

A COMPARISON OF  
FRIEDRICH HÖLDERLIN AND JOHN KEATS  
IN THEIR RESPECTIVE BACKGROUNDS  
WITH EMPHASIS ON THE DIFFERENCES  
BETWEEN THEIR TWO COUNTRIES.

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## INTRODUCTION .

There are, as my Bibliography shows, many works on Hölderlin and Keats considered individually, so that any new work that claims, like the present thesis, to be independent, needs some justification.

The questions arise: Is there any sense in comparing these two poets? What is the essence of Hölderlin and the essence of Keats?

It may be simply stated that both John Keats and Friedrich Hölderlin were great poets. The first glimpse we take of them shows us two men living and writing at about the same time, often on similar themes; both with an actual poetic life of a very few years, both with personal histories of a sad and tragic nature. Sharing in some of the characteristics of the Romantic age, they were not necessarily wholly Romantic themselves. Both claimed for themselves the right to challenge authority, and as original geniuses to strike out on a path for themselves.

In the great volume of work which has been published in the last two decades, it has inevitably been discussed whether Hölderlin was a Romantic poet

or a Classic. If a Classic, was it from the Greek point of view, or the Goethean or German? Was he a Romantic in the same sense as Schlegel and Novalis were - or was it not rather in the 'deeper' Nietzschean sense? Or is he not a Romantic Classicist? Was Keats a pure Romantic? Was he a real Hellenist? Whatever answers to these or similar questions emerge in the discussion which follows, there can be no gainsaying the fact that both were poets first and preeminently.

It is not literary backgrounds and relationships which are my main theme. My task is rather to explain and compare the characteristic individualities of these poets, by considering their respective backgrounds. The literature of the past, I think, we can only truly understand, if we can relate it to the history, not only of the political movements, but also of the religious, philosophical and scientific movements of the time.

The particular purpose of this investigation is to ascertain and bring out the differences between Germany and England at that period, and to consider how these two poets, with certain basic similarities in temperament and gifts, developed differently in their different environments. The individualistic point of view lays emphasis on the importance of self-realisation;

on the other hand, the environmental point of view makes primary and fundamental questions such as the value of knowledge or social duties and responsibilities.

By 'environment' I imply more than "surroundings which compass an individual", namely, the "specific continuity of the surroundings with his own active tendencies."<sup>1)</sup>

Though men of genius, leaders of thought and feeling, yet both poets were recognisably grounded in their time, unthinkable outside it. "Panta rhei" said the old Greek philosopher Heracleitus of Ephesus, that is, everything that lives moves. There is no cessation of movement. If it stops, life ceases. Whether we will or not, the perpetual change of our bodies goes on from birth to death. Movement breaks down and destroys the tissues, which are never rebuilt. And in the process the dead discard must be eliminated. We are in constant danger of allowing it to accumulate in our bodies. No less must we beware of letting dead stuff clog up our minds so that we fall in with a routine of accepted ideas, and come into slavery to words and customs. Now Hölderlin and Keats are distinguished by their pure, persistent and successful effort to attain precision and power of expressing to an <sup>in</sup> ~~ext~~ense degree that which was in them and which they knew

1) Cf. The Individual and Environment, J.E. Adamson, 1921, and John Dewy, Democracy and Education.

through their experience of life. Thus we can see them ever striving to free themselves from everything dead or only half-alive, all that would fetter their expression or render it weaker through the matter or the form being second-hand and not peculiarly their own; or it may be something handed down by tradition, or some expression faulty because it is the result of their own sloth of mind or their own haste. With both the activating spirit is the same; a deep desire to be true both to their inner nature and to the outer reality of the material world about them, to express with ever deepening truth the relationship, as they perceived it, of the human spirit to the Universe. Both were intensely idealistic, both belonging to the same mental climate so to speak.

The link of one generation to another is forged by tradition. But it is a tradition of life, and therefore of change. Each of the poets by inheritance and reaction was in some ways directly in the line of tradition of his predecessors. But each contributed his own vivid freshness. Thus their poetry has its glory in this that it represents an everchanging yet continuous growth.

Both poets were seers. Of Hölderlin we may say that he is a seer -vates sacer-; he enunciates a commandment, and because his expression of this rule of life is

linked up with the spiritual circumstances of its revelation, he is a poet. From the allegorical interpretation of Hyperion II we may glean the general meaning that though Keats thought of the true poet as a prophet and seer he had come to see that this position cannot be acquired merely by meditation. So he puts the life of action and conduct first and condemns his own selfishness in leading up till then a purely artistic life. Only by coming into actual contact with human sorrow and misery can the poet acquire real insight and so create matter of value, and himself become immortal. This is the rule of life which Keats propounds.

It is most interesting to find that this was one of the functions of the poet which Hölderlin most admired among the Greeks - the 'vates' - bard and prophet, hero and lawgiver. And as it appears in Hyperion, vague and rather indefinite though the outline may be, we can see how in this first great work he strove after unity in the individual and in an ordered society. Both poets accepted the Greek tradition as an ideal which they love, and to which, however they may adapt and develop it, they endeavour to be faithful.

Both poets have seen most deeply into the meaning of Nature; both brought to their study and the individual interpretation peculiar to each, the supreme qualities of

close and loving observation and sympathy. And both poets resemble each other in the determination which their genius gave to these qualities.

Both poets were deeply conscious that poetry was their mission; it is revealed in their writings, and we have their own words for it too. Poetry as Hölderlin saw it was entrusted with the mission of revealing to a community the gods it should serve. Poetry sums up the circumstances in which a people comes into communion with its gods and in such poetry finds its higher life expressed and realised at one and the same time. Keats's conviction of the poet's office is to be the voice of one proclaiming a message, making clear a vision, transmuting into the words of a less esoteric language the conception and enunciation of a high truth, so that it may be "understanded of the people".

The function of the poet is to draw away the veils that obscure the splendours of Nature, and reveal their true and intrinsic beauty to man, so that in poetry he may find comfort to soothe him when laden with cares, and raise his thoughts above everyday life.

In Hölderlin the quality which strikes us most vividly and which persists most strongly throughout

all his work is undoubtedly his purity. His writings and his life alike are pervaded by an unusual innocence. The same may, perhaps in a lesser degree, be said of Keats. Evil, wickedness, degradation did not exist for them, except, and especially for Hölderlin, to be denounced. In Keats's writings as well as Hölderlin's nothing strikes us more than his high soul and lofty aspiration. The ideal is the same for them both. - It is the passionate idealism of goodness and beauty. In both there is an enthusiasm for perfection in every form. Their highest urge was towards ennobling and beautifying life and reaching the highest possible poetic pitch; two aims which are linked together. They did not use poetry as a method of escape from their disillusion with the world, or resignation to its conditions. Poetry was for them the higher ideal of life towards which the strivings of mankind must be directed. Of the two aims of life poetry is one and the higher life is the other. Nor is it without significance that in both poets this spirit of enthusiasm was found accompanied by a strong strain of melancholy and a note of despondency. Such might be expected from natures so keenly sensitive - natures which were a necessary component of their poetic being.



In Part I it is the differences between the two backgrounds, especially in so far as they arise from deep-seated differences between the two countries and peoples, on which particular stress is laid. It may be a fact, as Dr. Johnson says, that "Nobody can write the life of a man but those who have eat and drunk and lived in social intercourse with him." Unfortunately such a requirement cannot now be fulfilled in the case of Hölderlin and Keats, but we can at least get to know much that was said and done by those who did come into close personal contact with them. So, too, we can contemplate their external circumstances of every kind and so form some idea of the effects these may have had on what they wrote.

During my preparations it became clear to me that such an attempt requires more to carry it through than the sharp clearness of critical reasoning. That is necessary. But it is more necessary to have a psychological and emotional sympathy.

In Part II, therefore, I have endeavoured in this way to trace the growth and development of the soul from its initial stages, with the influences which have been brought to bear on it.

The main sources of information had to be their Works and Letters. These give to each reader that most individual picture of the poet and his background which is eventually always based on the reader's own attitude to life and literature. Fates are hidden in these Letters. They mirror the struggles of the human beings Hölderlin and Keats; they are witnesses of the poets Hölderlin and Keats, revealing poetic minds different from those of their contemporaries; they accompany them both to their much-too-early end -, the one to the years of insanity, the other to his premature death.

I attempt to show to what degree Hölderlin and Keats resemble each other, and how far what was most similar in them came to be differently expressed, partly because of their backgrounds and partly because of their different psychologies.

"Wer den Dichter will verstehen,  
muss in Dichters Lande gehen."  
(Goethe)

In the large amount of reading which I have had necessarily to do I have not failed to notice the fact that most authorities on one or the other poet are, as it were, counterbalanced by other authorities who take a different view of the same facts. In this regard much depends upon one's own attitude towards the matters and therefore it cannot be helped that sometimes one is inclined to accept one authority, at another time another, and at a third time to offer a suggestion which differs from them all.

The indulgence of the examiner is asked for any mistakes in expression or style in this Thesis. I have endeavoured to write English as well as I can; as it is not my mothertongue awkward turns of expression have probably occurred. I hope they will not be allowed to influence the decision unduly.

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- Part I                    A comparison of the social, economic, literary, philosophical, industrial and historical conditions in Germany and England at the end of the XVIII th. and beginning of XIX th. centuries.
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- Part III                    The poets against their historico-political backgrounds,  
the National in Nature and Poetry,  
Hellenism, Myth,  
Love  
Philosophy, Religion, Myth,  
Nature and Culture,  
Nature and Life.

## P a r t I

The period covered by the 'active' lives of our two poets John Keats and Friedrich Hölderlin was for both their countries one of becoming, of transition, rather than of being. Germany at the end of the eighteenth century was only beginning to bestir herself and emerge from the static condition of the Middle Ages. In England the process was almost complete, and the actual end of the century and the first two decades of the new saw the final shaking off of the last lingering traces of Mediaevalism, a process that, in some respects is not yet complete in Germany even to-day.

Of all the differences which we are going to consider between the two countries, perhaps the most striking is their difference geographically and politically. England was a homogeneous whole, not broken into parts by the existence of natural barriers as Germany was. And she had the best of natural borders "... set in a silver sea." Germany's break into numbers of small states was almost inevitable. For her, separation was more natural than unity. England too was inhabited by a race which, though of very mixed blood, had become unified by the slow process of centuries. It had a strong central government. Germany on the other hand

having no natural frontiers, was a difficult task for strong central administration. She was a collection of widely differing states. This "Kleinstaaterei" exerts its influence over every facet of German life. The states which comprised Germany were not large enough for an effective protectionist policy, and the effect of their customs barriers was to cripple interstate trade and commerce. There was no general culture among them. Each state seemed rather to pride itself on its difference from the others, even on its oddnesses, which it recognised as such, and these local differences were, of course, most marked in the case of those states which by geographical situation or by circumstance came least into contact with the outside world.

The political unity of England had been achieved by slow successive steps, each movement consolidated before another step forward was made. Parliamentary government was really a sort of aristocracy influenced on one hand by the King, and on the other by a great respect for the rights of the public and of the individual. In spirit it had little in common with the Continental despotisms of the time, and perhaps even less with the democratic ideas of to-day.

Social differences and political <sup>in</sup>equalities were as a matter of course accepted by all classes. Conservatism, the maintenance of the status quo, flourished. But the process of change was working slowly.

Thus slowly had England built up her system of Common Law - "slowly broadening down from precedent to precedent." So, too, she had a common authority which expressed itself in effective taxation, whereas in Germany the principle of taxation in the eighteenth century seems to have been "to tax those who were powerless to resist". Above all, England had a sort of representative assembly, which, however much it stood in need of the reform towards which it was slowly but surely moving, was an improvement on the general rule of absolutism of Princes prevalent in Germany. "An essential part of the Imperial system was the little Principality whose fortunes depended on the virtues or vices, the smiles or frowns of its autocrat." <sup>1)</sup> An exception, more by repute than in fact, was the Landtag of Württemberg which was considered comparable to the English Parliament. The German Empire, indeed, had the Reichstag; but it was not the feudal council of the realm; it was not an executive body, it was not

1) Gooch, Studies in Modern History,  
p.156



even consulative and it was politically impotent.

England was a united whole. Germany had over three hundred sovereign states, and many more which were almost independent, varying in size from the eight Electoral states to the tiny Hessen-Homburg with seven thousand inhabitants. And these states varied as much in kind as in size. There were the fiefs of Princes, the Free Towns, the Reichsritterschaften. As a result there was an excessive development of bureaucracy, due to the multiplicity of independent units, which was out of all proportion to the number of inhabitants, and far in excess of the requirements of England. The princely families held their lands and power originally from the Emperor ( of the Holy Roman Empire), who supported them in their differences with the minor nobility, the Towns, and the Church. The Free Towns got their power when the natural economy of the self-supporting feudal system broke down owing to the rise of the new money system - i.e. when payment was made for services in money and not in kind. All these differences gave rise to an extraordinary variety of clashing interests, and to interstate jealousies, which produced ineffective coordination in an Empire which should have been federal in nature, but in practice could not work effectively. Gooch in Studies in Modern History page 154 quotes : "In my childhood", wrote Wieland".

I was told a great deal about duties : but there was so little about the duty of a German patriot that I cannot remember hearing the word German used with honour. There are Saxon, Bavarian, Frankfurt patriots, but German patriots who love the Empire as their fatherland, where are they ?"

The beginning of the Industrial Revolution in England has been ascribed to the period between 1750 and 1770, when a perceptible improvement was made on the roads, which since the Romans left the island had degenerated into mere tracks, dusty in summer, impassable in winter. In some places the Turnpike system began to be effective by 1770, as the number of Local Trusts to manage the roads grew, and the roads really improved. This system with all its faults was the beginning of a nationwide system of control. John Macadam's discovery that good and lasting roadsurfaces could be made with small hard stones bound together with a facing of earth on a bottoming of larger stones, gave England the roads she needed for progress. He gave the world his name for a new word "Macadamised", and his new method of roadmaking literally opened up new markets, wider possibilities of intercommunication and the prospect of boundless wealth.

For trade had up till then been mostly local. Posts were slow and expensive. Wheeled traffic was in many places an impossibility, and goods and travellers alike had to go on horseback. With so much inducement to stay at home it is little wonder that only the few, and these the adventurous, travelled about. Such a state of things led to parochial narrowness of outlook. In fact, we might almost say that Macadam with his new roads, and Watt with his steam engine, which Stephenson later converted into the locomotive engine, started the opening-up of the knowledge of other parts of England which led inevitably to the Reform Act.

In Germany, too, intercommunication was difficult. There was a lack of roads. Those that did exist were, on the whole, bad, and their repair and the provision of new ones were problems complicated by the large numbers of authorities and the difficult task of coordinating effort. It is true that the roads of Würtemberg were an exception. But in general, travel in Germany was difficult and slow, especially for those who used wheeled vehicles.

1)  
Hölderlin after his arrival in Waltershausen writes about the "dumpfe Postwagenreise", and in another letter 2)

1) An die Freunde, 30. Dez. 1793

2) An die Mutter, 26. Dez. 1793

he says he was delayed because of the bad roads. In 1795 after travelling to Frankfurt he complains of "die Beschwerlichkeit und Langsamkeit der Reise"<sup>1)</sup>

The roads in the south were said to be better than those in the north, and Reichard says that a traveller could go "from Frankfurt or Nürnberg to Vienna .... without finding an unmetalled main road or a bad service of posts."<sup>2)</sup> Reichard mentions especially the roads of Bavaria, Fulda and the Palatinate, and next those of Württemberg. Travelling was therefore quickest on horse - back, but this was not within everyone's means. The poorer travellers, students and wandering 'Gesellen' had to walk, and all alike had to put up with the indifferent lodgings which could be obtained at the inns. These seem, from all accounts, to have been much inferior, with a very few exceptions, to the general run of inns in England. There was, of course, transport by water, so very suitable, and often the only sort available, for the movement of heavy goods. In Germany, all the navigable rivers were used thus, and some canals had already been made. In England in the early years of George III canals were only beginning. Brindley's Manchester-Worsley canal

1) An Pfarrer Majer, 31. Dez., 1795

2) Reichard, Guide des Voyageurs en Europe, Weimar 1793, quoted by W.H. Bruford: Germany in the XVIII Century, Cambridge 1935.

was opened in 1761, but although Brindley died in 1772, some of his greatest canals were not opened till 1790. In fact, in the matter of transport, as in practically everything else, a movement was going on which it is impossible to pin down to any one decade. The age of pack-horse and riding-horse was giving place to that of barge, waggon and stage coach, so soon to yield in their turn to the locomotive on its iron rails. For dirt-road and bridle-path gave way to turnpike and macadamised road, as they in turn were superseded by the railroad, and now we have, in our turn, gone back to the great high way, and its modern superlative the 'Autobahn'.

As Germany and England differed so widely geographically, they differed no less in their social structure. The English gentry of the day were not a caste. They intermarried freely with the bourgeoisie, and their younger sons, at least, went into trade and the professions. They lived on their estates a life closely linked with the farming of the land. They occupied themselves with schemes for its improvement, and were on familiar terms with the farmers. The idea that the spirit of aristocracy should be closely linked with that of popular rights had grown up from the very soil of England. There were no noticeable oppressions of one class by another, and many small properties made a healthy human society easier.

The spirit between the various classes was not one of equality but of harmony. "Poor and rich together took a patriotic pride in our 'free constitution' which they continually contrasted with the slavery of continental countries." <sup>1)</sup> They were, in fact, content to be "in that state of life unto which it had pleased God to call them."

Contrast with this the great cleavage between the different ranks of society in Germany. The nobility, burghers, and peasants constituted almost a caste system which only at the opening of the 19th. century was beginning very slightly to break down as a result of the effects of the French Revolution. "The nobility were a class apart. They had a different legal status, a different standard of living, different social customs, a different moral code. Their education was different, their taste in art was different; in some cases even their language was different."<sup>2</sup> Their relation to their people resembled greatly that of the Norman Lords in England to their English feudal dependants not long after the Norman conquest. In all these ways they differed from the burgher class, which in turn differed almost as much and in as many ways from the peasants. In fact, "the unity of the Volk was mostly a dream

1) Trevelyan, British History in the 19th. Century, p.19

2) Bruford, Ibid, p.49

of the Romantics." The ruling conceptions of the 18th. century were "Benevolent autocracy and cultured individualism".....the new century's "Ideals of democracy and nationality were to change the face of the world".<sup>1)</sup>

Again, in England, the Church of England was the established church of the whole state. In Germany, each state had its own religion, and they differed widely in the various states - some Roman Catholic, some Lutheran. In England, many of the clergy were magistrates and took an active part in the administration of justice from the magisterial bench. They were closely connected with the squirearchy by birth, mode of life and inclination.

The novels of Jane Austen give a useful picture of the whole period under review, especially of the life of the clergy, who spent their time between the amenities of the manor house, to which many were related, and the rectory, which their education, inclination, and means had made resemble it as nearly as possible. For them there was little religious fervour. Enthusiasm was left to the Methodists; it was not shown by well-bred clergymen. The Nonconformists were to be found mostly in the towns. They were tolerated, but did not have equality

1) Gooch, Ibid, p. 181

with the members of the Established Church : e.g. dissenters had to pay taxes to the Church, while the Church alone could celebrate legal marriages, or bury the dead with a religious ceremony. The Universities were closed to Dissenters, Jews and Roman Catholics. But if the Church was religiously 'lukewarm' the Methodists were enthusiastically active under the inspiration of John Wesley; into its ranks came the neglected poor, to such an extent that we are told "Dissent rose from one-twentieth to one-half of the churchgoers".<sup>1)</sup>

In Germany, there was a distinction between the clergy of Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches, in their origin and natural affiliations. In the Roman Catholic church also the simpler priests too, differed similarly from those of the higher orders. The latter were always of high rank socially. Many were the younger sons of princely houses, and there was a whole multitude of the lesser aristocracy. But the middle-class and the peasants supplied the lower ranks of the Roman Catholic clergy; and all the ranks of the Protestant clergy were recruited from these two classes. "The Protestant theologians were the poorest and most despised students

1) Trevelyan, Ibid, p.25



in the Universities, for it was almost impossible for a needy student to maintain himself in any other faculty. When after years of private tutoring they obtained a living, they had usually more book-knowledge than their Catholic colleagues, but less breeding, having enjoyed fewer social contacts."<sup>1)</sup>

This raises the question of Education in general. The period from about 1789 is a very convenient one at which to begin an examination of the educational system of England, at least, for it saw the re-animation of the ancient Universities and the foundation of the monitorial schools. These two sources of education had a tremendous influence in their own spheres, disconnected, it is true, though eventually a 'ladder' of connection was suggested. In England this renaissance of education ~~was suggested~~ is of a national character, with slight foreign influences. Perhaps the greatest difference in the development of education in England and in Germany is this: the educational systems of Germany were created by the state; in England they grew up independently and with the minimum of state-intervention. So the German systems tend to be clearly marked off in 'strata'. This tendency English education seems to have tried to avoid, even though the

1) Bruford, Ibid, p.50

origin of the different types might lead to isolation.

"England and Wales at this period were unquestionably the least and worst educated countries in Protestant Europe."<sup>1)</sup> While nearly all old-established institutions in England were only just beginning to stir in their slumbers, it need occasion little surprise that education had long been much in abeyance. The Universities had almost given up even the pretence of fulfilling the functions for which they were founded. Oxford seems to have sunk to a deeper degree of inefficiency than Cambridge, and it is little wonder that the number of students at both, and the standard of scholarship were both shockingly low. This state of affairs, of course, stretched downwards to the schools which should have fed the Universities. We are told "The condition of our 'public' or higher schools was worse between 1750 and 1840 than at any time since King Alfred. The grammar schools were largely derelict, often scandalous."<sup>2)</sup> The curriculum of the 'public' schools did not vary much from pure classical teaching. "At Eton, for instance the lowest Form did nothing but Latin grammar; the second the Latin Testament, Catechism and Phaedrus. The next Form began

1) Mathieson, England in Transition, 1789-1832, p.157

2) Marvin, Century of Hope, p.204

Greek, and read Latin selections; the fourth took Ovid, Caesar, Aesop, Terence, Latin selections and Greek Testament; the Remove took Virgil, Horace's Odes, Pomponius Mela, Nepos and the *Res Graeci*. The younger boys did some writing and arithmetic and the fifth took geography and algebra as extras<sup>1)</sup>. We have no reason to suppose that the curriculum at Harrow, to which Keats's father wanted to send him, was very different. The Public schools were merely those of the old grammar schools which had managed to increase their numbers of pupils and their prestige while the others had declined. For the first three decades of the century the Public schools were in a bad way. Apart from the narrowness of their classical curriculum, which led to bad intellectual results, they suffered also from a low moral tone, bullying, and bad feeding and housing. If they had not yielded to the demand for reform they would probably have disappeared.

Space is insufficient and it is unnecessary to trace the rise of the new schools. They were many and some were good. There were about ten thousand private schools which varied as individuals; their curricula

1) Secondary Education in the XIX Century, R.L. Archer, 1928

varied as widely. Their extremes may be exemplified by the famous example of Mr. Squeers's school at Dotheboys Hall, and the enlightened experimental school of the two brothers Hill, near Birmingham, in the early years of the 19th. century, which was transcendentally modern. The curricula of the private schools comprised subjects to suit the parents, and they were particularly well adapted to educational experiments. Some, like that of Mr. John Clarke's school at Enfield, where John Keats went, grafted modern studies on to a modification of the Public schools' curriculum. Classics, Maths, French and English were taught, but history, geography and science received little or no attention. Many of the schools were conducted by clergymen, and there was no 'training' for the profession of schoolmaster. Private education at home was never, since the Renaissance, a feature of much importance in England amongst the only class that could afford it - the wealthy. Rousseau's ideas on home-education had started a real movement, but it applied chiefly to the pre-school age, i.e. up to eight or nine.

There was much on the debit side of the account of Education; on the credit side stand two important movements, both owing their origin to the Dissenters - the Academies and the Charity schools. The Established

Church of England was aristocratic and conservative; it clung tenaciously to classics as opposed to the new 'science'. Therefore the Dissenters were impelled towards democracy, innovations of every sort, and science. Protestant Dissenters, excluded from Oxford and Cambridge, founded numerous Academies of higher and secondary education for themselves. These were so good and on such modern lines that they were attended by many who were not Dissenters. At this time, too, began the Charity Schools movement to provide primary education and discipline for the children of the poorer classes. Both Dissenters and the Established Church shared in this movement, with which are associated the names of the Quaker Joseph Lancaster, and the Indian chaplain Andrew Bell. The sort of religious teaching which was one of the main subjects of these schools, was, in the Lancastrian schools, purely Biblical and unsectarian. These schools were propagated under the auspices of the Royal Lancastrian Society, and later of the British and Foreign Schools Society. Bell and most of the old originally existing charity schools came under the aegis of a body sponsored by the Christian Knowledge Society, called the 'National Society for the Education of the Poor according to the Principles of the Established Church, and there are 'National' schools in England still.

1) For a full account, see Mathieson, Ibid, p.105

An attempt was made in 1807 to secure national recognition of the need for elementary education, and a Bill was passed by the Commons. It was, however, thrown out by the Lords, on the ground that the clergy had not sole control, but a certain amount was vested in the parish authorities.

Lower still in grade than the charity schools were the 'Dame' schools, which accounted for about fifty thousand of the child population. They were probably better than nothing; but the education given was of moral value rather than practically useful, for the children were sent to the care of the old ladies usually too young to profit by any instruction they got, and they were removed, and set to earn their own living, just when they became old enough to learn. As a result large numbers of the adult population were wholly illiterate and could not read nor write, even their own name. For it was generally held as an opinion that workmen should not be educated 'above their class' in case it would make them unwilling to practice the drudgery of manual labour. However it did not put a ban on training them how to perform that labour. The accidental founding of the "Mechanics Institutes" in Scotland and their rapid spread, gave these classes an opportunity to share in the enlightening and stimulation of the

new movement towards scientific study.

So at this time in England only a small proportion of the people could be said to be properly educated; some had a certain smattering, and the majority were not educated at all. The literary and intellectual standards of those who were educated, however, were very high; we may believe that they were higher than those of to-day, when literary taste is debased by the flood of indifferent cheap popular material produced for the 'half-educated'. Perhaps for the production of genius such a state of affairs was not wholly bad. It may even have been propitious, for genius flourishes best when allowed to go its own way. So too, for the boys of the people, the absence of schools may not have been so deleterious as might be imagined. Apprenticeship provided the discipline and training so essential to youth. For the girls of all classes a home training in the household arts was deemed sufficient.

In Germany in general, the opportunities for Education and the use made of them varied widely with the differences in social class. The country gentleman was not very different from the squire. His was a healthy contented parochial existence in a world of its own. The bookish sort of education was little esteemed for a

young country gentleman unless he aimed at court life or foreign service. He attended the village school, or he was educated privately at home, at the hands of the local pastor or by a young theological student. Discipline was lax; interest more on practical things and country pursuits than on book-learning. Some, of course, went to court and pursued a career there; but the majority contented themselves with the management of their estates

The nobility of the court circles, however, demanded for their sons a very different education from that provided by the town grammar schools, with their adherence to Latin and religion as the main subjects of the curriculum. Accomplishments which would fit them for good society were mainly sought after. The official instructions given in French<sup>1)</sup> for the education of Karl Eugen of Württemberg and his brother, repeat the usual expressions about 'godly and virtuous' ways; but stress is to be laid on "Modern Languages, dancing, fencing and riding." Special boarding schools for the nobility - Ritterakademien - followed much the same idea, a little Latin, not pedantically laboured, Italian, English and Spanish. German had a place in the curriculum. History

1) Cf. Biedermann II, i, 75, quoted by Bruford, Ibid.



and Law were considered appropriate for those who would develop into future rulers, and so was politics. Mathematics was included as a "useful" subject and so was Rhetoric. On the physical side were various 'Exercitien', and deportment was also essential. The final polish was acquired by the 'Grand Tour' to foreign courts, just as the contemporary young English nobleman might or might not proceed to a University after his Eton or Harrow days, but would end up with a 'Grand Tour' in Europe with a retinue and a 'bear-leader'. This expensive education of the young German nobles tended to deepen the gulf between them and the burghers, as it was not modified, as was the case in many of the great English public schools by friendships between young sprigs of nobility and the sons of the wealthier bourgeoisie. [Nor was any special deference to rank or wealth paid either by boys or masters in the English schools.]

The education of other classes in Germany was carried on in the village schools and in the town grammar schools. In the villages, of course, effectiveness varied with the personality of the village schoolmaster. But although, in some states, education was theoretically compulsory between the ages of six and thirteen, and

free for the poor, in practice it was hardly so. Schools were nonexistent or in bad repair; teachers incompetent; the curriculum at the best comprised reading, writing and a little arithmetic. The Bible and the catechism were the main reading matter. Attendance was irregular and in summer nonexistent. If such was the condition of affairs in the enlightened state of Prussia we can imagine what popular education must have been like in the average small state. Yet by the end of the century there must have been some progress, for a very large number of the peasants must have been able at least to read, or they would not have bought in such numbers the calendars and almanacs published for them.

In the towns, education was on a different footing. The son of an artisan received a home training in domestic industry until he was old enough to be apprenticed to his trade, usually at the age of fourteen. Conditions of apprenticeship were determined by the guilds, and the master, besides giving technical instruction in the craft was obliged also to impart training in morals and manners. When the youth became a journey-man he was received into the Union of Gesellen, which laid down rules for his general behaviour. He now went on his

1)  
 wanderings over Germany, for a period of years, and even into neighbouring countries. This was a valuable continuation of his education, comparable in many ways with the 'Grand Tour'. Wandering handicraftsmen were a feature of German life as late as 1840. Thus the ordinary working-class man saw more of his own country than the man of the same class in any other part of the world. This was in notable contrast to the English workman who often lived and died in the same place as he was born in. It must have had a tremendous effect on the formation of national character. In the same way we can see that the Wanderlieder grew up not only as a result of the Romantic movement, but as a genuine expression of popular feeling and habit.

Those, however, who were intended for the learned professions had a very different 'cursus' at the Latin schools and "Kloster- und Fürstenschulen". Of these some of the most worthy of note were the state schools of Saxony, which produced Lessing and Klopstock, and the Klosterschulen of Württemberg - where Schelling and Hölderlin were pupils - which kept up a steady supply of future theologians to the "Tübinger Stift". Instead of generalising, let us look at the curriculum of one of these schools, such as Hölderlin must have followed. They were boarding-schools, and the pupils

1) Cf. Goethe's Wilhelm Meister.

received board and lodging free along with clothes and free instruction. I am afraid the food was neither plentiful nor good, and the clothing must have been of a dreary sameness, each having to wear, always, a sleeveless black gown. Schools like these were indeed concerned largely with keeping up a supply of able Civil servants and ministers of the Church, and the whole education could be had free by boys of good ability on condition of promising to enter the service of the Church. The main subject of instruction was Latin, with some Greek. Latin was still a 'living' language, it must be remembered, and an essential for every educated man who desired to keep up with the thought of his time. For as many books were still published in Latin as in German.<sup>1)</sup> So Latin was studied as a means of self-expression and a medium of rhetoric, in speech and writing, rather than as an academic study. Content of the texts studied, or their consideration as a cultural medium took a very second place. Greek, where it was taught, was of secondary importance. Xenophon usually supplied the beginners' textbook, and from that he went on to the Iliad. Marshall Montgomery suggests

1) Cf. Bruford, Ibid, p.239 seq.

that study of Greek was perfunctory and unfruitful. Yet Lessing's struggle against the theoreticians and the theatre français should be regarded as a struggle of Hellenism against the Latin spirit. Erasmus had recommended schoolmasters to teach their pupils to read plenty of authors. His list of Greek authors includes Lucian and Aristophanes as well as Euripides, Homer, Demosthenes and Herodotus, and besides the usual Vergil, Horace, Cicero and Caesar, his Latin authors also include Plautus, Terence and Sallust. The reforms of Melanchton and Sturm had weighted the balance more in favour of Latin than Greek, as being more useful to "Theologensprache"; but as a result of the Thirty Years War real Humanism died out of the schools and a merely pedantic Latinism was left. The next reformers were Francke and his followers, who founded rather the "Realschule" than reorganised the Latin and Greek studies. The age of Goethe, warmed by the ideas of Rousseau, looked back again to the

- 1) Cf. Marshall Montgomery, Friedrich Hölderlin and the German Neo-Hellenic Movement, Part I, 1923, p.5 seq.  
 2) Erasmus, De Ratione Studii 1512, Opera Leyden 1703, quoted by M. Montgomery, Ibid, p.9

classical world, as the "golden age" of humanity, and began again to apply its studies as 'humanism', the essentially "natural civilising and educating agency". Their ideas are well summed up in the single word "Neuhumanismus". "Educate your young till they become Greeks, inwardly at least, if outwardly the thing proves impossible, fill them with the Greek spirit, with courage and strength to discover truth, with the free energy of will to take their stand bravely over against external powers and internal hindrance, with the joyous love of all that is beautiful."<sup>1)</sup>

It is a fact that wherever Greek literature has gone it has imparted new intellectual life. This may be due to the fact that the Greeks were the first people to strike out on new lines of thought for themselves. But the fact remains that it was the influence of Greek literature which produced the Renaissance, and brought civilisation after the Middle Ages. Its new zeal, backed by the ideas and aspirations of the French Revolution again exerted a vivifying influence.

1) Fr. Paulsen, Das deutsche Bildungswesen in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung, Seite 101, quotation translated by M. Montgomery, Ibid,

When Schiller wrote his famous letter<sup>1)</sup> describing Goethe to himself, that was what he meant when he said "Wären Sie als ein Grieche, ja nur als ein Italiener geboren worden."

Another great reformer was Gesner, the pioneer and father of the Neo-humanism. His aim was to make possible the delightful and easy converse of the reader of Greek literature with the great minds of old, so that the reader himself would by this means adopt their beautiful thoughts, and be influenced by their impressive language. All this is interesting in so far as it throws much light on the actual learning and teaching of the classics at the time, particularly the Greek classics. For the result of this we have to turn, however, from scholarship to literature. The fact that German literature during its own most classical period is so essentially classical is a remarkable feature of modern European literature. "German literature when it reaches its highwatermark at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, presents an appearance which differs in a quite unique fashion from that of other

1) August 23/1794.

contemporary literatures. Everywhere else we see the apostasy from the traditional classicism which through artificiality and conventionality has degenerated into a pseudo-classicism, being carried out in revolutionary fashion, whereby the individual gave full rein to his own sentiments and feelings, and war was declared and attacks delivered on every kind of form. Then gradually new forms began to take shape in the early years of the 19th. century, and these make possible the rise of new literary schools, which in general are styled 'romantic'.<sup>1)</sup> I shall deal at greater length with this idea when discussing the literary background of the time of Friedrich Hölderlin. To return to the school curriculum which as a boy and youth he followed. Besides classical studies, there was much time given to theology; some mathematics, poetics, rhetoric, geography and physics were taught in the mediaeval style without any very great importance being attached to them. Discipline was rigid and severe, and the relations between teachers and taught formal and cold.

1) Harnack, Der deutsche Klassizismus im Zeitalter Goethes, Berlin 1906, Seite 1.



In comparing Education generally in England and Germany however we find each contributed certain points. Prussia's contribution to the life of Germany - organisation - led to the efficient state control of the schools, which resulted in Germany having a good school in every town a hundred years before England had managed to get even a moderate one. But Germany's system was more rigid, England's had elasticity and freedom. This was so because the aim of Prussian Education was to maintain a particular political system.

In estimating the possibilities of Education in Germany we must always recollect the fact that much depended upon the 'caste' from which the pupil came. Equality of opportunity is a purely modern conception. Advancement in a profession depended not on ability but on the social class from which the boy came. Teachers and ministers, for example, came mostly from the lower middle-class and from peasant families. The offices of state drew their recruits from the better classes of society. <sup>1)</sup> Ability came into its own only in the competitions for scholarships for free education

1) Cf. Paulsen, quoted by Bruford p.247

for the ministry in state schools and the special theological colleges. These turned out so many theologians that the supply exceeded the demand. Those who, on leaving the University, had not the good luck to find a post as an 'assistant Pfarrer' had to eke out their existence as private tutors or schoolmasters. Both these occupations were looked on as temporary expedients, to be quitted as soon as possible, for they were very badly paid, had often to be supplemented by other work, and socially ranked very low. This modesty of emolument was of course not peculiar to Germany. Goldsmith's "Deserted Village" contains the picture of the village schoolmaster "passing rich on forty pounds a year", in spite of the wonder "that one small head could carry all he knew", and the social stigma on teachers, except those of the very highest grade, has hardly been removed in England to this day.

With regard to the education for other professions, we may pay particular note to that needed for the medical profession, seeing that this was the actual work that John Keats was trained for. Conditions in Germany and England appear to have been

somewhat similar. There was a sharp distinction in Germany, as generally elsewhere, between the exponents of pure medicine, and surgeons. The latter were rather skilled artisans than professional men. Their general education was not of an advanced sort and their professional education was more an acquiring of empirical rules and of skill through apprenticeship. They often combined their surgeonship with the craft of barber, and were held in no high repute. On the other hand, the physician, especially with University qualification, ranked high socially. After a good grammar school education in classical studies, the future doctor had to preface his medical course with a short 'arts' course at the University. Then came his professional course, of three years in the Medical faculty, before he was allowed to practice. Naturally the quality of training varied widely from place to place. But by the end of the 18th. century there were medical Chairs in most of the leading German Universities, with provision for the study of anatomy, laboratory methods and clinics. Germany was by then beginning to lay the foundations of that medical study on which she was to build her eminence in the 19th. century.

The supply of well-qualified doctors was by no means equal to the demand, so that the practice of the profession assured a decent living, and patients were nearly all of the upper classes and the aristocracy. The poorer patients had to content themselves with the services of the surgeon-barber.

The beginning of the 18th. century saw surgery in England entering a new phase. Previously proper surgeons generally received their practical training on the field of battle, spent most of their active life with the army, and only settled down to practice on the civil population when too old for the more strenuous military life. They concentrated mostly on the treatment of wounds and on amputations. Other afflictions requiring surgical intervention were left to the ministrations of barber-surgeons or quacks. But in the early 18th. century St. Bartholemew's and St. Thomas's Hospitals suddenly began to expand, and they appointed to their staffs young surgeons instead of the war veterans. The hospitals, of course, contained other patients than those who required treatment for wounds, (obtained e.g. in brawls ); some patients there were who had escaped the attentions of the quacks.

So they were treated by the young surgeons, who did not hesitate to experiment on them, with such success that young men desirous of entering the profession began to go straight to the surgeons of Bartholemew's and St. Thomas's instead of apprenticing themselves to the members of the Surgeon -barbers Company. So the United Company of Barbers and Surgeons had to surrender its guild charter, though a struggle for its privileges continued for some time. But by 1702 the Governors of St. Thomas's officially recognised the teaching which had grown up in the hospital and regulated it. This was the beginning of the great medical schools. Dissatisfaction with the Barber-Surgeon Company grew. The College of Physicians had always treated the surgeons as mere barbers and in every way had emphasised the difference between physicians and surgeons. So by 1744 the surgeons felt that they must remove their disability by breaking away again from the barbers. This they did, and in due course their governing body was formed - "The Masters, Governors and Commonalty of the Art and Science of Surgery". The new Company represented a gain in prestige and in certain financial ways. Surgeons had taken the first step towards becoming

gentlemen, and the end of the century was to see almost realised their ambition of being on an equal footing with physicians. In 1799 mistakes in procedure rendered the Company nonexistent, and in 1800 a charter granted by George III established the Royal College of Surgeons in London.<sup>1)</sup> Thus legitimate surgery became established, but quacks and charlatans of every sort flourished and profited by the ailments and credulity of the people.

The greatest name in Surgery of this time was undoubtedly that of Astley Cooper. He early showed signs of where his talents lay, and at the age of sixteen was apprenticed to his uncle, Wm. Cooper, a senior surgeon at Guy's. Here he imbibed, besides ideas on revolutionary surgery, those on revolutionary politics - he believed in democracy and thought some good might come out of the French Revolution. Such beliefs were considered heinous and threatened to blast his success in his profession. However he became a most distinguished practitioner making up to £ 12,000 a year in fees. In 1820 after an operation on George IV he was

1) Cf. "Surgeons All", Harvey Graham, 1939, p. 259.

made baronet, and was elected President of the Royal College of Surgeons in 1827. This was the man under whom John Keats studied in his final year.

John Keats, we are told was apprenticed to a Mr. Thomas Hammond, Edmondson, at the end of the school session in 1811. The indentures were for five years and a premium was paid by Abbey from John's capital. The conditions of apprenticeship depended entirely on the sort of master one had. Keats became a good doctor; his notebooks have been published in Surgery and anatomy <sup>1)</sup>, and his spare time, of which he may have had a good deal, it suited him well to spend in reading. His ability to concentrate on a task he had to study must have helped him when the time came to memorise his 'materia medica'. But we know very little of his apprenticeship years, which seem to have been placid and happy. The final year of his apprenticeship he spent not with Mr. Hammond, but 'walking the hospitals' in London. At this time he seems to have intended making surgery his avocation, and proceeded to study

1) John Keats's Anatomical and Physiological Notebook, ed. by M.B. Forman 1934.

1)  
 at Guy's and St. Thomas's hospital. His studies comprised courses in anatomy, physiology, theory and practice of medicine, chemistry and materia medica, and he seems to have worked hard enough at them, perhaps with no great 'professional' interest, for he qualified in July 1816 and received the following diploma: 2)

July 25th. 1816

189. Mr John Keats of full age CANDIDATE for a CERTIFICATE to practice as a APOTHECARY in the country.

An APPRENTICE to Mr. Thos. Hammond of Edmonton

APOTHECARY FOR five years

TESTIMONIAL from Mr. Thos. Hammond -----

#### LECTURES

2 COURSES on ANATOMY and PHYSIOLOGY  
 2 " THEORY and PRACTICE OF MEDICINE  
 1 " CHEMISTRY  
 1 " MATERIA MEDICA

#### HOSPITAL ATTENDANCE

Six MONTHS at Guy's and St. Thomas's -

as

Months at

168. Examined by Mr. Brande and approved.

1) Cf. Guy's Hospital reports, New series, Vol. 75

2) Literary Bypaths in Old England, H.C. Shelley.



This was his licence to practice; but he did not avail himself of it, perhaps not that he liked surgery less but that he liked poetry more.

Now we come to consider the Industrial Revolution, the changeover from old to new, from mediaeval times to modern. English life up till then had been based largely on the village system, in which each village was largely a more-or-less self-supporting unit. By the labour of the hands of the villagers of England the great staple industries, such as the Yorkshire cloth trade, were supported. Trade and commerce might require towns as centres; but the actual manufacture was 'farmed out' amongst the cottagers. Yarn for instance, was supplied to them by the merchants, woven in the village homes, and the finished product collected by trains of packhorses and brought to a central warehouse for sale and export. Much of the work was certainly done by the women and children, working the cottage looms. The men did their share too, after they had worked their 'strips' in the common field. Each villager had one or more of these strips, which he cultivated for himself and his family, but only in accordance with a fixed traditional rotation of crops. There was no scope or possibility for experiment. When therefore

the spirit of progress gave rise to the 'improving landlords' and enclosures began, so that scientific farming on a large scale could be tried, what was to happen to the villager who had depended mostly on his crops for his livelihood? He became a wageearner on the land which he formerly worked for himself. The effect of the enclosures was further increased by the other industrial changes of the age, - notably the invention of various machines which caused the removal of the weaving industry from the cottage to the urban factory; the opening of roads and canals fostered new markets, and the subsequent inflocking to towns of those who could no longer subsist in the country, created a demand for more corn. The new regime in agriculture increased the national food-supply and the national wealth. But most of this increase went into a few pockets - to the landlord for rent, to the parson for tithe, and into the bank-account of the large farmer. There was now a great change in the distribution of wealth. Instead of a large class of tolerably comfortable working-people, there was a sharp division. The poor had become paupers, the lower middle-class poor. The disappearance of the village industries and a series of bad harvests put the

finishing touches. The shift of population to the towns began, and the onetime independent agricultural worker hired himself out to industry at starvation wages and for cruelly long hours.

Side by side with the rural revolution developed its urban counterpart. The regulation of various trades which had been in the hands of a privileged few - notably the guilds - and under a rigid code of management, gradually gave way before a principle of open competition, where every man acted for himself and as he thought best, buying in the cheapest market and selling in the dearest, hiring his labour at the rates and under the conditions that suited himself. If he could get it:- and he could, for the rural changes and the rapid increase of population provided an abundant supply of cheap labour, too necessitous to question about conditions, but glad to take what it could get. The result of this was the beginning of 'class-distinctions'. The rich became richer, the poor, poorer; a new type of 'aristocracy' arose - one which depended for its power not on breeding and landowning, but on wealth acquired by the dubious ways of the new industrialisation. Risen from the artisan class by reason of superior ability and enterprise, the new industrialist cared

neither for the 'hands' he employed - men, women and little children, but to him only 'hands' - nor the political movements and military activities of his time unless they interfered with his 'business'. His one concern was his own fortune. He had none of the old "noblesse oblige" which had tempered the relations of the old landowning aristocracy with its villagers, and no background of culture to provide mitigating influences. He was in a curiously anomalous position. Risen from the working class, he felt himself a cut above them, but he was not of, or accepted by, either the old aristocracy or the old capitalist - merchant class.

In all the industries the effect was the same. The growth of invention and scientific knowledge produced an ever rising spiral of industrialisation. For machinery more iron was needed : more iron needed more coal. To get more, steam engines were invented to pump the mines dry. More iron, the result of more coal made more machinery possible. More machinery needed fewer 'hands', especially of the skilled-artisan type, and the subsequent impoverisation and depression led to a further fall in the standard of living. From a social point of view perhaps one of

the most notable, and to be regretted, results of this rapid change from village to town life was the growth of the slums. Ugly houses in mean streets were run up by manufacturers to house their 'hands'. The slum-dwellers had little to cheer or interest them after their day's drudgery was done. Few could read, entertainments even of the 'penny reading' type were few, sport for the masses was unknown. Boxing certainly had a certain interest but its effect was not elevating. The only consolation obtainable was in the public-houses, or from the comforts of religion. Of the former, we may remark that its effects produce the same degradation at any time. Those who wished to find refuge in religious exercises found that the Church of England was not then particularly concerned about the slum-dwellers. It was left to the Chapel to develop the souls and spiritual life of the working class. All sorts of activities were organised - Bible study, extempore speaking, various co-operative activities:- the embryo of the Labour movement first quickened here.

1)  
 In Germany the same process had not yet started. The gild system in the towns still held undisputed sway. Between masters there was co-operation,

1) Der Anbruch des Maschinenzeitalters, in Teubners Geschichte des deutschen Volkes, Dr. Hermann Pinnow, 1928. See Bruford *ibid* p.137 seq., 170 seq. for a long general description.

not competition. Everything was regulated - wages, number of employees, apprenticeship conditions, price of raw materials, standards of quality, prices of finished work. There was no 'middle-man'. The craftsmen had their stalls side-by-side in the market and traded direct with the consumer. Each gild had a monopoly of the production of its particular sort of wares. Gilds were inspired by high standards of workmanship and "a strong ethical feeling" which made the production of goods of good quality for a just price their aim. The manufactures of the gilds were 'home industries'. At the end of the 18th. century Germany had hardly begun <sup>u</sup> to see the growth of capitalism. This began with the "Verleger", generally a merchant of means who used his money in various ways to provide a craftsman with the possibility of exercising his craft. He therefore claimed the say in the disposal of the subsequent product, either by buying it for resale, or by paying him a fixed rate and supplying him with tools and raw material and claiming the product for himself. This latter procedure was the most profitable, and the more usual where the tools or raw material were expensive or hard to procure. This method of working resembles very much that of the pre-industrial woollen

trade of England, referred to before. Such a business was sometimes carried on by a Trust, and there was such a combination of manufacturers founded in 1626 in Württemberg, which in its palmy days employed as many as six thousand workers, but it was very exceptional.

The late beginning of industrialisation in Germany seems to have owed its development to the influx of refugees from Revolutionary France, Italy and Holland. Many had been able to bring considerable amounts of money with them, and they had their skills. They were especially prominent in the North East and Prussia - a circumstance which is said to account for the rapid commercial advance of Berlin. As they were not, being incomers, subject to the regulation of the guilds, they had much greater freedom. Various states, as a rule, encouraged by legislation the particular manufactures that seemed to suit them.

We now pass to a consideration of the philosophic and literary movements of the time. The world of the latter half of the 18th. century had got intellectually and spiritually out of joint. Philosophy, pursuing remorselessly a purely analytic method, guided by no sense of the essential inter-relatedness of all things spiritual and material, was

fast reducing all things to disconnectedness dull and spiritless. Hobbes, and indeed Locke, had explained society as organised selfishness, mitigated by natural sympathy and the force of habit. Political sovereignty was rested too exclusively on ultimate force, art was but a play of fancy released from the control of fact, nature was a chaotic multiplicity, religion was regarded very largely as a system of superstition, which the sceptical either wished to abolish, or were, at the most, willing to retain in the supposed interests of society. Science was, as it still is, based on the idea that the processes of nature are controlled to their last detail by absolute unbroken natural law. The scientific conception of mechanism was applied everywhere. The actions of man were similarly supposed to be controlled to their inmost depths by undeviating natural law. 'Natural' had formerly been supposed to be a limit which it was the business of man to transcend, now it was assumed to be literally all-inclusive. Science and philosophy had completely naturalised spirit, and given up the idea that nature could be spiritualised or in any way transcended. But men were not any longer passively acquiescent in these conclusions: they were impatient



at last against their selferected barriers. Many new influences, including some of the more subtle results of French Revolutionary thought were now coming into effect. The Middle Ages were being rediscovered. Rousseau was placing political thought on a philosophical basis by his theory of a Volonté Generale, which showed that any given political society was in reality a corporate will, unconsciously feeling after and institutionalising the conditions of its own moral growth; that the ideal of the State was that it was a partnership in all art, in every virtue and in all perfection. The disciples of Rousseau and of Edmund Burke were multiplying in number. A great new Republic had arisen in America; a mighty Empire was being claimed by France. Great preachers were going far beyond the conclusions of 18th. century Deism. The God of Deism has been called an "absentee" God. Man had now got hold of the idea that God was a spirit progressively but continuously revealing Himself in nature, in history, in the common life of man and in the individual soul. Physiology and anatomy seemed to require other than mechanical categories to interpret the facts. Poetry and art were assuming new forms, and seemed born to some strange

new consciousness of their mission. Romanticism had arisen with renewed faith in man as having been born with some inherent greatness in his soul, and having some destiny beyond the horizon of any possible knowledge of ours. Glimpses of the vast meaning, the supreme value of things, were all men could have. But a glimpse sufficed.

"I did but see her passing by,  
And yet I love her till I die".

The Revolution in France had its reaction in the Romantic movement in philosophy and literature in Germany. The Romantic movement is not identical with "Sturm und Drang" which immediately preceded it and which is mainly connected with the way in which new ideas swept youthful genius into an attitude of attack on the obstructive forces of tradition. Its leaders were Herder, Goethe and Schiller, and a philosophic force behind it was the work of Jean Jacques Rousseau. But it tended to culminate in a humane Classicism. The Romantic movement, though largely founded on Goethe, occasionally superseded him by an outbreak of individualism hostile to the Classic humanistic ideal. The work of Goethe that most influenced this Romantic movement was "Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre."

The principles of the group of Romanticists that gathered at Jena were, at first, very vague and indefinite. They were drawn together by a common determination to have done with utilitarian Rationalism. They were inspired at once with a new idealism and a new realism. They felt that poetry and art have as much claim to interpret reality as had the abstract reason. Thus Friedrich Schlegel said that it was necessary to unite poetry with philosophy and rhetoric. Romanticism aimed at blending poetry and prose, genius and criticism, the poetry of art and the poetry of nature; indeed, to fuse all these things together, to give a soul of art and wit to the body of thought. Romanticism thus stood for an attempted synthesis of all the things of the spirit - religion, philosophy, science and art, and it disregarded the old barriers of form and content. Fichte's Idealism was made the philosophic basis of the movement. Fichte's life and philosophy indeed, had much of the romantic about them. It was a life of extreme hardship. He was a friend of Kant, and a professor in the University of Jena. This post he lost on a charge of atheism, but got another at Berlin and later at Erlangen only to lose that through the defeat of Prussia in 1806. He returned

to Berlin whence he issued his magnificent "Reden an die deutsche Nation" which contributed in no small degree to the success with which the Germans resisted Napoleon. In 1814 he was carried off by hospital fever contracted while nursing the wounded. The ethical implications of his very difficult philosophical system, which is a development of Kant's, contributed to the Romantic Movement, because the basis of his philosophy is the individual, the ego; and the moral world, even reason itself, is the conscious creation of the ego. Faust's motto "Im Anfang war die Tat" is the essential doctrine of all his work. His idealism was practical and productive, and he was rather a moral than an intellectual force. He preached principles of self-denial and resignation, and that every man must literally carve out his own destiny. From Fichte the Romantic school drew the best of its ethical ideas. At no period were Poetry and Philosophy so intimately associated as in the German Romantic movement. Its poetry came out of deep reflection and a genuine spiritual revival, the leaders of which were Fichte, Schelling and Schleiermacher. Fichte's individualism underlay the transition from Classicism to Romanticism. But the real romantic philosopher was



Friedrich Wilhelm Schelling, fellow student of Hölderlin and Hegel at Tübingen. He became professor of philosophy at Jena, Würzburg, Munich and Berlin, where he died in 1854. Schelling regarded Nature and the spirit as but two aspects of the Weltseele. The fundamental conception of his philosophy is to be found in the words "Die Natur soll der sichtbare Geist, der Geist die unsichtbare Natur sein." And he talks of "Die absolute Identität des Geistes in uns und der Natur ausser uns." Followed to its logical conclusion this doctrine leads direct to mysticism, which was the ultimate essence of Romanticism. Art for Schelling was the highest of all appearances of the spirit, because there the spirit within and without man were fused into one, and the contradictions of life overcame. Schelling did for the philosophy and aesthetics of Romanticism what the theologian Schleiermacher did for its religious thought. He tried to overcome the conflict of religion with life and science, by teaching that religion was not a dry system of dogmas, but an essentially personal concern of the individual man : indeed, only another name for all higher feeling and aspiration. Religion was the poetry of the soul.

In England the richest and most stimulating outpouring of the Romantic movement coincided roughly with Keats's receptive years. Coleridge and Wordsworth had published the "Lyric Ballads" not long after his birth. His days at Enfield saw the appearance of Wordsworth's still richer volumes of 1807. Scott's romantic lays, "The Lay of the Last Minstrel", "Marmion" and the "Lady of the Lake" brightened his apprentice years at Edmonton, and there is no doubt that "Childe Harold" and Byron's other deeply romantic Eastern poems impressed him intensely, as did Wordsworth's "Excursion". In the Romantic movement more than in most the revolution in form and style against the immutable 'classicism' of the previous age is of great importance. In fact the movement, like that of every age of discovery has a two fold aspect - an age of literary experiment, but experiments which are carried out under the impetus and excitement of new subject-matter. This new subject-matter might be said almost to be 'in the air'; it is the common possession of all (Gk. a "ktema tois pasin") so elusive as to defy analysis, a 'Zeitgeist' which controls all the writers. In the Romantic revival we see the poets returning to Nature as a refuge from a society which had got complicated and artificial.

