

**HUGO VON HOFMANNSTHAL AND ANTON KIPPENBERG OF THE INSEL-VERLAG:
A CASE STUDY OF AUTHOR-PUBLISHER RELATIONS**

by

Sarah Elizabeth Thomas

**A dissertation submitted to the Johns Hopkins
University in conformity with the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

1982

© Copyright by Sarah Elizabeth Thomas, 1981

All Rights Reserved

ABSTRACT

Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Austrian poet, dramatist, and essayist (1874-1929), published with the Insel-Verlag from its inception in 1901 until his death. This work examines Hofmannsthal's relationship with his publisher Anton Kippenberg (1874-1950). The author was drawn to the Insel-Verlag initially through his association with its founders, Alfred Walter Heymel and Rudolf Alexander Schröder, who published the short-lived periodical Die Insel. Known for its emphasis on aesthetics, the magazine set a tone that became characteristic for the firm. As a poet, Hofmannsthal found the climate beneficial and the audience of the Insel-Verlag receptive to his early lyrical works and certain other writings outside the mainstream of his later production. Under Anton Kippenberg's direction, these works were assured careful attention to detail; typeface, binding, illustrations, and all aspects of the physical book were designed to harmonize with its contents, enabling Hofmannsthal to present his writings in a format which did his creations honor.

Hofmannsthal published four categories of material with the Insel-Verlag: his early lyrical works; republications issued as deluxe editions; reprints of selected texts in the inexpensive but

elegantly designed Insel-Bücherei, and other Insel publications such as the Insel-Almanach or Insel-schiff; and introductions and essays composed in his role as editor of compilations appearing under the Insel imprint. Hofmannsthal showed a great awareness of the Insel's particular Verlagsprofil in his selection of texts issued under its signet.

Anton Kippenberg brought financial stability, business-like organization, and sound aesthetic judgment to the Insel-Verlag, creating an atmosphere in which Hofmannsthal's works could thrive. Early in his association with the Insel-Verlag, Kippenberg advanced a program which echoed many of Hofmannsthal's concerns and thus further solidified their relationship. Kippenberg proposed to give a book the design and format appropriate to its contents, to serve world literature, to expand the market for these titles without sacrificing quality to economics, and to support a select group of contemporary authors.

Hofmannsthal's association with publisher Anton Kippenberg was a complex and often stormy one. United through shared goals, the two men worked to achieve a relationship mutually beneficial to each, one in which both the reputation of the individual and that of the firm were enhanced by their cooperation.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This work was begun and finished under the direction of Dr. William H. McClain, whose encouragement and guidance have been critical to its success. Dr. Liselotte Kurth's comments have also greatly aided the writer. Dr. Vernon Lidtke lent a sympathetic ear during the early stages of the dissertation and provided helpful suggestions concerning the historical context of publisher-author relationships. Dr. Gary Stark's work on neo-conservative publishers in Germany has been inspirational, and he himself has been especially thoughtful in sharing with me the results of his subsequent research. Much of the primary research was conducted from 1977 to 1978, when I was the recipient of a Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst fellowship, which enabled me to visit archives in Frankfurt am Main, the Deutsches Literaturarchiv in Marbach am Neckar, and the Nationale Forschungs- und Gedenkstätten der klassischen Literatur zu Weimar. I would like to thank for their aid the librarians and staff of these archives, as well as those at the Johns Hopkins University, the Library of Congress, Stanford University, and the Universitäts-Bibliothek in Frankfurt am Main.

I am particularly grateful for the generous assistance of Dr. Siegfried Unseld, director of the Suhrkamp Verlag and the Insel-Verlag, who first suggested to me the richness of material available on the latter and whose own work on the nature of publishing has often served as a model for my efforts. Dr. Joachim Storck and Werner Volke of the Deutsches Literaturarchiv in Marbach am Neckar found time in their busy schedules to discuss my work. My colleagues at the Research Libraries Group have buoyed my spirits by their patience and understanding during the writing of this work. Finally, I am wholly indebted to Peter B. Hirtle, without whose intellectual, moral, and technical support this dissertation could not have been completed.

FOREWORD

This dissertation is based primarily upon Hugo von Hofmannsthal's published and unpublished correspondence with Anton and Katharina Kippenberg and other contemporaries. Hofmannsthal's letters have a distinctive style. Often they lack normal punctuation and they can exhibit unusual orthography. In the few cases of obvious misspellings "[sic]" has been supplied; otherwise the citations remain as transcribed. In addition, Hofmannsthal's handwriting is not always easily deciphered, and it has been necessary to omit certain illegible words because of this. The bulk of the unpublished correspondence is deposited in three archives: the Insel-Archiv in Frankfurt am Main, the Deutsches Literaturarchiv in the Schiller Nationalmuseum in Marbach am Neckar, and in the Nationale Forschungs- und Gedenkstätten der klassischen deutschen Literatur zu Weimar in the Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv in Weimar. For convenience, each reference to letters housed in these archives contains the initials of the correspondents, the date of the exchange, and the city in which the archive is located.

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS v
FOREWORD vii

Chapter page

1. INTRODUCTION 1
2. THE INSEL-VERLAG AND ANTON KIPPENBERG 22
3. HUGO VON HOFMANNSTHAL'S COLLECTED DRAMAS AND POEMS 75
4. DER WEIÖE FÄCHER 107
5. HUGO VON HOFMANNSTHAL'S DEUTSCHE ERZÄHLER 128
6. HUGO VON HOFMANNSTHAL AND INSEL PUBLICATIONS 167
7. HUGO VON HOFMANNSTHAL AND OTHER INSEL PUBLICATIONS 210
8. INTELLECTUAL INFLUENCE IN THE PUBLISHER-AUTHOR
RELATIONSHIP 250
9. HOFMANNSTHAL'S PUBLISHING RELATIONSHIPS OUTSIDE THE INSEL-
VERLAG 286
10. CONCLUSION 342
BIBLIOGRAPHY 352

Appendix page

A. VITA 368

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

In the past decade the study of publisher-author relationships has been an expanding field. Recent scholarship in German letters has paid particular attention to the period of 1890 to 1933, one marked by substantial growth and change in the publishing industry, in the German nation, and in the development of German literature. Since 1970 books have appeared on the Ernst Rowohlt Verlag, the Eugen Diederichs Verlag, the Kurt Wolff Verlag, and the S. Fischer Verlag. The contribution of the Insel-Verlag, however, has been largely overlooked. This firm, founded in 1899 and directed from 1905 to 1950 by Anton Kippenberg, published the works of several of the epoch's literary lights. At one time Hans Carossa, Leonhard Frank, Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Ricarda Huch, Heinrich Mann, Carl Sternheim, and Stefan Zweig all were associated with the Insel-Verlag. Some of the authors remained tied to their publisher for decades while others made only a brief appearance in the booklists. While they represented a broad spectrum of talents and interests they were all united by their membership in the Insel family, and each

contributed in a unique way to the particular profile that defined the Insel book.

Despite Anton Kippenberg's influential position as head of a successful publishing enterprise, scant attention has been accorded his activity in the book world. This study examines his relationship with one of his most successful and distinguished authors, Hugo von Hofmannsthal. Hofmannsthal essentially divided his production between the Insel-Verlag and the S. Fischer Verlag, but he also cooperated in numerous other publishing ventures. In spite of his diffuse commitments, however, his ties to the Insel-Verlag remained constant. A thorough analysis of the relation of this artist to the Insel yields fresh insight into the significance of publisher-author relationships in general. One obtains firstly a clear impression of this unique relationship and its importance in the genesis of some of Hofmannsthal's creative efforts. From the study of this association it is also possible to reach certain conclusions concerning the impact of author-publisher relationships on the development of literature.

According to a modern definition a publisher is "one who publishes; esp. one who issues, or causes to be issued, from the press, and offers for sale or circulation matter printed, engraved, or the like."¹ Originally the publisher was primarily a

¹ Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language, 2d. ed. unabridged (Springfield, Mass.: C & G Merriam Co., 1949), p. 1177.

distributor of printed matter, a marketer of goods. The German word "Verleger" is derived from its original meaning of "Männer, die auf Grund ihrer Kenntnis des Warenmarktes nach eigenen Angaben Halb- oder Fertigfabrikate in der Heimindustrie herstellen ließen und zu diesem Zweck in Form von Rohstoffen oder Kapital Vorschuß, Vorlage oder 'Verlag' zur Verfügung stellten."² Through the mid-seventeenth century entrepreneurs who were simultaneously bookdealers and publishers disposed of their wares at book fairs where they exchanged books with their competitors on a sheet for sheet basis, regardless of content.³ Following the Thirty Year's War, however, the concept of the book's intrinsic worth gradually began to replace physical size as a standard for exchange.

As the highly specialized and technical trade of printing became a separate activity, the function of editing and distributing books also became separate, until at last the distributor had become solely a bookdealer. This differentiation paralleled the transition in the marketing of books, which became an ever more sophisticated operation. With these changes, which occurred in the early eighteenth century in Germany, there developed a new role for the author. Previously authors had been primarily concerned with the successful dissemination of their

² Peter de Mendelssohn, S. Fischer und sein Verlag (Frankfurt: S. Fischer Verlag, 1970), p. 41.

³ Hans Widmann, Geschichte des Buchhandels vom Altertum bis zur Gegenwart, Völlige Neubearbeitung der Auflage von 1952 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1975), I, 105.

writings, and had received little or none of the proceeds from the sales of their works. Publishers, on the other hand, depended on material returns from a material product. To the extent that the sale of many books was of benefit to both author and publisher, the two interests overlapped. Until the early nineteenth century unauthorized abridgments, translations, and pirated editions abounded, and until the 1830's, when legal restrictions on publishers and printers went into effect in various German states, the concept of the idea in print as a legal possession was not recognized.⁴ When the author was not financially dependent on the fate of his book, liberties with its form were annoyances, but were not as vital as they would have been had his economic security depended on it. Before the introduction of the system of royalties from the publisher, an author was often supported in his artistic endeavors by a patron. Many writers even considered it base to accept a fee for their creative efforts.⁵ The patron-author relationship was one which was ideally mutually beneficial. In return for enhancing his supporter's reputation through his intellectual achievements, the artist enjoyed freedom from the pressures of economic necessity or was introduced into higher, more cultured circles. Because the writer was indebted materially and morally to his patron, however, he was not strictly

⁴ Widmann, pp. 106-7.

⁵ Widmann, p. 131.

free.⁶ Under the leadership of eminent writers such as Klopstock, authors began to demand remuneration from publishers for the sale of their creative efforts. Even the author of the Messias, however, remained largely dependent on the generosity of his benefactor, the King of Denmark.⁷

One of the first German poets to attain wealth through the sale of his works was Goethe. His immense success and reputation provided him with substantial leverage in his dealings with publishers. Recognizing that his creative products were a valuable commodity, Goethe manipulated his publisher Cotta into promising him a sizable honorarium for his collected works.⁸ Goethe's stature was such that he rarely condescended to communicate directly with his publishers, whom he regarded as social or intellectual inferiors. Through intermediaries like Schiller or his son August he negotiated the publication of his collected works or raised complaints with regard to printing errors.⁹ In his autobiography Aus meinem Leben: Dichtung und Wahrheit Goethe commented on the publisher-author relationship:

⁶ Gary D. Stark, "Publishers and Cultural Patronage in Germany, 1890-1933," German Studies Review, 1 (1978), 57.

⁷ Georg Witkowski, "Das Buchgewerbe und die Literatur," in Das Buchgewerbe und die Kultur: Sechs Vorträge (Leipzig: Teubner, 1907), p. 22.

⁸ Ian C. Loram, Goethe and his Publishers (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1963), pp. 103-4.

⁹ Loram, pp. 105-10.

Der Buchhandel nämlich bezog sich in früherer Zeit mehr auf bedeutende, wissenschaftliche Facultätswerke, auf stehende Verlagsartikel, welche mäßig honoriert wurden. Die Production von poetischen Schriften aber wurde als etwas Heiliges angesehen, und man hielt es beinahe für Simonie, ein Honorar zu nehmen oder zu steigern. Autoren und Verleger standen in dem wunderlichsten Wechselverhältniß. Beide erschienen, wie man es nehmen wollte, als Patrone und als Clienten. Jene, die neben ihrem Talent, gewöhnlich als höchst sittliche Menschen vom Publicum betrachtet und verehrt wurden, hatten einen geistigen Rang und fühlten sich durch das Glück der Arbeit belohnt; diese begnügten sich gern mit der zweyten Stelle und genossen eines ansehnlichen Vorthells: nun aber setzte die Wohlhabenheit den reichen Buchhändler wieder über den armen Poeten und so stand alles in dem schönsten Gleichgewicht.¹⁰

As writers sought a larger share of publishing profits, and as bookdealers attempted to enhance their own social and intellectual status by transcending the largely economic boundaries of their occupation as traders, both writing and publishing acquired a more professional status. The publisher in particular began to define his realm as separate from the technical world of printing and selling, and the consciousness of a "Berufsidealismus" gradually emerged. Writing on the evolution of "buchhändlerischer Idealismus" in the eighteenth century, Otto Bettmann concluded:

Um die Jahrhundertwende hat der Beruf seine Aufgaben Autor und Publikum gegenüber erkannt und ist damit in die "Werkgemeinschaft der Kultur" eingeordnet. Als Resultat der Besinnung hat sich nunmehr ergeben, daß der "Buchhändler einen der wichtigsten und ehrwürdigsten Posten in der Gesellschaft" zu bekleiden habe, daß er ausersehen sei, in dem "planvollen Gang der Vorsehung"

¹⁰ Johann Wolfgang Goethe, Aus Meinem Leben: Dichtung und Wahrheit. Teil 3, Buch 12, Vol. XXV of Werke. Vollständige Ausgabe letzter Hand (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1829), 113.

bei "Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts" eine Rolle zu spielen, "daß er mit berufen sei, das Reich der Wahrheit und des Lichts, dies Gottesreich vermehren und verbreiten zu helfen."¹¹

When poets deigned to discuss percentages, publishers felt emboldened to proffer suggestions aimed at improving the literary merits of submitted works. By the 1840's the groundwork for the modern concept of publisher-author relationships had been laid, as the example of Heinrich Heine and his publisher Julius Campe of Hoffmann & Campe demonstrates. Like his predecessors Cotta and Breitkopf, Campe gave his firm a characteristic profile. Campe is associated with the members of the German literary opposition of mid-nineteenth century, the group subsumed loosely under the heading "Das Junge Deutschland,"¹² as Cotta is with the German classicists. He seems to have selected manuscripts with one eye to the material benefits he would reap from them and with the other to the possibility of furthering his own social and political aims. If necessary, he was willing to eschew pecuniary gain to advance the ideas of this highly politicized collection of writers, and he did his best to circumvent the barriers and restrictions imposed on their work by state censorship. While adhering to his highest publishing principle, that of recognizing the spirit of his times, he also endeavored to lead in the

¹¹ Otto Bettmann, Die Entstehung buchhändlerischer Berufsideale in Deutschland des XVIII Jahrhunderts (Leipzig: Buchdruckerei R. Pries, 1927), p. 95.

¹² Edda Ziegler, Julius Campe: Der Verleger Heinrich Heines (Hamburg: Hoffmann & Campe, 1976), p. 72.

technical aspects of book publishing.¹³ In a letter to Karl Immerman, written in 1827, he boasted: "Was ich für Heine und seine Anerkennung that, wird nie ein Cotta thun. Der wirft eine Handvolle Gold weg und glaubt, nun alles damit gethan zu haben, was man wünschen mag und überläßt das Buch seinem Schicksal."¹⁴ Campe's position as intermediary between his troublesome authors and the public was exceedingly difficult and delicate. On one hand he supported his authors' political engagement and thus emerged as one of the most significant publishers of the literary opposition. Extremely astute in business matters, he was able to evade much of the strong censorship prevalent in Germany in his day, and he cleverly generated interest for his forthcoming books, despite a rather dim view of public taste. Recognizing that he owed allegiance to his public as well as to his author, he cautioned Heine, for example, also to pay attention to the reception of his work, and to tailor his production accordingly.

Despite Campe's stature as a leader in the publishing of belles lettres in nineteenth-century Germany, the number of books actually issued by his firm was small. Nonetheless, the period in which he was active witnessed a spurt of growth in the publishing industry. A number of factors contributed to this era of expansion in the book trade: the educational influence of the

¹³ Ziegler, p. 273.

¹⁴ Ziegler, p. 73.

Pietists and Aufklärer; the development of state education; the increase in leisure time; the slightly increased job mobility allowed by the Stein-Hardenberg reforms; and the improvements in printing technology.¹⁵ After the mid-century a period of stagnation set in, and the second major advance in German publishing did not occur until the 1880's. This second period of expansion coincided with general industrial development in Germany, and may be attributed in part to both political and economic changes. While German unification eliminated some of the difficulties in distribution, and the problem of strict censorship also eased, reparations money provided additional capital that became available for investment in the book trade. Population increases, coupled with increased wealth and leisure among segments of the burgeoning nation, also created favorable market conditions.¹⁶ In the years from 1895 to 1907, for example, while the total German population showed an increase of only 18%, firms in existence increased by 45%, and the number of persons employed in the book trade rose by 75.2%.¹⁷ In 1890 the percentage of belles lettres of total books produced was 9.2%, increasing to 23.4% by 1920. In real numbers this represented an increase from

¹⁵ T. E. Carter, "Comments on German Book Production in the Nineteenth Century," German Life & Letters, 23 (1970), 114.

¹⁶ Carter, p. 115.

¹⁷ Gary D. Stark, "Entrepreneurs of Ideology: Neo-Conservative Publishers in Germany, 1890-1933," Diss. John Hopkins University 1974, p. 22.

1731 titles to 6515 titles, an impressive indication of the growth of the literary market in a period of economic prosperity.¹⁸

During these years, Leipzig, the center of the book trade, as well as other large cities such as Berlin, Munich, and Stuttgart, saw an influx of men and capital. A spate of new firms sprang up, representing a host of different interests and goals. Of these, several stand out as being of especial importance for the history of modern German literature. For the period from the 1880's on, when this expansion began, until 1933, when the effects of far-reaching economic recessions and powerful political restrictions caused the constriction of the book industry, there was a significant relationship between writers who played a key role in the development of German letters and the firms which issued their creative works. This era saw the rise of Hauptmann, Hofmannsthal, the Mann brothers, Rilke, and Schnitzler, to name only a few luminaries, men who for the most part divided their loyalties between the Fischer and Insel houses. New literary movements brought talent to publishing competitors of a younger generation, men like Wolff, Rowohlt, Langen and Müller. A complex set of factors determined the imprint a book would bear. The honorarium and the personality of author and publisher were of particular importance. As the literary historian Werner Mahrholz noted over a half century ago, it is possible to identify the

¹⁸ Widmann, pp. 156-57.

association of certain publishing firms and particular literary movements:

Man kann in den Mittelpunkt der geistigen Bewegungen in Deutschland fast immer ein Verlagshaus stellen: was Cotta für die Klassiker, Hoffman und Campe für das "Junge Deutschland" bedeuten, das sind Samuel Fisher für den Naturalismus, der Insel-Verlag und Diederichs für die Neuromantik, Kurt Wolff und Ernst Rowohlt für den Expressionismus geworden. Man könnte deutsche Literaturgeschichte geradezu als Verlagsgeschichte schreiben.¹⁹

This parallel development of firm and movement appears to derive from two mutually reinforcing tendencies. First, a firm, once established, acquired a particular reputation and usually attracted authors whose works could be reasonably well integrated within the existing, traditional structure. Authors whose views or style were not compatible with an established profile found their works rejected. Thus, although Rilke wished to see his poems published under Cotta's respectable imprint, as a sign that he had arrived, the editors there deemed his efforts unworthy of acceptance.²⁰ Young writers were often forced to resort to other means to appear in print. While their early work was frequently privately printed or issued in commission, as in the cases of

¹⁹ Werner Mahrholz, Deutsche Literatur der Gegenwart (Berlin: Sieben Stäbe Verlag, 1931), p. 309.

²⁰ Liselotte Lohrer, Cotta: Geschichte eines Verlags, 1659-1959 (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1959), p. 151.

Rilke²¹ and Hermann Hesse,²² they continued to search for a sympathetic publisher. Frequently the publisher was a novice himself, a contemporary devoted to furthering the creative efforts of his peers. While the beginning publisher could not promise the cachet of an established imprint, as a peer and confidant, he could often proffer greater understanding and encouragement. As entrepreneur and/or benefactor of literature, he sought to engage new talent, to discover the direction of public taste, or to educate his public in the service of certain ideals. As Samuel Fischer phrased it, he considered his task "dem Publikum neue Werte aufzudrängen, die es nicht will, ... die wichtigste und schönste Mission des Verlegers."²³ In a letter to Karl Kraus the neophyte Kurt Wolff expressed his philosophy of publisher's goals: "Ich denke mir den Verleger -- wie soll ich sagen-- etwa als Seismograph, der bemüht sein soll, Erdbeben sachlich zu registrieren. Ich will Äußerungen der Zeit, die ich vernehme, soweit sie mir irgendwie wertvoll erscheinen, überhaupt gehört zu

²¹ Gero von Wilpert and Adolf Gühring, Erstausgaben deutscher Dichtung: eine Bibliographie zur Deutschen Literatur 1600-1960 (Stuttgart: Kröner, 1967), p. 1038.

²² Siegfried Unseld, Der Autor und sein Verleger: Vorlesungen in Mainz und Austin (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1978), p. 71.

²³ de Mendelssohn, p. 47.

werden, notieren, und für die Öffentlichkeit zur Diskussion stellen."²⁴

Conspicuously lacking in the competition for new authors in the early twentieth century were the giants of the previous century. Hoffmann & Campe and Cotta preferred to rely heavily on their backlists, rather than actively soliciting new blood. With the death of their directors, the firms lost the aggressive nature which had characterized their earlier, more successful years. When the Cotta Verlag passed out of family hands in 1889, the two-hundred-and-thirty-year-old firm became known more for its publishing coup of attaining Bismarck's memoirs than for its receptivity to schöne Literatur, particularly of the modern generation. The new owner Alfred Kröner contented himself with reissuing editions of classics, possessed neither sufficient instinct or interest to ferret out writers of quality, and thus published popular but second-rate authors such as Sudermann, most of whom have fallen into obscurity today. Although Cotta's reputation was such that many talented poets sought acceptance there the firm soon undermined its best constituency by choosing to print Unterhaltungs-literatur instead of works of lasting value.

²⁴ Wolfram Göbel, "Der Kurt Wolff Verlag 1913-1930; Expressionismus als Verlegerische Aufgabe," Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens, 15 (1975), col. 569.

A certain pattern in the development of a publishing house (often reflecting the chart of a literary movement as well) emerges under closer scrutiny. The founding of a firm usually rests on the ambitions of a single man. Through the force of his personality, his ability to presage literary taste and quality, and his business acumen, he establishes a stable entity balanced by the loyalty to author and customer. However, since literary tastes are constantly in flux, the successful publisher must anticipate new currents in intellectual thought. Peter de Mendelssohn offers a summary of the publisher's responsibility towards literature in his history of the S. Fischer-Verlag:

Die Pflege der Dichtkunst als Zweig des Buchhandels gehört zu den persönlichsten Aufgaben des Verlegers. Hier handelt es sich darum, die verborgensten Kräfte zu erkennen und zu fördern. Die Pflege des Talents setzt hier stärker als in anderen Zweigen des Verlagsbuchhandels die persönliche Wirksamkeit des Verlegers mit allen seinen menschlichen Fähigkeiten voraus. Als Geschäftsmann, als Freund und Mäzen soll er dem Dichter und seinem Werke zur Seite stehen.... Jedes Werk wird erst dadurch, daß es der Öffentlichkeit ausgesetzt wird, daß es in Kontakt zum Leser gebracht wird, zur wirkenden Kraft erweckt. Die Prüfung des Manuskripts ergibt zwar ein Werturteil, aber erst das gedruckte Buch, das dem Licht und der Atmosphäre der Öffentlichkeit ausgesetzt ist, kann seine Lebensfähigkeit auf die Dauer erweisen. Die Auswahl aus der literarischen Produktion kann demnach nicht allein nach kaufmännischen Grundsätzen geschehen, sie ergibt sich aus dem ästhetischen Wert der Arbeit. Da aber ästhetische Werte Phantasiewerte sind, so ist die Auswahl an die persönliche Eindrucksfähigkeit des Verlegers gebunden.²⁵

²⁵ de Mendelssohn, pp. 45-46.

When he is no longer receptive to change or when innovative and creative poets perceive the firm as a bastion of tradition to be challenged, the publisher runs the risk of stagnation and petrification. Because of the firm's identification with a single man whose life span is limited, remaining at the vanguard of intellectual development is virtually impossible. Thus the pattern one usually finds is cells of literary activity centered around diverse individuals who nurture and encourage writers sharing common motives or ideals. In this way an imprint helps define the product.

The significance of such an association for certain writers is often profound. Through the act of publication his work reaches an audience, and though the public may not always be consciously aware of it, the readers often comprise a homogeneous group. Materially, an affiliation with a firm ensures to some degree a condition of financial stability. Intellectually, the relationship furthers the exchange of ideas not only through the medium of the printed word, capable of comprehension by a literate society, but also through the social intercourse of a publisher and his circle. Equal advantages are enjoyed by the publisher. His publisher's belief in and support of his author is rewarded if his associate receives critical acclaim and/or public success.²⁶ His position, like that of the seventeenth-century patron, is

²⁶ Stark, "Patrons and Cultural Patronage," p. 71.

enhanced by the glow emanating from his successful author, especially if the publisher was the first to discover and confirm his talent. Furthermore, in the role of first and critical reader not for just one individual writer, but perhaps as many as forty, the publisher exerts a continuing powerful influence on the reading public and the ideas reaching it. This relationship, too, is reciprocal. In so far as he is capable, the idealistic bookman attempts to cultivate, elevate, and direct public taste, sometimes by manipulatory techniques. On the other hand, he must remain responsive to the public pulse, issuing works with an appeal to as broad readership as possible. For, unlike the patron, he relies on public favor and consumption to continue his operations. Only the most idealistic ignore the economic aspect, and their failure to compromise dooms them to silence after an ephemeral career.²⁷

During the period from 1890 to 1933 the major and most influential publishers of schöne Literatur were Samuel Fischer, Eugen Diederichs, Kurt Wolff, Ernst Rowohlt, Albert Langen, Georg Müller, and Anton Kippenberg. Colleagues and competitors, these men represented high standards of literary excellence, but within this category displayed strongly developed individual tastes. Their personal leanings gave their firms a unique profile, yet because of their mutual regard for some authors, their interests overlapped. Depending on the house's geographical location, the

²⁷ Fritz Redlich, "German Literary Expressionism and Its Publishers," Harvard Library Bulletin, 17 (1969), 143.

time at which it came into existence, and the literary preference and goal of its director, each house exhibited a distinct character. Samuel Fischer thus made his reputation chiefly by championing Naturalist dramatists, centered in Berlin in the eighties, and Scandinavian writers such as Ibsen and Björnsen. Later, after the vogue for these writers had subsided, he built his reputation and the success of his house on novelists such as Thomas Mann and Hermann Hesse. Wolff and Rowohlt, members of a younger generation of bookmen, supported Expressionist dramatists and lyricists, and like the movement they patronized, the houses bearing their names were flamboyantly colorful and short-lived, although the men themselves remained a part of the literary scene for decades. The publishers Langen and Müller whose firms are now joined, conducted their business in Munich. To a large degree their interests coincided and conflicted with those of the above mentioned firms; however their programs were more inclusive and they were said to be more interested in trading on the success of others than in building up their own houses. In the struggle to attain rising and established talents they often locked horns with their competitors, and were frequently accused of ungentlemanly conduct in their wooing of the Manns, Hauptmann and other lesser stars. Their particular personalities and innovative business techniques attracted many writers, but the premature deaths of both Langen and Müller, and the consequent loss of their personal drive, caused the houses to lose their momentum. Eugen Diederichs

and Anton Kippenberg shared an interest in the so-called new romantics, both men displaying a proclivity for works of a lyrical nature.²⁸ However, the Eugen Diederichs Verlag placed a much greater emphasis on philosophical and historical treatises, with belles lettres being only one of the trade-lines supporting the house. On the other hand, schöne Literatur was the mainstay of the Insel-Verlag, whose director Kippenberg strove to attain a balance between modern writings and those of Goethe and his contemporaries.

The significance of these major figures among the publishers of modern German literature for the development of letters and the course of German history has been pointed out in several recent publications. In 1970 Peter de Mendelssohn's compendious tome S. Fischer und sein Verlag appeared, a monumental volume which traces the intersecting lives of the German intellectual community and one of its most important publishers and benefactors, Samuel Fischer.²⁹ Kurt Wolff and Ernst Rowohlt figure as the subjects of Wolfram Göbel's dissertations at the University of Munich.³⁰ These treatises represent a perceptive and thorough investigation of the

²⁸ Ernst Johann, Die deutschen Buchverlage des Naturalismus und der Neu-Romantik (Weimar: Böhlau, 1935).

²⁹ de Mendelssohn.

³⁰ Wolfram Göbel, "Der Ernst Rowohlt Verlag 1910-1913," Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens, 14 (1974), cols. 465-608.; "Der Kurt Wolff Verlag 1913-1930," Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens, 15 (1975), cols. 521-962.

publishing houses founded by these men and the contribution they made to German letters. Unlike the monograph on Albert Langen by Ernestine Koch³¹ and the dissertation on Georg Müller by Walter Koch,³² Göbel does not focus as much on personality as on the objective production of the Kurt Wolff Verlag and the Ernst Rowohlt Verlag. In a 1981 monograph based on his Johns Hopkins University dissertation, Gary Stark examines the output and goals of five neo-conservative publishers, including Eugen Diederichs, from an historical perspective,³³ in an attempt to discover and assess their role in the promulgation of neo-conservative thought, which he identifies as a factor in the rise of fascism.

Only Anton Kippenberg and the Insel-Verlag, of the above-mentioned, have not been the subject of critical attention. Two important studies exist, but neither affords an in-depth analysis of either the man or the firm. The best documentary sources are the 1965 catalog of the exhibition on the Insel-Verlag held at the Schiller Nationalmuseum in Marbach³⁴ and the 1974 Insel

³¹ Ernestine Koch, Albert Langen: ein Verleger in München (München: Langen-Müller, 1969).

³² Walter Koch, "Die Ausgewogenheit von Qualität und Quantität als Verlegerische Aufgabe," Diss. Munich 1950.

³³ Gary Stark, Entrepreneurs of Ideology (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981).

³⁴ Die Insel: eine Ausstellung zur Geschichte des Verlages unter Anton und Katharina Kippenberg (Marbach am Neckar: Schiller Nationalmuseum, 1965).

Almanach honoring the centenary of Kippenberg's birth.³⁵ Citing from letters and contemporary comments culled from the archives of the Insel-Verlag they offer evidence of the scope and aims of the Insel and its director. Only Ingeborg Schnack's tantalizing but cursory introduction to the history of the Insel-Verlag in this catalogue offers a commentary on the documents, however, leaving the reader to draw his own conclusions about the material which follows. The richness of the documents testifies to the need for a more critical and analytical approach in uncovering the significance of the Insel-Verlag and its publisher in the development of German literature.

This study will focus on one of the most significant author-publisher relationships in the history of the Insel-Verlag: the complex and often stormy relationship which developed between Kippenberg and Hugo von Hofmannsthal, one of Insel-Verlag's most prestigious authors. From documents to which I have had access in the archives of the Insel-Verlag in Frankfurt am Main and in Marbach I shall attempt to show both the nature of the works of Hofmannsthal which appeared in the Insel-Verlag and the form and content of some of the writings published there were affected by both publisher and author. In so doing I shall be able to cast light on the role of the writer as an intellectual force, since to be read, he must first be published, and on the influence which an

³⁵ Anton Kippenberg zum Hundertsten Geburtstag, ed. Friedrich Michael (Frankfurt am Main: Insel-Verlag, 1973).

important publisher is in a position to exert on the shaping of public literary taste.

Chapter 2

THE INSEL-VERLAG AND ANTON KIPPENBERG

Clearly the most stimulating and valuable source of information about the Insel-Verlag and Anton Kippenberg is the catalog compiled by Bernhard Zeller and associates of the Deutsches Literaturarchiv: Die Insel: eine Ausstellung zur Geschichte des Verlages unter Anton und Katharina Kippenberg. The exhibition, held from May to October 1965, presented the first over-all picture of the contribution of the Kippenbergs and the publishing house to Germany, and, indeed to lovers of literature and books all over the world. Occasioned by the acquisition of the Kippenbergs' private library, their collection of material by and about Rilke, and their private correspondence over a half century with lesser and greater luminaries of the German and European literary scene, the exhibition drew on hitherto unrevealed correspondence and notes as well as published material. In copious selections from documents pertaining to the Insel-Verlag and the Kippenbergs, the catalog details the firm's development and highlights its associations with particular authors, Hofmannsthal among them. Necessary principles of

selection adopted by the editors to meet spatial limitations and the intention of depicting in broad overview the history of Anton and Katharina Kippenberg and the Insel result in a compendious book offering only a small sample of the available material. Regretably, the publication of Kippenberg's correspondence promised in Zeller's foreword has not yet appeared.¹ Published exchanges between Anton and Katharina Kippenberg and Insel authors remain a meager rarity. Only a tiny fraction of their letters has reached print, usually isolated instances showing up in journals or collections of addresses and essays. By far the most attention has been directed to the Kippenbergs' relationship with Rainer Maria Rilke. As early as 1934, shortly after Rilke's death, the Insel-Verlag published Rilkes Briefe an seinen Verleger, which, significantly, document only one side of the exchange.² Only Rilke's letters are subject to public scrutiny, and in these there are deletions. While the epistles attest to a close, indeed intimate, relationship between the two men, the deletions are equally revealing. The omission of Kippenberg's letters in the volume shows his reluctance to share the limelight with Rilke. In part this reluctance grew out of his admiration for Rilke's poetic genius, manifested even in this more prosaic correspondence with

¹ Die Insel: eine Ausstellung zur Geschichte des Verlages unter Anton und Katharina Kippenberg (Marbach am Neckar: Schiller Nationalmuseum, 1965), p. 7.

² Rainer Maria Rilke, Briefe an seinen Verleger 1906 bis 1926 (Leipzig: Insel-Verlag, 1934).

his publisher, and in part from his natural reserve. In addition, however, the deletions betray his intention of shaping a certain image of Rilke. A comparison of the published letters and the originals, for example, reveals that most references to monetary matters have been excised.³ These cuts exist even in later, augmented editions of the letters, and signal a design on the part of the publisher to support an almost mythical image of Rilke as a man preoccupied with spiritual concerns, oblivious to the mundane exigencies of life. In an article entitled "Ein unbekannter Brief Rainer Maria Rilkes an Anton Kippenberg," Joachim Storck exposed aspects of Rilke's attitudes toward both money and politics which present a very different picture of the poet.⁴ In the unpublished correspondence he uncovered a Rilke who pleaded for control of money intended for him which he had entrusted to Kippenberg, a Rilke whose everyday existence involved continual coping with financial necessity. Storck furthermore relates that during the period of Nazi control of Germany Kippenberg carefully purged from Rilke's letters or dedications references which might have been construed as sympathetic to Jews or other political dissidents.

³ Siegfried Unseld, Der Autor und sein Verleger: Vorlesungen in Mainz und Austin (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp-Verlag, 1978), p. 206.

⁴ Joachim Storck, "Ein unbekannter Brief Rainer Maria Rilkes an Anton Kippenberg," Jahrbuch der Deutschen Schillergesellschaft, 18 (1974), pp. 22-36.

These published documents must, therefore, be viewed with caution when used as aids in determining the nature of publisher-author relationships. Rather than illuminating the dynamics of these associations, they may even obscure the actual facts. Still, when used in conjunction with other material, they prove invaluable. For example, Katharina Kippenberg's exchange with Rilke provides insights into the characters of the letter-writers as well as into that of her husband.⁵

In addition to the published correspondence of the Kippenbergs, there are a few other important sources of information giving access to their lives. Julius Rodenberg compiled a bibliography of Anton Kippenberg's writings in 1939, recording Kippenberg's written work from the time of his earliest essays, his dissertation "Die Saga vom Herzog Luxemburg und die historische Persönlichkeit ihres Trägers," and addresses delivered at the meeting of the Goethe Gesellschaft, of which he was president for many years.⁶ Most of the more important pieces appear as a collection entitled Reden und Schriften, a volume

⁵ Published in 1956 after the deaths of the couple, these letters offer an almost diary-like effusion of emotions and thoughts, and they must serve as the closest substitute for a journal of which, if it ever existed at all, there is now no trace. (Personal communication of Jutta Kippenberg von Hessler to the author, June 1978.) Rainer Maria Rilke, Rainer Maria Rilke, Katharina Kippenberg: Briefwechsel, ed. Bettina von Bomhard (Wiesbaden: Insel-Verlag, 1954).

⁶ Julius Rodenberg, Bibliographie Kippenberg, Verzeichnis der von Professor Dr. Anton Kippenberg verfaßten, herausgegebenen und Übersetzten Schriften und Aufsätze (Leipzig: n.p., 1939).

including Kippenberg's only recorded comments on his choice of profession.⁷

If Kippenberg chose to write more frequently about Goethe than about himself, there are still the celebrations of his publishing and bibliophile efforts penned by Insel authors as source materials. On May 22, 1924, his friends and associates presented him with a Festschrift honoring his fiftieth birthday. Entitled Navigare necesse est, it contained contributions from Hans Carossa, Martin Buber, and Stefan Zweig, among others.⁸ Naturally the occasion demanded laudatory pieces. Dissension and dissatisfaction with Insel practices, on the other hand, are to be found in private letters or diatribes published in book trade journals or literary magazines. These references, more difficult to trace, provide the dark side of the picture of which chiefly highlights are preserved. Kippenberg's seventy-fifth birthday fell in the war-torn year 1944, and a planned Festschrift never made it into print. Instead friends presented the publisher with a sheaf of manuscripts aimed at capturing moments of the rosier past. Many of these recollections have since appeared separately, as for example Rudolf Alexander Schröder's "Die Insel" and "Aus den Münchner Anfängen des Insel Verlags"; and some were

⁷ Anton Kippenberg, Reden und Schriften (Wiesbaden: Insel-Verlag, 1952).

⁸ Katharina Kippenberg, ed., Navigare necesse est: eine Festgabe für Anton Kippenberg zum zweiundzwanzigsten Mai MCMXXIV (Leipzig: Insel-Verlag, 1924).

incorporated into the Insel Almanach auf das Jahr 1974, a volume dedicated to Kippenberg on the one hundredth anniversary of his birth.⁹

As an important figure in bibliophile circles, well-known for his fabulous collection of Goethe autographs and material relating to the poet's life, and simultaneously as one of the foremost German publishers, Kippenberg was a frequent subject of newspaper profiles. A fellow bibliophile, Ernst Schulte Strathaus, even jotted down anecdotes about Kippenberg in a privately printed work Kippiana.¹⁰ After his death in 1950 numerous eulogies and obituaries attempted to sum up his contribution to German letters. Since that time, however, there has been comparatively little interest in Kippenberg. Long time Insel associate Friedrich Michael and Ingeborg Schnack, who worked with Kippenberg after his resettlement in West Germany, have kept alive the memory of Anton and Katharina Kippenberg in occasional articles or introductions. Yet no full-scale critical work exists which examines the nature of their relationship to their authors or their leadership in the world of books.

⁹ Rudolf Alexander Schröder, Die Aufsätze und Reden (Berlin: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1952), II, 934-74.

¹⁰ Ernst Schulte Strathaus, Kippiana: freundliche Begegnungen mit Anton Kippenberg in München 1908 bis 1949 (München: Privatdruck in Dez. 1969 für die Mitglieder der Gesellschaft Münchner Bücherfreunde und der Bibliophilen-Gesellschaft Köln, 1969).

The Insel-Verlag, as one of the major and enduring publishing houses in Germany, is frequently mentioned in works covering the turn of the century and later years. In addition to these usually fleeting references, there are more substantial progress reports written on the occasion of the firm's fiftieth and seventy-fifth anniversaries, in 1949 and 1974.¹¹ Ingeborg Schnack chronicles the growth and achievements of the Insel-Verlag as evidenced by the small, compact volumes appearing under the Insel imprint, commissioned works, which, while leaning toward emphasis of the positive, are invaluable summaries of the firm's historical development and accomplishments. For an over-all, objective record of the firm's output there is the bibliography compiled and edited by Heinz Sarkowski: Der Insel-Verlag 1899-1969: Bibliographie.¹² Sarkowski divided the production by categories, devoting sections to the various series in which the books were grouped, such as Bibliotheca Mundi or Der Dom. He also included the house publications Das Inselschiff and the Insel-Almanach, as well as the most famous Insel achievement, the Insel-Bücherei. All of the above-mentioned attained such distinction that they have been the subject of separate articles and essays, as has the periodical Die Insel, the seed from which the publishing venture

¹¹ Ingeborg Schnack, ed., Fünfzig Jahre Insel-Verlag (Marburg: Privatdruck der 'Marburger Presse' zum 15. Oktober 1949); 75 Jahre Insel-Verlag: eine Geschichte in Daten, Programmen und Dokumenten (Frankfurt: Insel-Verlag, 1974).

¹² Heinz Sarkowski, Der Insel-Verlag 1899-1969: Bibliographie (Frankfurt am Main: Insel-Verlag, 1970).

germinated.¹³ As in the case of the Kippenbergs, however, little has been written which is not feuilletonistic in character. Although Ingeborg Schnack's accounts detail the development of the Insel-Verlag, they do not fully assess its place in history or attempt to define the significance of its production; they fail to draw conclusions from the facts they present.

Almost fifty years ago Ernest Johann took the first step towards a critical assessment in his treatise Die deutschen Buchverlage des Naturalismus und der Neuromantik. Certainly a scholarly examination on the Insel-Verlag is long overdue, particularly in light of the wealth of archival material deposited in 1963 at the Deutsches Literaturarchiv in Marbach am Neckar. The exhibition and catalogue sponsored by that institution provide the impetus for serious study of an important publishing body. Housed in the archive are thousands of letters from leading German writers such as Hofmannsthal, Rilke, Sternheim, Zweig, and many others, and originals or carbons of the publisher's replies. While these documents alone warrant a thorough study, a private archive in Frankfurt contains thousands more letters to and from the Insel-Verlag that also deserve further attention. These unpublished materials form the basis for this interpretation of the publisher-author relationship existing between Anton

¹³ Georg Ramseger, Literarische Zeitschriften um die Jahrhundertwende unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Insel (Berlin: Verlag Dr. Emil Ebering, 1941).

Kippenberg and Insel author Hugo von Hofmannsthal. From the holdings of the two archives it has been possible to reconstruct an almost complete exchange of correspondence. Supplementing these largely personal letters is a substantial collection preserved in the Nationale Forschungs- und Gedenkstätten der klassischen Literatur zu Weimar. This East German archive houses the business papers of the Insel-Verlag which remained in Leipzig after the Second World War. Following the destruction of the Insel-Verlag headquarters during the bombing of Leipzig, Kippenberg had most of the private correspondence transported to the West, where he established a branch of the original firm. Communications of a purely business nature and those letters not addressed to him comprise the better part of the material now on deposit in Weimar. Taken as a whole, the accessible correspondence in Frankfurt, Marbach, and Weimar, augmented by published sources, provides a veritable treasure to be exploited and analyzed.

Unlike most publishing firms founded in the second wave of entrepreneurial expansion, the Insel-Verlag was not the conception of a single individual. Rather, it represented the fulfillment of the schoolboy ambitions of the wealthy Alfred Walter Heymel and his Bremen cousin Rudolf Alexander Schröder, inexperienced youths who in their publishing venture combined personal fortune and a strong interest in the arts. Heymel and Schröder drew into their

circle Otto Julius Bierbaum, a dramatist whose mature age and familiarity with the book world presumably was to lend an air of stability to the cousins' project. Together they announced their intention to issue Die Insel, a periodical dedicated to furthering the arts. In 1889, the first Insel appeared, proclaiming on the first page the publishers' desire to encourage the development of literature and the arts. The declaration continued:

Es lag uns ferne, durch diesen Namen das Bestreben nach einer irgendwie unberechtigten Exklusivität oder nach einer übermäßig zur Schau getragenen Vornehmheit betonen zu wollen; wir wollen vielmehr suchen, zwar nicht allen künstlerischen, aber doch allen künstlerischen Bestrebungen, soweit sie für ein Unternehmen, wie das unserige, in Betracht kommen, gerecht zu werden. Indem wir unseren Veröffentlichungen den Namen "Die Insel" beilegten, wollten wir nur zu erkennen geben, wie wenig wir geneigt sind, in das jetzt so vielerorts übliche Triumphgeschrei über die glorreichen Resultate irgendwelcher moderner Kunstbestrebungen einzustimmen, und wie sehr wir uns der ungeheuren inneren und äußeren Schwierigkeiten bewußt sind, die sich einer wünschenswerten Entwicklung unseres Kunstlebens in den Weg stellen.¹⁴

Undaunted by the enormity of the task they had set for themselves, the writers embarked on still another project, as announced in the October 1899 issue of the Insel. They saw the founding of the Insel-Verlag as a vehicle for getting creative works of longer proportions into print. First fruit of the publishing effort was the Almanach der Insel für 1900, a collection of material from monthly contributors. The Almanach contained a definitive statement of their aims:

¹⁴ Die Insel, 1 (1899), 1-2.

Die Insel. Unter diesem Namen haben die Unterzeichneten [Die Herausgeber der Insel] ein Verlagsunternehmen gegründet, das sich die Förderung künstlerischer Bestrebungen auf allen einschlägigen Gebieten zur Aufgabe macht. Auf einer bedeutenden finanziellen Basis fussend, hoffen die Herausgeber der Insel neben der Veröffentlichung rein graphischer Werke hauptsächlich die Verbreitung kunstmäßig ausgestatteter Bücher von literarisch wertvollstem Inhalt in weitere Kreise des deutschen Lese-Publicums und damit zugleich ein der Begründung und Entwicklung moderner Kunstbestrebungen Günstiges Resultat zu erreichen.¹⁵

If Heymel, Schröder and Bierbaum had hoped to escape the label of elitists, their editorial policy made such goals circumspect.

Although they acquired a brilliant list of contributors to the Insel including Hofmannsthal, Robert Walser, Rilke, and Arno Holz, the periodical had a limited appeal, never reaching more than 400 subscribers. Reviewers criticized the esoteric and ephemeral nature of its contents. Dissension among the unevenly balanced triumvirate and their changing priorities, added to financial losses, led to the decision to cease publication of the Insel at the end of its third year. Nonetheless, the almost equally shaky operation, the Insel-Verlag, stayed afloat.

Initially the Insel-Verlag's signet of the full-masted ship on the high seas, designed by the artist Peter Behrens, graced chiefly the works of the publishers themselves, making the business in effect a kind of Selbst-Verlag. Issued under the Insel imprint, the poetry of Schröder and Heymel and Bierbaum's

¹⁵ Almanach der Insel für 1900 (Berlin, 1899); Insel Almanach auf das Jahr 1975, p. 10.

dramas were actually printed at the respected Berlin firm of Schuster & Loeffler until 1901, and the Insel-Verlag itself did not appear in the registry of publishing firms in Leipzig until 1902.¹⁶ Disagreement with his partners on aesthetic matters led to Bierbaum's departure, but not before his effusive personality had driven the managing director of the fledgling enterprise to distraction. Rudolf von Pöllnitz, a young relative of Eugen Diederichs, penned off letter after letter to R. A. Schröder, complaining about Bierbaum's interference and intransigence. Schröder attempted to maintain aesthetic control over the Leipzig production from Paris, and Heymel's almost total absence from the city contributed further to the confusion at the Insel. Although Heymel had expected that Pöllnitz's managerial experience would shore up the Insel, Pöllnitz, left to his own devices, continued to publish works without regard to their ability to appeal to a wide readership and thus failed to secure material support for the firm. By 1904 the venture was in grave danger of foundering, a peril increased by Pöllnitz's serious and ultimately fatal illness. Hugo von Hofmannsthal, writing to Stefan George in a letter dated June 18, 1902, commented on his relationship to the Insel:

Wenn meine Theilnahme an der Unternehmung "Insel" Ihnen
und anderen Freunden vielleicht besondere Ungeduld
erregte, so muß ich gestehen, daß ich in diesem einen

¹⁶ Ingeborg Schnack, "Dichter und Verleger: ein Kapitel aus der Geschichte des Insel-Verlags," Börsenblatt für den Deutschen Buchhandel, 33 (1966), 831.

Fall durch mein Eingreifen eine völlige Umgestaltung herbeizuführen und das Chaotisch-nichtige in einem Sinn umzugestalten hoffte, dem Sie Ihre Billigung nicht versagt hätten, --daß ich aber hierin meine Kräfte überschätzte, eine Zeitlang noch formal gebunden war und schließlich nur abzutreten und zu vergessen hatte...¹⁷

Renate Schaffenberg in a 1953 Marburg dissertation wrote that by 1904 "war die geschäftliche Lage noch immer trostlos, obendrein haftete jetzt dem Verlag das Odium von Snobismus und Dekadenz an."¹⁸ When Anton Kippenberg took on the task of stabilizing the Insel in 1905, it was by no means certain that he would outlast his predecessors, and no one could have foretold that he would remain director of the firm for forty-five years. Kippenberg's friend Carl Poeschel had been acting as advisor to the Insel during the months of Pöllnitz's terminal illness. After his death, the pair assumed joint responsibility for the management of the publishing house. With a touch of subdued pride Anton Kippenberg wrote to his mentor Albert Köster: "Da ich nicht möchte, daß Sie es von anderer Seite früher als mir erfahren, theile ich Ihnen mit, daß Herr Poeschel und ich vom 1. Juli ab gemeinsam die Geschäftsführung des Inselverlages übernehmen werden und daß die 4. Auflage der Frau Rath-Briefe auch meinen Namen auf dem Titel tragen wird."¹⁹ The association with Poeschel, whose

¹⁷ Die Insel: eine Ausstellung, p. 36.

¹⁸ Renate Scharfenberg, "Der Beitrag des Dichters zum Formwandel in der äußeren Gestalt des Buches um die Wende vom 19. zum 20. Jahrhundert," Diss. Marburg 1953, p. 38.

¹⁹ Anton Kippenberg zum Hundertsten Geburtstag, p. 43.

family owned a printing establishment which often executed Insel commissions, was not without friction. At the end of the calendar year Poeschel severed his connection with the Insel, leaving Kippenberg as sole director.

Count Harry Kessler recalled his first dubious impression of the new leader as dating from 1905. Alfred Heymel, breakfasting with Kessler in Weimar, brought along the young Kippenberg and introduced him as a new colleague at the Insel. Since Kippenberg had a series of unsuccessful predecessors, and the Insel-Verlag was rumored to be on the verge of bankruptcy, Kessler predicted that the new acquaintance would be of short duration.

Bei einem Frühstück in meinem Hause in Weimar etwa im Jahre 1905 sehe ich Alfred Heymel mit einem nicht sehr großen, breiten, kräftigen jungen Mann eintreten und mir sagen: das ist mein neuer Mitarbeiter bei der Insel, Dr. Anton Kippenberg. Da Alfred Heymel in der kurzen Zeit seit der Geburt der "Insel" schon eine nicht mehr leicht zu übersehende Reihe von "neuen Mitarbeitern," beginnend mit dem nicht ganz undramatischen Sturz von Otto Julius Bierbaum, herangezogen und verabschiedet hatte so mußte ich unwillkürlich lächeln über diese neue Bekanntschaft, die voraussichtlich von ebenso kurzer Dauer sein würde wie die mit der bisherigen Insel-"Mitarbeitern." Da der Insel-Verlag aber zur Zeit für pleite galt, so bewunderte ich den Mut des Mannes, der auf das sinkende Inselsschiff seinen, wie man an jeder seiner Bewegungen merkte, kräftig auftretenden Fuß setzte.²⁰

However, in the pragmatic Kippenberg the Insel discovered a firm hand and steady pilot. An important communication to Hugo von Hofmannsthal dated December 1, 1906 detailed Kippenberg's

²⁰ Anton Kippenberg zum Hundertsten Geburtstag, p. 9.

immediate and long-range plans for stabilizing and further developing the publishing house. Kippenberg explained that he now had a clear sense of the direction he wanted to take in the development of the Insel-Verlag. He listed for goals: "der Weltliteratur im Goetheschen Sinne zu dienen, dem Gehalt des Buches die Form anzupassen, den Sinn für Buchkunst und auch für Buchluxus immer mehr zu heben und von der zeitgenössischen Literatur wenig, aber dafür nach Möglichkeit das Dauer versprechende zu bringen."²¹ Ever practical, Kippenberg noted that it might occasionally be necessary to deviate from the first and fourth principle of action. He explained:

"Der Insel-Verlag hat gewiß an seinem bescheidenen Theil eine Kulturmission zu erfüllen, aber letzten Endes ist er ein Geschäft, und wie der Theaterdirektor Goethe, um die Kasse zu füllen, vieles zur Aufführung brachte, was dem Dichter und Kenner nicht genug thun konnte, so wird auch der Verleger Bücher drucken, die den Tag, der sie hervorbrachte, nicht allzu lange überdauern. Vor allem minderwerthigen und schlechten freilich müssen wir uns hüten."²²

An examination of the Insel's production over several decades reveals a striking adherence to this four point program. From the very start of his association with the publishing house Kippenberg had a clear conception of the profile he wished to cut, and he quickly established guidelines and criteria to ensure the successful execution of his plan. Although he wanted to distance the firm from the elitist and dilettantish image it had acquired

²¹ Die Insel: eine Ausstellung, p. 62.

²² Die Insel: eine Ausstellung, p. 62.

under its previous leadership he nevertheless tempered his pragmatic suggestions with insistence on high aesthetic quality, the unifying factor in the transition from the initial phases of Insel publishing to the Kippenberg era. This policy, as much as the composition of its book lists, set the Insel apart from the other publishing houses.

Serving world literature in a Goethean sense was a characteristic Kippenberg aim, and it did not lead the list by chance. Above all other poets, Kippenberg revered Goethe. The publisher collected Goetheiana with a passion, not merely as a bibliophile, however, but rather with the fervor of a disciple for whom Goethe's words were sacred. Kippenberg couched his own thoughts on any important topic in quotations from the master, imbuing his opinions with a majesty and poetry of another age. Consequently, to the contemporary ear, the Leipzig publisher's phrases often have an other-worldly, almost pompous ring to them, as they echo sentiments of the eighteenth century. Goethe's concept of universality had an especially great appeal for Kippenberg, who sought to integrate this ideal into his program, in his attempt to bring world literature of the highest quality to a broad public. This was achieved through acquiring the rights to such diverse authors as Dostoevsky, Flaubert, Cervantes, and D. H. Lawrence and publishing them in handsome but moderately priced editions. To many the Insel-Verlag was known chiefly through its

extensive collection of classic works, especially its editions of Goethe. For the first time in the history of German literature, Goethe's works were readily available in a variety of forms and prices, so that his writings might reach the widest possible German-speaking audience. The sixteen-volume Dünndruck edition, known also as the Großherzog Wilhelm-Ernest edition, was widely acclaimed for advancing publishing frontiers in its tasteful presentation and accessibility. Although primarily an educated elite subscribed to this edition, the manifold selection of classic as well as lesser-known Goethean works in pocketbook format fulfilled the literary need of a broader group. Reclam had long issued cheap paperback versions, beginning its famous series with Faust in 1867. Although figures show that the public purchased these favorites in record-breaking numbers, the Insel-Verlag tapped a whole new market with the slender, attractively bound, and affordable books of the Insel-Bücherei, which sold for years at 50 Pfennig. In Kippenberg's lifetime alone over eighty editions of Goethe's novels, poetry, letters, conversations, drawings, and other material relating to Goethe's life bore the Insel imprint. According to Kippenberg, superior literature demanded a garment of equal quality. In his insistence on works manifesting the highest technical and aesthetic standards, he forged a reputation for products bearing the Insel stamp. This excellence became a major drawing card for authors and public alike. Readers delighted in the colorful marbled paper

binding the volumes of the Insel-Bücherei, and the careful observer noted the harmony of form and content. Writing on the occasion of the Insel-Bücherei's fiftieth anniversary, Eberhard Hölscher summed up the contribution of the series, praising the combination of lively colors and affordable prices:

Wer die von starken bibliophilen Impulsen bewegten Jahre vor dem Ersten Weltkriege nicht selber miterlebt hat, wird heute kaum noch begreifen können, welches freudige Erstaunen in den Kreisen der deutschen Bücherfreunde jene schmalen und farbenfrohen Bändchen der Insel-Bücherei hervorriefen, die erstmalig im Jahre 1912 auf dem Büchermarkte erschienen. Wohl gab es auch damals schon weitverbreitete Buchreihen, die dem Leser zu wohlfeilen Preisen die Werke der Weltliteratur erschlossen, aber es war das Überraschende und Faszinierende an dieser neuen Buchserie, daß ihre Bände nicht nur gleichfalls sehr billig, sondern trotzdem noch nach ausgesprochenen buchkünstlerischen Gesichtspunkten durchgestaltet waren und damit nun auch den ästhetischen Ansprüchen weiter Leserkreise zu genügen vermochten.²³

The goal of raising the standard of book art coincided with the Insel-Verlag policy of shaping form to express content. Thus poets with a highly developed aesthetic sense, Rilke, for example, treasured their affiliation with the firm for the meticulous care awarded their works. Typographical errors were rare; special fonts were employed according to subject matter. Harmony between interior and exterior, between idea and form, was achieved by careful planning and through judicious use of printing innovations. Kippenberg engaged the foremost artists of the period to illustrate and enhance the meaning of the texts of his

²³ Eberhard Hölscher, "Fünfzig Jahre Insel-Bücherei," Gebrauchsgraphik, 33 (1962), 20.

authors. E. R. Weiß and Franz Masereel were but two of many talented men associated with the firm. Through unprecedented balance of form and content the books of the Insel-Verlage made possible a new depth of understanding of literature. The renown accorded these products and the sales they enjoyed reflected the successful implementation of this second point of Kippenberg's program.

A logical extension of this aim is expressed in Kippenberg's third guideline, that of raising the level of book illustration and design, as well as expanding and exploiting the market for bibliophile editions. While the publisher strove for harmony between the abstract nature of literature and the material representation of the text, he was hampered by economic considerations. If he used the finest materials available, he could not recover enough of his costs, and his taste was thus tempered by the awareness of his readers' pocketbooks. The author's work could attain its deserved glory, however, in the Luxusdruck. These limited editions were a hallmark of the Insel-Verlag. Subscribers purchased editions ornamented with gold leaf, fine engravings of lithographs, leather bindings, imported hand-laid papers, and other lavish appointments. Luxury editions gratified the sensibilities of authors like Hofmannsthal, Rilke, Zweig, and bound them to a firm, so uniquely able to produce books of exquisite and affordable beauty, which were capable of creating

a massive readership without sacrificing the lyrical aspects of the work, and at the same time were able to appeal to the small circle of wealthy intellectuals and patrons. High volume of sales ensured the firm's stability, and thus the inexpensive, but attractive editions of the Insel-Verlag were the bedrock on which the house rested. The luxury editions appealed to bibliophiles and gave the Insel a mark of distinction. The two alternatives guaranteed the penetration of Insel books into two separate markets, each of which was important in sustaining both the firm and the authors associated with it.

