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The Aesthetics of Richard Beer-Hofmann

by

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER I. A Biography of Richard Beer-Hofmann ............... 1

CHAPTER II. The Prose Works .................................... 59

A. Camellias ....................................................... 60
B. Das Kind ....................................................... 63
C. Der Tod Georgs ............................................... 69
D. Gedenkrede auf Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart ..................... 124
E. Paula, ein Fragment ........................................... 130

CHAPTER III. The Dramatic Works ................................ 144

A. Der Graf von Charolais ......................................... 146
B. Das goldene Pferd ............................................. 181
C. Die Historie von König David ................................ 192
   1. Jakob's Traum ............................................... 194
   2. Der junge David ........................................... 220
   3. Vorspiel auf dem Theater zu "König David" .............. 248

CHAPTER IV. Conclusion .......................................... 256

BIBLIOGRAPHY ..................................................... 268
CHAPTER I. A BIOGRAPHY OF RICHARD BEER-HOFMANN

The works of Richard Beer-Hofmann have received relatively scant attention from literary scholars; those studies which have appeared examine his work from the standpoint of his Lebensethos, or on the basis of Freudian psychology, or they devote themselves primarily to one particular problem (e.g. the mythological symbolism in Beer-Hofmann's work).\(^1\) The purpose of this thesis is to examine not only the "what" but also the "how" of Beer-Hofmann's literary production: his experience of life and his view of the world, as reflected in the motifs that recur throughout his work, but also the language, style, and techniques through which he attempted to convey this view.

Chapter I will present a more comprehensive biography of Beer-Hofmann than has appeared to date. In addition to giving the customary biographical data, I shall examine the poet's friendship with other literary figures of his time (particularly Schnitzler and Hofmannsthal) and try to establish the extent to which these associations influenced him as a writer.

Richard Beer-Hofmann, son of the attorney Hermann Beer and Ross Beer, née Steckerl, was born in Vienna on July 11, 1866.\(^2\) His mother died within

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2 Unless otherwise indicated, dates and other biographical data are taken from Richard Beer-Hofmann, Gesammelte Werke (Frankfurt a.M.: S.
a week of his birth, and Beer-Hofmann was reared by his mother's sister, Berta, and her husband, Alois Hofmann, a cousin of Hermann Beer. The couple legally adopted Beer-Hofmann in 1864, hence the hyphenated surname. Alois Hofmann owned a textile factory in Brünn, and Beer-Hofmann spent the first fourteen years of his life in this city. His vivid recollections of this period form the first part of Paula, ein Fragment.³ (In 1940 Beer-Hofmann resolved to spend his remaining years writing this biography of his wife; inevitably, but apparently much against his will, it became his autobiography as well: "Richard Beer-Hofmann hat immer betont, er wolle keine Selbstbiographie schreiben. Das Buch . . . sollte ausschliesslich der Erinnerung an seine Frau gewidmet sein . . . Trotz der Absicht, sich selbst ganz ausschalten, war es aber schliesslich doch notig, vom Weg zu sprechen, der Richard Beer-Hofmann zu Paula geführt hat. Und so entstand zuletzt das erste Kapitel des Buches . . . Wie stark die Hemmung war, Über sich selbst zu schreiben, beweist die Tatsache, dass er die zweite Hälfte . . .

Fischer Verlag, 1963), p. 898, and from Daten, a notebook Beer-Hofmann began keeping in 1911, in which he recorded primarily his travels, including from time to time, however, other events important to him and his family (births, deaths, the acquisition of pets, illnesses of family members, meetings with friends, etc.). The notebook contains a page for each year, beginning with 1866, the year of Beer-Hofmann's birth. (The material from 1866 to 1911 was recorded from memory, of course, with the help of old letters and family documents.) The original notebook is now in the Houghton Library of Harvard University with the rest of Beer-Hofmann's Nachlass. I am indebted to his daughter, Mrs. Miriam Beerhofmann-Lens, for placing a copy of Daten at my disposal during the research for this thesis.

³Richard Beer-Hofmann, Gesammelte Werke, pp. 677-871. Unless otherwise indicated, all quotations from Beer-Hofmann's writings are taken from this edition, hereafter abbreviated to GW.
Alois Hofmann sold his factory in 1880, and that summer the family moved to Vienna. Having passed his Abiturium at the Akademisches Gymnasium, Beer-Hofmann matriculated as a law student at the University of Vienna in 1883.

Beginning in the autumn of 1885 he interrupted his studies to perform a year’s active military service (the so-called Freiwilligen Jahr), assigned to Infantry Regiment No. 38, commanded by Freiherr von Mollinary. Beer-Hofmann apparently began his military service in a non-commissioned capacity; the 1886 entry of Daten states: "Nach der Offiziersprüfung, Reserveoffizier im Regiment No. 99, Georg I., König der Hellenen." The Daten entry for this year also includes the cryptic note: "Während des Jahres Säbel-Duell mit dem Freiwilligen Petri. Petri kampfunfähig."

In 1890, at the age of twenty-four, Beer-Hofmann received his law degree from the University of Vienna. The year 1890 was a milestone in still another respect: it marked the beginning of Beer-Hofmann’s lifelong friendship with Arthur Schnitzler. Kurt Bergel is no doubt right when he says, "Die Freundschaft mit Richard Beer-Hofmann ist zweifellos die herzlichste und ungetrübtesten in Schmitzers Leben." The friends saw each other often,

4 "Nachwort des Herausgebers," GW, 872f.

especially in the early years; they undertook many hiking and cycling trips together; after 1910 they lived in close proximity in the Cottage-Viertel of Vienna. "Der einsame Weg," one of Beer-Hofmann's few lyric poems, is dedicated to Schnitzler. In his last will and testament Schnitzler named Beer-Hofmann an advisor to his son, Heinrich, in matters pertaining to his literary estate. Bergel describes the two friends' relationship as "eine für beide Männer charakteristische Mischung von Intimität und vornehmer Zurückhaltung," a description substantiated by Olga Schnitzler's book of reminiscences.

At the time the two met, Schnitzler was twenty-nine years old, Beer-Hofmann, twenty-four. From the accounts of those who knew him, the Beer-Hofmann of this period emerges as a strong, handsome, proud, even rather defiant Herrensohn, to whom the good things in life had always come easily; something of a dandy, famed in Viennese circles for the splendor of

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6GW, p. 656. This poem, in a facsimile of Beer-Hofmann's handwriting, also appeared in Corona II (1932), 476f.

7Bergel, Brandes-Schnitzler Briefwechsel, p. 48.

8Olga Schnitzler, Spiegelbild der Freundschaft (Salzburg: Residenz Verlag, 1962).

his dress; a young man of impeccable taste and refinement, whose judgment in artistic and literary matters was not only highly respected, but even feared by some—and this before he himself had ever written, let alone published a line. (Alfred Gold later referred to Beer-Hofmann in this connection as "das beratende Gewissen, der verkörperte Maßstab" of young Viennese writers;\textsuperscript{10} the young Hofmannsthäl, corresponding with Stefan George's secretary about the publication of "Der Tod des Tizian" in the Blätter für die Kunst, names Beer-Hofmann as one of four people with whom he wishes to discuss the arrangements,\textsuperscript{11} and in later years Hofmannsthäl called Beer-Hofmann "der strengste und unbestechlichste Kritiker, den ich habe."\textsuperscript{12}) According to those who knew him, he also possessed great personal charm, and made friends easily wherever he went. Nor was the devotion of his many friends of a passing nature; Erich Kahler points out that "he was surrounded by friends wherever he went, and even in exile they prepared his way without any effort on his own part."\textsuperscript{13}

\textsuperscript{10} Alfred Gold, "Ästhetik des Sterbens," Die Zeit (Vienna), February 24, 1900, No. 282, p. 121f.


\textsuperscript{13} "Richard Beer-Hofmann," Commentary I, p. 145.
In the summer of 1890 Beer-Hofmann vacationed in Förtischach (near Klagenfurt on the Austro-Yugoslavian border); there he met the Viennese musician, Leo Van Jung, who was to become a lifelong friend, and Paul Goldmann. The Daten entry for this period reports another duel---"mit Baron Seckendorf (kampfunfähig) in der Militär-Reitschule in Klagenfurt." The month of August was spent as a reserve lieutenant on weapons drill and maneuvers in Brünn.

After returning to Vienna in the fall of 1890 Beer-Hofmann, largely through his friendship with Schnitzler, gradually became well known in literary circles, but he had not yet begun to write. In a letter written in the spring of 1891 Schnitzler urged him to do so, outlining an idea he had had for a jointly-edited anthology to which he hoped Beer-Hofmann would contribute: "Nächstens werden Sie etwas schreiben müssen; das steht fest. Ich habe die Idee angeregt, zusammen ein Buch zu edieren. Titel: aus der Kaffeehausecke. Sammlung von Skizzen, Novelletten, Impressionen, Aphorismen,--jeder hat möglichst individuell zu sein--... Ich spreche noch näher mit Ihnen darüber; Sie haben meiner Idee nach sehr viel damit zu schaffen. Interessant ist, wie Einige, als Ihr Name genannt wurde, mit einer gewissen Wehmut sagten: 'Ja,--wenn man von dem was kriegen könnte--!' In Ihnen muss ja schliesslich die Poesie herangeglaubt werden. Ich mache Sie auf dieses Wort ganz besonders aufmerksam." ¹¹

¹¹Quoted in O. Schnitzler, Spiegelbild, p. 134.
Beer-Hofmann did in fact begin writing in 1891, and by December had finished a story, "Camelias," which Schnitzler described as "eine für den Anfang überraschend gute, schlechtweg geistvolle, stilistisch glänzende Skizze..."15 Hugo von Hofmannsthal, whom Beer-Hofmann had also met by this time, regarded "Camelias" as a study in "Maupassant-Psychologie."16

In 1891 Beer-Hofmann also met the volatile Hermann Bahr. The latter's influence on Beer-Hofmann and other young Viennese writers of the fin de siècle has been greatly exaggerated; Bahr himself perpetuated existing misconceptions when after thirty years he recalled his first encounter with these young men:


150. Schnitzler, Spiegelbild, p. 135.


17 Hermann Bahr, Liebe der Lebenden, p. 15.
Contrary to what Bahr implies here, a "school" did not exist. Olga Schmitzler reports a conversation with the elderly Beer-Hofmann in which this subject was touched upon: "Wer weiss denn noch etwas von uns?" sagt Beer-Hofmann in einem unserer rückschauenden Gespräche. 'Man fragt mich hier im the United States immer wieder um das Wesen der Wiener Schule' --er sieht belustigt drein. 'Ich weiss nichts von einer Wiener Schule, ich weiss nur von einigen Menschen, die ich gern hatte, die mich interessiert haben, und so hat mich auch das interessiert, was sie produziert haben. Von einer 'Schule' war nicht die Rede.'

An influential and widely-known figure of the day, Bahr certainly must be credited with publicizing the works of the young Viennese writers and thereby helping to establish their literary reputations. He saw them frequently (Vienna's Café Griensteidl was a favorite meeting-place of the group, which in addition to Beer-Hofmann, Schmitzler and Hofmannsthal, included Jakob Wassermann, Felix Salten, Peter Altenberg [Richard Engländer] and on the periphery, Paul Goldmann and Alfred Kerr) and continued his association with them in later years. As far as the question of his literary influence upon them is concerned, however, Rilke's appraisal, ruthless as it may be, corresponds more closely to the facts:

Hermann Bahr ... ist nur eine Art Widerhall der jungen Wiener. Wie ein Schatten wiederholt er ihr Wesen in breiteren, dunklen Dimensionen und vergrößert und vergröbert die feinen, leisen Bewegungen.

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18 O. Schmitzler, Spiegelbild, p. 131f.
Beer-Hofmann, as was noted above, had also met the young Hofmannsthal by this time, and their acquaintance soon developed into close friendship. In a letter to his brother-in-law, the painter Hans Schlesinger, Hofmannsthal says of Beer-Hofmann: "Es ist das der Mensch, an dessen Gesellschaft ich immer die stärkste und sicherste Freude finde . . ." (letter of July 22, 1900, Briefe 1890-1901, p. 312.) Three years earlier Hofmannsthal had acknowledged Beer-Hofmann's far-reaching influence on him in a letter dated September 5, 1897: "Ich werde nic imstand sein und werde mir's auch nie verlangen, aus dem "Gewebe" meines Wesens die Fäden herauszuziehen, die Ihr Geschenk sind: es fiele dann alles auseinander. Ich weiss genau, dass es keinen Menschen gibt, dem ich so viel schuldig bin wie Ihnen, ganz unscheinbar ist das gekommen, in den Hunderten von Gesprächen, die wir in

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Hofmannsthal also clearly felt that the friendship meant more to him than to Beer-Hofmann, for in the same letter he says with great candor: "Mein lieber Richard, Sie sind um so viel reifer und fertiger wie ich und haben beides um so viel mehr, Güte und Einsicht in das Richtige, dass ich wohl weiss, dass meine Freundschaft für Sie nicht den Wert haben kann wie Ihre für mich, sondern nur einen viel, viel geringeren." Although Hofmannsthal doubtless underestimates his own value to Beer-Hofmann here, it is true that Beer-Hofmann was considerably more self-sufficient and less in need of constant communication with his friends. Again and again, in letters to Arthur Schnitzler written during the period 1892 to 1904, Hofmannsthal complains of Beer-Hofmann's failure to keep in touch with him, especially when one or the other of them is away from Vienna. Even in later years Hofmannsthal seemed more distressed than either Beer-Hofmann or Schnitzler by the fact that work, circumstances, and family affairs prevented them from seeing each other as often as in the early years of their friendship. In a letter to Schnitzler written July 13, 1910, he laments the fact that they have known each other for twenty years and live in the same city, yet scarcely ever see each other, adding, "Mir geht es furchtbar

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ab,--Euch, Ihnen und Richard, offenbar viel weniger, das ist ja Temperamentsache." (Hofmannsthal-Schmitzler Briefwechsel, p. 250.)

In the early years, however, the three were together very frequently, often meeting in Beer-Hofmann's private apartment in the family home on the Wollzeile to discuss literary topics and to read aloud from their works-in-progress.

Having finished "Camelias," Beer-Hofmann set to work on a four-act pantomime, "Pierrot Magus." Years later, in a letter to Hermann Bahr dated July 23, 1918, Hofmannsthal calls Beer-Hofmann "ein leidenschaftlicher Amateur des Schauspielerischen," 21 and it is clear that this lively interest already existed in his early years. In the prologue to Der Tor und der Tod, for example, in which Hofmannsthal depicts his friendship with Beer-Hofmann, Schmitzler, and Felix Salten, the central fact related about Beer-Hofmann ("Galeotto") is his theatrical interest: "Galeotto aber hatte/Ein Puppentheater; dieses /Liess er vor den Freunden spielen, /Kunstreich an den Drähten ziehend, /Und die Puppen spielten grosse /Höchst phantast'sche Pantomimen, /Wo Pierrot und Colombine, /Arlechin und Smeraldina /Und noch viele andre Leute, /Ja der Tod persönlich auftrat /Und die Paradieseschlange . . ." 22 On February 2, 1892 Schmitzler


22Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Nachlese der Gedichte (Berlin: S. Fischer Verlag, 1934), p. 86.
recorded in his diary that on that evening Beer-Hofmann had related the contents of "Pierrot Magus" to him and other friends. Hofmannsthal also mentions the pantomime in the letter of July 27, 1892 to Felix Salten (see footnote 16, p. 7).

By July, 1893 Beer-Hofmann had completed a second, considerably longer story, "Das Kind." Together with "Camelias," it was published in 1893 by Freund & Jaceckel (Berlin) under the title, Novellen. The book was well received, and a second printing of it appeared in 1894. Curiously, the cover of the 1894 edition bears the words "Die Verlassene - Erzählung von Richard Beer-Hofmann," although the volume contains only the two stories, "Camelias" and "Das Kind." It is possible that "Die Verlassene" appeared on the cover because it was intended to convey the Hauptmotiv of both stories, although, if that was the intention, one would expect the phrase to be followed by the word "Erzählungen," not "Erzählung." According to the poet's daughter, on the other hand, Beer-Hofmann never wrote a story entitled "Die Verlassene." In later years Beer-Hofmann withdrew "Camelias" and "Das Kind" from publication, and in accordance with his wishes the two stories were not included in the edition of the Gesammelte

\[23\] O. Schmitzler, Spiegelbild, p. 135.

\[24\] Never published, "Pierrot Magus" is part of Beer-Hofmann's Nachlass, now in the Houghton Library, Harvard University.

\[25\] Mrs. Beerhofmann-Lens wrote to me on March 4, 1967: "Was die Novellen betrifft, so hat es sicherlich keine dritte gegeben, die 'Die Verlassene' gehissen hat."
Werke published by S. Fischer in 1963.

From August 25 to September 21, 1893 Beer-Hofmann again served on active military duty as a reserve lieutenant assigned to Infantry Regiment No. 99 in Znaim (Bohemia).

He also began work on his only novel, Der Tod Georges. At this time the title he intended to give the work was Der Götterliebling, and this became Schnitzler’s and Hofmannsthal’s nickname for Beer-Hofmann himself.

In May, 1895 Beer-Hofmann met the witty and spirited Lou Andreas-Salomé; she recalls her visit to Vienna and the young writers she met there in Lebensrückblick. Beer-Hofmann spent part of that summer with her, Arthur Schnitzler, Hugo von Hofmannsthal, and Paul Goldmann in Munich.

After 1890, when Beer-Hofmann had received his law degree, there was mounting tension between him and his family because of his continued unwillingness to practice the "respectable" profession for which he had been schooled. (It was expected that he would join Hermann Beer’s Viennese law firm.) A passage from Paula indicates that matters came to a head, in Beer-Hofmann’s mind at least, in December, 1895: "Am Morgen, nach schlafloser Nacht, Entschluss, mir den 31. Dezember als letzten Termin zu setzen, 26

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bis zu dem ich Papa gesagt haben muss, dass ich es nicht ertrage, das Leben so weiter zu führen, wie bis jetzt... " (GW, 748.) The lines immediately following show very clearly that Beer-Hofmann entertained considerable doubt about his ability as a writer, and that he was not at all certain he would actually pursue a literary career: "Ich muss für ein bis zwei Jahre fort von zu Haus, um die Welt reisen, in ganz fremde Länder, unter ganz fremde Menschen--und wenn ich dann zurückkomme, erfüllt von dem, was ich gesehen, und wenn dann doch in mir ein starker nicht niederzuhaltender Trieb ist, es zu tun, dann erst wieder versuchen zu schreiben." (GW, 748.)

One must keep in mind, of course, that these lines were written in retrospect--in fact almost fifty years after the period they refer to--but some of Schmitzler's and Hofmannsthal's letters dating from this period corroborate that Beer-Hofmann was very nervous and depressed, and that his work was not progressing well. Many of the letters indicate that Schmitzler and Hofmannsthal believed Beer-Hofmann's difficulties stemmed from a lack of self-discipline, an inability to apply himself steadily and regularly to his writing. On July 20, 1894, for example, Hofmannsthal wrote to Beer-Hofmann from Bad Fusch: "Lieb'r Richard, zwingen Sie sich, bitte, zur Arbeit, zur wirklichen Arbeit, Denken und Begreifen des Daseins ist etwas anderes, Werke aber haben einen tiefen Sinn und sind es wert, dass

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man sie in Schmerzen sich bringt." (Briefe 1890-1901, p. 109) In a letter to the Danish critic, Georg Brandes (January 12, 1899), who also knew Beer-Hofmann, Schmitzler says bluntly of their mutual friend: "faul ist er allerdings enorm." (Brandes-Schmitzler Briefwechsel, p. 72.) And in a later letter to Brandes (January 19, 1911) Schmitzler says: "Beer-Hofmann ... arbeitet nicht so viel, wie er seinem Talent nach verpflichtet oder verurtheilt wäre." (Brandes-Schmitzler Briefwechsel, p. 99f.)

The problem was more than one of laziness or a lack of orderly habits of work; Beer-Hofmann felt called to be a writer (indeed he later spoke of himself as "a born poet" 28), but periodically he also was tormented by grave self-doubt and inner anguish. Olga Schmitzler observes that "zwischen zwei äussersten Polen scheint sich sein Leben zu bewegen: dem Rausch des Erkorenséins und dann wieder dem Elend tiefer Verlassenheit." 29

There was still another aspect of the problem: Beer-Hofmann's lofty concept of the word--along with his talent, of course--caused him to produce works of considerable beauty, but it was at the same time a source of deep inner suffering and dissatisfaction with his own efforts. His obsession with polishing and refining each work to absolute perfection, a characteristic which Schmitzler called his "Perfektomanie," has been widely


29. Schmitzler, Spiegelbild, p. 149.
noted. Most critics mention it with varying degrees of praise; Karl Kraus speaks of it with biting sarcasm in "Die demolierte Literatur," observing that Beer-Hofmann "seit Jahren an der dritten Zeile einer Novelle arbeitet, weil er jedes Wort in mehreren Toiletten überlegt." 30

All his life, moreover, Beer-Hofmann had a very ambivalent attitude toward the poet, regarding him on the one hand as among the elect and uniquely blessed, and on the other as a deceiver, almost in the criminal sense. In the mid-1890's he was already torn by these mixed feelings: "Als ich meine erste Arbeit schrieb, blieb ich plötzlich in der Mitte stecken. Ähnlich wie der Lord Chandos. Ich musste mich immer fragen: 'Wer glaubt mir denn noch etwas, wenn ich mich hier mit Worten an einge- bildeten Situationen errege?' . . . Dann fiel mir die andere Seite ein: 'Aber wie wunderbar das doch auch ist!' Dieses sind die beiden Extreme. Da immer zwischendurchzukommen, war für mich stets wie ein Schwerttanz." 31 In 1944 Beer-Hofmann expressed the same attitude in even stronger terms in a conversation with Werner Vordtriebe:

B.-H.: Der Dichter geht immer hart am Frevel vorbei . . . Und je grösser ein Dichter ist, um so er-griffener ist er von seiner eigenen Erfindung


and therefore also about the treacherous ... The poet is for the most part an actor.

V.: But even so, there is a great difference between the two ... When a poet finds something, then it is no longer just invented, not even destined to exist, but is really real.

B.-H.: Yes, even though he invents it. But in the moment, as he forms it, he radiates deceit. It is the form.

Later in the conversation Beer-Hofmann expressed his conviction that the poet remains "innocent" only because of two things: "... once and for all he must not be different ... and through this, he helps others, he brings them something. ... But only in these two cases is he innocent. In all other cases, his creation is not the work of God, but of the devil." 32

It has also been suggested that "Beer-Hofmann experienced himself the tragic consequences of decadence... The OUTER FREEDOM \textit{[von Existenzsorgen]} is crossed through an unusual extent by being temporarily total slavery, from a deep in the essence of this poet ... trenching invasiveness." 33

Not only in Beer-Hofmann's early adulthood, but throughout his life, all these factors combined to make it characteristic of his literary production that years elapsed between the appearance of one work and that of another. Fortunately he was a man of considerable means and until the last

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32 Vorstriede, "Gespräche," p. 139f.

33 Oberholzer, Richard Beer-Hofmann, p. 25f.
few years of his life did not have to rely on his writing for a livelihood.

The intention to stop writing, however, to leave Vienna and travel widely for a year or more, was never carried out, for on the same day that Beer-Hofmann reached that decision, December 5, 1895, he also encountered Paula Lissy for the first time, and this event completely altered his plans, indeed the future course of his life.

It is interesting to note that Beer-Hofmann gives not only the date, but the day and even the hour of his first glimpse of Paula. ("Paula, ein Fragment," GW, pp. 758, 769.) Such exactness may be regarded as a deliberate means of impressing upon the reader the event's profound importance to him—especially since in other parts of the work he shows considerable indifference to dates and other biographical details.

Paula Lissy was of Italian and Alsatian Catholic extraction. (She converted to Judaism after her marriage to Beer-Hofmann.) At the time Beer-Hofmann first saw her, she was working as a clerk in a Viennese confectioner's shop. Her mother, herself widowed early, had died a short time before, leaving the girl in the care of her older brothers, one of whom was a music teacher and Chormeister. Beer-Hofmann was twenty-nine years old, Paula a sixteen-year-old girl of rather delicate health. The love of these two for each other was by all accounts quite legendary; of the moment when he first saw Paula, Beer-Hofmann wrote: "--durch mich gleitet die Flut--es treibt aus mir fort--schwarze Leere--aber schon strömt es ein, neues Leben--nichts Leeres wird es in mir mehr geben--unermesslicher Reichtum--nie werde ich arm sein--immer reich ... Vorher

The ensuing months of courtship, described with moving tenderness in Paula, included a trip in the late spring and early summer of 1896 to Fürberg on the Lake of St. Wolfgang. Beer-Hofmann wanted Paula to accompany him on a trip to Scandinavia which he and Arthur Schnitzler had planned; the doctor would consent only if Paula first had several weeks of rest in the clear, mild air of the country.

The Scandinavian trip took place in the late summer of 1896. Beer-Hofmann, Paula, and Schnitzler were joined by Paul Goldmann in Skodborg. From there the friends made excursions to other places, including the Isle of Hvesen; a letter from Schnitzler to Hofmannsthal (August 21, 1896) also tells of a breakfast with the Danish novelist, Peter Nansen, and Georg Brandes in Copenhagen. (Hofmannsthal-Schnitzler Briefwechsel, p. 70ff.) From Denmark Schnitzler travelled to Berlin, while Beer-Hofmann and Paula went to Upsala before returning to Vienna.

The strong objections of Paula's brothers to Beer-Hofmann as a suitable husband for their sister were gradually overcome, and the two were married in 1897. They spent that summer in Bad Ischl near Salzburg; Paula was pregnant, and Beer-Hofmann described his feelings about the forthcoming birth of their first child in a letter to Arthur Schnitzler:

Ich scheine recht nervös zu sein . . . so sehr impressionieren mich jetzt gleichgültige Dinge. Ich glaube manchmal, dass ganz alte, gute Leute, die
bald sterben müssen, diese leichte Nahrung und Zärtlichkeit . . . haben; wie ich dazu komme, weiss ich nicht. Oder ist am Ende doch daran schuld, dass ich weiss, dass jetzt das im Werden ist, was uns--oder mich--überleben und begraben soll. Am Ende fängt mit jedem Kinderhaben doch ein unbewusstes Abdanken und Resignieren an; oder spüren wir, dass wir nun überflüssig sind, nachdem etwas von uns in Anderem weiterlebt . . . 34

The child, Mirjam, was born in September, 1897. Werner Vordtriede relates an anecdote Beer-Hofmann once told him, which he considers very characteristic of the poet's humor: "Jemand nahm daran Anstoss, dass er seiner Tochter den Namen Mirjam geben wollte. 'Wie soll ich sie denn sonst nennen?' 'Warum nicht Gisela, zum Beispiel?' 'Ach, nein,' antwortete Beer-Hofmann, 'das ist mir zu jüdisch.' 35

Two weeks after Mirjam's birth Beer-Hofmann wrote the poem, "Schlaflied für Mirjam." It was first printed in the Munich art journal, Pan, in 1902, and was widely admired. 36 Rilke recalled the poem in a letter written April 25, 1922 to Ilse Blumenthal-Weiss:

Und was das 'Schlaflied für Mirjam' von Beer-Hofmann angeht, so bringt auch dieses . . . mir besondere Erinnerungen heraus; . . . Es war damals (so um 1902) das einzige Gedicht, das Beer-Hofmann je gemacht hatte--; später kam, in der wunderbaren Seltenheit

34 Quoted in O. Schnitzler, Spiegelbild, p. 144.

35 Vordtriede, "Gespräche," p. 147f.

36 One of the founders and editors of this short-lived Jugendstil journal was Hugo von Hofmannsthals's close friend, Eberhard von Bodenheim. An English translation of the "Schlaflied" by Sol Lipkin appeared in the winter, 1941 issue of Post Lore and is also reprinted in Theodor Reik, The Secret Self (New York: Farrar, Straus & Young, 1952).
und Auswahl seiner Produktivität, noch ein anderes, ähnlich volles, zweites Gedicht hinzu---, ... Wenn ich das 'Schlaflied' von der ersten Bekanntschaft an ... überaus bewunderte, so war es mir vergönnt, ihm (ich wusste es auswendig) in späteren Jahren auch unbedingte Bewunderer zu gewinnen. Als ich ein halbes Jahr lang in Schweden wohnte, ging das so weit, dass man mir nach unserem Gute hin, von anderen Gätern her den Wagen schickte, wie man einen Arzt holen lässt, nur damit ich sonst fremden Menschen, die von der ausserordentlichen Schönheit dieses Gedichtes gehört hatten, die Verse vorspräche ... 37

In addition to the "Schlaflied für Miriam," the poems "Du warst mir gegeben," and "Verse des Kaisers Hadrian" were written in 1897. Work on the novel, Der Tod Georges, continued only fitfully; despite the marital happiness he had found with Paula, Beer-Hofmann was still beset by nervousness, periods of moodiness and depression during which he found it impossible to write.

Better progress was made on the novel in 1898. Hofmannsthal was in Switzerland that summer, and wrote his parents on August 23 from Lugano that he had telegraphed Beer-Hofmann about joining him there. Beer-Hofmann had replied that he was working steadily every day, and did not want to interrupt so fruitful a period of work, but that he would join Hofmannsthal the end of the month. (Briefe 1890-1901, p. 262f.) After Beer-Hofmann's

37 Rainer Maria Rilke, Briefe aus Mozot, Ruth Sieber-Rilke and Carl Sieber, eds. (Leipzig: Insel Verlag, 1937), p. 145. Rilke was mistaken in saying that this was the only poem Beer-Hofmann had written by ca. 1902, but his comment about the "Seltenheit und Auswahl" of Beer-Hofmann's productivity in general could not be more accurate.
arrival in Lugano, the two friends spent much of each day writing; Hofmannsthal reported to his parents that both of them were hard at work, Beer-Hofmann on "seiner wunderschönen Erzählung [Der Tod Georgs]." (Briefe 1890-1901, p. 265f.)

The poem "Strom vom Berge" and the "Prolog-Entwurf zu einer 'Ariadne auf Kreta'" were written in 1898, as was the earliest dated note on Die Historie von König David, an indication that Beer-Hofmann was at that time already considering a Biblical work. 38

On May 11, 1898, Beer-Hofmann and Paula had a Jewish wedding ceremony performed, with Arthur Schnitzler and Leo Van Jung serving as witnesses. On December 20 of that year the Beer-Hofmanns' second daughter, Naamah, was born.

Der Tod Georgs was finished in 1899, but clearly only by dint of great Selbstüberwindung: Schnitzler's and Hofmannsthal's letters to each other show great concern for Beer-Hofmann's mental and emotional state during much of this period. 39 This points up a rather paradoxical fact about existing descriptions of Beer-Hofmann's personality and temperament. There is a great deal of material (some of it presented in the foregoing pages)


39 Hofmannsthal-Schnitzler Briefwechsel, pp. 123, 125, 125-26, 126-27.
which shows that Beer-Hofmann quite often suffered deep depression, moodiness, sadness, and at times agonizing self-doubt. Yet many who knew him well name happiness and great serenity and self-assurance as his most striking characteristics. Thus Alfred Kerr wrote: "Ich lernte Beer-Hofmann als einen Menschen kennen, von dem etwas Entzückend-Frohes ausging." Hermann Bahr speaks of him as "herzlich und lieb"; Erich Kahler recalls him as "schön und stark, mit ... selbstgewiss, ja herrisch ausladendem Schritt ... Glück ging von ihm aus, die Wohltat des Glücks und die Geborgenheit in sich selbst, die das Glück verleiht."

Thomas Mann is said to have commented about him: "Er hat das Sonnige und Kluge und Kraftvolle König Salomos; sein ganzes Wesen ist ihm verwandt." As Olga Schmitzler remembers him, however, "so durchaus heiter freilich, wie Kerr ihn sah, war er nicht. Diese ... Haltung, so echt sie war, ließ nichts von den Vorgängen darüber und dahinter ahnen. Für lange Strecken überschattet ihm Daseinssträubigkeit, belastet von dem Gefühl seiner Mission, die er in manchen Momenten als 'Versklavung' empfand, der auszuweichen er immer wieder versuchte, wenn Zweifel ihn ... überschauert.

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\textsuperscript{41} \textit{Meister und Meisterbriefe um Hermann Bahr}, p. 184.

\textsuperscript{42} "Richard Beer-Hofmann," \textit{Die Neue Rundschau} LVI-LVII, 237.

\textsuperscript{43} Quoted in Harry Zohn, \textit{Wiener Juden in der deutschen Literatur} (Tel-Aviv: Verlag 'Olamenu', 1964), p. 34. In a letter to me dated March 3, 1967, Professor Zohn indicates that the remark was made in conversation and does not appear in Thomas Mann's published writings.
One can only conclude that in Beer-Hofmann's early adulthood these two sides of his nature, one characterized by the joyous serenity that came from his strong feeling of Auserwähltein, and the other by the despair born of self-doubt and a feeling of Verlassenheit, were equally strong in asserting themselves. With age and its accompanying maturity and wisdom of experience, he overcame the dark side of his nature, or at least subdued it; this aspect of his temperament is seldom mentioned in descriptions of the older Beer-Hofmann.

After the completion of Der Tod Georgs Beer-Hofmann's spirits visibly improved, and in August he joined Arthur Schnitzler and Jakob Wassermann on a hiking trip in the Dolomites. Wassermann was also one of Beer-Hofmann's oldest friends; according to Frau Julie Wassermann, "Der goldene Spiegel" commemorates the unique friendship between Wassermann, Schnitzler, Hofmannsthahl, and Beer-Hofmann. These four . . . are the four friends in the book who narrate to one another the stories it contains."

In September, 1899 Hofmannsthahl and Beer-Hofmann were together in Vahren, both spending much of the time writing, as they had done the pre-

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44 Spiegelbild, p. 147.

ceding year in Lugano. On September 28 Beer-Hofmann left Vahren for St. Michael im Eppan, and Hofmannsthal went on to Venice. Shortly after his arrival there, in a letter to Schnitzler (October 2, 1899), he reported with satisfaction: "Richards Stück—the five-act tragedy, Der Graf von Charolais—ist in der Anlage wunderschön und er arbeitet gar nicht langsam, etwa 30 bis 40 Verse im Tag." (Hofmannsthal-Schnitzler Briefwechsel, p. 132.)

Der Tod Georgs was published by S. Fischer in 1900. The Beer-Hofmanns spent the spring of that year on the Italian Riviera. Despite the change of scene, Beer-Hofmann clearly was unable to overcome the moodiness and depression to which he so often was subject; on April 2, 1900, Hofmannsthal wrote to him from Paris:

Dass Sie wieder nicht gearbeitet haben und dass der niedrige und so gefährliche Begriff der Verdrießlichkeit, der inneren Unfreiheit aus kleinen Ursachen einen solchen Raum immerfort in Ihrem Leben einnimmt, beschäftigt mich sehr. Nach allem, was ich gesagt habe, und noch viel mehr nach dem, was ich empfinde, ist es sonderbar und beinahe dumm, wenn ich Ihnen einen Rat gebe. Aber ich glaube, ich habe wirklich recht: Sie fürchten zu sehr den Begriff einschmelzender Veränderungen . . . Dass Sie aber mit Wesen wie Ihre Frau und Ihr Kind auf einer Reise in Italien nicht die notdürftige innere Harmonie zur Fortführung einer Arbeit finden, hat etwas, was weh tut, und etwas Widersinniges. Sie müssen dazu kommen, aus der Stimmung, nicht nach erloschener Stimmung zu arbeiten, es liegt eine tiefe Gefahr in dem Verwesen unrealisierter Phantasien. (Briefe 1890—1901, p. 303.)

Late July and early August were spent in Salzburg with Hofmannsthal, and during part of the period, the latter's parents, wife, and brother-in-law, Hans Schlesinger. On August 14, Beer-Hofmann set out with Arthur Schnitzler and Leo Van Jung on a trip to the Tyrol. They were joined by
Paul Goldmann and Alfred Kerr in Innsbruck, continuing from there to Bludenz, Schlappinajoch, Chur, and Pontresina.46

The Beer-Hofmanns' third child and only son, Gabriel, was born in 1901. That fall Beer-Hofmann made plans to move with his family to Rodaun, into a house near Hofmannsthal's. At the last moment some difficulties arose. Hofmannsthal was in Varese at the time; how overjoyed he was at the prospect of having Beer-Hofmann near him, and how distressed at the news that the impending move might not materialize after all, is shown by a letter he wrote Beer-Hofmann on October 10:


(Briefe 1900-1909, p. 59f.)

Exactly what difficulties had arisen is not clear, but in any event they were overcome, and the Beer-Hofmanns moved to Rodaun. As neighbors,

46 Alfred Kerr gives brief recollections of this trip in Die Welt im Drama, pp. 101ff.
Hofmannsthal and Beer-Hofmann of course enjoyed a closer association than ever, with more frequent opportunities for working together and exchanging ideas and suggestions. Many years later Beer-Hofmann recalled an amusing detail in his reminiscences of this period, telling how he and Hofmannsthal "sich oft bis in die späte Nacht hinein unter nicht abbrechendem Gespräch immer wieder gegenseitig nach Hause brachten." 47

Rudolf Kassner, whose friendship with Hofmannsthal began in 1902, has provided an interesting picture of Beer-Hofmann during the years he and his family lived in Randaun:

Ich bin nach Randaun meist zum Tee gekommen und über das Abendessen geblieben, zu dem meist Beer-Hofmann mit seiner Frau erschien. 'Kommen die Bären?' fragte Hofmannsthal jedesmal, bevor er sich vor dem Abendessen für eine Stunde zurückzog. Beer-Hofmann besass, verglichen mit Hofmannsthal, ein geringeres Wissen, konnte keine Geschichte, keine Sprachen, las auch die geliebten französischen Romane, Flaubert, in Übersetzungen, doch was er wusste, wusste er genau, und verstand er durch und durch, auch dort, wo es nicht um das Theater, sondern um Menschen ging, die er kannte. Der Sinn des Lebens lag für ihn in seinem Judentum, in seiner Frau und im Theater . . . in der Bühnenausstattung, im Kostüm einer Rolle. Ein ganzes Jahr lang lief er mit Ideen zu einer Aufführung und Ausstattung des 'MacBeth' herum und suchte jedem, der ihm zu folgen willig war, plausibel zu machen, wohin die Agraffe aus Rubinum am weissen Gewand der Lady MacBeth am besten zu plazieren wäre . . . Beer-Hofmann besass eine viel engere Welt als Hofmannsthal, und so hatte er weniger Schwierigkeiten, sich in ihr mit einem Geschmack zurechtzufinden und einzurichten. 48

47Vordriede, "Gespräche," p. 36f.

According to Daten Beer-Hofmann was ill with appendicitis the early part of 1902, but recovered without having to undergo surgery. Returning to Vienna in July from a trip to Bozen and Seis, he learned of the critical illness of his natural father, Hermann Beer. The doctors gave no hope of his recovery, and he died on October 3, 1902. A letter from Hofmannsthal about this time indicates that Beer-Hofmann was still beset by great moodiness and depression: Hofmannsthal expresses the hope that Beer-Hofmann will overcome "das fürchtbare, nichtige Netzwerk in das eine nur innerliche hypochondrische Anlage Sie verstrickt." (Briefe 1900-1909, p. 86.)

It may be assumed, I believe, that Hofmannsthal does not use the word "hypochondrisch" in the personal sense in which it is usually applied today, i.e. to describe a given individual's morbid anxiety about the state of his own health, or his conjuring up of imaginary ailments. It is far likelier that he refers to a more general mental and spiritual depression, an acute nervous sensibility with which Beer-Hofmann and many of his contemporaries were afflicted, and which is commonly named as one of the phenomena of fin de siècle malaise. There can be no doubt that the younger Beer-Hofmann suffered profoundly and often from such depression; he did not, however, succumb to it. His suffering became instead a sort of crucible—it may be noted here that "Leiden" plays a very significant role in the works of the later Beer-Hofmann—from which a stronger, wiser man emerged, and in this sense the early "decadence" represents not an end, but a beginning.

In the spring of 1903 Arthur Schnitzler wrote to Beer-Hofmann and
Hofmannsthal, asking whether in their opinion he should attempt to publish the recently completed Reigen. Their reply is a very humorous ("Lieber Pornograph . . ."), jointly-written letter which despite its levity reveals a facet of Beer-Hofmann's character otherwise not often seen: that of the practical man of affairs with sound business instincts. After both friends have assured Schmitzler that he ought to publish the work, Beer-Hofmann urges him to be guided by three considerations:

"Ernstlich:
  1. Summe
  2. Verlag
  3. Ausstattung" entscheiden.

1.) sehr gross, 2.) sehr ernst . . . 3.) würdig, d.h. Papier stark--wie Ihr Talent, Format einfach, und eher gross, ja nicht Taschenformat oder zierlich." (Hofmannsthal-Schmitzler Briefwechsel, p. 167f.)

The summer of 1903 found Beer-Hofmann on a cycling trip in the South Tyrol with Arthur Schnitzler. That year he also took Paula and the children to Italy. Recollections of their stay in Venice form part of Paula, ein Fragment. (GW, pp. 784-788.)

Der Graf von Charolais, the only tragedy Beer-Hofmann ever wrote, was completed in 1904. In May he travelled to Budapest, where Max Reinhardt was at the time, and negotiated a contract with him for the production of the play. The premiere took place December 23, in Max Reinhardt's Theater in Berlin, with Friedrich Kaysler as "Charolais"; Albert Steinrück as "Der Präsident"; Lucie Höflich as "Desirée"; Josef Klein as "Romont"; and Hans Wassmann as "Der Wirt." The role of "Philipp" was played--at Beer-Hofmann's express wish--by Alexander Moissi, and Reinhardt himself
played "Der rote Itzig," which he later called one of his favorite character roles.\textsuperscript{49}

Beer-Hofmann spent much of that fall in Berlin, attending the rehearsals and personally supervising many of the other preparations for the premiere. He had very definite ideas of how the play should be produced (all of Beer-Hofmann's dramatic works include painstakingly detailed directions for stage settings, costumes, gestures, tone of voice, etc.), and this period was a very trying one for him—as it no doubt also was for the other people involved: "Höflich und Sorma hat er schon nahezu umgebracht," wrote Hofmannsthal to Schnitzler on December 16, 1904.\textsuperscript{50}

Beer-Hofmann did have great regard for Max Reinhardt, and the highest respect for his professional abilities, paying him the following tribute after many years of working closely with him in the theatre: "... the real poets owe him a great deal. For ... here they have the comfort of knowing that there is an administrator who is determined to carry out not only the poet's last will, but his wishes from first to last, and to translate the poetic vision into stage vision so that not only none of the spiritual effect is lost, but it gains a new and surprising illumination."\textsuperscript{51}

\textsuperscript{49}Max Reinhardt and His Theatre, p. 67. \textit{Der Graf von Charolais} has been performed on more than a hundred stages, and has been translated into English by Ludwig Lewisohn.

\textsuperscript{50}Hofmannsthal-Schnitzler Briefwechsel, p. 208. See also the letter on p. 207 and the "Anmerkung" to it on p. 370.

\textsuperscript{51}Oliver M. Sayler (ed.), Max Reinhardt and His Theatre, p. 105.
Other literary work completed in 1904 included the poem "Mit einem kleinen silbernen Spiegel," dedicated to the actress, Lucie Höflich, and the earliest dated notes on Davids Tod, which was to be the last drama in the Biblical cycle. 52

In 1905 Der Graf von Charolais was published by S. Fischer; in May of that year the thirty-nine-year-old Beer-Hofmann received the Volksschillerpreis for the drama (sharing the award with Gerhart and Karl Hauptmann). No other dramatic work by Beer-Hofmann was to appear until thirteen years later, when Jakobs Traum, the Vorspiel to the David-cycle, was published. This is a very long lapse of time, even for Beer-Hofmann, of whom sparse literary production was so characteristic. The reason that Alfred Werner suggests is that Beer-Hofmann "fühlte, dass in dem Augenblick, wo ein Dichter Schuld und Strafe nicht mehr als entscheidende Begriffe anerkennt, wo keiner für sein Tun verantwortlich gemacht werden kann . . . der Dichter unmöglich mehr weiterhin mit gutem Gewissen Tragödien schreiben könne." 53

That Werner, who wrote this in 1936, was correct in his interpretation, is confirmed by Werner Vordtriebe, who relates a conversation (held in 1944) in which Beer-Hofmann told him: "Die Geneviève Bianquis . . . habe den 'Charolais' ganz richtig erkannt, wenn sie von der 'tragischen Unschuld' aller Personen . . . rede. Das sei ganz richtig, und damit habe er in seiner Tragödie die Tragödie zu Ende geschrieben. Und da es ihm

52 Sheirich, Beer-Hofmann's "Historie", p. 203.

Ernst gewesen sei, habe er auch nie mehr eine andere Tragödie versucht. Denn da, wo niemand mehr für seine Taten verantwortlich sei, hörte eben die Tragödie auf.\textsuperscript{54} Beer-Hofmann, as will be shown, began to move in a different direction (but one whose roots lie at least as far back in his development as the late 1890's)--namely that of the Biblical drama.

Although the Historie von König David-manuscripts in Beer-Hofmann's Nachlass show that he had begun to think of writing a series of Biblical dramas as early as 1898, plans for the Biblical trilogy did not begin to take definite shape until 1905. The notes of 1905 to 1907 reveal that at this time Beer-Hofmann intended to entitle the plays \textit{Scha-	extit{ul}, David, and Salamon}.\textsuperscript{55}

In February, 1905 the Beer-Hofmanns were in Munich for a performance of \textit{Der Graf von Charolais} at the Hoftheater; summer found them vacationing on the Klopeiner See with Jakob Wassermann and S. Fischer; the end of August they travelled to the Lido, where they were joined by Beer-Hofmann's long-time friend, the musician Leo Van Jung. "Der einsame Weg," the poem dedicated to Arthur Schnitzler, was also written in 1905.

The 150th anniversary of Mozart's birth was celebrated in 1906, and Beer-Hofmann agreed to write a short piece about the composer.\textsuperscript{56} When he attempted to do so, however, he found the assignment extremely difficult,

\textsuperscript{54} Vordreide, "Gespräche," p. 144.

\textsuperscript{55} Sheirich, \textit{Beer-Hofmann's Historie}, p. 3.
despite—or perhaps because of—his boundless admiration for Mozart's music. Within days of the date on which the piece was due, Beer-Hofmann was on the verge of reneging on his signed agreement; Paula, appealing to his conscience, reminded him that decency required him to fulfill a promise made, and in the short time that remained he wrote the "Gedenkrede auf Wolfgang Amadé Mozart."\(^5^6\) Far more reminiscent of a fairy-tale than of a commemorative piece in the traditional sense, it was published by S. Fischer in 1906, and was to be Beer-Hofmann's last major publication until 1918.

"Chor der Engel" (later part of \textit{Jesúkobs Traum}) and "Msáchas Lied" (from \textit{Der junge David}) were also written in 1906, as was the poem "Altern."
("Altern" was printed in \textit{Die Neue Rundschau} in January, 1907; an English translation of the poem by Naemah Beer-Hofmann appeared in the October, 1964 issue of \textit{The Jewish Spectator}.)

August, 1906 was spent on a trip through what was then the Austrian Tyrol: Karer See, Bozen, Salzburg, Innsbruck, Predazzo, Bolzano, and Auers:

Beer-Hofmann's natural father, Hermann Beer, had died in 1902; in the summer of 1907 Alois Hofmann, his father by adoption, died after an extended illness. Hofmannsthal expressed his sympathy to Beer-Hofmann in a very compassionate letter written July 15, 1907. The remainder of the

\(^{56}\) See Vordtriebe, "Gespräche," p. 126. The Gedenkrede was translated into English by Sam Wachtell and published in New York by Hermann-Fischer in 1943.
letter indicates that Hofmannsthal believed there was a growing rift between himself and Beer-Hofmann, whose friendship in earlier years had been so close: "Lieber Richard, seien Sie versichert, dass sich von mir zu Ihnen nie etwas geändert hat... Ich habe Sie überrasend gern, und die gute Paula ist mir nach Gerty bedingungslos das liebste weibliche Wesen auf der Welt. Nur glaube ich ja, dass Sie mir überhaupt menschliche Gefühle nur in einem sehr geringen Grad zumuten. Aber vielleicht finden Sie doch die Möglichkeit, ganz leise und ohne alles Programm mir und der Gerty die Möglichkeit eines weiteren Verkehrs zu gewähren. Wir wünschen uns nichts besseres, nur können wir nichts mehr dazu tun über das Geschehene hinaus." (Briefe 1900-1909, p. 282f.) A clue to the cause of the breach is provided by a letter Hofmannsthal wrote to Felix Salten several weeks later: "Sie müssen es nicht missverstehen, dass ich so in... immer herzlicher und steter Anteilnahme, immer wieder von dem Menschen auf den Dichter überzuspringen scheine. Aber mir ist eben an dem Menschen, den ich lieb habe, der Dichter das Persönlichste, das Eigentliche, und ich vermög hier nicht zu trennen---aber ich scheine mir ja durch die gleiche Haltung einen so alten, guten Freund wie Richard entfremdet zu haben." (Briefe 1900-1909, p. 286.)

