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'DEPARTURE AND RETURN IN
FRIEDRICH HÖLDERLIN'S
HYPERION ODER DER EREMIT
IN GRIECHENLAND.'

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Introduction

Let's begin at the beginning:

Es giebt zwei Ideale unseres Daseyns: einen Zustand der höchsten Einfalt, wo unsre Bedürfnisse mit sich selbst, und mit unseren Kräften, und mit allem, womit wir in Verbindung stehen, durch die bloße Organisation der Natur, ohne unser Zuthun, gegenseitig zusammenstimmen, und einen Zustand der höchsten Bildung, wo dasselbe statt finden würde bey unendlich vervielfältigten und verstärkten Bedürfnissen und Kräften, durch die Organisation, die wir uns selbst zu geben im Stande sind.¹

These are the first published words of Hölderlin's *Hyperion*-Project towards a novel set in the ruins of classical Greece, to which he first alluded in 1792.² They preface the 'Fragment von Hyperion' which appeared in Schiller's journal *Neuer Thalia* in November 1794.

It is a beautiful thing to trace how the *Hyperion* text blooms through various versions into the final novel *Hyperion oder der Eremit in Griechenland* (2 volumes, 1797-99), gaining in vivacity and colour from Hölderlin's rather more abstract early formulations. At the same time many of the major themes of *Hyperion* resound through all the versions, and are represented clearly in the 'Fragment' as well as the so-called 'metrische Fassung' and 'Hyperions Jugend'.

The model of two ideals Hölderlin proposes in this first paragraph suggests both a departure from the original "Zustand der höchsten Einfalt" and a progressive return towards the "Zustand der höchsten Bildung". Between these ideals lies thus an elliptical journey, which Hölderlin goes on to characterize as the "exzentrische Bahn". The origins of this term have been extensively discussed.³ What intrigues me here is the model of departure and return itself.

On the one hand, the Eighteenth Century in Europe experienced itself as an age of departure. Enlightenment reason had freed humanity from the tyranny of medieval thought and pointed it towards self-legislative maturity; the method of science had opened up new horizons of discovery in the world at large. From the coasts of western Europe, adventurous spirits departed for some region or other of the new world.

However, as the new brash optimism of the European mood conquered all without, it seemed to crumple from within. Dissenting voices at home questioned the Enlightenment project and hinted darkly that something was rotten in the modern edifice of reason. For every departure, there must be a return.

Rousseau's somewhat shrill cries for a return to nature are well-known, but an uneasiness about the suitability of reason to replace faith was widespread, and manifested itself in subtle ways. In his *Über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen* (1795) Hölderlin's sometime mentor Schiller argued that the individual's reliance on

¹ StA. III, p.163, ll.1f.

² See StA. VI, Letter no.60, p.86.

³ By, among others, W. Schadewaldt in 'Das Bild der exzentrische Bahn bei Hölderlin' in *Hölderlin-Jahrbuch* Nr. 6, 1952, pp.1-16, L. Ryan in *Hölderlin's Hyperion: exzentrische Bahn und Dichterberuf*, Stuttgart 1965, and Ulrich Gaier in his *Hölderlin - eine Einführung*, Tübingen 1993, as well as his earlier essay 'Hölderlin's *Hyperion*: Compendium, Roman, Rede' in *Hölderlin-Jahrbuch* Nr.21, 1978-9, pp. 88-143.

reason must be tempered with a cultivation of feeling and a receptivity to the outer world. These forces could best be harmonized in the aesthetic.⁴

It is of course the early romantic writers who best evoke the spectre of return, which is often associated with reactionary political forces. Novalis gave some idea of what he meant by his aphorism

Die Welt muß romantisirt werden. So findet man den urspr.[änglichen] Sinn wieder.⁵

in his essay 'Die Christenheit oder Europa' of 1799. He here writes wistfully of a return to the perceived unity of belief and intuition of the Christian middle ages.⁶ The nostalgic image of medieval Europe which permeated so much romantic art at times displayed a distrust of reason and a desire to return to the overtly hierarchical values of yesteryear, and as such shared some aspects of what L. Jordanova has termed the "authoritarian response" to the Enlightenment.⁷

Friedrich Schlegel found Novalis' essay unsuitable for printing in his journal *Athenæum*, though he too recognized the need for some kind of mythology or system of belief in European civilisation. Like Schiller, he turns to the aesthetic when discussing this need. Schlegel's famous definition of mental activity in terms of departure and return in his 'Rede über die Mythologie' (1800) echoes to a striking degree one of Hölderlin's formulations in *Hyperion* three years earlier:

Wie es das Wesen des Geistes ist, sich selbst zu bestimmen und im ewigen Wechsel aus sich heraus zu gehen und in sich zurückzukehren...⁸

Bestehet ja das Leben der Welt im Wechsel des Entfaltens und Verschließens, in Ausflug und in Rückkehr zu sich selbst, warum nicht auch das Herz des Menschen?⁹

Significantly, these passages do not evoke a return to some kind of hierarchical order, but rather a return of the experiencing subject into itself.

⁴ "Da die Welt ein Ausgedehntes in der Zeit, Veränderung, ist, so wird die Vollkommenheit desjenigen Vermögens, welches den Menschen mit der Welt in Verbindung setzt, größtmögliche Veränderlichkeit und Extensität sein müssen... Seine Kultur wird also darin bestehen: erstlich: dem empfangenden Vermögen die vielfältigsten Berührung mit der Welt zu verschaffen und auf Seiten des Gefühls die Passivität aufs Höchste zu treiben; zweitens: dem bestimmenden Vermögen die höchste Unabhängigkeit von dem empfangenden zu erwerben und aus Seiten der Vernunft die Aktivität aufs Höchste zu treiben." Friedrich Schiller: *On the Aesthetic Education of Man*, bilingual edition, eds. E.M.Wilkinson & L.A.Willoughby, Oxford 1967, p.86.

⁵ Novalis: *Schriften*, eds. Paul Kluckhohn & Richard Samuel, Stuttgart 1975, Vol.II, p.545, II.14f. (Logologisches Fragment Nr.105).

⁶ The following is typical of his tone: "Es waren schöne glänzende Zeiten, wo Europa ein christliches Land war, wo Eine Christenheit diesen menschlich gestalteten Welttheil bewohnte; Ein großes gemeinschaftliches Interesse verband die entlegensten Provinzen dieses weiten geistlichen Reiches." *Schriften*, vol. II, p.507, II.5f.

⁷ See L.Jordanova, 'The Authoritarian Response', in Hulme & Jordanova (eds.): *The Enlightenment and its Shadows*, London 1990, particularly p.213.

⁸ Friedrich Schlegel: *Kritische Friedrich-Schlegel-Ausgabe*, ed. Ernst Behler, Paderborn 1967-, Vol. II, p.314.

⁹ StA, III, p.38, II.6f.

So departure and return, while meaning different things to different people, are prevalent categories in the thought of the German lands in the late Eighteenth Century. As a dialectic they echo the discrepancy between Europe's material outer confidence and almost secret inner uncertainty about the direction civilisation seemed to be taking. The Enlightenment step out of the medieval mind-set typified in Kant occasioned both empirical progress and a powerful urge to return to a more intuitive, organic relation between self and world. The problematic of departure and return, which Hölderlin had conjured in the very first paragraph of his *Hyperion*-Project, remained with it both thematically and formally into the final version.

DEPARTURE: "Durch das Größte nicht eingeschränkt...".

§1. *L'Éducation sentimentale.*

Hölderlin had both a practical and a theoretical interest in education. On leaving the seminar at Tübingen in 1793 his first appointment was as a tutor to Fritz von Kalb, the son of Charlotte von Kalb, to whom Schiller had recommended the young Swabian poet. Hölderlin was anxious to do well in this post of preceptor, partly to relieve his mother's disappointment that he did not enter the clergy. His letters declaring what didactic methods he would apply to Fritz are, in David Constantine's words, "a heavy mixture of Rousseau and Kant".¹⁰ Despite his philosophical intentions, Hölderlin did not remain long with the von Kalb household. He later had a more professionally successful tenure of the office of *Hofmeister* with the Gontards in Frankfurt. He was, of course, to leave this job for personal reasons. Later brief spells teaching in Hauptwyl in Switzerland and Bordeaux notwithstanding, Hölderlin never again succeeded in making a living as a pedagogue.

His interest in the theory of teaching remained, however. From his early experiences in the seminary, with its harsh regime, Hölderlin had questioned the nature and role of education. An inspirational figure in his reaction to what he had encountered as the dogmatic and soul-destroying methods of traditional education was that of Rousseau, whose pedagogical treatise *Émile* had appeared in 1762. In this work, Rousseau argues against specialist education, contending that the whole personality must be developed to make the individual fit to function as such in the world:

Qu'on destine mon élève à l'épée, à l'église, au barreau, peu m'importe. Avant la vocation des parens la nature l'appelle à la vie humaine. Vivre est le metier que je lui veux apprendre. En sortant de mes mains, il ne sera, j'en conviens, ni magistrat, ni soldat, ni prêtre: il sera premièrement homme.¹¹

Rousseau's mistrust of the institutions of modern civilisation derived from his idea that society as it had existed up to then was a corruption of essentially pure and bountiful nature. *Émile* begins with the following assertion:

Tout est bien, sortant des mains de l'auteur des choses: tout dégénère entre les mains de l'homme. Il force une terre à nourrir les productions d'une autre: un arbre à porter les fruits d'un autre. Il mêle et confond les climats, les éléments, les saisons...¹²

The idea behind this, that of an originally naïve state, where everything is in its place before man begins to meddle with it, can be traced back to Montaigne's writings on the newly-discovered "primitive" peoples, and beyond that to classical myths of a prelapsarian Golden Age. The ideal Rousseauian pupil should be led towards a state of fullness analogous to that original idyll. This cannot be done if the pupil is to be schooled solely in the ways of society, to society's ends:

¹⁰ David Constantine: *Hölderlin*, Oxford 1988, p.43.

¹¹ Jean-Jacques Rousseau: *Œuvres Complètes*, eds. B. Gagnebin & M. Raymond, Paris 1969-, vol. IV, p.252.

¹² *Ibid.*, p.245.

Forcé de combattre la nature ou les institutions sociales, il faut opter entre faire un homme ou faire un citoyen; car on ne peut faire à la fois l'un et l'autre.¹³

Such ideas must have struck a chord with Hölderlin, torn as he was between his mother's expectations of him to take up the profession of priest and his personal literary ambitions.

Rousseau's ideas reflect the debate on education that was going on as Europe's bourgeoisie achieved growing social prominence and financial prestige in the course of the Eighteenth Century. The form and content of their children's education was now an issue to many more people than ever before. Since the aristocracy's methods of schooling its offspring in the ways of the social élite were patently unsuitable for the bourgeoisie, new definitions of *Bildung* had to be found. The rise of the *Bildungsroman* was, in the German lands at least, an important contribution to the search for alternative ways to educate the young.¹⁴

A dilemma faced the pedagogues of the Eighteenth Century, and it was the dilemma hinted at by Rousseau above. On the one hand, the newly rediscovered ideals of democracy and reason ("*sapere aude!*") demanded that individuals be raised to think for themselves, that they be presented with the basic empirical facts of the world with which to dispose of as they chose. They would be trained to use their own reason in an enlightened way, and then left to get on with it.

On the other hand, one of the primary functions, if not *the* primary function of education had always been to initiate and integrate the individual into society, to instill in him (and it was almost always *him*) the values and laws of the particular grouping to which he belonged, as well as his place in the hierarchy of the society.

If in the second place the pupil should come to feel a valued member of a given group, belonging in the bosom of its civilisation, he will apparently forfeit his free-thinking capacity in this. He will become Rousseau's *citoyen*. In the first case, where universal reason holds sway, the pupil will have come closer to Kantian maturity and Rousseauian manhood, but will apparently have forfeited his sense of belonging to any grouping, since he must always maintain some critical distance from society in the use of his own rational power of thought: he is on the outside looking in.

This dilemma grew out of the great cultural change which came upon European civilisation, which may be referred to as the transition from hierarchical to democratic mythology. As Joseph Campbell puts it:

Since the period of the Renaissance, we of the West have come to believe that the primary aim of education is the inculcation of information about the world in which we live. This, however, was not the aim in the past, nor is it the aim in the Orient (in which I include Russia) to this day. The aim of education in the primitive, archaic, and Oriental spheres has always been and will no doubt continue to be, for many centuries, not primarily to enlighten the mind concerning the nature of the universe, but to create communities of shared experience for the engagement of the sentiments of the growing individual in the matters of chief concern to the local group.¹⁵

¹³ Ibid., p.248.