Because of its reputation for producing books of high quality, contemporary authors sought publication in the Insel-Verlag. Its selection principles were stringent, and the Kippenbergs adhered strongly to their policy of accepting only works they felt would fit into the established program. If thus far the Insel profile has been defined by devotion to world literature of high quality, harmony of form and content, and careful and exceptional attention to detail, the fourth category, the selection of contemporary works meeting similar standards of excellence, is a variable somewhat dependent on the three previous factors. Authors placing a high value on form were attracted to the house; works of a parochial nature risked disqualification for failing to meet the requirements of the first principle of universality. This principle led to the exclusion of all but a

few works of controversial social or political content. Carl Sternheim, Heinrich Mann, and Johannes R. Becher all numbered among the Insel ranks, but these artists, like Leonhard Frank, soon parted ways with Kippenberg, often after bitter disagreement. Lifelong bonds to writers were rare; those which did not snap under pressure were the ties to Carossa, Hofmannsthal, and Rilke, men of tranquil, conservative or apolitical natures. What Insel authors shared was a respect for quality, a reverence for tradition, and a predisposition to the lyric. Evidence indicates that this last quality was nurtured by Katharina Kippenberg.

On December 12, 1905, approximately six months after Anton Kippenberg assumed the role of business manager for the Insel-Verlag, he married Katharina von Dühring, an intelligent and charming twenty-nine-year-old from a patrician Hamburg family. Katharina Kippenberg not only shared her husband's interest in literary matters, but actively cultivated relationships with Insel authors, waxing warmly enthusiastic when their works pleased her, tentatively, but openly criticizing their failings, and above all, tendering her support in intellectual matters. Soon after her marriage she took over the responsibility of preparing the annual Insel-Almanach, a task which drew her closer to the Insel poets and writers. During Kippenberg's wartime absence she ran the firm, being careful that she, technically only an honorary employee, did not tread on anyone's toes. Whether she feared the

reproach of nepotism or whether she tactfully wished to avoid the appearance of a woman wielding authority is not clear but in her own way, she functioned well as a temporary replacement. In a letter to Rilke she described her duties, comparing them to her husband's responsibilities:

Meine Obliegenheiten bestehen in Dingen ähnlich wie sie mein Mann zu tun hatte -- das Vorgearbeitete endgültig entscheiden, die Ausstattung überwachen, den Überblick haben, die einzelnen Wirksamkeiten übersehen. Das wäre das Ideal, dem ich außerordentlich schwer finde, gerecht zu werden. Ich fühle oft die Lücke, den Mangel, und weiß nicht, wo sie aufsuchen, wie wenn man irgendetwas anklopft, es hohl tönt, aber vom Finden des Lochs noch weit entfernt ist. Wie ein Holzwurm muß ich mich langsam, langsam in die Materie hineinfressen, vorsichtig darf es nur sein, weil gewisse Leute unendlich empfindlich sind und es viel Aufmerksamkeit bedarf, mich nicht als über sie gesetzt empfinden zu lassen.²⁴

The extent of Katharina Kippenberg's contribution to the success of the Insel-Verlag cannot be objectively measured, but her own correspondence with the authors as well as the testimony of others underscores the vital role she played. Friedrich Michael, who knew the Kippenbergs from 1919 and who himself directed the Insel-Verlag after Anton Kippenberg's death, wrote in the foreword of the Insel-Almanach honoring the hundredth anniversary of Kippenberg's birth that Katharina's name must stand alongside that of her husband's in any such work, and he commented elsewhere: "Der Umgang mit den Autoren [war] eigenständige Aufgabe Katharina Kippenbergs. Denn wenn Kippenberg jedem Ressortwesen

²⁴ Rainer Maria Rilke, Rainer Maria Rilke, Katharina Kippenberg: Briefwechsel, pp. 146-47.

abhold war und keine zu enge Begrenzung der Arbeitsgebiete seiner Mitarbeiter wünschte, so galt es doch als selbstverständlich, daß Katharina Kippenberg die Verbindung mit den Dichtern pflegte."²⁵

From her letters an uninhibited stream of metaphors poured out, comments on culture and society, an irrepressible interest in modern fiction, and a love of literature that could not fail to communicate itself to the letter's recipient. Above all she demonstrated a thoughtful concern about life and the developing twentieth century. Her identification with the Insel-Verlag manifested itself in her frequent use of the pronouns "we" and "our" in describing her cares and activities. For example, in an epistle to Rilke, she wrote about the demands business placed on her spouse, but soon slipped into the plural during her account:

Ich mache mir manchmal etwas Sorge um meinen Mann. Dies sage ich aber nur zu Ihnen. Soll sein Arbeiten immer so weitergehen? Ein fortwährender heftiger Trubel um ihn herum, keine Viertelstunde, in der es nicht an seine Tür klopft, abends spät erst nach Hause. Und wenn er sich nicht um jeden Strich der Titelblätter kümmert, so entsteht etwas, was unsereiner nicht ertragen kann. Das ists ja. Man ist nicht mehr imstande, sich die kleinste Kleinigkeit feindlichen Geschmacks gefallen zu lassen und fragt sich doch oft "ist der Preis dafür nicht zu hoch gezahlt?" Und doch nein. Wie kann man Fremdes in seinem Wesen dulden und erlauben, daß Dinge deren jedes von uns zeugt und uns zur Verantwortung zieht, es nicht richtig widerspiegeln. --Aber wenn man von "Erfolg" und "Glück" der Insel spricht, wahrhaftig, dann vergißt man, daß dieses 'Glück' umgemünzte Lebenskraft, jedes

²⁵ Friedrich Michael, Buchhändler und Sammler: Erinnerung an Anton Kippenberg (Düsseldorf: Goethe Museum, 1967), p. 17.

Buch ein Stück verwandelter Mensch. Die Tage schnurren ab und fast, ehe er sich der Früchte freuen kann, muß er sich bücken, um zu säen.²⁶

In particular this passage bears witness to Katharina Kippenberg's attitude and principles; it also affords a glimpse into the nature of her relationship to Rainer Maria Rilke. While it was Anton Kippenberg who renewed lapsed ties with the poet upon his entry into the Insel-Verlag, agreeing to publish Das Stundenbuch sight unseen, on the basis of Rilke's earlier contributions to Die Insel, it was Katharina who developed the more intimate contact with the writer. Her letters to him were so frank that they assumed an almost diary-like character, and he became a dominant figure in her life. Rilke's precious gifts to her, such as the inscribed manuscript of his novel Die Aufzeichnungen des Malte Laurids Brigge, dictated into its final form in the hospitable guest chamber in the tower room of the Kippenbergs' Leipzig house, attest to the depth of his feeling toward her, while her Rilke books reveal the depth of her occupation, preoccupation, with him, and his work.²⁷ As Ingeborg Schnack remarked in her commemoration of the fiftieth year of the existence of the Insel-Verlag, while Anton Kippenberg's "compass" on the Insel Schiff was Goethe, Katharina's was Rilke. The

²⁶ Rainer Maria Rilke, Rainer Maria Rilke, Katharina Kippenberg: Briefwechsel, p. 40.

²⁷ Katharina Kippenberg, Rainer Maria Rilke: ein Beitrag (Leipzig: Insel-Verlag, 1935); Rainer Maria Rilkes Duineser Elegien und Sonette an Orpheus (Wiesbaden: Insel-Verlag, 1946); Die Vierte Duineser Elegie (Leipzig: Insel-Verlag, 1943).

distinction between the two is telling. Kippenberg celebrated the classical past, demanded the precision of a philologist in the reproduction of Goethe's works, and demonstrated a scholarly knowledge of his idol's writings. Katharina Kippenberg's response was more emotional, more intuitive, and more interpretative. She preferred a dialogue with the living, as if, in her exchanges with Rilke, some of the magic of creativity might be imparted to her.

In the examples of Rilke and Goethe and in the division of labor, two distinct, but not inharmonious tendencies come to light. Anton Kippenberg, while maintaining an overview of the publishing house's entire production, and while actively engaged in correspondence with all the firm's authors, was, however, particularly involved in the revitalization of classical literature. Initially he concentrated on Goethe and Schiller, but soon widened his program to extend back to earlier relics of German literature, to the Manassian manuscript, to the Gutenberg Bible, and forward to encompass the works of nineteenth-century masters such as Adalbert Stifter. In addition, the bibliographic, scholarly, and technical areas claimed his constant attention. Katharina Kippenberg, on the other hand, cared for the contemporary authors, sought out new talent, and enjoyed the thrill of discovering and developing a poet as intensely as her husband felt about uncovering a heretofore unknown Goethe manuscript for his collection. The pair complemented and

strengthened one another, and any interpretation on the significance of the Insel-Verlag and its publisher for its authors must take this complementary relationship into account.

The Kippenbergs' high esteem for Goethe and Rilke colored and shaped the whole Insel program, as if all other creations had to be compared to these giants in order to be properly ranked and evaluated. Goethe and Rilke formed the backbone of the many series supporting the Insel house. These series, which brought together works related thematically, were the result of considerable thought and energy. Kippenberg engaged house authors and outside philologists to edit literary classics and to translate foreign literature. The series' names gave clues to their contents. For example, between 1914 and 1928 the Insel issued Memoiren und Chroniken, a series including Die Brautbriefe Wilhems und Karolinen von Humboldt and Klosterleben im deutschen Mittelalter. In 1920 Stefan Zweig became involved in coordinating the volumes comprising the Bibliotheca Mundi, which presented world literature in the original language. Other series were Der Dom: Bücher deutscher Mystik, Deutsche Meister, Deutsche Vergangenheit, and Deutsche Dichter der Gegenwart. Their titles show the emphasis placed on German literature and tradition, although the Bibliotheca Mundi and the Bibliothek der Romane did serve the ideal of universality. Little attention was paid to contemporary letters, with the series devoted to living authors

only appearing briefly in 1939 and 1942. With a lifespan averaging less than a decade, none of the series was an unqualified success.

By comparison, the Insel-Bücherei was enormously popular. Since 1912, when Number One appeared, the series has presented hundreds of titles, some of which have sold over a million copies. The volumes shared a common format, differing in binding papers according to subject. All were carefully selected and prepared, and offered to the public for a reasonable 50 Pfennig until the inflationary period of the twenties forced the price up. Past and present intertwined as Rilke and Cervantes, van der Velde and Bismarck rubbed shoulders. These small works represented the essence of the Insel-Verlag. Limited in size as a function of their low price, they featured primarily the lyric or the novella. Often described as jewels, these precious pieces enjoyed tremendous acclaim. Rilke's Cornet, acquired from Axel Juncker for 400 RM after it had sold a disappointing 300 copies under Juncker's imprint, set the pace for the rest of the series as it sold 10,000 copies almost immediately as volume one and passed the half million mark during it's author's lifetime. Writing on the Insel's "Weltseitigkeit" Stefan Zweig assessed the accomplishments of the Insel-Bücherei with the following words:

Die "Insel-Bücherei", die billigste Bibliothek, schenkt, was an Kostbarstem in Jahren gespart und gesammelt ward, an die Millionen: hier beginnt der Insel-Verlag, der aristokratisch angefangen ... ist, durch die Tat demokratisch zu werden. Aus dem elfenbeinernen Turm ist

die ganze deutsche Erde geworden, in jeder Furche, in jedem Haus ruht nun irgend so ein farbiges Korn, ein solches Insel-Bändchen.²⁸

Certainly the Insel-Bücherei embodied Kippenberg's four principles. World literature presented in affordable volumes of elegant simplicity, the Insel-Bücherei found lavish praise both at home and abroad, and as such, enjoyed the role as ambassador for the Insel-Verlag's entire production.

If the Insel-Bücherei played an important role in winning followers for the house's regular line, it was ably supported by two house periodicals of a directly propagandistic nature. Following the idea of the 1900 Insel-Almanach, Kippenberg conceived and published the Insel-Almanach auf das Jahr 1906, an annual culling the best pieces from the Insel production from the preceding year. Later under Katharina Kippenberg's direction, the Almanach contained contributions solicited from Insel authors and was priced moderately and illustrated copiously to offer a tantalizing taste of Insel offerings. Occasionally she organized the periodical thematically, as in the Kriegsalmanach of 1915 or in the piece dedicated to Goethe on the centennial of his death in 1932. The Insel-schiff, also an house organ, likewise offered the public selections from the past and future productions. Originally conceived as a substitute for the Insel Almanach, which did not appear in 1919, the year Das Insel-schiff commenced

²⁸ Stefan Zweig, "Wille zur Universalität," in Navigare necesse est, pp.158-59.

circulation, it reported on forthcoming books, gave sales statistics, appeared at more frequent intervals, and had a slightly different orientation in that it provided information for book dealers as much as it offered the public a sample of the Insel wares. After 1919 the two journals existed side by side, wooing book dealers and potential customers alike.

Anton and Katharina Kipperberg left an indelible stamp on all the endeavors of the Insel-Verlag. Their correspondence with authors details the development of the firm from its tenuous existence in 1905, when Kippenburg first joined the business, to its rebirth following the devastation of World War II. Despite all the challenges and achievements of his first decade with the Insel-Verlag, Anton Kippenberg once remarked, it was not a period he would care to repeat. It was an era of trial, as he sought to create order out of the chaos he found waiting for him, as he struggled to renew contacts with the talented authors allowed to slip away under the uncertain and often contradictory leadership which had preceded him. As the Insel-Verlag gathered strength and momentum, the First World War broke out. With Kippenberg absent, attempting to supervise the publishing house while serving in the army, the day-to-day task of running the business fell to his wife, who proved herself a capable and competent replacement, albeit a frail one. After 1919, Germany and her reading tastes had changed. A different public demanded works of a different

character. The enormity of the experience transformed the authors themselves. Values and styles were in flux, and given the subsequent fluctuations in currency, a publishing house was fortunate just to survive. Unlike many German publishing firms, the Insel-Verlag managed to withstand the inflationary ravages of the twenties, and it enjoyed stability in the thirties. Through techniques of adaptation and Kippenberg's strong will, the business remained untainted by Nazi control or affiliation during the year 1933-45. Material losses suffered during the Second World War were great; psychological damages to the esprit de corps of those associated with the firm based on the preservation of past cultural heritage were even greater, but Anton Kippenberg did live to see his life's blood requicken as the allies granted the Insel-Verlag a publication license, a permit that effectively guaranteed the continued adherence to the guidelines and principles established by Kippenberg some forty years previous.

Significantly, one of the most notable qualities of the publisher Anton Kippenberg was his pedantry. His schoolmaster-like nature however, was not merely a source of exasperation for his employees or his authors, but also a positive feature of his personality. Although he insisted on precision in all areas of the Insel-Verlag's activity, from correct use of language to the selection of the papers in which the volumes of the Insel-Bücherei were to be bound, it was just this painstaking

attention to detail which earned him praise and admiration. Willy Haas, an Austrian journalist inclined to sharp, almost cynical, criticism in his writings, revealed little trace of irony in a profile of Kippenberg in an article reviewing German publishers which appeared in the Literarische Welt. Rather, there is a sense of approval, perhaps slightly grudging, a tinge of the traditional respect inspired in the younger pupil by the successful and knowledgeable, if somewhat authoritarian, teacher in Haas's comments as he described the publisher. His impression of the fifty-odd-year-old Kippenberg was:

Etwas im besten Sinn Pädagogisches; Pädagogik im Sinne des schöpferischen Humanismus unserer großen Universitätslehrer vom Anfange des vorigen Jahrhunderts. So, wie er vor mir steht, kann ich ihn mir auf dem Podium irgendeiner Lehrkanzel vorstellen. Einfache, festgezeichnete, solide Gesichtszüge; er konversiert weniger, als daß er doziert, allerdings mit einer höchst temperamentvollen Lebendigkeit, mit einem unabsehbaren positiven Wissen, das nicht nur aus Büchern herkommen kann, mit der Beredsamkeit des geborenen Lehrers und mit der abwechslungsreichen Leichtigkeit des Weltmannes.²⁹

At the pinnacle of his career, the Kippenberg portrayed by Haas was a mature, consolidated version of the Bremer youth who commenced his publishing vocation as a bookseller's apprentice at the age of fifteen. His pedagogical bent seemed quite natural in light of his boyhood environment. Born in Bremen on May 22, 1874, Anton was the son of August Kippenberg and his second wife Johanna Koch, a carpenter's daughter. Kippenberg's father was owner and

²⁹ Willy Haas, "Besuche bei deutschen Verlegern. I. Am Insel-Verlag," Die Literarische Welt, 2 (1926), 5.

director of a highly reputable school, the Höhere Mädchenschule und Lehrerinnen Seminar, and was responsible for a successful reader, the Lesebuch für Höhere Mädchenschule. In an essay printed in his Reden und Schiften, Kippenberg saw a direct connection between his father's educational endeavors and his own chosen profession. During the preparation of the reader, August Kippenberg's publisher Otto Goedel of the Norddeutsche Verlagsanstalt in Hannover visited the family home frequently, exposing the impressionable young Anton to one aspect of the publishing business. While these seeds were sown in his formative years, other influences were at work in determining Kippenberg's future. His mother's brother was a bookseller, and his elder half-brother held apprenticeships in the book trade in Bremen and Switzerland before he succumbed prematurely to a lung ailment. Later Anton Kippenberg was to work at the central store of the Swiss firm where his brother had been employed. Perhaps the most decisive factor which prepared for Kippenberg's entry into the book trade was his father's death at age of fifty-nine in 1889. Johanna Kippenberg took over direction of the girls' academy, since, with a family of nine children, many of whom were still at home, it became essential to establish their security early. Thus, on April 1, 1890, the day after his confirmation, the not quite sixteen-year-old Anton began his apprenticeship with the bookstore Eduard Hampe in Bremen, after signing a contract committing himself to one year of volunteer service.

Looking back on his duties during the three years of his association with the Hampe firm, Kippenberg expressed a veiled bitterness which hinted at the damage his pride suffered in this period. Not only did he sacrifice his Abitur, leaving the Gymnasium after absolving the Obersekunda, since his family regarded an advanced degree as superfluous in his chosen career, but he also chafed at the restrictions his job placed on him. Responsibility and initiative were not emphasized in the tradition of booksellers' helpers. Half a century later the frustration he experienced manifested itself in Kippenberg's account of his assigned tasks, which were mundane and tedious:

Im ersten Jahr hatte der Lehrling die Zeitschriften für den Lesezirkel zu beschneiden, in braune Umschläge zu heften und diese mit Schildern zu bekleben, hatte Ballen und Pakete aus- und einzupacken und Botendienst zu tun... Im zweiten Jahr hat er die Leihbibliothek zu bedienen. Im dritten Jahr endlich führte der Lehrling der Portokasse, machte die Kreuzbänder für die zahlreichen Sendungen für Übersee und durfte mehr als bisher am Verkauf teilnehmern.³⁰

The limitations of his position and the ensuing monotony, combined with the feeling of deprivation with regard to formal schooling, a gap Kippenberg never considered completely bridged, despite later studies, were the negative aspects of this initial foray into the world of books; on the credit side of the ledger the publisher acknowledged introduction to the trade and increasing familiarity with the ways and names of Leipzig, then a prospering center of the book business.

³⁰ Kippenberg, Anton, Reden und Schriften, p. 116.

To gain experience in the foreign book market, Kippenberg went to Lausanne in 1893, where he worked in Benda's business, the main store of the firm which had employed his brother. After persevering at this slightly over a year, Kippenberg then spent a few months in Leipzig as a volunteer with K. F. Köhler, a firm which published books on a commission basis. In October of 1895 he returned to Bremen to perform a year of military service, the so-called Einjährige-Freiwillige. Upon completion of this obligation he advertised in the Börsenblatt for a position in a publishing firm. If his family had thought primarily of the retail book trade as Kippenberg's niche, most likely because it did not require the capital investment necessary for publishing, Anton Kippenberg's solicitation took him away from the merchandising area and led to the exciting sphere of the rapidly expanding publishing industry. Response to his advertisement proved small, and he finally accepted the less than enticing offer from a bookstore in provincial Weser, when a second reply to his insert arrived. After consultation with his mother, who sensibly put her son's future above rigid adherence to the prior commitment, Kippenberg accepted the second position. Itself rather dull, the job was redeemed by its geographic location: Leipzig, the heart of the publishing industry. Kippenberg's responsibility with W. Engelmann, a reputable house in the area of scientific publications, was to oversee retailer's accounts, a task for which he received 120 Marks a month. Engelmann's subject

matter hardly coincided with the young man's interest in belles lettres, and the policies of the business-manager Reinicke seemed designed to thwart the initiative of the ambitious worker, yet Kippenberg remained in the position for two years, learning much about the technical aspects of publishing. Although few publishers at the time had earned degrees, Kippenberg smarted and suffered from his incompleting formal schooling. Aware that it was too late to complete requirements for the Abitur, he discovered a clause by which one could be admitted to university study on the condition that two professors attested to the applicant's having attained the level of an Abiturient. Subsequent to the achievement of the highest grade on three oral examinations and the successful completion of a written dissertation, the student was entitled to a university degree. Taking advantage of this little-known article, Kippenberg eagerly tendered Engelmann his resignation and embarked on an academic career, focusing on German literature, but attending lectures in Romance literature and art history as well, sitting in on the classes of Witkowski and Schüddekopf, among others. When Reinicke offered him a promotion to the first assistant's job at Engelmann, Kippenberg accepted it only on the provision that he could continue to attend classes. For the next two years he acted in this capacity while writing his dissertation "Die Saga vom Herzog von Luxemburg und die geschichtliche Persönlichkeit ihres Trägers," a largely bibliographic study produced under the guidance of Albert Köster.

In the summer of 1901 the student could taste the fruits of his labors; Anton Kippenberg was awarded the Doctor of Philosophy from the University of Leipzig with the distinction summa cum laude.

For the next two years Kippenberg found satisfaction in extracurricular activities, as the scientific world held little appeal for him, and Reinicke stubbornly controlled the firm, allowing the ambitious Kippenberg little freedom of movement. He participated actively in the literary and musical life of Leipzig, attending concerts of the Bach Society and meetings of the Goethe Society where he met the student later to become his wife, Katharina von Dühring. More and more he toyed with the idea of crossing over to a belletristic firm, and when the opportunity finally arose, a joint direction of the foundering Insel-Verlag commencing in 1905, he accepted the challenge with alacrity.

For Anton Kippenberg, just past the threshold of thirty, it presented the rare chance to couple his love for literature with the long awaited responsibility and authority of running his own business. Kippenberg's unique mixture of Bremen commercial instinct and training and his respect for culture and education proved the proper attributes for success in the publishing field. The tenacity he exhibited in earning his doctorate despite numerous obstacles was effective in overcoming the problems which awaited him in this new endeavor. Unlike many of his contemporaries, such as Fischer or Eugen Diederichs, Kippenberg

did not voice his goals publicly. Even his name did not adorn the title pages of which he was so proud. His intentions and ends must be induced in part from anonymous statements, from remarks made in private correspondence, and from his work itself. In 1924 Karl Scheffler contributed an essay on Berufsidealismus, the concept of professional ideals, to Navigare necesse est, the Festschrift issued in honor of Kippenberg's fiftieth birthday. Scheffler, a long-time association of the Insel-Verlag, wrote of publishers in general and of Kippenberg in particular, albeit obliquely, as he summed up the qualities of a successful publisher. He maintained

Die Begabung des bedeutenden Verlegers ist um so seltener, als andere Eigenschaften zur ursprünglichen Anlage noch hinzukommen müssen. Schwer herzustellen ist das Gleichgewicht der passiven und aktiven Kräfte, der geistigen und kaufmännischen Interessen. Trotzdem muß der Verleger ein Optimist sein, um das Ungewisse wagen zu können und den Glauben an Erfolg zu haben; er muß die Geduld haben, auf den Erfolg zu warten, und bereit sein, dafür Opfer zu bringen. Er muß Persönlichkeit genug sein, um das geschäftliche Verhältnis zu seinen Autoren in ein Vertrauens-Verhältnis zu verwandeln, und er muß guter Psychologe sein, um in dem schwierigen Verkehr mit geistigen Menschen den rechten Ton zu treffen und aufwallender Heftigkeit die Spitze abzubrechen.³¹

Balance was indeed the keynote of Kippenberg's policy in the selections and publications of the Insel-Verlag. To achieve such an equilibrium, he strove for universality. As Scheffler expressed it in the essay "Berufsidealismus:"

³¹ Karl Scheffler, "Berufsidealismus," in Navigare necesse est, p. 44.

Die meisten führenden Verleger haben, um ein Wort Jean Pauls zu benutzen, den 'einseitigen Strom aller Kräfte.' Sie kämpfen für engumschriebene Ideen, für einzelne Talente oder für eine bestimmte Gruppe von Talenten, sie sind in einer höchst fruchtbaren Weise Spezialisten, Kippenberg ist dagegen universell. Der bestimmte Zug seines geistigen Wesens ist Allseitigkeit.³²

Almost a decade prior to his association with the Insel-Verlag, Kippenberg published two reviews of biographies of the well-known publishers Perthes and Göschen. In 1952 these reviews were included under the rubric "Große Vorbilder" in his collected essays. That these two figures, the subject of Kippenberg's attention on the occasion of the publication of their life histories by their descendents, actually played a significant role in his development is dubious. Indeed, there is no evidence that Göschen, apart from his brief stint as Goethe's publisher, was of any interest at all to Kippenberg. Of interest, however, are the aspects of their lives which Kippenberg accentuated in his reviews, particularly what he wrote about Perthes. A revolutionary in the book field, the eighteenth-century publisher was in part responsible for the introduction of the concept of the author's rights. Kippenberg praised him for his ability to achieve a balance between ideal and real, and between the economic demands of his trade and his intellectual commitments and summed up his accomplishments as follows:

Mit Recht hat er als ein tüchtiger Buchhändler gegolten,
welcher die beiden scheinbar sich fliehenden und
Gegensätze bildenden Seiten seines Berufes, der

³² Scheffler, p. 42.

merkantile und ideale, harmonisch zu vereinigen wußte, der bei lebendigem Geschäftssinn sich seiner Aufgabe als Förderer der Kultur und geistiger Mittler seines Volkes bewußt blieb und nicht bei allen Tun und Handel von rein kaufmännischen Gesichtspunkten sich leiten ließ.³³

The problem of reconciliation of the differences between economic necessities and the so-called Berufsideal was one which confronted every self-respecting publisher of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Repeatedly in his correspondence with his authors, Kippenberg asserted that financial gain was not always his motive in publishing certain works. Not only were books published without sure knowledge of material success, but authors were supported by advances for lengthy periods to help guarantee their artistic independence from financial concerns. Rilke, in his so-called creative drought during the years of World War I up to the appearance of the Duineser Elegien in 1923, received considerable support from friends, in part through Kippenberg's intervention and subvention.

Nonetheless, the Insel director was not renowned for his generosity as was his older colleague Samuel Fischer or the Munich publisher Langen, who earned the reputation of a Maecenas during his brief stint in the book trade. Despite Kippenberg's staunch devotion to lyric, traditionally a financial loser in the publishing field, he laced his approach to its marketing with a strong dose of practicality, unusual in an individual receptive to

³³ Kippenberg, Anton, Reden und Schriften, p. 115.

poetry. Indeed, Reinhold Buchwald, a former Insel employee, reported that Kippenberg was not infrequently the target of widespread disapproval in the book business as a result of this techniques of marketing literature. He declared: "Es kam dahin, daß eines Tages im Börsenblatt eine von mehreren Kollegen unterzeichnete Protesterklärung gegen die 'amerikanischen' Methoden erschien, die er eingeführt habe."³⁴ Another incident he remembered contributes further to Kippenberg's reputation as a hard-nosed businessman: a young author had just protested that he had invested his entire soul in a work, and certainly that must find it a receptive audience. Kippenberg replied tersely that a book depended on three factors: price, binding, and publisher.³⁵ These examples clearly delineate Kippenberg's policies from those of his publishing contemporaries, men like Samuel Fischer who believed a book should be capable of achieving success on its own literary merits, or men like Wolff, who willingly supported authors who could not promise immediate or certain return. Thus Kippenberg's style was a paradoxical mixture of hard-headed financial acumen and occasional altruism.

³⁴ Reinhard Buchwald, "A.K. Aus den Erinnerungen an Anton Kippenberg," in Anton Kippenberg zum Hundertsten Geburtstag, pp. 19-20.

³⁵ Buchwald, p. 20.

Unlike Perthes, his model, who proved susceptible to the vicissitudes of political fortune and suffered financial losses that severely impaired his later effectiveness, Kippenberg's commercial sense insured the continuation of the firm he had directed through two world wars, and periods of unprecedented economic inflation and depression. If Perthes foundered in his attempts to achieve stability for his firm, he had other goals Kippenberg considered admirable. Particularly appealing to the young reviewer was Perthes's effort to unite Germany, if not by political means, then by demonstration of a common cultural heritage. He quoted Perthes as writing:

Der deutsche Buchhandel ... ist das einzige noch vorhandene Band, welches die ganze Nation umfaßt; ein Nationalinstitut ist er, frei aus sich selbst entsprossen und jetzt beinahe allein unsere nationale Eigentümlichkeiten echt charakterisierend. Das er nicht alles leistete, was er leisten konnte, ist wahr; aber für die Zukunft kann er die deutsche Gelehrtenrepublik retten, und das ist meine Aufgabe für dieses Leben.³⁶

In his own work Kippenberg followed along the lines of these ideals, at least as he interpreted them. Germany was now a united political entity, but Kippenberg's nationalism sought to keep alive, to expand, and to illuminate the German literary tradition. Not only did he issue series reviving interest in German masters, but he also published national treasures such as a facsimile edition of the Manessian manuscript and one of the 42-line Gutenberg Bible.

³⁶ Kippenberg, Anton, Reden und Schriften, p. 116.

Although Kippenberg's esteem for monuments of the German literary past was great, his reverence for Goethe knew no bounds. He made the publishing of Goethe's works the hub of his program, and he honored the poet by keeping him constantly in the public eye through handsome editions of such collections as the letters of Frau Rath Goethe, conversations with and without Eckermann, and other Goethe-related themes. Kippenberg's interest in Goethe was, however, not merely that of a publisher making available the creation of classical Weimar for the erudition and enjoyment of the public, but rather an all-consuming fascination, a reverence bordering on idolatry. In 1894, while still an apprentice in Switzerland, Kippenberg had happened on an edition of Faust bearing the Sabatier imprint.³⁷ With the purchase of this tome he commenced a collection of Goetheana that was to rival that of museums erected to consecrate Germany's famous poet. Numerous anecdotes attested to the single-mindedness with which the collector pursued his avocation. One, related by Ernst Schulte Strathaus, a Munich bibliophile whom Kippenberg often visited on his forays to rare book stores and auctions, exemplified the intensity of his passion. Meeting a somewhat distracted Kippenberg one day in Munich, Schulte Strathaus sought to cheer the publisher up by mentioning a couple of Goethe tidbits he had heard had recently come into the possession of the dealer J. Halle. Immersed in thought, Kippenberg disclaimed interest.

³⁷ Kippenberg, p. 23.

Months later Halle advertised these letters, one from Sophie LaRoche, the other from Caroline Flachsland, later Herder's wife, in his catalogue. In the middle of the night, an indecent 3 A.M., Halle's ringing phone aroused him. Calling from Leipzig, Kippenberg inquired about purchasing the rarities, and arrived at an agreement with Halle. The publisher, otherwise studiously correct, all else but a Bohemian who would disturb someone's sleep, managed by his boldness and persistence to win out over two distinguished competitors, the Frankfurt Goethe Society and Weimar Goethe Museum, whose telegrams arrived early the next morning.³⁸

Goethe's works were the crown of German literature for the publisher, and his words assumed the quality of a leitmotiv running through Kippenberg's life. Often Kippenberg couched his own thoughts in phrases uttered by Goethe. Goethe's writings were the backbone of the firm, and Kippenberg proselytizing the serving of an ideal. On the other hand, his preoccupation with classical Weimar and his unflinching allegiance to past grandeur alienated supporters of the Insel-Verlag who believed a more visible commitment to the present day was essential. Kurt Wolff, negotiating with Kippenberg for the rights to Heinrich Mann's novel Die Kleine Stadt, wrote to Mann criticizing Kippenberg and blaming his fellow publisher for Mann's insufficient recognition:

³⁸ Schulte Strathaus, p. 14.

Es wäre geschmackslos und ungerecht, sie [seine Vorgänger] im geringsten anzugreifen, aber das darf ich vielleicht sagen: der ... andere, der Weimar überschätzt [Kippenberg], ist mit Herz und Hand den Autoren mit abgelaufener Schutzfrist verfallen. -- Ich will als Verleger nicht begeistert sein, sondern Bücher verkaufen, will Ihre Bücher nicht als objets d'art meinen Verlag einreihen, will zu den cent lecteurs, die da sind, cent mille hinzugewinnen, will für Sie und mit Ihnen viel Geld gewinnen.³⁹

Repeatedly in his friendly letters to his publisher, Stefan Zweig, himself an avid collector, nevertheless cautioned that too much attention was paid to Goethe at the expense of living authors. Such criticism was repeated in a parody of Kippenberg's mania in the form of a skit presented at the annual meeting of the Gesellschaft Münchner Bibliophilen,⁴⁰ and surfaced in a much harsher light in Herman Hesse's Steppenwolf. In the novel, Hesse's schizophrenic protagonist Harry Haller is invited to dinner at the house of a professor modelled after Kippenberg.⁴¹ Haller's reluctance to accept is clear:

So wie ich jetzt mich anziehe und ausgehe, den Professor besuche und mehr oder weniger erlogene Artigkeiten mit ihm austausche, alles, ohne es eigentlich zu wollen, so tun und handeln die meisten Menschen Tag für Tag, Stunde

³⁹ Kurt Wolff, Briefwechsel eines Verlegers 1911-1963 (Frankfurt am Main): Verlag Heinrich Scheffler, 1966), p. 222.

⁴⁰ Schulte Strathaus, pp. 19-20.

⁴¹ Personal interview with Dr. Siegfried Unseld, October 1978.

um Stunde zwanghaft, mechanisch, ungewollt, alles könnte ebenso gut von Maschinen gemacht werden oder unterbleiben.¹²

Before the house, he pauses: "Da wohnt dieser Mann ... und tut Jahr um Jahr seine Arbeit weiter, liest und kommentiert ...

Texte."¹³ All the contempt that Haller's daemonic side musters up for the bourgeois existence of the professor finds expression in his reaction to a small framed etching of Goethe he finds displayed in the living room. While one side of Haller finds the professor "einen sympathischen Kerl," the other recoils at this symbol of German culture exhibited on a salon table. "Ein Friedhof war unsere Kultur," he thinks, "hier waren Jesus Christus und Sokrates, hier waren Mozart und Hayden, waren Goethe und Dante bloß noch erblindete Name auf rostenden Blechtafeln, umstanden von verlegenen und verlogenen Trauernden."¹⁴ Reverence to Goethe appears to the pessimistic Haller to signify the demise of a culture, a dangerous looking backward which blinded men to the perils of the future.

While exaggerated and abstracted for fictional purposes, Hesse's portrait of the professor resembles Kippenberg closely enough to be recognizable, and on the whole it is a scathing indictment. The professor in Steppenwolf "glaubt an die

¹² Hermann Hesse, Der Steppenwolf (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1975), p. 263.

¹³ Hesse, p. 263.

¹⁴ Hesse, p. 261.

Wissenschaft, deren Diener er ist, er glaubt an den Wert des bloßen Wissens, des Ausspeicherns, denn er glaubt an den Fortschritt, an die Entwicklung...Er hält Juden und Kommunisten für hassenswert, er ist ein gutes, gedankenloses, sich wichtig nehmendes Kind."⁴⁵ Painting a portrait that includes all Spießbürger, Hesse nonetheless maintained a certain faithfulness to his subject. Anton Kippenberg was an ambitious and dynamic individual who believed in the force of his own will, a man who strongly affirmed life. Politically he was a conservative, a monarchist. When the First World War broke out, Kippenberg volunteered immediately, although at forty he would not have been conscripted. His first duty was at Halle, where he was responsible for training a sizable number of new recruits. Soon he began to realize that his talents and interests lay elsewhere, and he used his contacts to obtain a more suitable position. In August of 1915 his efforts were rewarded, as a letter to Hugo von Hofmannsthal revealed. Dated Thiel, August 29, 1915, the letter from Captain Kippenberg began:

Ich bin vor vierzehn Tagen hierher zum Stabe des IV. Armee versetzt worden, als Leiter der Kriegszeitung der IV. Armee. Mein lebhafter Wunsch nach Flandern zu kommen und mein alten flämischen Interessen, die durch den Krieg gesteigert worden sind, am Ort und Stelle fördern zu können ist damit erfüllt.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Hesse, p. 254.

⁴⁶ Anton Kippenberg to Hugo von Hofmannsthal, August 29, 1915, Marbach am Neckar.

In addition to overseeing the propaganda and information organs of the Fourth Army, Kippenberg directed a staff of forty at the Geheime Armeedruckerei in Ghent.⁴⁷ Initial enthusiasm for the war flagged among many members of the German intelligentsia as the war dragged on. Men who had burned for duty at the front soon found a position in the War Archives to be more acceptable, and some, after such a stint, became anti-war or apolitical. Stefan Zweig was one of the Insel-writers to undergo such a transformation. In the first blush of excitement Zweig wrote on August 4, 1914 to Kippenberg: "Wir schicken den letzten Mann ins Feld. Die meisten Dichter von Hofmannsthal an stehen schon längst in Dienst."⁴⁸ After reporting that "ich werde in den nächsten Tagen einberufen und ausgebildet werden und bin in ein paar Wochen schon aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach an der Front,"⁴⁹ he had to confess a few months later: "ich bin noch zu Hause -- wir haben einen Überfluß an Menschen und da läßt man die Unausgebildeten ... beiseite (auch Hofmannsthal ist zurück und irgendwo im Kreigs-fürsorgeamt.)"⁵⁰ The writer who proclaimed his willingness to serve even as a simple soldier finished out the last years of the war in Switzerland, where he enjoyed the security and comfort of his

⁴⁷ Rainer Maria Rilke, Rainer Maria Rilke, Katharina Kippenberg: Briefwechsel, p. 165.

⁴⁸ Stefan Zweig to AK, August 1914, Marbach am Neckar.

⁴⁹ SZ to AK, n.d. [1914?], Marbach am Neckar.

⁵⁰ SZ to AK, n.d. [November 1914?], Marbach am Neckar.

neutral host country and adapted the Biblical story of Jeremiah, turning it into an anti-war drama. From this new perspective he wrote Katharina Kippenberg, suggesting that the director of the Insel-Verlag had his place in Leipzig, that his wartime activities were superfluous, and that a man of his capacity might better use his influence in his chosen career. Kippenberg, who discovered the letter while home on leave, issued a sharp retort underscoring the depth of his patriotism for the German nation. Even in the midst of war, however, Kippenberg continued to serve an ideal. He was able to combine his duty to the fatherland with a pursuit that was both personally satisfying to him and which served a higher principle, the advancement of knowledge. In Flanders he perfected his Flemish and translated works of the Belgian native Felix Timmermans. Through his initiative, a periodical, Belfried, came into existence, and appeared under his direction from 1916 to 1918 when it reverted to Belgian control. His interests transcended the narrow boundaries of the homeland, and his efforts took on the air of a sort of benevolent colonialism in which a fair exchange of ideas and culture occurred. In Kippenberg, as in his model, Goethe, patriotism and universalism were not contradictory.

After the war Kippenberg was downcast, weary from his exertion in the military, and faced with the discouraging task of coping with the political and financial consequences in the rebuilding of the Insel-Verlag. The revolution in Germany, Kaiser

Wilhelm's abdication, and the subsequent democracy as exemplified by the Weimar government were facts to be lived with, but changes he never embraced. Years before Kippenberg had lost a young author, a promising one he had wanted to keep at all costs, in part because of his obstinate refusal to circulate flyers containing the word Demokratie advertising the novelist's latest work.⁵¹ Heinrich Mann, disgruntled about his relations with Kippenberg concerning the publication of his manuscript "Die Kleine Stadt," soon appeared under a different imprint. Writing to his attorney Maximillian Brand on the eleventh of January, 1910, he complained:

Ich sehe immer deutlicher daß meine Verbindung mit dem Insel-Verlag ein schwerer Irrtum war. Solchen Grad hat meine Erfolglosigkeit bei Langen nie erreicht. An den Büchern liegt das schwerlich. Aber Langen würde es mir auch nicht unmöglich gemacht haben, einen Prospekt erscheinen zu lassen, weil das Wort "Demokratie" darin vorkommt. Ich hatte neulich diesen Prospekt geschrieben, ich hielt ihn für wirksam und drang auf Eile; Kippenberg beanstandete, im Namen seiner eigenen Principien und der des Verlags, das Wort, worauf Alles zugespitzt war. Darauf habe ich die Angelegenheit des Prospektes wieder anheimgegeben, und er schweigt seitdem.⁵²

The experiences of the war do not seem to have made the publisher any more receptive to democracy. Although in 1919 he reported that in the illnesses of his wife and daughter: "Ich habe dabei übrigens wieder die Erfahrung gemacht, wie doch bei

⁵¹ Anton Kippenberg zum Hundertsten Geburtstag, p. 85.

⁵² Heinrich Mann, Heinrich Mann, 1871-1950: Werk und Leben in Dokumenten und Bildern. Mit unveröffentlichten Manuskripten und Briefen aus dem Nachlaß (Berlin: Aufbau, 1971), p. 118.

solchen das Individuum zutiefst berührenden Sorge, die Sorge um die Gesamtheit sich verflüchtet. Ich muß gestehen, daß mir tagelang selbst das linke Rheinufer völlig gleichgültig gewesen ist," he was generally depressed about Germany's situation and the difficulties it created in the execution of his own work.⁵³ Katharina Kippenberg, in a letter to Rilke dated the ninth of May, echoed the sentiments of her husband when she confided:

Ach, mein Herz is elend und krank um Deutschland und so ist auch das von meinem Mann. Sieht denn niemand, erschüttert und ergriffen, umgewendet bis in die letzten Falten, die Tragödie dieses unsäglich naiven Volkes, das von Not und dem Antichrist der gottlosen Maschine auf einen falschen Weg, den der Industrie gelenkt wurde und seine enormen Schöpfergaben -- Bach, Beethoven, Goethe und eine Philosophie, mit der sich nur die griechische messen kann -- braucht man denn aufzuzählen -- nun mit derselben rührenden Hingabe, mit demselben selbstlosen Bemühen ihm, dem falschen Götzen, zuwandte -- leider. Da hat man gemeint, es wäre politisch geworden -- ach nie und gerade nicht. Unpolitisch bis zur Borniertheit ist es geblieben und muß versagen, jetzt in dieser schwierigsten aller Lagen, und blind und kopflos sein wie eine Hummel hinter Glasscheiben. Und nun kommen die trüben Eigenschaften der Hilfslosigkeit herauf, die Feigheit, alles andere Gemeine. Vom irdischen Standpunkt aus, wie dumm, vom himmlischen wie rührend, dieser unausrottbare Glaube an die Güte und Barmherzigkeit der andern und die Verführung zu ihnen.⁵⁴

In general, except for his war-time efforts, Kippenberg chose the role of private citizen over that of public servant. Prepared to observe the law of the land, he refrained from openly expressing his political preferences. He belonged to

⁵³ AK to HvH, February 17, 1919, Frankfurt am Main.

⁵⁴ Rainer Maria Rilke, Rainer Maria Rilke, Katharina Kippenberg: Briefwechsel, pp. 424-25.

organizations of a cultural nature, such as the Goethe Society, book and autograph collector's clubs, the requisite professional associations such as the Unterstützungs-Verein Deutscher Buchhändler und Buchhändlers-Gehülfen, and to a group promoting the foreign book trade which he helped found shortly after the war. He was an honorary senator of the University at Leipzig and also a senator of the Deutsche Akademie in Munich. In 1933, of course, the institution was the subject of political controversy, as various members such as Oskar Loerke and Thomas Mann were forced to resign or chose to protest the National Socialist takeover by resigning. Kippenberg, however, remained a member. Political turmoil spilled over into groups originally based on a purely literary premise, such that even here neutrality was not guaranteed. Leading figures in the art, including publishers Diederichs, Fisher, the Cassierers, Ullstein, and Kippenberg, exercised considerable influence behind the scenes through their membership in the Deutsche Gesellschaft, "eine Vereinigung aller führenden Kräfte des öffentlichen Lebens."⁵⁵ The intercourse among members was often more influential in German politics, particularly in crisis situations, than that afforded by a censored press. Thus, by virtue of his stature in the community, which in turn he owed to his control of a successful publishing house and his willing engagement in influential organizations, Kippenberg was a de facto political figure, one whose opinions and

⁵⁵ Göbel, "Der Kurt Wolff Verlag 1910-1913," col. 786.

actions carried weight. By eschewing formal political ties, he maintained greater freedom and independence, something the self-made man valued highly, yet he was not without influence in the course of German history.

When the Nazis rose to power in 1933, Kippenberg took no overt stance for or against them. Instead, he held true to his principles. When politics dictated something to which he was indifferent, he conformed to political guidelines. In the case of objectionable authors whose works bore the Insel imprint, he disassociated himself from most of them because he himself found something to criticize in most of them, or perhaps more importantly, because adherence to the guidelines established by the Ministry of Culture insured the continuing operation of his firm, the continuing dedication to aesthetic principles higher than the current political goals. On the other hand, he was not afraid of resisting developments he saw as encroachments on this territory or which would cause him to compromise his values. Reinhard Buchwald recalled a conversation between Kippenberg and an official of the Leipzig office of cultural affairs that occurred in the forties. The Party man had dreamed up a literary organ that would pay homage to Leipzig as a center of German culture, and he wanted the periodical to appear under the Insel imprint. Coolly Kippenberg responded that such a plan was a mistake, since the Insel was not a local firm, but really a

Weltverlag. The public who bought Insel books would not know what to make of a Leipzig-oriented publication; the public the cultural official was trying to reach did not purchase Insel publications.⁵⁶ Kippenberg shrewdly avoided a difficult situation, one in which he would have lost control over the content and quality of works brought out by his house, areas far more critical to him than his political affiliation. Such an attitude, pursued through the years of Nazi power, enabled Kippenberg to state, at the end of the Second World War, in a letter to Emil Hirsch, a Munich rare book dealer who had emigrated to New York before the war, that in the midst of desolation and destruction: "Das einzige, was ich Gott sei Dank behalten habe, ist die weiße Weste. Wir haben zwölf Jahre lang unter vielen Schwierigkeiten und Anfeindungen dem Nazitum standgehalten, und es ist wohl ein einziger Fall, daß gesamte Mitarbeiterschaft einer Firma vom Chef bis zum Laufburschen herunter der Partei nicht angehört hat."⁵⁷ Because of this record, Kippenberg could persevere with his life's work. In 1945 the American Occupation issued the Insel-Verlag a license to establish a branch of the firm in Wiesbaden, a permit which allowed the elderly Anton Kippenberg to carry forward the direction of the publishing house which did not bear his name, but certainly his stamp.

⁵⁶ Buchwald, p. 23.

⁵⁷ Anton Kippenberg zum Hundertsten Geburtstag, p. 79.

Chapter 3

HUGO VON HOFMANNSTHAL'S COLLECTED DRAMAS AND POEMS

Hugo von Hofmannsthal's personal association with the Insel-Verlag spanned three decades, commencing in 1899, the first year of the firm's existence, and ending with his death in 1929. During this period the Insel-Verlag published few editions of Hofmannsthal's creative works which had not first appeared elsewhere. In addition to his long-standing affiliation with the S. Fischer Verlag in Berlin, a tie which pre-dated the inception of the Insel, Hugo von Hofmannsthal was engaged in numerous other publishing ventures during the years of his association with the Insel Verlag. In terms of the actual number of works published, and also from the standpoint of length of association, his connection with the Insel-Verlag was the most significant of these. In light of these diverse publishing commitments, the poet's relationship to his publisher Anton Kippenberg represents one aspect of a series of complex interactions. Hofmannsthal's relationship with the publishing house was not purely commercial in nature, as might be expected in such a case. A most unusual rapport gradually developed between Hofmannsthal and Kippenberg

and his wife. An examination of the dynamics of this association, as revealed particularly in his correspondence with the Insel-Verlag and his publishers, offers insights both into the commercial aspects of the association and, perhaps surprisingly, into Hofmannsthal's image of himself as a writer during those important years.

In February 1900, six years before Anton Kippenberg assumed direction of the Insel-Verlag, Hugo von Hofmannsthal met with two of its founders, Alfred Walter Heymel and Rudolf Alexander Schröder, in Heymel's Munich apartment. The youthful entrepreneurs kindled his enthusiasm for their fledgling journal Die Insel, and the poet became a regular contributor. His Der Kaiser und die Hexe, for example, appeared in the fourth issue of the first volume. Even after the collapse of the short-lived periodical, personal affection and regard for Heymel, and especially for Schröder, kept Hofmannsthal's ties with the Insel-Verlag alive. Only weeks after their marriage he and his bride Gertrud Schlesinger had "Rudi" Schröder as their invited guest at their home in Rodaun, and the bonds of friendship between the two men reinforced those of author and publisher.

Hofmannsthal also enjoyed cordial relationships with Kippenberg's predecessors, Rudolf von Pöllnitz and Carl Ernst Poeschel. In Pöllnitz's tenure, Hofmannsthal found an improvement

over the previous state of affairs.¹ After Pöllnitz's death, Poeschel sought to ensure Hofmannsthal's continued association with the firm. On the fifteenth of May 1905 he stressed: "Schließlich möchte ich noch den Wunsch aussprechen, daß Ihre Verbindung mit der Insel von jetzt an eine nicht nur angenehme, sondern vor allem recht feste werden möge. Das Entgegenkommen von Seite des Verlages soll stets das Größtmögliche sein."²

These early, for the most part friendly, associations with the Insel-Verlag's leadership laid a foundation on which Anton Kippenberg could build when he became sole managing director in 1906. Works in progress tied Hofmannsthal to the Insel-Verlag, and his friendship with Schröder and Heymel enabled him to withstand the shocks of frequently changing helmsmen. When Kippenberg took over the business, he found the firm in the midst of negotiations with Hofmannsthal concerning the publication of various books. Thanks to these works in progress the publisher was able to retain one of the Insel-Verlag's most illustrious authors, one whose fame and popularity was a tremendous asset to the house. Although the connection was extremely beneficial,

¹ Hugo von Hofmannsthal affirmed his sentiments in a handwritten letter dated July 18, 1902 and addressed to Rudolf von Pöllnitz. "Für die Präcision und Klarheit Ihrer freundlichen Auskünfte bin ich äußerst dankbar. Einen Vorgang dieser Art habe ich bei meinem früheren, obwohl sehr freundschaftlichen Verkehr mit der 'Insel' stets sehr vermißt." (HvH to RvP, July 18, 1902, Insel-Archiv, Nationale Forschungs- und Gedenkstätten der klassischen Literatur in Weimar)

² Carl Ernst Poeschel to HvH, May 15, 1905, Frankfurt am Main.

however, it was not without its trials. First Kippenberg and his inherited author had to establish a working arrangement of their own. Hofmannsthal's early correspondence with Kippenberg revealed little of the cordiality shown his predecessors; the letters were for the most part dry and to the point. Unlike the traditional pattern of author-publisher relationships, Kippenberg was the unknown and Hofmannsthal the luminary; the publisher the novice, and the author the expert. Anton Kippenberg brought to the firm a pragmatic business sense and knowledge of the book trade, but his aesthetic taste, for which the Insel was famous, and which was one of Insel's strongest attractions for Hofmannsthal, was still developing. His early association with the Austrian writer showed the tensions of disparate backgrounds, as well as the problems in communicating intention when so many others had been and continued to be involved in the publication of Hofmannsthal's writings. Fortunately Heymel and Schröder assumed the roles of intermediaries.

The history of publication of Hugo von Hofmannsthal's collected lyrical drama and poems, issued first under the Insel imprint in 1906, illustrates the complexities of this relationship. In May 1905 Hofmannsthal wrote to Carl Poeschel from his hotel room in Paris, thanking him for the latest royalty payments for Der Kaiser und die Hexe and continuing: "Von einer billigen Neuausgabe möchte ich zunächst absehen, weil ich denke,

dass sich vielleicht später wünschenswerth zeigen wird, meine kleinen Dramen in einem Band zu vereinigen, wovon mir auch Herr Heymel gesprochen hat."³ Apparently, Poeschel, distracted by the responsibilities of the job and perhaps confused over division of power with Kippenberg, who was in the process of joining the firm, did not immediately react to Hofmannsthal's suggestion. The collection is not mentioned again until February 1906 in a note from Kippenberg to Hofmannsthal, from which it would seem that Kippenberg had heard only recently of the project. "Von Herrn Heymel hörten wir, daß Sie die Güte haben wollen, uns den Verlag Ihrer kleineren dramatischen Werke, in einem Bande gesammelt, zu übertragen. Wir sind natürlich gern bereit, dieses Anerbieten anzunehmen."⁴ At Heymel's repeated instigation, then, the Insel-Verlag began to arrange for the publication of Hofmannsthal's shorter dramatic works.

Determining the selections to be included in the volume presented complications. Kippenberg viewed the collection as a potential threat to the sales of two of Hofmannsthal's lyrical dramas, Der Tor und der Tod and Tod des Tizian, which the Insel-Verlag sold in separate editions. Furthermore, he wished to retard the book's appearance on the market until the luxury edition of Hofmannsthal's Der Weiße Fächer had become available,

³ HvH to CEP, May 18, 1905, Frankfurt am Main.

⁴ AK to HvH, February 9, 1906, Frankfurt am Main.

so that the two works would not be in direct competition with each other. By late spring, however, it was apparent that the production of Der Weiße Fächer was slower than had originally been anticipated. In view of the delay, Kippenberg proposed grouping four dramas together; "Gestern," "Falun," "Der Kaiser und die Hexe," and "Das Kleine Welttheater," which made it possible to reserve "Der Weiße Fächer" for the second edition. Hofmannsthal's share was to be twenty percent of the retail price and the first edition was to be comprised of two thousand copies.

Hofmannsthal's immediate response to the publisher's letter indicated an entirely different conception of the collection. As he hastened to communicate, his intention was to combine his lyrical works into a pair of substantial volumes that would be of an enduring nature, "etwas halbwegs Definitives."⁵ While Kippenberg had seemingly regarded the work as a simple collection of previously published pieces, and as such, as a whole less than the sum of its parts, Hofmannsthal's reply underscored the importance he attributed to the planned set. He felt indeed that he honored the Insel-Verlag by choosing it to publish these selections, and he emphasized that he had considered the firm chiefly out of friendship to Heymel, as his letter of May 18, 1906 demonstrated. Four references to Ausstattung in the communication indicated an additional reason for his wishing to publish these

⁵ HvH to AK, May 18, 1906, Frankfurt am Main.

volumes in the Insel-Verlag:

Ich vermag mich für eine Herausgabe meiner älteren kleinen Dramen nur in der Form zu interessieren, daß durch die Zusammenstellung des Bandes selbst (abgesehen von der Ausstattung) -- ich meine durch die Stücke, die der Band enthält und die Reihenfolge in die er sie bringt, etwas zunächst für mich selbst und dann für die nächstehenden meiner Kritiker und Leser Reizvolles entsteht.⁶

From the stress on book design, the Insel-Verlag's perceived area of competence, may be deduced one main reason why Hofmannsthal valued his association with the Insel. The obviously superior aesthetic features of books bearing the Insel imprint seems to have been the determining factor in his decision to publish certain pieces with the Leipzig firm rather than with S. Fischer. Hofmannsthal justified his unfaithfulness to his Berlin publisher, however, on both formal and intellectual counts. Among the publications which he regarded as being unsuitable for the S. Fischer Verlag, a house, he felt, which had certain traditional limitations with regard to design, he singled out in particular works of a lyrical nature, thus acknowledging Fischer's disinclination toward poetic works, which the Insel did so effectively. For in lyrical compositions, Hofmannsthal considered form and content mutually reinforcing. He accordingly sought to persuade Kippenberg to carry out the project as he had sketched it, applying the utmost consideration to the design of both the bound and unbound editions, "wie es ja in der Tendenz des Verlages

⁶ HvH to AK, May 18, 1906, Frankfurt am Main.

liegt and in zahlreichen Fällen auch sehr schön realisiert wurde."⁷

In order to obtain the quality he desired, he endeavored to strike a compromise between his wishes and Kippenberg's "wohlbegründeten geschäftlichen Gesichtspunkten."⁸ Instead of sacrificing his aims, he argued strongly for the fulfillment of his own conception of the Gesamtausgabe. Actually, however, he offered no compromise, except perhaps the willingness to obtain from Fischer the release of certain essential works.

Kippenberg's failure to respond promptly to Hofmannsthal's suggested arrangement caused the impatient author to telegraph Leipzig for an answer, as Kippenberg's tardy reply of June 5, 1906 indicated:

Hochgeehrter Herr!

Verzeihen Sie gütigst, daß wir uns an die Beantwortung Ihres geschätzten Briefes vom 18. v. Mt. telegraphisch haben mahnen lassen. Der Grund unserer verspäteten Antwort ist der, daß unser Herr Poeschel in Amerika war, und daß wir gern die Angelegenheit auch mit ihm besprechen wollten.

Mit dem Inhalt Ihres geschätzten Schreibens können wir uns nur durchaus einverstanden erklären, und sind Ihnen dankbar, daß Sie die zweibändige Ausgabe Ihrer kleineren Versspiele uns anvertrauen wollen, und auch dafür, daß Sie uns Ihre gesammelten Gedichte, Theaterreden, etc. in Aussicht stellen. Sie dürfen versichert sein, daß wir alles daran setzen werden, Sie sowohl was den äußeren geschäftlichen Verkehr, wie auch

⁷ HvH to AK, May 18, 1906, Frankfurt am Main.

⁸ HvH to AK, May 18, 1906, Frankfurt am Main.

was die Ausstattung der Bücher betrifft, in jeder Hinsicht zufrieden zu stellen, und daß wir die Ehre zu schätzen wissen, mit Ihnen in dauernder Verbindung zu bleiben.⁹

So cautious was Kippenberg that even Hofmannsthal's fame and the prospect of publishing his early, successful works did not eliminate his need to consult with his former partner before giving his seal of approval. Other publishers might have rejoiced at the opportunity to embellish their book lists with the name of Austria's illustrious young poet, but instead, Kippenberg interpreted the offer narrowly, not perceiving it as an important moment or possible turning point in the Insel-Verlag's struggle for stability and recognition. Despite the respectful tone throughout the letter, there is also a pervasive commercial note; the publisher's pragmatism manifests itself in details about the materials to be used in the books and reference to a contractual agreement concerning remuneration. Although the publisher's final courteous words imply deference, Kippenberg still emphasized his hope that the association would prove advantageous for both parties:

In der aufrichtigen Hoffnung, daß sich die nun angebahnte erneute geschäftliche Verbindung zwischen uns für beide Teile durchaus befriedigend gestalten möge, und unter der nochmaligen Versicherung, daß wir das unsere dazu tun werden, um dies herbei zu führen, verbleiben wir, in aufrichtiger Hochschätzung, sehr ergeben.¹⁰

⁹ AK to HvH, June 5, 1906, Frankfurt am Main.

¹⁰ AK to HvH, June 5, 1906, Frankfurt am Main.

