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HUGO VON HOFMANNSTHAL'S JUDGEMENTS ON CONTEMPORARY ART: 1891-1902

ABSTRACT

In order to provide the background for Hofmannsthal's judgements on contemporary art, a brief survey of the history of art in the last quarter of the nineteenth century is given in part I. His interest in certain artists or aspects of art, indicated in part I, are substantiated and elaborated on with the help of biographical details in part II. Hofmannsthal's essays on the subject of art, written in the years 1891-1902, are examined in part III, and an attempt is made to relate his judgements on contemporary art to his spiritual development as a creative writer.

HOFMANNSTHAL'S JUDGEMENTS ON ART: 1891-1902.

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ON CONTEMPORARY ART: 1891-1902.

by

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I. A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE HISTORY OF ART IN THE LAST QUARTER OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

1. Introduction

Hugo von Hofmannsthal's interest in contemporary art is evident in his critical work, correspondences and diaries and can be clearly discerned in much of his creative work. He was also acquainted with a number of artists and patrons of fine art. Hofmannsthal was born into a time of transition in the field of the fine arts; the last quarter of the 19th century witnessed a variety of styles and new developments not only in Europe but as far afield as Chicago and Moscow. These changes were taking place simultaneously and though they had different aims and different methods they had two major points of contact. The new movements in art were, in their diverse forms, a reaction to the academic historicism of the 19th century which produced little that was original and was content to cater to the sentimentality and the idealism of the European public by "battle-scenes and landscapes, by statues and paintings celebrating the work, the achievements, the power and the glory of the regime to which [the artist] belonged, and of its leading figures, its favourite sons and daughters."¹

Despite artists like the early Monet (*Le déjeuner sur l'herbe* 1866), Manet, Degas, Pissarro, Leibl, Liebermann and Whistler the dominant taste is for academicians, anecdotal art: for Lenbach and Thoma in Germany; for the painters of the Royal Academy in England such as Edward John Poynter and William Powell Frith; for Couture, Delaroche, Bouguereau in France where even Delacroix had to fight for years before he was admitted to the Académie des Beaux-Arts, which, under the dictatorship of David and then

of Ingres, completely dominated artistic life in France. Secondly, the movements beginning to take shape in the second half of the 19th century were all preparing the way for the modern movements of the 20th century: Expressionism and abstract art. In this way, Naturalism, Impressionism, Symbolism, the Nabis and Art Nouveau (Jugendstil) are part of that greater chain in the "living metamorphosis of art" in which each style "grows out of the one that preceded it and begins immediately to develop the seeds of the one that is destined to replace it. The origins of Art Nouveau are thus to be found in historicism, just as Art Nouveau later became the point of departure of modern art, transcending itself with new aims and solutions."²

Hofmannsthal's interest in art was not an isolated and superficial interest but should be seen in the context of his basic, and for his creative work so essential, concern for beauty and his preoccupation with the problem of art and life, of the aesthetic and the ethical. We shall see, therefore, that Hofmannsthal examines works of art to discover what is artificial in them and what is really experienced. He is searching for their characteristic essence. In this way his particular demands from a work of art were in line with the feelings and aims of the new movements in art which were attempting to throw off the bonds of historical imitation and tried to express what the artist had to say in new ways. It was particularly the early Hofmannsthal, up to the time of the Chandos Brief (1902), whose interest in the art of his own time had this concern for the essence in the beauty of a work of art. He was searching for a satisfactory conciliation between art and life. There is no doubt that the general artistic and

intellectual climate in his native Vienna and in the rest of Europe had a large part in his artistic development and that the interest for the Impressionists, and especially for the Symbolists and Art Nouveau was, like anglophilia, the fashionable must for the intellectual and social élites in the Europe of the 1890's. The few years leading up to the so-called 'crisis' of 1902 already indicate that Hofmannsthal had come to terms with the problem of art and life as far as the fine arts were concerned. By 1895-6 his essays on art indicate that the aesthetic way of life and everything that is artificial or rigid in art is rejected. This is reinforced in other essays not specifically on art. This rejection was, of course, already suggested in the earlier essays but there it was not so clearly stated and was coupled with a sympathetic appreciation of the aesthete's view of life. This is the cause of Hofmannsthal's dilemma; he is attracted to the refined sensibility but at the same time is wary of the gap this causes between the aesthete and life. (Even in this very personal problem Hofmannsthal demonstrates the characteristic polarity inherent in aesthetic movements such as the Jugendstil, l'art pour l'art and so forth, for these, as Dominik Jost points out,³ are elliptical styles.) Once Hofmannsthal's enthusiasm (an inner participation) for the 'raffinement' of the aesthete-artist is overcome his doubts about the adequacy of language to express refined sensations, fleeting impressions, and spiritual values assert themselves. These doubts are clearly there already in 1896, in the essay "Englischer Stil", expressed in words similar to those in "Ein Brief". It is, therefore, suggested that the problem of art and life had a large part to play in the crisis Hofmannsthal experienced at the turn of the century. After this crisis Hofmannsthal's attitude to art changes; he turns more and

more towards music and is deeply concerned with the general cultural life of his time and of a cultural renewal after the first world war. Any interest on his part in the new movements of Expressionism and abstract art is hardly documented in his works (though certain principles of abstract art are indicated in some of his essays on art - as will be shown later) and it seems as if the mature man had passed beyond the enthusiastic, sympathetic appreciation of the rich variety of artistic expression in his youth, though naturally, this appreciation was assimilated into his personality as an artist. The difference in his attitude after 1902 is clearly seen in a comparison of his early essays on English art or the Vienna Secession with his experience of Van Gogh as described in the fourth of the "Briefe des Zurückgekehrten".⁴

2. The situation before Art Nouveau

In order to show and discuss Hofmannsthal's opinions on art up to 1902 it is necessary to outline the background of the history of art in the second half of the 19th century. This brief survey is, therefore, not a complete account of the artistic events and personalities of the time for mainly those movements, ideas and artists are included which have special significance for the poet. Thus, although Naturalism and Courbet's realism (as described in the manifesto of 1855) were the first signs of the break-away from the academic tradition, they are here omitted as they play no role in Hofmannsthal's attitudes to contemporary art. In any case Hofmannsthal's major interests centred around the Impressionists and Art Nouveau or Jugendstil.

All the artistic movements since the mid 19th century "share a common tendency to react against prevailing academic tradition and its historical prototypes"⁵. Naturalism was the first breakaway from the eclecticism of the 19th century. Impressionism was essentially related to Naturalism for it, too, attempted to liberate paintings from a historical and philosophical content in order to concentrate on what the eye saw. What distinguishes it from Naturalism, however, is the emphasis placed on "the relationship between consciousness and the mobility and diffidence of the elements, their changes in time, and ~~everything that~~, in our cosmic immanence, eludes fixation, contour, massive crystallization and angularity."⁶ Impressionism was mainly a French movement which had its antecedents in the Barbizon school and its plein-airism and in the English painters Turner and Constable. The term "Impressionist" was meant to be a term of ridicule (taken from the title of one of Monet's paintings) as the efforts of the group were decried. Even Richard Hamann, in the book he wrote with Jost Hermand, is completely negative in his evaluation of the Impressionists when he writes: "Man verlangt von der Kunst nicht mehr ein umfassendes Spiegelbild des Wahren und genau Erfassten, sondern begnügt sich mit Andeutungsreizen, deren geschmäcklerische Intensität weder den Geist noch die Seele strapaziert."⁷ Yet Impressionism was one of the manifestations of a general sensitivity in all the arts at the end of the 19th century. While Impressionism was mainly French, Symbolism, which had a similar taste for the ephemeral, the flexible, the vital was an international phenomenon though its origins (mainly literary) were also French. Symbolism and, with it, Synthetism were movements simultaneous with Impressionism, though they represented a break from the naturalistic tendencies of the latter. The

painters and poets of these movements did not want to represent the exterior world faithfully, they "were united in seeking to convey the uncommon perceptions of dreams and fantasies through symbolic allusion."⁸ It is evident that this is the point at which Hofmannsthal's real interests and sympathies in contemporary art begin for his spiritual kinship with the Symbolists is clear. Baudelaire, Rimbaud, Verlaine, Mallarmé and Maeterlinck (whom the early Hofmannsthal admired greatly) were the literary initiators of the movement and the year 1886 may be said to be the conscious starting point of it. In this year (it was the year of Van Gogh's arrival in Paris) J. Moréas published a manifesto in Le Figaro declaring the aims of the new movement: "The essential aim of our art is to objectify the subjective (the externalization of the Idea) instead of subjectifying the objective (nature seen through the eyes of temperament)."⁹ The admiration for artifice, dreams and imagination was characteristic of the mystic and theosophic tendencies of Symbolism. 1886 was also the year when the review Le Symboliste was founded as well as other Symbolist periodicals, such as La Pléiade, Le Décadent, La Vogue. Contributors to these included Gérard de Nerval, Baudelaire, Villiers de l'Isle Adam, Verlaine, Rimbaud, Mallarmé, Huysmans, Maeterlinck, Gide, Valéry. The next few years produced several more literary and artistic reviews: in 1890 Mercure de France and in 1891 La Revue Blanche. George and his circle greatly admired and were influenced by the Symbolists and attempted to cultivate ideals of art similar to those expressed by them. Hofmannsthal first met George in 1891 and though Hofmannsthal recoiled from a personal friendship with George he agreed to contribute to the Blätter für die Kunst.

Three isolated figures in particular were influenced by the Symbolist ideas: Gustave Moreau (1826-1898), Puvis de Chavannes (1824-1898) and Odilon Redon (1840-1916). Matisse, Rouault, Dufy and Braque all came out of Moreau's studio. Moreau's paintings are sombre, mysterious and use rich colours. He, like Puvis, was of an earlier generation than the Impressionists and two generations earlier than the Synthetists and the Art Nouveau painters so that his masters were David and Ingres but his subjects were taken from mythology. Puvis de Chavannes's teacher had been Delacroix and his use of colour, line and composition are after the manner of the great Florentine fresco-painters; his style is monumental. His subject matter is often religious and has a dreamy quality. He and Moreau were both acceptable academicians but were also admired by the young painters of the new movements. Puvis, in particular, was a friend and supporter of many of the Impressionists when these were refused by the Salon and was admired by many of the Art Nouveau painters. In the same way he was admired by Hofmannsthal. Odilon Redon, a pupil of Moreau's, was a recluse who loved introspection and his paintings are full of visions, dreams and almost surrealist hallucinations. How far he is from the historicism of a Gérôme or a Couture or even from the realism of Courbet is shown in his views on an Impressionist exhibition. This passage is particularly interesting for it expresses Redon's own attitude to painting as well as that of other Symbolists or of other contemporary painters such as the Nabis. Impressionism, he says,

"...ist eine sehr berechtigte Malweise, wenn er sich vor allem mit der Darstellung von äusserlichen Gegenständen unter freiem Himmel befasst. Doch glaube ich nicht, dass das, was im Hirn eines

Menschen vorgeht, der nachdenkt und auf seine inneren Stimmen lauscht - oder gar, dass Gedanken als solche - viel gewinnen können von einer Tendenz, die allein das Äusserliche betrachtet. Im Gegenteil, nur im Hell-Dunkel äussert sich das Leben ... Der Mensch ist ein denkendes Wesen! Der Mensch wird stets da sein - welche Rolle auch immer das Licht spielt, es kann ihn nicht ausschalten. Im Gegenteil, die Zukunft gehört einer subjektiven Welt."¹⁰

He sees the limitations of Impressionism in its being an open air style, its emphasis on the play of light. Life expresses itself in the chiaroscuro, he says, and certainly this is true of his own visionary paintings as it is also characteristic of Symbolist poetry.

Between 1885-1895 Symbolism gained many followers in Western Europe: in Belgium Verhaeren and Khnopff (1858-1921) especially were greatly influenced by this style. Khnopff was nurtured in the school of Moreau as well as that of the Pre-Raphaelites and Burne-Jones in particular. Khnopff was also an Art Nouveau artist and will be discussed later on as such. In Holland Toorop (1858-1928) was influenced by the Symbolist style and in Germany and Austria Symbolism is practically synonymous with Jugendstil and the Munich and Vienna Secessions. Here other elements were added and so the style was superceded. Symbolism did much to free the arts from their academic bondage and also from Impressionist sensuality. There was a close interplay between all the arts; poetry, drama, music, painting and architecture. Hofmannsthal himself was aware of this (see p.28 below). Despite the fact that Symbolism was not one of the sources of 20th century painting as Emile Langui comments¹¹, for genuine plastic emotion was missing

from painting it played a very essential part in the artistic trends at the turn of the century and gave expression to those basic sentiments which we find in the other movements that were struggling against tradition. Now the painter can create his own reality from within himself and he draws, depending on his temperament from dreams, legends, mystical and religious experiences, ancient myths, medieval miracles and generally from the world of the fantasy. Hofmannsthal appears particularly interested in those painters in whose work he senses a genuine "Innenleben". Many of these (Böcklin and Stuck) could only give expression to a world of very personal emotion and thought by using dream-like situations with mystical or fantastic creatures. With this change in the subject matter of artistic expression a change in the use of colour was also necessary. Here, Symbolism had not gone far enough. This was felt by a group of artists who at first exhibited with the Impressionists but turned more and more away from them. These artists called themselves Synthetists and their spokesman was Emile Bernard (1868-1941), though their most important exponent was Gauguin. The group insisted on a decorative (and abstract) use of colour combined with the use of symbols in an effort to achieve a synthesis between form and colour. It was mainly in his Brittany period that Gauguin was associated with Bernard, Anquetin, Seguin and Serusier, and Pont-Aven became the centre of activities for the group. Even Van Gogh was in contact with them.

An emphasis on the decorative element and the use of symbols connects the Symbolists and especially the Synthetists to another group of artists, the Nabis. (The word "Nabi" is a Hebrew word meaning prophet and suggests the slightly esoteric quality of the movement; it was first used by the poet Cazalis in 1889 to describe a group of artists at the Académie Julien

in Paris.) The Nabis achieved, according to Emile Langui¹², what the Symbolists still lacked, that is, they liberated colour in painting. It was not sufficient to liberate the mind or feelings, colour is the essentially "painterly" element in a work of art. Muther, in his detailed history of the art of the 19th century explains how the attitude to colour, like the subject matter of a painting and the emotions expressed in it, necessarily had to change:

"Auch in ihrer Farbenanschauung bewegte sich die moderne Malerei in steil aufsteigender Linie. Zunächst ganz unmalerisch, gab sie grossartige Illustrationen zu moderner Gelehrsamkeit, die nur durch ihren gedankenhaften Inhalt fesseln. Dann befreite sie sich aus dem Dienste der Wissenschaft und lernte die Farbe als ihr eigenes Ausdrucksmittel kennen ... Und nun, nachdem die Hellmalerei ein differenziertes Farbensehen lehrt, nachdem man alle Kraft eingesetzt, den schwierigsten Elementen der Erscheinungswelt, Luft, Licht und Farbe bis zur äussersten Wirklichkeitsnachahmung beizukommen, vollzieht sich der letzte entscheidendste Schritt: man geht von der mehr objectiven Wiedergabe des Natureindrucks zur freien, rein dichterisch symphonischen Behandlung der Farben über."¹³

In 1888 a group of artists collected around Serusier at the Académie Julien. Serusier was one of the artists of the Pont-Aven group and Gauguin's influence as well as that of Degas and of Japanese prints is clearly felt in the work of this group. To it belonged a number of painters who had been fellow pupils of Serusier at the Académie including Bonnard (1867-1947), Vuillard (1868-1940), Paul Ranson, Felix Vallotton and Maurice Denis (1870-

1943) who became the theorist of the group. Hofmannsthal was an admirer of Denis and had the opportunity of buying one of his paintings through Eberhard von Bodenhausen in 1904.¹⁴ At later points other artists such as the Dutchman Jan Verkade, the Hungarian József Rippl-Ronai and Aristide Maillol (1861-1944) also were associated with the group. The art of the Nabis was also rooted in symbolism, it was highly intellectual and exclusive and had Mallarmé as its chief deity. The group disavowed the realism of Impressionism whose goal was still the imitation of matter. For them "art was above all a means of expression, a creation of (their) spirit of which nature is only an occasion".¹⁵ The group also anticipated the arts and crafts aspect of Art Nouveau; it was Bonnard's idea that the decaying culture of Europe could be saved by some form of art which was associated mainly with craftsmanship, so he, Denis, Ranson and Vallotton designed tapestries. Maillol also tried his hand at this. The Nabis exhibited regularly between 1891-1900, periodically illustrated the Revue Blanche of the Natanson brothers and designed scenery for the Théâtre de l'Oeuvre which was established in 1890 and staged modern plays, mainly those of Ibsen. (Other artists such as Toulouse-Lautrec and Munch were also associated with this theatre, which Hofmannsthal had occasion to visit in 1900 while he was in Paris for the world fair.) It must be borne in mind that Symbolism, Synthetism and the Nabi movement were contemporary with Impressionism, although the painters of the latter were born a generation earlier. Despite the fact that there were all these new departures from Impressionism, with the exception of poets and writers such as Baudelaire, Mallarmé, Huysmans and Zola and of a very few art critics like Muther and Meier-Graefe, even Impressionism itself was completely decried and misunderstood.

The famous Ruskin versus Whistler trial in 1877 in London is a good case in point.¹⁶ So is the occurrence at the Paris World Exhibition of 1900 which is recounted by Cassou: when Gerome, a member of the Institut, that is, an accepted contemporary artist, was conducting the President of the Republic on the official tour of the Palace of Painting, he barred the President from entering the Impressionist room saying, "Go no further Monsieur le Président, France is here dishonoured".¹⁷

3. Origins and general development of Art Nouveau

There was yet another artistic movement in Europe at the turn of the century which had three things in common with the movements described above. This was Art Nouveau or as it was variously known: Jugendstil in Germany (after the periodical Jugend which appeared in Munich in 1896); Stile Liberty in Italy (after Mr. Lazenby Liberty's store in London where printed cloths designed by William Morris and others were sold); Le Style Moderne in France; Sezessionstil in Austria, or Modernista in Spain. The three elements Art Nouveau had in common with the movements described above were: it was another step in the general liberation from the traditions of the past, from the imitation of historicism; it continued the trend towards the symbolic use of line and colour though carried this further to a more or less abstract ornamentation; and, finally, like its predecessors and contemporaries, it was generally negatively criticised.

Art Nouveau differed, however, from Symbolism and the Nabis in a number of ways. It was more widely international than the other movements and this in itself indicates that it was more nearly an expression of the

atmosphere of the fin-de-siècle: it has something of the precious, the aesthetic, the rarified about it especially because of its association with names such as Oscar Wilde and Beardsley; with Japanese prints and Chinese porcelain; with the era of the Yellow Book, the Peacock Room and the murals or mosaics of Klimt; the melancholy and languorous heads of Khnopff or the lilies, the swans, the nymphs of tapestries and book illustrations; because of its association with the extravagant floral jewellery of Lalique or the iridescent Favrile glass of Tiffany; the curvilinear but functional interiors of Van de Velde and Macintosh; the architectural designs of Gaudi; the music of Debussy and Richard Strauss; and because of its general association with the decadent aesthete and the dandy. These elements in themselves show one of the main characteristics of this new style: it was not so much a style in painting as a style of life. Indeed, one of the essential concerns of the artist of the 1890's was the concern with life (Hofmannsthal's concern with this will be noted continually in the essays on art), this is why he attempted to penetrate all aspects of life and this is why he attempted to achieve a totality in artistic expression (the "Gesamtkunstwerk"). And so one finds an attempted synthesis between different art forms; an artist such as Van de Velde, for instance, designs not only the furniture for a room - to match naturally the shape of the room itself and the use to which it is going to be put - but the tapestries, the ornaments right down to the ashtrays. Or musicians and poets collaborated as in the case of Debussy's setting of Mallarmé's L'Après-midi d'un Faune or of Richard Strauss' setting of Oscar Wilde's Salomé.

The chief characteristics of the new style are the ornamental

decorative aspect and the symbolistic element. Typical of Art Nouveau is the continuous flowing movement (the whiplash) of the line, the decorative and stylised use of line and colour. Even the human form takes on the ornamental element: the first "Girls", the Barrison sisters from England illustrate the parallelism found in many Art Nouveau paintings or designs with their dancing (they provided Hofmannsthal with the incentive to write the essay "Englischer Stil" analysed below, and his impressions of them are recorded in a letter to Edgar Karg von Bebenburg,¹⁸); Loie Fuller, Ruth St. Denis, Grete Wiesenthal (the last two were acquaintances of Hofmannsthal's) danced with veils of different colours in a 'figura serpentina' which had the effect of being like a Tiffany glass. The paintings of Art Nouveau are mainly linear, they are two dimensional and often tend to abstract design. They are also symbolistic and make use, among others, of certain widely accepted symbols such as those of Pierrot and the femme fatale - as both Cassou and Hofstätter¹⁹ point out. The origins of Art Nouveau are varied for there had been, in the course of the 19th century, many undercurrents which went unnoticed. So Hofstätter explains:

"Der Jugendstil ist aus der langen Tradition antiklassischer und antirationalistischer Tendenzen des 19. Jahrhunderts herausgewachsen. Von der deutschen Romantik und besonders der Rückbindung des Nazarenerntums an die vor-raffaelische, spätmittelalterliche Malerei geht die stärkste, bis zum Jahrhundertende spürbare Wirkung aus."²⁰

The most important single influence was the English Pre-Raphaelite movement, which in turn was anticipated by Blake. Schmutzler²¹, in his book on Art Nouveau, comments on the fact that Blake had many of the characteristics

we associate with Art Nouveau: flowing movement, gliding rhythms, delight in ornament, mannerism, flame flowers, water flames, mermaids and religious and mystic symbolism.

Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828-1882) painted his first picture, the "Girlhood of Mary virgin" in 1849. About this picture Schmutzler says: "It started a movement in London which leads uninterruptedly and logically through half a century to Art Nouveau, thus marking a turning point in art history."²² He was a member of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood which was formed in 1849 and had aims similar to those of the Nazarenes, that is, to bring art into relationship with the ethical and to introduce very careful observation of nature in place of the conventional arrangement in the composition of a picture. Hofmannsthal is aware of most of the major characteristics of the Pre-Raphaelites, as will be seen in the discussion of his essays about them. The ideal of the group in this search for the representation of details with the utmost realism combined with a direct expression of deep feeling was the period in Italian art before Raphael, the quattrocento. The reawakening of the art of this period in the paintings of the Pre-Raphaelites is "ein eigentümliches Nebeneinander von krassem Realismus und sentimentaler Mystik."²³ The most famous and for the development of Art Nouveau most important members of the Brotherhood were Rossetti and Edward Burne-Jones, though others like Ford Madox-Brown, William Dyce, Watts and Orchardson were also associated with them. Rossetti's pictures are characterised by Hofstätter in the following way:

"Grosse dunkle Augen, von einer unbestimmten Sehnsucht erfüllt,
blicken erwartungsvoll aus dieser Welt der Realitäten, die keine

Sehnsucht befriedigt, hinaus in ein Nichts. Blasse, schlanke Hände mit nervösen zerbrechlichen Fingern halten eine Blume oder ein kostbares Gefäß, in dem sich Jenseitiges ahnen lässt. Die 'verzehrende Schönheit' wird zum Leitbild; sie verkörpert Weltsüchtigkeit und Weltflüchtigkeit ... Wir werden vielen dieser Züge in der Malerei des Jugendstils wieder begegnen."²⁴

Rossetti of course was a poet as well as a painter; he was a collector of china and had a thorough, academic knowledge of Dante, so that he too, as many of the Art Nouveau artists, was a many-sided man. Burne-Jones (1833-1898) exerted an influence on Art Nouveau which is even more apparent (in Khnopff's paintings, for instance) than that of Rossetti's. This is seen especially in his madonnas or women in general. There is a sadness, a melancholy about them, they seem dreamy and tired. Rossetti's women have a different beauty: they can appear to be almost demonic and are more sensual than those of Burne-Jones. Muther says about the latter:

"Die Farbe ihrer Wangen ist bleich, das Auge matt, ihr Körper kränklich, fleisch- und blutlos, die Hüften dürrftig. Mit blassen, bebenden Lippen, ein wehmüthiges Lächeln oder einen eigenthümlich resignirten, schmerzlich innigen Zug um die Mundwinkel, leben sie, von unfructbarer Sehnsucht verzehrt, hungernd, in stiller Schwermuth dahin, ... oder in den vagen Fata Morganagesichten einer überzarten, überfeinen, verschämt hervorzitternden Erotik schwelgend."²⁵

Many of these elements are noted by Hofmannsthal in his essays dealing with the Pre-Raphaelites (see LII, below). Burne-Jones was a friend of William

Morris' (1834-1896) at Oxford, where they both studied theology and both attended Ruskin's lectures in 1855. The importance of Morris for the applied art of Art Nouveau is widely known. Ruskin spoke up for the Pre-Raphaelite painters when they were criticised by the Academicians or the public though later he was to turn very much against the modern trends of the 1880's and 1890's. There was another art critic in Oxford from about 1860-1894, Walter Pater. His attitudes to a work of art were very different from those of Ruskin, the accepted authority. It was Pater, in particular, for whom Hofmannsthal showed great admiration, though he also read some of Ruskin's work. This admiration found expression in his essay on Pater written in 1894 and discussed below. Pater had been influenced by Ruskin in his youth but his Oxford lectures made him turn away in distaste from Ruskin's moralistic theories which offended "both his love of art and his critical intelligence".²⁶ Pater's art criticism, if viewed as an expression of the emotional climate of the second half of the 19th century in England, and, especially as a connecting link between the mode of feeling of the Pre-Raphaelites and the 'Aesthetes' of the 1890's, is of utmost importance. "Pater sought, following Goethe, for the relation in which a work of art stood to the inner nature of the person contemplating it. To obtain from art as many pulsations as possible, 'to burn always with this hard gem-like flame', was 'success in life'."²⁷ Around Pater collected such figures as Swinburne, Oscar Wilde and the Pre-Raphaelite painter Simeon Solomon, among others. His famous studies of certain masters of the Italian Renaissance show clearly his attitude to art: according to him what gives "an aesthetic experience its unique value is the sensuous or intuitive perception that matter and form are one".²⁸ The "Conclusion"

to The Renaissance is imbued with the aesthetic attitude to life and, as Kenneth Clark points out, these few pages almost turn the book from a work of scholarship into a fin-de-siècle manifesto. It is to a large extent Pater's influence, partly through Oscar Wilde, that can be felt in the way in which this new artistic sensibility became a part of life, a fashion, a fad, one might say. The English way of life in the 1880's and 1890's gradually won over much of continental Europe and the Beatrices of Kensington appeared in Belgium, Germany and Austria, sitting on Morris chairs drinking tea out of delicate blue Chinese teacups.

