

## PRAISE FOR *AFTER NATURE*

“Before the four incomparable novels that made him a world figure in literature, W. G. Sebald wrote the free verse triptych *After Nature*, now fluently translated by Michael Hamburger. *After Nature* sets the pattern of the novels: reveries on distant lives alongside something like autobiography. This and the later books sustain a search for threads along which conscious and lost memories in private life connect with surviving and lost evidence about lives and worlds long gone. . . . As in Sebald’s novels, images and echoes link narrative meditations in this work.”  
—*The San Francisco Chronicle*

“[There are] three poems in *After Nature*. The first is about the sixteenth-century painter Matthias Grünewald, the second about the nineteenth-century botanist Georg Steller, [and the third] is an autobiographical prose poem. The scientist, the artist, and the writer all trying to make sense of life and death, pulled between images of white snow in the Alps and green forests and pastures. The late W. G. Sebald is a writer who often stops, in his quest for meaning, with the unexplained coincidence. [Sebald] will not translate coincidence for his readers, and this is the secret of his perfect timing. Here is the other secret: We are willing to be carried along in a haze of not quite understanding because Sebald also revels in the pure music of words. . . . Only by suspending readerly willfulness will you be able to float weightless through his writing.”  
—*Los Angeles Times*

“Remarkably lucid English translation . . . *After Nature* consists of three interrelated narratives, spanning different historical periods. . . . It is Sebald’s graphic description of a subject in a Grünewald painting that seems to capture the random, irrational movements of nature most vividly.”  
—*The Washington Post*

“Europe . . . is a continent soaked in bloody history; its every street corner, its every green and lovely field has likely borne witness to some episode of war or religious terror or plague. W. G. Sebald . . . was a master at evoking this haunted Europe. . . . By the time he died on a rural English road, he had been acknowledged as one of the great postwar European writers. . . . Now, *After Nature*, a book of three long poems by Sebald, is being published in

English for the first time. . . . This translation (by his friend Michael Hamburger) reveals him to be a poet of subtlety and lingering power.”

—*Time Out New York*

“His work recalls Gustav Herling’s *Journal Written at Night* or, when he includes uncaptioned photographs, the early work of Sebald’s contemporary, Michael Ondaatje. Comparisons, however, do no justice to Sebald. Eventually, even the most familiar prose unit, the paragraph, dissolves in his hands. He was an original.”

—*The Philadelphia Inquirer*

“The three long poems in *After Nature* . . . anatomize the correspondence between the life and the work, the work and the world, the world and the life. Wary of abstraction, alert to history’s detours and infernal turns, Sebald had the ability to consort with the unspeakable. . . . *After Nature* is Sebald’s alpha and omega, at once the first and last of his literary works, and a seedbed for his later projects. . . . Sebald, near the end of *After Nature*, under a lowering sky, writes, ‘What’s dead is gone/forever,’ then a shard from Lear: ‘What did’st/thou say?’ More questions follow, and the section dissolves into ‘Water? Fire? Good?/Evil? Life? Death?’ It’s the one moment in his entire body of work where he gives the impression of losing control, and the effect is liberating and haunting.”

—*The Village Voice*

“The art that he created is of near-miraculous beauty.”

—*The New Republic*

“*After Nature*, which now appears in an excellent translation by Michael Hamburger, is a work of considerable scope and ambition. . . . The aims of the Grünewald and Steller poems are not biographical or historical in any ordinary sense. Though the scholarship behind them is thorough . . . scholarship takes second place to what he intuits about his subjects and perhaps projects upon them. . . . It is thus best to think of Grünewald and Steller as personae, masks that enable Sebald to project back into the past a character type, ill at ease in the world, indeed in exile from it, that may be his own but that he feels possesses a certain genealogy which his reading and researches can uncover. . . . ‘Dark Night Sallies Forth,’ the third of the poems in *After Nature*, is more overtly autobiographical. Here, Sebald, as ‘I,’ takes stock of himself as a person but also as inheritor of Germany’s recent history.”

—*The New York Review of Books*

AFTER NATURE



# AFTER NATURE

*W. G. Sebald*

*Translated from the German by  
Michael Hamburger*



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...AS THE SNOW ON THE ALPS





*Or va, ch'un sol volere è d'ambidue:  
tu duca, tu signore e tu maestro.  
Così li dissi; e poi che mosso fue,  
intraì per lo cammino alto e silvestro.*

*Now go, the will within us being one:  
you be my guide, Lord, master from this day,  
I said to him; and when he, moved, led on  
I entered on the steep wild-wooded way.*

Dante, *Inferno*, Canto II



...I...

Whoever closes the wings  
of the altar in the Lindenhart  
parish church and locks up  
the carved figures in their casing  
on the lefthand panel  
will be met by St. George.  
Foremost at the picture's edge he stands  
above the world by a hand's breadth  
and is about to step over the frame's  
threshold. Georgius Miles,  
man with the iron torso, rounded chest  
of ore, red-golden hair and silver  
feminine features. The face of the unknown  
Grünewald emerges again and again  
in his work as a witness  
to the snow miracle, a hermit  
in the desert, a commiserator  
in the Munich *Mocking of Christ*.

Last of all, in the afternoon light  
in the Erlangen library, it shines forth  
from a self-portrait, sketched out  
in heightened white crayon, later destroyed  
by an alien hand's pen and wash,  
as that of a painter aged forty  
to fifty. Always the same  
gentleness, the same burden of grief,  
the same irregularity of the eyes, veiled  
and sliding sideways down into loneliness.  
Grünewald's face reappears, too,  
in a Basel painting by Holbein  
the Younger of a crowned female saint.  
These were strangely disguised  
instances of resemblance, wrote Fraenger  
whose books were burned by the fascists.  
Indeed it seemed as though in such works of art  
men had revered each other like brothers, and  
often made monuments in each other's  
image where their paths had crossed.  
Hence too, at the centre of  
the Lindenhardt altar's right wing,  
that troubled gaze upon the youth  
on the other side of the older man  
whom, years ago now, on a grey  
January morning I myself once

encountered in the railway station  
in Bamberg. It is St. Dionysius,  
his cut-off head under one arm.  
To him, his chosen guardian  
who in the midst of life carries  
his death with him, Grünewald gives  
the appearance of Riemenschneider, whom  
twenty years later the Würzburg bishop  
condemned to the breaking of his hands  
in the torture cell. Long before that time  
pain had entered into the pictures.  
That is the command, knows the painter  
who on the altar aligns himself  
with the scant company of the  
fourteen auxiliary saints. Each of these,  
the blessed Blasius, Achaz and Eustace;  
Panthaleon, Aegidius, Cyriax, Christopher and  
Erasmus and the truly beautiful  
St. Vitus with the cockerel,  
each look in different  
directions without knowing  
why. The three female saints  
Barbara, Catherine and Margaret on  
the other hand hide at the edge  
of the left panel behind the back of  
St. George putting together their

uniform oriental heads for  
a conspiracy against the men.  
The misfortune of saints  
is their sex, is the terrible  
separation of the sexes which Grünewald  
suffered in his own person. The exorcised  
devil that Cyriax, not only because  
of the narrow confines, holds raised  
high as an emblem in  
the air is a female being  
and, as a grisaille of Grünewald's  
in the Frankfurt Städel shows in  
the most drastic of fashions, derives from  
Diocletian's epileptic daughter,  
the misshapen princess Artemia whom  
Cyriax, as beside him she kneels on  
the ground, holds tightly leashed  
with a maniple of his vestments  
like a dog. Spreading out  
above them is the branch work  
of a fig tree with fruit, one of which  
is entirely hollowed out by insects.

...II...

Little is known of the life of  
Matthaeus Grünewald of Aschaffenburg.  
The first account of the painter  
in Joachim von Sandrart's *German Academy*  
of the year 1675 begins with the notice  
that the author knows not one person living  
who could provide a written or oral  
testimony of that praiseworthy hand.  
We may trust that report by Sandrart,  
for a portrait in a Würzburg museum  
has preserved him, aged eighty-two,  
wide awake and with eyes uncommonly clear.  
Lightly in grey and black,  
he writes, Matthaeus had painted the outer  
wings of an altarpiece made by Dürer  
of Mary's ascension in the  
Preachers' convent in Frankfurt and  
thus had lived at around 1505.

Exceedingly strange was the trans-  
figuration of Christ on Mount Tabor  
limned by him in watercolours, especially  
one cloud of wondrous beauty, wherein  
above the Apostles convulsed  
with awe, Moses and Elijah appear,  
a marvel surpassed.

Then in the Mainz cathedral  
there had been three altar panels  
with facing fronts and reverse  
sides painted, one of them  
showing a blind hermit who, as he crosses  
the frozen Rhine river with a boy  
to guide him, is assaulted by two murderers  
and beaten to death. Anno 1631 or '32,  
this panel in the wild war of that era  
had been taken away and sent off to Sweden  
but by shipwreck beside many other  
such pieces of art had perished  
in the depths of the sea.

