

UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI

May 29

1947

*I hereby recommend that the thesis prepared under my supervision by* George C. Schoolfield  
*entitled* Hölderlin, Mörike, and the Greeks

*be accepted as fulfilling this part of the requirements for the degree of* Master of Arts

*Approved by:*

Edwin H. Ziegel



HÖLDERLIN, MÖRIKE, AND THE GREEKS

A dissertation submitted to the

Graduate School

of the University of Cincinnati

in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

1947

by

George C. Schoolfield

B. A. University of Cincinnati 1946

UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI  
LIBRARY  
SERIALS ACQUISITION  
3600 UNIVERSITY AVENUE  
CINCINNATI, OHIO 45221-0012

29 JI 47

UMI Number: EP26399

### INFORMATION TO USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleed-through, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

**UMI**®

---

UMI Microform EP26399

Copyright 2009 by ProQuest LLC.

All rights reserved. This microform edition is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.

ProQuest LLC  
789 E. Eisenhower Parkway  
PO Box 1346  
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter		Page
I	The Critics	1
II	The State and the Hero	24
III	The Landscape	58
IV	Greek or Christian?	115
	Conclusion	183
	Notes	186
	Bibliography	196

## Chapter One

## THE CRITICS

## 1. (1795 - 1872)

No poetry of the first rank in German literature has suffered so much from the work of critics as that of Hölderlin and Mörike. Both standing at a point of transition from one literary movement to another, both imbued with the Grecian spirit, both retiring, infected by that amour de la retraite which Mme. de Staël found characteristic of German men of letters, they presented enigmas to the critics of their time--enigmas not yet understood today. Furthermore, the task of the critics was not made easier by the fact that both men could be fitted with a Schlagwort which for the most part gave a false picture of their nature. Hölderlin, the victim of madness, was viewed as a Werther of Greece, a romantic figure "struck by the gods"; Mörike became the archetype of the Biedermeier poet, the sleepy, comfortable pastor of Cleversulzbach, the author of Der alte Turmhahn. Even today popular biographies continue to offer these pictures to the public. Mörike has been made the subject of such works as the little book of Albrecht Goes or the popular version of Windegg's biography, written in a coy, precious style, and far more concerned with the domestic troubles of the manse at Cleversulzbach than with the poet of

Maler Nolten. The popular biographers of Hölderlin, on the other hand, obviously influenced by the renaissance of interest in the late hymns of the poet and by his reputation as the Seher des Deutschtums, have become over-emotional, writing exercises in religious or patriotic enthusiasm rather than in biography. However, the older picture of Hölderlin as a Griechenschwärmer has not altogether left the minds of these biographers, and the result is a pastiche of the various conceptions; Hölderlin is at once the dreamy and yearning poet, the prophet, and the priest. Stefan Zweig's Kampf mit dem Dämon and the Hölderlin of Hans Brandenburg are cases in point.

Of course, these popular biographies are reflections of the actual critical opinions of one period or another. The very first critics of Hölderlin regarded him as the romantic enthusiast. Even Goethe seemed to underestimate Hölderlin's intellectual ability and thought him rather soft, "liebenswürdig ... ja, mit Ängstlichkeit offen".<sup>1</sup> Although he had almost as little sympathy for the Swabian as he did for Kleist, his actual technical advice--to attempt more of the actual and less of the abstract--corresponds to the course which Hölderlin's later poetry took. It is sure that both in Kleist and in Hölderlin he saw too much of Werther to be fair in his judgments. Likewise Schiller, despite his own tendency to the abstract and his Götter Griechenlands,

was disconcerted by the more fiery enthusiasm of his admirer; a request which Hölderlin made for a lecturer's position in Greek at Jena was never answered. There is an anecdote, too, perhaps apocryphal, in which the reception of Hölderlin's Sophokles=Übersetzungen at Schiller's home is described. Voss, who was present, laughed outright, and Schiller himself seemed to be very much amused.

When Hölderlin's madness became known in German literary circles, there was a flurry of interest among the Romantics. Hölderlin's fate appealed especially to Bettina von Arnim, who had become acquainted with the poet's work through his friend, Isaac von Sinclair. In her book, Die Götterode, she describes the effect which Hölderlin's poetry and the news of his madness made upon her. Although she attributes his madness to the sensitivity of his nature rather than to his love affair with Susette Gontard, thus refusing to follow the lead of popular gossip, she speaks far less sensibly of the Grecian elements in his work. Her reaction to the Oedipus-translation is a dreadful paean of woe, an attempt at imitation of the choruses of the tragedy. In Bettina von Arnim's case such a reaction is not surprising, but a critique of some of the earlier poems, published in Neuffer's Taschenbuch für Frauenzimmer (1799), by the brilliant A. W. Schlegel contains only such phrases as "voll Geist und Seele".<sup>2</sup> One of the poems reviewed was

the great Grecian ode An die Parzen. Görres in the Aurora (1805) spoke with much greater enthusiasm, but his references to the bitterness of Hyperion in the attack on Germany, "ein heller Widerschein seiner glühenden Liebe für dieses unglückliche Vaterland",<sup>3</sup> lead us to suspect that Görres' intention is more patriotic than artistic. Once more the actual relation of Hölderlin to the Greeks, with the exception of Hyperion's yearning, is completely overlooked. The poems, which contain a much purer Hellenistic element, are not mentioned. Only one of them was well known to the Romanticists, and that a mutilated version of Brod und Wein. The first strophe, under the title Die Nacht, was a favorite of the Romanticists, especially of Brentano, who has much to say about it in a letter to a friend (1816): "Es ist dies eine von den wenigen Dichtungen, an welcher mir das Wesen einer Kunstwerkes durchaus klar ist",<sup>4</sup> he says in praise, yet the poem is interpreted only from his Catholic point of view. While the poet's Sehnsucht nach einer verlorenen Vollkommenheit<sup>5</sup> is mentioned, the importance of the poem to him is a possible religious interpretation: in the thirteenth verse the Precursor appears, in the fourteenth the Lord himself. In this letter we might find the seed of Michel's Abendländische Wendung in Hölderlin criticism.

While the early Romanticists ignored Hölderlin for the most part, the later ones, particularly those of the Swabian

School, were more interested. Lacking the presence of a poet such as Novalis, whose brilliance, resembling that of Hölderlin, in many respects, undoubtedly prevented a greater interest in the latter, the Swabians turned to the old man, then confined in a romantic old tower in Tübingen. In reading Waiblinger's description of his first visit to Hölderlin, we feel that the theological student is more interested in the colorful location of the carpenter Zimmer's home and workshop than in the importance of the poet he is about to meet. This reflects the attitude of the other men who met Hölderlin in Tübingen, for example, Christian Schwab and Mörike. For them Hölderlin was a literary curiosity, hardly a great poet; whatever regard they may have had for his poetic ability arose from a feeling of pride for Swabian art. Mörike's little essay about the mad Hölderlin is rather patronizing, and concerns for the most part a sentimental pièce d'occasion, An eine Verlobte. Schwab's descriptions of Hölderlin's madness, death, and funeral are restrained and factual, yet the drama of Hölderlin's condition is not forgotten. One F. G. Kühne gives us a Hoffmannesque description of a visit to Tischlermeister Zimmer's, a little tale full of representations of the carpenter's dialect and of Hölderlin's mad chatter. The piece itself is almost entirely dialogue, interspersed with such passages as this: "Das tief glühende Auge hing wie erlöschten aber mild unter dem hohen majestätischen Stirn."<sup>6</sup>

Bouterwek and Horn do not mention Hölderlin in their histories, while Gervinus takes the trouble only to include him in a list of poets such as Lenz and Kuh, whose excesses led to madness.<sup>7</sup> In no case is there interest in Hölderlin as poet or Hellenist.

Waiblinger, however, had an additional interest in the mad poet, for he used his life as the basis of the novel Phaeton, where we find an identification of Waiblinger with the older man in the person of the hero. Waiblinger's Greece in the novel is the Greece of Hyperion; the book is made up of the same Schwärmerei. Likewise Waiblinger attempted poems modeled after those of Hölderlin, although he did not succeed in his imitations. For example, in Waiblinger's Hymne an Hölderlin,<sup>8</sup> written in 1824, there is an obvious effort to copy the "härtere Fügung" and the free rhythms of the Sophocles-choruses; but Waiblinger does not understand the principles of enjambement and of striking Grecian constructions which form so much of the power of Hölderlin's Hymnen. Only in the last strophe does the poet attempt run-on lines; the constructions are more rhetorical than Pindaric. There are addresses to the Jammerheiliger, to starke Notwendigkeit: we might say that here as elsewhere Waiblinger feels as much sympathy for himself as for the mad poet, that, like the Byron whom he imitates, he would fancy such a fate for himself. Hölderlin has become merely a symbol of Weltschmerz.

During the years which Waiblinger spent at Tübingen he made the acquaintance of Mörike, and the two became close friends. However, they were too much unlike one another for the friendship to endure; in student eyes Waiblinger was the archetype of the radical modern poet, while Mörike clung to his Filzhut in the midst of the Burschenmützen worn by the other theologians and the university men. Perhaps a little frightened by the sight of Hölderlin and by the escapades of Waiblinger with the notorious Julie Michaelis, Mörike was inclined to a life of quiet fantasy. His one venture into the Byronic realm of Waiblinger, his experience with Maria Meyer, the "Peregrina" of his poems, had ended in flight and physical breakdown. The outer Behaglichkeit which Mörike assumed from that time on won him the contempt of Heine in the Schwabenspiegel, published in the same year, 1838, as the first edition of Mörike's Gedichte. Only the intervention of Heine's publisher prevented the émigré, then living in Paris, from ridiculing poems which he knew not at all or only from the journals. As it was, the name of Mörike was omitted from the essay, which seems singularly humorless. Instead of describing the May beetles, as do his colleagues and fellow Swabians, Gustav Schwab and Karl Mayer, Herr XXXXXXX attempts a larger field, that of the lark and the quail.<sup>9</sup> Oddly enough Heine, in spite of the Hellenism

expressed so often in his works, such as the dance-poem, Die Göttin Diana, and the tale, Die Götter im Exil, had nothing further to say about the poetry of Mörike, ignoring the Bacchic festivals of the Herbstfeier altogether. Evidently Heine never knew the works of Hölderlin.

Two years before the publication of the Schwaben=spiegel, the Herbstfeier and other works of Mörike had attracted enthusiastic attention and excellent criticism from another writer, the young Hermann Kurz. Kurz's tale, Das Wirthshaus gegenüber<sup>10</sup> contains a long discussion concerning the nature of the drinking song and the Anacreontic by a group of students. Suddenly Cäreleus, an elegant young fellow, reads aloud the Herbstfeier of Mörike. The students are agreed that this poet is fit to be placed beside Schiller and Goethe; all that he touches turns to gold. He has caught the true spirit of the Anacreontic. These words of Kurz set the tone for all further discussion of the classical elements in Mörike's poetry. The remainder of the critique, in which Kurz speaks of the value of Mörike's prose works, Der Schatz in particular, as myths created by dem Ahnungsvermögen der Kindheit<sup>11</sup>, was ignored. Mörike became the typical late Biedermeier poet, a creator of elegant yet unsophisticated classical verse. Keller's clever aperçu, "von einer unvergleichlichen Feinheit und Anmut . . . der Sohn des Horaz und einer feinen Schwäbin"<sup>12</sup>, is the essence of all Mörike criticism of the time.

All the men with whom Mörike corresponded, the theologian David Friedrich Strauss, the aesthetician Friedrich Vischer, the artist Schwind, and the poet Storm, were agreed that Mörike was a German Theocritus or Horace. His ability to create myths, such as Das Märchen vom sichern Mann und Orplid, was forgotten in view of the evidence of the man himself; for after 1854, the year of Mozart auf der Reise nach Prag, his creative ability was nearly gone, expressing itself only in the ~~distichs~~ of the Gelegenheitsgedichte and Besuch in der Kartause. Strauss, the rationalistic author of the famous Leben Jesu and of a biography of Voltaire, found Das Stuttgarter Hutzelmännlein too romantic for his taste; but the classical poems of the later Mörike fascinated him. As for Strauss' own poems, they are almost all based on classical subjects. Vischer, who at one time had defended Mörike in his Kritische Gänge, and at another had called him "ein stehengebliebenes obwohl grosses Talent,"<sup>13</sup> was convinced of the classical element in Mörike, of course, but did not confine himself to the usual comparison with the Greeks of the Alexandrian period. In the speech given at the consecration of the Mörike Memorial on June 4, 1880, the aesthetician used not only the name of Theocritus in speaking of Mörike, but even those of Sophocles and Homer, long forgotten in Mörike criticism.<sup>14</sup>

Theodor Storm, who had been a Mörike enthusiast from his student days at Kiel, followed the more usual opinion; in his Erinnerungen an Eduard Mörike is the phrase: "deutsche Innigkeit verschmolzen oft mit antiker Plastik".<sup>15</sup> For Storm the most important part of Mörike's work was the idyll, which has "etwas, das der antiken Dichtung abgelauscht".<sup>16</sup> As a youth he had felt Maler Nolten to be a great novel, despite its mystical disunion and the unsatisfactory solution of its conflicts. Even Isolde Kurz saw a fine and youthful Grecian head beneath the Swabian pastor's mask, that is, the sleepy features of the old Mörike.<sup>17</sup> This symbol of sculpture became extremely popular in speaking of Mörike and his poetry. Julius Klaiber, a youthful friend of the poet, summed up the general opinion in a lecture given at Stuttgart in 1867. He finds that classical studies had exercised a deep influence on Morike's poems, "denen nie die sinnvolle Wendung des Gedankens, nie jener unsagbar darüberschwebende Hauch der Anmuth fehlt, der ähnlich wie bei den kleinen Gebilden der antiken Kunst, diesen niedlichen Kleinigkeiten einen unvergänglichen Werth verleiht".<sup>18</sup> In other words, the works of Mörike are best considered as cameos or Tanagra figurines.

## 2. (1872 - 194\_)

Meanwhile a revolution was taking place in Hellenic studies. After the publication of Nietzsche's Die Geburt der Tragödie aus dem Geist der Musik, the Greeks could no longer be considered as the perfectly balanced men of the Golden Age or the elegant poets of Alexandria. Nietzsche's rediscovery of the "Oriental" or Dionysian element in Greek art, an element first remarked by Hölderlin in the notes appended to his Sophocles translations, had turned the interest of poets and critics toward the Greeks of Pindaric and Homeric times, and even to the Achaean and Minoan periods. At this time Schliemann was excavating the ruins of Tiryns and Troy; archaeological knowledge of the Hellenes was pushed back past the twelfth century. All earlier evaluations of such a poet as Hölderlin should now be cast aside; his works should be examined in the light of discoveries which he had made by intuition and which were now being substantiated by fact. Yet the critics were thirty years in coming to a new opinion of Hölderlin; Mörike, a less obvious example of early Greek influence, has remained the idyllist and the witty poet, the Theocritus and the Horace. Nietzsche himself did not recognize the Grecian element in either of the poets; in writing of Mörike he is contemptuous; in writing of Hölderlin he is at times almost brutal. In his Nachlass is preserved an attack on Mörike written in the year of

the poet's death. Nietzsche finds it absurd that Mörike should be considered the greatest contemporary German poet; there is in him "keine Klarheit der Anschauung", but rather an "Unbestimmtheit der Gefühle";<sup>19</sup> there are no thoughts such as one finds in Pindar or Leopardi. Above all there is no true music, although this is the most famous feature of Morike's verse, but only "süßlich-weibliches Schwimm=schwimm und Kling=kling".<sup>20</sup> This last statement becomes rather ironic when we notice that the description of the Don Juan music in Mozart auf der Reise nach Prag is nothing less than an artistic representation of the central thesis of Die Geburt der Tragödie.

Although the works of Hölderlin exercised a remarkable influence over Nietzsche in his youth, and although many of Nietzsche's most brilliant statements are based on the work of Hölderlin, the later enthusiast for Greek Männerkultur showed little gratitude toward his forerunner. Nietzsche's conception of the priestly role of the poet, his theories of music in verse, and his verses themselves all bear the stamp of Hölderlin's mind; his opposition of Dionysus and Apollo is simply the opposition of Apollo and Hera mentioned by Hölderlin in the Böhlendorf letter. However, he lacks Hölderlin's distinctive quality of reverence for the Greeks; in Die Geburt der Tragödie we learn his rather contemptuous opinion of the Sophoclean style, which he finds

wordy, with a tendency to the useless and the obscure.

In his earliest work he calls Hölderlin "herrlich";<sup>21</sup>

later he ranks him with Platen: "Wie wohl tat uns schon die Form Platens und Hölderlins. Aber viel zu streng für uns".<sup>22</sup> He mentions Hölderlin's relation to the Greeks

only in the vicious attack to be found in Weib, Liebe, und Ehe. He thinks it is only fair that such men as Shelley, Leopardi, and Hölderlin are destroyed, for he does not have a high regard of such people. "Solche Ultra=Platoniker, denen immer die Naivetät abgeht, enden schlecht. Irgend etwas muss grob und derb sein am Menschen: z. B. mit der Tatsache dass ein Mann von Zeit zu Zeit ein Weib nöthig hat, wie er von Zeit zu Zeit eine rechtschaffene Mahlzeit nöthig hat".<sup>23</sup> (This is an odd echo of the gossip circulated in

Tübingen after Hölderlin's collapse.) Nietzsche has spoken of Hölderlin's Hellenism only by way of contempt; in doing so he has coupled him with Shelley and Leopardi. He makes no distinction between these three interpreters of the Greeks. To him they are simply over-spiritual, and thus opposed to the picture of the Greeks created by his own desires.

These subjective pronouncements of Nietzsche can have no value as criticism; however, the effect of his personality was such that other men were inspired to take up the study of Hölderlin once again, to see if he were more than a Grecian enthusiast of the type of Heinse, Müller, or

Waiblinger, more than a predecessor of Brentano and Eichendorff in the realm of Nacht=und Brunnenpoesie. In the two decades following the publication of Nietzsche's book we can trace an increasing interest in Hölderlin and discover new elements in Hölderlin criticism, all of which come to a head with the publication of Stefan George's Blätter für die Kunst. The attitude towards Hölderlin during the seventies is expressed by Rudolph Haym in his Romantische Schule.<sup>24</sup> This book contains the usual statements concerning Hölderlin's Griechenschwärmerei, but what is more important, it makes one of the first attempts to see the poet in the light of his Christianity, a result of the author's comparison of the Swabian with his contemporaries, Wackenroder, Tieck, and Novalis. Haym considers only those works written before 1799, such as Empedokles and Meiner verehrungswürdigen Grossmutter, where Hölderlin's Christianity can be treated as a Romantic yearning for "der einzige Mann", who bears "die Leiden der Welt an liebender Brust". Empedokles is treated as an allegory concerning Christ and the Pharisees. Thus, his passages on Hölderlin's Christianity are simply attempts to prove his thesis--that Hölderlin is a Romantic containing features common to all Romantics. The relationship between Hölderlin, Greece, and Christianity, expressed in the late hymns, Germanien and Der Einzige, is ignored; these poems, known

only in confused texts, were considered as the products of a madman. Haym, characteristic of the best literary criticism of his time, dismisses all of the later works of Hölderlin with this sentence: "Im Pindar, den er für sich durcharbeitet, und in Sophocles, den er zu übersetzen und zu erklären unternimmt, verliert sich zuletzt sein Schaffen in pfadlosem Dunkel".<sup>25</sup>

During the first years of the Hölderlin revival the Franco-Prussian War was fought and won; German critics, filled with the new sense of national unity, rediscovered the early patriotic poems of Hölderlin. These writers were, for the most part, agreed that Hölderlin's patriotism was that of the dreamer rather than of the fighter, that his poems were of more value for the peaceful than the warlike nation. The association of Hölderlin with Germany's political destiny, later to become so popular, is expressed by Adolf Wilbrandt: "Das grosse weltgeschichtliche Jahr 1870 hat den Deutschen auch den hundertjährigen Gedenktag jenes stillen elegischen Sängers gebracht ..."<sup>26</sup> Wilbrandt also presages another modern tendency in Hölderlin criticisms with the attempt to make him a mystic, a creature "in the power of the demons". He speaks of "die Region der Unbewussten"<sup>27</sup>, of "die mystische Subjektivität seines Wesens".<sup>28</sup> Another critic of the seventies and eighties, Dilthey, was of Wilbrandt's opinion concerning Hölderlin's patriotism. He

agrees that Hölderlin is a political poet of some importance; however, he regards him as an impractical dreamer in this respect: "Seine Ideale von Vaterland, Heldentum, und Freiheit schufen ihm nur Schmerzen und unbestimmte, immermehr in unerreichbare Ferne sich verlierende Hoffnungen".<sup>29</sup>

Dilthey's great value in Hölderlin criticism, however, is that he attempts to consider the poet's Hellenism more as a product of the intellect than of the spirit; according to him Hölderlin realized the breach between the Jewish-Christian distrust of nature and the nature worship common to the Greeks and modern pantheism, a breach from which arose Hölderlin's own unhappiness. Dilthey is the first to write a critical study of the influences in Hölderlin's life; his lack of success is rather a result of insufficient knowledge of the later poems\* than of an attempt to romanticize Hölderlin, a temptation to which most critics, before and since, have succumbed. His essay stands as a model of sane and balanced criticism of a difficult subject.

At last all of these critical opinions, Hölderlin the Romantic, Hölderlin the patriot, and Hölderlin the student of the Greeks, were combined with Nietzsche's conception of

---

\* It is worthwhile to note that Dilthey revised his Hölderlin essay in 1906, still too early to have the advantage of Hellingrath's edition.

Apollonian and Dionysian by George and his followers. George himself took a view of Hölderlin quite in keeping with his view of his own "mission". In Hölderlin he found a combination of the Dionysian and the Christian: "er viss wie ein blitz den himmel auf und zeigte uns erschütternde gegenbilder wie Herakles=Christos".<sup>30</sup> Likewise he thought of Hölderlin as a prophet of the future, but not so much of Germany's political future as of the new Georgian world of art and religion: "Durch aufbrechung und zusammenballung ist er der verjünger der sprache und damit der verjünger der seele ... mit seinen eindeutig unzerlegbaren wahrsagungen der eckstein der nächsten deutschen zukunft und der rufer des Neuen Gottes".<sup>31</sup> George's apostles carried out these proclamations in different ways, but in most of their works the emphasis was placed on the same feature--Hölderlin the prophet. Hellingrath is remembered for his edition of Hölderlin's works, which contains the first accurate texts of the late poems and translations of the poet, and includes many letters, essays, and fragments hitherto unpublished. This work furnished material for three new schools of Hölderlin criticism, typified by Wilhelm Michel, Max Kommerell, and Friederich Gundolf. Michel in his Abend-ländische Wendung was most concerned with Hölderlin's Christianity and its connection to the Oriental qualities which he had found in Sophocles; yet instead of attempting

to establish a rational background for these discoveries, he regarded them as gifts of God to the prophet. Kommerell, the author of Der Dichter als Führer, is less concerned with the poet's religion than with his place as a leader of the German people, a leader unrecognized by the folk of his time, but honored by Germans of the present day. For him, Hölderlin's elegiac sadness does not arise from his Griechenschwärmerei but from the failure of the people to follow him. He is a Pindar with no Olympian Festival to hear his songs. The political and prophetic "criticism" of Hölderlin by these men is understandable, for they both wrote at the close of the first World War. Friedrich Gundolf, a member of the original Georgekreis, writing just before the war in Hölderlins Archipelagus, gives the poet the benefit of one of his famous epigrams. "Hölderlin ist für die gebildete Masse der romantische Dichter des Griechentums"<sup>32</sup> he says; that is almost correct, for Hölderlin is actually a Greek put down in the center of Germany by the dark powers. The influence of George and Nietzsche is obvious.

Since the twenties the fate of Hölderlin has not been happy. He has become extremely popular, of course, so popular that the following statement has been made about him:

"dass wir in ihm über Goethe und Schiller hinaus den grössten und tiefsten vaterländischen Sänger deutscher Zunge besitzen".<sup>33</sup>

National Socialism has helped rather than hindered the growth

of interest in him, but the interest has been political rather than intellectual. Fortunately this wave of Hölderlin enthusiasm has brought forth serious and scholarly investigations of his sources, such as the works of Beissner and Bohm, but these have done nothing to influence the opinion of the general reader--that Hölderlin is the mystical prophet of the German people. The study of the Greeks in Hölderlin has actually lost ground, for it has been confined to Pindar, a supposedly "political" poet.

In foreign countries there has been a reaction against this nationalistic interpretation of Hölderlin. Switzerland's chief critic, Emil Ermatinger, has returned to the Romantic viewpoint; and in the intellectual circles of England, where a belated Hölderlin renaissance is taking place, and America, the attitude is somewhat like that of the Germans a century ago. Confronted with the dramatic story of Hölderlin for the first time, the critics--mostly poets themselves--have been taken captive either by Hölderlin's Griechenschwärmerei or by his madness. The same group is fascinated by the romantic tale of Diotima and Hölderlin's wanderings through France--he has assumed the place of an André Chénier or a Leconte de Lisle. The anecdote of Moritz Hartmann concerning Hölderlin's visit to an old chateau near Blois and his conversation with the Grecian statues there, so popular in Germany during the last century and regarded

as fact even by Hellingrath, has won new enthusiasts in England. Two translators of Hölderlin, Hamburger and Leishman, and the scholar, H. M. Butler, quote the passage in toto with not a little dramatics. The other school, brought up on a diet of the "mad" poets, Collins and Blake in England, Baudelaire, de Nerval, Rimbaud, and Verlaine in France, and Gogol and Dostoyevsky in Russia, is more interested in the works of Hölderlin written during his madness. One surrealist poet in England, David Gascoyne, has written a little book of homage to the "most thorough-going of Romantics, because he went mad".<sup>34</sup> Gascoyne clumsily translates poems of the "mad" Hölderlin--some of them written while the poet was still quite sane--and connects these translations and adaptations with poems of his own; Stephen Spender has a poem to "The Mad Hoelderlin", and such intellectual journals as "Partisan Review" like to consider the German from the psychoanalyst's point of view.

Mörike has suffered as much from a lack of interest as Hölderlin from too much of it. Lacking the dramatic madness and political capabilities of Hölderlin, he is still regarded as the typical Biedermeier or the late Romantic. Whatever idea the outer world may hold of Mörike is based on the latter opinion; in English-speaking countries he is known to the reading public only through the translations of George Meredith and the brief mention granted him by

Georg Brandes in his Main Currents in Nineteenth Century Literature. Both writers have typified him as a Romantic, not through any connection of Mörike with the actual Romantic schools, but because of a confusion in terms. Thus to the Englishman and the Dane, for Mörike is the poet of the artificial Volkslied, such as Der Gärtner and Ein Stündlein wohl vor Tag,—the Swabian is a singer of nature with all the necessary mediæval trappings. In Switzerland Ermatinger has taken up the same stand of recent years, but on much more solid grounds; for him Mörike represents the lyric of the Heidelberger Schule carried to its logical and perfect conclusion. Of course, this view concerns only the poems; it would be untenable in the face of the prose works. He sheds no light on the Greek element in Mörike; the poet's Hellenism is still regarded as being purely Alexandrian.

In Germany much the same attitude has been adopted; each writer has seized upon certain features of Mörike, and by discussing these to the detriment of all others has been able to fit the poet into whichever school he pleases, to make of him a late Romantic, a Biedermeiermensch, or an artist greater than those of the Munich School, but otherwise comparable to them. Walzel sees the effect of the Swabian classical education even in the Volkslieder; he

quotes Mörike's biographer, Maync, who speaks of antike Anmut und romantische Formenfülle.<sup>35</sup> Maync himself, while more convinced of the importance of Mörike in world literature than the other critics, tends to place Mörike with the Biedermeier; Morike's other important biographer, Windegg, does the same. Ricarda Huch scarcely mentions Mörike in her book; his private life is that of the Biedermeier, making it quite unsuitable for her purposes, for she often attempts to classify writers as Romanticists by examining their personal lives. Thus, according to her scheme, Holderlin is a Romantic: he was often in love, but never married; like Brentano he would have planned to flee the church before the ceremony.

In the period following the first World War there was a slight increase in Mörike criticism, but tiny compared to the Hölderlin renaissance. Undoubtedly a part of the re-awakened interest in the Romantic Movement and of the new conception of Biedermeier--eine gang bestimmte geschichtliche Lebenshaltung--brought forward by Paul Kluckhohn, it resulted for the most part in further scholarly disputes as to the classification of Mörike. Only Gundolf in his Romantiker has been able to say anything of value concerning the Greek elements in Mörike; here the critic's often exaggerated "daemonism" has shed new light on the poet's earlier work. In passing he notes a mythical quality in

Mörrike like that of the earliest Greeks, of the Odyssey,  
ohne die prustende Feierlichkeit mancher norddeutschen  
Homeriden.<sup>36</sup> However, it is only a suggestion; we go on  
to a comparison with Shakespeare's fairy poetry, to a  
surprising sentence: "Mörrike .... ist mit Leib und Seele  
tief verwandt den sogenannten Dekadenten ..... ein  
europäischer Gesell der Baudelaire und Poe,<sup>37</sup> and at last  
to a contemptuous dismissal of all except four or five of  
Mörrike's lyrics. The modern criticism of the Greek element  
in Mörrike is thus a brilliant suggestion, cast out among  
dozens of others, some true, some false, but none investi-  
gated.

We have not yet arrived at an intelligent judgment of  
Hölderlin and Mörrike. The criticism of the one has been  
colored by political and literary factions who have wished  
to use him as a symbol. The criticism of the other is simple  
and satisfied, a reflection of the popular opinion of the man.  
The cultural background and abilities of Hölderlin, the  
primitive and tragic element in Mörrike, have been ignored.

## Chapter Two

## THE STATE AND THE HERO

The latest German critics of Hölderlin, often as not influenced by the political events taking place around them, are wont to speak more of the poet's conception of the state than of any other feature of his poetry. The speech of Carl Petersen, given at the University of Kiel in 1934, is a typical example of this new development--and new complication--in the study of Hölderlin's poetry. The work of George succeeded in making Hölderlin into a priest; the work of George's followers and imitators has made him into a prophet of the German people. These writers, however, are as vague on the point of Hölderlin's ideal state as they are obscure in every other consideration. The impression we gather is that Hölderlin's ideal state is like that of Plato's--or of Pindar's--but infused, of course, with the spirit of the northern nations and influenced by the abendländische Wendung of Greek culture. There is much talk, too, of Hölderlin's piety, of his hero-cult, of patriotism and of the Opfertod. We can come a little closer to the amount of trouble and the amount of falsehood or pretence in these claims if we examine the actual Greek background of Hölderlin's state.

