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Auch ich in Arkadien? The allure of Italy for the German traveller in Goethe's *Italienische Reise*, Eichendorff's *Aus dem Leben eines Taugenichts* and Heine's *Reise von München nach Genua*

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In the early nineteenth century, Italy was linked with the experiences of Goethe and his *Italienische Reise* in the German imagination. Consequently, a later generation of writers could challenge Goethe and distance themselves from his influence by offering an alternative experience of the South. Eichendorff's *Aus dem Leben eines Taugenichts* and Heine's *Reise von München nach Genua* directly respond to Goethe and subvert his representation of Italy. Eichendorff rejects Goethe's concept of *Bildung*, while Heine disapproves of Goethe's emphasis on antiquity and focuses instead on Italy's present poverty and oppression. The texts represent three key exponents of competing and largely contemporaneous literary movements, which were played out in the German imaginings of Italy. This article examines how, in spite of these differences, the texts also resemble each other in significant ways: each traveller attempts to escape an uncomfortable home environment, only to realize that an idealized Italy remains beyond his grasp. The German traveller is prevented from adopting a new life in Italy by his own cultural identity that he cannot escape.

KEYWORDS: Goethe, Eichendorff, Heine, *Italienische Reise*, *Taugenichts*, *Reisebilder*, German cultural identity, Italy.

Italy has long held a particular fascination for Germans and their literary imagination. In their accounts of travel to Italy, German writers often established a dichotomy between the realities of day-to-day life in their homeland and an idyllic South, an imagined elsewhere, which promised a more meaningful existence. Thus, North and South represent two

irreconcilable poles in conflict in the German psyche. In three texts – Goethe's *Italienische Reise*, Eichendorff's *Aus dem Leben eines Taugenichts* and Heine's *Reise von München nach Genua*[1] – these writers explore the identity of the German traveller in Italy, which I argue is an overarching theme that connects the three texts. The travellers have conflicting experiences of Italy, yet they arrive at the same conclusion: even though they can run away from Germany, they cannot escape themselves.

The works by Goethe, Eichendorff and Heine were published between 1816 and 1829, and each has an agenda that reflects a different literary and cultural movement that corresponds to the authors' different generations. *Italienische Reise* provides a record of Goethe's transition to German Classicism and is an assertion of Classical principles against Romanticism. *Aus dem Leben eines Taugenichts*, a key work of late Romanticism, in turn counters Goethe's Classical principles through a fictional Italian journey. Goethe's image of Italy is, however, most overtly subverted in *Reise von München nach Genua*. Goethe's and Eichendorff's aesthetic agendas are augmented by Heine's concern with the socio-political situation of Europe, in keeping with the political values of emancipation of *Junges Deutschland*. The simplicity of Italian life that Goethe idealized was for Heine an expression of poverty. The latter's depictions of Italy and its inhabitants serve to emphasize the urgent need for emancipation from the oppressive rule of the Restoration and the political machinations of Metternich. The short period separating the works reminds us that these various and opposing

[1] While both Goethe and Heine pose as the narrator of a non-fictional travel account, Eichendorff's narrator, the Taugenichts, is purely fictional. Eichendorff never travelled to Italy, yet through the Taugenichts he participates in the tradition of the Italian journey in German literature and is able to respond to Goethe's conception of the South.

movements existed concurrently, developing simultaneously and in continual response to each other.[2]

Yet despite their divergent agendas, the three German travellers resemble each other in significant ways. In each text the protagonist is driven to Italy by his despondency and dissatisfaction with German society and a desire for a more fulfilled life. Goethe imagines Italy as a pre-industrial pastoral idyll, an Arcadia where he can escape the pitfalls of the modern world. Goethe is sceptical of the technological advances that increasingly defined northern Europe against its southern neighbour. In *Italienische Reise*, published more than thirty years after his return from Italy, he thinks back nostalgically to an age before the upheavals of the French Revolution – whose radical solutions he abhorred – and the Napoleonic Wars. Similarly, Eichendorff's narrator, the Taugenichts, travels to Italy in the hope of escaping the pressures of life in Germany and a society that was increasingly defined by the mercantile interests of the middle classes. In addition to his critique of Classicism, Eichendorff describes the social changes that characterized the period and the tension between Romanticism and *Biedermeier* culture. Contrastingly, Heine has primarily a political agenda. Frustrated by the repressive socio-political climate in Germany and steeped in the tradition of Goethe, Heine seeks to escape the realities of Restoration Europe by travelling to Italy. He grows to realize, like the Taugenichts, that his imaginings of Italy are an illusion.

For each of these travellers, an imagined South is beyond his grasp. While Eichendorff and Heine consciously distance themselves from Goethe, they recognize the dilemma facing the German traveller in Italy: he is unable to escape his identity and assimilate to a southern way of life that he yearns for. Goethe's epigraph to *Italienische Reise*, 'Auch ich in Arkadien!', appears in a new light. The motto *Et in Arcadia ego* was originally considered to allude to the

[2] Gretchen L. Hachmeister, *Italy in the German Literary Imagination: Goethe's "Italian Journey" and its Reception by Eichendorff, Platen and Heine*, New York, 2002, p. 8.

presence of death even in Arcadia (FA, I, xv/2, 1168–70). I will argue, instead, that the inescapable ego of Goethe's account is the German self. Goethe's epigraph is equally applicable to Eichendorff's and Heine's texts, linking these otherwise disparate works.

The literature on these three texts is too extensive to be analysed here in its entirety. My investigation is situated within the recent body of criticism that has shed new light on Goethe's *Italienische Reise* and its influence on German literary representations of Italy in the early nineteenth century. While Joseph Luzzi contends that Goethe played a significant role in establishing an image of the South as an 'imaginary homeland' for northern Europeans generally, Gretchen L. Hachmeister and Richard Block argue that *Italienische Reise* sowed the seeds of what became a specifically German myth of Italy. Because of its link to Goethe, the journey to Italy was used as a vehicle by a later generation of writers to position themselves in relation to him and also to distance themselves from his influence and challenge his authority.[3] Hachmeister examines the intertextual relationship of the three works that form the basis of this study. She contends that Eichendorff and Heine challenge the principles that Goethe expounds in *Italienische Reise* by offering an alternative experience of Italy. Block gives a psychoanalytical reading of Heine's response to Goethe and argues that Heine's alternative Italy is an act of defiance against Goethe's patriarchal authority. Block's analysis of Goethe's influence on Germany literary representations of Italy does not include Eichendorff, but extends to Freud, Nietzsche and Thomas Mann. Eichendorff's response to Goethe through the Taugenichts' journey to Italy has been largely neglected by critics. A notable exception is Knut Rybka, who demonstrates that Eichendorff intentionally parallels and parodies numerous episodes in *Italienische Reise*. *Aus dem Leben*