At Isenheim, Sandrart had not been,  
but had heard of the altar-work there,  
which, he writes, was so fashioned that  
real life could scarce have been other  
and where, it was said, a *St. Anthony* with  
demons meticulously drawn was to be seen.



Except for a *St. John* with hands clasped  
of which he, Sandrart, when at one time in Rome  
he was counterfeiting the pope, had caught sight,  
with certainty this was all that was not lost  
of the work of the Aschaffenburg  
painter of whom, besides, he knew only  
that most of the time he had  
resided in Mainz, led a reclusive  
melancholy life and been ill-married.

...III...

We know there is a long tradition  
of persecuting the Jews, in the City  
of Frankfurt as in other places.  
Around 1240, the records tell us,  
173 were either slaughtered  
or died of their own free will  
in a conflagration. In 1349  
the Flagellant Brothers instituted  
a great massacre in the Jewish quarter.  
Again, the chronicles tell that the Jews  
burned themselves and that  
after the fire there was a clear view from  
the Cathedral Hill over to Sachsenhausen.  
Thereafter the Jews only hesitantly  
returned to the city on the Main.  
In the mid-fifteenth century  
a clothing statute is issued,  
yellow rings to be worn on the tunic,

later a grey circle the size of  
an apple, for the prevention of all  
carnal intercourse between Christians  
and Jews, for a long time to come  
under the pain of death.  
Then, at the expense of Frankfurt's  
high city council, in the train  
of civic reform, progressive order  
and hygienisation, a ghetto of their own  
is built for the Jews by the Wollgraben,  
fourteen houses and a new synagogue.  
By Grünewald's time, we learn,  
there are twenty-three houses, and soon  
the district counts more than three thousand souls  
without the boundaries having been widened.  
Each night—on Sundays at four in the  
afternoon—they were locked up, and  
might not walk into any place  
where a green tree grew,  
not on the Scheidewall  
nor in the Ross, nor on the Römerberg  
or in the Avenue. In this ghetto  
the Jewess Enchin had been raised  
before, not many months preceding  
her marriage to Mathys Grune  
the painter, she was christened

in the name of St. Anne.

In the compendious book about the historical  
Grünewald which Dr. W. K. Zülch produced

in ancient Schwabach type,

in the year 1938 for Hitler's birthday

the story of this extraordinary union

could not be admitted. Grünewald

would have noticed this child,

remarkable, it was said, for her beauty

when she passed through the Bridge Gate

and the Preachers' Lane on her way

to her workplace just outside the ghetto.

But there is no evidence that it was he who induced

this Anna, betrothed to him a year later,

to change her religious faith.

Rather it seems that she herself

had facilitated this step

attesting great strength of will,

or desperation, by looking the painter

straight in the eyes; perhaps

at first merely in love with

his green-colored name,

a conjunction which to the bachelor

master, who meanwhile had given up

the Mainz Court Painter's appointment

in favour of the great Isenheim Altar

commission, will not have come amiss,  
for without a household of his own  
he could employ no assistant  
or apprentice for his work.  
When Grünewald buys a house  
very close to the cathedral  
on December 17th 1512  
for twenty-three guilders  
twelve shillings, already,  
the documents record, he has taken  
to wife the baptised Anna.  
The much admired young proselyte,  
who for the Frankfurt Christian  
community, which even for her baptism  
had overwhelmed her with gifts,  
was no mean acquisition, and  
could have founded Grünewald's fortune.  
If it fell out otherwise, for one thing  
it was because the painter  
who later lived as a recluse  
and almost underground, himself  
made impossible his recognition  
by this community; and,  
for another, as his pictures prove,  
he had more of an eye for men,  
whose faces and entire physique

he executed with endless devotion  
whereas his women for the most part  
are veiled, so relieving him of the fear  
of looking at them more closely.  
Perhaps that is why Grünewald's  
Anna grew shrewish, ill, a victim  
to perverse reason, to brain fevers  
and to madness.

In the end, awaiting recovery,  
she is placed in hospital where  
at the time of the painter's death  
still she lives on, infirm  
in body and mind.

...IV...

In the Chicago Art Institute  
hangs the self-portrait of an unknown  
young painter which in 1929  
passed into the Frankfurt art trade  
from Sweden. The small maple panel  
shows a scarcely twenty-year-old  
at the window of a narrow room.  
Behind him, on a shelf not quite  
in perspective, pots of paint,  
a crayon, a seashell and a precious Venetian  
glass filled with a translucent essence.  
In one hand the painter holds  
a finely carved knife of bone  
with which to trim the drawing-pen  
before continuing work on a female nude  
that lies in front of him next to an inkwell.  
Through the window on his left a  
landscape with mountain and valley

and the curved line of a path is visible.  
This last, Zülch philosophises, is the way  
into the world, and no one took it other  
than the man, vanished without a trace,  
to whom his research is devoted and whose art  
he thinks he can recognise in the anonymous picture.  
The reason for the signature “M.N.”  
above the window-frame must be  
that the painter Mathis Nithart,  
discovered in archives but otherwise  
not identified by any works of his own,  
hid behind the name of Grünewald.  
Hence the initials M.G. and N. on the Snow  
Altar at Aschaffenburg, hence the merging,  
most remarkable, given the difference in age,  
of the young painter with the Sebastian  
pierced with arrows at Isenheim.  
And indeed the person of Mathis Nithart  
in documents of the time so flows into  
the person of Grünewald that one  
seems to have been the life,  
then the death, too, of the other.  
An X-ray photograph of the Sebastian panel  
reveals beneath the elegiac  
portrait of the saint  
that same face again, the half-



profile only turned a tiny bit further  
in the definitive overpainting.  
Here two painters in one body  
whose hurt flesh belonged to both  
to the end pursued the study  
of their own nature. At first  
Nithart fashioned his self-portrait  
from a mirror image, and Grünewald  
with great love, precision and patience  
and an interest in the skin  
and hair of his companion extending  
to the blue shadow of the beard  
then overpainted it.

The martyrdom depicted is  
the representation, to be sensed  
even in the rims of the wounds,  
of a male friendship wavering  
between horror and loyalty.

It is conceivable that Nithart  
who was also a maker of water displays,  
in later years furthered  
the mistaking of his person for  
the increasingly unsociable Isenheim master,  
that perhaps he was the connecting link  
between Grünewald and the world become  
inaccessible to him in his misfortune.

Around 1527, about twelve  
years after the work in Alsace,  
Nithart moved from Frankfurt, where  
for a time he must have continued to share  
the life of Grünewald, to Halle  
to build, for its celebrated salt springs,  
watercourses and an array  
of jet fountains driven  
by a most complicated system of scoop  
wheels and pipes like that on the Main  
at Aschaffenburg, a masterpiece of  
mechanical art much visited at the time.  
It is said, however, that Nithart  
never accomplished much in Halle and often  
changed lodgings. In the summer of  
'twenty-eight he fell into  
deep dejection and then, it seems,  
death very soon overtook him.  
The Frankfurt magistrates, when the news  
of Nithart's passing had reached them,  
ordered a register to be made  
of the household effects in his  
workshop. The long list embraces  
an accumulation of the most diverse things:  
spoons and pottage bowls, soup cauldrons,  
drawing-belts for water, fifteen

white goatskins, silver talers,  
and copper coins from Schwaz in the Tyrol,  
books, proclamations, scripts and many  
Lutheran printed tracts. All this  
irradiated by the glory of a unique  
store of paints: lead white and albus,  
Paris red, cinnabar, slate green,  
mountain green, alchemy green, blue  
vitreous pastes and minerals  
from the Orient. Clothing, too,  
beautiful, *item* a gold-yellow pair of hose,  
tunics, cinnamon-coloured, the lapels overlaid  
in purpled velvet with black stitching,  
a grey atlas doublet, a red slouch hat  
and much exquisite adornment besides.  
The estate in truth is that of two men, but  
whether Grünewald, an inventor of singular  
hues, shared his departed friend's liking  
for such gaudy arrayment  
we cannot presume to say.

...V...