In considering the Greek element in Hölderlin it has been the custom to mention only four names: Homer, Pindar, Sophocles, and Plato. Homer has been ranked with Klopstock as one of the early enthusiasms of Hölderlin, who, cut off from the world in the cloister-schools, received the force of Sturm und Drang almost a decade after it had passed through the rest of Germany. Plato, for no other reason than the Platostunden of Hölderlin and his philosopher friends, Hegel and Schelling, at Tübingen, and Hölderlin's youthful enthusiasm for the idealism of Schiller, has been made one of the most important sources of the poet's thought on the state. Sophocles' influence on Hölderlin's political thinking is almost negligible; the Swabian came to know Sophocles well at a time when he was more interested in the movement of culture from state to state than in the state itself. Since the discovery of Hölderlin's late poems Plato has had to share his place with Pindar. Homer has been considered chiefly as the opposite pole to the "oriental" element in Greek art, the cold and reasonable principle counteracting the "fiery" one, a result of the over-emphasis of the famous Böhlendorf letter.

But these judgments can not yet be considered as correct; they are rather a reaction against the earlier interpretation of Hölderlin in the light of Hyperion and certain elegies. Other features of Hölderlin's intellectual life, in

particular those studies which he made as a young man, should be taken into account. Hölderlin's study of the Greeks as a youth has already been noted: after his belated interest as a Stürmer und Dränger in Homer, he fell into the company of Hegel and Schelling at Tübingen. Here the youths formed a little society with the motto  $\xi\nu\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu$  ; their favorite reading matter was Plato, Kant, and Jacobi's discussions of Spinoza. At the same time Schiller had become Hölderlin's idol, and an idol who was busying himself more and more with the Greeks, not only with Homer, Sophocles, Aristophanes and Pindar, whom Humboldt had advised him to study as models of the Greek spirit, "eigentlich und im strengsten Verstande" but also with Plato. The idealism of the great philosopher fitted well with that of Schiller, who had long since schooled himself in Kant; in a like manner it was suited to Hölderlin's tendency towards the abstract and ideal which expressed itself in the rhymed hymns and the earlier drafts of Hyperion.

Nevertheless, it was not Plato who formed Hölderlin's picture of the state. Actually it seems that Plato had little to do with the creation of those works of Hölderlin which we consider most important today. Plato was simply a part of the intellectual atmosphere common to the Germany of the time, and stepping directly from the antiquated literary opinions of Denkendorf and Maulbronn, where

Klopstock, Ossian, and the Homer of the Odyssey were passwords, Holderlin was thrust into a world of idealism, a world in which the leaders, Goethe and Schiller, were attempting to return to the Athenian "Age of Enlightenment", a world in which Plato and Kant were gods. It is not strange that a youth of Hölderlin's enthusiastic nature, not always too critical, should be caught up by this movement. Likewise it is not strange that a poet of Hölderlin's intellectual ability should soon turn away from this abstraction to something more original and nearer his true nature.

Hölderlin would have used the ideal state of Plato's Republic, without doubt, if it had corresponded to his own conception. As matters stand we can still see reflections of Platonism and the Symposium (in Hyperion's meetings with Alabanda and Adamas, and in his relationship to Diotima); we can find nothing but a kind of pseudo-Platonic reasoning in the elaborate and heavy-handed essays of the period, such as "Über den Begriff der Straffe and Über das Gesez der Freiheit". Hölderlin's state, however, is basically different from that of Plato. Paradoxically enough, Hölderlin, the poet of light, is a "decadent" poet as far as his picture of the state is concerned; or better, he is interested more in the state in a process of flux than in the perfect state of Plato. In Hölderlin the important

states are either those poor and ambitious, or those rich to the point of over-ripeness, the true "decadent" states. In Plato's Republic the luxuriant state is the state ready to assume perfection; the poor state has no place in his scheme. In Hölderlin, on the other hand, the poor state possesses the raw material for greatness; the Germany of Hyperion's famous Strafrede an die Deutschen near the close of the novel is in just such a situation. The rich state, that of Empedokles has reached the other extreme; it must collapse in order to make way for the newer, poorer, and more valuable establishment. This is also the scheme of Archipelagus; the ripe and rich civilization of the East must shatter itself on the poorer Athenian civilization, which, in turn, must rebuild its walls and temples. The city at the opening of Brod und Wein is rich, too; the night which covers it increases the appearance of wealth. It must be destroyed in order that the day may come:

Delphi schlummert und wo tönet das grosse Geschik?

Wo ist das schnelle? wo brichts, allgegenwärtigen

Glücks voll

Donnernd aus heiterer Luft über die Augen herein?

Vater Äther! <sup>2</sup>

The setting alone of these works should make us feel sure that Hölderlin thought of certain Greek works as he

wrote. There is no such picture in the Republic. The belief in the downfall and rebirth of states is obviously one facet of the poet's Ebbe und Flut, based on Heraclites'  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha \beta\acute{\epsilon}\iota$ , but this can hardly be the only influence. Besides, Hölderlin was not convinced that the process always took place: the Greeks of Hyperion are incapable of regeneration; the description of the visit to the ruins of Athens is one of a desolated city from which nothing can spring. It is necessary to return to the Stiftler of 1790, the author of the little thesis, Die Geschichte der schönen Künste unter den Griechen. This essay--or rather, compilation--is the best indication of how much Greek Hölderlin actually knew, how wide his reading in the language had been, and how much of his information was acquired from translations and books of travel. The system of Greek instruction as instituted by Bengel in the theological schools of Württemberg was not broad. None of the three tragedians were included, although Aristophanes and Pindar were suggested for the course of study. Undoubtedly only Homer, Hesiod, and the New Testament were thoroughly studied. From Hölderlin's essay we can obtain a good idea of his knowledge of the Greeks during his early manhood. In the midst of page after page of dry characterizations, obviously culled from the works listed in the footnotes, such as Les vies des poètes grecs (en abrégé) of M. Le Fevre, Cicero's De

oratore, and Die Reisen des jungen Anacharsis in Griechenland of Abbé Barthelemy, the only critique of interest is that on Homer. It shows a knowledge of the poet's character far beyond that to be obtained from the translation exercises of the classroom. The small section concerning Pindar, whom he considers to be das Summum der Dichtkunst, is to be interpreted at the most as the recognition of one extremely dignified and lofty poet by another. Hölderlin never obtained a complete or even a good command of the language, and it is not to be expected that at this comparatively early stage of his development he could read Pindar, the most difficult of the Greeks, in the original with full understanding. The task would be such as to preclude any real critical appreciation. But Homer, standing at the opposite end of the scale in difficulty from Pindar, could be and was read with ease. Thus, in the Homer critique we find such words as these: Das menschliche und naturelle seiner Gesänge, das ihn bei den neueren so manchem Tadel aussetzte, scheint eine der Hauptsachen gewesen zu sein, warum er den Griechen ihr Alles ward, warum ihn Staatsmann und Feldherrn, Künstler und Philosoph studierte, warum ihn das sonst so flüchtige Volk so oft hörte, und eben so oft entzückt ward über ihn.<sup>3</sup> It is only necessary to compare this with the rather childish quotations we find in the rest of the little work to see that in this case Hölderlin is speaking with authority.

During Hölderlin's flight into the abstract with Schiller and Plato this interest in Homer was almost forgotten, but in the course of the Diotima experience Hölderlin turned to den blinden Sänger once more. There was at this time in Germany an increased interest in the study of the poet, a counter-movement to the reaction which had set in after Sturm und Drang. While he was becoming more widely known to the general public through the translations of Voss, the scholars took him up once more; the most famous result of their investigations is the Prologomena ad Homerum (1795) of F. A. Wolf, a professor at Halle. The Welfian theory, that the Homeric epics are an accumulation of works by various bards, caused great excitement in German literary circles. Goethe received the book with pleasure, not a little selfish, which he expressed in the elegy, Hermann und Dorothea:

Erst die Gesundheit des Mannes, der endlich von Namen Homeros

Kühn uns befreiend uns nach ruft in die vollere Bahn!

Denn wer wagte mit Göttern den Kampf? und wer mit dem einen?

Doch Homeride zu sein, auch nur also letzter ist schön.<sup>4</sup>

That such a poet as Goethe could not forever be a friend of the Welfian theory is obvious; in 1821 he expressed himself as a protagonist of the "schöne Einheit des Ganzen" in his poem, Homer wider Homer and once more in the same vein in his diaries of the year. Schiller, unlike Goethe, opposed

the theory from the first, and in letters to Humboldt, Wolf's personal friend, he calls the scholar "grober Gesell" and "dummer Teufel". Herder and Friedrich Schlegel regarded Homer as a "Günstling der Zeit", "ein Ereignis einer Periode epischer Kunst". Hölderlin was caught up in the argument too; he stepped forward as a champion of Homeric unity in his fragments Über Achill and Ein Wort über die Iliade. These short essays are but a part of a larger work which Hölderlin had in mind, a whole series of commentaries on Homer to be included in the journal discussed with Neuffer in a letter of June 4, 1799. Also, from among Hölderlin's undated works, we possess prose translations of the first two songs of the Iliad and two sketches, Über die Humanität Homers in seiner Iliade and Von der Humanität Homers in Ansehung des Krieges und der Kriegsführenden der Iliade, all proof of the poet's continued interest. The intended commentaries on Homer are mentioned in a letter from Diotima as if they were already complete: "Ich werde doch deine Bemerkungen über Homer auch noch sehen?"<sup>5</sup> (Hölderlin was prone, like most artists, to speak of mere plans as finished works.) The fragments Über Achill and Ein Wort über die Iliade, although more important as arguments for Homeric unity and as an element in Hölderlin's hero-cult than as evidence of his opinion of the Homeric state, show the reverence in which Hölderlin held the epicist;

their greatest value lies in the proof which they give of Hölderlin's preference between the Iliad and the Odyssey. Hölderlin has no use for the great sea-poem or its hero. After praising the poet's restrained treatment of Achilles, he says: "Von Ulyss konnte er Sachen genug beschreiben. Dieser ist ein Sack voll Scheidemünze, wo man lange zu zählen hat, mit dem Golde ist man viel baldert fertig."<sup>6</sup>

In other words Hölderlin was not interested in the provincialism of Odysseus, in the tiny, ordered estate at Ithaca set in the midst of the huge world of chaos. He much preferred the more civilized picture of state against state, of hero against hero. The description of the state in the Iliad is almost the same as that given by Hölderlin in Archipelagus, Brod und Wein, and Empedokles. The Troy of Homer, like the Syracuse of Empedokles and the nation of the Persians, is the old and luxuriant state. While it is capable of producing heroes such as Hector, Empedokles, and "die ruhende Stadt"--embodied as a hero--of Brod und Wein, it likewise produces weaklings like Paris and das Volk of Hölderlin's play. The poor state, however, will produce the nobler heroes, and consequently be able to conquer the more luxuriant one. The Athens of Archipelagus, even though laid waste, is able to defeat the more powerful enemy:

. . . wie aus rauchendem Blut das Wild der Wüste noch  
einmal

Sich zuletzt verwandelt erhebt, der edleren Kraft gleich.<sup>7</sup>

This does not imply that the defeated state is worthless; Homer, whom Hölderlin calls "ein Bedaurer des Trojanischen Schicksals,"<sup>8</sup> believes that the fall of Troy gives nobility to both Achaean and Trojan. No one can forget the speeches of Priam and Achilles in Book XXIV of the Iliad; Hölderlin loved this Achilles in particular, who is a hero "aus reicher schöner Natur."<sup>9</sup> There is a startling resemblance, too, between the scene in Brod und Wein of the Stadt der Nacht waiting for the day (Vater Äther), which will destroy it, and those famous night-passages of Homer, where the soldiers of the doomed city watch the fires of the distant host, forerunners of the day:

ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἐν οὐρανῷ ἄστρο φαεινὴν ἀμφὶ σελήνην  
φαίνεται ἀριπρεπέα, ὅτε φέπλετο νήνεμος αἰθήρ.  
ἔκ τ' ἔφανε πᾶσαι σκοπιαὶ καὶ πρόωνες ἄκροι  
καὶ νάπαι· οὐρανόθεν δ' ἄρ' ὑπερράγη ἄσπετος αἰθήρ,  
πάντα δέ τ' εἶδεται ἄστρο γέγηθε δέ τε φρένα ποιμήν.  
τόσσα μεσηγὺ νεῶν ἠδὲ Ξάνθοιο βράων  
Τρώων καλόντων πυρὰ φαίνετο Ἰλιόθι πρό.  
χίλι' ἄρ' ἐν πεδίῳ πυρὰ καίετο, πᾶρ δὲ ἑκάστῳ  
ἔτατο πεντήκοντα σέλα πυρὸς αἰθομένου.  
ἵπποι δὲ κρῖ λευκὸν ἔρεπτόμενοι καὶ ὄλυρας,<sup>10</sup>  
ἑσταότες παρ' ὄχεσφιν εὐθρόνον Ἠῶ μένον.

There is still another picture, even closer in some respects to that of the opening strophes of Brod und Wein, in the "Shield of Achilles", the picture of the beautiful city of the night, where marriages are taking place:

ἐν τῇ μὲν ρά γάμοι τ' ἔσαν εἰ τακίνας τε  
 νύμφας δ' ἐκ θαλάμων δαΐδων ὑποτακτομενάων  
 ἠγέμενον ἀνὰ ἄστρῳ, πολὺς δ' ὕμνασιας ὀρώρειν,  
 κούροι δ' ὀρχηστήρες ἐδέεον, ἐν δ' ἄρα τοῖσιν  
 ἀνὰ τοὶ φόρμιγγές τε Βοῶν ἔχον.

and the besieged city, surrounded by gleaming weapons:

τὴν δ' ἑτέραν πόλιν ἀμφὶ δ' ὡς στρατοὶ ἔλατο  
 τένεσι λαμπρόμενοι.

Compare these three passages with the first and second strophes of Brod und Wein--not only the thought but the imagery is the same. To give but a single phrase:

. . . . still wird die erleuchtete Gasse,  
Und, mit Fackeln geschmückt, rauschen die Wagen hinweg.<sup>15</sup>

Thus Hölderlin's picture of the two states, one of the rich but dying night, and one of the poor but conquering day, has both its foundation and its details from Homer.

Homer played a larger part in Hölderlin's hero-cult than is generally supposed. In the essays which Hölderlin planned for the projected journal the emphasis is not so

much on the Iliad as a whole as on the chief character of the epic, Achilles; in all the fragments concerning the hero and in the poem Achill, written a little before this time, we find one feature of the hero--and of the poet--remarked again and again, the hero's humanity, the chief characteristic of the hero in Hölderlin until the time of the Pindar translations. Hölderlin perhaps has given us a quieter version of Achilles than did Homer, although the distinction is a fine one, depending much on our own taste--whether we are more interested in the sulking and jealous warrior, the pathetic child of Thetis, or the noble hero of the last books. Hölderlin, of course, preferred the last two pictures. At the time of the composition of Achill, Hölderlin was still the elegiac poet; the author of Da ich ein Knabe war and Hyperion was more apt to turn to Achilles, the child of Thetis:

τῷ δὲ Βαρὺ στενάχοντι παρέστατο πότνια μήτηρ,  
 ὅξιν δὲ κωκύουσα κάρη λάβε παιδὸς ἑοῦο,  
 καὶ β' ὀλοφνρομένη ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα.  
 'τέκνον, τί κλαίεις; τί δέ σε φρένας ἔκετο πένθος;'<sup>14</sup>

This Achilles Hölderlin likes to fancy as a favorite of the gods, especially of his mother, Thetis, who

Stillte mit zärtlichem Umfängen die Schmerzen des Lieblings.<sup>15</sup>

Such a Heldenbild is very close to that which Hölderlin cherished of Hyperion, and so of himself; but for a man of the Swabian's Frömmigkeit such a position would become distasteful, even insipid. The hero should possess "humanity", a feeling of duty towards others. Homer war keiner von denen, die ihrem Lieblingshelden die ganze Welt aufopfern.<sup>16</sup> This sentence contains the kernel of all Hölderlin's thought on the hero as a part of the political state; it is doubtless the result of Hölderlin's own experience. He had a great fear of war, as we can easily ascertain from his letters. Der Krieg and the possible fate of his family and homeland were a constant source of worry to him; as a matter of fact he mentions the threat of war far more often than he does his poetry or the literary topics of the day. While he was able to admire Napoleon as a hero, he had no illusions as to the possible conduct of the great man's troops, in case that they were turned loose on his beloved Schwabenland. Even the presence of garrison troops was unpleasant to him: "Bei uns hier erfährt man den Krieg nur noch durch die Zeitungen, und es ist den Homburgern recht zu gönnen, da dies nach vielen Jahren der erste Winter ist, den sie ohne fremde Tisch-und Hausgenossen und ohne Kriegsruhe und Kriegslaut zubringen".<sup>17</sup>

This attitude of sympathy with the possible victims of the hero should never be forgotten when we speak of the

hero-cult in Hölderlin; of the poetic qualities of Homer Hölderlin is most taken with his sympathy for the dead and those about to die, summed up in the words at the death of Patroclus:

ψυχὴ δ' ἐκ ρεθέων παμένη "Ἴδόςδε/Βεβήκει  
 ἐν πόντον γούσα, λιποῦσ' ἐνδρότητα καὶ ἤβην. '8

This sympathy of Homer and Hölderlin with the vanquished should not be overlooked in the consideration of Pindar's influence on the Swabian.

It has become the custom of late to speak of Hölderlin's hero-cult as if it were solely the product of his reading of Pindar. This is an understandable assumption in view of Hölderlin's Pindar translation, the predominance of the hero-cult in the Greek poet, and the great effect which his odes had on the technique of Hölderlin's hymns in free meters. Just as in the case of Plato, it is an assumption based on a popular tendency in Hölderlin criticism: for the philosophical school of critics Plato and Kant are the most powerful forces in Hölderlin; for the political school Pindar is the most important. Once more the long preoccupation of Hölderlin with the Homeric hero is ignored; the characteristics of the Pindaric hero are distorted, in order that they may fit Hölderlin's conception precisely. Pindar became an important influence in Hölderlin long

after his heroic odes per se had been written. It is safe to assume that Hölderlin was not closely acquainted with the Pindaric odes before 1800; it is quite possible that the translation made by Hölderlin was simply intended at first to serve as an aid in reading the extremely difficult Greek. Hölderlin's letter to Neuffer, in which he sketches his plans for a journal, does not even mention Pindar; it includes a wealth of figures from both the classical and other periods: "charakteristische Züge aus dem Leben alter und neuer Dichter, die Umstände, unter denen sie erwachsen, vorzüglich der eigentümliche Kunstcharakter eines jeden. So über Homer, Sappho, Äschyl, Sophokles, Horaz, Rousseau (als Verfasser der Heloise), Shakespeare".<sup>19</sup> If Hölderlin, always ready to speak of sketches and ideas as finished works, had been involved in a translation of Pindar, he surely would have mentioned the poet here. Until his contact with Pindar at the turn of the century, Hölderlin had probably only a general notion of his work, gained from the reading of other classical authors and literary histories. Undoubtedly Hölderlin knew the passage in Horace:

Pindarum quisquis studet aemulari,  
Iule, ceratis ope Daedalea  
nititur pinnis vitreo daturus  
nomina ponto.

monte decurrens velut amnis, imbres  
quem super notas aluere ripas,  
fervet immensusque ruit profundo  
Pindarus ore . . . 20

In the little master's essay we find only a few anecdotes concerning him, and the opinion mentioned above, das Summum der Dichtkunst; there is nothing to show that the poet had ever been read. Hölderlin evidently had some acquaintance with the Pindar translation of Conz, the lecturer in Greek literature at Tübingen, but nowhere is there evidence of a close knowledge of Pindar in the years when Hölderlin still regarded the hero as a part of the political state, not as a bearer of culture and religion from one land or age to another, that is, before the period of the Hymnen in freien Strophen.

The poems on the hero written prior to the Pindar translation bear no trace of the Greek poet's cult, either in form or in sentiment. The form of the poems, such as Sokrates und Alkibiades, Vanini, Buonaparte, Empedokles, and Sonnenuntergang is without exception Horatian, in the Alcaic, the Asclepiadean, or the distich. The poems are short, consisting of two or three strophes, and in their question-and-answer technique seem to be patterned on the smallest odes of Horace. They are a far cry from the big, almost overflowing odes of Pindar, whose teacher, the poetess Corinna, once had to warn him: τῆ λερὶ δεῖν σπείρειν, ἀλλὰ μὴ ὄλω τῷ θυλάκῳ. As for the content, it is totally unlike that of Pindar. The ethics of Pindar have been much discussed; some excellent Greek scholars have been tempted to speak of his moral strength and his position as a teacher

of the folk, as the chastiser of the ruler. Both Werner Jaeger in his Paideia and Croiset have made statements of this kind. Gilbert Norwood, while lacking the brilliant suggestions of his German and French colleagues, takes a much saner view of Pindar as judge of political morality. He realizes that Pindar was not a moral poet in the modern sense of the term, that he made his living from the odes declaimed at the athletic festivals, and that even if he had wished to do so, he could not have criticized the victorious tyrant and praised the martyr. Pindar states his financial position at the opening of the First Olympian:

"Ἄριστον μὲν ὕδωρ; ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς αἰθέμενον πῦρ,  
ἄτε διαπρέπει νυκτὶ μέγανορας ἔξοχα πλούτου."

Pindar was a poet of success; the man without wealth, power, or athletic prowess had no place in his scheme of things. He was the poet of *ἄλθος* and *εὐτυχία*; whatever he said of *ἀρετή* or *ἀνδρεία* was in praise of their possession, not in criticism of their lack. In other words, he was in the position of all poets who lived at a time or place where the profession of letters was not established; he existed only by grace of his masters. Likewise there is another element in Pindar's worship of success and power which must not be overlooked. He was a descendant of the Theban nobility, the last product of a line began in pre-Homeric times; then he had tremendous Ahnenstolz. "So bringt im

Untergang die griechische Adelskultur Pindar hervor..."<sup>22</sup>

Although almost a contemporary of Aeschylus, he was centuries removed from the Athens of the democracy, of Socrates and Pericles.

Hölderlin, however, was a moral poet in the best modern sense of the word. His feeling of duty towards die Gemeinschaft, evident in all periods of his work--it is the theme of Völkererziehung (1794), Empedokles (1798) and Dichterberuf (1800)--is a result both of his Protestant heritage and training and the intellectual atmosphere in which he became mature. "Humanity" was the watchword of the Homeric hero for Hölderlin, just as it had been the watchword of the whole rationalistic movement. The ministerial air is to be found in all the hero-poems: The people are often reprimanded for their own good; the threats of the poet are those of a pastor to his flock:

Doch fern ist er [Apollo] zu frommen Völkern,  
Die ihn noch ehren, hinweggegangen.<sup>23</sup>

In his desire for fairness the poet often apologizes for his words:

Oder kömmt, wie der Stral aus dem Gewölke kömmt,  
Aus Gedanken die That? Leben die Bücher bald?  
O ihr Lieben! so nimmt mich,  
Dass ich büsse die Lästerung.<sup>24</sup>

The poem on Lucilio Vanini, the Italian pantheist burned for heresy at Toulouse in 1619, has been ignored by most editors, and unjustly, for it contains the humanity of Hölderlin expressed in its briefest form. The spirit of the hero did not return from the clouds to seek revenge on those who had tortured him; instead, nature, which had received his spirit, received those of the inquisitors, too:

. . . und deine Feinde  
Kehrten, wie du, in den alten Frieden. <sup>25</sup>

There is no sympathy with the successful or the selfishly victorious; Hölderlin himself is eminently the symbol of the great poet unsuccessful in what he considered his Sendung; his close friend, Isaac von Sinclair, is actually what the poet and so many others had imagined Napoleon to be, a Tatmensch seeking the good of the people, and who, unlike the poet, "kann im Gedichte nicht leben und bleiben."<sup>26</sup>

It is the Humanität of Holderlin which prevented him from becoming a successful poet of warlike poems, and which has caused even such a critic as Adolf Bartels, who has every reason to speak otherwise, to hold the following opinion, set down at the end of a quotation from Gesang des Deutschen: "Doch geht man zu weit, wenn man von seinem, leidenschaftlich aktiven politischen Interesse spricht; er war doch mehr im alten Griechenland als im neuen Deutschland zu Hause."<sup>27</sup> This humanity seems to have prevented Hölderlin

here from completing what seems to have been begun as a patriotic poem of the usual type; instead Germany is called upon to produce its Delos and its Olympia. It is written in praise of what Germany may become as a nation of culture, not in praise of its present achievements or future political strength. The "war" poems, such as Der Tod fürs Vaterland, have the same air about them, a battle call suddenly become an elegy. In the case of Der Tod fürs Vaterland we have the Vorstufe, Die Schlacht, where the scene of battle preponderates over the assembly of dead heroes; in the finished version the latter picture has come to occupy half the poem. There is no question of Hölderlin's love for Germany. He is simply too much the child of the rationalistic church and of the same attitude of the Swabian Landpfarrer to be carried away by any jingoistic enthusiasm or mystical conception of power. His letters prove his realistic outlook on the life about him; like Beethoven he did not continue to enthuse for Napoleon after the Corsican's assumption of absolute power, nor did he revile him. He wrote only this finis as postscript to a letter:

"Eben erfahre ich, dass das französische Direktorium abgesetzt, der Rat der Alten nach St. Cloux geschickt, und Buonaparte eine Art von Dictator geworden ist."<sup>28</sup>

It was not possible that Mörrike, however unpolitical he might be, would escape the effect of Napoleon's personality. The sensitive poet came into his maturity at a time when Byronism, that artistic reflection of the "titanic" spirit of the Napoleonic age, was still strong in Europe. The man whom Hölderlin had once considered the chief among modern heroes was not long dead on Saint Helena; Byron had just succumbed to pneumonia at Missolonghi. A glance into Heine's Reisebilder will show how strong the influence of these two men still was among poets and intellectuals. While Mörrike was attending Tübingen the Byronic pose was rampant in central and southern Europe, and it lived on in one form or another for almost two decades, until Heine and Grabbe in Germany, Lenau in Austria, and Leopardi in Italy had passed away. The Russian contemporaries of Mörrike, Pushkin and Lermontov, were Byronics of the worst type. Closer to home was Waiblinger with his Griechenlieder; all the Stiftler at Tübingen were ready to set out for Greece. Mörrike's friend, Lohbauer, once begged the young poet to travel southward with him, but nothing came of the scheme. Thus it is not strange that Mörrike should be caught up for a time by the Zeitgeist. There still exists a little epic from his early youth, called Nachtgesichte, composed in clumsy distiches; it concerns a dream of the poet, in which he goes to Greece and sees Napoleon in an amphitheater.

However, the mature Mörrike was a man so little given to heroics of any kind, and, although patriotic to a degree, so timid in the face of any positive political action, that the spirit of the times was forced to take rather peculiar channels in him. These are religion, the supernatural, or a pantheistic Hingebung an die Natur; the productions of the Tübingen period of Mörrike's life and the one which followed it, the period of wondering or Sturm und Drang, as Mörrike liked to call it, include only one work, the enigmatical Elemente, which offers the figure of the hero:

Still schaut der Herr auf seine Geister,  
Die Faust am Herzen fest geballt  
Er heisst der Elemente Meister,  
Heisst Herr der tödlichen Gewalt;  
Ein Gott hat sie ihm übergeben,  
Ach, ihm die schmerzenreichste Lust.<sup>29</sup>

Undoubtedly the picture of the giant has been influenced by Aeschylus' Prometheus, probably through the agency of Goethe's hymn. But Mörrike's inability to obtain the heroic tone of the Napoleonic age is demonstrated by the imagery of the poem. It is that of the Greek New Testament rather than of the Iliad, of Patmos rather than of Archipelagus. Mörrike's hero, both here and in the other works of the period, in Nolten and the ballads, for example, is not a leader of the state, as are those of Hölderlin, but rather a figure

entirely removed from the political--and even the earthly--realm. He is a hero of the spirit, comparable to the Odysseus known to the scholiasts of the Middle Ages, a lonely and sometimes a passive soul lost in chaos, driven from adventure to adventure, and, in the case of Nolten, Larkens, der Königssohn, and the narrator of Nächtliche Fahrt, to destruction. As a result the giant of Die Elemente becomes lost in the storms surrounding him. Then suddenly the elements are pacified by rosige Gestalten. At last der Riese disappears entirely in the face of a prediction that resembles those of Hölderlin, but is not half so convincing:

Einst wird es kommen, dass auf Erden  
Sich höhere Geschlechter freuen,  
Und heitere Angesichten werden  
Des Ewig-Schönen Spiegel sein . . . 30

The poem, neither clear nor coherent, is the single work of its kind composed by Mörike. It is simply the result of an attempt to be what one is not, the fault of all Byronic poets, and it is not a success. Fortunately Mörike never repeated the attempt, worried this time not only by the example of Waiblinger and by the mad Hölderlin, but also by the poem before him. Thus the later "heroes" of Mörike, such as Ulmon and Suckelborst, confine themselves to adventures in the realm of the spirit, to *Νεκρία*, as

it were, and are balanced, like the hero of the Odyssey, by a certain amount of humor.

Mörrike was even able to introduce the comic element-- or the Wispel-element, as one critic calls Mörrike's humor-- into Napoleon himself. In a letter to his fiancée, Luise Rau, written on January 4, 1830, the young vicar describes an argument with his new pastor. The subject of the dispute was the Emperor, towards whom the old fellow was not at all favorable. Mörrike, always a bit contrary, took the part of Napoleon: "wobei ich zwar mitunter mein Unrecht selber fühlte, aber mich empörte das kecke Urteil über einen grossen Mann".<sup>31</sup> The pastor laughed at him and asked if the rogue did not please him simply because he offered the stuff for a heroic poem (Epopöe). Mörrike answered: "Um Verzeihung! nicht deswegen, sondern weil mich beim Gedanken an Ihn ein unwiderstehliches Gefühl des Tragischen übermannt".<sup>32</sup> At last the pastor clinched the argument by showing him the table-rug, first the upper side, harmonious and lovely, and then the under side, "kraus und wüste!"<sup>33</sup> Mörrike could no longer keep up his little game. "Das Treffende dieser Beispiele entzückte mich. Überhaupt hatte er Recht ohne alle Frage und im stillen bestritt ich mich selber".<sup>34</sup> The last phrase is particularly important. Mörrike's early life consisted of a battle between the pagan and the Christian humanist. The tragic side--not the heroic

side--of Napoleon's nature could appeal to the pagan, while the human misery caused by the deeds of such a man would only revolt the Christian. Mörike's denial of any desire to write an Epopöe is quite true; his other statements are evidence of his eternal wavering between day and night, between Christ and the supernatural. In Mörike there is no hero-cult, nor is his conception of the hero influenced by the Greeks. The heroes of Mörike are men created after the model of his own life and not in accordance with a belief fostered by his time or by his classical studies. Whatever Grecian features there are in Mörike--and his relationship to the Odyssey and the New Testament was close, as we shall see--are either purely literary or else correspond to Mörike's own religious and supernatural beliefs and the discords they caused in his life.