[3] Richard Block, *The Spell of Italy: Vacation, Magic, and the Attraction of Goethe*, ed. by Liliane Weissberg, Detroit, 2006 (p. 15); Gretchen L Hachmeister, *Italy in the German Literary Imagination: Goethe's "Italian Journey" and its Reception by Eichendorff, Platen and Heine*, New York, 2002, p. 2; Joseph Luzzi, *Romantic Europe and the Ghost of Italy*, New Haven, 2008, p. 52.

eines Taugenichts, Rybka argues, is Eichendorff's response to the debate between Classicism and Romanticism, which the publication of *Italienische Reise* reenergized.[4] By contrast, my comparative analysis of these three texts will focus on identity. I argue that it is a thematic concern of each text and links rather than separates them.

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Italienische Reise expresses Goethe's ambiguous relationship to Germany and the life he had led in Weimar. On closer reading, the text discloses that the journey to Italy was not only an escape from the pressures at court, but also from German society and culture at large. Goethe hoped to discover a simpler and more fulfilled way of life in Italy that he considered to be no longer possible in Germany. By identifying it with Arcadia, Goethe portrays Italy as a place unspoilt by modern civilisation, offering an escape from the pressures of the technologically advanced societies of northern Europe. Goethe's critique of northern industrialized society in contrast to Italy was not unique, and foreign authors often 'used the example of premodern and primitive Italy to critique the ambiguities and forms of alienation that accompanied modernity'.[5]

While Goethe's primary destination in Italy was Rome, where he encounters the grandeur of classical civilisation, his pursuit of an alternative mode of living emerges as a parallel narrative in *Italienische Reise*. Goethe is attracted to the down-to-earth lifestyle of rural Italians and particularly admires the carefree mentality of the Neapolitans. In Naples he remarks: 'Gewiß, es wäre besser, ich käme gar nicht wieder, wenn ich nicht wiedergeboren

[4] Knut Rybka, *Eichendorffs Italienische Reise: Textarbeit zum "Taugenichts"*, Frankfurt/Main, 1993, p. 151.

[5] Joseph Luzzi, 'Italy without Italians: Literary Origins of a Romantic Myth', *MLN*, 117 (2002), 48–83 (p. 50).

zurückkommen kann' (p. 234).[6] Goethe envisages a synthesis between the German and Italian mentality, only after which he can be reborn.[7] However, he increasingly comes to realize that 'die Deutsche Sinnesart' (p. 233) forbids him from adopting the southern lifestyle and embracing a more genuine and authentic way of being.

Georg Lukács interprets Goethe's departure for Italy as resulting from his failed attempts at social reform in Weimar:

> Wir müssen wieder die Verdienste [Franz] Mehrings hervorheben, der erkannt hat, daß Goethe nicht aus Liebesenttäuschung, nicht infolge der Krise seiner Liebe zu Charlotte von Stein nach Italien floh, sondern darum, weil sein Versuch, das Weimarer Fürstentum nach den Prinzipien der Aufklärung gesellschaftlich zu reformieren, am Widerstand des Hofes, der Bürokratie und Karl Augusts gescheitert ist.[8]

Lukács does not mention why it was Italy that Goethe fled to, and remarks only on Goethe's 'Kritik der sozialen Zurückgebliebenheit des damaligen Deutschlands' (p. 50). Yet it is precisely the backwardness of the Italians that fascinates Goethe, which indicates rather a rejection of the principles of the Enlightenment.

Italienische Reise reveals a deeper sense of searching in Italy than Lukács's interpretation gives credit for. Lukács does not account for the drastic measures Goethe took in departing from Weimar, nor his anticipation and profound relief on setting foot in Italy:

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[6] All references to Goethe are from: FA, I, xv/1, 1993, unless otherwise indicated.

[7] Italo Michele Battafarano, *Die im Chaos blühenden Zitronen: Identität und Alterität in Goethes Italienische Reise*, ed. by Italo Michele Battafarano (Iris: Forschungen Zur Europäischen Kultur, 12), Bern, 1999, p. 182).

[8] Georg Lukács, 'Goethe und seine Zeit', in: *Deutsche Literatur in zwei Jahrhunderten*, 7, Neuwied, 1964, 41-184 (p. 50).

> Ach, was ich hier ausdrücke, habe ich lange gewußt, so lange, als ich unter einem bösen Himmel dulde, und jetzt mag ich gern diese Freude als Ausnahme fühlen, die wir als eine ewige Naturnothwendigkeit immer fort genießen sollten. (p. 30)

The first entry on 3 September 1786 in Regensburg, 'Früh drei Uhr stahl ich aus Carlsbad, weil man mich sonst nicht fort gelaßen hätte' (p. 11), suggests that Goethe's departure from Karlsbad was in fact an escape. He flees from the society of the Weimar court, who, because they intended a grand celebration for his birthday, 'erwarb sich wohl dadurch ein Recht mich festzuhalten' (p. 11). He emphasizes the radical severance from his previous life that his journey symbolizes: 'ich muß gestehen [dass] meine Reise eigentlich eine Flucht war, vor allen den Unbilden, die ich unter dem Ein und Funfzigsten Grade erlitten [...]' (p. 21). By travelling incognito he wishes even to escape himself.

Goethe is running away. He travels lightly, without any excess: 'Ich warf mich ganz allein, nur einen Mantelsack und Dachsranzen aufpackend, in eine Postchaise' (p. 11). Roberto M. Dainotto suggests that in travelling to Italy, Goethe hoped to escape the pressures of an 'overloaded life', to witness the idyllic simplicity of rural Italians, in search of 'an unfilled existence [and] the bare necessities of life'.[9] The drastic measures Goethe took departing Weimar, his disappearance from society life in Germany, 'abandoning, like a medieval monk, his entire social identity, possessions and status [...]' (p. 9) is testimony to his urgent need to flee from everything that his life in Germany had entailed.

