Greece is Philippe Lacoue-Labarthe, 'Hölderlin and the Greeks', in *Typography: Mimesis, Philosophy, Politics* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989), 208–35.

<sup>82</sup> Hyperion's letter on the visit to Athens includes his outline of the ancient inclusiveness of religion, art, and philosophical reflection (pp. 88 ff.).

<sup>83</sup> The scientific notion of a maximum, i.e. a balance of powers, repeated on different levels, was prevalent in contemporary theories of culture, including that of Greek antiquity; it is found, for example, in Herder's *Ideen* (bk. 13) and Schiller's *Über die ästhetische Erziehung* (6th letter); also Gaier, *Hölderlin*, 94 f.

<sup>84</sup> Here again is the 'exzentrische Bahn' Hölderlin speaks of famously in the preface to *Hyperion*, the eccentric trajectory that distinguishes our modern life.

Throughout Hölderlin's poetry, ancient Hellas's main attribute is its active, fully realized, semi-divine or heroic character.<sup>85</sup> Merging with the figure of the semi-divine hero, it is also inscribed in the modern Greek landscape of *Hyperion*. In the opening vista over the Corinthian Isthmus, as just one example, one of the gulfs lies 'like a victorious hero' (p. 14). Yet in its active character lies also Hellas's (self-)destructiveness, accelerated by the immediate contact with the sacred. Its opposite, which characterizes Hesperia (Hölderlin's quasi-mythological West representing the ideal of modernity), is a self-consciousness implying mediation. This establishes Hyperion's contemporary Greece as the site of a necessarily superseded past. The point of reference is Hyperion's modern subjectivity, which is shaped by and expressed in the natural environment surrounding him. The landscape, made up of material, natural objects aesthetically perceived, bears traces of the ancient Greek spirit in the sense of a non-modernity necessary for a modern identity; the aesthetic perception of landscape as shaping (and shaped by) the subject is an expression of that modern identity. There is in *Hyperion* a longing for the reuniting of poetic expression with a material nature that is its original condition yet resists simple imitation or integration. On the plot level, this re-emerges as the longing for the political unification of a Greece independent of Ottoman rule. These longings mirror the relation Hölderlin assumes between modernity and the ancients. In that sense, the character of Hyperion confirms the ascription of the landscape as 'Greek', or, to be precise, as Greek from the standpoint of modernity.

As the work is built on the principle of a spiritual progress enhanced by a geographical one, the course of Hyperion's path across Greece, as he recounts it himself, offers a good enough line for analysing Hölderlin's Greek landscape. Hyperion's opening vista is that of the Gulf of Corinth, a raised viewpoint at a major crossroads on Greek territory (between Attica, the Peloponnese, and Roumeli); the view takes in plains, the sea, and Mounts Helicon and Parnassus (both sacred mountains of the Muses and obvious topoi of poetic inspiration in addition to their material bulk). Hyperion's internal state, however, that corresponds to this setting of multiply inscribed *contemplatio* or

<sup>85</sup> See Paul de Man, 'The Image of Rousseau in Hölderlin', in *The Rhetoric of Romanticism* (New York, 1984), 19–45, 35 ff.

*theoria*, is one of sharply felt loss and desolation, only reinforced by the prospect: 'Happy the man whose heart can take pleasure and strength from a flourishing fatherland! I feel I am drowned in a swamp, I feel the coffin lid is thrown shut above my head when I am reminded of my own' (p. 14).

The first words of the novel, likewise, are programmatic for the relation between interior and exterior nature: 'The dear ground of my fatherland gives me, once more, pleasure and pain' (p. 14). By the same logic, Hyperion's aesthetic experience of nature implies its potential to overcome the sorrow it causes: 'My entire being falls silent and listens when the tender wave of air surrounds my chest. Lost in the deep blue I often look into the aether above and into the sacred sea, and it is as if a kindred spirit would open its arms, as if the pain of solitude was resolved into the life of the divinity' (p. 16).<sup>86</sup>

Hyperion's vision edges onto Rousseau's *Réveries du promeneur solitaire*, a work describing the desire to melt into nature, relived in writing.<sup>87</sup> But as opposed to Rousseau's local nature, the prospect of the surviving natural conditions of the Greek land offsets the feeling of exclusion. The combination of the 'authenticity' of the Greek environment, well known from travel discourses, with the erotic desire for that nature, and the parallel state of desolation and regeneration mirrored in Hyperion, add to the identification of Hyperion with the Greek land. The correspondence between exterior and interior nature, aesthetically represented, is not one of strict synchroization, though, but obeys a staggered pattern of adaptation and development. It is from this jointly mental and geographical vantage-point, then, that Hyperion is led to relate the story of his life.