Another side of Mörike's life must be mentioned in connection with his political interests, or lack of them. At the time when Byronism was at its peak in central, eastern, and southern Europe, another movement, led by practical statesmen, had control of all the continent. It was the era of Metternich, Talleyrand, and Castlereagh, of the Biedermeier, the Restauration, and the Regency. The nations were impoverished, the "generation of young men" was dead or dying; there was more need for peace than for liberty. Those who had endured the excesses of the last quarter

century made in the name of la belle liberté wished nothing so much as to avoid their repetition. Mörike, as we have said, undoubtedly saw proof of this in Hölderlin and Waiblinger; what is more important, he was touched by the political conditions of the period in his own personal life. For a man as shy and with as little political interest as Mörike, there was nothing to do save conform to the desired pattern.

During his Tübingen years Mörike made a few feeble attempts to move in the opposite direction, to become a little like the Heine and the Gutzkow of das junge Deutschland. Every student, freed from the bonds of his home, has a tendency toward a pseudo-radicalism, but Mörike, although a friend of Waiblinger, was much more sensible in this respect than the Burschen of the university. He struck out against the oppression of the government only insofar as it affected his friends and himself, often punished on the silliest of charges. Mörike registers such a complaint in his dramatic fragment, Spillner. In this little play a student nearly goes mad with boredom in the Karzer, but after a series of ludicrous adventures with the townspeople he manages to escape. From the tone of the piece we gather that Mörike was momentarily peeved by the stupid and petty actions of both Bürger and university officials, for there was a movement afoot to remove the

university from Tübingen to Stuttgart. Thus this most radical of Mörrike's works is the result of sympathy with the lot of the student caught in the midst of a provincial quarrel. Another fragment of Morike's, Die Umworbene Musa, treats the same subject, but from another point of view. Here the student is ridiculed, especially the Burschenschaftler with his Alter=und Teutschümeln, his uncut hair and his banners. In Nolten there is the same mockery; at the masquerade ball a sword-rattling giant appears, dressed in all the antique German paraphernalia. After several blows on the magnificent shell, a tiny monk creeps forth. Mörrike's dislike of the poseur and the braggart was extreme; not only did it determine his political sentiments to a large extent, but it also caused him to turn away from men for whose motives he had the highest regard. While he was still at Urach he wrote to Waiblinger concerning Karl Sand, the assassinator of Kotzebue, who had been a student at Tübingen in 1814 and 1815.<sup>35</sup> The letter sums up Mörrike's whole political attitude during the early Biedermeierzeit: he would have had to love Sand on account of his good and perfect motives, had it not been for the childish hue-and-cry and the pretended enthusiasm of the fire-eating Studiosi, which had turned his respect to repugnance.

Some years after Mörrike's departure from Tübingen the oppressive character of the revolution was brought home

to him. In 1831, excited by the July Revolution, Mörike's brother Karl, an official of the Prince of Thurn and Taxis at Scheer, took part in a subversive movement against the government. He was placed under arrest and charged: "wegen grober Täuschung der Staatsregierung zu ehr<sup>s</sup>rüchtigen Zwecken", and was saved from a charge of high treason only at intervention of Geheimrat von Kerner, a brother of the poet. Unfortunately, two of Karl's brothers, Louis and Eduard, were involved in the matter. The latter had already expressed himself in a letter to his friend Mährlein as being opposed to the movement: such an action would be ". . . Eitelkeit und wenn ich hierin zu weit gehe, so hat's das schwarz-rot-goldene Band verschuldet, das dann aber doch meinem Patriotismus nicht ganz und gar strangulieren könnte".<sup>36</sup> His crime was specifically the delivery of a letter of Karl's, containing suspicious matter, to the post. Both he and Louis were freed, of course, from the foolish charges; and Mörike, like the Nolten of his novel, felt no anger whatsoever against the ruling house, but rather against his brother, who had brought such shame to the family. Mörike's attitude throughout the whole affair is questionable, to say the least; when Karl attempted to avoid his sentence by continued litigation, Mörike became all the more enraged against him. Karl, however, did not feel any particular resentment toward his brother, for while serving his term in the Hohenasperg, he corrected

proof in Nolten and sent his brother such glowing praise that Mörike threatened to stop delivery of the sheets, unless Karl became more sensible. The prisoner also set two of the songs in the novel to music. When it came time to publish the work, Mörike asked his brother to suggest several persons of high rank to whom he might dedicate the work. He even considered the king, the queen, or the princess of Taxis, for he felt that his own career had been jeopardized by Karl's foolish behavior. Happily the thought came to nothing. After Karl's release Mörike attempted to obtain Cotta's aid in the publication of his brother's poor comedy, Des Vaters Geburtstag, but the effort was made in vain. Finally Mörike cut himself off from his brother altogether after the discontented and unsuccessful man had made threats against an official in order to obtain a better position. A reconciliation was brought about just before Karl's death in 1848.

The story of Mörike's difficulties with a typical Biedermeier regime is disillusioning, but in keeping with Mörike's character. Always weak and inclined to be a dreamer, he could not bring himself to make a hopeless stand against the government for the sake of ideals or honor. Besides, his tendency to humor and self-irony would no doubt have betrayed him, had he tried to do so. Mörike's attitude is made plain in his prose works of the time. A prison-motif runs through them all: the hero is either in prison, or

lives in fear of prison, as the result of a prank or of a crime which he did not commit; yet he feels no anger against the regime or its officials. He accepts his punishment almost with an air of atonement; he feels that he is being punished for misdeeds other than the one of which he is accused, and derives a certain pleasure from his suffering. Nolten believes that he is being judged for faithlessness to his fiancée Agnes, when he is jailed for a supposed canard against the royal house. The hero of Der Schatz lives in terror of imprisonment for a theft which he did not commit; yet he feels himself guilty of a breach of faith with his employer and his childhood idol. Spillner, the chief character of the youthful drama, although nearly driven mad by his punishment, thinks that he deserves the Karzer for his petty escapades. Lucie Gelmeroth wishes to die for a crime which she did not commit; the concubine in Die Hand der Jezerts, who has caused a tomb to be defiled, actually does so. This is a peculiar phenomenon among the "prison" literature sweeping Europe at this time. Silvio Pellico, author and hero of Le mie Prigioni, treats his Austrian captors with Christian forbearance born of the knowledge that he is in the right; Fabrice, of Stendhal's La Chartreuse de Parme, spends his undeserved prison term in a complicated love affair with the commandant's daughter; Dickens, most conscious of the injustice of the period, simply says: "The law, sir, is an ass,

an idiot". But we must not forget that Mörike, a lyricist rather than a reformer, was by nature much softer than these other men, that he undoubtedly suffered from a feeling of guilt himself, a result of his experiences with Peregrina and Luise Rau, and that he was born in a part of Germany where oppression of the intellectual was the rule rather than the exception. He knew the stories of Frischlin, Schiller, and Schubart, for example, and did not want to follow these men to prison. While he was at Tübingen the Privat=dozent Karl Hase, later a well-known ecclesiastical historian, was sent to the Hohenasperg, to mention but the one case. Thus he grew up in fear of prison. Hölderlin, of course, was a product of the same country, but it must be remembered that he became mature at a time when liberty and revolution were most popular, and that he spent a good part of his sane adult life outside of Swabia, at times in Switzerland and France. If Mörike had any inclination towards politics, it was crushed by the atmosphere in which he lived; on the other hand, Hölderlin, a shy and sensitive man like Mörike, was encouraged to become politically minded, both by his time, his friends, and his favorite poetical form, the ode, a classic vehicle for the expression of just such noble sentiments as the love of freedom.

There remains only a short and rather pathetic epilogue to the story of Mörike and the state. During the years prior to 1848 he retained his attitude of amused contempt toward all political hotspurs; he makes fun of these who accuse him of the lack of a Tendenz, in Herr Dr. B. und Der Dichter (1846) and in his little part-poem, Bei Gelegenheit eines Kinderspielzugs (1837), where the Hanswurst ridicules the whole German nation:

Ich sah, beim Blitz, die ganze Nation  
Schon viel possierliche Spwünge machen.<sup>37</sup>

Yet with the coming of 1848 the poet began to see the need for a united Germany, writing to his friend Hartlaub, a supporter of the people's party: "Wer hat sich in diesen paar Wochen nicht grösser als sein ganzes Leben lang empfunden?" The "Triumph des Philistertum"<sup>38</sup> enraged him, and in 1850 he said to an acquaintance that he read only such works as the life of Napoleon or of Frederick the Great. However, after the disappointing failure of the Frankfurt Parliament, he turned away from politics completely and busied himself with scholarly and poetic affairs. The wars of 1866 and 1870 aroused him once more. Under the superscription of a letter to Vischer, written May 8, 1867, he scribbled: "Zweiter Tag der Londoner Konferenz--was wird daraus entspringen!"<sup>39</sup>, and in the same year he told

Hertlaub that he had turned his ensign sharply towards Prussia. He followed the campaign of 1870 with an almost childish interest, reading Caesar's De bello gallico; when he heard the news from Versailles, a sister of one of his last friends, Adolf Rümelin, had to play the Wacht am Rhein for him. Such gestures were only the whims of an old man; the poet had ceased to exist. He was able to write only one stanza:

Bei euren Taten, euren Siegen  
Wortlos, beschämt, hat mein Gesang geschwiegen  
Und manche, die mich darum schalten  
Hätten auch besser den Mund gehalten.<sup>40</sup>

No one will ever know what Mörike would have written, had he been the contemporary of Hölderlin.

## Chapter III

## THE LANDSCAPE

Germany, like America, lacking a great literary center, has always produced regional rather than national literature. There are not quite so many disadvantages to such an artistic arrangement as the French and English would like to have us think. Such a country is likely to produce isolated poets of a very high stature, not a long and unbroken line of competent writers; while it will never possess a brilliant and finished literature, molded by the critics of a London or a Paris, and dependent upon an urbane reading public, it will not become sophisticated or superficial. Being primarily a literature of the countryside or small town, it will be stronger in the poetry of nature itself and in the novel concerning the life of a solitary man; the poetry produced in the ville lumière is that of the abstract vision. The novel concerns the subtle play of character. The hero of German literature is a Werther or Heinrich Lee, not a Tom Jones or a Lucien Leuwen; its nature poetry is written by a Goethe or a Mörike rather than a Wordsworth or Lamartine. Instead of the Englishman's eternal--and almost legalistic--pursuit of justice and the Frenchman's love of reason, both ideals which spring from life in the city, the German is inclined to nature rather than to the conscience or the mind. His symbols will be taken from his native landscape;

for him the Rhine is more important than Parliament or the Académie Française. His study of any subject, literature, philosophy, or history, is always bound to the landscape; thus he is capable of seeing the fine relationship between nature and the course of world culture. Wagner's essay, Kunst und Klima, Nietzsche's famous remarks on Carmen, are unmistakably products of the German mind.

Of all the German classical authors Hölderlin has the most singular, if not the greatest, value in this field, for he was the first to attempt to trace, in poetry, the connection between one culture and another in the light of nature. Klopstock and Schiller, the one with his Nordic, the other with his Grecian gods, had tried to impose a dead culture on living literature, in order to inspire or educate their readers. Winckelmann had disregarded Germany altogether and sought to live in the Hellenic past. Goethe, although more than willing to admit his debt to the Greeks, the French, and the Italians, had not tried to relate it to the nature of the different countries. Like a true Spinozist he had been content to regard the landscape as something quite apart from the history of nations, a manifestation of God rather than a force in the creation of individual cultures. Herder, to whom poetry was a "Proteus unter den Völkern", and who, in his Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte, attempted to relate the development of humanity to natural environment, is the forerunner of Hölderlin; but

his work here, as everywhere, is fragmentary, more a collection of materials than a finished system. Hölderlin, however, had an extremely intuitive mind and was a great poet besides; he was able to see elements in Greek art unnoticed before, and what is more, to recognize both Greece and his homeland, Swabia, as intermediaries between the Orient and the North. He was not an antiquarian in the sense of Winckelmann; that is, he did not collect Greek art but reflected on it. He did not, as has often been claimed, consider the Greeks as the ne plus ultra of culture. On the other hand he was no exponent of Heimatkunst like his contemporary, J. P. Hebel, or the late Mörike; Swabia, while dear to him personally, had artistic value only from its place in world history.

Hölderlin's desire to connect his homeland with larger events and other ages is evident in his first period of poetic activity, his sojourn at Denkendorf and Maulbronn between 1784 and 1788. Greek themes are absent from these early poems, although he was studying the classics at the time. During his early life Hölderlin was very much in need of intellectual leaders; he would not strike out on a path unless it had first been shown to him. Thus it is quite possible that a lack of self-confidence prevented him from undertaking Greek themes until he read Schiller at Tübingen. Up to this time he had seen Greek subjects treated by only one well-known German author, Wieland, whom he found to be

shameful. The only Greek poem from the Maulbronn period is Hero, a dramatic monologue, distinguishable from the other poems of the time only by its choice of theme. Otherwise it is as overdone, as rhetorical, and as sentimental as the worst of Macpherson. Without doubt the chief influences of this period are Ossian and Klopstock, read as enthusiastically by Hölderlin as by the Genies twenty years before. Inspired by the wild landscape and ancestor worship of the one and the primitive Germans of the other, the boy tried to find corresponding material in his own surroundings, but failed. Completely unheroic, and a little too sensible to imitate Ossian's enormous self-pity, he was bothered most by homesickness; Hölderlin was as fond of his home as the most typical Biedermeier. The poet's critics, early and late, have overlooked his love for the cozy life of the Swabian manse, simply because he lacked the talent necessary for its glorification, the talent displayed in Quintus Fixlein or Der alte Turmhahn. This nostalgia is always apparent in the letters; in the poems, with the exception of the Schiller period, it is quite common, although none of the later works treat it in so detailed a manner as those written at Maulbronn. One poem, Die Stille, begins as if it were to be an ode after the manner of Klopstock, but soon the young poet recalls the pleasure of returning home at nightfall, a time when homesickness is at its worst. He sees the candles

shining in the distance, and after lingering at the churchyard, hurries home for his supper:

Nahm denn eilig was von Abendessen  
An Kartoffeln mir noch übrig war.<sup>1</sup>

For a man so incapable of minute description as Hölderlin, there is a remarkable amount of loving detail in these poems. From the first, too, Hölderlin was aware of Swabia's natural beauties, although he was no nature-lover of Mörike's stamp, and at this time was totally incapable of scene painting. His weakness forced him to write such flat and abstract stanzas as that opening Die Nacht:

Seid gegrüßet, ihr zufluchtsvolle Schatten,  
Ihr Fluren, die ihr einsam um mich ruht;  
Du stiller Mond, du hörst nicht, wie Verläünder lauren,  
Mein Herz, entzückt vor deinem Perlenglanz.<sup>2</sup>

(We need only to compare this with the opening strophe of Brod und Wein to see Hölderlin's actual capabilities, although his talent in this field was never too strong or too constant. Oddly enough, it is most apparent in the poems written during his madness.)

Hölderlin's Swabian patriotism was unsuited to the cozy manner of this early period; it is amusing to know that Hölderlin, usually so solemn, could write a poem like Schwabens Mägdelein, but we should be thankful that the

attempt was not repeated. The theme does not need description; the interest lies in the "medieval" vocabulary, which resembles that of Uhland and his artificial Volkslied. There are words such as Minne and phrases like "Helm und Harnisch"<sup>3</sup> and "des lieben Herrgotts Welt"<sup>4</sup>, evidence that Hölderlin could have become a poet of the type described by Heine in the Schwabenspiegel, had he lived a quarter century later. However, he would not have had the eye for small things that was the chief virtue of a Karl Mayer; by nature a painter of the ideal landscape of J. A. Koch rather than the Dutch interior, he was happiest, even at this early time, in larger subjects where he might combine nature with the historical background, as in Die Tek written just before his matriculation at Tübingen. Die Tek continues the Swabian theme which Hölderlin found so enticing throughout his seminary days. Once more it employs the vocabulary of Rittertum:

Da klangen einst Harnische, Schwerder ertönten  
Zwischen den moosigten Mauren der Fürsten und blinkende  
Helme.<sup>5</sup>

But the emphasis is rather on Swabia's beauty, her fertility, and the virtue of her sons. He calls again and again for "Suevias biedere Sitte" to return, a moral attitude never absent from his poems, even from the odes written just before his madness. Like the Athenians of the Archipelagus,

the Swabians are asked to look at the landscape around them and at the noble ruins of the post, then to become more virtuous in accordance with what they have seen. This type of ancestor worship--the use of the post as an inspiration rather than as a model to be copied assiduously--is the theme of all his other Swabian verses; it has a counterpart in the rhymed hymns and Hyperion, which Hölderlin, now coming under the influence of Schiller's new Griechentum, was beginning to write. In these poems the old forms are simply given new names. The Protestants, "die Kinder meines Luters",<sup>6</sup> who follow Gustav Adolf against the idolaters are the same as the heroes who lie at Marathon; Kepler, the great astronomer produced by the "Mutter der Redlichen, Suevia",<sup>7</sup> has the same features as Plato, the son of Attica. The Germans and the Greeks are not distinguished from one another; both are vehicles of Hölderlin's enthusiasm for their virtue. The harmony which he finds so praiseworthy in Greece is nothing but an exalted version of the quiet and happy life of Swabia, a result of the same biedere Sitte. Only the landscapes are not quite identical. While both are described with Hölderlin's usual colorless phrases, "heiliges Thal" and "süsse Traube", the Greek scene is much more vague, dependent on rhetoric rather than actual observation. The landscape of Burg Tübingen, like that of Griechenland, is associated with the culture of the country; "des

Hiefhorns schallendem Getöne"<sup>8</sup> fills the valley in the one, "frohes Saitenspiel"<sup>9</sup>, the agora of the other, but the German scene is more impressive than the Greek, not only because Hölderlin knew Swabia alone, but because he had not yet had time to adjust himself to the spirit of the Greeks. We might say that until the turn of the century and the composition of Archipelagus Hölderlin's Greece was as weak and pale as that of the worst pastoral poetry. The Greek scene, if a scene at all, is either a watered-down version of the German countryside he knew, or an imitation of passages from travel books about Greece, such as he employed for the landscape of Hyperion. Although he came to be the classicist with the most penetrating understanding of the Greeks, he was forced to gain this understanding only by constant study, and despite the influence of Schiller's abstract Hellenism. Even in his study of Homer Hölderlin was more concerned with the problem of the hero and his place in modern society than with the real spirit of the poem; as for any notion of the Greek landscape he might have gained from Homer, the Iliad has almost no description in our sense of the word--and the windy, barren plain of Troy could offer very little to a poet brought up in the rich and prosperous land of Swabia. In his early years he must have thought of Greece as a land much like his own:

Hätt' ich dich im Schatten der Platanen,  
Wo durch Blumen der Ilissus rann . . .<sup>10</sup>

and it was not until the composition of Der Wanderer, at the end of the Hyperion period, that he began to realize the difference in landscapes.

That the discovery of the difference between Swabia and Greece in Der Wanderer was premature is proven by the other poems of the years between 1794 and 1798. The landscape of them all is undistinguished; only three, Die Eichbäume, Die Heimath, and An den Frühling, have features which are distinctive from the abstractions of Hyperion, An die Natur, and the rest. Whenever there is a definite picture, the picture is German, not Greek. The oak has always been the favorite tree of German poets even before the days of the Hainbund, and Die Eichbäume sounds as if it might have been written for the mystic celebrations of Höltz and the Counts Stolberg. Die Heimath, an early version of the longer poem written near the end of the poet's stay in Homburg, is a return to the homesickness of his Maulbronn days, a less noble version of the nostalgia found in his famous Da ich ein Knabe war. An den Frühling, however, is the most important of the group, for it contains the seed of Hölderlin's late river-odes. The river, embodied as a god, is the agent of spring; the youths plunge into the stream and "jauchzen mit ihm"!<sup>11</sup> In Der Wanderer the stream

is given a name, the Rhine, and becomes the focal point of Hölderlin's world. For the first time Hölderlin realizes that Greece is not the rich and pleasant land he had imagined but rather a land of fire, fire which has destroyed its neighbor Africa.

Einsam stand ich und sah in die Afrikanischen dürren  
Ebnen hinaus, vom Olymp reegnete Feuer hinab.  
Fernhin schlich das haagre Gebirg . . . 12

To this picture of a fiery waste he apposes that of the Eispol, which has need of "den wärmenden Arm der Olymp".<sup>13</sup> But then the wanderer returns to his homeland, the country of the Rhine, where all is fruitful and still. It is the land of "mildere Sonne",<sup>14</sup> where the gentle pastoral life is possible. This same thankfulness towards a mild and beneficent nature sets the mood for Hölderlin's little idyll, Emilie vor ihrem Brauttag, where the poet comes near to the spirit of Claudius or Voss' Luise. There is the same kind and understanding father, the same shy, chaste bride, and the same noble, and ineffectual, young man. Like Goethe's Hermann und Dorothea it is connected with affairs outside the little middle-class world: the brother of Emilie, Eduard, has been killed with Paoli's revolutionaries in Corsica. Yet despite the noble aspirations of Eduard and Armenius, the groom, the poem retains

the rather sentimental air of a period piece, with a few passages worthy of standing beside those in Goethe's idyll. By this time Hölderlin had learned how to paint the most charming and yet the briefest pictures of nature and the peaceful country life, inspired, as usual, by his nostalgia for such an existence. In Des Morgens and Abendphantasie, written at the same time, the poet's picture of nature has assumed a solid form; he has become able not only to see but to describe. It is time now that the adolescent yearning for Swabia or Greece be put aside and that a more substantial connection be made between the two lands. Hölderlin's intellect had become too mature for homesickness, real or fancied.

The three poems which bear such German titles--Der Main, Heidelberg, and Der Neckar--portray the change in an almost parallel fashion. All three of them employ the river symbol which has had its beginning in An den Frühling and Der Wanderer; here, as there, the stream seems to be a power which Hölderlin does not quite know how to treat. Both Main and Neckar are recognized as the fathers of a beauty quieter than that of Greece, the land of the volcano, but Hölderlin does not explain why this should be so. The three poems form a kind of triptych. On either side is a picture comparing the glowing islands of Ionia with the "geräuschlos Leben"<sup>15</sup> that goes on beside the Main or the

Neckar; between the two sister pieces, where the accent has been placed on Greece in almost identical stanzas\*, the poet has depicted the product of the German rivers, Heidelberg, with its happy lanes and fragrant gardens. Hölderlin can make close comparisons but he is not yet ready to attempt to relate the northern and southern landscapes.

The nature poems written in Hanburg at the turn of the century would seem to be a step backward, were it not for a hint contained in one of them, Rückkehr in die Heimath. The other poems of the group, Mein Eigentum, Die Heimath

\* Ach! einmal dort an Suniums Küste möcht'  
Ich landen, deine Säulen, Olympion!  
Erfragen, dort, noch eh der Nordsturm  
Hin in den Schutt der Athenertempel

Und ihrer Götterbilder auch dich begräbt;

(Der Main, ll. 9-13)<sup>16</sup>

. . . auch möcht' ich

Bei Sunium oft landen, den stummen Pfad  
Nach deinen Säulen fragen, Olympion!  
Noch eh der Sturmwind und das Alter  
Hin, in den Schutt der Athenertempel

Und ihrer Gottesbilder auch dich begräbt . . .

(Der Neckar, ll. 16-21)<sup>17</sup>

(a six-strophe version of the earlier poem), and Der Winter, are descriptions of the Swabian homeland in the different seasons. Full of the old nostalgia, they were written at a difficult time in Hölderlin's life. Diotima had given up hope altogether and had begun to talk of "heilige Pflichten für diese Welt".<sup>18</sup> His plans for a journal, of which he had spoken so enthusiastically in the summer of 1799, were falling to pieces, a result of the lack of aid from Schiller and other friends. Schiller, still smarting from his own experiences with Die Horen, even attempted to discourage the younger man. Thus it is no wonder that Hölderlin retreated from his efforts to relate Greece and Germany. The enthusiasm for Greek studies which had taken a prose form in the Homer=Aufsätze studies which had likewise shown itself in the trilogy of river poems; now that all his hopes had been smashed, Hölderlin took refuge in the nature of Germany instead of seeking knowledge from it. He still dreams of a cozy home in the Swabian forest, an odd contrast to the remarks in some of his letters, where he says that his ambition will keep him from marriage forever. For once his poems contain a more direct revelation of his feelings than the letters:

Beglückt, wer ruhig liebend ein Frommes Weib,  
Am eigenen Heerd in rühmlicher Heimath lebt.<sup>19</sup>

In Der Winter he even reverts to a language reminiscent of that of court poetry, when he asks "zaubrischer Phantasmus" to envelope "Den zarten Sinn der Frauen".<sup>20</sup> Yet this same poem proves Hölderlin's continued interest in the Greek poets, and gives further evidence of his ability to transplant scenes from the epic poets to his own work with scarcely a change. For a long time Hölderlin had been acquainted with the Works and Days of Hesiod; one of his master's theses had been a comparison of the poem with Solomon's proverbs. Thus it is not hard to guess the background of Der Winter; impressed by Hesiod's description of the Boeotian winter, the best piece of poetry in the epic (and especially striking to a northerner who had always believed Greece to be a land of the sun) Hölderlin undoubtedly remembered the passage as he wrote these verses, his only winter poem. The passage in Hesiod (ll. 504-563)<sup>21</sup> offered Hölderlin all his imagery: the women concealed within the house, the men of the family who must rise before daybreak to tend to his work, and Boreas, who falls upon the land with frost.

The faint Grecian background of the poem reminds us that Hölderlin still had to solve the problem of the relationship between Greece and Germany; he could not do so simply by recalling Greek poetry in his own work. He had started on the right path in the river-poems; a hint of the course he

must take is given in the last poem of the present group. Rückkehr in die Heimath, where he speaks of winds from Italy blowing to the Swabian stream:

Ihr milden Lüfte! Boten Italiens!

Und du mit deinen Pappeln, geliebter Strom!<sup>22</sup>

These are the last words he has to say on the matter until he begins his greatest series of odes in 1800. At the end of the century Hölderlin had guessed at many of the secrets of Greece and Germany, and having overcome Schiller's influence, was ready to approach the Greeks with his own mind and with a skill sharpened by renewed study of the epic poets. He had guessed that the river was the most important feature of the German landscape; he had found that "fire" was the real nature of Greece. He realized that Swabia and Italy--by Italy he meant all those lands settled by the Greeks in the west--were intermediaries between the Greek and Germanic cultures. The journey to Switzerland, which he undertook in 1801, would give him the key to the riddle.

- - - -

With the turn of the century the problem of dating Hölderlin's poems becomes even greater than before, a result of the poet's increasing mental disturbances and the many journeys he made during this time. He was already so irritable that he could not endure normal conversation for

more than a few minutes, and so was forced to cut himself off from many of his old friends, such as Hegel, who might have given information concerning his later works; he preferred rather to associate himself with such wandering, half mad "geniuses" as Böhlendorf. His orthography, never good, became worse; many of the manuscripts from this period were allowed to lie untouched for almost a century, others were destroyed. A few were printed from time to time, the excuse for their obscurity--in most cases produced by incorrect readings--was the poet's madness. Thus it is impossible to follow the poet's development with any sort of a chronological pattern. It is better to recognize the principal theories and ambitions of the poet and attempt to connect them with what is known of his personal life.

Even the poem in which he states the beginning of his answer to the German-Greek problem cannot be accurately dated. In Gesang des Deutschen Hölderlin says that the genius of culture wanders from land to land, but does not develop the idea further. This poem is still in the manner of the Hyperion period; the poet still considers German culture and Greek culture per se, and attempts to place them side by side. He does not consider the difference between them, neither the oriental element in the Greek nor the cold and intellectual element in the German, but treats both lands as rich and prosperous, ready to produce the

highest civilization and a common type of culture. In a transition passage, perhaps an after-thought added to fill the meter, he says:

Doch wie der Frühling, wandelt der Genius  
Von Land zu Land.<sup>23</sup>

It is likely that at this point Pindar begins to exercise an actual influence on the poet, but it is still very slight, being expressed only in such passages as the one just quoted, which are common in the Greek. Pindar, of course, writes them as a part of his job, to praise the successful tyrant or athlete; in doing so he must explain why some men are chosen and others are not:

Θεὸς ἅπαν ἐπὶ ἐλπίδεσσι τέκμαρ ἀνύεται,  
θεὸς, ὃ καὶ πτερόεντ' ἀετὸν κίχχε, καὶ θαλασσαῖον παραμείβεταί  
Δελφῶνα, καὶ ὑψιφρόνων τιν' ἔκαμψε βροτῶν,  
ἑτέροις δὲ κῦδος ἀγήραον παρέδωκ'.

It is a matter of divine choice, a good enough answer for the eulogist, but not one likely to satisfy Hölderlin for long. He will abandon the theory that Germany is the new Greece by grace of God, and begin to examine the contradictions between the two countries in a more reasonable and less patriotic way.

The evidence which we have concerning the translation of Pindar by Hölderlin and so the acquisition of a real knowledge of the poet, is necessarily obscure. Since it was a work done for Hölderlin's use along--an aid to

translation rather than a finished composition--we have no mention of the translation in his letters. He was probably rather ashamed of being forced to use a crutch while reading his beloved Greek literature, his Steckenpferd, as Neuffer liked to call it, and kept the matter quiet while conversing with his friends. His first quotation of a passage from Pindar is hardly conclusive proof of a close knowledge; it indicates rather that the poet had just begun a translation of Pindar, or that the sentence was a tag popular with himself and his friend Sinclair. The passage, the opening of the First Olympian's second strophe: *Χάρις δ' ἄπ' ἅπαντα*  
*τεύχει τὰ μέγιστα θνατοῦς*<sup>25</sup>, was scribbled by Hölderlin at the close of the first act of Der Tod des Empedokles, written at Homburg in 1788-89. Sinclair used the same words as a motto for his trilogy, Der Cevennenkrieg, indicating, as the nature of the verse itself does, that the friends had chosen this passage as a slogan, and may not have known it in its context. Better evidence for dating the Pindar translation is found at the close of the folio in which Hölderlin had drafted his essay Über die verschiedenen Arten zu dichten, written during the Homburg summer (1797). Here he put down a translation of the First Olympian's opening line: "Das Erste ist wohl Wasser". We may presume that from this point on Hölderlin struggled more and more with Pindar's puzzling Greek and still more puzzling meters, until, in

the Hymnen in freien Strophen, written in 1801, just before he left for Bordeaux, he was able to incorporate certain ideas of the Greek poet, and what is more important, to free himself from the distich and the Horatian verse forms.

