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IDENTITY, KNOWLEDGE, LANDSCAPE: BIOGRAPHY AND SPACE IN PÜCKLER'S WORK

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Prince Hermann Ludwig Heinrich von Pückler-Muskau, the “inveterate traveler to all points and to nowhere,” as Heine dubbed him, was a complex figure who continues to be difficult to fathom. Labels such as landscape designer, successful author, and globe-trotter, or ladies’ man, *enfant terrible*, and melancholic eccentric capture only some facets of a personality that poses a challenge to researchers. To understand the twists and turns in his life and work, we must try to grasp the distinct details conveyed in the abundant source material and to understand them as the remains of a historically evolved totality. The present study attempts to do justice to this challenge. It rests on the assumption that the ensemble of expressions of Pückler’s life can be viewed as the manifestation of a continuity between action and meaning. This continuity was centered inwardly on a core of individual character traits, and at the same time it corresponded outwardly to the socioeconomic, political and cultural conditions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The structure of this continuity can be described in cultural and sociological terms as a meshwork of dynamic interactions between personality, society, knowledge and inner artistic symbolism, in this case symbolism having to do primarily with landscape. From this perspective, Pückler comes into focus as an animated spatial designer whose identity as a “demiurge” and cultural innovator was conditioned and facilitated to a considerable degree by his social standing and the resources associated therewith. This same identity was also bound to an inspiring and validating network of mentors and supporters, a network that was constantly changing. Even towards the end of his life, Pückler’s universe of contacts and correspondents, as well as his range of reading, was marked by an acute sensitivity to his contemporaries. In communicating with his social and cultural peers, he opened himself up to a realm of ideas that touched on almost all areas of knowledge and that provided the intellectual framework for his view of the world and his own existence. This same realm of ideas served as a reference point for all his actions. And finally, he recognized a universal medium in the discipline of landscape gardening, a medium that allowed him to exemplify his knowledge, to give expression to his own being, to conceive of order and mastery in a spatial sense, and ultimately to realize his ideal of a sphere of life that unified beauty and utility.

Proceeding from this premise, it is the aim of this study to demonstrate the significance of Pückler's work as a landscape architect, to consider not just its art historical impact but also its meaning as spatial constructions with social implications¹ and as "symbol paintings" (Wolfgang Lipp) in which aesthetics, everyday activities, and utopian dreams are inseparably connected. Attention will be focused in particular on the parks Pückler created for himself in Muskau (1811–45) and Branitz (1846–71). The main features of a typologically articulated model of explanation will then be presented that elucidates the development of Pückler's concepts of identity and space. This model, in combination with the sociological types that Pückler embodied over the course of his life—benevolent ruler, man of letters, artist-prince, and man of the world—makes it possible to distinguish four configurations of landscape in his work: *Herrschaftsraum* (ruling space), *Textraum* (textual space), *Kunstraum* (artistic space), and *Transzendenzraum* (transcendental space). In the development of this work, his journeys to England and the Orient, each lasting several years, represented both caesuras and transitions. Localization, dislocation, and fiction are inseparably bound together and also complement each other in Pückler's life and work.² The different forms of his imagination, investigation, and appropriation of space are in this sense not only unconventional but should also always be understood as translations from one mode of his (spatial) existence into another. Before sketching the course of this spatially focused biography, I would first of all like to point out three themes that had a lasting effect on his decision to dedicate himself to landscape gardening on a sociocultural basis, and which in their problematic contradictions continued to influence this decision throughout his life.

Imposing Order, Achieving Progress, Healing Stigmas

Taking an historic view of Pückler's life, one can register, depending on one's perspective, divergent aspects of a many-sided profile that nonetheless stemmed from a single personality. Society and culture opened a realm of possibilities that offered opportunities for individual development but at the same time constituted normative, limiting, and depriving influences. In this context, the relationship between personality, context, and gardening practice was mediated in a three-fold manner: socially with respect to (feudal) governance, order and tradition; culturally as a variation on the (bourgeois) theme of "progress through work"; and, in reaction to the experience of crisis resulting from this dual orientation, a symbolic technique to transform stigma into charisma.

Let us turn our attention first to the persistent conservative element in this triad. Viewed through the lens of class theory, Pückler appears as

an exemplary scion of the feudal aristocracy, which still possessed most of the land and power in Germany in his day. After the death of his father, Count Ludwig Karl Erdmann von Pückler, in 1811, he took possession from his mother Clementine (1770–1850), a member of the long-established family of Callenberg, of the principality of Muskau in the Saxon region of the Upper Lausitz. He thereby took control of more than 10,000 subjects and a territory that incorporated, along with the town of Muskau, 41 villages, 21 small farms, and 7 vassal manors. As the highest-ranking official, the prince of Muskau also served as the patron of churches and schools, supervised trade relations and the judiciary, bore responsibility for levying tariffs and customs, and was entitled to a seat and a vote in the local parliament. Although social reforms were being enacted in Prussia at the time, the majority of the population, mainly farmers, still had the status of hereditary subjects, which meant they were still bound to the land and not free to move at will. Regarding their property rights, they counted as *Lassiten*, meaning that they owned only a portion of their already paltry holdings and owed labor to their landlords. The conditions that reigned at this time were “almost like serfdom.”³ Faced with these circumstances, even contemporary observers were moved to comment that “Saxony, compared with other states, is a full century behind the times.”⁴ The young Count Pückler⁵ was also constrained by these anachronisms. At the end of the Napoleonic wars, the Kingdom of Saxony was on the losing side and the Lower Lausitz and about two-thirds of the Upper Lausitz, including Muskau, fell to Prussia. Pückler came to a more sharply focused, restorative self-understanding at this time. With “a decisiveness seldom observed in his character, he fought for his outdated, circumscribed privileges” and seemed “in the state of his consciousness and the fields of his interest to become absorbed into the situation of the minor princes who once ruled in these parts.”⁶ A decade after Prussia’s annexation of Muskau, Pückler commented bitterly: “When our dear God allowed me to become Prussian, he turned his face from me.”⁷ Despite all his metamorphoses, the impetus towards traditional governance was still visible in all the later paradigms of identity he tried on; the phantom pain from his loss of status and from his diminished aristocratic standing due to the onslaught of social change at the time, remained and persisted.