At the point where the great military road  
from Strasbourg to the Burgundian portal, in line with  
the run of the Vosges to the south,  
crosses the Lauterbach's course  
from the Gebweiler transverse valley,  
lies the village of Isenheim.  
Here the Canons Regular,  
the legendary history of whose order  
is traced back to the anchorite  
Antonius the Hermit who  
in the year 357 departed this life  
in the Theban desert, in 1300  
acquired the site from the Murbach  
Cluniacs to found an Antonian hospital  
for the cure of St. Anthony's fire  
which raged throughout all Europe,  
an infection of the blood that led  
to the rotting away of the limbs

and with leprosy was among  
the most dreaded diseases of the Middle Ages.  
When gradually St. Anthony's fire  
died, the Antonian hospitals adopted  
other ailments that afflicted body or mind  
for their healing, such as epilepsy  
and the so-called venereal scourges  
which spread disastrously after 1490.  
The treatment of patients who at their arrival  
were usually half-destroyed already  
tended towards this, that, as  
hieratic witnesses to evil,  
at first they were led to the altar  
in the choir aisle, baptised in the name  
of a martyr to God and so, as it were  
despite and together with their perversion,  
brought into the precincts of salvation.  
In this it happened not infrequently  
that from the relic of St. Anthony  
encased in the shrine of the altar  
a miracle emanated, or that  
those in some part horribly disfigured were  
later rid of their affliction by the repeated  
application of *Saint Vinage*, an elixir  
which the canons obtained annually  
on the day of the Resurrection in the monastery

of St. Antoine de Viennois,  
near St. Marcellin on the Isère  
by pouring wine on the bones,  
there preserved, of St. Anthony.  
This liquid, twice purified,  
was distributed by the monastery's messengers  
up and down the country, and with it  
the peasants blessed that pig which  
in their sties wore the bell of the saint,  
who was also the patron of flocks and their keepers.  
As for the hospital itself, where  
of the twelve canons eight  
usually studied philosophy  
under a lector,  
the rituals of purification  
according to which the sick were treated  
became a battle fought over their bodies  
against the presence of death manifested  
in madness; became indeed the most  
fundamental of all confrontations  
in which the altar-work commissioned  
from Grünewald by Guido Guersi,  
the Isenheim Preceptor, was to engage  
the painter in a great therapeutic  
task through the representation,  
executed in beauteous and harrowing

colours, of the hour of the pale  
streams of pus. At the latest  
with the commencement of his work  
in the Alsatian Home of the Crippled  
where the most diverse material for inspection  
of the manners in which a human being  
creeps into himself, herself or  
seeks to get out, was assembled,  
Grünewald, who in any case must have tended  
towards an extremist view of the world,  
will have come to see the redemption of the  
living as one from life itself.  
Now life as such, as it unfolds, dreadfully,  
everywhere and at all times,  
is not to be seen on the altar panels  
whose figures have passed beyond  
the miseries of existence, unless it be  
in that unreal and demented thronging  
which Grünewald has developed around  
St. Anthony of the temptation:  
dragged by his hair over the ground  
by a gruesome monster.  
Low down in the bottom-left corner  
cowers the body, covered with  
syphilitic chancres, of an inmate  
of the Isenheim hospital. Above it

rises a two-headed and many-  
armed androgynous creature  
about to finish off the saint  
with a brandished jaw-bone.  
On the right, a stilt-legged bird-like beast  
which, with human arms,  
holds a cudgel raised up. Behind  
and beside this, towards the picture's centre,  
crab-clawed together, shark- and dragon-like  
maws, rows of teeth, pug noses  
from which snot flows, fin-shaped  
clammy limp wings, hair and horns,  
skin like entrails turned outwards,  
excrescences of an entire life,  
in the air, on land and in water.  
To him, the painter, this is creation,  
image of our insane presence  
on the surface of the earth,  
the regeneration proceeding  
in downward orbits  
whose parasitical shapes  
intertwine, and, growing into  
and out of one another, surge  
as a demonic swarm  
into the hermit's quietude.  
In this fashion Grünewald,



silently wielding his paintbrush,  
rendered the scream, the wailing, the gurgling  
and the shrieking of a pathological spectacle  
to which he and his art, as he must have known,  
themselves belong. The panic-stricken  
kink in the neck to be seen  
in all of Grünewald's subjects,  
exposing the throat and often turning  
the face towards a blinding light,  
is the extreme response of our bodies  
to the absence of balance in nature  
which blindly makes one experiment after another  
and like a senseless botcher  
undoes the thing it has only just achieved.  
To try out how far it can go  
is the sole aim of this sprouting,  
perpetuation and proliferation  
inside us also and through us and through  
the machines sprung from our heads,  
all in a single jumble,  
while behind us already the green  
trees are leaving their leaves and  
bare, as often they appear in Grünewald's  
pictures, loom up into the sky,  
the dead branches overlaid  
with a moss-like glutinous substance.

The black bird that in its beak  
carries a break-time meal  
to St. Anthony on his site  
in the desert may be the one with  
the heart of glass, the bird  
flying ever closer to us,  
of which another prophet  
of the last days announces  
that it will shit into the sea  
so that the water boils itself out,  
that the earth trembles and the great city  
with the iron tower stands in flames,  
whilst the Pope squats in a barge  
and darkness comes and  
with it a yellow dust  
that covers the land.

...VI...

On the Basel *Crucifixion* of 1505  
behind the group of mourners  
a landscape reaches so far into the depth  
that our eyes cannot see its limits.  
A patch of brown scorched earth  
whose contour like the head of a whale  
or an open-mouthed leviathan  
devours the pale green meadow plains,  
and the marshily shining stretches  
of water. Above it, pushed off  
to behind the horizon, which step  
by step grows darker, more glowering,  
rise the hills of the prehistory  
of the Passion. We see the gate  
of the Garden of Gethsemane, the approach  
of the henchmen and the kneeling figure of Christ  
so reduced in size that in the  
receding space the rushing

away of time can be sensed.

Most probably Grünewald painted  
and recalled the catastrophic incursion  
of darkness, the last trace of light  
flickering from beyond, after nature,  
for in the year 1502, when he was working  
at Bindlach, below the Fichtelgebirge,  
on the creation of the Lindenhart altar,  
on the first of October the moon's shadow  
slid over Eastern Europe from Mecklenburg  
over Bohemia and the Lausitz to southern Poland,  
and Grünewald, who repeatedly was in touch  
with the Aschaffenburg Court Astrologer Johann Indagine,  
will have travelled to see this event of the century,  
awaited with great terror, the eclipse of the sun,  
so will have become a witness to  
the secret sickening away of the world,  
in which a phantasmal encroachment of dusk  
in the midst of daytime like a fainting fit  
poured through the vault of the sky,  
while over the banks of mist and the cold  
heavy blues of the clouds  
a fiery red arose, and colours  
such as his eyes had not known  
radiantly wandered about, never again to be  
driven out of the painter's memory.

These colours unfold as the reverse of  
the spectrum in a different consistency  
of the air, whose deoxygenated void  
in the gasping breath of the figures  
on the central Isenheim panel is enough  
to portend our death by asphyxiation; after which  
comes the mountain landscape of weeping  
in which Grünewald with a pathetic gaze  
into the future has prefigured  
a planet utterly strange, chalk-coloured  
behind the blackish-blue river.  
Here in an evil state of erosion  
and desolation the heritage of the ruining  
of life that in the end will consume  
even the stones has been depicted.  
In view of this it seems to me  
that the ice age, the glaringly white  
towering of the summits in  
the upper realm of the *Temptation*,  
is the construction of a metaphysic  
and a miracle like the one  
in the year 352, when  
at the height of the summer  
snow fell  
on the Esquiline  
Hill in Rome.

...VII...

In the spring of 1525 Grünewald  
rode through April light and showers  
to Windsheim, where from the workshop  
of Jakob Seckler he had ordered  
the crowning piece for an altar,  
an intricate carving of finials  
and figures, vine leaves and  
various birds. While Seckler  
put the last touch to his work,  
Grünewald fell into conversation  
with Barthel and Sebald Beham,  
etchers and draughtsmen from Nürnberg who,  
seized on January 12th as godless painters  
and driven out of their native city for heresy,  
were lodging provisionally at the Windsheim master's.  
The brothers, on walks out into the still  
discoloured fields and till late into the night,  
told of Thomas Münzer, at one time in Nürnberg,

now gone through Swabia to Alsace,  
to Switzerland and into the Black Forest  
to raise the insurrection. For the sixth  
trumpet was about to sound and the poor  
letter must be released from its prison.  
With clangour a great  
pentecost was to begin,  
the filling of the waters well nigh  
completed, the seething  
planets gathered in  
the house of Pisces. The red  
star was drawing into conjunction  
with Saturn, the sign  
of the peasants, and a fantastic  
fire would flare up when,  
in the imminent future,  
a needy wretch would be revealed  
as the Messiah Septentrionalis.  
Grünewald said that once, in his childhood,  
he must have been six or seven,  
the kettle drummer of Niklashausen  
had roused the people with promises  
of earthly happiness for the poor.  
Fifty thousand daily had thronged to him,  
his prayer chapel filled with precious  
donations and this had gone on for a while,

but then as a spectacle to the rabble  
he had been roasted in Würzburg.  
Already I can see, he resumed,  
under the rainbow arching  
over the land, the horsemen  
advance from their camp.  
Brothers, he said, when they were walking  
along the Windsheim woods,  
I know that the old coat is tearing  
and I am afraid  
of the ending of time.  
In mid-May, when Grünewald  
with his carved altarpiece had  
returned to Frankfurt, the grain  
whitening at harvest-time,  
the whetted sickle passed  
through the life of an army of five thousand  
in the curious battle of Frankenhausen  
in which hardly one horse soldier fell  
but the bodies of peasants piled up  
into a hecatomb, because,  
as though they were mad,  
they neither put up any resistance  
nor took to their heels.  
When Grünewald got news of this  
on the 18th of May



he ceased to leave his house.  
Yet he could hear the gouging out  
of eyes that long continued  
between Lake Constance and  
the Thuringian Forest.  
For weeks at that time he wore  
a dark bandage over his face.