A contract was drawn up following this letter, and Hofmannsthal declared himself "ganz einverstanden" with its terms.¹¹ Once the contents had been agreed upon, in accordance with Hofmannsthal's suggestions, the bulk of the correspondence centered on the volume's physical appearance. Minor typographical discrepancies that had crept into the original texts were to be expunged. Hofmannsthal's concern over form is evident, for example, in his insistence that the three segments of "Falun" should not bear any designation, pointing out: "Es sind ja keineswegs drei Aufzüge, sondern Szenen oder Verwandlungen."¹²

While the printers set the dramas, Kippenberg and his staff considered the binding and other elements of the book design. On the seventh of October, 1906, Hofmannsthal wrote of his disappointment in regard to a sample volume he had recently received:

Sie wünschen es ja gewiß, daß ich offen bin: unser Interesse ist ja durchaus vereinigt, und wenn ich ängstlich bin, so ist es darum, weil hier die Einbandtype für eine Serie von mindestens drei Bänden geschaffen werden soll. Also: der übersandte Proband erscheint mir durchaus nicht glücklich. Die Farbe ist eher unerfreulich und in der Vogelerischen Zeichnung die ewige Erinnerung an das Gartenhaus von 1820 unleidlich, überdies zu dem ernsthaften, eher schweren Inhalt wenig passend.¹³

¹¹ "Vertrags-Entwurf zwischen Herrn Hugo von Hofmannsthal und dem Insel-Verlage," June 1906, Frankfurt am Main.

¹² HvH to AK, September 21, 1906, Frankfurt am Main.

¹³ HvH to AK, October 7, 1906, Frankfurt am Main.

He continued by suggesting a lemon-yellow parchment binding with silver grey contrasting end papers, citing Count Harry Kessler as the man who would be able to direct the Insel to the source of these materials. Like Kippenberg, he paired the elements of material and aesthetic advantage in his demands, maintaining:

Wenn ich so schöne Resultate sehe, wie die Verwendung von dunklem Roth und Grün bei Ihrer "Boheme" so muß ich doch natürlich wünschen, aus Gründen des Geschmacks, wie des Vertriebs, daß bei meinen Bänden durch Geduld und Liebe ein Gleiches erreicht werde, an deren Vorhandensein ich nicht zweifle. Sonst wäre ja der Abstand gegen Fischer gleich 0. ¹⁴

In Hofmannsthal's letter of October 10, 1906, three important points were raised, issues that recur throughout the correspondence relating to the Kleine Dramen. First, although he admired the craftsmanship and beauty of works published under the Insel imprint, he did not entirely trust the staff of the publishing house. He accordingly played an active part in the selection of materials and in the design of his books, making his preferences known, thus encroaching on an area of competence traditionally reserved for the bookman. While it was not uncommon for an author to take an interest in the format of his books, the concern Hofmannsthal manifested was greater than most. His highly sensitive awareness of the physical aspects of his books seems to have been a natural extension of the creative process, an attempt to imbue the tangible with the poetic meaning of his texts.

¹⁴ HvH to AK, October 7, 1906, Frankfurt am Main.

A second point brought up by Hofmannsthal in the letter concerned his relationship with Samuel Fischer. At this stage he used Fischer's name almost as a threat to ensure that his wishes would be executed. Only through Fischer's gracious consent had the Insel-Verlag obtained the rights to some of Hofmannsthal's earlier material, and Hofmannsthal had been granted this release on the basis of his argument that the S. Fischer Verlag could not clothe his lyrical dramas in as lovely and appealing a garment as could the Insel. Hofmannsthal therefore made a clear distinction between the services and advantages he believed Fischer offered and those which he perceived Kippenberg provided. Each firm possessed qualities which advanced his books, and through them, his thoughts and his reputation. By playing one off against the other he could maximize his potential audience, and, in a sense, achieve his own fullest potential. It was this possibility which helped motivate Hugo von Hofmannsthal to publish a multivolume series of his poetic works in the Insel-Verlag.

Between Hofmannsthal and Kippenberg there yawned, however, an abyss of misunderstanding. The publisher, perhaps not yet experienced enough in the intangible aspects of his trade to be sufficiently sensitive to the importance of suggestions and demands of creative artists, failed to understand Hofmannsthal's insistence on quality and made a grave miscalculation as to the extensiveness of the project. Through this error, Kippenberg

failed to capitalize on the fortunate and lucrative opportunity to become sole publisher of the definitive edition of Hofmannsthal's writings. Although other factors were, of course, involved as well, Kippenberg's lack of foresight or imagination conceivably played a substantial part in the author's continued literary dispersion under various publishing imprints. Critical here is that Hofmannsthal's reference to a possible three-volume work was disregarded until it became a major source of contention, serving to alienate the author even further from his publisher.

In his October 12, 1906 response to Hofmannsthal, Kippenberg thanked him for his suggestions concerning the binding, but continued sternly: "Von vornherein möchten wir eins bemerken: die Ausgabe der Kleinen Dramen ist keine Luxusausgabe. Eine solche haben wir von Kaiser und Hexe und Welttheater ja bereits gebracht."¹⁵ For this reason, he maintained, the lemon-yellow parchment was out of the question, but "Ihrem Wunsche, ein anderes Buntpapier verwendet zu sehen, werden wir aber gern nachkommen."¹⁶ The publisher's firm tone conveyed his intention to hold costs to a minimum, while still not entirely sacrificing quality. A subsequent remark substantiates the impression that this area of expertise doubtless lay within the framework of pragmatic evaluation, while his artist sought to indulge tastes and flights

¹⁵ AK to HvH, October 12, 1906, Frankfurt am Main.

¹⁶ AK to HvH, October 12, 1906, Frankfurt am Main.

of fantasy too impractical to be realized. Commenting on some Italian colored papers the poet had submitted, Kippenberg remarked: "Die Buntpapiere ... sind leider nicht verwendbar, da sie für den kleinen Band viel zu groß gemustert sind."¹⁷ Finally he explained somewhat condescendingly:

Was nun den Rückentitel betrifft, so werden wir von einem Schildchen nach der Art der "Boheme" aus einem Grund absehen müssen, der Ihnen gewiß einleuchten wird: Ihr Name ist nämlich dafür zu lang und das Bändchen zu schmal. Man könnte höchstens nach Art der beifolgenden Probe ein kleines Schild machen, auf dem der Titel längs steht. Uns sagt es zwar nicht besonders zu, wir würden aber einem dahin gehenden Wunsche von Ihnen gern entsprechen. Dieses Schild würden wir natürlich mit einer Umrahmung zeichnen lassen und auch eine andere Farbe, etwa ein Braunrot wie in dem Buntpapier verwenden.¹⁸

Although Kippenberg professed tolerance and cooperation in conjunction with the wishes of his distinguished author, he nevertheless implied that Hofmannsthal's suggestions were artistic whims in contrast to his own craftsmanlike judgment, an attitude which reflects the publisher's sense of being superior to his author, at least in this sphere. In fact, in a progress report sent to Hofmannsthal ten days later, he informed the Austrian that he had returned to the original colored paper to which Hofmannsthal had objected. Paper supplies were short, and Kippenberg wanted to avoid having different cover papers for the same volume over the course of time. For this volume, at least,

¹⁷ AK to HvH, October 12, 1906, Frankfurt am Main.

¹⁸ AK to HvH, October 12, 1906, Frankfurt am Main.

Kippenberg enjoyed the last word. Separated from his publisher by both geographical and personal distance, and his attention divided among current projects, family, and friends, Hofmannsthal was not in a position to control the ultimate format of his book. Dealing as he was with a proud and strong-willed individual meant that he had to concede certain points under the circumstances.

No sooner had Kippenberg announced the appearance of the Kleine Dramen and forwarded Hofmannsthal his honorarium of 1500 Marks for the first two printings, than he commenced work on the companion volumes, the second volume of the lyrical dramas, planned for the following fall, and the poems, ready to be set into type contingent on the publisher Axel Juncker's release of rights to some of the material to be included. At this point, the interests of the two men seemed to be converging, as Kippenberg's letter of November 14, 1906 indicates:

Unser persönliches Zusammensein neulich habe ich in bester Erinnerung und hoffe zuversichtlich, daß es unserem künftigen Zusammenarbeiten förderlich gewesen ist. Ich möchte Ihnen noch einmal sagen, wie sehr ich es mir zur Ehre anrechne, Sie unter den Autoren des Insel-Verlages zu wissen, und ich möchte Ihnen noch einmal versichern, daß ich nichts unterlassen werde, um diese Verbindung immer enger und freundlicher zu gestalten.¹⁹

Both wished to be associated with quality, to make a contribution towards excellence, and for both men, this commitment was expressed in a medium where format played a salient role.

¹⁹ AK to HvH, November 14, 1906, Frankfurt am Main.

Hofmannsthal's lyric creations were characterized by poetic economy and grace; the books that brought them to the public echoed this aesthetic style.

Kippenberg's good will, however, was soon put to the test. At the end of November, Hofmannsthal dashed off a note of concern: his Viennese friends had told him that while the Kleine Dramen were being displayed in bookshops, its title and author were nearly illegible, a fact which both piqued his vanity and affected his pocketbook. He recommended attaching to the remaining volumes a printed paper band in larger type. Since Kippenberg's wife Katharina was about to give birth to the couple's first child, the publisher did not immediately answer Hofmannsthal's query. When he did, almost two weeks later, his response was couched in mollifying terms. Referring to Hofmannsthal's displeasure with the jacket design, he responded:

Ihr zweiter Brief zeigt mir, daß Sie von selbst schon zu einer Auffassung der fatalen Umschlag-Angelegenheit gekommen sind. Und in der That verdient sie -- glaube ich -- nicht die Sorge, die Sie ihr zugewendet haben. Nur in ganz vereinzeltten Fällen, glaube ich, werden Ihre Bücher überhaupt aus dem Schaufenster gekauft....²⁰

However, Kippenberg did concede that the jacket was "mißlungen," explaining:

Er ist ad hoc von einem Weimarer Künstler (Stumpf) gezeichnet worden, der mir sehr empfohlen war, und eine gewisse übertriebene Rücksicht auf den Künstler veranlaßte mich nur in seinem Interesse, die Zeichnung an einem, wie ich meinte, unschädlichen Platze zu

²⁰ AK to HvH, December 11, 1906, Marbach am Neckar.

verwenden. Das war ein Fehler, aber ziehen Sie daraus bitte keine Schlüsse für die Zukunft!²¹

In this private, handwritten letter to Hofmannsthal, a more cooperative, even humble tone emerged than in the previous correspondence. Kippenberg's proud nature was not given to admitting mistakes. The publisher continued by praising the bound volume, recently lauded by E. R. Weiß, the respected Weimar artist, and referred to their joint future by proclaiming his willingness to confer with Hofmannsthal over details of design for the collected poems: " ... nehmen Sie es nicht als Phrase, wenn ich zum Schluß nochmals betone, daß ich alles thun werde, daß wir künftig in voller Harmonie zusammen arbeiten."²²

Hofmannsthal's reply of December 18, 1906 must have shattered his publisher's harmonious mood. Although himself a father, Hofmannsthal did not seem to empathize with Kippenberg's excitement about fatherhood, and his letter conveyed only perfunctory congratulations on the birth of Jutta Kippenberg. Soberly, almost reprovngly, he began: "Nun, da Sie den Kopf wieder freier haben, bringe ich das zwischen uns Schwebende punktweise vor."²³ None of the friendly grace so characteristic of Hofmannsthal's personal correspondence leavened this epistle. Instead the artist restricted himself to a point-by-point

²¹ AK to HvH, December 11, 1906, Marbach am Neckar.

²² AK to HvH, December 11, 1906, Marbach am Neckar.

²³ HvH to AK, December 18, 1906, Frankfurt am Main.

discussion of his business interests. Once again, it can be seen, the Austrian's concept of the collection differed from that of his publisher. If Kippenberg had been blinded by his own aims or had chosen to overlook Hofmannsthal's somewhat imprecise and shifting formulations, he could no longer do so. The third point on the writer's agenda related to the overall design of the Kleine

Dramen:

Nun frage ich mich (und Ihre Antwort auf diese Frage wird dies wohl definitiv zwischen uns ins Reine bringen) wie denken Sie sich das mit einer Veränderung der Ausstattung da die Serie schon einmal begonnen hat? Wie wollen Sie sich da gegenüber den Abnehmern dieses ersten Bandes verhalten? Darum war ich so verstimmt darüber, daß Sie nicht mehr Zeit übrig hatten, um die Ausstattung (z.B. in der Kessler'schen Zusammenstellung von Gelb und Silber) möglichst raffiniert gut zu gestalten: denn das Herausbringen des ersten Bandes eilte ja nicht, wohl aber stand und steht der buchhändlerische Erfolg der ganzen Serie in Frage, denn gerade diese drei oder vier Bände sind etwas, was Leute (nicht gar zu selten) Niveaus zu Geschenkzwecken kaufen würden u.s.f. ²⁴

Kippenberg's immediate response indicated that he had labored under a misapprehension. Unlike Hofmannsthal, he had viewed the proposed collection not as an organic whole, but as an informal grouping of the author's writings, something to which one could add as desired. To justify this interpretation, he claimed that Hofmannsthal had only recently begun to speak of a multivolume work. To Kippenberg's credit, Hofmannsthal had initially discussed a possible two volumes, the second volume not to appear before 1908; yet in another sense, he had failed to read correctly

²⁴ HvH to AK, December 18, 1906, Frankfurt am Main.

the signs Hofmannsthal had been giving him. He lacked the foresight or inclination to plan a collected, definitive edition himself, and he did not perceive Hofmannsthal's direction until too late. He first defended his choice of design for a single volume: " ... ich habe das große Format für die 'Kleinen Dramen' damals vor allem des äußeren Ansehens des Buches wegen gewählt; durch die vier Bände würden wir die Wirkung des 'Stattlichen,' wenn ich sagen darf, natürlich in ganz anderer Weise erreichen."²⁵ For the same reason, he maintained, he did not have a prospectus prepared. Now he intended to develop carefully the design and marketing procedure appropriate for a semi-definitive edition that would help rectify the disastrous situation. With this in mind the publisher suggested issuing the collected poems in a smaller format, perhaps in the combination of yellow parchment and silver contrast which Hofmannsthal had admired in a work of Count Kessler's. Following this would be the third printing of the Kleine Dramen in a revised, matching format. When this was issued, he would destroy the remaining supply of the large format first and second printings. As for a moral obligation to the buyers of the original version, Kippenberg felt little. He reasoned that since he had never announced the publication of a group of Hofmannsthal's writings, he was in no way committed to retain the original binding and design. On a final, confident note, Kippenberg asserted: "An dem buchhändlerischen Erfolg der

²⁵ AK to HvH, December 20, 1906, Frankfurt am Main.

'Gruppe' zweifle ich keinen Augenblick; ich werde mich persönlich auf das Entscheidende darum bemühen."²⁶

Hofmannsthal's reply detailed his plan for a three-volume work to include "Gedichte und Prologe, Kleine Dramen I (Gestern, Thor u. Tod, Weißer Fächer)" and "Kleine Dramen II (Falun, Kaiser u. Hexe, Welttheater)."²⁷ Insofar as the physical volume was concerned, he found it internally acceptable, although capable of being improved and suggested:

Vielleicht, (falls Sie ändern wollen) ziehen Sie R. Schröder heran, der sich mir zur Verfügung gestellt hat. Er bleibt doch -- in Abwesenheit Kesslers -- das sicherste Auge für Format, Breite des Randes, Type u. s. f. Nur keinen Buchschmuck, aber, weder von Schröder noch von jemand sonst, bitte. Diese Ornamentchen machen mich krank. Wieviel Schönheit kann von der Type und Verteilung ausgehen.²⁸

More and more Hofmannsthal had been developing an inner distaste for the convoluted and often hyperbolic ornamentation that was the last gasp of art nouveau, and perhaps under Schröder's influence, he began to stress simplicity and economy of line to an even greater degree. This restraint marked a rejection of the direction he had pursued in the past, and a deliberate step towards understatement and a new classicism. One manifestation of the developing aesthetic values was active involvement in the design process. His participation went beyond that of the vain

²⁶ AK to HvH, December 20, 1906, Frankfurt am Main.

²⁷ HvH to AK, December 26, 1906, Frankfurt am Main.

²⁸ HvH to AK, December 26, 1906, Frankfurt am Main.

author seeking to enhance his reputation by being represented to the public through beautiful books; it reflected an earnest insistence that style and of its contents correspond harmoniously with one another. He was moreover convinced that he, the author, knew best which form reflected the inner value of the material. Although Hofmannsthal's ideas of book design were more derivative than creative, he nonetheless developed definite opinions about what he preferred and exercised his rights as an author to share in this aspect of the genesis of a book. Even Schröder, whose friendship was seminal in Hofmannsthal's relationship to the Insel, was not accorded free rein in artistic matters relating to Hofmannsthal's publications.

To some extent, however, Hofmannsthal's participation in this activity remained dependent on Kippenberg's cooperation. Thus, when Kippenberg wrote, on January 31, 1907, that, after much consideration, it would be best not to alter the type or form, the author, as though bowing to Kippenberg's better judgment, did not protest. Kippenberg's change of heart was apparently founded on the realization that he had rather cavalierly dismissed the possibility of an adverse public reaction to a change in form.²⁹ To assuage any ill-feeling on Hofmannsthal's part, Kippenberg reported that he had found a more beautiful paper and that his staff was making progress in the search for the exact shades of

²⁹ AK to HvH, January 31, 1907, Frankfurt am Main.

lemon-yellow and silver-grey desired by Hofmannsthal for the binding materials. An almost comic note is introduced by the reluctance of Count Kessler's bookbinder to reveal the source of his coveted citron-hued parchment, forcing Kippenberg's bindery to embark on a series of unproductive experiments in their quest to uncover the secret formula. The seriousness of the attempt with its attendant delay and expense attests to the painstaking attention the Insel-Verlag devoted towards achieving the highest possible quality in its books, as well as to their genuine efforts to please, at least within reason, the authors associated with the firm.

Kippenberg's letter crossed in the mail with one penned by Hofmannsthal on February 2, 1907 in which he also expressed concern about a moral commitment to the buyers of the first volume. His concern in this case was unusual, for although Hofmannsthal cared a great deal about his literary reputation, his exchanges with his publisher reveal scant interest in having a dialogue with the public through his works. He was responsive to the criticism of a small circle of friends, but far less sensitive to the reception of his works by the masses. In the letter he presented a complicated program for avoiding public dissatisfaction which would have the advantage:

die bisherigen Abnehmer einzelner Bände zu befriedigen indem er ihnen die Möglichkeit läßt, ihren Besitz an H'schen Bänden zu ergänzen und zugleich alle

bibliophilen Neigungen durch Angebot dreier schöner und gleichartiger Bände anzulocken.³⁰

Since Kippenberg's plan obviated the necessity of his own, more complicated solution, Hofmannsthal jotted off a hasty postcard to signify his acceptance.

The difficulties in publishing the collected writings seemed endless. On February 5, 1907 Kippenberg once again began to worry about possible competition between the edition de luxe of the Weißer Fächer and the volume of the Kleine Dramen containing the piece. Therefore, he saw an advantage in issuing both volumes of the Kleine Dramen in the fall. This would lessen the competition, and eliminate the confusion of having simultaneously on the market the old unnumbered version of Kleine Dramen, which did not contain the Weißer Fächer, and a new, variant edition with numbering. Again Kippenberg's business instincts made him cautious about possible financial losses which might result from the disorderly presentation of the volumes.

Letters were now being exchanged at such a furious rate that overlapping occurred. While Kippenberg was raising one issue, Hofmannsthal would think of yet another problem. Upon receipt of the manuscript of poems, for example, the publisher was dismayed to find Hofmannsthal still employing the George-influenced lower-case style of writing. Kippenberg questioned his judgment,

³⁰ HvH to AK, February 2, 1907, Frankfurt am Main.

since even Grimm had not been able to promote successfully this manner of writing. From the publisher's perspective, it was distracting and spoiled the enjoyment of the poetry. In addition, Kippenberg alluded to the disharmony that would be result if the one volume were issued in the style of Die Blätter für die Kunst, while the others appeared in traditional form.³¹

Hofmannsthal had had no intention of retaining the lower-case mode for substantives, as he made clear a few days later. This form was not an integral part of his poetry, but rather a concession to Stefan George. His flat response: "Natürlich bitte ich um normale Schreibweise," made Kippenberg's concern seem excessive.³²

Another element to which Kippenberg had objected was the insertion of blank pages between sections. However, he conceded: "... aber Sie werden das wohl selbst sorglich bedacht und dann für gut befunden haben."³³ Hofmannsthal had indeed considered his reasons. As he explained, these white pages were not arbitrary, but rather intentional devices to indicate groupings of poems without using headings, designations which he wished to avoid. Essentially, the untitled pages allowed the reader to supply his own title or link, thus extending the creative process into the

³¹ AK to HvH, February 8, 1907, Frankfurt am Main.

³² HvH to AK, February 1907, Frankfurt am Main.

³³ AK to HvH, February 8, 1907, Frankfurt am Main.

readership, and also giving the poems a measure of contemporaneity and universality by not limiting the blocks to specific dates or places.

While Kippenberg busied himself with these technical aspects of book production, Hofmannsthal reproached his publisher in his letter of February 8, 1907 for delaying the publication date of the volumes:

Schönsten Dank für Depesche und freundlichen Brief. In diesem nehmen Sie völlige Übereinstimmung an, doch scheint mir wir sind gerade in einem Hauptpunkt nicht gleicher Meinung, nämlich bezüglich des Termins zu welchem die Bände 'Kleine Dramen I & II' in definitiver Form herauskommen sollen. Sie scheinen mir hier ein Hinausschieben vorschlagen zu wollen, und zwar auf unbestimmte Zeit, ich aber so fern mir sonst ein starsinniges Insistieren, halte absolut daran fest, daß die drei gleichartigen Bände zu Weihnachten 1907 vorliegen müssen.³⁴

Hofmannsthal's strong language arose out of a predicament he had gotten himself into by negotiating with two competing publishers. Since Fischer had recently announced the publication of a four-volume set of Hofmannsthal's collected prose for Christmas 1908, it was imperative that the Insel edition of lyrical works not interfere or detract from the sales of the essays. If one set appeared for Christmas gift-giving in 1907 and the second for the holiday season in 1908, Hofmannsthal (and Fischer) would reap the benefits of virtually free advertising for the later volumes, as the reviews and sales of the lyrical dramas and poetry would

³⁴ HvH to AK, February 8, 1907, Frankfurt am Main.

stimulate interest for his prose. Should this plan backfire, all the principals stood to lose, but Hofmannsthal in particular would incur both material losses and the displeasure of his publishers, whose resentment of the scheme certainly would have been justified. To dispel what he termed Kippenberg's "secondary" doubts, the Austrian maintained that the remainder (presumably small) of the unnumbered Kleine Dramen could be withdrawn. The motivation behind buying the luxury edition of Der Weiße Fächer, he reasoned, was hardly a desire for the play itself, and thus the two editions would not be in competition with one another. Forced into the defensive position, Hofmannsthal took the rather sober, almost haughty tone that was characteristic of his business relationship to his publisher. Although polite, his words were sharply honed:

Ich glaube nicht, sehr geehrter Herr Dr., daß Sie bei der absoluten Gemeinsamkeit unserer Interessen diesen von der Sachlage dictierten Ausführungen, die das geschäftlich Wichtigere dem relativ minder Wichtigen unterordnen (auch ich bin ja an dem völligen Verkauf des 'Weißen Fächers' mitinteressiert) etwas Wesentliches entgegenstellen werden und erwarte nunmehr Ihre definitive Antwort.³⁵

As pleasant as it was to correspond with his publisher, Hofmannsthal added, the matter was getting out of hand. His postscript, an inquiry about another Insel project, is sweetly phrased in the cordial words: "an Ihren schönen Unternehmungen immer herzlich teilnehmend," words which sought to mitigate the

³⁵ HvH to AK, February 8, 1907, Frankfurt am Main.

more forceful tone taken above.³⁶ Even if their patience was wearing thin, the pair scrupulously maintained at least a veneer of courtesy and avoided the diatribes which occasionally marked the correspondence of the Insel-Verlag with such authors as Heinrich Mann, Carl Sternheim, or Leonhard Frank. Anton Kippenberg commenced his reply to the persistent poet with the disclaimer: "Glauben Sie mir, daß ich auch nicht starrsinnig bin und über Fragen wie die, die uns in letzter Zeit beschäftigt haben, nicht so viel schreiben würde, wenn nicht wirklich ein gewichtiges Interesse des Verlages daran hinge"³⁷

Nonetheless, Hofmannsthal's arguments for prompt action on the publication of the Kleine Dramen proved persuasive and Kippenberg conceded, agreeing to schedule a Christmas 1907 publication date.

The matter of the publication date resolved, the next item on the agenda was the publication of the Gedichte. Once again, the issue of design loomed up. Fortunately, Hofmannsthal approved of the samples forwarded to him:

Ich finde das Silberpapier sehr erfreulich, das gelbe Pergament hat in No. I die schönste Färbung (habe es hier mit einem Kessler'schen Einband verglichen) ... ebenso stimme zu, daß Schnitt in Gold vielleicht lebendiger als in Silber. Dankend und freudig begrüße den Vorschlag den Titel und namentlich den Rücken von Gill zeichnen zu lassen, denn das höchst mediocre

³⁶ HvH to AK, February 8, 1907, Frankfurt am Main.

³⁷ AK to HvH, February 13, 1907, Frankfurt am Main.

Schildchen stellt für jetzt den Eindruck des so sorgfältig kombinierten Ganzen in Frage.³⁸

Hofmannsthal's pleasure at the results of their combined efforts was genuine, but so was his anxiety that the poems would not make their Easter deadline, a fear which the publisher, in his response, sought to allay.³⁹ When Gill's involvement did indeed cause a delay, Hofmannsthal willingly accepted it, since he felt strongly that Gill's artistic ability would make a substantial contribution to the quality of the volume. On the first of April, as Easter approached, the writer was still correcting "Unfug" that the typesetters had wrought by inserting dashes where none was called for, and not until June did he write from Italy: "Ob der Band 'Gedichte' eigentlich gut ausgefallen ist oder nicht erfahren wir beide, die ihn mit viel Mühe gemacht haben, wohl besser von anderen. Wunderschön ist jedenfalls die Titelseite."⁴⁰

With the finished product in hand, Hofmannsthal's anxiety focused not so much on the text and its reception, since these were not new poems, but on the critical response to the physical volume itself, that which had occupied his attention for so long. Again, in July, the poet wrote that this volume must be judged by others "weil zu viel von unsrer Weise (und nicht ganz realisierbarer) Phantasie darin steht. So schön wie an dem

³⁸ HvH to AK, February 26, 1907, Frankfurt am Main.

³⁹ AK to HvH, February 28, 1907, Frankfurt am Main.

⁴⁰ HvH to AK, June 7, 1907, Frankfurt am Main.

Kessler'schen Original wirken weder die Farben noch die Materie gegen einander."¹ Once the initial euphoria had subsided, Hofmannsthal doubted the product's success, and he even raised the question of altering the design for the three-volume set, a suggestion that must have caused his publisher to lose heart after all the difficulties he had experienced in trying to satisfy Hofmannsthal's wishes. Kippenberg sought to persuade Hofmannsthal to accept the chosen form, and on July 25, 1907, Hofmannsthal replied with a brief note containing a fleeting reference to the issue; "Natürlich meine ich auch daß wir nun bei dem gelb u. silbernen Band für alle drei Bände bleiben."² Either he felt that the complications inherent in change were too overwhelming to fight, or perhaps, upon reflection, he found that the binding was not so disappointing after all. At any rate, no doubt, to Kippenberg's immense relief, things stayed as they were.

Until the three-volume set appeared on the market shortly before Christmas 1907, there was little need to correspond about the publication. Everything seemed settled. Then, in early December, as the first sets appeared in the bookstores, Hofmannsthal and Kessler observed that the volumes were not enclosed in a slipcase. No sooner had Hofmannsthal queried about this deficiency than Kippenberg ticked off a list of reasons

¹ HvH to AK, July 20, 1907, Frankfurt am Main.

² HvH to AK, July 25, 1907, Frankfurt am Main.

designed to inhibit any further discussion of the matter. Once again, it was Hofmannsthal's fantasy pitted against the cold reality of the business world. While the publisher might acknowledge the slipcase as a finishing touch to the multivolume set, his arguments against them outweighed this almost grudging approval. He maintained that the public did not like them; the ones sent out in commission were returned in an unusable state; the bookstores did not want them; practical and attractive slipcases were difficult to construct; and last but not least, they raised the price. After having just painted such a dismal picture of the "Kästchen," Kippenberg proceeded to state his willingness, to please his author, to arrange to have them made for the second printing. From Berlin Hofmannsthal conceded: "Die Kästchen-Sache ist durch Ihre sachlichen Argumente natürlich abgethan."³

The three volumes were thus finally launched; a definitive form had finally been reached, both in the physical and textual sense. The Insel-Verlag had adhered to the timetable of Christmas 1907; Hofmannsthal had received his first honorarium for the first printing, and it appeared that the saga of Hugo von Hofmannsthal's Die Gesammelten Gedichte and Kleine Dramen was finished. However, on January 25, 1908, Kippenberg devoted one paragraph of a letter to the edition. His suggestion refuted months of tiresome and

³ HvH to AK, December 14, 1907, Frankfurt am Main.

troublesome work and debate. According to Kippenberg many readers had criticized the publishing firm for failing to issue Hofmannsthal's works in a format compatible with that of the first volume. In addition, he attributed the limited sales of the multivolume set to the fact that the public balked at the prospect of paying the price of 12 Marks. Therefore, Kippenberg proposed to issue copies of the present first volume in the old binding.

Kippenberg described the complicated procedure:

es würde dann ein Titel analog dem des im vorigen Jahre erschienenen Bandes zu drucken sein, auf den die Bezeichnung des Bandes fehlt und dafür die Namen der 3 in dem Band enthaltenen Dramen hinzugefügt werden. Auf dem grünen Rückenschild würde wohl am besten keinerlei Bandbezeichnung hinzugefügt werden. Natürlich werden dadurch Exemplare der zweibändigen Ausgabe unvollständig; wir müssen das dadurch ausgleichen, daß wir bei einer weiteren Auflage durch mehr oder weniger Druck des einen von beiden Bänden das Gleichgewicht wieder herstellen.⁴⁴

Kippenberg's plan was to make the best of a bad situation. Not only was the public slow to purchase the set, but they reproached him for unfairness in issuing the same material in two consecutive years in different forms. The publisher was learning the merits of a carefully planned, well-conceived publication, including the aspects of distribution and sales, and even more so, the need to maintain a balance between the wishes of the readership and those of the author. Despite good intentions on both sides, despite Hofmannsthal's genius as exhibited in the poetic works, and despite Kippenberg's tested pragmatic business sense, the proper

⁴⁴ AK to HvH, January 25, 1908, Frankfurt am Main.

equilibrium had never been attained. More experience was necessary. As for Hofmannsthal, he signaled his reply to Kippenberg's suggestion by inking "einverstanden" in the margin of Kippenberg's letter and returning the original to the Insel-Verlag.⁴⁵ It was a new year, and this was stuff of the past. He had gone on to new projects, and new interests claimed his attention.

⁴⁵ AK to HvH, January 25, 1908, Frankfurt am Main.

Chapter 4

DER WEIßE FÄCHER

In the summer of 1907 the Insel-Verlag issued a short dramatic piece of Hofmannsthal's, Der Weiße Fächer. This delicate, lyrical work, augmented by four woodcuts by the English artist Edward Gordon Craig, appeared in a luxury edition of 800 copies. Its thirty-two pages were printed on velum, its top edges gilded, its end papers covered in purple silk, and it was protected by a portfolio. Der Weiße Fächer, originally published in 1898, was one of Hofmannsthal's contributions to Die Zeit, a Viennese weekly founded by Hermann Bahr in 1894.¹ Since the circulation of this periodical was quite small, Hofmannsthal conceived of a plan to offer his lyrical drama to a different public, an audience comprised of bibliophiles. His intentions, as stated in his correspondence with the Insel-Verlag, were twofold. First, he recognized that the material value of this early piece would be enhanced by its issue as a Luxusausgabe. As the father of two small children, without regular income, and dependent to a

¹ The Hofmannsthal Collection in the Houghton Library: a Descriptive Catalogue of Printed Books (Heidelberg: L. Stiehm, 1974), p. 184.

large extent on his earnings as a writer for support, he was acutely aware of the necessity of obtaining the greatest possible return for his efforts to ensure the continuation of the gentlemanly way of life which he relished. Only by maximizing his profits, in part attained by republication of his works in varying formats to reach the widest potential audience, was it possible to support his frequent sojourns abroad and at home in the resorts of Austria, and to maintain two homes, one, a permanent abode in Rodaun outside Vienna, the second, a life-time lease in Bad Aussee. Hofmannsthal's letters reveal a curious paradox within his character. Despite a strong attachment to his wife Gerty and to his family, the poet soon recognized that a busy household rife with interruptions and distractions was not conducive to creative writing. Thus he travelled often, visiting friends in Dresden, Borchardt in Lucca, touring Greece with Count Kessler, and renewing contacts in Paris. Funds to finance such activity derived in part from publishing ventures such as Der Weiße Fächer.

Hofmannsthal's goal in the republication of Der Weiße Fächer was not solely financial gain. He was thinking, as he confided to Insel head Rudolf von Pöllnitz in an October 16, 1904 letter which discussed the proposed publication: "... nämlich an Illustrationen und nicht an Buchschmuck. Ich denke an ein reich illustriertes Bilderbuch von Karl Walser in Kostüm einer phantastischen Empirezeit, für welches Bilderbuch mein kleines

Stück nur den Vorwand und Anstoß geben soll."² Ten days later, upon sending Pöllnitz a copy of the piece, he reiterated his concept to avoid any misunderstanding of his intention:

Ich möchte aber nochmals betonen, daß mich das Zustandekommen des Buches nur in dem Fall zu freuen vermöchte wenn Walser große Lust hätte dieses Buch zu illustrieren oder besser gesagt diesen Text zum Anlaß zeichnerischer Phantasien zu nehmen. Ich dächte das könnte wohl der Fall sein, schon des Kostüms willen das den Empirestyl mit exotischen Elementen phantastisch zu mischen gestattet. Andernfalls lassen wir die Sache ruhig stehen.³

By allowing his lyrics to serve as the catalyst for artists in other fields, Hofmannsthal hoped to add luster to his own work. No longer would it be limited by the constraints of the printed text, but would instead take on a new dimension. Through cooperation and collaboration with creative men and women, Hofmannsthal found it possible to burst the barriers he had deplored in his writings, most notably in his fictitious Ein Brief of 1901, a letter purportedly written by Lord Chandos and addressed to Sir Francis Bacon. Other media -- dance, theater, opera, art --- enabled his texts to transcend the traditional boundaries established by the printed word by imparting to his thoughts a fluidity not achievable by language alone. His vision was to augment his own work with illustrations by some of the major European artists active during his lifetime. Indeed, as he modestly maintained, his work should be the pretext for and

² HvH to RvP, October 16, 1904, Frankfurt am Main.

³ HvH to RvP, October 26, 1904, Frankfurt am Main.

impetus to a larger, richer creation, providing the germinating seed from which, ideally, something greater and more exotic could spring forth. Working to achieve this goal, Hofmannsthal collaborated with Richard Strauss for over two decades, crafting libretti for the latter's operas. He also created episodes for ballets which were interpreted by the most acclaimed dancers of the century, including some for productions directed by Diaghlev.

Despite his seeming modesty in envisioning his own words as catalysts in the above sense, Hofmannsthal was acutely aware of his own worth. When using his own works as a criterion for evaluating the talents of others, he was all but modest. A successful fellow writer, Stefan Zweig, who also published under the Insel imprint, he scathingly labelled as sixth-rate.¹ Because he was willing to alter and compromise to ensure completion of an opera, his long-standing affiliation with the composer Strauss was largely successful. Even in making these concessions, however, Hofmannsthal perceived himself as the musician's peer. To a certain extent, thus, his self-esteem and his aim of furthering creative development by serving as a catalyst worked at cross purposes. While in principle the poet and dramatist supported and stimulated the work of others, in practice he demanded at least equal recognition.

¹ HvH to AK, November 23, 1906, Frankfurt am Main.

In the case of Der Weiße Fächer, Hofmannsthal's idealized concept of his text serving as the stimulus for elaborate illustrations suffered a setback as attempts were made to realize the project. Through a series of complications, Karl Walser, the desired artist, dropped out of the negotiations. Correspondence between Hofmannsthal and Pöllnitz indicated that Walser had signed a contract with the publisher Cassierer which precluded further cooperation with the Insel. Pöllnitz, obviously reluctant to lose the delicate tidbit promised him by the dramatist, must have prevailed on Hofmannsthal to consider another illustrator, since on March 25, 1905, the Austrian telegraphed his agreement to the suggestion of Edward Gordon Craig as a replacement. Craig, a young English artist whose works had found some favor in cultured German circles, seemed an appropriate substitute; and after the fruitless exchanges with Walser had retarded progress on the edition for nearly six months, Hofmannsthal hoped that the last obstacle to the realization of his dream had been eliminated. Unfortunately, his problems were only beginning. In the ensuing months, Carl Ernst Poeschel assumed management of the firm, only to be succeeded by Anton Kippenberg shortly thereafter. Financial questions concerning the proposed illustrated text were now raised and in such a way as to wound Hofmannsthal's pride. On the fifteenth of May, 1905, Poeschel broached the question of Hofmannsthal's honorarium, confiding to the author that it was still not possible to deliver an estimate, since this was

dependent on the book design, the cost of which could not be calculated before fall, when Craig expected to complete his part: "Erschwerend ist bei dieser Publikation die Feststellung der Auflage, die natürlich für den Ladenpreis schwer ins Gewicht fällt, und das außerordentlich hohe Honorar, das Mr. Craig erhält. Es sind unter Diskretion M. 3000."⁵ Because Mr. Craig's fee would force the price of the Luxusausgabe up to at least 200 Marks, Poeschel begged Hofmannsthal to set the sum of his honorarium accordingly, or preferably, to consider receiving a share of the profits in lieu of a lump sum. Poeschel's endeavor to persuade Hofmannsthal to settle for a share of the profits was, of course, less financially attractive and also less certain than receiving a set amount prior to publication. Perhaps to soothe any doubts his author might have had about this proposal, the publisher closed diplomatically with the wish: "daß Ihre Verbindung mit der Insel von jetzt an eine nicht nur angenehme, sondern vor allem recht feste werden möge. Das Entgegenkommen von Seiten des Verlages soll stets das Größtmögliche sein."⁶

Hofmannsthal's rapid reply from his hotel in Paris showed his intention to put the publisher's promise of cooperation to the test. From his point of view, he found it absurd that his fee should be less than that of the illustrator. Even assuming the

⁵ Carl Ernst Poeschel to HvH, May 15, 1905, Frankfurt am Main.

⁶ CEP to HvH, May 15, 1905, Frankfurt am Main.

value of two artists to be equal, the fact remained "daß das Verhältnis der Namen (in Deutschland) steht wie 1:1000, daß das Buch schließlich seinen Marktwert durch mich bekommt u.s.f. Also wäre an den Illustrator zu sagen gewesen, daß sein Honorar sich nach dem meinen richten müßte."⁷ Nevertheless, Hofmannsthal conceded that while such were his feelings in principle, he, like Craig, was pleased with the Insel's arrangements with the artist, and suggested as a compromise that he should receive 2000 Marks, to be payable in two installments, one due at publication, the second to follow when half the edition had been sold. The poet's conciliatory gesture no doubt reflected his having taken several factors into account. First, he acknowledged Craig as an artist and was willing to make a material concession to attain his goal of a copiously illustrated book for which his text would have served as an inspiration. Secondly, Craig's fee was a fait accompli, therefore making the price of the edition high from the outset. A stubborn insistence that he receive an equal or higher amount would have elevated the cost of the book and reduced its attractiveness for a larger pool of customers. Finally, his response indicated at least a tacit recognition of the Insel's financial status. In the circles in which he moved, it was well-known that the Insel-Verlag rested on a shaky foundation financially. Too many unsuccessful ventures would close the firm down, and Hofmannsthal clearly did not wish to jeopardize the

⁷ HvH to CEP, May 18, 1905, Frankfurt am Main.

opportunity to publish in a house whose products were lauded as the world's most beautiful.

From the Insel came a reply which differed in tone from earlier letters exchanged between publisher and author. Its rather haughty, coldly polite, and calculated tone is characteristic of letters written by Kippenberg in the early months of his association with the firm. The publisher struck a reproving note when he defended Craig's honorarium in his letter of May 21, 1905, maintaining that it had been approved only because it had been so crucial to Hofmannsthal that his drama be issued in "die würdigste Gestalt,"⁸ and suggesting the possibility that the project might have to be abandoned because of excessive cost: "Dabei dachten wir aber, offen gesagt, nicht daran daß Ihre Forderung für den Wiederabdruck des Textes so hoch sein würde. Sollten Sie daran festhalten, so würden wir zu unserem großen Bedauern genötigt sein, den Plan überhaupt fallen zu lassen."⁹ In an attempt to reconcile their differences, however, the publisher suggested an alternative method of payment: six hundred Marks after publication, and a subsequent four hundred payable after the sale of four hundred copies. The letter concluded with an admonishment that the Insel-Verlag's cooperation was evident, and that "wohl kein anderer Verleger zur Zahlung höherer Honorare

⁸ Insel-Verlag to HvH, May 21, 1905, Frankfurt am Main.

⁹ Insel-Verlag to HvH, May 21, 1905, Frankfurt am Main.

bereit sein würde."¹⁰

Precisely this posture with its abrupt, almost patronizing stance, combined with the threats of withdrawal of support and emphasis that no better offer would be forthcoming elsewhere, aroused Hofmannsthal's ire. He vented his anger to Poeschel on May 29:

Wenn Sie mir aber schreiben, daß Sie, wenn ich nicht auf ein Honorar eingehe, auf das einzugehen nicht möglich ist, daß Sie dann auf das Buch verzichten, so muß ich sagen, daß mir das erstens ganz gleichgiltig ist, denn ich finde bei den augenblicklichen Verhältnissen nicht einen, nicht zwei, sondern sechs Verleger, die mir das machen, mit Illustrationen von Somoff, von Conder, von Walser, von wem ich will.¹¹

Secondly, expostulated Hofmannsthal, he could not fathom this treatment, especially since at Pöllnitz's pressing request he had broken off negotiations with another publisher concerning this book. He advised Poeschel to check the files in this matter. Hofmannsthal's impatience was not without justification, yet he too had a short memory. Had he referred to his own archives, he would have recognized his characterization of Pöllnitz's role as inaccurate. For while Pöllnitz was indeed delighted to publish Der Weiße Fächer, it had been offered him first by Hofmannsthal and was not obtained through his urgent plea. Moreover, although Hofmannsthal's reputation was such that his claim of being able to choose among six different publishers under the existing terms of -----

¹⁰ Insel-Verlag to HvH, May 21, 1905, Frankfurt am Main.

¹¹ HvH to CEP, May 29, 1905, Frankfurt am Main.

the contract was not greatly exaggerated, it is nonetheless worthwhile to reexamine his motivation for publishing this piece with the Insel. Even if his action is interpreted as a favor to Rudolf von Pöllnitz, the question is not wholly answered. Although his brief association with Pöllnitz was cordial, Hofmannsthal's act was more than a mere friendly gesture. In order to realize his aim, he had to secure both an artist and a publishing house. While he could be quite successful in attracting either, it is doubtful whether he could have been certain elsewhere of both a high caliber illustrator and a publishing house that would meet his high aesthetic standards. The two components which spelled success for Hofmannsthal's concept were no guarantee for the financial health of the project. Indeed, the two combined expenses, plus the author's fee, placed on the fragile creation a burden which was almost certainly too heavy. As grateful as Pöllnitz was to receive Hofmannsthal's Der Weiße Fächer, he had not reckoned with a loss. As Rippenberg subsequently informed the irate author in a March 4th, 1907 letter, however, it was Poeschel, the successor, who had made the disputed commitment to Craig.

Desite Hofmannsthal's protestations, he found it easier to use his name and dissatisfaction as leverage for obtaining a higher author's fee than to break off relations entirely and turn to another publisher. He correctly reckoned that his reputation

would suffice to have his demands met. On June 5, 1905, the Insel-Verlag sent an appeasing missive to the Austrian, in which the firm acceded, with one minor modification, to Hofmannsthal's suggestion for recompense, the publisher agreeing to pay 1000 Marks after a contract had been signed, 250 Marks after the sale of four hundred copies, and the rest after the remainder had been marketed. Such an arrangement reduced the liability for the Insel-Verlag in case of poor sales. Hofmannsthal duly signed the contract, and on June 9th, the publishing house dispatched his first payment.

For over five months silence reigned in the Weißer Fächer affair, at least as far as Hofmannsthal's communications with his editors were concerned. Not until he had broached the subject of his collected dramatic works did the topic resurface. Kippenberg was quick to counsel that this volume be withheld from the public until the luxury edition of the Weißer Fächer had been issued, so that the two projects would not conflict. By May, nearly a year subsequent to the contract-signing and seventeen months after Hofmannsthal's initial inquiry, Kippenberg realized that delays in the publication of Der Weiße Fächer were slowing the progress of the second, presumably more lucrative, and pressing undertaking. At that point he proposed as a tentative solution to the dilemma the exclusion of Der Weiße Fächer from the collected dramas until a second edition would be necessary. With some discussion this

suggestion was approved, and once again, all seemed on a peaceful, well-charted course.

At the end of October, a brief passage in a letter provided Hofmannsthal with the news that Craig's five woodcuts were now on hand in the Insel-Verlag, but Kippenberg conveyed no sense of urgency when he concluded: "darüber schreibe ich Ihnen, sobald die arbeitsreichen nächsten Wochen hinter mir liegen."¹² In the confusion and excitement surrounding the director that fall, the Weißer Fächer seemed to have gotten lost. Other enterprises clamored for his attention, as a long list of plans included in his December 1, 1906 letter indicated. In addition, his wife's delivery and the myriad questions arising in connection with the preparations for Hofmannsthal's collected plays diverted some of the energy which he might otherwise have devoted to the older project. It was up to the author to prod his apparently delinquent publisher, remarking on December 18, 1906: "Daß der 'Weiße Fächer' jetzt kurz vor Weihnachten weder angezeigt noch herausgebracht ist mir ziemlich unbegreiflich. Was liegt da vor?"¹³ Even Hofmannsthal, who never professed to be a businessman, recognized the importance of the pre-Christmas market for the sale of books, particularly of a Luxusausgabe.

¹² AK to HvH, October 22, 1906, Frankfurt am Main.

¹³ HvH to AK, December 18, 1906, Frankfurt am Main.

Kippenberg pleaded that a 1906 publication date would have been precipitous. In his return reply he stated that it would have been impossible to accord the Weißer Fächer the proper attention and still bring it out before Christmas. Mr. Craig had brought him the last of the woodcuts only at the end of October. Then there had been the arduous task of selecting the proper paper. The paper finally chosen had to be especially produced, and was not expected until after Christmas. In addition, Kippenberg still had to consider the matters of printing and binding, but after citing his problems he sought to reassure his anxious author:

Ich hoffe aber, dann ein Gewand zu zeigen, das durchaus eigenartig ist und seinem Inhalt Ehre macht. Angekündigt habe ich den Weißen Fächer absichtlich nicht, da ich mit zu frühen Anzeigen früher schlechte Erfahrungen gemacht habe; es regnete Reklamationen und Vorwürfe. Zudem aber halte ich das Erscheinen und auch Anzeigen des Weißen Fächers so kurz vor Weihnachten nicht günstig für den Absatz.¹⁴

Marshalling all these reasons for not publishing Der Weiße Fächer before Christmas, Kippenberg presented a plausible explanation for the delay. Nonetheless, his hesitation reflected both his conservative nature and a deeper concern. Since substantial capital had been invested in the book, such caution was understandable, especially since the Insel-Verlag had made mistakes and over-extended itself in the past. On the other hand, even a bookman's apprentice would have recognized the significance

¹⁴ AK to HvH, December 20, 1906, Frankfurt am Main.

of seasonal sales in the trade, and in this sense the publisher's reluctance ran counter to tradition. In the opening months of 1907, Hofmannsthal and Kippenberg maintained a lively and detailed correspondence concerning the advances of the Weißer Fächer. On the thirty-first of January of that year, the Insel-Verlag announced that type-setting had commenced and dispatched sample papers for Hofmannsthal's approval. The utmost consideration was accorded the physical appearance of the book, with no effort spared in the attempt to create a piece with the elegance, grace, luxury, and quintessential preciousness that this drama evoked. Kippenberg's ideal of harmony between text and garment was reflected here. A shadow of worry that the edition de luxe would suffer in competition with the forthcoming Kleine Dramen flickered through the pages of the correspondence. However, Hofmannsthal, in an effort to expedite the publication of the second volume of his collected dramas, stoutly declared: "Ich vertraue trotzdem bestimmt, daß wir die Auflage W. F. restlos in nicht zu langer Zeit absetzen,"¹⁵ thus dismissing, at least in his mind, the possibility of any complication in marketing the work.

Hofmannsthal's confidence proved premature. Curiously, up to this point, he had not yet seen the long anticipated illustrations for which his text was to serve as an inspiration. Then, in February 1907, he was finally privy to an inspection of the

¹⁵ HvH to AK, February 16, 1907, Frankfurt am Main.

materials which had been at the Insel-Verlag since October. On February 28, 1907, the publisher wrote, in a weary, irritated tone, of further delays:

Die Fertigstellung des "Weißen Fächers" erleidet bedauerlicherweise eine neue Verzögerung, und zwar wiederum durch Herrn Craig, der nachdem das Geschäftliche der Sache für ihn erledigt ist, das Interesse an der Publikation ganz verloren zu haben scheint. Auf ihn ist es in erster Linie zurückzuführen, daß sich die Vollendung dieses Buches wohl zu unserem beiderseitigen Ärger so lange hinauszieht. Ich habe nun wiederholt schon Herrn Craig um Auskunft darüber gebeten, wohin die fünf Holzschnitte im Text kommen sollen, habe aber eine klare Auskunft von ihm nicht erhalten können. Vor einiger Zeit schrieb er mir auf meine Frage, eine sollte an den Anfang, eine an das Ende und drei in die Mitte kommen. Das ist natürlich eine Antwort, mit der sich nicht das Geringste anfangen läßt. Augenblicklich ist Herr Craig nun wieder von Berlin abwesend, und es ist gar nicht abzusehen, wann er zu erreichen ist. Darauf können wir natürlich nicht warten, und so halte ich jetzt für das Beste, wenn wir die Entscheidung ohne ihn treffen. Ich möchte Sie freundlichst bitten, mit dabei behülflich zu sein. Anbei sende ich Ihnen Abzüge der fünf Holzschnitte und bitte Sie freundlichst vorzuschlagen, an welche Stelle wir sie bringen.¹⁶

Perhaps Kippenberg's carefully cordial, courteous tone is an indication that he anticipated difficulty. He was doubtless not prepared, however, for the raging torrent of displeasure Hofmannsthal unleashed. Having finally received prints of the woodcuts, Hofmannsthal replied indignantly on March 1, 1907: "Ich bin einfach fassungslos über Ihre Sendung."¹⁷ In his letter, the poet touched on several important points. First, he expressed his

¹⁶ AK to HvH, February 28, 1907, Frankfurt am Main.

¹⁷ HvH to AK, March 1, 1907, Weimar.

profound disappointment with Craig's artistic endeavor, complaining that even he, the author, had not the slightest inkling of any connection between the art work and the text on which the woodcuts were supposedly based. Furthermore, the pictures stood in the crassest opposition to his original conception. The poet continued by referring to Craig's work as the "schwerste künstlerische Beleidigung."¹⁸ Not only was the art an egregious insult; it also detracted from the material value of the project. Both he and the Insel-Verlag stood to lose in the affair, not only money, but their reputations as well were at stake. Implicit in his remarks were the inextricable bonds between author and publisher, whose fates were intertwined, whose goals were almost of necessity mutual. In this case, however, the relationship was triangular, and the complications arising out of the affair threatened to sabotage the seemingly carefully laid plans of several months' standing.

Hofmannsthal's expressions of perplexity and hurt have all the overtones of the one betrayed: "Was geht hier Räthselhaftes vor? Wie konnte man dieses völlig unacceptable acceptieren? ... Wie ist es möglich, daß Sie mir (bei sonst so gutem schönem Einvernehmen) diese unglückseligen Producte erst in letzter Minute vor Augen bringen, während wir sonst über jedes kleine Detail uns sorglich verständigen?"¹⁹ Yet even in the midst of despair, the

¹⁸ HvH to AK, March 1, 1907, Weimar.

poet turned to his publisher for advice. How were they to make the best of a bad situation? By shifting the probability of blame to Kippenberg's predecessor, Hofmannsthal avoided arousing his publisher's ire, yet nonetheless could vent his anger and frustration at the direction the project had taken. Strong as his words were: "... diese Zeichnungen [sind] von einer schändlichen, alles compromitierenden Nichtigkeit," he reserved the brunt of his attack for Craig. The allegiance to his publishing house was, at least in this case, firm, as he protested:

Mein lieber Herr Dr. ich bin am Ende meiner Kräfte. Stünde ich Ihrem Verlag als trockener Geschäftsmann gegenüber, so wäre meine Situation leichter. So aber bin ich, und wirklich mehr um Ihetwillen wahrhaft ratlos. Ich erwarte Ihre Vorschläge wie wir uns aus dieser abscheulich verfahrenen (wohl durch Ihre Vorgänger verfahrenen) Situation irgend mit einem blauen Auge retten können.²⁰

Hofmannsthal's genuine concern for the venture's success mixed with his own despondency over the prospective personal financial setback. For Craig's work he had only contempt, and he profoundly regretted that the Insel-Verlag should suffer because of the artist's failure. An indication of Hofmannsthal's identification with the publishing house was his willingness to renounce claim to the remaining half of his honorarium ("d.h. für einen Privaten recht beträchtliche Summe von 1000 M.") so that "Ihrem schönen Verlag ein kaum vermeidlicher Mißerfolg erspart

¹⁹ HvH to AK, March 1, 1907, Weimar.

²⁰ HvH to AK, March 1, 1907, Weimar.

bleibe."²¹ As if to underscore that his displeasure was aimed at other parties, not at Kippenberg, Hofmannsthal closed with the following words: "Ich bin in der freundlichsten Gesinnung und mit den besten Grüßen Ihr ergebener Hofmannsthal."²² Of course, his ready sacrifice of 1000 Marks meant that he still retained his first payment of the same amount, and as someone who was not a dry businessman, he perhaps conveniently overlooked the substantial investment the Insel had already made in the book. In addition he would regain rights to the piece and could try to work things out to his satisfaction at another firm. Should the project be annulled, as he suggested to Kippenberg, he stood to benefit, while his publisher would have to absorb the losses. More than likely, however, Hofmannsthal, at the time of his writing, was motivated by two factors: first, a sincere desire to maintain a solid relationship with the Insel-Verlag and its current director, and secondly, the somewhat conflicting aim of securing a financial basis for further support of his creative writings and for his family.

Kippenberg's response to his author's impassioned, but conciliatory letter was a lengthy explanation and defense which recapitulated the story behind the publication efforts as he could reconstruct it. His letter, an extensive, typewritten four pages,

²¹ HvH to AK, March 1, 1907, Weimar.

²² HvH to AK, March 1, 1907, Weimar.

revealed the depths of his frustration, but also a refusal to accept the onus of full responsibility. Although he did not immediately come up with a solution for the problem, his naturally persistent buoyancy and his practical business acumen combined to dispel the gloom brought on by Hofmannsthal's black pessimism. His reply ended with the promise of a sunny future: "Ich habe die Zuversicht, daß das Insel-Schifflein auf seine Fahrt zwischen Rodaun und Leipzig die Periode der Stürme nun bald überwunden hat und künftig nur noch in freundlichem Sonnenschein hin und her gehen wird. Mit diesem Ausblick schließe ich ..."²³ It was this sanguinity which enabled Kippenberg to survive the trials of his first decade of association with the Insel. In addition, the publisher's talent for stretching his material to the utmost to turn out a worthy product under adverse conditions won him the admiration and staunch support of his authors. This also proved to be the case in the affair of the Weißer Fächer.

While he prefaced his remarks to Hofmannsthal in a subsequent letter with the admission: "....[ich] bin aber auf einen Ausweg, der uns völlig über die bestehenden Schwierigkeiten hinweg helfen könnte, leider nicht gekommen," the key word here was "völlig," because, faced with the dismal prospect of wasting five thousand Marks, nothing was impossible to redeem.²⁴ Thus Kippenberg arrived

²³ AK to HvH, March 4, 1907, Weimar.

²⁴ AK to HvH, [Spring] 1907, Frankfurt am Main.

at a solution, one which he took the trouble to discuss with Hofmannsthal's respected acquaintance, Count Harry Kessler. Consulting with the Weimar patron of the arts, Kippenberg both diffused the responsibility for his actions and buttressed his argument, increasing the possibility that Hofmannsthal would accede to his plan. He proposed "....daß wir von den Holzschnitten zwei oder drei, darunter die beiden größeren, bringen, und die beiden Holzschnitte, an denen Sie besonders Anstoß nehmen, und denen auch ich keinerlei Zusammenhang mit der Dichtung fand, weglassen."²⁵ This action, in conjunction with a reduction in edition size, would lessen the extent to which the firm would suffer damage. In such a plan, a compromise between artistic integrity and practical considerations was struck, with none of the parties involved enjoying total satisfaction. Nonetheless, on August 20, 1907, Hofmannsthal was able to report

das nach Venedig geschickte Buch erreichte mich hier [Welsburg in Tirol] auf dem Heimweg. Ich danke Ihnen sogleich. Ich bewundere sehr und aufrichtig alles was Sie für das Buch gethan haben. Ich finde alles ausgezeichnet -- Druckbild, mise en page, Einband, Format -- und finde daß Sie mir eine verfahrenere Sache wirklich fast gerettet haben. Ich halte erst jetzt und dank Ihren Bemühungen einen künstlerischen unangenehmen Effect für ausgeschlossen, und hoffe mir sehr, daß schließlich auch materiell ein gewisser Erfolg erreicht wird, vor allem diesmal für den Verlag, in zweiter Linie auch für mich.²⁶

²⁵ AK to HvH, [Spring] 1907, Frankfurt am Main.

²⁶ HvH to AK, July 20, 1907, Frankfurt am Main.

After these very generous and laudatory comments, Hofmannsthal continued by inquiring about the material success of two of his other Insel publications: his collected poems and Tausend und eine Nacht, for which he had written an introduction. The Weißer Fächer chapter was closed, and he turned his attention to more promising ventures. Only once more did the title slip into his correspondence with Kippenberg. In a year's end note to the publisher to tidy up accounts, Hofmannsthal remarked in an aside that he regretted the failure of the Weißer Fächer, as reported to him by the publisher, more for the firm than for himself, and he could not resist the comment: "Vielleicht wäre es besser auch sparsamer gewesen, damals nach meinem Vorschlag die Publication zu unterlassen."²⁷ A new year was approaching, and the two men preferred not to dwell on misfortune. Valuable lessons had been learned, and both publisher and author viewed their future together with hopeful eyes.

²⁷ HvH to AK, December 14, 1907, Frankfurt am Main.

Chapter 5

HUGO VON HOFMANNSTHAL'S DEUTSCHE ERZÄHLER

In October 1910, Hofmannsthal noted: "7. October 1910
Novellenbuch. Einleitung nachgedacht. Die Erzählungen wo es auf
ein gutes Ende hinausläuft, das herbeizuführen der heimliche Bezug
aller Elemente war: so ist Goethes Märchen. So verläuft: Fürst
Ganzgott, so das Leben des Taugenichts."¹ Early the following
spring, Hofmannsthal elaborated on these sketchy thoughts in a
conversation with his publisher Anton Kippenberg. The outcome of
this exchange was to be a work entitled Deutsche Erzähler.

