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English and American Influences on
Hugo von Hofmannsthal

by

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Hofmannsthal's works and letters will be referred to by the following abbreviations in the text and footnotes:

Hugo von Hofmannsthal, *Gesammelte Werke in Einzelausgaben* (Frankfurt am Main, 1946 ff).

Gedichte und lyrische Dramen: GLD
Erzählungen: E
Prosa I, II, III, IV: P I, II, III, IV
Dramen I, II, III, IV: D I, II, III, IV
Lustspiele I, II, III, IV: L I, II, III, IV
Aufzeichnungen: A

" " " " , *Briefe 1900-1909* (Wien, 1937): B II


Hugo von Hofmannsthal-Rudolf Borchardt, *Briefwechsel* (Frankfurt am Main, 1954): Hofmannsthal-Borchardt

Hugo von Hofmannsthal-Carl Jakob Burckhardt, *Briefwechsel* (Frankfurt am Main, 1958): Hofmannsthal-Burckhardt

Stefan George- Hugo von Hofmannsthal, *Briefwechsel* (München und Düsseldorf): Hofmannsthal-George


Helmut A. Fiechtner, "Der Briefwechsel Hofmannsthal-Redlich". *Wort in der Zeit* 2 (1956) 400-414: Hofmannsthal-Redlich


All unpublished material is in the Hofmannsthal Collection at the Houghton Library of Harvard University and was made available to me by the kind permission of Dr. Herbert Steiner.
Introduction

Important Aspects of English Influences
in the Literary Development
of Hofmannsthal

Contrary to the old proverb, a poet is both born and made. Born with the seeds of poetic talent, he must yet learn to nurture them to fullest growth. Hugo von Hofmannsthal was born with talent and in an atmosphere favorable to its development. An only child, adored by parents, grandparents, and friends, blessed with good looks, charm, a comfortable income, the proper social standing, and an excellent education, love and recognition of his precocity in verse poured over him lavishly. Such admiration can encapsulate the poetic gift in an egoistic shell which makes the poet feed on himself and lose communication with society, since his own natural interest in his personality is being implemented by the realization that others find it important, too.

Hofmannsthal's early lyric works, like Gestern (1891), are relatively subjective. They are the fruits of what he later called his "pre-existence" period. His early realization that he must leave this sheltered subjective intuitive world for the mature objective relationship to life and society he named "existence" is shown by the mingled fear and exaltation toward his own role as a poet in such lyrics.
as "Manche freilich" and "Terzinen Über Vergänglichkeit".

The chief period of maturation, Hofmannsthal's own "Verwandlung", occupies the years from 1891 to 1904. It was a slow and gradual process, despite the general critical attitude that it took place in a sudden, traumatic experience expressed in the Chandos letter.¹ In the course of this gradual development, he found an aesthetic philosophy, a personal code of behavior and literary form and content to guide him in English culture and literature. One would have expected a strong French influence on the Hofmannsthal of the 1890's, for it was during these years that he took his doctorate at the University of Vienna in Romance philology, after an intensive study of French language and literature, writing his dissertation on the use of language by the poets of the Pléiade and his "Habilitationschrift" on the poetic development of Victor Hugo, and made a journey to France.

Yet he turned to English culture and literature for many facets of personal life and for literary inspiration. He cultivated English friends, English habits (sailing,
tennis, sending Christmas cards), English recipes, and English expressions in his letters.² As he wrote to a friend, Felix Oppenheimer, then residing in London, in April, 1899:

London nimmt in meinem Vorstellungsleben einen ungeheueren Raum ein: mehr Fäden, als mir aufzuzählen möglich wäre, laufen von dort aus, und die wichtigsten Einflüsse für mein inneres Leben lassen sich mehr oder weniger auf englische Kunst, englische Weltanschauung, und das intensive und weltumspannende Gegenwartsleben, das sich dort konzentriert, zurückführen. (B I, p. 285)

Hofmannsthal first encountered English literature at the age of eight. As he recounts it in the autobiographical fragment, "Age of Innocence" (1893), he was given an English picturebook, whose illustrations impressed him more than the text. One of these illustrations left its image on "Terzinen über Vergänglichkeit" (1894)—a Kate Greenaway illustration of children standing under a full moon among cherry trees. Although he probably read Shakespeare at first in German, he was privately tutored in English while attending the Gymnasium, and the 1905 essay on "Shakespeares Könige und große Herren" contains quotations in both German and English, showing that he had read Shakespeare in the original before then.³

²B I, pp. 38, 38, 34, 139, B II, p. 33, etc.
³According to Walter Perl, he read Shakespeare in the original at the age of fifteen. (See Footnote 1, p. 98).
II

In December, 1891, in the flush of his first literary successes, Hofmannsthal met Stefan George. According to a letter written to Walter Brecht in February, 1929, George introduced Hofmannsthal to the works of Shelley, Rossetti, and Swinburne. Although the younger man felt the importance of the meeting, his later analysis of it in the Brecht letter shows that his and George's paths were bound to diverge from the beginning:

Brecht, in a eulogy to Hofmannsthal, quotes him as having said that, "er, Hofmannsthal, habe einfach dort weitergefahren zu dichten, wo Hölderlin und Keats und die großen Engländer nach ihm aufgehört hatten." In "Ad me ipsum" in 1926, Hofmannsthal wrote, "Zeitpunkt 1892. Frühe Einflüsse... die englischen Dichter, besonders Keats."(A,237)

5 Ibid., p. 235-236.
6 Quoted in Walter Brecht, "In memoriam Hugo von Hofmannsthal," Die Antike, V, 4 (October, 1929).
Keats not only influenced Hofmannsthal's early lyrics, but was to help him to form a conception of the role of the poet in the interpretation of life to society. He first read Keats' shorter poems, according to Michael Hamburger, and the final speeches of Claudio and Death in Der Tod und der Tod echo Keats' poem, "On Death". Both poets see life for the aesthete as a dream existence, from which they are to "awake" into death. This tragic waste of life is regretted by both, but Keats feels that the awakening into death is doom, while Hofmannsthal at least considers the moment of revelation of truth before death a partially redeeming element:

How strange it is that man on earth should roam
And lead a life of woe, but not forsake
His rugged path; nor dare he view alone,
His future doom which is but to awake.

Wenn einer träumt, so kann ein Übermaß
Geträumten Fühlens ihn erwachen machen,
So wach ich jetzt, im Fühlensübermaß,
Vom Lebensträum wohl auf in Todeswachen. (GLD, p.220)

Naturally, the typically German use of feminine end-rhymes creates a difference, but largely the rhythms of both examples are the same. The usage of iambic pentameter, rather than the tetrameter more usual in German lyric poetry occurs

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in "Manche freilich", "Gespräch", etc., and in the poems written in "terza rima" form and is possibly the result of the reading of Keats and other English poets; in particular Shakespeare and Shelley, the latter also using Dante's verse forms for several of his major poems.

It was not only in the writing of his lyric poetry that Hofmannsthal used Keats as a model, but in the formation of his idea of the role of the poet in regard to society. In 1907, writing to Stefan Gruss of his own problems in achieving poetic and social manhood, he quoted much of Keats' famous letter to Richard Woodhouse about the nature of the poetical character, 9 which he felt had helped him at a difficult period, to understand his own role in life:

...Der schöne Brief von Keats, der neuerdings vielfach in gelehrten Werken zitiert wird, auch Monsieur Weininger zitiert ihn übrigens. Otto Weininger, Geschlecht und Charakter, Wien u. Leipzig, 1903) der Brief mit den merkwürdigen Klagen über das Chamäleonadasein des Dichters ("he has no identity; he is constantly in for, and filling, some other body.-- It is a wretched thing to confess, but it is a very fact that not one word I utter can be taken for granted as an opinion growing out of my identical nature. How can it, when I have no nature?" usf. usf.) dieser Brief hat mich sehr entlastet, als er mir vor Jahren das erstemal in die Hand kam. Ein Dichter zu sein, ist eine Sache gegen die man sich nicht helfen kann. Aber es wäre mir leid, wenn ich deswegen kein Mensch wäre (woran ich jetzt nicht mehr zweifle, hatte aber etwas böse Phasen mit diesem Zweifel). Ich

sage dies: ein Dichter sein, so hin, weil es hier gesagt werden muß, als das letzte Wort in Bezug auf gewisse Geistesformen, in deren (etwas strenger) Schilderung Dein Aufsatz kulminiert. (B II, p. 254)

The dissolution of the poet's ego into the identities of those to whom he is exposed and about whom he writes is an idea that occupies Hofmannsthal constantly from his earliest works, especially from "Terzinen Über Vergänglichkeit" and "Manche freilich" to the Chandos letter (1902) and the "Vorspiel für ein Puppentheater" (1903) until the essay, "Der Dichter und diese Zeit" (1906), first as an aspect of the poet to inspire fear for his own identity, but gradually with an increasing acceptance and even exultation in this role. In "Gespräch über Gedichte" (1903), which he significantly introduces with a reference to Keats, he expresses a theory of poetry based on the latter's:

Aber alles ruhte darauf, daß auch er in dem Tier gestorben war, einen Augenblick lang. Daß sich sein Dasein, für die Dauer eines Atemzugs, in dem fremden Dasein aufgelöst hatte. --Das ist die Wurzel aller Poesie: wie durchsichtig in Groß: denn was ist klarer, als daß sich mein Fühlen in Hamlet auflöst, solange Hamlet auf der Bühne steht und mich hypnotisiert. (P II, p. 89)

In "Der Dichter und diese Zeit", he even uses the symbol of the chameleon character of the poet, which Keats had used in the Woodhouse letter:

Er ist da und wechselt lautlos seine Stelle und ist nichts als Auge und Ohr und nimmt seine Farbe von Dingen, auf denen er ruht. Er ist der Zuseher, nein der versteckte Genosse, der lautlose Bruder
aller Dinge, und das Wechseln seiner Farbe ist eine innige Qual: denn er leidet an allen Dingen, und indem er an ihnen leidet, genießt er sie. Dies Leidend-Genießen, dies ist der ganze Inhalt seines Lebens...Keinem Wesen, keinem menschlichen Ding, keinem Phantome, keiner Spukgeburt eines menschlichen Hirns darf er seine Augen verschließen. Es ist als hätten seine Augen keine Lider. Keinen Gedanken, der sich an ihn drängt, darf er von sich scheuhen, als sei er aus einer anderen Ordnung der Dinge. Denn in seine Ordnung der Dinge muß und will alles zusammenkommen. Er ist es, der in sich die Elemente der Zeit verknüpft. In ihm oder nirgends ist Gegenwart. (P II, pp. 244-245)

Hofmannsthal was always well aware of his own humanity. As he wrote to Rudolf Borchardt in 1912 in an oft-quoted letter:

Ich habe darüber, daß ich ein Dichter bin, nicht aufhören müssen, ein Mensch zu sein, das ist mein unermesliches Glück—und der Mensch in mir ist nicht einsam, ist reich an Freundschaft, an Liebe und fast über sein Vermögen beglückt.10

As he became older, therefore, and reached a maturity that was denied Keats because of his early death, he did become somewhat critical of this form of poetic existence, although he never rejected it as invalid. In "Ad me ipsum", writing in 1923 about the dissolution of the poetic ego again, he states sharply:

Das In-sich-Gebundene des Dichters, in dieser Form.—N. ist ein Mensch des geistigen Bereiches, aber er ist kein Mann von Geist. Er rührt an die größten Dinge und sie besitzen ihn nicht. Er hat in einem Augenblick das Weltall zu Gebot, im anderen fast nichts. Er scheint Menschen zu verstehen—aber er muß sich gestehen, daß er sie fast nicht

10 Hofmannsthal-Borchardt, p. 65.

Keats' form of lyric poetry and poetic philosophy guided Hofmannsthal during his own period of greatest development. But even as a young man, he had recognized the dangers of aestheticism, and having considered Keats' analysis of the poetic existence for twenty years, he could realize that it, too, could only lead to the aesthetic existence, where, as he had already expressed in Der Tor und der Tod, life was more to be feared than death.

For a poet, the chameleon personality is an asset, for a man in society it is a hindrance. Hofmannsthal early found a balancing force for the problem of being able to live both as a man and as a poet in another English pattern. The poet and man in society were combined for Hofmannsthal in the concept of the English "gentleman".

III

Mary Gilbert has pointed out how the idea of the gentleman permeates Hofmannsthal's idea of his own future development as in his youth.¹¹ He wrote to Edgar Freiherr

Karg von Bebenburg in August, 1894: "...ich glaube, der tiefste Sinn von dem, was man mit gentleman bezeichnet, ist das, daß man besser und vornehmer ist als das Leben."

(B I, 113) Qualities that seemed vital to him—good manners, self-control, nobility of action, qualities more important to him than intelligence—were to be found in this type. It finally came to mean to him a combination, in a man, of action and imagination: the idealist or poet who achieves success in society. In history or in literature, Hofmannsthal admired such a man and strove to be one himself. From Laurence Oliphant to T. E. Lawrence, from Philip Chandos to Hans Karl Bühl, the problems of the gentleman—the intensely aware, super-sensitive individual who must strive to live in a world of less rare people, and who can either go down in defeat or divert his gift into service to his country and his fellow-man and greatness for himself—these qualities seemed worthy of possession. Conventional morality played little part in Hofmannsthal's "gentleman" concept, and many, whom he considered representative of this type, would hardly fit the standard conception of such a person. Uncritically and admiringly he wrote of Laurence Oliphant in the essay, "Englisches Leben" (1891):

...die eiserne Willenskraft und niegeschwächte Elastizität, die vollkommene Beherrschung des Körpers, Selbstvertrauen, den scharfen schnellen Blick und den glücklichen, durch lange Geschlechter gezüchteten Katzeninstinkt, "immer auf seine Beine
zu fallen". Dazu die nützliche Gabe einer nach außen gewandten Seele, jedermann zu gewinnen. (P I, p55)

A quarter of a century later, his equally uncritical enthusiasm about T. E. Lawrence, whom he found the perfect type of his gentleman after reading *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, brought censure from Carl J. Burckhardt, who could see the dangers of such a man, one who fancied himself a Messiah, already arising in neighboring Germany.¹² But Hofmannsthal kept his illusions and the gentleman concept remained inviolate for him.

IV

Philip Chandos is such a gentleman and he is the narrator of the letter that is supposed to express the turning point in Hofmannsthal's life as a poet. Certainly this is greatly exaggerated, since the primary purpose, according to Hofmannsthal, of "Ein Brief" (1901) was the depiction of a culture which he found fascinating, that of Elizabethan England, in the style of that period by a figure-type for which Hofmannsthal felt great admiration and personal sympathy. In a letter to Leopold Andrian, written in January, 1903, he states his purpose clearly:

Von dem was Du tadelnd bemerkst will ich nur eins mit einem Einwand aufnehmen. Nämlich daß

¹²Hofmannsthal-Burckhardt, pp. 271-274.

(Also, B II, pp. 99-100)

Another factor that demonstrates that the Chandos letter is as significant as an expression of Hofmannsthal's admiration for Francis Bacon, the English gentleman, and the Elizabethan period, as an expression of a personal crisis is that, as Hofmannsthal explains further, this letter was to be only one of a series of "erfundene Gespräche und Briefe". The series, also eventually included "Der Brief des letzten Contarin", "Über Charaktere im Roman und im Drama" (1902), "Gespräch über Gedichte", "Unterhaltung über die Schriften von Keller", "Unterhaltung über den "Tasso" von Goethe", "Unterhaltungen über ein neues Buch" (all 1905), "Die Briefe des Zurückgekehrten", and "Furcht" (both 1907). Although Hofmannsthal had a model in the German Romantic School in


14 Ibid.

Friedrich Schlegel, his more probable model for these essays was the English poet and critic of the Romantic poets contemporary to him, Walter Savage Landor. Hofmannsthal was well acquainted with Landor's *Imaginary Conversations* and considered him, along with Emerson, Pater, and Wilde as having influenced Rudolf Kassner's book on English writers, *Die Mystik, die Künstler und das Leben* (A,p286) (1900), for whose writing his own ideas about English literature had been a prime inspiration. Hofmannsthal quotes Landor in *Das Buch der Freunde* in brief (A,p32) and at length in a letter to Rudolf Borchardt (who translated *Imaginary Conversations* into German) in an admiring, but slightly critical comment on Borchardt's poem, "Der ruhende Herakles".  

Landor was another example of the British gentleman, and Hofmannsthal admired him as much as a man as he did as a critic. Another influence upon these epistolary and conversational essays was Walter Pater's *Imaginary Portraits*, which Hofmannsthal had admired greatly upon first reading in 1894 (B I,p110). But Landor had something that Pater lacked—a vigor that is artistic as well as critical, that can make mistakes and arouse controversy, but that never lacks interest or vitality. This is what Hofmannsthal tried to achieve in his own literary essays—not only a sound

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16 Hofmannsthal-Borchardt, pp. 183-184.
criticism and analysis of his subject matter, but an inclusion of his own artistic personality so that each essay could be an artistic as well as a critical success. And as in Landor, the artist in Hofmannsthal often overwhelms the critic, and something beyond an analysis of Goethe's style or a criticism of the German abroad is achieved—a prose work whose value lies in its artistry as well as its information, and whose language tells as much of the author as of the person discussed.

V

It was to a large extent this mixture of criticism and poetry that Hofmannsthal was looking for in English Aesthetics. In 1893 and 1894, Hofmannsthal occupied himself very much with the Pre-Raphaelites and the Aesthetes in an attempt to develop his own aesthetic philosophy and further strengthen his own literary progress in the essay form.\(^{17}\)

Mary Gilbert finds that it was the ability of the Pre-Raphaelites to reveal the characters' emotions through their gestures in their pictures and poetry which was their greatest appeal for Hofmannsthal.\(^{18}\) He was very impressed

\(^{17}\) Hofmannsthal did not distinguish between the two groups very definitely, preferring to consider them both aspects of English Aesthetics, but by "Pre-Raphaelite", he more frequently meant the painters rather than the poets. To him, Ruskin was an Aesthete and so he will be considered in this dissertation. Also, in this chapter, the Pre-Raphaelites and Aesthetes will be considered as one group. Later in Chapter IX and X, each group will be considered separately.

by Edward Burne-Jones' portrait "Fan and Psyche" (B I, p. 97; P I, p. 227-228) and attempted to express in his "Idylle" (1893) what Burne-Jones had expressed in his paintings, much as Rossetti used poetry to portray a picture or a portrait to picture a poem. This interchangeability of words and gestures ("Gebärde") as expressed in painting is also shown in Hofmannsthal's poems about actors and in "Die Beiden" (1896) where all the emotions between a man and a woman are expressed only in gestures; no words are necessary. Mauser finds in this use of "Gebärde", an attempted solution for the realization, shown by Hofmannsthal in the Chandos letter, of the inability of words to really express what a poet is attempting to say, a solution which is best illustrated in the later works by the clown sequence as told by Hans Karl in Der Schwierige. 19

Hofmannsthal was not a painter and could not merge painting and poetry as the Pre-Raphaelites had done. But he found another way to express "Gebärde" in words. He elaborated on the advantages of gestures over words in his essay "Über die Pantomime" (1911):

Eine reine Gebärde ist wie ein reiner Gedanke, von dem auch das augenblickliche Geistreiche, das begrenzte Individuelle, das fratzenhaft Charakteristische abgestreift ist. In reinen

Gedanken tritt die Persönlichkeit vermöge ihrer Hoheit und Kraft hervor, nicht eben allen sogleich fasslich. So tritt in reinen Gebarden die wahre Persönlichkeit ans Licht und über die Maßen reichlich wird der scheinbare Verzicht auf Individualität aufgewogen. (P III,p49)

He had written of the Pre-Raphaelites in 1894:

Alle diese Maler, mehr Dichter als Maler, sagten doch in ihrer Manier manches, wofür die Poesie kein Organ hat. Wenn sie auch mehr interpretierten als schufen, so lag doch gerade in ihrer Interpretation eine so essentielle Poesie, eine so geistreiche Beherrschung und Beseelung der körperlichen Dinge! Kunst ist schließlich Natur auf Umwegen...

(P I,p198)

The ultimate influence of the attempt of Hofmannsthall to express poetry by motion like the Pre-Raphaelites rests in his choreographic pieces written for his dancer friends, Grete Wiesenthal and Nijinsky under the direction of Diaghilev: Der Triumph der Zeit (1900), Amor und Psyche (1911), Das fremde Mädchen (1911), Josephslegende (1914), and Die Grüne Flöte (1923). Even in the years just before his death, he kept emphasizing the value of "Gebärde" learned from the Pre-Raphaelites. In a dialogue between a poet and a pantomime artist, eventually intended as part of a drama, Timon der Redner, he writes in 1927:

Hofmannsthal thus felt he could capture the moment in the gesture of a dancer or the words of a poem as the Pre-Raphaelites had captured it on canvas or in words. 20

In the literary essays about Swinburne and Pater (1893 and 1894), Hofmannsthal could already see, despite his admiration for artists, the "eigentümlich Zerbrechliches, der Isolierung Bedürftiges" (P I, 114-115) of their art. Much as he admired Swinburne's use of words and his revivification of Greek tragedy, which encouraged Hofmannsthal to attempt Alkestis in 1893, he criticized the English poet's living, as it were, in a room darkened by tapestry-hung windows, filled with Romantic music which shut such aesthetes away from the real brutality of the world outside. This is the life that Claudio, the "closed-off man", Hofmannsthal's most famous representative of the aesthete, lives, a life which can find meaning only in death.

In June, 1894, he analyzed the English Aesthetic movement thus in his diary:

Englischer Ästhetismus als Element unserer Kultur.
I. Erstes Entgegentreten: als Sonderbarkeit, wohl etwa Affektation, Kostümtragen etc. II.

20 This is a fairly common interest in modern Romanti-
Oscar Wilde, "Intentions": starker narkotischer Zauber, sophistisch verführerisch, unelegant paradoxal, Reaktion gegen englischen Utilitarianismus. III. Ruskin, Pater, Madox Brown, Rossetti, Burne-Jones—die tiefen Zusammenhänge mit Seelenleben; das Ganze als Versuch einer inneren Kultur. (A, p. 108)

Hamburger comments on Hofmannsthal's youthful perspicacity at seeing the Aesthetic movement as a reaction to utilitarianism. Another striking thing is the maturation of his attitude toward these artists. From the intense admiration he felt for Swinburne and Rossetti, when first introduced to their works by George in 1891, and the enjoyment he received from the first reading of Intentions in 1892, he has come to see that much of their philosophy is "gefährlich wie Opiu, "ein Übernährtes und Überwachsenes Element unserer Kultur" (P1, p. 204). It would be interesting to know more surely how much his criticism of the English Aesthetes was influenced by his increasing revulsion toward George, whom he might have felt to be almost their sponsor. Certainly, these two attitudes parallel each other and it is true that much of what Hofmannsthal found objectionable in George is what was also the flaw of the English Aesthetes. He felt attracted by the use of the words of the poets

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22 It is on an unpublished list of English books read in 1892, with comments about Wilde's clarity of character depiction, "die Menschen, die man durch das Buch durchsieht."
Swinburne, Rossetti, and Wilde and by the understanding of
the Renaissance shown by Ruskin and Pater. The "englische-
ästhetisch-moralische Form" is a contributing factor to his
own theory that "die Grundlage des Ästhetischen ist
Sittlichkeit." (A,p101). But he could see also the excesses
to which the Aesthetes were finally driven to prove their
theory of "art for art's sake" in a Victorian England. The
very elements of the strength behind English, as opposed to
Continental, aestheticism lay in the Victorian morality which
had restrained and guided its beginnings. When their revo-
lution tore itself loose from its moral roots, Hofmannsthal
felt himself forced to write, in 1895:

Große Anfänge, jetzige Depravation.--Ein Kreislauf;
sich wechselseitig steigernd, befruchtend-verderb-
lich, zwischen England-Belgien-Frankreich. Künste
neigen sich einander zu, entfernen sich vom Publi-
kum...--Die erste Wirkung von England (Rossetti)
Swinburne ein Höhepunkt; jetzt das Raffinement der
jungen halben Talente.--Pater schon morbide
Ausschreitung dieses Verfolgen in die vagen, dem
Kunstschaffen zugrund-liegenden Emotionen(?).
(A,p123-124)

His final abandonment of English Aestheticism was cen-
tered around the figure of Oscar Wilde. Wilde had been an
early favorite of Hofmannsthal's. Mary Gilbert points out
that Wilde's ideas about the inhibiting effect of dreams
upon actions in Intentions and The Picture of Dorian Gray
are echoed in "Manche freilich" and "Terzinen über
Vergänglichkeit". Although Hofmannsthal denied it, Salomé had a small, but definite, influence on Elektra, which I will elaborate upon in Chapter X, in the Orientalization of the Greek tragedy and the actual staging of the play.

But Hofmannsthal soon realized that an author who could write: "No artist has ethical sympathies. An ethical sympathy in an artist is an unpardonable mannerism of style... It is the spectator and not life that art really mirrors... All art is quite useless," that such an artist had an aesthetic philosophy irreconcilable with his own. No artist can avoid such "ethical sympathies", no matter how opposed he may be to them in theory, is amply proven by the extremely moral tone of Wilde's own fairy tales, e.g., "The Happy Prince" and "The Selfish Giant" as well as the less obvious one of the social comedies, e.g., Lady Windermere's Fan, and the novel, The Picture of Dorian Gray, to say nothing of the final De Profundis.

In his 1905 essay, "Sebastian Melmoth", Hofmannsthal attempts to answer the question of why Oscar Wilde, symbol for all of European aestheticism of an untrammeled life lived for art, became the broken Sebastian Melmoth (the name under

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23 Gilbert, op. cit., p. 186

which Wilde lived in Paris) of his final days. Hofmannsthal states that Wilde's lack of discipline, his playing with reality without any controls, which is an actual denial of reality, was his fatal flaw, a hybris similar to that of Oedipus, which led to inevitable destruction. In contrast to Wilde's views, the real world does not separate evil from good, beauty from ugliness, poetry from life. These seemingly contradictory concepts are intermingled and an attempt to separate them is impossible:

Man kann kein Ding ausschließen und keines für so niedrig nehmen, daß es nicht eine sehr große Macht sei. Es gibt, vom Standpunkte des Lebens betrachtet, kein Ding das "dazu gehört". Es ist überall alles. Alles ist im Reigen. (P II,p120)

Hofmannsthal always sought "Verknüpfung mit dem Leben"(A,214). In "Der Jüngling und die Spinne" (1897) he states in poetic language the same truth he later expressed in the Wilde essay. Nothing can or should shield the artist from contact with the realities of life and society, neither love, as the "Jüngling" has used it, or art, as Wilde has used it, can keep away the moment of truth of the cyclical and all-inclusive nature of life. Even earlier, Hofmannsthal had used the image of curtains shutting off the world as symbolic of the attitude of the English Aesthetes. Painful as it was for the super-sensitive Hofmannsthal, he made contact with life and society and directed his talents in that line, particularly in his essays, morality plays, and opera librettos.
Despite his rejection of the Aesthetic philosophy, Hofmannsthal did retain several important assets from the English writers. Primarily, the concept of a moral basis for art remained with him. Also, the language of some of the writers, at their more controlled level, particularly that of Swinburne, was to influence his own writing for a considerable length of time. (See Chapters IX and X). And, although he rejected Pater as a creative artist, because of his sterility in Marius the Epicurean, and felt that his critical methods lacked validity, he still continued to admire his clear insight into other people's artistic creations. Ruskin he abandoned eventually, but Pater never ceased to be one of his favorite examples of the creative critic, a type which Hofmannsthal also felt himself to be.

VI

It is perhaps in the development of Hofmannsthal's dramatic works from 1891 to 1904, particularly those with a Renaissance background, that the strong English basis of his works then can be most clearly demonstrated. Gestern (1891), the first of these dramas written before Hofmannsthal had read much English literature, is short and lyrical, centered around one character, an aesthete-type, who learns one truth: Man cannot live only for the here and
now. The past still has its effects. Andrea has few dimensions; he is almost a stereotype of the fin-de-siècle artist, and the other characters exist only to point out the moral of the drama to him. Only the language makes Gestern memorable.

Der Tod des Tizian (1892) is incomplete, but one aspect emerges: Tizian, the artist, is again the only important character in the play. Although he never appears on the stage, the students who do are only spokesmen for the view of the false artist, to more clearly point out the genius of their master. An abortive attempt to write a full-scale, Romeo and Juliet-type tragedy, Ascanio und Gioconda (1892-1892), showed that Hofmannsthal was not yet artistically mature enough to handle a larger dramatic work.

Although Der Tor und der Tod (1892) has no Renaissance background, it fits the pattern of Hofmannsthal's dramatic growth and could as easily be set in Renaissance Italy; even the names are Italian. The drama is still basically centered on one character, an artistic type, with the others only facets of his guilt. Yet Claudio is a far more developed character than Andrea, not just the stereotype of an artist, but a human being also.

By 1893, Hofmannsthal had read many of Browning's poems and probably, Shelley's The Cenci. In them as well as in the Pre-Raphaelites he had been reading, he found the fashion of
revivification of the Renaissance by writers closer to his own generation.

In Browning's works, particularly, Hofmannsthal found a union of all the elements he needed for his own dramas: the positive attitude toward life and society, the love for Italy he himself felt, the Renaissance or Byzantine backgrounds, the deep comprehension of the role of the true artist as opposed to the man who misuses his talents, an amazing array of fully-dimensioned characters, and a new and exciting combination of the dramatic and lyric forms.

It was Browning's artists that first aroused Hofmannsthal's interest. His earliest notes on the English writer, made in 1893, contain quotations from "Fra Lippo Lippi" and "Cleon." The opening lines of Der Tor und der Tod, written that year, show marked similarity to lines from "Andrea del Sarto". Since Andrea, while not exactly an aesthete, has abused his talents, Hofmannsthal uses twilight, as Browning has done, to symbolize the wasted life of this artist.

"Die letzten Berge liegen nun im Glanz," Claudio begins gloriously, but the twilight soon brings the sadness of his uncommitted life home to him:

Doch wie mein Blick dem Nahen näher gleitet,  
Wird alles öde, verletzender und trüber;  
Es scheint mein ganzes so versäumtes Leben,  
Verlorene Lust und nie geweinte Tränen,  
Um diese Gassen, dieses Haus zu weben  
Und ewig sinnlos Suchen, wirres Sehnen.  
(GLD, 199-200)
Andrea, also gazing at a twilight scene outside, has similar regrets:

The last monk leaves the garden; days decrease,
And autumn grows, autumn in everything.
Eh? the whole seems to fall into a shape
As if I saw alike my work and self
And all that I was born to be or do,
A twilight-piece. (ll. 45-50)

Hofmannsthal, from the early admiration for Browning's depiction of the artist, which he himself had been attempting to define in drama, began to realize the extent to which Browning was able to clearly depict many other figures also, not in such full detail as Shakespeare, but in a few significant lines in a manner far more suitable to a modern poet. In an analysis of the difference in character depiction of the two English poets, both so important to him, he wrote:


The depiction of character is Hofmannsthal's main legacy from Browning. One can see the increasing use of "Gebärde," first found in the Pre-Raphaelites, represented in more active poetic fashion, as another influence of Browning. And the crossing of lines of destiny, the adventure, sound

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almost like prescriptions for Hofmannsthal's early comedies, e.g. **Cristinas Heimreise**.

In addition to the artist figures of Browning, certain other types begin to appear in Hofmannsthal's dramas, more full of vigor and reality than his earlier characters had been. One is the Byzantine emperor. The hero of **Der Kaiser und die Hexe** is undoubtedly based on Browning's "Protus". Here Hofmannsthal uses the same gesture that Browning does, to indicate, in a few words, the unlimited power that such a ruler possesses:

Born in the porphyry chamber in Byzant. Queens by his cradle, proud and ministrant...
...The captains ranged before him, one, his hand
Made baby points at, gained the chief command.

"Protus"(ll. 10-13)\(^{26}\)

\[\text{Als ich in der Wiege lag}
\text{Trug ich Purpur, um mich her}
\text{Stellten sich im Kreise Männer,}
\text{Und auf wen mit unbewußtem}
\text{Finger ich nach Kindesart}
\text{Lallend deutete, der war}
\text{Über Heere, über Flotten,}
\text{Über Länder, zum Gebieter Ausgewählt.}\]

**Der Kaiser und die Hexe** (GLD, p. 274)

In one gesture of a baby's hand, Browning portrayed the decadence and unreasonableness of the Byzantine Empire and the background of his hero. Hofmannsthal borrowed this. He was learning the art of the monologue as a device for modern drama.

\(^{26}\)Ibid., p. 283.
Another type Hofmannsthal found in Browning as well as in other writers and used himself is the jealous husband. He is also found in the character of the Emperor. Here Hofmannsthal uses the reaction of a husband whose wife smiles at other people, which Browning uses in "My Last Duchess", to show a man who feels his own importance should make his wife concentrate her attentions completely on himself (See Chapter VII). A difference lies in that the Emperor has learned that this is an error. In the later unfinished play, Die Gräfin Pompilia, based on The Ring and the Book, discussed at length in Chapter VIII, Hofmannsthal again uses the figure of such a man, Guido, whose pride in family and self makes it necessary for him to destroy a wife who does not meet his standards.

Hofmannsthal found in Browning's Paracelsus a modern treatment of the man whose Faustian character had been of interest to many writers, e.g. Goethe. Paracelsus became the inspiration for "Ein Traum von großer Magie" and to a lesser extent, Das Bergwerk zu Falun (1899). One of the mottoes Hofmannsthal considered using over this play was "The sad rhyme of the man who proudly clung/ To his first fault, and withered in his pride." 27 The original quotation

27 Walter Brecht, "Über Hugo von Hofmannsthals 'Bergwerk zu Falun'," Corona, III (1936), 211 ff.
from Paracelsus, whom Browning interprets as failing to completely help his fellow men and to succeed in the full use of his genius because he lacks human love, is: "The sad rhyme of the men who proudly clung/ To their first fault and withered in their pride."^28

A character type, not from Browning, but a heritage of the English and American Romantics, was combined by Hofmannsthal, in the late 1890's, with Browning's more realistic figures to portray the attractions and dangers of the poet's power of imagination. It is that of the witch-woman, such as Keats' Lamia or "La belle dame sans merci" or Shelley's The Witch of Endor. In Hofmannsthal's works, these figures are echoed by the Witch in Der Kaiser und die Hexe and the "Bergkönigin" in Das Bergwerk zu Falun. Keats represents the peril as well as the charm of such women, but Shelley, who used his poetic imagination as an escape from life, sees them only as a miraculous chance to effect this escape. Hofmannsthal has Keats' attitude of both attraction and repulsion toward them. In another usage inspired by the Romantic writers, Hofmannsthal uses the witch-woman in contrast to a mortal woman, who represents the poet's relationship to society. So the Empress is contrasted with the Witch and Anna is contrasted with the Bergkönigin as Coleridge's

^28Browning, op. cit.
Christabel is paired with Geraldine in "Christabel" and Poe's Rowena with Ligea in "Ligea!" (See Chapters V and XIII for Hofmannsthal's knowledge of the works of Coleridge and Poe).

