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Travelling in Romantic Bildungsroman Narratives

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Abstract
The early nineteenth-century bildungsroman is often understood as a coming-of-age story of the protagonist, which implies that temporality is more constitutive for its composition than spatiality. In contrast, my paper focuses on the motif of travelling in German and British bildungsroman narratives. Opposed to the previous allegorical understanding of the Romantic bildungsroman, I suggest that the methods of the spatial humanities open up a new perspective on bildungsroman narratives by showing how their travel itineraries were used in the construction of Europe before and after the Napoleonic Wars. The itineraries annotated from the corpus suggest that the classic Grand Tour to Italy remain important, especially in German Romanticism, whereas northern regions are also popular in British texts. A few narratives emphasise the region of Greece in defining the European frontier in relation to the Ottoman Empire, while Russia and Poland are not popular settings for bildungsroman narratives.

Keywords: bildungsroman, literary cartography, spatial turn, geographic information system, German Romanticism, British Romanticism

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Travelling in Romantic Bildungsroman Narratives

Introduction

Travelling is not a peripheral theme in Romantic works; wandering and pedestrianism were popular ways of viewing the picturesque landscape during this period.[1] Thus, embarking on a journey is an integral part of the bildungsroman narrative. While the Romantic bildungsroman has been studied deeply from a temporal perspective, in this essay, I explore the theme of travel in them, approaching the genre from the perspective of literary cartography. Literary geography is the study of the relationship between literary texts and space, and with the use of maps to interpret the literature, it is transformed into literary cartography.[2]

In earlier scholarship, the bildungsroman has often been defined as a coming-of-age story emphasising the protagonist's temporal change rather than spatial mobility. M. H. Abrams introduced an influential metaphysical reading of the Romantic bildungsroman in *Natural Supernaturalism* (1971).[3] In Abrams' view, the average Romantic narrative starts from the Home (the past Golden Age of childhood), proceeds through dissolution (the fragmentation and alienation of the present) and concludes with the return to the Home (the return of the Golden Age in the future). According to Abrams, this eschatological pattern was displaced from the Bible, Augustine, John Milton and John Bunyan to secular fiction.

Abrams' model of the bildungsroman follows the 'triadic reading' of history – an interpretation that has been criticised in relation to the Romantic philosophy of history.[4] According to the triadic reading, history began with a Golden Age, the present is a period of fragmentation and the Golden Age will return in the future. This triadic interpretation has also been very popular in more recent research. Following Abram's

triadic model, the travelling scenes of the Romantic bildungsroman have often been understood as an allegory for the inner spiritual development of the protagonist.[5] However, as this essay shows, the triadic model does not adequately explain the Romantic bildungsroman.

In contrast, I propose a spatial reading of the Romantic bildungsroman by tracing their protagonists' itineraries on a map. In the field of literary cartography, Franco Moretti was one of the first scholars to study the space narrated in novels using maps.[6] Despite that, in *The Way of the World: The Bildungsroman in European Culture* (1987), Moretti does not focus on geographic space but studies the bildungsroman as the symbolic form of youth and modernity.[7] Moretti comments that the bildungsroman plot implies 'exploration of social space … through travel and adventure, wandering and getting lost.' (4) By focusing on the geographical routes that the stories take, my reading challenges the idea that the journeys of Romantic novels are just aimless wanderings and mere allegories of an inner quest. I do not interpret these stories as a journey away from the primordial Home, but rather I explore the different ways in which they draw centres and peripheries on the map.

By applying the methods of literary cartography, I chart travel itineraries in well-known bildungsroman narratives of German and British Romanticism (see Appendix for the research corpus). This approach enables me to explore what kind of mobility the bildungsroman pattern implies, and which sites and regions were considered core in the Romantic era. My method of tracking the routes travelled in the narratives combines annotations based on hermeneutic close reading with a geographic information system (GIS).[8] After annotating the travel routes from the novels, I superimpose these maps as GIS layers and compare their narrated space.[9]

This article is divided into five sections. First, I explain the methodology used to annotate the narrated travel routes and turn them into maps. Second, I analyse the bildungsroman narratives that follow the Grand Tour itinerary. The Grand Tour was above all a study trip into classical culture and the centres of Europe. Although Romanticism broke away from this tradition, its influence can still be seen in the works studied. Third, I look at travel to the East, particularly the Ottoman Empire. Trips to Greece continued the Grand Tour's itinerary to a region that represented the birthplace of Western culture, even though Greece was part of the Ottoman Empire until 1821. Fourth, I look at trips to natural sites in continental Europe, especially the Alps. The Alps were originally just a compulsory stopover on the Grand Tour to Italy, but during the Romantic period, they became a destination in themselves. Finally, I examine trips to the north, with reference to Scotland and the Arctic Ocean.