Although a misunderstanding had obviously arisen, it did not lead to dissolution of the friendship, as Hofmannsthal's sad and resigned letter seems to suggest. There were fewer opportunities for long conversations and the direct exchange of ideas after Beer-Hofmann and his family moved (November, 1906) into the splendid new villa in the Cottage-Viertel which he had commissioned the renowned Jugendstil-architect, Joseph Hoffmann, to
build for him, but the bond between the two poets remained strong and close, literally to the day of Hofmannsthal's death: his last note to Beer-Hofmann was written on the morning of that day. 57

While living in Rodaun Beer-Hofmann had met the young poet, Rudolf Borchardt, at Hofmannsthal's house. In the spring of 1908, when Borchardt and Beer-Hofmann were both in Berlin, Beer-Hofmann influenced Max Reinhardt to offer to produce Borchardt's LaSalle. On March 18 Borchardt wrote to Hofmannsthal from Berlin: "Mit Beer-Hofmann hatte ich einen herrlichen halben Tag der alten Phantasmagorie. Übrigens hat er auf die blosse Kunde von meinen Stücken mir sofort force la main und Reinhardt mobilisiert; ich habe mich mit Kahane (Reinhardt's producer) verständigt und werde sofort zwei Stücke schicken." 58

One of Borchardt's Jugendliche Gedichte is entitled "An Richard Beer-Hofmann"; it is at once a highly lyrical description of the older poet and a tribute to him. 59

The Beer-Hofmanns spent much of the summer of 1908 at Strobl am Wölfangsee; in the early fall they travelled again to Venice and the Lido.

57 Hofmannsthal's death and Beer-Hofmann's receipt of his card are both noted among the 1929 entries of Daten.

58 Hugo von Hofmannsthals-Rudolf Borchardt Briefwechsel, Marie Luise Borchardt, Herbert Steiner, eds. (Frankfurt a.M.: S. Fischer Verlag, 1954), p. 44.

Beer-Hofmann began work on Jaßkobs Traum in May, 1909. By this time the David-cycle, as he planned it, had been expanded from a trilogy to a pentalogy, consisting of Jaßkobs Traum, Ruth und Boas, Der junge David, König David, and Davids Tod. What had originally been planned as a drama about King Saul became Der junge David (and some critics still maintain that Saul is the real protagonist of the play); plans for a drama about King Solomon had evidently been abandoned. (Later Beer-Hofmann returned to his original conception of a trilogy, incorporating parts of Ruth und Boas into Jaßkobs Traum and leaving other parts for the first scenes of Der junge David. 60 Jaßkobs Traum became the Vorspiel to the trilogy.)

Beer-Hofmann spent much of the spring of 1910 working with Max Reinhardt on a production of Der Graf von Charolais at the Burgtheater in May. Later that month he and Paula took a trip through the South Tyrol. As in many previous years, most of the summer was spent in Bad Ischl, where Beer-Hofmann continued work on the Historie von König David. In September he went to Munich for the Reinhardt-Festspiele.

In the spring of 1912 the Beer-Hofmanns again travelled to Italy. They met Arthur and Olga Schmitzler there, and on May 15 celebrated Schmitzler's fiftieth birthday in Venice. Rilke encountered the group quite by accident and joined the birthday celebration. 61

60 Scheirich, Beer-Hofmann's "Historie", p. 3.

July was spent on a trip to St. Moritz with the children; in August the governess returned with them to Vienna, while Beer-Hofmann and Paula travelled to Munich for a tour of small Bavarian towns in the area.

Work on the Historie von König David continued in 1913; the last dated note on Ruth und Boas stems from this period. In July of that year Beer-Hofmann and Paula again took the children to St. Moritz. Early August was spent on the Lido with Arthur and Olga Schmitzler, S. Fischer, and Alexander Moissi.

Beer-Hofmann finished Jakobs Traum in July, 1915. He had decided to make it the Vorspiel to his trilogy, rather than one of the dramas of the cycle itself. Olga Schmitzler recalls Paula's description of Beer-Hofmann's last period of work on Jakobs Traum;\textsuperscript{62} one gains the impression from this account that the words flowed from his pen with unaccustomed ease and none of the long and tortuous revision so characteristic of his work. For the time being Jakobs Traum remained unpublished; it was clearly not Beer-Hofmann's original intention to publish it separately from the trilogy itself. In 1918, when he was prevailed upon to change his mind, he did so with considerable reluctance, writing as a "Vorbemerkung" to the edition: "Die Historie von König David' ist der Titel, den ein Zyklus von drei Stücken . . . führt, die Davids Leben darstellen. Als Vorspiel zu ihnen ist 'Jakobs Traum'--die Auserwählung Jakobs, des Ahnherrn Davids--

\textsuperscript{62}O. Schmitzler, Spiegelbild, p. 151f.
Work on the Vorspiel had been completed at Bad Ischl; in August the Beer-Hofmanns travelled to St. Wolfgang, and spent most of September vacationing in Salzburg, Berchtesgaden, and Linz.

Der junge David was begun in 1916. Most of that summer was spent in Bad Ischl; the family returned to Vienna in September, while Beer-Hofmann spent most of that month in Salzburg with Hermann Bahr.

Jakobs Traum was published in 1918; shortly before its appearance Hofmannsthal wrote to Rudolf Borchardt: "Beer-Hofmann las mir sein Stück, es ist schön, sehr schön, der ganze Mensch ist darin, liebenswert, gütiger als in irgend einer früheren Arbeit; es ist ein jugendliches Werk in gewissem Sinn und auch ein reifes, es erinnert in einem gewissen Hauch nach-goethischer Geistigkeit an Immermann. Schön, dass er dies geben konnte." (Hofmannsthal-Borchardt Briefwechsel, p. 137.)

Exactly what led Beer-Hofmann to change his mind and publish the Vorspiel separately is not clear, but the "Ereignisse" he mentions in the "Vorbemerkung" may well refer to the tide of Anti-Semitism that was rising steadily in Europe at this time; one gains that impression from two letters of Gustav Landauer's dating from this period. The first, written December 13, 1918, is to Beer-Hofmann himself: "Verehrter, lieber Herr Beer-Hofmann,
The Berlin premiere of Jakobs Traum, under Max Reinhardt's direction, had been scheduled for the fall of 1918, but despite Reinhardt's protests Beer-Hofmann insisted on postponing it because of the chaotic political situation in Europe at the time. This, it seems to me, is evidence that Beer-Hofmann was not as indifferent to, or as aloof from, the political and social trends of the time as Erich Kahler seems to suggest. And if Beer-Hofmann did in fact publish Jakobs Traum as a kind of counter-move to Anti-Semitism (which had been increasing in Europe for a number of years but which became more and more intense during and immediately after World War I), that, too, would represent not only political and social awareness, but even a type of engagement.

The premiere of Jakobs Traum, under Reinhardt's direction, took place at Vienna's Burgtheater on April 5, 1919, with Viktor Gerasch as "Jakob," and Franz Höbling as "Edom." On September 27 Beer-Hofmann travelled to Berlin for rehearsals of the play (again directed by Reinhardt). The Berlin premiere was held on Friday, November 7, at the Deutsches Theater. Conditions in Germany were still very unsettled: Paula went to


68 This date, and that of the Vienna premiere, are the ones given in Daten; the note in GW gives the same date for the Vienna premiere, but December 7 as the date of the Berlin premiere (p. 861). The chronological table of Reinhardt productions in Max Reinhardt and His Theatre lists May 4 and December 7 as the dates of the Vienna and Berlin premieres, respectively. The discrepancy may stem from the fact that the editor of this book, accustomed to the practice in the English-speaking world of giving first the month and then the day, mistook 5.4.19 for May 4. The discrepancy between the dates given in Daten and in GW for the Berlin premiere has not been accounted for.
Berlin for the premiere, "drei Tage reisend, da Bahnsperre ist," as Beer-Hofmann noted in Daten.

In 1920 Beer-Hofmann wrote an introduction to Ariel Bension's book, Die Hochzeit des Todes, which was published that year by the E. P. Tal-Verlag (Vienna). The introduction, in the form of a letter to Dr. Bension, is included in "Aufsätze und Aphorismen," GW, 613f.

At Max Reinhardt's urging, Beer-Hofmann in 1921 began to write the pantomime, Das goldene Pferd, thus returning to a genre that had interested him as early as 1892, when he wrote Pierrot Magus. Parts of Das goldene Pferd appeared in the Sunday supplement of Vienna's Neue Freie Presse on October 12, 1930; the complete pantomime was first published (in Die Neue Rundschau LXVI, 1955) ten years after Beer-Hofmann's death.

Beer-Hofmann's attitude toward Judaism, his whole relationship to his Jewish heritage, needs now to be examined. Those who knew the poet well attest to the fact that he had always had an intense personal pride in his own forebears, as in his Jewish heritage and ancestry in a more general sense. When Theodor Herzl (the founder of Zionism), whom Beer-Hofmann had known since the early 1890's, published his book, Der Judenstaat, Beer-Hofmann wrote to him in February, 1896: "Mehr noch als alles in Ihrem Buche war mir das sympathisch, was dahinterstand. Endlich ein Mensch, der sein Judentum nicht wie eine Last oder wie ein Unglück resigniert trägt, sondern stolz ist, der legitime Erbe uralter Kultur zu sein."69

Like Herzl, Beer-Hofmann regarded his Jewishness as anything but a burden or a stroke of misfortune. Rilke said of him, "Beer-Hofmann . . . war mir immer ein Beispiel seiner /der Juden Schicksal/ Grösse und Würde."  

Whether Beer-Hofmann's Jewishness was primarily a secular matter to him, or one of religion, is a more difficult question; the answer would depend at least in part on how one defined religion. Probably no categorical answer can be given that would apply with equal accuracy to the young author of Der Tod Georges and the older poet of the David-cycle. Beer-Hofmann seems rather to have undergone a gradual development: in the letter of 1896 to Theodor Herzl he speaks of the Jew not in terms of religion, but as the legitimate heir of an ancient, venerable culture. This is also the tone that prevails in Der Tod Georges, finished in 1899. But we know that Beer-Hofmann was drawn as early as 1898 to the idea of writing a cycle of Biblical dramas, and it is doubtful that he was prompted even then by cultural or historical reasons alone. Erich Kahler acknowledges the possibility that in the beginning it may have been "simply defiant bravado that moved him to concentrate on the Jewish destiny—the defiance of a proud man who wishes to acknowledge . . . an affiliation that in the social circles of that generation, Christian and Jewish alike, was passed over in embarrassed silence, where it was not entirely suppressed."  

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70*Briefe aus Musot, p.146. (Letter of April 25, 1922, to Ilse Blumenthal-Weiss.)

This seems to have been Georg Brandes' impression as late as 1922, when he wrote to Arthur Schnitzler: "Können Sie verstehen, dass unser Freund Beer-Hofmann sich mit solcher Leidenschaft an das Judentum krämpft? ... Es scheint mir von ihm so gewollt." The fact that Beer-Hofmann placed a very large Star of David, visible from a great distance, above the entrance to his villa in the Cottage-Viertel, could also be interpreted as a gesture of defiance. But whether this was Beer-Hofmann's initial motivation or not, his subsequent treatment of the problem of Jewish destiny, of the Jews' covenant with God and their resulting mission, has religious overtones too strong to be ignored.

As far as the Zionist movement is concerned, Beer-Hofmann was always very sympathetic toward it, indeed some literary historians speak of him as a strong and active Zionist. Beer-Hofmann, however, felt himself to be too completely a child of Europe and European culture to ever transplant

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72Brandes-Schnitzler Briefwechsel, p. 133.

73O. Schnitzler, Spiegelbild, p. 127f.

74For a differing opinion see Solomon Liptzin, Richard Beer-Hofmann. Professor Liptzin maintains that Beer-Hofmann regarded the Jews as "a community of fate rather than a race or a religion," an assertion he seems to contradict when he adds that this community is held together by "the acceptance of certain doctrines enunciated by their prophets ..." (p. 90ff.)

himself elsewhere permanently. In this connection Olga Schnitzler relates an exchange between Herzl and Beer-Hofmann which is also indicative of the poet's humor: Herzl, who envisioned a thoroughly "European" Palestine, said to Beer-Hofmann: "Wir werden eine Universität und eine Oper haben und Sie werden im Frack mit weisser Gardenie im Knopfloch in die Oper gehen," to which Beer-Hofmann replied, "O Nein! Wenn es so weit ist, dann will ich im seidenen Burnus, mit vielen Ketten behängt, im Turban mit Brillantagraffe erscheinen."76

During the 1920's work on the Historie von König David was interrupted to a great extent by Beer-Hofmann's increasing participation (often with Reinhardt) in theatrical staging and production. In March, 1922 he went to Berlin to assist Karl Grune with the filming of Der Graf von Charolais by the Stern-Film Company. He returned to Berlin in November to assist Reinhardt with another theatrical production of Charolais, which, however, had to be postponed because of the grave illness of Alexander Moissi, who this time was to have played "Charolais." The delayed production took place in May, 1923 at the Deutsches Theater in Berlin, with a cast that included Moissi as "Charolais," Maria Fein as "Desirée," and Walter Janssen as "Philipp."

The Beer-Hofmanns spent most of the summer of 1922 in Mayerhofen im Zillertal. The aphoristic fragment, "Was sich nicht ausdrücken lässt,"

76 O. Schnitzler, Spiegelbild, p. 96.
was written there on July 17. The poem "Leopoldskron" was written the following summer (July 28, 1923) in Salzburg. That summer Beer-Hofmann and Paula also took a trip to Switzerland, staying for extended periods in Zurich, Lucerne, St. Moritz, and Lugano.

That fall Beer-Hofmann revised and staged a production of Sutton Vane's play, Outward Bound (Überfahrt), which opened at Max Reinhardt's Theater in der Josefstadt in Vienna on November 14, 1923. In his letter of December 14, 1924 to Georg Brandes, Schmitzler speaks of Beer-Hofmann's direction of the play as "einen erheblichen Erfolg." 77

"In das Stammbuch eines Schauspielers" was written in 1925. The poem refers to Hugo Thimig in the role of Kent in Shakespeare's King Lear. That same year the poem "Der Künstler spricht" appeared in the Burgtheater Almanach. Beer-Hofmann went to Salzburg that summer for the Festspiel-performances of Hofmannsthal's Grosses Welttheater.

By this time the Beer-Hofmanns' children were grown and beginning to establish themselves: their older daughter, Mirjam, had married in 1924, and in October, 1926, their son Gabriel left for New York to pursue a film career. 78

That same month Beer-Hofmann went to Berlin to attend a performance of Jakobs Traum by the visiting Moscow theatrical troupe, Habima. The

77 Brandes-Schmitzler Briefwechsel, p. 142.

78 Gabriel Beer-Hofmann now lives in London. He is the author of numerous film scenarios and several books, written under the pseudonym, G. S. Marlowe.
play had been translated into Hebrew, and Beer-Hofmann later described his reactions in an interview:

Bei der Aufführung... sass ich anfänglich erstaunt und befremdet da, als ich merkte, dass eine rücksichtslose und unbedenkliche, aber dennoch irgendwie zärtliche, fast liebende Hand mein Werk nach ihrem ursprünglichen Empfinden umzuformen versuchte... Ich selbst hatte das merkwürdige Gefühl, etwas bei lebendigem Leibe zu erleben, was sonst nur Schicksal von Toten ist: Dass ein Werk sich loslöste, sein eigenes Leben lebt, seinen eigenen Weg geht, unbekümmert um den, der es schuf... Als... im dritten Bilde Musik einsetzte... vergoss auch ich, dass ich der Dichter dieses Stückes war. Was da sonderbar fremdartig von oben erklang, in einer Sprache, die ich nicht verstand, aber in einer Musik, die mir wie von alther vertraut erschien, war doch in seiner Gesamtheit mir und meinem Blut vertraut.

"Sang der Ahnen" was written in 1926, and in 1927 Beer-Hofmann resumed work on the Historie. The fragment, "Nebenfiguren," was written May 22, 1927; another fragment, "Stumme Szenen," is undated but was probably written at this time, too. In 1927 Beer-Hofmann also contributed to the commemorative book, Moissi: Der Mensch und der Künstler in Worten und Bildern.

The spring of 1928 found Beer-Hofmann again directing a theatrical production, this time of Goethe's Iphigenie auf Tauris, for Reinhardt's Theater in der Josefstadt, with Helene Thimig in the lead role. Later that

79 Richard Beer-Hofmann, "Theater 'Habima',' Das neue Russland IX-X (1926), Hefte 40, p. 44ff.

year he staged performances of the same play at the Salzburg Festspiele. He also wrote the "Chorus zu 'Romeo und Julia',' which was used along with the existing Shakespearean chorus in Reinhardt productions of the play in Berlin in 1928. The poem "Der Dichter" (now in GW, p. 666, as "Herkleitische Paraphrase") was Beer-Hofmann's contribution to a Festschrift zum 50. Geburtstag von Martin Buber, published in 1928.

Beer-Hofmann wrote the poem "Der Beschwörer" in 1929. The Daten entry for that year records the death of Hugo von Hofmannsthal on July 15, and notes the receipt of a card from him, written on the morning of the day he died, and ending simply, "Man muss alles verstehen." (Hofmannsthal's son Franz had taken his life three days before.)

In September, 1929 Beer-Hofmann and Paula took a trip to Marienbad and Prague; she returned alone to Vienna, while Beer-Hofmann travelled to Berlin to meet their son Gabriel, who was returning from America.

Beer-Hofmann staged Goethe's Iphigenie for Max Reinhardt's Berlin Festspiele in the Kammerspiele in 1930. He also wrote a foreword to Leon Kellner's posthumously published book, Meine Schüler, at the request of Kellner's widow. Several aphorisms and other fragments were written that year: "Katzen" on March 8, "Sommensysteme" in April or May, and "Ultra

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81 Leon Kellner was a Viennese Hochschullehrer and Shakespeare scholar. Meine Schüler, his book of reminiscences as a teacher, was published in 1930 by the Paul Zsolnay-Verlag in Vienna.
Posse" on December 24. The summer was spent with Paula in Marissell and Wildbad Gastein; Gabriel visited his parents in the fall after they had come home to Vienna, and then returned to New York.

In addition to several parts of the Historie von König David, two aphoristic fragments were written in 1931: "Hirten und Bauern," on January 29, and "Frömmigkeit 'auf den ersten Blick'," undated, but probably written in the summer of that year. "Drei Prologes" \( \subset \) "Ariadne," "Romeo und Julia," and "Der junge David" were published in Corona in 1931.

The year 1932 marked the centennial of Goethe's death, and on January 1 Beer-Hofmann gave a speech, "An der Schwelle des Goethe-Jahres," over Vienna's radio station RAWAG. The program also included his recitation of several of Goethe's lyric poems. On the following day (January 2, 1932) the Goethe-Rede appeared in Vienna's Neue Freie Presse. 82

As early as 1928 Beer-Hofmann had been approached by Anton Wildgans (Director of the Burgtheater) about a production of Goethe's Faust during the centennial year. Beer-Hofmann had revised both parts of Faust so that the entire work could be performed in one evening; he directed rehearsals from December, 1931 to February, 1932, and on February 27 the Burgtheater presented its "Fest-Aufführung des Faust von Goethe, I. und II. Teil. Mit Benützung des Urfaust und des Faust-Nachlasses zur Aufführung an einem Abend eingerichtet von Richard Beer-Hofmann." "An der Schwelle des Goethes-

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82 In characteristically cutting language, Karl Kraus gave the Goethe-Rede a most unfavorable review in Die Fackel XXXIII (March, 1932), Nr. 868-872, 1-5.
Jahres," the speech written for radio presentation in January, was printed in the Burgtheater's program for that evening; Beer-Hofmann also wrote the program notes for the Faust-Aufführung (GW, p. 896), which was to become part of the Burgtheater's standard repertory until 1938. In his conversations with Beer-Hofmann, Werner Vordtriede gained the impression that the Faust-production was one of the most gratifying experiences of Beer-Hofmann's professional life: "er erwähnte viel aus der Zeit, als er zeitweise Spielleiter am Burgtheater war. Am stolzesten ist er auf seine Aufführung des ganzen 'Faust', . . . kaum je hab ich ihn so schwellengedämpft etwas berichten hören. Auf diese Leistung scheint er stolzer zu sein als auf sein ganzes geschriebenes Werk . . . ."83

Beer-Hofmann's pride and sense of accomplishment were undoubtedly justified, but it would be misleading to imply that he alone was responsible for the centennial Faust-production. Anton Wildgans' letter of August 19, 1931 to Beer-Hofmann clearly indicates that Wildgans was the one who rendered final judgment, at least with respect to the editing of the text:

Hier in der Sulz bin ich nun auch endlich dazugekommen, mich mit der genauen Durchsicht Ihres Fausttextes zu befassen, und ich darf wohl sagen, dass ich auch hier mit Ihnen in allem Wesentlichen Übereinstimme, so reich an allerhand schmerzlichen Versichten diese ganze Verkürzungsoperation

According to Anton Wildgans' widow, he was responsible for much more than the editing of the text: in the postscript to Wildgans' published letters, she says that although he was already gravely ill in the spring of 1932, "er anlässlich der 'Faust-Aufführung' des Burgtheaters gegen den Rat seiner Ärzte und Freunde die in Graz fortgesetzte Kur abbrach und unvermutet im Theater erschien. An dieser Stätte die Feier zum 100. Todesstag des über alles verehrten Genius zu begehen, war mit ein Grund für seine zweimalige Annahme der Direktion gewesen, und die Vorbereitungen dazu waren auch von ihm noch in allen Einzelheiten getroffen worden." 85

Beer-Hofmann also wrote a number of short prose fragments in 1932: "Von seinen 'Pairs' gesehen" at Wildbad Gastein on September 4, "Kein Regenschirm" and "Die 'Vorzugs-Schüler'" in November, and "Form-Chaos" on September 17. The last-named was used later as Beer-Hofmann's contribution to the special issue of the Neue Rundschau in honor of Thomas Mann's seventieth birthday. 86

85 Ibid., p. 455f.
Beer-Hofmann, now working steadily on the Historie von König David, completed the final drafts of Der junge David in a period of a few months in late 1932 and early 1933. The second scene of Der junge David ("Königszelt in Gibea") appeared in Corona in 1933, and the entire drama was published later that year by S. Fischer. It has never been performed. Beer-Hofmann then began work on the first scenes of König David, and wrote the aphorisms "Austrazismus" and "Die Beschenkten." The Daten entry for 1933 records: "Krank. Zu Hause. Von Mai bis Juni zu Bett (Herz)." One cannot help but suspect a connection between this illness and the appearance in the press a week earlier (April 23, 1933) of the first "Schwarze Liste 'Literatur'," banning the works of forty-four German-language writers, among them Richard Beer-Hofmann.87

The Daten entries of 1934 include for the first time a note of political import: "12.-15. Februar, soz. Putsch in Wien und Linz." The following entry notes the murder of Dollfuss on July 25. Since the Daten notebook records almost exclusively events of a personal or family nature, the inclusion of these items is evidence of Beer-Hofmann's growing concern about the political developments of this period.

By now Beer-Hofmann had finished the first scene of König David, the second drama in the Biblical cycle, and it was printed in Die Neue

87 Hermann Kunisch (ed.), Handbuch der deutschen Gegenwartsliteratur (Munich: Nymphenburger Verlagshandlung, 1965), p. 578. This section of the Handbuch was written by Hildegard Brenner.
Rundschau in 1934. The poems "Einer Photographin ins Stammbuch," and "Hintergrund" were also written at this time. Beer-Hofmann's friend and publisher, S. Fischer, died on October 15, 1934; the poem "Vom guten Hirten," a free rendering of the Twenty-third Psalm, is dedicated to his memory. (Scene I of König David begins with this poem. See GW, 319.)

The "Vorspiel auf dem Theater zu König David," which bridges the twenty-five-year period between the first and second dramas of the cycle, was completed in 1935. Beer-Hofmann then began revising the last scenes of Davids Tod. In February he travelled to Berlin for a performance of Jakobs Traum in the Jewish Kulturbund. According to Solomon Liptzin, those who wished to attend the performance were refused permission to do so unless they could prove that at least one of their grandparents was "non-Aryan."  

Beer-Hofmann and Paula spent the summer of 1935 in Alt-Aussee, and went in the fall to Switzerland, where Beer-Hofmann had been invited to give lectures in Lucerne and Zurich.

At the invitation of Zionist organizations Beer-Hofmann and Paula took a four-week trip to Palestine in the spring of 1936, visiting Haifa, Jerusalem, Tel-Aviv, and Caesarea. The summer was spent in Aussee, where Beer-Hofmann celebrated his seventieth birthday. He also revised and


polished the "Vorspiel auf dem Theater zu König David," which was published later that year by the Johannespresse (Vienna). The poems "Rolandsrufen" and "Erahnte Insel" were written in 1936; the latter, together with "Der Beschwö rer" (1929), appeared in Corona in 1937.90

The last dated item among the manuscripts of the Historie von König David, a scenario of Davids Tod, was written April 4, 1937.91 The poem "Echo" was also written that year. The Beer-Hofmanns spent much of the summer in Maria Schutz am Semmering with Antoinette and Erich Kahler and Herbert Steiner.

By the spring of 1938 the situation in Austria had become so dangerous for Jews that Beer-Hofmann and Paula left their villa in the Cottage-Viertel and moved into rooms in the Pension Bettina in the Haardtgasse of Vienna. (The item immediately preceding this notation in Daten says simply: "März--Hitler.") On November 30 Paula suffered a very severe heart attack; she was confined to the Child-Spital until December 23, and then released only with a full-time nurse. Beer-Hofmann noted in Daten (1938) that the doctors had told him there was only a ten percent chance that Paula would survive the attack, adding, "Der junge Arzt, Doktor Aristid Kiss (von der Herz-Station) rettet sie." In the meantime Beer-Hofmann had found other rooms for himself and Paula in the Pension Atlanta (Währinger Strasse), where they remained until arrangements were completed for their

90"Erahnte Insel" is unaccountably missing from the section of lyric poetry in GW, but included in Verse, published in 1941 by Bermann-Fischer (New York and Stockholm).

flight from Vienna the following year.

The fragment "Von einer Dichtung reden" and the poem "Lied an den Hund Ardon--da er noch lebte" were written in 1938; Beer-Hofmann composed the poems "Abbild," "Ferne Hand," and "1001 Nacht, aus der 303. Nacht," in 1939. (The last-named is a revision of Max Henning's translation, published by Reclam, 1896-1901.)

On the evening of August 19, 1939 Beer-Hofmann and Paula left Vienna for the last time, en route to the United States via Switzerland. He was seventy-three years old; Paula, sixty. She was still convalescing from the heart attack she had suffered the preceding winter, and Dr. Aristid Kiss travelled with them. According to Daten (1939) they were met at Buchs on the Swiss border by Sam Wachtell and Herbert Steiner, and by Bernhard Altmann at the railway station in Zurich.

Paula's condition made it necessary for them to proceed in slow stages; thus they were still in Zurich on September 7 when she suffered a complete collapse. After weeks in the hospital she seemed to rally; then her condition grew suddenly worse. She died on October 30 and was buried in the Friesenberg cemetery at Zurich on November 2. Unable to obtain permission to remain in Zurich, Beer-Hofmann continued the journey alone, sailing from Genoa aboard the "Conte di Savoia" on November 14. His arrival in New York on the 23rd was followed by Mirjam's (from England) on the 24th. The two lived for the next year and a half in a flat on Waverley Place.
Soon after his arrival in New York Beer-Hofmann made some revisions of *Der Graf von Charolais*. According to the notes in *Gesammelte Werke*, however, no essential changes were made in the text itself: "Einzige wesentliche Änderung . . . : das Szenarium des III. Aktes. Auch das Szenarium des II. Aktes erfuhr einige Änderungen; die Regiebemerkungen wurden vermehrt." (GW, 895.)

At the invitation of friends Beer-Hofmann and Mirjam spent the summer of 1940 at Woodstock in the Adirondacks. In April of that year Beer-Hofmann had written down two dreams about Paula; he continued to record such dreams at Woodstock, although he had not formed any plan for a book about her. By the winter of 1940, however, Beer-Hofmann had finished "Herbstmorgen in Österreich," and had now decided to form this and other fragments into an *Erinnerungsbuch*.

The lyric poetry Beer-Hofmann had written through the years was published in book form for the first time in 1941 by Bermann-Fischer (New York and Stockholm), under the title, *Verse*. The volume contains two poems not included in *Gesammelte Werke*: "Gesang während des Rauchopfers" (zu Davids Tod), written in 1908, and "Ehrihnte Insel," written in 1936. Thus the *Anmerkung* in GW, "Die ersten 23 Gedichte bilden den Inhalt des Bandes *Verse*," (p. 896) is not entirely accurate.

Two of Beer-Hofmann's aphoristic fragments, "Was sich nicht ausdrücken lässt," (1922) and "Sonnensysteme" (1930) appeared in *The German Quarterly* in March, 1941 (Vol. XIV). "Sonnensysteme" differs slightly here from the version in GW, p. 626.
In the spring of 1941 Beer-Hofmann and Mirjam moved from Waverley Place to an apartment on Cathedral Parkway, overlooking Morningside Park and the Cathedral of St. John the Divine. This was to be his home until he died. The summer of 1941 was again spent in Woodstock at Antoinette Kahler's summer home.

The aphoristic fragments "Vorspiel im Himmel" and "Gottes Frömmigkeit" were written in 1941; the Paula-fragment entitled "Alcidor" was written between July 28 and August 8, 1942, while Beer-Hofmann was at Saranac Lake in the Adirondacks.

Two more aphorisms, "Ur-Zeit des Wortes" and "Dichter, und wirklich ganze Menschen," were written in 1943; in 1944 the seventy-eight-year-old poet wrote detailed instructions for "die Anordnung . . . einer drei-bändigen Ausgabe" of his works. The S. Fischer edition of 1963 consists of one volume, but otherwise conforms to these instructions. (GW, 877.) The short prose fragments "Ursache," "Nestroy," "Das Unwiderriefliche," and "Schönheit der Dinge" were also written in 1944.

Beer-Hofmann gave several lectures that year: on March 22 at Harvard; on April 25 at Yale; in May to the German Graduates' Club at Columbia; and on October 12 at Smith College. "Herbstmorgen in Österreich," one of the longest of the Paula-fragments, was published as a separate piece by the Johannespresse (New York) in 1944.

Not knowing how much time he had left and assuming that Paula in its entirety would be published only posthumously, Beer-Hofmann wrote, in
February, 1945, what he called "brauchbare Hinweise für die Zusammenstellung der Paula-Fragmente." (Edited by Otto Kallir, the book was published in New York by the Johannespresse in 1949.) The aphorism "Beruhigend-Beunruhigend" was also written in February, 1945.

On March 14, 1945 Beer-Hofmann was granted United States citizenship. Two months later, on May 18, the National Institute of Arts and Letters presented to him the "Institute Award for Distinguished Achievements" (given annually to an eminent foreign artist living in America). The presentation was made by William Rose Benet in the auditorium of the American Academy of Arts and Letters in New York, and Beer-Hofmann accepted the award with the following speech, the only one he ever made in English:

Mr. President, Members of the Academy and the Institute, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am deeply touched by your generous words of appreciation—as I have been by the great honor bestowed upon me since I first received the good news. It so happened that the letter of your secretary . . . arrived almost the same day on which this country accepted me as a citizen. More than seventy years of my life I spent in the country of my birth—surrounded by what seemed as self-evident to me as my existence itself. When I came to these shores, I could by no stretch of my imagination foresee that I was to receive again what had been taken from me by tyranny: a home, a working place, a country that was to be mine by choice and by right, and now—this proof of human sympathy, of understanding and recognition. To me—this has come as a lesson in democracy. For: respect for the dignity of man, the basis of democracy, is at the same time the very foundation of any sincere artistic endeavor.
I do not know how well I succeeded in what I did. A writer's work can never hope to be complete. Yet it was worth trying—if only to learn this lesson. I thank you.92

Four months later, on September 26, 1945, Richard Beer-Hofmann died of pneumonia in New York.

92I thank Mrs. Miriam Beerhofmann-Lens for supplying me with the complete text of this speech.
CHAPTER II. THE PROSE WORKS

The sparseness of Beer-Hofmann's literary production and the reasons for it have already been discussed; there are only five titles to be considered in this chapter devoted to his prose works: in chronological order, Camellias (1891), Das Kind (1893), Der Tod Georgs (1900), Gedenkrede auf Wolfgang Amadé Mozart (1906), and Paula, ein Fragment (posthumously published in its entirety for the first time in 1949).

In this examination of the prose works attention will be focused on motifs, structure, and language, on the author's style, and on the artistic techniques and aesthetic conventions he employs. Treatment of Camellias and Das Kind will also include brief plot summaries, since these early stories are not contained in the 1963 edition of the collected works.

Of the titles listed above, Paula is the only one which is not fiction in the strictest sense of the word. (Beer-Hofmann himself called it a biographical Erinnerungsbuch.) I have included it on the grounds that although the story Beer-Hofmann tells has its basis in historical or biographical fact, the work as a whole is as much "Dichtung" as "Wahrheit." Beer-Hofmann may honestly have believed what he told Werner Vordtriebe about the writing of Paula ("Was ich da schreibe, ist ja gar nicht von mir. Ich beschreibe ja nur, wie es tatsächlich war."

93 Vordtriebe, "Gespräche," p. 133f.
has little in common with the standard factual biography; stylistically and in terms of the author's language and very conscious artistic ordering of his material, the book is more closely akin to the highly subjective modern work of prose fiction.

Beer-Hofmann's aphorisms and other short prose fragments will not be treated individually; whenever pertinent, they will be drawn into the discussion of the major prose works named above.

A. Camellias

Arthur Schnitzler, it will be recalled, spoke of Camellias as "eine Skizze," and that designation seems more appropriate than "Novelle," the title under which the story was published. It contains no external action, and certainly no "unerhörte Begebenheit"; indeed the "action" consists almost exclusively of the ruminations of the protagonist and his resulting decision. The plot, briefly, is this:

Freddy, a Viennese dandy on the verge of middle age, has become infatuated with Thea, a seventeen-year-old girl whose family he has known since before she was born. On a sudden impulse he determines to sever relations with his mistress of many years and marry Thea, but as he weighs the pros and cons of the matter while preparing for bed, he is overcome by misgivings—provoked by fear of approaching old age, the recollection of friends whose young wives had eventually deceived them, and not least of all by the sight of his middle-aged face (smoared with cold cream) and figure (corseted) in the mirror. His fear of disrupting the familiar, comfortable
pattern of his carefully ordered life finally leads him to give up the idea of marriage, and he goes to bed, having left instructions for his valet to send camellias to his mistress on Sunday as usual.

It scarcely needs to be said that there is nothing very new or original about the plot of this story or the figure of Freddy. Both are familiar to the reader as typical subject matter of the so-called decadent works written around the turn of the century; Schnitzler's **Anatol** is probably the best-known of such stories.

The structure of **Camelias** and the author's techniques are also not original, but they are indicative of certain changes that prose fiction began to undergo about this time: first of all, the story is constructed in such a way that everything in it is conveyed to the reader from the perspective of one person only, namely Freddy. Limited perspective is not a new development in prose fiction, of course— one need only think of the fairly long history of the **Briefroman**. But the only type of **Briefroman** which achieves a similar effect is the one in which all the letters have been written by one person.\(^9\) In a story like **Camelias** the degree of subjectivity is further heightened and a certain dramatic quality introduced by the fact that the author dispenses with "artificial" means (such as the letter) and simply opens the protagonist's mind, allowing the reader to eavesdrop on his mental associations and reflections and to

learn directly of his impressions and reactions.

Another aspect of *Camelias* which points to subsequent trends in prose fiction is the marked decrease in the amount of exposition, i.e. there is an absolute minimum of narrative passages which introduce the characters, render their past history, set the scene, or otherwise orient the reader. The story begins with the brief sentence, "Das Haustor schloss sich, und Freddy stand auf der Strasse." The reader has no idea who Freddy is, what house he has just left, or what street (in which part of the world) he is standing on. Wolfdietrich Rasch names this type of abrupt beginning as a very typical feature of the *Erzählstil* of this period (1890-1914): "... mit wohlbedachter Kunst, zuweilen mit artistischer Anspannung wird der Anfangssatz so geformt, dass er seinen [epischen] Charakter als Anfangssatz verleugnet und den Eindruck erweckt, in einem Zusammenhang zu stehen. Der Erzähler gibt sich den Anschein, den Faden willkürlich, an beliebiger Stelle aufzunehmen ..." 95

Beer-Hofmann does conform to the more traditional technique of telling his story in the third person, but the reader is scarcely aware of this, since the narrator never intrudes as such, never attempts to explain his hero or provide a commentary of his thoughts and feelings. Despite the use of the third person, the prevailing impression is one of immediacy and

direct contact with the hero.

With respect to characterization, it is clear that Thea (although the reader never actually meets her) is meant to bring Freddy's decadent qualities into sharper relief by being his opposite in almost every detail: she is fresh, vigorous, and full of youthful zest for life, and these are precisely the qualities that attract Freddy to her. Significantly, however, his misgivings and fear of change prevail over his desire to marry Thea. In characterizing Freddy, with all his decadent characteristics (acutely sensitive nerves, ennui, extreme preoccupation with self, and a kind of pervasive tiredness that paralyzes his will to act), Beer-Hofmann succeeds best in portraying Freddy's fear of change as a decadent quality. (One is reminded in this connection of Hofmannsthal's observation about Beer-Hofmann himself: "Sie fürchten zu sehr den Begriff einschneidender Veränderungen." But to say that this or that aspect of the story is rendered more successfully than another is small praise. The truth of the matter is that Camélia scarcely qualifies as literature. It is not really surprising that Beer-Hofmann later withdrew the sketch from publication and dismissed it as a youthful endeavor unworthy of attention.

B. Das Kind

Only two years lie between Camélia and the completion of Das Kind, but an examination of the second story shows that the twenty-seven-year-old Beer-Hofmann had come a considerable way, both as a writer and as a young man in the process of coming to terms with himself and the world. Das Kind is still a Jugendwerk and as such it reflects its young author's
groping and searching, but relatively speaking, it is much superior to Camélias, both in depth of content and artistic skill. It also contains a number of indications of the direction the mature Beer-Hofmann was later to take.

The plot is not complicated, the subject matter still quite typical of "Wiener Dekadenz": Paul, a young man whose exact occupation is never stated but who obviously belongs to the "vornehme, gebildete Gesellschaftsschicht," has had an extensive affair with Juli, a Viennese servant girl. For some time he has wanted to break off with her, but has felt he cannot because she is pregnant with his child. Neither willing nor able to keep the child after its birth, Juli arranges for it to be given to a peasant family in the country near Vienna. Shortly thereafter she receives word that the child has died. Paul's first reaction to the news of the child's death is one of well-concealed but enormous relief, if not elation: the child, which had been the sole obstacle to his freedom from Juli, is gone. Very soon, however, he is overcome first by pity for the helpless infant, whom he imagines as unwanted and neglected by the peasant family, and then by remorse and guilt, which drive him finally to travel to the village to talk to the peasant couple and visit the child's grave. Upon arriving there he learns that they had been in bad financial straits and had left the village in search of a better life elsewhere. At the cemetery he is unable to single out his child's grave; it is unmarked. On the return trip to Vienna, Paul's reflections about the entire experience lead him, for the first time in his life, to an awareness of his own past selfishness
and indifference to others, and to some tentative conclusions about the nature of life that had never occurred to him previously.

In analyzing Das Kind one is struck first of all by the fact that it reflects a degree of artistic independence largely lacking in Camellias. Beer-Hofmann is now clearly more inclined to look inward, to rely on his own judgment and instincts as a writer, than he had been two years before. This shows itself in the very choice of language: the expository passages are for the most part Impressionistic ("Nur langsam verschwamm das kalte, matte Blau des Frühlingshimmels in ein wässeriges Lichtgrün ..."96); but Beer-Hofmann does not hesitate to use the realistic, indeed naturalistic device of dialect when it will heighten the effectiveness of a given passage or enhance his characterization of one of the figures in the story: "Er fuhr heftig auf: 'Gieb jetzt Antwort, was ich Dich frag'. Wie hat das Kind ausgesehen,—was für Farb' haben die Haare gehabt, was für'—Juli schüttelte erstaunt den Kopf: 'Na, was Dich das jetzt noch interessirt? So mehr dunkles Haar hat's g'habt, und ausg'schaut—no so wie sie halt alle in dem Alter ausschaun, a sehr a hübsches Kind war's—die Hebamme hat's auch g'sagt, no jetzt ist ihm ohnehin besser oben im Himmel als Engerl, was hätt's auch gut's g'habt hier unten auf dera Welt?'"97


97 Beer-Hofmann, Novellen, p. 36f.
Like its forerunner, *Das Kind* is told in the third person, but again without any intrusion into the story by the narrator, about whom the reader learns nothing. The effect is again one of direct exposure to the hero's reflections and impressions.

One of the differences between the two stories is that *Camelias* contains virtually no dialogue, *Das Kind*, by contrast, a considerable amount. *Camelias* consists almost exclusively of the reflections of Freddy, most of them relating to the immediate past (i.e. the earlier events of the evening on which his reflections take place), the present, and the future. The levels of time have been expanded in *Das Kind*, and the author deals with them in a somewhat different way: as the story opens, Paul is about to keep a rendezvous with Juli, at which she will tell him that the child is dead. Only after this scene does the reader learn of all that had preceded their meeting; he becomes acquainted with the background history through Paul's recollections, interspersed with his reflections as his mind moves back and forth between the remembered past and the present. Past conversations are not recalled in indirect discourse; they are given as direct dialogue.

Despite the increase in the amount of dialogue, the preponderant note is one of reflection, even in the second half of the story, after Paul's sense of guilt has driven him to act. He thinks above all about death and its relation to life (a problem which more than any other preoccupied Beer-Hofmann and his contemporaries), about man's fate and the transitoriness of his life:

(Novellen, p. 79f.)

Although he refers to nature rather than to God, Beer-Hofmann also has Paul wrestle with the ancient problem of the existence of suffering and evil in the world:

Gesündigt, gegen sie [die Natur], gegen göttliches Gebot hatte er, zuerst als er ein Kind in die Welt gesetzt, und dann, als er es hilflos, elend umkommen liess? Und Strafe war es gewesen, dass er darum litt? Wenn es Sünde war, um die man leiden musste, was litt dann sie, die Natur, die grosse Sünderin, die Alle in die Welt setzte, und Alle elend, hilflos umkommen liess, die uns zuerst schuldlos zum Leben verdammt, und dann zum Tode begrundigte? (Novellen, p. 79.)

Despite his tormenting doubts and the fact that nature "remains mute to all our questions," Paul believes that "nicht bloss Form und Farbe hatten die Dinge,--hinter ihnen war ein geheimer Sinn, der sie durchleuchtete, sie standen nicht fremd nebeneinander--e in Gedanke schlang ein Band um sie!" (Novellen, p. 78f.) This reference to a mysterious and unifying sense or purpose in life is made only in passing in Das Kind; in later years Beer-Hofmann was to return to this theme again and again, developing it most fully in the Biblical dramas. The willingness to believe in such a purpose--despite profound, tormenting doubt--is only briefly touched upon
in this early story, but toward the end of his life Beer-Hofmann told Werner Vordtriebe that "der Dichter müsse immer wieder zum Exculpator Gottes werden. 'Der advocatus Dei ist ja ein viel schwereres Amt als das des advocatus diaboli. Nichts ist schwerer, als den Weltlauf zu entschuldigen und zu rechtfertigen.' Immer wieder klinge dies in seinen Werken auf."\textsuperscript{98}

As for Paul's doubt, it emerges in another passage of \textit{Das Kind} as something very positive and constructive. He has been thinking about his own sense of guilt, and now, as he regards the peacefully sleeping Juli, his thoughts turn to her possible sense of guilt and how she has coped with it:

> Wenn in ihr etwas aufgedämmert war, wie Schuld-bewusstsein, wenn sie sich sündig fühlte,--war sie in die Kirche getreten und ihr kindisch-verworrenes Empfinden hatte sie ausgeschüttet vor dem Heiland am Kreuze; dem Mittler zwischen ihr und ihrem Gotte hatte sie im Beichtstuhle ihre reuige Selbstanklage anvertraut. Und wenn dann durch weihrauchduftende Gitterstäbe feierlich geflüsterte Worte zu ihr drangen, die sie lossprachen von ihren Sünden,--war sie aufgestanden . . . in froher Zuversicht, dass . . . 'das Lamm Gottes, welches hinwegnimmt die Sünden der Welt,' auch ihre Schuld von ihr genommen habe. (Novellen, p. 56f.)

At first Paul envies er ("Wenn er beten, glauben könnte, wie sie!") , but his reflections eventually lead him to this realization: "Er hatte ja nie

\textsuperscript{98} Vordtriebe, "Gespräche," p. 144. (Conversation of September 20, 1944.)
geleugnet, nur gezweifelt, und war nicht Zweifeln auch ein Glauben, zumindest ein Glaubenswollen an Ihn, ein Suchen nach Ihm, ein Drang, ihn zu finden, der tiefserem Fühlen entsprang, als der ruhig-naive Kinderglauben?" (Novellen, p. 57.) In this early work doubt as a means to faith is presented only in the form of a question, as a tentative possibility of which the young Beer-Hofmann was conscious. In the later works it is presented as an answer.

To return now to the problem of death: in the second passage quoted on page 67 Beer-Hofmann speaks unequivocally of life as a state of damnation and of death as a state of grace. By the end of the story, however, a change has clearly taken place. Not death, but life is now the object of Paul's yearning: "Und Sehnsucht kam über ihn, heisse Sehnsucht, zu leben, sich am Leben zu freuen, ehe die Nacht von den dunklen Bergen her, in missfarbene Schleier gehüllt, lauernd herenkroch." (Novellen, p. 83.) Paul has not lost his awareness of death, but his longing for life is at the same time an affirmation of it, and unlike Hofmannsthal's Claudio he has acquired his insight before it is too late.

C. Der Tod Georgs

"Heute scheinen zwei Dinge modern zu sein," wrote Hofmannsthal in 1893, "die Analyse des Lebens und die Flucht aus dem Leben. Gering ist die Freude an Handlung, am Zusammenspiel der äusseren und inneren Lebensmächte, am wilhelmmeisterlichen Lebenlernen und am shakespeareischen Weltlauf. Man treibt Anatomie des eigenen Seelenlebens, oder man träumt ... Modern ist das psychologische Graswachshören und das Flätschern..."
in der reinphantastischen Wunderwelt... modern ist die Zergliederung einer Laune, eines Seufzers, eines Skrupels; und modern ist die instinktmässige, fast somnambule Hingabe an jede Offenbarung des Schönen."

Hofmannsthal then applies these general observations to Gabriel d'Annunzio's *L'Inncente* and *Elegie Romane*, and his observations are applicable to such an astonishing degree to Der Tod Georgs that he might just as easily be talking about Beer-Hofmann's novel, had it already appeared at that time.

Hofmannsthal did in fact see certain similarities between Beer-Hofmann and d'Annunzio; on June 18, 1895 he wrote to Beer-Hofmann from Göding: "Auch der d'Annunzio geht mir jetzt beim zweiten Lesen ungläublich nahe. Er sucht auch, wie Sie, den Schnitt durchs Leben, der weder durch die reine Erscheinung, noch durch die ultimae rationes läuft, sondern durch das allermannigfaltigste Gewebe in der Mitte, und wirklich suggeriert er einem manchmal das ungeheure Gefühl, eine Seele in ihrer Totalität so zu spüren, wie man das nur am eigenen Ich zu erleben gewohnt ist, nämlich nicht aus einer plötzlichen, sehr charakteristischen Gebärde, sondern aus einer wandervollen Anhäufung von kleinen Tatsachen, unscheinbaren Zügen, Erinnerungen, Assoziationen und tausendfachem Dreinspielen der Umwelt."  