His older friend Adamas is a first mentor figure to appear in his educational biography. To him Hyperion owes not only guidance and inspiration, but together they repeat the traditional model of the educational journey, cast in the language of the Grand Tour, and with

<sup>86</sup> 'Mein ganzes Wesen verstummt und lauscht, wenn die zarte Welle der Luft mir um die Brust spielt. Verloren in's weite Blau, blick ich oft hinauf an den Äther und hinein in's heilige Meer, und mir ist, als öffnete ein verwandter Geist mir die Arme, als löste der Schmerz der Einsamkeit sich auf in's Leben der Gottheit.'

<sup>87</sup> J.-J. Rousseau, *Les Réveries du promeneur solitaire*, in *Oeuvres complètes*, I (Paris, 1959), 1065, speaks of 'me fonder pour ainsi dire dans le système des êtres, à m'identifier avec la nature entière.'

the localities to match. They travel to Mount Athos, the Hellespont, and to the ancient sites of Elis, Nemea, and Olympia; not only in their itinerary but also in their activities they comply with the expectations of the classical traveller in search of (dis-)continuity. Nature in spring reminds Hyperion that

man's glorious nature is hardly present any more, like the fragment of a temple or in memory, in a picture of the dead—and there I sat next to him, sadly playing and picking moss off the pedestal of a demigod, from the rubble I would dig the marble shoulder of a hero and from the half-buried archtraves I would cut off the briars and weeds, while my Adamas was drawing the calm and soothing landscape that surrounded the ruin, the hill of wheat, the olives, the herd of goats suspended on the mountain rocks, the elm forest tumbling from the summits down to the valley. (pp. 20f.)<sup>88</sup>

In this tableau reminiscent of the aristocratic Grand Tour (and undoubtedly owing to Choiseul-Gouffier), Hyperion's mentor approaches his environment through art. Landscape is its result, and the statue of a hero, half-buried and sheltered in this landscape, is the materialization of Hölderlin's notion of the semi-divine character of the ancient Greeks; we view the scene vertically, the herd graphically 'hanging' on the rock and the forest hurling itself down the slope. What is more, this, as will become clear, is a spatial movement consistent with the act of consciousness as described by Hölderlin repeatedly throughout the novel.

The period of Adamas's tutorship finishes when Adamas decides to travel further east. Hyperion instead turns toward Smyrna, a direction (of both travellers) in accordance with Hölderlin's belief in the origin of modern civilization in the East, and its later spiritual movement westwards.<sup>89</sup> The latter is echoed in the deliberate choice of Nio, the island of Homer's tomb, as their place of farewell, that

<sup>88</sup> 'daß des Menschen herrliche Natur jetzt kaum noch da ist, wie das Bruchstück eines Tempels oder im Gedächtnis, wie ein Totenbild—da saß ich traurig spielend neben ihm, und pflückte das Moos von eines Halbgotts Piedestal, grub eine mar-morne Heldenschulter aus dem Schutt, und schnitt den Dornbusch und das Heidekraut von den halbbegrabnen Architraven, indes mein Adamas die Landschaft zeichnete, wie sie freundlich tröstend den Ruin umgab, den Weizenhügel, die Oliven, die Ziegenherde, die am Felsen des Gebirges hing, den Ulmenwald, der von den Gipfeln in das Tal sich stürzte.'

<sup>89</sup> Constantine, *The Significance of Locality*, 41 ff.

leads Hyperion to the coast of Asia Minor in search of Homer's birthplace. He finds it in the vicinity of Smyrna, the place that is also a meaningful locale to be reading in. As Robert Wood had experienced before him (and a host of classical scholars had experienced by proxy, reading Wood's descriptions), and as Hyperion can confirm, to read Homer in his proper setting qualitatively changes the understanding: 'I found him. Every sound was silenced in me. I opened his divine poem and it was as if I had never known it; so differently it came alive in me now' (p. 27). But again, and stronger than the implication in Wood, it is a *new* Homer who emerges from the pages read on site, an alien, unknown figure rather than a rediscovery.

Hölderlin's Greece is never a place of early revivalism or renais-sance: its discovery marks a radical break from identity, in all its unsettling extent. Importantly, this experience of landscape also brings to the surface a moment of speechlessness. The inability or insufficiency of authorial utterances vis-à-vis significant nature is an undercurrent that is inseparable from Hyperion's progressing aesthetic consciousness. The same, repeated oscillation between initial enthusiasm and a feeling of deficiency structures Hyperion's experience of Smyrna. To him, having fully internalized the beauty of nature, the city appears as a paradise, and Smyrna responds to his enthusiasm in turn: 'My heart was too full of the agreeable and could not but lend from its abundance to mortality. I had captured in me nature's beauty all too happily and could not but fill the cracks of human life with it. My needful Smyrna put on the clothes of my enthusiasm and stood there, like a bride' (p. 29).<sup>90</sup>