¹⁴ See Jürgen Jacobs: *Wilhelm Meister und seine Brüder*, Munich 1972, particularly pp. 31, 37.

¹⁵ Joseph Campbell: *Primitive Mythology*, New York 1967, p.466.

Thus while the universal education of reason produces a universal individual, the education of a given community produces a local individual, at home in his group's mythology since he has been carefully initiated into it. It would seem that the method of reason is destined to create free but alienated individuals, whilst the method of myth creates integral but limited communities.

Hölderlin was engaged as *Hofmeister* in the Gontard household from late 1795 until September 1798. He was working intermittently on versions of *Hyperion* throughout this time, so it is not surprising that the theme of *Bildung* features heavily in the middle and later versions.

Both the 'metrische Fassung' and 'Hyperions Jugend' contain a lengthy didactic scene (it is the same scene, more or less, in each), in which the mature Hyperion offers poetic advice to a young visitor who has, by his own admission, strayed from the path of harmonious living and become a 'tyrant' against nature.¹⁶ Here, Hyperion volunteers the store of wisdom which he has acquired over the years and tells the younger man his life story. Hyperion is a fixed character, he has found his truths - which are a wide-ranging collection of thoughts echoing Plato on the nature of love and Eros, and the living individual's relation to the ideal - and now dispenses them with grace and serenity.

By the finished novel, however, it is Hyperion who has become the pupil, the one to be formed, and his early education is related in the episode with Adamas. The figure of Adamas has called forth varying reactions from critics. Whilst for many he simply opens up Hyperion to the worlds of nature and classical mythology, Margarethe Wegenast notes that it is the influence of Adamas which first makes Hyperion aware of the discrepancy between ideal and reality which is to characterize his later mind-set.¹⁷

In truth, Adamas is an ambiguous character. Since his is the first influence on Hyperion as he leaves the spontaneity of childhood, and since this influence pervades the whole novel (we are reminded of this by the inclusion of his 'Schicksaalslied' towards the end), it is worth looking at this ambiguity.

On the one hand, Adamas is quite clearly a cultural malcontent. Not a Greek by birth, he has wandered there in search of the 'Genius' of the ancient Greeks. In his undisclosed homeland, his art has failed him:

sein Stoff war Stein und Holz gewesen und geblieben, nahm wohl zur Noth die edle Menschenform von außen an, aber um diß war's meinem Adamas nicht zu thun; er wollte Menschen, und, um diese zu schaffen, hatte er seine Kunst zu arm

¹⁶ Compare StA, III, p.187, II.1f. and p.199, II.9f.

¹⁷ Thus on the one hand for Rüdiger Görner: "Adamas ist das Sinnbild von Festigkeit; mit ihm geht Hyperion zum Tempel Apollos, des Gottes des Maßes und der Lichten Vernunft," *Hölderlins Mitte - zur Ästhetik eines Ideals*, Munich 1993, p.37. Similarly, Gerhard Mayer notes: "In Hyperions Entwicklungsgang verkörpert der weise Adamas die prägende Kraft einer an idealen Leitbildern orientierten Erziehung." 'Hölderlins *Hyperion* - ein frühromantischer Bildungsroman' in *Hölderlin Jahrbuch* Nr. 19-20, 1975-77, pp.244-257, this ref. p.245. For Walter Silz, Adamas is "an inspired and inspiring *Wanderlehrer*" *Hölderlin's 'Hyperion'*, Philadelphia 1969, p.66. On the other hand, Margarethe Wegenast sees Adamas as having a negative effect on his pupil, observing: "In der Notwendigkeit dieser Trennung [i.e. when the master leaves his pupil] liegt der entscheidende Gesichtspunkt der Adamas-Handlung. Erstmals bricht damit innerhalb der Erinnerung Hyperions selbst die Diskrepanz idealer Erfüllung und realer Verlusterfahrung auf." *Hölderlins Spinoza-Rezeption und ihre Bedeutung für die Konzeption des Hyperion-Romans*, Tübingen 1990, p.149.

gefunden. Sie waren einmal da gewesen, die er suchte, die zu schaffen, das erkannt' er deutlich.¹⁸

Thus Adamas comes to Hyperion possessing a strongly elegiac temperament. It is therefore unsurprising that his education of the latter displays a heavy bias towards the 'hero-world of Plutarch' (14, 13) and the 'wonderland of the Greek gods' (14, 14). They visit the ruins of an ancient Hellenic temple to the 'forgotten Jupiter' (14, 30f.) and the now deserted valleys of Elis, Nemea, and Olympia (14, 29f.). What Hyperion really receives is an education in elegy, albeit accompanied by some casual botany and astronomy (14, 16f.).

It is equally unsurprising that Adamas leaves Greece, and Hyperion, to journey further East in search of the '*Menschen*' he was unable to create in his homeland:

In der Tiefe von Asien soll ein Volk von seltner Trefflichkeit verborgen seyn; dahin trieb ihn seine Hoffnung weiter. (17, 1f.)

One is tempted to ask the question: Exactly what is it that Adamas is looking for? A clue to this lies perhaps in the fact that the folk he is drawn to is '*verborgen*'. It is as if, being hidden from the expanding European civilisation (the '*kultivierte Welt*' from which Adamas himself comes [13, 17]), this folk may have preserved some naïve spontaneity. I believe it is this which attracts Adamas. Schooled in the universal precepts of reason, he is yet filled with an emotional nostalgia for the 'primitive' kind of community he is meant to have outgrown. In this Adamas is undoubtedly an archetype of his time. The feast of information and rational data which his civilisation has set before him has not satisfied his hunger for initiation. Since for him mythologies have become local, primitive and inferior to reason, he can study them comparatively; but he is looking in on them from the outside. It seems as if the living breath of each culture cannot be apprehended by the new mythological wanderer: their expressions remain to him 'stone and wood', alien and lifeless.

Yet for all this Adamas is not a wholly negative figure in the novel, even if he is still less the paragon of solid, humanistic education that some commentators see in him. Though he leaves Hyperion in the lurch to go chasing after the 'noble savage', Adamas imparts to the younger man more than just a keen sense of elegy; there are also the gnomic words of wisdom which Hyperion recalls with a bitter-sweet feeling in his letter to Bellarmin (16, 9f.). As part of Adamas' legacy to his pupil these sayings are at least as important as, if not more important than, his longing for the perceived integrity of ancient Greece. The remembered words of Adamas display a strangely numinous, almost oriental feel for the insubstantiality of temporal phenomena, thus paradoxically neutralizing loss and elegy:

Was ist Verlust, wenn so der Mensch in seiner eignen Welt sich findet? In uns ist alles. Was kümmerts dann den Menschen, wenn ein Haar von seinem Haupte fällt? Was ringt er so nach Knechtschaft, wenn er ein Gott seyn könnte! (16, 11f.)

These words are given a deepened resonance in that they are preceded by the description of a poetic moment, when the almighty rising sun bestows living fire on the

¹⁸ StA. III, p.13, 17f.

seemingly ruined Grecian landscape, breaking the spell of elegy and provoking in Hyperion what can only be described as a timelessly numinous experience:

mir war, als trügen uns die Morgenwinde mit sich fort, und brächten uns in's Geleite des heiligen Wesens das nun hinaufstieg auf den Gipfel des Himmels, freundlich und groß, und wunderbar mit seiner Kraft und seinem Geist die Welt und uns erfüllte. (16, 4f.)

The rhythm of this passage seems almost to carry the reader off the ground with Hyperion in his enraptured ride in the tails of the sun.

The pathos of Adamas' words is further increased by Hyperion's description of their parting which follows. This is the last time they will see one another, and is the first of several emotional scenes of farewell which occur through the novel. The act of parting is explicitly identified with pain; they have become so close that Hyperion is almost 'torn apart', body and soul (17, 3f.). Adamas' final words in the novel, excepting the later echo of the 'Schicksaalslied', can be divided into two sections. He firstly addresses the 'spirits of a better time' in a gesture of theatrical apostrophe, standing above Hyperion displaying titanic, almost superheroic features:

er lächelte groß, und seine Stirne breitete vor dem Sternen des Morgens sich aus, und sein Auge durchdrang die Räume des Himmels. (17, 15f.)

Then this figure turns from addressing the elements of heaven and earth to speak to Hyperion himself, and his tone is altogether more human, more intimate:

Es ist ein Gott in uns, setzt' er ruhiger hinzu, der lenkt, wie Wasserbäche, das Schicksaal, und alle Dinge sind sein Element. Der sey vor allem mit dir! (17, 21f.)

This quiet evocation of a saving god, coming just after Adamas' fears for Hyperion in a ruined time, brings to mind the much quoted opening of Hölderlin's hymn 'Patmos':

Nah ist
Und schwer zu fassen der Gott.
Wo aber Gefahr ist, wächst
Das Rettende auch.¹⁹

The import of Adamas' prophecy is roughly: Hyperion is going to have a hard time in the world as it is; but if he is accompanied by the 'Gott in uns' he will have a chance of salvation. The teacher's typically gnomic characterization of this god leaves much to conjecture; it is, all the same, of indisputable significance that these words are uttered on Nio, at the grave of Homer. The resonance of Adamas' sayings remains with Hyperion as he departs into adult life, and with the reader departing into the remainder of the novel.

After Adamas leaves, Hyperion feels the confines of his island home and is filled with a restless despair, a kind of active elegy, the legacy of his introduction to the world of heroes (18, 18f.). Thus it can be said that in many ways Adamas has transferred his

¹⁹ StA. II, I, p.165, 1f.

own dissatisfaction with the era to his pupil. But he has simultaneously set him on the path which many a modern individual must travel: the path to find the law within, to wrest meaning from a cosmos whose orthodox sense has collapsed.

The effect of Adamas' education of Hyperion has been to make him unable to subscribe to any given community existing in his time, but to fervently desire an ideal community which *should* exist. In Rousseauian terms, Hyperion is unfit to be a '*citoyen*', and must strive to become '*homme*'; outsider to all mythologies, his is the difficult task of constructing his own.

Not unexpectedly, Hyperion's first move as he departs along the path is to look back. Wrenched from the unreflective 'heavenly peace' (10, 8) of childhood, he now experiences for the first time in full measure the crippling power of nostalgia, of longing for the image of a forgotten place and time. This is where his troubles really begin.

§2. Auch ich war in Arkadien...

The beautiful idea of a harmonious age in the past has been with humanity since prehistory. Aborigine Dreamtime, the garden of Eden, the classical Elysium, Atlantis and Avalon are all local variations of this archetypal myth. Like any myth it is always with us, but can take on a heightened significance in some eras, for several reasons.

The Eighteenth Century's virtual obsession with the idea of a Golden Age had various causes, some of which I have mentioned. A growing historical awareness was combined with waning faith in the unqualified progress of Western civilisation. A significant number of thinkers and writers attempted to find cultural reference points in the 'primitive' societies of the European past and the non-European present: one thinks of Herder's works of cultural comparison (his *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* of 1784-91, and his *Briefe zur Beförderung der Humanität* of 1795-7 are examples of this), of Schiller's studies on the poetry produced by basic and advanced civilisations (*Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung*, 1795-6), and of the phenomenon of McPherson's *Ossian*. The topos of a Golden Age in the past was also one of the key elements of German early Romantic thinking, as Stephanie Roth has highlighted.²⁰

For Hölderlin, the idea of a lost Golden Age could be encapsulated in the grandiose image of one incomparable but vanished civilisation: that of ancient Greece. From his examination paper entitled 'Geschichte der schönen Künste unter den Griechen bis zu Ende des perikleischen Zeitalters' of 1790²¹, through numerous poetical treatments and later translations of Sophocles and Pindar, Hölderlin remained haunted all his life by the phantom of Hellenic culture. In the *Hyperion*-Project the feelings of loss and longing which Hölderlin always associated with his love of Grecian art could be expressed in the 'elegiac character' (Vorrede) of *Hyperion*: a modern Greek all too aware of his nation's past.