Its leaders were not merely Byron and Wordsworth. We can include no less Napoleon and Wellington, Pitt and Wilberforce. For the Romantic revival implies a certain change in man's outlook; poets strove to recapture and express the interpenetrating of mind and nature, nature and mind. "Outward objects and philosophical ideas seem to increase in their content and their meaning and acquire a new power to enrich the intensest life of the human spirit. Mountains and lakes, the dignity of the peasant, the terror of the supernatural, mediaeval architecture, armour, thought and poetry, the arts and mythology of Greece all became springs of poetic inspiration and poetic joy"<sup>1)</sup>

Of all the currents of this period ( 1748 - 1832 ) of German literature, however, the most notable is the return to Hellenism. "The Orient and Hellas, the Bible and classical antiquity are the two original sources from which since the days of the Renaissance the streams of culture flow down to the whole of modern humanity - and even more than to the rest of Europe do they flow thence to our German people", writes Franz Muncker.<sup>2)</sup> Those streams became separated in the

1) G.H. Mair, *Modern English Literature*, 1914, p. 206

2) Franz Muncker, *Klopstocks Verhältnis zum klassischen Altertum*, quoted by M. Montgomery, *Ibid.*

seventeenth century, but in the eighteenth they are again united. In Klopstock "the classics and the Bible are again united". There was no vain effort by him to do more than mould German spirit and content to the forms of classical antiquity, to "wed" the Greek love of beauty to Germanic strength and depth." He was a true pioneer in this literary adventure. From his time onwards the ancient classics retained their hold on the imagination of German writers, till in the age of Schiller and Goethe, their influence had become unique, growing gradually less objective and formal and more subjective and intimate. The great names of the classical period in Germany are Klopstock and Lessing, Wieland and Herder, Goethe and Schiller. Winckelmann, great in both literature and art, contributed a great share to the movement, and inspired research in "antiquities", the results of which were published as Essays or dissertations. A certain Johann Nicolai, the 'ephorus' of the "Tübinger Stift" was one of the most copious writers of these 'articles'. He died in 1708, after being "Professor der Alterthümer" there. This was the college



Hölderlin was later to attend at the end of the century. Headmasters of schools were then, as in later times, busy bringing out books which would be of use to their scholars. Rector Damm, who is mentioned in Karl Justi's biography of Winckelmann made a valuable contribution to the furtherance of the knowledge of Greek literature. He revised the "Griechische Elementarbuch" of Zacharias Schneide, for the use of beginners, and in 1765 brought out a Homeric-Pindaricum Lexicon for the senior classes. He also did translations, - literal and faithful, though not poetical, of Homer and Pindar, into German. Between traditional classicism and Romanticism came the stage in German literature which we may call "pure classicism" which comes to its full blooming in the united efforts of Goethe and Schiller. Lessing's early works on Greek subjects include "Laokoon" and "Hamburgische Dramaturgie". In both these works he boldly champions the classics and criticises the modern, "dass keine Nation die Regeln des alten Dramas mehr verkannt habe, als die Franzosen", so that we must agree with Harnack<sup>1)</sup> when he says "Für das Aufkommen des Klassizismus gilt es dagegen vor allem den Einfluss Lessings zu erkennen."

1) Harnack, Ibid, p. 19

The culmination of Neo-hellenism undoubtedly belongs to the brilliant period of German literature which coincides with the lifetime of Schiller. From Winckelmann's "Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst" 1754 to Goethe's essay on "Winckelmann und sein Jahrhundert" 1805, the greatness and beauty of classical antiquity is the inspiring theme of German literature.

Herder, finally named "the gatekeeper of the nineteenth century,"<sup>1)</sup> connects Winckelmann and Lessing to Goethe, Schiller and Hölderlin, and it is Herder, in turn influenced by Rousseau and Hamann, Leibniz and Shaftsbury<sup>e/</sup>, Spinoza and Kant, the apostle of the "Humanitätsidee", who first gives us some conception of the spiritual harmony of the Greek which the Germans of that age did so much to foster. Even Wilhelm von Humboldt who was a critic as well as a broadminded statesman, combined a love of Greece with the revolt of Rousseau and the Romantics against the shams of overcivilisation. As it was said of Hölderlin "Er war Romantiker als Hellenist."<sup>2)</sup>

1) J.G. Robertson, History of German Literature,  
p. 293

2) Cholevius, Geschichte der deutschen Poesie,  
p. 423

To turn again to our comparison of England and Germany. In taking account of the advances made in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries by the profession of letters in England, it is not easy to discriminate exactly what each of the parties contributed to it. It appears sometimes as if the public were putting pressure on the publishers to produce books, sometimes as if the publishers were trying their utmost to entice the public to reading. Sometimes the authors are busy stirring up both public and publishers. In some cases the affair assumes an almost personal significance, Scott and Byron for example, and Constable and Murray drawing the public and the other others along their way by almost magnetic personality. It is certain that the genius of Scott and of Byron had a remarkable and powerful effect upon the reading public, and they may, in fact be said to have created a new public for themselves. The appeal of their poetry was wider than ever poetry had appealed before. Even the working classes found alleviation for their mental depression of the post-war period in the vivid imaginings of Lord Byron. Reading his noble aspirations they forgot the harsh circumstances of their daily drudgery and the misery of slummy surroundings.

To the middleclass the Romanticism of Scott was a revelation. They rushed in thousands to buy his poems. The date of publication of a new poem or novel was a 'Red-letter day' eagerly awaited with almost breathless anticipation. Byron they could not help reading with avidity, even if, as occasionally he did, he shocked their moral sense. The numbers of readers grew by leaps and bounds. There had always been a nucleus of those who, even during a period of literary mediocrity, were desirous of reading. So far they had had to be contented with very moderate works. Now that the Waverly<sup>e</sup> novels, for example, were coming hot from the press, it is little wonder that they thronged the bookshops, bought up all the copies, sat up all night reading them, and could find no other topic of excited conversation. Not to have read the latest was to be 'out of things'. All classes were as charmed with the Romantic literature as a child was with a book of fairy tales after a course of "Magnall's Questions"! The marvel is not that the public grew. It would have been a marvel if it had not! An opening appeared for good critical journalism and publishers were not slow to perceive its existence. Various periodicals, monthly magazines, reviews and the like appeared.

The field was opening up before the author. There was more for him to write and more people to write for. In spite of the long, tedious struggle of the Napoleonic wars authorship became a profession capable of maintaining and even rewarding handsomely those who could practise it. The public had become literature-conscious. The leaven was at work which resulted in the gradual reform of education from below upwards as well as from the Universities down. As has been said in the paragraphs about education in England at the time, there was a gradual process going on which is still slowly producing an effect even to-day. The destruction of illiteracy involved a vast production of new books. Publishers seemed in a fair way towards fortunes. All this tended to make the profession of letters a promising one - no longer a mere sideline. "It became an age of professional authorship, and in the ranks of the professionals were men of the first class. There were Southey, Leigh Hunt, Hazlitt, Coleridge, Gifford, Galt, and Washington Irving. Nor is it straining to include Scott after his first years, for the money which he earned he was compelled to earn by the necessity of ambition and later of debt, and he had in truth, despite the competency of his clerkship, no more

freedom than the man whose compelling necessity was for money to live on." <sup>1)</sup> These of course are outstanding names and their monetary rewards are notable. For the Minstrelsy Scott got £ 500 and for the copyright of the "Lady of the Lake" no less than £ 4000. Scott could make £ 10,000 a year on his novels alone. Adam Smith had had £ 500 for the first edition of his much heavier and epochmaking "Wealth of Nations". Byron received very little less from Murray, though for a long time he would not take the money for himself. "For the first two Cantos of "Childe Harold" he had £ 600; he averaged 500 guineas for such tales as the 'Corsair' and 'Mazeppa', had £ 2000 for the third Canto of Childe Harold, £ 1575 for the first two of Don Juan, with the Ode to Venice, and in 1821 received £ 2710 for the rights of 'Sardanapalus', the Two Foscari and Cain". <sup>2)</sup> These, of course, are the great ones of the profession. But even for the moderately talented there were fair remuneration and good prospects - for such as, for instance, Gillies, Laman, Blanchard, Croly and Maginn. Even for articles in the Edinburgh Review, Constable paid

1) A.S. Collins, The Profession of Letters, 1928, p. 133/34

2) A.S. Collins, Ibid, p. 136

from ten to twenty guineas. In 1850, Gillies admitting that, "in 1822 we never dreamed of such goings-on" adds reflectively that "strange to say, even minor authors were paid and encouraged then." <sup>1)</sup> Demand always produces supply. Numerically perhaps the amount of popular literature was less than that at the high tide of the middle of the century; but the writers were proportionately fewer and the remuneration then was perhaps a little better. With such a prospect before him we can see that in choosing to make letters and not surgery his profession Keats was not grasping at a shadow and throwing away the substance. Success in the profession of letters was sure to bring in its train a very satisfying reward in the monetary sphere too.

In turning to contemporary Germany we find that literary earnings were not nearly on the same scale. This was partly due to difficulties of copyrights, caused, like so much else, by "Kleinstaaterei", partly to the fact that there was not such a great public demand for reading matter. There were literary magazines and reviews such as "Teutscher Merkur", Schiller's "Horen" and Schubart's "Deutsche Chronik" and may

<sup>1)</sup>Quoted by Collins, Ibid, p. 145.

others, few of which had a circulation of more than a few hundred copies. Besides these literary and rather learned magazines there were others modelled on the Tatler and Spectator which began to be popular during the last two decades of the century. But their circulation never reached the large figures, - running into thousands, of similar magazines (cf. the Edinburgh Review, which by about 1808 was running to 11000 copies ) nor did the writings of Schiller and Goethe ever have more than 2000 or 3000 copies printed, and these sold very slowly; whereas the sales of Scott's novels reached the figure of 35000 a month, by 1829 when the collected novels appeared. This difference in the numbers published and bought in Germany is also noticed when we look at what authors got for their work. There had not been, as there was in England, a system of literary patronage which had tended to foster poetry through the interest of the aristocracy. Poets had had to struggle along as best they might, and if they were poor had had a hard time of it. The wealthy and those of standing who were talented in this direction had a sort of 'amateur status' and did not ~~even~~ look for or even desire remuneration. Indeed Klop-



stock may be said to have been the pioneer of the professional men of letters. Yet he had to depend on patronage (King of Denmark). "For his *Messias* (1749) Klopstock received 3 Thalers a sheet"<sup>1)</sup>, which is roughly 10/- , and by 1773 he had managed to raise it to 36/- or 40/- a sheet. Wieland managed to get 6700 Thalers from Reich the publisher or about £1000 and this was enough to maintain his family for ten years. Schiller, however, complained that his total gain from the book edition of *Fiesco* was £ 10.10/- ! For his collected works in eight volumes Goethe got £ 300, but new work received higher fees. Goethe had about £ 6 a sheet for his contributions to Schiller's *Horen*, but Schlegel got only £ 3. Yet the ten slim volumes of Thümmel's "*Reiseroman*" made 5000 Thalers for him, (£ 750), more than Goethe and Klopstock together got from the same publisher for their collected works. This is all in marked contrast to numbers published and fees paid in England, and the causes are probably the fact that lack of uniformity in copyrights led to pirating.

The reading public, smaller to begin with, was diminished to the author through the production of unauthorised

1) and seq. cf. Bruford, *Ibid*, p. 277 seq.

pirated editions. The demand for books, too, was not so great.

Thus though Hölderlin wanted to devote himself entirely to his writings he was compelled by economic necessity to take posts as tutor. As man of letters pure and simple there was little or no possibility of maintaining himself. Indeed, in his later years (1804), when the cloud over his mind lifted for a little, and improvement in his condition showed itself, he found refuge in a post as librarian at the court of the Landgraf Friedrich V von Hessen-Homburg. The influence of the courts, in fact, was always very considerable, in literary matters as in everything else. But again Germany suffered through its multiplicity of small states, no one of which was capable of taking the lead to the same extent as London or even Edinburgh. An exception may be made of Weimar which was the spiritual centre of Germany, long before it had a political capital.

A very brief account of events now follows. They can be read in full in any textbook such as the Cambridge Modern History, but a brief synopsis must appear here. The philosophy of the eighteenth century produced the French Revolution and conceived in thought

the idea of democracy which started the movement to Reform in England. This <sup>philosophy</sup> /aroused an intensely national spirit in France which was unchained in Europe and enlisted as the enemy of England. Briefly the course of events was this. The first stage of the Revolution swept away the despotic monarchy of France ( 1789 ) and transferred legislative activities to the elective assemblies. Where the executive power rested it is hard to say. The bourgeoisie held power first, through the National guard, against the dispossessed aristocrats on the one side and the unsatisfied town workmen on the other. It was clear that the balance of power lay with the peasants. The new nationalism of France was in direct antagonism to the feudal regime of the rest of Europe. War broke out with Austria and Prussia in 1792 and led to a situation of such danger that the Jacobins appealed to the peasants and workmen to save the country. The mob of Paris stormed the Tuileries, massacred the King's Swiss Guard and abolished the monarchy in August 1792. War with England soon followed, partly because of the mutual hatred of Tory and Jacobin, partly because England could not allow undisputed possession of the Channel ports of the Netherlands, which

France had occupied. The struggle went on from 1793 to the peace of Amiens in 1801, during which time Britain alone of the various coalitions was continuously maintaining war with France. It resulted in France being supreme in Western Europe, and Britain on the seas of the world.

In the meantime, Napoleon Buonaparte had become First Consul (1799), really perpetual Dictator. France asked only to be ensured the quiet enjoyment of what the Revolution had won for her, - order, security and sound administration.

A brief interval of peace followed the Peace of Amiens, but there followed 1803 - 15 the war against Napoleon, a struggle in selfdefence against a regime of military despotism directed to the destruction of the rest of Europe. Into its vicissitudes we need not go. By 1810 Napoleon had the most of Europe directly and indirectly under his sway. On June 18th. 1815 Napoleon met his fate at Waterloo. Prussia shared with England the prestige of Waterloo, but she spoiled her opportunities by her behaviour; but Wellington and Caslereagh stood out for "security, not revenge" and prevented France being dismembered. While these events were going on in Europe

it is remarkable to notice how little effect the Napoleonic wars actually seem to have had upon the civilisation of the time. Literature and art flourished and produced many great names in prose and poetry. Materially England suffered very little in the era which saw Europe overrun by great armies with the consequent devastation. "Joy was it in that dawn to be alive, but to be young was very heaven" said Wm. Wordsworth. The influence of the French Revolution in England did not, of itself, lead to the growth of a democratic spirit. This was in reality an indigenous growth, of long duration and well established. But it did cause men to question critically all established institutions and to modify their permanence. Political life became reconstituted as the masses of victims closely huddled together in the industrial areas began to look to the ideals of democracy as an instrument for bettering their lot through political action. Trades Unionism began to bestir itself. So much for the masses. But in the 'classes', the newcomer, the middleclass ranging from the captains of industry to the humble clerk in their employ, had no place in the political and municipal system. The population had changed and

shifted since the days of the Tudors, but the municipal areas remained the same. Parliament-inertia added to the municipal standstill combined to clog the vigorous life of the country. The Toryism which set in as a reaction against the Jacobins of the French Revolution gave the new middleclass no share in either local municipal government or Parliamentary government. For a time they too tolerated this state of affairs, through their natural antagonism to Jacobinism, but eventually they embraced Radicalism and gave the first impetus to Parliamentary Reform. Thus the Industrial Revolution had in England politically the greater effect, and the eventual result was one produced by the complicated interplay of external and internal forces, "first one and then another coming forward and forcing its importance on Whig and Tory statesman alike." The influence of the French Revolution was a deeply pervasive one, penetrating deeply but inescapably into every department of life and thought. Such widely differing matters as the Reform of Parliament and the Sunday Schools Movement owed something to it. It was a factor in the movement for the Abolition of Slavery and for various social reforms, such as the laws

affecting child labour, and the "climbing boys". Trades Unionism derived from it and the Factory Acts; popular education and the reform of the English penal code can be linked up with it.

In Germany the various classes, as we have seen, were marked off with sharp rigidity at the end of the eighteenth century. On a system of such long duration the impetus of the French Revolution worked only very slowly. It took till 1848 to free the peasants from serfdom in Austria <sup>1)</sup>, but Prussia had freed hers in 1798 and most of the other states between 1808 and 1816. The penetrating power of the influence of the French Revolution owes its effect to the fact that the doctrine of "Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité" proclaimed the rights, not of Frenchmen as such, but of Man. It was a formidable piece of propaganda, which, unbounded and universal in its application, slipped as subtly as a snake, over all the national boundaries of Europe. La France became La Patrie, and a great burst of nationalistic energy was released. She felt herself inspired to apply this disintegrating force to the feudal states of Europe, especially those that had constituted the Holy Roman Empire. The notion of a unity, - "Christendom"

1) Bruford, Ibid p. 112

had to give way before the nationalistic ideal. Only the sea checked her. In the nationalistic spirit of the English mariner the Revolutionist national spirit met its match. Only when her outrages had inspired Germany, Italy and Spain with a nationalistic spirit too, did she come to her Waterloo on land. This was the chief contribution of the French Revolution to the "anciens regimes" of the Continent: - the inspiration of the spirit of nationality. "The aristocratic emigrés regarded a Church and an Order as units commanding allegiance more strongly than a nation. Indeed their 'nation' was the noblesse of Europe, not the French peasants and bourgeoisie. France in becoming democratic had doubled her sense of nationhood. So Feudal Europe was opposed to Revolutionary France. But, by 1818 Germany had undergone changes and experiences so profound that nationalism and democracy had taken root as ideals in European consciousness."<sup>1)</sup>

The change-over was begun, the Holy Roman Empire was no more.

1) Trevelyan, Ibid, p.77, p.82.



Keeping in mind the social and political as well as the litero-philosophic atmosphere of the two countries, as compared here, it will not be too difficult to obtain from the subsequent discussion of the development of the poets, and of their characteristics (on the limited scale such as the title of the thesis suggests ) a general idea in which ways they were "geistes- and wesensverwandt", and, where they differ, how much of the difference between them can be explained by their temperaments, the influences, social as well as personal, brought to bear upon the young men growing up, and by the fact that Keats was an Englishman of his time and Hölderlin a German with German political and social background, and an education in the German tradition of thought and art.

## PART II

The conditions described form the setting for the whole lives of Friedrich Hölderlin and John Keats. Hölderlin's letters contain many references to the events of his time. This and the style of his letters makes the period always present to us as we read; it shows the influence of his time on his thoughts, feelings and expressions. In Keats's letters we are not often conscious of the fact that they were written over a hundred years ago. The few references to his world do not make these letters historical, and his style, apart from an occasional phrase, is quite modern. Hölderlin's life is best understood by keeping in view the world in which he lived, whereas Keats stands out almost as a modern type against the background of his contemporaries.

Friedrich Hölderlin was born in Lauffen on the Neckar in 1770, twenty-five years before John Keats. John Keats was born in London on either the 29th. or 31st. of October 1795.

"Vom Vater hab' ich die Statur,  
Des Lebens ernstes Führen;

Vom Mütterchen die Frohnatur  
Und Lust zu fabulirn."

In those words Goethe defines the part each of his parents contributed to the development of his personality. The sons of poets are seldom born poets; poetic genius, intellectual and artistic gifts, as well as other talents, hardly ever pass straight from one generation to the next. Goethe himself, the unique genius of German literature, was descended, as we know, on his father's side from artisans. His father, Doctor of Law and 'Kaiserlicher Rat', was the first of his family to be widely educated. Yet his son was a genius. Shakespeare's case, too, proves that we cannot draw any conclusion as to the influence of heredity or environment on the birth and growth of genius. But in order to make a psychological study of a man's life and character, we must take his inheritance into account. ✓

Of Hölderlin's immediate forebears it is enough for us to recollect that his grandfather Friedrich Jakob Hölderlin had been "Klosterhofmeister" at Lauffen since 1730. There in 1762 the poet's father succeeded him, and remained in this position for ten years till his sudden death at the age of thirty-six. The Hölderlins originally came from Nürtingen. Heinrich Friedrich Hölderlin married Johanne Christiane Hayn, the daughter of Johann Andreas Hayn, minister at Cleebrohn in the Zabergäu not far from Lauffen.

Not so much is known about Keats's ancestry.

The origin of his father, Thomas Keats, has not yet been traced. The year 1768 is given as the year of his birth by Sir Sidney Colvin, but as he does not reveal the source of his information and does not definitely state the place of his birth, it cannot be taken as a fact but must be regarded as a supposition. More plausible than Sir Sidney's suggestion is Amy Lowell's account of a letter which she received from Mrs. Hardy.

Mrs. Hardy says that in her husband's youth "there was a family named Keats living two or three miles from here (Dorchester), who, Mr. Hardy was told by his father, was a branch of the family of the name living in the direction of Lukorth, where John Keats is assumed to have landed on his way to Rome (it being the only spot on this coast answering to the description). They kept horses, being what is called 'hauliers', and did also a little farming. They were in feature singularly like the poet, and were quick-tempered as he is said to have been, one of them being nicknamed "light-a-fire" on that account. All this is very vague, and may mean nothing, the only arresting point in it considering that they were of the same name, being the facial likeness, which my husband says was very strong. He knew two or three of these Keatses." <sup>1)</sup>

1) Letter quoted by Amy Lowell, Ibid, p.6

The detail certainly gives the matter a greater degree of verisimilitude, but there is no positive evidence enabling us to decide the question. Severn's remark that "Keats was in a part that he already knew and showed me the splendid caverns and grottoes with a poet's pride, as though they had been his birthright"<sup>1)</sup>, when he and Keats visited the spot identified as Lulworth, when sailing on the "Maria Crowther" from Gravesend, would appear to give greater importance to Mrs. Hardy's suggestion, but again we are not sure that Keats was ever near that place. Sir Sidney Colvin thinks Keats may have visited Lulworth Cove on his homeward journey from Teignmouth<sup>2)</sup> in 1818, taking the southern route from Salisbury by Bridport and Axminster, but this idea is contradicted by some remarks in a then unpublished letter from Tom Keats, in which he says that after leaving Bridport "we travelled a hundred miles in the last two days."<sup>3)</sup> This of course would leave no time for a break of the journey at Dorchester and for sight-seeing. Although in spite of much diligent search I can

1) Sir Sidney Colvin, John Keats, 1917, p. 492

2) Colvin, Ibid, p. 492

3) Quoted by Lowell, Ibid, p. 7

find no record of it, it is quite possible that John Keats visited this district in his early years, provided of course always that Severn's statement justifies us in thinking that the poet was familiar with the Lulworth caves and grottoes. The possession and understanding of natural beauties, the sense that they are one's birth-right, do not necessarily imply previous acquaintance with them or even<sup>a</sup> previous visit to the scenes so regarded.

Against this surmise as to the ancestry of the Keats family Miss Lowell mentions the statement of Senora Llanos (Fanny Keats ) "that she remembered hearing as a child that her father came from Cornwall, near Land's End." The authority for this too is Sir Sidney Colvin<sup>1)</sup>, who however does not mention whether such a statement ever was written. We are equally much in the dark about the original home of Keats's maternal grandfather. The supposition that he came from Penryn,<sup>2)</sup> Cornwall, becomes valueless through the later discovered<sup>3)</sup> knowledge that Mrs. Jennings was a Yorkshire woman, a native of the village of Colne. Mr. Jennings, the poet's

1) Colvin, Ibid, p.3

2) Colvin, Ibid, p.5

3) Abbey Memoir in Miss Lowell's collection.

grandfather, is usually described as a livery-stable keeper in the City. But "the present Keats family believe that he was more than an ordinary livery-stable keeper. One of the granddaughters of George Keats remembers her grandmother to have said that he ran a line of coaches."<sup>1)</sup> Whether he was one of the larger coach-proprietors or not can hardly be traced now, unless one were to examine all the coach registers of the period, but he certainly must have been in a good way of business in that line, as he left a considerable estate. £ 13,000 was a comparatively rare fortune to be made in business 135 years ago.<sup>2)</sup> Thomas Keats, the poet's father, was employed as head ostler in Mr. Jennings' establishment, and became his master's<sup>2</sup> son-in-law. When he married Francis Jennings the management of the business subsequently devolved on him.

John Keats himself does not tell us anything in his letters about his parents. "The character of Keats's mother seems to have been marked by peculiarities, fondness of amusement being one" is a phrase frequently

1) Lowell, Ibid, p.8

2) Reports of Chancery, Vol. XIII, by Francis Vesey, Jr., quoted by Lowell, Ibid, p.26,  
Cf. Colvin, Ibid, p.9,

William Scott, in his Introduction Memoir to his work "The Poetical Works of John Keats" gives the sum as £ 8000

used in biographies. Sir Sidney Colvin mentions a then unpublished memorandum compiled by Keats's publisher, John Taylor, after a conversation with Richard Abbey, Keats's guardian, which is supposed to throw considerable light on Mrs. Keats's character. This memoir, which was sold in 1907, seems to be now in Miss Amy Lowell's collection.<sup>1)</sup> In it Abbey defames Mrs. Keats's character with a certain malicious satisfaction. [I do not think it advisable or necessary to repeat his accusations. The mother to whom a great poet owed so much, and whom he loved so dearly, can stand complete revelation; but Abbey's description is so malicious that it becomes very obvious that he delighted to blacken the character of Mrs. Keats. Such statements can never lead to fair conclusions. The "fondness of amusement" is nothing less than might be expected of a young and vivacious woman of the time when the theatre was a popular resort.] Mrs. Keats was probably a very lively woman, very energetic, and, although not educated, of an intelligence unusual in one of her sex and thereby open to being

1) Lowell, Ibid, pp. 8-15



misjudged by narrowminded people. Thomas Keats appears to have been a man of good sense. He must have been conscious of a lack of education in his own life, for as he is reported to have done, he intended to send his boys to Harrow. This would have meant a classical education, which, if John had got it, as we shall see later, might have tended in his poetry to produce an entirely different result. Unfortunately, this plan was abandoned, for economic reasons, I suppose, but to us it reveals that the Keats parents had high ideals.

Hölderlin's parents were typical Swabians with that deep pensive nature which is characteristic of that race. Especially on his mother's side was this the case. Friedrich loved his mother reverently. He was, like Keats, the first born, and from his numerous letters we can see that she lavished a very special love on him. Let the poet himself tell us what she meant to him.

"Glauben Sie, liebe Mamma, täglich lern ich mehr den Geist und das Herz kennen und ehren, dem ich alles im Grunde danke, was ich bin. Mir ists oft so deutlich und lebendig, wenn ich wieder so einen herzlichen weisen Brief gelesen habe, dass wenige solch eine Mutter haben wie ich, und sehen Sie, dies ist mein Ahnenstolz - dies

ist mir unendlich mehr, als wenn meine Mutter sich  
 Baronesse von pp. schriebe..."<sup>1)</sup> In Hölderlin's ancestry  
 there was intellect, refinement, religion and religious  
 imagination. Mr. and Mrs. Keats showed admiration of  
 intellect in their high ambition for their sons; and  
 closely related to ambition is imagination. Both  
 poets had been inspired by their mothers with an almost  
 excessive affection for their parents :- a profound,  
 reverent love in Hölderlin, a more passionate affection  
 in Keats. They both owe to their parents the strength  
 of character they poss<sup>s</sup>essed. If Mrs. Keats did not have  
 it, her husband, determined to improve his place in the  
 world, must have had it. This congeries of heritages  
 could well engender an artistic temperament, which, to  
 bring forth the poets, only needed power and inspiration  
 to create. A strong, active, resolute disposition,  
 somewhat inclined towards pugnacity, John Keats possessed.  
 But afterwards he came to temper these qualities, with  
 much the same success as he later modified the passion  
 and imagination which no less contributed to his mental

1) Ernst Bertram, Hölderlins gesammelte Briefe,  
 An die Mutter, Tübingen (1788-1793) Nr. 58

and emotional make-up. Hölderlin was equipped with a nature more hesitating, deeply sensitive, meditative and yet impulsive, but lacking resolution.

The second son of the Keats family was George, about a year and a half younger than the poet. A third son, Tom, followed in 1799, and a fourth, Edward, who died in infancy, was born when John was six years old. I have mentioned before Senora Llanos. She was Keats's only sister, Frances, the youngest of the family, who long survived her brothers, and after the poet's death married Senor Llanos, a Spanish refugee, the author of "Don Esteban" and "Sandoval, the Freemason."

Hölderlin, too, was survived by a sister, Marie Eleonore Henriette, two years younger than he. Her fate was somewhat sad. Already at the age of twenty-eight she became a widow, having been married to Magister Professor Bräunlin at Blaubeurer. Between Friedrich and Marie Eleonore, there was Johanna Christiane Heinricke, a year younger than Friedrich. The only brother, Karl, a stepbrother, was six years his junior.

As Hölderlin and Keats grew up they showed an unusual fraternal affection, which in the case of the former was an intense life-long love. Both poets displayed

a strong family-pride. Hölderlin's looked to the past; he was anxious to be worthy of his family, to keep up their credit. The desire to meet his mother and grandmother on their spiritual level mirrors itself in these lines:

"Kommen will ich zu dir; dann segne den  
 Enkel noch einmal,  
 Dass dir halte der Mann, was er als Knabe  
 gelobt." 1)

The Keats brothers seem to have taken no interest at all in their ancestors, but they did strive with all their might to enhance the honour of their name. Keats does not seem to have talked to his friends about his family either, for Leigh Hunt says "Mr. Keats's origin was of the humblest description; he was born 2) October 1796, at a livery stables in Moorfields, of which his grandfather was the proprietor. I am very incurious and did not know this till the other day. He never spoke of it, perhaps out of a personal soreness which the world had exasperated." 3)

To turn again to the external course of the poet-s' lives. About Keats's infancy little or nothing

1) Poem "Meiner verehrungswürdigen Grossmutter zu ihrem zweiundsiebzigsten Geburtstage."

2) Note that he makes him a year younger.

3) Leigh Hunt, Lord Byron and Some of his Contemporaries, 1828, p.247.

is known. I shall not dwell on the anecdotes deriving from or recorded by Haydon, which everybody can read in the various biographies. To me they do not sound convincing enough. Such things are always recollected of children by people who are either inspired by affection or who desire to claim association with the great. Both boys early experienced the harshness of fate; Friedrich at a much earlier age than John. His father was brought home dead from the Town Hall and buried on the eve of his wife's twenty-fourth birthday. Certainly Friedrich was only two years old at the time, but we know enough about the Unconscious Mind to realise that this occurrence must have made a profound impression upon the child,- an impression which may have been responsible for the Complexes which led to his melancholy, and of which he became aware at the death of his step-father.

It is only twenty years ago, I believe, that there was discovered a little drawing by an unknown artist, showing a complete picture of the house in which Hölderlin's mind received its first impressions of life. A very fine description of it is given by Hanns Wolfgang Rath.<sup>1)</sup>

"The high-gabled simple "Klosterhaus" with its innumerable narrow windows, the steep staircase, tubular, with a

1) Rath, Ein Bild von Hölderlins Jugendland, pp.5,6.

heraldic animal at the top; at the side the well, the neat square washhouse, the ancient spreading lime tree overshadowing the "chaumer-end"<sup>1)</sup>; the little belfry, the stable and the cellar; surrounded by his father's well kept garden: "eines jungen Lebens Erstlingsparadieses Wonne". "Everything here still nestles cosily together, even the Chapel, demolished in 1808, its spire rising sharply towards the sky." Truly Romantic; and in marked contrast to the first impressions that offered themselves to John Keats at the sign of the Swan and Hoop, Finsbury Pavement, "in a dark and middling walk of London city life."<sup>2)</sup>

While the Hölderlins had to vacate this stately house for the father's successor, and take a modest small house, the prosperity of the Keatses seems to have continued to increase. They moved to Craven Street, City Road. The change from living over a stable to living in a separate house must have been a joy to the heart of young John.

The Hölderlins stayed in Lauffen, - this ancient, most lovely, idyllic spot on both sides of the Neckar, - only for two years after the father's death. In autumn of 1774 Hölderlin's mother married the Bürgermeister Gock of Nürtingen. Although the scene is changed there is little or no difference in the scenery. How beautifully the poet depicts his Swabian homeland in the following passage:

1) In the North of Scotland a smaller house built close on to one end of the main building.

2) Colvin, Ibid, p.2.

"Der Wanderer":

"Seliges Land! kein Hügel in dir wächst ohne den Weinstock,  
 nieder ins schwellende Gras regnet im Herbste das Obst.  
 Fröhlich baden im Strome den Fuss die glühenden Berge,  
 Kränze von Zweigen und Moos kühlen ihr sonniges Haupt;  
 und wie die Kinder hinauf zur Schulter des herrlichen  
 Ahnherrn,  
 steigen am dunklen Gebirg Vesten und Hütten hinauf;  
 friedsam geht aus dem Walde der Hirsch ans freundliche  
 Taglicht;  
 hoch in heiterer Luft siehet der Falke sich um.  
 Aber unten im Thal, wo die Blume sich nährt von der Quelle,  
 streckt das Dörfchen vergnügt über die Wiese sich aus."

In scenery such as this the growing heart of the boy received what became an essential source of his poetry, the passion for Nature. Does not the poet himself suggest this to our minds in "Hyperion" (in the older <sup>1)</sup> fragment) when Hyperion, thinking of Homer at Smyrna, says: "Der Gedanke ist so erheiternd, dass der holde Knabe da im Sande gespielt habe und die ersten Eindrücke empfangen, aus denen ein so schöner Geist sich allmählich entwickelte."

Wordsworth has exclaimed of London<sup>4</sup>,

"Earth has not anything to show more fair". But on Keats the city made a very different impression. The poet, who in later years wrote "As one who has been long in city pent" cannot have found in his birthplace the

1) Cf. Christoph Theodor Schwab,  
 Friedrich Hölderlins s. Werke.

satisfaction of his love for beauty but he must have developed the craving for The Beautiful in very contrast to his dismal surroundings.

At the age of nine both poets suffered a blow by fate, a blow which was of greater consequence than at first sight it might appear. Thomas Keats was killed by a fall from his horse, and Hölderlin's stepfather died of pneumonia contracted through too eager fulfilment of his duties at a flood.

Like Hölderlin's parents, Mr. and Mrs. Keats seem to have understood each other very well. The stable was apparently prosperous. I doubt, however, whether Mrs. Keats, although she was her father's daughter, took any active part in the management of the business. The affectionate gay woman that she was, could, in any case, not have remained alone for a long time. We are therefore not too surprised to find that within a year she married again, putting the entire responsibility for the business on her second husband. This marriage turned out to be a failure. After a very short time she returned broken-hearted to her mother's house. She must have lost everything by thus leaving her husband, for she left her children not<sup>h</sup>ing when she died of consumption in 1810, five years after her second



marriage. On the death of Thomas Keats the family life no longer was the same. For John, London then ceased to be the centre of his life, and his world became bounded by the school at Enfield, which he and his brother George had entered a little over a year before the father's death, and by his grandmother's home at Edmonton. There was no longer a question of the high plans which the father had had for his boys. After they passed through their boyhood days at the school he had chosen for them, they had just to do what they were told by their guardian, depended mostly on themselves and never enjoyed that wise guidance which affection freely and thoughtfully offers to the objects of its regard.

The loss of his mother was John Keats's first great sorrow. He was a boy of fourteen when she died, and he was so conscious of this loss, that the world suddenly became too much for him. We feel deeply touched when we read "He hid himself in a nook under the master's desk for several days, in a long agony of grief, and would take no consolation from master or friend." <sup>1)</sup> Thus, early bereavements started the

1) Mondton Milnes, Ibid, p.6

"painful lives" of Hölderlin and Keats. The significance of this for their future development was equally great in each case, yet different.

After the death of Thomas Keats, the link between mother and son had been drawn still closer. In Hölderlin's case it had been the stepfather whom he adored. A wonderful reflection of their happy family life is found in "Das Ahnenbild" ".....wo dich Vater! das Söhnlein nennt, ...Wo es lächelnd vor dir spielt und den Mutwill übt, ...". With his mother's death John Keats had become doubly orphaned. He and his brothers were consigned by their grandmother to the guardianship of two gentlemen, Mr. Abbey, the same man to whose hostility towards the poet's mother I have already referred, and another merchant, Mr. Rowland Sandell. The latter must have withdrawn from this guardianship very soon, for there is no further mention of him. The grandmother, ~~Mr.~~ Jennings, who lived for another four years after this arrangement was made, would have kept control over her grandchildren, I suppose, if she had known that her choice was not a good one. I do not wish to judge Mr. Abbey. It would in any case be impossible to do so now. But from everything I have read about him I feel that he was "unimaginative, conservative, opinionated, and

utterly without capacity". John Keats must have been deeply unhappy in this enforced relationship. The feelings and emotions of the maturing youth were entirely disregarded: his soul began to live in a world of its own. John Keats's world had fallen in fragments around him. There is no poem that gives us an insight into what he exactly felt. But his grief, his first great sorrow, undoubtedly, loosed personal emotions, and every poetic talent matures through emotions of one kind or another. In him they caused agony and doubts, which became ever stronger as the boy grew into a man.

"Can death be sleep, when life is but a dream,  
And scenes of bliss pass as a phantom by?"

asks the nineteen year old John Keats.

The transient pleasures as a vision seem,  
And yet we think the greatest pain' s to die.

2.

How strange it is that man on earth should roam,  
And lead a life of woe, but not forsake  
His rugged path; nor dare he view alone  
His future doom which is but to awake.

This little poem "On Death" is the first poem in which John Keats expresses his personal emotions.

He seems to have written it after his grandmother's death (December 1814)<sup>1)</sup> I do not think, however, that the emotion embodied in these lines expresses what he felt at Mrs. Jennings' death. She certainly represented his family background to him, but she could not have meant very much to him<sup>in</sup> these last years, the years in which he had to yield obedience to inexorable authority.

Mrs. Jennings' death was perhaps the cause of the poem, but it expresses emotions and problems that had accumulated in his heart ever since he lost his dear mother. The poet, who unlike most poets, did not need personal emotion in order to write, but got a thrill equal to this out of the mere act of composing, certainly could not have felt "a life of woe" only because of the death of the old lady. Keats missed his mother all his life. He had a very strong family spirit and love of home but this was almost entirely suppressed during the years he was governed by his guardian. He tried to make up for his loss with friendship, for which he had a genius. During the time of his sorrows his nature never yielded entirely to the tender elements<sup>e</sup> in it but built up a strong willpower.

1) Cf. Lowell, Ibid, p. 57

He was able to impress his personality vigorously enough in the circle in which he moved, and his capacity for hard work helped to foster an increasing creative power.

All this is very satisfying to the one who has these powers, and I think I am justified in saying that his life was not altogether "painful". For, from within himself, he was able to create moments of contentment, indeed, of great happiness for himself.

How different with Hölderlin! Hölderlin's upbringing after his <sup>step-</sup>father's death was left to his mother and grandmother. These two excellent women, of whose pure and noble spirit the poet's letters are the truest witness, attended to the boy's need with tenderness and heartfelt understanding, so typical of "die sanfte Seele."<sup>1)</sup> How grateful John Keats would have been for any such sign of understanding, how much it would have comforted his heart, now beginning to strive after beauty, of which he saw so little; after truth, a problem to which his growing intellect began to turn. To Keats, who from his mother had inherited a certain shrewdness, who "chose his associates among those who were fighters"<sup>2)</sup> and who possessed "a terrier-like

1) Meiner verehrungswürdigen Grossmutter,

2) Scott, Ibid, XIII

resoluteness"<sup>1)</sup> such a purely feminine influence in his boyhood would have supplied a happy medium. The absence of it cannot have been without influence on his difficulties with women socially, and may have been one reason why his heroines are so unsatisfyingly vague. Yet in Hölderlin's case it was fraught with danger, doubly dangerous in so much as his nature was easily moulded and impressionable, and as a result of his innate moderation he gave less cause for direct punishment. If Hölderlin had had less womanly tenderness in his youth the road to his "stronger" character might have been less difficult.

Now let us see how Hölderlin developed.

His maturity deepened in a different way. His pain, too, was devastating. The youth of sixteen expresses in a poem, what the boy of nine felt at the death "des ewigtheuren Vaters."<sup>2)</sup> Like so many Swabians, Friedrich Hölderlin was of an inward, introspective, lonely nature. As he became older, the gifted boy was bound to outgrow his mother's influence. He, too, tried to compensate for this with friendships which developed almost into passions. But he was so sensitive to the coldness of the surrounding world that he could not adapt himself to the society in which he was. With the exception of his intimate friends made

1) Scott, Ibid, XIII

2) Morgenblatt 1863, Nr. 34,  
Cf. Klaiber, Ibid, p. 14.

at college, in later years he never seemed to be at ease with anyone, sympathetic though they may have felt towards him. A spiritual stranger! His extreme sensitiveness was due to the "wächserne Weichheit"<sup>1)</sup> which he felt himself. Though seventeen years old, he tried to make friends even with children<sup>2)</sup> but, of course, could not find any real satisfaction in such an unnatural relationship. Keats, we know, did not like children particularly. This shows an essential difference between the two men. Keats, though he died young, was early grown up. The Epistles and the sonnets contain strong evidence of sociable feelings, and particularly the Epistle to Charles Cowden Clarke, and the sonnet to his own brothers in which the

"Small, busy flames play through the fresh-laid coals  
And their faint cracklings o'er our silence creep  
Like whispers of the household gods that keep  
A gentle empire o'er fraternal souls."

Hölderlin's "Flight to the mother" or the mother-substitute - conditioned the outlook of his whole life:

"O wie pflegtest du den armen Jungen,<sup>3)</sup>  
Teure, so mit Mutterzärtlichkeit..."

and inevitably contributed to his withdrawal from the realities of the world to a refuge in madness.

1) 2) An Nast, Januar 1787,

3) Die Stille.

Neither poet had a sense of humour, though Keats may be said to have had some sense of the comic or facetious. His letter of September 1817 to his brother when he was staying at Oxford with his friend Bailey, contains this passage "Give my sincerest respects to Mrs. Dilke, saying that I have not forgiven myself for not having got her the little box of medicine I promised, and that, had I remained at Hampstead I would have made precious havoc with her house and furniture- drawn a great harrow over her garden - poisoned Boxer - eaten her clothes pegs - fried her cabbages - fricaseed (how is it spelt? ) her radishes - ragouted her onions - belaboured her beat-root - outstripped her scarlet runners - parle-vous'd with her french-beans - devoured her mignon or mignonette - metamorphosed her bell-handles-." Haydon in his diary on 29th. March 1821 wrote an estimate of Keats's character which contains the expression "He had an exquisite sense of humour." [ To analyse a sense of humour is an exceedingly difficult task. It actually depends very much on the kind of sense of humour the wouldbe analyst himself possesses. ] In his letters Keats certainly showed a great sense of joking. But much of his jesting seems somewhat forced, and almost lacking in taste. His humour ran to punning, and we know the low opinion held of that form of verbal



'jeu d'esprit'. His jocosity seems sometimes merely silly, sometimes even a little humiliating. Of real soulmoving laughter there is little trace. His "Cap and Bells", the only attempt at comic verse or satirical writing contains a few mild jokes. Hölderlin, on the other hand, was impatient even of a joke. His sensibility made him subject to moods, caused him to be unreasonably suspicious that he was constantly being misunderstood and finally ended in a melancholy which expressed itself in agonies of self-torment. The natural exuberance of youth he calls "Lärm der Thoren", the noise of fools.

Everything in Hölderlin's case points to this, that his father's death was the original determinant of the direction of his fate. This is confirmed by what the poet himself wrote. He was always conscious throughout his whole life of this "Hang zur Trauer" as well as his "herrischer Eigensinn." He says in a letter dated 18th. June 1799 from Homburg vor der Höhe , "Ich sehe ziemlich klar über mein ganzes Leben, fast bis in die früheste Jugend zurück, und weiss auch wohl seit welcher Zeit mein Gemüt sich dahin neigte. Sie werden's kaum mir glauben, aber ich erinnere mich noch zu gut. Da mir mein zweiter Vater starb, dessen Liebe mir so unvergesslich ist, da ich mich mit einem unbegreiflichen Schmerz als Waise

1) An die Mutter.

fühlte und Ihre tägliche Trauer und Tränen sah, da stimmte sich meine Seele zum erstenmal zu diesem Ernste." This seriousness and trend towards Melancholy never left him but increased in strength and intensity as Hölderlin grew up.

The lack at home of a Masculine ideal through which his developing emotional nature might find outlets, made the boy turn more and more to nature in order to satisfy his growing intellect. Here on the wooded heights above the Neckar he used to spend hours, deep in thought most of the time, or reading Klopstock to his brother Karl. <sup>1)</sup> A poem from the year 1786 gives us a glimpse of the devout atmosphere of such occasions. It is called "Die Meinigen".

"Guter Karl! - in jenen schönen Tagen  
 Sass ich einst mit dir am Neckarstrand  
 Fröhlich sahen wir die Welle an das Ufer schlagen,  
 Leiteten uns Bächlein durch den Sand.  
 Endlich sah ich auf. Im Abendschimmer  
 Stand der Strom. Ein heiliges Gefühl  
 Bebe mir durchs Herz; und plötzlich scherzt ich  
 nimmer,  
 Plötzlich stand ich ernster auf vom Knabenspiel,"

to quote one verse. Reading this we cannot but hear the echo in Keats's Epistle to Charles Cowden Clarke :

1) Cf. Litzmann, Friedrich Hölderlins  
 Leben, p.8.

"But many days have past since last my heart  
Was warm'd luxuriously by divine Mozart;

.....  
Since I have walk'd with you through shady lanes  
That freshly terminate in open plains,  
And revell'd in a chat that ceased not,  
When, at night-fall, among your books we got:  
No, nor when supper came, nor after that, -  
Nor when reluctantly I took my hat;  
No, nor till cordially you shook my hand  
Mid-way between our homes: - your accents bland  
Still sounded in my ears, when I no more  
Could hear your footsteps touch the gravelly floor.  
Sometimes I lost them, and then found again,  
You changed the foot-path for the grassy plain.  
In those still moments I have wish'd you joys  
That well you know to honour:- "Life's very toys  
With him", said I, "will take a pleasant charm;  
It cannot be that aught will work him harm."

In both passages everything is heartfelt. We can instinctively sense a sacred kingdom of two boyish minds in "Die Meinigen", and the young writer's affection for his 'teacher' and companion in the Epistle. There is a difference which is valuable for us to note. The Epistle consists chiefly of recollections of what his friend had pointed out to Keats in poetry, the scene being in both cases Nature, "shady lanes", "open plains" where Keats stood; a river flowing quietly amongst the hills, suggesting majesty, - in Hölderlin's surroundings. On Keats his landscape could not have an overpowering effect, but it brought out in him a warm feeling at nightfall, and in the stillness around him he thought of human affections, and so he wished his friend well. Hölderlin had the same thoughts, but Nature

round him was more than a pleasant scene, it suggested power, and the power that is creation; thus a feeling of reverence seizes upon young Hölderlin. He feels the proximity of the divine, and

"Bebend lispelt ich: Wir wollen beten!"

This is the same emotion as Keats had, though different in degree; but the mental climate has already manifested itself in both minds as being alike.

Psychologically more interesting are Hölderlin's later memories of this time, in which he shows us that as a boy he experienced real happiness in his complete merging with Nature:

"Da ich noch um deinen Schleier spielte,  
 Noch an dir wie eine Blüte hing,  
 Noch dein Herz in jedem Laute fühlte,  
 Der mein zärtlichbebend Herz umfing,  
 .....  
 Da zur Sonne noch mein Herz sich wandte,  
 Als vernähme seine Töne sie,  
 Und die Sterne seine Brüder nannte  
 Und den Frühling Gottes Melodie,..."

It is obvious that the poet in "An die Natur" attributes to himself as a boy thoughts of which no child is capable. But the trend of such mature thoughts was undoubtedly latent in him in his "goldne Kinderträume", for, he says in the same poem, "Ihr erzogt des Herzens gute Keime."

I have been anticipating. In 1803 John Keats entered Mr. John Clarke's school at Enfield, ten miles from London. Here he completed his whole school education and left on attaining the age of fifteen. At this point the background of Keats's life and its influences on him became more widely different from those affecting the young Hölderlin at this age. But let us first see what Enfield School was like and how John Keats got on there. From Keats himself we have little information about his time at school, but his close friend, Charles Cowden Clarke, the headmaster's son, eight years older than Keats, has given us excellent testimony. To recapitulate what Cowden Clarke says of him in his work "Recollection of Writers" is unnecessary and would take up too much space here. I shall merely repeat some of the facts which are important for us, and give my own opinion on them.

Enfield was a distinct change of surroundings from the city. Here is Cowden Clarke's description of the school. <sup>1)</sup>

"In the village of Enfield, in Middlesex, ten miles on the north road from London, my father, John Clarke, kept a school. The house had been built by a West India merchant in the latter end of the seventeenth or beginning of the eighteenth century. It was of the better character of the domestic

1) Cowden Clarke, *Ibid*, p. 120.

architecture of that period, the whole front being of the purest red brick, wrought by means of moulds into rich designs of flowers and pomegranates, with heads of cherubim over niches in the centre of the building..."

The elegance of this typically English design could not have failed to impress the mind of the future poet, who became such an admirer of the physically beautiful. The visitor who to-day seeks the site of Enfield School will find the whole district built over; but still, imagine the buildings away, and the Pymmes brook flowing through the open countryside clear and open on its way to join the Lea, and you have some conception of the first aspect of Nature to make an impression on the boy's growing mind,

"And there in strife no burning thoughts to heed,  
I'd bubble up the water through a reed;  
So reaching back to boyhood: make me ships  
Of moulted feathers, touchwood, alder chips,  
With leaves stuck in them; and the Neptune be  
Of their petty ocean." 1)

Compare this quotation with those given earlier in this paper of Hölderlin's childhood memories, and it becomes evident that a different attitude towards Nature had already begun to manifest itself at this early age. Enfield was typical English countryside, merely country as opposed to town. There the "naughty boy" could make

1) Endymion.

himself acquainted with the minutiae of Nature,

"Get up early  
And go  
By hook or crook  
To the brook" 1)

The valley of Nürtingen with its view looking out to the mountain chain of the Alb "die Wälder, die wogenden Gebirge" introduced Hölderlin to Nature indeed, but Nature as a Grandeur. The boy Hölderlin observed; but more, he had the real delights of spiritual possession. Enfield could not awaken Keats's inward life.

As to the impression which John Keats made on his school contemporaries we have sufficient information from various of them. <sup>2)</sup> They all agree in saying "he was a favourite with all", "in all active exercises he excelled", etc., and many other statements that all reveal the same traits of character as I have already mentioned. "In the early part of his school life John gave no extraordinary indications of intellectual character; but it was remembered of him afterwards that there was ever present a determined and steady spirit in all his undertakings." <sup>3)</sup> The awakening which came to Keats and developed him from the ordinary human boy to the embryo poet must have taken place while he was still

1) Doggerel rhyme in a letter to his sister.

2) Cf. Edward Holmes, Houghton MSS, quoted by Colvin

3) Cowden Clarke, Ibid, p. 122.

a pupil at Enfield. That is, it took place while he was at school but not because of it. The boy who has been reported as "not literary" became a voracious reader.

It is pertinent for us to see what he read. The chief attractions are said to have been "Tooke's Pantheon" and "Lemprière's Classical Dictionary", which he is said to have learned by heart. Another favourite was "Spence's Polymetis". It was from Lemprière that Keats acquired his intimacy with the Greek mythology; here was he "suckled in that creed outworn." His real intimacy with the Classics, indeed extended at that time only to the reading of Virgil's Aeneid. From Lemprière he got the facts of Greek mythology. They were transmuted into gold only by the philosopher's stone of his own mind. In fact we have here a curious parallel with Winckelmann in Germany. As Vaughan says of him "all his knowledge - or to speak more truly, all his divination - was drawn from the works of the Graeco-Roman period, on which the modern eye is taught to look with 'a severe regard of control'. But to his intuitive sympathy this was as little of an obstacle as Lemprière's Dictionary and vases of doubtful antiquity were to Keats."<sup>1)</sup> At school Keats had no Greek, and so had no first-hand knowledge of the great

1) C.E. Vaughan, The Romantic Revolt, Blackwood 1907.



figures of Homer and his line. It was only later that this new world "swam into his ken". Pope's translation of Homer may be a very fine poem, but it is not Homer. The Chapman's Homer which revealed the Greek world to Keats catches much more of the spirit and the "glory that was Greece", but every translation loses in the mere act of being translated. Great though Chapman's Homer is, it still is not the original.

To return to Enfield school. It seems to have been one of the numerous private institutions of learning which did not aspire to cater for the sons of the wealthy, but gave a moderate, useful education to the children of parents of the middle class. Although Latin took up a considerable part of the time, attention was paid also to more modern studies, reading, writing and arithmetic, perhaps a little science, with botany and physics. French was well taught. The French Revolution and the influx of refugees probably account for that. If Greek was taught at all, Keats did not take it. As a school its standards seem to have been high, higher than was usual at that time, and it was well designed to afford a reasonable chance to pupils with a natural bent towards literature.

For Keats there was no advanced University study

possible. The selection of a profession for him was made by his guardian and he acquiesced in it. He was bound apprentice to a surgeon and apothecary at Edmonton for the usual five years. Looking back on it, it seems a pity that this bright soul already showing promise of good scholarship, to which was added a critical faculty, should have been condemned to the drudgery of a surgeon's apprentice. During these years Keats's mind had no helpful regular intellectual training. Herein lies one of the differences in the development of Keats and Hölderlin, who at that age was profiting by an academic training at the "Klosterschule" and the University.

Friedrich Hölderlin received his elementary education at the Latin school in Nürtingen, which was of the type already described in Part I. This school was in high repute, and he began to attend it at the early age of four and a half. In 1784, on passing the "Landexamen", at the age of fourteen, he went on to the lower theological college, or, as these institutions were then called, the "Klosterschule" at Denkendorf. To appreciate the magnitude of this change and its tremendous effect on the boy, one must give some particulars of the organisation of the "Klosterschulen" in Württemberg. In my description I follow Klaiber almost exactly.

1) Klaiber used as his source "Die ehemaligen Klosterschulen und die jetzigen niedern, evangelischen Seminarien in Württemberg, Stuttgart 1833.

After the Dissolution of the Monasteries, Duke Christoph, about the middle of the sixteenth century, turned the monasteries in Württemberg into "Klosterschulen", with the intention of training "Kirchendiener zum Lehr- und Predigtamt." The students were to have free instruction, with board and lodging, and free clothing. Every school had two teachers, called Professors after 1752. Besides these there was the Provost, who presided over one of the four dioceses of the state; and he gave the special theological instruction. The later tutorial method, great as the need for it was in the whole system, was still unknown in the "Klosterschulen"; and as a result a very essential link between the young people and their superiors was missing. First of all, the Provost was surrounded, as was usual at that time, by too great a prestige, so that the Alumni dared only to look up to him with shy respect. Although when they grew older the Professors usually obtained profitable church posts, the difference in age between Professor and student was still too great for a relationship of confidence. So the students had to depend upon themselves, a thing which was all the more dangerous as the discipline and the house rules were still derived from the ascetic monastic

conceptions of former times. The students had always to wear their black gowns. Amongst the multitudinous regulations were those: - there were numerous assemblies for prayer, which came to be practiced almost mechanically, : excessive Bible lessons, especially during lunch and supper: a harsh system of punishments, and above all, limitation of the time for recreation, particularly in respect of exeats. Recreation, a decree of the time says, ought to consist "in remissione a laboribus ordinariis et seriis", at which a calm bearing is the most important thing. The usual place for recreation was in summer the quadrangle. In a further decree it is recognised that outdoor refreshment in field and wood was exceptionally good for the body and mind of a student, particularly, it is added, "if exercised with proportion and modesty." They could have 'leave-out' only on very good summer days once a week on Mondays or Thursdays. They had never to forget when out to comport themselves as in the eyes of God and man. Their conversation was to be on religious subjects and they had always to walk in twos. It was an offence to be seen by yourself.

"Shades of the prison house begin to close  
Around the growing boy "

So we may exclaim when we see the young Friedrich Hölderlin transferred from the freedom of his home life at Nürtingen

to the gloomy atmosphere behind the walls of the "Klosterschule". The boy, for whom Nature was a necessity, who was ever reaching out to Freedom, was now doomed to see his world only on an occasional holiday, when he probably would be compelled still to wear the garb that was "the badge of all his tribe." [All boys need to learn self-control; but the word "verboten" is not at any time the best means for inducing it.] We must remember that Hölderlin always felt a need to rely upon the guidance of a stronger personality, and for this there was no scope in the system at Denkendorf. So we find him writing to his former private tutor at Nürtingen, Diakonus Köstlin, asking him to be his "guide, philosopher and friend."<sup>1)</sup> More than before his mother becomes "die liebste Mamma", and his references to "die lieben Geschwisterige"<sup>2)</sup> show yearning for the comfort which he could not find in school. His earliest poem "Das menschliche Leben" is said to date from his days at Denkendorf.