Indeed, even Pückler’s attraction to the art of gardening was consistent with his conservative inclinations. From earliest times, a preoccupation with horticulture was part of the cultural milieu of feudal society’s leading class. The beautification of their residences with magnificent gardens and parks fulfilled a two-fold function. On the one hand, it clothed the aristocracy’s claim to power, and, on the other, it also satisfied the need, typical of those in their social standing, for luxury and entertain-

ment. Within the medium of constructed landscape, the exercise of power over man and nature, grounded in patriarchal conceptions of order, was aesthetically elevated. This practice was in no way limited to a single style in landscape architecture. On the contrary, thanks to its European network of connections, the nobility fostered an innovative transfer of culture, in the area of garden design. The English version of landscape gardening, which around 1800 was “all the rage,” was also appropriated on the continent despite the middle-class, democratic character ascribed to it. The vehement rejection of the formal Baroque garden, which through natural philosophic propaganda became a political phenomenon and a profession of liberal ideas, was on the continent not so much an expression of a social revolution as it was evidence of a cultural paradigm shift. Within the illusory freedom of the landscape, it was possible to reproduce the retrograde aristocratic concepts of order, hierarchy, and hegemony. Pückler is a prime example of the feudal fascination with the “naturalness” of space.

However, neither the ideal of an ethical lifestyle and the intention, based in feudal concepts of sovereignty, to shape the environment, nor the receptivity of the aristocracy to the fashions of European culture, can explain the vehemence with which Pückler held to his interest in landscape gardening—despite the various crises he experienced, his attempts to escape his troubles, and his amply documented restlessness. At this juncture, the second driving reason for his actions comes into play, one which demanded acquisition and change: Pückler’s aristocratic conservatism had its converse, or, more accurately stated, its antithesis, in the ethos of creative activity—in other words, in work.⁸ His commitment to practical work experience was joined inseparably to the idea of perfectibility,⁹ to the assumption that the individual human being is, like humankind generally, destined to attain perfection, and that the active advancement of individual abilities is the decisive precondition for this development towards perfection. Influenced by the late Enlightenment, Pietism, and philanthropy, the prince felt obliged not to “bury his talent,”¹⁰ not to squander his gifts, and to use productively the wealth given to him. He used this same rationale again and again to justify his gardening art, and we find many references to it in his books and the unpublished writings he left behind after his death. Beyond the inner, moral responsibility he experienced, the concept of perfection through work represented for Pückler at the same time a transcendental, religious imperative, since he believed that the well-being of his soul and the quality of his life after death were manifestly bound to the social and cultural merit generated by his life on earth.

One of the earliest sources for this work ethic, which appears so distant from feudalism and so in line with Protestantism, may be found

in the socialization and exposure to culture that the 'crown prince' of Muskau experienced during a four-year stay in the boarding school of the Herrnhuter Brotherhood in the town of Uhyst. It was there, according to his own account, that he first cultivated his own small garden. There, too, he developed an almost exhibitionist inclination to expose his soul and exercise self-control, practices he documents in countless letters and diary entries. In later years, he discovered Joseph Emil Nürnberger's teaching of the heavenly "world gymnasium," a highly elaborated variation on the theme of perfectibility, about which I will have more to say later. Furthermore, it should not pass without mention that Pückler's ostentatious combination of (garden) work, altruism, self-enhancement, and progress in general corresponded to the thought and practice of the Freemasons. This conceptual kinship, which need not be viewed in any way as opposed to the spiritual needs of the prince, nourishes the conjecture, expressed occasionally in the secondary literature and supported by evidence from a number of sources, that Pückler may in fact have joined a Masonic lodge. Even though membership can neither be proven nor discounted, it can now be stated that for Pückler landscape gardening proved to be the surest way to follow the profound inner calling towards an activity that would lead to redemption and salvation, and would also be conducive to improving both one's self and the world. Given the context in which Pückler lived, there was a profound ambiguity in his affinity for landscape gardening: socially, it was an activity that expressed an aristocratic and extroverted attitude of dominance, but culturally, it embodied the middle-class, introverted call to work.

The inverse of this same double legitimization of his role as gardener concealed a two-fold potential for interference. First, his social status, guaranteed by heredity, as an almost autonomously ruling member of the nobility came under the influence of modern developments, such as liberalization, industrialization, and mobilization, and began quickly to evolve into an obsolescent model of an outmoded social type. Second, the new ideology of work and earned merit generated doubt and displeasure. Under the pressure of his self-imposed requirement to measure the fruits of his efforts in life and in art against the ideal of perfection, Pückler repeatedly experienced disappointment and failure. Furthermore, the diametrical opposition of these two value systems led unavoidably to a conflict of competing interests. The traditional aristocratic ruler and the productive bourgeois world-embellisher confronted each other in a kind of socioculturally induced split personality. It was no doubt this inner strife that challenged him again and again in renewed attempts to overcome the contradiction between the old order and new progressive trends through his work to create harmonizing designs in the landscape. The central theme of Pückler's life and work was accompanied by his own

very personal psychodrama, which had developed over several generations in his family's history. The inner chemistry of this psychodrama consisted of neglect, rejection, and homelessness, the details of which would far exceed the limits of this investigation. I will comment only briefly here on its consequences for his life's work. The prince once described himself as a "butterfly" flitting playfully from blossom to blossom.¹¹ The complementary counterpart to this image was the broken Pückler who embodied the "expiring feudal nobility" as "theory in the flesh"¹² and who was marked by a catastrophically unfolding process of socialization. This was the Pückler Bettina and Lars Clausen portrayed in their penetrating study of Leopold Schefer.¹³ Since his childhood, the prince's peculiarly unstable, debilitated, and unresolved condition was like a vacuum, sucking a whole swarm of guilt feelings and fears of failure into his psyche. In his letters, he portrayed himself as notoriously inadequate, and in his countless narcissistic ruminations as unloved, immature, ungifted, insecure, unsuccessful, empty, insane, impulsive, sick, introverted, and, all in all, incapable of normal social interaction. Such self-descriptions might seem at first to be little more than playing at world-weariness, but they should be taken seriously. Although they appear to be quite conventional symptoms of despair, I believe they point to a lifelong, profound inner turbulence that provided the energy sustaining Pückler's creative fervor. While the prince exaggerated the problematic aspects of his being to the point of constructing a garish caricature, stereotyping himself as a melancholic,¹⁴ a hypochondriac, a provocateur, an erotomane, or a hermit who had rejected the world, he found in the guise of the artist-demiurge who could transform the "desert" into an "oasis"¹⁵ a possibility to rise up out of the ashes like a phoenix. Viewed from a sociological perspective, Pückler's propensity to extreme self-stigmatization transposed itself into charisma or self-embellishment. The stigma of a capricious loser in the game of modernity, someone doomed to downfall, was transformed into the charisma of a heroic, luminous figure leading into the future.¹⁶ In the ideologically discredited reverberations of downfall, anomy, and chaos, Pückler established islands of peace and quiet. As a landscape gardener, he worked towards the betterment of himself, of humanity, and of the face of "mother earth."¹⁷ His social decline and personal faults were artistically counterbalanced by his performance as "gardener,"¹⁸ a role that evolved into that of a magician of the landscape, taking on heroic, even "saintly" traits in the process. Animated by the significance of his own mission, he identified himself with the great figures of world history: his list of idols ranged from Alexander the Great and Jesus, Martin Luther and Frederick the Great, to Napoleon to Mehemed Ali. It was inevitable that this process of self-determination by the "park fanatic,"¹⁹ with its trajectory towards the

ingenious and superhuman, would be accompanied by new compulsions and awkwardness.