In the plays of 1897, Der weiße Fächer, Der Kaiser und die Hexe, Das kleine Welttheater, and Die Frau am Fenster, a further development occurs. Instead of only one well-depicted character, there are two or more and they are not all necessarily the artists or aesthetes or reflections of their philosophy. However, still very much in the pattern of Browning's dramatic monologues, or in the case of Das kleine Welttheater, like his Pippa Passes, the characters interact only passively or express their own personalities without much Aristotelian dianoia, a verbal sparring, which permits the characters to affect each other through the medium of their speeches. This is one of the main prerequisites of genuine drama, and Hofmannsthal's dramas of this period still lack this element. It was not to be found in Browning, who, although he could depict a character's inner soul in a brief monologue, could hardly be called a brilliant dramatist. Hofmannsthal began to turn, instead, to a source with which he was well acquainted from earlier reading--the Elizabethan drama. Not only Shakespeare, but most of the other dramatists of the period were familiar to him. Significantly, the next play, Die Hochzeit der Sobeide (1899) has a motto from
Fletcher's (and Shakespeare's) *The Two Noble Kinsmen.*

In *Die Hochzeit* and in *Das Bergwerk zu Falun,* written the same year, Hofmannsthal has progressed dramatically. Although each centers around one person, the minor characters are more fully developed and it is in reaction to them that the personalities of Sobeide and Elis achieve full dimension.

The first major attempt by Hofmannsthal to combine the best of what he had learned from Browning in the monologue and in the ability to create real characters with the dramatic structure and character interaction of an Elizabethan drama is the never-completed *Die Gräfin Pompilia* (1902), a five-act drama in blank verse based on Browning's *The Ring and the Book.* In this play, Hofmannsthal also tried to completely subordinate his own personality, something he had never been able to do before. The previous Hofmannsthal plays almost all contain a hero who shows features of Hofmannsthal's ego or demonstrates a facet of the artistic problems facing him. In August, 1901, he wrote, however:


This dramatic objectivity came from both Browning and
the Elizabethans. Later the same month, writing to Arthur Schnitzler, he emphasizes his own comprehension of his growth in objectivity and self-control as a dramatist:

Den Vormittag, ohne Ausnahme, arbeite ich an meinem großen Stück, mit sehr viel Zurückhaltung und Überlegung, ganz anders als sonst. Es ist ja auch zum erstenmal in meinem Leben eine wirklich dramatische Aufgabe. (B II, p. 53)

The incomplete play shows his success. Even more than in the later Das gerettete Venedig, there is no reflection of the problem of the aesthetic personality. Each one of the characters is fully rounded. Even from the notes left, a completeness emerges for each of many figures that is lacking in any previous work. Here is Browning's compassion for his characters, which are full of vitality, illumined by Hofmannsthal's masterful usage of the German language, his knowledge of modern psychology, and a dramatic tautness, learned from the Elizabethan drama, that condenses Browning's rambling narrative into an immensely stage-worthy play. In my opinion, the finished play would have equalled any of Hofmannsthal's best non-allegorical tragedies, Das gerettete Venedig, Elektra, or Der Turm, all also based on older works of literature.

Das gerettete Venedig is complete. In addition to the magnificent language that one had come to expect from Hofmannsthal, he has gained in the years from 1891 to 1904, through his exposure to Browning, the Elizabethans, and now,
Otway, the ability to write a complete drama that could be and was presented on the stage. The writing of *Elektra*, which shows the same dramatic growth, weaves through the writing of the longer play and shows the influence of Swinburne and Wilde.

Yet after 1904, Hofmannsthal turned away from English literature to Greek and Spanish literature for his dramatic works. This can perhaps be traced to two factors, neither expressed by Hofmannsthal, but apparent from the pattern of works of the remainder of his life. Hofmannsthal was prone to write and re-write the same work until he was satisfied with it. In many cases, this satisfaction was never achieved, but Hofmannsthal seems to have felt with his Shakespearean drama, first attempted in 1892 with *Ascanio und Gioconda*, that he had succeeded in *Das gerettete Venedig*. That is probably why he never completed *Die Gräfin Pompilia*. He had wanted to write a Shakespearean drama and now that he had done so, he had no more urge to continue in this line. Ever seeking perfection in his work in new fields, he felt that he had gleaned all that this one had to offer.

The second factor is that Hofmannsthal did not find an element of myth and mysticism that he wanted in the works of a rational and Protestant England. After the English period, Hofmannsthal wrote a series of Greek dramas, beginning with *Elektra*, that explore not only man's relationship to
man, but to fate and God. This desire for greater spiritual meaning for his dramas is responsible for his attraction to Calderon's autos and dramas and the old morality play, Everyman (originally Dutch). In his collaboration with Richard Strauss, French comedy seemed to provide the proper atmosphere, and toward the last fifteen years of his life, his own native Vienna and its Slavic background exercised more and more influence.

Hofmannsthal never stopped reading English literature or being interested in English and American culture, but these were now minor, rather than major factors in his works. Yet, English influences shaped the most important period of his artistic life, that of the maturation period from 1891 to 1904. To a large extent, they formed his aesthetic philosophy, his personal moral code and his development as a real dramatist, poetic critic, and poet.

In the main body of this dissertation, the English and American influences on the life and works of Hugo von Hofmannsthal will be investigated in detail. Some of those considered in this introduction will be elaborated upon and other minor influences will be shown for the first time. A concluding section lists all the English and American influences I have been able to discover in Hofmannsthal's works, as well as all the more important references to English and American literature. Although Mary Gilbert and
Michael Hamburger have partially succeeded in their shorter articles in investigating Hofmannsthal’s connections with England, the scope of their works was limited by their length, so that many minor influences and details were of necessity omitted or ignored, and American influences, when mentioned at all, are classed with the British. This dissertation will attempt to fill the gap that exists in Hofmannsthal scholarship in this regard.
Chapter I
Hofmannsthal and English Life and Culture

Much of Hofmannsthal's knowledge of English culture was obtained not only through literature but through the medium of his English friends, which were numerous. They ranged from an English sailor, who commented on the young Austrian's handling of his own small sailboat, the "Möwe" (B I, pp. 14-15), and an old lady with whom he discussed Sir Henry Irving and Laurence Oliphant at Bad Fusch—he comments that he would have preferred discussing them with her daughter (B I, p. 22)—to members of the British embassy in Vienna and such figures as Lady Diana Duff Cooper, Lord Robert Vansittart, poet and Foreign Office Secretary, dramatist John Drinkwater, classicist Gilbert Murray, theatrical designer Edward Gordon Craig, Cyril Scott and Ethel Smyth.

He planned a trip to London with Hermann Bahr and urged him to learn English for it (B I, p. 32). The trip never materialized and Hofmannsthal's only visits to London were one in 1900, without Bahr, and one in 1925, both of only a few days' duration. The English habits to which he adhered in his youth have already been discussed in the introduction.

Even in Hofmannsthal's later years, he continued his English habits. He was a constant reader of the London Times as he was of English literature.¹ Especially during World

¹B II, pp. 170, 353, etc. Hamburger also mentions that
War I he showed a great interest in British politics, as evinced by his correspondence with Carl J. Burckhardt and Josef Redlich. When Austrian extreme chauvinists wanted to ban English and other "hostile" languages from being taught in the Austrian schools, he wrote a protest against this boycott, "Boykott fremder Sprachen" (P III, pp. 182-188). This was one of a series of articles written during the war, mostly for the "Presse", in which the cosmopolitan Hofmannsthal, himself a product of Austrian, Italian, and Jewish backgrounds, tried to define the position of his country and his culture against a background of the upheaval that the war had brought to them. Hofmannsthal was a patriot, too, but his patriotism was an outgrowth of the feeling that the poet cannot shut himself off from life but must participate in it. He could see that the boycotting of foreign languages would do more to injure the Austrians than they would gain. It was not a matter of revenge or just a cultural problem, but a practical one of communications with one's foes in victory or defeat. One could not deny the existence or importance of England by denying the learning of English:


The war that might be lost on the battlefield could still be won at the peace talks and in the commercial dealings of a post-war world. Hofmannsthal was intelligent enough to appeal to the practical side of his countrymen, and to offer them an asset that would not fail even if they lost the war. For himself, he was preserving some seeds for his culturally-united western Europe, his "Idee Europa".

Hofmannsthal was interested in many facets of English life: the English epitaphs in Westminster Abbey (he quotes several, including one by Shakespeare in his "Buch der Freunde" [A, p. 11, p. 23]), English names (he writes in some unpublished, undated, notes of "die gentleness gewisser Namen. Lady Jane Grey--"), English stagecraft (he wanted one of his unfinished productions to have "Kostüme im Geist Aubrey Beardsley" [B II, p. 174, D II, p. 523] and was, as mentioned previously, a friend of Gordon Craig's), English painting (which will be discussed at greater length in Chapter IX), the actual literature, which is the subject of this dissertation, the English magazine as such, the English public school, and the "hero" or "gentleman".
Hofmannsthal thoroughly disliked many of the periodicals of his day and suggested forming one on an eighteenth century English model. In December, 1921, he wrote to Marie Luise Borchardt:

-Aber wunderbar ist dies, ich sinne über die Zeitung nach, wie man sie ganz anders machen kann, als alle diese grässlichen monthlies und quarterlies unserer grässlichen Zeitgenossen, wie man sie amüsant machen kann, und so daß ein Enkel wenn er sie einmal in die Hand nimmt, ein bisschen Spaß daran findet, und etwas von geistiger elegance, ein bisschen leicht auch—and das Ernstes so wie es in der Existenz da ist: mit dem Leichten und dem Zarten und dem Mildigen sich mischend, und nichts von der grässlichen sterilen Aufgeregtheit und zugleich Dumphheit von der alles erfüllt ist was diese langweiligen neuropathischen Orang-utangs, unsere Colleges, von sich geben—und da blitzt mir die Erinnerung auf an Auszüge aus dem Spectator die ich einmal in einer Arbeit über Addison gelesen [probably in Georg Christoph Lichtenberg's Aphorismen, Berlin (1902, 1904)] und ich bitte auf einem Zettel einen gefälligen Beamten der Hofbibliothek, mir ein paar Bände der alten Zeitschrift hervorzusuchen—and nun haben Sie dort den "Spectator" in Händen! Ja, Marel, so will icha ja machen. Es sollen Dinge darin stehen, sonderbare und bedeutende Tatsachen, Witze, Anekdoten—...ich will kleine Geschichten aus dem Bogwell hinsetzen,...Fetzen aus Coleridges Table-Talk...

So the short-lived (1711-1714), but immortal, English periodical, Addison and Steele's Spectator was considered as a model for a contemporary Austrian magazine.

Hofmannsthal's strong admiration for the British public school led to an apparently serious scheme to found such a school in Vienna with his friend, Eberhard von Bodenhausen, as the headmaster. A letter to Bodenhausen, written on June 25,

3Hofmannsthal-Borchardt, pp. 161-162.
1905, outlines the plans for the Wilhelm-Ernst-Schule, with a schedule based on the British model, for boys from ten to sixteen.\footnote{Hofmannsthall-Bodenhausen, pp. 64-70.} The difference between this and the conventional Viennese one was to give a greater emphasis on French and English, taught by native teachers. The headmaster was to be sent to England to study his model, and the native English instructor was to instruct the boys in cricket and tennis; one can see that Hofmannsthal had great respect for the character-forming powers of the playing fields of Eton. Since Bodenhausen was not himself interested in the headmastership and felt that not enough qualified instructors could be found, the idea was abandoned.

I have already discussed the importance of the idea of the British gentleman, developed by such an education, for Hofmannsthal. Related to the "gentleman" concept was that of the "hero" or "man of genius", which he expressed in "Der Dichter und diese Zeit" (1906):

Welchen lebendvollen und imponierenden Gebrauch
macht der Engländer heute und macht ihn seit
sechs Generationen, von seinem "man of genius".
Er schränkt ihn nicht auf seine Dichter ein; und
doch haftet allen denen, von denen er ihn braucht,
etwas Dichterisches an, ihnen oder ihren Schicksalen.
Er bedenkt sich nicht, ihn auch auf einen
Mann anzuwenden, der nicht von der allerseitssten
geistigen Universalität ist. Aber es muß eine
Gestalt sein, aus der etwas Außerordentliches
hervorblitzt, etwas Unvergleichliches von Kühnheit,
von Glück, von Geisteskraft oder von Hingabe. Es
Warren Hastings and Cecil Rhodes were special favorites of the English "grand old man." They were the Winston Churchills of their times and the highest praise that Hofmannsthal's returned traveler could bestow upon an Englishman was that character's appraisal of a dying young Scot in a Montevideo hospital in "Briefe des Zurückgekehrten" (1908): "Viel von dem Stoff war in ihm, woraus die englische Rasse ihre Warren Hastings und Cecil Rhodes macht." (P II, p. 281).

Hofmannsthal's shortcoming in his understanding of English life lay in the illusion that England was governed by an aristocracy composed of such heroic men. In the early essay about Laurence Oliphant ("Englisches Leben", 1891) he writes of England:

Der Vergleich mit dem cäsarischen Rom drängt sich auf: hier wie dort eine Aristokratie, die es verstanden hat, sich den Forderungen der Zeit anzupassen: eine Clique, die so groß ist, daß sie nicht notwendig hat, engherzig zu sein, und die wirklich zu herrschen verdient, weil sie alle Herrschergaben in sich vereinigt: den Landbesitz, der die Führung mit dem Volk, und die Verwaltungstellen, welche die universellste Erziehung bedeuten, die natürliche Führerschaft in politischen und die erworbene in praktischen Fragen. (P I, p. 55)

The dominance of such an aristocracy existed in the Elizabethan England of the Chandos letter that Hofmannsthal
found so congenial, but it did not in Victorian England. Hofmannsthal saw England in terms of an upper-class dominated, religious, conservative life in a monarchy, very similar to his own life in Austria. Drawing only on the elements in English society, literature, history, and life which interested him, he ignored many others: the commercialism, the growing bourgeoisie which dominated the England of his day and the rise of liberalism in politics and society. The England he admired had ceased to exist with the Industrial Revolution. However, limited as the England he saw was, it had a tremendous influence on his works.
Chapter II

Hofmannsthal, Everyman and the Elizabethans

Everyman:

Hofmannsthal was apparently not acquainted with any English literature prior to that written in the fifteenth century. The earliest English work that he read was the morality play, Everyman, which was translated from the Dutch for the English stage by a Catholic priest during the reign of Edward IV. Georg von Franckenstein, a close friend of Hofmannsthal's, sent a copy of the play from London to his brother, Clemens, in Vienna. Clemens von Franckenstein introduced Hofmannsthal to the play, for Hofmannsthal writes to him in April, 1902:

...ich danke Dir vielmals. "Everyman" hat mir einen sehr großen Eindruck gemacht, nicht so sehr der Text, weil ich ziemlich viele wunderschöne solche Moralitaten und "mystères" kenne (mittelhochdeutsch, altfranzösisch, und besonders die in der Erfindung wundervollen "autos" von Calderon), aber diesmal hab' ich einen besonderen Genuss gehabt durch Deine genaunen szenischen Angaben, die mir ein fortwährendes Bühnenbild gegeben haben. Die Engländer sind sehr glücklich, sich hier nicht an sehr Fernes, sondern an die Belebung des Altchristlichen durch die modernen Präraaffaeliten anlehnen zu können, sozusagen eine ausgegossene Form des stilisierten zu besitzen.1

Hofmannsthal first planned to use only the scenario of Everyman for a projected drama, Dominic Heintls letzter Tag,

which was never completed, but which would have been the story of the last day of an avaricious man, combining elements from Ben Jonson's *Volpone*, Robert Louis Stevenson's *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* and *Everyman*. He states for the benefit of future critics, in March, 1907:

> Der Motivenjäger durchblickt die Verwendung von "Jedermann" fürs Szenarium, gelegentlich "Volpone", verwebt mit dem Motiv "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde". (A, p. 158)

The review of a person's whole life in the last few hours, a theme already used by Hofmannsthal in the earlier *Der Tod und der Tod* (1893) and *Die Frau am Fenster* (1897), also attracted him to *Everyman*. In "Ad me ipsum" he writes of this theme in regard to his works:

> Jedermann "Heintl"—der Aspekt der letzten Stunde als Steigerung/Tizian/Girondins/Frau am Fenster. (A, p. 229)

Unfortunately, the manuscript of *Dominic Heintl*, to be published by Herbert Steiner in its incomplete form, had not yet appeared at the time of the writing of this dissertation, which limits my discussion.

After abandoning plans for *Dominic Heintl* (1908), Hofmannsthal finished his *Jedermann* (1911), which he had been working on for eight years, a close adaptation of the original play. A detailed account is unnecessary here, since he himself has written an essay, "Das alte Spiel von Jedermann", closely recounting the history of the conception and execu-
tion of his own play (P III, pp. 114-132). There are also an article by Walter Brecht, "Die Vorläufer von Hofmannsthals 'Jedermann'", written during his lifetime by this friend of his, and therefore, presumably with his approval, and two dissertations, Herbert Lindner's *Jedermann und seine Vorgänger* and Ursula Schulz's *Die Beziehungen von Hofmannsthals "Jedermann" zu "Everyman" und "Hecastus"*, which thoroughly develop the subject of the influence of *Everyman* on *Jedermann*.²

It is debatable whether the use of *Everyman* can truly be considered an English influence. The play that Hofmannsthal read was an adaptation of an older play, translated from the Dutch. As a morality play, it is not limited to a national literature, and Hofmannsthal recognized its similarity, in the letter to Franckenstein, to its French, German and Spanish counterparts. It is not the lyric or dramatic influences that Hofmannsthal found in the Elizabethans or the Romantic writers that drew him to this play. It was rather the moral and religious facets which he could use for an allegorical drama, precursor of those he was to base on the autos of Calderon.

Shakespeare:

Shakespeare's plays had more influence on Hofmannsthal than the works of any other English writer. But, as Hofmannsthal himself pointed out: "Shakespeare nenne ich erst gar nicht, seinem Einfluß hat sich kein Deutscher entzogen." (P IV, p. 118). As shown in the introduction, Hofmannsthal did have the advantage of reading Shakespeare in the original.

Max Proske, in his dissertation, Hugo von Hofmannsthal und sein Verhältnis zu Shakespeare (München, 1955), has made a thorough study of Shakespearean influences in the works of Hofmannsthal. Of special interest are his character comparisons. Hamlet's influence appears in Claudio and Sigismund; Prospero's in the "Magier" and in Julian; Iago's, Richard III's and Macbeth's form a basis for Julian's character; King Claudius shapes King Basilius, and Födinbras is a fore-runner of the Kinderkönig. However, Proske limits these parallels by emphasizing that much that looks Shakespearean in Hofmannsthal's works is just a poetic universality common to all great writers.³

A facet of the Shakespearean influence not given sufficient attention by Proske is that of the Shakespearean

heroine in Hofmannsthal's plays and stories. In the "Loris" essay, "Englischer Stil" (1896), occasioned by the visit of the Barrison dancing troupe to Vienna, Hofmannsthal speaks of the girls' boyishness as being characteristic of the English young girl (P I, pp. 251-252). In Shakespeare's dramas, the girls resemble young boys and are frequently disguised as them (consider Rosalind, Viola and Portia, to mention just three). In the Elizabethan theatre, there would have been a double transformation, since the female characters were acted by male actors. So we have a boy disguised as a girl disguised as a boy. In a reverse fashion, but similarly androgynous, Octavian in Der Rosenkavalier is a female singer disguised as a boy disguised at times, as a girl. Shakespeare's influence seems to mingle with that of Mozart here, who used female singers for the roles of his boys.

Zdenka in Arabella is a true Viola, disguised for expediency and with her own Olivia in the shape of her sister, Arabella. The more feminine sister is more spirited than Olivia, however, and Proske compares her to Kate. "Lucidor", the story upon which Hofmannsthal bases Arabella, has this boyish girl, too.

Other Elizabethans:

The Chandos letter is addressed to Sir Francis Bacon, whom H. Stefan Schultz sees as representing Stefan George.  

4 H. Stefan Schultz, "Hofmannsthal and Bacon: The Sources
The essay is written in a German imitation of Elizabethan style, which is more poetic than Bacon's own. There is ample evidence shown by Schultz that Hofmannsthal read widely in Bacon's works including the *Novum Organum* and *Apothegms*.

Bacon's role as prosecutor in the Overbury trial forms a background for the unfinished play, *Essex und sein Richter*. Since Hofmannsthal quotes Overbury's wife's epitaph in his *Buch der Freunde* (A. p. 29), we can assume that he had some knowledge of the events behind the trial. The actual source for the play, also cited in *Buch der Freunde*, comes "aus einem Brief des Grafen von Essex geschrieben kurz vor seiner Hinrichtung:"

"I had none but divines to call upon me, to whom I said, if my ambition could have entered into their narrow hearts, they would not have been so humble; or if my delights had been once tasted by them, they would not have been so precise." (A, pp. 16-17)

It is an interview of this type, a meeting between Essex and a "divine" that is the basis for the *Essex und sein Richter* fragment. The relationship between Essex and his judge was, according to a letter written by Hofmannsthal to Burckhardt in July, 1926, to be similar to that between Olivier and Sigismund in *Der Turm*.

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5Hofmannsthal-Burckhardt, p. 219.
Hofmannsthal had a considerable knowledge of other Elizabethan and Jacobean writers: John Webster, John Ford, Philip Massinger, Thomas Dekker, Thomas Middleton, George Peele, Francis Beaumont, John Fletcher, Christopher Marlowe and Ben Jonson. In December, 1892, he wrote Marie Herzfeld: "Ich lese wieder einmal zum Feiertagsvergnügen Webster, Ford und Massinger." (B I, p. 71). Dekker's plays were found in his library with a comment in the margin: "Eine Art Testament des Dramatikers. Ich bin froh, daß ich Schauspielern so was gestaltet gegeben habe. Ich habe weitergeeifert mit Middleton, mit Dekker. Bin ich so viel wert wie Immermann, wie Beaumarchais? Kaum, aber ebenso anständiger Arbeiter."  

The motto over Die Hochzeit der Sobeide is from Shakespeare's (?) and Fletcher's Two Noble Kinsmen: "Des Kerkermeisters Tochter: 'Lieber Gott, wie verschieden sind Männer.' Altes englisches Trauerspiel 'Palamon und Arcite'."  

There are references to Marlowe's Tamburlaine and Doctor Faustus in Hofmannsthal's notebooks (A, p. 144). He wrote an introduction in 1911 to a new German translation by Alfred Walter Heymel of Edward II. In this, Hofmannsthal comments particularly on the importance of the connection of Marlowe

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6. Hamburger, op. cit., p. 41

7. D I, p. 83. Palamon and Arcite are the main characters in Chaucer's "The Knight's Tale" (in his Canterbury Tales) upon which The Two Noble Kinsmen is based.
and Shakespeare:


There is no documentary evidence of any influence from any Elizabethan plays in any of Hofmannsthal's works, except from Middleton's *The Spanish Gypsy*, in whose margin Hofmannsthal wrote some notes that point to a connection with *Cristinas Heimreise* and the influence already mentioned (p. 32) of Jonson's *Volpone* on *Dominic Heintls letzter Tag*. Hofmannsthal also later thought of writing a German adaptation of *Volpone*.

Nevertheless, Hofmannsthal could have found certain elements in some Elizabethan dramas that he was later to find again in other works more exactly suited to his specifications for his Renaissance-type dramas, *Venice Preserved* and *The Ring and the Book*: (1) a heroine of innocence and purity, whose reputation is assailed by a kinsman or friend of her husband's (in Webster's *White Divel* and *Duchess of Malfi*, in Massinger's

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8 Hamburger, op. cit., p. 49,
Duke of Milan; (2) abandonment, rejection or even attack from her own family (in *The White Devil* and *Duchess of Malfi*); (3) a trial of the innocent heroine for adultery or murder (in *The White Devil*); and (4) the Renaissance Italian setting, which seems, to the North European, to breed corruption and betrayal of innocence (in all the above-mentioned plays and many others). The early reading of such plays led to the writing of *Das gerettete Venedig* and *Die Gräfin Pompilia* in the early 1900's. A quarter of a century later, a few months before his death, Hofmannsthal wrote (in a letter quoted in English by Herbert Steiner):

> These Elizabethan Englishmen wrote out of their very existence, always with the most direct aim—so their words are truly those of contemporaries and life companions of Shakespeare.9

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Chapter III

Hofmannsthal and Seventeenth Century English Writers

Milton:

Hofmannsthal regarded John Milton as one of England's "men of genius" in "Der Dichter und diese Zeit" (P II, p. 234). In his notebooks, he writes in 1911 of Milton's "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso":


The same year he wrote in a letter to Rudolf Borchardt of how long he had been reading and enjoying these poems:

...was kann man mehr sagen, wenn man plötzlich bewußt wird, daß man nun fünfzehn Jahre, fast Sommer für Sommer, zwei Gedichte wie Miltons Allegro und Penseroso [Hofmannsthals substituted the correct Italian spelling] liest und wieder liest und sich dabei durchaus auf dem Wege fühlt, sie zu besitzen.¹

In two undated, unpublished notes, Hofmannsthal quotes from "Il Penseroso" ("But first, and chiepest, with thee bring,/Him that yon soars on golden wing,/ Guiding the fiery-

¹Hofmannsthal-Borchardt, p. 66. He must have read the poems before 1905 because they are mentioned in "Shakespeares Könige und große Herren" (1905) (P II, p. 132).
wheeled throne,"/ The Cherub Contemplation,...") and from Comus ("What hath night to do with sleep?"). Hamburger, although apparently unaware of this note, finds the latter time echoed in Der weiße Fächer, where the Mulatto Woman says: "Denn was hat Schlaf mit Nacht zu tun, was Jugend/Mit Treue?". There was also a notation in Hofmannsthal's copy of Boswell's Life of Johnson about Milton.  

In 1923, in an unpublished note for a speech he was planning about the nineteenth century, he mentions:

Miltons gelegentliche Affektation: Milton's temporary short and violent fit of conceit in his poem on the Passion: M. (for example) proposing to write his poems with his tears making white letters on a black ground and so on... (Hier verwandt mit den deutschen Barockdichtern)... die Unübersetzlichkeit Miltons kleineren Gedichten. Milton habe auch affektiert geschrieben (Cf. Criterion Aufsatz von W. P. Ker).  

Herbert Steiner feels that Comus is very akin to Das kleine Welttheater. But the Milton influence is felt most strongly in a much later work, Ariadne auf Naxos. The three Milton poems with which Hofmannsthal was most intimately acquainted have all left their imprints upon this play. In July, 1911, when Hofmannsthal wrote the note cited on p. 51,

4 Also published in W. P. Ker, Form and Style in Poetry (London, 1928).  
5 Herbert Steiner, "Das kleine Welttheater," Die neue Rundschau, XXX (1954), 592.
on the contrast between the melancholy and the joyous person, he was deeply occupied with the writing of Ariadne and especially with the contrast of the characters of Ariadne and Zerbinetta. In a letter to Richard Strauss written at that time, he defines the "diametrale Kontrastierung des Frauencharacters in Ariadne-Zerbinetta. In his analysis of Ariadne as the eternally faithful person, whom only death or "Verwandlung" (this very important process for Hofmannsthal, which he defines brilliantly in this play) can give a new life, he holds to his comments about "Il Fenseroso" and "der Schwermütige"'s anticipation of the hour of death. As Zerbinetta's lovers, however, state her problem, their lines seem almost a satire of Milton's poem:

Die Dame gibt mit trüben Sinn
Sich allzusehr der Trauer hin.
Was immer Böses widerfuhr,
Die Zeit geht hin und tilgt die Spur. (L III, p. 41)

Zerbinetta, in her fickle turning from man to man, her lightheartedness, fits the role of the "Fröhliche". She is constantly replacing one by another, forgetting past disappointments and substituting a new lover for the old. No actual lines from Milton are found in the speeches of Ariadne and Zerbinetta, but Hofmannsthal has used the extremes of mood of these two poems to define his characters.

Comus also had a certain influence upon Ariadne. Comus is the son of that union of Bacchus and Circe from which
Bacchus is coming at the time of his arrival on Naxos to save Ariadne. It is not only the Bacchus-Circe-relationship but the magic potion which changes men to beasts that is a common element in Milton and Hofmannsthal. It cannot be denied that Hofmannsthal undoubtedly read the story also in Homer, but there are other similarities between Comus and Ariadne.

The Lady and Ariadne are saved by divine intervention at the end of each play. Comus, like Ariadne, is a drama set to music, although Comus is far more typically Baroque pastoral and intended primarily for entertainment without the depth lying beneath the humor of Ariadne.

Many of the lines in Ariadne sound much like Comus, partially because of a similarity of subject matter and partially because of Hofmannsthal's admiration for Milton's lyric genius:

Comus: Can any mortal mixture of Earths mould
       Breath such Divine enchanting ravishment?
       Sure somthing holy lodges in that brest,
       And with these raptures moves the vocal air
       To testifie his hidd'n residence;
       _____________________________
       Hail forren wonder
       Whom certain these rough shades did never breed. 7

Bacchus:  Du schönnes Wesen?  Bist du die Göttin dieser Insel?
       Ist diese Höhle dein Palast? sind diese deine Dienerinnen?
       Singst du an deinem Webstuhl Zauberglieder?
       (L III, p. 60)

7 Milton, op. cit., pp. 51-52
Dryden, Shadwell and Vanbrugh:

Hofmannsthal mentions Dryden briefly as a former poet laureate of England in the essay, "Algernon Charles Swinburne" (1893). (P I, p. 99) Hamburger mentions his reading of Shadwell and Vanbrugh. 8

Otway:

The relationship between Otway's Venice Preserved and Hofmannsthal's Das gerettete Venedig has been well documented, primarily by Johannes Falke's Die deutschen Bearbeitungen des geretteten Venedigs (Diss. Rostock, 1906) and Fritz Winther's Das gerettete Venedig (University of California Publications, Berkeley, 1914). 9 Winther commends Hofmannsthal's neo-romantic insight into the psychology of the characters, which gives them neurotic overtones not apparent to Otway. The fusion of Freud into a Renaissance-type English drama is a Hofmannsthal addition. In the case of Belvidera at least, this results in a stronger character portrayal. Winther also finds traces of Byron, Shelley and Hamlet in Jaffier. He considers Hofmannsthal's version more lyrical and poetic than Otway's, a blend of Shakespeare and French

8 Hamburger, op. cit., p. 19.

9 The newest, very brief treatment of both plays is Herbert Koziol, "Zu Thomas Otways 'Venice Preserved' and Hugo von Hofmannsthals 'Das gerettete Venedig'," Österreich und die angelsächsische Welt (1961) 419-431.
classic drama.\textsuperscript{10} By this synthesis and by his deeper character analysis (such as bringing out Belvidera's similarity to her mother and the diametrical contrast between Jaffier and Pierre more strongly, etc.), Hofmannsthal has made a modern drama of a seventeenth century English one.

Insufficiently explored, perhaps, are the autobiographical aspects of the relationship between Jaffier and Pierre, which echoes the relationship between Stefan George and the young Hofmannsthal. Also, in the desire to find parallels between Hofmannsthal and Otway, the fact that \textit{Das gerettete Venedig} is as different from its model as Goethe's \textit{Iphigenie auf Tauris} is from its Greek model, tends to be obscured. When Hofmannsthal adapted a play, the resulting version often owed little but the basic plot to its original. In \textit{Elektra}, for example, only two lines are directly translated from Sophocles. In \textit{Das gerettete Venedig}, not only the basic character personalities are vastly more illuminated, but the language has a brilliance which obscures the speeches in Otway's play. Some of Hofmannsthal's finest poetry is here, and there is not even an original speech to correspond to many of the greatest lines, in Otway.

\textsuperscript{10}The Shakespearean aspect of \textit{Das gerettete Venedig} was expressed by Hofmannsthal in a letter to Bodenhausen in October, 1904. (Hofmannsthal-Bodenhausen, p. 53).
Aquilina's lyrical description of the fire from which Pierre rescued her at the height of their love affair has no counterpart in Venice Preserved. One must not give Venice Preserved any more significance in the writing of Hofmannsthal's play than one gives to Calderón's La vida es sueno in the writing of Der Turm—as a foundation, not the basic structure.

Hobbes, Locke and Shaftesbury:

Hobbes is mentioned in a letter to Josef Redlich. 11

Locke's name appears in the notes for Andreas:

Nach dem Brief: der Malteser sucht seinen inneren Aufruhr durch Vernunft zu durchblicken, die entfesselten Assoziationen nach Lockes System zu ordnen; er offenbart in sich selber Courtoisie, Grazie, Schamhaftigkeit. (E., p. 241)

Shaftesbury is mentioned as one of the precursors of modern literary criticism (A, p. 101).

11 Hofmannsthal-Redlich, p. 412.
Chapter IV
Hofmannsthal and the Literature of Eighteenth Century England

Defoe:

Daniel Defoe's life interested Hofmannsthal as much as his works. One of Hofmannsthal's unfinished fragments, "Defoe", is an outline for a motion picture to be loosely based on Defoe's life, in which the English writer's political vacillations and intrigues play a larger role than his literary endeavors. In the script, Moll Flanders is a combination of heroine, dea ex machina and Gretchen-figure. (D III, 494-500)

Among Defoe's works, Hofmannsthal was best acquainted with Robinson Crusoe and Moll Flanders. He has a lengthy comment in his notes using an analogy of men making the same uses of nature as Crusoe does of his environment. (A, p. 155)

In a posthumously published ballet scenario, "Divertissement", Robinson Crusoe and Friday take part as "Figuren der Phantasie" (A, p. 355)

Swift:

Jonathan Swift's satire earns a brief mention for its bitterness in the essay, "Englisches Leben". (P I, p. 56)

Congreve:

William Congreve's comedies were found in the Hofmannsthal library and Hamburger traces the name of Faninal in
Der Rosenkavalier back to a character in The Way of the World named Fainall. ¹

Addison:

Hofmannsthal was delighted with Joseph Addison's (and Richard Steele's) The Spectator and would have welcomed a German periodical of the same stamp. ² He apparently encountered Addison's works first in the Aphorismen of the eighteenth century German writer, Georg Christoph Lichtenberg. ³ In Hofmannsthal's Buch der Freunde, he writes "'Der Dichter ist nie in seiner Sache ganz. Der Fachmann immer.' Addison." (A, p. 32) In August, 1908, he quotes "Addison über den Abstand zwischen seinen Fähigkeiten, wenn er sie redend auszugeben gezwungen ist oder wenn er sie schreibend ausgibt: Ich habe nicht mehr als 9 pence in der Tasche, aber ich vermöge sehr wohl einen Scheck auf 1000 Pfund auszustellen." (A, p. 161) ⁴

By far his favorite line of Addison's (which he found in Lichtenberg) and which he made a motto for his own life

¹Hamburger, "Hofmannsthal's Bibliothek", op. cit., p. 60; also, Hamburger, "Hofmannsthal and England", op. cit., p. 24

²See p.31.