"Menschen, Menschen! was ist euer Leben,  
 Eure Welt, die tränenvolle Welt,  
 Dieser Schauplatz, kann er Freuden geben,  
 Wo sich Trauern nicht dazu gesellt?  
 O! die Schatten, welche euch umschweben  
 Die sind euer Freudenleben."

1) An Diakonus Köstlin in Nürtingen,  
 Bertram, No. 1

2) An die Mutter,  
 Bertram, No. 2.

What would at first glance <sup>seem</sup> to be merely a description derived from a world of books or hearsay, is not mere empty phrases, not a youthful self-delusion, but is the expression of the deeply-felt contrast between his happy days at home and the severity of the rules of his "serfdom".

"How strange it is that man on earth should roam,  
And lead a life of woe"

Young Keats exclaimed when, for the first time he expressed that sadness that reached its height in emotions all stirred up. Both poets were at the time at the age which feels everything acutely, and what they felt found expression in a theme fundamentally the same. Here we find first expressions of a side of Hölderlin and Keats which we should always remember existed, the side which suffered, and searched, and found no answer.

In spite of all this, Hölderlin's time at Denkersdorf was profitable, for the curriculum there was noteworthy for its sound instruction in Greek. The introduction of a pupil to the study of Greek takes place almost invariably through either Xenophon's Anabasis or the Cyropaedia. The Anabasis is pure history, interesting but not romantic. The Cyropaedia, on the other hand, is a piece of imaginative writing giving colourful descriptions of the court of Cyrus

the Great. It has been suggested that Hölderlin got from it his "somewhat romantic conception of Hellas".

This point needs amplifying. When we come to read Hölderlin's Greek romance 'Hyperion' we notice that if we consider the whole effect of the book, it is loosely knit and diffuse; but the thought is clear. This clear thought enshrines clear ideals, and the diffuseness is due to the rather excessive emotional enthusiasm which he expresses for these ideals. Indeed this reaches such a degree of intensity that it is almost a paradox that a book dealing with the Greeks, who frowned on all excess, should have come to be regarded as a typical example of 'Schwärmerei'. It is true that Hölderlin's expression of emotion is entirely unrestrained so that it is equalled only by that of Novalis. For over a century the prevalent idea of Hölderlin was that he was a pure Romantic, and this notion, as Mr. Peacock affirms, was derived from this Schwärmerei for the Greeks, found in Hyperion, "in the Schwärmerei, let us note, not in the ideal of the Greeks as it is clearly set forth."<sup>1)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> Ronald Peacock,  
Hölderlin, London, 1938.

The actual lessons at Denkendorf took up only a third of the whole working time, that is 19 out of 57 hours a week. <sup>1)</sup> The subjects were Theology, Latin, Greek and Hebrew, geography and arithmetic, logic, rhetoric and history. Latin had seven out of the nineteen and Greek two. In addition there were five hours of Music and 35 $\frac{1}{2}$  hours were taken up with private studies. Hölderlin, who some years <sup>2)</sup> later wrote "Meine Flöte wäre noch mein einziger Trost" must have taken part in the music lessons and enjoyed them. This is significant. Music is something beautiful, and as such it was Hölderlin's healer, and uplifted his soul when he was no longer near Nature. Keats had no educated feeling for music; but as the lover of all that was beautiful he had the same love for music as he had for the flowers growing in the meadow, or the trees in the forest:

"That strain again; it had a dying fall,  
Oh! it came o'er my ear like the sweet South  
That breathes upon a bank of violets,  
Stealing and giving odour."

This feeling for music of the Duke in Twelfth Night resembles that of Keats in the sense that he appreciated beauty however conveyed. Hölderlin, in addition to this, had an educated feeling for music. Here we have one of the intrinsic foundations of the poets' styles. There is in

1) Cf. Litzmann, Ibid, p. 11

2) An Nast, Maulbronn, Jan. 1787.



Keats's style a 'natural magic', coming from an indifference of the creative imagination to the material of its creation. The individual power and influence of poetry as handled by Hölderlin owes its effect to the language which he employs. His words and images in their context combine acuteness, clearness and depth of insight and these accompanied by his personal style and producing it are of the utmost importance in his handling of his poetic material.

Hölderlin's private studies had to be carried out under the direction of the Provost and the Professors, an idea which could have been very advantageous to Hölderlin if the relationship between them had been more human.

Hölderlin went to the higher "Klosterschule" in Maulbronn in 1786, after he had been one year at Denkersdorf. This gave him no relief from the life he had found so irksome; in fact it appears, if anything, to have intensified it. In a letter dating from that time to his mother he says that on the whole the food was insufficient and "Suppe, die ihr hungrigster Tagelöhner ungern essen würde."<sup>1)</sup> Life in a community demands a certain amount of 'give-and-take', and Hölderlin's complete lack of understanding a joke made things even more difficult for him. Of that he himself

1) An die Mutter, Bertram, No. 13.

was aware, when he says "dass ich oft in Wut gerate - ohne zu wissen, warum, und gegen meinen Bruder auffahre - wann kaum ein Schein von Beleidigung da ist." <sup>1)</sup> A typical adolescent utterance, especially when one considers that it was written at four o'clock in the morning. Indeed, he must have felt the burden of what he calls his "Klosterkreuz" lie heavy upon him. The letters of that period show that everything is only feeling, passionate emotion, alternating between deep sorrow and bliss. Just as a slight upset would plunge him into the depths of despair, so casual circumstances could be magnified into a joy of rapture. "Eine Neuigkeit! eine schöne herzerquickende Neuigkeit!" <sup>2)</sup> he exults on a copy of Ossian coming into his hands. This reminds us somewhat of the breathless excitement with which Keats and Cowden Clarke first read Chapman's Homer.

With so many possible companions around him Hölderlin remained lonely, and imagined himself misunderstood by every one. His comrades, "elende Kerls" <sup>3)</sup>, would rather leave a gap in their circle than invite him to join them. These circumstances must have existed mostly in his imagination.

1) An Nast, Jan. 1787, Maulbronn,

2) An Nast, Bertram No. 9,

3) " " " " 6.

He showed signs of self-love when he says "so hätt ich mich manchmal schon lieber an jeden andern Ort gewünscht, als unter Menschengesellschaften."<sup>1)</sup>

In Friedrich Hölderlin Nature had set in motion a whole train of emotions and thoughts of mystic approaches to the bliss of Nature. This may be one of the reasons why he grew up a lonely and unsociable youth, for such a life of the emotions is in itself a selfish life. [It is inclined to make people, especially the young, self-centred.] When Hölderlin was compelled to enter the Klosterschule and later the 'Tübinger Stift', he was, as a natural result, driven into a spiritual revolt. He felt within him a mysterious expansiveness which made life worth living, and this emotional side college life seemed to suppress. When he approached the civilisation of Frankfort the result was the same. He was too self-centred to adapt himself to the civilisation of city-life. One could almost say he sensed a conspiracy where men gathered, a conspiracy to make life miserable for one another. But to do justice to his personality and to understand his character truly it must be pointed out that Hölderlin grew out of this. In his later withdrawal into solitariness we cannot discern that it is due to a mood of revolt. His unhappiness, where it existed,

1) An Nast, Bertram, No. 6.

arose not from his loneliness, but from the degradation which he saw of the social and political life around him, contrasted with the splendour of Greek civilisation.

In his mature phase he was no self-centred misanthropic Romantic who withdrew from life because of his personal disposition only.

The longing for friendship, always so natural in youth, and so ardent in Hölderlin, broke forth stronger than ever, as we can hear from his cry "Wie oft ich Dich zu mir wünschte." <sup>1)</sup> It is little wonder that from a daily life such as his he turned away and sought solace, not in the Nature which he loved, and which was denied ~~to~~ him, but in his books, particularly in the Greek studies which opened up to him a world of beauty which he could substitute for the greater world outside. "Es ist ein köstlich Wohlgefühl in uns, wenn so das Innere an reinem Stoffe sich stärkt, sich unterscheidet und getreuer anknüpft, und unser Geist allmählich waffenfähig wird." <sup>2)</sup>

It marks this period of his psychological development that he now turned to the love and understanding of a woman, Luise Nast. Of this love we first find traces

1) An Nast, Bertram, No. 12

2) Hyperion.

in his correspondence with his Leonberger friend Immanuel Nast, "Skribent der Stadtschreiberei Leonberg", during the last months of his time at Maulbronn. Convincingly he felt that "Lieb' und Freundschaft der Menschen grösstes Erdenglück sind!"<sup>1)</sup> For some time it restored his mental balance and in his heart it became so "ruhig, so hell, so zufrieden."<sup>2)</sup>

" Es tötet die Wonne, geliebt zu sein,  
Den Schwärmer,"

he sings in his poem "An die Nachtigall" in which he celebrates his love as "Stella".

" Stella! ach! wir leiden viel! wann nur das Grab  
Komme! komme kühles Grab! nimm uns beide!"

is the beginning of his "Klagen", and so his love, too, had become for him a source of suffering; suffering, however, of a dignified kind, which did not become the main theme of his life.

" Ein Sohn der Erde  
Schein' ich; zu lieben gemacht, zu leiden."<sup>3)</sup>

He was touched by it, but not carried away by it, as the reader of his poetry<sup>may</sup>/often easily be, which goes to show that in his grief Hölderlin was to a greater extent than in any other respect on common ground with the rest of humanity.

1) An Nast, Bertram, No. 16

2) An Nast, Bertram, No. 15

3) Die Heimat, later version.

Hölderlin's studies at Maulbronn comprised very much the same subjects as at Denkendorf, with the addition of pure Mathematics and French towards the end of his course. Klaiber says that his mark for poetry was "Excellent". This poetry was the usual Latin and Greek verse, but a marginal note says "auch deutsch". He must have applied himself well to his studies as, to obtain the highest marks in all the other subjects except French, he could not rely merely on his intellectual gifts. But there are other features of his life during the <sup>h</sup>three years at the two "Klosterschulen" which we have yet to mention -, the young poet's deep and still orthodox Christian piety. Such was not surprising when we remember the whole atmosphere of the schools, and the immense amount of time which must have been spent in Biblical studies. Throughout all his early poems runs the theme of Death. This is partly due to his religious bent, partly derived from the influence of Klopstock, with whom, as already mentioned, he became acquainted in boyhood and of whom he exclaims in a letter "Ist Dir's nicht besser ums Herz, wann Du den grossen Messiasänger hörst?"<sup>1)</sup> Through this natural piety Hölderlin came to perceive the working of natural forces as gods. His poetry becomes the ritual of their worship, embodying at one and the same time the proclamation of the existence of the god and the worship of his believer.

1) An Nast, Maulbronn, 18. Febr. 1787.

Hölderlin's enthusiasm during these years is also noteworthy for "den feurigen Schiller"<sup>1)</sup> whose "Räuber" impressed Hölderlin as much as "Don Carlos" or "Kabale und Liebe". Hölderlin in the same letter praises Schubart's "Ahasveros", the saga of the "Ewige Jude" or of the "Jude Ahasver" as he is usually called in the sixteenth century. [This story of the curse pronounced on the "Wandering Jew" that he should wander about the world till Christ's Second Coming, was used also by Goethe, and Lenau amongst others.] Schubart's<sup>2)</sup> poem is melodramatic in the true Romantic style, so from Hölderlin's admiration of it we can conclude that at the age of eighteen the classical bent had not yet become an intrinsic part of his mental make-up. If "Ossian" caused such raptures as I have pointed out, Homer's Iliad could not fail to impress the Youth even more, yet Hölderlin was probably too young when he read Homer to make it entirely his own. His vocabulary, however, already reminds us of the classics as he refers to his teachers in "Dankgedicht an die Lehrer" as "grosse Mäzenaten" and in "Die Unsterblichkeit der Seele" he uses the expression "Myriaden Seelen".

1) An Nast, Maulbronn, 18. Febr. 1787.

2) Cf. Schubarts sämtliche Gedichte von ihm selbst herausgegeben.

Only one of the poems reported to belong to the Maulbronn time, "Hero", has a definitely classical subject. At the end of his Maulbronn days he expresses his aim in the poem "Schwärmerei"

"Lieber Gott! ein grosser Mann zu werden,  
War so oft mein Wunsch, mein Traum auf Erden,"

lines in which "Kämpfendes Streben nach Klopstocksgrösse" (Mein Vorsatz) is expressed. This was the make-up of the Hölderlin who in 1788, at the age of eighteen, became a student in Tübingen.

So as to maintain the study of the two poets in close parallelism, and not to have one at a much older period of advancement than the other, I must now return to see what John Keats was like from the time he left school till reaching a comparable age.

The phrase, which is so often quoted, in a letter of 1819 to his brother George, where he remarks that the flesh and blood of the body are continually undergoing a process of change, and in which he says "Mine is not the same hand I clenched at Hammond" is the only one in which Keats himself alludes to his apprenticeship. This must refer to a moment early in his apprentice-days when he evidently lost that hot temper for which he was noted as a schoolboy. As Keats was able at the end of his



apprenticeship to procure the required testimonial from Mr. Hammond, the surgeon and apothecary with whom he was serving his time, when he later presented himself for examination by the Court of Examiners of the Society of Apothecaries, we have no reason to believe that his years with Hammond were a time of constant disputes. Again we rely on Cowden Clarke, who is the only one with first-hand knowledge, for information about this time of Keats's life. He calls this "the most placid period of his painful life; for now with the exception of the duty he had to perform in the surgery - by no means an onerous one - his whole leisure hours were employed in indulging his passion for reading and translating. During his apprenticeship he finished the "Aeneid".<sup>1)</sup> Cowden Clarke tells us how Keats was in the habit of making the two mile walk from Edmonton to Enfield whenever "he could spare a leisure hour." His passion for reading could not be thwarted, for "he rarely came empty handed; either he had a book to read, or brought one to be exchanged." In good weather the two friends used to sit in an arbour in the school garden and "had a good talk". This picture of the two young men sitting together, the elder reading poetry to the younger, is not only a delight

1) Cowden Clarke, Ibid, p. 125

to our eyes; it suggests to our mind that Keats's "poetical tendencies" were beginning to well up. "Otherwise", Cowden Clarke continues, "I never could have read to him the "Epithalamion" of Spenser..... "at that time he may have been sixteen years old; and at that period of life he certainly appreciated the general beauty of the composition, and felt the more passionate passages, for his features and exclamations were ecstatic." It proved a significant day for Keats when on the same day that Clarke had introduced him to Spenser by reading the "Epithalamion", he took away with him the "Faerie Queene." It grew upon him as a poetical revelation, opened a new world to him, a world of enchantment, romantic in every detail, through which he went, "as a young horse would through a spring meadow - ramping!"<sup>1)</sup> "He especially singled out epithets for that felicity and power in which Spenser is so eminent."<sup>2)</sup> To us this proves that the rapture John Keats experienced when reading the "Faerie Queene", was not the sheer pleasure and enthusiasm of an imaginative boy. It also stimulated his own instinct for the art of poetry, an instinct that might well be called critical enthusiasm.

1) Cowden Clarke, Ibid, p. 126

2) " " " "

For "he hoisted himself up, and looked burly and dominant, as he said 'what an image that is - "sea-shouldering whales!"'"<sup>1)</sup>

During the last two years of his life Keats had as most intimate companion, Charles Brown, who is emphatic in asserting that Keats obtained his first inspiration to attempt to write poetry from his delight in the "Faerie Queene". "Though born to be a poet, he was ignorant of his birthright till he had completed his eighteenth year. It was the "Faerie Queene" that awakened his genius.....This, his earliest attempt, the "Imitation of Spenser" is <sup>his</sup> first volume of poems."<sup>2)</sup>

According to Cowden Clarke, I notice, his first attempt took place at the age of sixteen. But one gets the impression that Cowden Clarke is very vague about dates throughout his whole book, and we are therefore justified in taking our information here from Brown.

Undoubtedly this reading of Spenser was the activating force which started Keats upon his poet's course; but if we read the second stanza of the "Imitation"

1) Cowden Clarke, Ibid, p. 126

2) Quoted by Colvin, Ibid, p. 20

"There the kingfisher saw his plumage bright,  
 Vying with fish of brilliant dye below;  
 Whose silken fins' and golden scales' light  
 Cast upward, through the waves, a ruby glow:  
 There saw the swan his neck of arched snow,  
 And oar'd himself along with majesty:  
 Sparkled his jetty eyes; his feet did show  
 Beneath the waves like Afric's ebony,  
 And on his back a fay reclined voluptuously."

it is borne in upon us that here is something more -

"Nature the old nurse took the child upon her knee" -

throughout the whole poem there is as strong an inspiration from Nature as there is from Spenser. Modern psychological theory has revealed the immense part in all our thinking which the subconscious mind plays. Scenes and themes through which we pass unnoticed are seized by it and retained, to present themselves 'transformed' later to the dreamer's vision and the poet's pen. Enfield and its environs at the time were vastly different from its modern suburban aspect. Here on his long walks through typically English country scenery, winding lanes that present themselves in his "mossy", "verdurous" alleys, stately parks and pleasaunces, thickets and winding streams, Keats subconsciously absorbed a wealth of imagery. The scenery he thus made his own was very different, as we have noticed, from that which influenced the young Hölderlin. The glorious heights of the Swabian Alb, the "dark frowning glories" and immensities of crag and forest, of waterfall and mountain torrent made an impression different in every way from the calm orderliness

of pastoral England.

By the Neckar was Hölderlin's birthplace; on its banks he played as a child; beside it he walked during the years of growing adolescence while a pupil at Nürtingen; to it as a young college student he turned his steps in his exeat days from the "Tübinger Stift". "In deinen Tälern wachte mein Herz mir auf" he exclaims in "Der Neckar". Even at the Ionian Isles the Neckar will not go out of his mind

"Zu euch, ihr Inseln! bringt mich vielleicht, zu euch  
Mein Schutzgott einst; doch weicht mir aus treuem Sinn  
Auch da mein Neckar nicht mit seinen  
Lieblichen Wiesen und Uferweiden" -

This is simple but typical background, - the Swabian river becomes so inwrought into the mind and nature of the Swabian poet.

For Keats the time of exposure to the influence of Nature came much later in his development than for Hölderlin. It was only when he was already apprenticed to Hammond that he was able to steep his subconscious in the sights and sounds of Nature. To get Nature's influence he had to go out and walk amongst them. But they bore themselves in upon the young Hölderlin from his tenderest years. They were ever with him, awake or asleep, they raised themselves before him and "to the hills" he "lifted his eyes from whence did come his aid." Nature to him was "die Vertraute seiner

Schmerzen", and combines with his poetical feeling a philosophical strain, which again is so typical for a Swabian, with that deep, brooding mind which is their nature. So exterior impressions are for Hölderlin a liberating influence for the immensity of his inward feelings.

That was so from the very beginning with him. Even in his earliest poems, apart from being imitative in form, he expresses emotions personal to himself.

For Keats at first the enjoyment of Nature was essentially a delight of the eye, more a noting of the peculiarities of Nature in their varied details

" But I saw  
Too far into the sea, where every maw  
The greater on the less feeds evermore",

than a complete merging into it. So in his representation of Nature the first consideration is with him the plastic aspect.

One reason for this is that Keats is in temperament the stronger of the two-- a spirit more depending on himself

( as circumstances had driven him to do ) - who did not lose himself so completely in an object. That accounts for the fact that in his early writings he remains so long imitative and conventional. And it was only at the height of his poetic genius that, as John Middleton Murry says "The conception of the fine writer as the 'most genuine being in the world' lies at the core of Keats's inward life."<sup>1)</sup> For two years after he began to write Keats kept secret anything that he had written. The revelation that he had turned towards writing was made on a day, when, having met Cowden Clarke who was on his way to congratulate Leigh Hunt, on his release from serving two years in prison for "the unwise libel upon the Prince Regent", he turned back with him and accompanied him. "At the last field gate", says Clarke, "when taking leave, he gave me the sonnet entitled, "Written on the day that Mr. Leigh Hunt left prison. How clearly do I recall the conscious look and hesitation with which he offered it."<sup>2)</sup>

"Who shall his fame impair  
When thou art dead, and all thy wretched crew?"

- the closing lines of the sonnet, show his political sympathies to have been on the side of civil and religious liberty.

1) John Middleton Murry, Keats and Shakespeare, p. 46.

2) Cowden Clarke, Ibid, p. 127

This incident took place in March 1814. A year later, in the late summer, Keats broke his indentures - probably with Hammond's consent, since he was complacent about the testimonial at the end, - and went to London 'to walk the hospitals'. He was now entering his twentieth year. He attached himself, as we already know, to the Hospitals Guy's and St. Thomas's, in a very dingy quarter of London. For a year he devoted himself more or less to his medical training, and he appears to have paid sufficient attention, because at the end of the year he received his diploma. The London in whose midst Keats had passed this year was gloomy and dull, even although a good part of his spare time was spent in visits to his various friends. The atmosphere of London never agreed with Keats. This in view of his later-developed phthisical tendency is hardly surprising. In the November of his year at the hospital -and we know what November can be like in London - he wrote the sonnet beginning

"O Solitude! if I must with thee dwell,  
Let it not be among the jumbled heap  
Of murky buildings; "

As he continued to live in the city his liking for it never grew. We find him writing later to his friend Taylor giving him some medical advice and telling him the sort



of places to avoid for health, "fulsome arable Land..." "would be almost as bad as the smoke of Fleet Street", and further in the letter he says that the air of Shanklin did not agree with him. "The air would for days together take on an unhealthy idiosyncrasy, altogether enervating and weakening as a city Smoke- I felt it very much."<sup>1)</sup>

This goes to show that the experience of living in London, on which Keats had embarked with such enthusiasm when he left Edmonton, failed to fulfil his expectations.

" Far different cares  
Beckon me sternly from soft 'Lydian airs'  
And hold my faculties so long in thrall,  
That I am oft in doubt whether at all  
I shall again see Phoebus in the morning,"

cries Keats the medical student in his Epistle to George Felton Mathew, from his lodgings in the Borough. Even if his work had not claimed him all the time, he could not, as he complains in the same Epistle, write poetry in these disagreeable surroundings:

" But might I now each passing moment give  
To the coy muse, with me she would not live  
In this dark city."

But a poet can turn a disappointment into an asset. Keats left London for Margate, and the change of scene and atmosphere inspired him to write the Sonnet and the

1) To Taylor, Winchester, Sept. 5th. 1819.

Epistle to his brother George. The Epistle gives us a hint that Keats already feels the stirrings of the true poet within his breast -

"These <sup>are</sup> the living pleasures of the bard:  
But richer far posterity's award."

This reminds us very much of Hölderlin's aspiration for 'Hekatombenlohn'.

Hölderlin was at the University. We cannot fully understand the poet, just as it is impossible so to understand Hegel and Schelling who were with him there, without having an exact knowledge of that "Instrument of Education", which in its effects had no equal in Germany. "At the foot of the Castlehill, separated by vineyards from the bank of the Neckar, once lay the monastery of the Monks of St. Augustine. In 1547/48 the Duke Ulrich had transferred this building to the students of his "Stipendium" (charitable foundation) as a residence. This endowment the Duke had founded a decade before by obliging the town of Stuttgart to maintain at the University of Tübingen in perpetuity three sons of citizens of Stuttgart 'armer frommer Leut Kinder, ains vleissigen, christlichen gotzferchtigen Wesens'. For centuries this ex-Monastery was the training centre of the theologians and higher teachers of Württemberg. On the whole the Foundation had the same form as to-day, only it was in a bad condition - doors, windows and the floors were decrepit and the whole building needed repairs everywhere." <sup>1)</sup>

1) Betzendörfer, W., Hölderlins Studienjahre im Tübinger Stift, 1922, p.9

Two "Inspectors", - Professors of Theology - and the "Ephorus", originally called "Magister Domus", - Professor of Philosophy - formed the Staff. The "Inspectors" had to supervise the industry and behaviour of the Foundationers and to advise them on matters connected with their studies. Hölderlin's reports are still extant. They were published by Betzendörfer<sup>1)</sup> who says that he was described from 1788-93 as consistently of "good intelligence, and diligent", but the report on his behaviour, also excellent, varies from 'mores boni', to 'recti' and 'probi'. From our point of view the main interest is the report he received just before leaving the University: e.g.

Valetudo: firma	Health: good
Statura (venusta et) medium excedens	Stature: above average
Eloquentium : gratum	Eloquence: pleasing
Gestus: placentes	Gestures: pleasant
Ingenium: (felix) bonum	Intelligence: good
Judicium: ex <sup>c</sup> ultum	Judgement: trained
Memoria: fida	Memory: faithful
Scriptio : lectu facilis	Writing: easily read
Mores: boni (et placidi)	Manners: good and quiet.

1) Cf. Betzendörfer, Ibid, pp. 26/28

Industria: probanda

Diligence: laudable

Opes: largae

Resources: abundant

Studia Theologica multo cum successu tractavit.

Orationem sacram recte elaboratam decentu declamavit.

Philologiae, imprimis Graecae et philosophiae imprimis Kantianae, et literarum elegantiorum assiduus cultor."

(He handled theological studies with much success. He delivered with grace a sermon properly worked out.

A diligent student of Philology, especially of Greek, and of Philosophy, particularly of Kant, and of belles lettres. )

(The whole course of studies was divided into two stages: Novices and Candidates. During the first two years the studies were mainly philosophic - there were three lectures in the first year, one in Logic and Metaphysics, one in Greek and Hebrew and one in History. In the second year there were two lectures only, one in Morals and one in Physics. Three more years of mainly theological studies completed the curriculum.)

Having seen Hölderlin in his surroundings at Maulbronn we will understand him better in his University course if we describe how a Founder of the "Tübinger Stift" passed a day. Hölderlin writes to his friend Neuffer "Schlag vier bin ich morgens auf, und koche meinen Kaffee selbst, und dann an die Arbeit." <sup>1)</sup> The day evidently began very early and the students apparently had to get their own breakfast. According to the purpose of the Foundation the day began with prayer, and then Roll-call. Any one missing was punished by his name being taken, and he was deprived of his wine at lunch. This may seem a peculiar punishment, but we must remember that the wine of the Neckar valley was a national beverage and much appreciated by old and young. There are several passages in Hölderlin's letters in which he asks his mother to send him some.

After prayers a chapter of the New Testament was read under the supervision of the tutor, and explained. There were three lectures every forenoon. Lunch was at 11 a.m. The Foundationers had free time from 12 - 3 to go errands or to pay visits to the notables of the town. On Thursday forenoon and on Sundays and on public holidays they could go out the whole time. The ordinary afternoons passed with An Neuffer, Sommer 1793.

classes and private study. Hölderlin, it is said, took out books in his own name from the Stift library only twice. It is difficult to explain this point, but as he shared a room with Schelling and Hegel, he probably read their books too. Perhaps he was not interested in breadth of reading, as we know that although he did go deeply into matters which attracted his attention, he was not notable for a broad general knowledge. The books entered to his name were two volumes of Plato's works, 14/9/1792, and Jesaja-Commentar von C. Vitringa on 18/9/1793.

Hölderlin's mind responded more readily to the realities of life than to books, which is natural for one who was so interested in a new order. It is not uninteresting to recall here the fact that Keats who at first showed no sign of a literary bent, became a voracious reader. ?  
That his work is largely retrospective and eclectic in subject is because in the books he read he discovered a world ready to his hand. In the Greek mythology he found a world of lovely images; in the poetry of Spenser, Chaucer and Ariosto he found another such world - Arcadia and Faeryland; he rediscovered them both for himself; his imagination was set to work by the 'realms of gold' rather than by the life around him.

Discipline in the Foundation does not seem to have been so severe as at Denkendorf and Maulbronn, because as often as a student asked for exeat and had a good reason for it, he was not refused. After supper, which took place at six during summer, they were allowed to go out till ten. Latecomers were punished next day by 'carcere'. On Sunday all the Foundationers had to go to church, mostly in a procession. So far all this appears to be quite a moderate discipline, and this in many ways was due to the improvements of the 'Ephoros' Christian Friedrich Schnurrer, Professor of Philosophy. Schnurrer was one of the best known Orientalists of his time. He was a man of enlightened outlook, which he had obtained through his travels in England and France, where he met Rousseau. Hölderlin was inspired by his personality, we have reason to believe, because he dedicated his thesis "Parallelele zwischen Salomons Sprüchwörtern und Hesiods Werken und Tagen" to him. The title of the secon Thesis which he had to present for his degree of Master of Philosophy was "Die Geschichte der schönen Künste Griechenlands."

Though its is prognostic that Hölderlin chose as a subject "A History of Art under the Greeks", the work itself, to quote Miss Butler, "is little more than a sketchy

synopsis of Winckelmann's main ideas with numerous references to "A History of Art among the Ancients" and several quotations from it. The slightly critical attitude towards Aeschylus, the glorification of Sophocles at the expense of Euripides and many others of Winckelmann's opinions were reproduced almost verbatim. The part played by the Greek climate in the development of Hellenic civilisation and art was naturally not overlooked; the 'noble simplicity' of the latter received its due meed of praise; finally, as was inevitable, the Laocoon group, 'the last most glorious work of this period', made its obligatory appearance, not without summing up some echoes from Lessing's great critical work."<sup>1)</sup>

It was impossible at that time to study the Greeks without the light of Winckelmann, and we are not surprised that Hölderlin, like all his contemporaries, was bound by the magic powers of Winckelmann's Greece. But the intense personal element in Hölderlin's relationship to the Greeks is lacking in the attitude of his contemporaries towards them. His ecstatic tone rings out from his hymn "An den Genius Griechenlands" in 1789 :

1) Butler, E.M., The Tyranny of Greece over Germany, Cambridge, 1935, Chapter VI, p.208.



" Jubel! Jubel dir in der Höhe,  
 Du Erstgeborener  
 Der hohen Natur!  
 Aus Kronos' Halle  
 Da steigst du  
 Zu neuen, geheiligten Schöpfungen  
 Hold und majestätisch herab.

Although in comparison with Maulbronn the discipline was less arduous, their freedom was still much restricted by regulations, which stood in no proper proportion to the outside world. Riding out, sledging in winter, and dancing, customs now considered healthy and harmless for youth, were strictly forbidden. Even smoking was not allowed and anyone who was twice caught smoking was sent down.

From my brief account of John Keats in London we have seen that he, too, could hardly be described as happy in the surroundings in which his daily life was spent from the time he left Enfield. We can see Keats at that age, - eighteen years old, - as Hölderlin was when he came to Tübingen- sitting on his famous window seat "peering into space" and Hölderlin in his "düstern Stüblein, as he describes the room to his sister, looking towards Nürtingen, saying "meine Universitätsjahre verbitterten mir das Leben auf immer."<sup>1)</sup> This remark refers partly to the Rules of

1) An die Mutter, Bertram, Nr. 28.

the Stift and partly, as is clear from the letter quoted, to the bad food. A well-balanced youth of his age should have been able to put up with such hardships, in comparison with what he was gaining intellectually, - as witness the Spartan fare and simple endurance of the old Scottish "lads o' pairts" who in their poverty braved all hardships to win the guerdon of a University degree. Keats with his determination would have from sheer ambition been able to bear it, as he was a type who dominated his background and did not allow it to dominate him completely. When Keats suffered from moods of depression he did not grumble, and got a bit of a consolation in the "thought of writing one or two poems before life ceases."<sup>1)</sup> Not so with Hölderlin's temperament, "das sich eben weil es Temperament<sup>2)</sup> ist, schlechterdings nicht verleugnen lässt;" it could not endure any pressure (Druck).

The curriculum and what Hölderlin gained by it has been fully discussed. "The question is not how much knowledge can be compassed in school or in life, or which sort is ultimately of most value, but how the individual can be adjusted to the truth, beauty and morality of the worlds he can claim membership of, so as to make

1) To Bailey, 10th. June, 1818.

2) An die Mutter, Bertram, No. 28

them and himself better for the process." <sup>1)</sup> The adjustment of Hölderlin to his world was conditioned largely by the affairs prevailing in Württemberg. There the 'Enlightenment' (Aufklärung) was not the noble form of some of the other states, such as Prussia under Frederick the Great. In Württemberg it remained a shallow form of Rationalism, "kalte, vom Herzen verlassene Vernunft". <sup>2)</sup> That the intellectual side appealed to him is revealed by his remark about his Repetent Conz "Mein Repetent ist der beste Mann von der Welt" <sup>3)</sup> as well as in the following testimony in the same letter - "Der Wunsch, was zu lernen, kann jeden andern Wunsch verschlingen!" Conz's enthusiasm for the French Revolution formed a link between master and pupil; but in the first place Conz has to be considered "als eifriger Prophet des Griechentums" in his influence on Hölderlin. <sup>4)</sup> Sharing a room with Hegel, born in 1770 and so exactly Hölderlin's age, brought to Hölderlin a real joy in his studies, because in Hegel with his love for Sophocles he found a kindred spirit. This influence was probably <sup>5)</sup> reciprocal.

At this time, while preparing for what was intended to be his profession, Hölderlin's true nature

1) Adamson, The Individual and the Environment, p. 8

2) An die Mutter, Bertram, No. 40, 3) An die Schwester, Bertram, No. 34

4) Cf. Zinckernagel, Entwicklungsgeschichte des Hyperion, p. 37

5) Cf. Karl Rosenkranz, G.W.F. Hegels Leben, Vol. I, 1844.

just like that of Keats proclaimed itself. During his training Keats did not express himself as objecting to it, or allow us to learn whether he had any real intention of practising it or not. They both completed their training and passed their final Examinations. In 1793 Hölderlin passed "die Staatsprüfung vor dem Königlichen Konsistorium in Stuttgart", by which he became eligible for an appointment in the ministry of the Church. Keats was started on the training as an apothecary by pure fortuitous circumstances and he does not seem to have evinced any interest in science. But with Hölderlin his training was due to his family background, his mother's and grandmother's ambition for him, his grandfather's profession as Pfarrer and the fact that he could have this education largely free . Hölderlin, whose adult love was "das Menschengeschlecht", in his adolescent years had already a leaning to this altruistic love, because in his Maulbronn days he says that as a minister in a village one could be so useful to the world, even happier than if one were who-knows-what. <sup>1)</sup> So Hölderlin did contemplate practising his profession. As a theologian he could have been a poet as well. It is, apart from other reasons which I shall

1) An die Mutter, Bertram, No. 8

mention later, probably due to the effect of his studies that when he became older it was his desire "in Ruhe und Eingezogenheit einmal zu leben - und Bücher schreiben zu können, ohne dabei zu hungern."<sup>1)</sup> In 1789 he thought of studying Law, but gave the idea up, an idea which probably was an attempt to escape from the classes where a mixture of Rationalism and Biblical faith was preached, which raised in him nothing but feelings of aversion. It was first of all consideration for his mother that made Hölderlin continue with his studies in theology, but he also seems to have been resigned to his lot, because he was convinced that it was his fate to suffer more than others, and was hoping that he would get to like the clerical robe. As time went on he felt himself more and more a poet. Along with this, as he went on writing, came the desire to be judged as a poet. In the Stift, however, he was more and more judged as a theologian, a fact which brought him more and more deeply into conflict with his calling. He completed his studies, yes; but he must have felt irksome the hours that these took him away from his "Hyperion" which was his main interest in his

1) An die Schwester, Bertram, No. 42

last year at Tübingen. So at the end of his fifth year we find him saying to his friend Neuffer that he is counting the moments until he will know that, and when, he is allowed to go out into the world.<sup>1)</sup> To his mother at the same time he makes it known that he intends to take up a position as a tutor; to enter the ministry has almost become a fear with him. This is so typically expressed "Auch muss ich fürchten wenn ich zu lange keinen Platz bekomme, das Konsistorium möchte mich beim Kopf kriegen und mich auf irgendeine Vikarstelle zu einem Pfarrer hinzwingen, der keinen freiwilligen Vikar bekommen kann."<sup>2)</sup>

His poetical urge finally broke through and demanded his whole life. With Keats the aversion to his profession was not so strong. He might have combined the vocation and the avocation. But, though capable, he was not really suitable for a surgeon, because he could not find in surgery a satisfying occupation for his thoughts. The busy life of a doctor, particularly of one working in a city, could not fulfil his craving for quietude, which for both poets was a source of inspiration. Hölderlin could turn to Nature; when he was separated from it he found no calm. For Keats in London no flight to Nature was possible. Reality and Nature did not exist side by side there. Hence the mood

1) An Neuffer, Bertram, No. 62

2) An die Mutter, " " 59

which is recurrent in Keats's life and poetry, to praise sleep for its gentle soothing;

" But few have ever felt how calm  
and well  
Sleep may be had in that deep den of all"

is the mood of Endymion when he awakes from his dreams of bliss among the Immortals. In 'Sleep and Poetry' sleep is the source of the inspiring qualities. Hölderlin's source of inspiration from his earliest days was Nature. We may note already at this point of our discussion that in 'Sleep and Poetry' sleep is subordinated to poetry, which reveals more, as Nature did to Hölderlin whose paradise it was. In Nature Hölderlin found his 'Cave of Quietude' which in Endymion is thus described

" Happy gloom!  
Dark Paradise! where pale becomes the bloom  
Of health by due; where silence dreariest  
Is most articulate; where hopes infest;  
Where those eyes are the brightest far that keep  
Their lids shut longest in a dreamless sleep.  
O happy spirit-home! O wondrous soul!  
Pregnant with such a den to save the whole  
In thine own depth."

This is the peculiar experience of Keats. The soul, his soul which woke up in a city, contains his 'Cave of Quietude' in which the whole of the weary human being may be re-born, and the soul is nature. This leads

us again to see Hölderlin and Keats as kindred spirits. The dismal and gloomy surroundings in London forbade the 'coy muse', as became obvious from a former quotation, to live with Keats. The idea of writing 'city-poetry', poetry of dismay and darkness, Keats never contemplated, for to him, as to Hölderlin who had been born into Nature, poetry and nature are one. They are one to the student of theology, who had grown up with Nature, and who during his unnatural university education was barred from it; and nature and poetry are one to the medical student John Keats, who<sup>k</sup> is exiled from both, and waiting for the muse to climb with him "the steep, - Nature's observatory -"

Keats's distaste for his profession was accentuated by an experience he had had. He was called upon to open a man's artery. "He performed the operation skilfully, but with a wandering mind. 'I did it with the utmost nicety', he told a friend later, 'but on reflecting on what had passed through my mind at the time, my dexterity seemed a miracle, and I never took up the lancet again.'"<sup>1)</sup>

1) Lowell, Ibid, I, p. 186.



He definitely decided that the poetry in him must find expression:

"When I have fears that I may cease to be  
 Before my pen has glean'd my teeming brain...  
                   ..... then on the shore <sup>1)</sup>  
 Of the wide world I stand alone, and think..."

"Nur einen Sommer gönnt, ihr Gewaltigen!  
 Und einen Herbst zu reifem Gesange mir,  
 Dass williger mein Herz, vom süßen <sup>2)</sup>  
 Spiele gesättigt, dann mir sterbe."

Thus the two poets expressed their fear that time would not be granted them in which to reach that perfection of poetry which would entitle them to take their place among the immortals. Their love of poetry, their poetic mission, claimed them both wholly, making demands on the intellect as well as on the heart, on their spiritual being as well as on the senses.

1) Keats's VIIth sonnet.

2) An die Parzen.

We must realise that Keats's active productive life, from early in 1817 when his first volume of "Miscellaneous Poems" was published, to his death in 1821 comprises a period of only three and a half years. He passed the winter of 1817-18 at Hampstead happily amongst his friends, as his letters show. 'Endymion' had been finished on Nov. 28th. 1817 at Burford Bridge and it was published in the spring of 1818. Like his first volume it attracted little attention until it was pilloried in the "Quarterly" and "Blackwoods'". Keats himself in his Preface did not deny that he was disappointed in his work and that he intended to justify his poetical claims by future efforts. Never was censure less aptly applied. But his dissatisfaction and his brother Tom's increasing illhealth cast a gloom over this period, as we again can see from the letters of this time. George, too had been unemployed for some time and now decided to marry and to go to America. 1)

In the middle of June Keats took a walking tour

1) Letter of May 25th., 1818, to Bailey.

with his friend Brown, through the English Lakes and Scottish Highlands after seeing George and his wife off to America. This journey North was in the true romantic vein. From this trip Keats had to be shipped home from Inverness ill after a sore throat. In this condition he had to settle down to nursing his brother Tom who was dying - it was merely a question of time, - of tuberculosis. Then came the August Blackwood, full of vituperation of Keats's 'Endymion,' probably inspired by political enmity, as he was known to be a friend of Hunt. A similar criticism appeared in the Quarterly in late September. A third appeared in the British Critic. These articles were said to have hastened his death. From this time Keats's life was complicated by money troubles. Tom died at the beginning of December and Keats went to stay with his friend Brown. 1819 began happily enough with Hyperion under way, and that spring he wrote also Ode to a Nightingale and On a Grecian Urn, The Pot of Basil and The Eve of St. Agnes. Summer was spent in the Isle of Wight and Winchester, and on return to London he had his first haemorrhage, which he diagnosed as his death-warrant. 1820 was a sad and painful year - the last of his

life. In June the volume "Lamia, Isabella, The Pot of Basil and other poems" was published and well received. Hyperion was included in this volume, but against Keats's wish. This year, too, saw the development of his unhappy love story. In the autumn his health had deteriorated so much that it was clear he could not winter in England. His friend Severn the artist had won a travelling Scholarship from the Royal Academy and was going to Italy; Keats arranged to accompany him. They sailed at the end of September, reached Italy and Keats died there on 27th. February 1821 and is buried in the Protestant Cemetery in Rome. His epitaph he chose himself -

"Here lies one whose name was writ in water."

Friedrich Hölderlin left Tübingen at the end of December 1793 and on Schiller's recommendation received a post as a tutor in the house of Schiller's friend, Frau von Kalb in Waltershausen. This post does not appear to have occupied him all the time for he had considerable leisure which he eagerly devoted to writing, still the composition of Hyperion. He found the situation very congenial. The district is one of the finest in Thuringia and Waltershausen is surrounded by pinewoods with a castle on the eminence above it. The people were, Hölderlin writes to his mother "recht guter Art" <sup>1)</sup>. During this time his rising spirits

1) An die Mutter, Waltershausen, 3. Jan. 1794.

found expression in "Lebensgenuss" to his friend Neuffer; and "Der Genius der Jugend", judging by the similar expression of mood, seems to belong to this period also. In November of that year Hölderlin and his pupil were sent to Jena-, a change notable as being from real country life to town. Jena was an intellectual centre and there Hölderlin was near all the great men whom he admired, and there too he studied under Fichte. The tutor and his pupil went on to Weimar in December and then back to Jena. Now he received an extra quarter's fee from Frau von Kalb and this enabled him for the first time to feel independent for some time and to devote himself entirely to authorship. He worked harder than before at Hyperion. The exact date of his leaving Jena is not clear but his last letter from there is dated 22nd. May 1795. Home he came to Nürtingen. He had set out with such great hopes: he had longed to receive a Lectureship but nothing had come of it. So he came home as one who had "suffered shipwreck". "An die Natur" is a poem of that time giving expression to his experience,

"Da der Jugend goldne Träume starben,  
Starb für mich die freundliche Natur."

Unwilling to accept a "Vikarstelle", he had to consider himself lucky to obtain another post as Tutor to four children of a rich banker in Frankfurt, in Dec. 1795.

In Susette Gontard, the mother of his pupils, he met his "Diotima". His spare time was devoted mostly to philosophical studies, and "Diotima" the rhymed poem is outstanding for this period. When during the first six months of 1796, Frankfurt seemed likely to become the scene of conflict with the French army, the family decided to move to Hamburg, but went first to Kassel and stayed there, where the Picturegalleries and the Museums gave Hölderlin many a happy day. It was there that he met Heinse, author of "Ardhingello und die glückseligen Inseln", who shared his enthusiasm for the treasures of art. By the winter of 1796 they were back again in Frankfurt. In 1797 the first volume of his poems and his Roman appeared. To this period belongs "Der Wanderer" - a contrast between 'Heimat' and 'Fremde'. This was a year before he left Frankfurt which he did in 1798, probably because his feelings towards Frau von Gontard made it impossible for him to stay. In the following four years his work shows the finest blooming. Two of these years he spent with his friend Sinclair, "Isaac von Sinclair, Legationsrat des Landgrafen von Hessen-Homburg", with whom he had made friends during his Jena days.<sup>1)</sup>

1) Cf. Kelchner, Friedrich Hölderlin und seine Beziehungen zu Homburg v.d.H., 1833, pages 4 and 5.

When thirty-one years old he accepted again a post as tutor, this time in Hauptwyl near St.Gallen from which he was dismissed after six months, very politely but in truth very inconsiderately, because the demands made on his strength were too great. So he travelled back home, partly on foot, and the Hamburg consul at Bordeaux then engaged him as tutor (January 1802). The impressions he received in France he expressed in "Andenken". After six months he returned to Nürtingen. What his letters had already made Sinclair fear, was true. His mind was deranged.<sup>1)</sup> The final blow was the news of the death of "Diotima". From 1806 the hope of his recovery was extinguished. He was brought from Homburg, where he, as mentioned before, had been librarian, to Tübingen. There he spent the rest of his life, another thirty-seven years, under the care of a joiner's family in the garden house of the poet Waiblinger. From there he could look down on the town to which he had once come so full of hope, could see his beloved Neckar quietly flow past.

"Wohl mir! dass ich süssen Ernstes scheide,  
 Dass die Harfe schreckenlos ertönt,  
 Dass die Lippe nicht der Einfalt höhnt",

he had sung in "Burg Tübingen" when he left it after his

1) Cf. Kelchner, Ibid, pp.27,28

student days and had prophesied

"Süssen Ernstes will ich wiederkehren,  
Einzutrinken freien Männermut,  
Bis umschimmert von den Geisterheeren  
In Walhallas Schoss die Seele ruht."

He died on the evening of the 7th. June 1843.

For his life work hardly a decade had been granted to him during which Hyperion's "Schicksalslied" had fulfilled itself:

"Doch uns ist gegeben  
Auf keiner Stätte zu ruhen",

he had been thrown "Wie Wasser von Klippe zu Klippe....., Jahrelang ins Ungewisse hinab."

Very early in his writings Hölderlin gave expression to the unhappiness which he felt as a poet to arise out of the great gulf which lay between him and his 'Volk'. His "Schicksalslied" is a fitting expression of the deep personal agonies he felt as he realised his own fate.

Keats, too, who chose as his epitaph "Here lies one whose name was writ in water", went to his death not knowing whether the world had heard him - the poet - or would ever hear. His epitaph expresses with conscious pathos the fate of a suffering man unable to see his



approaching fame -

"I cannot see what flowers are at my feet,  
Nor what soft incense hangs upon the boughs," 1)

"one whose name was writ in water", a line full of disappointment and suffering of a poet on his way to death. Hölderlin's "Schicksalslied", on the other hand, does not contain personalities. It is true not merely of himself but for all men's destiny, for it contrasts with the fate of suffering man, tossed hither and thither by destiny, the calm unruffled peace of the great Gods.

This contrast shows how much Keats was merely the artist of the beautiful, and how much Hölderlin needed his community. To have seen "the flowers at his feet" on his road to immortality - the spirit of poetry expressing itself in the song of the nightingale for ever, would have been fulfilment of his dream - his sanction of his work as a poet. Hölderlin with his sense of duty towards the community required a 'legitimate contact' with the people:

"Indessen dünkt mir öfters  
Besser, zu schlafen, wie so ohne Genossen zu sein,  
So zu harren, und was zu tun indes und zu sagen,  
Weiss ich nicht, und wozu Dichter in dürftiger Zeit?" 2)

1) Ode to a Nightingale.

2) Brot und Wein.

Because Hölderlin conceived the poet as possessing in the community a high and exclusive position, -

"So will ich aus Götterhöhen,  
Neugeweiht in schönrem Glück,  
Froh zu singen und zu sehen,  
Nun zu Sterblichen zurück" 1)

hero, philosopher, prophet, communicating to the people knowledge of the gods, - and could not reconcile this idea with the age in which he lived, he felt that it was not possible for him to find a place among his people; and so he was defeated.

1) Diotima, Dritte Fassung.

For almost two centuries, since the conclusion of the "Konkordienformel", the result of the convention at Torgau in 1576 which was designed to settle the disputes between Lutheranism and Calvinism<sup>1)</sup>, the South German spirit had led a quiet existence apart, without any lively interaction with the German collective life. This spirit was, as we have seen, awakened towards the end of the eighties of the eighteenth century, through the effect of the philosophy of Immanuel Kant, as well as through Lessing and Herder, through Goethe's and Schiller's writings in their youth (Jugendwerke) and the upheavals on the other side of the Rhine.

Hölderlin's juvenile years therefore, represent a time in which a struggle of the new, against the existing, order in every sphere of life took place. "The faithful Tübingen, too, had not withstood the "Enlightenment;" here, just as in Halle, a compromise between Orthodoxy and Enlightenment was reached. The ancient belief in miracles, heavenly punishments, prophecies, and revelations, had not been able to maintain its position

1) For details see H. Leube, *Kalvinismus und Luthertum*, Bd. I, 1928.

against the insight into the immutable laws of Nature and the pragmatism of spiritual life. The theological arbiters tried to save at least something which was indispensable for church use from these old beliefs by means of connecting abstract values in an artificial way. The result was a repulsive union of ancient intuition with modern philosophic reflection<sup>1)</sup>, which finally ended in being Rationalism. But the South German spirit, as we have noticed, did not lack altogether a solid stamp of substantial efficiency, particularly in education. It had produced amongst other great names, Hegel, Schelling and Hölderlin, who after imbuing themselves with the loftiest educational elements of the time, had adapted these elements to their South German individuality and upbringing, and tried to bring them home in a more profound form of their own to the consciousness of all.<sup>2)</sup> These "younger disciples" upon whom an idealism of personality and freedom had seized, who aimed at a more perfect society and a new higher humanity had to go out of their State, just as, about ten years before, the greatest of the Swabians, Schiller, had been

1) W. Dilthey, *Das Erlebnis und die Dichtung*, 1907, p. 337

2) Cf. Klüber, *Hölderlin, Hegel und Schelling in ihren schwäbischen Jugendjahren*, 1877, p. 3.

compelled to do, to find a suitable sphere of activity.

The French Revolution opened a prospect of realisation of these ideals and was greeted with enthusiasm by all <sup>the</sup> German poets except Goethe. The students at Tübingen, naturally, were carried away by the new movement, and founded a political club of which Hölderlin was a member. His innate love of liberty had been fostered through his years in the "Klosterschulen", and in Tübingen he found his whole being still cramped in many ways by the prevailing regulations, which were traditional and conservative. Rousseau's writings could therefore not fail to leave a deep impression on his mind, and indeed Rousseau became for him a hero, whom he worshipped. In November 1791 he wrote to Neuffer that he had studied the Rights of Men and refers to Rousseau as "dem grossen Jean Jacques"<sup>1)</sup>. And eight years later when he intended to write about the characteristic traits of the lives of old and new poets, the circumstances under which they came to being, in particular the individual artistic nature of each one, he chose besides Homer, Sappho, Aeschylus, Sophocles and Horace, Rousseau, as author of his love story "La Nouvelle Héloïse". In

1) An Neuffer, Tübingen, 28. Nov. 1791.

his poem "Rousseau" he has set up an everlasting monument to this great advocate of humanity. On Hölderlin Rousseau's influence, which reached him through the channels of literature, was undoubtedly very great. But of direct literary transmission of all that Rousseau aimed at we cannot speak in the case of Hölderlin. There were numerous followers of Rousseau, "sons of Rousseau" as they have been called in England. But in German literature rousseauistic ideas had already existed before him so that his influence was not pioneering, but rather strengthening movements already there. Friedrich Hölderlin was a poet of originality and distinctiveness. He uses Rousseau's theories but he had arrived himself at the fundamental belief in his "social creed". With his nature-belief he combined the social aspirations of the French revolution and his national hopes. When Hölderlin said "Meine Liebe ist das Menschengeschlecht.....ich liebe das Geschlecht der kommenden Jahrhunderte"<sup>1)</sup> he had formed his thoughts and convictions, and his aim, "Bildung, Besserung des Menschengeschlechts"<sup>2)</sup> by the light of his own life, and that is why he holds it so ardently. If he thought like Rousseau

1)2) An den Bruder, Bertram, No. 60.

and many others of that time, he nevertheless thought for himself, and if Rousseau or Schiller, for instance, had never lived, Hölderlin would have come to the same conclusions. Hölderlin's pantheism was his own already as a child, when he could have known nothing about Rousseau. So with that same make-up there could develop many a point of resemblance. Rousseau and Hölderlin have much the same semi-mystical faith in the goodness and divinity of Nature, the unity of the life of Nature and of human life; they both believe in the excellence of the child and have almost identical views regarding the way in which he ought to be educated.<sup>1)</sup>

In the poem "Der Rhein" Hölderlin addresses himself to Rousseau:

"Wem aber, wie Rousseau, dir,  
 Unüberwindlich die Seele,  
 Die starkausdauernde, ward,  
 Und sicherer Sinn  
 Und süsse Gabe zu hören,  
 Zu reden so, dass er aus heiliger Fülle,  
 Wie der Weingott, törig, göttlich  
 Und gesetzlos sie, die Sprache der Reinsten, gibt,  
 Verständlich den Guten, aber mit Recht  
 Die Achtungslosen mit Blindheit schlägt,  
 Die entweihenden Knechte, wie nenn ich den Fremden?"

The fact that this takes place in a poem in which the unity of natural and human life is represented, throws light upon what has been said about Hölderlin in relation to Rousseau.

1) Cf. Hölderlin's correspondence from Waltershausen and Jena (1794-95).

"Jetzt aber drin im Gebirg,  
 Tief unter den silbernen Ginfeln  
 Und unter fröhlichem Grün,  
 Wo die Wälder schauernd zu ihm  
 Und der Felsen Häupter übereinander  
 Hinabschaun, tagelang, dort  
 Im kältesten Abgrund hört  
 Ich um Erlösung jammern  
 Den Jüngling.....  
 .....

Die Stimme wars des edelsten der Ströme,  
 Des freigebohrenen Rheins,  
 Und anderes hoffte der, als droben von den Brüdern,  
 Dem Tessin und dem Rhodanus,  
 Er schied und wandern wollt, und ungeduldig ihn  
 Nach Asia trieb die königliche Seele."

Thus the poet views the Rhine as a natural force  
 which exercises its effect upon the culture of mankind.

"Ein Gott will aber sparen den Söhnen  
 Das eilende Leben und lächelt,  
 Wenn unenthalttsam, aber gehemmt  
 Von heiligen Alpen, ihm  
 In der Tiefe, wie jener, zürnen die Ströme.  
 In solcher Esse wird dann  
 Auch alles Lautre geschmiedet,  
 Und schön ist, wie er drauf,  
 Nachdem er die Berge verlassen,  
 Stillwandelnd sich im deutschen Lande  
 Begnügt und das Sehnen stillt  
 Im guten Geschäfte, wenn er das Land baut,  
 Der Vater Rhein, und liebe Kinder nährt  
 In Städten, die er gegründet."

Fate turned the river, originally headed towards  
 Asia, towards the North. This fate was Nature, the vital  
 force of life, and the river, symbolically seen as a hero,  
 originates in Nature. [We notice here that East and West have  
 met; this idea is emphasised in the later hymns in free verse.]



The close study of Hölderlin's works makes it clear that the main purpose of his writing is not in order to produce an effect on his nation; he aims at revealing what he had experienced, to show the god in Nature, expressed in words to satisfy his own soul, and even as the experience was with him and taking shape under his pen he foresaw as in a prophetic vision. His personality which was always longing for perfection demanded that he should produce a work of art. He knew that under the reigning despotism "unter der eiskalten Zone des Despotismus"<sup>1)</sup> such ideals as he longed for in his hymns, the ideals of the genius of youth, ideals of beauty, truth, love and friendship, and above all the ideals of freedom and humanity, could not prosper; but he believed in the generations of the centuries to come when "diese Keime von Aufklärung, diese stillen Wünsche und Bestrebungen einzelner zur Bildung des Menschengeschlechts"<sup>2)</sup> would spread and bear fruit. "Nicht dass wir ernten möchten"<sup>3)</sup> say the patriots in Hyperion; for them too the harvest was to ripen in the youth that would survive them. That there was no room for these ideals yet, was

1) An den Bruder, Bertram, No. 60.