The clothing of Smyrna in his own colours, however, turns into its own parody, the analogy is corrupted: 'the paradox of their manners gave me delight, like a child's play, and because I was naturally above all the introduced forms and customs I played with all of them, put them on and took them off like fancy costumes' (p. 29). The immediate *Anschauung*, combined with Hyperion's experience of Homeric literature and the Smyrniots' lack of interest in the literary and cultural significance of their (once Homeric) environment, leads

<sup>90</sup> 'Mein Herz war des Wohlgefalligen zu voll, um nicht von seinem Überflusse der Sterblichkeit zu leihen. Ich hatte zu glücklich in mich die Schönheit der Natur erbeutet, um nicht die Lücken des Menschenlebens damit auszufüllen. Mein dürftig Smyrna kleidete sich in die Farben meiner Begeisterung, und stand, wie eine Braut, da.'

him to acknowledge eventually that their childlike character and his own enthusiasm are out of tune with his already more advanced stage of consciousness: 'How my heart delighted in it! How faithfully I interpreted those friendly hieroglyphs! But I experienced almost the same as with the birch trees in spring. I had heard of the juice of those trees and thought what a marvellous drink they surely must produce. But there was neither strength nor spirit enough in them' (p. 29).<sup>91</sup>

His conclusion, formulated in analogy to an experience of nature, echoes the belief in the less advanced childhood stage represented by the East as it was suggested, for example, in Herder's universal history. More than that, Hyperion's act of judgement is triggered by a specific, appropriate location and is expressed through a metaphor taken from nature. In addition, this assertion of Hyperion's identity in front of a significant environment is predicated on the Smyrniots' absence of self-reflexivity by comparison. Overall, Hyperion's increase in knowledge and consciousness is mediated by nature in a double sense: the aspect of nature, its aesthetic perception and reflection, is instrumental in maintaining Hyperion's progress; in turn, the progress is charted through images taken from that very same nature, locking an environment whose significance ostensibly rests on its independent materiality even further into a structure of expected, transcendent meaning.

The central figure, however, to guide Hyperion's winding course is that of Diotima, who, like her namesake in Plato's *Symposium*, appears as the female representative of a completed, physical and spiritual ideal. In contrast to the closely defined world of a classical symposium, into which the Socratic Diotima enters only by way of recollection and narrative, Hölderlin's Diotima is radically put in a place whose very reality and materiality drive Hyperion's path, as much as his despair. Not only is she an actual love object, as opposed to a teacher of love, but she is situated in a spatially and temporally significant environment. The sheltered home of Hölderlin's guiding Diotima, and the initial meeting-place with Hyperion, is Kalaurea,

<sup>91</sup> 'Wie hatt ich meine herzliche Freude daran! wie gläubig deutet ich diese freundlichen Hieroglyphen! Aber es ging mir fast damit, wie ehemals mit den Birken im Frühlinge. Ich hatte von dem Saft dieser Bäume gehört, und dachte wunder, was ein köstlich Getränk die lieblichen Stämme geben müßten. Aber es war nicht Kraft und Geist genug darinnen.'

or, by its modern name, the island of Poros, a small island off the Eastern Peloponnese in the Saronic gulf, which is separated from the mainland by only a very thin waterway (the Greek *poros* of its name). That Poros, whose ancient Greek name signifies a strait as much as resourcefulness, is in Plato's mythology also the father of Eros, about whom his Diotima is the acknowledged expert and master, means that Hölderlin effectively spatializes the mythical, Platonic genealogy of that most persistent and present of deities, Love, who is characterized as constant longing and deficiency, on a Greek map of modernity, as much as on a map of modern Greece. Within the specific repertoire of information on contemporary Greece, moreover, Hölderlin not only selects a site which earlier and contemporary travel accounts, such as Chandler's, had singled out for its beauty and fertility,<sup>92</sup> Diotima's natural environment is also that of a secured and separated, individual island which is at the same time geographically as close as possible to the revolutionary mainland: the site of Hyperion's greatest hopes, disappointments, and reflections towards which Diotima guides him.

Hyperion's memory of Kalaurea is triggered indirectly, by the mountain view across the nearby island of Salamis, which he enjoys at the opening of Book II. The evening view extends to the shore and the sea, as far as Attica. Hyperion's interior and his exterior surroundings bear each other's mark; the landscape induces a mental process, serving as its visual mirror image: 'Or I look out at sea and reflect on my life, its rising and falling, its bliss and its sadness,' just as the landscape, in its entirety and particularity, adopts the emotional colouring of the psyche: 'I love this land of Greece above all else. It has the colour of my heart.' This vantage-point leads Hyperion to remember the mountain view he frequently shared with Diotima from the top of her island, where 'one could live in more freedom than anywhere else' (p. 57). Later on, Hyperion tries to salvage the vision of Kalaurea as his blessed island, inhabited by himself and Diotima, from the ruins of Athens: 'What is the shipwrecking of the world to me when I know only of my blessed island?' (p. 98). Like Diotima, Hyperion himself hails from an island (Tenos), a significant origin in the light of the privileged character that distinguishes the islands of the Aegean archipelago in Hölderlin's elegy of the same