On arriving in Italy Goethe relishes the Italians' lifestyle. He is eager to tell his readers about the trout he has eaten, freshly caught from the nearby mountain stream, and generally about

[9] Roberto M. Dainotto, 'Goethe's Backpack', *Substance*, 33 (2004), 6-22 (p. 9).

his diet: ‘Mein eigentlich Wohlleben aber ist in Früchten, in Feigen, auch Birnen, welche da wohl köstlich sein müssen, wo schon Citronen wachsen’ (p. 33). These fruits connote images of warmth, abundance and of the South in general and are intrinsic to his portrayal of Italy. Goethe makes a point of describing the very simple, but wholesome food of the Italians, in tune with its natural surroundings, suggesting that he felt the lack of this in Germany, something that contributed to his need to escape.

Of the Italians themselves, Goethe notes: ‘Die Menschen leben ein nachlässiges Schlaraffenleben’, the doors have no locks and ‘[durchaus] zeigt sich die größte Sorglosigkeit, doch Leben und Geschäftigkeit genug’ (p. 33). By making an association between Italy and *Schlaraffenland*, Goethe implies that the South is a land of plenty and well-being and indeed the escape he has been looking for from the pressures of court and his life in Germany.

It should be noted, however, that Goethe’s reaction to the primitive conditions and simple natures of rural Italians was not always positive, and he appears at times ambiguous and contradictory in his response to them. In Foligno Goethe remarks: ‘Dieses Italien, von Natur höchlich begünstiget, blieb in allem Mechanischen und Technischen, worauf doch eine bequemere und frischere Lebenweise gegründet ist, gegen alle Länder unendlich zurück’, and in stark contrast to his earlier statement on the carefree, yet diligent Italians he saw: ‘Mit unerhörtem Leichtsinn versäumen sie, sich auf den Winter, auf längere Nächte vorzubereiten, und leiden deßhalb einen guten Theil des Jahres wie die Hunde’ (p. 128). In spite of these occasional criticisms, overall Goethe still felt drawn to the way of life of the Italians he observed.

Goethe’s unease towards technological progress in Germany is further developed through his illustration of the Italian sense of time. He contrasts the naturalness of Italian solar time with

German clock time. While clock time was not solely a German phenomenon, Goethe specifically denounces the mechanisation of German society, in contrast to the Italians, whose time measurements were closely in tune with the natural cycles of the sun:

> was Tag sei, wissen wir Cimmerier kaum. Im ewigem Nebel und Trübe ist es uns einerlei, ob es Tag order Nacht ist; denn wie viel Zeit können wir uns unter freiem Himmel wahrhaft ergehen und ergetzen? [...] der Mensch, der hier lebendig lebt, kann nicht irre werden, weil jeder Genuß seines Daseins sich nicht auf die Stunde, sondern auf die Tageszeit bezieht. Zwänge man dem Volke einen deutschen Zeiger auf, so würde man es vewirrt machen, denn der seinige ist innigst mit seiner Natur verwebt. (pp. 51–52).

The allure of the southern way of life for Goethe culminates in his experiences in Naples. The city's profound impact on him is highlighted by the dichotomy that he establishes between it and Rome: 'wenn man in Rom gern studieren mag, so will man hier nur leben [...]' (p. 225). While Goethe does not reject his intellectual pursuits, in Naples he witnesses the possibility of an alternative mode of living that was a driving factor in his journey. He is attracted to the Neapolitans' philosophy of life, highlighting his dissatisfaction with the mentality of German society: 'Ich finde in diesem Volk die lebhafteste und geistreichste Industrie, nicht um reich zu werden, sondern um sorgenfrei zu leben' (p. 216). The studies that preoccupied him in Rome are superseded in Naples by a desire for life in a much wider sense:

> Aber weder zu erzählen, noch zu beschreiben ist die Herrlichkeit einer Vollmondnacht, wie wir sie genossen, durch die Straßen über die Plätze wandelnd, auf der Chiaja, dem unermeßlichen Spaziergang, sodann am Meeresufer hin und wieder. Es übernimmt Einen wirklich das Gefühl von Unendlichkeit des Raums. So zu träumen, ist denn doch der Mühe werth. (p. 207)

Goethe is impressed by the Neapolitans' ability to enjoy themselves, and uses it as an example for his German audience:

> Alles deutet dahin, daß ein glückliches, die ersten Bedürfnisse reichlich anbietendes Land auch Menschen von glücklichem Naturell erzeugt, die ohne Kümmerniß erwarten können, der morgende Tag werde bringen, was der heutige gebracht und deßhalb sorgenlos dahin leben. (p. 216)

Goethe was sometimes critical of this same carefree attitude that he perceived in rural Italians, as we saw. Nonetheless, his emphasis on these attributes suggests that he wants his reader to draw a lesson from them, and he implicitly contrasts the Neapolitans' 'glückliche[s] Naturell' with the 'Kümmerniß' that pervades German society.

Goethe's escape from all things German entails also an escape from himself. In Naples he is on the verge of reaching that goal: 'Neapel ist ein Paradies, Jedermann lebt in einer Art von trunkner Selbstvergessenheit. Mir geht es eben so, ich erkenne mich kaum, ich scheine mir ein ganz anderer Mensch' (p. 224). Self-forgetfulness becomes a motif in the experience of Naples: 'man vergißt sich und die Welt, und für mich ist es eine wunderliche Empfindung, nur mit genießenden Menschen umzugehen' (p. 225). Yet, in spite of the strong admiration that Goethe expresses for Naples and the Neapolitan way of life, these same feelings cause him also to experience a sense of displacement and non-belonging: 'Hier sind mir die Menschen alle gut, wenn sie auch nichts mit mir anzufangen wissen' (p. 222). Goethe feels his northernness acutely, and he gradually becomes aware that he cannot escape his identity. His German character prevents him from fully accepting and being accepted in Naples:

> Triebe mich nicht die Deutsche Sinnesart und das Verlangen, mehr zu lernen und zu thun als zu genießen, so sollte ich in dieser Schule des leichten und lustigen Lebens noch einige Zeit verweilen und mehr zu profitieren suchen. (p. 233)

This feeling of alienation is exacerbated by the Neapolitans' negative impression of northern Europe:

> Der Neapolitaner glaubt, im Besitz des Paradieses zu sein und hat von den nördlichen Ländern einen sehr traurigen Begriff: sempre neve, case di legno, gran ignoranza, ma danari assai. Solch ein Bild machen sie von unserm Zustande. Zur Erbauung sämmtlicher deutschen Völkerschaften heißt diese Characteristik übersetzt: "immer Schnee, hölzerne Häuser, große Unwissenheit; aber Geld genug. (p. 199)

This verdict on his own identity weighs heavily on Goethe: 'always snow', in stark contrast to the warmth and liveliness of Naples' climate; 'wooden houses', implying a lack of culture and history in contrast to the stone and marble that the South has inherited from antiquity; 'great ignorance', in contrast to the wisdom of ancient and Classical culture (possibly also a reference to a lack of knowledge about the essentials of life); and finally, 'yet plenty of money', suggesting that Germany attempts to make up and compensate for its deficiencies through its wealth, which Goethe considers as a means of simply consolidating its failings. Naples, on the other hand, 'kündigt sich froh, frei und lebhaft an, unzählige Menschen rennen durch einander, der König ist auf der Jagd, die Königin guter Hoffnung, und so kanns nicht besser gehen' (p. 199–200).