...VIII...

With the painter on horseback,  
sometimes, too, high up on the cart  
sits a nine-year-old child,  
his own, as he ponders in disbelief,  
conceived in his marriage to Anna.  
It is a most beautiful ride, this last  
in September 1527, along the riverside  
through the valleys. The air stirs the light  
between the leafage of trees, and from the hillsides  
they look down on the land extending around them.  
At rest, leaning against a rock, Grünewald  
feels inside himself his misfortune  
and that of the water artist in Halle.  
The wind drives us into flight  
like starlings at the hour when  
the shadows fall. What remains to the last  
is the work undertaken. In the service of  
the family Erbach at Erbach, Grünewald devotes

the remaining years to an altar work.  
Crucifixion again, and the lamentation,  
the deformation of life slowly proceeds, and  
always between the eye's glance  
and the raising of his brush  
Grünewald now covers a long journey,  
much more often than he used to  
interrupts the execution of his art  
for the apprenticing of his child  
both in the workplace and outside in the green country.  
What he himself learned from this is nowhere reported,  
only that the child at the age of fourteen  
for no known reason suddenly died  
and that the painter did not outlive him  
for any great length of time. Peer ahead sharply,  
there you see in the greying of nightfall  
the distant windmills turn.  
The forest recedes, truly,  
so far that one cannot tell  
where it once lay, and the ice-house  
opens, and rime, on to the field, traces  
a colourless image of Earth.  
So, when the optic nerve  
tears, in the still space of the air  
all turns as white as  
the snow on the Alps.



AND IF I REMAINED  
BY THE OUTERMOST SEA



*. . . Immer steigender hebst, Woge, du dich!  
Ach! die letzte, letzte bist du! das Schiff geht unter!  
Und den Todtengesang heult dumpf fort,  
Auf dem großen, immer offenen Grabe der Sturm!*

*. . . Higher and higher, billow, you rise!  
Ah, you're the last, the last! the ship's going down!  
And muted, over the grave yet open and huge,  
Still the gale howls its death-chant, its dirge.*

*Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock, "The Worlds," Feb. 1746*





...I...

Georg Wilhelm Steller  
born at Windsheim, in Franconia,  
while pursuing his studies  
at the University of Halle  
repeatedly came across news  
items in journals  
that the Russian Czarina,  
in the course of her empire's expansion,  
was preparing an expedition on an unprecedented scale  
under the supreme command of Vitus Bering  
to the Pacific coast, so that  
the sea route from there to America  
should become known.

…II…

Visions of this voyage of discovery, Steller later recorded, had so seized his imagination that he, the son of a cantor, gifted with a fine tenor voice and furnished with a bursary for true Christians, having abandoned Wittenberg and theology for natural science, could now, during his doctoral disputations, which he passed with the highest distinction, think of nothing other than the shapes of the fauna and flora of that distant region where East and West and North converge, and of the art and skill required for their description.

...III...

Although it was said that the authorities  
would appoint him in the near future  
to the Chair of Botany and so  
accredit him to society,  
Steller, without means though he was,  
and with scarcely more than his notebooks  
in his pocket, on the very day  
after the Rigorosum set out in the  
mail coach to the city of Danzig,  
then occupied by Russian troops,  
where he signed on as a medical assistant  
on a packet-boat that was  
to carry some hundreds  
of invalids back to Russia.

...IV...

When the ship sailed out of Danzig Bay,  
Steller, who had never yet confronted  
the sea, stood on the deck for a while,  
wondering at the passage  
over water, at power and weight,  
at the salt in the air and  
the darkness pushed down to the deep  
under the keel. To the left,  
the outermost point of the Putzig spit,  
to the right, the headland  
fronting the Frische Haff,  
a pale grey streak endlessly  
merging into a still paler grey.  
This behind him had been Germany,  
it occurred to him, his childhood,  
the woods of Windsheim;  
the learning of ancient languages,  
protracted throughout his youth

*perscrutamini scripturas,*  
shouldn't that read,  
*perscrutamini naturas rerum?*

...V...

Kronstadt, Oranienbaum, Peterhof  
and last in the Torricellian void,  
a thirty-four-year-old bastard,  
marooned on the Neva's marsh delta,  
St. Petersburg under the fortress,  
the new Russian capital,  
uncanny to a stranger,  
no more than a chaos erupting,  
buildings that began to subside  
as soon as erected, and nowhere  
a vista quite straight. The streets  
and squares laid out according  
to the Golden Section, jetty walls and bridges,  
alignments, façades and rows of windows—  
these only slowly come towards us  
out of the future's resounding emptiness,  
so as to bring the plan of eternity into the city  
born of the terror of the vastness of space,

overpopulated with Armenians, Turks, Tatars,  
Kalmucks, immigrant Swedes,  
Germans, French and the tortured-to-death,  
mutilated corpses of criminals hung  
all down the avenue on exhibition.

...VI...

On the other side of the river, in the famous  
botanical gardens of the Marine Hospital  
Steller escapes the city's bustle.  
Neatly he walks the paths  
between the flowerbeds, marvels at  
the hothouses, filled with tropical plants,  
learns one new name after another  
and is almost beside himself  
with so much hope  
when, from the half-shadow  
of the mustard tree by the aviary,  
the Patriarch of Novgorod,  
Archbishop Theophon, steps towards him  
with a tiny yellow parakeet in his hand,  
and in the course of a Latin conversation  
tells him a legend from the region of Dolyi,  
which relates that God quite suddenly  
and as though out of the blue came  
into being on a lungwort leaf.



...VII...

For four years Steller remained  
in Petersburg. The Primate, already  
close to death, obtains for him the post  
of an assistant in the Academy  
and takes him into his own house  
as a personal physician.

Under night's biretta the old man  
talks with his younger brother  
of the winged end. To comfort him  
Steller speaks of the light of nature.

But all things, Theophon says,  
all things, my son, transmute  
into old age, life diminishes,  
everything declines,  
the proliferation  
of kinds is a mere  
illusion, and no one  
knows to what end.

...VIII...

The long Arctic journeys  
had frayed the nerves of the  
Academy member Daniel Messerschmidt.  
Steller, who found Messerschmidt still living  
in the summerhouse he occupied  
with a baker's daughter  
from Sesslach, came too late  
to get anything out of  
the deeply melancholic man.  
Instead, he now studies his papers.  
He spends the whole summer  
bent over the jumble of cards,  
while the naturalist's neglected  
wife, gaudily dressed, sits  
beside him and with her split  
fin strokes the glans that throbs  
like his heart. Steller feels science  
shrinking to a single slightly

painful point. On the other hand  
the foam bubbles, to him, are  
a paradigm. Come, he whispers  
into her ear in his desperation,  
come with me to Siberia as  
my true wife, and already hears  
the answer: wherever  
you go I will  
go with you.

...IX...

When in 1736 Steller did indeed  
receive the longed-for appointment  
to join the Bering expedition,  
this enterprise, launched ten years previously,  
consisting of an army of carpenters,  
blacksmiths, grooms, mariners,  
clerks, commissioned officers,  
scientists and assistants,  
and of not only building materials, tools, instruments,  
an arsenal of weapons and many hundreds  
of books, but also endless  
forage trains for the team's provision,  
crockery and clothing and crates  
of claret for the higher-ranking  
Academy emissaries, to be dragged onwards,  
no different from a glacier pushing  
great heavy masses of scree in its passage,  
arrived at Yakutsk on the one hundred and  
twenty-ninth degree of longitude, east.

Steller mastered the five thousand miles  
in the course of the three and a half years  
which Vitus Bering still needed  
to convey everything, down to the last nail,  
with his little Siberian packhorses  
over the Yablonovy Range to  
the Sea of Okhotsk. In the process  
he accustomed himself to endure  
deprivation and loneliness for  
the sake of the baker's daughter,  
whom, in the hope that  
perhaps even in far-off places  
one might feel at home and on the grounds  
of her seemingly unconditional  
promise to travel gladly with him  
to any parts wheresoever, he'd made his wife,  
but who in the end, naturally, had not been willing  
to make that journey halfway round the globe  
together with him. In place of her, Steller  
now had two young ravens,  
which in the evenings dictated  
ominous sayings to him.  
When he wrote these down  
he felt some comfort, although he knew  
that even with these he would not  
arrest the slow corrosion  
that had entered his soul.

...X...

On the twentieth of March, 1741,  
Steller stepped into the long  
blockhouse of the Petropavlovsk  
command post on the eastern shore  
of the Kamchatka Peninsula.

In a windowless recess, no larger  
than six feet by six, at the far end  
of the building's interior,  
in no other way subdivided, he finds,  
at a table of planks nailed together,  
covered by land maps  
and sea charts showing  
vast tracts of whiteness,  
Bering, the Commandant-captain,  
his fifty-nine-year-old  
head supported by his  
right hand tattooed  
with a bird's unfolded wings,

the left hand holding  
a pair of dividers,  
sitting motionless  
in a flickering light.  
It takes an uncannily  
long time, Steller thinks,  
for Bering to open  
his eyes and look  
at him. What is this  
being called human?  
A beast, shrouded  
in deep mourning,  
in a black coat  
lined with  
black fur.