At this point, we can put forward a preliminary thesis: the art of landscape design, conceived as a special form of social action, became for Pückler an indispensable mode of being. Finding himself in the role of the gardener-creator, laden as it was with changing concepts of identity, he was able to bring together in a universal, life-affirming response his aristocratic instincts, which insisted on order and dominance, with a religiously based, flexibly middle-class work and advancement ethic. At the same time, he was able to include in this amalgam his urge to deliver himself from his social and individual stigmas. It was above all this ambiguity in his personality and his behavior, allowing him to rise above the bounds of class and culture, that qualified him as a “super emblem . . . of the epoch.”²⁰

Muskau Park: The Ruler and His Domain, 1811–1845

Every “beginning” is an arbitrary point of reference that neglects the ongoing recapitulation of experience. Nonetheless, a spatially focused biography of Pückler cannot do without marking a new start, a new opening, or, in other words, a beginning. For all intents and purposes, the story that concerns us here begins long before the birth of its main character. The Muskau synthesis of aristocracy, worldly intellectual culture, and landscape art had been initiated much earlier on his mother’s side of the family and carried through several generations of the Callenberg family. Contrary to the still widely circulated myth of his origins, according to which Pückler suddenly appeared on scene like a *deus ex machina* to transform the *tabula rasa* of his principality into a paradise, he by no means acted alone on a drab, raw landscape. His gardening efforts possibly began with an already existing park complex. His grandfather, Count Hermann von Callenberg (1744–1975), had begun in 1783 to create very spacious landscape designs on both sides of the Neisse River, and this project, dubbed the *Clementinengang* (Clementine’s corridor), anticipated the landscaped garden that later followed.²¹

Callenberg’s influence as a role model for Pückler was not limited, however, to aesthetic, artistic impulses. He in fact provided the paradigm for the role of the broadly educated, cosmopolitan sovereign, concerned with enlightenment, tolerance, perfectibility, and general welfare. Pückler himself repeatedly made reference to this ancestral aspect of his efforts: from the “oak of Hermann” in Muskau to “Hermann’s mount” in Branitz, the name called up not only his own person, but also that of the Germanic hero Armenius, better known as Hermann, who defeated the Romans in a decisive battle in the year 9 A.D. For Pückler, the name Hermann also

always evoked the memory of his honored grandfather. Before, however, he could engage in the challenge handed down by his ancestor and shoulder the inherited burden of ruling and being creatively bound to a specific place, he went through a phase of rambling travels. His youthful wanderings in the years from 1806 to 1810 took him through France and Switzerland and as far as Italy.²² These travels were as a late variant of the *grande tour* as a declaration of individual freedom. Living freely and traveling abroad, the future ruler expanded his horizons and the artist-to-be exercised his powers of observation, his mental capacities, and his creative subjectivity.

Upon his return, Pückler cast himself as an enlightened sovereign of an organic social entity. He presented himself as a patriarchal ruler who expected to be obeyed and who in turn could be expected to support his subjects. He outlined his conception of his role most clearly in his address before the dignitaries of Muskau upon taking up his title. Shaped by the eighteenth-century spirit of the Callenberg family and influenced at the same time by contemporary feudal and princely romanticism, he attempted in the climate of the post-Napoleonic restoration to harmonize the traditional claims of a ruler with a controlled, authoritarian form of modernization. During this hopeful phase at the outset of Pückler's reign, the Muskau poet Leopold Schefer (1784–1862), Pückler's friend, deputy, and advisor, contributed important accents to his sovereign's reign.²³ In all likelihood, the decision to take again in hand the thread of local gardening culture, which had temporarily been severed, and to weave it together with the best English innovations into a gigantic park complex, transcending the boundaries of art and life, originated in the visionary alliance between the sovereign and his advisor. This assumption is supported not only by Schefer's personal remembrances, which appeared in 1849 in the Leipzig *Illustrierte Zeitung*.²⁴ Already in an 1811 poem of Schefer's that Pückler edited, we find self-perfection related programmatically to world improvement. Schefer writes, "On to beauty! You must perfect yourself!" and "On this meadow rich and fertile/ the art of mankind should build the realm of beauty."²⁵ Inspired by the impressions of an excursion through the parks of England undertaken together with Schefer in 1814, Pückler decided in May 1815 that the time for action had finally arrived: his princely seat having been destroyed during the wars and the surrounding region bled dry by the armies that passed back and forth across it, Pückler made his famous call for the construction of the Muskau Park. He signaled his determination by adding a current of threat to his description of the garden paradise he envisioned. Taking into consideration this initial constellation of the project, it can be understood not only as an artistic venture and display of princely ostentation but also as an exercise in identity-formation. And it provided a green framework

for the socially acceptable (self)-portrait of the “benevolent ruler” and active pursuer of self-improvement. Furthermore, the project represents a kind of late absolutist environmental and development policy that was to contribute not only to the socioeconomic improvement of the miniature empire but also the ethical education of its population. In this multilayered sense, Muskau Park can be spoken of as a space of rule (*Herrschaftsraum*).

This essay is not the appropriate venue to discuss the social significance of the individual structures spread over the 600 hectares of the park complex.²⁶ The following observations will, though, give some indication of this significance. It was not just aesthetic considerations that had bearing upon many important aspects of the park design, such as the overall relationship between castle, park and city of Muskau, as well as on countless details, such as the configuration of the paths and borders. These elements also gave expression to the underlying “micro-physics of power,” to borrow a term from Michel Foucault. Nevertheless, in relation to the identity and motivation of the ambitious “creator,” the dimensions, pace of development, and complexity of the Muskau “residential landscape”²⁷ speak a clear language. Given the alliance between the ruler of Muskau (and his financial power), enlightened-pietistic reform spirit, and Romantic artistry, there seemed to be no obstacle that could not be overcome. The “realm of the beautiful” was suddenly within reach. Heedless of potential losses, the creative will of the “iconoclast”²⁸ forged ahead. With youthful fervor he wanted to perfect the environment and to influence the consciousness of his fellow human beings so as to improve their lives and his own as well. Far from the metropolitan centers, hidden away in the Muskau heath, a garden-centered mode of living developed that departed from convention. Pückler and his wife Lucie, whose influence is still often underestimated, gathered a group of original thinkers along with Schefer. Contributing to the intellectual atmosphere of his “heteropia,” to borrow again from Foucault, were pantheist preacher Johann Gottfried Petrick; philosopher and Freemason Maximilian Karl Friedrich Wilhelm Grävell, who was well versed in questions of statesmanship, humankind, and immortality; and the previously mentioned Joseph Emil Nürnberger. The park superintendent Jacob Heinrich Rehder contributed horticultural expertise. Worldliness and provincial stubbornness converged in the brilliant garden project in Muskau.

