

HÖLDERLIN'S CREATIVE ASSIMILATION
OF GREEK LITERATURE AND IDEAS

Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by

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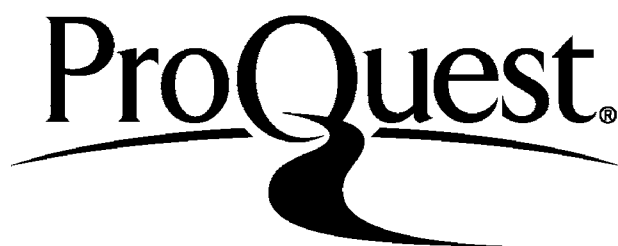
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ABSTRACT

Hölderlin's interpretation of Greek religion provides the unifying thread in his interest in Greek literature. It was because he saw Apollo and Zeus as the embodiment of sun and 'Aether', the central phenomena of nature, that his interest was in those works connected with them: the Orphic Hymn to the Sun and Pindar's Pythian and Olympian Odes are concerned with the worship of these gods, Hölderlin's translations of Sophocles' Oedipus Tyrannus, Antigone and Ajax with man's union with them.

At the same time a development can be traced in Hölderlin's attitude to those writers who were important for him. He began by imposing his own idea of the cosmic principle of love on Orpheus and Homer, but in his youthful enthusiasm for action he then acquired an objective understanding of the heroic epic. He came closest to Greek thought in accepting Platonic solutions to his own problems: the accessibility of the divine in beauty and the alternation of moods as the basis of, rather than a hindrance to, unity with nature. The similarity of Hölderlin's elements to those of Empedocles is, however, only apparent, for they owe their character to their function in his poetry. His subjectivity becomes more obvious in his Sophocles-translations and is undisguised in his interpretation of the Pindar-fragments.

His Sophocles-translations provided Hölderlin with progressively convincing confirmation of his idea of the process by which 'Natur' and 'Kunst' are reunited. By the ascription of madness to Antigone he introduced the interchange of the opposite poles which is missing in Oedipus der Tyrann, while Ajax' madness makes Hölderlin's last translation the most complete expression of his thought. The 'Anmerkungen' to these translations provide the key to his preoccupation in Mnemosyne and the Pindar-fragments, the problem of how to survive this destructive reunion of God and man. He now clung to those values which he had previously rejected and as 'ein Sohn der Zeit' devoted himself to the interpretation of the past with the aim of remaining within the sphere of 'Kunst' and so avoiding the union with 'Natur' in madness which had overtaken his heroes and by which he felt himself threatened.

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INTRODUCTION

'Wie keinem anderen Deutschen ist ihm Hellas a priori gegeben, eine eingeborene Form seines Geistes': with these words Gundolf characterizes Hölderlin's relationship to Greece, seeing his classical metres as 'der völlig ursprüngliche Ausbruch der inneren Griechheit in deutscher Sprache,... der angeborene Rhythmus dieser Seele, ihr unbefangener, notwendiger Ausdruck... Kein Schüler der Griechen, sondern nur ihr Bruder konnte so singen'.¹ This idea that Hölderlin had an instinctive knowledge of Greece and was naturally endowed with the Greek view of life was shared by George, who, believing that Dionysus and Orpheus were sunk in oblivion in the eighteenth century, writes, 'Er allein war der Entdecker. Er bedurfte keines äusserlichen Hinweises: ihm half das innere Gesicht'.² For Otto too 'die Vision Griechenlands' is in the case of Hölderlin 'die wunderbare Begegnung der Geistgestalt, die ihm sein mitgeborenes Wissen lebendig vor Augen stellt', for 'die früh erlebte Vision Griechenlands gab dem Unaussprechlichen Gestalt und Ausdruck'.³

For Otto the experience of the divine in nature makes Hölderlin's spirit 'urverwandt' with that of the Greeks.⁴ Others, accepting the idea of an 'Urverwandtschaft', have attempted to define it more narrowly in terms of his

1. Hölderlins Archipelagus, 1911, p.11f.
2. 'Hölderlin' in Hölderlin: Beiträge zu seinem Verständnis in unserm Jahrhundert, p. 2, first published in Blätter für die Kunst, 11-12 (1919), 11-13.
3. 'Hölderlin und die Griechen', H-Jb, 3 (1948/9), 50f., 53.
4. Der griechische Göttermythos bei Goethe und Hölderlin, 1939, pp. 13, 43.

relationship to a particular Greek writer or school of thought. Thus Schadewaldt ascribes to Hölderlin a "'home-rische" Glaubensart',¹ while Gundolf sees him as 'echter Orphiker'.² For Schlagdenhauffen too 'sa recherche d'une foi nouvelle, sa croyance en des divinités élémentaires et naturistes, sa création d'un Olympe nouveau et son ascétisme purificateur font de lui, malgré les siècles qui l'en séparent, un adepte de l'orphisme', though at the same time he describes Hölderlin's world as possessing a 'cachet spécifiquement platonicien': 'cette âme ait été portée vers le platonisme par l'élan d'une affinité profonde... A tous les points vitaux de son existence, il s'appuie sur Platon!'.³ For Böhm too Hölderlin is 'Schüler Platos', and the suggestion that he was an Orphic or Pre-Socratic is specifically rejected.⁴ Gisela Wagner on the other hand claims that 'die in der Forschung dogmatisch vorausgesetzte Urverwandtschaft Hölderlins mit dem griechischen Geist kann eigentlich nur von dieser (vorsokratischen) Philosophie aus begründet werden',⁵ while Kranz writes of Hölderlin's 'seelische Verwandtschaft' with Empedocles.⁶ Benn argues that 'the Pindaric form of Hölderlin's later poetry... was the necessary expression of his profound spiritual affinity with Pindar',⁷ while

1. 'Hölderlin und Homer, Zweiter Teil', Hölderlin-Jahrbuch, 7(1953), 38 (in future references: H-Jb.).
2. Op.cit., p. 13.
3. 'L'expérience platonicienne de Hoelderlin', in Mélanges philosophiques, pp. 53,79.
4. Hölderlin, I(1928), 143.
5. Hölderlin und die Vorsokratiker, 1937, p. 1.
6. Empedokles: Antike Gestalt und romantische Neuschöpfung, 1949, p. 220.
7. Hölderlin and Pindar, 1962, p. 157.

Schadewaldt writes of the increasing number of those who see in Hölderlin's Sophocles translation the 'kongeniale Übersetzerleistung an dem griechischen Tragiker'.¹

Though allowing that Greece had a special function for Hölderlin as 'das große Vorbild' Böckmann firmly rejects the metaphysical relationship postulated by Otto: for him too it is Hölderlin's 'Naturglaube' that is 'für das Verhältnis zu Griechenland... Grundlage und Voraussetzung', but it is 'nicht so, als ob in Hölderlin einfach eine ursprünglich griechische Seele wiedergekehrt wäre, daß ihm eine "hellenische Innenwelt" selbstverständlich mitgegeben war'.² Peacock goes even further in widening the gap between Hölderlin and Greece when he points out that 'it is clear that this divinity that Hölderlin saw in Greek civilization was not their possession - in a conscious way - but his'. His realization that 'Hölderlin stood completely outside the Greek world', 'a complex historical phenomenon', allows him to accept 'the presence in his work of many elements perhaps derived from Greece which in Greece itself were contradictory and conflicting. He combines, for example, a cult of the heroic age with Platonism, a tendency to polytheism with a more scientific and philosophical conception of oneness in nature.'³ This insight makes it clear that the assertions of a special relationship between Hölderlin's work and various aspects of Greece

1. 'Hölderlins Übersetzung des Sophokles', in Schadewaldt, Hellas und Hesperien, p. 770, first published in Sophokles. Tragödien. Deutsch von Friedrich Hölderlin, 1957, pp. 7-95.
2. 'Hölderlins Naturglaube', Iduna, 1 (1944), 49.
3. Hölderlin, 1938, p. 74.

need not possess the exclusive validity which has often been ascribed to them, but the task of reconciling these apparently conflicting claims remains. This can be done by establishing at what periods of his development these aspects of Greece attracted Hölderlin and, having abandoned the idea of affinity, by asking instead what the nature of the attraction was.

I shall thus trace Hölderlin's development, examining the importance for him of Orpheus, Homer, Plato and Empedocles in order to discover how far Hölderlin shared the beliefs and attitudes of these figures, whether they influenced him, merely provided imagery for the expression of his own aspirations and ideas, or even had his ideas superimposed on them. At the same time an investigation of Hölderlin's interpretation of Greece as a whole, and in particular of Athenian civilization, will not only help to determine the extent to which he projected his own feelings into the past, but can also provide the unifying factor in his interest in such disparate figures as Orpheus, Sophocles and Pindar.

In these chapters I am largely concerned with examining the validity of claims that have been made and with clarifying the true nature of Hölderlin's changing relationship to Greece. In the concluding chapters I turn to his translations of Sophocles' tragedies and Pindar's fragments. Here my interest is not in the style and chronology of the translations, the subject of Zuntz' and Beißner's studies,¹

1. Zuntz, Über Hölderlins Pindar-Übersetzung, 1928; Beißner, Hölderlins Übersetzungen aus dem Griechischen, 1933. In the case of the Pindar-fragments Beißner also discusses the content in detail.

but in extending the understanding of their content which we owe to Corssen and Schadewaldt.¹ Here I shall consider not only Oedipus der Tyrann and Antigonä, but also the hitherto neglected choruses from the Ajax and the late hymn Mnemosyne, which shows the relevance of Hölderlin's translations for an understanding of his struggle for survival as mental collapse overtook him, for paradoxically it is in the translations that the key to the enigmatic thought of his last creative years lies.

1. Corssen, 'Die Tragödie als Begegnung zwischen Gott und Mensch: Hölderlins Sophokles-Deutung', H-Jb, 3 (1948/9), 139-187; Schadewaldt, op. cit.

I. ORPHEUS AND HOMER

1. Hymne an den Genius Griechenlands

The second of the two 'Magisterspecimina' which Hölderlin wrote in the Tübingen 'Stift' in 1790, his Geschichte der schönen Künste unter den Griechen, is an important document not so much because it marks the completion of his formal classical education as because it contains the expression of enthusiasms and values which were to play an important role in the years that followed.

His opinion that Pindar's poetry represents 'das Summum der Dichtkunst' recalls the earlier characterization of his own efforts as 'schwacher Schwung nach Pindars Flug'.¹ That he subsequently saw no reason to alter this opinion is suggested by the detailed study of Pindar represented by the translation he made in 1800 of many of the Olympian and Pythian Odes and by his translation and interpretation of some of the fragments three years later. And that his ambition remained unchanged is shown by the way in which he developed, 'with the help of Pindar, an artistic form which would be appropriate to his own temperament and purpose'.²

Hölderlin's interest in Sophocles was equally lasting, leading him to move on from the translation of isolated choric passages³ to the project of a complete translation

IV, 202;

1. Mein Vorsatz, I, 28. References given thus are to Hölderlin's Sämtliche Werke, edited by Friedrich Beißner (Große Stuttgarter Ausgabe).
2. Benn, Hölderlin and Pindar, p. 103.
3. From Oedipus Coloneus and Antigone, dated by Beißner to 1796 and 1799 (V, 360, 371).

of the extant tragedies, a plan which the onset of insanity prevented him fulfilling. This interest too is already present in the 'Magisterspecimen', where, bridging the gap between Aeschylus and Euripides, Sophocles' work is characterized as 'ganz die Mischung von stolzer Männlichkeit und weiblicher Weichheit'. He thus achieves 'der reine, überdachte, und doch so warme hinreißende Ausdruck, der den Perikleischen Zeiten eigen war'.¹

In this interpretation, however, we are concerned less with an attempt to analyse the unique quality of a great dramatist's work than with the expression of the conviction that he lives up to the ideal which was Hölderlin's own, for Pindar too is seen as combining 'die Darstellung des Epos' with 'die Leidenschaft des Trauerspiels', and similarly the 'Ideal seiner Einbildung' which sprang from 'die schöpferische Seele' of Phidias was not without 'Präcision' - 'Überall Leidenschaft von Geschmack geleitet'.² It is on achieving the same harmonious union of opposites, 'Präzision' and 'Wärme', that Hölderlin congratulates Böhlendorff in his letter of December 1801, so that it becomes clear that the discussion there of the relative functions of 'Leidenschaft' and 'Darstellungsgaabe' represents the development of a belief Hölderlin held in 1790. He already saw 'das große Wort, das εν διαφερον εαυτω (das Eine in sich selber unterschiedne) des Heraklit' as 'das Wesen der Schönheit'.³

1. IV, 204.

2. IV, 203f.

3. Brief 236, VI 425f.; Hyperion, III, 81.

Indeed Hölderlin already regarded the whole development of the Greeks, 'das künftige ästhetische Volk', as being based on the rejection of the isolated extreme:

Zwar hatte die Kunst unter den Aegyptern und Phöniziern längst einige Reife erlangt, eh wir noch einen Funken von Kultur in Griechenland finden; aber ihre Blüte war zu kurz... Der Orientalismus neigt sich mehr zum wunderbaren und abentheuerlichen: der griechische Genius verschönert... der freie, heitere Grieche konnte sich nicht gewöhnen an die gebietrische und zum Theil fürchterliche Dämonen des Orients.¹

We see in these lines of the Tübingen essay the seed of Hyperion's claim that it was the achievement of a mean between two opposite extremes which distinguished the Athenians from their neighbours, for they avoided both 'die Despotie der Willkür' which characterized the Egyptians and the 'Gesezesdespotie' of 'der Sohn des Nordens':

denn der Aegyptier hat von Mutterleib an einen Huldigungs- und Vergötterungstrieb; im Norden glaubt man an das reine freie Leben der Natur zu wenig, um nicht mit Aberglauben am Gesezlichen zu hängen.²

At this stage in his development, however, Hölderlin's reverence for Pindar and Sophocles led him to remain at a respectful distance from this culmination of Greek literature and to turn rather to its beginnings, represented in the essay by Orpheus and Homer. The Greeks' myths he saw as the product of their ascription to the gods of their own characteristics, 'fröliche Laune, gemischt mit männlichem Ernst' - again the harmonious union of opposites - and, as well as 'körperliche Schönheit', 'Empfänglichkeit für das Schöne'.

1. IV, 191; IV, 189f.
2. III, 80.

Through this last quality he accounted for the descent of the gods to earth, the birth of the heroes and the growth of the myths, which were recorded by poets, whose 'Gesänge waren die einzigen Quellen der Religion und Urgeschichte'. It was for this reason that 'die Griechen vergötterten ihren Orpheus wie ihren Herkules', while Homer was 'ihr Alles'. To him Hölderlin ascribes the same national characteristic of 'Empfänglichkeit für das Schöne' which the Greeks attributed to their gods and the harmonious combination of 'Phantasie' and 'Scharfsinn'.¹

Hölderlin assigns Orpheus to 'das griechische Altertum' and thus detaches him from Homer, the first poet of the historical period. This is how Hyperion sees Homer when he speaks of Theseus and Homer as the dawn of the Greek day,² but it is only in his letter to Böhlendorff that Hölderlin defines the significance of Homer's historic position more closely. The Greeks, he writes, are

des heiligen Pathos weniger Meister, weil es ihnen angeboren war, hingegen sind sie vorzüglich in Darstellungsgaabe, von Homer an, weil dieser außerordentliche Mensch seelenvoll genug war, um die abendländische Junonische Nüchternheit für sein Apollonsreich zu erbeuten, und so wahrhaft das fremde sich anzueignen.³

But we find that the seeds of Hölderlin's mature thought are contained in the first expression of his ideas on the subject. 'Das Feuer vom Himmel', seen in the letter as 'das eigentliche Nationelle' of the Greeks, is according to the 'Magisterspecimen' dominant in the hymns of Orpheus,

1. IV, 190ff.
2. IV, 191; III, 100.
3. Br. 236, VI 426.

for they are still affected by 'das feurige Clima' which dominated the Orient:

Seine Hymnen, wie der auf die Sonne, scheinen noch das Gepräge des Orientalismus zu haben, wenigstens eine entfernte Wirkung des Sonnendienstes, und ¹ einiger andern dahingehöriger Ursachen zu sein.

And Homer is seen as starting the development towards the same harmonious union of opposites as that described in the letter, for his 'Scharfsinn', being directed to 'die mannigfaltigen Gegenstände, die er auf seinen Reisen zu beobachten fand',² is the indispensable basis of the 'Darstellungsgäbe' later attributed to him.

But Hölderlin not only saw Homer as a starting-point for the Greeks: Homer was also a starting-point for himself. It is not without significance that his first extant translation is of the opening of the Iliad, and his devotion to Homer is evident in the Fragment von Hyperion:

Wir saßen um sie (eine Marmorbüste des göttlichen Sängers) herum, wie die Unmündigen um ihren Vater, und lasen uns einzelne Rhapsodien der Ilias, wie sie jedes nach seinem Sinne sich auswählte; denn alle waren wir vertraut mit ihr.

And in the account of Hyperion's visit to the grotto in the final version of the novel the importance of the poet and 'sein göttlich Gedicht' for Hölderlin personally is apparent in the words 'mein Homer'.³

We know that in 1790 too Hölderlin's enthusiasm was for the earliest phase of Greek literature because when within a few months of receiving the degree of 'Magister' he wrote

1. IV, 189f.
2. IV, 192;
3. III, 178; III, 20.

his Hymne an den Genius Griechenlands,¹ 'das erste dichterische Zeugnis der Hingerissenheit durch den griechischen Genius',² it was Orpheus and Homer that he celebrated in the lyric fervour of the free rhythms he had learnt from Friedrich Stolberg.³ And Hölderlin's Geschichte der schönen Künste unter den Griechen is important not only because it contains the first expression of some of the ideas which he was to retain and develop, but also because it forms the basis of this hymn. The hymn too is as 'Mythgestaltung' a 'Vorläufer der späten Dichtung Hölderlins', but we are now concerned with Hölderlin's thought at this stage of his development and in particular with Schadewaldt's claim that the hymn is the 'Dokument eines Geschehens im Leben Hölderlins, das für ihn selbst so viel wie die Epiphanie des Griechengenius und so den Durchbruch zu Homer bedeutet hat'.⁴

The first three strophes allude to the historical development of Greece as Hölderlin saw it:

Jubel! Jubel!
Dir auf der Wolke!
Erstgeborener
Der hohen Natur!
Aus Kronos Halle
Schwebst du herab,
Zu neuen, geheiligten Schöpfungen
Hold und majestätisch herab.

1. I, 125ff. The 'Magister' examination took place in September 1790, the poem is dated by Beißner to the end of the year (I,422).
2. Beck and Raabe, Hölderlin: Eine Chronik in Text und Bild, p. 26.
3. Cf. Beck, 'Hölderlin und Friedrich Leopold Graf zu Stolberg: Die Anfänge des hymnischen Stiles bei Hölderlin', Iduna, 1 (1944), 101ff.
4. Schadewaldt, 'Hölderlin und Homer, Erster Teil', H-Jb, 4 (1950), 15f.

Ha! bei der Unsterblichen
Die dich gebahr,
Dir gleichet keiner
Unter den Brüdern
Den Völkerbeherrschern
Den Angebeteten allen!

Dir sang in der Wiege den Weihgesang
Im blutenden Panzer die ernste Gefar,
Zu gerechtem Siege reichte den Stahl
Die heilige Freiheit dir.
Von Freude glühten
Von zaubrischer Liebe deine Schläfe
Die goldgelokten Schläfe.

Hölderlin emphasizes the uniqueness of the Greeks among the earliest peoples of the world (we recall the comparison with the Phoenicians and the Egyptians in the 'Magisterspecimen'), and since this precedence cannot be ascribed to priority in the course of history it is explained by making the spirit of Greece 'Erstgeborner/Der hohen Natur', just as later in a variant of Diotima the Greeks are referred to as 'Die Erstgeborenen' or 'Götterkinder, welche des Ursprungs noch/Gedenk, wie du' - like Diotima, that is, who is 'dein Liebstes, Natur'.¹ The idea that before they could reach maturity deeds of action would be necessary to defend their freedom is also contained in the statement in the 'Magisterspecimen' that it was only after they had repulsed the threat to their freedom from the Persian invader that they reached the 'Gipfel ihrer Größe'. And just as in the hymn 'die ernste Gefähr' is balanced by their 'Freude', so in the essay their 'männlicher Ernst' is balanced by their 'fröliche Laune'.²

1. II,438; II 23.

2. IV, 201; IV, 190.

From hints of the future the hymn returns to the period of almost Platonic pre-existence which is necessary to account for the discrepancy between precedence in rank and posteriority in history:

Lange säumtest du unter den Göttern
Und dachtest der kommenden Wunder.
Vorüber schwebten wie silbern Gewölk
Am liebenden Auge dir
Die Geschlechter alle!
Die seeligen Geschlechter.

Im Angesichte der Götter
Beschloß dein Mund
Auf Liebe dein Reich zu gründen.
Da staunten die Himmlischen alle.
Zu brüderlicher Umarmung,
Neigte sein königlich Haupt
Der Donnerer nieder zu dir.
Du gründest auf Liebe dein Reich.

The place of this pre-existence is Mount Olympus, where before the assembled gods Zeus nods his assent, as he does to Thetis in Iliad I:¹ when in the first strophe Hölderlin describes Olympus as the hall of Kronos he no doubt means the son of Kronos, Kronion or Zeus, for it is hardly possible that he is already anticipating his identification in Natur und Kunst of Kronos or Saturn with 'Natur'.² However, the decision to which Zeus gives his approval has no counterpart in Homer, yet it is this decision to found a kingdom on love that is, as the repetition of the words shows, the heart of the hymn.

This is confirmed by the sixth strophe, in which in emphatic repetition Orpheus and Homer, in whom the spirit of Greece first found expression, are characterized by their love:

1. Line 528. Cf. Schadewaldt, op. cit., p. 13.
2. II, 37f.

Du kommst und Orpheus Liebe
Schwebet empor zum Auge der Welt
Und Orpheus Liebe
Wallet nieder zum Acheron.
Du schwingest den Zauberstab,
Und Aphroditas Gürtel ersieht
Der trunkene Mäonide.
Ha! Mäonide! wie du!
So liebte keiner, wie du;
Die Erd' und Ozean
Und die Riesengeister, die Helden der Erde
Umfaßte dein Herz!
Und die Himmel und alle die Himmlischen
Umfaßte dein Herz.
Auch die Blumen, die Bien' auf der Blume
Umfaßte liebend dein Herz!

It now becomes clear that 'Liebe' is to be understood in the same sense as in the Lied der Liebe, which, entered in the 'Bundesbuch' 'am zwoten Aldermannstage', 20th April 1790,¹ that is to say before he wrote his 'Magister-specimen' in the summer semester, provides the first evidence of Hölderlin's belief in love as a cosmic force which 'Schaffet Erd und Himmel wieder/Göttlich, wie im Anbeginn':

Singt den Jubel, Schwestern! Brüder!
Festgeschlungen! Hand in Hand!
Singt das heiligste der Lieder
Von dem hohen Wesenband!
Steigt hinauf am Rebenhügel,
Blickt hinab ins Schattenthal!
Überall der Liebe Flügel,
Wonnerauschend überall!²

The 'Wesenband' is the 'Zaubergürtel' with which, according to the motto of the Hymne an die Göttin der Harmonie, itself taken from Heinse's Ardinghello, 'Urania', the mother of

1. I, 410.

2. I, 110f. cf. Melodie. An Lyda:
Lyda, siehe! zauberisch umwunden
Hält das All der Liebe Schöpferhand,
Erd' und Himmel wandeln treu verbunden,
Laut und Seele knüpft der Liebe Band.
(I 122)

love, 'hält... das Weltall in tobendem Entzücken zusammen'.¹ It is because the girdle of Aphrodite, in which reside love and desire, had been identified with this magic belt that Homer now enters Hölderlin's poetry.²

The 'Abhängigkeiten und Einflüsse' which helped to form Hölderlin's hymn have been amply indicated in Schadewaldt's scholarly interpretation. Nevertheless it is difficult to agree with him that Hölderlin brought to light 'etwas noch unentdeckt Homerisches', even though 'die Liebe, welche Hölderlin hier meint,... ist... im Wesen griechische "Sympatheia"'. This conclusion becomes completely unacceptable when it is made the basis of the more general claim, 'Das griechische Wesen, bisher für ihn ein verehrtes und geliebtes Bildungsgut, ergriff ihn nun mit lebensbestimmender Gewalt. Und die griechischen Daseinsmächte gewannen Macht über seine Dichtung.'³ The source of Hölderlin's enthusiasm is on the contrary not Greece, but love. The two outstanding experiences of 1790, the insight into the cosmic power of love and the growing interest in Greece, have been fused into one, but it is the former that has remained dominant, and it is because Greece has been seen in the light of the Lied der Liebe that it has taken on such significance.

Just as in his 'Magisterspecimen' Hölderlin depicted the character of the Greeks and their literature in terms of his own ideal of the harmonious union of opposites, so here

1. I, 130.

2. Iliad XIV. 214ff. Cf. Schadewaldt, op.cit. p. 11f.

3. Schadewaldt, op.cit., pp. 26, 22, 21.

too he not only took over the current identification of the 'Wesenband' with Aphrodite's girdle, but interpreted Homer's work as a whole in the light of the cosmic principle of love. It is for this reason that Homer is described as 'der trunkene Mäonide', not because of his 'begeisterte Schilderung des Gürtels der Aphrodite', as Beißner believes, nor is he as 'der von der Schönheit der Welt Hingerissene' 'schönheitstrunken', as Beck claims.¹

It is equally impossible to accept Schadewaldt's suggestion, 'In sich trug Homer, wie alle Griechen, das "Feuer vom Himmel"; er war, in sich, "trunken". Auf diesen inneren Charakter der "Trunkenheit" sieht Hölderlin in der Hymne, weil es ihm hier nicht um den Homerischen Kunstcharakter, die "Darstellung", sondern um Homers "aneignendes Sehen" ("Ersehen"), sein Innesein, Beherrschen und Haben der Dinge der Welt geht'.² We have already seen that in the 'Magisterspecimen' Homer's 'Empfänglichkeit für das Schöne' and his 'Phantasie' are balanced by his 'Scharfsinn', itself the basis of his 'Darstellungsgabe', and that in the hymn too Hölderlin was not concerned with one quality to the exclusion of its opposite is suggested by the close link between hymn and 'Magisterspecimen' which is evident in the lines immediately following the reference to Homer's drunkenness. For when Hölderlin sees Homer's love as embracing land and sea, the scene of his action, the heroes and the gods, the main participants in it, and animate and

1. Beißner, 'An Kallias', Iduna, 1 (1944), 61; Beck, op.cit. p. 103.
2. Schadewaldt, op.cit., p. 25.

inanimate nature, which is introduced in his similes,¹ he seems to be translating into lyric form the words of the essay:

Seiner Empfänglichkeit für das Schöne und Erhabene bot sich das paradiesische Ionien dar, seiner Phantasie die griechische Religion und Tradition, seinem Scharfsinn die mannigfaltigen Gegenstände, die er auf seinen Reisen zu beobachten fand.²

Homer is in fact, to use a word which occurs in Hölderlin's translation of Sophocles' Antigone, 'liebestrunken'.³ The unity of the earth and all it contains is for Hölderlin reproduced in the poet's heart.

That Homer was not the source of Hölderlin's enthusiasm is confirmed by the fact that he adheres to the sequence he had outlined in his 'Magisterspecimen' and sees Orpheus as an equally important embodiment of the principle of love, for whereas Homer recreates the unity of the universe in the horizontal plane ('die Himmel' must be understood as the homes of the gods, above all as Mount Olympus, the scene of the fifth strophe, which is still part of the earth), Orpheus does so in the vertical plane. 'Es tönet am Acheron/Orpheus Zauberlaut', Hölderlin wrote in his first draft, for Orpheus' love was most apparent in his journey to the underworld to fetch Eurydice: he was no doubt in Hölderlin's mind when in the Lied der Liebe he wrote that

1. Beißner, op. cit., p. 62, refers to the simile of the bees in Iliad II, 87ff. (I, 428).

2. IV, 191.

3. Antigonä, line 139, V, 210.

Cf. the variant to the fifth strophe:

Schon staunt er (der Heroë) die Mädchen am Feste
Trunkener an.

Ihn spornt in Schlachten die Liebe

Ihn zieht zum lokichten Naken

Die zaubrische Liebe zurück.

(I, 425; my italics)

love 'Steigt hinab ins Todtenland'.¹ The journey of the body to the underworld is then balanced by the journey of the mind 'zum Auge der Welt', for it is as the author of a hymn to the sun that Orpheus is mentioned in the 'Magisterspecimen'.² But Orpheus, like Homer, is seen as a convenient figure to which Hölderlin can attach the experience of the previous spring. He overlooks the different nature of the two journeys and sees him as able to unite heaven and hell because, like the poet in An die Stille, he has penetrated the whole universe:

Stieg ich künen Sinns zum Hades nieder
Wo kein Sterblicher dich noch ersah,
Schwänge sich das mutige Gefieder
Zum Orion auf, so wär'st du da.³

Ovid tells the story of Orpheus' descent to the underworld and his death in Metamorphoses X-XI. Book X may well have been in Hölderlin's mind when he wrote that 'Orpheus Liebe/Wallet nieder zum Acheron', for there Ovid recounts how, accompanying himself on the lyre, Orpheus told Pluto and Persephone that though he had tried to bear his grief at the loss of Eurydice love had been too much for him: 'vicit Amor'.⁴ The effect which his music had on the spirits of the underworld is one example of 'die gewaltigen Wirkungen seiner Leier' of which Hölderlin writes in his 'Magisterspecimen',⁵ also evident in his power over nature

1. I, 426; I, 111.
2. IV, 190. Schadewaldt, op. cit., p. 10, rightly points out against Beißner (I, 427) that Hölderlin is here concerned not with the legend that Orpheus was taught the lyre by Apollo, but with the tradition that he honoured the sun above all other gods.
3. I, 114.
4. Metamorphoses X. 26.
5. IV, 190.

and his success in saving the Argonauts from listening to the Sirens' song.

The suggestion that book X of the Metamorphoses provided Hölderlin with the vision of 'Orpheus Liebe' in the Hymne an den Genius Griechenlands receives support from the fact that book XI was certainly in his mind when he wrote Dichtermuth, in the first draft of which he addresses the 'liebend Herz' of the poet:

wandle nur wehrlos
Fort durchs Leben und Sorge nicht!
Was geschieht es sei alles geseegnet dir.¹

'Die Dichter des Volks' are compared with a 'froher' or 'muth'ger Alpenwanderer' whose confidence is undiminished wherever he goes:

Böses kennen wir nicht, nimmer siehet den Tod
Unser Auge, wie sängen
Sonst wir jedem den eignen Gott?²

But three lines which Hölderlin rejected admit the possibility of destruction as a risk which must be accepted in so noble a profession, a threat but for which the call for optimism and trust would not be necessary:

und das Saitenspiel
Wildzerrissen im Sande liegt
Starben doch in Berufe sie.

When Hölderlin returned to this draft after perhaps as long an interval as a year³ his main task was to incorporate into the completed poem the danger represented by the image

1. II, 529. Hölderlin's intense personal involvement is indicated by his slipping from the second into the first person, for 'dir' is a correction for 'mir'.
2. II, 530f.
3. Beißner, II, 527.

of the lyre, that symbol of the poet's calling of which Hölderlin wrote to Neuffer in 1793, repeating the latter's words: 'Wenn nicht die Nachwelt meine Richterinnen wird..., so reiß' ich, wie Du, jede Saite von meiner Leier.'¹ It was with the help of the figure of Orpheus that he attempted to do this:

Wenn denn einer auch wohl liebend des feindlichen
Augenblicks nicht gewahrt, daß
Der Mänadische Reigen ihn
Den Verlornen ergreift
Und der Strom der Haupt des Zerrissenen
Und sein Saitenspiel wälzt
Starb in edlem Beruf er doch.²

The 'Saitenspiel', the original symbol, is retained, but it is now no longer it that is 'zerrissen', but the poet who in his life set an example with his love and whose death now serves as a warning.

The love which characterizes the poet in the first line could be regarded as alluding to his close relationship with nature, for in Ovid's account it was while Orpheus was charming the woods, rocks and animals that the Maenads attacked him:

Carminum dum tali silvas animosque ferarum
Threicius vates et saxa sequentia ducit,
ecce nurus Ciconum...
...cernunt
Orphea percussis sociantem carmina nervis.³

The lines recall the draft of the Hymne an die Menschheit, where Orpheus provides an example of 'Der herrlichen Heroen Lieb' und Macht':

1. Br. 60, VI, 87.
2. II, 532f. Since this draft was rejected the article in 'der Haupt' remained uncorrected.
3. Op. cit., XI. 1-5.

Den Felsen blies mit sanftem Liebeshauche
Der holde Thrazier Entzüken ein.¹

Ovid then goes on to describe how the Maenads tore him apart and how when his limbs were scattered the waters of the Hebrus received his head and lyre:

membra iacent diversa locis, caput, Hebre,
lyramque excipis.²

However, in revising his earliest draft Hölderlin had rejected the simile of the 'Alpenwanderer' in favour of a comparison with 'der leichte Schwimmer'. The change is introduced by the alteration of 'drunten im Thal' to 'still am Gestad' and is well suited to express the attitude the poet must have in order to fulfil his function:

so sind auch wir,

Wir, die Dichter des Volks, gerne, wo Lebendes
Um uns athmet und wallt, freudig, und jedem hold,
Jedem trauend; wie sängen
Sonst wir jedem den eignen Gott?

Hölderlin must then have realized that the danger to which the poet is exposed could easily be portrayed by a continuation of the simile:

Wenn die Wooge denn auch einen der Muthigen,
Wo er treulich getraut, schmeichelnd hinunterzieht,
Und die Stimme des Sängers
Nun in blauender Halle schweigt;
Freudig starb er.³

These lines superseded the account of Orpheus' death, and Hölderlin saw the redundancy of even the brief reference to

1. I,451f.
2. Op. cit., XI. 50f.
3. II, 62.

it that at first he wanted to retain: 'und anders/Endete Vater Orpheus nicht!'.¹

In the completed first version of Dichtermuth therefore there is no explicit mention of Orpheus, but as the poet who could charm both animate and inanimate nature the thought of him lives on in the penultimate strophe:

noch klagen die Einsamen,
Seine Haine, den Fall ihres Geliebtesten;
Öfters tönet der Jungfrau
Vom Gezweige sein liebend Lied.²

It is to the grief of the trees which had so often followed Orpheus that Ovid gives particular emphasis:

te carmina saepe secutae
fleverunt silvae, positis te frondibus arbor
tonsa comas luxit.³

And perhaps Hölderlin thinks of Orpheus choosing to be a nightingale, like Thamyris, rather than a swan, as Plato reports, for the nightingale is connected with Orpheus in Pausanias' report that the nightingales which nest on Orpheus' grave are said to sing more sweetly and louder than others.⁴

It was perhaps the optimistic mood induced by the Peace of Lunéville that led Hölderlin to revise Dichtermuth in spring 1801, for in his second version he is less concerned with avoiding the threat of sudden destruction than with the

1. II, 534.
2. II, 62, retaining the variant 'liebend' in favour of 'freundlich' (II, 534).
3. Op. cit., XI, 45f.
4. Plato, Republic, 620; Pausanias, Description of Greece, IX, 30.6. Hölderlin quotes Pausanias in his 'Magister-specimen' (IV, 190f.), and Beißner suggests that he may have read Pausanias' description of 'Elevtherä, der Mnemosyne Stadt' ('Hölderlins letzte Hymne', H-Jb, 3 (1948/9), 101).

ready acceptance of death in the course of nature when the poet's task has been fulfilled, believing that the 'Friedenstage, wenn izt der Sturm/Vorüber ist' had come.¹ Such a death is far removed from the fate of 'Vater Orpheus', 'unser Orpheus', and so Hölderlin turns to that other patron of the poet, Apollo, who is also the sun-god, to 'Unser König' or 'Vater', as he first writes, to 'Unser Ahne, der Sonnengott'.² He too is 'freudig und jedem hold', and the ominous waters of the first version become the ocean into which he, 'der Unsterbliche', sets, an example to us, 'die Vergänglichlichen' or 'Sterblichen':³

Ihn erwartet, auch ihn nimmt, wo die Stunde kömmt,
Seine purpurne Fluth, sieh! und das edle Licht
Gehet, kundig des Wandels,
Gleichgesinnet hinab den Pfad.

So vergehe denn auch, wenn es die Zeit einst ist
Und dem Geiste sein Recht nirgend gebricht, so sterb'
Einst im Ernstedes Lebens
Unsre Freude, doch schönen Tod!⁴

In both the Hymne an den Genius Griechenlands and Dichter-muth Hölderlin finds in the story of Orpheus the means to express ideas which have no connection with the legendary Greek poet. But we still need to raise the question whether

1. Variant to Dichterberuf (II, 478). Cf. Br. 222, VI, 407f., written round New Year 1800, in which 'der Friede, der jetzt im Werden ist' prompts Hölderlin to exclaim to his brother, 'Du bist erhalten, gespart; der Sturm gehet hinweg, sei froh, daß Du in sicherer Verborgenheit ihn fern gehört und deine Seele rein und liebend furchtlos für die bessere Zeit bewahrt hast.' For Hölderlin's hope of 'die Tage der schönen Menschlichkeit' cf. Br. 228, VI, 413; Br. 229, VI, 416f.
2. II, 534ff. For the sun-god Apollo as king cf. Der Einzige: 'Dort bin ich, wo Apollo gieng/In Königsgestalt' (II, 153) and Beißner's references to the title in Greek literature (II, 754).
3. II, 536f. (variants).
4. II, 64f.

a closer relationship existed between Hölderlin and Orpheus than that suggested by these two poems, for Hölderlin has in various contexts and in different senses been described as an Orphic poet. Elizabeth Sewall, for example, regards the story of Orpheus as a symbol of the power of poetry and uses it as a guide and framework for her own enquiry, arguing that Hölderlin is one of those poets who demonstrate the validity of 'language-as-poetry' as an instrument of thought and 'that myth as a discipline of inquiry is to be united with theology and science... in the endeavour to discover and comprehend the universe'.¹

Whereas for her Hölderlin lends support to her theory of the function of poetry, formulated with the help of the story of Orpheus, for Walther Rehm Orpheus is a guide to the understanding of Hölderlin's poetry for its own sake. He suggests that the figure of Orpheus 'schwebt nicht zufällig als Leitbild über dem Genius Griechenlands. Hinfort weicht Orpheus nicht mehr von der Seite Hölderlins', for 'die liebende Mittlerschaft zwischen Fernem und Nahem, das orpheus-gleiche Tun des Dichtenden wird ihm von Jahr zu Jahr wichtiger': 'Reich der Lebenden und Reich der Toten' are entrusted to him that he may again join 'das Band der Gemeinschaft' between them.²

Others have spoken of Hölderlin's Orphism not in order to characterize the function of his poetry, but in order to point to certain aspects of his thought. Friedrich Gundolf approaches his interpretation of Hölderlin's 'Griechentum'

1. The Orphic Voice, pp. 6,66.

2. Orpheus: Der Dichter und die Toten, p. 158f.

from Nietzsche's distinction between Dionysiac and Apollonian, describing 'das Griechentum das in ihm lebte' and 'das Griechentum das ihm als Bildungsgut vorschwebte' with the narrower terms 'orphisch' and 'homerisch'. By the former he understands a view of nature distinguished by 'die neue Art der Allbeseelung... im Sinne des antiken Naturmythus, als Vermenschlichung der Kräfte des Webens und Wachsens, die den Menschen in und mit der Landschaft durchdringen... Hölderlin war darin orphisch dass er das Sichtbare las als ein Sinnbild des Werdens. Das Sein nahm er nur wahr als Bewegung'.¹

But when Gundolf not only writes of Hölderlin's 'angeborene Orphik' and describes him as 'echter Orphiker', but also calls him 'ein später Bruder der Hellenen',² he is in danger of appearing to make a statement not just about Hölderlin's view of nature, but about a particular aspect of Greece that was more important for him than any other. This is equally the case when in his interpretation of Hölderlin's 'âme grecque' Schlagdenhauffen calls him 'un adepte de l'orphisme', listing as Orphic features 'sa recherche d'une foi nouvelle, sa croyance en des divinités élémentaires et naturistes, sa création d'un Olympe nouveau et son ascétisme purificateur'.³

Orphism was distinguished from the main stream of Greek religion by the fact that its adherents worshipped Dionysus, a god of vegetation, rather than the Olympian deities. It

1. Hölderlins Archipelagus, p. 12ff.

2. Ibid., p. 13f.

3. 'L'expérience platonicienne de Hoelderlin', in Mélanges philosophiques, p. 53.

is therefore true to say that there is an Orphic strain in Hölderlin in so far as he rejects 'Kunst' in favour of 'Natur' and regards the Olympian gods as having been legitimate objects of reverence only as long as they were seen as personifications of the phenomena of nature. But it should not be suggested that the links between Hölderlin's attitude and those of Orphism were more numerous, as is done by Schlagdenhauffen when he refers to 'son ascétisme purificateur', which he later sees in terms of Plato's teaching in the Phaedo: 'ils avaient su se détacher des peines et des plaisirs dûs à la contamination de l'âme par le corps', he writes of the achievement of Hölderlin and Susette Gontard, ascribing to Hölderlin the hope that after their separation 'ils triompheraient de l'emprise de la douleur et sortiraient de la "corporéité, cause de toute l'humaine misère"'.¹

It might indeed appear that Hölderlin was influenced by the Orphic doctrine that 'the body is the evil and the soul the divine part of man'.² This belief is apparent in Plato's attribution to the Orphic poets of an etymological connection between $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$ and $\sigma\eta\mu\alpha$: according to this interpretation the body is the grave or prison of the soul, which is suffering punishment for sin. The same image occurs in Hyperion's words:

Wir sind, wie Feuer, das im dürren Aste oder im Kiesel schläft; und ringen und suchen in jedem Moment das Ende der engen Gefangenschaft. Aber sie kommen, sie wägen Aeonen des Kampfes auf, die Augenblicke der Befreiung, wo das Göttliche den Kerker sprengt, wo die Flamme vom

1. Ibid., p. 76f., quoting Plato, Phaedo, 83d-84.
2. Oxford Classical Dictionary, p. 628.

Holze sich löst und siegend emporwallt über der
Asche, ha! wo uns ist, als kehrte der ent-
fesselte Geist, vergessen der Leiden, der Knechts-
gestalt, im Triumphe zurück in die Hallen der
Sonne.¹

Hölderlin, however, is concerned neither with the final release of the soul from the body, which was the object of the Orphics' interest, nor with the conquest of the passions by reason, which Plato taught, but rather with those moments in his life when man feels at one with the divine. This is made clear not only by the reference to the sun, one of the two celestial aspects of nature which came to symbolize for Hölderlin the pole of 'Natur', but also by the context of the lines, which are designed to prepare the reader for Hyperion's report of his first meeting with Diotima: 'Ich hab es Einmal gesehn, das Einzige, das meine Seele suchte.' Indeed the important antithesis for Hölderlin is not between body and soul, but between 'die Begeisterung' in which he can return 'ins All der Natur' and 'die Wissenschaft' which has taught him to make a distinction between himself and his surroundings, leaving him 'vereinzelt in der schönen Welt, ... ausgeworfen aus dem Garten der Natur': 'O ein Gott ist der Mensch, wenn er träumt, ein Bettler, wenn er nachdenkt.'² Death is not sought as preferable to life, and the Platonic order of values is reversed.

The source of Hölderlin's image is nevertheless likely to have been the Phaedo, in which case he would not even have been aware of the significance which in the Cratylus

1. Cratylus, 400c; III, 52. For the image of the 'Kerker' cf. Griechenland (I, 180) and Das Schicksaal (I, 186).
2. III, 9.

Plato tells us it had for the Orphics.¹ Indeed Hölderlin probably had no conception of Orphism as it was practised in the sixth century B.C., for the early poems circulated as the work of Orpheus have been lost and our knowledge of their doctrines has had to be pieced together from the fragments preserved in classical and later writers. What Hölderlin considered to be the work of Orpheus and hence the earliest Greek poetry was in fact nothing of the sort. The so-called Orphic Hymns, of which a new edition, together with a Latin translation, was published in Germany in 1765 and reviewed by Herder in the same year,² belonged to a Dionysiac cult-society which practised mysteries under the patronage of Orpheus, probably in Asia Minor in the third century A.D. In these respects the society could properly regard itself as the successor of the original Orphics, but the lack of reference to some of the latter's most characteristic beliefs, e.g. their interest in a future life, shows the extent to which the tradition had been destroyed.³ The Argonautica ascribed to Orpheus, which was published with the Hymns in 1765 and to which Hölderlin refers in his 'Magisterspecimen' ('Er nahm an den Abentheuern seiner Zeitgenossen... selbst Theil: so besang er den Argonautenzug'),⁴ is again a late poem dependent on Apollonius Rhodius' epic of the third century B.C.

1. The significance of the Phaedo for Hölderlin's novel is so great that it is more likely to have been the immediate source of the image than its occurrence in contemporary literature, e.g. Werther's letter of 22 May 1771 (Goethes Werke, Hamburger Ausgabe, VI, 14).
2. Herder, Sämmtliche Werke, edited by Suphan, I, 77. Cf. Trevelyan, Goethe and the Greeks, p. 63f., who suggests that Goethe too was unaware of the late date of the Hymns.
3. Cf. Guthrie, Orpheus and Greek Religion, p. 257ff.
4. IV, 190.

However, our knowledge of the true origin of the Orphic Hymns should not lead us to underestimate the significance which the hymn Εἰς Ἥλιον had for Hölderlin. In order to explain why 'Orpheus Liebe/Schwebet empor zum Auge der Welt', 'nämlich der Sonne', Schadewaldt quotes the mention of this hymn in the 'Magisterspecimen', seeing it as evidence that Hölderlin was aware of the tradition that Orpheus honoured Helios, whom he named Apollo, as the greatest of the gods and rose to greet the dawn on the summit of Mount Pangaeum.¹ But it is not necessary that he should have known of these things 'vielleicht durch die Vermittlung des gelehrten Conz', and the reference to the hymn is in any case no evidence that he did. Hölderlin did not need to resort to tradition, for he believed that he had the words addressed to the sun by Orpheus himself:

πανδερκὲς ἔχων αἰώνιον ὄμμα

Τιτᾶν χρυσαυγῆς, ὕπερῶν, οὐράνιον φῶς.²

That the hymn was indeed Hölderlin's source for his conception of Orpheus as a worshipper of the sun is not only suggested by the opening line, which regards the sun as having an all-seeing eternal eye, but is confirmed by the later line which actually addressed the sun as 'Auge der Welt':

κόσμου τὸ περίδρομον ὄμμα .³

1. Schadewaldt, op. cit., p. 10, as Beck, op. cit., p. 103.
2. Orphei Hymni, edited by Quandt, p. 8, line 1f: 'You with the all-seeing eternal eye, gold-gleaming Titan, Hyperion, light of heaven.'
3. Ibid., line 15: 'revolving eye of the world'. The idea of the sun as an eye is dominant, for ὄμμα occurs again in l. 18.

The line in which the sun is invoked as χρυσολύρη, κόσμου
τὸν ἑναρμόδιον δρόμον ἔλκων¹ provides the imagery of
Sonnenuntergang:

eben ist's,
Daß ich gelauscht, wie, goldner Töne
Voll, der entzükende Sonnenjüngling

Sein Abendlied auf himmlischer Leyer spielt';²
Es tönten rings die Wälder und Hügel nach.

But more important is the fact that the sun is also
addressed as Hyperion, and the Orphic Hymn therefore
rather than Homer, as Beißner and Binder believe, seems
likely to have suggested to Hölderlin the name of the
hero of his novel,³ which first occurs in Hölderlin's
own poetry as a synonym for the sun in the Hymne an die
Freiheit, one of the last poems to be completed before
Hölderlin began work on the novel itself.⁴

The source of the name is of more than incidental
interest, for it shows that for Hölderlin, as for Magenau,⁵

1. Ibid., line 9: 'you with the golden lyre, moving on your harmonious course through the world!'
2. I, 259.
3. Beißner, III, 444. Cf. I, 462; III, 462. Binder, 'Hölderlins Namenssymbolik', H-Jb, 12 (1961/2), 135. In Hyperion 'der alte Sonnengott' is called 'der unsterbliche Titan', just as in the Orphic Hymn the sun is the Titan Hyperion. Though Homer likewise gives Helios his father's name, he preserves the distinction by not calling him Titan.
4. I, 160. The poem was completed in March or April 1792. In May Hölderlin must have told Magenau of his plan to write a novel, for on 3 June the latter wrote to him to wish him luck (Beck and Raabe, op. cit., p. 29f.; Beißner, III, 296).
5. III, 296. Magenau was writing to Neuffer about a visit from Hölderlin and the novel on which the latter was working.

Hyperion was 'ein... ächter Grieche' - but in the sense that, as in the case of Orpheus, a special relationship exists between him and the sun, his 'Nahmensbruder'.¹ That this relationship was from the start the subject of the novel is also suggested by the fact that in the earliest version published, in the preface to the Fragment von Hyperion, it is the course of the earth round the sun that provides Hölderlin with the image of the 'exzentrische Bahn' of the individual and mankind.²

In the final version this special relationship is indicated when, pointing to 'der alte Sonnengott', Adamas cries to Hyperion, 'Sei wie dieser!' Reporting his own feelings, Hyperion continues, 'Und mir war, als trügen uns die Morgenwinde mit sich fort, und brächten uns ins Geleite des heiligen Wesens'.³ The incident is a key one, for it looks ahead to all Hyperion's wishes and designs. It is his hope both to achieve personal union with the divine in nature, as he does momentarily in the enthusiasm of this moment,⁴ and to bring about the same union for his people: perhaps he recalled the scene of this experience, the island of Delos, once the home of 'der Sonnengott', 'wo ihn, wie goldnes Gewölck, das versammelte Griechenland umglänzte', when he proclaimed,

1. III, 73.
2. III, 163. For a discussion of the image see p. 210f. Binder, op. cit., p. 135ff., bases his interpretation of the significance of the name on the principle that 'Namensgleichheit bedeutet... Wesensverwandtschaft'.
3. III, 16.
4. Cf. Des Morgens (I, 302) for the use of the same imagery to express the failure to achieve this union.

Bald regnen die Wolken nimmer umsonst, bald
findet die Sonne die alten Zöglinge wieder...
Menschheit und Natur wird sich vereinen in
Eine allumfassende Gottheit.¹

It has emerged that Hölderlin probably had no knowledge of the mystic cult of the Greek Orphics and that it is misleading to suggest, as Schlagdenhauffen does, that he is, even if unconsciously, the inheritor of their beliefs. It is only if we dissociate the word from these early Greek attitudes, which Gundolf too has in mind in his description of Hölderlin as 'echter Orphiker', that we can call Hölderlin an Orphic in the special sense which is most appropriate.

Orpheus was for Hölderlin not only the first of the Greek poets, but also as 'Vater Orpheus' the father of all poets. It must in particular have been his specially close relationship with nature that gave him a claim to this position, which in its turn helped Hölderlin to accept the danger which in his own day he saw as being inherent in the poet's calling. But there is a deeper significance in the fact that in the second version of Dichtermuth Hölderlin's thoughts should have passed from Orpheus to the sun-god Apollo, for it was above all as the author of the Hymn to the Sun that Orpheus was important to Hölderlin. The idea of a close connection between Orpheus and Apollo is preserved not only in the legend mentioned by Schadewaldt, but also in Ovid's description

III, 15;
1. III, 90.

of Orpheus as 'vates Apollineus'¹ and the tradition contained in Pindar's Pythian IV that Orpheus was Apollo's son:

Von Apollen aber, der Lauten-
spieler, der Gesänge Vater
Kam, der wohlgepriesene Orpheus.²

We have already noticed the contribution of the Hymn to the Sun to Hölderlin's idea of 'das Feuer vom Himmel' as 'das eigentliche Nationelle' of the Greeks, and its significance as evidence of the close relationship between the Greeks and the sun can only have been equalled in Hölderlin's eyes by the evidence of a similar relationship with 'Vater Aether':³ in the draft of Diotima already quoted the Greek 'Götterkinder' could be described as 'Des Ursprungs noch in tönender Brust gedenk' because they 'noch von der Mutter Sonne/Zeugten'.⁴ In the sense therefore that they enjoyed a special relationship with the sun Hölderlin must have thought of the Greeks as Orphics. And it is in this sense that we can most appropriately call Hölderlin himself an Orphic:

Und wie du das Herz
Der Pflanzen erfreust,
Wenn sie entgegen dir
Die zarten Arme strecken,

So hast du mein Herz erfreut
Vater Helios!⁵

Yet Hölderlin's interpretation of the Orphic Hymns is as subjective as his belief that they represent the

1. Op. cit., XI. 8.
2. V, 91.
3. See p. 193.
4. II, 438.
5. 'Da ich ein Knabe war...', I, 266.

earliest Greek poetry is mistaken. It is only because he selects the Hymn to the Sun from the many prayers to a heterogeneous collection of deities and personified qualities that he can regard them as having 'das Gepräge des Orientalismus' and being 'eine entfernte Wirkung des Sonnendienstes'.¹ And he misunderstands even the nature of this hymn, for after addressing the god with a long series of flattering epithets the author concludes with a brief prayer for a happy life. There is no trace of the close relationship which Hölderlin regards as characteristic of the Greeks and which is so important for him personally:

O all ihr treuen
Freundlichen Götter!
Daß ihr wüßtet,
Wie euch meine Seele geliebt!

Hölderlin projected his own ideal into the Orphic Hymn to the Sun just as at this stage he did into Homer.

1. IV, 190.

2. An Kallias

When in spring 1790 Hölderlin broke off his engagement to Louise Nast he gave as his reason not only the uncertainty of his future, but also the fear that she could never be happy with her 'mürrischen, mismutigen, kränkelnden Freunde', adding that the root of 'der unüberwindliche Trübsinn' in him was mainly 'unbefriedigter Ehrgeiz'. The admission in this letter of the part which this weakness, as he calls it, played in such an important and difficult decision, a decision which cost him 'tausend Kämpfe',¹ shows how seriously we must take the 'Kinderträume von Größ' und Ruhm' which are the subject of a series of poems written in the previous year. In them he is inspired by the same 'zornige Sehnsucht' and driven by the same restlessness: 'Mich reizt der Lorber, - Ruhe beglückt mich nicht.' And in them too he is ready to sacrifice all else to the satisfaction of his ambition:

Beim grauen Mana! nimmer genieß ich dein
Du Kelch der Freuden, blinktest du noch so schön
Bis mir ein Männerwerk gelinget
Bis ich ihn hasche, den ersten Lorbeer.²

It was not just his frustrated desire for success and recognition as a poet that made him address himself as 'Verachteter'³ and express his longings in the images

1. Br. 31, VI, 51; Br. 32, VI, 53.
2. Einst und Jetzt, I, 96; Zornige Sehnsucht, I, 90.
3. Einst und Jetzt, I, 96. Cf. An die Ruhe, I, 92.

of release from confinement and waking from sleep,¹ but also the 'Mishandlungen,... Druk und Verachtung'² to which he felt himself subjected when in the year of the French Revolution Herzog Karl Eugen began to take a personal interest in the discipline of the Tübingen 'Stift'. Rebelling against its restrictions he came to see freedom and action as values worth striving for, so that he ends the poem Burg Tübingen with the words:

Süßen Ernstes will ich wiederkehren
Einzutrinken freien Männermuth
Bis umschimmert von den Geisterheeren
In Walhallas Schoos die Seele ruht.³

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that in his 'Magisterspecimen' Hölderlin sees the Greeks as having given equal honour to their poets and their men of action, and Orpheus as having combined the qualities of both:

Die Griechen vergötterten ihren Orpheus wie ihren
Herkules. Sie mahlten die gewaltigen Wirkungen
seiner Leier aus, wie die Thaten ihrer Heroen.
Orpheus war auch, wie Ossian, Barde und Held. Er
nahm an den Abentheuern seiner Zeitgenossen,
Jasons, Castors und Pollux, Peleus und Herkules,
selbst Theil: so besang er den Argonautenzug.

And even if Homer was himself no hero, his poetic achievement was almost as great as those of the heroes of the Trojan War of whom he sang:

Die Seelenkräfte müssen in einer bewunderungs-
würdigen Stärke ihm eigen, und in einem eben so
großen Ebenmaasse gewesen sein.⁴

1. Zornige Sehnsucht, I, 90; An die Ruhe, I, 92;
An die Ehre, I, 94.
2. Br. 27, VI, 46.
3. I, 103.
4. IV, 190f.

The theme of the fall of Troy occurs in the last completed strophe of the Hymne an den Genius Griechenlands:

Ach Ilion! Ilion!
Wie jammertest, hohe Gefallene, du
Im Blute der Kinder!
Nun bist du getröstet, dir scholl
Groß und warm wie sein Herz
Des Mäoniden Lied.¹

Troy is incorporated into the theme of the hymn and seen as being held in the loving embrace of Homer's heart: here too, even though the consolation of fame may be 'durchaus im Einklang mit dem griechischen Ruhmgedanken',² Hölderlin is not concerned with any distinguishing characteristic of Homer's poetry, for he has no exclusive claim to be 'der Verwalter des Ruhms'.

However, that Hölderlin also appreciated the Iliad as an epic of the heroic age, an age in which 'überall war Freiheit, froher Heldenmuth',³ becomes clear when we turn to the letter An Kallias,⁴ written within the next few years. The letter was first published by Beißner as 'ein Aufsatz Hölderlins über Homer aus den Vorarbeiten zur "Iduna"', but has now been shown by Maria Cornelissen to date from the period between the first half of 1790 and the beginning of 1795.⁵ Her dating is based on the lack

1. I, 126.
2. Schadewaldt, 'Hölderlin und Homer, Erster Teil', H-Jb, 4 (1950), 25.
3. IV, 191.
4. IV, 218f.
5. Beißner, 'An Kallias', Iduna, 1 (1944), 51; Cornelissen, 'Hölderlins Brief an Kallias - ein frühes "Hyperion"-Bruchstück?', Jahrbuch der Deutschen Schillergesellschaft, 10 (1966), 237. Beißner (Kleine Stuttgarter Ausgabe IV, 392f.) now accepts this dating, though he believes that the names make it improbable that the letter is 'das früheste der erhaltenen Hyperion-Bruchstücke', as Cornelissen suggests (op. cit., p. 248).

of the 'Dehnungs-h', which Hölderlin omitted in this period, and supported by the indication of 'zeitliche Nähe' to the poems An die Ruhe and An die Ehre given by the 'inhaltliche Entsprechung' of the theme - 'eben jene plötzliche Erweckung aus dem tatenlosen Dahindämmern'.

At the same time, by means of a comparison of the letter with the philosophical and theoretical observations which Hölderlin made in letter-form, she argues that we are here concerned rather with 'erzählende Dichtung'.¹ But the external evidence concerning the date and character of the letter does not make an examination of the internal evidence superfluous, for the manner in which Hölderlin reproduces the passage of the Iliad with which the letter is concerned not only shows equally clearly that it reports a personal experience which can be connected with Hölderlin's desire for activity and recognition, but in addition reveals the significance which Homer had for him in this period.

The new date which can confidently be assigned to the letter makes it all the more necessary to examine it afresh, since in his original interpretation Beißner sees it as the product of a period when Hölderlin regards 'die stillen Melodien' and 'das Häusliche und Kindliche' rather than 'fortia bella' as being characteristic of the Iliad and when 'der Jüngling Achill Hölderlins Homer-Auffassung vornehmlich bestimmt'. In view of 'Hölderlins Deutung des alten Gedichts aus dem strahlenden Wesen des Götterjünglings' Beißner concludes, 'In Wahrheit bedeutet der Brief an Kallias den Versuch, auch in diesem dunkelsten und

1. Cornelissen, op. cit., pp. 237, 246f, 238.

nächtigen Gesang der Ilias das Morgenhaft-Strahlende, das Achilleische aufzuspüren!'.¹ This interpretation becomes doubtful when it is realized that the letter was written several years before the Homburg drafts in the light of which Beißner sees it, but the external evidence can do no more than lead us to question its validity and it is on the internal evidence that an alternative interpretation must be based.

The central section of the letter is formed by a reproduction of the second half of Iliad X,² telling how Diomedes and Odysseus entered the Trojan camp by night, stole the horses of the Thracian king and returned to receive the acclamation of their comrades. But we fail to appreciate the degree in which the writer identifies himself with the Greek heroes if we ignore the first half of the book, which prepares for these exploits. In contrast with the rest of the Greek leaders Agamemnon is not held by 'sweet sleep', for he is worried that the slumbering army may be attacked in the night by the Trojans. When Menelaus, troubled by the same fear, comes to see him Agamemnon instructs him to summon Ajax and Idomeneus, waking the men as he passes through the camp, while he himself goes to consult Nestor. As a result Nestor wakes first Odysseus and then Diomedes. When they have satisfied themselves that the sentries are awake and alert, Nestor addresses the assembled leaders, asking for a volunteer to enter the Trojan camp as a spy and promising him great fame

1. Beißner, op. cit. pp. 63, 73.

2. Line: 240ff.

and a reward. Diomedes and Odysseus answer his call.

The writer of the letter sees his own situation in similar terms:

Ich schlummerte, mein Kallias! Und mein
Schlummer war süß. Holde Dämmerung lag über meinem
Geiste, wie über den Seelen in Platons Vorelysium.
Aber der Genius von Mäonia hat mich geweckt.
Halbzürnend trat er vor mich, und mein Innerstes
bebt wieder von seinem Aufruf.

In süßer Trunkenheit lag ich am Ufer unsers
Archipelagus, und mein Auge waidete sich an ihm,
wie er so freundlich und still mir zulächelte,
und der rosenfarbne Nebel über ihm wie wohlmeinend
die Ferne verbarg, wo du lebst, und weiterhin unsre
Helden. Sanft und süß wie die schmeichelnde Hand
meiner Glyceria regte sich die frische Morgenluft an
meiner Wange. Ich spielt in kindlichen Träumen mit
dem holden Geschöpfe.

The writer's inactivity can best be compared with the state of sleep, for it is only enlivened by day-dreams of Glyceria. In her name is concentrated the whole languid atmosphere of the two paragraphs, for not only is the morning breeze 'süß' like her hand, but also the writer's 'Trunkenheit' and his 'Schlummer'. It seems likely therefore that it was suggested by Homer's phrase ὕπνος γλυκερός, the image which is dominant in this section of the letter.¹ The writer is far from 'unsre Helden' not only in body,² but

1. Iliad, X.4. This source gives the name a relevance which it lacks if, as Beißner suggests, Hölderlin took it from the 'Vorbemerkung über das Historische im Agathon' (Kleine Stuttgarter Ausgabe, IV, 393).
2. Cornelissen, op. cit., p. 248 (note 33), supports her argument that the writer is Hyperion by remarking that he, like Hyperion in Magenau's description, is 'ein "ächter Grieche" - er erlebt seine Erweckung am Ufer des Archipelagus, befindet sich also wohl an der griechischen Küste'. However, her argument receives more powerful support from the suggestion here that the writer is on the opposite side of the Aegean to Greece, perhaps near Smyrna, Hyperion's home in the Fragment and the 'Geburtsstätte meines Homer' (III, 20).

also in his state of mind until, just as Diomedes and Odysseus are woken by Nestor, he is woken by Homer and hears his call to action. His situation is similar to that of Hölderlin, since for him too the oath to devote himself to 'Männerwerk' and 'Lorbeer' means putting nature and personal relationships in second place:

Was soll des Freundes traulicher Handschlag mir,
Was mir des Frühlings freundlicher Morgengruß?...

Der Schwur ist groß. Er zeuget im Auge mir
Die Trän' und wohl mir wenn ihn Vollendung krönt
Dann jauchz auch ich du Kraiz der Frohen,
Dann o Natur, ist dein Lächeln Wonne.¹

The writer then goes on to reproduce the passage of the Iliad which had this rousing effect on him:

Erschöpft von glühenden Phantasien, grif ich endlich zu meinem Homer.

Zufällig traf ich auf die Stelle, wo der kluge Laertiade, und Diomedes, der wilde nach dem Schlachttag hingehn nach Mitternacht, durch Blut und Waffen ins Lager der Feinde, wo die Thrazier ermattet von der Arbeit des Tags, ferne von den Feuern der Wächter im tiefen Schläfe liegen. Diomedes wüetet wie ein zürnender Löwe, unter den Schlafenden ringsumher. Indeß bindet Ulysses die treflichen Rosse, zu erfreulicher Beute. Und räumt die Leichname weg, die Diomedes Schwerd traf, daß die Rosse nicht drob scheu würden, und flüstert jezt dem wilden Gefährten zu, daß es Zeit sei. Dieser sinnt noch auf etwas kühnes. Entweder will er den Wagen neben ihm, voll von mancherlei Waffen, in die Höhe heben, und forttragen, oder zu den dreizehn Thraziern, die sein Schwerd traf, merere gesellen. Aber Athene tritt vor ihn und mahnt zur Rückkehr.

Und nun die Siegesfreude nach dem ungeheuren Wagestück! Wie sie von den Rossen springen beim freundlichen Empfang der Waffenbrüder mit Handschlag und süßer Rede! dann ins küle Meer sich stürzen, den Schweis abzubaden, und die müden Glieder zu stärken,

1. Zornige Sehnsucht, I, 90f. Cornelissen, op. cit., p. 247, compares the opening strophes of An die Ehre (I, 94).

und nun verjüngt und wolgemuth zum Schmause sich
setzen, und der Beschützerin Athene süßen Wein aus
dem Kelche gießen, zum kindlichen Opfer! O mein
Kallias! diß Triumphgefül der Kraft und der
Künheit!

The first paragraph of the reproduction remains throughout extremely close to the original. One small departure from it was no doubt the result of a misunderstanding on Hölderlin's part: he makes Odysseus whisper to Diomedes rather than whistle, as he does in the Iliad.¹ Only the adjectives contain an element of interpretation. Odysseus, for Homer πολύμητις,² is rightly described as 'klug' - and events justify this attribute, for it is Odysseus who suggests that they let Dolon pass and only attack him when they have cut him off from his camp and who then sensibly marks the spot where they leave Dolon's armour.³ Diomedes, however, for Homer βοὴν ἀγαθός (of the loud war-cry) and κρατερός (strong),⁴ is described as 'wild'. This epithet is again completely justified by Diomedes' behaviour, but it is clear from Hölderlin's choice that he sees the two heroes as having opposite characters.

Yet can Beißner's claim be accepted that these deeds are related 'ohne besondern Anteil' and that the whole letter is written for the sake of the second paragraph of the reproduction? It is not the case that it is only 'der Schluß des zehnten Gesangs der Ilias (540ff.)' which has such an effect on the writer, while the first paragraph

1. Iliad, X. 502: ῥοιζήσεν δ' ἄρα πιφάουσκων Διομήδει δέψ.
2. Ibid., X. 382, 400, 423.
3. Ibid., X. 341ff., 465ff.
4. Ibid., X. 283, 446.

'will den Empfänger des Briefs nur ins Bild setzen',¹ for the very faithfulness with which the details of Homer's account are repeated is in itself evidence of the fascination which it had for the writer. The exclamations of the second paragraph do indeed give it a different tone, for they suggest that its source is not just Homer's story, but also the imagination of the writer, who sees in the recognition the heroes receive the fulfilment of his own longings. But the 'Triumpfgefühl' imagined in the second paragraph cannot be separated from the 'Wagestück' related in the first. 'Lorbeer' is meaningless without 'Männerwerk'.

That we are here concerned with this preoccupation of Hölderlin's rather than with the desire to stress 'das Morgenhafte und Strahlende'² is confirmed by the fact that in the first paragraph the writer makes no mention of Dolon, although the meeting with him makes a vital contribution to the success of the enterprise: it is he who tells Diomedes and Odysseus of the isolated position of the Thracians and of the magnificent horses belonging to their king.

Events in the Trojan camp have taken a very similar course to those in the Greek camp: Hector has woken the leaders and promised glory to anyone who dares go as a spy to the Greek camp, a deed for which Dolon has volunteered. Nevertheless the whole episode of Dolon is omitted, not because the writer gives 'eine Auswahl, die das allzu

1. Beißner, op. cit., p. 74.

2. Ibid., p. 51.

Nächtige und Düstere ausscheidet',¹ but because Dolon lacks both the wits of Odysseus² and the courage of Diomedes. Though he aspires to the same deeds as they he proves to be a coward and a traitor. Homer depicts him as a despicable figure who deserves his death at Diomedes' hands, and it is because the writer accepts Homer's heroic ideal that Dolon has no part to play in the experience undergone in reading the Doloneia.

Diß war auch dir bereitet, rief's mir zu,
und ich hätte mein glühendes Gesicht in der
Erde bergen mögen, so gewaltig ergriff mich
die Schaam vor den unsern und Homeros Helden!
Ich bin nun entschlossen, es koste was es
wolle.

Du müßtest sehn, wie ich der ernstest Mahnung
meines Herzens gar künstlich fröliche Farben
aufzwang, um sie mir erträglicher zu machen,
und sie wie einen guten Einfall belächeln, und
vergessen zu können!

The sentence from Rousseau's Nouvelle Heloise which appears in the manuscript between these two paragraphs does indeed sound 'fast wie eine Selbstkritik', as Beißner suggests: 'Votre lettre vous dément par son style enjoué; et vous n'auriez pas tant d'esprit si vous étiez moins tranquille.'³ But Hölderlin's criticism is concerned less with the question 'ob der Ausdruck dieser Berührung... auch wahr und echt, ob die Schreibart dieses Briefs nicht zu munter sei'⁴ than with his own way of life. It is on this rather than his work that he

1. Ibid., p. 74.

2. Cf. Iliad, X. 350, where Dolon runs past Diomedes and Odysseus 'in his witlessness' (ἀφραδίησιν).

3. IV, 740.

4. Beißner, op. cit., p. 51.

lays 'einen strengen Maßstab', for he feels it his task not to moderate the tone of the letter, but to make his deeds match his words.

It appears that after first interpreting Homer as a figure who allowed him to see Greece as founded on love Hölderlin was now gripped by the real spirit of the heroic epic. But the sequence of events is likely to have been the reverse of that portrayed in the letter An Kallias. It was not the Iliad that was the origin of Hölderlin's desire for action, but his desire for action that was the origin of the special attraction which the Iliad now had for him. When this desire was first expressed in his poetry the heroes who inspired him were his own ancestors in 'Manas Heldenland'.¹ When in the following year Greece began to capture his imagination it was natural that he should see the Greek past not only in the light of his enthusiasm for the cosmic principle of love, but also in the light of his desire for action. The former found almost immediate expression in the subjective view of Homer in the Hymne an den Genius Griechenlands, the latter in the objective understanding of the Iliad revealed in the letter An Kallias.

Indeed we seem to have preserved in Hyperion an echo of Hölderlin's own penetration to the heart of the heroic epic. Hyperion tells of the time when he would gladly have paid with blood for 'einen Augenblick aus eines großen Mannes Leben':

1. Burg Tübingen, I, 101.

Lieber! es war eine Zeit, da auch meine Brust an großen Hoffnungen sich sonnte, da auch mir die Freude der Unsterblichkeit in allen Pulsen schlug, da ich wandelt' unter herrlichen Entwürfen, wie in weiter Wäldernacht, da ich glücklich, wie die Fische des Oceans, in meiner uferlosen Zukunft weiter, ewig weiter drang.

Wie muthig, seelige Natur! entsprang der Jüngling deiner Wiegel! wie freut' er sich in seiner unversuchten Rüstung! Sein Bogen war gespannt und seine Pfeile rauschten im Köcher, und die Unsterblichen, die hohen Geister des Altertums führten ihn an, und sein Adamas war mitten unter ihnen.

Wo ich gieng und stand, geleiteten mich die herrlichen Gestalten; wie Flammen, verloren sich in meinem Sinne die Thaten aller Zeiten in einander.

But the enforced inactivity on the island of Tina meant that he lacked 'das Element..., worin er sich ein stärkend Selbstgefühl erbeuten könnte':

Wie ein blutender Hirsch in den Strom, stürzt' ich oft mitten hinein in den Wirbel der Freude, die brennende Brust zu kühlen und die tobenden herrlichen Träume von Ruhm und Größe wegzubaden, aber was half das?¹

However, the voyage to Smyrna to learn 'die Künste der See und des Kriegs,... die Sprache gebildeter Völker und ihre Verfassungen und Meinungen und Sitten und Gebräuche' represented 'den ersten Schritt aus der Schranke der Jugend'. Filled with satisfaction by this 'lebendige Thätigkeit' Hyperion used to walk 'unter den immer grünen Bäumen am Gestade des Meles, an der Geburtsstätte meines Homer':

Zur nahen Grotte trat ich dann in meinen friedlichen Träumen, da hätte der Alte, sagen sie, seine Iliade gesungen. Ich fand ihn. Jeder Laut in mir verstummte vor seiner Gegenwart. Ich schlugsein göttlich Gedicht mir auf und es war, als hätt' ich es nie gekannt, so ganz anders wurd' es jetzt lebendig in mir.²

1. III, 18f.
2. III, 19f.

It was not just the mood induced by the place that made the Iliad suddenly come alive for Hyperion, but even more the fact that he was filled with the desire for action and recognition. The ideal of the heroic epic was also his own.

In the letter An Kallias the writer is woken from his day-dreams by Homer's call to action. In the metrical version of Hölderlin's novel no such call is necessary, for Hyperion's day-dreams are already concerned with action:

Oft sah und hört' ich freilich nur zur Hälfte,
 ...und hatt' ich auch
Das richtige gehört, so waren, ehe noch
Gethan war, was ich sollte, meine Völker
Vor mich getreten, mich zum Rath, und Feinde,
Zu wiederhohlter Schlacht mich aufzufordern...
Oft sollt' ich stracks in meine Schule wandern,
Doch ehe sich der Träumer es versah,
So hatt' er in den Garten sich verirrt,
Und saß behäglich unter den Oliven,
Und baute Flotten, schifft' ins hohe Meer.¹

When the adults laughed at the child's forgetfulness, 'der Fürst der Heere' regarded it as an insult to his 'Heldentum'.

That this 'Heldentum' was partly modelled on the Homeric heroes is suggested not only by the mention of assemblies and challenges like those of the Iliad, but also by the fact that it is a passage of the Iliad that reminds him of the 'Entwürdigung' which he used to suffer:

1. III, 198.

Und lange drauf, als schon der Knabe sich
Für mündig hielt, ertappt' ich mich einmal
Auf einer kindischen Erinnerung,
Als einst ich las, wie der Pelide tief
Gekränkt an seiner Ehre, weinend sich
Ans Meeresufer setzt, und seiner Mutter
Der Herrliche den bitteren Kummer klagte.

Here too we have an echo of Hölderlin's own youthful preoccupation with the heroic ideal, for it is the insult to their honour that is the common factor in the experiences of Hyperion and Achilles. In this interpretation of Achilles' words Hölderlin has understood the true nature of his complaint, for it is the insult to his honour that is dominant in his mind, as Hölderlin's rhetorical repetition of the word in his earlier translation shows he realized:

Mutter! wann du mich ob gleich fürs kurze Leben
gebarest, solte mir Jupiter Ehre geben, Ehre der
Himmelsbewohner, der Donnerer in der Höhe. Jezt
hat er mich nicht ein wenig geehrt. Dann der
Atride, ja der Atride Agamemnon, der Menge Beherr-
scher, hat mich beschimpft, dann hinweg¹ hat er
mein Geschenke genommen, und behält es.

Both in his translation therefore and in the metrical version of Hyperion Hölderlin saw Achilles as the defender of his honour. In Homburg, however, it was not so much the context of Achilles' complaint as its cause that attracted his attention, for just as Achilles had lost Briseis, so he had lost Susette Gontard:

Herrlicher Göttersohn! da du die Geliebte verloren,
Giengst du ans Meergestaad, weintest hinaus in die
Fluth,
Weheklagend hinab verlangt' in den heiligen Abgrund,
In die Stille dein Herz, wo, von der Schiffe Gelärm
Fern, tief unter den Woogen, in friedlicher Grotte die
blaue
Thetis wohnte, die dich schüzte, die Göttin des Meers.²

1. V, 10. Cf. Beißner's note on the style of the translation of these lines, Iliad, I. 352ff. (V, 352).
2. I, 271.

In the elegy Achill we seem to have a reproduction of the Homeric text as in the letter An Kallias: it appears, as Beißner believes, that Hölderlin 'genauen Anschluß an die Vorlage sucht'.¹ An immediately noticeable difference from the letter, however, is that the poem contains details of Achilles' upbringing which are not related by Homer:²

Mutter war dem Jünglinge sie, die mächtige Göttin,
Hatte den Knaben einst liebend, am Felsengestad
Seiner Insel, gesäugt, mit dem kräftigen Liede der
Welle
Und im stärkenden Bad' ihn zum Heroën genährt.