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99 "Gabriele d'Annunzio," in Loris. *Die Prosa des jungen Hugo von Hofmannsthal* (Berlin: S. Fischer Verlag, 1930), p. 87. This essay was first published in the Frankfurter Zeitung on August 9, 1893—interestingly, only a few days after Beer-Hofmann had begun work on *Der Tod Georgs.*

100 Hofmannsthal, *Briefe 1890–1901*; p. 142f.
Beer-Hofmann knew d'Annunzio's works and read them with enthusiasm; he once recommended Die Lust, a translation of d'Annunzio's novel, Il Piacere, to Georg Brandes and gave him a copy of the book.101

Hofmannsthal, in the letter just quoted, summarizes the major techniques and artistic devices d'Annunzio and the young Beer-Hofmann had in common; the two writers were also drawn to the same motifs, notably death, the relation of the dream to life, and the characterization of decadence, particularly its "Willenlosigkeit."102 These, together with a fourth, which can be labeled simply "Woman," are the major themes of Der Tod Georgs. There is very little of "shakespearischen Weltlauf" in the treatment of these themes, and even less of "wilhelm-meisterlichen Lebenlernen." (It is difficult to understand how Alfred Werner can place the novel in the tradition of the German Bildungseroman.103) There is no external action except Georg's death, and even this is vital to the subsequent development of the story only in providing the impetus for the hero's wide-ranging thoughts and ultimate transformation. Virtually everything else transpires

101 Brandes-Schnitzler Briefwechsel, p. 67. See also the "Anmerkung" on p. 179.
within the mind and phantasy of the hero, Paul. Structurally, the novel is divided into four parts:

I. A. Paul's conversation with an acquaintance about Georg's arrival, and his reflections on this conversation.

B. Paul's walk along the river.
   1. encounter with a young woman he "recognizes."
   2. reverie about the "woman in the clouds."
   3. Paul's confusion of the two female figures.
   4. the return to his house and to bed.

II. A. Paul's dream.
   1. the dying "wife."
   2. Paul's life before he met her, including his childhood.
   3. love-death rites in the Syrian temple.
   4. the death of the "wife."

B. Paul's waking.
   1. gradual awareness of his surroundings.
   2. reflections on the dream.

III. A. Paul's train trip to Vienna, to take Georg's body there for burial.
   1. reflections on Georg's sudden death the preceding night.

\[10^{\text{th}}\] In the narrowest sense Paul's nocturnal walk along the river, his train trip to Vienna, etc., constitute "external action"; I have not included them as such because they are not "Handlung" in the broader sense--they merely provide a setting for the real action, which takes place in Paul's mind.
(III. A. continued)

2. recollections of the deaths of others, thoughts of death in general.

3. fantasy of how Georg's life might have been, had he lived to old age.

4. reflections on the play of children as an introduction to life, on the world as a Puppentheater, and on the sadness and hopelessness of old age.

5. recollection of the story of the youths of Argos, to whom the gods showed special favor by allowing them to die young.

IV. A. Paul's walk through the Viennese park.

1. recollections of his impressions and associations during other autumn walks.

2. encounter with the street workers.

3. encounter with the two women at the fountain.

4. Paul's transformation and the affirmation of life.

Part I of the novel is dominated by the woman motif. Before its two representatives are introduced, however, the reader is given an early clue to the character of Paul, the decadent protagonist—not in the traditional form of a descriptive passage about him, but rather through his own mental comparison of himself and his friend, Georg: Paul had told an acquaintance of Georg's call to a professorship at Heidelberg, and the doctor had replied, "'Der hat's gut!' ... seine Stimme klang neidisch traurig ...
'Ja--Glück muss der Mensch haben!'" Having said good night to the doctor, Paul is left alone with his thoughts: "Glück muss der Mensch haben!" Der traurig neidvolle Ton klang in ihm nach. 'Glück!' Freilich nicht so, wie der Doktor es meinte. Er horchte auf die ruhigen kräftigen Atemzüge des Schlafenden [Georg] im Nebenzimmer. So hätte er sein mögen, wie der! So stark und gesund im Empfinden, wie der da drinnen; und den Willen, den starken Willen, und den Glauben an das, was er wollte, hätte er haben mögen!" (GW, 523f.) Paul sees his friend as everything he himself is not and would like to be: strong of will, sound in mind and body, in short, entirely fit for life.

The two female figures in Part I are actually variations of one and the same image in Paul's phantasy. The first of these representatives of the woman motif is the girl Paul encounters on his walk along the river: "Schön war sie ja eigentlich nicht, aber etwas in ihr erinnerte an vieles Schönes; ... Wenn ihre schlanke knabenhafte Gestalt, von einem enganliegenden Kleid umschlossen, ruhig dastand, den Kopf leicht zur Seite gewandt, die Hand vor sich hingestreckt auf dem zu hohen Griff des Schirmes ruhend, musste er an Bilder denken, auf denen Erzengel in stählernem goldtäuschtem Panzer ihr Schwert vor sich hin in den Boden stemmten." (GW, 525.)

Beer-Hofmann's model for this figure was in all probability the young Paula. To be sure, he had not even met her when he began Der Tod Georg, but he had known her for five years when the novel was

105 The last Daten entry for the year 1893 states: "'Arbsite seit ein paar Tagen am Götterliebing' (aus einem Brief vom 5. August)."
published; he had worked on it during all of that period, and his practice of repeated and painstaking revision is well known. There is a marked similarity between the passage just quoted and "factual" descriptions Beer-Hofmann gives of his wife in _Paula, ein Fragment_. (Cf. especially GW, 787.) Nevertheless, the biographical elements should not be overemphasized; the women of the novel are fictitious figures, and Beer-Hofmann did not hesitate to add or omit whatever he deemed necessary for their characterization.

The reader already learns on the second page of the novel that Paul lacks "starkes und gesundes Empfinden," and the strong will necessary for life. The women of Part I are in a sense extensions of Paul, or at least very much like him: in the world but not of it, they stand on the periphery of life. This is conveyed about the girl by the river in terms of her latent, as yet unsensitized sexuality: "Hart und ungeflügig bewegten sich ihre hagern Kinderarme, als hätten sie noch nicht gelernt, umarmend sich um den Hals des Geliebten zu schlingen, und ihre verschlossenen knospenden Formen schienen den Tag zu erwarten, an dem die Liebe schwelten und öffnen würde, was jetzt noch verschüchtert schlief." (GW, 526.) And as Paul studies the face and form of the "woman in the clouds" he thinks:

"... Über allem, was er sonst sah, so dass es schien, lagen doch noch die warmen dunkelnden Schatten des Lebens; aber was sich um den dürftigen

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Leib dort weich und taudurchfeuchtet legte, war ein Sterbekleid . . . Nichts von dem, was um sie war, konnte sie sehen; über alles Nahe hinweg ging unter halbgesunkenen Lidern der Blick ihrer Augen . . . zu ihm."
(GW, 528.)

Throughout Part I Paul returns repeatedly to the doctor's remark, "Glück muss der Mensch haben!" In his reflections on what constitutes "Glück" he first ponders the kinds of happiness he does not mean: "Glück! --Nicht das des helldampfenden Frühlingsmorgens, wo man auf weissem Pferd über braunen lockern Acker reitet, und feuchtduftende Erdkrume zu einem aufsprührt, und alles noch vor einem liegt: der Tag und das weite Land und das Leben . . . Und nicht das träge liebesmatte Glück windstiller Sommer- nachmittage. Wo man in schwülen Lauben verlassener Gärten mit der Geliebten ruht, das Gesicht an ihre Brust geschmiegt . . . und die setten Sinne träumen und alle Sehnsucht ist eingeschlafen." (GW, 527.) Since it is not the happiness of anticipation or of the actual experiencing of life Paul yearns for, one is inclined to conclude that for him "Glück" lies in death. But that is not what he longs for, either: "Und auch nicht das letzte grosse todesmutige Glück des Untergangs, wenn eine Sonne in goldene Wolken verblutet und man ein freies prunkendes Sterben ersehnt." (GW, 527.) Although in this passage death is referred to as "das letzte . . . Glück," Paul does not want to die: "Wovon er träumte, war ein Glück so still und voll Frieden, dass es sich nur wenig von Wehmut und Entsagen schied.
Manchmal hatte er es geahmt, wenn er am frühen dämmernden Morgen am
Waldrand stand . . . Von den gelben Lilien im Wasser hatte der Morgenwind noch nicht den Tau geweht, und in den unbewegten Teichen fingen sich blass errötende Wolken wie in matten silbernen Spiegeln. Da hatte er die kühle ruhevolle Schönheit der Dinge gefühlt, über die das Leben noch nicht gekommen war, und sein heisser Atem." (GW, 528.) Paul wants to live, but aloof from life and all its turmoil, strife, and ugliness, in a spiritual limbo where he can enjoy aesthetic pleasures undisturbed.

It would be a mistake, however, to assume that he is simply another Epicurean or hedonist. Proof that he is not lies in the fact that he longs for the very qualities that make Georg so strong and fit for life. By the end of Part I, which takes up only the first seven pages of the novel, Paul has already emerged as a young man with basically conflicting desires--for aloofness from life "und sein heisser Atem," and for involvement in it--although at this point his "decadent" desires and impulses still clearly dominate.

The shock effect of Part II is considerable, largely because the dream of which it consists begins without any introduction whatever; the unsuspecting reader realises, of course, that the love-death rites in the Syrian temple are conjured up by Paul's phantasy, but he justifiably assumes that all the other developments (the dying wife, Paul's recollections of his life with her, etc.) are "real." Only at the end of Part II does the reader learn--to his surprise and consternation--that everything was a dream. At least one early reviewer of Der Tod Georgs could not suppress
a note of indignation at this literary trick: "Er [Beer-Hofmann]
lässt den Traum als Leben und die Menschen als Schattenbilder vorüber-
ziehen und verknüpft Traum und Wirklichkeit in eigentümlicher, reizvoller
Weise. Freilich geht es dabei nicht ohne . . . Tric ab. Wohl jeder
Leser wird sich zuerst abgestossen fühlen, wenn er sieht, dass die ganze
Ehe Pauls und das tragische Sterben seiner Göttin und manches andere nur
Traumphantasien sind. Man lässt sich nicht gern dupieren, am wenigsten
aber sein Gefühl."^107

In Part II the dream as reality becomes a major motif. Like Hofmanns-
thal, Beer-Hofmann here carries on a tradition that dates back to the
Baroque, a tradition represented by Calderon, Shakespeare, and later by
Grillparzer. Looking first at the nature of the dream, one finds that for
Paul the impressions of the waking state cannot begin to compare with
those of the dream in vividness and intensity; only a few moments after
waking he finds that the dream's images are already beginning to fade.
Everything in the dream, moreover, had had an importance to him for its
own sake, and a connection with him: "Es schien ihm, als wären der kurze
Schlaf mit unendlich vielem erfüllt gewesen; nichts Gleichgültiges hatte
es da in seinem Leben gegeben. Keine leeren Stunden, die nur die Brücken
zu erhofften reicheren waren; und nichts, das wertlos am Wege stand und an

Paul differs from the heroes of earlier dream literature (such as Rustan in Grillparzer's Traum, ein Leben) in several important respects: he is infinitely more sophisticated, and—a true child of his time and milieu—further characterized by inordinately delicate sensibilities, high-strung nerves, and a kind of paralysis of the will. He is also different (and this, of course, also marks him as a child of his time) in that he tries to fathom the psychological implications of the dream and its relation to life. On waking, he analyzes his dream, attempts to interpret it and draw some conclusions from it: "Aber wenn er nur geträumt hatte, warum war dann noch jetzt, da er wach war, dieser Schmerz in ihm? Als wäre ihm wirklich die gestorben, von der er geträumt. Die gab es ja doch gar nicht! ... Wie sonderbar doch der Traum dichtete! Er kannte ja gar kein Haus, das dem glich, von dem er geträumt hatte ... und er selbst war auch ein anderer gewesen; oder kannte er sich im Traum besser als im Wachen?" (GW, 568.) This question appears to be a rather casual one, tacked on as an afterthought, but it has far-reaching implications. Like Paul's earlier admission that he regarded his dreams as "mehr sein wahres Leben als das, das er lebte" (GW, 538), this question points to the fact
that in his treatment of the dream motif Beer-Hofmann is raising the question of what actually constitutes reality. His answer is not a denial of the reality of the waking state, but rather an assertion that the dream is equally valid, and, as far as vividness and intensity are concerned, even more "real" than the waking state. Paul himself does not realize this fully or understand why it is so, until Part IV:

Und über dem Leben seiner Tage war ein zweites—das seiner Nächte—gewölbt. Aus allen Früchten des wachen Lebens war der Saft in Träume so gepresst und gedichtet, wie die Taten vieler Jahre in ein Lied, das man zu singen anhebt, wenn es dämmt, und das zu Ende ist, ehe es Nacht geworden. Träume lösten alle Schwere des Lebens von den Sohlen; keine leeren Stunden gab es, die nur Brücken zu erhofften reicheren waren, und Jahre wogen nur das, was sie werteten. Der träumte, schuf eine Welt und setzte in sie, nur was für ihn bedeutete; von ihm gesteckt, waren die Grenzen ihrer Himmel und ihrer Erden, all- wissen war er in ihr, und alles wusste von ihm. Nicht unterjocht von Zeit und Raum, freier als das Leben der Tage, lebten Träume...

(GW, 619. Italics mine.)

The italicized lines of this passage, moreover, indicate the author's conviction that the dream is not only a valid complement of the waking state, but also a necessary one. In an era and a society already profoundly influenced by psychological experimentation and theory, particularly that of Freud, a deterministic view of human behavior was becoming more and more prevalent—a view that Beer-Hofmann shared, not unreservedly, but to a considerable degree. This view, of course, applies to human behavior in "real life"; in the dream, by contrast, man satisfies the need to exercise the creative power, omniscience, and control that he does not have over
the events of "real life."\textsuperscript{108} In Part IV of the novel Beer-Hofmann has Paul realize that this is precisely why he had always regarded his dreams as "mehr sein wahres Leben als das, das er lebte," why he had always feared life and sought to remain detached from it: "Fremd und sie nie erfassend, war er in die Welt geworfen, in der er im Wachen lebte; wovon er nicht wusste, rührte an ihn, und was er tat, wirkte ins Unbekannte. Aber aus ihm geboren war die Welt, in der er träumte; von ihm gesteckt waren die Grenzen ihrer Himmel und ihrer Erden. Allwissend war er in ihr, und alles wusste von ihm." (GW, 607.)

Not only the pre-determined nature of human behavior makes the dream a necessary complement of the waking state; it is additionally necessary because the ever-advancing science and technology of the modern world has brought about the "Entgeheimnissung" of virtually everything that was once a mystery. Beer-Hofmann expresses this idea in one of his (undated) prose fragments:

\begin{quote}
Die 'Entgeheimnissung' aller Vorgänge des Lebens schreitet unersichtsam fort. Müssig, es zu beklagen oder es zu bejubeln. Sicher ist durch Hineinleuchten in viele dunkle Ecken, durch ... Öffnen der Fenster, viel schlechte Luft entfernt worden. Aber auch Bindungen, die vorhanden waren ... sind
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{108} The scientific correctness of Beer-Hofmann's view of the dreamer is, of course, very much open to debate, i.e. it might be argued quite legitimately that man no more controls, manipulates, or sets the boundaries of his dreams, than he does the events of his waking hours. But such arguments are beyond the scope of this discussion; the purpose here is not to prove Beer-Hofmann right or wrong in terms of the clinical findings of psychology, but simply to establish what his views were.
In summary it may be said that Beer-Hofmann's view and artistic treatment of the dream (as a state infinitely richer and more vivid than life itself) makes this aspect of the novel an expression of the "Flucht aus dem Leben" which Hofmannsthal mentions in the d'Annunzio essay—but not in the negative sense usually associated with escapism; the flight has become a constructive, if not therapeutic activity. Paul's ultimate realization is that the world of dreams should not dominate, but neither should the world of the waking state; both are valid and necessary realms of life.

One aspect of Paul's dream, namely his sense of oneness with all things in it, requires further (and separate) consideration, because it relates to a different problem—that of the poet and his efforts to communicate his experience of life. Within the dream itself, Paul's sense of oneness applies to things past as well as present:
In anderer Menschen Gedächtnis lag das Wissen von diesen Dingen wie das Korn in trockenen Speichern ... Nicht wie ein Wissen von Geschehenem empfand er es; es war sein Eigen ... Er fasste es nicht, dass es gewesen, und er hasste alle, die in selbstverständlichen Begreifen, unerschauernd, an dem Wunder vorüberschritten, das sie Zeit nannten ... Was Macht besass, an seine Seele zu rühren, das lebte ... Er sprach nicht davon wie von gewesener Herrlichkeit, und wie man von Toten spricht, die man geliebt: Mit Sehnsucht und Mitleid und vielem Erinnern ... Ihm lebte es, und er dachte daran wie an den Mund seiner Geliebten; wie an lebendige Lippen, die er heute geküsst und morgen wieder küssten durfte. (GW, 538.)

It is well known that Hofmannsthal experienced this same sense of oneness with things past as well as present, reflected, for example, in the first of the "Terzinen über Vergänglichkeit": "Denn: dass ich auch vor hundert Jahren war / Und meine Ahnen, die im Totenhemd, / Mit mir verwandt sind wie mein eignes Haar ..." 109

Despite his sensitivity to all things in the dream and his feeling of oneness with them, however, Paul cannot communicate what he feels, and here Beer-Hofmann—a year before the publication of Ein Brief (das Lord Chandos)—transforms into a literary work of art the Lord Chandos-phase of his own life: "So flocht sich wundervoll und beängstigend ein Netz um ihn, engmaschig und alle Freiheit ihm nehmend. Alles war mit allem unlösbar verknotet, Gewesenes stand neben ihm aufrecht wie Lebendiges ... Wäre er ein Dichter gewesen, er hätte, was schwer und verworren auf seinem Nacken

109 Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Gedichte und lyrische Dramen (Stockholm: Bermann-Fischer Verlag, 1946), p. 17. / Gesammelte Werke in Einzelausgaben, Herbert Steiner, ed. /
lastete, mit leichten Fingern formend über sein Haupt gehoben; und was zahllos und ohne Ende um ihn waltete, hätte er in Lieder gepresst und gedichtet . . . Aber er vermochte es nicht . . . " (GW, 551. See also footnote 31, p. 16.)

Death is by far the most important motif of Part II, represented by the dying "wife" to whom Paul has been married for seven years. She is the "woman in the clouds," who, it will be recalled, appeared to be wearing a shroud, and the young woman Paul encountered on his nocturnal walk along the river in Part I.

In Part II several more details are added to the earlier characterization of the young woman as a person on the periphery of life. Now she is not merely unawakened to life, but unfit for it: she has never been able to bear children; she is dying in her early adulthood of an incurable disease. If she was not a reflection of Paul in Part I, he has very consciously molded her into an extension of himself in Part II; in thinking about their life together, he recalls that

es quält ihn, dass er sie so anders wusste, als er selbst war. Schlicht und festgebettet lag ihre Seele in dem, was man sie gelehrt und was sie von Jugend auf um sich gesehen. Oft nur mit einem Lächeln und dann wieder mit scheinbar spielenden klugen Worten führte er an dem, was ihr unantastbar geschehen. Er nahm ihr den Glauben an einen gütigen Gott, der ihr Schicksal lenkte, und liess ihr nichts als verzehrende Sehnsucht nach Glauben; wo sie frei und ahnungslos auf sicherem Boden geschritten war, liess er sie auf die dunkeln gurgelnden Wasser des Abgrunds unter ihr horchen und lehrte sie, in ihr eigenes Leben mit Zweifel und fragenden Augen zu sehen. (GW, 555.)
But Paul also enriches her life; he teaches her to be receptive to beauty in all its manifestations, and to cultivate her senses: "Er zeigte ihr die Schönheit alltäglicher Dinge, an der sie achtlos vorübergegangen . . . und sie begriff, dass es nicht nur Schönheit gab, die auf ererbten Thronen prunkend sass und der alles opferte, sondern dass um uns, so weit wir sahen, Throne leer standen, harrend der Schönheit, die jeder Augenblick neu gebar . . . Fremd und flüchtig wäre sonst vieles von ihr abgeglitten; aber leer wie sie war, nahmen alle ihres Sinne es gierig auf und durchtränkten sich mit neuem Wissen und neuem Schauen." (GW, 535.)

One is reminded here of Erich Kahler's observation about Paula Beer-Hofmann: "He [Beer-Hofmann] shaped her into a perfect companion . . . one is hard put to distinguish which qualities destined the one for the other and which were attributable to his own shaping." 110

The long, slow death of the wife evokes a variety of emotions in Paul. He feels sadness, and the pain of loss, but in a very self-centered way: again and again he returns from his reveries and recollections of the past to think, "Und jetzt starb sie ihm da unten." Paul also feels guilt; that is evident on the first page of Part II, but there it is simply the vague, inexplicable guilt of a man who is alive and in good health while his wife is dying: "Scheu und verstohlen aß er . . . und dass er essen konnte, empfand er wie schamloses Unrecht an ihr, die unten seit Wochen sterbend

lag." (GW, 530.) Later he feels a more specific sense of guilt when he realizes that he has divested this woman of her identity and given her his own, placing on her a burden she is ill-equipped to carry:

Geschlechtslos schien sie ihm; nur mehr etwas, was litt und starb, und vorher lange neben ihm geschritten war, mit hungernden Augen von ihm den Inhalt des Lebens sich erbettelnd. Denn an ihm hatte sie geglaubt, als wäre ihm die Kraft und Tugend aller Dinge zugewachsen, die er ihr zerstört und die schwächer gewesen als sein Wort. Und nun starb sie; voll von schweren unruhigen Gedanken, die er in sie geworfen. Hilflos . . . verfangen in die prunkende Vielfalt seiner Seele, in die er sie gehüllt. Er hatte geglaubt, sie träge, frei von aller Schwere . . . das Wissen, das lange verworren auf ihm gelaustet war: und er fühlte jetzt: Mit der ganzen Last der Sehnsucht hatte er sie beladen, und sie trug kaum ihre Gewande. (GW, 561.)

Paul's life with this woman, as it emerges in his recollections, had been one of serenity, beauty, and self-imposed detachment from all ugliness and pain. Confronted now by the reality of her suffering and death, he simply cannot grasp it: "wie er wusste, dass er auf einer Erde stand, die wirbelnd im weiten Weltenraum rollte, und es dennoch nicht fasste, er hätte sonst schwindelnd taumeln müssen—so wusste er, dass sie sterben müsse, und fasste es nicht." (GW, 531.)

The attitude of the dying wife is clearly meant to show that life, despite the suffering it entails, is infinitely precious: "Neidisch tastete ihr Blick über die Ringe an ihren Fingern und den lichten geschnitzten Ahornschränk an der Wand; das alles lebte ja nicht, aber es durfte noch dauern. Ein unerhörtes Unrecht geschah ihr; Hohnend lebte eine Welt weiter, und sie allein musste sterben. Keines half ihr zum Leben; niemand
starb mit ihr—und in ihren Augen war der hilflose Haß der Sterbenden gegen alles, was lebte." (GW, 565.) This passage also points up two other themes which were to recur frequently in Beer-Hofmann's work: the indifference and apparent cruelty of nature, and the loneliness and isolation of the individual, particularly in death. The latter theme found its most succinct expression in the well-known line from the "Schlaflied für Mirjam": "Keiner kann Keinem Gefährte hier sein."

The preciousness of life is also the major motif of Paul's lurid fantasy of the orgiastic love-death rites in the Syrian temple. This dream within a dream, fraught with eroticism, ends with the question:

111 One of Beer-Hofmann's notes on Der junge David summarizes the following information he had obtained from D.H. Duthe's Kurzes Bibelwörterbuch and Ernst Meier's Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes: "Astaroth in Basan, Kultstätte der alt-asiatischen Naturgöttin Astarte, in Kanaan als Astar, Astoret (woraus aramäisch Aphrodite wurde) verehrt. Eine berühmte Kultstätte war Hierapolis in Syrien. Lukian, 'De des Syriaka'. Sie ist Göttermutter, Göttin der Zeugung und Fruchtbarkeit. Da der Mond als Spender des nächtlichen Taus und so als Förderer alles Wachstums gilt, wird sie zur Mondgöttin, die Mondsichel ihr Emblem—Spuren des Mondkultes bei den Hebräern. Hiob 31, 26. An den Himmel versetzt, wird die Götter-Mutter zur 'Himmelskönigin'. Babylonische Theologen setzen die Eto star planetarisch als die Sterngöttin Venus." This note (quoted here from GW, p. 882) is undated, but it is quite probable that Beer-Hofmann used these same sources in writing the Syrian temple episode of Der Tod George.

112 For a detailed study of the erotic symbolism of the temple episode see Oberholzer, Richard Beer-Hofmann, p. 51ff. Not only these particular symbols, but those of Beer-Hofmann's Gesamtwerk are given very thorough treatment in this book, which also contains a useful "Symbolregister."
"Was trieb sie denn barfuß durch den Staub der Strassen und die steinstarrenden Wege der Gebirge zum Tempel hin, was drängte sie gebieterisch weg von der Gewohnheit ihres Lebens . . .? Fühlen wollten sie—endlich ihr Leben fühlen; den Kreis gleichvorrinnender Tage, in den es gebannt, sprengten, und—wie sie die eingeborenen tiefen Schauer vor dem Tode kannten—die schlummernde Lust des Lebensgeists jubelnd aufwecken." (GW, 547f.)

The Syrian temple of this episode has been interpreted as "das Werk einer Gemeinschaft," i.e. the thousands of people who helped to build it, "ihr persönliches Leben zurückdrängend, dienten . . . nur der gemeinsamen Aufgabe." 113 This is no doubt true, but there are indications that in a higher sense the temple symbolizes the work of the artist, his joy and pain in creating, and his motivation to create: "Über ihr eigenes Leben hinaus ihre Macht zu weiten, schaffend den Marmor zum Verweser ihrer Herrschaft zu bestellen, dass er noch in kommenden Tagen an Seelen zu rühren vermöchte, wenn die ihre längst entflohten, gab so viel Glück—dass es schien, als wäre dem Leiden aller Stachel gestumpft und selbst der Tod um seinen Sieg betrogen." (GW, 540.) 114 Further evidence that the temple represents

113 Oberholzer, Richard Beer-Hofmann, p. 52.

114 Beer-Hofmann later expressed this idea in the prose fragment, "Die Beschenkten": asking what sort of image the poet gives back to God, who has favored him, he replies: "Eines . . . das den Tod vergessen lässt, das dem Bild der Dinge Dauer, über das wirkliche Leben der Dinge hinaus, verleiht—eines, das Tod so an Tod knüpft, dass alles eine Kette des Lebens zu sein scheint." (GW, 629.)
the work of the artist is Beer-Hofmann's reference to the temple-builders
as "unruhig irrende Seelen, deren Schaffen vielleicht Gebet war und viel-
leicht ein Freveln" (GW, 540); this is reminiscent of his statement, "Der
Dichter geht immer hart an Frevel vorbei." (See Chapter I, p. 16.)

Paul's character undergoes considerable development in Part II; he
wrestles with the problem of death, not as an abstraction, but in concrete
form; he experiences a growing sense of "Gemeinschaft" with all creation,
past and present; and his feeling that life has meaning and purpose, how-
ever obscure it may be to man, strengthens into conviction. This becomes
clear from Paul's reflections on A Thousand and One Nights--the only book
he has been able to read in the months that his wife has lay dying: "Mit
klaren ungequälten Augen sahen die Menschen dieses Buches . . . In gewan-
denen labyrinthischen Wegen lief ihr Leben, mit dem anderer seltsam
verkettet. Was einem Irrweg glich, führte ans Ziel; was sich planlos
launenhaft zu winden schien, fügte sich in weise entworfene vielverschlun-
gene Formen . . . Kein blindes Geschick schlich hinter ihnen und schlug
sie tückisch von rückwärts zu Boden; in weiter Ferne, regungslos, mit un-
erbittlich offenen Augen, harrte ihr Schicksal ihrer; sie wandelten den
Weg zu ihm, wenn sie vor ihm flohen." (GW, 532.)

115 Werner Vordtriebe tells of a conversation a few months before
Beer-Hofmann's death, in which the poet said: "'Das Wunderbare an Tausend-
undeiner Nacht ist die vielfältige Verkrüpfung von Schicksalen darin.'
Eben diese habe er in seinem eigenen Leben immer so stark gespürt."(Ge-
sprüche," p. 147.) Cf. also Richard M. Sheirich, "Beer-Hofmann and the
The dream of Part II is, finally, prophetic in nature: in it Paul experiences virtually everything that will happen to him in the waking state in Parts III and IV, and the development of his character in the last two parts of the novel corresponds to that in the dream of Part II; thus Part II may be described as the statement of the theme, and Parts III and IV as variations on it.

The death motif, represented in Part II by the dying wife, is represented in Part III by Georg's death. There is no account of his actual dying; the reader learns of his sudden death through Paul's thoughts, as he accompanies Georg's body to Vienna the next day. At the beginning of this reverie, Paul's thoughts dwell less on Georg himself than on the reactions of others as they learned of his death. Their behavior had clearly appalled him:

Zuerst das Staunen darüber, dass ein so junger gesunder Mensch über Nacht gestorben sei; die Mürung über die Schicksalstragik, die sie darin fanden, dass Georg kurz vorher eine Professur erhalten hatte . . . und wenn sie hörten, dass seine Eltern tot seien und dass er keine Geschwister habe, trösteten sie sich . . . und erklärten, dass schliesslich ein Tod durch Herzenschlag, ohne Schmerzen und Krankheit, jedenfalls der schönste Tod sei. Gereizt und erstaunt starrte Paul auf ihre Lippen, die so unfählig sicher, geschäftig dieselben Worte formten . . . alle glichen unheimlich verzerrt einander, wenn, wie fertige rasch gewaschene Masken, erst Staunen, dann Trauer, und Trost, und sichere Lebensweisheit, über ihr Antlitz sich legte. (GW, 570.)

Paul soon recognizes, however, that for all his revulsion he is not much different than they. First comes the realization that "was ihn jetzt erschütterte, war nur der Tod, nicht Georgs Tod." (GW, 572.) And
he feels that even if the day ever comes when he mourns Georg, "auch das würde nur der Schmerz sein, dass Georg ihm gestorben war, nicht dass Georg nicht mehr leben durfte." (GW, 572.) Here Paul consciously acknowledges the same self-centered grief he experienced more or less unconsciously in his dream of the dying wife.

Paul's vivid, imaginary picture of what Georg's life might have been, had he lived to old age, may be regarded as the young Beer-Hofmann's gradually emerging conception of the true poet's life: Georg, a physician, would not have lived a life of detachment, insensitive to the world's suffering, nor would he have been one of those "die blass mit gehäuftem Wissen und Händen, geschickt wie gute Werkzeuge, ihr Handwerk übten.116 Wie die Augen der Künstler an allen Dingen tasten und die Form um ihr Schicksal fragen--woher sie geworden und wohin sie wird--so hätten seine Augen voll Frage auf leidenden Menschen geruht." (GW, 575.) Paul imagines how Georg would have turned his patients' beds toward the window, with its view of the sun and the clouds, "nur damit die Sehnsucht nach dem Leben draussen und die Hoffnung in ihnen nicht stürbe."

Paul's mental picture extends itself to include the thoughts, feelings, and recollections of Georg's patients; through one of them Beer-Hofmann reintroduces the motif of human isolation and loneliness. The patient

recalls an experience from his young manhood: standing alone on the desolate shore of a deserted lake, he had been overcome by the feeling "dass er allein war . . . Keine Brücken führten von ihm zum Duft der Pflanzen, zum stummen Blick der Tiere, und zur Flamme, die nach oben lechzte, und zum Wasser, das zur Tiefe wollte, und zur Erde, immer bereit alles zu verschlingen und alles wieder von sich zu speien. Und Blicke und Worte und erratene Gedanken der Menschen waren lügnerische Brücken, die nicht trugen. Hilflos und niemandem helfend, einsam nebeneinander, lebte sich ein jedes, unverstanden, stumm, zu Tode." (GW, 580.) Now, as the patient lies dying, he feels that this and other experiences had meant little to him, because "der graue Schutt gleich verrinnender Tage hatte es bedeckt und verborgen. Wie Kostbarkeiten in verschütteten Schatzhäusern geflohener Könige, hatte es lange geruht, bis Georgs Wort es gehoben. Vorher hatte es wenig bedeutet: ein Duft in der Nacht, das Verhallen einer Stimme, Wasser, das verrann, und ein Schatten um Mittag. Mutter - Jugend - Liebe - Erkenntnis - hiess es jetzt, und war genug, ein ganzes Leben reich zu erfüllen." (GW, 580. Italics mine.)

The comparison of Georg to the artist (see p. 91) and the use in the passage above of the phrase "Georgs Wort" are scarcely accidental. Like the temple-builders of Part II, Georg symbolizes the artist, in particular the poet. Different from other human beings yet one of them, sensitive to all things, full of compassion and understanding, at once an observer of life and a man deeply engaged in it, Georg has the power to ease men's
suffering, satisfy their longing, and open their eyes to things which "der graue Schutt gleich verrinnender Tage" had previously obscured.\footnote{117}

It is noteworthy that Paul imagines Georg's days as happy: "... und seine Tage wären nicht leer und nüchtern mit gleichen Schritten hinter einander her gegangen... so wären seine Tage glücklich sich wiegend einhergezogen, trunken vom Gefühl der grossen Macht, die Georg übte. Denn nur um seinetwillen, damit er helfen könne, schien alles da zu sein." (GW, 580.) This represents a considerable change from Part I, where Paul's conception of "Glück" was that of a state of detachment, in which all things were untouched by life "und sein heisser Atem." It also reflects the sense of oneness Paul had felt with everything in the dream of Part II.

Paul makes a decided effort to turn his thoughts from Georg entirely. for "etwas in ihm, das er gern verleugnet hätte..." redete leise, hartnäckig, im Tone von aller Welt, hässliche Allerweltsworte: dass Georg nun einmal tot sei und dass alle sterben müssten... und dass es dumm sei, sich damit zu quälen, wie Georgs Leben und Sterben vielleicht geworden wäre." (GW, 584f.) Paul is deeply ashamed, but he cannot help himself: he senses that "tief in ihm, geweckt durch Georgs Tod, die Freude am eigenen Lebendigsein schamlos aufjubelte." (GW, 585.) In Part II the ruthlessness of life and nature was conveyed primarily from the viewpoint:

\footnote{117} Cf. Hugo von Hofmannsthal, "Der Dichter und diese Zeit," in Prosas II (Frankfurt a.M.: S. Fischer Verlag, 1959), 229-257. / Gesammelte Werke in Einzelausgaben, Herbert Steiner, ed. / This lecture was first published in Die Neue Rundschau in 1907.
of the dying wife; here it is experienced— with an accompanying sense of shame— by the living.

Paul's "Freude am Lebendigsein" is reflected in his impressions and feelings as he looks at the passing scenery from the window of the train: "eine neue, junge Schönheit, die er noch nicht gekannt, schien den Dingen geschenkt, die er sonst kaum sah." (GW, 585.) The passage is replete with symbols of life: a swarm of bees in a field of clover, a peasant boy in the grass with a girl, a profusion of blossoming flowers, to name but a few. As he sees all these things with new eyes, Paul realizes "dass er nur sich selbst bezog, wenn er an diesen frühen Tod wie an etwas dachte, was Georg vor vieler Qual behütet hätte." (GW, 587ff.)

In the ensuing pages, however, Paul seems to change his mind, for in wishing that Georg had lived to enjoy "Ruhm, Macht, ein glückliches Alter," it occurs to Paul that he has never seem "Alter und Glück beieinander" in a human face. This leads him to the recollection of a winter morning on which he had stood before the display window of a toy shop. Gazing at the toy theatre in the foreground, with its puppet figures of warriors, a king, an old man, an executioner, and a princess, Paul reflects on the nature of children's play. No matter where their vivid imaginations carried them, "Kein Verirrtsein gab es, wie in den Strassen begrenzter Städte; in Grenzenloses, in Zeit und Raum schien man zu sinken und—sich darin verlierend—fühlte man sich ein Teil von dem, darin man sich verlor." (GW, 590.) Their play, moreover, was a preparation for life, "ein Vorbildliches, ein Ahnendes"; in such play they did more than go through imitative motions:
"Am Faden des Lebens selbst schienen sie zu spinnen, der unzerreisbar—von andern kommend zu andern—durch ihre schweren Hände glitt; Spinner und—wie sich ihr Leben mit hineinverflocht—Gespinst zugleich für die nach ihnen." (GW, 591.)

Unconsciously and with awe, children seemed to sense "dass in der Erde alle Schicksale sich vorbereiteten ... Nichts gab es, dessen Wege nach rückwärts nicht zur Erde führten. Ihr entstammt alles, was in ein Leben sich lenkend verflocht. Nicht tot und ohne eigenes Schicksal waren die Dinge ... Aus der Tiefe stiegen sie nach oben und wanderten—von einander nicht wissend—auf vielverschlungenen, unerkannten Strassen uns zu. Zur vorbestimmten Zeit waren sie an unserem Weg ... " (GW, 591f.)

All of this only seems to confirm the sense of a mysterious purpose in life, and to continue Paul's development toward an affirmation of it, but as he glances upward, his eye is caught by the sign above the entrance to the toy shop; it consists of several luridly painted masks: "Grauenhaft verzerrt waren hier die Hässlichkeiten des Alters gehäuft." In his mind's eye Paul sees the faces of all the old he has ever encountered, a ghastly, endless procession of feebleness, infirmity, and physical deterioration in every repulsive detail, old people in whom "der Tod gegen die abgenützte Haut sein Antlitz drängte, ungeduldig wartend, begierig zu

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118. Posterity, or the continuity of the seed, as a possible means of triumph over death is hinted at in Der Tod George, but developed more fully in Baer-Hofmann's later works; it will be discussed in detail in Chapter III.
erscheinen." Comparing to these hideous images Georg's vitality and youthful handsomeness at the time of his death, Paul concludes, at the end of Part III, that Georg has been spared after all: "Glücklich durfte man Georg nennen, wie man die beiden Jünglinge glücklich und Lieblinge der Götter nannte, von denen Paul als Knabe gelesen." (GW, 598.) Paul has not thought of the story in many years, but now he recalls without effort its concluding lines: "Da erlangten sie das beste Lebensende, und es zeigten die Götter dadurch an, dass dem Menschen besser sei zu sterben als zu leben." (GW, 598.)

Although the reader has no immediate indication of this, several months have elapsed between Parts III and IV. In past years Paul's autumn walks had brought him a sense of peace; in the autumn landscape, he felt, "klar schien sich alles um ihn zu gliedern. Wie es sich sonderte und stufte, erkannte er die Zusammenhänge . . . Gerechter als vorher, vermochte er im stillen klärenden Licht des Herbstes den stummen Willen der Landschaft zu erfassen, durch die er schritt, und ihr Gesetz." (GW, 600.) These are not all his impressions now: "er fand überall dasselbe: Eine Landschaft, die hässlich geschrumpert schien, oder öde sich dehnte; die keinen Zwecken mehr diente und nichts mehr erhoffte; nur mehr wartend lag." (GW, 603.) Unlike the countryside teeming with life which Paul had observed from the window of the train, this is a dying landscape.

Paul is also vexed by the disturbing sensation of having forgotten something which he feels it is important for him to remember: "Und er begriff es nicht: Wie konnte etwas, das einmal sein gewesen, ihm so verloren
gehören, dass er auch nicht mehr wusste, was er verloren? Was ihn einmal so erschüttert hatte, musste es nicht von jeher und für immer, unverlierbar in ihm ruhen? Was war noch sicher, wenn sein eigenes tiefes Empfinden ihm so verriet?" (GW, 602.) A series of associated questions follows, the last of which is the major question Beer-Hofmann attempts to answer in this concluding section of the novel: "Und gab es nichts, das unvergänglich in ihm war, das ihm nicht verlassen konnte, dessen er sich sicher fühlen durfte, und das immer ihm, und nur ihm, so gehörte, wie das Blut in seinen Adern?" (GW, 602.) This seemingly casual reference to the blood in his veins will unexpectedly assume special significance as the novel reaches its conclusion.

What Paul is attempting vainly to remember is the dream of Part II and the insight it had brought him. His encounter in the park with the mother and her daughter sets in motion the process of recall; the daughter's appearance conforms very closely to that of the girl by the river (Part I) and the dying wife (Part II). Now Paul remembers in sharp detail the dream and his impressions of its richness and fullness, his feeling of oneness with everything in it. He now understands why the dream state has been so much more satisfying to him than life itself (see the passage quoted on p. 80); it is the uncertainty of life, the lack of control over its events, that have made Paul try to remain aloof from it.

As in earlier parts of the novel, his reflections lead him again to the intuition of a sense or purpose in life. Now, however, this purpose is not merely unifying; despite the inability of finite men to comprehend
this fully, the guiding purpose behind all life is also just:

Unbegangene dunkle Strassen gab es, auf denen, ehe man starb, alles noch den Weg zu einem finden konnte ... Denn ehe noch der letzte Atem über klaffende Lippen wehte ... konnte unerkannt vielleicht Vollstrecker nahen, die hier Verworrenes hier noch lösten, die an noch Lebenden Urteilssprüche vollzogen, irdisches Unrecht zu irdischem Recht richteten, und die ... qualvolle Tode verkünften, und Verlassene wieder einführen in die Heimat, und Gefesselte hinaus, in Seligkeiten. Ziemte es sich nicht, auch vor der verhüllten Möglichkeit gerechter Lose, ehrfürchtig seine Augen zu beschatten ...? (GW, 609f.)

In this passage Beer-Hofmann still presents his conviction in the form of a question, but it is clearly a rhetorical one. More than in any of the earlier passages of the novel, he emerges here as the exculpator dei. In the ensuing pages he dispenses with rhetorical questions, and has Paul conclude: "Gerechte Wege ging alles; ein jedes das Gesetz erfüllend, das ihm vorgeschrieben ... Und Unrecht konnte nicht geschehen; denn Irdischem war nicht die Macht gegeben, Gesetze zu beugen, die in der bunt-verwirren Vielfalt des Geschehens, herrlich, klar, einfältig; geboten." (GW, 616.)

In the final pages of the novel the theme of a just purpose or natural order is given a new and unexpected dimension: Paul's experience of it is linked to the Jewish tradition. The reader learns for the first time that Paul is a Jew; he is convinced that his Jewish blood and heritage are what have led him to his new insight: "Denn über dem Leben derer, deren Blut in ihm floss, war Gerechtigkeit wie eine Sonne gestanden, deren Strahlen sie nicht wärmen, deren Licht ihnen nie geleuchtet, und vor deren
The development of the Israelites' concept of a just God is central in Paul's vivid mental picture of his ancestors:

Vorfahren, die irrend . . . wanderten; . . . von den Niedrigsten noch verworfen--aber nie sich selbst verwerfend; . . . in Leiden nicht zum barmherzigen Gott--zu Gott dem Gerechten rufend. Und vor ihnen viele, deren Sterben ein grosses Fest . . . war . . . sie selbst an Pfähle geschmückt, das Feuer erwartend, schuldlos Sünden sich erdichtend und ihre Qualle 'Strafe' nennend, nur dass ihr Gott ein Unbezwisteter, Gerechter, bleibe. Und hinter ihnen allen ein Volk, um Gnaden nicht bettelnd, im Kampf den Segen seines Gottes sich erringend . . . Und langsam ihren Gott von Opfern und häuserungen lösend, hoben sie ihm hoch über ihre Hütter, bis er, kein Kampfesgott von Hirten mehr--ein Wahrer allen Rechtes--über vergänglichen Sonnen und Welten, unsichtbar, allem leuchtend, stand. (GW, 621f.)

This passage is also like a first sketch of the vast panorama of Jewish character, history, and religious tradition Beer-Hofmann was later to create in the David-cycle; the reference to a people "im Kampf den Segen seines Gottes sich erringend" is perhaps an indication that Beer-Hofmann at this time was already considering a work about Jacob and his experience at Beth-El.

Arthur Goldschmidt, in his early review of Der Tod Georgs, regrets this unexpected turn the novel takes, saying "es ist sehr schade, dass die Geschichte so ausläuft." Although he does not elaborate, if he were to expand his remarks, his position might be found in the works of Jacob Burckhardt, who regarded the civilizing function of the Hebrews and the part they played in the history of European society as a theme worthy of serious reflection.

119 "Der Tod Georgs" von Richard Beer-Hofmann, Das literarische Echo II (1899/1900), 1371.
meant that there is not sufficient preparation for this association of
Paul's affirmation of the world order with his Jewishness, and that its
sudden introduction in the very last pages of the work detracts from its
unity, the argument would not be without merit: this passage, with its very
exalted language, expresses considerably more than mere pride in ethnic
origin, but there has been no previous indication that Paul, although
concerned throughout the novel with philosophical questions, feels any
interest in an established religion. It may very well be, of course, that
Beer-Hofmann deliberately introduced this motif so belatedly and unexpec-
tedly because he was striving for a surprise effect. Conscious craftsman
that he was, this is entirely possible; it certainly would not be the only
such literary "trick" in the novel. Although-probably not part of Beer-
Hofmann's original conception of the work, it was in all likelihood both
a literary device and the expression of his growing sense of pride in and
identification with his Jewish heritage. In any event it is a theme which
in the course of time was to engross him more and more.

It has been said of the decadent heroes portrayed by the young Austrian
writers of the turn of the century that "inevitably they reach the same
conclusion--namely, that they have no free will and are mastered by their
nerves or life or fate. They have reached the last stage of civilization,
and there is no tomorrow."120 Beer-Hofmann's young hero clearly does not

120 William Eickhorst, Decadence in German Fiction (Denver: Alan Swal-
conform to this type by the time the novel reaches its end, where the
problem of detachment from life versus involvement in it is resolved in
favor of involvement—not in vague generalities, but in specific relation
to Paul and his future life. For him there is a tomorrow, and it will be
very different than his past.

There is admittedly a strong note of determinism in Paul's affirmation
of life; he realizes that life itself—"ein starker Gebieter"—can compel
him to involvement, and his new awareness that "keiner durfte für sich
allein sein Leben leben" is followed by a passage that clearly demonstrates
Beer-Hofmann's conviction that the mysterious world order makes involved
men of us all, no matter whether we will this, or seek to avoid it. (GW,
617.) Nevertheless, Paul's affirmation of life is an act of will, for he
goes far beyond a resigned acceptance of what he cannot change in any
event; he thinks of his past life with contempt, and envisions a new life,
in which he will be no passive tool of fate, but an active participant,
who by virtue of his voluntary involvement will achieve the sensitivity to
all creation and the sense of oneness with it that he previously had ex-
perienced only in his dreams: "Verschlungen in ein grosses von Urbegimm
gemessenes, feierliches Kreisen, trieb sein Leben, mitdurchtön'd von ewigen
Gesetzen, die durch alles klangen. Kein Unrecht konnte ihm geschehen,
Leiden waren kein Verstossensein, und der Tod schied ihn nicht von allem.
Denn, vermählt mit allem, allem notwendig und allem unentbehrlich, war
die Tat vielleicht ein Amt, Leiden vielleicht Würden, und der Tod eine
Sendung vielleicht." (GW, 619.)
Life and the human community are symbolized at the close of the novel by the street workers in front of the park entrance ("Sie standen bis zu den Hüften im Boden"). A group of them, whose work shift has just ended, walks away from the park, and Paul follows. It has been suggested that Beer-Hofmann strives in this passage to establish a link between his hero and the human community, "bricht aber auch hier nicht durch die Traumvoraussetzung seiner dichterischen Welt . . . Paul ist ein jugendlicher Repräsentant des jüdischen Bürgertums in Österreich mit überliefelter Kultur, er arbeitet nicht . . . er ist allein."\(^{121}\) The fact that Paul does not overtake or join the workers seems to support this view, as does the sentence, "Sie sprachen miteinander in einer fremden Sprache, die Paul nicht verstand." Nevertheless, I believe that this is intended simply to emphasize Paul's newness to life, not his failure to enter it, for the following sentence says, "Langsam ging er hinter ihnen, unbewusst in den schweren Takt ihrer Schritte verfallend." (GW, 624. Italics mine.)