...XI...

For two weeks, with the wind fair,  
the ships named after the saints  
Peter and Paul had borne south  
on the Arctic Ocean,  
but the legendary land Gama entered  
on Delisle's map nowhere emerged  
from the water's waste. Only once on the  
shimmering surface ahead did the watch  
make out something black  
covered with countless seabirds.  
Plumbing the depth, they approached  
till it was clear that the island rock  
was no more than a dead whale many times magnified  
by the mirage's play, adrift belly up.  
After that the course was set  
to north-northeast. In the nights,  
at times the sea lit up,  
and to the sails splattered



by the crests of waves  
sparks of that light adhered.  
In a second mirage  
one evening, across the horizon's length  
appeared a tract of land,  
all crystalline marble,  
but not until the morning of July 15th,  
almost six weeks after setting sail  
from the Bay of Avatsha,  
did Steller, who always went on deck  
in the early hours, truly see  
between the low-drifting clouds  
the feebly cross-hatched contour  
of a mountain range.  
In the evening of that day  
the mist completely lifted.  
A black sky  
now overhung the sea and  
the snow-covered, ragged merlons  
of Alaska loomed "resplendent,"  
the word that seemed right to Steller,  
in rosy red and purple colours.  
Vitus Bering, who throughout the voyage  
had lain in his cabin staring  
at the ceiling of beams above his head,  
roused by the incessant jubilation

of the crew, for the first time came aloft  
and contemplated the scene  
in a fit of deepest depression.

...XII...

Unending flights  
of screeching birds, which skimmed  
low over the water,  
from afar resembled  
drifting islands. Whales  
rotated around the ship, emitting  
water-spouts high into the air  
in all directions of the compass.  
Chamisso, who later marvelled at  
the same spectacular sight  
on the Romanzov expedition,  
was led to think that perhaps  
these animals could be tamed  
and—no different from geese  
on a stubble field—be herded  
with a rod, as it were, on the sea.  
Bring up the young in a fjord, he wrote,  
fasten a spiked belt buoyed up by

air-bladders under their pectoral fins,  
let them unlearn their submersions,  
make experiments. Whether the whale is  
then to draw or to carry,  
whether and how it is harnessed  
or laden, how it is bridled  
or otherwise governed, and who is to be the  
mahout of this water-elephant—all this  
will settle itself in time. Chamisso,  
it is true, also writes  
of the steam engine as  
the first warm-blooded animal  
created by humankind.

...XIII...

At the break of the following day,  
St. Elijah's Day,  
Steller went ashore. Ten hours  
Bering, with dread already imprinted  
on his brow, had granted him  
for a scientific excursion.  
Now a deep blueness  
pervaded both water and the forests  
that grew right down  
to the coast. Unperturbed  
animals came close to Steller, black  
and red foxes, magpies too, jays and  
crows went with him on his way  
across the beach. In the translucent darkness  
between the trees he moved  
with a tread more like hovering  
over a cushion of moss a foot thick.  
He came close to simply proceeding

towards the mountains, into  
cool wilderness, but the constructs  
of science in his head,  
directed towards a diminution  
of disorder in our world,  
ran counter to that need.

Later, in a shelter made  
out of joined fir-logs, he experienced  
the effect of forsaken things  
in a foreign space. A circular  
drinking vessel of peeled-off bark,  
a whetstone dotted with copper ore,  
a fish-head paddle and  
a child's rattle of fired clay  
he carefully selects, and in their place  
leaves behind an iron kettle, a string  
of many-coloured beads,  
a little strip of Bokhara silk,  
half a pound of tobacco and  
a Chinese clay pipe.

After half a century this mute  
exchange is still remembered,  
as can be seen in a report by Commander Billings,  
by an inhabitant of this remote region  
with a laugh that's a rustling  
turned inwards.

...XIV...

The advice of the officers was  
to make for Avatsha, keeping the course  
as close as practicable to the fifty-third parallel  
after the unanimous decision  
to forgo any further exploration,  
a simple calculation that rested  
on nothing but unknown factors.  
For almost a quarter of a year  
the ship was tossed hither and thither  
by hurricanes of a force  
none in the team could recall  
ever having experienced, on the Bering Sea  
where there was nothing and no one but them.  
All was a greyness, without direction,  
with no above or below, nature  
in a process of dissolution, in a state  
of pure dementia. For days, in between  
lulls, the ship motionless and

ever more and more damaged,  
more tattered, the rigging more threadbare,  
the sailcloth eaten away by salt.  
The crew, stricken with  
the delirium that comes of diseases  
that entered their bodies, with eyes  
drowning in exhaustion,  
gums swollen like sponges,  
joints suffused with blood,  
liver puffed up, spleen puffed up  
and with ulcers festering  
just under the skin, day after day in God's name  
flung overboard sailors rotted away, till at last  
there was scarcely a difference between  
the living and the dead.  
In dying the astra in human bodies  
lose their quality, kind, substance  
and essence, Steller, the physician, thinks,  
what is dead has ceased to be living.  
What does it mean, this *physica*, he asks,  
what this *iusiurandum Hippocratis*,  
what does *surgery* mean, what is our  
skill and use when life  
breaks apart and the physician  
has neither might nor means? There—  
in the night—with the moon



in its first November quarter,  
a great wall of water drives  
the ship onto the rocks.  
Jammed there it lies, groans  
for a while amid boulders  
as though in its last extremity  
it might yet reach dry land,  
until a heavy wave  
pushes it down into the stillness  
of the lagoon behind the reef.  
A white sickle the strand  
curves in the dark, inland  
the dunes overgrown with grasses  
up to a plateau of shadows  
under mountains in snowlight,  
phosphorescent.

...XV...

Four men carried Bering, when inch by inch  
water had risen right into him,  
on to land on a seat of ropes tied together,  
leaned him against a rock that broke the wind's  
fury and made a roof out of the sails  
of the *St. Peter*. Wrapped in greatcoats, furs  
and cloaks, his face yellow-wrinkled, his mouth  
toothless, a black ruin, plagued with boils and  
lice all over his body, the captain observed,  
full of contentment in the face of death,  
the first labours towards the erection  
of winter quarters in the lairs  
of foxes dug in the dunes.  
Steller brings Bering a soup  
concocted of blubber and nasturtium roots  
which, however, turning his head aside,  
Bering refuses  
with a blink of his eyes.

Let them now, he says,  
just leave him to sink  
into the sand. The wrens  
are already hopping about on him.  
Blessed are the dead, Steller  
remembers. On December 8th  
they tie the captain on to a plank  
and push him down into the hole.  
It is not Thy will, Lord, to abandon  
to the wild beasts the souls  
of them that profess Thee.  
Rather for the faithful a meal shall  
be prepared from Leviathan's heart.  
Steller, looking up, sees  
the greenish-grey reflex from the ocean,  
the Arctic water-sky,  
under the clouds. A sign of  
how far they still are  
from land.

…XVI…

On August 13th  
the ship built from the wreck  
sails round the island's outermost  
promontory which with gentle hills and calm  
outlines descends to the sea.  
Glistening in lovely greenness  
like the pasture slopes of the Alps  
it lies in late summer's light,  
untouched, it seems, by man.  
Seen from on board,  
the land moves.  
Time past  
grows no more real  
through sufferings endured.  
Incomprehensible, too, on the horizon  
above the blue  
vapour spread over the land,  
after four days at sea

the smoke trails from Asia's volcanoes.  
To get close to this vista  
they tack beneath the coast,  
at one-quarter of a knot per hour  
southward a good week long,  
by night pull at the oars, too,  
until, on the twenty-fifth of the month,  
they reach the harbour of Petropavlovsk,  
its plundered blockhouses and stores.  
In thanksgiving for the miracle of their release  
and in accordance with Bering's wish  
they make a silver frame,  
beaten out of the coins, left unspent  
to the last, for St. Peter's icon.

…XVII…

Six years went by  
before the survivors of the expedition  
received the order  
to return to the capital.  
But Steller a few days after their landfall  
in the Bay of Avatsha  
had detached himself from the corps  
and with the Cossack Lepekhin  
had set out on foot for the peninsula's interior.  
If it please Thee that we travel,  
so in his mind he said, be Thou  
our strength as we go,  
our comfort on the way, shade  
in the heat of noon,  
light in darkness,  
shelter from frost and rain,  
conveyance at the hour of weariness,  
help in extremity, so that

under Thy guidance  
safely we may attain that place  
to which we are drawn;  
Thine be the care, Lord,  
so that the stars propitiously  
conjoin above us.

...XVIII...

During what remained of the summer  
Steller collects botanical specimens,  
fills little bags with dried seed,  
describes, classifies, draws,  
sits in his black travelling tent,  
happy for the first time in his life.  
Thoma Lepekhin catches salmon,  
brings mushrooms, berries and leaves,  
makes fire and tea.