The significance of these details can only be appreciated when it is realized how far they are at variance with the traditional story of Achilles' youth.

In both Hyperions Jugend and the final version of the novel Achilles emerges from bathing in the Styx 'unüberwindlich'.³ Hölderlin adheres to the legend in that he makes Achilles' invulnerability the object achieved, but Thetis, who according to tradition plunged him in the Styx as an infant, is assigned no part. Now Thetis has become all-important, but all other details of the tradition are ignored. Rather than giving him to the Centaur Chiron to bring up on Mount Pelion she is seen as rearing him herself 'am Felsengestäd/Seiner Insel', though it was only when he was old enough to join the expedition to Troy that she sent him disguised as a girl

1. Op. cit., p. 64.
2. Cf. Benn, 'Hölderlin's Achill: The Genesis of a Poem', German Life & Letters, 23 (1969-70), 300.
3. III, 204, 15.

to the island of Scyros.¹ Here it is his bathing in the sea that is made the basis of his heroism, for the relationship with the sea which formed his character as a child allows him now, as then, to go 'ans Meergestäd' and turn to 'die Göttin des Meers'.²

But even where Hölderlin is reproducing the Homeric story we can detect traces of his own interpretation:

Und die Mutter vernahm die Weheklage des Jünglings,
Stieg vom Grunde der See, trauernd, wie Wölkchen,
herauf,
Stillte mit zärtlichem Umfangen die Schmerzen des
Lieblings,
Und er hörte, wie sie schmeichelnd zu helfen
versprach.

It is the retention of the simile ἦντ' ὀμίχλη in the words 'wie Wölkchen' that is quoted as the most striking instance of Hölderlin's closeness to the Homeric text and as evidence that he 'gestaltet sie (die Szene) auch um ihrer selbst willen nach'.³ Yet this detail is not contained in Hölderlin's prose draft:

Und sie hörte die Weheklage des
Sohns dem seine Geliebte die Frechen
Genommen, kam zärtlich herauf,
und stillte mit tröstender Rede
die Schmerzen des Sohns.

It is only in the expansion of the draft into elegiac couplets that, after several attempts at the line, the simile is introduced.⁴ But then it is incorporated into

1. For the different traditions concerning Achilles' youth cf. Graves, The Greek Myths, II, 280f.
2. Böckmann, Hölderlin und seine Götter, p. 168f., interprets the poem in this way without, however, making any reference to the necessary adaptation of the traditional story of Achilles' upbringing.
3. Iliad, I. 359. Beißner, op. cit., p. 64. Cf. Benn, op. cit., p. 300.
4. I, 590f.

Hölderlin's own interpretation of the scene, for the embrace which Thetis gives Achilles in the next line is far from being a detail taken over from Homer, as Benn suggests.¹ In the Iliad Thetis strokes him like a human mother, and the image of the mist remains incidental. In Achill it becomes the means of identifying Thetis more closely with the sea, for now she no longer strokes him or merely soothes him with words, but as the personification of the sea embraces him like the enveloping cloud which rises from it. Achilles is seen as one of those whom

wunderbar
Allgegenwärtig erzieht in leichtem Umfängen
Die mächtige, die göttlichschöne Natur.²

Since writing the metrical version of Hyperion Hölderlin has realized the ineffectiveness of action and turned to seek the unity with nature which the isolated individual can achieve in the absence of a united community founded on a close relationship with nature. This development is, as we shall see, the subject of the final version of Hyperion,³ so that now in Homburg he can only find consolation in sharing the fate of Achilles by means of an interpretation of his parentage and character which is independent of Homer. He attributes to Achilles the same relationship with nature that he seeks and can thus proclaim that, just as Achilles' mother, the sea, heard his complaint, so now 'Mutter Erde'⁴ and 'Vater Aether' together with the sun hear 'jegliches Flehen des Menschen'.

1. Op. Cit., p. 300
2. 'Wie wenn am Feiertage...', II, 118.
3. See p. 111.
4. In the prose draft the earth is called 'Mutter' (I, 590).

But the fact that Hölderlin has outgrown the heroic ideal and that he now feels a community of experience with Achilles when he is 'klagend..., unaussprechlich rührend'¹ does not mean that he overlooks the heroic side of Achilles' character in his judgment of the Iliad as a whole. One may perhaps say of Hölderlin the poet, 'Das Rührende der friedlich-menschlichen Beziehung hebt er stärker hervor als das Ungestüm-Kriegerische, Trotzige',² but it is mistaken to make this assertion, as Beißner does, of Hölderlin as a critic. For the latter Achilles is also 'rächend,... furchtbar', he is equally 'stark und zart'.³

Hölderlin describes Achilles as his 'Liebling unter den Helden' because he sees his character, like that of the Greeks as a whole, as being formed by the harmonious union of opposites. In the letter An Kallias Odysseus and Diomedes are interpreted as representatives of the isolated extremes of 'klug' and 'wild'. In the second fragment Über Achill Hölderlin admires Homer above all because his Achilles avoids these two extremes:

Nimm die alten Herrn Agamemnon und Ulysses und Nestor mit ihrer Weisheit und Thorheit, nimm den Lärmer Diomed, den blindtobenden Ajax, und halte sie gegen den genialischen, allgewaltigen, melancholischzärtlichen Göttersohn, den Achill, gegen dieses enfant gâté der Natur, und wie der Dichter ihn, den Jüngling voll Löwenkraft und Geist und Anmuth, in die Mitte gestellt hat zwischen Altklugheit und Roheit und du wirst ein Wunder der Kunst in Achilles Charakter finden.⁴

1. Über Achill (2), IV, 225.
2. Beißner, op. cit., p. 65.
3. Über Achill (1), IV, 224.
4. Über Achill (2), IV, 224.

It is because, being 'so schön',¹ he fulfils this aesthetic ideal and not because 'die "zärtliche" Seite seines Wesens... steht... durchaus im Vordergrund'² that Achilles is 'der Idealische' who 'durfte nicht alltäglich erscheinen'.³ This is the explanation 'warum Homer, der doch den Zorn des Achill besingen wolle, ihn fast gar nicht erscheinen lasse'.

It is not surprising that the young Hyperion, inspired by the ideal of action, should, in the passage already quoted, see himself as 'der Jüngling' whose 'Bogen war gespannt' and whose 'Pfeile rauschten im Köcher', that is to say as Phoebus Apollo as he is portrayed in Iliad I.⁴ But it is not this ideal that Schadewaldt has in mind when he claims that we have in the many unmistakable echoes of Homer to be found in the final version of Hyperion evidence of 'das "Homerische", das als innerlich wirksames Ferment, schöpferisch angeeignet, sich von nun an dem ganzen Stil des Dichters mitteilt'. The cause of 'das Homerische Ferment' in Hölderlin, he argues, was the closeness of his beliefs to the '"homerische" Glaubensart', according to which 'die Dinge der Welt' are of divine origin and their highest characteristic is 'ihre Teilhabe am Göttlichen und ihre Herkunft von dort'.⁵

1. Über Achill (1), IV, 224.
2. Beißner, op. cit., p. 66.
3. Über Achill (2), IV, 225.
4. Beißner (III, 445) quotes Hölderlin's own translation: 'Auf den Schultern trug er (Apollo) den Bogen, den wohlverwahrten Köcher. Auf den Schultern des Zürnenden rauschten die Pfeile' (V, 2).
5. Schadewaldt, op. cit., pp. 34, 38.

Schadewaldt believes that the closeness of their attitudes led Hölderlin to appropriate the Homeric adjective. Yet it is just the difference between their compound adjectives that makes it questionable whether Schadewaldt is justified in characterizing Homer's attitude to the world in terms which are so clearly appropriate in the case of Hölderlin.

Homer's laudatory ('wesens~~e~~erhöhend') adjectives ascribe a high degree of strength, skill and beauty to his heroes: they are 'vor allem die Verbindungen mit -gut, -stark, -schön, -schnell usw'. Such qualities, characteristic of a heroic poem which celebrates the unequalled splendour of a past age, are only divine in so far as the Homeric gods are made in man's image. The laudatory adjectives in Hyperion on the other hand are above all compounds with 'ewig'-, 'all'-, 'göttlich'-, used of the divine in nature: 'ewigjunge Götter', 'allumfassende Gottheit', 'ewigeinige Welt', 'ewigjunge Quellen', 'allerfrischender Regen', 'gottbeseelte Luft', 'das hohe Licht, das göttlicheit'.¹

The difference between Homer's and Hölderlin's attitudes can be seen in a small, but significant departure from the Homeric text in Achill. The Homeric Achilles weeps as he gazes across the 'boundless sea' (ὄρων ἐπ' ἀπείρονα πόντον),² but for Hölderlin, in the prose draft of the poem, it is not the size of the sea that is important, but its divinity:

Und es rollten vom Heldenauge
die Thränen, In die heiligen
Woogen hinab.³

1. Ibid., pp. 35, 37 (note 3).
2. Iliad, I. 350.
3. I, 589.

The similarity in the form of the Greek and the German compound adjective should not be allowed to distract from the difference in content in its use by Homer and Hölderlin.

Though doubt may be cast on the closeness of Homer's and Hölderlin's adjectives, it cannot be disputed that the Homeric simile was incorporated into Hölderlin's work. But it can be questioned whether we understand their significance if, like Schadewaldt, we regard them as the expression of 'das Dauernd-Homerische'.¹ Again the similarity must not be allowed to distract our attention from the differences which can be observed when, for example, we examine Hölderlin's use of Homer's simile for the pile of woovers whom Odysseus has killed. Odysseus searched the house to see if any were still alive.

But he found all the sort of them fallen in their blood in the dust, like fishes that the fishermen have drawn forth in the meshes of the net into a hollow of the beach from out of the grey sea, and all the fish, sore longing for the salt sea waves, are heaped upon the sand, and the sun shines forth and takes their life away; so now the woovers lay heaped upon each other.²

The simile is used by Hölderlin when Hyperion complains of his helplessness without Diotima:

Meine Seele ist, wie ein Fisch aus ihrem Elemente auf den Ufersand geworfen, und windet sich und wirft sich umher, bis sie vertroknet in der Hitze des Tags.³

Firstly, the Homeric simile is consciously adapted by Hölderlin, as it is by Vergil. In the Odyssey the point

1. Op. cit., p. 45.
2. Odyssey, XXII. 383ff. (translated by Butcher and Lang).
3. III, 59. Cf. Schadewaldt, op. cit., p. 45.

of comparison is only one detail in a picture that is expanded for its own sake: in Hyperion one aspect is selected and expanded, and the purpose of the picture is never forgotten. Secondly, whereas Homer's simile is no more than an embellishment of his narrative, since it does not in any way illuminate the physical state of affairs with which the comparison is made, Hölderlin's simile is indispensable, since it provides an image for the anguish of the soul of which the comparison is the only expression. Similarly Hölderlin uses the simile of the meeting of two winter torrents with which Homer compares the noise of battle to show the power of Hyperion's and Alabanda's friendship to overcome all barriers, and Homer's comparison of the unyielding Hector with a waiting serpent becomes a simile for Hyperion's pain at being disappointed by Alabanda.¹

It thus appears that Hölderlin not only adapted Homer's similes as an artist, but also used them to solve an artist's problem, the problem of communicating feeling. That this was a concern of Hölderlin's when writing Hyperion is confirmed in the novel itself, for Hyperion, who has already used a Homeric simile to describe his own friendship with Alabanda, complains that there is none to express the friendship experienced by Aristogeiton and Harmodius:

1. III, 26: 'Wir begegneten einander, wie zwei Bäche...'; Iliad, IV. 452ff.
III, 35: 'Wie eine ergrimnte Schlange...'; Iliad, XXII. 93ff. Cf. Schadewaldt, op. cit., p. 45.

Hast du denn wirklich eine Ahnung davon, hast du ein Gleichniß für die Freundschaft des Aristogiton und Harmodius? Verzeih mir! Aber beim Aether! man muß Aristogiton seyn, um nachzufühlen, wie Aristogiton liebte.

And having used a Homeric simile for the pain Alabanda caused him, Hyperion claims that there is none for the joy Diotima gave him:

Worte sind hier umsonst, und wer nach einem Gleichniß von ihr fragt, der hat sie nie erfahren. Das Einzige, was eine solche Freude auszudrücken vermochte, war Diotima's Gesang, wenn er, in goldner Mitte, zwischen Höhe und Tiefe schwebte.¹

Hölderlin saw that the simile could perform an important function in his work, and though in other similes there are reminiscences of the Bible and Werther² there could be no source more fruitful than Homer. According to this interpretation of the Homeric similes in Hyperion Homer was for Hölderlin no longer 'eine Lebensmacht', but 'ein bloßer Bildungsstoff'.³ Yet there may be an additional reason for the attraction which the Homeric simile had for Hölderlin, a reason which explains the development of the Homeric simile in Hölderlin's work established by Schadewaldt: 'Solche ausgesprochen Homerischen Gleichnisse begegnen bei Hölderlin nach einigen lockeren Vorstufen zuerst in Briefen der Nürtinger Zeit (Herbst 1795)... Die volle Wendung aber bringt erst Frankfurt 1796. Und so finden wir jenes ausgreifende, immer mehr Welt in sich einbeziehende ausgeprägte homerische Gleichnis erst im vollendeten Hyperion in herrlichen Gebilden voll entfaltet.'⁴

1. III, 63, 68.

2. Cf. Schadewaldt, op. cit., p. 47.

3. A reversal of Beißner's verdict (op. cit., p. 75).

4. Schadewaldt, op. cit., pp. 43, 45.

It was in Nürtingen that Hölderlin began the penultimate version of Hyperion, in the preface to which he proclaims,

Jenes Seyn, im einzigen Sinne des Worts... ist
vorhanden - als Schönheit...

Ich glaube, wir werden am Ende alle sagen:
heiliger Plato, vergieb! man hat schwer an dir
gesündigt,

words which represent a return to the insight of the Fragment, 'Die Welt war mir heiliger geworden.'¹ It was in Nürtingen therefore that Hölderlin accepted the Platonic doctrine that in beauty the divine is accessible in the world, and in Frankfurt that this doctrine found confirmation in the person of Susette Gontard.² Hölderlin's increasing use of the Homeric simile with its 'kleines Stück Welt' corresponds exactly with this development, but the 'innerlich wirksames Ferment' which prompted both its use and that of the laudatory compound adjective was not 'das Homerische', but 'das Platonische', for it was from Plato rather than from Homer that Hölderlin acquired 'die Fähigkeit im Hinblick auf das Göttliche die Dinge der Welt zu lieben'.³

1. III, 237, 183

2. Cf. p. 99.

3. Schadewaldt, op. cit., pp. 43, 34, 52.

II. PLATO

1. Hyperion: The Earlier Versions

In his examination of Hölderlin's relationship to Plato Alfred Schlagdenhauffen adopts an approach which is characteristic of the one to which attention was drawn in the introduction, for looking beyond 'toute question d'influence, toujours secondaire' he bases Hölderlin's attachment to Plato on the idea that 'cette âme ait été portée vers le platonisme par l'élan d'une affinité profonde'. His study is 'plus littéraire que philosophique, en raison même de l'attitude hoelderlinienne vis-à-vis du Platonisme', and he is primarily concerned to show that Hölderlin's 'destinée répond à l'idée que Platon se faisait de l'artiste'.¹ It will, however, become apparent that a

1. 'L'expérience platonicienne de Hoelderlin', in Mélanges philosophiques, pp. 53, 79, 58. In drawing attention to interesting parallels between Plato's theories and Hölderlin's life Schlagdenhauffen is in danger of distorting the evidence in order to make the correspondence as close as possible.

In the claim that Hölderlin's wish for immortality is like an echo of the Symposium (208f.) he overlooks an important distinction. For Plato the poet's work is a means to the preservation of his memory and hence the fulfilment of his desire for immortality, which can also be attained more or less successfully by other means. Hölderlin's desire for the 'Lorbeer' (cf. Der Lorbeer, I, 36) and to bring 'sich und den Nahmen der Seinigen unter sein Volk und unter die Nachwelt' (Br. 193, VI, 361) was not the desire for the immortality of fame for its own sake, but as a confirmation of his status as a poet. The interpretative translation of 'der Trieb, aus unserm Wesen etwas hervorzu-bringen, was zurückbleibt, wenn wir scheiden' (Br. 121, VI, 210) with the words 'la tendance de produire une oeuvre qui naisse de notre être, une oeuvre qui dure et qui prolonge notre existence' (Schlagdenhauffen, p. 63) is highly misleading because it shifts the emphasis from the poet's work to his own continued existence.

(note continued p. 63)

study which overlooks Plato's philosophic influence on Hölderlin must remain incomplete and that it is misleading to ignore the changes which took place in Hölderlin's attitude, as is done when it is claimed that 'à tous les points vitaux de son existence, il s'appuie sur Platon'.¹

Writing to Neuffer in May 1793 Hölderlin described how in his last months as a student in Tübingen his time was divided between his own writing and his study of Greek literature and contemporary philosophy:

Schlag vier bin ich Morgens auf, und koche meinen Kaffee selbst u. dann an die Arbeit. Und so bleib ich meist in meiner Klause bis Abends; oft in der Gesellschaft der heiligen Muse, oft bei meinen Griechen; jezt gerade wieder in HE. Kants Schule.²

When we look at the poems and letters of this period it becomes clear that in the affectionate mention of 'meine Griechen' Hölderlin is thinking above all of Plato.

In Griechenland, the poem addressed to Stäudlin in July, he conjures up in a series of 'wo'-clauses a vision of Greece full of yearning:

Again, the idea that Hölderlin sought a purification from the contamination of the body like that of Plato's philosopher (Phaedo, 66ff.) cannot be supported by Hölderlin's words to Susette Gontard, 'Ich habe schon gedacht, als könnten wir auch von Verläugnung leben, als machte vielleicht auch diß uns stark, daß wir entschieden der Hoffnung das Lebewohl sagten,' (Br. 198, VI, 371: the remainder of the sentence has not been preserved.). Schlagdenhauffen mistranslates: 'J'ai déjà pensé que si nous pouvions vivre aussi de renoncement, si cela aussi devait nous rendre forts, alors nous pourrions fermement dire adieu à l'espérance..' (p. 77). The 'daß' - clause depends on the word 'diß' and is not the apodosis of a conditional sentence. The words hardly represent 'la resolution de triompher du mal "en philosophe"', but rather no more than the tentative suggestion of a possible course.

1. Ibid., p. 79.
2. Br. 57, VI, 84.

Hätt ich dich im Schatten der Platanen,
Wo durch Blumen der Cephissus rann,
Wo die Jünglinge sich Ruhm ersannen,
Wo die Herzen Sokrates gewann,
Wo Aspasia durch Myrthen wallte,
Wo der brüderlichen Freude Ruf
Aus der lärmenden Agora schallte,
Wo mein Plato Paradiese schuf...

Hätt ich da, Geliebter! dich gefunden,
Wie vor Jahren dieses Herz dich fand,

Ach! wie anders hätt ich dich umschlungen!¹

In the first couplet Hölderlin seems to have had in mind the opening of the Phaedrus, where Phaedrus suggests to Socrates that they walk along the Ilissus to a plane-tree so that they may continue their conversation in its shade. It can be no coincidence that in the following lines both Plato and Socrates are mentioned.²

The passage may well have had a special attraction for Hölderlin, for in it Socrates is portrayed experiencing feelings which Hölderlin recognized as his own. Plato takes Socrates away from 'his customary haunts in the gymnasium and the market-place' and sets him in a beautifully described country scene 'so different from the urban bustle and matter-of-fact milieu of most of the dialogues'. And despite his protest that trees and open country will not teach him anything, we later find Socrates betraying 'a susceptibility to the influence of external Nature felt as a power lifting him out of his normal rational state into a state of "possession" (ἐνθουσιασμός)', as when he confesses, 'Truly there seems to be a divine presence in this spot, so that you must not be surprised if, as my speech

1. I, 179.

2. Phaedrus, 229f.

proceeds, I become as one possessed.'¹

However, Hölderlin's evocation of the scene contains two divergencies from Plato's description. He speaks of a group of plane-trees rather than a single one, and the river he names is the Cephissus, although in the first draft of the poem it was its tributary the Ilissus.² The first divergency could have been caused by the fact that Phaedrus speaks of τὴν ὑψηλοτάτην πλάτανον, which Hölderlin might have understood as referring to the tallest of a group of trees rather than an especially tall one. But there is evidence that Hölderlin interpreted the text correctly, for in Hyperion he speaks of a single tree, 'der Ahorn des Ilissus', which heard 'heilige Gespräche', and distinguishes it from the trees of Plato's Academy, 'des Akademos Hain', which 'grünzte... über den horchenden Schülern'.³ It is thus probable that in Griechenland he is thinking of the Academy, 'Platons frommer Garten', as he calls it in Gesang des Deutschen, a grove of olive trees on the Cephissus, and that the change of the river's name was the correction of a topographical error, as Beißner suggests it was in the poem Der Gott der Jugend, which describes the surroundings of 'Platons Hallen', 'der Haine Grün' and Cephissus, which 'durch Oliven... rann'.⁴ However, the connection between Plato and the Ilissus was so firm in Hölderlin's mind that in other passages the error was left,

1. Hackforth, Plato's Phaedrus, p. 14; Phaedrus, 238d (translated by Hackforth). Cf. 241e.
2. I, 479.
3. III, 130.
4. II, 4; I, 190. Cf. Beißner's note on Hyperion 70, 13 (III, 481).

as when Empedokles instructs Pausanias to bring his greetings to Plato,

Den alten Freund an seiner Heimath Strom
Am blumigen Ilissus, wo er wohnt. ¹

Nevertheless, even if, as seems the case, it was his intention in Griechenland to depict Plato's Academy, there can be no doubt that the opening scene of the Phaedrus had captured Hölderlin's imagination, for the plane-tree and the Ilissus were uppermost in his mind. ² The same is true of the letter to Neuffer, in which in the same month Hölderlin wrote of the

Götterstunden, wo ich aus dem Schoose der beseeligenden Natur, oder aus dem Platanenhaine am Ilissus zurückkehre, wo ich unter Schülern Platons hinglelagert, dem Fluge des Herrlichen nachsah, wie er die dunkeln Fernen der Urwelt durchstreift, oder schwindelnd ihm folgte in die Tiefe der Tiefen, in die entlegensten Enden des Geisterlands, wo die Seele der Welt ihr Leben versendet in die tausend Pulse der Natur, wohin die ausgeströmten Kräfte zurückkehren nach ihrem unermeßlichen Kreislauf, oder wenn ich trunken vom Sokratischen Becher, und sokratischer geselliger Freundschaft am Gastmahle den begeisterten Jünglingen lauschte, wie sie der heiligen Liebe huldigen mit süßer feuriger Rede, und der Schächer Aristophanes drunter hineinwizelt, und endlich der Meister, der göttliche Sokrates selbst mit seiner himmlischen Weisheit sie alle lehrt, was Liebe sei. ³

1. Der Tod des Empedokles (III), ^{IV, 133} (in future references: Empedokles). Despite the mention of the Ilissus rather than the Cephissus this is an unmistakable reference to the Academy. Beißner is apparently unwilling to accept the error since he comments: 'Das darf topographisch nicht zu wörtlich genommen werden in dem Sinn, daß Platos Wohnung unmittelbar am Ufer des Ilissus gelegen gewesen; denn das war sie nicht. Vielmehr bezeichnet der "Heimath Strom" die hier nicht mit Namen genannte Stadt Athen, "wo er wohnt"' (IV, 367).
2. The Ilissus also occurs in Der Archipelagus (II, 108). Here too it flows through plane-trees, but the river is simply part of the Attic countryside and no allusion to Plato is present: the period of Hölderlin's close contact with Plato was past.
3. Br. 60, VI, 86.

It is characteristic that in writing of the intense experience which enabled him to share Neuffer's 'Ruhe' und 'schöne Zufriedenheit' Hölderlin should mention in first place the feeling of unity with nature which was always his goal. In both the other cases his contentment is produced by reading Plato.

In speaking of the 'Platanenhain am Ilissus' Hölderlin has again depicted Plato's Academy with the aid of details from the Phaedrus, but the dialogue to which he refers here is the Timaeus, where the creation of the 'Urwelt' from the four elements and the diffusion by the creator of the soul through the physical universe is described.¹ In the Platonic account a distinction is made between the δημιουργός, the creator, and the soul of the world, but the interpretation of the passage has given rise to disagreement. For Taylor 'this means, exactly as the dogma of creation does in Christian theology, that the physical world does not exist in its own right, but depends on a really self-existing being, the "best ψυχή", God, for its existence'.² Cornford, however, opposes the view that the Demiurge

must stand for something that is seriously meant. He is mythical in that he is not really a creator god, distinct from the universe he is represented as making. He is never spoken of as a possible object of worship; and in the third part of the dialogue the distinction between the Demiurge and the celestial gods, whom he makes and charges, with the continuation of his work, is obliterated.³

This interpretation is supported by Field, who argues that the idea

1. Timaeus, 32ff.
2. A Commentary on Plato's Timaeus, p. 71.
3. Plato's Cosmology, p. 38.

that there must be two Gods, one transcendent and one immanent, the latter in some way dependent on the former... would raise insuperable difficulties. It seems inevitable that we must regard the Artificer and the World-Soul as identical. The distinction made between them in the story would, then, symbolize merely different aspects of the activity of soul in reality.¹

This is the interpretation Hölderlin gives the passage, for in his letter the creator is identified with 'die Seele der Welt' and seen as an immanent god. Thus his understanding of the 'picture of the general structure of reality' which Plato presents 'in the form of an historical account'² is not only consistent with that of modern commentators, but, more significant, made to conform to his own view of reality. While seeing Platonic thought in terms of his own beliefs Hölderlin also translated it into his own imagery, for 'die Seele der Welt' is seen as the heart of nature. The same image recurs in Hyperion, where the hero rejects the transcendent creator of the Christian creed in favour of a deity immanent in nature:

O du, zu dem ich rief, als wärst du über den
Sternen, den ich Schöpfer des Himmels nannte und
der Erde, freundlich Idol meiner Kindheit, du
wirst nicht zürnen, daß ich deiner vergaß! -
Warum ist die Welt nicht dürftig genug, um auß~~er~~
ihr noch Einen zu suchen?

O wenn sie eines Vaters Tochter ist, die
herrliche Natur, ist das Herz der Tochter nicht
sein Herz? Ihr Innerstes, ist's nicht Er?

It was because he was 'vertraut mit der Seele der Welt' that Empedokles 'sich... hinabwarf in die herrlichen Flammen', but Hyperion's opinion of himself is not high enough 'um so ungerufen der Natur ans Herz zu fliegen'.³

1. The Philosophy of Plato, p. 129f.
2. Ibid., p. 126f.
3. III, 11f.; III, 151f.

The second dialogue to which Hölderlin refers is the Symposium or Gastmahl. His enthusiasm, reaching its climax over the speech in which Socrates recounts the teaching of Diotima, is clearly based on considerable familiarity with the text, as is shown by the paradox that he should, figuratively speaking, be so intoxicated 'vom Sokratischen Becher', though it had no effect on Socrates himself, and by the characterization of Aristophanes as 'der Schäker', of whom Bury writes that 'his role is, in fact, throughout that of a γελωτοποιός (189a), and he supplies the comic business of the piece with admirable gusto'.¹

There is thus evidence that in these last months in Tübingen Hölderlin had been reading three of Plato's dialogues. We have seen that in the Timaeus his attention was drawn by a passage which he interpreted as giving support to his own view of the divine in nature. His interest in the Phaedrus and Symposium was to be more

1. Symposium, 214a 3-5; Bury, The Symposium of Plato, p.xxx. Cf. 213c 4, where Aristophanes is described as γελωτοός, 'Schäker'. The poem Sokrates und Alcibiades (I, 260) provides evidence of Hölderlin's knowledge of the last part of the dialogue, where, in a passage in which Plato is concerned to defend Socrates against the charge that he had improper relationships with his pupils, Alcibiades relates how Socrates, though always attracted by beauty, rejected his advances. By this time (the poem was sent to Schiller in June 1798 - cf. Br. 159) Hölderlin was concerned with the passage not for its own sake, but as a means to express the superiority of the love of beauty over philosophy. In its structure it may be compared with An unsre großen Dichter (I, 261), for in both cases the second stanza draws a still relevant conclusion from the Greek content of the first. In Der Rhein (II, 148) the reference to the closing lines of the Symposium, in which it is related how all except Socrates fall asleep, is completely divorced from the dialogue's content and used solely as a means of expression.

lasting and was no doubt aroused by their common concern with love, whose ultimate object must be true beauty,¹ each the subject of hymns written in Tübingen. It is significant for an understanding of the attraction Plato had for Hölderlin that it is above all these two dialogues which reveal the non-rational, mystical side of Socrates as opposed to his rationalism and intellectualism, as does to some extent the Phaedo, a dialogue which was soon to claim his attention.² Characteristic of this early interest in Plato is a familiarity with and love of the text which is reminiscent of his relationship to Homer.

The 'Götterstunden' which are the result of Hölderlin's communion with nature and with Plato are valuable not only for their own sake, but also because they create the right conditions for his own writing. The letter to Neuffer continues:

da, Freund meines Herzens, bin ich dann freilich nicht so verzagt, und meine manchmal, ich müßte doch einen Funken der süßen Flamme, die in solchen Augenblicken mich wärmt, und erleuchtet, meinem Werkchen, in dem ich wirklich lebe und webe, meinem Hyperion mitteilen können.

Since the inspiration of his own work is so closely connected with his reading of Plato we should expect to find in it traces of Plato's influence. However, the Hyperion to which he refers here is the earliest version, an extract of which he tells Neuffer he is sending to Stäudlin, but of which nothing has survived.

1. Phaedrus, 249ff.; Symposium, 210f.
2. Cf. Hackforth, op. cit. p. 14.

We hear nothing more of his Hyperion until April 1794, when Hölderlin wrote to Neuffer from Waltershausen, 'Mich beschäftigt jezt beinahe einzig mein Roman', and again, 'Überhaupt hab' ich jezt nur noch meinen Roman im Auge.'¹ Sinceⁱⁿ October he wrote, 'Die meisten (Morgenstunden) vergiengen mir diesen Sommer über meinem Roman, wovon Du die fünf ersten Briefe diesen Winter in der Thalia finden wirst', there can be little doubt that all these references concern the Fragment von Hyperion, which appeared in Schiller's Thalia in November.² But equally during this summer he continued his study of Kant and the Greeks, whom he tends to mention in conjunction with his creative work:

Ich teile mich jezt, was das Wissenschaftliche betrifft, einzig in die Kantische Philosophie und die Griechen, suche wol auch zuweilen etwas aus mir selbst zu produzieren.³

Again there can be no doubt that among the Greeks Hölderlin's main interest was Plato, who had a considerable influence on the thought of the Fragment von Hyperion. That Plato was very much in Hölderlin's mind during his work on this version is clear from passages of unmistakably Platonic origin. For example, in his search for 'das Eine, das uns Ruhe gibt' Hyperion complains:

Ach! einst sucht' ich sie in Verbrüderung mit Menschen. Es war mir, als sollte die Armuth unsers Wesens Reichtum werden, wenn nur ein Paar solcher Armen Ein Herz, Ein unzertrennbares Leben würden, als bestände der ganze Schmerz unsers Daseyns, nur in der Trennung von dem, was zusammengehörte.⁴

1. Br. 75, VI, 110; Br. 77, VI, 113.
2. Br. 88, VI, 136f.; cf. Beißner, III, 300f.
3. Br. 81, VI, 120 (Whitsunday 1794).
4. III, 164.

Here we find first an allusion to Diotima's myth of Love as the child of Plenty and Poverty, which Socrates relates in the Symposium,¹ and this is succeeded by a clear echo of Aristophanes' speech, in which he describes how Zeus curtailed man's strength by cutting him in two and how ever since the two halves have sought each other in their instinctive desire to join together what was originally one.²

Another passage indebted to Plato for many of its details is the description of the evening spent with Notara 'unter seinen Bäumen':

Lange saß ich stumm, und verschlang die himmlische Schönheit, die, wie Strahlen des Morgenlichts, in mein Inneres drang, und die erstorbenen Keime meines Wesens ins Leben rief.

Man sprach endlich auch von so manchen Wundern griechischer Freundschaft, von den Dioskuren, von Achill und Patroklos, von der Phalanx der Sparter, von all den Liebenden und Geliebten, die auf und untergingen über der Welt, unzertrennlich, wie die ewigen Lichter des Himmels.

Da wacht' ich auf. Wir sollten davon nicht sprechen, rief ich.

Solche Herrlichkeit zernichtet uns Arme. Freilich waren es goldne Tage, wo man die Waffen tauschte, und sich liebte bis zum Tode, wo man unsterbliche Kinder zeugte, in der Begeisterung der Liebe und Schönheit, Thaten für's Vaterland, und himmlische Gesänge, und ewige Worte der Weisheit, ach! wo der Aegyptische Priester dem Solon noch vorwarf, "ihr Griechen seid alle Zeit Jünglinge!" Wir sind nun Greise geworden, klüger, als alle die Herrlichen, die dahin sind; nur Schade, daß so manche Kraft verschmachtet in diesem fremden Elemente!³

Among the examples of Greek friendship the Dioscuri are familiar to us from Hölderlin's earlier hymns. It is they who exchanged weapons and swore 'den Todesbund' and,

1. Symposium, 203.
2. Ibid., 189ff.
3. III, 169.

immortalized in the heavens, represent 'der Freundschaft allgewaltige Magie'.¹ In the case of the other examples Hölderlin clearly had in mind Phaedrus' speech in the Symposium, in which he talks of the benefits which result from the relationship of the lover and the beloved. He recounts at length how Achilles died to avenge Patroclus and claims that an army of lovers fighting at each other's side would conquer the world.² In equating this idea with a historical reality it was natural that Hölderlin should name the traditionally most powerful military state, but it seems likely that he was in fact thinking of the Theban Sacred Band of 300 men, who were grouped as pairs of lovers, especially since in the recurrence of this conversation in Hyperions Jugend the 'Cohorte der Thebaner' are added to the list.³

In the subsequent picture of these 'goldne Tage' we again find the imprint of Diotima's conversation with Socrates, for Hölderlin uses Plato's theory of creativity as the result of contact with beauty as a portrayal of things as they were. It is the desire for immortality which leads men to have children, but those whose creative desire is spiritual rather than physical can fulfil it more effectively, for the product of their friendship with those who have beautiful souls as well as beautiful bodies is children who are immortal.⁴ This theory is even found to be confirmed in the relationship between Hyperion and Melite. He recalls how,

1. Das Schiksaal, I, 185; Hymne an die Menschheit, I, 148. Cf. Hymne an die Freiheit, I, 158; Hymne an die Freundschaft, I, 162.
2. Symposium, 178ff.
3. III, 219.
4. Symposium, 208f.

as he sat there and 'verschlang die himmlische Schönheit', 'ein zufällig Wörtchen von ihr eine Welt von Gedanken in mir hervorrief'.¹ And in the examples which he gives Hölderlin sees the Platonic text in terms of the areas of activity with which he himself was concerned. The 'himmlische Gesänge' reflect closely Plato's reference to the 'children' of Homer and Hesiod, but the 'ewige Worte der Weisheit', representing Hölderlin's philosophical interest, are further removed from Plato's mention of the laws of Lycurgus and Solon, while he interprets the fine actions referred to as καλὰ ἔργα as 'Thaten fürs Vaterland', still so close to his heart.

The mention of Solon in this passage must have provided the connection of thought with the story of his encounter with the Egyptian priest which Plato tells in the Timaeus.² It is not necessary to accept Zinkernagel's suggestion that Hölderlin's source was Wieland's Agathon,³ for we have already found in a letter to Neuffer evidence of Hölderlin's acquaintance with the Timaeus, and his contrast between 'Jünglinge' and 'Greise...klüger' suggests a knowledge not only of the contrast contained in the words "Ἕλληνες ἀεὶ παῖδες ἐστε, γέρον δὲ Ἕλλην οὐκ ἔστιν", which is not reproduced by Wieland, but also of the purpose of the remark in its original context, which was to reproach the Greeks with their ignorance of the past.

1. III, 169.
2. Timaeus, 21ff.
3. Zinkernagel, Die Entwicklungsgeschichte von Hölderlins 'Hyperion', p. 64.

The remark also occurs as a reproach in the mouth of Manes, the Egyptian priest whom Hölderlin introduced into the third version of Der Tod des Empedokles:

Ja! fremde bin ich hier und unter Kindern.
Das seid ihr Griechen all.¹

It is possible that the invention of Manes was not unconnected with this passage of the Timaeus, for the Platonic contrast between the limited knowledge of the Greeks and the wisdom of the Egyptians is echoed in the contrast between Empedokles, who must interpret his situation 'in der Befangenheit des Augenblicks', and Manes, who 'als unbedingt Wissender (Wesen und Tod des Empedokles) aus dem unendlichen Sein und dem gesamten Lauf der Zeit ableitet'.² For Hyperion, however, the words contain no reproach, but provide him with a means to express the gulf between the 'Herrlichkeit' of the Greeks and the present day, and they anticipate the description of the Greeks as 'die müßigernsten Kinder' in accordance with the 'Bild des Kindes als des dem göttlichen Bezirke am meisten vertrauten Wesens'.³

This analysis of two passages of the Fragment von Hyperion has brought further evidence of Hölderlin's detailed knowledge of the Timaeus and especially the Symposium, which it is important to appreciate in order to gain an insight into one aspect of Hölderlin's method of composition. In addition this extensive knowledge of Plato formed the basis of the dualistic structure of the world in this version of the novel.

1. IV, 134.
2. Kommerell, 'Hölderlins Empedokles-Dichtungen', in Über Hölderlin, p. 224f., first published in Geist und Buchstabe der Dichtung, pp. 255-94.
3. Am Quell der Donau, II, 127; Schmidt, Hölderlins Elegie 'Brot und Wein', p. 91 ('Wortstudie' of 'Kind').

Having lost the first of the 'zwei Ideale unseres Daseyns' of which Hölderlin writes in his preface, 'ein Zustand der höchsten Einfalt', Hyperion is concerned to reach the second, 'ein Zustand der höchsten Bildung':

Mein Bellarmin! wo finden wir das Eine, das uns Ruhe giebt, Ruhe? Wo tönt sie uns einmal wieder, die Melodie unsers Herzens in den seligen Tagen der Kindheit?¹

The Fragment tells of his search, and not only the preface, but also Adamas' words in Homer's grotto suggest that the goal is attainable:

der heilige Friede des Paradieses gehet unter, daß, was nur Gabe der Natur war, wiederaufblühe, als errungnes Eigentum der Menschheit.

Melite, however, challenges this belief:

Doch wird das Vollkommne erst im fernen Lande kommen,... im Lande des Wiedersehens, und der ewigen Jugend. Hier bleibt es doch nur Dämmerung.²

She recognizes a realm which enjoys a higher degree of reality than the shadowy reality of earth, and when Hyperion has failed her it is in this realm that she takes refuge:

In die Regionen des Guten und Wahren hatte sich ihr Herz geflüchtet.

Hyperion describes

ihre fromme Scheue, nichts zu entweihen durch übermüthigen Scherz oder Ernst, wenn es nur ferne verwandt war mit Schönerm und Gutem,... ihr Geist mit seinen königlichen Idealen, woran ihre stille Liebe so einzig hieng.³

Melite's attitude to her ideals is reminiscent of the Symposium, where Socrates shows that the proper object of love is the beautiful and that the beautiful is to be

1. III, 163f.
2. III, 180.
3. III, 177, 173.

identified with the good. But, more important, this higher realm seems to be the ὑπερουράνιος τόπος, the place beyond the heavens of which Plato writes in the Phaedrus, where beauty, goodness and truth are to be found and are seen by those souls which at birth pass into man's body.¹

Hyperion too can under her influence enter this realm in a momentary 'Augenblick der Befreiung':

 Todt war mein irrdisches Leben, die Zeit war nicht
 mehr, und entfesselt und auferstanden fühlte mein
 Geist seine Verwandtschaft und seinen Ursprung.

This is the realm from which we come - 'denn einmal waren wir doch, wie ich glaube, alle beisammen' - and in which 'das große Wiedersehen der Geister' will take place, but this 'große Vereinigung alles Getrennten' has a special significance for Hyperion since it will reunite him with Melite:

 Ich werde sie wiederfinden, in irgend einer Periode
 des ewigen Daseyns. Gewiß! was sich verwandt ist,
 kann sich nicht ewig fliehen.²

Again the Phaedrus provides the Platonic background to these ideas, for in it Plato envisages not only a period spent by the soul before birth in the company of the gods, but also its eventual return to this upper world. He adduces detailed arguments for its existence both before birth and after death in the Phaedo, which Hölderlin must have been reading at this time, for by October he is anxious to have this version of Hyperion completed,

1. Symposium, 201; Phaedrus, 246ff.
2. III, 167, 181.

weil ich dann unverzüglich einen andern Plan, der mir beinahe noch mer am Herzen liegt, den Tod des Sokrates, nach den Idealen der griechischen Dramen zu bearbeiten versuchen werde.¹

Other references to this upper world are more overt. In the final version of Hyperion the hero imagines how his

Geist im Vorelysium mit seiner holden Diotima
gespielt, eh' er herabgekommen zur Erde...

Und, wie die Vergangenheit, öffnete sich die
Pforte der Zukunft in mir.

In the letter An Kallias the source of the image is given in the reference to the 'Seelen in Platons Vorelysium'. Hyperion's exercise of 'sein Recht, zu dichten' is prompted by the bitter reality of the present and the revolt against 'das eiserne unerbittliche Gesetz, geschieden zu seyn, nicht Eine Seele zu seyn mit seiner liebenswürdigen Hälfte!'²

Beißner recognizes this as an echo of Aristophanes' speech in the Symposium, but in commenting on Hölderlin's similar claim in Diotima that

Unergründlich sich verwandt
Hat, noch eh' wir uns gesehen
Unser Wesen sich gekannt

he points to the Platonic doctrine of Recollection as the underlying thought and compares the passage with Schiller's poem to Laura Das Geheimniß der Reminiscenz.³ However, the basis of this poem too is Aristophanes' myth, for the poet sees Laura and himself as having been a single god, 'in Eins zerronnen':

1. Br. 88, VI, 137.
2. III, 70; IV, 218.
3. Diotima, I, 213; III, 458; I, 534; Cf. Schlagdenhauffen, op. cit., p. 69, who also connects the fact that 'leur amour leur apparaît comme le souvenir d'un séjour antérieur à l'existence' only with passages in the Phaedo which put forward the doctrine of Recollection.

Weine Laura - dieser Gott ist nimmer,
Du und ich des Gottes schöne Trümmer.

He connects this past unity with the previous existence of the soul, which in the Phaedrus is depicted as attempting to soar on its wings to attain a view of the plain of truth:

Unserm Winke sprangen Chaosriegel,
Zu der Wahrheit lichtigem Sonnenhügel,
Schwang sich unser Flügel.¹

It needs to be stressed, however, that in Plato there is no link between the upper world and the state described in Aristophanes' myth, even though Aristophanes holds out the hope that in a future life Love will restore us to our former state.² It is therefore misleading to speak here of the doctrine of Recollection,³ which is concerned only with the knowledge acquired before birth when the soul saw the Ideas and which, being used to prove the existence of the soul before birth, cannot be relevant to beliefs about any previous state of the body.⁴ The eighteenth century failed to distinguish between a myth designed to elucidate the nature of man and the imagery in which Plato states his belief in the existence of the soul before birth and after death.

In the final version of Hyperion Hölderlin too seems to place the wholeness of the two halves in Plato's 'Vorelysium',

1. Schillers Werke (Nationalausgabe), I, 104f; Phaedrus, 248.
2. Symposium, 193 c8-d5.
3. The elucidation of these passages solely by reference to the doctrine of Recollection seems to have been taken over from Böhm, who writes: 'Platons Anamnesis ist Allgemeingut der Zeit. Es wird im "Geheimnis der Reminiszenz" bei Schiller verwertet' (Hölderlin, I, 86). In general he treats the doctrine very loosely, referring to it where there is no connection with Platonic thought: '"Mnemosyne"...ist die Anamnesis Platons' (Ibid., II, 522).
4. Phaedo, 73ff.

and it is probable that in the Fragment he is also thinking of Hyperion's reunion with Melite in terms of Aristophanes' myth. But his special relationship with her is seen as part of a more general reunion: 'da werden auch wir uns alle wiederfinden, bei der großen Vereinigung alles Getrennten'.¹ This extension of individual unity to a general unity represents Hölderlin's adaptation of a myth which must have had a special significance for him, for the successive stages which it visualizes correspond exactly with the states of unity, disunity and reunion, which formed one of Hölderlin's basic thought-patterns and which, having been anticipated in the description of the states of 'Einfalt' and 'Bildung', were to be fully elaborated in the Homburg essays.

But according to the contemporary interpretation of the myth which Hölderlin took over this state of wholeness cannot be achieved on earth, and this view accords with Melite's distinction between earth's 'Dämmerung' and the upper world which Hyperion speaks of as 'die Regionen des Guten und Wahren'. Such a dualistic view is incompatible with the achievement of the goal which Hölderlin sets Hyperion, but nevertheless, although he has failed to reach it in friendship and love, it seems at one stage that he will respond to the call of nature, 'Warum liebst du nicht mich?', for he writes: 'Von nun an konnt' ich nichts mehr denken, was ich zuvor dachte, die Welt war mir heiliger geworden'. However, the value of the attempt to find peace in unity with nature is soon questioned, for nature remains

1. ' III, 180f.

for Hyperion 'geheimnisvoll' and 'unergründlich', no more than 'die Pforte des Unsichtbaren': 'Meinem Herzen ist wohl in dieser Dämmerung. Ist sie unser Element, diese Dämmerung? Warum kann ich nicht ruhen darinnen?'¹

As a result Hyperion is at the end of his last letter to Bellarmin still in search of the truth which at the beginning of the first letter he reported he had not found. Indeed the 'Zustand der höchsten Bildung' of which Hölderlin writes in the preface is interpreted by Adamas in the novel itself as the attainment of truth: 'So müssen... die Ahnungen der Kindheit dahin, um als Wahrheit wieder aufzustehen im Geiste des Mannes.' And Hölderlin too in a letter to Neuffer describes the subject of the novel as 'der große Übergang aus der Jugend in das Wesen des Mannes vom Affecte zur Vernunft, aus dem Reiche der Fantasie ins Reich der Wahrheit und Freiheit'. But it becomes evident that this goal is not attainable on earth, for Hyperion's view of the world is no less dualistic than Melite's. At the end of the third letter, having described Melite's rejection of earth as 'nur Dämmerung', he returns to the present and, after asking Bellarmin if he has come any nearer 'das Heiligtum der Wahrheit', continues:

Ach! bin ich nur dort einmal angekommen, dann soll es anders werden mit mir. Tief unter uns rauscht dann der Strom der Vergänglichkeit mit den Trümmern, die er wälzt, und wir seufzen nicht mehr, als wenn das Jammern derer, die er hinunterschlingt, in die stillen Höhen des Wahren und Ewigen heraufdringt.²

The letters Hölderlin wrote during the months when he was working on the Fragment show that his reading at this time

1. III, 183f.
2. III, 180f.; Br. 88, VI, 137.

was philosophical in content. 'Lyrisches hab ich seit dem Frühling noch wenig gedichtet', he wrote to Neuffer in October. Hölderlin, like Hyperion, was principally occupied in the search for 'Wahrheit', 'Vernunft', but the truth which he depicts Hyperion as seeking has the absolute quality which is possessed by the Platonic Idea:

Wie konnten auch Worte meiner dürstenden Seele
genügen?

Worte fand' ich überall; Wolken, und keine
Juno.¹

The continuation of the Fragment has not survived so that we do not know how Hölderlin proposed to end Hyperion's fruitless search. However, the transference of his love to nature, even though he could not accept this as the solution of his problem, does foreshadow the manner in which Hölderlin overcame the dualism which characterizes the Fragment. It is significant that the call of nature came to Hyperion in 'ein Kreis von Platanen' 'aus dem Innern des Hains',² for in October, having now sent the Fragment to Schiller and already making plans for his writing after the completion of the novel, he wrote of his idea of using the Phaedrus in an 'Aufsatz über die ästhetischen Ideen', in which his prolonged study of Plato and Kant was to lead to a clash between the ideas of the two philosophers:

Weil er als ein Kommentar über den Phädrus des
Plato gelten kann, und eine Stelle desselben mein
ausdrücklicher Text ist, so wär' er vielleicht für
Konz brauchbar. Im Grunde soll er eine Analyse des

1. III, 164.
2. III, 183.

Schönen und Erhabnen enthalten, nach welcher die Kantische vereinfacht, und von der andern Seite vielseitiger wird, wie es schon Schiller zum Theil in s. Schrift über Anmuth 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.¹

This essay was never written so that we can do no more than conjecture that it was intended to include a defence of the Platonic Idea against Kant's conception of Ideas as no more than regulative principles. However, we can seek further clues in the poem Der Gott der Jugend, the writing of which, according to Beck, 'stand in enger Verbindung mit den Gedanken, die Hölderlin in dem vorgenannten "Aufsatz über die ästhetischen Ideen" aussprechen wollte'. This supposition is supported by the fact that the poem is mentioned in the sentence which immediately follows the outline of the essay's content: 'Jetzt bin ich an einer Umarbeitung meines Gedichts an den Genius der Jugend.'²

The inability of Kant's Ideas, rational as well as aesthetic and including the Idea of God, ever to be the objects of experience may well have been an aspect of his philosophy which encouraged Hölderlin to favour a system of thought which gave more direct access to the divine principle in the universe. 'For', as Peacock writes in discussing the position of Hölderlin among the authors of the eighteenth century, 'what distinguishes Hölderlin in so exceptional a degree is the particular fervour, the pressing religious need, which made him so imperatively desirous of

1. Br. 88, VI, 137. Böhm, op. cit., I, 143, suggests as the text Phaedrus 249 b6-c3.
2. VI, 700; Br. 88, VI, 137f.

the presence of the divine.¹ He found such a system in Plato. He had incorporated in the Fragment von Hyperion the dualism of the Phaedrus, which gave truth a higher than earthly reality and made it accessible only in recollection, but by transferring his interest to the Idea of beauty he was able to overcome this dualism and get direct access to the divine. In general only the philosopher, the man whose soul before birth saw most of truth, can cling in recollection to τὸ θεῖον.² Others cannot so easily recall the divine upper world since there are no earthly copies of the Ideas of justice etc. to remind them of the reality. However, one of the Ideas, beauty, does have a representation on earth. In beauty, therefore, the gulf separating earth from the divine upper world is bridged.

In Der Gott der Jugend Hölderlin asserts that the beauty of nature enjoyed by Horace and Plato remains undiminished:

So schön ist's noch hienieden!
Auch unser Herz erfuhr
Das Leben und den Frieden
Der freundlichen Natur.

The basis of this attitude is apparent in the first half of the second stanza:

Wird da, wo sich im Schönen
Das Göttliche verhüllt,
Noch oft das tiefe Sehnen
Der Liebe dir gestillt;...

So such' im stillsten Thale₃
Den blütenreichsten Hain...³

- 1.
- Peacock, Hölderlin, p. 3.
2. Phaedrus, 249d1.
3. I, 189f.

In the variants of this concise reproduction of the doctrine of the Phaedrus - Hölderlin first wrote of 'das Heilige' and 'das ewig rege Sehnen/Der Endlichkeit'¹ - we are reminded of Hyperion's vain longing to escape from the 'Dämmerung' of earth in his search for 'das Heiligtum der Wahrheit', but this longing is now fulfilled by means of a different solution. There are, not surprisingly, features of this solution which owe more to Hölderlin than Plato. Plato's philosopher inhabits in his mind the upper world of his recollection and is too little concerned with earthly life to feel any gulf between the two, while ordinary men are too earth-bound to be aware of such a gulf. Hölderlin, on the other hand, experienced a deep awareness of the gulf between the human and the divine and a longing to bridge it. The doctrine of the Phaedrus, which, diverging from Plato again, he connected with the beauty of nature rather than with human beauty,² showed him a way to do so.

In November, 1794, Hölderlin moved with Fritz von Kalb from Waltershausen to Jena, where the increasing influence of Fichte led him to call in question the validity of the solution offered in the Phaedrus. It seems likely that Der Gott der Jugend, which contains this solution, was completed in Waltershausen, since its content is so closely related to that of the essay planned there and the similarity

1. I, 489.
2. Phaedrus, 251.

of its vocabulary to that of Griechenland suggests that no decisive break in Hölderlin's development separated the poems. Nevertheless, it was not until September 1795 that Hölderlin, home again in Nürtingen, sent the poem to Schiller for publication,¹ from which one may conclude that Hölderlin lost interest in the Platonic doctrine it contained very soon after its completion and that it was only after his departure from Jena that he again began to appreciate its validity.

From the letter he wrote to Hegel in January 1795 we know that Hölderlin was already reading Fichte before he moved to Jena.² In his first letter from Jena he then writes of the effect which the philosopher's personality has on him:

Fichte ist jezt die Seele von Jena. Und gottlob!
daß ers ist. Einen Mann von solcher Tiefe und
Energie des Geistes kenn' ich sonst nicht... Ich
hör' ihn alle Tage.

It must be due to his influence that in addition to 'Denken' and 'Dichten', the study of Kant and Plato and the pursuance of his own writing, which occupied Hölderlin in Waltershausen, 'Handeln' now becomes a third concern:

Ich habe jezt den Kopf und das Herz voll von
dem, was ich durch Denken und Dichten, auch von
dem, was ich pflichtmäßig, durch Handeln, hinaus-
führen möchte, letzteres natürlich nicht allein.³

Different views have been expressed of the nature of the attraction which Fichte had for Hölderlin. Michel believes that it rested in the last resort on the fact that Hölderlin

1. Cf. Br. 104, VI, 180f. and Beck's note, VI, 755.
2. Br. 94, VI, 155f.
3. Br. 89, VI, 139f.

was 'echt und wahrhaftig in das Denkschicksal seiner Zeit eingesetzt'.¹ Zinkernagel even suggests that Hölderlin felt little sympathy with one of his central beliefs:

'Handeln! Handeln!' war die ständige Mahnung, mit der er des Menschen letzte Bestimmung erschöpfen zu können glaubte. Für die Bedürfnisse eines weichen Gemüts war kein Raum in diesem Bilde.²

Beck, however, concludes from the interest shown in his letters

daß Hölderlin nach seiner Ankunft in Jena zuerst von dem sittlichen Rufer Fichte berührt wurde und erst später in die Auseinandersetzung mit dem spekulativen Denker hineingeriet.³

This view receives support from the development we have so far traced, for there is no reason to suppose that the attraction which action was seen in the letter An Kallias to have for Hölderlin has been overcome, and it is significant that the imagery with which he goes on to write about 'Handeln' is that of this letter:

Ich muß mir heraushelfen aus Dämmerung und Schlummer, halbentwickelte, halberstorbne Kräfte sanft und mit Gewalt wecken und bilden.

This is not to deny that Fichte's philosophy became extremely important to Hölderlin. Already in November he told his mother: 'Fichte's neue Philosophie beschäftigt mich izt ganz.' He may have found Fichte's 'Auseinandersetzung der Wechselbestimmung des Ich und Nicht-ich (nach s. Sprache)... merkwürdig', as he told Hegel, but after informing his brother about 'eine Haupteigentümlichkeit der Fichte'schen Philosophie' he left him in no doubt

1. Das Leben Friedrich Hölderlins, p. 121.
2. Op. cit., p. 74.
3. VI, 707.

about his own acceptance of the idea:

Zu Anfang dieses Winters, bis ich mich hinein-
studirt hatte, machte mir die Sache manchmal ein
wenig Kopfschmerzen, um so mehr, da ich durch
Studium der Kantischen Philosophie gewöhnt war,
zu prüfen, ehe ich annahm.¹

Hölderlin's philosophical interests did not put a stop
to his 'Dichten'. In the letter to Hegel he reports:

Meine productive Tätigkeit ist izt beinahe ganz
auf die Umbildung² der Materialien von meinem
Romane gerichtet.²

Whether he is now occupied with the metrical version or
Hyperions Jugend is impossible to tell, but since the
beginning of the latter is a prose version of the completed
part of the former it is not important to make the distinct-
ion.

We have already seen that the simultaneous study of
Plato and Kant produced a conflict between them which led
to the ascendancy of the former. The powerful influence
which Fichte came to exercise over Hölderlin at a time when
the Platonic philosophy had become so important for him
was also bound to lead to a conflict, for Plato's ascription
of true reality to an upper world of which we find only
copies on earth was incompatible with the Fichtean 'Ich' as
the ultimate reality on which all else depends. The conflict
between Fichte and Plato was not brought into the open by
Hölderlin. Indeed the metrical version of Hyperion retains
both Platonic imagery and the Platonic values of love and
beauty so that it seems to be written under the continued
influence of Plato. We can only conclude that the Platonic

1. Br. 90, VI, 142; Br. 94, VI, 156; Br. 97, VI, 164.

2. Br. 94, VI, 154.

atmosphere is so marked because this version is intended to represent a rejection of Plato and that the Platonic values are deliberately retained in order to give them an un-Platonic content.

It seems at first sight as if the doctrine of Der Gott der Jugend that 'sich im Schönen/Das Heilige verhüllt' is repeated here:

Verborgnen Sinn enthält das Schöne! - deute
Sein Lächeln dir! - denn so erscheint vor uns,
Das Heilige, das Unvergängliche.

But a comparison with the prose draft shows that we are concerned here not with a divine upper world being made accessible, but with 'Symbole des Heiligen und Unvergänglichen in uns'. And even the idea that 'ein freundlicher/Verwandter Geist' meets us in nature turns out to be an illusion:

Ich weis, daß nur Bedürfnis uns dringt, der
Natur eine Verwandtschaft mit dem Unsterblichen
in uns zu geben und in der Materie einen Geist
zu glauben, aber ich weis, daß dieses Bedürfnis
uns dazu berechtigt, ich weis, daß wir da, wo
die schönen Formen der Natur uns die gegenwärtige
Gottheit verkündigen, wir selbst die Welt mit
unserer Seele beseelen.

Thus 'die schönen Formen der Natur' possess no independent reality of their own.¹

Nevertheless this realization should not lead to a rejection of nature:

Wenn dir als Schönheit entgegenkömmt, was du als
Wahrheit in dir trägst, so nehm' es dankbar auf,
denn du bedarfst der Hülfe der Natur.

Without the 'Nicht-Ich' the 'Ich' would be without consciousness, but though the resistance of the 'Nicht-Ich' is

1. III, 190ff. (my italics).

indispensable this does not mean that we always accept it readily:

Nun fühlen wir die Schranken unsers Wesens, und die gehemmte Kraft sträubt sich ungeduldig gegen ihre Fesseln... Doch ist in uns auch wieder etwas, das die Fesseln gerne trägt; denn würde der Geist von keinem Widerstande beschränkt, wir fühlten uns und andre nicht. Sich aber nicht zu fühlen ist der Tod.

Thus we have two urges, 'den Trieb, uns auszubreiten, zu befreien' and another 'beschränkt zu werden, zu empfangen'.

Each is essential to man's nature:

Groß und rein und unbezwinglich sei der Geist des Menschen in seinen Forderungen, er beuge nie sich der Naturgewalt! Doch acht' er auch der Hülfe, wenn sie schon vom Sinnenlande kömmt.¹

Hölderlin links these two aspects of man's character with the help of the Platonic allegory of the birth of Love, part of Diotima's teaching which we have already seen was alluded to in the Fragment von Hyperion. For Plato Love's parentage is designed to account for the fact that he is 'at once poor, with the poverty of Desire which lacks its object, and rich, with the vigour with which Desire strives after its object'.² In Hölderlin 'die Armuth der Endlichkeit' and 'der Überfluß der Göttlichkeit' become man's need for nature and his need to struggle against the resistance which it offers. Characteristically

1. III, 202. Cf. Br. 97, VI, 164, where in the explanation to his brother of 'eine Haupteigentümlichkeit der Fichte'schen Philosophie' Hölderlin contrasts 'ein Streben in's Unendliche, eine Thätigkeit, die... immer ausgebreiteter, freier, unabhängiger zu werden trachtet' and 'die Beschränkung dieser Thätigkeit'. The similarity of the vocabulary of the novel to that of this summary of Fichte's teaching shows the extent to which Hölderlin's own work was influenced by him.
2. Symposium, 203; Bury, op. cit., p. xxxvii.

Hölderlin transfers Plato's Eros, who having inherited his mother's poverty sleeps in the streets and in doorways, from his urban surroundings to the cōntryside, where as 'die Liebe' she

pflückt... auch die Beere von den Dornen, und sammelt Ähren auf dem Stoppelfelde des Lebens, und wenn ihr ein freundlich Wesen einen Trank am schwülen Tage reicht, verschmähet sie nicht den irrdrnen Krug, denn ihre Mutter ist die Dürftigkeit. ¹

Not only does Hölderlin elaborate the allegory in this way in order to include in his adaptation of it the 'Hülfe... vom Sinnenlande' which man needs, but he also interprets the details of Plato's account in accordance with the use he wants to make of it. For Plato the fact that Love was conceived during the celebrations of Aphrodite's birth accounts for the fact that Love is Aphrodite's follower, that is to say, the object of his desire is beauty. Hölderlin interprets the birth of Aphrodite as the beginning of 'die schöne Welt', for man's existence as a conscious being is inconceivable without the simultaneous existence of this world.

Despite these adaptations Plato is acknowledged in the prose draft as the source of the allegory,² and the Platonic atmosphere is heightened by Hölderlin's translation of the description of man's birth into the imagery of the Phaedrus.

The prose draft remains abstract:

Als unser ursprünglich unendliches Wesen zum erstenmale leidend ward und die freie volle Kraft die ersten Schranken empfand...

1. III, 202. Cf. III, 374, where the same image occurs among the variants of the metrical version.
2. III, 192: 'Fragst du, wann das war? Plato sagt: Am Tage da Aphrodite geboren ward.'

The metrical version reads:

Als unser Geist...
...sich aus dem freien Fluge
Der Himmlischen verlor, und erdwärts sich,
Vom Aether neigt'...¹

For Hölderlin love is characteristic of man, for
den Widerstreit der Triebe, deren keiner
entbehrlich ist, vereinigt die Liebe, die
Tochter des Überflusses und der Armuth.²

But love has lost the significance which it had for Plato.
For in the Symposium Diotima teaches that love must use
examples of beauty in this world as steps to ascend to
absolute beauty, and in the Phaedrus, which we have just
seen Hölderlin also had in mind when writing the metrical
version, the sight of physical beauty and the consequent
recollection of true beauty produce a love which leads to
the growth of the soul's wings. The love of beauty is the
highest kind of madness and the supreme gift of the gods
because it makes possible access to the divine.³

It is this view which is contradicted in Hyperions
Jugend, where it is again emphasized that the beauty of nature
is no more than 'Symbole des Heiligen und Unvergänglichen in
uns'. 'Das Heilige..., das ihr vorschwebt', 'die Fülle des
Göttlichen' is Love's own 'Überfluß' and 'Herrlichkeit',
and she cannot grasp it because it has no independent
reality of its own:

Ihr ganzes Wesen trachtet, das Göttliche, das ihr
so nah ist, sich nun recht innig zu vergegen-
wärtigen, und seiner, als ihres Eigentums, bewußt
zu werden. Sie ahndet nicht, daß es verschwinden
wird im Augenblike, da sie es umfaßt, daß der

1. Phaedrus, 248; III, 192f.
2. III, 202.
3. Symposium, 211; Phaedrus 249ff.

unendliche Reichtum zu nichts wird, sowie sie ihn sich zu eigen machen will.

Love has no access to the divine:

Doch überall möcht' ich ihr sagen: verstehe das Gefühl der Dürftigkeit, und denke, daß der Adel deines Wesens im Schmerze nur sich offenbaren kann! Kein Handeln, kein Gedanke reicht, so weit du willst.¹

Hölderlin's flight from Jena as 'Ein vertriebner Wandrer, / Der vor Menschen und Büchern floh', driven by 'die Luftgeister, mit den metaphysischen Flügeln'², was certainly to some extent an attempt to escape from the philosophical system in which he had become so deeply involved, but which denied his deep need for contact with a divinity outside himself. But he did not find it so easy to free himself from the memory of Jena, and in February 1796 he could still write to Niethammer from Frankfurt:

Aber der Nachhall aus Jena tönt noch zu mächtig in mir, und die Erinnerung hat noch zu große Gewalt, als daß die Gegenwart mir heilsam werden könnte.

As a result 'die Philosophie ist wieder einmal fast meine einzige Beschäftigung'. Indeed, 'die Philosophie ist eine Tyrannin, und ich dulde ihren Zwang mehr, als daß ich mich ihm freiwillig unterwerfe'.³

In September 1795 Hölderlin had written to Schiller from Nürtingen in the same terms: 'Das Mißfallen an mir selbst und dem was mich umgiebt, hat mich in die Abstraction

1. III, 203f.

2. Heidelberg (variant), II, 410; Br. 128, VI, 222.

3. Br. 117, VI, 202f.

hineingetrieben!'. The reason for this dissatisfaction must have been that he had been presented by Fichte with a problem, that of the relationship between the 'Ich' and the 'Nicht-Ich', an aspect of the question he had formulated in the preface to the Fragment von Hyperion, how we are to achieve a state 'wo unsre Bedürfnisse... mit allem, womit wir in Verbindung stehen,... zusammenstimmen'.¹

Hölderlin felt compelled to seek a solution to this problem which satisfied him, and thus he wrote to Schiller:

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 des Quadrats zum Zirkel, und daß, um ein System des Denkens zu realisiren, eine Unsterblichkeit eben so nothwendig ist, als sie es ist für ein System des Handelns.

According to the distinction made here a union between subject and object can be achieved aesthetically, but not philosophically: as in Hyperions Jugend, 'kein Handeln, kein Gedanke reicht, so weit du willst'.²

The 'Vorrede' to the penultimate version of Hyperion, written in the last months of 1795, discusses the same problem:

Jenen ewigen Widerstreit zwischen unserem Selbst und der Welt zu endigen, den Frieden alles Friedens, der höher ist, denn alle Vernunft, den wiederzubringen, uns mit der Natur zu vereinigen zu Einem unendlichen Ganzen, das ist das Ziel all' unseres Strebens, wir mögen uns darüber verstehen oder nicht.

1. Br. 104, VI, 181; III, 163.
2. III, 204.

Again it is denied that philosophy or action can bring about a union:

Aber weder unser Wissen noch unser Handeln gelangt in irgend einer Periode des Daseyns dahin, wo aller Widerstreit aufhört, wo Alles Eins ist; die bestimmte Linie vereinigt sich mit der unbestimmten nur in unendlicher Annäherung.

However, the final two paragraphs contain ideas not included in the letter to Schiller:

Wir hätten auch keine Ahndung von jenem unendlichen Frieden, von jenem Seyn, im einzigen Sinne des Worts, wir strebten gar nicht, die Natur mit uns zu vereinigen, wir dächten und wir handelten nicht, es wäre überhaupt gar nichts, (für uns) wir wären selbst nichts, (für uns) wenn nicht dennoch jene unendliche Vereinigung, jenes Seyn, im einzigen Sinne des Worts vorhanden wäre. Es ist vorhanden - als Schönheit; es wartet, um mit Hyperion zu reden, ein neues Reich auf uns, wo die Schönheit Königin ist. -

Ich glaube, wir werden am Ende alle sagen: heiliger Plato, vergieb! man hat schwer an dir gesündigt.¹

Even without the words addressed to Plato the Platonic content of the statement that 'jenes Seyn, im einzigen Sinne des Worts... ist vorhanden - als Schönheit' is abundantly clear. It is reasserted that there is a reality higher than that of man and that in accordance with the doctrine of the Phaedrus it is accessible.

During the summer Hölderlin had visited Schelling in Tübingen, where the theme of their conversation is likely to have been that which was then given permanent form in Das älteste Systemprogramm des deutschen Idealismus. This plan ascribed to beauty a supreme importance, speaking of 'die Idee der Schönheit, das Wort in höherem platonischem

1. III, 236f.

Sinne genommen' and stating that 'Wahrheit und Güte, nur in der Schönheit verschwistert sind'.¹ Ryan suggests that it was this meeting with Schelling rather than 'ein tieferes Eindringen in die Platonische Philosophie selbst' which caused Hölderlin's change of attitude to Plato and that therefore 'die Umwertung Platons nur Symptom einer Wandlung ist, die auf andere Ursachen zurückgeht'. He bases his doubts about 'den schöpferischen Anteil Hölderlins an dieser gegenseitigen geistigen Befruchtung' on the belief that we are here concerned with ideas 'deren Entstehung sich nicht ohne weiteres aus dem bereits vorliegenden Werk erklären läßt', and he regards as excluding direct Platonic influence the argument,

Wenn die Neubewertung der Schönheit... tatsächlich von Platon ausgegangen wäre, dann ließe sich nur schwer erklären, warum denn Platon fortan mehr oder weniger gänzlich aus Hölderlins Werk verschwunden sein sollte: denn weder findet sich nachher ein solches Bekenntnis zu Platon, noch begegnen in Hölderlins Schriften unverkennbar Platonische Vorstellungen wieder.²

Hölderlin's knowledge of Plato and the extent to which he was influenced by or reacted against him in the earlier versions of Hyperion have been amply documented. Against this background it cannot be claimed that we find in this 'Vorrede' an idea which has no roots in Hölderlin's earlier work.³ Indeed, we have seen that this very idea occurred in Der Gott der Jugend so that 'ein tieferes Eindringen in die Platonische Philosophie' was not even

1. IV, 298.

2. Ryan, Hölderlins 'Hyperion', p. 54f.

3. Ryan, op. cit., p. 39ff., discusses only the myth of Eros in the metrical version and Hyperions Jugend.

necessary, for we are concerned with the return to a position which under the influence of Fichte had been abandoned.

Again, to regard as excluding Platonic influence here the disappearance of Plato from Hölderlin's later work (a claim which it will be seen in the analysis of the final version of Hyperion cannot be made at this stage, though it holds good for the period after Hyperion) is to misunderstand the nature of Hölderlin's relationship to different aspects of Greek literature. Having been attracted by certain of Plato's dialogues for reasons we have already examined, Hölderlin found in his teaching about beauty a solution to the problem of the accessibility of the divine. He accepted and retained this solution without feeling any commitment to a wider loyalty to Plato. It is for this reason that it is misleading to speak, as Böhm does, of Hölderlin as 'Schüler Platos', who was thus obliged to defend his ideas.¹ On the contrary, Hölderlin gave the concept of beauty a content which was his own, defining it with 'das große Wort, das εν διαφερον αυτω (das Eine in sich selber unterschiedne) des Heraklit',² and seeing within nature, that is to say among its different components, the same unity which he sought to establish between man and nature. Having accepted a Platonic solution to the problem which most concerned him, Hölderlin was free to develop his own thought independently.

1. Op. cit., I, 143.

2. III, 81.

The 'Vorrede' does not speak of an aesthetically attainable union of man and nature, but only of the approach to it through philosophy and action, to which we are spurred on only because 'jenes Seyn', already interpreted as 'jene unendliche Vereinigung', is present as beauty. What is here so enthusiastically visualized recurs in a tone of resignation in a letter to Neuffer written the following January:

Ich werde mich auch wohl noch mehr daran gewöhnen, mit Wenigem fürlieb zu nehmen, und mein Herz mehr darauf zu richten, daß ich der ewigen Schönheit mehr durch eignes Streben und Wirken mich zu nähern suche, als daß ich etwas, was ihr gliche, vom Schiksaal erwartete.

In the letter written to Niethammer in the following month he is still concerned with the same problem:

In den philosophischen Briefen will ich das Prinzip finden, das mir die Trennungen, in denen wir denken und existiren, erklärt, das aber auch vermögend ist, den Widerstreit verschwinden zu machen, den Widerstreit zwischen dem Subject und dem Object, zwischen unserem Selbst und der Welt, ja auch zwischen Vernunft und Offenbarung, - theoretisch, in intellectualer Anschauung, ohne daß unsere praktische Vernunft zu Hilfe kommen müßte. Wir bedürfen dafür ästhetischen Sinn.¹

There is no need to assume, as Beck does, that in this new formulation of the problem the word 'theoretisch' has undergone a change of meaning since its use in the letter to Schiller.² There the contrast between the two approaches to 'die Vereinigung des Subjects und Objects', 'ästhetisch, in der intellectualen Anschauung' and 'theoretisch', is made explicit. Here they recur in juxtaposition, and the

1. Br. 115, VI, 199f.; Br. 117, VI, 203.
2. VI, 786: 'Dort (Br. 104) bedeutet also "theoretisch" etwa: "in rationaler Erkenntnis", hier dagegen fast dasselbe wie "ästhetisch".'

successful approach is indicated by the statement, 'Wir bedürfen dafür ästhetischen Sinn.'

The conflict between the two approaches is also seen in this letter as one between 'Vernunft und Offenbarung', but the 'Tyranin' philosophy still makes him seek a solution which is based on reason rather than revelation. The aesthetic solution is recognized, but cannot be accepted at the cost of abandoning the philosophic approach. Such at any rate was Hölderlin's attitude in February 1796. At the end of June, however, he was prepared to accept the solution offered by revelation, for he wrote to Neuffer:

Ich bin in einer neuen Welt. Ich konnte wohl
sonst glauben, ich wisse, was schön und gut sey,
aber seit ich's sehe, möcht' ich lachen über
all' mein Wissen.

And in February 1797 he has found 'den Frieden alles Friedens, der höher ist, denn alle Vernunft', which in the 'Vorrede' to the penultimate version of Hyperion he describes as 'das Ziel all unseres Strebens':

Mein Schönheitsinn ist nun vor Störung sicher.
Er orientirt sich ewig an diesem Madonnenkopfe.
Mein Verstand geht in die Schule bei ihr, und
mein uneinig Gemüth besänftiget, erheitert sich
täglich in ihrem genügsamen Frieden... Ich dichte
wenig und philosophire beinahe gar nicht mehr.¹

A genuine Platonic experience, the experience of true beauty not only in nature, but also in a human being, freed Hölderlin from the need to accept the 'unendliche Annäherung' offered by 'unser Wissen' and 'unser Handeln'.

1. Br. 123, VI, 213; Br. 136, VI, 235.

2. Hyperion: The Final Version

In the preface to the penultimate version of Hyperion Hölderlin accepted under the influence of Plato that, although 'das Seyn, im einzigen Sinne des Worts, ist für uns verloren' and thus 'wir sind zerfallen mit der Natur', the presence of 'jenes Seyn' as beauty makes possible our efforts to reunite ourselves with nature.¹ However, since he acknowledges that neither 'unser Wissen' nor 'unser Handeln' can end 'jenen ewigen Widerstreit zwischen unserem Selbst und der Welt', it remains to be seen how this reunion is to be achieved. It is this which is the subject of the final version of Hyperion. Here Hölderlin finally freed himself from the authority of Kant, under whose influence together with that of Plato he had in the Fragment depicted Hyperion's unavailing search for truth, and from the authority of Fichte, who had in the first place attracted Hölderlin by the emphasis he placed on the value of action. Now, having adopted an interpretation of nature based on the Platonic philosophy of beauty, he sought Plato's help in establishing the unity with nature which was unattainable with the assistance of Kant and Fichte.