A number of critics believe that with Der Tod George Beer-Hofmann emerged as an innovator who anticipated the techniques of Proust, Joyce, Virginia Woolf, and Hermann Broch many years before their works appeared; indeed some seem to regard him as the "inventor" of stream-of-

consciousness writing in German literature. Some similarities to these writers do exist, and Der Tod Georgs does contain some innovations (which will be taken up in the following discussion), but its language is not one of them. Like Viennese Baroque, it is rather overwhelming. The antithesis of tight, terse prose, the language of the novel marks it as a fin de siècle work in the Jugendstil tradition. It is fraught with symbolism (sometimes a trifle too insistent, as, for example, the phallic symbolism of the temple episode), richly detailed and reflecting the Impressionist's intense awareness of color, shapes, and sounds: particularly illustrative are the passages which describe the hero's sensitivity to the phenomena of nature, beautiful artifacts, etc. (e.g. GW, 524, 525, 528, 542ff., 562, 586f., 604, to name only a few passages). The language of Der Tod Georgs also reflects Beer-Hofmann's intense and abiding concern for the renewal of the word. One indication of this is the passage in which Paul recalls the language of heroic tales he had read as a boy: "Wann er sprach, meinte er das Antlitz seiner Worte zu sehen, die der mühevolle Dienst des Alltags verzerrt und kraftlos und niedrig gemacht. Aber tot und verkürt und entrückt allem unedlen Dienen war die Sprache, in der von jenen Helden geschrieben stand; sie redete nicht von Geschehenem, sie war..."

122 Among others see Ludwig Pesch, "Richard Beer-Hofmann," Wort und Wahrheit XIX (1964), 617; Erich Kahler, "Richard Beer-Hofmann," Commentary I, 49; Alfred Werner, "Richard Beer-Hofmann: Double Heritage," The American Scholar XVI, 330. William Rose Benet also expressed this view in his presentation speech during the ceremonies in which the National Institute of Arts and Letters gave Beer-Hofmann its Award for Distinguished Achievements. (I thank Mrs. Miriam Beerhofmann-Lens for providing me with the complete text of this speech.)
Magie, die es heraufbeschwor." (GW, 538.) One could also point to the
passage (quoted on p. 93) in which the phrase "häsliche Allerweltsworte"
occurs, and the one in which Paul recalls the meaningless platitudes of
his acquaintances when they learned of Georg's death (quoted on p. 90).

Beer-Hofmann strives very consciously to avoid "Allerweltsworte."
This, of course, is true of all creative poets who seek to renew the word
by using it in fresh, imaginative ways, on multiple levels of meaning. In
Beer-Hofmann's case it is often also an expression of the "instinktmässige,
fast somnambule Hingabe an jede Offenbarung des Schönen," of which Hof-
mannsthal speaks in the d'Annunzio essay. Der Tod Georgs contains many
passages in which the poet seems utterly intoxicated by the word per se as
he describes various manifestations of beauty: a landscape, an art object,
precious stones, a beautifully woven piece of cloth. Probably the most
notable example is the long introductory passage to the Syrian temple
rites: Beer-Hofmann sets the scene in elaborate detail, conjuring up brilli-
ant images of the building of the temple, its structural beauties and
the wealth of treasure it contains. With this in mind it is easier to
understand the somewhat exaggerated assertion that "'Der Tod Georgs' ist
nur scheinbar eine Erzählung, ist eigentlich eine Aneinanderreihung von
Kostbarkeiten des Worts, der funkelnden Sätze, der prachterfüllten Bilder
..."123 The word itself becomes an ornament, "Verzierung" for its own
sake.

123 Richard Specht, "Literatur der Gegenwart," in Ewiges Österreich,
Except for the very brief conversation with which Der Tod Georgs begins, the novel contains no dialogue; the entire "story" unfolds in Paul's mind. Since there is an unfortunate tendency to use the terms "stream of consciousness," "interior monologue," and "erlebte Rede" ("indirect interior monologue") as though they were synonymous, it seems necessary to begin the discussion of Beer-Hofmann's technique with some definitions. The difference between interior monologue and "erlebte Rede" has been formulated very concisely by Rasch: "Die 'erlebte Rede' ist ein erzähler, nicht ein zitieter innerer Monolog."124 Interior monologue (as in Schnitzler's Leutnant Gustl) transmits the character's thoughts and sensations without benefit of any intermediary, while "erlebte Rede" (as in Der Tod Georgs and the earlier stories, Camelias and Das Kind) maintains the convention of a narrator, although, as will be shown, the line of demarcation can be erased almost completely, if--as is the case in Beer-Hofmann's prose fiction--the narrator as such is not allowed to intrude or interrupt in the slightest.

Both "erlebte Rede" and interior monologue fall within, but constitute only one level of the very broad category known as "stream of consciousness," namely the language level, on which thoughts are actively formulated into words. The stream-of-consciousness technique, however,

can also include the rendering of a vast range of consciousness lying below the language level; this attempt to express the sub-lingual level is often called the technique of "sensory impression," distinguished from interior monologue and "erlebte Rede," but like them a sub-category of the stream-of-consciousness technique.⁹²⁵ (Probably one of the most skillful representations of sub-lingual consciousness is the latter part of Molly Bloom's reverie in Ulysses, where Joyce succeeds in conveying the increasingly nebulous and inchoate thoughts, sensations, and images that immediately precede sleep.)

Still another literary technique that attempts to render the workings of a character's mind is "internal analysis"; the principal feature that distinguishes it from the other types mentioned is the presence of the author in the story, serving the reader not only as a guide, but also as an interpreter of what is transpiring in the character's mind.⁹²⁶

Such categories and definitions are valuable as working tools; one of the pitfalls of their use, however, is that they tend to become ends in themselves, molds into which literary works are poured—sometimes forcibly. What I shall attempt to show in the following pages is that Beier-Hofmann's technique, while corresponding most closely to "erlebte Rede," does not

⁹²⁵Lawrence E. Bowling, "What is the Stream of Consciousness Technique?" PMLA LXV (1950), 342.

⁹²⁶Ibid., p. 343.
fit perfectly or completely into any one of these categories, but con-
tains elements characteristic of several of them, and that in addition
to these techniques the author uses a number of much older and more con-
ventional literary devices.

The examination of Der Tod Georgs as a stream-of-consciousness novel
is best begun with some observations about the nature of its subject
matter. As noted earlier in this chapter, Der Tod Georgs presents amazing-
ly little external action, and what little there is has importance only as
a supporting phenomenon, i.e. as a means of setting the scene and the pace,
of establishing a given mood. What is clearly of far greater interest and
importance to the author is the novel's internal action. The conclusion
that Robert Humphrey has drawn about stream-of-consciousness writing in
general can readily be applied to Beer-Hofmann's novel: i.e., . . . the realm
of life with which stream-of-consciousness literature is concerned is men-
tal and spiritual existence—both the whatness and the howness of it. The
whatness includes the categories of mental experiences: sensations, memo-
rries, imaginations, conceptions, and intuitions. The howness includes the
symbolizations, the feelings, and the processes of association. It is
often impossible to separate the what from the how.127 This does not
mean that stream-of-consciousness writers are any more concerned than ear-
lier novelists were about rendering character and human experience as

127 Robert Humphrey, *Stream of Consciousness in the Modern Novel* (Ber-
faithfully as possible; it is simply that they concern themselves with
different areas of human existence—the earlier novelist with "motive and
action," the stream-of-consciousness novelist with "psychic existence and
functioning." It is the difference, Humphrey remarks, "between being con-
cerned about what one does and being concerned about what one is."128

In Beer-Hofmann's novel, as in many other modern works of prose fic-
tion, the problem of technique centers about two much-disputed conven-
tions: the narrator and his role, and the treatment of time, including use
of tense.129 Beer-Hofmann's technique is not interior monologue in the
strict sense, since thoughts and utterances are related, rather than
quoted; his technique conforms to that of "erlebte Rede" in its use of a
narrator, but the narrator of Der Tod George functions solely as story-
teller, and interrupts his narration neither to tell us anything about
himself nor to analyze or interpret the protagonist's thoughts, sensations,
etc. for the reader. Thus what is strictly speaking an objective

128 Humphrey, Stream of Consciousness, p. 8. Hofmannsthal expresses
this idea in the d'Annunzio essay, and Gustav Landauer was later to say
the same thing (quoting Oscar Wilde) in a commentary of Der Graf von Cha-
rolais: "... es komme nicht auf das an, was der Mensch tut, sondern was
er ist." (Gustav Landauer: Sein Lebensgang in Briefen, Martin Buber, ed.,
Vol. I, p. 129ff.)

129 For comprehensive presentations of all sides of the controversy
see Käte Hamburger, Die Logik der Dichtung, Stuttgart, 1957; Wolfgang
Kayser, Entstehung und Krise des modernen Romans, Stuttgart, 1955, and
"Wer erzählt den Roman?" in Die Vortragsserie, Bern, 1958; Franz Stanzel,
"Die typischen Erzählsituationen im Roman," Wiener Beiträge zur englischen
Philologie LXXIII (1955), and "Episches Präteritum, erlebte Rede, histori-
sches Präsens," Deutsche Vierteljahresschrift für Literaturwissenschaft
und Geistesgeschichte XXXIII (1959), 1-12; Wolfdietrich Hasch, "Zur Frage
technique is used to present the most highly subjective material. The "objectivity" gained by the use of a narrator is more than offset, however, by his lack of intrusion, often carried to such an extent that long passages of reflection or reverie are developed without any introductory phrase such as "Paul dachte," or "Paul fragte sich": "Und wenn man nicht mehr erwachte? Wenn in die Mitte buntverkleideter hastiger Träume, die . . . wie im Spiel sich drängten, der Tod, der wirkliche Tod trat, und alle Türen zum Leben hinter ihm zuschlugen? . . . Träume waren es, solange man noch aus ihnen erwachen konnte . . . Aber, wenn aus dunklen Klüften hervorgebrochene, flüchtig rauschende Träume, nicht mehr ins wache Leben mündend sich ergossen, wenn sie am Tod, der sperrend in die Mündung trat, sich stauten--erstarnten sie nicht? Würden sie nicht hart, schwerlastend, unwiderruflich wie das Leben, das einzige Leben für den, der vor dem Tod von keinem anderen mehr erfuhre? . . ." (GW, 608. For other examples see pp. 538, 575, 595-96, 609.) The questions of which this passage consists are not set off by quotation marks, but the reader is obviously meant to regard them as the directly transmitted thoughts that are crossing the hero's mind at that moment.

While the narrator's lack of intrusion gives the work virtually the same sense of intimacy and immediacy as interior monologue conveys, it at the same time creates a problem that may be described as "the credibility gap"; the reader's willingness to accept the literary convention of the omniscient author is strained considerably when an obviously existent but
completely anonymous narrator tells him things about the protagonist and the workings of his mind that no outsider could possibly know. Since nowhere in the novel does the narrator tell us that Paul has confided his story to him and he in turn is telling it to us, we assume that the narrator is telling the story on the basis of his own recollections and observations. Thus one assumes that he observed Paul as he took his nocturnal walk in Part I (GW, 52ff.), and the observations he makes about the setting and Paul's physical progress ("Auf der Traunbrücke blieb er stehen," "Er schritt längs des Flusses," "Vom andern Ufer des Flusses her schoss ein Lichtstrahl zu ihm herüber," etc.) are entirely plausible. But these external observations constitute only a small part of the narrative and are important largely as a means of establishing the mood and setting the scene. Much more important are those passages of the narrative that deal with what is transpiring in Paul's mind, and these are the ones that create a problem of credibility. How, for example, could an observer-narrator possibly know what Paul is thinking when he wakes from his dream?

Er neigte sich der Wand zu und presste seine Stirne an die kalte Mauer. Wie gut das tat; nun konnte er wieder denken. Was war denn geschehen? Also: Er war am Abend den Fluss entlang gegangen--ja... Aber warum war er denn nur noch himuntergegangen?--Ja--so war's: Der Doktor hatte ihn von der Strasse her angerufen und mit ihm gesprochen; das hatte ihm den Schlaf vertrieben, und er war denn noch allein den Fluss entlang gegangen. Und dann?--Dann hatte er sich schlafen gelegt und hatte lebhaft geträumt--und jetzt war er wach--das war alles. Aber wenn er nur geträumt hatte, warum war dann noch jetzt, da er wach war, dieser Schmerz in ihm? Als wäre ihm wirklich die gestorben, von der er geträumt. Die
This passage is an excellent example of Beer-Hofmann's technique of alternating description and "erlebte Rede" within the same paragraph, and without the use of quotation marks to signal the transition. The first two sentences are conventional description by the omniscient author (as is the sentence that begins "Jetzt schon schien alles zu verlassen . . . "); the rest of the passage is "erlebte Rede," imbedded in the paragraph and not set off by quotation marks. In making the transition, Beer-Hofmann instead relies on the use of adverbs and particles (underlined above), on dashes (which suggest the associative pattern of Paul's thoughts), and on questions designed to create the illusion that Paul, at this precise moment, is mentally reconstructing the events that led to his dream.

Returning to the problem of credibility, one finds that it also stems from Beer-Hofmann's language and style. Despite the use of a narrator, the reader's prevailing impression is one of direct and intimate exposure to the hero's immediate thoughts and feelings, in other words, virtually the same impression as that evoked by interior monologue. But again the reader's good will is put to a very hard test: it is difficult to believe that anyone couches his immediate thoughts (let alone his fleeting
impressions and sensations) in such formal, lofty language and flawless grammar. An example from Part IV: "Aber wusste er denn, ob nicht auch dies aus vielem, das ihm fremd umgab, nur herangewecht an ihn war? Aus dem Erinnern an einen Traum, aus dem Schatten fremder Frauen, der über ein dunkles totes Wasser fiel, aus Wolken und dem Abend und dem Wind? Welches Zeichen war ihm denn gegeben, dass dies nicht vergänglich in ihm war, dass es ihm nicht verlassen konnte, dass er sich dessen sicher fühlen durfte ...?" (GW, 621.) As Bowling has observed, "To be convincing, interior monologue must be no more logical and formal than ordinary speech." In Der Tod Georgs, however, the language in which the hero's immediate thoughts are transmitted is often decidedly flowery, and the conventional rules of syntax are almost always observed.

The attempt to apply objective narrative technique to highly subjective material is indicative of Beer-Hofmann's ties both to the literary past and to subsequent developments in prose fiction: like many later writers, he is far more interested in what his characters think and feel than in what they do, but he is not yet prepared to go as far as his successors in relinquishing or experimenting with conventional techniques. In this sense his consistent use of the third person and the narrative preterite is a concession to the past. Except for the novel's opening conversation, the third person is used throughout; the narrative preterite is seldom abandoned, and then usually to express (in the past perfect

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130 Bowling, "What is the Stream of Consciousness Technique?", p. 336.
tense, albeit with fairly consistent omission of the auxiliary verb) recollections of events lying farther back in time. This is true not only of the novel's "real" situations and events, but of its imaginary ones as well. Less conventional, by contrast, is the grammatical usage in Paul's hypothetical musings about the course of Georg's life, had he lived to old age. After a few conventionally constructed sentences in the subjunctive, there is an almost imperceptible shift to the indicative, narrative past:

Zwischen Leiden und Genesung und Tod hätte Georgs Weg geführt. Jede bunte und überschätzte Tracht, die Menschen schicksale untereinander schied, war wie versengter wertloser Lappen von ihnen gefallen; nackt und allen gemein, ging aller Handel der Menschen um Leben und Tod. Von dort, wo Georg stand, waren alle Eitelkeiten weggegangen; über den Rand der Sterbelager kollerten die letzten Masken, die ein Antlitz bedeck

... Und wenn sein Wissen schwieg, war sein Tun noch nicht zu Ende ... Wenn er sich über Krankne neigte, fühlten sie, dass sie in den Schutz dieser Augen sich schmiegen durften, und seine Worte stiegen langsam, wie aus tiefen Brunnen, zu ihnen, schwer, vollgeschöpft voll Weisheit und Güte ... (GW, 576.)

This shift from the subjunctive to the indicative heightens the "realism" of the passage, and causes the reader to forget, at least momentarily, that Georg is in fact dead, and never actually had these experiences.

Der Tod Georgs does herald some important new trends in prose fiction; one of them is a subtle but fundamental change in attitude toward the reader which no longer startles us, but which was still new when Der Tod Georgs appeared. The change can best be seen in the absence or at least
the drastic decrease in the amount of exposition, i.e. passages which pro-
vide explanations, background information, or otherwise orient the reader.
This means that the author either presupposes a much more sophisticated
reading public than his predecessors were wont to do, or at least that he
does not feel as obliged as they did to "fill in" the reader. If we are
baffled about the context of a given situation or utterance (in the case
of stream-of-consciousness fiction read: train of thought), no matter;
the author may orient us later—or then again he may not. Beer-Hofmann
usually does, but only after the fact. (Thus we do eventually learn that
Part II of the novel is a dream.)

Another example of this change in attitude toward the reader has
already been cited with regard to Beer-Hofmann's early novelle: Rasch, it
will be recalled, names the abrupt beginning as a typical feature of the
Erzählstil of this period (see p. 62). Der Tod George conforms to this
pattern: after a relatively brief description of the physical setting, for
example, Part II continues with the lines: "Scheu und verstohlen er
dann; und dass er essen konnte, empfand er wie schamloses Unrecht an ihr,
die unten seit Wochen sterbend lag." (GW, 530.) It is apparent that some-
one is dying, but who is she? We do not know, and it will be some time
before we find out. This, of course, is a very effective means of main-
taining the reader's interest; he is not likely to put the book down
before finding out "what it's all about."

Another aspect of the change in attitude toward the reader can be
seen in the passages which present the hero's recollections, reveries, and
mental associations. Every writer (no matter how dedicated he may be to
the concept of art for its own sake) attempts to communicate something to
somebody, and Beer-Hofmann, in his later years, in fact spoke of the
beauty and pleasure art brings to the lives of others as one of the pri-
mary justifications of its creation. But the reflections and reveries of
Der Tod Georgs are written, in a sense, for no reader at all. They are
akin to the time-honored literary convention of the soliloquy in that they
are couched in very smooth, correct, indeed elegant prose (in contrast to
the freely associative and sometimes ungrammatical ramblings of good, i.e.
"convincing" interior monologue) but they differ from conventional solilo-
quy in this important respect: soliloquy assumes, at least tacitly, a
direct and immediate audience, whereas the reflective passages of Der Tod
Georgs do not. Paul is not conveying his thoughts to another character
within the novel, and one does not have the impression that he (or his
creator) is particularly bent on conveying them to the reader, either; his
reflections are as uninhibited as though he were really alone. This does
not signify actual indifference to the reader, of course; the author
creates this illusion in order to heighten the realism of these passages,
to make them more like the thought processes of "real life." (As noted
above, however, the formality and grammatical flawlessness of the language
sometimes detract from the illusion the author is attempting to create.)

Another new trend to be found in Der Tod Georgs is its author's treat-
ment of time, which often involves a device that Ford Madox Ford called
"eccentric chronology"; "it became very early evident," Ford said, "... that what was the matter with the novel ... was that it went straight forward, whereas in your gradual making acquaintanceship with your fellows you never do go straight forward ... you could not begin at a man's beginning and work his life chronologically to the end. You must first get him in with a strong impression, and then work backwards and forwards over his past ..."131 This is precisely Beer-Hofmann's approach to the treatment of time in Der Tod Georgs: the external events of the novel--Georg's arrival for a visit, his death, Paul's train trip to Vienna, etc.--occur in regular sequence, but the really important, i.e. internal action does not conform to this time scheme. The author "first gets his hero in with a strong impression" in Part I, and then proceeds to "work backwards and forwards over his past." The external, chronological events are interrupted repeatedly and at length (the longest interruption being the dream of Part II) by reflections, sensations, and recollections which relate to other points in time, ranging from antiquity to the immediate past to the future. By the time Paul's dream is ended, for example, it has ranged over a gigantic span of time, and not in chronological order: it begins with "the present," in which Paul's wife is dying, moves next to the immediate past with his recollections of his courtship of the girl

by the river, approaches the present again as he reflects on their seven years of married life, next moves still farther back in time to his childhood, and then takes an enormous leap backward to antiquity and the Syrian temple-episode, returning finally to "the present" and the death of the wife. (GW, 530-569.) At this point, moreover, still another level of time is introduced: as Paul wakes and it becomes apparent that he had dreamed everything in the preceding pages, we find ourselves in the novel's "real present," as opposed to "the present" of the dream.

At times the transition from the novel's present to earlier points in time resembles the technique of the flashback in motion pictures.\(^{132}\) An example of this is the smoothly achieved shift (in Paul's dream) from the present to the time of his childhood: "Er fühlte es, dass er weniger litt, seitdem sie neben ihm lebte, und er begriff es, wenn er an seine eigene Jugend dachte. Abseits von andern Kindern war er aufgewachsen . . ." (GW, 536.) Another example is the transition (in Part III) from the present, in which Paul is travelling to Vienna with Georg's body, to his earlier experience in front of the toy shop: "Paul schloss das Fenster, dann trat er zurück ins Coupe. Er lehnte sich müde in die Ecke . . . 'Ein glückliches Alter!' Wusste er von einem? Oder hatten seine Augen jemals in der

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\(^{132}\) The use of cinematic devices, including the flashback, is commonly regarded as a characteristic feature, if not an innovation, of stream-of-consciousness literature (see especially Joseph Warren Beach, The Twentieth Century Novel, 407ff.), but the flashback, at least, is not really so new. As Robert Humphrey notes, it is equivalent to the epic device of in medias res--whose use dates as far back as the Odyssey. (Stream of Consciousness in the Modern Novel, p. 95.)
Menge fremder Menschen, auf einem Antlitz Alter und Glück beieinander gesehen? Er erinnerte sich an einen Wintermorgen; die Strassen waren noch leer, und die Kaufleute öffneten erst ihre Läden . . ." (GW, 588.)

At other times, when the author concentrates with great intensity and infinite detail upon a given image, the effect is that of the close-up in a film—for example, the masks above the toy shop entrance (GW, 592f.). In such "close-ups" the reader feels that time has been suspended altogether.

The use of the dream or fantasy is one innovation that may be regarded as a fundamental characteristic of stream-of-consciousness fiction. Dating back to the Baroque, the use itself is not new, nor is the fact that the dream is as vivid as "real life," if not more so. "The peculiarity of the new method," Beach has said, "lies in the author's neglect to indicate where the actual leaves off and the imaginary begins."\(^{133}\) In this Beer-Hofmann is a forerunner of such writers as Joyce, Dorothy Richardson, Kafka, and Broch. He does eventually orient the reader, letting him know that all but the last few pages of Part II was a dream—but only afterward.

The similarity between Beer-Hofmann's technique and Joyce's, however, lies less in the use of such devices than in the use of recurring motifs as a formal means of organizing and unifying their material.\(^{134}\)

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\(^{133}\) Beach, The Twentieth Century Novel, p. 524.

\(^{134}\) For an authoritative discussion of the leitmotif as a principle of organization in the work of Joyce, see Stuart Gilbert, James Joyce's "Ulysses": A Study, 2nd, rev. ed. (New York: Knopf, 1952).
A first reading of Der Tod George leaves one with the impression of chaos, of a bewildering mass of thoughts, impressions, sensations, and images, all jumbled together. A closer examination reveals that this is a very deceptive first impression; beneath the seeming chaos of the surface one becomes aware of very strict and rigorous attention to form, reflected above all in Beer-Hofmann's use of recurring motifs.\(^{135}\) This is the unifying principle that gives the novel form and brings order to its chaos. In a discussion of the novel in general, Alfred Döblin speaks of "einem dynamischen Netz, das sich allmählich über das ganze Werk ausdehnt, an bestimmten Konzeptionen befestigt wird, und in dieses Nets werden Handlungen und Personen eingebettet ... Fragt man, wom ... Werke mit diesen Formgesetzen ähneln ...: symphonischen Werken."\(^{136}\) The development of themes in a symphony is indeed the best analogy with which to describe Beer-Hofmann's organization of his motifs, which, to recapitulate, are death, woman, the dream and its relation to "real life," the problem of decadence and aloofness from life versus involvement in it, and the question of a just and purposeful universal order. After its

\(^{135}\)Georg Lukacs recognized this strict regard for form as early as 1908: "Der um die Form gefochtene Kampf ist bei ihm, unter allen Heutigen, am heroischsten. Es scheint, als ob eine tiefe Klugheit ihm zwänge, den überströmenden Reichtum seiner Augenblicke in strenge Grenzen zu dämmen. Die Formen sind heute noch Schranken für ihn, mit denen er schwere, schmerzende Kämpfe flicht; nicht um des Gesagten willen, sondern eher, um das Verschweigen, die Enteisung zu entgehen." ("Der Augenblick und die Formen," essay written in 1908) in G. L. Die Seele und die Formen (Berlin: Egon Fleischel & Co., 1911), p. 264.

\(^{136}\)Alfred Döblin, "Der Bau des epischen Werks," Die Neue Rundschau XL (1929), 546f.
original introduction, each of these motifs is re-introduced at various points throughout the novel, and with each re-introduction it is examined from another perspective or it undergoes additional development: thus the representative of the woman motif is characterized in Part I as unawakened to life, in Part II as unfit for it, ultimately realizing its preciousness, but only when she is dying; and the young woman in Part IV is so much like her that the sight of her recalls to Paul the dream he had been struggling vainly to remember. These representatives of the woman motif are brought into even sharper relief by contrast with the image of woman Paul has in the moment of insight that leads to his affirmation of life: "Und ihre ganze Seele trugen Frauen in demütigen Händen dem entgegen, den sie liebten; in allem was sie taten, wollten sie sich an ihm verschenken." (GW, Part IV, 613.) Belatedly Paul recognizes that the "wife" of his dream had been like this, too, but in his self-centeredness he had not realized it, in fact had stripped her of her identity and imposed on her his own.

The death motif undergoes similar development and variation; it is treated from the viewpoint of the dying (Part II) and of many diverse representatives of the living: the sensitive, high-strung protagonist, of course, but in addition to him, the temple-builders and the Astarte-worshippers of Part II, the sick and infirm in Paul's reverie of what Georg's life might have been, had he not died on the threshold of a promising career, the aged (evoked by Paul's recollection of the toy shop in Part III), even the acquaintances in Part III who react to Georg's death
with such revolting platitudes.

The question of a mysterious but purposeful world order and the unity of all life within this order is likewise taken up again and again after its original introduction: beginning early in Part II with Paul's reflections on *A Thousand and One Nights* (GW. 53lf.), and followed by many, steadily more insistent re-introductions (e.g. *GW*. 537, 552, 560, 568, 573f., 580-82, 589-92, 600, 609f., 614, 616-18, 621f.), the development of this theme moves gradually from the tentative questions of Paul's groping and searching to the massive crescendo of his affirmation of the universal order in Part IV.

The language in which a motif is re-introduced sometimes undergoes slight variation, but more frequently the re-introduction is more obtrusive, in language taken verbatim from an earlier passage. The author, moreover, does not limit himself to brief phrases (e.g. "unerbittliches Schicksal," which almost invariably approaches "auf vielverschlungenen Wegen"; "schlanke [or occasionally "dürftige"] knabenhafte Gestalt"; "gerechte Lose," etc.), designed, as they recur, to "ring a bell" and set in motion in the reader's mind the process of association; complete sentences and even whole paragraphs recur, almost or totally unchanged. The sentence, for example, with which the flashback to Paul's childhood begins ("Er fühlte es, dass er weniger litt, seitdem sie neben ihm lebte . . . ") reappears after the Syrian temple-episode in almost the same form: " . . . und er fühlte, dass er weniger litt, erst seitdem die neben ihm lebte, die jetzt da unten starb." (GW. 551.) The nature of the temple-
episode is such that the reader has completely forgotten the dying wife; the repeated sentence re-focuses his attention on her, and at the same time—through the addition of the last clause, with its "jetzt"—returns him to the time level of the dream's present.

The virtual or actual recurrence of whole paragraphs is particularly marked in the treatment of the dream and its relation to "real life" (Parts II and IV); Paul's reflections on the nature of his dream—"Es schien ihm, als were der kurze Schlaf mit unendlich vielem erfüllt gewesen; nichts Gleichgültiges hatte es da in seinem Leben gegeben . . ." (see p. 78f. for the complete quotation)—are repeated several times in Part IV: on pp. 607, 612, and 619. Such pronounced use of the leitmotif in the treatment of this particular theme serves several purposes: it is in Part IV that Paul finally recalls his dream, and the fact that the language of his recollection corresponds almost exactly to his original reflections on the dream serves to re-emphasize the profound impression it had made on him. In addition, the author hereby reinforces his representation of the dream and the waking state as closely related, complementary realms of life; the dream, it will be recalled, is prophetic in nature: almost everything that happens to Paul in it is re-experienced by him in the waking state in Parts III and IV. In Part IV the recollected observations and reflections on the dream become the basis of Paul's transformation, as he uses them to examine himself and his past life, and to plot the course of his future life. And, finally, the pronounced use of the leitmotif in connection with this theme underscores Paul's ultimate
affirmation of life. The word "gleichgültig" or a variant of it serves as a key: the dream, it will be recalled, contained "nichts Gleichgültiges"; after Georg's death, by contrast, Paul's thoughts return repeatedly to Georg's visit and to the fact that "sie [he and Georg] sprachen von fast gleichgültigen Dingen." (GW, 571, 585, 597f.) In each instance the entire paragraph is repeated; the final recurrence of this passage is on p. 622f., but now several lines have been added which reflect Paul's newly-acquired insight: "Sie sprachen von fast gleichgültigen Dingen; aber wenn Georg den Kopf leicht zur Seite wandte, fiel Licht auf seine Lippen. Dann sah Paul die ruhigen gültigen Linien seines Mundes, die er lange kannte. Und gleichgültige Worte, die Georgs Lippen formten, lösten sich von ihnen und sanken schwer, vollgesogen von Weisheit und Güte." (GW, 623.) Paul now realizes that the "real" world also contains "nichts Gleichgültiges"; for the man who is voluntarily and unreservedly involved, it is as full, as rich and satisfying, as the world of dreams.

Written at the close of an age and on the threshold of another, Der Tod Georges reflects much of the old but even more of the new. Later writers refined the techniques, were considerably more subtle in their symbolism and imagery, less obvious in their use of the leitmotif, and more daring in their willingness to experiment, but Beer-Hofmann's novel remains in many respects a prelude to subsequent trends in prose fiction.
D. Gedenkrede auf Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart

This brief commemorative piece was first published in the Frankfurter Zeitung in 1906. The great difficulties Beer-Hofmann had in writing it have already been discussed (see Chapter I, p. 32f.); in later life he told Werner Vordtriebe that he had resolved these difficulties by relating Mozart's life as a fairy-tale. In some respects he was right to call the piece a fairy-tale; in others, which will be discussed later in this section, the designation is questionable.

The opening paragraphs of the Gedenkrede, which are a rich and colorful description of the geography and history of the Salzburg region, are clearly an attempt to create at the outset a fairy-tale atmosphere, an impression of Mozart's birthplace as a fabled city.

Should this have escaped the reader, the point is soon made more explicitly with the observation, "Andere Kinder mögen auf Märchen hören ... aber dieses Kindes wunderbaren Fingern ist früh Kraft gegeben, die Welt sich aufzublättern wie ein Märchenbuch" (GW, 649), and with the repeated (from the author's point of view, rhetorical) question, "Ist dies ein Märchen?" (GW, 650.)

In vivid language which evokes the glittering splendor of eighteenth-century court life, Beer-Hofmann recalls episodes in the life of the child, Mozart, which were indeed more like the events of a fairy-tale than those

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of the real world; his reception at the court of the Holy Roman Emperor
and by the King and Queen of England, and the Pope's bestowal of the Order
of the Golden Spur.

In a passage which skillfully links the famous landmarks of Salzburg
with many of Mozart's later musical themes, the now familiar motif of the
artist and his task is touched upon--this time in language which empha-
sizes not the artist's suffering, but his Auserwähltsein: "An einem
Sinnbild mag dann der Knabe hier zuerst erkennen, was ihm--wie allen, die
Gott zu Schöpfern aufgerufen--verliehen ist: Auf kleiner Menschen tägliche
Hast und geschäftiges Mühen, vergängliche Lust und endliches Leid, mild-
lächelnd, ihrer Buntheit sich freuend, zu horchen--und zugleich dem
Lobgesang zu lauschen, der aus der lärrenden Unruhe ihres Treibens feier-
lich sich hebt; und zu wissen, dass ein Quell beides bewegt." (GW,
649.) The last line also expresses the familiar theme of the unity of
all life in the universal order.

Although the general impression of the Gedenkrede is one of light-
ness and charm, the tone becomes darker as Beer-Hofmann traces the human
passions, the joys and sorrows of men, expressed in Mozart's music. The
author leads a long procession of Mozart's operatic characters before the
reader, from Idomeneo to Don Juan and Donna Anna; his awareness of the
death motif in Mozart's music is expressed by the questions, "Nimmt der
Zug kein Ende? . . . Ist niemand mehr hinter euch?"--to which he replies,
"Schweigt, ich breche nicht Antwort! Denn die Augen dessen, der jetzt
hinter euch tritt, kennt auch der, der ihm noch nie gesehen. Auch dir, du Ernst, der du jeden Reigen schliessest, hat der Meister Stimme gegeben . . ." (GW, 651f.) This is not unlike the sombre note Mörike injects into Mozart auf der Reise nach Prag, summarized by the memento mori-theme of the folk song, "Ein Tännlein grün in der Wurz ist, wer weiß, im Walde."

According to an acquaintance, the two artists Beer-Hofmann most loved and admired were Shakespeare and Mozart. The Gedenkrede contains at least one passage which suggests that he also saw certain similarities between himself and the composer: "So steht der Meister—vom Schicksal gestellt—an der Grenze zweier Zeiten. Ihn . . . ist es geschenkt, das Antlitz seiner Welt, ehe es sich wandelt, allen Kommenden zu künden, und zugleich ein seliger Bote dessen zu sein, was, hinter aller Zeiten wechselndem Antlitz, ewig sich birgt." (GW, 652.) The drastic changes which the new age will bring are expressed in musical terms, through a comparison of Mozart and Beethoven: "Noch dürfen seine [Mozart's] Gefangenen hinter goldenen Gartengittern die freie Luft des Meeres schlürfen, und ihr Wächter heisst 'Osmín'; es kommt die Zeit, wo ihr Leib, zwischen feuchtem Gestein, im Finstern fault, und ihr Herr wird 'Pizarro' heissen. Noch jauchzt auf Don Juans Festen ein Maskenchor ein 'Lebendig' der Freiheit;"

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139 Don Pizarro is the governor of the Spanish fortress who imprisons his political enemy, Don Florestan, in a deep dungeon in Beethoven's opera, Fidelio, first produced in Vienna in 1805.
es kommt die Zeit, wo Chöre von Gefangenen in düsteren Kerkerhöfen um Freiheit auf zum Himmel stöhnen." (GW, 652.)

Continuing the comparison of Mozart and Beethoven as representatives of a waning and an ascending age, Beer-Hofmann, for all his love of Mozart's music, confesses that "Nicht immer will unsere Seele bei dir weilen ... Zu sehr hat man uns gelehrt, in unseres Wesens geheimsten Schächten zu schlürfen, und wir wissen von vielzuviel Leid. Von Jupiters weisser leidloser Stirn wenden wir unsere Augen, und suchen den tiefen mitleidsvollen Blick, der unter des Prometheus wehevoll geballten Brauen wohnt." (GW, 652.)¹⁴⁰ We admire Mozart as one reveres a god; we understand Beethoven and the Promethean drives much of his music expresses.

Mozart's music, the author concludes (rightly or wrongly) is for times of joy; thus in the closing passage Beer-Hofmann re-introduces the charming, fairy-tale quality which characterizes the beginning of the Gedenkrede, in fact ending the piece with the same sentence with which it began.

The question, to what extent the Gedenkrede is a fairy-tale, needs now to be examined more closely. Certain parallels do exist: the physical setting of the piece (particularly as described in the opening paragraphs) is somewhat reminiscent of a fairy-tale setting. But description is not really characteristic of the fairy-tale at all: "Schon dass das Märchen

¹⁴⁰ Beethoven composed the Prometheus-ballet music in 1800-1801.

There is also a moderate degree of similarity between the extraordinary fame and honor bestowed on Mozart as a child of relatively humble origins and the fabulous adventures of his humble counterpart in the fairy-tale. Again, however, the form and style of the Gedenkrede is not characteristic of the Märchen: Mozart's adventures are described; those of the fairy-tale are shown, with great singleness of purpose, in terms of Handlung.\footnote{Lüthi, Volksmärchen, pp. 14f., 19f.}

Thus the most compelling reason for questioning the designation of the Gedenkrede as a fairy-tale is the style and form in which it is written. In terms of its origins, at least, the fairy-tale is Volkspoesie (or Naturpoesie, as the Brothers Grimm said), and its style and language are correspondingly simple and uncontrived. This clearly cannot be said of the Gedenkrede.
Also lacking are "die grausamen Strafen und glänzenden Belohnungen, die scharfen Bedingungen und Verbote und die Schwarzweisszeichnung im Moralischen" that are such characteristic features of many fairy-tales.\textsuperscript{143} Putting it another way, one might say that the Gedenkrede reflects too much of fin de siècle Vienna to be a fairy-tale in the traditional sense. It is a work of description and reflection, not action; this is particularly true, of course, of the brooding, melancholy passages which introduce Mozart's operatic characters and compare his music to Beethoven's.

It is almost certain that when Beer-Hofmann spoke of the Gedenkrede as Märchen, he was thinking of the oriental fairy-tale, or more exactly, his beloved Thousand and One Nights. In this light, the designation of the Gedenkrede as a fairy-tale seems more appropriate; one of the major differences Lüthi notes between the European and the oriental fairy-tale is the latter's "Schilderungssucht."\textsuperscript{144} In any event, the fact that Beer-Hofmann attempted to resolve his difficulties with the Mozart-piece by making it a Märchen provides some insight into the temperament and aesthetic sensibilities of the man; like Der Tod Georgs, the Gedenkrede shows his predilection for the realm of fantasy. This does not mean that he was indifferent to, or even unaware of, the real world and what was

\textsuperscript{143}Lüthi, Volksmärchen, p. 15.

\textsuperscript{144}Lüthi, Volksmärchen, p. 19f.
happening in it. Quite the contrary: Beer-Hofmann and contemporaries like Hofmannsthal recognized the signs of decline and decay in their era and its culture far better than most men did. The signs were grim for those who had eyes to see, and it must have been tempting to turn from them to the realm of fantasy. For the poet, however, this involves more than mere day-dreaming; creating in this realm a much more beautiful world than the real one served as a measure of relief. Hofmannsthal, it will be remembered, warned Beer-Hofmann against the dangers which lay "in dem Verwesen unrealisierter Phantasien." (See Chapter I, p. 25.) As far as literary technique is concerned, of course, the realm of fantasy or dream lends itself especially well to the representation of the moods, impressions, and sensations that Beer-Hofmann often strove to convey.

E. Paula, ein Fragment

That Beer-Hofmann's last work is not a biography in the conventional sense has already been noted, although his phrase "biographisches Erinnerungsbuch" does describe the work as far as content is concerned. The fragments themselves are preceded by a foreword Beer-Hofmann wrote on January 19, 1944. At the beginning of the foreword is a quotation (from Dante's Vita Nuova) that clearly states Beer-Hofmann's purpose in writing Paula: "Und so darf ich denn—wenn es Ihm, in welchem alle Dinge leben, gefällt, dass mein Leben noch einige Jahre dauere—hoffen, von ihr zu sagen, was von Keiner jemals noch gesagt worden . . ." (GW, 677.) The
foreword closes with a second quotation, as from La Vita Nuova, which could be regarded as the underlying theme not only of Paula, but of all Beer-Hofmann's literary effort: "Siehe ein Gott, stärker denn ich; er kommt und wird über mich herrschen!" (GW, 679.)\(^{145}\) With this Beer-Hofmann expresses not only his profound conviction of a guiding purpose in men's lives, but affirms his faith in a God whose ways are wise and just—despite all the questions "to which nature remains mute," and despite his knowledge of evil and suffering in the world ("... und wir wissen von vielzuviel Leid"); it needs to be emphasized that Beer-Hofmann made this affirmation not only in his early adulthood, in the final passages of Der Tod Georgs, and in all the dramas of the David-cycle, but again at the close of his life, after the indignities, the injustices, and the spiritual anguish he had suffered at the hands of the National Socialists.

The creative poet, Beer-Hofmann says in the foreword, "mag, was erwachte Phantasie ihm zuträgt, in sein Werk aufnehmen, es—mit dem Schein eines Anfangs und eines Endes—zum Gleichnis eines Ganzen formen, Licht, Rhythmus, Farbe, schicksalhafte Verflochtenheit des Geschehens frei wählen." (GW, 677.) Paula, he continues emphatically, has nothing whatever to do with such "Dichtung": "In nichts ist ihm freie Wahl gelassen, und ruhigen Herzens unbefangen zu bestehen, ist ihm nur gestattet, wenn es Kraft hat, seine Reinheit zu hüten, nichts anderes sein zu

\(^{145}\) GW does not indicate which German translation of La Vita Nuova Beer-Hofmann knew and used.
wollen, als ein wahres frommes beglückendes Erinnern." (GW, 677.) Despite this assertion, I believe it can be shown that Beer-Hofmann did indeed form Paula, ein Fragment "zum Gleichnis eines Ganzen," even one "mit dem Schein eines Anfanges und eines Endes," the fragmentary nature of the work notwithstanding. Beer-Hofmann acknowledges the book's fragmentary character in his foreword: "So mag vieles unschönen erscheinen, vieles überstark betont, vieles zu fließig gestreift, vieles verschwommen ins Dunkel tauchend, anderes, überscharf umrissen, in zu grelem Licht ... verwirrend wird vieles bleiben .." (GW, 678.) But he himself defends this with the observation that "wie immer es sein wird—es wird nicht launenhafter, nicht ruheloser, nicht verwirrender, nicht dunkler, nicht m e h r Stückwerk sein, als das Leben." (GW, 678.) This is precisely the kind of selectivity and variation in emphasis that the writer of fiction exercises, and Beer-Hofmann, perhaps without being conscious of it himself, exercises it in Paula, too.\textsuperscript{146} In this sense, as in others which will be discussed later, his "biographisches Erinnerungsbuch" shows some striking similarities to his early works of prose fiction.

Paula is divided into five main parts of greatly varying length; some of the fragments within each part bear sub-titles, others do not. Each of the five main parts is an entity in itself (the third, "Herbstmorgen in

\textsuperscript{146}Cf. Eberhard Lämmert, Bauformen des Erzählens. In the section entitled "Andeutung und Auswahl" Lämmert says: "Eben dieses Verweilen, Raffen und Weglassen des Erzählers verleiht nicht nur bestimmten Stadien des Geschehens einen besonderen Akzent, sondern lässt den gesamten erzählten Stoff als etwas Neugestaltetes aus der Monotonie der bloßen Sukzession heraustreten." (p. 23.)
Österreich," for example, was published as a separate piece by the Johannespresse in New York in 1944); the fragments derive their external unity from the fact that Beer-Hofmann and Paula are the central figures throughout—each fragment relates an episode or describes an experience from the life of one or the other, or both. As a literary work, the fragments have an internal unity, too, which stems from Beer-Hofmann's use of recurring motifs as an organizing principle, and of techniques which, as will be shown, he had applied many years earlier in his works of fiction. Paula is organized as follows:

I. "Donnerstag, der fünfte Dezember, 1895"

A. Detailed description of Vienna's Innenstadt, ending with the Hofmann house on the Wollzeile.

B. The author's introduction of himself and an account of his family's history.

C. Early childhood in Brünn.

D. The move to Vienna, school and university years, military service.

E. The events of December 5, 1895.

1. the decision to give up writing until after extensive travel.

2. description of the author's private apartment in the family home.

3. the hallucination of Vinzek and subsequent headlong flight into the street.

4. first encounter with Paula in the confectioner's shop.
(I. E continued)

5. eavesdropping outside the shop on the conversation of Paula's brother and a friend, who are waiting for her.

6. the author's thoughts, emotions, and impressions during and immediately after the encounter with Paula.

II. "Winter- und Frühjahrswochen, 1896"

A. First acquaintance with Paula, and the early weeks of courtship.

1. "Vorfrühling in Wien"; "Die Stadt mit ihr erleben"; "Langsame Vertrautwerden."

III. "Herbstmorgen in Österreich"

A. Discovery (some months after the author's arrival in New York in 1939) of a seven-page manuscript entitled "Herbstmorgen."

B. Flashback to the place and time it was written: "Alt-Aussee, 21. September 1935, 7 Uhr früh, am Fenster."

C. The contents of the manuscript ("Hier--was auf diesen sieben Seiten steht, unverändert, so wie ich es damals niederschrieb"): the author's impressions of the Alt-Aussee landscape he viewed from his window.

D. Recollections of

1. summer life in Alt-Aussee.

2. a trip to Italy with Paula and the children.

3. the courtship of Paula.
   a. the trip to the Lake of St. Wolfgang.
   b. the trip to Scandinavia.
IV. "Alcidor"

A. Paula's story of her grandparents' poodle, with many details of her family history woven into the account.

B. Beer-Hofmann's Nachwort to "Alcidor," written March 10, 1944.

C. Fragment entitled "Der grosse Fürst Michael, der für Dein Volk steht."

1. Beer-Hofmann's St. Michael's medal and the encounter with the Jewish engraver.

D. Fragment entitled "Frühjahr 1939."

1. St. Michael's Church in Vienna evokes recollections of St. Michael's in Salzburg, and in Eppan, and of times spent there.

E. Fragment entitled "Aus vielen Jahren."

1. Brief but very poetically worded recollections of Paula, the author's relationship with her, and his sense of loss and pain after her death.

V. "Träume"

A. Six dreams Beer-Hofmann had of Paula between April and September, 1940, related in chronological order.

Although the first edition of Paula (edited by Otto Kallir) was not published until four years after Beer-Hofmann's death, this organization of the fragments stemmed from the author himself. In February, 1945 he wrote very detailed instructions for the organization of the material, based on "Dispositionen" he had written earlier: "Nicht weniger als dreizehn solcher
'Dispositionen' hat Beer-Hofmann niedergeschrieben, die erste am 12. November 1941, die letzte datiert 'November-Dezember 1944'. Quälende Unruhe über die Ungewissheit, wieviel Zeit ihm noch vergönnt sein werde, und der Wille, das Buch genau so der Welt zu übermitteln, wie es ihm vorschwebte, veranlassten den Dichter, jeden vollendeten Abschnitt in den Rahmen des ganzen Werkes einzuordnen. Da ja die einzelnen Teile des Buches nicht in chronologischer Reihenfolge entstanden, ergab sich immer wieder die Notwendigkeit neuer 'Dispositionen', um dem künftigen Herausgeber den Weg zu weisen. ¹⁴⁷ ¹⁴⁷ Mention of this is not meant to minimize the editor's task, but simply to show that Paula is not merely a loose, haphazard collection of anecdotes, held together only by virtue of being about the same people. Like the works of fiction, it reflects Beer-Hofmann's very deliberate and purposeful ordering of his material.

Two themes dominate the work: love and destiny. In a sense Beer-Hofmann fuses them into one motif: the reader has an overwhelming sense of destiny at work in the lives of these two people (as indeed the author intends him to)—in their meeting each other at all, in their love for each other and their marriage despite great obstacles, in their life together. This is evident in the very fact that Part I, although more than three-fourths of it deals with Beer-Hofmann's life before he met Paula, is entitled "Donnerstag, der 5. Dezember 1895"—the date of their first encounter. The author is not content with this; with the insistence that

¹⁴⁷ Otto Kallir, "Nachwort des Herausgebers" (in Paula, ein Fragment) GW, 873.
also characterizes his development of themes in the fictional works, he
interrupts his narration to say: "Seite um:Seite füllt sich, und noch ist
Paulas Name nicht genannt worden. Von meinen Vätern und Ahnen ist die
Rede, von Menschen, Zeiten, Orten, ihr fremd, scheinbar durch nichts mit
ihr verbunden.--Und doch: da Paula und ich zum erstenmal uns sehen, ist
sie sechzehn, ich neunundzwanzig--und zartes Erinnern frühester Kindheit,
heitere Knabenjahre, Ungestüm und sorglos Frohes meiner ganzen Jugend . . .
all das muss ja mit mir den Weg langer Jahre zu ihr hin finden." (GW,
695.) The author’s conviction that he and Paula were destined to meet
and to love each other is expressed again, more explicitly, in the closing
pages of Part I: "Vorher war alles ein wirr verschlungener Knäuel, den ich
nicht verstand--wo war der Sinn? Von Tag zu Tag hatte ich gelebt--nun war
alles sinnvoll der Weg gewesen zu diesem Augenblick . . ." (GW, 767.)