Annotating the Itineraries of the Bildungsroman

Studying the maps of the bildungsroman has the potential to reveal spatial patterns that would otherwise remain unnoticed. Before a text can be converted into a map, it needs to be georeferenced. Because the scale I am studying covers the whole of Europe, I marked the places visited in the texts at the level of countries, counties, cities and natural formations. I used digital editions of the texts to search strings from them and applied named entity linking technology for the extraction of toponyms and finding coordinates from DBpedia.[10]

There are some methodological problems with the georeferencing of places. *Waverley* (1814) by Sir Walter Scott includes fictional places such as Tully-Veolan or the cave of Donald Bean Lean. These are in the Scottish Highlands, but their exact location on the map is a matter of interpretation. Thus, I placed them approximately

where contemporaries did.[11] Moreover, I georeferenced larger geographical units such as countries and natural formations as points based on where DBpedia placed their coordinates. Larger regions could be represented by a polygon rather than a dot. However, rather than finding the exact coordinates for the place names mentioned in the texts, I was primarily interested in the network created by the travel routes – not finding the exact coordinates for the place names mentioned in the texts. As Robert Tally suggests, the distinction between a 'map' and 'tour' (or 'itinerary') is crucial in spatial humanities.[12] A 'map' forms a synchronous spatial representation, whereas an 'itinerary' connects the places visited into a temporal sequence or network. Thus, the exact geographical locations of places are less important for my purposes than the topology of the travel routes.[13]

[INSERT MAP 1 HERE]

Map 1. The map of the travel itineraries annotated from the English and German corpus of bildungsroman narratives.

Map 1 shows the itineraries in all bildungsroman narratives included in the corpus (see Appendix). The starting point, intermediate stations and end point in each text are nodes (circles) connected by edges (lines). This creates a network of points with geographical coordinates. Superimposing these networks as GIS layers on a map of Europe allowed for a spatial comparison of the different narratives. It is important to note that the routes drawn between places do not represent detailed travel paths, which would follow the exact tracks of the contemporary postal roads or sea routes, but a topological network that I have annotated from the research corpus and superimposed on a geographical map (see Piatti, 45–72, 56).

Research on the bildungsroman has focused on the temporal structure of the stories, but examining the itineraries drawn by the narratives helps us to understand how they contribute to defining the centres and peripheries of Europe. As Map 1 shows, the representation of Europe has a bias regarding certain directions. Most of the narratives are set along the axis located between the northwest (Scotland) and the southeast (Greece), while few routes extend to the southwest or northeast, which are peripheral for the network.

Map 1 provides an overview of the whole dataset, revealing the commonalities between the different stories. From this overview, we can see that many voyages in the corpus proceed along the northwest–southeast axis from London to Rome, which formed the classical Grand Tour itinerary, which I discuss first. The Grand Tour route built European centres at a time when the definition of 'Europe' was still evolving. After that, I focus on the alternative itineraries to the periphery: Eastern Europe (Greece, the Balkans and Russia); provincial towns, the Alps and other natural landscapes on the Continent; and Northern Europe, including the Scottish Highlands and the Arctic. Apart from the Arctic, the surveyed corpus does not include trips outside Europe.

The Grand Tour and the Construction of Europe in the Bildungsroman

The Grand Tour was a form of *Bildungsreise* (educational journey); the aim of the gentlemen who went on it was to learn languages in local surroundings and to visit the most important European cities. The borders of Europe were ambiguous in the eighteenth century: 'In practice … it was not clear where the European territory actually began and ended.'[14] The Grand Tour thus actively produced Europe and defined where its centres and peripheries were.

[INSERT MAP 2 HERE]

Map 2. Typical Grand Tour locations and an example route starting from London.[15]

Map 2 shows a typical Grand Tour route. British tourists crossed the English Channel from Dover to Calais to reach the Continent and its postal roads. A typical itinerary continued to Paris, possibly through the Netherlands, and followed the Rhine to Switzerland to cross the Alps. A tour of Rome, Venice and other Italian cities formed the highlight of the trip, which often terminated in Naples or Sicily (Black, 4). The southern part of Italy represented the border of the European heartland, Greece being part of the Ottoman Empire at the time.

[INSERT MAP 3 HERE]

Map 3. Bildungsroman narratives that follow the Grand Tour itinerary.

Italy was an important travel destination in the German bildungsroman narratives that I studied. Rome is the main destination of Ludwig Tieck's *William Lovell* (1795–6) and *Franz Sternbalds Wanderungen* (*Franz Sternbald's Wanderings*, 1798) as well as Joseph von Eichendorff's *Aus dem Leben eines Taugenichts* (*Memoirs of a Good-for-Nothing*, 1826). The longing for Italy was also an important theme in Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* (*Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship*, 1795).[16] In this section, I analyse the German novels in more detail because in all the British narratives that follow the Grand Tour route, the destination is not a centre like Rome but a location along the periphery: the Scottish Highlands, the Ottoman Empire or the Alps.

The protagonist of Tieck's *William Lovell* is a young Englishman on his Grand Tour from London to Rome, visiting Paris and other destinations along the way (see Map 3). Despite brief excursions to Tivoli and the Piedmont mountains, the space of *William Lovell* is restricted to what Moretti (*Atlas of the European Novel*, 173) calls the core: the economic centre of Europe, including England, France, the Netherlands and Northern Italy.[17] Although the aim of the Grand Tour was education and cultivation, Lovell's *Bildung* in urban centres is a disaster. Lovell is supposed to grow into a well-rounded citizen during his Grand Tour, but he is corrupted by debauchery and evil conspiracy, becoming a puppet of a secret society, which connects the work with the Gothic novel and the *Bundesroman* (the league novel).[18] *William Lovell* is a transitional work between the Enlightenment and Romanticism (Engel, 515), and while its plot still follows the path of the classic Grand Tour, the protagonist's personal development fails miserably.