It was in February 1911 that Hugo von Hofmannsthal was
visiting friends in Dresden and had occasion to meet with his
publisher. Over the course of the years the men and their
families came together several times, yet a cordial relationship
such as that the poet enjoyed with Rudolf Alexander Schröder or as
the one the publisher developed with the Austrian author Stefan
Zweig never evolved. In fact, the correspondence between
Hofmannsthal and Kippenberg documents a history of cancelled

¹ Rudolf Hirsch, "Hofmannsthal und Frankreich: zwei Beiträge,"
Etudes Germaniques, 29 (1974), 149.

visits. Katharina Kippenberg's illnesses and Hofmannsthal's own delicate constitution and pressing social and professional obligations often conspired to keep the Kippenberg's and Hofmannsthal apart. The Great European War intervened, and with Kippenberg devoting time to directing the army presses in Belgium and Hofmannsthal travelling to Warsaw to conduct investigations for the Austrian Ministry, their paths did not often cross. When the two did meet, a variety of circumstances obliged them to keep their held the conversation at a social level. Hofmannsthal might have been preoccupied at a premiere of one of his dramas which the Kippenbergs attended, or the two men might have been surrounded by companions whose presence precluded intimacy. Another more basic factor mitigating against frequent social intercourse between poet and publisher would have been the differences in their natures. While they shared mutual respect, they felt no true warmth or understanding for one another. Once, after a visit to Leipzig, Hofmannsthal complained to his wife: "Blöd sind diese Kippenbergs."² A direct clash was avoided between the artistically sensitive Hofmannsthal and the more pragmatically-minded attitude of Kippenberg, whose practical side predominated, even in aesthetic areas, mainly because both men possessed profound reserve. Courteous observation of social conventions helped them overcome their differences and thus allowed them to preserve their

² HvH to Gertrud von Hofmannsthal, February 15, 1925, Marbach am Neckar.

business relationship. The combination of geographical distance and social poise enabled them to work together despite underlying differences. When Hofmannsthal and Kippenberg did meet, their conversation inclined toward practical rather than philosophical or artistic matters.

In Dresden, at one of these meetings, Hofmannsthal approached the publisher of the Insel-Verlag with a suggestion for a project that would unite the strengths of the two natures. The poet's idea for the joint venture was the publication of a collection of German novellas. Kippenberg's letter of March 3, 1911 responded favorably to Hofmannsthal's concept on the whole, especially after having received the particulars, and indicated that:

... so bin ich nun, da ich Ihr Programm genauer kenne, geradezu entzückt davon. Was Sie ausgewählt haben, gehört allerdings zum Krongut der deutschen Dichtung und es müßte seltsam zugehen, wenn diesen vier Bänden, denen Sie das Gewicht Ihres Namens geben, und an deren Ausstattung wir die besten Kräfte setzen wollen, nicht ein großer Erfolg beschieden sein sollte.³

Central to the endeavor was the plan to draw on the "Krongut deutscher Dichtung." This phrase indicated that Kippenberg's approval of the project was based on the quality of the materials to be included. He was fond of the metaphor, which embodied the reverence he attached to German literary culture, and he had originally intended to use it as a title for his successful Insel-Bücherei series. Hofmannsthal's contribution to the venture

³ AK to HvH, March 3, 1911, Frankfurt am Main.

was to be the selection of the prose to be included, while Kippenberg reserved for himself his traditional realm of expertise, that of Ausstattung. Certainly, the combination of some of the best works of German literature, selected by Hofmannsthal and published by Kippenberg with his fine eye for physical representation, seemed to auger sure success.

The project involved common interests of publisher and author. Both had strong attachments in various ways to the past great writers of German literature, and their plan enabled them to pay homage to those who had shaped their lives, thoughts, and writings. A collection of short prose fiction selected by Hugo von Hofmannsthal and Anton Kippenberg promised to establish continuity between achievements of the past and the attainments of the foremost literary figures of the present. During a period when Germany's historical accomplishments were highly touted, and when German political and economic achievements were reaching unprecedented heights, such a selection seemed entirely natural. Although it was not intended or used as propaganda, it reflected an increasing awareness towards things quintessentially German. That Hofmannsthal's aims were pure and untainted by political motives was apparent in his correspondence with his publisher and in the introduction which he wrote to the Deutsche Erzähler. He identified very strongly with the anthology and felt toward it almost more of a parental responsibility than he did for his own creations.

During his tenure with the Insel-Verlag, Hofmannsthal published primarily three types of writing of materials. The first were his original contributions, his poetry and dramas, issued in editions which reached a broad public, extended his influence and increased his popularity through a work of his own phantasy. The second category was comprised of the deluxe editions of his works. In these, to a greater degree than in the first group, he and Kippenberg sought a unique harmony of form and content. These pieces gratified both Hofmannsthal's aesthetic demands and the financial needs of his existence. Finally, a third and extremely important category consisted of texts edited under Hofmannsthal's direction for the Insel-Verlag.

Superficially, the act of editing a text might appear to be merely another means for Hofmannsthal to increase his income without dedicating much time or effort to the project. His name alone vouched for the quality of an edition and served as a means of inspiring confidence in the prospective reader and buyer. Hofmannsthal, however, took his responsibilities as editor quite seriously. Aware of the purchasing power of his famous name, he often responded negatively to publishers' invitations to write about various works, justifying his refusal by maintaining that too many such contributions would cheapen the value of his words and dilute their impact. When the author did agree to compose a foreword or edit a text, he committed himself as wholeheartedly to

his task as he did to any other creative project. Such was the case with the Deutsche Erzähler. Indeed, because the original idea had been his inspiration, Hofmannsthal identified all the more with the making of the four-volume set and the vicissitudes that later befell it.

In the initial exchange of letters between author and publisher concerning the Deutsche Erzähler one detects an air of indifference beneath the polite interest demonstrated by Kippenberg. The publisher responded better to concrete suggestions and details than to Hofmannsthal's initially rather vague plans which seemed mere flights of imagination. After receiving a list of proposed texts to be included in the set, he replied cordially and offered the ultimate seal of approval: the statement of Hofmannsthal's honorarium and the foreseeable date of issue. "Mit Ihrem Wunsch als Honorar 5% vom Ladenpreis des gehefteten Exemplars zu erhalten ... bin ich gern einverstanden....Als Erscheinungstermin setzen wir wohl am besten das Frühjahr 1912 fest."⁴ To protect their interests, Kippenberg urged Hofmannsthal to keep the project confidential, so that no competitor would upstage them.

Hofmannsthal's answer of March 6 seized upon Kippenberg's positive emotional support as the important aspect of the relationship in producing the volumes and totally neglected the

⁴ AK to HvH, March 3, 1911, Frankfurt am Main.

factors which really signified the publisher's approval.

Referring to the list of tentative selections he had forwarded to the Insel-Verlag, Hofmannsthal confessed:

Mein lieber Doctor Kippenberg, Das freut mich sehr, daß die Zusammenstellung der Namen Ihre Freude zu der Sache angefacht hat. Ohne Enthusiasmus, trocken und geschäftlich, möchte ich eine Sache dieser Art nie unternommen wissen. Alles muß schön sein.⁵

For the would-be editor, knowing that the publisher shared his enthusiasm was a prime consideration in the venture. His own zest for the project caused him not to notice Kippenberg's actual lukewarm response.

Thus to ignore technical details and to react only to favorable comments was typical, and in this instance it indicated the unselfishness of the poet's enthusiastic involvement in and deep commitment to publication of the collection. The proposal for the Deutsche Erzähler was not remotely a money-making scheme as far as he was concerned.

In a handwritten letter to his publisher dated a week later, Hofmannsthal reavowed his deep interest in the project. Indeed, his reverence and affection for the task confronting him was uncommonly great. Hofmannsthal was attempting to do justice in his introduction to the material he had selected and confided:

Mit den "Deutschen Erzählern" beschäftige ich mich
 zwischendurch fast unablässig. Die Einleitung soll das
 liebe- und gehaltvollste werden, das ich geschrieben

⁵ HvH to AK, March 6, 1911, Frankfurt am Main.

habe. Es fehlt mir nicht an Materie, nicht am Anlaß, die wichtigsten und ehrwürdigsten Dinge zur Sprache zu bringen, nicht an Zeit und nicht an Willen, mich der Gelegenheit würdig zu zeigen.⁶

Hofmannsthal's devotion was an indication of the high esteem he accorded the artists whose works he was selecting. Although 1911 found him occupied with numerous other projects, including a new edition of his Gedichte und Kleine Dramen and collaboration with Richard Strauss on the opera Ariadne auf Naxos, he confessed to Kippenberg in a letter dated June 21, 1911, that: "In meinen freien Stunden beschäftige ich mich fast ausschließlich und wie ich sagen muß, mit einigem Vergnügen, mit der Vorbereitung unserer 4 Bände deutscher Erzähler."⁷ The author's choice of the plural pronoun "unser" linked him with the publisher and the Insel-Verlag and emphasized his concept of the project as a joint venture. Yet Kippenberg, caught up in the machinery of the publishing firm and absorbed by more pressing priorities, contented himself with pro forma encouragement in his reply. His perfunctory words, if polite, seemed hollow when compared to Hofmannsthal's obvious engagement with the texts. Kippenberg commented merely: "Ich freue mich sehr von Ihnen zu hören, daß Ihre [Arbeit] an den Deutschen Erzählern gute Fortschritte macht und Sie mit besonderer Freude dabei sind."⁸

⁶ HvH to AK, March 13, 1911, Marbach am Neckar.

⁷ HvH to AK, June 21, 1911, Frankfurt am Main.

⁸ AK to HvH, July 1, 1911, Frankfurt am Main.

From the outset of his discussion with Kippenberg, Hofmannsthal had worked from a master list which commenced with Goethe's Novella and ended with Charles Sealsfield's "Die Erzählung des Obersten Morse." Originally twenty-six eighteenth- and nineteenth-century writers made up the list, but early on Hofmannsthal wanted to round off the number to twenty-four authors who would be represented six to a volume. As in his own dramas and poems, the author stressed the importance of form, and thus he endeavored to achieve a certain degree of aesthetic symmetry by means of an equitable distribution of the works over four volumes. In addition, in his initial letter to his publisher outlining the subject matter, Hofmannsthal had stated his desire for an inner cohesion and form which would transcend an obvious chronological framework. Kippenberg concurred, recognizing the poet's need to shape his material not only through its selection, but also through its arrangement. By grouping pieces together according to some intellectual order rather than by date of creation or publication, Hofmannsthal offered a different and uniquely personal perspective on relationships between the various works. This elevated the collection above the traditional anthologies which merely bound great works into a handy, more accessible group.

Hofmannsthal selected pieces for inclusion on the strength of both the author and of the individual title, establishing levels

of standards for the collection. While he wavered over a final choice, he nonetheless followed an internal design pattern and did not show himself to be open to suggestions from his publisher insofar as material to be incorporated was concerned. For example, upon receipt of Hofmannsthal's first list, Kippenberg had queried whether the Austrian might like to add one of Richard Wagner's Parisian novellas. Obviously, this met with disfavor, as Wagner's name vanished from the publisher-author correspondence without further remark. Before he arrived at a "definitive" list in early January of 1912, Hofmannsthal had considered and discarded novellas by the relatively obscure Fuhrmann as well as other less well-known writers, and he had toyed with the idea of excerpting an episode from Immermann's Münchhausen, as he mentions on June 21, 1911:

Was Immerman betrifft so ist, was er sonst
 Novellistisches geleistet hat, so wenig würdig, diese
 große und reine Gestalt zu vertreten, daß ich es doch
 wohl verantworten möchte, die westfälische
 Hofschulidylle aus dem "Münchhausen" zu lösen und diese
 zu bringen. Halten Sie es für ein Sacrileg?⁹

Cognizant of spatial limitations, Hofmannsthal also inquired about the allowable length of the four volumes, which Kippenberg had had calculated, a restriction that would aid him in his choice. By July 29, 1911, Hofmannsthal concluded independently, without the benefit of his publisher's calculations, that he would have to eliminate some names from his list.

⁹ HvH to AK, June 21, 1911, Frankfurt am Main.

Sollte sich, wie ich fast annehme, eine in 4 Bänden nicht unterzubringende Masse ergeben, so denke ich daran, wenn auch nicht leichten Herzens, Immermann auszuschalten, dessen kurze Erzählungen unglaublich sind (und dessen Oberhof nur durch eine mir widerstrebende Amputation von dem Münchhausen loszuschneiden wäre) -- dergleichen auch den Jean Paul, von dem die wenigen kürzeren Stücke ohnedies keinen rechten Begriff geben würden.¹⁰

Repeatedly, Hofmannsthal grappled with the vexing problem of doing justice to the authors he deemed worthy of inclusion, of pinpointing the piece that was quintessential Hoffmann or Stifter, and which still fulfilled the externally imposed spatial qualifications. Devoting considerable energy and time to rereading the classics of German literature, Hofmannsthal reluctantly arrived at the conclusion that he would have to substitute a shorter work in place of Stifter's more desirable "Die Mappe meines Urgroßvaters."¹¹

At the start of 1912 Hofmannsthal found himself still deeply engrossed in the project. "Die 'Deutschen Erzähler' beschäftigen mich, ich kann wohl sagen, unausgesetzt," he noted from his desk at Schloß Neubeuren am Inn on January 8, 1912. Once again he forced himself to make qualitative judgments regarding the novellas. He had reached a decision about Stifter and was attempting to resolve a problem regarding Hoffmann and Chamisso, as he informed Kippenberg:

¹⁰ HvH to AK, July 29, 1911, Frankfurt am Main.

¹¹ HvH to AK, August 15, 1911, Frankfurt am Main.

Von Stifter nehme ich an Stelle der zu umfänglichen "Mappe" den "Hagestolz." Von Hoffmanns Sachen neige ich dem "Elementargeist" zu, eine Erzählung aus den späteren Lebensjahren. -- Unter diesen späteren Erzählungen Hoffmanns findet sich auch eine kleine Geschichte "Haimatochare" die thatsächlich von Chamisso verfaßt und an Hoffmann überlassen scheint. Ich würde es auf mich nehmen, diese mit Chamissos Namen zu bezeichnen, sie ihm zu restituieren und wäre dadurch den Peter Schlemihl los, der wirklich (als Ganzes) nicht gut, sogar schwer lesbar und langweilig ist.¹²

In condemning the work upon which Chamisso's literary reputation rested, Hofmannsthal cited two factors which made it unsuitable for inclusion: that it is both difficult to read and boring. To justify his choice for the collection, Hofmannsthal stated here most definitively his ultimate goal for the publication: "... ich möchte nun alles, nur kein Museum edieren, sondern eine Sammlung von Geschichten, die man mit Vergnügen liest."¹³ His chief criterion, then, in an anthology of prose works selected for a broad reading public, was pleasure. Above all, the pieces should be entertaining. His own literary tastes and standards were to be virtually transparent to the reader, who would primarily derive enjoyment from the tales. Hofmannsthal drew a clear demarcation between those who would enshrine the the relics of a golden classical past and those, who like himself, would bring the past to life through the active participation of the reader's imagination. At all costs he wanted to avoid a dry, analytical study of scientific categories of literature. Instead,

¹² HVH to AK, January 8, 1912, Frankfurt am Main.

¹³ HVH to AK, January 8, 1912, Frankfurt am Main.

he sought to collapse the distance between the past and present by emphasizing the commonalities of the ages, the spark of life which sprang from creative mind to creative mind.

Although Hofmannsthal had the general schema from which he was to develop the Deutsche Erzähler omnipresent in his mind, he was still sifting through possibilities in the early weeks of 1912. When Kippenberg wrote that he soon planned to begin the type-setting, Hofmannsthal promised to make the final decisive considerations upon his return from Neubeuern, where he was visiting his friend the countess Otilie Degenfeld-Schönburg. However, he begged to delay his own contribution, the preface, until March, since "...mich jetzt die Arbeit über Homer am eigenen goethischen Thun wirklich festhält."¹⁴ Kippenberg's reply of 15 January apparently reassured him that the actual appearance of the Deutsche Erzähler was not scheduled until the fall, for on the nineteenth of that month, the poet referred to a postponement of the foreword. In addition, he responded negatively to a suggestion from the publisher that Heinrich Heine's "Rabbi von S." be incorporated into the collection. Hofmannsthal raised no overt objection to either Heine or the piece itself, but balked at including another fragmentary selection, observing: "der richtige naive Leser mag das nicht."¹⁵ The Austrian's reluctance to accept

¹⁴ HvH to AK, January 8, 1912, Frankfurt am Main.

¹⁵ HvH to AK, January 19, 1912, Frankfurt am Main.

Heine might have been based on other factors as well. Would the acerbic wit and political leanings of the exiled German poet have blended into the collection Hofmannsthal was assembling in the Deutsche Erzähler? His publisher was perhaps mindful of public taste, popularity, and balance when he suggested works by Wagner and Heine, but Hofmannsthal remained faithful to his personal conception of the collection. A review of the table of contents of the anthology supports the idea that the sarcastic Heine and famous Richard Wagner would have introduced discordant notes into Hofmannsthal's carefully chosen anthology. The selections emphasized craftsmanship and revolved around events shrouded by an ethereal aura of mystery. In many instances they shared a bond with Hofmannsthal's own writings, in that they tried to penetrate the veil of knowledge and arrive at some heretofore unexpected, unknown condition. Thus Hofmannsthal's rapport with and relationship to his literary forefathers was of prime importance in the shaping of the collection. Out of the threads of influence of these writers Hofmannsthal wove a tapestry which depicted the development of his thought and style as surely as it reflected the course of German literature through two centuries. Indeed, his aversion to a chronological ordering of the material was indicative of the particular, personal tint he wished to impart. As he wrote to the Insel director: "Ich mache denn den Versuch das Material nach innerstem Gefühl zu ordnen."¹⁶

¹⁶ HvH to AK, January 19, 1912, Frankfurt am Main.

Hofmannsthal's commitment to an arrangement based on a subjective strategy entailed recurring lapses on his part in the preparation of the volumes for print. At least twice he requested that Kippenberg send him the calculation of the lengths of the various pieces, in order that he might juggle them to fit his internal framework. Twice he misplaced the publisher's carefully drawn up list. On February 3, 1912 he confessed:

... ich habe in unglaubliche Weise den Zettel mit den Umfangsberechnungen der Erzählungen wieder verloren, d.h. verlegt und bitte mir, wenn die neugewählten Stücke berechnet sind, dann einen Zettel mit allen Stücken nochmals zu schicken; ich versuche dann gleich die Verteilung zu treffen und Sie können mit dem Druck beginnen. Ich glaube zu bemerken, daß sich viele Menschen über diese Publication freuen werden.¹⁷

Hofmannsthal's misplacement of the figures that would objectively constrain his subjective construct can be interpreted as an unconscious reluctance to meet the formal demands that practical, economic considerations placed on his efforts. Nevertheless, he did finally manage to order the pieces in a manner which he deemed satisfactory, and in mid-February he submitted an outline for Kippenberg's approval, cautioning the publisher again that he should not expect the introduction before the summer unless the author were to disrupt the progress of his other work.

Indeed, Hofmannsthal seemed to observe this hiatus dictated by more pressing demands on his time, as a plaintive note dated August 28, 1912 revealed. "Mein lieber Dr. Kippenberg," it began,

¹⁷ HvH to AK, February 3, 1912, Frankfurt am Main.

"der August war mir und meiner Arbeit nicht günstig. Wir hatten unsäglichen Regen, kaum stundenweise Sonne, meine Frau war krank, ich selber in jedem Sinn indisponiert."¹⁸ Not a single poem had come into existence, and thus the poet's contribution to the Insel Almanach had to be limited to songs and arias from his Ariadne lyrics. Furthermore, he added:

muß ich für die Vorrede zu den Deutschen Erzählern um Aufschub bitten bis etwa 10ten September. So deutlich [es] mir schon vorschwebt, was ich sagen möchte, so bedarf das Niederschreiben eben einer productiveren Verfaßung, die ich mit bestem Willen nicht erzwingen kann. Ich bitte um Ihre Nachsicht-- aber ich kanns nicht anders machen.¹⁹

Plagued by the climate, to which his body was excruciatingly sensitive, Hofmannsthal vented his frustration at his fallow, unproductive life. When hampered by depressing weather from releasing the creative thoughts he felt to be trapped beneath the surface, his irritation assumed shades of petulance. On the sixth of September, he complained of a nine day sunless stretch, implying the clouds and rain directly impaired his ability to write. In an afterthought he made clear one element he did not wish to see associated with the Deutsche Erzähler, noting, with regard to the volumes' form and ornament:

Eine gewisse Richtung die E.R. Weiß zu nehmen scheint, in Einband und Umschlag der Goethesche Liebeslieder besonders deutlich, erschreckt mich geradezu. Schon der Einband zu "Tor u. Tod" war auf keinem guten Wege. Hoffentlich ist es ausgeschlossen daß Einband u.

¹⁸ HvH to AK, August 28, 1912, Frankfurt am Main.

¹⁹ HvH to AK, August 28, 1912, Frankfurt am Main.

Umschlag der deutschen Erzähler in einer ähnlichen wahrhaft zierlichen Manier ausgeführt wird! Ich nehme an, daß Sie mein Gefühl in Bezug auf dieses kitschige Copieren von 1820 teilen!²⁰

Having conveyed these vituperative sentiments, Hofmannsthal seemed to make some sort of breakthrough, since the next day he was able to report progress on the introduction to the collection, hoping to send it off in two days. His attitude toward the introduction and to the Deutsche Erzähler as a whole did not differ substantially from that to his creative work. A favorable public reception of the Deutsche Erzähler would be a measure of his own success, and an unfavorable response would not be mitigated by the fact that the heart of the volumes was the creative responsibility of other authors.

By September's end Hofmannsthal had submitted the introduction and had begun to explore possibilities for securing reviews of the collection in Austrian periodicals. In all likelihood, the feelers were first extended by Kippenberg, since the poet's letter of September 26 appeared to be a response to suggestions of specific names. A popular method among publishers of obtaining free advertising was to cultivate literary critics affiliated with journals and newspapers. Often the author prevailed upon colleagues or friends in literary circles to offer a few kind words on his book's behalf. In the case of the Deutsche Erzähler Hofmannsthal had already planted the seed in the mind of -----

²⁰ HvH to AK, September 6, 1912, Frankfurt am Main.

Raoul Auernheimer, Austrian novelist and critic. Auernheimer, who had access to Hofmannsthal's galley proofs during the summer at Bad Aussee, where both men sojourned, hoped to contribute a feuilleton article to Die Neue Freie Presse, a well-respected Viennese weekly. Because he had already reached this tentative arrangement with Auernheimer, Hofmannsthal resisted the suggestion that he himself publish his introduction in Tag or Die Neue Freie Presse prior to the collection's publication. The technique of extracting a segment of a work or of pre-publishing the preface as a means of whetting the public's appetite for the forthcoming material was another tactic frequently employed by German publishers. Kippenberg, at this stage of his career, found this method more satisfactory than the profuse advertising in the "American" style done by some of his colleagues. This more commercial activity was often regarded as crass and opportunistic. Although publishers endeavored to stimulate discussion of the books and their sales by sending out review copies and soliciting mention of their lists in critics' columns, they still maintained an air of dignity by allowing a book to be considered primarily on its own merits, even if the selection of the reviewer was often somewhat influenced by his relationship with the publishing firm or with the author. As an experienced man of letters, Hofmannsthal knew the etiquette of the trade. Aware of the sensitivity of reviewers, he urged Kippenberg to send Auernheimer a copy of Deutsche Erzähler prior to, and certainly no later than, the

official publication. Auernheimer's review appeared on November 1, 1912 in Die Neue Freie Presse and commenced with a description of the format of Deutsche Erzähler, which he obviously found appealing:

Vier freundliche Bände, von einer handlichen Anmut des Formats, kornblumenblau gewandet, sparsamer Golddruck und dunkelgelber Schnitt, dessen besondere Farbe an ein starkes Blond erinnert: so angetan steht die jüngste Veröffentlichung des Insel-Verlages auf dem Schreibtisch und wird bald in vielen deutschen Büchereien stehen.²¹

Without once mentioning Hofmannsthal's role in the project, Auernheimer concluded: "Deutsche Erzähler nennen sie sich und tragen verschiedene Namen. Aber nicht sie erzählen uns etwas, Deutschland erzählt sich selbst durch ihren Mund, jenes andere Deutschland nämlich, das Wahre."²²

Hofmannsthal himself had only seen the galley proofs, and thus he requested that one copy be posted to his next stopping place, the Hotel Marienbad in Munich. Then, in a curiously apologetic, almost vulnerable tone, he commented on his introduction.

Ich will gerne hoffen, daß es Sie nicht enttäuscht hat, daß ich keine längere, noch pompösere Einleitung zu diesen schönen Bänden geschrieben habe. Es schwebte mir immer vor, auch hier kurz und bescheiden zu halten, ein paar präludierende Accorde zu greifen, und es wäre mir lieb zu denken, daß mir dies für Ihr Gefühl ebenso wohl

²¹ Raoul Auernheimer, "Deutsche Erzähler," Die Neue Freie Presse, 1 Nov. 1912, p. 1.

²² Auernheimer, p. 3.

als für das Gefühl einiger anderen Freunde, die diese Blättern einsahen, gelungen wäre.²³

Indeed, Hofmannsthal's light touch was evident in the foreword he had composed. It wove together strains of folk melody and melancholy laments, was a love song to the German literary past and a lullaby for the people who would read the prose Hofmannsthal had so carefully chosen. Like the material it prefaced, the introduction avoided a scholarly tone in favor of a more intimate voice, that of a great poet attempting to mediate between echoes of the past and the clamor of the present. Hofmannsthal's humble attitude toward these works sought to convey the solace and inspiration they had provided him to his friends, and secondly, to the public.

"Ich habe diese Erzählungen nur um der besonderen Schönheit willen zusammengetragen."²⁴ commenced Hofmannsthal's preface to the Deutsche Erzähler. Speaking directly to his readers, like a storyteller himself, drawing them back into the past by building the framework which linked these stories to his contemporaries, Hofmannsthal extolled the beauty "mit der sie mein Herz in früherem oder späterem Alter berührt haben und mir unvergeßlich geworden sind, so daß ich, um sie aneinanderzureihen, keines

²³ HvH to AK, September 26, 1912, Frankfurt am Main.

²⁴ Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Prosa, III (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer Verlag, 1952), 105.

Hilfsmittels bedurfte als meines Gedächtnisses."²⁵ The author sought to deny any artificiality in the composition of the anthology and stressed the natural flow of the arrangement of the texts. Actually, as the history of the publication of the Deutsche Erzähler indicates, Hofmannsthal indulged in some storytelling himself. Although he had really grappled for months with the problem of the selections for the collection, he related none of this to the public. Instead, acting as narrator, he tailored the fabric of the work's history to achieve a certain effect, that of an organic whole which radiated serenity and unity.

Hofmannsthal scholars label the poet's introduction a jewel of an essay, whose dark richness reflected an artist's uncanny premonition of the black despairing years which ensued. Particularly presentient seemed the closing paragraphs of the piece: "Die Zeiten sind ernst und beklommen für die Deutschen, vielleicht stehen dunkle Jahre vor der Tür."²⁶ Perceptively, Hofmannsthal concluded:

Unser Volk hat ein schlaffes Gedächtnis und eine träumende Seele, trotz allem; was es besitzt, verliert es immer wieder, aber es ruft sich nachts zurück, was es am Tage verloren hat. Den Reichtum, der ihm eignet, zählt es nicht und ist fähig, seiner Krongüter zu vergessen, aber zuzeiten sehnt es sich nach sich selber, und niemals ist es reiner und stärker als in solchen Zeiten.²⁷

²⁵ Hofmannsthal, Prosa, III, 105.

²⁶ Hofmannsthal, Prosa, III, 112.

²⁷ Hofmannsthal, Prosa, III, 113.

Although the collection enjoyed small public acclaim, privately it received accolades. Thomas Mann, whom Hofmannsthal had sent a gift set, thanked the author on January 9, 1913, commenting: "Ihre Auswahl ist ganz vortrefflich! Mit dem schönsten Takt haben Sie das bleibend Interessante, das erzählerisch Echte getroffen, und das kleine Vorwort ließ mich wieder den süßen Tonfall, die geistige Musik Ihrer Prosa bewundern."²⁸ Twenty-year-old Willy Haas, just entering the world of literary criticism, also conveyed his enthusiasm to Hofmannsthal in a letter sometime after the anthology's publication. Haas marvelled:

Die Einleitung zu den 'Deutschen Erzählern' ist von einer Größe der Anschauung und des nationalen Gefühles, von einer Erhabenheit der Gesinnung, daß man nicht anders als mit der größten Bewunderung daran zurückdenkt. Ich wüßte nicht, wer, außer Ihnen, imstande wäre, diese Conclusion zu schreiben zu einer Sammlung, die das Deutschtum in fast allen wesentlichen Punkten bis in die äußersten Extreme hinein berührt.²⁹

Decades later, in 1949, the Austrian writer and critic Otto Heuschele characterized the Deutsche Erzähler as a masterpiece,

durch die der Herausgeber plötzlich die gültigsten und musterhaftesten Stücke deutscher Prosa-Erzählungen zu einem einzigen Bereich dichterischer Gestaltung zusammenschloß. Unvergeßlich bleibt jene kurze Einleitung, die in einem Stile geschrieben ist, den neben ihm keiner der Zeitgenossen mehr zu schreiben vermochte. Bedeutet diese Einleitung an sich ein Meisterwerk, so ist die vollkommene Auswahl und

²⁸ Thomas Mann, Briefe 1889-1936, (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer-Verlag, 1961), p. 100.

²⁹ Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Hugo von Hofmannsthal/Willy Haas; ein Briefwechsel (Berlin: Propylaen Verlag, 1968), p. 21.

Zusammenfügung der einzelnen Erzählungen eine Leistung die man nicht hoch genug stellen kann unter allen Leistungen auf ähnlichem Gebiete.³⁰

Heuschele continued with the observation: "Hofmannsthal ist neben George einer der ersten gewesen, die mit großem Verantwortungsgefühl auf das Drohende hinwiesen."³¹ Unfortunately, Kippenberg's opinion of the piece remains buried in a letter of 30. September 1912, marked "geheim Korr." of which there is no record of its having been preserved, only the notation that Hofmannsthal's communication had been answered on that date. What does exist are the publisher's remarks made as an editor rather than as a reader. In general, the exchange of letters between the two men documented the technical side of the preparation of the Deutsche Erzähler and did not reveal the doubtless frequent and more passionate discussion of the work's development. Apparently, after reconsidering the list of authors and titles, Kippenberg decided that Chamisso's "Haimatochare," attributed to Hoffmann, should be dropped. He telephoned Hofmannsthal at his hotel in Munich to obtain his sanction to excise the piece. Upon returning to his review of the project, however, he saw that dropping this selection also involved a revision of Hofmannsthal's carefully constructed introduction. Such an alteration meant the return of the finely wrought piece, for Kippenberg hesitated to perform the

³⁰ Otto Heuschele, Hugo von Hofmannsthal: Dank und Gedächtnis (Freiburg: Verlag Karl Alber, 1949), p. 27.

³¹ Heuschele, p. 27.

correction independently, as he wrote on the seventh of October 1912:

Nun sehe ich , im Begriff die ... Stelle in der Einleitung zu streichen, daß der Passus über Schlemihl wohl bleiben muß, da man ihn ja in der Ausgabe vermissen wird. Ich mag aber die Änderung nicht ohne Ihre Zustimmung vornehmen, und sende Ihnen daher den Bogen der Einleitung noch einmal zu, mit der Bitte, Ihrerseits die Schlemihlstelle zu redigieren. Vielleicht könnte man sie auch an die von mir bezeichnete Stelle auf Seite 11 bringen, und sie mit der Stelle über den gleich falls fehlenden Immermann verbinden.³²

Kippenberg requested special delivery return of the galleys, since he planned to begin printing in two days. Such a note sheds light on the few rough spots in Hofmannsthal's otherwise melifluous preface. Rather than rewrite the passage completely, excising references to authors whose works had fallen to the critical ax, Hofmannsthal justified the absence of Chamisso and Immermann, and in so doing, established a greater qualitative distinction than might have existed had these writers never even been mentioned.

Following the resolution of the technical aspects of its publication, the Deutsche Erzähler appeared in October 1913, in time for the fall and Christmas season. On the twenty-ninth of the month, the Insel-Verlag announced to Hofmannsthal:

Die deutschen Erzähler sind nun glücklich erschienen....Ich habe gleich acht Auflagen zusammen gedruckt, da es nur dann möglich war den schon niedrigen Preis M.12- für das gebundene Exemplar einzuhalten. Freilich ist dadurch das Risiko nicht gering. Zunächst ist leider das Interesse für die Ausgabe auffallend

³² AK to HvH, October 7, 1912, Frankfurt am Main.

Klein, aber daraus darf man natürlich noch keine Schlüsse für die Zukunft ziehen.³³

Despite the care and inspiration Hofmannsthal had accorded the collection and despite the Insel-Verlag's established reputation for quality, the anthology enjoyed small success. Not even the magic of Hofmannsthal's name and approval cajoled the German public into besieging the bookstores in search of it. Critics largely ignored it, or worse, failed to understand Hofmannsthal's sense of mission. By Christmas, the author's faith was shaken, and he penned a poignant, almost despondant epistle to his publisher on December 20, 1912, confiding:

...eine Äußerung von Ihnen über die 'deutschen Erzähler,' die einen Beiklang von Pessimismus hatte, geht mir nicht aus dem Ohr und ich wollte hoffen, daß ich bald etwas Gutes darüber hörte -- denn es würde mich tiefer treffen als Sie denken, wenn diese Unternehmung fehlschläge und ich mich dem Verlag, mit dem ich mich wahrhaft verknüpft fühle, gegenüber verantwortlich zu finden hatte. Freilich höre ich aus dem Kreis persönlcher Bekannter nur Freundliches und Wohltuendes über die Sammlung.-- ein solcher Preis sollte eigentlich den [????] auf die große Menge zulassen -- aber dieser unabsehbare Markt mit einem Getrieb und Getue ist mir unheimlich. -- in den Katalogen, die mir zukammen, schien mir das Buch nirgend hervorgehoben, also bin ich durchaus auf die Nachricht von Ihnen angewiesen. Daß eine Sammlung diese Art auf die Dauer sollte vernachlässigt bleiben, will mir nicht in den Sinn -- aber schon das Ausbleiben des augenblicklichen Erfolges wäre mir bitter -- hier ists ja eine ganz andere Sache wie bei meiner eigenen Arbeit.³⁴

³³ Insel-Verlag to HvH, October 29, 1912, Frankfurt am Main.

³⁴ HvH to AK, December 20, 1912, Frankfurt am Main.

In casting about to comprehend the lack of success of the collection, Hofmannsthal touched upon several pertinent issues. Most significantly, he alluded to his close relationship to the firm, and to the responsibility he would feel if the miscarriage of one of his endeavors should injure the publishing house. While he seemed quite willing to trace the root of the problem to himself, he nonetheless broached the subject that another factor may have played a salient role. His reference to marketing techniques, a source of mystification to him, potentially placed some of the responsibility for failure on the publisher. Hofmannsthal stopped short of a direct reproach, since, as he claimed, he comprehended nothing of the hustle and bustle of the marketplace. Nonetheless, as he observed, there was little fanfare associated with the issue of the set, none of the attention accorded some of the other works published by the Insel that fall.³⁵ Such criticism was implicit in his pondering, and yet it paled beside the deeper inspection of the reasons behind the faint public interest aroused by the Deutsche Erzähler.

Such indifference was a personal blandishment for Hofmannsthal. He remained unwilling to concede that his work would not achieve financial success or public acclaim. To stimulate sales, he prevailed upon his friendly editor at the S. Fischer-Verlag, Moritz Heimann, to review the collection in the

³⁵ HvH to AK, December 20, 1912, Frankfurt am Main.

Fischer organ Die Neue Rundschau, to which Heimann was a frequent contributor. At the end of December 1912, Hofmannsthal informed Kippenberg of this plan in a postscript to a letter on another matter, urging Kippenberg to send Heimann a review copy, not however, one which would be counted as one of Hofmannsthal's free, author's copies. A month later, Hofmannsthal inquired once more as to the health of the publication as evidenced through "trocknen Ziffern." He explained his interest accordingly: "Denn auf diesen trocknen Zahlen ruht die Meinung, die man sich vom Gegenwärtigen in gewissem Betracht zu bilden hat, auf dieser wieder der Mut zu anderen Unternehmungen, nicht der innersten productiven Sphäre, aber einer benachbarten."³⁶

In coming to grips with the anxiety and disappointment he felt when a project like the Deutsche Erzähler withered, rather than coming to fruition as the logical culmination of the months of effort and inspiration that had preceded it, Hofmannsthal identified public support and recognition as fundamental elements in his ability to continue as a writer. Although such encouragement was not absolutely essential to the development of his art, to the functioning of his creative heart, it nurtured other closely related activities and provided the stimulus for further endeavors. The author's sustained interest in matters peripheral to his own poetic and dramatic writing emphasizes the

³⁶ HvH to AK, January 21, 1913, Marbach am Neckar.

extent to which these activities played an important role in his life. Throughout his career Hofmannsthal repeatedly embarked on projects that were both an outgrowth of his creative talent and which, paradoxically, limited the development of that gift in various ways. The two spheres did not exist independently. They fed one another, sapped one another, and rejuvenated each other in the course of time. While public indifference did not stem the ink flow from Hofmannsthal's pen, it did for a time dim his enthusiasm and undermine his confidence.

In reply to Hofmannsthal's request for the hard fact of the numbers of copies sold, Kippenberg detailed the figures for not only the Deutsche Erzähler, but also the author's Tor und Tod in the new Insel-Bücherei edition, Tod des Tizian, and the latest version of Hofmannsthal's Die Gedichte und Kleinen Dramen. He attempted to soften the bad news by relating the more encouraging sales of these works, but was forced to concede: "Nicht so zufrieden bin ich mit den Deutschen Erzählern. Bis jetzt sind etwa 900 Stück verkauft. Gerade in der letzten Zeit war der Absatz wenig erfreulich."³⁷ However, the publisher's belief in the work continued undaunted. Kippenberg stoutly declared:

Ich gebe aber die Hoffnung noch längst nicht auf, und glaube, daß gerade die Erzähler zu den Büchern gehören, die von Jahr zu Jahr sich mehr durchsetzen. Ich habe nun alle vier Bände noch einmal hinter einander gelesen, bis auf den Sealsfeld und den bezaubernden Schulmeister Wutz war mir alles bekannt, und ...[ich war] von neuem

³⁷ AK to HvH, February 28, 1913, Frankfurt am Main.

entzückt über so viel Reichtum, Tiefe und Schönheit. Diese vier Bände macht uns doch kein Volk der Welt nach. Die Presse allerdings hat mit wenig rühmlichen Ausnahmen, Bedeutung und Zweck dieses Unternehmens gar nicht erkannt. Es ist das freilich kein Wunder, wenn man den Tiefstand unserer heutigen litterarischen Kritik kennt.³⁸

Both publisher and author shared a contempt for literary journalists and critics, whose products were baser than the creative writing they reviewed. Too often they seemed part of a different world, a sphere removed from that of the inner circle of authors, to which the publisher had privileged access. Failure on the part of the critics to accord the Deutsche Erzähler its due grieved Hofmannsthal; Kippenberg reacted even more strongly, and maintained they had committed an obtuse oversight in their dismissal of the work as a mere traditional anthology. Despite his low opinion of these literary figures, Kippenberg was beholden to them for the publicizing of his firm's books, and it behooved him to cultivate their favor. If they missed the point of the Hofmannsthal collection, he was in part responsible, since the Insel-Verlag prepared advance flyers and arranged for press consideration. It was the publisher's belief, however, that the book stood on its own merits, and as such would be recognized by the public without copious advertisement. Characteristically, as well, Kippenberg attributed the lack of success to an external source, while Hofmannsthal identified more fully with his efforts and sought the answer within as well as without.

³⁸ AK to HvH, February 28, 1913, Frankfurt am Main.

In May, Hofmannsthal was still preoccupied with identifying reasons for the book's failure to enjoy proper success. He wrote Kippenberg that the news of the poor showing of the Deutsche Erzähler had deeply depressed him, more deeply than he could easily explain. Although it was not a work of his own, he was saddened that the German people would not accept this collection from him, that something so beautiful, so unique remained unnoticed, that thousands of copies lay mouldering in the shops. He maintained that something deeper than an abortive booksale went on. Hofmannsthal was convinced his publisher would understand the peculiar nature of his trouble. He felt that the newspapers, with their miserable, hand-to-mouth living scribes had left them in the lurch, as had the dealers. Otherwise it was not possible that such a collection, destined for the highest and greatest popularity, created like no other book to be laid in the hands of boys and girls, could have failed. The most unusual thing was that everyone he encountered was truly delighted by the collection and attributed the greatest Volkstümlichkeit to it, and imagined that it has already sold thousands of copies. Was there nothing that could be done before Christmas, he wondered, through travelling salesmen, through advertisements, through persuasion of bookdealers? Begging Kippenberg's forgiveness that areas which the publisher knew from A to Z, he called his interest unrequited

love and a gnawing vexation over something he could not understand, whereas he was always ready to comprehend and accept the failure of his own work.³⁹

Pervasive in this missive was a dark sense of melancholy and bitterness. Hofmannsthal wanted desperately to impart a message to the public, but he could not penetrate the slick indifference of the critics or the German people. As Carl Schorske observed in a classic article on pre-World War I Vienna, the surface glossiness was often a mask, the gaiety often a diversion from the troubled psyche that struggled to retain its view of unified, imperial Austria, even as the structure, both political and moral, started to disintegrate almost palpably.⁴⁰ It was this splintering and fragmentation that the seismographic Hofmannsthal sensed in his introduction to the Deutsche Erzähler. If bleak times lay ahead, perhaps this collection, he reasoned, would offer solace. From the solidity of the literary past, Hofmannsthal drew strength, and he could not fathom that such wholesomeness and Volkstümlichkeit was antipathetic to the spirit of the times. Only the image of vitality remained; decadence wormed its way into Vienna and subsequently Austria, rendering the anthology irrelevant to the majority. In Germany, all eyes were fixed on the future and the promises it would fulfil. Sadly, Hofmannsthal could predict, but

³⁹ HvH to AK, May 7, 1913, Frankfurt am Main.

⁴⁰ Carl E. Schorske, Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture (New York: Knopf, 1980), p. 19.

not prevent. His attempt to provide the link to the past which might have rekindled the meaning of life was too subtle for his audience, and it went unheeded.

Hofmannsthal's terribly evocative paragraph in his letter to his publisher also touched on a secondary, but nonetheless important matter. In a diplomatic manner the author raised the question of the effectiveness of the book's promotion. Inevitably, when a book failed to be favorably received or to demonstrate its strength through substantial sales, the author would query the publisher: had all avenues been exhausted, was the book jacket suitably eye-catching; had the proper, most influential critics been courted; was the advertising campaign sufficiently bold and sustained? Even within the publishing world, such topics stirred up raging controversy, with traditionalists cavilling against such coarse "American" methods, and publishers such as Samuel Fischer stoutly maintaining that a book's success rested largely on its intrinsic worth. Writers tended to prefer the more drastic, splashy, eye-catching advertisements, seeing them more as a tangible effort on behalf of their creations rather than as an offense against their dignity. Kippenberg inclined to a more pragmatic view. One of his staff members wrote of his publisher's strong defense of the employment of the so-called American marketing technique, confirming Kippenberg's positive embrace of such methods. Yet, such tactics were not deployed

without cautious judgment. Weighed carefully against the benefits of heavy advertising were the costs. In short, Hofmannsthal's comments combined both the normal anxiety of the author whose creation's life seemed to be ebbing, and the quite correct appraisal that conceivably more could be done for the work. His hesitation suggested the inner conflict which he attempted to explain to Kippenberg: did the anthology accomplish its aim, was it misunderstood, or had he failed. Doubts gnawed at him, and he could not quite grasp the significance of their rejection, but nonetheless smarted acutely from its sting.

By July Hofmannsthal referred to the Deutsche Erzähler as "Schmerzenskinder" whom he hoped to aid through the reprinting of his preface for his customary contribution to the Insel-Almanach. In fact, even this plan fell by the wayside when his essay on Jean Paul was selected instead.¹¹

Over a year later, the dramatic outbreak of war, far from serving to obliterate his favorite from his memory, rather underscored in his mind the appropriateness of the collection for the times. In a letter marked "In Eile" to the Insel-Verlag, Hofmannsthal emphasized the immediacy and contemporaneity of the Deutsche Erzähler for the German-speaking peoples. Reaffirming his attachment to the work, the poet reasoned:

¹¹ HvH to AK, July 17, 1913, Frankfurt am Main.

es würde mir, um der Sache willen, so sehr viel daran liegen daß unsere Sammlung deutsche Erzähler gerade im gegenwärtigen Moment nicht als non-existent von den Deutschen betrachtet wird. Es ist ja fast, als wäre sie in (geahntem) Hinblick gerade auf diesen Moment hergestellt. Die letzten Absätze der Einleitung drucken dies genau aus. Vielleicht könnte man die letzten Sätze als Prospect verwenden oder auf eine Schleife drucken? Das Buch dürfte in diesem Jahr nicht ignoriert werden -- Falls Sie mir einen solchen Prospect oder mehre schreiben wollen, würde ich sehen hier in der Presse was dafür zu tun.⁴²

Hofmannsthal closed with a request to forward his suggestions and urgings to Kippenberg at his wartime post in Halle.

Apparently the author's plea fell upon ears deafened by artillery. Despite an intensification of Germanic emotion in the common battle against the enemy, no overwhelming sweep of patriotism nurtured Hofmannsthal's anthology at its bosom. The public responded to novels and poems sanctifying war; another group found their horror and fear echoed in Expressionist works that, like the times, were fragmented. A chasm between ages yawned where Hofmannsthal had perceived a bridge; this generation of readers would not appreciate his meaning.

Indeed, no correspondence between author and publisher concerning the Deutsche Erzähler can be documented during the tumultuous war years. Although the men continued to exchange letters, this topic was eclipsed by other more shattering and preoccupying events. Not until February 28, 1918 was the

⁴² HvH to AK, November 26, 1914, Frankfurt am Main.

collection mentioned again, and even at that point, it reappeared as Kippenberg, shedding his war-time duties, commenced to tidy up his desk when reassuming tighter control of the reins of the Insel-Verlag from his faithful deputy Katharina Kippenberg. It was in this vein that he dryly reported to Hofmannsthal:

Der Einfachheit halber möchte ich Ihr Honorar für das 5. bis 8. Tsd. der Deutschen Erzähler (8 Tsd. hatten wir im Ganzen gedruckt) obgleich noch etwa drei Tausend Exemplare vorhanden sind, schon jetzt auf einmal mit Ihnen verrechnen. Ich habe Ihnen daher M. 1600 gutschreiben lassen.⁴³

The publisher expressed no emotion regarding the wasted remainder of the printing, signaled no regret that more copies had not been sold, and offered no explanation for the book's poor standing. The Deutsche Erzähler, like the war itself, was a disaster to be reckoned with and put behind one.

In the meanwhile, however, Katharina Kippenberg had a suggestion for an anthology that would be modern in spirit, and therefore more likely to appeal to the public than the earlier collection. Obviously she had confided this idea to Hofmannsthal, for in June 1918 he replied to the "Liebe gnädige Frau:" "nun zu den Neueren Erzählern. An welche Generation hätten Sie gedacht? Heyse, Jensen, Storm, Rosegger und dergleichen ? oder noch neuere?"⁴⁴ Although the Austrian was not ill-disposed toward the proposal, he found the term "neuere" problematical. He offered two

⁴³ AK to HvH, February 28, 1918, Frankfurt am Main.

⁴⁴ HvH to KK, June 1918, Frankfurt am Main.

reasons for his hesitation. First, he wondered about the difficulty of obtaining copyrights to such recent publications. Secondly, and more significantly, he confessed: "Vor allem aber, mir fehlt das Kriterium der Meisterschaft bei allen diesen, und damit in mir der Antrieb der ehrfürchtigen Freude."⁵

Clearly, as the writers to be included in the anthology became Hofmannsthal's contemporaries, his judgment of their abilities became harsher. Hofmannsthal's praise of modern literature was circumspect and reserved for a chosen few -- Carossa, for example. When measured with the same critical yardstick he applied to himself, few merited the same accord granted their literary predecessors celebrated in the Deutsche Erzähler. Only viewed through the lens of time could their value be appropriately determined.

Nonetheless, Hofmannsthal remained open to further prompting from Katharina Kippenberg, whose arguments were apparently persuasive. On June 21, 1918, she clarified her suggestion further and addressed Hofmannsthal's reservations, stating that her husband, who had initiated the idea of a sequel to the Deutsche Erzähler, fully understood Hofmannsthal's hesitation in the matter. She would exclude modern authors, since there was not enough distance separating them from the present. Hofmannsthal's objections to Rosegger, Heyse, and others of this generation were

⁵ HvH to KK, June 1918, Frankfurt am Main.

justified, especially since they were already clearly not the equals of the older writers. However, Katharina Kippenberg welcomed Hofmannsthal's plan to augment the collection by adding Novalis, Immermann, Hebbel, and Conrad Ferdinand Meyer, particularly if Hofmannsthal wished to bestow an introduction on a supplementary volume. In conclusion, she remarked that they would adhere to this proposal, in all good time, which the circumstances prescribed for them.⁴⁶

Hofmannsthal's immediate response was favorable. "Ich habe eine zweite Folge der deutschen Erzähler ersonnen, in zwei Bänden, die mir nun gut gefällt, und die ich gerne verantworten und einleiten würde. Wollen wir diese pro futuro festhalten."⁴⁷

On the 18th of July, 1918, having received Hofmannsthal's outline for the new project, Katharina Kippenberg answered the prospective editor that the new collection would do the previous one justice. Perhaps precisely the same thoughts troubled her husband, the conscience of the account ledger weighing upon him. More firmly in control of the Insel-Verlag's activities since his return from active duty, Kippenberg began to examine some of the projects initiated by his wife, who was given more to inspiration and spontaneity than her spouse. Not only was Anton Kippenberg more conservative in his

⁴⁶ KK an HvH, June 21, 1918, Frankfurt am Main.

⁴⁷ HvH to KK, June 26, 1918, Frankfurt am Main.

approach, but the financial stability of the firm was increasingly endangered as the economic status of post-war Germany worsened. In a lengthy letter to Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Anton Kippenberg gave thought to the form the new Deutsche Erzähler might take. Hofmannsthal must have proposed still another configuration, since Kippenberg observed that although he had reflected on Hofmannsthal's arrangement, he ultimately questioned its advisability. The author's construction of the collection had made him conscious of the strength of German literature in the area of the novella and the story. The four volumes of the Deutsche Erzähler offered the best of a century of writing, but many other tales lay in obscurity and deserved recognition. Kippenberg speculated that one could fill twice as many volumes with the same subject matter, and he proposed that he and Hofmannsthal contemplate the matter for some months before comparing notes on possible candidates for inclusion.¹⁸

In his reflection lay also the seeds of another Insel undertaking, the series of novels that were to appear under the Insel imprint after the Insel-Verlag took over the publication of the Bibliothek der Romane. Over the course of the next few months, his interest in the novels expanded, and possibly as a consequence, his interest in the Hofmannsthal anthology diminished. Having once been a decided failure, the Deutsche Erzähler was not to know a reincarnation. Both author and publisher harbored too many reservations about its revised form. Of

¹⁸ AK to HvH, February 17, 1919, Frankfurt am Main.

their joint ventures, this proved to be one of the least successful. For both men, despite the disappointment of in its public and critical acclaim reception, it had been valuable. Now, however, the times called for new endeavors, ventures which better reflected the spirits of the moment, and the "Deutsche Erzähler" continuation withered.¹⁹

¹⁹ In 1971 the Insel-Verlag issued a second edition of the Deutsche Erzähler. This two volume set incorporated stories selected by Hofmannsthal in one volume and commenced with Hofmannsthal's tale "Das Erlebnis des Marschalls von Bassompierre" edited by Marie Luise Kaschnitz. The second volume contained the work of thirty-two twentieth-century artists ranging from Ilse Aichlinger to Peter Weiss, but did not include any of the authors mentioned in Hofmannsthal's correspondence about the so-called "Neuere Erzähler."

Chapter 6

HUGO VON HOFMANNSTHAL AND INSEL PUBLICATIONS

Extremely important among Hugo von Hofmannsthal's ties to Insel-Verlag were the contributions he made annually to the various periodic publications issued under the firm's imprint. His association with Alfred Walter Heymel and Rudolf Alexander Schröder and his collaboration with them on their glossy, ephemeral monthly Die Insel actually laid the foundation for his lengthy connection with the publishing house. It was to the Insel he proffered his early attempts at lyrical drama: Das Bergwerk zu Falun and Der Kaiser und die Hexe. In these works spoke a poetic genius that captured the fascination of a readership far beyond the elite who purchased the Jugendstil periodical. Hofmannsthal's lyrical dramas and poetry became one of the fragile underpinnings on which the newly registered Insel-Verlag depended for its support. Not surprisingly then, the Insel Almanach, an annual devoted to widening the base of the firm's readers, included a piece by the young poet in its first number.

Anton Kippenberg remembered conceiving the idea for the Almanach on a Leipzig streetcar. Puzzling with Carl Poeschel, his

managing partner, over ways in which they could broaden the reception of Insel-Verlag publications and thus bolster the faltering house financially, he suddenly envisioned a work which would incorporate and unite the diverse writings of the year 1906. Hofmannsthal's contribution to the Insel Almanach auf das Jahr 1906, "Prolog" to artist Ludwig von Hofmann's Tänze, set the tone for his future contributions to the annual. The "Prolog" was a brief piece which reflected his own talents while simultaneously calling attention to an important and costly Insel project, an issue of a portfolio of drawings by von Hofmann. ' Unlike Die Insel, a publishing effort which shared the ambitious goals of dozens of other small, ephemeral magazines which sprang up in Europe around the turn of the century, the Insel Almanach served another purpose. Its offerings were to provide a tempting sample of the Insel-Verlag's activity and thus help stimulate sales of the house list. The contributors were exclusively Insel authors, and their work was not so often submitted to the almanac for publication as it was solicited or selected by the publisher. Thus the Almanach was utilitarian in purpose and antithetically related to its precursor Die Insel. Although the Almanach proved to be a handsomely designed, painstakingly edited annual, its success separated it from other journals which paid homage to these values without regard to economic considerations. Rather modestly

' Ludwig von Hofmann, Tänze [12 lithographs], intro. Hugo von Hofmannsthal. 200 numbered copies, (Leipzig: Insel-Verlag, 1905).

priced, the almanac was an advertising investment which reaped its profits from books sold through interest generated by its appearance. Although itself a form of advertisement, it surpassed newsprint and advertising brochures in its effectiveness because it offered a broad range of selections. Tasteful, even elegant in its simplicity, the Insel Almanach allowed readers to sample recent publications and was designed to whet their appetite in so doing. While this was not a completely novel idea, (Samuel Fischer's Neue Rundschau had already been performing a similar function for several years), the content and format of the Insel Almanach were unique.

Since the almanac itself strove to attain a high circulation at a low price and production costs were high, contributors at best received only a token honorarium. The journal was actually published at a calculated loss, but Kippenberg reckoned with its ability to help market volumes on the house list. Despite certain deficiencies in the first almanac, which was issued under Kippenberg's supervision, the publisher was loathe to relinquish his idea. In the spring of 1906, therefore, he approached Hofmannsthal with a request for a second contribution, for another Insel-Almanach of slightly smaller proportions, but whose contents would be selected with greater care, and which would not be marred by the flaws resulting from the hasty composition of the first almanac. In his letter Kippenberg asked for permission to reprint

"Sebastian Melmoth," a critical essay on Oscar Wilde by Hofmannsthal which had appeared in Tag that quarter, but to forestall any financial expectations, pointed out: "Der Almanach ist nicht auf einen Gewinn berechnet, seine Herstellung erfordert vielmehr einen erheblichen Kostenzuschuss; wir können Ihnen daher ein Honorar, das irgendwie dem Werte des Aufsatzes entspräche, leider nicht anbieten...."²

Gerty von Hofmannsthal communicated her husband's agreement in his absence, and the essay on Wilde graced the 1907 almanac.³ Over the years Hofmannsthal's name regularly found a place in the table of contents. Often his contributions were selections from volumes published earlier that year, either from his dramatic works or from Insel publications for which he had written introductions. His prefaces to Tausend und eine Nacht, Balzac, and Deutsche Erzähler all served as enticements for the Almanach audience to purchase Insel editions. Fragments of his Lucidor, Ariadne auf Naxos, Alkestis, and Silvia im Stern attested to the writer's creative talents. Even though, of the above titles, only Alkestis coincided directly with the publication of a related edition in the Insel-Verlag, the name on a Hofmannsthal piece was sufficient to arouse interest. Doubtless, Hofmannsthal's stellar reputation established a tone for the Insel-Verlag so that the

² AK to HvH, March 27, 1906, Frankfurt am Main.

³ GvH to Insel-Verlag, March 29, 1906, Frankfurt am Main.

mere inclusion of his name rendered real, if intangible benefits. Although rival firm S. Fischer Verlag published many of the author's dramatic works, as well as the lion's share of his prose, the Insel-Verlag possessed the rights to most of Hofmannsthal's popular early work, collected under the titles Die Gesammelten Gedichte and Kleine Dramen. The arrangement was advantageous for the author, since he was never required to produce original articles for the almanac, but instead always drew from previously published material. For the Insel-Verlag this pattern was less satisfying, but still acceptable. If Hofmannsthal's name alone lent prestige to the periodical, being the first to print a new poem or an extract from a soon-to-be published drama was always regarded as a special coup. Thus, in 1909, the almanac included an excerpt from Rainer Maria Rilke's Malte Laurids Brigge, published in its entirety by the Insel-Verlag in 1910, and throughout the years its pages often contained Rilke's poems. Such literary coups enhanced the reputation of the Insel-Almanach and also helped make it a successful publication. Hoping to receive similar valuable contributions from Hofmannsthal, the Insel editorial staff made annual requests for any unpublished material he could offer.

All too often, though, to the profound disappointment of his editors, Hofmannsthal relied upon previously printed writings to supply the Insel Almanach. In 1908, for instance, the

Insel-Verlag solicited along with an abbreviated version of Hofmannsthal's introduction to the selected works of Balzac any new material he might have ready:

Sollte Ihnen das eine oder andere neuere nach dem Abschluß der gesammelten Gedichte entstandene Gedicht zum Abdruck im Almanach geeignet erscheinen, so würden Sie mir durch die Überlassung zu dem genannten Zweck eine außerordentlich große Freude bereiten.⁴

However, no Hofmannsthal poems adorned the pages for that year.

In 1909, no doubt in answer to a like request, Hofmannsthal replied to Kippenberg: "Für den Almanach aber habe ich leider [heute] nichts, habe halt nichts und stecke so in größere Arbeiten daß ich kaum denken kann was Kurzes zu machen."⁵ Excerpts from his Alkestis filled the gap in that year. In the following year, Kippenberg reiterated his plea, adding: "und eine ganz besondere Freude würde es mir sein, in diesem Jahre einmal einen Original-Beitrag in dem Almanach von Ihnen bringen zu können."⁶ Hofmannsthal promised to do his best, but what appeared, fragments of Lucidor, a tale he had refashioned into a drama, was perhaps a compromise. For while Lucidor was current, it was not an unpublished work, and worse yet, it appeared under the S. Fischer imprint. Only indirectly did the poet's contribution thus aid the Insel-Verlag; his Berlin publisher obviously stood to reap more immediate benefits.