In all the versions of *Hyperion*, the eponymous hero suffers from, or has suffered from, a chronic dissatisfaction with the here and now, and a complementary need to project ideal modes of existence into a dreamed-of past and/or a wished-for future. His inability to feel 'at home' in his time results in a highly strung search for something, or someone, to bind him to the here and now. When he seems to have found this binding agent, the utopian life of the Golden Age is conjured up and seems almost within his grasp. Memories of first encountering the somewhat flighty Melite, for example, lead the *Hyperion* of the 'Fragment' to a highly lyrical suggestion of Arcadia:

Noch stehet sie da vor mir, wie in den heiligen trunkenen Momente, da ich sie fand; ich press' es an mein glühendes Herz, das süße Phantom; ich höre ihre Stimme, das Lispeln ihrer Harfe; wie ein friedlich Arkadien, wo Blüte und Saat in ewig stiller Luft sich wiegt, wo ohne des Mittags Schwüle die Erndte reift, und die süße Traube gedeiht, wo keine Furcht das sichere Land umzäunt, wo man von nichts weis, als von dem ewigen Frühling der Erde, und dem wolkenlosen Himmel und seiner Sonne, und seinen freundlichen Gestirnen, so stehet es offen da vor mir, das Heiligtum ihres Herzens und Geistes.

Melite! o Melite! himmlisches Wesen! (167, 14f.)

²⁰ Stephanie Roth, *Friedrich Hölderlin und die deutsche Frühromantik*, Stuttgart 1991, especially pp. 338-357, 'Ausblick auf die neue Goldene Zeit'.

²¹ StA, vol.IV,1, pp. 189-206.

The mythical environment so sweetly imagined here is one of effortless prosperity, of unreflective and eternal safety. It displays facets of the easy but dignified life of nature which Montaigne imputed to the cannibal peoples of the Americas²², although its primary reference is of course to the pastoral idyll of the classical world with its flourishing vines and melodious harps. Hyperion's poetic dreaming and the euphoria unleashed in him by the sight of Melite stands in sharp contrast to his state just before chancing upon her. Only the spring day manages initially to coax him out of a dark depression:

Mir war, als sollt' ich doch auch wieder fröhlich werden. Ich... kleidete mich wie zu einem Feste. Er sollte auch mich besuchen, der himmlische Fremdling.
Ich sah, wie alles hinausströmte ins Freie...
Da zeigte sich recht der Allmacht der Natur. Fast jedes Gesicht war herzlicher...
Der Hafen wimmelte von jauchzenden Schiffen, wo Blumenkränze wehten, und Chierwein blinkte, die Myrthenlaubten tönten von fröhlichen Melodien, und Tanz und Spiel durchrauschten die Ulmen und Platanen.
Ach! Ich suchte mehr, als das. Das konnte nicht vom Tode retten. (166, 10f.)

The happiness of the spring day arouses in Hyperion the expectation of a feeling of belonging. He dresses up as if on a holiday, the archetypal expression of common celebration within a group. Yet as he goes out he remains an observer, looking in on the happiness of others: he does not share the holiday spirit as he is not part of what Campbell terms a 'community of shared experience', or an integral orthodox mythology.

In visualizing this scene, I am strongly reminded of Hölderlin's later poem 'Andenken' (1803). Here too the poet-wanderer observes the foreign beauty of what Hamburger catchily translates as 'indigenous dancing'²³ with the excruciatingly exquisite sadness of the perpetual outsider:

An Feiertagen gehn
Die braunen Frauen daselbst
Auf seidnen Boden,
Zur Märzenzeit,
Wenn gleich ist Nacht und Tag,
Und über langsamen Stegen,
Von goldenen Träumen schwer,
Einwiegende Lüfte ziehen.²⁴

The poet can see that the native women of south-western France have access, exemplified in their holidays, to the 'golden dreams' of the equinox, to the numinous spirit of their culture. They are in touch with life intuitively, at first hand, while he feels himself at one remove from their integral existence, out on the perilous ocean of contingency where meaning has yet to be established.

²² Cf. Michel de Montaigne: *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Jean Plattard, Paris 1916, livre premier, vol.2, pp.99-100.

²³ Michael Hamburger: *Friedrich Hölderlin, Poems and Fragments*, bilingual ed., Oxford 1966, p.491.

²⁴ StA. II,1, p.188, II.17f.

In closing this first letter of the 'Fragment', Hölderlin makes it fairly explicit what Hyperion lacks, what he is in fact searching for:

Ach! der Gott in uns ist immer einsam und arm. Wo findet er alle seine Verwandten? Die einst da waren, und da seyn werden? Wenn kömmt das große Wiedersehen der Geister? Denn einmal waren wir doch, wie ich glaube, alle beisammen. (167, 29f.)

The ever-wise Diotima hits the nail on the head in the finished novel when she reproaches Hyperion:

Du wolltest keine Menschen, glaube mir, du wolltest eine Welt. (67, 12)

For the Hyperion who serves as the object of the final novel suffers from exactly the same longing for community, if its expression is by now that bit more differentiated. Abandoned by Adamas, he departs himself into the world, everywhere asserting his freedom to wander, yet escaping nowhere the nagging but beautiful dream of Arcadia. Adamas leaves for an imagined 'excellent folk', and it is from then on Hyperion's *idée fixe* to restore to his native Greeks their one-time riches. This obsession both binds him to and causes him to argue with Alabanda, and prevents him from settling down to the fulfilled pastoral life of Diotima.

After leaving the island of his birth and his Mother and Father, Hyperion first lives in Smyrna. He has great expectations of finding soul-mates in society, but finds only cynicism and 'degeneracy'.²⁵ The initial enthusiasm of leaving home subsides into a resigned despondency. He determines to depart from Smyrna, and it is in this mood of melancholy farewell that he encounters Alabanda, riding in the wilderness of the hills, far from the social milieu of the city (24, 14f.). Both are drawn to one another as victims of the 'degeneracy' of the locals, personified immediately in the bandits which attack them, robbing Alabanda but being fought off by Hyperion. The latter experiences their meeting as a revelation: he has again found someone who will bring meaning into his wandering way:

O nun war mein unbedeutend Leben am Ende! (25, 24)

Two outsiders, they soon hit it off, and their combined revolutionary enthusiasm throws up bold plans. For a moment the elegiac weight of the past in Hyperion's consciousness seems overturned by titanic intentions for the future (27, 21f.).

Cracks in their relationship soon begin to show, however. Because they become almost too close, neither can tolerate criticism from the other: they each expect conformity in the other's ideas. Discussing ways of bringing about a new Golden Age among the Greeks, Alabanda's destructive fervour intimidates Hyperion somewhat:

O! zünde mir einer die Fackel an, daß ich das Unkraut von der Haide brenne! die Mine bereite mir einer, daß ich die trägen Klöße aus der Erde sprengel!
Wo möglich, lehnt man sanft sie auf der Seite, fiel ich ein.
Alabanda schwieg eine Weile. (29, 6f.)

²⁵ "Wie überall, so waren auch hier die Männer besonders verwahrlost und verwes." (22, 18f.).

On another occasion, Alabanda expresses his fears that they have become too close, as if their private Elysium will not be able to survive the upheavals of the contingent world, which indeed it does not:

es ängstiget denn doch mich oft, daß du mit so unentbehrlich seyn sollst, daß ich so gefesselt bin an dich. (31, 4f.)

Hyperion attempts to quell his companion's restlessness by evoking the self-same ideal region dreamed of by his earlier sibling in the 'Fragment': Arcadia.

Wir schwelgen, begann nun Alabanda weiter, wir tödten im Rausche die Zeit. Wir haben unsere Bräutigamstage zusammen, rief ich erheitert, da darf es wohl noch lauten, als wäre man in Arkadien. Aber auf unser vorig Gespräch zu kommen! (31, 23f.)

But the pair are not in Arcadia, and further conflict between them is caused by Alabanda's wryly amused reaction to Hyperion's impassioned diatribe about a return to youthful divinity in society (32, 12f.), and by the appearance of the deathly 'Bund der Nemesis', of which Alabanda is a member.

The agenda of the 'Bund' is couched in harsh agricultural language much like that used previously by Alabanda (33, 33f.). This is not the agriculture of growth and harvest, but of pure destruction: nihilists who have forgotten any original ideals they may have had, the members of the 'Bund' continue to act even as the dreamed-for Arcadian garden turns into a rotten swamp, and see themselves as blameless in this process:

Will aber niemand wohnen, wo wir bauten, unsre Schuld und unser Schaden ist es nicht... Wer flucht dem Baume, wenn sein Apfel in den Sumpf fällt? (34, 29f.)

It is not long before the garden of Hyperion and Alabanda's friendship is also turning into a swamp:

Wir ruhten nicht, bis eine Rückkehr fast unmöglich war. Wir zerstörten mit Gewalt den Garten unsrer Liebe. (37, 14f.)

Though continuing to marvel at the misguided heroism of his companion, Hyperion is no longer able to trust him. His pleas to Alabanda to absolve himself from the 'Bund' cause the latter to depart in anger. Hyperion is alone again. Once more his dreams of lasting friendship and limited community, of return to a private Arcadia, end with departure as he leaves Smyrna, his feelings a bitter-sweet mixture of liberty and violent regret (38, 12f.). Sailing along the coast he is filled with ghostly memories of the recent past, and experiences a giddy emptiness:

Und nun war es dahin gekommen, nun war ich nichts mehr, war so heillos um alles gebracht, war zum ärmsten unter den Menschen geworden, und wußte selbst nicht, wie? (39, 3f.)

Thus another experience of loss, analogous to that of the Adamas episode, sends Hyperion on a voyage ostensibly of return to his native Tina, but really into the depths of his soul, into a long sickness of grief.

Hyperion's ensuing quiet life on his native island affords him an opportunity for lengthy meditation on contingency and fate, on the nature of elegy, in an attempt to make some sense of what has thus far happened to him. But this hiatus in no way frees him from the phantom of Arcadia and his dream of better times, which are to lead him deeper yet into the well of sorrow.

§3. *The Titanic sails at dawn...*

Pointing out that the older Hölderlin in his tower described *Hyperion* to one visitor as “kannibalisch”, Marlies Janz has contended that the death of Diotima in the novel must be regarded as murder.²⁶ The price of Hyperion’s attainment of subjective status and fullness of character is for Janz precisely the demise of his girlfriend.²⁷ Such criticism of the novel from a broadly feminist perspective has been surprisingly rare; but is nonetheless worth looking into.

For Janz, the passive character of Diotima in the novel and her consequent suitability to act as a ground for the projected ideals of Hyperion reflect “unbewußte Prämissen in Hölderlins Bild der Frau” (ibid., p.135). Stephanie Roth may also be said to subscribe to this view. She points out that the question of equal rights for women, though of crucial importance in the dawning age of new democracy, was never explicitly on Hölderlin’s agenda.²⁸ The embodiment of a certain ideal of nature in Diotima is for Roth simply a corollary of the repression of women in Hölderlin’s era:

Diotima ist unschuldig, gerade weil sie nicht an den Bildungsinstitutionen der Zeit partizipiert. Sie ist auf diese Weise Kind geblieben und der Natur viel näher als Hyperion, der durch seine Erziehung aus dem Naturganzen herausgerissen worden war.²⁹

Evidence for Hyperion’s projection of ideals onto the ‘innocent’ Diotima is seen in the epithets Hyperion uses to describe her:

Fast alle Attribute, die er ihr beilegt, sind dem religiösen Bildbereich entnommen.³⁰

Margarethe Wegenast, on the other hand, is reluctant to take the portrayal of Diotima in the novel at face value. For her the description of their relationship contains an implicit criticism of Hyperion’s behaviour towards Diotima. Wegenast situates this criticism within a wider critique on Hölderlin’s part of the early life and sufferings of his hero:

Wie die Freundschaft mit Alabanda ist also auch die Liebe zu Diotima ursprünglich durch ein metaphysisches Bedürfnis Hyperions motiviert, der in jenem den “Titanen”, in ihr die Inkarnation des spinozistischen - Absoluten selbst sehen will.³¹

²⁶ “Die Wörter ‘vergiftet’ und ‘kannibalisch’ lassen kaum einen Zweifel daran, daß Hölderlin den Tod Diotimas nicht als heroisches Dahinstreben, gar als Opfertod begriffen hat, sondern als Mord.” M. Janz: ‘Hölderlins Flamme - zur Bildwerdung der Frau im *Hyperion*’, in Hölderlin-Jahrbuch Nr.22, 1980-81, pp.122-142, this ref. p.123. The visitor to the tower was Cristoph Theodor Schwab, in 1841.

²⁷ “Die Romanfigur Hyperion ist Diotimas Tod in dem doppelten Sinn, daß sie Diotima den Tod bringt und daß sie sich durch diesen Tod überhaupt erst konstituiert.” ibid., p.123.

²⁸ “Hölderlin hat sich mit dem Thema Emanzipation der Frau theoretisch und wohl auch praktisch nicht auseinandergesetzt.” Roth, op.cit., p.215.

²⁹ Ibid., p.238.

³⁰ Ibid., p.232.