Tieck set his next major novel, *Franz Sternbalds Wanderungen*, in the early modern period. Franz Sternbald is a young artist from Nuremberg who has completed his apprenticeship with Dürer and is travelling to Flanders and Italy to become an independent artist. However, Sternbald's trip is not an aristocratic Grand Tour; it is part of his journeyman years (*Wanderjahre*) as a craftsman (Cusack, 60). In contrast to Lovell's planned tour, Sternbald's route appears arbitrary; Detlef Kremer argues that the travelling in the novel is merely a 'superficial change of scenery'.[19] The title of the work indicates that wandering is its key theme, but I propose that the travel route implied in the novel is not random. Map 3 shows Sternbald touring the main centres of Renaissance painting.

Earlier scholarship seeks the structure of *Franz Sternbalds Wanderungen* from Western metaphysics rather than from the route it takes, thus following Abrams' triadic

model. Cusack (74) proposes that the journeyman years described in the novel follow a triadic structure of initiation ritual (separation, threshold and reincorporation), although the third phase is not realised because the novel is incomplete. Moreover, Manfred Engel (529) argues that the travel route of *Franz Sternbalds Wanderungen* is based on the triad of leaving Nuremberg, travelling to Italy and returning to Nuremberg, resembling the overly simplified understanding of dialectics consisting of thesis–antithesis–synthesis. However, I argue that the triadic reading ignores the spatial aspects of the novel. For example, the work presents Leyden and Antwerp as centres of early modern capitalism, which Tieck criticises as leading to a tension between artistic freedom and the financial support of patrons. Sternbald's excursion to the Netherlands does not fit into the triad of Nuremberg–Italy–Nuremberg. Moreover, Tieck never completed the final part, in which Sternbald was supposed to return home from Italy.

Franz Sternbalds Wanderungen asserts Italy as the core area of Romantic *Kunstreligion* (the religion of art), which celebrated Catholic paintings and medieval church architecture. Rome remained important for German High Romanticism as well; Eichendorff's *Aus dem Leben eines Taugenichts* consolidates the importance of Rome after the Congress of Vienna. Like Sternbald, Eichendorff's wanderer heads to Italy but does not follow the classical itinerary of the Grand Tour. While Sternbald visits Leyden, Antwerp and Alsace, Eichendorff's protagonist wanders through Central Europe, adventuring from Vienna through Tyrol and Lombardy and ending up in Rome (see Map 3).

According to Abrams' metaphysical reading, the Home should signify the harmonious state of the Golden Age, but in Eichendorff's novel, the protagonist's childhood home is not an idyll of the initial Golden Age. It is a boring site of patriarchal power and conservatism. Furthermore, leaving home does not recapitulate the fall of

man as the triadic reading presupposes. On the contrary, the protagonist must leave home to break free from the influence of his father's house. As Cusack (15) notes, travelling is a key motif in *Wilhelm Meister*. Meister is not willing to solve the conflict with his father and escapes his bourgeois surroundings to live a nomadic existence with a theatrical company. Travelling provides an alternative to open rebellion against patriarchal values. Wandering as a solution to personal conflict with communal values is thus integral to the bildungsroman from the beginning of the genre.

Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister* was the work that made the bildungsroman famous among the early German Romantics.[20] Friedrich Schlegel proposes that its publication represented as important a tendency of the era as the French Revolution.[21] According to Schlegel (ii. 134), *Wilhelm Meister* violates conventional expectations of a coherent plot. Following this line, notable scholars argue that Romantic novels, like *Franz Sternbalds Wanderungen*, are episodic, and their travel itineraries are rambling and arbitrary, consisting of 'adventurous episodes involving accidental encounters'.[22] However, Map 3 shows a striking feature; the travel paths in many Romantic novels are not random but follow the Grand Tour route.

Eastern Europe: Byron and Hölderlin

If we return to Map 1, the role of Poland and Russia is very interesting – they are rarely visited in the annotated corpus. Polish locations are not mentioned in either British or German bildungsroman narratives. Poland was divided between Prussia, the Habsburgs and Russia from 1795 to 1918. According to Wallerstein (i. 99–102, 301–3), the Polish economy, which was based on the exportation of grain to Amsterdam, formed a periphery of Western Europe.

[INSERT MAP 4 HERE]

Map 4. Travel itineraries annotated in the English corpus.

The Russian Empire was one of the major political and military powers in the Napoleonic Wars, and one would expect that Romantic authors would have defined Europe more in relation it. However, the German bildungsroman narratives in the corpus do not include travel itineraries to Eastern Europe; they are set along the north–south axis with Rome at the centre and Nuremberg and other German cities juxtaposed along this axis. In contrast, two British texts – Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1818) and Lord Byron's *Don Juan* (1819–1824) – extend their spatial imagination to Russia (see Map 4).[23]

The frame narrative of *Frankenstein* starts from Saint Petersburg. However, Russia plays only a secondary role in *Frankenstein*. Archangel is one of Captain Walton's waypoints on his journey to the Arctic, to which I return in the final section. Another text in which the protagonist travels to Russia is Lord Byron's *Don Juan*.[24] Katarina Gephardt aptly describes the map of Europe constructed in *Don Juan*:

> The imaginative itinerary of Byron's Spanish traveler-protagonist traverses Europe's peripheries, moving counter-clockwise from Spain, through Greece, Turkey, Russia, Germany, Holland, and ending in Britain in the final unfinished 'English cantos' of the poem. Italy, where Byron lived in exile while writing the poem, is not included in the itinerary, and thus functions as the unrepresented center, the pivotal point around which the poem revolves.[25]

The division of Europe into Italy and the northern barbarians was constructed in the Renaissance, but as a discursive topos, it survived until the eighteenth century.[26] In the 1780s, Poland and Russia were still associated with Sweden and Denmark as Nordic countries.[27] After Napoleon's defeat, Byron tried to actively construct a new division of Europe into Western and Eastern Europe.