The unbounded optimism of the early years was followed, however, by hubristic melancholy. The ideal order of the project of perfectibility collided with mundane economic constraints. Pückler’s inherited resources melted away quickly, and each new plan added to his debts. The charismatic oasis-creator had scarcely begun his work in the favorable climate of Saxon late absolutism, when he found himself again on the

sober ground of Prussian reformism. Under these circumstances, the art of landscape, which he had chosen as the ideal medium for individual and collective emancipation, increasingly became a burden. In the shadow of crisis and depression, the assurances of the “gardener” lost their glow. Only eight years after his gripping appeal of 1815, Pückler referred to his project in Muskau as a “chimera,” and, faced with crushing debts, he admitted to his wife that “sometimes I am overcome by cold shivers when I think about the future. What will become of this whole business! Sometimes I wish very ardently that I were dead. The only option left to me before my downfall is narcosis.”²⁹

Although he would in fact reach a ripe old age, and the conclusion of the Muskau park project would not come for more than twenty years, the major chord of alienation and discouragement struck here in these early utterances continued to reverberate throughout his life, despite the many moments of joy he experienced. The repetitive reflexive relationship between creative enthusiasm and enervating melancholy characterized Pückler’s entire career as a landscape architect.

Dislocation I: The “Dead Man” in England, 1826–1829

Having reached the limits of his role as “father of the people” as well as the limits of his *Herrschaftsraum*, Pückler set aside his hereditary obligations and ties to his homeland and decided once again to change his surroundings. In the early 1820s, he traveled to Berlin with ever greater frequency to partake of the freedom of city life. Then, in February 1826, after his pro forma divorce from Lucie, he began four years of travels on the pretext of finding a rich wife. The results of this undertaking—it could also be called an escape—were myriad. First, Pückler deepened his knowledge of landscape art. The impressions he gathered during his countless excursions provided the foundation of his own theory and practice of gardening. In addition to the technical knowledge he acquired, the prince was also influenced greatly by the style of the English Regency. As he moved among the upper reaches of society, he studied attentively the coalescence of politics, society, and conviviality, without, however, closing his eyes to the daily life of the “common people”. He also registered very perceptively not only the innovations in art, architecture, theater, and fashion, but also the newest advances in technology and in the media. He became acquainted with the dandy as a social type and adapted his own manners and self-presentation to this type. Nevertheless, he realized that elegance and luxury did not come out of thin air. Although he did not have the ability to conceptualize, let alone analyze, socioeconomic conditions, the *Augenmensch*³⁰ (visual man) Pückler intuited the dramatic changes the expansion of trade and industry was bring-

ing about. Pulled back and forth between fascination and horror, he experienced how man and nature were subjected to the profitability requirements of an increasingly mechanized society, and how they could be deformed and destroyed in the process. Encountering the refinement of Regency culture and the raw power of capitalism side-by-side was an unsettling experience that irreversibly undermined Pückler's old certainties. This experience provided a basis for new ideas and new patterns of perception, but also provoked hitherto unknown fears and social phobias in Pückler.

Travel also spurred Pückler to turn to writing as an "organ" for constructing a modernized self- and world-image. His letters to Lucie and the entries in his extensive *Erinnerungsalben*³¹ (memory albums) constitute, when viewed from this perspective, not just the basis of the very popular published collection of his letters, the *Briefe eines Verstorbenen* (literally "letters of a dead man,"³² 1830–32), but must also be understood as the beginning of a process of literary production that resulted in his *Andeutungen über Landschaftsgärtnerei* (*Hints on Landscape Gardening*) and *Tutti Frutti* (both 1834) as well as his new mode of confronting reality, structuring his environment and realizing his social identity as a prince. As a foreigner travelling abroad, he experienced a dislocation that took him from the traditional *Herrschaftsraum* of rule in Muskau to the *Textraum* (textual space) of the increasingly intellectualized man of letters.

The *Andeutungen*: The Man of Letters and Textual Space

Pückler did not experience this transition in isolation. Behind the pseudonym of "the dead man" stood a network of colleagues and contacts. At the center of this network, Pückler, Lucie, and Schefer were joined by the Berlin diplomat and *homme de lettres* Karl August Varnhagen von Ense and his wife Rahel, the famed salon hostess. Although further research into the internal dynamics of this group is needed, there is reason to assume that its members helped in the selection and editing of Pückler's letters for publication and provided important advice and support to the novice author. It should be clearly emphasized that *Briefe eines Verstorbenen* do not give an authentic first-person account of the author's travels. Rather, it must be assumed that the raw material of Pückler's actual correspondence underwent a self-reflective, discursive process of literary transformation and supplementation. In the years between his journeys and the publication of the *Briefe eines Verstorbenen*, major changes had occurred in Europe. The July Revolution of 1830 had ushered in a period of political turmoil and change that would culminate in the revolutionary upheavals of 1848–49. The advocates of Saint-Simonism began in the early 1830s to publicize their reform ideas with missionary zeal. The most

important center in Germany for the exchange of Saint-Simonian ideas was without a doubt the Varnhagen circle in Berlin. The movement soon counted Pückler among its self-acknowledged members.

A number of Saint-Simonian ideas contributed to the reformulation of his social identity and his view of the world, notably, the conception of history as an alternating cycle of critical-negative and organic-positive epochs, the cult of love, the call for a renaissance of faith, and the anticipation of a new golden age that would emerge from the crisis of the present. The first evidence of this ideological affinity was a reference in the *Briefe eines Verstorbenen* to the founder of the movement, Claude-Henri Comte de Saint-Simon. This reference, dated December 2, 1827, was added later to the third part of the book. The fact that in this same passage of the printed text there is also a reference to the mysticism of Angelus Silesius, a figure Rahel Varnhagen admired, points to the spiritual and intellectual influence of both Varnhagens.

In 1832, the same year that the third part of the *Briefe eines Verstorbenen* was published, Pückler began working intensively on the book on the theory of gardening that he had started seven years earlier. Saint-Simonian ideas had an obvious influence on the internal architecture of the resultant book, *Andeutungen über Landschaftsgärtnerei*, and gave that architecture an additional level of meaning. The *Andeutungen* featured extensive discussion, gleaned from numerous sources, of garden art and its practical aspects along with visionary descriptions of an idealized Muskau park. The account of Muskau was presented within the framework of Saint-Simon's visions of a utopian society.³³ This reinterpretation of the meaning of gardening was historically conceived and apparently the guiding idea behind planning for the park in Muskau.³⁴ In the guise of a fictionalized family and class saga, the virtual garden realm of the *Andeutungen* was intertwined with an historical tale of advanced social development, industry, and general contentment. This tale concludes full of promise with the beautification of the landscape in and around the Muskau estate.