³¹ Wegenast, op.cit., p.163.

Thus Hölderlin wants us to see this particular characterisation of Diotima – as the passive child of nature – as merely a disturbing reflection of Hyperion's ultimately crippling need for community and values:

Hölderlin bindet Diotimas 'Erhabenheit' – und damit letztlich die Dimension normativer Moralität schlechthin (zuvor war Diotima ein 'Kind') – ganz an die exzentrische Perspektivierung und Motivation Hyperions.³²

This reading of the Diotima episode as a continuation and heightening of the themes evoked in earlier episodes (in essence those of Adamas and Alabanda) presupposes certain parallels between Hyperion's relationships with each of these figures. I'd like now to examine Hyperion's encounter with Diotima in the context of his elegiac mania for departure, to see if these parallels exist.

I have already explored how the figure of Melite in the 'Fragment' was associated with the phantom continent of Arcadia, and all that this represented for Hölderlin – community, integral mythology, and pre- or post-revolutionary idyll. In the finished novel, the last few letters of book one, volume one deal with Hyperion's stay on Tina after leaving Alabanda, and his tortured meditations there, which have a distinctly dark and nihilistic flavour:

Wie ein Strom an dürrn Ufern, wo keine Weidenblatt im Wasser sich spiegelt,
lief unverschönert vorüber an mir die Welt. (42, 29f.)

Hab' ich mich nicht zweifach überzeugt? Wenn ich hinsehe in's Leben, was ist
das letzte von allem? Nichts. Wenn ich aufsteige im Geiste, was ist das Höchste
von allem? Nichts. (45, 31f.)

Even in the midst of this feverish soul-searching, however, a hint of optimism comes to Hyperion, a touch of spring which is virtually a premonition of his meeting Diotima, and which is once again seen as a message from the golden kingdom, expressed this time as *Elysium*:

O es war ein himmlisch Ahnen, womit ich jezt den kommenden Frühling wieder
begrüßte! Wie fernher in schweigender Luft, wenn alles schläft, das Saitenspiel
der Geliebten, so umtönten seine leisen Melodien mir die Brust, wie von Elysium
herüber, vernahm ich seine Zukunft... (43, 8f.)

This gradual reawakening of the spirit, coupled with a fortuitous invitation from a friend, occasions another departure in the life of Hyperion: to Calaurea and Diotima. Hyperion's voyage across the sea takes place under the sign of harmonious nature, teeming with life and purpose, and his arrival on Calaurea fills him with an expansive curiosity:

Die Wälder und geheimen Thale reizten mich unbeschreiblich, und der
freundliche Tag lokte alles hinaus.
Es war so sichtbar, wie alles Lebendige mehr, denn tägliche Speise, begehrt, wie
auch der Vogel sein Fest hat und das Thier. (49, 27f.)

³² Ibid., p.180.

This description perhaps anticipates Hölderlin's later definition of religious experience as a relation to the world beyond the necessities of everyday survival. In the essay fragment from his Homburg period, 'Über Religion', Hölderlin wrote of the religious impulse as being for humans:

ein höherer mehr als mechanischer Zusammenhang... ein höheres Geschick
zwischen ihnen und ihr Welt.³³

In this passage from *Hyperion*, the idea of a joyful association beyond the requirements of subsistence, exemplified in the concept of the holiday, is extended to encompass all of nature, indeed all of existence. Just as in the 'Fragment' before Hyperion's encounter with Melite, an atmosphere of "Fest" prevails. Here, however, Hyperion feels less shut out from his surroundings than his earlier sibling did. Nature is now experienced as a positive, integral, and life-enhancing force, and Hyperion can almost feel at one with this force. Yet he is still filled with a longing to depart out of himself, and the goal of this departure is essentially the same as it was for Hyperion in the 'Fragment':

Ich war voll unbeschreiblichen Sehns und Friedens. Eine fremde Macht
beherrschte mich.
Freundlicher Geist, sagt' ich mir selber, wohin rufest du mich? nach Elysium oder
wohin? (50, 23f.)

Thus immediately before chancing on Diotima, Hyperion is again dreaming of the Golden Age, his elegiac mind-set seeing in the panorama of nature a pointer to a perfect time, be it future or past. Right from the beginning he is eager to perceive her as a symbol and guarantor of this imagined paradise, and sees in the sacred quality of her beauty a potential binding agent between himself and the world, and later between the people of Greece, when he fancifully sets her up as a figurehead of the insurrection. Unlike Alabanda, or even Adamas, Diotima has the wherewithal to recognise Hyperion's attempts to burden her with the significance of his Arcadia, and forcefully resists this enterprise. Conversing in the grove, she asks him to tell her his life story, and is able upon hearing it to define and describe to him his malady:

Du wolltest keine Menschen, glaube mir, du wolltest eine Welt. Den Verlust von
allen goldenen Jahrhunderten, so wie du sie, zusammengedrängt in Einen
glücklichen Moment, empfandest, den Geist von allen Geisten beßrer Zeit, die
Kraft von allen Kräften der Heroën, die sollte dir ein Einzelner, ein Mensch
ersetzen! (67, 12f.)

Faced with such a lucid diagnosis of his elegiac mania, Hyperion proceeds to grab the wrong end of the stick, and answers Diotima's reluctance to become his idol with the following:

³³ 'Fragment über Religion', StA, IV, 1, p.275, 1.6f. For a concise discussion of this aspect of 'Über Religion', see Maria Cornelissen: *Hölderlins Ode 'Chiron'*, Tübingen 1958, p.10f.

Die Menschheit? sagt' ich; ich wollte, die Menschheit machte Diotima zum
Loosungswort und mahlt' in ihre Papiere dein Bild, und spräche: heute soll das
Göttliche siegen! Engel des Himmels! das müßt ein Tag seyn!
Geh, rief sie, geh, und zeige dem Himmel deine Verklärung! mir darf sie nicht so
nahe seyn. (68, 16f.)

For her, Hyperion's constant harping in the conditional about a Golden Age to come is nothing but "Verklärung". She sees the limitations of his view of her as a repository of "instant meaning", as it were, as a ready-made symbol of political and metaphysical unity. His willingness to see in her such a symbol begins, despite her resistance, to cause a change in her consciousness which has dark implications:

ja, ich wiensch' es, jetzt zum erstenmale wiensch' ich, mehr zu seyn, denn nur ein
sterblich Mädchen. Aber ich bin dir, was ich seyn kann. (68, 10f.)

Hyperion continues to see in her more – or arguably less – than a mortal, to project onto her the virtues and characteristics of his imagined Elysium, and it is this image which he carries with him into the insurrection with Alabanda, and which is revealed in his letters of that time as an essentially kitsch construct, completely at odds with the reality of what they are undertaking.

Though she predicts the failure of the insurrection to satisfy Hyperion's longing for community, Diotima is ready to accompany him to war; his answer is to assign to her a passive role, the role of symbol:

Es ist auch gut, daß du bleibst, Diotima! sagt' ich. Die Priesterin darf aus dem
Tempel nicht gehen. Du bewahst im Stillen das Schöne, daß ich es wiederfinde
bei dir. (100, 15f.)

Her only alternative is to enter the state of "Erhabenheit" alluded to by Wegenast, and attempt to become the cipher Hyperion so wants her to be. His decision to join Alabanda indeed provokes in her this morbid transformation:

Man kannte fast das seelige Kind nicht mehr, so erhaben und so leidend war sie
geworden... Sie war ein höheres Wesen. Sie gehörte zu den Sterblichen nicht
mehr. (97, 31f.)

Hyperion's departure to join the war marks for him the first of many further departures, as his restlessness leads him from one loss to another. It is also in many respects a template of the original departure of Adamas: like his erstwhile teacher, Hyperion leaves in search of a better world, an integral community, somewhere he will belong. Diotima is left behind just as the young Hyperion himself was, left to grieve in the wake of the mythological wanderer.

Hyperion and Diotima's wedding sacrament, administered just before he leaves, consists of a curious mixture of religious and secular elements. They are wedded not by a priest in God's name, but by Diotima's mother and Notara in the name of nature and the future "beautiful community" which Hyperion hopes to help establish (101, 1f.). The solemn tone and the invocation of nature and experience as sacred, however, lend to the scene a tragic religiosity; the figures are bound by the past, recent and distant:

Längst, rief ich, o Natur! ist unser Leben eines mit dir und himmlischjugendlich,
wie du und deine Götter all', ist unsere eigene Welt durch Liebe.
In deinen Hainen wandelten wir, fuhr Diotima fort, und waren, wie du, an deinen
Quellen saßen wir und waren, wie du... (101, 5f.)

The only scene comparable to this in the entire *Hyperion* project is that in the 'Fragment' which occurs at Homer's grotto. Here art, in the form of rhapsodies from the *Iliad*, binds the participants (among them Hyperion, Melite, Notara, etc.) together and gives them a common cause and feeling. The mood is strongly elegiac, however, symbolized in their each cutting off a lock of hair at Melite's instigation as an offering to the past; the ceremony does nothing, furthermore, to quench Hyperion's fiery restlessness:

Es war ein Gefühl der Vergangenheit, die Todtenfeier von allem, was einst da war... Das alles diente nur, um mein Wesen aus der Ruhe zu locken, in die es gesunken war... Ich mußte weggehen. Meine Trauer war wirklich gränzenlos. (StA, III, 178, 14f.)

In the finished novel, Hyperion leaves immediately after the marriage sacrament. Marlies Janz has observed how Diotima becomes characterized at this point as a "Marmorbild" and "holde(n) Statue": for her this signifies that the living individual Diotima has in Hyperion's eyes been entirely replaced by a constructed image of his ideal, supposedly eternal, but in reality dead.³⁴

This is indeed the case in Hyperion's over-enthusiastic letters to Diotima from the frontline. His missives to her encourage fortitude, and unashamedly set her up as a symbol of the longed-for "Festtag", the future expression of real community, shared celebration, and integral mythology:

Traure nicht, holdes Wesen, traure nicht! Spare dich, unversehrt von Gram, den künftigen Vaterlandsfesten! Diotima! Dem glühenden Festtag der Natur, dem spare dich auf und all den heitern Ehrentagen der Götter. (108, 27f.)

Wir haben noch zu gutem Ende dein Fest gefeiert, schönes Leben, ehe der Lärm beginnt. (110, 30f.)

Alabanda and Hyperion seem to egg one another on to a level of ill-advised hubris, given that they have little idea how successful the insurrection will be. Hyperion fancies they are about to achieve the kind of world which would have satisfied the mythological wanderer Adamas, and calls on him, and on Diotima as the inspiration of this new world:

guter Alter! möcht' ich dann ihm rufen, komm! und baue deine Welt! mit uns!
denn unsre Welt ist auch die deine.

³⁴ "Aus der Ferne wird Hyperion dieses 'Bild', das sich um den Preis des Untergangs der lebendigen 'Gestalt' konstruiert hat, im 'Dämmerlichte' immer wieder hervorbeschwören können, um sich an ihm seiner Ideale zu vergewissern." Janz, *op.cit.*, p.131-2.

Auch die deine, Diotima, denn sie ist die Kopie von dir. O du, mit deiner Elysiumsstillen, könnten wir das schaffen, was du bist! (114, 3f.)

Here the criticisms of Janz and Roth seem all too justified. Diotima is perceived as a passive, inert symbol, to serve as a template and be copied, her naturalness (i.e. lack of education) a ready-made incarnation of a better world ("Elysiumsstillen").

Such passages must be thought of in context, however. Hölderlin leaves us in little doubt of the hubris of his hero in these earlier letters. Immoderacy, the great sin of Greek mythology, to be punished in due course by Nemesis, the goddess not so much of vengeance as of measure, is committed by the two would-be warriors, Hyperion and Alabanda, not only on Diotima, but on fate itself.³⁵

Throughout their association it is Diotima who remains more faithful to the ideals Hyperion expresses in the much-analyzed "Athenerbrieff" (as Janz has noted³⁶) and who generally talks more sense than any of the male characters. As for the way Hyperion treats her: I have shown that he is coloured in all his relationships by a desperate elegiac longing. His search for Arcadia in the form of another mortal exasperates the original quarrel with Alabanda and his subsequent despair, just as Adamas' obsession with a "better world" (= integral mythology) had led him off, leaving the young Hyperion with feelings of abandonment. If in the Diotima-Hyperion relationship the stakes are undeniably higher, and Hyperion's mania leads to her death, it is because, for many of Hölderlin's generation (and many today), the idea of romantic love comes close to a viable alternative to the kind of ideal society or age (Arcadia) dreamed of by more than would doubtless admit it.

