Collecting and Writing in Ernst Jünger's *Heliopolis*, *Gläserne Bienen*, and *Eumeswil*

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Chapter 1

Back to Nature: Collecting, Narrating, and Metafiction

By age 102, Ernst Jünger had collected over forty thousand beetle specimens in a cabinet that came to stand in the hallway of the Baroque-era home where he had lived from 1951 to 1998. Although one of the most controversial public figures in recent German history, he lived a relatively quiet parallel life as a collector of insects. He spent his years in Wilflingen as a local figure who discussed insects with friends in local pubs, regularly attended entomological conferences, and took long walks through the woods around his home. Wilflingen's reclusive author, whose portrait still hangs on the wall of the village's sole inn, was both an early war hero and a persistent observer of nature who became a persona non grata outside of the rural, Roman Catholic milieu where he lived these last forty-seven years. Despite his many years to have had addressed questions of an afterlife, such questions inevitably arose with the author's increasing age. Jünger had once playfully revealed to his friend Monsignor Adolf Horion, "Ich weiß aber nicht, ob ich als Entomologe nicht die 'Ewigen Jagdgründe' vorziehe, denn ein Paradies ohne Käfer kann ich mir schwer vorstellen."[1] For Jünger, the most salient means of self-perpetuation after death was his collections. His collection of beetles—ironically, an assembly of dead bodies—offered a way to grant himself a form of immortality, because he knew that it would remain after his death, whereas there was no guarantee for the existence of the "Ewigen Jagdgründe." Like a physical last testament, the author built collecting into his own home, gradually converting it into a museum. Today, his floor of the Jünger-Haus museum is set up precisely the way he left it, true to his intentions for this centuries-old house, and has been made to look as if he had just stepped out. By the end of his life, he had made the house into a museum all its own, complete with collections of insects, taxidermy animals, photographs of deceased friends, his own works, and

[1] Ernst Jünger to Adolf Horion, August 16, 1971. DLA Marbach.

tens of thousands of books. But for Jünger, the final piece of his home collection was himself. As an extension of himself, his home collection survived his death; today, he represents its rare, missing piece. And like the species to which he lent his name, the books that bear his name remain the vestiges of this complex and confounding author.

The importance of collecting to Jünger as an entomologist cannot be understated. His entomological endeavors always served as a pretext for collecting. Yet as an element of his thought and aesthetics, scholars and biographers often relegate it to an inferior position to his controversial past and role in German history. Jünger himself was aware of this disregard for his collecting. On the occasion of his hundredth birthday in 1995, when asked by journalist Antonio Gnoli and philosopher Franco Volpi about his longtime interest in nature, the author attempted to correct his image in the eyes of critics, stating, "Man hält mich im allgemeinen für einen Schriftsteller und betrachtet meine entomologischen Interessen als eine Extravaganz. Es handelt sich aber im Gegenteil um zwei gleichermaßen einnehmende Passionen, die ich nicht trenne. Die Beobachtung des Lebens der Natur, vom Kleinsten bis zum Größten, ist ein unvergleichliches Schauspiel."[2] This sentiment from Jünger does not merely express personal taste or frustration with his image as an author in the public eye. Rather, this assertion from Jünger underscores one of the central arguments of this study: for Jünger, collecting and writing were two intimately connected acts. By looking to his collections, a material set of sequences and classifications drawn from the natural world, Jünger found the model for cultural production in nature. But this study asserts that for Jünger, collecting symbolized neither a hobby alone nor an obsession but a highly literary act. Collections not only assemble objects in one place, organize them, and give them names. They

[2] Antonio Gnoli and Franco Volpi, *Ernst Jünger. Die kommenden Titanen* (Vienna: Karolinger, 2002), 95.

are, rather, an act of creation; with them, the collector creates a new order of which he is the author and architect.

Lothar Bluhm once observed that "[e]ine der signifikanten Erscheinungen im literarischen Werk Ernst Jüngers ist der herausragende Stellenwert des Phänomens *Natur*."[3] In spite of Bluhm's critical observation about the role of nature in Jünger's works, the reception of Jünger's concept of nature has largely been marked by an inclination toward abstract aesthetic and philosophical elements, but rarely as nature in its tangible, physical forms. This study draws attention to the practical, material, and often quotidian interventions of nature into Jünger's life and how they influenced his writings. This perspective, in turn, shows that one cannot separate Jünger the author from Jünger the collector, since for him, the collection always stands in as the physical mediation of nature. His writings attest to an equal valuation of collecting and writing, an equivalency that derives from the fact that a collection is a narrative construct. In its sets, sequences, and categories, in the tension between its mundane and rare objects, the collection tells a story about the collector as much as about its own pieces. But the collection does not simply reflect the collector; instead, it creates a system of meaning, a new sphere that the collector can inhabit. The obstacle of collecting the rare, missing piece is simultaneously a narrative problem. By finding the missing piece, Jünger was able to also position himself as the master narrator of each collection's story. In this sense, then, each collection of Jünger's was, at the same time, a living artwork that he curated by adding more and more objects.

[3] Lothar Bluhm, "Natur in Ernst Jüngers Tagebüchern aus dem Zweiten Weltkrieg," *Wirkendes Wort* 37 (1987), 24. Emphasis in original.

The identification of collecting with the narrator role can be found in Jünger's life. In his essay *Subtile Jagden* (1967), Jünger recounts a time in which, as a boy in Lower Saxony, he found a tiger beetle (*Cicindela*) which he believed no one else had ever identified:

> Das war meine erste Begegnung mit der Gattung Cicindela. Sie führte zu einer Enttäuschung: schon viele Augen hatten das Wunder geschaut, das ich für einzig gehalten hatte, es war überall und alltäglich zu sehen. Ich hatte vorschnell geurteilt und war belehrt worden. Immerhin war mein Anspruch nicht ganz unbegründet: mein Eigentum war das Tier geworden, bevor ich den Namen gekannt hatte. Ich hatte es mit Lust herausgehoben aus der Lichtwelt, in deren Schimmer es verflochten war.[4]

This memory presents nature as an instance of self-reflection for the young Jünger. The letdown of having found a beetle that he thought was unnamed encodes collecting a beetle as a narrative act, even for a child. By collecting the beetle and naming it himself, he would become the master narrator of that beetle and, simultaneously, better understand himself in relation to his newly named specimen.

The importance of naming, of imprinting oneself onto an object in perpetuity, continued in Jünger's later collecting practices. Like the Swedish zoologist Carl Linnaeus, an entomological hero of the author, Jünger lent his name to several species of insects. Upon receiving a special beetle specimen from German entomologist and fellow collector Georg Benick, Jünger once noted, "Ihre Sendung hat mich freudig überrascht—natürlich vor allem deren Juwel: die Atheta juengeri. Nun bin ich also auch in dieser, nur feinsten Kennern vorbehaltenen Gattung verewigt, vorerst in litteris."[5] By becoming part of the "text" of the rove beetle subspecies discovered by Benick,

[4] Ernst Jünger, *Subtile Jagden*, in *Ernst Jünger. Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 12 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015), 72-73.
[5] Ernst Jünger to Georg Benick, November 7, 1982. DLA Marbach.

Jünger became the creator of a new creation. Many other friends and fellow collectors immortalized him in the names of insect and plant species: *Hypebaeus juengeri*, *Rhipsalis juengeri*, *Pyralis juengeri*, *Sindicola juengeri*, *Theorectes juengeri*.[6] The naming of species in honor of Jünger and his private collection nonetheless only represent a fraction of his involvement in entomology. Collecting likewise had an institutional side. He frequently corresponded with other fellow collectors such as Hans Georg Amsel, entomologist at the State Museum of Natural History of Karlsruhe, coleopterologist and Catholic priest Adolf Horion, bibliophile Kurt Bösch, fossil collector Otto Klages, and termite expert Karl Escherich. This latter period of collecting, beginning in the 1960s, also brought about Jünger's first real interaction with museum curators and, by extension, with the form of collection that has endured in the West since the Early Modern era. Of particular interest in this regard is the author's relationship with German textiles manufacturer Georg Frey. Although an industrialist by trade, Frey assembled the world's largest beetle collection to date, originally housed in Tutzing near Munich, to which he added specimens from thirty-six worldwide expeditions. Like with other entomologists, an entomological friendship included each collector's additions of missing examples to each other's collections. This friendship evinced the driving force of collecting, that is, the concept of rarity. Like every collector, no matter what objects he may collect, it was necessary to "complete" one's collections with rare objects, to fulfill the hope "die eine oder andere Lücke schließen zu können,"[7] as Frey museum curator Gerhard Scherer once wrote to Jünger. Unlike Frey, though, Jünger never showed as much interest in the creation of a museum open to the public. Collecting was not a hobby but an approach that Jünger took to experience and the narration of that experience.

[6] For a complete list of species named after Jünger, see Auguste Francotte, "Flora & Fauna juengericae," in *Ernst Jünger*, ed. Philippe Barthelet (Lausanne: Age d'homme, 2001), 222-225.
[7] Gerhard Scherer to Ernst Jünger, October 6, 1966. DLA Marbach.

Nevertheless, Jünger did not collect in a vacuum. His lifetime of collecting was marred by war, atrocity, and political instability. His collected objects, exemplary among them the bullet-punctured soldier's helmet that rests on a cabinet in the study in the Jünger-Haus and his prized *Pour le Mérite*, often had to survive the battlefield to become a permanent part of his collections. He continued to collect throughout both world wars, but his collecting increased in the period after the Second World War. This increase was not accidental; the war had shaken Jünger's concept of nature and forced him to create a new order of meaning in the midst of post-war nihilism. This, in turn, compelled him to begin thinking in imaginary terms, producing three dystopian novels in the years following. As a response to the threat of destruction, a threat that the war represented in all its forms of physical and spiritual annihilation, his novels began to experiment with a search for new forms of nature. But this search, in turn, was shaped by Jünger's collector mentality and the desire to find the "missing piece" to complete the narrative of life after the Second World War. Because of its attention to the material, quotidian, and trivial aspects of his access to nature, this study asserts that Jünger constructed a phenomenology of nature in his fictional works after the Second World War, in particular the dystopian novels *Heliopolis. Rückblick auf eine Stadt* (1949), *Gläserne Bienen* (1957), and *Eumeswil* (1977). Each of these novels employs a phenomenological approach to experiment with these phenomena of nature as new forms of nature in a time after catastrophe. Phenomenology is indeed the study of awareness per se, but here it also functions as an analytical approach that accounts for the phenomena of nature in each diegetic world, rather than proving the more abstract question of nature's existence. Because of this phenomenological approach in each novel, that is, their constant interrogation of their own self-awareness, this study also argues that this "trilogy" of dystopian novels results in a complex form of metafiction. Considered as a long discourse on nature and its relation to narration, it ultimately argues that these

texts become fully aware of themselves and create the ultimate collection, that is, the ultimate narrative. In doing so, they create a new order that both draws from and transcends the historical contingencies that surrounded their development.

Recreating "Nature" after the Second World War

Studies of Jünger have disproportionately focused on his historical impact as an author and polarizing political figure. The majority of the reception of his career focuses on three aspects: the way his diaries from his service in the First World War and the resulting war books aestheticize or "glorify" warfare, the apparent novel of resistance against the Nazi regime *Auf den Marmorklippen* (1939), and diaries from his time as an officer during World War II that make up *Strahlungen* (1949). All three of these areas in Jünger's writing nevertheless contain numerous images of nature. For one, Jünger stages the *Materialschlacht* of the fields of France as a manifestation of the deep, primal recesses of nature, both in the Earth itself and in the human beings that take part in the combat. The constant barrage of shrapnel, grenades, machine gun fire, and shells make up the new storm of modernity raining down on the helpless soldiers of the "Great War." *Strahlungen*, as well, contains numerous images of nature, including Jünger's observations of the German occupation of France and his travels in Italy.[8] *Auf den Marmorklippen* stages the intrusion of the novel's antagonist, the *Oberförster*, into the idyllic setting of a *vita contemplativa*, the *Rautenklause* reminiscent of both the Mediterranean and the mountainous terrain of Switzerland. In all these instances, nature provides the framework for understanding the historical events he witnesses.

[8] For more on the literary techniques used in Jünger's travel diaries, see Jan Robert Weber, *Ästhetik der Entschleunigung: Ernst Jüngers Reisetagebücher (1934-1960)* (Berlin: Matthes & Seitz, 2014).

But despite the focus on these three aspects, even in the context of literary representations of nature, there has been increasing interest in both Jünger's novels and essays in the post-1945 era. For one, they attest to what has been characterized in scholarship as a humanist turn away from Jünger's anti-Enlightenment, anti-humanistic, and anti-democratic ideas of the 1920s. This humanist turn furthermore affected his style. Not only did he largely retreat from involvement in purely political questions and the bombastic, nationalistic language of his pamphleteering, but after the Second World War, and even beginning before the war with *Auf den Marmorklippen*, his style undergoes a change in speed: it slows down to long, contemplative paragraphs and sections that attest to what has been called his "stereoscopic" vision,[9] a vision that combines microscopic and macrocosmic perspectives. But in spite of the increased interest in his writings after 1945 and their change in style, recent studies tend to adhere to the author's early contributions, in particular his role in the rise of fascism and his cultural role in terms of his relation to the avant-garde and dandyism during the Weimar Era. Even Kiesel's authoritative 2007 biography, arguably one of the most tempered and fair analyses of Jünger's complex public image in German history, devotes more than two thirds of its analysis to the time up to the beginning of the war in 1939, despite this period having only made up only little more than 40 percent of Jünger's lifetime. More attention, then, must be paid to the Jünger after the catastrophe of the war rather than the Jünger who anticipated a revolution in the 1920s and 1930s.

At the same time, it is often difficult to draw such distinct lines between an "earlier" and a "later" oeuvre; while the following dissertation considers works written after 1945, the year of the end of World War II, it also challenges the ways in which Jünger had prefigured many later ideas,

[9] For a more recent study of Jünger's stereoscopic vision, see for example Sandro Gorgone, *Strahlungen und Annäherungen: Die stereoskopische Phänomenologie Ernst Jüngers* (Tübingen: Attempto Verlag, 2016).

styles, and formulations in his earlier texts (a trend that chapter three addresses, for example, in the context of *Gläserne Bienen*). The underlying assumption in both eras, whether expressed in a fascistic, nationalistic, or humanistic idiom, was that culture reflects and serves as the occasion for contemplating nature, whether beautiful or barbaric. This trajectory, however, does not mean that the early works take precedence over the later works but that they serve as references to the development of Jünger's thought and style. Traces of Jünger's new, contemplative style, for instance, had already been present in *Auf den Marmorklippen*. In lieu of drawing distinct lines, the following chapters take into account the way the imaginative focus changed in this period. They consider *Heliopolis*, *Gläserne Bienen*, and *Eumeswil* as a trilogy not only based on an established precedent[10] nor because they explicitly exist within the same narrative universe,[11] but likewise because they attest to what Ernst Jünger actually did after 1945: the imagination of foreign worlds far away from post-war Germany both in time (in their futuristic settings) and in space (in their fantastical utopian/dystopian environments). Jünger no longer acted as only an observer of his time, as his title one of the volumes of his collected works, *Betrachtungen zur Zeit*, suggests, but began to conceptualize alternative worlds in which various forms of nature appear as the forces that drive these experimental environments.

During the period of Jünger's service as a captain in World War II, the dichotomy of preservation and destruction, both literally and intellectually, irrevocably shaped his concept of nature and reinforce its connection to collecting. This period contained several paradoxical life

[10] See for example Bernd Stiegler, "Technische Innovation und literarische Imagination: Ernst Jüngers narrative Technikvisionen in *Heliopolis*, *Eumeswil* und *Gläserne Bienen*," in *Ernst Jünger und die Bundesrepublik: Ästhetik – Politik – Zeitgeschichte*, ed. Matthias Schöning and Ingo Stöckmann (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012) and Peter Uwe Hohendahl, *Erfundene Welten: Relektüren zu Form und Zeistruktur in Ernst Jüngers erzählender Prosa* (Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink, 2013).

[11] Cf. Ernst Jünger, *Gläserne Bienen*, in *Ernst Jünger. Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 18 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015), 14, which mentions "den asturischen Bürgerkrieg" and Ernst Jünger, *Eumeswil*, in *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 20 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015), 12, 195, 309.

situations for Jünger. While working out of the Hotel Majestic in Paris, he was responsible for censoring mail in and out of Paris and, as is now well-known, was present at several public executions during the German occupation of France. However, as author Joseph Breitbach later attested, Jünger also personally intervened to save several Jewish residents of Paris who faced deportation.[12] Despite having represented the occupying power of Nazi Germany, he also embraced the time in Paris to engage in literary salons with prominent figures in literature and art including Pierre Drieu La Rochelle, Jean Cocteau, Louis-Ferdinand Céline, Georges Braque, and Pablo Picasso and was permitted to wear civilian clothing.[13] This period also challenged Jünger's ideas about the timeworn dichotomy of preservation and destruction. During this period, beginning in 1939, Jünger continued his interest in collections despite the turbulent atmosphere. He continued to collect beetles wherever his duties as a Wehrmacht captain took him, and his encounters with collections included a visit to the museum in Stavropol (then Voroshilovsk) in the Soviet Union in 1942 and his own actions to save the famous library of Laon in France from destruction in 1940.[14] He also read the Bible through two times in the course of the war,[15] and the Old Testament particularly interested him, as it provided a framework with which to understand the response of a

[12] Cf. Helmuth Kiesel, *Ernst Jünger. Die Biographie* (Munich: Siedler, 2009), 499.
[13] Cf. Heimo Schwilk, *Ernst Jünger: Ein Jahrhundertleben. Die Biografie* (Munich: Piper Verlag, 2007), 383.
[14] Cf. Kiesel, *Ernst Jünger. Die Biographie*, 489.
[15] On Jünger's readings of the Bible, see for example Herbert Felden, *Früh vertraut – spät entdeckt: Dichter begegnen das Buch der Bücher* (Stuttgart: Quell-Verlag, 1987), 42-59.

nation to catastrophe.[16] As Yahweh punished or rewarded the ancient Israelites based on their fidelity in the midst of catastrophe, so too was divine justice punishing Europe in a battle between Jünger's "Titanenwelt" and "Götterwelt," the conflict between the chthonic world of technology and the transcendental world of values. All of these paradoxes in Jünger's experiences of World War II mirrored the paradox of a coinciding drive to preserve and orders to destroy.

During the period immediately following the war and Jünger's subsequent seclusion upon permanently moving to Wilflingen in 1951, questions about his actions forced the author, to a certain degree, to reinvent himself due to suspicion that he was, in fact, a true believer in National Socialist ideology.[17] The period between 1945 and 1949 saw detractors dubbing him an "intellectual war criminal," interrogation from Allied forces, and a ban on publication that he only escaped by moving into the French occupation zone in 1948. Instead of admitting reluctance, Jünger appeared baffled by the change in opinion among friends he had made during the occupation. In spite of his public image as a Nazi collaborator, part of the force that had caused so

[16] Some, however, have criticized Jünger's reading of the Bible and recording of his reading in *Strahlungen* as a strategy of distancing himself from Nazi Germany's role in the occupation of France. Steffen Martus argues, for example, that Jünger's frequent citation of the Bible in his WWII diaries involved "die Spiegelung des Aktuellen in der Bibel und die Befreiung von persönlicher Verantwortung durch Einordnung in ein typologisches Muster," Steffen Martus, *Ernst Jünger* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2001), 157. Similarly, Bluhm argues that Jünger's inclusion of the Bible may have consciously contributed to the creation of his image as a humanist in the immediate post-war period. Writing of the apologetics that other writers such as Gerhard Nebel and Karl Otto Paetel did for Jünger after the Second World War: Bluhm notes, "Dabei gelingt es, das auch von Jünger in seinen *Strahlungen* durch die ostentative Hervorhebung seiner Bibellektüre im besetzten Paris angebotene Bild einer christlichen 'Wandlung' zu befördern, so dass der Autor—ob zu Recht oder Unrecht—für einen christlich fundamentierten Konservativismus in den 1950er Jahren veranschlagt und als Repräsentant einer meist kritisch perspektivierten frühbundesrepublikanischen 'Restauration' deklariert werden konnte." Lothar Bluhm, "Entwicklungen und Stationen im Streit um Jünger," in *Ernst Jünger und die Bundesrepublik: Ästhetik—Politik—Zeitgeschichte*, ed. Matthias Schöning and Ingo Stöckmann (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012), 209.

[17] The involvement of Ernst Jünger in the Nazi regime's occupation of Paris in the 1940s has been the cause of much debate, and currently has a rather ambivalent status in the discourse on Jünger's historical personage. Jünger certainly did not emigrate like many other authors, especially Jewish authors, had to in order to escape the Nazi regime. However, as Jünger asserted after the war, during his duties as a mail censor, he personally destroyed several execution orders from Hitler's office and often wrote about Hitler in his diaries with the codename "Kniébolo," a partial portmanteau of *diabolo*, "devil." Even before World War II, the Gestapo searched Jünger's home three times, and Jünger largely fell out of favor with the regime and Joseph Goebbels in particular when he did not aquiesce to becoming an official ideologue of the party. See Allan Mitchell, *The Devil's Captain: Ernst Jünger in Nazi Paris, 1941-1944* (New York: Berghahn, 2011), 40-46.

much destruction in the war, he contrarily looked back to moments of preservation during his time of the German occupation of France and emphasized the ways in which he, like a good collector, preserved rarities for posterity. In 1946, Jünger wrote to French author André Germain, for example, that he was disappointed in the changed attitude of a former friend, the French jewelry artist Jean Schlumberger:

> Ich las in 'Terre des Hommes', daß Jean Schlumberger mich als 'L'homme le plus humilié en Allemagne' bezeichnet hat. Wie kommt er darauf? Etwa deshalb, weil ich das Schloß Jean Schlumbergers vor Einquartierung bewahrte und es unter Kunstschutz stellen ließ? Auch sollte er wissen, wie sehr ich die Leiden der Unglücklichen zu mildern versucht habe. Ich sehe, wie gleich einer Aufeinanderfolge von Wellen eine Psychose nach der anderen die Menschen aus ihren geistigen und leider auch moralischen Angeln hebt.[18]

Accusations such as this one from French jewelry artist Jean Schlumberger, once a friend of Jünger's, forced him to reckon with the fact that he neither emigrated from Germany nor, even more drastically, used his position to intervene or take part in assassination attempts.[19] Yet the hefty criticism from German voices of resistance after the war caused Jünger to seclude himself from the press more and more in his home in Wilflingen, a misunderstanding that changed his public interactions indefinitely after this immediate post-war period. Writing to Georg Benick in 1963, Jünger acknowledges his reclusiveness, stating: "Was das 'Podium' betrifft, so meide ich die Offentlichkeit [sic] durchaus, einschließlich des Rundfunks und ähnlicher Einrichtungen. Sollte ich wieder einmal an die Wasserkante kommen, so nehme ich aber Ihre private Einladung mit Dank an."[20] He continued to participate in some public events over the year but limited many

[18] Ernst Jünger to André Germain. July 29, 1946. DLA Marbach.
[19] On Jünger's associations with German assassination conspirators, see Mitchell, 47-55.
[20] Ernst Jünger to Georg Benick, January 22, 1963. DLA Marbach.

of these to entomological conferences in nearby Ludwigsburg and the filming of three documentaries for television. These post-war controversies in Jünger's public life following 1945 moreover contributed to the turn to the contemplative, almost stream-of-consciousness style and the need for literary spaces of negotiation that marked his novels for the rest of his life.

The Paradigm of the Idyll in Jünger's Phenomenology of Nature

As one of the paradigms of his concept of nature, collections return the discussion of nature in Jünger's works back to the practical aspects of this concept. Yet this emphasis does not mean that collecting entails a purely physical act. Rather than a simple assembly or accumulation of objects, collecting involves the semiotic process of assigning and creating meaning from the objects. It would be a mistake, however, to argue that Jünger's collections, because they involve the collecting of insect specimens, try to mimic nature in their signification. On the contrary, they engage in a type of intentional phantasmagoria of naturality. By seeming to imitate the diversity of nature, they instead hide the fact that for collectors like Jünger, the collection is more real than the nature from which he extracted it. His beetle collection hides its createdness and presents itself as if it were already nature. It exudes the *effect* of naturality in its diversity (especially when considering that beetles are the most diverse species on Earth). It does what Mother Nature cannot, that is, present all of her diversity in one single space. Few have touched on the performative and semiotic machinations behind the way in which Jünger creates textual representations of nature that possess their own reality[21] and, in effect, become hyperreal, more real than real. This innovative but burgeoning constructionist approach to the function of the element of nature in his oeuvre has led only one scholar, Steffen Martus, to argue that Jünger "seine Natur durch die

[21] Few scholars have noted how the seriousness of Jünger's depictions come with a sense of self-awareness and, sometimes, even parody. For an early example of self-awareness in Jünger, see for example Hans-Peter Schwarz, *Der konservative Anarchist. Politik und Zeitkritik Ernst Jüngers* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Rombach, 1962), 50-55.

Literatur hindurch erfindet."[22] Nature, in the three novels in question, is a matter of creation and recreation, not just representation.

Here it would seem that a definition of nature would be required to understand how it appears in each novel. Because of the created quality of Jünger's concept of nature, however, the following chapters avoid adhering to a strict definition or tradition of "nature." They contrarily focus on that the concept of nature is reinforced by various forces in his novels, such as collections and tropes. For one, such a strict definition contributes to the perpetuation of the prominence of classical and scholastic concepts—*physis*, *natura naturata*, *natura naturans*—and the natural sciences, which scholars have long cited as influences on Jünger's vision of nature. In lieu of a sole definition, then, the following chapters treat nature as a fluid signifier and do not address the metaphysical aspects of "nature." Metaphysical aspects are only treated to the degree that they aid in understanding the construction of nature in each text. They address the forms of nature that appear each novel, rather than asserting that nature is an eternal constant. Each novel evolves into a hyperreal, self-aware concept of nature, which suggests that instead of nature possessing a "reality" that an image or text represents or imitates, the representation or image itself becomes more real than the reality that nature may possess.

Because of the fact that Jünger conceived of these novels in a post-war period of reconstruction, political separation, and a coming to terms with its Nazi past, they appear in a time of reconstruction after a catastrophe and, specifically, after the possibility of nature as an element of literature appeared to be threatened by the overtly political atmosphere of the post-war period. Not only this: the war and its atrocities had arguably destroyed *human* nature (or: lives) and,

[22] Martus, 144.

thereby, ushered in an era of intense nihilism in many of its observers. One of the most salient literary forms of nature that this study addresses in Jünger is the idyll, due to the many idyllic scenes and settings that appear in his novels. Yet the identification of idyllic scenes and settings in each novel is not merely presented as a study in classification of literary genres and components. Rather, the present study takes these idyllic elements into account to emphasize how they suggest a metafictional instance in each novel. These metafictional instances, in turn, originate in the fact that literary genres like bucolics, the idyll, and the *locus amoenus* are themselves metafictional genres of nature writing. In ancient Roman poetry, the idyll was part of a culture of *imitatio* in poetry writing, in which the poet displayed his competence by imitating the tradition of idyllic poetry rather than innovating the genre. Writing of the tradition of bucolics and its idyllic imagery, Wolfgang Iser argues that the genre of the idyll "läßt sich…als Metatext der literarischen Fiktionalität begreifen."[23] In this sense, it is the master genre of self-reflection, and Jünger was undoubtedly aware that the idyll was an intentionally self-reflective genre of nature writing in the ancient world. And, because of the use of the idyll as the basis of the forms of nature in each novel, Jünger inserts this metafictional awareness in each and, thereby, creates an implicit discourse on nature in each.

Looks at Jünger's novels have indeed brought out alternative elements and currents of inspiration, namely elements of Symbolism, Expressionism, Surrealism, and New Objectivity, among others.[24] But Jünger should also be associated with authors like Jorge Luis Borges and Umberto Eco, who use metafiction as a reflection on writing. Consequently, the three novels

[23] Wolfgang Iser, *Das Fiktive und das Imaginäre: Perspektiven literarischer Anthropologie* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1991), 382-383.
[24] Cf. Gregor Streim, "Wunder und Verzauberung. Surrealismus im 'Dritten Reich'?", in *Surrealismus in der deutschsprachigen Literatur*, ed. Friederike Reents, 101-120 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2009) and Christian Sternad, "'Im Schlagschatten des Todes'. Ernst Jüngers literarische Bewältigung der Todesnähe in den Stahlgewittern und Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis," *Oxford German Studies* 44, no. 1 (2015): 42-56.

discussed in this study turn to metafiction; all of them are, to varying degrees, novels about novel writing, nature writing about nature writing, literary representations about the way literature displays itself. Not only do these novels experiment with the possibility of alternate and futuristic worlds, they also each present a unique orientation to the question of self-awareness of literary works and use the paradigm of nature as a space of reflection for the protagonist in the process. By inserting idyllic spaces—including collections—into their settings, these novels use spaces of nature as spaces of negotiation outside of historical contingency and catastrophe. In particular, *Gläserne Bienen* and *Eumeswil* evince a sense of self-awareness in the obvious allusion to the literary tradition of the editorial fiction in their epilogues, a type of phantasm in which are each written by characters different from the respective narrators. These epilogues draw on a literary tradition from before the eighteenth century, challenge the efficacy of a standalone text, and enforce the suspension of disbelief in readers. But even with the stylistic turn toward metafiction in mind, this turn derives from the underlying paradigm of nature and, in particular, as Iser states, the metareflective quality par excellence of the genre of idyll.

Overcoming Political and Psychological Biases in the Reception of Jünger

Jünger's actions as an author and collector have not been without controversy, and whereas literary spaces of nature claim to exist within a vacuum, Jünger's creation of them nevertheless had historical dimensions. He admits as much in the opening line of his post-war essay on catastrophe following the Second World War, *Der Waldgang* (1951). Introducing his program of *der Waldgang*, a process of self-reflective rediscovery for Europe, he includes a disclaimer: "Der Waldgang—es ist keine Idylle, die sich hinter diesem Titel verbirgt. […] Es handelt sich um eine

Kernfrage unserer Zeit, das heißt, um eine Frage, die auf alle Fälle Gefährdung mit sich bringt."[25] At first, this statement seems to contradict the present study's assertion that the idyll serves as paradigm for his post-war dystopian novels. But this opening disclaimer in *Der Waldgang* does not refer to the genre of the idyll per se but the connotations that come with the concept, that is, those that paint it as a form of escapism. In this sense, Jünger actually implicitly reinforces idyllic imagery as a space of negotiation rather than permanent escape. The concept of nature as a space of negotiation is critical when understanding Jünger's phenomenological approach in his late novels because, like the Husserlian *epoché,* the suspension or bracketing of judgment and inherent biases in a phenomenological analysis,[26] the underlying idyllic space of nature acts as a suspension of historical contingency, and with good reason. Many of the historical dimensions of this problem derive from Jünger's complicated legacy in Germany and his sometimes contentious tone and public persona. Indeed, his image as a collector still competes with his controversial political persona and the way that this persona has, to a certain degree, confined his written works to linkages with the historical moments in which they appeared. To many a proto-Nazi, to others a conscientious figure of resistance,[27] to some a leading figure of the so-called Conservative Revolution who paved the way for National Socialism with his political pamphleteering and posturing, to others a visionary and literary role model, and to most the sovereign individual par excellence, Jünger remains a figure who defies and complicates classification. His complex public

[25] Ernst Jünger, *Der Waldgang* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001), 5.
[26] On Jünger's engagement with Husserlian phenomenology, see Wolfgang Kaempfer, *Ernst Jünger* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1981) 116ff. On Martin Heidegger's engagement with Jünger's phenomenology, see Holger Zaborowski, "Technology, Truth, and Thinking: Martin Heidegger's Reading of Ernst Jünger's *The Worker*," in *Heidegger's Question of Being: Dasein, Truth, and History*, ed. Holger Zaborowski, 165-183 (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2017).
[27] Cf. Albert C. Eibl, *Der Waldgang des 'Abenteuerlichen Herzens'. Zu Ernst Jüngers Ästhetik des Widerstands im Schatten des Hakenkreuzes* (Heidelberg: Winter, 2020).

image, self-stylization, and often-changing political positions thus even led German author and cultural critic Elke Schmitter to once describe Jünger as a "fascistic chameleon."[28]

In light of Jünger's controversial persona, scholars have attempted to draw out aesthetic approaches that they believe underlie his writings and parallel his political image. From the beginning of his writing career, critics accused Jünger of famously "glorifying" and aestheticizing warfare in his descriptions World War I[29]: finding beauty both in the destruction of human lives and of the French countryside. These interpretive approaches to Jünger's aesthetics—such as his supposed aesthetic of warfare, his late nineteenth-century aesthetic of the ugly, brutal, and repulsive,[30] of fright,[31] of "deceleration,"[32] and indeed of nature—unmistakably contributed to elements of Jünger's oeuvre, both novelistic and essayistic. However, scholars who promote these approaches have too often tied these approaches to the author's aesthetics with his political image.

Furthermore, another common trend derives his aesthetic approaches to nature with the processing of a neurosis, a move that this study fundamentally challenges. The psychology of Jünger behind his novels and essays has remained a focal point of the psychoanalysis of literary figures in German Studies. This approach ties his radical aestheticization and elevation of warfare to deep-seated trauma that he experienced both as a soldier and in the subsequent defeat of Germany and the punishments of the Treaty of Versailles in 1919. Some of this approach is appropriate when considering the influence of the war. The generation of soldiers of the First

[28] Elke Schmitter, "Deutschland, Glückwunsch!", *Die Zeit*, March 24, 1995.
[29] See for example Manfred J. Foerster, "Verherrlichung des Krieges und der Kampf gegen Humanität und Vernunft," in *Bürgertum und Nationalismus. Ein deutsches Verhältnis*, ed. Manfred J. Foerster, 277-312 (Aachen: Shaker Media, 2011).
[30] As many have pointed out, within German literature a specific aesthetic of the ugly and repulsive was already present in the works of Gottfried Benn, for example. See Simone Rongen, *Die Ästhetik des Ekels in der Literatur: Von der Antike bis zu Gottfried Benn* (Hamburg: Diplomica, 2014).
[31] See for example Karl Heinz Bohrer, *Ästhetik des Schreckens. Die pessimistische Romantik und Ernst Jüngers Frühwerk* (Munich: Hanser, 1978).
[32] See for instance Weber.

World War to which Jünger belonged experienced a psychological test of strain and trauma that perhaps no other soldier before had to endure, a challenge which new weapons technology and military strategies had created. Historians Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau and Annette Becker note that "[i]n a matter of days and with hardly any transition between the two, Europeans…left their work, their families and their often sophisticated, cultivated social life to accept extreme violence."[33] The introduction of conscription in the First World War exposed middle-class European men both young and old, many of whom had never once even held a firearm, to experience death, the smell of putrefaction, and a constant soundscape of gunfire and explosions sometimes within a matter of two days from their departure from home. Shells exploded so violently that many men were often listed as missing because explosions had completely obliterated their bodies. This industrialized warfare of the trenches indefinitely changed the social fabric of Europe and, in particular, of Germany.

The influence of the turbulent events following the First World War has led some cultural historians of the first half of the twentieth century to approach the literary and artistic output of the era as response to trauma.[34] In scholarly studies of Jünger, the trauma theory of the era has led to a complex relationship between the author and his literary influences. What critics and scholars had seen in the early phases of his career as the adaptation of trends from French and English literature, such as the aestheticism of *l'art pour l'art* and the beauty of the ugly in Edgar Allan Poe and the *poètes maudits* like Charles Baudelaire, Paul Verlaine, and Arthur Rimbaud,[35] they then increasingly viewed as strategies Jünger employed with which to subconsciously respond to

[33] Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau and Annette Becker, *14-18: Understanding the Great War* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2002), 33.
[34] See for example Jason Crouthamel and Peter Leese, eds., *Psychological Trauma and the Legacies of the First World War* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).
[35] Cf. Günter Figal, *Kunst: Philosophische Handlungen* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 62-69. Cf. also Schwilk, 249.

trauma. His bombastic, proto-fascistic essay *Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis* (1922), for example, further stresses not only the historical importance of the moment of World War I for better or for worse, as *In Stahlgewittern* had done two years before, but emphasizes the *necessity* of warfare and of the acceptance of its necessity in the drama behind the phenomena of history. Because of the date of its publication and the radical statements it makes about war so soon after millions had died in the "Great War," some scholars have interpreted the essay as Jünger's response to the hyperinflation affecting German life at the time of writing and the embarrassment of Germany's having lost the war.[36] According to this theory, the radical statements in Jünger's war books act as psychological defense mechanisms employed to cope with crushing hyperinflation and the German defeat.[37] In other words, his writings sublimate subconscious fears and desires.

Interpretations such as these have caused psychoanalytic approaches to dominate the literary criticism of Jünger and have led to the development of a theory of coping mechanisms, a move common in cultural studies and historiography of the immediate post-World War I phase.[38] They have applied this coping mechanism approach to every phase of his writing, from his early war books to his dystopian novels and diaries. Works of so-called *Innere Emigration*, such as *Auf den Marmorklippen*, allegedly cope with the overwhelming control of the Nazi dictatorship over every aspect of life. Similarly, scholars have characterized *Heliopolis* as a response to the horrors

[36] Cf. Helmuth Kiesel, "*In Stahlgewittern* (1920) und Kriegstagebücher," in *Ernst Jünger-Handbuch. Leben – Werk – Wirkung*, ed. Matthias Schöning (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2014), 55.
[37] Cf. Michael Angele, "Die Verschwörungsmentalität in Ernst Jüngers Frühwerk," in *Kritik der Tradition: Hella Tiedemann-Bartels zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Achim Geisenhanslüke and Eckart Goebel (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2001) 47; Kiesel, "*In Stahlgewittern* (1920) und Kriegstagebücher," 55.
[38] As an example of this approach in German cultural history, see Anton Kaes, *Shell Shock Cinema: Weimar Culture and the Wounds of War* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011), which presents a selection of Weimar-era films as instances of coping with the trauma of the war. See also Clémentine Tholas-Disset and Karen A. Ritzenhoff, *Humor, Entertainment, and Popular Culture during World War I* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), which explores humor as a coping mechanism during and after World War I.

of the Holocaust[39] and the "civil war" between the Allied and Axis Powers in World War II: the Landvogt's persecution of the ethnic minority known as the Parsis strikingly mirrors the Nazi genocide of European Jewry in the preceding decades. In addition, Jünger's own role in the Nazi regime, having been called upon to be a captain in the Wehrmacht in the German occupation of Paris, has contributed to the view that *Heliopolis* functions as a literary coping mechanism. In other words, the intimate relationship between his allegedly unethical, irresponsible depictions of violence and the opinion that he often exaggerated these depictions to cope with or conceal a sense of trauma or defeat dominate scholarship to this day.[40]

The problem with such approaches is that, firstly, if Jünger wrote as a coping mechanism for a neurosis, an orthodox psychoanalytic perspective would assert that an author would conceal rather than acknowledge and expand on trauma that he or she were trying to repress. Secondly, they disregard or downplay a crucial aspect of the intellectual influences on Jünger and his generation in the Weimar era that remained an underlying element of his oeuvre. Like many Germans of his generation, Jünger was enthralled with the writings of Friedrich Nietzsche and was part of this generation that looked to a certain "theology" of the *Übermensch* as a replacement for traditional Christianity. By aestheticizing warfare, Jünger does not attempt to cope with the trauma of his experiences in war nor the German defeat—this remains a speculative question—but expresses what the young Nietzsche had once observed about the state of the modern world in *Die Geburt der Tragödie*: "[N]ur als *aesthetisches Phänomen* ist das Dasein und die Welt ewig

[39] Cf. for example Kai Köhler, "Nach der Niederlage. Der deutsche Faschismus, Ernst Jünger und der *Gordische Knoten*," in *Ernst Jünger: Politik – Mythos – Kunst*, ed. Lutz Hagestedt (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2004), 219.
[40] Even recent studies, such as Alexander Rubel's, which addresses the question of order as a foundation principle in his writings, suggest that Jünger assigns *order* to the objects and events of his observations as a way of assigning *meaning* to said objects and events. See Alexander Rubel, *Die Ordnung der Dinge: Ernst Jüngers Autorschaft als transzendentale Sinnsuche* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2018).

gerechtfertigt."[41] Like collecting, the act of writing, of reconfiguring experience in text, creates a work of art out of the aesthetic phenomenon that "the world" already was for his generation. This psychologizing bias against Jünger equally applies to his later years. As an example, the ninety-one-year-old author once wrote in his diary in 1986: "Einen Tag ohne Lektüre kann ich mir kaum vorstellen, und ich frage mich oft, ob ich nicht im Grunde als Leser gelebt habe. Die Welt der Bücher wäre dann die eigentliche, zu der das Erlebnis nur die erhoffte Bestätigung darstellte—und diese Hoffnung würde stets enttäuscht."[42] At first glance, this candid moment from Jünger seems to express disappointment in the incongruency of literature and the "real" world. This has led many, such as Virgil Nemoianu, to characterize Jünger as a hopelessly nostalgic writer. Nemoianu observes, for instance, "a nostalgic depth and…hidden sadness of Jünger's imagination."[43] But with sentiments like the aforementioned admission from his diary, Jünger is simply repeating a trope from literary history. From the Baroque concept of the *theatrum mundi* to William Shakespeare's assertion that "All the world's a stage" in *As You Like It* (c. 1599) to Pedro Calderón de la Barca's *Life Is a Dream* (1636), the trope that literary representations of reality are more real than reality itself has long held sway in reflections on the relation between literature and real-life experience. Jünger's continuation of the trope, nevertheless, has a uniquely hyperreal semiotic component. In instances such as these, Jünger was not expressing real disappointment with the connection of collecting and literary production. Fully aware of the literary staging of these instances of apparent disappointment, he uses them as instances to create by means of his collector mentality.

[41] Friedrich Nietzsche, *Die Geburt der Tragödie*, 9th ed., ed. Bernhard Greiner (Stuttgart: Kröner, 2014), 42.
[42] Ernst Jünger, *Siebzig verweht IV*, in *Ernst Jünger. Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 7 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015), 56.
[43] Virgil Nemoianu, *Postmodernism & Cultural Identities: Conflicts and Coexistence* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2010), 290.

Re-Envisioning Jünger as an Experimental Author

The following study does not engage in the aforementioned political or psychological biases that have colored scholarship. It instead considers Jünger's aesthetics in terms of literary experimentation. By considering his novels as open-ended experimentations with forms of nature, it challenges conceptions of his oeuvre as, on the one hand, solely veiled political propaganda and, on the other hand, solely a desperate attempt to make up for and hide the traumas of both the First World War and his own collaboration with the Nazi regime. Consequently, it resituates his concept of nature in the experimental strategies gleaned from exposure to the avant-garde movement of Berlin during the 1920s and 1930s (such as the photomontage technique that later reappears in *Eumeswil*). The interest in Jünger's alignment and distancing from National Socialist ideology has nevertheless accompanied an increased concern for his aesthetic proximity to the European avant-garde movements of the early twentieth century. One can trace Jünger's exposure to avant-garde techniques to his time in Berlin from 1927 to 1933. As Heimo Schwilk points out, Jünger moved into the Berlin artistic and literary circles of figures such as Arnolt Bronnen, Heinrich Mann, Arnold Zweig, Lion Feuchtwanger, Bruno Frank, Alfred Döblin, Irmgard Keun, Erich Kästner, and Bertolt Brecht.[44] The early 1990s saw a renewed concern both within Jünger scholarship and in parallel discourses for the connections of right-wing historical figures with prominent avant-garde figures of the early twentieth century.[45] His early texts on war then came into focus again, such as *Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis*, *Feuer und Blut* (1925), and *Die totale Mobilmachung*

[44] Schwilk, 306-307.

[45] See for example Eva Hesse, *Die Achse Avantgarde-Faschismus: Reflexionen über Filippo Tommaso Marinetti und Ezra Pound* (Zurich: Die Arche, 1992); Helmuth Kiesel, "Gab es einen 'rechten' Avantgardismus? Eine Anmerkung zu Klaus von Beymes 'Zeitalter der Avantgarden,'" in *Die Politik in der Kunst und die Kunst in der Politik*, ed. Ariane Hellinger, Barbara Waldkirch, Elisabeth Buchner, and Helge Batt, 109-124 (Wiesbaden: Springer, 2013). On Jünger's association with the New Right in Germany, see for example Roger Woods, *Germany's New Right as Culture and Politics* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 53-54, 107, 127.

(1930), which display an affinity toward the prevailing Expressionistic style of the time. Unlike *In Stahlgewittern*, Jünger imbues these later texts with an even greater sense of dramaturgy and a host of Expressionistic images—rays of light, sparks, lightning, and thunder.

Both as a conservative reactionary and an avant-garde stylist, Jünger has suffered from reductionist classifications that do not capture the broad, fluid spectrum along which literary and artistic figures of the German cultural scene of the Weimar era moved. Some, while avoiding a dismissal of Jünger as a proto-fascist, nevertheless have called into question the accuracy of locating him within strains of the classical avant-garde period. Already in 1997, Hans Esselborn challenged the view of Jünger as an avant-garde author. Commenting on his turn to fiction in his early career, Esselborn observes:

> Die Wahl des fiktiven Erzählens führt nun nicht nur zu anderen Gegenständen, sondern bringt zwangsläufig eine andere Perspektive mit sich. Der Übergang zur Literatur zieht die Übernahme der kulturellen Normen des Bildungsbürgertums und der konventionellen schriftstellerischen Regeln nach sich, da Jünger nicht bewußt seine Weltanschauung, seinen Literaturbegriff und seine Erzählweise modernisierte, wie es die Avantgarde damals tat.[46]

Similarly, Rubel argues that Jünger does not revel in the possibilities of historical contingency and relativism like artists of the classical avant-garde period but insists on an absolute throughout the changes in his approach to writing:

> Anders als die meisten Autoren der literarischen Moderne akzeptiert Jünger die Kontingenz des individuellen Lebens nicht, sondern insistiert auf einem Sinn des individuellen Lebens

[46] Hans Esselborn, "Die Verwandlung von Politik in Naturgeschichte der Macht: Der Bürgerkrieg in Ernst Jüngers 'Marmorklippen' und 'Heliopolis,'" *Wirkendes Wort* 47, no. 1 (1997), 46.

> ebenso hartnäckig wie auf der Ordnung des Kosmos, die sich freilich nicht offenbart, sondern die es in der Welt der Erscheinungen mit subtilen Methoden erst aufzuspüren gilt. Versuche, Jünger als eminenten Autor einer Avantgarde der Moderne zu deuten (nur e.g. Bohrer, Koslowski), übersehen diese entscheidende Dimension von Jüngers Werk.[47]

Rubel thus stresses that although Jünger may have adapted several stylistic and narrative techniques from currents of the avant-garde, the content of his thought from the beginning insisted on an idealist order to the events that he witnessed. This view, however, does not do justice to Jünger's often chaotic vision of nature, such as the hierarchical *bellum omnium contra omnes* described at the outset of *Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis*. The reality is likely that although he undoubtedly adopted many avant-garde narrative techniques and maintained contact with many avant-garde artists and writers, Jünger combined them with intensely nationalistic concerns before World War II and with increasingly literary and imaginative concerns in the post-war period.

When considering that some critics describe Jünger's style as avant-garde, while others at the same time have emphasized its sober objectivity,[48] this study resists a singular label for his style or genre while instead focusing on experimentation. It stresses avant-garde styles and techniques only to the degree that they shape the images of nature in the three post-war novels considered. As an underlying framework, it does not treat Jünger as a conservative reactionary who laments the loss of traditions, nature, or political orders but affirms the experimental nature of his writing, particularly in the post-1945 era. Assessments of Jünger as an author who uses

[47] Rubel, 16.

[48] For example, although *In Stahlgewittern* is largely viewed as a work of aestheticism with several avant-garde flourishes, at the time of its publications, many right-wing educators believed the book would function as a fitting textbook on the war for future German students because of its objective look at the war's events. Moreover, many have emphasized Jünger's proximity to New Objectivity and his collaboration with photographer Albert Renger-Patzsch. Jünger collaborated with Renger-Patzsch on his two photobooks *Bäume* (1962) and *Gesteine* (1966). See for example Norbert Dietka, *Ernst Jünger und die bildende Kunst* (Würzburg: Königsmann & Neumann, 2017), 157-159.

literature as a means of coping with loss and conserving tradition overlook the suggestions and, indeed, play that occur within their narrative worlds. For one, the phenomenology of nature in *Heliopolis*, *Gläserne Bienen*, and *Eumeswil* is literary in essence, as it regards "nature" as a product of literary imagination. In addition to engaging in such a phenomenological approach of observing the quotidian appearances of an object to the senses, which some have tied to his stereoscopic vision, in his later novels, Jünger links the way these novels investigate the manifestations of nature in a post-war environment in *semiotic* terms with the experimentation of his writing. In *Heliopolis*, he builds a phenomenology of the ways "nature" is captured, categorized, curated, and presented. *Gläserne Bienen* highlights technology as a new form of nature—what Critical Theory often addresses as a "second nature"—and its relation to phantasmagoria and instead presents "nature" in a garden filled with creations that are no longer imitations but simulacra. *Eumeswil* thematizes imitations and simulation directly. Each approach does not attempt to "conserve" the past as much as probe the fluctuations and shifts of "nature."

Adventure, Mystery, and the Reform of Life: Nature Movements in Turn-of-the-Century Germany

Even outside of stylistic questions and the literary tradition, often overlooked sociohistorical factors also formulated Jünger's concept of nature. From his early days as the child of both a Wilhelmine, bourgeois generation of comfort and of a father who placed a great emphasis on the study of the sciences and history, nature accompanied the author throughout his life. He kept diaries during World War I that recorded his beetle finds on the battlefields of France, expounded the anthropological, Freudian concept of nature as a set of primal drives after the war,[49]

[49] Cf. Schwilk, 243-244; Kiesel, *Ernst Jünger. Die Biographie*, 105ff.

experimented with aesthetic forms that represented nature in the 1930s with works like *Das abenteurliche Herz* (1929/1938) and *Auf den Marmorklippen*, and described nature scenes in his diaries throughout World War II. Despite the attention that scholars have devoted to connecting his engagement with nature to the natural sciences of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, and the attempts to prioritize even classical or scholastic concepts of nature,[50] there has been an increasing yet inadequate interest in the sociocultural and sociohistorical dimensions of Jünger's lifelong preoccupation with nature. While his oeuvre does bespeak a keen knowledge of naturalist figures such as Linnaeus, Georges de Buffon, Charles Darwin,[51] and Charles De Geer, a look back to his early life, as the other piece to his array of knowledge of and allusions to nature, reveals that the historical situation of the late nineteenth century also played a formative role in his career as a collector, entomologist, traveler, and author.

Born in 1895, Ernst Jünger was part of a generation whose access to nature was, ironically, simultaneously limited and increasingly broadening. On the one hand, natural or "wild" landscapes that had long existed in the German imagination developed a somewhat paradoxical relationship to the German public in this late nineteenth-century context. The environments on continents considered "closer" to nature, such as the jungles, desert, and savannahs of Africa and the Amazon rainforest of South America, no longer retained the mystery they once had for European observers. The so-called "Scramble for Africa," the process of European colonization of large parts of Africa beginning in the 1870s, in addition to its goals of exploitation, produced the side effect of opening up traditional African societies and tribal, clan-based social structures to a German population that had largely been cut off from them by a historical lack of transportation. The German society into

[50] See for example Auguste Francotte, "Ernst Jünger ou l'entomologiste écrivain," in *Ernst Jünger*, ed. Philippe Barthelet (Lausanne: Editions L'Age d'Homme, 2000), 194-195.
[51] Charles Darwin was also a collector of beetles. On Darwin's relation to entomology, see J.F.M. Clark, *Bugs and the Victorians* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 105-131.

which Jünger was born further made up a contradictory entity—characterized by both an increasingly isolationist form of nationalism driven partially by the fear of the ascendancy of the German Empire and a civilization that propelled the forces of what is now known as globalization on a mass scale as an effect of imperialism. The annual International Exhibition or "World's Fair" for example—the first of which was held at the famous Crystal Palace in London in 1851—presented the technical achievements of Western nations to the rest of the world in an attempt to inculcate a sense of international partnership, but which also entailed actual international competition and had a Eurocentric focus. Of all the nations active in exposing the European public to other continents, Wilhelmine Germany played an overrepresented role. It was the Germany of Carl Hagenbeck, who was responsible for bringing to Germany wild animals that German eyes had never seen except for in books or magazines. But for Hagenbeck, it was not enough for German audiences who had never before seen an elephant in person to see his specimens harvested from the African continent. He also contributed greatly to the rise of the *Völkerschau* phenomenon, human zoos in which residents of predominantly African countries were brought to Europe to be exhibited to German audiences.[52] These exhibits included so-called *Eingeborenen-Dörfer*, artificial African villages that exhibitors constructed in order to give the exhibit an air of authenticity and to make viewers feel as if they were actually looking into the life of an East African village.[53] Thus, in the case of Jünger and his generation of German boys and girls, "nature"

[52] See for example Nigel Rothfels, *Savages and Beasts: The Birth of the Modern Zoo* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002); Jan-Erik Steinkrüger, *Thematisierte Welten: Über Darstellungspraxen in zoologischen Gärten und Vergnügungsparks* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2013); Peer Zickgraf, *Völkerschau und Totentanz: Deutsches (Körper-) Weltentheater zwischen 1905 und heute* (Marburg: Jonas, 2012).
[53] See Pascal Blanchard et al., "MenschenZoos: Schaustellungen 'exotischer' Menschen im Westen," in *MenschenZoos: Schaufenster der Unmenschlichkeit*, ed. Pascal Blanchard et al., trans. Susanne Buchner-Sabathy (Hamburg: Les éditions du Crieur Public, 2012), 38; Hilke Thode-Arora, "Hagenbeck: Tierpark und Völkerschau," in *Kein Platz an der Sonne: Erinnerungsorte der deutschen Kolonialgeschichte*, ed. Jürgen Zimmerer (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2013), 249.

in public exhibits like Hagenbeck's offered a paradoxical window into naturality, in which "real" African villages and animals in near-real habitats were simultaneously highly artificial and staged.

Just as well, literary depictions accompanied these artificial exposures of the German public imagination—thanks to the European colonial machine of exploitation—to ways of life and social structures in the colonies of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. In an era without television, Internet, widespread cinema, or even radio (until 1923), Jünger's generation's access to the "nature" found in foreign landscapes appeared in written accounts of these terrains, both fictional and non-fictional. The young Jünger, for example, followed Sir Henry Morton Stanley's adventures *Through the Dark Continent* (1878) his *In Darkest Africa* (1890),[54] read Alexander von Humboldt's *Reisen in die Aequinoctialgegenden* (1807), given as a gift by his grandfather in 1905,[55] the travels of German novelist Friedrich Gerstäcker, the youth adventure novels of Sophie Wörishöffer, Karl May's popular Cowboys-and-Indians adventure novels set in the American Old West,[56] and the works of Joseph Conrad,[57] among many other examples. Stanley's *Through the Dark Continent*, as Jünger once recalled, belonged to the books "die wir wieder von vorn begannen, wenn die letzte Seite gewendet war."[58] For Jünger the boy, accounts of perilous adventures in wild, mysterious locations like the Old West, Africa, or South America, did not just serve as entertainment but, in a sense, as a parallel, alternate world to counter the stifling bourgeois atmosphere of imperial Germany. In all, however, the most revealing aspect of this exposure to

[54] Cf. Kiesel, *Ernst Jünger. Die Biographie*, 49. N.B. Titles from both May and Conrad contain racist language widespread in the nineteenth century.
[55] Ibid., 32.
[56] Ibid., 43.
[57] Cf. Michel Arouimi, *Jünger et ses dieux: Rimbaud, Conrad, Melville* (Paris: Orizons, 2011), 111-144.
[58] Jünger, *Subtile Jagden*, 70.

literary adventure was the way "real" worlds and worlds of fantasy became blurred in the young author's mind and in the awareness of his generation.

Biographers point to the rigid, impersonal school systems in Germany around the turn of the century as the first instance of Jünger's desire to explore foreign lands for himself. Kiesel stresses the importance of locating the formation of Jünger's views on the natural world in his school years: "[D]er Blick auf das Leben und die eigenen Möglichkeiten sollte nicht durch Zweckrationalität und Sekuritätsverlangen bestimmt, sondern durch den Geist der großen Krieger, Entdecker und Abenteurer inspiriert sein. Demgegenüber verblaßte, was Schule war, und wurde zu einer langweiligen Nebensache."[59] Schwilk also points to the problem of German school systems at the time and his father Ernst Georg Jünger's influence on his son's opinion of schooling: "Bei Tischgesprächen spöttelt er [Ernst Georg Jünger] gegenüber seinen Kindern über die damalige Unterrichtsmethodik und betont, dass jedes echte Lernen eine Sache der persönlichen Neigung sei. Die wirkliche Ausbildung finde deshalb außerhalb der Schule statt. Schule ist für ihn ein notwendiges Übel."[60] The prospect of leaving Germany's suffocating environment both physically and through the power of imagination strongly influenced Jünger's approach to writing for decades following. This can be seen, in part, in his much noted illegal enlistment in the French Foreign Legion and travels to Algeria in his teen years, an experience that would later return in literary form, for example in *Afrikanische Spiele* (1936). Some have observed how Jünger blurred the "real" and fictional Africa through writing. Volker Mergenthaler writes of the largely autobiographical protagonist of Jünger's narrative, Herbert Berger: "Das phantasmatische Afrika aber halte, wie man ihn eindringlich warnt…und hält tatsächlich, wie er selbst erfahren wird, einer

[59] Kiesel, *Ernst Jünger. Die Biographie*, 43.
[60] Schwilk, 44.

Überprüfung an der Realität nicht stand."[61] Instead, Berger, no less than Jünger himself, is "von Beginn an auf das Innere Afrikas hin gespannt, womit der Beitritt zur Legion als Mittel zum Zweck und die Institution der Fremdenlegion als Transportmittel lesbar werden."[62] Thus, Jünger's own exploration of Africa, even before having published any books, began to test the feelings of adventure, realness, and peril that the readings from his childhood had promised him.[63] The incongruency of literary account and actual experience that Jünger perceived in Africa nonetheless planted the seed of imagining alternate worlds, a tendency that would reappear in the late 1930s and indeed later influence Jünger's "utopian" dystopian novels. His later novels attest to an acute awareness that the identification of setting and the "real world" contains a false premise from the start.

Another contributing factor to the discourse on nature and the question of "returning" to nature in the environment of Germany in Jünger's childhood manifested in the *Lebensreform* movement.[64] The precursor of countercultural social movements such as the hippie movement in the United States and the German *Freikörperkultur*, *Lebensreform* comprised a broad spectrum of sub-movements in nineteenth-century Germany that emphasized a "natural" lifestyle and had in common the emphasis on a return to nature as a response to the pervasive industrialization and urbanization of the preceding decades. The movement emphasized the rejection of bourgeois

[61] Volker Mergenthaler, *Völkerschau – Kannibalismus – Fremdenlegion: Zur Ästhetik der Transgression (1897-1936)* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2005), 159.
[62] Ibid., 197.
[63] On Jünger's literary reconstructions of these experiences in Africa in works such as *Afrikanische Spiele*, see for example Volker Mergenthaler, "Von Bord der 'Fremdenlegion' gehen: Mythologisch-metaphorische Ichbildung in Ernst Jüngers 'Afrikanischen Spielen,'" in *Ernst Jünger: Politik – Mythos – Kunst*, ed. Lutz Hagestedt, 271-287 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2004).
[64] There have been no scholarly studies on the connections between Jünger's aesthetics and the *Lebensreform* movement, but some have connected his utopian/dystopian visions to *Lebensreform.* On the vision of *Der Arbeiter* and *Lebensreform*, see Thomas Rohkrämer, "German Cultural Criticism: The Desire for a Sense of Place and Community," in *Making a New World: Architecture & Communities in Interwar Europe*, ed. Rajesh Heynickx & Tom Avermaete (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2012), 34-36.

conventions, despite the fact that the majority of its proponents were from bourgeois families. *Lebensreform* leaders also stressed the rejection of urbanization, social mores, the consumption of meat, and monogamy. Radical proponents of *Lebensreform*, such as the German painter Karl Wilhelm Diefenbach, emphasized practices such as organic farming, nudism or "naturism," vegetarianism, and sexual liberation. In 1897, Diefenbach, along with his painting students and disciples Gustav Gräser and František Kupka, founded the short-lived Himmelhof commune near Vienna, which became the model for several other *Lebensreform* communes.[65] *Lebensreform* also came to include right-wing and far-right, anti-Semitic factions that even included one of Diefenbach's own followers, German artist Fidus (Hugo Höppener), whose beliefs later shifted from those of Theosophy to embrace National Socialism.[66] From an intellectual standpoint, *Lebensreform* also responded to the increasing takeover of empirical approaches to the observation of nature at universities and laboratories and the nationalist race for scientific discoveries in the late nineteenth century. This thought seems to have seeped into Jünger's view of the natural sciences, despite the fact that he himself studied botany and zoology in Leipzig from 1923 to 1926. Commenting on the loss of the previous forms of observing nature, speculative forms that and asserted a metaphysical order behind the phenomena of nature, he writes of the atmosphere during his childhood: "Die große Zeit für solche Neigungen war schon vorbei. Die eigentliche Naturkunde, das liebevolle Betrachten, Vergleichen, Ordnen und Beschreiben von Objekten, galt kaum noch als Wissenschaft. Dem Behagen an der Anschauung war der Genuß an der exakten,

[65] See *Der Himmelhof: Urzelle der Alternativbewegung. Eine Geschichte der Lebensgemeinschaft Humanitas um Karl Wilhelm Diefenbach im Wien der Jahre 1897-99 in Tagebüchern und Briefen*, 2nd ed., ed. Hermann Müller (Recklinghausen: Umbruch Verlag, 2012). See also Michaela Lindinger, *Sonderlinge, Außenseiter, Femmes Fatales: Das "andere" Wien um 1900* (Vienna: Amalthea, 2015).
[66] See Massimo Introvigne, "Fidus (1868-1948): A German Artist from Theosophy to Nazism," *Aries: Journal for the Study of Western Esotericism* 17, no. 2 (2017): 215-242.

gezielten und messenden Beobachtung gefolgt."[67] The progress of the natural sciences leading into early twentieth-century Europe had thus created a great irony by the time Jünger began collecting. The dissecting approach to entomology that had created interest in the study of insects in the Early Modern period had indirectly led to its limitation at the turn of the century.