With his adoption of the Saint-Simonian world view, the prince undertook a radical modification of his own self-image. Pückler's account suggests that the "pace of rising industry and education," which precipitated the transformation of the "nobleman" from "someone focused only on enjoyment and opportunities to rob others" into "someone using industry to make acquisitions,"³⁵ culminated, with compelling necessity, in his emergence as gardener-creator. It was no longer a class privilege, a divine dictate, or an idea from the Enlightenment that validated the actions of the prince, but rather the logic of an objective historical process that mediated between order and movement. As an author working in textual space, he was able to reinvent himself as a proponent of progress.

His connection to the feudal aristocracy of the past was transformed into an avant-garde nobility of the progressive spirit that was called upon to lead a new movement on the long path towards the “merger of interests through universal civilization.”³⁶

Pückler’s claim of wanting to unite in Muskau the legacy of the past with the accomplishments of the present to form a “well-ordered whole”³⁷ thus incorporated much more than the Romantic dream of a *Gesamtkunstwerk*, and it was also much more concrete than the socio-political fantasies of a nobleman who had been born too late. The desired unity, described in the text of the *Andeutungen* in suggestive word images by Pückler and ingeniously illustrated by August Wilhelm Schirmer, encompassed structures of princely rule, places of worship (including a chapel for burials!), the town, manufacturing facilities, and gardens. In a metaphorically condensed and at the same time animated form, this unity also embodied the Saint-Simonian ideal of an organic whole. Whether Pückler was aware that Saint-Simon’s original intention had been to transform all of France into a park landscape filled with art works, museums, and cultural monuments, we do not know. However, nothing could be clearer than the concluding passage of the *Andeutungen*, when the author, appearing here for the first and last time without a pseudonym, says, “only when each person works in his own realm tirelessly and fully towards accomplishing his own goals, and the thousand facets of this work are then combined easily and beautifully into *one* ring . . . only then could the lovely dream of the Saint-Simonians be realized: a universal beautification of our mother earth.”³⁸ This passage makes explicit the subtext running throughout the work as a whole: it will not be “new experiments with theoretical forms of government imported from abroad”³⁹ (meaning revolutions) but rather individual private initiatives, animated by love and a sense of art, that will change the world for the better.

What at first glance appears to be a handbook for landscape gardeners proves upon closer inspection to be a set of practical instructions for a Saint-Simonian reform project à la Pückler. But as he was preparing the *Andeutungen* for publication, the prince was well aware of how uncertain and how vulnerable the paradise he had anticipated in the space of the text actually was. In the first volume of his *Tutti Frutti*,⁴⁰ he ironized and counterbalanced the heroic optimism of the *Andeutungen* with a gloomy contrasting vision. The joyful utopia was followed by a grim warning. In this work, the vision of the future, again centered on Muskau, is bleak: the park has been subdivided, the trees cut down for fire wood, the Neiße River has been turned into a canal, and a textile factory has been installed in the castle. And the ashes of the prince’s descendants (unborn at the time of writing and never to be born) have been spread as fertilizer onto

the fields. With this Saint-Simonian portrayal of the negative aspects of the contemporary world, Pückler remains true to his melancholic inclinations but is also very clear-sighted about the potential for violence in the dawning era of modernity. Capitalism unleashed new productive energies, as he had seen during his travels in England, but with it came exploitation, war, and environmental destruction. This hellish prospect stood in stark opposition to the vision of beneficent unity and order presented in Saint-Simonian literature. Nevertheless, despite his doubts, Pückler did not give up hope completely. In the third volume of *Tutti Frutti*, he relativizes his pessimistic foreboding when he voices his conviction that the Saint-Simonian prophecy of human unity, spiritual and material, "must yet be fulfilled," its obvious flaws on points of detail notwithstanding.⁴¹

Dislocation II: *Semilasso* in the Orient, 1834–1840

Following the reading suggested here, the *Andeutungen* can be understood as a blueprint for Pückler's further engagement in Muskau only to a limited degree. It reads much more like a farewell to the project in Muskau. The ideal described in the space of the text could no longer be secured in the three dimensions of reality. The sweeping gestures in the text and illustrations concealed the certainty of failure. Although work on the park intensified following Pückler's return from England, the gap between his dreams and what could feasibly be accomplished grew ever wider. The result was not a transformation in his theories about gardening toward greater practicality but rather another dislocation.

As Pückler's disappointment increased, so, too, did the radius of his field of escape. Old Europe, with its decaying social structures and thoughtless faith in progress, no longer offered sufficient scope for the cosmopolitan aristocrat's imagination. Very much in keeping with the times, he first thought of traveling to America. But although he made detailed plans for a tour of the New World and booked his transatlantic passage, he ended up redirecting his flight from Europe toward the Orient. For his reading public at home, Pückler transformed himself into "Semilasso," the weary one.

In early 1835, the prince crossed the Mediterranean from Toulon to Algiers; he would not see Muskau again until the late summer of 1840. The official reason for his change of plans was a duel. There was, however, a deeper reason for his choice of the Orient over America. In Letter 48 of the *Briefe*, he wrote of "old plans . . . a time to stroll beneath Africa's palm trees, and to observe the aging wonders of Egypt at last from the pinnacle of its pyramids."⁴² Given Pückler's self-image and world view as expressed in the *Andeutungen* and the negative counterpart

presented in *Tutti Frutti*, the change in his travel plans is not surprising. Having failed in his efforts to create a culturally enriched “oasis,” “surrounded by forest, like an island by the sea,” in the “desert” at home,⁴³ Pückler transferred his passion for order to the deserts of North Africa and to the person of the Egyptian proconsul Mehemed Ali, whose sphere of direct influence he entered in 1837. With great vision and brutal decisiveness, this potentate had set about modernizing the native peasant culture of Egypt. Pückler, in sharp contrast to Europe’s political leaders, admired his host and saw him as a guarantor of prosperity, order, and security. Whereas European leaders looked to the Middle East for economic opportunities that might be exploited, the prince saw a promising alternative to Western decadence and the crisis besetting Europe.

Pückler was not alone in this view. In 1833 a delegation of Saint-Simonians led by Barthélemy-Prospér Enfantin landed in Alexandria to search for a feminine Messiah and to advance the modernization of Egypt through a variety of projects, including the construction of dams and canals (the construction of the Suez Canal was a belated product of this effort). For Pückler and the Saint Simonians, Egypt signified much more than the longings and clichés typically subsumed in the catchword Orientalism. In Mehemed Ali’s empire,⁴⁴ they saw an opportunity to create a completely new, model society. That this dream never materialized despite the reforms that were set in motion is well known. For many members of Enfantin’s delegation, the Egyptian adventure ended in sickness or even death. Pückler himself eventually fell out of favor with the viceroy, and in January 1838 he set out on his long return journey to Europe.