Ancient Greece was an important model for many Romantics. However, Byron's *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* (1812–1818), John Polidori's 'The Vampyre' (1819) and Friedrich Hölderlin's *Hyperion oder Der Eremit in Griechenland* (*Hyperion, or the Hermit in Greece*, 1797–1799) depict travels in modern Greece rather than in Ancient Greece. Their journeys also extend across the Aegean Sea to Ionia, present-day Turkey (see Map 5).

The motif of travelling is central in *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, as its title indicates.[28] Byron reflects the changing national borders in a work written during the Napoleonic Wars and the Congress of Vienna. Cantos III and IV are based on Byron's second exile from England to the Rhine, Switzerland and Italy, where he spent a significant portion of his life. They follow the path of the Grand Tour from England to Waterloo, Switzerland and finally Italy. In Cantos I and II, however, Byron describes an alternative Grand Tour during the Napoleonic Wars, when access to France, Germany and Italy was limited for a British traveller. The Continental System guided Byron's interest in the peripheral areas because he had to plan an alternative sea route from England through Lisbon, Southern Spain and Malta to Greece and the Ottoman Empire.[29]

The Napoleonic Wars prevented Byron from travelling the traditional Grand Tour route, but he turned this into a triumph by, for example, promoting Albanian culture in London and other centres of the publishing world.[30] Moretti argues that the

relationship between the core and the periphery is asymmetrical, for it is the periphery that imitates literary forms (like the bildungsroman) invented in the centre, whereas the peripheral culture does not have an impact on the centre.[31] Yet, Byron's example does not fit well into Moretti's theory because Byron took elements from the literary cultures of the periphery and published them in the centre of the literary market.

The East is described as a place of orientalist horror in 'The Vampyre' by John Polidori, whose itinerary follows the young naïve protagonist on a study trip (*Bildungsreise*) to Italy, Greece and Turkey (see Maps 4 and 5). In the Balkans, he discovers not only classical values but also folk beliefs about vampires. On the surface, it is a horror story about a Byronian vampire, but its geographical setting is based on the protagonist Aubrey's Grand Tour. Byron's 'Fragment of a Novel' (1819), which he presented during the famous ghost story contest in 1816, provided inspiration for Polidori's short story.

[INSERT MAP 5 HERE]

Map 5. Detailed map of Southeast Europe.

Aubrey's *Bildungsreise* follows the traditional Grand Tour route from London to Brussels, Rome and Naples, but from there it continues to Otranto in the southernmost part of Italy in the Salento peninsula. The southern part of Italy had meanings that were not just related to classical architecture and the admiration of art treasures; as the periphery of Europe, it was the original location of many Gothic novels such as Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto* (*Atlas of the European Novel*, 15–16).

Futhermore, by connecting a motif taken from Eastern European folklore with a *Bildungsreise* to classical antiquarian sites, 'The Vampyre' extends the traditional

Grand Tour route from Southern Italy to Athens and Smyrna, which are presented as the periphery, where Aubrey witnesses vampire attacks on innocent women. In Polidori's story, it is the journey to the periphery – from Southern Italy to the Ottoman Empire – that proves fatal for the protagonist.

Greece was also an important site of *Bildung* for German Romanticism. However, for them it was not a place of horror but of classical beauty. Hölderlin's *Hyperion* mixes the conventions of the bildungsroman narrative with an epistolary novel. Because the novel is set during the Orlov revolt in 1770, it could be argued that it has elements of an early historical novel. However, Abrams's (237–44) triadic reading ignores the geopolitical dimension in *Hyperion*; eighteenth-century Greece represents not only the metaphysical origin of Western culture but also its eastern periphery, as it belonged to the Ottoman Empire at the time.

Hyperion's development is narrated through his travels, which define the outlines of the Greek cultural region by touring ancient locations on both shores of the Aegean Sea. For example, Hyperion makes a Homeric tour from Smyrna to the surrounding countryside, where he visits important places related to the mythical author of *The Iliad*. This was typical for contemporary Homeric scholarship, which tried to explain the cultural context of the epic by visiting locations in Asia Minor.[32] Although Hölderlin never travelled to the Ottoman Empire personally, he used British and French travelogues as his source material when writing *Hyperion*.[33]

To sum up, especially in Polidori's 'The Vampyre', the border zone between Greece and the Ottoman Empire forms a threshold for Gothic horror. In *Hyperion* and *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, a tour around Greece defines the boundaries of its cultural sphere. Although the gravity of Rome attracted many German travellers, Athens was considered the birthplace of European culture. As the cradle of European civilisation,

Athens was constructed by philhellenes like Friedrich Schlegel, Hölderlin, Percy Shelley and Byron, thereby redefining the eastern border of European culture. The Romantic interest in Greece competed with the neoclassical Italy celebrated by Goethe and others.