That Hölderlin learned to think of himself as a priest-prophet-poet from Pindar, as so many critics have claimed, is absurd. We have pointed out before that the Greek poet's existence depended on whether he pleased his patrons or not. One might possibly become a prophet under such conditions, if one confined his prophecies to the future of the patron's house, but hardly a priest, with the devotion to the truth which the word should imply. As for Hölderlin, he was an extremely pious man in his own way, brought up in the same Protestant tradition as Schiller, and with a much better knowledge of Lutheran doctrine than his brother idealist. Of the two men Hölderlin, being more sensitive and so more open to the suffering of the people about him, was more practical, not given to the wild and sometimes thoughtless enthusiasms of Schiller. In the letters there is no trace of the fanaticism or the egoism necessary for "ein Führer des Volkes", but rather an air of Frömmigkeit, of concern for others; the letters to his literary friends, where we should most expect a revelation of his mission, reveal, instead of the prophecies of a Rilke or a George, the plans of an extremely cultured and intuitive mind, as keen as that

of Goethe or the Novalis of the Fragmente. While it lacks the serenity and balance of the one and the brilliant dialectic of the other, it is able to form answers to the most puzzling questions. The poem, Dichterberuf, first sketched in the summer of 1800 when Hölderlin was presumably in the midst of his Pindar translation, contains nothing of the priest or the prophet; it is filled with the same piety that is to be found in all of Hölderlin's work, not the piety of a fanatic but of a humanist:

Furchtlos aber bleibt, so er muss, der Mann  
Einsam vor Gott, es schüzet die Einfalt ihn,  
Und keiner Waffen braucht's und keiner  
Listen, so lange, bis Gottes Fehl hilft.<sup>26</sup>

This is as far removed from George as it is from Pindar, for in the latter all references to God and His power must necessarily be allied to the virtues of the ruler or athlete in question, heroes who Pindar knew very well had little of ἀρετή or virtú in them. Pindar's great poetic accomplishment--and it is that of most poets until the profession's emancipation in the modern era--is his ability to clothe the commonplace or even the vicious in magnificent verse, to earn his money and, as far as possible, to exercise his art. Therefore, the most that Pindar could give to Hölderlin, with the exception of a few borrowed thoughts or figures of speech, was the encouragement to write with all the Schwung

and the brilliant use of the word for its own sake that we find in the odes; the very things that the painstakingly slow translation of the Greek must have taught Hölderlin. When a man is forced to make a translation word by word he is apt to learn a great deal about the author's tricks of syntax, word formation, and rhythm. From Pindar Hölderlin learned the proper form for his description of the relation between Greece and Germany; his ideas--and they are ideas, not gifts of God to the prophet--are his own.

After having left Homburg to go home to Nürtingen, where his ambitions almost vanished, Hölderlin was invited to Stuttgart by his friends Neuffer and Landauer. There, surrounded by well-wishers and inspired by Pindar's language, he wrote Der Archipelagus, a summary of all Hölderlin has to say on classical Greece, the Greece of Marathon and the Academy, the Greece described by Herodotus. The poem had gathered none of its details from Pindar, whose Thebes, while almost contemporary with the Greece of the classicists, is far away from it in manners and customs, being much nearer to the Achaean Age with its heroic families. Actually Der Archipelagus is the final result of all the Grecian lore Hölderlin had acquired from companionship with Hegel, Schelling, and Schiller, the giants of a period which was unable to differentiate one age of Greece from another, in whose eyes Greece meant the Golden Age of Athens, epitomized

by *Kakaya* <sup>Ös</sup>. This is the Greece Hölderlin has mentioned so often in his poems, from Griechenland to the Diotima-cycle, reduced to the most concrete terms of which the poet is capable. It is the last time that Greece will appear in this form, for from this poem on, Hölderlin goes out to Germany on the one hand and the Orient on the other, forward through the centuries separating Athens from Weimar and backward into the age of heroes. In Stutgard (Der Weingott), probably written in that same fall of 1800, Hölderlin gives us the German counterpart of the Grecian scene, the apotheosis of all those pictures of an idealized Germany which he and his contemporaries had painted in order to compare it with the Hellenic world. Like Der Archipelagus it is plastic, not abstract; it is the same Swabian landscape that Duke Ulrich praises in Hauff's Lichtenstein. Both the poet and the novelist reverence the names of the land's heroes and celebrate the richness of the countryside in terms that the most patriotic regional poet would be glad to claim; but Hölderlin, wishing to attempt the German-Greek comparison once more, adds the shadowy figure of the wine-god. However, the god is scarcely mentioned, and the poem gradually loses its idyllic atmosphere, ending in a paean to Swabia and its future. Hölderlin has learned again, and for the last time, that the nature of the two lands is different, even in the time of vintage. Likewise the little

poem on Ulrich, Der Winkel von Hahrtdt, proves that the poet has decided to abandon the efforts begun by Winckelmann altogether, and to treat Germany as Germany, Greece as Greece. Here in a landscape where he once would have placed a Greek god, he puts down instead the fleeing Duke of Württemberg. With these last poems, doubtless the poet's attempts to re-establish himself in his work once more after his near breakdown, Hölderlin abandons the last traces of the nineties' classicism and turns to a more concrete subject, nearer to his own nature. Like the older Goethe he continues to study Greece, but only in its relationship to the rest of the world, not as a model to which Germany must be made to conform. Goethe, with a more literary nature than Hölderlin, will eventually write the Helena episode in Faust; Hölderlin, more interested in the history of peoples, will compose his hymns in free strophes.

In January 1801, Hölderlin accepted a position as tutor with the family of the wealthy Anton Gonzenbach, resident of Hauptwyl near Sankt Gallen. The journey into Switzerland was the most productive one of Hölderlin's life; the magnificent scenery had a great effect upon his already strengthened spirits: ". . . die grosse Natur in diesen Gegenden erhebt und befriedigt meine Seele wunderbar",<sup>27</sup> he writes to his sister in February and goes on to describe the view from his window with all the reality of a Stifter.

But in addition to the mere inspiration of the landscape, Switzerland and its geography provided the seed of the hymns written during Hölderlin's few months at Hauptwyl or just after his return to Germany in the June of 1801. Hölderlin, living not far away from the Rhine, was reminded of his earlier river poems, Der Main and Der Nekar, and of the theories hinted at before his collapse: that the river is the bearer of culture from land to land. He begins his new series of poems with Der Gefesselte Strom, a short work in an Asclepiadean meter. It is as if Hölderlin wishes to accustom himself to old thoughts once more. The scheme of the poem is a simple one: the Rhine (Der Göttersohn) is forced to hurry northward by the call of its father, the sea. With the coming of spring, the river is freed from its bonds and sets out toward the ocean, where "Ihn in die Arme der Vater aufnimmt".<sup>28</sup> The poem is obviously an early conception of the plan of Der Rhein, composed during or shortly after the Hauptwyl period. This work opens with a mention of "die Pforte des Waldes",<sup>29</sup> presumably a height near the source of the Vorder Rhein. The poet's spirit is able to fly southward, to Italy and the Morea, but the Rhine is still a captive, this time of the chasms which contain it rather than the ice. It cries out in its desire to go towards Asia, not into France, like the Rhone, or Italy, like the Ticino:

Er schied und wandern wollt, und ungeduldig ihn  
Nach Asia trieb die königliche Seele.<sup>30</sup>

For a moment Hölderlin considers the river as a part of the Greek-German problem: why was it not allowed to go towards Greece and Asia, as his own thoughts had? He takes a reply from Pindar's Third Olympian, one of the few direct borrowings we find in these poems. Hölderlin's answer, and a very famous one, is:

Ein Räthsel ist Reinent^sprungenes. Auch  
Der Gesang kaum darf es enthüllen. Denn  
Wie du anfiengst, wirst du bleiben.<sup>31</sup>

An echo of Pindar's equally celebrated and equally empty:

*τὸ πρόσω δ' ἔστι σοφοῖς ἄβατον  
 κ' ἀσοφοῖς. οὐ γὰρ δὴ δῶξω. κελνὸς εἶναι.*<sup>32</sup>

Proof of the small intellectual debt of Hölderlin to Pindar is in these lines: the vagueness of the one simply encourages the vagueness of the other. In Hölderlin's cryptic statement there is a trace of the unhappy side of his Frömmigkeit--his tendency to dismiss a painful problem by claiming that he wishes to avoid sacrilege. It is a theme that appears again and again in Hölderlin's poetry from this point on; undoubtedly Hölderlin, feeling his mind become more disordered and distraught, was forced to fall back on such nebulous statements as this. The weakness, in the beginning, was only momentary; after a strophe or two of

this "prophetic poetry", Hölderlin comes to another question. He does not yet try to connect the Rhine, which for him represents the spirit of Germany, with Greece, but explains why the river, prevented by the Alps from flowing to the southeast, becomes purer and gentler after its rage ("in solcher Esse"<sup>33</sup>), thus more suited to the milder countryside of Germany.

Traveling northward through the Black Forest in the summer of 1801--he had been cashiered with the excuse that two cousins, expected to share in his instructions with the daughter of the family, had not arrived--Hölderlin passed near the source of the Danube at Donaueschingen. He remembered that the Danube, the other great German river, had been mentioned by Pindar in the Third Olympian, where the Greek poet recounts the myth of Heracles and the olive tree. The hero had journeyed to the Hyperboreans, persuaded them to surrender the tree to him, and hurried back to the treeless plain of Olympia *"Ἰστρος ἀπὸ σκλαπᾶν παγᾶν."*<sup>34</sup> This tale of Pindar formed the basis for the odes and fragments in which Hölderlin finally relates Germany to Greece. The shortest of them, the fragment Der Ister, repeats the Pindaric myth, and then, in other of those obscure transitions now frequent in Hölderlin, describes the river itself:

Der scheinet aber fast  
Rückwärts zu gehen und  
Ich mein, er müsse kommen  
Von Osten.<sup>35</sup>

The Rhine, however, goes sideways (ist seitwärts hinweggegangen<sup>36</sup>) towards the north. At this point the language of the fragment becomes more and more clouded, and the poem ends in a swarm of the rhetorical questions so characteristic of the later period. But the second Danube poem, Am Quell der Donau, gives us the other half of the picture, the gift of Greece to Germany. It is personified as a word from the east:

so kam

Das Wort aus Osten zu uns,  
Und an Parnassos Felsen und an Kitháron hör' ich,  
O Asia, das Echo von dir und es bricht sich  
Am Kapitol und jählings herab von den Alpen  
Kommt eine Fremdlingin sie  
Zu uns, die Erweckerin,  
Die menschenbildende Stimme.<sup>37</sup>

These lines refute the notion that Hölderlin believed a counter-migration had taken place from Greece to Germany, contemporary with that of the Achaeans from the north into

Greece. Hölderlin's thought was orthodox enough on this subject, with one exception, that of placing the birthplace of western culture in the East rather than in Athens, a rather unusual belief for a man raised in the tradition of Winckelmann, but one not altogether original as we can learn from Herder's Die älteste Urkunde des Menschen=geschlechts. The poet simply believed that culture passed from the East to Germany proper by way of Greece, Italy, and the lands once occupied by the Suevi. The confusion is caused by Holderlin's unhappy attempt to be paradoxical in Der Ister and in his letter to Böhlendorf.<sup>38</sup> Hölderlin, instead of proceeding in his usual cautious, almost heavy-footed Swabian manner, attempts to solve the problem by a brilliant turn of phrase--perhaps a sign of the confusion and irritability which foretold his mental collapse. The lines in Der Ister beginning "Der aber scheint. . ." admit of many interpretations, but in view of the theory expressed in the letter (that the Greeks, naturally a fiery race, sought cool Darstellungskunst) and the many references in the later poems to the search of the Greeks for "shadow", the most sensible explanation is this: that the valley of the Ister was the logical route of migration from Germany to Greece, and that Hölderlin believed the Germans had traveled along this route to the Greeks, bringing them the intellectuality represented by the olive tree. Thus we

may disregard this hint at a countermigration from Greece to Germany as a mere suggestion, to be discarded in the finished cycle of poems. No doubt Hölderlin intended to destroy or re-work the sketch; at any rate the ambiguous statement, "er müsse kommen / Von Osten" would be cancelled by the orthodox exposition of the movement of culture in Am Quell der Donau, and by the story of the "Achaean" migration from Germany in Die Wanderung, equally orthodox in our eyes, but a brilliant innovation for Hölderlin's time. Again, the critics who wish to credit Hölderlin with the study of not one prehistoric migration, but two, will point to the Böhlendorf letter, where the poet, speaks of the formation of the German nature in the same terms as he does of the Greek, and so creates the impression that they were formed at one and the same time. But this is only the result of an attempt at paradox, and those muddy lines in Der Ister are the sole possible support of such a belief.

Little more remains to be said of Hölderlin's Greece and its connection with Germany. The migration of the primitive Germans, who bring "die abendländische Junonische Nüchternheit"<sup>39</sup> of the Böhlendorf letter to the Greeks, possessors of "das Feuer vom Himmel"<sup>40</sup>, is portrayed in Die Wanderung; this mixture of northern intellectuality with Greek fire produces the great Hellenic art of Homer. Since each people employs its natural quality with the most

difficulty, the acquired quality with the greatest ease, Homer is the first Greek poet and the archetype of all Greek art, genius enough, to win this intellectuality for his Apollonsreich. Another one of Hölderlin's shots in the dark has struck home: modern research has proved that Homer was in all likelihood a semi-oriental bard from the Ionian coast, singing at the courts of the northern invaders and employing an Ionic dialect made harsher and sterner by the Doric. The Germans of Hölderlin's day, easily learning to use emotional fire since it is not their national quality, must study the Greeks to regain that quality of Darstellungsgabe and Nüchternheit, once more "weil . . . der freie Gebrauch des Eigenen das schwerste ist".<sup>41</sup> Having sent their prime characteristic to the Greeks by way of the Ister, it has returned to them through the centuries by way of Italy and Swabia. Now they need only to separate it from that acquired emotionalism and they will produce a splendid culture, as Hölderlin predicts in Germanien. Having compared and related the two countries, he sees that this "new Greece" will not be Greece in Winckelmann's sense; Germany will become greater than Greece because it will have learned how to use its original gifts, intellectuality and objectivity.

There is only one fault with this system: the nature of Greece is essentially emotional, the land itself is an

Apollonsreich, and so Greece before the northern invasion must have been an oriental land, inhabited by people from the East. This presumption led Hölderlin to explore further in the field of national characteristics; however, the time he had to complete the work was too short, and he went mad after having sketched the beginnings of his new cycle. Actually there was little more he could do with the landscape. He had already connected the rivers of Germany with Greece, and his idea of Asiatic geography was extremely vague, not even aided by wide reading as had been the case with Greece. Only the ill-fated trip to Bordeaux gave him some notion of the Latin nature which Nietzsche found so fascinating. As for the landscape, it is a far cry from the banks of the Garonne to Tmolus and Smyrna, although Hölderlin seems to have imagined the two regions were somewhat alike. But the descriptions of Asia Minor in Patmos and Lebensalter are general, and employ Biblical imagery; those in Andenken, the single poem written on Bordeaux, are full of exact detail. Only certain features, common to both the oriental poems and Andenken, such as the fig tree, prove that the two regions were related in Hölderlin's mind. Yet any development in this direction is precluded by two factors: a lack of exact knowledge of the East, necessary for the poet of the river-odes, and Hölderlin's madness.

Hölderlin had remained in Bordeaux for only four months, from January to May, 1802. He reached his mother's home at Nürtingen early in July, completely insane. Although he soon recovered a certain part of his faculties, he was never sound again, and the new work he undertook on the Orient is both clouded and brief. His lack of ability to concentrate forced him to give up any idea of new nature odes (not to mention that lack of knowledge mentioned above), and his concern with oriental mythology only helped to lead him back to the proud and unquestioning Christianity of his childhood. Only in the field of translations was he able to undertake any new work; he began a translation of Sophocles in order to bring forth the oriental elements in the Greek poet. In 1803 he wrote to Wilmans, who published the works: "Ich hoffe die griechische Kunst, die uns fremd ist durch Nationalkonvenienz und Fehler, mit denen sie sich immer herumbeholfen hat, dadurch lebendiger, als gewöhnlich dem Publikum darzustellen, dass ich das Orientalische, das sie verläugnet hat, mehr heraushebe, und ihren Kunstfehler, wo er vorkommt, verbessere".<sup>42</sup> Just how Hölderlin intended to do this is not sure. Whatever changes he made in the language may be credited to the state of his mind rather than to any artistic intention, an introduction, which might have cleared up the matter to some extent, was never written, and the notes to the completed translations, those of Ödipus der Tyrann and Antigonä, do not touch upon the oriental

element, being in the most part an unhappy attempt to explain the "rhythm" of the tragedies. Like the early Schillerian phase of Hölderlin's work, this last "oriental" period, with its connections to Christianity, has obscured the only period of Hölderlin's creative life not influenced by older artists or distorted by madness, the period of Der Rhein, Germanien, and the other great odes, in which Hölderlin made Germany independent of Greece by relating the two cultures.

Hölderlin's discovery of the Orient as the birth-place of Greek genius is a parallel of the enthusiasm for the East which swept Germany in the first decades of the new century. Novalis' motto, Ex oriente lux, Goethe's Westöstlicher Divan, and Friedrich Schlegel's Sanskrit studies are the beginnings of a movement which degenerated at last into the Almansor of Heine and the ghazels of Rückert and Platen. It cannot be proven that Hölderlin had any connection with this literary craze; his relationship to the romantic schools is slight, almost non-existent. Hölderlin's investigation of the oriental element in Sophocles was carried out independently; his conclusion--intuitive rather than scientific--is the same as the Schlegels': that Greece is not Reinentsprungenes, that it had forerunners, in Asia Minor, according to Hölderlin, according to the Schlegels, in India. Mörke, who admired Goethe and Novalis above all other German poets,

was born too late to take part in the best of the movement, but not too late to escape its decline. The poet had always felt a peculiar bond between himself and the Orient. Always a person to believe in signs and omens, he knew that his family name was actually a plattdeutsch form of Möhrchen. A child of the Napoleonic era, he knew the story of Napoleon's Egyptian campaigns well; in 1815 a troop of Cossacks, armed with bows and arrows like the Scythians of Horace and Ovid, was quartered in Ludwigsburg. The summer residence of the Duke of Württemberg, the little city was also the scene of costume balls, where the nobility came dressed as viziers and slaves; there were plays in which the children of the court circles appeared, decked out as characters from The Thousand and One Nights. The little boy, Eduard, took part in these celebrations himself--he describes them in Lucie Gelmeroth--and in his old age still possessed a fancy-dress costume and scimitar from his childhood. While at Tübingen Mörike, with his love of the exotic, transformed Maria Meyer, the barmaid, wandering Schwärmerin, and cosmetician-to-be, into an oriental princess, Peregrina, and waxed enthusiastic for Mozart's "Egyptian" opera, Die Zauberflöte; his friend, Waiblinger, forgetting his Greek interests for more practical ones, was entranced by the Jewess, Julie Michaelis, who he pretended was a sorceress from Arabia. At the same time the craze had spread into Austria, where the famous orientalist

Hammer-Purgstall, lived and where Grillparzer was writing his Der Traum ein Leben, a play set in Samar~~k~~and and composed in Spanish meters. Outside of the German-speaking countries the movement took the form of an interest in Moorish Spain and Andalusia or in the Caucasus. In France, Victor Hugo wrote his Ruy Blas and Hernani, Mérimée his contes; every Polish and Russian poet wanted to follow the Czar's armies south into the land of Antar. In the British empire, where there was more opportunity for travel in the east, thanks to the fleet and the East India Company, the movement became more that of archaeologists, such as Rawlinson, or colonial officials turned novelists, such as J. J. Morier. The United States produced scholars like Ticknor--who had first learned to know Spanish literature at Gottingen--and Prescott, and Irving with his tales of the Moors in Spain. Thus in the early nineteenth century everyone was interested in the East, and Mörike, being sensitive as he was to every stimulus that encouraged him to dream and not to act, could not escape. The East of this period was a never-never land, full of palaces, princesses, and ogres; it had its most brutal expression in Mérimée's Carmen. It is not strange that there is an oriental influence in Mörike's early work. The question is rather: why is the element so small, confined to only a few poems and two short stories?

The answer is manifold. Mörike stood at the end of the movement as Hölderlin at the beginning, and like Hölderlin, was not actually connected with it, living in a local atmosphere where the leading poets were Uhland and Hauff, and the leading interest medieval Christianity. In spite of the strong attraction which orientalism must have had for Mörike's dreamy nature, there were other factors in that nature which absorbed his eastern interests, and prevented him from becoming a poet given up to the glories of Persia and India, as was the case, in England, of Fitzgerald. Although Mörike was a minister and an ardent Lutheran, his Christianity, especially in his later years, often verged on Catholicism, a mystic Catholicism developed in part from the orientalism of his youth. His classical studies, which he had pursued with enthusiasm since his days in the seminary at Urach, turned towards the late Greek poets of Alexandria, and the writers of the Anthology, where the eastern element of Hellenistic art is often lost in a strict classicism. Also the poet, shut up in the manse at Cleversulzbach, gave himself wholeheartedly to the sometimes petty life of the Biedermeier, enlarging his geological collections and chasing after ghosts; he indulged in regionalism, reading folk tales and writing verse in the Swabian dialect. Early in his life Mörike's orientalism disappeared, absorbed or opposed by a mystic religion, a humanistic education, and a strong love of the homeland.

But the oriental element of his youth must still be accounted for; all these other changes took place after Mörike's settlement in Cleversulzbach, after he had finished many of his important works. Two strains run through all of Mörike's writing before 1838, the years of the publication of the Gedichte, which may be considered as a sort of Lebenswende: one, corresponding to the Nachtseite der Natur of the early romanticists, is composed of the poet's orientalism, his mysticism, and the darker side of the Greek classics; the other, the "day", is Protestant, humanistic, and lebensbejahend. Their beginnings are in the early poem, Tag und Nacht, and they are present in the most of Mörike's nature poems and Volkslieder. Mörike was most acute to that time just before dawn, when both night and day were before him: it is the picture of Ein Stundlein, wohl vor Tag, In der Frühe, An einem Wintermorgen, vor Sonnenaufgang, and of the famous passage in Nolten, just before the painter discovers Larken's death: "In einer der hohen Strassenlaternen brannte das nächtliche Lämpchen, seine gemessene Zeit überlebend, mit sonderbarem Zwitterlichte noch in den hellen Tag hinein".<sup>43</sup> Light and darkness did not have the same connotation for Mörike as they did for Hölderlin, who had made the day the symbol of growing, the night the symbol of dying power. For Mörike they were equal, although he wrote more of the night in his early years, still under

the influence of romanticism. He makes the difference between the two, and likewise their equality, plain from the very first. In Tag und Nacht (1823), the night appears in an oriental form:

Schlank und schön ein Mohrenknabe

Bringt in himmelblauer Schürze

Manche wundersame Gabe . . .<sup>44</sup>

and the day, a pretty little German girl:

Liebchen tritt von Bergeshöhen

In das Tal: Da wird es Freude!<sup>45</sup>

Later, the Moor becomes the gypsy, Elizabeth, of Maler Nolten, the German girl is Agnes, Nolten's childhood sweetheart, who finally is overpowered by madness and commits suicide, the first and last death of an innocent person in Mörike. A certain optimism has conquered Mörike's interest in the darker side of life, and with it the oriental element; they return only in Mozart auf der Reise nach Prag, where Mörike, a shyer and more artistic forerunner of the blatant Nietzsche, recognizes music as the essence of tragedy. Nevertheless, for Mörike the night remains the home of the myth rather than the day; his hero is not Heracles, bearing the olive tree from Germany to the shadeless land of Greece, or Achilles, fighting in broad daylight on the plains of Troy, but rather Suckelborst, the giant

who plunders the peasants at midnight and, like Odysseus, visits the underworld.

In Hölderlin the landscape was always that of the inland. The sea appears only incidentally, as the father of rivers, just as in the Iliad, and in Pindar, where it is only a background for the combats or the games. Also the landscape in all these poets is shown in the sunlight alone, with the exception of those few scenes of the "dying city" at night. There was no clash in this respect between Hölderlin and his literary models; he could adapt himself easily to these features of their poetry. Mórke, however, was in just the opposite position. Prone as he was to an almost childish ancestor worship, he was extremely proud of his North German heritage, as he told Storm, and boasted that his family had come from Havelberg. From the beginning of his classical education he had felt the greatest enthusiasm for the Odyssey; its quasi-northern seascapes pleased him as much as they did the Mecklenburg peasant, J. H. Voss. While at Tübingen, where he continued to read and re-read the great sea poem, he developed an interest in the Pacific Ocean and its islands. Ever since the publication of Defoe's Robinson Crusoe in Germany there had been a certain amount of Südmeerschwärmerei, increased by the reports of Cook and Forster from the Society Islands. Alexander von Humboldt himself wished to go there; in 1808

a group of Tübingen students were punished for forming a society with the intention of going to Tahiti and establishing a Spartan republic on the island. In literature Matthius Claudius and Mörrike's beloved Jean Paul wrote of the Glückinseln. It is no wonder that Morike should take up this picture of the paradisaical island and combine it with those he had learned to know in the Odyssey and in Shakespeare, whose Tempest and Midsummer Night's Dream he read in the company of his friend Bauer. Mörrike formed his picture of Orplid under all these influences.

Of them all, the Odyssey, which Mörrike had known from childhood, was apt to have the most weight, if for no other reason than that Shakespeare's island was not described with the definite landscape details which would appeal to the painter's eye of Mörrike, while the lush island of Tahiti simply would not seem the proper place for Mörrike's fairies. Of course, Mörrike knew no seascapes, a fact which was to discourage the more matter-of-fact poet of the later years; at this time he had not even traveled far enough south to become acquainted with the Bodensee. Thus he was forced to borrow--consciously or unconsciously--the picture of sea and island which he knew best in literature, that of the Odyssey. As in the case of Hölderlin and the Iliad, a thorough knowledge of a classical poet will appear at suitable times, whether the author desires it to or not.

There are many islands in the sea epic, the Isle of Aeolus, the Isle of Polyphemus, Ogygia and Aia, and many lands which might have suggested the scene or the people of Orplid, such as the country of the Phaeacians or of the Lotus-Eaters; but of all the landscapes in the poem, that of Calypso's island is the least exotic or strange, most appealing to Mörike's nature. Furthermore, it contains the most of the homely detail which Mörike was later to reproduce in the Idylle vom Bodensee, and which would lead him to become so fond of Theocritus. The island could easily be in the north, a proper home for the creations of Shakespeare or Mörike:

πῦρ μὲν ἐπ' ἐσκαρόφιν μέγα καίετο, πληόσε δ' ὄδμῃ  
 κέβρου τ' εὐκεάτοιο θύου τ' ἀνὰ νῆσον ὀδῶδειν  
 δαυομένων. ἢ δ' ἔνδον ἀοιδιάουσι' ὅπι καλῆ  
 ἰσπὸν ἐποικιομένη χρυσεῖη κερκέ δ' ἔβρακεν.  
 ὕλη δὲ σπέος ἀμφὶ πεφύκει τηλεθόωσα,  
 κληῖθρη τ' αἴγερὸς τε καὶ εὐώδης κυπάρισσος.<sup>46</sup>

It may seem strange that Orplid, supposedly such a happy place, is put under the cover of darkness--in other words, that we see the Isle of Calypso only at night--but a word must be said about the twenty year old's idea of the night and its purpose. The Stiftler is undoubtedly under the influence of Novalis as he writes the early verses, Nachts, omitted from his later editions, a contrast to the dying

night of Hölderlin, for whom all growth takes place in daylight:

Im Erdenschoss, im Hain, und auf der Flur,  
Wie wühlt es jetzo rings in der Natur  
Von nimmersatter Kräfte Gärung.<sup>47</sup>

He says the same thing with more finesse in his greater poems of the night, especially in Um Mitternacht and Gesang zu zweien in der Nacht. The same Nachtgefühl is in Nolten, but coupled with an air of tragedy. Contrasted to the New Year's Eve scene in the church tower are the night in which the Countess verges on madness, the night when Larkens commits suicide, the night of the deaths of Agnes and Nolten. In Orplid the two elements are mingled: the old King Ulmon is transfigured, but only through the renunciation of Thereile, the queen of the fairies, and the end of her rule in Orplid.

In the Märchen vom sichern Mann, this melange of happiness and tragedy is united with a rougher Homeric landscape. The landscape of Calypso's isle was an appropriate home for the goddess Orplid and her descendants, but for Mörike's other creation of the time, the giant Suckelborst, he had to call on two other scenes from the Odyssey, the Isle of Polyphemus and the land of the dead. Just as the forest of Suckelborst, the island of the monster, is seen first by sight, the Cimmerian land is in perpetual

gloom. The poem and its setting underwent many revisions from the days at Tübingen until its final composition in 1838. Conceived at the same time as the rest of the Orplid cycle, the scene was originally laid in the magical island, but later, the result of Mörike's increasing love for the folklore of his own country, the characters were removed to "ein mächtiger Fels in den Bergen des Schwarzwalds"<sup>48</sup>, although still connected with Orplid. Lolegrin, the messenger of the gods, obviously modeled on the Hermes of the Odyssey, is

"Sonst nur auf Orplid gesehen, denn andere Länder  
vermied er".<sup>49</sup>

The landscape of the poem is taken directly from those books of the epic which have to do with the night-side of the early Greek character. The description of the unregenerate Suckelborst's cave, his person, and the pranks he plays on the countryside is borrowed from Homer, but with the accent on the humorous rather than the horrible. Both the Cyclops and Mörike's giant are worthless vassals, but the Cyclop's nightly amusement is the theft of sheep and cattle; Suckelborst engages in this task only incidentally. The home of the Cyclops is full of vessels of whey and stacks of cheeses; the pens are crowded with lambs.

παροὶ μὲν τυρῶν βρέθον, στείνοντο δὲ σίηχαι  
ἀρνῶν ἅδ' ἐρίφων.<sup>50</sup>

But to top it off he is a cannibal. Suckelborst prefers only honest German delicacies:

Aber nun lag er mittags im seiner Behausung,  
Seinen geliebsten Frass zu verdau'n, saftstrotzende  
Rüben,  
Zu dem geräucherten Speck, den die Bauern ihm bringen  
vertragsweis.<sup>51</sup>

But the *Nekyia* which has always been the most fascinating part of the epic to the mystic and sometimes to the grotesque mind--poets from Dante to Joyce have used it--was even dearer to Mörike, the townsman of Justinus Kerner, than the Cyclops episode with its comic possibilities. At this point in both Homer and Mörike the art of the poet changes from that of the pure raconteur to something approaching the tragic. Here the reckless and crafty adventurer, Odysseus, unshaken by the deaths of his companions, realizes for the first time the hopelessness of life in the meeting with his mother and in the question of Heracles: *ἢ τίνα καὶ, οὐ/κακὸν νόρον ἤγηλάσεις;*<sup>52</sup> Here Suckelborst, the immortal who has let himself be debased into an animal state, sees how he has abused his power. The scene is the same, the land at the limits of the world, in the farthest north. The journey of the two heroes is made over the same paths:

Stets gegen Mitternacht läuft er, denn dies ist der  
Weg zu den Toten.