Branitz: The Space of Transcendence, 1845–1871

Five years after his oriental intermezzo, Pückler found his project to transform his estate in Muskau on the verge of collapse. Neither his efforts at self-actualization in philosophy and literature nor his flights to other cultures could alter this situation. With the abolition of compulsory labor service for tenants, which had been delayed until 1844, one of the last supports of the feudal order was removed, and the prince made haste to divest himself of his deeply indebted holdings. In March 1845, the sale of the Muskau estate was completed. A handsome sum remained even after the various expenses associated with the sale had been paid, providing the 60-year-old Pückler with the means to make a new start. His first response—his reflexive response to crisis—was to embark anew on a phase of restless activity that took him from Thuringia and Brandenburg to Switzerland and Italy.

When this spell of restlessness passed, Pückler found himself once again tied to a specific location. By 1847 at the latest, it had become clear

that he would once again take on the role of gardener and cultural benefactor, this time on his patrimonial estate in Branitz. The metaphor of the "oasis" that he had used extensively in the *Andeutungen*, now enriched by his experiences in the Middle East, became the definitive leitmotif of his landscape design efforts. Pückler's aristocratic desire for order and his continuing fixation on perfecting himself and the world through (garden) work now found expression in his determination "to create oases in the sands of the desert."⁴⁵ Earlier, his energies had been exercised upon the "wasteland" of Muskau and its residents, who were "not exactly on the highest cultural level."⁴⁶ Now Pückler faced the challenge posed by the "miserable Cottbus region, and the even more miserable race of people who inhabit it."⁴⁷

Suppressing the reality principle, Pückler energetically tried to create a sensually beguiling microcosm of the Orient filled with decorative treasures and amusing surprises. Donning fez and kaftan, he would often astound visitors. The prince, newly returned from foreign lands, was soon regarded as a miracle worker, sporadic resistance to his project notwithstanding. "You make a paradise out of a barren desert," his local admirers declared,

You conjure an Eden
In our barren land,
Oasis in the desert,
With your skilled, creative hand.⁴⁸

Although the Branitz complex radiated outward into the surrounding territory on the pattern of the *ferme ornée* (ornamented farm), it conveyed the impression within of offering a refuge from the world. This tendency in the design towards encapsulation and enclosure did not occur by accident. The political confusion and upheavals in the period leading up to the 1848 revolutions left Pückler with the feeling that order was giving way to chaos. The present seemed to him to be dominated by a "morbid urge towards anything new,"⁴⁹ godlessness, egoism, and industry. Nothing was certain any longer.

If this view of circumstances had been shaped in large part by Pückler's reading, literature also offered him the means of grappling with the crisis. In the spring of 1847, he read the book *Still-Leben oder Über die Unsterblichkeit der Seele*⁵⁰ by Joseph Emil Nürnberger, and the experience was like a revelation in his search for knowledge and consolation. Nürnberger's astronomical-astrological fantasy and his powers of spiritual speculation offered the seeker a two-fold treasure: the prospect of an afterlife in the depths of the universe and guidance towards attaining happiness on earth. The former was based on the notion of a "world gymnasium," in which human beings are schooled and move progres-

sively upwards from one class level to the next, while at the same time migrating from planet to planet and from one solar system to another. As preparation for this intergalactic curriculum, Nürnberger advocated a withdrawn, well-ordered "still-life" dedicated to contemplation and communion with nature that avoided fleeting sensations and distractions. The book held up the cultivation of beautiful park landscapes as a particularly suitable form of self-perfection, and as such it offered Pückler both a justification of his activities thus far and a reason to cosmically modify his identity as gardener. Obviously stimulated by the hope of being able some day to continue his gardening work in the miraculous parks of distant planets, he set to work in Branitz to organize own personal "still-life" and give it expression in his garden design as a preliminary stage of a higher form of existence. He used the term "still-life" repeatedly in this context. The symbol of a star or the sun, which appeared in many different variations in the park in Branitz, expressed this cosmic desire in highly visible yet enigmatic fashion.

On a more mundane level, the layout of the gardens at Brantiz was influenced by both English gardens and the model of the Mediterranean villa. From early on, Pückler had turned to travel as a remedy for melancholy. His 1846 trip to Italy strengthened the alluring image of the carefree life of the warm south. Since his plans to move had miscarried, Pückler was all the more inclined to follow the trend in German art and architecture at the time and try to recreate the *dolce vita* at his "old northern nest."⁵¹ Many details in the gardens adjoining the main house—the "Italian wall," for example, and the decorative sculptures in the classical style—attest to this influence. Relieved of the burdens of rule, Pückler could give free play to his artistic inclinations in his treatment of space. This artistry was by no means an expression of a belabored, ironic, backwards-looking Romanticism, as has been occasionally insinuated. Rather, Pückler's late work, which could be viewed as a precursor of a modern "land art," incorporated lyrical, natural, and abstract elements and provided for both entertainment and social intervention. From this perspective, the oasis in Branitz was indeed a "park of progress,"⁵² and the creative practice of the "artist-prince" who presided over this realm was very much of its time, or even ahead of it.

Towards the end of the 1850s, Pückler's efforts as a "tamer of the earth," as Rahel Varnhagen once dubbed him, increasingly incorporated transcendental elements with an other-worldly orientation. The subliminally resonating notion of transience and questions about the ultimate purpose of life moved to the foreground of his artistic endeavors. This change was certainly linked in part to the prince's advancing age. Increasingly lonely and plagued by a variety of physical afflictions, he was confronted inexorably with his own mortality and the limitations of

the possible actions left to him on earth. In concert with this awareness, a significant revision of his self-image and world view had taken place. Once again, this change in outlook had literary roots. Pückler became an adherent of the pessimism of his new *Leibphilosoph* (personal philosopher), Arthur Schopenhauer.⁵³ The idea of progress, long dominant in Pückler's thinking, gave way to the "indifference of eternity."⁵⁴ The ideal of individual and collective perfectibility was now opposed by "non-being,"⁵⁵ which would release one from all compulsions, sorrows, and fears. From the bleak perspective of life Schopenhauer put forward, old age, loneliness, and even death no longer appeared catastrophic but rather desirable. Art, as a means of overcoming oneself and attaining untarnished awareness, also acquired a new relevance. Pückler was now able to justify the "only pure pleasure" of "being creative in nature" as something that was "completely objective" and "without any personal interest."⁵⁶ Doubts, however, persisted and were in fact intensified by others, above all by Ludmilla Assing (1821–1880), the combative niece of the Varnhagens who tried to win Pückler back for the defenders of progress.