³Hofmannsthal first cites Addison in connection with Lichtenberg in "Briefe des Zurückgekehrten" (P II, p. 281) According to Steiner, one of his favorite Addison quotations was "A man can neither be praised or insulted," (A, p. 378)

⁴I have been unable to trace these quotations.
was "The whole Man is to move together," 5 which Hofmannsthäl quotes variously as "The whole man must move at once" (in a letter to Bodenhausen in 19066 and "Die Briefe des Zurückgekehrten", where it forms the central idea in one of the letters (P II, p. 281), and in one of his notebooks for 19077); as "The whole man must move" in 1906 (A, p. 151); as "The whole man must move together--der ganze Mensch muß sich auf eins regen" (in "Deutsche Erzähler", 1912) (P III, p. 111); and "Als ein Gänzes muß der Mann sich regen" (in "Das Schriftum als geistiger Raum der Nation", 1927)(P IV, p. 400). Apparently he made this aphorism so much his own that he quoted it from memory, changing it slightly. He used this maxim to criticize his fellow Germans, as Lichtenberg had done, of whom he felt, only a few had this oneness with themselves, the solution to the problem of maintenance of personality he, himself, felt:

...heute ist dieser Samen in den Besten der Nation aufgegangen; denn um die Ganzheit, auf die jenes Wort hindeutet, daß sich Seele und Geist, daß sich das Ganze Gemüt auf eins rege, um das geht es heute, wenn es um etwas geht. (P IV, p. 409)


6Hofmannsthäl-Bodenhausen, p. 78.

His English gentleman possessed this quality and it
enabled them to accomplish great things as a nation.

Pope:

Hofmannsthal was not acquainted with any of Alexander
Pope's works except his translation of the Odyssey. He com-
pared this to a new German translation by his friend, Rudolf
Alexander Schröder as well as the older English and German
ones by George Chapman and Voß. Of the Pope translation he
writes:

Nicht leicht wird in einer englischen Bibliothek
neben dem griechischen Homer eine andere Übersetzung
stehen als die des Pope. Schlagen wir sie auf, so
ist die Vorrede zunächst bedeutend, prägnant, des
großen Gegenstandes würdig. In der Sprache des
achtzehnten Jahrhunderts, weltmännisch-gelehrtenhaft,
voll anständiger Zurückhaltung, gleich fern von
Nüchternheit wie von flackernder Emphase, finden wir
ausgesprochen, was einem unerschöpflichen und
eigentlich unfaßlichen Objekt gegenüber mit Anstand
ausgesprochen werden kann. Die Übersetzung selbst
wird uns mehr befremden als befriedigen. Daß sie von
keines gewöhnlichen Mannes Hand geschaffen ist,
mögen wir schnell zugestehen. Aber wir sind
Deutsche, und hier fühlen wir einigermaßen den
Engländer; dann sind wir von heute, und der
Übersetzer ist von gestern; aber der insulanische
kühne Engländer müßte dem insulanischen Griechen
wohl etwas minder fern stehen als beide dem
binnenländisch schwerfälligen Deutschen; und der
Mann von gestern steht den Urzeiten, aus denen
dieses Werk herübergänzt um fast zwei Jahrhunderte
näher als wir. (P III, p. 87)

Hofmannsthal finds that Pope avoids both the dryness of
eighteenth century rationalism and the excesses of that
century's sentimentality, although the translation seemed to
him both too English and too dated to really convey the
spirit of Homer to Hofmannsthal's German contemporaries. Hofmannsthal felt that each age and nation must translate Homer for themselves to convey as much of the original as possible.

**Boswell and Johnson:**

James Boswell's *Life of Johnson* was a lifetime favorite of Hofmannsthal's, who considered Samuel Johnson another one of the English "men of genius". His own copy was copiously annotated. In his last years, he seems to have been especially attached to this book. In "Bibliotheca Mundi" (1921), he highly recommends the German translation of Boswell's book as one of the three "in einem gewissen Sinne gehaltreichsten Bücher der Weltliteratur:" (P IV, p. 38). The other two were Goethe's *Dichtung und Wahrheit* and La Bruyère's *Caractères*. In his essay, "Der Schatten der Lebenden," Hofmannsthal uses Boswell and Johnson as typical of the relationship between a true biographer and his subject, which makes them really inseparable:

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Eckermänn's berühmtes Buch wäre kaum ohne sein gleich berühmtes Vorbild, den "Samuel Johnson" des Boswell entstanden- kaum ohne dieses sonderbare Beispiel mimischer Genialität, kraft welcher ein zartnerviger, weichmüter schottischer Edelmann sich bis zur Identifikation in einen der vehementesten, zornigsten und starrköpfigsten Engländer aller Zeiten verwandelte, so daß sie die Welt nun seit hundertfünfzig Jahren aus einem dicken, aber in jeder Zeile unterhaltenden Buch

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8 Hamburger, "Hofmannsthal's Bibliothek," op. cit., p. 49,
Richardson:

Hofmannsthal read Samuel Richardson's *Clarissa Harlowe*, and admired "das Gespinst ihrer episches Erfindungen." He mentions the presence of the last volume of this book on his desk, of the volume "der ihren Tod und die rührende Abschiedsbriefe enthält." Lovelace, one of the principal characters in this novel, provided a situational aspect of the heroine of Hofmannsthal's proposed operetta, *Danae*. (L III, p. 384)\(^9\)

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\(^9\) Unpublished, undated.

\(^{10}\) "Danae: eine kaum geträumte Person. Sie hat ohne das gerechnet, was aus ihr hervorbrechen muß im entscheidenden Moment: als Zwang, aus dem zufälligen Material etwas zu machen. Dies sobald mit der Aufklärung über jenes Erlebnis ihr klar wird, daß sie außerhalb ihrer selbst nichts zu erwarten habe. — Verwandtschaft der Situation mit Lovelace." (L III, p. 384). Lovelace, like Daphne, is spoiled by his early life and therefore has trouble adjusting to his adult life.
Fielding:
According to a letter to Bodenhausen in July, 1914, Hofmannsthal was then reading Henry Fielding's Tom Jones before going to sleep. He quotes from that book in Das Buch der Freunde:

He (Captain Blifil) began to treat the opinions of his wife with that haughtiness and insolence, which none but those who deserve some contempt themselves can bestow and those only who deserve no contempt can bear. (A, p. 20)

Sterne:
Not only did Hofmannsthal read Laurence Sterne's Tristram Shandy, as Kassner relates in his memoir, but also Wilbur L. Cross' The Life and Times of Laurence Sterne, from which he quotes at length in his "Andenken Eberhard von Bodenhausens" in 1928. (A, p. 255)

Goldsmith:
Oliver Goldsmith's The Vicar of Wakefield, which so entranced the young Goethe, was also read by Hofmannsthal. No comments were forthcoming about his reactions to it.

Sheridan:
Hofmannsthal read Richard Brinsley Sheridan's School for Scandal, and wrote several notations for the second version

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11 Hofmannsthal-Bodenhausen, p. 168.
12 Fiechtner, op. cit., p. 237.
13 Unpublished, undated note.
of his uncompleted *Silvia im "Stern"* in his copy of the play. The English comedy of manners seems to have provided a model for Hofmannsthal's early comedies of a similar type, especially *Silvia im "Stern"*, *Cristinas Heimreise* and *Der Rosenkavalier*.

**Blake:**

In the plan for the unfinished play, *Semiramis*, on which Hofmannsthal worked from 1905 on, he wrote: "Wenn die Sonne und der Mond zweifelten wollten, würden sie sofort ausgehen." (D III, p. 458)\(^{15}\) This quotation, which Steiner identifies as being from William Blake, is the only evidence of any reading of Blake's actual works that Hofmannsthal did. All the other references to Blake or quotations from his works can be traced to secondary literature about him which Hofmannsthal read. This included Kassner's essay about Blake in *Die Mystik, die Künstler und das Leben* (Leipzig, 1900).\(^{16}\)

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\(^{14}\) Hamburger, op. cit., pp. 57-58.

\(^{15}\) I have not been able to trace this quotation.

\(^{16}\) Kassner's book was strongly influenced by Hofmannsthal's ideas about English literature and influenced Hofmannsthal in return, to a lesser extent. Kassner wrote: "Ich bin Hofmannsthal das erstenmal Anfang 1902 begegnet...Seinen Aufsätzen habe ich unter anderem den ersten Hinweis auf englische Dichter wie A. C. Swinburne und den Ästheten und Essayisten Walter Pater verdankt, auch auf andere, von denen später mein ersten Buch gehandelt hat, das im Übrigen auch die Brücke war, die mich da mir jede andere Verbindung mit ihm gefehlt hat, zu Hofmannsthal hinübertüren sollte." Rudolf Kassner, "Erinnerung an Hugo von Hofmannsthal." In: Fiechtner, op. cit., p. 235
William Butler Yeats' essay on William Blake in a German 
edition of Yeats' essays, *Erzählungen und Essays* (Leipzig, 
1916), translated by Friedrich Eckstein and dedicated to 
Hofmannsthal and Algernon Charles Swinburne's essay on

Hofmannsthal warmly recommended the book to his American 
readers in his second letter for the periodical, *The Dial*. He 
gave it "der Grundriß zu einer ganz neuen universalen 
Aesthetik, ein starkes Glied in der Kette der intereuropäischen 
Verständigung und wechselweisen Anziehung... die das letzte 
286). Hofmannsthal's chief gain from reading this book was 
an enlarged understanding of the universal aspects of 
English literature, which Kassner sees, in the writers he 
discusses, Blake, Shelley, Keats, the Pre-Raphaelites and the 
Aesthetes, as being in the long tradition of world Platonism. 
Hofmannsthal also probably first read a part of the Keats let-
ter to Woodhouse in the essay on Keats. Possibly, because 
Hofmannsthal had known Browning's works since 1892, but does 
not mention The Ring and the Book until 1901, it was Kassner 
who led him to this, and thus indirectly inspired Die Gräfin 
Pompilia.

Even almost thirty years after first reading Kassner's 
book for the first time, Hofmannsthal wrote to its author, in 
November, 1928: "Ich erinnere mich genau des ungeheuren Ein-
druckes, den mir die Lektüre Ihres ersten Buches (dessen Über 
die englischen Dichter und Künstler) machte. In diesem Buch 
schien mir die Möglichkeit einer ganzen Philosophie der Ein-
bildungskraft gegeben. Ein ganzes Gebäude, nur ahnend erkannt, 
wie ein geformter, beleuchteter Dunst, erhob sich mir über 
diesem Buch als Grundriß." Hugo von Hofmannsthal, "Briefe". 
Die neue Rundschau, LIX (1948), 228.

17 Hofmannsthal quotes two selections from this book in 
his Buch der Freunde, which are from Blake:
"Generelle Kenntnis ist entfernte Kenntnis, das Wissen 
besteht aus Einzelheiten, ebenso wie das Glück. Nur wer 
auf das genaueste in die Manieren, die Absichten und die 
Charaktere in allen ihren Verzweigungen eindringt und sie 
zu unterscheiden weiß, ist der einzige weise und vernünf-
tige Mensch, und auf diese Unterscheidung ist alle Kunst 
gegründet." (A, p. 45) "Der Weg des Übermaßes führt 
zum Palast der Weisheit." (A, p. 48).

These quotations, in English, can be found in William B. Yeats, 
*Essays and Introductions* (New York, 1961), pp. 122, 123.
The Information about the Eckstein translation, which was in
William Blake.  

From Kassner's book, Hofmannsthal formed his ideas about Blake's mysticism, which he felt was analogous to his own pre-existence theory. Kassner's analysis of Blake's mysticism also helps form the character of "der Wahnsinnige" in Das kleine Welttheater, for, to Hofmannsthal, Blake seems a representation of "der reinste state der Wahnsinnige, wovon die andern 'Glücklichen' nur unvollkommene Spiegelungen." (A, p. 223)

Beckford:

William Beckford's Vathek, written first in French, but published a year before its French edition (1787) in English, was of some influence on "Die Frau ohne Schatten", although not to the extent that Goethe's "Märchen" or Novalis' Heinrich von Ofterdingen were. Notes for the story were found in Hofmannsthal's copy (London, 1878), that demonstrate the Hofmannsthal library is from Hamburger, op. cit., p. 25.

18 This was on an unpublished list of English books, in the Nachlass, dated 1892.

19 Gerhart Baumann examines the influence of Blake's character upon that of the madman in "Hugo von Hofmannsthal. 'Das kleine Welttheater'": Germanisch-Romanische Monatschrift, N. F. 7(1959), 124-126.

20 Beckford, like Oscar Wilde in the writing of Salomé, either wanted to demonstrate his facility in French and be anti-bourgeois, or felt that an oriental romance was better written in French, as most of the ones, he had read, had been.
the qualities of the Caliph which are reflected in the Kaiser. Hofmannsthal particularly mentions the curiosity of the two men, although their self-centeredness would seem to be the most common characteristic. The cave-scenes are very reminiscent of each other, but are so common to the oriental fairy-tale, that this is not particularly significant. Despite their outward similarities, Beckford's tale echoes his misanthropy, while Hofmannsthal's story reflects his faith in the basic goodness of mankind and the possibility of its redemption. There is not a single character in Vathek with any nobility. Although Hofmannsthal's characters act evilly at times, they are eventually redeemed by their own actions or the sacrifice of others. Hofmannsthal's faith in mankind might not always have remained as strong as it is in "Die Frau ohne Schatten" (see the second version of Der Turm) but, compared to Beckford's "contempt for mankind," Hofmannsthal appears most optimistic for its future.

21 Hamburger, op. cit., p. 62.

Chapter V

Hofmannsthal and the Early Romantic Period

Coleridge:

Hofmannsthal admired Samuel Taylor Coleridge's poetry as a young man and recommended the English poet's "Table Talk" to Marie Luise Borchardt as characteristic material for his ideal periodical in 1921. His interest in Coleridge was probably intensified by a knowledge of the latter's translations from Lessing, Goethe, Schiller, Stolberg and Matthiessen and his sonnet to Schiller. In 1892 or 1893, Hofmannsthal translated an epigram of Coleridge's, "Inscription for a Time-Piece"\(^2\) as "Aufschrift für eine Standuhr" (GLD, p. 504). As with most of Hofmannsthal's translations, this poem is more an adaptation than a literal translation. The first lines are almost identical: "Now! It is gone--Our brief hours travel past": "Nun und vorbei! Die Stunden gleiten hin".\(^4\) After these, Hofmannsthal makes concessions to save the metre and the rhyme that alter the meaning slightly, though keeping the primary one of the past living eternally in the present, ghost-like as an "eternal Now": "ein unsterblich Jetzt." Neither Hofmannsthal's adaptation nor Coleridge's original deserve the name of significant poetry.

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\(^1\)Hofmannsthal-Borchardt, p. 162.

The appeal of the quatrain for the young Austrian lay in its expression of an idea that is the basis of his "Terzinen über Vergänglichkeit", written a year later (1894).

A longer poem by Coleridge, "Phantom or Fact", was far more freely adapted by Hofmannsthal for his "Verwandlung" (GLD, p. 93). "Ein Knabe", a poem with ideas very similar to those expressed by Wordsworth in his "Ode on Intimations" (pp. 38-41), was originally to be called "Die Verwandlungen". "Verwandlung" keeps the basic framework of "Phantom and Fact"--a "dialogue" in verse between the poet and a friend about a vision the poet had of his own spirit of the past coming to his bedside. Examining different aspects of the poem, it can be seen how Hofmannsthal used the Coleridge lyric to form one more to his liking.

The change in the title presages the change in the poem. From a title which places its main emphasis on the reality or unreality of a vision, the focus is shifted to the metamorphosis within the poet. Hofmannsthal wrote his version the same year as the Chandos letter (1902). He has used the poem to express a similar aesthetic experience in another form. There are many other vital alterations in his version. Coleridge does not emphasize the suddenness of the vision as Hofmannsthal does with his "Auf einmal" that begins

\[3\text{Ibid., pp. 484-485.}\]
the first two lines. The "feeding calm," that Coleridge immediately has the vision bring, is delayed for eight lines by Hofmannsthal, while he expresses his own "süßer Schauer," and realizes that "dies ist mein wahres Ich." Only then does he say that it "nun mit tiefen Blicken (not calm at all!) mich ernährt." The first section of the poem is treated with much more excitement in the new version, than in the old. The reactions of both visions (in the German poem it is the poet's ego, introducing modern psychology into an otherwise typically Romantic poem of lost inspiration, "pre-existence", imagination, etc.) and authors are also changed. In the Coleridge poem, the spirit merely withdraws, dismayed, but the poet has no strong reaction:

But ah! the change—It had not stirr'd and yet—
Alas! that change how fain would I forget!
That shrinking back, like one that had mistook!
That weary, wandering, disavowing look!

The author's spirit seems very disappointed in what the author has become, but hardly enough to warrant the friend's speaking of the author's "wild disastrous change." In "Verwandlung", the emotions of both spirit and man are more violent—the poet, like a horrible Gorgon because of his change, has a "versteinernden" effect on the spirit. Within himself, the poet "fühlt... einen Wahn beharrend,/Ein Wissen, das vom tiefsten Platz nicht wisch,/Dies ist nichts Fremdes, sondern dies bin ich!" These last three lines are far more intensely
dramatic than Coleridge's "it was the same!" Again, the tension is heightened and the momentum increased by another "auf einmal"; a "Und schon! so schnell!" These are the two principal changes in the first, major section: the increase of tempo and the heightening of tension plus the emphasis upon the visitation being the poet's ego.

The friend's query as to the length of time consumed by the change is very closely translated, but the author's final reply again shows marked changes. Hofmannsthal renders "This tale's a fragment from the life of dreams" as "So ists ein bröckelnd Nichts vom Land der Träume". He thereby introduces the element of nihilism which is always the sword of Damocles threatening the limitless imagination of the Romantic poet. In translating "life" as "Land", he loses Coleridge's reversal of this theme in his last line, "And 'tis a record from the dream of life." It would seem that Hofmannsthal would have used this paradoxical reversal because it was just at this time that he was working on his first adaptation of Calderón's La vida es sueño as Das Leben ein Traum. Also, he was an ardent admirer of Franz Grillparzer's all his life. Therefore he was well acquainted with the latter's Der Traum ein Leben. The obvious translation of Coleridge's "life of dreams" and "dream of life" seems to be almost deliberately avoided. Instead, Hofmannsthal uses as the last line: "Du siehst, was jedes Leben in sich birgt." Again, as in the
title, we have the most essential difference between the two poems: Coleridge's, a typically Romantic query of what is dream and what is life, and his conclusion that they are intermingled; Hofmannsthal's, a regret for the lost ego of the poet and an expression of fear for the peril of this loss that every life entails.

Although there is no documentary evidence of any such influence, it seems possible that "Ein Traum von großer Magie" (GLD, p. 20-21) was somewhat affected by "Kubla Khan". We know that the magician is actually suggested by Paracelsus; his portraiture influenced by Goethe, Browning and Shakespeare's Prospero. "Kubla Khan" is subtitled "A Vision in a Dream" and was supposedly written by Coleridge after he had had such a dream during a drugged sleep. The description of Hofmannsthal's "Pavillon", whose airiness he emphasizes with a dual repetition of "Luft" as a line ending, tallies remarkably well with Coleridge's "pleasure-dome," which he would build in the air. It is a structure of the poet's imagination. Coleridge's "deep romantic chasm" corresponds to Hofmannsthal's pavilion-background, a "sunlit sea" and "spots of greenery" to "Und hinter ihm nicht Mauer: es entstand/ Ein weiter Frunk von Abgrund, dunklem Meer/ Und

\[4\] Ibid., pp. 297-298

\[5\] For a further discussion of the sources of the "Magier", see pp. 27-28.
grünen Matten hinter seiner Hand."

The chasm in both Coleridge and Hofmannsthal seems to represent the chaos that lies at the basis of the unlimited imagination of the Romantic poet, with which he is always threatened. Yet, from this abyss, the poet draws his art, verdant with life and dark and mysterious as the sea. Both poets represent imagination as a form of water; in "Kubla Khan", this is the fountain that flings up "the sacred river" to the caves whereon the pleasure dome is situated and then to "a sunless sea," "a lifeless ocean," in Hofmannsthal, this is the deep that the magician draws up "als ob es Wasser wär

Vom dünnen Quellenwasser aber fingen
Sich riesige Opalen in den Händen
Und fielen tönend wieder ab in Ringen."

Hofmannsthal's "Magier" feels something closely akin to Coleridge's fountain:

Und wie tief unten sich die Erde kühlte,
Das Dunkel aus den Tiefen aufwärts drang;
Die Nacht des Laue aus den Wipfeln wühlte.

Both poems conclude with a coda describing the nature of the true poet as somewhat of a demi-god. In Coleridge, he is a Dionysian figure:

His flashing eyes, his floating hair!
Weave a circle round him thrice,
And close your eyes with holy dread,
For he on honey-dew hath fed,
And drunk the milk of Paradise.

Hofmannsthal is not as confident of the eternal quality of the poet. Paraphrasing Paracelsus, he states that "Cherub
und hoher Herr ist unser Geist", but that it often abandons us. "Doch Er ist Feuer uns im tiefsten Kerne."

Coleridge's influence was minor, but definitely a guiding factor in the creation of Hofmannsthal's image of the nature of poetic imagination.

Southey and Lamb:

Hofmannsthal knew of Southey as poet-laureate of England, but otherwise does not mention him (P I, p. 89). Charles (and Mary) Lamb's Tales from Shakespeare were read. In "Englischer Stil", Hofmannsthal speaks of how the Romantics have altered the conception of the English heroine as personified by Shakespeare's Imogen and Miranda:


Landor:

It was as a literary critic and acquaintance of other Romantic writers (assuming that Landor could be classified with these at all) that Hofmannsthal first encountered the figure of Walter Savage Landor. He mentions the Englishman, with Emerson, Pater and Wilde as having influenced Kassner's book on English writers (p.65) (A, p. 286). Hofmannsthal
quotes Landor in *Das Buch der Freunde*: "Der Tod selbst ist für den, der nachdenkt, nichts so Ernstes wie die Ehe" (A, p. 32). He must have translated this himself, for in a letter to Rudolf Borchardt, he quotes Landor in English to show his admiration for Borchardt's poem, "Der ruhende Herakles": Borchardt had translated Landor's *Imaginary Conversations* in 1923.

Magnificent words, and the pomp and procession of stately sentences, may accompany genius, but are not always nor frequently called out by it. The voice ought not to be perpetually, nor much, elevated in the ethic and didactic, nor to roll sonorously, as if it issued from a mask in the theatre. The horses in the plain under Troy are not always kicking and neighing; nor is the dust always raised in whirlwinds on the banks of Simois and Scamander; nor are the rampires always in a blaze. Hector has lowered his helmet to the infant of Andromache and Achilles to the embrace of Briseïs. I do not blame the prose-writer who opens his bosom occasionally to a breath of poetry; neither, on the contrary, can I praise the gait of that pedestrian who lifts his legs as high on a bare heath as in a cornfield. Mein Güter, zu 9/10 im Spaß, und nur zu 1/10 im Ernst schreibe ich dies hier--aber es ist auch ein so hübsches Lehrstück!

To Hofmannsthahl, Landor was another representative of his beloved English gentleman. An unpublished, undated note

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6 Hofmannsthahl-Borchardt, pp. 183-184.

7 Again, it must be emphasized that a conventional morality was not a necessary facet of Hofmannsthahl's "gentleman" image.
shows him reading about Landor's life in Italy. He read John Forster's biography of Landor (1869) and compared him with Boswell:

W. S. Landor: ein stolzer Mann. Kann man auch Boswell einen stolzen Mann nennen?

In a comment under "Helden und Welt", he notes:

W. S. Landor...Browning from book about Landor

he was always very proud of being an English gentleman (Sarrazin) Landor a true representative of an aristocratic republic (moralisches Element)

Tenderness for Children, flowers, animals.\(^8\)

Wordsworth:

A very curious void appears in Hofmannsthal's otherwise amazingly broad knowledge of the English Romantics by the lack of any documentary evidence to support any Wordsworth influence—to say nothing of any reading of Wordsworth. It is all the more remarkable, when one considers that Hofmannsthal read De Quincey's essays (p. 96-97) and much of Coleridge; he could hardly have avoided some exposure to Wordsworth's poems. It is ironical that of all the Romantic

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\(^8\) Unpublished. The book mentioned here, Gabriel Sarrazin's *Poètes Modernes de l'Angleterre* (Paris, 1885) was not found in his library. It also contained essays on Shelley, Keats, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Rossetti and Swinburne.
poets, Wordsworth is the one whose poetic philosophy and adaptation to life is probably closest to Hofmannsthal's. Although no influence can be proved, some noteworthy parallels in their poetry exist. One can only hope that evidence will appear to make this comparison more conclusive.

Wordsworth's feelings about the instinctive understanding or union a young person has with nature are echoed by Hofmannsthal. This almost animal absorption in nature is shown in "Tintern Abbey" in the one and "Ein Knabe" and "Der Jüngling und die Spinne" in the other. At an aesthetic philosophic level, Hofmannsthal's "Präexistenz" theory appears almost an outline for the ideas expressed in the "Ode on Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of Early Childhood".9

Hofmannsthal sees three stages in the development of Man or Poet. The first is what Wordsworth speaks of as early childhood and Hofmannsthal as "Präexistenz". This is a period in which man has a union with Nature, God, Inspiration, or whatever one wants to call this, which is instinctive and integral. Wordsworth expresses it thus:

There was a time when meadow, grove, and stream,  
The earth, and every common sight,  
To me did seem  
Apparelled in celestial light,  
The glory and the freshness of a dream. (ll. 1-5)  

Not in entire forgetfulness,
And not in utter nakedness,
But trailing clouds of glory do we come
From God, who is our home:
Heaven lies about us in our infancy! (ll. 63-67)

Hofmannsthal sounds very similar in "Ein Knabe":

Lang kannte er die Muscheln nicht für schön,
Er war zu sehr aus einer Welt mit ihnen,
Der Duft der Hyazinthen war ihm nichts
Und nichts das Spiegelbild der eignen Miene.

Doch alle seine Tage waren so
Geöffnet wie ein leierförmig Tal
Darin er Herr zugleich und Knecht zugleich
Des weißen Lebens war und ohne Wahl. (GLD, p. 76)

In "Ad me ipsum", Hofmannsthal lists some of the characteristics, of what he terms his "Präexistenz" period, in terms much like Wordsworth's:

Präexistenz. Glorreicher, aber gefährlicher Zustand.
Angehöriger einer höchsten Welt: millenarische Anklänge.


Or, as he expresses this state in the Chandos letter:

Mir erschien damals in einer Art von andauernder Trunkenheit das ganze Dasein als eine große Einheit: geistige und körperliche Welt schien mir keinen Gegensatz zu bilden, ebensowenig höfische und tierische Wesen, Kunst und Unkunst, Einsamkeit und Gesellschaft; in allem fühlte ich Natur... und in aller Natur fühlte ich mich selber... (P II, p. 10)

From this idyllic state, the poet gradually emerges into the real world (of which, for Hofmannsthal, there was already a premonitory fear). This is compared to an image of prison walls closing around the imaginative spirit: "Shades of the
prison-house begin to close/ Upon the growing boy," and
"...denn ein großer Blick/ Auf diesen schönen Kerker zeigte
ihm/ Das eigne unbegreifliche Geschick."

Now a reconciliatory way of life must be found, the
path from "Präexistenz" to "Existenz". "The visionary
gleam," the "splendor in the grass," although they are ir-
revocably gone, can still provide the basis for a new
"Verknüpfung mit dem Leben" (A, p. 214). For Hofmannsthal's
characters, there are several ways to achieve this "Weg zum
Sozialen," through self-sacrifice, through faithfulness,
through mysticism (A, p. 217) (introversion), through deeds
and through bearing a child. Most of Hofmannsthal's works,
not only the early ones, are directly concerned with the tran-
sition period, and his most successful characters achieve a
solution. Nature itself is a partial solution in Wordsworth:

Yet in my heart of hearts I feel your might;
I only have relinquished one delight
To live beneath your more habitual sway.

(ll. 190-192)

and to some extent in the young Hofmannsthal:

Zu seinen Füßen rollten Muscheln hin,
Und Hyazinthen hatte er im Haar,
Und ihre Schönheit wußte er, und auch
Daß dies der Trost des schönen Lebens war.

The consolations of faith or philosophy, solutions for
Wordsworth, did not suffice for Hofmannsthal. But the two
poets see the problems of the creative artist similarly,
even if their solutions do not agree. Hofmannsthal's
kinship with Wordsworth may have lain only in a general sympathy of a young writer with neo-romantic tendencies toward any Romantic, rather than in any unprovable reading of Wordsworth's poetry. But it is a strong kinship, nevertheless.
Chapter VI
Hofmannsthal and the Later Romantic Period

Byron:

Byron was among the earliest English readings of Hofmannsthal, as a note of May, 1890, proves. (A, p. 89) In the essay, "Englisches Leben", one of the Loris essays of 1891, he praised the "brutale(n) Kraft, die in den Satiren von Swift und Byron tobt" (P I, p. 56). In 1904, on a journey in Italy, the valley of the Arno made him think of Byron's daughter, Allegretta [sic] (A, p. 131). In 1906, analyzing the nature of the contemporary poet in "Der Dichter und diese Zeit", he finds one aspect of this poet to be "etwas von der nichtzuvergessenden Allüre Byrons" (P II, p. 230). In 1921, writing about the Insel Verlag's series, "Bibliotheca Mundi", he accepts Byron's poems as a necessary component of any collection of world literature (P IV, p. 37). As late as 1927, he still writes of the possible influence of Goethe's Faust on Byron, calling it "vielleicht nur ein zeitgebundener Aspekt des 'Faust'" (A, p. 208).

Nevertheless, as demonstrably as Hofmannsthal seems to have read and admired Byron, the influence of any definite work on one of Hofmannsthal's is much smaller than that of Byron's contemporaries. The latter's style had no apparent influence--neither the excesses of the early Byron nor the biting satire of the mature writer. Fritz Winther does con-
consider the character of Jaffier in *Das gerettete Venedig* to be influenced by the early Byronic heroes (see p. 55),
but Hofmannsthal tended to be critical rather than imitative of this type. In an undated, unpublished note he writes of *Manfred*:

Poetisches (dramatisches?) Motiv, daß der Mensch sich alles aus eigener Kraft geben, eines aber nur von den Übermächten erfrein kann: das Vergessene (Byron, Manfred).

*Shelley*:

Hofmannsthal himself felt that Shelley and Keats had more influence on him than the other English Romantics. From the references to Shelley in two early letters as part of his readings in English literature, to the last decade of Hofmannsthal's life, he was not only interested in Shelley, the poet, but, as many others have been, Shelley, the man. Shelley receives mention in a number of the "Loris" essays, demonstrating what a strong impression he had made on the young Austrian. In "Englisches Leben", Hofmannsthal criticizes a literary judgment that does not take the "hehre geachtete Hoheit Shellesys" (P I, p. 54) into account. In Gabriele D'Annunzio (II)", he considers it high praise to write that D'Annunzio catches the "Hauch und Wesen der Wesen so gut als nur je in einem, der Giorgione oder Shelley hieß"

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1 Winther, op. cit., p. 34.
2 Briefe I, p. 50, p. 58.
(P I, p. 211). In "Gedichte von Stefan George" he compares Goethe, Hölderlin and Shelley:

Und sind die Antike Goethes, die Antike Shelleys und die Antike Hölderlins drei so seltsam verwandt-geschiedene Gebilde, daß es einen traumhaften Reiz hat, sie nebeneinander zu denken, wie die Spiegelbilder dreier sehr seltsamen Schwestern, in einem stillen Wasser am Abend? (P I, p. 249)

In "Englischer Stil", Hofmannsthal includes Shelley in the poets that have changed the modern conception of the Shakespearean heroine (p. 46).

In a letter written in the year of his death to Walter Brecht, he discusses his first meeting with Stefan George and the poets that were discussed. Among these were Shelley, Swinburne, and Rossetti.  

Leopold Andrian, a poet and close personal friend of Hofmannsthal's, names Shelley, Keats and Swinburne among those poets "die Hofmannsthal besonders liebte und deshalb im Gedächtnis hatte."  

Hofmannsthal probably read Thomas Love Peacock's Memoirs of Shelley with Shelley's Letters to Peacock (1856 ff.), because the three anecdotes he relates in the follow-

3 Hofmannsthal-George, p. 235.
4 Fiechtner, op. cit., p. 58.
5 Thomas Love Peacock, Memoirs of Shelley (London, 1909), pp. 78-79, pp. 130-131. The anecdotes about Shelley seeing a veiled figure of himself and the figure of Allegra emerging from a dark sea are standard fare for any early Shelley biographer; the report of his bathing nude in a waterfall and reading Herodotus occurs only in a letter to Peacock.
ing note, made on a trip to Italy in 1904, are only all to be found in this book, a conclusion reached after comparing those biographies written before 1904:

Shelley.—Im Val d'Arno ist der Wasserfall, in dem Shelley nackt badete, dann wieder herausstieg, Herodot lesen [sic], und wieder ins Wasser sprang.—Kurz vor seinem Tod häften sich bei Shelley die Gesichte und Erscheinungen. Eines Abends kam eine Gestalt, in schwarzem Mantel, einen Schleier übers Gesicht, und winkte ihm mit unbeschreiblicher Gewalt, zu folgen. Dann enthüllte sie sich: es war seine eigene Gestalt. Das Gesicht nahm einen bösen Ausdruck an: Siete soddisfatto...sagten die Lippen der Erscheinung. Dann ging sie hinaus.—Ein anderes Mal sah er, eingeschlämmt, das Meer vor sich: aus der dunklen drohenden Flut erhob sich Byrons verstorbenne kleine Tochter Allegretta, winkte ihm zu, klatschte in die kleinen Hände und tauchte wieder unter. (A, p. 131)

Other secondary literature about Shelley that Hofmannsthal read included Yeats' essay "Die Philosophie in der Dichtung Shelleys". 6 A letter to Rudolf Pannwitz in 1917 shows his interest in Pannwitz's comments about The Cenci, which he had just received and in which he was particularly impressed by "die erstaunliche Analyse der 'Beatrice Cenci' von der ich eine ganz neue Aufklärung empfing über ein Werk, das mich immer beschäftigt hatte und das ich mir doch niemals so aufzulösen vermocht hatte...." 7

A series of letters exchanged between Hofmannsthal and

Florens Christian Rang, who had translated Shakespeare's sonnets and for whose *Shakespeare der Christ* Hofmannsthal was to find a publisher,\(^8\) discusses Theodore Spire's book *Shelley's geistesgeschichtliche Bedeutung* (Gießen, 1923).\(^9\) Hofmannsthal was so impressed by the book that he sent it to Redlich in America.