Travelling in the Semiperiphery: Natural Landscapes on the Continent

Between the centre and the periphery is a mixed space that Wallerstein (i. 63, 102–3, 107–8) calls the semiperiphery. Although the German states were able to develop a strong economy in the mid-nineteenth century, Britain dominated the world economy (iii. 125). The feeling of belatedness led German intellectuals coming from the semiperiphery to build an identity of underdevelopment in relation to England and France. This identity was amplified by the spiritual revolution of transcendental philosophy in Germany: the rapid inner development of intellectuals provided by *Bildung* was contrasted with the economic backwardness of their outer surroundings.[34]

German bildungsroman narratives emphasise the limited sphere of experience in the semiperiphery and the possibilities of travelling to break the spell of the small town. *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* (1802) by Novalis tells the origin story of a famous medieval minnesinger. In Chapter 2, the naivete of the protagonist is described in spatial terms: 'Heinrich had just turned twenty years old. He had never passed the region of his native city; the world was known to him only by stories' (my translation).[35] In Heinrich's case, this means that his cultivation necessitates a journey from Eisenach to Augsburg.

Ignoring this spatial frame, Abrams suggests that 'the immanent design of his quest is a circular one' (249). Because Abrams assumes that the subtext of *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* would be the prodigal son from the Bible, he argues that Heinrich starts from the Home, makes a long journey and returns to the Home. In the introduction that

is all that remains from his lost study on the bildungsroman, Mikhail Bakhtin remarks, 'The road and encounters on the road remain important in … *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*[.] Novalis' Heinrich von Ofterdingen and other heroes of the Romantic novel set out on a road that is half-real, half-metaphorical'.[36] As an alternative to Abrams' and Bakhtin's allegorical approach, my spatial reading of the novel focuses on the actual route that Heinrich travels.

Heinrich's itinerary from Eisenach to Augsburg closely follows the *via imperii* – the north–south imperial trade route from the Baltic coast to Rome. Mapping the travel route of the novel provides an important heuristic for determining significant places that are left unmentioned; Nuremberg is located on this road, but it is not mentioned in the novel. This is unexpected because Nuremberg had been regarded as one of the most important cities of German Romanticism since Wackenroder and Tieck's *Herzensergießungen eines kunstliebenden Klosterbruders* (*Outpourings of an Art-Loving Friar*, 1796) and Tieck's *Franz Sternbald* discussed earlier.[37]

Moreover, Heinrich encounters merchants, miners and crusaders on his trip, but strangely enough, medieval paintings and church architecture are not relevant for his development as an artist like they are for Franz Sternbald.[38] In Chapter 5, Heinrich not only converses with miners, but he also descends into a mine shaft, which provides a sublime experience of being inside the earth. Ignoring the geographic elements in the novel, Cusack (78) reads the mine scene subjectively as a '*Bildungsreise nach Innen*' (interior educational journey). In contrast, my spatial reading emphasises that travelling underground forms an important plateau of development for Heinrich's vision of nature as an active force. Therefore, mountains and mines seem to be more relevant for his education as a poet than visiting urban centres like Nuremberg and Rome.

William Wordsworth indicates the same tendency in the British corpus. As Golban (210) proposes, Wordsworth's 'Tintern Abbey' (1798) – which is set on the Welsh bank of the River Wye – describes a similar process of *Bildung* in which a relationship with nature is essential for the growth of the artist.[39] In Wordsworth's *The Prelude* (1805), the protagonist's development into a poet is narrated through several tours, including a Continental Tour from Cambridge to the Alps in 1790. Before the Arctic Fever, the Alpine Tour provided a possibility for encountering the sublime view of endless glaciers without any signs of human civilisation. The famous Alpine Tour in *The Prelude* includes only the northernmost part of Italy, focusing on France and the Alps.[40]

In Abrams' (105) interpretation, Wordsworth's pedestrian tour of the continent and the Alps echoes Biblical events in a secular form. In Christian tradition, the sublime irregularity of the Alps is a testament to God's wrath against humanity, but according to Abrams, the bildungsroman plot of the poem is based on a dialectic that seeks a reconciliation between the grandeur of nature and the mind of the poet. Because Abrams's metaphysical gaze does not focus at all on the route the poem takes, he ignores the places that are not mentioned. Strikingly, Wordsworth omits the return trip from Lake Como via Basel, the Rhine and Belgium to England, as if he did not value the Rhine Gorge as the canonical site of Romanticism, as Byron and Mary Shelley did.

Like the Rhine, the Alps had been a necessary waypoint between Northern Europe and Italy since the beginning of the Grand Tour. In the 1730s, Horace Walpole described the sublimity of their rugged mountain scenery during his trip to Italy.[41] During the Romantic era, the Alps and Switzerland became an important travel destination in their own right. Lake Geneva was also related to the Romantic cult of Rousseau, which included touring the sites of his novel *Julie* (1761), which Byron also

discusses in Canto III of *Childe Harold*.[42] In one of *Frankenstein*'s key scenes, Victor makes an Alpine Tour, during which the nonhuman world of the Mer de Glace provides the setting for his encounter with the Creature. This motif was developed further in the Romantic description of the north and the Arctic, which I discuss next.