The Fragment and the final version have in common not only the influence of Plato, in both cases marked, though leading to different conclusions, but also the form of an epistolary novel, which had been abandoned in Jena. In more ways than one the period spent under the influence of Fichte had proved fruitless. Thus in the final version

1. III, 236f.

Hyperion, 'der Eremit in Griechenland', as he is described in the subtitle, has returned 'ruhmlos und einsam' to Greece,¹ and in a series of letters to Bellarmin looks back at his life and its failures. While narrating these past events Hyperion at times emerges as the narrator to state his attitude to these events and to express his present feelings. We thus have to distinguish between two levels, the development of Hyperion during the events narrated, ending with his decision to return from Germany to Greece, and any change of attitude which Hyperion may undergo during the process of narration, which begins after his return to Greece and so forms a continuation of the events narrated. This distinction is constantly made by Ryan, whose interpretation stresses 'ein durchgehendes Prinzip des Erzählens, nach dem nicht die zeitliche Reihenfolge des Geschehens, sondern die Entwicklung der Erzählhaltung die Romanstruktur bestimmt'.² This analysis forms a useful basis for and is confirmed by an interpretation from the present point of view.

Looking back at his first meeting with Diotima, Hyperion can still be transported by the experience. In words in which one cannot fail to see the influence of Plato he writes:

Ich hab' es Einmal gesehn, das Einzige, das meine Seele suchte, und die Vollendung, die wir über die Sterne hinauf entfernen, die wir hinauschieben bis an's Ende der Zeit, die hab' ich gegenwärtig gefühlt. Es war da, das Höchste, in diesem Kreise der Menschennatur und der Dinge war es da!...

1. III, 8.

2. Hölderlins 'Hyperion', p. 119.

O ihr, die ihr das Höchste und Beste sucht, in der Tiefe des Wissens, im Getümmel des Handelns, im Dunkel der Vergangenheit, im Labyrinth der Zukunft, in den Gräbern oder über den Sternen! wißt ihr seinen Namen? den Namen deß, das Eins ist und Alles?

Sein Name ist Schönheit.¹

The narrator has thus arrived at the conclusion reached by Hölderlin in the context of his philosophical studies and stated in the 'Vorrede' to the penultimate version. In the final version of the novel Hölderlin's aim is to show in a literary work how Hyperion comes to reject philosophy and action and then to achieve some sort of union with nature. The former takes place during the events narrated, the latter is the result of the narrator's development during the process of narration.

It is only the development of the narrator during the process of narration that can be directly connected with the influence of Plato, for although the rejection of philosophy and action is the result of the acceptance of the Platonic philosophy of beauty it is based on their incompatibility with this philosophy rather than on specifically Platonic arguments. However, before going on to examine this development we ought to look at the arguments and events which lead to Hyperion's rejection of philosophy and action. In the novel itself their rejection is a necessary preliminary before Hyperion can accept the ideal of union with nature, and in the study of Hölderlin's relationship to Greek literature to ignore it would be to overlook the insights which led him to turn from contemporary philosophy to Plato

1. III, 52f.

and to abandon the ideal of action which had attracted him in Homer for the unity with nature which Plato both gave him as the object of his longing and showed him how to achieve.

The incompatibility between reason and ecstatic union with nature is emphasized by Hyperion before he turns to telling the story of his life. 'Die Wissenschaft' was responsible for his loss of contact with nature in the first place:

Ach! wär' ich nie in eure Schulen gegangen...

Ich bin bei euch so recht vernünftig geworden,
habe gründlich mich unterscheiden gelernt von dem,
was mich umgiebt, bin nun vereinzelt in der
schönen Welt, bin so ausgeworfen aus dem Garten
der Natur.

And now when reunion is momentarily achieved and 'alle Gedanken schwinden von dem Bilde der ewigeinigen Welt', it is destroyed by 'ein Moment des Besinnens': 'Ich denke nach ...und meines Herzens Asyl, die ewigeinige Welt, ist hin.' Indeed Hölderlin's whole attitude to philosophy emerges when Hyperion speaks of 'die Wissenschaft,... von der ich, jugendlich thöricht, die Bestätigung meiner reinen Freude erwartete'. Hölderlin rejected it when he discovered that it could not help him in the establishment of contact with the divine principle in the universe.¹

1. III, 9. Writing to his mother in 1799 Hölderlin was able to look back on the 'tiefen Unfrieden und Mißmuth' which philosophy had caused him and which he believed to have been due to the fact that it was one of those 'Beschäftigungen, die meiner Natur weniger angemessen zu seyn scheinen', contrasting it with his 'Neigung zur Poësie', 'diß unschuldigste aller Geschäfte' (Br. 173, VI, 311).

Reason does, however, have a role to play, though a subordinate one, and it is appropriate that its sphere and the legitimate task of philosophy should be defined in a reasoned argument. This Hyperion does on the voyage from Kalaurea to Athens. He shows that 'Dichtung' is logically prior to philosophy, for

der Mensch, ...der nicht wenigstens im Leben
Einmal volle lautre Schönheit in sich fühlte,
...wird nicht einmal ein philosophischer
Zweifler werden... Denn glaubt es mir, der
Zweifler findet darum nur in allem, was gedacht
wird, Widerspruch und Mangel, weil er die
Harmonie der mangellosen Schönheit kennt, die
nie gedacht wird.

The condition of experiencing 'die ewige Schönheit' is to live 'mit dem Himmel und der Erde... in gleicher Lieb' und Gegenliebe'. This the Greeks did, and the insight by a Greek into 'das Wesen der Schönheit' as 'das εν διαφερον εαυτω (das Eine in sich selber unterschiedne)' made the way free for the development of philosophy. 'Nun konnte man bestimmen, das ganze war da'.¹

Turning from classical Greece to contemporary Germany Hölderlin sees 'der bloße Verstand, die bloße Vernunft' as 'die Könige des Nordens'. They are without 'Geistesschönheit', for 'Verstand' only affords protection against 'Unsinn' and 'Vernunft' is only concerned with 'blinde Forderung eines nie zu endigenden Fortschritts'.² Only if 'Vernunft' has before it 'das Ideal der Schönheit', 'so fordert sie nicht blind', for in accordance with the thought-pattern in which initial unity is followed not only by

1. III, 81f.

2. III, 83. Ryan, op. cit., p. 143f., draws attention to the similarity of these characterizations to Kant's definitions.

disunity, but also by reunion the contradictions which thought cannot solve are dissolved by poetry: 'Und so läuft am End' auch wieder in ihr das Unvereinbare in der geheimnisvollen Quelle der Dichtung zusammen.'¹

Just as a reasoned argument is used to limit the role of reason, so the failure of action is used to show the unsuitability of action for the creation of a community based on unity with nature. The attitude of the narrator Hyperion, based on his disappointing experiences, emerges in the very first letter: 'O hätt' ich doch nie gehandelt! um wie manche Hoffnung wär' ich reicher!' In his youth, however, his optimism had been inseparable from 'die tobenden herrlichen Träume von Ruhm und Größe': it was these dreams which, as we have seen, were the basis of his appreciation of Homer. But he was overwhelmed by 'die schrökende Herrlichkeit des Altertums', for he lacked a sphere in which he could gain 'ein stärkend Selbstgefühl'. As a result of his contact with Alabanda, however, Hyperion's urge is given direction. Inflamed by his talk of 'der Siegeslauf der Menschheit' and his condemnation of those who prefer 'glücklich seyn' to 'Lorbeerkrone', which had been sparked off by their conversation about their own enslaved country, Hyperion at the climax of the scene cries, 'Ja! ja! bei deiner herrlichen Seele, Mensch! Du wirst mit mir das Vaterland erretten.'²

Despite the separation from Alabanda and the subsequent influence of Diotima with her plans that Hyperion should

1. III, 81.

2. III, 8, 19, 29.

become 'Erzieher unsers Volks' Hyperion has not freed himself from his deep-rooted impulse to take action when Alabanda's letter comes inviting him to join in a Greek uprising which is to take advantage of the Russian declaration of war on the Turks. He is not prepared to stand by while Alabanda wins the laurel, and in the creation of a 'Freistaat' for 'die heilige Theokratie des Schönen' he plans to make amends for the inactivity of his youth: 'O ich möchte einen Atlas auf mich laden, um die Schulden meiner Jugend abzutragen.' He ignores Diotima's opposition so that she eventually gives in: 'Handle du; ich will es tragen.' His letters to Diotima from the Peloponnese betray his obsession with deeds: 'Jetzt bin ich wieder glücklich... Ich sehe nur Thaten...' And he so completely misunderstands Diotima's nature that he can write to her, 'Hohes Mädchen! wie konnt' ich bestehen vor dir? Wie war dirs möglich, so ein thatlos Wesen zu lieben?'¹

The bitterness of failure is accompanied by the immediate insight that 'es war ein außerordentlich Project, durch eine Räuberbande mein Elysium zu pflanzen', but the experience of the battle of Tschesme is necessary before Hyperion, during his convalescence, can finally turn from deeds to nature:

O ich will die Entwürfe, die Forderungen alle, wie Schuldbriefe, zerreißen. Ich will mich rein erhalten, wie ein Künstler sich hält, dich will ich lieben, harmlos Leben, Leben des Hains und des Quells! dich will ich ehren, O Sonnenlicht! an dir mich stillen, schöner Aether...!

1. III, 96f., 104f.

Thus in the last words she addresses to him Diotima can again claim him for her sphere:

Dir ist dein Lorbeer nicht gereift und deine
Myrthen verblühten, denn Priester sollst du
seyn der göttlichen Natur, und die dichterischen
Tage keimen dir schon.

And when, as Hyperion is about to leave Germany, spring comes, the experience of union with nature makes him forget all deeds as well as thoughts:

O einen Augenblick in ihrem Frieden, ihrer Schöne
mich zu fühlen, wie viel mehr galt es vor mir,
als Jahre voll Gedanken, als alle Versuche der
allesversuchenden Menschen! Wie Eis, zerschmolz,
was ich gelernt, was ich gethan im Leben, und
alle Entwürfe der Jugend verhallten in mir.¹

This development of Hyperion during the course of the events narrated is the literary expression of Hölderlin's repudiation of the stage in his own development which is represented by the Homeric letter An Kallias and which made him so receptive for that aspect of Fichte's philosophy. 'Die Scham vor den unsern und Homeros Helden', which the writer of the letter feels, is very close to the feelings of the young Hyperion: 'Ich liebte meine Heroën, wie eine Fliege das Licht; ich suchte ihre gefährliche Nähe und floh und suchte sie wieder.' And the regret Hyperion feels in Greece that he did not follow Alabanda earlier and the decision to make amends are strongly reminiscent of the letter. Hyperion writes:

O warum lebt' ich, wie ein müßiger Hirtenknabe,
zu Tina, und träumte nur von seinesgleichen noch
erst, da er schon in lebendiger Arbeit die Natur
erprüfte...? trieb denn in mir nach Thatenwonne
nicht auch?

1. III, 117, 127, 149, 158.

Aber ich will ihn einholen, ich will schnell
seyn.

Kallias' correspondent writes:

Diß war auch dir bereitet, rief's mir zu...
Ich bin nun entschlossen, es koste was es wolle.¹

However, while the letter ends on this note, the novel goes on to the renunciation of action, a change of attitude which can be seen in Hölderlin's different interpretation of a similar episode in Vergil. In the letter he is concerned with the exploit of Odysseus and Diomedes for its own sake. On the other hand when Hyperion writes, 'Ich hab' es heilig bewahrt! wie ein Palladium, hab' ich es in mir getragen, das Göttliche, das mir erschien', he no longer thinks of the daring deed in which again Odysseus and Diomedes carried off the Trojan talisman from its temple on the citadel, but is rather concerned with the fact that this sacred image of Pallas was said to have been sent down from heaven.² He is less interested in it as a talisman than as an image which calls attention to his belief that, in accordance with Plato's teaching, the divine was present on earth in the beauty of Diotima.

The recognition that Hyperion's development corresponds to a similar development experienced by Hölderlin himself makes it impossible to accept Bertaux' recent attempt to show that Hölderlin was a Jacobin and his work 'eine "durchgehende Metapher" der Revolution'.³ It is a defect of this point of view that it allows for no change of

1. IV, 219; III, 19, 105.

2. III, 51. Cf. Vergil, Aeneid, II. 162ff.

3. Hölderlin und die Französische Revolution, p. 11.

outlook in the course of Hölderlin's development, and even the evidence which concerns his student days in Tübingen is far from conclusive. The words,

Ich liebe das Geschlecht der kommenden Jahrhunderte.
Denn diß ist meine seeligste Hoffnung, der Glaube,
der mich stark erhält und tätig, unsere Enkel werden
besser sein, als wir, die Freiheit muß einmal
kommen, und die Tugend wird besser gedeihen in der
Freiheit heiligem erwärmenden Lichte, als unter der
eiskalten Zone des Despotismus -

these words are hardly those of a politically involved revolutionary, for Hölderlin went on to write of the slow, natural process which was to lead to 'bessere Tage':

Diß ist das heilige Ziel meiner Wünsche, und
meiner Tätigkeit - diß, daß ich in unserm Zeitalter
die Keime wecke, die in einem künftigen reifen
werden.

It is the same belief in the renewal of nature as that which makes Hyperion assert in his disagreement with Alabanda,

Was aber die Liebe giebt und der Geist, das
läßt sich nicht erzwingen...

O Regen vom Himmel! o Begeisterung! Du wirst
den Frühling der Völker uns wiederbringen.
Dich kann der Staat nicht hergebenen.¹

In Jena Fichte's watchword 'Handeln' may have aroused thoughts of political action. Upset by the remark, 'Die Muse Wielands habe mit dem Anfange der deutschen Dichtkunst angefangen, und ende mit ihrem Untergange', he wrote, 'Seis auch! Wenn's sein mus, so zerbrechen wir unsre unglücklichen Saitenspiele, und thun, was die Künstler träumten! Das ist mein Trost.' But even here it is only a poor alternative to the proper activity of the poet. When the same theme occurs in the letter Hölderlin wrote to his brother on

1. Br. 65, VI, 92f.; III, 31f.

New Year's Day 1799, political activity has lost whatever attraction it may have had and is seen only as a last resort:

Wenn das Reich der Finsterniß mit Gewalt einbrechen will, so werfen wir die Feder unter den Tisch und gehen in Gottes Namen dahin, wo die Noth am grösten ist, und wir am nöthigsten sind. ¹

We must conclude that Bertaux' study provides no grounds for questioning the conclusion of previous research, for example that of Michel, who discussing why 'Hölderlin ein politisches Tötertum des Empedokles ablehnt' writes: 'Die Erfahrungen, die Hyperion mit der politisch-soldatischen Tat gemacht hat, bezeichnen Hölderlins Dauerentscheidung in dieser Sache.' ²

Hyperion's action therefore fails to create in Greece 'die schöne Gemeinde, die wir hoffen', and his visit to

1. Br. 89, VI, 139; Br. 172, VI, 307.
2. Das Leben Friedrich Hölderlins, p. 282. For an understanding of the relationship between Hölderlin and Isaak von Sinclair it is necessary to understand Hölderlin's view of the nature of friendship. In the ode An Eduard, the first draft of which was headed Bundestreue, An Sinclair, Hölderlin asks

woher es ist,

Daß ich so unterthan ihm bin und

So der Gewaltige sein mich nennet? (II, 39).

It would, however, be misleading to take these lines in isolation as evidence of Sinclair's domination of Hölderlin and thus of his involvement in Sinclair's revolutionary scheming, for a letter to his mother, while echoing the ode, gives a fuller picture of their relationship: 'Es wird auch wirklich wenig Freunde geben, die sich gegenseitig so beherrschen und so unterthan sind.' (Br. 166, VI, 288). And writing to Sinclair himself Hölderlin speaks of their friendship as one in which 'Einer den Andern voll und tief gefühlt hat, in dem, was er seiner Natur nach bleiben muß' (Br. 171, VI, 299). It is clear that Hölderlin was well aware of the difference in their beliefs and had no intention of sacrificing his independence. Friendship was for Hölderlin another expression of 'das Eine in sich selber unterschiedne', the unity of parts which have not similar, but different characters.

Germany shows him that no such community exists elsewhere. Thus the character of the present as a 'Zwischenzeit' is established, and since its deficiencies are not to be overcome by such action it is not without justification that Hölderlin ascribes his failure to the fact that 'meine Zeit dem wütenden Prokrustes gleicht, der Männer, die er fing, in eine Kinderwiege warf, und daß sie paßten in das kleine Bett, die Glieder ihnen abhieb'.¹

At the end of the events he relates Hyperion has accordingly come to the conclusion:

O du... mit deinen Göttern, Natur! ich hab ihn
ausgeträumt, von Menschendingen den Traum und
sage, nur du lebst, und was die Friedenslosen
erzwungen, erdacht, es schmilzt, wie Perlen von
Wachs, hinweg von deinen Flammen!²

But in the absence of a united community founded on a close relationship with nature the isolated individual must establish such a relationship alone, and it is this which the narrator Hyperion achieves during the process of narration.

In her last letter Diotima promises him the consolation of such a reunion with nature:

Dich wird kein Lorbeer trösten und kein Myrthen-
kranz; der Olymp wirds, der lebendige, gegenwärtige,
der ewig jugendlich um alle Sinne dir blüht. Die
schöne Welt ist mein Olymp; in diesem wirst du leben,
und mit den heiligen Wesen der Welt, mit den₃Göttern
der Natur, mit diesen wirst du freudig seyn.

This 'schöne Welt' can hardly be 'die auch sonst genannte "schönere Welt" oder "bessere Zeit",... jene Vollendung, die

1. III, 101, 151.
2. III, 159.
3. III, 147.

...die Gegenwart aller Götter in sich schließt'', as Ryan believes.¹ The 'Olymp' of which Diotima speaks is the same as that referred to by Empedokles when he says,

Lebt ich nicht
Mit dieser heiligen Erd' und diesem Licht
Und dir von dem die Seele nimmer läßt,
O Vater Aether! und allen Lebenden
In einigem gegenwärtigen Olymp?²

It does not signify the future return of the gods but is rather 'der gegenwärtige Olymp', that of the gods of nature³ with whom the individual can be united before the wider reunion of mankind with nature takes place, though it is to this wider reunion that Diotima at the same time looks forward:

O seid willkommen, ihr Guten, ihr Treuen! ihr Tiefvermißten, Verkannten! Kinder und Älteste! Sonn und Erd und Aether mit allen lebenden Seelen, die um euch spielen, die ihr umspielt, in ewiger Liebe! O nimm die allesversuchenden Menschen, nimm die Flüchtlinge wieder in die Götterfamilie, nimm in die Heimat der Natur sie auf, aus der sie entwichen!

It is in this context of man's reunion with nature after a period of disunity that the motto from Sophocles' Oedipus Coloneus⁴ which Hölderlin placed before the second volume of Hyperion must be understood. The words βηναι κειθεν, οθεν περ ηκει are exactly echoed at the end of Hyperion's first letter: 'Kehre wieder dahin, wo du ausgiengst, in die Arme der Natur, der wandellosen, stillen und schönen!' ⁵

In that case μη φυναι, τον απαντα νικα λογον must have

1. Op. cit., p. 193.
2. Empedokles (I), IV, 18f.
3. The distinction is discussed in the next chapter.
4. III, 92; Oedipus Coloneus, 1224f.
5. III, 8.

suggested to Hölderlin that original state of unity with nature which he regarded as characteristic of childhood.¹ It is thus mistaken to interpret the lines here as if they retained the content they have in the Sophoclean context, as Ryan does when he lists the reverses Hyperion suffers in this volume in order to justify the 'pessimistischer Ton' of the motto.² The quotation of these lines here is a small example of the way in which Hölderlin read and used Greek literature in terms of his own problems.

So far we have only seen how this reunion could not be achieved: the question how it is to be achieved is the one which faces Hyperion as he begins his series of letters to Bellarmin. In the opening words he describes his present state of mind: 'Der liebe Vaterlandsboden gibt mir wieder Freude und Laid.' In a contemporaneous letter Hölderlin wrote of the same alternation in his own life when, in order to assure Neuffer that he understood his delay in writing, he gave his own reason for being a reluctant correspondent:

Ich weiß ja, wie das geht; man möchte gerne dem Freunde etwas sagen, was man nicht gerade eine Woche später zurücknehmen muß, und doch wiegt uns die ewige Ebb' und Fluth hin und her, und was in der einen Stunde wahr ist, können wir ehrlicher weise in der nächsten Stunde nicht mehr von uns sagen, und indeß der Brief ankommt, den wir schrieben, hat sich das Laid, das wir klagten, in Freude, oder die Freude, die wir mittheilten, in Laid verwandelt, und so ists mehr oder weniger mit den meisten Äußerungen unsers Gemüths und Geistes.

By 'Freude' he understands 'die Augenblicke, wo wir Unvergängliches in uns finden', but they are 'so bald zerstört,

1. Cf. III, 10.

2. Op. cit., p. 157.

das Unvergängliche wird selbst zum Schatten, und kehrt nur,
zu seiner Zeit, wie Frühling und Herbst, lebendig in uns
zurück'.¹

For Hyperion also joy has the special meaning of unity
with nature: 'Eines zu seyn mit Allem, was lebt, in
seeliger Selbstvergessenheit wiederzukehren ins All der
Natur, das ist der Gipfel der Gedanken und Freuden.' But
for him too sorrow quickly returns:

Auf dieser Höhe steh' ich oft, mein Bellarmin!
Aber ein Moment des Besinnens wirft mich herab.
Ich denke nach und finde mich, wie ich zuvor war,
allein, mit allen Schmerzen der Sterblichkeit.²

It is hardly surprising that we find in the context of this
alternation an echo of Plato's allegory of the birth of
Eros, 'whose existence is a continual ebb and flow'³:

'Siehest du nun, wie arm, wie reich du bist?', Diotima asks
Hyperion, 'warum so schräklich Freude und Laid dir wechselt?'

Darum,... weil du ein Bürger bist in den Regionen
der Gerechtigkeit und Schönheit, ein Gott bist
unter Göttern in den schönen Träumen, die am Tage
dich beschleichen, und wenn du aufwachst, auf
neugriechischem Boden stehst.⁴

Empedokles is also depicted as experiencing the same
alternation:

Gelebt hab ich; wie aus der Bäume Wipfel
Die Blüthe regnet und die goldne Frucht
Und Blum und Korn aus dunklem Boden quillt,
So kam aus Müh und Noth die Freude mir,
Und freundlich stiegen Himmelskräfte nieder.

But as well as 'Freude' he too has 'seine leeren Tage',
'sein eigen tiefes Laid', and the play is concerned with

1. III, 7; Br. 118, VI, 204 (March 1796).
2. III, 9.
3. Bury, The Symposium of Plato, p. xlii.
4. III, 67.

the 'grenzenlose Öde' which Hermokrates sees as the punishment of the gods 'weiller des Unterschieds zu sehr vergaß'.¹

Hölderlin had already written of his alternating moods as 'Ewig Ebb' und Fluth' as early as 1790, and he used the same words in describing Diotima's understanding of this alternation in Hyperion:

Wenn sie, wunderbar allwissend, jeden Wohlklang,
jeden Mislaut in der Tiefe meines Wesens, im
Momente, da er begann, noch eh' ich selbst ihn
wahrnahm, mir enthüllte,... wenn sie die Ebb' und
Fluth des Herzens mir behorcht...²

The same musical imagery is used to describe the alternation of joy and sorrow which Hyperion sees when he looks back over his life:

Oder schau' ich auf's Meer hinaus und überdenke
mein Leben, sein Steigen und Sinken, seine Seelig-
keit und seine Trauer und meine Vergangenheit
lautet mir oft, wie ein Saitenspiel, wo der Meister
alle Töne durchläuft, und Streit und Einklang mit
verborgener Ordnung untereinanderwirft.

His desire for the feeling of unity with Diotima, to whom he came 'wie ein zerrissen Saitenspiel', is described in similar terms: 'Zum Tone möchte man werden und sich vereinen in Einen Himmelsgesang', and it is significant that song rather than speech is typical of Diotima, whose harmonious character is firmly embedded in the greater harmony of nature. Empedokles too, addressing nature, longs

Daß mir die stumme todesöde Brust
Von deinen Tönen allen wiederklänge.³

1. Empedokles (I), IV, 70, 4, 11.
2. Br. 35, VI, 56; III, 62.
3. III, 47, 52, 53, 55; Empedokles (I), IV, 18.

It is against the background of such passages that the words 'die Auflösung der Dissonanzen'¹, which Hölderlin names in the 'Vorrede' as the subject of the novel, must be understood. The 'Dissonanzen' are not the two poles of joy and sorrow, as Ryan suggests when he says that 'der erste Satz des Romans... die noch unvereinigten "Dissonanzen" in ein unvermitteltes Nebeneinander setzt'.² The 'Dissonanzen' refer rather to those periods of 'Mislaut' und 'Streit', and the final point of Hyperion's development is a deeper understanding and acceptance of those times of apparent lack of unity with nature.

The acceptance of the alternation of joy and sorrow, 'die ewige Ebb und Flut', is based on Plato. Hölderlin's rejection of earlier influences and aspirations, which is expressed in the course of the events related, was, as we have seen, based on their incompatibility with the Platonic philosophy of beauty rather than on specifically Platonic arguments. However, the insight which is the culmination of the narrator Hyperion's development and which at the same time provided Hölderlin with the solution of an acute personal problem came directly from his study of Plato.

Hyperion narrates how he and Alabanda together looked into Plato 'wo er so wunderbar erhaben vom Altern und Verjüngen spricht'. In his commentary Beißner expresses the opinion, 'Es ist wohl der im Politicus (268e - 274e) erzählte Mythos von den beiden entgegengesetzten Umläufen der Gestirne gemeint, wodurch Kronos und Zeus jeweils in

1. III, 5.

2. Op. cit., p. 59.

der Herrschaft wechseln'.¹ Under the rule of the former men emerge from the earth old and become increasingly younger, under the rule of the latter they are born as children and die in old age. Against this suggestion it can be argued that there is no connection between this myth and the subject of Hyperion, and that there is no other evidence of Hölderlin's interest in Plato's Statesman. Böhm on the other hand thinks that 'wohl der "Phädon" gemeint ist', but pays the question no further attention.²

That the Phaedo is in fact meant is suggested by its relevance to the theme of the novel as a whole and is confirmed in this particular context by an examination of the subsequent relationship of Hyperion and Alabanda. Sitting 'vertraulich umschlungen im Dunkel des immergrünen Lorbeers', throughout the novel symbolic of deeds, Hyperion is 'federleicht hinweggerissen' by Alabanda's enthusiasm for action. Later, however, finding Alabanda's advocacy of force too great a violation of his own nature, Hyperion visualizes the advent of the 'Frühling der Völker' as a result of the processes of nature: 'Der Tod ist ein Bote des Lebens, und daß wir jetzt schlafen in unsern Krankenhäusern, diß zeugt vom nahen gesunden Erwachen'.³

In the Phaedo Socrates is concerned in the last hours of his life to convince his friends of the immortality of the soul. He argues for its pre-existence with the help of the doctrine of Recollection, and bases his belief that it is not dissolved when the body dies on 'the universal

1. III, 27, 450.

2. Hölderlin, I, 85.

3. III, 27, 29, 32.

principle of reciprocal generation of opposite from opposite'.¹ He applies this principle to the opposites of life and death as well as to the opposites of sleeping and waking, and thus concludes that the living are generated from the dead just as are the dead from the living, and that the souls of the dead must survive in order that they may be born again.² This then is the source of Hölderlin's proclamation that 'der Tod ist ein Bote des Lebens', which he too supports with the imagery of sleeping and waking,³ and the processes of 'Altern und Verjüngen' correspond to the movement from life to death and death to life of which Socrates also speaks. The mention of Plato stands at the beginning of the first conversation Hyperion reports having with Alabanda after their meeting. For Alabanda, however, Plato's teaching had no attraction and his influence made Hyperion insensitive to it too. Hyperion's proclamation of this teaching, applied to the aspiration which is the

1. Hackforth, Plato's Phaedo, p. 17. Cf. p. 63f. for the fallacies in Socrates' argument.
2. Phaedo, 70ff.
3. The same imagery occurs in the passage of Herder's Tithon und Aurora which Hölderlin quoted in a letter written to Neuffer in July 1794: 'Was wir Überleben unsrer selbst nennen, ist bei bessern Seelen nur Schlummer zu neuem Erwachen... So ruhet der Aker, damit er desto reicher trage; so erstirbt der Baum im Winter, damit er im Frühlinge neu sprosse und treibe!' (Br. 83, VI, 125). In the same summer he wrote in the Fragment von Hyperion: 'Laßt vergehen, was vergeht, ... es vergeht, um wiederzukehren, es altert, um sich zu verjüngen, ... es stirbt, um lebendiger zu leben' (III, 180).
The occurrence here of the words later used to refer to Plato's teaching suggests that Hölderlin read the Phaedo all the more receptively since he found expressed in it ideas which he had already made his own.

concern of all Hölderlin's work, the emergence of 'die Lieblingin der Zeit, die jüngste, schönste Tochter der Zeit, die neue Kirche...aus diesen befleckten veralteten Formen', comes at the end of their last discussion before parting.¹

The relevance of the doctrine of the alternation of opposites to the theme of Hyperion emerges unmistakably in the passage in which it is foreshadowed at the beginning of the dialogue. Socrates, having just been released from his chains, massages his leg and reflects on the close connection between the opposites pleasure and pain. They never come together, 'but if we run after one of them and grasp it, we are practically compelled to grasp the other too... That is just what seems to be happening in my own case: the discomfort of my leg due to the fetter appears to have departed, and the pleasure following close upon it to have arrived.'²

A growing insight into and acceptance of the doctrine of the alternation of opposites, expressed in terms of 'Altern und Verjüngen', as in the explicit reference to Plato, are what characterize Hyperion's development during the process of narration. The starting-point of this development is Hyperion's feeling of separation from nature, which leads to the complaint, 'Alles altert und verjüngt sich wieder. Warum sind wir ausgenommen vom schönen Kreislauf der Natur?' That Hölderlin has the Phaedo in mind is confirmed by the echo of Socrates' claim that if generation

1. III, 32.

2. Phaedo, 60 (translated by Hackforth).

were a one-way process from one thing to its opposite everything would end up in the same state and the coming into being of things would be at an end. As it is, one opposite comes into being to balance the other - nature is a circular process: ὡσπερὶ κύκλω περιδόντα .¹

But at this stage Hyperion is still overwhelmed by the feeling that he has failed, and his retreat to the memory of his youth forms at the same time the motivation for the account of it which he gives Bellarmin.

At the beginning of the second book, when Hyperion describes his present life on Salamis, he already understands the 'verborgene Ordnung' in his life, the alternation of 'sein Steigen und Sinken, seine Seeligkeit und seine Trauer'. And going on to recall his meeting with Diotima he sees it as one of those moments when 'der Himmel der Vollendung vor der ahnenden Liebe sich öffnet', as the supreme joy: 'Daß die Menschen manchmal sagen möchten: sie freueten sich! O glaubt, ihr habt von Freude noch nichts geahnet!' The memory leads to the joyful cry,

Ist der Mensch nicht veraltet, verwelkt...?

Und dennoch kehrt sein Frühling wieder!

Weint nicht, wenn das Trefflichste verblüht! bald wird es sich verjüngen! Trauert nicht, wenn eures Herzens Melodie verstummt! bald findet eine Hand sich wieder, es zu stimmen!

Hyperion has recognized that the alternation of opposites in nature also applies to man's life, but the 'Todestöne' of the 'zerrissen Saitenspiel' with which he compares his state before their meeting are still regarded as abhorrent

1. III, 17; Phaedo, 72.

and are acceptable because they represent only a passing phase. He concludes this letter:

Aber sie kommen, sie wägen Aeonen des Kampfes auf, die Augenblicke der Befreiung, wo das Göttliche den Körper sprengt, wo die Flamme vom Holze sich löst und siegend emporwallt über der Asche, ha! wo uns ist, als kehrte der entfesselte Geist, vergessen der Leiden, der Knechtsgestalt, im Triumphe zurück in die Hallen der Sonne.¹

In these words Hölderlin not only uses the Platonic image of the body as a prison which the soul can only leave at death,² but also sees man's momentary contact with the divine in terms of the Platonic philosopher's access to the truth of the upper world, which can only be complete when at death the soul is released from the body.³

Diotima's last letter to Hyperion, which he transcribes for Bellarmin, is, like the Phaedo, concerned with immortality. But whereas Socrates dispels the fear of death with philosophical arguments, Diotima places her confidence in her belief that 'die Natur den ewigen Sieg über alle Verderbniß feiert'. She writes:

Die Armen, die nichts kennen, als ihr dürftig Machwerk, die der Noth nur dienen und den Genius verschmäh'n, und dich nicht ehren, kindlich Leben der Natur! die mögen vor dem Tode sich fürchten...

Ich aber nicht!... ich hab' es gefühlt, das Leben der Natur, das höher ist, denn alle Gedanken - wenn ich auch zur Pflanze würde, wäre denn der Schade so groß? - Ich werde seyn... Wir sterben, um zu leben.⁴

Having also transcribed a letter from Notara which he had received at the same time as Diotima's, Hyperion reports

1. III, 47, 51f.

2. Phaedo, 62. Cf. Griechenland, I, 180; Das Schicksaal, I, 186.

3. Phaedo, 66ff.

4. III, 147f.

his present feelings, 'wie jetzt mir ist, indem ich diß erzähle', reflections which represent the final stage of his development during the process of narration. He now sees 'Leid' not as the absence of the 'Freude' which is felt in contact with the divine, but as a state which itself unites man with nature:

Bester! ich bin ruhig, denn ich will nichts bessers haben, als die Götter. Muß nicht alles leiden? Und je trefflicher es ist, je tiefer! Leidet nicht die heilige Natur? O meine Gott-heit! daß du trauern könntest, wie du seelig bist, das konnt' ich lange nicht fassen... Ja! ja! werth ist der Schmerz, am Herzen der Menschen zu liegen, und dein Vertrauter zu seyn, O Natur!

'Leid' is thus acceptable not just as a passing phase, but for its own sake, for 'die Wonne, die nicht leidet, ist Schlaf, und ohne Tod ist kein Leben'. The alternation of 'Freude' and 'Leid' is the very basis of man's inclusion in the 'Kreislauf der Natur'.¹

The words in which Ryan, commenting on this passage, expresses the fact that 'diese beiden Pole - der schmerzliche Wandel des menschlichen Lebens und das innige Einssein mit der Natur - auf einen gemeinsamen Nenner gebracht und auf eine einzige Wurzel zurückgeführt (werden)' could, but for his lack of awareness of the Platonic influence, have been written with those of Socrates in mind: (Pleasure and pain) are like two creatures attached

1. III, 150. In Br. 87, 118, 123 (referred to below) 'Schmerz' is used as a synonym of 'Leid'. In Hölderlin's letters the alternation of 'Freude' and 'Leid' is accepted because of its formative function: "'Wen die Götter lieben, dem wird große Freude, großes Leid zu Theil". Auf dem Bache zu schiffen, ist keine Kunst. Aber wenn unser Herz und unser Schicksaal in den Meersgrund hinab und an den Himmel hinauf uns wirft, das bildet den Steuer- man' (Br. 136, VI, 237). Cf. Br. 123, VI, 214 ('Großer Schmerz und große Lust bildet den Menschen am besten'); Br. 87, VI, 133; Br. 118, VI, 205.

to a single head. I fancy that if Aesop had thought of it, he would have composed a fable telling how God wanted to put an end to their hostility, but found that he could not, and so fastened their heads together, with the result that anybody who is visited by one of them finds the other following it up afterwards.¹

The insight which forms the climax of the novel not only retained its validity for Hölderlin, but in addition was also given wider application. 'Die exzentrische Bahn' is the path of 'der Mensch, im Allgemeinen und Einzelnen' and thus describes the development of mankind as well as that of man.² It is therefore not surprising that Hölderlin's interpretation of the Platonic doctrine of the alternation of pleasure and pain is also applied to the alternating periods of contact with and separation from the divine in the course of history. The words which Pausanias addresses to Empedokles concern the individual:

es schlummert deine Seele
Dir auch, zu Zeiten, wenn sie sich genug
Der Welt geöffnet, wie die Erde, die
Du liebst, sich oft in tiefe Ruhe schließt.
Doch nennest du sie todt, die Ruhende?

But when they are echoed by Empedokles himself they are applied to the future 'Götterttag':

Oft schläft, wie edles Saamenkorn,
Das Herz der Sterblichen in tochter Schaale,
Bis ihre Zeit gekommen ist;...
Dann glänzt ein neuer Tag herauf.³

1. Ryan, op. cit., p. 223; Phaedo, 60 (translated by Hackforth).
2. III, 163.
3. Empedokles (I), IV, 19, 67f.

Using the imagery of night and day, which itself suggests the inevitability of alternation, Hölderlin at times sees only the negative side of his own age:

Aber weh! es wandelt in Nacht, es wohnt, wie im Orkus,
Ohne Göttliches unser Geschlecht.

At other times, however, he gives this period a more positive interpretation as 'heil'ge Nacht', 'Wo die stumme Natur werdende Tage sinnt'.¹ But as in the case of the individual's attitude to 'Leid' he also assigns this night a greater significance than that of a passing phase which is no more than a necessary preliminary to the future day. It receives a real value of its own:

Der Vater aber dekert mit heilger Nacht,
Damit wir bleiben mögen, die Augen zu.

And again:

so sehr schonen die Himmlischen uns.
Denn nicht immer vermag ein schwaches Gefäß sie zu
fassen,
Nur zu Zeiten erträgt göttliche Fülle der Mensch.²

Even in this period of the absence of the gods there is yet a kind of contact with them.

However, the essential feature of the Platonic doctrine is that pain will be followed by pleasure, death by life. This is the hope to which Hölderlin was able to cling when he wrote to his mother,

Aber gerade wie nach dem Winter der Frühling kömmt,
so kam auch immer nach dem Geistestode der Menschen
neues Leben, und das Heilige bleibt immer heilig,
wenn es auch die Menschen nicht achten.³

1. Der Archipelagus, II, 110; Lebenslauf, II, 22.
2. Dichterberuf, II, 48; Brot und Wein, II, 93.
3. Br. 173, VI, 310.

The importance of this doctrine for Hölderlin's later work emerges most clearly in a letter to Ebel:

Und was das Allgemeine betrifft, so hab' ich
Einen Trost, daß nemlich jede Gährung und Auflösung
entweder zur Vernichtung oder zu neuer Organisation
nothwendig führen muß. Aber Vernichtung giebts nicht,
also muß die Jugend der Welt aus unserer Verwesung
wieder kehren.

We find here a link between the Platonic doctrine which lies at the basis of the final version of Hyperion and the ideas about the 'Untergang oder Übergang des Vaterlandes' in the essay Das Werden im Vergehen, where it is stated that 'in eben dem Momente und Grade, worinn sich das Bestehende auflöst, auch das Neueintretende, Jugendliche, Mögliche sich fühlt'.¹ We shall see that the basically Platonic thought expressed here still retained its validity for Hölderlin when he was occupied with his Sophocles-translations.

1. Br. 132, VI, 229; IV, 282.

III. GREECE

1. The Spirit of Greece

In his interpretation of the history of mankind as of the individual Hölderlin saw a period of harmony succeeded by a period of discord and looked forward to a restoration of the original harmony, which was, however, to be more valuable in its second than in its first form, for it would then represent Hölderlin's ideal of unity in diversity. True unity, he saw, is not the same as oneness, but can only be achieved by the separation of the original oneness into its parts and their subsequent inclusion in a new whole, 'das εν διαφερον εαυτω (das Eine in sich selber unterschiedne)'. This was for him the nature of beauty, and his hopes for the future were based on the belief that 'es wartet, um mit Hyperion zu reden, ein neues Reich auf uns, wo die Schönheit Königin ist'.¹

Though the future for which he strove was to be more valuable than the past, the past remained for Hölderlin exemplary. During the period when he was engaged on Hyperion it was Greece which he regarded as a model, and his various references to Greek history are coherent enough to show that he had a consistent view of the period to be emulated. This period is widely defined as extending from Homer and Theseus, the legendary king who was supposed to have brought about the union of the various communities of

1. Hyperion, III, 81; 'Vorrede' to penultimate version, III, 237.

Attica into one state with Athens as its capital,¹ to Agis and Cleomenes, the two last great kings of Sparta, who, realizing the deadening effect of her conservatism, tried to restore Spartan greatness by a series of reforms, hopes which were destroyed when Cleomenes was overthrown by the Achaean League in 222 or 221 B.C. Such is the view put forward by Hyperion when Diotima requests him to speak of Agis and Cleomenes: 'Der Genius dieser Menschen sei das Abendroth des griechischen Tages, wie Theseus und Homer die Aurore desselben!'.²

The Greek day is thus seen as stretching from the rise of Athens to the decline of Sparta, but the period to be emulated is more narrowly defined as the heyday of Athens from the victory over the Persians in 480 to the defeat by Philip of Macedon in 338. It is as the descendants of the victors of Salamis that Hyperion sees the Greeks of his own day challenged to reclaim their former freedom:

Sind wir denn, wie ein Irrlicht aus dem Sumpfe
geboren oder stammen wir von den Siegern bei
Salamis ab? Wie ists denn nun? wie bist du denn
zur Magd geworden, griechische freie Natur?...
ich will es länger nicht dulden!³

But the future is more valuable than the past, and Hyperion would not exchange the victories to which he looks forward for Marathon, Plataea and Thermopylae: 'Ist nicht dem Herzen das genesende Leben mehr werth, als das reine, das die Krankheit noch nicht kennt?'⁴

1. Plutarch, Theseus, 24.

2. III, 100.

3. III, 107. Cf. III, 47: Hyperion is particularly ashamed of his own military failure when he reads of the battle of Salamis.

4. III, 115.

However, the period of freedom inaugurated by the victory at Salamis ended at Chaeronea, 'fatal to liberty' in Milton's phrase, after which Athens was compelled to join the Hellenic confederacy organized by Philip. In Hyperion's eyes the enslavement of Athens completely justified Demosthenes' suicide when in 322 Antipater demanded that the chief anti-Macedonian agitator should be handed over:

Wir ...sprachen davon, wie hier der Löwe
Demosthenes sein Ende gefunden, wie er hier mit
heiligem selbsterwähltem Tode aus den Macedonischen
Ketten und Dolchen sich zur Freiheit geholfen...
er hatte nichts mehr hier zu suchen; Athen war
Alexanders Dirne geworden.¹

For Hyperion the greatness of Greece rested on action in support of freedom:

Ich sehe nur Thaten, vergangene, künftige...
Glaube mir, wer dieses Land durchreist, und
noch ein Joch auf seinem Halse duldet, kein
Pelopidas wird, der ist herzleer, oder ihm
fehlt es am Verstande.²

Instead of 'Pelopidas', who in 379-8 restored democratic rule at Thebes by driving out the Spartans, Hölderlin first wrote 'Harmodius', the Athenian tyrannicide whom Hyperion has already apostrophized as his model: 'Aber Harmodius! deiner Myrthe will ich gleichen, deiner Myrthe, worinn das Schwert sich verbarg.' Theseus is revered for starting the development towards the freedom of Athenian democracy, for 'die wundergroße Tat..., die freiwillige Beschränkung seiner eignen

1. III, 76f.
2. III, 104. Cf. Hölderlin's characterization of early Greece in his Geschichte der schönen Künste unter den Griechen: 'Überall war Freiheit, froher Heldenmuth, sinnliche Schönheit und Bewußtsein derselben' (IV, 191).

königlichen Gewalt',¹ and it was, as we have seen, freedom which Demosthenes sought in death when it was no longer to be found in Athens.

In Hyperion's schematic analysis of the growth of Athenian civilization this love of freedom is seen as the product of the 'Geistesschönheit der Athener', itself the result of the gradual, undisturbed development which led to the birth of the two daughters of divine beauty, art and religion. In the concrete historical situation, however, this freedom had to be fought for before the full flowering

1. III, 95; III, 79. Empedokles not only refuses the crown offered him, but makes it clear that monarchy is only appropriate in the youth of a nation:

Schämet euch,
Daß ihr noch einen König wollt: ihr seid
Zu alt; zu eurer Väter Zeiten wärs
Ein anderes gewesen. (IV, 63)

Hölderlin had the authority of Diogenes Laertius that Empedocles 'persuaded the Agrigentines... to cultivate political equality' (quoted by Benn, Der Tod des Empedokles, p. 164), and in the letter to Sinclair in which he reports his reading of Laertius Hölderlin's arguments for the balance of forces are reminiscent of the balance he sought in political life:

Es ist auch gut, und sogar die erste Bedingung
alles Lebens und aller Organisation, daß keine
Kraft monarchisch ist im Himmel und auf Erden.
Die absolute Monarchie hebt sich überall selbst
auf, denn sie ist objectlos: es hat auch im
strengen Sinne niemals eine gegeben.

(Br. 171, VI, 300)

In his own day too Hölderlin looked forward to the freedom of the future and the qualities of which, in his view, freedom was a pre-condition: see the first extract from Br. 65 quoted on p. 109.

of Athenian civilization was possible. It is from this interpretation of Greek history that Hyperion derives his programme for his own enslaved Greece, defending his plans for action against Diotima's opposition to the use of force with the claim, 'Die heilige Theokratie des Schönen muß in einem Freistaat wohnen.'¹

This interpretation of Hölderlin's view of Greek history is confirmed by Der Archipelagus, for according to this poem the zenith of Athenian civilization was made possible by the battle of Salamis, when under the leadership of Themistocles, the 'einsamer Jüngling', the deeds of 'das innige Volk, vom Göttergeiste gerüstet' ward off the threat to its freedom from 'des Genius Feind, der vielgebetende Perse'. Here too the limits of the finest period in Athenian history are set by the victory over Persia and the defeat by Macedon:

Kränzt mit ewigem Laub, ihr Lorbeerwälder! die Hügel
Eurer Todten umher, bei Marathon dort, wo die Knaben
Siegend starben, ach! dort auf Chäroneas Gefilden,
Wo mit Waffen ins Blut die letzten Athener enteilten,
Fliehend vor dem Tage der Schmach.

Even before Hölderlin came under the spell of Greece he was attracted by the ideal of action in support of freedom and expressed his admiration for it in whatever context it manifested itself. In Burg Tübingen he sees the deeds of his ancestors as providing the inspiration for his own generation:

1. III, 80, 96.
2. II, 105, 111.

Wo den Lieblingen die Geister lauschen
Spreche Freiheit den Tyrannen Hohn!...
Denn der Heldenkinder Herz zu stählen,
Atmet Freiheit hier und Männermuth.

Gustav Adolf is a hymn of gratitude to the man, 'Deß Thaten die Lande sah'n,... Deß Thaten die Meere sah'n', the 'Retter der Freiheit', the 'Schützer des Frommen' against the tyranny of 'Pfaffenwuth'. Similarly 'Kanton Schweiz' as 'Land der göttlichen Freiheit' remains a reproach to the poet until the hoped for day, 'Wo in erfreuende That sich Schaam und Kummer verwandelt'.¹

When Hölderlin's interest was transferred to Greece it was natural that he should see Greek history in terms of the ideal which already inspired him. In the same way he saw Greek civilization in terms of the ideal of unity which he had embraced as a schoolboy. It was his desire for the unity of man with man and of man with nature which led him to write:

Laßt uns Hütten baun - des ächten germanischen Mannsins
Und der Freundschaft Hütten auf meiner einsamen Haide.

By the time he left Tübingen he was no longer concerned with 'gefallene Helden der eisernen Vorzeit', but with 'Marathons Heroën' and the brotherhood of the Greeks, who for him were characterized by their 'brüderliche Freude' and whom 'der holde Frühling' regarded as 'seine Brüder'.²

Hölderlin's view of Greek civilization is illuminated by the fact that all the places Hyperion sees or calls to mind on his visit to Athens were connected with activities of the

1. I, 102, 85ff.; Kanton Schweiz, I, 145.

2. Auf einer Haide geschrieben, I, 29f.; Griechenland, I, 179f.

community rather than of the individual. He thinks above all of those places where the festivals of the gods were celebrated, of the Parthenon and the other temples gathered round it like children, of the Theseum and the Olympieum, of the theatre of Dionysus and the stadium, where dramatic and athletic contests were held in honour of the gods. He also remembers the institutions of Athenian democracy, the agora with the 'Rednerstuhl' from which the assembled people were addressed, and he sees philosophy too as a group activity uniting teacher and 'horchende Schüler', whether 'auf Suniums grüner Spitze' or in 'des Akademos Hain'.¹

It is not insignificant that such 'heilige Gespräche' took place in 'des Akademos Hain' or under 'der Ahorn des Ilissus', for here the philosophers could commune not only with each other, but also with nature. Indeed for Hyperion the reverence of the Greeks for nature was such that it was repaid with a reversal of the relationship:

Die Natur war Priesterin und der Mensch ihr Gott,
und alles Leben in ihr und jede Gestalt und jeder
Ton von ihr nur Ein begeistertes Echo des Herrlichen,
dem sie gehörte.

Thus the Athenian temples, built as an expression of this reverence, were themselves the product of nature's liberality:

Die Marmorfelsen des Hymettus und Pentele sprangen
hervor aus ihrer schlummernden Wiege, wie Kinder
aus der Mutter Schoos, und gewannen Form und Leben
unter den zärtlichen Athener-Händen.²

1. III, 84ff., 129f.
2. III, 84.

In the importance which he attached to the activities of the community Hölderlin emphasized an essential characteristic of Athenian society, but in ascribing to it such reverence for nature he was projecting his own feelings into the past. Nevertheless both these general characteristics are given equal weight when they are put in a concrete historical context in Der Archipelagus. After its destruction by the Persians the Athenians must rebuild their city.

Sieh! und dem Schaffenden dienet der Wald, ihm
reicht mit den andern
Bergen nahe zur Hand der Pentele Marmor und Erze,
Aber lebend, wie er, und froh und herrlich
entquillt es
Seinen Händen, und leicht, wie der Sonne, gedeiht
das Geschäft ihm.

The Athenians are 'die edlen Lieblinge' not only of the 'Meergott', but of all nature. And the buildings which rise serve the same communal activities as the places referred to by Hyperion, the exercise of democracy in the town-hall, philosophical discussion as well as training for the great festivals in the gymnasia and the honouring of the gods in the temples:

hoch ragt
Der Prytanen Gemach, es stehn Gymnasien offen,
Göttertempel entstehn.

For here too the Athenians are a united people. They return home 'freudig gemischt' and

...da reicht in der Seele bewegt, und der Treue sich
auf der Agora
freund,
Jetzt das liebende Volk zum Bunde die Hände sich wieder.

Indeed the basic unit of society is not the individual, but the family, itself assembled like the community as a whole under the eyes of 'den lächelnden Göttern des Hauses' and closely linked with its neighbours.¹

The only individual Athenian mentioned is Themistocles, the 'einsamer Jüngling', but the poet only isolates him from his fellow-citizens in order to stress the closeness of his unity with nature, expressed in his receptive attitude to the 'Meergott', now named for the first time in the last word of the strophe before the transition to the battle which forms the central event of the poem:

und Großes ahndet der Ernste,
Wenn er zu Füßen so des erderschütternden Meisters
Lauschet und sitzt, und nicht umsonst erzog ihn der
Meergott.

In this respect, however, he is representative of the Athenians as a whole, for the 'Gassen' which 'eilten aus freudigen Pforten... zu geseegnetem Hafen herunter', joining Athens and the Piraeus, are symbolic of their close links with the sea. Hölderlin even goes so far as to see Athenian trade as an enhancement of the divine unity of nature; the gods loved 'der fernhinsinnende Kaufmann', 'dieweil er die guten/Gaaben der Erd' ausglich und Fernes Nahem vereinte'. Thus Hölderlin is justified in emphasizing the support of the gods for 'das innige Volk, vom Göttergeiste gerüstet', 'die Götterliebblinge': just as in a Homeric battle, 'es schauen die Götter des Himmels/Wägend und richtend herab'.²

1. II, 107ff.
2. II, 105f.

As a result it is 'der Gott' who drives the Persian fleet to retreat and 'der Gott' who drives Xerxes to join the flight of his troops. 'Die donnernde Wooge' has become 'die Rächerin', a word which receives a deeper significance, if we see it as referring not only to Xerxes' attack on the Greeks, but also to his attitude to the 'Meergott' and hence to nature as a whole. Hölderlin had read not only, like Hyperion, 'vom alten herrlichen Seekrieg, der an Salamis einst im wilden klugbeherrschten Getümmel vertobte', but also the whole story of the Persian expedition. He would thus have had in mind Xerxes' treatment of the Hellespont when a storm destroyed his first bridge across it: as it received 300 lashes it was informed that Xerxes was its master and that it had its own character to blame for the fact that no one sacrificed to it, words which Herodotus describes as βαρβαρά τε καὶ ἀτάσθαλα, 'a highly presumptuous way of addressing the Hellespont and typical of a barbarous nation'. Thus the Persian attitude to the 'Meergott' was the exact opposite of that of the Athenians,

die edlen Lieblinge...,
Die dich geehrt, die einst mit den schönen Tempeln
und Städten
Deine Gestade bekränzt.

The refusal of sacrifice by the domineering Persian was perhaps more wounding than the whip, for

Immer bedürfen ja, wie Heroën den Kranz, die geweihten
Elemente zum Ruhme das Herz der fühlenden Menschen.¹

1. II, 107, 104; III, 47; Herodotus, VII.35 (translated by A. de Selincourt). It is to this event that Hölderlin refers in the advice Adamas gives Hyperion in Hyperions Jugend: 'Und wenn der kleinen Menschen kleiner Tadel in deinem sichern Gange dir nachtönt, so denke dir recht lebendig, wie der arme Perse den ungehorsamen Ozean peitschte!' (III, 208).

Both these aspects of the ancient Greeks, their closeness to nature and their harmony with their fellow-men, are conjured up in Hyperion's recollection of the blind Oedipus' reception by the 'Götterhain' and 'schöne Seelen' of Athens. But the function of this memory is to emphasize the contrast between past and present which is apparent in Hyperion's own reception by the Germans: "Wie anders gieng es mir!"¹ The Germans are, like the Persians, 'Barbaren': that is to say, they are essentially non-Greek and hence lack those characteristics which for Hölderlin singled out the Greeks. Like Xerxes, 'des Genius Feind', they too are people who 'den Genius verschmähn' and they too are 'Gottverlaßne'. They lack the Greek harmony with nature and with each other: for them nothing flourishes 'weil sie die Wurzel des Gedeihns, die göttliche Natur nicht achten', their life is 'schaal und sorgenschwer und übergewollt von kalter stummer Zwietracht'.² The same complaint occurs in Der Archipelagus:

Aber weh! es wandelt in Nacht, es wohnt ^{wie} im Orkus,
Ohne Göttliches unser Geschlecht. Ans eigene Treiben
Sind sie geschmiedet allein.

And in the same way as the present is characterized by the rejection of the values of Greece, the future will represent their resurrection. It is for this that Hyperion longs, 'daß die alte schöne Welt sich unter uns erneure, daß wir

1. III, 153.

2. II, 105; III, 156. Cf. the letter to his brother in which Hölderlin describes 'der deutsche Volkscharakter' as being 'ohne Allgemeinsinn und offenen Blick in die Welt', claiming 'daß unter den Alten, wo jeder mit Sinn und Seele der Welt angehörte, die ihn umgab, weit mehr Innigkeit in einzelnen Charakteren und Verhältnissen zu finden ist, als zum Beispiel unter uns Deutschen' (Br. 172, VI, 303).

uns versammeln und vereinen in den Armen unserer Gottheit, der Natur'. Then the people will again be 'Stillvereint im freieren Lied, zur Ehre des Gottes'.¹

In Hölderlin's novel Rome is also admired for its military deeds, for the Scipios are mentioned by Hyperion in the same breath as Themistocles, and it becomes clear that what attracted Hölderlin was the freedom of the Roman Republic, for Diotima compares her death with that of 'die große Römerin', Porcia, after the battle of Philippi, 'da im Todeskampf ihr Brutus und das Vaterland rang'.² These references to Roman history foreshadow the development of Hölderlin's thought which took place after the years spent on Hyperion, which seems to have been almost completed in August 1797 even though the second volume was only published in autumn 1799.³

Hölderlin's exclusive preoccupation with Greece is re-echoed in Der Archipelagus, assigned by Beißner to spring 1800,⁴ but in Brot und Wein, completed in winter 1800-1, the uniqueness of Greece has already given way to a wider view of the divine day, referred to in the second version of Der Einzige as 'das glückliche Altertum'. A clue to the cause of this development is given in Gesang des Deutschen, written in late autumn 1799, which is concerned not only

1. II, 110f.; III, 16.

2. III, 44 (cf. Empedokles' reference to 'das Römerland, das thatenreiche' (IV, 132)); III, 147.

3. Cf. Beißner, III, 313f.

4. For the dating of these poems see Beißner, II, 632, 591, 383, 686f.

with the end of Athenian civilization, but even more with the passage of the still living spirit of Greece to Germany as 'reifeste Frucht der Zeit':

O heilger Wald! o Attikal traf Er doch
Mit seinem furchtbarn Strale dich auch, so bald,
Und eilten sie, die dich belebt, die
Flammen entbunden zum Aether über?

Doch, wie der Frühling, wandelt der Genius
Von Land zu Land.¹

This movement could more easily be justified if it were seen to result from the momentum of a more extensive movement from east to west, endowed with the same natural necessity as the course of the sun.²

Thus early in 1801 Hölderlin turned in Am Quell der Donau to greet 'Mutter Asia' as the original home of 'den göttlichgesendeten Gaben,/Den freundlichen, die aus Ionien uns,/ Auch aus Arabia kamen':

so kam
Das Wort aus Osten zu uns,
Und an Parnassos Felsen und am Kithäron hör' ich
O Asia, das Echo von dir und es bricht sich
Am Kapitol und jählings herab von den Alpen

Kommt eine Fremdlingin sie
Zu uns, die Erwekerin,
Die menschenbildende Stimme.³

The invocation of the east as the earliest place of union between man and the divine is based on the revelation received by the patriarchs and prophets of the Old Testament, 'Die.../Zuerst es verstanden, /Allein zu reden/Zu Gott'.⁴ But the

1. II, 159; II, 4.

2. Hölderlin saw the future not only as the dawn of a new day, but also as 'Abend der Zeit' (Friedensfeier, III, 536).

3. II, 126ff.

4. Cf. Hebrews I.1, with the quotation of which Hölderlin opened 'die Rede, die ich am Johannistage bei der Vesper halte' (Br. 2, VI, 4): 'Nachdem vorzeiten Gott manchmal und mancherley Weise geredt hat zu den Vätern durch die Propheten...' (IV, 171).

likelihood of the movement from east to west being continued as far as Germany is increased by seeing Roman civilization too as a period of fulfilment and by visualising the divine word passing over Italy towards the Alps, just as in Germanien 'der Adler, der vom Indus kömmt' flies not only over Parnassus, but also 'hoch über den Opferhügeln/Italias' until finally

geübter im Fluge
Der Alte, jauchzend überschwingt er
Zulezt die Alpen und sieht die vielgearteten Länder.

The basis of this view of Rome was for Hölderlin now not so much the action and freedom which characterized the Republic as the close relationship between Greek and Roman religion: the Capitol, against which the word breaks, was the site of the temple of Jupiter, the god of the sky who was identified with the Greek Zeus, and that Hölderlin himself linked the two religions is confirmed by the late variant of Der Archipelagus in which he ascribes the downfall of Rome as well as that of Greece to a religious failure:

Drüben sind der Trümmer genug im Griechenland und die hohe
Roma liegt, sie machten zu sehr zu Menschen die Götter.¹

It was the interpretation of the period of the Roman Republic as a time of fulfilment which allowed Hölderlin to extend the divine day to include Christ as the last representative of 'der himmlische Chor', the 'stiller Genius' who, leaving behind the gifts of bread and wine, 'des Tags Ende verkündet' und schwand'. Night finally came at Pentecost when

1. II, 150, 645.

er scheidend
Noch einmal ihnen erschien.
Denn izt erlosch der Sonne Tag
Der Königliche.

Christ was sent by the Father at the very end of the day
as a 'Fakelschwinger' to lighten the darkness,

Denn versiegt fast, all in Opferflammen
War ausgeathmet das heilige Feuer.¹

The future reaffirmation of the qualities of Greek civilization in Greece itself is visualised by Diotima in terms of the renewal of those activities which were characteristic of the ancient Greeks. She writes to Hyperion:

Von dir gestiftet,
grünte wieder des Akademos Hain über den horchenden
Schülern und heilige Gespräche hörte, wie einst,
der Ahorn des Ilissus wieder... und zu Thaten
geleitete, schöner als Kriegsmusik, die jungen
Helden Helios Licht .

In her farewell letter she even has in mind the human unity represented by the Athenian agora when she emphasizes the harmony of the 'Bund der Natur': 'Der ist nicht, wie ein Markttag, wo das Volk zusammenläuft und lärmt und auseinandergeht.' In the same way, when Hyperion writes of the future, he visualizes the joy he would experience in 'den neuen Tempeln, in der neuversammelten Agora unsers Volks'.²

Hölderlin retains the same imagery when he is no longer writing of the 'künftige Vaterlandsfeste' which Hyperion hoped to celebrate with Diotima, but of the 'Feiertage' of Germania, for addressing his own country he asks

1. Brot und Wein, II, 94f.; Patmos, II, 168; 'Versöhnender der du nimmergeglaubt...', II, 132.
2. III, 130f., 148, 151.

Wo ist dein Delos, wo dein Olympia,
Daß wir uns alle finden am höchsten Fest?¹

These two festivals with their contests held in honour of Apollo and Zeus attracted visitors from many parts of the Greek world and so could be seen by Hölderlin as an expression not only of the Greeks' unity with the gods, but also of their unity among themselves. 'In den Hainen, in den Tempeln erwachten und tönnten in einander ihre Seelen, und treu bewahrte jeder die entzükenden Accorde', writes Hyperion of the festival of Delos when he records his visit to the island. 'Ein unaufhörlich Lieben wars und ists', is the comment Hölderlin makes on Greek civilization to conclude his reference to the Olympic games, the

Kampfspiel, wo sonst unsichtbar der Heros
Geheim bei Dichtern saß, die Ringer schaut' und
Pries, der gepriesene, die müßigernsten Kinder² -
lächelnd

a view of Greece which, since it disregards the internecine wars that did so much to weaken the city-states and make them Philip's victim, gives excessive emphasis to the sacred truce, the ἐνεχειρία or holding of hands, declared on the occasion of the festival.

The imagery of the festivals therefore conjures up directly the qualities of Greek civilization which are to be restored. But as Hölderlin, having established the nature of these qualities, became increasingly interested in the

1. III, 108; Germanien, II, 152; Gesang des Deutschen, II, 5.
2. III, 15; Am Quell der Donau, II, 127. Hölderlin's interest in the Olympic Games also appears in the fact that on the basis of Laertius' record of a report that he had won a horse-race at Olympia Hölderlin makes Empedokles a competitor in the Games (IV, 3. Cf. Benn, op. cit., p. 161).

process of their movement from Greece to Germany he turned to imagery with which he could better express this new concern. Thus, as we have seen, he depicts the journey of 'das Wort aus Osten' and 'der Adler' to Germany, and in the same way in Die Wanderung, when he has travelled to Greece, it is not his object to stay:

nur, euch einzuladen,
Bin ich zu euch, ihr Gratien Griechenlands,
Ihr Himmelstöchter, gegangen,
Daß, wenn die Reise zu weit nicht ist,
Zu uns ihr kommet, ihr Holden!

Similarly Hölderlin imagines the Muses coming to Germany, for he looks forward to the day when

die Berge des deutschen
Landes Berge der Musen sind,

Wie die herrlichen einst, Pindos und Helikon,
Und Parnassos.¹

Here there is no longer the same direct reference to qualities in Greek civilization. The question arises therefore why Hölderlin chose these particular figures to make the journey westwards as representatives of Greece. It seems indeed that there is a greater significance in the choice of the Graces than is suggested by Beißner's description of them as 'die fördernden Hüterinnen des Göttlich-gemeinsamen unter den Menschen'. Beißner points out that the description of the 'Charitinnen' as 'die Dienerinnen des Himmels' is a clear echo of Pindar's Olympian XIV, which Hölderlin had translated about a year earlier.² For the

1. II, 141; An die Deutschen, II, 10.

2. II, 721; πάντων ταμίαι ἔργων ἐν οὐρανῷ, in Hölderlin's translation: 'alle/Ausrichtend die Werke im Himmel' (V, 61).

illumination of Hölderlin's choice, however, it is the lines which follow that are important:

Bei ihm mit dem goldenen Bogen erwählend
Bei Pythios Apollo die Thronen,
Des unerschöpflichen heiligen sie des Vaters
Des Olympischen Ehre.

Thus the Graces are closely associated with Apollo and Zeus, who is their father not only in the wider sense as Olympian Father, but also in the narrower physical sense, for they are 'von Göttern des Mächtigsten Kinder'.

The Muses too were the daughters of Zeus, but as deities of music they were equally connected with Apollo, the god of music. In Pythian I - the ode where the eagle, which in Germanien flies from east to west, is seen as the king of birds sleeping on the sceptre of Zeus - they are linked with him in the opening lines:

Goldne Leier Apollons
Und der dunkelgelokten
Beistimmendes der Musen Eigentum.¹

It is thus no accident that of the three mountains mentioned in An die Deutschen as 'Berge der Musen', Pindos, Helikon and Parnassos, the latter two were sacred to Apollo as well as to the Muses.

It emerges that at about the turn of the century Hölderlin's imagery discarded those allusions to the unity of the people among themselves which were still contained in the mention of 'Delos' and 'Olympia' in Gesang des Deutschen and restricted itself to references to the two gods in whose honour these festivals were held. The passage of the

1. V, 63.

spirit of Greece to Germany was now visualized as the coming of the representatives of Zeus and Apollo, the eagle, the Muses and the Graces - or of the gods themselves.

2. Zeus and Apollo

As in the case of Hölderlin's view of Greek history and civilization, so too we can find his earliest interpretation of Greek religion in Hyperion, in particular in the hero's discourse on the development of Athens.

The childhood of the Athenians as a people is seen, like that of the individual, as a period of unconscious unity with nature: 'Im Anfang war der Mensch und seine Götter Eins, da, sich selber unbekannt, die ewige Schönheit war.'. They were united in 'der menschlichen, der göttlichen Schönheit' until the Athenian's emergence from this state: 'Schön kam er aus den Händen der Natur.'. It was art which enabled him to attain consciousness of his own existence:

In ihr verjüngt und wiederholt der göttliche
Mensch sich selbst. Er will sich selber fühlen,
darum stellt er seine Schönheit gegenüber sich.
So gab der Mensch sich seine Götter.¹

1. III, 79. These mysteries represent Hölderlin's development of the traditional views he put forward in his Geschichte der schönen Künste, where he relates 'wie... die Priester... die unsterblichen Werke ihrer Bildner für Staat und Religion benutzten... Der Grieche dichtete seinen Göttern körperliche Schönheit an, weil sie einer seiner nationellen Vorzüge war'. In contrast with the Orient 'der griechische Genius verschönert', and Homer, for example, is characterized by his 'Empfänglichkeit für das Schöne' (IV, 189ff.).

As Hölderlin wrote to Hegel in the report of his earlier criticism of Fichte's 'absolutes Ich', 'ein Bewußtsein ohne Object ist... nicht denkbar'.¹

Of his own youth Hyperion writes: 'Schön ist auch die Zeit des Erwachens, wenn man nur zur Unzeit uns nicht weckt', a condition which was fulfilled in the case of the Athenians, who unlike 'die meisten griechischen Völker' had taken little part in the Trojan War and so been able to continue their development undisturbed: 'Ungestörter in jedem Betracht, von gewaltsamem Einfluß freier, als irgend ein Volk der Erde!'.² As a result of this natural growth they were able to maintain their contact with 'die göttliche Schönheit' when they became aware that they enjoyed an existence independent of it.

This they were able to do through their religion, for 'Religion ist Liebe der Schönheit'. 'Der Weise liebt sie selbst, die Unendliche, die Allumfassende': like the philosopher in Plato's Phaedrus, who can recollect the vision of truth enjoyed by his soul before his birth, he can still experience directly the oneness of man and nature. 'Das Volk liebt ihre Kinder, die Götter': they were made in the image of man, but because they were created at a time when man and nature were still parts of a single whole they could equally be regarded as representatives of nature. Hölderlin was aware of the paradox: 'Ich spreche Mysterien, aber sie sind!'. Appearing as they do 'in mannigfaltigen Gestalten' these gods are the product of the separation

1.

Br. 94, VI, 155.

2. III, 10, 77.

of 'das Eine in sich selber unterschiedne' of the Heraclitan definition of beauty into its different elements, for not only are man and nature separated from each other, but nature itself is seen to consist of separate parts. By living and honouring them man is able to retain with these parts the same unity which still exists between them. Thus after the description of the growth of consciousness in the fifth strophe of Brot und Wein Hölderlin begins his vision of Greek civilization with the words, 'Und nun denkt er zu ehren in Ernst die seeligen Götter.'¹

When we ask how far it is possible to give more specific content to this general view of Greek religion we again find that the final version of Hyperion represents a decisive stage in the development of Hölderlin's thought.

In the Tübingen hymns the Greek gods appeared for the most part merely as examples in support of Hölderlin's praises and hopes. Thus in the Hymne an die Freiheit the birth of Aphrodite from the waves is cited as an argument in support of the claim,

Was zum Raube sich die Zeit erkohren,
Morgen steht's in neuer Blüthe da.

Similarly in Das Schiksaal it provides an image for the thought, 'Der Noth ist jede Lust entsprossen':

So stieg, in tiefer Fluth erzogen,
Wohin kein sterblich Auge sah,
Stilllächelnd aus den schwarzen Woogen
In stolzer Blüte Cypria.²

The Hymne an die Göttin der Harmonie on the other hand is more important for the development of Hölderlin's ideas.

1. III, 79; II, 93.
2. I, 160, 184f.

There Aphrodite Urania is the goddess of love who 'hält mit ihrem Zaubergürtel das Weltall in tobendem Entzücken zusammen'. She is seen not only as the continual source of the unity of the universe, but also as its creator:

Thronend auf des alten Chaos Woogen,
Majestätisch lächelnd winktest du,
Und die wilden Elemente flogen
Liebend sich auf deine Winke zu.
Froh der seeligen Vermählungsstunde
Schlangen Wesen nun um Wesen sich,
In den Himmeln, auf dem Erdenrunde
Sahst du, Meisterin! im Bilde dich.¹

Hölderlin was enabled to see Aphrodite in this way by his identification of her with the god of creation of whom Ovid tells at the beginning of the Metamorphoses, but whose identity he does not know. He too found only chaos and elements at war with each other, and after separating them 'he bound them fast, each in its separate place, forming a harmonious union': 'dissociata locis concordi pace ligavit.' The attraction this passage had for Hölderlin is evident from the incorporation into his own poetry of Ovid's personification of the sea, which before the creation 'did not stretch out its arms along the margins of the shores', but after it 'held the solid earth in its embrace'.² Not only does the image recur in this hymn:

1. I, 130f.
2. Metamorphoses, I. 21, 25 (translated by Innes);
ibid., 13f., 30f.:

nec brachia longo
margine terrarum porrexerat Amphitrite...
circumfluis umor

ultima possedit solidumque coercuit orbem.
Further evidence of Hölderlin's familiarity with the opening of the Metamorphoses is provided by the reference in Natur und Kunst to Jupiter's consignment to Tartarus of Saturn, 'der Gott der goldenen Zeit', who 'kein Gebot aussprach' (II, 37). Beißner (II, 460) refers to Metamorphoses, I. 89ff.

Von der Meere wildem Arm umfassen,
Bebt das Land in niegefühelter Lust,

but also in the words addressed to the 'Meergott' in
Der Archipelagus: 'mit Jünglingsarmen umfängst du/Noch
dein liebliches Land' ¹

The image of Aphrodite 'majestätisch lächelnd' above
'des alten Chaos Woogen' is so similar to the description
of her birth in Das Schiksaal, where she emerges 'Still-
lächelnd aus den schwarzen Woogen', that we may safely
conclude that Hölderlin connected the legend of her birth
with the function she had as goddess of love of bringing
about harmony and unity where discord and strife had
existed. This becomes completely clear in Diotima, where
the part played by the goddess in the creation becomes the
basis for the prayer that she may similarly create harmony
out of the disunity of the present:

Komm und besänftige mir, die du einst Elemente versöhntest,
Wonne der himmlischen Muse das Chaos der Zeit,
Ordne den tobenden Kampf mit Friedenstönen des Himmels,
Bis in der sterblichen Brust sich das entzweite vereint,
Bis der Menschen alte Natur die ruhige, große
Aus der gährenden Zeit, mächtig und heiter sich hebt.
Kehr' in die dürftigen Herzen des Volks, lebendige Schönheit!
Kehr an den gastlichen Tisch, kehr in die Tempel zurück!²

The transference of the imagery of Aphrodite's birth to
'der Menschen alte Natur' shows that the legend has now become
a symbol for the emergence of harmony from disunity. At the
same time Aphrodite is no longer seen as the goddess of love,
but as the principle of beauty as which she is now addressed,
for under the influence of Plato Hölderlin had come to see

1. II, 103.

2. I, 231. The last line distinguishes unity within the
community and unity with the gods.

beauty as the manifestation of the divine and hence as the expression of unity.¹

The poet's prayer is supported by a reference to Diotima:
Denn Diotima lebt, wie die zarten Blüten im Winter,
Reich an eigenem Geist sucht sie die Sonne doch auch.

In the rhymed hymn addressed to her Diotima is compared with Aphrodite in Hölderlin's vision of her as the goddess of creation:

Wie melodisch bei des alten
Chaos Zwist Urania,
Steht sie, göttlich rein erhalten,
Im Ruin der Zeiten da.

In Hyperion too, in the description of the visit to Athens, the same comparison is made:

Sie hatte einen herrlichen Kampf bestanden mit dem
heiligen Chaos von Athen. Wie das Saitenspiel der
himmlischen Muse über den uneinigen Elementen,
herrschten Diotima's stille Gedanken über den
Trümmern.

But in the novel Diotima is also herself the embodiment of beauty and harmony. The imagery of Aphrodite's birth continues to be used as a symbol for the emergence of unity and is hence applied to Diotima, who is able to bring unity to Hyperion and whose existence is proof that this unity can return to the whole people. Before meeting her he was 'wie ein zerrissen Saitenspiel', but in her presence his harmony can be restored:

Mein Geist umschwebte die göttliche Gestalt des
Mädchens, wie eine Blume der Schmetterling, und
all' mein Wesen erleichterte, vereinte sich in

1. In his use of Plato's account of the conception of Love on the day of Aphrodite's birth it is significant that Hölderlin equates Aphrodite with 'die schöne Welt' and that he, unlike Plato, mentions the circumstances of Aphrodite's birth: 'am Tage, da/Den Fluthen Aphrodite sich entwand' (III, 193).

der Freude der begeisternden Betrachtung...
Nein, Diotima! noch ist die Quelle der ewigen
Schönheit nicht versiegt.¹

Thus Diotima is apostrophized as 'du, die mir einst, im
Frieden der Schönheit, aus der trüben Wooge der Welt stieg',
and Hyperion recalls,

Ich hatt' ihr nichts zu geben, als ein Gemüth voll
wilder Widersprüche... sie aber stand vor mir in
wandelloser Schönheit, mühelos, in lächelnder Voll-
endung da... Ich stand vor ihr, und hört' und sah den
Frieden des Himmels, und mitten im seufzenden Chaos
erschien mir Urania.

Similarly, as in the poem Diotima, the advent of the future
is portrayed in the imagery of Aphrodite's birth: 'Zum
Ziele, rief ich, wo der junge Freistaat dämmert und das
Pantheon alles Schönen aus griechischer Erde sich hebt.'²

In Hölderlin's view then Aphrodite was for the Greeks the
personification of beauty regarded as the principle of unity.
That he retained this interpretation of her rôle is indicated
by the translation in Antigonä of θεός Ἀφροδίτα as 'die
göttliche Schönheit', even though in this context she
represents the power of love. Her special importance for
the Greeks and the significance of the legend of her birth,
which Hölderlin used as a symbol of her function, is
corroborated by the description of her in 'Wie Meeresküsten...'
as 'der Lieblingin/Des Griechenlandes/Der meergeborenen'.³

We have already seen, however, in Hyperion's discourse on
the development of Athens, that only the philosopher loved
beauty itself, which is distinguished from her children the

1. Diotima (II), I, 218; III, 86f.

2. III, 23, 58f., 108.

3. Antigonä, line 829 (799), V, 239; II, 205.

gods, the product of art and the object of the people's love. We should therefore expect to find that Aphrodite, as the principle of unity itself, is not regarded as the legitimate subject of artistic representation, and this is indeed suggested in a simile used by Hyperion: 'Alle Gedanken schwinden vor dem Bilde der ewigeinigen Welt, wie die Regeln des ringenden Künstlers vor seiner Urania.'¹ The artist is incapable of portraying the totality of nature and must confine himself to individual aspects of it.