2) " " " " " "

3) Hyperion and Bellarmin, Werke, Insel-Ausgabe, (Bertram), Erster Band, Erstes Buch, p. 458.

the main source of Hölderlin's grief and agony throughout life.

Romanticism as a way of thought is a part of that change in men and things, the Revolution, and as such is connected in many ways with the political changes of the Revolution. In England, too, the Romanticists were actively interested in politics. Their writings can provide us with valuable material for reconstruction of the actual politics of the time. "Men of letters, from Aristophanes to Mr. Shaw, have often busied themselves with politics. But it is seldom -and this in itself is a significant fact - that a whole generation devotes itself to politics as fervently as did that of 1800 in England. Indeed, among the Romantics Lamb and Keats alone seem to have escaped the contagion."<sup>1)</sup>

It must be remembered that, when Keats began to write with maturity the situation had changed. The Lake Poets had sunk into conformity and Toryism; the innovators in literature and in politics no longer formed a united group. The new school of romance was divided in their political opinion, and moreover the vigour of the 'orthodox principles' of the French Revolution had been diminished by long domestication in England. The solitariness of Keats's position with regard to politics shows how much he was

1) Brinton, C., The Political Ideas of the English Romanticists, p. 4

immered<sup>s</sup> in idealism, how much a dreamer he was, who nevertheless was not indifferent to everything but art, as the following quotation from the prologue to the Vision perhaps best illustrates: "Thou art a dreaming thing" says Moneta, addressing the poet himself, "The fever of thyself; think of the earth." It is this idealistic part of Keats's nature that was also Hölderlin's, his ideal being a community.

This theme keeps recurring. Hölderlin does not always openly express its connection with his country; Keats uses allegory; but the connection is always latent in it, and as we shall see, it is quite clear that this prevalent theme - Regeneration - has a close connection with the prophetic character of their writings. Very different indeed from Hölderlin's vision, etched with delicate strokes, of an ideal community which is based upon certain religious beliefs incorporated in and appearing throughout its whole life, is the Romantic political thought of nineteenth century Germany. Neither is Keats's revolutionary idea wholly nor primarily political. Hölderlin's community expresses its beliefs in a poetry which acts as a link to bind it together and a continually revivifying power. For Keats, too, the binding medium and the force of renewal is poetry.

Hölderlin's hymns proclaim the ideal values as the new generation felt them. In the new state the barriers between the classes as they existed then, under the subordinate principedoms, would be removed:

"Schon höhnen wir des Stolzes Ungebärde,  
Die Scheidewand von Flittern aufgebaut,  
Und an des Pflügers unentweihtem Herde 1)  
Wird sich die Menschheit wieder angetraut."

He summoned all men to lay aside as unworthy of consideration the differences which separated them, and to strive in harmony after the ideal:

"Nun, o Geister! in der Göttin Namen,  
Die uns schuf im Anbeginn der Zeit,  
Uns, die Sprösslinge von ihrem Samen,  
Uns, die Erben ihrer Herrlichkeit,  
Kommt zu feierlichen Huldigungen  
Mit der Seele ganzer Götterkraft,  
Mit der höchsten der Begeisterungen 2)  
Schwört vor ihr, die schuf und ewig schafft."

Classdistinction in both countries was largely founded on the growth of materialism with its increase of national as well as individual wealth. Towards this spirit in which they saw a danger for their ideals, both poets were extremely sensitive:

1) Hymne an die Menschheit.

2) Hymne an die Göttin der Harmonie.

"Lasst die Mietlinge den Preis erspähnen!  
 Lasst sie seufzend für die Tugenden,  
 Für den Schweiss am Joche Lohn erflehen!  
 Mut und Tat ist Lohn den Edleren!" 1)

To Keats, indeed, the poppies in the field are

"So pert and useless, that they bring to mind  
 The scarlet coats that pester human-kind." 2)

Here we have at the same time a likeness and a difference in the two poets. The likeness lies in their 'anti-aristocratic bias', and the difference in their patriotic temperament. Both likeness and difference are largely conditioned by the backgrounds existing in the two countries as we have seen them. Republicanism in the case of Wordsworth and Coleridge, for instance, was strongly mixed with a feeling of 'pacifism'. The thoughts aroused in Keats by a patch of poppies in "a field of drooping oats" undoubtedly spring from the same feeling. Of Keats we have no battle-song; of Hölderlin we have "Der Tod fürs Vaterland":

"Umsonst zu sterben, lieb ich nicht, doch  
 Lieb ich, zu fallen am Opferhügel

- 1) Hymne an die Muse
- 2) Epistle to Brother George.

"Fürs Vaterland, zu bluten des Herzens Blut  
 Fürs Vaterland - und bald ists geschehn! Zu euch,  
 Ihr Teuern! komm ich, die mich leben  
 Lehren und sterben, zu euch hinunter,"

which reveals a difference of attitude; but this we should, however, not overrate. Like Keats, Hölderlin was first of all the poet of odes, the singer of ideal things. His whole work gives proof of that. The very poem quoted above gives the impression at the end that more important than the battle is the poet's reunion with the ideal ancient heroes.

The poets of the "Sturm und Drang" period had already praised love for the fatherland, which they had learned from Klopstock to praise. The younger poets were even more inspired by this patriotic love. "Was hab ich Lieberes auf der Welt"<sup>1)</sup> wrote Hölderlin in 1801 when he once again had to move in order to find a living as a tutor in France. It had cost him bitter tears when he had decided to leave his fatherland at that age, it might be for good, because there was no place for him, and we can understand that he was "voll Abschieds"<sup>2)</sup>.

1)2) An Böhlendorf, Nürtingen, 4. Dez. 1801.

John Keats was the friend of reformers.

In a letter to his brother George in America he develops his political opinions. As this is one of the very few occasions on which he discusses politics at all in his letters, I quote a part of the passage:

".... as for Politics they are in my opinion only sleepy because they will soon be too wide awake. Perhaps not - for the long and continued Peace of England itself has given us notions of personal safety which are likely to prevent the reestablishment of our national Honesty. There is, of a truth, nothing manly or stirring in any part of the Government. There are many Madmen in the Country, I have no doubt, who would like to be beheaded on Tower Hill merely for the sake of éclat; there are many Men like Hunt who from a principle of taste would like to see things go on better, there are many like Sir F. Burdett who like to sit at the head of political dinners, - but there are none prepared to suffer in obscurity for their Country. The motives of our worst men are Interest and of our best Vanity.....Notwithstanding the part which the Liberals take in the Cause of Napoleon I cannot but think he has done more harm to the life of Liberty than any one else could have done: not that the divine right Gentlemen have done or intend to do any good - no, they have taken a Lesson from him, and will do all the further harm he would have done without any of the good. The worst thing he has done is, that he has taught them how to organize their monstrous armies."

Keats is often said to have been a radical, which, I suppose, is largely due to Blackwood's statement that Keats belonged to the 'Cockney School of Politics, as well as the Cockney School of Poetry'. The Cockney school

of politics meant Leigh Hunt, who had ventured to criticise the conduct of a member of Royalty in the person of George, Prince of Wales, and the implication was that he, as well as Keats were dangerous radicals. Reading Keats's few political references I think one cannot but feel that these cannot be described as the frenzied expressions of an enthusiastic radical. In 'Cap and Bells' we can perceive the rudiments of political and social satire. It does not require us to stretch imagination very far in order to see in the passion of Emperor Elfinan and his matrimonial entanglements a sideways glance at George IV. In a letter of 1818 he says "All I hope is, that I may not lose all interest in human affairs,"<sup>1)</sup> which does not mean that his revolutionary sympathies may not have gone deeper than is usually recognized. Sometimes he takes a poke at prominent people, as for instance "My Lords Wellington and Castlereagh, and Canning and many more, would do well to wear Twang -dillo-dee on their backs instead of Ribbons at their button-holes."<sup>2)</sup> Twang-dillo-dee is "the Amen to nonsense"! But apparently such political matters had little interest for him; he seldom mentions them. There is not much to be found about what we may call patriotism,

1) To R. Woodhouse, 27th. Oct. 1818

2) To Georgiana Keats, 17th Jan. 1820.



his feeling as an Englishman and for England. In 1817 he wrote to his sister Fanny, of George and Tom who were in Paris "Like most Englishmen they feel a mighty preference for everything English, - the French Meadows, the trees, the People, the towns, the Churches, the Books, the everything - although they may be in themselves good: yet when put in comparison with our green Island they all vanish like Swallows in October."<sup>1)</sup> And in the same letter he declares that French is "the poorest language ever spoken since the jabbering in the Tower of Babel." When he went to Devonshire the next year he did not form a very high opinion of the natives. He would appear almost to think them non-English. For he says "I like, I love England. I like its living men-.....Scenery is fine - but human nature is finer - the sward is richer for the tread of a real nervous English foot.....Are these facts or prejudices?"<sup>2)</sup> He is seldom sentimental or even enthusiastic about his native land. Yet there are touches in his poems that show he did have some feeling for it - a feeling which in the usual diffident English way he expresses with much restraint:

" O ye whose charge  
It is to hover round our pleasant hills!  
.....Did our old lamenting Thames  
Delight you? Did ye never cluster round  
Delicious Avon, with a mournful sound  
And weep?"<sup>3)</sup>

1) To F. Keats, 10th. Sept. 1817

2) To Bailey, 13th. March 1818.

3) Sleep and Poetry.

Hölderlin's love for the fatherland was made very difficult by the unheard-of conditions at many of the smaller courts (Fürstenthöfe) and particularly in Hölderlin's native state where, under the rule of the Duke Karl Eugen, poets and writers were suffering in prison for their free speech, without any trial, "wo das Beste nicht einmal in einem Papiere, das man einem Freunde schickt, sich nennen darf."<sup>1)</sup> With the love for the fatherland grows therefore hatred against tyranny, and love for freedom, longing for the hour of liberation:

"Dann am süßen heisserrungen Ziele,  
 Wenn der Ernte grosser Tag beginnt,  
 Wenn verödet die Tyrannenstühle,  
 Die Tyrannenknechte Moder sind,  
 Wenn im Heldenbunde meiner Brüder  
 Deutsches Blut und deutsche Liebe glüht;  
 Dann, o Himmelstochter! sing ich wieder,  
 Singe sterbend dir das letzte Lied."<sup>2)</sup>

The same accents, but fitting the English background, ring out from the last stanzas of Keats's poem 'To Hope':

"In the long vista of the years to roll,  
 Let me not see our country's honour fade!  
 O let me see our land retain her soul!  
 Her pride, her freedom; and not freedom's shade..."

1) An Neuffer, Frankfurt, 16. Feb. 1797

2) Hymne an die Freiheit.

"Let me not see the patriot's high bequest,  
Great liberty! how great in plain attire!  
With the base purple of a court oppress'd,  
Bowing her head, and ready to expire:...."

Keats's poem is a prayer for English liberty, for liberty not to leave her home - liberty, a typical English plant, though not in full bloom, but not withered. Hölderlin in his hymn is waiting for the day of the harvest when he will come 'bearing his sheaves', and the return of the heroism of the ancients. Liberty in England was the world of reality, just as the unity in England was the actual world. Both liberty and unity were unrealities in Germany, and existed for Hölderlin only in a dream-world.

If in this connexion we consider Hölderlin's poem "An die Hoffnung", we find that both his poem and Keats's 'To Hope' have the character of personal lyrics and are not unlike in expression. The atmosphere in Keats's poem comes from a personal despondency, whereas in Hölderlin's poem it is the atmosphere of the age of darkness.

In 'Brot und Wein', which has the age of darkness as its theme, what is personal in the poem is merely in a sort of aside. In "An die Hoffnung" personal and nonpersonal are shown with their relations reversed. This serves to show how Hölderlin's person is almost invariably bound up with something far transcending himself.-

The man of the future, in whom the best forces have been aroused, who feels "he rejoiceth as a strong man to run a race", can consciously collaborate in the perfection of mankind and will feel his highest pride in his fatherland; for him his fatherland will be his warmest love, his death and thereafter his heaven,

"Sein höchster Stolz und seine wärmste Liebe,  
Sein Tod, sein Himmel ist das Vaterland." 1)

The new citizen will live in heartfelt community with his fellow citizen, will find himself again, and realise the higher values of citizenship, when

"Staunend kennt der grosse Stamm sich wieder,  
Millionen knüpft der Liebe Band;  
Glühend stehn, und stolz, die neuen Brüder,  
Stehn und dulden für das Vaterland." 2)

It is passages like these, I suppose, that made recent German 'literature' <sup>claim/</sup> Hölderlin - like Kleist - as one of the purest singers of the Fatherland. He was that indeed, when a new order was to be created, when Freedom and Humanity were to be the guiding stars of the nation. Kleist's "Germania an ihre Kinder" separates him effectively as a patriotic poet from Hölderlin; it is also interesting here to quote a passage from Kleist's "Katechismus der Deutschen", in which a boy, almost like

1) Hymne an die Menschheit.

2) Hymne an die Freiheit.

a prayer, morning and evening, condemns Napoleon "als einen der Hölle entstiegene[n] Vatermördergeist, der umherschleicht in dem Tempel der Natur und an allen Säulen rüttelt, auf welchen er gebaut ist."

For Hölderlin the strongest links between men were love and friendship; in love he sees the principle that keeps the world together, and in beauty and harmony the manifestations of this principle. This thought is the essence of his "Hymne an die Göttin der Harmonie":

"Frei und mächtig, wie des Meeres Welle,  
Rein, wie Bächlein in Elysium,  
Sei der Dienst an ihres Tempels Schwelle,  
Sei der Wahrheit hohes Priestertum."

Stark und selig in der Liebe Leben  
Staunen wir des Herzens Himmel an.  
Schnell, wie Seraphim im Fluge, schweben  
Wir zur hohen Harmonie hinan."

In order to communicate with Nature, to be able to respond to Nature, man needs love. Keats who had gone to Margate in search of Nature, and discovered the ocean whose vastness opened an entirely new world of Nature to the poet, felt that

"there are times, when those that love the bay,  
Fly from all sorrowing far, far away;  
A sudden glow comes on them, nought they see  
In water, earth, or air, but poesy."<sup>1)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup>Epistle to Brother George.

Love for Nature aroused in the poet's soul splendid visions of harmony in which the spirit and the senses were in equipoise, when his conception of a poetry which would tell man "the most heart-easing things" began to clarify and assumed a more definite shape :

"Yet I rejoice, a myrtle fairer than  
 E'er grew in Paphos, from the bitter weeds  
 Lifts its sweet head into the air, and feeds  
 A silent space with ever sprouting green,"<sup>1)</sup>

an idea of as delightful and impressive a nature in embodying an abstraction, as one has seldom seen put into words.

Keats, taking his experience of human nature from the world without him, endeavoured to perceive more profoundly the world within him. Embodying passionately in his poetry the imaginative life as well, the spirit of his poetry against the spirit of the age, he expresses his own age by resisting it, by creating, as Hölderlin did, something that has outlasted its disillusion. Keats wished his poetry to be 'a friend of man'. Hölderlin had a more comprehensive aim, coming from his more comprehensive conception of Nature, as well as from the tradition of German thought, as has been discussed in Part I, and from his background. The fact of his choice of the word "Humanität" to express his conception is significant.

<sup>1)</sup>Sleep and Poetry.

It is so comprehensive that it shows clearly what his philosophical attitude was. He aimed at educating mankind - on a broader basis than was hitherto known -, in particular at educating his own people, because from the circumstances of the times he felt that they particularly needed it. The standard which he set before them as an ideal was that attained by the Greeks in their city-state. It is a standard which is feasible, as witness the great personalities which from time to time arise to show forth the harmony of the soul. Hölderlin believes that all may attain this standard.

In the few poems which have for their dominant note the idea of Germany as the core of a belief, Hölderlin expresses himself as an individual - that is, not as the voice of a 'Volk' - longing for the world which he has envisaged in his poetic creation but which has never existed in hard fact. Hölderlin and Keats, living so completely in the ideal, were not rooted in the life of their time. They neither accepted the Christian age nor society as it was then, and therefore Hölderlin could not discern accurately what political aims it was absolutely necessary to formulate before he could hope to outline the framework on which to build a German nation; and we cannot turn to Keats's writings for a political and social reconstruction of his time.

Hölderlin's ideal of a free people in a free century to come, a century in which the nobleness of humanity would blossom, and beauty would elevate all beings, - ideals that seemed so remote then - created something akin to agony in Hölderlin and produced his faculty of criticism and a fiery spirit which he turned against the paltry time, the century which he thinks of as his chastisement. It is not the cry of a young idealist in despair. It shows the poet in whom the hero is stronger than the dreamer, in whose being tenderness is balanced by strength:

"Was nehmt ihr mir, den nur die Kämpfe retten,  
Ihr Weichlinge! mein glühend Element?

.....  
Umsonst! mich hält die dürre Zeit vergebens,  
Und mein Jahrhundert ist mir Züchtigung;  
Ich sehne mich ins grüne Feld des Lebens  
Und in den Himmel der Begeisterung....."

cries out "Der Jüngling an die klugen Ratgeber"; a rebellious voice against the age, railing against the political background with its obstacles for the poet of that age in general, as well as for Hölderlin's ideal in particular. - "I hate the world; it batters too much the wings of my self-will" Keats wrote to Fanny Brawne, and he longed to leave it - "and would I could take a sweet poison from your lips to send me out of it." Thus Keats, who was



very much flesh and blood as a man, but an artist through and through. Hölderlin wanted to help his century by revealing his ideals to men and by so doing to achieve these ideals as facts. Keats thought mainly of art as an end in itself; and having this conception, felt that to produce it was good. How the good was to come, he did not know. "The road lies through application, study, and thought" he said, but in his idealism he remained too aloof from the world. Both Keats and Hölderlin felt the dislocation between themselves and their time.

Hope dawns over the horizon of Hölderlin's "Himmel der Begeisterung" when

"Mit ihrem heiligen Wetterschlage,  
Mit Unerbittlichkeit vollbringt  
Die Not an einem grossen Tage,  
Was kaum Jahrhunderten gelingt;  
Und wenn in ihren Ungewittern  
Selbst ein Elysium vergeht,  
Und Welten ihrem Donner zittern -  
Was gross und göttlich ist, besteht."

The poet thus was inspired by the French Revolution in "Das Schicksal". As the French Revolution more and more degenerated, its Reign of Terror and its wars brought for many poets a conflict between their love for freedom and their love for the fatherland. Klopstock, who had praised the Revolution as the greatest deed of the century declares in "Mein Irrtum" after the days of terror that "des goldnen Traumes Wonne" had gone. This disillusionment was shared in

England by the Lake poets. "Forgive me, Freedom! O forgive those dreams!" sang Coleridge after the invasion of Switzerland (1798). Wordsworth's faith in France broke down as well. The liberty of which he finally became "the golden-mouthed apologist", was not that of the Contrat Social or of political justice, but the freedom which has its roots in national character and history. Wordsworth had thought that his aspirations towards the Kingdom of God would be accomplished by the French Revolution. When the French Revolution became reactionary and chauvinistic, he sought another way - through Nature. This was the beginning of the pantheism of the nineteenth century.

Hölderlin kept firmly to the ideas of the Revolution, even when, through the advance of the French power and the revolutionary army the independence of the nations was threatened. When the decisive hour in the war between France and the Austrian-Prussian army seemed near, he urged his sister to pray for a victory of the French. "Glaube mir, liebe Schwester", he said convincedly, "wir kriegen schlimme Zeit, wenn die Österreicher gewinnen. Der Missbrauch fürstlicher Gewalt wird schrecklich werden." "Glaube mir das", he adds, and we feel his anxiety, "und bete für die Franzosen, die Verfechter der menschlichen Rechte."<sup>1)</sup>

1) An die Schwester, Bertram, Nr. 50.

His ideal commanded him completely and he saw its realisation close at hand. But we cannot understand his attitude unless we conceive his belief in the ultimate harmony of all things. By harmony is meant here not merely the comprehension of the moral fitness of things: it includes the <sup>h</sup>rhythm of transition from cosmos to chaos and back again. For the forces of conflict keep up one unending process of building up and tearing down, of forming and re-forming in everything which has being at all. Unities are broken up into their components: elements are built up in new combinations: separation and combination go on perpetually. Hölderlin does not pass any moral judgement on whether this process is good or not. The fact that it exists gives it its right.

He tries to console his mother - in the sense of 'don't worry, it may never happen'. Whatever may come - and he admitted that changes could take place at home -, could not be bad. "Aber gottlob! wir sind nicht unter denen, denen man angemassete Rechte abnehmen, die man wegen begangener Gewaltthätigkeit und Bedrückung bestrafen könnte." <sup>1)</sup>

The good citizen had little or nothing to lose and much, "viel, viel" as Hölderlin wrote emphatically, to gain.

"Von hier und heute geht eine neue Epoche der Weltgeschichte aus " said Goethe, who had accompanied the Duke Karl August into the field, on the evening of the "Kanonade von Valmey",

1) An die Mutter, Bertram, No. 54.

shortly before they were driven back by the French army. That Robespierre had to die seemed just to Hölderlin and perhaps "of good result", as he put it. "Lasst erst die beiden Engel, die Menschlichkeit und den Frieden, kommen", he wrote during the first coalition of the Napoleonic wars, from Waltershausen, " was die Sache der Menschheit ist, gedeiht dann gewiss! Amen -" <sup>1)</sup> his daily prayer, his unshakable faith. When in 1796 the French Republican Army, under General St. Cyr, followed the Austrians through Württemberg via Tübingen, Reutlingen and Blaubeuren, Hölderlin in Frankfurt almost envied his brother Karl because he was able to see the marvellous spectacle and the gigantic progress of the Republicans. Indeed his admiration for Napoleon as expressed in the short poem 'Buonaparte' was so great as to be almost inexpressible. No poet, he declares, is fit to cope with such a mighty spirit. Napoleon cannot live in poetry, his greatness needs the world for its field. Hölderlin did not worship the military leader or the statesman in Napoleon. His admiration is based on the concentration of natural energy and vitality in his hero; it does not depend on any particular quality or achievement. But Napoleon's being itself, its dynamic and its extent, both as nature produces it and as it appears amongst men, belong to a different category. Hölderlin

1) An Neuffer, Waltershausen, d. 25. Aug. 1794.

sees his heroes in the light in which he saw the Greeks. Such hero-worship we cannot find in anything Keats wrote. His sonnet to the Polish patriot Kosciusko whose name he conjoins with King Alfred's is a salute of juvenile admiration :

"Good Kosciusko! thy great name alone  
Is a full harvest whence to reap high feeling:  
It comes upon us like the glorious pealing  
Of the wide spheres - an everlasting tone."

Though, like Hölderlin, in some way partaking of the Greek genius, Keats was not familiar with the Greek poets, whom Hölderlin knew from his earliest youth. Therefore Keats was barred from the study of the Greek genius, from which Hölderlin derived his feeling for the hero and the relationship between men and gods, a feeling to which he adds his own nature-beliefs as the specific basis of his heroworship. Hölderlin believes in the 'potential greatness of man', in the god in man, which he combines with his nature-beliefs, partly derived from Rousseau, but also tinted by Spinoza, whose influence in Germany had then reached its peak. Hölderlin's "poetic inspiration is akin to the Greek because religion, poetry and myth are fused together in it; but the religion and the myth, and the unity of the inspiration, rest on a belief in nature, or life. He is most satisfying when his gods are clearly nature-gods, and his heroes greater men." <sup>1)</sup>

1) Peacock, Ibid, p. 58.

How much Hölderlin's mind was occupied by the events of the day and "die Sache der Menschheit" his letters show, but his poetry does too. The Ode "Der Frieden" contrasts the awful chaos of war with the still calm of Nature.

Cleansing is necessary, for mankind is rotten. The horrors of war are released by the angry God who sent the Deluge, and with the same purpose : to sweep away the generation which is driven on by its own wish for the evil. Hölderlin longed for a higher humanity, which could come only if men found their way back to the divine spirit of Nature.

Keats too has a poem On Peace, in sonnet form. But we cannot take it as the expression of a deep interest in events of his time. The Battle of Waterloo was an occasion which it seems only natural a young unfolding poet in England could not easily let pass by unnoticed.

Hölderlin's love for mankind was not so much for his contemporary generation. In his opinion that generation was spoiled and knavish. He knew that in spoiled people there was still latent a good disposition which required Nature to develop it. "For the best of men", Keats tells us, "have but a portion of good in them; a kind of spiritual yeast that creates the ferment of existence, whereby a man is propelled to act and strive and buffet with circumstances." 1) " Man should not dispute or assert, but

1) Letters, January 1818.

whisper results to his neighbour; and thus, by every germ of spirit sucking the sap from mould ethereal, every human (being) might become great, and Humanity, instead of being a wide heath of furze and briars with here and there a remote oak or pine, would become a grand democracy of forest trees." <sup>1)</sup>

The faith that kept Hölderlin strong and active was that the grand-children at least would be better than the men of his day, that Freedom would come, and that in the holy, warming light of Freedom, virtue would be supreme.

The abuse of the princely power grew and might was right. In this Hölderlin saw the root of all evil. Thus we can understand his epigram

"Einig zu sein, ist göttlich und gut;  
woher ist die Sucht denn  
Unter den Menschen, dass nur Einer und Eines nur  
sei?"

In England about this time Sidmouth and Castlereagh by their Six Acts and other reactionary legis/lation were setting back political freedom substantially and using military force and brutality to subdue the people, as witness 'Peterloo' the Manchester Massacre. So in both countries autocracy, the social pressure of the aristocracy, as well as religious narrowness dominated. In England this was a distinct retrogression due to the reactionary character of the government. In Germany the first stage in a development towards freedom

1)Feb. 1818, to Reynolds.

had not yet begun. Hölderlin talks about "die lyrische Unordnung unserer Ökonomie"<sup>1)</sup> thereby excusing himself for being such a negligent debtor. Keats takes refuge in the other world where he felt more at home, and could visualise universal justice. There the poet

" 'Tis the man who with a man  
Is an equal, be he King           2)  
Or poorest of the beggar-clan "

The ordinary citizen had to be resigned and acquiesce<sup>d</sup>. Shelley for one did not; he wrote "The Mask of Anarchy" and "Similes for Castlereagh"

"What is Freedom. Ye can tell  
That which slavery is, too well -  
For its very name has grown  
To an echo of your own." 3)

It was not easy for Hölderlin either to acquiesce in this "geist-und ordnungslose Jahrhundert"<sup>4)</sup>. So the young genius turned in upon himself, took refuge in Nature, and listened to his inner voices, brooding about the possibilities of an uplifting of mankind. Hölderlin's deep concern for the needs of his people and for humanity as a whole did not spring up so entirely from his background, his education and social

1) An Neuffer, Tübingen, 28. Nov. 1791.

2) The Poet, a fragment.

3) From "The Mask of Anarchy"

4) An Neuffer, Frankfurt, & 16. Febr. 1797.



experience, as to seem quite external and involuntary. It was the fruit of introspection and sprang from feelings that were all the deeper because they had their roots in his introspective youth, his early love of Nature and Heimat. Keats, preoccupied with finding new ways in poetry, ~~and~~ is convinced that "nothing is finer for the purpose of great productions than a very gradual ripening of the intellectual powers"<sup>1)</sup>; his mind evolved of itself "capable of being in uncertainties, doubts, mysteries, without any irritable reaching after fact and reason."<sup>2)</sup>

Hölderlin devoted his intellectual powers to the questions arising out of human nature and human affairs. Keats's lesser concern with the latter was the outcome of his concentration of his powers on the one form of the truth - which to him was Beauty in Art. Neither Philosophy nor Religion were allowed to divert him for long from Art, as they took a minor place in his scheme of things, since Philosophy in particular was not so intimately connected with poetry in the English Romantic movement as it was in the German. He disliked science and stopped practising it. Hölderlin's background was different, and from it he may have, in part, obtained his more comprehensive view of life.

1) Letters, January 1818.

2) Letters, February 1818.

We have accompanied him as he went through the conflict of incompatible duties which then and later marred his life from a poetical point of view. Keats's nature was unembittered by that grappling with political matters which influenced the life of Hölderlin. Considering this we can understand that Hölderlin brought much more a rule of life in his poetry than Keats did; but the fact that both poets with their manifold sorrows, up to almost their last moments of physical consciousness retained the determination to urge on "the weary flesh" through doubt and disappointment, is even more significant. It proves again the kinship between the two men. Could then two poets with natures so much alike be so different in their attitude towards worldly affairs, towards their fellowmen ? Not very likely. Let us look at Keats's Revision of Hyperion, a 'Vision of Knowledge' to confirm this. It begins in a garden (as the Divina Commedia in a wood ), and there is a supernatural guide who is to explain things unseen by what is seen. Both these ideas are suggested by Keats's reading of Dante. The vision we may find in the first Hyperion, Bk.II:

" As with us mortal men, the laden heart  
 Is persecuted more, and fever'd more,  
 When it is nighing to the mournful house  
 Where other hearts are sick of the same bruise;  
 So Saturn, as he walk'e into the midst,  
 Fell faint....."

"We fall by course of Nature's law, not force  
Of thunder, or of Jove.

.....  
From chaos and parental darkness came  
Light, the first fruits of that intestine broil,  
That sullen ferment, which for wondrous ends  
Was ripening in itself. The ripe hour came,  
And with it light, and light, engendering  
Upon its own producer, forthwith touched  
The whole enormous matter into life."

The argument is that the change by 'Nature's law',  
a 'self-destructive progress' in nature from chaos towards  
life, is brought about by beauty, not force.

"....to bear all naked truths,  
And to envisage circumstance. all calm,  
That is the top of sovereignty."

Thus Oceanus bids Saturn to take comfort in his  
dethronement.

"Soon wild commotions shook him, and made flush  
All the immortal fairness of his limbs:  
Most like the struggle at the gate of death;  
Or liker still to one who should take leave  
Of pale immortal death, and with a pang  
As hot as death's is chill, with fierce convulse  
Die into life, so young Apollo anguish'd; "

Then Apollo shrieked - and 'Hyperion' ends there; but sufficient  
for us to know that Apollo, "the morning bright Apollo" -  
the new poetry - dies "into life". "The top of sovereignty"  
of which the God of the Sea speaks, as may be gathered from  
the Revision is the reward of the poet for conduct in certain

situations in life:

"None can usurp this height  
 returned that Shade,  
 But those to whom the miseries of the world  
 Are misery, and will not let them rest."

Neither Keats's letters nor his poems give sufficient evidence as to whether Keats was expressing here his latest convictions. In April 1818 he wrote to Reynolds "I would jump down Aetna for any great Public good - but I hate a mawkish popularity", and in the following June to Bailey "Now I am never alone without rejoicing that there is such a thing as death - without placing my ultimate in the glory of dying for a great human purpose." - The argument from Hyperion Bk.II, along with Dr.Bridges' interpretation of the Revision of Hyperion, may well be offered as a suggestion:

"The visionaries are those who neglect conduct for the pursuit of any ideal. The garden and feast represent the beauties of Nature, and the drink is poetry, which is made from the fruit of the feast. The intoxication which followed the draught represents that complete and excited absorption by poetry which Keats described himself as suffering when he was writing Endymion, and the swoon would be that state of selfish isolation into which he fell in his Miltonic period. His awaking in the temple is his recovery from this to a

sympathy with the miseries of the world, and the temple itself is the temple of Knowledge, which is death for a visionary to enter if he gave not that sympathy. The steps to the altar are the struggle of such a mind to reach truth; and truth itself is revealed by knowledge. The leaves burning on the altar are years of the poetic life, or his youthful faculties."<sup>1)</sup>

Both Keats and Hölderlin conceived of the true poet as a prophet and seer. What we gain from the above interpretation of the Revision of Hyperion, even if it should not be correct in all its aspects, is the knowledge that Keats, too, had come to value the life of action above the merely artistic life which he had been leading:

"My heart aches, and a drowsy numbness pains  
My sense, as though of hemlock I had drunk"

he begins his Ode to a Nightingale. And he tells us why he is in this melancholy mood:

"'Tis not through envy of thy happy lot,  
But being too happy in thine happiness, -"

Keats felt he was too happy in the joy the song of the nightingale gave him; he felt then - as he often did - that his complete surrender to the magic of beauty was in strong

1) Cf. Bridges, R., Collected Essays, Papers etc.  
IV, A Critical Introduction to Keats, London 1933  
p. 116.

contrast to human troubles, and though he could not free himself from the spell of it, through such experiences he came to realise that beauty and meditation alone cannot afford the real insight a poet needs, but that this insight may only be arrived at by true human conduct, that is by sympathy with human misery and sorrow. "I take", Professor Garrod says "the revolutionary Apollo to contrast, in Keats's imagination, with the god whom he dispossesses, as humanitarian with visionary."<sup>1)</sup>

To turn again to Hölderlin. There seemed to be no room yet in Germany for the younger generation to build up a better and freer order, and for Hölderlin, this quiet, tender-natured poet, there was no place even for existence, "Du weisst ja, wie so manche edle Kraft bei uns zugrunde geht, weil sie nicht genützt wird"<sup>2)</sup> laments Hyperion. The necessities of life made themselves felt by the poet without resources. With deep exasperation he criticised the materialism of the rich bourgeoisie and complained about the stiffness and poverty of heart and soul of the Frankfort society and about their spirit of haughtiness. He felt his subordinate position, for a tutor was generally considered at that time "das fünfte Rad am

1) H.W. Garrod, Keats, Oxford 1926.

p.72.

2) Hyperion an Bellarmin, Erst. Bd., Erst. Bch., p.437

Wagen"<sup>1)</sup>, to use Hölderlin's own words. I shall deal with Hölderlin's relationship to Susette Gontard later, but let us keep in mind here that amongst the people of her class, whom he condemned so harshly and whom he considered caricatures rather than real human beings<sup>2)</sup> he described her as a "being in whom majesty and tenderness, joyousness and earnestness, sweet playfulness and deep gravity, life and spirit were united into a divine whole."<sup>3)</sup> Hölderlin, who at that time was beginning to unfold, expected that everybody should have understanding for his intellectual needs.

Where he did not find that, his self-confidence immediately suffered, and he attributed an aggressive attitude to people who unfortunately did not show literary appreciation. It must be remembered that the banking class and the merchants, which formed a large portion of the population in this old commercial centre, were upset and exasperated through the circumstances of the time and the possibility of the war spreading to their doors. His verdict on society therefore would seem slightly exaggerated, just as one cannot but feel that Keats's lines of his letter from Westmorland

"There are many disfigurements to this Lake - not in the way of land or Water.....The disfigurement I mean is the miasma of London," and the spiteful reference to 'Lord Wordsworth' are based on insufficient acquaintance, and on

1) An die Mutter, Nov. 1797, 2) An die Schwester, Bertram, No. 142

3) Cf. An Neuffer, 16. Febr. 1797.

seeing townspeople against a picture of Nature which was new to him.

Susette Gontard appreciated what Hölderlin meant to her children, to her eldest son, a boy of eight, in particular, and in return through natural goodness of heart tried to foster his intellectual interests. As she is said to have been a very beautiful woman, Hölderlin could easily satisfy his sense of beauty through her, and thus she became his angel with the 'Madonnenkopfe'. "Wen die Götter lieben, dem wird grosse Freude, grosses Leid zuteil". In this philosophic way Hölderlin tried to solve his personal fate, a fate that was partly conditioned by his temperament, and therefore tended inevitably to throw him either to the depths or lift him to the heights. The assumption that Hölderlin was inclined to judge people by their literary understanding, and the personal interest they showed in his poetic aspirations seems to be justified in view of the praise which Hölderlin expressed before he had even paid his respects to the court, for the family of the Landgraf Friedrich at Homburg. What he said, namely that the family consisted of "echtedlen Menschen, die sich durch ihre Gesinnungen und ihre Lebensart vor andern ihrer Klasse ganz auffallend auszeichnen"<sup>1)</sup>, was undoubtedly true. Apart from what he knew from his friend Sinclair, he had formed his high opinion merely by the fact that his book had been well received at the court of Homburg. Only a few

1) An die Mutter, Bertram, No. 150.



months before that he told his sister that no "Glück und Friede und Herz und reiner Sinn"<sup>1)</sup> could be found amongst nobles and aristocrats.- I have already mentioned the somewhat sarcastic way in which Keats wrote in his letters about prominent people. We know that he composed a sonnet on Leigh Hunt's leaving prison, and though this friendly and sympathetic attitude towards his friend does not necessarily mean that Keats identified himself with all Hunt's ideas, it proves that in this particular respect their attitude was the same. This in itself is no wonder, since we know baseness was alien to the highly civilised minds of our two poets. And it is from this point of view that I am quoting a passage from Leigh Hunt's Examiner as it explains that Keats was not merely interested in a "Charge of Libel for Explaining the True Character of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent", as Hunt's leader called it on April 26th 1812, between the sovereign dignity and a popular piece of presumption, but in a question that was between "the Licentious Example of a Court and the Voice of Public Virtue" - the question "how far those vices, which do not come under the cognizance of the laws are to be subject to the control of the public spirit.."<sup>2)</sup>

1) An die Schwester, Bertram, No. 142.

2) Cf. Blunden, Leigh Hunt's Examiner Examined, pp. 23/24

Amongst the members of the princely family at Homburg Princess Auguste seems to have taken a warm interest in Hölderlin's writings. The Ode which he dedicated to her is inspired by deep devotion. His translation of "The Tragedies of Sophocles" is also dedicated to Princess Auguste, because she, as Hölderlin says in his dedication, had encouraged him years ago with a few kind lines.

"Doch herrlicht mir dein Name das Lied; dein Fest,  
Augusta! dürft ich feiern; Beruf ist mirs,  
Zu rühmen Höhers, darum gab die  
Sprache der Gott und den Dank ins Herz mir.

O dass von diesem freudigen Tage mir  
Auch meine Zeit beginne, dass endlich auch  
Mir ein Gesang in deinen Hainen,  
Edle! gedeihe, der deiner wert sei."

Hölderlin recognises Princess Auguste's noble character. Wherever he found this quality or genius he worships them, for to him they represent the heroic in human nature. In his hero-worship as well as in his reverence for strong personality he does not pursue one specimen. His nature perceives it wherever and in whatever form it reveals itself. This is one of the reasons why he worshipped Schiller, and was so deeply devoted to Sinclair. It is very touching to read in the same letter to his publisher in which he asks for a special copy, if possible on extra fine paper, of "Ödipus" to be sent to Princess Auguste, he expresses his intention of sending copies to Goethe and Schiller. Even at that time, in April 1804, on the eve of his insanity, he thought they were amongst

those who "vielleicht eine Teilnahme daran haben."<sup>1)</sup>

With his antipathy against dogmatic pedantry, the complacency of the Germans was his greatest grief, because this complacency was at the bottom of their lack of enterprise. "Nicht sowohl dass die Menschen so sind, wie sie sind, sondern dass sie das, was sie sind, für das Einzige halten und nichts anderes wollen gelten lassen, das ist das Übel,"<sup>2)</sup> he explains to his brother. Hölderlin was the sworn enemy of misanthropy and egoism which he saw revealed above all in despotism. His vision of the ideal society, a vision that pervades all his poetry, finds a true expression in "Der Mutter Erde" :

"Doch wird ein anderes noch  
 Wie der Harfe Klang  
 Der Gesang seyn, der Chor des Volks  
 Und unaussprechlich wär und einsam  
 In seinem Dunkel umsonst, der doch  
 Der Zeichen genug und Wetterflammen  
 Und Fluthen in seiner Nacht  
 Wie Gedanken hat, der heilige Vater  
 Und nirgend fänd er wahr sich unter den Lebenden wieder  
 Wenn zum Gesange nicht hätte ein Herz die Gemeinde."

The community, a people bound together by the things of everyday life, expressing themselves in a common speech gathered together to worship their gods in a poetic festival. The pursuit of a human ideal was the activating motif of Hölderlin's life. "Meinen Zögling zum Menschen zu bilden, das war und ist mein Zweck" he wrote to Schiller from Waltershausen. He was searching for a broader basis for this than

1) An Wilmans, Nürt., 2. April 1804

2) An den Bruder, Hombg., 4. Juni 1799.

was then known. "Überzeugt, dass alle Humanität, die nicht mit anderen Worten Vernunft heisst, oder auf diese sich genau bezieht, des Namens nicht wert ist." <sup>1)</sup> Just as he was for ever trying to improve himself and the standard of his work, so he never relaxed his efforts to educate humanity, to contribute as a poet to a nobler and more beautiful life. His speculations on 'Natur' and 'Poesie', on 'Bildungstrieb', 'Kunst' and 'Ideal' led him to a more comprehensive conception of 'Humanität', which he communicated to Schelling "und ich glaubte am Ende meiner Untersuchungen der sogenannten Humanität.....fester und umfassender gesetzt zu haben, als mir bisher bekannt war." <sup>2)</sup>

It was firmly und reasonably founded upon his belief that life could be made perfect, and that the human personality was capable of developing to perfection. But with this difference. Others might reach this conclusion by pure reason, confident in the conviction reached by the cool experience of his mental powers alone. Hölderlin came to it warmed by the emotion and pious sentiments naturally derived from his religious devotion. He was quite right in claiming that the basis for 'Humanität' which he had found was firmer and broader than any yet known. For no one had employed this system to work out a foundation for 'Humanität' in Nature and to bring both the individual and the community through

1) An Schiller, Bertram No. 71,  
2) An Schelling, " "168.

Nature into relation with the ideal.

That Hölderlin's sense for the deficient in life was so sharp was not only because these ideals and aspirations were fermenting in contemporary literature and philosophy. It was first of all because Hölderlin loved Nature and his 'Heimat' so deeply, Nature as the origin of life, crowned with the perfection of human life. In "Die Teck", a poem which he wrote when still at school in Maulbronn he has begun to show a distinct interest in the history of his land and its people.- How typical of youthful 'Heimatliebe' it is when in his poem "Schwabens Mägdelein" the young Hölderlin boldly exclaims

"Und zieh ich einst um Ruhmsgewinn  
In Helm und Harnisch aus -  
Kommt ihr, ihr Lieben, mir in Sinn,  
Stracks kehrt der Held nach Haus."

Both poets felt every change of circumstance and the urge to express it. Lonely Hölderlin was at home, but even more lonely when the familiar sights were not around him. Such a contrast is the meaning of "Der Wanderer", in which the poet deifies his home land as the part of the earth where lies fertility, fruitfulness, midway between the icy wastes of the poles and the burning desert sands :

"Einsam stand ich und sah in die afrikanischen d'ürren  
 Ebenen hinaus;.....  
 Bäche stürzten hier nicht in melodischen Fall, vom  
 Gebirge,.....  
 Freundlich aus Bäumen hervor blickte kein wirtliches Dach

'Nil admirari' is Keats's motto in describing his native land. In a sonnet on his homeland, written in Dec. 1816, he expresses an insular selfsufficiency :

"Happy is England! I could be content  
 To see no other verdure than its own;  
 To feel no other breezes than are blown  
 Through its tall woods with high romances blent:"

Yet we read on to hear that he expresses a longing sometimes

"To sit upon an Alp as on a throne"

feeling a languishment for "skies Italian". In his longer poems we can see delineated the English landscape though we can find no trace of any true English characters such as tread Shakespeare's stage wherever the scene be set. Even the Knight of the 'Belle Dame sans Merci' is a cosmopolitan figure - he might be of any race or clime. The fragment "The Eve of St. Mark" has an English setting, implicit if not so expressly stated :

"Upon a Sabbath-day it fell;  
 Twice holy was the Sabbath-bell,  
 That call'd the folk to evening prayer;  
 The city streets were clean and fair  
 From wholesome drench of April rains,

And, on the western window panes,  
 The chilly sunset faintly told  
 Of unmatur'd green vallies cold,  
 Of the green thorny bloomless hedge,  
 Of rivers new with spring-tide sedge,  
 Of primroses by shelter'd rills,  
 And daisies on the aguish hills.  
 'Twas holy was the Sabbath-bell:  
 The silent streets were crowded well",

an atmosphere so typical of the Sunday quietude of an old cathedral town on a cool showery evening in spring. Yet the Ode to a Nightingale though its subject is truly English sings of places that have no "local habitation and a name", but open

" on the foam  
 Of perilous seas, in faery lands forlorn."

When Hölderlin went into the world "um Ruhmsgewinn", which was denied him, he always wanted to go back into his 'Heimat', of which, he fears, he may not be worthy. The sadness which he experienced in such moments is felt in "Die Heimat", which he wrote in Frankfurt. There he wishes

"Wohl möchte auch ich zur Heimat wieder;" and

asks "Aber was hab ich, wie Leid, geerntet?" Heimat is ever present with him, and everytime he returns he feels the heavenly bliss "und nimm und segne du mein Leben, o Himmel der Heimat, wieder."<sup>1)</sup>

1) Rückkehr in die Heimat.

Homecoming gives a new beginning to life :

"Freilich wohl! das Geburtsland ist's, der Boden  
 der Heimat,  
 Was du suchest, es ist nahe, begegnet dir schon.  
 Und unsonst nicht steht, wie ein Sohn, am wellenum-  
 rauschten  
 Tor und siehet und suchht liebende Namen für dich  
 Mit gesang ein wandernder Mann, glückseliges Lindau!  
 Eine der gastlichen Pforten des Landes ist dies,  
 Reizend, hinauszugehn in die vielversprechende Ferne,  
 .....  
 Aber reizender mir bist du, geweihte Pforte!  
 Heimzugehn, wo bekannt blühende Wege mir sind,  
 Dort zu besuchen das Land und die schönen Tale des  
 Neckars,  
 Und die Wälder, das Grün heiliger Baume, wo gern  
 Sich die Eiche gesellt mit stillen Birken und Buchen,  
 Und in Bergen ein Ort freundlich gefangen mich nimmt."1)

To Hölderlin homecoming was the dawning of the day<sup>1</sup>  
 after darkness "when the shadows break and the clouds flee  
 away", a symbol of the new order to come. His heart goes out  
 to the peasant, who is sitting in the evening in front of his  
 cottage under the shady trees, feeling happy and content after  
 his day's hard work<sup>2)</sup>

"...ruhig liebend ein frommes Weib,  
 Am eignen Herd in friedlicher Heimat..."3)

Such pictures of peace and happiness can arouse only pain  
 in the poet's heart. He knows that he has no "continuing  
 city", his poetry is his "freundlich Asyl" where he can take

- 1) Heimkunft
- 2) Cf. Abendphantasie
- 3) Mein Eigentum.



refuge from the storms of life. Humbly he prays to the heavenly powers, who bless the things of mortals,

"O segnet meines auch, und dass zu  
Frühe die Parze den Traum nicht ende." 1)

The country folk amongst whom Hölderlin had grown up belonged to a community with no extremes of wealth and poverty, a simple, naturally democratic society with a strong sense of independence and self-respect. What he thought about them went to help him formulate his ideal of a community. In the world of Hölderlin's early years feeling could flow freely, almost without interruption or inhibition. This was the world he sought to carry with him into life with all its confusion. Nowhere in Schiller, for instance, does the word 'Volk' appear with so intimate and warm a connotation as we find in Hölderlin. The most pervading and deeply seated enthusiasm of Schiller's life was his love of freedom, and his warmth of feeling for nationalism or politics is only one manifestation of this consuming passion.

In the poem "Der Main" we find again the contrast between 'Heimat' and 'Fremde',

".....wo die Göttersöhne  
Schlafen, das trauernde Land der Griechen"

is his heart's desire, but his Heimat remains dear to him,

1) Mein Eigentum.

even if there is no place there for him, whom

"..die Erde, die freie, sie muss ja leider!  
Statt Vaterlands ihm dienen, solange er lebt,  
Und wenn er stirbt - doch nimmer vergess ich dich,  
So fern ich wnadre..."

And he did not forget it. During the few months in Switzerland the contrast of Heimat and Fremde occupied his mind again. On his return to Nürtingen in April 1801 he changed "Der Wanderer" and gave it a new conclusion. He returns "...an den Rhein, in die Heimat....."looking for father and mother who have longed in vain for their son while he was away:

"Aber stille werden sie sein. So bindet und scheidet  
Manches die Zeit. Ich dünk ihnen gestorben, sie mir."

To Hölderlin Home is the heart of things, the centre of each individual's life; there is the beginning of life, and there life can begin anew. This conception of Home and Homecoming as symbols of the new order, is a difference between our two poets.

Passages can be found with Keats which in all probability reflect something of the place in which they were written or bear traces of the occasion which inspired them. It is clear, for instance, that the composition of Endymion was not a mere random improvisation, thrown together as Keats

wrote on. Its contents had all been planned and thought out by him prior to April 1817, when he began to write. He managed to carry out his plan, even so as to end at the time he had intended - late autumn was just complete when he finished, as he had wished. "Let Autumn", we find him writing,

"With universal tinge of sober gold  
Be all about me when I make an end."

And so it was. From his letters we can follow where he was and what he was doing during this period. On April 14th 1817 he left London by the nightcoach and travelled to Southampton, from which on the 15th. he wrote to his brothers that he was taking the afternoon boat to the Isle of Wight. He arrived in Shanklin on the 16th, as he writes to Reynolds, and had decided to settle down at Carisbrooke, New Village, a spot midway between Carisbrooke and Newport. "I shall forthwith", he writes "begin my Endymion". From there he left and went to Margate, but it is difficult to trace just when. However, on May 10th he wrote to Hunt and also to Haydon - and continued this letter on the 11th from Margate. To Hunt he says "I began my poem a fortnight since and have done some every day except travelling ones". In his letter to Taylor on May 16th he says "I went day by day at my poem for a month, at the end of which time the other day I found my brain so

overwrought that I....was obliged to give up for a few days... However to-morrow I will begin my next month. This evening I go to Canterbury, having got tired of Margate."

Piecing these indications together we see that clearly he did, as he meant to do, begin *Endymion* in the Isle of Wight and went on with it at Margate. When he left Margate for Canterbury he had a good part of Bk I done, although he had temporarily come to a standstill with it. To Haydon he writes "So now I revoke my promise of finishing my poem by the Autumn." We do not know whether he went straight back from Canterbury to London, or rather to Hampstead, for in the spring or early summer of this year the Keats brothers had moved their lodgings from Cheapside to Hampstead. In the extant correspondence there is a gap from May 16th 1817 to the beginning of September. However, during these three and a half months and in all probability mainly at Hampstead, he completed Book I and wrote Book II. Then he went to Oxford, to see Bailey. On September 5th he writes to the sisters of Reynolds from there; and on the 10th to his sister Fanny "It is now a week that I disembarked from his Whipships' Coach the *Defiance* in this place. In Oxford he stayed for a month. His letter of 8th October to Bailey, written from Hampstead, shows that he had not left Oxford later than 5th October. In the course of his

month at Oxford he and Bailey made an expedition to Stratford on Avon; apart from that, Keats was steadily at work on Book III of *Endymion* daily; for we find him writing on the 21st September to Reynolds " I am getting on famous with my third book - have written 800 lines thereof, and hope to finish it next week," and to Haydon he writes on the 28th "Within these last three weeks I have written 1000 lines, which are the third book of my poem." Until November 22nd he remained at Hampstead; then he went down to Burford Bridge with "500 lines wanting to finish *Endymion*." At Burford Bridge he finished the poem and dated the last line 28th. November 1817. <sup>1)</sup>

Using this chronological sketch of his movements and whereabouts as a chart, we come to *Endymion* with a fresh interest, to see in the poem traces and suggestions and inspirations related to particular places of Keats's homeland. And where we see these, or think we see them, we have a glimpse as it were into the processes of poetic creation. We can see how the scenes and objects of his country presented by daily life to the poet's eye or ear are assimilated by him, and how his poetical imagination transmutes and transfigures them. In Book I in its earlier lines we may find a sort of atmosphere, a something in the landscape drawing which brings to mind

1) Cf. Mackail, J.W., *Studies of English poets*, 1926.

the Isle of Wight to anyone who has wandered there in the springtime. But there is an identifiable description to be found:

".....and each pleasant scene  
Is growing fresh before as the green  
Of our own valleys: so I will begin  
Now while I cannot hear the city's din;  
Now while the early budders are just new,  
And run in mazes of the youngest hue  
About old forests; while the willow trails  
Its delicate amber; and the dairy pails  
ring home increase of milk."

Notwithstanding the heavy drain on its timber for the Wooden Walls of old England during the Napoleonic wars, Parkhurst Forest still retained its oaks.<sup>1)</sup> In his letter to Reynolds on April 17th he says "I have found several delightful wood alleys and copses, and quick freshes..... the trench (of Carisbrooke Castle) is overgrown with the smoothest turf and the walls with ivy.....we will read our verses in a delightful place I have set my heart upon near the castle." The place he had set his heart upon seems to appear most recognisably in

".....Paths there were many,  
Winding through palmy fern, and rushes fenny,  
And ivy banks; all leading pleasantly  
To a wide lawn, whence one could only see  
Stems thronging all around between the swell  
Of turf and slanting branches: who could tell  
The freshness of the space of heaven above,  
Edged round with dark tree tops? "

1) Cf. Mackail, Ibid.

In Book III where Glaucus describes his fisherman's life we may find an echo of Keats's recollections of his visit to Shanklin:

".....I would steer  
My skiff along green shelving coasts, to hear  
The shepherd's pipe come clear from aery steep,  
Mingled with ceaseless bleatings of his sheep:  
.....

and constantly  
At brim of day-tide, on some grassy lea,  
My nets would be spread out, and I at rest  
The poor folk of the sea-country I blest  
With daily boon of fish most delicate: "

The "Hymn to Pan " was sung on an April morning. In it the island landscape appears, not where we might expect it, not in the

" sunny meadows that outskirt the side  
Of thine emossed realms"

so clearly as in the

" undescribed sounds  
That come a-swooning over hollow grounds  
And wither drearily on barren moors."

Traces of the stay in Canterbury are not very certain, though we can surmise that several of the descriptions of Endymion's journey through the underground realms in Book II may owe something to the effect of the Cathedral on the

poet's imagination -

" Dark nor light  
The region; nor bright nor sombre wholly  
But mingled up, a gleaming melancholy  
A dusky empire and its diadems."

We have seen that the whole of the third book was written at Oxford. But we look in vain in it for any hint that the University city made any impression on him with its romantic magic. It is impossible to argue from negative premises. All that we can conclude is that if Oxford's witchery did make an impression on his imagination he cut it off or reserved it for some future day. It is quite possible that his impressions remained latent and developed only later. For it took two years for the profound impression which Canterbury made upon Keats, to appear in the *Eve of St. Mark*, and even then it was revived and deepened by his visit to Chichester and the long stay he had made in Winchester.

The first half of book IV was composed at Hampstead.

There is no doubt that he

" listen'd to the wind that now did stir  
About the crisped oaks full drearily",

and walked on the Heath when

"The good-night blush of eve was waning slow,  
And Vesper, risen star, began to throw  
In the dusk heavens silvery,"



There is some suggestion in the passage about the 'Cave of Quietude' which immediately follows, that about this time Keats had been seized by a fit of depression and had become as it were so mentally torpid that he paid a visit to Burford Bridge in order to recover himself "To change the scene, change the air, and give me a spur to wind up my poem." The change was brilliantly successful, for the closing portion of *Endymion* reaches a higher pitch in speed of movement, splendour of language and exquisit<sup>e</sup>ness of versification than anything that the poet had up to then written.

Here we can find quite unmistakable evidence that Keats felt every change of circumstance, and that new surroundings made their impression which the poet had to put into words of his poetic language. In this lies Keats's love for his country, whereas Hölderlin, we may say, was a patriot through his 'Heimatliebe'.