The North as the Site of *Bildung*

It has been argued that the displacement of the Mediterranean south as the centre of the Romantic *Bildung* accelerated after the Napoleonic Wars. Angela Byrne suggests that the Grand Tour went out of fashion after the Napoleonic Wars, and the interest in Northern Europe and the Arctic increased in Britain. Travelling to the north was seen as more challenging and adventurous than following a checklist of must-see monuments in an agreeable Mediterranean climate.[43]

However, the purpose of Nordic travelling was often scientific, not touristic. Arctic expeditions especially required significant resources. The English traveller Edward Clarke published travelogues about Scandinavia and the Arctic, while the picturesque tours to Wales, the Lake District and the Highlands provided a more accessible domestic alternative to the Grand Tour from the 1770s.[44] While the German corpus does not include any trips to the north, Scott's *Waverley* and Shelley's *Frankenstein* head north instead of to the Mediterranean (see Map 4). In both works, travel is linked to the protagonist's development story, and their itineraries do not follow a triadic pattern.[45]

The Scottish Highlands were a literary landscape from the 1760s because of their association with Ossianic poetry. Scott's *Waverley* uses this Ossianic setting in a novel that contains elements of a development novel and a historical novel.[46] Moretti (*Atlas of the European Novel*, 33, 37–39) argues that only by adding the geographic

element to *Waverley* was Scott able to invent the genre of the historical novel (see also *Speech Genres*, 53). Edward Waverley's Highland Tour is not only a journey into the periphery but back in history. The periphery is as much a temporal concept as a spatial concept; marginal towns and regions 'have been "left behind" in the modern race for progress' and evoke nostalgia.[47] By visiting first Tully-Veolan and then Glennaquoich (see Map 6), Edward travels back in time through the historical modes of production, from trading and agriculture to herding and hunting (cf. Byrne, 48).

[INSERT MAP 6 HERE]

Map 6. The Highland Tour and Arctic Expedition in Waverley *and* Frankenstein.

However, I propose that reading *Waverley* as the foundational historical novel risks being anachronistic because the bildungsroman plot is so significant, especially in the first book of the novel. The development of Edward's character is the main theme in the first chapters; because of his Romantic opinions gleaned from adventure books, Edward is not fit for barracks life. Choosing the location for Edward's *Bildungsreise* is a crucial motif in the novel. His father proposes that he should take a Grand Tour guided by Mr. Pembroke. However, the continental tour is never realised, for Edward's father is warned that his son might learn politically questionable opinions while visiting Paris and Rome with a Jacobite teacher. After Edward becomes a soldier, he travels from London to Edinburgh and Dundee. Finding military life boring, he leaves the regiment for an excursion to the north. Thus, the Highland Tour substitutes the Grand Tour in *Waverley*.

A Highland Tour also forms an interesting interlude in Shelley's *Frankenstein*, as we can see in Map 6. Victor Frankenstein and his friend Henry Clerval travel to

England and Scotland; Frankenstein being Swiss, their trip makes an inverted Grand Tour from south to north. Victor and Henry proceed from the Alps to the Rhine Gorge and from there to London, Oxford and Edinburgh. Finally, Frankenstein ends up on the remotest of the Orkney Islands, where he can continue his grotesque experiments in privacy. In contrast to Byron and the German bildungsroman narratives, the spatial references in *Frankenstein* are not oriented toward the Mediterranean.

The north plays an even more striking role in the frame narrative of *Frankenstein*, which associates the beginning and end of the novel with the Arctic Fever.[48] Considering my research question, it is interesting that Captain Walton's letters to his sister refer to the bildungsroman pattern. Walton is looking for a soulmate to support the balanced development of his personality. After sailing into the Arctic Ocean in search of the magnetic North Pole, he finds a conversation partner, Victor Frankenstein, who has travelled to the extreme periphery chasing his monstrous creation. Together with Glace de Mer as the setting for Victor's encounter with the Creature and Victor's Highland Tour, the Arctic environment of the frame narrative emphasises the north as the spatial framework of *Frankenstein*.

Conclusion

This essay is based on the hypothesis that the bildungsroman not only portrays internal change of its protagonist, but travelling is an important feature of the genre. Hence the travel routes taken in these stories serve not only the protagonist's biography but also define the core and boundaries of Europe. Moreover, my essay shows that the great popularity of the theme of travel in development novels can be better explained by a geographical centre-periphery structure than by a metaphysical triadic model of travel as allegory of the Fall away from the primordial Home. The plot of most of the

development novels does not even fit in naturally with the triadic model, since the protagonist’s home is not a harmonious place, but the conflict with the narrow-mindedness of the home is the motive for travelling away from it.

What is more, mapping the routes travelled in the novels can reveal interesting gaps in the stories that have interesting spatial implications: there might be significant sites of the Romantic culture that fall along the route but are omitted from the narrative. For example, *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* by Novalis does not mention Nuremberg at all, even though it is on the novel’s itinerary and was a very important centre of medievalism for Tieck and Wackenroder. Similarly, Wordsworth does not describe the ruined castles of the Rhine Valley, as Byron and Mary Shelley do. What does unite Novalis and Wordsworth, however, is their interest in the mountainous regions and wild nature. Their descriptions of these peripheral landscapes builds a new canon of romantic natural formations that competes with the network of urban centres.