⁴ AK to HvH, June 17, 1908, Frankfurt am Main.

⁵ HvH to AK, [July 1909?], Frankfurt am Main.

⁶ AK to HvH, April 7, 1910, Frankfurt am Main.

In July of 1911 the editorial staff of the Insel-Verlag once again appealed to the poet for an original, unpublished piece which might serve as an inducement to readers to purchase Hofmannsthals's Gedichte und Kleine Dramen, a 1911 successor to the three-volume collection published in 1907 and 1908. In a letter addressed to the writer at his summer refuge in Bad Aussee, the editors stated plainly: "In dem diesjährigen Almanach möchten wir Sie in Anbetracht des Bandes Ihrer Werke besonders reich vertreten haben. Am Schönsten wäre es natürlich, wenn wir auf irgend etwas ungedrucktes aus Ihrer Feder rechnen dürften."⁷ Still, made wise by past experience, they proposed to fall back upon some material from the author's "Der Jüngling und die Spinne," and a poem eulogizing the Viennese actor Josef Kainz. Hofmannsthal communicated his approval in a note on July 29, 1911. His poetic sense dictated the addition of a third poem "Vor Tag" which he proposed to insert between the two suggested by the Insel-Verlag. He did, however, express the hope that he might be able to offer something completely new if the almanac's deadline were not too close.

Kippenberg was delighted at the prospect. On July 31, 1911 he answered that if the Insel-Verlag were to place this new composition towards the end of the yearbook, it would be sufficient for their purposes if they received it by late August

⁷ Insel-Verlag to HvH, July 17, 1911, Frankfurt am Main.

or early September. He assured Hofmannsthal that the position of a piece within the almanac was of little consequence, since there was no prescribed hierarchy of arrangement.⁸ Kippenberg's hopes ultimately proved vain, however, and Hofmannsthal was represented in the Insel Almanach auf das Jahr 1912 solely by the three poems, not by an original contribution.

However tactful and even flattering these requests for new material were, they nevertheless probed a delicate area. No more did poems flow prolifically from Hofmannsthal's pen as they had in his youth. Although he continued to write and his popularity remained unabated, his reputation rested largely upon the creative genius manifested in his early lyrical works. As he matured, he endeavored to deepen and broaden his literary achievements, charting new territory for himself, if not for the entire generation of modern poets. Thus he broadened his range by collaborating with Richard Strauss on a series of operas; he also authored dramas which enjoyed lesser or greater acclaim. Critics, however, kept harkening back to the sensation his earlier literary efforts had aroused and compared later products with these prodigious achievements, sometimes obliquely, sometimes directly, but usually unfavorably. Hofmannsthal suffered acutely, not merely because he regarded such criticism as unjust and misplaced, but also because he too was frustrated by a wellspring run dry.

⁸ AK to HvH, July 31, 1911, Frankfurt am Main.

When he hinted to Kippenberg that new material was forthcoming, he clearly wished to believe that this might be true. The letters exchanged between the Kippenbergs and Hofmannsthal document the poet's slowly developing realization of the tapering-off of real lyrical powers. Hofmannsthal's writing had changed direction, and he knew he could not reproduce the particular factors of youth and environment that had combined to make his poetry unique and extraordinary. Yet his past haunted him; he exploited it to mask his barren labor. In July of 1912, for example, his response to the inevitable request for poems for the Almanach was that if he had spoken to Dr. Kippenberg of poems, he could only have meant poems that would come into being, but which did not exist, because there were no earlier unpublished poems. As a stopgap, he proposed to submit a copy of an older poem which had not seen print since 1898, and which, therefore, would probably suffice as a novelty.⁹ By being thus placed in the embarrassing predicament of having to reply to repeated entreaties for new material, Hofmannsthal was forced to dredge up little known pieces from his past, poems languishing in obscure, expired journals, poems of lesser merit than those which had earned him his fame, but nevertheless of potential interest and value to a wider public.

⁹ HvH to Insel-Verlag, July 1, 1912, Frankfurt am Main.

Upon closer inspection, however, the older poems proved dated and inadequate, and he accordingly retracted his suggestion and begrudgingly, reluctantly, consented to the reprinting of an essay he had composed in praise of Schröder's translation of the Odyssee. In doing so, he exclaimed, he was unwillingly relinquishing his poetic self-image:

Im Almanach nur durch einen Aufsatz vertreten zu sein ist mir selbst nicht lieb. Was läßt sich aber thun? Hätte es Zeit bis Mitte September, so bin ich fast mutig, zu versprechen, daß ein Gedicht zur Verfügung wäre. Es scheinen sich denn einige vorzubereiten, aber daß ist vielleicht trüglich, denn manchmal trug ich das körperlose Spectrum eines Gedichtes jahrelang in mir. Das ältere ist aber ja alles erschöpft.¹⁰

Hofmannsthal was thus forced to admit that he had depleted his treasury of poems. His acknowledgement, although matter-of-fact, seems almost pathetic, coming as it does from a brilliant young man whose success thus far had depended largely upon his lyric talents. In discussing potential new poems, Hofmannsthal displays here a remarkable detachment from himself, as if his gift were an alien spirit within him. In using the phrase "es scheinen sich einige vorzubereiten," to describe the activity within him, he seems to endow the poems with a life of their own. Although he could sense within him poems about to come to be, he was most often disappointed as the haunting, unformed ideas dissipated themselves in the winds of time rather than assuming definitive form as works of art.

¹⁰ HvH to AK, July 26, 1912, Frankfurt am Main.

Compared to Hofmannsthal's eloquent but plaintive expression of his plight, Kippenberg's response sounds flat and pragmatic, and while not entirely unsympathetic, reflects a lack of comprehension of the artist's dilemma. His concerns were deadlines and alternatives, not helping the author find the means to coax specters of unborn poetic works into a literary reality. Kippenberg dictated words which prima facie appeared appropriate and positive, yet a slight air of condescension permeated the letter, as if he had to humor his author, despite an underlying belief, confirmed by previous experience, that no poetry would be forthcoming. One senses his desire to spare Hofmannsthal's feelings in his statement that the deadline for the poem could be extended until the end of August. Kippenberg realized that one could not command the poetic muse, even if one were truly a poet, but he consoled his author by reminding him that the shapeless could suddenly take form. If he did not receive the manuscript by the end of summer, however, he would resign himself, albeit with difficulty.¹¹

In this summer of 1912, Hofmannsthal grappled with inner turmoil trying to formulate the intangible, and his pride spurred him on in his desire to publish a new poem in the Insel-Almanach, perhaps as a reaffirmation of his continuing development, a progress he perceived in the pages of the almanac itself over the

¹¹ AK to HvH, July 30, 1912, Frankfurt am Main.

course of the years of its existence. On August 3, 1912 he assured Kippenberg that the yearbook was very important to him. The latest one had been lovely; he was pleased every time he picked it up. He expected the following year's even to surpass the 1912 almanac. He found it intolerable to be represented in it merely by an essay or a single poem; he preferred to contribute a group of poems. With confidence he explained: "Nun haben sich die Schemen neuer Gedichte in diesen Wochen so greifbar zugedrängt, daß ich wohl mit Sicherheit sagen kann, ich werde ein oder zwei neue zu Ende August schicken können."¹² Hofmannsthal continued with the suggestion of publishing a group of songs or arias from his libretto for Strauss's opera Ariadne auf Naxos. The selections of his writing for the 1912 almanac were indeed these very poems and an essay on Schröder's translation of Homer; no other suitable poems materialized. His letter on August 28, 1912 conveyed some measure of his disappointment and frustration:

es ist kein Gedicht entstanden und ich muß mich, da ich im Almanach durchaus nicht bloß als Essayist figurieren möchte, darauf beschränken, die Lieder und Arien aus "Ariadne" zur Verfügung zu stellen.¹³

Hofmannsthal attempted to explain away his diminished productivity in the poetic sphere by attributing his block to the depressed barometer. While his letters do indeed bear witness to an extraordinary sensitivity to atmospheric phenomena, the real

¹² HvH to AK, August 3, 1912, Frankfurt am Main.

¹³ HvH to AK, August 28, 1912, Frankfurt am Main.

reason for the block, which he had not yet fully realized, was that his developing interests were taking him further and further away from his poetic beginnings.

During the following spring, as Kippenberg commenced planning and arrangement of the almanac, he tactfully inquired: "Heymel sprach mir sehr entzückt von neuen Prosaarbeiten, käme davon vielleicht etwas für den Almanach in Betracht?"¹⁵ Hofmannsthal's offering of a piece eulogizing the recently deceased Raoul Richter, prepared for distribution to the family and friends of the artist, must not have satisfied the publisher, for in mid-summer he sought to obtain another essay from Hofmannsthal, an "enzückenden Jean-Paul-Aufsatz," about which he had heard from Stefan Zweig. Since the Insel-Verlag was in the process of reviving Jean-Paul's Schulmeister Wuz and Titan, Hofmannsthal's essay might stir interest and stimulate sales. Hofmannsthal was amenable, and the essay was incorporated into the yearbook. With only a modest reference to his own contribution, Hofmannsthal lauded the composition of the Almanach in a hand-written letter to Kippenberg:

Der Almanach schien mir reicher, besser, ja in der Tat noch besser als alle seine Vorgänger. Carossa darin vertreten zu sehen, mit sehr schönen Gedichten, war mir eine wahre Freude. In so zarter Aufmerksamkeit auf das Beachtenswerte, kaum Beachtete, liegt, was so viele

¹⁵ AK to HvH, April 11, 1913, Frankfurt am Main.

Rüpel im Munde führen -- Cultur...In dem Almanach mit dabei zu sein, war mir lieb wie immer.¹⁵

In the almanac Hofmannsthal detected an affirmation of the artistic principles and values which were a part of his own code. He praised the publication for its attention to deserving literature, and by implication, for its refusal to cater to popular taste. Employing the pejorative word "Rüpel," he distinguished implicitly between the knowledgable and the ignorant, between a small educated, cultivated circle and a much larger group of individuals who only presumed to declare themselves initiated into the mysteries of culture. Kippenberg shared Hofmannsthal's contempt for the misguided public. Such reservations about popular taste lingered on as vestiges of the initial spirit of the Insel undertaking and conflicted in part with the aim of mass success and the dissemination of a particular cultural view. While the exclusivity, refinement and essentially conservative nature of the Insel-Verlag attracted Hofmannsthal, paradoxically, he published much of his work with the S. Fischer-Verlag, a firm which espoused a more liberal viewpoint, while still stressing literary quality. As Hofmannsthal moved into maturity, he underwent a development which linked him to men of quite another sphere. Janus-faced, he smiled on the conservative, Insel-Verlag, yet looked forward to an expanding and evolving literary consciousness.

¹⁵ HvH to AK, October 18, 1913, Marbach am Neckar.

Kippenberg was immensely pleased with Hofmannsthal's praise of the Insel-Almanach, as it confirmed his own impression that the latest almanac had surpassed all of its predecessors, in part, he felt, because he had carefully excised the more academically oriented pieces. Noting that the circulation of the yearbook had outstripped that of the previous year, he expressed the hope that sales of the 1913 almanac would total at least sixty thousand.¹⁶

Only a few years before, Kippenberg had received his academic degree, and he had consistently demonstrated an inclination to embrace philologically directed interests. Now, however, in part in response to the urging of Stefan Zweig, he cautiously separated the realm of personal taste from the area of public preference. The Insel Almanach auf das Jahr 1913, with narrow academic references deleted, appealed to a wider readership. That Hofmannsthal was in accord with this slant revealed his own inclination, and marked him, too, as in favor of a wider audience.

The Insel-Almanach had already enjoyed a longer lifespan than its elitist predecessor Die Insel, and it appeared to be gaining steadily in popularity, at least as far as success is measurable in sheer numbers of copies distributed. In 1914, however, the advent of war created a charged atmosphere in which Kippenberg felt the need to depart from the concept of an ordinary yearbook with traditional content. Kippenberg's decision to devote the

¹⁶ AK to HvH, November 1, 1913, Frankfurt am Main.

Almanach exclusively to war-related issues is a mark of his own enthusiasm for the war as well as an indication of shrewd business sense. For although he demonstrated conservative literary taste, he showed an uncanny ability to seize a new idea and act innovatively, and with a flexibility that distinguished his work and helped raise the Insel-Verlag above its competitors.

Late in the year, well beyond the usual deadline for the almanac, Kippenberg's editor Adolf Hünich sent a brief missive informing Hofmannsthal of the proposed change:

Wir geben in diesem Jahre nicht wie üblich, einen Insel-Almanach, sondern einen Kriegsalmanach heraus. In dem Bestreben, ihn auf jeder Weise zu bereichern, bitten wir Sie die Anfrage nicht unbillig aufzunehmen, ob wir dafür von Ihnen einen aus der großen Bewegung dieser Tage entsprungenen Beitrag erwarten dürfen.¹⁷

Both publisher and author had been caught up in the fervor of the war's beginning. Although beyond the age for conscription, Kippenberg had volunteered immediately and was training recruits in Halle. Hofmannsthal, born in the same year as Kippenberg, and originally destined for the front, ended up in the Austrian Ministry of the Interior where he quickly found himself involved in a flurry of duties exposing him to a new and fascinating political vantage point. This change of perspective doubtless accounts for the heretofore unfamiliar political tone with which his reply to the editor was infused. More than ever before he stressed his Austrian heritage in his reply:

¹⁷ A. Hünich to HvH, October 22, 1914, Frankfurt am Main.

Sehr geehrte Leitung des Insel-Verlages!

Militärdienstlich überaus beschäftigt kam mir Ihre Zuschrift vom 22 X den Almanach betreffend, erst heute [7.XI (1914)] vor Augen. Im gleichen Posteinlauf fand ich Zuschriften von Wiener Buchhändlern, die mir Ihren Prospect (für den Almanach) beilegen und es als sehr bedauerlich begreifen, daß in diesem Österreich ganz ignoriert werde.¹⁸

Hofmannsthal hoped that it was not too late to rectify this deficiency. With his letter he included an essay composed a few weeks earlier on the occasion of the jubilaem of the Österreichische Rundschau. Once again, he emphasized the importance to him of appearing in the almanac, and once again, he advised the Insel-Verlag that it was impossible to expect any other contribution from him, but in closing proposed another Austrian piece which he felt would add to the almanac: the manifesto of 1809 of Archduke Karl.

Hofmannsthal's concept of the Insel-Almanach had changed with the advent of war. No longer was he primarily interested in its literary material; now it almost mandated essays of a more political nature. The vocabulary and style of Hofmannsthal's reply reflected his sympathy with the change and his willingness to enter into the military-bureaucratic world: figurative language, a mark of his earlier personal correspondence, is entirely absent. His suggestion to edit and submit the article he had pulled together for the Österreichische Rundschau was both practical and

¹⁸ HvH to Insel-Verlag, November 7, 1914. Frankfurt am Main.

expedient and the selection of this particular article reveals the influence the war. While other poets celebrated battles and heroes or mourned the fallen in inspiring, moving, or sometimes trite tributes, Hofmannsthal, who had until quite recently endeavored to draw up out of the well of his creative talent a few last poems, readily subordinated his literary activity to the war effort. While the spectacle of war virtually struck dumb his fellow Austrian Rainer Maria Rilke, to whom the change from poetic activity to the harsh, mundane duties of officialdom was torment, Hofmannsthal plunged into his new position as if he had discovered his true calling. While some Austrian writers, notably Rilke and Stefan Zweig, sooner or later considered that universal human values should prevail over nationalistic aims and refused to betray their loyalties to individuals and ideas from other countries in favor of espousing the narrow nationalistic doctrine promulgated so insistently and pervasively within their native land. Hofmannsthal focussed ever more intensely on that which was peculiarly Austrian. Kippenberg was to close one of his letters with the expression of hope that their two nations, Austria and Germany, might be united into a single political entity, but such an idea must have been anathema to Hofmannsthal, who perceived only cultural boundaries. Although his responsiveness to literary elements from the world outside his homeland was great, his interest in Austrian culture deepened and became dominant during this period. A direct offshoot of this concern are his comments on

the content of the Kriegsalmanach, which the Insel-Verlag was in the process of preparing.

A copy of his comments reached Kippenberg in Halle, where he was immersed in training his six hundred recruits while seeking at the same time to maintain contact with the activities of his Leipzig-based firm. On November 17, 1914 he explained the concept behind the Kriegsalmanach to Hofmannsthal, expressing his great pleasure that Hofmannsthal's work was appearing in this almanac, which was of the utmost importance to its publisher. Austria was well-represented by a Friedebergian war song, a Beethoven composition, and Kaiser Franz Josef's summons to his people.¹⁹ From the publisher's perspective Austria was properly and adequately represented in the yearbook. On the whole, Kippenberg seemed quite proud and sure of his editorial choices. It must have accordingly seemed like lightning out of the blue when he received Hofmannsthal's telegram of December 5, 1914, with the urgent warning to the Insel-Verlag: "zurueckhaltet auflage kriegsalmanach. ausschaltung holz gedicht unbedingt notwendig. muesste sonst oeffentlich in oesterreich und in deutschland mitarbeiterschaft desavouieren. ergebnst, hofmannsthal."²⁰

¹⁹ AK to HvH, November 17, 1914, Frankfurt am Main.

²⁰ HvH to AK, December 5, 1914, Frankfurt am Main.

Kippenberg replied that he would replace Holz's poem "Zum 2. September" with another, and that by a stroke of luck he had been able to halt all large shipments of the Kriegsalmanach; on Tuesday the replacements would be delivered to the railway station. In his defense, he argued that had he personally reviewed the proofs of the almanac, as was his wont, the poem would never have crept in. He confessed that he himself had recommended the inclusion of the poem, but he had overlooked the offensive reference to Czechoslovakia. Heller, the bookdealer who had protested so strongly against the Holz poem, had actually reviewed a copy of the galleys, but had never mentioned the matter. Upon further reflection Kippenberg concluded that the issue had been blown up to unreasonable proportions, for the Holz poem, written in 1885, was well-known in Germany and had also been widely disseminated in Austria-Hungary without confiscation. Since his intentions had been pure, and only a tiny fraction of the copies printed had reached Austria, he doubted that the censor in Austria would object to the contents of the almanac. To withdraw it would be to call attention to an insignificant slip and to imply that Germany was hostile to the Czechs, which was not the case.²¹

Ironically, although Kippenberg attempted to make light of the matter, implying that Hofmannsthal and Heller were making a mountain out of a molehill, his own belaboring of the point and

²¹ AK to HvH, December 6, 1914, Frankfurt am Main.

the overall tone of his letter lent gravity to the situation even as he denied its significance. Obviously frustrated by the course of events, he was annoyed that he had not had time personally to supervise all the selections before printing as was his habit, for thoroughness bordering on perfectionism was one of his more outstanding traits. In addition, he was certainly piqued at Hofmannsthal's excited declaration that he would be forced to disclaim all collaboration because of the presence of the Holz poem. The issue brought out the temperamental and cultural gap that existed between the two men. For Kippenberg's part, he could comprehend the political folly of printing a poem which might offend the sensibilities of his allies, but he himself did not experience the actual shock and outrage expressed by Hofmannsthal. What made the situation even more irritating, of course, was that he had been inordinately proud of his accomplishment in pulling together a Kriegsalmanach under adverse circumstances. He reassured himself nonetheless with the thought that only minor repercussions would result from the mishap, especially since the shipments could be halted and the Holz poem replaced with another more appropriate for the almanac's readership.

Hofmannsthal was not unappreciative of the publisher's efforts to rectify the situation. On the eleventh of December he responded that the action taken by Kippenberg had saved the day, and he could now enjoy the Kriegsalmanach without trouble.

Expressing reverence and joy towards the German cultural heritage, he heaped accolades on the almanac and its accomplishments:

Es ist doch ein großes Ding, das von den anderen Völkern, so reich sie sind, keines ein solches Buch, so fromm, so gewichtig, so rein, so unerzungen, hätte in solcher Zeit zusammenbringen können-- und auch das ist nichts Kleines, daß unter keinem Volk auch die Männer waren, in diesen Zeiten mit freiem Gemüt ein solches Buch herzustellen. Also freuen wir uns mitten im Dunkel.²²

With all its patriotic feelings, however, Hofmannsthal's letter was tinged with a melancholy recognition of mortality. His friend, Kippenberg's former associate and cofounder of the Insel, Alfred Walter Heymel, had just succumbed to a war-aggravated illness. All around was death, and the promised ready victory, it was clear, would be bought only at the cost of much bloodshed. In reflecting on the loss of trusted and revered friends, Hofmannsthal distanced himself from the giddy flow of wartime activity that discouraged contemplative moments. Remembrance of the past prompted a reaffirmation of the bonds which tied him to the Insel-Verlag. In his letter to Kippenberg he wrote perhaps more intimately and openly than ever before in their relationship, confessing that it was his nature to become evermore attached to an individual, an enterprise, or even a landscape as the years wore on, and expressing the wish: "Ich möchte, daß Sie mein Verhältnis zu der geistigen (wenn auch ziemlich kommerziellen) Unternehmung, die jetzt seit Jahren ganz in Ihren Händen ruht, der

²² HvH to AK, December 11, 1914, Marbach am Neckar.

ich aber früher schon anhing, als Sie noch nicht damit befaßt waren, in diesem Sinne verstünden."²³ For these reasons everything pertaining to the Insel-Verlag was important to him. His ties to this venture were defined not only in terms of his contributions and his profits, and because of these ties he expected Kippenberg to understand the intensity of his feelings in the affair of the Kriegsalmanach. In the tense atmosphere prevailing in Austria, the Holz poem would have sparked a tinderbox of unpleasant reaction. According to Hofmannsthal, neither he nor Heller, but rather an officious journalist, had been the first to call attention to the poems. He had made such a fuss that Hofmannsthal had no other recourse than to arrange for a temporary confiscation and to vouch for the replacement of the offending poem. Pointing out the differences which lay between their two nations, Hofmannsthal wrote:

Ihr Deutschen im Reich wißt im Grunde im Frieden wie im Kriege sehr wenig von Österreich; Sie können, mein lieber Dr. Kippenberg, nicht wissen, wie schwer vergiftete Wunde heilen und daß ein Ähnlich unglückseliges und verletzendes Gedicht von Hebbel, noch heute, 50 Jahre nach seinem Erscheinen von den Tschechen so unvergessen und unverzihen ist wie ein gestern empfangener Peitschenhieb.²⁴

To mitigate any ill feelings which his actions or this explanation might have engendered, Hofmannsthal concluded with a supportive statement: "Wären Sie und Ihr Unternehmen mir gleichgültiger, so

²³ HvH to AK, December 11, 1914, Marbach am Neckar.

²⁴ HvH to AK, December 11, 1914, Marbach am Neckar.

hätte ich allenfalls eine ruhigere und kältere Form gefunden, um bloß mich selber aus der Sache zu ziehen. Herzlich der Ihre."²⁵

Hofmannsthal clearly felt a loyalty to the Insel-Verlag and wished to elucidate his involvement in the affair of the Kriegsalmanach. At the same time, in detailing his ties, he referred to the period before Kippenberg's association with the firm, thus indicating that his support was not inspired by Kippenberg as an individual, but rather by the publishing house itself. However, the honesty of his declaration of concern and his identification with the philosophical tenets of the Insel-Verlag are evident in his letter. Equally obvious is the distinction drawn between himself, the Austrian, and the Germans, as represented by Kippenberg. The peculiar political situation of Austria with its different cultures politically united under the Austro-Hungarian monarchy had never been truly comprehended by the Germans. Thus he could not expect that the Insel-Verlag would have understood the gravity of the error in including the Holz poem "Zum 2. September" in the Kriegsalmanach. However, the combined efforts of Hofmannsthal and Kippenberg had averted disaster. Kippenberg might have sacrificed his day of leave in attending to it, but it also had the positive effect of prompting Hofmannsthal to express loyalty to the publishing house.

²⁵ HvH to AK, December 11, 1914, Marbach am Neckar.

Unfortunately the understanding attained at such cost was soon undermined. Only a month later, on the ninth of January 1915, Hofmannsthal received an agitated letter from Willibald Keller, a Kippenberg subordinate, begging his assistance in the matter of the Kriegsalmanach. The Viennese bookshop Heller & Co. had informed the Insel-Verlag that the Kriegsalmanach had been confiscated by the administration of the state. Keller recounted the misadventures of the yearbook on its journey to Austria, beginning with the shipment of the revised edition of December 8 and its belated arrival in Vienna on January 2. He continued that since Heller & Co. was welcome to return the almanacs if they could not be used, the gesture of confiscating seemed to indicate ill-will. Citing all the efforts the Insel-Verlag had made to respect Austrian sentiments, Keller expressed perplexity as to the nature of Heller's could be at this objection.²⁶ Furthermore, Keller regarded Heller's report as suspicious, since he had received in the same mail an order from another Viennese bookdealer. Kippenberg's manager reasoned that Heller might have been at least in part responsible for the confiscation and appealed to Hofmannsthal, who stood on good footing with Heller: "es würde uns ein großer Dienst erwiesen werden, wenn wir in der Angelegenheit klar sehen könnten."²⁷

²⁶ W. Keller to HvH, January 9, 1915, Frankfurt am Main.

²⁷ W. Keller to HvH, January 9, 1915, Frankfurt am Main.

Although neither party referred to the issue again in the letters which have survived, the matter was apparently resolved, since only a few months later Kippenberg dictated a note from his military station in Halle that invited Hofmannsthal to draw even closer to the firm by working on an Insel-Almanach für Österreich. Hofmannsthal had already begun editing a series of volumes relating to Austrian life and culture to be issued under the Insel imprint under the general title Österreichische Bibliothek. Kippenberg foresaw that Hofmannsthal's direct involvement with the composition of the almanac would prevent the embarrassment caused by the reception of the Kriegsalmanach in Austria. Both the spirit of cooperation manifested during the publication of the Österreichische Bibliothek and the political ties of the two nations persuaded him to take this action. As he expounded on the 10th of June 1915: "Die herrlichen Erfolge der verbündeten Waffen und die neue Einheit, die das Eingreifen Italiens dem Volke Österreichs gegeben hat, bläst zu dem den schönsten Wind in unsere Segel."²⁸

In proposing this new collaborative publishing venture with Hofmannsthal, Kippenberg anticipated that the new yearbook, Austrian in content and Austrian in direction, would also differ significantly from its German counterpart in one other aspect. Kippenberg hoped to see the Austrian almanac break even

²⁸ AK to HvH, June 10, 1915, Frankfurt am Main.

financially, unlike the Insel-Almanach, which, as an instrument of propaganda for the firm, required a substantial subsidy.²⁹

Ever the practical businessman, Kippenberg had not only calculated the break-even costs, but had also already considered the content of the yearbook. He offered so many suggestions that Hofmannsthal might well have wondered what his editorship would entail. As in the previous year, Kippenberg inclined toward selections that were more political than literary in nature. He listed a catalogue of items originally contemplated for the Insel-Almanach, including material from the Emperor Franz Josef, Burckhardt, Moltke, Clausewitz, Dingelstedt, Hebel, Rilke, Huch, Braun, and a host of others.³⁰

A fortnight later Hofmannsthal replied affirmatively to Kippenberg's feeler, but not without asserting his own leadership, particularly insofar as selection policy was concerned. Kippenberg willingly accepted Hofmannsthal's terms and conceded that the author's intention to ignore the publisher's list of suggestions and commence afresh was perhaps appropriate. On the second of July 1915 the publisher cum officer thanked Hofmannsthal for agreeing to his proposal, expressing his delight that his suggestion had found approval.

²⁹ AK to HvH, June 10, 1915, Frankfurt am Main.

³⁰ AK to HvH, June 10, 1915, Frankfurt am Main.

The technical aspects of editing the yearbook still remained undecided. Anton Kippenberg sought to lessen the burden placed on his busy author by arranging for support staff to shoulder much of the routine editorial responsibility. This not only freed Hofmannsthal from concern over details, but also kept the technical oversight under the publisher's expert direction. Tactfully, Kippenberg phrased his opinion:

Ich kann mir denken, daß weder Ihre Zeit noch Ihre manuellen Hilfskräfte ausreichen, um in eigentlichen Sinne die Redaktion des Almanachs zu besorgen. Daran aber habe ich auch gar nicht gedacht, und hatte auch nicht den Wunsch, Ihnen diese Arbeit zuzumuten, da Sie zur Zeit und überhaupt wohl Wichtigeres zu tun haben. Mir kam es nur darauf an, Sie für die geistige Oberleitung des Almanachs, wenn ich so sagen darf, zu gewinnen.³¹

As the war progressed, it was becoming more difficult from week to week to count on employees being left to staff the publishing house. Nonetheless, Kippenberg could still rely on Dr. Hünich to help him with the work on both yearbooks: "Andernfalls müßte ich eine Persönlichkeit außerhalb des Verlages, deren ich mancher geeignete weiß, damit vertrauen. Aber Sie dürfen beruhigt sein, daß in dieser Beziehung Rat geschafft und Ihnen alles nur mögliche abgenommen wird."³²

³¹ AK to HvH, July 2, 1915, Frankfurt am Main.

³² AK to HvH, July 2, 1915, Frankfurt am Main.

Although the publisher agreed that his first suggestions for the Austrian almanac, drawn from material originally destined for the Insel-Almanach, should be dropped, it is obvious from his mention of having asked Dr. Hünich to choose some material for the almanac that he relinquished control over the project reluctantly.³³ In general, however, the publisher was willing to rely on Hofmannsthal's judgment, adding that he found the author's choices excellent. He exercised some caution in questioning whether they could offer the entire array at once. Perhaps, he mused, it would be necessary to defer some for a second almanac.³⁴

Two additional matters remained to be mentioned. One, Kippenberg rather glossed over, couching his words in a positive, elevated tone. In his initial letter broaching the subject of the almanac, he had confided his goal of having the yearbook be self-sufficient. Now, in discussing payment for Hofmannsthal's services, he hastened to stress the idealistic and propagandistic nature of the venture, vis à vis its profit-making ability and advancing as a proposal:

Für die Herausgabe des Almanachs erlaube ich mir M.600-
vorzuschlagen. Ich weiß sehr wohl, daß dieser Beitrag
nur ausreichen wird, um Ihre Auslagen zu decken, aber
auch wir betrachten ja den österreichischen Almanach so
wenig wie den Deutschen als ein Geschäft, sondern als
ein Mittel, eine Idee zu verbreiten, und was den
österreichischen Almanach anlangt insbesondere und für
unsere österreichische Bibliothek und für die erfreulich

³³ AK to HvH, July 2, 1915, Frankfurt am Main.

³⁴ AK to HvH, July 2, 1915, Frankfurt am Main.

große Zahl unserer österreichischen Bücher zu bewirken.³⁵

Although Hugo von Hofmannsthal usually matched his publisher in his fervor to husband his resources and drive a hard bargain, he did not object to his modest remuneration with regard to the almanac, as a telegram of July 5, 1915 indicated. He did, however, discourage a second Kippenberg suggestion in an area which had previously caused friction between the two men. Of course, as Kippenberg's letter proved, the publisher had anticipated a negative response. The subject was the cover of the yearbook. Kippenberg had already written to E.R. Weiß to ask for a sketch for the wrappers. Upon receipt of a plan for a woodcut, the publisher forwarded it to Hofmannsthal for his opinion. Although certain the woodcut would be quite satisfactory, he confided that he was on the whole no friend of sentimental symbolism and found the subject Weiß had chosen somewhat trite. However, he hesitated to condemn the artwork, since he spoke from his own perspective and suggested: "Vielleicht eignet sich gerade ein solcher Holzschnitt für den weit zu verbreitenden Almanach, den wir ja recht auf Volkstümlichkeit einstellen wollen."³⁶

Kippenberg's comments on Weiß's sketch reveal not only his personal taste in art, but also his intention of directing the Austrian almanac to a broad public, a readership to whom

³⁵ AK to HvH, July 2, 1915, Frankfurt am Main.

³⁶ AK to HvH, July 2, 1915, Frankfurt am Main.

sentimentality might appeal. It is also clear that he planned for this almanac to be succeeded by others, each of which would be increasingly Austrian in its composition. Such a goal could have only delighted Hofmannsthal, who telegraphed his acceptance of the honorarium, but coupled with a categorical rejection of Weiß's artwork.

A follow-up letter to his telegram conveys his wish to involve himself in the almanac project far more than Kippenberg had assumed. He flattered himself that scarcely another individual, Austrian or otherwise, would be able to execute their plan so fully.³⁷ He also makes it quite clear that he envisaged the Austrian almanac as standing independent and equal to its German counterpart, not as a "Bündnisalmanach." Hofmannsthal proved uncompromising in his concept of the two as separate but equal, manifesting an inner reluctance to be associated with anything so purely and politically German as the Insel-Almanach. Despite his justified, modest request: "meine Herausgeberschaft irgendwo innen bescheiden vermerkt wäre mir lieb,"³⁸ his communications disclosed a strong involvement and a distinctly individual idea as to the shape the journal was to take.

³⁷ HvH to AK, July 7, 1915, Frankfurt am Main.

³⁸ HvH to AK, July 2, 1915, Frankfurt am Main.

Kippenberg's letter of July 16, 1915 noted with satisfaction Hofmannsthal's enthusiasm for the project, which he found all the more reassuring because it was becoming increasingly difficult to carry out the plans as a consequence of the steady dwindling of the support staff of the Insel. Outside aid, particularly the assistance of a man of Hofmannsthal's range and caliber, was welcome.

Accepting Hofmannsthal's objection to Weiß's proposed woodcut, Kippenberg explained that he had written to the artist to request him to draw something purely ornamental, rather than the sentimental piece he had submitted originally. Since Katharina Kippenberg expected to see Rilke shortly in Munich, her husband had entrusted her with the task of discussing what suitable verse Rilke might have to offer. Finally, the publisher made a discreet plea, which he clearly suspected might not fit into Hofmannsthal's design. Stefan Zweig, the popular Austrian writer, had published under the Insel imprint for over a decade. Over the years he and Anton Kippenberg became close; their personal relationship was far more intimate than that of Kippenberg with Hofmannsthal. Aware, however, that the more famous Austrian author had no great love for his younger compatriot, Kippenberg wrote frankly, but diplomatically that while he knew Hofmannsthal was not particularly enamoured of Stefan Zweig, he would be grateful if he would be willing to include Zweig among the almanac's

contributors. Regardless of Hofmannsthal's opinion of him, Zweig was one of the best-known Austrian authors; Kippenberg wished to spare him any slight.³⁹

Hofmannsthal's answer to this request for a favor did not conceal the contempt he felt for Zweig, but was nevertheless a concession: "Ihren Wunsch, Herrn Z. zur Mitarbeiterschaft aufzufordern, erfülle ich einerseits gern weil es Ihr Wunsch ist, andererseits, wie Sie richtig annehmen, mit Überwindung."⁴⁰ He continued by stressing that even in his wildest dreams, it would not have occurred to him to include Zweig in an Austrian almanac, since "nichts scheint mir weniger österreichisch, als solche Wiener Literatenfiguren".⁴¹ Warming then to the discussion of an issue about which he was extremely sensitive, Hofmannsthal reveals his intention to omit selections from most living Austrian artists -- Rosegger, Ebner-Eschenbach, Schönherr, Schnitzler, Altenberg, Auernheimer, Handel-Rosetti, Salten -- all of whom he regarded as far more notable than Zweig, explaining, almost impatiently: "es handelt sich doch um ein ganz etwas anders als um eine Anthologie lebender Schriftsteller."⁴² Hofmannsthal, in his definition of what the yearbook was not to be, displayed a divergence from the

³⁹ AK to HvH, July 16, 1915, Frankfurt am Main.

⁴⁰ HvH to AK, July 22, 1915, Frankfurt am Main.

⁴¹ HvH to AK, July 22, 1915, Frankfurt am Main.

⁴² HvH to AK, July 22, 1915, Frankfurt am Main.

original idea that the almanac was to be essentially a celebration of Austrian talent for the purpose of better acquainting the public with the work of Austrian writers, particularly those who published in the Insel-Verlag. Still, he respected his publisher's wish, and devised a means of including Zweig without sacrificing too many of his principles:

Ich werde ihn in sehr freundlicher Form bitten, mir entweder ein Stück Prosa über slawische (österreichische) Literatur, oder etwas über österreichische Heerestaten 1914/15 zu geben, so wird seine Eitelkeit befriedigt sein, und mir etwas erspart bleiben, etwas völlig distonierendes, literatenhaftes in dem Almanach mitzuschleppen.¹³

Kippenberg acknowledged this favor, reiterating his high opinion of Zweig: "Vielen Dank, daß Sie meinen Wunsch, Dr. Zweig betreffend, erfüllt haben. Ihr Gedanke, ihn zu bitten, etwas über slawische Literatur zu schreiben, ist ausgezeichnet. Besonders auf dem Gebiete der tschechischen Literatur ist er ja sehr bewandert."¹⁴ There was no use in trying to persuade Hofmannsthal of Zweig's virtues, but Kippenberg, caught between the interests of his two authors, demonstrates in the letter his ability to exert enough pressure to achieve an outwardly satisfactory result.

Work proceeded apace on the project until November, when Katharina Kippenberg telegraphed Hofmannsthal about a misunderstanding over the title. The editor had believed the

¹³ HvH to AK, July 22, 1915, Frankfurt am Main.

¹⁴ AK to HvH, July 31, 1915, Frankfurt am Main.

almanac bore the title: "Insel-Almanach für Österreich"; he wished it to be the "österreichischer Insel-Almanach auf 1916," but at the publishing house, the sketch for the cover had as a title "österreichischer Almanach auf das Jahr 1916." This latter title proved acceptable to Hofmannsthal, although it omitted reference to the Insel-Verlag, probably to distinguish it from its German version.

Both the Insel-Almanach and the österreichischer Almanach auf 1916 were issued, and in May of 1916, Katharina Kippenberg approached Hofmannsthal for a contribution to the German almanac for that year. Since it was to be devoted to contemporary authors, Hofmannsthal should be represented at all costs.⁴⁵

Hofmannsthal interpreted this passage in Frau Kippenberg's letter as a portent of doom for the Austrian yearbook, since it referred only to his work in the German almanac and was silent about his own project. In his reply Hofmannsthal stated his position quite openly:

Das Material für einen österreichischen Almanach auf 1917 fängt schon an, mir von allen Seiten zuzufließen. Ich habe auch an der obersten Amtsstelle schon vor längerer Zeit die Andeutung gemacht, daß abermals ein österreichischer Almanach erscheinen würde. Es wäre also das Nichtzustandekommen eines solchen für mich enttäuschend nach mehr als einem Sinne. Dies spreche ich nur darum aus, weil ich von Ihnen und Prof. Kippenberg noch ohne Andeutung eines Auftrags hiefür bin. Daß die Schwierigkeiten ja groß sind, verhehle ich mir nicht.

⁴⁵ KK to HvH, May 11, 1916, Frankfurt am Main.

dazu höre ich von dem alle Verleger treffenden
Papiermangel.¹⁶

No matter how small the printing, Hofmannsthal had hoped for a second Austrian almanac. Impatiently he awaited Katharina or Anton Kippenberg's answer concerning the future of the Austrian almanac. For the writer, it was as much a matter of pride as of commitment to the project for its intrinsic value. Having discussed plans for a second Austrian almanac in his circle, Hofmannsthal was loathe to discard them. Only a week after he had inquired in Leipzig as to the fate of the yearbook, he beseeched Anton Kippenberg to let him know his decision.

Out of the Hofmannsthal's anxiety came the veiled threat to take the assembled collection to a local publisher, should the Insel-Verlag be reluctant to continue with it. Such a prospect would have been anathema to Professor Kippenberg, who regretted even the slightest publishing infidelity of his favored authors. Katharina Kippenberg had referred the entire matter to her husband, who, in the face of things, decided to issue a sequel to the Österreichischer Almanach auf das Jahr 1916 despite some misgivings. Upon receiving the news of this essentially positive, but conditional reply, Hofmannsthal expressed his pleasure to Katharina Kippenberg. He regretted the modest sales of the almanac

¹⁶ HvH to KK, May 16, 1916, Marbach am Neckar.

and announced his intention to try to sell at least 1000 copies, if necessary through private subscription.⁴⁷

Generously, Hofmannsthal renounced half of his salary for editing the yearbook and offered concrete plans to ensure its viability. The popularity of his other Austrian-centered project, the Österreichische Bibliothek, would guide him in his choice for the upcoming almanac. Hofmannsthal ended his letter with a testimony that showed his gratitude to the Insel for acceding to his wishes: "Ich freue mich jedesmal durch diese und andere Dinge mit dem Insel Verlag, den ich liebe, und nun auch mit Ihrer Person mich in Kontakt zu wissen. Wäre nun endlich der schwere Druck von uns genommen, so wollte man auf diesem und anderen Gebieten gerne mit einander fleißig sein."⁴⁸

While the war continued unrelentingly, Hofmannsthal's creative talents could not have full play. In his response to Frau Kippenberg he was acquiescent and self-sacrificing as he had never before been in dealing with the Insel-Verlag. As values and traditions crumbled around him, he felt that his ties to the Insel were among the few he could reaffirm and retain. In many respects the Insel embodied the essence of his youth.

⁴⁷ HvH to KK, June 12, 1916, Frankfurt am Main.

⁴⁸ HvH to KK, June 12, 1916, Frankfurt am Main.

At home to recuperate from a lengthy illness, Anton Kippenberg answered Hofmannsthal's letter of June 12 immediately upon receipt. In spite of the disappointing sales of the Österreichischer Almanach the publisher had decided to proceed with a second edition for several reasons. Not only had the idea for the almanac originated with him, but he also attached cultural-political significance to it. In addition, he did not wish to interrupt the "erfreuliche Kontinuität" of his relationship with Hofmannsthal.⁴⁹ Grateful to his author for suggesting a reduction of his honorarium and for striving to guarantee the sale of at least 1000 copies, the publisher explained that he was not interested in profit from the almanac, but in these hard times every work had to be examined carefully for its viability.⁵⁰

Ever practical, Kippenberg paid homage as much to a balanced ledger as to the cultural-political ideals he supported and disseminated. Paper, printing, and binding costs had all risen astronomically during the war, and Kippenberg pondered reducing the length of the yearbook to retain the 75 Pfennig price of the 1916 almanac. Hofmannsthal could thus proceed with his project, if not quite with the publisher's blessing, certainly with his understanding and solid support.

⁴⁹ AK to HvH, June 16, 1916, Frankfurt am Main.

⁵⁰ AK to HvH, June 16, 1916, Frankfurt am Main.

In the meantime, Hofmannsthal had journeyed to Warsaw on a war mission. Upon his return in July, he found the publisher's letter awaiting him. Now, despite Kippenberg's consent, he found the circumstances compelling him to edit a second österreichischer Almanach less imperative than when he had pleaded with Katharina Kippenberg for its continuation in the spring. Then, preparing the annual had been an appealing intellectual exercise, where he had enjoyed control, gathering and selecting material without interference or direct pressure. In midsummer, such was no longer the case. Other factors altered the picture, and he carefully weighed the disadvantages against the benefits, finally deciding to abandon the project, at least for the present, and formally represented the reasons to Kippenberg: 1.) the previous year's almanac had found only a weak reception, and consequently the propagandistic purpose for Kippenberg and the political goal for Hofmannsthal had not been reached; 2.) a silent conspiracy of countless mediocre Austrian literary hacks felt snubbed by the omission of their work from the almanac; 3.) a great deal rested on the continuation of the österreichische Bibliothek, and less on that of the österreichischer Almanach. Finally, in consideration that he could do far more to propagate the österreichische Bibliothek than to advance the österreichischer Almanach, Hofmannsthal suggested deferring the project until a later date.⁵¹

⁵¹ HvH to AK, July 31, 1916, Frankfurt am Main.

The Insel-Verlag, while prepared to print the almanac at Hofmannsthal's command, signaled its approval with a brief note, stating: "Die Gründe aber, die Sie gegen ein Erscheinen des Almanachs in diesem Jahr gelten machen, würdigt Herr Professor Kippenberg durchaus, und ist mit der Verschiebung auf das nächste Jahr vollkommen einverstanden."⁵² No doubt Kippenberg was relieved that the concatenation of events had led Hofmannsthal to shelve the annual. Plagued by wartime insufficiencies of both staff and goods, the Insel-Verlag lacked the necessary ingredients to give the periodical the support it required to establish itself. Neither Hofmannsthal nor Kippenberg ever returned to the project. No continuity existed to propel it forward; after the war circumstances did not improve as capital became devalued through inflation. Never again was the hour favorable for the reemergence of the yearbook dedicated solely to Austrian writers and topics, at least within the framework of the Insel-Verlag.

In the ensuing years, Katharina Kippenberg routinely solicited contributions from Hugo von Hofmannsthal for the Insel-Almanach. Although she requested lyrics, she received a variety of material, ranging from an essay reprinted from the Neue Freie Presse, dramatic fragments from his comedy Silvia im Stern, brief notes summarizing the differences between the Austrian and Prussian characters, and a narrative description of his visit to Morocco in

⁵² Insel-Verlag to HvH, August 10, 1916, Frankfurt am Main.

the late twenties. A familiar pattern marked the post-war years in terms of Hofmannsthal's relationship with the Insel-Verlag through the Almanach. The Insel always inquired about unpublished material, which Hofmannsthal did not have, and subsequently accepted whatever the writer offered, and in this way Hofmannsthal was consistently represented in the Almanach. Although the Insel would have preferred original material, as their requests revealed, Hofmannsthal clearly chose to publish this work elsewhere, and then to reprint selectively in the Insel-Verlag. Since the power of the Hofmannsthal reputation was such that even his reprinted material was regarded as an enhancement, these second-hand pieces were deemed satisfactory, if not ideal. For Hofmannsthal, the arrangement was desirable, since it enabled him to extend the life of his creations. He remained in the public eye with his newspaper essays, through his dramatic work, published in the S.Fischer Verlag, and through his libretti written in collaboration with the composer Richard Strauss. Hofmannsthal received payment for these efforts and then utilized them as propaganda for his published works in the Insel-Almanach. Obviously, he considered the yearbook an inappropriate stage for first appearances of his work, and since he had no difficulty in publishing elsewhere, one may conclude that he was not motivated to publish original material in the yearbook because he received no payment for it.

During the last decade of Hofmannsthal's life four issues of the Almanach appeared without contributions by him. Still a great literary figure, he commanded respect, but he was no longer a sensation. Economically, times were strained, and he published his material where the rewards were greatest, which was often elsewhere than in the Insel-Verlag. Once, in 1924, Katharina Kippenberg proposed they use in the Insel-Almanach the essay Hofmannsthal had contributed to her husband's Festschrift, but personal considerations apparently overweighed this suggestion. She herself had been reluctant to profane the piece by giving it such wide circulation, saying: "Ein wenig Leid täte es mir ja, wenn dieser schöne und doch so sehr persönliche Beitrag nicht der Festschrift ganz allein vorbehalten bliebe."⁵³ Although she had hoped to obtain a substitute, there was nothing forthcoming, and, for the first time since the inception of the Insel-Almanach Hofmannsthal's name was not listed in the table of contents. From this point on, his contributions appeared only sporadically.

That Hugo von Hofmannsthal had entered the decade with a real attachment to the Insel and its stalwart house publication was undeniable. In a despondent letter written sometime in the early twenties he confessed to Kippenberg: "mit wahrhafter Betrübniß

⁵³ KK to HvH, July 7, 1924, Frankfurt am Main.

muß ich mir eingestehen, daß ich für den 'Almanach' diesmal nichts und auch gar nichts beizusteuern habe!"⁵⁴

For the Austrian, continuity and tradition had always been important; now, after the destruction of the war and political and social upheaval experienced all over Western Europe but particularly in the disintegration of the old Austrian monarchy, Hofmannsthal felt an acute need to cling to some sort of stability. In the periodic renewal of his commitment to the publishing house, Hofmannsthal found strength and security. This world held tradition sacred and remained relatively unchanged in times of otherwise shifting values. Hofmannsthal, feeling he could not do without Kippenberg's sympathy in these matters, sought a sign from the publisher that he shared the author's view. Humble and pathetic, Hofmannsthal reached out to Kippenberg for a reaffirmation of the ties joining them together.

⁵⁴ HvH to AR, July 10, 19[20-24], Marbach am Neckar.

Chapter 7

HUGO VON HOFMANNSTHAL AND OTHER INSEL PUBLICATIONS

During the years Hofmannsthal contributed to the Insel-Almanach, he also engaged in numerous other publishing ventures with the firm. A short-lived publication, Hesperus, suffered the fate of the ship of the same name while three of its editors argued about the course it should follow. In 1908 the friendship of Rudolf A. Schröder, Rudolf Borchardt, and Hofmannsthal spawned the idea for a periodical whose pages would be dedicated to the works of leading literary figures of Germany and Europe. This was not a revival of the defunct Insel but a newly shaped concept. Hofmannsthal's chief contribution was "Alkestis." Schröder, his original contact with the Insel-Verlag, acted as intermediary in the matter of payment as well as in the actual transmission of his work. Kippenberg's formality and gratitude, as expressed in his letter of October 21, 1908, revealed both the reserved nature of his relationship with Hofmannsthal and the great esteem he had for him, adding,

after thanking him for his manuscripts, that it was his great pleasure "wieder einmal Dichtungen von Ihnen die verlegerische Sorgfalt angedeihen zu lassen."¹

Rudolf Alexander Schröder had also participated in the negotiations for the author's fee. For the first edition of 2200 copies, it was proposed to offer Hofmannsthal 1000 Marks. In the eventuality of further printings, the author would receive 500 Marks for each 11,000 copies. Hofmannsthal evidently regarded the offer as generous, answering Kippenberg: "Vilen (sic) Dank lieber Herr Dr., für Ihre so lieben freundlichen Zeilen und auch für das Entgegenkommen in der Honorarsache. Hoffentlich hat das Jahrbuch breiteren Erfolg, ich halte es für sehr möglich bei so guten Beiträgen."²

Considering that the only contributors to Hesperus at the time were Schröder, Borchardt, and Hofmannsthal himself, the author's optimism sounded a trifle arrogant. It was not long before this rosy illusion was shattered, as a telegram from the Austrian revealed: "doppelt betroffen durch aufschub wegen ungluecklicher zusammenstellung hesperus dringend sprechen und warnen wollte ist nicht doch gespraech leipzig morgen nachmittag moeglich erwarte entscheidung dresden."³

¹ AK to HvH, October 21, 1908, Frankfurt am Main.

² HvH to AK, October 23, 1908, Frankfurt am Main.

³ HvH to AK, January 26, 1909, Frankfurt am Main.

Evidently, the conversation between Kippenberg and Hofmannsthal which followed this telegraph cleared up the confusion and explained the reasons for the postponement of the appearance of Hesperus. Only a few days later, back at Rodaun, Hofmannsthal recorded his impressions of the meeting.

Ich bin auch froh, daß sich die Sache mit dem Hesperus geordnet hat, denn ich sah in Berlin, daß es Schröder näher ging als ich gedacht hatte -- und es gibt wenig Menschen auf der Welt, für die ich so viel Liebe und Respect empfinde als für ihn, und dem ich ungerner weh thäte als ihm.⁴

Publisher and author resigned themselves to the delay, however, which developed after a much-desired contributor, Gerhart Hauptmann, informed the principals that he would not have any material for the yearbook until after his return from his Italian villa in late spring. Such a delay retarded the appearance of Hesperus until fall. Hauptmann, a stalwart S. Fischer author, must have been approached by the editor-authors and not Kippenberg, who at this point in his publishing career would have had little communication with the famous dramatist. Unfortunately for Hesperus, the Hauptmann contribution never materialized, and thus the basis of the annual's content remained the pieces authored by its three editors, making it rather insular in scope. Even in this triumvirate, there was dissension, albeit muted. Hofmannsthal confided to the publisher: "Wegen des Raumes -- mehr oder weniger -- den er Borchardt zuteilen will, wollen wir doch

⁴ HvH to AK, February 2, 1909, Frankfurt am Main.

Schröder in keiner Weise chicanisieren, ich füge mich, doch hoffe ich fast, er schmeißt selber was davon heraus."⁵

When Hesperus appeared in bookstores in late 1909, its table of contents listed five pieces contributed by Borchardt, two by Hofmannsthal, two by Schröder, and an excerpt of a preface by Jean Paul. Limited as it was in its range of offerings for the literary palate, it did not bring its founders any financial rewards. Hofmannsthal's optimistic predictions of success for the issue were obliterated by the cold facts of its sales. As Anton Kippenberg reluctantly informed Hofmannsthal on August 30, 1911, the yearly inventory had confirmed their worst fears; Hesperus had sold dismally few copies and had thus brought about a severe loss.⁶ After six years' association with the Insel-Verlag, Kippenberg's business acumen began to assert itself over the indifferent instincts of his precursors. Schröder had little concept of how to balance the financial and creative aspects of publishing; he followed his own taste unswervingly, and in the past, this taste had appealed to too limited a public to produce any monetary benefits.

Although Schröder's attitude toward art permitted him this indulgence, the situation was not one which the leadership of the Insel-Verlag could condone and expect to remain solvent.

⁵ HvH to AK, February 2, 1909, Frankfurt am Main.

⁶ AK to HvH, August 30, 1911, Frankfurt am Main.

Kippenberg attempted to salvage what little he could out of the fiasco of Hesperus by separating the gatherings containing Hofmannsthal's "Alkestis" and issuing it alone at the modest price of 2 Marks. He also saw an advantage in this for Hofmannsthal: "denn die wundervolle Alkestis ist im Hesperus noch längst nicht so bekannt geworden, wie sie verdient hätte."⁷

Hofmannsthal accepted the idea, for an edition of Alkestis appeared in 1911 on the same Büchleinpapier as Hesperus had been printed and bound in boards with gold leaf. A variant edition consisted of thirty numbered copies bound in leather, designed by H. van de Velde.⁸

Despite its rather dismal failure, Hesperus did not fall into oblivion, at least in the minds of its creators. In 1912, as Hugo von Hofmannsthal related, they planned to revive the dormant annual:

Es ist -- und nicht in letzter Zeit, auch nicht in einem halben Jahr, sondern in Jahren gegenseitiger Annäherung -- zum Teil Wiederannäherung -- und Verständigung in Schröder, Borchardt und mir der Gedanke reif geworden, das Jahrbuch Hesperus wieder aufzunehmen und zwar in ungefähr gleicher Form und mit Borchardt als Redacteur.⁹

⁷ AK to HvH, August 30, 1911, Frankfurt am Main.

⁸ Sarkowski, Der Insel Verlag, p. 168.

⁹ HvH to AK, December 20, 1912, Frankfurt am Main.

Hofmannsthal could not advise Kippenberg to support the venture, however, for in spite of his close personal relationship to Borchardt, he harbored some reservations about the man. Hesperus was in fact never reissued by the Insel-Verlag.

Although Hesperus was a publishing disaster, another project conceived for the Insel-Verlag attained lasting success. In contrast to the preparation for Hesperus, the plans for the Insel-Bücherei were well thought out. Anton Kippenberg discussed them at length with authors and associates, and from the outset, the program for the Insel-Bücherei encompassed a broader spectrum of content than did that of the yearbook. As the publisher explained to Hugo von Hofmannsthal, he planned: "die Begründung einer Bibliothek von 30 Pfennig-Heften die gesamten Tendenzen des Insel-Verlages widerspiegelnd, und das Beste vom Neuen und Alten vereinigen soll."¹⁰ Kippenberg's genius was to offer great literature at modest prices without sacrificing beauty of design. Among the first twelve volumes of the series Insel-Bücherei, he hoped, with Hofmannsthal's permission, to incorporate the lyrical drama Der Tod des Tizian, to be followed the next year by Der Tor und der Tod. Through this medium the publisher anticipated reaching a segment of the reading population which would not or could not otherwise purchase the more expensive editions of the Hofmannsthal dramas. However, since profit had to be calculated

¹⁰ AK to HvH, January 5, 1912, Frankfurt am Main.

from sales in the thousands, and even then, subtracted from the almost absurdly low price, Kippenberg could not offer more than a 5% royalty to his authors.

Hofmannsthal did not quibble about the size of his percentage, although he did hope that experience might prove that a higher remuneration would be possible. On January 8, 1912, he responded favorably to his publisher, consenting to the suggested honorarium. In the future, he hoped, ten percent might prevail. Nor did Hofmannsthal quarrel with Kippenberg's plan; he had even thought about the possibility himself once when a friend returning from Russia had reported that translations of his works selling at the low price of twelve kopecks had enjoyed great popularity. Thus the merits of an inexpensive edition did not escape him.

In all likelihood, however, Hofmannsthal did not comprehend the extent of his publisher's plan. In contrast to previous Insel projects, the Insel-Bücherei had the advantage of being carefully laid out. Kippenberg devoted months to selection of proper material for the series. In July, when the first books had just been launched on the market, he sought to win Hofmannsthal's approval for a third volume of his works in the series. Phrasing his request in such a manner that he paid homage to the author, while criticizing a former publisher of Hofmannsthal's works, he noted: "Ich habe das Gefühl, als ob Sie zu Unrecht ein etwas stiefväterliches Gefühl Ihre Novellen gegenüber hätten, die früher

einmal in dem abscheulichen Wiener Verlag erschienen."¹¹

Kippenberg went on to propose that these two novellas could be nicely divided into two volumes for the series. He predicted that such a resurrection "würde gewiß die selbe Freude auslösen, wie das des Cornets Rilke, die auch 12 Jahre lang verschollen war."¹²

To enrich the collection publicized by the Insel-Verlag, Kippenberg cleverly sought out works of his famous authors which had fallen into obscurity. Usually they were early works, and the publisher whose imprints they bore was either defunct or willing to sell the rights to a title which had enjoyed little or no success in his house. However, Hofmannsthal, ever conscious of reviving his earlier, lesser-known writing to increase his income, had special reasons for allowing his Das Märchen der 672. Nacht und andere Erzählungen to languish in their first, unreprinted edition. As he responded to Kippenberg:

Daß Sie meiner erzählenden Versuche aufmerksam eingedenk sind, danke ich Ihnen herzlich und möchte folgendes erwidern. Von den 4 Arbeiten, die damals der kleine Übel gelungene Band enthielt, war die bedeutendste der "Brief" (des Lord Philipp Chandos an Bacon). Diese steht nun in meinen Gesammelten Prosaschriften, BI. "Die Reitergeschichte" und die Transcription aus dem Bassompierre kann ich nur für Schreibübungen ansehen. Die "Geschichte des Kaufmannssohnes" ist gewiß ein nicht ganz unmerkwürdiges Product und man könnte schon denken, sie einmal in einem Bändchen der Inselbücherei aufleben zu lassen. -- Nur möchte ich vorschlagen, hiermit eine Weile zu warten: es schweben mir nämlich unter sonstigen reichlichen Einfällen -- drei oder vier kurze

¹¹ AK to HvH, July 30, 1912, Frankfurt am Main.

¹² AK to HvH, July 30, 1912, Frankfurt am Main.