Those aspects of nature which were the proper subject of art and were the object of the people's love were, according to Hyperion, portrayed as gods in the image of those early Greeks who lived in unconscious unity with nature. It is to this generation that Hyperion must be referring when he contrasts the Greeks of his own day with the 'väterlich Geschlecht, von dem das Götterbild des Jupiter und des Apoll einst nur die Kopie war'. That Apollo and Jupiter are regarded as representing aspects of nature is made clear when Diotima asserts that Hyperion is 'zu höhern Dingen geboren':

Du mußt, wie der Lichtstrahl, herab, wie der allerfrischende Regen, mußt du nieder in's Land der Sterblichkeit, du mußt erleuchten, wie Apoll, erschüttern, beleben, wie Jupiter.

Hyperion is to give to his needy country the unity which he has now achieved in himself, just as the rain and the beams of the

1. III, 9. Beißner comments on these words: 'Venus Urania ist es, deren irrelöse Sicherheit dem ungewiß ringenden Menschen hilfreich wird' (III, 440), an interpretation which seems the exact opposite of Hölderlin's meaning, for he is describing the loss of individuality and hence incapacity which comes in a state of complete unity with nature.

sun continually reconstitute the unity of earth and sky. Inspired by Diotima, he himself sees the future as a time when the relationship of the ancient Greeks with rain and sun will have been revived: 'Bald regnen die Wolken nimmer umsonst, bald findet die Sonne die alten Zöglinge wieder.'¹

We now see why it is the festivals of Apollo and Zeus that are introduced in Hölderlin's mature poetry. In the Hymne an den Genius der Jugend they had appeared along with Ares to support the praise of youth. In the same way Orpheus had appeared as an example of the power of love, and Castor and Pollux as examples of the power of friendship.² Now Hölderlin is no longer concerned with mythological embellishment, but with the incorporation of the Greek gods into his view of the Greeks as a people united with nature. Philosophers could have some insight into and so contact with beauty itself, the totality of the united universe. The people needed an objectification in human form of the two divine constituents of nature as an expression of the contact between human and divine, which could thus be maintained.

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1. III, 107, 88, 90. Cf. the draft for the 'Schlußchor des ersten Aktes' of the final version of Der Tod des Empedokles: 'O wann, wann/schon öffnet sie sich/ die Fluth über die Dürre'(IV, 141). At times Jupiter is not restricted to representing just one aspect of nature, but, taking over the function of Aphrodite, stands for the unity of nature, as when Empedokles, in his longing for unity with it, addresses it as 'Jupiter Befreier' (IV, 79f.). Cf. the equation of Zeus with 'das höchste Trennbare', i.e. 'das Theilbare Unendlichere', in Über den Unterschied der Dichtarten (IV, 269f.).
2. I, 171; Lied der Liebe, I, 111; Hymne an die Menschheit, I, 148.

This interpretation of Hölderlin's view of Greek religion is not only confirmed by the mature poems, but also puts us in a position to see the unifying factors in much of their imagery. In view of the fact that she was revealed only to a limited section of the community we should expect to find few references to Aphrodite, and this is indeed the case. She is alluded to when, for example, Hölderlin speaks of the Greek past as 'Tage der Schönheit', but only introduced overtly in the strophe in Gesang des Deutschen which, before the alteration to 'deinem Adel', opened with the words, 'Nun! sei begrüßt in deiner Schöne, mein Vaterland.'¹ The strophe concludes:

Du letzte und du erste aller
Musen, Urania, sei begrüßt mir!

Aphrodite is addressed as a Muse, just as in Diotima and Hyperion she is referred to as 'die himmlische Muse'.²

In the same way as the structure of this strophe is chiasitic, so too is that of the triad seen as a whole. It is completed by the last two strophes:

Noch säumst und schweigst du, sinnest ein freudig Werk,
Das von dir zeuge, sinnest ein neu Gebild,
Das einzig, wie du selber, das aus
Liebe geboren und gut, wie du, sei -

Wo ist dein Delos, wo dein Olympia,
Daß wir uns alle finden am höchsten Fest?-
Doch wie erräth der Sohn, was du den
Deinen, Unsterbliche, längst bereitest?³

1. Thränen, II, 58; II, 388.
2. I, 231; III, 86. Aphrodite was the daughter of Uranos (Hesiod, Theogony, 176ff.), but one of the nine Muses was called Urania (Ibid., 78).
3. II, 4f.

The invocation of Germany, interrupted by the greeting to Urania and the strophe addressed to her, is resumed in the last strophe. Thus Hölderlin gives formal expression to his hope that Germany will embrace Urania, the spirit of unity which also inspired Greece. 'Sinnest ein neu Gebild', he proclaims of her, just as in the seventh strophe he speaks of 'der Athener/Seele, die sinnende' as being still active.¹ Urania herself, however, is only accessible to the 'Dichter' and 'Weise' of the twelfth strophe. In the case of the people the arrival of 'der Genius' will be celebrated in festivals like those of Apollo and Zeus, in the honouring of the most important aspects of nature by those who cannot apprehend the whole.

As a result Hölderlin, in his references to Greece, consistently mentions those places which were connected with the worship of Apollo and Zeus. Thus, for example, when in the grip of 'frohlukkender Wahnsinn' the poet transports us to Greece, he writes:

Drum an den Isthmos komm! dorthin, wo das offene Meer rauscht
Am Parnaß und der Schnee delphische Felsen umglänzt,
Dort ins Land des Olympos, dort auf die Höhe Cithärons.²

For Hölderlin the Isthmus and the Gulf of Corinth were closely connected with the latter's northern shore, on which lay Delphi, the oracular shrine of Apollo, and Parnassus, sacred

1. It is because through his death he will inaugurate a new age of unity that Pausanias recognizes Empedokles as 'Sohn Uraniens' (Empedokles (I), IV, 77). In Empedokles' instructions to Pausanias to go to Egypt 'das ernste Saitenspiel/Uraniens und seiner Töne Wandel' represents the content of 'das Buch des Schiksaals', the foreordained harmonious pattern underlying the course of history. What is here associated with Aphrodite is more often seen as under the control of the 'Donnerer' in his capacity as 'Herr der Zeit' (Empedokles (III), IV, 133, 136, 138).
2. Brot und Wein, II, 91.

to him together with the Muses. Thus the couplet refers not to three separate geographical features of Greece, but to Greece as the land which held in reverence the aspect of nature represented by Apollo.

In the same way the following lines point to the worship of Olympian Zeus, from which the Bacchic orgies celebrated on Cithaeron cannot be separated, for the function of Dionysus is in Hölderlin's use of Greek mythology inextricably linked with the fact that he, like Christ, is 'des Höchsten Sohn'. Just as in the analogy between his birth and that of poetry Bacchus is 'die Frucht des Gewitters', so too in Brot und Wein, because 'vom donnernden Gott kommt die Freude des Weins', it can be said of him that 'er... die Spur der entflohenen Götter/ Götterlosen hinab unter das Finstere bringt'.¹ Similarly it is as the representative of Zeus that

allerobernd vom Indus her
Der junge Bacchus kam, mit heiligem
Weine vom Schlafe die Völker wekend,

for it is from the Indus that Zeus' bird, 'der Adler', comes in his flight westwards, and 'die menschenbildende Stimme' which makes the same journey is 'die Erwekerin'.²

In the following strophes of Brot und Wein Apollo and Zeus continue to provide Hölderlin with the imagery with which he writes of 'seliges Griechenland'. In the fourth strophe he conjures up a vision of Greece in a series of questions. The first third of the strophe, itself embedded in the triadic structure of the elegy, ends with a quite general picture of Greek religion:

1. 'Wie wenn am Feiertage...', II, 119; II, 94.
2. Dichterberuf, II, 46; Germanien, II, 150; Am Quell der Donau, II, 126.

Aber die Thronen, wo? die Tempel, und wo die Gefäße,
Wo mit Nectar gefüllt, Göttern zu Lust der Gesang?

The beginning of the second third is marked not only by the repetition of 'wo', but also by the fact^{that} the questions are specifically concerned with the god of Delphi, Apollo, and 'Vater Aether', that is to say Zeus as the god of the sky.

Wo, wo leuchten sie denn, die fernhintreffenden Sprüche?
Delphi schlummert und wo tönet das große Geschick?
Wo ist das schnelle? wo brichts, allgegenwärtigen Glücks
voll
Donnernd aus heiterer Luft über die Augen herein? ¹

The adjective 'fernhintreffend' is, as Schmidt points out, a translation of ἐκηβόλος, the epithet Homer gives Apollo, but the expression 'heitere Luft' does not, as he believes, mean simply 'der Äther':² the point is that Zeus thunders from a clear sky, 'aus hellem Himmel', as Hölderlin first wrote. The Epicureans, who were doubtful about the existence of the gods, argued that thunder, for example, was not the voice of God, but a natural phenomenon, since it never thunders unless there are clouds about. Hölderlin, however, asserted his belief in the divinity of nature with the imagery of Horace, who was compelled to revise his sceptical attitude when he heard how 'Diespiter... per purum tonantes/ egit equos volucremque currum'.³

The transition from the Greek day to the night of the present is prepared by another series of questions:

1. II, 92
2. Schmidt, Hölderlins Elegie 'Brot und Wein', p. 71ff.
3. II, 599; Horace, Odes, I, 34. Since Hölderlin had translated two of Horace's odes and planned for his journal Iduna essays 'über einzelne Oden des Horaz' (Br. 178, VI, 323) it seems very possible that he had this ^{ode} in mind. Certainly Horace's assertion of belief would have been more attractive to him than the destructive arguments of Lucretius, De rerum natura, VI, 400f.

rauschen die Waffen nicht mehr
In Olympia, nicht die goldnen Wagen des Kampfspiels,
Und bekränzen sich denn nimmer die Schiffe Korinths?

Olympia points directly to the great festival of Zeus,
Corinth less directly to its Gulf, which, as we have already
seen, Hölderlin regarded as belonging to the realm of Apollo.
That Corinth has this significance is confirmed in the
second strophe of Der Einzige:

Gehöret hab' ich
Von Elis und Olympia, bin
Gestanden oben auf dem Parnaß,
Und über Bergen des Isthmus.¹

Having written in the first strophe of Greece as the land
in which Apollo and Zeus mingled with men, Hölderlin now
mentions those places which were connected with them: the
chiasmus makes it clear that Hölderlin thought of Parnassus
as one of the mountains of the Isthmus in the same way as
Olympia was part of the country of Elis. This wider inter-
pretation of the areas concerned added further to the great
variety of imagery at Hölderlin's disposal, and indeed he
was at times undecided what he should choose. Thus in
Gesang des Deutschen 'Delos' is a correction for 'Elis',²
and in Am Quell der Donau the 'Kampfspiel', which Beißner
points out is the Olympian Games since Hölderlin's draft
contains the additional words 'an des Alpheus Bäumen', was
in fact originally to have been the Pythian Games in honour

1. II, 93, 153.
2. II, 388. Cf. Empedokles' request to Kritias to accompany his daughter Panthea to Greece: 'Gehe hin mit ihr/In heiliges Land, nach Elis oder Delos/ Wo jene wohnen, die sie liebend sucht' (IV, 35). He goes on to depict the unity of the assembled Greeks 'am heitern Festtage'.

of Apollo, for he first wrote 'An Pythos Bäumen'.¹

We have already seen that the Roman Capitol, the site of the temple of Jupiter, provides the same sort of imagery for the journey of 'das Wort aus Osten' after it leaves Greece. The mention of Cithaeron in addition to Parnassus to describe its route over Greece must be understood as alluding to Zeus as the father of Dionysus rather than to Dionysus himself.² In Germanien only Parnassus is mentioned in Greece, for an allusion to Zeus is already contained in the image of 'der Adler', while it is possible that Hölderlin's description of the flight 'über den Opferhügeln/ Italias' means that he was now thinking of the temple of Apollo on the Palatine as well as that of Capitoline Jupiter.³

The sun and the sky, the two celestial constituents of nature honoured by the Greeks in the figures of Apollo and

1. II, 693f.
2. It is as 'Jovis Sohn' that Dionysus comes to Thebes in Hölderlin's translation of the opening lines of Euripides' Bacchae (V, 41).
3. Am Quell der Donau, II, 126; II, 150. Beißner appears to have overlooked the unifying elements in the place-names Hölderlin mentions. That he interprets them simply as geographical features rather than in terms of their significance is made clear by his comment, with reference to the mention of Olympus in the third strophe of Brot und Wein, that 'dieser Name aus dem engeren Umkreis der sonst an dieser Stelle genannten etwas weiter nach Norden führte. Gemeint ist das ganze Griechenland' (II, 612). His note on 'Kithäron' in Am Quell der Donau confines itself to Dionysus rather than pointing to his father (II, 694), and in Der Einzige he sees the mention of the Isthmus of Corinth as a reference to the Isthmian Games in honour of Poseidon rather than connecting it with Parnassus (II, 754).

Zeus, are joined in Hölderlin's work by its terrestrial constituent, earth, which thus completes the divine trinity. Although the earth is usually thought of as a single whole, at times Hölderlin divides it into its component parts of land and sea, as for example, in the poem addressed to 'die scheinheiligen Dichter':

Ihr habt Verstand! ihr glaubt nicht an Helios,
Noch an den Donnerer und Meergott;
Todt ist die Erde, wer mag ihr danken?

In Der Archipelagus too land and sea are separated, though the second and third strophes are devoted to stressing their unity as well as that of earth and sky. It is in their honour that Athens is rebuilt after its destruction by the Persians:

Aber der Muttererd' und dem Gott der Wooge zu Ehren
Blühet die Stadt izt auf, ein herrlich Gebild.

This general statement at the beginning of the tenth strophe is amplified in its concluding lines:

Mutter Athene, dir auch, dir wuchs dein herrlicher Hügel
Stolzer aus der Trauer empor und blühte noch lange,
Gott der Woogen und dir, und deine Lieblinge sangen,
Frohversammelt noch oft am Vorgebirge den Dank dir.¹

It becomes clear that, although he did not use them as a source of imagery in the same way as he used Apollo and Zeus, Hölderlin regarded Athene and Poseidon as the gods who represented for the Athenians the two components of the third member of the divine trinity. Hölderlin never mentions Poseidon by name, but there can be no doubt that he accepted him as the embodiment of the aspect of nature addressed in

1. I, 257; II, 108f.

this poem, the 'Meergott'. That he had Poseidon in mind in this passage is indicated by the mention of the 'Vorgebirg', specified in Hyperion as 'Suniums grüne Spize', the site of Poseidon's temple.¹ In fact the god of Greek mythology seems to have influenced Hölderlin's conception of the sea, for, just as Poseidon was the god of earthquakes as well as of the sea, so too the sea in this poem conceals beneath its surface 'das untre Gewitter'. Hölderlin must have seen this as another indication of the close relationship of the sea with the sky, the 'Donnerer', a relationship expressed in Greek mythology by the fact that Poseidon was Zeus' brother, while Athene, the goddess of Attica, was his daughter.

While both were related to Zeus, tradition told that their relationship with each other was less harmonious, for they had been contestants for the land of Attica. Such a legend was clearly inconsistent with Hölderlin's conception of the unity of land and sea, a fact which makes Beißner's interpretation of the lines addressed to them attractive. He appears to understand the lines in the same way as Hamburger, who translates, 'Mother Athene, for your sake, for you also your glorious hill more proudly rose from affliction and long remained in flower for you and the God of the Waves',² for he comments, 'Auch dem Poseidon blühte nach Hölderlins Meinung die Akropolis'. The need to overlook the legendary quarrel between the embodiments of land and sea in fact gives more compelling support to such an interpretation than Beißner's own explanation: 'Er (Hölderlin) will den "Gott

1. III, 85.

2. Hölderlin, p. 91.

der Woogen" versöhnen, welcher der Athene erfolglos den Besitz Attikas streitig gemacht.'¹ Hölderlin has more reason to reconcile Athene and Poseidon with each other than himself to appease Poseidon.

However, it is doubtful whether such an interpretation is in fact acceptable. In Der Archipelagus Hölderlin is giving an account of a decisive phase of Athenian history in the light of his own understanding of Greek civilization. It is enough for him to show how Athens was, without suggesting how it might have been. With this in mind it is possible to put a more satisfactory construction on the lines in question. Having introduced 'Muttererde' and the 'Gott der Woge' in the first line of the strophe, Hölderlin devotes a couplet to each of them in its concluding lines. The 'dir' of the penultimate line thus refers not to Athene, but to Poseidon, and the 'und' which precedes both it and 'deine' is used with the sense of 'also' in the same way as Greek *καί* and Latin 'et'.² Thus the words 'und dir' are parallel to 'dir auch' addressed to Athene, a parallelism which extends not only to the vocative with which each couplet opens, but also to a repetition of 'dir', while 'dein herrlicher Hügel' is echoed by 'deine Lieblinge' and 'noch lange' by 'noch oft'. The striking parallelism

1. II, 652. Walser, Hölderlin's Archipelagus, p. 149, accepts Beißner's interpretation, adding, 'Hölderlin geht es freilich nicht um eine "Versöhnung" Poseidons mit Athene.'
2. For the use of 'und' in this sense cf. Achill:
Ach! und innig und fromm liebt' ich dich heiliges Licht,
Seit ich lebe, dich Erd' und deine Quellen und Wälder,
Vater Aether und dich fühlte zu sehnend und rein
Dieses Herz. (I,271, my italics)

between the couplets is an expression of the fact that Athene and Poseidon were honoured equally, and it was only appropriate that Poseidon should receive his honours on the promontory of Sunium, just as Athene received hers five miles from the coast on the Acropolis.

One other goddess remains to be mentioned, the Roman goddess Juno, whom in his letter to Böhlendorff Hölderlin uses to characterize 'die abendländische Junonische Nüchternheit' in contrast with the 'Apollonsreich' of the Greeks. In his commentary on this letter Szondi remarks that the question why Hölderlin chose the adjective 'Junonisch' has apparently never been raised and bases his suggestion that the phrase is to be understood as 'die Nüchternheit der Erde' on the statement in Benjamin Hederich's Gründliches Lexicon Mythologicum, 'Indessen aber wird sie (Juno) auch für einerlei sowohl mit der Erde gehalten, da so denn Juppiter die Luft bedeutet.'¹ In Hölderlin's letter, however, Juno is contrasted not with Jupiter, but with Apollo, and that Apollo is here, as elsewhere, regarded as the sun-god is confirmed by the fact that the starting-point of Greek art is seen to consist in 'das Feuer vom Himmel'. When therefore Hölderlin sees Homer as the man who 'seelenvoll genug war, um die abendländische Junonische Nüchternheit für sein Apollonsreich zu erbeuten, und so wahrhaft das fremde sich anzueignen', it is clear that he is thinking of Juno as the moon-goddess, as which, in view of her close connection

1. Szondi, 'Überwindung des Klassizismus', in Hölderlin-Studien, p. 88f.

with the sexual life of women, she has been seen by ancient and modern theorists.¹

For Hölderlin the Greek gods are no more than the product of art. He can see the stories of mythology as an expression of the unity which existed between gods and men, as is stressed by the juxtaposition in the concluding line of the first strophe of Der Einzige, where he speaks of Greece as the land

wo Apollo gieng
In Königsgestalt,
Und zu unschuldigen Jünglingen sich
Herablies Zevs und Söhn' in heiliger Art
Und Töchter zeugte
Der Hohe unter den Menschen.

But this unity is with the image rather than with the reality:

Viel hab' ich schönes gesehn,
Und gesungen Gottes Bild,
Hab' ich, das lebet unter
Den Menschen.²

'Gottes Bild', the form in which he is accessible to the people, is distinguished from the beauty which represents the totality of nature and which can only be appreciated by the philosopher. 'Die Seeligen, die erschienen sind' are 'Götterbilder' upon which the poet may no longer call, for they merely represented features of nature, 'die älter denn die Zeiten/Und über die Götter des Abends und Orients ist'.³

1. Br. 236, VI, 426; Oxford Classical Dictionary, p. 471.
2. II, 153f. The chiasmus in these two strophes gives formal expression to the embrace of mankind by the gods and of the divine by the poet.
3. Germanien, II, 149; 'Wie wenn am Feiertage...', II, 118.

The powers of nature are in the last resort 'jene Unnachahmbare', before whom it is fitting for 'die lange Kunst' to lie prostrate. Art is indeed only legitimate if behind its forms 'Lebendiges' can be felt.¹

The decay of Greek civilization began when the proper relationship between art and nature was forgotten and the gods took on a life which was independent of their source and so meaningless. But in order to be able to give poetic expression to this loss of contact with nature Hölderlin combined with his personal interpretation of the Greek gods

1. Natur und Kunst, II, 37. In this expression of the proper relationship between 'Natur' and 'Kunst' Jupiter represents man as the artist in contrast with nature, represented by Saturn (cf. Benn, Der Tod des Empedokles, p. 203). Similarly Empedokles equates the 'Geist, der mich groß genährt' with Saturn, calling himself 'einen neuen Jupiter' (IV, 104). The Age of Saturn, 'Da freundlich unter uns der Hohe lebt' (IV, 60), was the time before nature and man were separated, just as 'die glücklichen Saturnustage, / Die neuen, männlichern' (IV, 69) are the future when their unity will be restored. It is likely that Ovid is the source of the imagery here, as in Natur und Kunst (see p. 147, note 2), rather than Hesiod, whom Benn, p. 191, mentions.

The idea of the dependence of art on nature already occurs in Hölderlin's Geschichte der schönen Künste: 'Es ist natürlich, daß dieser Theil der Kunst (die Malerei) später ist, als die Bildhauerei, da die Malerei sich schon mehr von der Natur entfernt' (IV, 194). His interpretation of the function of the statue in Greek religion is then not only put into Empedokles' mouth:

Nun nicht im Bilde mehr, und nicht, wie sonst,
Bei Sterblichen, im kurzen Glück, ich find'
Im Tode find ich den Lebendigen (IV, 138),

but is also applied to Christianity: of the 'Schriftgelehrten und Pharisäer unserer Zeit' he says that 'sie Christum ärger tödten, als die Juden, weil sie sein Wort zum Buchstaben, und ihn, den Lebendigen, zum leeren Gözenbilde machen' (Br. 173, VI, 309).

the Homeric view of them as immortal beings leading their own lives, at one time granting their aid to men, at another withdrawing to Olympus. Thus he was able to express his belief that men no longer venerated the powers of nature represented by the gods by saying that the gods, repelled by a race which did not recognize them, abandoned man.

This imagery too first appears in Hyperion. Analogous to the disappearance of 'das schöne menschliche Leben' from the earth is the disappearance of the gods from heaven: 'der Himmel ist ausgestorben, entvölkert.' Thus Hyperion can express the Germans' disregard for nature in the words: 'Zum Fluche wird der Seegen jedes Jahrs und alle Götter fliehn.'¹ But being immortal the gods are not dead: hence Diotima can express her vision of the future in terms of their renewed presence: 'Die Götter erheiterten wieder die verwelkliche Seele der Menschen.' This is the time when the unity of man with man and of man with nature is restored: 'nun verließen so leicht sich nicht die geselligen Menschen;.. an deinen Quellen, Natur, erfrischten sie sich.'²

This lack of unity is the product of 'der gewurzelte/ Allentzweiende Haß' which 'Götter und Menschen trennt', so that 'nirgend ein/Unsterbliches mehr am Himmel zu sehn ist oder/auf grüner Erde'. Bread and wine, however, are signs not only that the gods were once there, but also that they will return. But meanwhile they live far from men:

1. III, 87, 156. Empedokles too expresses his sense of separation from 'Erd'', 'Licht' and 'Aether' in the same terms, and sees the unity of man with man as dependent on his unity with nature: 'Die Liebe stirbt, sobald die Götter fliehn' (IV, 18f.).
2. III, 130f.

Zwar leben die Götter
Aber über dem Haupt droben in anderer Welt.
Endlos wirken sie da und scheinen wenig zu achten,¹
Ob wir leben, so sehr schonen die Himmlischen uns.

In his conception of an upper world as the home of 'der himmlische Chor' Hölderlin seems to have been drawing on more than one source. He must have had in mind the passage in Plato's Phaedrus which describes the life of the θεός χορός and which he had used in the metrical version of Hyperion to depict the moment when 'unser Geist...sich aus dem freien Fluge/Der Himmlischen verlor, und erdwärts sich,/ Vom Aether neigt'. Their home is the ὑπερουράνιος τόπος of which, Plato says, no earthly poet ever has sung or ever will sing adequately, the place above the heavens where the gods behold reality and truth.²

At the same time the gods' lack of concern for mankind is reminiscent of the Epicurean doctrine that they live a life apart, free from care and not intervening in human affairs. Lucretius saw them living under a cloudless sky radiant with light, undisturbed by wind and snow, and with their peace of mind unimpaired.³ It is in the same terms that Adamas teaches Hyperion to address the gods:

Ihr wandelt droben im Licht
Auf weichem Boden, seelige Genien!
Glänzende Götterlüfte
Rühren euch leicht,
Wie die Finger der Künstlerin
Heilige Saiten.

1. Der Abschied, II, 24; Patmos, II, 169; Brot und Wein, II, 93.
2. III, 193; Phaedrus, 247.
3. De rerum natura, III. 18ff. For Lucretius the remoteness of the gods was of course a permanent state of affairs, while for Hölderlin it was only temporary.

Schiksaallos, wie der schlafende
Säugling, athmen die Himmlischen.¹

In Hölderlin's idyllic upper world sun, air and earth meet in the figures of the gods, who thus represent the harmonious unity of nature. In the same way Hölderlin sees 'Orkus' as a place of 'Dunkel' and 'Dürre' whose inhabitants are cut off from the life-giving sun and rain.²

In one sense therefore the gods have left the earth. In the present man can no longer establish contact with the divine by means of those institutions through which Zeus and Apollo spoke to him:

 lange schon reden sie nimmer
Trost den Bedürftigen zu, die prophetischen Haine Dodonas,
Stumm ist der delphische Gott.

But even though no 'Götterbilder' exist as a focal point for the community's love, the isolated individual can remain in contact with the powers of nature which they represented:

Aber droben das Licht, es spricht noch heute zu Menschen,
Schöner Deutungen voll und des großen Donnerers Stimme
Ruft es: denket ihr mein? und die trauernde Wooge des Meergotts
Hallt es wieder: gedenkt ihr nimmer meiner, wie vormals?

Thus in the concluding strophe of Der Archipelagus the poet writes:

1. III, 143. It is to this world that Empedokles will return after death: 'Trauert nicht! Denn heilig ist mein End', und schon - o Luft, / Luft, die den Neugeborenen umfängt, / Wenn droben er die neuen Pfade wandelt, / Dich ahnd' ich' (IV, 74).
A variant reads: 'auf waichem Boden wandelt' (IV, 556).
2. Elegie, II, 73.

Aber du, unsterblich, wenn auch der Griechengesang schon
Dich nicht feiert, wie sonst, aus deinen Woogen, o Meergott!
Töne mir in die Seele noch oft. ¹

Similarly Diotima tells Hyperion, who has failed to create a
community whose existence would be tantamount to a return of
the gods in the sense already discussed, that he will find
consolation in 'die schöne Welt' which is her 'Olymp':

'In diesem wirst du leben, und mit den heiligen Wesen der
Welt, mit den Göttern der Natur, mit diesen wirst du freudig
seyn.' She immediately calls upon 'Sonn' und Erd' und
Aether' to receive man back into 'die Götterfamilie,... die
Heimath der Natur', and at the conclusion of the novel
Hyperion acknowledges, 'O du... mit deinen Göttern, Natur!
...nur du lebst.' ²

These are the gods who also brought up the Diotima of the
poems and whom she, as 'Götterkind', ³ taught Hölderlin to
know. It was with them that Hölderlin feared to lose contact
after his separation from her and as a result to be deprived
of his poetic voice. But despair at his personal loss
gives way to a realization of the significance of the life
of 'die Athenerin' as proof that the ideal represented by the
Greeks has not gone for ever, but still exists and can there-
fore be more widely restored in the future. Now he can again
address the 'Himmlischen', for his contact with air, earth
and sun is re-established and 'des Sängers Gebet' can sound
again. Similarly in Achill the poet addresses sun, earth and
sky as 'gute Götter', in the draft as 'ihr heiligen Götter der

1. II, 110f.

2. III, 147, 159.

3. Ihre Genesung (variant), II, 430.

Natur', and begs them to assuage his suffering so that he may still sing and thank the 'hohen himmlischen Mächte'.¹ 'Aether' and 'Helios' are the gods who alone can heal man and so make joy and song possible, and it is these whom Hölderlin addresses together with earth as 'ihr einigen drei' when he proclaims, 'Ewige Götter! mit euch brechen die Bande mir nie.'²

Thus the powers of nature which the Greek gods represented are themselves seen as gods, as the gods of nature, and not only do they take their collective title from the figures in which they were embodied, but they are also given poetic substance with the aid of the mythology connected with these figures. Thus in Sonnenuntergang, the later, concentrated version of Dem Sonnengott, the 'Sonnenjüngling' no longer merely 'müde seiner/Fahrt... Die jungen Loken badet' in 'Goldgewölk', but 'goldner Töne/Voll... Sein Abendlied auf himmlischer Leyer spielt'. In the earlier version the return of the sun is compared with the moment when 'des Meisters Finger den schönern Ton/Entlokt' from the 'Saitenspiel' that has been at the mercy of the winds. In the later version Hölderlin associates this harmony more closely with the sun by seeing it as Apollo, with whom in his capacity as god of music the lyre was closely associated: it is to 'Goldne Leier Apollons... Eigentum' that, as we have seen, Pindar's Pythian I is addressed.³ Similarly in Heimkunft 'der

1. Elegie, II, 73f.; I, 271, 590.

2. Die Götter, II, 16; Der Wanderer, II, 83.

3. I, 258f.; V, 63. The same imagery occurs in the Orphic Hymn to the Sun (see p. 33). Cf. the alteration of 'Schöner und schöner schließt wieder die Sonne sich auf' (Elegie, II 74) to 'wie von heiliger Leier/Ruft es von silbernen Bergen Apollons voran!' (Menons Klagen um Diotima, II, 78).

reine/Seelige Gott... Der ätherische', who sends 'milde Reegen' and 'trauteste Lüfte', is the natural power which 'die Zeiten erneut', but the part he plays in the dawning of day is seen as the work of the eagle, the bird of Zeus, who is the embodiment of the sky:

Dennoch merket die Zeit der Gewittervogel und zwischen
Bergen, hoch in der Luft weilt er und rufet den Tag.¹

But nature also has a destructive side, the 'Geist der Unruh', 'der auch dein Sohn, o Natur, ist/Mit dem Geiste der Ruh' aus Einem Schoose geboren'. It is this spirit which Hölderlin saw as active in 'die unaufhaltsame die jahrelange Schlacht' in which Europe was engaged at the end of the eighteenth century and as responsible for the destruction of civilizations:

Aber ins Mondlicht steigen herauf die zerbrochenen Säulen
Und die Tempelthore, die einst der Furchtbare traf, der geheime
Geist der Unruh.²

This side of nature manifests itself in volcanic eruptions and storms which wreak havoc on land and sea, but its activity in history is associated particularly with the destructive power of lightning:

Zu lang schon waltest über dem Haupte mir,
Du in der dunkeln Wolke, du Gott der Zeit!³

Thus the idea of divine intervention in the course of history is included like the life-giving air and rain in the concept of 'Aether'.

1. II, 96f.
2. Die Muße, I, 236f.; 'Die Völker schwiegen, schlummerten..!', I, 238.
3. Der Zeitgeist, I, 300.

The balance which exists between the destructive and life-giving functions of 'Aether' is succinctly expressed in the chiasmic characterization of the 'Donnerer' in Der blinde Sänger:

Den Retter hör' ich dann in der Nacht, ich hör'
Ihn tödtend, den Befreier, belebend ihn.

But Zeus too is the thunderer, the god who in the juxtaposition of Diotima's words can 'erschüttern, beleben'.¹ Hence when Hölderlin writes of the poet's duty to sing of 'Ihr ruhelosen Taten in weiter Welt' he not only interprets contemporary events as a manifestation of the power of nature by referring to them as 'die Donner', but also depicts them with imagery borrowed from Zeus as the personification of thunder, for the strophe continues:

Ihr Schiksaalstag', ihr reißenen, wenn der Gott
Stillsinnend lenkt, wohin zorntrunken
Ihn die gigantischen Rosse bringen.

It is as a chariot-driver that Horace, for example, in the ode quoted above sees the god who thundered in a clear sky.²

In 'Wie wenn am Feiertage...' Hölderlin gives his reason for ascribing such significance to contemporary events, namely his belief that they represented an awakening of nature after a long period of inactivity. He not only links them again with the natural phenomenon of thunder, writing of

Wettern, die in der Luft, und andern
Die vorbereiteter in Tiefen der Zeit,
Und deutungsvoller, und vernehmlicher uns
Hinwandeln zwischen Himmel und Erd und unter den Völkern,

1. II, 55; III, 88.

2. Dichterberuf, II, 47; Horace, Odes, I, 34. (see p. 156).

but even compares them directly with the lightning whose form Zeus took on to visit Semele. For Hölderlin's own day therefore it is the destructive aspect of nature that is more important. Although the poet's song must also grow from sun, earth and sky if it is to contain the spirit of the gods, it is the 'Thaten der Welt' which fire the poet. Just as the Greek philosopher had a vision of beauty itself, so now the poet stands 'unter Gottes Gewittern' and grasps 'des Vaters Stral'. Such direct contact with the destructive power of nature is not possible for the people, to whom 'die himmlische Gaabe' must be given 'ins Lied/Gehüllt'. Thus in the changed conditions of his own day 'der Götter und Menschen Werk/Der Gesang', born like Bacchus from the contact of divine and human, fulfils the same function as was fulfilled for the Greeks by the figures of the gods.¹

It can be seen therefore that in writing of the gods of nature Hölderlin uses imagery associated with the Greek gods. But the connection between the two spheres is made even closer when he transfers his own myth of the departing gods to the powers of nature themselves. Thus they are on the one hand regarded as active and accessible to the individual, on the other hand as absent, like the Greek gods, for they do not receive the general recognition which is the foundation of a united community. Such ambivalence is characteristic of Hölderlin's imagery, for its terms, while serving a single theme, are not used consistently, and their

1. II, 119f.

significance must be determined from their context.¹

It is as a result of this process that Hölderlin develops his conception of the present as a period of night: the events of Pentecost are regarded as the final revelation of the divine day, 'Denn izt erlosch der Sonne Tag'. But the ease with which the idea of the succession of day and night can be expressed should not be allowed to disguise the fact that it is not only the sun which has disappeared: divine activity is also absent from the sky, for when Christ appeared to the assembled disciples it was for the last time that 'die Wetter Gottes rollten/Ferndonnernd'. In the present man can only hope for the reappearance of these natural powers:

Es warten aber
Der scheuen Augen viele,
Zu schauen das Licht...
...Still ist sein Zeighen
Am donnernden Himmel.²

Rousseau's heralding of the return of the gods is seen to spring from his capacity to feel the warmth of the returning sun:

Du hast gelebt! auch dir, auch dir
Erfreuet die ferne Sonne dein Haupt,
Und Stralen aus der schönern Zeit. Es
Haben die Boten dein Herz gefunden.

And it is significant that in the simile of the last strophe the returning gods are compared with thunder-clouds, ahead of which Rousseau flies like the eagle. But since the concept of 'Aether' includes the air as well as the sky, it too can be thought of as being able to signify the renewed presence of

1. In Der Archipelagus, for example, spring denotes the divine day of Greece, to be followed by the autumn of ours (II, 111). In Der gefesselte Strom it is the time when life revives after the winter and indicates the re-establishment of contact with the divine in the present (II, 67). Cf. p. 138, note 2.
2. Patmos, II, 168, 170f.

the divine, which is equally expressed as the arrival in Germany of the spirit of Greece in the persons of the Graces:

Wenn milder athmen die Lüfte,
Und liebende Pfeile der Morgen
Uns Allzugesultigen schickt,
Und leichte Gewölke blühn
Uns über den schüchternen Augen,
Dann werden wir sagen, wie kommt
Ihr, Charitinnen, zu Wilden? ¹

We have seen that Hölderlin modified his ideas on the length of the divine day of the past, extending it to include the period of the Roman Republic, but he did not change his views on the cause of its end. Hyperion attributes it to internal decay rather than external destruction, to the perishing of 'der Geist von all' dem Schönen': 'Dieser Geist war auch untergegangen noch ehe die Zerstörer über Attika kamen.' Neither beauty nor her children, the gods, were any longer loved, and this failure of the people to feel 'Natur' behind the forms of 'Kunst', 'Lebendiges' behind the gods Zeus and Apollo, is still the decisive factor in the later statement:

 sie wollten stiften
Ein Reich der Kunst. Dabei ward aber
Das Vaterländische von ihnen
Versäumet und erbärmlich gieng
Das Griechenland, das schönste, zu Grunde.²

However, in Hölderlin's view of the dawn of the divine day of the future a greater shift of interest takes place. In Hyperion he suggests an interpretation of history according to which the process of alienation from nature can simply be reversed and man will finally achieve the state of complete

1. Rousseau, II, 13; Die Wanderung, II, 141.
2. III, 85; 'Meinst du es solle gehen...', II, 228.

union from which the Greeks started: 'Es wird nur Eine Schönheit seyn; und Menschheit und Natur wird sich vereinen in Eine allumfassende Gottheit.' In Friedensfeier he gives added emphasis to his belief that the future will be an exact reflection of the past by inviting Christ, the last mediator at the time of the gods' departure, to be present at the feast which heralds their return:

und eher legt
Sich schlafen unser Geschlecht nicht,
Bis ihr Verheißenen all,
All ihr Unsterblichen, uns
Von eurem Himmel zu sagen,
Da seid in unserem Hauße.

Leichtatmende Lüfte
Verkünden euch schon,
Euch kündet das rauchende Thal
Und der Boden, der vom Wetter noch dröhnet,
Doch Hoffnung röthet die Wangen,
Und vor der Thüre des Haußes
Sizt Mutter und Kind,
Und schauet den Frieden
Und wenige scheinen zu sterben
Es hält ein Ahnen die Seele,
Vom goldnen Lichte gesendet,
Hält ein Versprechen die Ältesten auf.¹

The return of the gods is no more than a mythical expression of the establishment of a new unity with nature and within the community, so beautifully expressed in this strophe with its inclusion of a peacefully united mankind in the embrace of 'Aether', active with its breezes and rain, and sun.² But in this vision the peace has been preceded by 'Des Donnerers Echo, das tausendjährige Wetter' of the 'Stürmen der Zeit',³ and Hölderlin's later work becomes increasingly concerned with this preliminary period of instability. It was in connection with his tragedy Der Tod des Empedokles that Hölderlin worked out in detail its part in the process by which he believed this new unity would finally be achieved.

1. III, 90, 536f.
2. Cf. Empedokles' 'Heiligtum', his farewell message to the people, in which he concludes his vision of the establishment of democracy and a new relationship with nature with the words:

sie sinds!

Die langentbehrten, die lebendigen,

Die guten Götter. (IV, 68)

Schmidt, op. cit., p. 111, is misleading when he writes of 'den Kräften... der griechischen Kultur' as 'die Verehrung der Götter, der liebende Gemeingeist unter den Menschen, die Offenheit für die Natur', for to say that the Greeks honoured their gods is to say no more than that they possessed these two characteristics: it is not to give additional information about them. Similarly when Stahl, Hölderlin's Symbolism, p. 40, writes, 'Communal life... is lacking now, since the Gods no longer live among men', he gives the impression that the absence of the gods is the cause of the lack of unity rather than Hölderlin's image for this state of affairs.

Beißner too, Hölderlins Götter, p. 36f., distinguishes between the establishment of a new unity within the community and the meeting with God: 'In neuer, hesperischer Zeit ruft der in Hölderlins seherischer Dichtung ersehnte und verheißene Gemeingeist den neuen, lebendigen Gott', and continues, 'Der Name des neuen Gottes, durch geistbeschwingte menschliche Gemeinschaft herbeigerufen, kann nicht genannt werden, weil es den Namen noch nicht gibt.' But the reason why this god has no name is not that Hölderlin saw as the poet's task 'das Feld zu bereiten für die kommenden, lebendigen Götter' rather than to be a 'Religionsstifter', but that this god is not a reality, as Zeus and Apollo were for the Greeks, but merely a poetic image for this new community.

3. III, 534; Der Einzige (II), II, 160.

IV. EMPEDOCLES

1. The Elements

Towards the end of the second volume of Hyperion the hero contrasts himself with Empedocles,

der große Sicilianer..., der einst des Stunden-
zählens satt, vertraut mit der Seele der Welt,
in seiner kühnen Lebenslust sich da hinabwarf in
die herrlichen Flammen... aber man muß sich
höher achten, denn ich mich achte, um so ungerufen
der Natur ans Herz zu fliegen.

The same boldness which seeks life in death and the same distinction between hero and more ordinary mortal occurs in the ode Empedokles:

Das Leben suchst du, suchst, und es quillt und glänzt
Ein göttlich Feuer tief aus der Erde dir,
Und du in schauerndem Verlangen
Wirfst dich hinab, in des Aetna Flammen...

Doch heilig bist du mir, wie der Erde Macht,
Die dich hinwegnahm, kühner Getödteter!
Und folgen möcht' ich in die Tiefe,
Hielte die Liebe mich nicht, dem Helden.¹

The fascination which the figure of Empedocles now had for Hölderlin is evident not only from these passages, but also from the fact that in Frankfurt, while still working on the second volume of Hyperion, he already made 'den ganz detaillirten Plan zu einem Trauerspiele..., dessen Stoff mich hinreißt', a plan which envisaged Empedokles' escape from the 'Gesez der Succession' through his 'Entschluß...,

1. III, 151f.; I, 246. I have adopted Benn's practice of using 'Empedocles' to refer to the historical Empedocles and 'Empedokles' to refer to the hero of Hölderlin's play (cf. Der Tod des Empedokles, p. 8).

durch freiwilligen Tod sich mit der unendlichen Natur zu vereinen'.¹ It was, however, not until he moved to Homburg in September 1798 that Hölderlin began work on Der Tod des Empedokles. In December he was reading Diogenes Laertius' Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers, and he became so absorbed in his tragedy that in September of the next year, now revising it for the second time, he still expected to be devoting all his energies to it for another three months.²

The complete self-surrender in union with nature which, in his earliest references to the philosopher, Hölderlin saw Empedocles as having achieved is, however, also Hyperion's ideal in the first volume of the novel, published before the plan for the tragedy had been made:

Eines zu seyn mit Allem was lebt, in seeliger Selbstvergessenheit wiederzukehren in's All der Natur, das ist der Gipfel der Gedanken und Freuden.

The changes in the different versions of the tragedy itself were then the result of the development of Hölderlin's ideas rather than of a deeper understanding of the life of Empedocles: it will be seen in the discussion of the Grund zum Empedokles, a necessary preliminary to the study of Hölderlin's Sophocles-translations, that the plot of the final version of the tragedy was to be based on a pattern of thought which was Hölderlin's own. His starting-point was therefore not the historical Empedocles, but his own

1. Br. 142, VI, 247; Frankfurter Plan, IV 145, 147.
2. Br. 171, VI, 300; Br. 195, VI, 367.

experience: for him it was the nature of tragedy to contain

einen dritten von des Dichters eigenem Gemüth und eigener Welt verschiedenen und fremderen Stoff den er wählte, weil er ihn analog genug fand, um seine Totalempfindung in ihn hineinzutragen.¹

It is thus clear that in his tragedy Hölderlin was concerned more with his own ideas than with those of Empedocles, but it can still be suggested that there is significance in the fact that he chose this particular material as a vehicle for their expression. And when Hölderlin's pre-occupation with Empedocles is seen in conjunction with his approving use of 'das große Wort, das εν διαφερον εαυτω (das Eine in sich selber unterschiedne) des Heraklit' to define 'das Wesen der Schönheit'² it might appear that as Hyperion neared completion he transferred his interest from Plato to the Pre-Socratics, though in the case of Heraclitus too it is clear that Hölderlin is using the words of the philosopher to express his own ideal of the harmonious union of opposites, of unity in diversity.

It is, however, not the idea that at a particular stage in his development Hölderlin had a special interest in the Pre-Socratics which is at the basis of Gisela Wagner's detailed study of Hölderlin und die Vorsokratiker, but the belief that Hölderlin's work as a whole has 'eine besondere Nähe zu dieser Philosophie, und zwar eine Nähe, die sich nicht auf Einzelnes bezieht, sondern ursprünglich ist' and that

1. III, 9; IV, 151.

2. III, 81.

'die in der Forschung dogmatisch vorausgesetzte Urverwandtschaft Hölderlins mit dem griechischen Geist kann eigentlich nur von dieser Philosophie aus begründet werden'. Her attitude has been aptly summarized with the words, 'Soweit in Hölderlins Philosophie frühgriechischer Geist wiedererkannt wurde, hat man es eher aus einer Art geistiger Urverwandtschaft erklärt, als die Möglichkeit eines Einflusses zu untersuchen'.¹

Gisela Wagner's conclusion has received partial support from Walther Kranz, who maintains that the most important cause of the correspondences between Hölderlin and Empedocles lies 'in der Gleichheit der Grundgedanken, in der seelischen Verwandtschaft'.² But although he believes that 'die tiefste "Quelle" war eben doch die Brust des Dichters selbst' he also argues that Hölderlin had acquired, probably in Tübingen, a more extensive knowledge of Empedocles' philosophy than Diogenes Laertius could give him. Kranz thus anticipates the more recent study of Empedokles und Hölderlin by Uvo Hölscher, who sees in Hyperion's remark, 'Über den ehrwürdigen Produkten des altgriechischen Tiefsinns brütet ich Tage und Nächte', a reference to Hölderlin's own study of the Pre-Socratics in Tübingen.³(page 181)

1. Hölderlin und die Vorsokratiker, p. 1; Hölscher, Empedokles und Hölderlin, p. 8.
2. Kranz, Empedokles: Antike Gestalt und romantische Neuschöpfung, p. 220. Kranz' contribution to the discussion of this question has been overlooked not only by Hölscher ~~in~~, but also by Alessandro Pellegrini, who equally fails to mention Wagner's study, seeing it as Johannes Klein's 'Beitrag... zur Forschung...', daß er dem Umstande Gewicht beimißt, daß Hölderlin die philosophische Haltung und die Gedanken der Vor-Sokratiker wiederaufgenommen hat' (Friedrich Hölderlin. Sein Bild in der Forschung, p. 515), although his Geschichte der deutschen Lyrik was only published in 1957. Cf. Klein, op. cit., p. 374f.

Despite the different conclusions of these investigations the interest of their authors is the same, for they are concerned with those features which are common to the thought of Hölderlin and Empedocles, and though this interest does not tempt them consciously to overlook the differences it is on the former rather than the latter that their attention is concentrated. In order therefore to provide a counterweight to this approach and to check the validity of their conclusions it is worth looking at the one statement of Empedocles' philosophy with which we know Hölderlin was familiar, that given by Diogenes Laertius:

3 (previous page). Hölscher argues that Hölderlin could have had access to the Fragments of Empedocles in Henricus Stephanus, Poesis Philosophica (1573), which was probably in the Tübingen Universitätsbibliothek in the 18th century as it is today, and in Jacob Brucker, Historia critica philosophiae, the first volume of which (1742) was in the Stiftsbibliothek. Nevertheless it hardly seems necessary to trace back to Brucker's 'merkwürdige Auslegung der Empedokleischen Lehre, daß "die Einigkeit, als das wirkende Prinzip" der Welt, ein "geistiges Feuer, oder Gott" sei' the fact that in the third version of Der Tod des Empedokles 'Feuer und Flamme' take the place of 'der Aether' (cf. the discussion of Hölderlin's characterization of the 'Aether' in this section, especially p.202ff.). This Hölscher does in order to answer the question, 'Sollte denn Hölderlin gar keinen Anhalt in der Überlieferung gekannt haben, der ihm das Recht gab, seine Elementenphilosophie dem Empedokles in den Mund zu legen?' (op. cit., p. 42). Again, Hölscher sees in the part Hölderlin assigns to 'Liebe' in ending the period of 'Streit' 'eine bewußte Verwendung Empedokleischer Termini', which could have been known to Hölderlin, if from no other source, then from Herder's quotation of three lines of Empedocles in his small work Liebe und Selbstheit (op. cit., p. 45f.). Yet it is not necessary to argue that Hölderlin had access to the Fragments through Stephanus, Brucker or Herder in order to show that he was familiar with Empedocles' doctrine of the four elements and the principles of Love and Strife, for this is just what Diogenes Laertius mentions in his brief account of his philosophy.

His doctrines were as follows, that there are four elements, fire, water, earth and air, besides Friendship by which they are united and Strife by which they are separated. These are his words: ...'At one time all things are uniting in one through Love, at another each carried in a different direction through the hatred born of Strife.¹

There is one passage in Der Tod des Empedokles which suggests that Hölderlin may have understood Love and Strife in the same sense as Empedocles, as cosmic powers which succeeded each other in their domination of the universe:

ihr ehret mich,
Antwortet' er, und thuet recht daran;
Denn stumm ist die Natur,
Es leben Sonn und Luft und Erd' und ihre Kinder
Fremd umeinander,
Die Einsamen, als gehörten sie sich nicht...'

Kranz regards these lines as evidence that Hölderlin saw Empedokles' age as a period dominated by the 'kosmoszerstörende Kraft' of hate.² Yet such an interpretation rests on a misunderstanding of Hölderlin's meaning. There is no estrangement among 'die freien/Unsterblichen Mächte der Welt'. They are/only lonely because

Immer bedürfen ja, wie Heroën den Kranz, die geweihten
Elemente zum Ruhme das Herz der fühlenden Menschen.³

The estrangement is between nature and her children, mankind, for it is this estrangement that Empedokles is able to overcome:

1. Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers, VIII. 76 (translated by R.D.Hicks).
2. Empedokles (II), IV, 95; Kranz, op. cit., p. 191. Beißner too seems to understand the lines in the same way, for he comments, 'In der winterlichen Zeit der Götterferne besteht kein "Bündniß" zwischen dem obersten Gott "und anderen Mächten"' (IV, 358).
3. Der Archipelagus, II, 104.

Mir tauschen
Die Kraft und Seele zu Einem,
Die Sterblichen und die Götter.
Und wärmer umfassen die ewigen Mächte
Das Strebende Herz und kräftiger gedeihn
Vom Geiste der Freien die fühlenden Menschen.
... was Einem gebricht,
Ich bring es vom andern.

That Strife must be understood in this sense is confirmed
by Manes' words in the final version of the tragedy:

Und milde wird in ihm der Streit der Welt.¹
Die Menschen und die Götter söhnt er aus.

While Empedocles then saw his elements as subject to the
principles of Love and Strife, Hölderlin's elements are
constantly at unity with each other and it is only man's
relationship with them which is subject to such an alter-
nation. It is the contrast between these two relationships
that is important for Hölderlin's Empedokles, who lives

in jener höchsten Innigkeit, die den Grundton
seines Charakters macht, mit den Elementen, indeß
die Welt um ihn hierin gerade im höchsten Gegen-
satz lebt, in jenem freigeistlichen Nichtdenken,
Nichtanerkennen des Lebendigen.²

But these opposite states are experienced not only
synchronously by Empedokles and the Agrigentines, but also
successively by Empedokles himself. When he first appears
he immediately addresses the 'innige Natur':

Und meine Vertrauten euch, ihr schnellgeschäftigen
Kräfte der Höh'! und nahe seid auch ihr
Mir wieder, seid, wie sonst, ihr Glücklichen,
Ihr irrelösen Bäume meines Hains!
Ihr wuchst indessen fort und täglich tränkte
Des Himmels Quelle die Bescheidenen
Mit Licht und Lebensfunken säte
Befruchtend auf die Blühenden der Aether.³

1. IV, 95, 136.
2. Grund zum Empedokles, IV, 160.
3. Empedokles (I), IV, 14.

The unity of the elements among themselves is unchanged: the result is seen in the growth of earth's trees, the work of the sun and the rain. Indeed the closeness of the two heavenly powers to each other is emphasized by the transference to each of language which comes from the sphere of the other: the sun is seen as 'des Himmels Quelle' and the fertilizing rain as 'Lebensfunken'.

But Empedokles has already forfeited the unity with nature which he had enjoyed:

Ach! ich der allverlassene, lebt ich nicht
Mit dieser heiligen Erd' und diesem Licht
Und dir von dem die Seele nimmer läßt,
O Vater Aether! und allen Lebenden
In einigem gegenwärtigem Olymp? -
Nun wein ich, wie ein Ausgestoßener.¹

The third version of the tragedy only portrays Empedokles after he has withdrawn to Mount Etna and already recovered the unity with nature which he had lost:

Ja! ruhig wohnen wir; es öffnen groß
Sich hier vor uns die heiligen Elemente.
Die Mühelosen regen immergleich
In ihrer Kraft sich freudig hier um uns.
An seinen vesten Ufern wallt und ruht
Das alte Meer, und das Gebirge steigt
Mit seiner Ströme Klang, es woogt und rauscht
Sein grüner Wald von Thal zu Thal hinunter.
Und oben weilt das Licht, der Aether stillt
Den Geist und das geheimere Verlangen.
Hier wohnen ruhig wir.²

This passage is one of those which prompts Benn to ask the question, 'Is Hölderlin thinking here of Empedocles' doctrine of the four elements, fire, water, earth and air?', for he regards it as containing the mention of all four.

1. IV, 18f.

2. IV, 124.

Hölscher too states that in Hölderlin's work the elements occur 'in der Empedokleischen Vierzahl', and Kranz similarly writes of Hölderlin's 'freie Umformung der heiligen Empedokleischen Vier' and his 'Freude über das Dasein der vier Elemente'.¹ Gisela Wagner on the other hand asserts that 'die Vierzahl... ist für Hölderlins Elemente gar nicht von Bedeutung...; er nennt zwei oder drei von ihnen auch mehr als vier', though she goes on to admit that, as a result of the inclusion of water in the earth, 'Wenn der Blick des Dichters auf den gesamten Kosmos gerichtet ist, dann drängen sich ihm im großen Ganzen drei Wesen auf: Luft, Licht und Erde'.²

That Hölderlin's elements do in fact form a trinity was assumed in the previous chapter: it is after all as 'mächtiger Aether! und du/Erd' und Licht! ihr einigen drei' that he addresses them. It is true that at times he turns only to the two heavenly members of the trinity, as in Die Götter, for, as will emerge, the earth fulfils a double function and is therefore not always included.³ Equally at other times, as in the passage from Der Tod des Empedokles just quoted, the earth is broken down into its components, 'Meer', 'Gebirge', 'Ströme' and 'Wald', so that the impression is given that we are here concerned with the Empedoclean elements earth and water. However, it has already been suggested that in depicting land and sea Hölderlin is not

1. Benn, op. cit., p. 173f.; Hölscher, op. cit., p. 38; Kranz, op. cit., p. 163.
2. Op. cit., p. 122.
3. Der Wanderer, II, 83; II, 16.

thinking of two elements, but rather of the two aspects of the earth, which are joined to give the terrestrial member of the trinity the same unity within itself which it enjoys with the two celestial members.¹ Here too the unity of land and sea is not forgotten: not only does Hölderlin include the rivers too, which in the third strophe of Der Archipelagus play an important part in maintaining this unity, but in describing how the forest 'woogt und rauscht' he transfers to the land verbs which naturally apply to the sea, just as he does in his poem to the 'Meergott'.²

The separation of the earth into its constituents land and water seems to have sprung not only from this desire to make the concept of unity applicable to it, but also from Hölderlin's wish to achieve a symmetry between the celestial and terrestrial members of his trinity which would provide additional support for the unity of heaven and earth. Thus Hyperion and Diotima speak not only of the sunbeams and the rain which are the constant means of maintaining this unity, but also of the earth as 'ein herrlich lebend Wesen..., gleich göttlich, wenn ihr zürnend Feuer oder mildes klares Wasser aus dem Herzen quille'. Fire, 'der Erde Gluth' which 'herauf... aus Bergestiefen quillt', lurks in the depths of the earth perhaps as a result of its origin as 'die immer treuer liebende Hälfte des Sonnengotts, ursprünglich vielleicht inniger mit ihm

1. See p.159.

2. II,104: '...dann sendest du über das Land sie,/Daß am heißen Gestad die gewittertrunkenen Wälder/Rauschen und woogen mit dir.' This interpretation of Hölderlin's choice of verbs seems to be more consistent with his general practice than Beißner's suggestion: 'Daß der Wald "woogt und rauscht", darin ist gerade die Festigkeit des durch ihn bezeichneten Elements, der Erde, wieder aufgehoben' (IV, 365).

vereint', but, like the sea and rivers, it also links the earth with the 'Gewitterwolken', carriers of flame as well as rain.¹

It is this relationship that is predominant for Empedokles:

Und wenn das unterirrdische Gewitter
Izt festlich auferwacht zum Wolkensiz
Des nahverwandten Donnerers hinauf
Zur Freude fliegt, da wächst das Herz mir auch.

The answering flame of 'der Herr der Zeit', the 'Donnerer', in which the unity of earth and sky is re-established, is for Empedokles the sign to unite himself through death with the unity of nature, as he explains to Manes:

wenn izt, zu einsam sich,
Das Herz der Erde klagt, und eingedenk
Der alten Einigkeit die dunkle Mutter
Zum Aether aus die Feuerarme breitet,
Und izt der Herrscher kömt in seinem Stral,
Dann folgen wir, zum Zeichen, daß wir ihm²
Verwandte sind, hinab in heil'ge Flammen.²

It appears then that we do not need to have recourse to Empedocles' four elements to explain the sub-division of the earth in some passages of Hölderlin, but that he did indeed have the single element earth uppermost in his mind while working on his tragedy need not remain a matter of conjecture. In Empedokles' second long speech, in which he looks back to the time 'da sie mich den Innigliebenden/Noch liebten, sie die Genien der Welt,' he addresses 'Licht', 'Erde' and 'Aether' in turn. As a result of the order in which they occur the earth is seen to be held in the embrace of the sun and sky, and the fact that it alone is named twice, at the beginning and the end of the lines addressed to it, creates a symmetry

1. III, 54; Empedokles (I), IV, 53.
2. Empedokles (III), IV, 121, 138f.

which emphasizes the balanced unity between the terrestrial and the celestial members of the trinity. It is perhaps to help achieve this balance that the earth is again divided into land and water:

Da rauscht es anders denn zuvor im Hain,
Und zärtlich tönten ihrer Berge Quellen.

But it is clear from the revision of this speech in the second version of the tragedy that the earth as a whole was more important for Hölderlin than its component parts, for there he gave the words 'Sonne', 'Erde' (twice) and 'Aether' special emphasis, reproduced in the spaced type of the printed text.¹

Once this has been established it becomes impossible to accept Benn's suggestion that Hermokrates mentions 'the four elements (water, fire or light, earth and air) which we elsewhere associate with Empedokles. This is done deliberately by Hölderlin to produce a certain ironical effect, intensifying to the extreme the suffering of his hero, who thus sees himself formally divorced from his beloved elements by the unworthy agency of the despised priest.'² The beginning of the priest's curse does indeed, as Benn remarks, recall the Latin formula of interdiction, 'alicui aqua et igni interdicere':

Die Quelle, die uns tränkt, gebührt dir nicht
Und nicht die Feuerflamme, die uns frommt.

This ban is followed by the pronouncement of Empedokles' divorce from the divine trinity:

Für dich ist nicht das heitre Licht hier oben,
Nicht dieser Erde Grün und ihre Frucht,
Und ihren Seegen giebt die Luft dir nicht.

1. IV, 17f., 106.
2. Benn, op. cit., p. 181.

But we may not link the ban and the divorce in the way that Bann does in order to see in the passage a mention of water and earth as two separate elements. Empedokles is to be deprived of the water and fire which are necessary for life by his fellow-men:

du hast mit uns
Nichts mehr gemein, ein Fremdling bist du worden,
Und unerkant bei allen Lebenden.

The loss of unity with nature, however, is a divine punishment:

Und was den Sterblichen das Herz erfreut,
Das nehmen die heiligen Rachegötter von dir.¹

This emerges even more clearly in the second part of Hermokrates' speech and in Pausanias' reply. Despite the priest's threats against anyone giving Empedokles food, drink, rest and 'Grabesflamme' Pausanias declares that he will provide him with all these, but he can only pray that Empedokles be granted a restoration of his unity with the divine trinity:

O komm in fernes Land! wir finden dort
Das Licht des Himmels auch, und bitten will ich,
Daß freundlich dir in deiner Seele scheine.
Im heiter stolzen Griechenlande drüben
Da grünen Hügel auch, und Schatten gönnt
Der Ahorn dir, und milde² Lüfte kühlen
Den Wanderern die Brust.²

If we trace the development of Hölderlin's trinity we find that in his earliest analyses of nature it is the beauty and fertility of the earth, not its separation into land and water, that is important for him. The threefold division of nature already occurs in the lines he addressed to Neuffer in Waltershausen:

1. IV, 27. Cf. Bann, op. cit., p. 180.
2. IV, 28.

Noch tröstet mich mit süßer Augenwaide
Der blaue Himmel und die grüne Flur,
Mir reicht die Göttliche den Taumelkelch der Freude,
Die jugendliche freundliche Natur.

Getrost! es ist der Schmerzen werth, diß Leben,
So lang uns Armen Gottes Sonne scheint,
Und Bilder beßrer Zeit um unsre Seele schweben,
Und ach! mit uns ein freundlich Auge weint.¹

The reference to friendship recalls the Tübingen hymns (the Lied der Freundschaft, through its entry in the 'Bundesbuch' of the three friends, was implicitly, and the Hymne an die Freundschaft explicitly, dedicated to Neuffer and Magenau), but the theme of the consolation to be found in nature and the past points to Hölderlin's later ideas, as does the manner in which nature is portrayed.

In Ihre Genesung, written in Frankfurt, nature is analysed in the same way:

Deine Freundin, Natur! leidet und schläft und du,
Allbelebende, säumst? ach! und ihr heilt sie nicht,
Mächt'ge Lüfte des Aethers,
Nicht ihr Quellen des Sonnenlichts?

Alle Blumen der Erd', alle die fröhlichen,
Schönen Früchte des Hains, heitern sie alle nicht
Dieses Leben, ihr Götter!
Das ihr selber in Lieb' erzogt? -

Ach! schon atmet und tönt heilige Lebenslust
Ihr im reizenden Wort wieder wie sonst und schon
Glänzt das Auge des Lieblings
Freundlichoffen, Natur! dich an.²

Here the threefold division has become a sufficiently integral part of Hölderlin's thought to dictate the structure of the poem. The celestial and terrestrial members of the trinity are separated from each other by the break between the first and second strophes, which are then echoed in the third strophe:

1. An Neuffer, I, 183.
2. I, 253.

Diotima's renewed joy in life comes from the air she breathes and shares the harmony of the spheres,¹ just as the splendour of the earth is reflected in her eye. That this structure is quite deliberate is shown by the precision which characterizes the composition of the poem as a whole. The celestial and terrestrial elements, though distinguished by the strophic division, are nevertheless linked by the chiasmus which, placing the nouns between the verbs, spans the first and second strophes, and they are again joined when, after being named in succession, they are simultaneously addressed as 'ihr Götter'. The first and second strophes are also linked by the fact that the opening words of the poem are picked up by the eighth line, which explains the sense in which Diotima is nature's friend, while the poem as a whole is held together by the relationship between the first and last lines: the reversal of Diotima's state of health, the change from being cut off from the world to being open to it again, is reflected in the last line's reversal of the word-order of the first, which still allows 'Natur', around which the poem revolves, to retain its central position.

It can be seen therefore that Hölderlin's conception of the divine trinity was complete before he left Frankfurt and became more intensively occupied with the figure of Empedocles. Since he was concerned with three rather than four elements it seems unlikely that at this stage he was influenced by the

1. Cf. Sonnenuntergang: '...denn eben ist's, / Daß ich gelauscht, wie, goldner Töne / Voll, der entzückende Sonnenjüngling // Sein Abendlied auf himmlischer Leyer spielt'; / Es tönten rings die Wälder und Hügel nach' (I, 259, my italics).

study of Empedocles, even if, as Kranz and Hölscher suggest is possible, he was as a student interested in the Pre-Socratics. The question remains whether at a later stage he saw any connection between his own trinity and the four elements of Empedocles, whether Diogenes Laertius' note on Empedocles' philosophy was 'höchst willkommen', as Gisela Wagner believes, or whether we should agree with Beißner's suggestion that it provided 'nur spärliche Zitate..., die er wohl kaum beachtet hat'.¹

We can of course give no certain answer to this question, but that Hölderlin did not fail to notice the mention of Empedocles' elements is indeed suggested by the fact that, in passages already quoted, he writes of Empedokles' 'Innigkeit ...mit den Elementen' and makes Empedokles himself speak of 'die heiligen Elemente'.² But the question is best approached with Hölderlin's general attitude to antiquity in mind: in view of his sensitivity to passages of literature which could be understood in terms of his own thought and experience it would be surprising if he failed to see a connection between Empedocles' analysis of nature and his own. However, it is characteristic that Hölderlin absorbed Empedocles' conception into his own rather than seeking to understand it more fully and allowing his own ideas to be modified by it.

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1. Wagner, op. cit., p. 99; IV, 365 (Beißner).
 2. Grund zum Empedokles, IV, 160; Empedokles (III), IV, 124 (see p. 187). Hölscher, op. cit., p. 38, quotes Panthea's words: 'hier fühlt er, wie ein Gott/In seinen Elementen sich' (IV, 6).

Although Hölderlin seems to have been uninfluenced by antiquity in forming the conception of his trinity, there can be no doubt that he is consciously following classical tradition when he makes Empedokles address one of its members as 'Vater Aether', a title which suitably expresses the reverence he felt.¹ Whether he took it from Lucretius or from Heinse's quotation of Aristophanes we have no means of knowing,² but the fact that the expression does not have the same content in the two sources suggests that we should examine Hölderlin's use of it more closely.

For Lucretius 'pater aether' is the sky which pours rain into the lap of mother earth:

postremo pereunt imbres, ubi eos pater aether
in gremium matris terrae praecipitavit.³

Heinse quotes the words of Aristophanes, 'Unser Vater Aether, heiligster, aller Lebengeber', to show that 'die großen Dichter dieser hohen Zeiten für die Menschheit... meinten, wir schöpften die bewegende Kraft mit dem Atem, und sie sei in der Luft befindlich'.⁴ The former sense corresponds to the strict meaning of αἰθήρ, the upper air, the sky, the sense in which the Pre-Socratics used the word, the latter to its later confusion with ἀήρ, the air, the sense in which 'Aether' was also used by Herder and Schelling, for whom, as for the Stoics, it was the element which unites the universe, 'das allgemeine Vehikel der Dinge'.⁵ In

1. IV, 18 (see p. 184).
2. Cf. Hölscher, op. cit., p. 39f.; Benn, op. cit., p. 177f.
3. De rerum natura, I. 250f.
4. Ardinghello (Insel edition), p. 248f.
5. Herder, Sämtliche Werke, XIII, 29f., quoted by Viator, Die Lyrik Hölderlins, p. 82.

Hölderlin's trinity, however, there is a similar variation to that in the Greek use of αἰθήρ : in the poem An Neuffer its first member is, as we have already seen, 'der blaue Himmel', in Ihre Genesung the 'Lüfte des Aethers'.¹ It will be seen that the word 'Aether' is as a result used ambivalently, that its content and its character depend on its function in Hölderlin's work.

Vietor argues that Hölderlin's reverence for the 'Aether' cannot have been influenced by Schelling's conception of it as 'das allgemeine Vehikel aller belebenden Kräfte, eine unerschöpfliche Quelle, aus der die... Natur alles an sich zieht, was zu ihrem Gedeihen notwendig ist' since it was already present in the Fragment von Hyperion and the poem An die Natur, both written before Schelling had developed his philosophy of nature.² But Hölderlin's original view of the 'Aether' was independent not only of Schelling, but also of Heinse and Herder, for when he first uses the word he gives it the meaning which the Greek αἰθήρ originally had. 'Verloren ins weite Blau, blik' ich oft hinauf an den Aether, und hinein ins heilige Meer', writes Hyperion, and it was when 'der Aether durch die Zweige schien' that the poet experienced the 'Seele der Natur'.³ In Frankfurt too Hölderlin still referred to the sky as 'Aether': the trees stretch their arms 'nach des Aethers Tag empor', the snow-covered mountains glisten 'hinauf in den blauen Aether' and

1. I, 183, 253 (see p. 190).
2. Op. cit., p. 82f., quoting Schelling's Ideen zu einer Philosophie der Natur (Sämmtliche Werke, I.2, III).
3. Fragment von Hyperion, III, 184; An die Natur, I, 191f.

the stars move 'in ewiger müheloser Ordnung durch den Aether'.¹ Schmidt is thus mistaken when in the discussion of his 'Ätherlehre' he claims that 'Hölderlin konnte darin (in der zeitgenössischen Literatur) alle Elemente finden, die in seiner eigenen Dichtung von Bedeutung sind'.²

In these passages the 'Aether' occurs outside the context of the divine trinity of nature, and this is also the case when in Frankfurt Hölderlin first used the word as a synonym of 'Luft':

Treu und freundlich, wie du, erzog der Götter und Menschen
Keiner, o Vater Aether! mich auf; noch ehe die Mutter
In die Arme mich nahm und ihre Brüste mich tränkten,
Faßtest du zärtlich mich an und gossesst himmlischen Trank mir,
Mir den heiligen Othem zuerst in den keimenden Busen.

Nicht von irrdischer Kost gedeihen einzig die Wesen,
Aber du nährst sie all' mit deinem Nektar, o Vater!
Und es drängt sich und rinnt aus deiner ewigen Fülle
Die beseelende Luft durch alle Röhren des Lebens.
Darum lieben die Wesen dich auch und ringen und streben
Unaufhörlich hinauf nach dir in freudigem Wachstum.

This use of 'Aether' is not contradictory to, but rather an extension of, its use in the sense of 'sky', for the air is of heavenly origin - at the opening of the next strophe 'Vater Aether' is addressed as 'Himmlischer' - and draws everything upward towards the sky:

 wie die freundliche Heimath
Winkt es von oben herab und auf die Gipfel der Alpen
Möcht' ich wandern und rufen von da dem eilenden Adler,
Daß er, wie einst in die Arme des Zeus den seeligen Knaben,
Aus der Gefangenschaft in des Aethers Halle mich trage.

But it is the virtue of the 'Aether' that it satisfies the longing which it arouses:

1. An Herkules, I, 200; Hyperion, III, 21, 11.
2. Schmidt, Hölderlin's Elegie "Brot und Wein", p. 73ff.

Aber indeß ich hinauf in die dämmernde Ferne mich sehne,
Wo du fremde Gestad' umfängst mit der bläulichen Wooge,
Kömmst du säuselnd herab von des Fruchtbaums blühenden Wipfeln,
Vater Aether! und sänftigest selbst das strebende Herz mir,¹
Und ich lebe nun gern, wie zuvor, mit den Blumen der Erde.

The same is true in Hyperion's experience of 'das hohe Element'. All living creatures felt the irresistible attraction of the air: 'so flog und sprang und strebte jedes Leben in die göttliche Luft hinaus,... und was die Erde festhielt, dem ward zum Fluge der Schritt.' But in the satisfaction of their urge they were helped by the air itself: 'Allen drang die mütterliche Luft an's Herz, und hob sie und zog sie zu sich'. Thus Hyperion can declare, 'Ich war voll unbeschreiblichen Sehnsens und Friedens'. The air comes down to man from heaven and in union with it he can achieve union with the divine.²

When the 'Aether' then becomes a member of Hölderlin's trinity one of its functions is to fulfil man's need for personal union with the divine, as is made explicit when Hyperion exclaims,

Dich will ich lieben, harmlos Leben, Leben des Hains
und des Quells! dich will ich ehren, o Sonnenlicht!
an dir mich stillen, schöner Aether, der die Sterne
beseelt, und hier auch diese Bäume umathmet und hier
im Innern der Brust uns berührt!

It is her unity with 'allbelebende' nature that Hölderlin regards Diotima as having lost through illness when in Ihre Genesung he calls upon the 'Lüfte des Aethers' to heal her.³ The pattern of thought according to which the air can give man contact with heaven is, though compressed, still

1. An den Aether, I, 204f.

2. III, 49f. In his note on the poem An den Aether Beißner remarks that in this passage of Hyperion Hölderlin uses the word "Luft" statt "Aether", obwohl das Wort "Aether" schon im Thalia-Fragment, im letzten Brief, gebraucht wird' (I, 512). He overlooks the fact that the earlier use of 'Aether' was in a different sense.

3. III, 127; I, 253.

present in this phrase, for both concepts are named, but in Homburg and later Hölderlin tended, in addressing the air, to restrict himself to one word or the other. In Achill he uses 'Aether' in this sense:

Gute Götter! doch hört ihr jegliches Flehen des Menschen,
Ach! und innig und fromm liebt' ich dich heiliges Licht,
Seit ich lebe, dich Erd und deine Quellen und Wälder,
Vater Aether und dich fühlte zu sehnd und rein
Dieses Herz - o sänftiget mir, ihr Guten, mein Laiden.

That the gods did indeed hear his prayer we learn in Elegie:

Und, wie wenn ich mit ihr auf Bergeshöhen mit ihr stand,
Wehet belebend auch mich, göttlicher Othem mich an.¹

In Mein Eigentum on the other hand he expressly addresses the 'Luft':

Und leuchtest du, o Goldnes (Licht), auch mir, und wehst
Auch du mir wieder, Lüftchen, als seegnetest
Du eine Freude mir, wie einst, und
Irrst, wie um Glückliche, mir am Busen?²

For Empedokles too it is above all the air that gives him the peace which comes from union with the divine. Its connection with the heavens is hinted at when he relates to Pausanias that it was especially on the mountain heights that he found this contentment:

und wenn ich oft
Auf ferner Bergeshöhe saß...
Dann athmete der Aether, so wie dir,
Mir heilend um die liebeswunde Brust.

It is of the healing power of the 'Aether' that Hermokrates wishes to deprive Empedokles in his curse: 'Und ihren Seegen giebt die Luft dir nicht', but on Mount Etna the curse loses its power over him. 'Auf diesen Höhen athmet leichter sichs',

1. III, 271; II, 74.
2. I, 306.

says Pausanias, and Empedokles presses on to the summit, 'Denn gegenwärtger sind die Götter auf den Höhn!' There, reunited with nature, he will die:

Und zärtlich rührt der Allbewegende,¹
Der Geist, der Aether uns an, o dann!

In Act I Empedokles only speaks of this personal unity with nature in order to lament its loss, but the fact that he is excluded from it does not detract from the unity which still exists within the 'innige Natur'. He realizes, as we have seen, that the trees have continued to grow, nourished by the spring of light and the 'Lebensfunken' sown by the 'Aether'.² In the context of the unity of the universe, when no attention is paid to the individual's part in it, Hölderlin returns to the original meaning of the Greek word, for here the 'Aether' signifies the sky. Empedokles therefore not only speaks of three rather than four elements, but also ascribes to one of them an ambivalence which is derived entirely from Hölderlin's thought.

The unity of earth and heaven can be achieved by the air, which is as necessary as the other members of the trinity for the life of nature in which they meet:

Die Mutter Erde sich und Licht und Luft sich kennet.
an den Pflanzen

But it is brought about more manifestly by the rain, whose drops are the 'Berührungen des Himmels', just as it is effected by the beams of the sun.³ It was this unity which was the subject of the first conversation between Hyperion and Diotima:

1. IV, 18, 27, 47, 52f.

2. IV, 14 (see p. 183).

3. Friedensfeier, III, 536; Hyperion, III, 11.

Vom Leben der Erde sprachen wir endlich...