Schon mit den siebenten Morgen erreicht er die finstere  
Pforte.<sup>53</sup>

is the inlander's equivalent of the seafaring Homer's

*δύστρο τ' ἠέλιος σκιδώωντό τε πάσαι ἀγυαί.  
ἢ δ' ἔς πείραθ' ἔκανε Βαθυπρόου Ὠκεανοῦ.*<sup>54</sup>

The crowd of ghosts is varied in each Hades: hucksters and pimps, "lausige Dichter" and "old men of many and evil days" stand side by side with kings and heroes, and their voices are equally weak--the dead no longer possess the "hellklingendes Wort".<sup>55</sup>

Yet before the poem was finally set down on paper, Mörike had read other and later Greek poets, and to them he owes a feature of the landscape that was to become more and more important in his poetry. From the, too, he was to learn a different type of poetry; forgetting the semi-tragic night scenes of the Odyssey he would assume the elegant resignation of the Anthology. The landscape of Homer's Cimmerian land is bare, without adornment, simply *ἦερς καὶ νεβέλη κεκαλυμμένοι*<sup>56</sup>, but Mörike's is ornamented with the Hellenistic tree of death, "die finstere Wand der Zypressen",<sup>57</sup> and the Germanic Lolegrin, in the form of a cicada, balances himself "auf dem hangenden Zweig der Schwarzen Weide".<sup>58</sup> Mörike is deserting the wild

landscape of the paintings described in Maler Nolten for elegiac and decadent scene of the late Greek island. He has gone from the romantic art of a Casper David Friedrich to the type of painting which reached its nadir in the Villa am Meer and Toteninsel of Böcklin. In 1828 Mörike had come to know Theocritus, whom he soon called his Leibspeise, and presumably the poets of the Anthology, mentioned in a letter written just a decade later in the year of the publication of Sichern Mann, to Vischer. He planned a book of translations, to be called Klassische Blumenlese, in two volumes: "wovon das erste [Bändchen] eine Lese aus den homerischen Hymnen, Tyrtäus, Theognis, und verschiedenen Überresten, ferner aus der griechischen Anthologie, dem Theokrit, Bion und Moschus, Catull, Horaz und Tibull enthalten wird".<sup>59</sup> The idyll of Theocritus most closely connected with Sichern Mann is the eleventh, "The Cyclops". The Cyclops of this poem is quite a different fellow from Homer's monster, and he lives in a different land. Theocritus' Cyclops has not yet been blinded, although, while speaking of singeing his beard, he refers inadvertently to his single great eye. He is trying to win the love of the sea-nymph, Galatea, to whom he describes his home in very fetching terms. It is not any longer the rough island of Homer but the Sicily of the bucolic poets:

ἔστι μέλας κισσός, ἔστι ἄμπελος ἀγλυκύκαρπος,  
 ἔστι ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ, τό μοι εἰ πολυδένδρεος Ἠΐτνα  
 λευκᾶς ἐκ κισθῶνος ποτὸν ἀμβρόσιον προΐητι. <sup>60</sup>

The reading of such writers undoubtedly softened the picture Mörke had made of Suckelborst's world; the forest which is his home--and a forest very much like that of the fairies in Orplid--is a much wilder and more unpleasant place than the Hades at the end of the little epic. It is quite possible that no single one of the Hellenistic poets--perhaps it is one of their Roman imitators rather than a Greek himself--supplied Mörke with the common classical conceits of the cypress and the cicada. It is important only that Alexandrian poetry was becoming Mörke's Leibspeise, replacing the greater work of Homer.

In 1828, the year when Mörke first read Theocritus, he composed a poem in complete contrast to the dark landscapes he had painted before. It bears the same title as Hölderlin's Herbstfeier, and like the poem of the earlier Swabian it represents the poet's attempt to identify his native landscape with that of Greece. But Hölderlin's poem is the last of such attempts on his part--it lies just before the turn of the century and is contemporary to the series of odes in which Hölderlin was attempting to relate the two lands, rather than to identify them; it is actually

a picture of that season in which he believed Swabia and Greece might be most alike. Mörike had no such object; he peopled the countryside of Swabia with all the figures of late Greek mythology, depicted with as much sensuality as the customs of the day allowed. Always a more sensual man than the earlier poet, Mörike was amenable to the lascivious quality in Theocritus and the poets of the Anthology, despite the fact that he lived in a period with much stricter customs, literary and social, than Hölderlin, who wrote as a contemporary of Heine and the young Friedrich Schlegel. Hölderlin, the translator of Pindar, speaks of "des Opfers festliche Flamme";<sup>61</sup> Mörike, the translator of Theocritus, writes:

Mädchen! Schlingt die wildsten Tänze,  
Reisst nur euren Kranz entzwei!  
Ohne Furcht, denn solche Kränze  
Flickt man immer wieder neu.<sup>62</sup>

We wonder what brought about this sudden change in Mörike, from the almost tragic poet of the night to an artist who presages the paganism of a Heine and the earthiness of a Keller. The erotic side of his nature cannot be too great, for he was more likely, after the manner of Novalis, to involve it with religion: Novalis's concern with the supernatural in the form of Elisabeth, the gypsy, was to become the Catholic mysticism which led the poet to his

unhappy marriage with Gretchen Speeth. The oriental element of Mörrike, like that of Hölderlin, represented the strongest of emotions, it is true; but unlike Hölderlin's, it was not symbolized by fire, but rather, fused with mysticism, by "die laue, duftige Nacht". Actually, from this time on, it forms a kind of bond between the Catholicism towards which Mörrike tended more and more, and the gentle, elegiac poetry of death--we might call it "cypress" poetry --of the Hellenistic Greeks. The little novelle, Die Hand der Jezerte, is the best example of this hybrid style of Mörrike: it takes place in an oriental milieu, and the first part of the story resembles those legends of the early Church in the East, so popular with the romanticists--Wackenroder's Märchen von einem nackten Heiligen is a prime example; but the work ends on an island, eine Toteninsel, that might be found in any number of late Greek poems. Thus we are brought back to Theocritus once more; if we can discover what made Mörrike so interested in this Hellenistic poetry we shall know the cause of his transformation.

By 1838, the years of the Lebenswende--the final composition of the Sichern Mann contains the last evidence of his Homeric interests--the romantic movement had passed away in Swabia. If it lived on at all, it did so in the Ritterdichtung of Uhland's imitators and the rather sickly nature verse of Gustav Schwab and Karl Mayer. Mörrike had

written his romantic works: his Nolten, his Hoffmannesque Schatz, and most of his best verse, in which he had turned the musicality of the first romantic school's theory into great poetry. Now, settled at Cleversulzbach, the years in which he felt himself to be "ein gehetztes Wild, unstat und heimatlos"<sup>63</sup> were ended; his tragic side became more contemplative, more inclined to resignation. In his nature poetry he had become more the steady observer than the Sturmer und Dranger; the quick and formless impressions of Mein Fluss and Auf der Reise have given way to the classical and detailed Waldidylle. He has come to see nature as it is, not as he feels it to be; Swabia is not identified with Theocritus' Greece, but treated as Theocritus would have treated it, had he been a Biedermeier--which he very nearly was, living under the more or less benevolent tyranny of Ptolemy Philadelphus and Hiero of Syracuse, and the poet of a rural yet refined civilization with Alexandria rather than Munich as its great but artificial center. For Mörike, who was too timid to travel, it was no great trick of the imagination to think of Swabia and Sicily as two charming, pastoral lands, and of himself and his friends, Kurz, Vischer, Strauss, and later, Storm and Heyse, as a circle of refined and sensitive poets, exchanging elegant pièces d'occasion with one another. In this easy comparison of his own life with the imagined one of Hellenistic Greece

lies the reason for Mörrike's change from the rough and gloomy Homeric world to the gentler scenes of Sicily. While the later Mörrike was more than willing to construct dream worlds for himself, in order that his dull country life could be suitable for a great poet and that he might find a counterbalance for his religious troubles, which became increasingly painful, he was not willing to compromise about nature. He preferred to describe that in nature which he could see and examine, the ultimate reason why he turned away from Homer to Theocritus. He had never seen the real Homeric sea-picture, having never traveled into Italy or north into the land of his ancestors; he felt much more at home in the warm and gentle pastures of the late Greek poets, where the reader is not conscious of the sea or nature's terrifying side. Therefore, honest as he was in this respect and requiring a classical crutch to lean upon--for Mörrike was at no time very sure of himself and needed the confidence a classical model might give--he abandoned Homer for Theocritus, encouraged by his personal environment, by the literary figures around him, and by the whole atmosphere of Biedermeier, the parent of Heimatdichtung.

During the rest of Mörrike's creative life, from the publication of the Gedichte to the composition of Mozart auf der Reise nach Prag and a handful of late poems, these

elements run parallel: the poet's Alexandrianism, his love for a Horatian existence, and his provincialism, his affection for Swabia and its folklore. Mörike's tendency toward provincialism grew constantly: he began to write poems in the Swabian dialect, and at the time of Storm's visit he addressed the North German in his Mundart, although he used the choicest Hochdeutsch when reading aloud. This attitude is most perfectly expressed in Der alte Turmhahn, where it is not united with Hellenistic conceits and meters, but rather done in Knittelvers with all the half comical, half pathetic trimmings of which Mörike, Jean Paul's pupil, is the master. The other poems written in a purely German style are excellent comedy, treating only the flimsiest themes, such as the old problem of hen and egg (Auf ein Ei geschrieben) or weak verse and strong radishes (Restauration). The Alexandrian poems, like those of Theocritus, are divided almost evenly between rustic scenes and Gelegenheitsgedichte. All of them are written with grace, with Mörike's usual fine humor, and with an elegance that the poet once had lacked, yet the distich becomes a little artificial at times, especially when applied to the Swabian countryman. Like his idol, Mozart, Mörike is never bad nor tasteless, but we wish for more variety and less polish. The distich is fitted to every subject: it replaces the Volkslied, it serves as the form of midnight conversation between the

Präzeptor Ziborius and his wife on vinegar making, it does duty in the epistle and the poetical joke. Of these the last is most to our taste today. Yet all of this verse is charming and we should have no cause to complain, were it not that it is just these poems which formed the opinion of Heyse, Storm, and Keller, and thus the opinion of the general public.

The nature poems, in which he had the excellent model of the *Bucolics* and the *Anthology*, are far better, for Mörke has succeeded in combining the Swabian landscape with that of Sicily. To do so he has been forced to drop all the seasons except summer from his poems. He has been forced to confine himself to the drowsy midday or afternoon in the fields. All features peculiarly German are omitted: his dawn poems, descendants of the Tagelieder of Wolfram von Eschenbach, have disappeared because they have no Greek equivalents. There can be no more Volker poems or Elfenlieder --these non-Greek features are not permissible. Thus, working under a system as confined, in its own way, as that of the French classicists, Mörke is most successful in the Nachmittags of the Bilder aus Bebenhausen, or the pastoral scenes in Die Idylle vom Bodensee, which correspond to any number of poems in later Greek literature, such as the famous little lyric from the *Anthology*:

Κλῶνες ἀπήοριοι ταναΐης δρνώς, εὔσκιον ἦψος  
 ἀνδράσιν ἄκρητον καῦμα φυλασσομένοις,  
 Εὐπέταλοι, κεράμων στεγανώτεροι, οἰκία φαττῶν,  
 οἰκία τεττίγων, ἔνδοι ἀκρέμονες,  
 Κῆμ' ἄν ἐμετέρασιν ἐποκλινθέντα κόμασιν  
 βύσασθ', ἀκτίνων ἠελίου φυγάδα. <sup>64</sup>

On the other hand, those sections of Die Idylle which deal with peasant life always have the same slight air of artificiality that we find in Hermann und Dorothea; and even a little more, for Goethe's characters are types, and thus more suited to the classical treatment, while Mörike's are individuals, at home only by the Lake of Constance.

Mozart auf der Reise nach Prag is the greatest production of the Alexandrian Mörike; at the same time it contains the seeds of a return to a deeper Hellenism, which unfortunately never took place, Mörike's writing career having come to an end through his own lassitude. In this picture of rococo society just before the French Revolution began its destruction, Mörike has given as one of the most charming expressions of Alexandrianism in modern European literature, greater even than La Princesse de Cleves or Manon Lescaut, for these two rococo tales are written by authors living in the period and so unable to obtain Mörike's historical perspective. Mörike's love of the elegant and genteel life of

the late Greeks is reflected in his description of a society very much like theirs, lacking those exceedingly homely elements of the pastor's life which Mörike, for all his imagination, could not combine with the more polished and sophisticated Horatian existence. Mörike, the country preacher, was quite at home with the Theocritus of the Pharmaceutria or the Singing Matches, not so much with the refined poet of the Hylas or Little Heracles. He could never carry off a Horatian lyric with just the same grace as the master himself. But when writing his novelle, Mörike could observe matters from without, almost as a historian, rather than from within as a lyricist. He could also recall the rococo home of his uncle Georgii in Stuttgart, where he had learned to love the music of Mozart. The mise en scène is that of a Mozartian opera: the birthday party in the castle, the artificial garden, the work of the Mozarts; the atmosphere and the incidents are the same: the story of the marvelous lemon tree, its adventures in the salons of Ninon de Lenclos and Madame de Sévigné, and most of all, Mozart's tale of his childhood visit to Italy on his description of the water festivals there. All this is balanced by the story of the Mozart's life in Vienna, a life like that of Biedermeier--Mozart's purchase of the garden tools would be a subject fit for Moritz von Schwind. The Rahmenerzählung-device allows

Mörrike to balance all these parts delicately and without the strain apparent in his poetry when he makes the same attempt. However, the value of the tale, up to its last few pages, lies in its picture of rococo society.

Then Mozart's music introduces the old romanticism of Mörrike once more, which we had thought forgotten. Mörrike's conceptions of Mozart's music is that of Hoffmann in Don Juan; and throughout his life it never changed--Mozart and his last opera remained the chief example of the demonic in music. For the young Mörrike music and the night had always been united; the songs of Elisabeth in Nolten, the early night poems, such as Gesang zu Zweien in der Nacht, and the Volker poems are all evidence of his feeling. That Mozart's Don Juan fulfilled this ideal of Mörrike, we know from the home performances given to please him and from the number of times the opera is mentioned in his writings. Now at the end of Mörrike's last novelle we find the finale of the opera epitomized once more and in words that leave no doubt as to the meaning of the music for Mörrike. The entire description of the composer's reading of the opera is justly famous, as famous as Hoffmann's, and the climax is in these lines: "Wie von entlegenen Sternenkreisen fallen die Töne aus silbernen Posaunen, eiskalt, Mark und Seele durchschneidend, herunter durch die blaue Nacht".<sup>65</sup>

It is here that Mörike presages the chief thesis of Nietzsche's essay, Die Geburt der Tragödie, and in a form that the poet had last used many years before just at the end of his romantic period, in An eine Äolsharfe, where the Greek atmosphere is combined with thoughts of music and death. We might hope that Mörike now would be able to combine the formal skill and Grecian knowledge he had acquired during the ensuing decades with this re-discovered tragic sense of his early, Homeric period, but the poet was too old and too resigned. We have only one poem from his last years which hints at what Mörike might have done. It is Erinna an Sappho, written in 1863. For the last time Mörike has been able to free himself from his provincial tastes and Theocritan model, and to write a tragic poem as great as any of his early Volkslieder, enobled by the spirit of classical art. The roughness of the old Homeric landscapes, the elegance and artificiality of the Alexandrian, are gone; the strength of the one and the refinement of the other are left.

## Chapter IV

## GREEK OR CHRISTIAN?

Many critics, wishing to surround a poet with an aura, or influenced by the poet's desire to do as much for himself, have tried to make us believe that their subject was a communicant, and a fervent one, of a religion unknown to his country or his time. Rather than leave a man with no beliefs at all they will invest him with all degrees of religious cult, from the diabolism of a Baudelaire to the superspiritualized Platonism of a Shelley. Only the clearest and most autobiographical poets, such as Goethe, have escaped these critics, and that largely because they were willing and able to set down a complete record of their religious--or if you please, intellectual--life; the unknown unfortunates, Homer and Shakespeare, may be credited with any faith that suits their critics, even though they may have been actually concerned with none. It should be obvious that any man living in a Christian age and country will be most influenced by Christianity, if only because he has known the creed from his cradle. Later on he may reject religion altogether, or assume a Greek or Hindu cult, but he will still remain a Christian in essence; he will never become so abstract nor so much concerned with devils as to forget his first religion. A writer who denies this,

who states that he is a believer in the Platonic Forms or Venus vulgivalva is either a poseur or a madman. In neither case will his claim be valid; the former has been converted to his new belief in the hope of giving some value to his poetry--no strange phenomenon today; the latter has seized upon an exotic faith in order to bolster his failing mind, to find an answer or excuse for his emotional upsets.

The classics of every literature--that is, those writers who do not need to resort to any sort of mystification or virtuosity to make up for a lack of clarity or strength--have regarded the acquired belief, the Greek, for instance, as an ideal of beauty and reason, an educational means, full of many of the promises which Christianity has given them and which they cannot find in every day life. Even Nietzsche must go through the training of the Lutheran school and the classical university to react against them, a reaction as much due to personal defects as to a desire to discover the Urelemente des Lebens. This is not to say that the classics will not recognize the existence of an Urwelt--Goethe offers sufficient proof of that--but they will explore this primeval world only while remembering that they are the leaders of a cultured society, and presumably, a humane one. Any trip they may make into the chaotic world of the Bacchae is as much controlled by their Greek-Christian, their "humanistic" attitude, as an excursion into

the civilized society of the Dialogues. No modern European literature has developed without Greek aid, not even that of the Slavs, but there has been no writer who actually believed in the Greek religion.

It has become the custom, nevertheless, to claim that Hölderlin, like Shelley, Keats and Chenier, possessed a Hellenic religion. One is able to make a good case for Hölderlin, and the German critics, who show a remarkable talent for such work, although no more than certain translators in England and America, have taken full advantage of their opportunities. Three factors that enable the critic to transform Hölderlin into that impossible creature, the true pagan in a Protestant land and rationalistic age, are --once more--his madness, the obvious sincerity and piety of his works, and the sudden appearance of Christ in the last poems--a sure sign of conversion. The first, of course, is a valuable tool for any critic who wishes to play upon the credulity of his readers and to convince them by emotional rather than by reasonable means. An incident noted in Rilke's letters<sup>1</sup> illustrates the ease with which sensationalism enters the literary judgments of intelligent people. While lecturing at Munich in 1915, Norbert von Hellingrath, the young editor of Hölderlin's poems, challenged his audience to devise any other possible end for the poet except that madness which Schicksal had dealt him. Of course no one

was able to think of the possibility that Hölderlin might have lived through his Sturm und Drang period, just as Goethe, Schiller, and Mörike did, to become either a great intellectual figure or a sleepy pastor. Rilke was much impressed by this performance. Likewise, since the poet speaks with reverence of various deities, whom he often refuses to name directly, preferring cognates, such as "Vater Äther" for Zeus or "Heiliges Licht" for Apollo, it is presumed that the highly cultured and intelligent German worshipped natural forces as simply and with as little question as a Greek shepherd. Classical students have recognized for a long time--ever since the Renaissance--that neither Plato nor Lucretius believed in the gods as such or worshipped natural forces. They examined nature with respect, partly a result of the awe felt by anyone, even a sophisticate, before great force, partly a remnant of the reverence their ancestors and less subtle contemporaries felt for the divine. Hölderlin was much more ~~rational~~ than either the Greek or the Roman, and so was able to speak with more enthusiasm and sincerity. Not only was he very young at the time of his literary work, but he was also the product of a literature whose pride has always been not the polish and keenness of Paris and Athens, which can so easily become frivolity or sophistry, but earnestness and Gründlichkeit. The more romantic writers on Hölderlin might believe that this

almost naive quality would lead to a worship of the nature deities of Greece, and then, in such an honorable and upright mind, to the inevitable clash with Christianity. E. M. Butler, the English student of German Hellenism, paints an apocalyptic scene<sup>2</sup> of the meeting of a Greek Hölderlin with Christ, a conflict that resulted in the collapse of the poet's mind. That would be very well, were it not that Hölderlin was reared in a rationalistic century which in itself would preclude any belief in such gods, and were it not that Hölderlin, reared as a Lutheran, remained one in practice until his collapse. The sudden interest in Christ in the last sane period of his life is a result of historical and mythical studies rather than of a religious disturbance; that Christ became so important in the last poems, and that he sometimes seems to be in conflict with the matter of the preceding poetry, is evidence of the weakening mind's failure to keep Christ in his place as a mythological figure, a return to the unquestioning faith of a child. It may be argued, too, that Hölderlin, coming at the end of eighteenth century literature was--as has been said of the early romantics, especially the Schlegels, and of Kleist--a decadent offspring of the Weimar idealists; in his eyes the Greek ideals would become Greek realities; Christian humanism would become a Christian mysticism approaching the Catholic. Here again we must turn to the poet's time and

his contemporaries. In the case of the so-called "rhapsodic poets" such as Pindar, Blake, Shelley, Rimbaud, and Hölderlin (and Hölderlin is forever numbered among them, if only because of the force of public opinion) the poet's period is almost always forgotten; because of the elevation of their poetry, so remote from everyday life, the critics seldom think of them as living during a particular age. Some writers so much concerned with the "vision" of Blake and Shelley that they cannot see the poets as inevitable products of late Georgian England; likewise they cannot see Hölderlin as the natural product of a rationalistic Lutheranism and Weimar classicism. In other words, although he had nothing in common with the romantic movement but a few years of contemporary literary work, he is treated as if he were the romantic par excellence, the mystical Schwärmer for whom no excess is too great. Yet he is neither a decadent nor a sport, but a reasonable continuation of the classical movement whose life was cut short by an unfortunate mental disease, just as Kleist's was by the conditions in Prussia during the Napoleonic Wars. In Kleist's character, where there were such obvious weaknesses, these weaknesses were aided by events of the time. In another period he might have survived. Hölderlin, too, whose character hid the one very natural flaw of the need for dependence on another person or set of ideas, might have survived his early years

with the aid of friends. Only the chance of madness stopped him in the midst of his first original work. Neither Hölderlin's collapse nor Kleist's suicide was caused by Schicksal, an unescapable fate.

When Hölderlin began his studies in the Klosterschulen of Denkendorf and Maulbronn, the educational system of the Lutheran Church in Swabia was that founded by Johann Albrecht Bengel and his school, of whom the brightest later lights were Friedrich Ötinger and Philipp Hiller. Bengel himself had taught for twenty eight years in Denkendorf, and his rules were still faithfully followed there, as in all the ecclesiastical schools of Württemberg, forty years after his death. Ötinger was a typical pastor of rationalism, who let himself be painted with phial and globe, Bible and crucifix, as "pastor of nature" and "pastor of grace". Hiller, whose life forms a curious parallel to Hölderlin's-- he went through the same schools, Denkendorf, Maulbronn, and Tübingen, and became a much more famous poet in his day-- was the author of a book of verse, Geistliches Liederkästlein, which had a great influence on young Hölderlin, especially since a son of Hiller was a teacher at Maulbronn during Hölderlin's stay. Madame de Stael's description of the typical Protestant pastor of eighteenth century Germany suits all these men: they are all characterized by "la réunion d'une foi vive avec l'esprit d'examen". Leur raison

n'a point fait tort à leur croyance, ni leur croyance à leur raison; et leurs facultés morales ont agi toujours ensemble.<sup>3</sup> The sensitive and enthusiastic boy was exposed to a training calculated to produce just that sort of mind; pious, but reasonable, and always moral, yet not fanatically so. A great deal has been said about Hölderlin's distaste for Protestantism, learned under the hard discipline of the seminaries. Once more the dramatic quality of Hölderlin's life has gotten the better of good sense. In all the letters written from the Klosterschulen, there is no more than the usual schoolboy complaint about bad food and the request for better from home: ". . . und neulich zwang ich mich wieder mit einem schrecklich leeren Magen zur Suppe, die Ihr hungrigster Tagelohner untern essen würde . . . Ein gutes, gutes Werk wars also für den Fritz, wenn Sie ihm etwas Caffee schikten".<sup>4</sup> The moral atmosphere of the cloister must not have been very displeasing to a boy of Hölderlin's nature, who thanked God, after a glance into Wieland's Der neue Amadis, "dass meine Fantasie noch unbefleckt ist, dass mir vor dem Dichter, der gewiss eine Unschuld schamroth machen würde, ekelt".<sup>5</sup> Despite the many flirtations he was involved in now and then throughout his life, and despite his secret engagement to Luise Nast while he was still in the seminary, he was hardly so passionate as Novalis, Kleist, or Mörrike; in all his early letters and poems the references to "mein Mädchen", "Stella", "Lyda", or whatever other name

he chose to use, seem artificial and false, simply poses. Any attempt to find in these early writings the beginning of an erotic religiosity, of the type so evident in Novalis or Mörike, and to trace it to the Diotima poems, and the Madonnenhymne of his mad period, would be a little silly, in view of the extremely intellectual attitude he always took towards women. Even the loss of Susette Gontard appears to have hurt Hölderlin more intellectually than personally: she had meant much more to him as a creature of his mind than as a person. The essential difference between Hölderlin's morality and that of certain of his contemporaries, Kleist for instance, is that the Swabian's was a constant quality, easy for him to maintain. In the later poems it expresses itself as the pastoral sense of duty toward others; in these boyhood verses, where Hölderlin becomes stylistically as wild as the worst baroque poet, his battles with "dem lokenden süßlichen Lasterarm"<sup>6</sup> are those of the minister, carried on for the edification of the flock. We need only to compare his list of sins and vices in Die Bücher der Zeiten with Kleist's description of the degenerate in the hospital at Würzburg<sup>7</sup> to see the difference. Hölderlin runs a gauntlet of horrors from tyranny to cannibalism, and remains quite innocent in his attitude, while Kleist, like Dostoyevsky's Raskolnikov, plunges into the depths, frightens himself almost to death with the enormity of what he has done, and becomes saintly as an anchorite--for a time.

The two sources of Hölderlin's early poetry, the Lutheran church poetry and Klopstock's odes, are closely related to one another: both are overdone, yet possess a core of Nüchternheit, both are based on a strict moral code and smack of the Old Testament in their language. Yet from Klopstock alone Hölderlin could obtain a more exalted diction, the Greek meters, the occasional antique German themes, and the material for the Lyda and Stella poems. The impression Klopstock made must have been a lasting one, for ~~the~~ Patmos, written at the time of the Bordeaux journey, contains many reminiscences of the Messias. But there is another impression gained at this time quite as lasting as Klopstock's influence; Hölderlin was learning to read the κοινωνία of the New Testament, and its language helped form the diction of Patmos quite as much as that of Klopstock. There is no trace of the Hellenistic language in the early poems, despite the apocalyptic mood of several of them; thus it may be surmised that Hölderlin did not attempt to imitate Greek constructions, words, or phrases for a lack of knowledge of the language--all his attention had to be placed on parsing and accurate translation. It must be remembered that Greekisms begin to appear in the poet's verse only during the long and arduous translation of Pindar; and it was not until the choice of Patmos for a subject that Hölderlin had occasion to take up the Greek Testament once more.

Another reason for the lack of New Testament imagery in his early work is the nature of the poems themselves. They are not actually religious; that is, they do not concern God or the "mystic vision", but instead, man and his morals. In this they are typical of the rationalistic church in a rationalistic age; Protestantism--and Catholicism to a great extent--is nothing but a school of ethics at best, the church a place of entertainment, where the preachers rival one another in rhetoric, not in belief. The figures around which the church is formed have become mythology--and there is no Ernest Renan or David Friedrich Strauss to make the mythology interesting. The novel of K. Ph. Moritz, Anton Reiser, gives us an excellent picture of the worse side of the eighteenth century church. For young Reiser, apprenticed out to a miserable task, the church was not a place of worship, but a theater in which he might see his magnificent Pastor Paulmann. (On the other hand, when the boy was forced to learn the tenets of Lutheranism, "Antons Kopf wurde dadurch freilich mit vielem unnützem Zeuge angefüllt, aber er lernte doch Hauptabtheilungen und Unterabtheilungen machen, er lernte systematisch zu Werke gehen".<sup>8</sup> The last phrase indicates the value which Moritz, one of the more advanced educational thinkers of the day, placed on the church's teachings.) There is no reason to think that Hölderlin, while becoming extremely moral and reasonable in his religion, avoided the vices inherent in such a system: the exaggerated theatricalism and rhetoric

which replaces the ardent belief impossible for den aufgeklärten Geist. It is a question of public demand, too; if the clergyman and his intellectual religion are unable to present the churchgoer with a real community of spirit, such as can be found in Pietism, the layman's spiritual, or emotional, needs must be fulfilled with the thunderous sermon. For Hölderlin, brought up in this atmosphere, the great figures of the church were the Lutheran leaders, military and intellectual, such as Gustav Adolf and Kepler; Christ himself had become poetically of no value, except to fill up lines in rhetorical verse. Thus, Christ, when He appears--and it is only once in the early poems--is described by all those tasteless phrases which have nothing to do with reverence, but are rather the instruments of the orator, used to add to the horror, and the audience-appeal, of the apocalyptic picture. The lines near the end of Die Bücher der Zeiten:

Jesus Christus Kreuzestod!

Des Sohnes Gottes Kreuzetod!

Des Lamms auf dem Throne Kreuzestod!<sup>9</sup>

are written in precisely the same spirit as those describing the ultimate in horror:

Des Feindes Jauchzen

Ueber dem Wohlgeruch,

Welcher warm dampft

Aus dem Eingeweid.<sup>10</sup>

Such passages as these are, of course, only the least pleasant side of Hölderlin's early poetry, as they were of the sermons of the day. Most of these verses are much more restrained in language, if not less enthusiastic, and concern those virtues commonly found in the serman. In poems like Männerjubel and An die Vollendung the poet addresses the "Erhabene Tochter Gottes, Gerechtigkeit",<sup>11</sup> or perhaps "Freiheit, heilinger Überrest/Aus Edens Tagen".<sup>12</sup> The choice of these particular ideals reminds us that Holderlin was now coming under the influence of Schiller, and that Don Carlos was replacing Klopstock in his affections. Lines like:

Es glimmt in uns ein Funke der Göttlichen<sup>13</sup>  
are typical of the eighties, which produced Schiller's play and Egmont: Hölderlin was preparing himself for the world he would enter at Tübingen and later at Jena. It was not too difficult a task, for that reasonable side of Lutheran teachings, "L'ésprit d'examen", was nothing less than the spirit of Humanität removed from the sphere of art and philosophy to everyday life. The poet need only rid himself of the antiquated art he had learned from the church songs and Klopstock to become a member of Schiller's world. The Gustav Adolf poems contain a strange mixture of bombast that seems to come from the Triumphlieder of the seventeenth century, and the Freiheitsbegeisterung of Don Carlos. In

one of the poems, after a short and more or less reasonable introduction, Hölderlin begins one of those repetitious passages so dear to the heart of a Kuhlmann:

Dank dem Retter der Freiheit!

Dem Richter der Witwenmörder!

Dank dem Sieger bei Lipsia!

Dank dem Sieger am Lechus!