The only work of Hofmannsthal's that we definitely know was influenced by Shelley is "Der Jüngling und die Spinne" (1897) (GLD, pp. 37-39). In an unpublished note is a comment: "für 'Der Jüngling und die Spinne' diese Stimmung"

For each one was interpenetrated with the light and odour its neighbor shed
Like young lovers whom youth and love makes dear
Wrapt and filled by their mutual atmosphere.
(11. 66-69)

These lines are from "The Sensitive Plant".\(^10\)

The youth of Hofmannsthal's poem and the plant of Shelley's have much in common. Both have been raised in a sheltered atmosphere, given the final seal of perfection by love. The youth marvels:

*Sie liebt mich! Wie ich nun die Welt besitze
Ist über alle Worte, alle Träume:*

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\(^8\)Rang did not finish the book until after Hofmannsthal's death and it was not published until after his own death by his son.

\(^9\)Hofmannsthal-Rang, pp. 442-446.

The Plant is filled with the love prevalent in its environment:

But the Sensitive Plant which could give small fruit
Of the love which it felt from the leaf to the root,
Received more than all, it loved more than ever,
Where none wanted but it, could belong to the giver,--
(ll. 70-73)

Its whole existence depends upon the loving care given it by the Lady.

Both Shelley and Hofmannsthall see the coming of night to this love-filled world as an awakening from one state to another far more real: a dream state which is, paradoxically enough, a deeper penetration into reality:

And when evening descended from Heaven above,
And the Earth was all rest, and the air was all love,
And delight, though less bright, was far more deep,
And the day's veil fell from the world of sleep,

And the beasts, and the birds, and the insects were drowned
In an ocean of dreams without a sound; (ll. 98-103)

Mir gilt es, daß von jeder dunklen Spitze
Die stillen Wolken tieferleucht' te Räume
Hinziehn, von ungeheurem Traum erfaßt:
So trägt es mich-- daß ich mich nicht versäume!--
Dem schönen Leben, Meer und Land zu Gast.
Nein! Wie ein Morgentraum von Schläfer fällt
Und in die Wirklichkeit hineinverblaßt;

Into this intoxicated, protected world, Death now steps. Shelley's Lady dies and leaves her garden untended.

Hofmannsthall's youth sees a huge spider killing a defenseless victim. This spider represents three things: "Gewalt"--the irresistible power of life; "Tier"--life on the physical, not the spiritual, level; and "Tod"--the entrance of the idea
of death into the consciousness of one who has never even considered it. Shelley has all sorts of loathsome weeds "which were forms of living death," like Hofmannsthal's spider, which come to destroy the plant.

The essential difference between the poems lies in the final reaction of the poets to the encounter with brutal power and death which form the reverse sides of love and life. Shelley's plant is completely destroyed; only "the mandrakes and toadstools and docks and darnels/Rose like the dead from their ruined charnel" (ll. 112-113). Shelley's only answer in this poem is escape from this hideous reality into the comforting thought that life is only a dream, the cutting of boundaries between the real and the unreal, the escaping into dreams, a liberating and yet perilous element in Romanticism:

For love, and beauty, and delight,
There is no death nor change: their might
Exceeds our organs, which endure
No light, being themselves obscure. (ll. 134-137)

Quite differently, Hofmannsthal's hero accepts the revelation of life and death as a challenge from which there can be no escape ("Ich kann ihm--und ich will ihr nicht entrinnen:"), and which must be faced with even a feeling of optimism because

... ich werde dies gewinnen:  
Schmerzen zu leiden, Schmerzen zuzufügen.  
Nun spür ich schauernd etwas mich umgeben,  
Es türmt sich auf bis an die hohen Sterne,  
Und seinen Namen weiß ich nun: das Leben.
The endings of these two poems seem to reflect the major point of divergence between Hofmannsthal and Shelley. As much as the two poets had in common, and as many aspects of Shelley as Hofmannsthal admired and perhaps used, the essential philosophy of the role of the creative person in a mundane society is diametrically opposed in the two.

Shelley saw life as a force opposing the poet, an element which stood in the way of his true union with the universe. In Hofmannsthal's terms, Shelley was constantly attempting to recapture the state in which in his own development, Hofmannsthal later called "Präexistenz". To Shelley, life is an enemy which only a few can overcome by poetic imagination. As his Rousseau expresses it in "The Triumph of Life":

> For in the battle Life and they did wage,  
> She remained conqueror. I was overcome  
> By my own heart alone, which neither age,  
> Nor tears, nor infamy, nor the tomb  
> Could temper to its object." (ll. 239-243)

Life rolls over men like a triumphal chariot, crushing almost all of them. The despair, that the unequal battle between life and the poet engenders, often threatens to overcome Shelley, but a spark of optimism, of hope for the Promethean spirit of Man, shines through his works.

Hofmannsthal does not attempt to fight life. As I have

\[\text{Ibid., p. 551.}\]
indicated previously, his attitude was more Wordsworthian than Byronic or Shelleyan. For him, the pre-existence period is only a stage in the development of a man. If one were to completely return to it, one would have to be something not quite human—a madman, as the last character in *Das kleine Welttheater* is, a mystic, or a saint. The asocial aspects of the pre-existence state make it as undesirable for mature Man as a complete loss of the memory of the pre-existence period would be.

So like Wordsworth, Hofmannsthal seeks to reconcile life and the creative man. But unlike Wordsworth, this is not to be achieved by the healing power of nature or by philosophy, but by as active a struggle as Shelley would wage against life. This struggle forms the theme for almost all of Hofmannsthal's works and the victory is often won only by the sacrifice of self. Any attempt to recapture the "Präexistenz" state, Hofmannsthal would consider as impossible as that of a butterfly to crawl back into a cocoon. He endeavors to show the dangers of such an attempt in *Der Kaiser und die Hexe* and *Das Bergwerk zu Falun*.

If the young Austrian could not agree with the Englishman's philosophy of life, he could, and did, use some of the same sources, forms and characters. Both poets were particularly fond of Dante and Calderón, and used their works as sources for some of their own. Shelley translated both
Dante and Calderón and Hofmannsthal was to find Calderón's works not only interesting for translations, but excellent bases for new works of his own.

Both poets used Dante's "terza rima" for several of their most significant poems: Shelley's "Ode to the West Wind" and "The Triumph of Life"; Hofmannsthal's "Ballade des Äußeren Lebens", "Terzinen Über Vergänglichkeit", and "Ein Traum von großer Magie".

Shelley's The Cenci was a more modern example of the Elizabethan drama Hofmannsthal so admired, and he became acquainted with it early (see p.15). There is no documentary evidence of any influence of The Cenci on either Die Gräfin Pompilia or Das gerettete Venedig, but some marked parallels exist, especially in the characters of the three heroines. Each is basically an innocent girl, torn by intrigues, plots, crimes against her person, and finally, destroyed. Beatrice Cenci is executed, Belvidera collapses, perhaps never to recover, and Pompilia is assassinated. There is a family conflict at the root of all the heroines' problems. Each is at some time repudiated or injured by her father; each is forced into an unwanted deed by her situation: Beatrice to murder, Belvidera to betrayal, and Pompilia to a seemingly adulterous elopement. Both The Cenci and The Ring and the Book, the source of Pompilia, culminate in a trial scene and are based on factual material in genuine historical docu-
ments, although not always entirely accurate, recounting the events that had occurred.

*Elektra*, written during the same period as the other two Hofmannsthal dramas, shares in certain features of the Shelley plot. Hofmannsthal felt it was an unnatural act for a woman to commit murder, even for a justifiable cause. The necessity of considering the execution of such an act destroys *Elektra* as a woman. Beatrice, too, is destroyed by the murder of her father,--not only is she executed for it, but she loses the innocence toward the world that marks the first part of the play.

Shelley's "Witch of Atlas", as pointed out in the introduction, is echoed to some extent in Hofmannsthal's witch of *Der Kaiser und die Hexe* and the Bergkönigin of *Das Bergwerk zu Falun*. Shelley describes her thus:

For she was beautiful--her beauty made
The bright world dim, and everything beside
Seemed like the fleeting image of shade:
No thought of living spirit could abide,
Which to her looks had ever been betrayed,
On any object in the world so wide,
On any hope within the circling skies,
But on her form, and in her inmost eyes.

(11. 137-144)\(^{12}\)

The enchantment of the Hexe over the Kaiser also makes him forget reality, but she is definitely evil with evil intentions and he realizes this. The Bergkönigin seems like the

\(^{12}\)Ibid., p. 447.
description of the Witch and Elis explains her power to his human bride, Anna:

Da sieht sie [the human bride] stehen eine andere Braut: Der ihrer Hand entblüht ein solcher Glanz, Davon er blaß und rot wird wechselweis; Wie die den Mund auftut, da schwilzt sein Blut Und tausend Sterne tanzen um ihn her; Wie die den Schleier aufhebt, schwinden ihm Die Sinne, fremd wird ihm sein eigner Leib Und strahlend wie der neugeborne Tag! (GLD, p. 453)

The Witch and the Bergkönigin are both supernatural beings whose habitat is the mountains; both are seen "garmented in light," dazzling the human being to the extent that he is blinded and loses contact with reality. The essential differences in Shelley's and Hofmannsthal's philosophies are again clearly demonstrated by their attitude toward these similar characters, who seem, among other aspects, to represent the creative Romantic imagination, or art, as opposed to life. Shelley sees this force as something extremely benevolent and admirable, whose seductive power, hiding reality by dreams, makes life bearable to Man. As Mary Shelley wrote:

This poem is peculiarly characteristic of his tastes—wildly fanciful, full of brilliant imagery, and discarding human interest and passion, to revel in the fantastic ideas that his imagination suggested.\(^\text{13}\)

It is just this "discarding of human interest and passion" that Hofmannsthal sees in his witch figures and

\(^\text{13}\)Ibid., p. 462.
which makes their allure dangerous to his characters. In both "witch-dramas" he notes;

"Bergwerk von Falun" gemeinsam: Analyse der
"Kaiser und Hexe" dichterischen Existenz. 
(A, p. 223)

The Bergkönigin is more like Shelley's Witch—more objective, immortal (with its full connotation of "not human")—she "steht außerhalb der Zeit" (A, p. 227). The Hexe, writes Hofmannsthal, "versinnbildet einen zweideutigen und schrecklichen Zwischenzustand" (A, p. 216)—the crisis between the introversion of the pre-existence period and the involvement with life. The Kaiser, like Elis, has been threatened, but he is saved and takes upon himself the responsibilities of ruler, husband, friend, and father. Elis loses his attachment to life. Shelley would have found Elis's end greatly to be desired; Hofmannsthal, recognizing its allure, rejects it for himself.

Keats:

Hofmannsthal found the witch figure also in Keats' "Lamia" and "La belle dame sans merci". Far more than Shelley, Keats saw the menace in this character, just as Hofmannsthal sees it. Although Keats was Romantic enough to feel the lure of the escape from the struggles of life made possible by flight into an imaginary world of poetry and death, he also had a much less asocial attitude toward life than most of his contemporaries. If Shelley's poetry re-
minded Hofmannsthal of Hölderlin, Keats' life and poetry should have reminded Hofmannsthal of Novalis, who lived as much in the world of the bourgeois as in the world of poetry, and whose early death is not attributable to any desire for escape or inability to cope with the realities of life.

Most of the material about the relationship of Keats and Hofmannsthal has been covered in the introduction: the early reading of Keats (one small illuminating note written c. 1891 on a list of his earliest poems reads "Keats kaufen!!")—the edition finally purchased for his library is dated 1892; and the influence of Keats' idea of the poetical character, as expressed in the Woodhouse letter, on Hofmannsthal's conception of the role of the artist in society.

Later, in 1912, he made notes showing he had read Keats' longer poems (including "Lamia" and "The Eve of St. Agnes") by then. A note in "The Song of Opposites" relates it to Die Frau ohne Schatten: "für den Kaiser/ was er der Kaiserin vorenhalten hat." Perhaps the lines, "Fair and foul I love together" appealed to Hofmannsthal particularly.

14 Unpublished.
15 Hamburger, op. cit., p. 50.
16 Ibid.
17 Ibid.
18 Keats-Shelley, op. cit., p. 234.
De Quiney:

Thomas de Quincey's name (along with that of Allan Cunningham's and William Hazlitt's, others of the period, to whom Hofmannsthall never again referred) appears on a list of English books by "Kunstkritiker" which Hofmannsthall wrote in December, 1892.\(^{19}\) Hofmannsthall spelled the name "De Quinzey", but had learned better by 1903, and had read some of De Quincey's dreams and visions. These inspired Hofmannsthall to write in his essay "Die Bühne als Traumbild" (De Quincey speaks of the "dreaming faculty" in connection with the "dream-theatre" of his childhood):\(^{20}\)

Wer die Bühne aufbauen wird, muß durchs Auge gelebt und gelitten haben. Tausendmal muß er sich geschworen haben, daß das Sichtbare allein existiert, und tausendmal muß er schaudernd sich gefragt haben, ob denn das Sichtbare nicht, vor allen Dingen, nicht existiert. Der Anblick des wohlbekannten Baumes, den der Vollmond verwandelt, zum König über seinesgleichen erhebt, muß ihn erschüttert haben. Er muß Liebe, Haß und Furcht gelitten haben, und gespürt haben, wie Liebe, Haß und Furcht ein vertrautes Tal, ein gewohntes Haus, ein höchst gewohntes Gemäch verwandeln, daß es jener Höhle des Hades gleich, deren Wände sich grinsend verzerren; wenn der blutschänderische Muttermörder sie betritt. De Quincey, Poe, Baudelaire sind seine Lieblingsbücher. An ihren dauernden furchtbaren feierlichen Träumen mißt er die Macht und die Farbentiefe seiner eigenen Träume. (P II, p. 66)

From the above statement, it seems evident that Hofmannsthall had read Confessions of an English Opium Eater

\(^{19}\) Unpublished.

\(^{20}\) Thomas De Quincey, Selected Writings (New York, 1949), p. 876.
and probably *Suspiria de Profundis* with their descriptions of De Quincey's dreams under the influence of opium. Again, the earlier listing shows the young Austrian's planned reading of the "Literary Reminiscences" from *The Autobiography of an English Opium Eater*, which was obviously carried out, since he finds their influence on Kassner's book. It is therefore impossible that Hofmannsthal could have escaped a contact with Wordsworth's life history or works as commented upon and quoted in the "Reminiscences".
Chapter VII
Hofmannsthal and Browning

Hofmannsthal's acquaintanceship with Browning's works was a long one. It began at an early age; according to Walter Perl, Hofmannsthal was reading Browning's poetry in the original by the age of fifteen.1 However, there is no mention of Browning by Hofmannsthal until 1892. In a letter to Marie Herzfeld, written on December 26, 1892, he asks: "Haben Sie vielleicht das Werk von Robert Browning? Oder wissen einen Besitzer?" (B I, p. 71) This makes it unlikely that he had read any of Browning's works before this.

Two editions of Browning's works were found in Hofmannsthal's library—-one from 1897, one from 1898. Hamburger concludes from his inspection of these books that Hofmannsthal read mainly the longer poems in the earlier edition: "Paracelsus", "Sordello", "Pippa Passes" and the "Dramatic Lyrics", and read the later edition completely. Notes made in the books show that he was still reading them as late as 1925.2

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1Walter Perl, Das lyrische Jugendwerk Hugo von Hofmannsthals, Germa;'sche Schriften, Heft 173 (Berlin, 1936), p. 8: "Nach Zeugnissen von Schulkameraden hat er bereits mit 12 Jahren die wesentlichen Klassiker in ihren Hauptpartien gekannt, so vor allem Goethe, Schiller, Kleist und Grillparzer; daß er dann mit 15 Jahren Homer und Dante, Byron und Browning, Voltaire und vor allem Shakespeare im Original las, ist die natürliche Entwicklung bei seiner außergewöhnlichen Sprachbegabung."

After 1904, when the English influence on Hofmannsthal's works had abated, Browning was temporarily abandoned, also. Rudolf Borchardt, who suffered a disillusionment with English literature, felt that Hofmannsthal's attitude was the same as his own. He wrote to Hofmannsthal in 1912:

Hiernach kann es Sie nicht befremden, daß die großen Engländer, deren Wert für mich ein volles Jahrzehnt hindurch schlechterdings unberechenbar gewesen ist heut für mich genau so versiegt sind wie—ja ich nehme mir die Freiheit selbst wider Ihren Willen Ihre Äußerungen so zu verstehen—wie für Sie. Die Schätzung und Dankbarkeit ist genau die gleiche geblieben, aber der lebendige Verkehr hat aufgehört weil er keine Güter mehr zu befördern hat.3

Borchardt excepted Browning and Byron from this turning away from English literature and encouraged Hofmannsthal to read Browning again, from whom, as Hofmannsthal wrote, an inexplicable whim had alienated him. After returning home from a visit he made to Borchardt in Italy in 1913, he writes:

Auch sonst Dir nahe zu bleiben und die Zauberluft der Luccheser Tage um mich festzuhalten, umgebe ich mich mit Geistern, die dort beschworen wurden: Chestertons Browning [G. K. Chesterton, Robert Browning (London, 1913)] gab mir die Gesellschaft eines wahrhaftigen klugen Mannes, der Beethoven von Rolland brachte mir den unsagbar erhabenen und rührenden Gegenstand so nahe, daß ich darüber alles Denken an anderes, ja die eigene Arbeit vorübergehend aussetzen mußte. Zu Browning selber bin ich zurückgekehrt, habe in den Dramatis personae und anderswo manches gelesen, die Pippa wieder, und bin froh, daß

3Hofmannsthal-Borchardt, p. 73.
mir die Gespräche mit Dir hier ein Besitztum
wiedergegeben haben, dessen mich eine Schrulle
und das ist das Sonderbare eine dauernde Schrulle
fast verlustig gemacht hätte. 4

The influence of Browning's poems in the development
of Hofmannsthal's abilities as a dramatist have been discussed
in the introduction. There remain to be explored the con-
nections between several of Hofmannsthal's lyrics and those
of Browning, and those between Pippa Passes and Das kleine
Welttheater.

In Hofmannsthal's "Drei kleine Lieder" (1899) (GLD, p. 23),
the first song is obviously an adaptation of Browning's
"A Serenade at the Villa". 5 The metre of both are the same,
\[-v-v-v-v-\], and some lines are almost identical, although
Hofmannsthal compresses Browning's twelve stanzas into two.
This condensation emphasizes the empathy of nature and the
poet. Browning's line, "That was I, you heard last night,/... 
You heard music; that was I," is very similar to Hofmanns-
thal's "Hörtest du denn nicht hinein/...Lag und spielte, das
war ich," but both of Browning's stanzas about the lightless-

4Ibid., p. 104. Borchardt, who perhaps understood
Hofmannsthal's feelings about Browning better than anyone
else did, states it succinctly: "Hofmannsthal hat nie
aufgehört Browning zu lesen, aber er entfernte sich nach
kurzer und scheinbarer Konstellation entscheidend von ihm."
Rufold Borchardt, "Hofmannsthals Lehrjahre," Prosa I

5Robert Browning, The Complete Poetic and Dramatic Works
ness and suffocating element of the night are reduced to the translation of just one of his lines, "Life was dead, and so was light," which becomes, "Nacht war schwer und ohne Schein." Where Browning separates the elements of life and night and goes into detail about the nature of this life and earth's night, Hofmannsthals uses only the night and leaves the remainder to the imagination of the reader. The sense of suffocation and oppression still emerge.

Browning's next stanza is cut to the first two lines, "What they could my words expressed,/ O my love, my all, my one!": "Was ich konnte, sprach ich aus: 'Liebste du, mein Alles du!" Then Hofmannsthals loosely translates part of the fifth stanza to end his song:

So wore night; the East was gray,
..............................
There would be another day;
Ere its first of heavy hours
Found me, I had passed away.

Östlich brach ein Licht heraus,
Schwerer Tag trieb mich nach Haus,
Und mein Mund ist wieder zu.

The other stanzas in Browning's poem only philosophize on the same theme. Hofmannsthals, by condensing twelve stanzas into two, has reduced the poem to its essential elements of night, day and love; night as a concealment, day as a revealing element, and a love that is somehow illicit or ill-fated. Hofmannsthals here shows the ability to curtail Browning's lyrics effectively which served him well in
adapting The Ring and the Book into the relatively short span of a five-act drama, without losing any of its power. In his song, he produces the effect of a medieval "Wächterlied".

Hofmannsthal's Gestalten have a certain relationship with the form of Browning's monologues; one person who in speaking expresses his personality, or one trait of his personality. But Hofmannsthal's brevity does not permit them to relate the character's whole biography in the monologue—only a symbol must suffice to give an impression of his whole situation.

"Der Schiffskoch, ein Gefangener, singt" (1901) expresses the ship's cook at his sad lot "geschieden von den Meinigen" (GLD, p. 28). This is symbolically expressed by the food he is preparing, "schöne pupurflossige Fische," which are also out of their environment and therefore dying. His story before his capture, his fate, his character and his life, all of which Browning would have laid open in one of his dramatic monologues, remain a mystery.

The wind, which speaks of dying and the transitoriness of life, is the main symbol in "Des alten Mannes Sehnsucht nach dem Sommer": (1907) The old man reminisces about an ideal summer day "in des Sommerlandes Tiefe" (GLD, p. 29), which represents his life as a young man. Now death, the wind, is announcing its arrival. Again, the old man remains anonymous; we learn nothing of him that would distinguish
him from any other old man filled with nostalgia for his youth and fear of death.

In "Der Kaiser von China spricht" (1897?98?), Hofmannsthal has achieved something closer to a true dramatic monologue. The character of the Chinese Emperor is more fully developed in the poem than those of the cook and the old man are. The prime characteristic of the emperor is his absolute and complacent egotism. The word "meine" expresses his whole life: "Meine Frauen, meine Bäume,/ Meine Tiere, meine Teiche." (GLD, p. 32) His satisfaction with the status quo, his Buddha-like acceptance of his own exalted place in the world, is, however, in contrast with the egotistical heroes of Browning's monologues, who are constantly struggling to sustain their position (e.g., the Duke in "My Last Duchess"). This lack of conflict in the Hofmannsthal poem precludes any drama.

The dramatic element does enter in "Der Jüngling und die Spinne". The spider makes the youth aware of the dark side of life and of death and an actual change occurs in the hero, but it takes place because of "stage directions" given by Hofmannsthal, which are not actually part of the narration. The change is not a part of the past as related by the speaker.

Not only Browning's dramatic monologues, which were to influence Hofmannsthal more in his dramatic than his lyric writings, but his lyric dramas were of influence on
Hofmannsthal. **Pippa Passes** certainly has a counterpart in **Das kleine Welttheater**. Pippa passes "the Happiest Four in our Asolo"\(^6\) and Hofmannsthal's play has the sub-title of **Die Glücklichen**. In both dramas, this apparent happiness is relative. Asolo's happiest four are really desperately involved with affairs that will bring them, or have already given them, unhappiness. Pippa's songs as she passes, bring each a measure of happiness which is most unlike the happiness Pippa imagined them to have. She considers them happy because they are beloved, but love has driven them to crime or does not really exist for them and Pippa, alone, with her innocence and faith in the love of God, saves a remnant of their happiness quite different from that which the world had imagined them to have.

The characters in **Das kleine Welttheater** are also happy with a happiness that the world does not understand. Nonetheless, the validity of this happiness exists because each has a comprehension of life based on special qualities not available to the ordinary person. Each has retained some of the qualities of what Hofmannsthal would call the pre-existence period of life, or has gained a similar penetration into the real essence of happiness. This is much like the penetration gained by the characters in **Pippa Passes** because of the catalytic effects of her songs.

The madman, influenced by Hofmannsthal's concepts of the character of William Blake, is his equivalent to Pippa. He has the innocence of youth and the holiness of a saint. He intuitively sees beyond ordinary reality to its essence. Like Pippa, he is at one with himself and God.

It was, however, not in his lyrical but in his dramatic works, especially in his adaptation of The Ring and the Book for Die Gräfin Pompilia, that Browning's influence on Hofmannsthal reaches its peak. The next chapter will present a detailed comparative study of these two works.
Chapter VIII

Die Gräfin Pompilia and The Ring and the Book

I

The writing and sources of "Die Gräfin Pompilia":

In Die Gräfin Pompilia, Hofmannsthall was attempting a task at which he had not succeeded up to 1901—-to write a full-length, realistic (in the sense that no supernatural elements or mythological or allegorical characters appear) drama. A previous attempt to write a Shakespearean drama, Ascanio und Gioconda, based on Romeo and Juliet, had never been completed.¹ Most of the other dramatic works were quite short, or lyrical dramas rather than dramas that could be produced on the stage. So he could truly say that Pompilia was his first "wirklich dramatische Aufgabe."²

Since Hofmannsthall, in the typically German poetic tradition, admired Shakespeare and had already tried to write a play based on a Shakespearean model, it is not surprising that his first venture into pure drama should follow the Shakespearean pattern. In Browning's The Ring and the

¹Hofmannsthall writes about attempting a Renaissance tragedy as early as June, 1892. (Bl, p. 44). In July, 1892, he wrote to Arthur Schnitzler, giving the plan for a "5aktige Renaissancetragödie, dramatisierte Novelle, äußerlich im Stil von 'Romeo und Julia' für die wirkliche brutale Bühne..." (BI, p. 49). Until the end of 1892, letters show that he was working on this play (cf. particularly the letter to Gustav Schwarzkopf) (BI, pp. 63-64).

²Bl II, p. 53.
Book, Hofmannsthall felt he had found exactly the material he needed for his Renaissance tragedy.

Die Gräfin Pompilia, as it now exists, is unfinished. It consists of well over a hundred manuscript pages of outlines, notes and a few fragmentary scenes. The amount of material is large, showing the great amount of time and work Hofmannsthall expended on this project for over two years (1901-1903). Despite this, the play itself is hardly begun. From a survey of the notes, there arrives a clear picture of the action to be contained in each act and a portrait of each of the characters that leaves little to the imagination. Despite the incompleteness of the play, these characters are more clearly defined and have more dimensions than any Hofmannsthall characters before those in Elektra and Das gerettete Venedig. What is more, not just one or two characters, as in the early dramas, but three major ones and at least four minor ones have been developed far beyond the often partially autobiographical ones Hofmannsthall had used before. No one in Pompilia could be considered as mirroring Hofmannsthall's

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3 All the notes about and quotations from Die Gräfin Pompilia are still unpublished at this date and were made available to me by the kind permission of Dr. Herbert Steiner. They will not be footnoted individually, except where they contain a quotation by Hofmannsthall from The Ring and the Book. These quotations will be immediately succeeded by their line numbers.
aesthetic problems--each one has a psychology and a development peculiar only to himself.

If one were to turn The Ring and the Book into a drama with the least possible alteration, one would emerge with a courtroom drama with long monologues that gradually fade into flashbacks, telling the story from various points of view. Browning has thus told his story, in a series of long dramatic monologues, the majority of them given in or near the courtroom. Hofmannsthal preferred, however, to use a form which he greatly admired—that of the conventional five-act Elizabethan drama, written in blank verse. In addition to Browning, Hofmannsthal's characters are influenced by those of Shakespeare, D'Annunzio and Goethe, according to notes Hofmannsthal made.

The number of characters of The Ring and the Book was to be sharply curtailed. Aside from the three major characters, Pompilia, Guido and Caponsacchi, the cast would include Pietro and Violante, Emilia (Pompilia's maid, called Margherita by Browning), and Guido's mother in important secondary roles. Other minor characters are Guido's brother (called Sebastiano by Hofmannsthal), a bishop, a governor and the Cardinal (Hofmannsthal planned to demote the Pope).

It is just the characters who would have made the play a courtroom drama, whom Hofmannsthal omits—the two lawyers and the people of Rome. Hofmannsthal, like the young Goethe
in Götz von Berlichingen and Schiller in Die Räuber, chose the Shakespearean form, in contrast to a more formal type of drama, for its freedom of plot, action and time elements. The play was to be first written in prose, to establish the pattern of action and define the characters. It seems unlikely that this plan was carried out, since no complete play in prose exists, some scenes in verse do, and the latter do not always have an antecedent scene in prose. The verse is an irregular iambic pentameter, well suited to the form of the play. A sample scene appears in an Appendix at the end of this dissertation. It is as close to a scene from the final version of the play as is to be found in the manuscript of Pompilia.

II

A Reconstruction of the Play

(based on the material in the Nachlaß):

The play begins with a scene in the Franceschini household after the marriage of Guido and Pompilia. Pietro and Violante, Pompilia's parents, have discovered what a bad bargain for themselves their daughter's marriage is. Guido, having obtained their fortune in Pompilia's dowry, is making life miserable for them at his house. They are hoping that the news of Pompilia's pregnancy will soften Guido's attitude toward them, but after a quarrel between them and Guido and his possessive mother, they flee to Rome. The first act ends
with Pompilia's discovery of their abrupt departure.

In the second act, she is gradually forced, by the conspiracies of Guido and Emilia, to turn to the Bishop and the Governor for help. Their denial of aid and Emilia's machinations make her plead for assistance from Caponsacchi.

The third act includes the flight of Caponsacchi and Pompilia. It ends at the inn with the climactic scene of the play between them and the pursuing Guido.

The fourth act includes the first trial (not probably to be presented on the stage), Pompilia's confinement and release from the convent, the birth of Gaetano, and the murder of her and the Comparini.

The last act begins with the second trial and ends with Guido's execution. It is impossible to say with complete accuracy that this would have been the contents of each act, but the sequence of action is certainly what Hofmannsthal planned, because it was not Hofmannsthal's way to write a play in a logical sequence, but rather to write down a scene or even a few lines for a scene as the idea for it came to him. Sometimes he notes what act the notation belongs to; just as frequently, he does not. His abandonment of the incomplete play without arranging in it any order makes an exact sequence of the manuscript pages impossible.
III

The Comparison of "Die Gräfin Pompilia" and "The Ring and the Book":

Hofmannsthal tells Pompilia's story only once; while Browning's multiple relating gives a multi-faceted point of view, Hofmannsthal's play is limited to the point of view, of the dramatist. The action is straightforward. Hofmannsthal uses relatively short monologues or action on the stage to portray what Browning can use ten or twenty pages to say several times. As a dramatist, Hofmannsthal is interested primarily in the actors in the Renaissance tragedy; Browning is leading his reader to gradually make a judgment of the truth behind "The Old Yellow Book". Hofmannsthal has already decided what the truth is and there is no ambiguity in the play. In *The Ring and the Book*, one might debate for a hundred pages about Pompilia's innocence; in *Die Gräfin Pompilia*, this innocence is assumed from the beginning, and the audience has no doubt of it. Browning presents a mass of conflicting evidence, and, out of the confusion, a picture of the truth gradually arises. Hofmannsthal presents the clear picture immediately, because a theatre audience must, of necessity, learn the truth much more quickly than a reading audience.

In addition to the differences in presentation, the characters, to a great extent the same, are treated very differently in the interest of drama rather than poetry. The characters
have been curtailed and greater emphasis has been given to several roles, especially those of Guido's mother and Margherita. The change in Margherita's position is the most significant of all the character changes. From the background figure she is in Browning, she becomes as almost important as Caponsacchi. Hofmannsthal has used her to make a quadrangle of the triangle of Pompilia, Guido and Caponsacchi. Browning uses Caponsacchi as a figure between Pompilia and Guido--Pompilia is complete innocence, Guido is almost complete corruption and Caponsacchi is almost as good as Pompilia, but with a touch of Guido's corrupting worldliness. Hofmannsthal planned to oppose the two couples--Guido and Emilia (Margherita) represent complete worldliness with its attendant corruption; Caponsacchi and Pompilia represent unworldliness and innocence. Hofmannsthal has even changed the names of the characters to make this more obvious--Margherita, whose "Gretchen" name connotes innocence to the German audience becomes Emilia and Guiseppe (Caponacchi) becomes Gino, to make them closer to their opposite number's name: Emilia--Pompilia and Guido--Gino. Caponsacchi's last name has also been changed from the historical Caponsacchi to Bevilacqua ("Drink water"), a common Italian name, but one that also carries, by nature of its meaning, the idea of succour to the thirsty and relief for one desperately in need of help--the role that Gino plays with Pompilia.
The most interesting character from the viewpoints of Browning, Hofmannsthal and the modern reader is Guido Franceschini. He is the only Browning character to whom two books are devoted and Hofmannsthal spent more time analyzing his motives and actions than he does for any of the other characters. Hofmannsthal was fascinated by Guido and his relationships with the other figures of the tragedy. His character according to notes by Hofmannsthal is also influenced by that of Shakespeare's Richard III and Goethe's Egmont as well as *Lettres à un Provincial*. This impoverished elderly Italian aristocrat, to whom family honor, personal honor and pride are more important than the life of his child-bride, is characterized thus:

V. Guidos innerer Zustand

Er fühlt sich agnus Dei oneratum peccatis mundi. Er versteht alle Schlechtigkeit der Welt, ist mit dem inneren Wortbild damit beladen, aller innerer Wust und Qualm von diesen Tausenden, die draußen stehen, ist in ihm hineingestopft, er muß ihn von sich speien, ausspeien, und da er das nicht bis zur Neige kann, so muß er sterben. Das Hinundher seines Charakters: er strebt immer einer großen Konzeption von Glückssfülle nach, keine Machtharmonie. In seinen schlechten Zeiten aber klammert er sich mit wahnsinniger Wut an ein Detail:

1. in an der Erfüllung des Vertrages
2. an einen Erfolg auf dem Ball
3. daß er sie in seine Hand bekommt
4. den Prozess gewinnen, dann diese Feinde tot sehen, das Kind in seine Gewalt bekommen.

Guido's condition receives deep understanding from Hofmannsthal, who sympathizes with him to a certain extent. Yet, in delineating his relationships to the other figures,
it is usually Guido who emerges as the less appealing figure. Pompilia, for Guido, was to have been the last chance to realize his "unrealisierte Träume,...unglaubliche Träume aus der Knabenzeit." One of his reproaches to her is that she has done nothing to help him realize these dreams "warum hast du nichts gethan sie realisieren zu helfen?... Du hast das Unrecht vollendet das die Welt an mir gethan hat.' N. B. Sein Verbrechen und sein Unglück' so daß er fordert." But Pompilia not only does not fulfill his expectations; she has aroused his hatred by her attitude toward him from the beginning: "Guido hasst sie vom ersten Moment wo sie sich ...vor seinem Aussehen gegraust hat."