Wir nannten die Erde eine der Blumen des Himmels, und den Himmel nannten wir den unendlichen Garten des Lebens. Wie die Rosen sich mit goldnen Stäubchen erfreuen, sagten wir, so erfreue das heldenmüthige Sonnenlicht mit seinen Strahlen die Erde; sie sey... immer glücklich, wenn sie von Thautropfen sich nähre, oder von Gewitterwolken, die sie sich zum Genusse bereite mit Hülfe des Himmels.

And it is the need of the earth for the moisture and warmth of the sky which provides Diotima with the imagery with which she urges Hyperion not to isolate himself from the world, but to give it the peace and unity he has found with her:

Willst du dich verschließen in den Himmel deiner Liebe, und die Welt, die deiner bedürfte, verdorren und erkalten lassen unter dir? Du mußt, wie der Lichtstral, herab, wie der allerfrischende Regen, mußt du nieder in's Land der Sterblichkeit.

In Heimkunft 'der reine/Seelige Gott...Der ätherische' sends therefore not only 'trauteste Lüfte', but also, as the god of the sky, 'milde/Reegen, zu öffnen das Land, brütende Wolken'. Rain is as necessary as air for the natural life of the earth and at the same time provides more visible evidence of the unity of earth and sky.¹

In the world of nature this unity is the rule. Only in less favoured parts of the earth is it missing, as in the wastes of the 'Eispol':

Ach! nicht schlang um die Erde den wärmenden Arm der Olymp hier
Wie Pygmalions Arm um die Geliebte sich schlang.
Hier bewegt' er ihr nicht mit dem Sonnenblike den Busen,
Und in Reegen und Thau sprach er nicht freundlich zu ihr.

In general the unity of earth and sky is restored in every storm:

1. III, 53f., 88; II, 96f.

und wie auf tönender Leier
Ein erfreulicher Geist
Spielt mit Reegen und Sonnenschein auf der Erde der Himmel...
Leise berührte der Himmel zuvor mit der silbernen Tropfe
Seinen Bruder den Strom
Nah ist er nun, nun schüttet er ganz, die köstliche Fülle
Die er am Herzen trug,
Über den Hain und den Strom, und...
Und das Grünen des Hains, und des Himmels Bild in dem Strome
Dämmert und schwindet vor uns...
Nah und Fernes entweicht, verliert sich in froher Verwirrung
Und die Sonne verlischt.
Aber vorübergerauscht sind nun die Fluthen des Himmels
Und geläutert, verjüngt
Geht mit den seeligen Kindern hervor die Erd' aus dem Bade.¹

This enthusiastic description of the blurring of the sharp outlines of the earth seems to anticipate the declaration in Natur und Kunst of the priority of the 'heilige Dämmerung' of the former over the forms of the latter:

Und hab' ich erst am Herzen Lebendiges
Gefühlt und dämmert, was du gestaltetest,...
Dann kenn' ich dich, Kronion!²

The comparison between the two poems is not entirely arbitrary, for the earth comes to symbolize for Hölderlin the pole of 'Kunst' in contrast with the pole of 'Natur', represented by the two celestial members of the trinity. We have already seen how, unable to live from 'irrdische Kost' alone, everything strives upward to be nourished by the 'Nektar' of 'Vater Aether' and how Empedokles feels nearer to the gods on the mountain tops above the earth.³ In this sense too the 'geheimere Welt' which the poet and Diotima created

1. Der Wanderer, I, 206; An Diotima, I, 210f.
2. II, 37f.
3. An den Aether, I, 204; IV, 52 (see p. 195, 197f.).

for themselves floats above the earth:

Denn die Sterbliches nur besorgt, es empfängt sie die Erde
Aber näher zum Licht wandern, zum Aether hinauf
Sie, die inniger Liebe treu, und göttlichem Geiste
Hoffend und duldend und still über das Schiksaal
gesiegt.¹

The earth can represent the pole of 'Kunst' because it is the home of men who fail to acknowledge it as part of 'Natur'. It is for this reason that Hölderlin ascribes to it the characteristics he saw in Diotima. 'Du schweigst und duldest, denn sie verstehn dich nicht,/Du edles Leben', he writes to her. She, 'die Athenerin', is 'einsam und fremd'.² Such is the fate of the earth too. The experiences the poet shared with Diotima make him 'Ein Sohn der Erde...; zu lieben gemacht, zu leiden'. And the 'Vaterland', seen in the light of the fulfilment which awaits it, is 'Allduldend, gleich der schweigenden Mutter Erd',/Und allverkannt'.³ Just as Diotima stands for the values of Greece in an age which does not recognize them, so too the earth lacks the recognition of its divinity.

If this is true of the earth, it is doubly so of the sky. Greek civilization was based on the recognition which divine nature received from man: 'Vater Aether! so riefs und flog von Zunge zu Zunge!' But this recognition is now withheld: Keines wirket, denn wir sind herzlos, Schatten bis unser Vater Aether erkennt jeden und allen gehört.

The same contrast occurs in Der Archipelagus:

1. 'Götter wandelten einst...', I, 274.
2. Diotima, II, 28; An ihren Genius, I, 243.
3. Die Heimath, II, 19; Gesang des Deutschen, II, 3.

über Bergen der Heimath
Ruht und waltet und lebt allgegenwärtig der Aether,
Daß ein liebendes Volk in des Vaters Armen gesammelt,
Menschlich freudig, wie sonst, und Ein Geist allen gemein sei.
Aber weh! es wandelt in Nacht, es wohnt, wie im Orkus,
Ohne Göttliches unser Geschlecht.¹

Hölderlin sees the relationship of man with nature in terms of his attitude to the 'Aether', and so expresses his failure to recognize the heavenly powers with the image of the separation of sky and earth, the symbols of 'Natur' and 'Kunst'. In doing so he moves from the sphere of nature to that of history, to the estrangement from nature of the Germany of his day. Bread and wine, the products of the partnership of earth and sky in the world of nature, are for the initiated symbols of the unity which the progress of history will restore, but the time for the marriage of heaven and earth has not yet come:

in der Mitte der Zeit
Lebt ruhig mit geweihter
Jungfräulicher Erde der Aether.²

Hölderlin's use of the same symbols in the spheres of both nature and history has the result^{that} even when it is understood as the sky rather than the air the ambivalence of the 'Aether' is not exhausted. We have already seen that nature has a destructive as well as a life-giving aspect and that it was Hölderlin's view that this side of nature would assert itself, seeking revenge for the neglect it had suffered, before the reunion of men and nature was possible - indeed he believed that this was already happening in contemporary events. It was in his characterization of the 'Aether' that he was able to combine these two aspects of nature.

1. Brot und Wein, II, 92, 95; II, 110.
2. Germanien, II, 152.

In Hyperion, where Hölderlin is concerned with the peaceful unity of nature, the function of 'Gewitterwolken' is to send their rain down upon the earth. If thunder and lightning occur they are not destructive, but rather the expression of the majesty of the divine:

Rechts wälzten Wetterwolken sich her über den Wäldern
des Sipylus; ich fühlte nicht den Sturm, der sie
trug,... aber ihren Donner hört' ich, wie man die
Stimmen der Zukunft hört, und ihre Flammen sah ich,
wie das ferne Licht der geahneten Gottheit.¹

But in Frankfurt Hölderlin already saw their destructive side too: 'der geheime/Geist der Unruh,... der auch dein Sohn,
o Natur, ist,/Mit dem Geiste der Ruh' aus Einem Schoose
geboren' is the 'Gewittergott' who destroys cities. In
'Wie wenn am Feiertage...' the two properties of the thunder-
clouds are combined. The poem begins with a description of
the beauty of the morning,

wenn
Aus heißer Nacht die kühlenden Blize fielen
Die ganze Zeit und fern noch tönet der Donner,
In sein Gestade wieder tritt der Strom,
Und frisch der Boden grünt
Und von des Himmels erfreuendem Reegen
Der Weinstok trauft und glänzend
In stiller Sonne stehn die Bäume des Haines.

But 'die Kräfte der Götter', 'die uns lächelnd den Acker
gebauet', are also recognized in the course of history, in
the 'Thaten der Welt'. The poet can thus sing of both
expressions of the power of the 'Aether', of

Wettern, die in der Luft, und andern
Die vorbereiteter in Tiefen der Zeit,
Und deutungsvoller, und vernehmlicher uns
Hinwandeln zwischen Himmel und Erd und unter den
Völkern.²

1. III, 54,21.
2. Die Muße, I, 236f.; II, 118f.

The destructive activity of the 'Aether' is seen in 'der Zorn an dem Himmel'. In 'Stürmen der Zeit' contact between heaven and earth is restored:

Es entbrennet aber sein Zorn;¹ daß nemlich
Das Zeichen die Erde berührt.¹

But this destructive union is no more than the necessary preliminary to the final peaceful union, the 'Friedensfeier':

Wo... ernst geworden ist der Zorn an dem Himmel,
Muß zwischen Tag und Nacht
Einsmals ein Wahres erscheinen.²

The separation of earth and 'Aether' provided Hölderlin with imagery with which he could describe man's lack of unity with nature, and the lightning of the 'Aether' which touched the earth could represent the renewed destructive contact between man and nature. But the 'Aether' was not suited to provide imagery for renewed peaceful union on a national scale.

Understood as the air which comes down from heaven it provides the means of expressing personal union with the divine, as in An den Aether. In his 'Heiligtum', in which Empedokles, already the prophet of Hölderlin's elements, becomes the mouthpiece for his philosophy of history, this personal union is admittedly extended to the whole people of Agrigentum:

 hebt, wie Neugeborne,
Die Augen auf zur göttlichen Natur,
Wenn dann der Geist sich an des Himmels Licht
Entzündet, süßer Lebensothen euch
Den Busen, wie zum erstenmale tränkt,
Und goldner Früchte voll die Wälder rauschen
Und Quellen aus dem Fels...
 ...dann reicht die Hände
Euch wieder.

1. Germanien, II, 151; Der Einzige (II), II, 159f.
2. Germanien, II, 151f.

And similarly in Die Wanderung the arrival of the Graces in Germany is seen as the moment 'wenn milder athmen die Lüfte'.¹ But the union of earth and heaven by means of the air was not the best image for the moment in history when man and nature were to be reunited, for the air, being always present, is most suitable for expressing the unity with nature which the individual can achieve at any time.

Understood as the sky the 'Aether' provides the imagery for the personal union with the divine which is granted to the poet in the presence of Diotima:

O du des Himmels Botin! wie lauscht ich dir!
Dir, Diotima! Liebe! wie sah von dir
Zum goldnen Tage dieses Auge
Glänzend und dankend empor. Da rauschten

Lebendiger die Quellen, es athmeten
Der dunkeln Erde Blüthen mich liebend an,
Und lächelnd über Silberwolken
Neigte sich seegnend herab der Aether.

But Hölderlin did not develop this image, for he could give it no visual content unless he returned to his earlier picture of the descending cloud:

Und zu mir, von Licht und Glanz umflossen,
Aus den Höhn die goldne Wolke sank.²

The peaceful union of earth and sky could best be represented visually by the rain which helps to maintain the permanent unity of the universe, but this was hardly a suitable image for the historic moment of the reunion of 'Natur' and 'Kunst'. If therefore this great event in the life of the nation could not be symbolized by the union of earth and the 'Aether', it had to be represented by the union of earth and the other celestial member of Hölderlin's trinity, the sun.

1. IV, 65f.; II, 141.

2. 'Geh unter, schöne Sonne...', I, 314; An die Natur, I, 191.

It has emerged that Gisela Wagner's statement on the number of Hölderlin's elements can be upheld against the unanimous rejection it has received in later studies. We do indeed seem to have in the case of their elements 'eine unmittelbare, von Abhängigkeit oder Beeinflussung freie Verwandtschaft Hölderlins mit Empedokles', even though 'diese Verwandtschaft kann keinesfalls Identität ihrer Elementenverehrung bedeuten'.¹ But the belief on which she bases her method of comparing Hölderlin's thought with that of Empedocles, the belief that 'sein Eigenstes und Unterscheidendes kann an dieser Beziehung erscheinen', seems less justified. In such a comparison the thought of Empedocles dictates the scope of the investigation. Thus she tends to restrict her discussion of the nature of Hölderlin's elements to those areas where a direct comparison with those of Empedocles is possible, and because she does not go on to a thorough examination of the function of the elements in Hölderlin's work her conclusions about their character are deficient. Accordingly she sees as 'die besonderen Eigenschaften des Aethers' the fact that it is 'als Hauch- und Seelenartiges Geist oder Seele der Welt...allnährend...allgegenwärtig': she understands it simply as a synonym of 'Luft'.²

This method influences not only Gisela Wagner's interpretation of details, but also her general conclusion that Hölderlin's 'Urverwandtschaft... mit dem griechischen Geist' can only hold good of his relationship to the Pre-Socratics,

1. Wagner, op. cit., p. 120. She makes the valuable distinction that Empedocles is concerned with 'Bestandteile', Hölderlin with 'mythische Wesen' (pp. 139, 143).
2. Ibid., pp. 1, 130.

for it is only in this area that similarities are sought. Such a conclusion can have only limited validity since it is based on limited evidence: since the Pre-Socratics are her starting-point no other aspects of Greece are considered. Thus she is able to remark, 'Es ist zunächst befremdend, daß er (Hölderlin) diesem göttlichen Welt-Einen den Namen Schönheit gibt', although no one sensitive to the extent of Platonic imagery and thought in Hölderlin's work could overlook the significance of the fact that the words of Heraclitus with which the nature of beauty is defined are taken from Plato's Symposium.¹ The only legitimate approach is that which takes Hölderlin's own work as its starting-point and is open to the possibility of a relationship with different aspects of Greece.

Ibid., pp. 1, 41;

1. Plato, Symposium, 187a5. Wagner does indeed in a note assume 'daß die Verwendung des Begriffs durch das Symposium Platos angeregt ist... daß Hölderlin von Plato inspiriert seinem Unendlich-Einigen den Namen Schönheit gab' (p. 174), but her comparison of their ideas of beauty overlooks the significance which beauty acquired for Hölderlin through Plato. It is suggested by Beißner that 'der Heraklitische Gedanke der πάλιντροπος ἁρμονίη ' which occurs in the same sentence of the Symposium is the basis of the first strophe of Lebenslauf (II, 427): 'Größers wolltest auch du, aber die Liebe zwingt/All uns nieder, das Laid beuget gewaltiger,/ Doch es kehret umsonst nicht/Unser Bogen, woher er kommt' (II, 22). Doubt is, however, thrown on this suggestion by the fact that it is not the tension, but merely the shape of the bow with which Hölderlin is concerned. The thought is that of the last strophe of Die Heimath: 'Denn sie, die uns das himmlische Feuer leihn,/Die Götter schenken heiliges Laid uns auch,/Drum bleibe diß. Ein Sohn der Erde/Schein' ich; zu lieben gemacht, zu leiden' (II, 19).

2. Cosmogony

Gisela Wagner's method not only limits the vision, as we have seen: it can also mislead, for she is in danger of being influenced by the pre-Socratic outlook in her approach to Hölderlin. In the early pages of her study she stresses the difference between their attitudes to nature and the universe, between the 'Erkenntnisdrang des Naturphilosophen' and the 'Liebesbeziehung' of the poet.¹ But in the concluding pages, starting from 'die Art des Zerfalls der Welt in ihre Vielheit und deren Spannung', which she sees as a link between Hölderlin and Empedocles, she raises the question of Hölderlin's views on the physical origins of the world, the question 'ob es - wörtlicher mit Empedokles vergleichbar - eine Einheit der Welt vor ihrem Zerfall und rein vom Zerfall gab'. She admits that 'die Frage nach einer chaotischen Einheit des gesamten Kosmos' can be understood symbolically, but her interest in demonstrating a common structure in the thought of Empedocles and Hölderlin suggests that she inclines to the other possibility: 'Vielleicht wird sie trotz ihrer Einzigartigkeit als das Zeugnis für eine von Hölderlin geglaubte wirkliche Epoche in der Geschichte der Welt verstanden.'²

The passage which raises this question is that already quoted in which Empedokles sees in the eruption of Mount Etna earth raising 'die Feuerarme' to the 'Aether', 'eingedenk/Der alten Einigkeit'.³ Gisela Wagner asks whether we are to see

1. Wagner, Hölderlin und die Vorsokratiker, p. 9.

2. Ibid., pp. 159, 162.

3. Empedokles (III), IV, 139 (see p. 187).

this 'Einigkeit zwischen Erde und Aether' as part of an original 'Einigkeit des gesamten Kosmos in Feuer', but concludes that the question 'muß wohl offen bleiben, da jenes Zitat aus dem Aetnafragment... allein geblieben ist'.¹ But she is mistaken in thinking that this is the only passage in which Hölderlin writes of an earlier oneness of the cosmos, for in their first conversation Hyperion and Diotima spoke of the earth as

die immer treuer liebende Hälfte des Sonnengotts,
ursprünglich vielleicht inniger mit ihm vereint,
dann aber durch ein allwaltend Schiksaal geschieden
von ihm, damit sie ihn suche, sich nähere, sich
entferne und unter Lust und Trauer zur höchsten
Schönheit reife.²

We have already examined the description which precedes these words of the manner in which the present unity of the universe is constantly maintained. The earth, with its heart of fire and water, is united with the heavens by the beams of the sun and the rain of the thunder-clouds.³ How could Hölderlin better express the close relationship between earth and sun than by suggesting that they were once one? This passage in Hyperion therefore, which is concerned with earth and sun, balances that in Der Tod des Empedokles which speaks of the 'alte Einigkeit' of earth and 'Aether'. But Hölderlin's starting-point is the present unity of nature, and his reference to the past oneness of earth and heaven is a mythical expression of this unity rather than the result of speculation comparable with that of the Pre-Socratics.

1. Wagner, op. cit., pp. 159, 162. Cf. p. 78.
2. III, 54.
3. See p. 186f.

That Hölderlin's interest is not scientific is confirmed by the final clause of the passage quoted. The path which since their separation the earth has followed round the sun is recorded not as an astronomical phenomenon, but for its symbolic value. Its alternately diminishing and increasing distance from the sun 'unter Lust und Trauer' reminds us first of all of the 'Freude' and 'Leid' which characterized Hyperion's and Hölderlin's own attainment and loss of personal unity with the divine, an alternation of moods which Plato helped him to accept. But it is equally

die exzentrische Bahn, die der Mensch, im Allgemeinen und Einzelnen, von einem Punkte (der mehr oder weniger reinen Einfalt) zum andern (der mehr oder weniger vollendeten Bildung) durchläuft.

Here we are concerned not with the continuous alternation of two states, but with a single elliptical revolution of the earth round the sun from the perihelion, the point of greatest proximity, to the aphelion, that of greatest distance, and back to the perihelion:

Wir durchlaufen alle eine exzentrische Bahn...
Wir reißen uns los vom friedlichen *Ev kai Pav* der Welt, um es herzustellen, durch uns selbst. Wir sind zerfallen mit der Natur, und was einst, wie man glauben kann, Eins war, widerstreitet sich jetzt...

Jenen ewigen Widerstreit zwischen unserem Selbst und der Welt zu endigen,...uns mit der Natur zu vereinigen zu Einem unendlichen Ganzen, das ist das Ziel all' unseres Strebens.¹

Though he does not mention it, the first conversation of Hyperion and Diotima gives support to Schadewaldt's thesis that 'exzentrisch' is used 'im ursprünglichen, astronomischen Sinn', as does Hölderlin's extensive use of the imagery of

1. Prefaces to the Fragment and penultimate version of Hyperion, III, 163, 236.

earth and sun in less ambiguous contexts. Ryan objects against this interpretation that it takes no account of the fact that in the preface to the Fragment von Hyperion the 'exzentrische Bahn' undergoes a 'Zurechtweisung' and that it is regarded as a path from one point to another, not as just 'ein unregelmäßiges "Kreisen"'.¹ However, the 'Zurechtweisung' can satisfactorily be understood as the 'correction' of the course of the earth at the aphelion, and the fact that Hölderlin could have used the image of the constantly recurring elliptical course of the earth round the sun - and elsewhere, as we have seen, does indeed do so - need not prevent him being concerned here with a single revolution: in the imagery of night and day, which he so often uses for the course of history, he isolates the series day-night-day from an ever recurring cycle, just as he here isolates the series perihelion-aphelion-perihelion.

The 'exzentrische Bahn' was a suitable image for the exposition of Hölderlin's ideas in the prefaces to the Fragment and the penultimate version of Hyperion. It was also a suitable subject of conversation in the final version of the novel. It could not, however, provide him with an image for his poetry, and in any case involved only an approach of the earth to the sun, not a restoration of the 'alte Einigkeit' in actual reunion. This reunion is, however, apparently, if not actually, achieved at the moment when in rising or setting the sun rests on the horizon, and it was therefore the sunrise and the sunset which provided Hölderlin with an image for the peaceful reunion of earth and heaven.

1. Schadewaldt, 'Das Bild der exzentrischen Bahn bei Hölderlin', H-Jb, 6 (1952), 2; Ryan, Hölderlins "Hyperion", p. 11.

But before going on to examine the use of this image, so returning to the theme of the previous section, we can again confirm that Hölderlin's concern is not with the physical origins of the world by considering the significance of other ancient cosmogonies of which there are traces in his poetry.

It is the Christian creation myth that inspires the enthusiasm of the schoolboy Hölderlin for the beauty of the 'herrliche Schöpfungen', although, calling on 'Adams Geschlechte' to worship, he proclaims that man's soul, which came 'aus Gottes Hand/Erhaben über tausend Geschöpfe', is, when it turns from the creation to the creator, more beautiful than the world. And in the Lied der Liebe, the words of Genesis, 'Am Anfang schuf Gott Himmel und Erde', must still have been in the mind of the student when he wrote in praise of love that it

Schaffet Erd und Himmel wieder
Göttlich, wie im Anbeginn.¹

But although Hölderlin looks back to the original moment of creation he is in fact already more concerned with the unity that is constantly maintained by 'das hohe Wesenband', as in Melodie:

Lyda, siehe! zauberisch umwunden
Hält das All der Liebe Schöpferhand,
Erd' und Himmel wandeln treu verbunden.²

1. Die Unsterblichkeit der Seele, I, 31; I, 111; I Mose I.1.
2. I, 122.

Before leaving Tübingen, in the Hymne an die Liebe, the third version of the Lied der Liebe, he adopted the image of the marriage of heaven and earth:

Siehe! mit der Erde gattet
Sich des Himmels heil'ge Lust,
Von den Wettern überschattet
Bebt entzückt der Mutter Brust.¹

We already have here the explicit introduction into Hölderlin's poetry of the concept of 'Mutter Erde' and, though the word 'Himmel' is still retained from the biblical myth, implicitly that of 'Vater Aether'. This name does not actually occur until An den Aether, written several years later (1797), but the union of earth and heaven through rain celebrated in the earlier hymn is far closer to the Lucretian account of the marriage, which Hölscher suggests was the source of the later poem's title.²

For Hölderlin it is solely the union of heaven and earth that is important, for Lucretius it is the resulting fertility of the earth, although elsewhere Hölderlin does not ignore this aspect of the myth. In Der Wanderer the failure of heaven in the polar regions to embrace the earth and to speak to her in 'Reegen und Thau' prompts in the poet the cry:

Mutter Erde! rief ich, du bist zur Witwe geworden,
Dürftig und kinderlos lebst du in langsamer Zeit.³

However, as we have already seen, the unity of heaven and earth can also be established by the 'Sonnenblik', so that Hölderlin seems to be suggesting that not only the sky, but

1. I, 167.

2. De rerum natura, I. 250f. (see p. 193); Hölscher, Empedokles und Hölderlin, p. 39f. Cf. also Vergil, Georgics, II. 325ff.

3. I, 206.

also the sun can play the role of the earth's husband. This suggestion is foreshadowed in the Tübingen Hymne an die Freiheit, in which the sun is seen as necessary for, if not as the cause of, life:

Froh des Götterlooses, zu erfreuen,
Lächelt Helios in süßer Ruh
Junges Leben, üppiges Gedeihen
Dem geliebten Erdenrunde zu.

And in An den Frühling, though it is not expressly stated that the sun is the father of the earth's children, he is her lover:

Sehn wir nicht, wie sie freundlicher nun den stolzen Geliebten
Grüßt', den heiligen Tag, wenn er kühn vom Siege der Schatten
Über die Berge flammt! wie sie sanfterrötend im Schleier
Silberner Dünste verhüllt, in süßen Erwartungen aufblickt,
Bis sie glühet von ihm, und ihre friedlichen Kinder
Alle, Blumen und Hain', und Saaten und sprossende Reben,...¹

It emerges that for the expression of their unity Hölderlin found the classical myth of the marriage of earth and heaven more suitable than the Christian myth of creation. But in accordance with his belief in the divinity of the sun as well as that of the sky he adapted this old Aryan myth, based on the importance of rain for the growth of vegetable life, to include the sun too.² Thus, when in Der Mensch he turns from his concern with the unity of heaven and earth to the subject of the creation of the world, he sees as its parents 'Mutter Erde' and 'Vater Helios'. Hardly had land emerged from the

1. I, 158, 202f.

2. Commenting on his translation of Apollodorus (The Loeb Classical Library, I, 2f.) Frazer writes that the myth of a marriage of Sky and Earth is widespread among primitive peoples and that it always takes place in the rainy season. I have assumed that Hölderlin did not know the fragment of Anaxagoras which makes the earth the mother and the sun the father of all growing things: ἡ γῆ μήτηρ μὲν ἐστὶ τῶν φυτῶν, ὁ δὲ ἥλιος πατήρ (Ps. Ar. π. φυτῶν 2.817a, quoted by Bailey, Titii Lucreti Cari De Rerum Natura, II, 642).

waters of the earth and vegetable life established itself,
when on the most beautiful of the islands

Lag unter Trauben einst, nach lauer
Nacht, in der dämmernden Morgenstunde

Geboren, Mutter Erde! dein schönstes Kind; -
Und auf zum Vater Helios sieht bekannt
Der Knab'.¹

It is not the creation as such, but the character of man
that is the subject of the poem, as its title makes clear.
He is different from the animals:

nicht dir und nicht dem Vater
Gleicht er, denn kühn ist in ihm und einzig
Des Vaters hohe Seele mit deiner Lust,
O Erd'! und deiner Trauer von je vereint.

Man is distinguished from the rest of creation by the
splendour of his designs and powers:

Der Göttermutter, der Natur, der
Allesumfassenden möcht' er gleichen!
Ach! darum treibt ihn, Erde! vom Herzen dir
Sein Übermuth, und deine Geschenke sind
Umsonst und deine zarten Bande;
Sucht er ein Besseres doch, der Wilde!

The same proud wish is expressed in the words addressed to
the 'goldner Tag' in Des Morgens:

Du möchtest immer eilen, könnt ich,
Göttlicher Wanderer, mit dir! - doch lächelst
Des frohen Übermüthigen du, daß er
Dir gleichen möchte.²

1. I, 263. In Lucretius (II.991ff.) mankind and animal as well as vegetable life are the children of mother earth and the sky, which fertilizes her with drops of moisture. Euripides too (Chrysippus, fragment 833) makes Aether father of men and gods: Πατα μέγιστη καὶ Διὸς Αἰθήρ, ὁ μὲν ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεῶν γενέτωρ, ἡ δ'...οὐκ ἀδίκως μήτηρ πάντων
γενόμεισται.
2. I, 263f., 302. (quoted by Bailey, op. cit., II, 642).

Man can no more resist the soaring ambitions he has received from his father than he can deny the earthly limitations inherited from his mother.

The poet, however, experiences the duality of human nature in a specially painful form which distinguishes him from his fellows, as becomes clear in Abendphantasie. Whereas they can find contentment in the alternation of 'Lohn und Arbeit', 'Müh und Ruh', in his breast the 'Stachel' never sleeps:

Am Abendhimmel blühet ein Frühling auf;
Unzählig blühen die Rosen und ruhig scheint
Die goldne Welt; o dorthin nimmt mich
Purpurne Wolken! und möge droben

In Licht und Luft zerrinnen mir Lieb' und Leid! -
Doch, wie verscheucht von thöriger Bitte, flieht
Der Zauber; dunkel wirds und einsam
Unter dem Himmel, wie immer, bin ich.

In the dissolution in the insubstantial beauty of the sunset of love and sorrow, those experiences which make him 'ein Sohn der Erde', he seeks that abandonment of self which represents complete union with nature - the climax of the poem receives special emphasis through the enjambement between the strophes and the alliteration of liquids. But he must undergo the same bitter experience as Hyperion, who, having sought 'in seeliger Selbstvergessenheit wiederzukehren in's All der Natur', must confess:

Ich denke nach und finde mich, wie ich zuvor war,
allein, mit allen Schmerzen der Sterblichkeit, und
meines Herzens Asyl, die ewigeinige Welt, ist hin;
die Natur verschließt die Arme, und ich stehe, wie
ein Fremdling, vor ihr, und verstehe sie nicht.

The poet too must conclude, 'zu viel begehrt/Das Herz', and learn to share the alternating 'Lust' and 'Trauer' of the earth as it approaches and recedes from the sun.¹

1. I, 301; Die Heimath, II, 19; III, 9.

In Der Mensch the nature of man is symbolized by the fact that the child

wählt die süßen
Beere versuchend, die heil'ge Rebe
Zur Amme sich.

The significance of his choice is revealed by Manes' characterization of Empedokles:

wie die Rebe
Von Erd und Himmel zeugt, wenn sie getränkt
Von hoher Sonn aus dunklem Boden steigt,
So wächst er auf, aus Licht und Nacht geboren.¹

Empedokles, like mankind in general, is seen as the son of heaven and earth, in this case a darkened earth bereft of all contact with the divine. But his mythical parentage is no longer symbolic of his character, as in the case of man, or of his personal predicament, as in the case of Hölderlin himself. It qualifies him for the unique part he has to play in the history of his country, for, as Manes stresses,

Nur Einem ist es recht, in dieser Zeit,
Nur Einen adelt deine schwarze Sünde.

He can thus be the mediator between heaven and earth, 'Natur' and 'Kunst', man and the gods:

Der Eine doch, der neue Retter faßt
Des Himmels Strahlen ruhig auf, und liebend
Nimmt er, was sterblich ist, an seinen Busen,
Und milde wird in ihm der Streit der Welt.
Die Menschen und die Götter söhnt er aus,²
Und nahe wieder leben sie, wie vormals.

-
1. I, 263; Empedokles (III), IV, 135. Even in the three scenes of the third, incomplete version of Hölderlin's tragedy the balance between the two celestial members of his trinity, sun and sky, is maintained, for Empedokles is addressed by Pausanias as 'o du der Nacht/Des Aethers Sohn' (IV, 129).
 2. IV, 135f.

As a child Hölderlin had enjoyed that unconscious unity with nature which he regarded as the privilege of youth both in man and peoples:

Und wie du das Herz
Der Pflanzen erfreust,
Wenn sie entgegen dir
Die zarten Arme streken,

So hast du mein Herz erfreut
Vater Helios!

As a man he learnt from Diotima, 'des Himmels Botin', to love the sun, which so many ignored:

Mir gehst du freundlich unter und auf, o Licht!
Und wohl erkennt mein Auge dich, herrliches!
Denn göttlich stille ehren lernt' ich
Da Diotima den Sinn mir heilte.

But from being one of the two celestial members of Hölderlin's trinity (the poem from which this strophe comes begins with the words, 'Geh unter, schöne Sonne', but ends, 'Neigte sich segnend herab der Aether') the sun came to represent nature as a whole, with which man is to be reunited at the end of the 'exzentrische Bahn... von der Kindheit zur Vollendung'. Thus the reunion with nature which Empedokles, as the offspring of sun and earth, gave the Agrigentines could in the case of the Germans be symbolized by the reunion of sun and earth.

To one who loves the sun its setting at the end of the day is a matter for sorrow:

eben ists,
Daß ich gesehn, wie, müde seiner
Fahrt, der entzükende Götterjüngling

Die jungen Loken badet' im Goldgewölk;
Und jezt noch blickt mein Auge von selbst nach ihm;
Doch fern ist er zu frommen Völkern,
Die ihn noch ehren, hinweggegangen.

1. 'Da ich ein Knabe war...', I, 266; 'Geh unter, schöne Sonne...', I, 314.

Dich lieb' ich, Erde! trauerst du doch mit mir!

He can only look forward to the time when

der Geliebte wiederkömt und
Leben und Geist sich in uns entzündet

with the same expectation as the earth looks forward to
greeting her lover, 'den heiligen Tag, wenn er kün vom Siege
der Schatten/Über die Berge flammt'.¹

When Hölderlin came to see the course of history in terms
of the alternation of day and night it was natural that he
should describe Christ, whose death marked the end of the
divinely inspired past, in terms of the sun as the 'stiller
Genius,... welcher des Tags Ende verkündet' und schwand'.²
Thus the longed for future is seen as the returning day and the
moment of its arrival symbolized by the appearance of the
rising sun. In the prose draft for the completion of
Der Mutter Erde the earth is to be honoured and receive songs
in the name of 'der große Vater' 'indeß er fern ist und alte
Ewigkeit/verborgener und verborgener wird', until he returns
and 'die Erde birgt vor ihm die Kinder/ihres Schooses (in)
den Mantel'. The image is reminiscent of the experience
Hyperion reports:

Da sah' ich neulich einen Knaben am Wege liegen.
Sorgsam hatte die Mutter, die ihn bewachte, eine
Deke über ihn gebreitet, daß er sanft schlummre im
Schatten, und ihm die Sonne nicht blende. Aber der
Knabe wollte nicht bleiben, und riß die Deke weg,
und ich sah wie er's versuchte, das freundliche Licht
anzusehn.

The earth is no more successful than this human mother, for

1. Dem Sonnengott, I, 258; An den Fröling, I, 202.
2. Brot und Wein, II, 94.

Hölderlin continues, 'aber, wir erfahren ihn doch'.¹

In Patmos too the present is a period of night, and Christ's disappearance from earth coincides with that of the sunlight. The disciples' sad evening walk to Emmaeus is given special significance, for it is the evening not only of the first Easter, but also for Hölderlin of the divine day, whose end is finally marked by Whitsun:

Doch trauerten sie, da nun
Es Abend worden, erstaunt,
Denn Großentschiedenes hatten in der Seele
Die Männer, aber sie liebten unter der Sonne
Das Leben und lassen wollten sie nicht
Vom Angesichte des Herrn
Und der Heimath...
Drum sandt' er ihnen
Den Geist,...
...und die Wetter Gottes rollten...

Izt, da er scheidend
Noch einmal ihnen erschien.
Denn izt erlosch der Sonne Tag.

Now 'in liebender Nacht' many eyes wait 'Zu schauen das Licht', and when the sun of the new day rises its significance as the herald of a new divinely fulfilled era will be made clear by the naming of Christ, who is not only 'der Gewittertragende', but also comparable with the sun:

Wenn nemlich höher gehet himmlischer
Triumpfgang, wird genennet, der Sonne gleich²
Von Starcken der frohlokende Sohn des Höchsten.

1. II, 683f.; Fragment von Hyperion, III, 184.
2. II, 167f., 170. Though he refers to these lines, Beißner comments on the seventh strophe of the second version of Der Einzige (II, 159), 'Warum die Zeit Christi "die Sonne Christi" genannt wird, vermag ich nicht zu sagen' ('Ein Hymnenbruchstück aus Hölderlins Spätzeit', Corona, 10 (1941), 287). A different interpretation of the opening lines of the strophe removes the difficulty which Beißner feels. 'Der Tag... die Blüte der Jahre' which protects the present from God's anger is not 'die Blüte kommender Jahre einer fruchtbaren Gemeinsamkeit und Beziehung zwischen Göttern und Menschen' (this interpretation is retained in the Stuttgarter Ausgabe, II, 760), but rather the isolated

Although the destructive meeting of 'Natur' and 'Kunst' could best be symbolized by the lightning of 'Aether' striking the earth, this aspect of their reunion is not entirely absent from the image of the union of sun and earth at the moment of the sunrise. It is because the sun is bright that Mother Earth tries to protect her children from it. For the same reason the attempt of the child in the Fragment von Hyperion to look at 'das freundliche Licht' had to be repeated 'bis ihm das Auge schmerzte und er weinend sein Gesicht zur Erde kehrte'. And in Patmos it is said of those who wait to see the light,

Nicht wollen
Am scharfen Strale sie blühen,
Wiewohl den Muth der goldene Zaum hält.

The first moment of reunion, when the sun appears, will dazzle: the danger is that it may blind and overwhelm us, even though the sun itself tries to support us with its beams - in Blödigkeit too 'Unser Vater, des Himmels Gott' (in Dichtermuth, the earlier version, 'der Sonnengott')

zur Wende der Zeit, uns die Entschlafenden
Aufgerichtet an goldnen
Gängelbanden, wie Kinder, hält.

flowering in the present of those activities which characterized the divine day. Having complained in the fifth strophe of the general avoidance of 'Geschik' in the present, Hölderlin now speaks of those who do not retreat from it: 'Geschichte der Helden unterhält, hartnäkig Geschik.../ Ruhmloser auch/Geschik hält ihn, die an den Tag/Jezt erst recht kommen, das sind väterliche Fürsten.' Hölderlin's choice of the word 'Tag' here and the formulation of his reason, 'Denn Männern mehr/Gehöret das Licht', suggest that he is concerned with the retention of the values of the light in a period of darkness. Successful in this are not only those who echo the 'Kriegsgetön' of the Greek heroes, but also the followers of Christ: 'Gärten der Büßenden, und/Der Pilgrime Wandern und der Völker.'. These are those whose spiritual way is still lit by Christ, whose death marked the setting of the sun at the end of the divine day: 'Und das Licht scheint in der Finsternis, und die Finsternis hat's nicht begriffen' (Johannes I.5).

Meanwhile, however, man may without exposure to danger enjoy indirect access to the divine:

Wenn aber, als
Von schwellenden Augenbraunen
Der Welt vergessen
Stilleuchtende Kraft aus heiliger Schrift fällt, mögen,
Der Gnade sich freuend, sie
Am stillen Blike sich üben.¹

The threat to be withstood at the first moment of reunion is equally apparent in Der Ister:

Jetzt komme, Feuer!
Begierig sind wir
Zu schauen den Tag,
Und wenn die Prüfung
Ist durch die Knie gegangen,
Mag einer spüren das Waldgeschrei.²

It is not simply a matter of perseverance, whether standing or kneeling, as Beißner suggests,³ but, with the support of the sun itself, of resisting the danger of blindness and collapse which is described more fully in Stutgard:

Engel des Vaterlands! o ihr, vor denen das Auge,
Sei's auch stark und das Knie bricht dem vereinzelt
Mann,
Daß er halten sich muß an die Freund'...⁴

- II, 170f., 66, 64.
1. Beißner (II, 794) regards these lines as describing a softening of God's gaze after the first meeting. But they must refer rather to man's means of access to the divine before this meeting, for in the next strophe Hölderlin links 'heilige Schriften' with 'die Helden' and 'die Thaten der Erde', the ways in which God reveals himself indirectly in a period which lacks direct revelation: 'still ist sein Zeichen/Am donnernden Himmel'. The task of the poet in the present is indeed to tend and interpret inspired writings, and it is this that Patmos both does and proclaims as a programme: 'der Vater aber liebt,/Der über allen waltet,/Am meisten, daß gepflegt werde/Der veste Buchstab, und bestehendes gut/Gedeutet. Dem folgt deutscher Gesang'(II, 171f.).
 2. II, 190.
 3. II, 812f.
 4. II, 89. Cf. Hyperion, III, 45: 'Was kann ich dafür, daß euch die Knie brechen, wenn ihr's ernstlich bedenkt?'

Only when this first moment of exposure has been survived can the sunrise and the accompanying bird-song, the joyful unison of man and gods, be enjoyed.¹

When, however, in Am Quell der Donau 'das Wort aus Osten', 'die menschenbildende Stimme', comes to Germany as 'die Erwekerin', it is not those sleeping in the night that it arouses, but those who because of their neglect of the wisdom transmitted from the past are unprepared for this moment:

Denn manchen erlosch
Das Augenlicht schon vor den göttlichgesendeten Gaben,

Den freundlichen, die aus Ionien uns,
Auch aus Arabia kamen, und froh ward
Der theuern Lehr' und auch der holden Gesänge
Die Seele jener Entschlafenen nie.

They are like the 'Wild',

 das,
Von süßer Jugend getrieben,
Schweift rastlos über die Berg'
Und fühlet die eigene Kraft
In der Mittagshitze. Wenn aber
Herabgeführt, in spielenden Lüften,
Das heilige Licht, und mit dem kühleren Stral
Der freudige Geist kommt zu
Der seeligen Erde, dann erliegt es, ungewohnt
Des Schönsten und schlummert wachenden Schlaf,
Noch ehe Gestirn naht.²

In Friedensfeier the image of the evening and the setting sun, which in Am Quell der Donau remains within the limits of a comparison, is an essential part of the poem as a whole. Just as there, next to the cool beams of the sun, the 'Aether' is represented by 'der freudige Geist' present 'in spielenden

1. For Chiron the song of the birds is a preceding sign of the sunrise (II, 56), just as for Menon they are 'Boten des Himmlischen' (II, 77). In Der Ister, however, they are heard after the sunrise.
2. II, 126f.

Lüften', so here 'es blüht/Rings abendlich der Geist in dieser Stille'.¹ But the 'Abendstunde' at which the guests have come is in fact the 'Abend der Zeit', and though the general atmosphere can be indicated in terms of the 'Aether' the actual event of the reunion of man and nature must be depicted with the imagery of the sun. In the first draft Christ is addressed by 'den Söhnen der liebenden Erde' and again compared with the sun, this time the setting sun:

Mir gleich dem Sonnenlichte! Göttlicher sei
Am Abend deiner Tage begrüßet.

But in the final version it is the father who is depicted in terms of the setting sun, though the divine origin of the son is emphasized by contrasting him with man, who is again seen as the child of 'Mutter Erde' and 'Vater Helios':

Des Göttlichen aber empfiengen wir
Doch viel...
Und es lehret Gestirn dich, das
Vor Augen dir ist, doch nimmer kannst du ihm gleichen.
Vom Allelebendigen aber, von dem
Viel Freuden sind und Gesänge,
Ist einer ein Sohn, ein Ruhigmächtiger ist er,
Und nun erkennen wir ihn,
Nun, da wir kennen den Vater
Und Feiertage zu halten
Der hohe, der Geist
Der Welt sich zu Menschen geneigt hat.²

Finally in Der Rhein, conceived in Hauptwil soon after the first draft of Friedensfeier, the image of the sunset is used at the climax of the hymn to symbolize 'das Brautfest' of 'Menschen und Götter'. In the fourth triad it is the earthly character of 'die Söhne der Erde' that is stressed, and, for

1. III, 534. Cf. III, 50, where Hyperion addresses the air, 'das geistige Wehen', as 'freundlicher Geist'.
2. III, 533, 535f.; 'Versöhnender der du nimmer geglaubt...', II, 132.

the man who having heaped 'den Himmel' on his shoulders
has pondered 'die Last der Freude' of his heavenly heritage,
the wisdom of retreating, like Rousseau, to

Wo der Stral nicht brennt,
Im Schatten des Walds.

Hölderlin too, in the opening lines, seeks protection from
the heat of the midday sun:

Im dunkeln Epheu saß ich, an der Pforte
Des Waldes, eben, da der goldene Mittag,
Den Quell besuchend, herunterkam
Von Treppen des Alpengebirgs.

At this period in time the insistence on complete union with
the divine can only be satisfied at the cost of self-destruction,
but, as in the case of the river,

Ein Gott will aber sparen den Söhnen
Das eilende Leben.

In this context therefore, unlike in Am Quell der Donau, sleep
is the proper reaction, until the divinely appointed time for
the peaceful union of heaven and earth:

Und herrlich ists, aus heiligem Schläfe dann
Erstehen und aus Waldes Kühle
Erwachend, Abends nun
Dem milderen Licht entgegenzugehn,
Wenn, der die Berge gebaut
Und den Pfad der Ströme gezeichnet,
Nachdem er lächelnd auch
Der Menschen geschäftiges Leben
Das othemarme, wie Seegel
Mit seinen Lüften gelenkt hat,
Auch ruht und zu der Schülerin jezt,
Der Bildner, Gutes mehr
Denn Böses findend,
Zur heutigen Erde der Tag sich neiget.¹

1. II, 142, 144, 147.

The marriage of earth and sky was not the only classical cosmogony which attracted Hölderlin's attention and which he pressed into the service of his own thought. We have already seen that by identifying Aphrodite with the god of the Ovidian myth who creates harmony out of chaos he was able to see the legend of her birth as a symbol of her function of turning strife into unity. In his interpretation of Plato's Symposium he actually identified Aphrodite with 'die schöne Welt', at the same time using the myth of the birth of man in the Phaedrus to support his view of the dual nature of man. It is significant, however, that Hölderlin's enthusiasm for the Timaeus account of the creation of the world from the four elements produced no echo in him of a rationalized, scientific attitude.¹

But in addition to his use of classical creation myths Hölderlin did develop one which was his own. At the end of the fourth triad of Der Rhein, the hymn which tells of the river's origin in the Alps and the path it makes for itself, we read, as we have just seen, of the creator,

der die Berge gebaut
Und den Pfad der Ströme gezeichnet.

This creator is the sun, in Hölderlin's first draft 'der Tagsgott', 'der Bildner', 'der herrliche Pygmalion', who is united with the 'Braut' he has made.² Its continued ferocity in 'die afrikanischen dürren/Ebnen' is still almost as great as when the earth was first formed:

1. See pp. 147f., 91f., 67f.
2. II, 728 (variants).

vom Olymp regnete Feuer herab,
Reißendes! milder kaum, wie damals, da das Gebirg hier
Spaltend mit Stralen der Gott Höhen und Tiefen gebaut.

In Patmos too much of the old power of the sun can still be
experienced, for the island's children are

Die Stimmen des heißen Hains,
Und wo der Sand fällt, und sich spaltet
Des Feldes Fläche, die Laute.¹

But since the sun is only one of the two celestial members
of Hölderlin's trinity we should also expect the creator to be
portrayed in terms of the 'Aether'. Indeed in Der Rhein its
imagery is combined with that of the sun, for the creator fills

Der Menschen geschäftiges Leben,
Das othemarme, wie Seegel
Mit seinen Lüften.

Here the 'Aether' is seen as the air, elsewhere as the sky
with its lightning, while the earth is not yet the mother, but
at this stage of creation the daughter:

Wenn aber die Himmlischen haben
Gebaut, still ist es
Auf Erden, und wohlgestalt stehn
Die betroffenen Berge. Gezeichnet
Sind ihre Stirnen. Denn es traf
Sie, da den Donnerer hielt
Unzärtlich die gerade Tochter
Des Gottes bebender Stral.²

As Hölderlin writes in comparing with it the young, untamed
Rhine, the 'Bliz' too can 'die Erde spalten', and in Der Mutter
Erde Ottmar tells how the thundering god forged the mountains
before the streams made the development of civilization
possible:

1. Der Wanderer, II, 80; II, 167.
2. II, 222.

Doch wie der Fels erst ward,
Und geschmiedet wurden in schattiger Werkstatt,
 die ehernen Vesten der Erde,
Noch ehe Bäche rauschten von den Bergen
Und Hain' und Städte blüheten an den Strömen,
So hat er donnernd schon
Geschaffen ein reines Gesez,
Und reine Laute gegründet. ¹

One of those streams which were then formed as being necessary for human life is the Ister:

Hier aber wollen wir bauen.
Denn Ströme machen urbar
Das Land...
Es brauchet aber Stiche der Fels
Und Furchen die Erd',
Unwirthbar wär es, ohne Weile. ²

If we attempt to combine this myth with Hölderlin's earlier myth of the original unity of earth and 'Aether', earth and sun, we see that it represents a later stage in the process of creation. In the beginning heaven and earth were one, but subject to 'diesem Streben des Theilbaren Unendlichen nach Trennung,... dieser nothwendigen Willkür des Zevs' in which lies 'der ideale Anfang der wirklichen Trennung'.³ Thus heaven and earth separated, but earth also had to take on its own individual character, which it did with the aid of heaven, for heaven shared the responsibility for the divergence of the poles of 'Natur' and 'Kunst'. Formed by the sun and the lightning, which broke up the original formlessness of the earth, the mountains stood 'wohlgestalt' - the noun 'Gestalt' and words connected with it repeatedly contain an allusion to the sphere of 'Kunst'.⁴ The sun and the lightning, by

1. II, 144, 123f.

2. Der Ister, II, 190, 192.

3. Über den Unterschied der Dichtarten, IV, 269.

4. See p. 307.

splitting the surface of the earth, also helped the rivers to find a path, but the earth was now able to continue its development in this direction of its own accord, for, as Hölderlin wrote in his commentary on the Pindar/fragment to which he gave the title Das Belebende, the river originally wandered about until it 'die Kette der Gebirge verlassen und ihre Richtung quer durchreißen mußte' and 'sich eine Bahn riß'. Then 'die gestaltete Welle verdrängte die Ruhe des Teichs' and was able to fulfil its function of giving diversity to the uniformity of 'Natur' in that it 'Bahn und Gränze macht, mit Gewalt, auf der ursprünglich pfadlosen aufwärtswachsenden Erde'.¹

Again the question can be asked: myth or geological speculation? This time there can be no doubt that we are concerned with pure myth, for the terminology which Hölderlin uses to describe the state of the earth before 'Natur' gave way to 'Kunst' recurs in a passage describing the reassertion of the claims of 'Natur' which Hölderlin believed his own time to be experiencing. The draft 'Wenn aber die Himmlischen...' describes the divine creativity under two aspects: 'damals', at the creation of the world, and 'in reißennder Zeit', in the present, when man feels the pull of 'der reißennde Zeitgeist', which is 'schonungslos, als Geist der ewig lebenden ungeschriebenen Wildniß', also experienced by Antigone. The original state of the 'pfadlose aufwärtswachsende Erde' is restored:

1. V, 289f.

oder es schafft
Auch andere Art,
Es sprosset aber
viel üppig neidiges
Unkraut, das blendet, schneller schießet
Es auf, das ungelente, denn es scherzet
Der Schöpferische, sie aber
Verstehen es nicht. Zu zornig greift
Es und wächst. Und dem Brande gleich,
Der Häußer verzehret, schlägt
Empor, achtlos, und schonet
Den Raum nicht, und die Pfade bedeket,
Weitgährend, ein dampfend Gewölk
die unbeholfene Wildniß.¹

The problem for Hölderlin was how to survive in such a period, how to resist the pull of 'der reißende Zeitgeist'. We shall discover his solution if we turn to examine his Sophocles-translations.

1. Anmerkungen zur Antigonä, V, 266; II, 223.

V. SOPHOCLES

1. Oedipus der Tyrann and Antigonä

Of the Sophocles translations Karl Reinhardt writes:

Hölderlins Übersetzungen verhalten sich grundsätzlich anders als alles, was es an Übersetzungen aus dem Griechischen, und nicht nur aus dem Griechischen, sonst gibt. Die Sophokleische Tragödie ist für ihn ein Stück herüberzurettender und neu zu erweckender Götterfülle. Kein Parergon, sondern eins der Hauptwerke.¹

Indeed, in one sense they may be regarded as the culmination of Hölderlin's work, for they represent the final fruit of his efforts to solve a philosophical problem with which he had long been concerned and the application of his solution to the understanding of the nature of tragedy, the highest form of literature.

The attitude of many of Hölderlin's contemporaries is indicated by the letter of the younger Voß to Abeken: 'Was sagst du zu Hölderlins Sophokles? Ist der Mensch rasend oder stellt er sich nur so...?'² In fact the translations are far from being merely the confused product of a mind on the point of total collapse, but it must be remembered that it is only a knowledge of Hölderlin's earlier thought that makes it possible to appreciate fully his interpretation of Sophocles' tragedies, and this knowledge was not available when his translations were published. The aim of this chapter

1. 'Hölderlin und Sophokles', in Hölderlin: Beiträge zu seinem Verständnis in unserm Jahrhundert, p. 292, first published in Gestalt und Gedanke. Ein Jahrbuch, 1951, pp. 78-102.
2. Quoted by Schadewaldt, 'Hölderlins Übersetzung des Sophokles', in Hellas und Hesperien, p. 769, who describes 'die Wirkung des Werkes auf die Zeitgenossen'.

is to trace in outline the development of those aspects of Hölderlin's thought which form the basis of his Sophocles-translations. We shall see that the Anmerkungen to the translations can only be fully understood with the aid of the ideas and vocabulary of earlier theoretical works. At the same time a number of passages from the translations themselves will be examined, not in order to show how Hölderlin fulfilled his wish

die griechische Kunst... dadurch lebendiger, als gewöhnlich dem Publikum darzustellen, daß ich das Orientalische, das sie verläugnet hat, mehr heraushebe, und ihren Kunstfehler, wo er vorkommt, verbessere,¹

but in order to draw attention to the way in which Hölderlin, sometimes led astray by a corrupt text, more often simply mistranslating,² interpreted Sophocles in the light of these ideas. The study of the theoretical foundation of the translations before the translations themselves is not only dictated by chronological considerations, but also justified by Hölderlin's own method, for it will be seen that in the Grund zum Empedokles the theoretical foundation he first lays determines the plan of the tragedy. The second and third parts of the chapter will then show how these ideas recur both in the little studied translation of three choruses from the Ajax and in Hölderlin's own late poetry.

1. Br. 241, VI, 434. Beißner, Hölderlins Übersetzungen aus dem Griechischen, p. 138ff., shows in a series of examples how Hölderlin aimed 'das "Orientalische" mehr herauszuheben...', indem er nach leidenschaftlicher Intensität strebte'. Cf. Reinhardt, op. cit., p. 293ff.
2. Schadewaldt, op. cit., p. 770ff., gives examples of corruptions in his Greek text and his limited knowledge of Greek as causes of 'das viele Dunkle und Seltsame' in Hölderlin's translations. He concludes: 'Der deutsche Wortlaut Hölderlins dringt nur tastend und äußerst bedingt zu dem ursprünglichen griechischen Wortlaut des Sophokles hin.'

We have already seen how in his first months in Frankfurt Hölderlin was planning to deal in his 'philosophischen Briefen' with the problem of overcoming 'den Widerstreit... zwischen unserem Selbst und der Welt',¹ a problem concerning the development of both the individual and mankind which had first been formulated in the preface to the Fragment von Hyperion, which had for a time under the influence of Fichte been seen in quite different terms, and to which, after it had reasserted itself in the 'Vorrede' to the penultimate version of Hyperion, a Platonic solution had been found. In each case Hölderlin starts from the state of disunity: 'Wir sind zerfallen mit der Natur, und was einst, wie man glauben kann, Eins war, widerstreitet sich jetzt.' But, since in the definition of 'das Wesen der Schönheit' as 'das Eine in sich selber unterschiedne' the parts are seen as an essential expression of the whole, the present conflict becomes acceptable and is indeed seen as only a passing phase. Man can not only look back to unity in the past, but also forward to reunion in the future: 'Die seelige Einigkeit, das Seyn, im einzigen Sinne des Worts, ist für uns verloren und wir mußten es verlieren, wenn wir es erstreben, erringen sollten.' As Hyperion proclaims, 'Versöhnung ist mitten im Streit und alles Getrennte findet sich wieder'.²

When Hölderlin moved from Frankfurt to Homburg in September 1798 he continued to concern himself with the relationship between the whole and its parts. In December he wrote to Sinclair:

1. Br. 117, VI, 203.
2. III, 236, 81, 160.

Resultat des Subjectiven und Objectiven, des Einzelnen und Ganzen, ist jedes Erzeugniß und Product, und eben weil im Product der Antheil, den das Einzelne am Producte hat, niemals völlig unterschieden werden kann, vom Antheil, den das Ganze daran hat, so ist auch daraus klar, wie innig jedes Einzelne mit dem Ganzen zusammenhängt und wie sie beide nur Ein lebendiges Ganze ausmachen, das zwar durch und durch individualisirt ist und aus lauter selbstständigen, aber ebenso innig und ewig verbundenen Theilen besteht.¹

He now sees the reconstructed whole as being more valuable than the original one. It is 'lebendig' just because it consists of different parts which retain their individuality when reunited.

In fact the idea that the reunited whole is superior to the original one occurs as early as the Fragment von Hyperion, where the hero cries out, 'Laßt vergehen, was vergeht,... es vergeht, um wiederzukehren,... es trennt sich, um sich inniger zu vereinigen!'. The same principle holds good for Diotima: 'Wir trennen uns nur, um inniger einig zu seyn.' And in the letter written to his brother on New Year's Day 1799 Hölderlin similarly sees diversity as an enhancement of unity:

Nicht, wie das Spiel, vereinige die Poësie die Menschen, sagt' ich; sie vereinigt sie nemlich, wenn sie ächt ist und ächt wirkt, mit all dem mannigfachen Laid und Glück und Streben und Hoffen und Fürchten, mit all ihren Meinungen und Fehlern, all ihren Tugenden und Ideen, mit allem Großen und Kleinen, das unter ihnen ist, immer mehr, zu einem lebendigen tausendfach gegliederten innigen Ganzen, denn eben diß soll die Poësie selber seyn, und wie die Ursache, so die Wirkung.²

In Homburg, however, Hölderlin's aim was to give this view philosophical justification, which he did in his essay

1. Br. 171, VI, 301.

2. III, 180; Hyperion, III, 148; Br. 172, VI, 306.

Über den Unterschied der Dichtarten, where it is confirmed that this more valuable unity can only be achieved as the result of a process in time. The separation of the original unity into its parts is based on the 'Streben des Theilbaren Unendlichen nach Trennung, welches sich im Zustande der höchsten Einigkeit alles organischen allen in dieser enthaltenen Theilen theilt'. The separation continues

bis dahin, wo die Theile in ihrer äußersten Spannung sind, wo diese sich am stärksten widerstreben. Von diesem Widerstreit geht sie wieder in sich selbst zurück, nemlich dahin, wo die Theile, wenigstens die ursprünglich innigsten, in ihrer Besonderheit, als diese Theile, in dieser Stelle des Ganzen sich aufheben, und eine neue Einigkeit entsteht.¹

The urge for separation which the whole feels is based on the argument which Hölderlin had used against Fichte that 'ein Bewußtsein ohne Object ist... nicht denkbar'.² As long as the whole remains united it can have no consciousness,

denn es ist ein ewiges Gesez, daß das gehaltreiche Ganze in seiner Einigkeit nicht mit der Bestimmtheit und Lebhaftigkeit sich fühlt, nicht in dieser sinnlichen Einheit, in welcher seine Theile, die auch ein Ganzes, nur leichter verbunden sind, sich fühlen.

The parts, on the other hand, being opposed to each other, can achieve consciousness, and this they confer on the whole so that it can be said, 'dann fühle das Ganze in diesen Theilen sich erst':

Die Fühlbarkeit des Ganzen schreitet also in eben dem Grade und Verhältnisse fort, in welchem die Trennung in den Theilen und in ihrem Centrum, worin die Theile und das Ganze am fühlbarsten sind, fort-schreitet.

1. IV, 269.
2. Br. 94, VI, 155. Cf. the metrical version of Hyperion, III, 195.

Hölderlin's object in this essay, however, as the title shows, is to apply this philosophically grounded development to the understanding of literary forms: 'das tragische Gedicht' is based on 'Eine intellectuale Anschauung' which recognizes the unity of which the parts are but a function, 'die... vom Geiste erkannt werden kann und aus der Unmöglichkeit einer absoluten Trennung und Vereinzelung hervorgeht'.¹

In the essay Über die Verfahrungsweise des poetischen Geistes the same process which originally appeared in the context of the development of man is again applied to the understanding of literature, in this case its creation. The poet too must follow the 'Forderung, welche ihm gebietet, aus sich heraus zu gehen', must become conscious of himself before in a reunion with his material he can reproduce himself. Indeed in the final section headed 'Wink für die Darstellung und Sprache' the birth of poetic language is explicitly compared with the development of man. The passage is worth quoting as evidence of the consistency with which Hölderlin saw the same process realized in different spheres:

Also wenn diß der Gang und die Bestimmung des Menschen überhaupt zu seyn scheint, so ist ebendasselbe der Gang und die Bestimmung aller und jeder Poësie, und wie auf jener Stufe der Bildung, wo der Mensch aus ursprünglicher Kindheit hervorgegangen in entgegengesetzten Versuchen zur höchsten Form, zum reinen Wiederklang des ersten Lebens emporgerungen hat, und so als unendlicher Geist im unendlichen Leben sich fühlt, wie der Mensch auf dieser Stufe der Bildung erst eigentlich das Leben antritt und sein Wirken und seine Bestimmung ahndet, so ahndet der Dichter, auf jener Stufe, wo er auch aus einer ursprünglichen Empfindung, durch entgegengesetzte Versuche, sich zum Ton, zur höchsten reinen Form derselben

1. IV, 267ff.

Empfindung emporgerungen hat..., auf dieser Stufe ahndet er seine Sprache, und mit ihr die eigentliche Vollendung für die jezige und zugleich für alle Poësie. ¹

A new use of this thought-pattern is its detailed application to the actual content of a literary work, which occurs in the Grund zum Empedokles, the essay in which in the second half of 1799 Hölderlin laid the philosophical foundation of the third version of his tragedy. It deals with the 'harmonische Entgegense~~tz~~zung' of 'Natur' and 'Kunst', the ideal relationship between 'die aorgischere Natur' and 'der organischere künstlichere Mensch':

Wenn jedes ganz ist, was es seyn kann, und eines verbindet sich mit dem andern, ersetzt den Mangel des andern, den es nothwendig haben muß, um ganz das zu seyn, was es als besonderes seyn kann, dann ist die Vollendung da, und das Göttliche ist in der Mitte von beiden. ²

Hölderlin's main concern is to show in detail how this state, that is the state of reunion, whose superiority over the original unity he had already established, is reached. He describes the process in which 'das Organische' and 'das Aorgische' are driven by their excessive closeness to each other to separate and to assume their individual characters in an extreme form. From this extreme separation they pass to extreme union and each takes on the character of the other. This is 'derjenige Moment, wo das Organische seine Ichheit, sein besonderes Daseyn, das zum Extreme geworden war,... in realem höchstem Kampf ablegt'. Each pole then finds its own character in its opposite and by holding on

1. IV, 241, 263.

2. IV, 152.

to this seems to return to its true nature, 'so daß in diesem Moment, in dieser Geburt der höchsten Feindseeligkeit die höchste Versöhnung wirklich zu seyn scheint'. This reconciliation is 'nur ein Erzeugniß des höchsten Streits', 'so daß der vereinende Moment, wie ein Trugbild, sich immer mehr auflöst'. However, through its death 'die kämpfenden Extreme' are 'schöner versöhnt und vereinigt, als in seinem Leben': that ideal relationship is reached in which the extremes of excessive proximity and opposition are avoided and each pole retains contact with its opposite without detriment to its own character. An innate tendency towards the attainment of this ideal leads the opposite poles to separate if they are in danger of losing their individual identity 'im Übermaaße der Innigkeit', and 'durch den Fortgang der entgegengesetzten Wechselwirkungen' to approach each other again when each pole has reached the extreme form of its own character.¹

Having described this process, Hölderlin goes on to show how it is to form the basis of his tragedy. He sees Empedokles as

ein Sohn seines Himmels und seiner Periode, seines Vaterlandes, ein Sohn der gewaltigen Entgegensetzungen von Natur und Kunst, in denen die Welt vor seinen Augen erschien.

The people of Agrigentum represent the pole of 'Kunst': they are characterized by 'eine freigeisterische Kühnheit' which is the product of an earlier 'Übermaaß der Innigkeit' and

sich dem Unbekannten, außerhalb des menschlichen Bewußtseyns und Handelns liegenden, immer mehr entgegensezt, je inniger ursprünglich die Menschen

1. IV, 152ff.

sich im Gefühle mit jenem vereinigt fanden und durch einen natürlichen Instinkt getrieben wurden, sich gegen den zu mächtigen, zu tiefen freundlichen Einfluß des Elements, vor Selbstvergessenheit und gänzlicher Entäußerung zu verwahren.

This 'Nichtdenken des Unbekannten' 'bei einem übermüthigen Volke' is therefore a necessary protection against the innate readiness to surrender to 'der glühende Himmelsstrich und die üppige Sicilianische Natur'. But 'Kunst' in its extreme form is always a challenge to 'Natur': just as in the case of Empedokles 'wenn er einmal von beiden Seiten ergriffen war, so mußte immer die eine Seite... die andere als Gegenwirkung verstärken', so the 'anarchische Ungebundenheit' of a people which has lost all unity both among themselves and with nature increases the hostility of 'das trozige anarchische Leben, das... keine Kunst dulden will'.¹

In this situation,

das Schiksaal seiner Zeit, die gewaltigen Extreme in denen er erwuchs,... erforderte ein Opfer,... worinn das Schiksaal seiner Zeit sich aufzulösen scheint, wo die Extreme sich in Einem wirklich und sichtbar zu vereinigen scheinen, aber eben deswegen zu innig vereinigt sind.

Thus Empedokles, with a 'Geist,... der immer nach Erfindung eines vollständigen Ganzen strebte', is 'ein Mensch, in dem sich jene Gegensätze so innig vereinigen, daß sie zu Einem in ihm werden, daß sie ihre ursprüngliche unterscheidende Form ablegen und umkehren'. The result of this interchange of opposites is 'daß bei ihm und für ihn das Besondere und Bewußtere die Form des Unbewußten und Allgemeinen annimmt' and, 'um es so stark wie möglich zu benennen', 'daß er...

1. IV, 154, 158, 160.

aorgischer... ist, wenn er mehr bei sich selber ist, und wenn und in so fern er sich mehr bewußt'.¹

In the elaboration of this idea Hölderlin describes how in taking the people's 'Dienstbarkeit gegen die Einflüsse der Natur' one step further Empedokles reached the point where the extreme of opposition changes into the extreme of unity:

Er mußte des Unbekannten Meister zu werden suchen,... sein Geist mußte der Dienstbarkeit so sehr entgegenstreben, daß er die überwältigende Natur zu umfassen, durch und durch zu verstehen, und ihrer bewußt zu werden suchen mußte, wie er seiner selbst bewußt und gewiß seyn konnte, er mußte nach Identität mit ihr ringen, so mußte also sein Geist im höchsten Sinne aorgische Gestalt annehmen, von sich selbst und seinem Mittelpunkte sich reißen, immer sein Object so übermäßig penetriren, daß er in ihm, wie in einem Abgrund, sich verlor.

In this 'Übermaas von Objectivität und außer sich seyn'

er war das Allgemeine, das Unbekannte, das Object das Besondere. Und so schien der Widerstreit der Kunst, des Denkens, des Ordners des bildenden Menschencharakters und der bewußtloseren Natur gelöst, in den höchsten Extremen zu Einem und bis zum Tauschen der² gegenseitigen unterscheidenden Form vereinigt.²

But this solution of 'die Probleme des Schiksaals, in dem er erwuchs, sollten in ihm sich scheinbar lösen, und diese Lösung sollte sich als eine scheinbare temporäre zeigen'. It was reached 'in einer augenblicklichen Vereinigung, die aber sich auflösen muß, um mehr zu werden'. Just as in the abstract scheme through the death of 'der vereinende Moment' 'die kämpfenden Extreme' achieve a true reconciliation, so in its application to the tragedy the death of the individual is necessary if the 'harmonische Entgegensetzung' of man and

1. IV, 154ff., 158.

2. IV, 158ff., 162.

nature, the product of their excessive union and therefore only apparent reconciliation in the individual, is to be enjoyed by the people. Thus the needs of Empedokles' time are met:

Eine solche Zeit ergreift alle Individuen so lange, fodert sie zur Lösung auf, bis sie eines findet, in dem sich ihr unbekanntes Bedürfnis und ihre geheime Tendenz sichtbar und erreicht darstellt, von dem aus dann erst die gefundene Auflösung ins Allgemeine übergehen muß.¹

When we turn to the play itself we find the reunion of 'Natur' and 'Kunst' described in less abstract terms. In the third version of Der Tod des Empedokles Hölderlin puts into the mouth of Manes a description of the regeneration of the people which is the result of the self-sacrifice of 'der neue Retter', 'das Opferthier, das nicht vergebens fällt':

Und milde wird in ihm der Streit der Welt.
Die Menschen und die Götter söhnt er aus,
Und nahe wieder leben sie, wie vormals.

His death is necessary

daß... nicht
Der heilige Lebensgeist gefesselt bleibe
Vergessen über ihm, dem Einzigen.²

Here too we learn what practical results his death has. This future period, visualized in the first version as 'die glüklichen Saturnstage/Die neuen männlichern', that is to say as the period of the reunion of man and nature, will also bring with it democratic institutions in accordance with the principle 'jeder sei/Wie alle', for, as Empedokles says when he rejects the crown offered him by the people, 'Diß ist die Zeit der Könige nicht mehr'.³

1. IV, 155, 157.
2. IV, 135f.
3. IV, 69, 66, 62.

That the proper subject of tragedy is for Hölderlin a historical process is made clear in his study of 'das untergehende Vaterland' in the essay Das Werden im Vergehen, which represents a further development of the earlier discussion in which 'das tragische Gedicht' was seen in purely philosophical terms.¹ As in Grund zum Empedokles, the particular relationship in which 'Natur' and 'Kunst' stand to each other (in Grund zum Empedokles extreme opposition) is dissolved by their union, which is followed in turn by the establishment of a new relationship. The essay is thus concerned with

Natur und Menschen insofern sie in einer besondern Wechselwirkung stehen, eine besondere ideal gewordene Welt, und Verbindung der Dinge ausmachen, und sich insofern auflösen damit aus ihr und aus dem überbleibenden Geschlechte und den überbleibenden Kräften der Natur, die das andere, reale Prinzip sind, eine neue Welt, eine neue aber auch besondere Wechselwirkung, sich bilde.

Hölderlin emphasizes that the whole process must be seen as one, for this 'Vergehen' is also an 'Entstehen', the 'Untergang' an 'Übergang'. It need not be regarded as a 'wirkliche Auflösung', which 'aus Unkenntniß ihres End- und Anfangspunctes schlechterding als reales Nichts erscheinen muß', but can be seen to be 'Übergang aus Bestehendem ins Bestehende'.²

The first period is that in which the old state of affairs, described as 'Herrschaft des individuellen über das Unendliche, des einzelnen über das Ganze', still exists. The use of the word 'Herrschaft' suggests that the relationship between man and nature is one of hostility, in which the claims of the

1. Cf. Über den Unterschied der Dichtarten, IV, 267f.

2. IV, 282, 285.

latter are ignored, with the result that nature is provoked into assuming the dominant role and the 'Untergang des Vaterlandes' follows. This leads to the period of 'Herrschaft des Unendlichen über das Individuelle, des Ganzen über das Einzelne'. However, the old world is not destroyed in the proper sense of the word. Hölderlin speaks of 'die idealische Auflösung' because the old world becomes 'ideal', 'möglich':

Dieser Untergang oder Übergang des Vaterlandes (in diesem Sinne) fühlt sich in den Gliedern der bestehenden Welt so, daß in eben dem Momente und Grade, worin sich das Bestehende auflöst, auch das Neueintretende, Jugendliche, Mögliche sich fühlt.

'Die wirkliche Auflösung' would destroy the continuity of the world, 'denn aus Nichts wird nichts, und diß gradweise genommen heißt so viel, als daß dasjenige, welches zur Negation gehet, und insofern es aus der Wirklichkeit gehet, und noch nicht ein Mögliches ist, nicht wirken könne'. 'Die idealische Auflösung' on the other hand is 'ein reproductiver Act'.¹

In this situation the 'Untergang' is seen as an interchange of opposites, as it is described in Grund zum Empedokles, for here 'wird... das Mögliche real, und das wirkliche ideal'. We now understand the necessity of 'Kunst' taking on the form of 'Natur': only thus can 'Natur' make itself felt. This becomes even clearer if we read the passage in conjunction with the paragraph Hölderlin wrote on Die Bedeutung der Tragödien, where the destruction of individual life is made the condition of the emergence of 'Natur':

Im Tragischen nun ist das Zeichen an sich selbst unbedeutend, wirkungslos, aber das Ursprüngliche ist gerade heraus. Eigentlich nemlich kann das

1. IV, 282, 283f., 287.

Ursprüngliche nur in seiner Schwäche erscheinen, insofern aber das Zeichen an sich selbst als unbedeutend = 0 gesetzt wird, kann auch das Ursprüngliche, der verborgene Grund jeder Natur sich darstellen.

In Das Werden im Vergehen the importance of the 'Untergang' is that in it 'die Welt aller Welten, das Alles in Allen, welches immer ist' appears. The interchange of opposites, seen in the tragedy itself from the individual's point of view, is seen here from the perspective of nature.¹

The process which leads to the birth of the new world is first outlined in general terms:

Nachdem diese Erinnerung des Aufgelösten, Individuellen mit dem unendlichen Lebensgefühl durch die Erinnerung der Auflösung vereinigt und die Lücke zwischen denselben ausgefüllt ist, so gehet aus dieser Vereinigung und Vergleichung des vergangenen Einzelnen, und des Unendlichen gegenwärtigen, der eigentlich neue Zustand, der nächste Schritt, der dem Vergangenen folgen soll, hervor.

Later the details of this 'schöpferischer Act' are described. The union of 'idealindividuelles' (the old world, 'das Wirkliche' which has become 'ideal') and 'realunendliches' ('das Unerschöpfte und Unerschöpfliche', 'das Mögliche' which has become 'real') produces 'das mit idealindividuellem vereinigte realunendliche, wo dann das Unendlichreale die Gestalt des individuellidealen, und dieses das Leben des Unendlichrealen annimmt, und beide sich in einem mythischen Zustande vereinigen'. Here too the interchange of opposites takes place. It is an essential part of the process by which a new world is formed, a world in which the proper relationship of 'Natur' and 'Kunst' will have been restored.²

1. IV, 283, 274, 282.

2. IV, 284, 286.

The interchange is mentioned again in the description of the three periods at the end of the essay: 'Das Ende dieser zweiten Periode und der Anfang der dritten liegt in dem Moment, wo das Unendlichneue als Lebensgefühl (als Ich) sich zum Individuellalten als Gegenstand (als Nichtich) verhält.' The third period is 'die tragische Vereinigung beeder'. This reunion is described as tragic since 'tragisch' is explicitly defined as the union of 'Unendlichreales mit endlichidealem'. Hölderlin sees the former as 'lyrisch', the latter as 'episch': it is the function of tragedy 'in der freien Kunstnachahmung' to portray the restoration of the original unity, which is the object of the 'intellectuale Anschauung', but can only be realized by 'der Tod des Einzelnen'.¹

In the 'Allgemeiner Grund' Hölderlin bases his choice of material for his tragedy on a general discussion of the relationship between the poet's 'Empfindung' and the 'Stoff' in which he expresses it. Of 'das tragische Gedicht' he writes:

Die Empfindung drückt sich nicht mehr unmittelbar aus, es ist nicht mehr der Dichter und seine eigene Erfahrung, was erscheint, wenn schon jedes Gedicht, so auch das tragische aus poetischem Leben und Wirklichkeit, aus des Dichters eigener Welt und Seele hervorgegangen seyn muß, weil sonst überall die rechte Wahrheit fehlt.

And applying this principle to 'das Trauerspiel' he adds,

Es enthält einen dritten von des Dichters eigenem Gemüth und eigener Welt verschiedenen fremderen Stoff den er wählte, weil er ihn analog genug fand, um seine Totalempfindung in ihn hineinzutragen, und in ihm, wie in einem Gefäße, zu bewahren, und zwar um so sicherer, je fremder bei der Analogie dieser Stoff ist.²

1. IV, 283, 286f.
2. IV, 150f.

The importance of these passages lies not only in their contribution to the understanding of the only tragedy Hölderlin wrote, but also in the light they throw on his attitude to tragedy as a whole. For it will become clear that he came to regard the reconciliation of 'Natur' and 'Kunst', outlined in his preliminary essay before its expression in the story of Empedokles, not just as 'seine Totalempfindung' and hence the subject of this particular tragedy, but as the proper subject of tragedy as such. This is already clear in the fragmentary letter, probably addressed to Schütz, in which Hölderlin writes of 'das Trauerspiel' in general:

Der Gott und Mensch scheint Eins, darauf ein Schiksaal,
das alle Demuth und allen Stolz des Menschen erregt
und am Ende Verehrung der Himmlischen einerseits und
andererseits ein gereinigtes Gemüth als Menscheneigen-
tum zurükläßt.