1)  
According to Heinrich Heine <sup>1)</sup>patriotism with the Germans at that time contrasted sharply with the national feeling of the French. On the Germans patriotism had a narrowing and contracting influence. It expressed itself negatively, in a hatred of foreigners. It was not European and cosmopolitan; it was narrowly and exclusively German. Hölderlin had a vision of the great processes of the Cosmos, and his vision of the nation is merely an integral part of this,

1) Cf. Heine, *Die Romantische Schule*.

seen by him, as he sees all else, in a perspective of cosmic dimensions, or of historical sequence. In him his love of country is love of a new arrangement of things, which, in its turn is only one facet of the many-surfaced gem of the history of mankind and of its cultural development. Behind this surges life's cosmic forces, vivifying and altering the aspect from time to time. Hölderlin's naturally deep religious feelings provide a starting point for his vision. He praises national life only as he sees it against a background of religious belief. The memory of the nation's highest attainments in life, as they are conditioned and determined by the supreme powers, and the national understanding of the nation's history are kept alive by the nation's traditions, enshrined in its sagas, myths, legends, poetry and history - in a word, in the voice of the people:

"So hatten es die Kinder gehört, und wohl  
Sind gut die Sagen, denn ein Gedächtnis sind  
Dem Höchsten sie, doch auch bedarf es  
Eines, die heiligen auszulegen." 1)

The feebleness of the modern citizen, "die verkrüppelten, kleingeisterischen, rohen, anmasslichen, unwissenden, trägen Jünglinge" 2) made the poet take refuge with the ancient Greeks. Reading the ancients, as Gesner had asserted, meant conversing

1) Stimme des Volkes; dritte Fassung.

2) An den Bruder, Waltershausen, d. 21. Aug. 1794

with the wisest and noblest souls that ever lived. The need for this lay in Hölderlin's idealism:

"Zu wild, zu bang ist's ringsum, und es  
Trümmert und wankt ja, wohin ich blicke." 1)

His admiration for the ancient Greeks became so intense that he rent asunder his own time and country. He saw carried into effect in the ancient Greeks the ideal of beautiful human nature. In them particularly he loved the Primitive, a state of greatest simplicity which has grown together with Nature in complete harmony. This perfect nature in man is clearly for Hölderlin one of the steps towards divine perfection. So in Hyperion the thought which he expresses is completely logical "Der Mensch ist aber ein Gott, sobald er Mensch ist. Und ist er ein Gott, so ist er schön." This is the conception on which he bases his constant references to the Greeks as the divine people, because being themselves they are by the above syllogism the people amongst whom the gods dwell.

The insufficiency in the condition of his own people, Hölderlin's struggle with the political and social realities of his time and country, form the theme of his Greek novel Hyperion. After being changed again and again during more than six years it appeared in two volumes in 1797 and 1799.

1) Der Zeitgeist.

"Especially in the fact that the poet for the first time made visible the sinister trait which is engraved so deep in the face of life, with the power which only experience can give, lies the unique importance of the work." <sup>1)</sup>

The scene is modern Greece. Hyperion, the son of a well-to-do man on the isle of Tina learns from Adamas of Ancient Hellas and vows to become worthy of such noble ancestors. "O mir, mir beugte die Grösse der Alten, wie ein Sturm, das Haupt." <sup>2)</sup> His island became too narrow for him and on his father's advice he went to Smyrna to learn "die Künste der See und des Kriegs,.....die Sprache gebildeter Völker und ihre Verfassungen und Meinungen und Sitten und Gebräuche." <sup>3)</sup>

In Smyrna he meets the heroic Alabanda who draws his attention to the suffering of the fatherland "mit blutendem Herzen, denn der entwürdigte Boden war auch

- 1) Dilthey, Ibid, p.377
- 2) Hyperion an Bellarmin,  
Erster Band, Erstes Buch,  
Insel-Ausgabe (Bertram), p.442
- 3) Hyperion, Ibid, p.444.

Alabandas Vaterland" <sup>1)</sup> . Alabanda introduced him to other patriots, who were inspired by the same ideal "die Welt zu bessern...., aufzuräumen auf Erden." <sup>2)</sup>

The poet mixes here the memory of ancient Greece with the will to renew such greatness. The historical background is the Greek revolt with the conspiracy that prepared it and the terror with which it was carried out, which found its parallel for Hölderlin's experience in the French Revolution.

In a dispute about how much power a state could demand "Du räumst dem Staate denn doch zu viel Gewalt ein.

Er darf nicht fordern, was er nicht erzwingen kann", <sup>3)</sup> Hyperion says; they misunderstand each other and part.

Hyperion now betakes himself to the Isle of Salamis.

On an excursion to Kalaurea he meets Diotima and lives with her a life of the most heartfelt spiritual and intellectual intercourse. This dream of happiness is interrupted by harsh reality, - the need of the fatherland.

Alabanda who has written to Hyperion again, finally causes him to go to Morea and to lead along with him the patriots who want to overthrow the yoke of the Turks. "Zum Ziele" rief ich, "wo der junge Freistaat dämmert und das Pantheon

1)Hyperion, Ibid, p.452. 2)p.458. 3)p.456

alles Schönen aus griechischer Erde sich hebt." <sup>1)</sup>

Such was the spirit with which Hyperion went out to battle.

But the army of the patriots proved a horde of robbers.

"Es ist aus", writes Hyperion to Diotima, "unsere Leute haben geplündert, gemordet, ohne Unterschied, auch unsere Brüder sind erschlagen.....und ihre tote Jammermiene

ruft Himmel und Erde zur Rache gegen die Barbaren, an deren Spitze ich war." <sup>2)</sup> This contrast of the Greek

masses who have sunk so low under the tyranny of the Turks, with the heroic idealism of Hyperion and Alabanda, reflects distinctly the political life of Hölderlin's time.

Community with them is no longer possible for Hyperion, the idealist. He finds refuge with the Russian fleet.

"Ach, ich habe dir ein Griechenland versprochen, und du bekommst ein Klagelied nun dafür," <sup>3)</sup> - a dirge, that was the spirit after the battle. After Hyperion has recovered from the wounds that he received in the battle at Tschesme, he intends to marry Diotima. Diotima's fine nature has been destroyed by Hyperion's catastrophe, it becomes in fact her catastrophe: "Ich bin das sanfte Mädchen nicht

1) Hyperion, Zweiter Band, Erstes Buch, Werke, Ibid, p. 534

2) p. 543, 3) p. 544

mehr....Ich will auch keine Kinder, denn ich gönne sie der Sklavenwelt nicht", - this, Hyperion writes to Bellarmin, she has told him. <sup>1)</sup> Devoured by an overpowering spiritual and mental life she dies.

Hyperion leaves Greece for Italy and from there goes on to Germany. Unsparingly he lashes the spirit of the age. He does not ask for much and is prepared to find even less, when he comes humbly, just as the homeless blind Oedipus came to the gates of Athens, where he was made welcome to the grove of the Gods and was met by beautiful souls. What a different experience Hyperion had! How different those were from whom he expected comfort! Let Hyperion speak for himself: "Barbaren von alters her, durch Fleiss und Wissenschaft und selbst durch Religion barbarischer geworden, tief unfähig jedes göttlichen Gefühls, verdorben bis ins Mark zum Glück der heiligen Grazien, in jedem Grad der Übertreibung und der Armllichkeit beleidigend für jede gutgeartete Seele, dumpf und harmonienlos, wie die Scherben eines weggeworfenen Gefässes...." <sup>2)</sup> What could be more condemning? - But "die Liebe darf die Erkenntnis nicht scheuen". <sup>3)</sup> Hyperion's verdict reechoes the letter which Hölderlin wrote in summer 1799 to his brother, in which he says that the barbarians around us

1) Hyperion, Zweiter Band, Zweites Buch, Werke, Ibid, p.557

2) p.580 3) An den Bruder, Homburg, d.24. Dez. 1798.

already tear our best powers into pieces, before they can come into flower, and that only the firm, deep realisation of this fate can save us so that, at least, we do not pass away in unworthiness.

Hölderlin does more than merely notice the weaknesses of the Germans. His remarks are too acute to be regarded only as that. He denounces their disabilities with a profoundness which is equalled only by Nietzsche. This idea was not, of course, a new one in German literature. Goethe mentioned the faults of the Germans but he had not laid the blame on the whole nation as such. German as a language, in which he had to express his poetry he criticised, comparing it, to its disadvantage, with Greek.

Hölderlin on the other hand was animated by a deep concern for his country, though we may regard what he says in some part as the expression more of a mood than of a tragic despair. For we have accompanied our poet from boy to man and have seen how in emotional response he often plunged from the heights of ecstasy to the nadir of despair. What troubled him was that he could not see a feasibility of his own existence in the community of his own people. We know too the earnest nature of the student Friedrich Hölderlin who was longing for the time when he could play a dignified part in his country's affairs. He is not unique in these



two respects. But what sounds so tragic in his verdict is actually his own tragedy. Hölderlin's Germany is a visionary Germany, and the conflict arises mainly - as is also the case in "Der Archipelagus" - out of the contrast between Greece and Germany, as well as out of Hölderlin's unusual intensity of tender feeling for his 'dream'. This it was that made Hölderlin a solitary and somewhat pathetic figure, the country he cherished and the people, whom as a poet he needed, did not exist as he imagined them, and historical circumstances were not at all favourable to materialising his vision.

Hyperion returns to his Ionian Isles. In vain has he left his fatherland searching for truth- "Wie konnten auch Worte meiner durstenden Seele genügen?"<sup>1)</sup> In vain had he tried to find happiness amongst men. In a complete devotion to Nature he will forget his grief. In his effort to give himself up to Nature and be one with her, he experiences her tremendous power which everywhere makes itself felt where light and earth, heaven and sea surround us. The struggle is finished; his heart has fled into the regions of the Beautiful and the True, has been absorbed into the religious unity of Nature. In this pantheism, God, who made Nature, and Nature herself, and men, are one. In it is embodied Hölderlin's striving after the All and the One.

1) Thalia-Fragment, Werke, Ibid, p.589.

"Es fallen die Menschen, wie faule Früchte, von dir<sup>1</sup>,  
o lass sie untergehn, so kehren sie zu deiner Wurzel  
wieder, und ich, o Baum des Lebens, dass ich wieder  
grüne mit dir und deine Gipfel umatme mit all deinen  
knospenden Zweigen! friedlich und innig, denn alle  
wuchsen wir aus dem goldnen Samkorn herauf! " 1)

It was a longing yet, not a possessing. "Hyperion"  
mirrors the longing for unity rather than the sense of unity  
itself, an emotional expression of Hyperion's feelings about  
Nature, in contrast to Hölderlin in his poems who has made  
the live-giving Nature his own possession. Hölderlin's  
continual emphasis on the moment of re-birth, and on the  
coming of new life is caused by his need of 'Daylight' and  
his distress at the 'Dark' which lies all about him.

Keats's vision, too, concentrates repeatedly on  
the moment of re-birth (of the creation of new poetry),  
from which this life is to come forth. Saturn may boast  
that

"there shall be  
Beautiful things made new for the surpr<sup>r</sup>ise  
Of the sky-children", 2)

but he knows in his heart that he is incapable of this deed:

"A little time, and then again he snatch'd  
Utterance thus: - "But cannot I create?  
Cannot I form? Cannot I fashion forth  
Another world, another universe,  
To overbear and crumble this to nought? "3)

1) Hyperion, Zw. Bd., Zw. Bch, Ibid, p. 586

2)3) Hyperion Bk. I.

This creation can be the work only of a new power of beauty, only of Apollo who is the last of the gods - in Keats's "Hyperion" - to come into power. The last of the Titans to fall before the new order is Hyperion. Of the old order there lives longest its poetry. It is in the nature of things that as time goes on there should come at intervals mighty cataclysms which wreck and ruin material things and likewise the canons toilsomely erected out of tradition and habit "Sad sign of ruin, sudden dismay, and fall!" But the sad ruin is still haunted for a time by a lingering ghost of beauty and poetry, "the still undisgraced radiance" of Hyperion. Hyperion has outlived his world. He cannot stay or he stays only to view

"The misery his radiance has betrayed  
To the most hateful seeing of itself."

The poem awaits the coming of Apollo, and the dramatic complex cannot be unravelled until he comes and does the necessary acts.

Just as the Greek Heraclitus believed that the world was subject to recurring periods of destruction which were in turn followed by the rise of a new world in the ashes of the old, so did Keats and Hölderlin. For the latter it

takes especially a political meaning. Hölderlin's position at the end of the eighteenth century when the political upheaval had come about as a result of all the thinking and dreaming of visionaries, made him particularly subject to the influence of the atmosphere, and this was most strongly marked because the formative years of his young manhood coincided with the very time when the promises of political revolution were beginning to bear fruit.

The new order in Keats's "Hyperion" cannot work without Apollo, and without him it is impossible to reconcile the old order and the new. We may suppose that Jove stands for political institutions, which can be made to work only so far as they can be brought within the scope of poetry; and because of their newness they can be expressed only in a new poetry. The God of light figures the new poetry; and his growth into full godhead comes about in a significant manner. As we have already seen, Keats brings the action of the poem only to the point where Apollo's divinity is born; but this is far enough for us to perceive that this 'becoming' of a god is not free from the pains and agonies of birth. For Keats and for Hölderlin dissolution is not the path which leads to a great and all-surpassing reality but the first steps towards a fresh start. Hence their vision of the emergence of things, which is ever present in Hölderlin, combined with the vision of the movement from chaos to form and back again, for which

the longing for a new order accounts. Hölderlin's logical argument in describing his vision shows he is related in thought to the philosophy of Hegel. This comparison, however, is limited by the emotional content and Hölderlin's passionate reaction.

It must remain guesswork which were the facts behind the allegory in Keats's "Hyperion".<sup>1)</sup> One may interpret it as Jove deposing Saturn, or the French Revolution overthrowing the Ancien Regime, Apollo ousting Hyperion, or Wordsworth dispossessing Pope, beauty dispossessing order, imagination replacing reason. The causes that are at work are in each event the same and may be linked up with those operating in Hölderlin's "Hyperion". Because they are a less complete manifestation of the supreme Beauty, the Titans must give way before the Olympians. This cannot be brought about without pain and waste, for the struggle between two great forces inevitably involves these results. We may compare this struggle with that between the two different forms of civilisation in Hölderlin's work. In Hölderlin we have on the one hand the vision of the gods, his ideal, which Keats finds in Apollo, in absolute Beauty, and on the other hand the belief in the new fullness of life coming from Nature and poetry. Both poets - Hölderlin in a more comprehensive

1) Cf. Garrod, *Ibid*, p. 69.

philosophical way than Keats - try to explain distress at the present, insisting on the future. Keats sees in both Titans and Olympians in their essence manifestations of the same principle, and the less perfect finds fulfilment of its own being precisely in the fact of its own defeat.-

Hölderlin's effort to settle his conflict with life is also at the bottom of his tragedy "Der Tod des Empedokles" which was finished in 1799. We can trace in this work, too, the poet's background in the world. In the first act, in the fifth scene, the priest Hermocrates, embodying the old order, a man with a much greater sense of reality and knowledge of the masses who are swaying between old and new, than Empedocles, destroys the respect which the people have for Empedocles.

When Empedocles exclaims

"Ich kenne dich und deine schlimme Zunft,  
Und lange wars ein Rätsel mir, wie euch  
In ihrem Bunde duldet die Natur.

.....

Hinweg! ich kann vor mir den Mann nicht sehn,  
Der Heiliges wie ein Gewerbe treibt,...."

We remember Hölderlin's hard saying of "Lumpereien des  
geistlichen Württembergs"<sup>1)</sup> or even more his epigram

"Advocatus Diaboli" : "Tief im Herzen veracht ich die Rotte  
der Herren und Pfaffen,  
Aber noch mehr das Genie, macht es  
gemein sich damit!"

1) An den Bruder, Frankfurt, Juni 1796.

In Germany the Romantic school adopted as their 'shibboleth' the 'throne and altar' motif. Many of the Romanticists became members of the Roman Catholic Church, and the literature produced by the school generally leaned towards the side of aristocracy and privilege rather than championed the cause of human brotherhood.

In the second version of the principal fragment "Der Tod des Emedokles", Hermocrates denounces Empedocles:

"Begriffe mich, Unmündiger! eh du  
 Mich lästerst. Fallen muss der Mann; ich sag'  
 Es dir und glaube mir, wär' er zu schonen  
 Ich würd' es mehr wie du. Denn näher bin  
 Ich ihm, wie du. Doch lerne dies:  
 Verderblicher denn Schwert und Feuer ist  
 Der Menscheng Geist, der götterähnliche  
 Wenn er nicht schweigen kann, und sein Geheimnis  
 Unaufgedeckt bewahren. Bleibt er still  
 In seiner Tiefe ruhm, und gibt, was not ist,  
 Wohltätig ist er dann; ein fressend Feuer,  
 Wenn er aus seiner Fessel bricht.  
 Hinweg mit ihm, der seine Seele bloss  
 Und ihre Götter gibt, verwegen  
 Unauszusprechendes aussprechen will,  
 Und sein gefährlich Gut, als wär es Wasser,  
 Verschüttet und vergeudet; schlimmer ists,  
 Wie Mord, und du, du redest für diesen?  
 Beschwätzen möchtest du Notwendiges?  
 Bescheide dich! Sein Schicksal ists. Er hat  
 Es sich gemacht, und sterben soll,  
 Vergehn, wie er, in Weh und Torheit jeder,  
 Der Göttliches verrät, und allverkehrend  
 Verborgenherrschendes  
 In Menschenhände liefert!  
 Er muss hinab!"

and Mekades asks

"So teuer büssen muss er, der sein Bestes  
 Aus voller Seele Sterblichen Vertraut? "

When Keats wrote "it is to be lamented that the history of the latter (Christ) was written and revised by men interested in the pious frauds of Religion", <sup>1)</sup> he touched upon the same problem. Sacred things must not be betrayed in the hands of common men. The priest represents the church, and religion in the hands of an institution was but a little better than dogma and mere letter of observance. That is where Keats leaves off. But Hölderlin in his reaction against the dominance of intellect and Rationalism in his own age, by which he was thwarted in achieving his ideal, the harmony of Nature and mind, longs for the coming of a new god. This equivocal position brings him only suffering and he himself becomes the sacrifice - the martyr for his belief.

Hölderlin's aversion to the monarchical system, too, finds again an outlet where one of the common people says

"Lange dachten wirs  
Du solltest König sein....."

Empedocles answers "Dies ist die Zeit der Könige nicht mehr."

This was, at the time not the idea of the common people;

"Unbegreiflich ist das Wort  
So du gesprochen, Empedokles"

another citizen (er)plies.

1) To George and wife, 19th. March, 1819



".....only I see  
A trampling down of what the world most prizes,  
Turbans and crowns and blank regality" 1)

the republican Keats says, and again in the lines upon the restoration of Charles II

"Infatuate Britons, will you still proclaim  
His memory, your direst, foulest shame,  
Nor patriots revere ? " 2)

" Schämt euch,  
Dass ihr noch einen König wollt; ihr seid  
Zu alt; zu eurer Väter Zeiten wärs  
Ein anderes gewesen. Euch ist nicht  
Zu helfen, wenn ihr selber euch nicht helft" 3)

In this republicanism is rooted the poets' humanitarian feeling. Kings and princes oppress; democracies do not.

Hölderlin's 'politisch-religiöser Glaube' is in the fragments of this tragedy even deeper than in "Hyperion". He, who throughout his lifetime had to wrestle with poverty, was aware much more acutely than those of his contemporaries who enjoyed a more prosperous life, that the whole of the society of the eighteenth century was about to undergo a change, a change that was to bring Humanity, The Brotherhood

1) On Receiving a Laurel Crown from Leigh Hunt,  
De Selincourt, p.386,

2) Lowell I, p.349.

3) Empedokles.

of Man, Freedom and Beauty in life. When Hölderlin comes to "Empedokles" we find not only that he has reached a greater clarity of ideas but that he has also made progress in their formulation. For the protagonist is an outstanding personage of the Greek world who in his own person combines the very different characters of demi-god, philosopher, poet, prophet and lawgiver.

Empedocles is animated by the lively feeling that a new order will come soon:

"So wagt's! was ihr geerbt, was ihr erworben,  
Was euch der Väter Mund erzählt, gelehrt,  
Gesetz' und Bräuch, der alten Götter Namen,  
Vergesst es kühn, und hebt, wie Neugeborene,  
Die Augen auf zur göttlichen Natur!"

The new order which Empedocles strives to bring into being is to be formed after the prophet's own image. Comparing this with Hyperion we notice that the latter took an objective view of his ideal. It was not yet his, he was still striving to encompass it. The fact that Empedocles is closely related to nature, in both its aspects, - nature the source from which everything comes, and nature which expresses itself always as a progress towards a higher form of life, goes farther to convince and satisfy us than does the relationship which Hyperion imagines and longs for - though it is similar - between nature and the people.

For Hölderlin the change over could come only if the past, its fettering laws and customs, should be abolished, and if the individual and society and Nature should become more closely bound together:

"Dann, o ihr Genien der <sup>w</sup>ndelnden  
Natur! dann ladet euch, ihr heiteren,  
Das freie Volk zu seinen Festen ein...."

The background of the declining Sicilian City-state, with its social and political disorders, which Hölderlin uses to accentuate the religious fervour and reforming zeal of Empedocles, gave Hölderlin an opportunity of expressing in full his own bitter feelings about the political disasters with which he was surrounded. To him Empedocles stands out strongly contrasted to his countrymen and his age. For them the great sin is their forgetfulness of the fact that natural life has its own rhythms. They ignore this fact and try to set themselves free from something upon which, indeed, their life depends. So Hölderlin shows that the task for which Empedocles is sent is to show how this outlook and method of life is defective, to call them again to due reverence for nature and for the life-forces. Empedocles shows them the ideal, that is that nature and art are interfused into each other in the perfect forms of life. Part of the tragedy of Empedocle's death lies in the fact that the prophet had to be sacrificed to his age. A miracle was needed rather than that

Empedocles should live and inspire them with his living everpresent example. Speaking of the circumstances in which Empedocles lived

" Denn gewaltsamer,  
 Wie Wasser, schlug die wilde Menschenwelle  
 Mir an die Brust, und aus dem Irrsal kam  
 Des armen Volkes Stimme mir zum Ohre.  
 Und wenn, indes ich in der Halle schwieg,  
 Um Mitternacht der Aufruhr weheklagt'  
 Und durchs Gefilde stürzt', und lebensmüd  
 Mit eigener Hand sein eignes Haus zerbrach,  
 Wenn sich die Brüder flohn, und sich die Liebsten  
 Vorübereilten, und der Vater nicht  
 Den Sohn erkannt und Menschenwort nicht mehr  
 Verständlich war und menschliches Gesetz  
 Zerann....." 1)

he shows that they were of such a sort that he could not live in them and express his influence in the way natural to him - a poet's way - and so freely expressing his consciousness let it become the consciousness of the whole people.-

The adventures of Endymion are also the experiences of the poetic soul searching through the world for absolute Beauty in order to unite and identify itself with it. Absolute Beauty manifests itself in a diversity of ways, in moonlight and sunlight, in the earth and the sea, in friendship and love, in heroic enterprise and heroic death. But all these are still but manifestations of a Unity. Only by traversing the dark

1) Empedokles auf dem Ätna,  
 Werke, Ibid, pp.421/22.

places of life can the poet attain final fruition and he finds his poetic soul only in his surrender of it. Hölderlin represents his hero's search for truth as a tragedy resembling in many ways the great works of the Greek tragedians. Keats, to relate his conception of a similar search used the epic form, what no other of the Romantics tried. Endymion is a spectator rather than actor of much of what happens. Empedocles is a heroic soul, a seer and prophet, undaunted, Endymion prone to swoon and be amazed. Keats comes much nearer to Empedocles in "Hyperion" and the Revision. There Apollo is in strong contrast to the old gods. The mission of Apollo, as we have seen, is similar to that of Empedocles, to show the ideal, the interpenetration of life and poetry, which is more comprehensive in Empedocles whose mission it is to show the interpenetration of Nature and art in perfect forms of life. Alike of the god of poetry and of the poet on earth this is true, that their living must be by dying.

"Apollo shriek'd; - and lo! from all his limbs  
Celestial....."

" Aber freudig quilt  
Aus muthger Brust die Flamme. Schaudermes  
Verlangen! Was? am Tod entzündet mir  
Das Leben sich zuletzt, und reichest du  
Den Schreckensbecher mir, den gährenden,  
Natur! damit dein Priester noch aus ihm  
Die letzte der Begeisterungen trinke!" 1)

1) Der Tod des Empedokles, Akt II.

Comparing the quoted lines from Keats's "Hyperion" with the words of Empedokles at the prospect of his death, we become aware of an emotion which is particularly Hölderlin's own. "Am Tod entzündet mir / Das Leben sich zuletzt". This utterance breathes almost enthusiasm. There is no feeling here "Most like the struggle of the gate of death" as Keats says of Apollo. The words of Empedocles show very clearly the extent of Hölderlin's reverence for life. In this consciousness of a joy at the prospect of death Hölderlin has reached a point where there is no death at all, only the difference between the single soul and the all-pervading soul of the Universe.-

To return to Hölderlin's feelings about the political chaos with which he was surrounded. Hölderlin says through his Alabanda : "Was lebt ist unvertilgbar, bleibt in seiner tiefsten Knechtsform frei, bleibt Eins, und wenn du es zerreissest bis auf den Grund, und wenn du bis ins Mark es zerschlägst, doch bleibt es eigentlich unverwundet, und sein Wesen entfliegt dir siegend unter den Händen." The complaint about the fatherland misunderstanding his own sons resolves itself here into a triumph. Even in his deepest grief Hölderlin stood by now above his sorrow. In the very moment in which he said that there was no place for him in his country, when he, in order to find a living, set out for

France, he added: " Deutsch will und muss ich übrighens bleiben, und wenn mich die Herzens- und die Nahrungsnot nach Otaheiti triebe." <sup>1)</sup> Hyperion says "Wer auf sein Elend tritt, steht höher. Und das ist herrlich, dass wir erst im Leiden recht der Seele Freiheit fühlen." Thus the poet, too, was inspired with new strength by his true agony and tried, when fate spoke loud to him, to speak louder to fate. The tendency towards this is already traceable in the youth. Already the twenty-one year old Hölderlin wrote "Hätt ich ein Reich zu errichten, und Mut und Kraft in mir, der Menschen Köpfe und Herzen zu lenken, so wäre das eines meiner ersten Gesetze - Jeder sei, wie er wirklich ist." "If I felt courage and strength within me", he said at that time, but his faith in his own ability was still slumbering. Four years later this law, the law to become one's true self, had taken more distinct forms with the poet, and by no compulsion which the world could exert would he let himself be driven off the road that Nature showed him.

We can accompany the poet on this road that Nature pointed to him, particularly in his exchange of thoughts with his mother. From his letters to her, the idea, which to now became <sup>to</sup> the poet a strengthening motif, speaks

"Des Rohen brauchet es auch,  
Damit das Reine sich kenne."

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1) An Böhlendorf, Nürt., 4. Dez. 1801

Hölderlin explains that in order to represent, describe his own small world, the poet must imitate creation (die Schöpfung) ; he must often say something untrue or contradictory which, of course, in the context, in which it is said, is said as something transitory, which has to dissolve into truth and harmony. So also in poetry the true and harmonious would stand out only all the more beautiful and pleasing from the background of the false and from error and suffering. <sup>1)</sup> "Der Archipelagus" is a symbolical representation of this thought. It begins and ends with an address to the forces of Nature which determined the clear forms of life in Greece. Between lies a vision of the greatness of Athenian life.- Keats in his poetry struck the formula for himself that it should be

"                    a friend  
To soothe the cares and lift the thoughts  
                                 of man."

What has been said here about poetry has a symbolic meaning for us. Therein is revealed the poets' insight that in this world not everything can be brilliant; that just as in poetry the pure can only represent itself in the impure, in life it is a question of not breaking down because of the shadows but of realising the necessity of light and shade in life, of taking them as indispensable material, without which the utmost being of the artist can never represent itself

1) Cf. An d. Mutter, Humbg. 8. Juli 1799.



completely. This is no longer a poetry of mere metaphysics, but a poetry which is essentially human called into being and directed towards relieving the need of suffering mankind. Keats, too, has come to a consciousness, incomplete though it be, of his age. It is for him a reflection of his own struggle. But while he perceives that he is naturally akin to his fellows and over and above indebted to his elders for education, he claims that in one respect he is distinguished. He is an innovator. He, too, can contribute to the general store, one principle, to correct the defects which he declares he sees in the Romantic movement/<sup>are</sup> developing. In so doing he pierces right to the heart of the matter. Once and for all he answers the eternal question, what is the end and aim of poetry? So both poets realised that they must not break down because of the shadows, but must take them into themselves, in order to oppose them as shade to their light, to depict them as subordinate tones, out of which the tone of their souls shines all the livelier. If the poet attempts to give the noble without the vulgar, the result will be most unnatural and inconceivable. The reason for this is that the noble itself, in the form in which it comes to expression, bears the colour of the fate from which it arose, because the beautiful as it represents itself in reality necessarily takes form from the circumstances from which it springs. This form can only become its natural

form by taking into consideration the circumstances which necessarily gave it that form.<sup>1)</sup>

It is clear that this conception of the poetic character was one which Keats had reached in his letter to Woodhouse (Oct. 27th, 1818) in which he says that the poet "enjoys light and shade and lives in gusto". The poet's attention may be turned outwards till he lives in the lives of those around him 'those who have no light and shade' orameleon-like he may speculate on creations of his own brain, thus finding his light and shade in characters either real or imaginary. For poetry in the main is a 'drowsy sentiency' -

"For shade to shade will come too drowsily  
And drown the wakeful anguish of the soul"

which is nothing more or less than poetry itself. Keats's conception of sorrow and its meaning is akin to that of Hölderlin. "Do you not see how necessary a world of Pains and troubles is to school an Intelligence and make it a soul"<sup>2)</sup> he stated, realising that evil is the necessary correlative of good, and that alone through the negation can the actuality obtain positive being. This conception in

1) Cf. An Neuffer, Homburg, 12. Nov. 1798.

2) To George, 28th. April 1819.

our two poets, we may say, is the result of their natures, which had nothing of the optimism which shrinks and turns away when the light of truth is flashed into the poet's soul and into the forlorn places of the world. This consciousness of a mission was present in both poets; the will for resistance was not wanting either, and yet they often trembled under the weight of this consciousness.

Hölderlin was not afraid of what actually was to be feared, he was afraid of the fear. When the twenty-eight year old poet speaks to his mother of his future calling, mentioning that he had not yet come so near to his aim as to be able because of it to forget a humiliating past, that he could not for a long time yet tell men the deeper opinion of his heart because they were too self-loving, and because they were fixed in irreligion and thoughtlessness<sup>1)</sup>, and when he exclaims "O könnt' ich so mit einmal mein Innerstes auftun vor Ihnen!..... Kommen Sie mir mit glauben entgegen! Zweifeln Sie nicht an dem was Heiliges in mir ist....."<sup>2)</sup> then we feel as if he were no longer speaking to his bodily mother but imploring Germania herself.

From his pursuit of the Greek ideal we might have expected Hölderlin to return with a vision of a perfect

1) Cf. An die Mutter, Rastatt, 28. Nov. 1798

2) An die Mutter, Homburg, 11. Dez. 1798.

humanity enisled in a world out-with time. It is not so. He rejects the position of the Classicists, and follows Schlegel's idea of a national community. He takes his idea that Greek culture embodied the perfect relation of man and nature, of gods and heroes, and applies it to his own age. He has a vision of this halcyon time coming to pass in his own German fatherland. This is the thought, too, which animates the great cycle of elegies through which runs the dark thread of his unhappy love. They are at the same time an exposition of the truth that only through suffering evil can man achieve the good, that the vicissitudes of this life vindicate its divine nature. In his elegy "Der Archipelagus" we already find the prophetic announcement of a new time to come as it were in the days of Athens when the heroes were in the bloom of their youth. The abounding virility of youth and the hero, the fruition of a great civilisation, the spring breaking into bud and flower, are in Hölderlin's poetry the signs of the divine power in life. He calls up before our mind's eye the sights and sounds of spring as an introduction to the picture of Greece, when mankind was in its spring:

"Kehren die Kraniche wieder zu dir? und suchen zu  
deinen  
Ufern wieder die Schiffe den Lauf? umatmen erwünschte  
Lüfte dir die beruhigte Flut? und sonnet der Delphin,  
Aus der Tiefe gelockt, am neuen Lichte den Rücken?  
Blüht Ionien, ist es die Zeit? denn immer im Frühling,  
Wenn den Lebenden sich das Herz erneut und die erste  
Liebe den Menschen erwacht und goldner Zeiten Erinnerung,  
Komm ich zu dir und grüß in deiner Stille dich, Alter!"<sup>1)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup>Der Archipelagus.

In this same poem are set in contrast to one another his belief in his country and his bitter complaints against his fellowcountrymen and the times in which he lives:

"Aber weh! es wandelt in Nacht, es wohnt, wie im Orkus,  
 Ohne Göttliches unser Geschlecht. Ans eigene Treiben  
 Sind sie geschmiedet allein, und sich in der tosenden  
 Werkstatt  
 Höret jeglicher nur, und viel arbeiten die Wilden  
 Mit gewaltigem Arm, rastlos, doch immer und immer  
 Unfruchtbar, wie die Furien, bleibt die Mühe der Armen.  
 Bis, erwacht vom ängstigen Traum, die Seele den Menschen  
 Aufgeht, jugendlich froh, und der Liebe segnender Othem  
 Wieder, wie vormals oft bei Hellas' blühenden Aindern,  
 Wehet in neuer Zeit....."

In circumstances such as these, how was the new order to come about? Had he any place in the community? Hölderlin had dreamed of a people as an organic unity, sprung from the soil on which they lived, a people that revered Nature and honoured its heroes, so that it called upon its poets to sing of them, and joined with the poets in hymns of honour to its gods.

More consciously is the hope for the break of a new day for his country expressed in the poems "Gesang des Deutschen" and "An die Deutschen", - the same hope which his New Year's wish for 1799 contains "ein neues, grosses, glückliches Jahrhundert für Deutschland und die Welt." <sup>1)</sup> In these poems he casts a glance into the future, praises the busy industry of the German towns, German science and German art :

1) An den Bruder, Homburg, d. 24. Dez. 1798.

".....wenn unsere Städte nun  
 Hell und offen und wach, reineren Feuers voll,  
 Und die Berge des deutschen  
 Landes Berge der Musen sind,

Wie die herrlichen einst, Pindos und Helikon  
 Und Parnassos, und rings unter des Vaterlands  
 Goldnem Himmel die freie  
 Klare geistige Freude glänzt," 1)

then the song of the German will be

"O heilig Herz der Völker, o Vaterland!  
 Alldulndend, gleich der schweigenden Mutter Erd,  
 .....  
 Nun! sei gegrüsst in deinem Adel, mein Vaterland,  
 Mit neuem Namen, reifeste Frucht der Zeit." 2)

These poems are typical examples of how Hölderlin interwove so closely the various themes, the return of the gods, the function of poetry, and Germany. In the poem "An die Deutschen", for instance, he addresses in the same breath the spirit of the German people "Schöpferischer, o wann, Genius unsers Volks", and the heavenly day when it appears "dass ich beschämt und still, / Eine Blume der Nacht, himmlischer Tag, vor dir / Enden möge mit Freuden."

As one of the greatest believers in Germany Hölderlin speaks to us at the turn of the eighteenth century. The peace (Luneville) which then was under negotiation, Hölderlin

1) An die Deutschen, zw. Fassung.

2) Gesang des Deutschen.

thought, would bring many things which many hoped for, but it would also bring things of which many people had no idea. He did not think that any definite form or opinion would prevail. He did not consider that very essential, "Aber dass der Egoismus in allen seinen Gestalten sich beugen wird unter die heilige Herrschaft der Liebe und Güte, dass Gemeingeist über alles in allem gehen, und dass das deutsche Herz in solchem Klima, unter dem Segen dieses neuen Friedens erst recht aufgehen, und geräuschlos, wie die wachsende Natur, seine geheimen weitreichenden Kräfte entfalten wird"<sup>1)</sup>, that is what he meant, what he foresaw and firmly believed. It was at the end of the year which he had begun with such hope in his breast that, bowed by trials, sadly, indeed reproachfully he had to admit "Aber sie können mich nicht brauchen."<sup>2)</sup>

Hölderlin had at first believed in the sole validity of classical antiquity. Although he adhered strongly to his vision of Greece, there seems little doubt that a growing awareness stole on him that such a historical phenomenon was unique. The new order which he wished to prevail was to resemble the Greek in its excellence and in certain formal respects. Some beliefs even might be the same. But

1) An den Bruder, Nr. 197

2) An Böhlerdorf, Nürt., 4. Dez. 1801

there would be a difference in its nature. Now there grows upon him the need to examine and know more closely this nature, which he calls "das Vaterländische" or "das Nationelle", and to suit his poetry to it accordingly.

"Ich habe lange daran laboriert", he wrote, "und weiss nun dass ausser dem, was bei den Griechen und uns das Höchste sein muss, nämlich dem lebendigen Verhältnis und Geschick, wir nicht wohl etwas gleich mit ihnen haben dürfen. Aber das Eigene muss so gut gelernt sein, wie das Fremde."<sup>1)</sup>

Hölderlin contrasting nature and art comes to the conclusion that as the Greeks are by nature passionate and deeply religious and given to ecstatic emotions, they seek in their art the opposite to their own nature, namely clarity, soberness refinement of form and control.

"Deswegen sind die Griechen des heiligen Pathos weniger Meister, weil es ihnen angeboren war, hingegen sind sie vorzüglich in Darstellungsgabe, 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."<sup>2)</sup>

This is Hölderlin's explanation of how it came about that the Greeks achieved such remarkable results in their art, in which they were complete masters of impulse and passion. From an art inspired and initiated by the infinite upsurging of life they proceed to clear-cut individual expressions.

1) An Böhlerndorf, Nürt. 4. Dez. 1801

2) " " " " "



For this reason he considered the Greeks indispensable. "Nur werden wir ihnen gerade in unserem Eigenen, Nationellen nicht nachkommen", Hölderlin's train of thought continues, "weil, wie gesagt, der freie Gebrauch des Eigenen das schwerste ist." The opposite, he says, is the case with the Germans. This being so, it is all the more necessary to study the Greeks, both in the aspect of their nature and their art, so that, by so doing we may get to know ourselves (cf. Greek maxim 'gnothi heauton' - know thyself) and ascertain what the aim of art should be. The nature of the German genius is intellectual, sober and clear. Therefore it is more necessary for German art to aim at achieving passion, since such a quality, not being of necessity inborn, may be deliberately acquired. Thus it would enable the Germans to achieve in poetry what the Greeks could not. So we see that in deducing the rules of art from Greek excellency alone we run certain risks.

{ In Germany Romanticism was an actual and definite movement, which was organised, critical and self-conscious, in accordance with the German temperament. It won its highest triumphs, in fact, in the sphere of criticism and not in actual creative writing. In England the Romantic writers, Scott, Coleridge, Keats, like their forerunners of the previous century formed no school. They had no common purpose for which all worked. The German Romanticists did form a school

with its own programme and propaganda. They had a theory of art, and they missed no chance of propounding and asserting it. They had their headquarters at the University town of Jena, which, Heine says, was "The central point from which the new aesthetic dogma radiated. I advisedly say dogma, for this school began with a criticism of the art productions of the past, and with recipes for the art works of the future."

"Das Eigene, das Nationelle, the patriotic mood which gave his idealism a national direction, Hölderlin found in the past:

"Nur als von Grabesflammen, ziehet dann  
 Ein goldner Rauch, die Sage drob hinüber,  
 Und dämmert jetzt uns Zweifelnden um das Haupt,  
 Und keiner weiss, wie ihm geschieht. Er fühlt  
 Die Schatten derer, so gewesen sind,  
 Die Alten, so die Erde neu besuchen.  
 Denn die da kommen sollen, drängen uns,  
 Und länger säumt von Göttermenschen  
 Die heilige Schar nicht mehr im blauen Himmel." 1)

He relates the past to his time, himself and his own people and to his vision of a new order arising out of the present :

"Die Priesterin, die stillste Tochter Gottes,  
 Sie, die zu gern in tiefer Einfalt schweigt,  
 Sie suchet er, die offenen Auges schaute,  
 Als wüsste sie es nicht, jüngst da ein Sturm  
 Toddrohend über ihrem Haupt ertönte;

1) Germanien.

Es ahnete das Kind ein Besseres.  
 Und endlich ward ein Staunen weit im Himmel,  
 Weil eines gross an Glauben, wie sie selbst,  
 Die segnende, die Macht der Höhe sei;  
 Drum sandten sie den Boten, der, sie schnell erkennend,  
 Denkt lächeln so : "Dich, Unzerbrechliche, muss  
 Ein ander Wort erprüfen", und ruft es laut,  
 Der Jugendliche, nach Germania schauend:  
 "Du bist es, auserwählt  
 Allliebend, und ein schweres Glück  
 Bist du zu tragen stark geworden," 1)

The vision is the same as in "Hyperion" and "Empedokles" - a new order. But whereas previously this ideal is perceived against the picture of Greek life, now it is related to his own country, and hope and intensive longing have become Faith. But the end of the poem is addressed to the goddess earth and the god of the sky. Only in relation to them, as their priestess, does Germania, the incorporation of an ideal, exist at all. Thus there can be no separation between Hölderlin's Germany and Hölderlin's gods, for his Germany existed only in his poetry and nowhere else.

When a student at Tübingen Hölderlin had already read with enthusiasm Bürger's Sammlung altdeutscher Geschichten. From it he had obtained the warmth and reverence with which he wrote his hymn on the death of Gustav Adolf, feelings which were revived and became even more intense when, on a foot-tour during his stay at Jena, to Halle, Dessau and Leipzig, he

1) Germanien.

came to the battlefield of Rossbach and of Lützen "wo der grosse Gustav Adolf fiel." <sup>1)</sup> Hölderlin worshipped Gustavus Adolphus as "Retter der Freiheit", "Bruder des Schwachen", "Schützer des Frommen" and last but not least as "Steurer der Pfaffenwut". His reference to "parsons' rage" indicates Hölderlin's disapproval of the Schism of the Western Church. Of the journey in the "Teutoburger Wald", where Hölderlin stayed in the valley where Arminius defeated the legions of Varus, "Ich dachte", he wrote to his brother, "wie ich auf dieser Stelle stand, an den schönen Sonntagnachmittag, wo wir in dem Walde bei Hahrd bei einem Krüge Obstwein auf dem Felsen die Hermannsschlacht zusammen lasen." <sup>2)</sup> When reading these lines we are reminded of the group of North German poets like Heinrich Voss, Matthias Claudius or Hölty and others who were united by a bond of friendship in the "Hainbund" and who, intoxicated by exhilarating feelings, held idyllic "Vaterlandsfeiern" under the spell of the moonlight. Hölderlin's historical interests were the buds which later blossomed forth in patriotism. His descriptions of his later travels, compared with those of former times, for instance the journey of the pupil Hölderlin in the Palatinate, or his trip to the Rhine during his sojourn in Frankfurt, display

1) An die Schwester, Jena, 20. Apr. 1795.

2) An den Bruder, Frankfurt, 13. Okt. 1796.

his inclination then to incorporate with impressions of Nature something of his leanings towards the historical and heroic. From his recognition of the conditions of all life Hölderlin naturally derives his belief in 'a people'. For national life is something that springs from natural roots. Everything comprising a national life, the characteristic culture, thought, poetic expression and religious belief, is thought of by Hölderlin and revered as something emanating from Nature and bound up with it so closely as to be inseparable from it and to include all the physical sources of life and all the conditions of earth and clime which fashion and sustain it. The Alps which made such a deep impression on him, an impression such as he had never experienced before, -

"....doch staunet er, dem <sup>1)</sup>  
Wild gleich, oft zum Himmel"

appear to him " wie eine wunderbare Sage aus der Heldenjugend unserer Mutter Erde und mahnen an das alte bildende Chaos, indes sie niedersehen in ihrer Ruhe....." <sup>2)</sup>, a thought which together with glorious visionary impressions of Nature also enters the poem "Heimkunft". These lines read like a parable:

"Langsam eilt es und kämpft, das freudigschauernde Chaos,  
Jung an Gestalt, doch stark feiert es liebenden Streit  
Unter den Felsen, es gärt und wankt in den ewigen  
Schranken,

1) Unter den Alpen gesungen.

2) An Landauer, Bertram No. 203.

Denn bacchantischer zieht drinnen der Morgen herauf.  
 Denn es wächst unendlicher dort das Jahr, und die  
 Stunden, die Tage, sie sind kühner geordnet, gemischt.<sup>heiligen</sup>"

There the poet felt sanctity, alone with the powers above,  
 among the hills which as in olden times give the holy  
 commandments for the new era which for him was breaking into  
 dawn like the morning.

Hölderlin's avowal of his "Deutschtum" acquired  
 even still greater strength through his sojourn in France  
 which proved so portentous for him. "Ich bin nun durch und  
 durch gehärtet und geweiht", he wrote home after he had endured  
 the journey over the snowed-up 'Heights of the Auvergnés' "in  
 Sturm und Wildnis, in eiskalter Nacht und die geladene Pistole  
 neben mir im Rauhen Bette."<sup>1)</sup> Like this he wished to remain,  
 fear nothing and put up with a lot. The men and women of  
 southern France, people who had grown up in the fear of the  
 doubt of their country and of hunger, their quietness, their  
 life in the open under the burning sun, touched him. In the  
 district bordering on the Vendée the warlike, the typically  
 male interested him particularly. Thus Hölderlin related  
 after his return: "Das Athletische der südlichen Menschen, in  
 den Ruinen des antiken Geistes, machte mich mit dem eigentlichen  
 Wesen der Griechen bekannter; ich lernte ihre Natur und ihre

<sup>1)</sup>An die Mutter, Bordeaux, 28. Jan. 1802.

Weisheit kennen, ihren Körper, die Art, wie sie in ihrem Klima wuchsen und die Regel, womit sie den Übermütigen Genius vor des Elements Gewalt behüteten." <sup>1)</sup>

Keats, too, loved the ruder people. There was, however, in him not the desire to study their characteristics, their history, their climatic conditions, as to obtain a deeper knowledge of their nature. He turned instinctively away from the Gothic art of the north to the less austere southern form, from the cruder, rough verse of the border minstrelsy to the glowing romances and polished mythology of the peoples who used the Mediterranean as their lake. From their sources his thirst for "a beaker full of the warm South" was quenched. Like Browning in exile -but with the opposite longing in his heart, he brings into sharp contrast English and Italian scenes, putting beside the unsophisticated English girls with their simple beauty that owed nothing to art, the early-maturing and voluptuous beauties of the warmer southern shores. In his sonnet "On Visiting the Tomb of Burns" he tells us how

"The town, the churchyard and the setting sun,  
The clouds, the trees, the rounded hills, all seem  
Though beautiful, cold - strange - "

1) An Böhlendorf, Nürtg. 2. Dez. 1802

In the letter from Dumfries, enclosing the sonnet, he writes "I know not how it is, the Clouds, the Sky, the Houses, all seem anti-Grecian and anti-Charlemagnish." 1) This is how the sonnet continues

".....- as in a dream,  
 I dreamed long ago, now new begun.  
 The short-liv'd, paly Summer is but won  
 From Winter's ague, for one hour's gleam;  
 Though sapphire-warm, their stars do never beam:  
 All is cold beauty; pain is never done;  
 For who has mind to relish, Minos-wise,  
 The Real of Beauty, free from that dead hue  
 Sickly imagination and sick pride  
 Cast wan upon it? Burns! with honour due  
 I oft have honour'd thee. Great shadow, hide  
 Thy face; I sin against thy native skies."

For the better understanding of the sonnet it is suggested by Mr. Middleton Murry <sup>2)</sup> to substitute the question-mark for the note of exclamation in l.12, and Professor Garrod suggests, in l.7 we should read 'these stars' for 'their stars'. There is little difficulty about doing this, as it is helpful to the sense of the sonnet, and we know that confusions were not unusual with Keats. For Keats who at that time was really suffering, there was neither classical nor medieval beauty in the landscape. Not that there was no beauty; and as we know, and have asserted that Keats loved beauty however conveyed and however manifested, it may have

1) To Tom, 2nd. July 1818.

2) Studies in Keats, New and Old, 1938.  
 p.68.



been his suffering caused by the toil of the journey and the thought of his dying brother at the time that made him so unresponsive, so "cold". It is not likely that it was the kind of beauty, because he did not usually discriminate between kinds of beauty. And there was always with Keats that longing to escape into the realm of imagination where beauty, and idealised beauty, is so much purer because it is utopian there. Such a longing as Hölderlin felt was in his case the origin of his love for Greece, a longing to escape from his own time, troubled by the turmoils of political and social unrest, into a realm of an idealised Greece - a realm as imaginary as the Middle Ages 'discovered' by Novalis. Keats was attracted by the physical beauty of the southern types; to whom they were types of perfect beauty, as to Goethe the Greeks were types of perfect humanity; to Hölderlin they were examples of a people which through their simplicity were in touch with Nature in its holiest aspect.

"Mit neuem Durst, zu wissen, erfüllt",<sup>1)</sup> Friedrich Hölderlin returned to his native town.

"Breathes there the man with soul so dead  
 Who never to himself hath said,  
 'This is mine own, my native land'?  
 Whose heart hath ne'er within him burned  
 When home his footsteps he hath turned  
 From wandering on a foreign strand?"

(Scott)

1) An Böhlerndorf, Nürt., 2. Dez. 1802.

At home Nature took an even greater hold of him the more he studied her. He turned to life, national life, and to Nature in their elemental simplicity. There is a beauty in the hills of the Neckar valley with the chain of the Alb in the background, that seems alive with a mysterious power. The steady power of these hills with their ever-changing play of light and shade, to suggest wonder, came with redoubled force to the sensitive soul of the poet. The atmospheric conditions suggested now not only wonder; they suggested power, "Das Gewitter.....als Macht und als Gestalt.....Das Licht in seinem Wirken, nationell und als Prinzip."<sup>1)</sup> The tone of his letters after his return from France bears resemblance to the patriotic spirit of the hymn "Der Tod fürs Vaterland", the same tone that is to be found in some of his later fragmentary poems, such as "Deutscher Gesang", "Die Titanen". By 1803 love songs meant to him "müder Flug"; different was the patriotic song, "das hohe und reine Frohlocken vaterländischer Gesänge"<sup>2)</sup> he explained to his publisher Wilmans in Frankfurt. Hölderlin does not sing, however, as a patriotic poet who is passionately employing his muse in a natural struggle, as for instance Arndt, Körner or Kleist. So we cannot call Hölderlin patriotic

1) An Böhlendorf, Nürt. 2. Dez. 1802

2) An Wilmans, Nürt., Dez. 1803.

and avoid misleading unless we carefully remember his beliefs. The purport of his patriotic songs is widely different from the ordinary meaning and thoughts associated with patriotism.

When in 1803 after the Second Coalition the 'Reichsdeputationshauptschluss' ensued, when the territories of the ecclesiastical princes were secularised and about half a hundred "Reichsstädte" were mediatised, whereby the "Kleinstaaten" and with them the deficiencies they caused, were essentially diminished, two years before the complete breakdown of the Holy Roman Empire, Hölderlin devoted himself largely to the study of the fatherland, its conditions and different 'castes' "dass uns die gute Zeit nicht leer von Geiste werde und wir uns wieder selber finden mögen."<sup>1)</sup> He is more his country's than his own, a crusader for rather than a worshipper of new ideals.

Keats had his country to love, Hölderlin in addition had had his country to save from tyranny. His natural and homely affections which formed the basis of these studies, filled them with the very spirit of humanity, the greatest asset in all service of the nation. England had long passed the conditions which would have made the study of the fatherland, the formation of a national theory necessary for Keats. Hölderlin, with his ardour for national life, his delicate

1) An Leo von Seckendorf, Nürt., 12. März 1804.

sensibility to social changes, theorises, which was alien to Keats's mind. One of the differences between German and English Romanticism is that the former was much more thoroughgoing. This is of course due actually to the difference between the German mind and character and the English. For the German mind is disposed to carry thought into action in life, to make theory the basis of actual practice. So the systems of philosophy propounded by Kant, Fichte, Schelling and Hegel have each their own aesthetic as well as their own ethic. Each seeks to explain by a central principle the interpretation of all human activities, to which therefore it applies its own highest abstractions in the various departments of human thought - literature, religion, politics, society and the fine arts. On the other hand this concern with theory does not appeal to the English mind which is practical and cautious, and therefore does not trust the German system of building up theories. The English mind is unsystematic, ready to act on a whim and does not worry about consistency. The Englishman can have an aesthetic admiration and liking for another epoch without feeling thereby impelled to try to restore that time as an actual state of living society in the present. Thus the Englishman finds it hard to grasp just how much the critical philosophy of Kant actually influenced Schiller in his literary work. He cannot quite

understand how Catholicism was supported by Schelling's transcendental idealism, or that Hegel could be made to serve as a prop to Protestant orthodoxy and "Junkerism". This tendency was noticed by Madame de Staël who wrote "Tragedies and romances have more importance in Germany than in any other country. They take them seriously there; and to read such and such a book, or see such and such a play, has an influence on the destiny and the life. What they admire as art they wish to introduce into real life, and poetry, philosophy, the ideal, in short have often an even greater empire over the Germans than nature and the passions."

We may take Hölderlin as being a voice of his age but we cannot take this view of Keats. Hölderlin's poetry is directed towards a society; it expresses beliefs for a society and a communal religious experience. Nearly everything in Hölderlin's poetry has a symbolic value, but allegory cannot be found in his verse. "Of timid minds brought up against facts, and too conscientious to ignore them altogether, allegory is, in all periods, the natural refuge. How early in the history of criticism religious men ran from the Bible to allegory, as though, not allegory, but the Bible, would bite them, is a part of the natural history of exegesis. Just so, from the Irish Question, and

from the Papacy, and from a hundred other perplexities, the shy soul of Spenser sought refuge in allegory. It was partly that, in running to allegory he ran to Spenser, but in part shyness of the actual, that determined for Keats the form, first, if it has one, of *Endymion*, and subsequently of *Hyperion*.<sup>1)</sup>"

Keats had no social theories, yet in a sense peculiar to the poet, though to a lesser extent than in Hölderlin, he had a philosophic mind, a moral zeal as an expression of a comprehensive emotional life. This is a basic similarity between the two men, who were both occupied with the highest use of poetry. Keats, we may say, was an artist pure and simple. Hölderlin was more than this; he was bitter, unwilling to accept compromise in the whole existing political and social order in Germany. Living in and for his ideals he was possessed by a fierce proselytising ardour; the discrepancy between his ideal and his background bring forth that strong elegiac strain. Compared with any other great poet of the Romantic revival in England Keats does not give political and social thought a prominent place in his poetry; and there is little sign of the heroic element which is so typical of Hölderlin. The difference between Keats and Hölderlin as far as the political and social interests are concerned, evolves from their respective historical backgrounds (see Part I).

1) Garrod, *Ibid*, p. 68.

Much that has been written about Keats gives the impression that he was blind to the affairs of the world he lived in. Taking into consideration the references to his age, most of which have been quoted or referred to throughout this chapter, it seems to me that we do not readily enough realise how much of the revolutionary conscience he shared with his fellow poets of the time. It is true that Keats was not much fitted for thinking of the earth. Like Hölderlin he required an earth true to his ideal, an earth whose people were the flowers and their scents, or men and women of like nature with the heroes of old. We may indeed not be able to assert that either poet would have ever become dominated by political fanaticism in the ordinary sense of the word, though with Hölderlin his longing for a new order, a community, his yearning to reconstitute the Greek world to live in it, became an obsession. But it is wrong, in my opinion, to think of Keats merely as the poet who "ever let the fancy roam", who was "merely about his business" living entirely in an imaginary world "unaffected by the social influences of his age". Keats, inclined to accept a compromise -

"But this is human life: the war, the deeds,  
 The disappointment, the anxiety,  
 Imagination's struggles, far and nigh,  
 All human; bearing in themselves this good  
 That they are still the air, the subtle food,  
 To make us feel existence,....." 1)

1) Endymion.

seemed at times content enough to acquiesce in the world as it was, his main desires being quietness and health to cultivate poetry, "a free and healthy and lasting organisation of heart and lungs as strong as an ox, so as to be able to bear unhurt the shock of extreme thought and sensation without weariness."<sup>1)</sup> Keats found fault with Shelley, whom we may take, like Wordsworth, as typical of the times, for not being "more of an artist". "Some artists have been able to keep their lives and their creations in different compartments. Others, and I think most of the greatest, decidedly have not. Dante and Milton did not scruple to give utterance to their loves and hates in epic. The Olympian Goethe is autobiographical from first to last. And how wonderfully the lives of such differing geniuses as Wordsworth, Beethoven and Dostoleffsky illuminate their works! Keats certainly did not subscribe to the doctrine of the impersonality of the poet. "A man's life of any worth is a continual allegory", he writes; and again "Shakespeare led a life of allegory; his works are the comments on it."<sup>2)</sup>

"O for ten years, that I may overwhelm  
 Myself in poesy; so I may do the deed  
 That my own soul has to itself decreed.  
 Then I will pass the countries that I see  
 In long perspective and continually  
 Taste their pure fountains. First the realm I'll pass

<sup>1)</sup> Letters, Aug. 1819.