This "chronicling of fate" reminds one of the brief, undated prose
fragment, "Chronist des Fatums," in which Beer-Hofmann says: "Von allem
aus Worten Geschaffenem, ist die Erzählung die seelisch reinste Form,
kann es zumindest sein, wenn sie Selbstserlebtes berichtet . . . Nur der,
der es auf sich nimmt, Selbstserlebtes zu erzählen, der--von sich redend--
doch von sich schweigt, und nur vom Willen des Schicksals berichtet, der
nur die Form hat, in welche das Schicksal sein Leben--unbekümmert um
seinen Willen--gepresst hat, kann, reinen Herzens, während er von sich zu
sprechen scheint, ehrfürchtiger Chronist des Fatums sein." (GW, 637.)148

148 See also the prose fragment "Klima" (undated), GW, 639.
The fragments which comprise Paula are designed not only to give the reader a vivid picture of this woman's appearance, personality, and character, but also to shed light on the many facets of Beer-Hofmann's love for her and hers for him. How completely this love dominated his life as a man is suggested by this passage: "Manchmal, wenn ich den Kindern beim Spielen zusehe, und Zärtlichkeit in mir aufquillt, erschrecke ich plötzlich, denn wie ein Blitzen leuchtet es in mir auf, dass ich die Kinder nicht anders denken kann, als 'ihre Kinder', als wären es zuerst 'ihre', und dann erst 'meine', und wie ich ihre Wangen liebe, und ihre Hand--es liebe ich die Kinder, die ein Teil von ihr sind ... und vielleicht haben die Kinder das--nicht gewusst, aber doch, ohne es zu wissen, gefühlt." (GW, 857.) His love for Paula dominated his life as a poet to an equal extent: Der junge David bears the dedication, "Für Paula, als ärztlichen Dank für unermessliches Schenken"; the volume of Beer-Hofmann's lyric poetry (Verse) published in 1941 contains the dedication, "Vor dem Bilde Paulas / Seien diese Verse niedergelegt, / Die nur durch sie wurden. / Keiner von ihnen, bevor sie kam -- / Keiner mehr, seitdem sie ging." (GW, 653.) While such tributes may not have displeased Paula, she was deeply offended by Beer-Hofmann's inclusion of her, not in disguise, but as the poet's wife, in the Vorspiel auf dem Theater zu "König David." Despite her displeasure, however, she eventually said, "... jetzt lass schon alles so, wie du gemacht hast--es wird schon das Richtige sein" (GW, 820), a remark that suggests Paula shared Beer-Hofmann's conviction
that things happen as they are meant to.

The "Erzähltechnik" of Paula differs in some respects from that of the fictional works, as dictated by the biographical and historical nature of the material. Beer-Hofmann not only relates his and Paula's story in the first person, but occupies a distinct place in the work as narrator—not in the sense of the author who is nowhere and everywhere present in his work, but as a person, who tells a story and interrupts it from time to time to comment, explain, or otherwise orient the reader. An example of this is the passage already quoted (see p. 137), in which Beer-Hofmann explains why he is describing his own childhood in quite lengthy detail; he concludes this interruption of the narration with "So mag mir auch noch weiterhin gewährt sein, von den Jahren meiner Jugend auszusagen, und von den Menschen, zwischen denen ich aufwuchs. Nur leicht umrissen soll all dies werden—gerade soviel, dass, was Paula und mich später umgibt, schon Vertrautes ist—nicht Fremdes, das Erklärung verlangt." (GW, 696.) Despite the matter-of-factness of this explanation (which is not to be taken literally, anyway, since it is by no means the last one), this break in the narration is a literary device which takes the reader from "erzählter Zeit" to the level of "Erzählzeit." In the passage just quoted, the author additionally creates the impression of taking the reader into his confidence: his explanation is not given in order to enhance the reader's understanding of one of the story's characters, but actually to give him a glimpse of the creative process itself, by explaining the reason for
developing his story as he does.

Occasionally the shift in time is used very effectively to introduce or set the scene for recollections of earlier events, and here it has the quality of a film flashback: at the beginning of "Herbstmorgen in Österreich" Beer-Hofmann describes the belated receipt and opening of a suitcase (the contents of which he had quite forgotten) after his arrival in the United States. The sight of the manuscript evokes a mental image of the place and time he had written these lines, and the transition from "Erzählzeit" to "erzählter Zeit" is smoothly achieved: "Nicht anders als an jenem Herbstmorgen steht ja wohl noch das kleine Bauernhaus, in dem ich jene Seiten schrieb . . ." (GW, 777.)

In the "Nachwort zu 'Alcidor'" the shift to "Erzählzeit" has the quality of editorial comment: having related the story of "Alcidor" as Paula had told it to him (in language and style which the reader is presumably to regard as hers), Beer-Hofmann appends an excerpt from a letter by Adalbert Stifter, and then comments: "In diesem Brief Adalbert Stirters ist die Situation 'äußerlich und seelisch dieselbe, wie in einer Stelle der kleinen Erzählung 'Alcidor' . . ." (GW, 851.) The editorial tone is strengthened by Beer-Hofmann's inclusion of the information that it was the wife of Dr. Otto Kallir who "heute--10. März 1944" had called this similarity to his attention. At the close of the epilogue the association of "Alcidor" with Stifter's experience is used to re-emphasize the motif of the unity of all life, past and present: "Hier habe ich diesen
wundervollen Brief angefügt, weil es wir ist, als würden durch ihn Adalbert Stifter, und Paula, und die zarten vornehmen Menschen, die ihre Mutter und ihre Grosseltern waren, und ich--der Herrschaft alles Zeitlichen entgleitend--von einem gemeinsamen, freundlichen, vertrauten Band sanft umschmiegt."

(GW, 852.)

In some passages of Paula Beer-Hofmann employs a technique that is more closely akin to later stream-of-consciousness writing than the "erlebte Rede" of Der Tod Georgs is. In Paula these passages seem more convincing, not only because they are written in the first person, but also because their language and syntax makes them more realistic representations of the processes of thought. Such a passage is the one in which Beer-Hofmann renders his emotions and sensations during the first encounter with Paula: "Auf dieser Flut treibt alles Erinnern hinab--meine Jugend, meine Kindheit, ich fühle Bangen--aber was ist Jugend, was Kindheit--Neues hat begonnen--was vorher war, war ein Eingepupptsein--dies hier ist meine wahre Geburt ... um mich herum nicht die Welt, die Dinge--um mich der Weltenraum. Ich--nicht mehr einem Ziel zustrebend, nicht mehr auf einem Weg, der endet--einbezogen--aufgenommen--kreisend in einer Bahn--anfang--und endlos--Stern unter Gestirnen ..."

(GW, 766.)

In this passage, with its highly-charged language, couched not in complete sentences but consisting for the most part of a welter of phrases linked together by dashes, Beer-Hofmann comes very close to expressing "was sich nicht ausdrücken lässt."

149

149 Cf. the prose fragment so entitled, written July 17, 1922 (GW, 627), and the fragment "Ur-Zeit des Wortes," written in 1943 (GW, 632f.)
Beer-Hofmann's poetic license with his biographical material lies in the very lyrical language in which much of Paula is written; in addition there are some specific passages in which it may safely be assumed that he exercised a certain amount of license for the reader's benefit. A good example of such "exposition in disguise" is the fragment (sub-titled "Vor dem Laden") near the end of Part I, in which Beer-Hofmann tells of eavesdropping on the conversation of Paula's brother and Fräulein Karolin. The conversation seems a little contrived, i.e. it strikes one as unlikely that quite so many details of the Lissy family's history and present circumstances would have been touched upon in a casual chat between Paula's brother and a girl with whom Paula worked. The fact that Beer-Hofmann allows himself certain liberties is not really the important point--poetic license, after all, is not something for which the poet need apologize. More important is the fact that in private conversations and in the work itself, Beer-Hofmann was extremely anxious to persuade the public that Paula was not "Dichtung" in any sense of the word (in addition to the emphatic assertion he makes in the foreword, he interjects again and again into the narration itself the assurance that his representation of past events is "getreu"), and one cannot help but wonder why. The answer no doubt lies in Beer-Hofmann's intense desire to be believed and his fear that he would not be. The Western world had undergone devastating changes, which had erased virtually every trace of the life and times about which he was writing; quite aside from that fact, the
conversations with Vordtriebe (which took place during the Entstehungszeit of Paula) reveal that as a writer Beer-Hofmann had always been tormented by the question, "Wer glaubt mir denn noch etwas, wenn ich mich hier mit Worten an eingebildeten Situationen errege?" (See footnote 31, p. 16.) He may indeed have felt that his love of fantasy and "eingebildete Situationen" had now come back to haunt him. One gains that impression from his description of the struggle to keep Paula free of fictional elements: "Ich tue nichts anderes, als mich mit aller Kraft gegen Einfälle wehren. Früher brauchte ich nur die Augen zu schliessen, da stellten sich sofort die vielfältigsten Vorstellungen ein. Jetzt habe ich nur genug damit zu tun, sie fern zu halten. . . ."\textsuperscript{150} There is no reason to doubt these words, but one is reminded of Thomas Mann's perceptive and oft-repeated observation that literary works have a will of their own; Beer-Hofmann, in my opinion, did not succeed in his efforts to write a strictly factual biography—and Paula, ein Fragment is the better for his failure.

\textsuperscript{150}Vordtriebe, "Gespräche," 13ff.
CHAPTER III. THE DRAMATIC WORKS

The dramas of Richard Beer-Hofmann consist of the five-act tragedy, Der Graf von Charolais (which had its premiere in 1904 and first appeared in print in 1905), the pantomime, Das goldene Pferd (completed in 1922, but first published in its entirety in 1955), and the Biblical cycle, Die Historie von König David, to which the poet devoted himself more and more exclusively after 1905, but which he did not complete.

In this chapter I shall trace the dramas' development of themes which were first introduced in the early prose fiction, and also examine the language, style, and techniques that characterize Beer-Hofmann's dramatic works.

First, however, some general observations need to be made which apply to all of Beer-Hofmann's dramatic works and to his entire relationship to the theatre. There is no question that he was passionately interested in everything theatrical and that he regarded the drama as his principal genre; the fact that almost everything he did after 1905 was connected in some way with the theatre is proof of that. He also possessed a high degree of knowledge and technical skill in staging and production, capabilities which Max Reinhardt obviously recognized and appreciated, and which Hofmannsthal also acknowledged: in 1918, when Leopold von Andrian was being considered for the directorship of the Burgtheater, Hofmannsthal wrote to Hermann Bahr: "An Poldy schrieb ich . . . dass er für den Fall
seiner Ernennung in der glücklichen Lage sei, in einer engen Landschaft
eigentlich alle die Menschen versammelt zu finden, mit denen zu sprechen
ihm vor der eigentlichen Übernahme der Geschäfte von unberechenbarem
Nützen sein könnte: hierunter meinte ich vor allem Sie, dann Reinhardt
... auch Richard B.H. und Strauss ... B. H. ist ... voll Einfall
und Kompetenz als Berater in dieser Sphäre, so wenig er als Leiter mög-
lich wäre ...." 151  Although Hofmannsthals considered Beer-Hofmann
himself unsuitable for the position, it was clearly not because he
thought him incompetent; he was probably thinking of Beer-Hofmann's "Ei-
gensinn" and his tendency to be rather imperious, especially where artistic
matters were concerned--traits which undoubtedly would have made it very
difficult for him to work with others as a Generalintendant.

Perhaps the word "Eigensinn" does Beer-Hofmann an injustice, and one
might do better to use Schmitzler's apt term, "Perfektomanie." There is
reason to believe that many people, including some who knew Beer-Hofmann
quite well, did not fully understand this "Perfektomanie," especially
in theatrical matters; a letter he wrote to Erich Kahler in 1933 provides
considerable insight into his reasons for the use of certain dramatic
techniques, and no less into his artistic convictions in general:

Die Breite der Bemerkungen, die Landschaft, Beleuchtung,
Kostüm, Stellung, Tempo, Dynamik, Färbung des Wortes,
mimisches Detail zu erfassen versucht, diese Breite ent-
springt nicht unsaubersten Regie-Instinkten, Verspiel-
theiten, einem verloren gegangenen künstlerischem Gleichge-
wichtseinstinkt, der Unwichtige überwertet. Diese

151 Meister und Meisterbriefe um Hermann Bahr, p. 179. (Letter of
July 23, 1918.)
Breite versucht, nur Wichtiges, das im Epischen, im
Lyrischen als Entscheidendes immer anerkannt wurde ... 
versucht, dies dem Drama zu sehr Verlorengegangene in
seine angestammten Rechte--oft Herrenrechte--wieder
zusetzen ... Von der wundervollen, mystischen
Symbiose, in der alles Seelische lebt, suche ich ... 
ein wenig in das Drama hinein zu retten, das heute--
wie nie vorher--in Sterbe- und Geburtswehen sich win-
det. Denn: vorbereitet durch das Primat der Technik
uber unser 'usseres Leben, ist unser Gefühl von Zeit
und Raum in noch schmerzender Wandlung begriffen ... 
So versuche ich, eine gesündere, dem Leben ähnlichere,
organisierere, gottgewolltere Relation zwischen allem
Geschaute, Gesammelt, Gerochenem, Getatatem, Geschie-
genem, Getanem und dem schliesslich dann Gesprochenen
hervorzustellen ... Dass der Leser manchmal da erschrickt,
such dass er ungeduldig wird, begreife ich, aber ich
will nicht, ich kann vor allem nicht anders, ohne dass
es mir als Lästern an dem, was mir Kunst hei'st, ... 
erscheine. Diese absonderliche Suppe, die ich (vermut-
lich in irgendeinem Auftrag) brauen muss, wird wohl vom
Leser gegessen oder stehen gelassen werden müssen.

(GW, 877f.)

These remained Beer-Hofmann's principles and purposes for the drama
throughout his life; his revision, as late as 1940-41, of the scenario of
Der Graf von Charolais is evidence of that.\textsuperscript{152} How he attempted to ful-
fill his purposes will be seen in the following examination of the works
themselves.

A. Der Graf von Charolais

The drama itself is preceded by Beer-Hofmann's acknowledgment that
"die Namen der Hauptpersonen wie einige Voraussetzungen der Fabel" are

\textsuperscript{152} See the editor's note on Der Graf von Charolais, GW, 895.
taken from the seventeenth-century English play, "The Fatal Dowry," by Philip Massinger and Nathaniel Field. (GW, 323.)

His statement is quite truthful; except for the characters' names and the historical setting, Der Graf von Charolais bears little resemblance to the earlier, English play, and it is rather misleading to refer to Beer-Hofmann's drama as an adaptation or "Bearbeitung" of it, as some critics have done. 154

In some respects Der Graf von Charolais seems to be a renunciation of earlier themes, rather than a re-statement of them. 155 The world order presented in Charolais is mysterious, but it certainly does not appear to be just. In particular, this bitterly pessimistic drama, which has been called "ein allgemeines Waffenstrecken des freien Willens vor dem blinden 'Zufall'," and whose characters are presented as helpless puppets of fate, seems to negate the affirmation of life made earlier in the final pages of Der Tod Georges. It will be seen, however, that the motifs are essentially the same; in Charolais the poet simply focuses our attention

153 Translated as "Die unselige Mitgift," "The Fatal Dowry" was included in Wolf von Baudissin's anthology, Ben Jonson und seine Schule, published by Brockhaus (Leipzig) in 1836. This was the translation Beer-Hofmann knew.


on their dark and fearsome side. The young hero of Der Tod Georgs, one recalls, came to the realization that what had made him fear life and seek to remain detached from it was its uncertainty and his lack of control over its events. In Charolais Beer-Hofmann carries this realization to its ultimate conclusion, showing the devastating effects this lack of control can have. "So wirf mir nicht noch Zweifel auf den Weg, / Das Eine lass mir doch: den sichern Schritt!" Charolais says at the close of Act I, later to be cruelly forced to the realization that in life there is no certain step.

One of the most frequent criticisms of Charolais, especially among its early reviewers, was that the play lacked unity, i.e. that Beer-Hofmann had attempted—unsuccessfully—to forge together what were actually two dramas, one about filial love and loyalty (Acts I-III), the other about marital infidelity (Acts IV-V).  

157 This criticism, it seems to me, shows

little understanding of the drama's dominant motif, namely the mysterious and unpredictable workings of fate; it is precisely this that ties the two "Handlungen" together and gives the drama unity. Through a series of apparent accidents and coincidences, Charolais, by the end of Act III, has not only achieved the release of his father's body from debtor's prison, but he also faces the completely unexpected prospect of marriage to the judge's beautiful and virtuous daughter and a life of happiness and ease such as he had never dreamed possible for himself. In the last two acts of the play it is the same unpredictable fate that destroys him utterly, and with him those he loves: in the play's final scene Charolais says ("bitter höhnend"): "Ich trieb sie ja wohl in den Tod! Ich 'trieb' sie! / 'Trieb' ist das Wort--nicht wahr? / (Kopfschüttelnd) Ich trieb sie nicht! / (Ernst und stark) Es' trieb uns--treibt uns! 'Es'--nicht ich, nicht du!" And to the anguished reproach of Desireé's father he says: "Nichts tat ich! Mir / Ward's angetan"--(er fasst sich und zuckt die Achseln)--"auch das nicht--es geschah!" (GW, 464ff.)

The unity provided by the fate motif is further strengthened by several structural devices: the drama begins and ends in the same place (the Wirtshaus is the setting for Act I; in the second, third, and fourth acts the scene shifts to the judge's home, the courtroom, and back to the judge's home, returning in Act V to the Wirtshaus); moreover, Charolais' reaction to the drama's two most crucial developments is exactly the same.
In spoken lines, gestures, and a manner which immediately call to mind the opening and closing scenes of Kleist's Prinz Friedrich von Homburg, Charolais at the close of Act III reacts with dazed bewilderment to the incredibly good turn his fortunes have taken, expressing his belief that all must be a dream: "Dies ist ein Traum! Romont! Nicht wahr, wir reiten / Durch Felder in der Nacht zur Stadt, ich hab' / Geträumt, im Sattel bin ich eingeschlafen." (GW, 406.) His reaction is the same after the seduction scene in Act IV, as the evidence of Desirée's infidelity becomes more and more conclusive. In fact Charolais himself refers to the same-ness of his reactions: "Dies kann nicht sein! Dies ist / Ein Traum nur, Romont! Sagt' ich das nicht schon / Einmal--als ich zuerst sie sah?--Doch damals / War's Wirklichkeit! So muss dies jetzt ein Traum sein, / Denn, die dort oben leuchtend stand, kann nicht / Dieselbe sein, die jetzt--von ihrem Kind weg-- / Den Weg--mit ihm--den Weg hinab dort ging! / Ein Traum! ..." (GW, 433f.) The only difference here is that the first "dream" was a happy one with a fairy-tale ending, the second a nightmare--a difference which only serves to emphasize the unfathomable and unpredictable nature of fate.

Death is another important motif in Charolais, as it was in the early prose works. The fear of death is best seen in the character of Philipp. To the judge's secretary, whose antipathy he senses, Philipp says:

Wer lebt, der wirbt! Wer tot ist--d e r entsagt! ... 
Ihr seid so klug! Merkt Ihr denn nicht die Hast, 
Mit der ich's treibe? Ruhlos, similos! So hetzt
Uns Angst, nicht Eitelkeit! Ich will nicht sein
Von denen, die mit 'dann' und 'dann' ihr Leben
Sich wie ein Mahl in Gänge teilen, sparend
Beim ersten Gang den Hunger für den letzten.
Da folgen klug geordnet: Lust, Geniessen,
Erwerben, Freien, Kinder, Macht und Ruhm,
Ein sanftes Sterben, wenn man satt der Welt—
Des Lebens Gastmahl aber gibt der Tod;
Der hebt die Tafel auf, wann's ihm gefällt!
Das 'Denn' ist sein, mein kaum das 'Heut', das mir
Im Atmen, da ich 'heute' sag, entrinnt . . . (GW, 372f.)

Philipp, however, is not merely a bon vivant, or an exponent of carpe
diem. The secretary says to him: "So werbt Ihr also—" and Philipp, in-
terrupting, replies: "Um mein Leben! Weiss ich, / Wie bald es endet? Dies
muss mir dann bleiben: / Dass viele an mich denken, viele, viele! / Dem
war ich Freund, den mahnt an mich die Narbe / Auf seiner Wang'; der Bursch
da, dem ich, prahlend / --Ich weiss--den Dolch gesandt, der Bettler, dem
ich / Statt Geld ein labend Wort in seinen Hut warf, / Die Mädchen an den
Fenstern, rasch gegrüsst, / Mit Blicken, die die Miederschnüre lösten-- /
Und Ihr, zu dem ich so gesprochen, wie ich / Zuvor es nie getan--und
andre, viele, / Hab' ich für mich erworben als Provinzen, / Die dann noch
blühen, wenn dies Reich zerfällt!" (GW, 373.) As this passage shows,
Philipp, in living so that he will be remembered by others after his death,
is attempting to thwart death, or at least to offset its finality.

Another aspect of the fear of death is brought out in Charolais' im-
passioned outburst in the courtroom in Act III. In painfully graphic
language that reminds one of many Baroque poems on this subject, Charolsis
envisions the deterioration of his father's body: "Doch wenn die Sonne
kommt, die Sonne, die / Uns wärmt, uns schmeichelt, die, die gut ist, die--/ So weiss ich, was sie vorhat, kenn' ihr Handwerk:/ Sie stiehlt sich durch das Holz des Sargs, ist drinnen,/ Betastet sanft den Leib, bis er geschmeidig--/ Nein--heiss und weich wird, und zuerst dann nimmt sie/ Die Augen sich, dann erst den Rest! Es schwilt--/ Gär't, spannt sich, birst, hebt auf den Deckel--und--/(aus tiefster Qual aufschreiend) Herr, ich ertrag's, ertrag' es nicht, dass er/ Da oben fäult!" (GW, 398.)

Related to this fear of death is the motif of shameless "Freude am Leben in Geselligkeit," already familiar to the reader from Der Tod Georgs. It is evident in many of Philipp's speeches, indeed in Beer-Hofmann's entire characterization of him, and it is also voiced by the innkeeper's father when he learns of the death of General Charolais: "Um zwanzig Jahre war er jünger/ Als ich--und tot! Seht, Herr, wenn ich von einem,/ Den ich gekannt--und wo ich weiss, dass er/ Gesund und jünger war als ich--wenn ich/ Von dem dann hör', dass er schon tot ist--ja, / Da gibt's mir einen Riss durch alle Glieder,/ Da sag' ich mir: Siehst du, du bist viel älter/ Und nicht gesund! Schon morgen kann es aus sein./ Am andern Tag dann freilich freut's mich wieder,/ Dass so ein alter zäher Karl wie ich/ Die Jüngern überlebt!--So ist es tot!" (GW, 328.)

The beginning and the end of Charolais are marked by two Todesfälle, and they are in sharp contrast to each other. Charolais' father is already dead when the play begins, but we learn the details of his death through Romont's conversation with the innkeeper's father in Act I (GW, 329). The General's death, like his life, had been noble and honorable, if not heroic. Desiree, by contrast, is a woman condemned by her own father (albeit against his will); her death, at least outwardly, is one of shame and dishonor.

Both cases, however, demonstrate the unpredictability of fate, and its apparent capriciousness. Man is an utterly helpless creature who does not act, but to whom things simply happen. In this context death becomes the ultimate capriciousness of fate, to which there is no answer. There are several points in the play, however, where Beer-Hofmann does seem to voice the faint possibility of an answer to death. In the final scene, as Desiree is dying, she says to her father ("im Tone tiefer Beruhigung"): "Ja--Vater--Kind! / Das bleibt doch!" (GW, 466.) And in the last lines of the drama, our attention is suddenly focused on the child, who had played no significant part in any of the preceding action. As Charolais leaves his father-in-law he says: "Noch eins! Da drinnen schläft ein Kind! Wenn es / Erwacht--so wird es nach der Mutter rufen, / Nach seinem Vater auch vielleicht--und sie / Und ich--wir beide--werden's nicht mehr hören. / Die Tür lass ich dir offen, alter Mann! / Bleib in der Näh, dass dich sein Ruf erreicht!" (GW, 466.)
The idea of posterity as a possible answer to death was suggested in Der Tod Georges, it will be recalled; it emerges in the passages of Charolais just quoted, and is voiced in terms of sexual union in the final scene of the play, when Charolais says: "Bei ihr war Zuflucht, Sicherheit bei ihr! / Ihr Arm, gelegt um meinen Nacken, barg mich, / Ihr Atem--Friede! Ihre Lippen--Glück! / Ihr Leib--Verheissung! Eins mit ihr zu werden, / Aus mir in sie zu flüchten, fasst' ich sie, / Umschlang sie, liess mein Leben in sie strömen-- / Und hielt sie--meine Antwort an den Tod!" (GW, 549.)\(^{159}\) Moreover, the relationship of members of a family, and especially of one generation to another, forms an integral part of the drama; this is evident not only in Charolais' filial love and loyalty and in the relationship between Desiré and the judge, but even in the case of the play's minor characters: in his way, the innkeeper is also a representative of this theme--he lies to his father and conceals from him the actual circumstances of his life, but he does so out of love and a

\(^{159}\) Cf. the reference to "den heissen Strom des neuen Lebens" in the Syrian love-death rites in Der Tod Georges (GW, 549); see also Theodor Reik, "Lullaby for Miriam," in T. R., The Secret Self (New York: Farrar, Straus & Young, 1952), p. 303f. In this essay Reik deals primarily with the Schlaflied (interpreting it as a statement of the seed as an answer to death), but he also discusses the treatment of this theme in Charolais, saying about the drama: "Spermatozoa are here considered identical with the life of the individual . . . Sexual union is seen . . . not only as an escape from the danger of death, but also as a promise of rescue and immortality." (p. 303.)
desire to shield his father from painful truths. When the innkeeper admits to Romont that he lies to his father, his wife says, "Das ist ja doch nichts Schlechtes?", and Romont replies, "Nein. Du ehrst / Den Vater ja auf deine Art, auf dass / Er glaube, dass dir's wohlergeht auf Erden." (GW, 336f.) The theme is given its most powerful treatment in the scene in which "Der rote Itzig" describes the death of his father to Charolais. (GW, 355ff.)

In the drama, as in the earlier works, this possible answer to death, almost totally overshadowed as it is by other motifs, emerges at best as a very faint hope. Viewed as a whole, the tone of Charolais is one of overwhelmingly bitter pessimism, but the inclusion of this idea is nevertheless an indication that in his search for an answer to death, Beer-Hofmann saw the idea of posterity as a tentative possibility.\footnote{160} That this eventually strengthened into conviction is shown by Die Historie von König David, in which Beer-Hofmann gives the theme of posterity far more

160 Gustav Landauer was one early critic who sensed other tones than those of profound pessimism in Charolais. On December 25, 1904, after having attended the play's premiere in Berlin, he wrote to Beer-Hofmann: "Wilde sagt, es komme nicht auf das an, was der Mensch tut, sondern was er ist. Sie fügen hinzu: aber das lebensentscheidende Tun der Menschen richtet sich ewig nach dem, was getan wird. Und Sie fügen weiter hinzu: ist der Mensch denn, ist die Welt denn überhaupt etwas anderes, als dieser ewige Wechsel der Masken? Sie fügen es mit recht viel Bitterkeit, in pessimistischen Tönen hinzu. Die Zukunft wird entscheiden, ob Sie für Ihr Weltempfinden nicht auch andere Töne haben. Ich glaube es und höre hinter all dem Bitteren auch schon Klänge der letzten Heiterkeit, die wir nur noch ertragen wollen, wenn sie aus der letzten Bitternis und tiefster Qual geboren ist." (Gustav Landauer: Sein Lebensgang in Briefen, Martin Buber, ed., Vol. I, p. 129f.)
extensive treatment, expanding it beyond the single family to include an entire Volk.

The foregoing discussion has already touched upon another of the drama's major motifs: love. Almost every kind of love is treated in Charolais, with almost as many variations and nuances as there are characters: the love between parent and child (Charolais and his father, Charolais and the judge, Desirée and the judge, the innkeeper and his father, "Der rote Itzig" and his father); conjugal love (Charolais and Desirée); erotic love (Philipp, and the people who use the inn as a trysting place); the love between friends (Charolais and Romont); and in a sense, even the question of love of God.

Charolais' childhood clearly was not easy, or what one usually thinks of as "normal": "Sieh, ohne Mutter, / Im Zelt, im Sattel bin ich aufgewachsen, / Und 'Heimat' sag' ich mit so fremder Zunge, / Als wär's ein Name unbetretner Küsten, / Den staunend ich erlauscht von Weitgereisten. / Was doch der ärme Bauer gibt den Kindern-- / Mein Vater hat es mir nicht geben können / Und hat's gefühlt und hat darum gelitten." (GW, 344.)

But his love for his father is unmistakable, as is his conviction that the spiritual legacy his father left him is infinitely more valuable than any tangible assets would be: "Und siehst du--weil mein Vater dies gewusst: / Dass er mir nicht Besitz, nicht Heimat und nicht / Den leichten Sinn, der's leicht vermisst, gegeben-- / Gibt er ein Lebenlang sich selbst:
sein Beispiel! / ... Sieh! -- Dies Gefühl gab er mir mit ins Leben: / Langsamem Siechtum, Armut, Sorge, Tod -- / Kann Eintritt in mein Leben ich nicht wahren, / Ich weiss --Gebieter sind sie, und sie lenken! / Doch nie darf Reue auf der Stirn mir steh'n, / Nie Ekel sich auf meine Lippen legen -- / Ich mein', vor mir, vor meinem Tun und Denken. / Herr ist das Schicksal über allen Dingen -- / --Doch hier bin ich's! Dazu kann's mich nicht zwingen." (GW, 315.) The latter part of this passage also indicates that Beer-Hofmann was not an unequivocal Determinist; the sovereignty of fate does not absolve men of the responsibility to so live that they have no contempt for themselves.  

The judge does not replace Charolais' father in the son's affections, but he fills the void left by the general's death, and becomes the second father-figure in Charolais' life. Their relationship is one of mutual love, respect, and trust, and in Charolais' case, of profound gratitude.

"Der rote Itzig" is of course a spokesman for the traditionally strong bond between Jewish parents and their children, but in a wider sense he speaks for all the drama's characters and their various parent-

161 Cf. Solomon Liptzin, Richard Beer-Hofmann, p. 46, and Alfred Werner, who tells of a conversation with Beer-Hofmann shortly before the poet's death, in which Beer-Hofmann said: "'One cannot change one's fate; the road is predestined for each of us. But the way we walk it, the attitude with which we bear our fate, can be of great influence over events.'" ("Richard Beer-Hofmann: Double Heritage," The American Scholar XVI, 331.)
child relationships:

Was das bedeuten: 'E Vatter'? Was?—Ich sag Euch, Vorgestern war noch aner auf der Welt, Der hat nix anderes gekennt als Euch! Dem hätts Ihr antun können, was Ihr wollts! Dieb, Räuber, Mörder hätts Ihr werden können, Er hät' nix aufgehört, Euch lieb zu haben, Und hät' gebettelt gern, wenn's Euch nur gut geht! A n' unbescheidnen Wunsch hat er gehabt: Dass Ihr die Augen sollls zudrucken i h m, Und nix er Euch. Und jeden Abend hat er Gebetet: 'Herrgott! ehnder dass mei Kind Etwas geschehen soll, lass lieber m i c h Zehntausend Tode sterben!' Sehts Ihr, so, So reich warts Ihr vorgestern noch! Und heut!? Und wenn Ihr gehts rund um de ganze Welt— Und wenn Ihr alt werd't hundert Jahr!—so findts Ihr das nicht wieder . . . So sehn bei uns die Väter und die Mütter— Viel anders wern se bei Euch auch nix sein! (GW, 357.)

Essentially the same sentiments are expressed by the judge, and reflected in Beer-Hofmann's characterization of all the drama's parents, including Charolais himself, who says with regard to his son: "Verwalter. Für ihn! So fühlt ich mich!" Later in the same conversation, he says of himself and his wife: "Doch wir beide, / Wir waren wichtig nur, bevor er ward. / Nun da er ist, / braucht uns Natur nicht mehr!" (GW, 413, 415.)

The same attitude is also seen in the innkeeper's blind father; he knows that his son consents to, indeed profits from the use of his rooms for adultery and fornication, but he is anxious that Romont not think badly of his son because of this. (GW, 335.)

162 Cf. Beer-Hofmann's letter to Arthur Schnitzler before the birth of his first child, Mirjam (quoted on p. 19f.).
It is considerably more difficult to arrive at any clear-cut conclusions about the play's representation of conjugal love. What the reader, or viewer, knows, he learns largely in retrospect, i.e. from Charolais' and Desireé's speeches in Act V, after the action has already taken its tragic turn. Otherwise, except for the brief scene of contented, happy family life in Act IV, we are given few indications of what these two feel for each other. This is especially true of Desireé. In the scene just mentioned, it becomes clear (more through the stage directions--"in zufriedenem Glück über Desireé gebeugt," "zärtlich leicht Desireé's Haar streichelnd," etc.--than through the spoken lines) that Charolais loves his wife deeply; whether she returns his love is a question very much open to debate. We already know that the judge, not Desireé, selected Charolais to be her husband; it is quite possible that she has married him only out of obedience to her father. Her ambivalent behavior during the seduction scene tends to support this possibility. Desireé is strangely reluctant to answer Philipp when he asks if she loves Charolais; pressed for an answer, she finally says: "Ich liebe meinen Mann und lieb' mein Kind!", to which the perceptive Philipp replies: "Halt! Misch das nicht! Du weichst mir aus!" It could be argued, of course, that Philipp is simply refusing to believe what he does not want to hear, but the reader, too, is left with the impression of evasiveness on Desireé's part, an impression that does not derive from her spoken lines alone. Again, the stage directions are important indicators: in this scene Desireé speaks
her lines "mit steigender Empörung," "in gesteigerter Hast," "suffahrend," etc. Her bearing and manner are possibly meant to convey only offended pride and a secret sense of shame, however unwarranted. She does confess to such a feeling: "Fragst du, was du getan?! / Genommen mir die Sicherheit, mich tief / Gedemütigt, dass ich es nicht verwinde! / Ich war nicht blind, ich sah die Welt, ich wusste, / Dass jeden, täglich, eine gelbe Flut / Von Hösslichem und Niedrigem umbrandet! / Doch ich, so dacht' ich, durfte sicher schreiten! / Den Saum nicht einmal konnt' es mir bespülen-- / So stolz war ich! --Ich bin's nicht mehr! Denn etwas, / Es muss etwas in mir gewesen sein, / Das Mut dir gab!" (GW, 420.)

Desirée's realization here that for her as for all human beings there is no "certain step" recalls Charolais' words in Act I, and also represents a kind of Vorsusdeutung of his bitter recognition of this fact in Act V.

But the injured pride expressed in this passage does not seem to be a sufficient explanation for Desirée's behavior; it leaves too many puzzling questions unanswered, among them the question of why she does not simply call one of the servants (as she threatens repeatedly to do). The most plausible conclusion I believe one can draw is that Beer-Hofmann quite deliberately made Desirée's relationship to Charolais an ambiguous one, intending her to be seen as a woman who at this point in the drama does not know herself whether she loves her husband, thus giving the problem an added psychological dimension, to say nothing of an additional element of irony. Philipp says to her: "Du! Ihn lieben: (verächtlich) Du
weisst ja gar nicht, weisst nicht, was es heisst." (GW, l22.) Only after her infidelity does Desirée seem to know her own feelings and speak of them with conviction. In the final scene of the drama she defends Charolais to her father: "Begreif ihn, Vater! / Er ist nicht hart—er wehrt sich seines Lebens! / Sonst nichts! Er liebt mich, und er meint, er könnte / Nicht weiter leben ohne diese Liebe; / Sie will er retten—wär's durch meinen Tod! / . . . ich versteh ihn gut! Er will mich tot, um wieder mich zu lieben." (GW, l62.) To Charolais she says: "Ich hab' dich lieb! Sonst niemand, so wie dich! / Jetzt mehr als je!" (GW, l62.)

There has been some discussion of the character of Philipp already; it will be recalled that he speaks of his erotic conquests, indeed of all his human contacts, as "erworbene Provinzen, die dann noch blühen, wenn dies Reich zerfällt." Desirée, to be sure, is on a different plane than "die Mädchen an den Fenstern, rasch gegrüsst, mit Blicken, die die Miederschnüre lösten," but Philipp's attitude is essentially the same: in describing to Desirée the dreams he has had of her, he uses metaphors of the hunt and the chase, calling his thoughts of her "eine lechzende Meute," etc. (GW, l24.) The difference is primarily one of degree: in the seduction of Desirée, Philipp has to expend much greater effort, and be infinitely more subtle. Charolais clearly regards Philipp as a contemptible degenerate, but Philipp's eroticism is really no less an attempted answer to death than the conjugal union of which Charolais speaks (see p. 154).
The love between friends is shown primarily through Romont; there are no speeches on friendship *per se*, but "mein Freund" is Charolais' next to last utterance as the play ends, and this type of love is implicit in the allegiance and faithfulness to Charolais that mark Romont's behavior throughout the drama. He remains with him when he has been forsaken by everyone else, attempting to shield him and ease the pain of his loss (Acts I-III); Charolais' devotion and respect for Romont are indicated by the latter's continued presence (Acts IV-V) as his only trusted friend and confidante. Only once is there the slightest suggestion that Romont's devotion to Charolais has been shaken; in Act V, immediately after Desirée's death, Charolais says ("wie um Hilfe rufend"): "Romont! (Romont tritt langsam neben ihn; er hält den Kopf gesenkt.) Was siehst du zu Boden? (Romont blickt auf.) Du weinst? . . ." (GW, 464.) His loyalty remains intact, however, as the closing lines of the drama show.

In general it can be said that the various forms of human love depicted in Charolais represent the only thing that makes life meaningful, or even bearable. Early in the play, in lines which also express the terrible loneliness of the individual, Charolais says: "Romont! Was hab' denn ich! Wer hat mich lieb? / Um wen soll ich mich sorgen? Woran kann ich / Mein Leben knüpfen, dass es mir nicht schwerlos, / Unwichtig, leer, entrollt? Gib mir den Menschen— / Das Ding—das Tier! Nur etwas—ich ertrag's nicht, / So arm zu sein—an allem arm! . . ." (GW, 361.)
To say that Charolais also deals with the question of love of God perhaps states the case too narrowly; the drama in fact explores the very nature of God and man's whole relationship to Him. This is especially true of Act V, although the theme is also treated earlier. The judge, throughout his life an upright man, also becomes "fromm"—through the experience of fatherhood. He says to his secretary: "... Nicht aus Sturm, Gewittern und / Gestirnter Himmelsprach, und Schöpfungswundern, / Sprach Gott zu mir--im Lallen meines Kindes / Vernahm ich ihn--fromm ward ich durch mein Kind." (Act II, GW, 361.) He is convinced that Desiree, who nearly died at birth, was allowed to live because God heard his anguishèd supplication:

... und ich rief
Die Hände auf zum Himmel, und ich rief:
'Mein Lebtag hab' ich doch an dich geglaubt,
Soll ich denn jetzt an dir verzweifeln? Lass
Mir Weib und Kind! Dann borch' ich auf, als müsste
Mir Antwort kommen; keine kam. Da warf ich
Mich auf mein Antlitz, drückte meine Stirn auf
Den harten, spitzen Kies, und schrie: 'Da dass t nicht
Mir alles nehmen! Wenn nicht beides--lass
Mir Eines doch--ich bin ein alter Mann--
Lass mir mein Kind!'...
... da stand ich
Vom Boden auf, und in mir fühlte ich's:
Ich war erhört von Gott.
(Einen Augenblick vor sich hinsinnend, dann mehr für sich)
Von Gott, so denk' ich. (Act II, GW, 380f.)

The image that emerges here is that of a merciful, benevolent God. In Act V the image is totally different; there God is unquestionably seen as a being whose capriciousness is as cruel as it is incomprehensible:
Charolais: Auch Gnade ist bei Gott allein! Gerecht,
    Und gnädig! Beides ist nur er--nur er!
    Lobpreise seinen Namen!
Präsident: Höhnt du Gott?
Charolais: (erst mit gespieltem Erstaunen, dann die Maske
    fallenlassend, mit tiefster Bitterkeit)
    Höhnt ihn, wer ihn gerecht und gnädig nennt?!
    Lernst, Alter, du in dieser Stunde um,
    Was deine Weisheit war durch achtzig Jahre?!
    Weil, fromm, ich meinen toten Vater ehrte,
    Gabst du dein Kind mir--sieh, damit begann's!

The present catastrophe is Charolais' "reward" for having revered God, and
the same applies to the judge:

Charolais: Weil fromm ich war--darum muss ich heut leiden,
    Für deine Güte--dies dein Lohn! Gerecht!
    Du batest ihn um eines Kindes Leben--
    Er hat's gewährt! Freu dich an deinem Kind!
    Liess dich zu selten hohen Jahren kommen,
    Dies zu erleben!
    (Als stimme er einen Lobgesang an)
    Gnädig! Gnädig! Gnädig!
    Verstehst du ihm?
    (Sich vorneigend, als vertraue er ihm ein Geheim-
    nis an, leise)
    Er scherzt mit uns! Er scherzt!
    Und scherzt der Herr--was bleibt uns Knechten übrig,
    Als gut den Scherz zu finden--und zu lachen!
    (GW, 461.)

Later in the scene Charolais speaks similarly to the innkeeper: "Sangst du
sein Lob? Und nahm er dir die Stimme? / (Er weist auf den Präsidenten) Der
dort--pries ihn! Ihm liess er sie--zu stöhnen!" (GW, 466.) The conclud-
ing lines of this speech summarize the poet's view of the nature of God:
"Es scheint, er liebt es nicht, wenn man zu viel / Von ihm spricht--sei's
mit Beten oder Fluchen! / Zu Sichres hasst er--und ein allzusehr / Auf ihn
vertrauen—nennt er: Ihn versuchen!" (GW, 466.)

The theme of justice remains to be discussed. Its major representatives are of course Charolais and the judge. That Charolais is a just man is apparent from the outset. There is, however, a certain discrepancy in his sense of justice that might be considered a flaw in Beer-Hofmann's characterization of him, an inconsistency which, it seems to me, detracts more from the play's unity than the two "Handlungen" to which so many critics objected. In the first three acts of the play Charolais appears as a man whose strong sense of justice is tempered by humaneness and mercy; he represents the spirit, rather than the letter, of the law. Realizing that his father's creditors are within their rights, according to the strict letter of the law, he nevertheless feels that in a higher sense a grave injustice will be done, if his father's body is not released. The rigidity which characterizes his sense of justice in Act IV and even more in Act V is very difficult to reconcile with his earlier attitude. The inflexible nature of Charolais' sense of justice first emerges at the beginning of Act IV, when he refuses to let the innkeeper

continue to serve as agent for the sale of the harvest, as he had always done in the past. Later, to be sure, his humaneness prevails, and he changes his mind, saying, "Im Grund tut er mir leid!" (GW, 416.) In Act V, however, there is no such return to humaneness; there Charolais' sense of justice is marked by a final and total absence of compassion and mercy. He is ruthlessly inexorable in his insistence that sentence be passed on Desirée: "Mein Degen und mein Recht sind mir geblieben-- / Die beiden nur! Gibt mir mein Recht!" (GW, 351.)

It seems quite probable that Beer-Hofmann characterized Charolais in this way in order to achieve a complete reversal of roles between him and the judge. One of the play's bitterest ironies, this exchange of roles does not lie merely in the external fact that the judge of Act III becomes a defendant in Act V and Charolais, earlier the supplicant, becomes the prosecutor. Charolais' internal change as a person is from humaneness to total Unerbittlichkeit, while the judge's is precisely the opposite. Numerous speeches in Acts II, III, and IV place the judge unequivocally in the stern, unyielding tradition of Old Testament justice; he makes the strongest such statement in Act II: "Gnade! Lasst doch / Das Wort, ich mag es nicht! Wer Recht hat, kommt / Mit seinem Rechte aus! Wer Unrecht hat, / Braucht Gnade." (GW, 378.) In Act V he tears his judicial robe from his shoulders and says to Charolais: "Hier liegt ich vor dir, wie ich nur vor Gott lag / . . . Ein Mensch in tiefster Not! Und ist auch dies / Zu viel des Hochmuts noch--die letzte Würde, / Ich tu' sie ab--kein
Mensch, ein Tier, gehetzt, / Gemartert, windet sich vor dir am Boden, /
Und schreit und winselt um sein Junges! Gib ihm's! / Sei gnädig du! Hab
Mitleid! Übe Gnade!" (GW, 460f.)

As far as the question of a just world order is concerned, the play's ending unquestionably proves that the view of God expressed in Der Tod
Georgs, namely that of a supreme being whose ways are just, underwent some modification during the writing of Charolais. Whether the change in view was total or partial is a matter of interpretation: it could be argued that the injustices presented in the drama speak for themselves, i.e. constitute a renunciation of the poet's earlier view of God. It appears to me that the play does not represent a total negation of Beer-Hofmann's earlier position, but rather a modification to this extent: if God's ways are just, then only in a sense that far transcends the comprehension of men. Seen in this light, Charolais is the artistic expression of its author's agonizing struggle to reconcile his conception of God and the universal order with the suffering, ugliness, and injustice he saw in the world. As early as 1893 Beer-Hofmann had expressed (in Das Kind) the idea of doubt as a means to faith; his development from Der Tod Georgs to the Historie von König David--by way of Der Graf von Charolais--is evidence of this process at work in his own life.

Turning to an examination of the play's style, language, and techniques, one has first of all the impression of very powerful dramatic effects, stemming primarily from the language itself, but also from the
playwright's attention to such details as timing, dynamics, gestures, even stage properties. Moreover, as Robert Musil observed in his review of Charolais, the effects are achieved very naturally, i.e. they do not strike the viewer as cheap theatrical tricks: "Es sind Stellen darin, wo die Tugend hoch zu Ross sitzt und ein Trompeter ihr voranreitet ... und andere Stellen, die so bedenkenlos auf die Wirkung zielen, wie es sich nur die völlige Reinheit erlauben darf ... Sie ... ergeben sich ganz natürlich, das heisst wohl, aus einer Natur, der das wirklich Freude macht, und nicht aus einer, die bloss weiss, dass man damit im Theater anderen Freude macht und ihren Beifall erntet. So ist etwas Herbes, von Nebenrücksichten Lediges in den süßen Stellen dieses Schauspiels, wo ein anderes süßlich wäre ..." 164

As is apparent from the passages already quoted, Charolais is written in blank verse, and with few exceptions its language is very exalted. At least one critic objected to the language on the grounds that it was inconsistent with the place and time in which the drama was set. 165
Actually, one is tempted to ask if people of any time or place ever

164 Robert Musil, "Der Graf von Charolais," Theater, p. 132. Marie-Louise Roth, the editor of this volume, also speaks of Musil's high regard for Beer-Hofmann as a playwright because he did not write mere "Publikums- und Erfolgsstücke" ("Zum Verständnis der Texte," Theater, p. 325); see also Musil's "Wiener Theatertesesse" on p. 44 of the same book.