Contrary to what previous research has argued, the journeys of the German Romantic bildunsromans are not based on aimless wandering, but instead take the predetermined route of the Grand Tour. Especially German artist’s novels (*Künstlerroman*) – like Tieck’s *Franz Sternbalds Wanderungen* – are rich in mobility, as the protagonists want to realise their identity as artists in cultural centres such as Rome. Travelling in the German bildungsroman is not aimless and rhapsodic, as has been claimed, but is directed to where becoming an artist is possible and meaningful. In comparison, the British novels follow the itinerary of the Grand Tour too but deviate from its route more often than the Germans. Byron’s two works, for example, include travelling not only to Greece but also to Portugal, Albania and Russia. The popularity of Greece and Scotland as travel destinations are the clearest examples in my corpus of how a former periphery can become a cultural centre in Romantic narratives.

Appendix: Research Corpus

George Gordon Byron, *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* (1812–1818). Project Gutenberg, https://gutenberg.org/ebooks/5131.

George Gordon Byron, *Don Juan* (1819–1824). Project Gutenberg, https://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/21700.

Joseph von Eichendorff, *Aus dem Leben eines Taugenichts* (1826). Project Gutenberg, https://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/35312.

Friedrich Hölderlin, *Hyperion oder Der Eremit in Griechenland* (1797, 1799). Project Gutenberg, https://www.projekt-gutenberg.org/hoelderl/hyperion/hyperion.html.

Novalis, *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* (1802). Project Gutenberg, https://www.projekt-gutenberg.org/novalis/ofterdng/ofterdng.html.

John William Polidori, 'The Vampyre' (1819). Project Gutenberg, https://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/6087.

Sir Walter Scott, *Waverley; or, 'Tis Sixty Years Since* (1814). Project Gutenberg, https://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/5998.

Mary Shelley, *Frankenstein; or, The Modern Prometheus* (1818). Project Gutenberg, https://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/84.

Ludwig Tieck, *William Lovell* (1795–1796). Project Gutenberg, https://www.projekt-gutenberg.org/tieck/lovell/lovell.html.

Ludwig Tieck, *Franz Sternbalds Wanderungen, eine altdeutsche Geschichte* (1798). Project Gutenberg, https://www.projekt-gutenberg.org/tieck/sternbld/sternbld.html.

William Wordsworth, *The Prelude or, Growth of a Poet's Mind; An Autobiographical Poem* (1805). Project Gutenberg, https://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/12383.

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[1] Robin Jarvis, *Romantic Writing and Pedestrian Travel* (Houndmills, 1997).

[2] See Barbara Piatti, ‘Literary Cartography: Mapping as Method’, in *Literature and Cartography: Theories, Histories, Genres*, ed. Anders Engberg-Pedersen (Cambridge, MA, 2017), 45–72.

[3] M. H. Abrams, *Natural Supernaturalism: Tradition and Revolution in Romantic Literature* (New York, 1971), 29–37, 168, 193–4.

[4] See Asko Nivala, *The Romantic Idea of the Golden Age in Friedrich Schlegel's Philosophy of History* (New York, 2017), 8, 84–5, 193, 215.

[5] The triadic interpretation of the bildungsroman has also been proposed by Andrew Cusack, *The Wanderer in Nineteenth-Century German Literature: Intellectual History and Cultural Criticism* (Rochester, 2008), 74; Manfred Engel, ‘Frühe Romane: William Lovell und Franz Sternbalds Wanderungen,’ in *Ludwig Tieck: Leben – Werk – Wirkung*, ed. Claudia Stockinger and Stefan Scherer (Berlin, 2016), 515–32, 529. It has been argued that the typical romance plot follows a triadic structure, in which the hero leaves home for adventure, gathers experience and then returns home. See Percy G. Adams, *Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel* (Lexington, KY, 1983), 150.

[6] Franco Moretti, *Atlas of the European Novel, 1800–1900* (London, 1998).

[7] Franco Moretti, *The Way of the World: The Bildungsroman in European Culture* (London, 1987).

[8] QGIS Association, *QGIS Geographic Information System*, http://www.qgis.org.

[9] On superimposed maps, see Asko Nivala, Hannu Salmi, and Jukka Sarjala, ‘Introduction’, in *Travelling Notions of Culture in Early Nineteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Hannu Salmi, Asko Nivala, and Jukka Sarjala (New York, 2016), 1–15.

[10] See Pablo Mendes, Max Jakob, Adrés García-Silva, and Christian Bizer, ‘DBpedia Spotlight: Shedding Light on the Web of Documents’, in *I-semantics: Proceedings of the 7th International Conference on Semantic Systems* (Graz, 2011), 1–8, https://doi.org/10.1145/2063518.2063519.

[11] G.N. Wright, Walter Scott, and J.M.W. Turner, *Landscape-Historical Illustrations of Scotland, and the Waverley Novels* (London, 1836).

[12] Robert Tally, *Topophrenia: Place, Narrative, and the Spatial Imagination* (Bloomington, 2018), 4.

[13] As the critical discussion on Moretti's *Atlas of the European Novel* points out, figures like this are as much diagrams as they are maps. Franco Moretti, *Graphs, Maps, Trees: Abstract Models for a Literary History* (London 2007), 54–56.

[14] Biancamaria Fontana, 'The Napoleonic Empire and the Europe of Nations', in *The Idea of Europe: From Antiquity to the European Union*, ed. Anthony Pagden (Cambridge, 2002), 116–28, 118.

[15] Data adapted from Jeremy Black, *Italy and the Grand Tour* (London, 2011), 1–25.

[16] However, Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister* is not included in the corpus. There are two reasons for this. First, I could not find a traceable itinerary from the novel. Second, Goethe is not generally regarded as a representative of German Romanticism but of Weimar Classicism, although he had a significant influence on it.