The umbrella *Lebensreform* movement also produced the far less radical sub-movement of the contemporaneous *Wandervogel* organizations in Germany, which had a greater mainstream appeal to the general German public than many of the specific revolutionary agendas that some leaders of *Lebensreform* promoted. As Nemoianu stresses, Jünger's childhood experiences had a softer side that stemmed from a rural German way of life that he argues was a holdover from the pre-revolutionary era of the nineteenth century: "[B]orn in 1895, and living in areas far from large cities, Jünger grew up inside a universe that still preserved many Biedermeier features and echoes, a comfortable and secure type of environment, calmly settled and serenely legal, moderately hierarchical, and respectful of the distinctions between virtues and vices."[68] As a boy, then, Jünger's exposure to German "back-to-nature" movements had a nostalgic, but not necessarily revolutionary, hue. This nostalgic, seemingly wholesome image may have helped the *Wandervogel* organization to spread rapidly in popularity in the 1910s. As a supplement to their time spent outdoors, Jünger and his brother Friedrich Georg joined the *Wandervogel* as teenagers in 1910 or 1911 in Wunstorf outside of Hanover.[69] Founded by Karl Fischer in 1901, the *Wandervogel* had the goal of offering young Germans the opportunity to experience nature firsthand on trips taken

[67] Jünger, *Subtile Jagden*, 11. On Jünger's views of the dichotomy between "amateur" and "researcher," see Ernst Jünger, "Forscher und Liebhaber. Ansprache vor den Bayerischen Entomologen," in *Ernst Jünger. Sämtliche Werke* 12, 328-333 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015). Cf. also Elisabeth Emter, *Literatur und Quantentheorie: Die Rezeption der modernen Physik in Schriften zu Literatur und Philosophie deutschsprachiger Autoren (1925-1970)* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1995), 134-135.
[68] Nemoianu, 289-290.
[69] Cf. Kiesel, *Ernst Jünger. Die Biographie*, 46.

to parks, forests, and other natural areas of Germany, partially as a response to the growth of industrialization. Yet perspectives on the goals of the *Wandervogel* have significantly changed in scholarship on the movement, pointing out that their expeditions not only included nature outings but also viewings of industrialized labor. Schwilk notes, for example, that one of the first trips that Ernst and Friedrich Georg Jünger took with a *Wandervogel* group in 1911 visited a spinning mill, a lime plant, and a sewage treatment plant.[70] The movement chiefly aimed to encourage young German children to enjoy both labor and leisure, and some of its intentions may have been somewhat exaggerated for young men like Ernst and Friedrich Georg Jünger, who had already had significant exposure to time spent outdoors, as Jünger later relates in *Subtile Jagden*. Still, in many ways, these expeditions taken by the teenaged Jünger and his brother Friedrich Georg planted the seeds of the discourse on the relation of nature and technology that would reappear in different forms throughout Jünger's writings. The trend of going back to nature, away from technological developments and the urban centers that symbolized them, would accompany the functions of nature in the author's writing for years to come.

Writing the Unwritten Novel: Collecting and Metafiction

With the preceding perspectives on Jünger's numerous exposures to—and creations of—nature through collecting and the idea of going "back" to nature, it is necessary to examine how each chapter traces this discourse on nature, collecting, and metafiction in each text. Chapter two examines Jünger's place within the history of collecting. Written when occupying Allied forces had banned Jünger from publishing in Germany for five years after 1945, *Heliopolis* mixes fantastical and science fiction elements with his own historical conscience about his involvement

[70] Schwilk, 68. See also Ina Schmidt, "Ernst Jünger," in *Jugendbewegt geprägt: Essays zu autobiographischen Texten von Werner Heisenberg, Robert Jungk und vielen anderen,* ed. Barbara Stambolis, 381-394 (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2013).

in the war. Like after the publication of *Auf den Marmorklippen*, Jünger initially denied any connection between his novels and contemporaneous events yet later acknowledged inspiration from the historical context surrounding each text. But, shifting away from the reading of *Heliopolis* as a *roman à clef*, chapter two takes such an approach into account while arguing that *Heliopolis* furthermore constructs a phenomenological investigation into the act of collecting. In *Heliopolis*, collecting acts as the "essence" behind the phenomena of collecting that appear in the regions of its narrative world: libraries, shrunken head collections, catacombs, card indexes, arsenals. This phenomenological approach to collecting is not unique to *Heliopolis* but appears in other post-war texts. *Subtile Jagden*, for example, notes the 1,500 types of *Cicindela* that entomologists have described: "Wie viele ich davon kennen lernen sollte, nicht nur in der Heimat und in fernen Ländern, sondern auch in Bildwerken und Museen—es war immer ein Wiederfinden, eine Erinnerung."[71] Not only the legwork of collecting out in the field, but also observations in museums and of models exist along a spectrum of Jünger's inquiry into nature. Therefore, starting from the theoretical point that collectors create collections to create order, security, and mastery, chapter two points out how *Heliopolis* challenges this notion by presenting the ominous side of collections. It investigates the relation between the racist anthropological projects of the Nazi regime, both the Nazi expeditions to measure skulls of "inferior" races and the even more sinister plans for museums that were to feature human remains of victims of the Holocaust. Although framed as a phenomenology of collecting that takes multiple forms of collecting into account, *Heliopolis* also meditates on the image and function of the museum. In essence, the novel comments on the ethics of the museum as a feasible form of collecting while placing the collection in a genealogy of Early Modern anatomy experiments and skeleton collections.

[71] Jünger, *Subtile Jagden*, 78.

In *Gläserne Bienen*, Jünger shifts his idiom and focus in the exploration of new forms of nature. At the end of *Heliopolis*, the protagonist Lucius de Geer leaves the society of Heliopolis, in peril from civil war, in a rocket ship. Despite the fact that Jünger inserts several futuristic technological devices throughout the novel, Lucius's departure becomes symbolic when reading *Heliopolis* as the first entry in a trilogy of dystopian novels that *Gläserne Bienen* resumes. Lucius's departure in a rocket ship to find a more stable form of nature beyond Heliopolis in another world suggests a salvific quality of technology: after a catastrophe, perhaps technology can make up for the loss of access to and destruction of nature, even if nature appears in *Heliopolis* in its concentrated, acculturated form as "collection." This suggestion from the ending of *Heliopolis*, as chapter three asserts, is where Jünger takes up his inquiry into the efficacy of nature in *Gläserne Bienen*. The novel plays with the concept of defeatism and obsolescence in the face of technological development. Although its vision of technology has remained the preferred topic of debate, chapter three avoids drawing out positive assertions about technology from the text, as many have done,[72] but instead analyzes the semiotic machinations in the background of the plot of the novel. *Gläserne Bienen* does not meditate on technology as much as it engages in a semiotic game, in which it plays with the meaning of spatial images of nature—including the spatial aspects of the protagonist Richard's past and the spatiality of his nostalgia. The height of the action in the novel, for example, takes place in the garden of the novel's "antagonist," the industrialist and robot inventor, Giacomo Zapparoni. Chapter three explores, therefore, to what degree Zapparoni, represent an amimetic principle of nature, shifts the meaning of "nature" as a place representing growth, trees, plants, water, and wildness to a space in which he can experiment with technological

[72] See for example Harro Segeberg, "Ernst Jüngers 'Gläserne Bienen' als 'Frage nach der Technik,'" in *Titan Technik: Ernst und Friedrich Georg Jünger über das technische Zeitalter*, ed. Friedrich Strack, 211-224 (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2000).

innovation. It also embeds the discourse on nature implicit in *Gläserne Bienen* in issues of hyperreality and examines the ways in which Zapparoni attempts to explode the reality principle of Richard's thoroughly mimetic concept of nature with his robots.

A twenty-year gap exists between the publication of *Gläserne Bienen* and *Eumeswil*. The period between the two novels is marked by a series of abstract and theoretical, yet highly stylized, essays and few works of pure fiction, among them the novella *Besuch auf Godenholm* (1952) and the novel *Die Zwille* (1973). Despite this long gap and unlike the other fictional titles that appeared in it, Jünger again takes up the dystopia genre in *Eumeswil* and sets it in the same narrative universe as *Gläserne Bienen*. Although technology and, in particular, futuristic technological devices again play a role in the narrative world of *Eumeswil*, the novel shifts from an exegesis of the state of technological development to a text that explores the efficacy of the act of historiography in a seemingly meaningless world. Yet criticisms of *Eumeswil* have too often focused on the element of history and how it functions in the text as an actual theory of history that the protagonist develops. In other words, analyses such as these have devoted themselves to extracting philosophical and historical commentary from the novel, as if the text were a commentary on the time period in which it appeared. Rather than considering *Eumeswil* a fictionalized essay from Jünger about postmodern questions of historiography, chapter four considers the ways in which the text in fact reifies history. Not only this, it also examines the ways in which the novel's protagonist and first-person narrator, Manuel Venator, embeds reified history into the literary and artistic tradition of tropes of nature. Chapter four thus eschews attempts at classifying *Eumeswil* in terms of "postmodernism" or "posthistoire" and considers it as Jünger's final commentary on the efficacy of nature as a functional refuge and space of experimentation in literary writing. Because his dystopian trilogy conceals the images of nature more and more, as these spaces of

nature become more implicit with each novel, this chapter also gives an account of the relation between nature and the metafictional critique in which *Eumeswil* engages. It furthermore investigates how the novel employs metafictional techniques to express the disappearance of nature in Venator's world of Eumeswil and to what degree the possibility of narration is possible once Venator departs from Eumeswil—and, thereby, departs from narrating, when the novel is no longer able to show anything because, quite literally, the novel itself ends. In *Eumeswil*, the problem at hand for the narrator, Venator, is the way to escape the apparent *mise en abyme* of imitations in the society of the city of Eumeswil. Chapter four thus argues that with *Eumeswil*, Jünger engages with the question of *imitatio* in poetics, but nonetheless combines the discourse of *imitatio* implicit in *Eumeswil* with the experimental approaches taken from the avant-garde. For Jünger in *Eumeswil*, imitation represents one of the central problems of both the literary and artistic output of modernity (roughly the early twentieth century) and of industrialization in Western nations; one does not succeed in modern conditions by imitating others, a move which others perceive as being epigonal or "kitsch," but by innovating.

The final chapter reiterates the resulting metafiction that occurs by the ending of this trilogy of dystopian novels. As mentioned above, Jünger's collecting began with the desire to be the narrator of his own collection, embodied by his desire to find undiscovered beetle species and name them after himself. Even *Eumeswil*, as abstract as the novel itself often is, is connected to collecting. The problem of Venator, and just as well for the protagonists of *Heliopolis* and *Gläserne Bienen*, is a problem of mastery of a certain narrative, whether it be Lucius de Geer's mastery of the narrative of the city of Heliopolis or Richard's mastery of the narrative of his own fate. By ending with *Eumeswil*, however, Jünger makes Venator into the master collector and, therefore, the master narrator. On the one hand, the analysis of each novel confirms that collecting

and writing entailed an almost identical act for Jünger. On the other hand, each text also shows how this deep link between collecting and writing causes his novels to consistently and increasingly reflect upon their own createdness, just as the collection constantly reflects the collector himself.

This study resituates Jünger within the sociohistorical context of the late nineteenth-century Germany into which he was born. Because of this context, chapter four also raises ecological implications about Jünger's fictional oeuvre. There are several instances in each novel in which the main character questions the future of nature, in whatever form it appears to him. Lucius de Geer questions the future of the collections of the Pagos; Richard questions the future of the real bees in the face of Zapparoni's glass bees; Venator questions his own fate as an ascetic beyond the woods of Eumeswil. More importantly, *Eumeswil* leaves the trilogy with seemingly ecological questions of how nature is threatened by a disappearance, yet chapter four contrarily questions whether these concerns are always already aesthetic concerns for Jünger. It questions the aesthetic aspect of each because, as this study repeatedly asserts, his collections and his books are not a mimicry of nature but a new order, a type of new nature. The resulting metafiction in these novels is not a fictional reflection on actual events but, naturally, a fictional reflection on the process of writing fiction. In this way, then, Jünger leaves off his dystopian novels by suggesting the reconstitution of fiction back *into* itself. This reconstitution, the grafting of the aesthetic representation of nature in two different genres—the collection and the novel—back onto the medium of writing itself results in a semiotic palimpsest, a form that is embedded in long-standing traditions of aesthetic production in both collecting and narrating. Like a palimpsest, these novels reflect back upon themselves and build on their own mediality. By doing this, they act just like collections: the collection has no need to justify its connection to the "real world"; its sleight-of-

hand consists in its apparent self-mediation. Chapter four thus questions whether Jünger's writing was, in fact, his greatest collection. It represents both the creation of a new order and the necessity of transporting his protagonists out of the game of imitation and, like a biblical exodus, leading him into a new, yet wholly undefined and mysterious order of narration. Jünger leaves us with a narrative order that, paradoxically, must ultimately exist outside of the text.

Chapter 2

Phenomenology of Collecting: *Heliopolis*

In 1997, a Swedish film crew led by Jesper Wachtmeister was planning to film a documentary on Ernst Jünger. Wachtmeister intended to intersperse commentary with Jünger's own words documenting his reflections on the century of which he had now lived 97 years. However, the 102-year old subject of the film was not welcoming of interviewers to his home. To film *102 Years in the Heart of Europe*, the crew devised a gift for Jünger, an eighteenth-century print of Swedish naturalist Carl Linnaeus's *Systema Naturae*—not a casual choice but a calculated bribe that won the film access to the reclusive author. Wachtmeister likely had access to the copy because of his ties to the prominent De Geer family of Sweden, whose patriarch, the eighteenth-century naturalist Charles De Geer, proposed a system of classifying species alternative to that of Linnaeus. A monumental reworking of the Aristotelian *scala naturae* into a hierarchical taxonomy,[1] Linnaeus's addition to the "Great Order of Being" delineates the order of nature into a graphically organized system, served foremost as a cherished and often reprinted handbook for Linnaeus's scientist contemporaries.[2] Linnaeus also developed the system of binomial nomenclature still in use today, which effectively immortalized him as a figure in the natural sciences. *Systema Naturae* asserts a pragmatic yet ontological order of species to counter an insurmountable natural diversity: kingdoms, classes, orders, genera, and species. Inherent in his project of nomenclature is a dialectic between the external, divine order to which Linnaeus testifies and the internal order that he creates and applies to nature. Where the traditional *scala naturae* begins with a deity, Linnaeus begins with kingdoms but intrinsically asserts a divine design in

[1] Cf. Momme von Sydow, *From Darwinian Metaphysics towards Understanding the Evolution of Evolutionary Mechanisms: A Historical and Philosophical Analysis of Gene-Darwinism and Universal Darwinism* (Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Göttingen, 2012), 89ff.
[2] *Systema Naturae* appeared in twelve editions in Linnaeus's lifetime, with the twelfth edition appearing in 1768.

nature,[3] keeping with the trend of "natural theology" of his day. Nevertheless, the concept underlying the *Systema Naturae* poses a chicken-or-the-egg problem about order in nature: whether order has always existed in nature and whether Linnaeus attests to it or creates the order by virtue of organizing it into a written representation. And, although Linnaeus presented his system as a passive tool for naming species, Linnaeus's own practices as a collector of insects informed the construction of categories that lie at the foundation of the *Systema*. The volumes of the system do not so much name an already existing nature as express a potential for practically endless discovery by the collector. Thousands of species are always yet to be discovered, and, like any good collection, Linnaeus's collection of species feeds itself on its own incompleteness.

For Jünger, himself an avid collector, this gift from Wachtmeister represented both an addition to his own library and the even deeper meaning of Linnaeus's project: the attempt to order nature through text. Linnaeus's multi-volume work is shot through by this inherent dialectic between naturality and artificiality. On the one hand, the system reflects the pure naturality of nature outside of itself, in the world. On the other hand, the system equally reflects the mind of the collector who names the species he finds; the Latin names assigned to species have no meaning to the specimens themselves but to the ordering mind of the collector. As an author, Jünger often incorporated Linnaeus into his novels as a towering figure and voice under the surface, in particular in *Auf den Marmorklippen* and *Subtile Jagden*, as well as in his diaries.[4] But the timing of the filming of this last documentary represents the last phase of the author's life, one marked by quiet

[3] The title page of the 1735 edition of *Systema Naturae* reads: "O JEHOVA! Quam ampla sunt opera Tua! Quam ea omnia sapienter fecisti! Quam plena est terra possessione tua!" ("O LORD, how manifold are thy works! in wisdom hast thou made them all: the earth is full of thy riches", Psalm 104:24). For more on natural theology in Linnaeus and its connections to collecting, see Samuel J. Kessler, "Systematization, Theology and the Baroque *Wunderkammern*: Seeing Nature After Linnaeus," *Heythorp Journal* 58, no. 3 (2017): 432-445.

[4] Jünger's mentions of Linnaeus are too numerous to mention, but on the Linnaean system of nature, see for example Ernst Jünger, January 10, 1942, November 21, 1965, November 7, 1966, June 2, 1981.

isolation in the quiet of his Baden-Württemberg home. As an author, however, Jünger had engaged with the fictional possibilities of collecting much earlier, at a time of intense turbulence both in his personal life and in German history. Although Jünger's love of Linnaeus's binomial system and the collecting of insects is well attested in his writing, it is therefore all the more curious why, when order was needed in the aftermath of World War II, Jünger granted the protagonist of *Heliopolis. Rückblick auf eine Stadt*, Lucius de Geer, the name of the purveying alternative model to Linnaeus's model, that of Charles De Geer.[5] De Geer, a commandant, navigates the city-society of Heliopolis, which is fracturing from a power struggle between Lucius de Geer's commander, the Prokonsul, and the apparent pretender to control of Heliopolis, the tyrannical Landvogt. Because of this conflict, the city finds itself on the brink of a civil war when Lucius returns. The novel has some similarities to the historical Germany. Like the Jewish population of Europe,

[5] With the name Lucius de Geer, Jünger embedded the protagonist of *Heliopolis* within the history of collecting insects, a nod to Charles De Geer, but this was not always so. Throughout the many revisions of *Heliopolis*, Jünger gave few hints as to the name's origin. The first edition of 1949 plays with the phrase "De ger trift," a medieval maxim meaning "The spear hits its mark." In the second chapter, when Lucius and Budur Peri visit her uncle Antonio's workshop, the narrator explains that Antonio, a bookbinder, always marks books for Lucius with a coat of arms showing the motto with an image of a spearhead. Lucius explains that his surname is not Frankish due to the *de* but Saxon and the *de* merely a definite article, a note that hearkens back to Jünger's exploration of language in the essay *Lob der Vokale* (1934). Cf. the first edition of the novel: Ernst Jünger, *Heliopolis. Rückblick auf eine Stadt* (Tübingen: Heliopolis-Verlag, 1949), 77. But, Michael Auer notes the irony in the motto—that Lucius will not hit his "mark": "Dem herkömmlichen Anspruch der Devise zeigt sich Lucius nämlich nicht gewachsen, vielmehr verfehlt er sein Ziel grundlegend." Cf. Michael Auer, *Wege zu einer planetarischen Linientreue? Meridiane zwischen Jünger, Schmitt, Heidegger und Celan* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2013), 80. While Auer connects the image of the spear with phallic imagery and an orgiastic episode later in the novel, the same failure, the fact that the spear does not hit its "mark," permeates Lucius's actions in the novel. While prints of the first edition included the coat of arms on the title pages of the first and second parts to reinforce the idea that the reader should associate Lucius's name with its motto, in later editions, Jünger omitted the motto altogether in a gesture that solely embedded Lucius de Geer in the history of collecting by suggesting him as an heir to Charles De Geer. De Geer's qualitative difference from Linnaeus as a collector also serves as a key to the way Lucius collects throughout the novel. Unlike Linnaeus's binomial system influenced by natural theology, which presents the glory of God's creation in its intelligent, ordered design, De Geer models his magnum opus *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des insectes* (*Memories to Serve as a History of Insects*, 1752-78) on French entomologist René Antoine Ferchault de Réaumur's text of the same name (1734-42). Both De Geer and Réaumur include detailed observations of insect species—De Geer mentions 1,466 species—and, in a revolutionary fashion, present personalized observations of insects rather than dispassionate organizations of categories or scales—which further reinforces not only the logistics of collecting but its psychological effect on the collector. In *Heliopolis*, the principles of collecting behind De Geer and Linnaeus play against each other and collect the voices presented in the form of commentaries, discourses, and memories of the objects rather than an inventory in tables and charts. As the novel shows, De Geer's graphic insect collection serves as the basic paradigm for Lucius's dialogues with the voices around him.

Heliopolis contains an ethnic religious minority known as "Parsis." After an assassination, the Landvogt begins a genocide against the scapegoated Parsi population. Meanwhile, Lucius encounters collections of several kinds—catacombs, registries, libraries, arsenals—almost all of which he finds situated outside the city-proper. As he attempts to distance himself from and make sense of his society, he becomes entangled in a plot to sabotage the Landvogt's efforts. This leads him to discover the Parsi bookbinder Antonio Peri, victim of a medical experiment, who perishes after Lucius rescues him. The authorities relieve Lucius of his duties, and, along with Antonio's niece Budur, he leaves Heliopolis in a rocket ship. Written while Allied Forces had forbidden Jünger to publish as a response to his refusal of "denazification" processes in post-war Germany, *Heliopolis* combines the recent and very real legacy of German involvement in the Second World War and the seemingly out-of-time act of collecting, which provides the collector with a sense of escape. Yet while many have emphasized the *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* of the recent past in *Heliopolis*, the importance of collecting in the novel, and Jünger's instrumentalization of collecting and the tradition of nature writing to uncover potentially universal conclusions from it, have been overlooked.

Despite its quasi-science-fiction attributes and seemingly vague setting in time—both set far into the future and named after an ancient Egyptian city—*Heliopolis* has suffered from the problem of how exactly to place the novel in relation to its historical context. Because of its structure and proximity to real events that were recent at the time of its publication, some scholars have suggested that in its creation of an alternate world, Jünger tends toward escapism in *Heliopolis*. According to this interpretation, the escapism inherent in the novel's fantastical setting

derives, among other qualities, from its utopian structure.[6] Although *Heliopolis* does utilize the structure typical of utopian/dystopian novels,[7] some have challenged this seemingly flippant identification of creating a fantastical world with creating a utopia.[8] Steffen Martus has observed, for example, that, as Jünger constructs it, Heliopolis does not exist in a "statischer Zustand, sondern die Menschen befinden sich in einem Übergangsstatus…wie überhaupt das Moment des 'Utopischen' selbst im Lauf des Romans nur schwach an Kontur gewinnt."[9] Jünger himself saw the book not as an escape from turbulent times but as an experimental scenario, writing to a friend in 1949 that *Heliopolis* "handelt sich um ein geistiges Experiment, das weniger Probleme löst als sichtbar macht,"[10] ostensibly suggesting a deconstructionist rather than ideological intent. Furthermore, the publication of *Heliopolis* occasioned critics to split on whether the novel contained "timely" or "untimely" subject matter.[11] Those who interpreted it as timely saw obvious links between the society it presents and the atrocities of Nazi Germany in the preceding years: the rise of a dictator, the struggle between the dictator's adherents and a silent but organized resistance, the genocide of an ethnic minority.

This approach limits *Heliopolis* to historicist interpretations that read the novel as a document of the attitudes of figures on the periphery of National Socialism during the war such as

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[6] See for example Thomas Nevin, *Ernst Jünger and Germany: Into the Abyss, 1914-1945* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996); Paul Noack, *Ernst Jünger. Eine Biographie* (Berlin: Alexander Fest Verlag, 1998); Steffen Martus, *Ernst Jünger* (Stuttgart: Verlag J.B. Metzler, 2001); Thomas Amos, *Ernst Jünger* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 2011).

[7] Utopianism in German literary history has most frequently been associated with obscure works of science fiction in German and National Socialist ideals. See for example Hildegard F. Glass, *Future Cities in Wilhelminian Utopian Literature* (New York: Peter Lang, 1997) and Dagmar C.G. Lorenz, *Nazi Characters in German Propaganda and Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 2018). See also the collection *Verwunschene Orte: Raumfiktionen zwischen Paradies und Hölle*, ed. Andreas Mauz and Ulrich Weber (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2014).

[8] On the utopian in Jünger, see for example Manfred Windfuhr, *Zukunftsvisionen: Von christlichen, grünen und sozialistischen Paradiesen und Apokalypsen* (Bielefeld: Aisthesis, 2018), 367-380, 514-534.

[9] Martus, 203.

[10] Ernst Jünger to Walter Hörstel, September 29, 1949, DLA Marbach.

[11] Cf. for example Wonseok Chung, *Ernst Jünger und Goethe: Eine Untersuchung zu ihrer ästhtetischen und literarischen Verwandtschaft* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2008), 342.

Carl-Heinrich von Stülpnagel, Hans Speidel, and Jünger himself.[12] Like *Auf den Marmorklippen*, some have taken *Heliopolis* even more symbolically and described it as a *roman à clef* with reason.[13] Whereas *Auf den Marmorklippen* is said to narrate the rise of National Socialism—a dictator figure threatens the relative idyll of the Marina—*Heliopolis* represents the Nazi regime's actions during World War II, in particular the Holocaust and the razing of several major German cities. In a letter to Jünger in 1950, Wilhelm Stapel, an anti-Semitic publicist and figure of the Conservative Revolution, points out the historical elements behind the novel: "Utopie ist was an keinem τόπος, also nirgendwo stattfindet und stattfinden kann. Heliopolis *findet* aber *statt*. Es ist mit Realität gesättigt."[14] Martus goes so far as to identify corresponding historical figures in each character: Josef Mengele as Dr. Mertens, Reinhard Heydrich as Messer Grande, Adolf Hitler as the Landvogt, and so on.[15] In this analytical schema, it is also not difficult to see Jünger's alter ego in Lucius de Geer: both are figures who return from nature (the "Hesperiden"[16]) and, each alienated by the militaristic and genocidal policies of his society, must still participate in that society, as Jünger himself did in the Second World War. Others, however, have found the novel to be tone-deaf to the events of its recent past. With the publication of *Heliopolis*, Jünger appeared to be an out-of-touch intellectual who set his novel both in the future and in the past in order to avoid an acknowledgement of the catastrophe of the post-war period.

[12] Carl-Heinrich von Stülpnagel (1886-1944) was a leader in the 20 July Plot to assassinate Adolf Hitler. He was convicted of treason in 1944 and executed. Hans Speidel (1897-1984) was chief of staff to Erwin Rommel and was also involved in the 20 July plot. Cf. Götz Müller, *Gegenwelten: Die Utopie in der deutschen Literatur* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1989), 255. See also John Klapper, *Noncomformist Writing in Nazi Germany: The Literature of Inner Emigration* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2015), 286-290.

[13] Martus, 206. For the parallels between Heliopolis and Germany, see also Patrick Ramponi's survey of these parallels: Patrick Ramponi, "Ernst Jünger: Heliopolis (1949)," in *Handbuch Nachkriegsliteratur. Literatur, Sachbuch und Film in Deutschland (1945-1962)*, ed. Elena Agazzi and Erhard Schütz (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), 400ff.

[14] Wilhelm Stapel to Ernst Jünger. January 4, 1950. DLA Marbach.

[15] Martus, 206.

[16] In Greek mythology, the Hesperides or "Nymphs of the West" are nymphs who tend to a garden with a tree of golden apples in the far west of the Oceanus, the river encircling the known world.

Helmuth Kiesel admits that a drawback of *Heliopolis* is that it does not fit into the twenty-first century nor into its own historical context of the late 1940s.[17] Gottfried Benn similarly thought of the novel as unintentionally anachronistic, writing that he found it "[g]estelzt, frisiert, altmodisch-archaisch."[18] In matters of style, for some detractors, *Heliopolis* squandered its chance to point out the ills of post-war German society in the verisimilitude of those such as Heinrich Böll, Wolfgang Borchert, and the writers associated with the Gruppe 47. Nevertheless, some critics have challenged this interpretation as too one-dimensional and approximate the most likely literary strategy that Jünger used in writing *Heliopolis*, that is, confronting the catastrophe that Germany had caused while viewing it as an exemplary scenario found elsewhere in history—or perhaps even in the future. Hans Esselborn argues, for example: "Vielmehr geht es ihm [Jünger] um ein zeitloses Modell der politischen und militärischen Auseinandersetzungen im 20. Jahrhundert, abgeleitet von den innenpolitischen Spannungen in der Weimarer Republik, dem spanischen Bürgerkrieg und den Kämpfen des zweiten Weltkriegs, gedeutet als Weltbürgerkrieg."[19] While such a universalist approach indeed obscures the ethical dimensions of the events in the novel, it is nonetheless closer to what the novel tries to accomplish with the many collections it includes. In the process of synthesizing the historical events mentioned by Esselborn, Jünger cloaks his distance as the author and narrator both in an archaic setting and, more importantly, in the collections Lucius de Geer encounters.

Rather than insisting on a wholly historical or wholly universalist perspective on the events that *Heliopolis* depicts, the text instead plays with the possibilities of interplay between escapism,

[17] Helmuth Kiesel, *Ernst Jünger. Die Biographie* (Munich: Siedler Verlag, 2009), 558.
[18] Gottfried Benn, *Briefe an F.W. Oelze. 1945-1949* (Munich: Limes Verlag, 1979), 108, 273.
[19] Hans Esselborn, *Die Erfindung der Zukunft in der Literatur: Vom technisch-utopischen Zukunftsroman zur deutschen Science Fiction* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2019), 249.

utopia, and catastrophe through the lens of collecting. And, rather than constructing collections as means of escapism, the text employs collections and collecting as its sites of negotiation of the efficacy of the security of "nature" in catastrophic times. Moreover, the structure of *Heliopolis* points the reader toward collecting. In addition to its inconsistent utopian design, with its form the text also presents an unavoidable classification problem: it hardly recalls a novel and contains not a plot but a type of "plot skeleton" onto which Jünger grafts discourses and aphorisms.[20] Throughout the novel, the text itself takes on the structure of a collection: its characters are more accurately principles with little characterization embodied in archetypes, and its structure, like a collection, takes inventory of these objects in one single place. Jünger himself acknowledged that *Heliopolis* resembles a collection in a letter to his publisher, Ernst Klett, years later: "Ich bin durchaus nicht der Meinung meiner Kritiker, die das Buch offenbar nach den für Unterhaltungsromane gültigen Prinzipien betrachten—eher halte ich es für eine Modellsammlung oder eine Kiesgrube mit Versteinerungen und Entwürfen zu neuen Bildungen."[21] *Heliopolis* presents the society of Heliopolis, both with its intradiegetic collections and through its textual representation, as an archive under threat. *Heliopolis* can be seen as a meta-collection, containing a catalogue of collections both literal—catacombs, registries, libraries, arsenals—and abstract by means of its ensemble of characters—a dictator, an ascetic, a soldier, an intellectual, and an artist. Yet finally, as a site of reflection, *Heliopolis* not only contains collections in its narrative world, it collects the fragments of Lucius de Geer's own consciousness, whose elements further reflect

[20] Noack, 227. Jünger himself seemed to be aware of this unclassifiable nature of his "novels" and when compiling his own collected works (1978) programmatically categorized *Heliopolis* among his "Erzählende Schriften" along with *Erzählungen*, *Eumeswil*, and *Die Zwille*. The genre classification "Roman" never appears in Jünger's self-compiled edition.

[21] Ernst Jünger to Ernst Klett. May 13, 1964. DLA Marbach.

Jünger's lifelong collecting practices. *Heliopolis* thus uses collecting to experiment with the production of forms of nature in the face of catastrophe.

Jünger and the Inheritance of Early Modern Collecting

First, the historical background of collecting underlying *Heliopolis* must be taken into account to better understand the examples, traditions, and practices that Jünger incorporates into the text. Collections serve numerous functions for their collectors: they preserve, fetishize, and order objects for scientific inquiry, production of knowledge, exhibition, exploitation, and the collector's gratification. In European history, however, the rise of collections paralleled the rise of European explorations and the opening up of the rest of the world to European audiences. Because of this correlation, one can say that modern collecting developed in the West in the late fifteenth century, concurrent with the era of the Renaissance or Early Modern Period, with the exploratory voyages of Christopher Columbus and Vasco da Gama.[22] The expansion of markets, unknown flora and fauna, and the exploitation of natural resources by European forces that also led to the expansion of collections in Europe that contained rarities from continents such as India and the Americas. Because of the connection between Early Modern collections and the expansion of European colonization, a European collection during this time conveyed a crucial message of power about the collector's relationship to his collected objects, as each object symbolized his power. What remains compelling in such collections from the time is that, unlike the untouched objects of a museum, even when an aristocratic collector intended a practical use for an object of

[22] See Krzysztof Pomian, *L'ordre du temps* (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1984). See also the collection *Collecting Across Cultures: Material Exchanges in the Early Modern Atlantic World*, ed. Daniela Bleichmar and Peter C. Mancall (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 2011).

his collection, such as the use of a rare herbal remedy from the Americas or Africa to cure an ailment, a sense of power still played a role in the object's practicality.

Perhaps more so than their material history, the symbolic capacity of collections has long been the focus of collecting studies. This symbolic capacity of collections is particularly found in the example of the Italian *studiolo* or "little study," which developed in the fifteenth century and were known as *Wunderkammern* in German-speaking countries. The collector of the *studiolo* collected not only to display the objects of his collection but to function as a type of laboratory and reading space where he or she could explore and experiment with objects brought from the New World. As puts it rather polemically, the *studiolo* expressed "the entitlement of elite males to privacy and to solitary reading and writing,"[23] and *studioli* became so prevalent that Leah R. Clark speaks of a "*studiolo* culture" in Italy.[24] The *studiolo* of an Italian aristocrat served just as much as his study as to represent to him his power over the knowledge contained therein; the owner of a *studiolo* viewed its contents "as extensions of himself."[25] Royal and aristocratic collections from this period, such as those of the Medici family in Italy, do in fact testify to the physical endeavor of collectors in the development of the natural sciences in Early Modern Europe, but this physical endeavor always came with a component of symbolic power. As collecting historian Philipp Blom notes, the period after the discovery of America in the fifteenth century had an inordinate influence on collecting, as "[k]nowledge exploded as age-old horizons were expanded beyond all that had been thought possible."[26] As a result of this veritable Copernican revolution in the European mind, a subtle sense of panic formed among European monarchs and noblemen who realized that other

[23] Stephen Campbell, *Renaissance Mythological Painting and the* Studiolo *of Isabelle d'Este* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 31.
[24] Cf. Leah R. Clark, *Collecting Art in the Italian Renaissance Court: Objects and Exchanges* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 4, 17.
[25] Campbell, 32.
[26] Philipp Blom, *To Have and To Hold* (New York: Overlook Press, 2003), 18-19.

parts of the world existed of which they, whose domain was the earthly realm, had no knowledge and therefore no power over. Still, this desire to fill in the gaps of both the map and the collections of European aristocrats rather manifested than created the desire for completion among collectors. As a collector, Jünger, too, reflected this subtle fascination with the desire for completion of a collection on a personal level, writing in 1946 to a friend about the area around his residence, Kirchhorst: "Aber auch Kirchhorst ist ja noch längst nicht erforscht. Das ist das Schöne an unserer Jagd."[27] In addition to the fascination with missing pieces, the dichotomy of *artificialia*— man-made objects—and *naturalia*— objects such as a rare plant specimen from the Western hemisphere developed in the Early Modern period. Recalling Francis Bacon's well-known dictum that "knowledge itself is power," collections leading up to the nineteenth century, then, represented a mastery over nature to the collector by assembling the representations of that mastery in one physical place, which encapsulates the semiotic game of collecting. Eric C. Smith employs Michel Foucault's term *heterotopia* to describe this assembly of objects in one place. Commenting on the catacombs of Rome, he notes: "[H]eterotopias, like the catacombs, do not always *exhibit* coherence, but rather *construct* coherence; by collecting diverse and seemingly unrelated things and ideas into a single space, a heterotopia asserts a microcosm or miniature that overcomes the tension of difference."[28] And as a result of the interconnectedness of power and the performative representation of it at the time, this assembly of objects to symbolize power over nature was perhaps as important to each royal collector as his physical power over nature, both at home and in the New World.

[27] Ernst Jünger to Adolf Horion. July 25, 1946. DLA Marbach.
[28] Eric C. Smith, *Foucault's Heterotopia in Christian Catacombs: Constructing Spaces and Symbols in Ancient Rome* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 22.

Following the democratization of forms of government in the nineteenth century, the development of the museum marked a qualitative and historical change in the concept of collections. For one, royal collections were transmuted into museums in the nineteenth century. Tony Bennett's foundational Foucauldian genealogy of museums connects the development of museums to political power and argues that modern museums appeared as a form of social control,[29] through which monarchs of previous centuries transmitted their accumulated knowledge-power into the bourgeois public sphere to reinforce the power of the state. He argues that by moving royal collections into museums, the modern concept of the museum made the power of the monarch visible rather than democratizing it or leaving it in the invisibility of a *studiolo*.[30] From a Foucauldian perspective, collections as institutions now displayed state power on an even grander scale, yet its inherent double-edged sword meant that museums also opened to the masses the previously unattainable wealth of knowledge in their collections. Along with this change, the rise of the museum as an institution in the nineteenth century mirrored the rise of the merchant and middle classes of the West, which resulted in the formerly exclusive symbolic power of collections shifting to lower socioeconomic groups who negotiated their meaning. Furthermore, this qualitative change was also bound up in the competing concepts of exhibit and museum, as Anke te Heesen observes: "Während das Museum etwas Dauerhaftes verkörpert, in seinem Gebäude und mit seinen überzeitlich gültigen Inhalten, ist der Ursprung der Ausstellung eine temporäre Verwirklichung, in der jedes einzelne Zurschaustellen in einer Kette von Präsentationsereignissen steht."[31] Following te Heesen's distinction, then, the crux of a museum entails the collection's becoming part of an institution. Consequently, because of an object's

[29] See Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (New York: Routledge, 1995).
[30] Ibid., 35. Bennett largely disregards personal collections, especially later collections of mass-produced objects.
[31] Anke te Heesen, *Theorien des Museums zur Einführung* (Hamburg: Junius Verlag, 2015), 23.

inclusion in a museum collection, it attains a certain permanence that it would not have attained in circulation among private collectors, and this attainment has philosophical consequences. Compared to a traveling exhibit, such as the "cabinet of curiosities" (which nonetheless had a sideshow quality), the institutional nature of museums retards the flow of time that threatens its objects. The curator of each museum also counters the threat of time to the object by consigning the object to a specific historical time—or as te Heesen would argue, by "canonizing" it.[32] Thus, as institutions, museums empowered the bourgeois collector by democratizing the knowledge they contained, but they also threatened the sovereignty of the aristocratic collector of preceding centuries.

Because of the breadth of collecting studies and the types of historical collections, the scope of perspectives on collecting has correlatively remained broad. Scholarship on collections and collecting, even in recent studies, has focused on the collection as a representation of power, as an institution, or as one that multiple parties curate. Individual collectors of all socioeconomic classes have remained ancillary to the study of large institutions of knowledge, accumulation, and display; historical studies have therefore tended toward macro-narratives rather than micro-narratives of collecting. There are two reasons for this trend. First, the collections that often appear as examples in scholarship were compiled by collectors before or at the outset of the age of the Industrial Revolution, which means that private collections of mass-produced objects, such as a "collectible"

[32] Ibid., 23.

series available to individual collectors, have not been at the forefront of collecting studies.[33] This trend in part also derives from the scope of Renaissance-era collections, in which knowledge of the cosmos and of nature and, hence, representations of power often hinged upon the prerogative of a single authority, such as a member of the nobility or a wealthy merchant—or perhaps vice versa—collections that explain how these Renaissance-era authorities conceived of their power. Second, since a museum provides both the most visible type of collection in the form of an (especially state-sponsored) institution, it has become the priority of scholarship on collecting and caused theorists to reinterpret museums with theories of power and mass society echoing those of Antonio Gramsci, Michel Foucault, and Louis Althusser.[34] According to such post-Marxist theories, societies that assemble museums also reproduce institutional power within them. From this perspective, however, individual collectors, like Jünger, are left on the periphery of collecting studies.

With the growth of capitalist production in the West, the institutionalization of collecting, and the commodification of collected objects ad absurdum, the aforementioned post-Marxist theories have overshadowed structuralist and psychological approaches to the individual collector and favored a collective consciousness. An adequate analysis of Jünger's collecting, however, must begin with the psychology of the collector. In this sense, psychoanalytic perspectives on

[33] There has been an increasing interest in the relationship between collecting and capitalism, which would naturally focus on collections from the nineteenth century onward. See for example Russell W. Belk, *Collecting in a Consumer Society* (London: Routledge, 1995) and *The Silent Life of Things: Reading and Representing Commodified Objecthood*, ed. Daniela Rogobete, Jonathan P.A. Sell, and Alan Munton (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2015). On collecting in the digital age, see for example David Banash, "Virtual Life and the Value of Objects: Nostalgia, Distinction, and Collecting in the Twenty-First Century," in *Contemporary Collecting: Objects, Practices, and the Fate of Things*, ed. Kevin M. Moist and David Banash, 55-66 (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2013).

[34] Cf. Ruth B. Phillips, *Museum Pieces: Toward the Indigenization of Canadian Museums* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011), 225ff., and Elizabeth Crooke, *Museums and Community: Ideas, Issues and Challenges* (London: Routledge, 2008), 38ff.

collecting are efficacious in demonstrating how an individual psyche conceptualizes collections, even while accounting the phenomenon of a mass psyche.[35] As an heir of psychoanalysis, one of the seminal psychological takes on collecting remains Jean Baudrillard's *System of Objects* (1968), which focuses on the semiotics of collecting but as a response to a psychological need. In the case of Jünger, at first glance it may seem that the author's preoccupation with collecting originated in a personal fixation outside his intellectual life. When asked during a collecting trip in an African rainforest featured in the 1977 documentary *Ich widerspreche mir nicht* what fascinates him about collecting insects, Jünger remarked: "Vor allen Dingen natürlich die Mannigfaltigkeit: Form, Farbe und die Differenzierungen in den verschiedenen Klimaten. Wir waren auf Spitzbergen, da gab es nur vier Tiere. Auf Island gibt es fünfzig, sechzig Arten. Und hier gibt es so viele, dass man sie kaum zählen kann."[36] Jünger's remark about natural diversity expresses both the lack of being able to encompass such a diversity and a sense of revelry in this same diversity.

This admiration of the natural diversity, especially of beetles, began in the author's childhood. Biographers have pointed to the encouragement of Jünger's father Ernst Georg Jünger as one psychological key to his early passion for collecting.[37] But, one should approach this influence with caution, as Jünger himself later lamented that his father was not endowed with the same sense of wonder about nature that his son possessed but was, instead, limited by his positivistic approach to nature as a chemist: "Aber er war nicht der Bezauberung erlegen, mit der seit Linné die scientia amabilis über hundert Jahr lang die Geister in einen Bann geschlagen hatte, der uns unvorstellbar geworden ist."[38] Jünger's passion for entomology may also trace back to a

[35] See for example Freud's *Massenpsychologie und Ich-Analyse*, in *Sigmund Freud. Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 13 (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer Verlag, 1976).
[36] *Ich widerspreche mir nicht: Ernst Jünger*, dir. Walter Rüdel (Mainz: ZDF, 1977).
[37] Cf. Amos, 14.
[38] Ernst Jünger, *Subtile Jagden*, in *Ernst Jünger. Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 10 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1980), 11.

childhood book, Fleischer's *Der Käferfreund: praktische Anleitung zum Sammeln und Bestimmen der Käfer* (1896), which presents the reader with tips for collecting beetles and plates containing color illustrations of specimens arranged against a white background. Curiously, this constellation of collecting beetles from a book and the influence of Jünger's father, a positivist heir of nineteenth-century thought on nature, places Jünger not into the high-culture lineage of Linnaeus or De Geer but in the situation of the common middle-class collector of his day. In the case of private collectors like Jünger, industrialized modernity and mass production not only kept the masses from nature but, ironically, also opened up the possibility for members of middle and working classes to become collectors of nature objects in their own right, no matter how cheap the objects, which often comprised mass-produced collectible series.[39]

Jünger incorporated this confluence of intellectual botany inherited from the eighteenth century and the material developments of the early twentieth century from the beginning. His World War I diaries, for example, include countless reflections on how industrialized weaponry has changed the nature of warfare but also reveal a significant amount of time spent collecting insects. Klett-Cotta's 2010 edition of his war diaries includes a transcription of the accompanying *Käferbuch*, which contains a chart with the date, location, time of day, type, place of discovery, and weather during the finding of each beetle.[40] The concurrence of his collecting with World War I is not accidental. As Günter Häntzschel has pointed out, the modern concept of collecting developed not in correlation with but in response to industrialization and to the emphasis on speed and progress in modernity.[41] Similarly, in analyzing advertising trade cards around 1900 that

[39] Blom, 159.
[40] Cf. Ernst Jünger, *Kriegstagebuch 1914-1918*, ed. Helmuth Kiesel (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2010), 435-459. Kiesel states that Jünger brought back from WWI "einige Käfer, einige Versteinerungen aus diversen Gräben und zwei demolierte Stahlhelme." Kiesel, 132.
[41] Günter Häntzschel, *Sammel(l)ei(denschaft): Literarisches Sammeln im 19. Jahrhundert* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2014), 16.

featured insects, Leon G. Higley points out the irony that "the industrial revolution increased the separation of humans from nature, but more significantly, industrialization gave humans increasing control over nature."[42] Most importantly, though, Jünger's observations of his own collecting during the First World War present the first instance of the possibility of collecting mitigating a catastrophic situation, a gesture that reappears later in *Heliopolis*. Confronting trench warfare, Jünger not only collected beetles during downtime but even as grenades were raining down on the French battlefields where he searched for them. This may have resulted from the unexpected boredom of war,[43] but a more plausible explanation suggests the ability to exert a certain power over one's environment in the face of the shock and sheer horror that Jünger experienced on the battlefield. In this specific situation, it is Jünger who collects and names beetles, even if, at the same time, he becomes the servant of his own collection. The more industrialization and mechanization push modern society into a new era, the more often collectors turn to nature as a resource that eases and fuels their passion at the same time. In essence, these historical iterations of collections—*studiolo*, cabinet of curiosities, museum, exhibition—compete with one another even within the home environment of the author himself.

Representation and Reproduction in Jünger's Material and Literary Collections

Each year in the town of Wilflingen, visitors tour the *Oberförsterei*, once owned by the noble Stauffenberg family and Jünger's last and longest residence, and the home for his meticulously catalogued insect collection of over 40,000 specimens. Visitors are shown the

[42] Leon G. Higley, "Changing Perspectives on Insects in the 19th and 20th Centuries as Illustrated through Advertising Trade Cards," in *Les "Insectes" dans la Tradition Orale*, ed. Élisabeth Motte-Florac and Jacqueline M. C. Thomas. (Paris: Peters, 2003), 436.

[43] Cf. Ernst Jünger, *In Stahlgewittern*, in *Ernst Jünger. Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015), 20: "Die dauernde Überanstrengung der Mannschaft beruhte auch darauf, daß der Führung der Stellungskrieg, in dem es galt, mit Kräften in anderer Weise hauszuhalten, noch eine neuartige und unerwartete Erscheinung war. Die ungeheure Postenzahl und die ununterbrochene Schanzarbeit waren zum größten Teil unnötig und sogar schädlich."

house's second floor, where the author spent most of his time. Beyond his well-known insect collection, the second floor includes numerous other collections: a windowsill filled with portraits of deceased friends and family members—a type of mausoleum in photographs or *memento mori*, a collection of his own published works, thousands of books that cover each wall, and a collection of various hotel door signs stuck on the bathroom door (which curators have only opened in recent years). One of the few to connect the space of Jünger's home with his literary spaces, Thomas Amos connects the house with his writing: "Realität und Fiktion verschränkten sich für Jünger: Die wirklich gewordene Rautenklause der [*Marmorklippen*] hat er, endlich, in der Wilflinger Oberförsterei…gefunden."[44] Most have characterized the figure of Jünger as an author first with entomology as his—albeit serious—hobby second. Few have considered a balanced view of Jünger's complex literary output and his own obsession, since, beginning in 1910, Jünger spent almost eighty years adding to the same insect collection. And, despite having explicit insight into collecting from Jünger himself in *Subtile Jagden* and in his residence in Wilflingen, the question for Jünger throughout years of writing isolated in his study remained how to translate nature into writing.

From the beginning of his literary output, Jünger experimented with the idea of collections as a means to answer this question of translating nature into text. Thus, nature became a problem of representation for Jünger. In a passing observation in *Kriegsausbruch 1914* (1934), he hints at a profound dilemma of representation when, recalling his deployment, he writes: "In meiner Rocktasche hatte ich ein schmales Büchlein verwahrt; es war für meine täglichen Aufzeichnungen bestimmt. Ich wußte, daß die Dinge, die uns erwarteten, unwiederbringlich waren, und ich ging

[44] Amos, 122.

mit höchster Neugier auf sie zu."[45] His diary thus functioned as the only means to encapsulate the experience of the primitive *Naturereignis* of warfare. Although he first writes that his diary is supposedly reserved for his "daily notes," one sentence later reveals the diary's deeper purpose of chronicling his life: to immortalize the events he is to perceive in warfare and, like Early Modern collections, to extract these "things" from the *Naturereignis* of warfare and preserve them for future generations of readers. At first glance, this statement seems puzzling; surely another war would occur in the future and one could witness similar events then. Here we must read Jünger against himself. In this process of aestheticization, Jünger considers the combat of World War I to be a primal, natural event. He calls the events of World War I "unwiederbringlich." But, by recording and transforming these events into text, already he begins to mediate and aestheticize his experiences. He thus contrarily makes repeatable the transcendent experience of warfare in the face of its perceived unrepeatability, its *Unwiederbringlichkeit*.[46] The poetic question for Jünger from the very beginning, then, is not only how to represent but how to preserve and *reproduce* nature in the face of lost contact with it. This question of the reproduction of nature would follow Jünger his entire career, a question he answers with collecting, however imperfect and incomplete the collections themselves would remain. And this question plays out in *Heliopolis* in the life of its protagonist, Lucius de Geer, and the collections he proposes as a response to the catastrophe of Heliopolis.

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[45] Ernst Jünger, *Kriegsausbruch 1914*, in *Ernst Jünger. Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1978), 544.
[46] Jünger's preoccupation here with the reproducibility of the experience of war, its aura—which also played into the right-wing memory cult of the First World War—situates him within the same discourse on reproducibility of Walter Benjamin, who nevertheless analyzed reproducibility in materialist terms. On the intellectual proximity of Jünger and Benjamin, see for example Troels Heeger, Jacobsen, "Die verborgene Harmonie der Dinge: zur konservativen Strategie der Erfahrungen bei Walter Benjamin und Ernst Jünger," *Text & Kontext* 27, no. 1-2 (2005): 264-292, and Stéphane Symons, *The Work of Forgetting: Or, How Can We Make the Future Possible?* (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2019), 110-112. See also Benjamin's essay on collecting, "Ich packe meine Bibliothek aus," in *Walter Benjamin. Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 4, ed. Rolf Tiedemann and Hermann Schweppenhäuser, 388-395 (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1972).

Happiness and the Idyllic Possibilities of Collecting: The Symposium

The beginning of the novel shows Lucius in an introspective moment aboard a ship taking him from the Hesperiden back to Heliopolis. The reflections of Lucius in the opening scene contain several nostalgic statements comparing Lucius's current life with his previous life. While shaving in his cabin, Lucius reflects on his past: "Wie immer beim Rasieren tauchten angenehme Erinnerungen auf. Er sah die weißen Ammonshörner im roten Gestein und fühlte die alte Sicherheit der Jaspisburg. Auch dachte er an die Gänge mit seinem Lehrer Nigromontan am Ufer des Flusses und an die Blumen, die mit den Jahreszeiten wechselten. An jeder Biegung leuchtete das rote Schloß in neuer Ferne auf. Man hätte immer bleiben sollen—warum entfernte man sich von solchem Ort?"[47] Lucius thus describes an idyllic scene typical of Jünger and reminiscent of the life of the two brothers in *Auf den Marmorklippen*, in particular the Romantic images of castles and the teacher figure (here Nigromontan[48]) that often appears in Jünger's fictions. The free indirect question from the narrator implies the instability of Lucius's destination as compared to the Hesperiden: "Die Hesperiden bildeten den großen Umschlagplatz der Güter und Ideen; in ihren Häfen landeten die Raumflotten. Jenseits der Hesperiden lagen die ungewissen Reiche, die wunderbaren Gründe, die keine Technik zwingt. Dort sprangen die Quellen des Reichtums, der Macht, geheimer Wissenschaft."[49] Götz Müller has described the Hesperiden as "die Grenze zwischen der Hypermoderne und einer mythologisch bestimmten Welt."[50] Lucius's inner monologue also expresses the socio-historical weight of his thoughts: Jünger uses Lucius to

[47] Ernst Jünger, *Heliopolis*, in *Ernst Jünger. Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 19 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015), 16. All subsequent quotations from *Heliopolis* come from the definitive edition from the *Sämtliche Werke* unless otherwise noted.
[48] Some have suggested that Jünger fashioned Nigromontan after the German philosopher Hugo Fischer (1897-1975). See Bernhard Gajek, "Magister-Nigromontan-Schwarzenberg. Ernst Jünger und Hugo Fischer," *Revue de littérature comparée* 71, no. 4 (1997): 479-500.
[49] Jünger, *Heliopolis*, 38.
[50] Müller, 258.

describe a vague, earlier open field of discourse and experimentation, "den großen Umschlagplatz der Güter und Ideen," but, in a moment of catastrophe, Lucius asks the free indirect question of why one had left behind such an open space of discourse and exchange of ideas. This early description of an idyll is crucial, as it functions as the fulcrum to Lucius's collecting in Heliopolis and to the descriptions of locations outside Heliopolis throughout the text.

After arriving in Heliopolis, Lucius seeks order in the disarray of Heliopolis's burgeoning civil war. The text points out that a mysterious "Regent" figure initially controlled Heliopolis but has now receded into an unknown location where he observes the impeding conflict in the city. The Landvogt wishes to take control of the city become its dictator, but the Prokonsul controls most of the military might. Although Lucius wants to stay in the Hesperiden, his duties compel him to return to Heliopolis. The desire to stay in the idyllic Hesperiden models the desire that drives Lucius throughout the novel, that is, to recreate the idyllic experience and the realm beyond it, as close to nature as he can get, within the conflict of Heliopolis. At first, the novel attempts to accomplish this recreation of nature with Lucius conversing with the other embodied principles of Heliopolis, against whom Lucius rather appears a projection surface than himself the embodiment of a principle. After discussing the political climate of Heliopolis in the Prokonsul's palace, he takes part in a symposium with thinkers and artists of the city in a painting studio in the palace's aviary. He converses with types typical of Jünger's characterizations, the painter, Halder, the philosopher, Serner, and the author, Ortner. Lucius learns that two of the people present, Ortner and Serner, have spent time in idyllic settings. Ortner lives in a garden shed in a pastoral setting in the mountainous region of the Pagos: "Ortner [war] der Umgang mit den kleinen Gärtnern und Winzern lieber, die den Terrassengrund am Pagos besiedelten. Sie hatten Rosen und Früchte nach

ihm benannt."[51] Later in the conversation, the narrator describes a similar episode in Serner's life: "Nach Abschluß seiner Studien hatte der Philosoph ein Wander- und Reiseleben angefangen und dabei sein schmales Erbteil zugesetzt. Er war dann verkommen und auf Vinho del Mar gestrandet, wo man ihn halbnackt den Hirten, Fischern und Winzern Gesellschaft leisten sah. Er schlief dort in ihren Hütten oder unter ihren Booten…"[52] This description of Serner's experience in idyllic life goes even further in its radicality than that of Ortner. The narrator's image of Serner as a bourgeois student who ended up "halbnackt" on the island of Vinho del Mar resembles the "back to nature" movements of the late nineteenth century, such as the *Lebensreform* movement and the *völkisch* "cult of the nude" endorsed by sociologist Heinrich Pudor,[53] that emphasized nudism and communal, agricultural life as a response to industrialization. Serner's backstory stages a strategy of escape to nature that Lucius desires; however, it also expresses an extradiegetic heritage of the nineteenth century and the turn against urbanization and careerism among the educated classes. In this sense, the text presents Serner as a type of anti-modern figure, but even so, Serner's presence at the symposium in Heliopolis now suggests that Serner could not sustain his retreat to the idyllic life on Vinho del Mar. Already, then, the backstories of Serner and Ortner suggest that one must find a space of nature within the catastrophe, rather than physically outside of it or in the past.

Then, the symposium becomes more abstract and comes to further resemble the Platonic symposia of antiquity. Ortner proposes that the new topic of discussion be "der Augenblick des Glückes." Lucius's interlocutors prove to have varying opinions of happiness. On the one hand, the painter Halder and the philosopher Serner share cynical views of happiness. Serner conceives

[51] Jünger, *Heliopolis,* 150.
[52] Ibid., 107.
[53] Cf. Kai Buchholz, "Gegen Papageiennaturen: Ethik und Ästhetik der Sprache bei Heinrich Pudor," in *Die Literatur der Lebensreform: Kulturkritik und Aufbruchstimmung um 1900*, ed. Thorsten Carstensen and Marcel Schmid, 137-152 (Bielefeld: transcript, 2016).

of life in psychoanalytic terms mixed with ancient mythology, as a long wish-fulfillment that only death can hinder: "Im besten Falle gleicht das Leben einer Kette, die aus den Ringen erfüllter Wünsche geschmiedet ist. Auch wenn man immer siegt, wie Alexander, wird man dem Schicksal nicht entgehen."[54] Serner takes his cynicism further by stating that "[d]ie Jagd nach dem Glück führt in die Dickichte"[55] and argues that one can perhaps find happiness in asceticism: "Man trifft die Glücklichen selten. […] Doch leben sie noch unter uns in ihren Zelten und Mansarden, vertieft in der Erkenntnis, die Anschauung, die Andacht—in Wüsten, in Einsiedeleien unter dem Dach der Welt."[56] Thus, Serner prefers a life of contemplation as compared to a life of taking action in the world. In a type of objects relation theory, however, Ortner offers a nuanced view of happiness that softens the cynicism views of Serner and Halder:

> "Glück ist die Harmonie, in der wir zu den Dingen, die uns umgeben, stehen. […] Ein Stückchen Garten mit Blumen und Früchten, ein Tisch mit einem guten Gast und einer Flasche Wein, die stille Lampe, die ein Buch und Teegeschirr beleuchtet—das sind Kompositionen, die beglücken, wenn innere Harmonie sich ihnen zugesellt. Den Menschen, den solche Harmonie belebt, umringt ein Kreis, in dem sie sichtbar wird. Das sind die Inseln im Chaos dieser Welt. Ein Garten, ein Arbeitsplatz, ein kleiner Haushalt, ein Freundeszirkel—sie zeugen vom Genius dessen, um den sie sich bildeten. […] Und endlich ist auch das Universum eine Insel im Nichts, die Gott geschaffen hat."[57]

Ortner associates happiness with gardens and a simple, petit bourgeois lifestyle. Yet unlike the cynical nihilism of Serner and Halder, Ortner, in a tone of existentialism, asserts that these idyllic

[54] Jünger, *Heliopolis*, 111.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Ibid., 111-112.
[57] Ibid., 112.

images can produce meaning for their observes, despite the fact that these subjects live in a universe created out of "nothing." Here, then, Ortner's ideas of strategies to combat nihilism parallel Jünger's own ideas about overcoming nihilism after the Second World War[58] with the overall assertation that nihilism can be efficacious to produce moments of happiness.