165 Eduard Eckhardt, "Deutsche Bearbeitungen älterer englischer Dramen," p. 207.
talked to each other as Charolais does to Romont (GW, 361) or to Desi-
rès (GW, 414), or as the judge talks to his secretary (GW, 380-82), to
give only a few examples. But a more important question, at least in
terms of the poet's purposes and his success or failure in achieving them,
is whether the language and verse form are not inconsistent with the place
and time in which the drama was written and performed. Beer-Hofmann's
use of the verse form was undoubtedly a reaction to Naturalistic drama,
a desire to avoid the language and style of "social realism." (He must
have had very mixed emotions indeed at sharing the Schillerpreis with--
of all people--Carl and Gerhart Hauptmann.) Stated more positively, one
of Beer-Hofmann's primary purposes was to revitalize a dramatic form that
had once been compelling and meaningful, but no longer seemed relevant to
many. It cannot be said that he enjoyed more than partial success, but
this is not entirely an indictment of the poet or a denial of his talent;
it is doubtful that anyone in our time could have performed this feat,
which George Steiner, for one, considers both an impossibility and a mis-
take: "As we enter the twentieth century, the old shadows and stale ideals
again crowd upon us ... the entire baggage of dusty theory is again in-
voked, long after Ibsen and Chekhov have shown that it is irrelevant to
the modern spirit ... The [old] image of the theatre ... is a noble
phantom ... But it should never have been summoned back to the electric
light, where it stands naked and inept. The verse tragedies produced by
modern ... poets are ... attempts to blow fire into cold ash. It
cannot be done."\textsuperscript{166} "The modern spirit" (about which more will be said later in this discussion) is not the only reason verse tragedy seems irrelevant today. Another, albeit related reason is that "the contact between verse of a dramatic and musical order and the everyday world has grown ever more precarious and infrequent . . . Verse no longer stands at the center of communicative discourse . . . This does not signify that modern poetry is any the less compelling or important to the survival of literacy and sensuous apprehension. But it does mean that the distance between verse and the realities of common action with which drama must deal is greater than ever before."\textsuperscript{167}

One of the fundamental characteristics of the verse form is that it gives considerable formality to the lines and establishes a certain distance between the characters and the reader, or viewer. This distance is increased in \textit{Charolais} by the hyperbolic nature of the language itself. There are a few passages in which it is prosaic, even vulgar;\textsuperscript{168} there are

\textsuperscript{166}George Steiner, \textit{The Death of Tragedy} (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961), p. 304f.

\textsuperscript{167}Steiner, \textit{The Death of Tragedy}, p. 309.

\textsuperscript{168}See, for example, the judge's reference to the female menstrual cycle in Act II (GW, 382); even if the utterance is in character (which in this instance it is not), there is in such passages a certain incongruity between the lofty verse form and the utterance (both the subject and the language in which it is couched).
not many such passages, however, and most of the time their function is to provide a measure of relief from the almost unbearable intensity and feverish pitch of other passages, which also are usually much longer.

Beer-Hofmann clearly recognized that such relief is occasionally necessary. In the letter of 1933 to Erich Kahler, from which a passage was quoted earlier, he says: "Und so sehe ich die Sache für den Leser: eben weil ich das Wort zu höchster Prägnanz und Durchschlagskraft zu steigern versuche--, ist ein komplimentäres, retardierendes, die Überschärfe minderndes, mir Dosierungsmöglichkeiten bietendes episches Element szenischer Bemerkungen vonnöten, das den erregten Leser zur Ruhe zwingen, ihn eventuell sogar aus der Stimmung werfen soll--wenn ich es für ange-messen erachte." (GW, 878.) Here he speaks specifically of stage directions as a temporary means of lessening the dramatic tension; this would apply for the reader, but not for the viewer. For him (and of course to some extent for the reader, too) the alternation in the language itself, from the feverishly intense or sublime to the prosaic, achieves the necessary relief. Thus Charolais' impassioned speeches in the courtroom are offset by the judge's dry and measured legal admonitions or the creditors' matter-of-fact statements about the business at hand; the highly-charged scene between Charolais and "Der rote Itzig" is followed by an initially prosaic conversation between Charolais and Romont about their dire financial straits, etc; and the language of the scene in which the innkeeper suddenly achieves stature and speaks in eloquent defense of
himself to Charolais and the judge returns to the mundane level when the
innkeeper says (in seinen Alltagston zurückfallend): "Die Kundschaft hab'
ich mir jetzt ganz verscherzt, / Ich weiss (er zuckt die Achseln), so
hab' ich wenigstens einmal / Mir ordentlich mein Maul doch ausgeleert!"
(GW, 412.)

This alternating language is accompanied, of course, by correspond-
ing changes in tone, tempo, and dynamics. Beer-Hofmann mentions this,
too, in the letter to Erich Kahler: "Mein Werk . . . lebt nicht in einem
Wald- und Wiesentempo von dramatischer Rede und Gegenrede. Wer zuzeiten
ein solches Tempo reitet wie ich, wer das Wort zu solchen Fiebern hinauf-
zupeitschen versucht . . . der braucht auch dafür das Korrektiv epischen
Einschubs, er muss Temperaturen, nach augenblicklichem Bedarf--jäh oder
langsam herabsetzen können." (GW, 879.)

Turning to Charolais' pronounced reflection of modern psychology, one
finds, paradoxically, that it both strengthens and weakens the play. It
is primarily the psychological elements that give the play a certain in-
terest and relevance for the twentieth-century audience, but the introduc-
tion of modern psychology also created some serious difficulties that the
playwright could not entirely overcome. One of them is a discrepancy be-
tween the play's reflection of psychological ideas and attitudes and the
reaction of Charolais to his wife's infidelity. Especially when con-
trasted with the judge, the Charolais of the first four acts is not unlike
the modern man whose attitudes have been "enlightened" by the findings of
psychological research, yet nowhere in Act V does he pose a single question "nach dem seelischen Vorgang, der die Ursache war und nach dem seelischen Zustand, der jetzt Wirklichkeit ist . . . auf Eins kommt er nie: darauf zu achten, ob diese Frau auch wirklich seelisch gefallen ist. Ihre Seele sieht er gar nicht." This contention is substantiated in particular by Charolais' response to Desirée's defense of him to her father: "Wie klug sie ihre Worte setzt! Die Hand erst-- / Und Tränen--und auf meine Tränen lauern-- / . . . den Mund dann--und zuletzt / Versöhnung! Drin steht schon das Bett bereit! / Der Zorn hat eingeeist--dein Vater setzt sich / Hin vor die Tür, gibt acht, dass niemand stört-- / Und freut sich der versöhnten Kinder! Was? / 'So denkst du dir's! . . . Das willst du!' (GW, 462.) Desirée's sorrowful reply: "Kennst du mich so?"

The introduction of modern psychology created other problems of characterization and motivation for the playwright; before discussing them, however, it needs to be said, and illustrated with some passages from the play, that Beer-Hofmann shows impressive skill at characterization. His figures are not "rough sketches"; he fills in every detail with infinite care, in the process subjecting the character to scrutiny from a variety of angles, so that the focal point of our attention is

169 Gertrud Frellwitz, "Theater Korrespondenz," Preussische Jahrbücher CXIX (1905), 357f.
first one facet of character and then another, all of them gradually woven together to produce a colorful, vigorous personality.

Another technique of characterization Beer-Hofmann uses is to make his minor characters appear for quite some time to serve merely as background for the major figures, and then suddenly to thrust them to center stage, giving them an importance that far transcends mere background, and causing the reader to realize that in a sense this play has no "minor" characters. Almost all the drama's lesser figures are given such an Augenblick; the most notable examples are "Der rote Itzig" and the inn-keeper. Initially Itzig seems to be just a moneylender whose only importance derives from the infinite distress he is causing the hero. But in the scene in which he speaks of the fate of his father and of Israel he suddenly becomes a commanding presence, the poet's vehicle for the introduction of an important motif:

Charolais: Von dir hängt alles ab, du bist ein Jud zwar--
Du bist ja aber auch ein Mensch, wie wir--

Itzig: (Blickt misstrauisch auf. Befremdet. Leise)
Ein Mensch? Wie Ihr? Seit wann bin ich e Mensch?
Mei Lebtag hat man mich's nicht fühlen lassen,
Dass ich e Mensch bin; h e u t grad soll ich's sein?
Weil's Euch so passt? Und für die fünf Minuten,
Die's Euch g'rad passt? Nein, heute will i c h
nicht! Nein!

(Unnahbar. Stark, aber nicht zu laut)
E Jud bin ich! Was wollts Ihr von dem Juden!
--Denn etwas wollts Ihr doch, wenn Ihr mir so kommts!

(OW, 354.)

The lines with which Itzig ends this scene are even more forceful: "Und wenn Ihr alles das getan, Herr Graf-- / Und ich dann noch lebendig bin--
dann will ich / Mit Euch so reden, wie e Mensch--ich mein'/ E g u t e r
Mensch--soll zu e Menschen reden! / --Bis dahin lasst mich sein, was
ich für Euch-- / Und wenn ich wär', ich weiss nicht was--d o c h b l e i b: /
E Jud', e Jud', e ganz gemeiner Jud'!!" With these speeches the theme of
brotherhood as one aspect of the unity of all life is very effectively
presented in terms of its absence among men. (It is re-introduced, and
stated affirmatively, in Act II, when the judge recalls his early admoni-
tion to his daughter: "... Sie werden's dich / Genug noch lehren, dass
er Mann und Weib / Sie schuf--du halte fest: er schuf den M e n s c h e n!/
... 'Den Menschen'--und noch einmal, leise--fast / Wie Ehrfurcht
klang's: 'Den Menschen, Kind, den Menschen'!!" GW, 386.)

The innkeeper's moment comes at the beginning of Act IV, when he
suddenly ceases to be a disreputable, shabby profiteer and procuror who
'has aroused the reader's distaste, if not his contempt; quite unexpec-
tedly he achieves compelling human dignity:

... Wie bin ich denn? Was wisst Ihr,
Wie ich bin? (Tieftraurig) Weiss ich's selber denn? Ich weiss
Nur, wie ich war! ... 
Herr, ich war gut! Nicht stolz! ... 
Nicht geizig, Herr! Mit vollen Händen gab ich!
Kein Spötter! Gläubig sang im Dom ich mit
Das Lob des Herrn, der mir Gesang verliehen--
(mit bittrem Lachen)
Es blies ein Wind, ein Frühlingswind und nahm
Die Stimme mir--und mit ihr alles! ...
(Nicht ohne Grüsse)
Wie Ihr, hatt' ich auch Ekel vor Gemeinem--
Und alles dies zerblies ein Wind in nichts!--
Wie bin ich? Wie seid Ihr? Wisst Ihr's? ... Seid Ihr
So sicher, dass kein Wind Euch Lügen straft? (GW, 411f.)
Beer-Hofmann discusses the application of this technique in the prose fragment, "Nebenfiguren," written May 22, 1927: "Die Schicksale der Nebenfiguren müssen im Drama scharf umrissen sein--auch dort, wo es scheinbar überflüssig ist. Im Drama wird eine Figur für die paar Stunden, die ich mich mit ihr befasse, 'Hauptfigur', weil ich von ihrem Schicksal rede--die Andern sind in diesen Stunden 'Nebenfiguren'. Würde ich diese in den Mittelpunkt stellen, sie könnten 'Hauptfiguren' sein, und die heutige 'Hauptfigur' wäre 'Nebenfigur' in ihrem Schicksal. Das muss man immer irgendwie spüren . . . weil man die dichterische ewige Gerechtigkeit ahnt und muss, die--wie die göttliche--zwischen Haupt- und Nebenfiguren nicht scheidet." (GW, 625f.)

In making modern psychology a decisive factor in the play, however, and in presenting its figures as guiltless and free of tragic flaws, Beer-Hofmann created problems of characterization for himself that he did not entirely succeed in overcoming. This is especially true in Desirée's case. Even if one is willing to concede the subtle, psychological refinements and enormous persuasiveness of Philipp's performance as a seducer, it is extremely difficult to reconcile Desirée's capitulation with her character as it has been presented up to that point in the drama, and this tends to weaken the play's climax or turning point. Of those who voiced this criticism, Rudolf Kassner stated the case most emphatically. In a discussion of Peripetie in general, he refers to Charolais' "verfehlter, ja durchaus miserabler Verführungszzene, die zugleich die Peripetie im Stück anzeigt,"

Another critic, referring to the question of why Desirée succumbs to Philipp, says, "Ist es eine wilde Wallung des Blutes, ein jäher Ausbruch der Sinnlichkeit, so hätte uns früher angedeutet werden müssen, dass es in Desirees Charakter und Temperament solche Untiefen gibt."

These critical objections are justified with regard to a weakening of the play's turning point, but they overlook, or ignore, the crucial point that the author does not intend for us to search within Desirée's character for the answer. Beer-Hofmann, one recalls, spoke of her, in fact of all the play's characters, as "schuldlos" (see footnote 54, p. 32); he clearly expects us simply to accept the fact that "es geschah."

This leads to the larger question of whether Charolais, then, is really tragedy. The play does contain some of the elements traditionally associated with tragedy; the characters, for example, are obviously exposed to destructive forces that lie "outside the governance of reason or

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171 Karl Frenzel, "Die Berliner Theater," Die Deutsche Rundschau CXXXII (1905), 299.
justice." Like classical tragedy, Charolaïs tells us that "things are as they are, unrelenting and absurd," and we cannot hope to understand them or explain them in rational terms.  

There are important differences, however, between the characters of Charolaïs and those of classical tragedy. To be sure: tragic figures are always punished far in excess of their guilt, but they are not represented as being entirely free of tragic flaws. They are not merely the helpless victims of irrational and cruelly capricious forces from without; to some degree at least, they are morally responsible for their own downfall: "... tragedy embodies the notion of moral responsibility. There is a concordance between the moral character of the tragic personage and his destiny. This concordance is, at times, difficult to make out. The sufferings of Oedipus or Lear are far greater than their vices. But even in these puzzling instances we assume some measure of causal ... dependence between the character of the man and the quality of the event. The tragic hero is responsible. His downfall is related to the presence in him of moral infirmity or active vice. The agonies of an innocent or virtuous man are, as Aristotle observed, pathetic but not tragic."  

The characters of Charolaïs, by contrast, are not morally responsible for

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172 George Steiner, *The Death of Tragedy*, p. 9.

173 Steiner, *The Death of Tragedy*, p. 222.
their own catastrophe; instead, we are asked to believe that they have no
guilt at all.

Heroic struggle is another fundamental element of the traditional
concept of tragedy that is missing from Charolais. The Count is not a
"non-hero" in the manner of a Willy Loman (Death of a Salesman), but
neither is he a tragic hero in the conventional sense: "Eben das Schicksal,
gegen das der tragische Held heroisch kämpft, ist hier ausgehöhlt und auf
ein mechanisches psychoanalytisches 'Es' eingeschränkt, das nur noch
Marionetten erlaubt, die überhaupt nicht mehr kämpfen."\textsuperscript{174} In classical
tragedy the hero's suffering and struggle, however futile, have a
strangely ennobling effect, so that "there is in the final moments of
great tragedy, whether Greek or Shakespearean or neo-classic, a fusion of
grief and joy, of lament over the fall of man and rejoicing in the resur-
rection of his spirit."\textsuperscript{175} There is no such fusion at the end of
Charolais; the reader feels no joy, and more shock and horror than grief.

Tragedy, finally, is irreparable: "Where the causes of disaster are
temporal, where the conflict can be resolved through technical or social
means, we may have serious drama, but not tragedy."\textsuperscript{176} The catastrophe


\textsuperscript{175}Steiner, \textit{The Death of Tragedy}, p. 10.

\textsuperscript{176}Steiner, \textit{The Death of Tragedy}, p. 8.
in Charolais is also irreparable, as the hero drives his wife to suicide, but one feels that it would not have had to be so. Alfred Kerr suggests this in his review of the play: "Mehrere Stimmen haben erwogen, ob er der 'grosse Tragiker' ist, den wir brauchen. Aber wir brauchen gar keinen. Es gibt ja nichts Tragisches heute . . . das nach absehbarer Zeit nicht wurstelhaft erschiene. Das ist ja eben der Punkt. Darum gerade werden wir unruhig bei diesem Schluss: wenn der Mann auf der Vernichtung der treulosen Frau besteht; wenn der gerechte Vater alles sagt, nur das Eine nicht: Seid nicht heroisch, seid's gescheit! . . ."¹⁷⁷ This, to be sure, is not so much a criticism of the playwright as a commentary on the nature of the times in which we live.

Steiner argues convincingly that tragedy is entirely alien to the Judaic view of the world:

The book of Job is always cited as an instance of tragic vision. But . . . God made good the havoc wrought upon his servant; he . . . compensated Job for his agonies. [Job 42:12.] But where there is compensation, there is justice, not tragedy. This demand for justice is the pride and burden of the Judaic tradition . . . Often the balance of retribution or reward seems fearfully awry, or the proceedings of God appear unendurably slow. But over the sum of time, there can be no doubt that the ways of God to man are just . . . they are also rational. The Judaic spirit is vehement in its conviction that the order of the universe and of man's estate is accessible to reason.¹⁷⁸


¹⁷⁸ Steiner, The Death of Tragedy, p. 4.
The insistence upon justice is very pronounced in Charolais, culminating in Charolais' inexorable demand for "compensation" ("Mein Degen und mein Recht sind mir geblieben . . . Gebt mir mein Recht!"). In this connection Beer-Hofmann's Jewish heritage was probably an important influence on the play, but the influence of psychology was just as strong. Largely because of its findings, men no longer believed in the finality or absoluteness of evil; indeed, they thought not so much in terms of evil as of sickness or mental aberration. Increasingly they attributed a man's wrong-doing not to flaws in his character, but to his environment, his education, and all the other circumstances and forces that had shaped him as a person. This is an essentially optimistic view, because implicit in it is the belief that sick people can be healed, criminals rehabilitated, education and social conditions improved. In such a climate tragedy becomes impossible, and Beer-Hofmann's awareness of this is reflected in his statement that with Der Graf von Charolais "er die Tragödie zu Ende geschrieben habe." Despite its flaws, the play is certainly "Dichtung"; perhaps one of its greatest merits is that it is also "good theatre."

B. Das goldene Pferd

With this "Pantomime in sechs Bildern" Beer-Hofmann returned in 1921 to a genre that had attracted him thirty years before. 179 His interest

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179 Like Pierrot Magus, Das goldene Pferd has never been performed. Several excerpts from the pantomime appeared in the Sunday supplement of Vienna's Neue Freie Presse in 1930; the complete work, edited by Mirjam Beerhofmann-Lens and Herbert Steiner, was published posthumously in Die Neue Rundschau in 1955 (LXVI).
in pantomime was a natural offshoot of his extraordinary preoccupation with visual theatrical effects (it is certainly no accident that not only in this pantomime, where it does not strike one as unusual, but also in the David-cycle, the scenes are called "Bilder"); this is reflected in Beer-Hofmann's "Vorbemerkung" to Das goldene Pferd: "Die Pantomime ... war ein verlockender Versuch, einmal auf das Wort zu verzichten, ein Geschehen—aufbau und Führung—so zu erfinden, dass es durch Tun, Gebärde, Mimik, Spiel schöner durchgebildeter Körper, Licht, Farbe, Musik sinnfällig und fesselnd würde." (GW, 467.) But it is likely that he was attracted to pantomime to an equal degree because of his acute awareness of the ultimate limitations of the word and his conviction that the most basic human experiences, those that shape and influence men most profoundly, occur outside the realm of language or speech. This is expressed in the prose fragment, "Ur-Zeit des Wortes," written in 1943: "Den entscheidenden Geschäften des Menschen ist es natürlich, wortlos getan zu werden—vom Essen an, das ihm ja den Mund stopft, bis zum Zeugen, Empfangen, Gebären, Sterben, Töten. Die volle, unabh"ängige Kraft des Menschen muss in jedes Tun einströmen—jeder Bruch des Schweigens schwächt die Kraft, schlägt eine Bresche, durch die sie entweichen kann—alles wichtige Tun ist instinktiv abgedichtet gegen das Wort." (GW, 632.) This view is also implicit in the prose fragment, "Stumme Szenen" (undated, but believed to have been written in 1927): "... je mehr der schweigende Ablauf von Situationen auch vom Drama übernommen wird—also pantomimisches
Element verstärkt ins Drama einströmt . . . desto mehr wird die Allgemeinverständlichkeit des Dramas wachsen, der Kreis sich erweitern, zu dem das Drama zu reden vermag . . . Die echte, Affekt-geborene Geste altert nicht--der Stil der Rede altert. So wird das Eindringen des mimischen Elements als Ersatz für vieles bisher Gesprochene--neben unendlich vieler andern Vorteilen--auch eine Exclusivität der Kunst verhindern, sie verhindern übersubtil zu werden, wozu das Wort oft verführt." (GW, 625.)

Das goldene Pferd is a fairy-tale in the manner of A Thousand and One Nights, a work whose pronounced influence on Beer-Hofmann has already been mentioned. Late in life he remarked that what impressed him most profoundly about A Thousand and One Nights was "die vielfältige Verknüpfung von Schicksalen darin" (see footnote 115, p. 89), and this is one of the most striking features of Das goldene Pferd. In the prologue, the opening lines of the "Märchenerzähler" are: "Ich grüsse euch!--Ich bin, dem sonst man lauscht / In hellbestirnten lauen Sommernächten, / Denn Märchen weiss ich, drinnen sich Geschicke / Zu Wundern--seltsam, unerhört--verflechten." (GW, 1467.)

The fate motif is also reinforced by the blind minstrel's song. Standing as it does at the beginning and the end of the pantomime, it has the effect of a motto, and reaffirms the poet's belief in the ultimate justice and wisdom of God's ways, however little men may understand them:

180 See also the prose fragment, "Was sich nicht ausdrücken lässt," which was written July 17, 1922, only a few months after the completion of Das goldene Pferd.
"Misst du denn, wozu dein Leben / Gott in seinem Planen braucht? /
Dünkt dir's klein und niedrig? Gott dünkt / Gross vielleicht es und er-
lautcht!" (GW, 474.) The last strophe of the song concludes the poet's
affirmation: "Erz, das dir verliehen, schmiede, / Stark und stolz, zu
eiginem Los! / Reines Ringen wird zum Segen / Gott dir wenden---Gott
ist gross!" (GW, 474.) These lines also express Beer-Hofmann's convic-
tion that the sovereignty of fate does not absolve men of the responsibi-
ity to act.

The motif of the dream as life is also dominant; Tarkah's lines in
the epilogue show that Beer-Hofmann was just as strongly drawn to this
theme in 1921 as he had been when he wrote Der Tod Georgs. Like the early
novel, the pantomime presents the dream as the anticipator, if not the
manipulator, of the events of "real life": "Was--gebändigt--tief sonst
schlummert, / Wacht im Traum gebieternd auf. / Taten, Träume--und ein
Ahnen / Lenken jedes Lebens Lauf!" (GW, 518.) Also, the dreamer is
characterized by an absence of restraints and inhibitions; thus the dream
is to be regarded as the realm in which the true self emerges: "Zeigt im
Traum euch euer Antlitz, / Was euch tief befremd' mag--/ Fragt euch ob
im Traum ihr Maske, / Oder Maske tragt am Tag!" (GW, 518.)

181 This corresponds very closely to many of the observations about
the psychology of dreams in Der Tod Georgs. See especially GW, 607,
608, 619.
In all likelihood the avoidance of tragedy was still another reason that Beer-Hofmann was drawn to the dream motif Bahadur (together with all the other principals) comes to a bloody end, but the reactions of pity and terror are displaced by relief when he wakes at the farm to find that the entire experience had been a dream.

The dream motif places Das goldene Pferd in a tradition that dates much farther back than Grillparzer, of course, but there are some marked similarities between Der Traum, ein Leben and Beer-Hofmann's pantomime, especially between the characters of Rustan and Bahadur and their respective dream-adventures, including exposure to a world previously unknown to them, the experiences of sexual love, guilt, suffering, and death, and the insight derived from them. Also common to both works is the representation of the simple life, close to the earth, as that most likely to bring one happiness and "des Innern stillen Frieden." 182

Most of the other motifs already familiar to the reader from Beer-Hofmann's earlier works re-emerge in Das goldene Pferd. The king in particular exemplifies the transitoriness of life and the ultimate purposelessness of worldly power and wealth. His expression and gestures reveal that Tarkah has guessed his innermost thoughts and feelings when she sings to him: "Schlaflose Stunden vor Tag hörst du's hämmern / 182

182 This note is already sounded in Der Tod Georgs, when Paul reflects on "den segensvollen Frieden eines Lebens, das der Erde sich vermählen durfte." (GW, 591.)
Rastlos, hart, ohne Ruh: / Länder—Triumph—und Schätze—und Frauen—! / Wozu noch taugt dirs—wozu?" (GW, 493.) In the same song she briefly treats the motif of posterity as an answer to death: "Jugend verflog!—/ Was hoffst du noch? Fühle, / Wie dir dein Leben entrinnt! / Leichter trägst du das Grauen, umspielte / Deine Knie ein Kind!" (GW, 493.) The fear of death and the loneliness of the individual, also touched upon here, are treated more fully in the following lines: "Frauen im silbernen Käfig, sie teilen / Lust mit dir—wann du's verlangst— / Doch in schlaflosem Dunkel—wer teilt da, / Wer—mit dir deine Angst?!" The closing lines of the song are a recapitulation of the theme of loneliness and ultimate isolation: "Einsamer! Mein Herz gedrängt an das deine— / Fühle, es pulset dir zu: / Was dich umschmiegt—das sehst und leidet, / Bangt und—stirbt einsam—wie du!" (GW, 494.)

Having chosen an opulent Middle Eastern setting for Das goldene Pferd and justified to some extent by the absence of the spoken word, Beer-Hofmann could give completely free rein to his love of splendor and pageantry, and one feels that it gave him enormous pleasure to do so.\textsuperscript{183} The stage directions are even more detailed than usual, and the pains-taking attention to costuming, especially to the dress and regalia of the

\textsuperscript{183} In private life Beer-Hofmann was an avid collector of precious gems, objets d'art, and other beautiful artifacts; the splendor of his villa in Vienna's Cottage-Viertel is described by Olga Schnitzler in Spiegelbild der Freundschaft.
emir, the king and queen mother, and members of the court, convinces one that Rudolf Kassner did not exaggerate when he said that Beer-Hofmann could talk for hours about exactly where on Lady MacBeth's robe a ruby should be placed. (See footnote 48, p. 27.)

The characters of Das goldene Pferd are decidedly "grell," although perhaps such characterization is partly justified by the fact that the work is a pantomime. Each character represents a very pronounced type, indeed in Tarkah's case an archetype, that of the demonic femme fatale. As the "Märchenerzähler" introduces the characters to the audience, he typecasts each of them: Bilal as the good and contented man of the soil, "auf eigem Boden sein eigener Herr"; his daughter Halimah as ideal maidenhood, gentle, beautiful, and virtuous; Bahadur as vigorous young manhood, longing to experience life and the world ("Er liebt sie--doch Liebe, sie hält / Ihm gekettet an Heimat und Scholle und Haus-- / Und die

184 As detailed as these stage directions are, they represent an editing of the original version. In the foreword to the pantomime Beer-Hofmann says: "In der hier vorliegenden Fassung sind die genauen Angaben der Geste, des Spiels, der mimischen, choreographischen, kostümlichen Details, der . . . Beleuchtung, der Forderungen an die Musik eingeschränkt. Vollständig würden sie den Leser zu sehr belasten." (GW, 467.) This represents a concession to the reader that the later Beer-Hofmann was unwilling to make. (Cf. the letter of 1933 to Erich Kahler, GW, 877ff.)

Welt lockt draussen—die Welt!"; the king as the jaded older man, disillusioned by worldly power and wealth; and Tarkah as the embodiment of all fleshly lust, evil, and death.

Music plays a very prominent part in Das goldene Pferd, serving at many points as a substitute for the word. Each figure has his own characteristic Leitmotiv, which the viewer comes to associate with him as it is played during his entrances and exits, or during scenes in which he is supposed to dominate the viewer's attention. Thus the oboe-motif (which in the first scene was associated with the boy who led the blind minstrel) is re-introduced in the fourth scene, when the boy, leading the minstrel and followed by the emir, Bilal, and Habimah, re-enters the picture and the pantomime approaches its climax.

Although no musical score was composed specifically for Das goldene Pferd, it is clear that Beer-Hofmann had a very definite conception of what type of music should accompany the pantomime. The stage directions describe the music in great detail; it is highly romantic, expressly so in the Zwischenakt between the first and second scenes. Here the "Märchen-erzähler" sings a ballad, "Ritt durch die Nacht," whose musical accompaniment is described as follows: "Über dem immer gleichen Trabmotiv der Bässe und gedämpften Pauken flimmernd die Stimmung der Mondnacht. Ritt durch den Wald. Ritt längs des Flusses. Aus dem nächtlichen mondgelben Weben hebt sich immer deutlicher ein balladenhafter Satz." (GW, 476.) At other points the music can best be described as not only romantic, but
distinctly Wagnerian. In one such passage (Scene II) the stage directions say: "Die Musik: nicht hell, heiter—eher dunkel, werbend und lockend, ihre Elemente aus dem Liebeslied Tarkahs . . . schöpfend . . . Jeder Ansatz, zu lösen, zu entspannen, wird von dumpf vibrierenden gewitternden Paukenwirbeln verschlungen, schwillt zu neuer, fast schmerzlicher Spannung, um endlich, beseilt zu veratmen." (GW, 482.)

As Beer-Hofmann acknowledges in his "Vorbemerkung" to Das goldene Pferd, he does not depose the word entirely. Whatever the limitations of the word, the poet would have been hard-pressed without it to make the action entirely clear to the viewer. Beer-Hofmann solves this problem by allowing spoken lines in the prologue, the two Zwischenakte (between Scenes I and II, and III and IV), and the epilogue. In this scheme of things the "Märchenerzähler" functions on more than one level: he is one of the figures of the work, but also the intermediary between the audience and the characters and action on the stage. In the prologue his primary function is to set the scene, introduce the characters, and indicate the mood in which the audience is expected to receive the story; in the first Zwischenakt it is to provide answers to questions which have inevitably arisen in the viewer's mind and which were not clarified by the pantomimic first scene: who is the emir? What brought him to Bilal's farm? Where is Bahadur going, now that he has exchanged places with the emir? The fairytale atmosphere of the work is not seriously challenged by this interruption, however—the "Märchenerzähler" provides his information in ballad
form. In the second Zwischenakt his function is somewhat different. The preceding scene (III) consisted of types of action that spoke for themselves, so that this time the "Märchenerzähler" does not have to clarify any obscure points, but he gives a brief recapitulation (again in ballad form) of the forces and events that have led to Bahador's ascension of the throne and the situation in which he consequently finds himself. Since the pantomimic action of Scene III does not really require any explanation, Beer-Hofmann probably included this Zwischenakt as a means of easing the dramatic tension: Scene III is the one in which Tarkah offers herself to the king and then kills him, and Bahador becomes guilty with her, by maintaining the silence of assent. In the epilogue the characters parade before the curtain to take their bows and Tarkah speaks directly to the audience about herself and the other characters in the story, concluding with some general observations about the nature of dreams and the figures that people them—all of which serves to return the audience from the fairy-tale realm of the pantomime to the present, "real" world.

In all of these passages the spoken lines are in verse, with musical accompaniment. The verses are usually rhymed, as are those of the songs which are sung in the pantomime scenes themselves. The blind minstrel's song consists of very regular four-foot trochees (a metre which corresponds to the solemn, measured character of the song), with regularly alternating rhyme (lines 2 and 4, 6 and 8, 10 and 12). By the same token, alliteration, which has a very sensuous effect, is kept to a minimum in this song. In most of the other songs the alliteration is very strong,
especially in the "Märchenerzähler's introduction of "Terkah: "Es lockt ihre Leute, ihr Lied und ihr Leib, / Bis die Glut zur Flamme hoch loht! / Sie lockt über Lügen und Leichen und Leid, / Zu Lust und Tanze, und Tod!"
(GW, 470.)

One's reaction to such passages is that the author is surely ironizing a poetic form. This is not irony in the ordinary sense, however (there is an absence of ridicule or sarcasm), but rather the author's indulgence of his own inordinate delight in the sensuous qualities of words. In short, he is playing. Under other circumstances the results of such unrestrained play might have been ludicrous, but the author manages to get away with it here, largely because of the fairy-tale nature of the work.

In fact the pantomime as a whole is dominated by this kind of play. The author is quite serious, of course, about the motifs he deals with, and the reader is meant to take them seriously, too, but otherwise Das goldene Pferd is the product of the same sheer delight in sensuous, dramatic effects that Robert Musil mentions in connection with Der Graf von Charolais. The difference stems primarily from the character of Das goldene Pferd. Because in it Beer-Hofmann was dealing with "das Wunderbare, Märchenhaftes," rather than with "the realities of common action," and because he urges the audience at the outset, "Gebt willig euch hin!
Nehmt schwerer es nicht, / Als ein Märchen, ein Spiel--einen Traum!"
(GW, 470), he was able to abandon the restraints he otherwise imposed on
himself, in most of the scenes without affecting the work adversely.\textsuperscript{186}

C. Die Historie von König David

Beer-Hofmann unquestionably regarded the David-cycle as his major literary work. Not all of his notes on the Historie are dated, but we know that he was considering a series of Biblical works as early as 1898, and the last dated item of the Historie (a scenario of Davids Tod) was completed April 4, 1937.\textsuperscript{187} Thus it can be said that Beer-Hofmann was occupied with the Historie for most of his adult life, although the work by no means proceeded uninterruptedly during that period. Having consented (reluctantly) to the publication of Jacobs Traum by itself, Beer-Hofmann subsequently also allowed the separate publication of various other parts of the cycle. The entire work, i.e. all that he completed, did not appear as a whole until his collected works were published in 1963.

Beer-Hofmann changed his mind more than once about the structure of the work and also about the Biblical characters who should figure most prominently in it. According to the plan he ultimately decided upon, the

\begin{itemize}
  \item There are exceptions. At a few points in the pantomime the author definitely goes too far, and in doing so destroys the effect he is attempting to achieve. In one such scene Halimah is struck in the breast by an arrow; "Bahädur will sie umarmen—der Pfeil in Halimahs Brust hindert ihn" (GW, 513)—and however inappropriate, one can scarcely restrain the urge to laugh.
  \item These notes and the unpublished manuscripts of the Historie are in the Houghton Library of Harvard University.
\end{itemize}
Historie was to consist of: 1.) Jakobs Traum. Ein Vorspiel; 2.) Der junge David; 3.) Vorspiel auf dem Theater zu "König David"; 4.) König David; and 5.) Davids Töd. Of these, only Jakobs Traum, Der junge David, and the Vorspiel auf dem Theater zu "König David" exist in finished form. Regardless of changes in the cast of characters and the material to be included, however, Beer-Hofmann's conception of the Historie was of epic proportions almost from the beginning. The Old Testament, of course, was his primary source, but he also used many secondary works (a list of which appears in GW, 894), and his voluminous notes on the Historie attest to "an interest in the minutia of the Biblical world that goes far beyond the specific needs of the dramatist." Against this rich and carefully detailed background the themes of the early Beer-Hofmann, the ideas he conceived in his young manhood as tentative possibilities, are presented in the final stage of their development.

188 In addition to the Kautzsch-Bertholet critical edition of the Bible, Beer-Hofmann used five different nineteenth-century translations; the Luther-Bible; Distenberger's translation (1604); the Berleburg Bible (1726); and the Latin Vulgate and Greek Septuagint in the Stier and Theile polyglot of 1854.

1. Jaśkobs Traum

Although written as a Vorspiel that was to provide the ancient historical or mythological background of the David-story, Jaśkobs Traum is a complete dramatic work in its own right, and in fact the only part of the David-cycle that has been performed.¹⁹⁰

The work is very simply divided into two parts. The first, which is much shorter than the second and provides a background for the action of Part II, is set at Isaac's farm. The second part, which presents the main action of the play, i.e. the vision itself, is set at Beth-Ek. Despite this structural division, Beer-Hofmann actually deals with three distinct episodes: 1) Jacob's theft of his brother's blessing; 2) the reconciliation of Jacob and Esau; and 3) Jacob's vision and fateful decision at Beth-Ek.

The drama is overwhelmingly dominated by the motif of suffering—suffering and doubt as a means to faith, and suffering as the decidedly preponderant element of Auserwähltein. Jacob is not a skeptic in the

¹⁹⁰Almost inevitably Jaśkobs Traum, as the Vorspiel of Beer-Hofmann's "life work," has been compared to Goethe's "Prolog im Himmel" to Faust—a comparison which doubtless would have pleased Beer-Hofmann. Regrettably, such comparisons are often carried too far; thus Liptzin maintains: "God and Samsel wrestle for the soul of Jaakob even as do God and Mephistophales for the soul of Faust." ("Goethe and Beer-Hofmann," PMLA LIV /1950/, 642f.) The God of Goethe's Faust certainly does not wrestle; his attitude throughout is one of sovereign detachment.
sense that he leaves open the question of God's existence, neither
affirming nor denying it. There is obviously no doubt in his mind that
God exists: "Gross ist der Gott! Und ist mit uns!" he says to Idnibsal.
(GW, 41.) The doubts and questions that cause Jacob profound spiritual
anguish are rather a part of his bitter struggle to understand the contra-
dictory nature of God. Even before the vision, there are indications of
the doubts that torment Jacob, beginning with his thoughtful, but still
rather noncommittal question, "Und es schützen / Die Götter ihren Diener
nicht?" (GW, 37.) He expresses his feelings quite passionately as he
and Idnibsal discuss the myths that are associated with Mount Moriah, the
site of Abraham's near-sacrifice of Isaac. To Idnibsal's remark, "--Und
dein Vater / Ward nicht geopfert!" Jacob replies ("bitter, mit drohendem
Ernst"): "Ward er's w i r k l i c h nicht? / Was dort des Kindes Augen--
schreckgeweitet-- / Einmal gesehen--glaubst du--vergisst sich das?! / . . .
Wem Gott--als Kind--Vertrauen so zerragt-- / Wo darf der trauen noch und
sicher fühlen?!" (GW, 40.) He is clearly not satisfied with the tradi-
tional explanation of this horrifying incident; when Idnibsal reminds him
that the people regard it as God's supreme test of Abraham's loyalty,
Jacob says ("in schmerzlicher Anklage"): "Gott / Ist alle Antwort! Muss
ein Gott erst fragen?" (GW, 40.)

In the vision itself Beer-Hofmann expresses doubt and its attendant
suffering primarily through Samael, and it cannot be over-emphasized that
Samuel is not presented as a blasphemer. To the accusations of the archangels he says: "Ich lästre nicht! Ich kann nur nicht lobsingen, / Gleich euch, die ihr euch sonnt in Seinem Strahl! / Doch euern Sang mit Cymbeln und Posaunen, / Ihn übertönt fürchtbar der Schrei der Qual, / Der aufsteigt, ewig aufsteigt, niemals endend / Aus Seiner Welt! Ich neide sie Ihm nicht!" (GW, 70f.) Then Samuel poses the ancient question of the existence of suffering in the world:

Ist Leid nur Strafe? Sagt---was tat das Tier, 
Das unter Martern stumm am Weg verendet?
Ihr ewig Seligen! Die Schuld nennt mir,
Um die Er Neugeborenes ins Leben,
Geschmückt mit Wunden, giftigen Beulen sendest?
Lobsinget Seiner Güte, Seiner Stärke---
Mir---graut vor Ihm! Ich fass' Ihn nicht! Hat Er's Gekonnt nicht anders? Anders nicht gewollt?
Greift Ihn Entsetzen nicht vor Seinem Werke?
Schuf er zur Lust sich diesen Ball? Nun rollt Er taumelnd hin---entglitten Seinen Händen---
Hin durch die Zeit---ich frag: Zu welchem Enden? (GW, 71.)

Jacob obviously feels a much greater kinship to Samuel than to the archangels; the questions Samuel raises here are the very ones Jacob has wrestled with so bitterly. For him, as for Samuel, God is like a painful wound: the more they probe it, the more intolerably it hurts, but they cannot leave it alone. Samuel urges Jacob with all the persuasiveness at his command: "Lass ab von Ihm!" But Jacob answers: "Ich kann nicht von Ihm lassen! / Du Leid-Erfüllter---lässt denn du von Ihm? / Und---näher

---Cf. Paul's reflections (in Das Kind) on doubt as a possible means to faith, and his conclusion that this is perhaps a more worthy way than that of unquestioning faith, quoted and discussed on p. 68f.
Seinem Throne steht dein Hassen--/Alles Liebe Seiner Cherubim!" (GW, 80.) Samäel and Jacob also have the same attitude toward the archangels. When Raphael says, "Was drängst du zwischen uns dich und den Knaben?" Samäel retorts, "Was drängtet ihr euch zwischen mich und Gott!" (GW, 70.) In lines which reflect not only a complete lack of envy but even contempt of the three, he says: "Verworfen--nicht!/Verstossen--Und verstoßen noch, geeint/Im Tiefsten euerm Herrn--nicht euch, den Dienern,/Den immer jubelnden, den selig satten!" (GW, 72.) Jacob, initially awed by the radiance that emanates from the archangels, says essentially the same thing to them in a later passage: "Ein Wurm bin ich! Und weise doch zurück euch./In euer dienend Amt: (Gebietend) Von Ihm zu mir--/Von mir zu Ihm--seid Boten ihr--nur Boten!/...Wand seid ihr zwischen mir und Gott!" (GW, 76.)

The theme of the suffering of Ausserwähltein is likewise introduced as Jacob attempts to fathom this God who promises endless blessing, gives Abraham the son he has yearned for—and then directs him to kill the child and offer him up as a sacrifice. Shuddering, Jacob says: "Zu nah umweht uns dieser Gott—was will Er?/Was will Er—dass er also uns umdrängt!" And to Idmiba'al's reminder, "Sie sagen, Herr...Er habe—/

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192 This affirmation of suffering and the lack of envy of the angels is not unlike the attitude Rilke displays in the Duineser Elegien. See especially the seventh, ninth, and tenth elegies.
Aus allen Völkern--e u c h für sich erwählt!" Jacob says ("auffahrend; in Schmerz, Unmut und Anklage"): "Was wählt Er uns--und fragt nicht, ob wir wollen?" (GW, 42.)

During the dialogue with Essu, Jacob's speeches reflect the poet's belief that the destiny of the elect is to be the exculpator dei, and that this entails so much suffering and anguish of spirit that one may well ask whether Auserwähltein is not more curse than blessing. Bitterly Jacob says:

So heisst 'erwählt': Traumlosen Schlaf nicht kennen, Gesichte nachts--und Stimmen ringsum tags!
Bin ich erwählt? D a z u erwählt, dass alles, Dem Leid geschielt, mich ruft, mich heischt, mir klagt?
Dass selbst der Blick des Tiers, das stumm verendet,
Mich fragt: 'Warum?!' . . .
Wie will Er, dass ich Antwort also gebe,
Als wär' ich--Er, der mich und alles schuf?
Wie kann ich das?
(Mit finsterem Aufblick, stark.) Wählst Du--Du Gott da droben--
Dazu mich aus? Dann k o m m zu mir und räume
Ins Ohr mir, wie ich Rede stehen, wie ich--
Ich--Dein Geschöpf--Dich Gott entschulden soll! (GW, 58f.)

During the vision the suffering of Auserwähltein is depicted in terrible detail by Samäel, whose lines either quote Old Testament passages exactly, or closely paraphrase them:

'Du wirst!' Mich höre--was du wirst!
Sie lügen nicht! Wohl neigt man deinem Wort sich--
Doch blutig schlägt den Mund man, der es sprach!
Wo h l darfst du wandern! Aber rasten? Heimat?
Sie wird dir Wort--du sinnst ihm ewig nach!
Volk wirst du, d'raus sich alle Beute holen--
An dir zu freveln? wem wär's n i c h t erlaubt?
Die Erde eisern unter deinen Scholen,
Jacob's development is from the reluctant object of God's election to a free and independent individual. God has singled him out, but only he can make the decision to accept or reject the covenant God offers. Far from the stereotype of the humble servant, Jacob is characterized by fierce pride and independence ("Gott wählt mich aus--Gott will mich frei! / ... Gott will mich stolz und wahr!") , indeed more than that: he has boundless self-assurance, if not audacity, even making—to the consternation of the archangels—the sovereign gesture of releasing God from His oath to Jacob's ancestors. (GW, 76.)

In reaching his decision, Jacob is not influenced in the slightest by the glittering promises of the archangels, to whom he says("in tief-verletztem Stolz"): "Wählt Er, nur um zu schenken, / Dass Er uns Gut und Macht und Glanz verspricht? / Taugt Ihm mein Blut zu mehr nicht, als zu Königen? / Ich will nicht Herrschaft! Weiss Er denn das nicht? / Mizra-jim, Babel und des Meerlands Fürsten-- / Wie--glaubt Er wirklich sie von mir beneidet? / Nieh t s neid ich--euch nicht eure Seligkeit ..." (GW, 75.)

His own conception of \text{Auserwähltein} is completely different, and his description of it is both a poetical rendering of Beer-Hofmann's earlier and later statements about the role of the \text{exculpator dei} and a poetical treatment of the motif of the unity of all life:

\begin{quote}
Könnt' ich denn selig sein, wenn alles leidet?
Alles mir naht, am Tag naht, nachts in Träumen,
Mensch, Tier, und Kraut der Erde, und Gestein--
Klagt, Antwort heischt, mit stummen Augen fordert--
Mich fragt--und alle Antwort ist doch \text{S e i n i}! ... 
So wählt mein Blut er aus zum stolzen Reise--
In alle Zeiten spriessend, nie verdorrt--
Dass meinem Mund--von neuem immer wieder--
Entstürze Seines ewigen Willens Wort!
Und zwischen mir und sorglos jungem Blühen
Brach d a r u m Brücke Er entzwei und Steg--
Dass ewig ich, mit Menschenschritt, hiernieden
Mitschreite Seinen fernen Gottesweg,
Und--Leid mit \text{S e i n e m} Worte lösend--hier
Sein ewiger Mund und ewiger Anwalt werde ... (GW, 75.)
\end{quote}

Jacob's decision to enter into the covenant is an affirmation of God despite His incomprehensible and contradictory ways: "Ich lieb' Ihn--wie Er ist! Grausam und gnädig, / Lauteres Licht--und Abgrund, finster, tief!" (GW, 80.)\footnote{This is essentially a re-statement of Rebekah's answer to Esau's question, "Ist Gott denn nicht gerecht?": "Ich weiss nicht, was / Er ist! Wüsst ich's--Er wär' mein Gott nicht!" (GW, 29.)} This, however, certainly does not mean that Jacob's doubts are forever laid to rest. His past suffering and doubt have led him to "der letzten Heiterkeit, die wir nur noch ertragen wollen, wenn sie aus der letzten Bitternis und tiefster Qual geboren ist," but the battle will be fought many times over, and Jacob knows it: "Hör mich mein Gott! Es
schweigen Deine Boten-- / Du, der mich wählt--Du, den ich wählle--sprich!/ Sag ihnen, dass wir--zweifelnd--zürnend--hadernd-- / Doch aneinander hängen, ewig--Du und ich!!" (GW, 80.) The basis of Jacob's newly won serenity is "Vertrauen," and herein, despite their many similarities, lies the difference between Jacob and Samäel, to whom he says: "Sieh: Tief in mir--wohin Wort nicht mehr dringt, / Schläf--was dir fremd ward: Seliges Vertrauen!!" (GW, 80.195)

If Jacob is not tempted by the promises of the archangels, he is equally unmoved by the agony that Samäel so vividly prophesies for him and his descendants. As the drama ends, Jacob says: "Herr! Was Dein Wille mir auch auferlegen . . . / Wie Krone will ich's tragen--nicht wie Joch!!" (GW, 83.) 196 He declares his willingness to assume the burden of God's guilt, with all that this implies: "Du willst ja schenken! Sei dies Deine Gnade: / Hin durch mein Blut lass ewig fluten Deine / Drei heiligen Ströme--Herr: Kraft--Stolz--Geduld! / Und . . . trägst Du Schuld--will mit ich tragen-- / . . . Lade, / Du Gott--auf meine Schultern Deine Schuld!!" (GW, 80.)

This introduces one of the most interesting ideas that Beer-Hofmann deals with in Jakobs Traum, namely, that God needs man fully as much, if not more than, man needs God. Significantly, it is through Samäel that

195It is noteworthy that this "seliges Vertrauen" lies within Jacob at a point to which the word cannot penetrate. (Cf. Beer-Hofmann's other statements on the limitations of the word, discussed on p. 182f.)