Erzählungen vor, symbolischen oder parabolischen Characters -- die, wenn sie wirklich zu entstehen gerufen wollen -- ganz vortrefflich geeignet wären, ein solches Bändchen auszufüllen, und sich in dieser Form Freunde zu gewinnen. Das ältere ziemlich problematisch ein wenig gespensterhaft autobiographische Ding möchte ich diesen neuen, die mir vielversprechend scheinen, lieber nachfolgen als ihnen vorausgehen lassen.¹³

Hofmannsthal's obvious reluctance to publish his tales in any form was founded on his own critical evaluation of their worth. The best, the Chandos letter, he had salvaged, and although he did not totally condemn the entire volume, he clearly observed standards which these works did not meet. Even the "Geschichte des jungen Kaufmannssohnes," which the author regarded as promising and more than a mere exercise in writing, was not sufficient reason to motivate a new Insel volume. Nevertheless, Hofmannsthal did not reject Kippenberg's proposal out-of-hand, but kept open the possibility of a future collection of prose should some recent poetic inspiration materialize. Kippenberg seized upon this faint promise and sought to consolidate a tentative agreement: "Ihr Vorschlag, die Geschichte des Kaufmannssohnes mit einigen anderen kleineren Erzählungen später zu vereinigen, und aus ihnen dann ein Bändchen der Insel-Bücherei zu bilden, hat meinen ganzen Beifall."¹⁴ Instead of a prose volume, Kippenberg carried out his intention of issuing Der Tor und der Tod in the Insel-Bücherei. This lyrical drama appeared as number 28 in the series and enjoyed

¹³ HvH to AK, August 3, 1912, Frankfurt am Main.

¹⁴ AK to HvH, August 6, 1912, Frankfurt am Main.

a creditable success, as did its predecessor Der Tod des Tizian. Anton Kippenberg revealed, in a letter composed on February 28, 1913, that Tizian had already sold 14,000 copies. Encouraged by the sales of the initial series, Kippenberg inquired about a potential volume of prose selections. Hofmannsthal was forced to admit that what he had originally envisioned had been superceded by many other projects, which, he implied, were of greater significance. He urged Kippenberg to use "Das Welttheater" instead, adding:

es ist mir ja sehr lieb, wenn die Sachen in dieser Weise popularisiert werden -- aber freilich ich frage mich, werden sie's denn? -- Sie haben, wie es scheint, die 20,000 Exemplare "Tor u. Tod" noch nicht abgesetzt -- kann man da, bei einer so wohlfeilen Ausgabe, von Erfolg sprechen -- ohne wohlmeinenden Optimismus?! Ich sähe gern klar in diesen Dingen. Und dann, ein leichtes Bedenken: wird der Sammelband nicht dann allmählich ein wenig entwertet?¹⁵

Despite the high figures for sales, Hofmannsthal remained skeptical about the success of the series and feared that publishing in the Insel-Bücherei would divert attention from his other Insel publications. No direct response from Kippenberg is documented, but on November 1, 1913 he reported that sales of Der Tor und der Tod had exceeded 16,500 copies and of Der Tod des Tizian over 20,500, a success rate he deemed most satisfactory. Evidently he also allayed Hofmannsthal's trepidation about the series, since Das Kleine Welttheater appeared as number 78 in that year.

¹⁵ HvH to AK, May 7, 1913, Frankfurt am Main.

From 1914 to 1920, no Hofmannsthal work was published as part of the Insel-Bücherei, although the author continued to be well-represented in other of the house's publishing activities. The lapse could not be attributed to lack of interest on the firm's part. From his military post in Flanders in February 1917, Anton Kippenberg pursued the matter of a possible collection of prose works, renewing the discussion he had had some years earlier with Hofmannsthal. Kippenberg solicited the writer's approval, reiterating his request to republish the collected prose which had appeared in the Wiener Verlag in 1905. Hofmannsthal had rejected this same proposal in 1912, but Kippenberg, conjecturing that Hofmannsthal might no longer harbor the same reservations, suggested that either these works or others from Hofmannsthal's collected prose would be appropriate.¹⁶

The ever-vigilant publisher anticipated adding still another Hofmannsthal number to the series: "Später denke ich Ihnen dann noch das Braten einer Extra-Wurst vorzuschlagen. Nämlich eine knappe Auswahl aus Ihren Gedichten in der Insel-Bücherei."¹⁷ Apparently Hofmannsthal had thought little of reviving his old novellas, for in March he informed Frau Kippenberg that he had approached Samuel Fischer for permission to publish some of his prose works in the Insel-Bücherei. Since Fischer did not yet have

¹⁶ AK to HvH, February 19, 1917, Frankfurt am Main.

¹⁷ AK to HvH, February 19, 1917, Frankfurt am Main.

the right to the tales issued under the Wiener Verlag imprint, the author could only have meant a selection of essays and other prose pieces. A note later that year, however, indicated that this plan too had been shelved. In July 1917 the work under consideration for the prose volume Kippenberg wanted for the Insel-Bücherei was the dramatic fragment "Das Bergwerk zu Falun." Hofmannsthal hesitated to reissue this piece, especially in the form proposed by Kippenberg. Earnestly, the author proclaimed:

nie habe ich daran gedacht, und bin sehr erstaunt, daß Sie daran denken, das "Bergwerk v. Falun" dadurch zum wirklichen Fragment zu machen, daß Sie alle möglichen Teile dazudrucken statt dessen was einzig und allein eine poetische Einheit, die sich als solche seit einem Decennium bewahrt, nämlich der Teil, nenne man ihn wie immer, der in meine "Gedichte und kl. Dramen" enthalten ist. Bitte überlegen Sie, ob Ihnen dieser für ein Insel-Bändchen nicht genügt, meo voto käme anders nicht in Frage. ¹⁸

Acknowledging that the publisher might want to choose his poems instead, if he were convinced that such a publication would not harm the successful Gesammelte Gedichte und Kleine Dramen, Hofmannsthal was willing to offer these in substitution. Kippenberg let the matter lapse, apparently reluctant to compete with the collected edition.

Attempts to introduce new Hofmannsthal material into the Insel-Bücherei consistently led into a blind alley. Neither party could agree on a suitable selection. Katharina Kippenberg offered a suggestion in January 1918. Once the deluxe edition of the

¹⁸ HvH to AK, July 11, 1917, Marbach am Neckar.

Märchen der 672. Nacht was fully subscribed, she proposed to add this text to the Insel-Bücherei series. However, Hofmannsthal again showed a steadfast refusal to be cajoled into this. Not to be outdone in persistence, Kippenberg repeated his request a year later, inquiring:

wäre es nicht möglich, daß Sie uns für die Insel-Bücherei eine Auswahl aus Ihrer Prosa geben, seien es Aufsätze aus den drei Bänden oder etwa aus dem Bande der 672. Nacht. Bitte überlegen Sie doch die Sache noch einmal recht. Ich glaube daß ein solches Bändchen große Wirkung in der Insel-Bücherei tun und ein neuer Schrittmacher für Ihre übrigen Bücher sein würde. Und daß ich es als besondere Zierde unserer Sammlung betrachte, brauche ich nicht besonders hinzufügen.¹⁹

Finally, after years of negotiations, Hofmannsthal agreed to a volume of prose work. First and foremost, the author predicted: "daß er [der Band] gehaltvoll and gut werden kann und würdig in die Bücherei aufgenommen zu werden, die immer so streng rein gehalten bleiben möge, daß die Aufnahme Ehre ist."²⁰ The writer planned to draw on two sources: a collection of material gathered under the title Rodauner Nachträge and his three-volume Die prosaischen Schriften gesammelt which had appeared under the Fischer imprint. Two obstacles stood in his path, however. The Rodauner Nachträge, already a sore issue with Kippenberg because they were to be issued privately under the auspices of another publisher, had not actually reached the presses at Drugulin. Until it appeared, Hofmannsthal could not contract to select

¹⁹ AK to HvH, January 31, 1919, Frankfurt am Main.

²⁰ HvH to AK, February 19, 1919, Frankfurt am Main.

material from it for the Insel-Bücherei. If he drew from his previously published prose works, on the other hand, he would require Fischer's permission. These two barriers, created by Hofmannsthal's engagement with rival publishers, proved sufficiently difficult to surmount that the volume did not come into being that year. To sweeten the disappointment, Hofmannsthal offered the Insel-Verlag two unpublished works, a collection of aphorisms and thoughts, which was issued under the title Buch der Freunde in 1922, and his drama Das Salzburger Große Welttheater. Such a promise strongly mitigated the denial of the proposed Insel-Bücherei volume. Kippenberg expressed warm gratitude and avowed: "Ich werde alles daran setzen, um auch als Verleger das Meinige zu tun."²¹

Kippenberg consoled himself, knowing not only that two coveted works were pledged to the Insel, but also with the possibility that someday the prose volume might materialize as well. That prospect was eventually fulfilled with the publication of Hugo von Hofmannsthal's Reden und Aufsätze as number 339 of the Insel-Bücherei in 1921.

Since the serial nature of the Insel-Bücherei required continuous attention to the planning of future volumes, Kippenberg next inquired about including Alkestis. The piece, once salvaged from the defunct Hesperus, was being given that theater season of -----

²¹ AK to HvH, June 30, 1919, Frankfurt am Main.

1924, and thus seemed a likely choice, although the rights to it were held by the Fischer-Verlag. In a terse communication to Hofmannsthal, Kippenberg noted: "Brief Fischer abgegangen." Fischer must have rejected Kippenberg's request, for not until 1930, after Hugo von Hofmannsthal's demise, did the drama grace the ranks of the Insel-Bücherei. Kippenberg, as usual, remained undaunted by the complications concerning Alkestis and returned to an earlier suggestion. Hofmannsthal's lengthy handwritten reply elucidated his position in such a thoughtful manner that his publisher could not help respecting his opinion. In lieu of Alkestis it seemed that the publisher had proposed the Das Märchen der 672. Nacht, first published in 1905 and then reissued as a Luxusausgabe by the Insel-Verlag at the end of the war. Twelve years after the initial request, and for the third time, Hofmannsthal again politely declined. On the surface, he admitted, there was no reason to object to Kippenberg's suggestion. Yet intuitively Hofmannsthal felt uncomfortable about including any of his novellas in the series, confiding:

Die Insel-Bücherei ist mir sehr wert; jede Aufnahme einer meiner Arbeiten dahin wert und wichtig. Und die Aufnahme dieses Erzählungsbandes von einem Dichter, der kein Erzähler ist, würde mich beinahe betrüben. Nicht daß ich die genannten Erzählungsversuche, so verschiedenes Stiles, so niedrig stellte. Aber es sind Versuche. (Meine Gedichte, die kleinen Dramen, die Opern, die Volksspiele Jedermann und Welttheater, die Lustspiele sind keine Versuche, es sind dichterische Arbeiten schlechthin, welches Ranges, das wird die Nachwelt bestimmen.) Und überall möchte ich mit Versuchen auftreten, nur nicht in der Insel-Bücherei! und ferner: es sind Versuche eines Dichters, der kein Erzähler ist, oder bis nun keiner war, aber vielleicht

einer wird! Vielleicht gerade in der letzten Zeit manches in sich reifen fühlt, was wirklich Erzählung genannt zu werden verdiente -- was, wenn irgendwo in der Insel-Bücherei, neben dem was von mir dort ist, seinen Platz verdiente! Streichen Sie mich, ich bitte, aus der Liste der nächsten Zehn, und warten Sie eine kleine Weile.²²

Clearly Hofmannsthal had established distinct criteria for the publication of his writing. It was not sufficient to see it in print; the imprint it bore was significant, and within that framework, the form it attained was important. Thus, it was acceptable to produce a small limited edition of his work for a circle of bibliophiles, but distributing it in a format that would reach thousands was unsatisfactory. Such a format demanded a finished piece, not one which was merely an attempt. Adhering to his standards and suppressing publication of certain works, Hofmannsthal was better able to shape the image he presented to the public -- to confirm and affirm his own evaluation of his creations. In his letter he bowed to the judgment of the coming generations, the test of time, yet he did not concede his ability to distinguish the temporary or inchoate from the mature and enduring. Neither the Märchen der 672. Nacht nor any other Hofmannsthal tale ever stood along side his celebrated Der Tod des Tizian or Der Tor und der Tod in the select Insel-Bücherei. Here the author's wishes prevailed, and the publisher acknowledged a superior instinct.

²² HvH to AK, November 6, 1924, Marbach am Neckar

If Hugo von Hofmannsthal's high regard for the Insel-Bücherei forced him to consider his representation therein quite critically, he did not need to observe the same standards in his contribution to the Insel house organ Das Inselsschiff. The author proved to be far less selective about reprinting his essays and articles which had first appeared in other journals in this publication. Such works were intended for the present and not designed to be inscribed in the pantheon of literary history. In particular, among Insel publications, Das Inselsschiff was more functional than aesthetic in its orientation, although like all Insel products, it strove for formal excellence. Anton Kippenberg outlined his intention for the periodical on February 18, 1919 in a brief note to Hofmannsthal:

Ein lang gehegter Plan soll nunmehr zur Ausführung kommen: nämlich die Schöpfung einer Verlagszeitschrift, die die Propaganda unserer Verlagswerke, insbesondere der Bücher unserer lebenden Autoren bezweckt. Sie soll den Namen Das Inselsschiff führen und zunächst sechsmal im Jahr zum billigsten Preise [erscheinen.]²³

For the first number Kippenberg hoped to include selections from some material the author had recently sent the Insel-Verlag.

Hofmannsthal acceded to Kippenberg's request, and the first number of the Inselsschiff included the selection "Aus einem Notizbuch," sayings and thoughts that later appeared in the author's Buch der Freunde. The editor had hoped for even more; he asked Hofmannsthal to compose the introductory essay that would

²³ AK to HvH, February 8, 1919, Frankfurt am Main.

launch the periodical. In a lengthy letter to the author, Kippenberg detailed extensively his concept of topics the essay might cover. Not only was the Insel to be an instrument of propaganda, but, as the publisher's letter revealed, it was to have a combined literary and political thrust. Kippenberg envisioned Hofmannsthal bestowing his blessing on this journal in much the way he had on the Insel. He proposed an essay on the themes of nationalism and cosmopolitanism, since he held that future political and intellectual developments depended on man's ability to bring these two ideologies into harmony with one another. Salvation, hypothesized Kippenberg, lay in becoming the most cosmopolitan people in the world, while becoming firmly rooted in the national soil. Although intelligent men had always endeavored to fulfill this aim, Kippenberg felt that precisely this emphasis was lacking in post-war Germany. In his appeal to Hofmannsthal, Kippenberg maintained:

Ich glaube, daß gerade Sie berufen wären, gleichsam ewige Worte über diese natürliche Sendung der Deutschen zugleich Deutscher und Weltbürger zu sein, und der Welt darin ein Beispiel zu geben, zu sagen, und ich meine daß die ersten Seiten des Inselschiffes der geeigneteste Platz dafür wären, da ja gerade der Insel-Verlag wohl als einziger Verlag der Welt erfolgreich bemüht gewesen ist, die beiden Gegensätze harmonisch zu vereinen. Vielleicht könnte das in Ihrem Aufsatz zum Schluß gesagt werden.²⁴

²⁴ AK to HvH, August 1, 1919, Frankfurt am Main.

In addition to suggesting that Hofmannsthal remark on the successful unity of nationalism and cosmopolitanism in the literature published by the Insel-Verlag, Kippenberg proposed that the author point to the role of the German book in transmitting the spiritual values of nations through the medium of the German language, as Kippenberg himself had recently done in a speech before the Deutsche Gesellschaft zum Auslandsbuchhandel. The essay would proceed from the past, bemoan the present, and point hopefully to the future. Kippenberg promised to send him a copy of this address to serve as a model.

Having specified his conceptualization of the essay he proposed Hofmannsthal write, Kippenberg noted that there was a slight catch to the project: the introduction was needed in two to three weeks. Perhaps precisely because of the time constraint, the publisher spelled out his terms more exactly than was customary in his relationship with his prestigious author, adding: "Um noch Äusseres zu erwähnen. als Umfang denke ich mir etwa acht Seiten, im Format Ihrer Gedichte und Kleinen Dramen, und als Honorar erlaube mir Kr. 600.-- im Vorschlag zu bringen."²⁵

Despite Anton Kippenberg's elaborate plan for the inauguration of the Insel Schiff with an introductory essay, for which he had provided the raw material and Hofmannsthal the craftsmanship and the reputation to lend his words authority, he

²⁵ AK to HvH, August 1, 1919, Frankfurt am Main.

failed to secure Hofmannsthal's assistance. On the eighteenth of August, the poet notified the chief clerk for the Insel-Verlag, Willibald Keller, of his inability to comply with Professor Kippenberg's request. The time allotted for composing the "schöne aber schwierige Arbeit" was too brief.²⁶

Katharina Kippenberg soon became the guiding editor of the Inselschrift, executing the task of organizing the material to be included in each number. In 1920, a special August issue was planned to commemorate the anniversary of Goethe's birth and to present various unpublished items of Goethiana from the Kippenberg's private collection. However, as she informed Hofmannsthal, they also wished to hear a contemporary voice, that of Hugo von Hofmannsthal. She begged the author to consider writing a piece, no matter how loose a connection it might have to Goethe.²⁷

Frau Kippenberg's plea did not go unheeded. Her implicit linking of the two great poets might have been flattering enough to win a response, but her warm, enthusiastic manner created a bond between her and the artists with whom she corresponded. This more personal relationship made refusal difficult. Hofmannsthal, known to esteem Goethe, was a logical choice, especially since Rainer Maria Rilke, a close friend of Katharina Kippenberg, and

²⁶ HvH to W.Keller, August 18, 1919, Frankfurt am Main.

²⁷ KKto HvH, April 29, 1920, Frankfurt am Main.

the other reigning poet of stature publishing under the Insel imprint, did not share the Kippenbergs' reverence for Germany's great poet. Although Hofmannsthal agreed to contribute something, he thought of a way to satisfy Frau Kippenberg and still avoid taxing himself. His solution entailed extracting material from what he called:

ein Buch größtenteils Aphorismen, Reflexionen Anekdotisches etc., zu benennen "Buch der Freunde," für den Inselverlag zusammenzustellen im Begriff, werde ich daraus Reflexionen über Goethe aussondern, die ziemlich tief gehen und in ihrer concisen Form mehr wert sein werden, als essayistische Ausbreitungen.²⁸

Much to Hofmannsthal's disappointment, upon closer inspection, his reflections on Goethe failed to live up to his expectations. Late in 1921, he did finally contribute a commentary on Goethe's Westöstlicher Divan, but there was nothing of the magnitude for which both author and editor had hoped. Three years later, Katharina Kippenberg again begged for a Goethe commentary. In October of 1923, Hofmannsthal answered her resignedly. He had not forgotten her query, but he had been unable to comply with her wishes. As proof of his good intentions, he inclosed several sketchy first drafts of poems celebrating Goethe and explained:

So genau mir vor Augen steht, was hier zu machen wäre ungefähr [wie] es aussehen müsste -- höherer Ordnung und gehobeneren Tones als ein Essay, ohne darum ins Hymnische fortzufliegen - so genau mir vor Augen steht - bis auf den Anfang, die beiläufige Seitenzahl - so völlig unmöglich ist mir dergleichen herauszubringen.

²⁸ HvH to KK, June 21, 1920, Marbach am Neckar.

Ich kann weder mir selbst, noch Ihnen genau erklären woran es liegt - weder fehlt der Wille noch - anscheinend - die innere Möglichkeit - und doch scheint diese in der Tat nicht gegeben sein - ich vermag es nicht, und muß dies nun endgültig aussprechen, so leid mir's tut.²⁹

Hofmannsthal's jottings reflected neither his nor Goethe's genius, although they were evidence of the sincerity of his attempt to respond to Katharina Kippenberg's exhortations. Moved by the poet's willingness to share his fragmentary lyrics with her, Frau Kippenberg wrote to ask if it had been her suggestion that had inhibited the creative process. Reassuringly, Hofmannsthal replied: "Nun denken Sie nur nicht, es hätte Ihr Vorschlag mich gehemmt, einen Aufsatz über Goethe gehobenen Tones, wie er uns vorschwebte, zu Papier zu bringen; gewiß nicht Ihr so freundlicher, durchaus ein mögliches Ziel weisender Vorschlag!"³⁰ Hofmannsthal attributed his disability instead to a deep-rooted problem which even he failed to penetrate. Under the impact of the powerful experiences of the past few years, he had temporarily lost touch with the social form of expression, "die gesellige Äußerungsform," as he termed it. Speaking of his efforts to grapple with this mysterious turn of events, Hofmannsthal wrote:

...am besten vermag ich noch, mit bewußter Distanz, so als ob ich in fremder Sprache schreibe, für fremde Sprache zu schreiben, wogegen mir im Dichterischen, sei es auch ohne den Vers, eine neue Sprache vielleicht geschenkt worden ist, oder sich der geheimen, außerpersönlichen Tiefe, die man im Innersten trägt,

²⁹ HvH to KK, October 20, 1923, Marbach am Neckar.

³⁰ HvH to KK, January 2, 1924, Marbach am Neckar.

allmählich zu entringen scheint.³¹

Thus, shortly before his fiftieth birthday, Hofmannsthal still struggled with the meaning of language and his relationship to it. His writing was changing and he felt himself taking a new lyrical direction, in part because of the dramatic events of the previous years. He continued, however, to see language as an element both within and outside himself. The new literary voice which he felt emerging was as uncertain as an adolescent's; he could not depend on it to produce poems or essays at will. In part because of this development and also because he continued to disperse his materials among numerous publishers and journals, he contributed only intermittently to the Inselschiff.

At the beginning of December 1925 Katharina Kippenberg again solicited Hofmannsthal's participation. Referring to a letter-essay by Albrecht Schaeffer in the most recent Inselschiff, she asked Hofmannsthal to use the same form for whatever subject matter he might choose. Schaeffer's letter had a familiar tone, and Frau Kippenberg hastened to assure Hofmannsthal that something more formal and less personal would also be welcome. As possible themes she proposed travel notes, personal communications, and impressions recorded on reading books. The nature of the genre permitted flexibility; if Hofmannsthal could not produce anything for the Easter or summer numbers, there was always the Goethe

³¹ HvH to KK, January 2, 1924, Marbach am Neckar.

issue, which was usually published around August 28. She ventured to suggest: "Dann könnte es doch herrlich einer über Goethe sein?"³²

On the eighteenth of December 1925, Hofmannsthal responded positively to Katharina Kippenberg's suggestion that he employ the letter as an essay form to address a topic for the Insel Schiff. Calling it a "schöne, gesellige Form," the poet added that both Hans Carossa and Rudolf Alexander Schröder would be good candidates for similar attempts. However, Hofmannsthal did not commit himself to a deadline, forcing Frau Kippenberg to correspond with him again in January to try to pin him down to a specific date. Pleading illness, Hofmannsthal petitioned to aim for the Easter number, "denn ich will's nicht mit Bemühung sondern mit freier leichter Hand schreiben."³³ Since the deadline for that issue was fast approaching, Katharina Kippenberg suggested that the letter appear in the June number, the deadline for which was the end of May.³⁴ The eighth of May found the poet again seeking a postponement:

Ich muß Sie erbitten, daß Sie mir die Frist für den Brief über die Generationen an einen gleichaltrigen Freund entweder bis zum 20. Juni erstrecken, oder aber ihn erst ins übernächste Heft bringen. Ich kann es anders nicht schaffen. Eine Prosa dieser Art fordert die gleiche Mischung von Inspiration und Bemühung wie ein

³² KK to HvH, December 6, 1925, Marbach am Neckar.

³³ HvH to KK, January 8, 1926, Marbach am Neckar.

³⁴ KK to HvH, January 26, 1926, Marbach am Neckar.

längeres Gedicht. Mir schwebt genau vor, was ich machen will, aber es ist fortgesetzt zu viel von außen an mich herantreten, politisches, Theatersache u.s.f....³⁵

Since the issue following the June number was devoted wholly to Goethe, Frau Kippenberg proposed that Hofmannsthal change his theme to harmonize with the rest of the material to avoid having to delay publication of his letter until the issue following the August Inselschiff. Hofmannsthal found this idea unsatisfactory, inquiring: "Muß denn das August-Heft wirklich ganz mit Goethe gefüllt werden? Und könnte nicht mein Brief trotzdem dort Platz finden?"³⁶ Apparently the editor and author reached a compromise: the topic would remain the same, but Hofmannsthal would direct the ending to touch upon the theme of Goethe. Such a combination proved impossible, as Hofmannsthal related in a July note which requested postponement, this time until fall. Like other projects stimulated by the Kippenbergs, this one, too, came to naught. Never published during Hofmannsthal's lifetime, the draft of the letter is housed in the Houghton Library of Harvard University among Hofmannsthal's papers. Although Hugo von Hofmannsthal received the Kippenbergs' suggestions well, he often failed to develop them. He found it difficult to adhere to a schedule imposed from without; other more pressing projects distracted him from his work on the proposed letter-essay. Too frequently, Hofmannsthal must have felt pressured by the Insel, even when the

³⁵ HvH to AK, May 8, 1926, Frankfurt am Main.

³⁶ HvH to KK, May 17, 1926, Marbach am Neckar.

pressure was not overt. The world of deadlines and dates was too structured for the artist, particularly when the publisher expected him to produce something within a brief timeframe. While the Insel was occasionally guilty of such conduct, of asking the writer to conjure up an essay at short notice, the author sometimes projected upon his publisher his own frustration at not being able to produce the desired piece. Hofmannsthal's last exchange with Katharina Kippenberg in regard to the Inselsschiff manifested a piqued tone which showed his impatience and irritation with the eternal requests for contributions and the attendant limits placed upon him. Evidently Anton Kippenberg had solicited from the author a critical piece on Rudolf Alexander Schröder, aware that he had already written something of that nature for a limited public. Hofmannsthal's characteristic graciousness took on a note of annoyance as he found himself unable to satisfy Frau Kippenberg's request:

Liebe gnädige Frau, ich habe vor etwa zwei Jahren als Schröder in Zürich weilte, meine Gedanken und meine Bewunderung für ihn auf eine dortige Bitte in einem kurzen Aufsatz zusammengefaßt und diesen dem Lesezirkel Hottingen zur Verfügung gestellt. Diese Gedanken nun wieder anders zu formulieren ist mir nicht gegeben. Ich verfüge nicht über diese Art von metier... Im ganzen möchte ich dies sagen: ich habe nicht die äußeren und inneren Möglichkeiten innerhalb von 2 Wochen Aufsätze über gewichtige Gegenstände zu improvisieren. Dazu habe ich vor allem zu viel und zu vielerei zu tun.³⁷

³⁷ Hvh to KK, January 22, 1928, Marbach am Neckar.

The exchanges between Hofmannsthal and the Insel-Verlag document a litany of editorial requests, only a few of which were answered positively. In this case, the author finally contributed his article on Schröder, just as it had been written two years before, and it appeared in the summer 1928 issue of the Inselschiff.

All in all, however, Hofmannsthal's participation in this Insel periodical was slight and not even of the depth of his other involvement with Die Insel, Hesperus, or Insel-Almanach. By its very nature as an organ of propaganda, it could not fulfil his artistic needs and thus remained primarily an obligation, never a passion.

When an idea originated with Hofmannsthal, however, his dedication to it verged on the all-consuming. A few months before his active engagement as editor of the österreichischer Almanach, Hofmannsthal approached Kippenberg with a half-completed project and a plea for the publisher's support. The extent of his urgency showed in his manner of communication: the author telegraphed Kippenberg, who was then at his military post in Halle:

vorbereite seit monaten serie buecher aus oesterreich
umfang analog inselbucherei charakter politisch
historisch nur teilweise belletristisch teilweise
neudrucke wichtigere austriaca teilweise actuelles
mitarbeiter beste officiere politiker gelehrte gewonnen
wohlwollen presse gesichert zwei serien zu sechs
baendchen muessten maerz april heraus in aussicht
genommener wiener verleger mir unzuLaenglich viele
andere auch reichsdeutsche durch mittelpersonen nahelegt
wuerde lieber mit euch arbeiten muessten nur

durchsprechung bevollmaechtigen hersenden leitung
muesste in meiner hand bleiben alles geschaeftliche
durch euch ueberleget und depeschieret stets herzlich
zugetan. ³⁸

Dissatisfied with the Viennese publisher with whom he had initiated the idea of a series of Austrian works based on Kippenberg's successful Insel Bücherei, Hofmannsthal unabashedly solicited the Insel-Verlag's assistance. He seemed oblivious to the fact that since his project was in part modelled on an Insel undertaking, he was perhaps morally obligated to have first consulted with Kippenberg on the matter. Despite these unusual circumstances, Kippenberg agreed to the plan with alacrity. Only a couple of weeks later, Hofmannsthal expounded on his concept of an österreichische Bibliothek, raising a few points that he and Kippenberg had not finalized. Details like the number of review copies for the Austrian press, complimentary copies for the collaborators, and a printed announcement of the series remained unsettled. Hofmannsthal's tone conveyed his excitement and enthusiasm; he impressed upon his publisher the importance of the contributors, extolling their virtues:

Die Mitarbeiter (Herausgeber der einzelnen Bändchen)
sind bei dieser culturpolitischen Unternehmung ein ganz
anderer, weit wichtigerer Faktor als bei der
Inselbücherei -- namhafte Politiker aller
Schattierungen: Officiere, Historiker; weniger nur
Litteraten u. Philologen. Die Zusammenstellung der
Mitarbeiter hat auch politischen Sinn. ³⁹

³⁸ HvH to AK, February 12, 1915, Frankfurt am Main.

³⁹ HvH to AK, February 19, 1915, Frankfurt am Main.

The stress the author laid on the background and political shrewdness of his contributors indicated a new direction in Hofmannsthal's life. In the plan for the Österreichische Bibliothek the artist merged his long-standing but ever-increasing awareness of his Austrian cultural heritage with a new-found political interest. His implicit deprecation of other writers and academics indicated a movement away from the companions of his earlier years. The powerful events of the war were obviously acting on him and drawing him into the eddying whirl of political involvement.

Since the war's effect on Kippenberg was similar, the publisher's approval was not surprising. However, in his enthusiasm he did not neglect practical questions. At the end of February 1915 he met with Hofmannsthal in Vienna, where they arrived at a verbal agreement on terms, which Kippenberg promptly restated in writing upon his return to his post in Halle:

Erstens, für jeden Band ist ein einmaliges Herausgeberhonorar von M.100- zu zahlen. Zweitens: das Herausgeberhonorar ist stets einmalig und soll im allgemeinen M.100.-- bis M.150.--, soll aber M.200.-- nicht überschreiten. Bei der etwaigen Aufnahme selbstständiger Werke lebender Dichter und Schriftsteller sind besondere Vereinbarungen vom Verlage zu treffen. Drittens, der Umfang soll im allgemeinen 5 bis 6 Bogen nicht übersteigen. Vier, die Herausgabe soll, soweit es möglich ist, durch wissenschaftliche Mitarbeiter des Insel-Verlages erfolgen.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ AK to HvH, February 24, 1915, Frankfurt am Main.

Again, on March 3, 1915, Kippenberg communicated his satisfaction with the development of the plans. He discussed his hope that the price could be kept to 60 Pfennig or 70 Heller and considered prospective items to be included. A return letter brimmed with further information and plans. The series proceeded according to schedule. When Hofmannsthal received the printed announcement, he remarked: "Sie sieht ausgezeichnet aus, wie alles was vom Inselverlag ausgeht, ist aber voll schwerer störender Druckfehler. (Ich nenne nur einen: Audienzen bei Kaiser Franz Josef, anstatt bei Kaiser Josef.)"¹ The busy editor hoped to receive a sixth and final manuscript for the series in less than a week; otherwise it lacked only his own introduction to a volume of Grillparzer. In addition, Kippenberg had sent him a list of Austriacae to peruse, and Hofmannsthal responded indicating the topics he found deserving consideration, citing Stifter, Mozart, Der Ackermann aus Böhmen, and "Meisterreden in Österr. Parlament." He concluded: "Material strömt mehr zu als man unterbringen kann und auch für die Aufnahme in Österreich und im deutschen Reich habe ich gutes Zutrauen."²

Hofmannsthal's fertile, well-read mind produced a catalog of Austrian treasures extensive enough to provide the substance for innumerable series of volumes. Before he could concretize his

¹ HvH to AK, April 5, 1915, Frankfurt am Main.

² HvH to AK, April 5, 1915, Frankfurt am Main.

endeavor, however, he had to cope with several snags. First, the Insel-Verlag telegraphed that one of the volumes, Bismarck, exceeded the size limitations.¹³ Hofmannsthal, as editor, served as intermediary between publisher and author, and reported that the author of the volume would withdraw it rather than cut it. Negotiations ensued, and Zweybrück's Bismarck und Österreich eventually appeared uncut as the fourth volume of the series. The attention to detail required under his direction of the series seemed to appeal to Hofmannsthal. His letters spilled over with matters to be attended to: his announcement to appear in the Neue Freie Presse; review copies to be distributed to supporters and collaborators; a second series to follow close on the heels of the first -- all sorts of preparations claimed his attention.¹⁴

Kippenberg recorded his pleasure with the first series of the Österreichische Bibliothek on June 10, 1915, at the same time he came to an agreement with Hofmannsthal to serve as editor for an Austrian almanac, which was to be called Österreichischer Almanach auf das Jahr 1916. Not long afterwards, a note of dissatisfaction became audible. Coordinating the preparation of the manuscripts proved to be a demanding task, and Hofmannsthal found it necessary to clarify his editorial role. He perceived his primary responsibility as influencing the intellectual content of the

¹³ Insel-Verlag to HvH, May 4, 1915, Frankfurt am Main.

¹⁴ HvH to AK, [May 1915?], Marbach am Neckar.

series, which in itself required vast numbers of letters,

ganz zu schweigen von der Berücksichtigung der Eigenart und Eitelkeit der einzelnen Herausgeber, daß ich abgesehen davon auch noch in Bezug auf die technische Durchführung jedes Bändchens eingeholte Autorisationen philologische Apparat, u.s.f. mit den Herausgebern direkt correspondiere.⁴⁵

The author's comments betrayed a sound perception of the tasks of a publisher and clearly demarcated the lines between technical editorial responsibilities of the Insel-Verlag from the intellectual leadership he sought to provide. He described the duty of the publisher's employee as that of a sheepdog nipping at the heels of the band of sheep entrusted to him. The staff of the Insel-Verlag, albeit necessary collaborators for the success of any given project, were regarded by Hofmannsthal merely as instruments, as an extension of his will, and thus at his disposal. Kippenberg did not take umbrage at the author's words, but actually concurred with them. From his new post at Thielt in Flanders, he wrote in praise of Hofmannsthal's introduction to the Österreichische Bibliothek, calling it "eines der schönsten und reichsten Stücke Prosa" which the author had ever composed.⁴⁶ Work on the second series was progressing well; however, Kippenberg also defended his assistants, who, he maintained, had done their utmost under the circumstances. Normal conditions, however, did not prevail:

⁴⁵ HvH to AK, August 16, 1915, Frankfurt am Main.

⁴⁶ AK to HvH, August 29, 1915, Frankfurt am Main.

Wir wollen gewiß in normalen Zeiten, obgleich dies eigentlich nicht nötig sein sollte, wie Hunde hinter den Herausgebern her sein. Aber vergessen Sie nicht, mit welch großen Schwierigkeiten wir jetzt zu kämpfen haben. Dreiviertel des Personals ist bereits eingezogen, und vorgestern haben sie mir auch meinen Prokuristen Herrn Keller fortgenommen.⁴⁷

Even as he was in the act of writing this letter, it seemed that Kippenberg grew increasingly displeased with Hofmannsthal's criticism. No doubt the anxiety of the times sat heavily on him as he pondered the fate of his firm which he had so painstakingly built up. His irritation with his Austrian literary associates mirrored the larger disappointment of the Reichsdeutscher with his Austrian ally, and he deplored in his concluding remarks the fact that in his experience, Austrian editors were less reliable in textual matters, and thus increased the work of the Insel-Verlag immeasurably, since they were "schlechte Diener am Wort."⁴⁸ While begging Hofmannsthal's indulgence for his remarks, Kippenberg explained that especially the authors in the Österreichische Bibliothek needed close supervision for accuracy. He noted somewhat priggishly: "Es wäre schön, wenn der Krieg auch in dieser Beziehung Wandel schaffte."⁴⁹

⁴⁷ AK to HvH, August 29, 1915, Frankfurt am Main.

⁴⁸ AK to HvH, August 29, 1915, Frankfurt am Main.

⁴⁹ AK to HvH, August 29, 1915, Frankfurt am Main.

Although frustrated, Kippenberg asked Hofmannsthal's forgiveness, recognizing that what he bemoaned was nonetheless inevitable in publishing. Still, Kippenberg was a bit of a pedagogue, demanding precision and care in all matters pertaining to words. When others displayed a certain casualness toward the composition and reliability of a text, he was offended. Reviewing the second series of the Österreichische Bibliothek was cause for another stern reproach from the publisher, whose standards were strict. In the case of a glossary for an edition of Walther von der Vogelweide, Hofmannsthal had dared to suggest that this task be assigned to an office assistant. Kippenberg protested: "Irgendeine 'weibliche Kraft' kommt wirklich nicht dafür in Frage, sondern einzig und allein ein sehr tüchtiger Fachmann."⁵⁰ This suggestion of Hofmannsthal's prompted Kippenberg to continue with a chiding comment about the editors of the volumes appearing in the series:

Es ist ein alter Grundsatz des Insel-Verlages auf eine korrekte Textgestaltung und eine gute Kommentierung das größte Gewicht zu legen, und so habe ich Mühe und Kosten nie gescheut, um die besten Herausgeber zu gewinnen. Bei der Österreichischen Bibliothek hingegen lassen die meisten Herausgeber alles zu wünschen übrig.⁵¹

Kippenberg then proceeded to criticize Max Mell for not relying on critical editions in the selection of poetry he had compiled and to deplore Dr. Irma Hilft's inadequate treatment of Prince Eugene

⁵⁰ AK to HvH, February 12, 1916, Frankfurt am Main.

⁵¹ AK to HvH, February 12, 1916, Frankfurt am Main.

in her monograph.

Lest the earnestness of his message go unheeded, Kippenberg repeated it two days later in a second letter to Hofmannsthal. Reiterating his complaint about Max Mell's inaccuracies in the compilation of a volume of Austrian lyrics, Kippenberg added:

Nun will ich nicht sagen, daß diese Textabweichungen von wesentlicher Bedeutung wären, aber den von Van de Velde durch die Worte "es so gut wie möglich machen" formulierten Grundsatz habe ich mir in allen Dingen zur Richtschnur gemacht. Das wollen wir denn auch künftig bei den Texten der Österreichischen Bibliothek beherzigen, nicht wahr? Ich unterstütze Sie dabei, soweit ich nur irgend kann. Jetzt hat natürlich der Krieg, der mich von Leipzig fernhält, Schwierigkeiten gebracht.⁵²

Hofmannsthal's letters in the next few months were addressed primarily to Frau Kippenberg and made no mention of the technical problems the Österreichische Bibliothek was experiencing. Since the subject was of a delicate nature, his thoughts on the matter may have been communicated privately to Anton Kippenberg. Unfortunately, no other documentation on the matter is known to exist. That the poet cum editor bore his publisher no malice and even admired his stance is evident from the fact that his correspondence with Katharina Kippenberg in April and March of 1916 is in part concerned with an attempt to obtain a medal from the Austrian government to honor Kippenberg's distinguished service to the nation through his publishing endeavors. Otherwise the exchanges dealt with misplaced manuscripts, insertions of last

⁵² AK to HvH, February 14, 1916, Frankfurt am Main.

minute additions, and binding. In July, after the third series had been issued, Hofmannsthal reaffirmed his dedication to the project, abandoning all further work on the Österreichischer Almanach to ensure a "fliessenden Fortgang" of the Österreichische Bibliothek.⁵³

During the summer, however, Anton Kippenberg assessed the progress of the series from a practical standpoint and concluded, despite the fact that a new bundle of manuscripts had just been submitted, that the series would have to cease publication. He announced in September his regret that he could not continue to publish the series while Germany was still at war. Twenty-four of his 29 male employees were in military service, and even more critically, the cost of production had risen so sharply that it surpassed even the bookdealer's price.

Kippenberg's argument was reasonable and well-founded. In his disappointment, Hofmannsthal sought support from Frau Kippenberg. Always more sanguine about risk-taking than her husband, Katharina Kippenberg prevailed upon Anton to continue the Insel-Verlag's support for Hofmannsthal's series despite the odds and thus could report on October 14, 1916 to Hofmannsthal:

Ich freue mich herzlich des Sieges verbündete Mächte
über meinen Chef. Es werden nun also sechs Bände der
Österreichischen Bibliothek erscheinen, bestehend aus
tschechische Anthologie, Alpensagen, Raimunds
Lebensgang, Adalbert Stifter Briefe, Schuberts

⁵³ HvH to AK, July 31, 1916, Frankfurt am Main.

Freundekreise, Metternich Briefe, Dokumente, u.s.w."⁵⁴

For political and economic reasons, Hofmannsthal began to consider the possibility of dividing the responsibility for the series between two publishing houses. Fritz Meyer, the director of two Viennese firms, solicited Kippenberg's approval of such a plan. Not only did he predict that works so issued would reach a different and varied audience, but he also suggested that it would be appropriate for the Österreichische Bibliothek to bear an Austrian imprint. Hofmannsthal, so recently threatened by Anton Kippenberg's reluctance to continue with the series, clearly perceived the suggestion as a welcome alternative to some of the problems he and his publisher had encountered in issuing the series. One advantage Hofmannsthal saw in such an arrangement was readier access to dwindling paper supplies. Austrian authorities would be more likely to approve a request for paper from a native firm. In addition, it encouraged him to find outside support for a project Kippenberg had been prepared to shelve. Meyer showed his good faith by agreeing to send to the K.K. Ministerium für Kultur und Unterricht, on behalf of the Österreichische Bibliothek, a petition seeking the Ministry's stamp of approval for the series, which had been drafted by Fritz Meyer at Hofmannsthal's request.

⁵⁴ KK to HvH, October 14, 1916, Frankfurt am Main.

Anton Kippenberg, however, did not welcome collaboration with another publisher, and he never rushed into an agreement without first carefully weighing all the advantages. In a reply dated November 17, 1916, Katharina Kippenberg acknowledged that her husband was not disinclined to a cooperative agreement between the Insel and Schroll firms in this matter, but that "so etwas muß sehr sorgfältig überlegt und in die Wege geleitet werden und dafür fehlen dem Verlag und ihm jetzt leider Zeit und Kräfte."⁵⁵ In this indirect manner Kippenberg politely refused Meyer's offer, employing both his wife and Hofmannsthal as intermediaries to explain his negative decision.

In the meantime, work continued on the publication of the third series of the Österreichische Bibliothek. However, by April of 1917 it still had not appeared in the bookstores, and Hofmannsthal complained of "furchtsamen Verschiebungen."⁵⁶ On the same day in Leipzig, Anton Kippenberg, who had gotten leave to direct the firm while his wife mourned the death of her mother, informed Hofmannsthal that the delay had been caused by a delinquent Dr. Molden, whose revised galleys had just arrived. The other five volumes were already printed and Kippenberg promised: "...daß die Serie am 1. Mai erscheinen wird. Wir haben nichts versäumt, und trotz der immer größer werdenden Ungunst der -----

⁵⁵ KK to HvH, November 17, 1916, Frankfurt am Main.

⁵⁶ HvH to KK, April 11, 1917, Frankfurt am Main.

Zeiten, die Vollendung der Serie zu betreiben."⁵⁷

Despite Kippenberg's claim that nothing had been neglected in promoting the series, Hofmannsthal's letter of condolence to Katharina Kippenberg on the death of her mother revealed a surprising omission. Hofmannsthal confessed he had not submitted the petition to the Austrian Ministry for Culture "weil ich bei direkter Fühlungsnahme mit dem Minister mir mehr erhoffte. Der Wechsel in der Leitung des Ministeriums gibt eine neue Perspektive."⁵⁸ While Hofmannsthal's failure to follow through on the steps he had taken to secure official acceptance and support may not have resulted in the disappointing sales of the volumes in the series, it did perhaps mark the editor's recognition that the series was moribund and that his efforts would be in vain. Scarcity of supplies and manpower brought on by the European conflict were threatening the chances of success of the Österreichische Bibliothek, and Kippenberg put responsibility for the project squarely into Hofmannsthal's hands when he reported:

Leider können wir wegen des völligen Mangels an Papier an den Druck der weiteren Bände der Österreichischen Bibliothek augenblicklich nicht denken. Sollte es aber nicht möglich sein, durch Ihre Vermittlung Papier dafür in Österreich frei zu bekommen, indem man auf die kulturelle Bedeutung dieser Bibliothek für Deutschland und Österreich nachdrücklich hinweist.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ AK to HvH, April 11, 1917, Frankfurt am Main.

⁵⁸ HvH to KK, [May] 1917, Marbach am Neckar.

⁵⁹ HvH to KK, January 15, 1918, Frankfurt am Main.

For the Österreichische Bibliothek, such efforts proved to be in vain. No further correspondence between the Kippenbergs and Hofmannsthal on this subject is documented. Clearly the war had sapped Hofmannsthal's energies in this matter, just as it had enervated the public for which the series was prepared. Physical considerations were the external factors forcing tabling of the project, but a deeper reason had to be the lack of sustained interest. Too many nationalistic tomes had flooded the market at a time when deprivation and defeat were wearying the public. Words extolling the virtue of Austrian history and culture seemed hollow when the public was longing for peace and victory. The Österreichische Bibliothek survived two years and numbered twenty-six volumes in all. Like so many series, it had a brief lifespan, arising to fill the need of the moment and terminating when interest in it withered or failed to take hold, undercutting the sound financial basis it required for a secure and stable future. For Hofmannsthal, it was one of many endeavors in the publishing field; other interests soon claimed his attention, and he readily abandoned his role as editor to be free to embark on new ideas and projects.

Chapter 8

INTELLECTUAL INFLUENCE IN THE PUBLISHER-AUTHOR RELATIONSHIP

Although the primary focus of Hofmannsthal's relationship with the Insel-Verlag was the preparation of his texts for publication, the author and his publisher exchanged views on many subjects, including literature. In the resulting dialogue, each broadened the other by exposing him in particular to new writers and new ideas. Kippenberg, through these interchanges, had an opportunity to have some impact on the content and style of Hofmannsthal's writing. Conversely, Hofmannsthal sought to play a role in shaping the direction of one of the most distinguished publishing firms of twentieth-century Germany.

The Kippenbergs' correspondence with Hugo von Hofmannsthal documents several areas in which they expanded the nature of their relationship with the author beyond the discussion of his texts and their goals or responsibilities in publishing them. For example, it was customary to present authors associated with the firm with a Christmas gift package containing the latest additions to the Insel booklists. Because the Insel-Verlag prided itself on its conservative nature, making a policy of republishing older,

sometimes half-forgotten monuments of German and world literature, many different authors were represented in the shipments Hofmannsthal received. Some of the authors and titles Hofmannsthal acknowledged receiving were Homer, Böhme, Schiller, Stifter, Huch, Däubler, the Zen avesta, as well as volumes from the series Insel-Bücherei, Pandora, and the Bibliotheca Mundi. Occasionally Hofmannsthal thanked the Insel publicly for these donations in an essay in the Neue Freie Presse or a similar publication. Such action on Hofmannsthal's part increased the life of the book and enhanced the standing of the Insel-Verlag in general. For Hofmannsthal these gifts were a means of getting to know new writers and becoming reacquainted with old, and in this way they generally enlarged the scope of his literary associations.

If Hofmannsthal was inspired by the books he received to contribute a review or essay to a periodical, this was a gratuitous response, welcomed by the Kippenbergs, but not officially solicited. There were occasions, however, when the Insel-Verlag directly invited Hofmannsthal's support or intervention on behalf of a work. In the early years of his association with the firm, Hofmannsthal showed himself to be open to suggestions of this sort. Thus, in 1906, he readily agreed to introduce the Insel version of Tausend und eine Nacht, at least in part because of his great fondness for the tales. In 1907 he again

replied favorably to Kippenberg's request for a prefatory essay to a selection of titles from Balzac's Comédie humaine, for which he had already written an afterword to the Insel translation of Das Mädchen mit den Goldaugen in 1904. Hofmannsthal's critical perception in this epilogue is comparable to the sensitivity he was to display in his introduction to the Deutsche Erzähler, compiled by him and published by the Insel-Verlag in 1912. In his letter of acceptance Hofmannsthal complained only that it would be difficult to select the works on which to focus: "Ich bin selbst so unbedingter und uneinbeschränkter Verehrer dieses wunderbarsten Erzählers, daß mich hier eine 'Auswahl' immer ungeduldig machen wird."¹ Since the situation demanded a choice, however, Hofmannsthal was willing to offer his candid opinion. Kippenberg had proposed a four-part arrangement, "Revolution," "Empire," "Restauration," and "Louis Philippe," which Hofmannsthal regarded as arbitrary and weak. He advised Kippenberg to eliminate the first phase of Balzac's writing entirely, especially since he deemed the Chouans inferior, boring, and confused. Rather than the overrated Eugenie Grandet, Hofmannsthal recommended La vieille Fille, which he termed an "unvergeichliches Meisterwerk." For Peau de Chagrin, a relatively weak work of Balzac, he suggested substituting Chef d'oeuvre inconnu.

¹ HvH to AK, November 4, 1907, Frankfurt am Main.

Hofmannsthal's detailed criticism of the outline for a German edition of La Comédie humaine offers evidence not only of his knowledge of Balzac's writings, but also of his sharply-defined opinions about the status of certain pieces. His prompt and extensive response, on the other hand, attested both to his interest in the topic and his willingness to accept the role of advisor to his publisher. In soliciting his opinion, however, Kippenberg did not guarantee that his suggestions were to be heeded to the letter. Kippenberg still reserved the ultimate decision-making powers. Thus, while many of Hofmannsthal's recommendations were incorporated into the contents of the Insel-edition of Balzac's Menschliche Komödie, some were overruled. La vieille Fille, for example, translated as Die alte Jungfer, appeared as volume twelve of the sixteen-volume edition, but the "overestimated" Eugenie Grandet had preceded it by two years, taking a prominent place as the third volume of the collection.

If this disregard for his advice discouraged Hofmannsthal's desire to participate in the editorial processes of the Insel Verlag, it is not stated in his letters to Kippenberg. In the ensuing years the Insel-Verlag did not seek evaluation in the same manner. Rarely did Kippenberg invite Hofmannsthal's editorial comment, and Hofmannsthal really only seemed interested in those works for which he provided the inspiration and the editorial leadership.

Over the next two decades, the Kippenbergs maintained a steady correspondence with Hugo von Hofmannsthal and exchanged ideas with him on a variety of projects, but never again did the poet let himself be enticed into the discussion of the conceptual organization of a work for which he was not the editor. When approached by Anton Kippenberg in 1912 to write a memorandum to the recently deceased Raoul Richter, Hofmannsthal eventually produced an essay, but he was just as likely to refuse a request or ignore a suggestion. He replied negatively, for instance, to an invitation to contribute his translations of Verlaine's poetry to a volume edited by Stefan Zweig and published by the Insel-Verlag. Nor did he pick up on Katharina Kippenberg's pointed hint that he could stimulate interest in the Insel's sluggishly moving Brief eines Unbekannten by writing about it.

A rejection of this nature did not daunt Katharina Kippenberg, who staunchly pursued Hofmannsthal's support for another Insel author whom she felt would be ably served by Hofmannsthal's pen, Albrecht Schaeffer, a prolific writer whose works were not always well-received by the public, and whose association with the Insel-Verlag dated from 1914. In the summer of 1918, Katharina Kippenberg attempted to enlist Hofmannsthal's sympathy for his fellow Austrian, but her efforts were in vain. On September 18, 1918, she remarked on Hofmannsthal's silence: "Ich schrieb Ihnen einen Privatbrief und frage, ob er nicht angekommen

ist, weil ich so sehr gern Sie etwas für Albrecht Schaeffer, von dem drei, vier Werke ungefähr auf einmal fertig wurden, gewinnen möchte, falls Sie nicht schon längst gewonnen sind."² This quiet inquiry provoked an honest, albeit disappointing reply.

Hofmannsthal explained that neither discourtesy nor distraction had delayed his response. Although Frau Kippenberg's praise of Schaeffer had prompted him to read the author's Montfort at once, he had found that he could not get past the first chapter. In fairness he added:

Die Behandlung des Wortmaterials darin, insbesondere in der Schilderung des Meeres, ist wirklich außerordentlich, aber die Sache selbst konnte ich gar nicht genießen, ja kaum ertragen. Ich glaube, solche Sachen sind nur ganz ausnahmsweise erträglich, wenn sie aus einem ganz besonderen Individuum herauskommen, wie E. Poe eines war, und wenn das Grausige durch eine ganz sublimen Schönheit ausgeglichen wird.

Seien Sie mir nicht böse, daß ich so aufrichtig bin. Zu wem sollte man aufrichtig sein als zu den Wesen, mit denen man sich in Kontakt glaubt, ja weiß.³

Hofmannsthal's politely frank answer indicated a measure of trust in Katharina Kippenberg. Even if she had not won him over for Schaeffer, her enthusiasm for the unknown author's work had inspired him to delve into Montfort and reflect upon it critically. No doubt spurning Frau Kippenberg's taste in this matter led Hofmannsthal to try to compensate later with a few gracious words about Schaeffer, for in February 1919, Anton

² KK to HvH, September 18, 1918, Frankfurt am Main.

³ HvH to KK, September 30, 1918, Marbach am Neckar.

Kippenberg noted with pleasure:

Lieb und erfreulich ist mir daß Albrecht Schaeffers Auswahl aus Lenau Ihnen so durchaus zusagt nachdem Sie sein Montfort so kürzlich ablehnten. Leider haben Sie, wie Sie schreiben, mit der Lektüre bald wieder aufgehört, das weitaus Beste aber steht im zweiten Teil des Buches. Und hat Ihnen übrigens Schaeffers Gudula gefallen? Wie sehr wünschte ich daß Sie an diesem Dichter, auf den ich die größten Hoffnungen setze, trotzdem sein schnelles allzureichliches Arbeiten mir eine gewisse Sorge macht, Anteil nähmen.⁴

Despite his praise of Schaeffer's selection of the the works of Lenau, Hofmannsthal remained unconvinced about the writer's true literary merits. A brief passage in a letter dating from October 1920 from Anton Kippenberg to Hofmannsthal bore witness to the author's continued indifference to his compatriot. Kippenberg's remarks referred to an earlier statement of Hofmannsthal's: "Daß das Homer'sche Werk von Schaeffer Ihnen nicht zugesagt, verstehe ich. Ich will Ihnen ganz in Vertrauen gestehen, daß auch ich zu diesem Buch Schaeffers ein nahes Verhältnis nicht habe gewinnen können, Schröder dagegen, den ich kürzlich in Bremen sah, schien mir viel davon zu halten."⁵

Hugo von Hofmannsthal found only one other occasion to praise Schaeffer's efforts. Ironically, his approbation was for an essay in which Schaeffer commented favorably on Hofmannsthal's own work. Schaeffer had composed the essay in letter form for the Inselschiff, and it was this form in particular, coupled with his

⁴ AK to HvH, February 17, 1919, Frankfurt am Main.

⁵ AK to HvH, October 15, 1920, Frankfurt am Main.

esteem for Hofmannsthal, which finally prompted Hofmannsthal to write a few favorable words to Katharina Kippenberg on December 18, 1925:

Der Brief von Schaeffer ist ein schönes und angenehmes Stück Prosa. Finden Sie doch gelegentlich eine Form, ihn wissen zu lassen, daß die Art wie er meiner Sachen darin erwähnt hat, mir wohltuend war. Ich werde gerne einen solchen Brief fürs Inselschiff schreiben. Es ist das eine schöne gesellige Form, und sie zu erwecken ein richtiger Gedanke.⁶

Although in Schaeffer's case, Hofmannsthal's resistance to the Kippenbergs' tacit plea to provide some measure of public support for the author was founded on literary taste, he also turned aside suggestions to participate in Insel projects on other grounds. For example, Anton Kippenberg had hoped to persuade Hofmannsthal to review the Insel Heinse edition, no doubt to stimulate interest in the work. While not categorically opposed to the proposal, Hofmannsthal offered sound reasons as to why an article by him was out of the question. His response is indicative of the careful deliberation with which he approached the kind of writing others might have regarded as bread and butter work. Hofmannsthal set forth reasons in a letter to Katharina Kippenberg, in which he asked her to inform her husband "daß mir eine Anzeige vor Weihnachten (die ihm wohl erwünscht gewesen wäre) nicht durchführbar war: denn ich hatte schnell eingesehen, daß die einzige mir mögliche Äußerungsform -- die einzige auch, wodurch der großen Publication wirklich genützt werden kann, auch hier ein -----

⁶ HvH to KK, December 18, 1925, Marbach am Neckar.

Essay ist."⁷ Since he regarded Heinse as a great author who would first be recognized after the publication of the Insel edition, Hofmannsthal felt that to do justice to this interpretation, he would have to reread Heinse's Ardinghello, Walther Brecht's Heinse und der Immoralismus, and Heinse's letters. Only after a thorough immersion in the author's work could Hofmannsthal produce an essay capable of doing justice to Heinse's important legacy. A superficial review in a Viennese feuilleton was not something to which a man of his caliber could afford to sign his name.

Hofmannsthal's scholarly attitude toward the proposed Heinse essay was a testimony both to his own style of work and to the quality of material published by the Insel-Verlag. Despite greatly differing personalities, Kippenberg and Hofmannsthal shared a common regard for thoroughness. Thus, even if Kippenberg had hoped for an immediate response to his request, he was certain to accept Hofmannsthal's grounds for refusal.

On another occasion, however, Hofmannsthal turned down an entreaty from Kippenberg with an even more detailed argument. When Rainer Maria Rilke died in 1927, Hugo von Hofmannsthal immediately expressed his condolences to Katharina Kippenberg, knowing that she would be profoundly saddened by the loss of her close personal friend and confidant. Soon after Rilke's death, Katharina Kippenberg began planning an exhibition to commemorate Rilke's

⁷ HvH to KK, December 18, 1925, Marbach am Neckar.

work. Anton Kippenberg communicated this intention to Hofmannsthal in a letter dated February 2, 1927:

Ende April oder Anfang Mai gedenke ich hier in der Deutschen Bücherei eine Rainer Maria Rilke Gedächtnis-Ausstellung bestehend aus Drucken, Handschriften und Bildern, zu veranstalten, und mit der Eröffnung möchte ich eine Gedächtnisfeier in dem schönen kleinen Saal der Deutschen Bücherei verbinden. Würden Sie -- grundsätzlich -- bereit sein, bei diesem Anlaß die Gedenkrede zu halten?⁸

Kippenberg's query stemmed from a logical supposition.

Although Rilke and Hofmannsthal never counted one another as close friends, they shared certain commonalities. Dissimilarities abounded in nature and in style, but their preeminence in Austrian letters indisputably linked them together. Moreover, both were Austrian poets of great stature, and they were also born in the same year, 1874. Within the broad spectrum of German literary publishers available to them, they had both enjoyed a close association with the Insel-Verlag over the course of their lifetimes. In soliciting Hofmannsthal as Festredner for the commemoration he proposed, Kippenberg unquestionably regarded Hofmannsthal as the most appropriate person to eulogize the departed poet.

In justifying his refusal on February 4, 1927, Hugo von Hofmannsthal cited as his reasons both personal and philosophical reservations. His letter was an eloquent plea for understanding from his publisher. Commencing with a more intimate form of

⁸ AK to HvH, February 2, 1927, Marbach am Neckar.

address than usual, "mein lieber Professor Kippenberg," the poet explained: "Ich muß Ihnen eine Antwort geben, die niemand besser verstehen wird [als] der Verleger vieler meiner besten dichterischen Arbeiten und der Verleger Rilkes."⁹ Succinctly, Hofmannsthal addressed serious problems which he saw threatening his own creative efforts as well as the purity of Rilke's reputation itself, deploring first:

Soll einem in einer so schwierigen Zeit das dichterische Vermögen nicht verloren gehen, so muß man sich vor der analytischen Aufgabe zurückhalten. Läßt man sich auf dergleichen ein, wie auf den Münchner Vortrag, so verschlingt die Herstellung mehr Zeit und Kraft als man geahnt hätte, und noch nachteiliger ist die Folge, die sich einstellt. Dieses Denken, dieser analysierende Versuch, die unentwirrbaren Dinge ins Reine zu bringen, kommt in einem nie zur Ruhe und greift einem an die Fundamente des Daseins.¹⁰

Hofmannsthal continued by declaring that he could no longer accept such assignments without endangering his own gift. Furthermore, he explained that:

Rilkes Werke gerade um der Nähe und um der Verknüpfung [sic] willen durch die Gleichzeitigkeit wäre mir eine Materie so problematisch und gefährlich als wenn ich mir selber eine Grabrede halten sollte.