Although the aging artist-prince assumed more and more the attitude of the wise man, he was never able to resolve the tensions inherent in his ideas. Pückler's struggle for metaphysical certainty and spiritual assurance produced an intense note in his design activity at Branitz. With the creation of the pyramid ensemble, consisting of the tumulus (1856), the land pyramid (1862), and Hermann's Mount (1868), and several accompanying structures, the artistic space of the park was expanded to the west, following the path of the sun, to produce a space of transcendence. This aspect was in turn bound into a rather spectacular plan of utilization, including a burial site, a race track, and prominent vantage points. The whole complex was extremely rich in iconographic, historical, and biographical points of reference, and it is clear that Pückler sought to go beyond traditional uses of the pyramid in garden design as well as its associations with memorializing the dead.⁵⁷ Its essence is not exhausted in the keeping, mourning, and remembering of a single destiny, but is directed rather with charismatic force toward the mystery of life itself. According to the "wise man of Branitz," everything having to do with birth and death, with growth and decline, can be condensed into a celestial unity within the "spirit of the universe," in which the individual's existence is both negated and affirmed, like a "wave in the ocean."⁵⁸

In line with the speculative uncertainty of this idea, Pückler left himself several options regarding the symbolic and ritualistic aspects of his undertaking. Thus, the burial of his chemically decomposed remains in the earthen tumulus was linked to Schopenhauer's interpretation of death

as a liberating “melting away into nothingness”⁵⁹ (while at the same time “maintaining the lineage”). By contrast, the land pyramid, which originally had twelve levels, can certainly be understood as a manifestation of an afterlife pointing towards perfection, as Grävell and Nürnberger, for example, had anticipated. Grävell had developed the concept that the process of individual improvement would lead step by step to the unification of all human beings in an identical spiritual presence. Furthermore, the inscription on the star-shaped decorative lattice-work at the top of the pyramid presupposes a continuity that prevails over death. Its inscription “Graves are the mountaintops of a distant new world” extends the breadth of meaning of this earthly construction, referring directly to its *Genius loci*, into the transcendental, utopian realm (Plate 10, page 188). The tomb, erected on a slightly raised embankment in the park, does in fact appear like a “mountain top” and thus takes on the significance of a collective sign of hope. Accordingly, as vague as this prophecy may seem, it is by no means limited to the promise of a personal afterlife, but rather it announces a new world, which, in the form of the expanse of pyramids in the Branitz park, seems already to extend into the present. The end, so the monumental icon augurs, is a beginning; the impulse of a life that fulfills itself will continue to have an effect in realms of the future.

Translated by Richard W. Pettit

Notes

¹ See Ulf Jacob, “‘Es soll gut auf der Erde werden,’ oder Die Gartenwelten des Hermann Fürst von Pückler-Muskau als soziale Raumstrukturen,” *Kultursoziologie* 7, no. 2 (1998): 55–79.

² For an overview of Pückler’s landscape gardening projects, see: Stiftung Fürst-Pückler-Park Bad Muskau, *Fürst Pückler. Parkomanie in Muskau und Branitz. Ein Führer durch seine Anlagen in Sachsen, Brandenburg und Thüringen* (Hamburg, 2006). Ludmilla Assing wrote the classic biography of Pückler: *Fürst Hermann von Pückler-Muskau. Eine Biographie*, 2 vols. (Hamburg and Berlin, 1873–74).

³ Lars Clausen, “Fürst Pückler auf dem Höhepunkt der Krise. Eine soziobiographische Erhellung des Landschaftskünstlers,” in Joachim Matthes, ed., *Lebenswelt und soziale Probleme. Verhandlungen des 20. Deutschen Soziologentages zu Bremen 1980* (Frankfurt/Main, 1980), 385.

⁴ Maximilian Karl Friedrich Wilhelm Grävell, *Sachsens Wiedergeburt. Ein Sendschreiben an Se. Majestät König Friedrich August* (Mainz, 1814), 33.

⁵ Pückler did not receive the title of prince until 1822.

⁶ Hermann Graf von Arnim and Willi A. Boelcke, *Muskau. Standesherrschaft zwischen Spree und Neiße* (Frankfurt/Main, 1979), 178.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 155.

⁸ “And the life of man is work,” Pückler announced already in 1811. See Bettina Clausen and Lars Clausen, *Zu allem fähig. Versuch einer Sozio-Biographie zum Verständnis des Dichters Leopold Schefer*, 2 vols. (Frankfurt/Main, 1985), vol. 1, 393.

⁹ See, for example, Hermann Fürst von Pückler-Muskau, *Briefe eines Verstorbenen. Ein fragmentarisches Tagebuch aus Deutschland, Holland, England, Wales, Irland und Frankreich, geschrieben in den Jahren 1826 bis 1829*, ed. Günter J. Vaupel, (Frankfurt/Main, 1991), vol. 2, 108.

¹⁰ This phrase, used frequently by Pückler, is from the gospels of Mathew and Luke. It occurs in any number of literary works, as, for example, in Schiller's play *Die Räuber*.

¹¹ Letter to the Countess Ida Hahn-Hahn, February 13, 1845, in Hermann Fürst von Pückler-Muskau, *Briefwechsel und Tagebücher des Fürsten Hermann von Pückler-Muskau*, 9 vols., ed. Ludmilla Assing(-Grimelli) (Hamburg and Berlin, 1873–76; Reprint: Bern, 1971), vol. 1, 270.

¹² Clausen and Clausen, *Zu allem fähig*, vol. 1, 93. See Clausen, "Fürst Pückler auf dem Höhepunkt der Krise."

¹³ Clausen and Clausen, *Zu allem fähig*.

¹⁴ On the relationship between melancholy, order, and the art of gardening, see Ulf Jacob, "'Ich möchte manchmal ganz sehlich, ich wäre todt'. Andeutungen über das Melancholische in Hermann Fürst von Pückler-Muskau's Persönlichkeit und künstlerischem Werk," in Stiftung Fürst Pückler-Museum Park und Schloss Branitz, ed., *Pückler, Pyramiden, Panorama. Neue Beiträge zur Pücklerforschung* (Cottbus, 1999), 110–28.

¹⁵ See, e.g., Ulf Jacob, "Oasendämmerung. Lausitzer Variationen einer (landes-) kulturellen Ordnungsmetapher," *Kritische Berichte* 31, no. 4 (2003): 20–37. See also Ulf Jacob and Ute Jochinke, *Oasen der Moderne. Stadt- und Landschaftsgestaltungen im Lausitzer Revier* (Husum, 2004).

¹⁶ On the social dynamic of stigmatization, self-stigmatization, and the process of generating charisma, see Wolfgang Lipp, *Stigma und Charisma. Über soziales Grenzverhalten* (Berlin, 1985).