<sup>92</sup> Commentary in *GS/A* iii. 456.

name, written around the time when the *Hyperion* project was drawing to a close. In 'The Archipelago' (1800/1) the sea is the unifying factor linking the personified daughters of the Archipelago, those 'mothers of heroes, the islands' (l. 19), that have survived since the heyday of a Greece unified and blossoming after the Persian wars. The island world, the site of a transcendent, deified nature, that is still present now and promises a fulfilled future, differs from Hyperion's view though; despite the grief at the incompleteness of the present and the solitary distance from the harmony of the past, the unnamed speaker of 'The Archipelago' foresees an unspecified future renewal. Hyperion, even if he follows an analogous cycle of reflection, seems quite literally more entangled in the material and the geopolitical realities of his Greek setting, in a specific historical period—quite in line with the fact that what keeps Greece in place for modern Hellenism is exactly the peculiar symbiosis of placeness and historicity, that is envisaged not as peculiar but as natural.

To Hyperion, Diotima is identified with both her real and his visionary island: 'Like the ocean wave lapping the shores of the blessed isles, so did my restless heart flood the peace of this heavenly maiden' (p. 68). Again, the landscape framing the scene is reintroduced through the door of metaphor, this time to express the promise of unity between Hyperion and Diotima, yet not without the threat of an overpowering, destructive force of nature. The talks with Diotima follow the same fashion: 'Our talks flowed softly, like a sky-blue river, its gold blinking here and there among the sand, and our silence was like the silence of the mountain tops where, high above the sphere of thunderstorms, in glorious solitude, only the divine air rushes through the locks of the daring wanderer' (p. 85).<sup>93</sup>

In the fold between literal and metaphorical use, the identity of Diotima, the ideal figure, and the real world is total: 'because our world is your world too. Your world too, Diotima, for it is a copy of you. Oh you with your Elysian calm, if only we created what you are!' (p. 127). Through her association with Hyperion, however, who links them both to nature through poetic metaphor and his reflexive view,

<sup>93</sup> 'Unsre Gespräche gleiteten weg, wie ein himmelblau Gewässer, woraus der Goldsand hin und wieder blinkt, und unsre Stille war, wie die Stille der Bergspitze, wo in herrlich einsamer Höhe, hoch über dem Raume der Gewitter, nur die göttliche Luft noch in den Locken des kühnen Wanderers rauscht.'

her 'naive' immediate relation to nature is already lost, just as deficiency is inscribed in landscape by the act of aesthetic representation. When the figure of Diotima is interpreted from the standpoint of her location within nature and landscape, hers is an ideal position of calm and freedom, which she alone is able to sustain. Compare the following two passages. Poised on the edge, overlooking the island from the point of her home ground, Diotima's soul expands up into the open 'as if she was to soar up into the clouds', yet she can equally sustain the view down below: 'She stepped closer now and looked down the steep face of the rock. She took delight in measuring its horrible depth and in losing herself in the night of the forests stretching their tops from the rocks and foaming rivulets towards the light' (p. 64).<sup>94</sup> Contrast Hyperion's description of his farewell exchange with Diotima: 'Diotima stood like a marble sculpture and I could feel her hand die in my own. I had killed everything near me, I was alone and I felt dizzy in the face of such limitless silence where my life found no hold' (pp. 113 f.).<sup>95</sup>

The motif of vertigo ('Schwindel') is never far from the ascending movement that governs Hyperion's perspective. Expansion of view, like the expansion of meaning implied in the Romantic image, can just as easily reveal the void beyond it. The end of Book I, that is, the passage directly preceding Hyperion's view from high on Salamis, evokes the mythological ascent of the Titans to overthrow Zeus' residence on Mount Olympus (which doubles as a real landmark elsewhere in the novel) by linking it to the spiritual flight and fall of Hyperion and his companions: 'and our spirits too thronged upwards, bold and exultant, and broke through the limit, and when they turned around, alas, there was an infinite void' (p. 54).

Diotima's 'flight', in contrast, is restricted, or rather secured, by a low fence of the garden demarcating her sphere. The garden appears many times, especially as a site of the encounters with Diotima; and

<sup>94</sup> 'Nun trat sie weiter vor, und sah die schroffe Felswand hinab. Sie hatte ihre Lust daran, die schrägende Tiefe zu messen, und sich hinab zu verlieren in die Nacht der Wälder, die unten aus Felsenstücken und schäumenden Wetterbächen herauf die lichten Gipfel streckten.'