Another grievance Guido has against Pompilia is that she has never been a real wife to him. He says to her, "Hab ich Dich nicht in meinem Bett kälter als einen Schlüssel finden müssen?" Guido's argument is that Pompilia "ist verpflichtet mir Liebe zu zeigen, zu simulieren wie meine Bedienten eine Aufmerksamkeit (wie der Kastrat, der die liebestolle Armida für zwei Zechinen macht) zeigen müssen, sonst Fußtritt und auf's Pflaster damit--das sollst Du lügen, warum so aristokratisch auf einmal, aus Noblesse dann nicht lügen wollen, bleib' doch auf dem Niveau Deines Herrn Vaters, Deiner Frau Mutter.

Pompilia: Du begreifst den Sinn der Ehe nicht, der Sinn der Ehe ist dies.

Guido: das sind alles keine Wirklichkeiten, die
Wirklichkeit der Welt ist dies: sei stärker, gefschickter, sei im formalen Recht, setze dich ins Recht—"

The reference to the story of the eunuch's playing Armida is presented thus by Browning, as told by Guido:

Can she feel no love? Let her show the more,
Sham the worse, damn herself praiseworthily!
Who's that soprano, Rome went mad about
Last week while I lay rotting in my straw?
The very jailer gossiped in his praise--
How, dressed up like Armida, though a man;
And painted to look pretty, though a fright,--
He still made love so that the ladies swooned,
Being a eunuch. "Ah, Rinaldo mine!
But to breathe by thee while Jove slays us both!"
All the poor bloodless creature never felt,
Si, do, re, me, fa, squeak and squall—for what?
Two gold zecchines the evening. Here's my slave,
Whose body and soul depend upon my nod,
Can't falter out the first note in the scale
For her life! (XI, 11. 1408-1423)

The insistence on the law—such an important factor in Guido's actions—is the same in Hofmannsthall as in Browning. The previous speech's end was thus expressed by Browning in Guido's first book:

"Purchase and sale being thus so plain a point
How of a certain soul bound up, may-be,
I'the barter with the body and money-bags?
From the bride's soul what is it you expect?"
Why, loyalty and obedience,—wish and will
To settle and suit her fresh and plastic mind
To the novel, nor disadvantageous mould!
Father and mother shall the woman leave,
Cleave to the husband, be it for weal and woe:
There is the law: what sets this law aside
In my particular case? (V, 11. 574-584)

It is law that Guido keeps on his side as long as possible. He does not avenge his honor at the inn, because he realizes that, in the long run, he, who is on the side of the
law, will gain the greatest reward. So he literally forces Pompilia back to her parents to keep both the dowry and his "honor". Hofmannsthal writes:

Guido sucht fortwährend eine Medizin für seinen Zustand, für sein dumpfes Staunen über unendliche Schmach, für sein in sich selber nicht drin sein, fortwährend nach Außen späheben, es kommt ihm das Ganze mit den Comarinis als der Ausläufer aller Demütigungen seines Lebens vor: nur das von seiner Phantasie auch abtun: dazu bedarf es eines großartigen Gegenbildes: Pompilia als Ehebrecherin aus dem Haus jagen, sie denen vor die Füße hinschmeißen, und die ungeheure Rede aus sich heraus- lassen dürfen: So, würde ich sagen, jetzt ist alles im Gleichgewicht, jetzt ist jedes an seinem Platz, jetzt habt ihr was euer ist und ich was mein ist. Jetzt habe ich wieder mein Niveau, würde ich sagen etc. etc.

Hofmannsthal's Guido genuinely resents Pompilia's lack of wifely affection, her abhorrence of his age and appearance. He feels that he has been cheated, not only in the matter of the dowry, but also of a real wife. The words, which in Browning, are only quoted by Guido to show what a wife should have said, to win sympathy for his cause in court, are actually spoken to Pompilia by Hofmannsthal's Guido:

...mit seiner Anforderung...tritt er zu Pompilia. "Thou being mine, why what but thine am I?/ Be thou to me law, right wrong heaven and hell!/ Let us blend souls..." III. S. 234. (XI, 11.2186-2188)

die von Pompilia nie gesprochenen Worte der Hingebung, Zärtlichkeit, Schmeichelei glühen in seinem Kopf "Wann hast Du mir je ins Ohr geflüstert?"

Although Browning presents Guido's side also, one never feels that he has any real sympathy for this character. But Hofmannsthal, just married himself, has a deep understanding
for the necessity for physical participation by each partner in a marriage. The problem of the young or newly married couple particularly intrigued him in many works from Der weisse Fächer on, and was to continue to do so throughout his life. Pompilia may be a saint, and certainly, Hofmannsthal never intended to dispute this. But one can assume that he would realize the difficulties of living with a saint, especially a young, lovely, virtuous and virginal one. Guido is a wordly, sensual and even wicked man—but he is a man and not the ogre Pompilia envisions him to be. She never satisfies the man in him—she only sees the ogre to whom she has been married against her will, toward whose appearance she has felt repugnance since their first meeting. She is as much responsible for the failure of their marriage as Guido.

Hofmannsthal also indicated that he eventually expects Guido to really believe in the love affair he himself has concocted between Pompilia and Gino. The words used by Browning's Guido only to gain sympathy from his judges are to be sincerely meant by him in Hofmannsthal's play. Guido finally turns Pompilia over to Emilia "ad torquendem" because he notices that she has improved her appearance for Gino. Hofmannsthal quotes Browning:

No more soiled dress, 'tis trimness triumphs now,  
For how should malice go with negligence?  
(XI, 11. 1351-1352)
On another page, Hofmannsthal quotes a few lines further on, apparently from memory and not quite correctly:

Guido immer ärger: Was, Arge setzest mir entgegen
-Tell [sic] what sustainment of the deluding hope? Who is the friend i' the background that knows [sic] all? (XI, 11. 1375-1376)

The friend, Gino, arouses mixed feelings in Guido.

Hofmannsthal, commenting on Guido's relationships to the other characters of the play, emphasizes this:

alle sind sie nur losgerissene Teile von ihm: er will sie in sich zurücknehmen und meint sie zu hassen so ist das Verhältnis zu Pompilia wie das Verhältnis zu seiner eigenen reinen Seele das zu Caponsacchi will er besonders nicht eingestehen; es kommt in IV deutlich heraus, wo er den Knaben sich vorstellt—and wenn der Knabe auch der Sohn des anderen wäre, er umfängt ihn mit leidenschaftlicher Liebe.

Here is another proof that the Hofmannsthal Guido is less villainous than his Browning original: Hofmannsthal indicates several times that Guido does love and accept Gaetano as his own son, trying not to admit even to himself that he may be Caponsacchi's, but willing to accept him on those terms if necessary. According to Hofmannsthal, Guido sees Caponsacchi as his Judas, but he would love and raise his son as his own.

Guido's relationship to Pietro and Violante is that of the aristocrat to the bourgeois. His behavior does not seem so despicable upon consideration of their unpleasant personalities, and the general attitude of the Renaissance aristocracy toward the lower classes as people to be exploited.
Hofmannsthal quotes Browning to show Pietro's standing in the eyes of Guido:

Have you stooped  
For your own ends to bestialize yourself  
By flattery of a fellow of this stamp?  
The ends obtained, or else shown out of reach,  
He goes on, takes the flattery for pure truth,--  
"You love, and honor me, of course: what next?"  
(XI, 11. 1160-1164)

Guido feels that Pietro has genuinely taken advantage of him after he had demeaned himself to marry Pietro's daughter and take him into the house. Hofmannsthal feels that Guido has a genuine grievance here, and therefore does not take the rather tolerant attitude toward the Comparinis that Browning does. They have not kept their part of the bargain—to deliver an obedient loving wife of sturdy bourgeois stock and a considerable dowry. He feels no obligation toward them, since Pompilia has not lived up to expectations.

Guido's relationship to Emilia, which is vaguely indicated by Browning as being that of a master to a maid, is much more clearly defined by Hofmannsthal. He quotes Browning ("Pleasure being the sole good in the world") (XI, 1. 529) and adds: "Sie hat ihm zu wenig Genüß gegeben, trotz ihrer Leidenschaft und ihres starken Geistes: weil sie zu gemein ist." Guido sees in Emilia "ungeheure wilde Hingebung... vielleicht mehr als da ist, sieht Delilah die ihm ihren Samson ausgeliefert hat." Her complete devotion to him has
set a standard of what he expects from all women, particularly his wife. It is a standard that Pompilia does not meet. Yet, Emilia's coarseness repels him after he encounters the purity of Pompilia. His ideal woman would have had a combination of Pompilia's purity and grace with a deep sensuality and devotion that only he could awaken.

Guido's relationship to his mother is one that does not concern Browning at all, but which is very important to Hofmannsthal—"das Verhältnis zu seiner Mutter dasjenige zu dem Blut seines Geschlechtes das er in sich trägt." The mother, whose character according to notes by Hofmannsthal is to be modeled on several D'Annunzio figures, is a dominating Catherine-de-Medici-type woman. Guido is still very dependent on her to set the standards for the conduct of a Francescini woman, and her criticisms of Pompilia, that the young bride "sich...Überhaupt nicht in der Rolle findet," that she "spielt die Gräfin wie ein rechtes Püppchen," are damming ones in the eyes of Guido. They are deciding factors in his decision to remove Pompilia from his life. Mother-in-law problems and Guido's mild Oedipus complex are new elements introduced by Hofmannsthal into the Browning plot.

Guido's resentment and feelings of hatred against a world that he feels has treated him unfairly, find expression in the last act of the play in a speech, part Browning, part Hofmannsthal:
Dying in cold blood is the desperate thing;
the angry heart explodes, bears off with [sic] blaze
the indignant soul, and I'm combustion-ripe

(XI, ll. 465-467)
er fühlt sich in einem Duell mit der Welt:
I knew that if I chose sin certain sins
--I should find you in the past. (XI, ll. 479-81)
und so bin ich unterlegen, weiter nichts
eure Klinge geht zwischen meinen Rippen hinein,
bei der Brust wieder hinaus.

As Pompilia is one of Browning's most appealing figures,
she would certainly have become one of Hofmannsthal's. She
is a figure that is a white dove of innocence ("perfect in
whiteness") (X, l. 1006), a lamb of God. Evil swirls around
her, but never touches her inwardly. Hofmannsthal here works
with a problem that begins as early as Die Hochzeit der
Sobeide and reaches a climax in Der Turm: the terrible ef-
facts of absolute innocence upon both the innocent and the
ones surrounding them. A completely innocent person, un-
schooled in the ways of the world, incapable of handling
the most common situation in a generally accepted manner, a
person who has been shielded from ordinary contacts with
other human beings by love (Pompilia) or hate (Sigismund),
becomes a victim the sacrifice of whom may destroy those
around them. Browning says of Pompilia, and Hofmannsthal
quotes him, although incorrectly:..."there's something here,
Some presence in the room beside us all, /Something that every
lie expires before."\(^4\) (III, ll. 800-802) Ordinary people,

\(^4\)The correct quotation is given here; Hofmannsthal
quotes it as: "there is some presence in the room beside her,
every lie expires before."
whose lives are often bolstered by lies to make social intercourse easier, like Pietro and Violante also are destroyed with their lies.

Hofmannsthal sees Pompilia as an ideal and yet as a living heroine also, courageous in the face of events incomprehensible to her. "Pompilia steht dem Ganzen keinesfalls weinerlich gegenüber in I [Act I] will sie die Reinheit ihrer Seele verteidigen und fühlt sich durch eine unbestimmte Unsicherheit (Lügenhaftigkeit?) welche die Eltern unschwebt, dabei im Stich gelassen, von II an will sie nichts als ihr Kind retten." At first "begreift sie so gar nicht wie ihre Eltern sie verleugnen konnten."

After she realizes that she is pregnant ("die Ahnung des Kindes, 'that thrill of dawn's suffusion through my dark!" (VII, l. 622), nothing matters to her but the preservation of her child. The analogy to the Annunciation is sometimes striking. "Sie erzählt... wie ihr in der Nacht unter schweren Träumen... plötzlich wie eine laue Welle von Glück gekommen ist und der Name Gaetano für das Kind ihr eingefallen ist." Guido's ranting makes no impression on her: "Sie hat hier eine merkwürdige Starrheit wie er tobt, etwas Stieres, bleiernes."

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For Hofmannsthal, Pompilia's innocence becomes her doom after this:

"III. das tragische Hinaustreten über die Grenze beginnt bei Pompilia im dritten Akt, nachdem der Mann sie auf den Knien gebeten hat, wieder zu bleiben. Nachdem sie Caponsacchis Güte erkannt hat und da ihr überdies die Welt zu Hilfe kommt, erscheint ihr alles gut und leicht, sie ist fast hochmütig, bietet dem Mann ihre Verzeihung zugleich mit dem Abschied an... Er bleibt dann noch mit Emilia, die er mitgebracht hat, in dem Gasthauszimmer zurück (spielt sich vor den Leuten noch auf) alle anderen sind weg: die Magd (Wirtin) erscheint rückwärts mit ihren Liebhaber und grinst auf den Hahnrei herein. Diese Szene brennt sich ihm sehr ein."

Pompilia is, because of her complete goodness, not as complex a character as the others in the play. She is a rather one-sided character. Caponsacchi-Bevilacqua, on the other hand, has as much soldier as priest in him. Hofmannsthal is as convinced as Browning of his inner goodness. Caponsacchi's encounter and helping of Pompilia change him from a mere scion of a noble family who has entered the priesthood as a career to a Saint George; "das geheimnisvolle tiefe Glück Caponsacchis durchleuchtet alles." 'I too have seen a lady and hold a grace!' (V, l. 1105) 'und nur so viel Grauen konnte die Erhabene offenbaren." Hofmannsthal notes as "Ton für Caponsacchi. 'You must know that a man gets drunk with truth stagnant inside him!'" (V, ll. 1163-1164) The young priest learns to understand life, death and love, to become a real representative of God by his love for the saintly Pompilia. Pompilia's attitude toward him is at first
quite negative:

II b. wie Pompilia ihm endlich gegenüber steht er... schien er
ihr (mir) böse und nicht gut daß ihr so schreibt --
aber 'a thief might save me from a murderer.' (V, l. 868)
Schluß II b. geht Caponsacchi dem Freund gegenüber sehr
aus sich heraus während er Pompilia gegenüber immer
sehr an sich hält. Erst III. verteidigen sie sich,
vertändigen sie sich darüber daß man ihnen gegenseitig
gefälschte Briefe vorgelegt hat.

Now I find out first that life and death
Are means for an end, that passion uses both...
Passion indisputable mistress of the man
Whose form of worship of self-sacrifice (das ist
der Schlüssel zu seinem Charakter).

His self-sacrifice is very contrary to Guido's actions,
for one item placed on the altar is his reputation (the last
thing Guido would sacrifice). Hofmannsthal quotes Browning:
"if so my worldly reputation burst/Being the bubble it is,
why, burst it may." (III, ll. 1353-1354) When Caponsacchi
hears that Pompilia is safe and has had her child, he
sacrifices his love for her: "Gino gerührt und resigniert:
so löst sich dies, sie hat ein Kind, ihr Leben ist ausge-
füllt, ich habe keine weitere Aufgabe als mich ihr nie
wieder aufzudrängen." If Pompilia can be identified, in
many ways, with the Virgin Mary, then Caponsacchi is undoubt-
edly her Joseph, chastely protecting another's child, which
is considered his own. Allusions to Christ can be inferred

6 The correct lines are
Now, when I found out first that life and death
Are means to an end, that passion uses both,
Indisputably mistress of the man
Whose form of worship is self-sacrifice:

(VI, ll. 996-999)
from other facts. There is a Herod, a powerful man intent on killing an unborn child, a rival king, in Guido, a flight and a scene at an inn. There is no evidence that Hofmannsthal deliberately intended such an allegory in Pompilia, but, since he turns more and more to religious allegories in later works, one is tempted to find a first, unconscious, manifestation here.

Gino's role in life after his transfiguring experience with Pompilia is to go on and live out his life a better man. Hofmannsthal quotes, for a last act speech of the Cardinal to Gino:

Deserve the initiatory spasm—once more Work, be unhappy, but bear life... (X, ll. 1211-1212)

Since Pietro and Violante are to be the characters who open the play with an expository scene giving the situation in Guido's palace (the poverty, the pride of even the Franceschini servants) and the first announcement of Pompilia's pregnancy, Hofmannsthal delineates their personalities immediately. He cannot reveal it slowly and obscurely as Browning does. Hofmannsthal's Pietro and Violante are younger than the same Browning characters and more relentlessly bourgeois and "nouveaux riches". Perhaps they might be early prototypes of Der Bürger als Edelmann. Yet their love for Pompilia and their pride in her pregnancy are natural and great. However, Hofmannsthal blames them much more than Browning does for their desertion and betrayal of
Pompilia. This is only evident in his remarks about Pompilia, since, after their flight, the Companis apparently never again appear on the stage, except possibly at the scene of their murder.

Emilia, who as Margherita, has an insignificant part as a maid, planted as a spy and conspirator by Guido with Pompilia, in The Ring and the Book, becomes a fully developed character in the Hofmannsthal play. As Guido's base-born mistress, discarded when the new bride arrives, and then once more reinstated and instructed to play Judas to her rival, she now has a high stake of her own. In her machinations, she will not only aid Guido and win his admiration, but will obtain vengeance with a rival, whose presence she fears and whose purity she detests.

Guido's brother, the priest, Paolo, (Hofmannsthal calls him Sebastiano) was to have an important role, but not much of it was written. The Cardinal (Browning's Pope) has an important scene at the conclusion of the play with Capon-sacchi, but only plans for it exist.

IV

The Incompletion of the Play:

Why was Die Gräfin Pompilia never completed? The first reason was probably Hofmannsthal's attitude toward his own works, which made him leave behind many incompletely fragmented and kept him re-writing even finished works to achieve
new perfection for his dramas. This is demonstrated by the evolving versions of Die Frau ohne Schatten, Ariadne auf Naxos, and Der Turm. Hofmannsthal worked on Pompilia from 1901 to 1903, but not continuously. It is the other major dramas he was working on during this period which are the second reason for the incompletion of Pompilia. While he was doing research for Pompilia, the idea for Elektra came to him:

"Elektra".—der erste Einfall kam mir Anfangs September 1901. Ich las damals, um für die "Pompilia" gewisses zu lernen, den "Richard III." und die "Elektra" von Sophokles. (A, p. 131)

Elektra was to have an almost obsessive hold on Hofmannsthal. He tried to turn to the writing of Das gerettete Venedig and completed the first act, thinking that, as he wrote to Otto Brahm between August and October, 1903, "zuerst die Umarbeitung des großen Stückes zu machen, dann die 'Elektra'. Was dann weiter kam, entzieht sich, wie Sie verstehen, dem Willen. Sooft ich das eine anfagen wollte, drängte sich das andere vor. Ich konnte das eine nicht schreiben, und ich konnte das andere schreiben. So schrieb ich die 'Elektra'." (B II, pp. 124-125)

Finally having completed Elektra, he worked on the final acts of Das gerettete Venedig, still planning to follow it
with "den wunderbaren Pompilia Stoff" (B II, p. 133) as he wrote in November, 1903. This is the last mention of Die Gräfin Pompilia. One can only conclude that this play had too much in common with the play Hofmannsthali had just completed: the Shakespearean form, the Italian Renaissance background with its attendant corruption, the injured innocence of the heroine, the abandonment of her by her parents, the contrast of two major male characters, and the woman of loose virtue. Having written the Renaissance tragedy he had been incubating since Ascanio and Gioconda, he had accomplished his purpose and was not inclined to repeat it immediately. Perhaps Hofmannsthali intended to finish Pompilia at a later time, but the time never came.

However, Hofmannsthali's attempt to re-tell The Ring and the Book left its mark on future works, especially on Der Turm, for Pompilia and Sigismund are sister and brother in their tragic innocence which cannot cope with a world full of selfish, avaricious people against which a few noble people like Caponsacchi and Sigismund's doctor are unable to defend them.

Die Gräfin Pompilia ends the direct influence of Browning on Hofmannsthali. Not only Hofmannsthali's flagging interest in this drama, but his inexplicable disillusionment with
Browning (p. 99-100), which stayed with him for much of the remainder of his life, prevented Browning, who was the strongest English literary influence on the young poet, aside from Shakespeare, from affecting the more mature Hofmannsthal.
Chapter IX
Hofmannsthal and the Pre-Raphaelites

Hofmannsthal apparently made no distinctions between the original Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood (principally Rossetti, Millais and Holman Hunt) and the later Rossetti-Oxford Group (including Burne-Jones, Morris and Swinburne). This chapter will therefore consider both groups as one. Hofmannsthal discovered the Pre-Raphaelites quite early from two sources; the coffee house conversations with Stefan George and the paintings of Edward Burne-Jones on exhibition in Vienna. A reading list made in December, 1892, contains the notation "engl. Praeraffaeliten." Since Burne-Jones was to express the quintessence of Pre-Raphaelitism to Hofmannsthal, his influence will be considered first.

Burne-Jones:

In December, 1892, Hofmannsthal wrote to Stefan George about the latter's "Algalbal":

Lassen Sie mich für den "Algalbal" vorläufig nur danken; am lebhaftesten haben mich diese beiden ergriffen, "Daneben war der Raum der blassen Helle" und "O Mutter meine Mutter und Erlauchte"; das ist gefühlt und geschaut mit der herben spröden Schönheit des Burne-Jones und Puvis de Chavannes.\(^1\)

\(^1\)Hofmannsthal-George, p. 235.
\(^2\)Unpublished.
\(^3\)Hofmannsthal-George, p. 50.
In February, 1894, he wrote to Elsa Bruckmann-Cantacuzene:


In a review of the "Internationale Kunst-Ausstellung" (1894) in Vienna, he found only one painting, by Walter Crane, representing the Pre-Raphaelites, much to his dismay:

Trotzdem lassen sich auch an den Bildern der beiden ersten [Sir Frederick Leighton and Dame Marianne Stokes, who were responsible for the lack of P. R. representation at the exhibition] einige Elemente der Schule ganz gut empfinden: das Altklug-Puppenhaft, die naive Behandlung der Landschaft, die Vorliebe für das Schmale, alles das zwischen Sandro Botticelli und Kate Greenaway. Aber es fehlen die mystischen Augen der Frauen von Burne-Jones, es fehlt die faszinierende perverse Schein-Naivetät der Dante Gabriel Rossettis und die heidnisch-christliche Märchenphantasie des Watts. Es fehlt wieder eben das Merkwürdigste. (P I, pp. 176-177)

Hofmannsthal eventually became acquainted with many of the paintings of Burne-Jones, Rossetti, Holman Hunt and Millais, as well as the writings of William Morris and Rossetti. The influence of the Pre-Raphaelites upon Hofmannsthal's use of "Gebärde" has already been discussed in the introduction.

The single work of Hofmannsthal which most demonstrably shows the Pre-Raphaelite influence is "Idylle" (1893), which is an attempt to express an objet d'art in words, not as Keats did in "Ode on a Grecian Urn", reflecting upon the vase
and deriving an artistic philosophy from it, but actually attempting to bring the pictured scene to life. Not only is the whole scene reminiscent of Hofmannsthal's favorite Burne-Jones painting, "Pan and Psyche", but the woman seems the epitome of how Hofmannsthal himself described the Psyche of the picture:

...Psyche, die Jüngling-mädchenhafte, die nichts erlebt hat als ihr eigenes-rätselhaftes Auf-der-Weltsein, die aus unergründlichen Augen bang schaut, sie ist in diesen Jünglingen und Mädchen mit den naiven, gleichsam verlegenen Bewegungen, den von nichts wissenden Körpem. Sie ist die aus der Starre erwachte, sehnsüchtig-bange Galatea, sie der Pilgrim, der zwischen träumenden Teichen dem Haus der Trägheit zuschreitet, sie die Circe, die sich zu dem demütigen verzauberten Leoparden niederbeugt, die selber bezauberte Zauberin, unheimlich ohne Schuld. (P I, p. 195)

This description of the Burne-Jones Psyche fits not only the "Frau", but other characters of the same period, particularly the "Mädchen" of Das kleine Welttheater. She is what the woman was before she married the smith, a Psyche-type, who represents the pre-existence state to some extent. The older woman is dissatisfied with her own emergence from this state. She feels that she has lost a vital element from her life, that she has only its surface aspects—in Nietzschean terms, the Apollonian without the Dionysian:

Daß mir zuweilen war, als hätte ich im Schlaf
Die stets verborgenen Mysterien durchirrt
Von Lust und Leid, Erkennende mit wachem Aug,
Davon, an dieses Sonnenlicht zurückgekehrt,
Mir mähndes Gedenken andern Lebens bleibt
Und eine Fremde, Ausgeschlossene aus mir macht
In dieser nährenden, lebendgen Luft der Welt. (GLD, p. 58)
To this dissatisfied woman Pan appears, whom Hofmannsth al describes thus in the Burne-Jones painting:

"...hier in den dämmmerden Tiefen des einsamen Seins treten andere Gegenspieler auf, die kosmischen Gewalten, die Herren des Traumes und des Todes, Pan, der unreif geborene Gott, aus dem Unterleib der Erde geschnitten, nicht Mensch, nicht Tier, nicht Mann, nicht Weib, mit wildem, wehendem Haar und plumpen gutmütigen Händen und traurigen Augen, und andere göttliche, wundervolle Personifikationen des sehnsüchtigen, des drohenden, des berauschenden, des tödlichen Daseins. (P I, pp. 195-196)

Pan, or the "Zentaur", as he appears in "Idylle", represents the Dionysian elements the woman longs for and which Hofmannsth al felt were expressed in the Burne-Jones picture, especially the "deadly existence", for the woman finds death in seeking a deeper layer of life with the centaur.

The Pre-Raphaelites, as a movement, interested Hofmannsthal far more as painters than as poets. Rossetti and Hofmannsth al would seem to have much in common; the Italian blood and the great admiration for Dante, the union of North and South in their background and in their writing. But Hofmannsth al's only documented readings in Pre-Raphaelite poetry was that of Swinburne, whom literary historians might place with the younger members of that movement, but whom Hofmannsth al tended to class with the Aesthetes.⁴

⁴As previously mentioned Hofmannsth al made no distinctions between the Aesthetes and the Pre-Raphaelites, except that one might say that to him, the Pre-Raphaelites were one of the aspects of the Aesthetic movement in England.
Swinburne:

There are many references to Swinburne in the young Hofmannsthal's correspondence, which have already been cited in connection with the Romantics and Hofmannsthal's attitude toward the English aesthetes. The early Loris essay about "Algernon Charles Swinburne" (1893) and the injustice of his rejection for the poet-laureateship of England also shows the intensity of Hofmannsthal's interest. Hofmannsthal admired Swinburne as one of the new group of artists surrounding John Ruskin, who were attempting to interpret life through the medium of art. As I have indicated in the introduction, Hofmannsthal almost immediately saw the flaws in their philosophy.

However much Hofmannsthal might have criticized Swinburne's aesthetic philosophy, the latter's artistic genius drew the young Austrian to him. Swinburne's ideas of love seemed to Hofmannsthal to correctly portray the same Dionysian qualities as those portrayed by Burne-Jones in his paintings. The Loris essay shows that Hofmannsthal had read much of Swinburne by 1893, especially in Poems and Ballads, Atalanta in Calydon and Erectheus. Not only the treatment of sensual love but the magic of Swinburne's lyric language delighted him. In the Nachlass are the following notes:
Swinburne

Die Frau für ihn etwas auf alle Sinne Wirkendes, nicht einseitig aufs Auge; sie ist wie eine süße, reife, mit wundervoller Musik und tödlicher Sehnsucht angefüllte Frucht, der Natur Frucht hat' exochen Les Nozades. Symbol der Vereinigung auf den angespanntesten sinnlichsten Ausdruck gebracht

Madonna Mia

Only this thing is said
That white and gold and red
God's three chief words, man's bread
And oil and wine,
Were given her for dowers,
And kingdom of all hours
And various wine

Cruel? But love makes all that love him well
As wise as heaven and crueller than hell:
(from "Anactoria")

Hofmannsthal's interest in Swinburne's masochistic and sadistic views of love and the latter's exploitation of sensuality as a literary device was connected with his own early connections with the impressionism demonstrated in such poems as the "Prolog zu dem Buch 'Anatol'" (1892).

But Hofmannsthal's conception of love was dual; the destructive, anti-social love is expressed by his witch-figures, whose dangers he recognizes along with their allure. But where he uses the witch-figure, he also uses the contrast of the salving, social and human love of another woman.

(See p. 28). Swinburne saw love only as an escape from life in society, Hofmannsthal sees two kinds of love; one severs a man from reality and the other unites him with it; one

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5 Unpublished.
is anti-social and the other is social.

The Hellenic dramas of Swinburne were of far greater significance for Hofmannsthal's own works. It is no coincidence that Hofmannsthal began work on his first Greek drama (Alkestis, 1893) after reading Atalanta in Calydon. He attempted to do what he felt Swinburne had done, to achieve a wonderful re-vivification of an ancient myth and its magnificent prayers and choruses:

Es war eine tadellose antike Amphore, gefüllt mit der flüssigen Glut eines höchst lebendigen, fast bacchantischen Naturempfindens. Nicht das zur beherrschten Klarheit und tanzenden Grazie emporgezogene Griechentum atmete darin, sondern das orphisch ursprünglich leidenschaftlich Umwolkte. Wie Manäden liefen die Leidenschaften mit nackten Füßen und offenem Haar; das Leben band Medusenmasken vor, mit den rätselhaften und angstigenden Augen; wie in der Adonistrauer, im Kybelekult flossen die Schauer des reifsten Lebens und des Todes zusammen; und Dionysos fuhr, ein lachender und tödlicher Gott, durch die unheimlich lebendige Welt. (P I, p. 117)

It was in Swinburne that Hofmannsthal thus found the Dionysian elements he had read of in Nietzsche's "Geburt der Tragödie" and which had been absent from his previous reading of modern versions of Greek drama. It was impossible to make a Swinburnian Greek play of Alkestis, because it has an essentially Apollonian atmosphere and even a "happy ending." Elektra was to prove otherwise. Hofmannsthal considered Swinburne's dramas a significant influence upon it and wrote so in a letter to Ernst Hladny, who had inquired about what other works besides the Sophocleian original had
been sources for *Elektra.*

Yet the differences between *Elektra* and Swinburne’s dramas are more obvious than the similarities. Swinburne uses a traditional chorus and relatively formal language. Hofmannsthal uses no chorus, substituting minor characters for it, and extremely free verse. Swinburne’s plays are far more Hellenic in form and more beautiful in language; Hofmannsthal’s play is far more powerful and is theatrical in every sense of the word.

Both poets used the Bible to form the language of their plays, especially the words of the Song of Solomon. The difference in the linguistic styles of the English King James

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6 "Ein Element werden Sie nicht übersehen haben: den Ton des alten Testamentes, insbesondere der Propheten und des Hohen Liedes. Ich halte den Ton des Alten Testamentes für eine der Brücken—vielleicht die stärkste—um den Stil antiker Sujets beizukommen. Ein Analogon findet sich bei Swinburne, dessen 'Atalanta in Calydon', 'Erectheus' usw. mehr alttestamentarisch als antik sind, zumindest beides vermischt (hierüber, siehe Kassner 'Die Mystik, die Künstler und das Leben’ Kapitel Swinburne)." (Briefe II, 384). Hofmannsthal made a number of notations about the Swinburne essay in Kassner’s book and wrote to Kassner, praising it warmly on December 11, 1901. This material is in the Nachlass.

7 Cf. Song of Solomon 4:1:

> Behold, thou art fair, my love; behold, thou art fair; thou hast doves’ eyes within thy locks; thy hair is a flock of goats that appear from mount Gilead.


> We have seen thee; O Love, thou art fair; thou art goodly,

> O Love,

> Thy wings make light in the air as the wings of a dove. The parallels between *Elektra* and any Biblical passage are not as obvious.
Bible and the German Luther Bible, however, produced a difference in the style of the two writers who were using them. The language of both Bibles is superb poetry, but the words of the English Bible are ornate, even baroque and seem to belong to the seventeenth century. The Luther Bible, on the other hand, written with understanding by the common man, rather than the scholar or upper class, in mind, has a simplicity that cannot be dated, that is almost as modern today as it was more than four hundred years ago. Thus, the same book of the Bible produced, because different translations were used, two very different styles of dramatic poetry.

Even with this essential difference, Swinburne and Hofmannsthal have some very similar passages, particularly those in which Atalanta and Elektra describe their virginity. Atalanta has surrendered her to the keeping of Artemis and Elektra to the hatred of those who killed Agamemnon; Atalanta is triumphant and Elektra desperate, but in their dedication, they are both women who have given up the natural function of a woman for an ideal, and who have not done so entirely of their own free will. Both women consider themselves priestesses; Atalanta proclaims her inviolateness for this reason; Elektra feels that she has lost her spiritual virginity for this. Atalanta is defiant; Elektra is almost mad. Both feel the loss of their true womanhood:
Atalanta: .................I shall have no man's love
For ever, and no face of children born
Or feeding lips upon me or fastening eyes
For ever, nor being dead shall kings my sons
Mourn me and bury, and tears on daughters' cheeks
Burn; but a cold and sacred life, but strange,
But far from dances and the back-blowing torch,
Far off from flowers or any bed of man,
Shall my life be forever; —

Elektra: ......................ohne Brautnacht
bin ich nicht, wie die Jungfrauen sind, die Qualen
von einer, die gebärt, hab ich gespurt
und habe nichts zur Welt gebracht, und eine Prophetin bin ich immerfort gewesen
und habe nichts hervorgeholt aus mir
und meinem Leib wie Flüche und Verzweifelung.
(D I, p. 65)

Although Swinburne's works cannot be directly traced through any of Hofmannsthal's, they set a pattern for the latter to use in his own modern versions of the Greek tragedies—a pattern most altered by the addition of Freudian psychology and the simplicity and directness of the language of the Luther Bible.

Hofmannsthal also read several of Swinburne's critical prose works, among them, William Blake and the monograph on Ben Jonson. —

Patmore:

Another writer of Pre-Raphaelite connections with whose works Hofmannsthal was acquainted was Coventry Patmore, al—

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8Swinburne, op. cit., p. 308.
9Unpublished.
though only a brief note ("'The Angel of the House': Unzerstörbarkeit der Ehe")\textsuperscript{10} testifies to this.

\textsuperscript{10} Ibid.
Chapter X

Hofmannsthal and the English Aesthetes

Most of the general information about the influence of the English Aesthetic movement on the poetic development of Hofmannsthal has been discussed in the introduction. However, some specific details about individuals within the movement, and their influence on Hofmannsthal will be explored in this chapter.