¹⁷ Hermann Fürst von Pückler-Muskau, *Andeutungen über Landschaftsgärtnerei, verbunden mit der praktischen Beschreibung ihrer Anwendung in Muskau*, ed. Günter J. Vaupel, (Frankfurt/Main, 1988), 299.

¹⁸ See Mohammed Rassem, "Das Gärtner-Gleichnis. Similitudo ab agricultura," in Mohammed Rassem, *Stiftung und Leistung. Essays zur Kultursoziologie* (Mittenwald, 1979), 11–27. See also Hans Peter Thurn, "Gärtner und Totengräber. Zur Paradigmatik der Kultursoziologie," *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie* 37 (1985): 60–74.

¹⁹ Pückler-Muskau, *Briefe eines Verstorbenen*, vol. 2, 334.

²⁰ Clausen and Clausen, *Zu allem fähig*, vol. 1, 93.

²¹ See Günter J. Vaupel, "Zur Geschichte von Muskau unter den Grafen Callenberg," in Hermann Graf von Pückler-Muskau, *Entre chien et loup. Briefe und Biographie 1785–1808*, ed. Günter J. Vaupel (Dresden, 2005), 38ff.

²² See Pückler-Muskau, *Briefwechsel*, vol. 2. See also Hermann Fürst von Pückler-Muskau, *Jugend-Wanderungen. Aus meinen Tagebüchern. Vom Verfasser der Briefe eines Verstorbenen* (Stuttgart, 1835).

²³ On the relationship between Pückler and Schefer, see Clausen and Clausen, *Zu allem fähig*; and Lars Clausen, "Fürst Pückler auf dem Höhepunkt der Krise."

²⁴ Leopold Schefer, "Der Park von Muskau. Eine Skizze," *Illustrierte Zeitung*, August 11, 1849, 87–90; August 18, 1849, 107–09.

²⁵ These verses are from the poem "Die Weihe": Leopold Schefer, *Gedichte*, ed. Hermann Graf von Pückler-Muskau (Berlin, 1811), 95ff.

²⁶ On this question, see Jacob, "Es soll gut auf der Erde werden," 59–65.

²⁷ Von Arnim and Boelcke, *Muskau*, 306.

- ²⁸ Schefer, "Der Park von Muskau," 88.
- ²⁹ Letter to his wife, Lucie, December 21, 1823, in: Pückler-Muskau, *Briefwechsel*, vol. 5, 435.
- ³⁰ The prince describes himself with this term in a letter to Karl August Varnhagen von Ense, December 28, 1846, in Pückler-Muskau, *Briefwechsel*, vol. 3, 411.
- ³¹ See Beate Schneider, "Die 'Erinnerungsbilder' von Hermann Fürst von Pückler-Muskau" in *Englandsouvenirs: Fürst Pücklers Reise 1826–1829*, ed. Stiftung Fürst-Pückler-Park Bad Muskau (Zittau, 2005), 148–200.
- ³² The *Briefe* were translated by Sarah Austin and published under the titles *Tour in England, Ireland, and France in the Years 1828 & 1829*, vols. 1 & 2, and *Tour in Germany, Holland and England in the years 1826, 1827, & 1828, In a series of letters by a German Prince*, vols. 3 & 4 (London, 1832).
- ³³ See also Jacob, "Es soll gut auf der Erde werden," 65–72.
- ³⁴ Pückler-Muskau, *Andeutungen über Landschaftsgärtnerei*, 166.
- ³⁵ *Ibid.*, 175.
- ³⁶ *Ibid.*
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*, 176.
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*, 299.
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁰ Hermann Fürst von Pückler-Muskau, *Tutti Frutti. Aus den Papieren eines Verstorbenen*, 5 vols. (Stuttgart, 1834).
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, 102.
- ⁴² Pückler-Muskau, *Briefe eines Verstorbenen*, vol. 2, 626.
- ⁴³ Pückler-Muskau, *Andeutungen über Landschaftsgärtnerei*, 156.
- ⁴⁴ See Hermann Fürst von Pückler-Muskau, *Aus Mehemed Alis Reich. Ägypten und der Sudan um 1840* (Zürich, 1985).
- ⁴⁵ Diary entry, April 15, 1847, Pückler-Muskau, *Briefwechsel*, vol. 9, 250.
- ⁴⁶ Pückler-Muskau, *Andeutungen über Landschaftsgärtnerei*, 158.
- ⁴⁷ Diary entry, December 1847, Pückler-Muskau, *Briefwechsel*, vol. 9, 259.
- ⁴⁸ Pückler Archives, Branitz, reproductions from the holdings of the Varnhagen collection in the Bibliotheka Jagiellonska, Cracow, Poland, Signature F-Ak/001/K.-Nr. 149/Nr. 1, sheet 162 ff. and and 178.
- ⁴⁹ Diary entry, June 7, 1845, Pückler-Muskau, *Briefwechsel*, vol. 9, 158 ff.
- ⁵⁰ Joseph Emil Nürnberger, *Still-Leben oder Über die Unsterblichkeit der Seele. Briefe an eine Freundin* (Kempten, 1839). A second expanded edition followed in 1842. The possibility can not be ruled out that Nürnberger also made hidden reference to Pückler and his Muskau garden domain.
- ⁵¹ Letter to Ludmilla Assing, May 9, 1867, Pückler-Muskau, *Briefwechsel*, vol. 4, 134.
- ⁵² *Ibid.*, 134.
- ⁵³ Letter to Ludmilla Assing from November 18, 1866, Pückler-Muskau, *Briefwechsel*, vol. 4, 132. On Pückler's discovery of Schopenhauer, see Ulf Jacob, "Fortschritt oder 'Einerlei der Ewigkeit'. Beobachtungen zur Schopenhauer-Rezeption des Fürsten Hermann von Pückler-Muskau," in Stephan Beetz et al., eds., *Soziologie über die Grenzen. Europäische Perspektiven* (Hamburg, 2003), 357–89.
- ⁵⁴ Letter to Ludmilla Assing, June 5, 1864, Pückler-Muskau, *Briefwechsel*, vol. 4, 100.
- ⁵⁵ Letter to Ludmilla Assing, April 21, 1860, Pückler-Muskau, *Briefwechsel* vol. 4, 56.

⁵⁶ Diary entry, June 1862, Pückler-Muskau, *Briefwechsel*, vol. 9, 337.

⁵⁷ On the pyramid theme, see Stiftung Fürst-Pückler-Museum Park Branitz, *Pückler, Pyramiden, Panorama*.

⁵⁸ Letter to Ada von Treskow, September 13, 1866, in *Geliebter Pascha! Feurigste Gnomini! Hermann Fürst von Pückler und Ada von Treskow in ihren Liebesbriefen*, ed. Gabriele Seits (Zürich, 1986), 251.

⁵⁹ Arthur Schopenhauer, *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*, vol. 1, ed. Ludger Lütkehaus (Zürich, 1999), 527.