<sup>95</sup> 'Diotima stand, wie ein Marmorbild und ihre Hand starb fühlbar in meiner. Alles hatt ich um mich her getötet, ich war einsam und mir schwindelte vor der grenzenlosen Stille, wo mein überwallend Leben keinen Halt mehr fand.'

again, in Hyperion's early discussions with Alabanda it is used as a particularly poignant metaphor: 'The state is nothing but the rough shell around the core of life. It is the wall fencing in the garden of human fruits and flowers.' The sheltered existence of Diotima's island where the garden is integrated into the broader environment is one actual, material development of Hyperion's metaphor; it is envisaged as a mode of living which is in keeping both with nature and with a political, social framework. Yet, in other contexts, the garden can become an image of deficiency or displacement alike. Hyperion, at the end of Book I, asks: 'If your garden is so full of flowers, why does their aroma not give me pleasure?' (p. 55), and Alabanda, towards the end of the novel, tells of his own exile when, shipwrecked in his youth near Trieste, he was confronted on shore by a garden (and social community) which stands in stark contrast to the Greek soil: 'I followed the road towards the town. Before I reached its gates I saw a cheerful crowd in the gardens, I entered and I sang a cheerful Greek song. I did not know of any sad ones. All the while I burned with shame and pain to have to show my unlucky fate so publicly' (p. 170).

During the crucial visit to Athens, gardens too offer the grounds for decision-making ('we went out into the nearby gardens', p. 97). Here, next to the ruins, Hyperion, in dialogue with Diotima, is free to develop his vision of rejuvenation and his role in it. Here also, the sight of Athens's ruins triggers Hyperion's new awareness that 'I am an artist' (p. 100). Yet the plans to become a modern educator of Greece are cut short by the actual mobilization of forces on the Peloponnese and Hyperion's decision to join them. As in Heine's case, there is a certain thrill with the invasion of historical 'real time' and events into a significant landscape, which ultimately proves Greece's structural function as a material symbol. The desire for the (untimely) realization of his ideal, which will lead to political failure and Diotima's death, is expressed in territorial terms. 'The new bond of like minds cannot live in the air, the sacred theocracy of beauty must live in a free state; that state wants a place on earth and we will surely conquer that place' (p. 108). Hyperion recounts his journey across the country to join Alabanda in the Southern Peloponnese: 'I am happy once more. I wandered through the land as if walking through Dodona's grove, where the oak trees resound with oracles foretelling glory' (p. 117). Once more, we find the strategy that a level

of nature imagery and metaphor, in this case pertaining to the specified Greek locale of Dodona, the nature oracle in Northern Greece, is superimposed on the level of geographical description, locality, and spatial order which are already significant in their own right.

Nature metaphor makes a reappearance in the description of the Greeks preparing for freedom: 'The mountain people are filled with powers of revenge, they sit like a silent storm cloud waiting for the wind to set them on their way' (p. 117). The natural imagery already suggests the duplicity of this threatening energy, anticipating its later destructiveness. At the same time, the released forces of nature relate back to the original friendship of Alabanda and Hyperion: 'We encountered each other like two streams rolling from the mountain, pushing aside the weight of earth and stone and rotting wood to force their path towards each other, until they break through to the point where they merge, sweeping and being swept along by the same power, united in one single stream, and begin their journey towards the wide sea' (p. 34).<sup>96</sup>

The episode precedes their painful separation, and the image of the powerful stream is subsequently turned onto its more sinister axis when Hyperion accuses those of the Greek people who lack spirit (*Geist*) and greatness: '—oh take your sons from the cradle and throw them into the river, at least to save them from your disgrace!' (p. 36). This threatening aspect of 'real' powerful nature is continued in Hyperion's letter to Bellarmin that tells of Diotima's confession of love: 'I see, I see now how this must end. The rudder has fallen into the sea and the ship, like a child gripped by the ankles, will be seized and smashed on the rocks' (p. 86). In this dark parallel image, the identification of Hyperion with the Greek country is revalidated; and to the vertigo of space is added that of time, in more than one direction: temporally, the violence of nature, like the violence to a child gripped by the ankles, echoes the mythical history of Astyanax's cruel death, in the Trojan War, at the hands of the Greeks. In the future, and at a spatial distance, this identification in failure will be realized back in the Peloponnese.

<sup>96</sup> 'Wir begegneten einander wie zwei Bäche, die vom Berge rollen, und die Last von Erde und Stein und faulem Holz und das ganze träge Chaos, das sie aufhält, von sich schleudern, um den Weg sich zueinander zu bahnen, und durchzubrechen bis dahin, wo sie nun ergreifend und ergriffen mit gleicher Kraft, vereint in Einen majestätischen Strom, die Wanderung ins weite Meer beginnen.'