Roth has demonstrated how a belief in the concept of love as "synthetische Kraft des Universums" was at some stage common to Hölderlin, Novalis, and Schlegel. The force of love was conjured in an attempt to overcome increasing social, religious, and consequently mythological fragmentation, as the individual's reason began gradually to take precedence over orthodox dogma.³⁷

Love as a template of democratic thinking, however, as a constituent of the desired "Mythologie der Vernunft"³⁸ could only have currency as a democratic relation between equal partners. Just as Kant required "Mündigkeit" of the free-thinking subject, so true love - and, furthermore, friendship - could only be based on mutual respect and equality (more about this later). In Diotima and Hyperion's relationship, his elegiac torments have led him to see in her *specifically* more than a mortal, something different from him and all other mortals which could serve to bind these

³⁵ Both Alabanda and Hyperion talk about mastering fate as they prepare for the insurrection (cf. 107, 33f. and 113, 15f.), and the latter recognises the folly of this hubris once everything has gone wrong, 116, 15f.

³⁶ "Zum Schluß scheint Diotima über Hyperion hinauszuwachsen. Sie ist es, die an seinem Ideal unnachgiebig festhält, während er 'in den Tiefen der Gebirgswelt' in einem privatisierenden, häuslichen Glück mit ihr eine Perspektive (für seine Zukunft erblicken kann." Janz, *op.cit.*, p.134.

³⁷ "Die aus dem Mangel, aus der Zerstörung der Einheit des präreflexiven Seins geborene Liebe, führt im Denken Hölderlins, Novalis' und Schlegels, wie die im Begriff der 'Intellektuellen Anschauung' durch Poesie erweiterte Philosophie zur Erkenntnis der ontologisch-kosmischen Schönheit, dem letzten Grund alles Seienden." Roth, *op.cit.*, p.203.

³⁸ The phrase comes from the 'Älteste Systemprogramme des deutschen Idealismus' (1795-6), in which Hölderlin almost certainly had a hand. Parts of this document have an obvious relevance for the constellation of ideas in *Hyperion* which I have been discussing: "Wir müssen eine neue Mythologie haben, diese Mythologie aber muß im Dienste der Ideen stehen, sie muss eine Mythologie der Vernunft werden." StA, IV,1, 299, 3f.

people together. He makes of her both an icon and a concept. His undoubted projection of ideals onto Diotima, combined with his unrealistic dreams of mastering fate, lead to devastation. It would seem that Hölderlin's judgement of the way Hyperion treats Diotima, though implicit, could not be clearer.

The degeneration of the insurrection into slaughter and looting plunges Hyperion into a vortex of self-pity, which culminates in a death-wish. Though he can now perceive a shade more reality than he had before, denouncing his recent ambitions:

In der That! es war ein außerordentlich Project, durch eine Räuberbande mein Elysium zu pflanzen. (117, 10f.)

his reaction is again a destructive one. Vowing to die in battle (a concept still in the ambit of the kitschy constellation of war/ glory), he joins the Russian fleet, and is saved from death at the sea-battle of Tschesme only by fortuity. He is taking out the failure of the insurrection not only on himself, but on Diotima also. Either he has utterly mistaken the character of her love for him, or he knows the effect his death-wish and reckless behaviour in combat will have on her. His 'farewell' letter to her which closes book one, volume two is morbidly romantic, the self-conscious throwing-away of a life still young, melodrama bordering on vulgarity:

Fromme Seele! ich möchte sagen, danke meiner, wenn du an mein Grab kömst. Aber sie werden mich wohl in die Meersflüth werfen, und ich seh' es gerne, wenn der Rest von mir da untersinkt, wo die Quellen all' und die Ströme, die ich liebte, sich versammeln, und wo das Wetter wolke aufsteigt, und die Berge tränkt und die Thale, die ich liebte. Und wir? o Diotima! Diotima! wann sehn wir uns wieder? (122, 23f.)

Though the emotions underlying this letter are questionable, the language yet achieves an extraordinary resonance, prefiguring Hyperion's later maturation to the role of poet. For now though, the self-pitying hero is about to lose both those mortals in whom he had attempted to see the gateway to Elysium/ Arcadia. Alabanda, after having nursed Hyperion back to health from his injuries, comes to the realization that there will be no place for him in the private paradise he imagines Hyperion will share with Diotima when they are reunited. His prediction of what would happen reveals the dark, primal side of his character:

Um Diotimas willen würd' ich dich betrügen und am Ende mich und Diotima morden, weil wir doch nicht Eines wären... (139, 26f.)

Aware of his ultimately destructive personality, Alabanda decides he will self destruct. A freely-chosen death seems the final heroic act open to him, and he has the perfect opportunity to do this: he will deliver himself, literally, into the arms of Nemesis, the sinister secret society whose vows he broke when he got in touch with Hyperion again. Alabanda's departure to his death takes place under the sign of poetry. The intensely lyrical character of his departing speeches (they seem to me to stand out even in so lyrical a work as *Hyperion*) shows that he interprets his freely chosen death as an action bordering on the æsthetic:

Bald kommen ja die schönen Wintertage, wo die dunkle Erde nichts mehr ist, als die Folie des leuchtenden Himmels, da wär' es gute Zeit, da blinken ohnediß gastfreundlicher die Inseln des Lichts! dich wundert die Rede? Liebster! alle Scheidenden sprechen, wie Trunkne, und nehmen gerne sich festlich. Wenn der Baum zu welken anfängt, tragen nicht seine Blätter die Farbe des Morgenroths? (140, 8f.)

Alabanda's association of death with the organic processes of nature, which form a cycle, paves the way for his celebration of life as a brutal, primally free and fundamentally ineradicable force:

Was lebt, ist unvertilgbar, bleibt in seiner tiefsten Knechtsform frei, und wenn du es schneidest bis auf den Grund... (141, 27f.)

Though the warrior's vision of life as an eternal power of resistance is an attractive one, Hyperion's reaction to his friend's departure is nonetheless one of melancholy. This sadness is expressed in his singing of the so called 'Schiksaalslied' gazing out over the sea, an echo from the novel's first, fundamental departure, that of Adamas. The lot of mortals is contingency, perpetual departure, in contrast to the effortless permanence and exemption from fate of the gods:

Doch uns ist gegeben,
Auf keiner Stätte zu ruhn,
Es schwinden, es fallen
Die leidenden Menschen
Blindlings von einer
Stunde zur andern,
Wie Wasser von Klippe
Zu Klippe geworfen,
Jahr lang ins Ungewisse hinab. (143, 23f.)

If Hyperion's reaction to Alabanda's departure is to summon up an essentially tragic conception of human existence, much worse is to come. As if to confirm the song's evocation of the crushing power of fate, Hyperion's servant immediately arrives with Diotima's final letter to him. The letter counters Hyperion's dreams of an Elysium reduced to two, a return to a private life hidden in the Alps or the Pyrenees like Adamas' "verborgenes Volk", which Hyperion had expressed in a letter to Diotima (133, 17f.), with news of her immanent death, and her "Schwanenlied" (144, 24).

The majesty and integrity of Diotima's words in the letter completed the day before she died exceeds anything Hyperion has thought or felt in his life up 'till then. She has some reproaches to make to him: that his restlessness became her restlessness, that his need for departure, to fly, became hers, but was not answered with a complementary possibility of return:

Aber hast du sie fliegen gelehrt, warum lehrst du meine Seele nicht auch, dir wiederzukehren? Hast du das ätherliebende Feuer angezündet, warum hütest du es mir nicht... Du entzögst mein Leben der Erde, du hättest auch Macht gehabt, mich an die Erde zu fesseln... (146, 13f.)

And yet Diotima is not too bitter, in spite of the fact that she sees clearly the source of her demise. She still has the generosity to give Hyperion more of the wise advice which he has up to now largely ignored:

Du müßtest untergehen, verzweifeln müßtest du, doch wird der Geist dich retten.
Dich wird kein Lorbeer trösten und kein Myrthenkranz; der Olymp wirds, der
lebendige, gegenwärtige, der ewig jugendlich um alle Sinne dir blüht. Die schöne
Welt ist mein Olymp... (147, 12f.)

Diotima's final mortal gift to Hyperion, her encouragement and certainty, are based on a vision of the cosmos which she here expresses in consummate poetic style. This vision transcends pure reason, it is an ecstatic fusing of faith and lived experience, evoking "das Leben der Natur, das höher ist, denn alle Gedanken" (148, 2f.) as a possible binding agent, force of return, destination, direction:

Wie sollt ich scheiden aus dem Bunde, der die Wesen alle verknüpft? Der bricht
so leicht nicht, wie die losen Bande dieser Zeit. Der ist nicht, wie ein Markttag,
wo das Volk zusammenläuft und lärmt und auseinandergeht. (148, 6f.)

This is accompanied by a realization that the character of human existence is a combination of both the contingent and the permanent, time and something like eternity, departure and return. These apparent opposites are brought together with a metaphor of music:

Beständigkeit haben die Sterne gewählt, in stiller Lebensfülle wallen sie stets und
kennen das Alter nicht. Wir stellen im Wechsel das Vollendete dar; in
wandelnden Melodien theilen wir die großen Akkorde der Freude. Wie
Harfenspieler um die Thronen der Ältesten, leben wir, selbst göttlich, um die
stillen Götter der Welt, mit dem flüchtigen Lebensliede mildern wir den seeligen
Ernst des Sonnengotts und der andern. (148, 19f.)

In contrast to the "Schiksaalslied", this constitutes an affirmation of contingency, departure as a positive correlate of divine permanence and "Ernst". It also suggests that such affirmation of the ambiguous character of human experience is necessary if one is to accord to humans their appropriate place in the circle of nature.

Diotima suggests to Hyperion a path of return, of forging meaning from the apparently disparate elements of his life. It is an æsthetic path:

Dir ist dein Lorbeer nicht gereift und deine Myrthen verblühten, denn Priester
sollst du seyn der göttlichen Natur, und die dichterischen Tagen keimen dir
schon. (149, 1f.)

Yet Hyperion himself experiences this as the most nakedly contingent moment of his life, with nothing to hold him to the earth. Banished from his home by his father, unable to return to Calauria, he is forced into another departure, feeling completely alienated from society and from his own past, as he writes to Notara:

wär' ich auch auf meiner heimatlichen Insel... dennoch, dennoch wär' ich auf der
Erd' ein Fremdling, und kein Gott knüpft ans Vergangne mich mehr. (150, 30f.)

This new departure takes him to Germany via Sicily, but he is unable to settle there either. He finds the society of the Germans even less like his Arcadia than that of the Greeks, and he resolves to return to his homeland. The last of the novel's many departures, that of Hyperion from Germany, is thus also a return, and in more ways than one. A return to his native soil and its ghosts, Adamas gone, Alabanda gone, Diotima gone. His dreams of Arcadia gone, leaving a great black hole in his sensibility. Yet it also marks a turning-point in his life and the way he perceives this life, as he begins, in his writing of letters back to Bellarmin in Germany, the long, hard process of return, the road to meaning and mythology.

RETURN "Durch das Kleinste gehalten zu werden..."

§4. Greeks bearing gifts...

One of the first critics to point out the unusual importance of narration in *Hyperion* was Maria Cornelissen in her essay 'Das Salamis-Fragment des *Hyperion*'.³⁹ Since then various works have placed a special emphasis on the distinction between the Hyperion who is going through the events described in the letters and the Hyperion who is actually writing the letters. Among these works are L. Ryan's *Hölderlin's 'Hyperion': exzentrische Bahn und Dichterberuf* (Stuttgart 1965), F. Aspetsberger's *Welteinheit und epische Gestaltung* (Munich 1971), and P. H. Gaskill's *Hölderlin's 'Hyperion'* (Durham 1984). Aspetsberger uses the convenient formulae of H1 and H2 to denote the experiencing and the writing Hyperions respectively, subject and narrator, and it can indeed be said that both of these are discernible in the novel as distinct, and different, entities.⁴⁰

Using these terms, then, Hyperion's return to Greek soil, from where he writes his first letter to Bellarmin, is the beginning of H2, the reflective "hermit" of the novel's subtitle. The process which H2 undergoes in writing his life story to Bellarmin can be characterized as a kind of "aesthetic return". His arrival at the geographical site of his previous life is soon followed - at Bellarmin's bidding (10, 2f.) - by an arrival at the *time* of his previous life, as through memory he reconstructs his earlier experiences in letters.