Apart from the Pre-Raphaelites the English Arts and Crafts movement also influenced Art Nouveau, especially in the applied arts; associated with this were Morris, Macmurdo, Voysey and Macintosh. English art began to spread its influence through the rest of Europe after the Paris World Fair of 1885 and Baudelaire had no small part to play in this.

Another major influence on the development of the style of Art Nouveau was the appearance of prints of Japanese woodcuts after 1856. Whistler, Manet, Degas, Gauguin and Van Gogh were all influenced by this two-dimensional and very "painterly" art. Art Nouveau certainly made use of lines in a similar way to the Japanese. "Die Linien, in denen die Motive gezeichnet sind, geben nur das Wesentliche jedes Dinges wieder".²⁹ Liberty's store was originally an oriental warehouse, so was Bing's shop in Paris (which was later called "La Maison de l'Art Nouveau" - hence the term) originally a large collection of Japonnerie. There appeared many books on Japanese life after about 1860, as, for instance, the books on all aspects of Japanese life by Lafcadio Hearn. Many of these, but especially

Kokoro, found an appreciative reader in Hofmannsthal.

Other preliminaries to Art Nouveau can be found in many of the French movements and artists of the second half of the 19th century. As early as 1869 one of Manet's posters, "Les Chats", has elements of Art Nouveau in it. Among the painters who quite clearly anticipated Art Nouveau are Gustave Moreau, Puvis de Chavannes and Odilon Redon. All three have already been mentioned in connection with Symbolism. Gauguin, Van Gogh and Toulouse-Lautrec were some of the great individual artists of the time whose works had elements of Art Nouveau in them.

Art Nouveau was a narcissistic style, as Schmutzler points out³⁰, and it produced many periodicals to reveal itself. This, however, was not simply narcissistic for the ideal of a total work of art demanded that any self expression should be clothed in a suitable form. For this reason book illustration and the appropriate presentation of fine art books as well as of literary periodicals became a major aspect of the new style. Britain, once more, lead the way in this, with Macmurdo's beautiful The Hobby Horse (1884); with Charles Rickett's designs for his magazine, The Dial (1889); with The Studio (1893) and the fine art books of the Kelmscott Press which were illustrated by Morris and Burne-Jones; and with illustrations for children's books by Walter Crane and Kate Greenaway. Some of the periodicals which appeared after these were: The Yellow Book and The Savoy (1894, 1896), both produced by Beardsley; The Chap-Book in Chicago (1894); Pan (1895) published in Berlin by a group that included Julius Meier-Graefe, Graf Kessler, Otto Julius Bierbaum, Eberhard von Bodenhausen and Richard Dehmel; Jugend (1896) published in Munich; Ver Sacrum (1898) published

in Vienna; Die Insel (1900) published in Munich.

Art Nouveau is a complex phenomenon; there were many events taking place simultaneously in Europe and many artists who worked in different countries. For this reason it is convenient to treat them according to countries, rather than in a chronological order.

a) Belgium

Brussels was one of the centres of development of the new style; it was a mediator between England and the continent. In the 1880's and the 1890's a group of artists called "Les Vingt" represented the avant-garde in art and exhibited regularly between 1884-1893. Among the artists who were invited to exhibit with them at different times were: Whistler, Rodin, Redon, Seurat, Toulouse-Lautrec, Gauguin, Cézanne, Van Gogh, Puvis and Moreau though the actual Art Nouveau artists associated with the group were Khnopff, Van de Velde, Toorop and the architect Horta. Khnopff and Toorop were at first influenced by the Symbolists and both had qualities of a dreamy and mystical atmosphere. Toorop was Dutch and was under the influence of Maeterlinck. Khnopff was inspired by Rossetti and Burne-Jones, both of whom were represented at the World Fair of 1878; he found understanding in Vienna especially and in 1898 a whole number of Ver Sacrum was devoted to him. Van de Velde typified the versatility of the Art Nouveau artist in his designs for furniture, decoration, graphic art and architecture.

b) France

In France Art Nouveau had two centres, Paris and Nancy. In Nancy

Emile Gallé made his famous glass; here was also Louis Majorelle, a furniture designer. In Paris it was first of all Bing's shop, opened in 1895, where all innovations in the fine and applied arts found a showcase. His opening exhibition had rooms by Van de Velde, paintings by Vuillard, Besnard and Denis, glass by Tiffany and stain glass windows by Bonnard. In 1899 Julius Meier-Graefe opened his own shop, called "Maison Moderne", also for Art Nouveau products. There was much in the way of applied art that was produced in Paris: jewellery, tapestries, glass, furniture and architecture (Guimard). In painting there was little produced that was truly Art Nouveau; some of the Nabis (Bonnard, for example) and Toulouse-Lautrec can be counted among those whose work has Art Nouveau elements.

c) England

In England the formation of the "New English Art Club" with Beardsley at its head marks the period of Art Nouveau. This club took the place of the Pre-Raphaelite movement in its aims of reform. Apart from the general aestheticism of the 1890's in England and the arts and crafts movements the only significant contribution to the new style was to be found in the work of Aubrey Beardsley. Even he was not a painter but a draughtsman who worked mainly in black and white. Beardsley more or less created "the essence of the age"; he was the "very spirit of 'decadence'".³¹

d) Germany and Switzerland

In Germany Jugendstil developed more slowly than in Belgium; it was closer to the style in England and the Netherlands than that in France. Jugendstil is widely associated with the applied arts and architecture and

many of the artists were craftsmen as well as painters. The centres of Jugendstil were Munich, Berlin, Darmstadt, Düsseldorf and Worpswede. The Munich and Berlin Secessions (both in 1892) heralded the breakaway from historicism. In Munich the artists connected with the "Freie Vereinigung Münchener Künstler" were Obrist, Endell, Behrens, Pankok and the painter Franz Stuck. The latter started out as an academician, his teachers were Lehmann and Böcklin but he was also influenced by Khnopff. Most of his paintings caused sensations when they first appeared and most had as subject serpents, Medusas, sphinxes, Salomés or other erotic fantasies. He also attempted other art forms, sculpture and architecture. Hofmannsthal followed his development with interest, as is evident from his essay about him. In Berlin the Secession was a direct outcome of the scandal which resulted in an exhibition of Munch. The artists connected with this movement were Leistikow, Liebermann, Munch, Corinth, Stuck and Ludwig von Hofmann. Hofmann, like Stuck, started his career as an academician; he attended the Dresdener Akademie and spent some time in Munich as well as at the Académie Julien. Here he came under the influence of Puvis de Chavannes, Maurice Denis and Gauguin. After his return to Berlin he joined the group of painters that were to form the Secession and painted there his "arkadische Landschaften mit spielenden und badenden nackten Knaben und Mädchen, die vom Bösen nichts ahnen, Paradieslandschaften vor dem Sündenfall, aber schon in der Spannung der Versuchung, da Eva mit Schlange Zwiesprache hält."³² He was active as a teacher, first in Darmstadt then in Weimar. Hofmannsthal knew Hofmann well and praised him in several essays on contemporary art. It is interesting to note that a number of famous artists who were later associated with other movements such as Expressionism

went through a phase of Art Nouveau, so Corinth, Klinger, Liebermann, Slevogt, Klee, Marc and Kandinsky. In Switzerland Hodler gave expression to the nostalgia for youth, for spring and painted in the monumental manner of Puvis, exploring the "psychological meaning of linear directions".³³

e) Austria

To Austria Art Nouveau came mainly via Belgium and England. The Vienna Secession came into being upon the formation of the "Vereinigung bildender Künstler Österreichs" in 1897 and their first major exhibition took place in March/April 1898. This was several years behind similar movements in Germany. The Secession is mainly associated with Klimt, Olbrich, Loos and the architects Hoffmann and Wagner. At the same time as the advent of the new style Ver Sacrum is published as the official organ of the movement. The Viennese Jugendstil was more international than its German counterpart and its first exhibition in the new building (1898) designed by Olbrich presents all the major influences that were important for the development of the Viennese style: Whistler, Crane, Brangwyn, Puvis de Chavannes, Khnopff, Van de Velde, Klinger, Stuck and others. Klimt was the main force behind the movement in painting. He outgrew the historical tendencies with which he started à la Makart. Makart was the most fashionable painter in Vienna around 1890. Viennese taste was completely permeated by his decorative ideas. The fact that he brought the element of colour into paintings and life is seen in a positive light by Muther but after his death in 1894 Vienna remained unreceptive to other new developments until a few critics such as Bahr and painters such as Klimt finally succeeded in breaking through the barrier of indifference. Makart

made use of allegorical symbols and emblems and Klimt continues along the same lines, though more and more in his own style, in his murals for Graf Dumba and the Kunsthistorisches Museum. He finally realised himself in his plans for frescoes for the University of Vienna - the allegorical figures of medicine, philosophy and law which he created caused a scandal. The mixture of realism, of geometric, Byzantine severity and of stylised ornamentation was thought to be lack of ability. About his portrait of "Judith" Hofstätter says:

"Kein Bild der biblischen Judith, sondern das Porträt einer mondänen Wienerin, deren giftig opalisierender Körper aus Schmuckformen herausschimmert, die ein byzantinisches Mosaik angeregt hat. Die ornamentale Einbindung und das Symbol des in der Liebesnacht wirkten Kopfes spielt auf den Typus an: Diese Judith ist ein Gesellschaftssymbol auf der Linie Beardsley - Knopff - Stuck ..."³⁴

As explained above, this survey should serve as a background to Hofmannsthal's judgements on contemporary art. His special interests, which were only indicated on the preceding pages, should be substantiated in the next part by evidence found in his diaries and correspondences; by what is known of his travels; the books he read and his friendships. Finally, these interests and judgements on matters of art are set forth in the third part as they find expression in Hofmannsthal's essays and the analysis of the essays attempts to relate his interest in art to his creative energy.

II. BIOGRAPHICAL PREREQUISITES

1. The cultural atmosphere of the Hofmannsthal family

"Also es sind Träumereien und Wünsche, dies Verlangen, ein paar schöne Bilder zu besitzen, das wird immer stärker. ... Es liegt im Blut übringens."¹ As is evident from this remark Hofmannsthal's interest in art was a deepseated love of beauty. He was born into a family where a taste for beauty and an interest in art were not difficult to acquire. His father, Hugo August Peter Hofmann Edler von Hofmannsthal (1841-1915), was director of the Central-Bodencreditbank in Vienna, a position of high esteem. His own interest in art is apparent from some of Hofmannsthal's letters addressed to him.² He writes regularly from all his travels and often makes a point of describing works of art that he has seen when he knows his father has seen these too or might have pleasure from the description. On his Italian tour of 1897, for instance, he describes the famous works of art or galleries he saw in Castelfranco (19 August 1897), Florence (20 September 1897), Venice (26 September 1897).³ Though the works of art described in these letters are mainly from the Renaissance, they serve to indicate the father's own interest in art. He tries to persuade his father to visit him in Paris in 1900 so they could enjoy the world fair together.⁴

Hofmannsthal's grandmother on his father's side was Italian; his grandfather, who was in charge of a subsidiary branch of his father's silk business in Milan, married Petronilla Antonia Cecilia Ordioni Rhò. Hofmannsthal was very fond of her, visited her often and wrote to her in

Italian. Having Italian stock in him, Hofmannsthal was naturally predisposed to feel an affinity with Italian culture, all the more so as this was part of his larger and basic European and Catholic heritage. (Hofmannsthal's grandfather, who was Jewish, converted to Catholicism at the time of his marriage to Petronilla Ordioni Rho.) Hofmannsthal's family on his mother's side were partly Bavarian, partly Austrian. In his immediate family not only is the father's interest in art indicated but Hofmannsthal's wife, Gerty Schlesinger, whom he married in June 1901, painted for pleasure. His brother-in-law, Hans Schlesinger, was a painter who introduced Hofmannsthal to other painters and for whom Hofmannsthal attempted to secure commissions or exhibition rooms on occasion.

Culture was certainly not lacking in the Hofmannsthal home, which was situated in an elegant district of Vienna. Hofmannsthal's mother, Anna Maria Josefa Fohleutner (1852-1904), came from a family where artists and musicians frequently gathered and from her Hofmannsthal probably inherited his ability to identify with the feelings of others,⁵ an ability considered by him a necessary precondition for the reception of a work of art (visual or literary) and, therefore, for the good critic. Evidence of Hofmannsthal's early 'conditioning' for a receptivity to the visual arts is found in several remarks made by him in retrospect. One such remark is found in the diaries where Hofmannsthal recalls his grandfather's and his father's love for particular paintings and ornaments which were spiritually inherited by him:

"In mir ist dies alles auch, zum zweitenmal vererbt: ich kann zuweilen die Dinge mit dieser Zärtlichkeit ansehen: ... die Töne

der gedunkelten alten Familienporträts in ihren verjährtten Rahmen; die kleine Meissner Teekanne auf dem Gesims des alten bemalten Ofens; die Stiche an den Wänden; die Reihen der Bücher nebeneinander in ihren verschiedenen Einbänden; ich kann mir manchmal wünschen, sie zu vermehren, ein Zimmer einzurichten mit Empiremöbeln, viel Porzellan und guten Stichen, oder die in der Familie verstreuten alten Bilder zurückzukaufen, und vieles dergleichen in meiner Hand zu vereinigen: ..."⁶

Hofmannsthal's interest in and judgments on contemporary art are most clearly documented in his essays on art. These will be discussed in detail in part III. Here a few remarks taken from Hofmannsthal's notes and diaries of this period should provide sufficient proof of his preoccupation with art in general, and contemporary art in particular. The nature and the frequent occurrence of these remarks should also serve as an indication that an interest in art was a basic and essential part of the man Hofmannsthal and of the poet Hofmannsthal. His receptivity to ideas and feelings reflecting his own sensibility can be observed in many of the remarks and he generally views questions of art from a larger framework as when he sees the capacity of visual art, of poetry and also of music to express the same emotional or spiritual content or when he touches on the 'painterly' or the visual element in his own experiences. His sensitivity to the ideas of others where they reflect his own are seen in some of the quotations he chooses to write down: "Attribut des Génies: 'de coordonner, d'assembler les rapports, de les voir plus justes et étendus' Delacroix." "'Le premier mérite d'un tableau, c'est d'être une fête pour l'oeil' Delacroix,"

"Herrliches Wort von Poussin am Ende seines Lebens: 'Je n'ai rien négligé'".⁷ The association between poetry, painting and music is perceived by Hofmannsthal in the following remarks: "Malerei verwandelt den Raum in Zeit, Musik, die Zeit in Raum." "Ingres zu Delacroix: 'Le dessin, monsieur, c'est l'honnêteté!' Ehrliche Poesie..." (17. IV. 1891.)⁸ In 1893 the notes for a drama about the princes Amgiad and Assad explain that the scene was to be in the style of Böcklin.⁹ On 28. V. 1895 (?) there is an important entry about the connection between poetry and painting: "Poesie (Malerei): mit Worten (Farben) ausdrücken, was sich im Leben in tausend anderen Medien komplex äussert. Das Leben transponieren. Daher der photographierte Dialog so falsch wie in ein Bild eingesetzte Edelsteine."¹⁰

Finally, there are a number of important diary entries about the English Pre-Raphaelites and Pater's aestheticism. They are important because they influenced Hofmannsthal's views on art and aesthetics. In 1894 he seen English aestheticism in three stages: first as affectation; secondly as it is paraded by Oscar Wilde, and lastly as demonstrated by Ruskin, Pater, Madox-Brown, Rossetti and Burne-Jones, about whom he says: "Die tiefen Zusammenhänge mit Seelenleben; das ganze als Versuch einer inneren Kultur."¹¹ Hofmannsthal's preoccupation with the problem of aesthetics is also witnessed a year later (1895). He writes about the mutual relationship in the arts between England, Belgium and France: "die Künste neigen sich einander zu, entfernen sich vom Publikum."¹²

By far the largest number of notes and diary entries reflect Hofmannsthal's sensitivity which affected his attitudes and way of life and

was at the core of his creative impulses. In these notes it is evident how strongly Hofmannsthal related his own experiences and observations to artistic expression of these, in this case mainly visual expression. From the "Buch der Freunde" come the following: "Geliebte Menschen sind Skizzen zu möglichen Gemälden." "Es gibt eine Stille des Herbstes bis in die Farben hinein."¹³ "Das Plastische entsteht nicht durch Schauen, sondern durch Identifikation", an important remark for understanding Hofmannsthal's relationship to art, as is the diary entry for 29. IV. 1894. "Ich bin ein Dichter, weil ich bildlich erlebe."¹⁴

Hofmannsthal's extensive knowledge of contemporary art was not provided by his school and university education. His knowledge and critical opinions came, to a certain extent, from his association with the group of artists (often called "Jung-Wiener") who frequented the Café Griensteidl, among them Hermann Bahr, Arthur Schnitzler, Richard Beer-Hofmann; from his travels and reading; from his acquaintance with people whose comprehension of, and familiarity with, the fine arts was greater than his own; and from his acquaintance of artists themselves. These points will be discussed in detail.

2. University

After his Maturitätsprüfung in 1892 from the Akademisches Gymnasium in Vienna (which he absolved with distinction) Hofmannsthal studied law for four semesters at the university of Vienna from 1892-94, passing his first Staatsexamen in 1894. It was his father's wish that he study law but

Hofmannsthal felt he would prefer to study something that would lead to an academic career. He writes to Harry Gomperz, son of the university professor Theodor Gomperz, on 25 July 1895 that he never really felt innerly attached to law and asks his advice on what he should do. He lists, among his qualities, "Gefühl für die bildenden Künste".¹⁵ Gomperz evidently suggested that Hofmannsthal do "Kunstgeschichte und romanische Philologie" for this is what Hofmannsthal writes to his father (6 August ? 1895)¹⁶ and, indeed, in the autumn of 1895 he registered at the university for Romance languages and literature under Adolf Mussafia and Wilhelm Meyer-Lübke. He wrote his doctoral dissertation on "Sprachgebrauch bei den Dichtern der Plejade" and was admitted to the degree in 1899. Among the lectures he attended in 1895-6 were those of Alfred Freiherr von Berger on aesthetics and ethics (Hofmannsthal admired Berger greatly and listened to his lectures as early as 1892¹⁷); he also went to lectures given by Ernst Mach whose influence on the "Jung-Wiener" is undisputed) and Friedrich Jodl on philosophical topics. There were two well known professors in the history of art at the university of Vienna while Hofmannsthal was there but there is no evidence that he heard their lectures. Wickhoff, who since 1880 had been Kustos at the Österreichisches Museum für Kunst und Industrie, became professor at the university in 1895 and Riegl, who had a post at the same museum, came to the university in 1897. Hofmannsthal mentions both in "Ad me ipsum"¹⁸ and Felix Braun writes that he was acquainted with Wickhoff's ideas,¹⁹ but it is clear that his attitude to works of art differed greatly from that of the two art historians and was formed by more 'modern' principles.

3. The Café Griensteidl and the group of the "Jung-Wiener"

The Café Griensteidl was the gathering place of the group of Viennese artists who were considered to be (or considered themselves to be) the avant-garde of literature. Their spokesman was Hermann Bahr, a critic and writer, who declared in his essays that Naturalism was over and that a new idealism was taking its place in all the arts. "Die Natur des Künstlers sollte nicht länger ein Werkzeug der Wirklichkeit sein, um ihr Ebenbild zu vollbringen; sondern umgekehrt, die Wirklichkeit würde jetzt wieder Stoff des Künstlers, um seine Natur zu verkünden, in deutlichen und wirksamen Symbolen".²⁰ The new idealism expresses the new man who is made up of nerves, who experiences everything through his nerves and reacts with his nerves. (Cf. Hofmannsthal's essay "Gabriele d'Annunzio I": "Modern sind alte Möbel und junge Nervositäten".²¹) The indications of the coming of this new man are to be found, according to Bahr, in people like Puvis de Chavannes, Degas, Bizet and Maeterlinck. Puvis de Chavannes we have already met as a forerunner of Art Nouveau, widely admired by modern painters, Impressionist, Symbolist or Secessionist. Maeterlinck was also admired as an ideal by the "Jung-Wiener", including Hofmannsthal who asked permission to translate one of his plays, Les Aveugles, in 1891. Among those who frequented the Café Griensteidl were writers, critics, actors and painters. To the latter belong Gustav Klimt and the architect Otto Wagner. The topics of discussion were naturally problems of contemporary art, including the fine arts. Most of the group contributed to Viennese periodicals, especially those that mainly concerned themselves with modern developments in literature and art. Many of the periodicals were new and some were published by members of the group. Some of these were: Moderne Rundschau, published

by E. M. Kafka after 1891; Neue Revue published after 1893, which had many articles in it by Hofmannsthal on art ("Die Malerei in Wien"; "Franz Stuck"; "Über moderne englische Malerei", for instance, now all in Prosa I of the collected works); Die Zeit published after 1894 by Professor Isidor Singer. Among the contributors on art for these papers were Bahr, Marie Herzfeld, Meier-Graefe and Muther²² - all acquaintances of Hofmannsthal. Between 1898-1901 Ver Sacrum, the official organ of the "Vereinigung bildender Künstler Österreichs", was published. This periodical was almost entirely devoted to the art of the Secession and Art Nouveau. There is also evidence that Hofmannsthal was asked to contribute to Ver Sacrum. Two of his letters, addressed probably to the director of the Vereinigung, have been published by W. Hofmann.²³ However, though he published no article in the periodical, he did have two of his poems, "Weltgeheimnis" and "Die Beiden" published. The former appeared in 1898 with Khnopff's "Die Einsamkeit" as illustration. These and other similar periodicals helped to spread the new 'Zeitgeist', a new sensibility intimated by the Pre-Raphaelites; by Nietzsche's rejection of traditional values; and by the French symbolist poets and painters. This new sensibility, - it has been variously, and because of the generalization sometimes mistakenly, called 'fin-de-siècle', 'decadent', 'aesthetic'. - spread quickly through most of Western Europe and was, in many cases, a fashion among intellectuals and artists. In the Viennese group, apart from outstanding individuals such as Hofmannsthal and Schnitzler, the journalistic element was so great that the new ideas gave rise to much criticism, especially by Karl Kraus who thought the group were cliquish and most of its members had no real talent. Kraus was particularly sharp in his attack on Bahr, so much so that in 1899 Bahr took him to court on libel. Kraus lost the case.²⁴

Hofmannsthal was first introduced to the Café Griensteidl by the actor and writer Gustav Schwarzkopf in 1890 when he was still at school. He was the admired prodigy of the group as he had by this time already published, under the pseudonym Loris Melikow, Loris or Theophile Morren some poems and essays. His first dramolet, Gestern, was published in 1891. It may be assumed that Hofmannsthal acquired much of his knowledge and views on art from discussions with the group around Bahr, all the more so as Bahr had a large part to play in arousing interest in the new in art in Vienna. He had been to the Paris world fair of 1889 and saw all that was new and exciting there. He returned full of criticism of the historicism of the Makart era which had made Vienna indifferent to new developments and praised the Impressionists, the Symbolists and the new art which was finding its way into other large cities such as Berlin or Munich. Indeed, it was not until 1895-96 that a change was taking place in Vienna, that Art Nouveau gradually found acceptance and the ground for the formation of the 'Vereinigung bildender Künstler Österreichs' was prepared. It may be suggested that Hofmannsthal's essays on art in the years 1893-96 also attempted to smooth the way for the new in art by criticising the indifference of the Viennese public and acclaiming the Munich Secession, for instance (see the analysis of the essay "Die Malerei in Wien", below). The 'Vereinigung' was formed in 1897 and the first exhibition of the Secessionists took place in 1898. There were several more Secessionist exhibitions held between 1898-1900.

4. Hofmannsthal's travels

Hofmannsthal's appreciation of and preoccupation with art were not

only influenced by the group of "Jung-Wiener" but developed, along with his general cultural and literary interests, in the course of his travels, visits to friends and exhibitions and, naturally, through reading. Though he lived in or near Vienna all his life, Hofmannsthal travelled frequently, particularly to Italy and Germany but also to France and England. Although Italy did not play a large part in the development of the modern trends in art (except in the case of the Pre-Raphaelites) there need be no comment on the fact that Italy, after Greece, is the cradle of European art and it is important to note that Hofmannsthal often found it necessary for the satisfactory functioning of his creative energy to be surrounded by the beauty of works of art. About Hofmannsthal's Italian journey of 1897 Fiechtner says the following: "Es ist dies vielleicht Hofmannsthals glücklichste und produktivste Zeit, da Das kleine Welttheater, Der weisse Fächer und Die Frau im Fenster niedergeschrieben wurden und die Pläne zur Hochzeit der Sobeide und zu Der Kaiser und die Hexe auftauchten."²⁵ There is no doubt that his interest in the Renaissance stimulated him to read the works of Walter Pater and John Ruskin²⁶ and so contributed to his understanding of certain aspects of contemporary art.