The unsuccessful fighting at Mistra marks the disintegration of the insurrection, and Hölderlin deliberately emphasizes the Greeks' active role in their abandoning of the cause. While the historical reasons for the Greek defeat in 1770 surely were manifold (structural weaknesses, lack of Russian support, only localized conflict), Hölderlin even surpasses contemporary accounts of the insurgency in laying the blame squarely on the Greek side. Hölderlin here intensifies a bias already found in Reichard's partial translation of Chandler's *Voyage pittoresque*. Chandler is one of the few to give a detailed description of the political upheavals in 1770, including the fighting at Mistra. In Reichard's translation, the weak and disunited Greek contingent, facing an opposition outnumbering them by far, as Chandler had portrayed it, becomes a band of degenerate, corrupt, and greedy good-for-nothings unable to withstand even a small number of enemies. And while it is internal splitting, or disunity, of the Greeks as a body that is causal, it is recognizable only from an outside perspective, doubling and in that sense validating the splitting of the subject. The involution of desire, the wilful destruction of the ideal by Hyperion's men themselves, runs parallel to Hyperion's decision to abandon both Diotima and a period of further education, and thus his failure to reach, or alternatively, to stop at, a level of consciousness that can express its unity with nature. The result for him is exile—and, with it, the reflective act of writing.

Writing in turn propels Hyperion once more onto the path, or 'eccentric course', of both rejuvenation and maturation. In his description of the search for the materialization of his ideals, there is awareness that the transcendent is realized in language, including the very language describing landscape. At the same time, this language describing landscape, that is to say, the imagery of nature, is understood to be deficient. For Hyperion, and with him for Hölderlin, landscape is not only a way of seeing but also a way of writing. The topos of the ineffable, of what is incommunicable by language, is a recurring one; this is certainly not surprising for the fabric of Romantic poetry, but in Hyperion's landscapes natural scenes come to replace the need, or, more strongly, the ability, to speak. The insight familiar from the cultural criticism of Schiller, that the alienation from nature is a condition of modern artistic expression, is exemplified in Hyperion's insight regarding the description of Diotima as the copy of the world: 'Only now and then can I speak a word about

her. I must forget what she is in her entirety if I am to speak of her at all' (p. 76). This rift has even more profound consequences: Hölderlin admits that the simple equation of the objective correlative, 'interior corresponds to exterior', is insufficient when it is put into words and images: 'Nothing can grow and wane so deeply as man. He will often liken his suffering to the darkness of the abyss and his bliss to the aether, and how little has he said by this?' (p. 55). Hölderlin's text is—among other things, and again like other Romantic writing—a case study in critiquing the use of poetic language through engagement with the natural world. What distinguishes *Hyperion* is the interlacing of imagery and objective reality: nature imagery is employed to express the ideality and the failure of such poetic language oriented toward nature, and Greek nature specifically.<sup>97</sup> At the same time, this tension is considered an inevitable part of artistic identity. At the end of Book I, Hyperion expresses it through another, again vertical, metaphor taken from nature: 'Believe me and consider what I tell you from the bottom of my soul: language is a great abundance. The best will always remain on its own resting in its depth, like the pearl at the bottom of the sea' (p. 148).

Linking the emancipation of consciousness to the artistic representation of nature is in many ways a hallmark of the period. Hölderlin, though, integrates his use of nature imagery and his own reflections upon it into a deliberately and particularly Greek setting, much as his aesthetic representation relies also on earlier artistic traditions.<sup>98</sup> Hölderlin maintains the polarity of regeneration and irreversible decline out of which the contemporary site of Greece emerged in the late eighteenth century; but Greece is also understood as the appropriate landscape to represent, in turn, the issues involved in the self-positioning of the artist. The appropriateness of landscape

<sup>97</sup> De Man develops his own interpretation of the Romantic image from Hölderlin's line 'nun müssen dafür Worte, wie Blumen, | entstehn' ('Brot und Wein'). He identifies a longing of poetic language for the ontological (natural) status of the object: 'At times, romantic thought and romantic poetry seem to come so close to giving in completely to the nostalgia for the object that it becomes difficult to distinguish between object and image, between imagination and perception, between an expressive or constitutive and a mimetic or literal language.' 'Intentional Structure of the Romantic Image', 7. The same could be said of the use of nature imagery in *Hyperion*.

<sup>98</sup> Port, *Schönheit der Natur*, 11 f., notices the classical and Renaissance tendencies of *Hyperion* and its affinity with the tradition of ideal landscape that belongs to the seventeenth century and the classicism of the eighteenth century.

metaphor for artistic self-understanding is perhaps most immediately expressed in Hölderlin's letter to his brother of 1 January 1799. Here he compares the relation of philosophical and political understanding to poetry, as it is found in Germany, to the relation of a perspectively correct sketch to a landscape painting of the same model:

for, regardless of everything else, the philosophico-political education already contains in itself the inconvenience that it knits together the people in the essential, inevitably necessary relations, in duty and law; yet how much is left then, for human harmony? The fore-, middle-, and background, drawn according to optic laws, is far from being the landscape, which, at most, would like to place itself at the side of nature's live creation.<sup>99</sup>

Hölderlin's own artistic metaphor then concludes: 'Yet the best among the Germans still think that if the world was only neatly symmetrical everything would be done with. Oh Greece, with your genius and your piety, whereto have you come?'<sup>100</sup>