What unites the other speakers' views of happiness, nevertheless, is its fleeting nature. Seemingly parroting Sigmund Freud's idea of the "death drive" in the psyche, the painter Halder offers an even more bleak view of happiness: "Das Glück liegt in der Illusion…und die Erfüllung ist sein Tod."[59] At first, Halder's grim pronouncement about the relation of happiness and fulfillment in death seems to resemble Jünger's ideas about the "nearness of death" and the aesthetic experience it produces.[60] Yet in the abstract musings of the voices of the Heliopolis symposium, Jünger embeds the collector's mentality in their discourse on happiness and includes here a "nod" to collecting. Halder's pronouncement about the fulfillment of happiness in death does not imply that life has no meaning until death but expresses the driving force of the collector: the gap in the collection. In a letter from 1963, Ernst Jünger wrote reluctantly to the German entomologist Hans Georg Amsel that a previously planned engagement will keep him from purchasing more insect specimens, writing: "Das trifft sich insofern nicht besonders günstig, als ich gern die Insektenbörse in München besucht hätte, um einige Lücken zu füllen."[61] What first seems to be a trivial complaint includes a moment of self-reflection, yet Jünger's remark and others like it contain an inherent irony. The collector never truly fills the gaps in his collection, because

[58] See Gregor Streim, who connects both Ortner's ideas and writing style to that of Jünger's after the war. Gregor Streim, *Das Ende des Anthropozismus: Anthropologie und Geschichtskritik in der deutschen Literatur zwischen 1930 und 1950* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2008), 153, 157n.
[59] Jünger, *Heliopolis*, 109.
[60] See Christian Sternad, "'Im Schlagschatten des Todes'. Ernst Jüngers literarische Bewältigung der Todesnähe in den Stahlgewittern und Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis," *Oxford German Studies* 44, no. 1 (2015): 42-56.
[61] Ernst Jünger to Hans Georg Amsel. April 1, 1963. DLA Marbach.

the completion of the collection also signals the end of collecting itself. The collector, caught up in completing his or her collection, nevertheless is driven by the irony that he or she can never complete the collection without a cost. It is the perceived unattainability of the rarest object that fuels collecting, yet the promise of completion remains an illusion. Lucius also aligns the pursuit of happiness with collecting; he also speaks of illusion, for example, but derives it from possessing an object: "Das Glück trägt für mich Züge des Unberührten, des Unbeschriebenen. Wenn ich es einem Schatz vergleiche, so liebe ich daran den Augenblick, in dem ich ihn voll in meinem Besitz fühle, doch keine Verfügung darüber traf. Es ist ein potentieller Zustand, den die Illusion belebt."[62] In comparing happiness to a treasured object, one that entices him, Lucius reveals his collector mentality. Whereas the other speakers describe happiness in abstract terms, Lucius finds happiness in an object.

Adding to the embodiment of Lucius's idea of happiness in an object, he connects the implicit "gap" in the search for happiness with maritime images of nature: "Wenn ich mich glücklicher Stunden entsinne, dann fallen mir die weißen Städte am Saum der Wüste ein, die Häfen jenseits der Hesperiden, in denen ich unter falschem Namen landete. Kein Wäschestück, kein Zettelchen läßt ahnen, wer ich bin. […] Ich werde einen Tag verbringen, der jenseits der Gesetze liegt, als ob ich den Ring besäße, der Unsichtbarkeit verleiht."[63] Considering its proximity to Lucius's statement about a treasured object, his short observation associates the act of collecting with reproducing a state of nature. Describing his moment of happiness in poetic terms, Lucius mentions the idyllic setting of the ports beyond the Hesperiden as part of his illusion. The "white cities" beyond the Hesperiden, an image that recalls the islands of Greece or the shores of Northern

[62] Jünger, *Heliopolis,* 108.
[63] Ibid.

Africa, allow for Lucius to escape so much so that they grant him invisibility like Plato's Ring of Gyges. Lucius even believes he could start a new life in this idyllic setting: he expresses the wish to live a day "jenseits der Gesetze," but this does not mean that Lucius wants to simply go on vacation to escape his everyday duties and their rules. His sentiment neither derives from the same world-weariness that drives one to vacation in modern society nor from a desire to commit crime free of consequences. Still, in a sublimated sense, Lucius's idyll conceived of as being beyond all laws reveals a profound desire for an experience outside the laws of cause and effect. Life in the paradise beyond the Hesperiden, unlike life in Heliopolis, offers him a sense of homeostasis outside the fluctuations of the city, which are becoming ever more apparent to him. As the plot will show, the text gradually associates the collections of Heliopolis with an expanded definition idyllic spaces of nature, paradisaical spaces that offer the wholeness that characters like Lucius and others in Heliopolis seek.

Preservation and Museumification in the Catacombs of the Pagos

The text establishes the symposium of Lucius and the literati of Heliopolis as a space of deliberating assorted perspectives on happiness and infusing them with images of nature. Jünger establishes the discourse of the symposium on happiness early on in the novel to function as the contemplative backdrop of the actions of Lucius after it. The chronology of the text thus implies that, after Lucius has learned of the diverse abstract perspectives on happiness from Serner, Halder, and Ortner, he then turns to an empirical approach to investigating happiness and goes out into the world of Heliopolis to accomplish this. After time in the precarious climate of Heliopolis, Lucius retreats with Melitta (whose name is Greek for "bee"), the servant of a Parsi family, first to the island of Vinho del Mar—the island where the philosopher Serner was once stranded—and then to the mountainous region of the Pagos. Lucius will discover that the collections in the Pagos

oscillate along a continuum of collection types, such as the museum, the library, and reliquary. Jünger also endows the Pagos and its hierarchical structure function with a Dantean geographic symbolism typical of Jünger's other fictional works.[64] Gradually, Lucius ascends to the highest region of the Pagos, passing both the "Kriegsschule" and the "Museion" in the process. His journey upwards correlates to an increasing exposure to asceticism; his destination is the residence of the hermit priest Pater Foelix.[65] In addition to his status as a religious figure, Pater Foelix raises bees, lives an isolated life, and acts as Lucius's guru. Jünger likely based the character of Pater Foelix on his friend Adolf Horion, a German Roman Catholic priest and coleopterologist with whom he corresponded for over twenty-five years. Like Pater Foelix, who pacifies Lucius's feelings of worry in a time of conflict, Horion's correspondence with Jünger deals almost exclusively with entomology and inventories of the beetles both had acquired. Their correspondence during the 1940s shows how entomology served to distract from the consequences of the war. Horion writes to Jünger in a letter from 1944: "Es ist wohl gut, daß wir in diesen furchtbarsten Zeiten an unserer naturkundl[ichen] Liebhaberei eine Ablenkung und dadurch einen wirksame Trost haben…"[66] The narrator notes that Pater Foelix had originally become a hermit "nicht…aus Sehnsucht nach dem Eremitenleben, sondern um sich über die Wartung der Bienen zu unterrichten, die auf alter Überlieferung beruht."[67] Like the collector Horion, Pater Foelix also teaches Lucius the wisdom he has found in a life of raising bees: "Ja, vieles können wir von den Bienen lernen—da ist auch ihr Sammeln von Schätzen, das Heimsen von Vorrat aus dem Vergänglichen. Die Blüten gleichen den Augenblicken dieses Lebens, aus denen wir Stoff der Unendlichkeit gewährt."[68] Pater Foelix

[64] Nicole Thesz observes that in addition to the use of color, Jünger's oeuvre contains "andere Symbolkomplexe, wie die der Pflanzen, der Geographie oder der Sprache." Nicole Thesz, "Farbenspiele: Der Symbolismus in Jüngers 'Auf den Marmorklippen,'" *Colloquia Germanica* 34, no. 2 (2001), 159.
[65] Jünger aligns the asceticism of Pater Foelix with happiness in his name: *felix*, Latin for "happy."
[66] Adolf Horion. Adolf Horion to Ernst Jünger. 1944. DLA Marbach.
[67] Jünger, *Heliopolis*, 205.
[68] Ibid., 209.

therefore proposes to Lucius that, like bees, human beings can also learn to extract things of value from their ordinary use and create something long-lasting out of them, as bees do with nectar.

However, before his meeting with Pater Foelix, Lucius first confronts an older form of collecting, the macabre catacombs of the Pagos. Like the figure of Pater Foelix, the catacombs further add to the Roman Catholic atmosphere with the text imbues the Pagos region. Like the seemingly timeless wisdom of Pater Foelix, the catacombs pose an inherent to the temporality of the conflict in Heliopolis. As the narrator notes, the bones of the catacombs possess no use-value—"die obsolet gewordenen Grüfte"[69]—and symbolize the perceived permanence in every collection while themselves making up a collection. The narrator affirms the status of the catacombs as a collection, stating, "Auch gab es Fluchten, in denen die Toten nach Kategorien lagen…"[70] Classification in categories, hearkening back to the binomial nomenclature of Linnaeus, reaches even the bones of those in the Pagos after they have died. The catacombs of the Pagos also serve as a kind of museum, as the Roman catacombs also once did[71]: "Am Abend kündeten Glockenzeichen in der Nekropole den Schluß der Tore an. Dann drängten die Massen sich aus den Gängen, Galerien und Gewölben der Unterwelt ans Licht."[72] Not only a resting place, the catacombs every year receive visitors, an image that hearkens back to historically Catholic pilgrimages to Roman catacombs to celebrate the martyrs buried there. Yet the historical catacombs provided more than occasion for celebration; the Church sometimes promised pilgrims that if they prayed at the seemingly timeless bones of the martyrs, they would receive a reduction of punishment in purgatory and, thus, come one step further toward eternal life in heaven.

[69] Ibid., 175.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Cf. Smith, 8.
[72] Jünger, *Heliopolis*, 177.

Analyzing the tradition of reliquaries, which often contain the bones or body parts of saints, Blom connects modern collected objects with relics: "There are hybrids between reliquaries and collections. […] The same phenomenon can be observed in catacombs and ossuaries often found in Catholic countries. […] Like relics, [the decayed bodies] become instruments of salvation."[73] Werner Muensterberger has also commented on the devotion to skulls and relics in the Catholic Church: "Underlying this demand for a relic, and in particular a skull, is a powerful emotional experience. By keeping an ancestor's skull, the believer confers everlasting life on that person. […] It really means that if he can attain immortality, then in some way or other the owner of the skull can as well."[74] By acknowledging the earthly mortality of the saints in the raw display of their bones, the catacombs paradoxically granted immortality to saints in earthly life by storing their most sustainable and now sanctified remains, that is, their bones. Historical catacombs also served a didactic purpose. They not only served as a *memento mori*; rather, pilgrims could gain a sense of ownership over their own mortality and transform it into a glimpse of immortality in a process of self-reflection.

As the unique space of a collection, the catacombs both in Rome and in the Pagos, however, also serve to transport their viewers back to the time when their martyrs died, the concept of "reversible time" common in mythological thought, wherein one can really make present a time from the past in the present.[75] In doing so, the reliquaries of the catacombs both acknowledge the place of the bones in history while emphasizing their memorial to death and sacrifice that exists outside of time. In *Heliopolis,* the prolongation of time through the remains of the catacombs does

[73] Blom, 155-156.
[74] Werner Muensterberger, *Collecting: An Unruly Passion: Psychological Perspectives* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 55-56.
[75] Cf. Julius Evola's polemical yet thorough overview of the concept of time in ancient civilizations: Julius Evola, *Revolt Against the Modern World,* trans. Guido Stucco (Rochester, VT: Inner Traditions, 1995), 143-156.

not inculcate a fear of death among the people of the Pagos. Making the dead bones of the catacombs into exhibits contrarily produces life: "Es war üblich geworden, die Daten und Feste des Familienlebens hier auf schattenhafte und doch erhöhte Weise zu wiederholen, den Toten kündend—so die Verlöbnisse, Gelübde, Testamentseröffnungen. Das brachte mit sich, daß in den großen Schluchten des Pagos immer Leben herrschte—nicht nur von Trauerzügen, sondern auch von Besuchern aller Art."[76] But with all their cultic and exhibitionary aspects, their purpose in Heliopolis begins to change. The competition between the models of exhibit and museum in Heliopolis threaten the catacombs, and as the narrator relates, the secular world of Heliopolis has begun to encroach on the sanctity of the Pagos: "In den Museen wurde gehortet, was man den Gräbern geraubt hatte. Museen wuchsen nicht nur anstelle der Kirchen auf; die Kirchen wandelten sich auch in Museen um."[77] Here, the narrator plays with the idea of grave robbing and the image of bones in the ancient catacombs, that is, whether grave robbing is in fact immoral or whether the catacombs have always simply externalized the clandestine actions of a grave robber. Moreover, the text implicitly questions whether museums are simply continuing the legacy of the catacombs. Lucius's experience of the catacombs marks a shift in the constellation of life, death, exhibit, and museum in the novel. When the catacombs of the Pagos function as cults and exhibits, life prevails and they strengthen the religious faith of their visitors. Yet when the graves shift to the dustiness of a museum, still one type of collection among many, the transformation threatens to push the graves into oblivion, and the text therefore implicitly makes a value judgment against museums—while holding nature as its control with which to experiment with the idea of museums within the text's phenomenology of collections. Both a state of nature, such as an idyllic landscape, and a museum both offer a resistance to the flow of time. Here, though, *Heliopolis* suggests that the

[76] Jünger, *Heliopolis*, 177.
[77] Ibid., 178.

"museumification" of churches—or perhaps of the religious faith of the Pagos residents, or of nature full stop—is not a desirable outcome.

The Inherent Semiotics of Destruction in Collections

With the foretaste of uneasiness in the catacombs of the Pagos that the narrator highlights, the tone of the novel begins to shift with Lucius's journey through the Pagos. With the lingering threat of churches and catacombs becoming museums, the Pagos still includes its own museum of sorts, the Museion,[78] which is housed in a former monastery. The narrator describes it as "[der] Sitz der Akademie. Es war in einem Kloster eingerichtet, und seine Räume dienten nicht nur der Forschung, den Studien und Sitzungen, sondern auch einer Reihe von Akademikern als Unterkunft."[79] The name "Museion" recalls the Mouseion of Alexandria, a proto-university whose famed library is known today as much for its disastrous burning as for its contents.[80] The mythological narrative of the library at Alexandria, however, which Jünger encodes into the name of the Museion, exemplifies a large body of knowledge contained in a collection that disappeared thanks to a destructive force, in its case through fire. The implicit meaning in the Museion of the Pagos derived from the ancient Alexandrian Mouseion signals the critical overarching trait of the collections in *Heliopolis*: although each purports to preserve something, its preservation contains within itself the irony of its own destruction. Despite the apparent efficacy of collections to serve the purpose of preservation of especially rare objects, both real history and the history of Heliopolis shows that they are nonetheless subject to contingency and the effects of disaster.

[78] The word "museum" derives from the Greek *mouseion*, "seat of the Muses."
[79] Blom, 168-169.
[80] See Rolf Strootman, *The Birdcage of the Muses: Patronage of the Arts and Sciences at the Ptolemaic Imperial Court, 305-222 BCE* (Leuven: Peeters, 2017), 37-40.

Both outer and inner forces begin to threaten the security and apparently immortality of the collections that Lucius observes in the Pagos. Here, Jünger embeds the events of the novel into the recent history of catastrophe. When the novel begins to speak of the threat of "Vernichtung," it returns to the recent legacy of the Second World War as its model, which comes about in the historical events within the history of Heliopolis to which its residents refer as the "Große Feuerschläge." The reader learns, for instance, that the residents of the Pagos have amassed each of its collections as a response to these great fire blasts of the past, out of the fear that a similar event may occur in the future. Out of its discourse on collections, the text develops the model of a cycle of preservation—and, thereby, creation, once preservation has provided for a flourishing—and destruction. Such a model of preservation-creation-destruction concerned Jünger from the beginning of his literary output. The early war books of the 1920s, for example, shared in the right-wing German nationalistic view of the time that the purpose of World War I would not so much settle a political score as act as a metaphysical crucible through which a new order would emerge. As Jünger describes this view in *Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis*, "Warum ist gerade unsere Zeit an Kräften, vernichtenden und zeugenden, so überreich? Warum trägt gerade sie so ungeheure Verheißung im Schoß? Denn mag auch vieles unter Fiebern sterben, so braut zu gleicher Zeit die gleiche Flamme Zukünftiges und Wunderbares in tausend Retorten."[81] For the Jünger of the 1920s, the instability of the post-war era, including the phenomenon of German hyperinflation, also represented an opportunity for experimentation with new political and social orders. Nevertheless, though, similar ideas about the capacity of the destruction of war to lead to creation never appear again in the same intensity in Jünger's oeuvre after 1945, since these later works in fact reverse the cycle of renewal. Where Jünger's nationalistic optimism of the 1920s emphasizes that

[81] Ernst Jünger, *Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis*, in *Ernst Jünger. Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 12 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015), 11.

destruction necessarily results in creation, Jünger's retrospective fatalism after 1945 emphasizes creations—including collections—can lead to destruction that may not lead to any further creation but could result in a lingering nihilism.

The collections of the Pagos reconnect the novel with its historical context of real catastrophes just experienced and still looming at the time it was published: the threat of nuclear war, exacerbated by the recent United States bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945, which claimed hundreds of thousands of lives, Allied bombings which destroyed cities like Berlin, Cologne, and Stuttgart, and the Allied firebombing of civilians in Hamburg and Dresden in the same year,[82] an event similar to the "great fire blasts" that the citizens of Heliopolis have lived through. As a response to the great fire blasts, the residents of the Pagos invest the Museion with the humanistic purpose of both a place of refuge and the site of preserving knowledge—a purpose ironic in light of the fate of the library in the historical Mouseion. The narrator also adds that the humanistic mission of the new Heliopolis involves the sciences, but only to the degree that they involve fields that entail collecting. The narrator states that "[d]ie großen Katastrophen hatten den Menschen mächtig dem Tode nähergebracht. Er sah ihn nicht nur im eigenen Schicksal, sondern auch in den großen Zusammenhängen; der Geist ergriff die in der Zeit versunkenen Kulturen polyphonisch, studierte ihren Untergang. […] Sein stärkstes Mittel war die Archäologie, die sich notwendig auf Gräber richtet und ihn die Oberfläche dieser Erde als Decke eines ungeheuren, geheimnisvollen Grabes erkennen läßt."[83] The image of the work of archaeology functions twofold: the inhabitants of Heliopolis both literally excavate the ruins of their past and,

[82] On the German response to war and catastrophe in the aftermath of World War II, see François Walter, "Thinking the Disaster: A Historical Approach," in *Ecological Thought in German Literature and Culture*, ed. Gabriele Dürbeck, Urte Stobbe, Hubert Zapf, and Evi Zemanek, 161-174 (Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2017).
[83] Jünger, *Heliopolis*, 177.

metaphorically, investigate the cause of the original catastrophe. "Great catastrophes" and archaeology expose the world of Heliopolis as a mass grave; they inadvertently transform the world of Heliopolis into a giant museum, the form of collection that the novel associates with death.

Lucius then realizes the true nature of the collections of the Pagos in the records of Heliopolis kept in the Pagos. The narrator describes the fate of the records:

> Es gab kaum einen Privatmann, der nicht eine Zelle, und keine Behörde, die nicht Galerien von unterirdischen Verliesen gemietet hatte, sei es zur Aufbewahrung von Gütern, sei es als Fluchtraum für Zeiten der Gefahr. Dazu kam noch der museale Trieb, der mächtig im Schatten der Vernichtung wächst. […] Vor allem die Bibliotheken und Archive hatte man auf diese Weise der Feuerwelt entzogen—zunächst in Kopien, Duplikaten und Photogrammen, doch hatte sich bald das Verhältnis umgekehrt, indem man die Originale sicherte.[84]

"Der museale Trieb, der mächtig im Schatten der Vernichtung wächst" marks a pivotal point in the understanding of *Heliopolis*. In it, Jünger expresses collecting as the paradigm of response to catastrophe. Undoubtedly, some of this image of preservation of originals derives from the many historical cases of invaluable art that changed hands, often Nazi hands, during the Second World War.[85] The saving of archives and libraries in Heliopolis from a "world of fire" also recalls the book burnings of "degenerate" literature which the Nazi regime organized beginning in the

[84] Ibid., 170-171.
[85] For more on the Nazi looting of artwork, see for example Mary M. Lane, *Hitler's Last Hostages: Looted Art and the Soul of the Third Reich* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2019).

1930s.[86] Heliopolis differs from the historical precedent of the Nazis only by the fact that Heliopolis has ostensibly overcome this previous world of fire and has learned from its past errors. But, this "museal" drive additionally expresses a feeling of irony in the observations of the narrator. The threat of annihilation causes the inhabitants of Heliopolis to collecting in a museum-like sense, which comes with a negative connotation in *Heliopolis*. As aforementioned in the context of churches in Heliopolis, the text simultaneously encodes museums both with looting and with an association with permanence, but the permanence of death.

On another level, this description of copies and duplicates illuminates the semiotic role of collections in the Pagos and the necessity for viewing the text's collections in terms of their semiosis. The text suggests a structuralist reading by including literal, externalized texts as collections when the narrator directly associates a collection with text: "In anderen Schluchten des Gebirges hatte man die großen Kartotheken und Register angesiedelt und zu einem halbverstaubten, doch präzisen Leben abgekapselt. […] Hier lag gleich einem ruhenden Gehirn die in die Akten eingebettete Erinnerung."[87] The card indexes and registries in the Pagos have not yet reached the dustiness of a permanent museum exhibit but instead act as a blueprint for a "precise life." As some have touched upon, Jünger's language of copies, duplicates, and originals preserved in the Pagos anticipate postmodern and posthistorical media theories, in particular the hyperreality theory of simulation of Baudrillard.[88] Although Baudrillard argues that the reality principle of originals has disappeared, the inhabitants of Heliopolis seem to still hold onto it. Whereas Baudrillard would assert that copies, duplicates, and originals are no longer discernible

[86] For more on Nazi book burnings, see for example Guenter Lewy, *Harmful and Undesirable: Book Censorship in Nazi Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016).
[87] Jünger, *Heliopolis*, 171.
[88] See for example Kiesel's discussion of *Eumeswil*, 635-655. See also Nils Lundberg, *"Hier aber treten die Ordnungen hervor": gestaltästhetische Paradigmen in Ernst Jüngers Zukunftsromanen* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2016).

from one another—more precisely: that simulacra are copies without an original[89]—the narrator of *Heliopolis* notes that the residents of the Pagos now preserve originals rather than copies. The narrator also takes care to point out that the museum-like drive to preserve the records of Heliopolis results not from an attempt to glory in diversity but to respond to a neurosis "im Schatten der Vernichtung." Drawing on the Freudian reality principle, Baudrillard writes that alienation in modern society fuels collecting, "whose sway is fragile at best, for the sway of the real world lies ever just behind it, and is continually threatening it."[90] Are the libraries and archives of the Pagos asserting the "realness" of their originals, or are they repressing the inevitable fact that the originals are no more real than their copies? Lucius's anxiety does not only result from the impending catastrophe of the civil war in Heliopolis; his neurosis results from his own suppression of the fact that perhaps "originals" do not exist anymore. The semiotic game of "realness" in the copies and originals not only entails a literal destruction, such as a bomb that would burn the records, but the destruction of Lucius's concept of originality to begin with. The fact that the collectors of the Pagos initially collected copies, duplicates, and photograms first further corroborates the overbearing threat of the emptiness of originals. The primacy of copies, duplicates, and photograms of the original records of Heliopolis literalizes that which Baudrillard calls the "precession of simulacra,"[91] wherein the model of the imitation of an original always already usurps the appearance of the original. Imitation, for Baudrillard, is the clever science of artificiality: "the duplication," the copy of an original, "suffices to render both artificial."[92] The

[89] Cf. Jean Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation*, trans. Sheila Faria Glaser (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2010), 39: "Simulation is the master, and we only have a right to the retro, to the phantom, parodic rehabilitation of all lost referentials."
[90] Jean Baudrillard, *The System of Objects*, trans. James Benedict (New York: Verso, 2005), 106.
[91] Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation*, 1.
[92] Ibid., 9.

realization of the necessity for the realness of the original in his world prompts Lucius to search for the real, the ultimate collection, the form of nature that will not collapse into hyperreality.

Nazi Legacies: A *Schauerromantik* of Museums

The second part of *Heliopolis* marks a tonal shift. Whereas the first part of the novel gradually introduces the instability of Heliopolis, part two demonstrates the implications of all the novel's previously proposed collections. In the second part, Jünger tests the collections presented to Lucius while indulging in a stylistic approach reminiscent of both the classic works of dark Romanticism, such as those of E.T.A. Hoffmann and Edgar Allan Poe, and the carnivalesque history of certain forms of collections,[93] such as the cabinet of curiosities. When returning from the Pagos in the second part of the novel, Lucius discovers a Heliopolis more unstable than before. At this point, the role of the Parsis comes to the fore. A Parsi medical student has assassinated Messer Grande, the Landvogt's police chief. In response to the assassination, the Landvogt scapegoats and subsequently begins a genocide against the Parsi population. Noack has rightly noted that the persecution of the Parsis bears echoes of the Holocaust.[94] In this context, the assassination of Messer Grande seems to mirror the injuries that eventually killed former Gestapo head Reinhard Heydrich in 1942,[95] to which the Nazis retaliated by razing the Czech and Slovak towns thought responsible for the assassination. In addition to Martus's identification of Messer Grande with Heydrich, Jünger also seems to have mixed the assassination of Messer Grande with the assassination of German diplomat Ernst von Rath in Paris in November 1938 by German-born

[93] Some scholars have suggested that Jünger often engaged in the carnivalesque, even in his descriptions of warfare. See for example Graeme Stout's analysis of Jünger, Henri Barbusse, and Erich Maria Remarque in light of Mikhail Bakhtin's vision of Rabelais. Graeme Stout, "Painting Abstraction/Observing Destruction at the Front," in *Great War Modernism: Artistic Response in the Context of War, 1914-1918,* ed. Nanette Norris (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2016), 78ff.
[94] Cf. Noack, 212, 286.
[95] This comparison follows that of Martus, 206.

Polish Jew Herschel Grynszpan, an event that ignited the *Kristallnacht* pogroms the same night. These recent historical influences aid in shifting the novel's tone to a darker, more sinister sense of dread that takes much from recent events in Germany, mirrored most saliently in the genocide of Heliopolis's Parsi population.

The genocide of the Parsis alienates and horrifies Lucius. Now, his gradual alienation from the values of Heliopolis mirrors a dark turn in the phenomenology of collections in the text thus far. Although he attempts an inner emigration from the politics of Heliopolis into the security of collections and the naturality and authenticity they promise, his duties suck him back in. The Prokonsul's Chef sends Lucius on a mission of sabotage, ordering him to visit the Landvogt and pretend to express sympathy to the Landvogt for the recent conflicts, after which Lucius must destroy the Landvogt's "Toxikologisches Institut." On the way to visit the Landvogt, he encounters a gruesome scene near a field, where the Landvogt's forces are holding Parsis in a fenced-in prison, and upon seeing Budur among the prisoners, plans to intercede with the Landvogt's forces for her freedom. After speaking with the Landvogt himself, Lucius then speaks to Dr. Thomas Becker, the "Fachleiter" of the Landvogt in hopes that he can still secure the release of Budur. Lucius's meeting with Dr. Becker marks one of the more Poesque scenes of the novel, one that contains echoes of the grotesque mix of medical experimentation and mesmerism such as in Poe's short story *The Facts in the Case of M. Valdemar* (1845).[96] The Poesque sense of dread already begins when Lucius sees Dr. Becker's collections for the first time. Lucius is led into Dr. Becker's office, where he observes the many technological devices and weapons that Dr. Becker has on display.

[96] Although Jünger was an admirer of Poe and was familiar with Poe's oeuvre, connections to *The Facts in the Case of M. Valdemar* and Jünger's writings has been overlooked. For a comparison to Jünger's depiction of putrefaction and the vision of death in Poe's story, see Jan T. Schlosser, "Jüngers kødgryder," *Akademisk kvarter* 1 (2010): 94-101.

The objects are placed "in musealer Ordnung" on the doctor's shelves; the office presents a foretaste of what Lucius is to experience in the arsenal. The narrator continues:

> Man hatte den Eindruck, in das stille Arbeitszimmer eines Ethnologen einzutreten, der sich nach seinen Neigungen beschäftigte. Doch schien das Wesen dieser fremden und fetischhaften Dinge beängstigend, und nicht nur deshalb, weil das Spielzeug magisch war. […] Der Ort glich einer Schädelstätte, denn es gehörte offenbar zur Spezialität des Doktor Becker, Köpfe zu sammeln, wie man sie in den verschiedensten Regionen zu Kriegstrophäen oder zu Idolen des Ahnenkultes präpariert. Mumifizierte und ausgebleichte Köpfe waren mit Schmucklinien und bunten Steinen kunstvoll verziert. Bei manchen waren die Augenhöhlen mit Muscheln und Perlmuttscheiben ausgelegt. In einer Ecke hing ein Bündel der lebensechten Köpfchen aus dem Amazonasbecken; sie waren an den Haaren eingeflochten wie Zwiebeln am dürren Laub.[97]

The collections of Dr. Becker represent another nexus of *Heliopolis* and the Nazi past that immediately preceded the novel. In the first edition of *Heliopolis*, the character is called Dr. "Beckett," perhaps a reference to Irish-French playwright Samuel Beckett. Jünger later changed the character's name to the more German-sounding "Becker." Yet "Becker" is not only meant to sound German but is a cue embedded in the text. No scholars have yet pointed out that, like the names of several of Jünger's characters, *Becker* likely alludes to the German anthropologist and

[97] Jünger, *Heliopolis*, 238.

explorer Bruno Beger.[98] Beger, who was involved with the *Ahnenerbe* think tank of the SS, was invited on a 1938-1939 expedition to Tibet and tasked to measure Tibetans' skulls to prove that the "Nordic man" of the Aryan race originated there. In this description of Dr. Becker's office, the narrator notes that it is the doctor's specialty, like Beger's, "Köpfe zu sammeln, wie man sie in den verschiedensten Regionen zu Kriegstrophäen oder zu Idolen des Ahnenkultes präpariert."[99] Although "Ahnenkulte" refers to the ancestor cults prevalent among many tribal peoples, considering the precedent of Beger in the figure of Dr. Becker, this can also be read as Jünger's cloaked reference to the SS *Ahnenerbe* project. This later change is crucial to the novel's statement on the museum's status as a collection. It encapsulates the grotesque image of the museum in the novel. Certainly, collections of human skulls had had a long history, particularly in the anatomical collections of Dutch collectors during the Early Modern period.[100] But the affect behind museums that *Heliopolis* taps into involves its observation that, quite simply, museums have an eerie quality to them. It then plays on the idea that the only difference between the early collections of Dutch anatomists and Nazi collections resides in the fact that the Dutch anatomists waited for their subjects to die before displaying their bones. As the novel implicitly suggests, perhaps Nazi collectors only took the intent of the Dutch anatomist to its convenient yet horrific conclusion: to

[98] Like some characters in his other novels, Jünger slightly alters Beger's name to "Becker" to evoke the historical personage behind it. Other examples include the similarity of "Goebbels" to "Köppelsbleek" (despite the fact that Jünger may have derived this name from an area of Goslar where he lived at the time of writing the novel), "Vico" and "Vigo" in *Eumeswil*, Bruno in *Eumeswil*, and the protagonist detective "Dombrowsky" from the Krimi *Eine gefährliche Begegnung*, which Jünger may have taken from the Polish general and national hero Jan Henryk Dąbrowski. For more on Bruno Beger's role in the Nazi anthropological project along with Ernst Schäfer, see Peter Meier-Hüsing, *Nazis in Tibet: Das Rätsel um die SS-Expedition Ernst Schäfer* (Darmstadt: Theiss, 2017) and Christopher Hale, *Himmler's Crusade: The Nazi Expedition to Find the Origins of the Aryan Race* (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley, 2011).

[99] Jünger, *Heliopolis*, 238.

[100] For more on Early Modern Dutch anatomical collections, see Dániel Margócsy, "A Museum of Wonders or a Cemetery of Corpses? The Commercial Exchange of Anatomical Collections in Early Modern Netherlands," in *Silent Messengers: The Circulation of Material Objects of Knowledge in the Early Modern Low Countries*, ed. Sven Dupré and Christoph Lüthy, 185-216 (Berlin: Lit, 2011).

preemptively kill those who would then become "subjects" for a future museum of Jews and Judaism as a race that once lived on our planet, as we will see below.

This underlying account of the uncanniness of museum collections further drives Lucius's visit to the Landvogt's facilities. Lucius has already experienced the muscle of the Landvogt's forces, now he must face the brain, the ideological side to the Landvogt's power. Dr. Becker's collection is still a collection, yet it offers a twisted answer to the catacombs and causes not fascination, but shock and apprehension, in Lucius. With one movement, Lucius reflects on the legacy of the Early Modern period, both in its thought and in its position on nature: "Lucius empfand ein Frösteln in diesem Kopfjägerkabinett. […] Das 'Wissen ist Macht' des alten Francis Bacon hatte sich vereinfacht zum 'Wissen ist Mord.'"[101] In fact, the narrator had already foreshadowed the legacy of Foucauldian knowledge-power in collections in the first chapter, where Lucius contemplates the hyper-positivist sect known as the "Mauretanier" (a group also appearing in *Auf den Marmorklippen*), who compile archives in Heliopolis and whom Harro Segeberg has described as exhibiting an "amoral nihilism."[102] The narrator notes, "[M]it dem Wachstum der Archive steigerte sich die Macht. […] [Die Mauretanier] kannten die räumliche Voraussetzung der Macht, ihren qualitätslosen Ort. Sie wußten, daß ein Schädelindex gefährlich werden kann, und hielten die Unterlagen dazu bereit."[103] This early description of the Mauretanier encapsulates, on the one hand, the complex history of scientific racism inherited from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which insisted on fundamental biological differences between races. Yet, on the other hand, it also emphasizes the spatiality of power. For Lucius, Dr. Becker's

[101] Ibid.
[102] Harro Segeberg, "'Wir irren vorwärts'. Zur Funktion des Utopischen im Werk Ernst Jüngers," in *Ernst Jünger. Politik – Mythos – Kunst*, ed. Lutz Hagestedt (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2004), 412.
[103] Jünger, *Heliopolis*, 42.

parody of the catacombs adds irony to his own fate. Dr. Becker's material "Schädelindex" straddles a line between a necessary humanism and the dispassionate gaze of the positivistic natural sciences. Like Jünger's own beetles, the silence of the bones presupposes a moment of death in order to enter the collection. As reservoirs of knowledge, the ideologue's collections have now become the very source of destruction that threatens that knowledge in the first place.

Meanwhile, in response to an attack on the Prokonsul's controlled areas of the city, the Prokonsul introduces "Schwebepanzer," one of which the Landvogt's troops shoots down. To complete his mission of revenge, Lucius is in need of weaponry and visits the Prokonsul's arsenal where the "Oberfeuerwerker" Sievers outfits him. Here, Lucius stumbles upon a veritable natural history museum of weaponry: "Die Anlage begann als Museum und schloß in einer Reihe von mächtigen Gewölben das alte Zeughaus und die Waffen- und Trophäensammlung ein, die teils historisch, teils technologisch geordnet war."[104] The arsenal evinces the sequencing typical of collections: "Sie waren durch den Raketensaal geschritten, der von den unbeholfenen Modellen eines frühen Erfinders namens [Max] Valier die Entwicklung bis zu den bemannten Geschossen zeigte, die der Schwerkraft Hohn sprachen."[105] It simultaneously contains useless and useful weapons organized in a sequence, as if suggesting an evolution: "Das ging vom rohen Faustkeil, vom Widerhaken aus rotem Feuerstein bis in die kühnsten Konstruktionen der Strahlentechnik durch."[106] The juxtaposition of the apparent uselessness of a primitive hand axe and a barbed hook with complex directed-energy weapons and rockets suggests that the arsenal also exists to display an evolution of weaponry as to arm troops. The arsenal's form as a natural history museum thus

[104] Ibid., 251. The text further describes the scene as having "Sammlungen von ausgedienten Instrumenten und Kriegsmaschinen." Ibid., 251-252.
[105] Ibid., 252. Max Valier (1895-1930) was an Austrian rocketry innovator and science fiction author.
[106] Ibid.

challenges its raison d'être as weapons storage. Jünger's anthropological approach to the arsenal, rather, depicts the arsenal functioning as an augmented display of power.

The arsenal-museum of the Prokonsul confounds Lucius's concept of collections. They typically defend against destruction, but the Prokonsul's collection of weapons amasses objects that serve no other purpose than to destroy. This apparent contradiction confounds Lucius not only intellectually but psychologically. Commenting on a magnetically-driven crossbow, for example, the narrator observes: "Der alte Traum des Menschen, durch Magie, durch reine Wunscheskraft zu töten, schien in diesem Instrument erfüllt. Lucius legte es, als ob er einen Skorpion ergriffen hätte, an seinen Platz zurück."[107] With the arsenal-museum of the Prokonsul, Jünger combines early twentieth-century psychoanalytic discourses with those of the technological questions in which Jünger engaged in the Weimar era. The arsenal manifests in Lucius a neurosis like that of Sigmund Freud's *Das Unbehagen in der Kultur* (1930), that is, the assertion that "modern" man is only a complex heir of "primitive" man.[108] All modern culture builds on the repression, not the absence, of primeval drives in man. Modern technology as well, which attempts to distance itself from primitive tools, is nonetheless based on the same libidinal motives underlying their use. Lucius sees this contradiction embodied in the crossbow, which combines the primitivity of the bow and arrow with magnet technology rather than eschewing primitive forms altogether. The text continues to play with the idea of mixing primitive and advanced weapon designs: "Hier waren Muster der Tarn- und Schutzgewänder aufbewahrt. Man sah mit flockigem Asbest wattierte Mäntel, die gegen Feuer und Flammenwürfe schirmen sollten. […] Dazu gehörten Helme und Maske mannigfacher Art, die teils an Mummenschanz von primitiven Tänzern, teils an die

[107] Ibid., 253.
[108] I follow here the theories established in Sigmund Freud, *Totem und Tabu: Einige Übereinstimmungen im Seelenleben der Wilden und der Neurotiker* (1913) and *Das Unbehagen in der Kultur* (1930).

Ausrüstung von Meerestauchern erinnerten."[109] These weapons disgust and alienate Lucius further—"Doch faßte ihn auch dismal wieder der Schauer an, der Horror"[110]—because they suggest a primal wish fulfilled in a new technology, a wish-fulfillment Lucius sees in himself. In the arsenal, *Heliopolis* makes explicit both Lucius's self-reflection and its relation to the preservation-destruction dialectic in collections and, from a psychological standpoint, in the psyche of each collector.

Then, the novel takes the Poesque dread of its threatening collections to a greater extreme to push its exploration of museums and their uses and misuses. The chronology of the novel, wherein the two collections implying death and destruction follow episodes of conservation, exploitation, and plunder of the Parsi population suggest a gruesome inspiration in Jünger. Jünger purposely connects the darker collections of Heliopolis with the pogroms against the Parsi population to embed it in the grim history of the Nazi cultural project. In 1942, the Jewish Museum of Prague reopened under the auspices of the SS with a staff of exclusively Jewish curators. The museum featured thousands of objects from Jewish life which had been collected in Prague around 1900 due to city renovations, particularly of the city's Jewish district. But, in a horrifying turn, the National Socialist re-branding of the museum presented its objects not as artifacts of an ongoing tradition but of the backward ways of an exterminated race, dubbed the *Museum der*

[109] Jünger, *Heliopolis*, 261. In this passage, Jünger also develops themes reminiscent of Martin Heidegger's later essay *Die Frage nach der Technik* (1954), in which the complex technology of the twentieth century is presented in an ontological chain of "unfolding" with the primitive tools of early humans and apes. This observation will be repeated in *Gläserne Bienen*, for example, when the narrator compares tanks to turtle shells. See Martin Heidegger, "Die Frage nach der Technik," in *Martin Heidegger. Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 7 (Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann, 1976): 5-36.
[110] Jünger, *Heliopolis*, 251.

untergegangen Rasse.[111] From 1942 to 1944, the museum featured four exhibits of Jewish history such as "Jüdisches Leben von der Wiege bis zum Grab." The exhibits attempted to both exoticize Jewish life and implicitly announce the Nazi victory over the Jewish menace, the culmination of the evolutionary "struggle" of the Germanic peoples against Jewry. Nevertheless, the SS could not complete the installation of the final exhibit, since, as a morbid irony, the same officials had deported too many of the Jewish curators from the Prague museum tasked to catalogue its objects. Perhaps the most sinister aspect of the museum was that, like "Jewish" art, the Nazi authorities did not destroy the artifacts and erase the memory of Prague's Jews but co-opted them to create an alternate history. The museum was therefore the Nazi vehicle for this act of distortion, just as they had utilized the format of art exhibits to display "degenerate" art from Expressionist artists Jewish and non-Jewish alike in the 1930s.[112]

This was not the only planned National Socialist museum that *Heliopolis* draws upon. Susanne Claußen points out that the Nazi museum in Prague represented what Karl-Josef Pazzini called "[die] Nähe zwischen Tod und Museum."[113] The forces of the Landvogt take this nexus of death and museums to heart in the figure of Dr. Becker. Becker's collection of bones also points back to a lesser-known Nazi cultural project. Beginning in the early 1940s, Nazi physicians and anthropologists in Alsace began planning a collection of skeletons of Jewish concentration camp

[111] See Susanne Claußen, *Anschauungssache Religion. Zur musealen Repräsentation religiöser Artefakte* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2009), 21ff. See also Elisabeth Kiderlen, "'Museum einer untergegangenen Rasse,'" *Der Spiegel*, Dec. 14, 1988; Jan Björn Potthost, *Das jüdische Zentralmuseum der SS in Prag: Gegnerforschung und Völkermord im Nationalsozialismus* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2002). Specifically on this topic, see Leo Pavlát, "The Jewish Museum in Prague during the Second World War," *European Judaism: A Journal for the New Europe* 41, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 124-130; more broadly: Rikke Andreassen, *Human Exhibitions: Race, Gender and Sexuality in Ethnic Displays* (New York: Routledge, 2015).

[112] For more on the complex relationship of the Nazi regime with Expressionist art, see Pamela Potter, *Art of Suppression: Confronting the Nazi Past in Histories of the Visual and Performing Arts* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2017).

[113] Claußen, 22.

prisoners to display at the Reich University of Strasbourg.[114] In the proposed collection, anatomy, anthropology, and the heritage of biological racism of the nineteenth century intersected in another grotesque display of the regime's ability to exterminate the Jewish race. Led by the SS officer Rudolf Brandt, racial anthropologist, explorer, and ethnologist Bruno Beger, anthropologist Hans Fleischhacker, and anatomist and physician August Hirt,[115] Nazi officials sought out prisoners from Auschwitz with the most stereotypically Jewish physical features, brought eighty-six of them to Natzweiler-Struthof concentration camp (today a museum), and murdered them by gas to then prepare their remains for exhibition.[116] In an act of dehumanization of its subjects, yet also within the Western tradition of displaying human bones in exhibits, both the museum of Prague and the unrealized skeleton collection in Strasbourg presented skeletons of Jewish victims, respectively, as *artificialia* (in their artifacts) and *naturalia* (in their bones) of a bygone species. In a moment of intense reflection on collecting, *Heliopolis* suggests that contrary to the feelings of power and security a collection is capable of engendering when it reproduces nature, a sense of wholeness, or the cosmos, as it did for the Italian Renaissance-era collector, the two Nazi museums underlying the aforementioned collections in the novel *result from* the tradition of *studioli*, museums, and the cabinet of curiosities, although based on the principles of racism and dehumanization. With these

[114] See Hans-Joachim Lang, *Die Namen der Nummern: wie es gelang, die 86 Opfer eines NS-Verbrechens zu identifizieren* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 2004); Raphael Toledano, "Anatomy in the Third Reich – The Anatomical Institute of the Reichsuniversität Straßburg and the Deliveries of Dead Bodies," *Annals of Anatomy* 205 (2016): 128-144.

[115] See Julien Reitzenstein, *Das SS-Ahnenerbe und die "Straßburger Schädelsammlung" – Fritz Bauers letzter Fall*, 2nd ed. (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2019).

[116] One of the first sources documenting the proposed skeleton collection appeared the same year as *Heliopolis* in the volume *Wissenschaft ohne Menschlichkeit*. See *Wissenschaft ohne Menschlichkeit. Medizinische und eugenische Irrwege unter Diktatur, Bürokratie und Krieg*, ed. Alexander Mitscherlich and Fred Mielke (Heidelberg: Lambert Schneider, 1949), 165-173. The theme of collecting in the Nazi era has also reappeared in literary works such as Alexander Kluge's "Oberleutnant Boulanger" about the collecting of August Hirt and in Marcel Beyer's novel *Flughunde* (1995), whose protagonist collects sounds, including those of Joseph Goebbels's daughter Helga and those of mentally disabled victims of Nazi medical experimentation in Alsace. See Alexander Kluge, "Oberleutnant Boulanger," in *Chronik der Gefühle*, vol. 2 (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2000): 677-687. See also Christoph Zeller, *Ästhetik des Authentischen: Literatur und Kunst um 1970* (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 2010), 103-106; Marcel Beyer, *Flughunde* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1995).

collections of *Heliopolis*, Jünger challenges the ethical axis of collections between the value of gaining knowledge, displays of knowledge-power, and dehumanization.

Jünger expands this Nazi principle of the objectification of human remains when Lucius's mission takes him to the Toxikologisches Institut. Lucius and his cohorts first come across the library of the institute, which contains books about medical experiments, the commercial value of human skin, and the effective diffusion of poison gases: "Sie traten an die Fächer und schlugen einige der Bücher auf. Die Sammlung erweckte einen unheilvollen Eindruck, sowohl in ihren Einzelheiten als auch in der Komposition."[117] While Dr. Becker's collection resembles the proposed Nazi skeleton museum, Lucius now encounters a collection modeled after the cabinet of curiosities yet more diabolical than Dr. Becker's "Schädelstätte" or the library of the institute. Like the way in which Dr. Becker's collections pervert the catacombs of the Pagos, the institute's library perverts the Museion of the Pagos as a center of learning. When he arrives on Castelmarino to destroy the Toxikologisches Institut, the historical paradigm shifts from Strasbourg to the horrors of Auschwitz. He finds Budur Peri's uncle Antonio, whom the Landvogt's Dr. Mertens has tortured in medical experiments, a character likely drawn from the figure of Dr. Josef Mengele.[118] In addition to the skeleton collection and the Prague museum, the now infamous figure of Mengele exemplified the atrocities the Nazi intellectual community endorsed. Assigned to the Auschwitz II (Birkenau) camp in 1943, Mengele's short stint comprised horrific human experiments on identical twins and prisoners with dwarfism and heterochromia,[119] whereby he compiled a collection of specimens which recalled the tradition of "freak show" exhibits and cabinets of curiosities in the

[117] Jünger, *Heliopolis*, 294.
[118] Martus, 206.
[119] See for example Jessica Datema and Manya Steinkoler, *Reivisioning War Trauma in Cinema: Uncoming Communities* (Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2019), 33-48, and David G. Marwell, *Mengele: Unmasking the "Angel of Death"* (New York: Norton, 2020), 63-134.

West, shows which brought the physical abnormalities of so-called "freaks of nature" to a greater public for a fee. Once the pure objectification of inmates in Auschwitz was assured, Mengele was able to "collect" the medical abnormalities of those who had been deported to the camp. Indeed, Eilat Negev and Yehuda Koren have described Mengele's actions as those of "a demonic impresario casting the ultimate freak show."[120] The scene in *Heliopolis* combines the horrific freak show of Josef Mengele with the problematic exploitation of the sciences like in the case of Poe's *M. Valdemar*. "Lucius öffnete eines der Gemächer, das als 'Sektionsraum' bezeichnet war, und blickte kurz hinein. Ein unbekannter Toter lag dort auf einer gläsernen Platte ausgespannt, die fließendes Wasser überrieselte. Der Leichnam hatte den letzten Grad der Auszehrung erreicht,"[121] an image recalling the well-known water experiments conducted by Mengele in Auschwitz. Like the nearly dead Valdemar in Poe and the barely living victims of Mengele's experiments, the Parsi victims of experimentation whom Lucius discovers represent the perfect culmination of the scientific method; like the perfect control that a twin sibling offered Mengele for experimentation, the dehumanizing objectification of being placed in a collection provides for the perfectly objectified human test subjects.

Drugs, the Decadent Alternative to Nature

Departing from the *Schauerromantik* of the scenes in the Toxikologisches Institut, Antonio Peri dies from the trauma of the medical experiments. The growth of Lucius's cynicism, in light of what he has witnessed, parallels the way in which Jünger challenges the definitions of natural and artificial in the second part of the novel. With the background of the Strasbourg and Prague museums, the Nazi redefinition of *naturalia*, the heritage of Early Modern anatomical collections,

[120] Eilat Negev and Yehuda Koren, *Giants: The Dwarfs of Auschwitz* (London: Biteback, 2013), 77.
[121] Jünger, *Heliopolis*, 295.

and the experiments on his friend Antonio Peri, part two relates the challenge to Lucius's conception of collections. After Antonio's death, the novel then begins to question whether *naturalia* in fact end in *artificialia*, that the poles of natural and artificial have collapsed, and whether claims to "naturality" and authenticity in collections have been artificial in nature from the beginning of the Early Modern conceptualization of the dichotomy. In his own collections, when Ernst Jünger incorporated "natural" specimens—his thousands of beetles—the bodies of the specimens hardened and each became lifeless and artificial, produced by a process of simulating nature in series, sets, and sequences. In terms of nature, *Heliopolis* narrates how Lucius discovers the reality of *naturalia*: he returns from beyond the Hesperiden, attempts to the find *naturalia* in the collections of Heliopolis but realizes the hyperreality of each collection there. One must now preserve the "originals" of the Pagos archives; Lucius must retain the principle of the authenticity of nature. Budur, however, being a "modernized" Parsi embodies the dialectic of destruction and preservation he finds in collections. Yet only Budur, as a Parsi, tethers him to the past, to tradition, to nature: "Er suchte daher die Anwesenheit der Parsin nach Möglichkeit zu ignorieren, wie einen Verstoß, den man nicht wahrhaben will. Andererseits konnte er nicht leugnen, daß Antonios Nichte etwas Neues in sein Leben zu bringen begann, ein Leben, das sich unter dem politischen Bann, der auf der Stadt lastete, immer stärker verhärtete. Da schien kein Ausweg mehr."[122]

As a result, *Heliopolis* experiments with an alternate point of access to authenticity by, quite literally, illustrating experimentation with drugs. After Antonio Peri dies, Lucius and Budur try to recreate Antonio's experiences by taking drugs together. They both take what Antonio called "der Lorbeertrank." Before Antonio's death, he had warned Lucius: "'Der Lorbeertrank ist bitter—ich warne euch. Wer Räusche sucht, der rodet in den Vorhöfen des Todes und um die dunklen

[122] Ibid., 270-271.

Eingänge.'"[123] The "Lorbeertrank" nonetheless suggests the opportunity for Lucius to find an idyllic place, this time within psychedelic hallucinations, as a last resort: "Die Neugier, die curiosité surnaturelle, blieb der letzte Blütenzweig am Baum des Glaubens, der vertrocknet war."[124] The text also encodes Antonio Peri as a type of collector. Earlier, Budur had told Lucius that Antonio "war ein Traumfänger. Er fing Träume, so wie andere mit Netzen den Schmetterlingen nachstellen. […] Er schloß sich in sein Kabinett zum Ausflug in die Traumregionen ein."[125] The text connects Antonio's drug-fueled dreamworld to the escapist landscapes of nature Lucius has already encountered: the Pagos, the Hesperiden, Castelmarino, Vinho del Mar. Like these locations, the dreamworld created by the Lorbeertrank is supposed to be a fixed state where the turbulence of Heliopolis cannot reach. But this seemingly authentic experience is imbued with irony, since Lucius and Budur both come to realize the unreality of their reveries, which, to Lucius, "doch von großer Freiheit zeugen."[126] They take Antonio's drug, and the expected dream turns into a nightmare. Both he and Budur hallucinate a journey through "underworlds" that contain scenes of decadence. Instead of finding a wealth of meaning, Lucius finds emptiness: "Das Nichts zog in ihn ein mit seiner fürchterlichen Macht und großer Freude, wie in eine Festung, die es lange belagerte."[127] Lucius's disappointment is evinced in his telling remark at the beginning of the hallucination, when he murmurs to Budur, "'Wir müssen weitergehen. Es ist ja auch nur ein Trug, der uns umgibt.'"[128] His remark seems unnecessary, considering that they are obviously within a hallucination both to the reader and diegetically to themselves. This, however, is not a moment of obvious redundancy from Lucius but a realization:

[123] Ibid., 304.
[124] Ibid., 311.
[125] Ibid., 266.
[126] Ibid., 309.
[127] Ibid., 314.
[128] Ibid., 313.

even within a hallucination, which appears real in the moment, Lucius realizes that it is all "nu rein Trug." Waking up from this nightmare, Lucius cries in Budur's arms.

The scene of the "Lorbeernacht" between Lucius and Budur draws heavily on the literary world of French and Austrian authors in the latter half of the nineteenth century and turn of the century. Ernst Keller, for example, has classified *Das abenteuerliche Herz*, *Auf den Marmorklippen*, *Gläserne Bienen*, and *Heliopolis* as works of a late Symbolism.[129] Along with this classification, it is well known that the Symbolist *poètes maudits*, the "accursed poets" unsung and outcast from France's literary establishment, in particular Charles Baudelaire, Paul Verlaine, and Arthur Rimbaud, experimented with drugs such as opium and absinthe, as did Walter Benjamin and several Surrealists.[130] Lucius's experimentation with drugs also reflect Jünger's own lifelong fascination with drugs as a means of new experiences.[131] Drugs also influenced the conception of space in the works of later Symbolist and Viennese Modernist writers. Steffen Arndal notes that among authors such as Robert Musil, Rainer Maria Rilke, Hugo von Hofmannsthal, and Richard Beer-Hofmann, there were often "allerhand merkwürdige und entfremdende Veränderungen der Raumwahrnehmung, die sich auch spontan einstellen können, etwa in besonders emotionalen Zuständen oder auch nur in Ermüdungszuständen sowie unter dem Einfluß von Drogen."[132] Jünger likely based the structure of Heliopolis on the similarly structured

[129] Ernst Keller, *Spuren und Schneisen. Ernst Jünger: Lesarten im 20. Jahrhundert* (Bielefeld: Aisthesis Verlag, 2012), 335.
[130] See Rainer Rumold, *Archaeologies of Modernity: Avant-Garde Bildung* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2015), 219-246.
[131] See for example Ernst Jünger, *Annäherungen: Drogen und Rausch* in *Ernst Jünger. Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 11 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1978). See also Mike Jay, *Mescaline: A Global History of the First Psychedelic* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019), 186ff.
[132] Steffen Arndal, "Robert Musil und der wissenschaftliche Raumdiskurs in Berlin um 1900," in *Robert Musils Drang nach Berlin. Internationales Kolloquium zum 125. Geburtstag des Schriftstellers*, ed. Annette Daigger and Peter Henninger (Bern: Peter Lang, 2008), 118. In Beer-Hofmann's *Der Tod Georgs* (1900), for example, the extended reverie that makes up most of the novel begins with the ingestion of an unnamed drug that takes the perspective of the narrative back in time.

novel *À rebours* by Joris-Karl Huysmans. (*Against Nature* or *Against the Grain*, 1884).[133] *À rebours* revolves around Jean des Esseintes, the novel's only character and the epitome of the late nineteenth-century aesthete, who comes from a once influential noble family but becomes dissatisfied with the boring, superficial life of Paris and retreats to a country house that he furnishes with a collection of paintings and rare books. He then collects the figures and ideas of intellectual history and art, in particular the paintings of Symbolist painter Gustave Moreau. Each chapter contains an account of a different collection, whether physical or intellectual, such as one that contains an exhaustive account of every Latin author up to the Middle Ages, prominent and obscure, and Des Esseintes's orientation toward each, but as a matter of Des Esseintes's own taste.

The entirety of Huysmans's novel meditates on the poles of naturality and artificiality—Des Esseintes goes "against nature" every chance he can. At one point, meditating on his taste for flowers after running through a litany of flower species, he admits to himself that "now he dreamt of collecting another kind of flora: tired of artificial flowers aping real ones, he wanted some natural flowers that would look like fakes."[134] Natural and artificial flowers now have the same effect on Des Esseintes, and artificiality becomes his standard from which simulacra of flowers will be made. Des Esseintes even muses that "artifice was…the distinctive mark of human genius. Nature, he used to say, has had her day; she has finally and utterly exhausted the patience of sensitive observers by the revolting uniformity of her landscapes and skyscapes."[135] Des Esseintes, young and rebellious, intertwines a sense of *épater le bourgeois* into his criticism of nature; it smacks of a generational conflict, as nature had long been the paradigm of poetic beauty in poetry

[133] See Ernst Jünger's diaries, October 23, 1941, March 7, 1945, March 9, 1945, March 18, 1945.
[134] Joris-Karl Huysmans, *Against Nature*, trans. Robert Baldick, ed. Patrick McGuinness (New York: Penguin, 2001), 83.
[135] Ibid., 22.

and art. After all, as Richard Lehan points out, the generation of Modernist writers like Huysmans "subordinated the beauty of nature to the artificial reality of the city. This marked the end of nature as the final source of aesthetic meaning."[136] Like Des Esseintes's tortoise, whose shell he adorns with jewels, nature was to be trumped by a radical artificiality. However, such a youthful rebellion proves to have a short shelf-life. After a long and crippling illness, Des Esseintes finds only a shadow of what he expects to find in these collections. In the end, he must return to Paris, having discovered the emptiness his collections cannot complete.

Compared with Des Esseintes, Lucius is far more lost in the narrative world he must navigate, while Des Esseintes indulges in the world he has created for himself to act as a counter-world to Paris, all while suffering from "neuroses" and nausea. Even so, the narrator notes at one point how Des Esseintes, like Lucius, has also resorted to drugs such as laudanum, opium, and hashish "in the hope of seeing visions."[137] Huysmans was among the authors Jünger read with enthusiasm after the First World War and had a notable influence on the development of several of Jünger's characters.[138] As Kiesel notes: "Die ästhetizistischen Ansprüche der Huysmansschen Helden…bildeten für Jünger gleichsam eine Marke, an der er die Verluste an Genußmöglichkeiten aller Art ablas."[139] Thus, Jünger looked to Des Esseintes as not so much the emblem of the decadent epicure but the herald of its disappearance. Häntzschel as well, in exploring collector characters in literature, has argued that in his novels, Huysmans was a type of "Sammler von Sammlungs-Schilderungen," casting *À rebours* itself as a collection, and notes that Huysmans purposely did not call the book a "novel," since the only novelistic elements occur at the beginning

[136] Richard Lehan, *Literary Modernism and Beyond: The Extended Vision and the Realms of the Text* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2009), 7.
[137] Huysmans, 158.
[138] Cf. Ulrich Prill, *"mir ward Alles Spiel": Ernst Jünger als homo ludens* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2002), 40.
[139] Kiesel, 156.

and end of the text, the rest being a description of collections.[140] Des Esseintes functions as the inspiration behind Lucius because he serves as the paradigm of a subject who searches for beauty in all that he observes, to the point of a radical aestheticization in some instances. Like Des Esseintes, Lucius seeks the reassurance of beauty both in the mastery of collections and in the hallucinations of Antonio's drugs, which, like Des Esseintes, do not satisfy Lucius but only awaken him to the need to escape Heliopolis.