Throughout the winter  
the German doctor teaches  
Koryak children in a tiny  
wooden school, writes  
when the ice breaks  
memoranda in defence  
of the indigenous people maltreated  
and deprived of their rights by  
the Naval Command at Bolsheretsk—  
with the consequence that a letter against him



is despatched, that interrogations take place,  
that misunderstandings arise,  
that arrests follow and that Steller  
now wholly grasps the difference  
between nature and society.  
Westward, stage after stage he covers  
fleeing back, and it seems as though  
everything now were going downhill.  
Only in Tara does the message reach him  
that by any route possible  
he may now set out for his home.  
Steller hires three horses,  
drives to Tobolsk,  
and there he,  
who never drank, drinks  
for three whole days.  
Then comes the fever,  
he creeps into the sledge,  
tells the Tatar to drive on southward,  
the hundred and seventy miles to Tyumen.  
This is *infirmitas*, the breaking  
of time from day to day  
and from hour to hour,  
it is rust and fire  
and the salt of the planets  
darkness even at noon and  
luminaries absent from heaven.

...XIX...

Manuscripts written at the end of his life,  
on an island in the glacial sea,  
with scratching goose-quill in bilious ink,  
lists of two hundred and eleven  
different plants, tales of white ravens,  
unknown cormorants and sea-cows,  
gathered into the dust  
of an endless inventory,  
his zoological masterpiece  
*De Bestiis Marinis*,  
travel chart for hunters,  
blueprint for the counting of pelts—  
no, not steep enough  
was the north.

...XX...

At Tyumen they carry him out of the sledge,  
drag his half-petrified body  
out of the ice into the fire,  
into a furnace house.

Now begins *alchimia*,  
Steller recognises the *mortem improvisam*,  
the stroke and all its appendage,  
sees his death, how it is mirrored  
in the field-surgeon's monocle.

Such are you, *doctores*,  
spilt lamps,  
thus nature has her way  
with a godless  
Lutheran from Germany.

…XXI…

Pallas tells how Steller, whom he revered,  
the next day,  
wrapped in his red cloak,  
a good distance outside the place of rest  
of the believers was laid in a narrow ditch  
high up above the Tura's banks,  
how they heaped up a mound  
of frozen sods. Pallas  
writes too that the dead man  
was dreaming still of the grazing  
mammoth across the river  
until in the night someone came  
and took his cloak  
and left him to lie in the snow  
like a fox beaten to death.

DARK NIGHT SALLIES FORTH



*et iam summa procul villarum culmina fumant  
maioresque cadunt altis de montibus umbrae*

*and now far-off smoke pearls from homestead rooftops  
and from high mountains the greater shadows fall*

Virgil, *Eclogues* I





...I...

For it is hard to discover  
the winged vertebrates of prehistory  
embedded in tablets of slate.  
But if I see before me  
the nervature of past life  
in one image, I always think  
that this has something to do  
with truth. Our brains, after all,  
are always at work on some quivers  
of self-organisation, however faint,  
and it is from this that an order  
arises, in places beautiful  
and comforting, though more cruel, too,  
than the previous state of ignorance.  
How far, in any case, must one go back  
to find the beginning? Perhaps  
to that morning of January 9th, 1905,  
on which Grandfather and Grandmother

in ringing cold drove in an open  
landau from Kloster Lechfeld  
to Obermeitingen, to be married.  
Grandmother in a black taffeta dress  
with a bunch of paper flowers, Grandfather  
in his uniform, the brass-embellished  
helmet on his head. What was in their minds  
when, the horse blanket over their knees,  
they sat side by side in the carriage and  
heard the hoofbeats echo  
in the bare avenue?  
What was in the minds  
of their children later, one of whom  
stares out fearfully from  
a class photograph taken  
in the war year 1917  
at Allarzried? Forty-eight  
pitiable coevals,  
the schoolmistress on the right,  
on the left the myopic  
chaplain and as a caption  
on the reverse of the  
spotted grey cardboard mount  
the words “in the future  
death lies at our feet,”  
one of those obscure oracular sayings

one never again forgets. On another  
photograph of which I possess an enlarged  
copy, a swan and its reflection  
on the water's black surface,  
a perfect emblem of peace.

The botanical garden around the pond,  
to my knowledge, is situated  
on the bank of the Regnitz at Bamberg  
and I believe that a road  
runs through it today.

The whole leaves an impression  
that is somehow un-German,  
the elms, the hornbeams and densely green  
conifers in the background, the small  
pagoda-like building, the finely raked  
gravel, the hortensias, flag-iris,  
aloes, ostrich-plume ferns and  
the giant-leaved ornamental rhubarb.

Astonishing, to me, the persons  
also to be seen in the picture:

Mother in her open coat,  
with a lightness she was  
later to lose; Father,  
a little aside, hands in his pockets,  
he too, it seems, with no cares.

The date is August 26th, 1943.

On the 27th Father's departure for Dresden,  
of whose beauty his memory, as he  
remarks when I question him,  
retains no trace.

During the night of the 28th  
582 aircraft flew in  
to attack Nürnberg. Mother,  
who on the next day planned  
to return to her parents'  
home in the Alps,  
got no further than  
Fürth. From there she  
saw Nürnberg in flames,  
but cannot recall now  
what the burning town looked like  
or what her feelings were  
at this sight.

On the same day, she told me recently,  
from Fürth she had travelled on  
to Windsheim and an acquaintance  
at whose house she waited until  
the worst was over, and realized  
that she was with child.

As for the burning city,  
in the Vienna Art-Historical Museum  
there hangs a painting

by Altdorfer depicting Lot  
with his daughters. On the horizon  
a terrible conflagration blazes  
devouring a large city.  
Smoke ascends from the site,  
the flames rise to the sky and  
in the blood-red reflection  
one sees the blackened  
façades of houses.  
In the middle ground there is a strip  
of idyllic green landscape,  
and closest to the beholder's eye  
the new generation of  
Moabites is conceived.  
When for the first time I saw  
this picture the year before last,  
I had the strange feeling  
of having seen all of it  
before, and a little later,  
crossing to Floridsdorf  
on the Bridge of Peace,  
I nearly went out of my mind.

...II...

At the moment on Ascension Day  
of the year 'forty-four when I was born,  
the procession for the blessing of the fields  
was just passing our house to the sounds  
of the fire brigade band, on its way out  
to the flowering May meadows. Mother  
at first took this as a happy sign, unaware  
that the cold planet Saturn ruled this hour's  
constellation and that above the mountains  
already the storm was hanging which soon thereafter  
dispersed the supplicants and killed  
one of the four canopy bearers.  
Apart from the grievous impression this  
occurrence, unprecedented in the village's history,  
may have made upon me, and apart from  
the raging fire which one night—shortly  
before my first day at school it was—  
consumed a sawmill not far from our house

and lit up the whole valley, I grew up,  
despite the dreadful course  
of events elsewhere, on the northern  
edge of the Alps, so it seems  
to me now, without any  
idea of destruction. But the habit  
of often falling down in the street and  
often sitting with bandaged hands  
by the open window between the potted  
fuchsias, waiting for the  
pain to subside and for hours  
doing nothing but looking out,  
early on induced me to imagine  
a silent catastrophe that occurs  
almost unperceived.

What I thought up at the time,  
while gazing down into the herb garden  
in which the nuns under their white  
starched hoods moved so slowly  
between the beds as though a moment ago  
they had still been caterpillars, this  
I have never got over.

The emblem for me of the  
scarcely identifiable disaster  
since that time has been a stunted  
Tatar with a red headcloth

and a white slightly curved  
feather. In anthropology  
this figure is often associated  
with certain forms of self-mutilation  
and described as that of the adept who  
ascends a snow-covered mountain and long  
tarries there, as they say, in tears.

In a sheltered corner  
of his heart, so lately  
I have read, he carries  
a little horse made  
of clay. Magical  
crosswords he mumbles,  
talks of scissor blades,  
a thimble, a needle's  
eye, a stone in the memory,  
a place of pilgrimage, and  
of a small die, ice-coloured,  
with a dash of Berlin blue.

A long series of tiny shocks,  
from the first and the second pasts,  
not translated into the spoken  
language of the present, they  
remain a broken corpus guarded  
by Fungisi and the wolf's shadow.  
After that come the children grown



a little bigger who believe that  
parts of their parents ride ahead  
on the removal van's horse  
to make ready the living quarters,  
while in the dark box  
on the way to Gmunden  
they eat their supper,  
drink two pots of coffee,  
spread butter on the bread  
and say not a word about  
either herring or radish. For months  
Grandmother's dying has now dragged on,  
more and more water rising into her body  
while in the village shop a poster  
outlaws the yellowing  
terror of Colorado beetles.  
At the forest's edge often a blackamoor  
peered out of an American tank  
and in the dark we saw  
St. Elizabeth, lifting her skirts,  
cautiously stepping over  
red-hot ploughshares.  
At school the beadle counted  
his keys, Palm Sunday catkins  
behind the crucifix chanted  
their credo, and in the pencil case

on a scrap of paper already  
the catchword of our dusty  
future could be made out.  
So one of us turned  
into an innkeeper, the second  
into a cook, the third into a waiter and  
the fourth into nothing at all.  
And from the hills we can see  
the wispy shadows drifting  
in Jehoshaphat's Valley.  
The magnetic needle, trembling,  
points to the north, and I sense  
a galvanic taste on my tongue,  
a chemical miracle plated inside  
with the finest horn silver.  
The dreaded blackening  
on certain parts  
of the body confirms  
the whole thing  
most satisfactorily.