Among his trips to various cities in Germany (often to see his plays performed) there are several that are important for providing information about his acquaintance of artists, people who had connections to artists or his visits to galleries and special exhibitions. In the summer of 1893 Hofmannsthal visited Munich on a tour which also included the Salzkammergut (where he usually spent his summer holidays) and Nürnberg. His plans for seeing Munich were: "...zwischen zwei Bilderausstellungen mit jungen Malern

und sonstiger Boheme ein bisschen herumbummeln."²⁷ In May 1898 Hofmannsthal goes to Berlin for a production of his Die Frau im Fenster and meets Graf Kessler for the first time though they had been in contact by correspondence since 1895. Hofmannsthal's friendship with Kessler will be discussed in detail later. In March 1899 Hofmannsthal was in Berlin again, this time for the first production of Der Abenteurer und die Sängerin and Die Hochzeit der Sobeide. On this occasion he was in contact with Kessler again and also with Hauptmann, Bodenhausen and the Jugendstil painter, Ludwig von Hofmann. In February 1900, on his way to the Paris world fair, he met Rudolf Alexander Schröder for the first time and Walter Heymel²⁸ who owned, and together with Schröder and Otto Julius Bierbaum published, Die Insel (since 1899), a periodical to follow in the footsteps of Pan. At the same time he also met Peter Behrens, another Jugendstil artist, who worked for Die Insel. (The original of the famous 'Inselsschiff' is his design.) Hofmannsthal wrote about meeting these people in Munich to Bahr on 24 March 1900.²⁹ There was another journey of Hofmannsthal's important for our subject: in February 1901 he went to Munich for the first production of his Der Tod des Tizian which took place on 14 February on the occasion of the 'Totenfeier' for Arnold Böcklin. The play had a new prologue and a temporary ending and was produced in beautiful costumes. While in Munich Hofmannsthal met the painters Lenbach and Stuck. He also met George and Ricarda Huch.³⁰

Hofmannsthal's first journey to France was the one he undertook with his private French teacher, Gabriel Dubray, after his matriculation in 1892. His second and more important visit was the one that took him to

the Paris world fair in 1900. Not only did he here have the chance to visit the fair and its art exhibits (which, as we remember, were still to a large extent governed by the taste of the official Salon), but all the museums of that city as well as the private galleries and show rooms where the most modern in art was to be seen. In his frequent letters to his parents and Viennese friends Hofmannsthal tells about his visits to the Louvre, to the Hotel Drouot where he saw Degas's paintings and Tiffany glass, to Durand-Ruel's showrooms where most of the Impressionists and great individual artists exhibited - Manet, Degas, Cézanne, Gauguin, Toulouse-Lautrec and Van Gogh. "Bei den Kunsthändlern und den Privaten werden mir die noch nicht sehr bekannten Maler geläufig: Cézanne, Gauguin, Toulouse-Lautrec, van Gogh".³¹ Interestingly enough these are all great names to us today but in 1900 even in France they were little known and appreciated (Manet, Seurat and Van Gogh were already dead). Hofmannsthal also showed great interest in the applied arts and the new style as these were represented at Bing's "La Maison de l'Art Nouveau" and Meier-Graefe's 'maison moderne' and prefers the latter to Bing's shop. He also shows his familiarity with the most modern in the field of applied art when he praises Meier-Graefe's efforts to get the best artists to work for him.³² He met a variety of interesting and famous people including Maeterlinck, Anatole France, Meier-Graefe, Van de Velde and Rodin. Hofmannsthal liked Meier-Graefe; he calls him "einen sehr intelligenten Deutschen" in a letter to his parents,³³ and describes his beautiful shop to them. In another letter (to Bahr³⁴) he mentions an album of lithographs, all very modern, published by Meier-Graefe and describes the latter's efforts for the Darmstädter Künstlerkolonie. He also spoke to Meier-Graefe about a possible exchange

of modern objets d'art and the opening of a shop in Vienna similar to that of Meier-Graefe's. Meeting Rodin is, of course, a great experience for Hofmannsthal; he has breakfast with him and visits him in Meudon. "Eine grosse Freude ist es, Rodin in seinem Atelier zu besuchen. Da ist man in einer ganz andern, sehr grossen Welt. Er selbst ist von einer merkwürdigen Güte und Freundlichkeit."³⁵ He goes back to Vienna in the possession of a bronze by Rodin ('amor fugit') and gives instructions to Hans Schlesinger for the packing and sending of this.³⁶ That the visit to Paris was extremely fruitful and important to him is clear from his remarks to his parents and especially from his statement: "Noch sehr lange wird wohl alles, was ich arbeite, im Tieferen auf diese Zeit zuruckzuföhren sein."³⁷ The mental and emotional impetus he received in Paris was in no small degree the result of meeting so many stimulating personalities and of experiencing such a vital artistic environment.

Hofmannsthal made only two brief visits to England and only one of these falls within the period under consideration. In 1900 he made a short trip to London and also visited Brighton.

Although not enough has been found out about what he saw in England his appreciation of and fascination with English art and life, particularly in the decade 1890-1900, are unmistakably documented in a number of important essays written at this time about English art and artists as for instance Algernon Charles Swinburne, Über moderne englische Malerei, Walter Pater and Englischer Stil. These will be discussed and analyzed in part III. The importance of England for Hofmannsthal's spiritual development may be indicated here by the following extract from a letter written in 1899 to

Felix Oppenheimer: "... die wichtigsten Einflüsse für mein inneres Leben lassen sich mehr oder weniger auf englische Kunst, englische Weltanschauung und das intensive und weltumspannende Gegenwartsleben, das sich dort konzentriert, zurückführen."³⁸

5. Hofmannsthal's reading on the subject of art

Hofmannsthal's ability to assimilate mainly those aspects of a culture that were echoed in his own nature is witnessed not only in the influence which the circle of the "Jung-Wiener" and his travels had on his attitudes to art but also in what books he read. Michael Hamburger makes the observation in his extremely valuable article, "Hofmannsthals Bibliothek",³⁹ that it is important to know in Hofmannsthal's case what books he read because he assimilated so much of his reading into himself and his writing. It is impossible to ascertain exactly which books Hofmannsthal read about art. Many are mentioned in his correspondences, some are referred to in his diaries and essays and some were found to be among the books that were in his library when he died, though, as Hamburger explains, owing to lack of space only those books were in the library at Rodaun which would form the very core of a library and even these were severely cut down during the war and their removal to London where they were in the possession of Raimund von Hofmannsthal. Since 1969 they are on permanent loan to the Hochstift at Frankfurt. In the period up to 1902 much of Hofmannsthal's reading relating to modern art came from the articles that appeared in the Viennese literary and artistic journals which have already been mentioned above. His information about artists would also, to a large

extent, have come from those artists who worked for these periodicals. The best known among these were: Behrens, Bocklin, Burne-Jones, Degas, Eckmann, Th. Th. Heine, von Hofmann, Klimt, Klinger, Khnopff, Liebermann, Olbrich, Orlik, Stuck, Vogeler. Die Insel, in particular, published special folders with facsimiles of works by famous artists, including Japanese woodcuts (by Hokusai, for instance). The Moderner Musenalmanach auf das Jahr 1893 and 1894 (published by Otto Julius Bierbaum) was another source of information about modern art. Hofmannsthal reviewed the one published in 1893 in the Deutsche Zeitung in the same year (now in Prosa I). This will be discussed with the other essays on art. The Almanach for 1894 is mentioned in the correspondence with Marie Herzfeld and Hofmannsthal's opinion is, justifiably, not very positive: "[Der] moderner Münchener Musenalmanach (O. J. Bierbaum) enthält neben vielem Mist einen Einacter von mir, ..." (This was Der Tor und der Tod.)

Hofmannsthal obviously read works about or even written by a number of artists such as Degas, Cézanne, Delacroix, Poussin, Ingres as there are many references to them in his notes and diaries, including quotations from their work, as has been seen above. He was acquainted with the writings of Wickhoff and Dvořák, two really important art critics in retrospect. He reviews Muther's Geschichte der Malerei im XIX. Jahrhundert which appeared in three volumes in 1893-94. The essay was published in the Deutsche Zeitung on 8 July 1893 and though it only deals with the first volume as the other two had not yet appeared, Hofmannsthal may have read those also. Muther had by this time published several books on art including one on

Die deutsche Buchillustration der Gotik und der Frührenaissance in 1884 and it is probable that Hofmannsthal read this book, especially as he knew Muther personally since they both contributed to Die Zeit and to Wiener Rundschau. Muther's Studien und Kritiken published in 1900-1901 are also likely to have come to Hofmannsthal's attention all the more so as they contained several essays on current exhibitions in Vienna and elsewhere (the Paris world fair, for instance) which he visited or probably visited. Hofmannsthal presumably also read Bierbaum's text accompanying the volume on Stuck published by Albert in Vienna in 1894 as he mentions the book in his essay on Stuck (P. I, p. 201). Hofmannsthal was reading two of Knackfuss' "Malerbiographien" (on Michelangelo and Rubens) in 1895 and there were many in the series on contemporary artists such as Stuck, for instance. Hamburger, in his article, says that there were many books in Hofmannsthal's library on art history and he had "eine grosse Anzahl von Künstlermonographien"⁴⁰ - unfortunately he does not specify what these were.

Hofmannsthal read some of Ruskin's works. (fashionable reading at that time in any case), mostly in 1894 (see letter to Herzfeld, 15. VI. 94).⁴¹ A copy of Ruskin's Sesame and Lilies (London 1893) was in Hofmannsthal's library with notes in the margin. Evidently he was critical of the book: Hamburger quotes some of the remarks written in the margin, "Hat Mr. Ruskin überhaupt eine Ahnung von dem Werdeprozess einer grossen Dichtung?" (p. 165); "Geister wie Dante und Milton beweisen dadurch doch nur, dass ausser in der freien künstlerischen Empfindung über dieses Leben jenseits des Todes weiter gar nichts zu sagen sei." (p. 167).⁴² At about the same time as he was reading Ruskin, Hofmannsthal was also reading Pater (same letter to Herzfeld) whom he found much more inspiring, as is clear

from his essay on Pater published in Die Zeit in 1894 (now in P. I, pp. 235-240). Pater's most important book was The Renaissance. Studies in Art and Poetry, first published in 1873 but Hofmannsthal also read his Imaginary Portraits and Marius the Epicurean. Elsa Bruckmann-Cantacuzène also drew his attention to Whistler's lectures and Hofmannsthal asks her for these in April 1894.⁴³ It is well known that Hofmannsthal had a wide knowledge of English literature and probably also of English history and social history (he was reading Macaulay in 1893⁴⁴ and Hamburger reports that there were many historical and sociological books in Hofmannsthal's library). Of interest for the subject under consideration is the fact that he read and liked Swinburne and he read Oscar Wilde. Interestingly enough Hofmannsthal is able to project himself completely into Swinburne's poetry, into the atmosphere of his life (as will be seen in the analysis of the essay on Swinburne) whereas for Oscar Wilde, the representative of English aestheticism on the Continent, he has nothing sympathetic and appreciative to say until 1905 in his essay "Sebastian Melmoth" (by this time Wilde was dead). Although both of these artists were poets, Hofmannsthal's interest in them is relevant to our topic as they both played a part in the English aesthetic movement towards the turn of the century, as has already been pointed out in part I. Also on Hofmannsthal's reading list at this time was Dante (letter to Elsa Bruckmann-Cantacuzène, 24 May 1894),⁴⁵ who was one of the main sources of inspiration for the English Pre-Raphaelites and a frequent topic of conversation in Hofmannsthal's discussions about art with Bahr, Beer-Hofmann and Leopold von Andrian.⁴⁶

Other books on art or about artists that Hofmannsthal is known to

have read are the following: Journal de Marie Bashkirtseff (reviewed by him in Die Presse 1893). She was a French painter of Russian origin. He read Gérardy's book on Bocklin in 1895 (A la gloire de Böcklin) but his opinion of the book is negative and is a good illustration of the demands that Hofmannsthal made on a work of art even in his early, and still often mistakenly labelled 'aesthetic' period. He says of the book: "Nur bin ich jetzt zu tief im Leben befangen, um an dergleichen Spiegelung der Spiegelung viel Gefallen zu finden."⁴⁷ Berger's Studien und Kritiken was published in 1896 and was read and reviewed by Hofmannsthal in Die Zeit in the same year with very positive criticism: "Hier wurde von diesem Menschen über Kunst geredet, als von einem, der dabei etwas erlebt haben muss" (P. I, p. 328). This is another instance of Hofmannsthal's concern for life; the real experience behind a work of art or in the viewing of a work of art is an essential requirement for him. Hofmannsthal read Eberhard von Bodenhausen's essay "Entwicklungsgeschichte und Aesthetik" which appeared in Pan in April 1900 as a reference is made to it in the correspondence between the two.⁴⁸ Kassner's book Die Mystik, die Künstler und das Leben, which appeared in 1900, is mentioned by Hofmannsthal in "Ad me ipsum".⁴⁹ Although the book deals with English poets, it has much that is on aesthetics in general, including a discussion of Blake, Swinburne and Pater among others. Graf Kessler also wrote essays on artistic topics, such as "Kunst und Religion" which he brings to Hofmannsthal's attention in a letter on 22 November 1899.⁵⁰ In a letter written on 26 July 1900 Hofmannsthal confirms that he read the essay and his opinion of it is very positive. Some of his remarks about it indicate once more that it is mistaken to see his love of beauty only in terms of aestheticism. He writes to Kessler:

"Gewisse, vom Künstler selbst ausgehende Theorien, wie die ziemlich engen und armen von Baudelaire in Umlauf gesetzten Schlagworte, manches Geistreiche von Pater gesagte, erschien mir als das einzige, was nicht vollkommen abgelehnt werden dürfte. Aber gerade jene theoretische Disposition, die man Aestheticismus nennen kann, hatte für mich nicht nur etwas unvollkommenes, beengendes, sondern geradezu etwas schaudervolles an sich. Ich fühlte hier ein Verarmen, ein Erstarren, ohne mir über den Zusammenhang klar zu werden."⁵¹

In July 1902 Hofmannsthal writes to Georg Franckenstein about Lafcadio Hearn's book Kokoro which made a deep impression on him. Hofmannsthal says that the book has given him "viel Freude und viel Stoff zu Denken und ein gewisses erweitertes Gefühl der grossen, durch Gefühl, Erkenntnis und Teilnahme aufschliessbaren Welt, in der wir leben."⁵² One may note the words 'Gefühl', 'Erkenntnis' and 'Teilnahme' as these show his own attitude to life and also to art: they are reminiscent of the diary note, "Das Plastische entsteht durch Identifikation". He later (1904) wrote an essay on Hearn which was used as an introduction to a German edition of his writings (now Prosa II). Also in 1902 there appeared a monograph by Meier-Graefe called Edouard Manet und sein Kreis, in a series of monographs, Die Kunst, which were edited by Muther. As Hofmannsthal knew both these critics, it is likely that he also read this work.

6. Acquaintances and friends

Hofmannsthal was acquainted with a number of people who, like himself, were interested in contemporary art. For some this interest was simply that of an art lover, for others it meant involvement with the fine

arts either as a patron or a critic. In his correspondences in the early 1890's Hofmannsthal often mentioned artists or works of art that particularly impressed him. There are letters to a number of friends relating to his concern with the problems of art and beauty and life - all of which go closely hand in hand for him. In his earliest letters there are many fashionable fin-de-siècle remarks, though even here they seem to be light-hearted at times and written because they were expected. This is especially the case in his letters to the actor and journalist, Gustav Schwarzkopf. In these letters written in 1890, "fin-de-siècle" is a frequently occurring term, though it is used ironically.⁵³ To Beer-Hofmann, also one of the early, though life-long, friends, Hofmannsthal described in verse how he saw one of the characters of his planned Renaissance tragedy, a "madonna Gioconda", in whose tragic language he visualizes the colours:

"Lapisblau und Silberlila,
Blasses rosa von Korallen,
Braunes rot von toten Blättern,
Mattes goldgrün, Pfirsichblüten."⁵⁴

These are certainly affected Jugendstil lines but it is noteworthy with what apparent ease the colours mentioned are rendered precise and immediately create the desired effect. In a letter to Marie Herzfeld on 21 July 1892 Hofmannsthal uses almost the same colours to suggest an impression of the perhaps haphazard selection of books he was reading at the time: "Ich habe die Empfindung, dass Ihnen bei dieser Aufzählung ist, als hätte ich hübsche und bunte Farben aufgezählt: matt gold, lapis blau, mauve, silberlila, feuilles mortes, moosgrün, blasscorail u. so f."⁵⁵ Hofmannsthal's

acquaintance of Marie Herzfeld began in 1891 when she was asked by the Allgemeine Theaterrevue of Berlin to write about anything that was new in literature. She suggested an essay about Hofmannsthal's Gestern and that he be asked to publish a translation of one of Maeterlinck's plays. So she turned to him with the request of the paper. (The result of this was that Hofmannsthal sent the paper a copy of his Der Tod des Tizian.) They both worked for Die Zeit and Moderne Rundschau and, between 1891-94 and then again 1902-07, they corresponded. Hofmannsthal often wrote to her about his reading (including reports and opinions of Muther's, Ruskin's, Pater's and Berger's works) and many letters contain important lines about Hofmannsthal's spiritual development with particular reference to his concern with art. He writes to her, for instance, about his attitude to the aesthetic approach to life: "Ich bin alles Feinen, Subtilen, Zerfaser-ten, Impressionistischen, Psychologischen recht müde und warte, dass die naiven Freuden des Lebens wie Tannenzapfen derb und duftend von den Bäumen herunterfallen."⁵⁶

The early Hofmannsthal's problem of the relationship between art and life is also reflected in his correspondence with Arthur Schnitzler, another life-long friend from the group of "Jung-Wiener". This is seen in Hofmannsthal's reply to one of Schnitzler's letters written from Pieve di Cadore, Titian's birthplace. He says: "Schönheit und Leben! ... Wie Euer Brief gekommen ist, ... ist es mir ein bisschen vorgekommen, wie wenn ich an einem Tisch sässe und wirklich gegessen hätte und vor mir lägen in unappetitlicher Realität Krebschalen, Hühnerknochen und Pfirsichkerne ... Ihr aber sitzt vor einem wunderschönen Stilleben mit roten Langusten, gold-roten Weintrauben und bunten Truthühnern. Um es zu essen, muss man es

rupfen und sieden und schälen und schneiden und kauen und dann ist es gar nicht mehr schön! Und doch gehört's zum Essen und nicht zum Anschauen. Es - ich meine das Leben."⁵⁷

Hofmannsthal's relationship to Bahr is, to some extent, ambiguous as Gotthart Wunberg points out.⁵⁸ Although Bahr claimed to have discovered Hofmannsthal (among others) Hofmannsthal was later critical of him as can be seen from his rather sarcastic reply to a circular sent round by Karl Kraus in 1901. Kraus asked, "Inwiefern und wodurch hat Sie Herr Bahr gefördert, nachdem ja anerkanntermassen das Entdecken und Fördern junger Talente die selbstgewählte Lebensaufgabe dieses grossen Mannes ist?" Hofmannsthal's answer was: "Soviel ich weiss, ist Herr Bahr durch mich gefördert worden."⁵⁹ This, however, is no clear proof of Hofmannsthal's low estimate of Bahr at this time (although this is Wunberg's argument) as Hofmannsthal frequently corresponded with Bahr in the years up to and including 1901 about matters that were important to him. In 1891-2 he reports about his activities and reading and his letters are mostly conversational. But later on there are a number of important letters, such as the one written in August 1894, in which Hofmannsthal tells Bahr about his very important discovery, Pater. "Mein grosser neuer, sehr wichtiger Fund, ein wichtiges Element der Zeit, ...ist der englische grosse Kunstkritiker Walter Pater, heute ein alter Herr."⁶⁰ In 1900 he reports to Bahr about his meeting with Schroder, Heymel and Behrens in Munich and about the Paris world fair. He describes (in more detail than to anyone else) the artist personalities he meets, the works of art he sees and the galleries he visits, including Bing's and Meier-Graefe's shops.⁶¹ In fact, it was also Bahr who arranged that

Minister von Hartel turned to Hofmannsthal in 1900 to ask in what kind of public position he would be interested.⁶² Hofmannsthal wrote to Bahr on 9 October 1900 to thank him for his efforts and his letter includes the following: "Papa gibt mir in einem Brief genau wieder, was Sie in Ihrer guten und lieben Weise meinen Eltern persönlich von Hartel ausgerichtet haben. Ich stehe der Sache mit ziemlicher Lust gegenüber... Wie immer es ausgeht, bin ich Ihnen sehr dankbar, nun haben wir eine so vielfältige Beziehung zueinander, dass ich eine solche bestimmte Dankschuldigkeit sehr als Detail empfinde."⁶³

Walter Kessler in his dissertation on Hofmannsthal's relationship to fine art makes the observation that remarkably little is said about art in the correspondence between Hofmannsthal and George.⁶⁴ This is true. The few statements, however, that are made are significant. Hofmannsthal first met George in 1891 in Vienna and much has been said about the difficult nature of their relationship. This difficulty is well borne out in one of their exchanges on the question of the inter-relation of art and life. Hofmannsthal, in characterizing a friend, Graf Schönborn, says: "Er gehört völlig dem Leben an, keiner Kunst."⁶⁵ George takes offence at this sentence, calls it "fast Lasterung" and replies: "...wer gar keiner kunst angehört darf sich der überhaupt rühmen dem leben anzugehören? Wie? höchstens in halb-barbarischen zeitläuften."⁶⁶ This exchange shows that the two poets had a very different attitude to art; George believes that a man's life is futile unless it is the 'beautiful life', a life that has been made significant by the balance and form and refinement that art gives it. Hofmannsthal, on the other hand, placed the greater emphasis on the genuine and unaffected life that should be behind a work of art. It seems that the difference of

opinion is mainly a difference in personalities for the two views are not exclusive of each other. Hofmannsthal found George's attitudes too forcefully, and sometimes arrogantly, expressed; George thought that Hofmannsthal was too undecided. That their attitudes were not mutually exclusive may be seen from other remarks. Hofmannsthal writes from his year of voluntary service: "Übrigens hat mich auch in solchen Zeiten von Stagnation das Betrachten von Reproduktionen der grossen englischen Künstler, und unserer Khnopff, Klinger, Heine, in gewissem Sinn weitergebracht",⁶⁷ that is: the viewing of works of art has given Hofmannsthal life, significant life. Der Tod des Tizian was first published in George's Blätter für die Kunst (October 1892) and Hofmannsthal contributed sporadically to the periodical in the next few years. His association with George finally came to an end in 1906.

There were several other friends who contributed in some way to Hofmannsthal's understanding and appreciation of art. Of these Harry Graf Kessler is important. Most of this friendship (like that with Bodenhausen) falls outside our period but even the beginning years indicate how fruitful an association this was to be. Graf Kessler was born in 1868 in Paris; his mother came from an Irish aristocratic family, his father had Swiss ancestors. Graf Kessler was educated at some of the best schools in Europe and was an extremely well-travelled, highly cultured, rich and influential man who was a patron of many famous artists and was acquainted with most of the important personalities of his time. He was on the board of editors of Pan and it is through his involvement with this periodical that he and Hofmannsthal started corresponding in 1895. Hilde Burger comments on the

nature of their association: "Dichtung und Kunst führten Hofmannsthal und Kessler zueinander. Ebenso das Europäertum beider, die den innigsten Wunsch hegten: ihre Ideen und Bestrebungen auf einer internationalen Basis mit Künstlern vieler Nationen zu teilen."⁶⁸ Their first letters were about the possibility of Schlesinger's contributions to Pan. Hilde Burger explains that Kessler was at first reserved and kept in touch with Hofmannsthal but at a distance. A close friendship between the two only started in 1903. But even up to 1902 Kessler makes many suggestions to Hofmannsthal about his reading, about interesting exhibitions in Berlin where his permanent residence was, gave him introductions to artists and generally kept him informed of all the modern trends in art. In 1897 he had Hofmannsthal's "Figuren aus dem Puppenspiel: das kleine Welttheater" published in Pan with two drawings by L. v. Hofmann;⁶⁹ in 1898 (the year in which their first meeting took place) he tells Hofmannsthal about two interesting exhibitions in Berlin, one of Neo-Impressionists and the other of Degas; in 1899 he draws Hofmannsthal's attention to one of his own essays about art, "Kunst und Religion"; in 1900 he advises him to visit Gustav Richter, a painter, while he is in Paris as Richter's mother had a salon where many artists gathered. Hofmannsthal in these early years of their acquaintance mainly turns to Kessler for help and advice; for instance when he asks about the possibility of Schlesinger's exhibiting in Berlin.⁷⁰ In reply to Hofmannsthal's praise of his essay, "Kunst und Religion" (already quoted above, p. 43), Kessler makes an interesting remark about Hofmannsthal's receptivity to a work of art: "Aber Sie haben das Glück, beide Naturen, die des Künstlers und die des Dilettanten, so vollkommen in sich zu vereinigen, dass Ihnen beide Zugänge zum Verständnis der Kunst offenstehen."⁷¹

Another mutual acquaintance of Hofmannsthal and Kessler was Eberhard von Bodenhausen, also on the committee of Pan. He had studied law and then held a high position as an industrial organiser for Krupp. He had a great concern for problems of art and translated books about Velasquez and Rubens among others. He was involved with modern art and advised Hofmannsthal about what paintings to buy. Though their acquaintance started around 1897 they became close friends after 1900. In their correspondence up to 1902, apart from matters arising from Hofmannsthal's contributions to Pan, Bodenhausen tells about his essay "Entwicklungsgeschichte und Aesthetik" which appeared in Pan in 1900 and mentions his plans for introducing art or decoration into industry.⁷² Hofmannsthal, writing of him later, in 1928, says that he had wanted "ein dienend souveränes Verhältnis" to art.⁷³

Of Hofmannsthal's other acquaintances who had to do with art, two, Leopold Andrian and Georg Franckenstein were life-long friends. Leopold Freiherr von Andrian zu Werburg was the author of Garten der Erkenntnis (1895) and the recipient of many letters from Hofmannsthal about problems that occupied him at the time, including those on questions of art. They frequently discuss the "Sinn der Kunst" and the justification of their "das Handeln übergehenden Lebens".⁷⁴ Georg Freiherr von Franckenstein, another childhood friend of Hofmannsthal's, showed him around in Paris in 1900: "Mit Bui (Franckenstein) bin ich viele Stunden des Tages zusammen, in unserm Zimmer, im Louvre, in Gesellschaften, in Tingeltangels, bei Auktionen usf."⁷⁵

Other people who played a part in the development of Hofmannsthal's understanding of art in this early period include Elsa Bruckmann-Cantacuzène, D'Annunzio, Rudolf Alexander Schröder and Meier-Graefe. Elsa Bruckmann-Cantacuzène has already been mentioned; from her Hofmannsthal received

advice on books about art (e.g. Pater, Ruskin, Whistler and Renaissance art) and often expressed his own opinions about these or about pictures he had seen at exhibitions or in reproduction. On 18 February 1894 he asks her: "Kennen Sie das Bild 'Pan und Psyche' von Burne-Jones? Ich hab' es neulich in einer schlechten Reproduktion gesehen und einen sehr starken Eindruck davon gehabt. Pan hat etwas Männlich-Weibliches, wilde, dumpfe, fast tierische Augen und offenes, mähenartiges Haar, halb ein Gott, halb ein Höhlenbär und trotzdem die Natur."⁷⁶ One may note the remark "und trotzdem die Natur" as it once again reminds us of Hofmannsthal's demand that the work of art have a real relationship to life and be without artificiality. On 26 June of the same year he mentions the portrait of the Marchioness of Granby by the Pre-Raphaelite painter, Watts, and writes of it: "Es ist eine englische Mona-Lisa, sehr impressionant und schön. In einem Heft der 'Kunst unserer Zeit' hab' ich eine Reproduktion davon gesehen."⁷⁷ Hofmannsthal's relationship to Elsa Bruckmann, as it appears from their correspondence, is summed up by himself: "Seien Sie nicht böse, dass ich Sie so als Kunstlexikon behandle, aber es steckt ja hinter diesen schönen Sachen so viel Persönliches, dass ich find', man kann sehr gut darüber schreiben ohne snobisme, nicht?"⁷⁸

Hofmannsthal visited D'Annunzio in his villa near Florence, on his tour of Italy in 1898. He hoped to get an introduction from him to see the collection of modern paintings in the possession of Graf Bellinzaghi in Milan and was invited by D'Annunzio to spend any time he wanted in his beautiful villa with many works of art.⁷⁹ With Schröder Hofmannsthal had a close friendship after 1900, as is evident from the latter's reminiscences

in Fiechtner's book of recollections about Hofmannsthal.²⁸ The larger part of this friendship falls in the period after 1902. As far as it is known Hofmannsthal only met Meier-Graefe once in the period under consideration; the meeting took place in Paris (see p. 36 above). He says of Meier-Graefe: "Er ist ein sehr persönlicher, sehr elastischer, sehr freundlicher Mensch und scheint eine glückliche Mischung von Amateur und Kaufmann ... Er schätzt das Französische und Belgische, ohne das manierierte Englische - Morris etc. - zu überschätzen."⁸⁰ He describes most of Meier-Graefe's activities in the same letter and says: "Ich interessiere mich für eine solche Tätigkeit und suche sie einigermaßen mit Wien in Verbindung zu bringen."