Naples makes Goethe realize that his German character precludes him from adopting a way of life that up to now has been a compelling factor in his journey. He relinquishes hope of finding a more meaningful existence and comes to terms with his difference as a German: 'Reisen lern' ich wohl auf dieser Reise, ob ich leben lerne, weiß ich nicht. Die Menschen die es zu verstehen scheinen sind in Art und Wesen zu sehr von mir verschieden als daß ich auf dieses Talent sollte Anspruch machen können' (p. 240).

Goethe's German temperament rejects and is rejected by the Arcadia he hoped to discover in Italy. The motto *Et in Arcadia ego* in the paintings by Guercino (1623) and Nicholas Poussin (1645) is held to allude to the presence of death, even in Arcadia (FA, I, x/2, 1168-1170). In Goethe's text, however, the inescapable ego is the German self. Acknowledging this, Goethe addresses his circle of friends in Weimar in his last entry in Naples: 'Heute Nacht träumte ich mich wieder in meinen Geschäften. Es ist denn doch als wenn ich mein Fasanenschiff nirgends als bei Euch ausladen könnte. Möge es nur erst recht stattlich geladen sein!' (p. 241). Goethe renounces his hope of escaping who he is, and mentally he reorients himself back to Germany and prepares himself for his return.

Italienische Reise became a seminal text on Italy, to which contemporary German writers reacted. Eichendorff and Heine, in their challenge to Goethe, utilize not only the form of the travel narrative, but the journey to Italy in particular, as a vehicle for satire. Yet despite offering alternative representations of Italy, Eichendorff's and Heine's journeys follow a similar trajectory to Goethe's. The Taugenichts and Heine's narrator are driven to Italy in search of a better existence. However, their identity as Germans excludes them, too, from that southern way of life.

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In *Aus dem Leben eines Taugenichts* Eichendorff sets the stage for the conflict between Romanticism and bourgeois values in the social and cultural climate of post-Restoration Europe. The novella is a discerning attempt by Eichendorff to describe the social and political changes occurring in Europe at the beginning of the modern era.[10] A key element of

[10] Tim Mehigan, 'Eichendorff's Taugenichts; or, the Social Education of a Private Man', *GQ*, 66 (1993), 60-70 (p. 60).

Eichendorff's exploration is his parody of Goethe's *Italienische Reise* through the Taugenichts' journey to Italy (Hachmeister, p. 95; Rybka, p. 151). Eichendorff devalues Goethe's emphasis on *Bildung* through the hectic and confusing nature of the Taugenichts' travels, which conflicts with Goethe's deliberate and methodical journey. Eichendorff suggests that Italy offers no benefit for the German traveller.

In spite of these differences, the Taugenichts' experiences are analogous to Goethe's own. The Taugenichts is driven to travel out of fear of being trapped in the ordinary day-to-day cycle of middle-class life and work. He, too, travels light – he believes in providence and sets out from his father's house with only his violin, certain of finding an imagined 'elsewhere' to escape the realities of the modern age. His yearning, as well as his flight 'aus dem "tödlichen Zuviel" dieser Welt'[11] that leads to Italy, echoes Goethe's own journey to the South. The Taugenichts comes to similar conclusions as Goethe: he realizes that an idealized Italy is beyond his grasp, and like Goethe, he discovers advantages to life in German lands, even if Goethe retained a sense of alienation after returning. The conflict between the Taugenichts' Romantic idealism and middle-class values is evident from the beginning of the novella. Setting out from his father's house, the Taugenichts sings: 'Wem Gott will rechte Gunst erweisen, / Den schickt er in die weite Welt', a quintessential expression of Romantic *Wanderschaft* and a direct condemnation of bourgeois attitudes:

Die Trägen, die zu Hause liegen,
Erquicket nicht das Morgenroth,
Sie wissen nur vom Kinderwiegen,
Von Sorgen, Last und Not um Brodt.[12]

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[11] Margaret Gump, 'Zum Problem des Taugenichts', *DVjs*, 37 (1963), 529-57 (p. 555).

[12] All references to Eichendorff are from: *Sämtliche Werke des Freiherrn Joseph von Eichendorff*,

The anxiety of being trapped in a life of hardship and monotony is conjured up later in a dream, in which the Taugenichts has an idyllic vision that is destroyed by the 'brausen' and 'Sausen' of his father's mill – the call to work – from which he so desperately tries to escape (p. 113). The impending realities of the world threaten all the Taugenichts' hopes, and the only way to sustain them is to flee.

The Taugenichts is 'das unvergängliche Sinnbild seliger Wanderschaft',[13] yet by choosing this life he enters into direct conflict with prevailing attitudes and values. Arnd Bohm analyses this dilemma as competition between the providential and the extractive economy.[14] In a providential economy wealth increases through gifts, from other persons, nature, from divine beings or good fortune. An extractive economy, on the other hand, increases wealth by extracting resources, and through the knowledge to manipulate them in order to increase value for sale and profit. In short, the providential economy represents the ideals of Romanticism, as embodied in the Taugenichts, at odds with bourgeois culture, whose values are represented by the extractive economy.

The Taugenichts initially believes unconditionally in a providential system, yet despite all his efforts, he becomes increasingly aware that he cannot escape the other. He is offended when he is offered payment for playing his violin: 'Mich ärgerte das, wenn ich gleich dazumal kein Geld in der Tasche hatte. Ich sagte ihm, er sollte nur seine Pfennige behalten, ich spielte nur so aus Freude' (p. 117). Even as a musician, his relationship with society is no different than

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ed. by Karl Konrad Polheim, V/1, Tübingen, 1998, pp. 83–197 (p. 86).