Beer-Hofmann develops this idea most fully. The archangels have nothing but rapturous praise for the Almighty, and in their eagerness to win Jacob they are occasionally somewhat less than honest, but Samáel never fails to speak the truth, however bitter it may be. God himself confirms this: when Samáel describes the future suffering of Israel, declaring that God will permit it and show no sign of mercy, the archangels passionately call him a liar, but God resolves the matter with the words, "Wahr ist Samáels Wort!" (GW, 81.) And God's ensuing explanation of His lack of mercy to Israel is a poetic statement of the very foundation of Judaism, namely, the Law: "Wenn andre, knieend, zum Erbarmer flehen, / Üb' ich Erbarmen—wie der Herr am Knecht! / Doch du—sollst aufrecht vor dem Vater stehen, / Erbarmen—weig're ich! Fordere du—dein Recht!" (GW, 81.)

The question of God's need of man is pursued throughout the drama. It is implicit, in the earlier passages, in Jacob's efforts to understand the nature of God, in his questions about what God wants from him, and why He will not leave him alone. It is treated more specifically during the vision; pondering the question of why God wants the covenant with Jacob, Samáel asks: "Sagt denn dem Einzigen—fühlt er sich allein?" (GW, 77.) The answer Samáel ultimately gives is that God needs Israel not only for

197 Cf. the judge's statement on justice and mercy in Act II of Charolais, quoted and discussed on p. 166.
the preservation of His divine image as a just God, but in fact for His very existence:

Du Tor! Von Gott erkorener Frügelknabe!
An dem Dulderleibe peitscht Er ewig
Sein Gotttum /sic/ allen anderen Völkern ein!
Ihn schaudert vor der Qual, die Er erschaffen,
Dich braucht Er, dass du--gläubig durch die Zeit
Dich schleppend--allen Völkern rings verkündest,
Schuldlos sei Er--und Strafe alles Leid!
Dich opfert Er! Du taugest Ihm nur als Zeuge,
Als unbestochener, auf den er weist;
Wer zweifelt noch, wenn du--von Ihm zertreten,
Verblutend--deinen Gott, g e r e c h t, noch preist!
(Samael to Jacob, GW, 79.)

A very interesting aspect of the problem of God's need of Jacob is the status Jacob acquires through this need, and the relationship to which it leads. It may be somewhat exaggerated to say that because of God's need of him Jacob becomes a god himself, but in a sense this is what happens.198 The text contains many indications of this; one of the earliest is Jacob's seemingly innocent question, "Wie will Er, dass ich Antwort also gebe, / Als wür' ich--Er, der mich und alles schuf?" (GW, 59.) Jacob here acknowledges God as the creator of all things, but he--and all men--share this attribute with God, and are participants in creation, which the archangels describe not as an isolated event of the remote past, but rather as a continual, never-ending process: "... Er s c h u f

198 This recalls an observation Karl Kerényi made to Thomas Mann when he was working on the Joseph-novels: "Einen Gott zu spielen, das bedeutet nach primitiver Denkweise immer ein wenig auch Gott zu sein." (See Thomas Mann, Gesammelte Werke in zwölf Bänden (Frankfurt a.M.: S. Fischer Verlag, 1960), Vol. XI, p. 634.)
... nicht--Er schafft! / ... Und hat uns alle ... / Aufgerufen, / Mit Ihn zu schaffen ... / Und stummer Tiere dumpfer starker Wille-- / Und unser Lobgesang--und auch dein Neid-- / Du Dunkler dort Samäel, begreif' es, schaffen--schaffen / An Seiner Welt, mit Ihm ... / ... in Ewigkeit!" (GW, 71f.)

Despite such lines as "Ein Wurm bin ich!" and the reaffirmation of God's sovereignty in Jacob's closing monologue, he addresses God essentially as an equal, and God expresses His acceptance, indeed His approval of Jacob's stance with the words He speaks directly to him (rather than through the archangels). By God's own statement their relationship is not that of master and servant; they are partners, equal at least in the sense that each is a voluntary party to the covenant, and more importantly, each is indispensable to the other, and knows it.

Most of the other themes that preoccupied Beer-Hofmann from the time he was a young man are also treated in Jakobs Traum. The familiar motif of posterity as an answer to death is introduced during Jacob's conversation with Idnibas. Having given this servant his freedom, Jacob envisions Idnibas's return to his homeland and the life he will have there, concluding: "Glaub' mir, es steigt / Für dich, Idnibas, heraus ein Morgen-- / Da ruht zum erstemal in deinen Händen / Dein Kind--und, in den neuen Leib gerettet, / Durchrollt ihn, jung und mutig nun--dein Blut!" (GW, 50.) The concept of continued life through one's seed, expanded to encompass an entire race, is also implicit in Jacob's reference
to his blood; "in alle Zeiten spriessend, nie verdorrt," and in the jubilant proclamation of the archangels: "Was hoch jetzt ragt an Völkern, wird zerrieben / Zu Staub! Wie Staub lässt es der Herr verweh! / Nur du darfst dauern! Tausend Tode sterben— / Und tausendmal aus Toden auferstehn!" (GW, 77.)

Sometimes dominating our attention and at other times receding temporarily into the background, the fate motif pervades the entire drama. Sealed by Jacob's covenant with God, Israel's destiny is to be God's witness, the exculpator dei. The blessing this represents is expressed by the archangels in speeches which closely parallel or quote verbatim the prophecies of the Old Testament, the contrasting speeches of Sam'el (which render other Old Testament prophecies with equal exactness) provide ample evidence that this destiny is also a curse. Jacob is fully aware of this, and voluntarily assumes both the pride and the burden of his destiny, asking only that his descendants not be allowed to forget the purpose of their election: "Lass Deiner heiligen Wahl--Herr--nie

199 Cf. Michael's lines, GW, 77 with Deut. 28: 37; Michael's speech, GW, 78 with Isa. 42: 6, 7; Isa. 43: 10-12, 21; Isa. 45: 6-7, 22, 23. Of all the archangels, Michael was chosen to speak these lines presumably because he is designated in Daniel 12: 1 (a verse included in the list of primary sources on p. 880 of GW) as "the great prince which standeth for the children of my people." Beer-Hofmann collected St. Michael medals and always wore one on his watch chain. See Paula, GW, 852-854.

200 Cf. Sam'el's speech, GW, 78f. with Deut. 28: 23, 29, 33, 34, 65; Ezek. 25: 7; and Isa. 48: 10.
The theme of the unity of all life is reflected in Jacob's love of nature; throughout the drama he shows great sensitivity to the natural phenomena that surround him. As he remarks more than once, they speak to him: the vision, for example, is introduced by the talking spring and rocks of Beth-El. 201 As in the earlier works, moreover, the sense of oneness with all life is not confined to the immediate present or even to the span of one's own lifetime. It encompasses the remotest past, and also the future: Jacob has a keen awareness of his ancestors, they are literally a part of him as a person, and the same will be true of his descendants. A suggestion of this is found in the angel Gabriel's last words to Jacob: "Wenn du mit dir--mit Fremdem ringst-- / (Mahnend) Gedanken: / Mit Gott dem Herrn rangest heute du! / In deinem Samen schau're immer wieder / Erinnern dieser Nacht--s o sein Befehl!" (GW, 82.) It is worth emphasizing that the word used here is Erinnern; the fact that the poet does not mean a dim, subconscious awareness of one's

201 See GW, 63-65, also 43, 82-83. Cf. Paul's sensitivity to all things and his feeling of oneness with them in Der Tod George, discussed on p. 83f.
heritage, but on the contrary a very live and active process, is under-scored by his use of the verb form instead of the noun, Erinnerung.

The motif of the unity of all life is closely interwoven with the theme of brotherly strife and reconciliation in the drama, notably in the scene between Jacob and Esau. Their brotherhood, originally an accident of birth, is renewed voluntarily during the reconciliation scene, as symbolized by their blood pact (which, incidentally, is not part of the Biblical myth); raising Esau's arm and linking it in his own, Jacob says: "So—schneid' ich in euch ein, heilige Zeichen! / Feindlicher Bruder du, vom Mutterleib her— / Aus freier Wahl sei mir von neuem Bruder! / Ström—ström! entzweites Blut zur Erde nieder / Und mische dich—und werde wieder eins!" (GW, 61.) Jacob, moreover, emphatically rejects the idea that the inherent differences in their two natures make him superior to Esau, to whom he says: "Fühlst du / Den Duft, der dort von meinem Lager quillt? / Kein einzeln Kraut gibt ihm so süß und stark, / Von vielerlei der Duft muss sich vermählen! / Ein jedes Kraut haucht andern—Blatt und Blüte / Am selben Stamm den gleichen nicht—glaubst du, / Eins dünke vor dem andern sich gering? / . . . Gott braucht mich so—und anders dich! Nur weil / Du, Edom bist—darf ich, Jaakob sein!" (GW, 62.)

It seems best to begin the discussion of characterization in Jaakobs Traum with a comparison of the play and the Jacob-myth as related in the Pentateuch. Since the poet, in creating a work of literature, must do what he deems best with the material he has selected (no matter how well-
known a myth that material may be \(^{202}\), such a comparison has no particu-
lar value for its own sake. It is, however, a necessary basis for any 
attempt to ascertain why the poet felt obliged to exercise the license he 
did. It has been said that in writing the Historie Beer-Hofmann "con-
tented himself with filling in the gaps of narrative and with motivating 
the behavior of the men and women participating in the . . . events 
. . ."\(^{203}\) Granted that some passages of Jakob's Traum are exact quota-
tions from the Old Testament, this contention nevertheless implies a 
faithfulness to the Biblical text that is not borne out by a comparison 
of the play and the Old Testament myth that served the poet as a primary 
source. I am not suggesting that the spirit or even the central "message" 
of Jakob's Traum is essentially different from that of the Biblical ac-
count, but simply that Beer-Hofmann emerges here far more as creator and 
far less as "Bearbeiter" than has been acknowledged by some critics.

\(^{202}\) Cf. Thornton Wilder, "Mythos und Dichtung. Zu 'Jaakobs Traum' 
S. Fischer Verlags LXXVII (1963), 72f. Wilder greatly admired Beer-
Hofmann's work; when Beer-Hofmann first arrived in the United States, 
Olga Schmitzler relates, he lived in "einem jener unsäglichen billigen 
Flats, downtown, in einer düsteren Stasse . . . aus der Kahlheit des 
Zimmers hatte ihm das dunkle Glühben üppiger roter Rosen entgegengeleuch-
tet: ein Willkommensgruss von einem Dichter Amerikas, Thornton Wilder, 
der weiss, wer hier Zuflucht sucht." (Spiegelbild, p. 125.)

\(^{203}\) Solomon Liptzin, Richard Beer-Hofmann, p. 74.
To begin with, Jaākōbe Traum is a fusion of what are actually two separate episodes in the Biblical Jacob-story. The experience at Beth-El, i.e. Jacob's vision (during the flight to Haran) of a ladder extending from earth to heaven, with the angels upon it and God at the top, is recounted in Genesis 28: 10-22; the experience of wrestling with God, recounted in Genesis 32: 24-30, did not take place until twenty years later, and not at Beth-El, but at a place which Jacob named Peniel [Hebrew: "The face of God"], "for I have seen God face to face, and my life is preserved."\(^{204}\)

Beer-Hofmann likewise altered the time sequence in connection with the reconciliation of Jacob and Esau. In Jaākōbe Traum Esau overtakes his brother at Beth-El, i.e. within hours of his theft of the blessing. According to the Biblical account, Esau did not succeed in intercepting his brother at all; Jacob safely made his escape, and the reconciliation did not take place until twenty years later, when Jacob returned from Haran (Genesis 33: 1-15).

These changes are important for our purposes only insofar as they shed light on Beer-Hofmann's purpose and creative process; what I shall attempt to show is that he combined these two Biblical episodes and

\(^{204}\) Jacob remained in Haran for twenty years, serving Laban fourteen years for his two daughters, Leah and Rachel, and six years for his cattle (Gen. 31: 41); it was during the return to his homeland that he wrestled with God "until the breaking of the day."
altered the time sequence primarily for reasons of characterization.

Jacob, the drama's hero, appears in anything but an heroic light at the beginning of the play. With sly and deliberate deceit, abetted by his doting mother, he has taken advantage of his father, who is not merely old, but blind, helpless, and on the verge of death, and has stolen the blessing which rightfully belonged to his brother. He is a thief, and it is inevitable that one's sympathies should lie initially with the brother whom he has wronged. The poet, in short, is confronted at the outset by the problem of justifying Jacob and winning the reader's sympathy to him. Beer-Hofmann solves this problem by several means. Before Jacob makes his initial appearance (Part II), the poet has already laid the groundwork of his justification through Rebekah, whose lines express the conviction that she and Jacob bear no active burden of guilt, because things happen as they must: "Jakob sprach und aus den Tiefen hob's sich / Und straffte Jischaks Leib und warf ihn aufrecht, / Und Segen brach aus ihm, und Jischaks Antlitz / War wie ein Schleier nur, dahinter Térschs, / Néchors, Abrahams Antlitz atmend glomm! / Des rechten Erben Stimme rief die Ahnen-- / Die segneten--und die belog ich nicht!" (GW, 27f.) In this passage several of Beer-Hofmann's favorite

205 How serious an offense this was is indicated first by the very specific and emphatic language of the Law pertaining to birthrights (Deut. 21: 15-17), and second by the fact that the Biblical Jacob, twenty years after his theft of the blessing, was still filled with trepidation before his reunion with Esau (Gen. 32: 3-11) and "bowed himself to the ground seven times" and offered Esau many gifts during their meeting (Gen. 33: 1-15).
themes are interwoven: the mysterious and unfathomable workings of fate; the concept of our ancestors living in us, with an active will of their own; and the power of the word (about which more will be said below).

When Jacob does make his first entrance, what he has done to Esau recedes almost completely from the reader's mind, so appealingly does Beer-Hofmann present him. His sensitivity to nature, his feeling of oneness with all life and especially with all who suffer, his compassion and gentleness toward the lamb, for the death of whose mother he feels responsible, his kindness to Ithnubal and his sensitive understanding of the slave's feelings—all these combine to make Jacob what he initially was not: an appealing protagonist with whom the reader can sympathize.

It is interesting that Beer-Hofmann did not choose to make Jacob more attractive by undermining Esau, although he would have had some Scriptural basis for doing so: even before the theft of the blessing, Esau had sold his birthright to Jacob for "bread and pottage of lentils." §206 Beer-Hofmann had at least two reasons for omitting all mention of this episode: 1) in it Jacob himself does not appear in a favorable light—he takes advantage of the fact that Esau has returned from the hunt so famished that

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§206 This episode is related in Gen. 25: 29-34; God's resulting judgment on Esau was harsh indeed: "Was not Esau Jacob's brother? saith the Lord: yet I loved Jacob, and I hated Esau, and laid his mountains and his heritage waste for the dragons of the wilderness. Whereas Edom saith, We are impoverished, but we will return and build the desolate places; thus saith the Lord of hosts, They shall build, but I will throw down; and they shall call them, The border of wickedness, and, The people against whom the Lord hath indignation for ever." (Mal. 1: 3-4.)
he feels faint, and refuses to give him food unless he sell him the birthright; and 2) presenting Esau in a bad light would have undermined one of the main points Beer-Hofmann wanted to make in the reconciliation scene, namely, that each individual is as God wants and needs him to be. The fact that Esau differs from Jacob in every conceivable way does not mean that he is inferior to him (see Jacob's lines quoted on p. 207).

Despite the reader's growing sympathy for Jacob, there remains the troublesome fact of his theft of the blessing, and in order to strengthen the credibility and general effectiveness of the main part of the drama (the vision itself), Beer-Hofmann first had to solve this problem. The best way to resolve any nagging doubts about Jacob was clearly through Esau himself. If he, the injured party, were reconciled to his brother, how could the reader refuse to be? Hence Beer-Hofmann's decision to alter the chronological sequence of these events, to place the reconciliation before the vision.

It is equally probable that the need to solve certain problems of characterization led Beer-Hofmann to decide on a fusion of the two Biblical episodes. The Jacob he wanted to present (and did) is strong, unafraid of suffering, incorruptible, and intensely proud; these characteristics, and Jacob's partner-like relationship to God have already been discussed. But this is not the image of Jacob one derives from the Biblical account of his vision at Beth-El. In the Genesis narrative he appears as a totally passive figure; there is no indication that he says a single word (neither, for that matter, do the angels). Only God
speaks, making the famous promise, "And thy seed shall be as the dust of the earth . . . and in thee and in thy seed shall all the families of the earth be blessed. And behold, I am with thee, and will keep thee in all places whither thou goest, and will bring thee again into this land . . . ." (Gen. 28: 14-15.) More specific evidence emerges in the verses that describe Jacob's reaction to the vision: "And Jacob awaked out of his sleep, and he said, Surely the Lord is in this place; and I knew it not. And he was afraid, and said, How dreadful is this place . . . ." (Gen. 28: 16-17.) Beer-Hofmann's Jacob, moreover, is not merely indifferent to the archangels' attempts to "bribe" him with promises of material wealth and worldly power and security, he bitterly resents their efforts to do so. Not so the Biblical Jacob, who clearly expects security and a measure of material well-being in return for his faithfulness. This is stated unequivocally and with an engaging sort of candor in the vow Jacob makes the morning after his vision: "If God will be with me, and will keep me in this way that I go, and will give me bread to eat, and raiment to put on, So that I come again to my father's house in peace; then shall the Lord be my God . . . ." (Gen. 28: 20-21.)

The Biblical account of Jacob's wrestling with God, by contrast, provides precisely the image of Jacob that Beer-Hofmann wanted to project. It is here that one encounters the proud, courageous man who stubbornly continues to wrestle with his adversary even after his thigh is out of joint, the man who says, "I will not let thee go, except thou bless me."
(Gen. 32: 26.) God's emissary confirms this image of Jacob with the words, "Thy name shall be called no more Jacob, but Israel [Hebrew: "A prince of God"]: for as a prince hast thou power with God and with men, and hast prevailed." (Gen. 32: 28.)

Beer-Hofmann, clearly unwilling to relinquish the motif of the dream as the prophetic shaper of life, yet wanting to characterize Jacob as he appears in the Biblical account of the Peniel-episode, solved the problem by combining the two episodes, or more exactly, by employing a system of Auswahl, discarding those elements of both episodes that did not suit his purposes, and retaining those that would enhance or strengthen the literary work he had conceived.

The foregoing has been a discussion of Jakobs Traum as the dramatic recreation of an ancient myth whose motifs, centering as they do upon the God-man-relationship, are religious in nature. On another level, however, Jakobs Traum is unquestionably an allegory of the poet and his high calling.

Beer-Hofmann's ambivalent attitude toward the poet was discussed at some length in Chapter I. Like Jacob, the poet is God's elect (one recalls Beer-Hofmann's confession to Schnitzler of his own sense of Auserwähltein); the purpose of the poet's election, like that of Israel's, is to be the exculpator dei. Like Jacob, the poet lives in a state of grace, but this is a mixed blessing at best, as Beer-Hofmann suggests in the fragment, "Ultra Posse" (written December 24, 1930): "Ultra posse:
nemo tenetur. -- Über seine Kraft, sein Können, seine Möglichkeiten hinaus, zu leisten--kann von Niemandem verlangt werden.--Von E i n e m, doch: Vom Dichter. Weh ihm, darum!--Wohl ihm, darum!" (GW, 626.) Infinitely more receptive, more sensitive than ordinary men to every aspect and phenomenon of life, the poet experiences its joys to a correspondingly greater degree. But his sensitivity makes him equally conscious of life's suffering and ugliness. His unique blessing is offset by so great a measure of anguish, doubt, and spiritual suffering that the state of grace is fully as much curse as blessing. As the biographical material of Chapter I shows, Beer-Hofmann frequently found the burden of Auserwahltein so heavy that he despaired of being able to carry it. Ample evidence of the dual nature of Auserwahltein is to be found in many of his prose fragments. In "Die Beschenkenen" (written July 13, 1933) he says: "Eine bittere hoffnungslose Welt empfangen Gottes Erwählte [the poets], und--um das Messer in der Wunde noch umzudrehen--schenkt Gott ihnen tieferes Wissen um das Weh der Welt als Andern--und ruhig, als sei es, was ihm gebühre, empfängt Gott von ihnen, den ewig ungelohnten Liebedienern, den ewig unbezahlten Exculptoren Gottes, als Geschenk eine Welt zurück, in der Weh nur eine Herbe der Süsse erscheint--Leid, ein Weg vielleicht, zu Seligkeiten--Tod, das Sprengen einer Pforte zu erahntem Leben--eine Welt der Dichter--trotz Allem--voll Hoffen, für das in dieser--Seiner--Welt, nicht viel Raum ist. Nicht viel!" (GW, 629.)
In Beer-Hofmann's view, the poet's calling, like Jacob's, is a religious one. This is implicit in all the statements quoted above, and expressed with unmistakable clarity in the fragment, "Vorspiel im Himmel" (written in the summer of 1911): "Jede wahre grosse Dichtung hat—wie 'Faust'—ihr 'Vorspiel im Himmel'—geschrieben oder ungeschrieben—aber untrüglich im wahren Mittelpunkt des Werkes, als leuchtender Kern geborgen. Immer wird es darum gehen, wie der Mensch an Gott, und Gott an Menschen—wie sie, aneinander sich entzündend, aneinander sich bewähren." (GW, 631.) In this view of the poet and what he creates, the encounter with a work of literature is likewise a religious experience. Before this is discussed, however, Beer-Hofmann's concept of the word, mentioned briefly in Chapter I, needs to be examined more closely.

"For Beer-Hofmann, the word has an existence of its own, i.e. independent of the use to which it is put, and strange, indeed mysterious properties, including a unique power that can transcend even the will and purpose of its user. Nowhere does this concept of the word find stronger artistic expression than in Jakobs Traum: Isaac certainly did not intend to give Jacob the blessing that was the right of Esau, his firstborn, but the words poured from his mouth as though impelled by a force other than his (see Rebekah's lines quoted on p. 210). The word, moreover, is irrevocable. The fact that Isaac unwittingly uttered it to the wrong person does not alter the word's force and validity in the slightest. Oholibamah's argument that "Der Segen gilt nicht!" because "Der Alte
"meinte Edom," is refuted with absolute finality by Esau's other wife, Basmath:

Er gilt! Versuch's, Oholibamah.
Versag' dich Edom Nacht um Nacht, und wenn dann
Lust, Sehnsucht, Trotz, in ihm zu einer Flamme
Aufschlägt, die nur nach dir, nach dir nur lechzt . . .
Dann schieb ihn nachts--ihn, der's nicht merkt--statt deiner
Die Sklavin unter, dass er sie beschäft.--
Und sie empfängt, wird fruchtbar und gebiert
Ein Kind, das Edoms Lust und Trotz und Sehnsucht,
Die dir galt, nun in ihrem Blute trägt . . .
Dann lach' Oholibamah, sprich zum Kinde:
'Du giltst nicht, Kind--denn mir war's zugedacht! (GW, 20.)

And when Esau implores Rebekah, "Mach's ungeschehen, Mutter!" she replies:

"Ich kann es nicht! Kein Bronnen strömt zurück!" (GW, 25.) The following exchange between Esau and Rebekah also alludes to the mysterious irrevocability of the word, once it has been uttered:

Edom: Ich sagt' euch's doch--ein Eid ist auf mir!
Rebekah: (mit verhaltenem Atem) Was--
   Was schwurst du?
Edom: . . . Des Feld's verworfenes Unkraut: meine Speise!
   Mein Trank die Pfütze und der Stein mein Bett!
   Kein Weib mir nah--und Fluch mir, wenn ich's breche,
   Eh' ich . . .
Rebekah: (beschüchtern) Schweig! Schweig!
Rebekah: (auf ihn losstürzend, als wollte sie mit ihren Händen
   ihm den Mund schliessen) Sprich's nicht aus!
   (GW, 25f.)

Beer-Hofmann elaborates on this view of the word in the undated prose fragment, "Der Freund der Worte," ascribing to it not only an existence of its own, but even the ability to feel: "Das Wort ist immer älter
und weiser, als der, der es gebraucht. Es hat mehr erlebt. Es erzählt
auch--dabei in jedem Augenblick von innerem Leben bebend--was es erlebt
hat—aber so Wenige haben Ohren, es zu hören. So viele die, als Forscher, beflassen um das Wort bemüht sind .... berichten von den Worten als Totenbesucher und Anatomen. Das Wort—and die wunderbaren Zellenstaaten des Wortes, die man Dichtungen nennt—liegen als Leichen auf dem Sezierschisch. Und was dann am Ende davon berichtet wird, kann ja doch nur ein Sektionsbefund sein. Nur der Dichter lebt—Freund und Genosse der Worte—ihr Leben mit—darum lieben die Worte den Dichter." (GW, 638f.)

Elsewhere Beer-Hofmann's concept of the word and the poet's use of it shows a marked similarity to ideas that Rilke expresses in the Duineser Elegien. 207 This is especially true of the fragment, "Form-Chaos," (written September 17, 1932) in which Beer-Hofmann says: "Weil Form Namengebung ist, haftet ihr, wie jedem Namen, noch Dämonisches an. Jedes Ding ist für uns erst da, wenn es benannt ist. Dichter sein, heisst: alle Dinge taufen. Nochmals, wieder, taufen, die Last klanglos gewordener Namen von ihnen nehmen. Nur wer ihnen neue Namen gibt, welche die Menschen aufhorchen, befreit zustimmen lassen, als hätten die Dinge erst jetzt ihre wahren Namen empfangen, ist wirklich Schöpfer." (GW, 628.)

207 Cf. especially the ninth elegy: ",... Sind wir vielleicht hier, um zu sagen: Haus, / Brücke, Brunnen, Tor, Krug, Obstbaum, Fenster, / aber zu sagen, verstehe, / oh zu sagen so, wie selber die Dinge niemals / innig meinten zu sein ...." (Rainer Maria Rilke, Sämtliche Werke, Ruth Sieber-Rilke and Ernst Zinn, eds., Wiesbaden, 1955, Vol. 1, p. 718.) Werner Kraft also sees Beer-Hofmann's relationship to the word as essentially religious. See Wort und Gedanke, p. 203f.
To return now to the assertion that for Beer-Hofmann the encounter with literature, like the process of creating it, is a religious experience: implied by many of his aphorisms and other prose fragments, this view is stated clearly, and expressed in religious metaphors, in the fragment, "Von einer Dichtung reden" (written July 31, 1938): "Die Er-schütterung des religiösen Erlebens, wie des wirklichen Erlebens einer Dichtung, wird nie von einem 'Erkennen' ausgelöst, sondern vom Gefühl eines 'Konfrontiert werdens', eines 'Stirn an Stirn' stehens, also eines ganz nahe seins, einem Etwas, das, nicht blos 'grösser' als wir, sondern jenseits allem 'gross' und 'klein'--irdischem Maß sich entzieht. Dieses erschreckende und beglückende Erschauern ist der--leicht entgleitende--Augenblick einer Kommunion, in der Wort wirklich Fleisch werden will."

The poet, as "Werkzeug dieser Wirkung," fulfills the same function as that of the priest in religion. His task is, "schwerlose Brücken von der kleinen ängstlichen Welt des Verstehens zu unendlichen können Welten des Ahnens zu schlagen." The closing lines of the fragment emphasize Beer-Hofmann's conviction that if the poet does any less than this, he betrays his high calling: "Nur dieses vermagen das Frevel-nahe Tun des Dichters zu rechtfertigen, das sonst Läppisch-nichtiges wäre, oder--an sich selbst ergötzendes, widerliches Spiel." (GW, 630f.)

This fragment was

208 The moment of "confrontation" or "communion" described here is essentially the same as Hofmannsthal's moment of "Verwandlung"; Hofmannsthal does not equate the poet with the prophet or priest in the sense of an elite caste, but he ascribes to the poet (in "Der Dichter und diese Zeit") the same function as the priest or prophet performed in past ages.
written in 1938, when Beer-Hofmann was seventy-two years old; that it also expresses the younger Beer-Hofmann's concept of *Dichter und Wort* is shown by *Jaakobs Traum*, the allegory of the poet and his *Auserwältsein*.

2. **Der junge David**

Beer-Hofmann's affirmation of the universal order, despite God's unfathomable and apparently contradictory ways, has been traced from *Der Tod Georgs* to *Jaakobs Traum*; in *Der junge David* the poet, as before, presents the bitter suffering and doubt which precede such an affirmation (and frequently assail it once it is made). As before, he deals with *Auserwältsein* as both a state of grace and an agonizing burden. But he carries his treatment of these themes a step further than he had in the earlier works: by far the most important motif of *Der junge David* is *Treu*. Once the resolution has been made to accept the universal order and to assume that God's ways are somehow ultimately just, then the logical consequence is *Treu*. When Achitophel, the very embodiment of self-interest, asks David why he feels obliged to keep his oath to the Philistines, David says: "Weil Treu und Glauben sein muss!" Achitophel replies sarily: "Treu--Glauben! Nehmt's nicht schwer!--Auch nur zwei Worte!" and David says: "Ja--zwei nur!--doch auf ihnen steht die Welt!" *(GW, 238.)* And in a later passage he remarks: "Dass Treue auf der Welt ist, / Lässt leichter leben uns--mag sein, auch leichter sterben!" *(GW, 292.)*
The treatment of this motif, however, is by no means limited to man's faithfulness to God. On the contrary, Beer-Hofmann presents almost endless variations on the theme; by the time the drama ends he has dealt with virtually every kind of human Treue one can think of, as well as the faithfulness of God, who(no less than humans)is bound by the universal laws He himself has established.

The motif is already introduced in the prologue, which, in the language of the Old Testament source, relates the story of Ruth and her faithfulness to Naomi, her marriage to Boaz and genealogical relationship to David. In Scene I the poet focuses on the faithfulness of God: to Abjathar's question, "Kann Gott nicht alles?" Timnah answers, "Wohl! Doch dem Gesetz, / Das Gott sich selbst schuf, muss Gott Treue halten! / Hielt er nicht Treue--stürzte seine Welt!" (GW, 100.) In Scene II, which is dominated by King Saul, the motif emerges in various forms, beginning with Saul's conviction that David is both hostile and disloyal to him. Saul is suspicious of the members of his own family, believing that Doeg is more faithful to him than any of them: "Da--Doeg--seht ihn: / Aus Edom, das mir feind--und hält zu mir! / Ein Knecht! Verdingt! Um was? Um Speis und Trank, / Und ein paar goldne Spangen, die ihm freuen! / Ihr hasst ihn! Sterb ich--tötet ihr ihn noch / Am selben Tag! Das weiss er--darf zurück-- / Ich gab ihm frei--in seine Heimat, und / Er b l e i b t! Und was mein Sohn mir tut--er, Doeg, / Hätts n i e getan! Ein Knecht! Bezahlt! Und m e h r / (Auf Jehonathan weisend) Als dort--mein eigen
Blut—mir treu!" (GW, 153.)

The motif receives its most moving treatment in Scene II, through the fourteen-year-old Uriah—the same Uriah the Hittite who was to have reappeared in König David, the second drama of the cycle, as one of David's captains and the husband of Bathsheba. More dead than alive from the tortures he has endured, the boy nevertheless remains unshakable in his loyalty to David, despite Saul's desperate efforts to win him: "Ich weiss, unwürdig, schamlos ist mein Betteln—/ Doch sieh: ich liebe deine Treue—bleib! / Zum Wunderzeichen hab ichs mir gesetzt: / Kann ich, von --jenem weg, zu mir herüber / Dich reissen an mein Herz, Uriah--dann / Ist noch nicht alles aus für mich—Uriah!" (GW, 159.)

Love and loyalty to David are characteristics shared by all the figures of Scene III; toward the end of this scene the Treue motif also takes on political implications when David, whose period of service and oath of allegiance to the King of Gath are still in force, must choose between breaking his oath or going to war against his own people. This aspect of Treue is further developed in Scene IV, culminating in David's decision to be true to his oath, although in all likelihood it will mean his death. Still another variation of the theme is developed in this scene: the faithfulness of husband and wife (David and Màáchà). This type of Treue re-emerges in Scene V, as Achinoam, the wife of Saul, remains with him even after he has been killed by the Philistines, and ultimately takes her own life. Similar faithfulness is shown by Jonathan, who also
accompanied by his father into battle, and dying, "... warf er / Mit letzter Kraft den Kopf noch in den Nacken / Und schrie hinauf zur Fels-wand: 'Vater! Hör mich! / Wir alle liebten dich--wir alle--immer, Vater!'" (GW, 258.) In all of these instances the willingness to self-sacrifice is presented as one of the primary elements of Treue.

The severest test of David's Treue comes in the seventh (final) scene of the drama, when he learns of Ma'aschah's death. His acceptance of the crown in spite of his personal grief and pain underscores the self-sacrificing nature of Treue. This is confirmed by Ruth, who, addressing God, says: "Er ist 'erwählt'!--so wird er einmal klagen: 'Wo blieb der Segen--welches Glück ward mein?!' / Lass dann ihn ahmen: Über allen Segen / Thront noch ein Segen: andern Segen sein!" (GW, 304.)

Respect for tradition and concern for its preservation is still another type of Treue Beer-Hofmann presents in Der junge David. In Scene I it is this concern that has prompted the elders of Jabesh to make their long journey: "... auf dass endlich / Der Dienst des Herren wieder so geschehe, / Wie unser Ahnherr Aharon ihn übte!" (GW, 107); this reflects not only reverence for traditional rites of worship, but also reverence for and faithfulness to the ancestors who instituted them. In Scene II the respect for tradition is demonstrated by Saul's servant, Ziba, who says to his reluctant helper, Akub: "Mein Lieber: Unter diesem Baum hier sass man / Seit Väntagen zu Gericht, und seit er / Die Krone trägt,
hält hier einmal im Mond / Schaul Hof und Gericht! Weil du zu faul bist,
wird man / Den Brauch n i c h t ändern!" (GW, 126.) The most compelling
presentation of this type of Treue is in the seventh scene of the drama.
Having learned of Maacha's death only minutes before the sacred rites are
to begin, David cries: "Jubelt nicht!" Zadok, the officiating priest,
replies: "Wir feiern heilgen Brauch!" (GW, 297.) And in the ensuing con-
test of wills it is the priest, not David, who prevails: the celebration
continues.

Interwoven with the theme of Treue are all the other motifs which
the reader has come to associate with Beer-Hofmann's view of life and the
world. The struggle to fathom the nature of "God, and the anguish of
doubt are represented in Scene I by the thirteen-year-old Abjathar, who
tries desperately to understand why God tolerated the massacre of his
entire family: "War Vater, Mutter, unser ganzes Haus / Geheim verrucht
und tief getaucht in Sünde, / Die d u nur weisst--und du hast streng
gerichtet? / (Unerbittlich) N e n n mir die Schuld! Du weisst sie--
mu s s t sie wissen-- / (Mit irrsuchendem Blick) Weisst du sie nicht-- /
... dann--lastet furchtbar / Bl u t s c h u l d--mein Gott-auf deinem
heilgen Haupt!" (GW, 103.) Timnah's response to these words is reminis-
cent of the archangels' reaction to similar lines by Jacob in Jakobs
Traum: "So d a r f s t du nicht zu deinem Gott reden!" But Abjathar
is not blaspheming God. His answer to Timnah reflects the poet's view
of the worthiness of doubt: "So m u s s ich, Timnah--denn ich hab ihn
lieb!" (GW, 103.)

In Jaakobs Traum, however, there was the suggestion that the way of doubt is worthier than the way of unquestioning faith. Treatment of this aspect of the motif in Der jüngere David indicates a certain degree of change in the poet's attitude. There are no passages which say so explicitly, but it is clear that the way of doubt is not necessarily the right way for everyone: the doubt of Abjathar is carefully balanced by the unquestioning attitude of Timnah. When he asks her if God will give him an answer, she says ("erfüllt von Weh. Ihr Antlitz abwendend"): "Frag nicht! Das Gott mich schlug, hab ich dem Nacken / ihm hingehalten und hab n i c h t gefragt!" (GW, 103.) The stage directions for these lines suggest that the unquestioning attitude entails spiritual suffering no less than does doubt. Timnah says with conviction that God does answer, "doch Gottes Tage s i n d nicht / Der Menschen Tage! Gott--misst ander Maß!" (GW, 104.) And when Abjathar protests, she adds, "Ich weich nicht aus! / (In schmerzlichem Lächeln) Ich suche nur / Demütig Unterschlupf in Sturm und Wettern, / Darin--mein Kind--wir Menschen a l l e leben!" (GW, 104.) In later scenes the suffering and doubt of David are balanced in the same way by the calm and unquestioning faith of his great-grandmother, Ruth.

David first appears in Scene III, and his bitterly resigned words on the nature of God are reminiscent of the words of Charolais. Asked by Abjathar what he had done to deserve being "verwaist, und arm, und heimatlos," David answers ("Bitter"): "D a s willst du mich fragen? / . . .
Früh schon / Fragst du die alte Frage, Kind! Merk auf-- / Ich sprech zu dir, als spräch ich mit mir selber: / ... Frag n i c h t!—Es kommt nicht Antwort! D i r n i c h t—K e in e m! / (Aufblickend. Es zugestehend) Der droben spricht—doch nie, wenn wir ihm fragen!" (GW, 188.) Jacob, one recalls, characterized God as "grausam und gnädig"; David also sees Him in both these lights. He clearly believes it is God's grace that extricates him from the apparently hopeless dilemma that resulted from his oath to the King of Gath (GW, 24:8), but he is confronted repeatedly by evidence of God's cruelty or toleration of evil and suffering: the death of Mašcha, the massacre of the House of Ahimelech, the torture and mutilation of the slave in Scene IV, etc.

For David, of course, the most crushing of these experiences is the loss of Mašcha. His reaction is not an outright renunciation of God, but he seeks to withdraw from life and the world. At this point, when David refuses the crown, saying, "... stehe auf—ich k a n n / Nicht euer König sein," the fate motif again comes to the fore. David is destined to be king, and he cannot evade his destiny; it is inevitable. "Was soll jetzt aus mir werden?" he asks, and the immovable Ruth answers: "Was aus uns a l l e n einst wird: Dung der Erde!—/ ... Vielleicht ein Lied—/ ... auch d i e s e s bald verweht! / (Ruhig, aber be-stimmt) Und doch: bis dahin—ewiger nicht, und nicht / Vergänglicher als SEINE Sterne—musst du, / Wie sie, vollenden—David!—deine Bahn!" (GW, 303.)

Der junge David provides ample evidence that the problem of death was still very much in the poet's mind. Ruth's attitude toward death,
as expressed in the lines just quoted, is one of calm and matter-of-fact
acceptance. She has long since reconciled herself to the inevitable. The
exchange between David and his brother Eliab, however, indicates that for
Beer-Hofmann this calm and resigned attitude was achieved at great cost
and maintained only with the greatest effort:

David: Du wirst dein Leben hin in meinen Brand—
Ich—freue mich, dass ichs dulde! Leb doch auch
Dein eigenes Leben—denk doch auch an dich!
Eliab: Es lohnt nicht—
David: (seinen Blick suchend. Leise) Was?
Eliab: Und tut nicht gut, an sich
Zu denken—an dies Ründel Fleisch und Knochen—
Kurz blühend, langsam wolkend: bald verwest!
David: (... In leichten Aufseufzen, Sithfügen. Leise)
Des Menschen Los!—Man darf nicht daran denken!

(GW, 195.)

Also treated in this passage is the theme of self-sacrifice and the
life for others. This is reintroduced with great emphasis in Scene VII;
in addition to Ruth's lines (quoted on p. 223), the motif is represented
by the old man who implores David to accept the crown: "Hier knien
hundert Jahre Bangen, Hoffen—/Jagst du sie fort—weil heut dir Weh
geschah?!—/Horch, wie viel Weh, hervorgebrochen aus /Gilboas Schluch-
ten, durch die Nacht heut stöhnt!/Und du—willst geizig deinen Schmerz
dir hüten?!/Sei königlich!/ (Innig. Flehend) Dein Weh—verschenks,
vergeud es, /Wirfs in die Flut von Leid, die uns umspült—/
Sei königlich!" (GW, 300f.)

Here and elsewhere the life of self-sacrifice is closely linked to
the motif of Gemeinschaft. The poet deals with this most obviously, of
course, in terms of the Gemeinschaft of the Jews, presenting it as a relationship of blood. But just as in Jakobs Traum Jacob and Esau pledged brotherhood in a sense that transcended their actual blood relationship, Gemeinschaft in a wider sense is also presented in Der junge David. Significantly, it is in suffering, or in sensitivity to the suffering of others, that Gemeinschaft in this wider sense reveals itself: at the sight of the mutilated slave in Scene IV, David says to Sil-Bel ("in verzweifelt aufschluchzendem wehen Schrei"): "Ein Mensch ein Bruderantlitz wars—und wie / Hat mans geschändet!" (GW, 249.) In this wider sense the Gemeinschaft of the Jews symbolizes the community of all men.

The theme of Auserwähltein also receives expanded treatment in Der junge David, and on one level, as before, the hero's election stands for the Auserwähltein of the poet. How heavy a burden this is, is suggested as early as Scene I, when Timnah describes the prophet Samuel as "ein Mund,durch den Gott sprach." "Und--macht nicht das schon froh?" Abjathar asks, and Timnah answers ("verschlossen"): "Das macht nicht froh!" (GW, 96f.) Another passage which indicates that the author had the poet and his suffering in mind is the one in which David says of the mute shepherd boy, Nebajoth: "Wie gut ers hat! / Er liebt sein Tagwerk, muss nicht Worte machen-- / Das hält ihn rein--, und ist ihm wie ums Herz, / Spielt er ein wortlos Lied!" (GW, 181.) Beer-Hofmann's own frequent despair and sense of inadequacy are reflected in David's words to Maächah: "Hätt
ich doch Kraft, mein Wort **empör** / Zu schleudern--dass es an das
Himmels Wölbung / Aufschläge, feuersprühend, und dort strahlte: / Leuch-
tendes neues nächtiges Gestirn-- / Allen nach uns zu ewigem Gedenken."

(GW, 230.)

Many of David's followers have a naively false impression of **Auserwählte**n, particularly with respect to the Jews as a chosen people. They think in terms of: "'Die Grenzen weiten' und 'Tribut' erpressen-- / 'Fuss auf den Nacken setzen'-- 'starker Herr sein'-- / An Prunk besseren
sich . . ." (GW, 198.) David rebukes them passionately, and in his ex-
change with Abischai he outlines the true nature of **Auserwählte**n as the
poet envisioned it:

David: Ich will es anders! Und nicht viel erbitt ich:
    Ein wenig Frieden--eine Spanne Zeit--
    Die Saat zu werfen nur, dass ein Geschlecht
    Aufgebe--**nicht** uns gleichend--besser, reiner!
    Eins, das nicht **fröh** wird, wenn es **qual** ringum
    weiss--
    Nicht atmen kann, wenn **frons** daneben keucht--
    Das nicht nach Herrschaft giert--sich nicht verwirft
    An Glanz und Macht--
    Abischai: (zornig dreifahrend) **warum** nicht Glanz und Macht?
    Der Herr hat doch mit eigner Hand die Kinder
    Israels aus Mizrajim ausgeführt--
    David: Und hat mit eigner Hand die Kinder Arams
    Aus Kir geführt--aus Kaphtor die Pelischtim--
    (In unerbittlicher Abweisung, Abischai anherrschend)
    Wie--sie--**nicht** anders gelten wir vor Gott!
    Abischai: (hartnäckig) Wir sind **erwählt**!
    David: (in Zorn und Hohn auflachend) Bist du?--Narr!
    (drohend und warnend) Nur, solang du
    Zu tausend schweren Pflichten **selbst** dich wählt--
    Bereit, dich hinzugeben, wenn es ruft--
So lang: 'Erwählt'--
--und keinen Atem länger!  
(GW, 200.)

The representation of God in this passage as more than the "Volksgott" of Israel recalls Paul's ultimate image of God in Der Tod Georges. Also in this passage Auserwähltsein clearly emerges as a matter of self-sacrifice. David's later words indicate, moreover, that this applies fully as much to a people as to an individual: "Eliab! Ewiger Bruder--sagt es ihnen: / Auch für ein Volk--! l o h n t s n i c h t', blass sich zu leben!" (GW, 201.)

David does not merely tell his followers what the purpose of their election is not; his impassioned speech is at once a statement of the purpose of Israel's Auserwähltsein and a fusion of man's destiny with the destiny of the word:

... Er f a s s t es doch: Zu euch
Kam Wort, das über aller Tage Tun
Und über aller Nächte Traum--ein Drittes--
Ein wunderbares seliges Ahnen wölb._
(Silbe um Silbe stark und rasch vor sich hintürmend)
U n -- e i n -- n e h m -- b a r ist Wort!
(Die geballte Faust vor sich hinwerfend)
D a r a n will ich euch schmieden--
Lebt, e i n s mit ihm, und--soll auch dies einst enden--
Nun--
(In letzter stolzer Opferbereitschaft)
--s t e r b t mit ihm auch einstens seinen Tod! . . .

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This voluntary assumption of the heavy burden of Auserwähltsein is symbolized in Scene VII by David's placement of the crown upon his own head. The passage also shows that while part of the play's purpose was to bring "the past to life and to enshrine the destiny of a people . . . it is innocent of chauvinism. It envisages the destiny of Israel not as dominion but as service . . ." (Victor A. Oswald, "The Old Age of Young Vienna," p. 198.)
This is a compelling plea for involvement in life, and at the same time a representation of the identity, the life and death of a people as unalterably linked to the life and death of the word.

The irrevocable nature of the word is also treated in Scene IV. Ma'ácha, sensing that David is going to his death, says: "Wenn unabweisbar über uns jetzt einer / Die eisigen schweren schwarzen Flügel schlägt--/ Wenn jetzt ein Opfer sein muss--/ (Den Kranz sich vom Kopf reissend und zur Seite schleudernd, den Kopf in den Nacken geworfen, sich darbietend) Hier!--sei ich es--/Nicht er!" (GW, 231.) David cries, "N ein! Nimmt zurück!" But just as Isaac could not retract his blessing from Jacob, Ma'ácha cannot withdraw her offer of literal self-sacrifice, and the irrevocability of the word is later underscored with finality by her actual death.

The poet's ambivalent attitude toward the word is expressed in Scenes III and IV. In the earlier scene David says to Serujah, who has told him that his description of Ma'ácha is beautiful: "Schön?!--'Schamlos!'--Übel schmeckt's nun auf der Zunge! / Nein--nein! Man soll aus seiner

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210 The last part of this passage paraphrases the prophecies of Isaiah. See Isa. 61: 1-2; 65: 17; 66: 22; 9: 2; 42: 6-7.
gut--Nebajoth! / Stumm sein--und quillt das Herz schon einmal Ober--/
Mags dann verströmen als ein wortlos Lied!" (GW, 193.) In
Scene IV Maächas says ("stark einfallend. Abwehrend. Sehr rasch"): "Ge-
heimes ruft man / Mit Namen nicht! Nicht Gott--nicht seine Liebe! /
Schweig--sprichs nicht aus--man solls nicht hören!" This time David
takes the opposite position, saying, "D o c h! Man s o l l s! . . ."
(GW, 230.)

The idea of one's ancestors within one, not as an amorphous compo-
site of inherited factors, but as living entities whose will in some
mysterious way can assert itself over that of the descendants they in-
habit, was introduced in Jakobs Traum and reappears in Der junge David. 211
The characters' reverential attitude toward all their ancestors, most
notably Ruth, suggests this view of the living, active nature of one's
ancestral heritage, but the theme is treated more specifically in the
final scene of the drama. When David orders the old man (who is imploring
him to take the crown) to go away, he replies: "Ich d a r f nicht gehen!

211 There are obvious parallels between this concept and the "ancestral archetypes" of C. G. Jung, which would be interesting to pursue.
There is no evidence that Beer-Hofmann was acquainted with or directly in-
fluenced by Jung's theory of archetypes, but this theory, provided one
accepts its validity at all, finds an interesting corroboration in Beer-
Hofmann's works. Cf. especially C. G. Jung, The Structure and Dynamics of
Works of C. G. Jung, Sir Herbert Read et al, Eds., R. F. C. Hull, trans./
—Steh ich denn hier?! / Hier stehen hundert Jahre deines Volkes . . ."

(GW, 300.) Herein lies the old man's identity; he is his people, and all that comprises his past and theirs.