Dank dem Sieger im Todesthal!<sup>14</sup>

Of course, we might say that the spirit of the writing resembles that of Sturm und Drang. Yet there are two important differences between a Lenz and a young Hölderlin, differences which prove his affinity to the old geistliche Lieder and Klopstock once more. In the first place Hölderlin is hardly as confident of his own importance as Karl Moor or as sure of his ability to remake the world. The theme of at least half the poems written in Maulbronn and Denkendorf is memento mori. It is not the titanic despair that Goethe describes in An Schwager Kronos and that drives Werther to blow out his brains. The despair of a Prometheus presupposes a great sense of personal importance, but Hölderlin is just as convinced of his own impotence as the poet of the Thirty Years' War or the medieval hymnist. Hölderlin's elegiac tone is closely related to the "remember to die", too, and is certainly not part and parcel of Sturm und Drang. The elegy forms a thin line through all of Hölderlin's

poetry: it begins with An die Nachtigall and An Thills Grab, reaches a peak with the Menons Klage um Diotima, and disappears with the little poem, Hälfte des Lebens. Comparing An Thills Grab with Klopstock's Die Frühen Gräber, we immediately see the relationship between the two poets. Hölderlin modeled his early elegies on Klopstock's, of course, but as Baudelaire said of himself and Poe, Hölderlin's talent merely resembled that of older poet, and was no copy of it.

This same softness of the spirit, which made Hölderlin a natural elegiac poet, also made him dependent on the opinion of his family to a great extent, and kept him close to the devout Christianity of his home, quite a different thing from the rational religion he learned at the seminary. He was always very careful to assure his mother of his continued belief in God, despite the dangerous books with which he came in contact. After having read Spinoza, to whose conclusions, he believes, one will arrive if he depends upon his reason alone ("der kalten vom Herzen verlassenen Vernunft"<sup>15</sup>), he writes to his mother that the faith of his heart has not been shaken: "Wer hilft uns aus diesen Labyrinthen? --Christus. Er zeigt durch Wunder dass er das ist, was er von sich sagt, dass er Gott ist."<sup>16</sup>

This letter, written while Hölderlin was at Tübingen, offers evidence that Hölderlin was not always the advanced thinker

He appeared to his friends--not the man who could supply Hegel with enough philosophical material to last him a lifetime, and who could deal with Platonic abstracts as easily as his brilliant friend, Schelling. We need only to compare this letter, where all is expressed in the simplest and most convincing terms, with the ponderous and murky sentences of Über die Religion and other philosophical fragments to see that the former is real, while the latter is an attempt to think in the manner of others. Letters such as this one we often called up as proof of Hölderlin's "essential conflict with Christianity"; on these grounds he is placed side by side with Heine. Knowing the argument between Hölderlin and his mother over the assumption of a vicariate, some writers have attempted to extend the conflict to the belief itself with the claim that Hölderlin's religion was forced on him by the old lady. It is true that in the presence of his intellectual friends he did not dispute the attitude of the Weimar classicists: that Christianity is a myth, beautiful or otherwise, and should be treated as such. Hölderlin tried to ignore the matter altogether, omitting it from his intellectual life. But the conflict with his mother's religion did not exist: ignoring the matter, as Hölderlin did from his Tübingen years through the composition of Empedokles, does not imply a conflict with it, but a desire to disassociate from

what, to his friends, were rather childish beliefs. In the meantime the poet continued to express himself to his mother in letter after letter. Had he wished to abandon the faith, he would have let sleeping dogs lie. Actually what conflict there was between himself and his mother was purely a material matter, not a question of belief. His mother wished him to obtain a steady position where he might obtain a good living--not an unnatural wish for a widowed lady--and Hölderlin, his head filled with ideas of literary glory, had no desire to settle down as a pastor, the traditional occupation of the Hölderlins and certainly a more secure living than that of a university lecturer or a poet. There could be no objection to the faith itself; when Hölderlin passed the state theology examinations in 1793, he was as thoroughly indoctrinated with Lutheran theology as any minister; and a minister is what Hölderlin was in temperament, a minister who did not wish to accept the responsibility of a parish. How Hölderlin regarded the matter is indicated by another letter to his mother: to him it was a question of his literary plans, public opinion, and an unpleasant position as a vicar. After mentioning his projected trip to Jena, he says: "Ist man auch nicht untätig, so sagen die Leute doch, er verzehrt seiner Mutter das Brod, und nützt ihr auf der Welt nichts. Auch muss ich fürchten, wenn ich zu lange keinen; Plaz bekomme, das Konsistorium möchte

mich beim Kopf kriegen und mich auf irgend eine Vikariat-  
stelle zu einem Pfarrer hinzwängen, der keinen freiwilligen  
Vikar bekommen kann".<sup>17</sup> How much Hölderlin associated the  
 idea of the ministry with the things of the body and not of  
 the soul is shown by the postscript to the letter: "Meine  
Bettzieche ist ziemlich schwarz"<sup>18</sup> - no cry of a latterday  
 pagan being forced into the Christian profession.

In the next years, spent tutoring at Waltershausen,  
 living in extreme poverty at Jena in order to be near his  
 beloved Schiller, and tutoring once more at Frankfurt in the  
 Gontard's home, Hölderlin continued the attitude of his  
 Tübingen sojourn. While associating with the great men of  
 his time, Schiller, Fichte, and Herder, he was the modern  
 man to perfection: he read Rousseau, revered, like  
 Schiller, the ideal of humanity, and wrote his rhymed Hymnen  
 and the first draft of Hyperion. The former were shot  
 through and through with the spirit, and many times the  
 letter, of Schiller's philosophical poems; the latter was  
 his attempt to put the same Schillerian ideals into the  
Bildungsroman, then becoming so popular in Germany through  
 the influence of Émile and Meister. Behind all this, in  
 the international scene, was the French Revolution; the news  
 of its horrors had not completely disgusted the Jena ideal-  
 ists, and as late as 1793, Hegel, Schelling, Hölderlin, and  
 their friends had set up a "liberty-tree" in a meadow near

Tübingen, a celebration which caused Duke Karl Eugen to visit the Stift shortly thereafter. It was once the custom to consider Hölderlin in the light of these idealistic writings alone, and although they have furnished modern critics with much of their ammunition for work on Hölderlin's Griechentum, it is impossible to consider the works written before Empedokles as true Hölderlin. In the case of men like Keller or Sainte-Beuve--to choose artists who matured rather late, as Hölderlin did--the early political poems, the early romantic novels are forgotten, or at least forgiven, in view of youthful environment and taste. Fortunately for these men, they lived to ripe old ages, establishing themselves as artists of quite a different type. Hölderlin, going mad at thirty four, had only begun his typical work, and so remains for many the satellite of Schiller and little more. (This is an understandable reaction against those who make a nationalistic cult of Hölderlin's late works, ignoring their intellectual value.) This is not to find fault with Schiller's ideals, for they were the common property, although not always in the same degree, of every cultured man of the period. The quarrel is an artistic one: that Schiller and his idealism encouraged Hölderlin to write in abstract rather than concrete terms, as he should have done from the very first, and thus deprived us, perhaps, of an amount of great poetry. The

tragedy of the classical movement is not that Goethe failed to encourage Kleist, who had the self-confidence to proceed to a certain point, at least, and to produce a series of characteristic works; it is that Goethe failed to take an interest in the far more pliant Hölderlin and did not lead him into the realm of the concrete. Had this been the case, Hölderlin might have begun his Hymnen in freien Strophen earlier in life and so came nearer to the completion of his plans.

The Greek element of the rhymed hymns and of Hyperion must be considered as the product of a bad case of youthful enthusiasm, not the result of a thorough study of the Greeks. We have mentioned before that Hölderlin did not take up the study of Homer seriously, with literary intentions, until 1798, and Pindar somewhat later; therefore, it would not be going too far to say that whatever Greek element there may be in the works of the period is that obtained indirectly. Like the quotations in Hölderlin's old master's thesis, the descriptions of Greece in Hyperion were not taken directly from the Greek poets nor inspired by them, but were conned from travel books; whatever Platonism there is in the novel and poems does not come from the philosopher himself, but in a round-about way, largely from Hölderlin's friends of Tübingen and Jena, whose tendency--a very common one in the eighteenth century--was to attribute their thoughts to Greek

philosophers, thus giving them the stamp of authority. Strangely enough, the allegorical tales in the Ofterdingen of Novalis, that poet who seems to be so far away from the Greeks with his mysticism and his medievalism, contain more material from the Platonic myths than any of the works of Hölderlin or his teachers. In Holderlin's novel there is nothing resembling Novalis' use of Plato: there is only one definite borrowing, the name of Diotima, the wise woman of Mantinea, mentioned in the Symposium as one of the philosophical instructors of Socrates. On this slight basis Hölderlin built his whole fanciful love affair. As for a direct use of the Platonic myth, like "der Gebilde losgebundene Reiche" in the Second Part of Faust, such cannot be found in the lyrical outpourings of Hyperion. As for the ideas expressed in the novel's conversations, some of them can be found in Plato, to be sure--and in all the other literature of German idealism. The sentences closing Hyperion: "Wie der Zwist der Liebenden, sind die Dissonanzen der Welt. Versöhnung ist mitten im Streit und alles Getrennte findet sich wieder",<sup>19</sup> are Platonic, a part of the myth of the "Round People" in the Symposium, the most famous dialogue and a favorite of the classicists. Yet the same sentiments can be found in Goethe (his der Gott und die Bajadere is one of the most obvious uses of this idea), in Schiller (the final stanzas of Elysium are a famous, if not too clear,

example), and of course, a little later and not so nobly in Schlegel's Lucinde. Such a dismissal of the Platonic element in Hölderlin may seem cavalier, but any other course is dangerous. The ideas of Platonism have been fused with all idealistic thought for so long a time, especially in their connection with Christianity, that the average study of Platonism in any poet becomes simply a catalogue of his noblest and most exalted lines, influenced as much by the man's religion and environment as by any special study of the Greek philosopher. Dante's famous verse:

L'Amore che move il Sole e l'altre stelle

may be the Italian's expression of the Phaedrus myth, but it is a sentiment and poetical figure common to the medieval poets of Provence and northern Italy. Hölderlin is in the same case: wherever he uses a phrase that sounds Platonic it is safe to guess that he is using the artistic lingua franca of the nineties and no more.

Likewise both the Diotima experience and the composition of Empedokles should be seen in the light of their surroundings, and not as isolated phenomena in German literature--the chief and most dangerous tendency in Hölderlin criticism today, and one that lifts Hölderlin to a place beside Goethe and Schiller, a rank he did not have the chance to earn. The Diotima-elegies and the tragedy are far better works than the exaggerated prose and sometimes

colorless poetry of the earlier period, of course: they have gained in that Gestaltungsvermögen of which Hölderlin has so much to say in the Böhlendorf letter and which he had the chance to use properly only in his great landscape odes. But they are still imitation, however noble, of contemporary work or literary fashion, and Hölderlin has not yet begun to study the Greeks for himself. A number of attempts have been made to transform both Diotima and Empedokles into the only true expressions of Hellenism in German literature. The one is said to be the modern equivalent of the Platonic ideal of love, the other a figure from the Sophoclean tragedy. It cannot be denied that the Briefe an Diotima and Menons Klagen are noble works of art, but what quality do they possess which makes them more Greek than Goethe's poems to Frau von Stein or Schiller's to Charlotte von Kalb? There should be no question about the significance of Hölderlin's affair with Susette Gontard: it is essentially no different from all those other "intellectual love affairs" which were so popular with the idealistic authors of the eighteenth century, who realized, quite correctly, that Entbehnung was more in keeping with their lofty thoughts than any common liason. Quite possibly Hölderlin was encouraged throughout his affair with Diotima by the thought that his idol Schiller had engaged in just such a relationship with the woman who had formerly employed

Hölderlin, Frau von Kalb. There is a difference in the expression of their feelings, just as there is a difference between the impetuous and titanic Geniezeit and the lofty atmosphere of the nineties, but the feelings are the same; the poet engages in the affair not so much for emotional as for artistic reasons. That Schiller's relations with the officer's wife were warmer than those of Hölderlin's with the merchant's, thus implying an element of imitation, conscious or unconscious, on Hölderlin's part, can be seen from a comparison of the two poets' verses to these unattainable objects. Schiller makes no particular attempt to hide his passions:

Nein--länger länger werd ich diesen Kampf nicht kämpfen,  
den Riesenkampf der Pflicht.

Kannst du des Herzens Flammentrieb nicht dämpfen,  
so fodre, Tugend, dieses Opfer nicht.<sup>20</sup>

but Hölderlin, who as a seminary student had despised Wieland, and who was now the pupil of the new Schiller, the author of Das Ideal und Das Leben, thinks only of the ideal:

Du schweigst und duldest, denn sie verstehen dich nicht.  
Du edles Leben! siehest zur Erd und schweigst  
Am schönen Tag, denn ach! umsonst nur  
Suchst due die Deinen im Sonnenlichte . . . 27.

The poet's nature, chaste and cold for all its enthusiastic outbursts, had no trouble in following in the paths of the more warmblooded Goethe and Schiller. Aided as always by the religious training of his youth and by the atmosphere which the great classicists had created in the nineties, Hölderlin actually was in love with a creation of his intellect, and an intellect influenced by his contemporaries, not by Plato. In passage after passage in the Diotima letters Hölderlin's concern is not so much Diotima the person as Diotima the expression of his ideals. The famous sentence in the letter to Neuffer, written not long after the poet had come to know Frau Gontard, proves the selfish nature of his relationship with her: "Es giebt ein Wesen auf der Welt, woran mein Geist Jahrtausende verweilen kann und wird, und dann noch sehen, wie schülerhaft all unser Denken und Verstehen vor der Natur sich gegenüber findet".<sup>22</sup> These lines, set down at a time when Hölderlin's feelings for the lady would presumably be the warmest, not having been cooled by her husband's presence or the unavoidable disillusionment resulting from daily contact with the mother of four children, indicate what Frau Gontard's attraction really was for the poet: he found in her a beautiful and intelligent woman, quite suited to be transformed into the ideal of the times, and with a husband and children, a fact which made the necessary Entbehrung all the easier. Later

on, as Hölderlin became more conscious of his artistic weaknesses and began to study the Greeks, he realized Frau Gontard's importance to him as an enthusiastic supporter of all his plans; but, maturing at last, he also saw the impossibility of this idealistic being in his world, where he had turned to the study of the landscape. His regrets over her loss are always expressed in the knowledge that the loss is final, that Diotima can never take part in his life again. ("Hätte ich mich zu Deinen Füßen nach und nach zum Künstler bilden können . . .").<sup>23</sup> After Menons Klage she disappears from his poetry, replaced by Germany and its rivers; without doubt Hölderlin thought of his poems to her when he wrote to Wilmans in 1803 that love songs were poor stuff beside the nobility of national poetry ("vaterländischer Gesänge"<sup>24</sup>).

In Empedokles the same situation exists: the Greek element is negligible; the play is once more a descendant of the works of Goethe and Schiller. It has been the custom to speak of Hölderlin's "Sophoclean tragedy"; yet Hölderlin did not translate the Greek poet's dramas until 1802, and what evidence we possess points to only a superficial knowledge of the tragedies before that time. Even his translation of the *πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ* (Vieles gewaltige giebt's<sup>25</sup>) has not been placed earlier than 1799 by any of the textual critics, while Hellingrath insists it was

written in 1801. Hölderlin probably was acquainted with the plots of the plays from Konz's lectures, which he had heard at Tübingen, and may have read Oedipus Tyrannus, the standard tragedy, or at least certain passages from it in school. Altogether these scraps of knowledge would be sufficient to produce the few resemblances we find between Hölderlin's play and the Oedipus Tyrannus. (The Oedipus at Colonus may be disregarded; the trials and death of Hölderlin's hero, which have also reminded some of the last days of Christ, are merely the most important part of the Empedocles legend, not imitations of the New Testament story or Sophocles' drama of transfiguration.) Oedipus and Empedokles are both great men in the eyes of their citizens, but great men who have committed a crime against the divine, Oedipus unknowingly, Empedokles by his excessive intellectual pride. Hermokrates, the priest and leader of the people against the hero, is none other than a combination of the priest of Zeus, who leads the people of Oedipus, and Creon, the accuser of the king. Tiresias, the seer in Oedipus, and Manes, the ancient Egyptian of Hölderlin's play, resemble one another in age and conciliatory character; that is all. There is no chorus in the first conception of the play, and one is only mentioned, but does not appear, in the fragmentary second version, a significant omission, for had Hölderlin intended to write a Sophoclean play, he surely would have

kept this feature, which he was better suited to handle than actual dialogue. Otherwise the play has no features of the Greek tragedy: there is none of the dramatic suspense nor the irony of Sophocles, and the matter of the play places it nearest to Prometheus Bound, which itself is no Greek drama in the usual sense. Empedokles is best considered as a descendant of those plays which Goethe had planned almost thirty years before, the tragedies on Socrates and Mahomet, and, most famous of all, on Prometheus, whose spirit Goethe later put into the Faust of the Second Part. Empedokles is as much a Menschenfreund, a disciple of humanity, as any of these figures of Goethe, a more spiritualized and quieter expression of the spirit which in Schiller had produced the Marquis Posa and An die Freude. The play is not a Greek tragedy, nor Greek in any sense; it is the final work of Hölderlin in which he is an imitator of the great classicists and a writer in the tradition of the eighteenth century. From this time on, with deep study of the Greek poets, he realizes the difference between Greece and Germany, approaching the problem not from the standpoint of the spirit, as the classicists had done, but from nature, the landscape, itself.

Having come to realize through his studies of the landscape that the Orient, not Greece, is the home of the western world and its culture, Hölderlin was forced to make

the next step in his investigations, which led him from a study of the landscape to that of mythology and so to the figure of Christ, a child of the Orient. We have already seen how little Hölderlin was concerned with Greek mythology; during the nineties he had employed it in the same manner as his contemporaries, using it for imagery in his poems, using it to refer to the ideals of the classical period. It must be noted that he was less inclined to its use than Goethe or Schiller, probably because of his early and thorough Christian training; it only appears in an original manner in the river-ode, Der Ister. It is difficult to say what Hölderlin would have done with the study of comparative mythology, Greek, Christian, and perhaps, oriental, in his odes if his mind had not collapsed. As matters stand, we can see only the beginning of this new work. In the last of the elegies, Brod und Wein, there is an inkling of what Hölderlin intends to do. The last strophe which has puzzled more than one critic, refers to Christ without doubt, not to Bacchus, whose name seldom appears in Hölderlin's works. The fact that Christ is referred to in these lines:

Aber indessen kommt als Fackelschwinger des Höchsten  
Sohn, der Syrier, unter die Schatten herab.<sup>26</sup>

can be proved by reference to the other poems which concern Christ. In Versöhnender, der du nimmergeglaubt, Christ is

called a Syrian:

Der freundlichestenst den Menschen zugetan

Dort unter syrischer Palme . . .<sup>27</sup>

and in Patmos He is called "Dem Sohne des Höchsten"<sup>28</sup> again. Evidently for Hölderlin Heracles was to represent the Greek, Christ the Hellenistic mythology. Bacchus' position was left undetermined: it is not sure if he was to be a messenger bearing the vine from Greece to India (as Heracles had brought the olive tree from Germany to Greece), a theory which would not fit well with Hölderlin's belief in the fiery, the oriental background of Greek art, or if he was simply to be identified with Christ, an explanation of Brod und Wein suggested by Hellingrath. Whatever plans Hölderlin may have possessed for a development of these mythological plans along the same paths as his landscape studies--that is, a possible connection of Germany with the Orient and its religions--was cut short by his growing madness, a fact which renders all the new mythological odes we possess turgid and confused. The attempt to be objective in his thought, to keep Christ on the same level as his brother mythological figures, is evident in poems like Der Einzige, but Hölderlin's weakened mind must fall back on the Christianity which he had learned as a boy and to which, in the person of his mother, he had remained faithful. When we read the lines in Der Einzige describing his attempt to remain independent

of Christ, we immediately think of the letter written to his mother from Tübingen, where he had mentioned Christ as the only solution. First he says:

Denn zu sehr,  
O Christus, häng' ich an dir,  
Wiewohl Herakles Bruder.  
Und kühn bekenn' ich, du  
Bist Bruder auch des Eviers.<sup>29</sup>

and a few lines beyond, just before the poem falls into a series of those characteristic "prophetic" statements, there is this confession:

Nie treff ich, wie ich wünsche  
Das Maas.<sup>30</sup>

Finally, in Patmos, the vision of Greece and the Orient disappears before Christ and his disciples. Whatever else the value of this ode may be--and it contains some of Hölderlin's most splendid poetry--it has this importance: the last traces of the intellectual Hölderlin, the poet of the river-odes, vanish in the opening description of Asia's coast; then he turns back to the figures of his childhood religion. There is no more mention of Heracles or Bacchus; Christ has become the only subject of Hölderlin's poetry. Throughout Hölderlin's career those poems addressed to his family had always contained references to Christ as "dieser einzige Mann"; now Hölderlin's mental condition has forced

him to return completely to the steadfast belief he had learned as a child from his mother. Even the language of Patmos indicates a return to youthful influences. Lothar Kempter has offered sufficient proof that the language of the ode is partly that of Klopstock's Messias, partly that of the Greek Testament, both of which Hölderlin had read in his seminary years. The other late fragments offer this same picture of a return to the most pious Christianity, and if we did not know that Hölderlin had no connections with the romanticists, we might very well suspect him of their Catholic tendencies. But we can learn nothing of a new development from the unfinished lines of Entwurf einer Hymne an die Madonna or Der Vatikan; there is no attempt at thought--the poet simply casts himself into the arms of the Church with excuses for his weakness:

Und manchen Gesang, den ich  
Dem höchsten zu singen, dem Vater  
Gesonnen war, den hat  
Mir weggezehret die Schwermuth.<sup>31</sup>

This apologetic air characterizes all of Hölderlin's letters and conversations during the first decade of his illness. He seems to have suffered from a sense of guilt at having ever dared to regard Christ as a figure in mythology and not a divine being, another indication that he had never deserted Christianity altogether, even in those years when

his mind was most productive and most brilliant. His letters written to his mother after he was placed in the care of the carpenter ~~Zimmer~~ are like those of a child asking for pardon. "Ich rechne auf Ihre christliche Verzeihung, theurste Mutter, und auf mein Bestreben, mich immer mehr zu vervollkommen und zu bessern."<sup>32</sup> It was at this time that the madman began to adopt the elaborately servile manner which he employed towards all who came to visit him; he likewise refused to mention his own name, preferring "Scardinelli" or "Scaliger Rosa". His friends made many efforts to have his sanity restored, although many of his admirers, such as Bettina Brentano, were simply titillated by his condition. None of them, not even those closest to him, realized what he had accomplished with his river-odes, or what future mythological poems had been lost to them.

While Isaac von Sinclair, Hölderlin's most faithful friend, was paying the madman's wages as librarian in Homburg, the poet's former idol, Napoleon, had succeeded in drawing Germany into the conflict between his nation and the other great powers of Europe. In 1804 the First Consul twice violated German territory, first occupying Hannover, and then sending troops to Ettenheim in Baden to seize the Duke of Enghien, a member of the House of Bourbon accused in a plot against Napoleon's life. The Duke's murder at

Vincennes precipitated an alliance of Russia, England, and Austria against the Corsican. Prussia, under the weak rule of Friedrich Wilhelm III, vacillated for a time, until another murder, that of the bookseller Palm in Nürnberg gave the war party in Berlin the upper hand; but the defeats of Jena and Auerstadt broke the Prussian army. The entry of Napoleon into Berlin marked the beginning of six years of humiliation for Germany. Now the people, so long subjected to the dry sermons of rationalistic pastors, began to follow the intellectual leaders of the country instead, desiring to find that in religion which would enable them to endure their conquerors: Not lehret Beten. The leaders themselves, Fichte, Schelling, the brothers Schlegel, Tieck, and their circles, had been awakened by the Reden über die Religion of Schleiermacher, published at the turn of the century; both Fichte and Schleiermacher began to address the people and to convince them of the need of an inner revolution. With the Convention of Tauroggen and the Wars of Liberation the spiritual need became even greater: in the battle-songs of Körner and Arndt the religious and the patriotic are united.

With the end of the wars this religious interest, once aroused, could not be cast off. Fortunately or unfortunately, the tired people of Europe, like the Novalis of Christenheit oder Europa, saw their only hope in a universal state,

modeled on that of the Middle Ages. The literary men of Germany had long been prepared for just such a move; since the days of Wackenroder and his essays on German art the romanticists had been enthusiasts for an "altdeutsch" state after the manner of the Holy Roman Empire. In their minds German art was inextricably connected with the Catholic Church--we need only count the number of conversions among them to see how well they followed their theories. One of these converts, Friedrich Schlegel, had gone to Vienna in 1809, the capital where Metternich, in the company of the other members of the Holy Alliance, was one day to attempt to form just the sort of state the romanticists desired. In the atmosphere of Biedermeier, where religious excesses were tolerated, even encouraged, so long as they aided the regime, all kinds of fanatics were able to spring up. Some of them had been directly involved with the Heidelberg School, which with its enthusiasm for medieval Germany was able to produce not only such sane and practical Catholics as Eichendorff, but authors such as Görres and Brentano who proceeded from the Wunderhorn and the Volksbücher to the maddest kind of mysticism. This zealous Catholicism finally led Görres to Munich, where his ultramontanism became so virulent that the Pope himself was forced to rebuke him. Women took an important part in this movement, too: both Tieck's wife and daughter were converted in Rome, a poet

such as Brentano spent the last years of his life recording the visions of Anna Katharina Emmerich, and an evangelist like the Frau von Krüdener was able to wander across Europe with a hunge band of disciples recruited from all classes of society. Her power is but a large scale example of that queer mixture of the mystic and the erotic first seen in Novalis' Hymnen.

Compared to the political and intellectual strength of the Catholics, Protestant Germany was in poor case. The dry nature of rationalistic Protestantism had caused many to turn away from the organized church and worship in the home--die Stillen im Lande, a continuation of the pietistic movement which had produced Claudius and Jung--Stilling. In public circles religion had come into great discredit, a result of the rationalistic contempt for Christianity's mythical nature; the Bible was held in such scorn by some that it fell into disuse: Ludwig Richter, the painter, was twenty years old before he saw the book, and at the University of Halle it was argued as to whether the Bible was a fit source for sermon texts. This same indifference caused many people to desire union with the Catholic Church, and made others, reared in thoroughly Protestant surroundings, adopt a "tolerance" which was to all interests and purposes Catholic. The irreligious minister of Friedrich Wilhelm III, Friedrich von Gentz, was

an ardent disciple of the Catholic mystic Adam Müller, while the king himself was intimately connected with the plans of Metternich and the ultramontanists. During the preparations for the Congress of Verona, it was thought by one of the most brilliant men in Berlin, Varnhagen von Ense, that there would be a union of the thrones if the King of Prussia and the Pope desired it. Such a move would be admirable if it were based on an actual desire for mutual tolerance; but instead the motives of the Protestants were half mysticism, half reactionary politics; the Catholic converts were fanatics and zealots, those born in the religion for the most part opportunists. That the friendship of both sides for one another did not extend far beyond literary and political circles is proved on the Catholic side, by the defiance of Cologne's archbishop towards new secular laws permitting mixed marriages, and on the Protestant, by the fact that Catholic noblemen could not become officers in elite Prussian regiments.

This was the world in which Morike grew up, peopled by the surviving rationalists and humanists of the old guard, the mystics and converts of the new, and by the common citizens, still good Swabians and good Lutherans. Like the young Tieck, Mörke had learned to read in Götz von Berlichingen long before he knew Goethe's name; in school he had no ability for mathematics or any logical study, and

was often rebuked for day-dreaming in class. His chief amusements were telling stories and finding nooks and corners where he might hide himself; he gives the best account of his boyhood in Maler Nolten. Ludwigsburg, as Justinus Kerner describes it in Das Bilderbuch aus meiner Knabenzeit was a strange and dreamlike city itself, a summer residence of the Dukes of Württemberg and so deserted during much of the year, or, at times, all the year round, a result of the French occupation. "Ich erinnere mich mancher Sonntage, wo nachmittags der grosse Marktplatz vor unserm Hause so still war, dass man auf demselben fast die Perpendikel der benachbarten Turmuhr gehen hörte",<sup>33</sup> says Kerner; in the Reiseschatten he calls the city "Grasburg, weil aus dem unbetretenen Pflaster mancher Strassen und Plätze hohes Gras wuchs".<sup>34</sup> In such a city as this, where the monotony was broken only from time to time by festivities at the palace, the little boy was encouraged in his love for phantasy and loneliness. Had he been reared in one of the centers of romanticism, Berlin, Jena, Heidelberg, he might have become anything from a fanatic of Görres' stripe to a "young German"; as it was his bent toward an almost Catholic mysticism was encouraged only by reading and by Ludwigsburg itself--not by the intellectual atmosphere of the place, for there was none, but rather by its quiet and solitude. Like Goethe he was encouraged in religion and poetry by his

mother and her friends, but unlike his great predecessor, he had a father unable to take any interest in him or to provide him with the background Goethe gained from his father's artistic hobbies. The doctor of that period had little time for reading, and although Karl Mörike was a well-educated and widely traveled man, trained not only as a doctor but as a theologian, he was not able to give any attention to Eduard, one of several children. Unfortunately, too, just when Mörike's talent was beginning to show itself, the father was struck by a disease which weakened him both physically and mentally and led to his death three years later. Mörike's subsequent sojourn with his uncle Friedrich Georgii in Stuttgart and at the Urach seminary gave the boy a counterbalance: he received a thorough education in the classics, that is, in the Swabian classical tradition which had existed since the days of Frischlin. The boy was made to look at life with the hard-headedness of a Tacitus, Georgii's favorite author, and the urbane humor of a Horace; he was given the standard classical training of the eighteenth century. Georgii was a very cultured man and also a very stubborn one, as much a rationalist as J. H. Voss, but polished where Voss was rude and boorish. He was a "Zopf" in the best sense of the word--till his dying day he refused to cut off his queue--and there gathered at his home the best minds of Württemberg: J. C. F. Haug, the epigrammatist,

Gustav Schwab, the young poet, and the publisher Cotta; in 1810 Schelling had appeared to give a series of lectures in Georgii's garden. From time to time Mörike was allowed to be present at the club's sessions, where he became friends with Haug, whose witty little sayings made a great impression on him. As late as 1868 he writes to his friend, Hartlaub: "Von den regelmässigen Geistern, Z. B. der Kegelgesellschaft im Garten, machte nur der witzige Haug einigen Eindruck auf mich".<sup>35</sup> Evidently the sense of humor, which was to prevent the poet from ever becoming an out and out mystic--and also, perhaps, to keep him from writing the tragic works of which he was capable in his early years--received an excellent training in Georgii's orangery.