[13] Egon Schwarz, 'Der Taugenichts Zwischen Heimat und Exil', *Études Germaniques*, 12 (1957), 18-33 (p. 18).

[14] Arnd Bohm, 'Competing Economies in Eichendorff's "Aus dem Leben eines Taugenichts"', *GQ*, 58 (1985), 540-53 (p. 541).

when he was a gardener. As an entertainer he is as much a hireling as before, though he may reject the money offered to him.

The Taugenichts, by trying to escape an extractive economy, attempts to emulate the old aristocracy, who lived outside of the marketplace (Mehigan, p. 64). However, because the aristocracy is in decline, this is no longer a legitimate alternative. Eichendorff, from an old aristocratic family, personally felt the repercussions of this change; he was evicted from his family home in Lubowitz.[15] Thus he seems to have incorporated into the story of the Taugenichts his own lack of belonging in the changing social structure of Europe.

Throughout the Taugenichts' adventures there are numerous temptations for him to interrupt his journey and lead an ordinary life (Schwarz, p. 20). The village girl whom the Taugenichts meets on his way to Italy makes a very attractive proposition for him to stay with her and her father (p. 118). Previously in Vienna, where he was employed as a gardener and then as a toll collector, his life was a very comfortable one, and he even admits: '[das] alles hatte ich mir schon einmal gewünscht' (p. 97). Yet even in Vienna, where he comes close to adopting a middle-class life, the Taugenichts has still 'not really fallen from romantic grace'.[16] He cannot yet accept the terms and conditions of an extractive economy and one of his first tasks as toll collector is to rearrange the garden, preferring what is beautiful to what is useful: '[die] Kartoffeln und anderes Gemüse, das ich in meinem kleinen Gärtchen fand, warf ich hinaus und bebaute es ganz mit den auserlesensten Blumen' (p. 98).

After withstanding all the temptations to set up a comfortable home and become a useful member of society, the Taugenichts takes his violin, a symbol of his defiance of bourgeois

[15] Giulio Schiavoni, 'Eichendorff e l'"Idillio" Lacerato', in: *Vita di un Perdigiorno*, Milan, 1997, p. 16.

[16] Detlev W. Schumann, 'Eichendorff's Taugenichts and Romanticism', *GQ*, 9 (1936), 141-53 (p. 144).

values that has been gathering dust on the wall, and makes his way to Italy, 'wo die Pommeranzen wachsen' (p. 111). This reference to Mignon's song, 'Kennst du das Land, wo die Zitronen blühen' (FA, I, IX, 503) anticipates the ensuing parody of Goethe and the recently published *Italienische Reise*.

The Taugenichts is driven to Italy, very much like Goethe, in the hope of finding a new and fulfilled life. He decides to travel there because of the fantastic descriptions given by the porter whom he meets in Vienna:

> Der Portier mit der kurfürstlichen Nase, welcher überhaupt viele Kenntnisse von der Weltgeschichte hatte, sagte oft zu mir: "Wertgeschätzter Herr Einnehmer! Italien ist ein schönes Land, da sorgt der liebe Gott für alles, da kann man sich im Sonnenschein auf den Rücken legen, so wachsen einem die Rosinen ins Maul [...]." (p. 112)

The porter's knowledge of Italy in turn seems to be directly informed by Goethe and *Italienische Reise*, however slightly distorted, and Eichendorff may directly be satirising the following passage, as Rybka has pointed out (p. 237):

> Man merkt den Winter nicht, die Gärten sind mit immergrünen Bäumen bepflanzt, die Sonne scheint hell und warm, Schnee sieht man nur auf den entferntesten Bergen gegen Norden. Die Citronenbäume, die in den Gärten an den Wändern gepflanzt sind, werden nun nach und nach mit Decken von Rohr überdeckt, die Pomeranzenbäume aber bleiben frei stehen. Es hängen viele Hunderte der schönsten Früchte an so einem Baum, der nicht wie bei uns beschnitten und in einen Kübel gepflanzt ist, sondern in der Erde frei und froh in einer Reihe mit seinen Brüdern steht. Man kann sich nichts Lustigeres denken als einen solchen Anblick. Für ein geringes Trinkgeld ißt man deren, so viel man will. (FA, I, xv/1,160)

Yet the Italy that the Taugenichts experiences is very different from the one that he has been led to expect, and his Italian journey is of a very different nature to both the Grand Tour and Goethe's calm, deliberate and methodical journey. Eichendorff suggests that the leisure of the eighteenth century Grand Tour is no longer possible in the modern age.

Eichendorff also satirizes developing trends in travel. On setting foot in Italy, the Taugenichts is instantly and involuntarily swept up in a mode of travel that anticipates modern tourism. In Italy any notion of Romantic *Wanderschaft* seems impossible. The journey in the postal coach, which ends up a chaotic frenzy, conjures up an image of tourism where speed is of the essence, and which is at odds with the slow, methodical travel of the Grand Tour:

> Ich wollte mir doch Italien recht genau besehen, und riß die Augen alle Viertelstunden weit auf. Aber kaum hatte ich ein Weilchen so vor mich hingesehen, so verschwirrten und verwickelten sich mir die sechzehn Pferdefüße vor mir wie Filet so hin und her und übers Kreuz, daß mir die Augen gleich wieder übergingen, und zuletzt gerieth ich in ein solches entsetzliches und unaufhaltsames Schlafen, daß gar kein Rath mehr war. (p. 127)

Initially travel was liberating for the Taugenichts, yet in Italy it becomes clear that his freedom is an illusion. He is no longer in control of his own experiences; the postal coach is in fact dictating his journey.

Eichendorff appears to be asking 'how Italy can serve a pedagogical function if it represents such a threat to the individual' (Hachmeister, p. 93). The Taugenichts' journey through Italy seems on the surface the antithesis of a *Bildungsreise*; indeed, the times no longer allow it. His journey, however, provides other lessons. Italy disillusions him, and he overcomes his longing for faraway places and consequently the distaste for the bourgeois life that hitherto had driven him (Schwarz, p. 23). Accordingly, his Italian journey is indeed a *Bildungsreise*. Despite its satiric tone, *Aus dem Leben eines Taugenichts* can be considered to follow the

tradition of a *Bildungroman*, which traces the initiation of a young man into the ways of the world (Mehigan, p. 60). The world of the Grand Tour, however, has changed; so too have the lessons.