7. Hofmannsthal's acquaintance of artists

Hofmannsthal was acquainted with a number of artists. Some he only knew briefly, others he met again and again. To the former group belongs Rodin; the meeting with him and the bronze, 'amor fugit', which he gave to Hofmannsthal have been mentioned above. While he was in Paris he also met Van de Velde and possibly a number of other artists, since he says that through Schlesinger and Franckenstein "sehr schnell die Verbindung ... mit einem gewissen Künstlerkreis hergestellt [war], der aus den nächsten persönlichen und geistigen Angehörigen gewisser sehr grosser jüngstverstorbenen Meister hauptsächlich besteht: die nahen Freunde von Manet, die Nächsten von Mallarmé."⁸¹ Hofmannsthal might also have met artists such as Denis, Ranson, Vallotton and Lautrec as these were associated with the Théâtre de l'Oeuvre (p. 14 above) and Hofmannsthal knew the wife of Lugné-Poe, director

of the theatre.⁸² Hofmannsthal also met Behrens, Lenbach and Stuck briefly on visits to Munich. In 1899 he was introduced to Melchior Lechter, the Jugendstil artist who illustrated much of Stefan George's work.⁸³ He also met the painter Emil Orlik at the beginning of 1902 when the latter was present at an exhibition of his work in Vienna.⁸⁴ It is likely that Hofmannsthal met other artists at the exhibitions which he describes, though there is no evidence for this in the correspondences. Two painters he knew well; they were Hans Schlesinger, his childhood friend and later brother-in-law, and the Jugendstil painter Ludwig von Hofmann. Schlesinger introduced Hofmannsthal to other painters and artists, especially in Paris in 1900, and reference has also been made to Hofmannsthal's efforts for him. He entrusts the arrangement of the furniture, paintings and other ornaments of his house to Schlesinger in 1901 and among these at this time are several statues or busts, including a coloured Donatello and a head of the god of sleep with wings. Hofmannsthal wants the Rodin in his study with a cloth of "märchenhaft schöner Farbe" behind it.⁸⁵ There is a description of Hofmannsthal's house in Erika Brecht's Erinnerungen an Hofmannsthal⁸⁶ and though this is from 1917, and, therefore, describes paintings which Hofmannsthal only acquired after 1901, the main room, the "grüner Salon" was the same when Hofmannsthal moved in. It was built (and furnished) in the style of the rococo, with murals depicting idyllic pastoral scenes.

Hofmannsthal first met Ludwig von Hofmann in 1892 in Vienna⁸⁷ and on this occasion Hofmann introduced him to the work of Klinger. The second known meeting between them took place in 1899 in Berlin. Hofmannsthal met him in the company of Hauptmann and Kessler and also had breakfast with him. Of this occasion he writes to his parents: "Den gestrigen Vormittag hab'

ich ganz bei dem Maler Ludwig von Hofmann verbracht der mir seine sehr schönen Bilder und Skizzen gezeigt hat."⁸⁸ In his reports from exhibitions Hofmannsthal always praises Hofmann and his praise was later to find expression in his prologue to Hofmann's Tänze, a collection of his lithographs, published in 1905. It has been mentioned in connection with Kessler that Hofmann did two drawings for Hofmannsthal's Das kleine Welttheater when parts of this were published in Pan in 1897.

III. HOFMANNSTHAL'S ESSAYS ON CONTEMPORARY ART

The significance of art criticism for Hofmannsthal

Between 1891, when his first poems, his playlet Gestern and his first essays were published, and 1902, the publication of the "Chandos Brief", Hofmannsthal's creative writing is chiefly lyrical in nature. This lyrical and personal element is even evident in some of the essays of the early years although their subject matter is literary or art criticism or a discussion of problems of contemporary life or descriptions of theatrical events or journeys. Similarly, evidence of Hofmannsthal's interest in contemporary art may be found not only in the essays in which art is discussed but also in the poems and early plays. This suggests both the true significance of matters of art to Hofmannsthal and that his basic concern with problems of contemporary art provides one link (among others) between all of his writings in this period. Even at this early stage Hofmannsthal's relationship to art must be seen in the wider framework of his interest in contemporary affairs, in the cultural state of Europe and, particularly, Austria. It must also be seen in the framework of his very personal search for a satisfactory synthesis between the aesthetic and the ethical as ways of life and thought; of his continuous search for the genuineness of the experience, of the life, behind a work of art - that is, in the framework of the problematic relationship of art and life. It has often been pointed out that a strong conceptual unity is found in Hofmannsthal's work and his interest in art and art criticism is further proof of the validity of this.

Hofmannsthal's most clearly expressed views on art are, of course, found in those essays in which exhibitions, books about art or artists themselves are described and discussed. These essays may be divided into three groups: those that deal specifically with art exhibitions, artists or books about art; those that deal with aspects of English art and life (the five essays on this subject justify a separate grouping because of the important statements made in them and the importance of the matters discussed in them for Hofmannsthal); and other essays, not specifically on questions of contemporary art, but in which significant statements are made about art. Interestingly enough, with the exception of the small piece "Bilder" (1891), in which Hofmannsthal evokes two imaginary paintings in the style of Van Eyck, all essays dealing with art treat contemporary artistic events and problems. This is not to say that Hofmannsthal was not interested in earlier periods of art. It is evident from his reading and many of his plays and scattered remarks that he was acutely interested in the Renaissance: we remember it was this interest which made him turn to Walter Pater.

The essays to be discussed here were published by Hofmannsthal in various Viennese papers, in the years 1891-1896, and it seems reasonable to suggest that in these years Hofmannsthal was working out for himself the meaning of certain aspects of modern art and the problems associated with them (art and life) in his own life. Moreover, the most important art exhibitions of the decade (those of the Secession) took place between 1898-1901 and though Hofmannsthal's continued interest at this time in modern art is borne out by his correspondences (especially with Bodenhausen, Kessler and Bahr) he does not write reports on these exhibitions any more. It would seem that by 1896 Hofmannsthal definitely rejects aestheticism in his essays

on art. This rejection had been suggested in the earlier essays though in these the sympathetic and instinctive appreciation of the aesthete coupled with an awareness of his untenable position in life indicate that he was still grappling with the problem. With the final rejection came the realization that the overwhelming force of the formlessness of life must be accepted. The crisis which this realization initiated in Hofmannsthal's creative work has, as its most important document, "Ein Brief", but it is already indicated in 1896 in "Englischer Stil". After 1902 he published few essays on art and then generally as an attempt to revitalize cultural life (e.g. "Die Bedeutung unseres Kunstgewerbes für den Wiederaufbau", 1919). The main exceptions to this are the famous essay on Van Gogh ("Die Briefe des Zurückgekehrten" IV) and the one generally called "Der Farbenbrief" ("Die Briefe des Zurückgekehrten" V), both published in 1908. Some of the early essays discussed here are reports from exhibitions in which Hofmannsthal recreates the atmosphere of the paintings which made the greatest impression on him or comments on omissions. Others are about books on art which he found particularly in accord with his own attitudes (Muther's Geschichte der Malerei im XIX. Jahrhundert) or in which he found a vital, personal note (the diaries of Marie Bashkirtseff). But these essays are not purely subjective; although Hofmannsthal examines contemporary art and the views of artists and critics from his own point of view, this point of view is generally one of the affirmation of life. (One may recall that affirmation of life was the aesthetic "credo" of Jugendstil at the turn of the century. Hofmannsthal's continuous search for genuineness and vitality in art is a sign of his affinity in sensibility with the ideals of the Jugendstil.) It is, therefore, not a purely aesthetic view of life that is voiced in the essays but one which exercises a critical sense and also contains, in many

cases, a critique of the time. Hilde Cohn comments on this aspect of Hofmannsthal's art criticism: "In all den frühen Essays untersucht Loris die zeitgenössische Kunst immer wieder auf die Echtheit des Erlebens hin, das den Werken gewissermassen als Rohstoff zugrunde liegt."¹

The criticism that has been levelled against these essays - notably by George and his circle and Hamann/Hermand in their book Impressionismus² - is, that they were simply a product of the kind of literary journalism which was fashionable in Vienna in the 1890's. For Hamann this means that no positivistic objectivity is to be found in literary or art criticism: "Man will auch in der Kritik nicht länger einer bestimmten Sache oder Richtung dienen, sondern sich selbst offenbaren."³ For George it suggests a willingness on Hofmannsthal's part to appeal to a large uninitiated public. Hofmannsthal did not wish to be exclusive like George and justifies his journalistic activity in a letter to George written in 1902 when the correspondence between the two poets was resumed after four years' silence. The letter is very revealing of the differences between the two.

"In mir ist vielleicht die Dichterkraft mit anderen geistigen Drängen dumpfer vermischt als in Ihnen. Ich hatte von der Kindheit an ein fieberhaftes Bestreben, dem Geist unserer verworrenen Epoche auf den verschiedensten Wegen, in der verschiedensten Verkleidungen beizukommen. Und die Verkleidung eines gewissen Journalismus - in einem so anständigen Sinn genommen, dass allenfalls jemand wie Ruskin, bei uns dagegen niemand als Vertreter davon anzusehen wäre - hat mich öfters mächtig angezogen. Indem ich in den Tagesblättern und vermischten Revuen veröffentlichte, gehorchte ich einem Trieb, den ich lieber gut erklären als irgendwie verleugnen möchte."⁴

At a later date (1907) Hofmannsthal also explains his conception of journal-

ism: reviewing a book by O. Schmitz he writes:

"Das Buch, das einen leicht nimmt und leicht loslässt, dessen Inhalte durchlässig sind für das Leben und das sich den Inhalten des Tages amalgamiert, ein solches Buch, das so gut und mit so reinen Ingredienzen gekocht ist, dass es schon in der nächsten Viertelstunde nicht belästigt, das ist Journalismus, aber ausgezeichneter Journalismus, und den Menschen, die dergleichen Bücher hervorbringen, einem H.G. Wells, oder dem philosophischen Journalisten Lowes Dickinson, oder dem dichterischen Journalisten Lafcadio Hearn, oder einem Maurice Barrès, haben wir fast nichts gegenüberzustellen es ist gerade das Procédé, was ich bewundere; der Mangel irgendwelches fühlbaren Apparats, der Takt, die Diskretion, die Leichtigkeit, mit der ein Thema das andere herbeibringt."⁵

The last sentence could well be applied to Hofmannsthal's own style in the essays. Both passages indicate, especially in names such as Ruskin, Dickinson and Hearn, that Hofmannsthal is thinking of a higher kind of journalism than that which is normally associated with that word. Mary Gilbert, in her introduction to Hofmannsthal - Selected Essays⁶, quotes part of a letter to George, which was accompanying the Chandos letter, and in which Hofmannsthal refers back to his previous statements (quoted above) about journalism: "Ich habe an Arbeiten dieser Art und beiläufig dieses Werthes (womöglich bessere) gedacht, als ich in einem früheren Brief von einer journalistischen Bethätigung sprach, allerdings in einem anderen Sinn als heute üblich ist."⁷ An analysis of the essays themselves should indicate to what an extent these convey a personal viewpoint or a critical estimate of their subject, to what an extent they are journalistic reportage or may be seen as complementary to the rest of Hofmannsthal's work at this time.

1. Essays on exhibitions, painters and books

Soon after the writing of the first of the eight essays under discussion, "Das Tagebuch eines jungen Mädchens", on 19 January 1893 Hofmannsthal wrote to Marie Herzfeld, "...eigentlich schätzt nur derjenige einen Lehrer oder Kritiker richtig, der durch zufälliges Entgegenkommen so alles aus ihm herauszuhören imstande ist. So lese ich Ihr Buch und höre so diese Vorträge [Berger's], bin eben darum vielleicht kein Kritiker, sondern für gewisse mir verwandte Dinge ein Interpret."⁸ The last statement of this passage is particularly important for here we see that Hofmannsthal does not want to be considered a critic but rather one who is able, because of a certain inner affinity, to interpret a work of art (literary or visual). It is also clear from this remark that Hofmannsthal would choose for his interpretation those works only to which he felt such an inner or spiritual kinship. Werner Hofmann expresses this aspect of Hofmannsthal's art criticism in his essay "Hofmannsthal als Kunstkritiker"; "Hofmannsthals Verhältnis zur bildenden Kunst ist vorwiegend von seiner Teilhahme an den Problemen und Hervorbringungen seiner Zeitgenossen bestimmt: seine Schriften zu Fragen der Kunst kennzeichnet jenes Mass an unmittelbarer Beteiligung, das den echten Kritiker und Mentor legitimiert."⁹ The inner affinity and 'unmittelbare Beteiligung' are evident in all the early essays, as also in "Das Tagebuch eines jungen Mädchens". Hofmannsthal read the two volumes of Marie Bashkirtseff's journals and found, "...man kann dieses Buch nicht unpersönlich lesen". (PI, p. 121.)¹⁰ One cannot help being involved with the life of the writer just as she could not help being involved with everything with which she came into contact: "Sie ist zu keinem Menschen und keinem Hunde, keiner Blume, keiner Landschaft und keiner Bildergalerie in einem unpersönlichem Verhältnisse gestanden; sie

kann an keinem Wesen vorbeigehen, ...ohne dass sie innerlich damit etwas erlebt." (p. 124.) This is a quality Hofmannsthal appreciates and even demands from an artist, so that despite the ordinary everyday feelings, banalities and clichés in thought he finds the diaries worthy of mention. A mysterious, inner gracefulness permeates even the commonplace remarks and this stems perhaps from her "grosse Gabe des Erlebens, die feine und starke Resonanz für äussere Reize, in der sich Kinder und Künstler begegnen" (p. 122), and from the fact that she experiences everything to the full: "Es ist nichts Totes in ihren Gedanken, ...nichts abstrakt Farbloses; ..." (p. 124). The gracefulness Hofmannsthal finds so characteristic of the diaries is also a result of her feeling for style (it is notable that what makes the journal graceful for Hofmannsthal is the fact that this feeling for style is something instinctive in the painter). "Sie schildert sich unzählige Male mit der naiven und künstlerischen Freude am Ausmalen hübscher Dinge; ...Was alle diese kleinen Pastellporträts so hübsch macht, ist das starke Stilgefühl in ihnen, das feine Talent, das sich nicht erlernen lässt, für Zusammenstimmung von Nuancen; ..." (p. 125). Even though Marie Bashkirtseff is now forgotten she appeared a great artist to Hofmannsthal because she painted "mit der Unmittelbarkeit des Erlebens, der Unbefangenheit des Schauens, die so selten ist..." (p. 127). In his essay Hofmannsthal gives the impression of a person and her art by suggestion rather than description; he does not record her life except in brief comments interspersed with his own observations about her character as this is revealed in her writing. It seems evident from the portrayal of her character by what seems almost a paraphrase of her own writing that Hofmannsthal has indeed given an interpretation here of the human being he found by immersing himself in the spirit of the diaries.

The next essay, written at the beginning of February 1893, was a review of the Moderner Musenalmanach auf das Jahr 1893 edited by Otto Julius Bierbaum in Munich. "Moderner Musenalmanach", unlike perhaps the previous essay, would support an argument against the views of Hamann/Hermand that Hofmannsthal simply gives a personal, entirely subjective impression of what he is apparently criticising. For here he indicates not only problems with which he himself was preoccupied (though these problems are of as great importance to the student of Hofmannsthal as they mean little to the art historian Hamann), such as that of the relationship of art and life, for instance, but he uses the review to censure the indifference of the general public towards matters of art, and beyond this to arouse interest in modern art by his own enthusiastic response to it. This is apparent in remarks such as, "Die Vorrede klagt ohne Anmassung über das deutsche Publikum, das vor Schlagworten nicht Zeit hat, anzuschauen, was geschaffen wird ..." (p. 129). There is also a hint of censure in what we know to be an expression of a personal question: answers are given in the book to all those, "welche fragen, was Kunst und Leben miteinander zu schaffen haben. Nicht jeder hat sich die Frage selbst gestellt, nicht jeder klar beantwortet." (p. 134). Hofmannsthal attempts to recreate the overall impression of the almanach by describing its characteristic atmosphere and the painters or writers mentioned are grouped under the various sub-headings of the 'fantastic' element, the 'imaginative', the 'bizarre' and 'morbid', the 'simple', 'rhetorical' and so forth. The 'fantastic', fairy-tale-like element is represented in the paintings chosen for the volume in which "das Platschern in der Farbe, die Farbenfreude und Farbensucht machen sich wunderbarlich und eindringlich geltend." (p. 130). This simple fantastic element is combined in some painters with an imagination which enables them to connect the far-fetched and fantastic "mit dem lebendigsten

verwandtesten Leben" (p. 130). Uhde and Stuck are given as examples here. In both cases a general idea is given of their painting and then a particular picture by each is described so that the reader obtains as nearly a total picture of the painters as possible. Even in Hofmannsthal's description of Uhde he appears sentimental though he is not criticised for this. (Muther finds him a "hervorragender Maler und grosser Psycholog"¹¹ but most later critics are negative in their opinions about him. As early as 1903, in his Entwicklungsgeschichte der modernen Kunst,¹² Julius Meier-Graefe hardly mentions Uhde and when he does so his criticism is not very positive: "Uhdes religiöse Bilder unterscheiden sich von den barbarischen Darstellungen Gebhardts nur durch eine frostige Sentimentalität, und nur wo Uhde sich möglichst eng an die Nüchternheit Liebermanns hält, ist er erträglich."¹³ Hofmannsthal prefers Stuck to Uhde, as is also clear from his essay on Stuck written in 1894. He discusses him in more detail and succeeds in conveying an almost complete picture of Stuck's art. He achieves this by taking four characteristic subjects from Stuck's work and sketching their essential features. He then connects the self-portrait reproduced in the almanach to the general impression already created. Stuck, like Uhde, occupies a small space in later histories of art and Meier-Graefe even prefers the sentimentality of Uhde to the "gar zu listige Lüsternheit"¹⁴ of Stuck.

In this essay Hofmannsthal reviews both painting and literature, and it is interesting to note that he transforms the feelings expressed in paintings into a lyrically expressive language and, conversely, transforms the feelings conveyed by words of poetry (or prose) into visual terms for achieving a plasticity of expression. Thus he recreates the self-portrait in poetic terms: "unheimliche, unterirdische Schönheit, bleich mit dunkeln Augenhöhlen und rabenschwarzem Haar" (p. 131). It is appropriate for the

mysterious, demonic quality of the painting that the sentence is grammatically incomplete. Similarly, in evoking some of Arno Holz's pictures, poetically effective language is used: "Ein verträumtes Dorf ... ein alter Garten, in feuchtkalter Dämmerung," (p. 133). On the other hand, in describing the translation of some of the poems of Pierrot lunaire¹⁵ by Otto Erich Hartleben, Hofmannsthal makes use of visual terms to reproduce the distinctive qualities of the poems and visually effective images: "Ganz einfach die alte Pantomimenfigur mit dem weisskreidigen Gesicht und den weiten Ärmeln ... Also wieder ein altes, gegebenes, längst stilisiertes Geschöpf vergangener Kunst, ein Wesen, wie der Faun oder der Engel oder der Tod." (pp. 131-2). This device of Hofmannsthal's technique is again apparent in the mention of Holz's short story, "Ein Tod", also in the almanach: "Dieses Talent, ... hat vielleicht die plastischste kleine Novelle, vielleicht das plastischste kleinalende Theaterstück geschaffen, ..." (pp. 133-4).

In this essay we also find a characterization of the modern artist, a characterization that would fit the aesthete of the 1890's: "Dieser Pierrot [a favourite Jugendstil motif] hat die Mondsucht eines hysterischen Künstlers von heute, er hat seine vibrierende Empfänglichkeit für Chopinsche Musik und Martergedanken, für Geigenspiel, für grelles Rot und 'heiliges' sanftes Weiss. Er sitzt im Café und phantasiert über die grünlichgelben gefährlichen Wolken des Absinth. Er leidet an Kunst und nennt die Verse 'heilige Kreuze, dran die Dichter stumm verbluten'." (p. 132). The word "hysterisch" suggests that Hofmannsthal, while having a sympathetic understanding of this modern artist, is, at the same time, critical of him.

Hofmannsthal's review of Muther's Geschichte der Malerei im XIX. Jahrhundert (vol. I), "Die Malerische Arbeit Unseres Jahrhunderts", was written in July 1893 and is, in its construction, more like an orthodox

review than the previous two essays. It provides background information about the publisher, the author of the book, the contents and the style and conveys a critical estimate of the last two. The importance of the essay for seeing the development of Hofmannsthal's relationship to art lies in the attitudes expressed in this critical estimate. Muther is strongly attacked by the traditional positivist, Hamann, for being a representative of the school of impressionistic art critics to which Meier-Graefe and Friedrich Naumann also belonged.

"Man will sich auch in der Kunstgeschichte nicht mehr über grössere Zusammenhänge unterrichten, sondern rein 'persönlich' angesprochen sein. An die Stelle der historischen Erläuterungen, peinlich genauen Oeuvrekataloge und allgemeinen Gesetzmässigkeiten treten daher anschauliche Bildbeschreibungen, die eine unmittelbar stimulierende Funktion auf den Leser ausüben sollen.... Wohl der beliebteste Antiakademiker unter den Kunsthistorikern dieser Epoche war Richard Muther, der nicht nur vom breiten Publikum, sondern auch von den geschmäcklerischen Literatenkreisen [i.e. Hofmannsthal (!), Schnitzler, Beer-Hofmann, Bahr] begeistert gefeiert wurde. Muther hatte die seltene Gabe, so treffend schildern zu können, dass die von ihm evozierten Bilder das Original in den meisten Fällen weit 'übertrafen'." ¹⁶

Hofmannsthal, predictably, has different views. He praises basically two features of the book. First, it provokes much needed interest in modern art in a wide public. "Die heute vorliegende Hirthsche Publikation endlich scheint ausserordentlich geeignet, lebendiges Interesse an der modernen Malerei in weiten, sehr weiten Kreisen zu verbreiten." (p. 162). It provokes interest by the liveliness of the writing; the book is comprehensive and

thorough, yet it is not purely academic and dry. "Es ist kein 'Schiffskatalog', keine, trockene Aufzählung von Namen und Daten: es versteckt das solide Knochengerüst seiner Gründlichkeit unter blühendem, lebendigem Fleisch." (p. 163). In other words, Muther has a gift of style which succeeds in hiding the academic, scholarly skeleton and instead gives the essential qualities. The elements of this style are an instinct for the appropriate quotation, for the characteristic anecdote, for significant phrases and metaphors. By avoiding the usual "gleichförmige Kruste akademischer Leblosigkeit" (p. 163) Muther succeeds in presenting the essential, a living whole, to the reader. He is able, Hofmannsthal says, "aus dieser unendlichen Vielheit von Einzelercheinungen ein lebendiges Ganzes zu machen, eine Entwicklungsgeschichte des malerischen Geistes ..." (p. 162). In Hamann's opinion Muther's book would be simply made up of "romanhaft geschriebenen Einzelstudien" and lacks any kind of "gehaltvolle Synthese".¹⁷ For Hofmannsthal, however, Muther achieves a synthesis of a more intrinsic kind than that to be found in the formulation of academic, factual principles. This consists in the presentation of the "lebendiges Ganzes", as we have seen above, the presentation of the development of the 'painterly spirit' rather than the superficiality of a list of historical commonplaces:

"... wir waren so sehr an die hochmutige akademische Exklusivität gewöhnt, dass wir gar nicht mehr daran dachten, in einer "Geschichte der Malerei" etwas anderes zu finden als Referate über Bilder, grosse, anerkannte Bilder, Wiedergabe der auf Historienbildern dargestellten Anekdoten, allenfalls ein paar Worte über Einfluss der Venezianer oder der Spanier auf das Kolorit dieses oder jener Meisters." (p. 164).