The lifeless symmetrical plan as opposed to the landscape painting, which does justice to nature, is not as such *identified* with the misguided German priorities and the lost Greek spirit respectively. Yet they create meaning as they are bound together in a rhetorical parallel that is consistent with Hölderlin's artistic programme, manifest in the imagery of *Hyperion*.<sup>101</sup>

De Man speaks of the transcendental aspects of Hölderlin's writings as 'the ascending movement . . . by means of which the poetic

<sup>99</sup> 'denn, alles andere abgerechnet, so hat die philosophisch politische Bildung schon in sich selbst die Inkonvenienz, daß sie zwar die Menschen zu den wesentlichen, unumgänglich nothwendigen Verhältnissen, zu Pflicht und Recht, zusammenknüpft, aber wieviel ist dann zur Menschenharmonie noch übrig? Der nach optischen Regeln gezeichnete Vor- und Mittel- und Hintergrund ist noch lange nicht die Landschaft, die sich neben das lebendige Werk der Natur allenfalls stellen möchte.' Hölderlin, *GSA* vi. 306 f.; tr. Pfau, *Essays and Letters*, 139 f.

<sup>100</sup> 'Aber die besten unter den Deutschen meinen meist noch immer, wenn nur erst die Welt hübsch symmetrisch wäre, so wäre alles geschehen. O Griechenland, mit deiner Genialität und deiner Frömmigkeit, wo bist du hingekommen?' *Ibid.* 307; tr. Pfau, 140, slightly amended.

<sup>101</sup> A literary scene, which transposes Hölderlin's view on the deficient relation between philosophy and art deliberately back into a landscape setting, is found again in Rousseau's *Nouvelle Héloïse*. In the well-known 23rd letter of part I, St Preux comments: 'J'admirois l'empire qu'ont sur nos passions les plus vives les êtres les plus insensibles, et je méprisais la philosophie de ne pouvoir pas même autant sur l'âme qu'une suite d'objets inanimés.'



imagination tears itself away, as it were, from a terrestrial nature and moves toward this "other nature". In relation to material reality and the natural environment, this is 'the ascent of a consciousness trapped within the contradictions of a half-earthly, half-heavenly nature'.<sup>102</sup> The natural imagery relating to these philosophical stages, those of suspense and ascent, abound in *Hyperion*. And yet, especially as regards Greece, the material grounding is a structurally indispensable, and in itself valuable, even if highly ambivalent, part of the movement of transcendence. If, compared to the visionary speaker of 'The Archipelago', Hyperion is caught, and, as I argue, has to be caught, on the ground of his Greek land, Hölderlin, in the letter to his brother on New Year's Day 1799, superimposes the curious image of verticality onto the difference between modernity and antiquity, and the progress engendered by that difference. This is the very remark quoted at the beginning of this study: 'I, too, with all good intentions can only stumble behind those singular [Greek] people in everything I do and say, and often I do it all the more clumsily and out of tune, because I, like the geese, stand flat-footed in the waters of modernity, flapping my powerless wings up towards the Greek sky.'<sup>103</sup>

The Greek sky above Hyperion may be marginally closer than that above Hölderlin's geese, but Constantine has rightly termed Hölderlin's Greece still a 'landscape of longing'.<sup>104</sup> In its impression of wholeness, it is the initiator of an infinite longing, as well as a place that consoles for the failure of its achievement, by being that: a real place, aesthetically perceived and represented. The pain of the restless expansion towards unity is the general theme and it is through the dynamic of loss that spiritual freedom is achieved: 'True pain en-thuses. He who steps on his misfortune, rises higher. And it is glorious that we should feel the true freedom of the soul only in suffering' (p. 133). The loss, apart from the real loss of Hyperion's companions and his beloved Diotima, is implied in the landscape that evokes feelings of incompleteness and separation. In this sense, too, the character of the landscape matches the character of its protagonist. In the Prologue to *Hyperion*, Hölderlin explicitly states

<sup>102</sup> De Man, 'Intentional Structure of the Romantic Image', 14 f.

<sup>103</sup> GS*TA* vi, 307.

<sup>104</sup> Constantine, *Hölderlin*, 86.

that Greece, while already a literary topos, is the proper place for his main character, even if there again looms the threat that the location of Greece is never 'new' but always somebody else's already: 'The location where the events took place is not a new one, and I admit that I was foolish enough once to consider a change with the book; I became convinced, though, that it is the only place that is appropriate for Hyperion's elegiac character.'<sup>105</sup>

*Elegisch* is best understood in Schiller's sense of the term as a category of poetic perception, proposed in *On Naive and Sentimental Poetry*:

If the poet should set nature and art, the ideal and actuality, in such opposition that the representation of the first prevails and pleasure in it becomes the predominant feeling, then I call him elegiac. This category too, like satire, comprehends two species. Either, nature and the ideal are an object of sadness if the first is treated as lost and the second as unattained. Or, both are an object of joy represented as actual. The first yields the elegy in the narrower sense, and the second the idyll in the broader sense.<sup>106</sup>