In 1818 Mörike took and failed the Landexamen; but in view of the recommendation of the rector at the gymnasium, and also because of his mother's poor finances, he was granted the promotion and allowed to enter the newly opened seminary at Urach. Here he began the education that Hölderlin had undergone thirty years before, studying the same Lutheran theologians, whose works he mentions in Der alte Turmhahn:

Da stehn im Pergament und Leder  
Voran die alten Schwabenväter:  
Andrea, Bengel, Rieger zween,  
Samt Ötinger sind da zu sehn.<sup>36</sup>

But there was a difference in the atmosphere of the Tübinger Stift, which he attended after leaving Urach: the stern Protestantism had gone, and had been replaced with that tolerance which was undermining the strength of the Lutheran Church in Germany. In Tübingen itself the line of demarcation between the faiths had become so thin that David Friedrich Strauss, then a student at the Stift, could win a prize offered by the university's Catholic faculty for a religious essay. The study of the Old Testament had been neglected for that of the New, and the aspiring poets at the school chose their imagery accordingly. Mörike, instead of writing a thesis on Hesiod and Solomon, as Hölderlin had done, found even the study of Hebrew grammar a torture as bad as mathematics. In his later life he prided himself on his ability to speak Latin, the fruit of long training in his uncle's home and in the seminary, but he could recall his Hebraic studies only with pain--his old teacher of Hebrew, he liked to say, appeared to him in nightmares, shaped as a Kamez or perhaps a Komez Chatuf. The students also dipped into the romanticists, absorbing the medievalism of Uhland and Tieck, and the songs in Der Knaben Wunderhorn. Mörike was especially fond of the drama, reading Uhland's plays on Swabian history and Tieck's panorama of medieval Christianity, Kaiser Oktavianus, with special interest; like the earlier romanticists he was, of course, a Shakespeareschwärmer. On

the other hand, he continued his classical studies; yet these were no longer conducted with the zeal of the eighteenth century, which had hoped to find an answer to all problems in the art of antiquity. The accent at Urach had been on the more Horatian classics, those which served to refine the mind. At Tübingen where Hölderlin had at least been inspired by the lectures of Karl Philipp Conz on Greek literature, Hellenic studies had taken a place far behind theological problems, not from any growing interest in the latter, but merely because the Greeks did not seem as important as they had in the eighties and nineties. Conz was still present at Tübingen, but only as Ehreninvalid, while Tafel, the other classicist, was fit to teach grammar alone. Actually the only worthwhile professor was another Haug, Karl Friedrich, whose lectures, quite in keeping with the times, were on the history of the Hohenstaufen. One Eschenmayer, professor of theology, was a firm believer in magic and advocate of Kerner's works. Undoubtedly Mörike became thoroughly acquainted with his fellow townsman's writings under Eschenmayer's tutelage.

Thus Mörike, when he began to write his first important poems in 1824, had been brought up in what was left of the old Lutheran and humanistic tradition; he had been influenced, at the same time, by the romanticists and the Catholicism which they had introduced into German literature.

The ancients were no longer as real as they had been to the classicists; for Mörike they were either the symbol of elegance and gentle living, or, as in Homer's Odyssey, the inhabitants of a fairyland, merged with the figures of Shakespeare or German folklore. The third important element in Mörike's mind at this time was Goethe; here again not the Goethe of the Italienische Reise or Iphigenie, but the author of the Sesenheim lyrics, Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre, and the first part of Faust, the Goethe of the romanticists. If Goethe taught Mörike anything remotely connected with Greece, it was that pantheism which he had learned from Spinoza, and which remained a rather strange feature in Mörike's poetry, disappearing as his Catholic bent became stronger. Young Mörike was able to cram all sorts of beliefs into his head, so long as they did not conflict with his basic Christianity, and had a trace of the aesthetic about them. Yet Mörike in these years was not precisely what his teacher Köstlin called him, "ein Freund des Ästhetischen, den trockenen Studien abhold". Besides being a Christian and a humanist he was also able to see the darker side of human nature, that which is unfortunately called the "demonic" tendency. Always a very erotic man and conscious of the struggle between himself and his responsibilities as a cultured Christian, he could not very well avoid writing of "die dunklen Mächte". The romanticists wrote

supernatural stories and today we write psychological novels; yet Hoffmann and Mörrike treat the same subjects as Kafka and Bernanos.

The poetry of Mörrike's years before Cleversulzbach may be divided into two classes, the one the product of Swabian classicism and Swabian nature, the other darker, more tragic, nearer the spirit of mythology than that of classicism, with the pantheistic poems serving as a bridge between them, inclining now towards one side, now towards the other. The brighter group resembles Goethe's Mailed or Mit einem gemalten Band; sometimes the poems are almost Anacreontic, sometimes songs of nature in its happiest aspects. They are the works of Mörrike the humanist and balanced man, the genius of the "Swabian School", which had as lesser lights Mayer and Schwab. The poems, such as Er ist's, Liebesvorzeichen, Erstes Liebeslied, eines Mädchens, do not treat religion or the gods in any form. Had they been written a few generations earlier the standard mythological figures would have appeared, in accordance with the taste of the day, but here, if any apparatus carminis is used at all, it is that of the Middle Ages or the Volkslied, and has just as little significance as the pastoral trappings of the eighteenth century. In these poems there is no great difference in depth between the work of a Mörrike and of a Mayer, for they both write as "Christian gentlemen",

to borrow a phrase from the Victorians. The difference between Mörike and Mayer just as between Goethe and his contemporaries, lies in grace and lightness, in the ability to be gay instead of sentimental. The "pantheistic" poems, which connect this first group with the deepest lyrics, the poems centered around Nolten, cannot be distinguished with the same ease as they can in the greater poet. While each period of Goethe's life produced a more or less clear cut type of work--for instance, the titanic hymns of the Wertherzeit--Mörike, with a much more pliable nature, wrote all types of poetry within the same years. The "period style" which is so obvious in Goethe and Schiller, less so in Hölderlin, despite the claims of his biographers, scarcely exists in Mörike. The best we can do is to divide his life and works with the publication of the Gedichte in 1838, and assume that before this time the tragic--and greater--Mörike had the upper hand; after it, that the humanist Mörike has the advantage, in number of poems, at least, over the mystic. The tragic Mörike has by this time disappeared. With this confusion existing in styles, it is even more difficult to say whether a poem is clearly "Anacreontic", "pantheistic", or "tragic", as we can in Goethe. The chief difference between the poems of the first group and the pantheistic poems is that in the former, nature is treated as an object, for its own sake; in the latter, nature

and its forces have become embodied to a certain extent; but not so much as to become definite personalities, anthropomorphic figures. The poems Der Frühling and Mein Fluss, for example, are typical romantic productions, but with more virility than is usual in the works of Jena or Heidelberg-- here they approach Goethe once more. They have a Schwung, or enthusiasm, too, not always to be found in the works of the earlier romanticists, but when compared with the same quality in Goethe, it seems rather pale. The writer who speaks of Mein Fluss as the production of "Goethe's spiritual son" has apparently forgotten the difference in the temperament and times of the poets, are extremely hopeful and confident in a hopeful and confident age, the other a timid and introspective man in a period which encouraged such qualities. It is like trying to compare the jubilation of the Eroica with that of Schumann's "Rhenish" Symphony. However, the formlessness and musicality of the poems come from Tieck's Sternbald or Friedrich Schlegel's Romanze vom Licht:

Der Sonnenblume gleich steht mein Gemüte offen,

Sehnend

Sich dehnend

In Lieben und Hoffen.<sup>37</sup>

The verses are full of a vagueness which contrasts with the exact description that can be found in both the Anacreontic

poems and the songs in Nolten. Instead of the plastic quality which distinguishes so many of Morike's Nachtgesänge from those of Eichendorff, these poems--almost all daylight scenes--are apt to stop short with such misty phrases as "Nie verscherzte Erstlings-Paradieseswonne",<sup>38</sup> or to use makeshifts like "Die Wolke wird mein Flügel",<sup>39</sup> which remind us of the more unfortunate lines in the English romantics.

Only those poems which are connected with the Nolten cycle, such as the Lied vom Winde, approach the greatness we expect of Germany's second lyricist. In them Mörike has forgotten the teaching of a benevolent nature which he learned from the Anacreontic school of verse, and has turned to a romantic source, the demonized nature of Henrik Steffen's natural philosophy and Tieck's Runenberg. The Lied vom Winde, obviously closely related to the Volker poems and written about 1828, when Mörike was hard at work on Nolten, is a link between the Gothean pantheism of Mein Fluss and the songs such as Jung Volkers Lied, where Mörike has formed his own mythology. The wind is not yet an actual personality, no Feuerreiter or Schlimme Greth, but the poem is a far cry from Der Frühling or the river verses, both of which are simply expressions of the poet's feelings--and we are tempted to think that those feelings are not his own but those of Goethe. It is an odd fact that in 1828, Mörike

was placed in a situation where, for once in his life, he could feel himself a Goethe, not the Goethe of Entbehrung, but Goethe the successful and confident youth, or Goethe the man of the world. In November 1827, after repeated attempts, he obtained a leave of absence from his vicariate for reasons of illness, and set out to visit his brother Louis at Scheer on the Danube. He spent almost a year away from the church, his head full of plans for a journal. His friend Mährlein intended to found just such a publication in Bavaria; Uhland and Schwab, whom he met during his vacation, advised him to go to work for Cotta; he traveled to Ulm and Munich with his uncle, thinking momentarily of becoming a newspaper writer. One of his greatest ambitions, to become an actor, was fulfilled when he joined a traveling company at Scheer and played the role of the Hofmarschall von Kalb in Kabale und Liebe with extraordinary success. Towards the end of 1828 he actually settled down to write for the Damenzeitung, published by the brothers Frankh, but his enthusiasm for the job vanished as soon as he found how difficult it was to meet the publication dates, and he re-entered the pastorate, writing to Mährlein: "Waren wir nicht Narren, Herr Kollega, uns so an der Lieben Mutter Kirche zu ärgern?"<sup>40</sup> During this period, when Morike came nearest to the public's idea of the artist and man of letters, he wrote nearly all of those poems so uncharacteristic of

him, long after having conceived many of his mythological characters. All in all this pantheistic genre was a peculiarly unhappy one for Mörike. It was impossible for a man of his temperament to act radically against his time, and the beliefs which had served the young Goethe so well had no place in a world which was tired of such excursions into paganism or titanism, that led, it seemed, only to the debacle of the Napoleonic Wars. Most artists preferred to rest quietly in the arms of the Catholic Church, or, compromising with their Protestantism, to live in a world which combined the ideal of medieval knighthood with Biedermeier morality. The radical party, represented in the thirties by Das Junge Deutschland, had no attraction for Morike. Politically he could hardly be called adventurous; in literature he was offended by the phrase-making and journalism that are the hall marks of all work with a "message", a Tendenz".

But the tragic side of Mörike's nature needed an outlet, since he would not and could not join the writers of "geharnischte Lyrik"<sup>41</sup> or the poets who dealt in "rosenfarbig postpapierne Liebe von allerlei Herren und Damen".<sup>42</sup>

Therefore, he has turned, during his days at the Stift, to the older romantics, not going to any of their excesses, but employing the best from each of them. Ricarda Huch has remarked that Maler Nolten, the novel around which all

of his more tragic figures are grouped, is a station on the road from Tieck's Sternbald to Keller's Der grüne Heinrich. "Sternbald hängt in der Luft, Maler Nolten setzt den Fuss schon fester auf der Erde, den grünen Heinrich sehen wir leibhaftig aus dem Boden wachsen."<sup>43</sup> It is quite true that the reality of the hero increases with each novel, but when we add Wilhelm Meister and Anton Reiser to the beginning of the list of Bildungsromane, the whole system of increasing reality breaks down. We should be much fairer to Maler Nolten if we omitted it from the ranks of the educational novel altogether; it contains some elements of this genre, of course, but far less than the others do, and we must remember that Mörike himself called it simply Novelle in zwei Teilen. The work is technically not a Novelle, but the use of the term proves, as does the form of the work itself, that the author did not intend to write a long description of a young man's life, but wished first of all, to describe a tragic experience (and also Eine unerhorte Begebenheit). When Mörike wrote, he had not the slightest idea of how to conserve his material: the novel contains sufficient plots for ten works--Balzac could have stretched them to eighty--and has all the elements we expect to find in a work written during a transition period in literature as well as in history. In the center of the work is Mörike's own unhappy experience with Luise Rau and his struggle with the Christian faith. This core is built on a Greek model,

as we shall see, and a Greek model seen from the romantic point of view; likewise the romantics have influenced a large part of the work, in technique to a certain extent, in its mysticism altogether. On the other hand we see the Biedermeier regime both as the oppressor and as the benevolent peacemaker: the long episode in the hunting lodge points the way to Immermann, Auerbach, and the beginnings of Poetischer Realismus. Yet Mörike, with his conservative nature, employs the tricks of the romanticists most of all: many of the figures, Elisabeth the gypsy girl, and Nolten, the middle-class artist caught between the nobility and the actors, are echoes from Meister, the prototype of the romantic novel. The Seelenmagnetismus, which we find in Die Wahlverwandtschaften as well as in Tieck and Kerner, appears towards the end of Mörike's novel in the person of Henni, the blind boy. Many other strange and sick characters in the novel are founded on Hoffmann and Tieck; the latter also taught Mörike the art of writing conversation and gave him suggestions for the play, Der Letzte König von Orplid; inserted in the first book of Nolten. The Catholic cast which lies over the latter part of the novel is, of course, common to all romanticism, as is the magical power of music; Hoffmann, like Mörike and the Swabian's Danish contemporary, Kierkegaard, stood in awe of the Don Juan finale.

Nevertheless Mörke did not incline towards the typical romantic humor, the irony so difficult for us to appreciate today. The characters of Wispel and the Buchdrucker bear a surface resemblance to Tieck's Skaramuz or Hoffmann's Peter Schönfeld; both Wispel and Schonfeld are barbers and both rascals, but the earlier comic characters of romanticism, products of the theory of Spieltrieb first expressed for a nobler purpose by Schiller in his Briefe über die ästhetische Erziehung and employed again by Friedrich Schlegel, do not have the same motives as the polyglot schemer and his stupid friend. The comic figure of the Hoffmannesque tale is usually engaged in some macabre business or other, but it seems to be grotesque simply for its own sake and for the sake of amusement. A degeneration of the Schlegelian Witzerei, it lacks any direction except that of giving pleasure to the creator, and, only incidentally, to the observer, an attitude that seems to be typified by Nolten's clever friend, Larkens, until we learn of his tragic tendencies: his cleverness is merely a pose to cover his own unhappy character, the result of a desire to hide pain rather than to obtain pleasure. The same is true of Wispel and the Buchdrucker, despite their silly habits and topsy-turvy language. Contrasted to the lack of direction in most romantic comedy, they have a very definite direction and not a very charming one. The descriptions of Wispel's personal

habits and inclinations are far too concrete and too sordid to partake of the fantasy of Klein Zaches or the exotic horror of Erckmann-Chatrion; while the form of the scenes between the two companions is taken partly from Shakespeare, partly from the romantics, the humor is that of the kind employed by Catullus, Juvenal, and Martial: a representation of the ugly facts with sufficient humor to make them digestible, at least for Romans. In other words, Mörike's humor in Nolten is as near the classical as it is possible for a modern poet to come: Aristophanes (despite the Spieltrieb which the German romantics saw in him), Catullus, the Horace of the Epodes and Satires, and their successors were successful by stating the facts entire and then moving them very slightly out of focus, as in the Lysistrata. The Christian era, where the element of sin has been introduced, depends upon the contrast between good and bad, spirit and flesh. Thus the classics are always "poets of vice", the moderns "poets of sin". But for certain modern poets the classical attitude can sometimes be achieved, although it will never be a purely classical humor--Christianity has gone too deep for that. Villon, Swift, and Mörike were all reared close to the church; thus the religious prostrations we find in the Frenchman, the outraged morality of the Irishman, and the Swabian's thin layer of romantic wit in the Wispel scenes the heavy Catholic atmosphere which surrounds Larken's death.

Mörike was writing in a period, of course, which did not admit the freedom of Georgian Dublin or late medieval Paris; yet there is no mistaking the nature of the relationship between Wispel and the printer, nor the background of Larkens. Mörike is the best example of a classical humorist in modern German literature; Platen, who would have claimed that title for himself, was too far from life, had too high an ideal of the nature of classical poetry, and was too conscious of the effort made.

We have said that one of the three "comic" characters in Nolten, Larkens, is obviously tragic. While he seems to be a figure from the Tieckean comedy at first glance, he is actually a figure nearer Byron or Waiblinger (who was the model for Larkens), a part of Weltschmerz rather than Romantik. He has only one pose, and that is a mocking one to hide his own pain. Larkens makes precisely the same impression on the other characters in the book as he does on the superficial reader: after the actor's suicide the President tells Nolten of how he saw Larkens, disguised, in the audience at a performance of one of Tieck's comedies. His commentary on the piece was so amusing that "Wir glaubten Anfangs, es wäre etwa eine komische Figur aus dem Lustspiele . . . gar Tieck selber müsse es gewesen sein".<sup>44</sup> Yet Mörike schooled in the classics as Tieck was not, and more concerned with tragedy than with irony, gave Larkens a definitely

tragic, and so, a classical form. The classics, lacking our conception of sin, also lacked that of romantic irony, not to be confused, of course, with the tragic irony of Sophocles. In Sophocles the irony lies in the fact that the audience knows what the actor does not; in Tieck, that the line between spectator and actor has been done away with: each is constantly exercising his wit on the other. Mörike returns to the Sophoclean idea;: from the beginning of Nolten we know the nature of Larken's tragedy and are sure of its outcome.

The influence of Sophocles is apparent in another part of the novel, too, in the little shadow play, Der letzte König von Orplid. Mörike possessed a deeper knowledge of the dramatist than Hölderlin shows in his Empedokles; but his acquaintance with Sophocles is purely that of the poet, not of the man who has any intention of writing for the stage. Perhaps he read the plays only in translation--we know he preferred to carry the Voss Odyssey in his pocket rather than the original text--and read them only so superficially as to remember certain characters and outstanding passages; yet it seems that he had modeled certain sections of his play rather closely on the Oedipus at Colonus. Of all the plays of Sophocles this would appeal most to the Mörike of the twenties. The work itself is the most undramatic, the most lyric, of all Greek plays; besides the whole elegiac tone, its lack of suspense, its choruses which show

an appreciation of nature nearer the German than any other poems in Greek, and its mystic close, the idea of the play itself is romantic--or perhaps simply "German" would be a better word, for transfiguration is one of the favorite themes in the literature. K. W. F. Solger, the friend of Tieck and a romantic philosopher in his own right, had this to say: "Bei den Alten dagegen gibt es eine (so zu sagen) romantische Tragödie, wo der Charakter gerechtfertigt und im Sturze selbst verklärt wird (Oedipus in Kolonos)".<sup>45</sup> There are numerous points of resemblance between the two heroes: both live on into a wretched old age, one because of incest with his mother, the other because of an affair with the immortal queen of the fairies, Thereile--both have broken natural laws. Each one is supported by a younger friend, Oedipus by Theseus, Ulmon by Kollmer, to whom certain secrets are revealed as a reward for faithful service. In the Mörike play there is a great book:

Von Priesterhand verzeichnet steht darin

Was Gotter einst Geweihten offenbarten,

Zukunftiger Dinge Wachstum und Verknüpfung.<sup>46</sup>

while Oedipus promises Theseus the knowledge of certain mysteries, to be revealed at the spot where the old men will pass away:

ὥς σοι πρὸ πολλῶν ἀσπίδων ἀλκὴν ὄδε  
 δορός τ' ἔπακτοῦ γειτονῶν ἀεὶ τιθῆ.  
 ἅ δ' ἔξάχιστα μηδὲ κινεῖται λόγῳ,  
 αὐτὸς μαθήσῃ, κεῖσ' ὅταν μόλῃς μόνος.  
 ὥς οὔτ' ἂν ἀστῶν τῶδ' ἂν ἐξείποιμί τῳ  
 οὔτ' ἂν τέκνοισι τοῖς ἐμοῖς, στέργων ὄρωσ.<sup>47</sup>

Up to the time of Oedipus' transfiguration, he is cared for by his two daughters, Idmeme and Antigone; Ulmon is lead about by the little Silpelitt, half mortal and half fairy, and her friend Morry. A tree is the symbol of the transfiguration of both aged men: Ulmon shoots an arrow into the tree which he and Thereile had filled with their blood, thus freeing himself from his fate; Oedipus is transfigured beside a tomb turned from the hollow pear tree (κοιλῆς τὰχέρδου)--both attended in their rites by the young girls.

A thunderstorm comes before the transfigurations; in each case it is described by a chorus, in Sophocles by the lines beginning ἴδε μάλα, μέγας ἐρείπεται κτύπος ἀφατος ὄδε Διόβολος,<sup>48</sup> in Mōrike by Die Geister am Mummelsee. At the end of the two plays, neither hero dies or is buried: Oedipus, having been called by the voice of a god, suddenly disappears before the eyes of Theseus, who starts as if he had seen some terrible vision. The close of Mōrike's play is a little more graphic: Ulmon hears the "god of the night" approaching, and then Silpelitt rises from the lake with a

great mirror which she holds out towards the king. Ulmon sees himself as a boy, next as a prince--finally he plunges into the lake. This should be sufficient evidence to prove that the background of the playlet is Sophoclean. The suggestion of one writer that the figure of Ulmon was modeled on the old and insane Hölderlin is interesting: it is true that Mörike often met the aged poet in Waiblinger's gardenhouse and Waiblinger himself wrote a novel, Phaeton, based on Hölderlin's life, but Ulmon and Hölderlin bear no other resemblance than that of age. Had Mörike wished to write a play on Hölderlin, he would surely have mentioned his madness, for to Mörike, Hölderlin was the "mad poet" and little more. Even when he spoke of Hyperion, one of the favorite works of his university days, he called it "Ein rührendes Zerrbild".

But Nolten contains more of antiquity than echoes of the satire in Wispel, a figure closer to classical than to romantic irony in Larkens, and a playlet modeled on the strangest and least Greek play of Sophocles. We have already seen that the landscape of Orplid was based on the islands of the Homeric world; that is not the only feature of the play--and the novel--which Mörike borrowed from his favorite Greek poem. While the fate of Ulmon resembles that of Oedipus--both have broken a natural law--the details of Ulmon's fate, an ugly old age and an impossible liason

with an immortal, are borrowed from the grotesque Homeric myth of Tithonus. Tithonus is mentioned in the Odyssey,

in the motto which opens the Calypso incident. (The same  
 Ἥως δ' εἰκ' ἑχέων παρ' ἀγαυοῦ Τιθωνοῖο  
 ὤρνοθ', ἐν' ἀθανάτοισι φάος φέροι ἠδὲ βροτοῦσιν. <sup>49</sup>(I.)

At another point in the Iliad (XX, 237) Homer identifies the <sup>49</sup>  
 ὤρνοθ', ἐν' ἀθανάτοισι φάος φέροι ἠδὲ βροτοῦσιν.

At another point in the Iliad (XX, 237) Homer identifies the Dawn's husband as the brother of Laomedon and son of King Priam. The details of this marvelous marriage are given in the more common classics, all of which Mörike knew well.

Horace mentions the tale in two of his odes; and the whole story is told in the Homeric Hymn to Venus (ll. 218-238)<sup>50</sup>

which Mörike thought of translating for his Klassische Blumenlese. Tithonus was carried off by the goddess Eos, who then asked Zeus to award the boy eternal life. Unfortunately the lady was too simple (*ἄνηνη*) to think of requesting eternal youth for her beloved. At last, loathsome old age (*στρυγάρων γῆρας*) pressed upon poor Tithonus, and the goddess was forced to place him, babbling endlessly, in a room whose shining doors she closed. The resemblances to Ulmon's plight was obvious; and Mörike's sense of the tragic, aided by Sophocles, transfigures the rather bitter little Greek story into a play at which the most sensitive and delicate young lady could not rankle. It is odd to note that of all the treatments of this theme and its variations in the literature of the day, for example, Irving's Rip van

Winkle, Gautier's Princess Hermonthis, and Heine's cruel satire on A. W. Schlegel, only one, Mörike's, invests the chief character with any sort of nobility.

Mörike's use of the Odyssey throughout the rest of the novel has the same emphasis on the noble and tragic side of the epic. This is somewhat of a contrast to popular literary thought on the comparative merits of the Iliad and the Odyssey; it is only in recent years that men like James Joyce have been able to convince the reading public of the Odyssey's value as something more than an adventure story. If not returning to the belief of Dante and his contemporaries, that the epic is an allegory of the trials of the soul, at least Joyce has proved its worth as a skeleton for Ulysses and other novels of the traveling mind. In the time of Mörike, and off and on since the composition of the first comic epic by the Greeks, the Odyssey, with its crafty hero and his wild adventures, had been regarded as the Iliad's stepbrother. The fantastic nature of the tales offered an excellent opportunity for parody. Odysseus became a standard figure in Greek comedy, and Horace parodied the *Nekyia* in one of his satires. Likewise the marital and extra-marital doings of Odysseus provided material for a whole school of mock verse; the Georgian Englishman, like the Alexandrian Greek, was glad to grant Penelope as merry a life as Odysseus. Hölderlin and Kleist reflect the

typical German view at the time of the romantics: the Iliad, as always, gave opportunity for the loftiest ode and grimmest tragedy. Hölderlin composed his essays on Homer and his poem on Achilles, Kleist his Penthesilea. The Odyssey remained at best the adventure story; the base nature of its hero kept it from consideration. Only with the psychological novel was it to be admitted that the hero might be simply a human being, neither good nor bad. Thus Mörike, using the Odyssey as a basis for his Nolten, has a double distinction. Not only was he the first to employ the Greek epic as a basis for a tragic work in German, but in doing so he created the psychological novel for the literature, that is, the psychological novel of the type common to the latter half of the nineteenth century, where the hero, striving towards some presumably noble goal, finds himself in the change of forces beyond his control, forces that may be within him or without.

There had been novels before which presaged the type, of course, especially Anton Reiser and William Lovell, but in the former the author's purpose was pedagogical, not artistic; in the latter, the hero is so weak as to give himself up to his desires without a struggle. For Moritz there were no flaws in Reiser's nature which a good education might not have prevented. The typical hero of the novel was a man to be educated, Tom Jones, Émile, Meister,

Hesperus underwent adventures just as Odysseus did, of course, but these adventurers were not controlled by powers (or authors) bent on destroying the hero; they were intent instead, like the Turmgesellschaft of Meister, on developing him into a valuable and self-reliant man. Yet even Goethe could not escape Schiller's reproach that Meister was too tragic to be a novel. The horror novel, such as that of Hoffmann, resembles William Lovell in that the hero is all dark and no light, thus becoming a caricature. Goethe's Werther might be suggested, since both Werther and Nolten meet death because of a strong passion, but Werther's passion, although for a married woman, is quite innocent; it does not have the evil overtones of Nolten's love for the Countess and the gypsy. Another character of Goethe's, Eduard in Die Wahlverwandtschaften, is nearest Nolten in character, but Goethe's cold and balanced plan prevents the development of one character beyond the other three. Therefore, Mörke's Nolten is the first German hero in the "grand tradition" of the psychological novel; and the writers on that much-abused genre might do well to remember that he saw the light of day before the more famous creations of their standard idols, Stendhal, Dostoevsky, and Turgenev. (Turgenev, with his tremendous knowledge of western European literature, knew and admired Mörke's work; he visited the old poet not long before he passed away.)

It is not difficult to draw the parallel between Odysseus and Mörike's hero. Both men have incurred the wrath of the gods by a double guilt: first of all Odysseus desecrates the Palladium and so angers Athene; later on he blinds Polyphemus and is pursued by Poseidon, whose efforts are a little less deadly and less persistent than those of the virgin goddess. Nolten has aroused the gods early in life, too; he promises his love to Elisabeth, only to betray her; his lesser crime is that he annoys the ruling family with his Orplid, is thrown in jail, and persecuted. Nolten also has the steadfast Penelope, Agnes, who, like her Ithacan model, rejects her suitors in favor of the ever absent and none too faithful Nolten. Following in the footsteps of the Greek captain, he has engaged in a good many love affairs, left undescribed; finally he falls in love with the Countess, whom Mörike describes with a deal more sensuality than was common in his day. The ideal woman of the Biedermeier age had for the most part no passions at all; if she had had them, she would ipso facto cease to be an ideal. Mörike's Countess and Homer's nymph Calypso are just the opposite. For Mörike the woman is neither all sweetness and light, like the average heroine of his compatriots, nor the chate voluptueuse of the French. The Countess is a combination of two women from the Odyssey: like the nymph Calypso she is passionately in love with the

foot-loose hero, and is forced to give him up only after a divine warning; yet she is actually chaste while the nymph is not; and like Nausicaa she is of noble blood and will marry only a nobleman. In her Nausicaa-character she arranges for the release of Nolten from prison, just as the little princess hastens Nolten's departure from Phaeacia. Elisabeth, of course, is Circe: both the gypsy and the witch make use of magic to arouse the sensuality which leads Nolten to his death and very nearly does the same for Odysseus. In antiquity the witch was not the hideous and sexless crone of the Christian world, quite the opposite: Circe, the pharmaceutriae of Theocritus and Virgil, the enchantresses in Apuleius' Golden Ass, all have other charms besides their potions; for the ancients the witch was the symbol of desire carried beyond the line of sanity. In this respect Mörike is distant from his age: his humor and tragedy had been more classical, more Greek or Roman, in their essence than the works of his immediate forerunners; his conception of the witch in Nolten is likewise antique. He has combined the Zigeunermädchen, Mignon, the symbol of the passionate South and Italy, with the power usually belonging to the ugly Hexe of the German folk tale. Only Tieck, with his enchantress, the giantess of Der Runenberg, has created a figure resembling the exact type of Elisabeth; but in Tieck the Riesin is not developed beyond an outline,

nor does she have the classical background of Mörike's witch. Whatever else that Zwitter-Natur may have been, he was no close student of antiquity.

More than all these character resemblances between the Odyssey and Nolten, the nature of the two heroes is important: both have the one weakness, in the midst of all their talents, of being just a little too sensual for their own good, a flaw which destroys the otherwise noble nature of Nolten and leads the Greek captain to the edge of the abyss. Were the creators of these heroes sophisticates, the fault would only be humorous; but Mörike was a God-fearing pastor in a nation earnest and almost naive, Homer a poet in a culture still primitive enough not to have achieved the moral obliquity of the real classical world, a fact recognized by a good many sensitive critics of the epicist. In the epic world the gods were accessible to men, but were not yet comic figures; women were allowed an independence not to be found in the later Mediterranean world. Had Odysseus landed on the beach at the Piraeus during the age of Pericles, he would not have found Nausicaa there with her maidens. Just this combination, the supersensual men in the comparatively virtuous society, constitutes the fault of Odysseus and Nolten. But Odysseus' lustfulness does not concern the divine so directly as Nolten's; the temptations of the Greek are simply snares set to catch the mortal who had committed

*Übers* in stealing the Palladium; his lack of faith to Penelope is not an issue at all. Living in a Christian world and created by a man trained for the church, Nolten commits a crime against the divine by his sensuality; for Morike such a fault is the only *Übers* possible. Thus we return to the original premise: that no poet can remove himself altogether from his original environment, either personal or artistic. Nolten dies for his crime against a Christian God, a fate which Odysseus, the Greek, does not suffer; he dies and is buried in an atmosphere permeated with the Catholicism of the late romantics. All the important elements of this transition work par excellence are present in his death: the hero, patterned on the Greek Odysseus, dies and is buried in a fashion to please a Brentano or a Werner. He has betrayed Elisabeth, at once the symbol of primeval sensuality and of "Die dunklen Mächte" of the romanticists; he has likewise caused the death of Agnes, the pure ideal of the Biedermeierzeit.