Ist Ihnen nicht manchmal Angst, daß mit all diesen Veranstaltungen das zarte, in diesem Fall wirklich bestehende Verhältnis einer ganzen Generation zu dem einsamen und merkwürdigen Menschen förmlich zerredet wird?¹¹

⁹ HvH to AK, February 4, 1927, Marbach am Neckar.

¹⁰ HvH to AK, February 4, 1927, Marbach am Neckar.

¹¹ HvH to AK, February 4, 1927, Marbach am Neckar.

Not only did Hofmannsthal perceive his analytic essays as a pernicious distraction and a danger with regard to his true creative gift, but, as he penetratingly observed, the risks became particularly great when the subject in question was an artist such as Rilke. As a member of the same generation Hofmannsthal was, in an extreme sense, Rilke's Doppelgänger. To define the essence of Rilke was for his compatriot poet to search the mirror of his soul for his own identity. Furthermore, such a summary would eulogize not only Rilke the individual, but of necessity all poets who had travelled the same road, regardless of how their paths might have since diverged. Such a task would require more than time and energy; peering into the well of creativity from which both men had drawn would produce such vertiginous symptoms that Hofmannsthal shrank back from such a public display of self-analysis.

Finally, Hofmannsthal considered another salient issue. Just as he had worried about the danger of dilution and dispersion behind masks of words in Ein Brief, he feared that repeated speeches would rend the gossamer threads of the relationship between Rilke and his readers. Hofmannsthal recognized the cheapening and dulling effect that over-analysis might have upon the fragile purity of the unspoken kinship men shared with Rilke. To him, this was a sanctity that should remain inviolate.

Despite, and in fact because of, the common attributes of the two men, Kippenberg could not prevail upon Hugo von Hofmannsthal to express his feeling about Rilke in a commemorative address. In a pattern which had become familiar over the course of the years, when the publisher's suggestions went against the grain of his sensibilities, the poet resisted Kippenberg's influence and asserted his unique and different personality.

In his later years, Hofmannsthal often rejected Kippenberg's proposals because such projects were too enervating or time-consuming. Another factor which occasionally entered into his decision was financial in nature. As gentlemen they scorned the topic of money; as businessmen, however, they sometimes had to face it. Publisher and poet both found themselves in embarrassing situations. On one hand, they saw each other socially, and Hofmannsthal's pride as well as convention tended to inhibit discussion of his financial status. On the other hand, if he the celebrity lacked sufficient means to support his lifestyle, it was imperative that he convey this need to his publisher, who was a prime source of income. Hofmannsthal alternately denied his dependency on his publisher, and, somewhat inconsistently, pleaded poverty, perhaps in the interest of driving a harder bargain. Within the scope of his relationship to Kippenberg as publisher, Hofmannsthal did not shy away from demanding what he considered an equitable share. When, however, the association went beyond

recompense for textual contributions, he proved himself willing and capable of sacrifice.

A time of considerable tension ensued when Kippenberg proposed that Hofmannsthal deliver the opening address at an important meeting of the Goethe-Gesellschaft. As he reported to the author: "Dieser Vorschlag ist allseitig mit der wärmsten Zustimmung aufgenommen worden, und ich rechne darauf, daß Sie als Hauptbeteiligter den schönen Gedanken in die Wirklichkeit umsetzen werden."¹² Although Hofmannsthal originally consented, he subsequently retracted his agreement. While his withdrawal may have had its foundation in his anxiety about fragmentation of his time and talents, Kippenberg attributed the reversal to the financial pressures of an inflationary era. He sought to convince Hofmannsthal to reconsider, stressing both the importance of the position of speaker and the monetary award attached to the request. Of course, since the initial motion suggesting Hofmannsthal had emanated from Kippenberg, the publisher's honor and pride were called into question should the author renege on his stated commitment. This stake in the event accounted for Kippenberg's persuasive letter of February 12, 1923, in which he resorted to lavish flattery and broad hints of generous reimbursement, entreating Hofmannsthal not to leave him in the lurch:

¹² AK to HvH, June 3, 1922, Frankfurt am Main.

Abgesehen davon, daß es Ihnen doch Freude machen muß, gerade vor diesem Kreis zu sprechen, abgesehen ferner davon, daß für uns ein Vortrag von Ihnen überaus wertvoll ist, möchte ich auch auf die eminente kultur-politische -- wenn ich dieses schreckliche Wort gebrauchen darf-- -- Bedeutung hinweisen, daß ein Österreicher und zumal -- ich darf das, ohne dabei in den Verdacht der Schmeichelei zu kommen, gewiß sagen, der prominenteste Vertreter des heutigen geistigen Österreich zu der Gesellschaft spricht, die sich die Pflege dessen, was uns Deutschen fast allein noch übrig geblieben ist, zur Aufgabe setzt.¹³

If Hofmannsthal's refusal had anything to do with the difficulty of the financially-troubled Goethe-Gesellschaft to reimburse the author properly for his pains, Kippenberg acknowledged that the Insel-Verlag would be willing to augment the speaker's fee.

Anton Kippenberg seldom subsidized Insel-Verlag authors. Significantly, this offer connected one of the Insel-Verlag's most distinguished literary figures and Kippenberg's esteemed Goethe, the one poet for whom Kippenberg's purse strings opened the most readily. However, this gesture of unparalleled generosity produced an unanticipated response from Hofmannsthal. Although on previous occasions he had negotiated solidly with Kippenberg for the percentage of his Honorarium, as if every Mark counted, here he replied with disdain. His letter provided a detailed description of his financial situation that strove to underscore how insignificant any fee he might receive in conjunction with the proposed speech would be. Proudly he asserted that Kippenberg's reference to money in this matter offended him. He did not lead

¹³ AK to HvH, February 12, 1923, Frankfurt am Main.

his life so that he was dependent for his livelihood on accepting offers such as the one emanating from the Goethe-Gesellschaft:

Auch sehe ich daraus, daß Sie meine Lage nicht kennen. In Österreich hat der gemeine Lebensbedarf den Goldwerth erreicht oder überschritten. Ich verbrauche bei peinlichster Sparsamkeit 120 - 150 Millionen Kronen im Jahr, daß sind heute 30 - 40 Millionen Mark, morgen vielleicht ihrer 60 - 80. Was mir aus Deutschland ankommt, von Schauspiel, von der Oper, von Bücherauflagen deckt, das ganze deutsche Jahreseinkommen, deckt für vielleicht 5 oder 6 Wochen des Jahres oder sogar für zwei Monate meinen Verbrauch, der doch weit geringer ist in Gold gerechnet als ein erstes noch kinderloses fast verdienstloses Jahr meiner Ehe. Dem gegenüber fällt nicht ins Gewicht, ob ich mir die Reise nach Weimar hätte ein hunderttausend Mark kosten lassen oder ob man mir ein mehrfaches dieser Summe bezahlt hätte, es ist beides, fast nichts.¹⁴

In light of the above elucidation, Hofmannsthal's agreement to deliver a speech to the Goethe-Gesellschaft appeared to be a great favor, involving personal sacrifice. His assertion that German support provided only a fraction of his carefully-husbanded resources distanced him from his publisher and reemphasized the dichotomy he perceived in the Austrian and German characters. His chief support, and therefore, his constituency, lay outside the German realm.

If Hofmannsthal was offended by what he deemed a misunderstanding of his situation, the terseness of Kippenberg's reply revealed the injury to his pride. What he had intended as a gracious gesture was summarily rejected, and he drew the conclusion:

¹⁴ HvH to AK, February 24, 1923, Frankfurt am Main.

Daß Sie meine Erwähnung des Geldespunktes, die in bester Absicht und durchaus uneigennützig geschah, gekränkt hat, bedauere ich sehr. Ich sehe daraus, daß man, auch wenn man glaubt, helfen zu können, sich nicht ungefragt in anderer Angelegenheiten mischen soll, und will mich ins Künftige mehr danach richten.¹⁵

Neither man was humble, and despite the restraint with which the discussion was handled, one senses a gulf separating the two individuals. Their relationship had carefully drawn, albeit unstated, boundaries beyond which they could not pass without risking disruption of the balance they had achieved in working together. This tender area of personal income was one of the restricted topics.

Hofmannsthal's explicit statements of the insignificance of his speaker's fee were qualified by a telegram dated February 25, which seemed to undercut his words. He cabled: "witkowski will zugesagte tausend auf fünfhundert mark absetzen angesicht reisekosten muss reise aufgeben was tun bitte sprechet mit ihm drahtet."¹⁶ Hofmannsthal's willingness to sacrifice in the interest of cultural-political events had limits. He appealed to Kippenberg to resolve the matter, no doubt anticipating that the publisher would make up the difference. There is no proof that this occurred, and no record that Hofmannsthal did deliver his speech to the Goethe-Gesellschaft, thereby creating an embarrassment for Kippenberg.

¹⁵ AK to HvH, February 27, 1923, Frankfurt am Main.

¹⁶ HvH to AK, February 25, [1923], Frankfurt am Main.

Anton Kippenberg's attempts to direct the course taken by Hofmannsthal were frequently less than successful. Although his willingness to collaborate with Richard Strauss on operas or his obvious sensitivity to the achievements of other artists indicated a receptivity to ideas originating outside himself, Hofmannsthal showed little inclination to adopt suggestions offered by his publisher. Such interaction was reserved for artists of a similar rank, and his publisher, being essentially a businessman, did not belong to this category. However, in the reverse situation, Hugo von Hofmannsthal considered himself more than competent to advise Kippenberg on aspects of publishing relating to content, if not to form. In the early days of his association with the Insel-Verlag, Kippenberg had encouraged Hofmannsthal's participation in the selection of material to be published. Throughout the years of their affiliation, Hofmannsthal recommended authors and titles for publication. Like Kippenberg's proposals to Hofmannsthal, these proposals sometimes fell on deaf ears. With few exceptions, the poet's advice encompassed two categories: Austrian writers whose work he wished to promote or various representatives of French literature. In 1924, for instance, he alerted the publisher to the significance of Marcel Proust, only to learn subsequently that the firm Die Schmiede had already acquired the German rights to Proust's works. In the same year he arranged for the Insel-Verlag to publish his daughter Christiane's translation of the Princesse de Cleves, promising to review the translation carefully himself to ensure quality.

By far the greatest number of his proposals referred to the work of his compatriots. The names of Max Mell, Rudolf Kassner, Richard Billinger, Otto Heuschle, Siegfried Trebitsch and Otto Taube are some which appear in his correspondence with Anton and Katharina Kippenberg as Hofmannsthal attempted to intercede on their behalf. Most felicitously received of all his recommendations was his plea to the Kippenbergs to devote careful consideration to the manuscript of the poet Hans Carossa. The Austrian native, a physician by profession, had caught Hofmannsthal's attention through poems published in Austrian periodicals. Not only did he encourage Dr. Carossa to submit his poems to the Insel, he communicated his impression of the poet directly to the Kippenbergs, reminding his publisher that he was sparing in his recommendations, and that his comments should consequently be considered all the more seriously:

Hier ist ein eigener Ton wie selten in dieser Epoche wo alles George, Dehmel, Rilke oder mich nachahft und hier ist, was noch schwerer wiegt, eine wirkliche Person dahinter, ein Mensch der der Mühe wert ist. Von meiner ganzen redactionellen Tätigkeit am "Morgen" ist dies die freundlichste Erinnerung, daß ich Gedichte von Carossa gebracht habe.¹⁷

Certainly such high praise from Hugo von Hofmannsthal indicated that Carossa's work merited a close examination. Two weeks hence, the power of Hofmannsthal's recommendation was demonstrated, as Kippenberg's reply documents:

¹⁷ HvH to AK, December 29, 1909, Frankfurt am Main.

Ich war in der Tat schwankend, ob ich die Gedichte des Herrn Carossa, so sympathisch sie mir waren, verlegen sollte, da sich so unendlich viel zu uns herandrängt, und wir sehr zurückhaltend gegenüber neuen Büchern sein müssen. Ihre warme Empfehlung aber hat das Zünglein der Waage zu Herrn Carossas Seite sich neigen lassen und so werde ich denn die Gedichte bringen. Es klingt allerdings ein durchaus eigner Ton in ihnen und das will etwas sagen.¹⁸

Proof that Anton Kippenberg did not regret following Hofmannsthal's advice lies in the continued presence of Carossa's poems and writings in the Insel-Verlag lists, where his name became a familiar staple. The publisher confirmed his approval specifically when he reported his feelings following his first personal encounter with the poet: "Vor kurzem war Carossa hier, und der persönliche Eindruck, den ich von ihm erhalten habe, bestätigte durchaus den, den die Gedichte mir bisher von seiner reichen und reinen Persönlichkeit geben."¹⁹

Another Austrian whom Hofmannsthal admired and whom he recommended to the Insel-Verlag was Josef Nadler. In this case, Hofmannsthal sought to introduce his publisher to Nadler's ideas, rather than to persuade him to publish the critic's work. Hugo von Hofmannsthal's admiration of Nadler's work is documented in his notes on Nadler's Literaturgeschichte during the last decade of his life. Calling it "große Kulturpolitik," he wrote: "Kein

¹⁸ AK to HvH, January 14, 1910, Frankfurt am Main.

¹⁹ AK to HVH, November 1, 1913, Frankfurt am Main.

Buch geschaffen, das mehr dazu täte, die Nation wahrhaft zu einigen."²⁰

In response to Hofmannsthal's enthusiastic recommendation of Nadler, Kippenberg reported, on February 17, 1919, that he was grateful for the tip about Nadler's Literaturgeschichte der deutschen Landschaften und Stämme. Kippenberg ordered the book immediately. The climate was ripe for acceptance of Nadler's chauvinistic interpretation of German literary history. Hofmannsthal in particular subscribed to Nadler's view, innocent of the unhealthy aims they would later feed, and Kippenberg, always reverent in the face of German literary achievements, found Nadler's book appealing for similar reasons, although he also recognized the artificiality of Nadler's reasoning. On the fifteenth of March, 1920, he offered Hofmannsthal a brief review of his reading. He had found it most engrossing, if also somewhat contrived to suit its author's purpose. However, he felt:

Wenn auch vieles in dem Buch konstruiert ist, ... so eröffnet doch das Buch den Weg zu einer völlig neuen und wie mir scheint ungeheuer fruchtbaren Betrachtung der deutschen Literaturgeschichte. Und daneben erhält es eine Fülle der herrlichsten Urteile und Schilderungen.²¹

Any direct influence Nadler might have had on Kippenberg is intangible. Certainly the twenties witnessed a diminishing number of foreign titles on the Insel-lists, and a corresponding rise of

²⁰ Hofmannsthal, Prosa, IV, 492.

²¹ AK to HvH, March 15, 1920, Frankfurt am Main.

interest in German writing, but the extent to which this shift is directly attributable to Nadler cannot be ascertained. However, as Sue Ellen Wright concluded in a study on Hugo von Hofmannsthal and conservatism, Hofmannsthal's approval did lend credibility to Nadler's ideas, and thus furthered their cause.²²

Kippenberg's inclination to publish more German and fewer foreign titles is evidenced not only in his postponement of work on a volume of French storytellers that Hofmannsthal was involved with, but also in his reluctance to issue a German translation of a piece by the Rumanian writer Victor Eftimu. In 1919 Hofmannsthal had proposed that Eftimu's Prometheus be included in the Insel-Bücherei. Part of the motivation behind this recommendation was to provide work for his friend and compatriot Felix Braun, who served as translator. On August 1, 1919, Kippenberg reported to Hofmannsthal that although the manuscript from "Prague" had not yet arrived, he was confident that when he did have an opportunity to read it, the work would make the same strong impression on him as it had on Hofmannsthal. Kippenberg was uncertain when he could actually publish the work, since the timing was dependent upon the state of Czech-German relations. As publisher, Kippenberg felt he had to take into consideration the political mood of the times. Making a rare political statement in

²² Sue Ellen Wright, "Toward a Conservative Revolution: Social and Economic Concerns of Hugo von Hofmannsthal," Diss. Washington University 1970.

his letter, he commented:

Wenn das Verhältnis zwischen Deutschen und Tschechen so grauenhaft schlecht geworden ist, wie der Weltkrieg das offenbart hat, so lag daran wohl die Schuld zum guten Teil auch auf deutscher Seite, vor allem weil wir uns nie die Mühe gegeben haben, die Tschechen wirklich kennenzulernen und ihre nationalen Ansprüche zu prüfen. Es ist geradezu eine unserer Lebensfragen, die Tschechen zu uns herüberzuziehen, um sie nicht endgültig in die Arme der Franzosen einerseits und der Rußen andererseits, mit den Polen werden sie sich wohl niemals vertragen, zu treiben.²³

Kippenberg regarded the publication of Victor Eftimu's Prometheus from a pragmatic standpoint. Was the political climate favorable for its appearance? As far as the cultural or literary value of the drama was concerned, he deferred to Hofmannsthal's opinion, accepting it sight unseen on Hofmannsthal's recommendation. Kippenberg was to regret this trust in Hofmannsthal, at least as far as this particular matter was concerned. First, the drama was the creation of a Rumanian artist, not of a Czech. Secondly, and more importantly, Anton Kippenberg felt strongly that the piece did not measure up to Insel standards of quality. On the thirteenth of June, 1922, he informed Hofmannsthal that he had received the Felix Braun transcription of the Eftimu manuscript, and that he found the material disappointingly weak, only slightly redeemed through Braun's excellent translation. Under normal circumstances he would never have accepted the drama for publication in the Insel-Verlag. Kippenberg bowed, however, to Hofmannsthal's superior instinct:

²³ AK to HvH, August 1, 1919, Frankfurt am Main.

Nun mag es aber sein, daß das Drama Vorzüge hat, die ich nicht sehe, und die werden Sie gewiß in Ihrer Einleitung, die ich mit Spannung erwarte, herauszustellen nicht unterlassen. Wie ich denn -- Sie werden sich dessen entsinnen -- bei unserer Unterredung in Berlin von vornherein zum Ausdruck gebracht habe, daß kulterell-politische Rücksichten, so gern ich sie selbst nehme, mich an sich nicht veranlassen könnten, ein Werk in Insel-Verlag erscheinen zu lassen. Ich habe mich dazu in diesem Fall unter der Voraussetzung bereit erklärt, daß Sie in Ihrer Einleitung gleichsam die künstlerische Sanktion gäben.²⁴

Like a stern pedagogue, Anton Kippenberg admonished Hugo von Hofmannsthal for deviating from artistic criteria observed by the Insel-Verlag in promoting Eftimu's drama. In convincing Kippenberg to publish the Rumanian's work, Hofmannsthal had had three goals in mind: to provide income for Felix Braun, a friend and fellow poet; to improve cultural relations between the Germanic people and those of the Balkan state; and finally, to allow the Insel-Verlag to benefit from the small cultural stipend that came attached to the publication of the work in Germany. In light of these objectives, he had perhaps out of expediency given less consideration to the drama's intrinsic literary merits. Kippenberg was not inclined to be charitable; his remark that Hofmannsthal's preface would reveal the drama's true worth seems slightly cynical. It is an innocent-sounding hope that borders on sarcasm. His disappointment did not prevent him from specifying the disposition of the gift, as his letter indicated:

²⁴ AK to HvH, June 13, 1922, Frankfurt am Main.

Wie ich die M. 20,000 verwenden werde, weiß ich noch nicht. Voraussichtlich werde ich sie je zur Hälfte dem Goethe-Schiller- Archiv in Weimar und dem Fons zur Erhaltung der Dörnburger Schlösser zuweisen. Ich werde dabei mitteilen, daß ein ausländischer Freund deutschen Wesens, insbesondere Goethes, oder darf ich sagen ein rumänischer? den Beitrag zur Verfügung gestellt habe.²⁵

Kippenberg's irritation resurfaced in the postscript of the same letter. What he was publishing was not a German translation of a Rumanian drama, but a translation of a translation. This practice went against his scholarly grain, and he protested:

Auf dem Titel des rumänischen Dramas steht, nach französischer Prosa in deutsche Verse gebracht. Das scheint mir vollkommen unmöglich zu sein, warum brauche ich nicht des Näheren zu begründen. Ich schlage vor, daß einfach gesagt wird, in deutsche Verse gebracht von Felix Braun.²⁶

Hugo von Hofmannsthal, upon receipt of this chastening epistle, hastened to soothe his publisher's ruffled feathers. Clearly he was distressed by the incident; his disjointed reply reflected his agitated thought processes. About to depart on a trip, he recognized the urgency of a prompt response, and he hastily jotted down the alternatives to and the history of the project, only to conjecture that all might be salvaged. Dated June 16, 1922, his letter confessed that Kippenberg's position placed him in an embarrassing predicament if the publisher did not believe "daß ich in einer Vorrede, die ich persönlich unterzeichne, eben den Ton zu finden wisse, der die Sache als

²⁵ AK to HvH, June 13, 1922, Frankfurt am Main.

²⁶ AK to HvH, June 13, 1922, Frankfurt am Main.

richtig und möglich erscheinen läßt."²⁷ It was still possible, Hofmannsthal felt, to find another publisher who would accept the drama and become the recipient of the cultural stipend. Hofmannsthal conceded, however, that asking a favor of another publisher at this point would be difficult for him, and furthermore, there were certain complications in that the "Übersetzer-Honorar von 20.000 Mark ist von Dr. Braun empfangen und verzehrt, und hat diesen braven und jede Teilnahme werthen Menschen vielleicht in diesem Winter vor dem Hungern geschützt."²⁸

In general, the tenor of Hofmannsthal's letter was sentimental and defensive. His reaction to Kippenberg's communication indicated both his embarrassment and guilt. His publisher quickly perceived Hofmannsthal's acknowledgement of the book's inner weakness, noting the Austrian's reasons for sponsoring its publication failed to include mention of its style or content. Having made his point, Kippenberg agreed to make the best out of a bad situation, informing Hofmannsthal that he was preparing the manuscript for print, although with a bad conscience. To spare Hofmannsthal embarrassment, Kippenberg would proceed with the publication, but he emphasized that he would not campaign for it. Kippenberg meant to limit the firm's involvement to a simple notice in the Börsenblatt and a listing in the Insel

²⁷ HvH to AK, June 16, 1922, Frankfurt am Main.

²⁸ HvH to AK, June 16, 1922, Frankfurt am Main.

catalogs.²⁹

Besides rejecting all but the most cursory promotion of Eftimu's drama, Kippenberg also decided to treat the attendant stipend as a stepchild, abdicating all responsibility for its dispensation. Wishing to avoid any association of the Insel-Verlag with the grant, which might be misconstrued as a subsidy or give the appearance that publication in the Insel house could be purchased, Kippenberg mused: "Ich frage mich, ob ich unter diesen Umständen die Goethespende von M. 20,000 vermitteln darf, und möchte Sie bitten, das Ihrerseits doch zu tun."³⁰

In essence, the publisher washed his hands of the matter, waiting only for Hofmannsthal's introduction to lend the drama greater authority, and for Hofmannsthal's intervention in the allocation of the stipend. Apparently, Hofmannsthal found even these tasks difficult, because the editorial staff of the Insel-Verlag reminded him of dereliction of duty some months later. On February 7, 1923 the Insel-Verlag sent him a brusque, business-like message calling his attention to his obligation:

Sie hätten sich bereit erklärt für das von Dr. Felix Braun übersetzte Werk Prometheus Eftimus eine Einleitung zu schreiben. Wir wären Ihnen für baldige Übersendung des Manuskriptes sehr verbunden, da das Buch im übrigen ausgesetzt ist, und nur noch nicht umbrochen werden kann, weil die Einleitung fehlt.³¹

²⁹ AK to HvH, June 21, 1922, Frankfurt am Main.

³⁰ AK to HvH, June 21, 1922, Frankfurt am Main.

Four years after negotiations for its publication began, Victor Eftimu's Prometheus appeared under the Insel-imprint. The single printing issued in 1923 contained an introduction by Hugo von Hofmannsthal and stated on its title page that it was "Aus dem Französischen übersetzt von Felix Braun." Hofmannsthal dedicated several pages in his foreword to a discussion of Eftimu's place in the context of European literature, writing of the Rumanian's position between the Latin and Slavic cultures, of his talent as a poet, and of his innate theatrical understanding. The author endeavored to provide a solid framework to support the insufficient drama, but his words, albeit carefully chosen, belied his intention. Underlying his statements was a pervasive sentiment that the literary achievements of this writer were mediocre, even though the work itself might have meaning in the larger cultural and historical context.

If the Eftimu venture proved a fiasco, it still did not deter Hofmannsthal from making suggestions to his publisher. As Hofmannsthal moved into his fifties, he became increasingly interested in political writings, and his own work took on a political tinge. He delivered his famous speech "Das Schriftum als geistiger Raum der Nation" at the University of Munich on January 10, 1927, and reworked his drama Der Turm, stressing the political turn of the plot rather than lyrical style. While his work

³¹ Insel-Verlag to HvH, February 7, 1923, Frankfurt am Main.

reflected a change in focus on his part, a shift in mood and perspective that in turn presaged changing values in his contemporaries, the Insel-Verlag and Kippenberg remained uncompromising in their allegiance to schöne Literatur. Although the Insel-Verlag bowed to the spirit of the times in the numerous, facilely-written biographies authored by Stefan Zweig, the house maintained a strong identity as a leading publisher of literature. Historical treatises or philosophical tracts were out of place on the Insel lists. Thus, in 1928, when Hugo von Hofmannsthal contacted the Kippenbergs regarding the manuscript of his friend Josef Redlich, professor, politician, and one-time Austrian Minister, he ought to have realized the futility of his intervention. Hofmannsthal was so intent on successfully guiding Redlich's work into print that he neglected to consider its inappropriateness in the Insel sphere. Perhaps since Redlich had once contributed an essay "Das Wesen der österreichischen Gemeindeverfassung" to the Österreichischer Almanach auf das Jahr 1916, his friend presupposed a certain compatibility with the objectives of the publishing house. However, despite Hofmannsthal's encouragement, a proposed Redlich contribution to the twenty-six volume Österreichische Bibliothek never came to fruition. This lacuna was a dark portent for Redlich's future attempt to publish under the Insel imprint.

In 1928 Redlich, who was then affiliated with the Harvard Law School, had just finished a biography of Kaiser Franz Josef. Although he had already contracted with Macmillan for the publication of an English edition, he had made no definite arrangements with a German publisher for an original language version. From Cambridge, Massachusetts he wrote to Hofmannsthal, consulting the more experienced man of letters on the proper selection of a publisher. In addition to soliciting advice as to which firm the book would be best suited for, Redlich also asked his friend to serve as deputy in speaking for its content. Redlich reported that his manuscript was nearly completed, and he expected the English version to be out by Christmas. Redlich had two possible publishers, but wanted to consult with Hofmannsthal before making a decision and asked him:

Glauben Sie, daß Sie Bruckmann in München dafür interessieren könnten oder hielten Sie den Inselverlag für das Richtige und Mögliche. Es ist kein "gelehrtes" Buch -- ich glaube, es ist so, daß es populäre Lektüre gebildeter Leute werden kann.³²

Considering the immense popularity enjoyed by the biographies Stefan Zweig had written, Redlich was not entirely amiss in targeting the Insel audience as an appropriate public for his non-scholarly work. Hofmannsthal clearly concurred and he corresponded with Kippenberg regarding publication of Josef Redlich's manuscript during that spring. His letter to his friend,

³² Josef Redlich, Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Josef Redlich: Briefwechsel, (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer-Verlag, 1971), p. 92.

dated May 3, 1928, provides the frankest assessment of Anton Kippenberg's character by Hofmannsthal that has seen publication. In the published correspondence of Redlich and Hofmannsthal, the exchanges relating to the Franz Josef manuscript refer to Kippenberg as "Dr.X" and to the Insel-Verlag as "Y-Verlag," a censorship no doubt resulting from a desire to shield the Kippenberg memory and heirs from the caustic unflattering appraisal contained within the letters. Addressing Redlich as "verehrter Freund," Hofmannsthal reported:

Ich habe jetzt recht eingehend an Dr.X, den Chef des Y.-Verlages, geschrieben und hoffe zuversichtlich daß dieser Mann der zeitweise ein rechter Neurastheniker ist nicht eine seiner Ängsten und Verzagtheiten über die anhaltend mehr als schwierige Lage (man könnte sie manchmal schon verzweifelt nennen) des deutschen Buchhandels anwandelt. Verzeihen Sie nur, guter Freund, daß ich so profane Namen genannt habe wie Rowohlt und Paul List. Aber bei den berühmten gelehrten Verlägen bleibt ja heutzutage ein Buch rettungslos liegen und zu dem Zweck schreiben Sie es doch nicht!³³

Despite Hofmannsthal's denigrating comments about his publisher, he nonetheless pursued the possibility of securing acceptance of Redlich's work in the Insel-Verlag. After first seeking Kippenberg's approval to submit the manuscript, he forwarded it to Leipzig with a cover letter describing both the book and Redlich in glowing terms. For his friend's sake, he assumed the role of intermediary, hoping to convince Kippenberg of the book's worth. His enthusiastic tone contrasted with the diffident air with which

³³ Josef Redlich, p. 95. The unexpurgated letters may be found in Helga Ebner's dissertation (Vienna 1963): "Die Briefe Hugo von Hofmannsthals an Josef Redlich."

he approached the publication of his own material and was perhaps as much indicative of his lack of confidence that Kippenberg would indeed accept Redlich's manuscript as it was a mark of respect for the work itself. In part reading like a publisher's blurb, his letter commenced:

Verehrtester, ich ... schicke Ihnen nach beendeter Lectüre, der für mich sehr genußreich war, in guten Schreibmaschinenmanuscript einen so großen Teil des Redlich'schen Werkes, daß Sie sich völlig orientieren können. Ich bitte Sie zuerst die nur vier bis fünf Seiten lange Einleitung zu lesen, sie motiviert die Wahl des Gegenstandes, der scheinbar biographisch, zugleich aber welthistorisch ist in so meisterhafter Weise, daß schon hier die Potenz und Berufenheit des Verfassers zu erkennen ist. Nicht etwa für mich, da ich diesen Mann als Politiker, als Universitätslehrer, und als Minister seit 20 Jahren kenne, und ihn für einen der bedeutendsten Menschen immer hielt, und heute halte... nicht für mich sage ich, sondern auch für jemand, der nichts von ihm weiß.³⁴

Hofmannsthal's endorsement no longer sufficed to ensure ready acceptance of an author he supported, in part because the subject matter lay outside the usual fare offered by the Insel-Verlag, and perhaps in part because Kippenberg, an established, successful publisher, no longer relied so heavily on his authors' judgments. In addition, Hofmannsthal and Kippenberg had had several incidents which had tended to widen the rift created by the innate and cultural differences which already separated them. Despite the fact that Hugo von Hofmannsthal had anticipated problems with Kippenberg, the latter's outright refusal evoked strong indignation from him. On May 28, 1928, Hofmannsthal vented his

³⁴ HvH to AK, May 26, 1928, Frankfurt am Main.

frustration in an outraged letter to Josef Redlich:

Ich schäme mich wirklich der Misere, die in deutschen Verlagswesen eingerissen ist. Wie gern hätte ich diese Sache freundschaftlich rasch und glatt erledigt. Aber es geht in diesem Mitteleuropa nichts mehr glatt. Die Folgen eines verlorenen Krieges wirken bis in das Capillarsystem.

Ich habe Ihren Brief (den ich auf meiner Rückkehr aus Italien hier vorfand) nun doch an X (den Chef des Y. Verlages) gesandt, empfang aber schon vorher von diesem einen Brief (in Beantwortung einer ersten Ankündigung Ihrer Absichten) worin er mir recht plump abwinkt, mit dem Hinweis auf das illustrierte Buch über den gleichen Gegenstand von einem gewissen Eugen Bagger.... X ist ein recht engherziger nicht sehr erfreulicher Mensch, darum erlaubte ich mir ja den sehr viel traitableren Rowohlt vorzuschlagen.³⁵

If Hofmannsthal suffered wounded pride and experienced a sense of helplessness in finding the proper solution to Redlich's publishing dilemma, he reacted even more strongly after learning from his friend of Kippenberg's absolute refusal. Redlich communicated the latest news to Hofmannsthal in a letter dated June 13, 1928: In it he revealed that the Insel-Verlag had rejected his manuscript, and continued:

Heute empfieng ich ein Schreiben des Herrn X, das in seinem meiner Auffassung nach ganz ungehörigen Tone -- er zeugt übrigens für die offenbar seltene Dumheit [sic] und Unbildung dieses Mannes -- mich zu einer Erwiderung an denselben genötigt hat. Es ist fast unmöglich mit diesem Neudeutschen irgendeine, noch so einfache natürliche, Beziehung -- auch solche rein geschäftlicher Art -- anzuknüpfen. Doch das ist ein -- weites Feld.³⁶

³⁵ Josef Redlich, p. 96.

³⁶ Josef Redlich, p. 100.

Redlich forwarded the offensive letter to Hofmannsthal, but only a week later, he was happily able to report that he had negotiated a contract for himself with the Berlin Verlag für Kulturpolitik, adding: "Die Episode X hat in mir nur den Humor, den die groteske Unbildung des Mannes in mir geweckt hatte, als Residuum zurückgelassen."³⁷

Before word of this fortunate turn of events could reach Hofmannsthal in Rodaun, he had renewed his effort to secure Kippenberg's approval, obstinately refusing to accept the publisher's negative answer. However, by July 4, 1928, Hofmannsthal was privy to the contents of the publisher's letter to Josef Redlich. Incensed, Hofmannsthal detailed all his efforts on Redlich's behalf, identifying in his second paragraph the one objection that one might consider rational on the part of a literary publisher:

Den unmöglichen Brief dieses X [...] sende ich zurück. Wissend wie der Mann beschaffen ist, habe ich ja gezögert, ihm Ihr Werk anzubieten -- aber ich fühlte, Sie wollten es in Y.-Verlag haben, und so habe ich nochmals, im Juni, einen langen Brief an den Mann geschrieben, ihm auseinanderzusetzen versucht, wer Sie sind und wer der Herr Bagger ist (ein ungarisch-jüdischer Militärflüchtling und Pamphletist von der gemeinsten Sorte) und auf Grund dieser neuen Correspondenz habe ich nunmehr an X mit der Bedingung einer Entscheidung vor dem 15ten VII. die ersten 290 Seiten des Werkes gesandt, diese 290 Seiten, die ich mit so großer Bewunderung und so ungewöhnlichem Vergnügen nunmehr gelesen habe. Ich habe den X insbesondere auf das wahrlich meisterhafte Vorwort hingewiesen, das in unübertrefflicher Weise die Einzigartigkeit des Themas

³⁷ Josef Redlich, p. 102.

umschreibt und den Leser aufklärt, warum in diesem so besonderen Falle eine biographische Darstellung zugleich nicht ein Fragment der europäischen Staatengeschichte des XIXten [Jahrhunderts] sondern diese Staatengeschichte selber, in gedrängter Form, enthalten muß.

Ich halte -- wenn es nicht zu unbescheiden ist, das auszusprechen -- das Buch für eine, auch aus Ihrer Feder, ganz ungewöhnliche Leistung. Eines freilich könnte der belletristische, nicht wissenschaftliche, Verleger entgegenhalten, ...daß das Buch immerhin die Monographie eines Historikers ist, nicht die eines homme de lettres -- ungeheuer gehaltvoll, aber keine leichte Lectüre, doch näher bei Ranke als bei Lytton Strachey, und die Mode geht heute auf Lytton Strachey mehr als auf Ranke -- so wahr sie, zu anderen Epochen, in Deutschland mehr auf das Gediegene als auf das litterarisch Gefällige gegangen ist.³⁸

Hofmannsthal's comments revealed his increasing preoccupation with political topics, a shift away from the lyrical to the worldly illustrated in his own writings.

On July 5, 1928, Hofmannsthal received two important communications. The first, from his publisher, offered the opinion that Kippenberg was prepared to publish the manuscript in principle. However, as Hofmannsthal reported to Redlich, Kippenberg's "Erklärung war auch recht unsympathisch, recht de mauvaise grâce."³⁹ In the same mail Redlich's letter arrived, announcing a successful contract with another firm. Thus it was Hofmannsthal's pleasure to inform Kippenberg: "Professor Redlich hat einen Brief, den Sie ihm schrieben, als definitive Ablehnung

³⁸ Josef Redlich, p. 104.

³⁹ Josef Redlich, p. 109.

aufgefaßt, und inzwischen mit einem Berliner Verlag für Culturpolitik abgeschlossen. Ich glaube daß dies vielleicht die richtigere Lösung für die Sache ist."⁹⁰

On the surface, the episode ended well for all concerned, but it left a sour taste in Hofmannsthal's mouth. His relationship with his publisher, never one of close friendship, cooled and took on an even politer, chillier tone. In the same letter of July 5, the poet agreed to a slight postponement in the appearance of his work Die ägyptische Helena, which was issued later in 1928. This was to prove to be his last separately published work under the Insel imprint in his lifetime. The final months of Hofmannsthal's life marked a growing alienation from Kippenberg; the Redlich affair was perhaps the crowning blow to an already deteriorating relationship.

⁹⁰ HvH to AK, July 5, 1928, Frankfurt am Main.

Chapter 9

HOFMANNSTHAL'S PUBLISHING RELATIONSHIPS OUTSIDE THE INSEL-VERLAG

The inability to secure a publisher for his friend Josef Redlich's manuscript embarrassed Hugo von Hofmannsthal. By 1928 the poet had almost four decades of publishing experience behind him. His poems had first been printed in 1890 in An der schönen blauen Donau, an Austrian journal of light literary taste. Poems, essays, and other writings had appeared in the pages of lesser and greater periodicals and newspapers. Hofmannsthal's books bore the imprint of the S. Fischer Verlag, the Erich Reiss Verlag, Verlag der Bremer Presse, and the Amalthea Verlag, as well as the Insel-Verlag; libretti for the operas composed by Richard Strauss were issued by the Fürstner-Verlag. In addition, many other publishing houses had wooed him.

The better part of his production, however, was divided between two publishing firms: the S. Fischer Verlag and the Insel-Verlag. Samuel Fischer had established the S. Fischer Verlag in Berlin in 1886 and built his reputation on his circle of Naturalist writers, chief among them Gerhart Hauptmann. By 1899, when Hugo von Hofmannsthal signed his first contract with the S.

Fischer Verlag, it had become perhaps the foremost German publisher of contemporary belles-lettres. Yet before Fischer could acquire the Austrian poet exclusively for his firm, Hofmannsthal became involved in the publishing venture known as Die Insel, which was to develop into the Insel-Verlag. For the rest of his life he continued to publish his work in these two firms and became one of the pillars upon which the success of these two houses rested.

Although the tendencies of the two publishers led them in different directions, as two of the leading names associated with belletristic publishing, they naturally vied with one another for some of the same portion of the literary market. The very fact that they shared an author such as Hofmannsthal underscored the conjunction and competition of their interests. On the other hand, precisely because Hofmannsthal perceived sharp differences in both style and subject matter between the books under the Fischer and Insel imprints, he deliberately divided his production between them. While this may have worked to his advantage in terms of his ability to reach various segments of the reading population, the arrangement presented difficulty whenever he tried to assemble the pieces allocated to Fischer and Kippenberg. Each publisher guarded his rights jealously and was reluctant to concede anything to his rival. Not only did they foresee economic damage to their firms by yielding, but more pertinently, their sense of publishing morals was offended whenever this issue was raised.

In 1906, as Kippenberg and Hofmannsthal proceeded with the preparation of the poet's Kleine Dramen and Gesammelte Gedichte, the need for Fischer's cooperation was evident. In a letter outlining the material to be gathered in the two volumes, Hofmannsthal discussed his relationship to Fischer:

Ich bin an Fischer, der sich mir gegenüber immer mehr als loyal, direct musterhaft benommen hat, nicht formal gebunden (wenigstens nicht für meine ganze Production) aber ich wünsche das Abkommen, das mir alle Freiheit einräumt, so zu interpretieren, daß ich ihm nur solche Publicationen entziehe, welche in seinem Verlag (der in Bezug auf Ausstattung etc. gewisse traditionelle Grenzen hat) nicht ganz an ihrem Platz wären. (dazu gehört alles dem Lyrischen annähernd.)¹

Since Fischer held the rights to some of the pieces slated for inclusion, notably "Gestern," his understanding in the matter was crucial. Hofmannsthal explained that only by asking Fischer for a personal favor could he hope to obtain the release of "Gestern."

Fischer responded positively to the request for the release of "Gestern," and the Kleine Dramen containing it went on to assume a prominent position in the Insel list of publications. In fact, Hofmannsthal actually used the success of this collection to call into question Fischer's disappointing sales of a volume of his collected prose which the firm had issued in 1907.²

¹ HvH to AK, May 18, 1906, Frankfurt am Main.

² He confessed to his "lieber Verleger" Fischer that the unpleasant, surprising news of lackluster interest in his prose was a mystery to him. He could not fathom the failure of the edition to attract attention, particularly since his poems were selling briskly, and he added: "vergleicht man, wie wenig Leser für Lyrik es gibt, wieviele für Prosa, die sich nur an den

Publishing with more than one firm afforded Hofmannsthal several desirable possibilities. Materials that might be of secondary importance on one publisher's list, such as lyric poetry on Fischer's, enjoyed the limelight on another's. In this case, the Insel-Verlag's careful attention to external form appealed to Hofmannsthal, who believed in a harmonious balance between form and content. As a consequence of each publisher's diverse lists, the books issued by the S. Fischer Verlag and the Insel-Verlag attracted widely differing audiences. Thus Hofmannsthal sought to reach the broadest range of readers by having his work appear under different imprints. It stood to reason, moreover, that the larger the market, the larger his sales and profits would be. Furthermore, he could often exploit the association with one publisher to obtain a desired concession from a second. If one publisher seemed uninterested or reluctant to commit resources to a project, Hofmannsthal could readily assume that the other would try to gain the advantage by picking up the option. Both Fischer and Kippenberg would have preferred exclusive rights to Hofmannsthal's work, as would other publishers, so they were not likely to jeopardize their existing relationship with the author by opposing his wishes.

Verstand richtet, so müßte das Verhältnis das umgekehrte sein, ja weit darüber hinaus noch." (de Mendelssohn, p.495.)

Finally, his personal relationship with the individuals actually directing the publishing houses was important for Hofmannsthal. His warm salutation "Mein lieber Verleger" to Samuel Fischer contrasted with the formal "Sehr geehrter Herr Dr." with which he normally addressed Anton Kippenberg. Letters to Fischer reveal an affection that is palpably lacking in his communications with Kippenberg.

Unlike some authors who switched discontentedly from publisher to publisher, Hofmannsthal made a concerted effort to maintain good terms with both Fischer and Kippenberg. Sometimes he could manipulate these relationships to his advantage; on occasion he suffered directly because of it. Such was the case in 1911, when the Insel-Verlag, calculating the huge popularity of the 1906 and 1907 volumes of Kleine Dramen and Die Gesammelten Gedichte, proposed reissuing them in a slightly revised, enlarged version. In the five years since Kippenberg and Fischer had reached an agreement over the republication by the Insel-Verlag of material belonging to the S. Fischer Verlag, much had changed. With Kippenberg in charge, the Insel-Verlag had achieved financial stability and could be regarded as a much more serious rival by Fischer. Furthermore, Kippenberg had asserted his presence in a manner which often irritated his publishing colleagues. Fischer himself had aged, and had become slightly less willing to concede the rights of an author associated with his firm for a decade than

of one who had been in the firm only a half dozen years. In short, both financially and psychologically there was more at stake in 1911 when plans called for including both "Gestern" and "Die Frau im Fenster," both published originally under Fischer's auspices, in a collection of Hofmannsthal's work planned by the Insel-Verlag.

At first all promised to proceed smoothly. Kippenberg dictated on June 19, 1911: "Das ist ja sehr erfreulich, daß Fischer uns die Frau im Fenster für den Sammelband überläßt."³ Yet, on the tenth of August, he had extremely unpleasant news to relate to Hofmannsthal: "Soeben telegraphiert mir Herr S. Fischer zur Zeit Bad Gastein, Elisabethhof: Kann Abdruck von Gestern in Sammelband Hofmannsthals nicht gestatten. Das ist ja eine sehr ärgerliche Sache, denn der ganze Band ist gesetzt und mit dem Druck sollte eben begonnen werden."⁴ Unfortunately, what had worked to Hofmannsthal's advantage when he published his writings separately was a disadvantage when he sought to collect his writings. Now he was forced to act the role of suppliant-intermediary between the two publishers.

On the twenty-second of August 1911, Hofmannsthal reported with some agitation:

³ AK to HvH, June 19, 1911, Frankfurt am Main.

⁴ AK to HvH, August 10, 1911, Frankfurt am Main.

Ich führe eine recht nervenaufreibende Correspondenz mit Fischer, der nicht wußte, daß unser Band so wohlfeil wird und nun plötzlich seine 2 Einzelausgaben annulliert sieht. Ich habe ihn (in gutem Glauben, es sei alles schon beim Heften), die Sache als irreparabel vorgestellt, und hoffe ihn nur zu begütigen. Eine recht peinliche Sache! Ich weiß ihm keine rechte Compensation anzubieten.⁵

To one of Hofmannsthal's pleas for cooperation in the matter, Fischer replied that he felt his firm alone would be making financial and moral sacrifices. To supply "Die Frau im Fenster" for the inexpensive Insel edition was to ruin it for the Fischer Verlag. As a compromise, he agreed to free up the rights to "Gestern" with the eventual goal of their being assumed by the Insel-Verlag. Although Hofmannsthal had indicated to Fischer that the volume had already been set and that his lack of cooperation would cause severe hardship to the Insel-Verlag, Fischer did not credit this. Instead he complained:

Ich verstehe nicht recht, warum Sie angesichts der geschaffenen Situation die Interessen des Inselverlags mir gegenüber verteidigen, während es doch natürlich wäre, daß Sie den Inselverlag veranlassen, den begangenen Fehler wieder gut zu machen.

Ich glaube nicht, daß der Inselverlag die Auflage schon gedruckt hat: das Buch soll ja erst im Oktober erscheinen. Aber selbst wenn die Auflage schon gedruckt ist, so kann das kein Hindernis sein, die Sache mir gegenüber wieder in Ordnung zu bringen.

"Die Frau im Fenster" steht nach dem Prospekt an vorletzter Stelle, es wären also eventuell nur einige Bogen neu zu drucken -- das kann den Kopf nicht kosten.⁶

⁵ HvH to AK, August 22, 1911, Frankfurt am Main.

⁶ Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Briefwechsel mit Max Rychner, mit Samuel und Hedwig Fischer, Oscar Bie und Moritz Heimann (Frankfurt am

Clearly Fischer was piqued, and in his defense he cited a long list of sacrifices the S. Fischer Verlag had made for Hofmannsthal's benefit, with the admonition the Insel-Verlag might do the same by scrapping the typeset version of the collected works containing "Die Frau im Fenster." Hofmannsthal forwarded Fischer's telegram to Kippenberg and commented:

inliegend Fischers Depesche, Antwort auf den dritten (!) Brief, den ich ihm schrieb. Ich muß es nun aufgeben, weiter zu intervenieren. Aber vielleicht ergäbe sich eine neue Basis, wenn Sie ihm das Verlagsrecht für Gestern abkaufen, daß er dann doch die Frau im Fenster concediert, d.h. seine schon einmal gemachte Concession nicht zurücknimmt. Denn wenn "Gestern" nicht mehr ihm, sondern Ihnen gehört, hätte er ja nur in einem Fall etwas zu concedieren, und was ihn so aufbrachte, war ja die Duplicität. Vielleicht erreichen Sie's noch, Verhandlung ist's wert, wenn aber nicht, so bleibt der Band ja reich genug, die Differenz fällt nicht ins Gewicht. Ich habe wirklich mein Mögliches getan.⁷

Perhaps Hofmannsthal wished to see an end to bartering and bickering, yet it seemed his fast and furious correspondence had set the pace for the unhappy triangle. On August 24, 1911, for example, Kippenberg wrote, as yet ignorant of the contents of Hofmannsthal's note of the previous day: "Hoffentlich kommt die Sache mit Fischer in Ordnung; sie ist mir auch recht unangenehm. Die Möglichkeit dieser Schwierigkeit war mir überhaupt gar nicht in den Sinn gekommen, da ich natürlich glaubte, Fischer wisse davon, daß der Band so wohlfeil sei."⁸

M.: S. Fischer Verlag, 1973), pp. 117-18.

⁷ HvH to AK, August 23, 1911, Frankfurt am Main.

⁸ AK to HvH, August 24, 1911, Frankfurt am Main.

After receipt of Hofmannsthal's letter and Fischer's telegram, both dated August 23, 1911, Kippenberg added a postscript that showed both his obstinacy and his principles. According to Kippenberg, Fischer had no legal right to withdraw his agreement to permit the Insel-Verlag to use "Die Frau im Fenster" simply because he claimed not to have known that this release was for an inexpensive version. However, since matters were more dubious with regard to "Gestern," Kippenberg was prepared to omit this piece. He asked only for Hofmannsthal's confirmation of this plan by telegram.⁹

Hofmannsthal telgraphed the following message on the same day: "weglassung gestern einverstanden wenn auch sehr ungern hoffe immer noch verstaendigung wenn sie zunaechst scharfen ton moeglichst mejden [sic]."¹⁰

Two days later, Hofmannsthal expanded on the sentiments conveyed in his hasty telegram. He had agreed, albeit unhappily, to the deletion of "Gestern." In response to Kippenberg's assurance that he would straighten things out with Fischer, he begged Kippenberg to proceed with caution:

denn es wäre für mich äußerst unangenehm, nach
zwölfjährigen guten Beziehungen in ein trübes Verhältnis
zu Fischer zu geraten, dessen nervöse und inkonsequente
Haltung überdies dadurch zu erklären ist, daß er die
Gasteiner-Kur schlecht verträgt und seitdem viele Nächte

⁹ AK to HVH, August 24, 1911, Frankfurt am Main.

¹⁰ HVH to AK, August 24, 1911, Frankfurt am Main.

schlaflos ist.¹¹

Hofmannsthal suggested as a possible alternative solution that Kippenberg assume the rights to "Gestern" and Fischer would then concede those to "Die Frau im Fenster," thereby enabling both works to be united in the Insel volume and placating Fischer at the same time.¹²

Kippenberg's reply was calm and soothing, if not particularly sanguine. He resolved to make the best of an unfortunate situation by leaving out the two works. However, he still held a glimmer of hope that Hofmannsthal might arrange for a successful agreement through a personal meeting with Fischer. Although he would have preferred to have included both "Die Frau im Fenster" and "Gestern" in the collected work, he obviously felt their omission would not seriously impair the volume's success, which he predicted would exceed 10,000 copies. If necessary, the missing pieces could always be inserted in a later edition.

Hofmannsthal's persistence and Kippenberg's shrewd use of his author as intermediary, as well as his stubborn refusal to let Fischer's politics unnerve him, had worn Fischer down. Still in residence at the spa Bad Gastein, in a cure whose efficacy may well have been undermined by the spate of interruptions by business letters, Fischer confessed to Hofmannsthal:

¹¹ HvH to AK, August 26, 1911, Frankfurt am Main.

¹² AK to HvH, August 24, 1911, Frankfurt am Main.

Ich habe den lebhaften Wunsch die Sache zu Ende zu führen, sie hat uns beide lange genug in Anspruch genommen.

Ich will Ihnen für den Insel-Verlag "Gestern" unter der Bedingung freigeben, daß der Insel-Verlag auch die Einzelausgabe übernimmt. Für die Überlassung der Verlagsrechte fordere ich nichts, für Überlassung der vorrätigen Exemplare hätte der Insel-Verlag 60% vom Ladenpreise zu bezahlen.

Unter dieser Voraussetzung würde ich auch den Abdruck der Frau im Fenster in 10.000 Exemplaren des Sammelbandes gestatten.¹³

Fischer hoped to achieve a satisfactory compromise through this offer. His restriction of the use of "Die Frau im Fenster" was tied to his fears for the fate of his separate edition of the piece in the future should it continue to be available in the inexpensive Insel collection. Fischer emphasized that he had given any rights to the piece to Hofmannsthal, for the author to do as he pleased with them, and he saw no further reason to communicate directly with the Insel-Verlag.¹⁴

Kippenberg rejected Fischer's proposal, passed along to him through Hofmannsthal, arguing:

Aus dem Briefe des Herrn Fischer ersehe ich, daß er nicht mehr recht weiß, was seinerzeit über die Frau im Fenster vereinbart worden ist.... Der Einwand, daß er nicht gewußt habe, daß die Ausgabe M. 2- kostete, ist hinfällig. Herr Fischer hätte sich ja, wenn er in dieser Beziehung Bedenken hatte, erkundigen können. Zudem aber hatte Herr Fischer durchaus gewußt, daß es sich um eine sehr billige einbändige Ausgabe handelte, wie aus dem Briefe vom 14. Juni hervorgeht, denn der teuren Ausgabe

¹³ Hofmannsthal, Briefwechsel mit Max Rychner, p. 119.

¹⁴ Hofmannsthal, Briefwechsel mit Max Rychner, p. 119.

traut man nicht "eine starke, werbende Kraft" zu.¹⁵

Kippenberg did not mention in thus summarizing his opinion that time was of the essence. It was imperative that the new edition reach the market before Christmas, when sales would peak. Further negotiations would only endanger this proven marketing practice. With this goal in mind, Kippenberg concluded that he could not seriously consider Fischer's limitation on the number of copies in which "Die Frau im Fenster" could appear. The publisher clung steadfastly to the original bargain to print "Die Frau im Fenster" in the collected works and leave out "Gestern." Since Hofmannsthal did not feel strongly enough about "Gestern" to continue the campaign for its inclusion, he accepted Kippenberg's decision as final. Ultimately the three men arrived at a fairly satisfactory agreement. Both publishers made concessions to one another in order to obtain a pleasing result for their author. Solomon's wisdom had triumphed, but not without first extracting its toll on author and publishers. A delicate balance was achieved, and Hofmannsthal's Die Gedichte und Kleinen Dramen subsequently appeared in a single volume under the Insel imprint in 1911. Soon it became an immensely popular item, especially because it brought together Hofmannsthal's popular early writing, reflected careful attention to appealing physical detail, and was offered at the low price of two Marks. In two years the printings ran into 20,000 copies.

¹⁵ AK to HvH, August 31, 1911, Frankfurt am Main.

During the next few years, there were no significant disagreements between the two publishers touching on Hofmannsthal's work. Towards the end of the World War I, however, Kippenberg did seek Fischer's cooperation with regard to some Hofmannsthal material he wished to publish in the Insel-Verlag. Kippenberg proposed to issue a collection of the writer's prose pieces. Anticipating Hofmannsthal's possible reluctance, based in part on previous experience in publishing a collection containing works for which Fischer held the rights, Kippenberg added reassuringly:

Insoweit Fischer hierzu seine Genehmigung zu geben hätte, glaube ich, daß er keine Schwierigkeiten machen wird. Es besteht ein wechselseitiges, freundschaftliches Verhältnis zwischen uns, daß durch gewisse Maßnahmen Dritter sich in letzter Zeit verstärkt hat.¹⁶

In spite of an improved relationship with Fischer, the plan did not come to fruition. Fischer was in the midst of preparing a similar volume of Hofmannsthal's prose works and felt that the two books would conflict in interest. Kippenberg did not share Fischer's opinion, but he respected it, and consequently dropped his original request.

Hugo von Hofmannsthal's prose works appeared in the S. Fischer Verlag in three volumes published from 1918 to 1920. Apparently Hofmannsthal was disappointed with their reception and attributed their modest success to Fischer's handling of their

¹⁶ AK to HvH, February 19, 1917, Frankfurt am Main.

publication. In a letter dated September 11, 1920, he explained his intention to deviate from his traditional practice of publishing certain works originally with Fischer. He had already entrusted Katharina Kippenberg with the responsibility of determining the order of his aphorisms and notes in what came to be entitled Buch der Freunde, and he now offered Kippenberg the rare opportunity to publish his "Großes Welttheater," which was to become the basis of the Salzburger Festspiele.

In his letter he touched upon two pertinent issues: first, that by content Das Salzburger große Welttheater, the adaptation of Calderon's drama, should appropriately be published with other works of his in the Insel-Verlag, and secondly his sense that Fischer's preoccupation with a new generation of authors had overshadowed his interest in Hofmannsthal. From Bad Aussee he wrote:

Anhaltend sinne ich darauf, wie ich nächste Arbeiten -- ganz abgesehen von dem Buch der Freunde und den Kleinen Dramen zweite Reihe, nicht vereinzelt, denn ich liebe nicht das Vereinzelte im Handeln, sondern in einem vernünftigen und höheren Zusammenhang dem Verlag zuwenden könnte. Die Salzburger freundlichen inhaltvollen Gespräche, die bestimmte Absicht, Sie in Leipzig aufzusuchen, gibt diesen Gedanken, das mir unentbehrliche Ingredienz: Person und Sache in einander fließend. -- Vielleicht hat Fischer sich mit modernistischem Zeug so übernommen, daß er entkräftet und confus, wie er mir zuweilen scheint, die Prosa-Schriften fahren läßt.¹⁷

¹⁷ HvH to AK, September 11, 1920, Frankfurt am Main.

In any case, Hofmannsthal thought it would be useful to bring his Dame Kobold over to the Insel from the Fischer Verlag where he regarded it as misplaced. The author predicted that he would produce a series of free translations of Calderonian works so that the Insel would have an attractive package. However, he warned Kippenberg that he would determine when and with whom any of his work was to appear:

es liegt die Möglichkeit vor, daß ich, und vielleicht sehr bald, eine oder die andere völlig eigene, aber auf dem Stoff einer Calderonschen Tragödie ruhender Arbeit herausbringe. Es muß bei mir stehen, wann und wann nicht ich ein Verhältnis für gegeben halte, daß mich als Bearbeiter oder daß mich als freien Dramatiker erscheinen läßt, der einen schon einmal behandelten Stoff noch einmal behandelt. Ein Werk der letzteren Kategorien würde nicht in Ihre Räume fallen, ja es wäre mir lieb, wenn eben die Calderon'sche Reihe bei Ihnen und ein solches in die Hauptlinie meiner dramatischen Bethätigung fallendes Werk bei Fischer -- also eins vom andern deutlich getrennt, erschiene.¹⁸

Although he saw a clear demarcation between the type of work published in the two houses, Hofmannsthal hastened to add that he expended as much energy and love on the reworking of material derived from other artists as he did on his original creations. In order to obtain the release of Dame Kobold and further his aim of dividing his production according to an orderly, logical plan, Hofmannsthal enclosed a letter for Fischer to accompany the Insel-Verlag's formal request.

¹⁸ HvH to AK, September 11, 1920, Frankfurt am Main.