<sup>2)</sup> J. Dover Wilson, The Essential Shakespeare,  
 Cam. Univ. Press, 1933.



Of Flora, and old Pan: sleep in the grass,  
 Feed upon apples red, and strawberries,  
 And choose each pleasure that my fancy sees;  
 Catch the white-handed nymphs in shady places  
 To woo sweet kisses from averted faces...  
 Till in the bosom of a leafy world  
 We rest in silence, like two gems upcurl'd  
 In the recesses of a pearly shell.  
 And can I ever bid these joys farewell?  
 Yes, I must pass them for a nobler life  
 Where I may feel the agonies, the strife  
 Of human hearts..... " 1)

That was his plan - to overwhelm himself in poesy for ten years. But, as Middleton Murry remarks "the life of a great poet does not confine itself in obedience to his conscious plan. Though Endymion was to be a journey through the realm of Flora and old Pan, it became inevitably more than this. Keats could not keep himself out of it, and with himself there entered his poem the agonies and strife of a human heart."<sup>2)</sup> Keats himself knew that his poetry lacked reality and he was inclined to believe that reality was to be sought along the lines of imagination. The world of imagination was the world over which the social influences of his time had no power; only in it, it is true, he moved with perfect felicity and security of poetry. Into it Hölderlin finally

1) Sleep and Poetry.

2) Middleton Murry, Ibid, p.44.

withdrew from this world, because his ideal world - different from the world Keats built up in his exercise of imagination - was the land of his heart's desire. But it is not absolutely certain whether Keats was always glad to be in his ideal world, and was not trying to escape from it:

"What though I leave this dull, and earthly mould,  
 Yet shall my spirit lofty converse hold  
 With after times.- The patriot shall feel  
 My stern alarum, and unsheath his steel;  
 Or in the senate thunder out my numbers,  
 To startle princes from their easy slumbers.  
 The sage will mingle with each moral theme  
 My happy thoughts sententious: he will teem  
 With lofty periods when my verse fire him,  
 And then I'll stoop from heaven to inspire him.  
 Lays have I left of such a dear delight  
 That maids will sing them on their bridal-night." 1)

Here we have Keats as he wished to be. Here we have his hopes to be remembered after his death by his countrymen. And here we have in the last two lines quoted the Keats as he is generally known, but, Prof. Garrod points out, "to forget altogether the other Keats, and the ambition of a poetry which should startle princes from the sleep of circumstance, is to indulge a false and upon the whole, a damaging emphasis." 2)

1) Epistle to Brother George.

2) Garrod, Ibid, p. 26.

When we come to consider the two poets with regard to their Hellenism a marked difference between them shows very clearly. For Hellenism was something almost inevitable in the poetry of Hölderlin. In fact it was more than an element of his poetry, it was a part of his life from his very earliest days; and indeed matters went so far that his life actually became a part of Hellenism. This was unavoidable, almost, from the time that Winckelmann first made the discovery of the Gods of Greek Mythology about 1738, and so set in train the movement which, interpreted by Lessing and Herder, found its greatest exponent in Goethe. Schiller, it is true, was its antagonist, and Heine started the rebellion against it, but Hölderlin stood straight in its path, and actually gave his life to it, so that in his later days he failed to discriminate between himself and it, and became, as we say, 'insane'. Hölderlin's early education gave him the necessary elementary knowledge of antiquity, and the mighty gods of Greece and Rome became known to him at first hand. His pure spirit found its natural home in the lofty fastnesses of the High Gods. Like Icarus he flew too high, however, and like Icarus he had to pay the penalty of his presumptuous flight. With life as it has to be lived on this sad earth he came at last to have hardly any contact at all.

He was pure poet, and mere mortal man can hardly follow his dizzy flights into the clouds above snow-capped Olympus. This it was that led him from the time when first his feet left the ground to the state of prophetic visionary, through inspiration, until he too became more than human, and could no longer communicate his transcendent ideas to men in a way which would be intelligible to them.

But if Hölderlin's Hellenism had the inevitableness of Fate, Keats's was surely almost accidental. We may explain his feeling for it, too, if we say that whereas Hölderlin loved Greece, Keats was merely in love with it. A greater contrast 'in similarity' than these two can scarcely be found. Hölderlin by upbringing and education was predisposed to the effect upon him of the impact of Greece and its tyranny just then being exercised over literature in general and German literature in particular. Hardly a scrap of Keats's education could have had that effect. Indeed he might in many aspects be regarded as only half-educated, and the smatterings he did acquire included little firsthand knowledge of classical studies and none of Greek. He had read some Virgil, but apparently not much other Latin poetry. It is interesting in this connection to find Mr. M. R. Ridley declaring the

1) M. R. Ridley, *Keats' Craftsmanship*,  
Oxford, 1933, p. 269

blank verse of Hyperion II

"I look'd around upon the carved sides  
 Of an old sanctuary with roof august,  
 Builded so high, it seem'd that filmed clouds  
 Might spread beneath, as o'er the stars of heaven;  
 So old the place was, I remembered none  
 The like upon the Earth : what I had seen  
 Of grey Cathedrals, buttress'd walls, rent towers,  
 The superannuations of sunk realms,  
 Or nature's Rocks toil'd hard in waves and winds,  
 Seem'd but the faulture of decrepit things  
 To that eternal domed Monument,"

with other lines like these "has more of the right Virgilian ring than all but a very few in our language. And one line in particular, so far as the decasyllable can ever bring back the more fluid movement of the hexameter, irresistibly recalls a famous line in the Georgics

" The superannuations of sunk realms,  
 Fluminaque antiquos subterlabentia muros."

Of the Greek language Keats had no knowledge, and his acquaintance with the Hellenic world was made through classical dictionaries and a study of the casts in the British Museum. From these he intuitively grasped the antique ideal of beauty; the bald statements of Lemprière and the doubtful antiquity of the Graeco-Roman vase were no obstacles to his intuitive sympathy which became, as it were, almost divination.

Professor de Selincourt has "exploded the Lemprière myth by showing that there is almost nothing of the classical material

in Hyperion which Keats could not have found else-where than in Lemprière, whether in Chapman's translation of Hesiod's Works and Days, Cooke's translation of Hesiod's Theogony, or Sandy's translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses, not to mention more casual allusions, scattered all up and down Elizabethan literature." <sup>1)</sup> The fact is Keats was apparently an omnivorous reader. We cannot have any full account of all his reading, and the appetite whetted by Chapman's Homer no doubt devoured everything similar he could procure.- It has proved impossible to trace any influence which "modern" writings of his own time from abroad - say from Germany - where Hellenism was in full flower, could have had upon Keats. He was possessed, it is true, of a strong urge towards the beautiful. This was in his case the revolt from the sordid and ugly of his surroundings and everyday life. It looks like a kind of accident that Chapman's Homer came into his hands. Its fruition in the sonnet "Much have I travelled " is evidence of the impact on Keats's imagination which produced such brilliance. At the same time Keats's Hellenism in general may be compared with the impression which we derive from this sonnet. Impressions of this kind are hard to obtain, but from this sonnet we receive an outstanding one. It is of

1) Cf. Ridley, *ibid*, p.60.

an intensesness of excitement so great that the actual subject of the poem as declared by Keats seems to have melted in the heat of it and vanished away. We can hardly do other than forget that the winged words are all about a book - Chapman's translation of Homer. The emotion which thrills the poet is communicated directly to us. Its waves come swifter and swifter, until they reach high tide in the half visualised, half aetherialised picture of Cortez. Not merely do our minds receive a print of the image through the emotional intensity of the poem. The image sums up in itself and makes real all the emotional content of the poem. The image and the sonnet reach culmination in Cortez on the peak. All that the sonnet really means is packed into that phrase: here for Keats

"All the charm of all the Muses" flowers

"in a single word."

We vaguely feel aware that the emotional content of the poem and its 'given' cause are not compatible: Chapman's Homer, noble though the book may be, passes out of question. It has fulfilled its function, which is, to be, not itself, but as it were a symbol of something transcending itself, a catalyst producing the crystallisation of a state of thought and emotion, which already independently existing needed only its presence to be precipitated in words which are gems of perfect brilliance.

This poem gives us the 'mood' of Keats's Hellenism.

Hölderlin's Hellenism in many ways was the product of his country and his time. Considering German literature from the beginning of the eighteenth century, it is clear that Winckelmann's "A History of Art among the Ancients" (1764) was the dominant factor in the development of much of German poetry for the next hundred and fifty years. It is true that "The Glory that was Greece" has had an incalculably immense influence on the whole of European civilisation. We have only to look at literary forms, standards of thought, imagery, language even, to see how basic Greek culture is. But what a nation takes from another nation is profoundly influenced not only by the selection made by the nation that takes but by the nature of the taker. If Greek influence over Europe as a whole defeats our attempts to assess it completely, we can at least recognise that over Germany in particular its power was immeasurably greater than over any other 'barbarian' race. This is due probably to the nature of the Germans. They are the world's supreme adapters. Let it be the task for others to originate: the Germans will adopt and adapt. But they do not assimilate.

It is of course a commonplace to reflect that every movement has its countermovement. And the farther the



pendulum swings the one way, the farther and more violent will its swing in the other direction be. This is no less true of the rebellion of the Germans against the tyranny of the Greek spirit. One would think German romantic and naturalistic writers could find no extreme too far to go in their revolt against Greece. It was Hölderlin's personal fate to be borne irresistibly in that pendulum swing and carried inevitably towards the dynamic power of Greek ideals:

"Mich verlangt ins ferne Land hinüber,  
 Nach Alcäus und Anakreon,  
 Und ich schlief' im engen Hause lieber  
 Bei den Heiligen in Marathon;  
 Ach! es sei die letzte meiner Tränen,  
 Die dem lieben Griechenlande rann,  
 Lasst, o Parzen, lasst die Schere tönen,  
 Denn mein Herz gehört den Toten an!" 1)

It is beside the point to object that his predecessors had on the whole misinterpreted the real nature of Greek art and Greek poetry. That was due, no doubt, to a lack of first hand accurate knowledge of the subject. "We needs must love the highest when we see it", and Winckelmann directed the eyes of Germany to the study of the beautiful and sublime, the godlike in the simple serenity of the gods of Greece, as he saw them, even though it meant sacrificing truth to beauty. An essential harmony between life and the world exists 1)Griechenland.

in the work of all great poets. Each creates a world which represents or reaffirms the world in which he lives. For Hölderlin the two became one, until he did not know in which he was living. His created world became for him the only real world. He stepped into it at last and was lost to human contact.

Nor did Keats obtain from Greece his philosophy of life. True, the Greeks worshipped the beautiful, but it was the beautiful of the true mean - "to meden agan", the complete balancing of forces. [It was the Persians who laid such stress on truth that their education for the young consisted of learning how 'to shoot straight and tell the truth'. The Greek and Persian ideals never were incorporated together; it was left for Keats to declare

'Beauty is Truth, Truth Beauty', - that is all  
Ye know on earth, and all ye need to know.

It is suggested by Ridley "if in most places where Keats uses the word 'truth' (with its connotation of 'correspondence') we substitute the word 'reality', we are likely to come nearer to his meaning."<sup>1)</sup> In his search after beauty, Keats, seeking it in Greece, yet somehow missed the Greek ideal in its cold austerity and found instead a dreamy sensuousness. He took

<sup>1)</sup>Ridley, Ibid, p.4

words and assonances for the thing itself, instead of probing beyond them as Hölderlin did. We find the Ode to a Nightingale, for instance, thronging with correlated words - aches, drowsy numbness, hemlock, opiate, Lethe. This concatenation arouses in us a new sense of our capacity for sleep. But to take one example -hemlock- can stir one of two memories, and the chances are even whether it will bear us back to that cell in Athens where the jailor brought in the fatal draught, or turn our thoughts instinctively to the gardens behind the battlements of Elsinore where a king slept, and the poison "entered the portals of his ears."

The numerous allusions to Greek mythology contained in Keats's early verses are all mere conventionalities. The only thing that redeems them from triteness is the genuine tone of enjoyment which persuades us that the subject had really taken possession of his mind and that he actually felt for Greek mythology as a still living medium for ideas of beauty expressed in forms of beauty. In an early poem "I stood tiptoe upon a little hill" the poet explains that the classical myths are the outcome of man's eager sensitiveness to the beauties of nature, instancing such stories as Psyche and Eros, Pan and Syrinx and finally Diana and Endymion, and saying that the inventor of that myth must have been some poet-lover who standing on the hill of Latmos heard afar in the valley the

strains of the Hymn to Diana and saw the chaste moon ride high as "Seated in her silver chair" she did "state in wonted manner keep." His lover's heart in pity of her loveless state invents for her a lover, Endymion. Then Keats says that the loves of Diana and Endymion would surely "beget their poet" and perhaps he asks himself - why should that poet not be I ?

So he resolved to be the poet and to treat the myth not as a re-statement of a classical monument but as the rapturous invention of a poet-lover whose poetic fancy and amorous ardour makes his theme burgeon with new life and with all the profusion of imagery which is Nature's gift. Thus his poem, while not restating Greek mythology, catches more nearly its spirit and thought. It is one of the attributes of a poet that he is a 'mytho - poelist'. Another occasion when we catch him almost in the art of creating a deity is in his 'Ode to Psyche'. Where he got the story is hard to guess but matters little to the very individual sentiment with which he has invested the legend. Psyche's loveliness is not her only mode of appeal to him. She is the latest of the Olympians and as such "Too late for antique vows." She has never had a cult of her own, and so he can create it for her, in a poetry of faith - "The believing lyre". His inspiration

comes not from the deity herself, but "I see and sing, by my own lyre inspired". So he creates his goddess and promises her a worship which shall be melancholy and languorous enough. He himself will be the first high priest of Psyche. Her fane shall be in "some untrodden region of the mind" where she may enjoy

" all soft delight  
That shadowy thought can win."

There the "bright torch" will be burning for her and at night an open casement - one of his favourite words - to let her in.

I do not find any commentator except Professor Garrod who has seized the significance of this symbolism. The open window and the lighted torch - to admit the timorous moth-goddess, the symbol of melancholy love. For there is little doubt that Keats here has identified the Psyche ( soul ) with the other meaning in Greek of psyche - a moth - under which figure Psyche is sometimes represented in works of art. This is a 'theopoeia' quite unlike that of Hölderlin. His verse is consistently lofty and serious. It lacks entirely the qualities of fancy, loveliness, delightfulness, of whimsicality or delicious playfulness. Perhaps the greatest contrast of all, however, is borne in upon us when we come to consider the work which each poet called "Hyperion". It is impossible to consider them together; they must have separate treatment. Keats's Hyperion was intended for an epic in the Miltonic manner, a Paradise Lost of the old Saturnian Greek Gods before the

onslaught of the new deities of Olympus. His god-types are drawn from his ideas of ancient sculpture, such as one may see on the frieze of the Parthenon, but his romantic love of nature pervades and informs the whole poem.

When we come to contemplate this poem we find it is a mighty fragment, reminding us, for all the world, of the mighty defaced statues of Memnon which gaze into the sunrise in the Egyptian desert. In her paper on 'Keats and Egypt'<sup>1)</sup> Miss Helen Darbishire has pointed out how much Egyptian atmosphere and description Hyperion contains. It may be that Keats derived some of this inspiration from his visits to the British Museum, for in January 1818 there had been an accession to the Egyptian collections there of the famous head of Memnon, and no doubt he may have read descriptions of the discoveries in Egypt in the 'Annals of the Fine Arts' for April 1818. Hyperion is no facile Endymion exquisite but spasmodically beautiful. It is a great fragment in keeping with its great subject, of Miltonic measure, and grave ordered progress, dealing with the downfall of the elder gods and the coming of the Olympians. It opens with the dethroned Saturn, sitting in dejection in a deep, solitary valley, his great powers benumbed by the sudden change :

1) Review of Engl. Studies Vol. III,  
No. 9, January 1927.

"Deep in the shady sadness of a vale  
 Far sunken from the healthy breath of morn,  
 Far from the fiery noon, and eve's one star,  
 Sat grey-hair'd Saturn, quiet as a stone,  
 Still as the silence round about his lair;  
 Forest on forest hung about his head  
 Like cloud on cloud. No stir of air was there,  
 Not so much life as on a summer's day  
 Robs not one light seed from the feather'd grass,  
 But where the dead leaf fell, there did it rest.  
 A stream went voiceless by, still deadened more  
 By reason of his fallen divinity  
 Spreading a shade: the Naiad 'mid her reeds  
 Press'd her cold finger closer to her lips."

One by one the Titans meet together in one spot, to consider how they may regain their lost empire. But the sad necessity of recognising the fact that it cannot be recovered is conveyed to them by Clymene the gentlest of the older gods, and Oceanus the most reflective. Oceanus gives the cause, a grand and deepthoughted one. It is inevitable that mere brute power should be displaced by intellect:

"Great Saturn, thou  
 Hast sifted well the atom-universe;  
 But for this reason, that thou art the King,  
 And only blind from sheer supremacy,  
 One avenue was shaded from thine eyes,  
 Through which I wander'd to eternal truth.  
 And first, as thou wast not the first of powers,  
 So art thou not the last; it cannot be.  
 Thou art not the beginning nor the end.  
 From chaos and parental darkness came  
 Light, the first fruits of that intestine broil,  
 That sullen ferment, which for wondrous ends  
 Was ripening in itself. The ripe hour came,  
 And with it light, and light, engendering  
 Upon its own producer, forthwith touch'd  
 The whole enormous matter into life."

The more imaginative parts of the poem are worthy of this sublime moral. The last to give way is Hyperion, the god of

the sun. But new and dread sensations of horror begin to disturb his old blessedness. With the reader we may enjoy the living beauty of the palace of the sungod, the portals of which open like a rose, the awful phenomena which usher in a change in heaven; the tragic loss of his ability to bid the day break as he was wont .

Deep in this valley of despair lie the other Titans, half life-less. Keats happily compares them to

"Scarce images of life, one here, one there,  
Lay vast and edgeways; like a dismal cirque  
Of Druid stones, upon a forlorn moor,  
When the still rain begins at shut of eve,  
In dull November, and their chancel vault,  
The Heaven itself is blinded throughout night."

The end of the fragment comes with Apollo's deification. He receives his exalted position as a result of his wisdom, but we are inclined to think that his acceptance of this high honour partakes of the effeminate. However, as he proceeds, his powers gather nobly, and he exclaims to the Goddess of Memory, Mnemosyne,

"Knowledge enormous makes a God of me."

A glow of aspiration seizes him after his speech, and an intensity of pain, proportioned to the causes which are changing him. Mnemosyne, the one who prophesied it, upholds



her arms and

"at length  
 Apollo shrieked; - and lo! from all his limbs  
 Celestial....."

There the fragment ends. If we would tell a story involving passion, we must needs employ speech. Beings greater than ourselves may well be described by means of comparison. No such means can be employed with regard to the speech they use "What words or tongue of Seraph can suffice" (Milton). When Keats introduces Thea consoling Saturn he is constrained to confess his inability to encompass the necessary grandeur, in these words

"she spake  
 In solemn tenour and deep organ tone;  
 Some mourning words, which in our feeble tongue  
 Would come in these like accents; O how frail  
 To that large utterance of the early Gods!

That is all that he could do for them.

In all this there more than a hint of Milton's influence, not merely in the theme and its treatment, but even in the grammar and prosody. But epic, to be convincing, must have a real 'story', some sequence of outward event. 'Hyperion' is "of imagination all compact", like 'Endymion'; and this may indeed be one reason why Keats discarded the theme when he had written only two of the five books he proposed.

The poet must be enthralled by his subject. He must make it his and it will make him its. That is what happened to Hölderlin. But the end of the old gods in defeat and dismay, described in the first two books, carries over into the third book the dismal and melancholy atmosphere. The poet finds his inspiration has come to a standstill.

In considering Hölderlin's Hellenism it is really impossible to separate it out from his attitudes towards Nature, culture and philosophy, which are all partly derived from and interfused with Hellenism, so that points not actually discussed in this section can be traced in the context of the other chapters in situ. Hölderlin's 'Hyperion', as we have seen, is a romance, in prose, and its subject matter is different from that of Keats's. It too is fragmentary, but when we read it we come away with the feeling that here is no mere "nostalgic romantic Hellenist" celebrating a longing for the past, but a vivid life in the present, and almost a projection of himself and his ideals towards the future. He wants a renaissance of Greek life, not merely expresses a narration of what Greek life once was. His interpretation of Greek life is a historical one. True. But it is informed throughout by the true Hellenic spirit. It is a striking point in Hölderlin's Hellenism that he takes up a personal attitude to the hero. His idea was as it were, a mixture of the modern

and ancient ideas, with a leaning towards the idea that a hero was a demi-god, a link between men and gods. This is probably derived from the influence Pindar's writings had over him, even though we may be mistaken in imagining him as another Pindar. Even had the times been different and had he been able to have had his place, as Pindar did, in the religious and political community, he would have fulfilled his role differently. It is impossible, however, to overlook the importance for him that Nature had, and his particular attitude to it, which in many essential points was totally un-Greek. Hyperion is full of enthusiasm for the ideal of Greek life. But the outlook and the work are un-Greek in that the ideal is determined by Nature. For it was not Nature but Man that interested the ancients, and it was only in the eighteenth century that an ideal of nature which should apply to all life was evolved.

Now Nature in the sense of 'being', 'creativeness', 'life itself', is the ultimate source of all Hölderlin's gods. In fact it is only in the light of such an interpretation that we can comprehend Hölderlin's gods at all. So long as he is content to personify and apostrophise a particular element or natural force, such as his favourite "Vater Aether" it is not too difficult to understand him. Such straightforward anthropomorphism is clear enough. It is much the same in the

poem "Der Archipelagus" where he deifies the Greek Archipelago. But sometimes it is impossible to define the poet's gods as anything other than the essential character inherent in some particular situation. So he considers as the sacred 'terminos' in which dwells a god, the sphere of a lover. These conceptions of gods cannot fail to be elusive; it is only when they are related back to the sources of life that they become able to be understood at all: for situations and changes are constantly being produced by life. If they were all independent deities like the Greek theogony, jealous individuals, interacting on one another, they would crowd each other out of the works of a single lyric poet. But just because their characters are so varied and their numbers so great we can admit them. Yet to Hölderlin they were real persons, as his mode of addressing them shows :

"Und hab ich erst am Herzen Lebendiges  
Gefühlt und dämmert, was du gestaltetest,  
Und war in ihrer Wiege mir, in  
Wonne die wandelnde Zeit entschlafen,

Dann hör ich dich, Kronion! und kenne dich,  
Den weisen Meister, welcher, wie wir, ein Sohn  
Der Zeit, Gesetze gibt und, was die  
Heilige Dämmerung birgt, verkündet." 1)

Like the Greeks who measured their hero<sup>s</sup> against the gods, not as we moderns do, against other men, so that the hero for

1) Natur und Kunst,  
oder Saturn und Jupiter.

them was the slightly-less-than-god, and for us is the something-more-than-man, so Hölderlin's ideal hero is Empedocles, the prophet of Nature, or Hyperion, exhorted to be a mediator between Nature and man. So in "Der Rhein", as we have seen, the symbol of the river represents the hero coming to assert divine order; a hero from Nature, because the powers of life are the real gods. The river, too is shown not only symbolically, but actually, as natural force acting in human culture. Thus Hölderlin's nature-beliefs, as I asserted before, affected his hero-worship; and in this too he is akin to the Greeks, because in his poetical inspiration are fused in a unity of belief in Nature, the elements of religion, poetry and myth. For he perceived the absoluteness of those forces through his piety, and this drove him to want to bring it to full consciousness. His poetry partakes of the nature of ritual service, as at one and the same time he proclaims the gods and reveres them. To do this he must give the god life and human existence. Up to Hölderlin's time that is what poets had been doing for the Christian God, and by that weighing their words with the power of long tradition and carrying conviction through the existence of orthodox religion. Hölderlin, through his deep piety and pure reverence was able to do that for his own gods. However, this tendency to personify natural forces

in order to show them as gods has its origin in a deep impulse of poetic consciousness. Thus Keats personified the Moongoddess in his effort to give a revelation of absolute beauty. "I am certain of nothing but the holiness of the Heart's affections and the Truth of Imagination". So in his passion for the Indian Maid he expressed at least the 'Heart's affections'. It may well be that his love for the Moongoddess was the result of that seizing of Beauty by the Imagination which was either the seizing or the creation of Truth. The Moongoddess inspires the soul of Endymion with love - a love of the supreme Beauty  $\Sigma$  as it were 'the Idea of Beauty', its perfect type, approaching to Plato's conception of Archtype. In the third Book of Endymion this is his conception of the Moon. The passage begins

"Cynthia! where art thou now? What far abode  
Of green or silvery bower doth enshrine  
Such utmost beauty?"

and as it goes on we seem to come naturally to

"O love! how potent hast thou been to teach  
Strange journeyings! wherever beauty dwells,  
In gulf or aerie, mountains or deep dells,  
In light, in gloom, in star or blazing sun,  
Thou pointest out the way, and straight 'tis won."

What could show more clearly how in the poem the Moongoddess has merged into a symbol of the "Principle of Beauty" which

Keats said himself he revered alone, along with the Eternal Being and the Memory of Great Men.

So, too, Hölderlin's early hymns have as themes certain ideals and enthusiasms, and associated with them are thought and emotion in youthful luxuriance -

"Froh, als könnt ich Schöpfungen beglücken,  
 Kühn als huldigten die Geister mir,  
 Nahet, in dein Heiligtum zu blicken,  
 Hoherhabne! meine Liebe dir;  
 Schon erglüht der wonnetrunke Seher  
 Von den Ahndungen der Herrlichkeit,  
 Ha! und deinem Götterschosse näher  
 Höhnt des Siegers Fahne Grab und Zeit."

to the Goddess of Harmony. As he progresses he traverses the same path as Keats did, is less and less occupied with his own thoughts and feelings about the gods, and becomes more concerned to set forth divine things under his imagery. This metamorphosis, then, turns him from a poet singing his hymn about a stated object and telling the feelings and moods it stirs, into a seer showing a god :

"Darum ist ein Jauchzen sein Wort.  
 Nicht liebt er, wie andere Kinder,  
 In Wickelbanden zu weinen.  
 Denn, wo die Ufer zuerb  
 An die Seite ihm schleichen, die krummen,  
 Und, durstig unwindend ihn,  
 Den Unbedachten, zu ziehn  
 Und wohl zu behüten begehren  
 Im eignen Zahne, lachend  
 Zerreist er die Schlangen und stürzt  
 Mit der Beut, und wenn in der Eil  
 Ein Grösserer ihn nicht zämt,  
 Ihn wachsen lässt, wie der Blitz muss er  
 Die Erde spalten, und wie Bezauberte fliehn  
 Die Wälder ihm nach und zusammensinkend die Berge."1)

1) Der Rhein.

Between his reverence for nature and life as the origins of the gods, and his human vision of the perfect in art and culture, Hölderlin always manages to preserve a delicate balance. It is this equi-valence of interrelatedness which is the subject of "Natur und Kunst" or "Saturn und Jupiter" :

"Du waltest hoch am Tag und es blühet dein  
Gesetz, du hältst die Wage, Saturnus' Sohn!  
Und teilst die Los' und ruhest fro im  
Ruhm der unsterblichen Herrscherkünste.

Doch in den Abgrund, sagen die SÄnger sich,  
Habst du den alten Vater, den eignen, einst  
verwiesen und es jammre drunten,  
Da, wo die Wilden vor dir mit Recht sind.

Herab denn! oder schÄme des Danks dich nicht!  
Und willst du bleiben, diene dem Älteren,  
Und gönn es ihm, dass ihn vor allen,  
Göttern und Menschen, der SÄnger nenne!"

This equal pull of the forces of Nature and art has attracted the attention of many writers and given rise to much intricate and often contradictory discussion. In "Hölderlin's Archipelagus", in "Dichter und Helden" (page 11 ) Professor Friedrich Gundolf brings out what he believes to be Hölderlin's essential Hellenism by his discussion of their relationship - "Der griechische Wille und Weg aus dunkelstem Rausch zu klarstem Traum war auch der Hölderlins." He is concerned to show that Hölderlin's inspiration partook of the nature of the



orphic mysteries, and this he declares is his implicit 'Greekness' as opposed to his explicit and conscious admiration of Greece. On the other hand, it is declared by Friedrich Beissner<sup>1)</sup> that it was the Apolline ( in Nietzsche's use of the word ) quality of Greek culture which Hölderlin perceived. Mr. Peacock agrees with his opinion that what Hölderlin was trying to discover was the life - or nature - which is immanent in himself, and therefore in his own people; this<sup>it</sup> is clear, must differ from Greek life or nature. This is a sound view. Gundolf perhaps was too anxious to establish as absolute identity the affinity with Greek character which Hölderlin definitely possesses. "Was in seinem wesen 'orphanisch' scheint, ist hesperisch, ist deutsch und nicht griechisch" says Beissner. So he inverts Gundolf's thought and sees Hölderlin's development the other way round " Hölderlin's Wille und Weg war der von der Nüchternheit zum heiligen Pathos. This agrees with Hölderlin's view of nature and art as principles opposing each other but complementary. As a counteraction to Nature, he sought mind. Both Gundolf and Beissner are concerned to establish a particular succession or development. This is misleading, as Peacock points out, and indeed such sweeping generalisations do not tend to

1) Friedrich Beissner, Hölderlins Übersetzungen aus dem Griechischen, Stuttgart, 1933, pp. 159-60.

clarify the situation. What Gundolf says might well apply to all poetic composition, instead of being in particular reference to the Greek Orphics, and Beissner's remark is not true when applied to the inspiration of Hölderlin's poems. We have only to read his early hymns and his admission to his mother that he had ceased to struggle against his natural vocation, poetry, to see that that is the case. It can, however, be accepted, if it is taken to mean that Hölderlin's philosophical nature was so constituted as to seek after or develop into an emotional and religious life. For he was ambi-valent, and needed both a rational system of philosophy, and a need for reverence and worship. He sought to reconcile his needs and solved his problem by fusing them together :

"Empedokles, durch sein Gemüt und seine Philosophie schon längst zu Kulturhass gestimmt.....ein Todfeind aller einseitigen Existenz und deswegen auch in wirklich schönen Verhältnissen unbefriedigt, unstat, leidend, bloss weil sie besondere Verhältnisse sind und, nur im grossen Akkord mit allem Lebendigen empfunden, ganz ihn erfüllen..."<sup>1)</sup>

shows a mind of the greatest clearness and sobriety, and at the same time an emotional capacity and passion, and these Hölderlin seeks to interfuse:

"Weh mir, wo nehm ich, wenn  
Es Winter ist, die Blumen, und wo  
Den Sonnenschein,  
Und Schatten der Erde?  
Die Mauern stehn  
Sprachlos und kalt, im Winde/Klirren die Fahnen."<sup>2)</sup>

1) Empedokles (Der Frankfurter Plan)

Erst. Akt., Werke, Ibid, p. 323.

2) Hälfte des Lebens.

It is not, however, only in the individual life of the Athenians that Hölderlin sees his ideal of natural perfection realised. It is in the life of the city-state of Athens as a community. This is where he differs from Keats. Keats was concerned wholly with the individual. Hölderlin constantly moves in thought from the individual to the community of which he made part. During most of his writing life his ideal of life remained true to the Athenian example of it. Later on, as I have pointed out, he was influenced by his militant patriotic faith to modify this ideal, but the change was not a radical one: for so long as he believed that the Greeks and the Germans were affinities, and believed in the return of the gods, so long was he justified in clinging to his Athenian ideal. Later still he did admit that there were differences in the natures of Greek and German, and had to give up his belief in their affinity. In spite of this, his ideal remained in essentials unchanged - that man should freely develop to the full natural life, and that in man there should be a balance of spirit and nature. We must not lose sight of the fact, however, that Hölderlin was a Romanticist, and they, following in Herder's wake viewed the Greeks as a historical people, subject like others to growth, change and decay. They saw their gods as symbols of natural forces, and found the ecstatic god of religious

mysteries exemplified by Dionysus. Now the fact that Hölderlin had a Dionysian element and was one of the first to comprehend the meaning of the Dionysian side of Greek life is not contradictory of what has already been said. Professor Willoughby claims him as a Romantic and says he must be accounted not a classical poet "because", he declares "his ideal god is Dionysus and not Apollo".<sup>1)</sup> It is true that one characteristic of Greek life was its serene joyousness. Now this joy and serenity actually is an element which Hölderlin, although he derives matter and form of writing from the Greeks, fails to embody. But this was not one of his ideals. Because he was deeply religious himself he was able intuitively to understand Greek religious experience; but it did not necessarily become of sole importance to him. We have noted before what we must declare again. He admires in Nature both the power and the perfection. So he goes to the Greeks for the springs of life, which he associates with religious consciousness, and for the perfect forms. Constantly he presents us with the worship of Nature and his aesthetic judgement on Greece as a fact of history. From this aesthetic judgement springs an ethical purpose, since Greece is more than mere history, it is a symbol of an ideal which is still valid for

1) Cf. Willoughby, The Romantic Movement in Germany, p.42

him. This characteristic of Hölderlin's temperament - the blending of ethic and aesthetic - is well exemplified by the manner in which in accordance with the above explanation, Athenian life is portrayed in his romance Hyperion. As they sail from the island of Calureia towards Attica the hero calls up to Diotima the vision of Athens and all its ancient splendour - an Athens as conceived and set forth by Winckelmann. Then the reality comes into sight:

"O siehe!" rief jetzt Diotima mir plötzlich zu.  
 Ich sah, und hätte vergehen mögen vor dem allmächtigen Anblick. Wie ein unermesslicher Schiffbruch, wenn die Orkane verstummt sind und die Schiffer entflohn, und der Leichnam der zerschmetterten Flotte unkenntlich auf der Sandbank liegt, so lag vor uns Athen, und die verwaisten Säulen standen vor uns, wie die nackten Stämme eines Waldes, der am Abend noch grünte, und des Nachts darauf im Feuer aufging.  
 "hier", sagte Diotima, "lernt man stille sein über sein eigen Schicksal, es sei gut oder böse." 1)

Diotima inspires him with his mission when this sight crushes Hyperion and he is on the point of accepting without protest this shipwreck of the world and of taking refuge in his love:

"Hyperion", hier ergriff sie meine Hand mit Feuer, und ihre Stimme erhob mit Grösse sich - "Hyperion! mich deucht, du bist zu höheren Dingen geboren. Verkenne dich nicht! der Mangel am Stoffe hielt dich zurück....." Willst du dich verschliessen in den Himmel deiner Liebe, und die Welt, die deiner bedurfte verdorren und erkalten lassen unter dir? Du musst, wie der Lichtstrahl, herab, wie der allerfrischende Regen, musst du nieder ins Land der Sterblichkeit, du musst erleuchten wie Apollo erschüttern, beleben, wie Jupiter, sonst bist du deines Himmels nicht wert.

1) Hyperion, Erster Bd., zw. Bch., Werke, ibid, p. 510.

"Ich bitte dich, geh nach Athen hinein, noch einmal, und siehe die Menschen auch an, die dort herumgehen unter den Trümmern, die rohen Albaner und die andern guten kindischen Griechen, die mit einem lustigen Tanze und einem heiligen Märchen sich trösten über die schändliche Gewalt, die über ihnen lastet....." 1)

His destiny is to go forth as a prophet and leader, and by showing the Athenians what they once were, to arouse them to new life. Thus Athens, symbolised by Diotima, and under her inspiration, becomes the activating force which impels Hyperion. He first accepts and then rejects this spiritual mission, preferring the attempt to free Greece by purely military means, as is suggested by his friend Alabanda, the titan of martial spirit; here the romance moves off into the sphere of politics.

We cannot find in Keats's Hellenism anything of these philosophic and very little of religious elements, for as we have already said, he was less interested in philosophy and religion than Hölderlin. For Keats, Greek mythology is the embodiment, for ever alive, of ideas of beauty clothed in beauty of form. He neither imagines nor wishes that the gods may come again. He loved Greek names and classically compounded expressions. Yet to my mind much of his writing may almost be styled non-Greek, especially if one compares it with the Greek lyric writers, for very little is simple and direct enough.

1) Hyperion, Erst. Bd., zw. Bch.,  
Werke, Ibid, pp. 513/514.

Yet it is strange that much of his superabundance of mythological references, apparently brought in for mere effect, partake somewhat of the sonorousness of the great odes and epodes of the tragedians. On the other hand the Ode on a Grecian Urn, flawless as it is of its kind, and marking Keats at the zenith of his development, though inspired by the frieze of the Parthenon, is not true Greek at all, although Matthew Arnold declares that the stanza beginning "what little town by river or seashore" is "purely Greek, as Greek as a thing from Homer or Theocritus".<sup>1)</sup> Matthew Arnold is entitled to his opinion.

Lamia shows a new side of Keats. No longer is he the boy of happy genius. He has grown into a man; a man over whom experience has begun to cast its shadow. He has emerged from this world of passionate imagination into the world of "agonies and strife of human hearts". He is no longer able to escape into evasions and the imagined world of phantasy; the world as it really is has now to be faced with all its daunting realities. In Lamia, for all it is a fairy tale, he takes a firmer grip upon reality than ever he did on the beauties of his other poems. Hence the value he himself put upon the poem: "I am certain there is that sort of fire in it which must take hold of people in some way - give them either pleasant or

<sup>1)</sup>M. Arnold, On the study of Celtic Literature.

unpleasant sensation." <sup>1)</sup> Lamia is based on a story from the Anatomy of Melancholy by Burton, and is handled in a way which suggests the bright hard sunshine of Corinth where its scene is laid. In particular the passage describing the snake

" he found a palpitating snake,  
Bright, and cirque-couchant in a dusky brake.

She was a gordian shape or dazzling hue,  
Vermilion-spotted, golden, green, and blue;  
Striped like a zebra, freckled like a pard,  
Eyed like a peacock, and all crimson barr'd;  
And full of silver moons, that, as she breathed  
Dissolved, or brighter shone, or interwreathed  
Their lustres with the gloomier tapestries- "

gleams with iridescent colour and vividness and with sureness of line drawn by a master craftsman enjoying himself in the exercise of his craft. Here is maturity. As we read we cannot fail to perceive that now the cumulative effect of the items enumerated is not for its own sake, but to enhance and vitalise the orderly progress of the narrative. Lamia is a story of Greece, but it is of the Elizabethan-conceived Greece which so much enchanted Keats, and does not mirror any recognisable epoch of Greek life - Homeric, under the tyrants, or in the golden days of Corinth.

Hölderlin, too, for all his Hellenism has his non-Greek aspect :

<sup>1)</sup>Colvin's Ed. of Letters, No. CXVI.



"Wenn Platons frommer Garten auch schon nicht mehr  
 Am alten Strome grünt und der dürftige Mann  
 Die Heldenasche pflügt und scheu der  
 Vogel der Nacht auf der Säule trauert."

Here we find that along with Platonism he combines a tendency to polytheism and the cult of the heroic age. This point of view places Hölderlin quite outside the Greek world; for it is characteristically German and not Greek to pursue culture so consciously through the medium of history as in "Gesang des Deutschen", for instance. This feature, however, is a very small factor in Hölderlin's make-up. In all other respects his spirit had come completely under the sway of Greece. It is easy to see how, because he admired Greece, he wished that German and Greek could be alike in every way, and this wish produced in him the belief that it was so. Thus he was led to adopt Greek metres in accordance with his belief and his admiration of them. These were the metrical forms in which the highest levels of poetry had already been achieved; if he used them he might again achieve the highest, this time in Germany. The genius of the English language does not lend itself to classical prosody, and essays in that genre have been few and not particularly successful. Keats certainly did not attempt it. He was content to get his effect through blank verse, as we have seen before. In his metres he does not imitate classical writers. But German does afford an opportunity for classical scansion, and Hölderlin employed it with good effect.

In the main his metres are Pindaric, Alcaic stanzas and, in "Unter den Alpen gesungen" the Sapphic. His favourite Alcaic is followed by the third Asclepiadean, slightly modified to suit the German tongue. There are some irregularities of metre, but throughout each poem there runs that inner harmony which keeps the balance and preserves the rhythmic melody. Hölderlin's hexameters have something of "the surge and thunder of the Odyssey" through their skilful use of trochees and dactyls, and "Menons Klage" shows especially well the effect produced by weakening the first rising of the pentameter, an effect peculiarly Hölderlin's own. Keats, as I have said, made no attempt at classical metres, yet there is to my mind a poem which much resembles Greek lyric verse in its simplicity. Its subject is non-Greek, its metre is a ballad stanza and it contains no classical allusion at all. It is "La Belle Dame sans Merci" -

"I met a lady in the meads  
 Full beautiful, a faery's child;  
 Her hair was long, her foot was light,  
 And her eyes were wild.

I set her on my pacing steed,  
 And nothing else saw all day long,  
 For sidelong would she lean, and sing  
 A faery's song.

I saw pale King's and princes too,  
 Pale warriors, death-pale were they all;  
 Who cry'd, "La belle Dame sans Merci  
 Hath thee in thrall!"

Here is a subject suitable for the Romanticist. Yet of all Keats's writing it is the simplest; in treatment and restraint it strikes me as of the Greek lyric mode. It is in great contrast to the luxurious paganism as we know it, for instance, in the Hymn to Pan. The deity celebrated there is brought into every connexion of untamed nature which an imagination hunting always the objectively mysterious can compass - as little Greek as could be conceived.

The fact is when all is said - Keats's real Hellenism lay in this "that he was a conscious artist."

*What about Hölderlin  
in this respect?*

Hölderlin's affection for his mother and Rike his sister is, of course, one of the great influences of his whole life. We have seen the boy Keats, too, for whom the love for his mother was so strong and such an essential element of life. There is little wonder that such a nature, the object of its devotion thus early snatched away, suffered a sort of ambivalence - forever thrust back upon itself and forever stretching out to find the love that was such an essential to it. Hölderlin was girt by strange austerities of intellect and spirit and at the age of twenty-one realised that his "Hang zu Projekten"<sup>1)</sup>, his ambition and his moods would never allow him to become really happy in marriage; he was determined then "nie zu frein".<sup>2)</sup> The twenty-three year old Keats wrote to his brother George: - "Notwithstanding your Happiness and your recommendation I hope I shall never marry.....These things, combined with the opinion I have of the generality of women....<sup>3)</sup> form a barrier against Matrimony which I rejoice in." Apparently he feared for himself should passion have him in its sway. Yet purer admiration and love for a woman's understanding in Hölderlin's case, and more passionate love for a woman's beauty in Keats's case, are not easily to be found. Read the letters to Luise Nast and you feel how sincere and tender Hölderlin's love for her was, or read what he says about Elise Lebret, his

1)2) An die Mutter, Bert. No. 47

3) To George, Oct. 29th. 1818.

Tübinger love, his "Herzenskönigin"<sup>1)</sup>, whereas Keats's letters to Fanny Brawne show a passionate love nourished through the perfection of the beauty of the world of sense. Keats loved Fanny for her beauty. In a letter of July 1819 he writes to her "Why may I not speak of your Beauty, since without that I could never have lov'd you? I cannot conceive any beginning of such love as I have for you but Beauty." And again "My dear love, I cannot believe there ever was, or ever could be anything to admire in me especially as far as sight goes- I cannot be admired, I am not a thing to be admired. You are, I love you, all I can bring to you is swooning admiration of your Beauty."<sup>2)</sup> Hölderlin's early affections came to nothing. This was due in part to the fact that after the first flush of enthusiastic love is over, the young protagonists get to know each~~o~~ other, perhaps too well; in part, mostly perhaps, to the fact that it was for Hölderlin very difficult to bring his inmost being into accord with others, and almost impossible for him to harmonise his vision of the ideal life with the demands of life destitute of this ideal. "So wie ich jetzt mich und unsere Zeit kenne, halte ich es für Notwendigkeit, auf solches Glück wer weiss wie lange Verzicht zu tun"<sup>3)</sup> he wrote when he heard of the betrothal of his former Herzenskönigin. He was convinced that

1) An Neuffer, Ibid, No. 56

2) To Fanny Brawne, 25th. July 1819

3) An die Mutter, Homburg, 4. Sept. 1799.

she could not have been happy with him and that the times were against him. But friendship seemed to have an even deeper root in Hölderlin than love. Of Ludwig Neuffer, who had Greek blood in his veins, with whom he made friends after his entrance into the "Stift", he spoke four years later as the one "der meine erste Freundschaft, und dessen Freundschaft mir lieber als meine erste Liebe war."<sup>1)</sup> Hölderlin always felt drawn to warmhearted people, but a stronger link than that was formed in friendship through a similarity of thought, and, in Neuffer's case, through the likeness of their poetical aspirations. For Keats the objects of his love, as human love, after his mother's death, were his brothers. The three seem to have been all-in-all to each other, so that he says "My love for my Brothers, from the early loss of our Parents, and even from earlier misfortunes, has grown into an affection 'passing the love of women'."<sup>2)</sup>

We have to acknowledge in Hölderlin's life an absence of sensuous love for women as a master passion, but the presence of a woman's understanding, indeed, that dominated his whole life thereafter. The supposition that the friendship which had sprung up between Susette Gontard and Friedrich Hölderlin, had developed into a passionate, sensuous love, lacks any real evidence. In his poems to Diotima there is no

1) An Neuffer, Ibid, No. 56

2) To Bailey, 10th. June, 1818.

expression of any ordinary violent passion, and Diotima in "Hyperion" is a "himmlisches Wesen". We must not forget that friendship was Hölderlin's deepest and greatest necessity from his early youth on. What he was looking for and found in Diotima was 'Mitfühlen' and 'Mitempfinden' of a noble woman's heart, "reich an eignem Geist", who was able to give him full spiritual companionship, "inniger Liebe treu", a restful love, and "eine ewige fröhliche heilige Freundschaft."<sup>1)</sup> Hölderlin saw his ideal of 'organisation' in the historical fact of Hellas. But life supplied him with yet another example of the 'organisation' he craved. He saw in Diotima the summation of what Nature can make human life in its perfection of harmonies of every kind. These two 'organisations', his ideal perfections, he knit together, setting the ideal which he had met in his own life's experience like a gem in the ideal of his imagination - Hellas :

"Nun, ich habe dich gefunden!  
 Schöner als ich ahmend sah,  
 Hoffend in den Feierstunden,  
 Holde Muse! bist du da;  
 Von den Himmlischen dort oben,  
 Wo hinauf die Freude flieht,  
 Wo, des Alterns Überhoben,  
 Immerheitre Schöne blüht,  
 Scheinst du mir herabgestiegen,  
 Götterbotin! Weiltest du  
 Nun in gütigem Genügen  
 Bei dem Säng' er immerzu." 2)

1) An Neuffer, 16. Febr. 1797.

2) Diotima, Dritte Fassung.

"Was ich dichte hat mehr Leben und Form.....und wenn das heilige Schicksal mir mein glücklich Leben erhält, so hoff ich künftig mehr zu tun als bisher." <sup>1)</sup> This reveals the effect of which he was conscious at that period. It makes him spiritually sure of himself. Hölderlin may rightly be called a "Kämpfer" and "Seher". He was a "Kämpfer" from his early days, but one who, as he himself puts it, lived without faith in his own ability. And indeed it was not until he had met Diotima that he "mounted up with wings as eagles", and that his word became power. Poetry took a new meaning for him. It had to deal with worldly affairs and had to be penetrating. And if necessary a "kraftvolle Rede", a lecture on "Zünfte, Stadtrechte, Kommun-rechte" <sup>2)</sup> was even more important and more effective than writing poems.

"Die Dichter, die nur spielen,  
Die wissen nicht, was sie und was die Leser sind,  
Der wahre Leser ist kein Kind,  
Er will sein männlich Herz viel lieber fühlen,  
als spielen" <sup>3)</sup>

had become his watchword. Up till then Hölderlin had written a great deal which was very much in line with the prevalent idealism. His themes had been ideal abstractions which had no definite starting place. Now he has a starting-point. His abstractions are replaced by actual representations of things

1) An Neuffer, 16. Febr. 1797

2) An Bruder, 12. Febr. 1798

3) Klopstock, quoted in An Bruder, 2. Nov. 1797.



seen.

There is no doubt that the immediate result of Keats's falling in love with Fanny Brawne and her reciprocation of his affection was a great outburst of poetry - a direct result was "The Eve of St. Agnes" and the "Ode to Fanny". After a short interval "La Belle Dame sans Merci", the great Odes "To a Nightingale" and "On a Grecian Urn" soon followed, and then the three lesser odes "To Psyche," "On Melancholy" and "On Indolence."

The seer Hölderlin seems to have known about his future fate. "Empedocles-fate" is foreseen in utterances like these "Aber die Götter, wenn sie schon das Opfer nicht bedürfen, fordern es doch der Ehre wegen." The prophetic gift that first expressed itself only mildly "Wenns sein muss, so zerbrechen wir unsere unglücklichen Saitenspiele und tun, was die Künstler träumten! Das ist mein Trost!" becomes harsh "Und wenn das Reich der Finsternis mit Gewalt einbrechen will, so werfen wir die Feder unter den Tisch und gehen in Gottes Namen dahin, wo die Not am grössten ist und wir am nötigsten sind" until it finally dominates his whole being "so wahrhaft vom Himmel herab verbunden, sieht man auch mit Augen eines Höhern und handelt.... und schafft, auch viel leichter und kräftiger.... und die noch ungeboren sind, die fühlen es künftig auch! "Künftig mehr zu tun", what could express better the high meaning of his Diotima-love for the poet? We find in "Menons Klage um Diotima", too,

that the poet is consciously pre-aware what fate overhangs him. The idea that the conflict between gods and men demands a sacrifice, that this sacrifice is love and that therefore love is doomed to perish is particularly the underlying idea of "Der Abschied" :

"Wohl! ich wusst es zuvor. Seit der gewurzelte  
Allentzweifende Hass Götter und Menschen trennt,  
Muss, mit Blut sie zu sühnen,  
Muss der Liebenden Herz vergehn."

There is a quotation for which I cannot find an author. It is, "Love and Death run through this world of ours like things apart, everywhere present, yet seeming to belong to another mode of existence." It seems almost prying to read Keats's letters to Fanny Brawne, but they are a real source of our knowledge of his inner life, and in one of them he says "I have two luxuries to brood over in my walks, your Loveliness and the hour of my death. O that I could have possession of them both in the same minute."<sup>1)</sup> Yet eventually he would write to her when at last it was forced upon him that he must go to Italy, when hope was extinct, and life was ebbing - "I wish you could invent some means to make me at all happy without you. Every hour I am more and more concentrated in you, everything else tastes like chaff in my mouth. I feel it almost impossible to go to Italy - the fact is I cannot leave you and shall never taste one minute's content until it pleases chance to let me live with

1) To F.B., July 25th. 1819.

you for good.....If I cannot live with you, I will live alone. "1

This is the paradox propounded in the Ode on Melancholy. The thought of love and the thought of death are inextricably interwoven -

"She dwells with Beauty - Beauty that must die,  
And Joy, whose hand is ever at his lips  
Bidding farewell."

If we take the first book of Endymion as embodying much of Keats's expression of his personal attitude to life, we find that he says that mankind can know no higher good than Beauty of Love. This is the crown of life :

"All its more ponderous and bulky worth  
Is friendship, whence there ever issues forth  
A steady splendour: but at the tip-top  
There hangs by unseen film, an orb'd drop  
Of Light, and that is love."

Love was for Keats "creative of essential Beauty." 2)

Hölderlin derives from his perception of what the love which exists between Diotima and himself means, when reviewed as a potential love between every man and woman, the view that all such loves together would make up the life of a nation, and his dream would be fulfilled:

"Wachs und werde zum Wald! eine beseeltere,  
Vollentblühende Welt! Sprache der Liebenden  
Sei die Sprache des Landes,  
Ihre Seele der Laut des Volks! " 3)

1) To Fanny, August 1820.

2) To Baily, Nov. 22nd. 1817.

3) Die Liebe.

Hölderlin sees in Love the fulfilment of his spiritual quest; love led him to communion with the spirit of essential beauty. To Hölderlin Diotima was the object through which he satisfied his sense of beauty. He writes to Neuffer "Mein Schönheitssinn ist nun vor Störung sicher. Er orientiert sich ewig an diesem Madonnenkopfe."<sup>1)</sup> Of him we may say that it was Love which discovered Beauty, of Keats we may say it was Beauty which called forth Love. In the second book of Endymion Keats begins with what seems a straightforward statement of his point of view,

"O sovereign power of love!"

What love is this? It is the supreme mystic fact of the universe, the transforming magical power of the love of man for woman in its fulfilment spiritual and physical.

Hölderlin's experience of the power of love compels him to a high degree of reverence for love and all its manifestations through lovers :

"Wenn ihr Freunde vergesst, wenn ihr den Künstler  
höhnst,  
Und den tieferen Geist klein und gemein versteht,  
Gott vergibt es, doch stört nur  
Nie den Frieden der Liebenden." 2)

Diotima appears in Hölderlin's poems as the source of rapture. Such enthusiasm is the thought which runs through Keats'Ode to Fanny :

1) An Neuffer, 16. Feb. 1797,

2) Das Unverzeihliche

" Ah! dearest love, sweet home of all my fears,  
 And hopes, and joys, and panting miseries, -  
 To-night, if I may guess, thy beauty wears  
 A smile of such delight,  
 As brilliant and as bright,  
 As when with ravished, aching, vassal eyes,  
 Lost in soft amaze,  
 I gaze, I gaze!

.....  
 Must not a woman be  
 A feather on the sea,  
 Sway'd to and fro by every wind and tide?  
 Of as uncertain speed  
 As blow-ball from the mead?  
 I know it - and to know it is despair  
 To one who loves you as I love, sweet Fanny! "

There is no trace of depth of contemplation; even the commonplace of jealousy creeps in "Then, loveliest! keep me free, / From torturing jealousy." If we compare the following passage from "An Diotima" with the one just quoted we see at once the difference :

"Schönes Leben! du lebst, wie die zarten Blüten im Winter,  
 In der gealterten Welt lebst du verschlossen allein.  
 Liebend strebst du hinaus, dich zu sonnen, am Licht  
 des Frühlings  
 Zu erwärmen, an ihm suchst du die Jugend der Welt.  
 Deine Sonne, die schönere Zeit ist untergegangen,  
 Und in frostiger Nacht zanken Orkane sich nur."

The mood is elegiac. The lover Hölderlin is speaking here as the son of his time who sees the perfection of his beloved in contrast to the chaos of the times they both lived in. The fact is, as Middleton Murry points out, "Keats insists

more firmly than Plato on the sensuous reality of love; he regards the self-surrender in the ecstasy of physical love as the directest road to communion with - with what? Beauty, Truth, Oneness - the goal of human effort."

Hölderlin had been prepared for his meeting with Diotima by Plato, but it is quite clear that the character of his love had not been determined by the influence of the Platonic theories. In this regard, as in practically everything else with Hölderlin, he transcended his personal experience by bringing to bear upon it universal elements from the whole of life, by imaging in Diotima both the real and the ideal, and by bringing love into the sphere of his philosophy as a cosmic force.