Technology as *Deus ex machina*

Because of the hopelessness of the situation in Heliopolis, Lucius makes the decision to leave Heliopolis. After the Chef relieves him of his duties for having broken protocol and hidden become romantically involved with Budur, Lucius makes one of his final stops at the garden of the author, Ortner. After Lucius speaks with the Chef in the Volière, Ortner appears and discusses Lucius's future with him. When Lucius says to Ortner that he cannot return to his homeland of the Burgenland, Ortner paints an idyllic image of Lucius's future after he leaves Heliopolis:

> "[J]enseits der Hesperiden liegt nicht das Burgenland allein. Sie werden mit der Gefährtin in einer der weißen Inselstädte, die Sie lieben, glücklich sein—in einem der alten Meeresnester, die nie aus dem Mythos herausgetreten sind. Wo Meer und Sonne leuchten, wo Rebe und Ölbaum Früchte tragen, wo selbst die Bettler in königlicher Freiheit leben und wo ein Auge wie das Ihre das Schauspiel faßt, da springen die alten Brunnen noch in unversehrter Frische, da sind die Dinge noch begehrenswert."[141]

[140] Häntzschel., 179. The protagonist of Oscar Wilde's *Picture of Dorian Gray* (1891) notably describes *À rebours* as "a novel without a plot" and "simply a psychological study of a certain young Parisian." Oscar Wilde, *The Picture of Dorian Gray,* in *The Works of Oscar Wilde*, vol. 2 (New York: AMS, 1972), 229.
[141] Jünger, *Heliopolis,* 328.

It is unclear whether Ortner is describing an actual location, a new type of Garden of Eden, or perhaps his conception of heaven. What is clear is that Heliopolis appears hopeless by comparison, despite all of the promise in its collections. When Lucius leaves Ortner's garden, it seems he leaves the construct of nature behind to find another possible way out of Heliopolis.

Lucius experiments with religious faith as a way out of the catastrophe. He again turns to Pater Foelix for guidance: "Der Pater lud ihn auf den Sonntag ins Apiarium ein. Wenn einer hier einen Ausweg wußte, so war es dieser—das fühlte Lucius wohl."[142] In the final instance, Jünger shifts the tone to Christian theological concerns, a move that Jünger's Gnostic interests have overshadowed but nonetheless inform a large part of his fictional work, a shift noticeable during the years of World War II.[143] While in the apiary of Pater Foelix, the priest introduces Lucius to the commandant of a rocket ship named Phares. With Phares and his ship, Lucius will be able to travel to visit the Regent. As Martus points out, some have observed that the name "Phares" is an anagram for "Seraph," the highest order of angel in ancient Judaic theology, an anagram that Jünger later acknowledged.[144] Like an angelic being, Phares has the power to transport Lucius and Budur into the heavens away from Heliopolis in a rocket ship. Martus further questions "ob der Schritt ins Raumschiff…den Schritt 'über die Linie' bedeutet," referring to Jünger's Festschrift to Martin Heidegger *Über die Linie* (1950) written a year later, but the novel imbues the image with sacred imagery: not only does the angelic savior force Phares have the power to assume Lucius and Phares into the heavens, he does so by means of the juggernaut of his rocket ship, which appears in the narrative as a type of technological *deus ex machina*. Thus, the finale of *Heliopolis*

[142] Ibid., 332.
[143] See Rainer Waßner, "Schreiben gegen die Mächte der Zeit: Ernst Jünger und seine Annäherung an das Christentum in den Kriegsjahren," *Stimmen der Zeit* 227, no. 1 (2009): 53-66.
[144] Cf. Martus, 207.

creates a dense nexus of several of Jünger's literary and philosophical interests that developed before the Second World War—technology, theology, collecting, nature, and war.

However, Jünger makes one crucial change in drawing from Huysmans by flipping the move from metropolis to countryside in Huysmans. Whereas Des Esseintes escapes Paris to an idyllic setting in a country house, Lucius leaves the idyllic setting of the Hesperiden to spend most of the novel in a city—but only with the wish to return to the Hesperiden. At the culmination of Huysmans's novel, Des Esseintes, at the end of his rope in search for meaning in his collections, gives himself up to the only hope he can find, God himself: "Ah! but my courage fails me, and my heart is sick within me!—Lord, take pity on the Christian who doubts, on the unbeliever who would fain believe, on the galley-slave of life who puts out to sea alone, in the night, beneath a firmament no longer lit by the consoling beacon-fires of ancient hope!"[145] Abandoning the natural but sick of the artificial, Des Esseintes turns to the divine in hopes of divine intervention into his depression. And as Des Esseintes turns to God, Lucius turns to technology. Des Esseintes's turn to God builds a coincidental historical parallel not only to Huysmans's later character Durtal, who gradually converts to Catholicism throughout the novel cycle from *Là-bas* (*Down There*, 1891) to *L'Oblat* (*The Oblate*, 1903), and to Huysmans himself, who lived the last years of his life as a lay Benedictine oblate, but to Jünger himself, who entered the Catholic Church at age 100 after a lifelong interest in Catholicism. The end of *Heliopolis* does not suggest a religious conversion to

[145] Huysmans, 204.

any orthodox faith from Lucius but to a faith in the burgeoning salvific power of technology[146] as a response to the loss of contact with nature that Jünger's later works lament. The narrator finally adds an eschatological dimension to the soteriology of the final scene, stating that it will take Lucius and Budur twenty-five years to return to Heliopolis but, in an atypical moment for the text, extradiegetically acknowledges the audience in the last line of the novel: "Uns aber liegen diese Tage fern."[147] Lucius and Budur may leave, but the audience cannot leave until a savior like Lucius comes to rescue it. Jünger's post-war audience still finds itself stuck in Heliopolis. The moment of delving back into a more authentic form of nature untainted by war and destruction lies far off. This is the existential dilemma at the end of *Heliopolis*, that the two present elements—unabashed artifice in the rocket ship and nature in the destination where the ship will take Lucius and Budur—compete to negotiate the meaning that lies beyond *Heliopolis* in Jünger's oeuvre.

Conclusion

Heliopolis develops a phenomenology of collections as a response to the necessity of an account of the quotidian in the aftermath of a real catastrophe. Because of the novel's phenomenological approach to collecting and the established connection between the psychology of cultural neuroses and collecting, it can be said that the *Heliopolis* not only depicts collections but also itself collects fragments of Ernst Jünger's own memory, which the novel concretizes in

[146] Jünger's proximity to strains of the Futurist movement is too broad in scope for the current study, but the addition of a technological element that simultaneously saves Lucius recalls a certain Futurist emphasis on the necessity of technology for the future. See for example Fernando Esposito's unique take on the importance of aviation and flight metaphors in twentieth-century fascist movements in Europe. Fernando Esposito, *Fascism, Aviation and Mythical Modernity*, trans. Patrick Camiller (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015). This is also significant in that Jünger's next novel-length fictional work, *Gläserne Bienen*, deals with the theme of technology extensively compared to *Heliopolis* or *Eumeswil*. There has also been significant speculation in scholarship whether the name Phares, the commandant of the rocket ship, may be an anagram of the word *Seraph*, the six-winged angels ranked highest in the order of Christian angelology. In this interpretation, Phares acts as an angel lifting Lucius up to his salvation. See Martus, 207.

[147] Jünger, *Heliopolis*., 343. Emphasis added.

the geographic features of the Pagos. The symbolic levels of the Pagos reflect aspects of Jünger's life: the military school connects the text with his literary engagement with war, the Museion with the recent history of destruction in the war, Pater Foelix's monastic residence with his lifelong interest in Christian asceticism,[148] and Pater Foelix's apiary with his proclivity for entomology. Even the catacombs reflect Jünger's arguable turn against technology in the years after 1945: "Das war das Klima, in dem in den Schluchten des Pagos ein Totenstaat entstanden war. Er stellte das dunkle Gegengewicht zum städtischen Leben und seinen flüchtigen Zielen dar. Hier residierte die Grundmacht, die dem Fortschritt entgegengetreten war."[149] One may even argue that this contrast captures the machinations of all of Jünger's works of fiction, which participate in a balancing act between the heritage of nature and the advantages of technology and, simultaneously form a socio-historical perspective, owe a debt to the conflicting back-to-nature movements of the early twentieth century and the fetishization of technological and scientific advancement. The catacombs reflect these tensions: they do not simply store remains but answer the metropolis with a necropolis. Wolfgang Bergsdorf acknowledges a self-reflexivity in Lucius throughout the novel and observes that "[d]as Romanganze bildet sich dabei noch einmal im Protagonisten ab."[150] In addition, however, *Heliopolis* stages Jünger's lifelong collecting both in the alter ego of Lucius de Geer and in the voices and collections of Heliopolis. The self-reflexivity of the novel yet again takes *Heliopolis* back to Baudrillard's perspective on the system of objects as a projection of the psyche; collected objects are the "mental precincts over which I hold sway, they become things of which I am the meaning."[151] Every collection reflects the psyche of its collector; the collector

[148] Kiesel, 669.
[149] Jünger, *Heliopolis*, 178.
[150] Wolfgang Bergsdorf, "Über den abnehmenden Utopiebedarf der Postmoderne," in *Magie der Heiterkeit: Ernst Jünger zum Hundertsten*, ed. Günter Figal and Heimo Schwilk (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1995), 208.
[151] Baudrillard, *The System of Objects*, 91. Furthermore: "For what you really collect is always yourself." Ibid., 97.

projects himself on the objects he collects. But the fragility of the relation between collector and collection, between *Heliopolis* and its author, does not mean that Jünger condemned collecting, as the author himself continued to collect long after the publication of *Heliopolis*. Despite its pessimistic view of museums, the novel still inherently values collecting as something that one should protect in times of catastrophe but also that the tension—and indeed the beauty and the core of meaning—in collections themselves derive from the ever-looming possibility of their destruction.

Despite the fact that the collections presented in *Heliopolis* have a primary role in its phenomenological inquiry into collecting, the metacognitive level of the publication of the text also takes part in this phenomenology. Although Jünger's style drastically changed beginning in the 1930s, he still did not change the approach to writing from the early war books to *Heliopolis*; the purpose of each book was to construct a repeatable experience for the reader rather than present the comedy or tragedy of a protagonist. *Heliopolis*, too, functions as a synthesized experience of the possibility of colliding principle which one can enter into or exit at will, just as Lucius enters and leaves Heliopolis in the course of the novel. Here, the physicality of the novel deserves a final look back to Jünger's collecting practices. As a collection, *Heliopolis* functions like the *studiolo* that was Jünger's insect collection at his house in Wilflingen. Like the *studiolo*, the insect collection functioned both as a cosmos of its own and an escape from the contingencies of the cosmos. As Blom points out about the walls of the *studiolo*, they "both shut out and represented the outside world with their symbolic order of things."[152] Like the collector in his *studiolo,* Jünger confronts his own sovereignty as collector in the project of *Heliopolis*. This is why *Heliopolis* can be read as autobiographical but only insofar as it functions as a literary collection of Jünger's own

[152] Blom, 18.

symbolic representation of collecting; the diegetic world both represents a cosmos in itself and a turn away from the catastrophes that man wreak. *Heliopolis* is furthermore a museum of the experiences and memories of Jünger-as-collector during the war, a museum to be observed and from which to learn. Yet still contrarily, as Baudrillard notes, "even when a collection transforms itself into a discourse addressed to others, it continues to be first and foremost a discourse addressed to oneself."[153]

Contrary to its reception in scholarship, *Heliopolis* represents both an attempt at *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*, as it utilizes the recent atrocities of World War II, and an instance of inquiry into the question of collecting and the fate of nature in catastrophe. On the surface, *Heliopolis* tells the story of a protagonist who enters into the metropolis in order to find nature and discovers the concept of nature caving in on itself. In addition, the novel embeds itself in traditional forms of collections and displays a particular consciousness of the legacy of the Early Modern period and its heritage of collecting and the natural sciences in the West. But on a more profound level, the *Heliopolis* itself, as a product of his long literary production, collects "Jünger" himself, that is elements of his personality broken up in literary representation. Moreover, text presents this precarious, allegorical reclaiming of the collector's consciousness in abstract ways recalling the literary tradition of the idyll: Lucius leaves the idyllic realm beyond the Hesperiden and is compelled to find nature in Heliopolis, and even as he visits idyllic locations like the Pagos, Vinho del Mar, and Castelmarino, the reader of *Heliopolis* should not remain complacent with this collection or its reliability, since the dialectic of self-destruction looms behind each paradise. Even with the added element of drugs, Lucius cannot escape new horrors prepared for him, let alone the horrifying collections he encounters. *Heliopolis* has less to say about the actual collections

[153] Baudrillard, *The System of Objects*, 111.

themselves but looks to the act of collecting as a paradigm of in Jünger's world, the threat of museumification of society and, lastly, the cultural skill of writing. Beyond the instability of the fictional Heliopolis, and of the environment that produced the novel, lies the seemingly tangible—yet ultimately intangible and artificial—state, something that could guarantee a sense of wholeness and connectedness, but which remains, in fact, out of reach: a complete version of Jünger, of the collector whose collection—as the author's indefatigable daily writings indicate—displays its own incompleteness.

Chapter 3

Hyperreal Challenges to Mimesis in *Gläserne Bienen*

Nature has always resisted being mediated. No other concept feigns its independence from representation with such great tenacity. Nature is perceived as the opposite of culture, that is, as pure, untamed, and, hence, as "real." In its many forms and depictions, however, nature is the epitome of "mediated immediacy"—a concept that arouses our imagination through paintings, words, and depictions by denying its mediated status.[226] Even the accurate imitation of nature in art and literature, mimesis,[227] presupposes that "nature" itself cannot be part of diegesis, the building of a world that only exists in our mind with the help of words. Even in texts such as Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) and Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* (1899)—works that Ernst Jünger read in his early years[228]—when supposed "beasts" and "savages" found in nature threaten its ideal status, this status as a paradisaical space is largely retained and often functions as a sounding board for a protagonist's introspection. As such enclosed and idealized spaces, either "wild" and threatening or gentle and idyllic, depictions of nature in art and literature came to make the claims of the later nineteenth-century concept of *l'art pour l'art* long before the concept's fruition. *L'art pour l'art*, usually attributed to French writer Théophile Gautier but also to Swiss-French writer Benjamin Constant,[229] entailed an orientation toward art that no longer attempted to pretend to have a stake in anything that was not aesthetically represented and that, hence, began to

[226] Cf. Christoph Zeller, *Ästhetik des Authentischen* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 1-22.
[227] The term *mimesis* has several definitions within literary criticism and art history. As Matthew Potolsky points out, "Mimesis can be said to imitate a dizzying array of originals: nature, truth, beauty, mannerisms, actions, situations, examples, ideas." Cf. Matthew Potolsky, *Mimesis* (London: Routledge, 2006), 1. Erich Auerbach, for example, examines the uses of mimesis in fiction in terms of the realism of a work of fiction, that is, its capacity to imitate "real" life. See Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, trans. Willard R. Trask (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1974). The definition of mimesis employed in this chapter primarily reflects the Platonic and Aristotelian definitions, that of an imitation of the natural world. Cf. Potolsky, 92ff.
[228] Helmuth Kiesel, *Ernst Jünger. Die Biographie* (Munich: Siedler Verlag, 2009), 42, 622.
[229] Cf. Mercedes Montoro Araque, *Gautier, au carrefour de l'âme romantique et décadente* (New York: Peter Lang, 2018), 310-327; Roy Harris, *The Great Debate About Art* (Chicago: Prickly Paradigm Press, 2010), 2.

display its own mediality. Furthermore, its circulation paved the way for avant-garde artists such as French poet Stéphane Mallarmé: instead of a book making the world more "beautiful," Mallarmé once claimed, "the world is made to end up in a beautiful book."[230] Rather than drawing the reader's attention to social ills and ethical issues, such as the adherents to the Naturalism movement of the late nineteenth century aspired to do, within this strain of the French avant-garde, writing as "art for art's sake" presupposed the creation of a type of a simulacrum within the space of the text, a space in which the political, social, and ethical would be ancillary to a work's aesthetic value in a type of aesthetic teleology.[231] Indeed, T.J. Clark has described *l'art pour l'art* as "a myth designed to counter the insistent politicization of art."[232]

The purpose of such a doctrine as *l'art pour l'art*, however, was not without predecessors. Some of the more salient representations of a claimed space of pure aestheticism in Western art and literature since the Renaissance have been specific tropes of nature, such as the idyll, the island, and the garden. As applied to literary and artistic depictions of nature, *l'art pour l'art* encapsulates the simultaneous beauty and potential problem of common tropes of nature, too: they claim an enclosed, static space in which everything is meant to be beautiful, while unaware—or perhaps with deliberate ignorance of the fact—that the choice to divorce art from politics and

[230] Quoted and translated in Frederic Chase St. Aubyn, *Stéphane Mallarmé* (New York: Twayne, 1969), 23. See Ernst Jünger, *Das erste Pariser Tagebuch*, in *Ernst Jünger. Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 2 (Stuttgart: Kletta-Cotta, 2015), 250, which indicates Jünger's familiarity with Mallarmé's poetry. For further connections between Jünger and Symbolism, cf. for instance Michael Hofmann, introduction to *Storm of Steel*, by Ernst Jünger, trans. Michael Hofmann with a foreword by Karl Marlantes, (New York: Penguin Books, 2016), xxiv. Cf. also Günter Figal, "Ernst Jünger, Baudelaire und die Modernität," *Revue de littérature comparée* 71, no. 4 (1997): 501-508. See also Nicole A. Thesz, "Farbenspiele: Der Symbolismus in Jüngers 'Auf den Marmorklippen,'" *German Life and Letters* 34, no. 2 (2001): 145-161.

[231] In the twentieth century, Walter Benjamin would later describe *l'art pour l'art* as "eine Theologie der Kunst" developed by writers like Mallarmé as a response to the rise of photography in the nineteenth century. Cf. Walter Benjamin, "Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit," Zweite Fassung, in *Walter Benjamin. Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 1, no. 2, ed. Rolf Tiedemann and Hermann Schweppenhäuser (Suhrkamp: Frankfurt am Main, 1974), 481.

[232] T.J. Clark, *Image of the People: Gustave Courbet and the 1848 Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 10.

ethics is, in itself, one that has inherent political and ethical consequences. The inherently apolitical nature of art for art's sake creates a peculiar constellation in such a political figure as Ernst Jünger. From the very beginning of his career as an author, Jünger repeatedly grappled with rigid objectivity and militancy on the one hand and avant-garde tendencies of *l'art pour l'art* on the other hand.[233] Although himself sometimes accused of creating *l'art pour l'art*,[234] Jünger—much in the vein of contemporaneous Marxist intellectuals—also wrote off the doctrine in 1932's *Der Arbeiter. Herrschaft und Gestalt* as a product of the previous generation's liberalism and further deemed it useless for his generation to effect change in German society.[235] But, his criticism of *l'art pour l'art* arguably represented an exception, rather than a rule, to his oeuvre. As far back as his war books of the 1920s, Jünger had adopted the concept of nature as an aesthetic sieve through which everything could be filtered, absorbed, and comprehended, most notably the incomprehensible, alienating violence of the First World War: since war was a manifestation of the natural world, it was not to be understood as anything extraordinary.

However, later in the 1940s with *Heliopolis*, Jünger began to question the efficacy of manifestations of nature as enclosed spaces, such as can be seen in the novel's collections. The

[233] For example, commenting on the conception of *In Stahlgewittern*, Kiesel notes: "So ist zum einen zu berücksichtigen, daß um 1919 zwei Stilpostulate miteinander konkurrierten: das expressionistische, das zur syntaktischen Ballung und semantischen Emphase drängte, und das der einsetzenden 'Sachlichkeit', das eine Entpoetisierung des Ausdrucks verlangte." Kiesel, *Ernst Jünger. Die Biographie*, 213. Bernd Stiegler describes *Die veränderte Welt: Eine Bilderfibel unserer Zeit* (1933), a book of images edited by Edmund Schulz with a foreword from Jünger, as "eine diagnostische anti-avantgardistische 'Bilderfibel', die fast ohne Text auskommt und eine konservative Montagetechnik zu etablieren sucht." Bernd Stiegler, "Herausgeberschaften 1926-1933," in *Ernst Jünger Handbuch. Leben – Werk – Wirkung*, ed. Matthias Schöning (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2014), 86. See also Alexander Honold, "Die Kunst, unter der Taucherglocke zu hören. Ernst Jüngers soldatische Avantgarde," *Zeitschrift für Germanistik* 8 (1998): 43-64, and Helmuth Kiesel, "Gab es einen 'rechten' Avantgardismus? Eine Anmerkung zu Klaus von Beymes 'Zeitalter der Avantgarden,'" in *Die Politik in der Kunst und die Kunst in der Politik*, ed. Ariane Hellinger, Barbara Waldkirch, Elisabeth Buchner, and Helge Batt (Wiesbaden: Springer, 2013), 111f.

[234] Upon reading the pro-war collection *Krieg und Krieger* (1930), a collection edited by Jünger, both Carl Schmitt and Walter Benjamin famously criticized him for having applied *l'art pour l'art* to a war that had destroyed an entire generation of men—World War I—and thus for supporting "war for war's sake."

[235] Cf. Ernst Jünger, *Der Arbeiter: Herrschaft und Gestalt*, in *Ernst Jünger. Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 10 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015), 212.

collections of *Heliopolis* embody the tension between an ultimate aestheticization of everything and the safe space that nature promises, a response undoubtedly connected to the recent destruction of the Second World War. Even so, the collections of *Heliopolis* contain within themselves the threat of their own destruction and, thus, presuppose their own precarity: collections of bones in the catacombs of the Pagos region, which preserve the memory of those who have died, can easily turn into a collection of skulls and shrunken heads that poses ethical questions in the hands of the proto-fascist *Landvogt*. Thus, rather than incorporating the war at hand into his own schema of nature, as he had with his experiences of the First World War, Jünger constructs new spaces of nature within the representation of the Second World War and its subsequent destruction as shown in *Heliopolis*.

Moreover, Jünger's literary production well into the second half of the twentieth century is striking in the way it grappled with, almost to an anachronistic degree, the debate between pure aestheticism on the one hand and literature with a sociopolitical purpose on the other hand, a tension that had resulted from debates between Naturalist and avant-garde writers of the late nineteenth century.[236] Jünger had wavered on both sides of this debate throughout his writing career and personal life. A look into the author's personal life reveals a figure constantly preoccupied with the preservation of nature, specifically by preserving and mounting beetle specimens in his collection of thousands of beetles. Jünger's early writing on war also evinces a subject alienated by the infringement of technology on the manifestation of nature in war. But, in the 1930s, Jünger was already challenging this technophobic stance, stating for example in *Der Arbeiter*: "Technik und Natur sind keine Gegensätze—werden sie so empfunden, so ist dies ein

[236] For an analysis of the debates between figures in the Naturalism movement and the avant-garde in France, see Rosemary Lloyd, "Realism, Naturalism, and Symbolism in France," in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism, Vol. 6. The Nineteenth Century, c. 1830-1914*, ed. M.A.R. Habib, 293-312 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

Zeichen dafür, daß das Leben nicht in Ordnung ist."[237] In *Gläserne Bienen*, Jünger again takes up the theme of a disorder in life resulting from the relationship of technology and nature. Not only this, *Gläserne Bienen* also stages the debate between purely aesthetic and sociopolitical literature; that is, the ethics of technology innovation against its sheer "beauty" as an end in itself. The novel's protagonist, Richard, is a former Prussian cavalryman down on his luck, unemployed, and someone "mit defaitischen Neigungen."[238] Through the intercession of his former war comrades, Richard gains an interview with Giacomo Zapparoni, a powerful industrialist who has become a household name in Richard's society. The stress of the interview causes Richard flashback to his military days, and he often ruminates on how difficult it has been for him and his comrades, whom Elliot Y. Neaman calls "losers in unmartial times,"[239] to adjust to the technologization and industrialization of their world. The majority of the plot of *Gläserne Bienen* revolves around Richard's job interview, a dialogue that represents a colliding of principles: the cavalry's past glory and culture of comradery with the new, comfortable lifestyle in the world of industry and an increasingly anti-aristocratic working world based on technological advances. Even so, as the novel goes on to show, both principles derive from each character's orientation toward concepts of nature that have been highly mediated by representations in art and literature. In an illuminating transposition of literary tropes of nature and art for art's sake onto the sphere of industrial development, *Gläserne Bienen* presents the world of technology as highly aestheticized, while also confronting the question of nature's fate within that very world.

When continuing the discourse on collecting and the dichotomy of *naturalia* and *artificialia* from *Heliopolis*, *Gläserne Bienen* decisively shifts from identifying representations of

[237] Jünger, *Der Arbeiter*, 207.
[238] Ernst Jünger, *Gläserne Bienen*, in *Ernst Jünger. Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 18 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015), 476.
[239] Elliot Y. Neaman, *A Dubious Past: Ernst Jünger and the Politics of Literature After Nazism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 200.

nature to the sphere of technology as the space par excellence of art for art's sake. The world of technology, represented by Zapparoni, becomes like a "second nature" in *Gläserne Bienen*;[240] the novel thus questions the future of nature—which, in art and literature, has had a veritable monopoly on representing the notion of self-referential art—in a society where technology seems to be taking on the same claims of immediacy as nature has so often asserted. *Gläserne Bienen* confronts the role of a technology that threatens to replace nature in Richard's environment, but perhaps more importantly, it explores the idea that technology, instead of replacing nature outright, now mediates and appropriates those processes of nature in an act of phantasmagoria that hides the "original": "glass bees" now seem to usurp their organic predecessors. *Gläserne Bienen* initially seems to argue that in a hyper-technological age, we can experience nature only through artificial means. As its ending shows, however, artificiality disappears, and the poles of nature and technology begin to collapse into each other. By questioning the relation of naturality and artificiality, of real and fake, *Gläserne Bienen* thus results from a hyperreal conception of nature, saving nature only by admitting its collapse into the medium of writing—the original technology of the literary imagination.

Issues of Genre in *Gläserne Bienen*

Due to the timing of its publication, *Gläserne Bienen* occupies a unique position in the literary landscape of the late 1950s, and its problem of genre, rather than a trivial attempt at classification, is crucial to understanding the long phenomenology of nature that Jünger develops

[240] There has been considerable scholarship on the idea that technology has become a new, second form of nature, most notably in Hans Jonas, *Das Prinzip Verantwortung: Versuch einer Ethik für die technologische Zivilisation* (Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag, 1980 [1979]) and Jean-François Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, trans. Geoff Bennington and Brian Massumi, with a foreword by Fredric Jameson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010 [1979]). See also Timothy W. Luke, "Technology," in *Critical Environmental Politics*, ed. Carl Death, 267-276 (London: Routledge, 2014).

in his oeuvre. For one, *Gläserne Bienen* confronts the question of the relationship of technology and nature with use of depictions of improbable technology. Within the discourses on nature and technology in *Gläserne Bienen*, *Heliopolis,* and the later *Eumeswil,* one cannot go without preliminarily addressing the plot devices and elements in all three works considered here that are reminiscent of the genre of science fiction. Peter Uwe Hohendahl, for example, has noted how, in particular, Jünger's later works of fiction shift to a science fiction style,[241] a genre which typically includes elements such as dystopian societies, extraterrestrial life, time travel, outer-space exploration, and both improbable and impossible technological devices but which, regardless, is difficult to define.[242] In *Heliopolis* and *Eumeswil*, several characters use a "Phonophor" (Gr. *phōnḗ*, "sound" and *-phóros,* "bearing") which can pinpoint the user's location and report weather conditions, resembling the smartphones that later appeared in the early twenty-first century. In *Eumeswil,* the protagonist frequently uses the "Luminar," a database resembling microfilm, into which users can scan records—a foretaste of the actual development of the Internet.[243]

However, such representations of technology, which are arguably exaggerated to contrast with the depictions of nature in said works, are not external additions from Jünger but inherent to the discourse on nature and technology that is a common thread in Jünger's writings. The foundations of later exaggerated forms of improbable technology can already be observed from Jünger's very first publications. In a 1977 interview, Jünger addresses the contemporaneous

[241] See Peter Uwe Hohendahl, "The Future as Past: Jünger's Post-war Narrative Prose," *The Germanic Review: Literature, Culture, Theory* 88, no. 3 (2013): 248-259.
[242] On the problems of defining "science fiction," cf. Andrew Milner, *Locating Science Fiction* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2012): 22-40.
[243] Detlev Schöttker, "Adnoten zu 'Gläserne Bienen,'" in Ernst Jünger, *Gläserne Bienen* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2014), 145.

relation between war—which the Jünger of the 1920s had characterized as a manifestation of nature—and the war technology of the twentieth century:

> [Man sagt,] man führt heute Krieg, aber das stimmt auch nicht mehr. Das stimmt nur für die Wirklichkeit des klassischen Krieges, über den wir längst hinaus sind. Der Techniker hat heute die Oberhand gewonnen. Krieg wird vielleicht noch geführt, ja, an irgendwelchen Grenzen, in Naturschutzparks quasi. […] Im Ersten Weltkriege hat dann der Techniker mit seiner Maschinenwelt, vor allen Dingen durch die Einführung der Panzer und anderer Waffen, hat schon gewaltigste Obermacht gewonnen. Und die Materialschlacht…war eigentlich der Versuch des Kriegers, diese Sache doch noch zu bewältigen. Ich muss leider sagen, dass wir damit gescheitert sind.[244]

The loss of the aesthetic experience of the "classic" war of which Jünger speaks, and the war's difference from the *Iliad* so often in the back of Jünger's—and his generation's—mind when entering the war, is revealed in the First World War's lack of visibility on the battlefield. Describing new methods of warfare, historian David S. Mason notes that in World War I, "[i]n the end, some eight million soldiers were killed in the war, and probably only one in ten saw the man who killed him."[245] This change in visibility was not merely a change in form, however, but a radical redefinition of what it had meant for a man to be brave in battle. For observers like Jünger, the technology and techniques of the war had made a mockery of the concept of a soldier's bravery, which had been based on a now outdated presumption of hand-to-hand combat. These later sentiments from Jünger strongly contrast with his war memoir *In Stahlgewittern* (1920),

[244] *Ich widerspreche mir nicht: Ernst Jünger*, dir. Walter Rüdel (Mainz: ZDF, 1977).
[245] David S. Mason, *A Concise History of Modern Europe: Liberty, Equality, Solidarity* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), 109.

interpreted by some scholars and critics as a rewrite of the *Iliad*.[246] A conspicuous characteristic of the memoir is the role that modern weaponry plays in its narrative of battle scenes and war duties. Undoubtedly as a response to the aforementioned inability to see the enemy in the trenches, Jünger incorporates the enemy's bombardments into his personal mythology of the "Titanen,"[247] the chthonic gods of technology that have risen up to fight against the higher gods of the twentieth century, into his retrospectives on the war, as can be seen in 1923's *Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis*: "Manchmal senkten [eiserne Geschwader] sich jäh aus ihrer Steilheit, und ihre schrille Kurve ertrank in Explosion, zackigen Fetzen und lehmigem Gepolter. Da warf sich alles nieder, bang und betäubt wie vor einer allmächtigen Gottheit."[248] Due to the disproportionate role of weapons technology in warfare, then, Jünger increasingly characterizes the wars of the twentieth century in terms of a proto-science-fiction conflict between man and machine, where the machine seems to take on a life and mind of its own. Nevertheless, although containing elements of the genre, Jünger did not present the early war books explicitly as works of science fiction; rather, like the ancient Greek gods who mock the free will of mythology's human characters, Jünger transposes Olympus to the sphere of invisible weaponry and bombardment observed in combat.

In addition to the more overt elements of science fiction in the text, the content and timing of publication of *Gläserne Bienen* historically appeared after greater trends of the "Golden Age of

[246] There are undoubtedly influences from the *Iliad* in Jünger. Both *In Stahlgewittern* and *Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis* are arguably based on the model of the *Iliad*: the Great War, as described by Jünger, was not only a fight between Germans, Frenchmen, and Englishmen but also of helpless man in the trenches against the "gods" of new weapons technology: machine guns, tanks, shells, and airplanes. See Heimo Schwilk, *Ernst Jünger – Ein Jahrhundertleben* (Munich: Piper Verlag, 2001), 215, and Kiesel, *Ernst Jünger. Die Biographie*, 185.
[247] See for example Olaf Schröter, "Von den 'Titanen' zur 'Titanic': Der Titanenmythos bei Friedrich Georg und Ernst Jünger," in *Titan Technik: Ernst und Friedrich Georg Jünger über das technische Zeitalter*, ed. Friedrich Strack (Würzburg: Königsmann & Neuhausen, 2000): 243-254.
[248] Jünger, *Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis*, in *Ernst Jünger. Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 9 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015), 27.

Science Fiction" from the 1940s to the 1960s.[249] Harro Segeberg argues that we should assign *Gläserne Bienen* "weder zur metaphysischen *Science fiction*…noch zur allzu verrätselten Parabel eines Autors 'der uns heute nicht mehr sehr viel zu sagen hat.'"[250] While Segeberg does attempt to maintain a balanced view of the text, he also acknowledges that Jünger appropriates the model of pop dystopian/utopian novels as a vehicle for its discourse on nature and technology. Even so, a look into Jünger's library of over 13,000 titles also shows that at the time of his death, Jünger owned none of the works of Golden Age science fiction nor of the "New Wave" of the 1960s to 1970s and only a handful of obscure publications which could be considered science fiction. This gap, in turn, implies that the presence of undoubtedly science fiction elements observable in Jünger's own works trace their origin not to the discourses compelling international trends at the time but to the discourses inherent to his oeuvre itself. Jünger's later novels are not pure "science fiction" nor developed from the debates in Golden Age texts prompted by historical events at the time, such as the development of cybernetics and the threat of nuclear war; rather, they retain science fiction elements that result from a long discourse on nature—rather than on technology—influenced by Jünger's own orientation to collecting both in his writings and in his personal life. This observation is crucial to an analysis of *Gläserne Bienen* against the background of its reception as one of Jünger's written responses to debates on technology; rather, it must be understood as an entry in Jünger's literary phenomenology of nature.

[249] See for example Adam Roberts, "Golden Age SF: 1940-1960," in *The History of Science Fiction*, 2nd ed., 287-331 (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016); Malisa Kurtz, "After the War, 1945-65," in *Science Fiction: A Literary History*, ed. Roger Lockhurst, 130-156 (London: The British Library, 2017). The English novelist George Orwell, in fact, is the only prominent English-language author of Golden Age science fiction whom Jünger mentions in his diaries. See Ernst Jünger, *Siebzig verweht II*, in *Ernst Jünger. Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 5 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015), 374; *Siebzig verweht III*, in *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 6 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015), 183, 570; *Siebzig verweht V* in *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 7 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015), 535.

[250] Harro Segeberg, "Ernst Jüngers 'Gläserne Bienen' als 'Frage nach der Technik,'" in *Titan Technik*, 219.

Technology and Precarity

One of the inherent characteristics of technological development, particularly beginning in the nineteenth century, has been the ephemerality of technological devices: they are constantly under the threat of becoming obsolete with each new innovation. *Gläserne Bienen* opens by describing the precarious position of its protagonist, Richard, who is identified with the Prussian military title "Rittmeister." The opening sentence of the novel emphasizes his reliance on others for financial support: "Wenn es uns schlecht ging, mußte Twinnings einspringen."[251] The Rittmeister Richard has seen his glory days and now must learn how to function in a post-Prussian, post-imperial, and post-chivalrous world. He is also disillusioned by the loss of aesthetic experience of combat, and the life of his generation is boring: "Man hockt in den Cafés, solange noch Kleingeld da ist, dann sitzt man herum und starrt Löcher in die Luft. Die Pechsträhne wollte nicht aufhören."[252] He is married but is under increasing pressure from his wife to find employment, and his options are dwindling. It is up to Richard's limited social network, that of his former comrades, to intercede for him. While he notes that "die ganze Misere kam von meiner Bequemlichkeit,"[253] he also connects his plight to his status as a veteran, pointing out that "für alte Soldaten waren die Zeiten schlecht."[254] With this description of Richard's situation, the novel sets up the initial stakes of its narrative. If Richard secures employment, he can regain some of the shadow of his former life. In the opening descriptions, the text also begins to construct the affect that Richard's recollections evoke throughout the novel. Early on, in a type of inner monologue, Richard recalls his experiences from war and traces how he has gotten to the point of unemployment, stating for example: "Wir hatten noch die schöne, bunte Montur getragen, auf die

[251] Jünger, *Gläserne Bienen*, 423.
[252] Ibid.
[253] Ibid., 431.
[254] Ibid., 425.

wir stolz waren und die weithin leuchtete. Doch sahen wir keinen Gegner mehr. Wir wurden von unsichtbaren Schützen aus großer Entfernung aufs Korn genommen und aus dem Sattel geholt. Wenn wir sie erreichten, fanden wir sie in Drähte eingesponnen, die den Pferden die Fesseln zerschnitten und über die kein Sprung hinwegführte. Das war das Ende der Reiterei. Wir mußten absitzen."[255] Although Richard and his comrades were valiant cavalrymen in former days, it was all too little, too late. Jünger seems to base Richard's experiences on the experiences of soldiers in the First World War and their initial disillusionment by the war of attrition they found. Richard's memories of war reflect this disillusionment. Prepared to fight valiantly face-to-face, Richard highlights the aforementioned lack of visibility between combatants that was so characteristic of the Great War. Like the narrative voice of Jünger's early war books, Richard and his comrades feel robbed of the experience of looking the enemy in the eye and, instead, of falling prey to "unsichtbaren Schützen," likely referring to combatants using the long-distance advantage of machine guns or shells. Not only has the glory of Richard's former uniform and steed been lost, but the novelty of the war has taken away even the thrill of seeing one's killer face-to-face and forced soldiers into "cowardly" invisibility. The loss of visibility in combat thus gave rise to a lessening of the aesthetic value of combat.

Moreover, in *Gläserne Bienen*, Jünger connects the image of horses used by cavalrymen with the aesthetic value of combat. From the beginning, the text identifies the purposelessness that Richard feels in his life with that of the ostensibly obsolete status of horses in the novel's undefined future era. Horses—and by implication, traditional warriors—become both the real and metaphorical victims of trench warfare. *Gläserne Bienen* augments the feeling of Richard's precarity by analogizing his fate and that of the horse, and it does this in Darwinian terms: as the

[255] Ibid., 462.

horse has been the victim of the invention of the automobile, so too has his generation been the victim of "unsichtbaren Schützen," that is, of a technologized world in which he and his generation are increasingly useless. Richard and the horse are existentially similar: there is just as much a threat that Richard will go extinct as there is for the horse. This fear is characterized by the fact that Richard acknowledges an existential "break" between horses and the invention of the automobile, which is the reason for his angst. At one point, he observes:

> Es war freilich auch ein Unterschied gewesen, ob man etwa unter Heinrich IV., Ludwig XIII. oder Ludwig XIV. gedient hatte. Aber man hatte doch immer zu Pferde gedient. Nun sollten diese herrlichen Tiere aussterben. Sie verschwanden von den Feldern und Straßen, aus den Dörfern und Städten, und längst hatte man sie nicht mehr beim Angriff gesehen. Überall wurden sie durch Automaten ersetzt. […] Doch manchmal hörte ich noch das Alte wie den Klang der Trompete im ersten Sonnenstrahl und wie das Wiehern der Pferde, das die Herzen erzittern ließ. Das ist vorbei.[256]

From a psychological perspective, it becomes apparent that Richard is not contemplating the dying out of horses but his and his generation's own decline as a "species." Here, Richard is already confronting the fact that, just as the horse was replaced by an automaton (the automobile), Richard

[256] Ibid., 442. Some have interpreted Jünger's views on technology through the lens of media theory, most notably Friedrich Kittler's *Grammophon Film Typewriter*. See Stephen Sale, "Mobilization or distraction? Friedrich Kittler's Media Theoretical Reading of Ernst Jünger," *Journal of War & Culture Studies* 3, no. 2 (2010): 201-213. and it can be argued that Richard's nostalgia about horses in *Gläserne Bienen* and his remarks about how Ariosto lamented the invention of gunpowder reflect Marshall McLuhan's idea that new mediums, like the printing press, create new modes of living that trump whatever information may have been transferred through them (*Gläserne Bienen*, 468; cf. Ernst Jünger, *Eine gefährliche Begegnung. Zweite Fassung* in *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 21 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta: 2015), 485: "Diese Monarchisten ohne König, Grandseigneurs…lebten in einer unwirklich gewordenen Welt wie die Ritter nach der Erfindung des Schießpulvers."). See for example Tim Gough, "Are We So Sure It's Not Architecture?" in *Architecture and Culture* 4, no. 1 (2016): 9-29. See also Bernd Stiegler's connection of the "Blinkstift" in *Eumeswil* to McLuhan's *Gutenberg Galaxy* (1962): Bernd Stiegler, "Technische Innovation und literarische Imagination: Ernst Jüngers narrative Technikvisionen in *Heliopolis*, *Eumeswil* und *Gläserne Bienen*," in *Ernst Jünger und die Bundesrepublik: Ästhetik – Politik – Zeitgeschichte*, ed. Matthias Schöning and Ingo Stöckmann (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012), 299.

also stands to be replaced by some form of automation. As Bernd Stiegler argues, horses denote the transition from the old world to the new for Richard, suggesting not a quantitative change in the amount of horses in the streets but the qualitative change to the technology of transportation[257]: automobiles held the promise of faster transportation and less upkeep than horses. The change from horse to automobile, just as in the change of Richard from cavalryman to potential factory laborer, is different in nature rather than in number or time. And, indeed, from the outset, the plot of *Gläserne Bienen* builds on the subtext of this dual status of horses, which are both living creatures and "machines" of transportation that human beings use.

Horses play a crucial role not only historically and existentially in Richard's life story, they also denote a shift in the social atmosphere of his world and indicate his social precarity. The text then provides further insights into his life that drive home his repeated characterizations as a has-been and noticeably funnels each description of social relationships in his environment through the image of horses. Richard remarks in chapter four, for example: "Ein abgedankter Reiter spielte eine traurige Figur inmitten dieser Städte, in denen kein Pferd mehr wieherte."[258] The presence of automobiles has not only made horses useless, it has made those who ride them useless as well. The horse, then, acts as a symbolic herald of social and ethical degeneration in Richard's society. Reflecting on the historical decline of the use of horses in combat in the twentieth century, Richard takes a mental inventory of those who still ride horses in the current day, recalling a former comrade named Preston: "Da war ferner Preston, der Ölmagnat, den die Pferdemanie gepackt hatte. […] Die Pferde wurden bei ihm gehalten wie Halbgötter."[259] Industrialists, whose original weapon was the automobile, are complicit in the disappearance of the horse, both in city streets

[257] Ibid., 305.
[258] Jünger, *Gläserne Bienen*, 462.
[259] Ibid., 425.

and, by extension, on the battlefield: "Ein kleiner Gutsbesitzer mit zweihundert Morgen…kam eher bei den Leichten Reitern an als diese, die damals in den ersten Automobilen fuhren, mit denen sie die Pferde scheu machten. Die Pferde witterten, was kam."[260] The message in these reflections is clear to Richard: it is the industrialist's status, rather than any claim to nobility or honor, that allows him to keep horses as a luxury. Thus, whereas Richard still holds on to the true purpose of horses, Preston has fallen out of touch with these animals, commodifying them and making them into a novelty.

Richard's interactions with his former colleagues also stage the different social orientations toward nature and technology in his social circles and identify those among his former comrades who occupy the old and new worlds. An episode that illuminates these orientations occurs in the second chapter, in which Richard and Twinnings meet with a former fellow soldier named Friedrich. Friedrich has offered to recommend Richard for an undefined position at Zapparoni's factory. When Friedrich arrives, the sight of him triggers a moment of nostalgia for Richard: "Ein Schimmer der sorglosen Jugend kam zurück. Mein Gott, wie hatte sich die Welt verändert seit jener Zeit. […] Schließlich blickt jede Generation auf eine alte gute Zeit zurück. Aber bei uns war es doch etwas anderes, etwas entsetzlich anderes."[261] In this reflection, Richard therefore incorporates the social dimension of his past, that is, his "generation," into a qualitative break that he mentions earlier in the context of horses. Although he admits that he himself is indulging in nostalgia like every generation, his nostalgia has an unsettling undertone. At first, his statement reflects a possibility that could pertain to any character in a novel who is reminiscing about his or her youth, that is, the truism that the world changes so much with each new generation. But then,

[260] Ibid., 453.
[261] Ibid., 442.

Richard challenges this truism with the historical dimension of the fact that his situation is not the product of something natural, which every generation experiences, but of an irrevocable change.

Richard also often indulges in flashbacks to his former days of being a cavalryman, which, narratively, repeatedly draw a contrast between his former and current lives. His flashbacks are of an overwhelmingly positive and idealistic tone: they recall Monteron, his former instructor, and even when relating episodes of his own difficulties and moments of embarrassment with his former instructor, his recollections still retain a nostalgic tone. These flashbacks particularly serve to contrast with the fact that many of his former comrades, like Preston, have fallen from the honor and glory they once had as cavalrymen. Another memory includes Richard, a former mentor of his named Wittgrewe, from whom he learned tactical horseback riding. Similar to his experiences with Preston and Friedrich, he recalls running into Wittgrewe in Berlin years after their military days, who had become a ticket collector on a street train. This comes as a shock to Richard, and he describes his former mentor's appearance "als hätte man ein Tier der freien Wildbahn in einen Käfig eingezwingert."[262] After speaking with Wittgrewe, he is invited to his apartment, where, looking around, he notices that there is not one image of a horse anywhere to be seen. This absence of horses comes as another shock, considering that horses were once Wittgrewe's pride and joy. Then, in addition to stating that he only thinks back "ungern" on their shared past, Wittgrewe, as if suffering from voluntary amnesia, speaks of their days in the cavalary "wie an etwas Minderes, Geringeres…und seine Tätigkeit in diesem Wagen als Fortschritt, als Avancement."[263] Richard is appalled by how greatly Wittgrewe has sold out to the system, connecting his fate to those of his generation who also came from peasant families like Wittgrewe: "Er hatte seinen Kotau vor den

[262] Ibid., 470.
[263] Ibid., 470-471.

neuen Gottheiten gemacht, und Taras Bulba dreht sich im Grabe um. […] Dann wurden immer mehr von ihnen durch die großen Städte aufgesogen und endeten wie Wittgrewe."[264] He cannot believe that his once valiant teacher has stooped to working an unglamorous job and, on top of it all, displays features of the Stockholm syndrome that causes him to see his job as progress. Richard's flashback, like others, introduces one of the narrative's central conflicts: whether Richard is right, and the former glory of the cavalry has been betrayed by increasing urbanization and industrialization, or whether he is hopelessly anachronistic and filled with irrational anxiety about a world that has simply left him behind.

Furthermore, the text plays with the idea of extinction not just in the biological sense of organisms going extinct but also with the extinction of a whole system of semantics that is connected with living organisms. Richard chronicles a litany of words that have changed meaning or been forgotten, a shift which further alienates him from his current social position. Jünger had often played with the idea of changing terminology—arguably a natural occurrence in most, if not all, languages—as symbolic of a greater loss of meaning. The eponymous narrator of the novella *Sturm* (1922), an army officer confronted with the harsh reality of the First World War, observes: "Heute hatte man Worte wie 'durchhalten' und 'Heldentod' so rastlos gehetzt, daß sie—wenigstens dort, wo wirklich gekämpft wurde—längst einen witzigen Beigeschmack bekommen hatten."[265] The words surrounding *Sturm*, once faithful to the things they represented, now no longer match the reality behind them and come across as laughable. In *Gläserne Bienen*, the meanings of words have weakened or changed since Richard was an officer: "[I]ch hatte die Gewißheit, daß es mit allem vorbei war, was man geachtet, was man geehrt hatte. Worte wie 'Ehre'

[264] Ibid., 472. Taras Bulba is the main character of Nikolai Gogol's historical novella *Taras Bulba* (1835), a sixteenth-century Zaporozhian Cossack who takes part in a military campaign against Polish forces.
[265] Ernst Jünger, *Sturm*, in *Ernst Jünger. Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 18 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015), 29.

und ‘Würde’ wurden lächerlich.”[266] Reflecting on the government’s role, early on he says, “Überhaupt, wenn ‘alte Kameraden’ komisch wirkte, warum sollte man dann Worte wie ‘Regierung’ noch ernst nehmen?”[267] A short time later, again reflecting on the degeneration of law and order in his society, he asks, “Aber was sind Ehrengerichte, wo auch das Wort ‘Ehre’ zu denen gehört, die ganz und gar verdächtig geworden sind?”[268] Throughout the text, Richard gives further examples of words that have lost their meaning: “Soldat,” “Denkmal,” “Haus,” “Brot,” “Wein,” “Krieg,” “Friede,” “Vaterland,” “Polizei,” “Ehre,” and “Würde.”[269] In fact, the only term with any emphasis in the text that does not appear in Richard’s litany of hollow words is “Pferd.” The first part of the novel, then, combines the existential, social, ethical, and semantic degeneration of Richard’s society together but hinges this nexus on the extinction of an animal—the horse—from everyday life. As his complaints about language show, horses are therefore the only real thing left in Richard’s world, but even with this realization, he begins to question whether the chivalry they embodied was perhaps unreal rather than real. It is therefore not that the honor industrialists like Preston receive from their horses is in any way false; it is Richard’s claims to a former glory that now appears falsified. Now, after having ruminated on the dying out of words, horses, and even himself, he discovers what exactly is subsuming them all: the industrialist Giacomo Zapparoni.

Robotics as a Challenge to Mimesis

After revealing various aspects of Richard’s personal life in a naturalistic style interpolated by flashbacks, *Gläserne Bienen* then shifts its idiom to include elements common to Jünger’s later

[266] Jünger, *Gläserne Bienen*, 538.
[267] Ibid., 439.
[268] Ibid., 440.
[269] Ibid., 439, 440, 458, 461, 462, 463, 522, 538.

works, which some scholars have described as magical realism,[270] to describe the character of Giacomo Zapparoni. Although *Gläserne Bienen* continues a discourse about nature and technology that had begun much earlier in Jünger's oeuvre and was often expressed with elements from the science fiction genre, it is far more concerned with how technology participates in literary traditions of representation and mimesis. Whereas Jünger's earlier works do express the fear of a technological takeover, even if only a takeover of aesthetics, they gradually shift to a discourse on technology's involvement in imitation. As Matthew Potolsky more closely defines mimesis, it is not just a broad type of "imitation," as it is usually translated, but involves art creating "a copy of the real."[271] Jünger's early publications from the 1920s share the attempt to process the phenomenon that when man steps behind the machine gun or inside the tank, he himself disappears into and, effectively, becomes the machine. As *Gläserne Bienen* points out, this change is familiar to Richard, as he himself was a victim to this change when horses were replaced with tanks on the battlefield: "Das war keiner der großen Reitertage, von denen Monteron uns erzählt hatte. Es war heiße Maschinenarbeit, unsichtbar, ruhmlos…"[272] This is Richard's fear about horses and automobiles leading up to his planned interview with Zapparoni, and up to this point, the text has been drawing the comparison between horses and automobiles to prepare the reader with the technological challenge to man that Richard will encounter: robotics. Just as urbanization and industrialization has irrevocably changed his former mentor Wittgrewe and bound him to a train rather than to a horse, Richard knows that those who endorse robotics have already experienced what he calls "eine Veränderung der Menschen; sie wurden mechanischer, berechenbarer, und oft

[270] See for example Hubert Roland, "Magischer Realismus, Verherrlichung des Krieges und Imagologie: Die belgische Rezeption Ernst Jüngers," in *Ernst Jünger: Politik – Mythos – Kunst*, ed. Lutz Hagestedt, 372-385 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2004).
[271] Potolsky, 1.
[272] Jünger, *Gläserne Bienen*, 462.

hatte man kaum noch das Gefühl, unter Menschen zu sein."[273] For Richard, those who have endorsed the development of robotics have themselves become robotic.

Here, the novel begins to explain the circumstances by which human beings, especially Richard's "species" of archaic cavalrymen, go extinct. Bernhard Keller has located the focus of this fear of extinction and describes *Gläserne Bienen* as "das Ende des Menschen—als Möglichkeit—auf leisen Pfoten,"[274] but, more precisely, the novel encapsulates the fear of the end of the *cavalryman*, a fear embodied by the industrialist Zapparoni. Zapparoni is not only a technological innovator but has the traits of a mob boss; he has had disgruntled employees snuffed out and holds extensive power in mass media in a dystopian society where advertising has usurped state-sponsored propaganda in influence. Police, government, honor, dignity, and the like no longer matter now that Zapparoni has undermined them all, and as Richard fears, it is the army of factory workers whom Zapparoni employs that threatens to replace his generation of cavalryman. Stiegler draws a comparison between *Gläserne Bienen* and the depictions of technology in the works of Edgar Allan Poe.[275] This comparison is not without consequence, considering that one of Jünger's literary fascinations was Poe's short story "A Descent into the Maelstrom" (1841),[276] whose titular phenomenon resembles the way in which the novel presents Zapparoni's technology corporation into which Richard is entering: not only is its size and scope unprecedented, but like the fate of ships that near the giant mythical whirlpool, his world of technological advances irrevocably incorporates anything that comes too close to it. Like Poe's maelstrom, Zapparoni

[273] Ibid., 442.
[274] Quoted on the back cover of Klett-Cotta's 2014 softcover edition (erroneously attributed to Thomas Lang).
[275] Stiegler, "Technische Innovation und literarische Imagination," 295. Poe was also coincidentally one of the writers of the nineteenth century who first formulated a concept of *l'art pour l'art*, such as in his essay "The Poetic Principle" in which he praises the "poem written solely for the poem's sake." Cf. Edgar Allan Poe, "The Poetic Principle," in *Edgar Allan Poe: Critical Theory. The Major Documents*, ed. Stuart Levine and Susan F. Levine (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 182.
[276] Cf. Kiesel, *Ernst Jünger. Die Biographie*, 502.

retains an almost mythical place in Richard's environment. And like the maelstrom, Zapparoni threatens to incorporate and subvert the social structure whose disappearance Richard already laments.

While Zapparoni produces small domestic robots, he accompanies them with propaganda films featuring his company's life-size humanoid robots rather than human actors. His films, both advertising and propaganda, threaten the literary world of imagination and adventure with "diesen technisch gefärbten Märchen und Abenteuern,"[277] and Richard remarks elsewhere that "[er] hatte die alten Märchenfiguren entthront."[278] Furthermore, early on, while reflecting on what he already knows about Zapparoni before his interview, Richard speculates on Zapparoni's agenda in using robotic rather than human actors: "Er schuf Romane, die man nicht nur lesen, hören und sehen konnte, sondern in die man eintrat, wie man in einen Garten tritt. Er war der Meinung, daß die Natur sowohl an Schönheit wie an Logik nicht genüge und daß sie zu übertreffen sei."[279] Richard thus describes Zapparoni's propaganda films as all-encompassing experiences, referring to them as if they were gardens or "Romane," used here in the earlier sense of "romances," that is, "fantasies"; therefore, Zapparoni's films threaten the world of fairy tales, adventure, and fantasy that have previously been the prerogative of literature. In addition to the shades of Poe with which Jünger imbues Zapparoni, another comparison from the nineteenth century can be drawn here. Jünger also bases Zapparoni on the nineteenth-century type drawn from Joris-Karl Huysmans's *À rebours* (1884), which had played a pivotal role in the conception of *Heliopolis* as shown above in chapter two. For one, Jünger paraphrases Huysmans when describing Zapparoni's intentions: "Er war der Meinung, daß die Natur sowohl an Schönheit wie an Logik nicht genüge und daß sie zu

[277] Jünger, *Gläserne Bienen*, 450.
[278] Ibid., 448.
[279] Ibid.

übertreffen sei" recalls the narrator's statement about the protagonist of *À rebours*, Jean Des Esseintes: "Nature, he used to say, has had her day," and "the time has surely come for artifice to take her place whenever possible."[280] Whereas in *Heliopolis*, it is the protagonist who resembles Des Esseintes, in *Gläserne Bienen*, it is the antagonist, Zapparoni. Like Des Esseintes, Zapparoni feels that nature has had its day and must be outdone. After all, Zapparoni is an author who creates "Romane" that are based on the mimetic principle, only with the intention of overcoming nature rather than creating a copy of it.

Still, *Gläserne Bienen* extends Zapparoni's intention of overcoming nature beyond his propaganda films. Before Richard's interview, the presence of the looming figure of Zapparoni sets up an implicit interrogation of the concept of mimesis that will continue at Zapparoni's factory. The gesture of mimesis surfaces when Richard is reminded of one of Zapparoni's company's main products, that of small robots that carry out household chores. In chapter one, for example, Richard observes: "Zapparonis Automatenwelt, an sich schon sonderbar genug, war belebt von Geistern, die sich den seltsamsten Marotten hingaben. […] Es gab eben noch keine Roboter, die Roboter herstellen. Das wäre der Stein der Weisen gewesen, des Zirkels Quadratur."[281] From a semiotic perspective, Richard's thought expresses the fear that robots will create their own sphere of meaning, in which robots become simulacra, that is, copies without an original, completely self-mediating, following Jean Baudrillard's definition.[282] Unlike a "copy of the real," as Potolsky terms it, Zapparoni's robots privilege the copy over the original and threaten to destroy the "real" outright. They will soon no longer need the antecedent of the human physical form. Reflecting on

[280] Joris-Karl Huysmans, *Against Nature*, trans. Robert Baldick, ed. Patrick McGuinness (New York: Penguin, 2001), 22, 23.
[281] Jünger, *Gläserne Bienen*, 428.
[282] See Jean Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation*, trans. Sheila Faria Glaser (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010).

the symbolism of the figures of Richard and Zapparoni, Lothar Bluhm calls the difference between the two "die Entgegensetzung zweier Poetiken. […] Während der Rittmeister am Primat der Natur und damit am Prinzip der Nachahmung, einem letztlich vormodernen Mimesis-Konzept festhält, zielt Zapparoni auf Übersteigung und/oder Neuschaffung der Natur ab und ist an einem Primat der Künstlichkeit orientiert, einem modernen amimetischen Kunstkonzept."[283] Even before meeting Zapparoni, then, Richard's ruminations reveal that Zapparoni's "Neuschaffung der Natur" involves creating a second, new nature, his own "Automatenwelt."

In order to trump the first nature, Zapparoni's new form of nature must be "smart" in its ability to imitate its predecessor. Here, Jünger assimilates the twentieth-century fear of artificial intelligence, but it only serves to stage the text's discourse on mimesis. All machines have a certain "intelligence," in the sense that they can perform a specific, desired function in response to certain input. Artificial intelligence entails a machine's ability to mimic the human abilities of cognition, decision making, and learning; however, in common parlance, "artificial intelligence" is also often associated with a capability that will increasingly erase the distinctions between human and machine learning and cognitive processes, a concern that is often addressed both in scientific discussions and science fiction.[284] Rather than focusing on the "mind" of the machines that Zapparoni produces, though, the text extends the common definition of artificial "intelligence" from the robot's central processing unit to the image of the robot's entire body. In chapter three, Richard expands on his notion of the potential "Stein der Weisen" and addresses the increasing

[283] Lothar Bluhm, "'Seien Sie mit den Bienen vorsichtig!': Technik und Vorbehalt in Ernst Jüngers *Gläserne Bienen*," in *Künstliche Menschen: Transgressionen zwischen Körper, Kultur und Technik*, ed. Wolf-Andreas Liebert, Stefan Neuhaus, Dietrich Paulus, and Uta Schaffers (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2014), 239.
[284] See for example Isaac Asimov's 1956 short story "The Last Question," which tells the story of a supercomputer that gradually absorbs the mental processes of human beings until ultimately becoming like a god who can create light with the solemn declaration: "Let there be light!" *Isaac Asimov: The Complete Stories*, vol. 1, (New York: Doubleday, 1990): 290-300.

artificial intelligence of Zapparoni's robot actors—in the sense that their bodies are increasingly and intelligently adapting to the human body:

> Es gibt Prognosen, die behaupten, daß unsere Technik eines Tages in reine Zauberei ausmünden wird. Dann wäre nur alles Anlauf, an dem wir teilnehmen, und die Mechanik würde sich in einer Weise verfeinert haben, die grober Auslösungen nicht mehr bedarf. Lichter, Worte, ja fast Gedanken würden hinreichen. […] Die Zapparoni-Filme näherten sich solchen Prognosen deutlich an. Was alte Utopisten ersonnen hatten, war demgegenüber grobdrähtig. Die Automaten hatten eine Freiheit und tänzerische Eleganz gewonnen, die ein eigenes Reich erschloß. Hier schien verwirklicht, was man zuweilen im Traum zu fassen glaubte: daß die Materie denkt. Daher besaßen diese Filme eine mächtige Anziehungskraft.[285]

The artificial intelligence of Zapparoni's robot actors is twofold: for one, they evince the fact that something other than the human brain will be able to think like a human brain in the future. On the other hand, they express their artificial intelligence through their *image*: they are intelligently imitating the human form, so that the viewer of Zapparoni's films cannot tell who is human and who is robot. And, although Richard cites the fabled philosopher's stone, Western history's talisman par excellence, at this point he leaves the ethical consequences of robots creating robots unexplored. He attempts, rather, to preserve human nature in the equation of creating robots. For Richard, human beings seem to still provide the paradigm for the robots Zapparoni produces; that is, the robots seem unreal and unnatural because, by comparison, humans are still more real and natural.