The Taugenichts is unable to find the Italy he has imagined. As with Goethe, the inexorable self stands in the way. Like Goethe's trajectory, the Taugenichts' experiences of the South result in a reorientation to Germany and the identity he has left behind. He is overwhelmed in Italy and threatened with loss of self. He is even mistaken at one point for somebody else – perhaps a parody of Goethe's incognito. The Taugenichts complains that as a German he cannot express himself in the South:

> mir war in dem fremden Lande nicht anders, als wäre ich mit meiner deutschen Zunge tausend Klafter tief ins Meer versenkt, und allerlei unbekanntes Gewürm ringelte sich und rauschte da in der Einsamkeit um mich her, und glotzte und schnappte nach mir. (p. 129)

Italy becomes a destructive force that confounds the identity of the northerner. The Taugenichts' experiences resonate with Goethe's, who likewise had difficulty coming to terms with his identity as a German.

The Taugenichts' confusion reaches its climax during his sojourn in a castle in Italy, which marks a turning point in the protagonist's orientation: 'ich glaube die Leute in Italien sind alle verrückt' (p. 138). The Taugenichts' song 'Wer in die Fremde will wandern, / Der muß mit der Liebsten gehen' (p. 143) is 'der diamentrale Gegenpol zu den früheren Äusserungen seiner Unabhängigkeit von den Menschen und seinem unbedingten Vertrauen zu einer allumfassenden Natur' (Schwarz, p. 21). Indeed, he realizes that nature is two-faced. At this moment of crisis the image of his father's mill returns to him, a symbol of origin and belonging that he needs to hold on to in order to maintain his identity. The mill, which also

symbolizes work and the bourgeois existence that up to now he has disdained, suddenly becomes the object of his desire.

The Taugenichts projects his last hope of finding his imagined Italy onto Rome. Yet even in the Eternal City, he is just as lost. From 'die hohe Schule für alle Welt' (FA, I, xv/1, 159) the Taugenichts cannot draw any benefits. He only experiences the pain of being a stranger, reinforced by the lines:

> Wer in die Fremde will wandern,
> Der muß mit der Liebsten gehn,
> Es jubeln und lassen die Andern
> Den Fremden alleine stehn. (p. 143)

The Taugenichts feels shut out of everything and alone. This feeling is again reminiscent of Goethe in Naples, where he similarly feels rejected and a foreigner (FA, I, xv/1, 233).

Following this last disappointing and confusing experience, the Taugenichts finally makes up his mind to return home. He relinquishes hope of living in a providential economy and is reconciled to the marketplace. Bourgeois life proves more tangible and reliable in the modern age, and he begins to see the value in 'civil spirit' (Mehigan, p. 67). This confirms Gerhard Schulz's suggestion that the Taugenichts' flight from Italy to the German North is symbolic of a wider social change from the Romantic to the Biedermeier and a reflection of the conditions of post-Restoration Europe.[17]

The Taugenichts' experiences in Italy, apart from parodying Goethe's, therefore also express Eichendorff's ambiguous relationship to the Romantic movement. Eichendorff does not criticize inherent traits in Romanticism, but rather the 'distortions and negative qualities that

[17] Gerhard Schulz, *Romantik: Geschichte und Begriff*, Munich, 2002, p. 111.

have crept into "true" Romanticism'.[18] Eichendorff's criticism is apparent in his satirical depiction of the community of German painters and musicians in Rome, which is rudely interrupted while staging a *tableau vivant*:

> "Barbar!" rief ihm einer von dem runden Tische zu, "Du rennst da mitten in das sinnreiche Tableau von der schönen Beschreibung hinein, welche der selige Hoffmann, Seite 347 des ‹Frauentaschenbuches für 1816›, von dem schönsten Hummelschen Bilde gibt, das im Herbst 1814 auf der Berliner Kunstausstellung zu sehen war!" (p. 162)

The Taugenichts is the quintessence of what it means to be Romantic, yet he feels uncomfortable in Italy because he is unable 'to respond "properly" to Romantic situations because he is ignorant of the literary patterns that condition such responses, and thus reacts only to what is before him' (Nygaard, p. 206). All that Italy has to offer are counterfeits, of which he is the original. The Taugenichts searches for an authenticity that the traveller to Italy is no longer able to experience; or rather, he is himself authentic, but this quality is meaningless in a world of imitations.

The Taugenichts' inability to experience Italy authentically recalls Goethe's failure to assimilate to Italian life: 'the Italians' immediate living, the fulfilment of "personal experience" of Italy, are ultimately precluded from the civilized mind of the northerner' (Dainotto, p. 14). Dainotto contends that the 'crisis of modernity', the 'destruction of experience', is acted out in Goethe's *Italienische Reise* (p. 15). The Taugenichts performs a similar drama.

Eichendorff's and Goethe's texts have both contrasting and similar images of Italy, the Italian journey and of the German traveller in the South. As opposed to the popular conception of

[18] Loisa Nygaard, 'Eichendorff's *Aus dem Leben eines Taugenichts*: "Eine leise Persiflage" der Romantik', *Studies in Romanticism*, 19 (1980), 193-216 (p. 207).

Goethe's calm and deliberate journey, the Taugenichts' experiences are confusing and overwhelming and serve no direct pedagogical function. Italy cures his desire to lead a life beyond the boundaries of German society.

The similarities between the two travellers are equally significant. Both escape an increasingly uncomfortable home environment, which prevents them from living in harmony with their own ideals, and travel to Italy in hope of finding a way of life in accordance with their philosophies. They discover, however, that their own cultural identities prevent them from finding a sense of belonging in the South.

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In *Reise von München nach Genua* Heine deploys the myth of Italy in the German imagination for his own political agenda. Heine's primary purpose is to expound his political views on emancipation and expose the human suffering that resulted from the Restoration, particularly evident in the Austrian occupation of northern Italy. By doing so Heine partakes in the tradition of the Italian journey in German literature and, like both Goethe and Eichendorff, addresses the dilemma facing the German traveller to the South. Like Eichendorff, Heine uses the motif of the journey to Italy both as a means of responding to Goethe and of commenting on the socio-political climate of post-Restoration Europe. The primitive conditions of Italians that delighted Goethe were for Heine only expressions of poverty and oppression. For Goethe destitution was a state of being that was valued by Italians and which he envied and desired to experience. For the people whom Heine depicts, however, it was a state of suffering that they longed to escape.