Ruskin:

Hofmannsthal read John Ruskin in his youth and described the English critic in "Algernon Charles Swinburne" as "ein Kritiker..., ein genialer Mensch, der malen gelernt hatte, um zu verstehen, wie man Leben in farbige Flecke und verschwimmende Tinten übersetzt, um dann mit berauschender Beredsamkeit aus Bildern die lebendigen Seelen der Künstler und der Dinge herauszudeuten: John Ruskin, dessen Kritik ein Nachleben, ein dithyrambisches und hellsichtiges Auflösen und Wiederschaffen ist" (P I, p. 114).

The young poet quoted the English critic's opinion of Edward Burne-Jones paintings, as expressed in The Art of England in his own essay, "Über moderne englische Malerei".¹ The same year, he wrote to Marie Herzfeld on June 17, 1894:

"Beschäftigt habe ich mich in der letzten Zeit mit dem Leben und mit Ruskin, William [sic] Fater."\(^2\)

In 1895, Hofmannsthal read "Fors Clavigera". While his interest in Ruskin was high, he planned to write a fairly lengthy essay about the latter, concerning which he wrote his parents in 1898 (B I, p. 273), but he never completed it. In 1902, in a letter to Stefan George, he stated:

Ich hatte von der Kindheit an ein fieberhaftes Bestreben, dem Geist unserer verworrenen Epoche auf den verschiedensten Wegen, in den verschiedensten Verkleidung beizukommen. Und die Verkleidung eines gewissen Journalismus—in einem so anständigen Sinn genommen, daß allein allein jemand wie Ruskin, bei uns dagegen niemand, als Vertreter davon anzusehen wäre—hat mich öfters mächtig angezogen.\(^3\)

As mentioned in the introduction, English essayist and critics were very important for the development of Hofmannsthal’s prose style in his own critical essays. His admiration for Ruskin was far from unalloyed, however, and at times he considered the latter’s writings quite obtuse. A loose piece of paper in Hofmannsthal’s copy of Ruskin’s Works contains a number of derogatory remarks about "Sesame and Lilies", of which the most cutting is, "Hat Mr. Ruskin überhaupt eine Ahnung von dem Werdeprozess einer großen Dichtung?"\(^4\)

\(^2\)Unpublished letter.

\(^3\)Hofmannsthal-George, pp. 154-155.

\(^4\)Hamburger, "Hofmannsthals Bibliothek," p. 36.
1894 was the year of Hofmannsthal's most intense occupation with Walter Pater. At the end of June, he wrote to Elsa Bruckmann-Cantacuzene, who had sent him *Imaginary Portraits:*


Another letter, to Hermann Bahr, written two months later, also communicates his intense delight with the works of Pater and his intention of writing an essay about Pater for *Die Zeit*, of which Bahr was an editor (B I, p. 110).

A note made that summer reads:

W. Pater.—Sein und Bedeuten. Die Seele der Dinge, etwas das aus den Dingen uns mit Liebesblick anschaut, mit einem Ausdruck über allen Worten. (A, p. 108)

"Uber moderne englische Malerei", the essay that immediately preceded the one about Pater, contains a lengthy quotation from Pater's essay on Leonardo da Vinci in *The Renaissance* about the Mona Lisa, which quotation Hofmannsthal translated into German.⁵

In the essay that appeared in *Die Zeit*, "Walter Pater" (1894), Hofmannsthal praises the understanding of the artist he found in the English critic, an understanding of the attitude of the artist toward life he considered better even than that of Goethe. Hofmannsthal felt that Pater saw each artist as individual and special and measured each work of art by the standard of the artist's own ideal. Yet he questioned the final value of the type of criticism Pater used in *Imaginary Portraits* and warned of its dangers. Pater as a critic had much to offer; Pater as a creative artist and Aesthete presented problems that Hofmannsthal recognized early. *The Renaissance* and *Greek Studies*, Pater's most purely critical works, were those Hofmannsthal admired with the least reservations. *Imaginary Portraits*, although full of insight into the essence of art, were based on a false premise, an idealized concept of the past. And *Marius the Epicurean* made upon Hofmannsthal "einen dürftigen Eindruck, so sehr aus zweiter Hand, wie Marginalglossen zu einem toten Text."

(P I, p. 205)

Although Pater, as a creative artist, did not influence Hofmannsthal to any marked degree, Pater's critical works remained an essential part of Hofmannsthal's literary background. In 1896, he quotes Pater in "Gedichte von Stefan George" (P I, p. 243). In the plan for the unfinished

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6 I have not been able to trace this quotation.
tragedy, *Pentheus* (1904), he uses a quotation from Pater's *Greek Studies* as the motto: "...This tragedy of the Bacch-anals,—a sort of masque, a morality, as we say." (D II, p. 523). In the essay, "Unterhaltung über den 'Tasso' von Goethe" (1906), he weaves words from Pater's essay on Winckelmann in *The Renaissance* into a manuscript by a character in the work:

Here there is a kind of moral sexlessness, an ineffectual wholeness of nature, yet with a divine beauty and significance of its own. An ineffectual wholeness of nature—eine Ganzheit, eine Geschlossenheit des Wesens, worin das Strebende, das Wirkende aufgehoben erscheint—aber die Natur liebt nicht das Wirkendes ruhe, und dennoch ruft sie auch solch Geschöpfe hervor, hält sie am Leben--und straft sie, indem sie sie erhöht. (P II, p. 195)\(^7\)

Later, writing about Kassner's book in the Dial letters in the early Twenties, Hofmannsthal considered it the highest praise to compare it with Pater's essays. (A, p. 286)

Wilde:

Hofmannsthal's early reading of Wilde, the influence on the lyric poetry of his youth and the writing of the essay, "Sebastian Melmoth" (1905), have been discussed in the introduction (see pp. 13-14). The work of Hofmannsthal's that is

\(^7\)See also Walter Pater, *Greek Studies* (London, 1911), p. 54.

\(^8\)Hofmannsthal is apparently quoting from memory here. The original quotation, which refers to the beauty of Greek statues, reads: "Here there is a moral sexlessness, a kind of ineffectual wholeness of nature, yet with a true beauty and a significance of its own." Pater, *Greek Studies*, p. 119.
generally assumed to show strongest influence of a work of Wilde's is Elektra. Critical opinion has almost made Elektra a younger sister to Wilde's Salome.\footnote{I quote only a few representative opinions:}

The similarities between Salome and Elektra are, to be sure, much more obvious than the differences. The former are intensified by the music which inevitably accompanies them; both plays are almost never presented in their original form, but in the operatic versions of Richard Strauss, who thought the two plays were much alike. The plots both take place at the court of an ancient king of a Mediterranean kingdom, who has usurped the throne of a close kinsman with the help of

\footnote{"...In Elektra (1904) there is perhaps more of Oscar Wilde's Salome than of Sophocles; the imitations are indeed as glaring as they are Vollmoeller's Katherine, Gräfin von Armagnac. There were several translations of Salome, one by Hedwig Lachmann; and as one of Max Reinhardt's gorgeously pictoral productions, it held the stage for years. The influence of the English play is shown in the concentration on the ragged figure of Elektra--she never leaves the stage--while Orestes is reduced to a minor figure. The theme of both Salome and Elektra is the sexual repression of the heroine." Jethro Bithell, Modern German Literature (London, 1939), p. 247.}

\footnote{"...Mit meinem Verständnis hat man auf Hugo von Hofmannsthal's Elektra, als die deutsch-griechische Schwester der französischen orientalischen Salome hingewiesen. "Hugo Daffner, Salome, Ihre Gestalt in Geschichte und Kunst. (München, 1912), p.309.}

\footnote{"...Elektra (1903), a work which deals with sexual repression and ensuing vampire-like fury, and in this greatly resembles Oscar Wilde's Salome...." Werner P. Friederich, An Outline History of German Literature (New York, 1948), p. 222.}
the latter's wife. Both heroines are the daughters of the deposed kings, and desire the death of a man. Dancing is an integral part of the roles of the heroines: Salomé dances to win the head of Iokanaan; Elektra dances her triumph over the murderers of her father, and collapses.

The staging of the plays most clearly demonstrates the Wilde influence on Hofmannsthal. Hofmannsthal's stage setting resembles Wilde's even to an unnecessary cistern on the stage of Elektra, similar to the one in Salomé where it is necessitated by the plot. The oriental flavor, given to the Greek setting of Elektra by the stage directions for the costuming of Klytämnestra (D II, p. 24) and the addition of an Egyptian-like train-bearer, comes directly from Salomé.

Hofmannsthal was in no wise inclined to accept either Strauss' verdict or that of anyone else, as to the similarity of the two plays. He felt his play to be essentially quite different. He wrote to Strauss on April 27, 1906:

Nun muß ich schon sagen, daβ ich, wie die Dinge mir nun zu liegen scheinen, allerdings sehr froh wäre, wenn Sie es möglich fänden, zunächst an der "Elektra" festzuhalten, deren "Ähnlichkeit" mit dem Salomestoff mir bei näherer Überlegung doch auf ein Nichts zusammenzuschrumpfen scheinen. (Es sind zwei Einakter, jeder hat einen Frauenname, beide spielen im Altertum und beide wurden in Berlin von der Eysoldt kreiert, ich glaube, darauf läuft die ganze Ähnlichkeit hinaus.) Denn die Farbenmischung scheint mir in beiden Stoffen eine so wesentlich verschiedene zu sein: bei der "Salome" soviel Purpur und Violett gleichsam, in einer schwülten Luft, bei der "Elektra" dagegen ein Gemenge aus Nacht und Licht, schwarz und hell. Auch scheint mir die auf Sieg und Reinigung hinauslaufende, aufwärtsstürmende Motivenfolge, die sich auf Orest und
Hofmannsthal might have gotten the idea of using colors to distinguish the two plays from Wilde's *De Profundis*, where the latter refers to "making beautiful coloured musical things such as 'Salome'..." The two major differences that Hofmannsthal found between *Salome* and *Elektra* are truly basic for distinguishing the plays, although he would not admit to as much similarity as actually exists.

The difference in the color of the plays, the rich colors used by Wilde, creating a "technicolor" play and the black, gray, and white, relieved only by a few touches of the ominous red of blood and fire used by Hofmannsthal, are echoed by the language of the plays. Both dramatists used the Bible as a source; as in the case of Swinburne's and Hofmannsthal's Greek dramas, the differences in style can be traced as much to the differences in the styles of the King James and the Luther Bible as to the intent of the authors.

The second difference lies in the aesthetic philosophies of their authors. Wilde was content to write a drama that is essentially a long lyrical ballad, with no character development or true dramatic conflict. His characters do not really

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10 Hofmannsthal-Strauss, p. 16.
interact with each other, but proceed along their pre-determined paths to moral or physical destruction. Morality has no place in this play; Salomé is punished because she is disgusting to the other evil people, not because of a moral necessity. Iokanaan is good, but dies without any apparent effect on anyone in the play. Herod is left to the pangs of his conscience, but he felt those at the first of the drama. And Herodias feels no regrets; she is really the instrument of all the evil, but she emerges unscathed.

Hofmannsthal's drama is a drama of self-sacrifice and justice. Elektra has sacrificed her spiritual virginity to the avenging of her father's death. Each character who has an encounter with her reveals himself and illuminates her personality; her love for her father, her reluctant sacrifice of her womanhood and her mingled hatred and envy of her mother. Although the play concludes with her collapse and probable death, the note at the end is that of, as Hofmannsthal noted, "Sieg" of justice and "Reinigung" of the crimes of the House of Atreus. Elektra dies as a sacrifice, not as a punishment. The play that was to form a sequel to Elektra, Orest in Delphi, unfortunately never written, was to conclude the theme of purification, and was to have an optimistic tone.

The contrast of Salomé and Elektra illustrates again both Hofmannsthal's debt to the English Aesthetes and his
discarding of their "l'art pour l'art" philosophy, which ignored the need for morality in art.\textsuperscript{12}

\textsuperscript{12}A more thorough comparison of Salomé and Elektra can be found in my thesis, Hanna B. Lewis, "A Comparison of Oscar Wilde's 'Salomé' and Hugo von Hofmannsthal's 'Elektra','" M. A. Thesis (Rice University, Houston, Texas, 1961).
Chapter XI

Hofmannsthal and other Victorians

Tennyson:

Hofmannsthal mentions the "zarte(n) und edle(n) Verse" of Alfred, Lord Tennyson in "Englisches Leben" (P I, p. 54) and the latter's previously-held poet laureatship in "Algernon Charles Swinburne" (P I, p. 99).

Fitzgerald:

Hofmannsthal read Edward Fitzgerald's Six Dramas of Calderón. Notes on these translations, made from October 18 to November 18, 1917, show that he was attempting to use them for material for new dramas of his own (A, pp. 118-119). Hofmannsthal had formerly used the German translations of Gries, but, to complete Dame Kobold, these did not entirely satisfy him. At this time, Hofmannsthal was contemplating doing a new German translation of a collection of Calderón dramas, but Dame Kobold was the only one completed. (Other Calderón dramas were translated or adapted by him, but not at the time of this project). He knew English far better than Spanish, and therefore it was logical to translate from these rather than the original plays. Hofmannsthal was apparently not acquainted with Fitzgerald's far more famous translation of the Rubaiyat.

Thackeray and Eliot:

A letter to Hermann Bahr in 1892 tells of Hofmannsthal's
reading of some works by William Makepeace Thackeray and
George Eliot, but does not indicate which books were read.
Thackeray's satire is also commended in "Englisches Leben"
(P I, p. 54). Hofmannsthal did not appreciate Eliot, for
he wrote to Bahr: "mit der werden sie gerade nichts
anfangen können." (B I, p. 58).

Dickens:

Charles Dickens was Hofmannsthal's favorite Victorian
novelist. Until the end of his life, he found "das Bessere
in Dickens noch immer sehr lebendig". (B I, p. 58). He
appreciated in Dickens, as he did in Browning, the ability
to portray a multitudinous array of different characters
vividly. (A, p. 153) In an undated note he cites the
"Mädchenhaftigkeit wie die kleine Frau in D. Copperfield.
(L'Innocente)."¹

While recuperating from an attack of rheumatic grippe
at Rodaun in February, 1920, he wrote to Rilke's patroness,
Marie Fürstin von Thurn und Taxis:

Übrigens hab' ich einen weniger berühmtenen Roman
von Dickens, "Great Expectations", in diesen letzten
Tagen wahrhaft verschlungen; hat der Mensch doch eine
Phantasie für Menschen, Situationen, Landschaften,
Häuser, Gefängnisse, Werkshäuser, Postwagen, u.s.f...—
wenig man also so da liegt und weniger denkt als so bald
halb träumt, wie lebhaft stehen da die Menschen als
Ganzes vor einem, mit ihrer Imitation, ihren Nuancen,
ihren Sorgen, ihrem Charme...²

¹Unpublished.
²Unpublished.
A letter to Burckhardt in July, 1922, includes the following comments:

Ferner gelesen: zwei Romane von Dickens, Hard Times und The Old Curiosity Shop; mit der größten Bewunderung. Das Große an ihm ist, wie er das Phantastische durch das Humoristische und Reale bindet. Die Letztgenannte Erzählung is so zart und phantastisch (und unheimlich) wie ein Märchen, dabei ganz wirklich und ein wunderbares Bild von England 1840.3

Burkhardt also notes that Dickens' mastery of the anecdote particularly intrigued Hofmannsthal.4 But the social criticism which is such an essential feature of Dickens' novels made little impression on Hofmannsthal, whose criticism was always on a more subjective level and whose tendency was to eschew the biting and grotesque caricatures which fill Dickens' books. The nearest approach Hofmannsthal makes to this is in characters such as Baron Ochs in Der Rosenkavalier or Herr Jourdain of Der Bürger als Edelmann, which are inspired by French wit or eighteenth century British comedy rather than the extremely exaggerated humor of Dickens. Hofmannsthal's prose-fiction tends toward exposition of the psychological development of an individual rather than the prototyure of broad social strata and Dickens' novels did not affect his writings to any discernible extent.

3 Hofmannsthal-Burckhardt, p. 88.
Carlyle:

Hofmannsthal read Thomas Carlyle, whom he called, along with Ruskin and Wilde, "ein Sophist (Weisheitslehrer)" as early as October, 1893, when he wrote:


In 1902, Hofmannsthal wrote to Georg von Franckenstein of the pleasure he had had in his youth in reading On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History (B II, p. 78). Obviously, his pleasure in this book was a part of his own hero-worship and the influence of the gentleman, hero or man of destiny upon his philosophy of life.

An unpublished letter to Franckenstein, written two decades later, in October, 1921, again mentions Carlyle and the American historian William H. Prescott:

Ich nenne nun ohne eigentlichen Zusammenhang, ein paar Bücher die großen Gehalt haben und die mir in verschiedenen Lebensepochen immer wieder viel gegeben haben: ...W. Prescotts Conquest of Mexico, Conquest of Peru, zwei Meisterwerke historischer Darstellung aus den 40er Jahren des vorigen Jahrhunderts, Carlyles Life and Letters of Oliver Cromwell. ———

Several months before Hofmannsthal's death, Borchardt recommended Carlyle's Life of John Stirling to him. 7 No evi-

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6 Unpublished.

dence exists to show whether he actually had time to read it.

Macaulay:

Thomas Babington Macaulay, in his essays, also helped to form the concept of the English gentleman so important to Hofmannsthal. Hofmannsthal read Macaulay's essays first in July, 1893 (B I, p. 84), and was still reading them the year he died. Notes were made in his edition of the third volume of Macaulay's Critical and Historical Essays (Leipzig, 1895), especially in the essays on Milton, Johnson, Byron, and Bacon. During a visit that Max Melle made to Rodaun in 1929, Hofmannsthal showed him a copy of Macaulay's History of England in Raimund von Hofmannsthal's trunk and asked, dubiously: "'Liest er das wirklich?'... Aber er freute sich doch daran."9

Buckle:

Henry Thomas Buckle's History of Civilization in England (1857) fascinated Hofmannsthal because of Buckle's rather revolutionary and controversial philosophy of investigating the history of a country by scientific methods, including research into the influence of the physical resources of the country upon its culture. Hofmannsthal always had a particular fondness for such new viewpoints of analyzing history as we

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can see from his instant admiration for Josef Nadler and their immediate acquaintanceship. He mentions Buckle's book in "Ad me ipsum" in October, 1927 (A, p. 242) and recalls his first reading of it in a letter to Burckhardt in November, 1928, while commenting on another new history Burckhardt had just sent him:

Indem ich nun diese Bücher aufschlage und wiederaufschlage: welch kaum nennbares Gefühl steigt mir aus ihnen auf: so las ich, mit solchen Ahnungen der Zusammenfassung des Geistigen und des Machtgeschehens—so las ein Fünfzehnjähriger Buckles Geschichte der Civilization—ein gewaltiges Fragment auch dies—wie ein Berg unter dessen Schatten und Licht die Welt sich hinbreitet.\textsuperscript{10}

\textbf{Daughty:}

Steiner reports that one of the last books mentioned in Hofmannsthal’s notes (perhaps unread) was Daughty’s \textit{Travels in Arabia Deserta}.\textsuperscript{11} He obviously became interested in this book after reading T. E. Lawrence’s \textit{Seven Pillars of Wisdom}.

\textbf{Oliphant:}

Hofmannsthal probably read at least one of Laurence Oliphant’s books; which one is not certain. Oliphant as a person, as portrayed in his cousin Margaret Oliphant W. Oliphant’s \textit{Memoir of the Life of Laurence Oliphant and Alice Oliphant}, his wife, occasioned the writing of the first Loris

\textsuperscript{10}Hofmannsthal-Burckhardt, p. 291

essay about English culture, "Englisches Leben" (1891). Hofmannsthal considered Olliphant to be one of his English gentlemen, and could overlook his shortcomings on that account.

Hearn:

Lafcadio Hearn, born of an Irish father and a Greek mother, and who lived most of his adult life in Japan, became a Japanese citizen and taught English literature at the Imperial University of Tokyo, can only be classified as an English writer, because of his language and his native citizenship. For Hofmannsthal, the exotic background, that reflects in Hearn's writings—the mingling of many civilizations, of Orient and Occident, of mysticism and modern journalism, makes him of special interest. Hofmannsthal read at least five of Hearn's books, Gleanings in Buddha Fields, Kokoro, Out of the East, Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan and Insect Studies. The first mention of Hearn appears in 1902 in a letter to Georg von Franckenstein:


In 1904, Hofmannsthal wrote the introduction for the first German edition of any of Hearn's works, Kokoro, published in 1905. This introduction expresses the depths of
Hofmannsthal's admiration for Hearn as

der einzige Europäer der dieses Land [Japan] ganz
gekannt und ganz geliebt hat. Nicht mit der Liebe des
Ästheten und nicht mit der Liebe des Forschers, sondern
mit einer stärkeren, einer umfassenderen, einer seltener
Liebe: mit der Liebe, die das innere Leben des geliebten
Landes mitlebt. (P II, p. 104)

Hofmannsthal particularly admired Hearn's versatility in
using various types of literature in his books as well as his
understanding of the East. Hearn's flexibility, enhanced by
his years as an American journalist, lets him skip from
anecdote to novella to philosophy to an analysis of political
events to Japanese poetry. Hofmannsthal observed somewhat
wryly and a little enviously that this virtuosity in the use
of genres did not permit readers to make enough of a judgment
to afford a consistent criticism.

In 1906, when the Viennese book dealer, Hugo Heller,
asked several nationally famous personalities to name for
him ten good new books, Hofmannsthal's list included Hearn's
Out of the East, which was not well known to Viennese readers
and which he felt was even better than Kokoro. He concludes
with an admiring comment about Hearn:

Das doppelte Gefühl, daß Lafcadio Hearn eine moralische
Macht für unsere Generation ist, und daß es in der inner-
sten Tendenz dieser merkwürdigen dichterisch-politischen
Werken doch mehr auf unser Europa abgesehen sei als auf
das fremde Inseiland, befestigt sich in dem anhänglichen
Leser Mehr und mehr. (P II, p. 203)

The same year, Hofmannsthal mentions Hearn in the essay
about Ruth St. Denis, as part of a movement of renewed inter-
est in the Orient, which was sweeping through Europe and America (P II, p. 223). And in the same period, Hofmannsthall calls Hearn, in an undated letter, "der Mann der die Bücher über Japan geschrieben hat, die mich dieses Volk sehr lieben gemacht haben." 12

In 1907, Hofmannsthall made some notes from Hearn's Insect Studies:

japanische Verse über Schmetterlinge.
Ah! the butterfly! even when chased it never has the air of being in a hurry--- wie schön!

Butterflies, they all have the appearance of being about seventeen or eighteen years old. 13

Hofmannsthall also considered Hearn one of the new breed of journalists in his "Umrisse eines neuen Journalismus" (1907). He calls Hearn the "dichterische Journalist." In his notes, he said of this type of journalist:


In 1916, in the notes for his talks in Scandanavia, published under the title, "Die Idee Europa", he wrote of Hearn and his transmission of Eastern culture to the West, which he considered the result of "das völlige Hinübergehen

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12 Unpublished.

13 Norton, "Hofmannsthall's 'Magische Werkstätte',", p. 52.

14 Ibid.
eines Europäers" (P III, p. 379). This Asia, a continent of lack of regard for time, of pilgrims, monks, the high esteem of the rich man for art, whether fine art or manual craft, the whole idea of an unindustrialized culture, with respect for human dignity, expressed by Hearn, fascinated Hofmannsthal. Like Elizabethan England, it presented a society in which he would have felt at home. And like his outdated concept of English culture, his concept of Asia was already becoming outdated, especially in an industrialized and militarized Japan. His later realization of this is shown by his letter at the opening of the Deutsches Haus at Columbia University in 1929 (see p. 185).

But his earlier regard for Japan as the Mecca of Buddhism, the goal for an understanding of the whole of life, led him to use the idea of a pilgrimage to Japan, to wander there with Buddhist pilgrims as an important spiritual experience. In Andreas, Sacramozzo, who is interested in Eastern philosophy in general, tells Andreas to go to Japan, as he had once done (E, p. 238), to obtain his own "Gewahrwerden des Lichtes" (E, p. 241).

From Hearn, through the medium of his chapters about Buddhism, Hofmannsthal formulated the idea of pre-existence, as such.\footnote{Werner Metzeler, Ursprung und Krise von Hofmannsthals Mystik. (Munich, 1956), pp. 51-52.} Already in his early poems, Hofmannsthal had ex-
pressed ideas similar to Hearn's, before even reading the latter's works. Compare the following passage from the chapter, "Dust", in Gleanings in Buddha Fields with "Manche freilich":

I am individual,—an individual soul! Nay, I am a population,—a population unthinkable for multitude, even by groups of a thousand millions! Generations of generations I am, aeons of aeons! Countless times the concourse now making me has been scattered and mixed with other scatterings. Of what concern, then, the next disintegration? Perhaps, after trillions of ages of burning in different dynasties of suns, the very best of me may come together again.\(^{16}\)

Ganz vergessener Völker Müdigkeiten
Kann ich nicht abtun von meinen Lidern,
Noch weghalten von der erschrockenen Seele
Stummes Niederfallen ferner Sterne.

Viele Geschicke weben neben dem meinen,
Durcheinander spielt sie alle das Dasein
Und mein Teil ist mehr als dieses Lebens
Schlanke Flamme oder schmale Leier. (GLD, p. 17)

The idea of the dissolution of the ego also appears early in "Terzinen Über Vergänglichkeit".

The following passages, from the chapters, "By Force of Karma" and "The Idea of Preexistence" in Kokoro, express ideas that reoccur with great frequency in the writings of Hofmannsthal, including "Ad me ipsum":

...we have solid physiological grounds for the idea of preexistence and the idea of a multiple Ego. It is incontrovertible that in every individual brain is locked up the memory of the absolutely inconceivable multitude of experiences received by all the brains of

\(^{16}\)Lafcadio Hearn, Gleanings in Buddha Fields (Boston and New York, 1897), pp. 93-94.
which it is the descendant.\textsuperscript{17}

Were the ideas of preëxistence and of the soul as multiple really antagonistic to Western religious sentiment, no satisfactory answer could be made. But are they so antagonistic? The idea of preëxistence certainly is not; the Occidental mind is already prepared for it. It is true that the notion of Self as a composite, destined to dissolution may seem little better than the materialistic idea of annihilation, -- at least to those still unable to divest themselves of the old habits of thought. Nevertheless, impartial reflection will show that there is no emotional reason for dreading the dissolution of the Ego....Rather than an end to be feared, the dissolution of Self is the one object of all objects to which our efforts should be turned. What no new philosophy can forbid us to hope is that the best elements of Self will thrill on to seek loftier affinities, to enter into grander and yet grander combinations, till the supreme revelation comes, and we discern, through infinite vision, -- through the vanishing of all Self, -- the Absolute Reality.\textsuperscript{18}

Werner Metzeler mentions Der Turm (1925), Ödipus und die Sphinx (1905) and the Alexander fragment (1895) as particularly expressing ideas similar to those of Hearn. Also noteworthy of comparison is the similarity of Hearn's ideas with those of Hofmannsthal in Das kleine Welttheater (1897) and Das Vorspiel für ein Puppentheater (1906). Gerhart Baumann compares the speech of the poet in this playlet ("ein Lebendiges ist um mich und ein Lebendiges such ich, möchte an die Erde mich drücken, meine Arme um einen Baum schlingen, möchte hinein und hinab und hinauf! Meines Wesens Inhalt, mein Ich tropft hinweg wie eine zu weiche Kerze..." [D II, p. 491]) to

\textsuperscript{17}Lafcadio Hearn, Kokoro (London, 1910), p. 231.

\textsuperscript{18}Ibid., pp. 245-246.
the above quoted excerpts from Kokoro.\textsuperscript{19}

An influence on Jedermann could be assumed from the fact that notes for this play were found in Hofmannsthal's copy of Gleanings in Buddha Fields, which again point to Hearn's idea of the multiple soul:

Mammon sagt: Ich habe deine Seele vermehrt, kannst Du in Dich hinabschauen? Nein, sicherlich, dafür haben meine Triebe, meine Abwege gesorgt. Ich bin unendlich (er tanzt wild)\textsuperscript{20}

Hofmannsthal seems to indicate here that material possessions make a complete understanding of the universe, afforded by the multiple ego, impossible. This was, of course, the result of the study of Buddhist ideas afforded him by reading Hearn's books.

Smiles:

Hofmannsthal mentions Samuel Smiles' Life of George Stephenson in his essay, "Englisches Leben" (1891) as the "hochberühmte(n)...Biographie...die ein Volksbuch in England geworden ist neben der Bibel und 'Robinson'" (P I, p. 53).

Collins:

A lapse in Hofmannsthal's literary taste is shown by his admiration for Mabel Cook Collins' theosophical novel, The Idyll of the White Lotus (1890). Das Bergwerk zu Falun

\textsuperscript{19}Gerhart Baumann, "Hugo von Hofmannsthal: "Das kleine Welttheater'", Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift, N. F. \textbf{VIII} (1957), 51-52.

\textsuperscript{20}Hamburger, pp. 61-62.
(1899) shows several traces of this odd story, which concerns a seer in an Egypt that never existed except in the over-fervid imagination of Mrs. Collins. This seer's body and soul are the battleground for the conflict between an evil Queen of Desire and a good Lily-Queen of Truth, represented by the white lotus. The High Priest of the Queen of Desire has lent his name, Agmahd, to the servant of Hofmannsthal's Bergkönigin. The two Agmahds resemble each other quite strongly although the priest is far older than the boy servant:

Der Knabe Agmahd kommt lautlos die Stufen herab. Er ist völlig schwarz gekleidet. Sein Kopf ist hell, mit welchem blondem Haar. Er hat meergrüne Augen, die seltsam ins Leere zu starren scheinen. (GLD, p. 353)

The High Priest is also fair and his hair is "of a dull gold color." 21 His eyes, though not green, are changing colors, like the sea.

The Bergkönigin, although in the original story by E. T. A. Hoffmann on which the play is based, has been influenced also by the English Romantic concept of the witch-woman. Another influence emanates from Mrs. Collins' two queens. Both the Queen of Desire and the Lily-Queen have qualities that are found in the Bergkönigin. She walks clothed in light as the Lily-Queen does, but she resembles the Queen of Desire in her inhumanity, which is that Queen's

most frightening aspect to the seer. The Bergkönigin is not as obviously black or white as the rival Queens of Mrs. Collins' unsubtle allegory are. Hofmannsthal combines Desire and Truth in her. Elis' choice is not the simple choice of the seer between good and evil, but rather the choice between the humanity of life in society and the isolation of the genius.

In the fragment, "Jupiter und Semele" (1901), Hofmannsthal returns to the figure of the Queen of Desire for the formation of one of his own characters:

Ob nicht seine Geliebte [the poet's] die Muse einzuführen wäre, eine Gestalt ähnlicher der geheimnisvollen Königin in "Idyll of the White Lotus".

(D II, p. 504)

Hofmannsthal owned the 1910 edition of the Collins book, although he had obviously read the earlier one of 1890. In his copy were notes for Andreas, which refer to the background of Sacramozo.

Trollope, Meredith, Pinero:

Hofmannsthal knew of Anthony Trollope, George Meredith, and Arthur Pinero (P IV, p. 201). How much he read of their works is not indicated.

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22 Hamburger, p. 59.

23 Trollope's name is on an unpublished list of books to be read Hofmannsthal made in 1895.

24 Hofmannsthal-George, p. 226.
Stevenson:

Robert Louis Stevenson's *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* was to provide the motif for Dominic Heintls *letzter Tag* (p. 43) and Alewyn sees a possible influence on the development of the dual personality of Maria-Mariquita in *Andreas.* Hofmannsthall also read Bodenhausen's translation of Stevenson's *Velasquez* (1904) (BII, p. 174).

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Chapter XII
Hofmannsthal and Twentieth Century English Writers

Dramatists:

Shaw:

Hofmannsthal considered Shaw the foremost English dramatist of his day. In 1921, in an article, "Blick auf den geistigen Zustand Europas", for the Swedish newspaper, Sydsvenska Dagbladet, he wrote:

Auch Bernard Shaw ist ohne Zweifel ein gesamteuropäisches Phänomen, und vielleicht die repräsentativste Figur des Augenblickes, --gegenüber der Übergewalt der technischen Ereignisse und angesichts der Masse von Ironie, welche durch all dies schreckliche wuchtige Geschehen und seine Verkettung mit so viel Armeligen und Lächerlichem in allen nicht völlig betäubten Intelligenzen entbunden wurde, erscheint seine witzige, ironische und in blitzartigen Sprüngen das Heterogenste zusammenbringende Geistesprüche oft geradezu als der einzige Jargon, in dem sich intelligente Menschen über einen so schwindenden Weltzustand verständigen können; in der Tat wird dieser Jargon in allen Ländern gesprochen und verstanden, nicht allein daß er in den germanischen Schule gemacht hat, er dringt auch in die romanischen und slawischen ein; es wohnt ihm etwas momentan Befreiendes inne und es ist abzusehen, daß die Shawache Denk- und Sprechweise sich unter den journalistisch Arbeitenden eine unendliche Schülerschaft heranziehen und für Jahrzehnte das Erbe der Heinrich Heineschen Schreibweise antreten wird. (P IV, pp. 76-77)

One of the features in the now defunct American periodical, The Dial, edited by Marianne Moore, were "Letters" written from various world capitals by a prominent writer of that country. In one of a series of five "Letters" written by Hofmannsthal from Vienna from 1922 to 1924, he analyzes the plays of Arthur Schnitzler. He refers to the fact that
Schnitzler and Shaw are often compared, although they are basically quite different. This superficial likeness lies in the fact, "daß sie sich beide der Ironie als eines Lieblingswerkzeuges bedienen, aber darin treffen sie mit vielen anderen Männern von Geist zusammen, so vor allem mit dem platonischen Sokrates, den man unbedingt unter den Vätern der ironischen Komödie aufzählen muß..." (A, p. 271).

In another article for an American periodical, The Freeman, published in 1923, entitled "Reinhardt bei der Arbeit", Hofmannsthals discusses what Shaw and others are trying to do to revive the English theatre; unfortunately, he finds these attempts futile. Cleverness, experience and the best intentions can make only a small inroad in the general wasteland of commercialism which lets "das Publikum dadurch immer tiefer in seinem Geschmack sinken"...because "sie sich von ihm führen lassen, anstatt ihm zu diktiren." Shaw's plays were in Reinhardt's repertoire: "er...spielte...alle Stücke ...,die auf Intimität der Wirkung, auf Wirkung durch das geistreiche, das witzige oder das ergreifende Wort besonders gestellt sind; also Bernard Shaw und Wilde..."