In the Lines to Fanny, Keats's rapturous outburst of the Ode to Fanny suffers a revulsion of feeling which only at the end becomes rapturous again. Such changes from happy passages to the expression of unhappiness can also be traced in the Diotima poems. These changing emotions with Hölderlin are largely the result of the unhappy issue of his love, as was the case with Keats. But the marked difference is that with Keats the grief was primarily a personal one, resulting from personal doubts about the woman he loved, whereas with Hölderlin it is largely an agony caused by the absence of the life for which Diotima stood in his imagination. His love for her

and for the Greeks were one and the same; it was in the Greeks that he loved her. Therefore in her century and against her surroundings she could not be otherwise than strange, as one born out of time, ~~and~~ who in this era of upheaval and dearth of spirituality was out of place. Besides the living assurance that the Greek life which he so much admired and loved was possible was wrapped up with her life and reality. Thus his union with Diotima was his stronghold to which he clung amid the chaos of his age. Hölderlin's grief naturally shook him to his inmost. In the earlier Diotima poems his grief arose mainly because the age in which she stood was deficient of types like her. In "Menons Klagen um Diotima" it is the poet's personal loss which he bewails :

"Nicht die Wärme des Lichts und nicht die Kühle der  
Nacht hilft,  
Und in Wogen des Stroms taucht es die Wunden umsonst.  
Und wie ihm vergebens die Erd ihr fröhliches Halbkraut  
Reicht, und das gärende Blut keiner der Zephire stillt,  
So, ihr Lieben! auch mir, so will es scheinen, und niemand  
Kann von der Stirne mir nehmen den traurigen Traum? "

It is significant that for Hölderlin as well as for Keats from this aspect even Nature could not console them :

".....ihr Lebenden all, einst nahe dem Herzen,  
Einst wahrhaftiger, einst heller und schöner gesehn!  
.....Sie haben mein Auge mir genommen,  
mein Herz hab' ich verloren mit ihr.  
Darum irr ich umher, und wohl, wie die Schatten, so  
muss ich  
Leben, und sinnlos dünkt lange das übrige mir." 1)

1) Elegie.

And Keats :

"Where shall I learn to get my peace again?  
 To banish thoughts of that most hateful land,  
 Dungeoner of my friends, that wicked strand  
 Where they were wreck'd and live a wrecked life;  
 That monstrous region, whose dull rivers pour,  
 Ever from their sordid urns unto the shore,  
 Unown'd of any weedy-haired gods;  
 Whose winds, all zephyrless, hold scourging rods,  
 Ic'd in the great lakes, to afflict mankind;  
 Whose rank-grown forests, frosted, black, and blind,  
 Would fright a Dryad; whose harsh herbag'd meads  
 Make lean and lank the starv'd ox while he feeds;  
 There bad flowers have no scent, birds no sweet song,  
 And great unerring Nature once seems wrong." 1)

It is typical of both poets that they finally turn from sorrow to hope in their poems. For Keats this hope was a return to his sensuous raptures, his belief in Beauty; for Hölderlin it was the return to his belief in life.

Keats asks "What can I do to drive away remembrance from my eyes?" Hölderlin clings to the remembrance of Diotima as the symbol of hope for the world. The figure of Diotima is outside of time :

"Ja, noch ist sie es ganz! noch schwebt vom Haupte zur  
 Sohle,  
 Stillherwandelnd, wie sonst, mir die Athenerin vor." 2)

The Diotima of Hölderlin's experience is clearly related to

1) Lines to Fanny.  
 2) Menons Klagen.



the ideal of classical beauty which Winckelmann was the first to propound and which was later gradually developed until it became one of the main ideas held by Goethe and Schiller. This ideal holds that between the appearance of things and what they actually are there is harmony, just as in Diotima her goodness is reflected in her beauty. Hölderlin came close to Goethe and Schiller, but he differs from them and has an individual standpoint for two reasons: his political intention and his conception that the heroic is closely associated with the ideal of beauty. From Greek art Goethe had deduced a principle on which to model his own art, without reference to the subject he selected and with the view to the expression of his own personality. Hölderlin seldom views the matter solely from the point of view of art alone or of personal culture, but takes a broader view and includes in his vision the culture of a people-state.

The mystical affinity between Diotima and Hölderlin united them beyond severance. Their Oneness in love is a oneness in suffering, and a oneness in work - a oneness related to the ideal which they both aimed at, which they loved and for which they suffer :

".....es wandelt das Bild  
 Meiner Heldin mit mir, wo ich duld und bilde, mit Liebe  
 Bis in den Tod; denn dies lernt ich und hab ich von ihr.  
 Lass uns leben, o du, mit der ich leide, mit der ich  
 Innig und gläubig und treu ringe nach schönerer Zeit."1)

1) An Diotima (Götter wandelnden einst).

Keats's female characters give the impression of superficiality. Several reasons may be adduced for this. Primarily Keats's art belongs to the pictorial and objective; its qualities depend on the perception, and other traits are added to a pictorial basis. Now in Keats's time we find no satisfactory pictorial ideal of woman. He does not seem to have understood the Greek conception of the ideal woman, and the Renaissance ideal was equally ungrasped by him. The works of West and Canova had merely a thin veneer of conventional classicism, which was, in fact, rubbed bare. So the rising generation of artists, among whom we can number the young Keats, finding "nothing to be intense upon", turned their gaze to nature. The result was the "domestic-belle" type of woman, based on English types, which held sway for about twenty-five years from 1818 onwards. The attempt to make it more ideal and more abstract resulted only in its becoming more empty. Thus it was inevitable that women who transcended this 'banal' ideal can be found only in the works of portrait-painters, like Lawrence, because their art was concerned not with types but with the individual expression of subjective qualities. So they remain as possible objects of admiration even yet. It is clear that Keats had a dilemma which he could solve neither by outward circumstances nor by means of his natural disposition. We know that the social status of his

parents in all probability precluded him from coming into touch with the finest types of women, and he expresses in his letters that he was not at ease in the company of women. The fact that he was not at ease in their company and explains this as due to their "not answering to his preconception of them" may be explained as arising because he was deliberately seeking his ideal among them and failing to find it.

"I must absolutely get over this - but how? The only way is to find the root of evil and so cure it 'with backward mutters of dissevering Power'. - That is a difficult thing; for an obstinate Prejudice can seldom be produced but from a Gordian complication of feelings, which must take time to unravel<sup>1)</sup> and care to keep unravelled." - "A Gordian complication" - could Freud have bettered this description of a 'complex' in one word? Nor does he stop at diagnosing his own trouble. A hundred years before the New Psychology he can discern the treatment, its difficulties and the time a cure would take. We can take for clear discernment what Keats tells us about himself, so we are quite right in accepting the fact that apparently he had a "woman complex". The pity is that we do not really know the origin of it. His conception of women certainly, as shown in his poems, shows that he fails to find

1) No. LXII, Colvin Ed. Letters.

a foundation for dignified passion. He seems to have had the idea that applying common expressions to an ideal would serve to spiritualise it. The fact that Keats fails to express satisfactorily human passion may be traced back, perhaps, to his deep devotion to natural beauty. The only passion which he finds himself able to express is the imaginative love of nature. To him human love appears as partaking of the nature of bliss, and the happiness of his lover is derived from the fact that he feels himself admitted to knowledge of and communion with natural beauty in new forms. This we can see clearly, almost with the effect of a revelation in the Ode on Melancholy

"But when the melancholy fit shall fall  
 Sudden from heaven like a weeping cloud,  
 That fosters the droop-headed flowers all,  
 And hides the green hill in an April shroud;  
 Then glut thy sorrow on a morning rose,  
 Or on the rainbow of the salt sand-wave,  
 Or on the wealth of globed peonies;  
 Or if thy mistress some rich anger shows,  
 Emprison her soft hand, and let her rave,  
 And feed deep, deep upon her peerless eyes."

Here we find that the sensitive man may yield to melancholy because his mistress is angry. Roses, peonies and rainbows are classed with the lady's anger as beautiful phenomena, and no consideration is given to the cause of the anger, what it means and what its effect is likely to be.

So, too, in Lamia, -

"He took delight  
Luxurious in her sorrows, soft and new",

and "Fine was the unmitigated fury".

How different with Hölderlin! ✕

"Sie, die inniger Liebe treu und dem göttlichen Geiste  
Hoffend und duldend und still über die Trübsal gesiegt." 1)

There is no trace of artistic admiration, viewing coldly from without, but a lover's entire devotion identifying itself with the object of his love - his ideal.

Even though the type of the snake-woman in Lamia may have been suggested by the original of the story, Lycius' passion might have been of a higher type. The passion as shown in their meeting reveals nothing but an association for mutual pleasure which ends in <sup>a</sup>stia and revulsion:

"But too short was their bliss  
To breed distrust and hate, that make the soft voice hiss."

In the so-called "Last Sonnet" we are compelled to notice the great contrast between the heroic profundity with which it begins

" Bright star, would I were steadfast as thou art,  
Not in lone splendour hung aloft the night,  
And watching with eternal lids apart,  
Like Nature's patient sleepless eremite,  
The moving waters at their priestlike task  
Of pure ablution round earth's human shores,"

1) An Diotima (Götter wandelten einst).

and the much less noble lines of its close:

"Pillowed upon my fair love's ripening breast,  
To feel for ever its soft fall and swell,  
Awake for ever in a sweet unrest,  
Still, still to hear her tender-taken breath,  
And so live ever, or else swoon to death.

How different is the passage of Hölderlin that occurs to one:

"Schöner als ich ahmend sah,  
In der Liebe Feierstunden-  
Hohe, Gute! bist du da.  
O, der armen Phantasien!  
Dieses Eine bildest nur  
Du in ewgen Harmonien,  
Frohvollendete Natur!" 1)

In *Isabella* and the *Eve of St. Agnes* the passion is of a conventional type. His ideal is much better represented by the more homely type of woman, perhaps based on his sister-in-law Georgiana Keats, who was probably the model from which he drew *Peona*. She is a woman of simpler tastes who had no hankering after the divine moon-goddess. Such a one, too, was his own sister Fanny towards whom Keats consistently manifested every trait of true brotherliness, and natural commonsense sympathy, as is evinced by the references in his letters. This simple nature came to be valued more and more by him till in the second *Hyperion* he

1) An Diotima, zw. Fass.

says

"They seek no wonder but the human face  
No music but a happy-noted voice."

Both poets, we have seen had a natural inclination towards Philosophy, but Hölderlin was really and truly a philosopher by study and conscious training. His poetry is a poetically-conceived representation of philosophical ideas, but not in any narrow sense didactic. It is the revelation of a comprehensive emotional life, and not the expression of the result of detached wisdom. In Philosophy he built mainly on Kant and Fichte. The following passages give some idea as to how conscientiously and deeply both poets pursued their philosophical aims; Hölderlin by means of his studies, Keats through his poetic development. "Der Geist des Mannes war noch ferne von mir. Das ganze war mir fremd, wie irgendeinem. Aber jeden Abend hatt' ich neue Schwierigkeiten überwunden! Das gab mir ein Bewusstsein einer Freiheit, und das Bewusstsein unserer Freiheit, unserer Tätigkeit, <sup>sie/</sup> woran sich auch Äussere, ist recht tief verwandt mit dem Gefühl der höheren göttlichen Freiheit, das zugleich das Gefühl des Höchsten, des Vollkommenen ist" <sup>1)</sup>, Hölderlin wrote to his brother in 1797 after having already said three years before "Meine einzige Lektüre aber ist Kant für jetzt. Immer mehr enthüllt sich mir dieser herrliche Geist." <sup>2)</sup> The parallel stage in Keats's development

1) An den Bruder, Frankfurt, 2. Nov. 1797

2) An den Bruder, Waltershausen, 21. Mai 1794.



is when we find him writing

" I am not wealthy in the dower  
Of spanning wisdom.....  
I do not know  
The shiftings of the mighty winds that blow  
Hither and thither all the changing thoughts  
Of man.....  
No great ministering reason sorts  
Out the dark mysteries of human souls  
To clear conceiving..." 1)

In the lines On seeing a Lock of Milton's Hair Keats vows  
'to leave to an aftertime' some record in poetry of the  
life and work of Milton :

"But vain is now the burning and the strife,  
Pangs are in vain, until I grow high-rife  
With old philosophy,  
And mad with glimpses of futurity."

Here we perceive that the poet admits he is not equipped yet  
as a philosopher. Milton as a philosopher impressed Keats who  
in the lines quoted above intimated his ambition to write  
philosophic poetry. "Milton as a philosopher", he says in one  
of his letters, "had, sure, as great powers as Wordsworth".  
Both Keats and Hölderlin were no mere plagiarists from the  
philosophers of their time, however. Keats was a follower  
of Voltaire; he was no formal philosopher. "I must once for  
all tell you," he says in a letter to Bailey "that I have not  
one idea of the truth of any of my speculations. I shall never  
be a reasoner because I care not to be in the right, when

1) Sleep and Poetry.

retired from bickering, and in a proper philosophical temper."

Hölderlin was a man of real philosophical insight and originality, who from the beginning gave no mechanical interpretation of life and Nature, but one that was spiritual. The educative progress of Keats pursued a different course. If we look again at the lines quoted before in which he says he has no "spanning wisdom", we see that he admits that he is aiming at the power of generalisation. For him this power may be acquired first by seizing every opportunity to engrave on the tablets of the mind "all that is for our human senses fitted." When that has been done, the consequent development of power enables him to seize "the events of this wide world"

"Like a strong giant and his spirit tease  
Till at its shoulders it should proudly see  
Wings to find out an immortality."

Having attained this goal, Keats then shows us his mind in perspective, as it were, past, present and future. Past, "not wealthy in the dower of spanning wisdom", no power to grasp general principles. Then present, no feeling for the various historical motives that influence mankind's great changes. From this would be derived the power to find an answer to the enigma of each individual life, but the poet admits he had not got it until his spirit found its wings fitted to "find out an immortality", the state of his mind to be.

Amongst Hölderlin's essays on philosophical topics and on aesthetics are some explicitly logical and metaphysical treatises. He had the sense of the Infinite in the Finite, the Absolute in the Relative. Though Hölderlin's philosophy was more than an effort to reduce everything by analysis to its component elements, yet that was the way in which his philosophical method worked. He proceeded in an analytic way, from the greater to the less. Keats who speaks of the "innumerable compositions and decompositions which take place between the intellect and its material before it arrives at that trembling delicate and snail-born perception of beauty" <sup>1)</sup> proceeded by an accumulation of items to build up a whole. Neither took the components as actual realities nor was content to treat everything as a mere aggregate or mechanical resultant. Keats's intention was, as we have seen, to give himself up to indulgence in sensuous delight, which excludes a psychological interest in humanity. Keats, then, not having this knowledge of the human mind - a knowledge which is necessary even for the expression of "unpsychological delight" - did not realise at that time that the lack of psychological analysis, from which the knowledge of the mind arises, would always prevent the pleasure from being passed on, and force it

<sup>1)</sup> Colvill, Letters, p. 94.

to remain defective in expression. Keats was alive to this defect, as he says in his Epistle to Cowden Clarke "My thoughts are never free and clear". Hölderlin who started on a spiritual basis, by training and intuition had sufficient knowledge of psychology not to shrink from undertaking the necessary analysis, and was not held back from his aim. He regarded philosophy, poetry and religion as "die Priesterinnen der Natur"<sup>1)</sup>. He thought of Philosophy as something that started with the fundamental conception that everything was a unity, an organic whole, and endeavoured, starting from the unity of experience as a whole, to bring the different interests of the human spirit into a unity that mirrored the "Totalgefühl" of the whole. Hölderlin pursued his own ideal of a comprehensive system of thought really adequate to man's need, aiming, like Hegel and Schelling, at the "Totalität des Geistes". The totality of consciousness after which he is groping is one capable of including both nature and man, of perceiving being and of reverencing it. The lesser is comprised in the greater; man's culture is perceived in its relationship to nature; human life embraces culture, nature includes human life and that in turn is an integral part of the Cosmos. Hölderlin and Keats were intensely

1) An den Bruder, Hombg. 4. Juni 1799.

concerned about culture, because they had a vision of perfection and the zeal to see it realised. Both poets deal with the problem of culture, of the ideal, in their works of the same name "Hyperion". Empedokles also treats the problem of culture with, as in Hölderlin's Hyperion, nature as the foundation of everything. If nature is one inspiration for our poets, their vision of perfection is another. Keats's Ode on a Grecian Urn has been interpreted as the poet's declaration of the supremacy of Art over Nature. To come nearer to a solution, let us compare it with the Ode on Melancholy. Melancholy takes up and sustains without faltering, almost with defiance, the attitude that the senses are supreme, ready to die for this position and in it. It

"dwells with Beauty, Beauty that must die."

It is a fact, however, that this same world of beauty and human feeling is presented by the Grecian Urn, but this time it is a world which art has fixed motionless. Thus it is clear that this very different treatment of the same world must have resulted from a mood in the poet which turned sharply away from the position declared in the Ode on Melancholy.

"She cannot fade, though thou hast not thy bliss,  
For ever wilt thou love, and she be fair"

The lover whom the Urn represents loves, not a beauty that must

perish, but one that will last. The melodies which the poet sings are meant to appeal not to the ear of sense but to the spirit of man. The theme is beauty fixed for ever by the power of art. Art seizes and renders eternal forms which in life are transient and not lasting. Thus art appeals rather to the spirit than to the senses. So the weight of the first stanza seems to lie in the assertion that art is a higher power than nature. Yet to minds weighed down with the thought of human woe

"All breathing human passion far above  
That leaves a heart high-sorrowful and cloyed,  
A burning forehead, and a parching tongue"

comes the comforting murmur from the vase that beauty is an alleviation of human misery. And that really seems to be the message, the thought evolving at the end of the poem. There is no easy transition of thought to prepare us for this conclusion; up to now our attention has been directed upon the fact that the Urn carries us past sense into thought. Now the figures of the Urn are frozen into a "cold pastoral" and partake of the nature of the immutable, of everything which lasts and endures and is not subject to the changes of growth and decay. Compared with the warm world of human life which is known to the lover of beauty, have these figures of the imagination any reality at all? The poet challenges the appeal of ideal art as opposed to art interwoven with nature, springing from the living world about him. Keats then smooths away the

doubt by the declaration that the only real is the beautiful and there is no beauty but in the real. Hölderlin sees nature and art brought to perfection not by different but by the same laws. Keats begins his Ode

"Thou still unravish'd bride of quietness!  
Thou foster-child of Silence and slow Time"

Is this not an impression produced by nature? The result of a moment when the poet had seen the

"...happy, happy boughs! that cannot shed  
Your leaves, nor never bid the Spring adieu" :

"the waving of the mountain pine." Whatever its apparent meaning, we may take this as an indication how the two ideals of perfection of nature and perfection of art were in Keats's mind regarded as depending upon one another. This idea, which in Hölderlin, as I said, was a definite conception, mirrors itself in "Der Archipelagus". It describes how the Athenian when he came to build Athens created the statues of the gods:

"Aber lebend, wie er, und froh und herrlich entquillt es  
Seinen Händen, und leicht, wie der Sonne, gedeiht das  
Geschäft ihm."

In Hölderlin no theme, even national beliefs, the coming of a new order or his heroes is ever separated from Nature. He sees the problem of culture as the problem of nature, as all problems for Hölderlin are within nature. Problems arising out of the relation of nature and culture were at his time very much the concern of thinkers, and found expression in the works of Kant and Fichte. Hölderlin has not left us a complete logical

statement of his philosophic beliefs in his essays, but his main ideas, put together and seen against the background of his works show us that he really did have a complete and comprehensive conception of philosophy. It is that comprehensiveness, that grasp of the whole, that always distinguishes Hölderlin.

When Keats is ready to pass on to others the beauty with which he has saturated himself, he is unable to transmit the adequate maturity of sensation, feeling and even of presentation, because he fails to discriminate between the processes of creation and of production. Self-analysis had to bring the knowledge of the mind, and from it could develop the necessary philosophical insight. Keats progresses from thought to feeling in his contemplation of the Grecian Urn. The nightingale's song carries him away from mind and reason to emotion. In Lamia he makes Philosophy destroy<sup>y</sup> emotion - sensuous beauty -, and of necessity also destroy the lover of sensuous beauty.

"Do not all charms fly  
At the mere touch of cold philosophy?"

he exclaims in Lamia. What called forth this exclamation? The description of Lamia's wedding feast and the uninvited intrusion of ~~old~~ Apollonius will serve as an illustration : The guests came. They wondered and talked; the wine circulated, and their gossiping would have ended well enough, had not Apollonius come with them. He took his place opposite the lovers and



" Fixed his eye, without a twinkle or stir,  
Full on the alarmed beauty of the bride,  
Brow-beating her fair form, and troubling her  
sweet pride "

Lycius, feeling her hand tremble and grow alternately hot and cold, could not understand her agitation, nor the conduct of his old tutor. He looked into her eyes but they had lost their shine; he spoke to her, but no answer <sup>came</sup> from her. Gradually the music ceased, the flowers faded away, and

"a deadly silence step by step increased,  
Until it seemed a horrid presence there,  
And not a man but felt the terror in his  
hair."

The bridegroom at last cried out her name; but it was only echoed back to him by the room. Lamia did not move; her face showed a deadly white. In agony and rage he called to the philosopher to take off his eyes. Apollonius asked him whether his old guide and tutor ought to see him made the prey of a serpent. When he repeated the word "serpent" Lamia vanished with a horrible scream. Lycius died upon the same night, and was swathed for the funeral in his wedding garment.

Here Keats chooses for his poetic theme a story far removed from the commonplace, and makes its moral no less unusual. For the serpent, it would appear, there must be fair play, and so the philosopher must be shown as vindictive - a deliberately disturbing influence. Lamia could be changed

into a variety of painful shapes, yet at the heart of her there is a human soul. So she must have her human joys even though to the cold eye of a philosopher she is of no value, not being a provable truth. This part of the poet's theme sets forth well the deeper philosophic truth of poetry. But we may regret that Keats has seemed to acquiesce in the common view which supposes that sophistry must always be the stronger, and that the modern scientific knowledge of physics and their explanation of the material world has struck a mortal blow at poetry. Here Keats panders to a "learned vulgarism". Poetry is not dependent for its existence on such points of view. It will always be written so long as there are on this earth events and human passions and love, and the poet's philosophy which penetrates more deeply into the heart of things - so long, in fact, as "Sunt lacrimae rerum, mentem et mortalia tangunt". For so long will the first causes of things remain a mystery and imagination will strive to find them out. In this respect Hölderlin's poetry fulfils our demands. His philosophy partakes of this transcendental nature. That he might have known the physical causes of the rain-bow would not prevent him from going deeper and seeking to find the first cause of these causes. He knows that truths which present themselves to the senses are not, after all, necessarily truths to the imagination. For there is mystery enough in this world to demand the creation of the

infinite when the philosopher who relies on matter-of-fact has found his supply of data finite. Even if imagination were forbidden by philosophy to reach out to new creations, she could turn back to the old world and find in its fertile harvest an inexhaustible store. The enjoyment of poetry does not depend upon whether we believe its tenets, but in the power one possesses of imagination.

This attitude towards philosophy as illustrated in *Lamia* we cannot take as final in Keats, though this has been done. "Cold" philosophy was not a doctrine for such a lover of beauty; that is, philosophy of cold reason. Keats was a crusader against the long domination of Reason in poetry

"Is there so small a range  
In the present strength of manhood, that the high  
Imagination cannot freely fly  
As she was wont of old?" 1)

is his vision of the poetry as it was then in the land where it had chosen to flourish.

"Who could paragon  
The fervid choir that lifted up a noise  
Of harmony, to where it aye will poise  
Its mighty self of convoluting sound,  
Huge as a planet, and like that roll round,  
Eternally around a dizzy void." 2)

The planet, the great English poetry of the past, is rolling round to his denunciation of the age of Reason. After the

well known invective against the Augustan school, follows the prophecy of the coming revival, and a definition of the true object of poetry

"....that it should be a friend  
To soothe the cares, and lift the thoughts of man."

Keats's rejection of "cold philosophy" has its origin in his conviction that poetry begins in the free surrender of the poet to the impressions of the senses, and in abandoning the language of Reason. The Lyrical Ballads are a reassertion in poetry of the validity of the life of the senses. If a man is to be a poet he must put his trust in the senses, and the language he speaks must be the language of the senses and not the language bound by the conventions of Reason. So it is an integral part of any theory of knowledge that it comprises the theory of poetic diction, even when this theory declares that there is no such thing as poetic diction. The chief emphasis of this theory of knowledge is laid on the fact that for the poet the only knowledge worth having is derived from the impressions of the senses. There is little doubt that Keats got all this, and probably more, from Coleridge. For by the time Coleridge had written *Biographia Literaria* he had progressed a considerable distance beyond the simple theories of the time when the Lyrical Ballads were written, and this progress mostly tended to mystify himself and other people. Keats, however,

summarises all he said in the bare comprehensive "poetical sensation", and it is more than probable that he was one of those so mystified by it that he hardly understood it. But so far as the pure sensationalism of the Lyrical Ballads goes he did understand what was necessary, so much so, that he thought of himself as a sole expositor left of that theory and that Coleridge was a renegade from it. Coleridge, however, is the most outstanding of the English poets in the matter of sense-impressions, except, of course, Keats himself, and it is true not only that he gives pure sense-impressions, but that he gives them most fully. Wordsworth's sense impressions are hardly more than those of sight and sound. But Keats and Coleridge alone of the Romanticists give us impressions derived from the use of all five senses actively used everywhere throughout their poetry. Coleridge is outstanding for the depth and richness of his sensuous impressions, and Keats, perhaps more than he knew himself, certainly more than the other romantic writers, was a close follower of this deep and rich sensuosity. The world which mattered to Keats, which he felt as 'real' is the world of human loves and lives, the material world which we know through the evidences of our senses and feelings, where imagination can have full sway without bounds or limitations, not the world of cold reasoning. And it is in the light of this previous discussion that we must understand Keats's own statement "O for a life of sensations rather than of thoughts."

Keats's Pan stands for romantic imagination, taking concrete shape in a myriad of varied objects, that very life itself of "sensations rather than thoughts. The god of whom the poet sings is brought by the power of an imagination bent on discovering the mysteries in things, into every sort of connection with nature-in-the-raw. But the long procession of imagery showing his power pervading all things reaches its highest point in the thought of Pan as the power which opens

"the mysterious doors  
Leading to universal knowledge."

He is

"still the unimaginable lodge  
For solitary thinkings, "

for those thinkings, the thinkings of poetry, of which it is the characteristic that they "dodge conception to the very bourne of heaven". Keats means that these thinkings allow no formulation of themselves by the logical reason - they get to heaven without it, they cheat it, they dodge logical conception, and "leave the naked brain."<sup>1)</sup>

Cold, intellectual abstraction is exactly one of the things Hölderlin protests against strongly when he finds other faculties of the mind which are just as important as reason, checked and suppressed by the dominance of cold abstract reasoning. Hölderlin, on the other hand, subscribed to

1) Cf. Garrod, Ibid, p. 81.

no theory of poetic diction but was content to express directly what he felt, and by the great directness and simplicity of his expression he achieved superlative beauty. His writing does not contain much of the characteristically languid luxuriating in melancholy in which the Romantics indulged. Melancholy there is, but it is the real thing - derived from genuine unhappiness. The progress of Hölderlin's poetic development is trace<sup>o</sup>able in the way in which he gradually became able to maintain an equipoise between the force and clearness of his vision and the flow of emotion aroused by his idealism and required to satisfy his religious needs. The work and language of his earlier period are determined by this latter component and have already begun to show the characteristics of a new and original poetic diction which goes beyond that of Goethe and Schiller. When it reaches its maturity it possesses the merit of compactness and solidity which was the mark of Hölderlin's work and his greatest contribution to German poetry. In this respect it is pervaded by the idea of poetry as cult

"Heilige Gefässe sind die Dichter,  
 Worin der Wein des Lebens, der Geist  
 Der Helden sich aufbewahrt.  
 Aber der Geist dieses Jünglings,  
 Der schnelle, müsst er es nicht zersprengen,  
 Wo es ihn fassen wollte, das Gefäss? " 1)

1) Buonaparte.

The tumultuous condition of emotion, which we have noticed in earlier chapters, is gone. The poem is marked by a presentation of Napoleon which is sharp and impersonally exact. The directness and simplicity of Hölderlin's language are well exemplified in the classical dignity of

"Wo bist du? wenig lebt ich. Doch athmet kalt  
Mein Abend schon. Und stille, den Schatten gleich  
Bin ich schon hier; und schon gesanglos  
Schlummert das schauernde Herz im Busen."

Keats too passed on his lyric message in a language peculiarly his own. To begin with he used almost necessarily the stock phrases and words of the Romantic school, but after he had passed through this imitative phase his artistic maturity finds him able to make word and phrase convey his meaning without violence or extravagance. His words are used with the assurance of a personality. Passages from *Endymion* and *Lamia* will briefly show the contrast:

"Nor do we merely feel these essences  
For one short hour; no, even as the trees  
That whisper round a temple become soon  
Dear as the temple's self, so does the moon,  
The passion poesy, glories infinite  
Haunt us till they become a cheering light  
Unto our souls, "

Here Keats's sensations are unconnected, and are expressed in an unconnected, impressionist style.



"Fair Hermes! crown'd with feathers, fluttering light,  
 I had a splendid dream of thee last night:  
 I saw thee sitting on a throne of gold  
 Among the Gods, upon Olympus old,  
 The only sad one; for thou didst not hear  
 The soft, lute-fingered Muses chanting clear,"

In the last place he produces, as it were, a firmly defined intellectual mould into which he pours the fluid sensations and emotions. For both poets a word is never merely a conventional symbol, but a thing with life of its own, full of meaning, to be loved for its meaning, and, for Keats, far more to be loved for its sensuous sound, for itself. Keats is, however, very much the poet of romantic emotion. In the Ode on Melancholy, for instance, there is deeper melancholy than Melancholy itself, and at the same time an imaginative relief. The mood of oppression in Hölderlin's work is the mood which in his maturer works is always in association with the ideal. What most distressed Hölderlin in regard to poetic and philosophic language was that the latter was symptomatic of the breach between nature and intellect. Yet the irony is he was bound to express his views in this abstract language if he wanted to express them philosophically at all. His view of philosophy was a very serious one, but it is clear from his letters that he was much more himself and felt more at home when he was using not the cold language of philosophical abstractions but the warm emotional language of concrete impression.

To go back to Keats. The philosopher must give him his credit. Keats strove to know himself according to his ideal of poetry "great and unobtrusive, a thing which enters into one's soul and does not startle or amaze it with itself but with its object." It would have been contrary to this ideal to "systematize" his struggles. But every page of his letters gives witness to the growth of his mind, his growing power of self-analysis, and even rarer power of self-criticism. "My greatest elevations of soul leave me every time more humbled"<sup>1)</sup>, he says. He defines himself as "a man whose love of Beauty in the abstract makes him a severe critic on his own works." This critical observation we feel throughout the progress of his art. It became his guide through life.

" O folly! What is Love? and where is it?  
 And for that poor Ambition! it springs  
 From a man's little heart's short fever-fit;  
 For Poesy! - no, - she has not a joy, -  
 At least for me, - so sweet as drowsy noons,  
 And evenings steep'd in honied indolence." 2)

Beauty, Fame, Verse; these are the passions which ruled his life. In the sonnet "Why did I laugh to-night", the poet's inward struggle to detach himself from those passions finds its expression :

" Verse, Fame, and Beauty are intense indeed,  
 But death intenser - Death is Life's high meed."

In a jubilant acceptance of Death, the passions - manifestations

1) Letters, Oct. 29th., 1818.

2) Ode an Indolence.

of mortality - melted into evanescence. Philosophy is an attempt to comprehend the mystery of human life, "to question Heaven Hell and Heart - in vain", as Keats says. For Keats that was what it meant, nothing of abstract metaphysical speculation. He says

"It is a flaw  
Of happiness, to see beyond our borne

and further on

"'Tis ignorance that makes a barren waste  
Of all beyond itself."

Though employing their individual methods, Keats and Hölderlin ultimately arrive at the same conception, complete unity of beauty with truth and with life for Hölderlin, and Beauty is Truth, Truth Beauty, for Keats, in answer to their questions on the meaning of human life, the essential of the beautiful. This is what Hölderlin is seeking: the full unity of the 'ordering faculty' and the life which including spirit and nature is sensuous and regulated by instinct. In the poet's nature is to be found the possible realisation of this unity, for the senses themselves in the poet are striving towards order and form; on the other hand the poet's mind needs the bodily life of the senses, in a word, it needs nature. This union results in poetry itself; and this union is what he bases his "vollendete Menschennatur" upon. In the Greek hero this is the perfection

which he saw and represented by his Empedocles. Under its image he images the culture which he wishes to bring to his people, the ideal culture of his conception. His Empedocles fragments are his strivings to set forth these philosophical ideas as embodied in a poet-prophet, and in the picture of a community passing over from one set of religious ideas, or ideals, to another. In turn this reflects himself and the demands he made on the times in which he lived.

Keats's philosophy may be summed up in his lines

"Beauty is Truth, Truth Beauty, that is all  
Ye know on Earth and all ye need to know."

"That is all ye know on Earth",- if we come to consider it in cold blood, is not true at all. For we do know a great deal more; so it is not "all we know"; and there are some of us of whom it may be said that whatever else we do know, that is one thing which we do not. Nevertheless we cannot mistake Keats's meaning. If we know that "Beauty is Truth, Truth Beauty", we have encompassed the attainment of the utmost point of human knowledge. "But one thing is needful", and we have managed to attain to "That better part."- "I never feel certain of any truth but from a clear perception of its beauty". These words imply 'a change of temper' to which Keats was always subject. From philosophic meditation he had to return to the inspiration of the senses.

Truth he wished to get at by means of imagination. Imagination for Keats was the greatest human faculty and he was for ever exercising it. It was intuition, a seeing through and into reality. Imagination entered into communion with the objects all around,

"The charioteer with wondrous gesture talks  
To the trees and mountains....."

He himself says, "I have loved the principle of beauty in all things", - a principle which he maintains in his sensitiveness to the beauty of natural objects, the beauty of a story, the beauty of phrase and language, and eventually to the beauty of human love. He is continually preoccupied with the problem of Truth. This aspect of Keats is well illustrated in *Endymion* where it becomes increasingly clear that the poet is bent on searching for truth amongst the mysteries of that other world through which much of the story takes him. Book I is a fitting illustration of how he deals with natural beauty. But the other three books, dealing as they do with the mystery of Earth, the secrets of Death and spiritual freedom and satisfaction have running through them a strong note of quest. The first idea needs little further comment. The last three books are concerned with mental states, of which the poet tells us he has had no experience, and in dealing with which we must regard him not so much as a seer and prophet as one who painfully and slowly gropes

after truth. The mysteries of Earth comprise a region bereft of the moon, that is, unlovely. But even here can be found Diana's cold shrine and bowers of immortal beauty. At length the mysteries are illuminated by love, and Endymion comes all unexpectedly into communion with the moongoddess herself. After this incident "the blank amazements amaze no more." Then comes the meeting with Alpheus and Arethusa. Why Keats chose this legend is quite obvious. Like Endymion these two lovers left the earth above and are pursuing the course of their love beneath the earth. In due course, like Endymion himself, they pass through the sea, and arrive once more in the upper air.

There is a similar fitness in the choice of the story of Glaucus and Scylla. From a world of natural beauty where he was living on the very brink of the secrets of Death, the mortal Glaucus has been induced by curiosity and desire to plunge into the sea. How Scylla came to be there, is not clear. Perhaps she did the same. The whole region is one of dim light and mystic silences. But the moon-beams can still reach it, and the passing of day and night on the earth can be perceived. It has some faint suggestion of the fields of Elysium, but wrapped in a dimness which is none of theirs. With the secrets of Death is connected magic, - and this magic is of two sorts, earthly magic such as Circe practises - for

she is "arbitrary Queen of sense". She cannot resolve the secrets of Death though she can gratify the human senses. Indeed she seems rather to aid Death's evil powers than anything else. The other sort of magic is a serious kind, and Glaucus must learn it before he can break free from Circe's curse. It would seem that the meaning of the Secrets of Death is much the same as the Imagination in the revised version of Hyperion. It is difficult to guess whether Glaucus is a mere visionary who lives wholly in the past, or whether the meaning of Death is more realistic, or whether, as may well be, there is a combination of these two ideas. As Middleton Murry says "The excellence of every art is its intensity, capable of making all disagreeables evaporate from their being in close relationship with Beauty and Truth."<sup>1)</sup> To Keats we may turn for the mere charm of his verse. We go to him for pleasure and return with a train of reflections from which we never afterwards escape. He possesses a higher potency of the human imagination than that known to ordinary men. For himself, and for us if we will, he built a world that is not wholly in the clouds, but comes to us charged with haunting glimpses of another and more beautiful world than this, which he knew and which he can let us see. His philosophic creed we may consider summed up in his own words, "I am certain of nothing but the holiness of the Heart's affections, and the truth of Imagination. What the imagination seizes as Beauty must be Truth - whether

<sup>1)</sup>Middleton Murry,

Keats and Shakespeare, p.42.

it existed before or not." <sup>1)</sup> And also, "With a great poet the sense of Beauty overcomes every other consideration, or rather obliterates all consideration." <sup>2)</sup> This is very true of Keats. His real effectiveness lies in the world of imaginative forms. When philosophy, religion or politics call him to regions of reality, we feel he does not find application for his talents. The philosophy which he sought is the philosophy which the nightingale would sing in Elysium,

"Where the nightingale doth sing  
Not a senseless, tranced thing,  
But divine melodious truth,  
Philosophic numbers smooth,

he once imagined. Of such a philosophy he speaks in his letter to Bailey, <sup>3)</sup> "Give me this credit (of knowing myself), and you will not think that on my own account I repeat Milton's lines -

"How charming is divine Philosophy  
Not harsh and crabbed as dull fools suppose  
But musical as is Apollo's lute - "

Keats was in a state of mind now to relish these lines, and continues, "Nothing ever becomes real till it is experienced." Now he knows what Philosophy is - a Philosophy which is beyond Poetry, as emerges from his letter, and Keats believes that Milton's Philosophy is the same as the one which he has just discovered. Deep as was Keats's sense of beauty, it was no

1) Letter to Bailey, 22nd. Nov. 1817.

2) To Tom and George Keats, 22nd. Dec. 1817.

3) June 1818



deeper than that of Hölderlin. Hölderlin had not only a greater power of expressing his thought logically, but also a greater sense of the infinite mystery of Being. Both poets with their vision of the Universe in which Beauty and Truth are identical, made acquaintance with the philosophy which in Milton's lines we may say is

"Not harsh and crabbed, as dull fools suppose,  
But musical as is Apollo's lute."

Both our poets believed in the immortality of the soul. "Der Seele Jubel ist Ewigkeit", exclaims Hölderlin. Keats says he is convinced, "that we shall enjoy ourselves hereafter by having what we call happiness on Earth repeated in a finer tone."<sup>1)</sup> In a later letter to his brother George after Tom's death he states positively, "I have scarce a doubt of immortality of some nature or other - neither had Tom."<sup>2)</sup> But perhaps this belief was hardly so firm as he states, for writing in 1820 to Fanny Brawne he exclaims "I long to believe in immortality". Death in the conception of both poets is the medium of renewal. As such it is a

1) To Bailey, Nov. 1817

2) To George, 18th. Dec. 1818.

goal for Keats, not for Hölderlin, but the chain of universal life must needs be linked with alternate links of birth and death.

Otherwise Keats was apparently almost indifferent to religious matters. From his childhood Hölderlin was religious in the very definite sense of the nature of religious aspirations and experience. He developed from his early 'Kinderglaube' a longing for a personal relation with the Mind and Will/conceived/at once as the source of all reality and as a living presence in the soul.

We can hear the sonorous chords of the Psalms reverberating behind his lines in "An die Stille" when we read

"Dort im waldumkränzten Schattentale  
Schlürft ich, schlummernd unterm Rosenstrauch  
Trunkenheit aus deiner Götterschale,  
Angeweht von deinem Liebeshauch.  
Sieh! es brennt an deines Jünglings Wange  
Heiss und glühend noch Begeisterung,  
Voll ist mir das Herz vom Lobgesange,  
Und der Fittich heischet Adlerschwung.

Or, in the following stanza, - "Stieg ich kühnen Sinns

zum Hades nieder,/Wo kein Sterblicher dich noch ersah", -  
 "In der Wüste dürrem Schreckgefilde,/Wo der Hungertod  
 des Wallers harrt", - "Schlummer träufst du auf die  
 düstre Zelle,/Dass der Dulder seines Grams vergisst",  
 and there are other examples too numerous to quote here.

Or in "Die Bücher der Zeiten " : "Herr! Herr!  
 Unterwunden hab ich mich  
 Zu singen dir  
 Bebenden Lobgesang."

And when Hölderlin goes on in the same poem speaking about  
 "Länderverwüstung und Völkerverheerung,/ Und feindliches  
 Kriegergemetzel" and talks about "Richter! Richter!.....  
 Du, der du lenkst/Mit weiser, weiser Allmachtshand/ Das  
 bunte Zeitengewimmel" we recognise the spirit of the Old  
 Testament and in the following the New Testament as well:

"Jesus Christus' Kreuzestod!  
 Des Sohnes Gottes Kreuzestod!  
 Des Lamms auf dem Throne Kreuzestod!  
 Selig zu machen alle Welt,..."

This Biblical influence on Hölderlin's Poetry shows  
 at the same time his conception of God and Christ. Biblical  
 influences, such as vocabulary, or profusion and depth of  
 imagery can be traced in nearly all the greater German Poets.  
 But what Hölderlin then formed into verse was his innermost  
 conviction. In a letter of that time <sup>1)</sup> he sends his mother

1) An die Mutter, Bertram, No.40 (1791)

a sermon drawing her attention especially to the part in which he says "ohne Glauben an Christum finde, wenn man die Sache genau prüfe, gar keine Religion, keine Gewissheit von Gott und Unsterblichkeit statt." This, of course, was in a student's sermon, and they only too often are rather artificial compositions, conventional and not at all personal. But as Hölderlin was in this sermon "ein wenig weitläufiger", as he explains, than in the one delivered before this, we have here another valuable source of information about his spiritual life at that time. <sup>1)</sup> His subject was "Von Jesus als Lehrer der Menschen" and "Von der Glückseligkeit, die uns durch diese Lehre bereitet worden ist". When Hölderlin speaks in this sermon of "Sorge fehlgeschlagener Hoffnung, unverdienter Miss-handlung" or "dass die Vorsehung durch jede Lage die uns treffen kann, die wohlthätigsten Zwecke entweder in Rücksicht auf uns, oder auf unsere Mitmenschen bewirkte...", we feel at once that he is not merely reciting, he is <sup>2)</sup> speaking of his personal experience, of the "Ebbe und Flut" <sup>3)</sup> in his heart, and he, who was "zum Stoiker ewig verdorben" receives the strength to bear his much disliked years at

1) Cf. Neuaufgefundene Jugendarbeiten, Mitgeteilt von Dr. Walter Betzendörfer u. Theodor Haering, 1921, pp. 63-69  
 2) 3) An Neuffer, Bertram, No. 37.

a sermon drawing her attention especially to the part in which he says "ohne Glauben an Christum finde, wenn man die Sache genau prüfe, gar keine Religion, keine Gewissheit von Gott und Unsterblichkeit statt." This, of course, was in a student's sermon, and they only too often are rather artificial compositions, conventional and not at all personal. But as Hölderlin was in this sermon "ein wenig weitläufiger", as he explains, than in the one delivered before this, we have here another valuable source of information about his spiritual life at that time. <sup>1)</sup> His subject was "Von Jesus als Lehrer der Menschen" and "Von der Glückseligkeit, die uns durch diese Lehre bereitet worden ist". When Hölderlin speaks in this sermon of "Sorge fehlgeschlagener Hoffnung, unverdienter Miss-handlung" or "dass die Vorsehung durch jede Lage die uns treffen kann, die wohlthätigsten Zwecke entweder in Rücksicht auf uns, oder auf unsere Mitmenschen bewirkte...", we feel at once that he is not merely reciting, he is <sup>2)</sup> speaking of his personal experience, of the "Ebbe und Fluß" <sup>3)</sup> in his heart, and he, who was "zum Stoiker ewig verdorben" receives the strength to bear his much disliked years at

1) Cf. Neuaufgefundene Jugendarbeiten, Mitgeteilt von Dr. Walter Betzendörfer u. Theodor Haering, 1921, pp. 63-69  
 2) 3) An Neuffer, Bertram, No. 37.

the Stift out of consideration for his family, through faith. With that foundation and a heart "dem so unwidersprechlich das Verlangen nach dem Ewigen, nach Gott gegeben ist"<sup>1)</sup>, Friedrich Hölderlin could not become religious in the Spinozistic sense of explaining everything by reason, of losing all personal regret or failure in a sense of mystic absorption in the whole and in the wholeness of things. Hölderlin did not think that religion could be completely superseded by philosophical reflection. Philosophy may indeed rise to the conception of a supreme will issuing in all the manifestations of life and revealing itself in Reason, but for Hölderlin Nature transcended Reason.

By the exercise of his own logical faculty he is led to look forward to a "Reich Gottes"<sup>2)</sup> that is to come to pass in this world. He has broken with the theology of the Enlightenment "weil sie sein Wort zum Buchstaben und ihn den Lebendigen, zum leeren Götzenbilde machen."<sup>3)</sup> One basic difference between Hölderlin and Fichte was that Hölderlin hated the non-deification of Nature in Christianity and the Enlightenment, whereas Fichte's philosophy in this respect surpassed even the Enlightenment.

1) An die Mutter, Bertram, No. 40

2) An Hegel, Waltershausen, 10. Juli 1794

3) An die Mutter, Homburg, Januar 1799.

When Hölderlin in his poetry sets forth images of nature and shows the cosmic powers which lie behind it and sustain it,

"Ruhig glänzen indes die silbernen Höhen darüber,  
 Voll mit Rosen ist schon droben der leuchtende Schnee.  
 Und noch höher hinauf wohnt über dem Lichte der reine  
 Selige Gott, vom Spiel heiliger Strahlen erfreut.  
 Stille wohnt er allein, und hell erscheint sein Antlitz,  
 Der ätherische scheint Leben zu geben geneigt,  
 Freude zu schaffen, mit uns, wie oft, wenn kundig des  
 Kundig der Atmenden auch zögernd und schonend der Gott  
 Wohlgediegenes Glück den Städten und Häusern, und milde  
 Regen, zu öffnen das Land, brütende Wolken, und euch,  
 Trauteste Lüfte, dann, euch, sanfte Frühlinge, sendet,  
 Und mit langsamer Hand Traurige wieder erfreut, "1)

we may consider him as calling out and expressing reverence for, a state of being which transcends the merely human. The god is shown forth as existing by spirit in what would otherwise be only a mere concatenation of physical phenomena, or mechanical effect. The word to express this sort of poetry which expresses these relations is supplied by Hölderlin himself. He calls it mythical.

We may apply the word mythical to Keat's conception of Nature as well, but it has a different meaning with him; it remains, unlike Hölderlin's, free from religious connection. For Keats Nature was an idyllic state of mind until it became a living experience comprehended by the senses. There had

1) Heimkunft.

been a long standing idea that poetry should be an imitation of life or nature. This idea was scotched when the Romantics adopted as their themes subjects from the supernatural. The introduction of such subjects did in fact do a great deal more for the Romantic poets. It gave them a sense of having been freed from a bondage; they became conscious of the power latent in themselves, and this power spread beyond the field of subjects which had awakened it, and gave them the ability to undertake wider subjects and more varied themes. Coleridge and Keats, and in fact Keats more than Coleridge, are if not the greatest, certainly the purest expositors of the notion that the Romantic ideal was wide and free.

Hölderlin had begun very early to perceive and reverence in Nature mystic, mysterious cosmic forces - forces which in their existence were sympathetic towards man, and even positively friendly. These forces tended to produce an orderly world such as had been envisaged by the Stoics. Hölderlin's conception of a "Father Aether" which pervades everything, nourishes and sustains everything, is a romantic idea also, perhaps derived from Schelling's "Weltseele". This 'father aether' concept is taken as symbolic of the "holy trinity" which, comprising both the finite and the infinite, it forms along with earth and light, as ever present forces:



"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 mit allen Lebenden  
 Im ewig gegenwärtigen Olymp? "1)

not forces belonging to the past.

Keats's perception of the circle of life was for a long time obscured as it is in urban life. Hölderlin from the first depended directly on nature. In addition he was steeped in the ideas and religious myths of the Greeks and well acquainted with the teaching of the philosophers before Socrates, such as Empedocles and Heraclitus. In addition the fact that in Greece myth, religion and poetry were closely knit together and found expression in the poetic religious festivals had a strong influence upon him. It is because of these religious associations that he uses the word 'mythical', though it is clear that his own reaction is on a very advanced level of spiritual consciousness. With Keats the matter is otherwise. The 'myth' has to be viewed in close connection with all the exaggerated stories and superficial traits which are found attached to the vast body of myth and legend. It has to be seen connected with personal names and allegory. To Hölderlin Nature gave intimations of something that transcended her and was not herself; he saw a god in Nature; Keats seeks idealism, spirit as well, but spirit for him must be sought in nature,

1) Der Tod des Empedokles, Akt I.

not beyond it. Keats as a maker of myth deals with natural forces or natural objects in the narrower sense. Hölderlin means by nature the whole of life and all existence/<sup>f</sup>whatever kind, human and supernal, on the spiritual or the physical plane. Therefore, when we find Love, or the Spirit, or Right or Peace personified it is only because he comprehends Nature so broadly, that he can represent them as myths. The divine life is discerned by Hölderlin as existing and moving in everything, in the meadow and wood, in river and lake, in the alternation of the seasons and the flow of time, in day and night, in historical events, in nations and in heroes. Hölderlin was religious, too, in the Platonic sense of having a complete faith that the Idea of the Good and Divine is always what is being realised in it. "A das Göttliche galuben/Die allein, die es selber sind." From that he reaches the perception "Nur in ganzer Kraft ist ganze Liebe"<sup>1)</sup>. The poet no longer thought that in order to live at peace with the world, in order to love mankind and see Nature with true eyes, he had to lose his own freedom. In his late poem "Der Einzige" Christ is the brother of Hercules, the Hercules of the Stoic conception, who, from obedience towards God, wandered through the world to wipe out wrong and lawlessness. Faith, it is Hölderlin's opinion, cannot be evoked by command. Faith must

1) An Landauer, Ibid, No. 203 (1801)

be voluntary and from one's own instinct, but things had to be explained to his philosophical mind in a reasonable, not a miraculous way, otherwise he would have felt more at home in the Stift where revealed theology was taught. His religion is not based on any particular theology nor subject to its restrictions. It is above these. And so Hölderlin predicts the time of a new gospel in which man will do the Good because it is the Good, that new conception of life which in Germany appeared with Lessing's "Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts", and in which Christianity is merely a stage of education on the road to perfection. Hereby the validity of Christianity as a step, but not as the Absolute is recognised, whereas we find Keats in his letter to Leigh Hunt, written from Margate, in the position of questioning the validity of Christianity, though he still believes in Deity. The suggestion that Hölderlin's hope looked forward to a millenium - as Christianity does - is misleading. For change and growth are intimately connected with his view of things. His vision of a future age of light was not as a final attainment but only as one step further in the process of "Wechseln und Werden", which are eternally going on in obedience to a continuous rhythm. In the poem "Der Einzige" Hölderlin says :

"Denn zu sehr,  
O Christus häng ich an dir,  
Wiewohl Herakles Bruder."

Does the poet experience Christ here ? Or is it an effort to convince himself that he does ?

"Was ist es, das  
An die alten seligen Küsten  
Mich fesselt, dass ich mehr noch  
Sie liebe, als mein Vaterland?"

These opening lines of the poem express the conflict, the conflict between the poet's devotion to Greece and his love for his own country. The fetters that bind him to Greece and her gods, are strong :

"Denn wie in himmlische  
Gefangenschaft verkauft  
Dort bin ich, wo Apollo ging  
In Königsgestalt,"

In "Brot und Wein" we feel the deadening sense of the absence of Gods that have forsaken men:

"Aber Freund! wir kommen zu spät. Zwar leben die Götter,  
Aber über dem Haupt droben in anderer Welt.  
Endlos wirken sie da und scheinen wenig zu achten,  
Ob wir leben, .....

Traum von ihnen ist drauf das Leben. Aber das Irrsal  
Hilft, wie Schlummer, und stark macht die Not und die  
Nacht,

Bis dass Helden genug in der ehernen Wiege gewachsen,  
Herzen an Kraft, wie sonst, ähnlich den Himmlischen sind."

The doubts raised in the poet by the age, against which he, as the previous quotation shows, asserts his beliefs, a belief that seemingly lacks certainty at this moment, result now in "Der Einzige" in a new search for Christ. The poet, who had never searched for his gods, who themselves as well as their plans had always been clear to him, is asking now :

"Mein Meister und Herr!  
 O du, mein Lehrer!  
 Was bist du ferne  
 Geblieben? und da  
 Ich fragte unter den Alten,  
 Die Helden und  
 Die Götter, warum bliebest  
 Du aus? Und jetzt ist voll  
 Von Trauern meine Seele,  
 Als eifertet ihr Himmlischen selbst,  
 Dass, dien ich einem, mir  
 Das andere fehlt."

This is the core of the conflict : Christ versus Gods, a conflict between the philosopher accepting a divine order, and the man longing for his gods of light. If Hölderlin says "Zu sehr häng ich an Dir, o Christus " we must not come to the conclusion that this means the triumph of Christ over the Gods of Greece. Hölderlin who was opposed to the Christian age and the society of his time, people who were after all Christians, was inevitably opposed to Christian ethics as well. His problems arose out of the metaphysical implications of the Christian religion, whose split between

spirit and material, as it manifested itself in life, was opposed to his ideal - Greece, just as it was opposed to Keats's ideal of a communion of beauty and spirit. Of Christ Keats says that he can remember only two people who have had hearts completely disinterested - Socrates and Jesus - neither of whom left any writings of his own. All we know of them has been transmitted by others, and "it is to be lamented that the history of the latter was written and revised by men interested in the pious frauds of religion. Yet through all this I see his splendour."<sup>1)</sup> The difficulty for Keats does not lie in the person of Christ himself. It lies in the very "interestedness" which Christ gave up his life to overcome. In his poetry, both the sonnet written on Christmas Eve 1816,

"The churchbells toll a melancholy round  
 Calling the people to some other prayers,  
 Some other gloominess, more dreadful cares  
 More hearkening to the sermon's horrid sound"

and his sonnet on Ben Nevis of 1818 reveal his general scepticism. Turning back to our last quotation from Hölderlin, we find that for him a serious difficulty lies in the person of Christ himself, which we can well understand, having previously discussed his gods. He does not deny the divinity of Christ; he recognises divinity in whatever form it reveals it-

1) To George and wife, 19th. March, 1819.

self. In "Brot und Wein" he associates Christ with Dionysus,

"Liess zum Zeichen, dass einst er da gewesen  
 und wieder  
 Kame, der himmlische Chor einige Gaben zurück,  
 .....  
 Brot ist der Erde Frucht, doch ists vom Lichte  
 gesegnet,  
 Und vom donnernden Gott kommt die Freude des Weins,"

Bread and wine, the sacred elements of the Last Supper, are the means by which Dionysus remains a force amongst men in the age of night, whereas Christ is the last of the Greek gods before the time of darkness spread over humanity. To become reconciled with Christ was not possible for Hölderlin, unless he accepted the moral teachings of Christianity. This again he could not do without giving up his own ideals by which he saw everything in the light of Greece. And it is in this way that Hölderlin attaches importance to the Christian era of human history. Thus the symbols Christ left behind, signify to men, in Hölderlin's conception, the hope of the return of the gods.

In one of Keats's long letters to George, we find a discussion which leads him to what might appear as near the statement of his creed as we are likely to get. It is much too long to quote, but he works out for himself "Do you not see how necessary a world of Pains and troubles is to school an Intelligence and make it a soul?..... As various as the lives of men are -, so various become their souls and

thus does God make individual beings Souls, Identical Souls of the sparks of his own Essence."<sup>1)</sup> The pains and troubles in human life, as facts are ugly, but seeing them in the light of "disinterestedness" they obtain the perfect beauty of the truth. When Keats was dying, we are told that he longed for the comforts of religion but could not find them<sup>2)</sup>, and in the name of religion the opium which might have mitigated his agony, was withheld from him.