Even in the first sentence of his first letter back to Germany, Hyperion heralds many of the major themes which his return must deal with:

Der liebe Vaterlandsboden giebt mir wieder Freude und Leid. (7, 3)

The tension which occurs here between environment ("Vaterlandsboden") and subject ("mir") implicitly introduces the question of how the individual relates to common reality, the outside "native soil" in which we all must learn to stand. This relation is made all the more problematic by the reference to modalities of experience, "Freude und Leid", as originating in the outer domain, and being somehow "given" to the feeling subject.

This question of the relation between individual and environment obviously has a bearing on Hyperion's elegiac mania, which as we have seen is at the root of most of his destructive and self-destructive behaviour; in this way, Hölderlin explored the riddle of self and world in a concrete manner. He also explored it theoretically, and much of the poet's time in the period 1793-97 was taken up struggling with the philosophies of Kant and Fichte, in which the self-world relation assumes acutely problematic status. Indeed it is Hölderlin's struggle with these philosophies, along with his study of Plato, which form the theoretical background to the character of Hyperion and his Arcadian longings. It thus follows that the resolution of Hyperion's dilemma would in certain respects be a resolution of the puzzled self-world relation which Hölderlin found in Kantian and post-Kantian thought.

For the new generation of romantic writers working in the German lands in the 1790s and early decades of the Nineteenth Century, the principle of reflection, of turning upon

³⁹ Hölderlin-Jahrbuch Nr. 12, 1961-2, pp.222-231.

⁴⁰ On this point see Gaskill, *Hölderlin's 'Hyperion'*, Durham 1981, as well as his essay "'Ich seh', ich sehe, wie das enden muß..." Observations on a Misunderstood passage in Hölderlin's *Hyperion*', *Modern Language Review* Vol.LXXVI, 1981, PP.612-18.

oneself in order to find the meaning which increasingly escaped orthodox hierarchies began to take on more importance. The idea of "Intellectuale Anschauung", as Roth has shown, grew to assume an almost talismanic significance for Schlegel, Novalis, and Hölderlin himself, as the self-consciously aesthetic was explored in the search for a possible path to "truth".⁴¹ This self-consciousness was soon to become irony, as writers such as E.T.A. Hoffmann experienced the partial return to the old order and consequent alienation of revolutionary spirits that was Restoration Europe.

In *Hyperion*, though, one sees an almost total absence of irony. The reflection here is of a different kind. Hölderlin's path to the creation of such a sophisticated model of return and aesthetic construction led him to consider both his German contemporaries and the great minds of ancient Greece. I'd like now to trace this dual influence in examining the eventual character of *Hyperion's* return.

On 4th September 1795, Hölderlin wrote to Schiller with regard to the feverish experiments in philosophy he was making:

ich suche zu zeigen, daß die unnachlässliche Forderung, die an jedes System gemacht werden muß, die Vereinigung des Subjects und Objects in einem absoluten - Ich oder wie man es nennen will - zwar ästhetisch, in der Intellectualen Anschauung, theoretisch aber nur durch eine unendliche Annäherung möglich ist, wie die Annäherung eines Quadrats zum Zirkel...⁴²

This brief passage is loaded with themes which were preoccupying Hölderlin at the time, and which were to crop up in his novel *Hyperion*. The dichotomy between the aesthetic and the theoretical consists in one fundamental feature: one enables the union of subject and object, one does not. Indeed, Hölderlin contends here, theoretical activity cannot by definition perform this function of union, since it is of a different order from the absolute: they are like "Quadrat" and "Zirkel", radically heterogenous. That this union of subject and object is important for Hölderlin becomes apparent in his essay-fragment 'Urtheil und Seyn' from the same year, 1795. Whilst thought and the domain of the theoretical always imply "Urtheilung", or reflective separation of subject from object, "Seyn", or absolute being, can only be achieved in the inviolable union of the two:

Wo Subject und Object schlechthin, nicht nur zum Theil vereinigt ist, mithin so vereinigt, daß gar keine Theilung vorgenommen werden kan, ohne das Wesen desjenigen, was getrennt werden soll, zu verletzen, da und sonst nirgends kann von einem Seyn schlechthin die Rede seyn, wie es bei der intellectualen Anschauung der Fall ist.⁴³

The roots of this view of theoretical knowledge lie in the work of Kant, whose three critiques (*Kritik der reinen Vernunft*, 1781/87, *Kritik der praktischen Vernunft*, 1784, *Kritik der Urtheilskraft*, 1790) had outlined what he saw as the limitations of human, subjective thought: we can, according to Kant, never attain any knowledge of the world as it really is, the noumenal "thing in itself"; we only know phenomena, sense-

⁴¹ See Roth, op.cit., particularly Section 2.1, "Vom 'cogito ergo sum' zu Schellings Begriff der 'Intellectualen Anschauung'", pp.87-141.

⁴² StA., VI,1, p.181, 10f.

⁴³ StA., IV,1, p.216, 23f.

data, which Kant saw as simply too unreliable to allow the mind to attain from them a knowledge of the "Ding an sich".

Human reason was then, for Kant, the sole power to which we have access, but for all this it must recognize itself as incomplete, subjective, and unable to make assumptions about reality per se. This insistence of Kant's is closely related to his attempts to reverse the orthodox view of meaning as inherent in the outside universe, as in the medieval scheme of God's ordered cosmos of the spheres, for example. In his so called "Copernican reversal", Kant pointed out that it is the experiencing subject who structures her or his experience and imposes on sense data a framework of intelligibility and meaning.

Whilst this reversal on the one hand freed objective reality from the burden of dogma, many of the generation following in the wake of Kant's critical enterprise reacted to the new "limited" version of human knowledge, and the fact that it apparently cut the subject off irrevocably from the outside universe, with a disturbing vertigo (one thinks for example of Kleist's famed *Kantkrise*, though Schlegel and Novalis also reacted with a mixture of awe and denial).

Certain commentators at the time, such as Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi, insisted on the primacy of faith over the intellectual properties of reason, thus attempting to move the focus back to an objective/ divine ground of experience. Johann Gottlieb Fichte, on the other hand, whilst intending to reinforce and develop the Kantian model, actually pushed it to a limit where faith was fused with reason, albeit in the opposite direction from Jacobi, in the name of the primal, self-creating Ur-concept of the Absolute Subject.⁴⁴

It is against the background of this chaotic and productive reaction to the critical enterprise that Hölderlin's philosophical activity took place. The intransigent dichotomy between faith and reason which had existed in German culture since Luther helped initiate the modern critique of religion had been newly exacerbated by Kant's work. Added to this, the revolution in France seemed to lend urgency to the search for a definition of the relation between subject and world, individual and democratic state. The call of the friends from the Tübinger Stift (Hölderlin, Hegel, and Schelling) in their 'Systemprogramm' for a "Mythologie der Vernunft" seems to succinctly express the overwhelming need of the age: to reconcile faith with reason, and determine their respective values and functions.

For Hölderlin reason, as we have seen, cannot in and of itself attain to the absolute, that fusion of subject and object which produces total being, source of the kind of burning significance which may lead the individual to an integral mythology. Philosophical thought can only approach this union in an endless series of steps, like moves in a never-ending game of chess. Though he did not fail to recognize the grandeur of the Kantian project, and made sure he familiarized himself with the critiques, Hölderlin could see transcendental philosophy's valorization of the powers of reason to the exclusion of all the other human faculties as leading in one direction only:

⁴⁴ For a lucid discussion of Fichte's development of Kant's ideas, see Ronald Taylor: *The Romantic Tradition in Germany*, (London 1970), pp. 101–110. A detailed treatment of the debate between Kant, Fichte, and Jacobi may be found in George di Giovanni: 'The first twenty years of critique: The Spinoza connection', in Paul Guyer, ed.: *The Cambridge Companion to Kant*, (Cambridge 1992) pp.417-48.

Kant ist der Moses unserer Nation, der sie aus der ägyptischen Erschlaffung in die freie einsame Wüste seiner Speculation führt, und der das energische Gesez vom heiligen Berge bringt.⁴⁵

Hölderlin acknowledges that Kant's "neue Philosophie" is "als Philosophie der Zeit, die einzig mögliche" (ibid., 1.92). He has serious reservations, at the same time, about Kant's insistence that we cannot know the world in itself, the noumenon. The transcendental philosophy is here not experienced as a life-affirming power, but as a path into the "einsame Wüste" of reasoning and exclusive subjectivity, and as such dangerously close to solipsism.

If Kant seemed to have delineated the limits of philosophy, Hölderlin was keen to go beyond those limits, and specifically beyond the apparently impenetrable barrier which in the transcendental system separated the subject from true experience of the outside world. Hölderlin could see that he was not the only one for whom the Kantian categories were unsatisfactory. In late 1794 he wrote to his friend Neuffer:

Vielleicht kann ich Dir einen Aufsatz über die ästhetischen Ideen schicken... Im Grunde soll er eine Analyse des Schönen und Erhabenen enthalten, nach welcher die Kantische vereinfacht, und von der andern Seite vielseitiger wird, wie es schon Schiller zum Theil in s. Schrift über Anmut und Würde gethan hat, der aber doch auch einen Schritt weniger über die Kantische Gränzlinie gewagt hat, als er nach meiner Meinung hätte wagen sollen.⁴⁶

As he showed in 'Urtheil und Seyn', Hölderlin did not share Kant's belief that subject and object are absolute terms; for him they are subsidiary terms, both of which have their origin, and their end, in "das Seyn schlechthin". In order to find adequate alternatives to Kantian fragmentation, and attempt to cross the border between self and world, Hölderlin turned for help to ancient Greece: the "analysis of the beautiful and the sublime" to which he refers in his letter was to take the form of a commentary on Plato's *Phaedrus*.

In Plato Hölderlin found a means to combine subject and object in the ideas of love and beauty, symbolized in the myth of Eros. Hölderlin considered this element from the *Symposium*, where philosophy, poetry and myth are merged in the curious way of the Platonic dialogue, sufficiently important to make it a prominent feature of both the 'metrische Fassung' of *Hyperion* and 'Hyperions Jugend'. It is essentially the wisdom of Plato to which the elderly Hyperion has attained in these versions. The mystery of consciousness, the subjective principle, departure, is presented as inseparable from love, itself a power which unites the seemingly contradictory human qualities of poverty and abundance of spirit, the need to take and the need to give:

Als unser Geist...
...sich aus dem freien Fluge
Der Himmlischen verlor, und erdwärts sich,
Vom Aether neigt, und mit dem Überflusse
Sich so die Armuth gattete, da ward
Die Liebe. Das geschah, am Tage, da

⁴⁵ Brief an den Bruder, 1. Jan. 1790, StA, vol. VI,1, p.301, ll. 93f.

⁴⁶ Brief an Neuffer, 10. Okt. 1794, StA, vol. VI,1, 137, 80f.

Den Fluthen Aphrodite sich entwand.
 Am Tage, da die schöne Welt für uns
 Begann, begann für uns die Dürftigkeit
 Des Lebens und wir tauschten das Bewußtseyn
 Für unsre Reinigkeit und Freiheit ein. (193, 120f.)

Love, like consciousness itself, is a state where we experience drives of departure and return almost simultaneously, an ambiguous dialectic of “den Trieb/ Unendlich fortzuschreiten” (ll.146-7) and “(den Trieb), beschränkt zu werden, zu empfangen” (150):

Nun fülen wir die Schranken unsers Wesens
 Und die gehemmte Kraft sträubt ungeduldig
 Sich gegen ihre Fesseln...
 Doch ist in uns auch wieder etwas, das
 Die Fesseln gern behält... (195, 136f.)

The object and subject of this wave-like longing is for Plato, and for Hölderlin, beauty. It was with the help of his reading of Plato that Hölderlin began to see in beauty, and in its expression in the aesthetic, a possible answer to the contradictions he found in contemporary German thought. Here was a phenomenon which seemed to unite - and at the same time surpass - subject, object, mind and world.⁴⁷ R.B. Harrison points to the traces of this shift in Hölderlin's appreciation of the problem:

During the summer [of 1795] Hölderlin had visited Schelling at Tübingen, where the conclusions of their conversation are likely to have been those recorded in ‘Das älteste Systemprogramm des deutschen Idealismus’, which ascribes to beauty a supreme importance, speaking of “die Idee der Schönheit, das Wort im höheren platonischen Sinne genommen”, and stating that “der höchste Akt der Vernunft... ein ästhetischer Akt ist” (StA IV, 298).⁴⁸

Hölderlin had come to see in the aesthetic, expressed in ‘Urtheil und Seyn’ as “Intellectuale Anschauung”, the means to attaining the ideal of absolute being which theoretical thought-processes categorically were not. He was able to develop this idea throughout the various versions of *Hyperion* until perhaps its most explicit formulation in the ‘penultimate version’:

wir dächten und wir handelten nicht, es wäre überhaupt gar nichts (für uns)...
 wenn nicht dennoch jene unendliche Vereinigung, jenes Seyn, im einzigen Sinne
 des Worts vorhanden wäre. Es ist vorhanden – als Schönheit... Ich glaube, wir
 werden am Ende alle sagen: heiliger Plato, vergieb! man hat schwer an dir
 gesündigt. (237, 1f.)