We notice once more Hofmannsthal's aversion to exclusivity: in Muther's book

the whole breadth of the 'painterly', 'das Malerische', is made living, so that we, the readers, as Hofmannsthal says,

"wir waren vielleicht keine verächtlichen Barbaren, wenn wir Kurzbauer einen langweiligen Anekdotenerzähler fanden und den mittelmässigen Maler, aber wundervollen, farbentrunkenen Arrangeur Makart hoch über Piloty, Munkácsy und ähnliche Illustratoren der Weltgeschichte stellten. ... Wir hatten möglicherweise Recht, wenn uns die harte, kalte Farbgebung manches Rahl und manches Ingres an einen Öldruck erinnerte, während wir Orgien von Licht, Dunkel, Bewegung, Leidenschaft genossen vor den Bildern eines Delacroix, der nicht immer ganz korrekt zeichnete und den seine akademischen Freunde "einen mit betrunkenem Besen malenden tätowierten Wilden" nannten;" (p. 165).

Muther's ability to produce such a reaction in his readers, to produce such a "freies und lebendiges Buch" comes from his "tiefe Freude am Aufnehmen rein malerischer Schönheit. Diese Grundstimmung, diese Liebe zur dargestellten Sache macht die Darstellung so wohltuend temperamentvoll, dieses rege aesthetische Gewissen gibt dem Urteil eine bewundernswerte innerliche Sicherheit." (p. 166). We are reminded of Hofmannsthal's letter to Marie Herzfeld about the affinity of the critic or 'interpreter' to his subject. This affinity, or in Muther's case, "diese Liebe zur dargestellten Sache", influences the criteria used for the evaluation of the artists discussed in the book. The basic criterion, according to Hofmannsthal, is as follows:

"Gerechtigkeit widerfährt jeder Eigenart, jedem Temperament, das intime und lebendige Beziehung zur Wirklichkeit sucht; aber unerbittlich ausgesondert, erbarmungslos zur Seite geworfen wird alles Gemachte und Absichtliche, alles Anempfundene und Manirierte ... So wird alle

Malerei aus zweiter Hand, alles, was der grossen Kunstkrankheit des Jahrhunderts, dem Eklektizismus, verfallen ist, alles, was durch fremde Augen in eine tote stilisierte Welt schaut, zur Seite geschoben, und bedeutend und erfreulich hebt sich aus dem Gewühle nur das Wahre und Eigenartige, ...unsere ehrliche Kunst." (pp. 166-7).

Here Hofmannsthal shows himself to be in line with the most modern tendencies in art criticism; the breakaway from academic eclecticism had not yet been accomplished by 1893, the time of the writing of this essay. The Munich Secession was just forming itself and the Impressionists were still not being accepted though the movement as such was over. The modern art historian, Werner Hofmann,¹⁸ comments on Hofmannsthal's ability to recognise some of the essential characteristics of contemporary artistic tendencies. One of these is the importance of the caricature as an art form that is vital and gives expression to the essence of its subject:

"Aber während sich so die "grosse" Malerei der ersten Hälfte des Jahrhunderts mehr und mehr dem lebendigen Leben entfremdet, im Kolorit alter Meister nach historischen Anekdoten leblose Puppen in schönkomponierten Gruppen darstellt, bemächtigt sich unscheinbar der Bleistift der Zeichner und Karikaturisten des wirklichen Lebens, hält seine Gebärden und Grimassen, seinen charakteristischen Ausdruck in Lust und Schmerz fest und zieht zuerst das moderne Leben in den Kreis der Kunst." (p. 168).

With reference to this remark Hofmann comments: "Wieder ist es der Drang nach 'wirklicher Wirklichkeit', nach echter, unmittelbarer und gesteigerter Lebensfülle, der Hofmannsthal in der Karikatur eine neue, wegbereitende Ausdrucksspontaneität begreifen lässt."¹⁹ After Muther's death in 1909 Hofmannsthal

remembers his book for this same quality of vitality and genuineness and believes that the sentiments expressed in it found an echo in the latent feelings of the time. "Der Grundton war anonymes, leidenschaftliches Verlangen nach einem lebendigen Genuss. Und dieses persönliche Pathos, das der Autor in sein Buch hineingab, stimmte in erstaunlicher Weise überein mit einem dunklen Bedürfnis, das in der Generation lag und sich zu manifestieren verlangte."²⁰

Hofmannsthal's next essay on the subject of contemporary art, "Die Malerei in Wien", was the first of a series he wrote for the Neue Revue between December 1893 and December 1894. It is not, as the title suggests, a report of an exhibition which took place in Vienna. It reports about the two international exhibitions of painting which were organized in Munich during the summer and autumn of 1893 and which Hofmannsthal visited.²¹ He does not report in detail about the paintings which were exhibited but uses the praise he has for the modernity and vital force displayed there for a sharp attack on the lack of interest in modern art in Vienna. We must realize that this criticism is earlier than most others in Vienna. We remember that the Viennese Secession was later than the German ones, and even in 1898, after the formation of the "Vereinigung bildender Künstler Österreichs", it was necessary to admonish, to provoke the general public. The periodical of the Vereinigung, Ver Sacrum, was used for this purpose and for the purpose of bringing the new art to the public. Hofmannsthal criticises the public as well as artists and critics who are not willing to accept the new, for having no interest at all in art:

"Aber in Wahrheit ist diese unsere grosse Stadt in Kunstsachen wie ein erkältendes Glied, dem der Blutzulauf unterbunden ist... In

München sagt man, geht eine junge, vom Fieber des Lebens zappelnde, wachsweiße neue Begabung zugrunde an der Überfülle der Anregungen, ... Hier aber geht auch der Lebendigste am völligen Mangel an Anregungen und geistreicher Konkurrenz zugrunde; ...und hintereinander gereiht, schlummertrunken wie trübselige Komfortabelpferde, zugedeckt mit der warmen Pferdedecke bürgerlicher Ehrbarkeit, stehen Kritiker, Künstler und Publicus, ..." (p. 192).

He goes on to say that not only is there an indifference to the new in art but that the public does not even know how to look at a painting. In other words, for the new art the public must be educated to develop a new way of seeing:

"Nur müssen die Leute wieder Bilder sehen, Bilder, keine mit der Hand gemalten Öldrucke; sie müssen sich wieder erinnern, dass die Malerei eine Zauberschrift ist, die, mit farbigen Klecksen statt der Worte, eine innere Vision der Welt, der rätselhaften, wesenlosen, wundervollen Welt um uns übermittelt, keine gewerbliche Tätigkeit; dass Malen etwas mit Denken, Traumen und Dichten zu tun hat ...Unser Publikum setzt sich vor einem Bild zu allen möglichen Nebensächlichkeiten des Kunstwerkes in Beziehung, nur nicht zur Hauptsache, zum eigentlich Malerischen; ..." (p. 193).

Hofmannsthal's criticism here is basically correct though the important position he gives in the next few lines to the individuality of the artist's vision in the evaluation of the work of art would draw Hamann's objection.²² His criticism of the "Bildungsphilister" ends on a hopeful note for he says that latent in each there is a feeling of vitality, a desire for an expression

or awakening of vital forces ('instincts') which have been covered up by clichés and catchwords. This awakening or re-awakening should be accomplished through art.

The essay "Franz Stuck" was written on the occasion of an exhibition of his work in Vienna in January 1894, also for the Neue Revue. Perhaps out of a sense of modesty he mentions his essay in a letter to Elsa Bruckmann-Cantacuzène (18 February 1894) in rather depreciatory terms. He says, "Ich habe einen sachlichen langweiligen Aufsatz über Stuck geschrieben, ...was drinsteht, haben Sie sich sicher schon allein gedacht."²³ More significant than this modesty-inspired statement is the comparison he makes between his adaptation of Euripides' Alcestis and Stuck: "Euripides von mir bearbeitet, es sieht ungefähr aus wie griechische Mosaikarbeit von Stuck nachgemacht."²⁴ The comparison is interesting for it shows that Hofmannsthal's interest in Stuck was not simply superficial but was rather an involvement such as his involvement with his own creative work.²⁵ At the same time it is another instance of Hofmannsthal's habit of observing similarities in the effect of works of art though their modes of expression are different. The essay itself is important for two reasons: in the first place it provides us with another comparison between the activity of the visual artist and the poet, and through this, more information about Hofmannsthal's view of the nature of the literary journalism which he has justified to George. Secondly, there is further evidence in this essay for Hofmannsthal's recognition of certain underlying tendencies of modern art.

In his introduction about Stuck Hofmannsthal compares the value of his early activities as caricaturist, designer of name cards for private and social occasions, for his development as a painter, to the value of literary journalism as training for the creative writer. He thinks they are both

valuable:

"Für die Technik im weitesten Begriff, für die des Dichters wie des bildenen Künstlers, ist diese feuilletonistische Vorschule, wenn sie nur nicht ins Wesentliche der Lebensanschauung dringt, von unvergleichlichen Vorteil. Er lernt den symbolischen Wert des Details begreifen, jeden Schnörkel, jeden Fleck verwerten. ... Für Stuck war das Zeichnen von Karikaturen, Allegorien und Emblemen eine solche Vorschule." (pp. 196-7).

In Hofmannsthal's analysis of Stuck's further development the characteristic qualities of his painting are conveyed by the use of literary terms: "so entstand eine Landschaftsmalerei voll phantastisch sinnlicher Lyrik" (p. 199), or the impression of certain paintings is recreated in a poetic description of them, as for instance in the lines: "durch diese mystisch schwimmende Dämmerung dann glühende Lichter stechen zu lassen: als verirrte Sonnenflecke, als opaline unheimliche Satansaugen, als Stücke tiefblauen Abendhimmels zwischen schwarzen Baumstämmen, als phosphoreszierender Paradiesesglanz hinter einer feuchten schwarzen Felsenspalte, ist eine tiefe echte Malerfreude." (p. 199). The 'poetic' quality in Stuck's painting is seen by Hofmannsthal to be in the symbolic use of certain elements, such as the supernatural, for instance: "Zur Staffage seiner phantastischer Landschaft, gleichsam als lebendiges Symbol ihres lyrischen Gefühlsinhaltes, nimmt Stuck jene von Böcklin überlieferten, von der Antike schon völlig losgebundenen Fabelwesen: Zentaur und Zentaurin, Faun und Paniske. Sie erlauben ein Reflektieren der Stimmung ohne Sentimentalität, was bei menschlicher Staffage schwer zu erreichen ist." (pp. 199-200).

According to Werner Hofmann, there is an even clearer recognition in this essay of modern artistic tendencies than in the essay on Muther. In

his analysis Hofmannsthal indicates what seems to be the essential feature of Stuck's development, namely that he learnt to see naively, he learnt to see pure form.

"Er lernte hier das Lebendige ornamental und das Ornament lebendig verwenden. Er lernte auf dem Kern der Dinge fassen, auf dem tiefen Sinn ihrer Form, dem unmittelbar erschaute; er lernte 'den Banden des Hörensagens' zu entspringen, naiv zu sehen. ..Diese wichtige künstlerische Eroberung, die Dinge unbeschadet ihrer konventionellen Bedeutung als Form an sich zu erblicken, verdankt Stuck, wenn ich nicht irre, dem wohltätigen Zwang, damals bei der Komposition von Allegorien und Vignetten die symbolischen Figuren und Geräte auf ihren ornamentalen, also reinen Formgehalt prüfen zu müssen." (p. 197).

The last sentence would be a reasonable summary of the chief characteristics of the Jugendstil. Hofmann's comment is: "Hofmannsthals weit vorausblickende Intuition nennt darum mit Recht die Fähigkeit, 'die Dinge unbeschadet ihrer konventionellen Bedeutung als Form an sich zu erblicken', eine 'wichtige künstlerische Eroberung'. Es ist, wie wir heute wissen, die Eroberung kat'exochen unseres Jahrhunderts."²⁶ Similarly, W. Iskra comments on the newness of Hofmannsthal's recognition of pure form as an important aspect of modern painting.²⁷

Hofmannsthal's next essay for the Neue Revue appeared in March 1894 and was, as its title suggests, ("Internationale Kunstausstellung 1894"), a report of one of the yearly international exhibitions of painting in Vienna. He comments on the display country by country and the English painters represented - particularly the Pre-Raphaelites - take the first place in his view. This is notable for he had not yet read the works of Ruskin and

Pater at this time (though the Swinburne essay - written in the winter of 1892 - proves that he was well acquainted with contemporary English artistic life). He had, of course, come across the Pre-Raphaelites in Muther's book. He criticises the omission of outstanding artists such as Burne-Jones, Whistler and Rossetti or the omission of really good paintings by artists who are represented and in this way displays an extensive knowledge of modern art. Omissions are noted by him not only among the English painters but among the Belgians, for example (Khnopff and Rops), or the Germans (Th. Th. Heine, L. von Hofmann and M. Klinger). Among the English painters he particularly praises a painting by Orchardson, "Master Baby". Orchardson is almost unknown today, "Master Baby" is reproduced by Muther but the painter is hardly mentioned, nor is he mentioned in Meier-Graefe's history or in William Gaunt's books on the Pre-Raphaelites and their time.²⁸ The painting is sentimental despite the fact that it "erzählt keine Anekdote", as Hofmannsthal puts it (p. 203).

There are, however, further examples in this essay of Hofmannsthal's ability to convey the impression created by single paintings or the exhibition as a whole. "'Café concert' hat die Stimmung, die Luft des Tingeltangels, diese Luft voll Gasgeruch, welken, geschminkten und gefirnissten Sachen, voll Dunst und unruhigen Reflexen, gleichzeitig angefüllt mit Apathie und Überreiztheit." (p. 208). In these instances Hofmannsthal is certainly an impressionistic art critic, if indeed one were to call him an art critic at all. He is, in the first place, a poet and the chief attraction of his art criticism is precisely in the fact that it shows him to be a poet. If, as is often the case, he intuitively or through his reading and acquaintance of artists and art historians makes observations that are considered important

for art criticism (the idea of 'pure form' in the Stuck essay, for instance), then these may be taken to suggest that he had an acute visual sense (manifested in some of the poems and lyrical dramas) and beyond this that there may be an interdependence between painting and poetry in the sense that the creative imagination of both poet and painter are akin to each other though their forms of expression are different. An example of Hofmannsthal's perception is the significant comment he makes in the essay under consideration on the English Pre-Raphaelites: "Die englischen Stilisten ... sind alle nicht in eigentlich malerischem Sinne, sondern als eine merkwürdige Art zeichnender Dichter interessant". He then goes on to characterize them:

"...einige Elemente der Schule [lassen sich] ganz gut empfinden: das Altklug-Puppenhafte, die naive Behandlung der Landschaft, die Vorliebe für das Schmale, alles das zwischen Sandro Botticelli und Kate Greenaway. Aber es fehlen die mystischen Augen der Frauen von Burne-Jones, es fehlt die faszinierende perverse Schein-Naivität der Dante Gabriel Rossettis und die heidnisch-christliche Märchenphantasie der Watts. Es fehlt wieder eben das Merkwürdigste". (p. 205).

How perceptive these remarks are may be seen by comparing them to statements made by William Gaunt in his excellent (and entertaining) book The Pre-Raphaelite Tragedy (first published 1942).²⁹ He says of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, "They were poets as well as painters ... Truth to Nature, the Brotherhood declared, must be its aim. ...but in this way, between them, Dante Gabriel Rossetti and Elizabeth Eleanor Siddal created the mysterious agony of Pre-Raphaelite love with its droop and heavy-lidden frustration, its unspeakable and unexplained sadness ...".³⁰

Hofmannsthal's next essay, "Ausstellung der Münchener 'Sezession' und der 'Freien Vereinigung Düsseldorfer Künstler'", is another exhibition report that shows his concern with what was very new in art. It was published in the Neue Revue in December 1894. His deep interest in the new movements in art, such as the Munich Secession, is displayed in a letter to Elsa Bruckmann-Cantacuzène, written on 26 December 1894. In it he says: "Ich hab' mich an Sie sehr viel erinnert, weil jetzt die Bilder von der 'Sezession' hier sind und diese ganze Atmosphäre der jungen Kunst. Alle haben wir Bilderbücher von Burne-Jones, Klinger oder Böcklin geschenkt bekommen, und diese schönen Sachen sind uns nicht Totes, sondern sehr eins mit dem Leben, was die Hauptsache ist."³¹ One may ask why Böcklin is included in this list; Hofmannsthal seems to have had an ambivalent attitude to Böcklin, at times he praises him (as in the essay, "Die Malerei in Wien": "Da waren die traumtiefen Bilder des Böcklin, heidnisch wie Hymnen des Orpheus und unheimlich wie das Märchen von Machandelboom" (p. 191)), at other times his opinion is negative (as in 1895 with reference to Gérardy's book about Böcklin, quoted above, p. 42).³² What is important in the passage is Hofmannsthal's assertion that this new art is, for him, at one with life. This relevance of art to life is a demand that Hofmannsthal often makes and it forms the core of his interest in the visual arts in the years 1891-96.

As an introduction, Hofmannsthal sketches the background of the Secessionist movement in Germany. He briefly describes the influences that led away from the academic historicism of the early 19th century, away from the "sehr viel Hässliches und Leeres" through Böcklin and Uhde to the new art. Among the influences he mentions are the Impressionist Whistler; "die Schotten", among whom he must include Macintosh, Macmurdo, Brangwyn and

Morris (though the last two were English, they had a large part in the formation of the "Century Guild" and the Scottish inspired Arts and Crafts Movement); influences from Japanese art, the Nabi Besnard and Khnopff. He also reaches further back to Puvis de Chavannes and Gustave Moreau. The greatest among the Munich group is generally considered to be Stuck (who, a year before, when Hofmannsthal wrote his essay about him, was virtually unknown to the general public). Hofmannsthal is now more critical of him than in the previous year as is evident from his remark: "Zumindest ist er wohl der Kräftigste, am meisten ein Schöpfer, wenn auch nicht der mit der grössten Feinheit und Eindringlichkeit des Empfindens." (p. 250). He places special emphasis on one aspect of Stuck's development and that is the following: "Die Leiber hatten anfangs ziemlich unbedeutende, oder archaisch stilisierte Gesichter. Allmählich bekamen sie Leben; offenbar hatte der Künstler, der viel Karikaturen für die "Fliegenden Blätter" zeichnete, inzwischen die Schönheit der Menschen zu spüren angefangen und gelernt, in den Gesichtern die Seele zu suchen." (p. 251). The fact that his figures were less stylised than before and had more life about them would seem to contradict Hofmannsthal's earlier opinion that the intentional stylisation of human figures by Stuck avoided sentimentality. This need not be the case, however, if Hofmannsthal means to suggest here that by being able to express the soul in the human face Stuck would naturally avoid sentimentality. How perceptive his characterization of Stuck's work is may be seen by comparing it to a description of it by a modern art critic and Jugendstil specialist, H. Hofstätter.³³ Hofmannsthal writes: "Dann gefiel ihm, der eine starke sinnliche Kraft hat, in dem Dunkeln das Spiel von Lichtern, Augen, glühenden Blumen, weissen Leibern" (pp. 250-1). Hofstätter portrays Stuck's painting,

"Innocentia", in the following terms:

"Aus dem flutenden Licht, das die ganze Bildfläche füllt und ihre weissgewandete Gestalt auflöst, wendet sich ihr heller Kopf zum Betrachter heraus und blickt ihn aus dunklen Augen, mit dunklen geschlossenen Lippen an. Ihre Hände halten wie ein Zepter eine Lilie.... im Gesicht sprechen nur die Augen und der Mund, beides aber mit der unverkennbaren Sinnlichkeit ..."³⁴

In the second part of the essay Hofmannsthal lists a number of other painters exhibiting with the Munich and Düsseldorf group (including Kalckreuth and Thoma, both of whom he praises) but it is not until we come to his criticism of Ludwig von Hofmann that his real involvement is felt. Hofmannsthal probably met Hofmann for the first time in 1892 as his diary records a meeting at which Hofmann introduced him to the work of Klinger.³⁵ Hofmann is praised in this essay above all others. "Ludwig von Hofmann ist wohl derjenige unter allen jungen Malern heute in Deutschland, der den grössten Stil hat, die weiteste und herrlichste Weise, Schönheit zu gestalten." (p. 254). It seems important here that Hofmannsthal uses the word "Schönheit" for the word is not used in his criticism of other painters in the early essays. It suggests not only that Hofmannsthal equates "den grössten Stil" with "die weiteste und herrlichste Weise, Schönheit zu gestalten" but that he feels a personal affinity with Hofmann on account of the beauty he perceives in his work. That he is deeply moved by Hofmann's paintings is also clear from much of the rest of the passage on him:

"... und nur die sehr grossen Maler drücken Dinge aus, die man zuerst vag empfindet, dann auf eine Formel bringt und am Ende erfunden zu

haben glaubt, während sie doch in dem Bild sind: wir meinen die Art, wie in dem "Dekorativen Entwurf" der Jüngling mit dem rot-schimmernden Haar und den schlanken Lenden den Zauber der Jugend ausdrückt mit ihrer Sehnsucht und Anmut und Kühnheit, wie in seinem metallenen Haar und seiner triumphierenden Hagerheit etwas Ergreifendes und Rührendes ist." (pp. 254-5).

To some extent Hofmannsthal reads his own impressions into the painting for most of the "Pedanten und Krämer" who see it insult it by finding nothing in it, he says. In other words one would have to feel an inner affinity with the work to be able to find beauty in it. Muther remarks on this quality of Hofmann's work: "Aber die Farbenaccorde, die er anschlägt, sind doch oft von einschmeichelndem Wohlklang; in der Auffassung, namentlich der Landschaften, liegt zuweilen eine Grösse und Poesie, wie sie nur Bevorzugten gegeben; ..." ³⁶ Despite his apparent partiality to Hofmann, Hofmannsthal knows where his weaknesses are: he is still much under the influence of painters such as Puvis de Chavannes and, therefore, not sufficiently independent in style; other qualities of his paintings also show him to be immature though they have promise as well. In the passage about Hofmann there is an important general remark about painting and the other arts (these remarks occur generally when Hofmannsthal shows sympathetic understanding for an artist, and they also demonstrate his tendency to establish relationships, 'Bezüge', whenever possible): "Ja es ist nichts, was Malerei nicht auszudrücken vermochte, wofern sie nur nicht versucht, ihrem edlen schweigsamen Wesen untreu zu werden: wie ein Alchimist kann sie aus dem Leben die farbige Wesenheit herauskochen, und die hält den ganzen Wunderkreis des Daseins so in sich, wie die Gesamtheit der Töne oder Worte." (p. 255). The "schweigsames Wesen" and the "farbige Wesenheit"

suggest once more that Hofmannsthal intuitively recognizes essential facts about painting as a visual art.

In his essay "Theodor von Hörmann", written in November or December 1895, after Hörmann's death, Hofmannsthal attempts to give a total picture of the man and the artist. He does not list Hörmann's paintings nor does he describe individual ones but rather tries to show the general development of the artist and create a general impression of his art against the background of the soldier's life. "So finde ich den Weg von der grossen Büste [Hörmann's] mit dem Ausdruck der Augen, der vage, fast unter der Schwelle des Bewusstseins, eine Erinnerung an das edle Sterben des Don Quijote hervorruft, zu den hundertundfünfzig Bildern an der Wand." (p. 262).

Most of the eight essays discussed above were occasional pieces: Hofmannsthal reported on books that he read or exhibitions which he visited. They have in common his deep interest in the subjects, without which he would not have written about them in the first place. This is in accord with his demands from the critic: he should write about those things to which he feels an affinity. This feeling of spiritual kinship with his subject enables the critic to find its essential qualities. Thus Hofmannsthal attempts to recreate what is essential in a work of art: "das eine Notwendige: ob hier eine künstlerische Individualität die freie Kraft gehabt hat, eine neue, aus lebendigen Augen erschaute Perzeption des Weltbildes in einer Weise darzustellen, die sich der Seele des Betrachters zu übertragen geeignet ist." (p. 193), rather than simply describe or give objective value judgements, although some of his observations about art correspond to observations made by art historians or critics. It is in

instances where he does in this way recreate the impressions works of art made on him that he is most interesting for in these cases he shows himself to be a poet. Because he is a poet he is able to relate what otherwise seems unrelated and the correspondences he finds between the visual arts and poetry often provide significant insight into a work of art or into the creative process itself. (See analyses of "Moderner Musenalmanach", p. 62 and "Internationale Kunstausstellung 1894", p. 73.) The fact that the poet Hofmannsthal writes about painting suggests not only that he was interested in fine art but that he had a strong visual sense, as is evidenced in his perceptive comments about caricature as an art form and the importance of 'pure form' and the 'painterly' element in art. (See the essay on Stuck, p. 71.) It also suggests that Hofmannsthal was concerned with a personal problem in his discussion of the visual arts: the problem of the relationship of art and life. This is supported by the correspondences and diary notes and also by his search for the living experience which is given expression in a work; the vitality and totality of the creative vision or the creative personality apparent in it. (See essays on Marie Bashkirtseff and Muther, pp. 60 and 64 above.) The personal problem of art and life (or the aesthetic and the ethical) is also evident in Hofmannsthal's sympathetic appreciation of the aesthete's way of life and sensitivity - already apparent in his choice of subjects - on the one hand, and his critique of him on the other (see essay on Muther, p. 67).