For Hyperion, such loss of nature also leads to the extreme of a landscape devoid of people, fitting his status as that of an 'Eremit in Griechenland'. The Greek landscape not only charts and reciprocates his development as an 'idealist', but also as a writer; the choice of Greece as a suitable aesthetic setting for the poetic mind returns us to the important question of the position of the poet within his society, and the potential to address this role through landscape imagery. The figure of the hermit is certainly not inconsistent with the self-positioning of the German artist of the period. The social role of the writer as a professional was in the making and still characterized by a high level of dependency and insecurity, at a time that was equally formative for disputing a national identity—meaning that the issue of isolation and the role of the intellectual as a solitary figure were negotiated, and negotiable, on both a social and an aesthetic level.<sup>107</sup>

<sup>105</sup> 'Der Schauplatz, wo sich das Folgende zutrug, ist nicht neu, und ich gestehe, daß ich einmal kindisch genug war, in dieser Rücksicht eine Veränderung mit dem Buche zu versuchen, aber ich überzeuge mich, daß er der einzig angemessene für Hyperions elegischen Charakter wäre.'

<sup>106</sup> Schiller, *Werke*, v. 728.

<sup>107</sup> H. J. Hatérkorn, 'Zur Entstehung der bürgerlich-literarischen Intelligenz und des Schriftstellers in Deutschland zwischen 1750 und 1800', in Bernd Lutz (ed.), *Deutsches Bürgertum und literarische Intelligenz 1750–1800* (Stuttgart, 1974), 113–275; Ludwig

Despite the loss of nature as a condition of modernity, the Greek landscape embodies the sheer potential for realization, however fractured or unachievable this realization may be. In order to sustain the position of potentiality, the rift between its success as the surviving environment of the ancients and its present ambiguous state of deficiency must, of necessity, defy closure. The Greek land as both authentic materiality and imagery bridges that rift while keeping the divide open. In that way it can continue to be a 'landscape of longing', conforming to the aesthetic positions that have turned attention towards it in the first place. Hyperion, of course, is a modern man, and it is the free self-realization of the 'Western' identity that is in question. For Hölderlin, the site of contemporary Greece is his Archimedean point of leverage, just as Germany is for Hyperion.

This leads us on to consider the artistic responses when contemporary Greece became a stronger material presence, not only on the metaphorical or cognitive maps, but on the political and geographical ones too, especially around and after 1821. The principal structure, underpinned by aesthetic tenets, perseveres: the rift that marks the Greek land as both authentic and deficient is kept open. So does using the site of Greece as an intrinsically suitable foil for the concerns of individual and national artistic identity. With the politicization of the topos after 1821, dynamism and decline remain the defining features in depicting the Greek land. The stress on the former element increases, without the latter being discarded. How this is achieved in detail is the topic of the next chapter.

Fertig, *Die Hofmeister: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Lehrstände und der bürgerlichen Intelligenz* (Stuttgart, 1979), 3-99; Bernd Giesen and Kay Junge, 'Vom Patriotismus zum Nationalismus. Zur Evolution der "Deutschen Kulturformation"', in Bernd Giesen (ed.), *Nationale und Kulturelle Identität: Studien zur Entwicklung des kollektiven Bewusstseins in der Neuzeit 2* (Frankfurt/M., 1991), 255-303; Henri Brunschwig, *Gesellschaft und Romantik im Preußen des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt/M., 1976), 344-74. Hölderlin, as a privately employed teacher, belonged to that rank of intellectuals particularly prone to exploitation, dissatisfaction, and isolation.

### 3

## Nature in Arms: German Philhellenism, its Literature, and the Greek War of Independence

The old hypothesis that comets are the revolutionary firebrands of the universal system is surely true of another kind of comet too, one that periodically revolutionizes the spiritual system of the universe and makes it young again. The astronomer of the mind has long noticed the force of such a comet over a large part of the planet of the mind that we call humankind. Mighty deluges, changing climates, a moving centre of gravity, a common tendency for diffusion, and strange meteorites are the symptoms of this violent incitation, which will result in a new world age. As necessary as it may be to mobilize everything periodically so as to create new, necessary combinations and prompt a new and more pure form of crystallization, it would be as inconceivable not to shore up such crisis and thereby avoid complete diffusion, so that a root might remain, a kernel on which new matter can be grafted, to develop around it in beautiful new shapes.

(Novalis, *Faith and Love*, fr. 21)

By the second decade of the nineteenth century the sheer vertigo of modernity, which Hölderlin had so painfully experienced, had in some respects given way to a more manageable incline, at least as far as the position of Hellenism, and its institutions, was concerned. As for Hellenism as the study of ancient Greece, classical scholarship, in the wake of Wilhelm von Humboldt's educational reforms in the 1800s, had become firmly established as a foundational subject in