In Shaw's St. Joan, Hofmannsthals found the essence of the Shakespearean heroine he admired (p.46) revived in modern form. He felt that his Arabella was closely related to her. Describing the heroine-type in a letter to Richard Strauss in December, 1927, he wrote about the figure of Arabella:
Es ist diesmal keine Frau, sondern ein junges Mädchen. Aber ein ganz reifes, wissendes, ihrer Kräfte und Gefahren bewusstes junges Mädchen, durchaus Herrin der Situation, also eigentlich soviel eine ganz Junge Frau und eine durchaus moderne Figur. Und überhaupt ist dieser Typ von Jungfrauwesen der, welcher jetzt interessiert, und man muß nicht den alten Moden mitmachen, sondern die neuen kreieren helfen, sonst ist man ein schlechter Schneider. Solche gescheite und souveräne junge Mädchen sind Bernard Shaws beste Figuren; seine Heilige Johanna ist auch eine von ihnen.¹

Yeats:

A collection of William Butler Yeats' mythologies and essays, translated into German (Erzählungen und Essays, Leipzig, 1916), dedicated to Hofmannsthal by its translator, Friedrich Eckstein, was in Hofmannsthal's library,² and he particularly found Yeats' ideas about the theatre akin to his own. In his first "Vienna Letter", he quotes from this book:


Although there is no direct influence of Yeats on

¹Hofmannsthal-Strauss, p. 601.
²Hamburger, op. cit., p. 25.
Hofmannsthal, Michael Hamburger finds a remarkable degree of likeness between the works and lives of the two poet-dramatists. He feels that this is the result of two men with similar talents and ideas, developing in the same era, influenced by the spirit of the times. Marked similarities exist between the lyrics and lyric dramas of both writers, e.g., Yeats' *The Shadowy Waters* and Hofmannsthal's *Das Bergwerk zu Falun*. Both authors had common interests in the theater, in the union of life and art and concur in their use of fairy-tale and Byzantine backgrounds.

**Synge:**

Although John Millington Synge's plays were far more earthy and less akin to Hofmannsthal's than Yeats', Hofmannsthal did read *The Playboy of the Western World* and thought highly of it. He mentioned it in his notes in 1907 as a part of a theatre repertoire program.

Galsworthy, Granville-Barker, Drinkwater and Milne

Hofmannsthal seems to have only known Galsworthy's plays. There is no mention of the novels. Galsworthy and Granville-Barker are included in the *Freeman* article about Reinhardt as among those fighting the encroaching commercialism of the British stage (p.168)(A, p. 335). Galsworthy's, Sutton-

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Vane's and Milne's plays are mentioned in the last "Vienna Letter" as being part of Max Reinhardt's theatrical repertory in the near future (A, p. 322). According to Hamburger, Hofmannsthal visited John Drinkwater in London on his second brief visit, the latter sent the Austrian a copy of his plays, and there was a correspondence between them.\(^5\)

Concerning Granville-Barker, Joseph Redlich wrote in his diary on August 20, 1917:

Hugo erzählt mir viel von einer in der österreichischen Aristokratie spielenden, offenbar ironisch-philosophisch gedachten Komödie, an der er arbeitet. Unter letzterer versteht Hugo eine Art dramatischer Dichtung, in der er glaubt, das Höchste leisten zu können. Granville-Barker's Drama "Waste" scheint ihm dabei als eine Art Vorbild vorzuschweben.\(^6\)

On the basis of this notation and a note Hofmannsthal had made in 1908 about reading Waste (A, p. 159) in the Schaubühne and planning a drama based on it, Roger Norton has compared this play and Der Schwierige.\(^7\) The play

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\(^5\)Hamburger, op. cit., p. 25

\(^6\)Josef Redlich, Schicksalsjahre Österreichs 1908-1919, II. (Gräz-Köln, 1954), p. 229

Hofmannsthal had originally planned to write was quite different in plot from Der Schwierige, but there are definite analogies between Granville-Barker's play and that of Hofmannsthal's post-war comedies, especially in the matter of character "alignments".

Craig:

Hofmannsthal was as interested in the mechanics of the stage as in the script and the acting. He concerned himself with every detail of the productions of his plays and operas. Any reading of the correspondence between him and Richard Strauss or knowledge of the relationship between him and Max Reinhardt, which culminated in the initiation of the Salzburg Festival demonstrates this. Edward Gordon Craig's The Art of the Theatre was in his library and Craig was to design the costumes and scenery for the first German production of Das gerettete Venedig, according to several of Hofmannsthal's letters. Hofmannsthal did meet with Craig, but, because of complications, the English designer was unable to complete his task. Still, Hofmannsthal writes admiringly of Craig's work in the Freeman article about Reinhardt, as one who gained a painter's emancipation upon the stage (A, p. 330).

Coward

Noel Coward's name is on an undated reading list of

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8 Hamburger, op. cit., p. 25.
Hofmannsthal's. 10

Poets:  

**Masefield, Eliot, Symons and Vansittart:**

From volumes in his library, it is evident that Hofmannsthal was acquainted with the works of John Masefield, T. S. Eliot, Arthur Symons, and Robert Vansittart. 11 Correspondence, unavailable to me, exists between Eliot and Hofmannsthal, 12 and Symons and Hofmannsthal (apparently concerning an English translation of *Elektra* commissioned by Mrs. Patrick Campbell, among other things). 13 Robert Vansittart, better known as a British statesman, was a personal friend of Hofmannsthal, who had made his acquaintance in Vienna in the early 1890's, and with whom he kept in contact through their mutual friend in London, Georg von Franckenstein. Vansittart re-visited Hofmannsthal in 1908 and dedicated some poems to him. 14

Novelists:

**Conrad:**

Joseph Conrad was probably Hofmannsthal's favorite contemporary British novelist. He recommends Conrad's

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10 Unpublished.


12 Mr. Eliot has written to me that the letters cannot be found, but concerned a translation of "Augenblicke in Griechenland" and its appearance in *The Criterion*.


14 Ibid., p. 25.
"Youth" as one of the best books of 1926 for Tage-Buch. "Youth", originally published in 1902, had been known for years by Hofmannsthal: he calls it "die außerordentlichste... von den außerordentlichen Erzählungen J. Conards." (A, p. 372). He apparently read much of Conrad in his last years. In Italy, in May, 1928, he read "dieses Buch von Joseph Conrad, das ich fast sein merkwürdigstes finde, das letzte fragmentarische"\(^{15}\) [probably**Suspense**] with his son, Raimund. He found Conrad representative of "dieser Pessimismus der ... aber etwas fast allegemein europäisches ist, er ist das Übel dieser zu alten Gesellschaft--und es ist sonderbar, daß es überall ist--wenn man denken würde: J. Conrad, nun ja, ein Pole, wie sollte das anders sein, ein Landsmann Chopins, des Traurigsten was es gibt, aber dann schlägt man eine Erzählung von Knut Hamsun auf, da sind norwegische Bauern und Heringsfischer, aber es ist der gleiche Stand von Entmutigung und fast Freude und Traurigsein und Nichthoffen."\(^{16}\)

If "Youth" was his favorite Conrad story, *Victory* was his favorite novel. In a letter to Carl J. Burckhardt, he compared it to his own fragment "Chinesisches Trauerspiel"

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\(^{15}\)Hofmannsthal-Burckhardt, p. 283.

\(^{16}\)Ibid., p. 309.
... in dem Roman von Conrad aber, den ich soeben gelesen habe (er heißt in der deutschen Übersetzung "Sieg" und scheint mir das bewundernswerteste Werk dieses großen Autors, soweit ich ihn bis nun kenne) geht es gleichfalls um Mord, auf einer völlig einsamen Insel; der zu Ermordende ist ein gentleman, ein zarter und mutiger Mensch aus der obersten Schicht; die beiden Verbrecher, die ihn ermorden, sind der eine aus dem niederer Volk, der andere ein herabgekommenes Individuum aus der Aristokratie. Die Combination des mit der größten Genauigkeit erzählten Vorganges mit der sozialen Bestimmtheit der Figuren gibt das außerordentlich Fesselnde. Man kann durch das Buch viel lernen, ich zögere aber, es in diesem Augenblick zu schicken, weil Sie durch die stoffliche Ähnlichkeit [not only with what Hofmannsthal was working on, but by coincidence, also with a story Burckhardt was engaged with] vielleicht verwirren und durch die außerordentliche Meisterschaft (es muß in ganz reifen Jahren geschrieben sein) intimidieren könnte. 17

Hofmannsthal had interpreted Conrad's maturity as the cause of his human understanding correctly. Conrad was 57 when he wrote Victory. And Hofmannsthal must have been delighted to find such an excellent representative of his favorite British type, the gentleman, in a modern novel. Certainly, the murdered Chinese governor in his fragment fits the role, according to the eulogies his children deliver for him.

An undated note shows that Hofmannsthal also read Conrad's letters. 18

Wells:

H. G. Wells was one of the four men considered by

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17 Ibid., p. 266.
18 Unpublished.
Hofmannsthal as representative of a new kind of journalism; the other three were the American, Lafcadio Hearn, the Frenchman, Maurice Barrès, and Lowes Dickinson (p. 180). Hofmannsthal wrote about "Typus Wells" in his notes in 1907: "...von Rhythmus ausgehend...er wirft Worte hin (Cf. die Worte von Wells: Stadt mit Racketen erleuchten ...) liebt Controverse."\textsuperscript{19} In the essay, "Umriss eines neuen Journalismus" for which this was one of the notes, he comments further on Wells:

Ich glaube nicht die Hälfte von dem, was H. G. Wells sagt. Aber seine Geste ist nicht nur immer spannend, sondern auch ermutigend; die etwas prahlereische, aber immer angefeuerte Motion seines Geistes versetzt auch den unserigen in eine Motion, ähnlich jener, mit der wir in Expreszug auf unseren Platz neben dem Fenster liegen und die Abschaffung der Entfernung genießen. (P II, p. 261)

Wells' \textit{The Island of Dr. Moreau} made the greatest impression on Hofmannsthal. In 1901, working on the never-completed "Jupiter and Semele", he states that the poet's realm has something in it of the relationship of man and beast, as expressed in this strange story of a mad scientist, who operates on animals to shape them into corporeal human beings:

Des Dichters eigentliches Gebiet; das Verhältnis von Geist zu Körper, von Idee zum Ausdruck, Mensch zum Tier(es müssen Tiere vorkommen, zu denen er ein sehr starkes Verhältnis hat; conf. "The Island of Doctor Moreau"). (D II, p. 504)

\textsuperscript{19}Norton, "Hofmannsthal's 'Magische Werkstätte';", p. 52.
A decade later, while making notes for Andreas, Hofmannsthal cites the animal look of Mariquita, when she implores Andreas to seduce Maria to prevent her entering a convent. This animal look makes Andreas think of a situation inspired by the Wells book:

In Andreas, der Verdacht, daß die Zauberin etwas mit Experimenten zu tun habe ähnlich jenen, welche zu den "Moreau horrors" geführt haben: daß sie etwa Lieferantin für einen solchen Experimentator sei. (E, p. 210)

Joyce:

James Joyce and Hofmannsthal have been compared in the expression of their "Epiphany" experience by Hermann Broch and Theodore Ziolkowski. Broch finds a similarity between Hofmannsthal's ideas of "Präexistenz" and Joyce's historical philosophy adapted from Vico, and considers the Chandos "Brief" and Joyce's Epiphany much alike. Hofmannsthal must have read Ulysses, which Burckhardt sent to him in September, 1923, upon a request of Hofmannsthal's, with the most glowing recommendation and a desire to hear Hofmannsthal's opinion of the book. Unfortunately, this opinion was never

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22 Hofmannsthal-Burckhardt, p. 135.
written.

Hichens and Woolf:

Rudolf Kassner writes in his "Erinnerung an Hugo von Hofmannsthal":

Hofmannsthal war sehr empfindlich, was das Soziale, wie er es ausdrückte, dessen Darstellung in den zeitgemässen Romanen anbelangt. Er fand letztere mit Recht in den meisten deutschen Romanen der Zeit ungenügend, ja oft in einem besonderen Masse dort ganz miserabel, wo Ansprüche auf Geltung innerhalb des rein Litterarischen erhoben wurden. Robert Hichens "December Love" ist vielleicht nicht Literatur oder was man so nennt, aber welche Beherrschung des Sozialen, der Gesellschaft, der sogenannten Welt im Vergleich etwa zu Heinrich Mann, dessen Geschriebenes Hofmannsthal später als unerträglich empfand. 23

Hichens is hardly read at all today, but Hofmannsthal's interest in a writer did not depend on his literary value to anyone to himself. The social acuteness of England's writers was one of their greatest appeal to him. In writers from Addison to Harris, he seemed to find an understanding of human social contacts, expressed with objectivity and even a sense of humor, that he found lacking in German prose, especially in the novels of his contemporaries. It is this expression of the relationships within a society that also caused him to refer to Hichens' The Woman with the Fan as one "von meinem Büchern die...ich in den letzten Wochen...lesenswert...fand." 24

23Rudolf Kassner, "Im Gespräch." Die neue Rundschau, 53(1954), 509.
24Hofmannsthal-Bodenhausen, p. 80.
Hofmannsthal discussed Virginia Woolf with Kassner, and his opinion of her was apparently not too high:

Als ich [Kassner] das letztemal im Frühjahr 1929 mit ihm zusammentraf, kurz bevor er seine letzte kleine Tour in das geliebte Oberitalien antrat, kam er mir im Gespräch auf Virginia Woolfs "Mrs. Dalloway". An diesem vielleicht mehr merkwürdigen als bedeutenden Buch hat mich vor allem und mehr als das andere, auch Eigene und kostbare das Bemühren der Dichterin angezogen und beschäftigt, die Idee und Kunstform, den Stil des Tristram Shandy, auf den man jetzt in England zurückzukommen scheint, wiederzuerwecken. Doch gerade hier dünkt mich der Roman zu versagen und hinter seinem Vorbild unendlich zurückzubleiben, ja dessen Wesentliches gar nicht einmal richtig erfaßt zu haben. "Wer wird sie aber auch gleich mit einem so großen Genie vergleichen?" erwiderte er auf diesen meinen Haupteinwand.25

Other Prose Writers:

**Murray:**

Gilbert Murray, the classicist, was Hofmannsthal's personal friend. He wrote a "Griechische Elegie" for Eranos, the "Festschrift" issued in honor of Hofmannsthal's fiftieth birthday in 1924. Murray's *The Rise of the Greek Epic* (Oxford, 1911) was in Hofmannsthal's library and contained many notes that show its connection with "Augenblicke in Griechenland."26 Another book of Murray's, *A History of Ancient Greek Literature* (London, 1911), contains no notes.27 Hofmannsthal named Murray, together with Granville-Barker and

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26 Hamburger, op. cit., p. 39.
27 Ibid., p. 40.
Lowes Dickinson, as one of the "bedeutenden reingesinnten Engländer" he would like as contributors to a new magazine he was considering founding in 1920 (A, p. 367). Seven months before his death, in a letter to Josef Redlich, Hofmannsthal expressed his debt to Murray and his yet-unfulfilled hopes for him:


Mackail:

Hofmannsthal read J. W. Mackail's Lectures on Greek Poetry 29 between 1912 and 1917.

Dickinson:

Goldworthy Lowes Dickinson, another whom Hofmannsthal had classed as a "reingesinnter" Englishman, also was one of Hofmannsthal's new breed of journalists: "Typus: Lowes

28 Hofmannsthal-Redlich, p. 411.
29 Hamburger, op. cit., p. 40.
Dickinson: Diskutiert England neben China: Schule Macaulay. Wägt Begriffe ab. This type he also considered the philosophical journalist. Hofmannsthal's copy of Dickinson's *A Modern Symposium* was heavily annotated and Hamburger finds that this book (and Boswell's *Life of Johnson*) with its analysis of the rise of the British bourgeois nobility (those peers who received their peerage because of business successes) and its contrast to the old hereditary nobility, had a definite part in the writing of *Der Rosenkavalier*. Hofmannsthal was critical of Dickinson's disdain of American culture, for which he himself had a high regard (see Chapter XIII) and wrote "Poe! Whitman!" in the margin of a page which contained a derogatory remark by Dickinson.

**Harris:**

Hofmannsthal considered Frank Harris' *My Life* one of the best books of 1926. Hofmannsthal, an impeccable literary artist himself, was never as critical of other writers as of himself, as long as they held his interest, and certainly, he was no prude. Like many another great author, he had weakness for the rogue or adventurer, whether factual or fictional. He portrayed several of them sympathetically in

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30 Norton, op. cit., p. 52.
31 Hamburger, op. cit., p. 25.
his works (e.g. Florindo-Casanova, in Cristina's Heimreise). Frank Harris fit this pattern, and Hofmannsthal was naturally interested, in addition, in the people that Harris had encountered, particularly Oscar Wilde. He felt that the Harris book had

jenen unnachahmlich freien weltlichen, aber männlichen Ton der obern englischen Gesellschaft, den ihre besten Lustspielsdichter spiegeln. Seine Muse ist die geistreiche Sinnenlichkeit seiner Rasse (der keltischen, er ist walliser). Sein Körper und sein Verstand belehren ihn beide, erschliessen ihm die beiden Reiche, die dem künstlerischen Menschen offenstehen; das geistige und das sinnliche, und die Vereinigung beider. Er kommt sich selber sehr nahe (in einer Art, die nicht selten das Unzarte streift, ja alle Grenzen überschreitet) er kommt Männern und Frauen sehr nahe, und solchen, deren Existenzen noch halb und halb mit der unsern verknüpft sind, und reißen uns mit sich hinein in das Existenzielle mit einer Unmittelbarkeit, die man vielleicht nicht auf lange ertragen könnte, der man sich aber für den Augenblick kaum entziehen kann. (P IV, pp. 360-361)

Harris was one of Hofmannsthal's "gentlemen" again, with his combination of worldliness and manliness, sensuality and spirituality, and above all, his understanding of society and his ability to convey this understanding to others. This was an element of English culture that Hofmannsthal found extremely attractive and which he sought to emulate. It was an element he missed in his own cultural German and Austrian environment.

Lawrence:

Hofmannsthal carried on a lively correspondence with Carl J. Burckhardt about T. E. Lawrence, which once more
illuminates his almost naive admiration for the "gentleman" figure. Of all contemporary Englishmen, Lawrence perhaps was the epitome of this type for Hofmannsthal. In December, 1927, he had his book dealer send Burckhardt a copy of the German translation of Revolt in the Desert as a Christmas gift and accompanied it with a letter full of the most glowing praise. He called it:

...eines der schönsten Bücher, das ich je gelesen habe. Dieser Mensch ist ebenso bewundernswert und der wahre Typus des Helden, unserer Zeit angehörig, wie jeder früheren, als er von einer unvergleichlichen Eleganz und inneren Grazie ist--und dazu wunderbarerweise ein so großer Schriftsteller wie Sallust. Ich weiß nicht was ich geben würde, ihm zu begegnen. Er ist heute noch kaum vierzig Jahre alt--ist aber aus dem Wege gegangen--seitwärts ins Gebüsch. Er soll unter einem falschen Namen heute als gemeiner Soldat in Indien bei der Armee sein. Das es solche Menschen gibt, muß einen aufheitern.32

Burckhardt, who looked at Lawrence from a diplomatic and historical, rather than a literary point of view, tried to dampen Hofmannsthal's enthusiasm in the letters that follow.33 He discusses Revolt in the Desert and Seven Pillars of Wisdom, of which Hofmannsthal had previously sent him an English copy. Burckhardt considered Lawrence a demagogue and fanatic rather than a true leader and characteristic of the type the "romantic" German overglorifies as a hero. This letter is astonishingly prophetic of the next twenty-

32 Hofmannsthal-Burckhardt, p. 271.
33 Ibid., p. 272-274.
five years, but then, Burckhardt was Swiss and could be relatively objective about Germany. Hofmannsthal accepted Burckhardt's evaluation gracefully (keeping a hidden admiration, one strongly suspects), and Burckhardt answered with a series of several more anecdotes about Lawrence. It was the qualities that Hofmannsthal admired in other English contemporaries that kept Lawrence in his proper romantic perspective; Shaw's irony and the social perspicacity that Hofmannsthal finds in Hichens and Harris.

Strachey and Russell:

Two notations show that Hofmannsthal read Bertrand Russell "Über China" in December, 1924, and Lytton Strachey's Queen Victoria in February, 1922.

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34 Unpublished.
35 Unpublished.
Chapter XIII
Hofmannsthal and America

For Hofmannsthal, American culture was only an extension of the European culture with which he was vitally concerned. He felt that America and Europe should stand together against an Asiatic culture, whose appeal for him had considerably diminished after the end of the First World War with the emerging militaristic, a religious cultural pattern emerging in China and Japan. He prophetically wrote for the opening of the German House at Columbia University in 1929:

Dem ungeheuren Phänomen Asien steht heute ein doppeltes Europa gegenüber: dieses und jenes des Atlantischen Ozeans. Mögen Institute wie das Deutsche Haus der Columbia-Universität dazu beitragen, einen Hauptstrom europäischen Geistes, den deutschen, in die amerikanische Geistes- und Willenswelt einströmen zu machen und damit eine starke Gegenbewegung des amerikanischen Geistes auf uns herauszufordern.
(P IV, p. 520)

Hofmannsthal interested himself in many facets of American culture: the dance, the motion pictures and naturally, the literature. Ruth St. Denis, the American dancer became a friend of his, and, in 1906, he wrote an article for Die Zeit about "Die unvergleichliche Tänzerin" (P II, pp. 222-228). The draft for the movie scenario based on the life of Defoe for an American film has already been mentioned (p.58). He also wrote the scenario for the motion picture version of Der Rosenkavalier (1924) and planned to write a film for Lilian Gish in 1928:
...als Zeitvertreib machen wir [his son Raimund and himself] zusammen einen Film auf den Lilian Gish wartet und der in Österreich Ende 1918 spielt.1

Although he never went to Hollywood, Raimund’s tales of his trips to "dieser sonderbaren Welt"2 fascinated him.

The letters written for The Dial (pp. 167-168) were an attempt "einer amerikanischen Zeitschrift den europäischen Geisteszustand zu beschreiben,"3 to discuss "was ich 'the main current' unseres künstlerischen Lebens nennen möchte, und das ist zweifellos, nach dem Zusammenbruch einer tausend-jährigen politischen Situation, der Kampf dieser Stadt um ihren Rang als die künstlerische und geistige Hauptstadt Südosteuropas, der Kampf, den sie in der Sekunde selbst des Zusammenbruches mit der Sicherheit, mit der eine bedrohte Kreatur auf ihre letzten Reserven zurückgreift, aufgenommen hat und den sie ohne jeden Zweifel siegreich durchführt" (A, p. 276).4

Although he bravely defended the position of his Vienna

1 Hofmannsthal-Burckhardt, p. 283.

2 Hofmannsthal-Redlich, p. 414.

3 Hofmannsthal-Burckhardt, p. 125.

as cultural capital of the world, he admitted the emergence of New York as a possible successor, and cited its attraction for Europeans:

Ich meine die allmähliche Durchdringung des amerikanischen Phantasielebens mit den subtilen und tiefwirkenden Traum-Toxinen der europäischen Phantasie, wie sie sich dadurch vollzieht, dass zunächst New York, Hauptstadt der Welt, wie es in einem gewissen Sinn durch den Krieg nun einmal geworden ist, allmählich alle jene Individuen magisch an sich zu ziehen beginnt, welche auf irgendeinem Gebiet Träger des europäischen Kunst- und Geisteslebens sind. (A, pp. 307-308)

Hofmannsthal first began reading American writers in 1892; in July he lists "die Novellen von Poe and Scarlet letter von Hapthorne [sic]"⁵ (B I, p. 50) among his vacation reading. The Scarlet Letter seems to have been his only exposure to Hawthorne. He apparently read no other American novels.

Poe:

Poe made a deep impression on Hofmannsthal, as he did on so many European writers. He had already read some works of Poe at the age of 18 and continued to do so for some time. In February, 1894, he wrote Elsa Bruckmann-Cantacuzene:

Von Poe, um den Sie fragen, kenn' ich nur die Verse und einige phantastische Novellen, ich halte ihn für einen der großen Künstler, Artisten wäre besser, die einen unbegreiflich packen und einem sehr wenig geben: Chopin etc. (B I, p. 97)

⁵Whether the error in the spelling of Hawthorne's name is that of Hofmannsthal or the editor or printer of the edition of the letters is not established.
How extensive his Poe readings were over the years is difficult to determine. That he read some of Poe's literary essays is evident from a note in 1914:

In letzter Zeit fiel mir die Ähnlichkeit zwischen Heinrich von Kleist und E. Poe auf, in ihren Aufsätzen, dem Gebrauch, den sie von ihrem (dichterischen) Scharfsinn in Hinblick auf das Leben machen. (A, p. 169)

The motto of one of Hofmannsthal's early poems, "Psyche" (1892, 1893) is taken from Poe's "Ulalume": "Psyche, my soul" (GLD, pp. 69-71). The idea of the poet and his soul conversing is maintained, but Hofmannsthal eliminates the personal elements of love and death, which are the mainspring of Poe's lyric. Although Hofmannsthal's Psyche is as aware as Poe's of the limitations of the poet's imagination in creating a world to his own desire, the lack of deep involvement in a personal tragedy, the death of one's beloved, to occasion Hofmannsthal's appraisal as it had Poe's, deprives "Psyche" of the depth and fervor of "Ulalume". Only the lyrical peculiarities of Poe really influenced the Hofmannsthal poem to any marked degree. The young Austrian uses alliteration, repetition, assonance and onomatopoeia. Examining a verse from each poem, the obvious similarities can be demonstrated.

And I said: 'She is warmer than Dian; 
She rolls through an ether of sighs--
She revels in a region of sighs.
She has seen that the tears are not dry on
These cheeks, where the worm never dies,
And has come past the stars of the Lion,
To point us the path to the skies--
To the Lethean peace of the skies--
Come up, in despite of the Lion,
To shine on us with her bright eyes—
Come up through the lair of the Lion,
With love in her luminous eyes."

Ich sagte: noch weiß ich wohl eine Welt,
Wenn dir die lebendige nicht gefällt.
Mit wunderbar nie vernommenen Worten
Reiß ich dir auf die Träume Pforten:
Mit goldenglühenden, süßen lauen
Wie duftendes Tanzen von lachenden Frauen,
Mit mondurchsickerten nächtig webenden
Wie fiebernde Blumenkelche bebenden,
Mit grünen, rieselnden, kühlne, feuchten
Wie rieselndes grünes Meeresleuchten,
Mit trunken tanzenden, dunklen, schwülen
Wie dunkelglühender Geigen Wühlen,
Mit wilden, wehenden, irren und wirren
Wie großer nächtiger Vögel Schirren,
Mit schnellen und gellenden, heißen und grellen
Wie metallener Flüsse grellblinkende Wellen...

Hofmannsthal has repeated words just as Poe has. He also prolongs his sentences by ending the line with a feminine rhyme and letting it run into the next line and then the next, with variations of the same image repeated ("the path to the skies," "the lethean peace of the skies" and "grünen, rieselnden, kühlne, feuchten," "rieselndes grünes Meeresleuchten"). Swinburne, who was also addicted to this type of lyric might also be considered an influence here. The alliteration is common to both poems. Hofmannsthal uses the "ü" sound as Poe used the "u" sound to carry the melody of his poem.

"Psyche" is not one of Hofmannsthal's better poems.

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The lugubrious, sonorous and repetitive style of Poe, based on intensely personal feelings of grief, loss and despair, did not suit the younger, more restrained Hofmannsthal. In him, the style seems to lead to a not too fortunate combination of late Romanticism and the baroque style of the Peginitz-Schäfer.

None of Hofmannsthal's other lyrics show any obvious Poe influence. Although he intensely admired Poe's verse (he praises Richard Billinger's poem, "Der Mondsüchtige" in the last "Vienna Letter" by comparing its inspiration to that of Poe's—"jenen mittleren Länge...die Edgar Poe liebte, er, der das Geheimnis der lyrischen Schönheit gekannt hat wie wenige") (A, p. 318) and recommended them to his friends (B I, p. 58), his reason for calling Poe a definite influence on himself in _Ad me ipsum_ (A, p. 237) must rest on the short stories.

Poe's tales of ratiocination did not make much of an impression on Hofmannsthal but the tales of horror have much in common with certain Hofmannsthal stories, in particular "Das Märchen der 672. Nacht" and the unfinished "Der goldene Apfel". At first reading, this seems far-fetched, because of the difference between the Arabian-Nights quality and background of these stories and the definitely Gothic quality and background of the Poe stories, written for the nineteenth century taste. When one reads Hofmannsthal's comments of
May, 1893 about the qualities which he finds significant in Poe, the similarities become more apparent:

Poe.- Es ist sehr sonderbar, wenn einer in solch starren Dingen das Bild seiner Vision der Welt findet, da doch in Dasein alles gleitet und fließt. Und es ist selber charakteristisch. (A, p. 102)

In the essay, "Die Bühne als Traumbild" (1903), he elaborates on this theme of seeing beyond the outer appearance of familiar objects to the latent horror in them—(p. 96) a penalty for the over-active imagination of the creative artist, an empathy for non-living things that can destroy as well as broaden the ability of expression (one of the themes of "Ein Briefer").

It is the oversensitive young man, the aesthete who is unable to reconcile life and art, who is a common figure in these short stories of Poe and Hofmannsthal. In "Das Märchen der 672. Nacht", the hero has become more and more estranged from reality. The menace he sees emanating from his servants, from everyone and everything in his strange nightmarish flight through the city (flight from nothing to nothing), and his obsession with inanimate objects like coins and jewelry, is akin to the disease of the hero of "Berenice" or the madness of Roderick Usher. He has the same "barezly perceptible fissure"7 in his mind that inevitably widens and destroys him. The "perversity" of Poe's heroes, their lemming-

7Ibid., II, p. 277.
like drive to destruction, whether because of monomania, (like Egeus), disintegration of self (Roderick), or offended pride (Montresor) is demonstrated in Hofmannsthal's hero by his lack of involvement with life and his strange compulsion to be in some way punished for it.

"Der goldene Apfel" is a less familiar story and is incomplete besides, but again, an obsessive perversity drives the characters to their doom. The carpet merchant's repressed hatred for others, a result of his unhappy youth, and his fanatical devotion to his wife, causes him to center his obsession on the golden apple he has given her, much as Egeus broods about Berenice's teeth. Others are equally bewitched by the apple and are doomed by it because of the flaws in their own characters. The notes left for the completion of the story foretell their fates: the merchant kills his wife and drowns himself; the child who has stolen the apple to get a stronger person to uncover the well she is curious about, will drown in that well; the Negro, to whom the child gives the apple is murdered for it. This story even has the (premature?) entombing of a beautiful woman, a favorite theme of Poe's.

"Reitergeschichte" (1898) demonstrates Hofmannsthal's opinion of the similarity of Poe's and Kleist's poetic insight into life. The sergeant is a perfect representative of the man who has been attacked by the imp of the perverse;
he cannot give up his horse, because he has been subconsciously looking for death all day. He perversely forces the Captain to kill him for his stubborn, obsessive subordination. One recalls Kleist's "Michael Kohlhaas" whose perversity is his obsessive demand for justice at any price, even death for himself. This perversity is coincidentally enough also based on the ownership of horses.

The dark and stormy beginnings of the fragment, "Dämmerung und nächtliches Gewitter" (1911), still seems to echo the Poe influence. As late as 1912, in the notes for Andreas, a reference to "The Imp of the Perverse" appears: "Mordlust (imp of the perverse) ist nichts dagegen."

(E, p. 225)

Hofmannsthal also used some lines from Poe's "The Coliseum" in 1903 in an unpublished note, "Über Lyrik", to defend the writing of his Greek dramas. Particularly he intended it as a "Verteidigung der Elektra:"

Not all our power is gone— not all our fame—
Not all the magic of our high renown—
Not all the wonder that encircles us—
Not all the mysteries that in us lie—

Prophetic sounds and loud, arise forever
From us, and from all Ruin, unto the wise,...

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Other individual stories read include "The Island of the Fay", from which he took the motto for the incomplete, unpublished play, Der Park (1906): "In Truth the man who would

8 Ibid., VII, p. 57.
behold aright the glory of God on earth must in solitude behold that glory."⁹ Over some undated notes for "Unterhaltungen über literarische Gegenstände" is a quotation from Poe: "The mathematics afford no more absolute demonstration than the sentiments of his arts yields the artist."¹⁰

Whitman:

The other American poet who made a deep impression on Hofmannsthal was Walt Whitman. He considered the American poet a genius, "ein Individuum durch den sich die nordamerikanische Nation und ihre Größe...dokumentiert" (April, 1914) (A, p. 169). He admired the "Strom seiner flutenden hymnischen Gedanken" (A., p. 326) in the essay "Max Reinhardt" (1924) and felt that Whitman was representative of the modern artist at his peak, with the same chameleon qualities as Keats or himself. He writes in the third Vienna Letter (1923):

Es ist das wahrhaft Großartige an der Gegenwart, das so viele Vergangenheiten in ihr als lebendige magische Existenzen drinliegen, und das scheint mir das eigentliche Schicksals des Künstlers: sich selber als den Ausdruck einer in weite Vergangenheit zurückführenden Pluralität zu fühlen--neben jener Pluralität in die Breite, jener planetärischen Kontemporaneität, deren Ausdruck bei Whitman so genial ist--und sich dann das Instrument seiner Kunst selbst zu schaffen, indem er von den Eindrücken und Halluzinationen ausgeht, die zum Geheimnis des Individuums gehören, und damit das vom

⁹Unpublished. The quotation is in Poe, op. cit., III, p. 194.

¹⁰Ibid. I have not been able to trace this quotation any farther yet.
Überlieferten verbindet, was er erfassen kann.
(A, p. 299)

Whitman's poetry, which penetrates the "Geheimnis des Individuums," is not so distant from Hofmannsthals desire to unite the individual with the world. And the form of Whitman's unconventional verse is far from Hofmannsthals generally conservative observance of traditional patterns of poetry. But the extension of ego in Hofmannsthals early poems, particularly in "Manche freilich" and "Terzinen über Vergänglichkeit", which he had found echoed in Lafcadio Hearn's theories of pre-existence (pp. 157-163), was expressed for him in a more subjective, occidental way by Whitman. Hamburger indicates the many places that Hofmannsthall annotated c. 1915 in his copy of Leaves of Grass (the 1900 edition), which indicate this attitude toward the American.11

All three quotations by Whitman in William James' The Varieties of Religious Experience were underlined by Hofmannsthal. He must have agreed with James' assessment of Whitman as being "of the genuine line of prophets".12 A loose piece of paper with notes for "Dämmerung und nächtliches Gewitter" was found among the pages of Leaves of Grass.

11Hamburger, op. cit., p. 51.