Like Goethe and the Taugenichts, Heine envisages Italy as an escape from the monotony of everyday life and what he refers to as 'die alten deutschen Schmerzen'[19]: 'Es war damals auch Winter in meiner Seele' he informs his reader, and '[meine] Gedanken und Gefühle waren wie eingeschneit, es war mir so verdorrt und todt zu Muthe, dazu kam die leidige Politik, die Trauer um ein liebes gestorbenes Kind, und ein alter Nachärger und die Schnupfen' (p. 24). These images are immediately juxtaposed with the warm breeze that blows over the Alps from Italy, calling him: 'Ich liebe dich, komm zu mir nach Italien!' (p. 25). Heine manipulates clichéd images of the South in order to parody and expose the German myth of Italy. Similarly to Goethe and the Taugenichts, Heine comes to realize that he cannot escape in Italy; indeed the times do not allow it. The German traveller cannot run away from the immediate reality of post-Restoration Europe, and Italy, like anywhere else, is in a state of misery.

Heine not only confronts the dilemma of the German traveller in the South, but also struggles to come to terms with his identity as a Jew in Germany and his place in European history, an issue that continues to engage Heine scholars.[20] Unlike Goethe's *Italienische Reise*, Heine's Italian *Reisebilder* are not 'stories of return' to a Roman past: Heine 'travels through space or in time not to realize a preordained voyage of self-discovery, national identity, or universal history but rather to critically juxtapose volatile images from his present'.[21] The dominating spatial experiences of Heine's *Reisebilder* are 'claustrophobia and loneliness', and what is missing is 'a strong sense of center'; *Heimat* is 'a space held in common from the beginning,

[19] All references to Heine are from: *Heinrich Heine: Historisch-Kritische Gesamtausgabe der Werke*, ed. by Manfred Windfuhr, VII/1, Hamburg, 1986, pp. 15–80 (p. 46).

[20] Hans Mayer and Jack Zipes, 'Heinrich Heine, German Ideology, and German Ideologists', *NGC*, 1 (1973), 2-18 (p. 2).

[21] Todd Samuel Presner, 'Jews on Ships; or, How Heine's "Reisebilder" Deconstruct Hegel's Philosophy of World History', PMLA, 118:3 (2003), 521-38 (p. 531).

our own', something to which an outsider like Heine has a more problematic relationship.[22] For an outsider the notions of departure and arrival are devalued – unlike Goethe, Heine was not driven to arrive anywhere (Block, p. 123) – and replaced by a dominant sense of *Unterwegs-sein* (Duroche, p. 158).

Being released from the bonds of society and elevated above the sphere of everyday living is inherent to the attraction of travel. Yet Heine implies that this is no longer acceptable. The ills in society do not allow it. The culture of travel means running away from one's duty, taking advantage of rather than addressing social and political issues. This criticism seems directly aimed at Goethe, who notably ignored the political reality of Italy during his journey. Throughout the narrative Heine makes many references – some thinly veiled, some direct – to Goethe: 'Ich fühlte mich auch oft angeweht von Zitronen- und Orangendüften, die von den Bergen herüberwogten, schmeichelnd und verheißend, um mich hinzulocken nach Italien' (p. 25). Heine later again takes up Mignon's song to directly satirize *Italienische Reise*:

> "Kennst du das Land, wo die Zitronen blühen?"
>
> Kennst du das Lied? Ganz Italien ist darin geschildert, aber mit den seufzenden Farben der Sehnsucht. In der italienischen Reise hat es Goethe etwas ausführlicher besungen, und wo er malt, hat er das Original immer vor Augen und man kann sich auf die Treue der Umrisse und der Farbengebung ganz verlassen. Ich finde es daher bequem, hier ein für allemal auf Goethes italienische Reise hinzudeuten, um so mehr da er, bis Verona, dieselbe Tour, durch Tyrol, gemacht hat. (p. 61)

While escape from home is possible, for Heine the traveller is still in the real world. Heine is at moments drawn into Romantic euphoria, but is always pulled back into reality. He is

[22] Leonard L Duroche, 'Spatial Perception and Spatial Imagery in Heine's *Reisebilder*', *Heine-Jahrbuch*, 29 (1990), 147-60 (pp. 155, 150).

confronted with an Italy that could not be more different from the one that he has been led to expect: 'Es war jetzt nicht mehr die Zaubermacht der ersten Ueberraschung […]. Und bey solcher Betrachtung entdeckt man viel, viel Trübes, den Reichthum der Vergangenheit, die Armuth der Gegenwart und den zurückgebliebenen Stolz' (p. 45).

Heine's text marks a decisive shift away from previous cultural trends in travel writing on Italy and towards a politically based understanding of Europe.[23] His depictions of poverty and oppression are filled with urgency, and highlight the main underlying message of his text: 'Was ist aber diese große Aufgabe unserer Zeit? Es ist die Emanzipation' (p. 69).

The reader is shocked by the social and political reality Heine describes. Rather than landscapes and monuments, he privileges the common people living 'in ihrem dunkeln Elend' (p. 33). In Trento it is an elderly woman owning a fruit stall, rather than ancient ruins, who draws his attention, and whom he likens to a 'Menschenruine' (p. 43), privileging the human over art and antiquity – a testimony to the present reality of Italy, of '[das] Reichthum der Vergangenheit, die Armuth der Gegenwart' (p. 45).

Rarely does Heine show any interest in Italian culture and art. One example, however, is in his descriptions of the opera, importantly contemporary culture, which Heine interprets as an expression of Italy's suffering:

> Dem armen geknechteten Italien ist ja das Sprechen verboten, und es darf nur durch Musik die Gefühle seines Herzens kund geben. All sein Groll gegen fremde Herrschaft, seine Begeistrung für die Freyheit, sein Wahnsinn über das Gefühl der Ohnmacht, seine Wehmut bey der Erinnerung an vergangene Herrlichkeit [...]. (p. 49)

[23] Norbert Altenhofer, 'Heines Italienischen Reisebilder', *JdFDH* (1986), 293-316 (p. 299).

To appreciate Italian music 'muß man das Volk selbst vor Augen haben' (p. 49). As opposed to Goethe, Heine argues that art cannot be understood by 'assuming a position above or apart from the masses' (Block, p. 127). In essence, through his focus on the social and political realities affecting the lives of Italians, Heine presents a carefully constructed image of Italy that contrasts with, indeed that entirely contradicts, the one Goethe gives us.