[285] Jünger, *Gläserne Bienen*, 448.

The added depiction of Zapparoni's robots as actors in *Gläserne Bienen* reinforces the text's inherent discourse on mimesis. Recalling theatrical and cinematic traditions, they metaphorically invoke the act of imitating and simulating, as an actor embodies a specific role. At this point, the novel emphasizes the meaning of the robots as actors on two levels. On the diegetic level, the parts the robots play in Zapparoni's propaganda films are meant to underscore the immense media power that he possesses under the guise of being advertisements for his brand. On the extradiegetic level, however, the novel reflects back onto itself. On this level, by portraying the robots as actors, *Gläserne Bienen* recalls the literary tradition of mimesis, especially since Richard has already described the films in which they appear as "Romane." The added element of cinema recalls one of the earliest elements of film, phantasmagoria, whereby a *laterna magica* would use light to project images onto a wall or screen, creating the illusion that the objects were real, and, by extension, the purposeful hiding of a medium from the viewer or listener.[286] Yet the phantasmagoria that the text addresses early on does not have to do with the filmic medium per se. On the diegetic level of *Gläserne Bienen*, before the text even formally introduces Zapparoni, one learns that he has the potential to engage in a dangerous phantasmagoria—quite unlike the harmless early illusions for the sake of entertainment—since, as Bluhm has pointed out, he adheres to a noticeably amimetic concept of nature: the production of his robots must eventually result in

[286] Although the early innovations in film combined the technology of the *laterna magica* and the staging traditions of the theater, it is the phantasmagoric aspect of cinema that Jünger plays with in several works. In *Der Arbeiter*, Jünger had commented on the phantasms of modernity: "Dieses Treiben gleicht den wechselnden Bildern einer laterna magica, die eine konstante Lichtquelle erhellt. Wie soll Ahasver unterscheiden, ob er bei einer Aufnahme im photographischen Atelier oder bei einer Untersuchung in einer Klinik für Innere Krankheiten zugegen ist, ob er ein Schlachtfeld oder ein Industriegelände überquert…?" (108). Furthermore, he writes, "Viel bedenklicher ist es, daß sich aus dieser Geschäftigkeit ein Zusammenhang von schablonenartigen Wertungen ergeben hat, hinter dem sich die völlige Abgestorbenheit verbirgt. Es wird hier *mit den Schatten der Dinge* gespielt…" Ibid. 211, emphasis added, recalling the shadows used in early phantasmagoria shows to project images. On Jünger and phantasmagoria, cf. Helmuth Lethen, *Cool Conduct: The Culture of Distance in Weimar Germany*, trans. Don Reneau (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 170. Lutz Hagestedt calls *Der Arbeiter* Jünger's "Phantasmagorie des Arbeiters." Lutz Hagestedt, "'Waffe im geistigen Raum.' Ernst Jüngers Essayistik," in *Totalität als Faszination: Systematisierung des Heterogenen im Werk Ernst Jüngers*, ed. Andrea Benedetti and Lutz Hagestedt (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018), 165.

denying the human antecedent of his robot actors and exploding that antecedent's reality principle. Consequently, the perfection of his robots will make his viewers eventually forget they are robots. This phantasmagoric aspect extends even to Zapparoni, as Richard notes that some have questioned whether Zapparoni himself even really exists or is merely "die vielleicht beste Erfindung der Zapparoni-Werke."[287] On a meta-level, however, *Gläserne Bienen* also reflects on the process of writing fiction by asserting the same fear about the relation of text and the reality it purports to imitate, about the relation between diegesis and mimesis, as it does about the robot actors. This fear, staged in the novel by Richard's own nervousness about his potential new job and the mystery surrounding Zapparoni, is that the writing of fiction may no longer be able to acknowledge its extradiegetic antecedent, or, in simpler terms, the "real life" that its plot and characters are based on. At that point, the purported "real life" itself from which literature is derived would merely consist of a series of narratives, a return to *l'art pour l'art*.

Zapparoni's Collections as Perversions of Nature

Nevertheless, Richard's preliminary fears about Zapparoni, and his potential participation in wiping away forms of nature, are not the only premonitions of a dangerous phantasmagoria in the novel. Previously, the collections in *Heliopolis*—ossuaries of the catacombs, card indexes, libraries, shrunken heads and skulls—drew on the Western tradition of collecting, in which collections often purported to reproduce nature in both *naturalia* and *artificialia* that they contained, such as a cabinet which includes a representative collection of flora. On a more abstract level, all collections produced the same effect that tropes of nature are used to produce in art and literature: a sense of permanence, refuge, and control. In all such collections, the collector endows

[287] Jünger, *Gläserne Bienen*, 451.

a particular space, sometimes the literal space where his or her objects are stored, from a shoebox to a national museum, with meaning in order to combat the atrophy that time causes; the collection attempts to immortalize its objects. *Gläserne Bienen* invokes this tension of permanence and precarity in collections by further introducing Zapparoni as the administrator of his own collection. However, Zapparoni it does not just display a certain neurosis common in collectors. By tying him to collections, the novel questions Zapparoni's relation to the nature-producing power of the collection *per se*. As *Gläserne Bienen* implicitly alludes to the claim to reproduce nature that is inextricably bound to the history of collections in the West, it uses this claim to further stage its discourse surrounding the figure of Zapparoni and connects the discourse to the problem of mimesis surrounding his persona: that is, whether he has the ability to actually reproduce nature in his robots or whether they merely imitate nature. Now that Richard will meet Zapparoni, he has the opportunity to see how Zapparoni orients himself toward the mimetic phantasmagoria that he has seem from his propaganda films.

After ruminating on Zapparoni's enterprise, he finally brings in Richard to interview him for a position. After appearing at Zapparoni's factory complex, he is lead through an underground subway, which rather resembles an elevator than a train, to Zapparoni's living quarters and expresses surprise that this is where Zapparoni will interview him. When he arrives, otherwise superficial details in the context of Richard's interview serve to characterize Zapparoni as a collector type. Richard extensively describes the interior of Zapparoni's residence, interpolated with reminiscences from his cavalry days, including the residence's architectural style, what Zapparoni has hanging by his front door, and the atmosphere of the rooms. Richard also notes that Zapparoni's residence is built on the grounds of a former Cistercian monastery:

> Der Blick fiel auf den Park wie auf ein altes Bild. Die Bäume strahlten im frischen Laubglanz; das Auge fühlte, wie sie ihre Wurzeln im Grund feuchteten. Sie säumten die Ufer eines Baches, der träge dahinfloß und sich zuweilen zu Flächen erweiterte, auf denen ein grünes Mieder von Wassermoosen schimmerte. Das waren die Fischteiche der Mönche gewesen; die Zisterzienser hatten wie die Biber in den Sümpfen gebaut.[288]

He then goes on to describe its fauna: "[Man hörte] die Melodien der Stare und Finken, und an den morschen Stämmen hämmerte der Specht. Die Drosseln hüpften und weilten auf den Rasenplätzen, und zuweilen ertönte im Teichgrund das Klatschen eines Karpfens, der aufschnellte. Auf den Rabatten und Medaillons vor der Terrasse, wo sich die Blumen drängten, kreuzten die Bienen und teilten sich mit den Faltern den süßen Raub. Es war ein Maitag in seiner vollen Pracht."[289] Richard perceives the residence and its surrounding grounds in idyllic terms, which he noticeably contrasts with the coldness of the factory grounds he first sees when he arrives. Jan T. Schlosser has addressed the way Richard describes these two spaces and applies Marc Augé's concept of "places" and "non-places" to describe Zapparoni's property. Augé opposes the "non-place," such as a train station, shopping mall, hotel room, or airport, to the "place" or "anthropological space," which is primarily "relational, historical, and concerned with identity."[290] With this framework, Schlosser characterizes Zapparoni's apartments as a place within a non-place, that is, within the factory grounds. According to Schlosser's application of Augé, then, Zapparoni has extracted history and identity from the area surrounding his factory complex and consolidated both in his own private residence. He looks to the fact mentioned by Richard that Zapparoni's factory complex was intentionally built on the grounds of a former monastery, a "place" and argues that this detail

[288] Ibid., 460.
[289] Ibid., 461.
[290] *A Dictionary of Critical Theory*, ed. Ian Buchanan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), s.v. "non-place."

is indicative of the fact that Zapparoni has made technology into his new "religion."[291] Above all, though, the idyllic grounds surrounding Zapparoni's apartments, the history of the grounds as a former monastery, and Schlosser's argument for a concentration of meaning in Zapparoni's residence all point to the fact that Zapparoni presides over a trove of concentrated meaning, which Richard soon discovers.

Although the detail of the factory's being on the grounds of a former monastery may point to a shift in the source of meaning in the process of secularization in Richard's world, Schlosser's characterization of the apartments as a place within a non-place reveals even more meaning when considered in the context of collecting. Richard is first led into Zapparoni's library, which Richard finds rather disappointing as a collection belonging to such an oligarch: "Auf den ersten Blick schien keines dieser Stücke die Verhältnisse eines wohlhabenden Privatmannes zu überschreiten; ihr Anblick enttäuschte meine Erwartungen. Ich hatte unter dem Einfluß der Zeitungen vermutet, in eine Art von Zauberkabinett zu kommen, in dem der Besucher durch automatische Überraschungen halb in Erstaunen, halb in Bestürzung versetzt wurde."[292] Richard also critiques the *objets d'art* he sees on display:

> Das Ganze war von gediegener Nüchternheit. […] Das galt vor allem für die Kunstwerke. Ich hatte mitunter Gelegenheit gehabt, berühmte Bilder und Statuen, wie man sie nur von den Kalendern oder aus Museen kennt, in Häusern schnell reich oder mächtig gewordener Männer anzusehen. Der Anblick enttäuschte, weil sie ihren Ausdruck, ihre Sprache

[291] Jan T. Schlosser, "'Hier war ein übler Ort': Nicht-Orte in Ernst Jüngers *Gläserne Bienen*," in *Germanistische Mitteilungen* 41, no. (2015), 20. Jünger includes a similar detail later in *Eine gefährliche Begegnung*, about a theater in Paris: "Dazu kam noch die Blasphemie, die darin lag, daß das Theater in der Kapelle eines aufgelassenen Klosters eingerichtet und das Eigentümliche des Ortes kaum verändert worden war" (459).
[292] Jünger, *Gläserne Bienen*, 456.

> verloren hatten. […] Ein Kunstwerk leidet, verblaßt in Räumen, in denen es einen Preis hat, aber keinen Wert.[293]

Here, the text compares and contrasts the characters of Richard and Zapparoni in terms of class. On the one hand, this description contrasts with Richard's opening description of his house and how he once had to sell several of his possessions to make ends meet: "Wir hatten zunächst von meiner Abfindung gelebt und dann Sachen verkauft, waren nun aber auch zu Ende damit. In jedem Haushalt gibt es eine Ecke, wo früher die Laren und Penaten standen und in der man heute das Unveräußerliche aufbewahrt."[294] On the other hand, whereas Richard expects that a man of such means and leisure time as Zapparoni would have developed a proper taste for artwork, compared to the museums that Richard has visited, his collection of art pieces is disappointing and evinces, rather, the gaudy taste of a *nouveau riche*.

As he examines the walls of the apartments, however, Richard notices further objects that change his opinion of Zapparoni's pedigree as a collector, as he begins to notice the layout's "museale Neigungen."[295] Taking a second look at the library, Richard notes:

> Die Bücher strömten eine ruhige Würde aus. Sie reihten sich in den Regalen in Einbänden aus hellem Pergament, geflammten Kalbleder und braunem Maroquin. Die Pergamentbände waren mit der Hand beschrieben; die Lederrücken trugen rote und grüne Titelschilder oder waren mit goldenen Lettern bedruckt. […] Ich las einige Titel, die mir wenig sagten: Technik, Kabbala, Rosenkreuzer, Alchemie.[296]

[293] Ibid., 457.
[294] Ibid., 431.
[295] Ibid., 461.
[296] Ibid., 460.

Here, in contrast to his earlier first reactions to the library, Richard begins describing the context of the books by describing their value as objects in a collection: the color, materials, and quality of their binding. Additionally, he follows this description with more idyllic descriptions of the property, which, in terms of the text's actual chronology, connect the space of Zapparoni's book collection with the bucolic space of the grounds of his residence. Recalling the connection between collections and reproduced nature by means of art and literature, on closer inspection, Richard realizes that Zapparoni's paradoxical orientation toward nature does not consist in the fact that he pits technology against nature as abstract concepts; rather, Richard discovers that nature forms the paradigm for Zapparoni's industrial and technological undertakings. The text hints at Zapparoni's orientation toward nature in several ways. First, Zapparoni is at least aware of nature through its mediation in well-known works of art. Richard mentions, for example, the detail that one of Zapparoni's paintings is "[e]in Poussin,"[297] referring to French Baroque painter Nicolas Poussin, whose oeuvre of religious and mythological subjects, several of which are set before backdrops of pastoral scenes, are exemplified by the two versions of the long-bewildering *Et in Arcadia ego* (1627 and 1637-38). Both versions of the painting depict idyllic images mixed with symbols of death and grapple with the relationship between the eternity and temporality of the realm known as *Arcadia*, a realm which was often depicted as an exemplary idyll in Ancient Greek and Roman poetry and reintroduced into Renaissance art.[298] Poussin's two versions of his concept, however, have a seemingly contradictory agenda: while they both present in an idyllic way as a paradise—one that indicates a pre-Classicist approach, the other a Classicist, that is, "systematic," "rationale"

[297] Ibid., 458.
[298] See for example Allan R. Ruff, *Arcadian Visions: Pastoral Influences on Poetry, Painting and the Design of Landscape* (Havertown, PA: Windgather Press, 2015).

take according to art historian Erwin Panofsky[299]—they both also point to the fact that death also lurks here; the eternity of paradise is countered by the eternity of death.

Although Poussin's depictions of "nature" were highly influential in the visual arts, art historians point out that Poussin's paintings of nature scenes were hyperreal, that is, more natural than nature. Thomas Noll, for example, calls Poussin representative of the style in which "die Natur aber sei dargestellt nicht, wie man sie täglich sieht, sondern wie man sich vorstellt, dass sie sein müsse."[300] Yet even with its stylized images of green landscapes and Greek shepherds wearing laurel wreaths, Poussin's *Et in Arcadia ego* counters a pure idealization of nature, embodied in the timelessness of Arcadia, with an inherent, sobering acknowledgment of death. The presence of a Poussin painting in Zapparoni's art collection recalls the array of collections in *Heliopolis*, where inherent dialectic of destruction leads them to being appropriated for nefarious ends: just as when a collection claims eternal preservation it logically also posits its opposite, destruction, so too does the eternal life of pastoral idylls like Arcadia necessarily posit the possibility of their own death. By displaying an obvious symbol of nature and mortality in his home, Zapparoni seems to acknowledge that historical idylls such as Arcadia contain their own destruction within themselves, since the symbols of death in both paintings, an epitaph and a skull (in the later version),

[299] See Erwin Panofsky, "*Et in Arcadia ego*: Poussin and the Elegiac Tradition," in *Meaning in the Visual Arts: Papers in and on Art History*, 295-320 (New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1955).
[300] Thomas Noll, "'Das fast allen Menschen beywohnende Wohlgefallen an schoenen Aussichten': Zur Theorie der Landschaftsmalerei um 1800," in *Landschaft um 1800: Aspekte der Wahrnehmung in Kunst, Literatur, Musik und Naturwissenschaft*, ed. Thomas Noll, Urte Stobbe, and Christian Scholl (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2012), 33.

pronounce, "I, death, am also in Arcadia."[301] However, although we also learn that Zapparoni supposedly dislikes seeing machines when standing on his terrace so he can admire the natural beauty of his compound,[302] the representation of nature in the Poussin painting is, in terms of its medium, already one step away from the nature it attempts to imitate, and two steps from the reader who "sees" nature in form of an ekphrastic depiction within a literary work.

Richard then questions the efficacy of the trope of Arcadia against art that breaks with the Arcadian tradition. He goes on to describe the five or six additional paintings he sees: "Gemeinsam war ihnen [den Bildern], daß sie ein ruhiges Leben ausatmeten und auf Effekt verzichteten. Ich meine damit nicht die heutigen Effekte, die im Niedagewesenen sich erschöpfen, sondern solche, wie sie Meister hervorbringen."[303] Although Jünger never explicitly states that Zapparoni's Poussin painting is either of the two versions of *Et in Arcadia ego*, a play on words from Richard provides a clue to the discourse hinted at by the presence of the painting. Richard, who seems to be a connoisseur of the visual arts himself, criticizes modern, abstract art and its *raison d'être* of unprecedentedness—its insistence on being "im Niedagewesenen." Instead, sticking to his rigid concept of mimesis, he favors the style of the "masters," who were still more concerned with what the medium of painting would represent rather than the medium itself. By extension, then, Richard thus shows that he prefers the idyllic scenes from painters like Poussin, because by contradicting unprecedentedness or "das Niedagewesene," they give the viewer the sense of familiarity, quite

[301] Cf. Panofsky, 296ff. There has been much confusion about the meaning and interpretation of the verb in this Latin phrase. Panofsky ultimately established that the proper interpretation of the phrase "Et in Arcadia ego" was that of British monarch George III upon seeing Sir Joshua Reynolds's painting "Mrs Bouverie & Mrs Crewe" (1770): "Death is even in Arcadia." Ibid., 296. Furthermore, Panofsky notes that Guercino's rendition (c. 1618-1622), which was Poussin's inspiration, "turns out to be a mediaeval *memento mori* in a humanistic disguise." Ibid., 309. Panofsky places Poussin in the tradition not of Theocritus but of Virgil, who endowed Arcadia with timelessness. Still, Poussin's second version almost intentionally leads to an interpretation that a dead Arcadian is saying "I, too, was in Arcadia" to mean "Even though I lived in the seemingly eternal Arcadia, I, too, passed away." Ibid., 316.
[302] Jünger, *Gläserne Bienen*, 461.
[303] Ibid., 458.

literally, of "having been there." But adding to Richard's statement on the development of the visual arts, the implied quality of "having been there" also connects Zapparoni's Poussin with death's statement about Arcadia in Poussin's *Et in Arcadia ego*: I, death, have also been there. For Richard, though, the appeal of Zapparoni's paintings is that they were not revolutionary for the sake of being revolutionary but were well-received because they seemed familiar from the very beginning.[304] But despite the familiarity of the bucolic scenes that Poussin often painted, the choice of Poussin to represent the idyllic tradition in the visual arts is an unusual one, because Poussin's *Et in Arcadia ego* specifically questions the sustainability of the idyllic trope of Arcadia. In effect, *Et in Arcadia ego* just as much reevaluates the trope of Arcadia as it does re-present it. Because of the painting's self-awareness, the text is already hinting that Richard is questioning his own concept of nature and its own sustainability.

Furthermore, *Et in Arcadia ego* functions as an analogy to Zapparoni's orientation toward nature: like *Et in Arcadia ego*, Richard states that Zapparoni both admires nature and poses a threat to it.[305] Zapparoni's orientation toward nature nevertheless comes off as uncanny, as it has both familiar aspects and distorts these aspects at the same time. Zapparoni continues this uncanniness by further perverting and distorting nature by encroaching on Richard's own personal Arcadia, his chivalrous past that now seems even more glamorous and honorable due to his unemployment. In addition his memories of military instruction, Richard also describes his cavalry days as a quasi-

[304] Ibid.
[305] Ibid., 484.

metaphysical state that he refers to as "die Reitertage" or "die Reiterei."[306] At first, Richard sees Zapparoni's endeavors in technology development as placing him far away from any form of nature; now, he sees that Zapparoni is also not as distant from horses and the former state of "die Reiterei." For instance, Richard mentions seeing trophies and engravings "von Ridingers Reitschule" on display in the apartments.[307] Although Richard sometimes makes references to a "Reitschule"[308] in reference to an equestrian school that was once part of his military training, "Ridingers Reitschule" also refers to German painter and engraver Johann Elias Ridinger (1698-1767), known for his engravings of horses in works such as *Neue Reitkunst in Kupferstichen inventiert & gezeichnet* (1722) and *Die neue Reitschule* (1734).[309] Despite the fact that the allusion to "Ridingers Reitschule" seems to suggest that Zapparoni was a part of the same riding school as Richard—since Richard does indeed mention seeing trophies from the "Reitschule"—it also indicates that Zapparoni's interest in that world of equestrianism and chivalry is instead mediated by an artistic representation of it. Thus, although the mysterious Zapparoni is similar to Richard in his experience with riding horses, he is simultaneously distance from it through the mediation of its visual representation. Like Poussin's Arcadia, the horses in Zapparoni's Ridinger woodcut are in danger of disappearing into mythology, especially since, as Richard mentions, their purpose has now been replaced by automobiles.

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[306] Ibid., 462, 468, 470. On the use of this word, Schlosser argues: "'Das Ende der Reiterei' wird zum leitmotivischen Signum für den Epochenwechsel, für die Beschleunigung des Lebens." Schlosser, 10. An "epoch" is a metaphysical rather than quantitative designation of time, and "das Ende der Reiterei" does mark a change in epoch in Richard's world. However, we must also take into account the historical context of *Gläserne Bienen*'s appearing in 1957 and the existential questions with which Jünger concerned himself in the 1950s, most notably in the essays *Über die Linie*, *Der Waldgang*, and *Der gordische Knoten* (1953). The ending *-ei* in German makes a noun abstract and thereby describes a state, condition, or quality.

[307] Jünger, *Gläserne Bienen*, 456.

[308] For example, in Richard's flashbacks brought on when preparing for his interview (Ibid., 455) and in his flashback about the uncle of his acquaintance Wilhelm Bindseil, who was "Portier bei der Reitschule." Ibid., 526.

[309] See Wolf Stubbe, *Die Jagd in der Kunst: Johann Elias Ridinger* (Hamburg: Verlag Paul Parey, 1966). The German Expressionist painter Franz Marc, who himself had an affinity for painting horses, notably produced a woodcut study of "Das Trottieren" from Ridinger's *Neue Reitkunst* entitled *Reitschule nach Ridinger* (1913).

These elements again create a parallel between Zapparoni's and Richard's residences. As Richard notes early on, one of the few objects left on display at his home are a few prizes from horse races, which he describes as "gravierte Dinge."[310] Richard's "gravierte Dinge" are analogous to Zapparoni's engravings, but the difference between the two is that Richard has recently had to sell his racing prizes to be melted down. Richard also compares his experience with horses to Zapparoni's experiences by using a metaphor. Reflecting on Zapparoni's requirements for positions at his factory, he observes:

> Im Volksmund nennt man ein Faktotum wie das gesuchte: jemanden, mit dem man Pferde stehlen kann. Das Sprichwort muß aus Zeiten stammen, in denen der Pferdediebstahl zwar ein gefährliches, aber kein anrüchiges Unternehmen war. Gelang es, so war die Sache rühmlich, wenn nicht, so hing man am Weidenbaum, oder man mußte die Ohren in Kauf geben. Das Sprichtwort traf die Lage ziemlich genau. Es war allerdings noch ein kleiner Unterschied: Zapparoni suchte zwar offenbar einen Menschen, mit dem er Pferde stehlen konnte, aber er war ein viel zu großer Herr, um mit auf Fahrt zu gehen.[311]

Richard had described the position—at this point still vaguely defined—that Zapparoni is seeking to fill as one that would require "jemanden, mit dem man Pferde stehlen kann," an idiom describing someone who is reliable and trustworthy. But after so many references to horses by this point in the novel, it is obvious that Richard does not only use the phrase in a literal sense. Now, in Zapparoni's residence, Richard questions why such a prominent figure as he would need his help in his industry, and he assumes that Zapparoni wants to violate ethics and use him to cut corners. And this all because justice and injustice are beginning to blur, a situation "bei dem…Recht und

[310] Jünger, *Gläserne Bienen*, 431.
[311] Ibid., 441.

Unrecht schwer zu unterscheiden sind. Man braucht dann Leute, mit denen man Pferde stehlen kann."[312] Stealing horses is not only a symbol of trustworthiness, it also figuratively foreshadows the requirements for Richard's position that will be gradually revealed to him as well as to the readers of Jünger's novel.

Optical Illusions: Robotic Simulation as Warcraft in *Gläserne Bienen*

When Richard finally meets Zapparoni, his interview stages the conflict between two forces that color almost the entirety of Jünger's oeuvre: the discourse on the relationship between nature and technology. As of this point in the plot, Richard is still unaware of what exact position Zapparoni has in mind for him and what qualifications he may have for any position at Zapparoni's factory. Zapparoni, however, has other qualifications in mind, and the task he reserves for Richard is one that transcends that of a functionary in his factory. Richard already knows that Zapparoni needs someone with whom he could "steal horses," that is, appropriate natural forms for technological developments. Considering that the narration presents Richard as unqualified for a higher position within Zapparoni's corporation, the reader is then made to question why the head of such a large corporation would interview him. However, Zapparoni does not ask Richard questions about technology or industry, or even manual factory labor, but tailors his questions to Richard's military experience. A tension grows between Zapparoni's expectations and Richard's embarrassment about his former life and his current situation. He captures this tension when stating:

> Wenn Zapparoni sich über einen Reiter erhob, ihn moralisierte, so war das nicht weniger absurd, als säße ein Haifisch über seine Zähne zu Gericht, die doch das Beste an ihm sind.

[312] Ibid., 459.

> Reiter hatte es durch Jahrtausende gegeben, und die Welt hatte bestanden trotz Dschingis-Khan und anderen Herren—sie kamen und gingen wie Ebbe und Flut. Aber seitdem es Heilige wie Zapparoni gab, war die Erde bedroht. Die Stille der Wälder, der Abgrund der Tiefsee, der äußerste Luftkreis waren in Gefahr.[313]

Richard symbolically comes to the interview as a counter-master over nature against Zapparoni, albeit a master whose access to nature is now limited to his memories. After all, Richard's official character name is "Rittmeister Richard," and, considering the codes with which Jünger often invests the names of his characters and the discourse on horses already broached in the novel, Richard thus also appears as a *Rittmeister*, a "master of riding," because he is the master over the former world of chivalry and comradery that has been effaced by urbanization and industry. While his potential employer now admires riding horses only as a dilettante, Richard understands the importance of a horse as a reflection of its rider's honor and dignity. But Zapparoni, as the gatekeeper to technological advancement, now has the upper hand. Contrary to the "Ebbe und Flut" of history, but much like Poe's maelstrom, Zapparoni threatens to incorporate anything he comes across, including Richard's memories, and use them to make irreversible changes to nature.

At first, Zapparoni's questions puzzle Richard. He asks Richard, for example, if he knows the "Fillmor" whose memoir he has recently been studying. Richard immediately recognizes the name Fillmor as one of his marshals from his military days, which serves as the catalyst for a flashback praising Fillmor for his practicality and resilience: "Da Fillmor stets wußte, was möglich war, und Neigungen nicht kannte, überstand er mühelos den Wechsel der politischen Klimate und der durch ihn gezeitigten Regierungen."[314] Although himself a veteran of one of the "world wars"

[313] Ibid., 484.
[314] Ibid., 489.

of which Richard himself was a part, he has managed to attain a certain inner sovereignty in order to ride the waves of history. However, as Richard recalls, this had led to others characterizing Fillmor as a traitor: "Es versteht sich daß Fillmor von den alten Kameraden als Überläufer angesehen wurde, während er sie als Narren betrachtete."[315] This resilience in Fillmor explains why Zapparoni asks the seemingly non sequitur question about the marshal's memoir: he is testing Richard's capacity for resilience in the face of change. After the flashback, Zapparoni describes a tactic of deception between combatants in one of the world wars that he has read about in the memoir and asks Richard if he had had a similar experience. Zapparoni, who knows that Richard is familiar with military tactics, begins to apply those tactics to scenarios of his own business negotiations. But Zapparoni's question about the act of deception recounted in Fillmor's memoir is more than a tactical question. Richard responds to Zapparoni's question as follows: "Innerhalb einer Besatzung, die angegriffen wird, ist der Wille zum Widerstand nicht so gleichmäßig verteilt, es dem Angreifer erscheint. Wenn die Lage bedrohlich wird, bilden sich Nester—in einigen will man sich um jeden Preis verteidigen, während in anderen die Sache als verloren betrachtet wird."[316] On a superficial level, Richard is discussing his war experiences; as a subtext, however, Richard is reflecting on his own current situation, which is just as threatening as the tactical situation he is describing. Richard's observation of the military tactics presented by Zapparoni also foreshadows a decision that he himself will have to make, that is, whether to defend himself or surrender. The real purpose of Zapparoni's line of questioning, at least up to this point in the novel, thus comes to the fore. Although Zapparoni cloaks his question in the context of military tactics, the broader context of a job interview and the preceding inner monologue about Fillmor's

[315] Ibid., 489-490.
[316] Ibid., 492.

resilience reveals the interview to be an interrogation of Richard's own ability to adapt to technological change.

Nevertheless, Zapparoni is dissatisfied with Richard's analysis of both the military situation and the business scenarios that he has proposed in the discussion. The reason for his dissatisfaction, as he explains, is that Richard sees the situation as an optical illusion, which implies deception. Although the advancing troops had seen some enemy factions who had surrendered and assumed that the entire enemy side wished to surrender, other factions were still willing to fight back, which the advancing party erroneously perceived as a trap set by the enemy. Zapparoni contradicts this assessment: "Der Angreifer hatte vielmehr eine Anzahl von Gruppen vor sich, die nach verschiedenen Prinzipien, doch ohne List, ohne bösartige Verabredung handelten. Er, Zapparoni, würde mir zeigen daß zum mindesten die Möglichkeit gegeben war."[317] In semiotic terms, Zapparoni reframes the situation in terms of simulation: the truly tactical soldier will recognize the differing principles behind the single image of the enemy. Here, rather than conflict, the opinions of Zapparoni and Richard begin to overlap. As the text also points out, Richard himself had written off the criticisms of Fillmor from others as "viel optische Täuschung,"[318] because he knows that Fillmor adhered to his principles, or, as Zapparoni states, he simply operates on "different principles" than his former comrades. On the one hand, this dialogue shows the changes to which Richard must adapt in order to function, and, practically, to gain employment. On the other hand, it shows that Richard begins to recognize the optical illusion inherent in imitation: rather than assuming that the enemy is pretending to surrender in order to deceive, perhaps they are operating on different principles behind the same image of surrender. Perhaps,

[317] Ibid., 495.
[318] Ibid., 490.

too, Richard's fear of selling out to big business is unfounded and Zapparoni is simply operating on different principles that are not malicious. And perhaps the potential of the world of technology symbolized by Zapparoni's robots may itself be an optical illusion and, instead, may open up the possibility for a new form of nature once the old form has been exhausted.

Gardens as Spaces of Technological and Semiotic Experimentation

After his interview, Zapparoni instructs Richard to walk to his garden to wait for him there, leaving him with a harrowing piece of advice: "Seien Sie mit den Bienen vorsichtig!"[319] Now the text constructs a space of negotiation in order to combine the stakes it has established: the conflict between nature and technology and its relation to Richard's fate. It constructs this space with the aid of a spatial representation of nature common to art and literature: the garden. Gardens have been one of the most common tropes of nature in writing, variously representing immediacy, timelessness, a microcosmos, and cultivation. In several religious traditions, particularly in the Abrahamic religious traditions, the mythological garden has symbolized immediate access to a deity or deities; earthly gardens have been seen in this context as spaces where one may connect with a divine force.[320] Gardens in Greek mythology had similar connotations. The "nymphs of the evening," the Hesperides, were said to tend a garden in the west. Notably, however, the garden of the Hesperides was placed as geographically far away from Greece as possible in the ancient Greek

[319] Ibid., 497.

[320] The Book of Genesis states, for example, that God walks through the Garden of Eden (Genesis 3:8). In Islam, the final resting place after death for faithful Muslims is *Jannah* (lit. "garden"): "Allah will say, 'This is the Day when the truthful will benefit from their truthfulness.' For them are gardens [in Paradise] beneath which rivers flow, wherein they will abide forever, Allah being pleased with them, and they with Him. That is the great attainment" (Qur'an, Surah 5:119). See for example Maureen Carroll, *Earthly Paradises: Ancient Gardens in History and Archaeology* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2003); Jürgen Ebach, *"Schau an der schönen Gärten Zier -": über irdische und himmlische Paradiese. Zu Theologie und Kulturgeschichte des Gartens* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2007); Elizabeth Hyde, *A Cultural History of Gardens in the Renaissance* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017).

imagination (in the far west), to reinforce its mysterious status.[321] Louis XIV's gardens at Versailles drew upon the ancient connotation of access to a garden with access to a deity. Stylized as Apollo, the "Sun King," Louis expressed his practically divine mastery over the earthly realm by the representational power of the garden's setup, including the fountain in the middle of the gardens, which Louis intended to reflect the stars back to the gods as a representation of the king's domain. Jünger's own garden in Wilflingen had been an important aspect of his everyday life, but rather than mere inspiration for his literary representations of gardens, Jünger endowed his own garden with almost mythological meaning. When asked in 1995 at age 100 about his future plans, for example, Jünger replied that he would continue to travel, but primarily "in dem kleinen Universum, das mein Garten vorstellt."[322] Not only did Jünger's own garden represent a spatial limitlessness but also a certain timelessness, which can be seen in the statue of the god Janus that still stands in it: the two-faced god who represented time itself, a god who can look into the past and the future. Able to look infinitely in either direction of time, Janus himself is outside of time. In this sense, Jünger embeds his own garden into the tradition of the garden as a representation of the cosmos and the gardens of the gods, which were characterized by their quality of timelessness.[323]

Such mythological representations of gardens have often also been adapted literary tropes of nature to invoke the same sense of both timelessness and (the loss of) the immediacy of paradise, in particular in the Judeo-Christian image of the Garden of Eden. As a symbol of paradise and creation, Eden has been particularly invoked in several works of European literature since the

[321] The Hesperides serve as Jünger's inspiration for the "Hesperiden," the vaguely paradisaical realm in *Heliopolis* that the protagonist leaves to enter back into the city of Heliopolis.
[322] Quoted in Kiesel, *Ernst Jünger. Die Biographie*, 667.
[323] Cf. Monika Schmitz-Emans, "Gärten und Texte – Vorüberlegungen," in *Gärten*, ed. Kurt Röttgers and Monika Schmitz-Emans (Essen: Die Blaue Eule, 2011), 12.

seventeenth century,[324] prominent examples among them being John Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1667), Voltaire's *Candide* (1759), and Heinrich von Kleist's *Das Erdbeben in Chili* (1807). In *Das Erdbeben in Chili,* after a catastrophic earthquake which threatens to separate the two lovers, Jeronimo and Josepha, Kleist constructs an idyllic realm outside the city of Santiago where the two can reunite and begin their life together anew, while explicitly connecting this realm to Eden in the text. Not only can the two lovers reunite and live in harmony, the veritable paradise outside of Santiago becomes a classless society, contrasting with the stratified social life of the city. Similarly, in the picaresque *Candide,* after the titular character and the young Cunégonde are expelled from the garden of Baron Thunder-ten-Tronckh's castle, his journey through the "real world" in order to test the theories of Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz inevitably leads him back to the simple life of a garden, and ends with the imperative that "we must cultivate our garden."[325] Indeed, in *Candide*, one could argue that Candide's instruction in Leibniz's theory of "the best of all possible worlds" is, in itself, a form of garden: a theoretical space in which catastrophe and destruction are not allowed. Some have even described the expulsion of Candide and Cunégonde from Baron of Thunder-ten-Tronckh's garden as inspired by the expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden.[326]

In these and other literary inspirations from the biblical Garden of Eden, the overarching potential that its image represents is in the possibility of its own recreation as a new paradise. As a space in which the first human beings were living in complete communion with God's grace

[324] Cf. Stephen Bending, *A Cultural History of Gardens: In the Age of Enlightenment,* ed. Stephen Bending (New York: Bloomsbury, 2013), 13.
[325] Voltaire, *Candide,* in *Voltaire: Candide and Other Stories,* trans. Roger Pearson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 88.
[326] Cf. David Wootton, Introduction to Voltaire, *Candide and Related Texts,* trans. David Wootton (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2000), xiv. Wootton noticeably takes considerable poetic license in chapter two and translates the original French phrase, "Candide chassé du paradis terrestre," as "Candide, driven out of the Garden of Eden." Ibid., 3.

without care, Eden promises a space that is free of all mediation. Still, the common denominator among literary gardens, such as those in *Candide* and *Das Erdbeben in Chili*, is that they fulfill the need for refuge after catastrophic events (such as the earthquake in each of the aforementioned examples). In her summary of the functions of gardens in the cultural history of various civilizations, Monika Schmitz-Emans, for example, speaks of "Ängste und Leiden das Bedürfnis nach solchen Zufluchtsorten" "vor dem Hintergrund historischer Katastrophen."[327] In other words, gardens were not merely constructed to be beautiful for the sake of being beautiful but as a response to a psychological need after an experience of—sometimes mass—trauma. Whereas in *Heliopolis*, Jünger framed the development of collections in Heliopolis as a response to a preceding catastrophe described as the "Große Feuerschläge"—clearly referencing the Second World War—in *Gläserne Bienen*, the catastrophe is twofold: both the world wars that Richard has lived through and their effect on his current personal situation. With this aspect in mind, then, the semiotic tradition of the garden in the background of the text raises the question of whether Richard will find refuge in Zapparoni's garden.

Outside of mythological and literary frameworks, gardens in Europe came with their own historical and political narratives. These narratives were embodied in the competing horticultural models of the eighteenth century, that of the French and English gardens. At the core of the two competing models was their orientation toward an imitation nature, albeit in a very different way. The French garden idealized nature and referred to its creators, that is, gardeners or their employers. The English garden, however, imitated nature by omitting any intervention of humans, thus, creating a most artificial piece of landscape that showcased the imagination of their creators no less than the French gardens did. Hans von Trotha, in his cultural history of European gardens,

[327] Schmitz-Emans, 7.

remarks on how the broader exposure to "nature" was achieved at the beginning of the eighteenth century "in Gärten, die die Natur in verkleinertem Maßstab nachstellten, sogenannten Landschaftsgärten. […] Auf Spaziergängen entlang vorgegebener, sich schlängelnder Wege passierte man Naturimitationen, indem sie atmosphärisch an ferne Orte oder vergangene Zeiten erinnerte."[328] Whereas French gardens like those at Versailles, Chenonceau, and Vaux-le-Vicomte asserted mastery over nature by subjecting it to geometric shapes and symmetry, the English garden was seen as "wilder" and more natural precisely because it did not change nature like the French examples but represented "eine Imitation naturnaher und der Natur entlehnter Gartenentwürfe."[329] In his introduction to the cultural history of gardens in the Enlightenment, Stephen Bending notes that "the older style of 'formal' and geometrical garden, heavily influenced by French and Dutch models, was swept away by a new delight in nature and an attempt to imitate its forms."[330] But what this debate shows is not whether the French or English model for landscape gardens was "correct" but that horticulturalists used gardens as a type of touchstone to determine one's orientation toward nature: for the Englishman, the French garden was false because it distorted nature and was amimetic; for the Frenchman, the English garden was hardly a garden, since it did little to change nature into a garden in the first place. Bending addresses this dialogic use of gardens, writing that they "invite, perhaps even expect, a response from their visitors precisely because they offer themselves as a designed space, as a space designed to speak, and therefore as a space in which to engage in dialogue."[331] In all, notwithstanding, the competing models of French and English gardens had little to do with the actual layouts of the gardens; rather,

[328] Hans von Trotha, *Im Garten der Romantik* (Berlin: Berenberg, 2016), 9-10.
[329] Ibid., 21.
[330] Bending, 5.
[331] Ibid., 19.

they served as reflections of those who cultivated them, not only personally but in terms of the nations they were associated with.

These narratives about historical and fictional gardens are crucial to the semantics of "the garden" of technological delights in *Gläserne Bienen*, especially when considering that Richard explicitly compares viewing Zapparoni's propaganda films to entering a garden.[332] Like the Baroque gardens of Europe, Zapparoni's garden reveals to Richard the protagonist's own orientation toward nature while simultaneously challenging it. The comparison of the sphere of Zapparoni's films about his new inventions with a "garden" also recalls another orientation toward gardens most closely connected to their Enlightenment conception. Harald Tausch writes of the Enlightenment's agenda for constructing gardens, both real and literary:

> Nicht nur ein gewisser Ästhetizismus, der die *tabula rasa* der äußeren Natur als eine willkürlich mit Zeichen zu füllende Leinwand versteht, die nur noch als Inzitament für die Selbstaffektion des Betrachters gelten, sondern mehr noch eine psychologische Wissenschaft, die die innere Natur des "natürlich" empfindenden Menschen neu zu erfinden sucht, betrachten den Menschen und sein sich in Gärten und Architekturen materialisierendes Imaginarium als ein nach Belieben zu programmierendes Feld für Experimente.[333]

While a seventeenth-century monarch's garden certainly served as decoration of his palace grounds, it also served a subconscious self-reflective purpose for one's own human nature. Not only did Enlightenment thinkers and authors conceive of the garden as an image of a space of

[332] Jünger, *Gläserne Bienen*, 448.
[333] Harald Tausch, *"Die Architektur ist die Nachtseite der Kunst": Erdichtete Architekturen und Gärten in der deutschsprachigen Literatur zwischen Frühaufklärung und Romantik* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2006), 427.

perfectibility per se, but the garden was also seen as a reflection of man's inner human nature that was capable of being perfected. Even so, like Candide's garden in the end, these were gardens that needed to be "cultivated," that is, spaces of experimentation, as Tausch emphasizes. Trotha, fittingly, calls the garden of the Enlightenment an "Experimentierfeld für eine neue Ästhetik."[334] Richard even intimates the experimental advantage of gardens and calls the garden "Zapparonis Versuchsfeld."[335] *Gläserne Bienen* implicitly presents gardens "experiments" that will produce an unexpected outcome, one, however, that is different from nature and relies on technological innovation. The question that the image of the garden evokes in Richard now, however, is what exactly Zapparoni is cultivating or experimenting with in his garden.

At first, the text answers this question of cultivation with the image glass bees. Zapparoni's harrowing warning to Richard as he begins the long walk to his garden does not seem to make sense except as a general reference to the uncanniness of the garden's inhabitants. There is more to discover as Richard sets out for an unusual encounter. Glass bees, indeed, both continue and challenge the tradition of mimesis. Like Zapparoni's robot actors who replace human actors, his glass bees threaten to replace real bees, while they are, at the same time, more efficient than their organic counterparts. Richard's entry into Zapparoni's garden is simultaneously an entrance into a literary tradition of representation, a tradition which has nonetheless been mediated by language. The text externalizes the mediation of this tradition through the "technique" of writing with the technological mediation that Richard happens upon. For example, he relates how he sees the glass bees for the first time: "Dann nahm ich das Glas zu Hilfe und sah, daß ich mich nicht getäuscht hatte."[336] Only through the medium of a telescope, that is, through the medium of the glass lens,

[334] Trotha, 22.
[335] Jünger, *Gläserne Bienen*, 508.
[336] Ibid., 504.

can Richard verify what he has seen; the instrument that the earlier Jünger had once called an "Organ der Erkenntnis"[337] now seems to deceive him. The glass of the telescope is therefore just as alienating as the glass that the robotic bees are made of. Richard then begins to consider the ethics of the glass bees and weighs the efficiency of the glass bees against their consequences for the boundaries of nature.[338] Bernd Stiegler has argued that Richard's use of the telescope to see the glass bees cites the well-known scene in E.T.A. Hoffmann's *Der Sandmann* (1816), wherein the protagonist Nathanael views the automaton Olimpia through a telescope.[339] Richard's sight of the glass bees, like Nathanael's vision of the automaton Olimpia, is an uncanny experience, because although they buzz around, collect pollen, make honey, and are shaped like bees, they are nevertheless robotic and made of glass. But whereas Nathanael views the invention of the automaton Olimpia, Richard's sight is complicated by the fact that it takes place in the idyllic setting of a garden, a form of nature that promises immediacy. It is only the medium of the telescope, however, that can cushion the blow of Richard's seeing the glass bees for the first time.

The scene is paradoxical: although Richard is in a garden, it is one filled with robotic bees that seem to detract from the "naturality" of the setting, but as he comes to realize, this space is perhaps a new idyllic realm beyond even Augé's spaces and non-spaces, as it somehow accommodates the technology of the glass bees but retains its status as a garden. In his invention of the glass bees, it seems that Zapparoni has found another way to outdo nature. Richard observes,

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[337] Jünger, *Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis*, 12.
[338] Jünger, *Gläserne Bienen*, 510.
[339] Stiegler, "Technische Innovation und literarische Imagination," 305. Several scholars have written about Jünger's "stereoscopic" vision as part of his aesthetics. See for example Carsten Strathausen, "The Return of the Gaze: Stereoscopic Vision in Jünger and Benjamin," *New German Critique* 80, (Spring-Summer 2000): 125-148; Steffen Arndal, "Stereoskopie auf dem Schlachtfeld: Ernst Jünger und der Heretica-Kreis," in *Das Tor zur Moderne: Positionen der dänischen Literatur der 1950er Jahre*, ed. Sven Hakon Rossel et al., 63-79 (Vienna: Praesens Verlag, 2009); Vincent Blok, "Stereoskopie und Trigonometrie: Jüngers Methode im Liches des 'Sizilischen Briefes an den Mann im Mond,'" in *Ernst Jünger: eine Bilanz*, ed. Natalia Żarska et al., 58-73 (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2010); Rainer Zuch, "Kunstwerk, Traumbild und stereoskopischer Blick. Zum Bildverständnis Jüngers," in *Ernst Jünger. Politik – Mythos – Kunst*, ed. Lutz Hagestedt, 477-496 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012).

for example: "Die alten Stöcke waren von natürlichen Bienen bewohnt. Wahrscheinlich sollten diese Völker nur den Maßstab für die Größe des Triumphes über die Natur abgeben."[340] Here, Richard is still stuck in his Enlightenment model of mimesis: this is reassuring, as the glass bees seem to only *copy* the real bees, who are still extant in Zapparoni's garden. In fact, even though his experience of seeing the glass bees for the first time through a telescope is uncanny, like Hoffmann's Nathanael's view of Olimpia in *Der Sandmann*, the sight also presents the glass bees as objects of Richard's desire. For example, he feels an uneasy sense of pride and fascination upon seeing them for the first time, stating: "Der Anblick fesselte mich in einer Weise, die mich Ort und Stunde vergessen ließ. Ein ähnliches Erstaunen ergreift uns bei der Vorführung einer Maschine, in deren Form und Gangart sich ein neuer Einfall offenbart,"[341] and he continues: "Der Vorgang erfüllte mich, ich muß es bekennen, mit dem Vergnügen, das technische Lösungen in uns hervorrufen."[342] The garden containing the glass bees seems to abolish all time and space and increasingly appears to him as a paradisaical, as Arcadia. The next image challenges this developing pleasant feeling and challenges the dichotomy of technology and nature from which Richard's angst originates.

Zapparoni's Garden as a Space of Hyperreality

Despite Richard's pleasant feeling when viewing Zapparoni's glass bees, he cannot sustain his Enlightenment-era conception of imitating nature, and it is here that the novel begins to question the opposition of technology and nature as spheres that are either wholly artificial or exist without human intervention. In addition to the image of the garden, the text invokes another trope of nature, the *locus amoenus* or "pleasant place" as a space of negotiation. However, it is not the

[340] Jünger, *Gläserne Bienen*, 505-506.
[341] Ibid., 504.
[342] Ibid., 505.

familiar image of the garden itself that has become like a *locus amoenus* for Richard but the sphere of technological innovation that the glass bees represent. In his study of gardens and architecture in German literature, Tausch also draws a comparison between the pleasant promises of reason among Enlightenment thinkers and the concept of the *locus amoenus*. For them, the garden represented an exemplary space for human "perfectibility." Yet, as Tausch notes, in order to escape the Enlightenment's optimism about limitless knowledge and the advantages of reason, as well as to divorce Enlightenment literature from its sentimental origins in the era of *Empfindsamkeit*, writers of the late Enlightenment and *Schauerromantik* purposefully inverted the garden as a *locus amoenus* into a literary *locus terribilis*: "Bereits Wieland hat aufgezeigt, welche Gefahren einer zu selbstsicheren Aufklärung innewohnen, die einen als bloßen 'Fall' verstandenen einzelnen Menschen ohne sein Wissen beobachtet, um ihn in einem Experimentierfeld verstandenen Garten, der nicht nur *locus amoenus*, sondern auch *locus terribilis* in einem schockgleich zu durchlebenden Sinne sein kann, einer Gehirnwäsche zu unterziehen."[343] It is, therefore, not coincidental that among the examples Tausch examines in the framework of horticultural and architectural spaces in literary works is *Der Sandmann*, because, as he points out, Hoffmann was primarily responsible for constructing representations of the "dreadful places" where the tenets of Enlightenment thinkers would surely end up: "Sanatorien, Irrenhäuser und die Theater des Schreckens."[344] Like Lucius de Geer in *Heliopolis*, who must witness the dark side of collections in shrunken heads, skulls, and the horror of human medical experimentation, Jünger continues to explore both the light and dark sides of spaces representative of nature in Richard, who now finds himself in the

[343] Tausch, 429.
[344] Ibid., 430.

dialectical trap in which the positing of a pleasant place necessarily indicates its own contradiction, a place of dread, "ein übler Ort."[345]

In *Gläserne Bienen*, Zapparoni's garden represents the field of experimentation for the competing ideas the novel presents. The dramatic irony of the narrative's finale is that Richard's real aptitude test is not the interview itself but his time in Zapparoni's garden: passing the test will mean accepting a new, hyperreal concept of the relationship between nature and technology that challenges his antiquated mimetic dichotomy of original and imitation. When looking into the garden's pond, he sees what he believes to be amputated human ears floating on the water. This image raises several questions for both Richard and the reader: whether the ears are amputated organic human ears and, consequently, whether Zapparoni has been harvesting real human body parts to make his robot actors seem more lifelike, or whether Zapparoni's technology has advanced so far that the ears are a near perfect imitation of real ears. Whereas Richard knows that the glass bees are artificial imitations of real bees, even while outdoing them, the verisimilitude of the ears forces him to decide whether the ears are real or artificial. Just before he sees the ears, however, Richard again ruminates on the phantasmagoria of Zapparoni's automatons, comparing them to the old tricks of the *laterna magica* and to grotesque literary characters: the half-human half-monster Caliban from William Shakespeare's *The Tempest* and Shylock, the merchant who charges human flesh from *The Merchant of Venice*, the hunchback Quasimodo from Victor Hugo's *Notre-Dame de Paris*, Wilhelm Hauff's fairytale *Der Zwerg Nase,* and the alchemist Archivarius Lindhorst from Hoffmann's *Der goldene Topf*, who turns out to be a salamander.[346] He follows this by recalling the story he had heard of a boy who jumped into the River Thames and committed

[345] Jünger, *Gläserne Bienen*, 519.
[346] Ibid., 511.

suicide after learning that one of Zapparoni's actresses was not "aus Fleisch und Blut," another allusion from Jünger to Nathanael's suicide in *Der Sandmann* after his hopeless infatuation with the automaton Olimpia.[347] Like Nathanael's vision of Olimpia, Richard's sight of the disembodied ears alienates him and cause him to realize how precarious his own human nature and the image of his body are: perhaps even they can be manufactured. In this sense, Zapparoni appears both as Shylock,[348] as Richard questions if Zapparoni's price is worth the reward of technological development, and as a new Coppelius, who has harnessed technology to steal ears rather than eyes. However, despite the anecdote about the boy's suicide and the comparison to literary grotesques, Richard—and the reader—now has to question whether the robot actors *are* perhaps made of flesh and blood harvested from "real" human beings, a notion which shifts Richard's inner monologue into the realm of ethics.

Though Zapparoni's endeavors promise to create near-perfect recreations of bees and human body parts—the ultimate exercise in beauty and perfectibility of an image, and, thus, pure aesthetics—ethics remains unaddressed as long as Zapparoni's ends justify his means. Although *Gläserne Bienen* is one of Jünger's later works, the relationship between aesthetics and ethics has been a topic often addressed by scholars of Jünger, especially due to frequent accusations that Jünger aestheticizes the context of his texts at all costs. Achim Geisenhanslüke, for example, has compared Jünger's aesthetics to that of Immanuel Kant and argued that in Jünger's writings, aesthetics takes the place of ethics.[349] This argument is not surprising, considering that part of Jünger's controversy since his debut as an author has been partially colored by his highly aestheticized depictions of events that border on the amoral but nevertheless also drew on literary

[347] Ibid., 512.
[348] Ibid., 511.
[349] Achim Geisenhanslüke, "Le sublime chez Ernst Jünger," *Les Carnes Ernst Jünger* 1 (1996), 33.

traditions from Poe, Charles Baudelaire, and French Symbolism. In addition to the supposed "glorification of war" in his works from the 1920s, this problem of the relation between aesthetics and ethics can be seen, for example, in his description of an air attack on the Parisian suburb of Boulogne-Billancourt on May 27, 1944 in his *Zweites Pariser Tagebuch*, where he describes the town as appearing like a calyx of a flower during the bombardment: "Beim zweiten Male, bei Sonnenuntergang, hielt ich ein Glas Burgunder, in dem Erdbeeren schwammen, in der Hand. Die Stadt mit ihren roten Türmen und Kuppeln lag in gewaltiger Schönheit, gleich einem Blütenkelche, der zu tödlicher Befruchtung überflogen wird."[350] In this description of a bombardment, Jünger seems to irresponsibly portray himself as a dandy viewing history as a spectacle, describing the airplanes as if bees pollinating a flower. On its face, the passage seems to result from a radical aestheticism. However, Helmuth Kiesel notes that such an exaggerated description, so contradictory to the scene at hand, resulted from a literary tradition and, in Kiesel's opinion, has "den Charakter einer Überlebenstechnik."[351] Geisenhanslüke also notes that Jünger's interest in replacing ethics with aesthetics in his writing did not have to do as much with his irresponsible, amoral representation of terrible events, such as death and destruction in warfare, but rather reflected a greater change in the history of aesthetics in general.[352]

Geisenhanslüke also interprets Jünger's aesthetics as an attempt to rehabilitate nature in opposition to its subjugation by the human mind.[353] In the example of comparing a town under attack to the anatomy of a flower, Jünger is ostensibly promoting a radical form of mimesis in his

[350] Ernst Jünger, *Strahlungen II*, in *Ernst Jünger. Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 3 (Stuttgart: Kletta-Cotta, 2015), 271. See also Patrick Pfaff, "'Vor beliebigen Interpretationen ist im Laufe seiner Rezeption kein Text gefeit': Über Tobias Wimbauers Lesart der 'Burgunderszene' Ernst Jüngers," in *Totalität als Faszination: Systematisierung des Heterogenen im Werk Ernst Jüngers*, ed. Andrea Benedetti and Lutz Hagestedt, 271-320 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018).
[351] Kiesel, *Ernst Jünger. Die Biographie*, 519.
[352] Geisenhanslüke, 29ff.
[353] Ibid., 33.

literary depictions of events that one would otherwise perceive as shocking or horrifying. Yet Richard's experiences in *Gläserne Bienen* exhibit a development in Jünger's aesthetics by challenging the "center" of this trend of radical aestheticization in his preceding works. Rather than reveling in the ultimate aestheticization of the human body, Richard questions the ethical limits of the aesthetics of the ears he sees in the pond, which, at this point in the narrative, he still thinks may be real. At first, he is shocked by the ears but continues to attempt to rationalize them:

> Die brutale Vorweisung abgeschnittener Gliedmaßen hatte mich bestürzt. Doch war sie das in diesem Zusammenhange fällige Motiv. Gehörte sie nicht zur technischen Perfektion und ihrem Rausch, den sie beendete? Gab es in irgendeinem Abschnitt der Weltgeschichte so viel zerstückelte Leiber, so viel abgetrennte Glieder wie in dem unseren? Seit Anbeginn führen die Menschen Kriege, doch ich entsinne mich aus der ganzen Ilias nicht *eines* Beispiels, in dem der Verlust eines Armes oder eines Beines berichtet wird.[354]

Richard hearkens back to the legacy of the two world wars in the twentieth century and the bloodshed and destruction they have left behind. Because he has experience in the military, and the novel suggests that it was the two world wars in which he participated, he attempts to qualify the ethics of the ears with the ethics of the destruction of both wars: did they not wreak even more havoc and dismember more? Compare Richard's description of the ears to Jünger's description of seeing a decomposing corpse, recounted in *Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis*. Commenting on the effect of seeing corpses on his fellow soldiers, he writes: "Diese Männer waren vom Grauen durchsättigt, sie wären verloren gewesen ohne den Rausch. Wer kann es ermessen? Nur ein Dichter, ein *poète maudit* in der wollüstigen Hölle seiner Träume. *Et dites-moi s'il est encore*

[354] Jünger, *Gläserne Bienen*, 520-521.

quelque torture / Pour ce vieux corps sans âme et mort parmi les morts? [*And if there are yet further torments, say / For this old soulless corpse among the dead?*]"[355] At this level, the subject viewing the decaying bodies does not, as of yet, question whether or not they are real or authentic. Instead, Jünger, rather than saying that a writer or poet could never understand the real-life effects of death on the battlefield, he states the complete opposite, filtering his traumatic experience through Baudelaire's "Le mort joyeux" from *Les Fleurs du mal* (1857). Again, in *Gläserne Bienen*, the protagonist attempts to understand his traumatic vision by looking to its literary representation as a basis for understanding. But his comparison of the amputated ears to the carnage described in the *Iliad* falls short. As the *Iliad* shows Richard, even the brutal wars of antiquity still retained an aesthetic value, an aesthetic center that could not be amputated or dissected, or, as Richard formulates it, subjected to "die sezierende Denkart"[356] that Zapparoni embodies. Metaphorically, then, it is not so much the shock of seeing amputated ears that disturbs Richard but the fact that the image of the ears threatens to "dissect" and amputate his own aesthetic center; that is, the fact that, contrary to the controversial aesthetics of Jünger himself, even aestheticization can sometimes go too far.

As Richard's panic sets in, however, his apprehension about the sight of the ears expands into an inner debate on authenticity, between what could be called "naturality," "realness," or originality on the one hand and "artificiality" or "fakeness" on the other hand. Commenting on Zapparoni's attempt to create more perfect human beings with his robots, he provides his first tentative conclusion: "Menschliche Vollkommenheit und technische Perfektion sind nicht zu vereinbaren. Wir müssen, wenn wir die eine wollen, die andere zum Opfer bringen; bei diesem

[355] Jünger, *Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis*, 22.
[356] Jünger, *Gläserne Bienen*, 521.

Entschluss beginnt der Scheideweg."[357] Whereas nature had often been the paradigm of aesthetics in art and literature, especially in Jünger's own writings, here it seems to become even too extreme for one of his characters, since the pure aesthetics of Zapparoni now goes so far as to claim human victims; even so, one can rightly argue that Jünger's early depictions of war subjected its victims to an exercise in aestheticization. Now, Richard is at a crossroads and must decide whether to stay or leave. Again, the fear of amputation and dissection strikes Richard, as he concludes that "[e]s ging jetzt darum, mit heilen Gliedern aus dem Park herauszukommen."[358] The garden is already transforming from a *locus amoenus* to a *locus terribilis*. At the narrative level, Richard expresses that he is afraid that he will not be able to leave Zapparoni's trap without having his own limbs amputated in some way. On a more profound level, though, Richard also expresses the fear that he will not be able to leave Zapparoni's garden with his purely mimetic concept of aesthetics intact, where nature and its imitation are clearly disparate and defined. Now the ears, which outdo nature by being more natural than nature itself, throw a wrench in Richard's understanding of imitation.