Channing:

The minor American poet, William Ellery Channing (1818-1901), whose chief claims to fame are his kinship with the founder of Unitarianism and his friendship with Emerson and Thoreau, wrote a line, "If my bark sinks, 'tis to another sea," which Hofmannsthal found as useful as the often-used quotation from Addison (p. 60). In the notes to Alexander-Die Freunde (1895), he writes, apparently quoting from memory, because of the alteration of the line:

In der höchsten Steigerung eine Ahnung des sokratischen "einem guten Manne kann nichts Böses widerfahren", und dazu" if my barque sinks, it sinks to a new sea" (hier auch das Gleichnis von der Schwalbe). (D I, p. 428)

In 1904, he uses his own translation in a diary entry:

11.X.- Was war der Tod des Antinous? Gab er sich dem Geliebten zum Opfer, um einer aufs höchste getriebenen Schauspieleri durch den Tod Wahrheit zu erzwingen? Glaubte er, daß die Lüge, wenn sie bis zum Äußersten getrieben wird, eine Falltür auftut ins Jenseits der Lüge?

"Und sinkt mein Kähn, sinkt er zu neuen Meeren."

In a letter to Richard Strauss in 1912, explaining the concept of death and "Verwandlung", succinctly embodied for him in the Channing quotation, he writes about Ariadne:

Für Elektra bleibt nichts als der Tod; hier aber ist das Thema weitergeführt. Auch Ariadne wähnt sich an den Tod dahinzugeben; das "sinkt ihr Kähn und sink zu neuen Meeren". Dies ist Verwandlung, das Wunder aller Wunder, das eigentliche Geheimnis der Liebe. Die

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unmeßbaren Tiefen der eigenen Natur, das Band von
uns zu einem Unnennbaren, Ewigdauernden hin, das
unseren Kinderzeiten; ja den Zeiten des Ungeborenen
in uns nahe war, können sich von innen her zu einer
bleibenden, peinlichen Starrenis verschließen; kurz vor
dem Tode, ahnen wir, würden sie sich aufstem.
(P III, p. 139)

Steiner connects this idea to the cave scenes in Das Bergwerk
zu Falun and Die Frau ohne Schatten.¹⁴

Emerson:

Ralph Waldo Emerson is mentioned only twice in Hofmanns-
thal's published works, once in a "Vienna Letter" (A, p. 286)
as one of the directive influences on Rudolf Kassner's book,
and once in a note for Leda und der Schwan, "Masken sind alle
Wesen, dahinter der Gott."¹⁵ However, in the Nachlass,
there is one undated sheet headed "Bemerkungen über Emerson",
probably intended as the basis of an essay on the American,
which point to a far more extensive knowledge of him. The
complete notes read:

1. Die Atmosphäre aus dem Ende des Wilhelm Meisters
definieren.
2. eine allgemeine Versöhnung schimmert mit tausend
   Sternen hernieder wie ein nur mehr schwach verschleier-
   ter Himmel der auf einen schwachen Luftzug bläst wartet

¹⁴Ernest Robert Curtius, "Glossen zu Hofmannsthals
Die neue Rundschau, LXXV (1954), 535-536.

¹⁵Martin Stern, "Hofmannsthals erstes Lustspielfrag-
ment,". Die neue Rundschau, LXX (1959), 463-498.
3. ein großes Sich zu Hause fühlen weht unmittelbar hervor.

4. Das Schicksal, ja, die menschliche Gestalt wird als Hülsse strebender Kraft empfunden.

5. Das Beschränkte kehrt wieder als Erinnerung, die geschiedenen Kreise durcheinander; Helle durch den Dunst strömend öffnet geschiedene Thäler eine ungeheuer gehobene metaphorische Atmosphäre, die Luft ist gesättigt mit Geheimnissen; jener schwebende Zustand zwischen völlig sich lösen und niederschlagen in Crystallen, zwei durcheinander strömende Bestrebungen gleichermaßen ist es, wenn es einem Autor habituell ist, ein mythenbildender und zugleich mythenauflösender Zustand. 16

James:

William James' The Varieties of Religious Experience is one of the most demonstrable American influences on Hofmannsthals. It is easy to see why the James book, a series of lectures delivered by the American philosopher-psychologist at Edinburgh in 1901-1902, would interest the Austrian poet, who had been, and was to be, always intrigued by psychological works, of which a large number from various countries were found in his library. The effect they had upon his works deserves a separate study as a subject of

16 Unpublished.
its own, James used a new way of studying religion from an objective, scientific, analytical, medical standpoint rather than a mystical or philosophic one. To him, conversion, repentance, saintliness, and the like were phenomena to be considered empirically. To support his conclusions, he cited hundreds of anecdotes and quotations from and about such oddly assorted people as St. John of the Cross and Mary Baker Eddy, Walt Whitman and Aristotle. Another facet of the book that appealed to Hofmannsthali was James' obviously sound knowledge of the German mystics, philosophers and poets from Suso to Nietzsche, as well as his analysis of the English poets Hofmannsthali knew; among them, Swinburne and Tennyson.

James' book is the frankest analysis of religious experiences from psychological, physical and aesthetic standpoint written up to its time and is still, today, an interesting and important book.

According to the notes found by Hamburger in the Hofmannsthali-owned edition of James (14th edition, London, 1907), he read various lectures from 1908 ("als ich geistig und körperlich krank war") to 1917. The most important note for showing influence is the one that Alewyn also mentions with regard to Andreas:

Roman. Seelenverfassung Andreas' (Haus der Witwe) 223 ff. Trust in our dreams and faith in the

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17 Hamburger, op. cit., p. 29.
Providence of God, all have their source in the onrush of our sanguine impulses and in that sense of exceeding-ness of the possible over the real.\textsuperscript{18}

Hamburger also notes that a footnote by James about Robert Lyde forms the basis for one of the Captain's speeches in Cristinae Heimreise, to which many other notes also refer. Robert Lyde was an English sailor who felt that God had personally helped him (by reminding him of a knife in his pocket) during a fight at sea and had thus saved his life. James quotes him of "a more primitive style of religious thought" in regard to God's answering of a personal prayer.\textsuperscript{19}

In the Captain's speech, he similarly describes a fight at sea and God's intervention on his behalf. Hofmannsthal thus depicts the Captain as a primitive, simple and utterly sincere religious thinker, whose honesty and naiveté stand in sharp contrast to the sophistication and cynicism of Florindo.

Hofmannsthal also quotes William James in his notes for "Andenken Eberhard von Bodenhausens" (1927). Writing of Bodenhausen's doubts about the existence of God, when World War I broke out, he first cites Dostoevsky and then: "W. James äußerte sich noch scharfer: Er würde einen solchen Gott [one who would permit the sufferings of such a war] unter keinen Umständen für einen Gott anerkennen."(A, p. 251).

\textsuperscript{18}Alewyn, op. cit., p. 140.

\textsuperscript{19}James, op. cit., p. 357.
An undated note written sometime in the last decade of Hofmannsthal's life mentions "'Varieties' für 'Der dunkle Bruder'" an unfinished play. Despite the pluralistic ideas of Hofmannsthal's works, there is no evidence that these came from James, since The Varieties speaks only of a religious pluralism with which Hofmannsthal does not concern himself, and he does not seem to have read the later works of James dealing more exclusively with this topic.

Prince:

Another American psychologist, whose writings determined a character in a Hofmannsthal work, was the physician, Morton Prince. Alewyn, in "Andreas und die 'wunderbare Freundin'", shows the influence of Prince's Disassociation of a Personality on Andreas. The book treats a problem that has again become popular in the last decade with such novels as Shirley Jackson's The Bird's Nest (New York, 1954) and the motion picture, The Three Faces of Eve (Twentieth-Century-Fox), as well as innumerable tabloid stories. This is the problem of the person with a complete type of schizophrenia that permits a multiple number of personalities to live within him without any co-knowledge. These personalities are so distinct that each one is an ego in its own right; the body of the subject

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20 Unpublished.

21 Alewyn, op. cit., pp. 105-141.
merely happens to be inhabited by more than one person. According to Hofmannsthal's diary in February, 1907, (Februar 1907.-Individualität.- Vorgestern zum Tee bei Marie Taxis mit Franz Liechtenstein, dem früheren Botschafter in Petersburg. Die Fürstin erzählte [sehr gut] von dem Buch eines amerikanischen Arztes, "Disassociations of a personality", das ich mir gleich kommen lassen will). (A, p. 157)

He became acquainted with this book when he was just beginning Andreas. He spoke of it in a later letter to the Princess Marie, mentioning "disassociated personalities." A copy of the book, in a 1906 edition, was in his library with many notes for Andreas in the margins.22 Alewyn shows that not only Andreas, for which he demonstrates at length its source in the Prince book, but other works of Hofmannsthal, present characters with "split personalities" (like the heroine of "Lucidor") or have diametrically opposed characters that form a whole (like Elektra-Chrysothemis and Ariadne-Zerbinetta).

O'Neill:

Eugene O'Neill was the only contemporary American writer to have aroused any sustained interest in Hofmannsthal. (A list of books does bear the name of Anita Loos).23 Several

22 Ibid., p. 109.
23 Unpublished.
of O'Neill's plays were found in the Hofmannsthal library. Although there is no actual influence of either writer or the other, the similarities were so strong (and were to remain so even after Hofmannsthal had died in 1929 and O'Neill was still writing), that it is strange that no one, except Hofmannsthal himself, seems to have discerned them. O'Neill's earlier plays were the only ones Hofmannsthal could have been acquainted with; all his comments concern them.

The O'Neill play Hofmannsthal knew best was The Hairy Ape (1921). He comments on it in his third "Vienna Letter" in 1923. It was the main character, Yank, the stoker on board an ocean liner, who fascinated Hofmannsthal. He himself had used the figure of a stoker to represent the poet in his essay, "Über Charaktere im Roman und im Drama" (1902) long before O'Neill was to use this image for the man who does not fit into a well-regulated society and who keenly realizes his alienation. The stoker image also used Franz Kafka in Der Verschollene: Hofmannsthal has his Balzac relate:

Es kann keiner aus seiner Welt heraus. Haben Sie eine größere Reise auf einem Dampfschiff gemacht? Entzinnen Sie sich da einer sonderbaren, beinahe Mitleid erregender Gestalt, die gegen Abend aus einer Lücke des Maschinenraumes auftauchte und sich für eine Viertelstunde oben aufhielt, um Luft zu schöpfen? Der Mann war halbnackt, er hatte ein geschwürztes Gesicht und rote, entzündete Augen. Man hat Ihnen gesagt, daß es der Heizer der Maschine ist. Sooft er heraufkam, taumelte er; er trank gierig einen großen Krug Wasser leer, er legte sich auf einen Haufen Werg und spielte mit dem Schiffshund, er warf ein paar scheue, fast schwach-

Hofmannsthals, however, was not reminded of his own essay when he read The Hairy Ape. It was rather the Job-like character of the Beggar in Das große Welttheater, whom Hofmannsthals felt to be a brother to Yank. In the third "Vienna Letter" he writes:

Ich habe seitdem "The Hairy Ape" gelesen und ich finde wirklich eine gewisse Analogie zwischen der Figur meines Bettlers und der jenes unglücklichen Heizers, des Ausgeschlossenen aus der geordneten Welt, mit seiner an die Nerven rührender Sehnsucht; irgendwohn zu gehören (to belong).—Die Frage, die gestellt wird, ist in beiden Dramen in ganz großen Umrissen die gleiche. Es ist die drohende oder höhnende Frage des Chaos an die "Ordnung"—und die Antwort, die O'Neill auf sie gibt, ist sozusagen eine optimistische, vom Standpunkt der Gesellschaft aus, aber mit einer Beimengung gräßlicher Ironie, indem er seinen armen Bettler im Häfig des Gorilla den Frieden des Todes finden läßt und endlich den Ort, wo er "hingehört". Die gleiche Frage, in allen Tonarten gestellt und variiert, ist der ganze Inhalt des Expressionismus in allen Ländern—oder, wenn man will, nicht Inhalt, sondern vorwärtsstrebender Karstoff: aber der Expressionismus nimmt in seiner Fragestellung schon eine Antwort vorweg, und zwar die entgegengesetzte als die von O'Neill gegebene. (A, p. 296-297)
Later that year, Hofmannsthal wrote in his notebook, concerning the Welttheater:


The major concern with O'Neill in 1923 was in "Eugene O'Neill" (1923), which Hofmannsthal wrote for the American periodical, The Freeman. In this essay, Hofmannsthal recounts his first encounter with O'Neill's plays in 1922, when, upon recommendation from a spectator at the Salzburg Festival, he read The Hairy Ape, The Emperor Jones, and a little later, Anna Christie and The First Man. Hofmannsthal was very much impressed by the young American's strength and clarity, but felt he had much to learn, particularly in the use of dialogue. Hofmannsthal's final judgment is very favorable, however:

Aber ich habe einem Autor vom Rang dieses Dramatikers keine Ratschläge zu geben, alles dieses ist mehr bei Gelegenheit von O'Neill gesagt als über ihn, nicht Kritik, sondern ganz allgemeine dramaturgische Reflexion, angeregt durch die Betrachtung seiner Werke. Seine Qualitäten als Dramatiker sind heute schon sehr groß, aber er wird ohne Zweifel noch viel weiter vorwärtskommen, wenn sich in Laufe der Jahre bei ihm, wie bei jedem schöpferischen Menschen, eine noch größere Freiheit gegenüber seiner Materie, ja gegenüber dem eigenen Talent einstellen wird. (P IV, p. 203)

O'Neill's dramas continued to run in paths similar to those of Hofmannsthal. He was to use Freudian psychology to interpret the Oresteia in Mourning Becomes Elektra, just
as Hofmannsthal had done in his Elektra. O'Neill's use of masks in The Great God Brown would have fascinated Hofmannsthal, who had first wanted to call his own dramatic monologues "speaking masks." And the American's Lazarus Laughed is a Christ-centered play very similar in many respects to Der Turm.

24 Hofmannsthal, Poems and Verse Plays, p. xxii.
Conclusion

Although the English influences that exist in Hofmannsthal's works have been recognized for some time, their importance for his development as a creative artist has been largely ignored. The relationship between Das gerettete Venedig and Venice Preserved, between Jedermann and Everyman, are obvious; yet, as isolated phenomena, they tell little of Hofmannsthal, the writer—only that he used English sources for some of his works. But he also used French, Greek, Italian and Spanish sources.

From the early "Loris" essays about English topics, beginning in 1890, to the completion of Das gerettete Venedig in 1904, English culture and literature guided Hofmannsthal. This was the period of Hofmannsthal's "Verwandlung", a period usually considered a homogenous one of lyric inspiration and production, which suddenly suffered an abrupt change in 1901 through a traumatic experience expressed in the Chandos letter. Instead, however, the years from 1890 to 1904, under closer examination, show a gradual development in the works of Hofmannsthal under the aegis of English influences.

The concept of what he considered the English "gentleman" set a pattern for the type of man he wanted to be. Such a person combined the imagination of the creative artist with an ability to live a life with full participa-
tion in the problems of society. To Hofmannsthal, this concept was a solution for the conflict of artist and society facing the modern poet.

English and American writers, especially those of the nineteenth century, helped him to define his own aesthetic philosophy. From Keats, he received an example of the poet who can understand the chameleon existence of the true artist and accept it as a heightened aspect of human life, rather than an alienating one, as the French Symbolists or Stefan George saw it. From Ruskin and Pater, he learned that art must not necessarily exclude moral elements; negatively, the limitations of the Aesthetes showed him the possible sterility of an aestheticism which tries to shut out life.

In the English and American Romantic lyric, in the English essay and in the Elizabethan drama, he found forms which occupied him for fifteen years. His early lyrics definitely show the influence of Keats, Shelley and Browning. Shakespeare and the Elizabethans, Otway, Shelley and Browning, provided the models for the series of Renaissance dramas, that begin with Ascanio und Gismonda and culminate in Das gerettete Venedig. More than in any other genre, the growth of Hofmannsthal as a creative artist can be traced through his dramas. The early lyric dramas are dramatic in form only; through the guidance of English
sources, Hofmannsthal learned to write dramas which had fully developed characters (an ability learned to a large extent from the dramatic monologues of Browning and his *The Ring and the Book*) and the element of verbal conflict so necessary to a stageable drama. He learned to portray not only those people whose personalities and problems corresponded to his own, but others who were unlike and even antithetical to him. He became a writer who could write objectively as well as subjectively. In *Die Gräfin Pompilia* and *Das gerettete Venedig*, he succeeded magnificently in combining lyric, dramatic and narrative elements. As the culminating works of his developmental period, it is no coincidence that they are based on English sources.

English and American influences did not disappear from Hofmannsthal's works after 1904, but they abated considerably. Hofmannsthal's development as a writer never halted either, but the greatest period of maturation had been completed, aided especially by the works of Shakespeare, the Romantics, Browning, Poe, the Pre-Raphaelites and the Aesthetes. In conclusion, those works of Hofmannsthal which concern a specific literary figure or topic in English or American culture, or which bear an important influence from an English or American writer, are listed in chronological order. References to Englishmen or Americans in letters or notes, not referring to specific works, are not listed, although they
appear in the body of the dissertation. This exception applies also to isolated references within an essay.

"Englisches Leben", essay (1891)
"Psyche", poem (1892)
"Aufschrift für eine Standuhr", poem (1892)

"Algernon Charles Swinburne", essay (1893)
Alkestis, drama (1893)

"Age of Innocence", essay (1893)
"Idylle", dramatic lyric (1893)

Der Tor und der Tod, lyrical drama (1893)

"Internationale Kunst-Ausstellung", essay (1894)

"Über moderne englische Malerei", essay (1894)

"Walter Pater", essay (1894)

Laurence Oliphant;
Edgar Allan Poe, "Ulalume"
Samuel Taylor Coleridge, "Inscription for a Time-Piece"
Algernon Charles Swinburne,
Algernon Charles Swinburne,
Erectheus and Atalanta in Calydon
Kate Greenaway, Age of Innocence (illustrator)
Edward Burne-Jones, "Pan and Psyche" (painting)
John Keats, "On Death"

Pre-Raphaelites
Pre-Raphaelites. Aesthetes
Walter Pater
Kate Greenaway illustrations;
Oscar Wilde, Intentions and The Picture of Dorian Gray
Lafcadio Hearn; William Ellery Channing, "A Poet's Hope"
Edgar Allan Poe, Tales
Oscar Wilde, Intentions and The Picture of Dorian Gray
Robert Browning, Paracelsus
English culture
Pre-Raphaelites
Robert Browning, dramatic monologues
Percy Bysshe Shelley, "The Sensitive Plant"; Robert Browning, dramatic monologues
John Keats, "La belle dame sans merci";

"Terzinen über Vergänglichkeit", poem (1894)

Alexander, dramatic fragment (1895)

"Das Marchen des 672. Nacht") stories, 1895
"Der Goldene Apfel"

"Manche freilich", poem (1895, 1896)
"Ein Traum von großer Magie", poem (1895)
"Englischer Stil", essay (1896)
"Die Beiden", poem (1896)
"Der Kaiser von China spricht", poem (1897)
"Der Jüngling und die Spinne", poem (1897)

Der Kaiser und die Hexe, lyrical drama (1897)
Das Kleine Welttheater, lyrical drama (1897)

"Reitergeschichte", story (1898)

"Drei kleine Lieder", poems (1899)

Das Bergwerk zu Falun, lyrical drama (1899)

"Der Schiffskoch, ein Gefangener, singt:", poem (1900)

Choreographic works (1900-1923)

Jupiter und Semele, dramatic fragment (1901)

Percy Bysshe Shelley, "The Witch of Atlas"
Robert Browning, "Protus", "My Last Duchess"
Robert Browning, Pippa Passes; John Milton, Comus

William Blake
Edgar Allan Poe, Tales

Robert Browning, "A Serenade at the Villa"

Shelley, The Witch of Atlas; Keats, "La belle dame sans merci";

Lamia

Browning, Paracelsus;
Mabel Cook Collins, The Idyll of the White Lotus

Browning, dramatic monologues
Pre-Raphaelites

Collins, Idyll of the White Lotus; H. G. Wells,
The Island of Dr. Moreau
Die Gräfin Pompilia, unfinished drama (1901 ff.)

"Ein Brief", essay (1901, 1902)

"Verwandlung", poem (1902)

"Gespräch Über Gedichte", essay (1903)

Elektra, drama (1903)

"Lafcadio Hearn", essay (1904)

Das gerettete Venedig, drama (1904)

Pentheus, dramatic fragment (1904)

"Sebastian Melmoth", essay (1905)

Elizabethan tragedy;
Browning, The Ring and the Book;
Shelley, The Cenci
Francis Bacon, Novum Organum, Apotheogms, etc.;
Walter Savage Landor,
Imaginary Conversations;
Walter Pater, Imaginary Portraits
Coleridge, "Phantom or Fact"
John Keats, Letters
Oscar Wilde, Salomé
Swinburne, Erechtheus,
Atalanta in Calydon
Lafcadio Hearn
The Elizabethan tragedy;
Thomas Otway, Venice Preserved;
Shelley, The Cenci
Walter Pater, Greek Studies
Oscar Wilde
"Shakespeare's Könige und große Herren", essay (1905)

"Ödipus und die Sphinx", drama (1905)

"Unterhaltung über den 'Tasso' von Goethe", essay (1906)

"Die unvergleichliche Tänzerin", essay (1906)

"Der Dichter und diese Zeit", essay (1906)

Vorspiel für ein Puppentheater, prologue (1906)

"Die Briefe des Zurückgekehrten", essays (1907 ff.)

"Des alten Mannes Sehnsucht nach dem Sommer", poem (1907)

Dominic Heintls letzter Tag, unfinished drama (1907 ff.)

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William Shakespeare (n.b., the Shakespeare influence on Hofmannsthal is so pervasive in his works, that no individual influences will be named in this list)

Lafcadio Hearn

Walter Pater, Imaginary Portraits, The Renaissance; Landor, Imaginary Conversations

Ruth St. Denis

Keats, Letters

Lafcadio Hearn

Joseph Addison, The Spectator; Landor, Imaginary Conversations

Browning's dramatic monologues

Ben Jonson, Volpone

Robert Louis Stevenson, Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde
Silvia im "Stern", unfinished comedy (1909 ff.)

Cristinas Heimreise, comedy (1909)

Ariadne auf Naxos, play and libretto (1910, 1915)

Der Rosenkavalier, libretto (1910)

"Über die Pantomime", essay (1911)

"Einleitung zu Marlowes 'Edward II'", essay (1911)

Jedermann, drama (1911)

Andreas, unfinished novel (1911 ff.)

Richard Sheridan, The School for Scandal

Thomas Middleton, The Spanish Gypsy; William James, The Varieties of Religious Experience

John Milton, "L'Allegro", "Il Penseroso", Comus


The Pre-Raphaelites

Christopher Marlowe

Everyman, Lafcadio Hearn

Lafcadio Hearn; Poe, "Imp of the Perverse"; Collins, Idyll of the White Lotus; Morton Prince, The Disassociation of a Personality; James, Varieties of Religious Experience;
"Boykott fremder Sprachen", essay (1914)
"Shakespeare und wir", essay (1916)
"Ad me ipsum", notebook (1916 ff.)
Die Frau ohne Schatten, story and libretto (1919)
Danae, unfinished comedy (1920)
Der Schwierige, comedy (1920)
Dame Kobold, comedy (1920)
Defoe, unfinished movie scenario (1922)

Vienna Letters, a series of letters written for the American periodical, The Dial (1922-1924)
"Max Reinhardt", "Reinhardt bei der Arbeit", essays (1924, 1923)

Stevenson, Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde; H. G. Wells, The Island of Dr. Moreau
The English language
William Shakespeare
Lafcadio Hearn
Keats, "A Song of Opposites"
William Beckford, Vathek
Samuel Richardson, Clarissa Harloue
Granville Barker, Waste
Edward Fitzgerald, Six Dramas of Calderón
Daniel Defoe

Essays written for Hearst's International and The Freeman
"Eugene O'Neill", essay (1923)

Der Turm, drama (1925, 1927)
Arabella, libretto (1927 ff.)

Timon der Redner, unfinished drama (1927)

Essex und sein Richter, unfinished drama (1928)

Chinesisches Trauerspiel, unfinished drama (1928)

"Columbia University, Deutsches Haus", letter (1929)

Eugene O'Neill, written for The Freeman
Lafcadio Hearn
George Bernard Shaw, St. Joan
The Pre-Raphaelites

Earl of Essex, letters
Joseph Conrad, Victory

Letter written for the opening of the Deutsches Haus
Appendix (see p. 109)

Note: This scene occurs in the beginning of Act II.
Pompilia is in her bedchamber with Emilia. Her parents have fled, but she has appealed to them for help and is awaiting their answer, not realizing that they have denied her. Her speeches reveal her trust in the innate goodness and helpfulness of her fellow men, despite Emilia's attempts to implicate her in an affair with Caponsacchi. The culmination of the scene is the arrival of Guido's brother, Sebastiano, with the news that no help is forthcoming from her parents, who have denied her and told the true story of her parentage. This scene is fragmentary and begins in the middle of a speech of Pompilia's about an experience of hers.

Pompilia:... auf einen Blinden zu und bracht ihm Obst
in ihrem kleinen Händchen eine Feige
und andere Krüppel waren auch da da ging
auf einmal eine Tür barmherzig auf
in einen schönen stillen Klosterhof
da standen zwischen Blumenbeeten Schlüsseln
mit Suppe und die Armen gingen froh
hinein. Und wie ich zusah und mich freute,
da sah ein alter Mann aus einem Fenster
ein schönes Buch in seiner Hand und nickte
mir freundlich zu und andere Leute wieder
im Weitergehen auch Frauen sahen alle
mich gütig an. Da fühlte ich wie gut
und hilfreich Menschen zueinander sind
wär' Überschwemmung oder Feuernot
so käme einer schnell dem anderen
zu Hilfe, trüg ihn auf dem Arm, deckt' ihn
mit seiner Decke zu und säs bei ihm.
und gar wenn einem Kinde was zustieße
würde ein Pferd scheu, gleich kämen da Männer
und trügen auch das fremde Kind hinweg
es zu bewachen, liebreich wäre
und die barmherzigen Häuser und die Lichter
die sie bei Nacht anzünden das die Gassen
dem sicher sind, der abends spät nach Haus kommt
die Lichter, was das Schönes Liebes ist
so viel Anstalten so viel gute Dinge
die Reichen, deren Tür stets offen steht
es kann ja eines gar nicht unbemerkt
zu Tod gequält verkommen, alles wird
ja offenkundig und dann ist sogleich
so viele Hilfe da von guten Menschen.
(Emilia macht sich zu schaffen.)
Der ehrwürdige Vater hat mich auch
gelehrt Dich ruhig zu ertragen, Dich
und alle dein Reden alles das Du vorbringst
von jenem Caponsacchi den ich einmal
in meinem Leben im Theater sah
von dem vorgibt das er an mich schreibt
dass er mich liebt wie Du es meinst erniedernd
das Wort, verzeih' ihm Gott wenn er das tut
in einer häslichen verbotnen Weise.
zu erwähnen mir rätselhaft
denn auch er hat mich kaum gesehen und was
sollt ihn antreiben sich gerade mich
mit so vergeblichen und bösem Starrsinn
hier zu verfolgen, wie Du sagst er tut.
Ich kenn' die Menschen nicht genug. Kann sein
das Du dies alles lügst, und dass ein Mann
mit solchen Lügen mich umspinnen will
zu irgend einem Zweck—doch sprach der fromme Mann
auch diesen sollte ich doch mehr nach sinnen
nicht tun wie der kleine Vogel tut
der in die Schlange böses Auge starrend
sich selber die Besinnung raubt.
Ich sollte
des Kindes denken das aus mir sein Leben
empfangen wird.

Emilia:
So hab ich der Frau Gräfin
frommer Gemütsverfassung heute morgen
ohne erst anzufragen gleich genüge
getan, dass ich den Brief im Herd verbrannte
den der Herr Caponsacchi durch ein Fischweib
in aller Heimlichkeit

Pompilia:
Wenn dem so war
dann hast Du recht getan, dass Du den Brief
verbranntest, und so lass' ihn nur verbrannt
Auch konntest Du ihn einfach der Person
die ihn herbrachte, abzunehmen weigern.
wie ich's Dir sagte, diesen mit(?) den früheren
Emilia: wenn sie ihn mir nicht nahm sie warf ihn hin
und war schon wieder fort
Pompilia: So ist er denn verbrannt.
Emilia: Das Weib rief noch: es ist der letzte
leist sie den nicht, so komm' ich nimmermehr
Pompilia: Gott Lob und Dank
Emilia: Auch war's ein Abschiedsbrief
Emilia: So voll(er) Trauer
und Zärtlichkeit
Pompilia: ich hab' gelobt Dein Reden
so anzuohren wie den Wind im Ofen
Emilia: Er klagt Ihr habt ein Herz von Stein
Er nennt Euch
so trügerisch wie Irrlicht, recht geschaffen
vertrauendes Gemüt (in) einem Sumpf
to locken. Euch allein gibt er die Schuld
wenn sich sein Sinn verbittert und dem Guten
höhnisch verschließt, an Böses nur zu glauben.
Pompilia: Die lieben Schwalben wie sie sorgen, sorgen
(Vage Augen am Fenster)
Für ihre Brut, und leicht und selig sind
wie ich ganz elend war erkannt ichs nicht
Emilia: Er will Euer Bild aus seinem Herzen reißen
die Stadt verlassen die Ihr ihm verleidet
und fort nach Rom, Euch völlig zu vergessen
die so mit ihm gespielt
Pompilia: Rom? war ich doch
du sagtest eben Rom! Die Schwalben fliegen
in wenig Stunden, Hügel, Gärten, Wälder
dann liegt es da, mein Rom, mein kindisches Glück
die Gasse, unser Küchenfenster, drüber
der Oleanderstock, im Zimmer, Frieden
ein solches Nest voll Frieden mitten drin
im guten majestätischen sanften Rom.
Emilia: heut schreibt er als von seinem letzten Tag
den er in einer Stadt mit Euch verbringt
weil er sich eine Wendung seines Schicksals
mit eigensinniger Schwärmerei erhoffe
wie der ertrinken soll, sich an den Strohalm noch
klammert
und da er sich noch verspricht
Euch bei dem Fest zu treffen das zur Nacht
der Governor dem ganzen Adel gibt
so will er vorher in der Dämmerung
wie er so oft getan vor dem Portal
der Kirche drüben seine Blicke heften
an Euer Fenster, ob Ihr nicht vielleicht
Euch noch erbarmt, an dieses Fenster tretet
und mit der Hand ihm winkt da er doch scheidet
Pompilia: so will ich von der Zeit der Dämmerung an
in diesem Zimmer gar nicht sein damit
auch nicht einmal ein Licht den Schein erwecke
als däch' ich einer Menschen, da Gott weiss
was diesen treibt, mir nachzustellen, mir
mein Nachtmal soll man in mein Zimmer bringen
das in den inneren Hof ein Fenster hat
und gut und nahrhaft soll es sein ich schlafe
die letzte Zeit nicht viel, ich muss die Kraft
ersetzen, sonst entzieh' ich sie ja ihm.
Ich möchte lieber meine kleine Finger
hergeben als jetzt Ungesundes essen,
auch möcht' ich immerfort meine Gedanken
abziehen mit Gewalt von Traurigem.
darum bin ich so glücklich dass mein Mann
noch immer auf dem Gut ist, kann ich doch
beinahe mir einbilden er hätte mich
vergessen, oder gar dies wäre alles
nicht wahr, und ich daheim noch bei den Eltern

Emilia: Sieht
Pompilia: was ist da drunten?
Emilia: der Herr herein. Nun sitzt er ab. das Pferd
führt Grumio herein.

Pompilia: Mein Mann?
Emilia: der Herr
ist auf der Stiege
Pompilia: (zitternd) horch Du ob er kommt.
Emilia: er ist in seinem Zimmer
Pompilia: bleibt er dort?
Emilia: er spricht mit einem. Das ist der Geschäftsmann
aus Rom, mit dem erledigt er Geschäfte
ich hör' ihn zornig sprechen.

Pompilia: wenn nicht Briefe
von meinen Eltern sind, die ihn erzürnen.
sie hassen ihn ja nicht sie wählen nur
die Worte ungeschickt, wie ich auch tue
wenn ich Briefe schreiben muss. verstünde er
uns nur so wie wir's meinen und wir ihn
denn auch er meint ja sicher nicht das Böse
Gott würde einem solchen ja kein Kind
verleihen, würde mir's nicht auferlegen
das Kind des Bösen, davor schaudert mir
das ist nicht so, das würde Gott verhüten.
und mich viel lieber plötzlich sterben lassen
und mir ist's doch als wüsste ich ich werde
nicht sterben eh' ich es hab' leben sehen
Ich höre eine Tür gehen, ich hör Schritte
Emilia, bleib' bei mir.-(Pause) das ist nicht er
das ist der Bursch' mein Schwager. doch bleib' hier.
hieß' ich sie gehen, sie bliebe sicherlich

Guido: [In the other room] Ein Wort mit Euch Marchese Glorio


Guido schickt mich

Pompilia: was will er? ist er zornig

auf meine Eltern?

Sebastiano: Du hast keine Eltern
denn der Wachszieher und sein Weib, die beiden verleugnen Dich, sie wollen nicht mit Dir zu schaffen haben, sie sind Dir nichts schuldig sie haben Dich im Rinnsal aufgelesen nein, richtig so: sie haben Dich gekauft von Deiner rechten Mutter, das war eine nun, eine, Du begreifst, der haben sie Dich billig abgekauft die beiden Alten nun aber reut sie's daß sie Dir die Mitgift versprochen haben, und da haben sie sich lieber selber des Betruges schuldig bekannt und sind Dich los

Pompilia: Du lügst

Sebastiano: Du wirst schon hören, öfter wirst Du von Deinem Mann noch hören, was für eine wir haben's schriftlich, deine Mutter war

Pompilia: was für schandliche wirre Lügen. hübiglich wie böse Träume

Sebastiano: Du wir wissen auch

wie sie geheissen hat, Deine Frau Mutter. Mariuccia war ihr Name und ihr Standort am dort hielt (?) sie Tag und Nacht welke Zitronen und sich selber feil

Pompilia (hält sich die Ohren zu)

Sebastiano: und für Dein Geld das sie für Dich bekam trieb sie sich in den Schenken um solange bis man sie eines Tags halbtot geprügelt von einem ihrer Liebsten in der Gasse bewußtlos fand und an ein Hospital trug wo sie eine Wunde an der Schlaffe elend, allein nicht ungebeichtet starb. es liegt auch eine Leumundnote bei aus der erhält, man kann ganz unmöglich vermuten wer Dein Vater etwa möge gewesen sein, es kamen allzu viele von allen Ständen in Betracht.

Pompilia: sprich nicht unmenschlich, sprich doch wie ein Mensch.
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