Finally, it is clear from these essays that Hofmannsthal had a wide knowledge of contemporary art and artists, that he attempted to arouse interest in what was new in art and had a special interest in English art. The essays dealing with English art discussed below reveal more about one

of the central problems in Hofmannsthal's early work, the conflict between the fascination and beauty of an aesthetic way of life which, at the same time, is artificial, and the vitality of life whether in action or in spiritual qualities provided these are genuine. Some of these essays are also the result of a thorough study of their subjects, as, for instance, the essays on Swinburne and Pater.

2. Essays on English art and life

Hofmannsthal's essays on English art and life are best treated together for a number of reasons. He himself commented on the significance of English art, thought and life for his development (see p. 38 above). The truth of this statement is borne out by many letters and diary entries as well as the essays themselves. In the decade 1890-1900 Hofmannsthal was "fascinated" by England as both Michael Hamburger and Mary Gilbert point out.³⁷ He read many English books including poets such as Coleridge, Shelley, Keats, Tennyson, Rossetti, Swinburne, Wilde; dramatists such as Shakespeare and the Restoration dramatists; the essayists Lamb, Macaulay, Ruskin and Pater, and many novelists. Though his selection is haphazard it is evident that some of what he read had a special interest for him. Mary Gilbert suggests that "Pater, Wilde, Swinburne and Browning, Elizabethan drama and the paintings of the pre-Raphaelites seem to have been the objects of his special attention."³⁸ As has already been pointed out, Hofmannsthal's interest in England was in part a fashionable must in the Viennese society to which he belonged. But at the same time "Hofmannsthal was also feeling for a way of life suited to his temperament."³⁹ Since English art and life

meant so much to Hofmannsthal it is self-evident that special importance may be attached to the thoughts expressed in the essays dealing with English subjects.

Hofmannsthal's thoughts on the relationship of art and life and on the possible correlation between the creative sensibility of poet and painter play a considerable part in these essays. This is natural if one considers that the chief observations are on Swinburne, Pater and the Pre-Raphaelites, all of whom were associated with Aestheticism. Hofmannsthal examines the meaning of aestheticism as an intensification of life through the beauty of art or as an escape from life and decides basically in favour of life - though he is far from rejecting the aesthetic movement as such. He does criticise it (Erken states with reference to the essay on Swinburne: "Eine kritische Distanzierung ist allerdings schon unverkennbar"⁴⁰) but at the same time he attempts to place the movement in perspective. Michael Hamburger comments on Hofmannsthal's preoccupation, in the early works, with the conflict between the sensuous and the ethical (or between the lure of art and beauty on the one hand and life on the other), and relates this preoccupation to his turning with interest to English Aestheticism. "How crucial this conflict remained for at least another decade, how many of Hofmannsthal's works sprang from the tension between a sensuous and an ethical impulse, cannot be elaborated here; but his debt to English aestheticism is inseparable from this central preoccupation."⁴¹

"Englisches Leben", the first essay about England, is a review of a book by Margaret Oliphant about the life of an eccentric Englishman, Lawrence Oliphant. The essay does not deal with art directly and,

therefore, is of no particular interest here, except inasmuch as it shows that as early as 1891 Hofmannsthal had a special interest in aspects of English life and showed an ability to penetrate below the level of the superficial. This essay also indicates the breadth of Hofmannsthal's reading by this time. He comments on the unpopularity of certain poets such as Shelley and Swinburne: "wo aber kein Platz ist für die hehre geächtete Hoheit Shelleys, noch für Swinburnes glühende, prangende Pracht." (pp. 59-60)⁴². At the same time he is aware of sociological and cultural factors important in the make-up of contemporary England.

Hofmannsthal's essay "Algernon Charles Swinburne" was written towards the end of 1892 and published at the beginning of 1893. It is discussed because Hofmannsthal writes of Swinburne and the group of artists with whom he is associated, the Pre-Raphaelites. The essay is also discussed at length because it demonstrates to what an extent Hofmannsthal associated poetry with the visual arts. He finds similarities in the artistic sensibility of poet and painter and succeeds in conveying this through his style. He mentions in a letter to Carl August Klein (in charge of the publication of George's Blätter für die Kunst) on 19 December 1892 his intention of "in Tagesblättern die uns verwandten Erscheinungen fremder Litteraturen (Verlaine, Swinburne, Oscar Wilde, die Praeraphaeliten etc.) zu besprechen, dabei kommt ja ganz naturgemäss eine persönliche Stellungnahme und Andeutung eines auch in Deutschland vorhandenen Programmes heraus."⁴³ On 11 January 1893 Hofmannsthal sends a copy of the finished essay to George for comment. In the accompanying letter he says: "heute schicke ich Ihnen einen Versuch historischer Prosa, deren gedrängte Dunkelheit Ihnen, der den Stoff beherrscht, weder störend noch unverzeihlich

erscheinen wird. Hätte ich bei gleicher Plasticität etwas grössere - Deutlichkeit erzielen können, so wäre das für den Zweck geeigneter gewesen."⁴⁴ George's reply is unqualified praise: "gestatten Sie flüchtigen dank für Ihren herrlichen aufsatz über Swinburne: Sie haben eine art erhabenen schwärmens über einen dichter gefunden auf das Sie und er stolz sein dürfen".⁴⁵ Hofmannsthal's sentence about plasticity in his prose is important for it is remarkable to what an extent he makes use of images taken from the plastic arts in the essay. This is appropriate as his main observation about Swinburne and the Pre-Raphaelites is that they are able to convey feelings, impressions or thoughts in plastic or concrete terms. Of Swinburne he says: "Er hat für die Darstellung gewisser innerer Erlebnisse eine solche pénétrance des Tones gefunden, gewissen Stimmungen eine so wunderbare Körperlichkeit gegeben, ..." (p. 116). Of the Pre-Raphaelites he writes: "Beim Anblick irgendeines jungen Mädchens werden sie an die schlanken, priesterlichen Gestalten einer griechischen Amphore denken und beim Anblick schönfliegender Störche an irgendein japanisches Zackornament." (p. 114). This last quotation is a link to Hofmannsthal's statement about Swinburne and the Pre-Raphaelites that "Sie gehen nicht von der Natur zur Kunst, sondern umgekehrt.... Ihnen wird das Leben erst lebendig, wenn es durch irgendeine Kunst hindurchgegangen ist, Stil und Stimmung empfangen hat." (pp. 113-4). And so we find that Hofmannsthal attempts to convey this observation in the style of his essay as well: images from the visual arts occur throughout, especially that of an artistically wrought vessel. ("Gefäß" is almost like a leitmotif in the essay.) In the very first paragraph Swinburne's poetic qualities are described using this image as well as others from the field of the visual arts. "Er hat schöne, seltsame und kostbare Gedanken, sein Hirn ist mit altertümlichen

und doch wunderbar glühenden Bildern angefüllt, er hat goldene Worte und Worte wie rote und grüne Edelsteine, und ihm werden aus ihnen Gebilde, schön und unvergänglich wie die funkelnden Fruchtschalen des Benvenuto Cellini." (p. 113). (The preciousness of the language in this sentence might suggest that Hofmannsthal identified himself with the aestheticism evident in it. Certainly, in the course of the essay he shows insight into the creative impulses of the group of artists discussed and the preciousness is a result of his attempt to convey these inner processes adequately. Perhaps in the George letter quoted above the phrase "gedrängte Dunkelheit" refers to this stylistic quality and not simply to lack of clarity, and he thinks that George, who was familiar with the work of these artists, would appreciate his difficulty in this respect.) The image of the vessel from this first paragraph is reintroduced several times: what these artists create are "zerbrechliche kleine Gefäße der raffinierten Empfindsamkeit" (p. 115); Swinburne "füllt diese zierlichen und zerbrechlichen Gefäße mit so dunkelglühendem, so starkem Wein des Lebens" (pp. 115-6); of Swinburne's "Atalanta in Calydon" Hofmannsthal says, "es war eine tadellose antike Amphore, gefüllt mit der flüssigen Glut eines höchst lebendigen, fast bacchantischen Naturempfindens." (p. 117). These lines also show, incidentally, that he is not only concerned with the beauty of the form but the intensity of the life or experience revealed in this form. The Bacchic element in these and the following lines must have found a special response in Hofmannsthal for similar sentiments are found in his Der Tod des Tizian written a few months before this essay.

Lisa: Ich halte eine Puppe in den Händen,
 Die ganz verhüllt ist und verschleiert ganz,

Und sehe sie mir scheu verlangend an:
 Denn diese Puppe ist der grosse Pan,
 Ein Gott,
 Der das Geheimnis ist von allem Leben.⁴⁶

Not only is the image of the vessel used to indicate the quality of Swinburne's poetry but all aspects of the visual arts. Hofmannsthal himself explains: "Es ist der raffinierte, unvergleichliche Reiz dieser Technik, dass sie uns unaufhörlich die Erinnerung an Kunstwerke weckt und dass ihr rohes Material schon stilisierte, kunstverklärte Schönheit ist; .." (p. 118). Hofmannsthal's statement here about the 'raw material' (i.e. the subject matter) of Swinburne's poetry is a reiteration of the thought expressed at the beginning of the essay that life is only significant to the artists with whom Swinburne associated when it is enhanced by an artistic sensibility. The works of art of which Hofmannsthal is reminded are quattrocento paintings and Burne-Jones' women.

"...oder die Geliebte wird gemalt, wie die kindlichen Meister des Quattrocento malen: auf einem schmalen Bettchen sitzend, eine kurzgesaitete Laute in den feinen Fingern oder einen rot und grünen Psalter; oder sie steht im Dunkel, wie die weissen Frauen des Burne-Jones, mit blasser Stirn und opalinen Augen. ...oder der psychologische Vorgang ist in eine Allegorie übersetzt, in eine so plastische, so malbare, so stilisierte Allegorie, dass sie aussieht wie ein wirkliches Gemälde des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts." (pp. 118-9).

His characterisation of the quattrocento painters fits in with the qualities

of the Pre-Raphaelites (especially Rossetti's "Annunciation"). Even in describing the subject matter of Swinburne's poetry (love) Hofmannsthal evokes visual images (in particular that of Botticelli's Venus): "Aber niemals sind auf dem Altar der vielnamigen Göttin kostbarere Gewürze in schöneren Schalen verbrannt worden als von dem Mann, dem sie vor ein paar Wochen den goldenen Lorbeerkrantz nicht gegeben haben, weil er nichts Heiligeres zu tun weiss, als auf dem reichen blauen Meer mit wachen Augen die unsterbliche Furche zu suchen, aus der die Göttin stieg." (p. 120). It may be noted in this perhaps somewhat mannered final paragraph that Hofmannsthal had a thorough knowledge not only of Swinburne's works (he appreciates his dramatic production as well as his lyrical) but also of important events in his life, such as his not being selected for the title of "poet laureate".

It is evident then from this essay that Hofmannsthal greatly admired Swinburne (and the Pre-Raphaelites with whom he was associated) for his ability to render emotions concrete through sensuous imagery and himself attempted to recreate this quality in his essay by the use of images from the visual arts. In this way he succeeds in suggesting the essential features of Swinburne's poetry. The essay is important for two other reasons beyond this. It indicates Hofmannsthal's attitude to aestheticism at a very early stage and Hofmannsthal demonstrates that he is not only able to appreciate Swinburne's aestheticism but that he is aware of the alienation of the Pre-Raphaelites and Swinburne from life; he is aware that their art is an escape from life. The very first sentence of the essay introduces the idea of beauty held by the English Aesthetes: "Das moralische England besitzt eine Gruppe von Künstlern, denen der Geschmack für Moral und

gesunden Gemeinsinn so sehr abgeht, dass sie für Saft und Sinn aller Poesie eine persönliche, tiefe und erregende Konzeption der Schönheit halten, der Schönheit an sich, der moralfremden, zweckfremden, lebensfremden." (p. 113).⁴⁷ This idea of beauty for its own sake has something artificial about it, something that isolates the artists subscribing to it from life. Hofmannsthal comments on this: "Es ist nicht unnatürlich, dass dieser Gruppe von Menschen, die zwischen phantasievollen Künstlern und sensitiven Dilettanten stehen, etwas eigentümlich Zerbrechliches, der Isolierung Bedürftiges anhaftet." (pp. 114-5). Notable is the phrase "Zwischen phantasievollen Künstlern und sensitiven Dilettanten" not only because it has a great deal of truth in it about Pre-Raphaelite artists, but because Hofmannsthal uses it of himself at about the same time as he is writing this essay. In a letter to Alfred Freiherr von Berger, written on 5 October 1892, he says: "Da tat mir namentlich die Körperlichkeit Ihrer Kritik sehr wohl, das Herkommen vom Technischen und Eingehen aufs Technische, mir, wie allen suchenden Menschen, die zwischen Dilettant und wirklichem Künstler stehen."⁴⁸ It seems from this that Hofmannsthal's attitude towards the Pre-Raphaelites is one of appreciation despite the fact that they are not perhaps great artists - at least they are searching for ideals. But at the same time the artificiality of their life (life, not art!) sets them apart from others and here Hofmannsthal's own personal problem is touched. He is not yet outspokenly negative about the aesthete's life but he is perfectly aware of his position. "Die Luft ihres Lebens ist die Atmosphäre eines künstlich verdunkelten Zimmers, ...Die Fenster sind mit Gobelins verhängt, und hinter denen kann man einen Garten des Watteau vermuten, mit Nymphen, Springbrunnen und vergoldeten Schaukeln, ...In Wirklichkeit aber rollt draussen das

rasselnde, gellende, brutale und formlose Leben." (p. 115). That Hofmannsthal himself felt like this at times is clear from the well-known passage in Der Tod des Tizian which is reiterated here in the lines: "Es herrscht ein gegenseitiges Misstrauen und ein gewisser Mangel an Verständnis zwischen den Menschen in dem Zimmer und den Menschen auf der Strasse." (p. 115). Desiderio in Der Tod des Tizian looks down at the town from the master's villa:

Siehst du die Stadt, wie jetzt sie drunten ruht?
 Gehüllt in Duft und goldne Abendglut
 Und rosig helles Gelb und helles Grau,
 Zu ihren Füßen schwarzer Schatten Blau,
 In Schönheit lockend feuchtverklärter Reinheit?
 Allein in diesem Duft, dem ahnungsvollen,
 Da wohnt die Hässlichkeit und die Gemeinheit,
 Und bei den Tieren wohnen dort die Tollen;
 Und was die Ferne weise dir verhüllt,
 Ist ekelhaft und trüb und schal erfüllt
 Von Wesen, die die Schönheit nicht erkennen ...⁴⁹

This escape from life through art, characteristic of the Pre-Raphaelites and especially of the Aesthetes of the 1890's, is rejected by Hofmannsthal later (one may note that Der Tod des Tizian was never completed) as we have already seen in some of his correspondences (George, Herzfeld) and can also be seen in plays such as Der Tor und der Tod. Finally, Hofmannsthal's mention of Ruskin in this essay deserves comment. He says it was characteristic that the Pre-Raphaelites first gathered around a critic, thus indicating what he is going to stress in the following paragraph, that these artists

seem to some extent to be dilettants. However, Ruskin himself was not at all a dilettante art critic for he was himself an accomplished painter. What Hofmannsthal finds interesting about him is the fact that he had learned to paint in order to understand "wie man Leben in farbige Flecke und verschwimmende Tinten übersetzt, um dann mit berauscher Beredsamkeit aus Bildern die lebendigen Seelen der Künstler und der Dinge herauszudeuten ..." (p. 114). In other words, Ruskin was able in his criticism to recreate the life that painters had transformed into colour. Hofmannsthal is evidently positive in his judgement of Ruskin here. He had not yet come across Walter Pater's writings.

Hofmannsthal's essay "Über moderne englische Malerei" was written in May/June 1894 as a 'Rückblick', to the international art exhibition in Vienna in the spring of 1894. (See "Internationale Kunstausstellung 1894", p. 73 above.) With reference to this essay Mary Gilbert says:

"That he chose English painting for his subject was partly because he had no special interest in the German pictures exhibited, partly because in those days English painters were looked upon as pioneers. It was the George circle again whose attention had been drawn to the English pre-Raphaelites by the Belgian painter Khnopff, who had seen Burne-Jones in London."⁵⁰

Certainly the George circle was aware of all new developments in art (though George himself had some very personal ideas about some contemporary artists); it is, however, less certain that Hofmannsthal acquired his interest in the Pre-Raphaelites chiefly from the circle. There is a gap in the correspondence between George and Hofmannsthal from the end of 1893 to March 1895 and

the few letters that were exchanged between Hofmannsthal and Klein were on official matters relating to Hofmannsthal's withdrawal from the Blätter für die Kunst as a permanent contributor. As has already been pointed out there is very little in the correspondence on matters of art and no exchanges of ideas in this field are found in 1893, prior to Hofmannsthal's essay. Already in 1892 (at the time of the writing of the essay on Swinburne) Hofmannsthal shows interest in and familiarity with the art of the Pre-Raphaelites, possibly a result of his interest in Swinburne as a poet. After this time it is likely that his attention is drawn to all aspects of modern art through his acquaintance of the "Jung-Wiener" (Bahr, in particular) and the German and Viennese papers and periodicals of the early 1890's, such as Freie Bühne (Neue deutsche Rundschau after 1894), Monatsschrift für Literatur und Kritik (Moderne Rundschau in 1891) or other papers to which Hofmannsthal himself contributed in the early 1890's: Deutsche Zeitung, Wiener Literatur-Zeitung, Neue Revue, Die Presse and Die Zeit.⁵¹ Apart from these influences it is Elsa Bruckmann-Cantacuzène above all from whom Hofmannsthal receives the stimulus in 1893-94 to undertake a closer study of certain periods or personalities in the history of art, such as, for instance, Pater, Whistler and the Munich Secession. Indeed, it is to her that Hofmannsthal sends a copy of his essay in May or June 1894 with the significant words:

"Dafür schick' ich Ihnen heute ausser dem Renaissanceband von Pater auch meinen gutgemeinten und schlechtgeschriebenen Aufsatz über die englischen Präraffaeliten, wo Sie spüren werden, wie ich von dem etwas leeren Aesthetismus ins Menschlich-Sittliche hinüberzulenken suche. Denn es scheint mir sehr darauf anzukommen, dass die Kunst vom Standpunkt des Lebens betrachtet werde."⁵²

This wish of Hofmannsthal's, not to separate art from life, is voiced in the essay. (It also demonstrates the difference between his attitude to art and that of George, who, like the French Symbolists, divorced art from life.) Michael Hamburger comments on the fact that Hofmannsthal is concerned with the ethical and social aspects of the Pre-Raphaelites as well as the specifically aesthetic qualities of their art, and is critical where he finds a tendency to aestheticism for its own sake.⁵³

Hofmannsthal writes the essay about the Pre-Raphaelites as an after-thought after his report of the international exhibition. In it he tries to examine those qualities in Pre-Raphaelite painting that render it special for him. The first such quality he observes is the "intensives, wenn auch eng begrenztes Innenleben" that the figures of a Pre-Raphaelite painting possess. (He is thinking above all of the paintings of Edward Burne-Jones, though later in the essay Rossetti is mentioned as are Holman Hunt and Watts.) This inner, spiritual life found in Burne-Jones' characters is limited in that it is very simple, in the sense in which a myth is simple. The chief characteristics of these figures are a certain naïveté, sadness, and astonishment at being. The adjectives of which he makes use to describe them are: 'traurig', 'verwundert', 'bange', 'naiv', 'sehnsüchtig-bange'; they are "Gestalten mit einer fast mystischen Traurigkeit in den sehnsüchtigen Augen, mit den naiven puppenhaften Gebärden kindlicher Kunstepochen und dabei in allegorischen Handeln und Leiden von unendlicher Tragweite befangen." (p. 226). The observer must look carefully at these paintings for the spiritual life expressed in them is subtly covered up by "geistreichen Linien", "raffiniert suggestiven Mimik" and "gedankenvollen Symbolik". In other words - and here

we arrive at the second point Hofmannsthal makes about the art of the Pre-Raphaelites - a characteristic feature of Pre-Raphaelite painting is that it makes use of symbolism and allegory (whether in gestures or objects) to give appropriate expression to the 'Innenleben' of its characters. Because of its mastery of this technique Hofmannsthal calls Pre-Raphaelite painting "eine raffiniert geistreiche Malerei". (p. 228). In that it is 'raffiniert geistreich' it has something artificial about it and this may be explained by the fact that the Brotherhood was attempting to reproduce in technique and in sensibility a particular period from the past rather than naturally evolve a style of its own. "Das Ganze hat etwas Künstliches, zumindest Gehegtes, nicht ganz Wildgewachsenes. ...Das Versenken in Dantes Kunstgeheimnis bildete nun in glücklichster Weise den Kern der Tradition der englischen Präraphaeliten" (pp. 288-9). Here Hofmannsthal demonstrates a stylistic device often used by him; he does not simply list facts, he strives to suggest inner relationships between them. This, of course, presupposes a thorough understanding of his subject. In this case, rather than state that the Pre-Raphaelites chose the style of the period before Raphael as an ideal style and Dante as a spiritual guide, he first suggests certain of the qualities of Pre-Raphaelite painting and then shows that these are the very features which relate it to its adopted ideal. At first it was suggested that the intense spiritual life of the characters in Pre-Raphaelite painting is expressed in their symbolic movements, gestures or in symbolic objects. Now it is explained that Dante's characters reveal states of mind in gestures.

"Das Seltsamste ist, dass Dante hier wirkt wie ein Maler. Er ist in der Tat in unglaublicher Weise von malerischen Elementen durchsetzt..
 ..Ich meine nicht nur die fast immer malerisch, direkt im Stil des

Giotto und Fiesole beschriebenen allegorischen Figuren, Aufzüge, Gruppierungen und so weiter...; aber die Gestalt der Beatrice, jedes Schreiten, Neigen, Grüßen und Winken an ihr ist in seiner subtilen Expressivität dem Stil der primitiven Madonnen entnommen, nur noch raffinierter. Raffiniert ist das einzige Wort für diese in kaum glaublicher Weise gesteigerte Fähigkeit, innere Vorgänge, namentlich bei Frauen und Jünglingen, durch naive, fast linkische Bewegungen des Körpers zu verraten, wie sie sich bei den Malern des Quattrocento und bei Dante findet." (p. 229).

It is interesting that Hofmannsthal once more perceives the visual element in poetry, in Dante's poetry. (One may surmise that Hofmannsthal's picture of Dante was influenced by his conception of Giotto's paintings.) He was deeply involved with Dante at about the time of the writing of this essay (see p.⁴¹ above) and it is not unreasonable to suggest that his acquaintance with the art of the Pre-Raphaelites enhanced his study of Dante which, in turn, supplied him with a deeper understanding of the ideals of the Pre-Raphaelites. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, the first member of the group came, of course, from a background of Dante scholarship, as indeed Hofmannsthal mentions in his essay. The quality singled out by Hofmannsthal here about Dante and the Pre-Raphaelites - that of expressing emotions by physical movements and gestures - is one which is found in his own work as well, in the poem "Die Beiden" (1896?) for instance.⁵⁴ (The special attention Hofmannsthal pays to this feature in painting and poetry may partially account for the importance he attaches to mime and dance throughout his life.)

Expressing an inner content in movements makes the art of the Pre-Raphaelites special for it endows physical objects with a spirituality that is normally associated not with painting but with poetry. And so Hofmannsthal makes his next point:

"Alle diese Maler, mehr Dichter als Maler, sagten doch in ihrer Manier manches, wofür die Poesie kein Organ hat. Wenn sie auch mehr interpretierten als schufen, so lag doch gerade in ihrer Interpretation so essentielle Poesie, eine so geistreiche Beherrschung und Beseelung der körperlichen Dinge! Kunst ist schliesslich Natur auf Umwegen; ..." (p. 230).

Hofmannsthal had already commented on the poetic qualities of these painters in his first essay about the exhibition of 1894 (see p. 74 above) and it is remarkable how closely interrelated the visual and the poetic are for Hofmannsthal. In his essay on Swinburne he shows his admiration for the poet because he has the ability to give "eine so wunderbare Körperlichkeit" to certain feelings and experiences. In order to illustrate and emphasize this characteristic he evokes much of Swinburne's poetry by the use of visual images, taken mostly from art. In his discussion of the essential features of Pre-Raphaelite painters, on the other hand, he comments on the poetic qualities, the spiritualising of corporeal objects. For this he indicates the relationship of these artists to Dante. Evidently, for Hofmannsthal, both modes of artistic expression stem from the same creative process - "Kunst ist schliesslich Natur auf Umwegen".

Another element in the work of the Pre-Raphaelites is the influence of the early Renaissance on it. In order to suggest this influence, rather

than describe it, Hofmannsthal creates, using poetic language, a scene which serves to give the essence of what the Brotherhood took over from the Renaissance: "die feine Essenz der seelischen Schönheit aus den Gebärden der Beatrice, aus dem rätselhaften Lächeln der Gioconda." (p. 231). To elaborate on this he quotes, in translation, the famous passage from Pater's The Renaissance about the Mona Lisa. This quotation leads him to his major observation about the Pre-Raphaelites: "Diese 'von innen heraus dem Körper angeschaffene Schönheit', ... diese von innen heraus notwendige Schönheit, gleichsam eine so vollendete Durchseelung des Leiblichen, dass sie wie Verleiblichung des Seelischen berührt, diese höchste, veredelte, individuelle Schönheit suchen die englischen Präraphaeliten; ..." (p. 232). Here we find a synthesis of the spiritualising of the physical and the physical embodiment of spiritual ideals. In fact, this embodiment of spiritual values suggests stylization in painting and, certainly, Pre-Raphaelite art is stylized. What saves it from being artificial for Hofmannsthal is that the spiritual content and the beauty of the figures are necessary, that is to say, inherent in them. Hofmannsthal also recognizes a certain idealism in the works of the Pre-Raphaelites which accounts for the difference between their idea of beauty and that which comes from classical antiquity.