Throughout the novel, Jünger leads the reader to believe that Richard's anxiety is all based on the fear that technology will usurp nature and that nature will lose its status as the once superior antecedent to all of technology's design. Yet as the final part of the episode of the garden shows, the primacy of technology does not cause Richard's anxiety. The fact that the designs of Zapparoni's technology are derived from nature—in the case of the robotic actors, *human* nature—still contains the underlying assumption that nature is the real, authentic, and original paradigm. This constellation between nature and technology would locate the discourses in *Gläserne Bienen*

[357] Ibid.
[358] Ibid., 524. This scene, too, seems to reflect on Sigmund Freud's reading of *Der Sandmann* in his 1919 essay *Das Unheimliche* in relation to the oedipal operations behind Hoffmann's text: like Nathanael, who fears castration at the hands of Coppelius, Richard fears the "castration" of his own sense of ethics at the hands of his future employer, Zapparoni.

in the realm of what has increasingly been labelled *biomimicry* or *biomimetics* in technology development and architectural design, the process of mimicking the processes of nature in order to improve technology[359]—a concept which still keeps nature intact as a concept. However, contrary to, for example, Neaman's argument that "[t]he real and the artificial have reversed places"[360] in the garden, Richard's anxiety stems from the fact that perhaps nature is not as real, authentic, or original as he once thought it was and that both the glass bees and the amputated ears make nature and technology indistinguishable. Going back to the telescope, he questions: "Es war nun freilich bei der Güte des Glases und der Nähe des Objektes kein Zweifel möglich: es mußten Ohren, menschliche Ohren sein. Mußten es aber auch *echte* Ohren sein?"[361] This question is strange, since the description of the ears as "menschlich" seems to already suggest that they are "echt," but Richard clearly does not see the two aspects as mutual determinants. He again tries to rationalize the situation and write off his fears by positing that perhaps his future coworkers are pulling a practical joke on him and the ears are simply lifelike imitations created to scare him. He then tries to justify the ears by framing them within the same juxtaposition of natural and artificial that the glass bees exhibit: "Warum sollten, wo gläserne Bienen flogen, nicht auch wächserne Ohren ausliegen?"[362] But as he continues to contemplate the naturality or artificiality of the ears, he struggles to confront the potential dilemma that the ears represent: not their reality, naturality, or artificiality, but their hyperreality, the fact that they are "von überwirklicher Genauigkeit."[363]

[359] See for example Vincent Blok and Bart Gremmen, "Ecological Innovation: Biomimicry as a New Way of Thinking and Acting Ecologically," *Journal of Agricultural and Environmental Ethics* 29 (2016): 203-217, and Jan Knippers, Ulrich Schmid, and Thomas Speck, eds., *Biomimetics for Architecture: Learning from Nature* (Basel: Birkhäuser, 2019).
[360] Neaman, 199.
[361] Jünger, *Gläserne Bienen*, 542.
[362] Ibid.
[363] Ibid., 546.

For example, Richard states: "Überhaupt verlor ich bei diesem angestrengten Prüfen und Schauen das Unterscheidungsvermögen zwischen dem, was natürlich, und dem, was künstlich war. […] [Die Ohren] waren natürlich künstlich oder künstlich natürlich."[364] In the apparent absurdity of his statement, he already sees the poles of *naturalia* and *artificialia* collapsing, and he admits that his a priori beliefs are insufficient in this situation: "Wir hängen an unseren Theorien und passen ihnen die Erscheinung an."[365] Bees made of glass and real human ears made of wax are as rational as objects that are naturally artificial or artificially natural. Then, he goes even further than interpreting the sight as a mere interpretation of nature and even questions whether the entire garden is a simulation, a copy that produces the same effects as the original: "Außerdem: wer wollte in diesem Park beschwören, was natürlich, was künstlich war? […] Ich…hatte mich überzeugen können, daß mit Zapparonis Automaten eine neue und schönere Epoche der Schauspielkunst begann."[366] This new "Schauspielkunst" introduced by Zapparoni, this new form of phantasmagoria, differs from the old form of phantasmagoria, where the reality principle of the projector was retained despite the ghostly images it projected in the dark. Now, the new phantasmagoria will set up technology as the new and ultimate form of nature: a space wherein, unlike old phantasmagoric shows which still admitted their own mediation despite the medium's concealment, mediation in Zapparoni's garden of technological delights will disappear and attain the timelessness and immediacy of a space like Arcadia.

Richard's realization is crucial to what *Gläserne Bienen* accomplishes in light of debates on nature and technology. Unlike in questions of biomimicry, Richard does not observe actual

[364] Ibid., 544. Jünger had brought up similar observations in earlier works, including *Der Arbeiter*. There, reflecting on the future of industrialization and warfare, he writes that Ahasver, his narrative embodiment of the "Wandering Jew," would eventually not be able to tell "ob er ein Schlachtfeld oder eine Industriegelände überquert." Jünger, *Der Arbeiter*, 108.
[365] Jünger, *Gläserne Bienen*, 543.
[366] Ibid.

processes of technological development from the extradiegetic world outside *Gläserne Bienen*; rather, he is concerned with technology's potential to blur the principle of nature into indistinguishability. Hans Jonas, whose *Das Prinzip Verantwortung* (1979) argues for a new ethical imperative based on the ecological preservation of human life, admits early on that the collapse of natural and artificial has opened up new possibilities in technology: "Der Unterschied zwischen dem Künstlichen und dem Natürlichen ist verschwunden, das Natürliche ist von der Sphäre des Künstlichen verschlungen worden; und gleichzeitig erzeugt das totale Artefakt, die zur Welt gewordenen Werke des Menschen, die auf ihn und durch ihn selbst wirken, eine neue Art von 'Natur', das heißt eine eigene dynamische Notwendigkeit, mit der die menschliche Freiheit in einem gänzlich neuen Sinn konfrontiert ist."[367] Like the illusive "nature" that has lived out a life of its own in representations from art and literature, the sphere of technological development now seems to have a mind of its own and threatens human freedom. Richard realizes—much in the sense of Jonas—that in order to engage with the ethics of Zapparoni's "garden," he must leave behind the designations of "natural" and "artificial" since they now seem to occur simultaneously in the ears in the pond, and, therefore, cancel each other out.

The Phantasmagoria of Defeatism

With the visions of both the glass bees and the ears in the pond, Richard is confronted with two questions concerning phantasmagoria: for one, whether the positing of a nature that is threatened by nature has actually been a trick to hide the absence of such a nature, and, secondly, whether perhaps the dichotomy of acceptance and defeatism in the face of technology is also a form of phantasmagoria. In the penultimate scene of the novel, Richard stands at a crossroads

[367] Jonas, 33.

where he must decide whether he can see past the illusions presented to him in Zapparoni's garden or accept them in order to obtain employment, but this would mean selling out to the industrialization and technologization that has made him and his generation obsolete. As he soon learns, however, this "Scheideweg" between technology and nature itself is an illusion. When Richard first sees the glass bees, he expresses a fear even greater than the glass bees replacing organic bees by reflecting back on horses: "Im Zeitraum von zwei, drei Stunden raffte sich eine Entwicklung zusammen, an der ich während eines Lebens teilgenommen hatte—ich meine die Verwandlung einer außerordentlichen Erscheinung in eine typische. Das hatte ich mit den Automobilen, den Flugzeugen erlebt. […] Nicht einmal die Pferde wenden mehr den Kopf."[368] After the text has characterized Richard as an anachronism in fear of being replaced by automation, Richard's observation about developments in technology runs against his previous characterization and evinces a far different protagonist than, for example, the narrator of Jünger's war memoirs: rather than fearing the trauma of a continuous bombardment of "extraordinary phenomena" from the world of technology, whether machine guns, tanks, and airplanes or humanoid robots, Richard instead fears that such phenomena will take on an even more diabolical quality; he fears that they will become so "typical" that no one will notice them any longer.

Due to this aspect of Richard's character, *Gläserne Bienen* met criticism at the time of its publication in 1957. Like the protagonist of *Gläserne Bienen*, some accused Jünger himself of defeatism,[369] citing that he had accepted the ascendancy of technology in the face of human value. This accusation can be surmised in the way that Jünger constructs the outcome of Richard's anxieties about Zapparoni's garden. When one of Zapparoni's small surveillance drones flies near

[368] Jünger, *Gläserne Bienen*, 515.
[369] Cf. Hans Vandevoorde, "Ernst Jünger in Flandern," in *Der oft steinige Weg zum Erfolg: Literatur aus Deutschland im niederländischen Sprachraum 1900-2000*, ed. Leopold Decloedt (Amsterdam: Rodolpi, 2004), 127.

Richard, he picks up one of Zapparoni's golf clubs and strikes it out of fear of the uncanny nightmare in which he is trapped. Subsequently, Zapparoni appears and explains to him that the ears were only amputated from his humanoid robots, not from actual human beings.[370] This revelation, in any case, adds another level to the illusions in the final scene, as Zapparoni reveals that the garden was not a simple imitation but a simulation, since Richard was not able to tell the difference between real and fake ears. Richard's inner conflict about the simultaneous authenticity and artificiality of robotic ears reveals an aptitude test: that is, whether he can handle the new hyperreality along with all of its ethical implications that Zapparoni's confounding inventions bring about. The historicist approach that sees *Gläserne Bienen* as an expression of Jünger's own defeatism is somewhat misguided. "Defeatism" would entail one party surrendering to another without a struggle, and in terms of technological development, interpretations of *Gläserne Bienen* such as these were undoubtedly colored by Soviet developments of nuclear weapons technology in the 1950s and the launch of the satellite *Sputnik* in 1957, which drove the threats of nuclear war and the arms race between the Western world and the Eastern Bloc, respectively. Despite contemporaneous fears, such historicist approaches unjustifiably limit *Gläserne Bienen* to interpretations of a science fiction-esque exaggeration of fears of nuclear technology. Rather, as Richard's inner debate surrounding authenticity shows, *Gläserne Bienen* does contain a warning to readers, albeit readers beyond its 1950s milieu.

Historicist interpretations of *Gläserne Bienen* are appropriate to the degree that the text has something to say to its readers, but the scope of such a message transcends contemporaneous concerns. The novel can be seen as staging both a dialectic between Richard's personal fears and Zapparoni's primacy and, by extension, Jünger's own conceptions of nature and technology. Like

[370] Jünger, *Gläserne Bienen*, 550.

Zapparoni's garden of technological experimentation, Jünger designs *Gläserne Bienen* itself to function as a type of garden of experimentation, as Steffen Martus notes: "Wie in einem Probelauf scheint Jünger sich die Konsequenzen seines Technikbegriffs in einer literarischen Vision zu vergegenwärtigen, um dann in Auseinandersetzung mit diesem Entwurf zu einer Bewertung seiner Gegenwart zu gelangen."[371] Indeed, the test that Richard must undergo reflects the test that Jünger himself poses to the readers of *Gläserne Bienen*: if readers themselves can handle the fact that all of the twentieth century's anxieties about a technological takeover are based on a hyperreal dichotomy of nature, a dichotomy that over-deterministically opposes nature and technology.

The unique quality of *Gläserne Bienen* is that Jünger does not make a hero out of Richard: rather than presenting Richard as triumphant over unethical technology after striking the surveillance drone, he implicitly questions whether the interplay of nature and technology requires triumph any longer. After Zapparoni offers him an alternate position—since, after all, he has failed the test—Richard now thinks of how he can now afford things that he could not before his new job, such as a new dress for his wife or a night out to dinner. The text leaves the reader with the sense that Richard only accepts the hyperreality of what he has seen because his acceptance of technology—symbolized by his acceptance of employment from Zapparoni—is due to the material gain now promised to him. Richard even concludes: "Schon bald begann sich zu verwischen, was mir in Zapparonis Garten begegnet war. Es ist am Technischen viel Illusion."[372] Richard writes off his experiences almost as if they were all a fever dream, and the ending of the novel suggests that financial gain has clouded Richard's judgment. However, on a deeper level, Richard's acceptance indicates that he now realizes the metareflective aspect of what he has witnessed: it is not just that

[371] Steffen Martus, *Ernst Jünger* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2001), 222.
[372] Jünger, *Gläserne Bienen*, 555.

Zapparoni's robotic actors represent a form of phantasmagoria, a form of trickery; he realizes the opposition of technology and nature itself is a form of phantasmagoria that tricks its adherents.

A fictional epilogue added to the 1960 edition of *Gläserne Bienen* features Richard presenting a lecture entitled "Der Übergang zur Perfektion" on the existential and historical implications of technology in a history seminar of Zapparoni's corporation entitled "Probleme der Automatenwelt." Martus calls the epilogue a later addition to the "moralische Vexierbildhaftigkeit der Technik" addressed in *Gläserne Bienen* and argues that "[d]er Nachtrag relativiert den erschreckenden Eindruck durch historische Distanznahme."[373] The novel thus returns to the question of Richard's supposed defeatism: is he not acting like a defeatist by taking on employment at Zapparoni's factory and engaging in the same technological development which threatens the world of equestrianism, chivalry, and honor that he once knew? Yet the problem lies not in his own personal decisions but in the hyperreal opposition of an untouched nature and technological development underlying the possibility of defeatism. After he realizes that his test has all been a ruse, he concludes: "Heut kann nur leben, wer an kein happy end mehr glaubt, wer wissend darauf verzichtet hat."[374] This "happy ending," however, is not simply the end of a narrative, such as is common in fairy tales, but rather a victory that is still based on a binary schema of mimetic and amimetic principles, which Richard and Zapparoni respectively represent. This aspect is also what has been missing in studies of *Gläserne Bienen*, that is, not the fact that one of these principles wins out but that the novel, in fact, expresses freedom beyond the resolution of the conflict between these two principles.

[373] Martus, 222-223.
[374] Jünger, *Gläserne Bienen*, 553.

Conclusion

Gläserne Bienen represents an atypical entry into the broader phenomenology of nature that Ernst Jünger's body of works formulates. It is an atypical entry precisely because it does not defend "nature" outright as a pure, visceral state encroached on by the forces of modernity as the phenomenology of collections in *Heliopolis,* nor does it accomplish the same defense of a disappearing transcendental quality of "nature" that the later *Eumeswil* would engage in twenty years after it. In *Gläserne Bienen*, rather than only employing typical tropes of nature from art and literary history, Jünger also identifies "nature" with a point in time rather than in space: the Rittmeister Richard's past as a Prussian-like cavalryman and all the valor that such a past once entailed. The ingenuity of the novel, however, lies in the fact that rather than being a mere fictionalized essay like many of Jünger's other writings, *Gläserne Bienen* has more to say about aesthetics and the relation of the image and representation than about existentialist questions or their relation to recent historical events. The text stages questions about technology and nature in order to ultimately arrive at a response *to* and question *about* the relationship between aesthetics and ethics. Whereas nature had long been the paradigm of *l'art pour l'art* in art and literature, a vacuum par excellence, *Gläserne Bienen* questions whether technology, embodied by Zapparoni, is the new form of art for art's sake.

Considering Ernst Jünger's reputation both as an author and political figure, *Gläserne Bienen* runs the risk of being interpreted as the expression of a particularly conservative bitterness following the Second World War into the Cold War era. But, aside from merely processing Jünger's own feelings of being a misunderstood anachronism by cloaking it in fiction, the novel exhibits several moments of metareflection: that is, writing about the process of writing itself, fiction that experiments with the idea of constructing fiction itself. Although intradiegetically

Richard struggles with feelings of being anachronistic, feelings that are augmented by his lack of employment, he actually struggles with the literary and artistic concept of mimesis. Mimesis is the crux on which all of Richard's anxiety hinges on throughout *Gläserne Bienen*: he has anxieties about the fact that the oligarchical innovator Zapparoni can imitate things that he once took for granted and that his army of factory workers will mimic a real army to near perfection. As the text relates, Richard had already previously struggled with the technological appropriation and imitation of "natural" things in his lifetime, such as the automobile's usurpation of the horse's role in transportation technology. Not only this, but the text hints at the fact that the invention of the automobile had also reduced cavalrymen to the same level as anyone else who could afford an automobile: all the renown associated with the equestrian "class" had disappeared in the age of increasing industrialization. Nor was the cavalry to any longer sit atop a horse in battle but be inside the impersonal, uncomfortable tanks now present everywhere in battle.

In the present day, as his interview with Zapparoni ultimately shows, Richard's anxieties are bolstered by the fact that Zapparoni even attempts to imitate the military tactics that Richard learned in his cavalry days. The text, however, shifts from mere originals and their imitations to the level of simulation. Within the centuries-old trope of the garden, Richard stumbles upon the simulacrum of the ears that he witnesses in Zapparoni's pond, which are "überwirklich," more lifelike than real life. The dilemma of an undiscernible reality of an image, the ears that are both real and artificial, is initially disconcerting to both Richard and the reader because it suspends ethical concerns of Zapparoni's ability to potentially harvest "real" ears from "real" humans for his robotic actors. Despite Richard's angst, which, in the second part of the novel, is increasingly articulated in the paradigm of German *Schauerromantik*, Richard admits defeat precisely by his realization that the dichotomy of victory and defeat is no longer possible in a world administrated

by people like Zapparoni. And, like the simulacrum of the ears, he realizes upon self-reflection that his idealized past as a Rittmeister is also a simulacrum, for it is a copy of something that no longer exists, a nostalgia that is greater than the sum of its parts. The meta-awareness of the insufficiency of mimesis that *Gläserne Bienen* exhibits nevertheless opens up implications for the remainder of Jünger's oeuvre and how to understand it. In this context, then, *Gläserne Bienen* marks a turning point for Jünger, from transforming both real events and philosophical questions into fiction to working out the difficulties of verbal representation in literature outright by means of that very same fiction. *Gläserne Bienen* is a story without a happy ending in that it suggests the possibility of freedom within the aspects of technology that now mimic and, perhaps, replace nature. *Gläserne Bienen* is not an admission of Jünger's conservative nostalgia but a distancing from the same which opens up a new field of experimentation in his increasingly hyperreal conception of nature.

Chapter 4

Nature Tropes and Metafiction in *Eumeswil*

On October 27, 1982, the Argentinian author Jorge Luis Borges made the trek to Ernst Jünger's remote home in Baden-Württemberg. The meeting was a long time in the making: Borges, now in his eighties, had wished to visit the author of *In Stahlgewittern* whom he had admired since the 1920s. The former director of Argentina's National Library, who had once posited a universe made up of an infinite library in his 1941 short story "The Library of Babel," Borges also found a kindred spirit in Jünger, an author who himself had amassed thousands of volumes on the shelves of his personal library at his home, including the works of Borges. By the time of their meeting in the 1980s, Borges's admiration of Jünger only superficially connected the two seasoned authors. Borges, who had been educated in Europe and an admirer of German literature, is known for the narrative worlds of his short stories that contain elements such as labyrinths, mythological figures, gardens, and Islamic folklore and address the ideas of authorship, authenticity, and the role of literature in society. Borges is also renowned as an author who often used metafiction—fiction aware of fiction—to add complex layers of provenance and reliability to his short stories. Unlike many authors, he had spent his writing career playing with the full awareness of a text as it unfolds and the implications of such a self-awareness.

Borges's interest in and representation of metafiction, in turn, contributed to his joint admiration with Jünger of Miguel de Cervantes's picaresque novel *El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha* (1605/1615), the famed story of an insane nobleman for whom fiction appears more real than reality. It was also a text that Jünger had often drawn upon as a model for

depictions of adventure in his own writings.[1] The same day of their meeting, Jünger wrote in his diary that the two had discussed *Don Quixote,* and he seems to have relished discussing it both with a native speaker of Spanish and with such an esteemed literary figure: "Ich bedauerte, daß ich nicht Spanisch gelernt hätte, um Cervantes und Quevedo im Urtext lesen zu können—natürlich auch Borges."[2] Yet there is more to this passing admission. It stems not only from a harmless regret but exemplifies his often-veiled shorthand, which here signals that he sees himself and Borges as literary heirs of Cervantes. For both authors, *Don Quixote* marked the shift in literary history away from the implicit autonomy of a literary work and acknowledged the fragility of the suspension of disbelief necessary for such a work. The appearance of *Don Quixote* declared that literature had exhausted an imaginative substance, namely in Don Quixote's case, the substance of medieval chivalric romances. Because of this acknowledgement, Borges sometimes took up the figure of the mad *hidalgo* and the novel's metafictional character in short stories such as "Pierre Menard, Author of the *Quixote*" (1939) and the "Parable of Cervantes and the *Quixote*" (1960). The former tale, exemplary of Borges's intertextual, metafictional short stories, is a fictionalized article written by an anonymous literary scholar who traces the provenance of additional sections of *Don Quixote* and their translator, Pierre Menard. The literary scholar discovers that this Menard found himself in a quandary when he decided to write such a pure translation of Cervantes into French that he begins to reproduce the exact words of *Don Quixote*: "Pierre Menard did not want to compose *another* Quixote, which surely is easy enough—he wanted to compose *the* Quixote.

[1] See Rotraut Fischer, "Don Quijote oder Das Abenteuerliche Herz: Eine Annäherung an die Kunst Ernst Jüngers," in *Ernst Jünger: Politik – Mythos – Kunst*, ed. Lutz Hagestedt (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2004): 87-99. See also Gabriele Eckart and Meg H. Brown, *Shifting Viewpoints: Cervantes in Twentieth-Century and Early Twenty-First Century Literature Written in German* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013): 9-26. For the significance of *Don Quixote* in Borges, see Florent Souillot, "Borges et Don Quichotte," *Revue de littérature comparée* 4, no. 320 (2006): 459-473.

[2] Ernst Jünger, October 27, 1982, *Strahlungen V*, in *Ernst Jünger. Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 6 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015), 192.

Nor, surely, need one be obliged to note that his goal was never a mechanical transcription of the original; he had no intention of *copying* it. His admirable ambition was to produce a number of pages which coincided—word for word and line for line—with those of Miguel de Cervantes."[3] Rather than approximate the meaning of Cervantes's Spanish, Menard takes the intent of every translator to its logical, yet absurd, conclusion: to come as close as possible to an accurate translation of one text into another and, consequently, to accomplish what Don Quixote could not, a perfect revival of the medieval chivalry of which he had read.

As Menard also shows, however, even a translation has a certain authorial command, even when translating from one language into another. Borges's Menard tries what every author attempts when creating a narrative world, to translate things outside of the text into text. Like Borges, Jünger addresses the same problem in his novels. For Jünger, the challenge of a perfect "translation" into a narrative world manifests in the translation of nature into words, or more precisely, into the form of prose, a challenge that his 1977 dystopian novel *Eumeswil*, addresses. Very little "happens" in *Eumeswil*. Written in a vaguely epistolary form, the novel is comprised of the notes of its narrator, Manuel Venator. He lives in Eumeswil, a city-state that the novel describes in several different ways. In its greater context, it is one city-state among many in the setting of the novel. It is located within the same narrative "universe" of dystopias of *Heliopolis* and *Gläserne Bienen*. It is also one among many of what Venator refers to as "Diadochenreiche."[4] Like the Diadochi, the military heirs of Alexander the Great who fought over power after the emperor's death, *Eumeswil* leads the reader to believe that the kingdoms of Venator's world represent the

[3] Jorge Luis Borges, "Pierre Menard, Author of the *Quixote*," in *Jorge Luis Borges: Collected Fictions*, trans. Andrew Hurley (New York: Penguin, 1998), 91.
[4] The name *Eumeswil* itself derives from Eumenes of Cardia (c. 362-316 BC), a Greek general who fought in the Wars of the Diadochi. Cf. Ulrich Prill, *"mir ward Alles Spiel": Ernst Jünger als homo ludens* (Würzburg: Königsmann & Neuhausen, 2002), 110.

remnants of a former empire. The layout of the city of Eumeswil, with its citadel and casbah, recall the ancient cities of the Maghreb. And, like in the Pagos of *Heliopolis*, Jünger embeds a hierarchy into the geography of Eumeswil. Since the "Kasbah" sits at the highest point of the city, it is the place where the highest authorities of the city spend their time.

In his notes, Venator does not present himself as an active participant in, but a passive observer, of the social structure of Eumeswil. His two jobs reflect his position as an observer. As a historian, he observes historical events and patterns within history. As a bartender, a "Nachtsteward," at night in a bar in the Kasbah, he listens in on the conversations of prominent figures and later reflects on them in his diaries. But politically, he associates himself neither with the conservatives, whom he sees as hopeless nostalgics, nor with the liberals, whom his father and brother represent. He lives under a dictatorship which he describes as a tyranny in the ancient Roman sense. Throughout the novel, he is less interested in the politics of Eumeswil per se and more in how the tyrannical Condor reinforces his power by embedding himself in the traditions of past tyrants. The Condor, however, is a microcosm of this embedding problem: everyone in Eumeswil is constantly invoking historical memories to legitimize themselves. The city is not so much a political tyranny as a city under the tyranny of imitation and repetition. But Venator's mentors at the "Historisches Institut" where he works, the three professors Vigo, Bruno, and Thofern, make sense of historical patterns, process, and models for him. He also uses a machine called the "Luminar" that stores information about history for him, but as he discovers, its technology can only reproduce, but not create, nature. It is already a second form of nature. Midway through his self-narration, he describes his plans to build a refuge, a "Fluchtburg" at the end of a river directly outside of Eumeswil, because he can no longer stand the banality of the city. As he discovers, nevertheless, a physical change does not suffice for an escape. By the end of the

novel, he finds a way out with an expedition of the Condor into the mysterious woods and vast desert outside of Eumeswil. Since he is bored of the collections in the city, and since he has heard that these woods contain mysterious creatures that no one in Eumeswil has ever recorded, he sees the opportunity to "collect" something new and, thereby, improve his life. By becoming the new court historian to the Condor's adventures beyond the city, he prepares to leave his declining society behind just as his notes end.

One of the pivotal dilemmas for Venator in *Eumeswil* is the search for nature in a society where it seems that access to it has disappeared. In this search, he ties the problem to the concept of creation and recreation. Early on in his notes, he observes, "Die Schöpfung wiederherzustellen—das ist ein Urproblem."[5] This "Schöpfung" he infuses with biblical undertones, invoking the paradisaical Garden of Eden, observing further that God had "hidden" the Tree of Life from mankind.[6] As a response to the problem of recreating a paradise, *Eumeswil* proposes several abstract manifestations of nature, perhaps the most abstract in the trilogy of dystopian novels of the post-war period. *Eumeswil* employs the form of the collection as its underlying proxy for nature, drawing on the Early Modern tradition of collecting that claimed to re-present nature or the cosmos with a symbolic order.[7] Building on this Early Modern precedent established by Jünger's own collecting, Venator attempts to create a new order of nature in the collections he encounters in his daily life in Eumeswil. As a historian, he collects historical events at the Luminar. At night as a bartender, he collects the stories that he hears in his notes. The whole of *Eumeswil*, in fact, portrays Venator seeking to recreate creation, but in himself rather than in any physical representation, like a garden. Secondly, once the text reveals the limitations of

[5] Jünger, *Eumeswil*, in *Ernst Jünger. Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 20 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015), 199.
[6] Cf. ibid., 12.
[7] On representations of the natural world in Early Modern collections, see chapter two.

collections as access points to nature, it experiments with literary tropes of nature as an alternative. Nevertheless, Venator finds in the end that the problem is not that of an absence of nature in his environment. Rather, he discovers that the terms of the search for nature preconceived by his society were flawed to begin with. Jünger certainly did not initiate the problem of a lost paradise himself with *Eumeswil*; this prospect has concerned poets, authors, painters, theologians, and utopian thinkers since antiquity. For those ancient authors and poets, recreating a paradisaical space entailed not only creating narrative worlds but creating lasting images of nature that crystallized into topoi or tropes that conveyed some reality of nature. Although Jünger in no way originated the problem of recreating a lost paradise, this chapter argues that with *Eumeswil*, he employs metafiction to locate nature not anywhere in the content of the novel, but in the medium of writing itself.

Nevertheless, a recreation of nature requires a creator. Despite its theological and literary overtones, the problem of recreation also had historical influences from the time of the publication of *Eumeswil*. The novel coincided with an intense reevaluation of the author's relationship to his or her text that had taken place in the recent years before the novel's publication. Trends in French literary theory of the 1960s, for example, such as the assertions about the role of an author in Roland Barthes's essay "La mort de l'auteur" (1967) and Michel Foucault's essay "Qu'est-ce qu'un auteur?" (1969).[8] These post-structuralist approaches challenged the long-held Romantic notion of the text as a reflection of its author's psyche and suggested that it be considered as an enclosed system of signification and the author—in Barthes's words—merely a "scriptor." Unlike the author, whom we perceive to have preceded the creation of his or her book, for Barthes "the

[8] See Michel Foucault, "What Is an Author?" in *The Foucault Reader*, ed. Paul Rabinow, 101-120 (New York: Pantheon, 1984).

modern scriptor is born simultaneously with the text, is in no way equipped with a being preceding or exceeding the writing, is not the subject with the book as predicate."[9] Barthes's distinction of author and scriptor captures, more or less, the constant lies to cover the mistakes of creation that Venator brings to light at the beginning of the novel: "Beginnt jedoch die Aussage mit einer Lüge, so muß sie durch immer neue Lügen unterstützt werden, bis schließlich das Gebäude zusammenbricht. Hierher mein Verdacht, daß schon die Schöpfung mit einer Einfälschung begann."[10] Similarly, with the scriptor in Barthes, "life never does more than imitate the book, and the book itself is only a tissue of signs, an imitation that is lost, infinitely deferred."[11] In this context, one can understand the concerns of authorship and creation in Jünger as a response to the "death of the author" in the 1960s.[12]

[9] Roland Barthes, "The Death of the Author," in *Image, Music, Text: Essays*, ed. and trans. Stephen Heath (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), 145.

[10] Jünger, *Eumeswil*, 11-12. Venator's metaphor of a primordial lie which must continuously be lied about recalls the fundamental argument of Saussurian linguistics. Because the original paradise of creation and "nature" were not connected by a perfect union, the meaning constantly slips away from the original assertion of meaning, what Jacques Derrida called *différance* in terms of the signifier and signified.

[11] Barthes, "The Death of the Author," 147.

[12] Borges had already begun playing with the idea of emptying the author of meaning early in his career by publishing falsified translations of older texts that were themselves counterfeits portrayed as "lost" fragments of famous authors. But his literary experiments in turn drew on the tradition of the "editorial fiction," or *Herausgeberfiktion*, a narrative strategy that rose to prominence in the eighteenth century, wherein an author presents himself or herself as the editor of a text her or she has "discovered" and published. See Uwe Wirth, *Die Geburt des Autors aus dem Geist der Herausgeberfiktion. Editoriale Rahmung im Roman um 1800: Wieland, Goethe, Brentano, Jean Paul und E.T.A. Hoffmann* (Munich: Fink, 2008). By distancing himself or herself from the text, an author was able to add an air of authenticity while preserving the principle of authorship. Although prominent in the eighteenth century, some used the strategy well into the twentieth century. In addition to a prologue or epilogue, some used the epistolary form to augment the feeling of authenticity in the text. Jünger sometimes uses the editorial fiction in the form of epilogues. In *Gläserne Bienen*, an anonymous epilogue, added in 1960, comments on the novel's unresolved conflicts. The epilogue of *Eumeswil* contains the protagonist's brother's comments and justifies his publication of the text. Like the epistolary novel, Jünger presents *Eumeswil* as if constructed from notes the protagonist has left behind. However, whereas eighteenth-century prologues or epilogues from an "editor" added authenticity, Jünger's editorial fictions complicate provenance, particularly with another layer of awareness in *Eumeswil*. Not only does Venator's brother read his notes, Venator often uses them to write about his own "readings" of history. This intertextual quality of *Eumeswil* led one critic to conclude that the text is rife "with a dazzling range of allusions" and is an "acute if labyrinthine study of a compromised individual." "*Eumeswil*," *Publisher's Weekly Review* 241, no. 19 (May 2, 1994), 64. Yet its intertextuality serves a purpose: through his readings, Venator learns to become a master narrator of a new narrative, one that he constructs out of the pieces of history he collects.

The "labyrinthine" quality of the numerous historical and literary allusions in *Eumeswil* captures the way the novel confronts the problem of nature, because it constructs Venator's search for nature as a type of labyrinth. Only through the labyrinth of collecting historical events can Venator arrive at the endpoint of the maze and, thereby, at the possibility of "recreating creation." What he learns from the historical processes, paradigms, and models while sitting at the Luminar expresses the truism that "history repeats itself," that is, that he is able to detect patterns in historical events both ancient and recent. But sifting through so many historical events and narratives leaves Venator overwhelmed. He compares his work at the Luminar to finding his way through a labyrinth: "Die Tage und Nächte am Luminar führen in ein Labyrinth, in dem ich mich zu verlieren fürchte."[13] As will be described below, the Luminar contains all the events in human history and can transport the user back into the event itself as if traveling back in time. Like Pierre Menard, who must wander through the labyrinth of translating Cervantes to arrive at a perfect translation—nothing more than a facsimile of the original—Venator seeks the esoteric and strives for "die Gewinnung einer 'Essenz'…von etwas Verborgenem"[14] in his collecting. He seeks something hidden because, as he describes the situation, Eumeswil's inhabitants are constantly invoking historical figures and moments but never achieve the perfect imitation, the perfect translation, of either. Whereas several of Jünger's other protagonists search for a sense of security and mastery of one's fate in "nature" in all its graphic and figurative manifestations—gardens, islands, collections, libraries, nostalgia—*Eumeswil* recounts Venator's attempt to find this same security and mastery outside of the tropes that other residents of Eumeswil have used up to the point of parody.

[13] Jünger, *Eumeswil*, 95.
[14] Fischer, 88.

Where many have overlooked the confrontation with the problem of nature in *Eumeswil* has been to overdetermine the role of history in the novel and miss how the novel associates it with collecting and nature. Because it describes a society without absolute truth, wherein differing narratives compete for cultural dominance and facts have been reduced to opinion, some have attempted to situate the novel within the framework of so-called posthistorical thought of the late twentieth century represented by figures such as Francis Fukuyama and Vilém Flusser. Venator's exclamatory claim at one point that "die historische Substanz ist verbraucht"[15] in Eumeswil seems to corroborate a posthistorical classification. Although it ostensibly illustrates the "end of history,"[16] history itself in the novel acts, on the contrary, as an allegory for the end of nature as a viable form of refuge in the novel. As the following chapter will show, *Eumeswil* associates the element of history in the novel with nature by means of Venator's collecting. As a response to this ostensible end to nature, the novel also introduces literary tropes of nature in an attempt to understand how he can recreate nature. Like tropes such as the *locus amoenus*, Jünger's dystopian novels perform imaginary spaces wherein one can negotiate meaning outside of the often dangerous contingencies of historical time. Nevertheless, the dystopian society of Eumeswil and the tropes as its basis have now transformed into hyperreal reenactments of a reality that has been lost. Venator realizes that nature has had its day and, like its representations in literary tropes, they have become something to parody. In this sense, *Eumeswil* results in an extended commentary on fiction writing itself and reveals how utopian and hyperreal the possibility of fiction writing appears within the milieu of the late twentieth century. The problem that launches *Eumeswil*, then, occurs when the protagonist, Venator, finds himself in search of a new sense of the imaginary in a world that has blurred the lines between fiction and reality and everything has become a narrative.

[15] Jünger, *Eumeswil*, 62.
[16] Cf. Lutz Niethammer, *Posthistoire: Ist die Geschichte zu Ende?* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1989), 34.

The possibility of recreating nature itself has become a narrative, an impractical myth. Thus, the following addresses the role of parody as a means of understanding the decline of nature as a trope, the role of the Luminar as a collection, and Jünger's use of the *locus amoenus* as a means of turning inward to find nature. What results is a new form of narration, of creating nature, that Jünger suggests with *Eumeswil*. As the novel demonstrates, Venator disappears—and must disappear—into the woods, the allegorical space of a new form of narration, once the "resources" of literary spaces of nature have run their course, been used up, and gone extinct. In their place, *Eumeswil* uses the element of historiography as an allegory for the creation of a new form of nature. With its use of metafictional elements, *Eumeswil* contends that the efficacy of nature in literature, in all of its tropes, has been exhausted and that fiction writing now reflects back onto itself as the final form of nature possible. Neither collecting nor once reliable tropes of nature can save Venator from his inner emptiness. Now, *Eumeswil* argues that writing must shift nature back into the labyrinth of possibility, across the challenges of nihilism and into the potential of the imaginary.

Staging the Loss of Nature: Dramaturgy and Parody in *Eumeswil*

To understand how Venator searches for nature in his occupation as a historian, it is critical to understand the paradigms that Venator draws upon to understand the state of nature in his surroundings. The greatest obstacle for Venator at the beginning of the novel is repetition. Although the possibility of creating a form of nature is open to Venator at the beginning of the text, he finds that, like with other repetitions, they end in parody. Like common themes, tropes, lines, and gestures of a theatrical or musical performance, the repetition of common images and forms of nature, like collections of *naturalia* and tropes that refer to an experience of nature, set themselves up for parody and ridicule. The endless dead-ends of the labyrinth he encounters are

the problematic repetitions of images of nature, which he first discovers in his collecting of historical events in his job at the Historisches Institut. The novel thus first presents the problem of nature in Eumeswil as bound up in the environment of intellectuals who teach Venator and the way in which they allegorically use historiography as symbolic of the search for nature. The opening of the novel resembles the staging of a Borgesian counterfeit autobiography: the first-person narrator introduces himself, establishes the setting, and creates a sense of veracity, as if *Eumeswil* were made up of authentic diary entries published by an unnamed editor. Because of Venator's two occupations, which are effectively two sides of the same coin, he is able to compare historical narratives to the stories he hears while working at the bar of the Kasbah. To help with his research as a historian, he also uses the futuristic technology of the Luminar, a hybrid of a Virtual Reality machine and Internet server,[17] which itself has a dramaturgical quality. Venator can both retrieve information from the Luminar and can, himself, "cite" historical episodes "into" the machine. However, the Luminar can also mentally transport its user to any point in history like a time machine, somewhere between Virtual Reality and a psychedelic hallucination. In a symbolic sense, it exaggerates and manifests the object of historiography, that is, to recreate moments in history with as much fidelity as possible and to recreate the tendencies, tension, and perspectives of a historical moment as if one had lived through them.

Jünger also characterizes Venator's studies as that of a collector. Venator describes the Luminar as an "alexandrinische Sammlung und Hortung von Daten."[18] In this capacity, it objectifies historical episodes and makes them searchable. Because of its advanced technological capabilities, it holds the promise of storing an encyclopedic knowledge of history unprecedented

[17] Cf. Alexander Rubel, "'Venator historiae' – der Historiker als 'subtiler Jäger': Geschichtsphilosophisches in Ernst Jüngers 'Eumeswil,'" *Études germaniques: revue trimestrielle de la Société des Études Germaniques* 55, no. 4 (2000), 774, 26n., in reference to the Luminar's similarity to Virtual Reality.
[18] Jünger, *Eumeswil*, 234-235.

in Eumeswil. It therefore combines the fidelity of the historian in representation with the object of collecting: assembling objects into a newly created order that one may enter into, repeat, and leave at will. Like a collector searching for the rare addition to a collection, Venator is a character who is unfulfilled by the seemingly limitless possibilities of the Luminar. His name provides insight into his dissatisfaction. As with the names of other Jünger characters, like Lucius "de Geer" and Pater "Foelix" in *Heliopolis*, Jünger embeds the inherent quality of a character in his or her name. Although *Venator* means "hunter" in Latin,[19] Venator initially states that he is neither interested in his family name nor in hunting, writing: "Dabei ist anzumerken, daß ich kein Jäger bin, ja daß mir ungeachtet meines Namens die Jagd zuwider ist."[20] Instead, he considers himself an intellectual. Here the novel seems to contradict itself when expressing Venator's disdain, because he does in fact hunt for something throughout *Eumeswil*. His "hunt" takes place under the guidance of his three teachers, Vigo, Bruno, and Thofern, who exemplify the authoritative teaching figures common in Jünger's other dystopian novels.[21] Venator depicts Vigo and Bruno as figures who are both establishment intellectuals and countercultural vanguards. Their names also provide linguistic clues as to their characteristics: Vigo phonetically recalls the Italian political and historical philosopher Giambattista Vico,[22] and Bruno, the philosopher, recalls the Italian Dominican friar and polymath Giordano Bruno,[23] who was burned at the stake in 1600 for his perceived heretical views, including his argument for a Copernican cosmological model. In tracing the inspiration for the characters of *Eumeswil*, Danièle Beltran-Vidal has also identified the grammarian Thofern with

[19] Cf. Helmuth Kiesel, *Ernst Jünger. Die Biographie* (Munich: Siedler Verlag, 2009), 635.
[20] Jünger, *Eumeswil*, 17.
[21] For example, Pater Lampros in *Auf den Marmorklippen*, Pater Foelix and Nigromontan in *Heliopolis*, and Monteron in *Gläserne Bienen*.
[22] Cf. Rubel, 770.
[23] Cf. Danièle Beltran-Vidal, "Les frères Jünger, *révolutionnaires conservateurs* repentis?", in *L'Allemagne et la Crise de la Raison: Hommage à Gilbert Merlio*, ed. Nicole Pelletier, Jean Mondot, and Jean-Marie Valentin (Pessac: Presses Universitaires de Bourdeaux, 2001), 114. Venator also explicitly mentions both Giordano Bruno and Giambattista Vico in other contexts: cf. Jünger, *Eumeswil*, 83, 103.

the figure of Oswald Spengler,[24] a theory supported by Venator's repeated use of Spengler's term "Fellachen" to describe the stage of decline in the civilization of Eumeswil. The presence of Venator's teachers indicates that his character is the product of a discourse. His philosophy of history, so to speak, reflects the cyclical, non-progressive models promoted by the historical Vico and Bruno. As will be shown later, these cyclical visions of historical time are crucial to the reappearance of tropes of nature in *Eumeswil* and how Venator orients himself toward them. Like the civilizations that Venator and his mentors study, these images of nature, too, run their course.

As a response to Venator's initial question about the disappearance of the original creation, he applies these cyclical theories of history in order to question whether, in fact, creation will ever appear again in Eumeswil. In spite of the fact that Vico and Bruno are Early Modern figures, the discourse that produces and characterizes Venator in the novel is decidedly one of the nineteenth century. Although set in the distant future, *Eumeswil* stands in the shadow of the intellectual environment of the nineteenth century and often describes the discourse between Venator and his teachers in light of Friedrich Nietzsche's similar cyclical outlook on history: birth, decline, death, rebirth. Although, on the one hand, Helmuth Kiesel argues that Jünger drifted away from the distinctively Nietzschean idiom of his post-World War I writings in his later works, by *Eumeswil*, on the other hand, Nietzsche had remained a consistently present voice in his writings, whether in essays, diaries, or novels.[25] In *Auf den Marmorklippen* and *Heliopolis*, Nietzsche appears under the guise of "der alte Pulverkopf,"[26] an epithet that portrays him as an artillerist exploding the metaphysical core of nineteenth-century thought. He again appears as an underlying voice in

[24] Beltran-Vidal, 114.
[25] He also points out that although Nietzsche served as a greater source of inspiration for Jünger in earlier days, the elder Jünger did invest in Giorgio Colli and Mazzino Montinari's *Kritische Studienausgabe* of Nietzsche's works in 1983. Kiesel, 146.
[26] Cf. Ernst Jünger, *Auf den Marmorklippen*, in *Ernst Jünger. Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 18 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015), 253, 314-315, and *Heliopolis. Rückblick auf eine Stadt* (Tübingen: Heliopolis-Verlag, 1949), 305, 364.

Gläserne Bienen[27] and in *Eumeswil* as "Boutefeu," an incendiary device.[28] Each time, Nietzsche surfaces as a figure who has prophesied the decline that each text now describes. A particularly Nietzschean idea that influences the theories of Venator's teachers is that of "die Ewige Wiederkunft des Gleichen," introduced with the demon's existential proposition in the penultimate aphorism of *Die fröhliche Wissenschaft* (1882) and expanded in the speeches of *Also sprach Zarathustra* (1883-1885).[29] For one, to Venator the ideas that float around Eumeswil seem to repeat as if in an infinite pattern: "Der Katalog der Möglichkeiten scheint erschöpft. Die großen Ideen sind durch Wiederholung abgeschliffen."[30] Because of this void of original ideas, he looks to his teachers Bruno, Vigo, and Thofern because, by adapting eternal recurrence to the study of history, they demystify the raw material of history and provide him with models that make sense of historical repetitions. Thofern, for example, teaches theories of grammar. Like Spengler's approach to historiography in his seminal work *Der Untergang des Abendlandes* (1918/1922), which argues for models of rise and decline of civilizations as cycles in history against a model of progress, he reveals to Venator the morphology, the syntax, of the history of civilizations. With this knowledge of the grammar of the rise and fall of civilizations, in turn, the text implies that Venator is able to "read" each historical narrative found at the Luminar as if it were a book.

Vigo, too, teaches a cyclical view of history that provides Venator a morphological framework to historical analysis: "Als Historiker sieht Vigo den Weltlauf zyklisch, daher sind

[27] Cf. the quotation from Richard in *Gläserne Bienen*, "Es gibt Dinge, die ich ein für alle Mal nicht wissen will," which paraphrases Nietzsche's *Götzen-Dämmerung*: "Ich will, ein für alle Mal, Vieles *nicht* wissen." *Gläserne Bienen*, in *Ernst Jünger. Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 18 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015), 454.
[28] Cf. Carol Diethe, who calls *Heliopolis* "Jünger's most Nietzschean novel." Carol Diethe, *Historical Dictionary of Nietzscheanism*, 3rd ed. (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2014), 209.
[29] On the relationship between Nietzsche's philosophy of history and eternal recurrence, see Anthony K. Jensen, *Nietzsche's Philosophy of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 86ff.
[30] Jünger, *Eumeswil*, 75.

sowohl seine Skepsis wie sein Optimismus begrenzt."[31] Because civilizations come and go, their best and worst qualities, according to Vigo, will also come and go in an observable sequence. Even so, Venator depicts the theories of Vigo and Bruno as unpopular, because they brush up against the theories of the liberal thinkers of Eumeswil, who insist on a view of history as the march of progress: "Alles wird Entwicklung, Progreß zum irdischen Paradies. Es läßt sich endlos auswalzen."[32] Like Nietzsche's own self-proclaimed untimeliness, Venator thinks that both Bruno and Vigo "sind Unzeitgemäße"[33] because of their philosophies of history. What unites all three teachers, however, is the fact that they embrace a mythological way of thinking discredited in their time: "Gemeinsam ist den Dreien auch die unmittelbare Verwurzelung im Mythos, den sie nicht wie die Psychologen entkeimt und säkularisiert haben."[34] Their underlying foundation in mythological thought underlies one of the stakes of the novel, that is, whether one can recapture a mythological perspective in a society that has secularized it. *Eumeswil* cloaks the promise of a return of the mythological in spatial terms common to Jünger's previous works: in the catacombs, which also appear in *Heliopolis*, and the woods. Although the catacombs provided a temporary mental refuge for Lucius de Geer and the inhabitants of the Pagos in *Heliopolis*, *Eumeswil* casts them in a darker light and questions their validity, not in the face of an explosive destruction as *Heliopolis* does, but in the face of an omnipresent nihilism, in a society where "keine Werte mehr lebendig sind."[35]

Nevertheless, Venator expresses skepticism when it comes to the possibility of escaping the endless repetition of historical tropes, as his position within the milieu of Eumeswil's

[31] Ibid., 89.
[32] Ibid., 36.
[33] Ibid., 246.
[34] Ibid., 87.
[35] Ibid., 52.

intelligentsia and ruling class throughout the novel shows. For one, he rejects his teachers' underlying premise of an "ewige Wiederkunft," as he writes: "Es ist übrigens nicht so, daß ich, wie Chateaubriand, Rückkehr oder, wie Boutefeu, Wiederkehr erwarte; das überlasse ich politisch den Konservativen und kosmisch den Sternkundigen."[36] In spite of its influence, he attempts to exorcise the nineteenth-century thought of those like Chateaubriand and Nietzsche from his own thinking. The possibility of returning to a type of Eden, a lost paradise, is futile according to Venator. Furthermore, he challenges Nietzsche's suggestion of eternal recurrence:

> Auch auf Wiederkehr kann ich mich daher nicht einlassen. Sie ist die letzte Ausflucht des Konservativen, der politisch und kultisch die Hoffnung verlor. […] Das Zeitliche kehrt und zwingt selbst Götter in seinen Robot—daher darf es keine Ewige Wiederkehr geben; das ist ein Paradoxon—es gibt keine Ewige Wiederkehr. Besser ist Wiederkehr des Ewigen; sie kann nur einmal stattfinden—dann ist die Zeit zur Strecke gebracht. […] Der Gedanke der Ewigen Wiederkehr ist der eines Fisches, der aus der Pfanne springen will.[37]

He substitutes Nietzsche's existential wager of an eternal recurrence of the same with a vaguely messianic, singular "recurrence of the eternal." Venator's adjustment of the concept both functions as foreshadowing and adds to the subtly theological language that Venator often uses to explain the predicament of Eumeswil. At the beginning of the novel, he employs one of the oldest images of nature, the Garden of Eden, to introduce the dilemma at the core of Eumeswil, the desire to recreate creation. While introducing himself with facts about his life, he writes of the veracity of his self-depiction, "Beginnt jedoch die Aussage mit einer Lüge, so muß sie durch immer neue Lügen unterstützt werden, bis schließlich das Gebäude zusammenbricht. Hierher mein Verdacht,

[36] Ibid., 100.
[37] Ibid., 90.

daß schon die Schöpfung mit einer Einfälschung begann. Wäre es ein simpler Fehler gewesen, so ließe sich das Paradies durch Entwicklung wiederherstellen. Aber der Alte hat den Baum des Lebens sekretiert."[38] The last statement refers to the tree in Eden in the Book of Genesis. Because Adam and Eve eat from the forbidden Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil, they gain knowledge but lose the eternal life granted to them by the Tree of Life. And because the residents of Eumeswil attempts to recreate paradise by means of historical "progress," they falter because they do not search for the concealed "Baum des Lebens." Their fallen state of "sin" thus forces them to search for it in the labyrinth of mortal life outside of the utopian garden.

The problem of recreation and eternal recurrence is further found in the names of other characters. The name of the tyrannical ruler of Eumeswil, "der Condor," recalls a vulture and encodes his position in the symbolism of Eumeswil. Like the scavenging bird, the Condor eats the remains of what was once alive: "Gewiß, der Condor lebte vom Leviathan. Doch dieser Leviathan war ein Leichnam – – – er war kein Riesenspielzeug mehr, mit dem der Weltgeist sich vergnügte, sondern schon als Kadaver von den Gezeiten angeschwemmt."[39] While Venator hunts for his "prey" in the historical models he finds at the Luminar, the leader of Eumeswil lives on the remains of the historical substance that created Eumeswil; the Condor's sovereignty rests on invoking historical models of, primarily, ancient Roman tyrants.[40] Some scholars, such as Peter Koslowski and Lutz Niethammer, have characterized the narrative strategy of *Eumeswil* as "posthistorical"[41] or "postmodern,"[42] to the degree that it engages in a relativistic assignment of value to each of the

[38] Ibid., 11-12.
[39] Ibid., 185.
[40] Cf. ibid., 95.
[41] This interpretation still retains currency in studies of *Eumeswil*. See for example Sérgio da Mata, "Visões da posthistoire em Arnold Gehlen e Ernst Jünger," *Pandaemonium Germanicum* 22, no. 37 (2019): 158-181. Cf. also Niethammer, 34.
[42] Peter Koslowski, *Der Mythos der Moderne: Die dichterische Philosophie Ernst Jüngers* (Munich: Fink, 1991), 135f.

orientations to history that it describes. In Eumeswil, every opinion and model invoked by those around Venator has an equal claim to truth because they no longer originate in any alleged transcendental or supernatural truths. These characteristics are further seen, for example, when Venator describes his society as being made up of "Diadochen," but he uses the image of the Diadochi both figuratively and literally. From a literal point of view, the Condor resembles one of the Diadochi because he makes empty claims to primacy over Eumeswil. He represents the time of the Diadochi more than any other, and Venator labels him "[e]in später Diadoche."[43] Figuratively, Venator connects the Diadochi in Eumeswil again to the looming image of Nietzsche. Alluding to Nietzsche, Venator observes: "Der Weltstaat ist in seine Teile zerbrochen, wie Boutefeu es voraussagte. Es blieben Diadochenreiche und epigonale Stadtstaaten."[44] The "God" of the world preceding Eumeswil has died, as Nietzsche famously formulated it, and unlike the teleological view of history progressing toward a messianic goal, Venator sees his society as the product of degeneration rather than progress, a "Deponie"[45] where his forebears have dumped all the former ideas disseminated through history.

With these aspects of Eumeswil in mind, the novel questions whether the city is, in fact, a derivative theatrical performance or, simply, the intermission between two stages of its history. Despite the depiction of Eumeswil as a landfill, some of its residents stand atop the large landfills that make up the foundation of its society and culture. As the actions of the Condor and the teachings of Vigo and Bruno show, Eumeswil is stuck in repeated imitations of itself that are likewise not flattering but comical and pretentious. One of the images of imitation that often appears in Eumeswil is the epigone, the inferior or pretentious imitator. According to Venator,

[43] Jünger, *Eumeswil*, 98.
[44] Ibid., 377.
[45] Ibid., 373.

Eumeswil is one of the epigonic city-states that remains after a great unnamed catastrophe.[46] It is a city full of epigones, who, like the Diadochi, remain pretenders to the truth and transcendental values. In allegorical terms, then, *Eumeswil* concerns a protagonist who seeks or "hunts" the game of a new grounding in historical meanings but to whom only remains the carcasses of history. This connection to hunting, to the live versus the dead in one's prey, links the element of parody in the novel back to collecting. Venator's role as the hunter recalls Jünger's idea of the "subtile Jagd." Alexander Rubel describes this role as follows: "Beschäftigung mit Geschichte wird in *Eumeswil* mit waidmännischen Bildern beschrieben. Die Betrachtungen münden in die These, daß auch der Historiker von *Eumeswil* bei Jünger ein 'subtiler Jäger' ist."[47] The connection to the "subtile Jagd" that some scholars have drawn also points to the fact that Venator shows tendencies of collecting in his capacity as a historian. It is important to note that the hunter and the collector overlap in Jünger's own personal mythology. His autobiographical essay *Subtile Jagden* recalls his experience as a collector. It uses the "subtile Jagd" as an unironic euphemism to describe the collecting of beetles and it frequently comes up in correspondence with other entomologists and collectors.[48] The "hunter" refers to someone who is always already linked to nature by his hunting, even if, like in Jünger's case, the "hunt" targets insects and is performed through an abundance of attention, observation, and knowledge. Like a collector, Venator is capable of exerting power and mastery over the models in history learned from his teachers and from his research at the Luminar. But, if Venator resembles a collector, this also means that there must be something in *Eumeswil* that resembles the form of nature toward which the collector must orient himself, the sense of

[46] Ibid., 48.
[47] Rubel, 766.
[48] See for example Adolf Horion to Ernst Jünger, March 27, 1955, DLA Marbach; Ernst Jünger to Hans Georg Amsel, May 8, 1961, DLA Marbach; Ernst Jünger to Otto Klages, April 18, 1971, DLA Marbach; Ernst Jünger to Georg Benick, February 25, 1972, DLA Marbach.

wholeness no matter how illusory, a refuge that Venator attempts to find in the rabbit-hole of history. Indeed, what unites the collector and the hunter of "objects" found in nature is the fact that both desire the potentially unattainable.

Eumeswil's imitations and repetitions begin to appear to Venator as forms of parody as he begins to pick up on their dramaturgical quality. While Simon Dentith defines parody as a cultural practice rather than a genre of performance,[49] parody surpasses being a cultural practice in Eumeswil and become its culture outright. Nils Lundberg has characterized the era depicted in the novel as a time "in der Traditionen nurmehr theatralischen Charakter haben, vormals identitätsstiftende Ereignisse und Begebenheiten einer wenige Generationen zuvor noch durchlebt wie durchlittenen und ganz selbstverständlich gegebenen Geschichte weit abgelegen erscheinen."[50] Like Don Quixote's unintentional parody of the medieval literature he reads, the residents of Eumeswil are always attempting to revive the past, and Venator feels as if he is one of the few who recognizes the madness of Eumeswil's re-stagings of defunct traditions. Echoing Cervantes, he writes: "Hier den Kavalier zu spielen, wäre nur noch Komödianten möglich; es denkt auch niemand mehr daran."[51] He also finds parody in the production of art and its relation to Eumeswil's sycophantic intellectuals who surround the Condor. One such intellectual is Kessmüller, an "Eumenist" who "kann sich wie ein Chamäleon verwandeln."[52] He fills his lectures with platitudes that he employs "je nach der Windrichtung."[53] Although Kessmüller has thoroughly studied Vigo as well, Venator believes that he does not take Vigo's theories seriously, and in fact, parodies them in his lectures. Like the Condor, who constantly invokes the tradition of

[49] Simon Dentith, *Parody* (London: Routledge, 2000), 9.
[50] Nils Lundberg, *"Hier aber treten die Ordnungen hervor": Gestaltsästhetische Paradigmen in Ernst Jüngers Zukunftsromanen* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2016), 125.
[51] Jünger, *Eumeswil*, 115. Venator elsewhere mentions Don Quixote: cf. ibid., 226, 313, 329.
[52] Ibid., 32, 33.
[53] Ibid., 32.

the tyrants of ancient Rome, Venator also describes Kessmüller's lectures as the performance of a court jester or fool, like a figure from *commedia dell'arte* or a Carnival celebration: Kessmüller "schlüpft aus der Tracht des Pädagogen in die des Pantalone. […] als ob er in die Bütt träte,"[54] the latter referring a specific tradition during Carnival in Germany whereby "orators" speaking from a podium to a crowd, mocking both the homily of a priest and the lecture of a professor. Because Kessmüller does not take Vigo's theories seriously, he therefore appears as a clown. Kessmüller's derisive lectures do not disturb Venator because of Kessmüller's personal incompetence or lack of character but because the parody he embodies has now become institutional in Eumeswil; Kessmüller is only a symptom of the joke that the academic life of the city has become.

In several ways, Venator's comparison of Kessmüller and Eumeswil's academia to European traditions of parody is rooted in Jünger's own interactions with the parodic and satirical performances of the European avant-garde.[55] His descriptions of Kessmüller's lectures situates the character within these early twentieth-century anti-art movements. For example, he characterizes Kessmüller's citations from Vigo in his lectures as a type of satire: "Das berührt das Gebiet der Persiflage, die sich von der leichten Imitation bis zur groben Gemeinheit erstreckt."[56] He then compares Kessmüller's lectures to cabaret performances he has seen before: "In einem Kabarett am Hafen tritt ein Parodist auf, der Gedichte auf skurrile Weise vorträgt…gemauschelt oder herausgepreßt von einem, der auf dem Abtritt hockt. Er wählt dazu klassische Texte und verzieht den Mund ähnlich wie Kessmüller."[57] This image of a "parodist" recalls the Dada performances of the early twentieth century, such as the intentionally absurd performances of Hugo Ball, Tristan

[54] Ibid., 33.
[55] On Jünger's engagement with the avant-garde, see for example Kiesel, 237.
[56] Jünger, *Eumeswil*, 33.
[57] Ibid., 33-34.

Tzara, and Hans Arp in the Cabaret Voltaire.[58] Ball's sound poetry, for example, composed of meaningless sounds Ball read aloud, can be seen as a parody of the entire genre of poetry and the long-held Romantic notion that a poem should mean something, even if that meaning were cloaked in imagery. In the context of Jünger's long-standing reputation within Germany as a conservative and proto-fascist, this representation of Dada-like performance and theatricality in a late work like *Eumeswil* seems to indicate disdain for the anti-art of the early twentieth century, since Venator clearly describes the characters he dislikes as jesters, fools, and clowns. In *Eumeswil*, Jünger seems to locate the cultural consequences of Dada in the nihilism of the late twentieth century through the eyes of Venator. Already, Venator implicitly begins to question what an afterlife of total parody will look like for his society. Jünger had himself flirted with avant-garde techniques in his writings during the Weimar Republic. While living in Berlin, he associated with artists and writers who had either started in or continued in avant-garde techniques, such as the playwrights Arnolt Bronnen and Bertolt Brecht, and these associations have caused scholars to review his more avant-garde moments of the 1920s and 1930s. Humberto Beck, for example, who has reevaluated Jünger's proximity to the German avant-garde, traces his infamous aestheticization of war to an intentional shift toward contemporaneous avant-garde techniques of shock, a type of *épater le bourgeois*, and

[58] Art historian Lincoln Rothschild once wrote that "[t]he entire Dada movement was of course essentially satirical." Lincoln Rothschild, *Style in Art: The Dynamics of Art as Cultural Expression* (New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1960), 159. On parody and satire in the Cabaret Voltaire, see further Emily Hage, "A 'Living Magazine': Hugo Ball's *Cabaret Voltaire*," *The German Review: Literature, Culture, Theory* 91, no. 4 (2016), 402. Anne Bernou has described one of the accomplishments of the Dada artists of Berlin "le développement d'une rhétorique en grande partie nouvelle, rhétorique de la parodie institutionnelle et de la derision." Anne Bernou, "Dada Berlin, destins du rebelle dans la cité. Retour sur la spécificité de la scène artistique berlinoise dans l'Europe des années vingt," *Synergies Pays germanophones* 10 (2017), 80. Bauhaus painter Oskar Schemmer once called Dada "court jester in this kingdom," referring to interwar Germany Quoted in Leah Dickerman, "Bauhaus Fundaments," in *Bauhaus 1919-1933: Workshops for Modernity*, ed. Barry Bergdoll and Leah Dickerman (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2009), 19. For more on the tradition of the jester in Dada performances, cf. Hanne Bergius, *Dada Triumphs! Dada Berlin, 1917-1923: Artistry of Polarities. Montages, Mechanics, Manifestations* (New Haven: Thomson, 2003), 25ff., 60.

a turn away from the literary establishment of the time.[59] But the later Jünger of *Eumeswil* does not use Dada to revive so much the fashion or performance style of early avant-garde artists as the spirit of their rebellion against the institutionalization of art and stage performance around the turn of the century. Venator thus reads the resurgence of Dadaesque parodies in Eumeswil as a sign of stagnation. *Eumeswil* revives these traditions of parodies, therefore, to signal that historiography in Eumeswil has become so institutionalized that one can even parody the serious theories of Venator's teacher Vigo. Venator's comparisons to Dada-like performances, in effect, suggest that he finds Eumeswil's institutions sick and disordered. Once everything is parody, there will be no serious original to rebel against.