I said before that Hölderlin associated Christ with Dionysus. This is also expressed in "Der Einzige", "Du bist Bruder auch des Eviers." Thus Hölderlin tries to solve his conflict in the belief that all gods have the same origin. He does not sound very convincing in this, for he admits that a shame forbids him to compare Christ with "these worldly men". This means that the figure of Christ aroused Christian feelings in Hölderlin, which were opposed to his heroworship. It was "ein Wettlauf unaufhaltsam" which did not come to an end. "Patmos" reveals enigmas unanswered about Christ and the Christian age. The prophet had not succeeded in fashioning an image of Christ:

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

1) To George, 28th. April 1819,

2) Cf. Letter of Severn to Haslam from Rome,  
Jan. 15th. 1821, Lowell, Ibid, II, p. 519.



Hölderlin had an acute sense of the mystery of the divine, and ever-growing desire that divinity should be revealed, and come again to earth.

Opposed to his age, yet unable to influence it, finally realising that the circumstances of his time prevented the coming forth of the perfection he conceived in life, his ideal dominated him completely in spiritual and worldly respects. In spite of his strong belief in Germany, he constantly fell back on Greece, and in spite of his strong Christian disposition he kept to his vision of his Gods of Greece. Mr. Peacock confirms " It must be maintained that Hölderlin, in spite of difficulty, doubt, and some indecision adhered faithfully to his beliefs; that there is coercion and constraint in his handling of the Christian problem, precisely in the interest of that adherence; and that it is therefore entirely misleading, and even quite wrong, to speak of a reconciliation or synthesis of Greece and Christ." 1)

1) Peacock, Ibid, p. 107.

Throughout the previous pages much has already been said about the poets and Nature. There are many references to Nature when we followed the development of Hölderlin and Keats from boy to man. I have dealt with the national idea in poetry and Nature, when seeing the poets against their historico-politico backgrounds. In connexion with the chapters on Hellenism and Philosophy, I have tried to explain what "mythical", nature and myth, mean to our two poets, and an indication of the poets' attitude to culture has also been given. Like all emotions they of course overlap and interpenetrate; complete isolation of the one from the other would end in artificial abstraction, and indeed is almost impossible in the works of Friedrich Hölderlin whose themes - the coming of a new world in which man, arts and culture are seen as partakers in natural processes, the return of the gods to live on this earth, and the reappearance of heroes as witnesses of the gods - nearly always occur together. This gives his work as a whole that unity which makes it so powerful.

In my previous discussions Nature has been taken to mean the whole universe, including God, the cosmos and its creatures, the mind of man, and all that may be imagined. In the following pages we are mainly, though for the reasons stated above, not only, concerned with Nature the power external to human-kind which informs earth and sky and sea

and all that is in them.

"The flower must drink the nature of the soil  
Before it can put forth its blossoming."

This, we have seen, is very true of our two poets, of whom the one was born into Nature, and the other got the first glance of this world in a city. Being thus born on the soil of Nature, growing up nourished by it, Hölderlin expressed in his poetry not merely a view of Nature which is one of its most striking features, but upon Nature built the structure of his whole philosophy of life. From his early life Hölderlin absorbed Nature's inspiration, lived in harmonious surroundings where the inner voice of the spirit could make itself heard. With this idea, that until the flower has incorporated within itself the elements it derives from the soil in which it is rooted it cannot develop its flowers, Keats proceeds to soak himself in what he supposes from the examples of previous writers, but without any previous experience as yet, to be the matter from which comes inspiration. Now he approaches art not by trying to penetrate its mysteries from within through the spirit of the great masters, but from without, by conforming to its outward semblance and practices, rather as one desirous of being accepted into the Eleusinian mysteries might practice their outward ceremonies in an attempt to penetrate the mystery and become one of the initiate.

"Give me a golden pen, and let me lean  
 On heap'd up flowers, in regions clear, and far;  
 Bring me a tablet whiter than a star..." 1)

he exclaims, after returning from Hunt's cottage in the Vale of Health on the Heath. This might have its value, in so far as it is likely to induce a receptive frame of mind. This Keats seems to have understood. So to produce the requisite frame of mind he found it necessary to surround himself with all the outward associations from which poets like Hölderlin - in Keats's case his English contemporaries - drew their strength. In surroundings atune with his muse could the inner voice of the poetic spirit make its presence heard; but such surroundings could not of themselves produce that spirit, - "He may not hope from outward forms to win/  
 The passion and the life whose fountains are within."

"The while let music wander round my ears,  
 And as it reaches each delicious ending,  
 let me write down a line of glorious tone,  
 And full of many wonders of the spheres:  
 For what a height my spirit is contending!  
 'Tis not content so soon to be alone."

Nature is here paralleled with the kind of poetry he wanted to achieve. It was the ambition with which Nature and poetry, both of which he met at Hampstead, had filled him. This parallel seeking for Nature and poetry continued.

1) On leaving some friends at an early hour.

The Heath, the little hill, Ken Wood, all that was not enough; Nature was the source of inspiration for Hölderlin; Nature was the source of inspiration of Keats's contemporaries. So Keats goes to Nature and there awaits its quickening power with much the same mental and emotional attitude as we may suppose the initiates waited at Eleusis for the mystery of Ceres to be revealed to them in the darkness, to flood their souls with faith and comfort. Keats went to Margate and saw what was new to him, - the sea.

"Full many a dreary hour have I past,  
My brain bewildered and my mind o'ercast  
With heaviness; in seasons when I've thought  
No sphery strains by me could ere be caught  
From the blue dome, though I to dimness gaze  
On the far depth where sheeted lightning plays; 1)

says Keats looking back on his early communions with Nature, when he strained eye and ear in intense effort in his endeavour to concentrate his senses upon the objects which were by tradition supposed to give life to the poet's inspiration. But in vain. His straining effort left him with a "brain bewildered and a mind o'ercast with heaviness." Little wonder that the consequence is that he is convinced "No sphery strains" by him "could ere be caught from the blue dome". Keats does not yet suspect that "from the soul itself must issue forth

1) Epistle to Brother George.

a light " and "from the soul itself there must be sent a voice.....Of all sweet sounds the life and element".

This is in great contrast to the phase of pure joy Hölderlin experienced, a glory in the flowers and trees, a splendour in the grass, with his thoughts coursing as light as the wind along that grass,

"Da spielt ich sicher und gut  
Mit den Blumen des Hains,  
Und die Lüftchen des Himmels  
Spielten mit mir," 1)

a time when he was impassioned and entranced, when holy calm would come upon him till bodily eyes were forgotten and what he actually gazed upon appeared to be something he had dreamed of,

"Im Veilchental, vom dämmernden Hain umbraust,  
Entschlummert er, von süssen Begeisterungen  
Der Zukunft trunken,...." 2)

a prophetic vision of the future, something divine that only Nature could reveal,

"Auf springt er, wandelt ernster den Bach hinab  
Nach seiner Hütte. Siehe! das Götterwerk,  
Es keimet in der grossen Seele.  
Wieder ein Lenz, - und es ist vollendet." 3)

Such was the time of utmost exultation in the young poet's being. How much Hölderlin was already then one with Nature

1) Die Jugend  
2) 3) An die Ruhe

may be seen by the fact that there is suggested no primitive superstition, such as might have been possible in the case of a boy living so much in the loneliness of the grand forms of Nature. There is no eerie haunting sense at the sudden rustling of leaves, only harmonious delight,

"Mich erzog der Wohl laut  
Des säuselnden Hains,  
Und lieben lernt ich  
Unter den Blumen." 1)

To the pure joy were added other feelings, an eager interest in the life in all things,

"Und wie du das Herz  
Der Pflanzen erfreust,  
Wenn sie entgegen dir  
Die zarten Arme strecken,  
So hast du mein Herz erfreut,  
Vater Helios! und, wie Endymion,  
War ich dein Liebling,  
Heilige Luna!" 2)

making him more and more conscious of a world beyond the world of sense, of something that had power to save him from the noise of man, to put him into communion with eternal silence,

"Da ich ein Knabe war,  
Rettet' ein Gott mich oft  
Vom Geschrei und der Rute der Menschen," 3)

His sympathy with life in all things at that time, we may call "half-pagan". He was not yet absolutely conscious of the

divinity of Nature,

"Zwar damals ruft ich noch nicht  
 Euch mit Namen, auch ihr  
 Nanntet mich nie, wie die Menschen sich nennen  
 Als kennten sie sich."

Another of the feelings added very early to Hölderlin's Joy of Nature is the special meaning spring and light take for him. The love for the solitude of the woods is combined with the adoration of the light and the ideas connected with the return of spring, symbolically like daybreak indicating a new era. Hyperion is caught unawares in his depression by the spring. Hope and prescience had died in his soul. Now when spring is there, with the glory of youth, Hyperion feels as if he were to become cheerful again. In the midst of spring there appears to him Melite "hold und heilig, wie eine Priesterin der Liebe."<sup>1)</sup> Hyperion's depression vanishes. He is uplifted above Time and Space, and his soul feels its origin in Nature. Here emerges a true Germanic motif, linking up the presentiments caused by Spring and their fulfilment in the Beloved. The meaning of light is illustrated in a clear and simple way in "Der blinde Sänger":

"Wo bist du, Jungdliches! das immer mich  
 Zur Stunde weckt des Morgens, wo bist du, Licht?  
 Das Herz ist wach, doch bannt und hält in  
 Heiligem Zauber die Nacht mich immer"

1) Thalia Fragment (Zante), Werke, Ibid, p. 592.



Night is the time of re-creation, in which the regenerating powers are at work,

"Den Retter hör ich dann in der Nacht, ich hör  
Ihn tötend, den Befreier, belebend ihn,  
Den Donnerer vom Untergang zum  
Orient eilen, .."

and day is the new life which comes forth,

"Tag! Tag! du über sturzende Wolken! sei  
Willkommen mir! es blühet mein Auge dir.  
O Jugendlicht! o Glück! das alte  
Wieder! Doch geistiger rinnst du nieder"

These conceptions developed very early in Hölderlin's mind. The existence of the gods and their presence amongst men were represented under the figments of day and night. In Hölderlin's poetry is displayed on one hand his ideal vision, that of the gods. Contrasted with this are his distresses caused by the present state of affairs and his attempts to encompass them, and his explanation of them broadly through relating them to his philosophy. This in turn is replaced by a turning towards the future, when the gods are to come again and life will be dowered with new richness.

Thus we have seen some of the differences between Friedrich Hölderlin in his early contact with Nature, and the differences developing out of this, and John Keats, to whom we must now return to follow up his further road to Nature and poetry. We had left John Keats where he says that "No sphery

strains by me could ere be caught/ From the blue dome." From this negative statement we can make an observation which will be positive to our purpose; he had seen the sea, and he admits that no inspiration has come from it yet: again Nature and poetry are one. But the inspiration did come. "The poetry of earth is never dead", he had said in his sonnet "On the Grasshopper and Cricket". Added to this knowledge of Nature he has acquired a new acquaintance, the ocean. The significance of this discovery speaks out in the sonnet to his brother George,

"The ocean with its vastness, its blue green,  
 Its ships, its rocks, its caves, its hopes, its fears, -  
 Its voice mysterious, which whoso hears  
 Must think on what will be, and what has been."

These lines breathe the excitement Keats felt. He had discover<sup>ed</sup> Nature. He is in a somewhat bewildered state of thought and feeling. He has experienced the fact that Nature cannot act directly but can only react upon the soul. Between Hölderlin and Nature there had been an interchange of sympathy; Keats had learnt now that if a man wishes to receive the full value of beauty from Nature he can do so only by expending human emotion. To be willing to remain passive and so receive its sensations is not enough. He must actively offer to love it. When thus the outward and the inner beings have become

interwoven,

"His healthful spirit eager and awake,  
To feel the beauty of a silent eve" 1)

he will feel himself inspired by Nature under the form of joy. John Keats had discovered not only Nature. In discovering her with his senses, he had also discovered poetry with his thoughts. To his double joy he gives vent in "I stood tiptoe upon a little hill" :

"Open afresh your round of starry folds,  
Ye ardent marigolds!  
Dry up the moisture from your golden lids,  
For great Apollo bids  
That in these days your praises should be sung  
On many harps, which he has lately strung."

Nature has created her poet. His mind is

"ever startled by the leap  
Of buds into ripe flowers; or by the flitting  
Of diverse moths, that aye their rest are quitting;  
Or by the moon lifting her silver rim  
Above a cloud, and with a gradual swim  
Coming into the blue with all her light,"

and so he goes on, until after an address to the moon he declares

"For what has made the sage or poet write  
But the fair paradise of Nature's light."

In addition to Nature and poetry, he has discovered his power to express in poetry the beauty of Nature; in fact he has,

1)Calidore.

if I may say so, taken Hölderlin's advice "An die jungen Dichter",

"Wenn der Meister euch Ängstigt,  
Fragt die grosse Natur um Rat!"

And what Hölderlin said in the same poem

"Lieben Brüder! es reift unsere Kunst vielleicht,  
Da, dem Jünglinge gleich, lange sie schon gegäret,  
Bald zur Stille der Schönheit.",

finds its echo in Keats in the sonnet "Great spirits now on earth are sojourning, in the reference to himself,

"And other spirits there are standing apart  
Upon the forehead of the age to come;  
These, these will give the world another heart,  
And other pulses"

The delight which Keats now experienced in Nature for itself, may have been elementary, but there can be no doubt about its genuineness. He has now felt true inspiration. From now on he will remain under the influence of this mental state. By exercise of his own will- a long and painful process - he had trained himself to attain this and he will manage to maintain it, except at such times as the will, temporarily overtaxed, allows itself to relapse. He has endowed Nature with all the power of emotion which he has now discovered. Now when he walks about in the gloaming he need no longer strain

eye and ear, nor feel heaviness weigh him down and bewilder him. He will be able to feel, because he comes

"With a warm heart and eye prepared to scan  
Nature's clear beauty."

In a passage in "Sleep and Poetry", his longest poem of his year of discovery, full of ambition, Keats describes the spheres of emotion through which his poetic inspiration, by which he wishes to penetrate the mysteries of Nature and human nature, will carry him. Let us view this in connection with his letter to Reynolds, May 1818, containing the well-known simile of the Mansion of many apartments of human life. The three chambers correspond to three states of mind. There is, first, the Thoughtless Chamber, which is the life of mere sensation; then the chamber of Maiden Thought, in which delight in the world of sense, ecstasy in Nature, becomes a self-conscious passion "sharpening our vision into the heart and nature of man", not merely doing that, but "convincing our nerves that the world is full of misery and heartbreak, pain, sickness, and oppression." From this chamber there open out "many doors", "all dark, all leading to dark passages". If we live and go on thinking we shall explore these passages; that is, the reflective pleasure of Nature by which we may obtain spiritual insight into the mystery of Nature. In this state of mind "We feel the burden of the Mystery", as Keats says.

Keats speaks of the first state, the thoughtless chamber, in the opening lines of his poem:

"What is more gentle than a wind in summer?  
 What is more soothing than the pretty hummer  
 That stays one moment in an open flower,  
 And buzzes cheerily from bower to bower?  
 What is more tranquil than a musk-rose blowing  
 In a green island, far from all men's knowing?  
 More healthful than the leafiness of dales?  
 More secret than a nest of nightingales?"

and again at the end of his images of human life,

"The light up-lifting of a maiden's veil;  
 A laughing schoolboy, without grief or care,  
 Riding the springy branches of an elm.

Hölderlin's description of what Keats calls the infant chamber we may seek in passages like these,

"Da ich noch in Kinderträumen,  
 Friedlich, wie der blaue Tag,  
 Unter meines Gartens Bäumen  
 Auf der warmen Erde lag,  
 Da mein erst Gefühl sich regte,  
 Da zum ersten Male sich  
 Göttliches in mir bewegte,  
 Säuselte dein Geist um mich." 1)

or "Aber drüben am See, wo die Ulme das alternde Hoftor  
 Übergrünt und den Zaun wilder Holunder umblüht,  
 Da empfängt mich das Haus und des Gartens heimliches  
 Dunkel,  
 Wo mit den Pflanzen mich einst liebend mein Vater  
 erzog,  
 Wo ich froh, wie das Eichhorn, spielt auf den  
 lispelnden Ästen,  
 Oder ins duftende Heu träumend die Stirne verbarg."  
 2)

1) Diotima (Erste Fassung)

2) Der Wanderer (Erste Fassg.)

When we compare these passages we find the minds of both poets playing delightedly over the animal pleasures of boyhood, and over forms of natural beauty. But we see how in Hölderlin the deep association between natural manifestations and the deeper moods of the human consciousness dates back to his boyhood and provides him with memories which afterwards visit his 'inward eye' with inner meaning. Evidence for this tendency we may, for instance, find in "Elegie",

"Tag der Liebe! scheinest du auch den Toten, du goldner!  
 Bilder aus hellerer Zeit, leuchtet ihr mir in die Nacht?  
 Liebliche Gärten, seid, ihr abendrötlichen Berge,  
 Seid willkommen, und ihr, schweigende Pfade des Hains.

.....  
 Euch, ihr Liebenden, auch, ihr schönen Kinder des  
 Frühlings,  
 Stille Rosen! und euch, Lilien! nenn ich noch oft, -

.....  
 Sonst mir anders bekannt! o Jugend! und bringen Gebete  
 Dich nicht wieder, dich nie? führet kein Pfad mich  
 zurück?

We see here how Nature could furnish Hölderlin not only with "holiday garlands" but did abide with him in such wise that when the joy of youth and life had passed, when Nature herself could not console him, he still found some solace in memories of the bliss he once knew. Keats's passages show conspicuously the poet of the trees and flowers and creatures. As Haydon remembered him in his Diary (Entry of 29th. March 1821) ".....he was in his glory in the fields. The humming of a bee, the sight of a flower, the glitter of the sun, seemed

to make his nature tremble; then his eyes flashed, his cheeks glowed, his mouth quivered."

Keats considers the second chamber as follows:

"Stop and consider! Life is but a day;  
A fragile dew-drop on its perilous way  
From a tree's summit; a poor Indian's sleep  
While his boat hastens to the monstrous steep  
Of Montmorenci. Why so sad a moan?  
Life is the rose's hope while yet unblown;  
The reading of an everchanging tale,  
The light up-lifting of a maiden's veil."

Under these images the poet presents life as a single ripple in a vast general movement, then as a dream on the point of disaster, then as hope budding as in a flower, then as something which distracts the mind, and then as a glimpse of beauty which arouses to ecstasy. At the end of these images of human life, where "knowledge is sorrow; sorrow is wisdom, and wisdom is folly", Keats brings his imagery to a culmination by deliberately contrasting with those that have gone before, the image of life as "an instinctive animal pleasure". In meaning his lines correspond with those of Hölderlin, quoted before; and the different methods of the two poets are shown very clearly. The abstract interpretation which has been given of the whole passage quoted from Keats may serve for a further illustration. The following lines of Hölderlin will serve our purpose as describing the second chamber and as a description of Keats's mental condition when he wrote most of his earlier poetry:



"Wenn ich fern auf nackter Heide wallte,  
 Wo aus dämmernder Geklüfte Schoss  
 Der Titanensang der Ströme schallte  
 Und die Nacht der Wolken mich umschloss,  
 Wenn der Sturm mit seinen Wetterwogen  
 Mir vorüber durch die Berge fuhr  
 Und des Himmels Flammen mich umflogen,  
 Da erschienst du, Seele der Natur!" 1),

and Keats's

"What is there in thee, Moon! that thou shouldst move  
 My heart so potently? When yet a child  
 I oft have dried my tears when thou has smiled.  
 Thou seem'dst my sister: hand in hand we went  
 From eve to morn across the firmament.  
 No apples would I gather from the tree,  
 Till thou hadst cool'd their cheeks deliciously:  
 No tumbling water ever spake romance,  
 But when my eyes with thine thereon could dance:  
 No woods were green enough, no bower divine,  
 Until thou lifted'st up thine eyelids fine: "2)

When Keats describes the third chamber, his passage runs:

" .....lo! I see afar,  
 O'ersailing the blue cragginess, a car  
 And steeds with streamy manes- the charioteer  
 Looks out upon the winds with glorious fear:  
 And now the numerous tramplings quiver lightly  
 Along a huge cloud's ridge; and now with sprightly  
 Wheel downward come they into fresher skies,  
 Tint round with silver from the sun's bright eyes.  
 Still downward with capacious whirl they glide;  
 And now I see them on a green-hill's side  
 In breezy rest among the nodding stalks.  
 The charioteer with wond'rous gesture talks  
 To the trees and mountains; and there soon appear  
 Shapes of delight, of mystery and fear,  
 Passing along before a dusky space  
 Made by some mighty oaks: as they would chase

1) An die Natur,  
 2) Endymion, Bk. III.

Some ever-fleeting music on they sweep.  
 Lo! how they murmur, laugh, and smile, and weep:  
 Some with upholden hand and mouth severe;  
 Some with their faces muffled to the ear  
 Between their arms; some, clear in youthful bloom,  
 Go glad and smilingly athwart the gloom;  
 Some looking back, and some with upward gaze;  
 Yes, thousands in a thousand different ways  
 Flit onward - now a lovely wreath of girls  
 Dancing their sleek hair into tangled curls;  
 And now broad wings. Most awfully intent  
 The driver of those steeds is forward bent,  
 And seems to listen: O that I might know  
 All that he writes with such a hurrying glow."

If we look for passages in Hölderlin which may describe  
 the third chamber, we may find such as

"Oft verlor ich da mit trunknen Tränen  
 Liebend, wie nach langer Irre sich  
 In den Ozean die Ströme sehnen,  
 Schöne Welt! in deiner Fülle mich;  
 Ach! da stürzt ich mit den Wesen allen  
 Freudig aus der Einsamkeit der Zeit,  
 Wie ein Pilger in des Vaters Hallen  
 In die Arme der Unendlichkeit. " 1)

or

Kennst du sie, die selig, wie die Sterne,  
 Und des Lebens dunkler Woge ferne  
 Wandellos in stiller Schöne lebt,  
 Die des Herzens löwenkühne Siege,  
 Des Gedankens fesselfreie Flüge  
 Wie der Tag den Adler, überschwebt?

Die uns trifft mit ihren Mittagsstrahlen,  
 Uns entflammt mit ihren Idealen,  
 Wie vom Himmel, uns Gebote schickt,  
 Die die Weisen nach dem Wege fragen,  
 Stumm und ernst, wie von dem Sturm verschlagen  
 Nach dem Orient der Schiffer blickt." 2)

1) An die Natur,

2) An die Unbekannte.

If we read Hölderlin's stanzas we grasp their meaning at once. Keats's imagery fails to define the poet's thought clearly. It is an attempt to express a thought that he himself had definitely conceived, which he wanted to express in poetical language with a definite aim. Definition in poetry may be neither thought nor desired, but viewing the respective passages from this point of view, we see that Hölderlin cleaves a way through all the intermediate stages of nature towards the very centre of life in its divinity. His directness and brevity are amazing.

Keats turned to Nature to find something that was absent from the civilisation of London, absent from the gloom of the Borough. He found in Nature a sharper perception of the grandeur of life, and an inspiration hitherto unknown to him ,

"For what has made the sage or poet write  
But the fair paradise of Nature's light",

such is Keats's own declaration of the source of poetical inspiration; but it is mixed up with his longing for beauty and the intense exercise of his imagination. To Nature he turned as a relief from the drabness of the city life around him, to Nature, the innocent, as contrasted with man, tainted by original sin, to find release through the arousing of elation affecting his physical being in a beautiful scene. It was a deliberate turning away from the Heath, where there was no revelation which could make him feel that the whole cosmic

ordering of life was sublime. In Hölderlin's poetry we do not fail to find any of these things. But they are aside from his real subject, and none of them can be accepted as the real way in which he perceived nature, as the kernel of his perception of nature. What we do find in him is an acute perception that life shows itself in multifarious ways; that it is a power both in things material and things of the spirit - "all thinking things, all objects of all thought" as Wordsworth says, - involving and including everything created :

"Jetzt aber tagts! Ich harrt und sah es kommen,  
 Und was ich sah, das Heilige, sei mein Wort.  
 Denn sie, sie selbst, die älter denn die Zeiten  
 Und über die Götter des Abends und Oriens ist,  
 Die Natur ist jetzt mit Waffenklang erwacht,  
 Und hoch vom Äther bis zum Abgrund nieder  
 Nach festem Gesetze, wie einst, aus heiligem Chaos  
 gezeugt,  
 Fühlt neu die Begeisterung sich,  
 Die Allerschaffende wieder." 1)

Nature, - the great-out-of doors, had not become part of Keats as it had of Hölderlin. From Nature Keats wanted to have

"all that we behold/From this green earth",  
 only to have it perfect and without flaw. For him the year should always be at high summer, the day at midday. He was a poet primarily of sensations, with an exquisite sense of

1) Das Himmlische Feuer.

the luxurious, such as that from which 'Isabella' was born, or that in which the 'Eve of St. Agnes' has its origin,

"Full on this casement shone the wintry moon,  
And threw warm gules on Madeline's fair breast,  
As down she knelt for heaven's grace and boon;  
Rose-bloom fell on her hands, together prest,  
And on her silver cross soft amethyst,  
And on her hair a glory, like a saint:  
She seem'd a splendid angel, newly drest,  
Save wings, for heaven: -

So we can see him not as the cold, aloof priest of beauty, but as its very human lover, loving all the many little traits in which beauty is revealed and of which it is composed, who often gives us the feeling that we are carefully warded off from all contact with reality while reading his Odes, for instance, of which natural beauty is the outstanding feature. As Professor Garrod states "I think him the great poet he is, only when the senses capture him, when he finds truth in beauty, that is to say, when he does not trouble to find truth at all." <sup>1)</sup> For Keats beauty could be found rather in sensation than in thoughts. When he lay dying, one of his last remarks was "I feel the flowers growing over me." He could indeed find beauty in Nature, even in the unlovely. "I lay awake last night listening to the rain, with a sense of being drowned and rotted like a grain of wheat."

1) Garrod, Ibid, p. 63.

Hölderlin conceives of Nature as the absolute.

This is indicated by his choice of terms : Nature, Enthusiasm, All Creative, considered together are attributes denoting the action, existence and consciousness of a creative power which is absolute and ultimate. This is the difference in inspiration which marks the dividing line between Nature poetry ordinarily so classed, and that of Hölderlin. The difference remains both when he is dealing with outward appearance of objects in nature and his pleasure in them, and with what is known in pantheistic poetry as the soul of Nature.

Keats brings his overflowing heart and carefully trained perceptions to the contemplation of familiar things, usually passed by without a thought, and feels a human joy, a human sorrow throbbing through their 'new-born' beauty. As a return for the emotions poured forth he acquires the feeling that the life in Nature is his own.

"O what a wild and harmonized tune  
My spirit struck from all the beautiful!  
On some bright essence could I lean, and lull  
Myself to immortality: I prest  
Nature's soft pillow in a wakeful rest.1)

The rapture which comes to expression here is the enthusiasm of the poet. When we compare this with the enthusiasm expressed in our quotation from Hölderlin,

1) Endymion.

"Die Natur ist jetzt mit Waffenklang erwacht,  
 Und hoch vom Äther bis zum Abgrund nieder  
 Nach festem Gesetze, wie einst, aus heiligem Chaos  
 gezeugt,  
 Fühlt neu die Begeisterung sich,  
 Die Allerschaffende wieder,"

we notice the difference. The rapture of the poet is only the echo of a cosmic experience, the enthusiasm of which is Nature's own enthusiasm. Hölderlin in his absolute conception of Nature, was concerned to give not merely an explanation of nature through philosophy, but strove to put into language the nature which existed in himself. We must be careful to grasp that it was not the presentation of his nature, but of nature itself that he sought, for in this lies his uniqueness. The pain which his perception of faulty human life awakes in Hölderlin is alleviated by his belief in the eventual harmonising through the boundless power of creation of the spirit of life. He does not discern any faults in Nature as it exists outside of man's life. Nature compensated him when the world of his surroundings did not give him love enough, or when he was separated from his people. Nature satisfied his want of human affection, or, when his heart had exhausted its emotion on human affections, Nature was the all-sufficient. The opposite seems to have been the case with Keats. When his heart had exhausted its emotions on Nature the voice of human affections brought new or fresh emotions. So as he muses in the evening

his mood is broken by a "trumpet's silver voice.....fraught with many joys for him". These joys are those of an awakening tenderness for woman, - accepted and returned, - rising on neither side to love, yet even now stirring his pulses with stronger heartbeats. In this first quickening of the pulses his charmed senses seem to lift the soul above common life into a sphere widely separated from it, where what he once knew as familiar produces an impression of strangeness and where some one else's voice reaches his ears "like something from beyond/ His present being". Hölderlin's unique love of Nature is the root of his love of man, and the root of his love for the universe, "Liebe zum Universum und dessen vollendeter Projektion in der Schöpfung des Südens und der Entwicklung des Griechenvolkes", as Schwab says. The power of this we have already recognised in "Der Archipelagus". The love of humanity in Keats took as long to wake up as did the love of Nature. Gradually he went to the external forms of Nature less for themselves than for the undefined underlying life each possessed which was akin to the human and bound all together into one unity. Very slowly we find stealing into his clear cut literal account of what he has seen and heard a feeling that is subtler than these. The poet in whom his new emotions are now working, comes to "watch intently Nature's gentle doings", as he declares in "I stood tip-toe upon a hill". Now there are sudden flashes,



distant though some of them may be, in which we can see he has a glimpse of a single principle - "the common origin of all". Before he attained to this mood, to strain his ears for "spheray strains" was of little use. But now, while his concentration is intensely alive and at the same time kept under restraint, while he strives to penetrate and define universal life seen surging blindly around him, a 'small still voice' speaks to him from out the silence - "softer than ring-dove's cooings". It is the spirit of Nature speaking to his inmost heart. In Nature, understood in this new spirit, Keats recognises the primary impulse of man's creative power. Nature, as the recipient of all his emotion has become intimately enough part of him so that only through her medium is he able to conceive the abstract life peculiar to man's intelligence. The spirit of Nature had filled Keats's soul, and he felt

"uplifted from the world  
Walking upon the white clouds weathed and curled."

Here we are again at the point of distinction from which we started. Keats having poured his whole vitality into Nature sees her rising into his own shape, because born of his own life, his nature, whereas for Hölderlin the main thing he reverences is nature as manifesting itself in himself through the power of the life-spirit and the ultimate unity of all things, and this fact shows how in him thought and expression and nature were one.

By thus regarding things as a whole Hölderlin is freed from the impression of restriction which waste and evil give. These are seen as components of the whole plan of life and necessary parts of its character. Conflict indeed produces division, but this is again resolved into a fresh harmony. In this case, however, there is a difference from ~~in~~<sup>still</sup> the case of nature. He expresses differently what he feels, for when he is discussing disharmony in human life, the note of pain and suffering rings out clearly when he is keenly conscious of the presence of evil. In contrast to this, when his contemplation is centred upon what is good, heroic, beautiful and harmonious, what rings with joyous notes or is permeated by love, he embraces with the intensity of the love upon which it builds, the idea of ultimate unity.

"So felt he who first told how Psyche went  
On the smooth wind to realms of wonderment,  
What Psyche felt and Love when their full lips  
First touched..."

and, after thus symbolising the passage of the human soul through Nature to Love, Keats develops the effects of this new love on the study of Nature. In the myth of Pan and Syrinx the poet, seized upon by a fit of inspiration has come to feel Nature so intensely as to re-create it after his own image. We can see here Keats's idea of harmony in love not as a cosmic force. We cannot take this image as a philosophical formulation, but as his expression of his experience as a poet, that is, of the forms of life in him. As if in warning of

Nature's incapacity to satisfy the soul for ever, the illusion is shown to fall with the falling emotion. Nature will not retain the form it has assumed,

"Poor Nymph, - poor Pan - how did he weep to find  
Nought but a lovely sighing of the wind  
Along the reedy stream..."

after the breathless pursuit in which imagination bodied forth, slipping fleetly with backward glance before his eyes, a living nymph who should respond to his desire.

In Keats we catch few glimpses of the grandeur of a Nature which is awe-inspiring. We hear indeed of "the wild-ridged mountains steep by steep", but they are "In some untrodden region of my mind", the poet declares in the Ode to Psyche. Perhaps they are an echo to his visit to the Lake District and Scotland -, "it oozes out from a cleft in perpendicular Rocks, all fledged with Ash and other beautiful trees"<sup>1)</sup>. Of his reaction to the scenery on that occasion we hear from his friend and companion Brown that "he walked on air and drank in what he saw in great gulps of joyous appreciation."<sup>2)</sup> In a letter of June 25th. seq. 1818 which he wrote to George in America - a long semi-diary letter, he enthusiastically describes the Ambleside waterfall in a passage much too long to quote and says "I shall learn poetry here." This really is what Nature was to Keats. The things

1) To Tom, 29th. June 1818,  
from Keswick.

2) quoted by Lowell, Ibid, II. p. 19.

he witnessed in themselves taught him much about poetry; and their effect, coming to ripeness in his sub-conscious mind, expressed itself in poetry. He seems to have been half-aware of the process himself, for he says a little further on in the same letter "My imagination, surpassed, is at rest." Colvin pertinently remarks "an intensely active, intuitive genius for Nature like his hardly needs the stimulus of Nature's beauties for long." This is an important observation, for it is clear that Keats had a mind and powers of observation which worked with lightning swiftness, and a tenacity of memory and 're-imagining' which enabled him to restate for us with such vividness that we seem to be seeing the actual scenes,

"                    There too should be  
 The frequent chequer of a youngling tree,  
 That with a score of light green brethren shoots  
 From the quaint mossiness of aged roots,  
 Round which is heard a spring-head of clear waters."

That this description is true to Nature and full of a natural grace is apparent to anyone who is acquainted with the way young beeches grow up from the natural clumpy places at the root, or who remembers how "The greenwood sheaf/Round the elmtree bole is in tiny leaf". We can feel Keats standing outside Nature and perceiving and recording with exquisite delight all her secrets. Watching he sees "How tiptoe Night holds back her dark-grey hood", and as he looks he fixes it for us with

choicest words. His truth to Nature, indeed to his own apprehension of what he sees and feels, differs from than of many other poets in that it is always a beautiful truth. In beautiful words that "sparkle on the finger of Time" he tells us of the "tiger moth's deep-damasked wings", of strawberries "low-creeping", of the "mazy forest-house, / Of squirrels, foxes shy, and antler'd deer". The precision of his observation is amazing. To apprehend we have only to give our senses full rein in natural happiness. And withal his deep tenderness goes out to all the green things of the earth, the trees, the plants, the flowers-, "I muse with the greatest affection on every flower I have known from my infancy.....<sup>1)</sup> The simple flowers of our spring are what I want to see again." This musing, meditation brings him no spiritual rapture; it seems to bring forth rather upon the page the actual flowers, and corn and fruit. Detail upon detail, line upon line, etched with the sure hand of a great artist, the forms of Nature take shape before us. In Hölderlin's poetry, too, we find a joy in colour and appreciation of scene. He is aware of appearances, too, but when a sense of the marvellous seizes upon him, it is not for its own sake. He treats it as a symbol of the abiding mystery of the origin and sustenance of this world. His command

1) To Rice, Febr., 16th. 1820.

of imagery never sweeps him into meaningless profusion. He delicately employs just their haunting suggestiveness to lift us from the mere outer, to some strange region of inner vision. The outer world he presents to us indeed, and very realistically:

"Einsam stand ich und sah in die afrikanischen dürren  
Ebnen hinaus; vom Olymp regnete Feuer herab.  
Fernhin schlich das hagre Gebirg, wie ein wandelnd  
Gerippe,  
Hohl und einsam und kahl blickt' aus der Höhe sein  
Haupt." 1)

Goethe is said to have stated that Hölderlin knew Nature only by tradition. It may have been that such realism did not appeal to Goethe's classical mind and seemed to him more "naturhistorisch als poetisch". As Goethe had only seen a few short poems of Hölderlin, his judgement could be only on very "insufficient evidence" indeed. Even in Hölderlin's realism the picture is not all the time concrete and sober. In "Die Wanderung", for instance, the revival of memory-images of colour in the reader is most skilfully employed, so that the passages glow with colour that is real and not imaginative. The trees are "weissblühend und rötlich, / Und dunklern, wild, tiefgrünenden Laubs voll." The ice is "kristallen", the sky "leichte Gewölke", against which arises "der schneeigte Gipfel". A succession of distinct pictures builds up the poem, and their realism prepares the way for the final image and leaves room for visional intensity. This description of colour

1) Der Wanderer, Erst. Fassung.

and scene is not, however, employed by him merely as the means of arousing visual interest and stimulating the delight of the eye. To one who is sensitive and sympathetic they are the means by which he comes to a knowledge of organic life.

We have seen in a previous chapter how Hölderlin approached national feeling partly through religion and nature by means of his thought and poetry. As a result landscape and the setting of human life acquires a new significance for him. In itself embodying a part of the divine process of Nature, it forms the background as well for the drama of human life and culture, for the happenings of history and the events of religion. It is not that Hölderlin gives us in poetry what Herder had expressed in prose, history or history interpreted by philosophy. His method is to work by names of place or thing in a very poetic and eclectic way, so that the names become symbols to aid suggestion and evoke our imaginative response :

"Dort an den Ufern, unter den Bäumen  
Jonias, in Ebenen des Kaisters,  
Wo Kraniche, des Aethers froh,  
Umgeschlossen sind von fernhindämmernden Bergen.  
Dort wart auch ihr, ihr Schönsten! oder pflegtet  
Der Inseln, die, mit Wein bekränzt,  
Voll tönten von Gesang; noch andere wohnten  
Am Tayget, am vielgepriesenen Hymettos,  
Und diese blühten zuletzt; doch von  
Parnassos' Quell bis zu des Tmolos  
Goldglänzenden Bächen erklang  
Ein ewig Lied; so rauschten damals  
Die heiligen Wälder und all  
Die Saitenspiele zusamt,  
Von Himmlischer Milde gerühret." 1)

1) Die Wanderung.

Here the background is most intimately interwoven with the event and with the people who live in it. Landscape naturally exists before man, in the cycle of human life, and by landscape, along with some other natural forces, human life is determined. This relationship Hölderlin always perceives, since he begins with basic ideas about Nature and life and always reverts to them. So the form and manner of his poetry gives it expression, as we can see in the Archipelagus which starts with a description of the natural position of Greece and then passes on to Greek life itself. Or again:

"Schon grünet ja, im Vorspiel rauherer Zeit  
 Für sie erzogen das Feld, bereitet ist die Gabe  
 Zum Opfermahl und Tal und Ströme sind  
 Weit offen um prophetische Berge,  
 Dass schauen mag bis in den Orient  
 Der Mann und ihn von dort der Wandlungen viele bewegen.  
 .....  
 Und der Adler, der vom Indus kommt,  
 Und über des Parnassos  
 Beschneite Gipfel fliegt, hoch über den Opferhügeln  
 Italias, und frohe Beute sucht  
 Dem Vater, nicht wie sonst, geübter im Fluge  
 Der Alte, jauchzend überschwingt er  
 Zuletzt die Alpen und sieht die vielgearteten Länder." 1)

Under the figure of a concrete image - the eagle flying from the East over Greece and Italy to Germany in the West - Hölderlin sets forth the movement of the spirit of culture as it passed historically from one civilisation to another, moving in successive flights from east to west. To this may

1) Germanien.



be added examples from Patmos, where, as I indicated, Hölderlin is engaged in the effort of establishing contact between Greece and Christianity. The interweaving of scenery and human culture is part of the mythical vision of "Der Rhein" with which we dealt.

Much nearer than "Der Wanderer" and "Die Wanderung" to depicting the scene, comes "Heidelberg":

"Aber schwer in das Tal hing die gigantische,  
Schicksalskundige Burg, nieder bis auf den Grund  
Von den Wettern zerrissen;  
Doch die ewige Sonne goss

Ihr verjüngendes Licht über das alternde  
Riesenbild, und umher grünte lebendiger  
Efeu; freundliche Bilder  
Rauschten über die Burg herab.

Sträucher blühten herab, biswo im heitern Tal,  
An den Hügel gelehnt, oder dem Ufer hold,  
Deine fröhlichen Gassen  
Unter duftenden Gärten ruhn."

The poet's subject is not simply the delight that the eye gets from simple contemplation of the scenery, but the rich and varied life which it contains. The poet's way of seeing how the various elements of the scene are connected by the life and movement which beats in them all, is, however, more important than the picture he gives us. Hölderlin gives us living pulsing Nature herself rather than some personal reactions to Nature which would be interesting as being strange or alluring in their kind. But the emphasis is laid elsewhere, there is less of nature qua nature and more attention paid to man and his history.

In the light of this discussion let us compare him again with Keats:

".....the moon lifting her silver rim  
Above a cloud, and with a gradual swin  
Coming into the blue with all her light.  
O Maker of sweet poets, dear delight  
Of this fair world, and all its gentle livers;  
Spangler of clouds, halo of crystal rivers,  
Mingler with leaves, and dew and tumbling streams,  
Lover of loneliness, and wandering,  
Of upcast eye, and tender pondering!" 1)

This is one of Keats's apostrophes to the moon. It represents a mood, and the mood depends upon the fact that the poet has been able to harmonise his spirit to certain conditions or moods of nature. The whole effect is obtained only by this means, so the result is personal. Hölderlin's poetry on the other hand is not devoted to personal effects and results but concerns itself more purely with Nature per se. He does not thrill to the spell of the moonlight like Keats,

"No one but thee hath heard me blithely sing  
And mesh my dewy flowers all the night.  
No melody was like a passing spright  
If it went not to solemnise they reign." 2) ,

or to the

"little noiseless noise among the leaves  
Born of the very sigh that silence heaves",

but gives a presentation of Nature designed to show the revelation of the forces of Nature :

- 1) I stood tip-toe.
- 2) Endymion.

"Und die Dächer umhüllt, vom Abendlichte gerötet,  
 Freundlich der häusliche Rauch; und es ruhn die sorglich  
 umzäunten  
 Gärten, es schlummert der Pflug auf den abgesonderten  
 Feldern.  
 Aber ins Mondlicht steigen herauf die zerbrochenen  
 Säulen  
 Und die Tempeltore, die einst der Furchtbare trag, der  
 geheime  
 Geist der Unruh, der in der Brust der Erd und der Menschen  
 zürnt und gärt,...." 1)

In this respect Hölderlin differs also very much from the German Romanticists. It is this attitude to Nature which gives Hölderlin's poetry much greater significance than it would have if it dealt mainly only with reactions to Nature or emotions aroused by it. Because it probes deep into the core of life, of which we are a part, we derive from it vivid impressions of truth and of unerring penetration into the secrets of existence.

The feeling of both poets for Nature is well illustrated in their respective poems "Stuttgart", and Ode "To Autumn." :

"Season of mists and mellow fruitfulness,  
 Close bosom-friend of the maturing sun;  
 Conspiring with him how to load and bless  
 With fruit the vines that round the thatch-eaves run;  
 To bend with apples the moss'd cottage-trees,  
 And fill all fruit with ripeness to the core;  
 To swell the gourd, and plump the hazel shells  
 With a sweet kernel; to set budding more,  
 And still more, later flowers for the bees,  
 Until they think warm days will never cease,  
 For Summer has o'er-brimm'd their clammy cells."

1) Die Musse.

John Keats uses here the flavour of words to the full. We get the true atmosphere of the season "drowsed with the fume of poppies", all the little details that bring it sharp and clear to the senses. All the words are imbued with the flavour of the season, "loading every rift with ore", he called it, to make us hear and see and smell the country on a beautiful autumn-day, to create an atmosphere of the friendliness of England.

"Wieder ein Glück ist erlebt. Die gefährliche Dürre  
 Und die Schärfe des Lichts senget die Blüte nicht mehr.  
 Offen steht jetzt wieder ein Saal, und gesund ist der Garten  
 Und von Regen erfrischt rauschet das glänzende Tal,  
 Hoch von Gewächsen, es schwellen die Bäch', und alle  
 Fittiche wagen sich wieder ins Reich des Gesangs.  
 Voll ist die Luft von Fröhlichen jetzt und die Stadt und  
 Rings von zufriedenen Andern des Himmels erfüllt.  
 Gerne begegnen sie sich und irren untereinander,  
 Sorgenlos, und es scheint keines zu wenig, zu viel.  
 Denn so ordnet das Herz es an, und zu atmen die Anmut,  
 Sie, die geschickliche, schenkt ihnen ein göttlicher Geist.  
 Aber die Wanderer auch sind wohlgeleitet und haben  
 Kränze genug und Gesang, haben den heiligen Stab,  
 Vollgeschmückt mit Trauben und Laub, bei sich und der  
 von Dorfe zu Dorf jauchzet es, von Tage zu Tag,  
 Und wie Wagen, bespannt mit freiem Wilde, so ziehn die  
 Berge voran, und so traget und eilet der Pfand."

These simple, precise utterances are a strong contrast to the fancy and wealth of imagery that Keats pours forth. The scene that Keats describes becomes almost visible, but Hölderlin's simplicity in language is more impressive than Keats's wealth of fancy, because just as natural life is full

of mystery so Hölderlin's simplicity partakes of its mystery. The words thrill us because they embody this grave simplicity and sense of natural wonder. Keats shows, it is true, that he perceives in Nature that force which urges everything towards ripeness, but the revelation of the force is not direct, it is fanciful as his personification of autumn:

"Who hath not seen thee oft amid thy store?  
 Sometimes whoever seeks abroad may find  
 Thee sitting careless on a granary floor,  
 Thy hair soft-lifted by the winnowing wind;  
 Or on a half-reap'd furrow sound asleep,  
 Drows'd with the fume of poppies, while thy hook  
 S pares the next swath and all its twined flowers:  
 And sometimes like a gleaner thou dost keep  
 Steady thy laden head across a brook;  
 Or by a cider-press, with patient look,  
 Thou watchest the last oozi ng hours by hours."

a dozing reaper, a gleaner poising along the stepping stones;  
 a ghost of the farm, watching on through many cider-makings,  
 and then a fairy-queen with her musicians.

"Doch Vergangenes ist, wie Künftiges, heilig den  
 Sängern,  
 Und in Tagen des Herbsts sühnen die Schatten wir uns.  
 So der Gewaltigen gedenk und des herzerhebenden  
 Schicksals,  
 Tatlos selber und leicht, aber vom Äther doch auch  
 Angeschauet und fromm, wie die Alten, die göttlich-  
 erzogenen  
 Freudigen Dichter, ziehn freudig das Land wir hinauf.  
 Gross ist das Werden umher. Dort von den äussersten  
 Bergen  
 Stammen der Jünglinge viel, steigen die Hügel herab.  
 Quellen rauschen von dort und hundert geschäftige  
 Bäche  
 Kommen bei Tag und Nacht nieder und bauen das Land."

Keats's fancy is enticed to describe the sights and sounds of the ripening season. Hölderlin is impressed, not by the effect of the maturing and ripening process, but by the process itself: "Gross ist das Werden umher".

"Where are the songs of Spring? Ay, where are they?  
 Think not of them, thou hast thy music too,  
 While barred clouds bloom the soft-dying day,  
 And touch the stubble plains with rosy hue;  
 Then in a wailful choir the small gnats mourn  
 Among the rivers sallows, borne aloft  
 Or sinking as the light wind lives or dies;  
 And full-grown lambs loud bleat from hilly bourn;  
 Hedge-crickets sing; and now with treble soft  
 The red-breast whistles from a garden-croft;  
 And gathering swallows twitter in the skies."

There is no mention actually of Keats's feelings but we feel that his melancholy is for him a very enjoyable mood. Without his actually saying anything about feeling, the flavour of his words, "wailful", "mourn" is melancholy. Keats's melancholy is dedicated to the quiet saddening processes of the fall of the leaf, to peaceful agreement with the inevitable ageing and fading of vitality. Keats was conscious of the primary force of nature but he did not seek to go beyond accepting it as such along with the emotion it evoked in him and the wonder he felt for it. Wordsworth found in Nature and life a spirit which moves through all things and constitutes the real behind the apparent.

Hölderlin, we have seen, is impressed by the season of fullness, and the fact that the forces of life have produced the harvest. He is celebrating the divine in life. No other has combined this feeling for the very essential of life with the concept of its material and spiritual unity such as cannot be discriminated between separately. Throughout all his poetry we can feel a religious sense of the forces greater than man, and as a result of this the demand for their recognition by man. Hölderlin's mind being highly developed and cultured in its religious feeling reverences the God which he sees manifesting himself in life itself. This power in life is characterised by being manifested with mighty force in manifold ways. Therefore it is only a natural result of Hölderlin's primary emotion that we should find embodied in all his poetry a strong invocation of the promise of life wherever it is to be found, but especially in those spheres which we know as Nature and Man. This power is expressed in nature by the budding and blossoming of spring and the ripening of the crops in autumn. In man it is shown by the self-assertiveness and exuberance of youth and of the super-man, the hero. The rise and culmination of a great civilisation sets it forth in society, as the extension of the idea man. Thus behind the theme of the celebration of the harvest of bounteous nature, in the poem "Stuttgart" can be detected the thought of the lives

of human communities maturing, in the process of civilisation, to periods of fruitfulness. "Der Gefesselte Strom", as well as "Der Rhein", which we have already mentioned, give us symbols which represent the vitalising drivingpower in life:

"Schon tönt, schon tönt es ihm in der Brust, es quillt,  
Wie, da er noch im Schosse der Felsen spielt',  
Ihm auf, und nun gedenkt er seiner  
Kraft, der Gewaltige, nun, nun eilt er,  
  
Der Zauderer, er spottet der Fesseln nun,  
Und nimmt und bricht und wirft die Zerbrochenen  
Im Zorne, spielend, da und dort zum  
Schallenden Ufer..." 1)

This is almost symbolical of Hölderlin's life. There was the mood when he was afflicted by a strain of sullen, solitary, almost inexpressible self-torment, when the thought of a new order in Germany shook him like a tempest. Few poets learned self-control with more difficulty, and few tried more to steel themselves to hardness, finding the strength for it in Nature. And if at last he has to yield, it is still a victory,

"Und es sahn ihn, wie er siegend blickte,  
Den Freudigsten, die Freunde noch zuletzt."

In Hölderlin's poems Dionysus' sacred plant, the vine also reappears over and over again to symbolise life with greatest significance :

1) Der Gefesselte Strom.



"Dass, wie ein Samkorn, du die eiserne Schale zersprengst,  
 Los sich reisst und das Licht grüsst die entbundene Welt,  
 All die gesammelte Kraft aufflammt in üppigem Frühling,  
 Rosen glühen und Wein sprudelt im karglichen Nord." 1)

to give one reference. Again we see a marked difference when we compare this with Keats:

"O, for a draught of vintage! that hath been  
 Cool'd a long age in the deep-delved earth,  
 Tasting of Flora and the country green," 2)

The cry results from a romantic melancholy, which, as it were, seeks its imaginative relief in the imaginary wine. The Ode to a Nightingale, again, shows how Keats is the poet of the mood. "Drowsy" is a word which appeals to him no less than the idea does. This idea runs all through the Psyche Ode, and is the keynote at the beginning of the ode under discussion:

"My heart aches, and a drowsy numbness pains  
 My sense, as though of hemlock I had drunk,"

It is used twice in the Ode on Indolence :

"Ripe was the drowsy hour;  
 The blissful cloud of summer indolence  
 Benumb'd my eyes; my pulse grew less and less;  
 Pain had no sting, and pleasures' wreath no flower,"

and again

"O folly! What is Love! and where is it?  
 And for that poor Ambition! it springs  
 From a man's little heart's short fever-fit;

1) Der Wanderer, Zw. Fssg.

2) Ode to a Nightingale.

"For Poesy! - no, - she has not a joy, -  
 At least for me, - so sweet as drowsy noons,  
 And evenings steep'd in honied indolence;"

The mood of this "drowsy"indolence Keats calles "my 1819 mood". Yet from it spring not only all the great Odes, except Autumn, but the Eve of St. Agnes. What for Keats is drowsiness and indolence is poetry for others; it is poetry for Keats too, but it does not content him. In the Ode on Melancholy he considers that the poet, <sup>has/</sup> as it were an obligation to keep himself alive to the appreciation of beauty even though it cause him anguish. Should "wakeful anguish" be "drowned" then he loses his insight, for he has not been able to carry through to the full that proper joy of the senses. The nightingale, perhaps because of its attractive singing, perhaps because of its reputation, aroused the mood. The feelings are the same as he has often expressed. The poet may feel particular emotions strongly, but they are linked up with memories of feelings of the past, in harmony with the present sensation:

"Darkling I listen; and for many a time  
 I have been half in love with easeful Death,  
 Call'd him soft names in many a mused rhyme,  
 To take into the air my quiet breath."

There is then, in Keats, a recurrence of his themes, but not so expressedly and deliberately, as in Hölderlin's poetry which re-iterates his themes arising out of his need of being conscious of gods. In Keats it seems that from the memory

of a feeling in the past there spring up images till then latent in the mind, associated with the present excitement. As a further example of how Keats depicts situations as they seem to him in a particular state of mind, we have

"In the middays of autumn, on their eyes  
The breath of winter comes from far away,  
And the sick west continually bereaves  
Of some gold tinge, and plays a roundelay  
Of death among the bushes and the leaves  
To make all bare before he dares to stray  
From his north cavern."

The mood to which autumn moved Keats here is quite different from that of the Ode To Autumn. Or let us remember, to have a different example altogether, The Eve of St. Agnes, in which Keats is chiefly concerned with expressing his delight in the situation he has imagined, the lovely woman in the elegant bed, the precious delicacies which Porphyro displays for the feast. They are all brought in to give the poet's imagination the widest scope. Hölderlin does not give us anything which suggests that he had such multiple reactions. "Almost any poet of comparable importance is more varied than Hölderlin in this respect. But there can also be a monotony in their very variety if their poetic power is not equal to the variety of the external stimuli. The life of Hölderlin's poems, on the other hand, is rich and manifold, out of all comparison to the somewhat restricted external range. And he scaled heights which very few have touched. The genius that narrowed his reaction to the extent of reality

gave him unusual stature by virtue of his concentrated power and the extraordinary and unique quality of his vision. This indeed, sets him apart, and makes it difficult to compare him with others at all." <sup>1)</sup> Throughout all his work we are conscious that it possesses a remarkable spiritual core. Even his seemingly lightest poems are marked by a weight, sound and movement which, deriving from the ultimate source of his inspiration, are unmistakably linked up with the greatest things which he has written.

Quite often, as we have seen, Keats seems to allow himself to be provoked by some mood into thought and similiarly to be led away from it. In like manner he can be induced to penetrate some other conception of what he thinks of as real, in his effort to acquire powers which he does not posses, or the power to pierce the meaning and mystery of human suffering. Yet "his best work, his purest work, we get from him only when, from these grandiose strivings, he falls back upon an order of things where nothing cries or strives, nothing asks questions or answers them, but in love-sorrow itself there is a kind of luxuriousness, and the deaths that fall are 'rich to die'." <sup>2)</sup>

1) Peacock, Ibid, p. 160.

2) Garrod, Ibid, p. 137.

Hölderlin and Keats, little understood and hardly appreciated while they lived, at the turn of this century were received with unexpected enthusiasm. Hölderlin and Keats -, the cry rings out, a clarion call over the lands of their birth hailing them as worthy to take their place beside the great poets of all time. The broken spirit and tortured mind of Keats and Hölderlin must be regarded, certainly, as more than are commonly found in mortals. They are recognised as the enshrinement of the thoughts of a poet and seer, an inexhaustible source of delight and hope. They shared a like fate in many respects during their lifetime; and even after death their destiny was similar. The genuine poetic strain in both, suppressed in the one by the flood of literature, gradually growing more shallow, in the other by the jealousy of his contemporaries, needed no flourish of trumpets to call attention to itself, but patiently awaited its turn. It has come. The problem of their attitude to the Greeks is no mere academic one. In tracing the development through which both, and especially Hölderlin, had to go, we outline the picture of European culture as it gradually took shape, and as it still stands before us even to-day demanding solution. There always will be an antagonism between

the powers of Greek paganism and western Christendom. The magico-mystic spiritual world of the East is ever straining against the rational world of the West. The balance must always be held evenly between these contrasts. When we think of Europe to-day we envisage the overcoming not only of the economic and politico-ideological barriers which divide the peoples, but also of those barriers which even yet stand in the way of European unity, and which in men like Keats and Hölderlin strove for equilibrium.

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