The mention of idealism provides a transition to Hofmannsthal's last observation about the painters he is discussing; the ethical nature of their work. He introduces this by a comment about Ruskin's turning away from art criticism towards social and ethical problems. This should not be looked on as something strange, he says; "der Übergang von intensiver Beschäftigung mit der Kunst zu irgendwelchem anderen hohen und priesterlichen Beruf sollte doch niemals wundernehmen. Zumal diese englische Kunst

der psychisch-leiblichen Schönheit ist durch und durch ethisch." (p. 233). He attempts to define what he means by 'ethisch' and calls on Dante once more. It appears that the ethical content of Pre-Raphaelite art is in its portrayal of a genuine "Seelenleben".

"Darin beruht die tiefe sittliche Wirkung der Mimik Dantescher Gestalten; sie verrät ein Seelenleben, darin die geistreichste energievollste Begabung im Dienste der intensivsten moralischen Wachheit und des unnachgiebigsten Strebens nach Wahrheit steht. Diese Wesen sind durch und durch echt ... was sie reden, winken und blicken, ist anmutig und erhaben, weil es notwendig ist. Wer bei den Zeilen der 'Göttlichen Komödie' und des 'Neuen Lebens' den Sinn dieser Betrachtungen ... gefühlt hat, wird vor den Bildern der Rossetti und Holman Hunt, der Watts und Burne-Jones nicht leugnen, dass etwas Ähnliches angestrebt wird." (p. 234).

It is clear from this passage that the idealism, the ethical quality in Pre-Raphaelite painting is in the truthfulness, the genuineness of the 'Seelenleben' of the characters. In this way the essay is rounded off for Hofmannsthal commenced by stating that the most striking quality of the figures in Pre-Raphaelite paintings is that they possess an inner life, "Innenleben".

One may ask to what an extent Hofmannsthal's observations and judgments on the Pre-Raphaelites agree with the views of art historians. It is not ascertainable whether he had read the second and third volumes (the ones which deal with the Pre-Raphaelites) of Muther's Geschichte der

Malerei im XIX. Jahrhundert by the time he wrote his essay (or, indeed, if he ever read them), and so it is not possible to say that his ideas were - or were not - formed by Muther's estimation of these artists. Certainly, some of Hofmannsthal's thoughts may be found in Muther. The Pre-Raphaelites, he says, "haben ... eine neue, von den Alten unabhängige Malerei begründet, und der Kunst auch psychische Ausdrucksqualitäten zurückgegeben, die ihr seit den Tagen der Quattrocentisten abhandengekommen. Je eckiger die Formen der Gestalten, um so intensiver das geistige Leben, das aus ihren seelenvollen Augen sprüht."⁵⁵ William Gaunt (to quote a modern art critic), in the introduction to his book, The Pre-Raphaelite Tragedy, comments on the genuine earnestness with which these artists attempted to convey their ideals in their art; some of these ideals were religious, some looking back to the Middle Ages, but all had in common a strong social motivation whether this resulted in dreamlike escape from life (Rossetti, Burne-Jones), a religious utopianism (Holman Hunt) or an acceptance of the fact that the society in which one lived could not be changed (Millais). Some of Gaunt's observations echo those of Hofmannsthal:

"It may have been appreciated that Pre-Raphaelitism as a school of painting did not arise from a preceding tradition but was an artificial revival ... their pictures are often of great beauty with a curiously emotional quality of colour and a sharpness of detail which is fascinating not because it is entirely true to nature but because it reveals something of the strangeness of nature and fixes the attention with the uncompromising suddenness of objects seen in a dream. There is an expression of seriousness and melancholy in the faces they portrayed as if they too were symbols of unsatisfied

longing."⁵⁶

Finally, it is remarkable to what an extent some of Hofmannsthal's insights find confirmation in a social history of art. The following quotations are from Arnold Hauser's The Social History of Art (Vol. IV):

"Pre-Raphaelite painting is just as literary, just as 'poetic' as the whole of Victorian art, but it combines with its intrinsically non-pictorial subjects, that is, subjects which can never be completely mastered in terms of painting, certain pictorial values, which are often not only very attractive but also new. With its Victorian spiritualism, its historical, religious and poetic themes, its moral allegories and fairy-tale symbolism ... we always have the feeling of a timid, though supremely gifted dilettantism when considering their works."⁵⁷

Hauser goes on to explain the connection between the art of the Pre-Raphaelites and that of the Aesthetes of the turn of the century:

"Pre-Raphaelitism was an aesthetic movement, an extreme cult of beauty, an assessment of life based on art; but it must no more be identified with l'art pour l'art than Ruskin's philosophy itself. The thesis that the highest value of art consists in the expression of a 'good and great soul' accorded with the conviction of all the Pre-Raphaelites. It is true that they were playful formalists, but they lived in the faith that their playing with forms had a higher purpose and an elevating educational effect."

Hofmannsthal does not mention the Aesthetes in this essay, though he does

quote Pater, but his preoccupation with Pater and Swinburne at the time of the writing of this essay suggests that he was associating Pre-Raphaelitism with the art of the turn of the century. We recall that in his essay on Swinburne he did not differentiate between the two movements.⁵⁸ He was perhaps too near to both in time as is evident from the fact that in 1894 the works of the Pre-Raphaelites were very new to the public in Vienna. However, it may be inferred from his relating the two movements that for him there was a unifying factor in them. This factor was his own demand that art should be related to life in the sense that what is expressed in art should have a real, genuine experience behind it or should have some social relevance. He found both these features in the Pre-Raphaelites and searched for them in the work of the French Symbolists, Nabis and the Jugendstil artists working in the 1890's. An aestheticism completely alienated from life was not acceptable to him. That this whole problem was a personal one for Hofmannsthal is suggested in his efforts to find this - for him - essential aspect of an artist's work perhaps to the exclusion of other aspects. This may explain the absence of remarks about the failures of the Pre-Raphaelites, for instance. Their chief deficiency is pointed out by Hauser: "There is just as great a contradiction between their aestheticism and their moralism as between their romantic archaism and their naturalistic treatment of details."⁵⁹ For Hofmannsthal the stylization, the artificiality, the mystical symbolism and the 'unpainterly' (i.e. poetic) elements in Pre-Raphaelitism are acceptable because of the genuineness of the spiritual life of which this art is an outward expression.⁶⁰

Hofmannsthal's essay, "Walter Pater", written soon after the essay on the Pre-Raphaelites, (it was published in November 1894 in Die Zeit) was the

outcome of "intensive study", as Mary Gilbert points out.⁶¹ We know from his correspondences (with Marie Herzfeld, Elsa Bruckmann-Cantacuzène and Hermann Bahr) that he was reading Pater's works between May and August 1894. It is also evident from the correspondences, from diary notes and from the essay that Hofmannsthal was truly enthusiastic about the English art critic. In his letter to Elsa Bruckmann-Cantacuzène (26 June, 1894) he calls the two volumes he has (probably The Renaissance and Imaginary Portraits) "wundervolle Bücher" and about part of the essay on Watteau he says: "die 3 Seiten über Manon Lescaut ... sind so wundervoll und so raffiniert, dass ich mir überhaupt nicht gedacht habe, dass man es so deutlich sagen könnte."⁶² We recall his letter to Bahr in which he mentions his discovery of Pater as "Mein grosser, neuer, sehr wichtiger Fund". In the diaries there is an entry in June 1894: "W. Pater - Sein und Bedeuten. Die Seele der Dinge, etwas das aus den Dingen uns mit Liebesblick anschaut, mit einem Ausdruck über allen Worten."⁶³ Strangely enough Hofmannsthal discovers him by chance, as it were, for Elsa Bruckmann-Cantacuzène sends him The Renaissance and Imaginary Portraits upon his request for something about Leonardo.⁶⁴

The essay is brief and clearly set out; Hofmannsthal gives a general outline of Pater's work, the subjects and the manner in which they are treated. He then provides more detail about each of the three books he read. He values Pater above all as a critic. "Pater is for Hofmannsthal the true critic, who is as much a creative artist as any poet or painter."⁶⁵ "Pater", says Hofmannsthal in the essay, "ist der sehr selten geborene Verstehender des Künstlers, ein Kritiker notwendigerweise und aus dem Willen der Natur. Er ist in den Künstler verliebt, wie dieser ins Leben." (p. 235)

Hofmannsthal had praised Muther for possessing this quality in a critic, "Diese Grundstimmung, diese Liebe zur dargestellten Sache" (p. 166) and we recall his letter to Marie Herzfeld in which he observes that only that person appreciates a critic, "der durch zufälliges Entgegenkommen so alles aus ihm herauszuhören im Stande ist."⁶⁶ The true critic, who has a certain affinity with the subject of his criticism, is called an interpreter by him. Pater had the qualities of a true critic for Hofmannsthal. He has the ability, because of his love of art and the artist, not only to understand the mysterious creative processes, different with each artist, but also with the help of this understanding to convey and recreate the whole man through his art.

"Die geheimnisvollen, nur dem Leben der Liebe vergleichbaren Vorgänge, wie die Seele des Künstlers sich in symbolischen, dem begrifflichen Ausdruck entzogenen Ideen zu äussern strebt und diese Ideen wieder in dunklem Drange ihren symbolischen Ausdruck dem äusseren Leben entnehmen, diese Vorgänge erfassen, heisst der Idee des Künstlers am nächsten kommen." (p. 235).

Having understood the nature of the creative process in a particular artist Pater can, and does, according to Hofmannsthal, attempt

"... das Besondere eines Künstlers und das Ganze seiner Person zu erfassen. ... Er wird gleichzeitig sehr gerecht und sehr nachgiebig sein, denn er wird jedes Kunstwerk an einem Ideal messen, aber an dem subjektiven, aus der Persönlichkeit des Künstlers geschöpften Ideal, und er wird die Schönheit von allem spüren, was in Wahrhaftigkeit empfangen und geboren ist." (pp. 236-7).

These lines apply to much of Hofmannsthal's own criticism, and, no doubt, he appreciated Pater because he found support for his own critical tendencies in him.

Pater is important for Hofmannsthal not only as the supreme art critic but because his study of him helped him to formulate his own ideas about Aestheticism. As has been pointed out Hofmannsthal did not come to Pater by way of Aestheticism but through his interest in the Renaissance. It seems that even while he was studying him Hofmannsthal had such a personal interest in him that he was unaware of Pater's position as a central figure of English Aestheticism. He realizes this only intuitively as in the statement: "Er ist in den Künstler verliebt, wie dieser ins Leben." In other words, Pater is not in love with life, only with a life once removed from reality. He advocated the search for intensification of life through the aesthetic experience, a doctrine also preached by Oscar Wilde. However, what Hofmannsthal finds significant in the above sentence is that Pater's love of the artist enables him to perceive the peculiar mysteries of the creative process and renders him an excellent critic. One may be inclined to say that Hofmannsthal was perhaps too much a child of his age to see certain developments objectively. This is, however, not entirely the case for he is well aware of the inherent dangers of an aesthetic, hedonistic way of life: "Das ist Aesthetismus, in England ein grosses, berühmtes Wort, im allgemeinen ein übernährtes und überwachsenes Element unserer Kultur und gefährlich wie Opium. ... 'Marius der Epikuräer' zeigt die Unzulänglichkeit, sobald man auf der aesthetischen Weltanschauung die ganze Lebensführung aufbauen wollte." (pp. 237-8). Hofmannsthal's dilemma appears to be that, on the one hand, he is drawn to the refined

sensibility of the Aesthete which is indicated in Pater's criticism, but on the other, he finds that "das Leben ist doch viel gewaltiger, grösser und unsäglicher, ... So erweist sich in der Hauptsache die Unzulänglichkeit des Aesthetismus, in Nebensachen sein grosser Zauber." (pp. 238-9). This dilemma appears to be resolved by the time of the writing of the essay "Englischer Stil".

The occasion for Hofmannsthal's essay, "Englischer Stil", published in April 1896, was the appearance of the Barrison 'girls' on the continent. Hofmannsthal makes use of this event to summarize those aspects of English life and culture that were transmitted to the rest of Europe. The essay is, therefore, not specifically about art but the elements of English culture that Hofmannsthal singles out are basically the same as those he found expressed in English painting. The most apparent feature of 'englischer Stil' is that it has much that is "inkongruent" about it. Having stated this in the first paragraph, Hofmannsthal proceeds to enlarge on this in the main body of the essay. He does not do so by a logical explanation of the facts but by attempting to suggest inner affinities and underlying correspondences between apparently incongruous elements. This is a method characteristic of many of Hofmannsthal's essays as it is also well suited to the expression of such an intricate and undefinable subject as a way of life.

The special fascination of the essay lies in the fact that the poet tries to convey the very essence of a way of life by comparing it to works of art, to works of art that he himself deems to some extent artificial. Thus he remarks that the image of the English girl created by the Pre-Raphaelites is now confirmed in the Barrison girls.

"Poesie und Malerei verliebten sich beide in ein und dasselbe Geschöpf und warfen es zwischen sich hin und her. Jede Kunst gab es der andern mit einem neuen Raffinement geschmückt zurück. Die Malerei stilisierte, und die Poesie schilderte. Das englische junge Mädchen ging durch das Medium von Dante und Giotto." (p. 294).

This, at any rate, is the impression created by the Barrison girls when they come on stage. "Wenn die Barrisons auftreten, erwartet man, dass auf der Tingeltangel-Bühne hinter ihren gelben Haaren und kindischen Schultern auch einmal der Mond aufgehen wird, der übergrosse japanische Vollmond, so wie in den Bilderbüchern von Kate Greenaway ..." (p. 292). However, the poems and the paintings of the Pre-Raphaelites, through whom this conception of the English girl was created, are less beautiful because less real than even the names given to the girls. These creations are artificial and sentimental to the extent that they

"... erregen eine ungeheure Begierde nach dem wirklichen Leben. Sie beruhigen nicht, wie die grossen Kunstwerke, die durch das Leben durchgedrungen sind, sondern in ihrer manirierten Unberührtheit und Unwissenheit haben sie etwas Aufregendes. An sich sagen sie einem sehr wenig, aber der Kontrast zwischen ihrer altklugen künstlichen Einfalt und der umwölkten Schwere des grossen Lebens ist ein so merkwürdiges Ding als nur eins auf der Welt." (p. 295).

Here Hofmannsthal is clearly critical of the stylization and artificiality of Pre-Raphaelite art, more so than in his earlier essay on Swinburne, for instance, where he states that these artists come to life through art rather

than the other way round but also expresses his admiration for their ability to give expression to the spiritual and emotional attributes of a person. He also shows a deeper understanding of Pre-Raphaelite art in the last sentence of the above quotation than in his essay on them in 1894 ("Über moderne englischer Malerei"). It was noted in the earlier essay that Hofmannsthal does not comment on the strange discrepancy between the moral or religious aims of the Brotherhood and their aesthetic stylization, or between the latter and their avowed principle of being true to nature in their representation. Here Hofmannsthal perceives this discrepancy. The interesting aspect of the essay is that Hofmannsthal conveys the impression created by the Barrison girls with the help of Pre-Raphaelite painting and, conversely, he tries to prove the artificial nature of this art by relating it to real girls. This has been seen above. It may also be observed later in the essay: first comes a statement: "Denn im Tiefsten vermag uns keine andere Anmut zu rühren als die durch das Leben Durchgedrungene." (p. 298). Then Hofmannsthal proceeds to describe the charm and beauty of the stylized gavotte the Barrisons dance: "Nichts war schöner als nach diesen Gassenliedern die gehaltene Zierlichkeit der Gavotte. In den losen Falten ihrer weichen weissen Kleider waren ihre tiefen Knickse so lautlos und so ungezwungen, dass man nicht wusste, ob es die Grüsse von Hofdamen oder von Hirtinnen waren," (p. 298). Hofmannsthal is aware of these seeming contradictions in his essay and indicates that they are intentional; they are, in fact, used as a stylistic device. He says:

"Es wird sicher einige Leute geben, welche mit allen diesen Gedanken sehr unzufrieden sind. Sie werden sagen, dass ich Dinge durcheinander werfe, die miteinander nichts zu tun haben ... dass ich von lebendigen Artistinnen geredet habe, als ob es wertvolle

tote Kunstgegenstände wären, und von Stühlen als ob es Menschen wären..." (p. 301).

The justification which follows renders this essay one of the most important of the ones discussed here for it gives expression to the sentiments voiced in "Ein Brief" and thus shows that the crisis described in that imaginary letter was not a sudden occurrence but had its preliminaries in 1895-6, and that the problem of the conflict between art and life had a large part to play in it. Hofmannsthal's explanation for the seeming discrepancies in the essay is as follows:

"Ja, es gehört wirklich nichts zusammen, Nichts umgibt uns als das Schwebende, Vielnamige, Wesenlose, und dahinter liegen die ungeheuren Abgründe des Daseins. Wer das Starre sucht und das Gegebene, wird immer ins Leere greifen. Alles ist in fortwährender Bewegung, ja alles ist so wenig wirklich als der bleibende Strahl des Springbrunnens, dem Myriaden Tropfen unaufhörlich entsinken, Myriaden neuer unaufhörlich zuströmen. Mit den Augen, die uns den Springbrunnen vorlügen, müssen wir das Leben der Menschen anschauen: denn die Schönheit ihrer Gebärden und ihrer Taten ist nichts anderes als das Zusammenkommen von Myriaden Schwingungen in einem Augenblick." (p. 301).

These ideas are also expressed in "Ein Brief" where Hofmannsthal laments his inability to see unity in the diverse aspects of life. This inability restrains his creative activities for the relativity of phenomena renders words meaningless. The following are the relevant sentences from "Ein Brief", demonstrating the similarity with the passage above:

"Es ist mir völlig die Fähigkeit abhanden gekommen, über irgend-
etwas zusammenhängend zu denken oder zu sprechen. ... Es zerfiel
mir alles in Teile, die Teile wieder in Teile, und nichts mehr
liess sich mit einem Begriff umspannen. Die einzelnen Worte
schwammen um mich; sie gerannen zu Augen, die mich anstarrten und
in die ich wieder hineinstarren muss: Wirbel sind sie, in die
hinabzusehen mich schwindelt, die sich unaufhaltsam drehen und durch
die hindurch man ins Leere kommt."⁶⁷

In certain moments of grace he is able to feel the necessary relationship
between himself and objects for him to be able to perceive these objects in
a special way:

"Eine Giesskanne, eine auf dem Felde verlassene Egge, ein Hund in
der Sonne, ein ärmlicher Kirchhof, ein Krüppel, ein kleines Bauern-
haus, alles dies kann das Gefäss meiner Offenbarung werden. Jeder
dieser Gegenstände und die tausend anderen ähnlichen, über die sonst
ein Auge mit selbstverständlicher Gleichgültigkeit hinweggleitet,
kann für mich plötzlich in irgend einem Moment, den herbeizuführen
auf keine Weise in meiner Gewalt steht, ein erhabenes und rührendes
Gepräge annehmen, das auszudrücken mir alle Wortezu arm scheinen."⁶⁸

Such a moment of grace, in which a harmonious relationship between the poet
and the otherwise fluctuating world of objects and people is achieved, is
anticipated in the last sentence of the passage quoted above from "Englisch-
er Stil". At the same time (apart from indicating Hofmannsthal's visual
sense) both statements also touch on an important element in modern art,
that of seeing 'naively', of attempting to dissociate things from the usual

meaning attached to them and of seeing them with a reality of their own. In painting this means an emphasis on the visual value of objects, it means seeing the world 'objectively', in the literal meaning of that word. Starting with Cézanne, the whole development of modern art has been based on this principle. It is remarkable that Hofmannsthal comes on this accidentally, as it were, while he is experiencing doubts about the adequacy of words to give expression to the fluctuating, fragmentary nature of the world. It is interesting that as soon as the aesthetic attitude to life is found wanting, life is seen, is experienced in a new way. While Hofmannsthal is able, at certain times, to experience "eine überschwellige Flut höheren Lebens"⁶⁹ upon looking at everyday objects, Rilke (with a time-lag of ten years) attempts to make the poem itself into an object. At the time of the writing of "Englischer Stil" Hofmannsthal is basically in line with a general tendency among poets and writers at the turn of the century to question the ability of language to express the world as they see it. (Eventually this leads to the Expressionist lyric.) In Vienna it was Mach in particular who expounded a theory about the fragmentary nature of the world; he tried to dismiss the traditional distinction between the appearance of an object and the object itself (Hofmannsthal heard his lectures in 1896). Valéry, in an essay in 1895,⁷⁰ demands from the poet an intensified visual sensitivity and a feeling for the variability of perception. In Germany, too, literary and art historians comment on the discrepancy between objects, their visual perception and the transformation they undergo in language.⁷¹ This, says Iskra, leads to a general "Misstrauen gegen die Sprache" among poets (as it also led to a reaction against Impressionism in painting in Cézanne, for instance). "Zwar stehen alle

Dichter vor diesen Schwierigkeiten, aber die Generation der Jahrhundertwende reagiert auf sie besonders empfindlich, weil sie aus einem gesteigerten Bedürfnis nach Sensuellem der Sprache mehr abverlangt, als sie zu leisten imstande ist."⁷²

It is apparent from "Englischer Stil" that Hofmannsthal was already confronted with these problems at the time of the writing of that essay. It has been noted above that he justifies his identifying life with art and art with life in the essay by stating that the essential quality of life is that of fluctuation and that the elusive qualities of a way of life are, therefore, impossible to define in rigid formulations. In discussing the art or life of a people it is not possible to separate one from the other completely: the English girl was idealized in the painting of the Pre-Raphaelites (which, in its turn, was influenced by Dante's poetry, especially the Vita Nuova) and the idealized Pre-Raphaelite paintings helped to create a type of young girl in England at the end of the 19th century. That the passage from "Englischer Stil", quoted above on page 108, was not simply a chance statement but a matter of deep importance for Hofmannsthal may be seen from a similar remark made in a letter at the time the essay was written. In a letter to Elsa Bruckmann-Cantacuzène on 23 April 1896 Hofmannsthal writes: "Ich glaube, ich bin sehr anders geworden. Eine Menge Worte, die mir früher etwas gesagt haben, sind mir ganz gleichgültig geworden. Ich kann mir selbst kaum vorstellen, wie ich damals war. Ich weiss auch nicht, ob ich glücklicher war oder nur scheinhafter."⁷³ It is clear then, that by 1896 Hofmannsthal had lost the feeling of unity in life that is not questioned in the earlier years (in the idea of 'der grosse Pan' of Der Tod des Tizian or in the 'wirkliches Leben' in

the Muther essay or the 'echtes Seelenleben' of the essay on the Pre-Raphaelites) and experiences more and more the fragmentariness, the fluctuating quality of life that leads to a crisis arresting his creative energy. Since it is also at this time that Hofmannsthal's enthusiastic and sympathetic attitude to the aesthete is finally revoked (though artificiality has always been discarded by him his attraction to the aesthete was coupled with this sympathetic attitude) and he does not write about art until 1902, it is suggested that the two experiences are related. Yet, characteristically, Hofmannsthal is not content simply to state that "es gehört wirklich nichts zusammen". He attempts a synthesis, he attempts to find relationships and succeeds in conveying just those intrinsic relationships that he despairs of being able to define. "Die Völker aber erkennt man, wenn man viele Einzelheiten aufeinanderbezieht", he says at the end of the essay, and he has, indeed, established relationships between diverse aspects of the English way of life, especially through the stylistic device of following one statement with an apparently contradictory one.

Hofmannsthal's essays on English art and life contain more significant statements than do his other essays on art. These essays are more significant because they touch on problems and thoughts which are central to Hofmannsthal's creative development in the decade 1890-1900. It is clear as early as 1892, in the essay on Swinburne, that Hofmannsthal is aware of the alienation of the aesthetic way of life from life itself but his description of the isolation of the aesthete (basically the Pre-Raphaelites) suggests sympathetic appreciation. This is seen in his representation of the life "auf der Strasse" as "das rasselnde, gellende, brutale und formlose Leben" (p. 115). This view is echoed in Der Tod des Tizian.

Moreover Hofmannsthal chooses to write about Swinburne in order to show his admiration for the poet. His admiration, however, does not stem from his attraction to the refined atmosphere of the poems and their special quality of reminding the reader of works of art, but from a combination of this characteristic with a "höchst lebendiges, fast bacchantisches Naturempfinden" and a "souveränes Stilgefühl" (pp. 17-8). The artificial element is used consciously as a device by Swinburne:

"Dieser ganze grosse und künstliche Apparat schlägt die Stimmung an, wie in der naiven Ballade der heulende Wind, wenn Mord geschieht, und das Blühen der kleinen Blumen, wenn Liebe redet. Nur dass jeder den heulenden Wind kennt und die Wiesenblumen, und nicht jeder den Zauber unbeholfener Anmut, der von den gemalten Legenden des Fra Angelico ausgeht ..." (p. 118).

These lines indicate once more to what an extent Hofmannsthal was able to experience even poetry visually or through the help of the visual arts.

In his essay on the Pre-Raphaelites, ("Über moderne englische Malerei"), Hofmannsthal again expresses admiration for a highly stylized art. As in the Swinburne essay above, he finds the artificiality acceptable because underneath it there is an intensive and genuine "Innenleben". He attempts to demonstrate the "Menschlich-Sittliche" in the painting of the Pre-Raphaelites, as we recall from his letter to Elsa Bruckmann-Cantacuzène. This conscious attempt on his part to justify the artificial elements in the work of the Pre-Raphaelites may be seen as an indication of his own preoccupation with the problem of the aesthetic and the ethical. This

personal problem is also sensed behind the essay "Walter Pater".