This concept of one's ancestors leads naturally to the discussion of characterization in Der junge David, one of the principal aspects of which is the entire question of identity. The problem is particularly interesting in David's case, because he is a myth in his own lifetime. Thus in a sense he has two identities: there is the image he has of himself—David as a private person, so to speak—and David, the mythical hero of his people. The image of the mythical David is introduced in Scene III before David himself appears for the first time. "Wie sieht er aus?" Elischeba asks. "Man sagt: Oft wär ein kindlich Staunen noch / In seinem Blick— / . . . Sein Haar— / Wie Gold, drin Kupfer schmolz, und immer leicht / Bewegt, als streichle flüchtig es ein Wind . . ."

(GW, 177.) Later in this scene, David shows deep resentment of his mythical image: "Serujah! Manchmal trag ichs nicht! Sie machen / Sich was zurecht—and nennens 'David'! / (Zornig den Platz durchmessend) Malen / Die Wangen ihm, bestreun mit Gold das Haar, / Beselben ihn mit dem, was ihnen duftet, / Behängen ihm mit Lappen, Putz und Flitter— / (Ausbrechend) Ich brauch das nicht! Ich weiss schon, wer ich bin! / ( . . . Durch die Bescheidenheit der Worte bricht stärkstes Bewusstsein seiner Kraft und Sendung.) Jemand—der viel zu tun hat, bin ich! Jemand— / (mit kurzem Blick nach oben) Dem aufgeladen ward! der
selbst sich auflädt und-- / Den euer lächerlicher Prunk nur widert!"

(GW, 164.) David sees his true identity as a person in his love for Maächa and his union with her. He says to her in Scene IV: "L i e b e--
stark wie d i e-- / W u c h s noch nicht--nie! Dies ist mein Ich--mein
wahres! / In dich hinein--Maächa--warf ichs--h ü t es-- / Bewahrs--und
lächle wenn die andern meinen-- / Ich wär nicht mehr!" (GW, 230.) David
is referring here not merely to his seed. He himself lives in Maächa
through their union: "Hör, wie dein Herz schlägt, und--noch e h du
fragst-- / Kommst Antwort von mir--n i e bist du a l l e i n! /
Trägst mich in dir, bist--wie mit mir gesegnet! / Trank, Duft, der
dich erquickt, ein Frohsein--Anteil / Ist mir an alldem--fühls wie du!
Und d a r u m / Darfst du nie traurig sein . . ." (GW, 231.)

But David's mythical identity is equally valid. Moreover, it derives
from essentially the same source: just as his personal identity lies in
his submersion of self in the union with Maächa, so is the submersion of
self in the people the source of his mythical identity. The old man of
Scene VII says to him: "Du b i s t nicht d e i n!--ein W o l k hat
dich erträumt! / Erschaffen aus der Sehnsucht von Geschlechtern, /
Steigst du aus ihrem T r a u m-- gehst ein in ihre S a g e!" (GW, 301.)
Like the old man, David is the people, their past, their aspirations, and
their longings. His resentment of his mythical image in Scene III shows
that initially he does not understand this himself, but his assumption
of the crown in Scene VII symbolizes both his acceptance of the life for
others, and his acknowledgment of the mythical identity as valid.

Without meeting a single time in the course of the drama, David and Saul are a superb study in the contrasts of youth and age, vigor and decline, the self-assurance of young manhood and the fears and self-doubt of old age. Saul, too, was one of the anointed, but he has betrayed his election, and is no longer worthy of it. One might argue, in this connection, that there is an inherent contradiction between the concept of the irrevocable word and the assertion in Scene I (GW, 119) that Saul's head is "nicht mehr geweiht." (The symbolic ritual of anointment is not unlike that of the blessing; once done, can anything undo it?) One must keep in mind, however, that the assertion is made by Jerigoth, a man consumed by hate, who later in the drama is sharply rebuked by the prophet Gad with the words, "Nie noch / Sprach Gott durch eines Hassers Mund!" (GW, 287.) The behavior of the people after Saul's death substantiates that the anointment, like the blessing, cannot be retracted. Despite the widespread fear and hatred of Saul in the last years of his life, the people, at no little danger to themselves, fetch home his mutilated body and honor him in death, and there is no hypocrisy in what they do—for better or for worse, he was God's anointed, and their king. This attitude is also reflected in the words of the woman who explains to her child why a circle of fire surrounds the crown: "Und das Feuer rings ist, / Dass keiner nah ihr kommt! Der Sklave aus Amâlek, / Der sie vom Haupt des toten Königs stahl, / S t a r b, weil er sie berührt! Das darf nur, wer /
Gesalbt ward, sie zu tragen!" (GW, 279.)

Beer-Hofmann makes no attempt to conceal the unfavorable aspects of Saul's character--his ruthlessness, his cruelty, his neurotic suspicions, etc.--but he does not make him out a villain. He sees to it that the reader feels not contempt, or even dislike, but rather a compassion tinged with sadness. One does not find it difficult to sympathize with Saul, for the reality he represents is a universal one: the problems that beset him are those of a man who knows that he is in his decline, and who suffers acutely from that knowledge. With his profound sensitivity to the suffering of others, David is aware of this as his followers are not. In lines which reveal his own compassionate nature and at the same time recall the perceptive treatment of the problem of old age in Der Tod Georgs, David comes to Saul's defense: "Was willst du denn?--Er herrscht--
Er trägt ein Leben lang Jisroels Krone--/ Und da auf ihn des Abends eisige Schatten / Sich senken--wirft das Schicksal mich--den jungen--/
Quer über seinen Weg! Und mein wird alles: / Das Herz des Sohns, der Tochter--, und die Menge / Vergisst, was er getan, und jaucht nur mir zu--/ Hart--hart geschieht dem alten Mann--er meint, / Er stirbt an mir--soll er mich da noch lieben?!!" (GW, 190.)

Der junge David has a huge cast of characters, but there are only two major female figures, and Paula was undoubtedly the model for both of them. With respect to Ruth, the most obvious similarity is the espousal of a people, a religion, and a cultural heritage not her own; Ruth's
declaration, "Thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God," must have had very special significance for Beer-Hofmann. Like Paula, Ruth represents a kind of Treue that transcends the ancestral ties of blood; she is of this people not by accident of birth, but by volition. Beyond this, Beer-Hofmann's characterization of Ruth as a woman of beauty, quiet poise and serenity, and a certain indomitable quality corresponds in many respects to his descriptions of his wife in Paula, ein Fragment. The stubbornness Ruth shows in refusing to leave Naomi, for example, has its parallel in the sudden strength and stubbornness with which Paula meets her brothers' opposition to her marriage to Beer-Hofmann: "Sie haben 'die Kleine', die mit ihnen zusammen lebt, gern, warnen sie, wollen sie vor mir schützen, sie 'retten', und fassen es nicht, woher ihr mit einem Mal die Kraft kommt, Widerstand zu leisten, alles Eingreifen jäh abzuwehren, jedes Rechenschaftsverlangen stolz zu verweigern--entschlossen, frei, unbekümmert den Weg zu gehen, den zu gehen es sie heisst." (Paula, GW, 788.)\textsuperscript{212} As for physical appearance and bearing, Beer-Hofmann's characterization of Ruth conforms strikingly to the following description of Paula: "Ein heiliges Antlitz--aber nichts in ihm von demütig gehorsamer, zum Himmel aufblickender, von gläubig Frommem goldgekrönter, irdisch funkelnder Heiligkeit--eher, als wären ihre Züge noch eine letzte

\textsuperscript{212} Cf. Ruth's words to Naomi, GW, 89, and Ruth's speech, GW, 303.
zarte Schleier-Hülle über ihrem wahren, nur zu ahnenden Antlitz, das schweigend verschlossen, geheimnisißhütend, von Menschenblicken nie betastbar, darunter ruht: Gottes geliebtes heiliges Werk, aus Seinem Wunsch einmal geworden, immer, still atmend, ihm nah . . ." (GW, 858.)

Scene IV, which presents the meeting of David and Maöcha, is likewise the poet's objectified, fictionalized depiction of his relationship with Paula. Many statements in Paula, ein Fragment reflect Beer-Hofmann's belief that a love like theirs was quite unique, something very few people were ever given to experience. David expresses the same belief: "Maöcha--hör: Wies zwischen uns ist--so--/Einmal in tausend Jahren darf vielleicht/Dies Wunder blühn!" (GW, 229.) The peace and security Beer-Hofmann felt in this union are also expressed in Paula: "... und ich fühle, was für uns auch kommen mag, wenn wir auch in die Fremde müssen--solange meine Hand in ihrer ruhen darf, bin ich geborgen--nichts kann mir geschehen." (GW, 855.) And in Der junge David the poet has David say to Maöcha, "Ich b a r g mich nur in dich--" (GW, 230), and earlier in the scene, "Du nimmst nur meine Hand--und schon/Ist rings gebannt ein Kreis--Vergängliches/Der Welt weicht weit . . ." (GW, 229.) The lines immediately following reflect not only their sense of oneness with each other, but also their feeling of unity with all life and every phenomenon of nature: "... wir schreiten Hand in Hand--/Geschwister--und doch ahnenlos--wir beide--/Am ersten Schöpfungstag." (GW, 229.)
This also has its parallel in Paula: "Und wir beide sind Kinder geblieben, die Welt bestaunend, immer neu sie entdeckend. Alles ist uns Genosse und Gespiele--nie reisst die Gemeinschaft, die uns mit Tieren, Pflanzen, Gestein, dem Rauschen der Ströme und dem lautlosen Zug der Wolken verbindet . . ." (GW, 85f.)

Beer-Hofmann's first glimpse of Paula and the welter of emotions he felt (as described in Paula, ein Fragment) have already been discussed in Chapters I and II, and the passages in question need not be quoted again. But David's description to Serujah of his first glimpse of Mašcha is undoubtedly a poetic representation of Beer-Hofmann's own experience:

. . . zusammen zog sich
Mein Herz, stieg schluchzend in mir auf--im Atem
Entwuchs aus mir--schwang schwerlos sich zu ihr--
Und liess zurück mich, leer--in Schwäche--Schwärze--
Vergehn--'nun sterb ich'--dacht ich--und die Lider
Z w a n g i ch noch einmal auf--und da--
Da k a m ihr Blick zu mir--er kam--und m i t ihm
Kam mir zurück mein Herz--schwoll--schlug und schlug--
Lebendiges Leben--jubelnd--E i n s nur--E i n e s:
'Dies dorten und dies hier--m u s s zueinander!
H i e r--muss ichs halten, bergen, hüten dürfen
Vor Leid--und kann mein Leben tragen n u r--
Wenn d i e s e Augen segnend auf mir ruhn! (GW, 191.)

David's description of Mašcha's physical appearance likewise corresponds to that of Paula ("Fast noch ein Kind . . . ich schied / Die Züge kaum--
den Blick nur--, über mich / Hinaus--ging ruhig er in grosse Ferne!"); in Paula, ein Fragment, the poet describes his wife's unusual gaze in almost identical terms: "Ihr Blick kommt von weither, er steigt aus einer Tiefe auf, die nichts von sich verrät, er trifft, und gleitet durch mich weiter,
zu etwas, hinter mir, über mir, das nur sie allein sieht, von dem nur sie weiß, und das vielleicht mein Schicksal heisst." (GW, 856.)

It is interesting to note that Beer-Hofmann chose to develop his characterization of David (and the other figures of the drama) without using any of the more famous Biblical legends about him in his youth—the humble shepherd boy with his harp, the slaying of Goliath with a sling-shot, etc. When the drama begins, these events have already taken place, and there is virtually no reference to them. These episodes in the David-story are so well known that Beer-Hofmann doubtless felt justified in assuming the reader's familiarity with them, but his selection and organization of the Old Testament material was certainly also a matter of artistic technique. He clearly had no intention of functioning merely as the editor of an already famous myth, but rather selected those elements of the story that would enable him to dramatize creatively the themes that comprised his view of life and the world. In this connection Liptzin quite rightly notes that Beer-Hofmann "is most eloquent when his model does not overwhelms him with too many details."\(^\text{213}\)

In the David-Ma'ácha relationship, for example, Beer-Hofmann wanted to give an artistic recreation of his own experience of love, but this would have been impossible on the basis of the Biblical narrative alone.

\(^{213}\)Solomon Liptzin, Richard Beer-Hofmann, p. 74f.
The Old Testament in fact gives only the most meager information about Maacha: she was the daughter of Talmai, King of Geshur, one of at least five wives David had while he was in Hebron, and the mother of Absalom (II Sam. 3: 3). In Der junge David Maacha becomes the great love of David's life. The love scene between the two and the account in Scene VII of Maacha's death and royal entombment in Geshur are in fact the poet's creation; none of this is mentioned in the Biblical narrative.

There is also the suggestion in Der junge David that Maacha was the first to give David a male heir: "... gehst du zum König--melde: Gott befoand / Michal unwer t, von David zu empfangen! / Maacha, einziges Kind des Thalamai, / Des Königs von Geshur, gebar dem David / Nach einer Tochter--nun auch noch den Erben! / Abschalom heisst er ..." (GW, 113f.) This also represents a deviation from the Biblical account: "And unto David were sons born in Hebron: and his first-born was Amnon, of Ahinoam the Jezreelitess; And his second, Chileab / Daniel/, of Abigail the wife / widow/ of Nabal the Carmelite; and the third, Absalom the son of Maaca ..." (II Sam. 3: 2-3.) The reason for this deviation probably stemmed from Beer-Hofmann's plans for the second drama in the cycle, König David, in which Absalom was to win the hearts of the people from David, as David earlier had won them from Saul. Making Absalom David's heir and favorite son by his beloved wife would certainly have deepened the irony of this situation.
There is likewise nothing in the Biblical account to suggest that Saul's wife, Ahinoam, accompanied him into battle against the Philistines, stayed with him as he died, and then took her own life (see I Sam. 31: 1-6), but the addition of this to the story made it possible for the poet to deal with still another aspect of Treue, the drama's major motif.

As before, Beer-Hofmann also felt it necessary to take certain liberties with respect to time. In Der junge David these changes for the most part are simply a matter of condensation. This was obviously imperative: it would have been impossible to maintain the necessary dramatic tension while conforming to the time sequence of the lengthy narrative in the first and second books of Samuel.

Which episodes and time periods to omit, however, was surely dictated less by the need to preserve dramatic tension than by problems of characterization and the treatment of themes important to the poet. In the drama David's coronation at Hebron (Scene VII) follows closely upon Saul's death and thus suggests that David immediately succeeded Saul as king. According to the Biblical narrative this was not the case: Saul's only surviving son, Ish-bosheth, became King of Israel, and only the tribe of Judah acknowledged David as its ruler (II Sam. 2: 4, 8-11). It was not until seven and a half years later that David was crowned king of all Israel (II Sam. 5: 1-5), and during this period he and the house of Saul were continually at war (II Sam., Chapters 3 and 4). The Old Testament narrative in fact gives every indication of a power struggle--including the defection of Abner, Ish-Bosheth's captain, and his subsequent secret
negotiations with the elders of Israel to persuade them to make David their king. David emerges from this account not as a man who reluctantly allows himself to be drafted by the people, but as a man of strong ambition who wants the crown. None of this, of course, conforms to the image Beer-Hofmann wanted to develop of David: that of a man who sees his election as a state of profound suffering and a burden almost too heavy to be borne, and who has to be persuaded to take the crown. Thus the events of this period were omitted entirely. Probably another reason for the omission of this part of the Biblical account is that it deals with a period of strife and division in Israel, which would have undermined the theme of a unified people and, symbolically, the unity of all men.

Der junge David undeniably has only limited appeal to a twentieth-century audience, but not, as some critics have claimed, because the themes and ideas developed in it are lacking in timeliness. Beer-Hofmann was never in the vanguard of any specific movement for political or social change, but this is not to say that he was indifferent to the events of his time. His many statements on the nature and purpose of art, i.e. his repeated renunciation of art as an esoteric, self-serving phenomenon, and his view of the poet as one called by God, clearly refute any

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suggestion that the David-cycle represents an idle escape into the past. Beer-Hofmann's preoccupation with the history of Israel stemmed in part, but only in part, from personal pride and interest in his Jewish heritage. Beyond this, he--as artist--undoubtedly believed that a dramatization of Jewish history, as he understood and interpreted it, had much to say to modern man about himself, and about life and the world.

What Der junge David does suffer from as a dramatic work of literature is first of all the poet's "interest in the minutia of the Biblical world that goes far beyond the specific needs of the dramatist" (see footnote 189, p. 193). However fascinating these details about dress, social customs, religious rites, etc. may be as a subject of historical or anthropological study (or in an epic work of literature such as Thomas Mann's Joseph-novels) they do not enhance the dramatic recreation of history, if they are allowed to be obtrusive. This is sometimes the case in Der junge David: lengthy stage directions regarding regal dress and priestly raiment, allusions to obscure customs, to the legendary characteristics of the various tribes, etc., too often slow the central action and distract one's attention from it.

In addition the poet assumes a far more intimate knowledge of the Old Testament than most present-day readers actually possess. Without such knowledge, however, the reader is not likely to grasp the full significance of some of the play's lines. The emphasis, for example, with which Timnah says at the close of Scene I that her home is at Endor alerts the
reader to the fact that this information has some special meaning, but one would need more than a passing acquaintance with the Old Testament to realize that she is supposed to be the seeress of Endor to whom Saul later went secretly by night. The full import of Saul's praise of Doeg in Scene II can likewise be appreciated only by the reader who recalls that he was the servant who carried out the massacre of the House of Ahimelech when Saul's other servants refused (I Sam. 22: 17-19). For the reader this problem is solved to some extent by the Biblical references Beer-Hofmann appended to the drama; to solve this problem for the viewer, the appendix would have to be converted into extensive program notes.

The artistic organization and structure of Der junge David remain to be discussed. One of the immediate difficulties that confront one is that the traditional nomenclature of genre is inadequate. The work is usually referred to as drama, and it may properly be regarded as such, but in a sense that requires some qualification. Beer-Hofmann has dispensed with the conventional dramatic division of the material into acts, dividing it instead into seven scenes ("Strasse bei Rahels Grab," "Königszelt in Gibea," "Alter Burgplatz in Bethlehem," "Höhle und Lager am Jordan," "Schlucht in Gilboas Bergen," "Lager am Bach Besor," and "Auf den Wällen

215 At Saul's insistence, she called up the specter of the prophet Samuel, who told Saul of his impending death. (I. Sam. 28: 7-19.)
von Hebron") which he calls Bildern. The word is of the utmost importance, because it indicates what Beer-Hofmann has attempted to do in Der junge David: fuse the customary elements of drama, particularly Handlung, with those of the pageant and the tableau. This means that although there is a central thread of action running through the entire work, it is accompanied in every scene by a vivid picture which represents considerably more than mere background. Moreover, it is not a "still life," but a "moving picture" full of kaleidoscopic color and motion. In Scene III, for example, the development of the central action takes place amid a bustle of widely diverse activities which depict the life of David's family and friends in Bethlehem, and in Scene VII the action is set against the lively and colorful picture of the excited, jostling crowds of people who have come to Hebron for the religious observances and festivities.

Beer-Hofmann's observations on some of the weaknesses of conventional drama, expressed in the letter of 1933 to Erich Kahler, provide an explanation of why he was intent upon achieving this kind of fusion:

Was als Drama sich gebärdet, ist zu oft (auch dort, wo dichterische Werte nicht zu verkennen sind) nur auf neutralem Gelatinboden lebende, von Verstand, bestenfalls von Gefühl, manchmal auch von Phantasie getränkte dramatische Wechselrede grosser, hyper-tropher Mäuler, an denen verkümmerte Körper: Gestalten baumeln. Was dem Zuschauer vorgespielt wird, was der Leser zu lesen erhält, ist ein zweiäänderiger, leichtspielbarer Klavierauszug, meistens klaviermäßig gedacht, am Klavier ersonnen und niedergeschrieben. Dass man das Leben in seiner Fülle redender und stummer Stimmen partitural einzufangen versuchen
muss, davon ist kaum eine Ahnung zu verspüren . . .
Episches--Handlung--und Sprachenelement wollen sich
in anderer, freierer Mischung als bisher im Drama
durchdringen. (GW, 877f.)

The poet's efforts to fuse these elements are more successful in
some scenes of *Der junge David* than in others, i.e. at times the action
and the tableau balance and complement each other, indeed are so skill-
fully blended that they actually become a unified whole, but in some of
the scenes they tend to vie with each other, to the detriment of both.
This happens in Scene III, at least up to the point of David's conversa-
tion with Serujah. It is also true of the first part of Scene VII,
where the minutely detailed "picture" becomes rather wearisome: before
the thread of the *Haupthandlung* is taken up again.

One of the finest scenes of *Der junge David*, by contrast, is "Königs-
zelt in Gibeon" (Scene II). It, too, includes a tableau--which this time
the poet has ingeniously contrived to erect before our eyes, through the
servants who ready the tent for Saul's *Hofsitzung*--but the elements of
pageantry enhance rather than compete with the spoken lines, so that the
action and the characterization of Saul and his family proceed at a
vigorous pace which forestalls any decline in the reader's interest. The
same is true of the very brief but excellent sixth scene, in which the

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216 Cf. also the prose fragment, "Sonnensysteme," written in April
or May of 1930, GW, 626.
news of Saul's death and David's swift departure for Hebron are skillfully complemented by a vignette of the camp life of the soldier. In general, then, the poet is most successful when his pictures of "das Leben in seiner Fülle" are not so insistent or protracted that they threaten to obscure the drama's central action.

3. Vorspiel auf dem Theater zu "König David"

Beer-Hofmann left no better statement of his aesthetic theories and artistic purposes than this Vorspiel, whose external purpose is to bridge the twenty-five-year period between Der junge David and König David. The Vorspiel does outline what has happened to David and the other characters of Der junge David in these intervening years: David's battles and conquests, the building of the palace at Jerusalem, the pomp and splendor of court life, etc. The most important point the poet makes in this part of the Vorspiel is that David as king has become less and less like David the young man of lofty dreams and ideals for himself and his people, and more and more like the bitterly disillusioned Saul, whose waning vitality was matched by his declining political power. The poet emphasizes this by giving King David a certain physical resemblance to his predecessor:

"Und David? -- / Gleicht er noch dem, den man gekrönt in Chebron sah? / Da hielt der Kronreif winddurchnässtes goldnes Haar -- / Nun ists zu feierlicher Locken Prunk erstarrt -- / Die Schläfen / (zögernd, als sage er

[der Prolog] es nur ungern) -- weiss. Der Kronreif--hohe Tiara-- /
Ein Rest von Anmut noch umspielt den Mund—doch hart, / Zu Sturm geballt
die Stirn—/(unwillkürlich die Stimme dämpfend) wie die Schäuls einst
war." (GW, 308f.)

Implicit in all of this is the poet's recognition and resigned ac-
ceptance of the fact that man's active involvement in life, however
desirable, inevitably robs him of the purity and innocence of his youth.
One of Beer-Hofmann's numbered (59) but undated notes on König David
says: "Man soll begreifen, dass absolute Reinheit, für den, der 'tut'
nicht möglich ist. David fühlt als König, stärker noch als Greis,
Sehnsucht nach jener verlorenen Reinheit." 217

The poet, however, makes relatively short shrift of David and the
events that transpired in the first twenty-five years after his corona-
tion, and proceeds with dispatch to what one senses is the real purpose
of this Vorspiel: Beer-Hofmann's apologie of himself as poet.

Initially he speaks in the guise of "Der Prolog," but before the
Vorspiel ends he has abandoned even this transparent disguise. His lines
have an intense earnestness; there is no question that he is giving a
statement of his deepest feelings and convictions about the nature and
purpose of art, the poet and his calling, and his relationship to the
word. The poet has avoided pomposity, however, and given this part of
the Vorspiel both charm and humor by having his wife appear (initially

217 Cited in Sheirich, Beer-Hofmann's "Historie," p. 302. See also
Beer-Hofmann's remarks to Werner Vordriese on this subject in connection
with Der Tod Georger, "Gespräche," p. 132.
as "Frau des Prologs," but when his mask falls, hers of course does, too), and by engaging in a verbal exchange with the audience. The outspoken, highly critical comments which Beer-Hofmann has the audience voice indicate that as a poet he still understood the viewpoint and attitude of the reader or viewer toward literature. Their remarks also show that while he is deeply serious about the convictions he expresses, he does not take himself more seriously than he should.

The opening lines of the poet's conversation with the boy touch upon the use of tableau elements in the drama:

Knabe: . . . sag, kannst du, als Prolog,
   Vom Dichter nicht verlangen, dass er uns doch mehr
   In Bildern zeigt? Ja--ist denn das so schwer? . . .
Prolog: Nicht schwer! --ich brauch nur zu befehlen,
   Und Lampen leuchten milde Mondesnacht,
   Und strahlen blendend grellen Sonnenschein,
   Aus Holzgerüst und trägerischer Leinwand-Pracht
   Ragt Haus, Palast, türmt Berg sich, buscht sich Hain!
   (GW, 31lf.)

In providing this behind-the-scenes glimpse of the technical means of creating stage properties, the poet destroys theatrical illusion. He does so in order to emphasize that the poet must never succumb to the danger of allowing such Bilder to dominate the word itself: "Aus Wort--aus Wort allein--muss ausgehn alle Kraft, / Die Wolke, Wetter, Licht und Finster schafft! / Wort muss euch zwingen, selber Fels zu türmen, / Meer

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Paula's deep distress at being included in the Vorspiel and her ultimate deferral to Beer-Hofmann's wishes are described in Paula, ein Fragment, GW 818-820.
zu erschaun, Flut, Wogen, Branden, Stürmen-- / Wort mit euch ganz allein, in tiefer Einsamkeit / Spricht: 'Werde!'--und um euch wird Raum, wird Zeit! / Niemanden brauchend, nackt, auf sich allein gestellt, / Muss Wort neu schaffen Schein des Scheines dieser Welt!" (GW, 312.)

In acknowledging the playwright's debt to the actor, Beer-Hofmann again refers to his concept of the life and power of the word, independent of its user: "Versteht mich recht: mir kommt nicht in den Sinn, / Erst euer Tun zu nützen, und hochmütig dann / Zu prahlen, dass ich euer nicht bedürfend bin! / Dankbar erkenn ichs: Helfer seid ihr jedem Werke, / Und Wortes Macht wächst hoch, durch eure Macht gemehrt!-- / Doch glaubt: Nur was sein Leben lebt aus e i g n e r Stärke-- / Was e u c h nicht braucht--erst das ist eures Dienens wert!" (GW, 312.) "Dienen" is used here in reference to the actor. It later emerges as the very essence of the poet's calling: urged by the boy to ask the audience what its wishes are, the poet says ("schnell abweisend"), "Nach ihren Wünschen hab ich nicht gelernt zu fragen!" (GW, 313.) At this an angry spectator cries (in lines which show that Beer-Hofmann was well aware of the criticism directed at him by some of his contemporaries): "... Euch ken ich schon! Umbraust von Jubel sein-- / Das passt euch--doch: entgegenkommen? --Nein! / Kein Quentchen opfert man von seinem Eigensinn-- / Man sagt: (nachspottend) 'Ihr müsst mich nehmen, wie ich bin!' / (zornig abferti- gend) Das geht nicht!--Wollt ihr unserm Beifall--nun-- / Dann hat gefügig uns zu dienen euer Tun!" (GW, 313f.) The poet's reply is an
emphatic rejection of l’art pour l’art, but also an unequivocal statement of Beer-Hofmann’s firm belief that the poet’s true service to men lies in his uncompromising service to the word; if he engages in calculated “Beifall-Ernten” he prostitutes his art and betrays his calling:

Euch dient mein Tun—und mehr, als ihr es fasst,
Euch dient es—doch verwehrt ward mir zu fragen,
Ob es euch so gefällt, ob es euch recht!
Herr bin ich, der als Herr dient—nicht als Knecht!
Mein Wort ist nichts als meines Herzens Schlagen,
Und euer Herz zu gleichem Puls zu zwingen—
Ist Amt—ist Dienst—
(in ernstem, unerbittlichem Abweisen)
doch nie von euch mir aufgetragen! (GW, 314.)

The poet’s reply to the spectators who have accused him of Hochmut, Stolz and Hohn reveals his awareness of his own shortcomings, and also expresses his view of both the creation of literature and man’s encounter with it as religious experiences: "Kein Höhmen—nein!—/ Ein Mensch bin ich, voll Fehle, sehr gering—/ Nur ward—zeit meines Lebens—mir verliehn zu tönen, / Wenn rauchend Gottes Sturm durch meine Wipfel ging! / Doch ist SEIN Stürmen über euch wie über mir! / So steh ich hier—/ Und suche nicht nach Gunst in euern Mienen—/ Doch, wollt ihr, sei geteilt mit euch mein Opferbrot—/ Mein Wort und euer Lauschen—beide dienen / An gleichem Altar, drauf—Allen—die Flamme loht!" (GW, 315f.) Whether the reader or viewer actually has this experience depends, of course, on his own receptivity, and the poet’s closing speech is a plea for this: "Du at mend Dunkles drunt, des Züge ich nicht scheide—/
Sei mir, für Stunden nun, mein abendliches 'Du', / Vor dem, vertraut, ich sinne, jubel, leide-- / Verschliess dich nicht vor mir--tu's nicht--hör zu! / Aus mir wogt Wort--lass an dein Herz es branden . . ." (GW, 317.)

Beer-Hofmann also uses the Vorspiel to pay tribute to Paula, causing the spectators to say: "Tausendmal weiser ist die Frau als du!" "Vornehmer auch!" "Die fühlt, was sich hier schickt--was nicht!" (GW, 315.) He also allows her to express her disapproval of their appearing in the Vorspiel as themselves: "Sonst bargs du stolz dich hinter deinem Werk--was zieht / Dich heut hierher? Trittst hin vor alle Welt-- / . . . Beginnen lass!--Ziemt uns noch hier zu stehn? / Komm--lass zurück uns finden doch in unsere Ruh!" (GW, 315.) In view of Beer-Hofmann's practice of extensive revision, it is possible that he added these lines to the Vorspiel after its original completion, i.e. after he had confessed to Paula that he and she were in it. But the account in Paula, ein Fragment, especially Beer-Hofmann's admittedly great reluctance to tell Paula what he had done, suggests that he had anticipated her displeasure.

It is also through his wife that the poet hints at how difficult it is to release the world and the characters he has created. "Gib endlich freie Bahn!" she urges him. "Die du geformt, die Welt--lass wirklich sie nun walten! / Herrschsüchtiger Vormund!--da du sie aus dir / Entliesest, waren mündig die Gestalten! / Sie gehn weit weg und wissen nicht von ihrem Herrn, / Sie wenden nicht den Kopf, wenn du sie rufst-- / Was willst du noch von ihnen?-- / (leise) War nicht in dir / Genug des reinsten
Glücks, da du sie schufst?!) (GW, 314.)

Toward the close of the Vorspiel Beer-Hofmann again takes up the thread of the David-story: "Noch einmal, David, lass von deinen Schultern gleiten / Prunk, Pracht--drin du erstarrst, versteinst-- / Kehr heim, mein David, heim aus fremden Weiten, / Noch einmal leb den Schein von deinen Erdentagen, / Sei wieder, du, begnadet, sündig--stirb wie einst!

..." (GW, 317.) These lines suggest that in König David and Davids Tod Beer-Hofmann intended to trace the re-emergence of David the man from the myth that encompassed him. This is confirmed by the undated Note No. 12 to Davids Tod: "David in manchem schon mythisch bei Lebzeiten. Vielleicht (?) seine Existenz schon ganz mythisch Überkrüstet. Ergreifend dann der Durchbruch des Menschlichen: der altersschwache, hilflose, verzweifelnde, manchmal blasphemische, mitleidswerte Mensch. Vielleicht: Er lässt das prunkvoll geschmückte, starre Gehäuse des eigenen Mythos hinter sich, und entsteigt ihm: ein Leidender, grosser Mensch (gross, weil er so viel leiden konnte)."

König David and Davids Tod, however, remained unfinished and unpublished. The 1963 edition of the collected works includes only the beginning of the first scene of König David. It consists of a song, "Vom

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guten Hirten," which is a free rendering of the Twenty-third Psalm. The poem is dedicated to the memory of Beer-Hofmann's friend and publisher, S. Fischer. The manuscripts of *Die Historie von König David* (including outlines, scenarios, and the poet's voluminous notes on the entire cycle) are now in the Houghton Library of Harvard University with the rest of Beer-Hofmann's *Nachlass.*

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220 "Vom guten Hirten" was first published in *Die Neue Rundschau* XLV (1934).

221 Beer-Hofmann's *Nachlass* is catalogued in the Houghton Library under call number 6 MS Ger 131. After Harvard purchased the *Nachlass* it was discovered that a section of the *Historie*-manuscripts was missing; Beer-Hofmann had entrusted this material to Herbert Steiner, who later presented it to Houghton Library. It is catalogued separately, under call number 6 MS Ger 131.1. A typescript of *Ruth und Boas* is also catalogued separately, under call number 6 MS Ger 131 (20).
CHAPTER IV. CONCLUSION

Having been examined individually, Beer-Hofmann's major works now need to be placed in historical perspective. Several questions must be considered: where and how does Beer-Hofmann fit into his own era? Do his works still have relevance, or are they largely of historical value and interest because they are representative of a particular period or Strömung in the history of literature? Why is it that some of his contemporaries, for example Hofmannsthal and Thomas Mann, are still relatively widely read, while Beer-Hofmann is not?

As Beer-Hofmann remarked more than once, he and his contemporaries stood at the close of one age and the beginning of another. Rapid industrialization, sharply increasing materialism, the rise of militarism, the steady advance of technology, the ascendance of psychology and the decline of religion—all were effecting drastic and in many respects ominous changes, not only in the visible, tangible aspects of the Western world, but also in the customs and conventions of society and in Western man's beliefs, views, and attitudes toward virtually every facet of life.

Those who found the changes ominous reacted in somewhat different ways: Neo-Impressionism, Symbolism, Neo-Romanticism, and Jugendstil were simultaneous or overlapping phenomena. But what Jost Hermand has said about Jugendstil applies to a considerable degree to all of them:
One scarcely needs to add that these observations are highly applicable to Beer-Hofmann. That his life, until 1939, was one of "Sekurität," of leisurely pursuits made possible by affluence, has been shown by the detailed biography of Chapter I. But as I have attempted to show in the examination of Beer-Hofmann's works, he recognized early that "die Flucht aus dem Leben" was a cul-de-sac, and he soon moved beyond the "Dandy- und Asthetentum" of his young adulthood. This is already evident by 1900, when Der Tod George was published. Moreover, the calmness and equanimity with which the elderly Beer-Hofmann bore his exile and the drastic reversal of his financial circumstances after a lifetime of affluence is proof

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that dandyism and superficial aestheticism were not the real essence of the man. 223

Nevertheless, the very subject matter of his works is indicative of what continued to be his prevailing interests and concerns: first of all, the artist's existence (including the problem of his differentness from other men) and the process of poetic creation. This is clearly evident in both the early works and the late ones: the hero of Der Tod Georgs has no specific vocation that we learn of, but he is a representative of the artist in temperament, personality, and aesthetic sensibilities, and on one level of interpretation Jakob's Traum and Der junge David are allegories of the poet and his calling. Many of the lyric poems also deal with this subject (the work of art and the artist's task): "Mit einem kleinen silbernen Spiegel" (1904), "Der einsame Weg" (1905), "Der Beschworung" (1929), "Erschnt Insel" (1936), and the undated poems "Hera- kleitische Paraphrase" and "Der Künstler spricht." In addition, love (with emphasis on the erotic variety) and death, beauty in all its mani- festations, and the dreams and phantasies of the mind provided Beer- Hofmann his subject matter.

At no time in his life was he drawn to the subjects that preoccupied the Naturalists so exclusively (although--ironically--in their way his

works are as programmatic as theirs): poverty, squalor, the exploitation of the working class, or other social problems. When he did address himself to problems that had social implications (e.g. Anti-Semitism), it was indirectly, in the form of an allegory (Jaßkobs Traum). Beer-Hofmann's heroes are never the poor and downtrodden, or the exploited working class; he takes us into no wretched hovels that smell of cabbage, sweat, and dirt. This does not necessarily mean that he was less concerned about the social problems of his day than the Naturalists were; it does mean that he differed sharply from them in his view of what constituted suitable subject matter for the work of art, to say nothing of his view of how that subject matter should be presented. Aside from the fact that the artist "muss, und nicht anders kann," Beer-Hofmann, it will be recalled, believed that the artist's only justification for his activity—which would otherwise be "frevelhaft"—was that "er anderen Menschen hilft, da er ihnen Schönes vermittelt." (See Chapter I, p. 17. Italics mine.)

This is not to say that Beer-Hofmann's works ignore the existence of suffering and ugliness. On the contrary, they sometimes depict it in very graphic detail. The description of the aged and infirm evoked by the sight of the hideous masks above the toy shop entrance in Der Tod Georgs is a good example. The description could not be more vivid, yet it is somehow detached, i.e. once-removed. This is not as paradoxical as it sounds. It is a matter of the perspective the author has used. The major emphasis in this passage is not on the aged themselves, but on
Paul's **impression** of them. However graphically they are depicted, our vision of them is filtered through the eyes and mind of Paul. The same is true of the scene in which Charolais imagines the deterioration of his father's corpse: repulsively exact though the depiction is, the focal point of our attention is still Charolais and the pain and grief his mental images are causing him.

No age is totally static, of course, but an era of very rapid and all-encompassing change such as Beer-Hofmann's confronts the writer with some special problems that relate not only to the "what," but also the "how" of artistic creation. Time-honored forms and conventions were rapidly losing their validity; once meaningful, they were now becoming empty Gewohnheitsformen. The writer must somehow cope with this, if his work is to have meaning, to say nothing of a lasting place in the history of literature. Thomas Mann dealt with the problem by ironizing the deteriorating forms and conventions, and consequently even his early work has considerable relevance for the modern reader. The life of leisure and cultivation of aesthetic pleasures depicted in *Der Tod Georgs* is no more remote from the present-day reader than the life of the patrician North German Bürgertum in *Buddenbrooks* (published, like Beer-Hofmann's novel, in 1900); but the "liebliche Ironie" with which Thomas Mann treats this life and its increasingly hollow conventions is a successful technique that makes his novel seem much less dated than *Der Tod Georgs*. 
Beer-Hofmann was no less keenly aware of the increasing emptiness of traditional forms and of the deterioration of language than his contemporaries were, and he fully shared their concern. But he attempted to cope with the problem in a different way. He did not succeed, despite the very considerable talent that much of his work shows. Fairness dictates an acknowledgment that he was not the sole cause of his own failure; the view of life and the universal order as organic, abiding, and just was already in its demise at the turn of the century, and any attempt to resuscitate it was doomed from the outset. Breathing fire into cold ash, as Steiner observed, is impossible. Hofmannsthal's well-known remark, "Zwischen der Zeit, in der wir jung waren, und heute, liegt ein Abgrund, und einer, dessen Ränder nicht einmal fest sind, sondern der stündlich weiter um sich frisst," was made in 1927. If World War I had already made the kind of life depicted in Der Tod Georgs seem very remote and irrelevant, how much more so it must seem today. As for Paul's resounding affirmation of faith in a just world order: if in the early part of this century it was already difficult to accept the contention that things happen as they are meant to, it became virtually impossible after the holocaust of World War II and the systematic extinction of human beings on a scale that utterly staggers the imagination. With reference to the David-cycle it was maintained in Chapter III that Beer-Hofmann's preoccupation with Jewish history was not an idle escape from the ugly present into a rich and colorful past, and I believe this to be true. Die Historie von König David is no flight into a beautiful realm of fantasy where all
things are untouched by life "und sein heisser Atem." Indeed, suffering
is one of the fundamental themes of the work. Beer-Hofmann clearly be-
lieved that the David-cycle had relevance, that it could tell the
twentieth-century reader or theatre-goer much about life and the human
condition. But the point is, not very many other people thought so.

The foregoing has explored the causes of the poet's failure in terms
of audience or reading public. But there were other reasons for Beer-
Hofmann's lack of success, reasons of language, style, and technique.
In discussing them, this observation may serve as a starting point: Beer-
Hofmann was not, nor ever really cared to be, a master of the art of
saying a great deal with very few words. In his determination to render
every facet of a phenomenon or an experience, every nuance of an impression
or a sensation, he is often verbose. Adjective is piled upon adjective,
the expression of an idea, an impression, an experience is interrupted
repeatedly by interjections, by qualifying or modifying elements of one
kind or another. 224 The very wordiness of such passages defeats their

224 Some examples: "Zwischen regenschweren rostbraun gerandeten Wolkem
schwamm der Mond, und von ihm floss Licht über die Dächer und warf sich
von vorspringenden Rinnen jäh zu Boden, die Mauern im Dunkel lassend.
Über den feuchten Auen am Fluss lag ein zarter blauer Hauch, der wie lauer
Atem aus der Erde in die kühle Nacht zu strömen schien. Hart am Weg wanden
sich in dunklem Knäuel Baumstämme--wie Schlangenleiber gefleckt vom Mond-
licht, das sickernd durch die Lücken des Blattwerks rann." (Der Tod Georges,
GW, 526f.) "... was sonst gewesen-- / Bevor sie kam--verblaßte, ward
zu Rauch-- / Versank im Nebel, zeitlos, wirr--mit ihr erst / Beginn's von
neuem! Alles--Stunden, Tage-- / Es grenzte sich von neuem--schwoll--
author’s purpose. He does not convince us, although (indeed because) he tries very hard to do so. The principal reason for the reader’s skepticism is that such language inescapably evokes the impression of Manierismus, which in fact is one of the most widely-noted characteristics of this era. In his discussion of Dolf Sternberger’s Jugendstil-essay (which appeared in Die Neue Rundschau in 1934), Hermand says: "... was er über das verkrampfte 'Stilwollen' dieser Arta sagt, lässt sich gar nicht genug unterstreichen. Ein künstlich gewollter Stil ist für ihn von vornherein eine Absurdität und führt notwendig zur Stillosigkeit..." 225 Curt erfüllte / Sich neu mit ihrem Tun, mit Blicken, Worten! / ... Sie lächelte, und in mich floss der Friede / Der vielen, vielen Tage, die bei Euch / Sie aufwuchs--ein Geschöpf, genährt an Reinem, / Gereift an Eurer Liebe milder Sonne! / ... ich sah / In ihren Augen mich--und tief dazuhinter, / Versenkt am Grund, bereit sich mir zu schenken: / Reich, dunkel, unerschöpflich--ihr Sein!" (Der Graf von Charolais, GW, 147f.) "Da stiegen junge helle Götter auf / Und heilig frevelnd, warfen sie darnieder / Das Ungeheure, dem sie eh’ entboren; / Und schufen Tag und Nacht und Himmelszelt / Und banden der Gestirne Bahn mit Eiden. / Den Fels zu Uru-Schalim aber rissen / Sie auf, mit ihrem Blitz, zu einer Kluft, / Die bis zum Erdennabel klafft, und warfen / Das Blutige, Verstümmelte, Besiegte-- / Hinein! Dort liegt’s! Und dass es nicht entweicht, / Schoss, feurig sausend, in gewaltiger Nacht, / Ein Stein, von Flammensternen stammend, nieder / Und sank als glühend Siegel auf die Kluft!" (Jaakobs Traum, GW, 39.) "Ein Sturz von Tränen, wagenab sich wehend / Und aus des goldenen Beckens Wasser wieder / Aufrauschend: Tönend wunderbare Weise, / Die gross einhertrat, dunkles Wehe dröhnnend / Und hohe heilige Feier, und mein Herz zwang, / Selig gehorchend ihrem Mab, zu schlagen! / Da schluchzte ich auf: 'Wer ist der, dessen Weinen / Also Musik wird?' Näher neigt ich mich, / Zu sehn--und sah: Verfallenes Antlitz--graу, / Umfurcht von Leid und Alter, Munde und Augen-- / Doch drüher herrschend, stolz und rein geblieben: / Die Stirn! ... ." (Der junge David, GW, 149.)

225 Jost Hermand, "Jugendstil," p. 82.
Hohoff names Beer-Hofmann, Robert Walser, and Caesar Flaischlen as three primary prose writers of Jugendstil, "da sie ständig dazu neigen, die Sprache rein dekorativ, als Verzierung, als Ornament zu verwenden." 226 This, of course, would apply above all to Der Tod Georgs, but it was a characteristic of the later works, too, where "geblümte Rede" is more the rule than the exception.

Beer-Hofmann's pronounced use of symbols and metaphors is one aspect of this problem that requires special consideration. 227 His language is quite laden with metaphors, but they are usually more "blumig" than "kühn": "Wie ein Gitter von schwarzen Herzen sah das Laub der Linde vor dem Fenster aus" (Der Tod Georgs, GW, 529); "Wie Wurzeln eines absterbenden Baumes verdorrt sich aus der Erde recken, ästelte sich, freiliegend, um ihre magern Arme ein blaues Netz knolliger Adern" (Der Tod Georgs, GW, 595); "träumen an der Erde Brüsten," "gereift an Eurer Liebe milder Sonne" (Der Graf von Charolais, GW, 382, 449); "Wenn unabwendbar über uns jetzt einer / Die eisigen schweren schwarzen Flügel schlägt" (Der junge David, GW, 231). But as Harald Weinrich points out, "... wir dürfen uns durch die Hyperbolik nicht beeindrucken lassen. Nicht um

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226 *Dichtung und Dichter der Zeit*, p. 127.

227 The discussion will not include a systematic analysis of the individual symbols, since Otto Oberholzer's book, *Richard Beer-Hofmann*, contains an exhaustive investigation of the recurring symbols in the poet's *Gesamtwerk*.
ihretwillen ist die Metapher kühn. Ein 'Berg Schulden', ein 'Meer von Tränen', ein 'Kerl wie ein Baum', das zu sagen ist hyperbolisch, aber alles andere als kühn. Die Kühnheit liegt . . . in der geringen Bildspanne, die uns zur Wahrnehmung der Widersprüchlichkeit zwingt. Aber der ganze Kontext ist zu berücksichtigen, und zwar ein Kontext, der nicht zu knapp bemessen ist . . . Neben dem kleinen Metaphernrätsel steht sofort die Auflösung. Allein aus diesem Grunde schon ist die Metapher nicht kühn.\textsuperscript{228} The use of particles (such as "wie") also lessens the impact of a metaphor, as Weinrich shows.\textsuperscript{229}

It was said in Chapter II (with reference to the development of the plot) that Beer-Hofmann presupposed a much more sophisticated readership than earlier writers generally did. One wishes that he had presupposed the same degree of sophistication where metaphors and symbols are concerned. All too often he immediately solves his "metaphorical riddles" for the reader, and his symbols are often very obtrusive. The most glaring example is doubtless the erotic symbolism of the temple-episode in Der Tod Georgs. Not only the countless man-made symbols of the worshippers are described, but the very landscape is rendered in terms of erotic symbolism (e.g. "Reich gewässert breitete sich die Wiese bis an

\textsuperscript{228} Harald Weinrich, "Die Semantik der kühnen Metapher," Deutsche Vierteljahresschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte XXXVII (1963), 341.

\textsuperscript{229}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 331.
die dampfende Kluft," Dann quoll die Menge der Betenden aus dem Tempel ... und überwogte die Wiese, dass unter den Tritten die saft-trunkenen Stengel der Blumen knirschend brannten," etc., GW, 546ff.)

But used so insistently, the symbol loses much of its dynamic, productive character; it no longer allows the reader to be a "co-creator."²³⁰ Symbolism at its best "is not dependent upon a key, a formula, an intricate combination accessible only to the highly sophisticated mind, or perhaps invented by it."²³¹ But neither should it spell itself out:

"The symbol is capable of linking up the general with the specific, the universal with the temporal, the eternal with the accidental, the infinite with the finite ... A successful, that is poetic, symbol will intimate this nexus through context; it will not articulate it, for 'it is the essence of poetry to be ambiguous'."²³² Perhaps the most disturbing thing about Beer-Hofmann's symbolism is that much of the time it lacks this ambiguity.

For reasons both within and beyond his control, then, Beer-Hofmann's artistic efforts to revitalize a dying view of life and the world must be regarded as "a cause that failed." Viewed historically, however, his


²³¹Ibid., pp. 53-54.

²³²Ibid., p. 37.
early work, especially Der Tod Georgs, can scarcely be over-rated in terms of its usefulness to the student of literature: one could not ask for a work more representative than this one is of the Jugendstil-era, a period in the history of art and literature that is much more interesting for its peculiarities than for its "Ewigkeitscharakter."
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