Jünger's staging of Eumeswil's parodies as a type of anti-art also provides clues as to how Venator understands how his own era fits into the city's history. Along with the resurgence of parody that is taking place in Eumeswil comes the figure of the fool, who shows up throughout history to mock the seriousness of others. According to Venator, in Eumeswil the figure of the fool comes about through the performance of language. His teacher Thofern, who delivers lectures on how the grammar and language of Eumeswil has changed, often points to the change in how seriously the residents of Eumeswil take their own language. In one of his lectures, for example, he notes how in German, one can alter certain words, such as *Kopf* and *Gesicht*, into their formal, heightened variants such as *Haupt* and *Antlitz*, respectively. Yet, as Thofern points out, such heightened forms of language also run the risk of ending up as parodies of themselves: "Die Profanierung…mag erheitern, wo sie im Pandämonium erscheint; auch die Götter lachen über den Priap. Der Hanswurst hat im Intermezzo seinen Platz. Beherrscht er die Bühne als buffo assoluto,

[59] Cf. Humberto Beck, *The Moment of Rupture: Historical Consciousness in Interwar German Thought* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 2019), 77.

dann wird sie zum Zerrspiegel."[60] Thofern refers to the *buffo assoluto*, the buffoon character in an Italian opera with minimal singing abilities whose entire role is comical. Although an arguably conservative thinker, it is not a coincidence that Thofern makes reference to comical archetypes such as Hanswurst or the Greek god Priapus, who has a permanent, oversized erection: he describes the atmosphere, the "grammar," of Eumeswil's more serious claims of originality and innovation in thought and art.

With the influence and presence of Nietzsche on *Eumeswil* in mind, the image of the buffoons of Eumeswil that Thofern suggests recalls the episode of the tightrope walker in the opening chapters of *Also sprach Zarathustra*.[61] In an expanded sense, Jünger elaborates the same episode in *Eumeswil*. In dramaturgical terms, Venator paints Eumeswil as a theatrical performance, but more specifically as the intermezzo of a performance or spectacle: elsewhere he calls it an interregnum, a "Zwischenreich."[62] Venator sees Eumeswil as the intermezzo in the theatrical performance that the flow of historical time represents. On the stage of Eumeswil, he begins to see

[60] Jünger, *Eumeswil*, 85.

[61] At the beginning of *Also sprach Zarathustra*, Zarathustra the prophet descends his mountain dwelling to preach to the people and to teach them "den Übermenschen." To emphasize Zarathustra's teachings, however, Nietzsche stages Zarathustra's encounter with the people down in the marketplace as a Carnival-like atmosphere. Zarathustra then uses imagery from the Carnival tradition and circus performances to teach the people the process to the *Übermensch*, the existential, perilous leap that mankind must accomplish: "Der Mensch ist ein Seil, geknüpft zwischen Thier und Übermensch,—ein Seil über einem Abgrunde." Friedrich Nietzsche, *Also sprach Zarathustra: Ein Buch für Alle und Keinen*, in *Friedrich Nietzsche. Sämtliche Werke. Kritische Studienausgabe in 15 Bänden*, vol. 4, ed. Giorgio Colli and Mazzino Montinari (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1980), 16. His imagery is reinforced by the appearance of a tightrope walker over a street in the marketplace as he begins his performance. As a visual representation of Zarathustra's teachings, the tightrope walker must balance himself not only between two sides of the rope but between animal and *Übermensch*. Yet Nietzsche adds a critical component to this visualization of Zarathustra's teaching. As the tightrope walker begins his journey across the rope, a jester comes out and spurs along the tightrope walker, mocking him: "Vorwärts, Lahmfuss…vorwärts Faulthier, Schleichhändler, Bleichgesicht! Dass ich dich nicht mit meiner Ferse kitzle!" Ibid., 21. Impatient, the buffoon jumps over the tightrope walker, which causes the tightrope walker to lose balance and fall to his death. After his death, Zarathustra returns to the dead tightrope walker and exclaims about his predicament, "Unheimlich ist das menschliche Dasein und immer noch ohne Sinn: ein Possenreisser kann ihm zum Verhängniss werden." Ibid., 23. The jester's mocking of the tightrope walker holds a damning implication for man: his serious claims will always go hand in hand with the buffoon just behind him mocking him. He can be sent to his death by mere mockery and inversion of his values by a fool.

[62] Jünger, *Eumeswil*, 78.

the buffoon archetypes appear all around him. Like the German jester figure of Hanswurst, who appears during the intermezzo of the *buffo assoluto*, the total parody, the text presents the "Eumenisten" around Venator on a sociohistorical stage playing their comical roles in the intermezzo that Eumeswil represents. When considering the Nietzschean idiom of *Eumeswil*, the image of an intermezzo also calls to mind the image of the tightrope strung over the two towers in *Zarathustra*: for the tightrope walker, the path from one tower to the next will not be easy. Venator fears that the intermezzo of Eumeswil will never end but repeat ad infinitum. Like an interlocutor of Nietzsche, Venator must ask himself whether he can endure Nietzsche's proposition of an eternal recurrence or whether this eternal recurrence of historical models and personages has a "parodic character."[63] Like Nietzsche's tightrope walker, who begins a dangerous journey to the other side of the rope, Venator must balance his way across the tightrope performance of living in Eumeswil, where all values risk turning into parody. The background of the episode from *Zarathustra* thus illustrates how one who attempts the existential journey across the tightrope over the abyss will be greeted: he is accompanied by a parody of himself, by the jester who prods him along. This is the test that the society of Eumeswil poses to Venator: whether he can overcome the parodies from fools and cross the "rope" into another sphere of narrative possibilities. It challenges his ability to determine what is and is not a trope around him.

The emergence of parody in *Eumeswil* implies the influence of the twentieth century on Jünger's conception of *Eumeswil* but also has literary dimensions when considered in the context of the phenomenology of nature in Jünger's writings. What Venator perceives from the teachings of Thofern as the reappearance of buffoon archetypes in Eumeswil, like Pantalone or Hanswurst,

[63] Pierre Klossowski, "Nietzsche, Polytheism and Parody," *Bulletin de la Société Américaine de Philosophie de Langue Français* 14, no. 2 (Fall 2004), 115.

point back to the function of tropes in literary history. As Venator reports in his notes, the elements of parody and the buffoon in Eumeswil act as a commentary on the invocation of tropes and what could be called the shelf life of such tropes. In other words, the possibility of parody, as a response to the institutionalization of the trope, is built into each trope. Venator's realization of the sustainability of tropes, of any attempt to occupy a common image or role, has consequences for the tropes of nature that Venator utilizes. In addition to explicit use of tropes of nature in the novel, *Eumeswil* also engages in a uniquely ecological conception of the way that the residents of Eumeswil use the historical narratives at the basis of their society. Venator connects the emergence of parodies in Eumeswil to his perspective on the uses of history, which he bases on a metaphor linking historiography to the use of natural resources and the consequent need for their conservation. Venator repeatedly writes of "historische Substanz" as if it were a natural resource. Whereas his narrative world was once rich with it, the irresponsible mining of the historical substance has led to its depletion. This ecocritical perspective of Eumeswil's historiography reinforces the fact that he is searching for a nature-like refuge in the surveys of world history.

Reinforcing the metaphor of nature and conservationism later in the novel, Venator also records stories from the Condor's physician, Attila, who describes Eumeswil as a culture of consumerism that has used up and disposed of political ideas. When Attila speaks of his journeys through the mysterious woods past the desert outside of Eumeswil, he describes a space devoid of history, in which people live on top of landfills. And, despite the fact that Attila describes the realm beyond the woods as a realm of possibility, he also compares its landfills to those of Eumeswil that he has left behind: "Eines der Symbole geschichtsloser Räume ist die Deponie. […] Der Schutt wird nicht mehr bewältigt wie in den Kulturen; er überwächst die Bildungen. […] So lebt man auf

und von den Deponien – – – zwischen Schutthalden, die man ausbeutet."[64] Lundberg has connected the cultural pessimism of figures in *Eumeswil* like Attila and their inherent "conservationist" attitude to the German conservative milieu out of which Jünger came, arguing that the image of the landfill in *Eumeswil* encapsulates "die konservative Trauer um den Verlust des Vergangenen und den Verzicht auf alle teleologischen Geschichtsmodelle."[65] Lundberg also points out the ecological dimension of meaning making and the repetition of models in Eumeswil, describing, for instance, "[das] Abfallproblem einer kulturgenealogisch sterilen Gesellschaft. Das kollektive Gedächtnis dieser spätzeitlichen Menschheit arbeitet nicht mehr an Konzepten der Erschließung und Konservierung ihrer unermesslichen Bestände, sondern verlangt nach Strategien der Entsorgung, die sich schließlich in einer Art achtlosem Recycling, dem Gegenteil bewusster 'Bildungen', erschöpfen."[66] As a result of this peculiar constellation between Venator, who depicts himself as a loner, and his compatriots, he appears as both conservative and revolutionary in his views. He is conservative because he wishes to "conserve" something from the old ideas that circulate around him but simultaneously revolutionary because he wishes to overcome such overused ideas. Unlike the Condor, who eats carcasses, Venator seeks a fresh kill, so to speak. His task now, however, is how to solve the crisis of the consumerism of ideas in Eumeswil. He cannot solve the problem by endorsing "renewable" resources, for that has been the strategy of Eumeswil up to this point. The renewability of "historische Substanz" represents the cycle in which he is trapped, even though Venator knows that its renewability amounts to a performance; it is not a real renewal. Whereas conservative figures around him, like Thofern and Attila, attempt to "conserve" the past, whether politically, linguistically, or ecologically, the arc of Venator's character

[64] Jünger, *Eumeswil*, 373.
[65] Lundberg, 127.
[66] Ibid., 128.

development nevertheless aligns him with the prospect of outright recreation of a new paradisaical space rather than with the emptiness of historical evocations.

Collections as Narratives: The Luminar

With the language of consumption, conservation, and sustainability, *Eumeswil* creates a functional set of ecological metaphors by which Venator investigates, through writing, the possibility of preserving history and, thereby metaphorically, of preserving nature. Venator's conception of history as a substance suggests that it is possible to preserve history, and he looks to the Luminar as a possible solution to this problem of sustainability. Here, Jünger revisits themes of technological development and elements of science fiction that he thematizes in *Heliopolis* and *Gläserne Bienen* but shifts away from in-depth discourses on the role of technology in society. The main technological device in *Eumeswil*, the Luminar, does not embody contemporaneous issues in technology. Jünger instead embeds it in the tradition of collecting, a move some have picked up on: Kiesel describes Venator as "ein eifriger Sammler von zeitdiagnostischen Erkenntnissen,"[67] and Wojciech Kunicki describes the Luminar's collections as an enormous "Ansammlung von Geschichtsquellen."[68] As an archive, the Luminar quantifies and stores historical time in the form of episodes that Venator can enter into, play, and replay at will. It stores archives drawn from the catacombs[69] and preserves precious records that would otherwise be destroyed.[70] Moreover, like a collector who extracts an object from the circulation of value and imbues it with his own value, Venator extracts models from history at the Luminar. Venator

[67] Kiesel, 635.
[68] Wojciech Kunicki, "Das Luminar: Zur Kritik der Massenmedien in Ernst Jüngers 'Eumeswil,'" in *Sprache – Literatur – Kultur im germanistischen Gefüge, 2: Literaturwissenschaft – Raum und Medialität*, ed. Wojciech Kunicki (Wrocław: ATUT, 2013), 319.
[69] Jünger, *Eumeswil*, 274.
[70] Ibid., 323.

furthermore connects the Luminar to historical collections. Commenting on the collections of the ancient world, he remarks: "Damals begannen auch die Vorarbeiten für das Luminar—die alexandrinische Sammlung und Hortung von Daten, dazu die Technik, die dem entsprach."[71] Like a collector, Venator also has the tendency to become engrossed in the Luminar, noting that it often keeps him up late into the night.[72] Because of his ability to extract historical models from their everyday purpose in Eumeswil and endow them with their own autonomy, Hinck sees a tendency toward aestheticism in Venator. To make this connection, however, Hinck returns to the figure of Nietzsche, noting that the Luminar "läßt Geschichte wie ein Schauspiel entstehen. Es scheint, als wolle Jünger mit diesem Luminar den Satz Nietzsches illustrieren, daß Dasein und Welt nur als ästhetische Phänomene ewig gerechtfertigt seien."[73] Tying the Luminar to Nietzsche's well-known dictum from *Die Geburt der Tragödie* (1872), Hinck argues that Venator's disinterest in the politics of Eumeswil enables him to manipulate historical narratives into a type of *Gesamtkunstwerk*: every piece functions as a piece of the larger work of art that history represents to him while sitting at the Luminar. In this sense, Venator acts as the impresario of the Luminar. He reduces everything at the machine to its theatrical elements, because the intellectual atmosphere of Eumeswil has left him no other choice.

Because the Luminar arranges historical narratives into sequences that Venator can read, it also adds to the way that *Eumeswil* delineates the process and obstacles of narration. For one, Venator describes the Luminar as a machine of metacognition: it allows him to engage in "einem allen Historikern gemeinsamen Genuß, dem der Metakritik."[74] This metacognitive capability fits

[71] Ibid., 234-235.
[72] Ibid., 95.
[73] Walter Hinck, *Romanchronik des 20. Jahrhunderts: Eine bewegte Zeit im Spiegel der Literatur* (Cologne: DuMont, 2006), 207.
[74] Jünger, *Eumeswil*, 336.

well into Venator's self-perception, since he describes himself as a metahistorian, a historian of historiography: "Meine Teilnahme an den Händeln zwischen dem Domo und den Tribunen dagegen ist metahistorisch; mich beschäftigt nicht die akute Frage, sondern das Modell."[75] Unlike a typical historian, who makes sense of the data of history by formulating narratives out of them, Venator claims to analyze the manner in which the historians of Eumeswil have formulated these accounts. He also frames his job as a metahistorian as a response to the parodies in Eumeswil. In one instance, Venator describes conversations that he has with his father and brother, whom he describes as "typische Liberale,"[76] at home over dinner:

> Selbst die Fachgespräche sind unergiebig, weil sie von Standorten aus geführt werden, die nichts miteinander zu tun haben: nämlich von einem Metahistoriker, der den Geschichtsraum verlassen hat, mit Partnern, die wähnen, ihm noch verhaftet zu sein. […] [D]ie beiden wühlen noch im Kadaver, der sich für mich längst zum Fossil verhärtet hat. Manchmal wird es witzig – – – wenn sie sich für Werte ereifern, die in Eumeswil höchstens noch parodiert werden.[77]

As a narrative strategy, Jünger couches Venator's differences in historiographical approaches with the so-called liberals of Eumeswil in a family conflict. Because of his status as a metahistorian, though, Venator can assert his sense of superiority over his father and brother, who are still stuck in the scheme of taking the values of Eumeswil seriously. Unlike their limited perspective, he can see past the parodies of values that his society is playing out in front of him. Moreover, his father and brother appear no better to him than the Condor, who feeds on the cadaver of history.

[75] Ibid., 72.
[76] Ibid., 20.
[77] Ibid., 54.

Venator's conflict with his father and brother provide insight into his psychology as a character beyond his intellectual observations. But it is important to point out that Venator's process of self-actualization only occurs through the act of narration. The Luminar merely functions as the externalization of this narrative act. Through a process of reflection, Venator understands himself in relation to the Luminar's historical models: it is by virtue of its collections that he is able to claim his status as a metahistorian. However, there is another side to the smugness that he feels in regard to others in Eumeswil. While promising a sense of mastery over historiography, the Luminar also functions as a form of escape. For example, he also describes the Luminar as a type of time machine: "Das Luminar ist eine Zeitmaschine, die zugleich die Zeit aufhebt; es führt aus ihr hinaus."[78] Because the Luminar can objectify and quantify moments in time, a time that—it must remembered—only progresses, it also consequently suspends the concept of time outright. Kunicki, who considers the role that the Luminar plays, connects it to the properties of drugs: "Die metahistorischen Studien am Luminar haben ähnliche Wirkung wie eine Droge: es kommt zu einer 'ungeheuren' Ausdehnung der Zeit."[79] This is no surprise, considering Jünger's noted appreciation for psychoactive drugs.[80] Rubel, on the other hand, connects the Luminar to a certain pictorial type of vision that Jünger shares with other European intellectual figures: "Dieses bildhafte Sehen, das Jünger auch bei Goethe und Vico schätzt, wird vom *Luminar*

[78] Ibid., 355.
[79] Kunicki, 325-326.
[80] The element of drugs has appeared in other works from Jünger, most notably in the episode of *Heliopolis,* in which Lucius de Geer and Budur Peri take a psychedelic drug as a form of escapism but instead only experience a nightmare. Jünger, as is known, was a close friend to Albert Hofmann (1906-2008), the Swiss chemist who developed lysergic acid diethylamide (LSD). Jünger and Hofmann often experimented with LSD at his home in Wilflingen. Above all, Jünger was not concerned with an escape from his own life but with the possibilities of new kinds of experience. His *Annäherungen. Drogen und Rausch* (1970) records his personal experimentation with various drugs: beer, wine, LSD, mescaline, cocaine, laudanum, and cannabis. See Torsten Voß, "Drogen, Rausch und Männlichkeit in Literatur und Ästhetik der Moderne. Marcel Schwob, Ernst Jünger, Malcolm Lowry," in *Das schöne Selbst: Zur Genealogie des modernen Subjekts zwischen Ethik und Ästhetik,* ed. Jens Elberfeld and Marcus Otto, 107-132 (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2009).

unterstützt, dem zeitmaschinengleichen Computer."[81] These interpretations of the Luminar point to the fact that Venator uses it like a hallucinogenic drug. Like a hallucinogen, it makes time seem to move slower or to simply disappear to the "user." The problem with the Luminar's drug-like properties, however, is a problem common to the use of drugs: the risk of addiction. Like a drug addiction, the effect of the Luminar will eventually no longer satisfy Venator, unless the dose increases.

Outside of its narrative function in the life of Venator, the Luminar also has symbolic value in the text. It changes the way Venator views the process of constructing narratives. In several ways, it also acts as a microcosm of his city. It reenacts historical events and re-presents them as if they were real. This is supported by the fact that the Luminar does not simply function like a microfiche reader with microfilm or a computer screen displaying a website but actually recreates the events for Venator in both body and mind: "[D]as Luminar bietet mehr. In den Katakomben wurde nicht nur eine Enzyklopädie von unfaßlichem Ausmaß geschaffen, sie wurde auch aktiviert. Geschichte wird nicht nur beschrieben, sondern auch gespielt. So wird sie in die Zeit zurückgerufen; sie tritt in Bildern und Personen auf."[82] He further uses the features of the Luminar to define his relationship with his father. Commenting on its Virtual Reality capabilities, he remarks: "Mein Väterchen pflegt diesen Teil des Luminars nicht zu benutzen; er verletzt sein Gefühl für historische Genauigkeit. Doch wie genau ist denn Geschichte – – – etwa bei Plutarch? Die großen Reden der Könige und Feldherrn vor der Schlacht? Ist er dabeigewesen? Ohne Zweifel hat er sie seinen Helden in den Mund gelegt. Und warum nicht?"[83] At first glance, Venator seems to criticize his father because of his short-sightedness. His father seems to want to preserve the

[81] Rubel, 773.
[82] Jünger, *Eumeswil*, 308.
[83] Ibid.

mythical narratives from history that he has learned from historians like Plutarch. Venator is a more adept historian than his father, because he knows that Plutarch embellished the accounts of history that he purported to be accurate. In fact, in this example about the Luminar, Venator shifts away from the solutions that he has proposed thus far. Rather, he points to a highly mythological narrative strategy that could be a solution to the problems of Eumeswil. In this form of narrative strategy, accuracy does not matter as much as the semiotic function that a historical account has fulfilled. In effect, then, Venator argues that every other historian has missed the forest for the trees in the way that they view history. Rather than obsessing over the accurate recording and transmitting of facts, he endorses the mythological staging of historical events that figures like Plutarch represent to him. While the "Eumenisten" are stuck in the process of trying to revamp accurate portrayals of moments in history, Venator knows that there is something more to acting out history than mere repetition or representation.

Models of Decline: The Luminar as the Apogee of Collecting

In *Eumeswil*, the Luminar represents the collection par excellence. It does what every other collector has strived to do with a collection: it arrests the flow of time with the sequencing of its objects. It represents the only tool with which Venator may find some absolute in history, the way he may rediscover Alexander among the Diadochi. Not only does it organize historical events, models, and narratives in one place, it has the power to transport its user into different experiences that he or she can play and replay at will. It is the ultimate tool of historiography. No longer do the historians of Eumeswil have to worry about what might have happened at any moment in history, because like with Venator, the Luminar can transport them back in time. But as the apogee of collecting, the machine should not be understood as a necessarily positive development. As the apogee, it is also the last possible collection in all of the narrative worlds that Jünger constructs in

his series of dystopian novels. As in novels like *Heliopolis*, Jünger constructs his literary collections with inspiration from Early Modern collections, but the Luminar goes even beyond a "typical" collection from these eras, in this sense, despite its being embedded in this tradition.[84] Jünger's introduction of the Luminar in *Eumeswil*, the last of his dystopian novels, reveals something about the promise and future of collections that he proposes with it.

In the discussion of the Luminar and the possibility of collecting historical narratives, one of its essential qualities has been missing: the fact that it holds the promise of escaping the exact approaches of the field of natural sciences that developed during the Early Modern era. These approaches to the natural world, such as the scientific method, binominal nomenclature of species, the systematization of information in encyclopedic books, misses the essence of its objects of study. Venator explicitly notes that the device can take him back to before the time that ambitious scientific approaches to the natural world gained a footing in the West: "Wenn ich am Luminar Folianten überfliege, die vor der Zeit des großen Linné gedruckt wurden, dann stoße ich dabei auf Wesen, die offenbar nur in der Phantasie bestanden, doch so in ihr verankert waren, daß man sie abbildete—etwa das Einhorn, die Flügelschlange, das Geißmännlein, die Meerjungfer. Im Walde besonders wurde Seltsames vermutet und auch beschrieben."[85] Venator cites the father of binomial nomenclature, Carl Linnaeus, as the milestone past which he travels with help from the Luminar. Linnaeus's ambitious *Systema Naturae* had the goal of assigning a name to every known species in the world. In doing so, Linnaeus developed a common language by which the burgeoning international scientific community could develop knowledge about the natural world. Yet from Venator's excavations of time at the Luminar, he becomes critical of Linnaeus. For him,

[84] Cf. Kunicki, 319.
[85] Jünger, *Eumeswil*, 50.

Linnaeus's approach was naïve because it excluded all of those creatures that the human imagination had conceived. Between the sea monsters of old and Linnaeus's ambitious organization of all known flora and fauna, for Venator, the actual myth is the belief that one can assign names to the chaos of creation, just as historians have attempted to do with historic events. For one like Venator, who has access to the endless possibilities of the Luminar, the true myth of historiography is the assumed ability to accurately recreate historical moments and episodes for posterity. With this disconnect in mind, then, it is up to Venator to explore new types of narration, a new form of mythology that exists outside of claims to accuracy, exactitude, and veracity.

Ultimately, Venator looks to the great woods beyond the desert outside of Eumeswil as an escape. It must be pointed out, especially in light of the countless images of nature in Jünger's writings, that the woods are an image of nature. Unlike other images of nature in his oeuvre, the woods in *Eumeswil* do not fit into common, if overlapping, tropes of nature that often appear in his novels, essays, and diaries. The critical common denominator in these tropes of nature is that they are defined by their borders, even when the borders seem vague: an idyllic landscape, a garden, or an island necessarily begin and end somewhere, because they always exist to contrast with their surroundings. Even the well-established *locus amoenus*, the most versatile term encompassing several other tropes of nature, is a space defined by its border with its opposite, the *locus terribilis*. But before Venator's decision to enter the woods with the Condor, Jünger develops several prototypes of the figure of the anarch that lead Venator to his ultimate decision. He chooses, furthermore, to draw these prefigurations of the anarch and the woods from tropes and images of nature. One such image of nature involves the shelter that Venator is building in the marshland "am oberen Sus" just outside of Eumeswil. In this marshy area, Venator plans to build a

"Fluchtburg" out of a dwelling he calls the "Entenhütte," his "Plätzchen für die Häutung."[86] Here Venator will shed the aspects of Eumeswil that he has internalized, like the many birds that gather at the mouth of the Sus river. Sometimes, he accompanies the ornithologist and zoologist Rosner to the area, "denn es herrscht dort ein Leben wie im Garten Eden"[87] and with the plethora of bird species there, "das Delta verwandelt sich zum Vogelparadies."[88] The "Entenhütte" acts as both a refuge for the weary Venator and the ideal location for an inner emigration. Venator considers it a locus of creation, like an Eden, which presents the diversity of all the birds in Eumeswil in its totality. Venator's move into the shelter of the cabin "am oberen Sus" indicates a turn toward nature and away from the city.

Venator bases his decision to build a shelter on the Sus river on his role in the adjacent city. He sees himself as a double agent, as one who both outwardly participates in the pretensions of Eumeswil's society and inwardly extracts himself from the same, and one can clearly see here the physical manifestation of the figure of the anarch in Venator's cabin. Unlike other times, when Venator claims with pretentiousness that "der Anarch…hat die Gesellschaft aus sich verdrängt,"[89] he first considers a physical solution to the asceticism he imposes on himself. He states, for example, "Es konnte rätlich werden, sich für eine unbestimmte Weile aus der Gesellschaft zurückzuziehen,"[90] at first believing that he must physically remove himself from Eumeswil. Venator's wish is indicative of several overlapping qualities of Venator and Jünger, and in some ways the wish to retreat from society originates in the author's legacy as a public intellectual. On the one hand, Venator's wish expresses his weariness with Eumeswil. Bolstered by the

[86] Ibid., 128.
[87] Ibid., 129.
[88] Ibid.
[89] Ibid., 149.
[90] Ibid., 128.

claustrophobic geography of a city, Venator does not have the chance to experience the freedom outside its walls. On the other hand, the image recalls the image of Jünger himself at the time of *Eumeswil*, who after the Second World War had retreated to his secluded home and retreated from public life. The recess from society that Venator wishes for entails not leisurely travel but his own self-extraction from the hyper-ideological atmosphere of Eumeswil. The tapestry of bird species that he constructs in his descriptions of the "Entenhütte" serves as a model for his initial plan: to camouflage himself as a bird does. Because of his plan to spend at least a year in his shelter, he nevertheless runs into practical problems, such as how to transport provisions. After brainstorming ideas, he calls on institutional aid available to him and turns to collecting with the idea to disguise himself as an ornithologist like Rosner: "Mir kam die Ornithologie zugute: ich tarnte mich als bird-watcher."[91] Venator realizes that he must pose as an observer of nature in order to find refuge in nature. He explains to Rosner that he wants to spend time as a bird watcher on the Sus river because "[e]s gibt noch immer Vögel, die den Gelehrten wenig bekannt oder die sogar neu für sie sind."[92] Venator is already a "bird-watcher" in Eumeswil in terms of his observations of the city, but he desires more than what is already known. This double meaning of "observation" already places Venator in a "meta" position. He both observes nature for himself and observes the way the residents of Eumeswil observe it themselves. Still, considering the context of his knowledge Linnaean classifications and the mythological creatures that challenge them, Venator's idea suggests his desire to discover new "species" just outside the city. With time on the Sus river, he will become a new type of Linnaeus, but the time spent refurbishing his "Entenhütte" and preparing

[91] Ibid., 135.
[92] Ibid.

for a physical retreat from Eumeswil do not suffice for a proper "hunt" for Venator. Instead, he discovers that he must turn inward.

Excursus: Confronting the Nazi Past in the Anarch

In analyzing Venator's relation to various elements of *Eumeswil*, such as to the Luminar and to other characters, some scholars have turned to a psychological approach. The strategy of interpreting Jünger's protagonist in terms of coping mechanisms and responses to trauma and nihilism have a long history in the scholarship on the author. One approach reads Venator as a figure in need of escape. Like the effects of a psychedelic drug, the Luminar allows Venator to transcend historical time and simultaneously expand time as much as possible. Without the use of the Luminar, he also hopes to expand time by planning to spend a year in his "Entenhütte." But he instead turns to a Romantic conception of asceticism, the personage of "der Anarch" by which he lives as if a personal mantra. He defines this neologism of the "anarch" by means of an analogy: as the monarch relates to the monarchist, so too does the anarch differentiate himself from the anarchist.[93] As the monarch has immunities that his or her subjects do not, the anarch is immune from inner turmoil and confusion caused by living in a relativistic society. The anarch retains his or her personal sovereignty. Apart from accusations of the glorification of warfare, the anarch has remained one of the most controversial topics in discussions of Jünger's legacy both inside and outside Germany. The perceived "doctrine" of the anarch has also become practically synonymous with *Eumeswil* in the years since its publication. Because of its controversy and central role, the figure of the anarch overshadows studies of the novel, as Rubel notes.[94] These studies of the anarch have themselves been overshadowed by connections to the German philosopher Max Stirner's

[93] Ibid., 44.
[94] Cf. Rubel, 764-765.

nineteenth-century plaidoyer for individual anarchism, *Der Einzige und sein Eigentum* (1844), a text that forms a significant basis for *Eumeswil*.[95] Along with its influence from Stirner, Jünger did not only conceive of the anarch for the sake of writing *Eumeswil* but conceived of it as a type that he observed in various historical and literary figures.[96] But contrary to these primarily autobiographical readings, the anarch does not represent a theory that Jünger develops nor an object of political aspiration but serves as a framework by which he confronts the legacy of modernity and the responses to it.

In *Eumeswil*, Venator conceives of the anarch not so much as an archetype or "figure" than as a suggestion, a performative linguistic gesture in a long line of other such figures that Jünger often employs, such as *der Verlorene Posten*, *der Unbekannte Soldat*, *der Arbeiter*, and *der Waldgänger*. As such a performative gesture, Venator's writings construe the anarch as if it were a separate character or an alter ego of the protagonist. Yet the anarch also has certain observable characteristics. He exhibits "[i]nnere Neutralität,"[97] is present yet "unbeteiligt,"[98] "nicht Teilnahmsloser, sondern Teilnahmsfreier,"[99] "auf der Hut,"[100] and "souverän,"[101] "hat die Gesellschaft aus sich verdrängt,"[102] rejects compulsory military conscription,[103] and, unlike a monarch, wants only to rule himself.[104] On its face, the anarch appears to describe a self-centered subject, the type of individual anarchist described by Stirner. His ethos appears to be a radical

[95] Cf. Jünger, *Eumeswil*, 321-326, 333.
[96] Jünger coincidentally includes Borges and Jean Des Esseintes among those he considers to have been "anarchs" in history. See Bruno de Cessole, "Ernst Jünger, le crépuscule d'un guerrier," Le Figaro, March 6, 1989, and Björn Cederberg, "Letzte Gesprache mit Ernst Junger 1996/97," *Sinn und Form* 56, no. 5 (2004), 655.
[97] Jünger, *Eumeswil*, 38.
[98] Ibid., 47.
[99] Ibid., 95.
[100] Ibid., 75.
[101] Ibid., 249.
[102] Ibid., 149.
[103] Ibid., 203.
[104] Ibid., 44.

individualism and hedonism and results from whatever leads to his own self-preservation. However, the anarch diverges from this caricature of a radical individualism. Instead, the anarch also has "einen ausgesprochenen Sinn für Vorschriften,"[105] he is "autoritätsbedürftig,"[106] he does not reject authority "à tout prix,"[107] he has "sein Ethos, aber nicht Moral,"[108] and "[er] kennt das Grundgesetz."[109] Venator's descriptions of the anarch, at first glance, also appear to exaggerate his own independence. Although Venator describes himself as someone sovereign within himself yet in need of authority, he does not attempt to hide the fact that he lives under the tyranny of the Condor and, unlike many of the residents of Eumeswil, has access to the Kasbah and works personally for the Condor. The anarch represents an inner experience, a Romantic turn inward possible under any form of government.

The anarch is thus not an anarchist. As the anarch, who exhibits inner rather than outer resignation, Venator demands a different kind of authority outside the realm of political power. But even outside of misconceptions of the anarch, which see it as a modified form of anarchist, the concept has been one of the more controversial ideas put forth by Jünger because of how it relates to his past as a political figure and right-wing voice in Germany both before and after the Second World War. Early on after the publication of *Eumeswil*, some critics were dissatisfied with the irresponsible attitude of disconnectedness that Venator describes as being characteristic of the anarch's orientation to the outside world. In 1979, Dietrich Murswiek scathingly described the idea of the anarch as an "elitär verbrämte Mitläuferideologie,"[110] tying the anarch to the aftermath

[105] Ibid., 156.
[106] Ibid., 68.
[107] Ibid., 246.
[108] Ibid., 208.
[109] Ibid., 252.
[110] Dietrich Murswiek, "Der Anarch und der Anarchist: Die Freiheit des Einzelnen in Ernst Jüngers *Eumeswil*," *Deutsche Studien* 17 (1979), 288. 282–294

of the Second World War and the legacy of collaboration with the Nazi regime. Because of Jünger's involvement with the Nazi occupation of France and his unwillingness to emigrate from Germany as many other literary and intellectual figures had done, the anarch seemed to be only the tip of the iceberg of Jünger's perceived Nazi past. Jünger, like many other German intellectuals such as Carl Schmitt, Martin Heidegger, Ernst von Salomon, and Ernst Niekisch, represented the treacherous generation of the fathers who had accepted and paved the way for the rise of National Socialism in Germany. In this context, one can understand Murswiek's skeptical interpretation of the anarch, when reading statements from Venator such as the fact that "[d]er Anarch führt seine eigenen Kriege, selbst wenn er in Reih und Glied marschiert"[111] and Venator's insistence that the anarch may respect martyrs but must not seek martyrdom himself.[112] Reviews of the anarch such as Murswiek's were also particularly scathing at the time because of the increasingly hostile public opinion of Jünger in Germany at the time of its publication in the late 1970s.

Part of the cause for the German public's mistrust of Jünger originated in this generational conflict following World War II. As a public intellectual, albeit from a different end of the political spectrum, Jünger's status as a voice in Germany at this time was undoubtedly overshadowed by the damage done by figures such as Heinrich Böll and social psychologist Peter Brückner.[113] Böll, who had come to be a central representative of literary depictions of post-war Germany and a member of the generation who had lived through the war, famously appeared to defend the terrorist activities of the Rote Armee Fraktion in his 1972 *Spiegel* editorial "Will Ulrike Gnade oder freies Geleit?" and who thematized the subsequent controversy in his 1974 novel, *Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum.* Despite the fact that the general public perceived both Böll and Brückner as

[111] Jünger, *Eumeswil*, 138.
[112] Ibid., 144.
[113] Cf. Alexander Sedlmaier, *Consumption and Violence: Radical Protest in Cold-War West Germany* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2014), 132.

proponents of essentially leftist views, their public engagement also represent a case in which the younger generation of Germans was confronting Germany's response to the legacy of fascism. To the generation of children of German soldiers of the war, Jünger represented the catastrophic, fascistic generation of their fathers. As part of their outrage that prominent political and academic figures in post-war West Germany were former Nazis, Jünger's continuing prominence as a cultural figure confounded the younger generation in Germany. Although Jünger had arguably been forced into serving as a captain in the Wehrmacht during World War II under penalty of death, due to his military record and reputation as a war hero, the generation after him used his participation in the Nazi regime against him and claimed that his fascist leanings in the 1920s and 1930s paved the way for National Socialism.[114] The negative public view of Jünger came to a head in 1982 when the author was presented the Goethe Prize, which was met with protests in Frankfurt—both written and physical—from those who believed that Jünger, rather than a conservative thinker of Innere Emigration, was instead like many German intellectuals at the time, a holdover ideologue of the Nazi era and a fascist wolf-in-sheep's-clothing.[115] Yet interestingly, the negative public opinion of Jünger at the time was not just limited to his political past but were extended to his writings, including works of fiction. For his detractors, as Murswiek and others showed, the anarch represented not a literary figure, a form of asceticism, or plot device but a final

[114] In 1945, Thomas Mann described Jünger as "ein geistiger Wegbereiter und eiskalter Wollüstling der Barbarei" and "ein eiskalter Genüssling des Barbarismus." Cf. Lothar Bluhm, "Entwicklungen und Stationen im Streit um Ernst Jünger," in *Ernst Jünger in der Bundesrepublik. Ästhetik – Politik – Zeitgeschichte,* ed. Matthias Schöning and Ingo Stöckmann (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012), 207ff.

[115] For more on the details of the controversy, see Lutz Hagestedt, "Ambivalenz des Ruhms: Ernst Jüngers Autorschaft im Zeichen des Goethepreises (1982)," in *Ernst Jünger: Politik – Mythos – Kunst*, ed. Lutz Hagestedt (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2004): 167-179. Some still hold that Jünger was a "pro-Nazi writer" through and through. Cf. for example Marcel H. van Herpen, *Putinism: The Slow Rise of a Radical Right Regime in Russia* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 79. This legacy is complicated by facts from Jünger's own life, such as the fact that he rejected the position as the head of the Deutscher Schriftstellerverband in 1933, underwent several searches of his home by the Gestapo, and eventually drew the ire and jealousy of Joseph Goebbels after having made it clear to Goebbels that he had no desire to be an official ideologue of the National Socialist regime.

attempt from Jünger to promote the ideology of the Nazi fellow traveler in a Germany that was still trying to overcome the damage wrought by fascism.

These and other criticisms of Jünger's fascist leanings and legacy as a fellow traveler to the Nazi regime have their place within larger criticism of Jünger and the role of the anarch. Still, as an idea that participates in the imaginary and a highly symbolic language, the anarch operates on several levels of meaning and function beyond the political. Along with historicist approaches that connect the figure of the anarch with Jünger's controversial reputation in German politics, the focus of this approach has neglected to consider the anarch as part of the literary tradition. Indeed, the fact that Jünger chooses the novel form for the vehicle of the concept calls for an analysis of the anarch in terms of literary history alongside the political atmosphere in which Jünger published it. Apart from political interpretations, some scholars have chosen to interpret the anarch in terms of Jünger's intellectual trajectory. Walter Hinck, for example, read the anarch in terms of the development of Jünger's thought in the post-war period, seeing the anarch as "der Zwillingsbruder des Waldgängers."[116] Despite the fact that the anarch had had predecessors in Jünger's essayistic works, the figure reaches its climax in *Eumeswil*, which, if read as an essay, reads like a treatise on the concept of the anarch. Venator makes the idea of the anarch attractive as a strategy of resistance and retreat, proposing it as a refuge in dictatorships and an excuse not to engage in political or moral questions.

Approaches to the anarch as an aspect of Jünger's intellectualism, nevertheless, are vital in understanding the appearance of the anarch in *Eumeswil* but fall short of its performative and transitional nature. This is important when considering the anarch as Venator's response to his

[116] Hinck, 206.

dilemmas. Just as others in Eumeswil perform and invoke "historische Substanz" like the Diadochi in the wake of Alexander, Venator, too, "performs" the anarch. Unlike Zarathustra, who "teaches" others the *Übermensch*, he does not impose it as a doctrine on others, because this would abrogate the purpose of the anarchic orientation to begin with. Rather than a belief system, ideology, or form of conservative escapism, the anarch should instead be considered in the context of the spectrum of the types of refuge in nature that *Eumeswil* proposes. One of the central characteristics of the anarch is that, although an abstract concept, it allows Venator to escape the space, rather than the time, of Eumeswil into himself. The text already establishes that Venator conceives of time, including his own, in terms of repetitions and engages in countless comparisons of current events in Eumeswil with similar examples from history. Peter Uwe Hohendahl, however, adds a spatial dimension to this common gesture from Venator: "Der historische Vergleich erlaubt dem Erzähler, eine Position außerhalb der Gegenwart einzunehmen. Genau auf diese Überlegenheit der intellektuellen Tätigkeit aber kommt es an. In ihr bestätigt sich der Erzähler als der Anarch, dem die dienende Rolle äußerlich bleibt."[117] As Hohendahl points out, Venator creates a space outside of the present by routinely making comparisons to points in time. This is a crucial moment in the development of the subject and its relation to collections in Jünger's novels. Whereas other subjects—that is, protagonists in the novels—define themselves in relation to the representational spaces of "nature" around them—gardens, islands, collections—*Eumeswil* increasingly consolidates these spaces in the subject. In *Eumeswil*, it is as if all of the external representations of the tropes of nature common to literature now reside in the perceiving subject itself, itself externalized as a "protagonist," and in Venator's case, as a narrator.

[117] Peter Uwe Hohendahl, "Der unsichtbare Autor: Erzählstruktur und Sinngehalt in Ernst Jüngers Roman *Eumeswil*," *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 83, no. 2 (June 2009), 316.

Reviving the Tradition of the *Locus Amoenus* in the Anarch

In chronicling Venator's turn away from collections and toward literary tropes of nature in his search for nature in Eumeswil, Jünger revives the tradition of the *locus amoenus*. Despite the fact that its main character concerns himself with the problems of historical time and historiography, the novel primarily concerns itself with the spatial aspects of both the narrated world and the interiority of Venator. Unlike a classic novel from the eighteenth or nineteenth century, *Eumeswil* uses the protagonist as the occasion to discuss the setting, rather than the inverse. It confronts the reader with a symbolic geography that is common in Jünger's other dystopian works like *Heliopolis*: the Kasbah, the Historisches Institut, the other city-states that represent other Diadochi like "der Gelbe Chan," the nihilistic desert, and the mysterious woods beyond the desert. In constructing these counter-spaces, Venator turns back to the tradition of artistic depictions of nature, spaces that are often endowed with a sense of eternity, death, or immortality in the visual arts and literature. Because he returns to this imagery and its connotation of immortality since antiquity, the text constructs a progression of images of nature as a response to the meaninglessness of its titular setting in an attempt to find some eternal constant in the "landfills." With these gestures, Venators offers a response to Eumeswil; his turn inward, however, is a critical gesture in the plot of the novel, because he engages in the same *imitatio*, the same repetitions and parodies that he observes around him. As a response to the revenants of historical tropes around him, he occupies a counter-trope. Unlike the idyll, the garden, or the island, the anarch in several ways evokes the literary and visual tradition of the "pleasant place," the *locus amoenus*.[118]

[118] See Petra Hass, *Der "Locus amoenus" in der antiken Literatur: Zu Theorie und Geschichte eines literarischen Motivs* (Bamberg: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Bamberg, 1998), 1, 3n.

First used as a specific term by Cicero, the *locus amoenus* was an umbrella term for a diverse set of images of nature but came to acquire enough consistent traits that other poets could imitate. Many images of the *locus amoenus* from ancient poetry included spaces of greenery. As Hass relates, in Homer and Hesiod, the trope is "charakterisiert durch Berg, Wiese (grünendes Gras), Umgebung einer Höhle/Grotte, Insel, Hain, Garten, Lagerungsplatz."[119] In Roman poetry, the trope had similar traits to its earlier Greek iterations that Virgil and Ovid popularized. Rebecca Armstrong describes Virgil's typical version as "a comfortable, shady spot, usually with water nearby and a range of plants to please the senses."[120] Jens Fleischer has also named the common elements of the Roman usage as "a beautiful river, landscape, or garden."[121] The trope also transformed into a concept far more abstract than its images. This increasing abstraction also accounted for its versatility.[122] A poet could establish a *locus amoenus* anywhere he associated with pleasure and security. Still more crucial to its appearances in ancient poetry is its symbolic function. Its versatility allowed poets to apply it to an array of literary uses, including the additional of transcendental qualities by Greek and Roman poets. It came to symbolize an idealized space wherein man could move freely outside of temporal contingency. Dorothea Klein notes how the ancients endowed common images like meadows, trees, and springs, with a transcendence that symbolized immortality: "Häufig war mit diesem idealen Ort die Vorstellung von ewiger Jugend,

[119] Ibid., 19.
[120] Rebecca Armstrong, *Virgil's Green Thoughts: Plants, Humans, and the Divine* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 181.
[121] Jens Fleischer, "Living Rocks and 'Locus amoenus': Architectural Representations of Paradise in Early Christianity," in *Appearance of Medieval Rituals: The Play of Construction and Modification*, ed. Nils Holger Petersen (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 153.
[122] Carsten Meiner and Peter Borum speak of "the plastic quality inherent in the topos of the *locus amoenus*." Carsten Meiner and Peter Borum, Introduction to *Mutating Idylls: Uses and Misuses of the* Locus Amoenus *in European Literature, 1850-1930*, ed. Carsten Meiner (New York: Peter Lang, 2019), 9.

Fülle Fruchtbarkeit und Wohlergehen verbunden."[123] Furthermore, whereas the *locus amoenus* represents the antithesis to contingency, the *locus terribilis* represents a space wherein one feels out of control of his own fate. It can also be said that the *locus amoenus* only came into being with an accompanying relationship to one of the poet's human subjects.[124] Likewise, Armstrong points out that some iterations were identifiable by the quality of being untouched, such as Narcissus's pool in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.[125] However, Karin Schlapbach has contradicted the trope's being untouched, describing it as "a place where specific things happen, a place for action."[126] Later, and with the introduction of the designation *locus amoenus* into literary studies by German philologist Ernst Robert Curtius, the term came to also function as an umbrella term for any representation of nature as a space of positivity, security, and goodness. Paolo Giacomoni has gone so far as to claim that Western conceptions of nature today derive from "nothing but two variations around a central conceptual duo, already recognized in ancient times: *locus amoenus* and *locus horridus.*"[127]

As the paradigm of nature both *formally* untouched, but *practically* defined by the human action and interaction that often occurs in it in ancient poetry, the *locus amoenus* serves as the model for the function of the anarch in *Eumeswil*. This trope was not a literary model alien to Jünger. For one, it represented a crucial component to the classical education that was emphasized

[123] Dorothea Klein, "Amoene Orte: Zum produktiven Umgang mit einem Topos in mittelhochdeutscher Dichtung," in *Projektion – Reflektion – Ferne: Räumliche Vorstellungen und Denkfiguren im Mittelalter*, ed. Sonja Glauch (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), 64.
[124] Adeline Richard-Duperray identifies the trope as "un lieu clos, protégé des intrusions et même des regards extérieurs." Adeline Richard-Duperray, *L'amour courtois: une notion à redéfinir* (Aix-en-Provence: Presses Universitaires de Provence, 2017), 44. She also points out that, even though the trope is often "un lieu extérieur, un lieu de nature," its space was "entièrement pliée aux désirs de l'homme et aménagée pour son agrément." Ibid., 44.
[125] See Armstrong, 181, 40n. It may be true that Narcissus's pool remains untouched in Ovid's setting, but its function is to contrast with Narcissus and exists to characterize him.
[126] Karin Schlapbach, "The Pleasance, Solitude, and Literary Production: The Transformation of the Locus amoenus in Late Antiquity," *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 50 (2009), 36.
[127] See Paolo Giacomoni, "*Locus amoenus* and *Locus horridus* in the Contemporary Debate on Landscape," in *Paradigma der Landschaft in Moderne und Postmoderne: (Post-)Modernist Terrains: Landscapes, Settings, Spaces*, ed. Manfred Schmeling and Monika Schmitz-Emans, 83-92 (Würzburg: Königsmann & Neuhausen, 2007), 83. (The *locus horridus* being a variant of the *locus terribilis.*)

in German schools well into the twentieth century, and it was a part of the classical curriculum in German schools of the Wilhelmine era into which Jünger was born.[128] Klein, for instance, states that the *locus amoenus* "gehört zum kollektiven gelehrten Wissen der Vormoderne"[129] and that since the eleventh century in the German-speaking lands, the trope had been "so geläufig, daß oft schon wenige Stichwörter genügen konnten, um es präsent zu halten."[130] This is likely why the *locus amoenus* trope has appeared in several of Jünger's writings. Russell Berman has argued for placing Jünger's war books in the literary tradition of nature tropes, describing it as "the topos of the *locus amoenus*, in the tradition of which the sensuous spectacles of Jünger's battlefields have to be placed."[131] Armin Kerker has also described the plot of Jünger's Nazi-era novel of protest, *Auf den Marmorklippen*, as an example of an "Einbruch verabscheuter niederer Gewalten in einen seltsam stilisierten 'locus amoenus' exemplarischer Abgeschiedenheit."[132] In this analysis, the typical interpretation of *Auf den Marmorklippen* as a *roman à clef* about the rise of National Socialism thus implies that Jünger constructs the relative intellectual freedom of the era of the Weimar Republic as a type of *locus amoenus,* which Adolf Hitler and the Nazi regime, like the "Lemuren" in the novel, disrupt and transform into the *locus terribilis* of a dictatorship.[133] Additionally, Jan Robert Weber has pointed out that Jünger often mixed various tropes of nature

[128] Among the classical literary figures Kiesel notes as part of Jünger's school years are Homer, Herodotus, Plato, Ovid, Plutarch, and Tacitus. Cf. Kiesel, 43.
[129] Klein, 64.
[130] Ibid., 64. Meiner and Borum also note that literary topoi like the *locus amoenus* "were natural elements both in European educational systems and in a common European literary memory" by the nineteenth century. Cf. Meiner and Borum, 8.
[131] Russell E. Berman, "Written Right Across Their Faces: Ernst Jünger's Fascist Modernism," in *Modernity and the Text: Revisions of German Modernism*, ed. Andreas Huyssen and David Bathrick, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), 75.
[132] Armin Kerker, *Ernst Jünger, Klaus Mann: Gemeinsamkeit und Gegensatz in Literatur und Politik zur Typologie des literarischen Intellektuellen* (Bonn: Bouvier Verlag, 1974), 96.
[133] See also Gabriele Guerra, "*Auf den Marmorklippen*: (k)ein Schlüsselroman?: Opfertheologische und -politische Bemerkungen am Beispiel der Rezeption durch Julius Evola," in *Totalität als Faszination: Systematisierung des Heterogenen in Werk Ernst Jüngers*, ed. Andrea Benedetti and Lutz Hagestedt, 107-120 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018).

in his diaries to respond to catastrophe. Observing the way the author confronted the impending destruction of Europe and the Allied invasion while traveling in Sicily in 1944, Weber writes:

> Das Ahnen einer glücklichen vorgeschichtlichen Vergangenheit und die Hoffnung auf eine bessere Zukunft sind dem Reise-Ich nur am exklusiven Ort, im sizilianischen *hortus conclusus* möglich. Die Idylle, der *locus amoenus*, erfährt damit einen geschichtsphilosophischen wie modernekritischen Bedeutungsüberschuss: Jünger modelliert in seinen Naturbeschreibungen die Gärten der *Conca d'Oro* zu Entschleunigungsinseln. Sie ermöglichen dem Tagebuch-Ich auf der biographischen Ebene die Erinnerung an die glückliche Kindheit und darüber hinaus, auf der geschichtsphilosophischen Ebene, die Anamnese mythischer Vor-Zeit, des glücklichen Ursprungs der Menschheit, auch des christlichen Paradieses.[134]

Weber observes that Jünger fashions the gardens of Sicily into a collective *hortus conclusus* (Lat. "enclosed garden") but also that this *locus amoenus* was meant to conjure up several iterations of historical paradises. Thomas Gann has also connected Zapparoni's garden in *Gläserne Bienen* to the trope of the *locus amoenus*.[135] In each case, Jünger uses familiar images of the *locus amoenus* as a response to the catastrophic historical circumstances in the background of each example, such as World War I, the rise of National Socialism, and World War II. In this way, they function in much the same way as the instances of the trope in ancient poetry, that is, they allow for a space in which the poet can pose questions and lead discourses that would elsewhere not be possible.

Eumeswil does not use any or all iterations of the *locus amoenus* trope but, more

[134] Jan Robert Weber, *Ästhetik der Entschleunigung: Ernst Jüngers Reisetagebücher 1934-1960* (Berlin: Matthes & Seitz, 2011), 210-211.
[135] Thomas Gann, "*Gläserne Bienen*," in *Ernst Jünger Handbuch: Leben – Werk – Wirkung*, ed. Matthias Schöning (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2014), 209.

specifically, the trope in its Christian monastic tradition. Following its trajectory through the ancient world, Schlapbach points out that "[o]nly in late antiquity does solitude become something entirely positive. For the first time, people consciously choose it for its own sake, not just because they are driven by grief or the desire to write. And for the first time, it is the fully-fledged *locus amoenus* that offers the setting for the solitary individual."[136] At this point, it may seem to suggest that the anarch is based on a trope with such a long tradition of having been represented through images of primarily nature scenes. When judged in the context of its variations, it becomes apparent that Jünger models the anarch primarily on these later variations of the *locus amoenus* from late antiquity, that is, from approximately the second to fifth centuries AD. Because of the emphasis on solitude, it is not surprising, then, that the later development grew out of practices of asceticism. This later variation had its origins in the writings of the so-called "Desert Fathers" of the Church, the hermit monks of Eastern Christianity who often secluded themselves in the desert climates of the Middle East and, particularly, in the Sahara Desert of Egypt.[137] Because of the often brutal climate, lack of water, and the self-imposed asceticism of the hermits, they came to identify the oases of the desert with their own solitude in their writings. Schlapbach explains that "the fact that they recur with a certain regularity in the lives of the saints shows that the *locus amoenus* is not just an accessory or ornamental residue of literary tradition. It was perceived as an essential

[136] Schlapbach, 42. In spite of its overwhelming representation as a combination of its various pictorial elements—a meadow, tree, spring, or pond—Schlapbach has noted that the *locus amoenus* underwent several changes in function from early to late antiquity. Ibid., 35. From the beginning of its introduction into classics scholarship, when Ernst Robert Curtius began to establish the identifiable traits of the trope, he also emphasized the trope's versatility in contrast with other tropes which had seemingly fixed meanings. Ernst Robert Curtius, "Rhetorische Naturschilderung im Mittelalter," *Romantische Forschungen* 56, no. 3 (1942), 244-246.

[137] Jünger was also familiar with the Desert Fathers, in particular with perhaps the most well-known among them, the Egyptian monk St. Anthony the Great, whose legendary temptations in the desert have long been the subject of artistic and theological inspiration. Cf. Ernst Jünger, *Das Erste Pariser Tagebuch*, in *Ernst Jünger. Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 2 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015), 262; *Die Hütte im Weinberg (Jahre der Okkupation)*, in *Ernst Jünger. Sämtliche Werke* 3 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015), 562; *Siebzig verweht I*, in *Ernst Jünger. Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 4 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015), 61, 197, 296.

feature of the monastic solitude, offering the desert fathers enough comfort to secure their survival."[138] Giacomoni corroborates Schlapbach's analysis of the change in the *locus amoenus* and, describing common ancient Hebraic and Islamic cultural views of the "pleasant places" in the desert, states: "A desert was merely a place of removal, while the shade and humidity of an oasis or of a river were charged, as *loci amoeni*, with a decisive symbolic function."[139] The image of the *locus amoenus*, then, often depicted as an oasis in the midst of a desert, came to symbolize solitude, monasticism, and asceticism in the Christian tradition rather than act a site of action, as in Roman poetry.[140]

When considering this literary tradition underlying the locations that Venator proposes, his concept of a pleasant place within—and sometimes outside of—Eumeswil shifts from the earlier ancient uses of the *locus amoenus* trope, where poets often depicted it as dialogic, a place of meeting and action, to later Eastern Christian depictions that employ it to symbolize the solitude of their desert asceticism. Because of the political dimensions of Jünger's career and reputation at the time he published the novel, critical studies of the figure of the anarch have somewhat skewed it away from its connections to traditions of asceticism. This is not to say, however, that *Eumeswil* is meant to be a pamphlet for a new type of asceticism but that Jünger develops the anarch out of

[138] Schlapbach, 43.
[139] Giacomoni, 85.
[140] Jens Fleischer, who investigates the influence of the pleasant place on Christian writings, points out its importance for many Church Fathers, even those not considered "Desert" Fathers, and how these figures shifted its location again: "The journey to these ideal places involves the moving of the mind from an outer physical world to an inner spiritual one. In this action there is a parallel to St. Augustine of Hippo's *On True Religion* (390), where he instructs his reader not to go out into the world, but to return to himself and find the truth 'in the inner man.'" Fleischer, 153. In his *Confessions* (397-401), Fleischer also points out that before Augustine describes the moment of his conversion to Christianity, he points out that he first retires to a villa and "presents it as a *locus amoenus.*" Ibid. The pleasant space of the villa only serves as an occasion for Augustine to describe the actual *locus amoenus*, that is, the Christian faith in himself. Hence, the Christian examples of the *locus amoenus* attest to a gradual diversion of the idyllic imagery of the trope back onto the subject. The interiority of the contemplating subject, rather than a literary image of nature scenes, now represented the pleasant place outside of contingency and precarity.

traditions of asceticism, especially as a response to political philosophies of monarchism, the "Leviathan," of figures like Thomas Hobbes and Machiavelli.[141] Venator himself, in fact, also associates the anarch with a type of asceticism: "Der Anarch kann einsam leben; der Anarchist ist ein Sozialer und muß sich mit Gleichen zusammentun."[142] Not only is asceticism an inherent quality of the anarch, but Venator sees it as a strength as opposed to the anarchist. As a type of secularized hermit monk, the anarch has its predecessor in the figure of "Pater Foelix" in *Heliopolis*: Pater Foelix, whose name means "happy," is a hermit priest who lives in the mountains of the Pagos region, raises bees, and imparts wisdom to all who visit him. As a prosopopoeia of a way of life, he represents the possible exit out of the impending catastrophe of the civil war in Heliopolis.

Only with isolation could the Christian hermits attain the mystical knowledge of God and the machinations of the cosmos that they could not otherwise attain in civilized life. In the case of Jünger, the knowledge of the existential and metaphysical machinations behind the rise of fascism in Europe and the possibility of a post-war *vita contemplativa* became the focal point of the asceticism he increasingly refers to after the Second World War. With *Der Waldgang*, Jünger had associated a form of inner asceticism with the image of the Desert Fathers once before. There, commenting on the common monastic tradition of finding knowledge in the internal rather than external world, he writes that many have often searched for this knowledge, which reveals itself as "kosmische Macht," in ascetic practices. In addition to the woods—possibly again referring to the temptations of Anthony the Great or to Christ's temptation by the devil—"das gleiche wird auch an anderen Orten gesucht—in Höhlen, in Labyrinthen, in Wüsten, in denen der Versucher

[141] Cf. Jünger, *Eumeswil*, 253, where Venator speaks of "Waldgang" as a response to the "Leviathan." Cf. also ibid., 199-200: "Zuweilen habe ich den Condor im Verdacht, daß er aus Eumeswil ein kleines Florenz machen möchte, dann hätte er im Domo schon seinen Machiavell."
[142] Ibid., 43.

wohnt. […] Das alles ist nur scheinbar auf ferne Räume und Vorzeiten verteilt. Es ist vielmehr in jedem Einzelnen verborgen und in ihren Schlüsseln überliefert, damit er sich selbst begreife, in seiner tiefsten und überindividuellen Macht."[143] Venator is also familiar with the Church Fathers, as he implies when admitting that his readings of texts authored by anarchists are sometimes as frustrating as reading those of the Fathers,[144] citing St. John Chrysostom and St. Gregory of Nyssa.[145] He also knows of Anthony the Great. Commenting on great thinkers and the relation to their fiercest proponents, he writes,

> Das Kennzeichen der großen Heiligen, und es gibt deren nur wenige, ist, daß sie den Kern treffen. Das Nächstliegende ist unsichtbar, weil im Menschen verborgen; nichts ist schwerer verständlich zu machen als das Selbstverständliche. Wird es entdeckt oder wiedergefunden, so entfaltet es explosive Kraft. Antonius hat die Macht des Einsamen, Franziskus die des Armen, Stirner die des Einzigen erkannt. "Im Grunde" ist jeder einsam, arm und einzig auf der Welt.[146]

Thus, Venator considers the image of Max Stirner and his concept of *der Einzige* in the nineteenth century as a point in long line of the monastic tradition of asceticism, yet only in an internal sense. In *Eumeswil*, he plans for an actual physical experience of asceticism in his "Entenhütte" as a pretext for the abstract asceticism that he undergoes in his interior as the anarch.