After the publication of Nolten, Mörike, who is none other than his erotic hero, directed this part of his nature into other channels. Reading his Theocritus and the other late Greek poets he did not see the passionate side of the Hellenistic nature, which, if present at all, is hidden beneath a layer of elegance and playfulness. Mörike made charming translations of the love lyrics of Theocritus and

Anacreon, and imitated them in such poems as his clever Waldidylle, but in truth he had done his last important work with the Greeks when he finished Nolten and completed his earlier versions of Sichern Mann. From the middle thirties on, Mörike's Hellenism is that of his Uncle Georgii, the Horatian humanism he had learned long ago in Stuttgart. That the problem of his erotic nature and Christianity continued to torment him cannot be denied, and the Frauenideal of Biedermeier only served to make Agnes and Elisabeth combine into one. The gypsy girl with her magical powers had last appeared in the novel in a heavy Catholic atmosphere; it was an easy task for Mörike to transfer the devotion he had felt for Maria Meyer (Elisabeth) to Catholicism itself, and then to Margarete Speeth, a Catholic lady, who thus had in his eyes not only the mystical charms of an Elisabeth but the purer air of his Luise Rau (Agnes) with whom his engagement had long since been broken off. The story of his relationship with Fraulein Speeth is a long and tedious one: it produced some excellent poetry: poems in the manner of the Latin hymns translated for Nolten, a number of verses dedicated to Margarete, others written on Catholic subjects to please her. Many of Mörike's friends, angered when he married Margarete after a long engagement, deserted him; others contrived to cause trouble between man and wife, and the presence of Mörike's sister in

the home did not help. Mörrike's nature, so easily influenced, was divided again; as a Lutheran and a humanist, and as a conscious artist he wished to go with his friends; as a mystic and as the man who had once written Nolten he leaned towards conversion. However, the creative and the tragic elements were dying fast, and the poet descended more and more into indolence, broken only by sordid quarrels with Margarete; he sought refuge from these in humanistic studies. At last he left his wife, and was reconciled with her only a few days before his death in 1875. Had he died forty years earlier, we should not have seen the long and often petty struggle between humanism and mysticism, and should lack Mozart auf der Reise nach Prag, made up of both loves in equal measure. But we should be able to see the struggle between the Odyssean and the Christian Mörrike all the more clearly.

## CONCLUSION

Of the two authors, Hölderlin and Mörike, the former could conceivably be studied without a knowledge of the Greeks, in the latter's case a correct judgment would be impossible if the critic did not take the Greek poets into account. This may seem paradoxical: Hölderlin has always been the "Greek poet", Mörike the "Swabian poet". But there is this difference between them--Hölderlin became personally acquainted with the giants of German literature at an early age, Mörike spent his most productive period in a cultural back-water, and did not learn to know literary artists of his own stature until he was an elderly man. Thus the great influences in Hölderlin's life were more personal than literary, in Mörike's more literary than personal. Hölderlin knew the Greeks primarily through Schiller and his circle; shortly after he had begun to see Homer and Pindar with his own eyes and to produce his first original work, he went mad. Mörike, although certainly influenced by the romanticists, regarded Homer from an independent standpoint. His concern with Theocritus, of course, was partly a result of childhood training, partly a result of the environment of his later life.

Politically, too, Hölderlin was much more involved with the life around him than Mörike; although neither man could be called a Tendenzdichter by any stretch of the imagination, Hölderlin followed the opinions of the Weimar classicists

quite closely, and was far more concerned with humanity than with nationality. To him Homer was a great poet because of his kindness, his Menschlichkeit; recent German critics to the contrary, Pindar's value in the study of Hölderlin is artistic. The German studied the Greek but a short time before the beginning of his madness, and had the opportunity to learn only style from him. Greek political thought had no influence on the retiring Mörke whatsoever; his whole desire was to avoid a clash with the regime. As for style, Mörke learned little from the Greeks in that respect until after the end of his most creative years.

In religion both men were the children of their particular periods, but here, once more, Hölderlin is in the midst of advanced thinkers, while Mörke catches only the reflections of late romanticism, and this largely because of personal tendencies. Hölderlin and Mörke resemble one another in early training and in private piety; but only Mörke was given the opportunity to develop his religious thought as he pleased, borrowing both from the world of the Odyssey and from Catholicism. In Hölderlin's case, pressure from home and from his acquaintances, and finally, his madness prevented the poet from keeping his personal Christianity and his literary investigations in mythology separate.

Intellectually, Hölderlin was assuredly greater than Mörke, and had he remained sane German classicism might not have disappeared so suddenly. Yet that is the crux of

any discussion of Hölderlin: his life of original creation lasted only a year or two at best, and the small body of his work has been subjected to more criticism than it can bear, especially criticism of the hysterical type which his dramatic fate has attracted. Mörike warrants more attention and serious attention; his brilliant use of Greek materials in Nolten indicates a greater genius than he is usually given credit for. He did not become as great as we might expect from his early work, but at least he was given the opportunity of completing a large number of what are, all things considered, remarkably original works.

## NOTES

## Chapter I

- 1 Goethe to Schiller, August 23, 1797. (In Hölderlin, Sämtliche Werke, Berlin, 1923, VI, p. 262).
- 2 ibid., p. 264.
- 3 ibid., p. 391.
- 4 Quoted in Emil Lehmann, Hölderlins Lyrik, Stuttgart, 1922, pp. 152-153.
- 5 ibid.
6. Hölderlin, op. cit., VI, p. 460
- 7 G. G. Gervinus, Geschichte der National-Literatur der Deutschen (Zweite Auflage), Leipzig, 1843, IV, p. 374.
- 8 Hölderlin, op. cit., VI, pp. 406 ff.
- 9 Heinrich Heine, Ausgewählte Werke, Leipzig, 1930, IV, p.320.
- 10 Hermann Kurz, Werke, Leipzig, \_\_\_\_\_, XI, Pp. 50 ff.
- 11 ibid., p. 51
- 12 Adolf Frey, Erinnerungen an Gottfried Keller, Bern, \_\_\_\_\_, p.26.
- 13 Quoted in Harry Maync, Eduard Mörike, Stuttgart and Berlin, 1927, p. 215.
- 14 Friedrich Theodor Vischer, Altes und Neues, Stuttgart, 1882, II, pp. 180-186.
- 15 Theodor Storm, Werke, Leipzig, 1936, VIII, p. 37
- 16 ibid., p. 41.
- 17 Isolde Kurz, Hermann Kurz, Berlin, 1920, p. 81.
- 18 Julius Klaiber, Eduard Mörike, Stuttgart, 1876, p. 25.
- 19 Friedrich Nietzsche, Werke, Leipzig, 1904, X, p. 490.

- 20 ibid.
- 21 ibid., I, p. 194.
- 22 ibid., XIV, p. 174.
- 23 ibid., pp. 249-250.
- 24 Rudolf Haym, Die Romantische Schule, (Vierte Auflage), Berlin, 1920, pp. 341-376.
- 25 ibid., p. 372.
- 26 Adolf Wilbrandt, Friedrich Hölderlin, Fritz Reuter, Berlin, 1896, p. 3.
- 27 ibid.
- 28 ibid., p. 45.
- 29 Wilhelm Dilthey, Das Erlebnis und Die Dichtung, (Zehnte Auflage), Berlin, 1929, p. 441.
- 30 Stefan George, Werke, Berlin, 1927, p. 70.
- 31 ibid., p. 71.
- 32 Friedrich Gundolf, Dichter und Helden, Stuttgart, 1921, p.5.
- 33 Ernst Müller, Hölderlins vaterländische Gesänge. Erläutert, Stuttgart, 1942, p. 3. (Quoted by P. M. Mitchell, "Holderlin in Germany," Monatshefte, Madison, (November, 1946), XXXVIII, pp. 403-412).
- 34 David Gascoyne, Hölderlin's Madness, London, 1938, p. 3.
- 35 Oskar Walzel, Deutsche Romantik (Fünfte Auflage), Leipzig and Berlin, 1926, II, p. 7.
- 36 Friedrich Gundolf, Romantiker, Neue Folge, Berlin-Wilmersdorf, 1931, p. 246.
- 37 ibid., p. 224.

## Chapter II

- 1 Carl Petersen, Der Seher deutscher Volkheit, Friedrich Hölderlin, Kiel, 1934.
- 2 Hölderlin, Werke, IV, p. 121, ll. 62-65.
- 3 ibid., VI, p. 165.
- 4 Goethe, Sämtliche Werke (Jubiläums-Ausgabe), Stuttgart and Berlin, 1902, I, p. 195, ll. 27-30.
- 5 Susette Gontard to Hölderlin, September 18, 1799. (Hölderlin, op. cit., II, p. 306).
- 6 ibid., III, p. 247.
- 7 ibid., IV, p. 93, ll. 117-118.
- 8 Hölderlin, Sämtliche Werke und Briefe, Leipzig, 1926, V, p. 318.
- 9 ibid., III, p. 248.
- 10 Homeri Ilias, Leipzig, 1931, Bk. VIII, ll. 555-565.
- 11 ibid., XVIII, ll. 491-495.
- 12 ibid., ll. 509-510.
- 13 Hölderlin, Werke, IV, p. 119, ll. 1-2.
- 14 Ilias, XVIII, ll. 70-74.
- 15 Hölderlin, op. cit., II, p. 46, l. 13.
- 16 Hölderlin, Sämtliche Werke und Briefe, V, p. 319.
- 17 Hölderlin to his mother, November 16, 1799. (Hölderlin, Werke, III, p. 454).
- 18 Ilias, XVI, ll. 856-857.
- 19 Hölderlin to Neuffer, June 4, 1799. (Hölderlin, op. cit., III, p. 394).

- 20 Q. Horatii Flacci Carmina, Oxford, 1912, Lib. IV, 2, ll. 1-8
- 21 Pindari Carmina, Leipzig, 1914, Olympia, I, ll. 1-2.
- 22 Werner Jaeger, Paideia, Berlin and Leipzig, 1934, p. 271
- 23 Hölderlin, op. cit., III, p. 51, ll. 7-8.
- 24 ibid., p. 15, ll. 5-8.
- 25 ibid., p. 17, ll. 11-12.
- 26 ibid., p. 18, ll. 10-12.
- 27 Adolf Bartels, Geschichte der Deutschen Literatur  
(Dreizehnte und vierzehnte Auflage), Braunschweig, Berlin,  
Hamburg, 1934, p. 233.
- 28 Hölderlin to his mother, November 16, 1799. (Hölderlin,  
op. cit., III, p. 458).
- 29 Eduard Mörike, Werke, Leipzig, 1914, I, p. 127, ll. 9-14.
- 30 ibid., p. 129, ll. 73-76.
- 31 Mörike to Luise Rau, January 4, 1836. (Quoted in Werner  
Zemp, Mörike, Elemente und Anfänge, Frauenfeld, Leipzig,  
1939, pp. 98-99).
- 32 ibid.
- 33 ibid.
- 34 ibid.
- 35 Mörike to Wilhelm Waiblinger, February or March, 1822.  
(Eduard Mörike, Briefe, Berlin, 1903, I, p. 16).
- 36 Mörike to Johannes Mährlein, September 27, 1830. (ibid.,  
I, p. 159).
- 37 Mörike, Werke, I, p. 226, ll. 42-43.

- 38 Mörrike to Hartlaub, March 24, 1848. (Mörrike, Briefe, II, p. 167).
- 39 Mörrike to Vischer, May 8, 1867. (Briefwechsel zwischen Eduard Mörrike und Friedrich Theodor Vischer, Munich, 1926, p. 246).
- 40 Mörrike, Werke, I, p. 323.

### Chapter III

- 1 Hölderlin, Werke, I, p. 35, ll. 29-30.
- 2 ibid., p. 5, ll. 1-4.
- 3 ibid., p. 55, l. 30.
- 4 ibid., p. 54., l. 9.
- 5 ibid., p. 57, ll. 22-23.
- 6 ibid., p. 72, l. 22
- 7 ibid., p. 68, l. 33.
- 8 ibid., p. 81, l. 17.
- 9 ibid., p. 152, l. 37.
- 10 ibid., p.151, ll. 1-2
- 11 ibid., II, p. 20, l. 16.
- 12 ibid., p. 26, ll. 1-3.
- 13 ibid., p. 27, l. 25.
- 14 ibid., p. 30, l. 89.
- 15 ibid., III, p. 55, l. 36.
- 16 ibid., p. 54, ll. 9-13.
- 17 ibid., p. 59, ll. 16-21.

- 18 Susette Gontard to Hölderlin, end of December, 1799.  
(ibid., VI, p. 315).
- 19 ibid., IV, p. 11, ll. 21-22.
- 20 ibid., p. 17, ll. 1-2.
- 21 Hesiodi Carmina, Leipzig, 1913, ΕΡΓΑ ΚΑΙ ΗΜΕΡΑΙ,  
ll. 504-563.
22. Hölderlin, op. cit., IV, p. 32, ll. 1-2
- 23 ibid., p. 130, ll. 37-38.
- 24 Pindari Carmina, Pythia II, ll., 49-52.
- 25 op. cit., Olympia II, ll. 30 ff.
- 26 Hölderlin, op. cit., IV, ll. 61-64.
- 27 Hölderlin to his sister, February 23, 1801. (ibid., V,  
p. 299).
- 28 ibid., IV, p. 56, l. 24
- 29 ibid., p. 172, l. 1.
- 30 ibid., p. 173, ll. 36-37.
- 31 ibid., ll. 46-48 .
- 32 Pindari Carmina, Olympia III, ll. 44-45.
- 33 Hölderlin, op. cit., IV, p. 174, l. 81.
- 34 Pindari Carmina, Olympia III, l. 14.
- 35 Hölderlin, op. cit., IV, p. 221, ll. 41-44.
- 36 ibid., ll. 47-48.
- 37 ibid., p. 158, ll. 11-18.
- 38 Hölderlin to Casimir Böhlendorf, December 4, 1801.  
(ibid., V, pp. 314-318).

- 39 ibid., p. 315.
- 40 ibid.
- 41 ibid., p. 316.
- 42 ibid., p. 325.
- 43 Mörke, Werke, II, p. 339.
- 44 ibid., I, p. 125, ll. 1-3.
- 45 ibid., ll. 22-23.
- 46 Homeri Odyssea, Leipzig, 1918, Bk. V, ll. 59-64.
- 47 Mörke, op. cit., I, p. 285, ll. 7-9.
- 48 ibid., p. 65, l. 3.
- 49 ibid., l. 30.
- 50 Odyssea, IX, ll. 219-220.
- 51 Mörke, op. cit., p. 65, ll. 24-26.
- 52 Odyssea, XI, ll. 618.
- 53 Mörke, op. cit., p. 71, ll. 198-199.
- 54 Odyssea, XI, ll. 12-13.
- 55 Mörke, op. cit., p. 71, l. 212.
- 56 Odyssea, XI, l. 15
- 57 Mörke, op. cit., p. 71, l. 217
- 58 ibid., l. 289
- 59 Mörke to Vischer, August 24, 1838. (Briefwechsel zwischen Eduard Mörke und Friedrich Theodor Vischer, p. 151).
- 60 Bucolici Graeci, Leipzig, 1909, Theocriti Idyllon XI, ll. 45-47.

- 61 Hölderlin, Werke, IV, p. 115, ll. 29-30.
- 62 Mörke, Werke, I, p. 88, ll. 33-36.
- 63 Mörke to Luise Rau, August 8, 1833 (Mörke, Briefe, I, p. 236)
- 64 Anthologia Graecia, Leipzig, 1894, IX, 71 (Ἀντιπίλου Βυβαντίου).
- 65 Mörke, op. cit., III, p. 270.

#### Chapter IV

- 1 Cf. R. M. Rilke, Briefe aus den Jahren 1914-1921, Leipzig, 1938, pp. 37 ff.
- 2 E. M. Butler, The Tyranny of Greece Over Germany, London, 1935, pp. 225, ff.
- 3 Madame de Staël, De L'Allemagne, Paris, 1788, p. 546.
- 4 Hölderlin to his mother, summer of 1787. (Hölderlin, Werke, I, p. 182)
- 5 Hölderlin to Immanuel Nast, February 18, 1787. (ibid., p. 174).
- 6 ibid., p. 47, l. 76.
- 7 Kleist to Wilhelmine von Zenge, September 13, 1800. (Heinrich von Kleist, Werke und Briefe, herausgegeben von Manfred Schneider, IV, pp. 91-92.
- 8 Karl Phillipp Moritz, Anton Reiser, Munich and Leipzig, 1911, I, p. 176.

- 9 Hölderlin, op. cit., I, pp. 48-49, ll. 119-121.
- 10 ibid., p. 46, ll. 63-66.
- 11 ibid., p. 30, l. 1.
- 12 ibid., ll. 5-6.
- 13 ibid., l. 21.
- 14 ibid., p. 68, ll. 8-12.
- 15 Hölderlin to his mother, February, 1791. (ibid., p. 240).
- 16 ibid., pp. 240-241.
- 17 Hölderlin to his mother, late summer, 1793. (ibid., p. 274).
- 18 ibid., p. 275.
- 19 ibid., II, p. 291
- 20 Friedrich Schiller, Gedichte und Erzählungen (Grossherzog Wilhelm Ernst Ausgabe), Leipzig, 1906, p. 96, ll. 1-4
- 21 Hölderlin, op. cit., II, p. 35, Diotima, ll. 1-4
- 22 Hölderlin to Neuffer, June 1796. (ibid., II, p. 373).
- 23 Hölderlin to Susette Gontard, Easter, 1799. (ibid., III, p. 473).
- 24 Hölderlin to Wilmans, December, 1883. (ibid., V, p. 328).
- 25 ibid., V, p. 3.
- 26 ibid., IV, p. 125, ll. 155-156.
- 27 ibid., p. 163, ll. 40-41.
- 28 ibid., p. 192, l. 77.
- 29 ibid., p. 187, ll. 49-53.
- 30 ibid., p. 188, ll. 77-78.
- 31 ibid., p. 212, ll. 9-12.
- 32 Hölderlin to his mother (after 1806). (ibid., VI, p. 54).

- 33 Justinus Kerner, Werke, Berlin, Leipzig, Vienna, Stuttgart, \_\_\_\_\_, I, p. 75.
- 34 ibid., III, p. 73.
- 35 Mörke to Hartlaub, March 10, 1868. (Mörke, Briefe, II, p. 237).
- 36 Mörke, Werke, I, p. 146, ll. 246-249.
- 37 ibid., p. 32, Der Frühling, ll. 7-10.
- 38 ibid., p. 34, ll. 13-14.
- 39 ibid., p. 32, l. 2.
- 40 Mörke to Mährlein, December 20, 1828. (Mörke, Briefe, I, p. 101).
- 41 Mörke to Mährlein, May 21, 1832. (ibid., p. 210).
- 42 ibid.
- 43 Ricarda Huch, Die Romantik, Leipzig, 1924, II, p. 206.
- 44 Mörke, Werke, pp. 253-254.
- 45 K. W. F. Solger, Nachgelassene Schriften und Briefwechsel, Leipzig, 1828, I, p. 178.
- 46 Mörke, op. cit., II, p. 115, ll. 20-22.
- 47 Sophoclis Fabulae, Oxford, 1924, ΔΙΑΒΗΤΟΥΣ ΕΠΙ ΚΟΛΩΝΩΙ ll. 1524-2529.
- 48 ibid., ll. 1462-1463.
- 49 Odyssea, V, ll. 1-2.
- 50 Homeri, Hymni, Leipzig, Prag, 1886, IV, ΕΙΣ ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

## I. Texts and Letters

## A. Hölderlin

Friedrich Hölderlin, Sämtliche Werke (historisch-kritische Ausgabe, begonnen durch Norbert von Hellingrath, fortgeführt durch Friedrich Seebass und Ludwig von Pigenot), 6 volumes, Berlin, 1923.

Friedrich Hölderlin, Sämtliche Werke und Briefe (Kritischhistorische Ausgabe von Franz Zinkernagel), 5 volumes, Leipzig, 1914-1926.

## B. Morike

Eduard Mörike, Werke (herausgegeben von Harry Maync), 3 volumes, Leipzig, 1914.

Eduard Mörike, Briefe (ausgewählt und herausgegeben von Karl Fischer und Rudolph Krauss), 2 volumes, Berlin 1903.

Eduard Mörike, Luise, Briefe der Liebe an seine Braut Luise Rau geschrieben (herausgegeben von H. W. Rath), Ludwigsburg, 1921.

Briefwechsel zwischen Theodor Storm und Eduard Mörike (herausgegeben von H. W. Rath), Stuttgart, 1919.

Briefwechsel zwischen Eduard Mörike und Friedrich Theodor Vischer (herausgegeben von Robert Vischer), Munich, 1926.

## C. The Classics

Anthologia Graeca, edidit H. Stadtmuller, Leipzig 1894.

Bucelici Graeci (Theocritus, Bion, Moschus) edidit

H. L. Ahrens, Leipzig, 1909.

Hesiodi Carmina, recensuit A. Rzach, Leipzig, 1913.

Homeri Hymni, Epigrammata, Batrachomyomachia, edidit

E. Abel, Leipzig, Prag, 1886.

Homeri Ilias, ediderunt G. Dindorf, C. Hentze,

Leipzig, 1931.

Homeri Odyssea, ediderunt G. Dindorf, C. Hentze,

Leipzig, 1918.

Q. Horatii Flacci Opera, recognoverunt E. Wickham,

H. N. Garrod, Oxford, 1912.

Pindari Carmina, edidit O. Schroeder, Leipzig, 1914.

Sophoclis Fabulae, recognovit A. C. Pearson, Oxford,

1924.

## II. Contemporary Works and Early Criticism

Georg Brandes, Main Currents in Nineteenth Century Literature, New York and London, 1906.

Wilhelm Dilthey, Das Erlebnis und die Dichtung (Zehnte Auflage), Leipzig and Berlin, 1929.

Adolf Frey, Erinnerungen an Gottfried Keller, Bern, \_\_\_\_.

G. G. Gervinus, Geschichte der National-Literature der Deutschen (Zweite Auflage), Leipzig, 1843.

Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Samtliche Werke (Jubiläums-Ausgabe), 40 volumes, Stuttgart and Berlin, 1902.

Heinrich Heine, Ausgewählte Werke (herausgegeben von Hartwig Jess), 6 volumes, Leipzig, 1930.

Justinus Kerner, Werke, (herausgegeben von Raimund Pissin), 6 parts, Berlin, Leipzig, Vienna, Stuttgart, \_\_\_.

Julius Klaiber, Eduard Mörike, Stuttgart, 1876.

Heinrich von Kleist, Werke und Briefe (herausgegeben von Manfred Schneider), 4 volumes, Stuttgart, 1924.

Hermann Kurz, Werke (herausgegeben von Hermann Fischer), 12 volumes, Leipzig, \_\_\_.

Isolde Kurz, Hermann Kurz (Dritte Auflage), Stuttgart and Berlin, 1920.

Karl Philipp Moritz, Anton Reiser (herausgegeben von Fred B. Hardt), 4 volumes, Munich and Leipzig, 1911.

Friedrich Nietzsche, Werke, 16 volumes, Leipzig, 1904.

Friedrich von Schiller, Gedichte und Erzählungen (Grossherzog Wilhelm Ernst Ausgabe), Leipzig, 1906.

Karl Wilhelm Friedrich Solger, Nachgelassene Schriften und Briefwechsel (herausgegeben von Ludwig Tieck und Friedrich von Raumer), 2 volumes, Leipzig, 1826.

Madame de Staël, De L'Allemagne, Paris, 18\_\_.

Theodor Storm, Werke (nach der von Theodor Hertel besorgten Ausgabe, neubearbeitet und ergänzt von Fritz Böhme), 8 volumes, Leipzig, 1936.

Friedrich Theodor Vischer, Altes und Neues, Stuttgart 1882.  
 Adolf Wilbrandt, Friedrich Hölderlin, Fritz Reuter,  
 Berlin, 1896.

### III. Recent Criticism and Appreciation

#### A. Hölderlin

Friedrich Beissner, Hölderlins Übersetzungen aus dem Griechischen, Stuttgart, 1933.

Paul Böckmann, Hölderlin und seine Götter, Munich, 1935.

Wilhelm Böhm, Hölderlin, 2 volumes, Halle, 1928-30.

Wilhelm Böhm, Hölderlin und die Schweiz, Frauenfeld/  
 Leipzig, 1935.

Hans Brandenburg, Friedrich Hölderlin, Leipzig, 1924.

E. M. Butler, The Tyranny of Greece over Germany,  
 New York and Cambridge, 1935.

David Gascoyne, Hölderlin's Madness, London, 1938.

Stefan George, Hölderlin (Tage und Taten, Band XVII, Gesamt-Ausgabe der Werke, Berlin, 1927).

Rudolph Grosch, Die Jugenddichtung Friedrich Hölderlins,  
 Berlin, 1899.

Friedrich Gundolf, Hölderlins Archipelagus (Dichter und Helden, Heidelberg, 1921).

Michael Hamburger, Friedrich Hölderlin, Selected Poems, London, 1944.

Karl Jaspers, Strindberg <sup>und</sup> Van Gogh, Versuch einer pathographischen Analyse unter vergleichender Heranziehung von Swedenborg und Hölderlin, Leipzig 1922 (Arbeiten zur angewandten Psychiatrie, Band V).

Lothar Kempfer, Hölderlin und die Mythologie, Horgen-Zürich, Leipzig, 1929 (Wege zur Dichtung, Band VI).

Max Kemmerell, Der Dichter als Führer in der deutschen Klassik, Berlin, 1828.

Emil Lehmann, Hölderlins Lyrik, Stuttgart, 1922.

J. B. Leishman, Friedrich Hölderlin, Selected Poems, London, 1944.

Wilhelm Michel, Hölderlins Abendländische Wendung, Jena, 1922.

Karl Justus Obenauer, Hölderlin-Novalis, Jena, 1925

Ronald Peacock, Hölderlin, London, 1938.

Carl Petersen, Der Seher deutscher Volkheit, Friedrich Hölderlin, Kiel, 1934 (Kieler Universitätsreden, Neue Folge, Heft I).

Frederic Prokosch, Some Poems of Friedrich Hölderlin, Norfolk, Conn., 1941.

Rainer Maria Rilke, Briefe aus den Jahren 1914 bis 1921, Leipzig, 1938.

Rudolf Sühnel, Die Götter Griechenlands und die deutsche Klassik, Würzburg, 1935.

Stefan Zweig, Der Kampf mit dem Dämon, Leipzig, 1929.

## B. Mörike:

Ruth Bachert, Mörikes Maler Nolten, Leipzig, 1928  
(Von deutscher Poeterey, Band I).

Albrecht Goes, Mörike, Stuttgart, 1938.

Friedrich Gundolf, Eduard Mörike (Romantiker, neue Folge), Berlin - Wilmersdorf, 1931).

Ilse Martens, Die Mythologie bei Mörike, Marburg a. d. L., 1921.

Harry Mayo, Eduard Mörike (Dritte und vierte Auflage), Stuttgart and Berlin, 1927.

Vera Sandomirsky, Eduard Mörike, Sein Verhältnis zum Biedermeier, Erlangen, 1935 (Erlanger Arbeiten zur deutschen Literatur, 6).

Rudolf Völk, Die Kunstform des "Maler Nolten" von Eduard Morike, Berlin, 1930 (Germanische Studien, Heft 82).

Eggert Windegg, Eduard Mörike, Stuttgart, 1919.

Werner Zemp, Morike, Elemente und Anfänge, Frauenfeld Leipzig, 1939 (Wege zur Dichtung, Band XXXII).

## IV. The Classics: General and Specific Works

Edwyn Bevan, Hellenism and Christianity, London, 1929.

Albrecht von Blumenthal, Sophokles, Stuttgart, 1936.

Alfred Croiset, La Poésie de Pindare, Paris, 1880.

Hermann Gundert, Pindar und Sein Dichterberuf, Frankfurt am Main, 1935 (Frankfurter Studien zur Religion und Kultur der Antike, Band X).

Werner Jaeger, Paideia, die Formung des griechischen Menschen, Berlin and Leipzig, 1934.

Philippe - Eduard Legrand, Étude sur Théocrite, Paris, 1898

Gilbert Norwood, Pindar, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1945 (Sather Classical Lectures, Volume 19).

J. A. Stewart, The Myths of Plato, London, 1905.

W. W. Tarn, Hellenistic Civilization, London, 1927.

V. General Works on the Period and its Literature

Otto Ackermann, Schwabentum und Romantik, Breslau, 1939 (Sprache und Kultur der germanischen und romanischen Völker, Germanische Reihe, Band XXXI),

Adolf Bartels, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur (Dreizehnte und vierzehnte Auflage), Braunschweig, Berlin, Hamburg, 1934.

Max von Boehm, Biedermeier Deutschland von 1815-1847, Berlin, \_\_\_\_\_.

Georg Hermann Borckhardt, Das Biedermeier im Spiegel seiner Zeit, Berlin, Leipzig, Vienna, Stuttgart, 1913.

W. H. Bruford, Germany in the Eighteenth Century: The Social Background of the Literary Revival, Cambridge, 1935.

Paul Drews, Der Evangelische Geistliche, Jena, 1905 (Monographien zur deutschen Kulturgeschichte, Band XII).

Emil Ermatinger, Die deutsche Lyrik seit Herder, 3 volumes, Leipzig and Berlin, 1925.

Rudolf Haym, Die Romantische Schule (Vierte Auflage)  
Berlin, 1920.

Ernst Heilbronn, Zwischen zwei Revolutionen, Der Geist der Schinkelzeit (1789-1848), Berlin, 1927.

Ricarda Huch, Die Romantik, Leipzig, 1924.

Karl Viëtor, Geschichte der deutschen Ode, Münster, 1923 (Geschichte der deutschen Literatur nach Gattungen, Band I).

Oskar Walzel, Deutsche Romantik (Fünfte Auflage)  
Leipzig and Berlin, 1926.

Theobald Ziegler, Die geistigen und sozialen Strömungen in 19. und 20. Jahrhundert (Siebente Auflage), Berlin, 1921.

#### VI. Periodicals

P. M. Mitchell, "Hölderlin in Germany", Monatshefte,  
Madison (November, 1946), Vol. XXXVIII, Number 7, pp. 403-412.