...III...

In a Chinese cricket cage  
for a time we kept good fortune  
imprisoned. The Paradise apples  
grew splendidly, a good mass of gold  
lay on the barn floor and you said,  
one must watch over the  
bridegroom as over a  
scholar by night. Often  
it was carnival time  
for the children. Pink  
cloudlets hung in the  
sky. Friends came  
disguised as Ormuzd  
and Ahriman. But then unexpectedly  
there was this thing with the elegant  
gentleman at the opera and I found  
a slowworm in the henhouse.  
A crow on the wing lost a white

feather. The vicar, a limping  
messenger in a black coat,  
appeared on New Year's morning  
alone on the wide snow-covered field.  
Ever since we've been arming ourselves  
with patience, ever since sand  
has been trickling through the letter box,  
the potted plants have had a way of  
keeping things to themselves.  
A Nordic tragedy, chess  
pieces moved hither and  
thither, inevitably always  
the end occurs. Why  
do we embark on such  
an arduous enterprise?  
For comfort there remains  
nothing but other people's  
misfortune: a feather  
venomously yellow  
on the beloved's hat.  
Prose from the last century,  
a dress entangled in  
thistles, a bit of blood,  
an exaltation, a torn-up letter,  
a star on the uniform and prolonged  
stays at the window. Unhealthy

fantasies in a darkening  
room, resented sins,  
yes, even tears and in the memory  
of fishes a dying fire, Emma,  
how she burns the wedding bouquet.  
What's a poor country doctor  
to make of all that? At the funeral  
he dreams of a shining pair of  
patent-leather boots and a posthumous  
seduction. But now comes  
a colourless age. You, in the midst  
of this dazzling obscenity  
I shall remember your  
timorous gaze, how I  
saw it first, that time  
when in Haarlem we swam  
through a gap in the dike.  
Anniversaries and numbers,  
how long ago it all is,  
a chart of signs barely  
to be deciphered through  
these glass lenses. I still  
can hear the Chinese lady  
optician say, You ought  
now to be able to read this  
without straining your eyes,

and for a moment I feel  
her fingertips on my temples,  
feel how a wave crosses  
my heart and in the test picture's  
bright square I see  
the letter sequence  
YAMO USSOUKRO,  
the name, I am  
certain of this,  
of a large rusty ship  
from Abidjan which years ago  
I saw putting out from  
Hamburg harbour.  
Black sailors stood  
leaning on the rails,  
they waved to us as they  
passed by, the sun was just  
going down and already  
the shadows were quivering  
at the edges.

...IV...

In his excitement about the truly  
boundless growth  
of industry, the statesman  
Disraeli called Manchester  
the most wonderful city of modern times,  
a celestial Jerusalem  
whose significance only philosophy  
could gauge. Half a life ago now  
it is that, after leaving my remote home,  
I arrived there and took lodging  
among the previous century's  
ruins. Often at that time  
I rambled over the fallow  
Elysian Fields, wondering  
at the work of destruction, the black  
mills and shipping canals,  
the disused viaducts and  
warehouses, the many millions

of bricks, the traces of smoke,  
of tar and sulphuric acid,  
long have I stood on the banks  
of the Irk and the Irwell, those  
mythical rivers now dead,  
which in better times  
shone azure-blue,  
carmine-red and glaucous green,  
in their glow reflecting  
the cotton clouds, those white ones  
into which without a word the breath  
of legions of human beings had been absorbed.  
And the water carried them downstream  
together with salt and ashes  
through the marshland out  
to the sea. Those silent mutations  
clear the way to the future.  
In the course of three generations  
the working classes of Manchester  
had become a race of pygmies.  
Volunteers who in war-time attempted  
to escape into military service  
were rejected by the selection boards  
as unfit, unless they could be accommodated  
in one of the so-called bantam battalions  
which recruited diminutive soldiers from the city



and throughout the surrounding area.  
In either case they were  
part of the obscure crowds  
who fuelled the progress of history.  
From my workplace I thought  
I could see the will-o'-the-wisps  
of their souls, as with tiny lanterns  
they haunted the rubbish dumps  
of the City Corporation, a smouldering  
alpine range which, it seemed to me,  
extended into the beyond.  
In the dusk I often saw  
searchlight beams from  
bulldozers creeping about there  
that pierced the void, and aeroplanes,  
our grey primeval brothers,  
rose with infinite slowness  
from the lagoon and the bogs.  
I recall that these images  
often plunged me into a quasi  
sublunary state of deep  
melancholia and that then  
I heard the incessant monotonous  
vibrations of a Jew's harp  
and repeatedly had to step out  
of doors in my oppression.

Whole days long in the basement  
of the university library I read  
the works of Paracelsus, in which  
it is written that from septentrion  
nothing good emanates and  
that the body is dyed  
by illness like a piece of cloth  
by an extraneous colour.  
Often on my wanderings  
through the streets I resorted  
to one of the many infernally  
glittering hostelries, for preference  
to Liston's Music Hall  
where a radiantly blue-eyed,  
down-and-out heroic tenor,  
who always wore a winter coat  
too long for him and a Homburg hat,  
sang *Tannhäuser* arias accompanied  
by a Wurlitzer organ. And to  
the Gospel Chapels I went  
from time to time, witnessing  
how row after row of the sick  
amid the congregation's shrieking  
were healed and even the blind  
had their sight restored.  
Once, while searching

for the star-shaped Strangeways  
Prison, an overwhelming  
panoptic structure whose walls  
are as high as Jericho's, I found  
myself in a sort of no-man's-land  
behind the railway buildings, in a terrace  
of low houses apparently due  
for demolition, with shops left vacant,  
on whose boards the names  
Goldblatt, Grünspan and Gottgetreu,  
Spiegelhalter, Solomon, Waislfish  
and Robinsohn could be made out.  
In the wind a door moved  
as if as a sign. Stuck to it  
was an old placard  
for the musical *Oklahoma!*  
The entrance to nature's theatre  
stood open. I still strained  
to hear the ethereal waves  
when with martial brass music,  
bugle horns and drums,  
a procession of olive-green  
child soldiers marched  
down the street, passed  
by me and suddenly vanished  
as though swallowed by the earth.

If I told Mr. Deutsch  
about these things  
he shook his head  
and said: “Strange, very  
strange.” Mr. Deutsch,  
born in Kufstein, had come  
to England as a child  
in nineteen thirty-eight.  
There were many things he could not  
remember; some others he could not erase  
from his mind. He had never  
mastered the English language  
although for years, day in  
and day out, he followed  
on TV with an expression of  
the utmost attention the entire  
evening schedule, as if  
at any moment he expected  
a message that would  
change his whole life.

...V...

When, in the summer of last year,  
I visited the engineer D. in Zürich  
he was sitting by an open window  
and kept turning a piece of feldspar  
around in his hands. You see,  
he said, outside, the garden grows rank,  
my place now is in the midst of the foliage.  
That reminds me of the migration  
through the desert. How many machines  
I'd built, how many works designed,  
before I lost my belief  
in the science I'd always served.  
I had arrived at one of the dead  
bays of time, like that Tatar  
with the red headcloth and the white  
curved feather, had climbed the mountain  
and surveyed the city, as it lay  
before me, a faded picture

of the great *diluvium*.  
I sensed the trembling  
of the aerials on the roofs  
of houses as a frizzle  
in my brain, could hear from far away  
outside me  
the Gaussian roar, an unremitting  
sound extending over the whole scale  
from the earth up to the heavens  
where the stars drift  
in the aether. Many  
terrible midnights  
of doubt have I passed  
since that time, but now peace  
returns to the dust and I read  
in the descriptions of nature  
of the eighteenth century how a  
verdant land is submerged  
in the blue shadows of the Jurassus  
and in the end only the age-old  
ice on the Alps retains a faint  
afterglow. A strange light pervades  
the lines of Haller and Hölderlin  
and yet even here there is vagary  
as far as the heart reaches. For  
the revolutions of great  
systems cannot be

righted, too diffuse are  
the workings of power  
the one thing always  
the other's beginning  
and vice versa. *Taurus*  
*draconem genuit et draco*  
*taurum*, and nowhere  
a stop. So you'd better be off,  
said the engineer D., this very day.  
The country's on fire already and everywhere  
the forests are ablaze, there's a crackling  
of fire in the fanned leaves  
and the drought-stricken African  
plains are expanding. Still  
perhaps on your travels  
you'll see a golden coast  
a land veneered with rain or  
a schoolboy on his way home  
over a beautiful meadow. Then  
another joy will have been lived,  
thinks one who recovers a little.  
The shady shore of a lake  
emerges, the water's surface,  
the ribbons of rocks and  
on the highest summit the dragon's  
many-coloured plumage, Icarus,  
sailing in the midst of

the currents of light. Beneath him  
time divides the Rhine glacier  
into two mighty branches,  
the Churfirten peaks emerge,  
the Säntis range rises,  
chalk islets, glowing  
bright in drifting ice.  
If his eyes are now  
lowered, if he falls  
down into the lake,  
will then, as in Brueghel's  
picture, the beautiful ship,  
the ploughing peasant, the whole  
of nature somehow turn away  
from the son's misfortune?  
These questions carry me  
over the border. On the Arlberg  
a thunderstorm gathers.  
I gaze down into the valley  
and my soul is sent reeling.  
Another summer gone by and  
as ivy hangs down, Hölderlin wrote,  
so does branchless the rain. Moss roses  
grow on the Alps. Avignon sylvan.  
Across the Gotthard a horse gropes its way.