⁴⁷ For more detailed accounts of Hölderlin's Plato reception and its effect on the *Hyperion*-Project, see the relevant sections of Gerhard Kurz: *Mittelbarkeit und Vereinigung – zum Verhältnis von Poesie, Reflexion und Revolution bei Hölderlin*, Stuttgart 1975, and Ulrich Gaier: *Hölderlin – eine Einführung*, Tübingen 1993.

⁴⁸ R.B. Harrison: *Hölderlin and Greek Literature*, Oxford 1975, p.65.

Though Hölderlin would no doubt have found it difficult to come to his understanding of beauty and what it can achieve without Plato, he did not simply take over his predecessor's ideas lock, stock and barrel. Rather, his reading of the dialogues became a catalyst or filter for his own ideas, as he journeyed towards a response to the perceived inadequacies of Kantian subjectivism.⁴⁹ Furthermore, it was not only by way of Plato that Hölderlin came to his definition of beauty; to the relative clarity of the dialogues he added the dark and numinous wisdom of the philosopher Heraclitus. By the finished novel Plato's myth of beauty is replaced by the Pre-Socratic's paradoxical formula of:

εἷς διαφερόντως ἑαυτῷ

"Das Eine in sich selber unterschiedene" (81, 29f., also 83, 25)

The moment at which Hyperion cites this formula in the novel, his so called "Athenerrede", also presents the answer to Hölderlin's desire to break through the limits on knowledge defined by Kant: for here Hyperion recognizes that not only was the primal experience of beauty and its complementary aesthetic expression in poetry the *origin* of thought (here applied to the template of Athens), but that the ultimate destination of philosophy is back in the constellation of beauty and poetry:

Was hat die Philosophie, erwidert' er, was hat die kalte Erhabenheit dieser Wissenschaft mit Dichtung zu thun?

Die Dichtung, sagt' ich, meiner Sache gewiß, ist der Anfang und das Ende dieser Wissenschaft. Wie Minerva aus Jupiters Haupt, entspringt sie aus der Dichtung eines unendlichen göttlichen Seyns. Und so läuft am End' auch wieder in ihr das Unvereinbare in der geheimnißvollen Quelle der Dichtung zusammen. (81, 6f.)

The return is thus an aesthetic return, from the contingency of striving thought to the primal experience of beauty, in which self and world become united. After expressing these vital truths, however, Hyperion (H1, the 'experiencing' Hyperion) does not become a poet. In the immediate aftermath of his trip to Athens he decides to go off to the insurrection against Diotima's will. R.B. Harrison has seen in this turn of events a necessary refutation of action, mirroring Hyperion's refutation of purely rational thought in the "Athenerrede", and opening the way for the alternative vision of poetry (Diotima's suggestion) as a means of forging significance from the crucible of life. Harrison writes:

since (Hölderlin) acknowledges that neither philosophy nor action can end the conflict between our selves and the world, it remains to be seen how this union is to be achieved. It is this which is the subject of the final version of *Hyperion*... In the final version... Hyperion must first reject philosophy and action before he can attain this insight [into beauty] and then achieve some sort of union with nature. The former takes place during the events narrated; the latter is a result of the narrator's development during the process of narration.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 66.

⁵⁰ Ibid., pp.67-8.

If Hölderlin was able to find much of the content of his ideal of beauty, which would aid his step over the Kantian borderline, in the philosophers Plato and Heraclitus, he found the form elsewhere. The primary mode of Hyperion's narrative in his letters is neither the dialogic nor the gnomic (though both of these elements are indisputably present), but rather the epic. This reveals the influence of another great Greek, Homer. The figure of Homer crops up throughout the *Hyperion* Project as a motif representing the greatness of the Grecian past which so inspires and oppresses Hyperion. From the unbridled recitation of rhapsodies from the *Iliad* in Homer's grotto (in the 'Fragment', p.178), to his ghostly presence at the crucial parting of Adamas from Hyperion ("am Grabe Homers brachten wir noch einige Tage zu", 17, 10), and his invocation, with Theseus, as "die Aurore (des griechischen Tages)" (100, 8), the Homer motif, inseparable from the poet's epic achievements, may be said to form a substratum of feeling in the novel. It is appropriate to recall at this point the words of Adamas to the young Hyperion:

Es ist ein Gott in uns... der lenkt, wie Wasserbäche, das Schicksal, und alle Dinge sind sein Element. Der sey vor allem mit dir! (17, 21f.)

Adamas' characterization of this god seems to me a perfect description of the epic impulse, which out of the many droplets of action produces the powerful stream of the narrative. Just as philosophy at its miraculous zenith flows back into the brilliant mystery of poetry, so the contingent details of life, departure, are fused by the poetic sensibility into the epic-aesthetic return of the great work of art.

Thus, as has been observed by several commentators, Hyperion, in writing his letters, is able to change his view of his own life: in the contingent, restless striving of departure, he comes to see a kind of higher order, a pattern which borders on the divine⁵¹.

The *Hyperion* Project then, and particularly its final expression in the novel (Hölderlin's sole attempt at epic production) may be said to be quintessentially epic in that it bears explicitly and self-consciously within it the feature of making sense of a series of events through time.

The sense Hyperion reaches, moreover, is not confined to an appreciation of the Platonic concept of beauty within the text; it is incarnate *as* text, in Hölderlin's remarkable recasting of the Homeric simile, and his sophisticated grasp of the link between language and life. In this formal area one can see how Hölderlin attempted to use language aesthetically to perform his step over the Kantian borderline in creating an *expression* of the union between self and world.

Jürgen Link, in an effort to refute the categorization of *Hyperion* as simply a 'lytical' novel, has compared Hölderlin's "Briefroman" with the epic *Iliad* of Homer, concentrating specifically on the use of simile in the two. Link remarks on the sheer frequency of similes in *Hyperion*, particularly surprising in a novelistic form⁵². He sees

⁵¹ See for example L. Ryan: 'Hölderlin's *Hyperion* – ein "romantischer" Roman?', in J. Schmidt (ed.): *Über Hölderlin*, Frankfurt a.M. 1970. Here Ryan traces Hyperion's changing perception of himself and his writing by comparing the "Ährenleser" and "Saitenspiel" images of the first volume (p.197). This aspect of the novel is also a major concern of Gaskill's study *Hölderlin's 'Hyperion'*, Durham 1984.

⁵² "Einige Stichproben zeigen, daß die Frequenz extralineaer Elemente [i.e. elements brought in from outside the immediate narrative for the purpose of comparison] im *Hyperion* überraschend hoch ist... Es handelt sich... um eine Frequenz, die im Durchschnitt doppelt so hoch liegt wie in Klopstocks

the Homeric and Hölderlinian similes as strikingly analogous in structure, but almost diametrically opposed in character: while Homer's similes are based on collectivity and determinacy, those in *Hyperion* are found to evidence the ideals of liberty and individuality espoused by the democratic revolutions of the outgoing Eighteenth and nascent Nineteenth Centuries:

Je ein Vergleich ist aus dem physikalischen, dem biologischen und dem sozialen Bereich entlehnt, dennoch ist ihr Grundcharakter der gleiche: immer betont Homer die Gesetzmäßigkeit, Zwangsläufigkeit, Determiniertheit des Geschehens...⁵³

Statt durch Determiniertheit ist der extralineare Bereich bei Hölderlin... durch Freiheit bestimmt, und zwar durch Freiheit in dialektisch triadischer, dreifacher Gestalt, so wie es der revolutionären Theorie der bürgerlichen Aufklärung entsprach...⁵⁴

It follows that in this formal feature of the novel an important aspect of Hölderlin's philosophical-aesthetic enterprise can be traced. Hölderlin's use of simile in *Hyperion* says much about his attempts to define a democratic relation between self and world, a modern mythology that is rational, but not exclusively so, which recognizes the worth of the individual, but not to the detriment of the rest of the cosmos, of nature. Link makes a similar point in his essay⁵⁵, and a couple of years after this Friedbert Aspöck was to further scrutinize *Hyperion*'s similes in his work *Welteinheit und epische Gestaltung - Studien zur Ichform in Hölderlins 'Hyperion'* (Munich 1971).

It seems to me that the simile, as perhaps the predominant literary figure in Hölderlin's novel, reflects the dual Hellenic-German influence on his thought in the 1790s. Adapted from a Homeric form and imbued with Platonic spirit, Hölderlin's simile was intended to overcome the contradictions which he found in both the Kantian and the Fichtean versions of transcendental philosophy. The question as to how successfully it did this can only be answered by examining the simile as it appears in *Hyperion*.

'Messias', die in einem Prosaroman also um so stärker auffallen muß," Jürgen Link: 'Hyperion als Nationalepos in Prosa', in *Hölderlin-Jahrbuch* Nr.16, 1969-70, pp. 158-194, this ref. p.177.

⁵³ Ibid, p.165.

⁵⁴ Ibid, p.180.

⁵⁵ "Der genaue Sinn von Gleichheit und Brüderlichkeit geht aus der Stelle im Schlußkapitel allein nicht hervor. Es soll deshalb die Frage gestellt werden, ob und wie auch diese beide Postulate sich in den extralinen Elementen der epischen Vergleiche spielen," Ibid, p.184.

§5. *Ich spreche Mysterien...*

It may seem elementary, but let me firstly describe the basic form and properties of the simile. Two expressions are compared: x is *like* y. This means that x is not y, as it would be in a metaphor, but there is simply a parallel; a relation of likeness is established between the two elements. In *Hyperion*, simile thus takes the form of x (*ist*).. *wie* y.

Hölderlin draws elements from many different domains in the similes of *Hyperion*. The thoughts and feelings of the protagonist may be compared to a primal phenomenon of the earth, for example, or to a feature of the animal kingdom, or still yet to an image from the world of work (though always pre-industrial work, as Link has pointed out⁵⁶). All of the major figures in the novel use similes in their speech, and the narrative of Hyperion's letters is peppered with them to an unusual degree, as Link has observed. To examine just how these similes function, I'd like to look at a few examples.

In the first couple of letters of the second book in volume one, Hyperion describes his current state of mind. He has a settled home for the first time in ages, has built a hut on Salamis and is in the right, contemplative frame of mind to resume his story. He writes:

Mir ist lange nicht gewesen, wie jetzt... Voll göttlicher Jugend frohlokt mein
ganzes Wesen über sich selbst, über Alles. *Wie der Sternenhimmel, bin ich still
und bewegt.* (48, 10f.)

This simile has a dual function.

On the one hand, the function of content: it helps bring Hyperion's state of mind enigmatically to life, illustrating his consciousness in a manner which the most profound meditation finds hard to penetrate. The paradoxical coupling of stillness and movement: continuing to move through time, Hyperion has yet attained in his stay on Salamis a fixed psychic constellation, knows himself, his values and experiences more fully than ever before. These fixed constellations correspond perhaps to the "verborgener Ordnung" which Hyperion has now come to see, though still vaguely, in the "Saitenspiel" of his life (47, 20f.). This function of the simile adds great depth to our picture of the writing Hyperion's psychology at this point in the novel:

Wie der Sternenhimmel, bin ich still und bewegt.

Then there is the *formal* function of the simile. Here, the important point is not that "Hyperion is like the starry heavens", but that "Hyperion is *like* the starry heavens". The simile, whether we are conscious of it or not, always asserts a relation of likeness between its objects. To say that Hyperion's frame of mind is *like* the starry heavens is to imply some kind of similarity between them. This is what one might call the metaphysical function of simile in *Hyperion*.

Another example. The simile does not work only to deepen the expression of positive feelings. This can be seen in the cluster of comparisons in Hyperion's description of life

⁵⁶ Cf. Link, p.179: "'Wie der Arbeiter in den erquickenden Schlaf...'...Das ist nicht der kollektive, seiner Klasse repräsentierende 'Gesamtarbeiter' späterer Proklamationen, das ist durchaus der einzelne, als Handwerker gesehene Arbeiter." This applies to other similes in *Hyperion*, such as that of the 'Ährenleser' (15, 12).

on Tina after the departure of Adamas. His inexpressible restlessness is described in the following terms:

Wer hält das aus, wen reißt die schräkliche Herrlichkeit des Altertums nicht um,
wie ein Orkan die jungen Wälder umreißt, wenn sie ihn ergreift... (18, 23f.)

oftmals lag ich, wo kein Auge mich bemerkte unter tausend Thränen da, *wie ein gestürzte Tanne*, die am Bache liegt und ihre welke Krone in die Fluth verbirgt.
(18, 28f.)