[17] Moretti (*Atlas of the European Novel*, 173) adopts the juxtaposition of centre and periphery from Immanuel Wallerstein's theory of the world economy. Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System* (4 vols, New York, 1974–2011).

[18] Theodore Ziolkowski, *German Romanticism and Its Institutions* (Princeton, 1992), 165.

[19] Detlef Kremer, *Romantik* (Stuttgart, 2007), 123.

[20] Thomas Jeffers, *Apprenticeships: The Bildungsroman from Goethe to Santayana* (New York, 2005).

[21] Friedrich Schlegel, *Kritische Friedrich-Schlegel-Ausgabe* (= *KFSA*): *Band II*, ed. Hans Eichner (München, 1967), 198.

[22] Theodore Ziolkowski, *Stages of European Romanticism: Cultural Synchronicity across the Arts, 1798–1848* (Rochester, 2018), 33.

[23] On *Don Juan* as bildungsroman, see Petru Golban, *A History of the Bildungsroman: From Ancient Beginnings to Romanticism* (Newcastle, 2018), 276.

[24] Interestingly, Abrams does not discuss Byron at all, because, according to him, Byron's 'ironic countervoice' (12) does not fit his theoretical model of Romanticism. However,

Romantic irony was equally used by the German Romantics, so irony can hardly be taken as a reason to exclude a text from Romanticism.

[25] Katarina Gephardt, *The Idea of Europe in British Travel Narratives, 1789–1914* (Surrey, 2014), 82.

[26] Cf. Roberto Dainotto, *Europe (in Theory)* (Durham, 2007).

[27] Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford, 1994), 5.

[28] On the route of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, see also Richard Cronin, 'Mapping Childe Harold I and II', in *The Politics of Romantic Poetry* (London, 2000), 128–44 and http://byrononlineproject.com/neatline/show/childe-harolds-pilgrimage-i-ii.

[29] Roderick Beaton, *Byron's War: Romantic Rebellion, Greek Revolution* (Cambridge, 2013), 3.

[30] According to Gephardt, 'Hobhouse's and Byron's assessment of Albania and their ethnographic attempts to collect its folklore suggest that the Albanians are being claimed as Europeans through approaches analogous to the ways in which Romantic nationalism in Britain incorporated the alterity of the "Celtic Fringe," including Ireland as well as Wales and Scotland, a phenomenon that Katie Trumpener describes as "bardic nationalism"' (80).

[31] Franco Moretti, *Distant Reading* (London, 2013), 107–8, 114–5.

[32] See Michael C. Carhart, *The Science of Culture in Enlightenment Germany* (Cambridge, MA, 2007), 135–60.

[33] William Davis, *Romanticism, Hellenism, and the Philosophy of Nature* (Basingstoke, 2018), 14–7, 36.

[34] Marshall Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (London, 1988), 40–44.

[35] Original quote: 'Heinrich war eben zwanzig Jahre alt geworden. Er war nie über die umliegenden Gegenden seiner Vaterstadt hinaus gekommen; die Welt war ihm nur aus Erzählungen bekannt.' Novalis, *Werke, Tagebücher und Briefe. Band I. Das Dichterische Werk*, ed. Hans-Joachim Mähl (München, 2005), 203.

[36] Mikhail Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays* (Austin, 2004), 244.

[37] Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder and Ludwig Tieck, *Herzenergießungen eines Kunstliebenden Klosterbruders* (Stuttgart 1997).

[38] It should be noted that the insight that wild landscapes are not only a background for the events but an artistic subject in their own right is an important epiphany for Franz Sternbald's development as an artist as well (*Stages of European Romanticism*, 35).

[39] Cf. Jonathan Bate, *The Song of the Earth* (Cambridge, MA, 2000), 144–5.

[40] For a cartographic reading of the Simplon Pass scene, see Julia Sandstrom Carlson, 'The Map at the Limits of His Paper: A Cartographic Reading of *The Prelude*, Book 6: "Cambridge and the Alps,"' *Studies in Romanticism*, 49.3 (2010), 375–404.

[41] Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (New York, 1996), 446.

[42] See Mikhail Bakhtin, *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays* (Austin, 1986), 47.

[43] Angela Byrne, *Geographies of the Romantic North: Science, Antiquarianism, and Travel, 1790–1830* (New York, 2013), 7–8, 24–7, 42. See also Jarvis (3–4). Fitzon suggests that the impact of the war only temporarily limited German travel to Italy. Thorsten Fitzon, *Reisen in das befremdliche Pompeji: Antiklassizistische Antikenwahrnehmung deutscher Italienreisender 1750–1870* (Berlin, 2015), 120. Cf. Buzard (16–19).

[44] James Buzard, *Beaten Track* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 20.

[45] Because Abrams' conception of the Romantic canon is very traditional, he does not analyse Walter Scott's works at all. He is only interested in the writings of Mary Shelley as a source for Percy Shelley's work (Abrams, 306, 461, 485).

[46] On the Ossianic connection of *Waverley*, see Ann Rigney, *The Afterlives of Walter Scott: Memory on the Move* (Oxford, 2012), 127–30.

[47] Rob Shields, *Places on the Margin: Alternate Geographies of Modernity* (London, 1991), 3.

[48] See Adriana Craciun, *Writing Arctic Disaster* (Cambridge, 2016).