This statement is made in support of the claim that

die Dichtkunst, die in ihrem ganzen Wesen... ein
heiterer Gottesdienst ist, niemals die Menschen zu
Göttern oder die Götter zu Menschen machen, niemals
unlautere Idolatrie begehen, sondern nur die Götter
und die Menschen gegenseitig näher bringen durfte.
Das Trauerspiel zeigt dieses per contrarium.

In other words in tragedy men and gods do take on each other's characters, just as in the Grund zum Empedokles the poles of 'Natur' and 'Kunst' 'ihre ursprüngliche unterscheidende Form ablegen und umkehren'. Here too the result of this apparent union is the ideal relationship of 'harmonische Entgegen-
setzung'.¹

1. Br. 203, VI, 382; IV, 154.

In the Anmerkungen to his Sophocles translations Hölderlin makes it clear that he interpreted both the Oedipus Tyrannus and the Antigone in accordance with this definition of tragedy. Indeed the formulation of the definition given in the Anmerkungen zum Oedipus shows that it is intended to possess a general validity not restricted to the tragedy under discussion:

Die Darstellung des Tragischen beruht vorzüglich darauf, daß das Ungeheure, wie der Gott und Mensch sich paart, und gränzenlos die Naturmacht und des Menschen Innerstes im Zorn Eins wird, dadurch sich begreift, daß das gränzenlose Eineswerden durch gränzenloses Scheiden sich reiniget.¹

Again the union of the opposing poles of 'Natur' and 'Mensch' is followed by their separation.

The words 'im Zorn' are generally interpreted as meaning 'in einem Kampf', 'im Streit',² but it seems more probable that the 'Zorn' of man's union with God is no different from that which characterizes Oedipus' 'zornige Ahnung', 'die wunderbare zornige Neugier' and 'das zornige Unmaas', 'das, zerstöhrungsfroh, der reißenden Zeit nur folgt'.³ Here 'zornig' is used in the special sense of 'göttlich ergriffen'

1. V, 201.

2. Cf. Corssen, 'Die Tragödie als Begegnung zwischen Gott und Mensch', H-Jb, 3 (1948/9), 142; Schadewaldt, op.cit., p. 782. The authors of these articles both draw attention to the importance of the Grund zum Empedokles for an understanding of the Anmerkungen, and Schadewaldt is particularly concerned to stress the way in which tragedy expresses 'die tiefste Innigkeit in der Annäherung von Mensch und Gott... im Bild des vereinigen "Kampfs" und "Streits"' (p. 778). However, neither of them deals satisfactorily with the phenomenon of madness. Without an appreciation of its relevance as an expression of the interchange of the poles of 'Natur' and 'Kunst' an important aspect of the correspondence between the thought of the Grund zum Empedokles and that of the Anmerkungen is missing and the interpretation of the Sophocles translations must remain incomplete.

3. V, 197f.

which the word had for Hölderlin, as in Ganymed, the revised version of Der gefesselte Strom, in which Hölderlin uses as a symbol the river which 'im Zorne', 'zorntrunken', seeks to lose its individuality in the ocean. It is used in the same sense of men like Oedipus in Thränen, where Hölderlin writes,

Denn allzudankbar haben die Heiligen
Gedienet dort in Tagen¹ der Schönheit und
Die zorn'gen Helden.¹

Although the definition of tragedy given here is intended to possess general validity, it is restricted to those features which Hölderlin regarded as being present in Oedipus Tyrannus. Not only does it lack any direct reference to the enmity in which man and God are united,² but also to the hero's death. However, even though Hölderlin found no trace of open opposition at the moment of union - there is no evidence that he considered it present apart from his use of the word 'Zorn' - he nevertheless believed that the union of Oedipus with God takes place at the very moment when he is most fully himself and so represents the pole of 'Kunst' in an extreme form, 'wenn er mehr bei sich selber ist, und wenn und in so fern

1. II, 68, 58. Cf. the last strophe of Ganymed: 'denn allzugut sind/Genien.' Cf. Schmidt, 'Der Begriff des Zorns in Hölderlins Spätwerk', H-Jb, 15(1967/8), 142: 'Er meint nicht mehr den individuell motivierten... Zorn, sondern die grenzensprengende Dämonie, die in diesem Zorn auf- lodert und die er ganz aus der Innigkeit seiner eigenen Weltschau deutet.'
2. Corssen's interpretation (op.cit., p. 157) seems to be a rather forced attempt to include the element of enmity: 'Indem Ödipus in immer erneuertem Kampf, der sich von Stufe zu Stufe in seiner Intensität steigert, ein klares Bewußtsein seiner selbst zu erringen strebt, geht er der Vereinigung mit dem Göttlichen entgegen.'

er sich mehr bewußt'.¹

The scene on which in Hölderlin's interpretation 'die Verständlichkeit des Ganzen beruhet' is the one 'wo Oedipus den Orakelspruch zu unendlich deutet'. Rather than understand the oracle in a general sense ('Richtet, allgemein, ein streng und rein Gericht, haltet gute bürgerliche Ordnung') Oedipus 'geht ins besondere', and associates it with the murder of Laius, thus starting on his attempt to penetrate the divine truth. He thus rejects the possibility of remaining in the safe sphere of human concerns and is himself responsible for the approach towards each other of the opposite poles of 'Natur' and 'Kunst'. This is the source of

die wunderbare zornige Neugier, weil das Wissen,
wenn es seine Schranke durchrissen hat, wie trunken
in seiner herrlichen harmonischen Form, die doch
bleiben kann, vorerst, sich selbst reizt, mehr zu
wissen, als es tragen oder fassen kann.

Hence too is 'das zornige Unmaas', 'das, zerstörungsfroh,
der reißenden Zeit nur folgt'.²

But when it is revealed that Polybos was not his father the investigation of the murder of Laius in response to the oracle of Apollo becomes linked for Oedipus with the search for the truth about his own identity. This search is 'das verzweifelnde Ringen, zu sich selbst zu kommen, das niedertretende fast schaamlose Streben, seiner mächtig zu werden, das närrischwilde Nachsuchen nach einem Bewußtseyn'. 'Zuletzt herrscht in den Reden vorzüglich das geistesranke Fragen nach einem Bewußtseyn.'³ In the Grund zum Empedokles

1. IV, 155.
2. V, 197f.
3. V, 199f.

'Bewußtsein' is characteristic of 'das Organische', as is apparent in the description of the interchange of the opposite poles as a process in which 'das Allgemeine, das Unbewußtere, die Form des Bewußtseyns und der Besonderheit gewinnt' and 'das Besondere und Bewußtere die Form des Unbewußten und Allgemeinen annimmt'. In reaching the truth about himself therefore Oedipus arrives at the extreme point of the pole of 'Kunst'.¹ But the discovery of his own identity is simultaneous with the solution of the oracle, that is to say, the penetration of the divine truth and thus union with God. In Oedipus der Tyrann therefore 'Natur' and 'Kunst' seem 'in den höchsten Extremen zu Einem... vereinigt'.²

It has already been suggested that Hölderlin saw his thought only partially expressed in the Oedipus since 'der Tod des Einzelnen' is not included. However, the blinding of Oedipus perfectly expresses the 'gränzenloses Scheiden', for the god whose secret he has penetrated is Apollo:

Apollon wars, Apollon, o ihr Lieben,
Der solch Unglück vollbracht,
Hier meine, meine Leiden.

Apollo is not only the god of Delphi, but for Hölderlin above all the sun-god, from whose light Oedipus is now cut

1. Schadewaldt, op. cit., p. 792, believes 'Bewußtsein meint hier überall nicht die hellste und wachste Form, wie das Dasein im Ich sich selbst gegeben ist, sondern (hergeleitet von: sich einer Sache bewußt sein) das wache Verfügen über einen konkreten Wissensinhalt'. On the contrary, the former meaning is the primary one, for its interpretation in this sense is necessary not only to appreciate the form in which Hölderlin's thought finds expression in the Anmerkungen zum Oedipus, but also to make its use here consistent with that in the Anmerkungen zur Antigonä.
2. IV, 155, 159.

off. The statement in 'In lieblicher Bläue...' that 'der König Oedipus hat ein Auge zuviel vielleicht' refers to the organ with which metaphorically he penetrated the divine truth and through which literally he was deprived of contact with the divine, and here it is 'die schöne Sonne' which is made responsible for his sufferings.¹ Since, however, there is no death the momentary union of 'Natur' and 'Kunst' cannot be enjoyed by the people: Oedipus' sufferings lead to no regeneration or political change.

In addition, though man and God are united 'in den höchsten Extremen', this union is not extended in the Oedipus to the interchange of opposites, 'bis zum Tauschen der gegenseitigen unterscheidenden Form'. In the examination of the Anmerkungen zur Antigönä it will become evident that Hölderlin interpreted madness as the expression of 'derjenige Moment, wo das organische seine Ichheit...ablegt' and takes on 'aorgische Gestalt'.² It therefore seems probable that Hölderlin had this aspect of the union in mind in his use of the adjectives 'närrischwild' and 'geisteskrank', which characterize the final stages of his 'Fragen nach einem Bewußtsein' and replace the adjective 'zornig', which is used of Oedipus' original urge to move towards the union which takes place in the discovery of the truth.³

1. Oed. Tyr., 1351ff.(1329f.), V, 185 (the lines of the Greek text are referred to in brackets); II, 373.
2. IV, 153, 159.
3. This interpretation of the motif of madness is not necessarily inconsistent with Corssen's belief that Hölderlin uses the adjectives because of the 'widerspruchsvolle Haltung' expressed in the fact that Oedipus '(die volle Klarheit über seine Situation) gleichzeitig erstrebt und von sich weist' (p. 160ff.), for Hölderlin's method rests on the stress he gives those aspects of the plot which can be made consistent with his own thought.

Although the plot of the Oedipus does not include the death of the hero and supplied Hölderlin with nothing that could be interpreted as the interchange of positions by the poles of 'Natur' and 'Kunst', both these elements of his thought are present in the description of the activity of 'die Naturmacht' at the end of the first section of the Anmerkungen zum Oedipus, in which he discusses the formal structure of the Antigone as well as the Oedipus. He speaks here of Teiresias as

Aufseher über die Naturmacht, die tragisch, den Menschen seiner Lebenssphäre, dem Mittelpunkte seines innern Lebens in eine andere Welt entrückt und in die exzentrische Sphäre der Todten reißt.

Man's 'Lebenssphäre', the 'Mittelpunkt seines innern Lebens', is 'das Organische', the 'andere Welt' into which he is drawn before his death is 'das Aorgische', for in the Grund zum Empedokles Hölderlin describes in very similar language how 'das besondere... immer mehr von seinem Mittelpunkte sich reißen muß' when it is drawn 'gegen das Extrem des aorgischen'.¹

The definition of tragedy in the Anmerkungen zur Antigone is an expansion of that given in the Anmerkungen zum Oedipus and includes both features just mentioned, for Hölderlin found both of them present in the Antigone:

Die tragische Darstellung beruhet, wie in den Anmerkungen zum Oedipus angedeutet, darauf, daß der unmittelbare Gott, ganz Eines mit den Menschen..., daß die unendliche Begeisterung unendlich, das heißt in Gegensätzen, im Bewußtseyn, welches das Bewußtseyn aufhebt, heilig sich scheidend, sich faßt, und der Gott, in der Gestalt des Todes, gegenwärtig ist.

1. V, 197; IV, 153.
2. V, 269.

The aspect of the union between 'Gott' and 'Mensch' which leads to its dissolution is referred to in the mention of the 'Bewußtsein, welches das Bewußtsein aufhebt'. This is the paradoxical moment in which 'Kunst' in its extreme form loses its identity in union with 'Natur', just as when, influenced by the character of the people, Empedokles attempted to become 'des Unbekannten Meister' he lost his identity and took on 'aorgische Gestalt':

Er mußte mit seinem Geiste... des Unbewußten...
mächtig zu werden suchen, eben dadurch mußte...
sein Bewußtsein, sein Geist... sich selber ver-
lieren, und objectiv werden.

He became 'das organische das sich zu sehr der Natur überließ und sein Wesen und Bewustseyn vergaß'.¹

Otherwise the Anmerkungen zur Antigonä reveal the same sequence of events which is explained in the Grund zum Empedokles and which we have traced in the Anmerkungen zum Oedipus. The pull exerted on each other by the separate poles of 'Natur' and 'Kunst' begins 'wo die zweite Hälfte (des Kunstwerks) angehet', when 'der Geist der Zeit und Natur, das Himmlische, was den Menschen ergreift,... am mächtigsten erwacht'. 'In diesem Momente muß der Mensch sich am meisten festhalten.'² Hölderlin interprets as an example of success in doing this the mention of Danae in the fourth stasimon, in which the chorus reminds Antigone of other noble figures who suffered the same fate of being buried alive. He understands γονὰς χρυσοορύτρους, the seed of Zeus which flowed as golden rain, as 'das goldenströmende Werden' and hence 'die Stralen

1. IV, 161, 152f.

2. V, 266.

des Lichts, die auch dem Zevs gehören, in sofern die Zeit, die bezeichnet wird, durch solche Stralen berechenbar ist'.

On these considerations is based the translation

Sie zählete dem Vater der Zeit
Die Stundenschläge, die goldnen,

for Zeus is named 'Vater der Zeit', 'um es unserer Vorstellungart mehr zu nähern' - 'wir müssen die Mythe nemlich überall beweisbarer darstellen'.¹ Danae's attitude may be contrasted with that of Empedokles, who, 'des Stundenzählens satt', 'leidend,... blos weil er... ans Gesez der Succession gebunden ist', reaches the 'Entschluß..., durch freiwilligen Tod sich mit der unendlichen Natur zu vereinen'.²

Since then in her case 'die Zeit im Leiden gezählt wird', Hölderlin speaks of 'dieses vesteste Bleiben vor der wandelnden Zeit diß heroische Eremitenleben', which 'das höchste Bewußtseyn wirklich ist'. In such circumstances resistance is not normally the case:

In der äußersten Gränze des Leidens bestehet nemlich nichts mehr, als die Bedingungen der Zeit oder des Raums.

In dieser vergißt^{sich} der Mensch, weil er ganz im Moment ist; der Gott, weil er nichts als Zeit ist; und beides ist untreu, die Zeit, weil sie in solchem Momente sich kategorisch wendet...; der Mensch, weil er in diesem Momente der kategorischen Umkehr folgen muß.³

But Danae resists the urge towards union with God and remains in the sphere of 'das Organische', retaining 'das höchste

1. Ant., 987f.(949f.), V, 245; V, 268.

2. Hyperion, III, 151; Frankfurter Plan, IV, 145, 147.

3. V, 268; Anmerkungen zum Oedipus, V, 202.

Bewußtseyn'.¹

Such resistance was in general characteristic of the Greeks. We have already seen in the Grund zum Empedokles that clinging to the sphere of 'das Organische' can be the reaction against an excessive tendency towards 'Selbstvergessenheit und gänzliche Entäußerung'. That this was so in their case is shown in the statement that their 'Haupttendenz' was 'sich fassen zu können, weil darin ihre Schwäche lag', that is to say, they needed to protect themselves against the predisposition 'Geschick zu haben'. 'Deswegen hat der Grieche auch mehr Geschick und Athletentugend', as a result of which the heroes of the Iliad seem 'so paradox': the latter, the Greek pride in physical strength and beauty, the epitome of 'Kunst', serves as a protection against the excessive susceptibility to the former. Thus in the case of Greek tragedy 'das Wort... tödtet... griechisch faßlich, in athletischem und plastischem Geiste, wo das Wort den Körper ergreift, daß dieser tödtet'.² Only through its destruction can the formed product of 'Kunst' be brought into contact with the formlessness of 'Natur'.

It was with such thoughts in mind that as a result of his observation of the men of southern France Hölderlin wrote to Böhlendorff, probably in November 1802:

1. Reinhardt, op. cit., p. 298ff., misinterprets the nature of this 'Ausharren in der Zeit', understanding 'dieses vesteste Bleiben vor der wandelnden Zeit' as 'ein Bleiben ...ohne Ausflucht' and concluding, 'So ist denn die Hölderlinsche Danae, die dem Vater der Zeit "die Stunden-schläge, die goldnen" zählt, ein Sinnbild tragischen, dem Zeitgott hingeebenen Heroismus, oder, wie Hölderlin sagt: "Festestes Bleiben vor der wandelnden Zeit"'.
2. Anmerkungen zur Antigonä, V, 269f.

Das Athletische der südlichen Menschen... machte mich mit dem eigentlichen Wesen der Griechen bekannter; ich lernte ihre Natur und ihre Weisheit kennen, ihren Körper, die Art, wie sie in ihrem Klima wuchsen, und die Regel, womit sie den übermüthigen Genius vor des Elements Gewalt behüteten.

But they could not always protect themselves against the 'Todeslust', for Hölderlin writes of

das wilde kriegerische..., das rein männliche, dem das Lebenslicht unmittelbar wird in den Augen und Gliedern und das im Todesgeföhle sich wie in einer Virtuosität fühlt, und seinen Durst, zu wissen, erfüllt.¹

Here too he describes the union of 'das Organische' with God, Apollo the giver of 'das Lebenslicht'. Most significant is that he expresses it in accordance with his interpretation of the fate of Oedipus, whose thirst for knowledge led to such union.

1. Br. 240, VI, 432. Beck's comment on 'Virtuosität', 'Wohl zu verstehen als meisterliches Vermögen, im rauschhaften Todesgeföhle das Leben in seiner höchsten Form, in seinem Übergang vom Individuellen ins All-Eine ... zu empfinden' (VI, 1088), reveals that he understands the word in the sense of 'meisterhaftes Können' which it got from Italian 'virtuoso' (skilled) (cf. Der große Duden, VII, 745). However, it seems more probable that in its use here it is connected with Latin 'virtus' (manliness) and is to be understood as 'heroism', a sense which it can also be given in the passages of the Anmerkungen zur Antigonä (V, 267). Cf. Grimm, Deutsches Wörterbuch, XII.2, 374, for Herder's connection of the word with 'virtus': in the Briefe zu Beförderung der Humanität, Sechste Sammlung, 1795, 'Virtuosität' is used as a synonym of 'Tugend' in the sense of 'Heldentugend', 'Männlichkeit' (Sämmtliche Werke, XVII, 386ff.). Hölderlin seems to have regarded military activity as the supreme expression of 'das Athletische', for it is characteristic of those who are most endangered by the 'Todeslust' and whose need to resist it is consequently greatest. In this case the people of the 'Vendée' had fought bitterly against the revolutionary forces, and in the case of the men besieged in Xanthos, whom Plutarch describes as the most warlike of the Lycians (τοὺς μαχιμωτάτους (Brutus, 30). Cf. Stimme des Volks (II), II, 52f.), and the Greek heroes at Troy Hölderlin no doubt regarded their belligerence as a measure of their vulnerability.

Unlike Danae, however, Antigone's world can find no
'Bleiben vor der wandelnden Zeit':

Das tragischmäßige Zeitmatte... folgt dem reißenden
Zeitgeist am unmäßigsten, und dieser erscheint dann
wild, nicht, daß er die Menschen schonte, wie ein
Geist am Tage, sondern er ist schonungslos, als Geist
der ewig lebenden ungeschriebenen Wildniß und der
Todtenwelt.¹

In accordance with the pattern we saw realized in the
Grund zum Empedokles the Greek 'Athletentugend', the retreat
to an extreme form of 'Kunst', increases the hostility of
'Natur', which is no longer content to tolerate man's independent
existence, but now moves towards destructive union with him.
It is Antigone with her greater openness to 'Natur' and her
consequent refusal to disregard 'die ungeschriebnen drüber,
Die festen Sazungen im Himmel' at Creon's command who as the
representative of her people experiences the destructive union
with God. The moment of union comes when she is about to be
led away to her grave. The words with which she compares her
fate with that of Niobe represent for Hölderlin 'der höchste
Zug an der Antigonä':

Der erhabene Spott, so fern heiliger Wahnsinn
höchste menschliche Erscheinung, und hier mehr
Seele als Sprache ist, übertrifft alle ihre übrigen
Äußerungen; und es ist auch nöthig, so im Super-
lative von der Schönheit zu sprechen, weil die
Haltung unter anderem auch auf dem Superlative von
menschlichem Geist und heroischer Virtuosität
beruht.²

1. V, 266. Corssen, op. cit., p. 175, and Schadewaldt, op. cit.,
p. 800, point to the portrayal in Heimkunft of the 'Geist
am Tage', who, 'kundig des Maases, ... zögernd und
schonend... Wohlgediegenes Glück... sendet, / Und mit lang-
samer Hand Traurige wieder erfreut, / Wenn er die Zeiten
erneut' (II, 96f.).
2. Ant. 471f.(454f.), V, 223; V, 267.

The Sophoclean text gives no support to the interpretation of 'der erhabene Spott' as 'heiliger Wahnsinn', but the element of madness is introduced by Hölderlin in his translation of Antigone's words οἴμοι γελοῖμαι (Ah, I am being mocked (by the chorus)): 'Weh! Närrisch machen sie mich'.¹ In his description of it as 'höchste menschliche Erscheinung' Hölderlin agreed with Plato that madness is not simply an evil, but can be of divine origin and superior to sanity. In Brot und Wein he wrote of 'frohlokkender Wahnsinn,/Wenn er in heiliger Nacht plötzlich den Säng' er greift'. Schmidt comments that this madness is

die heilige Trunkenheit, der Enthousiasmos, göttliche Fülle, die 'plötzlich' den Menschen überrascht und seine menschliche Daseinsweise an eine äußerste Grenze schleudert, wo sie schon beinahe ins Ungebundene geht.¹

In this characterization of the 'Gottergriffenheit' of the poet, Plato's third category of madness, the poet is in contact with the sphere of 'Natur', but remains within the human sphere of 'Kunst'. The tragic hero, however, in union with God, crosses the boundary between 'Kunst' and 'Natur'. Of this moment when the poles have interchanged places, 'wenn beide entgegengesetzte, der verallgemeinerte geistig lebendige künstlich rein aorgische Mensch und die Wohlgestalt

1. Ant. 867(839), V, 240. Zuntz, Über Hölderlins Pindar-Übersetzung, p. 56ff., quotes the line in a list of 'sinnlichstarke Umschreibungen', commenting on the style of Antigonä, 'Er erreicht sein Ziel durch Ausgestaltung der einzelnen Stellen, deren jede zu höchster und deutscher Kraft gesteigert wird.' However, sensitive though Zuntz' stylistic analysis is, he is mistaken in his conclusion that such 'Ausgestaltungen und Fortbildungen' are in every case 'nicht aus dem Überblick des Ganzen entstanden'.
2. Phaedrus, 244f.; II, 91; Schmidt, Hölderlins Elegie 'Brot und Wein', p. 60.

der Natur sich begegnen', Hölderlin twice states, 'Diß Gefühl gehört vielleicht zum höchsten, was der Mensch erfahren kann', words which are recalled by the description here of 'heiliger Wahnsinn' as 'höchste menschliche Erscheinung'.

Antigone's attitude rests 'auch auf dem Superlative von menschlichem Geist'. Her pride in comparing herself with one who was, as the chorus points out, 'heilig gesprochen, heilig gezeuget'¹ (θεὸς ... καὶ θεογεννῆς) is an assertion of her individuality in opposition to the claims of God, of 'das höchste Bewußtsein' in the sphere of 'Kunst'. Thus Antigone at the extreme point of 'das Organische' takes on 'aorgische Gestalt'.

The comment on Antigone's comparison of herself with Niobe is followed by a more general statement:

Es ist ein großer Behelf der geheimarbeitenden Seele, daß sie auf dem höchsten Bewußtseyn dem Bewußtseyn ausweicht, und ehe sie wirklich der gegenwärtige Gott ergreift, mit kühnem, oft sogar blasphemischem Worte diesem begegnet, und so die² heilige lebende Möglichkeit des Geistes erhält.

The madness, of which 'der erhabene Spott', here referred to as 'kühnes... Wort', is seen as a symptom, is interpreted in words reminiscent of the definition of 'die tragische Darstellung' and seen as a flight from the 'Bewußtsein' of 'das Organische' into the sphere of 'das Aorgische', as a necessary preliminary 'ehe sie wirklich der gegenwärtige Gott ergreift' or, as the definition puts it, 'der Gott, in der Gestalt des Todes, gegenwärtig ist'.

1. Ant. 862(834), V, 240.
2. V, 267.

The interpretation of the statement that Antigone 'auf dem höchsten Bewußtseyn dem Bewußtseyn ausweicht'¹ as the taking on of 'aorgische Gestalt' by 'das Organische' is supported by the special content Hölderlin gives Antigone's comparison of herself with Niobe:

In hohem Bewußtseyn vergleicht sie sich denn immer mit Gegenständen, die kein Bewußtseyn haben, aber in ihrem Schiksaal des Bewußtseyns Form annehmen. So einer ist ein wüst gewordenes Land, das in ursprünglicher üppiger Fruchtbarkeit die Wirkungen des Sonnenlichts zu sehr verstärket, und darum dürre wird. Schiksaal der Phrygischen Niobe; wie überall Schiksaal der unschuldigen Natur, die überall in ihrer Virtuosität in eben dem Grade ins Allzuorganische gehet, wie der Mensch sich dem Aorgischen nähert, in heroischeren Verhältnissen, und Gemüthsbewegungen.²

The comparison fulfils a double function: the proud spirit in which Antigone makes it is an expression of her 'hohes Bewußtseyn', while her choice of Niobe is given special significance since it draws attention to the process by which 'Natur' and 'Kunst' are united. Niobe, who boasted that she had had more children than Leto and who was turned to stone, represents the movement from 'Natur', 'kein Bewußtsein', to

1. Corssen, op. cit., p. 178f., rightly sees in this statement a reference to the phenomenon of 'heiliger Wahnsinn', but interprets this madness as retreat from rather than union with God: 'Der Mensch, der die Gegenwart Gottes nicht ertragen kann, flüchtet... in den "heiligen Wahnsinn", der deshalb "höchste menschliche Erscheinung" ist.'. Schadewaldt, op. cit., p. 80lf., again understands 'Bewußtsein' as 'hergeleitet von: sich einer Sache bewußt sein' (p. 792), for he interprets: '...daß sie auf dem höchsten Bewußtsein (ihrer selbst und Gottes) dem Bewußtsein ausweicht'. Ryan, Hölderlins Lehre vom Wechsel der Töne, p.342, refers the phrase to the comprehensibility of the union rather than the process in which it takes place: 'Aus dieser Formulierung ersieht man, in welcher Form Hölderlin diesen Menschen vernichtende Einssein mit dem Göttlichen darstellen will, nämlich als eine für den menschlichen Verstand unvereinbare Gegensätzlichkeit, als unbegreifbares Paradox, an dem das menschliche Bewußtsein zerbricht.'
2. V, 267f.

'Kunst', 'Bewußtsein', the opposite movement to that of Antigone.¹ For Sophocles only her final fate is relevant, for it is with her imprisonment in stone that he makes Antigone compare her own fate. Hölderlin wants to change the point of comparison to the movement from one pole to the other and hence gives his own content to her opening words, ἤκουσα δὴ λυγροτάταν ὀλέσθαι τὰν Φρυγίαν ξέναν

(I have heard the Phrygian stranger died most wretchedly):

Ich habe gehört, der Wüste gleich sey worden
Die Lebensreiche, Phrygische.²

In this way he includes in the text the fertile land become desert, which in the Anmerkungen serves as an illustration of the 'Schiksaal der unschuldigen Natur, die... ins Allzuorganische gehet'.

The conflict between 'Natur' and 'Kunst' is objectified by the struggle between Antigone and Creon, rooted as they are in opposite spheres. Hölderlin sees the attitudes which they represent portrayed in the fourth stasimon, which must be regarded

als eigentlichster Gesichtspunkt, wo das Ganze angefaßt werden muß.

Nemlich dieser enthält...die höchste Unparteilichkeit der zwei entgegengesetzten Charaktere, aus welchen die verschiedenen Personen des Dramas handeln.

Einmal das, was den Antitheos charakterisirt, wo einer, in Gottes Sinne, wie gegen Gott sich verhält, und den Geist des Höchsten gesezlos erkennt. Dann

1. Cf. Corssen, op. cit., p. 178, note 1, and Schadewaldt, op. cit., p. 802, who, however, fail to see how Hölderlin ascribes the opposite movement to Antigone.
2. Ant. 852f.(823f.), V, 239. Cf. Rheinhardt, op. cit., p.297: 'Es dürfte wohl ein Verwechslung vorliegen von "lygros", was bei Sophokles steht, und "lypros", was mit Vorliebe im Sinne von öd, unfruchtbar, wüst von der Bodenbeschaffenheit gebraucht wird. Die Verwechslung hat das Übrige nach sich gezogen.'

die fromme Furcht vor dem Schiksaal, hiemit das Ehren Gottes, als eines gesetzten. Diß ist der Geist der beiden unpartheiisch gegen einander gestellten Gegensätze im Chore. Im ersten Sinne mehr Antigonä handelnd. Im zweiten Kreon.¹

Antigone's attitude is represented by Lycurgus, introduced by the chorus because he too was imprisoned in a cave. But for Hölderlin the point of the comparison is that he too was united with God:

Und gehascht ward zornig behend Dryas Sohn,
Der Edonen König in begeistertem Schimpf
Von Dionysos, von den stürzenden
Steinhaufen gedeket.

Den Wahnsinn weint' er so fast aus,
Und den blühenden Zorn.²

The choice of the word 'gehascht' is of special significance since Hölderlin also uses it of Oedipus without any corresponding word in the Greek. In her opening words to Ismene Antigone speaks of τῶν ἀπ' Οἰδίπου κακῶν, the evils derived from Oedipus, that is to say the curse called down on Laius by Pelops which Oedipus 'had inherited, and which he bequeathed to his children in a form intensified by his own acts'.³ Hölderlin, however, understood the phrase to refer to the evils suffered by Oedipus, making the preposition ἀπό govern τῶν κακῶν rather than Οἰδίπου. Beißner gives the evidence for thinking that these first three lines of the play were altered in the late revision which Hölderlin

1. V, 268.

2. Ant. 993ff.(955ff.), V, 245f. In this passage Hölderlin found ample support for his interpretation of the hero's anger as an expression of his 'Gottergriffenheit' so that in addition to his use of 'Zorn' twice (993, 998) he can make clear his interpretation by translating the phrase κερτομίοις ὀργαῖς (because of mocking anger) with 'in begeistertem Schimpf'.

3. Jebb, Sophocles: The Antigone, p. 9; Ant. 4(2), V, 205.

carried out in Nürtingen. He suggests that Hölderlin may originally have translated this phrase 'seit Schlimmes Ödipus/Erfuhr' and that the introduction of the word 'haschen' is typical of the 'Streben nach Intensität' which characterizes this period.¹ However, going beyond this stylistic observation, we can see that Hölderlin has included in his revised translation his own interpretation of the fate which Oedipus suffered. Like him Lycurgus was 'gehascht' by 'das Himmlische, was den Menschen ergreift'.

In Hölderlin's interpretation Lycurgus was seized by Dionysus in inspired abuse. Sophocles' words, ζεύχθη ... ἐκ Διονύσου, mean that he was brought under the yoke, i.e. strictly confined, by command of Dionysus because of his mocking anger - the Edonians were commanded by an oracle to imprison him.² But Hölderlin's misunderstanding of a causal as a modal dative was encouraged by the next sentence:

Und kennen lernt' er,
Im Wahnsinn tastend, den Gott mit schimpfender Zunge

(κεῖνος ἐπέγνω μανίαις φαύων τὸν θεὸν ἐν κερτομίοις γλώσσαις).

Here Hölderlin found in Sophocles' text support for his description of Antigone's union with God, for here too madness is as important a feature as blasphemy.³

1. Hölderlins Übersetzungen, p. 142f.

2. Cf. Jebb, op. cit., p. 171.

3. Ant. 998f. (960f.), V, 246. Hölderlin's translation keeps the order of the Greek words. The fact that he takes ἐν κερτομίοις γλώσσαις with ἐπέγνω rather than with φαύων alters the emphasis in the direction of his own interpretation, but his translation need not be regarded as a distortion of the sense, as Schadewaldt believes (he takes the sentence as a participle construction after a verb of knowing: 'es erkannte jener, wie er im Wahnsinn angetastet hatte den Gott mit schimpfenden Zungen'. (op. cit., p. 803f.)), for Jebb translates in the same way as Hölderlin, making τὸν θεὸν object of ἐπέγνω: 'that man learned to know the god whom in his frenzy he had provoked with mockeries' (op. cit., p. 173).

Antigone represents 'den Antitheos..., wo einer, in Gottes Sinne, wie gegen Gott sich verhält, und den Geist des Höchsten gese~~z~~zlos erkennt'. She, like Lycurgus, finds union with God in opposition against him and without the help of the laws designed by man to regulate his contact with the divine. This attitude is indeed the basis of her challenge to Creon's interpretation of Zeus' will and her appeal to the unwritten law of the gods in support of her disregard of his edict, and Hölderlin could find plenty of support in Sophocles for his view of Antigone as the opponent of law.

Creon says of her, for example,

Die aber findet eine Lust aus, damit,
Daß sie die vorgeschriebenen Geseze trüb macht.¹

Even here, however, where Hölderlin apparently remains close to the Greek text, there are features of his version which make the thought peculiarly his own. Antigone's disobedience of the laws is no longer confined to a single occasion, as in Sophocles:

αὕτη δ' ὑβρίζειν μὲν τότ' ἐξήπιστατο,
νόμους ὑπερβαίνουσα τοὺς προκειμένους

(this girl already knew well how to be insolent when she transgressed the laws that had been ordained). And the translation of ὑπερβαίνουσα with 'trüb macht' suggests not just disobedience, but the attempt to blur the sharp contours of the realm of 'Kunst' which the laws represent, acknowledging them only if, as the poet demands of the law-giver Zeus, they declare 'was die/Heilige Dämmerung birgt':

1. Ant. 499f.(480f.), V, 224.

Und hab' ich erst am Herzen Lebendiges
Gefühlt und dämmert, was du gestaltetest,...

Dann kenn' ich dich, Kronion!¹

In her earlier clash with Creon, however, this interpretation of Antigone's attitude appears in the translation as a misrepresentation of the Greek text:

Kreon: Was wagtest du, ein solch Gesez zu brechen?
Antigonä: Darum. M e i n Zevs berichtete mirs nicht;
Noch hier im Haus das Recht der Todesgötter,
Die unter Menschen das Gesez begrenzet.

In the Sophoclean text which Hölderlin had,

οὐδ' ἢ ξύνοικος τῶν κάτω θεῶν Δίκη
οἶ τοῦσδ' ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ᾤρισαν νόμους,

the gods below are seen as having appointed these laws of sepulture. Hölderlin, selecting the root meaning of δρίζω (bound - cf δ ὄρος , boundary), sees them limiting the validity of human law as such.²

In the first of these two passages Sophocles gives expression to Creon's view of Antigone's action with the repetition ὑβρίζειν ... ὕβρις , correctly translated by Hölderlin as 'Frechheit'.³ Earlier Creon threatened the guards of Polyneices' body with torture until they revealed the authorship of τήνδε ... ὕβριν . Hölderlin's choice of 'das üppige Beginnen' to translate this phrase is highly significant since it reveals that he saw the deed as having its roots in the sphere of 'Natur', in connection with which the word 'üppig' is always used. In the elegies 'üppig' is applied to the phenomena of nature in the normal sense of the word. In

1. Natur und Kunst, II, 37f.

2. Ant. 466ff.(449ff.), V, 223. In line 469 sc. haben. The Oxford Classical Text reads: οὐδ' ἢ ... Δίκη / τοιούσδ' ... ᾤρισεν νόμους.

3. Ant. 501(480, 482), V, 224.

Der Wanderer it is applied to 'Wald' and 'Frühling' and in Stuttgart to 'Gras'.¹ In the later work it is used of 'Natur' in the more specialized sense. In the Grund zum Empedokles 'der lebhafteste allesversuchende Kunstgeist seines Volks' and 'der glühende Himmelsstrich und die üppige Sicilianische Natur' are seen to be embodiments of the poles of 'Kunst' and 'Natur', while in the Anmerkungen zur Antigone the fertile mother Niobe, who suffers the 'Schicksaal der unschuldigen Natur, die... ins Allzuorganische geht', is compared with 'ein wüst gewordenes Land, das in ursprünglicher üppiger Fruchtbarkeit die Wirkungen des Sonnenlichts zu sehr verstärkt, und darum dürre wird'. And in 'Wenn aber die Himmlischen...' the 'Wildniß' which represents the extreme form of 'Natur' is created by the rapid growth of 'viel üppig neidiges/Unkraut'.²

Similarly there are passages in the Sophoclean text where Creon asserts his support of the law. He sees Polyneices as having come 'ihr Land/Und ihr Gesetz zu sprengen'. Speaking of Antigone he says:

Wer aber übertretend den Gesezen
Gewalt will anthun, oder Herrscher meistern,
Von mir kann dem nicht wohl ein Lob zufallen,

and when Creon speaks of the ruler to whom obedience is due Hölderlin's choice of verb is, as will become apparent, significant:

Wen aber eine Stadt hat eingesetzt (στήσειε),
Dem soll man kleines, rechtes, ungereimtes hören.³

1. Ant. 324(309), V, 217; II, 80f., 88.

2. IV, 164; V, 267; II, 223.

3. Ant. 300f.(286f.), 688ff.(663ff.), V, 216, 233.

But elsewhere Hölderlin sees Creon as the representative of law where this is not Sophocles' intention. When he has announced his decision on the treatment the fallen brothers are to receive, the chorus comments,

Und das Gesez gebrauchst du überall,
Der Todten wegen und der Lebenden.

The misunderstanding in the first of these two lines is the product of a mistranslation, itself aggravated by a small corruption in the text. Hölderlin must have had νόμῳ δὲ χρῆσθαι παντί ποῦ τ' ἔνεστι σοι, meaning, if we omit the doubtful words ποῦ τε, 'it is possible for you to use every law, i.e. you can give what orders you please', but, adhering to the Greek word-order, he combined παντί with the indefinite adverb που (somewhere) to get 'überall'.¹ When on the other hand Creon goes to set Antigone free there is no mistranslation contained in his words,

Ich fürcht', es ist am besten, zu erhalten
Bestehendes Gesez und so zu enden.²

Nevertheless there can be little doubt that, where Sophocles understood by τοὺς καθεστῶτας νόμους the laws established by the gods, for Hölderlin the reference was to human law, the observance of which could have averted the disasters just prophesied by Teiresias.

It is against this background that we must understand the statement that Creon represents 'das Ehren Gottes, als eines gesetzten'. There can be no doubt about the content Hölderlin

1. Ant. 221f.(213f.), V, 213. The O.C.T. has τούτ'..., Jebb ποῦ γ' ... with the sense 'I suppose'.
2. Ant. 1160f.(1113f.), V, 252.

meant this phrase to have (Schadewaldt speaks of 'dem organischen, allzuförmlichen Behaupten des Göttlichen durch Kreon nach alter, hergebrachter, gesetzter Weise'¹), but it is questionable whether the use of the word 'gesetzt' has been satisfactorily explained.²

Although in Antigonä 'das unförmliche' and 'das allzuförmliche' are 'gleich gegen einander abgewogen', that is to say, both acknowledge the divine power, they are 'der Zeit nach verschieden'.³ The time has come for renewed contact with God and therefore Hölderlin must support Antigone's attitude. But he could equally understand withdrawal from the 'Selbstvergessenheit' to which she fell a victim and which in an earlier period he called 'gesezt seyn'. In the penultimate version of Hölderlin's novel Hyperion, having returned to Tina after parting from Adamas, gives up his plans and thinks to himself,

Es ist Zeit, daß du in deine Gränzen zurücktrittst!...
Der Tod des Lebens, den ihr 'gesezt seyn' nennt,
der war mein edles Ideal geworden; denn, sagt' ich
äußerst weise, ein Wesen, das sich leicht bewegt,
kann leicht zur Unzeit, leicht über die gemeßne
Gränze sich bewegen.

Similarly in his bitter attack on the Germans Hyperion describes them as 'gesezte Leute, aber keine Menschen' and deplores the fact that

wo einmal ein menschlich Wesen abgerichtet ist, da
dient es seinem Zweck, da sucht es seinen Nutzen, es
schwärmt nicht mehr, bewahre Gott! es bleibt gesezt,
...und selber, wenn des Frühlings holdes Fest... die
Sorgen alle löst,... wenn selbst die Raupe sich
beflügelt und die Biene schwärmt, so bleibt der
Deutsche doch in seinem Fach!⁴

1. Op. cit., p. 799.

2. Cf. Corssen, op. cit., p. 169: 'für ihn (Kreon) ist das Göttliche "gesetzt", beständig, ein fest-stehender Stern, dem man beharrlich folgen muß.'

3. V, 271, 269.

4. III, 242f., 153f.

Here the word 'gesetzt' has its normal meaning of 'sober', but when it recurs in several passages of Hölderlin's late work it has a deeper significance. In the second stasimon of the Ajax Pan is addressed by the chorus as ὦ θεῶν χοροποῖε ἄναξ , which Hölderlin translates: 'o du/Der eingesetzten Götter König! versammelnder!' Beißner, commenting on the expansion of θεῶν to 'der eingesetzten Götter', writes: 'Es ist sehr wahrscheinlich, daß Hölderlin hier θεός und τιθεῖναι etymologisierend zusammengebracht hat'.¹ However, it seems more illuminating to suppose that Hölderlin had in mind the real etymological connection between 'setzen' and 'Gesetz', which is apparent in his translation of νόμος ὅδ' ... πάνπολις (this law of general validity) with the words 'Solch ein gesetztes Denken'.² In that case 'das Gesetzte' is not simply 'das Göttliche' as such, as Beißner suggests in his comment on the lines

Es entbrennet aber sein Zorn;...
...Eigenwillig sonst, unmäßig
Gränzlos, daß der Menschen Hand
Anficht das Lebende, mehr auch, als sich schicket
Für einen Halbgott, heiliggesetztes übergeht
Der Entwurf.³

It is the divine only in so far as it is made safely accessible by 'Kunst', that view of the divine^{which} in these lines is depicted as being overturned by the irruption of 'Natur'. In this form it is represented by Jupiter, to whom the poet can say, 'Du waltest hoch am Tag' und es blühet dein/Gesetz', while the

1. V, 304; Beißner, op. cit., p. 107. In his note on Der Einzige (II), he seems less confident of this explanation, for he qualifies it with the word 'vielleicht'(II, 759f.).
2. Ant. 637(614), V, 231. MHG 'gesetze' was a formation from 'setzen' in the sense of 'festsetzen, bestimmen, anordnen'. Cf. Der große Duden, VII, 216, 640.
3. II, 759, commenting on Der Einzige (II), II, 159.

divine power of which the Greek gods were but a personification is represented by Saturn, the greater god 'wenn schon/Er kein Gebot aussprach'.¹ It is safer to honour by due observance of custom the gods portrayed in accordance with the laws of art: this is 'das Ehren Gottes, als eines gesetzten'.

The word 'gesetzt' also has a special significance in the Antigonä where ἐστιασθον ἐς πόλιν (to the city that contains a hearth) is translated 'zum gesetzten Heerd der Stadt'. Beißner understands the phrase to mean 'die heimatlich-geheiligte Stadt',² but it seems probable that the word has a deeper significance in accordance with the interpretation given above. In the speech in which these words occur Teiresias threatens that Creon will pay for his crime of burying the living while leaving the dead unburied with the death of one of his own family. Sophocles also makes him foresee how the cities which have furnished contingents for the Argive expedition against Thebes are stirred with hatred against Creon (ἐχθρα ... συνταράσσονται) when they hear that their fallen soldiers have only been buried by animals or birds, which then pollute their sacred hearths.

In Hölderlin's translation, however, this prophecy becomes a generalization with a quite different content:

Im Misverstand muß aber jede Stadt
Vergehen, deren Leichname zur Ruhe
Die Hund' und wilden Thiere bringen, oder wenn
Mit Fittigen ein Vogel mit unheiligem
Geruche zum gesetzten Heerd der Stadt kommt.
So stehts mit dir.

1. Natur und Kunst, II, 37.
2. Ant. 1128(1083), V, 251; II, 759.

Hölderlin understands Sophocles to mean that any city which shows so much disregard for the requirements of the gods as Creon has done in his hostile misconstruction of Teiresias' warnings (Creon has just repeated his accusation that Teiresias has been bribed) is so 'gesetzt' that it must provoke the irruption of 'Natur', be thrown into chaotic confusion (συνταράσσονται) and so 'vergehen'. This is to be the fate of Thebes and its ruler, a link between which Hölderlin was encouraged to make by the faulty punctuation of his Greek text.¹

Such a misuse of law, divorced from contact with the divine, was in Hölderlin's mind when he wrote,

Denn gut sind Sazungen, aber
Wie Drachenzähne, schneiden sie
Und tödten das Leben, wenn im Zorne sie schärft
Ein Geringer oder ein König.

The comparison with 'Drachenzähne' makes it clear that he was thinking not only of those responsible for the deaths of John the Baptist and Christ, with whom the planned poem An die Madonna is concerned, but also of Creon, the ruler of Thebes, the city built by Cadmos with the help of the surviving Σπαρτοί who had sprung up armed when he sowed the dragon's teeth.² Similarly the destruction which city and law and the world of 'Kunst' must experience if they have lost contact

1. Ant. 1124ff.(1080ff.), V, 251. Hölderlin's text read: τοιαῦτά σου. λυπεῖς γάρ. ὥστε τοξότης / ἀφῆκα θυμῷ καρδίας τοξεύματα. The lines are in fact a single sentence with commas after σοῦ and γάρ: 'I have fired such arrows, since you provoke me, ...'
2. II, 212. Cf. Ant. 1171f.(1123f.), V, 253, where Bacchus is addressed as living in Thebe, 'An den Zäunen, wo den Othem/ Das Maul des Drachen haschet': ἀγρίου τ' ἐπὶ σπορᾷ δράκοντος (over the seed of the fierce dragon, i.e. on the ground where the dragon's teeth were sown). In this 'eigenwillige Ausdeutung', as Beißner calls it (V,504), Hölderlin pictures the rows of men sprung up from the teeth at the moment when they become alive with imagery that at the same time suggests the rows of teeth in the living dragon's mouth.

with 'Natur' is referred to in Der Rhein:

Denn eher muß die Wohnung vergehn,
Und die Saßung und zum Unbild werden
Der Tag der Menschen, ehe vergessen
Ein solcher dürfte den Ursprung.¹

Hölderlin had already portrayed the different attitudes of Creon and Antigone in his characterization of Hermokrates and Empedokles, who in the first version of Der Tod des Empedokles tells the citizens of Agrigentum:

So wagts! was ihr geerbt, was ihr erworben,
Was euch der Väter Mund erzählt, gelehrt,
Gesez und Bräuch, der alten Götter Nahmen,
Vergeßt es kühn, und hebt, wie Neugeborne,
Die Augen auf zur göttlichen Natur!

In the second version Hölderlin makes^{it} clear that, as in the Antigonä, the dispute is between opposite interpretations of the same religion, between adherence to the laws and customs of the sphere of 'Kunst' and the insight into the need for a renewed contact with 'Natur'. The attitude of Hermokrates is again 'das Ehren Gottes, als eines gesezten':

Drum binden wir den Menschen auch
Das Band ums Auge, daß sie nicht
Zu kräftig sich am Lichte nähren.
Nicht gegenwärtig werden²
Darf Göttliches vor ihnen.

As in Der Tod des Empedokles, so in the Antigonä 'die Zeit wendet sich' and 'der Mensch (muß) der kategorischen Umkehr folgen':

Und in vaterländischer Umkehr, wo die ganze Gestalt
der Dinge sich ändert, und die Natur und Nothwendigkeit,
die immer bleibt, zu einer andern Gestalt sich neiget,...

1. II, 144f. Cf. Ajax, V, 304: 'Alles ziehet hinweg die große Zeit damit es/Vergehet!'. Elsewhere Hölderlin translates ταράσσομαι correctly: 'Ich bin...verwirrt' (Ant. 1141(1095), V, 251).
2. IV, 65, 91.

ist alles blos Nothwendige partheiisch für die Veränderung, deswegen kann, in Möglichkeit solcher Veränderung, auch der Neutrale, nicht nur, der gegen die vaterländische Form ergriffen ist, von einer Geistesgewalt der Zeit; gezwungen werden, patriotisch, gegenwärtig zu seyn, in unendlicher Form, der religiösen, politischen und moralischen seines Vaterlands.¹

Not only is Antigone united with God, but Haemon, despite the loyalty he owes to his father as well as to her, is compelled to follow her, so that her death is succeeded by his. But it can also be seen that Creon too is not exempt from the complete change of thought.

In the first strophe and antistrophe of the second stasimon the chorus reflect on the fate of the house of Labdacus:

noch löset ab ein Geschlecht
Das andre, sondern es schlägt
Ein Gott es nieder. Und nicht Erlösung hat er.

Since Hölderlin saw the fates of Oedipus and Antigone as union with God in opposition and madness it is not surprising that he interprets as madness the series of disasters which is the divine punishment called down on the family by the curse of Pelops, an interpretation made possible by the fact that ἄτη can mean 'delusion' sent by the gods as well as 'calamity' resulting from such delusion, the sense in which Sophocles uses the word here. Thus Hölderlin translates the opening words of the chorus:

Glückseelige solcher Zeit, da man nicht schmecket das Übel;
Denn, wenn sich reget von Himmlischen
Einmal ein Haus, fehlts dem an Wahnsinn nicht.²

1. Anmerkungen zum Oedipus, V, 202; Anmerkungen zur Antigonä, V, 271.

2. Ant. 617ff.(596ff.), 604ff.(582ff.), V, 230.

In the second strophe and antistrophe the chorus are prompted by the example of this family to reflect 'on the power of Zeus and the impotence of human self-will. There is no conscious reference to Kreon; but, for the spectators, the words are suggestive and ominous.'¹ Hölderlin, however, sees this second half of the chorus as explicitly referring to Creon, balancing the first half, which was concerned with Antigone and her family:

Vater der Erde, deine Macht,
Von Männern, wer mag die mit Übertreiben erreichen?²

For Sophocles the power of Zeus cannot be limited, for Hölderlin it cannot be equalled. But in the attempt to assert his power Creon is trying to do just this: 'Vater der Erde', whose 'Karakter ist, der ewigen Tendenz entgegen, das Streben aus dieser Welt in die andre zu kehren zu einem Streben aus einer andern Welt in diese', is reminiscent of Jupiter as the god of 'Kunst', who is characterized by 'Macht' and 'Herrscherkünste'. This is the pole in which Creon rests, and his opposition to the position of Antigone, resting on the claims of 'Natur', could qualify him like Empedokles for the name of 'ein neuer Jupiter'.³

But such an attitude is as liable to disaster as the openness to 'Natur' of Antigone:

1. Jebb, *op. cit.*, p. xii.
2. *Ant.* 626f.(604f.), V, 230. The O.C.T. has *τεάν, Ζεῦ, δύνασιν τίς ἀνδρῶν ὑπερβασία κατάσχοι*; Hölderlin's rendering rests on the combination of a corrupt text (*ὑπερβασία*) and the translation of the compound form *κατάσχοι* (*κατέχω*, limit) as if it meant the same as the simple verb *ἔχω*, have. Cf. *Ant.* 631f.(610), V, 231, where *κατέχεις*, meaning in this context 'live in', is translated 'Behältst...du'.
3. *Anmerkungen zur Antigone*, V, 268; *Natur und Kunst*, II, 37; *Empedokles* (II), IV, 108.

Doch wohl auch Wahnsinn kostet
Bei Sterblichen im Leben¹
Solch ein gesetztes Denken.¹

The first three words have nothing corresponding in the Greek text, and their addition makes Hölderlin's train of thought clear. After the intervening lines characterizing Zeus' power as 'Vater der Zeit'² Hölderlin pictures the result of this 'Übertreiben', of 'solch ein gesetztes Denken'. The word 'doch' draws attention to the contrast between Creon's aim and the result, 'auch' and the verb 'kostet' (in the sense of 'taste'), used here without any reference to the Greek,³ make the result parallel to the oblique reference to Antigone's fate in the opening words of the chorus: 'Glükseelige solcher Zeit, da man nicht schmecket das Übel'. Insistence on 'Gesetz' is no permanent protection against 'Natur', and indeed such one-sidedness is a challenge to it to intervene.⁴

Thus in Creon Hölderlin sees a repetition of Antigone's fate, and indeed Creon too sees himself as the victim of God:

1. Ant. 635ff.(613f.), V, 231.
2. Cf. especially 633f.(611f.): 'Und das Nächste und Künftige/ Und Vergangne besorgst du.'
3. Hölderlin's text read: νόμος ὅδ' οὐδὲν ἔρπει θνατῶν βιδίτῳ παμπολις ἐκτὸς ἄτας, which is too corrupt to admit of any sensible translation. The text has been restored to read: ...ἐπαρκέσει νόμος ὅδ'· οὐδὲν ἔρπει θνατῶν βιδίτῳ παμπολύ γ' ἐκτὸς ἄτας (this law will hold good: nothing vast enters the life of man without bringing disaster).
4. Schadewaldt, op. cit., p. 801, sees Creon's 'Wahnsinn' as no more than evidence of the way in which 'er sich... immer mehr auf das, wovon er ausgegangen ist: sein Verbot der Bestattung des Polyneikes, versteift'. The interpretation of this chorus makes it clear that for a full understanding of Hölderlin's intention in the Sophocles-translations it is not always sufficient to compare passages in isolation with the Greek text. On the contrary, at times it is more profitable to turn one's attention to the context in which they occur and to forget the Sophoclean play in order to be able to follow the sequence of Hölderlin's thought.

Ich hab's gelernet in Furcht. An meinem Haupt aber
Ein Gott dort, dort mich
Mit großer Schwere gefaßt
Und geschlagen hat, und geschüttelt auf wilden Wegen

(έν δ' έμφή κάρη θεός τότ' άρα τότε μέγα βάρος μ' έχων έπαισεν). 1.

Sophocles pictures a god striking Creon with crushing weight. Hölderlin separates the participle έχων from its object βάρος and makes it too govern με. In this way he gives added emphasis to God's union with man: 'gefaßt/Und geschlagen'. 'Der reißende Zeitgeist', which becomes 'wild' and 'schonungslos', 'das Himmlische, was den Menschen ergreift', does not spare Creon, and it is possible that Hölderlin saw in Sophocles' imagery a parallel to the fate which was suffered by Patroclus and which he feared for himself: 'Wie man Helden nachspricht, kann ich wohl sagen, daß mich Apollo geschlagen.' 2
Nothing escapes the appearance of God in man's life:

Die Art des Hergangs in der Antigonä ist die bei einem Aufruhr, wo es, so fern es vaterländische Sache ist, darauf ankommt, daß jedes, als von unendlicher Umkehr ergriffen, und erschüttert, in unendlicher Form sich fühlt, in der es erschüttert ist. Denn vaterländische Umkehr ist die Umkehr aller Vorstellungsarten und Formen. 3

The 'vaterländische Umkehr', brought about by renewed contact with 'Natur', is essentially a religious phenomenon. God and man meet 'damit der Weltlauf keine Lücke hat und das Gedächtniß der Himmlischen nicht ausgehet'. In Antigonä it

1. Ant. 1329ff.(1271ff.), V, 259. Jebb translates έν δ' έσεισεν άγρίαις όδοίς : 'and hurled me into ways of cruelty', interpreting έν...έσεισεν as tmesis (op. cit., p. 224f.).
2. Anmerkungen zur Antigonä, V, 266; Br. 240, VI, 432.
3. Reinhardt, op. cit., p. 290f., remarks that it is impossible not to be reminded by these words of the French Revolution and that there was no political situation in ancient Athens to which they could refer.
V, 271.

comes about 'bei einem Aufruhr, (die freilich nur Eine Art vaterländischer Umkehr ist, und noch bestimmteren Charakter hat),' through Antigone's revolt against the authority of the ruler. This revolt thus has political as well as religious consequences: 'Die Vernunftform, die hier tragisch sich bildet, ist politisch, und zwar republikanisch!'¹ As in Der Tod des Empedokles, Hölderlin sees democracy as the political form of the new world.²

1. Anmerkungen zum Oedipus, V, 202; Anmerkungen zur Antigonä, V, 271f.
2. Corssen, op. cit., p. 173, sees in Ant. 767f.(738f.), V, 235f. 'die Stelle, in der Hölderlin einen Stützpunkt finden konnte für seine Idee, daß in den Gegensätzen, die in diesem Drama dargestellt werden, sich eine republikanische Ordnung bilde'.

2. Ajax

Sophocles' Ajax appears never to have lost its fascination for Hölderlin, for the evidence for his interest in it extends from the Fragment von Hyperion of 1794 to the translation of three choruses nearly ten years later. Its occurrence in different versions of Hyperion suggests that it belonged to his favourite reading, even though at its first mention it fails to calm the storm roused in Hyperion by his torturing doubts about Melite's love:

Ich... schlug mir, nachdem meine Wahl ziemlich lange gezögert hatte, den Ajax Mastigophoros auf, und sah hinein. Aber nicht eine Sylbe nahm mein Geist in sich auf. Wo ich hinsah, war ihr Bild.

Again in the penultimate version of the novel Hyperion relates: 'Der Ajax des Sophokles lag vor mir aufgeschlagen', and it is not surprising that in the final version he speaks of Salamis as 'die Insel des Ajax'.¹

Hölderlin not only mentions the play, but also quotes passages from it. Maria Cornelissen rightly interprets the extract in the penultimate version of Hyperion as an example of the 'Verwendung des dichterischen Wortes zur Klärung und Verdeutlichung der eigenen Situation':²

Der Ajax des Sophokles lag vor mir aufgeschlagen. Zufällig sah ich hinein, traf auf die Stelle, wo der Heroë Abschied nimmt von den Strömen und Grotten und Hainen am Meere - ihr habt mich lange behalten, sagt er, nun aber, nun athm' ich nimmer Lebensothen unter euch! Ihr nachbarlichen Wasser des Skamanders, die ihr so freundlich die Argiver empfiengt, ihr werdet

1. III, 172f., 240, 47.

2. 'Hölderlins Brief an Kallias - ein frühes "Hyperion"-Bruchstück?', Jahrbuch der Deutschen Schillergesellschaft, 10 (1966), 244.

nimmer mich sehen! - Hier lieg' ich ruhmlos!

Ich schauderte; eine Träne fühlt' ich wohl
auch im Auge; aber sie vertrocknete schnell, wie
eine Tropfe auf glühendem Eisen.¹

Hyperion's reaction to the passage makes clear the degree of his sympathy with Ajax, but there remain the questions how far their experiences are in fact similar and how far Hölderlin has adapted the Sophoclean text to make it a suitable expression of his own situation.

In Sophocles' play Ajax, after slaughtering a flock of sheep in the demented belief that they were the Greek leaders who had awarded the arms of Achilles to Odysseus, determines to die in order to recover in death the honour he has lost in life.² The darkness of Erebus to which he surrenders himself in the opening lines of the chorus from which this passage comes is the night of death, and the nature to which, having resolved to die, he here bids farewell represents the upper world of light.³ Strong though Ajax' love of nature in this sense is, heightened by the fact that he is seeing the upper world for the last time, it has none of the features which characterize Hölderlin's feeling of the unity of nature and his need for union with it.⁴

1. III, 240f. (Ajax 412ff.).

2. Ajax 479f.

3. Cf. Ajax 856ff., where immediately before his death Ajax bids farewell to the sun as well as to Salamis, Athens and the fields and rivers of Troy.

4. While it is necessary to stress the dissimilarity of Hölderlin's and Ajax' attitudes to nature, it is interesting to note that Ajax supports his decision to yield to the superior power of the gods and the Atreidae with an appeal to the inevitability of the processes of nature, the yielding of winter to summer and of night to day, both images which Hölderlin uses for the end of the torpidity of the present and the dawn of the new 'Göttertag' (Ajax 666ff. Cf. Der gefesselte Strom, II, 67; Der blinde Sänger, II, 54f.).

It is this union which Hyperion has lost. Having returned to Tina after parting from Adamas (the Alabanda of the final version), he is in that state of extreme desolation into which, like Hölderlin, he tends to fall from the heights of elation and which he describes as 'den Tod meines Herzens': 'Es gibt ... ein Verstummen, ein Vergessen des Daseins, wo uns ist, als hätten wir alles verloren, eine Nacht unserer Seele.' Then 'zufällig'¹ his eyes light on the passage where Ajax 'Abschied nimmt von den Strömen...'. The same situation is described in the final version, where Hyperion tells of his 'lange kranke Trauer': 'Geduldig nahm ich nach und nach von allem Abschied.' The description of the 'Vergessen alles Daseyns' is retained with only the smallest alterations to make the parallelism more marked, but Hyperion's complaint finds new expression: 'Nun sprach ich nimmer zu der Blume, du bist meine Schwester! und zu den Quellen, wir sind Eines Geschlechts!'² It thus becomes clear that the root of Hyperion's dejection is his feeling of separation from nature. In the final version he expresses his feeling of isolation directly, in the earlier version he does so indirectly by quoting the passage of the Ajax. The permanent physical separation from nature for which Ajax prepares himself becomes in Hyperion's experience a temporary spiritual one.

But it has also emerged that the contact between this passage of Hyperion and the chorus from the Ajax extends beyond the lines actually quoted, for Hyperion characterizes his situation with the imagery of the darkness and death which

1. Cf. An Kallias, IV, 218: 'Zufällig traf ich auf die Stelle...!
2. III, 39, 42.

awaited Ajax. This is the same phenomenon which we have observed in the letter An Kallias, and just as the letter's imagery of waking from sleep is later used to characterize the poet's task and 'die Erweckerin,/Die menschenbildende Stimme',¹ so too the imagery of Erebus recurs to express the same sense of being separated from nature. In Elegie the poet compares himself with 'das getroffene Wild' which can find no peace in nature. The 'Tag der Liebe' has given way to the 'Nacht' into which he has been carried off by the 'Todesgötter', and 'das allzunüchterne Reich' of the underworld is seen as a place of darkness, frost and drought cut off from nature's life-giving sun and rain.²

Hyperion's quotation of the passage, changing as it does into direct speech, remains very close to the Greek. In addition to the few minor alterations, however, there is one of greater interest, Ajax' boast of his unrivalled superiority in the Greek army. It is represented by the dash before the final words, which, though they come at the end of the antistrophe and so give a sense of completeness to the quotation, lose much of their point when not preceded by the contrasting height from which he has fallen. Even though the lines are not relevant to the use which Hölderlin makes of the passage, their omission is not without significance, for it suggests that at this stage he had little interest in this vital aspect of the plot and confirms that he had left behind the 'Kinderträume von Größ' und Ruhm'³ of which the letter An Kallias was the product.

1. An unsre großen Dichter, I, 261; Am Quell der Donau, II, 126.
2. II, 71f.
3. Einst und Jetzt, I, 96.

For the rest the German gives an apparently faithful rendering of the Greek and even remains close to it stylistically: the repeated 'nun' corresponds to the repeated οὐκέτι (no longer). Yet in this clause the translation shows a subtle adaptation to Hyperion's thoughts which exemplifies in miniature the approach which was to become increasingly characteristic of Hölderlin. The strongly stressed adverb is more appropriate to Hyperion's present feeling of separation from nature than it is to Ajax' future death, and the words 'unter euch', which have no equivalent in the Greek, give added emphasis to the idea of unity with those aspects of nature which Ajax addresses. The whole of this clause has greater weight placed on it than in the original by the conversion into a main verb of the participial phrase ἀμνοῶς ἔχοντα , which in fact means no more than 'alive'. But what for Ajax is the breath of life is for Hyperion 'der Othem der Natur', which 'wallt, wie um kahl Gefild,/...um uns, der/ Alleserheiternde, seelenvolle', the 'heilige Luft', which he addresses in the moment of supreme unity with nature which paves the way for his first meeting with Diotima: 'Wie schön ist's, daß du, wohin ich wandre, mich geleitest, Allgegenwärtige, Unsterbliche!'¹

The other quotation of Sophocles' play occurs in the 'Vorstufe' of the final version of the novel. Here Hyperion has retired not to Tina, but to Salamis, where on his daily walks among its fields he has now recovered the sense of unity with nature and contentment:

1. Ermunterung, II, 33; III, 50.

Insel der Ruhe möcht' ich sie nennen... Ich frage nicht, ob ich nicht anderswo diß all so gut gefunden hätte, wie in Salamis. Es ist unverzeihlich altklug, wenn ein Freund uns Ruhe giebt mit seinem stillen Gespräche, dann noch hinterherzusagen, derlei könne man überall haben. Und ich weiß nicht, Salamis hat doch eigene Reize, und die Gefährten des Ajax hatten Recht, im Vaterlandsweh auf der fernen Küste zu rufen:

'Draußen schwimmst du von Meereswoogen umrauscht!
Voll Ruhms, voll guten Geistes, o Salamis!'¹

Again Maria Cornelissen suggests the motive for Hölderlin's recourse to Sophocles: 'Gestalten und Schicksale der Dichtung ...sollen die Gewichtigkeit des Eigenen erhöhen,... den leidenden Hyperion aus seiner Isolierung erlösen.'² But again it is possible to show that although Hölderlin apparently translates the passage faithfully he nevertheless reveals by his choice of words that he sees it in terms of his own thought. This aspect of his thought finds clear expression in Der Archipelagus, where the poet addresses the 'Meergott':

Immer, Gewaltiger! lebst du noch und ruhest im Schatten
Deiner Berge, wie sonst; mit Jünglingsarmen umfängst du
Noch dein liebliches Land, und deiner Töchter, O Vater!
Deiner Inseln ist noch, der blühenden, keine verloren.
Kreta steht und Salamis grünt, umdämmert von Lorbeern...
Alle leben sie noch, die Heroënmütter, die Inseln,
Blühend von Jahr zu Jahr, und wenn zu Zeiten, vom Abgrund
Losgelassen, die Flamme der Nacht, das untre Gewitter,
Eine der holden ergriff, und die Sterbende dir in den
Schoos sank,
Göttlicher! du, du dauertest aus, denn über den dunkeln
Tiefen ist manches schon dir auf und untergegangen.³

In calling the Aegean islands 'die Heroënmütter' Hölderlin no doubt had particularly in mind Salamis, 'die Insel des Ajax'.

1. III, 256f. (Ajax 596ff.).
2. Op. cit., p. 246.
3. II, 103.

Hölderlin portrays the unity of sea and land, the sea-god's protective love, which succeeds in keeping at bay the ever possible eruption of destructive forces, a danger which at the end of the poem is seen to threaten the poet too.

He begs the 'Meergott':

Töne mir in die Seele noch oft, daß über den Wassern
Furchtlosrege der Geist, dem Schwimmer gleich, in der
Starken
Frischem Glücke sich üb', und die Göttersprache, das
Wechseln
Und das Werden versteh', und wenn die reißende Zeit mir
Zu gewaltig das Haupt ergreift und die Noth und das Irrsaal
Unter Sterblichen mir mein sterblich Leben erschüttert,
Laß der Stille mich dann in deiner Tiefe gedenken.¹

Hölderlin's only other use of the image of the swimmer occurs in a similar context. In Dichtermuth he writes of the joy and trust which 'die Dichter des Volks' must have despite the threat of destruction which can never be banished. The poet is compared with 'der leichte Schwimmer' 'auf schweigenden Wassertiefen', the danger is that 'die Wooge denn auch einen der Muthigen/...schmeichelnd (variant: wirbelnd) hinunterzieht' or that 'der Mänadische Reigen/Den Verlorenen ergreift', as an earlier draft expresses it, using the verb which occurs in each of the passages quoted from Der Archipelagus.²

The insecurity of the poet, twice expressed with the imagery of the swimmer, is an insecurity which the islands are seen to share. It is this thought which seems to be uppermost in Hölderlin's mind when, addressing Salamis, he uses the verb 'schwimmen' for $\nu\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ (dwell, be situated), which in his later translation of the same lines he renders literally 'wohnst/Du'.³

1. II, 111f.

2. II, 62 (variant: II, 534); II, 532f.

3. V, 278.

In the second half of this line it is also possible to detect a suggestion of that unity of land and sea which is part of the essence of the ideal Aegean scenery as it is depicted in the second and third stanzas of Der Archipelagus. Again the 'meerumwoogt' of the later translation remains close to ἀλιπλαμιτος (beaten by the sea), but the attention drawn here to the noise of the waves is consistent with Hölderlin's practice, for the sound of river and sea is their means of attracting man's notice and establishing that unity with him which they too need, for

Immer bedürfen ja, wie Heroën den Kranz, die geweihten
Elemente zum Ruhme das Herz der fühlenden Menschen.

Depicting that supreme moment of unity among 'das liebende Volk' when the Athenians have returned to their ruined city Hölderlin also describes their unity with heaven and earth. Just as the powers of heaven can be felt by the senses 'wenn milde, wie sonst, die Lüfte der Jugend/Um die Schlafenden wehn', so the waters of earth can be heard in the darkness:

und aus Platanen Ilissus
Ihnen herüberrauscht, und neue Tage verkündend,
Lokend zu neuen Thaten, bei Nacht die Wooge des Meergotts
Fernher tönt und fröhliche Träume den Lieblingen sendet.¹

There seems no doubt that Hölderlin planned to translate all of Sophocles' seven extant tragedies. Oedipus der Tyrann forms 'den ersten Band der Übersezung der Sophokleischen Tragödien',² and Antigonä was also ready for the 'Jubilatemesse' held at Leipzig in spring 1804, when they were

1. II, 104, 108.
2. Br. 246, VI, 439.

published by Friedrich Wilmans under the title Die Trauerspiele des Sophokles. There is reason to believe that the Ajax would have formed the third volume, for the play was clearly very much in his mind when he was writing the Anmerkungen zur Antigönä, in which in three passages the structure of the Antigone is made clearer by comparing it with that of the Oedipus Tyrannus and the Ajax. The Oedipus Coloneus, of which Hölderlin also translated two short passages, is mentioned once.¹

From the Ajax he translated three choric passages, which he wrote without gaps on two sheets of paper.² Despite the evidence that the Ajax was to form the third volume of Sophocles' tragedies it seems that here Hölderlin was not immediately concerned with a translation of the whole play, but was selecting his favourite passages, a supposition which is confirmed by the fact that a part of each of them appears in his earlier work. Ajax' prayer for death in the first episode includes his farewell to nature, and the opening lines of the first stasimon are formed by the words addressed to Salamis by his 'Gefährten'. From the second stasimon comes the motto of Der blinde Sanger, Ελυσειν αινον αχος απ' ομματων Αρης, which Hölderlin also uses in terms of his own thought. The distress which the god of violent death has cleared like a cloud from the eyes of his Salaminian followers is Ajax' intended suicide. In the context of the poem, however, it is the blindness which symbolizes the darkness of the godless era and which is cured with the dawning of the 'Gottertag':

Tag! Tag! du uber sturzenden Wolken! sei
Willkommen mir! es bluhet mein Auge dir.³

1. V, 269ff.
2. V, 511.
3. II, 54f. (Ajax 706).

The scenery of the Trojan plain in the first of these passages seems to have held a special fascination for Hölderlin, for it also appears both in the penultimate version of Hyperion and in the last stanza of Mnemosyne. The nature of its attraction for him emerges most clearly in the translation:

Ihr Bäche, die ihr ins Meer fließt, und ihr Höhlen
am Meer und du
Mein Hain, der hänget über dem Ufer...¹

In each of the three aspects of the scene which Ajax addresses Hölderlin sees an expression of that unity of land and sea which, it has been suggested, was in his mind in his translation of the words addressed by Ajax' companions to Salamis.

The streams which flow into the sea (πόροι ἀλιπρόθοι)² are also pictured at the beginning of Der Archipelagus: 'von Kalauria fallen/Silberne Bäche, wie einst, in die alten Wasser des Vaters'. They play an important part in the unifying cycle in which the cloud-borne waters which the 'Meergott' sends over the land descend in rain, so that, taking on his character, 'die gewittertrunkenen Wälder/Rauschen und woogen', and then, carried by 'Mäander', 'Kayster' and the 'majestätischer Nil', return to their source 'dem wandernden Sohn

1. V, 277 (Ajax 412f.).

2. Although Jebb, The Ajax, p. 72, believes the words mean here, as they do in Aeschylus, Persae 367, 'the paths of the sounding sea', in this case the Hellespont, Liddell and Scott in the earlier editions of A Greek-English Lexicon support Hölderlin's interpretation and translate 'seaward flowing streams'. However, the eighth edition (1897) adopts Jebb's interpretation, which has been retained in the edition revised by H. Stuart Jones (1925ff.). The other meaning would naturally have occurred to Hölderlin since it makes this aspect of the scene parallel with the other two.

gleich, /Wenn der Vater ihn ruft'.¹ While in the case of the streams it is possible to show how the translation echoes the thought of Hölderlin's earlier work, the 'Höhlen am Meer' of the Troad are themselves mentioned in a variant of Die Wanderung, where in answering the question 'Wo aber wohnt ihr, liebe Verwandten...?' the poet mentions all those features contained in this passage of the translation:

Dort an den Ufern, unter den Bäumen
Ionias, in Ebenen des Kaysters, an den Grotten der See
Des Tenedos gegenüber.²

In the words 'Hain, der hänget über dem Ufer' (νέμος ἐπάκτιον) Hölderlin ignores the basic sense of νέμος (pasture)³ and sees conjured up by them 'ein längst liebes Bild'.⁴ But it is the expansion of ἐπάκτιον (on the shore) which is most striking, reminiscent above all of the opening lines of Hälfte des Lebens:

Mit gelben Birnen hänget
Und voll mit wilden Rosen
Das Land in den See.⁵

It is in essence the same picture as Hyperion recalls in his last letter to Bellarmin:

1. II, 103f. Cf. Der gefesselte Strom, II, 67, where the return of 'des Oceans Sohn' to his father has symbolic significance.
2. II, 140 (variant: II, 714).
3. Cf. the verb νέμω (pasture, graze flocks). This emphasis is understandable since the idea of woodland was always associated with the word and became the sole meaning of the Latin 'nemus' in poetic usage.
4. Zuntz, Über Hölderlins Pindar-Übersetzung, p. 60, who however does not investigate the basis of the charm it had for Hölderlin.
5. II, 117. Zuntz, op. cit., p. 60, refers both to these lines and to the incomplete line of 'Wenn aber die Himmlischen...: 'Gebirg hänget See' (II, 222). Cf. also 'Vom Abgrund nemlich...', II, 250: 'Wunderbar/ Aber über Quellen beuget schlank/Ein Nußbaum und sich' (Beißner, II, 887, suggests, 'Vermutlich ist das Wort spiegelt ausgelassen'); Ant. 1181f. (1132f.), V, 253: 'Und grün Gestad, /Voll Trauben hängend' (χλωρά τ' ἀκτὰ πολυστάφυλος).

Einst saß ich fern im Feld', an einem Brunnen,
im Schatten epheugrüner Felsen und überhängender
Blüthenbüsche. Es war der schönste Mittag, den
ich kenne. Süße Lüfte wehten und in morgendlicher
Frische glänzte noch das Land und still, in seinem
heimatlichen Aether lächelte das Licht.¹

The breezes of 'Aether' and the light of the sun, the two aspects of heaven, are united with the earth to form 'die ewigeinige Welt', which is completed by the unity of land and water expressed in the images of the shrubs hanging over the spring. The unity, emphasized in the structure of the last sentence by the way in which 'das Land' is embraced by 'süße Lüfte' and 'das Licht', is so complete that in this setting Hyperion seems to hear Diotima's voice.