...VI...

When morning sets in,  
the coolness of night  
moves out into the plumage  
of fishes, when once more  
the air's circumference  
grows visible, then at times  
I trust the quiet, resolve  
to make a new start, an excursion  
perhaps to a reserve of  
camouflaged ornithologists.  
Come, my daughter, come on,  
give me your hand, we're leaving  
the town, I'll show you the mill  
set twice each day in motion  
by the sea's current,  
a groaning miraculous construct  
of wheels and belts  
that carries water power

right into stone, right  
into the trickling dust and  
into the bodies of spiders.  
The miller is friendly,  
has clean white paws,  
tells us all kinds of lore  
to do with the story of flour.  
A century ago Edward FitzGerald,  
the translator of Omar Khayyám,  
vanished out there. At an advanced age  
one day he boarded his boat,  
sailed off, with his top hat  
tied on, into the German ocean  
and was never seen again.  
A great enigma, my child,  
look, here are eleven barrows  
for the dead and in the sixth  
the impress of a ship with forty oars  
long since gone, the grave of  
Raedwald of Sutton Hoo.  
Merovingian coins, Swedish  
armour, Byzantine silver  
the king took on his voyage,  
and his warriors even now  
on this sandy strip keep their weapons  
hidden in grassy bunkers

behind earthworks, barbed wire  
and pine plantations, one great  
arsenal as far as your eye can see,  
and nothing else but this sky,  
the gorse scrub and now and then,  
an old people's home,  
a prison or an asylum,  
an institution for juvenile delinquents.

In orange jackets you see  
the inmates labour  
lined up across the moor.

Behind that the end  
of the world, the five  
cold houses of Shingle Street.

Inconsolable a woman  
stands at the window,  
a children's swing  
rusts in the wind, a lonely  
spy sits in his Dormobile  
in the dunes, his headphones  
pulled over his ears.

No, here we can write  
no postcards, can't even  
get out of the car. Tell me, child,  
is your heart as heavy as  
mine is, year after year

a pebble bank raised  
by the waves of the sea  
all the way to the North,  
every stone a dead soul  
and this sky so grey?  
So unremittingly grey  
and so low as no sky  
I have seen before.  
Along the horizon  
freighters cross over  
into another age  
measured by the ticking  
of Geigers in the power station  
at Sizewell, where slowly  
the core of the metal  
is destroyed. Whispering  
madness on the heathland  
of Suffolk. Is this  
the promis'd end? Oh,  
you are men of stones.  
What's dead is gone  
forever. What did'st  
thou say? What,  
how, where, when?  
Is this love  
nothing now

or all?

Water? Fire? Good?

Evil? Life? Death?

...VII...

Lord, I dreamed  
that to see Alexander's battle  
I flew all the way to  
Munich. It was when darkness  
crept in and far below me  
I saw the roof of my house,  
saw the shadows falling  
on the East Anglian landscape,  
I saw the rim of the island,  
the waves lapping the shore  
and in the North Sea the ships  
motionless ahead of the foam-white wakes.  
As a stingray hovers deep down  
in the sea, so soundlessly I glided,  
scarcely moving a wing,  
high above the earth  
over the Rhine's alluvial plain  
and followed upstream

the course of the water  
grown heavy and bitter.  
Cities phosphorescent  
on the riverbank, industry's  
glowing piles waiting  
beneath the smoke trails  
like ocean giants for the siren's  
blare, the twitching lights  
of rail- and motorways, the murmur  
of the millionfold proliferating molluscs,  
wood lice and leeches, the cold putrefaction,  
the groans in the rocky ribs,  
the mercury shine, the clouds that  
chased through the towers of Frankfurt,  
time stretched out and time speeded up,  
all this raced through my mind  
and was already so near the end  
that every breath of air made my  
face shudder. A high surf,  
the mountain oaks roared on the slopes  
of the Odenwald and then came a desert  
and waste through whose valleys  
the wind drove the dust  
of stones. A twice-honed  
sword divided the sky  
from the earth, an effulgence flowed

into space, and the destination  
of my excursion, the vision  
of Altdorfer, opened up.  
Far more than one hundred thousand,  
so the inscriptions proclaim,  
number the dead over whom  
the battle surges for the salvation  
of the Occident in the rays  
of a setting sun. This is  
the moment when destiny turns.  
At the centre of the grandiose thronging  
of banners and flags, lances and  
pikes and batons, the breastplated  
bodies of human beings and animals,  
Alexander, the western world's  
hero, on his white horse  
and before him in flight  
towards the sickle moon  
Darius, stark terror  
visible in his face. As fortunate,  
did the clever chaplain, who  
had hung up an oleograph  
of the battle scene beside  
the blackboard describe the outcome  
of this affair. It was,  
he said, a demonstration



of the necessary destruction of all  
the hordes coming up from the East,  
and thus a contribution to the history  
of salvation. Since then I have  
read in another teacher's writings  
that we have death in front of us  
rather like a picture of Alexander's battle  
on our schoolroom wall.

Now I know, as with a crane's eye  
one surveys his far-flung realm,  
a truly Asiatic spectacle,  
and slowly learns, from the tininess  
of the figures and the incomprehensible  
beauty of nature that vaults over them  
to see that side of life that  
one could not see before. We look  
over the battle and, glancing  
from north to south, we see  
a camp with white Persian  
tents lying in the evening glow  
and a city on the shore.

Outside, with swollen sails  
the ships make headway and  
the shadows already graze  
the cypresses, and beyond them  
Egypt's mainland extends.

The Nile Delta can be made out,  
the Sinai Peninsula, the Red Sea  
and, still farther in the distance,  
towering up in dwindling light,  
the mountain ranges,  
snow-covered and ice-bound,  
of the strange, unexplored,  
African continent.

P U B L I S H E R ' S N O T E

This translation of *After Nature* is published posthumously. W. G. Sebald approved a final version of the text before his death.



#### A B O U T T H E A U T H O R

W. G. SEBALD was born in Wertach im Allgäu, Germany, in 1944. He studied German language and literature at Freiburg, Switzerland, and Manchester. He taught at the University of East Anglia in Norwich, England, for thirty years, becoming professor of European literature in 1987, and from 1989 to 1994 was the first director of the British Centre for Literary Translation. His books have won a number of international awards, including the National Book Critics Circle Award, the *Los Angeles Times* Book Award, the Berlin Literature Prize, and the Literatur Nord Prize. He died in December 2001.

#### A B O U T T H E T R A N S L A T O R

MICHAEL HAMBURGER has written, translated, and edited across the fields of German, French, and Italian literature. He has held visiting posts at universities and colleges in America and Great Britain and has received many awards and honors, including two honorary doctorates, several prizes for his trans-

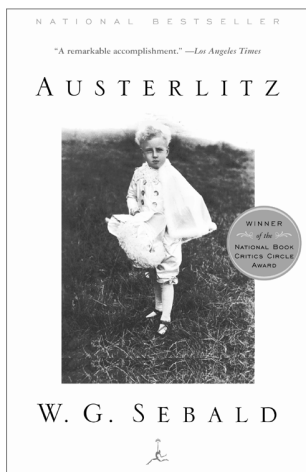
lations and, in 1992, an OBE. He has produced poetry throughout his writing life; his *Collected Poems 1941–1994* appeared in 1995 and his latest volume, *Intersections*, in 2000. His critical work on the subject, *The Truth of Poetry*, was published in 1972 by Penguin. He has also written his memoirs, *String of Beginnings* (1991).

## A B O U T T H E T Y P E

This book was set in Perpetua, a typeface designed by the English artist Eric Gill, and cut by the Monotype Corporation between 1928 and 1930. Perpetua is a contemporary face of original design, without any direct historical antecedents. The shapes of the roman letters are derived from the techniques of stonecutting. The larger display sizes are extremely elegant and form a most distinguished series of inscriptional letters.

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