Just as well, from a literary perspective, the Luminar externalizes what Venator strives for in the ideal of the anarch: the ability of the historian to step outside of history, the ability of Venator to step outside of himself and into the anarch. It shifts the idiom of the novel to a metafictional

[143] Ernst Jünger, *Der Waldgang*, in *Ernst Jünger. Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 9 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015), 327.
[144] Jünger, *Eumeswil*, 312.
[145] Ibid., 232-233.
[146] Ibid., 324.

process. The Luminar returns the text to a crucial aspect of ancient poetry, an aspect in which the image of the *locus amoenus* was intertwined: imitation. As Petra Hass establishes at the outset of her study of the *locus amoenus*: "Das Prinzip antiker Literatur ist bekanntlich nicht das Streben nach Originalität, sondern die *imitatio*, die schöpferische Nachahmung, die Auseinandersetzung mit literarischen Modellen."[147] Although contemporary artists thrive on creating original pieces of art or music, in the ancient world, the opposite was true. The poet, in particular, displayed his knowledge of the poetic tradition by engaging in *imitatio* and repeating situations, tropes, or phrases from past masters. Eumeswil represents a development in the tradition of *imitatio*: its residents not only explicitly imitate established forms and ideas, as ancient poetry strived to do, the identifying trait of Eumeswil is the fact that all of its inhabitants (save Venator and his teachers) imitate previous forms while claiming originality. At first, *imitatio* seems like a logical strategy for Venator in his search for nature in his city. The tradition of tropes of nature available to him provide the models by which he may create another *locus amoenus*, for example. At least for the majority of the novel, the imitation of the *locus amoenus* in the anarch is sufficient for Venator's needs, despite the fact that, even when internalized, the trope remains utopian in its conception.

[147] Hass, 1. The repetition of historical models in Venator's society of Eumeswil takes the discourse back to the concept of *imitatio* in Roman poetry, "the absorption and reproduction of good models." Michael von Albrecht, *Roman Epic: An Interpretive Tradition* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 22. In ancient Rome, a poet displayed credentials in artistic and literary endeavors by the precise opposite approach, that is, by paying tribute to the models that preceded them, through *imitatio.* Lisa S. Starks-Estes notes, for example, "The writer was to draw from earlier models but then creatively make them entirely new." Lisa S. Starks-Estes, *Violence, Trauma, and* Virtus *in Shakespeare's Roman Poems and Plays: Transforming Ovid* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 10. Elizabeth Baynham also notes that "*imitatio* would not necessarily weaken the originality of the imitator. Although all Roman literature observed the *lex operis*…it was remarkably flexible. Roman writers could freely borrow from their predecessors, provided that they make their own contributions." Elizabeth Baynham, *Alexander the Great: The Unique History of Quintus Curtius* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2001), 33. Furthermore, writers valued *imitatio*, both in Ancient Roman poetry and in its revival in the Renaissance, as a literary strategy because of its basis in mimesis. Tom Dolack points out: "The Romans' and humanists' faith in imitation, which progresses through the Neoclassical, stems from the Aristotelian tradition of mimesis that views imitation as a natural and basic human faculty underlying all culture. Beginning with the Romantics, and continuing to this day, imitation becomes something to be hidden." Tom Dolack, "Lyric Ventriloquism and the Dialogic Translations of Pasternak, Mandelstam, and Celan," in *Poetry and Dialogism: Hearing Over*, ed. Mara Scanlon and Chad Engbers (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 57-58.

With these traditions and representations of nature through the *locus amoenus* considered, one must nevertheless point out an obvious but necessary fact about the novel's appeal to the tradition of nature tropes. Images of nature in poetic representations do not represent any location actually found on Earth. They are fundamentally hyperreal. Even idyllic settings like the Arcadia of Virgil's *Eclogues* or *Bucolics* (c. 42-38 BC), a uniquely Greek setting, no longer came to refer to the actual region of Arcadia but took on a life of its own as a symbol of eternal tranquility. Such tropes only truly exist when the poet calls them into being and the characters within the narrative enter it. The *locus amoenus*, too, "is always oriented towards the presence of the human being. Even as a place of gods and nymphs, the sacred character of the *locus amoenus* has to be perceived and confirmed by the visitor."[148] Hass further points out that in many iterations of the *locus amoenus*, "Götter und Menschen arbeiten an der Gestaltung des Ortes mit."[149] This interaction between human and personified characters, then, points to the fact that the poet himself creates the space, even when basing it on real geography. After the solidification of the space of the *locus amoenus* as a product of *poiesis* and a place of solitude, the history of the trope attests to yet another shift—that of a shift inward.

In *Eumeswil*, Venator constructs the anarch as an orientation with the potential to undertake a similar shift inward as those of the Christian Fathers. The anarch personifies the *locus amoenus*, yet in lieu of Jünger's construction of an ultimate "pleasant" space for the protagonist and himself engaging in *imitatio*, he consolidates the trope's external qualities in the interiority of the human

[148] Schlapbach, 36.
[149] Hass, 19. Even when discussing another form of *locus amoenus*, the garden, in another time period, i.e. the Early Modern era, Alexander Samson points out how horticulturalists reflected themselves in the gardens they designed: "While there may have been a desire to see things in themselves, related to the empirical and scientific interest of gardens, the personification of nature, anthropomorphism and prosopopoeia ran riot in the early modern garden, compensating for nature's disenchantment." Alexander Samson, "Introduction: *Locus amoenus*: Gardens and Horticulture in the Renaissance," in *Locus amoenus: Gardens and Horticulture in the Renaissance*, ed. Alexander Samson (Hoboken: Wiley, 2012), 13.

subject who creates and curates the anarch. In this way, the anarch continues the symbolic spatial imagery of *Eumeswil*. Venator, for example, often describes himself as the anarch in spatial terms, for instance, when he describes the orientation of the anarch as if being in a no-man's-land: "Als Anarch bin ich entschlossen, mich auf nichts einzulassen, nichts letzthin ernst zu nehmen – – – allerdings nicht auf nihilistische Weise, sondern eher als ein Grenzposten, der im Niemandslande zwischen den Gezeiten Augen und Ohren schärft."[150] Like an anchor amid a no-man's-land of meaninglessness, the anarch is capable of riding out the tides of historical contingency. At another point, describing himself in terms of the political spectrum of "left" and "right," he modulates the political spectrum into a linguistic play on the spatial orientation of the anarch: "Ich bin, das darf ich wohl sagen, nicht schräg, sondern rechtwinklig ausgerichtet—weder nach rechts noch nach links, weder nach oben noch nach unten, weder nach Westen noch nach Osten hin belastet, sondern äquilibriert."[151] Although a play on words, Venator's self-stylization presents himself, as the anarch, as a space that defies limitation and orientation.

However, the anarch, too, has a shelf life like all other tropes, which Venator comes to find out. Even when adapting to the perennial nature of a trope like the *locus amoenus*, as a space outside of time that one can invoke within time, the anarch has limitations and breaks down as a mechanism of controlling Venator's mental and spiritual orientation toward Eumeswil. If Venator retires into himself as the anarch, if he finds sovereignty "im Inneren unberührt,"[152] the anarch, too, engages in the same imitation that Venator enjoys while working at the Luminar. The anarch does not create anything new but imitates the ascetic tradition of the *locus amoenus*. The Luminar can also not create but ends up a conglomeration of imitations, just like the city of Eumeswil.

[150] Jünger, *Eumeswil*, 90.
[151] Ibid., 41.
[152] Ibid., 140.

Venator answers the endless imitations of Eumeswil with his own imitation, a feature of the narrative that has consequences both within the novel and for its reception. Thus, viewing the anarch in light of imitation challenges the opinion that the anarch is, instead, the culmination of all of Jünger's previous types. Although James Farrugia notes that Jünger had been "tinkering" with the figure of the anarch since the First World War,[153] the fact that the other types proposed in Jünger's other works do point to the anarch as the final type by their chronology still does not argue that *Eumeswil* endorses the anarch as a sustainable guiding model to navigate situations like Eumeswil. Rather, I propose that *Eumeswil* reveals itself to be not a novel "about" the anarch but of the woods as the solution to the problem of the relationship between author and writing, pleasant and terrible spaces, and the problem of meaninglessness that Venator confronts. Because the anarch is modeled on the idyllic tradition of the *locus amoenus*, it offers an instance of metafictional reflection for Venator. After all, as Wolfgang Iser argues, idyllic genres of poetry can be seen as a "metatext" of fiction writing.[154] The Luminar had already made a portion of this metafictional reflection available to him as an allegorical representation of metafiction and metanarration. But through the process of self-reflection that the metafictional instance of the anarch provides for Venator, he is able to arrive at the conclusion that the anarch itself is not sufficient for a new narrative. This new narrative he finds, instead, in the woods beyond all classical tropes of nature.

Reification of Time in Venator's Turn to Montage

[153] James Farrugia, "Sovereign Indifference: Jünger's Anarch and the Appeal of the Small," *Anarchist Studies* 24, no. 2 (2016), 33.
[154] Wolfgang Iser, *Das Fiktive und das Imaginäre: Perspektiven literarischer Anthropologie* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1991), 382-383.

By the end of the novel, Venator's identification of the anarch with the monastic tradition of the *locus amoenus* seems to satisfy his need for personal sovereignty, but the text leaves one essential question unanswered: if Venator finds the ultimate refuge and source of asceticism in the interiority of the anarch, why does he then choose to enter into the woods with the Condor in the finale of the novel? One must look back to Jünger's personal mythology. If one takes the anarch seriously as a type of ideology proposed by the novel, the novel's ending seems to challenge the sustainability of this ideology. Within Jünger's oeuvre, however, *Eumeswil* presents a problem not only of classification but of reception, since, as has often been claimed, it is closely tied to his post-World War II essays. One must initially read the woods of *Eumeswil* in light of Jünger's personal array of symbols developed principally after the Second World War. *Der Waldgang* again gives us the most comprehensive definition of the idea. Although it leaves the exact nature of both the process of "der Waldgang" and the resulting figure of the "Waldgänger" in the dark, the essay offers several perspectives on both concepts. Jünger connects the etymology of *Waldgang* with an ancient act of ostracism in Germanic cultures, in which a person retreated to the woods after being expelled from society.[155] The woods are "das überzeitliche Sein"[156] and "Hafen…Heimat…Friede und Sicherheit, die jeder in sich trägt."[157] From the outset of the essay, he establishes one crucial distinction between the woods and other images of nature in both literature and lore. *Der Waldgang* does not attempt to create an idyll,[158] an integral shift when considering the fact that Jünger wrote the essay in the early 1950s amid Germany's post-war rubble, reconstruction, and the rise of the Soviet influence in East Germany. The woods neither a pleasant nor a terrible place. In the Western cultural tradition, as Jünger remarks, they typically stage spaces of challenge and of accepting

[155] Jünger, *Der Waldgang*, 318.
[156] Ibid., 317.
[157] Ibid., 315.
[158] Ibid., 283.

one's fate, a space of trial. He ties the woods, for example, to the "Märchenwald mit den menschenfressenden Wölfen, Hexen und Riesen…die Rosenhecke Dornröschens" as well as to Gethsemane, where the Passion narrative commences in the Gospels, a garden whose image is nevertheless confounded by the presence of its olive trees.[159] As a symbolic space, they mark a transition from the pleasure of a garden to the trial of a wooded setting. In all these examples, the woods represent a space of finding oneself.

Venator also writes about the *Waldgang*. He describes the anarch as one "der im Grunde immer und überall Waldgänger ist."[160] But to further distinguish the woods from other common images of nature that represent closed spaces, Jünger makes the distinction between *Wald* and *Forst* in German: "Der alte Wald mag nun zum Forst geworden sein, zur ökonomischen Kultur."[161] *Der Waldgang* undoubtedly served as the basis for *Eumeswil*. As Hinck argues, Jünger nevertheless distinguishes between the two and their prototypical *Gestalten*: "Im Unterschied aber zum Waldgänger des Essays von 1951…ist dem Anarchen der Wald nur der letzte Zufluchtsort."[162] *Eumeswil* both continues the spatial representations of discourses that are unique to Jünger's personal mythology—the language of the Titans, the gods, the "Waldgang," the catacombs—and mixes these concepts with their traditional symbolism. In *Eumeswil*, the catacombs under the city and the woods that lie outside of it suggest two grand, overarching orientations toward the production of knowledge and meaning. Previously, in *Heliopolis*, whose narrative world Jünger connects with that of Eumeswil,[163] the catacombs represent the oldest collection of the Pagos region, a space capable of reversing time back to the age of the martyrs

[159] Ibid., 327.
[160] Jünger, *Eumeswil*, 148.
[161] Jünger, *Der Waldgang*, 329.
[162] Hinck, 208.
[163] The Condor resides "auf der Kasbah, der Hochburg, die etwa zwei Meilen jenseits der Stadt einen kahlen Hügel krönt, den man seit jeher den Pagos nennt." Jünger, *Eumeswil*, 12. Cf. also ibid., 194-195, 309.

whose bones they house. For Venator, the catacombs represent the ossified form of knowledge that the Early Modern period produced: scientistic, positivistic rationalism that argued for knowledge based on perceptible phenomena, a form of intellectual inquiry typically embodied by Linnaeus in Jünger's writings. This alignment of the catacombs with rationalism and positivism does not mean that they do not provide something of value for the residents of Eumeswil. As Manuel Mackasare observes, the catacombs are still "geheime Stätten der Entwicklung"[164] along with the woods. Venator also observes in his notes: "Auch in den Katakomben geschieht mehr, als daß Wissen gehortet und verwaltet wird."[165] He remarks, nonetheless, that the catacombs are oriented more toward the collection and sedimentation of knowledge than of a *vita activa*, something like the pre-rationalistic *gaia scienza* of the Middle Ages: "Der Unterschied zwischen den Katakomben und den Wäldern scheint darin zu liegen, daß man hier am Baum der Erkenntnis, dort an dem des Lebens experimentiert."[166] Because of their positivistic approach to life, then, Venator realizes that the catacombs can only reveal knowledge about the perceptible qualities of the sensible world. Their collections, though powerful, do not suffice for a total escape from Eumeswil. And, while he has access to the catacombs, he longs for the mythological space that the woods represent.

The tension between the catacombs and the woods mirrors Venator's interior journey as the reader follows it through his notes up to the point of his disappearance into the woods with the Condor. This correlation is seen in the fact that the woods are also separated from Eumeswil by a vast desert. Jünger uses the city's vague geographical location of somewhere in Northern Africa

[164] Manuel Mackasare, "'…einer, der Glaubwürdiges verlangt': Religion und Spiritualität in Ernst Jüngers späten Romanen 'Eumeswil' und 'Die Zwille,'" in *"Polytheismus der Einbildungskraft"*: *Wechselspiele von Literatur und Religion von der Aufklärung bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Tomas Sommadossi (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2018), 265.
[165] Jünger, *Eumeswil*, 340. See chapter two, which locates the catacombs in the European tradition of collecting.
[166] Ibid.

to evoke the vastness of the Sahara, in addition to the fact that he continues the idea of the desert that he points out in *Der Waldgang*.[167] Mackasare has convincingly pointed to this desert as a Nietzschean image representative of the intense nihilism that Venator must overcome in order to escape to the woods.[168] The woods, as many have pointed out, represent a space of meaning making or "mythenbildende Kraft,"[169] as the physician Attila describes it. Early on in his notes, Venator describes the woods as a location that still contains mysteries, a space of potentiality rather than the demystification that Eumeswil represents: "Daß der Wald Überraschungen birgt, ist nicht zu bezweifeln; hin und wieder werden neue Tiere und häufig neue Pflanzen von den Rändern eingebracht. So fand sich manches Gerücht bestätigt, das man seit Herodots Zeiten als Fabel betrachtet hat. Doch darum handelt es sich nicht. Früher meinten die Gelehrten, daß nach den Sintfluten nicht nur neue Arten, sondern neue Geschlechter aufträten."[170] When he hears Attila speak of the woods, he assumes: "Es muß dort Trophäen und Gefahren geben, die eher an den Argonautenzug erinnern als an die Glanzzeiten der historischen und selbst der prähistorischen Jagd."[171]

But these images all serve to establish setting. Although both *Der Waldgang* and *Eumeswil* share the notion that myth is "zeitlose Wirklichkeit,"[172] *Eumeswil* only deviates from Jünger's overt endorsement of a return to myth in the post-war years in that it does not directly connect this need for mythology to immediate political questions. Nor should one read Venator's description of the mythological aspects of the woods as Jünger's plea to return to—in the case of Jünger's

[167] Jünger, *Der Waldgang*, 335-336. The image of the massive desert also again invokes the tradition of the Desert Fathers.
[168] Mackasare, 257, 266. Jünger also alludes to Nietzsche's image of the desert from the *Dionysos-Dithyramben* (1888) in *Der Waldgang*: "Die Wüste wächst, weh dem, der Wüsten birgt." Jünger, *Eumeswil*, 335.
[169] Ibid., 179.
[170] Ibid., 49.
[171] Ibid., 53.
[172] Jünger, *Der Waldgang*, 315.

complicated role in German history—a new mythology of fascism. Rather, with the final section of *Eumeswil*, Jünger hearkens back to the Romantic view of mythology in the circles of early Jena Romanticism, one primarily represented by Friedrich Schlegel. In addition to his call for a "new mythology," Schlegel esteemed the novel as the medium of a new mythology for modernity. Christoph Zeller writes of Schlegel's emphasis on the novel: "Wenn die Antike ihren festen Beziehungspunkt in der Mythologie gehabt habe, so müsse der Fixpunkt der Moderne im Unendlichen und im Ganzen liegen, das in der Dichtung zum Ausdruck komme. Im Roman…muss indes [laut Schlegel] die eigentliche Gattung der 'neuen Mythologie' gesehen werden."[173] Like the turn away from the purposeful demystifications of Enlightenment among Romantic thinkers like Schlegel, Venator must now turn away from the demystifying ideas of Eumeswil and return to myth in the "woods" of the novel. One should therefore consider the mythological potential of a retreat into the woods in narratological terms, since the woods represent the end of Venator's own narrative record of Eumeswil; his notes stop where his entrance into the woods begins.

Moreover, there are more connections that link the woods of *Eumeswil* to a narratological metaphor. Maik M. Müller links the woods back to Venator's function as narrator and designates the woods "[eine] Projektionsfläche geheimnisvoller Transmutationen und…Quelle der Faszination des Erzählers."[174] He points out that the woods are said to contain mythical creatures such as unicorns and mermaids.[175] By rediscovering these creatures, Venator will overcome both the catacombs and Linnaeus. He will even surpass the zoologist Rosner in his capacity to incorporate new creatures into his preconceived notions about the natural world. Reflecting on

[173] Christoph Zeller, "Mythologie," in *Friedrich Schlegel Handbuch. Leben – Werk – Wirkung*, ed. Johannes Endres (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2017), 319.
[174] Maik M. Müller, *Postmoderne Topographien: Ernst Jüngers* Eumeswil *und Christoph Ransmayrs* Morbus Kitahara (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2009), 82.
[175] Jünger, *Eumeswil*, 50.

Attila's stories about the woods, he notes that "mit meiner Aufmerksamkeit wächst die Erwartung, daß Tiere erscheinen könnten, deren Namen nicht in den Büchern stehen,"[176] recalling his earlier statement about Linnaeus's omission of fantastical species from his system. Venator is still fascinated by the woods because, with their mysterious species, they hold the promise of reclaiming the imaginary. The potential of a Nietzschean overcoming of the sickness, "das Siechtum, der Morast"[177] of Eumeswil lies in the self-imposed potential danger and trials of the woods. In addition, Niels Pinke describes a connection between the end of Venator's society and the end of narration. He argues that the finale of *Eumeswil* "als Ende der conditio humana—des Erzählens—erscheint, das der technischen Simulation gewichen ist."[178] Because the Luminar has usurped the narrative function, Jünger characterizes Venator's exit as a means to allegorically approach a new *conditio humana* and to resume the "subtle" hunt. As Venator realizes, the virtual simulations of the Luminar reflect what it actually does: not just produce imitations but simulations, copies devoid of an original. Venator must therefore become a new type of narrator who can, like a new Adam, recreate narration from the beginning to find a new "original," so to speak.

Venator does not present the symbols of the woods and catacombs as standalone images but, like in *Heliopolis,* associates each location with the authority figures around him.[179] He often describes the men who usually surround the Condor when he visits the bar where Venator works at night, such as the Domo, the Condor's chief of security, and Attila. Although both men work for the Condor, they often try to sway him with the principles that they represent by the spatial

[176] Ibid., 237.
[177] Ibid., 72.
[178] Niels Pinke, "Das Ende der Zivilisation als Ende des Erzählens. Ernst Jüngers zweifache Dystopie *Eumeswil* (1977)," *Kalmenzone: Literaturzeitschrift* 7 (2015), 39.
[179] Cf. Müller, 81.

images that Venator has established. Not only does Venator consign his teachers Bruno and Vigo to the catacombs and the woods respectively, he also classifies the Domo in the same way, writing: "Ich werde mich nicht an den Domo halten, dem eher die Katakomben angemessen sind."[180] Whereas in *Heliopolis* Lucius de Geer participates in the symposium of the intellectuals of Heliopolis, here Jünger depicts Venator as one who observes the symposium around the Condor each night that he tends bar. By contrast, he eavesdrops on their conversations and spends his nights making sense of the principles—the energies, potentialities—that each of the voices personifies. By the end of the novel, though, Venator has followed the teachings of Bruno and Vigo but has found their teachings inadequate for his future. Their teachings push him back into the cycle of repetition. Instead, he looks to Attila and the stories he tells about the woods.

Early on, Venator associates Attila with the woods, because of those in the Condor's inner circle, Attila alone has been to the woods.[181] He has personal experience with the "mythenbildende Kraft" of the woods beyond the desert. His experiences even make his own persona seem mysterious and seem to obscure his age and appearance: "Von Attilas Alter und Herkunft habe ich immer noch keine Vorstellung. Zuweilen rechne ich ihn zu den mythischen Figuren, das schließt Zeitlosigkeit ein."[182] As the woods have no origin and seem to exist outside of time, so too does Attila now appear to be without age or ancestry. Venator also describes the realms that Attila has visited in terms of hyperreality, where the boundary between reality and fantasy, real and fake, seems to blur: "Gewiß hatten [Attilas] Fahrten ihn auch in den höchsten Norden geführt. Er liebt die Inseln, die Wüsten, die Urwälder. […] Er kennt die Grenzen, an denen Illusion und Realität einander aufheben."[183] In this way, Venator distinguishes Attila from the other characters in

[180] Jünger, *Eumeswil*, 376.
[181] Ibid., 89.
[182] Ibid., 364.
[183] Ibid., 237.

Eumeswil. Whereas the other characters no longer recognize the hyperreal quality of their claims to historicity, innovation, and originality in thought and cultural production, Attila retains the consciousness of the distinction between illusion and reality because he has spent time where both coexist, that is, in the woods.

One of the defining features of scholarship on *Eumeswil* has been a focus on its concept of time as an element of its plot but not as an allegorical element that suggests a search for nature. This focus on time has led to the common view of *Eumeswil* as exemplary of the turn to *posthistoire* in the latter half of the twentieth century. However, a closer analysis calls for a reevaluation of the way that scholars have aligned it with theories of an end to history, even in the face of comments from the protagonist of the novel himself, who makes statements such as the Nietzschean pronouncement that "Die Geschichte ist tot."[184] According to the *posthistoire* interpretation, Venator realizes that history has ended, and his writings express the confusion of the non-teleological societal trajectory in which he must live. However, the text of *Eumeswil* and its form, in particular, exhibit a different orientation toward time. Venator's notes reveal vague orientations toward time, and until the end of the novel, they provide little indication of their chronology (entries that resemble diary entries are not dated). *Eumeswil* instead reifies the concept of time, especially as it relates to its protagonist. Through this reification, it subordinates conceptions of time to spaces in the novel. We have seen that both in Jünger's personal life and in the lives of his characters, the subjects of his works often develop strategies for "collecting" time. This trend can especially be seen in the tendency to create collections in *Heliopolis* and the way that Richard reifies his past into a form of nature in *Gläserne Bienen*. As an author, Jünger himself engaged in this gesture of collecting time in his war books of the 1920s, whose primary purpose

[184] Ibid., 340.

was to memorialize his experience of World War I for posterity. In this sense, Venator does not call for a new era, neither a rebirth nor a continuation of progress, but a new space of narrative experimentation.

He first reifies time by means of the myriad historical allusions in his notes. Current events not only remind him of similar past events, but, in Venator's historical consciousness, ancient and recent events exist side-by-side, as if time does not separate them. But rather than a novel about a historical event or the process of historiography, *Eumeswil* only frames Venator's character as a historian to emphasize his metareflective position, as Rubel argues: "Diese Spannung zwischen der notwendigen Distanz zum Forschungsobjekt, der inneren Neutralität auf der einen und Leidenschaft und Neugier auf der anderen Seite konstituiert die Figur Manuel Venator."[185] This quality of detachment has led Müller to describe Venator as being like a *flâneur* of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century: "Im Stile des Benjaminschen Flaneurs und Allegorikers…wird die Kontinuität der Wirklichkeit aufgebrochen, ihre Versatzstücke und Szenen werden als visuelle Chiffren und allegorische Imaginationen verfügbar gemacht."[186] Moreover, Venator's engagement with history also resembles the photomontages of Berlin avant-garde artists of the early twentieth-century like Hannah Höch and John Heartfield: like a photomontage, he takes apart the pieces of history, literally moments in time, and pieces them back together into a mixture of images, epochs, and historic moments: "Nach Mitternacht, wenn sie getrunken haben, schärft sich meine Wachsamkeit. Es fallen Worte, Sätze, die offenbar den Wald betreffen; ich füge die Splitter zum Mosaik."[187] Although he does not explicitly connect it to the technique of photomontage, Müller insinuates it: "Venators Bilder sind Bilder von Raumordnungen und

[185] Rubel, 779-780.
[186] Müller, 49.
[187] Jünger, *Eumeswil*, 63.

szenischen Sequenzen, die in vielfältigen Überblendungen und Kontrastierungen permanent zu neuen Formationen umgeschaffen werden."[188] Accordingly, Venator tells the reader, the technology of the Luminar enables him to create his own montages of history. He can recall events both recent and ancient at the same time, because the Luminar presents them as if they all appear together within the same space. These observations mark an unprecedented turn in the novel. Venator spends pages upon pages staging himself as a rebel against Eumeswil, as a conscientious objector to its claims. Yet there is a problem with Venator's creation of "photomontages" of history. In his dual capacity as historian and bartender, he again imitates the Dada-like performances of the parodists who perform in Eumeswil. His resistance returns him to the problem of imitatio, and in doing so, Jünger uniquely links the revolutions in visual and performance art from early twentieth-century Dada to ancient literary traditions. The reorganization of narratives into a mosaic may serve as the bridge to a new narrative, but it does not create one. In lieu of creating a new narrative out of old narratives, he looks to the medium of narrating itself, to writing.

Metafiction in *Eumeswil*

By the end of the novel, Venator comes to realize that he cannot find nature even in the pleasant place of the anarch within himself. Rather than creating a narrative out of the historical events he collects, there is new history to be made by him and the Condor. The novel thus takes on a narratological approach to the problem of nature. Venator must find the freedom of nature in the woods, in the space outside of old narratives where he can act as a new narrator. As a type of

[188] Müller, 50. Furthermore, this technique also resembles the collage technique used by Dada artist Tristan Tzara, famously formulated in the sarcastic "manifesto" poem from 1920: "To make a dadaist poem / Take a newspaper. / Take some scissors. / Choose from this newspaper an article of the length you want to make your poem. / Cut out the article. / Next carefully cut out each of the words that compose the article and put them all in a bag. / Shake gently. / Next take out each cut/out one after the other. / Copy conscientiously in the order in which they left the bag. / The poem will resemble you. / And there you are—an infinitely original writer of charming sensibility, still misunderstood by the vulgar." Quoted and translated in Peter Stockwell, *The Language of Surrealism* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 96.

court historian, a new Xenophon,[189] he will become the narrator of a narrative that no one has yet written. As a metahistorian, Venator appears as the narrator of narratives. As he comes to find out, metacritique, metahistory, and metanarration can only last so long until he must again look for a new history and a fresh narrative. One of the arcs the text establishes early on is that of the metaphysical "Große Jagd." Venator knows of this great hunt, but for now it ends where the woods begin. For both him and the Condor who leads the hunt, the great hunt does not go far enough. As the "hunter," Venator challenges his initial repulsion toward hunting, as he has now found the hunt that suits him. In the final section of the novel entitled "Vom Walde," the Domo informs Venator that the Condor has decided to take part in a "great hunt" that will finally enter into the mysterious woods. The carcass of Eumeswil no longer suffices for the Condor, and Venator now has the opportunity to experience what Müller describes as "eine Vision von einer gänzlich anderen Existenzform" and simultaneously "eine archaische Existenz inmitten nachgeschichtlicher Trümmerstätten."[190] From what he has gathered from Attila's anecdotes about the woods, Venator decides that the only existence now worth experiencing is that which he can find once he makes his way through the woods with the Condor. Although the woods act as a type of purgatory, a passage of trial and purification before the final destination, the realm beyond the woods is nothing like the paradises and utopias that history has proposed. The people there live on top of the landfills of history, but they are free from the hyperreal limbo of the historical simulations that make up Eumeswil and the rest of the "epigonale Stadtstaaten." In staging Venator's preparation for a passage into the woods, the final sequence of *Eumeswil* proposes a radical new form of mythological narration.

[189] Cf. Jünger, *Eumeswil*, 375.
[190] Müller, 84.

It is important here to point out the complicated status of the term *myth* in the West, particularly because it has come to be associated with "falsehood." According to this usage, a myth is not only a falsehood but one that many believe. The field of semiotics, however, has challenged this conception of myth and mythology, in part as a backlash against modernity and as a response to the "myths" of the supposedly demystified modern world. Rather than a falsehood, Roland Barthes's seminal work on mythology, *Mythologies* (1957),[191] for example, argues that myth is a complex order of meaning. Venator's character develops throughout his writings not because he moves from one form of escapism to the next. Instead, he realizes that the problem of Eumeswil is not episodic but a now enduring problem of narration, the problem of a beginning, middle, and end that no longer applies to Eumeswil. Mythology does not fulfill the wish for an escape; it is, as Barthes asserts, a highly developed form of speech. Myth is capable of constructing a second semantic order above a semiotic construction that amounts to a linguistic assumption, seen for example in Barthes's analysis of the French magazine cover depicting an African boy wearing a French military uniform. In this sense, mythology functions as a type of metafictional form of narration: it is speech that speaks about and builds upon an already assumed statement. Among the many attributes that Barthes ascribes to myths today, he also asserts that myth has the power of objectifying history into something tangible, writing that "the very principle of myth" is that "it transforms history into nature."[192] The woods hold the promise of doing what the Luminar could not: to turn the trash of history into a new nature. At the end of *Eumeswil*, Venator chooses to enter the woods, the space of *mythos*, because he knows that he must speak of certain subjects that are not spoken of in Eumeswil, namely the fact that the city has no absolute basis underlying any of its discourses and invocations of history. The true myth, in the contemporary reductionist sense of

[191] Cf. Roland Barthes, *Mythologies*, trans. Annette Lavers (New York: Hill and Wang, 1972).
[192] Cf. ibid., 129.

"falsehood," that Venator attempts to escape by retreating to the woods is the myth of the progress of historical time. The claim that the "Diadochenreich" of Eumeswil can any longer produce originality, innovation, or new "historical substance" has itself become myth. Venator has already attempted it with his photomontage "mosaics" of history; now he can live it.

Consequently, the final episode of the novel oscillates between symbolic and metafictional approaches, which produces an orientation to both narration and metanarration unprecedented in Jünger's other works of fiction. As we have seen, Venator's self-characterization as the anarch has led him to an embodiment of the trope of the *locus amoenus*. Some have viewed Venator's choice to enter the woods with the Condor as the fulfillment of his anarchic orientation. Rainer Barbey describes Venator's retreat to the woods as follows: "[D]er Schluss des Romans, der Marsch in die hybrid wuchernde Waldlandschaft der Eumeswiler Peripherie zusammen mit den Getreuen des Condors, [ist] als grenzüberschreitender Weg in die Anarchie deutbar. […] Der ersehnte Austritt aus der individuellen und überpersönlichen Geschichte gelingt jedoch, wie die Herausgeberschaft der Notizen Venators durch seinen ungeliebten Bruder nahelegt, nur um den Preis der Selbstvernichtung."[193] Thus, Barbey follows the interpretation of Venator's brother, which argues that Venator must have had to efface himself in order to fulfill his fate as the anarch. He must engage in a radical nihilism, including annihilating himself, in order to escape the historical farce behind him.

On the contrary, *Eumeswil* does not result in a defense of the anarch as *Der Waldgang* had been for the "Waldgänger." It instead argues the failure of the anarch's efficacy as a means of resistance, which can be seen in the simple fact of the plot that Venator does not choose to

[193] Rainer Barbey, "Postmoderner Anarchismus: Zur Gestalt des Anarchen in Ernst Jüngers Roman 'Eumeswil,'" *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 134, no. 4 (2015), 632.

physically remain in Eumeswil. Few scholars, such as Rubel[194] and Mackasare, have read the ending of the novel as a challenge to the sustainability of the anarch. Mackasare states, for example: "Im Zug zu den Wäldern ist er [Venator] nicht mehr Anarch, sondern verantwortliches Glied einer Schicksalsgemeinschaft."[195] He interprets Venator's departure from Eumeswil in biblical terms. Like the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt, Venator, the Condor, and the Condor's retinue leave Eumeswil not as an ending, like death, but as the beginning of a new age, even if they must first wander through a wilderness. Mackasare points to Venator's name change from *Martin*, derived from the god of war, Mars, to *Manuel*, "God with us," as a sign of his "conversion" and calls Venator's plan to leave Eumeswil "eine Art paulinische Erweckung."[196] But this conversion does not occur by means of an epiphany like that of Paul; rather, his exodus is premeditated. Mackasare's theological interpretation of the ending of *Eumeswil* is nonetheless compelling in terms of Venator's quest for a new form of nature. As the Israelites traversed the wilderness to come to the "land flowing with milk and honey," the veritable paradise promised to them by Yahweh, Venator seeks deliverance from bondage to the old form of narration. If Jünger intended *Eumeswil* to represent his last entry into Innere Emigration, a migration into writing and into oneself under the thumb of dictatorship, the inner emigration that *Eumeswil* suggests is not to be found in the inner space of the anarch. In this sense, the ending of *Eumeswil* represents the culmination of Jünger's inner emigration, the final response to a hopeless external situation.

Moreover, the form of the ending provides clues to its metafictional and metanarrative aspects and effects. Because of the fact that Venator has never been to the mysterious woods, the text logically never constructs the woods from his accounts but relies on Attila's secondhand

[194] Rubel, 778.
[195] Mackasare, 267.
[196] Ibid.

anecdotes, which puts their reliability one further step away from the first-person limited narrator. The reason for Jünger's omission of the woods from the novel's ending is a curious touch; it argues, in a sense, that the intrinsic nature of the woods defies description. Hohendahl notes, for example: "Der Übergang in den mythischen Raum des Waldes wird nicht mehr erzählt, denn er stellt eine inkommensurable Erfahrung dar."[197] This defiance to being narrated negates the potential for the woods to function as another trope of nature, because the aforementioned tropes only exist in their constitutions as literary or artistic representations. In other words, the woods represent the only realm of nature in *Eumeswil* that resists narration. It must be pointed out here, too, that the first-person perspective of the text plays a consequential role for the novel's conclusion. Through his writing—which, it must be remembered, he had intended to leave behind at his bunker—Venator is responsible for passing on the legacy of Eumeswil to posterity in his notes. The complex web of historical allusions throughout his notes point to his role not only as narrator of his own life but as a metanarrator, the narrator of narratives or, in Venator's terms, the "Metahistoriker." Despite the fact that Hohendahl interprets his retreat into the woods as the culmination, rather than abandonment, of the anarch, he acknowledges that *Eumeswil* presents Venator as the master narrator: "Die Entscheidung Venators, dem Condor bei dem Auszug in den großen Wald…zu folgen, greift entscheidend nicht nur in sein Leben sondern auch in seine Rolle als Erzähler ein. […] Mit anderen Worten, der Erzähler verschwindet und muss durch einen Herausgeber ersetzt werden."[198] Becoming the court historian of the Condor, the new Xenophon, during his journey through the woods means becoming the master narrator of a new type of narration. His chance for a role in a new cultural, political, and historical primacy lies in the possibility of a new

[197] Hohendahl, 329.
[198] Ibid.

mythological form of narration, unlike that of the intellectuals of Eumeswil who demystify or retain an objective distance to myth.

With a return to reflection on narration and its medial manifestation as the novel, *Eumeswil* opens up the possibility of a renewal rather than an "end," be it an end of history, politics, science, or historiography. In light of its plethora of symbols, then, one must return to the question of a lost creation and the possibility of recreation initially posed by Venator. Mackasare's as of yet singular perspective on the ending of *Eumeswil* in theological terms points to the crucial Judeo-Christian imagery in the final scenes. As Venator writes, he desires to shift away from the Tree of Knowledge to the Tree of Life, which he can only find in the great woods. As if a reversal of the banishment of Adam and Eve from Eden after partaking of the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge, Attila asserts that one will no longer want to turn back once having reached the Tree of Life: "Der Rückweg vom Baum der Erkenntnis zu dem des Lebens ist unheimlich. Doch gab es kein Zurück in die Wüste, die hinter mir lag. Dort war der Tod gewiß."[199] Mackasare, who looks beyond the mere allusions to the story of Eden to their existential implications in Jünger, points out: "Der Baum des Lebens, an den hier—vielleicht—eine Annäherung stattfindet, ist zentraler Bestandteil des verlorenen Paradieses."[200] It is not merely that human beings have repeatedly counterfeited the "historische Substanz" of the earthly paradise of Eden since the beginning of time and that any actual nature is disappearing. Allegorically, in its many manifestations as a metaphorical space of the imagination, the substance of nature itself has begun to disappear and must be reinvigorated elsewhere, beyond both the diegesis of Eumeswil and the novel *Eumeswil*. As Attila and Venator suggest, one must instead turn away from the "Baum der Erkenntnis," which caused the fall of

[199] Jünger, *Eumeswil*, 370.
[200] Mackasare, 266.

mankind in the first place, and again search for the "Baum des Lebens." As a result, his entrance into the woods signals not a departure but a return to the medium of writing itself. By the end of *Eumeswil*, Venator's new novel has not yet been written.

Conclusion

Because of its turn to questioning narration and authorship, *Eumeswil* occupies a critical position both in Jünger's body of works, as the culmination of his dystopian novels, and in the sphere of literature. It is important to note that the epilogue of the novel emphasizes that Venator, along with the Condor and his retinue, *disappears into the woods*. Jünger ends his trilogy of dystopian novels and their implicit discourses by introducing his characters into a new form of narration represented by the image of the woods—a form that translates history into nature and words into "truths." More importantly, the characters do not only experience the woods, but they disappear into them completely. This omission signifies a shift in the novel's orientation from the story to storytelling and from fiction to metafiction. *Eumeswil* seeks to redefine Jünger's approaches nature with a metafictional approach and, thus, connects the observation and discovery of natural objects with literary imagination. In light of this shift to metafictional and metanarrative approaches, the anarch's representation of a personified *locus amoenus* itself appears as allegorical, as a way to suggest what is actually occurring in the background of *Eumeswil*, that is, that "nature," as the culmination of all of its previous images and manifestations in writing, now shifts back onto the cultural skill of writing. *Eumeswil*, therefore, is effectively not a novel; it is, rather, the preparation for a "novel" that remains to be written. This realm of possibilities, a new hyper-existential, hyper-symbolic form of narration, must be sought for in the woods and in the imaginary that lies beyond it.

Eumeswil is a work of metafiction not only because the added epilogue creates a self-awareness in the text and challenges its autonomy. It externalizes the same gesture that all literary evocations of tropes have done before, that is, to express an implicit awareness of the literary tradition now explicit in *Eumeswil*. The novel and its master narrator Venator are together a metafictional commentary on the writing of fiction, most visibly represented by the construction of idyllic imagery within the text. Consequently, *Eumeswil* is the last dystopian narrative world that Ernst Jünger creates. Despite Venator's rebellion against Eumeswil and his willingness to accept a new "Deponie" after passing through the woods, he is one step ahead of Borges's Pierre Menard. Menard, the translator, vows to create the perfect translation of *Don Quixote* and obsesses to the point of a word-by-word creation of the text. Venator, however, knows that creation began with an "Einfälschung." The idea of a paradise that one can recreate through writing, through the construction of a narrative, a diegesis, is based on a false premise. Even one of the oldest paradises known, Eden, exists for us today only in the text that imparts it to us. *Eumeswil*, therefore, marks an end to the gestures toward escapism that have characterized so many of Jünger's literary figures and their relation to their narrative worlds. In its final exit from Eumeswil, the novel argues not for an end to literature or to the imaginary, nor an end to the literary representation of nature, but for a reflection back onto the medium of fiction writing. Venator's existential decision—and that of *Eumeswil*—consists in the fact that the metahistorian Venator chooses a labyrinth that cannot be recreated through words over the Luminar's output of "histories"—or, "Geschichten."

Chapter 5

Conclusion

Whether nature is preserved in a collection or captured in literature, the concept of nature always entails a sense of wholeness. For Ernst Jünger, this sense of wholeness was both found and created in orders of meaning that he assigned to nature, whether in collections of beetles or in the fictitious worlds of his novels. For an observer of the twentieth century like Jünger, these new orders of meaning, and the nature that served as their model, aided in both understanding a profound instability of the biosphere and its connection to the sociosphere and in creating art from it in the form of novels. Even when nature seems to appear as the a priori paradigm for Jünger's understanding of history, the historical events of the century challenged his concept of nature as both the nature of primitive drives and the pleasant places that literary tropes of nature occupy. In the sphere of literature, nature has been a common element as a space outside of time, a space of action and negotiation, as the tradition of bucolics and the *locus amoenus* shows. But in the trenches of the First World War and the subsequent economic disaster in Germany in the 1920s, even the prevailing view of nature as a set of "primitive" drives underlying human civilizations—far from a pleasant place—helped figures like Jünger to make sense of the catastrophe of the Great War. As the inherent primitivity of "civilized man," nature nevertheless somehow rationalized the actions of the European nations and the carnage of mechanized warfare for Jünger. However, as the preceding analyses show, the disaster of the Second World War and the second German defeat of the twentieth century caused Jünger to reevaluate his concept of nature as a space outside historical contingency and place more emphasis on its relation with collecting than before. As traditional literary genres like the idyll were no longer conducive to depictions of nature as a historically indifferent, untouched space while the destruction of war took human lives outside of this space, Jünger's novels began to emulate nature in an experimental form.

Consequently, this study took as its starting point that Jünger's later novels bear witness to a new era of experimentation with different forms of nature through writing. The problem of where to now find the spaces of nature that for so long served as spaces of negotiation outside contingency permeates each of his dystopian novels following the Second World War. Although using many familiar images of nature from literary history, each text instead proposes alternative forms of "nature" and explores the potential of these alternate forms. To trace this imagery of nature in his oeuvre in its many manifestations—gardens, islands, collections of *naturalia*—this study examined three novels from the period between 1945 and 1977: *Heliopolis. Rückblick auf eine Stadt*, *Gläserne Bienen*, and *Eumeswil*. Based on their shared style, structure, and qualities, they are interconnected and insist on being considered a trilogy. Most strikingly, each text is dystopian in character. Rather than claiming to mimic or portray the society in which Jünger wrote them, their form instead suggests hypothetical spaces of experimentation. This acknowledgment of form is one of the many places where the present study diverges from previous conceptions of the rationale behind Jünger's world-building in fiction. Where others have seen him as a hopeless conservative who mourned the loss of several things—nature, the former political order, the esteemed place of mythology in society—this study contrarily argues for Jünger as a highly experimental author who used the experience of nature as a collector to create works of art and who holds collecting to be an aesthetic, rather than simply a scientific, enterprise. But form is not the only key to this need for experimentation in his writings. Rather, this study proposes that the three novels in question experiment with forms of nature in their material, tangible manifestations in the experience of their protagonists. In doing so, they construct a phenomenology of nature, focusing on the encounter of nature that impacts each protagonist rather than a solely abstract notion of nature. If nature is taken to be the underlying "essence" of historical time in Jünger's

narrative worlds, the protagonists of these worlds confront the manifestations of that essence in the form of collecting, technological devices, and the tradition of literary tropes pertaining to nature.

With its focus on images of nature in literature, this study discusses the problem of imitations and the way Jünger's novels challenge established aesthetic practices. More specifically, it is guided by the question of whether these imitations should still be seen as mimetic depictions of nature or rather as independent realities within each novel's setting. The conflict in each novel does not just derive from the shortcomings of imitations but from the phantasm that presents itself to the reader. Such phantasms are not merely fabrications but have their own inner logic and insist on connections to an original "nature" that they paradoxically conceal. Each literary form of nature in Jünger's novels thus claims to mediate itself—as if pretending to be nature rather than culture—while at the same time unveiling the mechanisms behind a complex play with literary tropes and the building blocks of the literary depiction of nature. The fictitious characters themselves seem to discover the idyllic character of their diegetic worlds yet simultaneously delve into a metafictional mode, questioning the awareness of their own createdness as literary figures. In spite of the numerous entrances into and exits from idyllic settings by each protagonist, Jünger ends the dystopian trilogy in *Eumeswil* with the trilogy's final protagonist leaving the narrative altogether. Unlike Lucius de Geer in *Heliopolis*, Venator makes no plan to ever return. As a response to the shift of spaces of nature, Jünger's trilogy thus literalizes and externalizes the wish that imitations of nature had had all along. Rather than merely imitating nature, each novel suggests that the novel itself becomes the new form of nature in an instance of self-awareness.

For years, Jünger's reputation as an author, and in particular the images of nature in his works, have been complicated by his public image as a right-wing voice of the German political

scene, his collaboration with the Nazi regime as an officer, and his glorification and aestheticization of warfare even during the Second World War. Many have viewed his descriptions and appropriations of nature, including war as a manifestation of nature and his idyllic novel settings, as deliberate attempts to excuse the carnage of warfare or to deny the reality of fascism in Europe, respectively. Furthermore, many have seen the author's interests in zoology and botany, and their influences on his writing, along with his absorption of the works of prominent eighteenth- and nineteenth-century naturalists as escapism or cover-up of his political ideology. Chapter one, however, argues that Jünger was heir to the material and social conditions of his generation and its unique orientation toward nature. As the child of a Wilhelmine generation of middle-class children, Jünger participated in the back-to-nature movements of the turn of the century that viewed urbanization and industrialization as essentially negative and natural settings as essentially positive. The broad movement of *Lebensreform*, life reformed to be closer to nature, and the subsidiary movement of the *Wandervogel* characterized Jünger's contact both with the collecting of insects and nature expeditions in which he participated as a member of the *Wandervogel*. This chapter also takes into account the media environment of Jünger's generation and how this environment informed his view of nature. With little access to other climates and cultures outside of traveling exhibits, adventure novels, and travel literature written by European explorers, images of nature that depicted it as an escape from middle-class life inundated Jünger's generation. This look into the author's sociohistorical context therefore argued that scholars should just as well consider the author as an heir of back-to-nature movements and their impact on German culture at the turn of the twentieth century to understand Jünger's seemingly ahistorical depictions of nature within a specific historical context later in his oeuvre.

Jünger's primary exposure to "nature" came from collecting insects, an activity that he continued even in wartime. As chapter one also points out, one of his main concerns when looking back at the recent war in the late 1940s was the dichotomy of destruction and preservation that pervaded his everyday life and the difficult decisions made as an officer in the Wehrmacht. This dichotomy of destruction and preservation reappeared in his first novel after the Second World War, *Heliopolis*, written while Jünger was still under a publication ban from Allied forces. Although many scholars look to the autobiographical essay *Subtile Jagden* as his ultimate commentary on collecting, chapter two argues that *Heliopolis* can be seen, with equal importance, as an inquiry into the nature of collecting and its connection to the order of meaning for which nature provides the prototype. Unlike the essay form of *Subtile Jagden*, *Heliopolis* benefits from a suspension of disbelief in the reader and, therefore, the capacity to experiment with collections that the protagonist, Lucius de Geer, comes across: catacombs, libraries, weapons, skulls, and shrunken heads. Following the importance of collecting in the novel, chapter two consequently locates *Heliopolis* within the tradition of collecting since the Early Modern period in two aspects. For one, it establishes the precedent of the correlation between collections and nature. It shows how, even when collectors removed and dried out specimens of flora and fauna and added them to Early Modern collections, they still considered these objects to be *naturalia*, synthesized pieces of nature that provided the viewer a distilled insight into the natural world. The irony that these collections evinced, nevertheless, consisted in the artificiality of their "naturalia." Chapter two also demonstrates the means by which *Heliopolis* understands the ethics of collecting and, with influences from *Schauerromantik* of the nineteenth century, develops an account of the dark side of collections and their potential to create spaces outside of ethical concerns. It also uncovers the heretofore neglected relationship between the collecting practices and ideology of the Landvogt's

forces in *Heliopolis* with the racist anthropological projects of Nazi scientists like Bruno Beger and August Hirt. This look into the collecting practices in the imaginary city of Heliopolis challenges the previous reception of the novel in two ways. First, it disputes the view that Jünger used *Heliopolis* solely as a means to come to terms with German atrocities and his involvement with the occupying forces. Second, while not denying the influence of the Holocaust and German human experimentation on Jewish subjects on the novel's conception, it argues that these serve as an—all-important—instance for Jünger to explore the possibilities of nature in the face of atrocity and catastrophe. As a phenomenological investigation into the uses and abuses of collections, *Heliopolis* probes the limits of collecting, the societal role of the museum, and the designations of *artificialia* and *naturalia* when faced with a humanist ethical dilemma.

Chapter two thus emphasizes the importance of Lucius de Geer's exit from *Heliopolis*, suggesting a salvific quality to technology as a response to the threat and annihilation of nature. Chapter three takes up this concern of the ending of *Heliopolis* in its look at *Gläserne Bienen* and the role of technology in the novel. Although at first glance a science fiction novel about robotics, chapter three shows, on the contrary, that Jünger draws scenes in *Gläserne Bienen* from the history of the literary imagery of nature. With Zapparoni's humanoid robots, whom the novel presents as actors in commercials for the industrialist, the text launches into an implicit discourse on the relation of imitation and simulation to nature. Unlike the novel's popular image as an example of Jünger's transition to science fiction (a turn which already began with the technological devices introduced in *Heliopolis*), the text privileges the imitation of nature as its central concern and applies these problems of mimesis to a world of technology. By viewing *Gläserne Bienen* as a novel about access to and the future of nature in an environment saturated with technology, the novel experiments with several questions. Is an imitation of nature nevertheless real? Does it still

possess a sense of realness despite its being a shadow of nature itself? The discussion of the role of nature in *Gläserne Bienen* also situates the novel in the tradition of nature tropes. It points out that after a dialogue with Zapparoni, a figure who embodies the sphere of technological innovation, Richard, who exemplifies the nostalgic wish to return to nature and the past, then contemplates the primacy of the imitations of nature he finds in Zapparoni's garden. This chapter thus reveals the garden to be a space of intellectual negotiation for Richard. It additionally emphasizes the role of hyperreality in Richard's revelation about the relationship between nature and technology. Although the garden appears to him as a space that experiments with technology as the new nature, a garden filled with both real and robotic bees, Jünger again turns the novel to ethical concerns when Richard sees Zapparoni's hyperreal ears. This analysis of *Gläserne Bienen* places the appearance of the ears, which for Richard are both "artificially natural" and "naturally artificial," into semiotic discussions of authenticity, simulation, and hyperreality, in particular as they relate to the media theory of Jean Baudrillard. The analysis thus brings to light the nexus of ethics and simulation that *Gläserne Bienen* confronts.

Jünger continues the discourse on the problem of imitating nature by literalizing it in *Eumeswil*, where the protagonist and narrator, Manuel Venator, finds himself stuck in endless imitations and repetitions of historical events. Weary of the "epigonal" culture of his father's generation, he revolts from within against the society of Eumeswil and searches for the security of nature elsewhere. Chapter four of this study identifies the two means by which Venator "hunts" for a new narrative about nature: collections and nature tropes. Simultaneously, it contends that, rather than a novel "about" history per se, *Eumeswil* employs history as an allegory for nature and historiography as an allegory for collecting, the "hunting" of that nature. A mysterious machine called Luminar, as chapter four shows, seems to offer the mastery, security, and surrogacy of a

collection: Venator is capable of stepping outside of historical time while simultaneously collecting historical events with help of a technological device. Still, he finds that the Luminar only predisposes him to re-play and imitate that which his culture already engages in—without any progress. In addition, chapter four presents a fresh evaluation of the illustrious character of the "anarch," whose relation to nature is one that scholars of Jünger have long overlooked. This chapter connects the anarch to the literary trope of the *locus amoenus* and, more precisely, to its Christian monastic variation. In posing as the anarch, Venator finds the *locus amoenus* within himself and uncovers an "oasis" as is often described in the Christian monastic literary tradition, now seemingly existing outside of temporality and the instabilities of historical change. Nevertheless, as chapter four argues, Venator's exit from Eumeswil at the end of the novel confounds the efficacy of the anarch as an idea. When Venator leaves Eumeswil never to be seen or heard from again, the only vestiges of himself are his writings. By having Venator leave Eumeswil for the "great hunt" in the woods outside of the city, Jünger suggests that Venator, as the new master historian, now hunts for a new narration outside of the losing game of imitation. In this regard, this chapter argues for a metafictional reflection back onto writing itself or, more specifically, onto the genre of the novel.

The increasing emphasis on metafiction that these three novels take hold serious consequences for the future of nature in studies of Jünger and its relation to the process of narration. *Eumeswil*, for one, leaves readers with an open-ended question about nature and its sustainability. Venator exits the narrative altogether and, thereby, declares that the status quo of narrative creation is dead. Because everything around him has become a simulation, Venator instead proposes the need for a new mythology, a move that nevertheless has political consequences. Jünger's detractors prefer to see this move as the turn to a new *fascist* mythology. Venator does share the

characteristics of many interwar German voices that helped the rise of National Socialist ideology: he rails against his father's weak generation, he lives in a time after a great defeat of his homeland and a radical shift of its governmental structure, and he sees Eumeswil as a degenerate, dying civilization. But far from promoting a political dogma, *Eumeswil* in fact appears anti-dogmatic in the way it leaves the reader with more questions than answers. Jünger is more interested in creating a myth as Friedrich Schlegel and other figures of Romanticism envisioned it, as an element that would once again connect the arts and sciences. Moreover, all three protagonists experiment with and ultimately discard the images and forms of nature they encounter. Venator's exit from these alternate forms of nature and the subsequent metafiction reflect back onto the medium of narrating itself, raising the question as to whether nature has in fact always been the creation of a narrative, whether it be Eden, the story a collection of *naturalia* tells, or the idyllic settings that Jünger himself creates in his fictional worlds.

This study challenges both the image of Jünger in scholarship and the role of nature in twentieth-century literature. For one, the investigations into each of these three novels calls into question anew the relationship of Jünger to his literary and artistic influences. On the one hand, Jünger appeared to some scholars to be a reactionary from a bygone era by the point of the publication of *Eumeswil*. According to this viewpoint, as a reluctant conservative, Jünger attempted to "conserve" in his writings after the Second World War what little from the right-wing, national revolution he had hoped for before the war. One can see this sentiment in the inner turmoil of Richard in *Gläserne Bienen* for example, an obsolete conservative in the world of progressive technology. Clearly, this overly simplistic approach to his late prose works does not do justice to their complex poetological structure. This is why the debates about *Gläserne Bienen*, particularly when serving to evaluate Jünger's life more than his works, are arguably still

unresolved today, that is, whether the novel depicts defeatism in the face of technological development or, as this study argues, instead represents a continuation of discourses on nature and technology that Jünger had already begun years before. These three novels also hold implications for Jünger's relationship to the legacy of the nineteenth century, in terms of both its scientific and literary influence. In spite of the many stylistic influences from nineteenth-century authors like Joris-Karl Huysmans, Edgar Allan Poe, and E.T.A. Hoffmann, the greater question pertains to whether Jünger's three novels pose similar questions about the relationship between culture and nature, human creation and all else: can literature aesthetically capture nature as the order of a collection does? In the post-war period, Jünger solved this dilemma by engaging in a metafictional inquiry into nature and its relation to narration. In doing so, his dystopian novels challenge the tradition of imitating nature while, at the same time, paradoxically continuing it through metafiction.

Because of the lingering questions about nature and the ability or necessity to imitate it, the reassessment of this trilogy of dystopian novels casts Jünger's style in a new light. The disconnect between a literary work of art's imitation of nature and "nature" itself—both conceptual approaches in the human mind—returns to a fundamental problem in semiotic discourses, that is, whether the link between signifier and signified is anything more than arbitrary. The malicious forces of the Landvogt of *Heliopolis*, for example, do not deny maintaining a principle of naturality; rather, they push it to the extreme with the prospect of human *naturalia* and the possibility of a collection that entirely dehumanizes its objects. *Gläserne Bienen* challenges the mimetic principle outright by mimicking, and eventually creating, nature through technology. *Eumeswil* is no less a novel about imitation, if only by building a critique of the principle of imitation that it ultimately rejects. Accordingly, the reader finds that no original is needed to

imitate nature; everything has become a simulation, a medium mediating itself. These novels also reiterate the necessity to reconsider Jünger as an author who confronts the problem of realness and hyperreality. All three protagonists can be said to be searching for "the real," while the "reality" of nature remains obscure and hidden in its aesthetic representation. Whether or not "nature" is something real or imaginary, something out in the world that artists imitate, becomes a theological and philosophical question that these novels do not answer. What is crucial, in the end, is the emphasis on the signifier of "nature" without revealing the signified, showing the many meanings of the notion without insisting on any "truth" without insisting on any perennial truth about nature.

Lastly, each novel highlights ecological concerns that loom behind Jünger's practices as both collector and writer. A skeptic of technological advancement, Jünger's later works leave no doubt as to the threat that technology poses to nature. Therefore, re-reading *Heliopolis*, *Gläserne Bienen*, and *Eumeswil* from an ecocritical perspective would be a fruitful next step in comprehending Jünger's legacy as an author who dealt extensively with nature. The question at stake when approaching Jünger's oeuvre from an ecocritical perspective would be how to reconcile the hyperreal conception of nature that results from these three novels with its "real" counterpart: nature as an empirical part of human existence. The intent of his novels, as well as, for example, texts like *Subtile Jagden*, was seemingly *not* to use literature to bring to light the threat to the environment in the "real" world outside of the text or promote a conservationist agenda. However, Jünger was not only a keen observer of political and social change, but also of the ongoing transformation of nature, the gradual disappearance of species, the endangerment of entire ecosystems, and, ultimately, the possibility of human annihilation. Creating a new order of meaning with the cadavers of his specimens could be seen as his response to the vanishing of a world that was well known to the experienced traveler and avid collector. If empirical nature were

under threat, traditional tropes that depict nature, too, would become obsolete. To write about nature, no less than to collect its species, would then be an act of meaning-making in a literary environment wherein nature is now only remembered in its representations. Considering the vast and complex web of literary allusions in his late novels, Jünger was well aware of a tradition that he engaged to continue and, thus, to "conserve." Still, even with all of these ecocritical leanings, there is always an aesthetic dimension in Jünger. His writings privilege the aesthetic value that they can extract from nature, distill, and reproduce as an experience. As this trilogy of novels shows, nature may have always been the collection of texts, the medium of writing itself, which returns to itself in the end. As the master narrator in *Eumeswil* ultimately disappears into his narrative, so too does "Jünger" disappear into his collections and the pages of his books after death.

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