For Hyperion a river lacking the overhanging trees which provide an expression of the unity of land and water is incomplete: 'Wie ein Strom an dürren Ufern, wo kein Weidenblatt im Wasser sich spiegelt, lief unverschönert vorüber an mir die Welt!'. Conversely, the beauty of a branch is so enhanced by its reflection in water that Hyperion ascribes such beauty to the trees of 'Vorelysium', where he imagines his spirit played with Diotima 'bei dem Wohlgetöne des Quells, und unter Zweigen, wie wir die Zweige der Erde sehn, wenn sie verschönert aus dem güldenen Strome blinken'.²

That this unity of trees and water was an essential feature of his ideal landscape is confirmed by Hölderlin's letter to his sister from Hauptwail, in which the two features are introduced separately and then seen in union. He describes how the Alps descend

1. III, 158.

2. III, 42, 70.

in dieses freundliche Thal, das überall an seinen Seiten mit den immergrünen Tannenwäldchen umkränzt, und in der Tiefe mit Seen und Bächen durchströmt ist, u. da wohne ich, in einem Garten, wo unter meinem Fenster Weiden und Pappeln an einem klaren Wasser stehen, das mir gar wohlgefällt des Nachts mit seinem Rauschen, wenn alles still ist, und ich vor dem heiteren Sternenhimmel dichte und sinne.¹

The one advantage which we have when studying the unpublished as opposed to the published Sophocles translations is that, since the manuscripts, which are not fair copies, have survived, we can examine the alterations which Hölderlin made. In this case he began with a completely literal translation: 'O Hain am (Ufer)'.² It is therefore clear that the expansion into the picture we have been discussing was consciously carried out: 'du/Mein Hain, der hänget über dem Ufer'. The further addition of the pronoun 'du', strongly stressed by the enjambement of the two lines, and of the emotional possessive 'mein', which has no equivalent in the Greek text, serves to emphasize Ajax' loving relationship with nature.³ In Hölderlin's eyes the ideal for man is loving union with the total unity of nature.

We have seen that the god with whom Oedipus is united is Apollo. The god who dominates the plot of the Antigonä is Zeus. It is Zeus whom Creon calls to witness his vow to punish the disobedience to his edict, while Antigone denies that his authority can be invoked for such a law: 'M e i n Zevs berichtete mirs nicht!'.⁴ Most significant, it is union

1. Br. 228, VI, 414.

2. V, 511.

3. For the addition of the possessive pronoun, receiving from enjambement an emphasis similar to that given here to 'du', cf. in Mnemosyne the change of 'Am Feigenbaum/Ist mir Achilles gestorben' to 'Am Feigenbaum ist mein/Achilles mir gestorben' (II, 817f.).

4. Ant. 319(304), 467(450), V, 217, 223.

with Zeus as 'Vater der Zeit' which Danae resists in her 'Bleiben vor der wandelnden Zeit', and union with Zeus, it is therefore implied, which Antigone experiences. Hölderlin's concluding remark about tragedy in his letter to Böhlendorff thus holds good of the Antigonä:

Der herrliche Jupiter ist denn doch der letzte Gedanke beim Untergange eines Sterblichen, er sterbe nach unserem oder nach antiquem Schicksaal, wenn der Dichter dieses Sterben dargestellt hat, wie er sollte.¹

It is not surprising therefore that Hölderlin should have chosen to translate the second stasimon of the Ajax, in which the chorus celebrates Ajax' ostensible abandonment of his decision to die, for in it both Apollo and Zeus are invoked. The extent to which he approached the Greek text with his own ideas in mind can be seen in the lines addressed to them.

The Greek sailors invite Apollo to be present at their dance of joy:

Ἰκαρίων δ' ὑπὲρ πελαγέων
μολὼν ἄναξ Ἀπόλλων
ὁ δᾶλιος, εὐγνωστός,
ἐμοὶ ξυνείης διὰ παντὸς εὐφρων

(may you, Apollo, coming over the Icarian waters, be with me ever kind). In his interpretation of Greek religion Hölderlin saw Apollo as the personification of the sun - even when in Dichtermuth he appears in his function as god of music, who can thus be thought of by the 'Sänger des Volks' as 'unser Ahne', he is still called 'der Sonnengott', and it is the setting of the sun which is held up as an example to the poet:

So vergehe denn auch, wenn es die²Zeit einst ist...
Unsre Freude, doch schönen Tod!²

1. Ant. 987(949), V, 245; Anmerkungen zur Antigonä, V, 268; Br. 236, VI, 426f.
2. Dichtermuth(II), II, 65.

In this chorus the epithet 'Delian', recalling the sun-worship on Delos which Hölderlin had described in Hyperion,¹ must have been an added incentive to see Apollo as the sun here too:

Und du der aufgeht über den Ikarischen Wassern
König Apollon
Delischer gutbekannt,
Sei mit mir allzeit günstig.²

In Ajax' prayer for death Hölderlin translated $\mu\omicron\lambda\acute{\omega}\nu$ (coming, going) correctly,³ but his rendering of it here with the words 'der aufgeht' - he first wrote 'aufsteigend'⁴ - is a small, but significant alteration of Sophocles' meaning in terms of Hölderlin's own thought. The invitation to Apollo to be present has become a prayer for the sun-god's favour.

The same sort of transformation can be observed in the lines addressed to Zeus:

νῦν αὖ,
νῦν ᾧ Ζεῦ, πάρα λευκὸν εὐ-
ήμερον πελάσαι φάος
θεῶν ᾠκυάλων νεῶν

(O Zeus, now it is again possible for the bright light of happy days to come to the swift, speeding ships). These lines are more difficult to understand: $\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha$, as the accent shows, is not the preposition, but an abbreviation for $\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota$, and $\theta\epsilon\omicron\omega\acute{\nu}$ is the genitive plural of the adjective, not the nominative singular of the participle, which could^{only} mean 'sharpening'. Nevertheless it is characteristic that as a result of the misunderstanding of

1. III, 15.
2. V, 280 (Ajax 702ff.). The Greek text given is that of the Juntine edition of 1555, which was found among Hölderlin's books and which he used for his Ajax translation.
3. V, 277 (Ajax 404).
4. V, 513.

these two words Hölderlin's version should be consistent with the thought of the rest of his work:

Nun auch
Nun Zevs erschein' am weißen Lichte
Des schönen Tages treibend
Die schnellen Schiffe...¹

Zeus, the personification of 'Aether', the single term which includes the life-giving rain and air, is seen here as air in motion, as the wind.

Hölderlin sees the chorus turning to the gods in song to share with them the joy caused by the end of their anxiety. This action is so similar to his own attitude that it is easy to understand how he interpreted the functions of Apollo and Zeus here in his own terms. However, the Greek sailors do not regard Apollo and Zeus as being responsible for their happiness, but rather Ares, the god of bloodshed and violent death: 'Gelöst hat den grausamen Kummer von den Augen Ares.' For Hölderlin on the other hand unity with them is the necessary condition of all joy and song. Addressing 'Aether' and 'Helios' he writes:

Ihr guten Götter! arm ist, wer euch nicht kennt,
Im rohen Busen ruhet der Zwist ihm nie,
Und Nacht ist ihm die Welt und keine
Freude gedeihet und kein Gesang ihm.²

Similarly Hölderlin's view of the special position of the hero is apparent in the first of the three passages translated. Ajax immediately justifies his prayer for death:

Denn
Von Himmlischen das Geschlecht nicht und nicht bei
Alltäglichen Menschen bin ich₃werth
Nach einer Hülfe zu schauen.³

1. V, 280 (Ajax 707ff.).
2. Die Götter, II, 16.
3. V, 277 (Ajax 398ff.).

For Sophocles there are the two categories of gods and men: θεῶν and ἀμείνων ... ἀνθρώπων , men who last but a day.¹

Hölderlin, however, recognizes a tripartite division, as is also apparent, for example, when 'der Wanderer' asks for the beaker to be filled with wine

Daß ich den Göttern zuerst und das Angedenken der Helden
Trinke, der Schiffer, und dann eures, ihr Trautgsten!
auch!²

He sees the hero Ajax in a category between men and gods.

As he makes clear in the case of Achilles, the hero may be 'so für kurze Zeit geboren' nach Homer',³ but he is not 'alltäglich', for Hölderlin a synonym of 'gemein' and an antonym of 'heilig', the epithet of the gods:⁴

Man hat sich oft gewundert, warum Homer, der doch den Zorn des Achill besingen wolle, ihn fast gar nicht erscheinen lasse. Er wollte den Götterjüngling nicht profanieren in dem Getümmel vor Troja.

Der Idealische durfte nicht alltäglich erscheinen.⁵

For Hölderlin the hero differs from 'alltägliche Menschen' in the special relationship which he has with the divine. In the early poems it is the hero's parentage that is the basis of this relationship, but men too strive to bridge the gulf between the human and the divine. Hercules, for example, is addressed as 'hoher Halbgott', 'Sohn Kronions', whose 'Thaten' are to be emulated and whose immortality is to be shared thus.

1. In Ant. 818(789f.), V, 238, Hölderlin gives ἀμείνως its proper meaning, translating the same words 'entschlafende Menschen'.
2. II, 83.
3. Über Achill (1), IV, 224. Cf. Iliad, I. 352: μινυυθᾶδιος. Empedokles too is in his own words 'nur für kurze Zeit geboren' (IV, 71). He must die, 'Weil ihn zu sehr die Götter alle liebten' (IV, 85).
4. Cf. An die Madonna, II, 216: 'Heilig sind sie/Die Glänzenden, wenn aber alltäglich/Die Himmlischen und gemein/Das Wunder scheinen will...' Cf. Pläne und Bruchstücke 26, II, 322.
5. Über Achill (2), IV, 225.

Similarly the comfort which the 'herrlicher Göttersohn' Achilles receives from his divine mother can also be found by a mortal in divine nature. As a result the hero's status is later seen to be independent of his birth. When Hölderlin begins the fourth triad of Der Rhein,

Halbgötter denk' ich jezt
Und kennen muß ich die Theuern,
Weil oft ihr Leben so
Die sehrende Brust mir beweget,

it is Rousseau whom he takes as an example.¹ Empedokles, himself the 'Mann/Den uns die Götter sandten', describes the function of 'die heitern Genien' when he begs the Agrigentines to spare Pausanias:

es würde nacht und kalt
Auf Erden und in Noth verzehrte sich
Die Seele, sendeten zu Zeiten nicht
Die guten Götter solche Jünglinge,
Der Menschen welkend Leben zu erfrischen.²

In the Grund zum Empedokles the hero is seen as a mortal who exposes himself to the divine power and seeks union with it at the cost of his own life in order that a wider reconciliation of God and man may take place. Not only are Oedipus and Antigone heroes in this sense, but so is Ajax. He too is a victim of 'das Feuer vom Himmel', for whereas

das ist das Tragische bei uns, daß wir ganz stille
in irgend einem Behälter eingepakt vom Reiche der
Lebendigen hinweggehn, nicht daß wir in Flammen
verzehrt die Flamme büßen, die wir nicht zu bändigen
vermochten,³

it is the latter that is the subject of Greek tragedy. Ajax, like Antigone, follows the 'Geist... der Todtenwelt', and it

1. An Herkules, I, 199f; Achill, I, 271; II, 146.
2. IV, 60, 29f.
3. Br. 236, VI, 426.

is to this 'Tottenwelt' that the opening words of Ajax' prayer are addressed:

Io Nacht, mein Licht, o Erebos glänzend mir
Nimmt mich, nimmt
Mich Einheimischen, nimmt mich.¹

As a defence against the 'Todeslust' of their 'Apollonsreich' the Greeks acquired through Homer 'die abendländische Junonische Nüchternheit',² and it is in terms of this belief that Hölderlin interprets the story Pindar tells of how Heracles brought back from the Hyperboreans to treeless Olympia the shade-giving olive 'Daß ungebunden zu Todten/Nicht übergehe der brennende Busen'.³ This secures man 'ein Bleiben im Leben', 'dieses vesteste Bleiben vor der wandelnden Zeit' which Danae achieves,⁴ but which Empedokles rejects: 'Meines Bleibens ist auf Jahre nicht', 'ist doch/Das Bleiben, gleich dem Strome den der Frost/Gefesselt'.⁵ It is such a 'Bleiben' that Ajax seeks:

Wohin muß einer entfliehn
In dem, wo geh ich hin
Und bleibe?⁶

The rhythm of Hölderlin's translation of ποτ μολὼν μενῶ;
gives special stress to 'bleibe' - in the Ajax translation there is only one other line which is as short - and in this context the word has the same sort of ambiguity which it has when Empedokles complains, 'Nun wein ich, wie ein Ausgestoßener,/Und nirgend mag ich bleiben'.⁷

1. Anmerkungen zur Antigonä, V, 266; V, 277 (Ajax 394ff.).

2. Br. 236, VI, 426.

3. ~~Br. 236, VI, 426~~; Der Ister, II, 809 (variant) (Olympian III).

4. Der Frieden, II, 7; Anmerkungen zur Antigonä, V, 268.

5. Empedokles (III), IV, 130; ibid. (I), IV, 79. Cf. Der gefesselte Strom, II, 67: 'Denn nirgend darf er bleiben!'

6. V, 277 (Ajax 403f.).

7. IV, 19.

Until now the beauty of nature has assured Ajax of this 'Bleiben', for he has been able to regard himself as included in the unity of nature and thus to feel in contact with the divine. Addressing those features of the Trojan landscape which we have already examined he says: '

Viel viele Zeit und lange
Habt ihr mich aufgehalten, bei Troja,
Nun nicht mehr, nicht mehr
Athem hohlend.¹

In his earlier rendering of these lines in Hyperion, 'ihr habt mich lange behalten', Hölderlin gave the verb κατείχετε the sense which was clearly intended by Sophocles. His selection here of another of its senses is significant, for as a result he uses a word which had a special connotation for him. Empedokles employs it when he tells Pausanias, 'Halte nur/Mein Schiksaal mir nicht auf', and after asking, 'Gedachtet ihr,/Es halte der Stachel ihn auf?' Panthea reveals her understanding of his fate:

es beschleunigen ihm
Die Schmerzen den Flug...
Sind nicht, wie er, auch
Der Heroen einige zu den Göttern gegangen?²

Hölderlin uses it of Dionysus, 'der/die Todeslust der Völker aufhält',³ and towards the end of Oedipus der Tyrann, where Oedipus begs Creon,

Bei Göttern! da du mir das Streben aufhieltst,...
Gehorche mir...
Wirf aus dem Lande mich, so schnell du kannst,⁴

1. V, 277 (Ajax 414ff.). The thought and vocabulary of this passage have a striking parallel in Der Adler, II, 229f.: 'Wo wollen wir bleiben?... Will einer wohnen,/So sei es an Treppen,/Und wo ein Häuslein hinabhängt/Am Wasser halte dich auf./Und was du hast, ist/Athem zu hohlen' (my italics).
2. Empedokles (III), IV, 128; ibid.(II), IV, 116f.
3. Der Einzige (II), II, 158.
4. Oed. Tyr. 1451ff.(1432ff.), V, 188.

Hölderlin gives his own interpretation of the clause
ἐπεὶπερ ἐλπίδος μ' ἀπέσπασας (since you diverted me from
my uneasy foreboding). Creon had tried to restrain in
Oedipus 'das Streben, seiner mächtig zu werden', the desire
for complete knowledge about himself which must end in
destructive union with God.¹

In the first stasimon the chorus deplore the fate which
has befallen Ajax and suggest that death would be a lesser
evil than his present madness:

Denn besser ists zu schlafen in der Hölle, denn
Nichtstaugend Krankseyn, wenn vom heimatlichen Geschlechte
Der mühebeladnen Achäier einer kommt
Und nicht des angeborenen
Zorns mächtig, sondern außer sich ist.²

Most significant is Hölderlin's rendering in the last two
lines of the words

οὐκέτι συντρόφοις
ὄργασις ἔμπεδος, ἀλλ' ἐκτός ὄμιλεῖ.

The omission of a noun after the
preposition ἐκτός made it all the easier for him to think of
Ajax as undergoing the same fate as the Lycians in Xanthos.³
When during a siege by Brutus the city caught fire these
'Helden' were seized by 'die Todeslust': 'Und alle waren
außer sich selbst',

Denn selbstvergessen, allzubereit, den Wunsch
Der Götter zu erfüllen, ergreift zu gern
Was sterblich ist, wenn offnen Augs auf
Eigenen Pfaden es einmal wandelt
Ins All zurück die kürzeste Bahn.

1. Anmerkungen zum Oedipus, V, 199.

2. V, 279 (Ajax 635ff.).

3. Hölderlin's interpretation is supported by Liddell and
Scott, who supply ἐαυτοῦ and understand the phrase to mean
'wanders outside (himself)', i.e. 'beside himself, out of
his wits'.

Jebb, The Ajax, p. 101, supplies συντρόφων ὄργων from the
previous line and translates: 'is true no more to the
promptings of his inbred nature, but dwells with alien
thoughts.'

Such is Hölderlin's interpretation of Plutarch's account:

τοὺς δὲ Λυκίους δεινὴ τις ἔξαίφνης πρὸς ἀπόνοιαν ὄρμη...κατέσχευεν,
ἦν ἂν τις ἔρωτι θανάτου μάλιστα προσεικάζειεν

(But the Lycians were suddenly possessed by a dreadful impulse to madness, which can be likened best to a passion for death).¹

Hyperion too regards as 'der Gipfel der Gedanken und Freuden' 'in seeliger Selbstvergessenheit wiederzukehren in's All der Natur'.²

Hyperion's 'Selbstvergessenheit' is destroyed by 'ein Moment des Besinnens', while the Lycians find in the death which they seek in inspired madness that unity which Hyperion describes as 'Eines zu seyn mit Allem, was lebt'. The experience of Ajax includes elements of each of the above: he finally chooses a voluntary death, but only after he has recovered from the madness which is here interpreted as the state of being 'außer sich', an interpretation which is essentially Hölderlin's own and not merely the fortuitous result of Sophocles' choice of words, for in the chorus in Antigonä addressed to 'Geist der Liebe' the words 'und es ist, / Wer's an sich hat, nicht bei sich' are a translation of ὁ ὁ' ἔχων μέμνηεν . (he who possesses you is mad).³

Additional evidence that Hölderlin saw this passage in the same terms as Plutarch's report of the siege of Xanthos is provided by his translation of συντρόφοις ὀργαῖς . It was not unnatural that he should think of the commoner meaning of ὀργή , 'anger', and so understand the phrase to mean 'unstable because of his anger' rather than 'unfaithful to his natural

1. Stimme des Volks(II), II, 51ff.; Plutarch, Brutus, 31 (translated by Ferrin).

2. III, 9.

3. Ant. 818f.(790), V, 238.

character',¹ but the misunderstanding must have been encouraged by the special content^{which} Hölderlin gives the notion of anger and which we have already examined in relation to 'das zornige Unmaas' of Oedipus.

Hölderlin's choice of the epithet 'angeboren' for this 'Zorn' provides a link with the thought of the letter to Böhlendorff in which he sees 'das Feuer vom Himmel', 'die schöne Leidenschaft', as characteristic of the 'Apollonsreich' of the Greeks, contrasting it with 'die abendländische Junonische Nüchternheit':

Das eigentliche nationale wird im Fortschritt der Bildung immer der geringere Vorzug werden. Deswegen sind die Griechen des heiligen Pathos weniger Meister, weil es ihnen angeboren war.²

And that Hölderlin thought of Ajax as exhibiting this national characteristic is shown by his statement in the Anmerkungen zur Antigonä that Ajax and Odysseus are 'entgegengesetzt... wie Nationelles und Antinationelles'.³

The Juntine text of the first three lines of this passage

1. Literally: 'inbred impulses'. For the same misunderstanding cf. Ant. 906(875), V, 241, where αὐτόγνωτος ὄργα (self-willed disposition) is translated 'Das zornige Selbsterkennen'.
2. Br. 236, VI, 426. Though this letter was written as early as December 1801, the same questions were occupying Hölderlin's mind in the period of the Ajax translations, for in March 1804 he wrote to Leo von Seckendorf of his 'Studium des Vaterlandes' and his interest in 'das Nationelle, so fern es von dem Griechischen verschieden ist'. After drawing Seckendorf's attention to the Sophocles translations about to be published Hölderlin remarks, 'Die verschiedenen Schiksaale der Heroen..., wie sie dem Schiksaal dienen,... hab ich im Allgemeinen gefaßt' (Br. 244, VI, 437f.).
3. V, 268f. In the action which precedes the play they are opposed in the contest for the arms of Achilles. At the opening of the play Odysseus accepts from Athena her warning against human pride (Ajax 118ff.), and at the end his balanced and provident arguments in favour of granting his enemy Ajax burial lead the chorus to acknowledge his wisdom (1332ff.). This moderation and prudence can indeed be seen as representing the 'Nüchternheit' in which Ajax had no share.

is corrupt:

κρείσων γὰρ Ἄϊδα κεύθων ἢ νοσῶν μάταν,
ὄς ἐκ πατρῶας ἥμων γενεᾶς
πολυπόνων Ἀχαιῶν.

In particular the corresponding line of the strophe shows that a word is missing here at the end of the second line of the antistrophe. If with Jebb we accept Triclinius' insertion of ἄριστος we find Ajax described as 'noblest of the Achaeans by his descent from the line of his fathers'.² However, Sophocles' meaning was not accessible to Hölderlin, who sees Ajax simply as 'vom heimatlichen Geschlechte/ Der mühebeladnen Achäier einer'. The omission led Hölderlin to interpret the lines as stressing Ajax' Greek origin before going on to ascribe to him the most characteristic of Greek attributes, for he was less interested in Ajax as an individual than as a Greek hero. Thus he instinctively translated πατρῶας as 'vaterländisch'³ rather than 'väterlich' before changing this to 'heimatlich', for he was portraying Ajax as typical of 'das Vaterländische', which in the later foundation of 'ein Reich der Kunst' was

von ihnen

Versümet und erbärmlich gieng
Das Griechenland, das schönste, zu Grunde.⁴

The interpretation of these lines throws light on Hölderlin's translation of Ismene's words in the Antigone:

οὐ γάρ ποτ', ὦναξ, οὐδ' ὄς ἂν βλάστη μένει
νοῦς τοῖς κακῶς πράσσουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐξίσταται

1. The corrections Ἄϊδα and ὄ νοσῶν do not alter the general sense of the first line.
2. Jebb, op. cit., p. 101. The Oxford Classical Text has Wecklein's reading, ἄριστα.
3. V, 512 (variant).
4. 'Meinest du es solle gehen...', II, 228.

(Yes, king, not even such reason as may have been inborn stays with those who are unfortunate, but it leaves its place):

Es bleibt kein Herz, auch nicht das heimatliche
Im Übelstand, mein König, außer sich geräth es.¹

Antigone has made it clear that she regards herself as no longer belonging to the land of the living: 'meine Seele, / Längst ist sie todt, so daß ich Todten diene'. Creon protests that she is 'sinnlos' (ζῆλον), and in Ismene's rejoinder Hölderlin, by translating νοῦς with 'Herz' and using 'bleibt' absolutely, connects the derangement of reason with the 'Todeslust' also evident in Antigone's declaration.

The interpretation here of madness as the state of being 'außer sich' and its connection with the lack of a 'Bleiben' form a link between the situations of Antigone and Ajax.² Ajax' madness is prominent in the passages Hölderlin translated and is given special emphasis by him. Ajax' complaint that he can find no 'Bleiben' is supported in the translation by a reference to his madness:

1. Ant. 585f.(563f.), V, 228.

2. The length of line 586 supports the idea that it owes its present form to the revision of the translation in 1803 (cf. Beißner, Hölderlins Übersetzungen, p. 105), which was probably responsible for the inclusion of 6-foot lines (cf. ibid., pp. 98, 122) and with which Hölderlin excused the delay in sending Wilms the manuscript: 'Ich wollte, da ich die Sache freier übersehen konnte, in der Übersetzung und den Anmerkungen noch einiges ändern' (Br. 242, VI,435). In that case the words which Hölderlin puts in Ismene's mouth belong to the same period as the Ajax translations, to which Hölderlin probably turned his attention in the months after finishing his revision of the two completed plays (cf. Beißner, op. cit., p. 107f.). Further evidence that this passage was subjected to the revision is the occurrence in Creon's lines of 'einheimisch', a word which Hölderlin only started to use in this period: cf. Chiron, II, 57 (the word does not occur in the earliest changes made to Der blinde Sänger after Hölderlin's return from France in 1802 and may only have entered the text as late as December 1803 when the 'Nachtgesänge' were revised for publication - cf. Br. 243, VI,436); Ajax, V, 277; Aus Pindars erster Pythischer Ode, V, 291.

wo geh ich hin
Und bleibe?
Wenn dieserseit es welkt, ihr Lieben
Und ganz in andrem ich
In wilder Narrheit liege.¹

The Juntine has:

ποῦ μολὼν μενᾶ;
εἰ τὰ μὲν, φθίνει φίλοι,
τοῖς δ' ὄμοῦ πέλας
μῶραις δ' ἄγραις προσκείμεθα.

The metre of the antistrophe suggests that the words τοῖς δέ are corrupt and in any case emendation is needed as well as correction of the punctuation in order to make the text intelligible.² However, the last four words of the Greek are sound (I devote myself to mad hunting). Nevertheless Hölderlin mistranslates them in accordance with his own view of the situation: he exchanges adjective and noun as if the text read μωραῖς ἀγραις, and thus arrives at the emphatic phrase 'in wilder Narrheit'. This result is facilitated by the translation of the verb προσκείμεναι as if it were πρόκειμαι, which is used at the end of the antistrophe and which in Hyperion Hölderlin rendered with 'liegen'.³

In the first stasimon, however, there is greater justification for the stress Hölderlin places on Ajax' madness. The words of the chorus, 'Dem/Sein Haus ist göttlicher Wahnsinn', reminiscent of the 'heiliger Wahnsinn' spoken of in the Anmerkungen zur Antigonä, are a graphic, but close translation of θεῖα μανία ξύναυλος.⁴ And when the

1. V, 277 (Ajax 404ff.).

2. Jebb, op. cit., p. 71, has for line 406 τοιοῖσδ' ὄμοῦ πέλας and translates: 'If my past fame is destroyed (if those things are perishing), my friends, along with such victims as these near me...'. The Oxford Classical Text has τῶσις δ' ἔμοῦ πέλας: 'If... my punishment is near...'.
3. III, 240.

4. V, 278 (Ajax 611); V, 267.

chorus visualize the grief of Ajax' mother

wenn von seiner Krankheit sie
Dem Wahnsinn etwas höret,

the faulty reading νοσοῦντα φρενομόρως hardly distorts
Sophocles' meaning.¹

At the end of the stasimon the chorus turn from Ajax'
mother to his father:

Ausduldender Vater! wie erwartet
Zu erfahren von dem Kinde
Dich unerträglich ein Schade.
Niemand erzogen hat so etwas bei den Aeakiden
Die Zeit, diß ausgenommen.²

In his translation of

ἄταν,
ἄν οὐπω τις ἔθρεφεν
αἰῶν Αἰακιδᾶν, ἄτερθε τοῦδε

(a fate such as no life of the sons of Aeacus has ever yet
known except this one) Hölderlin disregards the connection
between Αἰακιδᾶν and αἰῶν (essentially a period of time, hence
a lifetime, an age, eternity) and makes 'die Zeit' responsible
for Ajax' fate.

The same thought seems to recur in the second stasimon,
in which in the Sophoclean tragedy the chorus rejoice at
Ajax' apparent readiness to forget his quarrel with the Greek
leaders: πάνθ' ὁ μέγας χρόνος μαρᾶνει τε καὶ φλέγει (great
time makes all things fade and burns them up). Hölderlin
translates:

Alles ziehet hinweg die große Zeit, damit es
Vergehet.³

1. V, 279 (Ajax 625f.). Jebb: φρενομόρως ; Oxford Classical Text: φρενοβόρως.
2. V, 279 (Ajax 641ff.).
3. V, 280 (Ajax 714).

He apparently sees in these words a reference to 'die reißende Zeit' which Oedipus follows, 'der Geist der Zeit und Natur, das Himmlische, was den Menschen ergreift', of which Antigone is a victim.¹ 'Ziehen' can here be regarded as a synonym for 'reißen', as it is in the description of the cascading river gripped by an urge with which the 'Todeslust' is compared:

Der Strom hinab, er suchet die Ruh, so stürzt
Es zieht wider Willen ihn von es reißt,
Klippe zu Klippe den Steuerlosen
Das wunderbare Sehnen dem Abgrund zu.²

The last three words of the Greek are in fact an interpolation,³ but Hölderlin can only have regarded them as supporting his interpretation, for they seem to describe destruction by the 'Flamme des Zeitengottes' in accordance with the vision of the 'Entbrennen' of God's 'Zorn' in Der Einzige, which describes man's retreat from destructive union with God,

den Augenblick
Das Geschik der großen Zeit auch
Ihr Feuer fürchtend.⁴

Hölderlin first translated the words literally: 'und verbrennet', but no doubt revised this version in order to make clear the destructive purpose of the divine power, the God who is present 'in der Gestalt des Todes'.⁵ Such 'ein heilig Ende' in a

1. Anmerkungen zum Oedipus, V, 198 (cf. V, 266: 'Das tragisch-mäßige Zeitmatte...folgt dem reißenden Zeitgeist'); Anmerkungen zur Antigonä, V, 266.
2. Stimme des Volks (I), II, 49.
3. The sentence is quoted without them in the anthology of Stobaeus and their retention would presuppose a lacuna in the strophe. Cf. Jebb, op. cit., p. 112.
4. An Eduard, II, 40; Der Einzige(II), II, 158.
5. Anmerkungen zur Antigonä, V, 269; V, 513 (variant).

period of the activity of 'Natur' in its extreme form can be seen in contrast with the manner of death in the present:

Langher währt Eines, gesangsfeind, klanglos, das
In Maasen vergeht.¹

In so far as Hölderlin saw these words in their context he must have interpreted them as tragic irony, for at this stage of the play the chorus believe that Ajax has abandoned his decision to kill himself and that he has now carried out his intention of washing off in the sea the stains both of the slaughter and, symbolically, of his guilt. They assume that his new deference to the gods will now have led him to sacrifice to those deities whom he had offended.² This is the source of their joy:

da Ajax,
Der Mühe vergessend, wieder, auch der Götter
Den schönen Rauch der Opfer
Vollendet, gesezlich dienend
Mit Hoheit.³

In his translation of

ὅτ' Αἴας
λαθίπονος πάλιν, θεῶν δ' αὖ
πάνθουτα θέσμι' ἐξήνυσεν, εὐνομίᾳ
σέβων μεγίστῃ

(since Ajax, forgetting his troubles again, has celebrated with all kinds of sacrifices the rites of the gods, honouring them with the greatest respect for the laws) Hölderlin separates the noun εὐνομίᾳ from its adjective and makes of it an adverb

1. Stimme des Volks(II), II, 51; Der Einzige(II), II, 159. Hamburger's translation of the last clause ('that perishes in masses' - Hölderlin, p. 192) is excluded not only by the text, but also by the context, for Hölderlin is writing here of people who 'Nicht gehn den Weg des Todes und hüten das Maas' (II, 158), who avoid the destruction brought about by union with the divine.
2. Ajax 654ff., 666f.
3. V, 280 (Ajax 710ff.).

describing the manner of Ajax' submission to the gods. The chorus believe that his life is no longer endangered by 'der Geist der Zeit und Natur', but that he is ready to sacrifice to the gods in accordance with the laws of 'Kunst', adopting the attitude of Creon, 'das Ehren Gottes, als eines gesetzten'.¹

The 'Rauch der Opfer' also occurs in Antigonä as 'der Opferrauch', whose epithet στέροφ (flashing - the noun λιγνός is a 'smoky flame') is translated 'wohlgestalt'.² Discussing this passage and Hölderlin's use of the word 'Gestalt' Beißner comments, 'Der unverblaßte etymologische Sinn des Wortes ist... spürbar: "Gestalt" nicht als "Erscheinungsform" oder "Geformtes", sondern als "Gestelltes", "Aufgerichtetes".'³ The evidence that the word does have the latter sense cannot be disputed, but Beißner's conclusion fails to take account of the fact that the former meaning is not for that reason lost. The word repeatedly contains an allusion to the sphere of 'Kunst', the sphere which the poet, addressing Jupiter, refers to as 'was du gestaltetest'. Indeed the very word 'Wohlgestalt' is used in this sense in Grund zum Empedokles, for in order to describe the interchange of the opposite poles of 'Natur' and 'Kunst' Hölderlin ascribes to each the characteristics of its opposite, speaking of the moment 'wenn... der verallgemeinerte... aorgische Mensch und die Wohlgestalt der Natur sich begegnen'.⁴

1. Anmerkungen zur Antigonä, V, 266, 268.

2. Ant. 1174(1127), V, 253.

3. Beißner, op. cit., p. 145, whose argument is supported and developed by Zuberbühler, Hölderlins Erneuerung der Sprache, p. 62f.

4. Natur und Kunst, II, 37; IV, 153.

When the sphere of 'Kunst' loses its predominance,
'furchtbar gehet/Es ungestalt' and

unrecht
Wie Rosse, gehn die gefangenen
Element' und alten
Geseze der Erd.¹

As this negation implies, its most characteristic feature is
'Gesetz', so that it is not insignificant when in the list of
misprints in Oedipus der Tyrann Hölderlin replaces 'hochwandelnd'
(ὑψηλοδεις) with 'gestaltet' as the epithet of 'Geseze', a
combination which also occurs in the late draft Dem Fürsten:

die süße Heimath, wo
Viel Blumen blühen gesehn
Als im Geseze deiner Gärten, in der Gestalt
Des Erdballs.²

Similarly in Creon's words in Antigonä,

wär's die Stadt allein, die haben,
Nachdem in großer Fluth sie die geschüttert,
Nun wiederum gestaltet unsre Götter,

'gestaltet' as a translation of ἕρθεσαν is a synonym for
'errichtet', as the same verb is translated four lines below,
but the deeper significance of the use of the word is that
the city has again been granted 'Gestalt' after the destructive
irruption of the gods of 'Natur', as which the attack of the
Argive army, like the 'ruhelosen Thaten in weiter Welt' of
Hölderlin's own day, is seen.³

1. Mnemosyne(I) II, 193; ibid.(III), II, 197.

2. Oed. Tyr. 884(866), V, 162; Drukfehler im Ödipus, V, 459;
Dem Fürsten(II), II, 248.

3. Ant. 168ff.(162f.), V, 211. Cf. Dichterberuf, II, 47.
In the case of the other examples Beißner gives of 'Gestalt'
used in its root meaning it is important to notice that
here too the form and restraint characteristic of the sphere
of 'Kunst' succeed the wild activity of 'Natur'.
Cf. 'Wenn aber die Himmlischen...', II, 222: 'Wenn aber
die Himmlischen haben/Gebaut, still ist es/Auf Erden, und

The 'Rauch der Opfer' therefore which Ajax is thought to have offered the gods, described in Antigonä as 'wohlgestalt', is seen by Hölderlin as the appropriate response of one who is now regarded as 'gese~~z~~lich dienend'. The gods to whom sacrifice is offered are the Olympian gods, for Hölderlin above all Zeus and Apollo, who allow men to remain in contact with the powers of nature without threatening his individual existence. In an earlier line of the same stasimon already discussed these gods are given an epithet which distinguishes them from the actual gods of nature: the chorus address Pan as 'Der eingesetzten Götter König! versammelnder!'.¹ In this translation of ὦ / θεῶν χοροποιε ἄναξ (king, dance-maker of the gods) Hölderlin interprets θεῶν as an objective genitive after ἄναξ - it must in fact be possessive or partitive - and incorporates Pan into his own view of the Greek gods as assembler of 'der himmlische Chor'.² Ajax, however, did not sacrifice to the 'eingesetzte Götter', but became the victim of 'die große Zeit'.

At the beginning of the examination of the Ajax translations it was shown how Hölderlin found in Sophocles a picture of nature which he was able to expand into an image familiar in his earlier work. Similarly he understood the Greek text in

wohlgestalt stehn/Die betroffenen Berge... Wo inne stehet, beruhiget, da/Und dort, das Feuer'; Ant. 495f.(477f.), V, 224: 'Und kaum mit einem Zaume weiß ich, daß gestellt/Die grausamweitgestrekten Rosse werden' (cf. Mnemosyne(III), II, 197, where under the influence of 'Natur' the 'Geseze der Erd' bolt 'Wie Rosse').

1. V, 280 (Ajax 697f.).
2. Cf. Brot und Wein, II, 94.

such a way that he saw Apollo and Zeus portrayed in terms which corresponded to the conception he had already formed of them. It then emerged that this approach was characteristic of the translation as a whole and that his interpretation of a number of significant passages was uniformly consistent with his views on the nature of Greek tragedy. It remains therefore to draw together the different threads and to attempt to establish how Hölderlin saw the play as a whole.

Sophocles is concerned with the punishment of Ajax' arrogance. In his tragedy Calchas is reported as explaining that Ajax has incurred Athena's anger because of his excessive pride. Not only had he announced his intention of winning victory without the help of the gods, but he had also expressly rejected the support of Athena.¹ Ajax' madness depicted at the beginning of the play is the divine retribution for this attitude, and on recovering his sanity Ajax decides that he can only recover in death the honour he has thus lost in life.

How then does Hölderlin appear to have interpreted this version of the legend? The evidence contained in the passages translated is sufficiently consistent to allow us to form a conjecture. With the reservations therefore which must accompany such a procedure we may surmise that Hölderlin saw Ajax as representing, like the Agrigentines in Grund zum Empedokles, the sphere of 'Kunst' in its extreme form. This is suggested not only by his self-sufficiency, but also by the words addressed to Salamis by the chorus:

1. Ajax 748ff.

Den hattest du ausgesandt einst
Wohl herrlich in wildem
Kriegsgeist. 1

We are reminded of 'das wilde, kriegerische' of the men of southern France, whom, as we have already seen, Hölderlin saw united with Apollo. His rejection of the help of the gods in general and of Athena in particular may then be interpreted as his opposition to the sphere of 'Natur', reminiscent of the ungrateful repudiation of Saturn by Jupiter, the representative of 'Kunst'.²

This opposition to the goddess is the cause of her anger, so that as in Oedipus der Tyrann 'die Naturmacht und des Menschen Innerstes im Zorn Eins wird'.³ She is in fact seen as the representative of Zeus, the god with whom Antigone is united, when Ajax complains,

es peitscht
Mich auch, verderblich
Des Zevs gewaltige Göttin. 4

Just as in the Anmerkungen zur Antigonä Zeus is seen as 'Vater der Zeit' and Antigone follows 'der Geist der Zeit und Natur', so here too Ajax becomes the victim of 'die Zeit':

Alles ziehet hinweg die große Zeit damit es
Vergehet.⁵

The chorus too feel exposed to the same danger:

Ich aber duldend
Schon eine lange Zeit
Bin bei dem Ida auf
Der grasichten Waide der Schaafe,
Unausgezählet, auf der immergeordneten
Abgezehret von der Zeit, die schlimme

1. V, 278 (Ajax 612f.).
2. Br. 240, VI, 432; Natur und Kunst, II, 37.
3. Anmerkungen zum Oedipus, V, 201.
4. V, 277 (Ajax 401f.). Sophocles refers to her as the daughter of Zeus: ἡ Διὸς...θεός.
5. V, 268, 266; V, 279f. (Ajax 645, 714).

Hoffnung habend, daß ein Ende werde
Bald mir der flüchtende
Unfaßliche Hades.

They, like Ajax, must fear the inability to achieve the
'Bleiben vor der wandelnden Zeit', assured for herself by
Danae when

Sie zählete dem Vater der Zeit
Die Stundenschläge, die goldnen.¹

Representing 'Kunst' in its extreme form Ajax is united
with 'Natur' in madness. We have already seen how Oedipus
is united with God at the moment when with the discovery of
his own identity he arrives at the extreme point of the pole
of 'Kunst'. Although there is no direct justification for it
in the text the idea of madness is introduced in the Anmer-
kungen zum Oedipus when Hölderlin writes of 'das närrisch-
wilde Nachsuchen... das geisteskranke Fragen nach einem
Bewußtseyn'. Similarly in the Anmerkungen zur Antigonä we
have seen that 'heiliger Wahnsinn', the moment when 'sie auf
dem höchsten Bewußtseyn dem Bewußtseyn ausweicht', may be
interpreted as the taking on of 'aorgische Gestalt' by 'das
Organische'.² Again there is little enough support in the
Sophoclean text for the idea of Antigone's madness, which
seems to have its main support in the fate of Lycurgus:

Und kennen lernt' er,³
Im Wahnsinn tastend, den Gott mit schimpfender Zunge.

It almost seems as if the Ajax, in which madness forms an
important element in the plot, influenced Hölderlin's

1. V, 278 (Ajax 600f.); Anmerkungen zur Antigonä, V, 268.

2. V, 199f., 267.

3. Ant. 998f. (960ff.), V, 246.

interpretation of the Oedipus Tyrannus and the Antigone. It is at any rate clear that in his interpretation the Ajax exemplifies more completely than the other two tragedies the scheme worked out in the Grund zum Empedokles, even though there the phenomenon of madness plays no part. Ajax' madness, resulting from his opposition to the goddess, clearly represents 'derjenige Moment, wo das Organische seine Ichheit, sein besonderes Dasein, das zum Extreme geworden war,... in realem höchstem Kampf ablegt'. In applying this interchange of the opposite poles to Empedokles himself Hölderlin writes,

So mußte also sein Geist im höchsten Sinne aorgische Gestalt annehmen, von sich selbst und seinem Mittelpuncte sich reißen, immer sein Object so übermäßig penetriren, daß er in ihm, wie in einem Abgrund, sich verlor.

It is this 'Übermaas von Objectivität und außer sich seyn' to which the chorus refer in saying that Ajax 'nicht des angeborenen/Zorns mächtig, sondern außer sich ist'.¹ It also seems likely that Ajax himself is referring to his exchange of the sphere of 'Kunst', to which man properly belongs, for that of 'Natur' when he asks how he is to find a 'Bleiben',

Wenn dieserseit es welkt, ihr Lieben
Und ganz in andrem ich
In wilder Narrheit liege.²

Ajax' recovery from his fit of madness then corresponds to that part of the process 'wo dann das aorgisch gewordene

1. IV, 153, 159, 162; V, 279 (Ajax 639f.). Cf. Hyperions Jugend, III, 203, for the use of 'sich verlieren', 'sich vergessen' and 'außer sich sein' as synonyms: 'Verliere nie dich selbst!...Vergiß dich nicht im Gefühle der Dürftigkeit! Die Liebe, die... immer außer sich ist, wie mannigfaltig irrt sie nicht, und doch wie leicht!'
2. V, 277 (Ajax 405ff.).

organische sich selber wieder zu finden und zu sich selber zurückzukehren scheint'.¹ He is no longer 'außer sich', but, as in Antigonä as well as the Grund zum Empedokles, the death of the individual is necessary before a true reconciliation of 'Natur' and 'Kunst' is achieved.²

It is sad that Hölderlin was not able to complete his translation of the Ajax, a tragedy which had not only always attracted him, but which demonstrates so fully the process by which 'Natur' and 'Kunst' are reconciled that it is difficult to believe that it was entirely without influence on the development of the thought recorded in the Grund zum Empedokles. But the interest which the play had for Hölderlin was not restricted to that part of it which precedes Ajax' death and from which the three choric passages translated by Hölderlin come. The last part of the play deals with the question whether Ajax is to receive burial, on which Teucer insists, claiming for his brother the grateful memory due to the dead.³ It is this memory that is the subject of Mnemosyne.

1. IV, 153.
2. That Sophocles regarded Ajax' death as the means of reconciliation between Ajax and Athena is suggested by Jebb, op. cit., p. xxxviii: 'At his first return to sanity, he had thought of death only as a refuge from disgrace and a recovery of honour. He has now come to view it also as an atonement due to Athene. He recognises the sin of his former over-weening self-confidence. In this sense he dies reconciled to the gods.'
3. Ajax 1266ff.

3. Mnemosyne

Confirmation that Hölderlin interpreted Ajax' death in this way can be found in Mnemosyne,¹ and an analysis of this last hymn suggests that even in this period shortly before his final collapse Hölderlin's work possesses a greater degree of consistency and rationality than is sometimes supposed. It can be shown that the ideas expressed in the poem are related to those contained in the Anmerkungen to the Sophocles-translations and, like them, represent a development of earlier thought. From the formal point of view the triadic structure of the hymn is immediately apparent, but it is also possible to indicate the considerations which may have been responsible for the changes made in its three versions.

It was above all Achilles whom Hölderlin had in mind when he started the poem, for the first lines he wrote were: 'Am Feigenbaum/Ist mir Achilles gestorben'. But when 'das allererste Keimwort der Hymne', as Beißner calls it in his interpretation,² finds its place in the completed poem at the beginning of the third strophe Hölderlin's interest has been transferred from Achilles to Ajax:

Am Feigenbaum ist mein
Achilles mir gestorben,
Und Ajax liegt
An den Grotten, nahe der See,
5 An Bächen, benachbart dem Skamandros.
Vom Genius kühn ist bei Windessausen, nach
Der heimatlichen Salamis süßer
Gewohnheit, in der Fremd'
Ajax gestorben
10 Patroklos aber in des Königes Harnisch. Und es starben
Noch andere viel. Mit eigener Hand
Viel traurige, wilden Muths, doch göttlich

1. II, 193ff.

2. II, 817; Beißner, 'Hölderlins letzte Hymne', H-Jb, 3 (1948/49), 77.

Gezwungen, zuletzt, die anderen aber
Im Geschike stehend, im Feld. Unwillig nemlich
Sind Himmlische, wenn einer nicht die Seele schonend sich
Zusammengenommen, aber er muß doch; dem
Gleich fehlet die Trauer.

The importance of Ajax is emphasized not only by the repetition of his name, but also by the chiasitic structure of lines 1-10, in which Achilles, who reappears as the 'König' (line 10), and Patroclus provide a framework for the more detailed picture of Ajax' fate.

It is not surprising that Hölderlin's thoughts should have passed from Achilles to Ajax, for it is frequently stated in Greek literature that Ajax was the greatest of the Greeks after Achilles.¹ In addition it is likely that Hölderlin had particularly in mind Sophocles' Ajax, which deals with the events resulting from the hero's disappointment at not being judged worthy of the arms of Achilles. There is no conclusive evidence for the dating either of Mnemosyne or of Hölderlin's Ajax translation. Beißner believes that the poem was probably written in autumn 1803 and that the translation was done only after the despatch of the manuscripts of Oedipus der Tyrann and Antigonä to the publisher Friedrich Wilmans on 8th December 1803.² However, even if the translation is later than the poem the references to the play in the Anmerkungen zur Antigonä show that Hölderlin was already thinking about it at this stage. It was thus natural that his thoughts should have turned to Ajax, and it would not be surprising to find that his interpretation of Ajax' death in the poem

1. Cf. Iliad II. 768; Odyssey XI. 468; Pindar, Nemean VII.27, which in supporting Ajax' rather than Odysseus' claim to the arms of Achilles refers to the legend which is the subject of Sophocles' play; Sophocles, Ajax 1340, where Odysseus himself agrees that Ajax was after Achilles the best of the Greeks who came to Troy.
2. II, 816; Hölderlins Übersetzungen, p. 105ff. Cf. Br.242, VI, 435.

anticipates that of the translation.

If we seek a more specific cause for the juxtaposition of Achilles, Ajax and Patroclus it seems less likely that it was suggested by Nestor's reference to their deaths, as Zuntz suggests,¹ than that Hölderlin was thinking of the tumuli on the shore of the Hellespont associated with their names, which he had already spoken of in the Fragment von Hyperion:

Unvergeßlich ist mir besonders die Nacht vor unserem Abschiede, wo wir an den Ufern des alten Ilion unter Grabhügeln, die vielleicht dem Achill und Patroklos, und Antilochus, und Ajax Telamon errichtet wurden, vom vergangnen und künftigen Griechenlande sprachen.²

These tumuli may have been recalled to his mind by Sophocles' play, for its second half is concerned with the dispute whether Ajax is to be buried. 'The question involved... the whole claim of Ajax to the sanctity of a "hero"... Hence the true climax of the play is not his death, but the decision that he shall be buried.'³

The deaths of Achilles and Patroclus, 'Im Geschike stehend, im Feld', are contrasted with that of Ajax, and there is a significant similarity in the manner in which the first two died. The tradition is that Achilles was hidden by his parents, who knew that he was fated to die at Troy, but that having been found by Odysseus he followed him there willingly. Though his death at the hands of Paris and Apollo is not actually recorded it is foretold by the dying Hector, and Achilles is ready to accept it when Zeus and the other gods

1. Odyssey III. 109f.; Zuntz, Über Hölderlins Pindar-Übersetzung, p. 88 (the reference to line 1094 is a misprint).
2. III, 181.
3. Jebb, The Ajax, p. xxxii.

decide that the time has come. Patroclus disobeys Achilles' instructions not to pursue the Trojans when he has driven them from the ships, and as a result he is dazed by a blow from Apollo and so becomes an easy prey for Euphorbus and Hector. Thus Zeus avenges the death of his son Sarpedon, and it is Zeus and Fate as well as Apollo whom Patroclus makes primarily responsible for his death.¹ In both cases death is not avoided, as it could be, and is seen as brought about through the agency of Apollo and the will of Zeus, those gods in union with whom Oedipus and Antigone were destroyed. They too felt 'die Todeslust', and it was of such heroes that Hölderlin wrote in Stimme des Volks:

Wohl jenen, die zur Ruhe gegangen sind,
Und vor der Zeit gefallen, auch die, auch die
Geopfert, gleich den Erstlingen der
Erndte, sie haben ein Theil gefunden.²

Hölderlin's interpretation of the action of the people of Xanthos as 'selbstvergessen, allzubereit, den Wunsch/Der Götter zu erfüllen' springs entirely from his own beliefs, yet at the same time he adheres closely to the details of the story as Plutarch tells it.³ It is this manner of using a source which makes the poem a forerunner of the Sophocles-translations, and in view of the similarity of content as well as method it is not surprising that we should find the same contrast as that which occurs in Mnemosyne, itself a poem which must be read in conjunction with the Sophocles-translations. 'Sie kamen aber nicht in der offenen Schlacht/Durch eigne Hand um', it is said of the Xanthians, and Ajax is seen as an

1. Iliad XXII. 355ff., XVI.

2. Stimme des Volks (II), II, 52.

3. Plutarch, Brutus, 30f. (quoted in translation by Beißner, II, 497f.).

example of those who died 'mit eigener Hand', the category which receives the same more detailed attention as Ajax himself.

It was no doubt to emphasize the dangers to which Ajax was exposed 'in der Fremd', when the divine power was active without restraint in 'ruhelosen Thaten in weiter welt', in 'Wettern',

Die vorbereiteter in Tiefen der Zeit...
Hinwandeln zwischen Himmel und Erd und unter den
Völkern¹,

that Hölderlin altered lines 6-8 in the final version of this strophe. For him the Trojan War seems to have represented a release of this power no less than did Brutus' campaign to gain control of the eastern provinces before the battle of Philippi and the wars of his own day.

The description of Ajax in the earlier version as 'vom Genius kühn' provides another link with the 'kühne Städte' which in Stimme des Volkes follow the call of 'das Ungebundene' and stresses the similarity of his fate to that of Empedokles, the 'kühner Getödteter',² but Hölderlin could not integrate the words into the line to his satisfaction, and the alteration involved was followed by a different choice of adjectives in the later part of the sentence:

An Schläfen Sausen einst, nach
Der unbewegten Salamis steter
Gewohnheit, in der Fremd', ist groß
Ajax gestorben.

'Unbewegt bleibt (Salamis) in den Bewegungen der Luft und der Wellen', writes Beißner, who rightly recalls the words of

1. Dichterberuf, II, 47; 'Wie wenn am Feiertage...', II, 119.
2. Stimme des Volkes (II), II, 51; Empedokles, I, 240.

'die Gefährten des Ajax':

Draußen schwimmst du von Meereswoogen umrauscht!
Voll Ruhms, voll guten Geistes, o Salamis!¹

But the connection between the passages goes deeper, for here too Hölderlin sees Salamis as immune to the dangers of the 'Abgrund' to which Ajax now succumbs. The hero is now 'groß/Ajax', for him too, like the 'kühne Städte', 'hat/Ein heilig Ende treffen'.

There are two ways in which the structure of this strophe can be analysed. One can see how the examples of individual heroes (lines 1-10) are followed by the general categories to which they belong (10-14) and the poet's comments (14-17). Or one can focus one's attention on the principle of alternation² according to which the poet oscillates first between those who died 'Im Geschike stehend, im Feld' and those who died 'Mit eigener Hand', and then between the inevitability and the reprehensibility of surrender to the 'Todeslust': the victim is 'göttlich/Gezwungen', 'er muß doch', but 'Unwillig.../Sind Himmlische', 'dem/Gleich fehlet die Trauer'. The same equivocalness occurs in Stimme des Volks, where Hölderlin writes of 'die Hohen':

Doch minder nicht sind jene den Menschen hold
Sie lieben wieder, so, wie geliebt sie sind
Und hemmen öfters, daß er lang' im
Lichte sich freue, die Bahn des Menschen...

1. Beißner, Hölderlins letzte Hymne, p. 90; Hyperion (Vorstufe der endgültigen Fassung), III, 257.
2. The principle of alternation as an expression of 'die ewige Ebb und Flut' which governed Hölderlin's moods occurs in many parts of his work. Peacock draws attention to 'the alternation of his moods of hope and despair' in Menons Klagen um Diotima, the 'oscillation between extremes of enthusiasm and despair' in his attitude to his country and 'the alternation between confident proclamation of the office of poetry even in a dark age, and the questioning, or despairing, personal note' (Hölderlin, pp. 84, 130, 139).

Drum weil sie fromm ist, ehr' ich den Himmlischen
Zu lieb des Volkes Stimme, die ruhige,
Doch um der Götter und der Menschen
Willen, sie ruhe zu gern nicht immer!¹

Hölderlin took this principle of alternation from the third strophe of Mnemosyne and used it in his third, and satisfactory, attempt at the first strophe:²

Reif sind, in Feuer getaucht, gekochet
Die Frücht und auf der Erde geprüft und ein Gesez ist
Daß alles hineingeht, Schlangen gleich,
Prophetisch, träumend auf
5 Den Hügeln des Himmels. Und vieles
Wie auf den Schultern eine
Last von Scheitern ist
Zu behalten. Aber böß sind
Die Pfade. Nemlich unrecht,
10 Wie Rosse, gehn die gefangenen
Element' und alten
Geseze der Erd. Und immer
Ins Ungebundene gehet eine Sehnsucht. Vieles aber ist
Zu behalten. Und Noth die Treue.
15 Vorwärts aber und rükwärts wollen wir
Nicht sehn. Uns wiegen lassen, wie
Auf schwankem Kahne der See.

1. Stimme des Volks (I), II, 50. The knowledge that 'Ein Gott will aber sparen den Söhnen/Das eilende Leben' (Der Rhein, II, 144) is the justification for Hölderlin's prayer, 'Komm du nun,... verjüngender/Ersehnter Friede, komm und gieb ein/Bleiben im Leben, ein Herz uns wieder' (Der Frieden, II, 7). The conditions for the fulfilment of this prayer were created in 1801 by the Treaty of Lunéville, his celebration of which Hölderlin concluded with the words, 'Und mögen bleiben wir nun' ('Versöhnender der du nimmergeglaubt...', II, 132). He sees his generation freed for the moment from the conditions which had proved fatal to the heroes of other periods, and, having proclaimed in Dichterberuf the poet's duty to sing of the 'ruhelosen Thaten in weiter Welt' (II, 47), in the revision of the poem for publication in 1802 he sees in the subsidence of the divine activity God's merciful absence from earth: 'Der Vater aber dekert mit heiliger Nacht,/Damit wir bleiben mögen, die Augen zu' (II, 48). Thus in Hölderlin's own search for 'ein Bleiben im Leben', a phrase reminiscent of the vocabulary of the Ajax translation, we can detect an ambivalent attitude, for he seeks to retreat from the conflict between 'Natur' and 'Kunst', which is nevertheless the necessary preliminary to the new world of the future.
2. Beißner, op.cit., p.93ff., was the first to see that these lines are not an independent poem.

An assertion of the prevalence of the 'Todeslust' (lines 2-5) is countered by the summons to resist it (5-8: these lines, which contain the poet's call for action, were the first to be completed).¹ The same opposition recurs in conciser form and without the imagery in lines 12-14.

The opening lines use the imagery with which the book of Revelation speaks of the hour of judgement, the time of universal death before Christ's return and the establishment of God's Kingdom:

Die Zeit zu ernten ist gekommen, denn die Ernte der Erde ist dürr geworden!... Und ein anderer Engel ging aus vom Altar, der hatte Macht über das Feuer und rief mit großem Geschrei zu dem, der die scharfe Hippe hatte, und sprach: Schlag an mit deiner scharfen Hippe und schneide die Trauben am Weinstock der Erde; denn seine Beeren sind reif! ²

The harvest is not past, as Beißner believes,³ but is made imminent by the over-ripeness which Hölderlin describes with his own image of the burning sun.⁴

The danger is explained in lines 9-12. It is the time when 'Natur' reasserts its rights over 'Kunst', when Jupiter's day-time 'Gesez' is swallowed up by Saturn's 'heilige Dämmerung'. 'Das freudigschauernde Chaos' no longer gives way to the order of day, but the disorder of night prevails,

wenn alles gemischt
Ist ordnungslos und wiederkehrt
Uralte Verwirrung.⁵

The bolting horses (Hölderlin first wrote, 'Wie Rosse, durch

1. II, 821 (Lesarten der dritten Fassung).
2. Offenbarung XIV. 15, 18.
3. Beißner, op. cit., p. 95.
4. Cf. Der Ister, II, 190: 'Jetzt komme, Feuer!'
5. Natur und Kunst, II, 37f.; Der Rhein, II, 148; Heimkunft, II, 96.

gehn die gefangenen/Element'') represent this unchecked divine activity: Hölderlin had already used the image of the horses which draw the thunderer's chariot in addressing

Ihr Schiksaalstag', ihr reißen den, wenn der Gott
Stillsinnend lenkt, wohin zorntrunken,
Ihn die gigantischen Rosse bringen.¹

The result of the failure of the 'alten/Geseze der Erd' is described in the imagery of the earlier, second version of this strophe, which also uses the 'Pfad' to symbolize the order which is being overwhelmed by chaos:²

Wenn nemlich über Menschen
Ein Streit ist an dem Himmel und gewaltig
Die Monde gehn, so redet
Das Meer auch und Ströme müssen
Den Pfad sich suchen.

'Der Zorn an dem Himmel'³ means the loss of the harmony characteristic of the heavenly bodies, which in turn affects the earth (a variant reads 'so zürnet/Das Meer')⁴ and so destroys the harmony between heaven and earth, gods and men, 'Natur' and 'Kunst', which is described in

Der Archipelagus:

Auch die Himmlischen, sie, die Kräfte der Höhe, die stillen...
Wohnen, wie einst, mit dir, und oft am dämmernden Abend,
Wenn von Asiens Bergen herein das heilige Mondlicht
Kömmt und die Sterne sich in deiner Wooge begegnen,
Leuchtest du von himmlischem Glanz, und so, wie sie wandeln,

1. II, 821f. (variant); Dichterberuf, II, 47 (see p. 171).
2. For 'Pfad' as the symbol of 'Kunst' cf. p. 228f.
3. Germanien, II, 151.
4. II, 820. The Pythagorean doctrine of the harmony of the spheres occurs frequently in the Tübingen hymns. Cf. Reißner's note on Hymne an die Unsterblichkeit, I, 418.

Wechseln die Wasser dir, es tönt die Weise der Brüder
Droben, ihr Nachtgesang, im liebenden Busen dir wieder.¹

The problem is to survive this chaotic transitional period
until the union of God and man takes place:

Denn schön ist
Der Brauttag, bange sind wir aber
Der Ehre wegen. Denn furchtbar gehet
Es ungestalt, wenn Eines uns
Zu gierig genommen.

So reads the first version of this strophe. When

Gestirne gehn, blind ist die Treue dann, wenn aber sich ^{gewaltige}
Zur Erde neiget der Beste, (eigen) wird (dann)
Lebendiges,

says a variant to the second version.² It is of just such a
chaotic period that Hölderlin writes in the Anmerkungen zur
Antigonä that man must 'sich am meisten festhalten' in order
to be able to withstand 'der reißende Zeitgeist', who

erscheint dann wild, nicht, daß er die Menschen schonte,
wie ein Geist am Tage, sondern er ist schonungslos, als
Geist der ewig lebenden ungeschriebenen Wildniß und der
Tottenwelt.³

Not only does the situation in the poem correspond with
that depicted in the Anmerkungen, but the way to 'dieses
vesteste Bleiben vor der wandelnden Zeit' is also suggested
there. Oedipus der Tyrann is seen as portraying

eine Welt, wo..., in müßiger Zeit, der Gott und der
Mensch, damit... das Gedächtniß der Himmlischen nicht
ausgeht, in der allvergessenden Form der Untreue sich
mittheilt, denn göttliche Untreue ist am besten zu
behalten.

In solchem Momente vergißt der Mensch sich und
den Gott, und kehret, freilich heiliger Weise, wie

1. II, 103f.
2. II, 820.
3. V, 266.

ein Verräther sich um...

In dieser (äußersten Gränze des Leidens) vergißt sich der Mensch, weil er ganz im Moment ist; der Gott, weil er nichts als Zeit ist; und beides ist untreu, die Zeit, weil sie in solchem Momente sich kategorisch wendet...; der Mensch, weil er in diesem Momente der kategorischen Umkehr folgen muß...

So (stehet) Oedipus selbst in der Mitte der Tragödie von Oedipus. ¹

'Untreue' characterizes not only the behaviour of man and God in that the former 'kehret... wie ein Verräther sich um' and the latter as 'die Zeit' 'sich kategorisch wendet',² but also the manner of their meeting, which is the precondition of their 'Untreue' in this sense. The 'allvergessende Form der Untreue' in which they meet is the interchange of the opposite poles, as is immediately made clear. Man, described in Natur und Kunst as 'ein Sohn der Zeit', abandons himself in self-forgetfulness to the moment: his goal is like that of Hyperion, 'in seeliger Selbstvergessenheit wiederzukehren in's All der Natur'.³ Similarly the self-forgetfulness of God consists in his leaving the sphere of 'Natur' for that of man and so becoming 'die Zeit'. 'Untreue' in this sense is the desertion of one's own sphere for that of the opposite pole.

It is in the context of this thought that the last lines of the first strophe of Mnemosyne must be understood. For Oedipus there is no retreat from the union with God which takes place 'in der allvergessenden Form der Untreue', but we can protect ourselves in a situation where 'blind ist die Treue':

1. Anmerkungen zur Antigone, V, 268; Anmerkungen zum Oedipus, V, 202.
2. Corssen, 'Die Tragödie als Begegnung zwischen Gott und Mensch. Hölderlins Sophokles-Deutung', H-Jb, 3 (1948/49), 154f., and Schadewaldt, 'Hölderlins Übersetzung des Sophokles', in Hellas und Hesperien, p. 786, restrict themselves to this sense of the word.
3. II, 38; III, 9.

Vieles aber ist
Zu behalten. Und Noth die Treue.
Vorwärts aber und rückwärts wollen wir
Nicht sehn. Uns wiegen lassen, wie
Auf schwankem Kahne der See.

The 'Treue' which is necessary is in the case of man loyalty to the sphere of 'Kunst', which as 'ein Sohn der Zeit' he can show by the exercise of his memory: 'behalten' is used by Hölderlin as a synonym for 'im Gedächtnis behalten'.¹ But, as the adversative introducing the last three lines makes clear, there is a strong temptation to abandon ourselves to the 'Untreue' of the man who is 'ganz im Moment'. Just as in lines 2-8 Hölderlin clothes in his own poetic imagery the 'Sehnsucht ins Ungebundene' and the need for 'Treue', so here he gives visual expression to the dangerous state of which Schadewaldt, commenting on this passage of the Anmerkungen, writes: 'Hier ist der Mensch "ganz im Moment", das heißt, er blickt in solchem Drangsal der Zeit weder nach rückwärts noch denkt er nach vorwärts.'² Resisting this temptation,

1. Cf. Der Rhein, II, 148.

2. Schadewaldt, op. cit., p. 786. Furness, 'The Death of Memory. An Analysis of Hölderlin's hymn "Mnemosyne"', Proceedings of the English Goethe Society, 40 (1969-70), 30-68, fails to see that these lines describe a temptation to be avoided, regarding them as portraying 'a proper position for man, existing in the present, looking neither backwards nor forwards' and quoting in support Adorno's interpretation of the passage as 'ein Vorsatz, der Synthesis sich zu entschlagen, der reinen Passivität sich anzuvertrauen, um Gegenwart ganz zu erfüllen' (p. 55. cf. Adorno, 'Parataxis. Zur späten Lyrik Hölderlins', Neue Rundschau, 75 (1964), 41). He argues that in Mnemosyne Hölderlin expresses his realization that 'he has spent too long in yearning to grasp the gods, and must now turn away from them, turn from Greece and the pagan past', that 'Hölderlin knows that it is sinful to extol the heroes of antiquity' and that 'he would look upon the death of memory as a blessing' (p. 47, 65). It is true that the hymn represents a retreat from contact with the divine, but this retreat is only a temporary one in order that the poet may survive the destructive reunion of 'Natur' and 'Kunst' and so be able to enjoy the peaceful contact with the gods which will

man must, like Danae, count 'die Stundenschläge' and thus achieve a 'Bleiben vor der wandelnden Zeit'.¹

But why was Hölderlin only content with the third version of his first strophe? The answer to this question must lie in the fact that the first two versions differ from it in assigning a role to the poet, whose function must be the subject of the fragmentary opening lines of the first version:

aber es haben
Zu singen

Blumen auch Wasser und fühlen
Ob noch ist der Gott.

We can do no more than guess what Hölderlin intended, which may have been: The poet must attain the assurance of God's continued existence by bringing about through his song the union of God and man, the same union of heaven and earth which is constantly re-established by the rain which the flowers need, 'denn schön ist/Der Brauttag'.² The poet must bring about in history the union which is characteristic of nature.

bange sind wir aber
Der Ehre wegen. Denn furchtbar gehet
Es ungestalt, wenn Eines uns
Zu gierig genommen. Zweifellos
Ist aber der Höchste. Der kann täglich
Es ändern. Kaum bedarf er
Gesez, wie nemlich es
Bei Menschen bleiben soll.

follow. Equally Hölderlin's careful revision of his completed Sophocles-translations at the end of 1803 and his translation of passages of the Ajax and Oedipus Coloneus in the following year, during which he also planned to write an introduction to Sophocles' tragedies (see p.346), are hardly the work of a poet who is quite so convinced of 'the dangers of retrospection' and who only writes of Achilles and Ajax in this hymn because he 'cannot resist the temptation of looking back to the demigods of the past' (p. 67).

1. Anmerkungen zur Antigonä, V, 268.
2. Beißner, op. cit., p.86, also believes these lines concern the poet, but suggests that they speak of his need for the feeling of contact with God in order that he may sing of the memory of heroes.

The power which controls the periodicity of history and so stands above the conflict between 'Gesetz' and the present 'Gesetzlosigkeit' is able to intervene, giving imperilled man 'ein Bleiben im Leben'. This is 'der Erde Vater', in the Anmerkungen zur Antigona also called 'Vater der Zeit', who 'bereitet ständiges/In Stürmen der Zeit'.¹

Viel Männer möchten da
Seyn, wahrer Sache.

Lang ist
Die Zeit, es ereignet sich aber
Das Wahre.

The period of insecurity may last long, but when

ernst geworden ist der Zorn an dem Himmel,
Muß zwischen Tag und Nacht
Einsmals/Wahres erscheinen.

This is the longed for 'Offenbarung, das "Wahr"werden des Göttlichen'.² Then in order to make clear the poet's role in bringing about 'das Wahre', 'der Brauttag', and so closing the gulf between God and man Hölderlin inserted after 'wahrer Sache':

1. Der Einzige (II), II, 160 (the lines are discussed in their context below). Cf. Anmerkungen zur Antigona, V, 268: 'Vater der Zeit', whose 'Karakter ist, ... das Streben aus dieser Welt in die andre zu kehren zu einem Streben aus einer andern Welt in diese', should not be confused with 'der reißende Zeitgeist', 'Natur' in the extreme form in which it is hostile to 'Kunst'.
2. Germanien, II, 151f. Cf. Schmidt, 'Der Begriff des Zorns in Hölderlins Spätwerk', H-Jb, 15(1967/68), 136, for confirmation of the interpretation of these lines. Beißner, op.cit., p. 81f., interprets the last clause of the strophe: 'Es geschieht doch, was geschehen soll. Und was geschieht, wird schließlich richtig sein, wird sich als das Wahre, das einzig Wahre erweisen.' He sees 'dieses Hinsinken in verantwortungslose Apathie' retained in 'die verzweifelte Entscheidung, ... alles geschehen zu lassen in apathischer Trauer' (98ff.), which he believes to be the significance of the closing lines of the final version of the strophe ('Uns wiegen lassen...').

Nicht vermögen
Die Himmlischen alles. Nemlich es reichen
Die Sterblichen eh' an den Abgrund. Also wendet es sich
Mit diesen.

The idea of 'die Zeit' which 'sich kategorisch wendet'¹ is introduced here to show man's influence on it. The general statement in Der Rhein,

und bedürfen
Die Himmlischen eines Dings,
So sinds Heroën und Menschen
Und Sterbliche sonst,

is here given the particular content which, with a similar use of the word 'wahr', it receives in Der Mutter Erde:

unaussprechlich wär er (der heilige Vater) wohl
Und nirgend fänd er wahr sich unter den Lebenden wieder
Wenn zum Gesange nicht hätt ein Herz die Gemeinde.²

The poet's task and God's concern for him are more clearly described in Blödigkeit, which may have been drafted in the previous year, but was revised for publication in December 1803. Here Hölderlin describes how 'die Himmlischen selbst führet, der Einkehr zu,/Der Gesang' and speaks of 'des Himmels Gott',

Der, zur Wende der Zeit, uns die Entschlafenden
Aufgerichtet an goldnen
Gängelbanden, wie Kinder, hält.

The poet carries out his task:

Gut auch sind und geschickt einem zu etwas wir,
Wenn wir kommen, mit Kunst, und von den Himmlischen
Einen bringen,

and in this period of exposure to danger God prevents him falling asleep, yielding to the 'Sehnsucht ins Ungebundene'.³

1. Anmerkungen zum Oedipus, V, 202. Cf. Anmerkungen zur Antigonä, V, 267, which speak of 'die Art, wie in der Mitte sich die Zeit wendet'.
2. II, 145, 123.
3. II, 66 (date: II,527). Cf. Die Entschlafenen, II, 113, for the euphemistic use of 'entschlafen'.

In his first draft Hölderlin had already completed a satisfactory second strophe of 17 lines, which became the standard unit of this triadic hymn. Therefore the addition of lines 13-16 to the first strophe meant that there was no longer room for Hölderlin to fill in the thought that he had sketched out in the opening lines. Hence the need for a second version, which also begins with the poet, but in order to stress the difficulty of his task at a time when harmony has given way to chaos and the normal link between heaven and earth has been interrupted:

Ein Zeichen sind wir, deutungslos
Schmerzlos sind wir und haben fast
Die Sprache in der Fremde verloren.

In view of the increasing attention given to the poet in the first two versions of this strophe it seems probable that the 'wir' refers to 'die Zungen des Volks', as it does throughout Blödigkeit.¹

Hölderlin made few alterations in the second half of the strophe, but it is interesting to note how, while retaining the same words, he changes the position of the line-division in order to give greater emphasis to 'der Höchste' as the power who by his intervention is able to give man back his security:

Zweifellos
Ist aber Einer. Der
Kann täglich es ändern. Kaum bedarf er
Gesez. Und es tönet das Blatt und Eichbäume wehn dann
neben
Den Firnen.

1. Against Beißner, op. cit., p. 92: 'Darin ist nicht mehr oder jedenfalls nicht mehr ausdrücklich vom Tun des Dichters die Rede.'

'Und die Schrift tönt' is the reading of a variant.¹ Only then is his voice restored to the poet, who is now able to play his part in drawing God down to earth. His function as a link between heaven and earth is contained in the image of the 'Eichbäume', which Hölderlin had addressed in Frankfurt as 'ihr Söhne des Berges', who 'gehört nur euch und dem Himmel,/Der euch nährt' und erzog und der Erde, die euch geboren'.² The image added to this strophe of Mnemosyne stresses that this is a 'Wende' which cannot come about unless the poet's voice returns to him:

Also wendet es sich, das Echo
Mit diesen.

The reason why Hölderlin felt he must reject this version too is indicated by the fact that the poet plays no part in the third, and satisfactory, version of this first strophe. For although he has a vital role in bringing about the final union of God and man, he is not immune against the dangers of the times and remains almost speechless until God intervenes. The situation is reminiscent of that of Empedokles, of which Hölderlin writes:

Das Schiksaal seiner Zeit, die gewaltigen Extreme
in denen er erwuchs, forderten nicht Gesang, wo das
Reine in einer idealischen Darstellung die zwischen
der Gestalt des Schiksaals und des Ursprünglichen
liegt, noch leicht wieder aufgefaßt wird, wenn sich
die Zeit noch nicht zu sehr davon entfernt hat.³

But whereas in that case the extreme forms of 'Natur' and 'Kunst' could only be reconciled by Empedokles' sacrifice, here Hölderlin visualizes that the poet will have a task to

1. II, 821.
2. Die Eichbäume, I, 201.
3. Grund zum Empedokles, IV, 156.

perform. However, the problem which the poem poses is how man is to survive until then, a problem to which the poet's later task is irrelevant and to which no solution has been offered in the first two versions of the first strophe. It must have been for this reason that Hölderlin wrote the completely different third version with the solution: 'Vieles aber ist/Zu behalten. Und noth die Treue.'

We have already seen how in this third version of the first strophe Hölderlin used the principle of alternation on which the structure of the third strophe is based, and similarly it can be shown that the solution which is now stated is taken from the second strophe, which was the first to be completed and, like the third, was not significantly altered in the final version of the hymn.

'Wie aber liebes?' In the first draft the opening question occurs in the form 'Wo aber, liebes?', and is prompted by the statement, 'Viel Männer möchten da/Seyn'.¹ It asks where and how a 'Bleiben' may be found, and the strophe proceeds to give two answers:

Wie aber liebes? Sonnenschein
Am Boden sehen wir und trokenen Staub
Und tief mit Schatten die Wälder und es blühet
An Dächern der Rauch, bei alter Krone
Der Thürme, friedsam; und es girren
Verloren in der Luft die Lerchen und unter dem Tage waiden
Wohlangeführt die Schaafe des Himmels.

These vivid pictures are reminiscent of the attitude of Delia, who cannot understand Empedokles' decision to sacrifice himself. When Panthea asks,

1. II, 817.

Und soll er...
Verweilen, wenn ihm
Der Vater die Arme,
Der Aether, öffnet?

she replies,

Sieh! herrlich auch
Und freundlich ist die Erde.

And similarly she objects to Pausanias,

Dich entzündet, große Seele! der Tod
Des Großen, aber es sonnen
Die Herzen der Sterblichen auch
An mildem Lichte sich gern, und heften
Die Augen an Bleibendes.¹

But in addition these pictures portray a series of phenomena which serve as links between earth and heaven and raise the reader's eyes from the dust and shadows² which are the product of the sun's rays to the smoke which 'steiget/An Dächern',³ to the larks in the air and finally to the clouds in the sky, which Hölderlin sees as 'die Schaafte des Himmels', just as elsewhere he visualizes the stars as 'Blumen des

1. Empedokles (II), IV, 112, 115. The importance of the eyes as a means of defence against the 'Todeslust' is stressed in a number of passages which also serve as a commentary on the sentence, 'Aber böse sind/Die Pfade'. In Stimme des Volks (II) man is seen to be at risk even when he wanders 'offnen Augs auf/Eigenen Pfaden' (II 51). The same chaotic conditions as in Mnemosyne are portrayed in Patmos (Bruchstücke der späteren Fassung): 'Denn wenn erloschen ist der Ruhm die Augenlust und gehalten nicht mehr/Von Menschen, schattenlos, die Pfade zweifeln und die Bäume,/Und Reiche, das Jugendland der Augen, sind vergangen...' (II, 180). The variant 'gränzenlos, die Pfade trauern' (II, 786) points to the use of 'traurige', 'Trauer' in the last strophe of Mnemosyne. The draft 'Wenn aber die Himmlischen...' describes 'Natur' in its extreme form, the growth of 'viel üppig neidiges/Unkraut, das blendet' and 'die unbeholfene Wildniß', which 'die Pfade bedeket' so that 'Furchtbar ungastlich windet/Sich durch den Garten die Irre,/Die augenlose (II, 223).
2. Cf. Hälfte des Lebens, II, 117: 'Weh mir, wo nehm' ich, wenn/Es Winter ist, die Blumen, und wo/Den Sonnenschein,/ Und Schatten der Erde?'
3. II, 817 (variant).