Hofmannsthal does not evaluate Pater as one of the chief influences of English Aestheticism but values him as a born critic, able to perceive intuitively the intricate workings of the artist's mind as these find expression in his work, and also to convey this to the reader. In this essay Hofmannsthal clearly rejects the aesthetic way of life but at the same time shows that in order to be so sensitive (and, therefore, excellent) as Pater, the critic must delve into the aesthetic mode of existence. Since Hofmannsthal himself tried to delve into the life and works of the artists about whom he writes (in this case, Swinburne, the Pre-Raphaelites and Pater) it is reasonable to assume that in expressing these sentiments Hofmannsthal is clarifying his own standpoint on the question of art and life. In the last essay in this group, "Englischer Stil", an attempt is made to demonstrate how intricately interwoven certain aspects of a way of life are: the painting, the poetry, the entertainment of a nation are related to each other as an expression of the way of life of the people. Here, Hofmannsthal goes beyond his earlier efforts to relate art to life, and the result is, on the one hand, a stylistically brilliant essay - for it succeeds in conveying those tenuous links that exist between different aspects of a way of life - and on the other, the realization on Hofmannsthal's part that if the aesthetic way of life (escape from life through the beauty of art) is rejected in favour of an active participation in life, the fragmentariness, the formlessness and the overwhelming force of life must be accepted. This realization is one that led to a crisis in Hofmannsthal's creative energy and shows what a central position his interest in art occupied in his existence as a poet.

3. Other essays

Hofmannsthal's other essays, though not on the subject of art, support many of the views expressed in the essays discussed above. Among the early essays, "Eleonora Duse. (Die Legende einer Wiener Woche)" (1892) reveals sentiments also found in the essay on Swinburne, for instance. Through the excellence of her acting Duse elicits the following response from Hofmannsthal: "Und vieles gewann für uns einen neuen Sinn und das künstliche Leben unseres Innern einen grossen Reiz mehr. Denn dazu, glaube ich, sind Künstler: dass alle Dinge, die durch ihre Seele hindurchgehen, einen Sinn und eine Seele empfangen." (p. 84). This is very similar to the idea in the Swinburne essay that life acquires a special meaning only after it has passed through some form of art. The senselessness of life is given meaning and 'life' through art whether it be acting, poetry or painting. The 'life' that is created in art is an intense, dionysian force (p. 84). This is the quality Hofmannsthal praises in Swinburne's poetry which he likens to "so dunkelglühendem, so starkem Wein des Lebens, gepresst aus Trauben, aus denen rätselhaft gemischt dionysische Lust und Qual und Tanz und Wahnsinn quillt ..." (pp. 115-6). This is also a quality found in the work of the great master, Titian, in Der Tod des Tizian. This vitalistic principle is one of the chief characteristics of the Jugendstil and once more we see, as in some of his essays on art,⁷⁴ the early Hofmannsthal's inner affinities with this movement. His technique for conveying the essential features of Duse's acting is the same that is used in the essays discussed above: he makes use of comparisons from the other arts, for the genuineness of expression and the mysterious evocation of the "Bewegungen der Seele" (p. 83) are fundamental to them all.

Hofmannsthal's first essay on D'Annunzio ("Gabriele d'Annunzio" (I), 1893) is one of unqualified praise. At the same time it shows an awareness of the main tendencies of the time as far as the separation of art from life is concerned: "Heute scheinen zwei Dinge modern zu sein: die Analyse des Lebens und die Flucht aus dem Leben ... Man treibt Anatomie des eigenen Seelenlebens oder man träumt. Reflexion oder Phantasie, Spiegelbild oder Traumbild." (pp. 172-3). Both these elements are found in D'Annunzio's work, especially well balanced in Isottèo. Hofmannsthal is particularly appreciative of one aspect of the book: "... es erreicht eine berausende, wundervoll verfeinerte Schönheit durch ein Vergleichen aller Dinge nicht mit naheliegenden, sondern wiederum nur mit schönen Dingen, ein berücksichtigendes Ineinanderspielen der Künste." (p. 183). Hofmannsthal praises the refined sensibility, the aestheticism and the close interplay between all the arts suggested in the book. His enthusiasm for these qualities is evident in the evocative power of his description and he is fully aware that the aestheticism he is praising is a way of escape from life. He says, "es gibt unzählige Dinge, ... die wir herbeirufen, wenn unsere Gedanken nicht stark genug sind, die Schönheit des Lebens zu finden, und fortstreben, hinaus nach der künstlichen Schönheit der Träume." (p. 182). This sentence seems almost a justification of his admiration for D'Annunzio at this time, all the more so as a year later he was to start criticizing him for the same quality that is here admired. Moreover, Hofmannsthal's letter to Marie Herzfeld (see p. 45 above), in which he declares that he is weary of all that is refined and subtle, was written at about the same time as this first essay on D'Annunzio. His play, Der Tor und der Tod, which is a judgment on the aesthetic way of life, also dates from

this year. All in all, Hofmannsthal's continuous preoccupation in these very early years with the problem of the aesthetic is confirmed in this essay and his attempt to turn away from the intensification of life through the beauty of art becomes more pronounced. Awareness of this on the reader's part renders Hofmannsthal's repeated demands in the essays on art for the genuine, vital experience or 'inner life' from a work of art peculiarly significant.

One year after the writing of his first essay on D'Annunzio Hofmannsthal published a second essay, the occasion for which was the appearance of D'Annunzio's latest book, Il Trionfo della Morte. In "Gabriele d'Annunzio (II)" Hofmannsthal is clearly critical of the poet. He is still drawn to D'Annunzio's ability to feel the profound beauty of works of art and to convey intricate and subtle emotions and thoughts that are otherwise inexpressible in sensitive language. Because he is alive to impressions, he has received "eine Erhöhung und Bezauberung seines Daseins" (p. 242) through contemplation of works of visual art or literature.

"Für alle diese Einflüsse war sein Geist nicht einfach ein gutes, sondern ein ganz wundervolles, raffiniertes Medium: aus den Bildern trug er nicht etwa Äusserlichkeiten mit sich, sondern der Seelenzustand, den die Gebärden der gemalten Menschen oder die Farben- nuancen der gemalten Lippen, Haare, Blumen und Bäume in sich tragen, schlägt manchmal aus den Schwingungen seiner Verse geheimnisvoll auf ..." (p. 242).

Since much of this may also be said of Hofmannsthal himself (his ability to

convey the "Seelenzustand" of figures in a painting, for instance) the inner affinity between the two poets need not be emphasized. This inner affinity also explains Hofmannsthal's instinctive attraction to D'Annunzio which is evident in lines such as: "die sensitive Lust an der Schönheit der Worte, die schön sind wie blasse Frauen und grosse weisse Hunde, ... diese Lust ist bei ihm so stark, dass er aus blossen Eigennamen ganze melancholische und geheimnisvolle Strophen zusammensetzt" (pp. 242-3). Then after quoting a stanza he continues: "Wie schön ist das! und es übersetzen hiesse ein Salzfass von Cellini mit dem Stemmeisen zerlegen. Denn der es gemacht hat, den haben die Worte, mit denen wir die Lust und Schmerzen des Lebens nennen, erbeben gemacht, früher und stärker und tiefer als das Leben selber." (p. 243). This last sentence touches on the core of Hofmannsthal's own problem; by being so receptive to the beauty of painting and poetry, the intense experiences, which provide the vital impulse necessary for creativity, have been kindled not by life but by something artificial, something that is, in its turn, already a reflection of life.

But this, says Hofmannsthal now, will not do any more. For,

"das Leben ist doch da. Es ist durch sein blosses oppressives unentrinnbares Dasein unendlich merkwürdiger als alles Künstliche und unendlich kräftiger, und zwingt. Es hat eine fürchterliche betäubende Fülle und eine fürchterliche demoralisierende Öde. Mit diesen zwei Keulen schlägt es abwechselnd auf die Köpfe derer, die ihm nicht dienen. Die aber von Künstlichem zuerst herkommen, dienen ihm eben nicht. Über denen hängt das Leben drohend wie die Sturmwolke, und wie geängstigte Schafe laufen sie hin und her." (p. 244).

Since D'Annunzio's inspiration was not life but the beauty of works of art or the beauty of language, something 'starr' and artificial, Hofmannsthal is critical of him. "Es ist in der Tat etwas Starres und etwas Künstliches in der Weltanschauung des Herrn d'Annunzio" (p. 245). His essay on Pater, written at the same time as this one on D'Annunzio, gave expression to the opposition of life and art in words similar to those of the above passage. The aesthetic attitude to life is insufficient: "Aber das Leben ist doch viel gewaltiger, grösser und unsäglich" (p. 238). Hofmannsthal's preoccupation with this problem is also evident from his creative writing. Margaret Jacobs⁷⁵ points out how the sentiments in the passage from the D'Annunzio essay also find expression in Das Märchen der 672. Nacht (1894-95). The merchant's son, having lived an artificial and arid life in the contemplation of beauty, dies an ugly death. Miss Jacobs also suggests that the 'severity' of the "Märchen" indicates Hofmannsthal's own fear of not leading an 'adequate' life "because of his own ability to partake of the moods and sensibility of his age ... The nemesis can be seen as a form of self-castigation. But the elevated style, with its mellifluous description of the beauty to which the merchant's son is susceptible, betrays Hofmannsthal's sympathy with him, ..." ⁷⁶ The conclusion one may, therefore, draw from both the "Märchen" and the second essay on D'Annunzio is that in 1894-95 Hofmannsthal's problem is not solved satisfactorily; he is rejecting the aesthetic but at the same time he is still drawn to beauty.

By 1896, when his third essay on D'Annunzio appeared ("Der neue Roman von d'Annunzio"), his rejection of poetic inspiration drawn from something artificial is definite. He says that he now understands more

fully what it was that he instinctively objected to in D'Annunzio's work earlier. His books were written by a man, "der nicht im Leben stand" (p. 272). "Es waren durchaus Erlebnisse eines, der mit dem Leben nie etwas anderes zu tun gehabt hatte als das Anschauen" (p. 273). Notable are the lines referring to Hofmannsthal's own development during the previous year:

"Ich habe inzwischen in den mannigfaltigen Erfahrungen eines Jahres eine komplexe, wortlose Lehre empfangen, welche sich auf das Sittliche in jener Sache bezieht, und andererseits unscheinbare, weise Formeln in den Schriften des Aristoteles gefunden, welche das Aesthetische davon völlig klarstellen, wofern man sie zu lesen versteht." (p. 271).

Action, "Tun", becomes important now as an ethical principle and gradually the way begins to open for Hofmannsthal's dramatic production, though the crisis beginning here was not actually overcome until after 1902. From 1896, however, as we have seen in "Englischer Stil", the problems are clearly defined. For with the rejection of the aesthetic, life appears more menacing. Hofmannsthal's continued grappling with this problem is seen in the short piece "Dichter und Leben", written in 1897. "Das Wissen um die Darstellbarkeit tröstet gegen die Überwältigung durch das Leben: das Wissen ums Leben tröstet über die Schattenhaftigkeit der Darstellung" (p. 334).

4. Conclusion. The place of art criticism in Hofmannsthal's spiritual development.

"Some poets have a deep appreciation of painting and of the problems of the plastic arts, and often a work of art becomes an important element

in their spiritual development. Hofmannsthal belongs to this type."⁷⁷

The visual and the poetic are combined in Hofmannsthal to an unusual degree. The chief interest in his critical writings is in the creative process which gives form to the artist's vision of the world. Therefore, the qualities of a painting may be evoked by the use of poetically effective language and, conversely, the true critic may illuminate the essential elements of a poem with the help of comparisons from the visual arts. The critic should be able to comprehend and convey the essence of a work of art (hence Hofmannsthal's admiration for Muther and Pater). For this he must have an inner affinity with his subject, an affinity that Hofmannsthal evidently possessed, as may be inferred from his sympathetic and enthusiastic appreciation for the artists and works he criticises. This is the very quality which enables him to perceive and - because he is a poet - to convey those inner relationships which make a work of art special. It follows from this that Hofmannsthal's judgements on art are personal to the extent that his choice of subjects in itself implies a value judgement.

It is, therefore, all the more remarkable that he instinctively recognizes certain features of contemporary art, such as the principle of 'pure form', which was an important step in the development of abstract art. The important place he assigns to caricature (which generally contains only what is essential in form) also indicates his visual receptivity. Curiously enough, his perceptivity in this respect is closely related to his own spiritual development. Experiencing the fragmentariness of the world and the inadequacy of words to express fleeting impressions and refined sensations, Hofmannsthal, in certain moments of grace, finds

that seeing objects naively, seeing them as pure form, dissociated from their everyday meanings, provides him with a certain stability. The crisis which Hofmannsthal experienced in 1902 is foreshadowed already in 1896, and appears to be a result of his rejection of the aesthetic in favour of a more ethical attitude to life.

The fact that his choice of subjects in his art criticism is subjective, already suggests that he was attempting to solve a personal problem in the essays on art. From the artistic climate of the turn of the century (as indicated in part I) and his home and social background (described in part II) it may be inferred that Hofmannsthal was 'conditioned' to value art and beauty. In his early interest in art there is a strong tendency to an aesthetic view of life. However, this view of life is at once problematic for Hofmannsthal: because of his susceptibility he is attracted to beauty but at the same time he recognizes the dangers of a life spent purely in the contemplation of it, as this can only produce art that is artificial and lacks an inner relationship to life. Therefore, his own existence as a poet depends on the solution of the problem of art and life. In the numerous essays on art between 1891-96 he seems to be working out this problem. By 1896 an answer seems to be clear (in "Englischer Stil" and the D'Annunzio essay of 1896): a life of contemplation of beauty is inadequate, art must go through life. This view is supported by Hofmannsthal's creative writing in this period. Already in 1892 Hofmannsthal found it impossible to finish his Der Tod des Tizian, a work which gives expression to aesthetic sentiments more poignantly than any other of his works. Der Tor und der Tod already rejects the aesthete's

way of life and Das Märchen der 672. Nacht demonstrates most forcibly the insufficiency and aridity of a life spent in the contemplation of beauty and in self-introspection. It is interesting that the culmination of Hofmannsthal's development as a lyric poet falls in the years 1894-96 (the same years in which his concern with the aesthetic and the ethical is clearest in the essays), as Walter Perl points out.⁷⁸ Between 1896-1902 Hofmannsthal writes no more essays on art and this suggests that with the rejection of the aesthetic his thoughts centre more and more on his existence as a poet. The realization that "das schöne Leben verarmt einen"⁷⁹ must have touched with particular vehemence one who had the gift of putting into words those indefinable, tenuous links that make up the essence of the beauty of a work of art.

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8. Encyclopedia, V, col. 185.
9. Ibid.
10. John Rewald, Die Geschichte des Impressionismus (Koln, 1965), p. 252.
11. Cassou, p. 127.
12. Cassou, p. 173.
13. Richard Muther, Geschichte der Malerei im XIX Jahrhundert, III (München, 1894), p. 454.
14. H. v. H. - Eberhard von Bodenhausen. Briefe der Freundschaft (Berlin, 1953), pp. 43-4.
15. Maurice Denis, quoted in Encyclopedia, V, col. 187.
16. William Gaunt, The Aesthetic Adventure (Penguin, 1957), p. 105 ff.
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18. H. v. H. - Edgar Karg von Bebenburg. Briefwechsel (Frankfurt am Main, 1966), pp. 107-8.

19. In Helmut Seling, ed. Jugendstil. Der Weg ins 20. Jahrhundert
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20. Seling, p. 98-9.
21. Schmutzler, p. 36.
22. Schmutzler, p. 62.
23. Seling, p. 99.
24. Ibid.
25. Muther, III, p. 503.
26. Kenneth Clark in the Introduction to Walter Pater's The Renaissance
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27. The Aesthetic Adventure, p. 69.
28. Kenneth Clark in The Renaissance, p. 23.
29. Muther, II, p. 594.
30. Schmutzler, p. 24.
31. The Aesthetic Adventure, p. 168.
32. Seling, p. 150.
33. John Rewald, Post Impressionism (New York, 1956), p. 150.
34. Seling, p. 156.

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1. Briefe der Freundschaft, p. 237.
2. See, for instance, letter dated 6 July 1895, Briefe 1890-1901 (Berlin, 1935) - hereafter cited as Briefe I - pp. 146-7.
3. Briefe I, pp. 219-20, 267-69, 271-72.
4. Briefe 1900-1909 (Wien, 1937), - hereafter cited as Briefe II -,
nos. 2, 6, 7, 11.

5. Aufzeichnungen, p. 153.
6. Op. cit., p. 137.
7. Op. cit., pp. 73, 76, 81.
8. Op. cit., p. 93.
9. Op. cit., p. 114.
10. Op. cit., p. 119.
11. Op. cit., p. 108.
12. Op. cit., p. 123.
13. Op. cit., pp. 27, 31.
14. Op. cit., pp. 73, 107.
15. Briefe I, p. 155.
16. Op. cit., p. 163.
17. H. v. H. - Briefe an Marie Herzfeld, ed. Horst Weber, (Heidelberg, 1967), pp. 35-36.
18. Aufzeichnungen, p. 242.
19. Helmut A. Fiechtner, H. v. H. Der Dichter im Spiegel der Freunde (Bern-München, 1963), p. 169.
20. Quoted in Die deutsche Literatur. Texte und Zeugnisse VII, ed. Walther Killy, (München, 1967), p. 75.
21. Prosa I, p. 173.
22. See Fritz Schlawe, Literarische Zeitschriften 1885-1910 (Stuttgart, 1961).
23. Werner Hofmann, "Hofmannsthal als Kunstkritiker", Wort in der Zeit, I, 3, (1955), 39.
24. Some of Kraus' attacks on Bahr are quoted in Walter Kessler, "Hugo von Hofmannsthals Beziehungen zur bildenden Kunst" (diss, Fribourg, 1948), pp. 19-20.

25. Fiechtner, p. 10.
26. Briefe I, pp. 272-3.
27. H. v. H. - Marie Herzfeld, p. 37.
28. Schröder describes Heymel's 'Inselwohnung' in Munich which Hofmannsthal visited in 1900:

"Die Heymelsche 'Inselwohnung' in der Leopoldstrasse, in deren gewollt schmucklosen Räumen ein an englischen und klassizistischen Mustern herangebildeter Gegensatz zu den ordinären Wursteleien des sogenannten Jugendstils sich aussprach, ... und so waren es auch zunächst Gegenstände dieses naheliegenden Gebietes, die uns bei unserem ersten Zusammensein unter vier Augen beschäftigten." Fiechtner, p. 93.

29. Briefe I, p. 299.
30. Op. cit., p. 328.
31. Op. cit., p. 301.
32. Op. cit., p. 302.
33. Briefe II, p. 21.
34. Briefe I, p. 302.
35. H. v. H. - Arthur Schnitzler. Briefwechsel (Frankfurt am Main, '1964), p. 134.
36. Briefe II, p. 38.
37. Op. cit., p. 36.
38. Briefe I, p. 285.
39. Euphorion, 55, (1961), 16.
40. Op. cit., p. 23.
41. H. v. H. - Marie Herzfeld, p. 42.

42. Euphorion, 55, (1961), pp. 35-6.
43. Briefe I, p. 100.
44. H. v. H. - Marie Herzfeld, p. 37.
45. Briefe I, p. 102.
46. Ibid.
47. Briefwechsel zwischen George und Hofmannsthal, ed. Robert Boehringer
(Berlin, 1938), pp. 79-80.
48. Briefe der Freundschaft, p. 14.
49. Aufzeichnungen, p. 223.
50. H. v. H. - Harry Graf Kessler. Briefwechsel 1898-1929 (Frankfurt am
Main, 1968), p. 20.
51. Op. cit., p. 28.
52. Briefe II, p. 78.
53. Briefe I, pp. 10. 13.
54. Op. cit., p. 28.
55. H. v. H. - Marie Herzfeld, p. 28.
56. Op. cit., p. 37.
57. H. v. H. - Schnitzler, pp. 45-6.
58. Der Frühe Hofmannsthal (Stuttgart, 1965), p. 125.
59. "Hofmannsthals Beziehungen zur bildenden Kunst", p. 26.
60. Briefe I, p. 110.
61. Op. cit., p. 299 ff.
62. See Hofmannsthal's reply to Hartel's letter, Briefe I, p. 320 ff.
63. Briefe I, pp. 319-20.
64. P. 23.
65. George - Hofmannsthal, p. 86.

66. Op. cit., p. 37.
67. Op. cit., p. 78.
68. H. v. H. - Graf Kessler, p. 445.
69. Op. cit., p. 10.
70. Op. cit., p. 26.
71. Op. cit., p. 29.
72. Briefe der Freundschaft, p. 13.
73. Aufzeichnungen, p. 249.
74. H. v. H. - Leopold von Andrian. Briefwechsel (Frankfurt am Main, 1968), p. 30.
75. Briefe I, p. 297.
76. Op. cit., p. 97.
77. Op. cit., p. 104.
78. Ibid.
79. Briefe I, p. 269.
80. Op. cit., p. 302.
81. Op. cit., pp. 299-300.
82. Op. cit., p. 301.
83. George - Hofmannsthal, p. 156.
84. H. v. H. - Marie Herzfeld, p. 45.
85. Briefe I, p. 335.
86. Pp. 7-9.
87. Fiechtner, p. 7.
88. Briefe I, p. 283.

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2. Richard Hamann, Jost Hermand, Impressionismus (Berlin, 1960).
3. Op. cit., p. 141.
4. George - Hofmannsthal, pp. 154-5.
5. "Umrisse eines neuen Journalismus", Prosa II, pp. 299-300.
6. Oxford, 1955, p. xi.
7. George - Hofmannsthal, p. 175.
8. H. v. H. - Marie Herzfeld, p. 36.
9. P. 40.
10. Hereafter all page numbers marked in the text refer to Prosa I.
11. Muther, III, p. 640.
12. München, 1966.
13. Meier-Graefe, p. 377.
14. Op. cit., p. 378.
15. Poems by Albert Giraud, first published in 1892.
16. Hamann/Hermand, pp. 104-5.
17. Op. cit., p. 105.
18. See part II, footnote no. 23.
19. Op. cit., p. 42.
20. Prosa II, p. 413.
21. See above, p. 34.
22. Hamann/Hermand, p. 145.
23. Briefe I, p. 96.
24. Ibid.
25. This view is supported by Hofmannsthal's question to George as early

as 1892: "Wie stehen Sie zu Böcklin und dem Münchener Stuck? mir scheinen diese beiden viel von dem zu haben, was ich zumindest suche." George - Hofmannsthal, p. 51.

26. "Hofmannsthal als Kunstkritiker," p. 42.
27. Die Darstellung des Sichtbaren in der dichterischen Prosa um 1900, 1967.
28. The Aesthetic Adventure and The Pre-Raphaelite Tragedy (New York, 1966).
29. New York, 1966.
30. Op. cit., pp. 11, 65.
31. Briefe I, p. 124.
32. George himself admired Böcklin.
33. Seling, p. 139 ff.
34. Op. cit., p. 140.
35. Aufzeichnung, p. 97.
36. Muther, III, p. 647.
37. Mary Gilbert, "Hofmannsthal and England", GLL, I, (1936-37), p. 182 ff., and Michael Hamburger, "Hofmannsthal and England" in Norman ed. Hofmannsthal. Studies in Commemoration (London, 1963), p. 11 ff.
38. Gilbert, "Hofmannsthal and England", p. 185.
39. Op. cit., p. 191.
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42. Mary Gilbert suggests that Hofmannsthal was introduced to Swinburne through George's translations published in the Blätter

für die Kunst in 1892. ("Hofmannsthal and England", 183.) This seems to be contradicted in this essay, published in 1891.

43. George - Hofmannsthal, p. 53.

44. Op. cit., p. 55.

45. Op. cit., p. 57.

46. Gedichte und lyrische Dramen, p. 197. This dionysian, vitalistic principle is characteristic of the Jugendstil.

47. In fact, it is not clear whether Hofmannsthal is referring to the 'Aesthetes', i.e. Pater, Wilde, Dowson or whether he also includes the Pre-Raphaelites in the group around Swinburne. If the first is the case then Hofmannsthal's sentence is a correct characterization of these but incorrect inasmuch as it excludes the Pre-Raphaelites with whom Swinburne was as much (or more) associated as with the Aesthetes. If Hofmannsthal includes the Pre-Raphaelites (and this seems likely for later in the essay he remarks on the fact that these artists first gathered around Ruskin) then he places Swinburne in the right background but his sentence is incorrect since the Pre-Raphaelites' idea of beauty, though certainly strange and perhaps "lebenfremd", was anything but "moralfremd" and "zweckfremd".

48. Briefe I, p. 68.

49. Gedichte und lyrische Dramen, p. 190.

50. "Hofmannsthal and England", 184.

51. See Fritz Schlawe.
52. Briefe I, p. 103.
53. "Hofmannsthal and England", p. 15.
54. See Gilbert, "Hofmannsthal and England", 189.
55. Muther, II, p. 487.
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58. See footnote 47 above.
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61. "Hofmannsthal and England", 184.
62. Briefe I, p. 104.
63. Aufzeichnungen, p. 108.
64. Briefe I, p. 100.
65. Gilbert, "Hofmannsthal and England", 185.
66. H. v. H. - Marie Herzfeld, p. 36.
67. Prosa II, pp. 12, 14.
68. Op. cit., p. 15.
69. Ibid.
70. Iskra, p. 35.
71. Op. cit., p. 36.
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77. Gilbert, "Hofmannsthal and England", 189.
78. Walter Perl, Das lyrische Jugendwerk Hofmannsthals (Berlin, 1936),
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79. H. v. H. - Leopold von Andrian, p. 64.

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