Wie ein blutender Hirsch in den Strom, stürzt' ich oft mitten hinein in den Wirbel
der Freude, die brennende Brust zu kühlen... aber was half das? (19, 6f.)

The content of these similes is one of terrible rootlessness, isolation, and devastation; Hyperion feels desperately alone and abandoned.

The function of form remains the same however: even in his sorry state, Hyperion is *like* the young forests, *like* the fallen fir tree, *like* the wounded deer. Paradoxically, the form of the similes tells us, he is not alone in his loneliness. The latter is implied as a force within life, which affects all life. The similes' form thus both confirms and denies their content.

Similarly, in the first of the similes presented above, "die schräkliche Herrlichkeit des Altertums" is posited as analogous to the hurricane. This characterization of Hyperion's *bête noir* as a natural force helps put it into a context. The glory of the ancients begins to lose its terrible one-off quality; if it is like a force of nature, such glory must be merely dormant rather than irretrievably lost, and is thus capable of renewed occurrence.

In this way Hyperion's (Hölderlin's) construction of the text of his letters is a constant rehabilitation, revelation, and shifting in the relationship between himself and his past. The results of Hyperion's awakening from the spell of elegy are incarnate in the mysterious power of the simile, the "wie" which draws together two or more individual elements and points out their similarities, their common ground.

The veritable mass of such similes in the novel comes to give the impression of a sumptuous tapestry in which the elements are firmly wrought into the pattern, belong, yet retain their individuality. Friedbert Aspetsberger, discussing an extended simile in book two, volume one of Hyperion, characterizes it thus:

Hölderlin zeichnete in diesem Bild Hyperions gleichsam ein seinsmäßig geordnetes Chaos, eine einheitliche Seinssubstanz, die scheinbar nur in besonderen Formen und Bereiche ausgefaltet war und nun nach dem, was jede einzelne Form ausschließt, zurückdrängt. Scheinbar wird alle Individuation aufgehoben und ein einheitliches, in sich mannigfach bewegtes Ganzes des Lebens schlechterdings entsteht, aber ohne daß eine völlige Auflösung der einzelnen Formen einträte...⁵⁷

⁵⁷ Aspetsberger, op.cit., p.219-20. The passage to which he here refers is that beginning "Wie, wenn die Mutter schmeichelnd fragt..." (49, 31f.)

Indeed in the examples we have seen I would say that the individuality of the elements is strangely heightened by their inclusion in the simile, at the same time as their place in the cosmos becomes numinously apparent.

Aspetsberger has not been the only one to observe how the mass of similes in *Hyperion* builds up into a unitary yet democratic vision of the cosmos.⁵⁸ I would contend that every such simile in the novel, in implying a correspondence between a movement of the human heart and a phenomenon in the world of nature, steps over the Kantian borderline and counters the tendency towards solipsism of subjectively rational thought. We are like the rest of nature, we are not identical with it, but its joys – and its despair – are analogous to our own.

Hölderlin recognized the limits even of the simile however. Hyperion's letters are written with a self-conscious awareness of the limitations of language. Though the text reaches out to solid, living 'reality', it is consciously separated from it by the eternal incandescent "wie". Thus Hyperion knows that he will not be able to fully convey the mortal beauty of Diotima and their time together to Bellarmin:

O Bellarmin! das war Freude, Stille des Lebens, Götterruhe, himmlische, wunderbare, unerkennbare Freude.
Worte sind hier umsonst, und wer nach einem Gleichnis von ihr fragt, der hat sie nie erfahren. Das Einzige, was eine solche Freude auszudrücken vermochte, war Diotimas Gesang, wenn er, in goldner Mitte, zwischen Höhe und Tiefe schwebte. (68, 24f.)

This non-simile, as it were, expresses the unique nature of the couple's youthful joy by comparing it to an element which, as Aspetsberger has commented, is gone forever: "Diotimas Gesang".⁵⁹ Empirical reality remains irreducible, and thus the text is not required to function as a copy of reality, but as its own construction, an aesthetic parallel to reality: the text is not life, but is *like* life.

With this Hyperion also stresses the fact that his aesthetic return (the letters as text) can only be grounded in the departure of his life and the encounter with Diotima's beauty which this brought. Thus only Hyperion could write about Diotima's love for him (however incompletely, approximately), for only he has experienced it:

O ich hätte mögen Diotima seyn, da sie diß sagte! Aber du weißt nicht, was sie sagte, mein Bellarmin! Du hast es nicht gesehen und nicht gehört. (58, 3f.)

The events of his life, which he previously perceived only as contingent, chaotic, and meaningless, attain in the pattern of return a significance approaching those in the lives of Homer's heroes. Hyperion's epic aesthetic casting of sense in the form of similes and non-similes represents one man's path, an artist's path, to his own mythology, where he can belong and settle.

⁵⁸ See for example Hans Heinrich Schottmann: *Metapher und Vergleich in der Sprache Friedrich Hölderlins*, Bonn 1960, p.327: "Der Dichter zieht dabei durchweg Gegenstände des Naturbereichs heran, um mit ihrer Hilfe innermenschliche, sonst nicht greifbare Vorgänge ins Wort zu bringen... Darüberhinaus aber, und dies ist der Keim des Kommenden, zeigen die Bilder auch die Verbundenheit des Menschen mit dieser Natur."

⁵⁹ Aspetsberger, op.cit., p.185f.

This personal mythology is expressed more and more towards the 'close' of the novel, where the simile becomes increasingly abstract, until at the end it is almost fused with metaphor. Thus Diotima's similes in her letter of farewell:

Wie Harfenspieler um die Thronen der Ältesten, leben wir, selbst göttlich... (148, 22f.)

Ist (die Welt) nicht, wie ein wandelnder Triumphzug, wo die Natur den ewigen Sieg über alle Verderbniß feiert? (148, 26f.)

do not simply compare palpable feelings with the world of nature, but attempt to establish poetic myths of existence: abstract, creative, but perhaps less subtle than the 'pure simile' of the novel's earlier stages. (These figures, of course, date from earlier than Hyperion's letters, having been written before Diotima's death – nonetheless they appear in the novel as text towards the end, and form a part of the mythological wisdom towards which the narrative tends.)

In Hyperion's rhapsodic 'Hymne an die Natur', his paean to the German spring which he reports in the final letter of the novel, simile has all but reached the state of metaphor. In the figure:

Es fallen die Menschen, wie faule Früchte von dir, o laß sie untergehn, so kehren sie zu deiner Wurzel wieder, und ich, o Baum des Lebens, daß ich wieder grüne mit dir... (159, 16f.)

"Menschen" is the subject of a simile ("wie faule Früchte"), but this simile is grounded in a metaphor, that of the "Baum des Lebens". Life is not said to be *like* a tree, but *is* a tree. Perhaps Hyperion is here fairly sure in his conviction that we do, after all, belong in the "schönen Kreislauf der Natur" (17, 30).

The final two paragraphs of his 'Hymne' also feature simile and metaphor:

Wie der Zwist der Liebenden, sind die Dissonanzen der Welt.
Es scheiden und kehren im Herzen die Adern und einiges, ewiges, glühendes
Leben ist Alles. (160, 1f.)

The simile here is not so much evocative as explicative: it establishes a fixed vision of limited conflict in overriding harmony, and in this perhaps loses some of the tension which was the strength of the earlier similes, such as those from after Adamas' departure.

The "Adern" metaphor is in the strict sense not a metaphor at all. To what does it relate? It is an image alone, a piece of distilled meaning which *alludes* to the wisdom of the rest of the book and combines a rich power of resonance with a fixed sense of wisdom attained, truth formed, mythology established.

This seems to be the point of ultimate return in the novel, when the contingent events of Hyperion's life, his terrible elegiac longing and empirical losses become finally incorporated in a vision of harmony grounded in the ultimate value of "life", a mythological truth won by him the hardest way through the great pain of his narration. Yet out of this return comes departure.

The "So dacht' ich. Nächstens mehr." sends the reader both back to the beginning of the novel (the first letter comes shortly after Hyperion's departure from Germany), and

forward into the unknown realm of Hyperion's tomorrow. What works will he create in the future, what truths will he perceive? Neither the reader nor Hyperion himself know.

This 'final' pointer into the ongoing, often contingent process of life restores much of the tension lost in the exposition of 'found' truths (albeit highly poetic ones) in Diotima's letter of farewell and in the 'Hymne an die Natur'. We are reminded of the dynamism out of which these insights arose, and of the dynamic of Hyperion's life (and narrative) towards the 'fixed' vision of harmony and away from it again.

For Hyperion's aesthetic return has given him the strength and willingness for a new departure, this time not undergone through the contingent necessity of elegy, but undertaken in the appreciation of the uniqueness, beauty, and poetry of his own life.

Into deep darkness fall those who follow the immanent. Into
deeper darkness fall those who follow the transcendent.
One is the outcome of the transcendent, and another is the
outcome of the immanent. Thus have we heard from the
ancient sages who explained this truth to us.
He who knows both the transcendent and the immanent,
with the immanent overcomes death and with the
transcendent reaches immortality.
The face of truth remains hidden behind a circle of gold.⁶⁰

Lern im Leben die Kunst, im Kunstwerk lerne das Leben.
Siehst du das Eine recht, siehst du das andere auch.⁶¹

Hyperion comes to see in the many *départures* of his life a return, by aesthetic means, into personal meaning, integral mythology. In this return he then comes to see the need for renewed departure, renewed immersion in the streams and vagaries of life. With his "Nächstens mehr", his attitude of hermithood is over, whether or not his practical hermithood is.

Certain features of Hyperion's return through narration could be called Kantian. Like the ideal transcendental self, he *constructs* a meaning which is not immediately given to him. He comes, with no little effort, to acknowledge some of the laws of his own existence, which enable him to see in the apparently contingent events of his life an order, symmetry, and harmony.

Unlike the Kantian self, however, Hyperion in no wise constructs his world in a vacuum of subjectivism, the "einsame Wüste" which Hölderlin saw as the only destination for purely transcendental philosophy. On the contrary, his very path to meaning consists in breaking the boundaries of subjectivism to achieve an aesthetic union with that which is "out there", nature, the cosmos. Every single simile in the novel implies this tense, but fruitful relation of analogy which could both underpin democratic thinking, and combat the apparent fragmentation which this causes.

On the way to his mythology, Hyperion (as well as Hölderlin) uses the wisdom of the Ancient Greeks in an almost post modern way. That which is positive and relevant to his own situation is taken, adapted, and imbued with personal significance: we have seen this in the examples of Plato's beauty myth, or Homer's techniques of epic narration. Works of the past are brought into dialogue with the present, and affect the living individual, who comes to learn something about life in art, that he may in turn learn about art in life.

Hyperion's elegiac longing is not, of course, quenched by the establishment of the kind of Arcadian community he dreamed of. He does however attain some measure of settledness and even belonging (in contrast to his earlier chronic alienation) thanks to his installation in, and recognition of, his proper role as poet. He finds in the creative

⁶⁰ From the 'Iśa Upanishad', in *The Upanishads*, trans. Juan Mascaro, London 1981, pp. 49-50.

⁶¹ Hölderlin, 'Hpoσ Eozotov' ('To Oneself'), StA, vol.II, p. 305, 11. The epigram dates from around Summer 1799.

act an outlet for the energy which was so often in his past expressed destructively. What's more, the role of poet is not seen as an alternative to Hyperion's dreams of Arcadia, but is entirely consonant with them. Only in becoming a true "Erzieher unsers Volks" (89, 24) can Hyperion hope to contribute to the "künftige Revolution der Gesinnungen und Vorstellungsarten"⁶² which Hölderlin had come to see as more likely to lead to just, creative societies than the bloody political revolutions of his age. Hyperion's quietly euphoric, life affirming leap into the open future is an absolute prerequisite for the positive growth of his civilisation. His dreams of a better world have ceased their negative tyranny over him, but remain intact as potentiality. What remains for us of Hyperion/ Hölderlin's difficult path is the text in its incandescent beauty, and perhaps this giddy, exhilarating feeling of openness, even a glimpse of divinity.

⁶² Brief an J.G. Ebel, d.10. Jan. 1797, StA., vol VI, I, p.229, 251.

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