Himmels'.¹ As the choice of imagery in the last case emphasizes, all these are, like 'Brot' and 'Wein', reminders of the harmony between heaven and earth which still exists in nature and hence pledges of the reunion of 'Natur' and 'Kunst' in the course of history. Of them too Hölderlin could have said,

Darum denken wir auch dabei der Himmlischen, die sonst
Da gewesen und die kehren in richtiger Zeit.²

He makes this clear in the explanation with which in the final version he replaced the last two phenomena:

gut sind nemlich
Hat gegenredend die Seele
Ein Himmlisches verwundet, die Tageszeichen.

These are 'helttöndend', 'Lebenszeichen', which through the harmony which they represent encourage resistance to the 'Todeslust', 'hat ein Himmlisches/die Sinne betäubt', 'hat/Entgegnend getroffen/Ein Himmlisches die Seele'.³ These variants, Hölderlin's first versions of this clause, confirm the interpretation already given of the death of the Greek heroes in the last strophe, for they echo closely Homer's description of the death of Patroclus:

Thereon to thee, Patroklos, did the end of life
appear, for Phoebus met thee in the strong battle,...
and stood behind him, and smote his back and broad
shoulders with a down-stroke of his hand, and his
eyes were dazed.⁴

1. Empedokles (I), IV, 44.

2. Brot und Wein, II, 94.

3. II, 822 (variants).

4. Iliad XVI. 787f., 791f. (translated by Lang, Leaf and Myers). The variants make clear that 'Ein Himmlisches' is the subject of the verb. Hamburger's translation is misleading: 'for good, when contradicting, the soul has wounded one of the Heavenly, are the signs of the day' (Hölderlin, p. 213). The further variant, 'hat/...die Seele genommen/Ein Himmlisches', elucidates the lines of the first version of the first strophe, 'Denn furchtbar gehet/Es ungestalt, wenn Eines uns/Zu gierig genommen'.

They are evidence not only of the unity within the hymn, but also of the link between the hymn and the experience of which Hölderlin wrote to Böhlendorff: 'Das gewaltige Element, das Feuer des Himmels..., hat mich beständig ergriffen, und wie man Helden nachspricht, kann ich wohl sagen, daß mich Apollo geschlagen!' ¹

The scene of the following lines recalls both the journey of 'die menschenbildende Stimme', which comes from Asia, traverses Greece and Italy, and finally comes 'herab von den Alpen.../Zu uns', and the flight of 'der Adler', who passes the same way: 'jauchzend überschwingt er/Zuletzt die Alpen und sieht die vielgearteten Länder.' ²

Und Schnee, wie Majenblumen
Das Edelmüthige, wo
Es seie, bedeutend, glänzet mit
Der grünen Wiese
Der Alpen, hälftig.

If the divine visitation of Germany, the dawn of a new 'Götterttag', is suggested by the place, this event is also indicated by the change of winter into spring, as Beißner points out.³ Snow is associated with 'das gefesselte Leben' and 'der eiserne Schlaaf' of an earth which 'der Sonnenblik' and 'Reegen und Thau' give no contact with 'der Olymp', and it is in spring that 'der gefesselte Strom' is aroused from such a sleep and, like Ajax, finds no 'Bleiben' on its way to unity with God:

1. Br. 240, VI, 432.

2. Am Quell der Donau, II, 126; Germanien, II, 150.

3. Op. cit., p. 82f.

Der Frühling kommt; es dämmert das neue Grün;
Er aber wandelt hin zu Unsterblichen;
Denn nirgend darf er bleiben, als wo
Ihn in die Arme der Vater aufnimmt.¹

But the significance of the snow, 'Das Edelmüthige, wo/Es seie, bedeutend',² is not exhausted by this association. As in the case of the clouds and the stars, the flakes of snow which drop from heaven are immediately compared with an earthly counterpart, 'Majenblumen', for Hölderlin constantly draws attention to the harmonious union between earth and heaven to be seen in nature, and snow comes from 'Vater Aether' no less than rain, which is for Hölderlin so frequently the means of re-establishing this union. Snow belongs to the high mountains, where earth is nearest to heaven and where the snow marks the transition from the one to the other on the vertical continuum which rises from man to God:

Jetzt auch wachet und schaut in der Tiefe drinnen das Dörflein
Furchtlos, Hohem vertraut, unter den Gipfeln hinauf...
Ruhig glänzen indeß die silbernen Höhen darüber,
Voll mit Rosen ist schon droben der leuchtende Schnee.
Und noch höher hinauf wohnt über dem Lichte der reine
Seelige Gott vom Spiel heiliger Stralen erfreut.

In the letter to his sister from Hauptwil Hölderlin descends this continuum in his description 'wie vom Aether herab die Höhen alle näher und näher niedersteigen bis in dieses freundliche Thal', and expresses the belief that 'wenn der Gott der

1. Der Wanderer, II, 80; II, 67.

2. I take the adjectival noun to refer to 'Schnee', which has significance wherever it may be, 'wo es auch sein mag'. Hölderlin first wrote 'Und Schnee, wie Majenblumen/Das Edelmüthige, bedeutend' before changing this to 'wo/Es seie, bedeutend' (II, 818), which argues against Hamburger's translation, 'For snow..., by indicating where the noble-minded is, shines brightly' (op. cit., p. 213).

Macht einen Thron hat auf der Erde, so ist es über diesen herrlichen Gipfeln', just as Empedokles explains his ascent of Aetna with the words, 'Denn gegenwärtiger sind die Götter auf den Höhn'.¹ Above all snow belongs to the heights of Parnassus, the 'silbernen Bergen Apollons', where 'der Schnee delphische Felsen umglänzt'.² Hölderlin incorporated into his own poetry a scene which is frequently found in Greek literature³ not simply as a traditional motif or for its descriptive value, but because in it the mountain sacred to Apollo was characterized in terms of his own imagery by 'a visible sign of its contact with the divine.

The juxtaposition therefore of the gleaming snow and the green meadow, 'hälftig', is not merely an indication of the end of winter, but also a symbol of the meeting of the divine, already expressed by means of imagery connected with Apollo, and the human. The situation as well as the word 'hälftig' points to the passage in the Anmerkungen zur Antigone where Hölderlin writes of

der kühnste Moment eines Taglaufs oder Kunstwerks..., wo der Geist der Zeit und Natur, das Himmlische, was den Menschen ergreift, und der Gegenstand, für welchen er sich interessiert, am wildesten gegeneinander stehen, weil der sinnliche Gegenstand nur eine Hälfte weit reicht, der Geist aber am mächtigsten erwacht, da, wo die zweite Hälfte angehet.

In the 'Kunstwerk' Hölderlin draws attention to the point in the sequence of events where with the words 'm e i n Zeus berichtete mirs nicht' Antigone puts her conflict with Creon

1. Heimkunft, II, 96; Br. 228, VI, 414; IV, 52.
2. Menons Klagen um Diotima, II, 78; Brot und Wein, II, 91. Cf. Germanien, II, 150: 'des Parnassos/Beschneite Gipfel'.
3. Beißner, II, 563, quotes passages.

on a religious plane, as a result of which in the second half 'das tragischmäßige Zeitmatte... folgt dem reißen den Zeitgeist am unmäßigsten'. In the 'Taglauf' of the poem he depicts the moment when these two spheres are held in equilibrium: 'in diesem Momente muß der Mensch sich am meisten festhalten.'¹

Hölderlin's idea of the 'Moment der Hälfte' as the end of the period of security seems to have its roots in his own experience. Of the prospect of peace in the new year of 1801 and the hopes he associated with it Hölderlin wrote to his brother: 'Diß ists, was vorzüglich mit Heiterkeit mich in die zweite Hälfte meines Lebens hinausseh'n läßt... Du bist erhalten, gespart; der Sturm gehet hinweg!' However, only shortly before this he had written to his sister:

Ich kann den Gedanken nicht ertragen, daß auch ich, wie mancher andere, in der kritischen Lebenszeit, wo um unser Inneres her, mehr noch als in der Jugend, eine betäubende Unruhe sich häuft, daß ich, um auszukommen, so kalt und allzunüchtern und verschlossen werden soll. Und in der That, ich fühle mich oft, wie Eis, und fühle es nothwendig, so lange ich keine stillere Ruhestätte habe, wo alles was mich angeht, mich weniger nah, und eben deßwegen weniger erschütternd bewegt.²

This feeling of 'betäubende Unruhe' and the search for a 'stillere Ruhestätte' recur in Mnemosyne, which is concerned with the question 'wie nämlich es/Bei Menschen bleiben soll',

1. V, 266. Beißner, op. cit., p. 83, alludes to this passage, referring to 'jener kühnste Moment der Hälfte', but incorrectly equates it with 'die Mitte der Zeit' spoken of in Germanien. See p.202 for a different interpretation of the latter.
2. Br. 222, 219, VI, 407, 404. Beißner quotes the latter in his notes on Hälfte des Lebens (II, 665), and Beck connects Hölderlin's state of mind with the 'psychischer Wandlungsprozeß, der das allmähliche Nahen der Krankheit ankündigt' and which is indicated by Schwab's description of Hölderlin's condition in June 1800 (VI, 1023).

'hat ein Himmlisches/Die Sinne betäubt'.¹

Antigone is unable to withstand 'der reißende Zeitgeist': Mnemosyne is concerned with how we may do so, and having suggested in the setting of the scene one aid to self-preservation the second strophe concludes with Hölderlin's main solution to the problem:

da gieng
Vom Kreuze redend, das
Gesezt ist unterwegs einmal
Gestorbenen, auf der schroffen Straß
Ein Wandersmann mit
Dem andern, aber was ist diß?

The vulnerability of the 'Wandersmann' is emphasized in the final version, where he 'geht zornig,/Fern ahnend', words which recall not only Hölderlin's general use of 'Zorn' to signify the 'Leidenschaft' which is an expression of man's susceptibility to the divine, but also more specifically the 'zornige Ahnung' of Oedipus, which leads to the 'zorniges Unmaas', 'das, zerstörungsfroh, der reißenden Zeit nur folgt'.²

The defence against this vulnerability is the remembrance of the past, and it is this part of the content of the second strophe which Hölderlin incorporated in the final version of the first. The cross of which the travellers talk is one that

1. Hölderlin had at an earlier date seen the poet as being exposed to the danger of destruction as the result of his proximity to God and believed that he could be afforded protection by his purity: 'Denn sind nur reinen Herzens,/Wie Kinder, wir,... bleibt in den hochherstürzenden Stürmen/Des Gottes, wenn er nahet, das Herz doch fest' ('Wie wenn am Feiertage...', II, 120. Cf. Blödigkeit, II, 66; Dichterberuf, II, 48). In the period of Mnemosyne this manner of finding 'ein Bleiben' is expressed in terms of the 'Moment der Hälfte': 'Nemlich rein/Zu seyn, ist Geschik, ein Leben, das ein Herz hat,/Vor solchem Angesicht', und dauert über die Hälfte' (Patmos (Bruchstücke der späteren Fassung), II, 182).
2. Anmerkungen zum Oedipus, V, 198.

'Gesezt ist unterwegs einmal/Gestorbenen'. Its stability 'auf der schroffen Straß' offers, like 'Gesetz', some security in a time of 'Gesetzlosigkeit'. It is a memorial to those who have died in a similar situation, like the Greek heroes who died in the chaotic conditions of the Trojan War and who are formally linked with the 'Gestorbenen' of the second strophe by the repetition of the word in the third (lines 2, 9). But the remembrance of these heroes is doubly beneficial: they not only represent the past in general and thus provide an anchor against 'der reißende Zeitgeist', but they are also an example of the danger which is to be resisted. The cross in the mountains is a warning as well as a memorial and may be compared with the spot where a brother poet was overwhelmed by the waters which symbolize the danger involved in his profession:

Wenn des Abends vorbei Einer der Unsern kömmt,
Wo der Bruder ihm sank, denket er manches wohl
An der warnenden Stelle,
Schweigt und gehet gerüsteter.¹

The value of such heroes as a warning to others also plays an important part in the second version of Der Einzige, in which Hölderlin's growing preoccupation with the problem of 'die Todeslust' led him into seeing as a common characteristic of Christ and Dionysus the help they give man in resisting it. The result is that the problem of comparing Christ and 'die weltlichen Männer', that is Dionysus and Herakles, becomes subordinated to a discussion of the means of resisting the 'Todeslust' and the reasons for God's forbearance in the present, and only in the third version is the conclusion

1. Dichtermuth (I), II, 63.

reached: 'So sind jene sich gleich.'¹

In the second version Hölderlin addresses Christ:

du bist Bruder auch des Eviens, der
Die Todeslust der Völker aufhält und zerreiet den Fallstrik,
Fein sehen die Menschen, da sie
Nicht gehn den Weg des Todes und hten das Maas, da einer
Etwas fr sich ist, den Augenblick
Das Geschik der groen Zeit auch
Ihr Feuer frchmend, treffen sie, und wo
Des Wegs ein anderes geht, da sehen sie
Auch, wo ein Geschik sei, machen aber
Das sicher, Menschen gleichend oder Gesezen.²

Those who 'hten das Maas, da einer/Etwas fr sich ist' are those who 'sich festhalten' and avoid the fate of being 'auer sich' suffered by Ajax. In their fear of the 'Blick der Augen' of God (MHG 'ougenblic') and the destructive fate described in the Ajax translation with the words 'Alles ziehet hinweg die groe Zeit' they heed the warning conveyed by the fate of those who have acknowledged 'den Geist des Hchsten gesezlos' and themselves prefer 'das Ehren Gottes, als eines gesezten'.³

1. II, 155, 163.

2. II, 158f.

3. V, 280 (Ajax 714); Anmerkungen zur Antigon, V, 268.

Since this interpretation differs from those of other recent commentators it needs some justification. All give 'Augenblick' its present sense of 'moment', but that it is to be understood in its root meaning is clear from the lines immediately following the passage quoted: 'Es entbrennet aber sein Zorn; da nemlich/Das Zeichen die Erde berhrt, allmhlich/Aus Augen gekommen, als an einer Leiter.' The same image occurs in Patmos: 'Wenn aber, als/Von schwellenden Augenbraunen/Der Welt vergessen/Stilleuchtende Kraft aus heiliger Schrift fllt...' (II, 171). Beiner, V, 486, comments on a similar use of 'Augenblick' in Antigon 105f. (102ff.), ('O Licht.../O Augenblick des goldenen Tages') that 'Blik' is 'in seiner alten Bedeutung als "Blitz", als "heller und schneller Glanz" aufzufassen' and compares Antigon 102 (99) ('Blik der Sonne'), 263 (253) ('der erste Tagesblik') (V, 209, 215), but apparently overlooks its occurrence in this sense outside the translations. The best parallel to its use in Der Einzige occurs in Der Tod des Empedokles (I): 'unauslschlich ist der Augenblick/Von ihr (der Natur); und siegend wirkt durch alle Zeiten/ Beseeligend hinab sein

The theme of a 'Bleiben' which is achieved with the help of lessons learnt from others recurs at the end of this version of Der Einzige. Hölderlin speaks first of the safety of children, who being still part of the divine unity of the universe are not endangered by the anger with which God destroys the excessive petrification of 'Kunst' and 'Gesetz' - 'So auch freuet/Das ihn, daß eines bleibt.' He continues:

Auch einige sind, gerettet, als
Auf schönen Inseln. Gelehrt sind die.
Versuchungen sind nemlich
Gränzlos an die gegangen.
Zahllose gefallen. Also gieng es, als
Der Erde Vater bereitet ständiges
In Stürmen der Zeit. Ist aber geendet.¹

himmlisch Feuer' (IV, 69). Cf. in Der Tod des Empedokles: 'Der Sterbeblik.../Des Lichts' (IV, 35); 'Der Herr der Zeit.../Thront finster blickend über der Empörung... seine Blize leuchten' (IV, 136). Zuberbühler, Hölderlins Erneuerung der Sprache aus ihren etymologischen Ursprüngen, mentions 'Blik' (pp.21, 24), but not the compound form 'Augenblik'. Hamburger, op. cit., p. 191, translates: 'fearing the moment, the fate of great eras and also their fire, they strike.' I agree with his interpretation of the structure of the sentence, though not with his translation of 'den Augenblik' or 'der großen Zeit'. Beißner, 'Ein Hymnenbruchstück aus Hölderlins Spätzeit', Corona, 10 (1941), 283, takes 'den Augenblik' and 'das Geschik' as objects of 'treffen': 'Trotz dieser Vorsicht müssen die Menschen auf den Augenblik, auf das Geschik der großen Zeit des Untergangs zwischen den Reichen treffen.' He punctuates the text of the Kleine Stuttgarter Ausgabe accordingly, with commas after 'Augenblik' and 'auch'. In fact the absolute use of 'treffen' is very close to its use in the phrase 'etwas treffen zu können' as a synonym of 'Geschik zu haben' in the Anmerkungen zur Antigonä (V, 270). Schmidt, op. cit., p. 138, takes 'den Augenblik' as object of 'treffen' (and 'Geschik' as object of 'fürchtend'): 'sie halten sich klug an das Hic et nunc der beschränkten Realität.' His interpretation of 'wo/Des Wegs ein anderes geht' ('Wo aber an die "für sich" existierende Individualität "ein anderes" von außen rührt... etwas Numinoses') is unacceptable in view of the variant 'und wo/Zu weit', since four lines above 'zu weit' is a variant for 'den Weg des Todes' (V, 747f.). Cf. Ant. 538(517): 'ist er weiter' (ἄλλετο, he died); Ant. 925(894): 'nachdem sie weiter gingen' (ὀλωλότων, those who have died) (V, 226, 242).

1. II, 160.

This is an expansion of the earlier statement, 'Den Männern mehr/Gehöret das Licht. Nicht Jünglingen'. Only men are 'gelehrt', have the experience to save themselves by defending the borders of individual existence when 'das Zeichen die Erde berührt...unmäßig/Gränzlos' and 'gränzenlos die Naturmacht und des Menschen Innerstes im Zorn Eins wird'.¹

The words 'Zahllose gefallen' point back to Mnemosyne: 'Und es starben/Noch andere viel.' In the lines which follow these words we find that in the final version Hölderlin has introduced the theme of 'Mnemosyne' into the last strophe too:

Am Kithäron aber lag
Elevtherä, der Mnemosyne Stadt. Der auch als
Ablegte den Mantel Gott, das abendliche nachher löste
Die Loken. Himmlische nemlich sind
Unwillig, wenn einer nicht die Seele schonend sich
Zusammengenommen, aber er muß doch; dem
Gleich fehlet die Trauer.

Beißner elucidates these lines by referring to the passage in which Hesiod describes the union of Zeus and Mnemosyne, γουνοῖσιν Ἐλευθερος μεδέουσα, who reigns over the hills of Eleuther.² To understand the significance of this picture, however, one must see the lines in their context, noting the conjunctions which show the sequence of thought: 'Und es starben/Noch andere viel. Am Kithäron aber lag/Elevtherä, der Mnemosyne Stadt... Himmlische nemlich sind/Unwillig...' Throughout the Greek 'Götterttag' in accordance with divine will memory remained a remedy against death. As a divine gift which was not needed when man was no longer exposed to contact with God it perished with his departure from earth, but in the present 'Stürmen der Zeit' it must be revived.

1. II, 159; Anmerkungen zum Oedipus, V, 201.

2. Theogony, 54. Beißner, II, 829, also refers to Pausanias' description of its ruins in the second century A.D.

From the union of Zeus and Mnemosyne, the memory on which the poet was dependent before the invention of writing, were born the Muses, the goddesses of literature. It is probable that Hölderlin was familiar with the whole of this passage of Hesiod which celebrates them, and possible that he was interpreting in his own way the relief from sorrow and grief (πένθος could be translated as 'Trauer') which comes when 'a singer, the servant of the Muses, celebrates the glorious deeds of men of old' (εἰ...δοιδὸς / Μουσᾶων θεράπων κλέεα προτέρων ἀνθρώπων / ὕμνηση).¹ Sophocles was such a poet, providing a record of the past as a warning and an anchor.

In Hölderlin's interpretation Sophocles' tragedies depict the process by which 'Natur' and 'Kunst' are reconciled. The fate of Ajax corresponds most closely to the scheme he had worked out in the Grund zum Empedokles: Ajax' madness is seen as the taking on of 'aorgische Gestalt' and the interchange of the opposite poles is followed by his death. The idea of madness is also introduced into the Antigonä so that its heroine too is, like Lycurgus, united with God in madness. Like Niobe, she leaves her own sphere for that of the opposite pole , and this interchange is followed by her death.

Hölderlin himself, however, sought to avoid the destructive interchange of the opposite poles, to remain loyal to the pole of 'Kunst' and so, like Danae, to achieve a 'Bleiben vor der

1. Op. cit., 98ff. This passage, which regards princes and poets as equally inspired by the Muses (especially 94ff.), may also have caused Hölderlin to think of them in Blödigkeit as fulfilling the same task: 'Und die Himmlischen selbst führet, der Einkehr zu, / Der Gesang und der Fürsten/Chor, nach Arten' (II, 66). He could certainly have found an inducement to see the princes as well as the poets involved in this task, for Hesiod speaks of the princes as belonging to Zeus and the poets to Apollo, the two gods with whom Hölderlin was always concerned.

wandelnden Zeit'. Just as she counted 'die Stundenschläge', so he remained within the sphere of time by the exercise of memory. Hölderlin's last hymn, Mnemosyne, reveals the significance his Sophocles-translations had for him: he told of the tragic fate of the Greek heroes in order that he might avoid suffering it himself.

VI. PINDAR

It was in December 1803 that Hölderlin finally sent the revised versions of Oedipus der Tyrann and Antigonä together with his Anmerkungen to Friedrich Wilmans.¹ However, the 'Einleitung zu den Tragödien des Sophokles' which he had already promised in his letter of the previous September and which he mentions in both of his December letters appears never to have been written. Having first planned to work on it in autumn 1803, he then postponed it to the first half of 1804 and finally hoped to have it ready 'allenfalls für die Herbstmesse'.² As the interpretation of his translation of the three choruses from the Ajax has shown, Hölderlin's thought remained completely consistent, but it seems probable that he became increasingly incapable of giving it coherent expression without the basis of a text which could serve as a stimulus, and even his translations were now restricted to passages of limited length.

However, it was not the approach of mental collapse that originally led Hölderlin to ascribe such importance to the activity of translation, but the belief that the divine was to be found not only in nature, but also in the inspired writings of the past:

mit Gewalt

Des Tages oder
Mit Stimmen erscheint Gott als
Natur von außen. Mittelbar
In heiligen Schriften. 3

1. Br. 242, VI, 435.
2. Br. 241, 242, 243, VI, 434ff.
3. Der Einzige (III), II, 163.

As Hölderlin became increasingly obsessed with the destructive aspect of renewed contact with the divine, represented by the power of the sun and the rumbling of 'Vater Aether',¹ he was glad to be able to retreat to the indirect contact which such writings could give him. He is like those who in Patmos prefer 'Stilleuchtende Kraft aus heiliger Schrift' to the 'scharfer Stral' of the sun itself. As a result he came to see that it is the poet's task not just to achieve personal union with the trinity of the gods of nature, but also to interpret the writings in which 'Vater Aether' is indirectly revealed:

Wir haben gedienet der Mutter Erd'
Und haben jüngst dem Sonnenlichte gedient,
Unwissend, der Vater aber liebt,
Der über allen waltet,
Am meisten, daß gepfleget werde
Der veste Buchstab, und bestehendes gut
Gedeutet. Dem folgt deutscher Gesang.²

With these words, the concluding lines of Patmos, Hölderlin proclaims as a programme the task which he has undertaken in this hymn, the tending and interpretation of inspired

1. For this interpretation of 'Stimmen' cf. the variants of Am Quell der Donau, in which 'die menschenbildende Stimme' is described as 'Romas Donner' (II, 689).
2. II, 171f. In view of the clear statement in Der Einzige that God is revealed both 'als Natur' and 'in heiligen Schriften' it is difficult to accept Binder's claim that Hölderlin is here rejecting 'falsche Götter' and turning 'vom naturmythischen Pantheismus zu einer sich in der Folge christlich begründeten Dichtung' ('Hölderlins Patmos-Hymne', H-Jb, 15 (1967/8), 121f.). The contrast in these lines is not between a right and a wrong form, but between a less and a more important form of serving God. The poet is now no longer ignorant of what 'der Vater...liebt...am meisten'. In addition, the description of Christ in this hymn as 'der Gewittertragende' and the comparison of him with the sun (see p. 220) do not suggest that the phenomena of nature are false gods which have been rejected. An exclusively Christian interpretation of Hölderlin's late poetry is excluded by the fact that he is concerned with the interpretation not only of the Bible, but also of Sophocles and Pindar.

writings - in this case the biblical account of the events following the death of Christ. But he regarded as inspired not only the scriptures in the narrow sense of the word, but also prophetic works from the divinely inspired Greek past.

It is in this context that we must see not only Hölderlin's Sophocles-translations, but also his translation and interpretation of the Pindar¹ fragments. In 1803¹ he saw translation and interpretation as his primary task and so turned his attention to those passages of a few lines' length which posed no problem for his waning power of sustained coherent expression.

But before going on to examine these fragments we ought first to look back at the translation of ten of Pindar's twelve Pythian and seven of his fourteen Olympian Odes which Hölderlin made in 1800. There has been no cause to examine it before, for we have been concerned not with Hölderlin's style, but with the relationship between his thought and that of different Greek writers - to use the distinction which Hölderlin himself makes with reference to his Sophocles-translation, less with his 'Überzeugung von griechischer Kunst' than with what he regarded as 'der Sinn der Stücke'.² That he was here concerned with the former rather than the latter is suggested by the remarkable literalness of the translation with its retention of the Greek word-order, which leaves little room to question Hellingrath's conclusion that we are here concerned with a 'persönliche Auseinandersetzung mit Pindars

1. Zuntz, Beißner and Benn are agreed in assigning the translation of the fragments to this year. Cf. Benn, Hölderlin and Pindar, p. 23.

2. Br. 242, VI, 435.

Kunstcharakter'. Thus Zuntz concludes, 'Im ganzen behält Hellingrath recht: nicht der Inhalt, sondern die Wortgestalt ist, was Hölderlin im Pindar angeht', and though Beißner is careful to point out that 'Pindarische Motive in Hölderlins Dichtung' and 'Pindar-Reminiszenzen' make it doubtful whether 'der Inhalt so ganz außerhalb seines Interesses lag' he too agrees that the translation represents 'die schriftliche Fixierung einer ganz hingeebenen und angestregten "privaten" Erforschung des Kunstcharakters, wie er sich zumal in der eigentümlichen Wortfolge und im Rhythmus der Vorstellungen ausprägt'.¹

Since here there has been so little room for disagreement, discussion has centred on the question of the character the translation was intended to have, whether it was intended to be an artistic translation or the first step towards one, merely an interlinear version, as it were, to assist his own reading of the original, or, as Benn has most recently suggested, solely an intensive study with the purpose of developing his own style in the school of Pindar.² Less attention has been paid to the question which is more important for an understanding of Hölderlin's relationship to Pindar, what it was that in his eyes made Pindar worthy of such an intensive study. It is true that 'Pindar is treated by Hölderlin as the representative lyric poet - as the one lyric poet worthy to be named with Homer and Sophocles as a supreme

1. Hellingrath, Pindarübertragungen von Hölderlin, p. 22; Zuntz, Über Hölderlins Pindar-Übersetzung, p. 9; Beißner, Hölderlins Übersetzungen aus dem Griechischen, p. 34; Kleine Stuttgarter Ausgabe, V, 372.
2. Op. cit., p. 38. Cf. p. 26ff. for a summary of the different views which have been expressed.

master of his art', but can we not point to anything more specific than the 'spiritual affinity' on which Benn bases his argument that Hölderlin 'adopted Pindar's form because he already possessed something of Pindar's outlook'?¹ We can best answer this question by seeing the Pindar-translation in the context of Hölderlin's view of Greece as a whole.

In the course of this study it has been argued that Hölderlin saw Zeus and Apollo as the personification of the sun and the sky, those celestial aspects of nature which were not only of supreme importance to himself, but with which, he believed, the Greeks lived in unity. It was this interpretation of their religion that dominated his whole view of Greece: hence he always selected for mention those places which were connected with the worship of Zeus and Apollo and in particular saw the celebrations held at Olympia and Delos in honour of Zeus and Apollo as the supreme festivals of Greek civilization, for they were the expression both of the unity of the Greeks among themselves and of their unity with these gods. It is for this reason that Hölderlin sees 'das höchste Fest' of his own country as its 'Delos', its 'Olympia', and it is as representatives of Zeus and Apollo that the Graces and Muses come to Germany.²

If we then look at those works of Greek literature which had special significance for Hölderlin we see that they fit into this general view of Greece. Orpheus was above all important to him as the author of the Hymn to the Sun, that is, for his special connection with the sun-god Apollo. Apollo

1. Op. cit., pp. 38, 50f.

2. See pp. 141ff., 151ff.

is the god with whom Oedipus is united, and it is destructive union with Zeus that Antigone experiences, as does Ajax, for Athena is seen as Zeus' representative.¹

When they are seen in this context it becomes clear that Pindar's Epinicians honouring the victors in the Olympian and Pythian festivals, the 'Besten..., die Gesang/Und Kranz in edlem Kampf gewannen',² have a very special place in Greek literature, for these odes are the expression and record not just of festivals which can be compared with the other sacred athletic contests and the sacred dramatic festivals, as Benn suggests,³ but of festivals held in honour of Zeus and Apollo. It is no coincidence that the festivals Hölderlin mentions are always those in honour of Zeus (Olympian) and Apollo (Delian, Pythian) and that he did not translate any of Pindar's Isthmian or Nemean Odes: the inclusion of the former would have elevated Poseidon to the rank of Zeus and Apollo,⁴ and, since the Nemean festival was, like the Olympian, held in honour of Zeus, the inclusion of the latter would have upset the balance between the two gods which Hölderlin is so often careful to preserve.

But to think only of the occasion and immediate purpose of these Epinicians is to take too narrow a view of them. They are concerned with the celebration not only of the victor in the games, but also of the heroes and the gods:

1. See pp. 35f., 250f., 290f., 311. It is to 'Jupiter Befreier' that Empedokles calls, 'Ich komme' (IV, 80).
2. Empedokles (I), IV, 35.
3. Op. cit., p. 66.
4. It has already been argued (against Beißner, II, 754) that Hölderlin's mention of the Isthmus of Corinth is not to be connected with the Isthmian Games (see pp. 157, 158 note 2).

Ihr Herrscher auf Harfen, ihr Hymnen!
Welchen Gott, welchen Heroen
Welchen Mann auch werden wir singen?

In Olympian II Pindar sings not only of Theron, tyrant of Acragas and victor in the chariot-race, but also of Heracles, founder of the Olympian Games, and Zeus, in whose honour they are held. And thus he easily passes from the praise of the victor to the stories of the heroes and gods, as when in Pythian IX the celebration of the victory of Telesicrates of Cyrene prompts him to tell the myth of Apollo's love for Cyrene. We learn of her abduction and the son she will bear him in Chiron's inspired answer to the god's question:

Des
Mädchens aber, woher, das Geschlecht
Du erfragst, o König? ¹

These are the myths of the land

wo Apollo gieng
In Königsgestalt,
Und zu unschuldigen Jünglingen sich
Herablies Zevs und Söhn' in heiliger Art
Und Töchter zeugte
Der Hohe unter den Menschen. ²

But these odes are not only celebrations of the gods; they also contain prayers to them. Victory in the games is seen as the result of the god's favour:

Du aber, fernhintreffender, den allscheinenden
Tempel den wohlberühmten durchherrschend,
In Pythons Grotten
Die gröste damals
Der Freuden hast du zugetheilt. ³

Hence he is asked to continue to show such favour to the victor and his family ⁴ or to the whole land, as when on the occasion

1. V, 45 (Olymp. II.1ff.); V, 104 (Pyth. IX.43f.).
2. Der Einzige (I), II, 153.
3. V, 100 (Pyth. VIII. 61ff.).
4. e.g. Olymp. VIII. 84ff.

of the victory of the chariot of Hieron, founder of the city of Aetna, Pindar prays to Apollo to grant it continued good fortune and to Zeus to grant peace:

Lykischer und auf Delos Herrscher
Phöbus, und Parnassos Quelle
Die Kastalische liebend,
Mögest du diß zu Gemüthe
Nehmen und das männerbegabte Land...

Ich bitte, winke, Kronion, das stille
Daß das Haus der Phönizier
Und der Tirrhenier Kriegsgeschrei hüte.¹

The particular attraction therefore which Pindar's Olympian and Pythian Odes had for Hölderlin can hardly have been unconnected with the fact that they provided him with evidence of the close relationship of the Greeks with Zeus and Apollo: he thus attributed to them the same importance he had earlier attributed to the Orphic Hymn to the Sun.

The contrast between Hölderlin's translation of the Epinicians and that of the fragments could hardly be greater. From a translation in which Hölderlin completely surrendered himself to the original we pass to one where 'everything in the original that is out of harmony with his meditations is softened or passed over'.² In the commentaries which are added it is significant that the relationship between translation and commentary observed in the Sophocles-translations is reversed: there is no commentary that is not longer than the text it expounds, and whereas the Anmerkungen zum Oedipus and the Anmerkungen zur Antigonä attempt to make explicit an interpretation already contained in the translations them-

1. V, 65, 67 (Pyth. I. 39f., 71f.).
2. Benn, op. cit. p. 46.

selves, Beißner can with justice write of the Pindar-fragments, 'Die Kommentare zu den Fragmenten sind überhaupt weniger durch die Übersetzung angeregt, als daß sie selbst zum Übersetzen ermuntert haben.'¹ Pindar still retained for Hölderlin his character as a prophetic poet, but he now turned not to the Epinicians, but to the fragments, which were so much more suitable for what Walther Killy calls this process of 'pneumatische Exegese'.² About the character of this translation therefore there can be no dispute: more important is the investigation of the nature of those ideas of which Hölderlin sought confirmation in Pindar. It is they which make these translations and commentaries of so much greater interest than the Pindar-translation of 1800, for we are here concerned with one of the last expressions of Hölderlin's own thought.

In the discussion of Hölderlin's creation myth we have already had occasion to look at the commentary to the fragment Das Belebende, in which the original divergence of the poles of 'Natur' and 'Kunst' is depicted in the imagery of the 'Bahn und Gränze' which the river makes 'auf der ursprünglich pfadlosen aufwärtswachsenden Erde', which in contrast with sun and 'Aether' thus becomes the representative of 'Kunst'.³ With this can be connected the depiction of 'Natur' untouched by 'Kunst' in Vom Delphin:

Den in des wellenlosen Meeres Tiefe von Flöten
Bewegt hat liebenswürdig der Gesang.

1. Beißner, op.cit., p. 38.
2. 'Hölderlins Interpretation des Pindarfragments 166', in Über Hölderlin, p. 312 (first published in Antike und Abendland, 4 (1954), 216-33).
3. V, 289 (Fragment 150). See p. 228f. The fragments are referred to by the numbers given in the Oxford Classical Text.

'Die pfadlose Erde' corresponds exactly to 'das wellenlose Meer', and the luxuriant vegetation of the earth in its original state has its counterpart in the interpretation of the sound of flutes as 'die Pfeife der Tritonen, das Echo des Wachstums in den waichen Pflanzen des Wassers'. Hölderlin sees in Pindar's words an image of the unity of nature which had for so long been the object of his enthusiasm:

Um diese Zeit giebt jedes Wesen seinen Ton an, seine Treue, die Art, wie eines in sich selbst zusammenhängt. Nur der Unterschied der Arten macht dann die Trennung in der Natur, daß also alles mehr Gesang und reine Stimme ist, als Accent, des Bedürfnisses oder auf der anderen Seite Sprache.¹

It was in this 'Gesang der Natur' that Hyperion aspired to join in those precious moments of harmony with Diotima:

'Wir sprachen sehr wenig zusammen. Man schämt sich seiner Sprache. Zum Tone möchte man werden und sich vereinen in Einen Himmelsgesang.'²

Beißner attempts to show that Hölderlin's commentaries 'kreisen alle um einen Mittelpunkt', for, believing that his people 'nahe vor einer schicksalhaften Begegnung mit seinen Göttern stünde', he wanted to 'erkennen, wie es um das Wesen jener Begegnung, jenes Momentes bestellt sei'. It is doubtful, however, whether these two fragments should be seen in this light. The commentary to Das Belebende cannot be interpreted as depicting 'die Begegnung im Schicksaal zwischen Mensch und Gott', since 'die gegenseitige Durchdringung der Extreme', represented by 'Strom' and 'Erde', which Beißner sees in the image of 'feuchte Wiesen' would have to be followed by the

1. V, 284 (Fragment 125).

2. III, 53.

resumption by each pole of its own character. But 'die Vegetation' made possible by the river is not a return to the original state of 'die...pfadlose aufwärtswachsende Erde', but rather a contribution to the formation of the course of the river, whose function is to break up this original state of formlessness and so to give the earth the diversity of 'Kunst':

Jemehr sich aber von seinen beiden Ufern das trocknere fester bildete, und Richtung gewann durch festwurzelnde Bäume, und Gesträuche und den Weinstock, destomehr muß' auch der Strom, der seine Bewegung von der Gestalt des Ufers annahm, Richtung gewinnen.

Similarly there is no suggestion in the commentary to Vom Delphin that 'der Accent des Bedürfnisses...ist es, der aus dem grenzenlosen Eineswerden zum grenzenlosen Scheiden drängt', for it is concerned not with the meeting of the poles of 'Natur' and 'Kunst', but with the former in contrast with the latter.¹

Hölderlin's commentaries therefore are concerned not just with the meeting of these two poles in the third stage of the cycle unity-separation-reunion, but with all stages of this cycle. Das Belebende depicts the process of transition from the first to the second stage and Vom Delphin the unity of 'Natur' within itself in contrast with the pole of 'Kunst' in the second stage. The remaining fragments are connected directly or indirectly with the third stage and its immediate sequel, the period that interested Hölderlin above all, for it was the one in which he believed he was living. However, his concern was not with the discovery of the nature of that

1. Beißner, op. cit., pp. 39, 42ff., 54.

meeting, as Beißner suggests, but with the problem of achieving a 'Bleiben' in this period of instability, the problem which, as we have seen, is the theme of Mnemosyne.

This 'Bleiben' is, as the title makes clear, the subject of Die Asyle:

Zuerst haben
Die wohlrathende Themis
Die Himmlischen, auf goldenen Rossen, neben
Des Ozeans Salz,
Die Zeiten zu der Leiter,
Zur heiligen geführt des Olympos, zu
Der glänzenden Rückkehr,
Des Retters alte Tochter,
Des Zevs, zu seyn,
Sie aber hat
Die goldgehefteten, die gute,
Die glänzendbefruchteten Ruhestätten geboren.¹

In this fragment Hölderlin evidently saw a description of the reunion of 'Natur' and 'Kunst': after a period of separation Time brings about the return of Themis, as the law the representative of 'Kunst', to Zeus, the personification of 'Natur'. He was aided in this interpretation by a partially corrupt text: he could see this event as a reunion, a return, since for λιπαρὰν καθ' ὁδόν (by a gleaming pathway) he had λιπαρὰν κάθοδον.² But elsewhere his deviation from Pindar's meaning is deliberate: Μοῖραι (the Fates) are seen as 'die Zeiten', and Themis is made the daughter rather than the wife (ἄλοχον) of Zeus.

It may at first seem strange that Hölderlin rejects the image of the marriage of 'Natur' and 'Kunst', for he himself writes of 'der Brauttag' and 'das Brautfest' which 'Menschen und Götter' celebrate.³ However, in Natur und Kunst the

1. V, 288 (Fragment 10).

2. Zuntz, op. cit., p. 95.

3. Mnemosyne (I), II, 193; Der Rhein, II, 147.

relationship is the same as here, for Jupiter, characterized in the second and penultimate lines of the poem by his 'Gesez', is 'Saturnus Sohn'.¹ In the translation of the fragment it is this relationship which is appropriate, for Hölderlin is concerned not with the parity of 'Natur' and 'Kunst' in a peaceful union, but with the overwhelming power of the former to which man is exposed in a destructive meeting. It is by remaining within the sphere of 'Kunst' that man, 'ein Sohn der Themis', can find a 'Bleiben', and hence the 'Ruhestätten'² which Themis bears are not the children of Zeus, as in Pindar, but hers alone. The translation of $\delta\epsilon$ with 'aber' rather than 'und' makes it clear that for Hölderlin their birth is not the result of this union, but rather a preparation for it.³

It is the content of these last three lines of his translation, the birth of the 'Ruhestätten' rather than the union of Themis and Zeus, that above all interested Hölderlin, as is shown by his commentary:

Wie der Mensch sich setzt, ein Sohn der Themis, wenn, aus dem Sinne für Vollkommenes, sein Geist, auf Erden und im Himmel, keine Ruhe fand, bis sich im Schiksaal beegend, an den Spuren der alten Zucht, der Gott und der Mensch sich wiedererkennt, und in Erinnerung ursprünglicher Noth froh ist da, wo er sich halten kann.

1. II, 37f. Jupiter and Zeus are of course one person, who, however, represents 'Kunst' in the poem and 'Natur' in the Pindar-fragment, as in Antigonä - another example of the ambivalence of Hölderlin's imagery.
2. The word is used by Hölderlin in the letter to his sister which has already been quoted to illustrate his idea of the 'Moment der Hälfte' (see p. 338). Cf. Beißner, op.cit., p.40f.
3. It need not, however, be assumed that their birth is contrary to the will of Zeus, for Hölderlin retains Pindar's characterization of him as 'der Retter', and in Mnemosyne (I) it is stated that 'der Höchste' can intervene to give man the 'Bleiben' normally provided by 'Gesetz' or 'Themis' (II, 193), an idea that is confirmed in Blödigkeit (II, 66). Cf. p. 327f.

Themis, die ordnungsliebende, hat die Asyle des Menschen, die stillen Ruhestätten, geboren, denen nichts Fremdes ankann, weil an ihnen das Wirken und das Leben der Natur sich konzentrierte, und ein Ahnendes um sie, wie erinnernd, dasselbige erfähret, das sie vormals erfuhren.

The meeting of 'der Gott und der Mensch' is consigned to a 'wenn'-clause, and the fragment is interpreted as being concerned with man's reaction in this situation: 'Wie der Mensch sich setzt... und... froh ist da, wo er sich halten kann'. It has already been argued that when in his late work Hölderlin used 'setzen' he had in mind its etymological connection with 'Gesetz'.¹ It is in this sense that he used the verb here too, for it is to Themis, the law, that man owes his ability to 'sich setzen'. But it is evident that a change in Hölderlin's attitude has taken place. It is the source of Hyperion's despair that a moment of thought destroys his unity with nature: 'Meines Herzens Asyl, die ewigeinige Welt, ist hin; die Natur verschließt die Arme, und ich stehe, wie ein Fremdling, vor ihr, und verstehe sie nicht.'² Now, however, Hölderlin sees man turning with relief to 'die Asyle des Menschen' as a refuge in the moment of reunion, and whereas he had previously rejected the attitude of Hermokrates and Creon, 'das Ehren Gottes, als eines gesetzten' in favour of the attitude of Empedokles and Antigone, who 'den Geist des Höchsten gesezlos erkennt', he now welcomes the protection which 'Gesetz' can give, for in the meeting of 'Natur' and 'Kunst' 'muß der Mensch sich am meisten festhalten'.³

1. See p. 269.

2. III, 9.

3. V, 266.

The echo in the commentary of these words from the Anmerkungen zur Antigonä makes it clear that we are here concerned with a 'Bleiben' which must be achieved in resistance to 'der Geist der Zeit und Natur, das Himmlische, was den Menschen ergreift'. It is not the case 'daß also im Schicksaal für eine Weile doch eine Ruhestätte ist, in der Zeit der Wende, wenn Göttliches zur Erde niedersteigt und Menschliches zu Göttlichem sich emporhebt',¹ for the lines of Der Rhein which Beißner quotes in support of this idea, 'Und ausgeglichen/ist eine Weile das Schicksaal', refer to the ideal state of harmonious opposition which succeeds the reunion of 'Natur' and 'Kunst'.² The process of union itself is a destructive one, in which the representative of 'das Organische' takes on 'aorgische Gestalt', 'auf dem höchsten Bewußtseyn dem Bewußtseyn ausweicht', and, on returning to his own sphere, must die in order that a true reconciliation of 'Natur' and 'Kunst' may be achieved - this is the fate that is suffered by Empedokles, Antigone and Ajax. The chosen victim in his 'Untreue' 'vergißt sich..., weil er ganz im Moment ist' and is thus compelled to follow 'die kategorische Umkehr'. The only way to retain 'das höchste Bewußtseyn' and so achieve a 'Bleiben vor der wandelnden Zeit' is to follow the example of Danae, by whom 'die Zeit im Leiden gezählt wird'.³ She displays 'Treue', the loyalty to one's own sphere defined in Vom Delphin as 'die Art, wie eines (Wesen) in sich selbst zusammenhängt', and so resists the temptation of

1. Beißner, op. cit., p. 41.

2. II, 147. Cf. Böschstein, Hölderlins Rheinymne, p. 115f.

3. Anmerkungen zum Oedipus, V, 202; Anmerkungen zur Antigonä, V, 268.

looking neither 'vorwärts' nor 'rückwärts' which is condemned in Mnemosyne.¹

It is in the light of these ideas that we must understand the reason Hölderlin gives for the security provided by these 'Ruhestätten'. The man who enjoys their protection is able to look forward to a future which is identical with the past he remembers: that is to say, he sees beyond the destructive meeting of 'Natur' and 'Kunst' to the period of their harmonious opposition which will follow, just as it preceded, their union. It is this ability that is the source of the 'Ruhestätte', for in looking 'vorwärts' and 'rückwärts' man avoids being 'ganz im Moment' and so, like Danae, achieves a 'Bleiben'.

The corruption of Pindar's ἀλαθείας ὥρας (the true hours) to ἀγαθὰ σωτηρίας² is responsible for the words in Hölderlin's translation which had the greatest significance for him: 'die gute... Ruhestätten'. But there was nothing in his text that encouraged him to introduce into the commentary his explanation of the security provided by such 'Ruhestätten'. However, in another fragment, Untreue der Weisheit, he was able to find some support for it. This he was only able to do by interpreting Pindar's advice as ironic, as Beißner points out, but the commentary touches on ideas that are more central to Hölderlin's thought than a mere 'Erörterung über den jungen Menschen..., über seine individuelle "Begegnung" mit dem Objektiven, mit dem Widerstande der Welt'.³

1. V, 284; II, 197.

2. Zuntz, op. cit., p. 95.

3. Beißner, op. cit., p. 49.

Hölderlin translates:

O Kind, dem an des pontischen Wilds Haut
Des felsliebenden am meisten das Gemüth
Hängt, allen Städten geselle dich,
Das gegenwärtige lobend
Gutwillig
Und anderes denk in anderer Zeit.

The advice which Pindar appears to be reproducing is that Jason should live 'ganz im Moment', an attitude which Hölderlin here, as in the Anmerkungen zum Oedipus, calls 'Untreue'. From the foolishness of such worldly 'wisdom' he deduces the 'Fähigkeit der einsamen Schule für die Welt':

Das Unschuldige des reinen Wissens als die Seele der Klugheit. Denn Klugheit ist die Kunst, unter verschiedenen Umständen getreu zu bleiben, das Wissen die Kunst, bei positiven Irrtümern im Verstande sicher zu seyn. Ist intensiv der Verstand geübt, so erhält er seine Kraft auch im Zerstreuten; so fern er an der eigenen geschliffenen Schärfe das Fremde leicht erkennt, deßwegen nicht leicht irre wird in ungewissen Situationen.

So tritt Jason, ein Zögling des Centauren, vor den Pelias.¹

The vindication of such an education is not just that it taught Jason 'ganz allgemein, als Charakter, getreu zu bleiben',² and so prepared him for the confrontation with Pelias, but that it also equips man to survive the destructive union of 'Natur' and 'Kunst'. He is able to recognize the threat contained in 'das Fremde', the opposite pole, which in Die Asyle was unable to destroy 'die stillen Ruhestätten'. Because he then refuses to restrict himself to the present moment he remains 'getreu' to his own sphere, and in being 'getreu' is able to find a 'Bleiben'.³

1. V, 281 (Fragment 235). Pindar is in fact giving the advice that one should follow the example of the polyps, which adapts the colour of its skin to its background, but Hölderlin understood the πόντιος θήρ to be Chiron.
2. Beißner, op. cit., p. 50.
3. For similarly ambiguous use of the verb 'bleiben' see p. 296.

That such 'Klugheit' is now Hölderlin's central preoccupation is suggested by the fact that in two other commentaries he deals with the same topic. In Von der Wahrheit he is concerned with the lack of it, with the human weakness which makes it necessary to train 'der Verstand' in order to ensure that 'er...nicht leicht irre wird':

Furcht vor der Wahrheit, aus Wohlgefallen an ihr.
Nemlich das erste lebendige Auffassen derselben im
lebendigen Sinne ist, wie alles reine Gefühl, Ver-
wirrungen ausgesetzt; so daß man... irret... des
höheren Gegenstandes wegen, für₁den, verhältniß-
mäßig, der Sinn zu schwach ist.

The truth to which this attitude of fear combined with longing is most appropriate is 'das Wahre' of which Hölderlin writes in Mnemosyne and Germanien,² the meeting of the two poles which in Natur und Kunst are contrasted as 'Lebendiges' and 'Gesez'.³ But 'Gefühl' cannot give man the stability he needs in this situation, so that by implication 'der Verstand' is again assigned a function which is quite different from the subordinate role of 'der bloße Verstand' in Hyperion.⁴

In Das Alter Hölderlin again combats the idea of abandonment to 'das Gegenwärtige', rejecting the 'Untreue' which this involves:

Wer recht und heilig
Das Leben zubringt,
Süß ihm das Herz ernährend,
Lang Leben machend,
Begleitet die Hoffnung, die
Am meisten Sterblichen
Die vielgewandte Meinung regieret.⁵

1. V, 282 (Fragment 194).

2. Cf. p. 328.

3. II, 37f.

4. Cf. p.104.

5. V, 286 (Fragment 202). Seen in this context the fragment does not represent a removal 'von dem Interesse für das Allgemeine und Große, für die Begegnung des Volkes mit der Zeit', as Beißner believes (op.cit., p. 49).

The first two lines translate words of Plato which had been placed before the Pindar-fragment.¹ Hölderlin, however, treats the first three lines as a single unit, as his commentary makes clear:

Eines der schönsten Bilder des Lebens, wie
schuldlose Sitte das lebendige Herz erhält,
woraus die Hoffnung kommet; die der Einfalt
dann auch eine Blüthe giebt, mit ihren mannig-
faltigen Versuchen und den Sinn gewandt und so
lang Leben machet, mit ihrer eilenden Weile.

Thus it is not only hope for the future that gives man security, but also respect for the past. As a result of this ability to look both 'rückwärts' and 'vorwärts' 'der Sinn' is no longer 'schwach', as in Von der Wahrheit, and so destruction can be avoided and long life attained. But this is again achieved at the cost of a reversal of Hölderlin's values, for the approval of 'schuldlose Sitte' contained in the comment, 'Eines der schönsten Bilder des Lebens', represents a complete denial of Empedokles' call to the people of Agrigentum,

So wagts! was ihr geerbt, was ihr erworben,
Was euch der Väter Mund erzählt, gelehrt,
Gesez und Brauch, der alten Götter Nahmen,
Vergeßt es kühn.²

But Hölderlin was concerned not only with survival in the destructive union of 'Natur' and 'Kunst', but also with the period which would follow their subsequent separation. Here too law has a vital part to play, as is clear in his commentary on Das Höchste:

Das Gesez,
Von allen der König, Sterblichen und
Unsterblichen; das führt eben
Darum gewaltig
Das gerechteste Recht mit allerhöchster Hand.

1. Zuntz, op. cit., p. 96.
2. IV, 65.

Pindar only gives Hölderlin the subject of his commentary, the pre-eminence of 'das Gesetz': the justification of this view comes entirely from his own thought. His starting-point is the proof, based on the essential character of each, of the impossibility of a permanent union of the two opposite poles: 'Das Unmittelbare, streng genommen, ist für die Sterblichen unmöglich, wie für die Unsterblichen.' Under these circumstances man needs a means of maintaining indirect contact with God, and this he can do through the law:

Die Zucht, sofern sie die Gestalt ist, worin der Mensch sich und der Gott begegnet, der Kirche und des Staats Gesetz und anererbte Satzungen, (die Heiligkeit des Gottes, und für den Menschen die Möglichkeit einer Erkenntnis, einer Erklärung) diese führen gewaltig das gerechteste Recht mit allerhöchster Hand, sie halten strenger, als die Kunst, die lebendigen Verhältnisse fest, in denen, mit der Zeit, ein Volk sich begegnet hat und begegnet.¹

In adopting 'das Gesetz' rather than 'die Kunst' Hölderlin hopes that his own age will in the future be able to avoid the mistake of the Greeks, who

wollten stiften
Ein Reich der Kunst. Dabei ward aber
Das Vaterländische von ihnen
Versäumt und erbärmlich gieng
Das Griechenland, das schönste, zu Grunde.²

But there can be no 'Gesetz' without a 'Gesetzgeber' who according to the commentary on Von der Ruhe

muß... in reißenderem oder stetigerem Schicksaal eines Vaterlandes und je nachdem die Receptivität des Volkes beschaffen ist, den Charakter jenes Schicksaals, das königlichere oder gesamtere in den Verhältnissen der Menschen, zu ungestörter Zeit, usurpatorischer, wie bei griechischen Natursöhnen, oder erfahrener, wie bei Menschen von Erziehung auffassen.³

1. V, 285 (Fragment 152).

2. 'Meinest du es solle gehen...', II, 228.

3. V, 283 (Fragment 99b).

The connection of thought with Das Höchste is very close, for here too 'sind die Geseze die Mittel, jenes Schiksaal in seiner Ungestörtheit festzuhalten', and it is now expressly stated that we can learn from the mistakes of the Greeks.

In fact Hölderlin treats the two fragments as complementary, for each contains the idea which is the subject of the commentary to the other. The subject of the fragment Das Höchste is 'das Gesez', and the commentary then sees it as able to provide the peaceful relationship between man and God that is based on 'die strenge Mittelbarkeit'. The subject of the fragment Von der Ruhe is 'Großmännlicher Ruhe heiliges Licht', and the commentary then equates this phrase with 'die Geseze'. It is Hölderlin's understanding of the words μεγαλάνωρ ἠσυχία (manly Peace) that is the starting-point of his commentary, for by giving the adjective its etymological meaning (μέγας ἀνὴρ) he is able to see peace as the gift of a great man. Thus, though the fragment deals with the need of the 'Bürger' to 'erforschen/Großmännlicher Ruhe heiliges Licht', the commentary is concerned with the need for 'ein Gesezgeber oder ein Fürst' before this becomes possible: 'Was für den Fürsten origineller Weise, das gilt, als Nachahmung für den eigentlicheren Bürger.'

Thus Hölderlin sees in the Pindar-fragments the portrayal of the complete historical cycle. It is his hope that his people will be granted a 'stetigeres Schiksaal' and his belief that for 'Menschen von Erziehung' 'das... gesantere in den Verhältnissen der Menschen' will determine 'den Charakter jenes Schiksaals', that, as in Antigonä, 'die Vernunftform, die hier tragisch sich bildet, ist... republikanisch'. It is

similarly a democratic society that Empedokles calls for:

jeder sei,
Wie alle, - wie auf schlanken Säulen, ruh
Auf richt'gen Ordnungen das neue Leben
Und euern Bund bevest'ge das Gesez.¹

In the period after the reconciliation of 'Natur' and 'Kunst' the law has the same important function for both Empedokles and Hölderlin. It is in the role they assign to it in the preceding period of the destructive reunion of the two poles that their attitudes differ. Empedokles rejects it, for he is ready to answer the call of 'Jupiter Befreier': 'veralten sollt/Er nicht und Tage zählen.'² Hölderlin welcomes it, for it can help him to remain within the sphere of time and thus to survive the meeting of God and man so that he may finally enjoy the harmonious opposition which will follow their separation, the 'Ruhe' which is the subject of this fragment.

In the examination of the Pindar-translation of 1800 we saw that it is Hölderlin's preoccupation with Zeus and Apollo which is the unifying thread that links his interest in Orpheus, Pindar and Sophocles. His interest in Plato and

1. V, 272; IV, 66. Beißner, op. cit., p. 60, suggests that 'Menschen von Erziehung' are 'die Epigonen...', deren Gesetzgeber die "Zucht" überliefert empfängt, der also erfahrenere den Charakter des Schiksaals auffaßt als der Gesetzgeber der griechischen Natursöhne, welche die Begegnung von Volk und Zeit unmittelbar erleben!. Nowhere, however, does Hölderlin suggest that the union of 'Natur' and 'Kunst' experienced by the Greeks can still be of benefit to his own age, 'uns Epigonen'. The two poles have reached such a state of alienation that only a new meeting can restore the contact between them.
2. IV, 80, 73.

Empedocles can equally be connected with his view of Greek religion, for the divine beauty which Plato taught is also accessible on earth he interpreted as the beauty of the totality of nature which could be comprehended only by the philosopher and was embodied in the goddess Aphrodite, while he saw Empedocles' elements as the individual aspects of nature which, the object of the people's love, were personified in Zeus and Apollo, Athena and Poseidon. But we should be left with an unbalanced view of his interpretation of Greek literature if we did not set against this the development at the end of which the translation of the Pindar-fragments stands and in the light of which it must be seen if its significance is to be fully appreciated. By tracing this development we can follow the changes not only in Hölderlin's relationship with Greece, but also in his own thought, which is never more evident than in its contact with Greece.

As a student he approached Greece with the expectation of finding there the confirmation of his own ideals. Thus, just as in the realm of style he took the distinguishing characteristic of Homer, Pindar and Sophocles to be their harmonious combination of opposite qualities, so in the realm of content he first saw Homer and Orpheus as embodiments of the principle of cosmic love. But his enthusiasm for Orpheus as the author of the Hymn to the Sun, based not only on a delusion, but also on a subjective interpretation, soon waned, for the single poem in which he was interested owed its significance to the fact that it was addressed to Apollo, and he found that there were more rewarding works connected with this god.

Hölderlin's interest in Homer, however, never deserted him, and it was the fascination that the heroic epic had for him at a time when he was himself inspired by the ideal of action that first gave him an objective understanding of a Greek poet. But this harmony with the spirit of the past was based on a passing phase in Hölderlin's development, and when he grew beyond it he continued to see Homer in the light of his own preoccupations, so that his interpretation became increasingly personal. When he had abandoned action for the ideal of personal unity with nature he saw Achilles in the light of this ideal, and when he became obsessed by the threat to the individual's life in a period when 'Natur' is active he understood the deaths of Achilles and Patroclus as the result not of the heroism of the Homeric warrior, but of the 'Todeslust' which grips men at such times.

Hölderlin found support for his ideal of action in his interpretation of the Greek past as a period in which freedom was won by means of action, but he came to realize the futility of attempting to create a new community by means of action in his own day. Such a community, he saw, must be based on a restoration of the relationship with the divine which man had once enjoyed, and since philosophy was no more suited than action to bring about such a relationship he turned from Kant and Fichte to the one thinker who could offer him a solution to his problem, Plato. For Plato taught that the divine is accessible on earth in the form of beauty, and in his doctrine of the alternation of opposites he showed that, far from being a hindrance, Hölderlin's own alternation of joy and sorrow formed the very basis for his inclusion in the 'Kreislauf der

Natur'. Thus in a period when unity with nature had been lost by the community Hölderlin was content to seek it for himself alone, leaving to the processes of nature the renewal of the community which he could not bring about.

His acceptance of a Platonic solution to his problem was not entirely free of non-Platonic elements (the equation of beauty with nature is Hölderlin's rather than Plato's), but it was in his contact with Plato that he came nearest to the acceptance of Greek ideas. In the case of Empedocles such proximity is only apparent, for, although in contrast with his contemporaries Hölderlin returned to the Greek meaning of 'Aether', the nature of his elements is derived from the functions they fulfil in his own poetry. Similarly Hölderlin's cosmogony differs from ancient ones not only in its purely mythical character, but also in the assignation to the sun of a role as important as that of the 'Aether'. In both cases Greek ideas are absorbed into Hölderlin's and adapted for the expression of his own thought.

Hölderlin's lack of interest in the historical Empedocles is evident from the fact that in his changing view of the hero of his tragedy we can trace the decisive shift of emphasis in his thought from the acceptance of personal union with nature as an ideal to concern with the process by which this limited union can be shared by the community as a whole. Whilst Schiller saw man's estrangement from nature leading to the revenge of the latter, Hölderlin worked out in detail how the destructive reunion of 'Natur' and 'Kunst' takes place: the extreme of opposition leads to the extreme of union, in which each pole takes on the character of the other, but the

victim in whom this union and interchange takes place must die in order that the community may benefit from it.

Hölderlin now saw this process as the proper subject of tragedy and turned to the task of making it more easily discernible in the tragedies of Sophocles. The subjectivity of such an interpretation is only too evident, but Hölderlin saw no reason to revise it. Indeed the most remarkable feature of his translations is that they provided progressively convincing confirmation of his ideas. Oedipus is united with the opposite pole at the moment of reaching the extreme point of his own. The fate of Antigone is closer to that of Hölderlin's victim, for death is the sequel of her union with the god, which through his introduction of the idea of madness into the text Hölderlin is able to see as taking place in the interchange of the opposite poles. But his thought finds its most complete expression in his last translation, that of the Ajax choruses: representing the pole of 'Kunst' in its extreme form Ajax takes on 'aorgische Gestalt' in the fit of madness sent by the goddess, and the separation of the two poles which takes place in his recovery of sanity is followed by his death.

An interesting feature of this development in Hölderlin's relationship to the thought of those Greek writers who were important for him is that it follows a very similar course to that of the 'stilistische Entwicklung' traced by Zuntz in his examination of 'die eigenartige Reihenfolge, mit der die Methoden des Übersetzens wechseln'. After a period of 'oberflächliche' or 'bindungslose Freiheit (Hek. 1795 and OI 1799)' comes the 'gänzliche Bindung an das griechische Original' of the Pindar translation, which leads through 'eine gebundenere

Unabhängigkeit (Ba.)' 'zur Unabhängigkeit vom Original und dessen Beherrschung nach tiefstem Erfassen (Oed. 1802) und schließlich zum Eindringen der eigenen Poesie spätesten Stils (Ant. 1803, fg. P I)'.¹ The details of this development are not completely accepted by Beißner. By placing the translation from Euripides' Bacchae before the Pindar-translation he distinguishes two earlier styles: 'ein freies Gestalten vom vorher erfaßten und überschauten Sinn her' and 'die stärkere Bindung an die Wortfügung der Vorlage'. And, believing that the Oedipus translation was begun soon after the completion of the Pindar-translation, he sees its choruses as the product of 'die hinhörende Verfahrensart', whose object is 'die Wortfolge des Originals nach Möglichkeit zu bewahren', though he admits that 'mit jedem neuen Liede scheint der Übersetzer der eigenen Sprache wieder näherzukommen, bis dann schließlich, etwa in den ersten Chören der Antigonä, die Sprache der Übersetzung, was die Art ihrer Bewegung angeht, sich nicht sehr unterscheidet von dem Tone der großen Hymnen'. This method then gives way to the assertion of the poet's 'eigener Wille' in the 'merkbare Abweichung von der buchstäblichen Übersetzertreue' which results from the 'Streben nach Intensivierung'.²

There are thus differences in detail in Zuntz' and Beißner's conclusions, but the basic course of the development traced is in each case the same: from the imposition of the translator's own personality to its complete surrender, and so in growing independence to the startling freedom of the last phase. The

1. Zuntz, op. cit., pp. 65f., 69.

2. Beißner, op. cit., pp. 94f., 98, 109f., 138.

development we have traced from the earliest subjectivity to a more objective interpretation of Homer and the acceptance of Platonic thought, followed by the only apparent proximity to the ideas of Empedocles and the startling subjectivity of the Sophocles-translations - this development is very close to that established by Beißner.

However, too much significance should not be attached to this similarity. In the first place the two developments do not cover the same period: the earliest phase examined by Beißner is represented by the translation of the Oedipus Coloneus chorus made in 1796, while our examination of Hölderlin's relationship to the content of Greek literature began with the year 1790. Thus only in the last phase can Hölderlin's style be regarded as an expression of his attitude to content. And in the second place no real comparison can be made between Hölderlin's relationship to writers as different as Homer, Plato and Sophocles in the way that it can in the case of translations made at different times. Nevertheless, even if we bear these reservations in mind, the fact that the development in the relationship of the style of Hölderlin's translations to the Greek language agrees with the development we have traced in his relationship to the content of Greek literature does lend support to our conclusion.

In his dating of the Pindar-translation Zuntz concludes that 'in einer graphischen Darstellung' it belongs 'dorthin, wo die Linie, die die Entwicklung der Hölderlinschen Sprache anzeigen sollte, die Koordinate "griechische Sprache" schneidet'.¹ If a similar co-ordinate were drawn representing

1. Zuntz, op. cit., p. 69.

the thought of those Greek writers with whom Hölderlin came into closest contact, an oblique line representing the development of his thought would cut it very near the point where Plato was placed, leaving on the left Orpheus and, not far away, Homer, and on the right beyond Plato Empedocles, Sophocles and Pindar.

Hölderlin's translation of the Pindar-fragments thus comes at the end of his development towards an increasingly subjective view of Greek literature: the detailed commentaries show that the restraining effect of the Greek text was even smaller than in the case of the Sophocles-translations, so that in Untreue der Weisheit he could even understand Pindar to mean the exact opposite of what he says. But in general he did not need to go to this extreme, for just as he turned to Plato because he offered a solution of his own most pressing problem and to Sophocles because his tragedies could be interpreted in terms of his own thought, so he turned to Pindar because his fragments dealt with those concepts which were now of greatest importance to himself, above all those of 'Gesetz' and 'Ruhe'. It is the contrast of this pre-occupation with Hölderlin's earlier attitude that is the most striking feature of this translation.

In Der Tod des Empedokles Hermokrates characterizes his opponent with these words:

Gesez und Kunst und Sitt und heilige Sage
Und was vor ihm in guter Zeit gereift
Das stört er auf und Lust und Frieden kann
Er nimmer dulden bei den Lebenden.¹

Hölderlin later saw the relationship between Antigone and

1. IV, 11.

Creon in the light of that which he had already depicted between Empedokles and Hermokrates, for he went further than Sophocles in seeing them as the opponent and supporter of law. However, the situation in which Hölderlin now saw himself induced him to accept those values which his heroes had rejected, for, as in Mnemosyne, he was concerned with survival in the destructive union of 'Natur' and 'Kunst'. He sought to remain loyal to the pole of 'Kunst' by turning with relief to the 'Ruhestätten' provided by Themis, the law. He had for some time sought indirect contact with the divine in the interpretation of inspired writings, a refuge from direct contact with a power whose destructive aspect was becoming for him increasingly dominant. He now found an added justification for this activity. Man is able to remain loyal to the pole of 'Kunst' if he stays in the sphere which belongs to him as 'ein Sohn der Zeit': he can resist the temptation of being 'ganz im Moment' by placing his hope in the future and respecting the 'schuldlose Sitte' of the past, and there is no better way to do so than by devoting himself to the tending and interpretation of 'heilige Sage'. It was by these means that Hölderlin hoped to achieve the peace which Empedokles despised.

One hesitates to make suggestions about the state of Hölderlin's mind in the period when he was wavering on the border between sanity and madness. In the case of such a subject it may seem that what cannot be proved should be left unsaid. But his translations of the Pindar-fragments and the Ajax choruses provide evidence which it is difficult to overlook.

In the madness which Ajax suffered and which Hölderlin also attributed to Antigone he saw these heroes, like Empedokles, suffering the fate of the victim who must take on 'aorgische Gestalt' and die in order that the community may enjoy the reconciliation of 'Natur' and 'Kunst' which is brought about in this process. It was just such a renewal which Hölderlin hoped that his own country would be granted, and it is not inconceivable that as a result of an awareness of the illness that was overtaking him or of the feeling of insecurity that it caused he saw himself as the possible victim who in madness would be united with God and so suffer the fate of the heroes who for so long had dominated his thoughts. Only thus is it possible to explain the reversal of his previous attitude that is evident in the commentaries on the Pindar-fragments, the retreat from the union with the divine that had been the object of his longing. It was his tragedy that the peace which he sought in order to survive the destructive union of 'Natur' and 'Kunst' and which he hoped to enjoy in the subsequent period of their harmonious opposition was only granted him when his mind had collapsed, but at least he was spared the knowledge that the new age whose prophet he had made himself was not destined to come.

APPENDIX

Jochen Schmidt, Hölderlins letzte Hymnen: "Andenken"
und "Mnemosyne"

Jochen Schmidt's new book, Hölderlins letzte Hymnen: "Andenken" und "Mnemosyne", Tübingen 1970, only appeared after my chapter on Sophocles with its interpretation of Mnemosyne had been written. Since its subject, 'die Bedrohung der Individualität und der Verlust der Identität' as 'das Grundproblem des vom Wahnsinn bedrohten und mit letzter Kraft um Fassung ringenden Dichters',¹ is identical with that of my concluding chapters and its conclusions consequently of the greatest significance for this study, it seems preferable to append a discussion of the book as a whole rather than to attempt to assess its arguments in scattered footnotes.

The identity of subject has not surprisingly led to a common interest not only in Mnemosyne, but also in the Anmerkungen zur Antigone and Hölderlin's letter to Böhlen-dorff of November 1802. As a result my interpretation of the letter in terms of the fate of Oedipus and of the concept of 'das Athletische', 'Athletentugend', has received welcome support,² though I still prefer my interpretation of 'Virtuosität' to Schmidt's view of it as 'tödliches Gipfel-glück... Bezeichnung höchster, rauschhafter Kraft'.³ Similarly my rejection of Ryan's interpretation of the motto from Oedipus Coloneus placed before the second volume of Hyperion

1. Op. cit., pp. 79, 75.

2. Br. 240, VI, 432f. See p. 255f.; cf. Schmidt, op.cit., p. 7f.

3. See p. 256, note 1. Schmidt, op. cit., p. 3.

finds confirmation,¹ though I do not believe Schmidt is right in supporting Beißner's interpretation of 'das Gesetzte' in the light of the etymological connection between θεός and τιθέναι.²

More important, however, than the coincidence or divergence of opinion on these points of detail is the central question of Hölderlin's solution to his 'Grundproblem', and here the view I have put forward differs from that advanced in Schmidt's book. He understands Hölderlin to believe that it is only the 'Bewußtsein vom Ganzen' that gives the poet 'sein existentielles "Bleiben im Leben". Nur so vermag er sich vor dem Gefühl des Ausgeliefertseins an die stets wechselnden Ereignisse der "reißenen Zeit" zu retten': 'das "Bleibende"' is 'die Zeitlosigkeit'.³ This conclusion, diametrically opposed to my own, is, however, based on a misunderstanding of a passage in the Anmerkungen zur Antigonä:

Weil aber diese vesteste Bleiben vor der wandelnden Zeit, diß heroische Eremitenleben, das höchste Bewußtseyn wirklich ist, motivirt sich dadurch der folgende Chor, als reinste Allgemeinheit und als eigentlichster Gesichtspunkt, wo das Ganze angefaßt werden muß.

Nemlich dieser enthält... die höchste Unpartheilichkeit der zwei entgegengesetzten Charaktere, aus welchen die verschiedenen Personen des Dramas handeln.

Einmal das, was den Antitheos charakterisirt... Dann die fromme Furcht vor dem Schiksaal...⁴

Schmidt can legitimately describe this chorus as 'Ausdruck höchsten Bewußtseins - eines Bewußtseins, das sich aus dem Blick auf das Ganze des tragischen Geschehens herstellt und deshalb unparteiisch-zeitlos über den in der tragisch

1. See p. 112f. Cf. Schmidt, op. cit., p. 79.

2. Op. cit., p. 76, note 71. See p. 269f. for my own interpretation.

3. Ibid., pp. 46, 39.

4. V, 268.

reißen den Zeit handelnden und ihr ausgelieferten Personen steht',¹ but this 'höchstes Bewußtsein' is not the same as that which is capable of achieving 'dieses vesteste Bleiben vor der wandelnden Zeit', as he claims, for these words refer not to any achievement of the chorus, but to that of Danae, by whom 'die Zeit im Leiden gezählt wird', described in the previous paragraph of the Anmerkungen.²

In his interpretation of Mnemosyne Schmidt accordingly sees 'die schöne Möglichkeit des Bleibens' not in 'das verzehrende "Vorwärts" und "Zurück"', but in 'die erfüllte und bewahrende Gegenwart', understood as 'die zeitlos-glückliche Gegenwart des Augenblicks'.³ He fails to take into account the statement in the Anmerkungen zum Oedipus that it is 'der Mensch' who is 'ganz im Moment' who 'der kategorischen Umkehr folgen muß',⁴ but his own comparison with 'das Bild des sich wiegenden Kahns' in Hyperion is in itself enough to throw doubt on his belief in the desirability of such a state of timelessness: the 'Vergessenheit' to which Hyperion abandons himself is the same as the 'Selbstvergessenheit' in which he longs 'wiederzukehren in's All der Natur', for he imagines that he is lying 'in Charons Nachen', the boat in which the dead crossed the Styx.⁵ In Hyperion as in Mnemosyne the state of timelessness leads to the loss of individuality.

In Mnemosyne, however, Hölderlin fails to achieve this state of timelessness 'weil das Andenken den Andenkenden

1. Op. cit., p. 43.

2. See p. 253ff.

3. Op. cit., pp. 52f., 55. See p. 325ff. for the opposite interpretation of the lines in question.

4. V, 202.

5. III, 9; Schmidt, op.cit., p. 55f.

übermannt'. According to Schmidt 'solches Andenken... hält und bewahrt... nicht, sondern reißt exzentrisch aus allem gegenwärtigen Halt hinaus in die ungebundene "wilde Welt der Todten"'. This is 'ein die ganze Hymne durchziehendes Andenken des untergegangen^{en} Heroischen... - ein "Gedächtnis", das verhängnisvoll entwurzelt'. Yet Schmidt is compelled to regard the title of the hymn as 'doppeldeutig', for he also recognizes 'in dem Wunsch der ersten Strophe, "viele... zu behalten"', '"Gedächtnis" (als geistige Kraft)', 'eine bewahrende, zusammenhaltende Seelenkraft, ein inneres Vermögen, das Halt und Bleiben gewährt und der chaotischen Tendenz ins Ungebundene entgegenwirkt'.¹ Such a duplication would only be acceptable if no other interpretation of the hymn were possible. I have tried to show that this is not the case, and Schmidt himself undermines his own interpretation by seeing in Hölderlin's demand for 'die Pflege des "vesten Buchstabs"' the expression of a 'Lebensnotwendigkeit: in wachsender seelischer Gefährdung sucht der Dichter immer mehr nach einem "Halt"'.² The final strophe of Mnemosyne represents just such an interpretation of the writings of the past (Homer's Iliad, Sophocles' Ajax) no less than Patmos and the completed Sophocles-translations. Hölderlin sought a 'Halt' in 'die Zeit', not in 'die Zeitlosigkeit'.

Perhaps the root of the interpretation that Schmidt puts forward in this book is the assumption that only 'die Zeitlosigkeit' can offer a refuge from 'die reißende Zeit'. But such a belief is based on a misunderstanding of the destructive

1. Op. cit., pp. 53, 70, 68.

2. Ibid., p. 77, note 73.

process by which 'Natur' and 'Kunst' are reunited. In the interchange of the opposite poles God enters the sphere of man, time. Man, however, can only resist union with God by remaining in this sphere too, for to abandon himself to timelessness would be to enter the sphere of God and so to lose his individuality.

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