Like Eichendorff, Heine uses the journey to Italy to satirize the new breed of tourists in Europe, particularly targeting the masses of English travelling abroad, whom he describes as 'eine elegante Völkerwanderung' (p. 64). Heine's criticism of tourism forms a part of his political agenda. For Heine, the increasing popularity of travel amongst the middle classes was indicative of the conservative attitudes of the period. Tourism's excessive focus on the past detracted from the immediate concerns of the present, and expressed the political indifference of *Biedermeier* culture, as it later became known.[24]

Heine similarly takes up the new mode of travel that Eichendorff satirizes. The hectic nature of Heine's journey to Brescia, in which he travels in 'einer schwerfälligen Carrozza' and in 'Gesellschaft von sechs Banditen', from where he 'von der Schönheit der Gegend wenig bemerken konnte' (p. 63), invokes the experiences of the Taugenichts, who likewise saw nothing of the famed Italian landscape from a postal carriage and believed he was travelling in the company of thieves. The little he does see is significant:

> [ich] sah [...] ein Stück von einem wunderklaren blauen See, worin die Sonne und ein magerer Grenadier sich spiegelten. Letzterer, ein östreichischer Narziß, bewunderte mit kindischer Freude, wie sein Spiegelbild ihm alles getreu nachmachte, wenn er das Gewehr präsentierte oder schulterte, oder zum Schießen auslegte. (p. 63)

[24] René Anglade, 'Die Engländer in der Hofkirche: Zugleich ein kleiner Beitrag zur Poetik Heines', *Euphorion*, 78 (1984), 415-35 (p. 431).

The picture he describes testifies to the military presence of the Austrian Empire and the subservience of Italy, and the Austrians' 'narcissistic' indifference to the welfare of the population.

A further aspect of Heine's critique of tourism concerns its effects on the authenticity of place and consequently of experience. Italy can no longer be experienced authentically because its culture has become a commodity and has lost its aesthetic value. Like the Taugenichts, Heine searches for an authenticity that is no longer present: the Italy of the German imagination is untenable in the modern age. He comments on English travellers:

> Beschuldige mich nicht der Anglomanie, lieber Leser, wenn ich in diesem Buche sehr häufig von Engländern spreche; sie sind jetzt in Italien zu zahlreich, um sie übersehen zu können, sie durchziehen dieses Land in ganzen Schwärmen, lagern in allen Wirthshäusern, laufen überall umher, um Alles zu sehen, und man kann sich keinen italienischen Zitronenbaum mehr denken, ohne eine Engländerinn, die daran riecht, und keine Galerie ohne ein Schock Engländer, die, mit ihrem Guide in der Hand, darin unherrennen, und nachsehen, ob noch alles vorhanden, was in dem Buche als merkwürdig erwähnt ist. (p. 64)

Duroche suggests that the 'corrupting influence and inauthenticity of contemporary European travellers" adds to a feeling of displacement, contributing further to a sense of not belonging (pp. 153–154). Heine shows sincere respect for the authenticity of place and culture, evident when he reflects sadly on the commercialisation of Tyrolean art he had witnessed in London, a consequence both of tourism and the 'commodification of place through its icons' (Duroche, p. 155). His argument is strengthened when he cites a Swiss man who was at the same concert: 'Wir Schwyzer geben auch viel fürs Geld, unsere besten Käse und unser bestes Blut, aber das Alphorn können wir in der Fremde kaum blasen hören, vielweniger es selbst blasen für Geld' (p. 35).

Heine rejects the importance of Italy in the German imagination as an escape from the realities of home. Seized by a sudden melancholy, he reflects:

> Grillenhaftes Herz! Jetzt bist du ja in Italien – warum tirilierst du nicht? Sind vielleicht die alten deutschen Schmerzen, die kleinen Schlangen, die sich tief in dir verkrochen, jetzt mit nach Italien gekommen [...]? (p. 46)

The German traveller cannot escape himself or the political woes of Europe in Italy. It is not the mystical place it is made out to be, but an oppressed land stricken by poverty. There is no true relief in travelling abroad.

The little harp-player, a part of 'ein wunderliches Trio' (p. 47), whom he encounters in Italy and awakens in him 'tief[es] Mitleiden' (p. 48), appears to be a thinly veiled reference to Goethe's Mignon. Even in Italy she is not in 'das Land wo die Zitronen blühen', she is still a homeless, wandering musician, forced by necessity to play on the streets. These two Mignons embody the differences between Goethe's and Heine's Italy. While Goethe's Mignon is a poetic figure, the little harp-player is bitter reality, an Italy under Austrian oppression. René Anglade suggests that Mignon's fate is outside causality and thus escapes human connection, while Heine's little harp-player on the contrary is an example of the effects of a socio-political disorder that can be corrected.[25] This alternative Mignon is integral to Heine's argument, his portrayal of Italy in its present reality, and is a further way of distancing himself from Goethe. Heine 'corrects' Goethe's Mignon and adapts her to Italy's present condition. She is no longer a poetic figure, but weighed down with political significance.

Finally arriving in Genoa, Heine observes that the city is 'hässlich über alle Maßen' (p. 76). By depreciating his ultimate goal, he renders the journey futile and meaningless. *Reise von*

[25] René Anglade, 'Mignons emanzipierte Schwester: Heines kleine Harfinistin und ihre Bedeutung", *GRM*, 41 (1991), 301-21 (p. 311).

München nach Genua culminates in a rejection of travel. Like the Taugenichts' experiences, it appears to have been anything but a *Bildungsreise*.

My analysis of *Italienische Reise*, *Aus dem Leben eines Taugenichts* and *Reise von München nach Genua* demonstrates that Italy acted in early nineteenth-century Germany as a medium through which conflicting cultural and literary currents struggled and competed with one another. Throughout these journeys the way Italy is depicted has radically shifted from an idyllic pastoral image of the South to one of social and political disorder, from Arcadia to dystopia.

The privileged place that Italy occupies in the German imagination points to a desire to become Italian. In the three journeys, each of the travellers wishes to escape his life in Germany and find a more fulfilled way of being. However, each journey ends in failure. Goethe's epigraph, *Auch ich in Arkadien*, serves as a maxim for the German experience of the South, which Eichendorff and Heine reiterate: the German self is inescapable, even in Italy.

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