Hofmannsthal's entreaty to Fischer to release Dame Kobold, which he felt more appropriately listed by the Insel-Verlag, offered offsetting consolations. The note, which Kippenberg declined to use, stated briefly:

Verehrter Herr Fischer, Mit Wunsch und Bitte Dr. Kippenbergs, Sie meine Dame Kobold-Übertragung freizugeben, vereinigt sich die Meinige. Ich weiß, daß Sie nicht gern etwas von mir hergeben, um so freier darf ich Sie im vorliegenden Fall bitten, vom Grundsatz abzusehen. Die Arbeit der Übersetzung nach einer spanischen Klassiker ist in Ihrem Verlagskatalog so nicht fehl am Ort, doch vereinzelt, im Insel-Verlag läßt sie viel mehr in gewissen auch mir gewünschten Zusammenhänge bringen. Die Kompensation für die Freundlichkeit, die ich hier bitte, fehlt es nicht. Ich bringe Ihrem Verlag zwei in der Hauptreihe meiner Production gehörende neue Werke, das Lustspiel "Der Schwierige" und ein Trauerspiel. Bitte erfüllen Sie meinen Wunsch. Stets herzlich der Ihre, Hofmannsthal.¹⁹

Kippenberg hesitated to employ Hofmannsthal's note, since he sensed that any official correspondence between the two publishers, with or without the author's blessing, would lead to rejection. Instead Kippenberg proposed that a private conversation with Fischer during a planned sojourn to Berlin might best attain the desired result, especially since Kippenberg believed he had an additional object of compensation for Fischer. This arrangement apparently failed to entice Fischer, however, since the drama Dame Kobold continued to appear under the Fischer imprint.²⁰

¹⁹ HvH to AK, September 15, 1920, Frankfurt am Main.

²⁰ AK to HvH, October 15, 1920, Frankfurt am Main.

In the ensuing months a plan unfolded which required additional cooperation from the S. Fischer Verlag. On several occasions since the inception of the Insel-Bücherei, Anton Kippenberg had tried to convince Hofmannsthal to publish a volume of prose works in that series. After receiving a negative response, initially from Hofmannsthal, and later, for different reasons, from Fischer, the proposal eventually won Hofmannsthal's acceptance. The next step was to obtain Samuel Fischer's permission to reprint selections from material published in his house. No doubt judging that if the proposal were to be accepted, it would have to be advanced by the author, and not by the rival publisher, Hofmannsthal undertook to request the favor from Fischer. On February 5, 1921, he reported the result of his intercession: "Von Fischer erhielt ich in Bezug auf das Prosa-Bändchen der Insel-Bücherei wider Erwarten leider einen ausführlich begründeten abschlägigen Bescheid."²¹ Undaunted by Fischer's refusal, Hofmannsthal promised to send off an urgent missive entreating Fischer to concede in this matter.

Before learning of Fischer's response to Hofmannsthal's renewed plea, Anton Kippenberg expressed his own sentiments to the author. Not only did he regard Fischer's behavior as unfriendly towards the Insel-Verlag, he also labelled it petty.²²

²¹ HvH to AK, February 5, 1921, Frankfurt am Main.

²² AK to HvH, February 14, 1921, Frankfurt am Main.

Hofmannsthal's reply to Kippenberg was so gracious that it placed the Leipzig publisher in the position of having been guilty of the very characteristics which he attributed to Fischer: "Mein lieber Professor Kippenberg, Ihr Wunsch schon erfüllt, Fischer hat in einer für Sie und mich äußerst freundlich formulierten Weise unserem Wunsch willfahren."²³ Fischer demanded only one concession of the the Insel-Verlag: one page in the projected volume should be devoted to announcing the complete contents of the three-volume Die prosaischen Schriften gesammelt appearing in the S. Fischer Verlag, and the selections for the pocketbook edition should bear an annotation of their relationship to the collected works.

Although this was a reasonable request under the circumstances, granting such a concession must have been painful for Kippenberg, since it effectively provided Fischer with free advertising. His answer to Hofmannsthal, however, revealed no such anguish, but instead tersely conveyed his pleasure that the desired result had been obtained, stating: "Ich freue mich außerordentlich, daß Fischer nunmehr unserem Wunsche nachgegeben hat, und habe veranlaßt, daß das Prosa-Bändchen sogleich zum Satz geht, damit es bereits in der nächsten Serie der Insel-Bücherei erscheinen kann."²⁴ Hofmannsthal's collected essays received the title Reden und Aufsätze and were issued as volume 339 in the Insel-Bücherei. According to the arrangement agreed upon, it was indicated in a

²³ HvH to AK, February 21, 1921, Frankfurt am Main.

²⁴ AK to HvH, February 28, 1921, Frankfurt am Main.

footnote which pieces were taken from the Fischer edition: "Diese Aufsätze wurden mit Genehmigung des Verlages S. Fischer, Berlin der umseitig angezeigten Ausgabe der Prosaischen Schriften entnommen."²⁵

Despite the occasional tedious disputes which he provoked when he attempted to persuade one publisher to share the rights to his author's work with another, Hofmannsthal continued to distribute his works among several publishers. While proceeding with his plan to issue his transcription and adaptation of a Calderonian work, Das Salzburger Grosse Welttheater, under the Insel imprint in 1922, he printed still another version of the drama in the periodical he edited in the Verlag der Bremer Presse, Neue Deutsche Beiträge, while the rights to perform the drama had to be obtained through the S. Fischer Verlag. A year earlier the Fischer Verlag published the poorly received Der Schwierige, while during the same period Katharina Kippenberg was engaged in the collation of Hofmannsthal's aphorisms and thoughts in the Buch der Freunde, which the Insel-Verlag published in 1922.

Although he did not immediately perceive it, such dispersion of his work inevitably led Hofmannsthal on a collision path. Since it was in his best interest to remain on cordial terms with his publishers, he offered one manuscript to one, and then, to placate

²⁵ Horst Weber, Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Bibliographie, Werke, Briefe, Gespräche, Übersetzungen, Vertonungen (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1972), p. 78.

the other, offered some other morsel to the second. The decision of which work was to appear under which imprint was not arbitrary, but was based for the most part on the nature of the piece and the respective characters of the publishing houses. Such an arrangement proved beneficial and suited his requirements more than an exclusive relationship with a single publisher. When it became desirable to unite works for which he had contracted with multiple publishers for distribution, Hofmannsthal exerted pressure in various ways to obtain his will. Over a decade of experience in coordinating agreements between Anton Kippenberg and Samuel Fischer lay behind him in the 1920's, when the author embarked on his most ambitious effort ever in this respect. Approaching his fiftieth birthday in 1924, Hugo von Hofmannsthal became consumed with the idea that Samuel Fischer should publish a collected edition of his writings in recognition of the event. Naturally, this multivolume set would include selections culled from all phases of Hofmannsthal's prolific production and would require Kippenberg's support as well as Fischer's. The first documented reference to Hofmannsthal's proposal surfaced in Anton Kippenberg's reply to a letter of January 23, 1922, where Hofmannsthal must have raised the issue. From Kippenberg's answer it is clear that Hofmannsthal must have sounded out the Insel-Verlag on its willingness to allow Hofmannsthal works in its possession to be incorporated in the volumes of a collected edition, and for these volumes to be sold separately by Fischer if

he so desired. In his response to this proposition, Anton Kippenberg prepared Hofmannsthal for disappointment by referring to the author's newly published drama, beginning:

Nun aber muß ich mich leider als der "Schwierige" erweisen. Sie berühren in Ihrem Briefe Ihr doppeltes Verhältnis zu Fischer und uns, aber eben die Beeinträchtigung meines Verlages, die Sie zu vermeiden wünschen, droht jetzt einzutreten. Bei der Gesamtausgabe soll nach dem Worte verfahren werden, wer da hat, dem wird gegeben, wer da nicht hat, dem wird auch das Wenige genommen, was er hat.²⁶

At issue was the absorption of the contents of the Insel-edition of the Die Gedichte und Kleinen Dramen into the larger whole of the Fischer collection, which, Kippenberg predicted, would have disastrous consequences for the long-standing bestseller. According to the director of the Insel-Verlag, Fischer had neither a moral nor legal right to anticipate selling the volumes of the planned set separately. Instead, Kippenberg argued that that volume in the collected works should be analogous to the one currently issued under the Insel imprint, and that the sale of this volume should be restricted, available only to purchasers of the entire set. To justify his reaction, Kippenberg appealed to Hofmannsthal's recognition of the importance of Die Gedichte und Kleinen Dramen in the history of the Insel-Verlag, explaining:

Sie wissen, wie ich an diesem Bande hänge, und wie sehr er in die Geschichte des Insel-Verlages und in Ihr Verhältnis zu ihm verwoben ist. Was die Honorarbemessung der in Druck befindlichen neuen Auflage der Gedichte und

²⁶ AK to HvH, January 25, 1922, Frankfurt am Main.

Kleine Dramen anlangt, so dürfen Sie hier auch weitester Rücksichtnahme auf Ihre Interesse versichert sein. Wie ich denn stets glaube zum Ausdruck gebracht zu haben, daß mein Wunsch, möglichst viel von Ihrem Werke im Insel-Verlag zu sehen, nicht materiellen Beweggründen entspringt.²⁷

Ironically, although Kippenberg declared his own disinterest in the financial gain his association with Hofmannsthal brought the Insel-Verlag, he placed monetary considerations on an equal level with the less tangible aspects of the relationship. His own motivation for defending the integrity of the Hofmannsthal volume, he claimed, stemmed from other values. What these values were remained unsaid, but they were likely to relate to the prestige of the Hofmannsthal name, to the intrinsic merit of the poems and dramas themselves, and of course, simply the tradition and history of Hofmannsthal's association with the genesis of the firm. In actuality, however, a substantial basis for this affiliation between the two men was the profit motive. Nevertheless, this ground alone was insufficient for either man to maintain their continued association. Particularly in this instance, each had more at stake than mere financial advantage. For Kippenberg, the matter touched upon the very principles upon which his publishing profession was based; for Hofmannsthal, the summation of an entire creative existence depended on the outcome of this project.

²⁷ AK to HvH, January 25, 1922, Frankfurt am Main.

In his answer to Kippenberg, written at Rodaun on February 8, 1922, Hofmannsthal first corrected a grave misunderstanding between the two men. At no point, declared Hofmannsthal, did he ever intend to sacrifice the Insel Die Gedichte und Kleinen Dramen for the purposes of a Gesamtausgabe. However, the inclusion of his early works in a collected edition was imperative and Kippenberg's stance undercut the fundamental premise of a Gesamtausgabe. Essentially, Hofmannsthal projected two alternative plans for the incorporation of the Insel material into the whole. The first plan, preferred by the author, distributed the works by category throughout a proposed six volumes. Another version called for the duplication of the Insel publication in a single volume that could not be sold independently of the set. In the first instance, Kippenberg's objection to the sale of any volume containing elements from Die Gedichte und Kleinen Dramen would have had a major impact on the marketability of the Gesamtausgabe, and thus might jeopardize the actualization of the project by Fischer. Defending the first scheme, the poet explained his belief that such an arrangement best protected the integrity of the Insel volume, since the particular configuration in a single volume was unique to the Insel-Verlag. After stating his case, he urged Kippenberg to reconsider his refusal, citing the importance of the outcome for his future. The publisher could not do this:

ohne mich, der ja auf der Höhe des Lebens hier ein lebenswichtiges Interesse im Spiel sieht, aufs Tiefste

zu treffen und mich schließlich gegen Sie und den Insel-Verlag anders zu stimmen als ich mein Lebenlang bestimmt war, und immer zu bleiben hoffe. Ich rede gar nicht von Vorsatz und Absicht, aber diese in geheimen Dingen sind stärker als jeder Wille. Ich habe in jeder Hinsicht um mein Dasein zu ringen, und kann dort, wo ich mich nicht der gleichgültigen Menge gegenüber weiß, nur bedingtes Wohlwollen ertragen, daß ich unbedingt erwidere. Es ist bei der Gesamtausgabe auch mein materielles Interesse, die Basis meines Lebens mit den meinigen und meine Production im Spiel.²⁸

To achieve his goal, Hofmannsthal, representing himself as a troubled, tortured being who could not persist if he did not reach his objective, threatened to sever his long-time association with the Insel-Verlag. The collected works took on added significance when he tied them to his financial stability, his family role, and indeed, his entire creative output. Anxiety about the Fischer project prompted him further to threaten to reconsider the publication of the Das Salzburger Große Welttheater under the Insel imprint:

Sie bringen mich in der Qual einer neuen Correspondenz mit Fischer, und werfen dadurch ganz natürlich einen Schatten auf das, was wir miteinander zu thun haben, schon auf die Welttheatersache. Denn ich kann in solchen Sachen nur aus ungemischtem Gefühl handeln, und das Materielle als Nebensache behandeln.²⁹

In Hofmannsthal's agitation, he first declared the material advantage to be gained through the Gesamtausgabe to be of paramount importance, and then, contradictorily maintained that with respect to the publication of the Welttheater material

²⁸ HvH to AK, February 8, 1922, Frankfurt am Main.

²⁹ HvH to AK, February 8, 1922, Frankfurt am Main.

satisfaction was a secondary concern which might have to be sacrificed. His remarks communicated his distress, and the intensity of his attachment to his idea, at whatever cost, be it a lifelong publishing association with the Insel or simply financial benefits that might accrue from the publication of the Welttheater.

Simultaneously, Hofmannsthal conducted a correspondence of a slightly different tone with Fischer, but still with the same goal in mind. Fischer, perhaps dubious about the possibility of selling the ten thousand copies of a collected edition of Hofmannsthal's works that would be necessary for his firm to turn a profit, needed to be convinced of the desirability of the publication. While on the one hand Hofmannsthal had to persuade Kippenberg that he stood to lose little through his cooperation, but much through his opposition, the author had to convince Fischer of the intrinsic merit of his proposal and of its significance for him. Unhappily, Hofmannsthal succeeded at neither. Difficult as compromise between the two men might seem, the complications which ensued with the introduction of a third party appeared insurmountable. On February 15, 1922, Hofmannsthal conveyed his disappointment to Kippenberg:

Im Begriff abzureisen empfang ich den erwarteten oder vielmehr befürchteten Brief von Fischer. Er meldet mir Ihren ablehnenden Bescheid, und verweist dem gegenüber auf die Zugeständnisse die ich Ihnen in früheren Jahren und noch in letzten Jahr im Bezug auf Die Reden und Absätze für Sie abgewonnen habe. Er erklärt schließlich daß er die Rechte für meine Gesamtausgabe nicht von Ihnen zu empfangen hat, mit anderen Worten, daß der

Fehler an mir liegt, und daß er unter diesen Umständen auf die Veranstaltung einer Gesamtausgabe verzichten müsse.³⁰

Once again, Fischer had informed Hofmannsthal that a collected edition was reasonable only if volumes might be marketed singly as well as in a set. To reduce his own involvement in the situation, Fischer set the responsibility for determining the arrangements squarely on Hofmannsthal. If the author really desired a collected edition of his works, he would have to ensure himself that all the components of success were available to Fischer. To prevail upon Kippenberg's good will, Hofmannsthal enumerated several points he found relevant. First, the S. Fischer Verlag had cooperated with the Insel-Verlag in making Hofmannsthal's work available for publication in that form, most recently in 1921 with the concession of certain essays which were reprinted in the Insel-Bücherei. Secondly, he intimated that serious moral and economic repercussions would result, and he identified these grave consequences as deriving from his friendly association with the Insel-Verlag, declaring:

Den Rückschlag auf mich, moralisch und ökonomisch, bitte ich Sie sich selbst auszumalen, besonders da sich in diesem Verhältnis ja auch wenn Jahre dahingehen nichts wesentlich ändert, ich also dauernd meinem guten Willen, neben dem schon vorher bestehenden Hauptverhältnis zu Fischer, das zu Insel freundlich zu pflegen, das Nicht-Erscheinen meiner Gesammelten Werke zu danken hätte.³¹

³⁰ HvH to AK, February 15, 1922, Frankfurt am Main.

³¹ HvH to AK, February 15, 1922, Frankfurt am Main.

Hofmannsthal justified his insistence on a collected edition by the explanation that he was a writer "dessen Oeuvre unendlich mannigfaltig und unübersichtlich durch eine solche Zusammenstellung erst in Erscheinung treten kann."³² Repeating his conviction that Kippenberg's agreement could scarcely jeopardize the Insel edition of Die Gedichte und Kleinen Dramen, Hofmannsthal concluded his plea strongly with the statement that his current and future production could adequately compensate the publisher for both the loss of prestige and any financial impairment, especially since Kippenberg had declared the latter to be of secondary importance.³³

Five days later Kippenberg responded with a lengthy defense of his position. All of Hofmannsthal's and Fischer's arguments, he declared, failed to overcome his principle objections to the matter at hand. In fact, he denounced Fischer's claims as "threadbare," and he continued acerbically:

Als lächerlich nur, kann ich das bezeichnen, daß er selbst Zugeständnisse in Bezug auf die Reden und Aufsätze gemacht habe. Sie wissen ja selbst am besten, wie Fischer sich in dieser Bagatelle-Affäre zunächst verhalten hat, und welches Druckes von Ihrer Seite es bedürft hat, um ihn zu einer Konzession zu bringen, die ihm nicht den geringsten Schaden zufügen konnte.³⁴

³² HvH to AK, February 15, 1922, Frankfurt am Main.

³³ HvH to AK, February 15, 1922, Frankfurt am Main.

³⁴ AK to HvH, February 20, 1922, Frankfurt am Main.

Furthermore, Kippenberg complained, he regarded Fischer's refusal to publish Hofmannsthal's collected works unconditionally as blackmail. As proof of the desirability of the Gesamtausgabe, Kippenberg stated flatly that he was willing to issue it in the Insel-Verlag under the same limitations which Fischer now rejected. Adding that Fischer's behavior in this matter would definitely put a chill on the relationship between the two publishers, Kippenberg noted dourly: "Fischer weiß genau, was für den Insel-Verlag nicht an materiellen, wohl aber an ideellen Einbußen im Spiel steht, und was er materiell und ideel gewinnen will."³⁵

If the first half of the letter rang with indignation and self-righteousness, the latter half contained elements of martyrdom and condescending solicitude. Despite his strong reservations Kippenberg agreed conditionally to relinquish his moral and judicial claims to the rights of Hofmannsthal's early writings for the purposes of the collected edition. Kippenberg expressed doubts that Fischer seriously intended to scrap the entire project should his demands not be met, but for Hofmannsthal's sake he yielded, if ungraciously, to his author's request, assuring him that he was doing so entirely for Hofmannsthal's sake and not because he seriously believed that Hofmannsthal's attitude toward him and the Insel-Verlag would

³⁵ AK to HvH, February 20, 1922, Frankfurt am Main.

change if he persisted in his viewpoint:

Lassen Sie mich dies nur andeuten, wohl aber weil Sie das starke materielle Interesse, das Sie an dem Zustandekommen der Gesamtausgabe haben betonen, und wie Sie schreiben, die Basis Ihres Lebens und der Ihrigen bedroht sehen, wenn die Ausgabe unterbleiben würde. Die Verantwortung für den letzteren Fall möchte ich nicht übernehmen, und so gebe ich also nach. Freilich darf ich nicht verhehlen, daß ich das bittere Gefühl bewahren würde, daß mir hier Unrecht zugefügt wird. Aber am Ende ist es besser, Unrecht zu leiden als zu tun.³⁶

Despite Anton Kippenberg's gruff, bitter statements, and his complaint about having to violate principles, he exhibited a certain sympathy for Hofmannsthal's predicament. Significantly, the argument which carried the most weight with him stressed Hofmannsthal's material dependence on his art. While he may have tacitly recognized the validity of the author's assertion that the collected edition was an essential culmination of his literary achievements, a retrospective that shed light on heretofore unknown passages and relationships in his work, Kippenberg chose to center his own justification on a pragmatic point.

Hugo von Hofmannsthal had now overcome the major obstacle hindering the realization of a collected edition of his writings. The compensation sought by Kippenberg was more a token than anything else: in exchange for permission to use Hofmannsthal's early writings in the Gesamtausgabe, Kippenberg proposed a special modified version of Die Gedichte und Kleinen Dramen, one which would contain only verse. Having obtained Kippenberg's consent,

³⁶ AK to HvH, February 20, 1922, Frankfurt am Main.

Hofmannsthal could now communicate with Fischer about specific details of his plan. This he did promptly, writing Samuel Fischer on February 25 from the Villa Filtsch in Alt Aussee. Sensitive to Fischer's hesitation in the matter, Hofmannsthal delivered a long emotional explanation justifying his preoccupation with this particular project. The letter is an informative document of Hofmannsthal's assessment of himself as a writer, of his position vis a vis his contemporaries, and of the role of the publisher for him. Unlike Hofmannsthal's exchanges with Anton Kippenberg, the tone of the letter suggests a certain intimacy and community of feeling. In a note which invited sympathy, Hofmannsthal confessed:

Ich kann Sie gut verstehen, lieber Herr Fischer, auch eine gewisse Ungeduld gegenüber jeder Complication, da ja auch für Sie das eigentümliche und niemals leichte Geschäft des Verlegers und Mittlers sich so tausendfach und über jeder Erwartung hinaus erschwert hat. Verstehen Sie auch mich: für Sie handelt sich's um viele geistige Existenzen, eine Erscheinung verdrängt die andere, eine wiegt die andere auf -- ich bin ein Einzelner, einzeln gestellt in mehr als einem Betracht und stehe an einem nachdenklichen ernstesten entscheidungsvollen Punkt des Lebens.³⁷

Hofmannsthal elaborated on a point he had raised with Kippenberg, explaining the meaning of the Gesamtausgabe to him:

Mein Lebenswerk soll durch sie erst in Erscheinung treten. Denn es ist vielförmig -- und wie auch deutsches Publicum vielfältig und zersplittert ist -- so ist das von mir Gemachte an verschiedenerelei Publicum gerathen, zäh haben die einen das eine, die andern das Andere festgehalten.³⁸

³⁷ Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Briefwechsel mit Max Rychner, p. 132.

³⁸ Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Briefwechsel mit Max Rychner, p. 132.

Lovers of his poetry were indifferent to his comedies; friends of his prose cared nothing for Der Rosenkavalier; his tales, on which he had spent his best efforts and years, were hidden in the shadowy background.³⁹

If one accepts Hofmannsthal's interpretation of his unique position in literature, of the diversity of his writing, and of the correspondingly multifaceted and fragmented audience for his work, his practice of distributing his production to several publishers seems logical and justifiable. These same arguments about the complexity of his work provide a clue as to why Hofmannsthal's collected works were so difficult to fuse into a unified configuration. Hofmannsthal's two plans, mentioned previously in his February 8, 1922 letter to Kippenberg, resurfaced again at this point. What Hofmannsthal now suggested to Fischer was that the material from the Insel-Verlag be consolidated into a single volume, the first of a three-volume set. The complete Gesamtausgabe would consist of two series of three volumes each.

On the same day, Hofmannsthal wrote to Anton Kippenberg. Although this letter has apparently been lost, Kippenberg's reply was cordial and reflected the idea that all parties would certainly be satisfied with the solution at which Hofmannsthal had arrived. The publisher also indicated his willingness to allow the

³⁹ Hofmannsthal, Briefwechsel mit Max Rychner, p. 132.

inclusion of the Welttheater promised to the Insel, but not yet in its possession.

Samuel Fischer also signaled his approval with alacrity, and on the twelfth of March, Hofmannsthal poured out his gratitude to him, noting: "es ist mir überaus woltuend [sic], einen Menschen, nicht einen Geschäftsmann zum Verleger zu haben und jede Wendung in unseren Beziehungen die mir dies aufs neue zum Gefühl bringt, tut mir aufs neue wohl."¹⁰ Hofmannsthal's implicit characterization of Fischer as humane and not primarily commercial in his outlook contrasted with his judgment of Anton Kippenberg, whom he treated in a more formal manner, as befitted the contractual relationship which they had. In the months prior to reaching some sort of accord about the collected edition, several extreme positions had been advanced, straining the ties which bound publisher and author. Now, in an attempt to define his relationship to both Fischer and Kippenberg, a process stimulated by his efforts to bring together the divided fragments of his production into a whole, Hofmannsthal pleaded with Fischer to understand his position. Fischer should content himself with the fact that Hofmannsthal's major works appeared in first editions under the Fischer imprint. The author entreated Fischer to allow him the small liberty of keeping intact an association of almost twenty-five years standing with the Insel-Verlag, ties that

¹⁰ Hofmannsthal, Briefwechsel mit Max Rychner, p. 135.

existed long before Anton Kippenberg signed on as helmsman. Hofmannsthal's role in building up this firm was important enough to him that he did not want to, indeed could not, surrender these bonds, and he asked Fischer not to demand it of him.¹

Because of the nature of his ties with the Insel-Verlag, Hofmannsthal expostulated, he would renounce the plan for the collected edition, as crucial as it was to him, rather than to sever this relationship. Hofmannsthal felt compelled to explain to Fischer the meaning the Insel-Verlag had for him: "Sehen Sie, lieber Herr Fischer, um den 'Insel-Verlag' herum ist eine Luft, in der manches von dem was ich hervorbringe, manches von dem was ich dort publiciere -- und vielleicht anderswo gar nicht publicieren würde, ja sicherlich nicht! -- leichter gedeiht als in der Luft Ihres großen schönen lebensvollen Verlages."² Tactfully, Hofmannsthal elaborated on the unique ambience the Insel presented, an atmosphere which he himself had had a part in creating:

Mein Schicksal ist in jedem Sinn besonders; da ist das Österreichertum -- in einem gewissen Sinn bin ich vielleicht der einzige Österreicher ... -- und dann ist da noch eine gewisse lose Verbundenheit mit der Epoche -- ein halb auch woanders-Stehen, nicht als Willkür, sondern als Schicksal -- und nun hat sich um den 'Inselverlag,' nicht ohne mein Zutun, ja sehr stark durch mein Zutun und das Anderer von mir beeinflusster Individuen, eine bestimmte Atmosphäre gebildet, diese Atmosphäre hat sich ihr Publicum herangezogen -- ein

¹ Hofmannsthal, Briefwechsel mit Max Rychner, p. 137.

² Hofmannsthal, Briefwechsel mit Max Rychner, p. 137.

bestimmtes Publicum, das auch für die minder wuchtige Leistung, für die leisere Äußerung ein aufmerksames Organ hat -- dem wieder kommt der Verlag entgegen, das Bibliophile spielt hinein, ein gewisser Traditionalismus darf sich geltend machen, dem Sie in weiser Entscheidung für das Andere, das durchaus "Heutige" abgesagt haben -- aber all dies ist mir Lebensluft und es ist in diesem Rhythmus auch möglich, daß Gewisses von mir zu einer bescheidenen Geltung komme, das ich -- käme nur Ihr Verlag, nur die Berliner Atmosphäre in Frage -- statt ihm eine Geltung dann noch zu erhoffen, geschweige denn zu ertrotzen, ruhig in der Schreibtischlade liegen ließe.¹³

Hofmannsthal based the validity of his choice of publisher on the premise that his literary products were so diverse that they flourished in different atmospheres. Also, the publication of certain "Parega" and "Adiaphora," which he did not regard as substantial enough to bear the weight of the Fischer imprint, was more appropriate in other houses, and often proved a profitable arrangement as well.

In the case of the collected edition, problems cropped up that Hofmannsthal had not anticipated, and these difficulties placed the success of the venture in question. Several months after winning Kippenberg's grudging concession allowing the use of material from Die Gedichte und Kleinen Dramen, Hofmannsthal inquired about the details of the agreement with the Insel-Verlag, apparently wanting to refresh his memory. As he recalled, Kippenberg had ultimately granted him permission to construct a volume analogous to Die Gedichte und Kleinen Dramen, and had

¹³ Hofmannsthal, Briefwechsel mit Max Rychner, p. 137.

allowed that these volumes could be sold separately.

Unfortunately, this was wishful thinking on Hofmannsthal's part, since the Insel-Verlag replied, quoting from the author's own letter of February 25, 1922, which stated emphatically: "Ich will das Jugendeuvre beisammen lassen, und sehen, daß Fischer auf den Einzelverkauf dieses Bandes verzichtet."¹¹

For two years the S. Fischer Verlag labored on the Gesamtausgabe, readying it for publication in time for the fiftieth anniversary of Hugo von Hofmannsthal's birth in February 1924. The birthday was celebrated; the Kippenbergs sent flowers; and a few days thereafter Hofmannsthal received a copy of a letter directed to the S. Fischer Verlag by the Insel-Verlag, objecting to the sale of the three-volume series of the collected works containing material for which the Insel-Verlag held the rights. Hofmannsthal's response, which was contrite and conciliatory, emphasized that he wished to avoid legal action between the Fischer firm and the Insel-Verlag at all costs. He explained:

Nun liegt in dieser Sache die Möglichkeit einer so bedrohlichen und unangenehmen Rückwirkung auf meine Person, und meine Interessen, oder aber was mir eben so peinlich wäre, die Möglichkeit, daß Dinge, die durch zwanzig Jahre mit wechselseitiger Rücksichtnahme und

¹¹ Insel-Verlag to HvH, December 15, 1922, Frankfurt am Main.

allgemeiner Zufriedenheit behandelt worden, nun in anderen, eventuell gar prozessuellen Formen zu Behandlung kommen könnten, beides mir so unerwünscht, daß ich mir mein Möglichstes thun will, diese Sache in die alte liebgewohnten Bahnen zu lenken, und dabei Ihre geneigte Mithilfe hoffe, ja zuversichtlich erwarte.⁴⁵

Hofmannsthal went on to recapitulate briefly the history of the edition, explaining that in the summer of 1923, when it came time to sign the contract with the S. Fischer Verlag, he had learned that Fischer regarded the division of the collected works into two series, each comprised of three volumes, as the most desirable method of presenting the works to the public. Insisting that he had acted with good intentions, Hofmannsthal reiterated how unpleasant it would be for him should his two esteemed publishers enter into a lawsuit over the disposition of his work. Apparently, Hofmannsthal feared an Insel objection not only to sales of the first series, which contained the material from Die Gedichte und Kleinen Dramen, but to the second series as well, which incorporated Das Salzburger Grosse Welttheater, since he protested:

War es doch im Gegenteil mein Wunsch und mein Bestreben auch über dem Moment des Erscheinens der Gesamtausgabe hinaus meine weitere nicht zu erschütternde Verbundenheit mit dem Insel Verlage deutlich zu documentieren durch eine Gebärde und als solche mußten Sie die gerade in jenem Zeitpunkt erfolgende Überlassung des Welttheaters in Ihrem Verlag ansehen.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ HvH to AK, February 14, 1924, Frankfurt am Main.

⁴⁶ HvH to AK, February 14, 1924, Frankfurt am Main.

To complain about the sale of the Welttheater would be the "greulichste ironische Beleuchtung und Verzerrung" of this friendly gesture.¹⁷ Furthermore, he reminded Kippenberg, he had persuaded Fischer to allow him to include the Die Frau ohne Schatten in the Insel Bäckerei edition of Hofmannsthal's prose works, which had been no easy task. In short, Hofmannsthal pleaded his innocence, and simultaneously reproached Kippenberg for ingratitude. He concluded, however, on a more positive note, invoking the publisher's guiding light, Goethe: "Ich hoffe, daß ich in einem für uns beide bedeutungsvollen Jahre nicht umsonst an dem Sinne in Ihnen appelliert habe, den ein stets und naher Verkehr mit Goethe zu stärken und zu entwickeln das wahre Arcanum ist und erhoffe eine soviel beruhigende, weil völlig beruhigende Antwort."¹⁸

Since Hofmannsthal had ostensibly offered Kippenberg Das Salzburger Grosse Welttheater as a kindness that had nothing whatsoever to do with obtaining the publisher's concession of material for the collected works, and since he had from the outset of his correspondence with Fischer concerning the Gesamtausgabe spoken of three-volume series, one must conclude that either emotion clouded his memory or that the author chose to manipulate the facts to persuade Anton Kippenberg to drop any contemplation

¹⁷ HvH to AK, February 14, 1924, Frankfurt am Main.

¹⁸ HvH to AK, February 14, 1924, Frankfurt am Main.

of action against the S. Fischer-Verlag in regard to this matter.

To allay any of Hofmannsthal's fears about possible repercussions, Kippenberg referred to the situation as a mere "Zwischenfall" between the two houses, adding apologetically: "Es lag, und liegt nicht in meiner Absicht, Ihnen persönlich irgendwie Schwierigkeiten zu bereiten, oder Ihre Interessen zu beeinträchtigen."⁴⁹ From the Insel perspective, Kippenberg held Fischer at fault for attempting to circumvent his qualification on the separate sale of the volume containing works for which the Insel-Verlag held the rights. His letter to Samuel Fischer had inveighed against this practice, which he found incorrect:

Wenn der Anspruch Herrn Fischer gegenüber mit einer großen Schärfe, die sonst nicht in meiner Art, oder wenn ich ehrlich sein soll, längst nicht in meiner Art, liegt, erhoben wurde, so hat das mit darin seinen Grund, daß ich mich über das frühere Verhalten des Herrn Fischer in dieser Angelegenheit sehr, und wohl mit Recht, geärgert habe.⁵⁰

Anton Kippenberg firmly believed that Fischer knew the value of Die Gedichte und Kleinen Dramen to the Insel-Verlag, and that Hofmannsthal's early writing was inseparably intertwined with the firm's history. Fischer had been unfair to pressure Hofmannsthal so strongly to obtain the release of the Insel volume so that he could reap the material rewards.⁵¹

⁴⁹ AK to HvH, February 18, 1924, Frankfurt am Main.

⁵⁰ AK to HvH, February 18, 1924, Frankfurt am Main.

⁵¹ AK to HvH, February 18, 1924, Frankfurt am Main.

Kippenberg agreed readily to drop his formal protest, which had really been an outburst of moral indignation. Finally, he assured Hofmannsthal that he had never seriously considered a suit against the Fischer Verlag, first because he had a strong aversion to legal proceedings, and secondly, Kippenberg alleged: "ist meine Sympathie für Herrn Fischer persönlich und für seinen Verlag viel zu groß, als daß ich mich dazu entschließen könnte, Herrn Fischer sozusagen den Prozess zu machen."⁵² Promising to discuss the matter in greater detail in an upcoming meeting planned by the two men, Anton Kippenberg apologized for causing Hofmannsthal any trouble.

The history of Hofmannsthal's collected edition not only illuminates the relationship between the author and publisher Anton Kippenberg; the pressure of the situation also forced Hofmannsthal, the pivotal figure, to clarify for himself and his publishers reasons for dividing his production among various publishers. Hofmannsthal had never envisaged his writings as belonging strictly to one house. Early in his literary career, Hofmannsthal had had a difficult confrontation with Stefan George when he, unlike George's other disciples, had refused to publish exclusively in Blätter für die Kunst.⁵³ Hofmannsthal steadfastly clung to his independence, never giving a single individual total

⁵² AK to HvH, February 18, 1924, Frankfurt am Main.

⁵³ George, pp. 149-62.

control over the rights to his works. Many writers followed this principle, but Hofmannsthal differed from most in one important aspect. Unlike Heinrich Mann, for example, who distrusted his publishers and who moved from firm to firm as a malcontent, always dissatisfied with and suspicious of the treatment accorded his works,⁵⁴ Hofmannsthal developed ties to several publishers and maintained and nurtured them over the course of years. Hence he combined the security of long-standing associations with leading, highly reputed houses such as the S. Fischer Verlag and the Insel-Verlag, but still retained his freedom to enter into relationships with other more recently-established firms whose programs, precisely because of their newness, he could better hope to influence in terms of his own taste. Furthermore, through the dissemination and reissue of his work, Hofmannsthal was often able to enhance his financial status. As an influential and respected writer, he lent his name to these fledgling operations in exchange for a larger role in the publishing process or for the economic benefits he derived.

Occasionally such arrangements brought him conflict, rather than the advantages for which he had hoped. Just as George had jealously questioned the propriety of Hofmannsthal's publishing outside his circle, so too did the Insel-Verlag endeavor to secure exclusive rights to Hofmannsthal's writing. A gentle refusal from

⁵⁴ Heinrich Mann, 1871-1950, p. 118.

the author sufficed to stifle any further questions on the subject during Pöllnitz's tenure with the Insel-Verlag, but discord surfaced from time to time under Kippenberg's leadership. Although he was inured to the fact that the Insel-Verlag played a secondary role in the publication of Hofmannsthal's creations, Anton Kippenberg was piqued when the author strayed to any publisher other than Samuel Fischer or himself. He could, for the most part, accommodate himself to this division of loyalties, even if he did not rejoice in it, but he displayed little tolerance for Hofmannsthal's literary infidelity. Three situations in particular aroused his ire or caused him to question the author's judgment. The first related to Hesperus, the ill-fated periodical issued for a single year by the Insel-Verlag in 1909; the second concerned a collection of essays by Hofmannsthal published by the Amalthea-Verlag under the title Rodauner Nachträge; and the third involved Hofmannsthal's continued association with Willy Wiegand and the Bremer Presse in the publication of the Neue Deutsche Beiträge, edited by Hofmannsthal from 1922 to 1927, and their collaboration on an anthology called Deutsches Lesebuch.

Although Hesperus had failed to garner public recognition when it appeared in 1909, Hofmannsthal, Rudolf Alexander Schröder, and Rudolf Borchardt, the three co-editors, were loathe to relinquish their cherished concept. In the fall of 1912 Hofmannsthal approached Kippenberg about the matter of reviving

the defunct periodical. Hofmannsthal advised Kippenberg, in part because of the publisher's troubled feelings about the temperamental Borchardt, to decline the role of publisher for the journal, assuring Kippenberg that neither Schröder nor he would be offended by a rejection of their plans. In fact, the friends had located another publisher. Hofmannsthal presented this information in a dissimulating manner, writing: "daß in diesem Fall für die ohnedies fast private Unternehmung auch ein privater, mit dem Inselverlag in keinem denkbaren Concurrenz-Verhältnis stehender Verlag in Frage käme, der der jungen Herren Wolde und Wiegand in Bremen."⁵⁵ Despite Hofmannsthal's diplomatic presentation, Kippenberg only reluctantly complied with this suggestion, as his letter of December 27, 1912 attests. Having once published Hesperus, Kippenberg was opposed to seeing the journal renewed elsewhere. He argued forcefully:

Er stellt sich in den Mittelpunkt von Bestrebungen, die ganz die unseren sind, und zudem würde es das erste mal sein, daß Schröder'sche Dichtungen, abgesehen von Vorabdrucken, anders als im Insel-Verlag erscheinen. Und endlich: wenn wir Ihr Werk ja leider auch seit langem schon mit anderen teilen müssen, so gebe ich doch nicht leichten Herzens die Möglichkeit aus der Hand das bei uns Erscheinende zu vermehren.⁵⁶

Kippenberg acknowledged that his reasoning rested on idealistic interests rather than on business considerations. Although most certainly Hesperus would not be financially successful, Kippenberg

⁵⁵ Hv H to AK, December 20, 1912, Frankfurt am Main.

⁵⁶ AK to HvH, December 27, 1912, Weimar.

regretted that he would not be able to make the sacrifice for this good cause.

Hofmannsthal's suggestion had touched the sensitive areas of pride and possession in Anton Kippenberg. The publisher defended his position frankly, and without hysterics. Clearly the matter was one which bore further investigation, since neither Schröder nor Hofmannsthal wished to grieve or irritate Kippenberg. Hofmannsthal had mentioned that Schröder intended to discuss the situation privately with the director of the Insel-Verlag. No record remains of that conversation, but Hesperus remained unsalvaged. Whether the men deferred to Kippenberg or whether the outbreak of war prevented the reissue of the periodical is unknown.

If Kippenberg had quietly tried to indicate to Hofmannsthal that he only made the best of sharing the author with other firms, and he actually wished to increase the amount of material Hofmannsthal published with the Insel-Verlag, by 1917 his feeling of injustice was all the greater when a work of Hofmannsthal's appeared under still another imprint. By this point, Hofmannsthal's name had graced the lists of the Insel-Verlag for almost two decades, and Kippenberg and the author had reached an understanding and enjoyed a fairly stable relationship. Thus the publisher felt secure enough to express his indignation that Hofmannsthal had once again strayed from the fold. Kippenberg's

moral outrage stemmed from the fact that in this instance the new competitor was not remotely the equal of the Insel-Verlag, and thus the new association was unsuitable and unworthy. On the day before Christmas 1918 Anton Kippenberg expressed his sorrow that Hofmannsthal had collaborated with the Viennese Amalthea-Verlag, commenting: "In dem Amalthea-Verlag, die skrupelloseste Kopie einer Unternehmung des Insel-Verlages, die mir -- dem in dieser Beziehung an manches gewöhnten -- jemals vorgekommen ist, finde ich auch Sie in einer, wie mir scheint, Ihrer nicht würdigen Umgebung vertreten."⁵⁷ Not only was Kippenberg upset that Hofmannsthal had appeared in an association with an inferior publishing house, but worse yet, he was publishing a book entitled Rodauner Nachträge, which consisted in part of essays written for the Insel-Verlag. Kippenberg continued, saying that he had been troubled by the fact that this particular book had been entrusted not to the Insel-Verlag with whom Hofmannsthal had ties of long-standing, but instead to a newly-established firm which published chiefly obscure authors. He questioned whether Hofmannsthal had had just cause to turn away from the Insel and implored Hofmannsthal to answer him frankly.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ AK to HvH, December 24, 1918, Frankfurt am Main.

⁵⁸ AK to HvH, December 24, 1918, Frankfurt am Main.

Hofmannsthal's prompt response is evidence of great desire to set the matter straight. On December 29, 1918, he explained the background behind the troublesome situation:

Dieser Verlag ist die ephemere Unternehmung eines jungen Schweizer Amateurs, halb Dichter, halb sonst was, momentan durch die Valutien sehr günstig gestellt. Für einen Verleger kann man ihn nur aus der Form halten. Dieser junge Mann verfügte im Frühjahr 18 durch Zufall noch über ein gewisses Quantum guten Papiers. Da er aufs erste höflich und fügsam ist und ich mich bei einem furchtbaren materiellen Verbrauch m. fast völligem Stocken meiner normalen Einnahme doch beständig danach umsehen muß, wie ich mit einer fünfköpfigen Familie existieren soll -- vergessen Sie das nicht manchmal ein bißchen, u. gerade dadurch, daß ich mir zum Grundsatz gemacht habe, diesen Punkt gegenüber dem Insel-Verlag nie sehr zu betonen -- war mir sein Anerbieten willkommen, mir dies Papier und seinen guten Willen sowie sein kleines Bureau zur Verfügung zu stellen, für einen Privatdruck meiner Paralipomena, die ich nicht der Öffentlichkeit wohl aber näheren u. fernereren Freunden und Gönnern in 300 Exemplare anzubieten für möglich halte.⁵⁹

Hofmannsthal ingenuously implied that the prime consideration behind his action had been money. In addition, he made light of the matter by making the product seem insignificant in both quantity and quality, and destined only for a limited audience. In the second half of his letter the author enumerated further reasons for his decision. One factor was the freedom he had been allowed. All aspects of the book's design had been left up to the author. Hofmannsthal commissioned R. von Lauriel to do the title page, the wrappers were produced by the Wiener Werkstätten, and the "publisher" provided Hofmannsthal assistance and guaranteed

⁵⁹ HvH to AK, December 29, 1918, Frankfurt am Main.

him a nice round sum for the whole project.⁶⁰ Hofmannsthal further defended his decision not to offer these essays to Kippenberg on the grounds that he had not wanted to place the publisher in the awkward position of having to make a counteroffer. He declared: "Ich hatte nicht den Eindruck daß ich Sie, dem Abwesenden, oder daß ich Ihre überlastete Frau, die sich kaum mehr zu helfen wußte, jedesmal da mit einem alternativen Antrag hätte quälen sollen."⁶¹ Reminding his publisher that he had also contracted with the Erich Reiß-Verlag for a deluxe edition of Lucidor, Hofmannsthal concluded on a note of desperation:

Nun aber, da Sie zu meinem großen Erstaunen und herzlichem Bedauern etwas wie Kränkung andeuten, so bitte ich Sie, legen Sie mir ganz freimütig aus, wie Sie es denken, daß ich solche Kränkungen vermeiden und zugleich den Lebensunterhalt für eine fünfköpfige Familie herbeischaffen soll? Seien Sie versichert, es wäre mir unendlich angenehmer, sympathischer und bequemer, jede Zeile, die ich publiciere in Ihren Händen und allenfalls höchstens noch denen Fischers untergebracht zu wissen, aber wie, im vollen Ernst, stellen Sie sich die Durchführung vor?⁶²

No record remains of Kippenberg's reply to these apologies from Hofmannsthal. Since the author had already agreed to bring out the Rodauner Nachträge in the Amalthea-Verlag, there was really nothing Kippenberg could do except express disappointment and disapproval. The ignominious matter did not end

⁶⁰ HvH to AK, December 24, 1918, Frankfurt am Main.

⁶¹ HvH to AK, December 29, 1918, Frankfurt am Main.

⁶² HvH to AK, December 29, 1918, Frankfurt am Main.

with Hofmannsthal's defense of his action, however. In February of 1919, the author discussed with Kippenberg the composition of a volume of his prose works for the Insel-Bücherei. One obstacle was that many of the essays he regarded as best suited for the collection were included in the Rodauner Nachträge. "des Privatdruckes, den ich zu Ihrem Unvergnügen jenem unseligen Schweizerisch-Wienerischen Verlagsamateure übergeben habe."⁶³ For reasons the author could not learn, the printing of the volume at Drugulin had come to a standstill, and until it was published, Hofmannsthal could not in good conscience issue a duplication of material in it in the Insel-Bücherei. Hofmannsthal audaciously suggested that Kippenberg use his good connections with the printing business to expedite the matter.

On February 17, 1919 Kippenberg reported that he had acted in accordance with Hofmannsthal's wishes. He had discussed the delay in printing the volumes confidentially with people at Drugulin and he hoped for success. Three volumes of the Rodauner Nachträge finally did appear in 1919, although they bore an imprint date of 1918. Kippenberg's efforts were ultimately fruitless, however, in that he still required permission from the S. Fischer Verlag to round out the selections for the volume he had planned for the Insel Bücherei. Fischer's reluctance to consent further delayed the appearance of Reden und Schriften in the Insel Bücherei until

⁶³ HvH to AK, February 9, 1919, Frankfurt am Main.

1921. For Kippenberg, the complications caused by the Rodauner Nachträge must have made the publication a thorn in his flesh. Hofmannsthal evidently regarded the episode as an insignificant incident in his relationship with Kippenberg, however, for in 1920 he presented his publisher with an inscribed copy of the essays "die der Schweizerisch-Wienerische Verlag nach fast zweijähriger Verzögerung endlich in leidlicher Form herausgebracht hat."⁶⁴ There was no suspicion that this might be rubbing salt in the wound. In fact, Kippenberg accepted the gift with pleasure, and the craving of the collector surfaced in him, causing him to add somewhat avariciously: "Wenn Sie nun gar einen Luxusdruck des Lucidor noch hinzufügen wollen, so würden Sie mir eine doppelt große Freude bereiten."⁶⁵ On April 20, 1920 Anton Kippenberg noted gratefully that he had received the Rodauner Nachträge on the previous day. He thanked the author heartily for the set and for the inscription which they contained.⁶⁶

If Kippenberg and Hofmannsthal had thus settled the issue of loyalty satisfactorily in the case of the Rodauner Nachträge, the basic problem remained unresolved. Hugo von Hofmannsthal persisted in dispersing his work among a variety of publishers. One relationship which he established, an association with Willy

⁶⁴ HvH to AK, February 27, 1920, Frankfurt am Main.

⁶⁵ AK to HvH, March 15, 1920, Frankfurt am Main.

⁶⁶ AK to HvH, April 20, 1920, Frankfurt am Main.

Wiegand and the Bremer Presse, threatened to disrupt the tenuous balance attained between Kippenberg and Fischer and caused Kippenberg considerable agony. Although the groundwork for Hugo von Hofmannsthal's connection with the Bremer Presse had been laid prior to World War One, their relationship did not begin to flourish until the twenties. The Bremer Presse, a private press started by Ludwig Wolde and Willy Wiegand in 1910, had its inspiration in a suggestion from Rudolf Alexander Schröder, an acquaintance of Wolde's father. Through Schröder, Borchardt and Hofmannsthal became familiar with the press and the two young men who directed it. In 1912, when the three literary friends considered reviving the defunct Hesperus, they aimed to issue it at the Bremer Presse, much to Kippenberg's chagrin. Although this project was never realized, Hugo von Hofmannsthal's Die Wege und die Begegnungen was the first book announced by the press; it appeared in 1913. The outbreak of war curtailed the press's activities, and it was not until almost a decade later that the press began to assume a role in Hofmannsthal's life that impinged on the author's relationship with the Insel-Verlag. Two publications in particular engendered Kippenberg's displeasure.

For most of his lifetime, Hugo von Hofmannsthal contributed substantially to periodic publications. However, as Hofmannsthal's correspondence confirms, his activity went beyond contribution and became collaboration. As co-editor, he was

better able to shape the journal to his standards. The logical extension of this attitude was to issue his own periodical. In this reversal of role from author to editor Hofmannsthal attempted to eradicate the barriers that existed between the two. At the same time, he amplified the author's role to include publishing and editorial functions, and as such, was able to remove impediments that lay between him and the public. When he assumed the position of mediator, he had still another means of translating his thoughts into language for the public and to serve certain ideals, since he had greater control over the form they would assume and the context in which they would appear. To a certain degree this aspect of his editorial activity paralleled his interest in seeing his own works interpreted through the media of dance and music; in each case he sought to enhance the context of his writing.

After two decades of collaborating with others on their periodicals, Hofmannsthal felt ready to expand his own concept of the journal. In October of 1920, Hofmannsthal invited Rudolf Borchardt to work with him on a periodical, and in 1922, the year the Bremer Presse officially added publishing as an activity, the Neue Deutsche Beiträge appeared with the designation "unter Mitwirkung anderer herausgegeben von Hugo von Hofmannsthal."

Anton Kippenberg openly questioned Hofmannsthal's decision to publish the Neue Deutsche Beiträge in the Verlag der Bremer

Presse. He expressed perplexity that Hofmannsthal would choose to direct a periodical in another organization, when it would have been appropriate for the Insel roster. At the heart of the answer lay Hofmannsthal's need for autonomy, for the independence of thought and action which his experiences with Kippenberg had not permitted him. Kippenberg had set about creating a "Verlagsprofil" that reflected Hofmannsthal's concerns, but in which the author's ideals and concepts could not dominate since they were muted and transformed by the diverse authors who shared Kippenberg's attention. Hofmannsthal's association with Wiegand provided a forum for his own ideas. In addition, he seems to have experienced a greater communion of spirit with the younger Wiegand than he ever shared with Kippenberg. He was pleased to find in Wiegand, as he had in Fischer, a businessman who was also a warm human being -- the combination of qualities he never found in Kippenberg. Occasionally, though, he had reason to deplore Wiegand's insouciance about details which Kippenberg had mastered so well. In pointing them out he reverted to his familiar practice of reproaching a publisher's failings by citing the success of his rival. In Wiegand's case, the issue was the neglect of certain technical aspects of publishing:

Kippenberg aber, zu dem ich vergleichsweise in einem kälteren, rein geschäftsmässigen Verhältnis stehe, findet die Zeit, bei jeder der zahlreichen Publikationen, die hier in Frage kamen, über jeden

wichtigeren Punkt Zeitpunkt der Anzeige, Zeitpunkt der Ausgabe, Gründe für eine eventuelle Verzögerung, veränderte Politik in Folge einer solchen Terminverschiebung, die engste Fühlung zu halten.⁶⁷

In thus contrasting Wiegand's negligence with Kippenberg's attention to detail, however, his intention was to spur the delinquent Wiegand into better practices, rather than to extoll Kippenberg's virtues. Certainly plans for the Verlag der Bremer Presse absorbed most of his attention during the latter years of his life, overshadowing his association with either Kippenberg or Fischer during this period. For the most part, Kippenberg either lamented or tolerated Hofmannsthal's relationship with Wiegand. He regretted that the Neue Deutsche Beiträge had not been proposed to the Insel-Verlag, and he was far from overjoyed that the Salzburger Großes Welttheater appeared in that journal prior to its publication in the Insel-Verlag.

On one occasion Kippenberg was even incensed over something which Hofmannsthal did in conjunction with the Verlag der Bremer Presse. The two examples cited above both involved the disposition of Hofmannsthal's own work. Another case, that of the Deutsches Lesebuch, edited and compiled by Hugo von Hofmannsthal and published by the Verlag der Bremer Presse in 1922, overlapped too strongly with Kippenberg's own interests. Kippenberg plainly felt that in publishing the analogy Hofmannsthal had misappropriated an

⁶⁷ Hugo von Hofmannsthal, "Briefe an Willy Wiegand und die Bremer Presse," ed. Werner Volke, Jahrbuch der Deutschen Schillergesellschaft, VII (1963), 66.

idea which the two men had discussed together on numerous occasions. His sense of principle was profoundly offended, and the situation was no doubt exacerbated by the intensification of Hofmannsthal's relationship with Willy Wiegand. Kippenberg represented his standpoint in a lengthy communication dated October 19, 1922. In order to prevent a misunderstanding from creeping into their good relationship, Kippenberg felt dutybound to correct some statements Hofmannsthal had made to him. With regard to the Deutsches Lesebuch, Anton Kippenberg felt that Hofmannsthal's memory deceived him: the plan had long been his, not Hofmannsthal's, and even if Hofmannsthal had arrived at the same idea independently, since the two men had on occasion discussed the project jointly, Hofmannsthal owed the publisher at least the courtesy of consulting with him on the matter before embarking on the publication of the work with another publisher. Not only did Kippenberg have numerous witnesses to attest to his longstanding involvement with the idea of a German reader, Kippenberg had actually recorded the concept in a notebook which he had kept in 1915, when he was uncertain he would survive the war. It was part of his legacy for the firm's future. According to Kippenberg, his own ideas were fairly well developed when first he spoke to Hofmannsthal about the matter in the summer of 1920, and even now, after Hofmannsthal had published an anthology under

Kippenberg's title in a rival publishing house, he still intended to proceed with the publication of his version of the Deutsches Lesebuch.⁶⁸

Although Kippenberg's sense of injury was justified, Hofmannsthal displayed little sympathy or remorse. Hofmannsthal's decision to publish the Deutsches Lesebuch in the Verlag der Bremer Presse marked a divergence from his past ties with the Insel. Almost simultaneously, he complained to Kippenberg that S. Fischer was not the firm it had once been. Approaching fifty years of age, Hofmannsthal felt that his present work was not sufficiently appreciated. Critics repeatedly expressed greater enthusiasm for his early works than for his mature production and compared them unfavorably. These successful plays and poems of the younger Hofmannsthal had been published for the most part by the S. Fischer Verlag and the Insel-Verlag. By the twenties, these firms were well-established and directed by men as old or older than himself. In his association with Willy Wiegand, a man of younger years, and with the Verlag der Bremer Presse, Hofmannsthal could anticipate a rejuvenation; he could participate in an undertaking he perceived as bursting with life, not yet petrified into a definitive form. The world was in chaos; the old familiar order had been undermined, and the times demanded fresh thoughts and renewal. Hofmannsthal found the climate of the Verlag der

⁶⁸ AK to HvH, October 19, 1922, Frankfurt am Main.

Bremer Presse a more likely stimulus and more favorable for his intellectual growth than either the measured classicism of the Insel-Verlag or the stultifying familiarity of the S. Fischer Verlag. Such an attitude certainly explains in part the presence of the Neue Deutsche Beiträge, Deutsches Lesebuch, and Hofmannsthal's dark political drama Der Turm under the Bremer Presse imprint.

Kippenberg himself proved extremely sensitive to the suggestion that the Insel-Verlag had lost its vitality and that the unfavorable inflationary conditions of the times necessitated retrenchment. In particular, he took exception to Hofmannsthal's use of the word "Abbau" in conjunction with his plans for the firm. Times were hard, and inflation ran rampant over Germany, causing businesses to restrict their activities. Several times since the end of the war, Kippenberg had cautioned Hofmannsthal that certain plans would have to be shelved until the economic situation improved. Nonetheless, he remonstrated sharply when Hofmannsthal suggested that deconstruction was in order, implying a diminishment of the Insel stature. Hofmannsthal tactfully strove to soothe Kippenberg's ruffled feathers, answering this charge on November 26, 1922:

Das Wort 'abauen' in Bezug auf Ihre Person ist mir in Aussee ins Diktat geglitten, und ich fühlte recht zugleich die irreführende Nuance, die ich ausdrücklich zu berichtigen wünsche.

In Bezug auf Kraft . . . , auf Leistung und Prestige, sehe ich Sie und den Verlag, beide von einander unlösbar, trotz allem erreichten noch in aufsteigender Linie.⁶⁹

Hofmannsthal was surprisingly able to express such sentiments sincerely and still not experience great conflict in dispersing his work among a host of different publishers. In the last years of his life, Hofmannsthal engaged in a vigorous collaboration with Willy Wiegand and the Bremer Presse, while his contact with the Insel-Verlag lessened. Past associations tied him irrevocably to the Insel-Verlag; to sever them would have been to deny a part of himself, but increasingly Wiegand supplanted the role Anton Kippenberg and Samuel Fischer played in his literary life. The issue of the Deutsches Lesebuch was an important one, since it marked a turning point in the publishing history of Hofmannsthal's works. At mid-life, Hofmannsthal, ever sensitive to the ambience surrounding individual publishing houses, felt it was time to make a change. As a writer who always sought to reconcile the past and the present, he did not break with his past, but like the Jugendwerk which he sought to put behind him to get on with new interests and developments, Hofmannsthal increasingly relegated the Insel connection to the background.

⁶⁹ HvH to AK, November 26, 1922, Frankfurt am Main.

Chapter 10

CONCLUSION

Publishing was one of the significant activities of Hugo von Hofmannsthal's life. Hardly a day transpired when he did not communicate with at least one of the several publishers who oversaw the printing and distribution of his writings. The particular nature of his relationship to the Insel-Verlag and its director Anton Kippenberg is as complex as the author's own creative endeavors. Certainly the connection between Hofmannsthal and Kippenberg was not the union of author and publisher which existed in such classic cases as Hermann Broch and Daniel Brody or Thomas Wolfe and Max Perkins, in which author and publisher became collaborators in the genesis of a literary endeavor. Hofmannsthal reserved such cooperation for those who were his artistic peers, men like composer Richard Strauss or choreographer Diaghilev; his extensive correspondence with the Insel-Verlag is almost entirely devoid of any discussion of textual change. Hofmannsthal neither solicited nor accepted such intervention into his sphere by his publisher or the editorial staff of the Insel-Verlag. What linked Hofmannsthal and Kippenberg was not the dependency of the author

on his editor for inspiration, for direction of his talents, or for critical analysis of the content of his work. Rather, Hugo von Hofmannsthal's requirements were more formal. The Insel-Verlag gratified a number of his needs, some overtly, some more subtly.

Initially, Hofmannsthal was drawn to the Insel-Verlag by the community of spirit he felt with its two young founders, Alfred Walter Heymel and Rudolf Alexander Schröder, both of whom were artists in their own right. His first contribution to Die Insel in 1899, Der Kaiser und Die Hexe, reflected his own interest in the aesthetic and symbolist slant of the periodical. Furthermore, Hofmannsthal perceived the fruits of this association to be a greater share in the direction of the periodical, which would provide him with the opportunity to shape both the context of his writing, by enhancing the framework in which it appeared, and to have some control over its dissemination.

The gradual withdrawal of Heymel and Schröder from active engagement with Die Insel and its successor, the firm of the same name, caused Hofmannsthal's relationship with the publishing house to begin to atrophy. Anton Kippenberg's arrival at the firm did little to rekindle Hofmannsthal's intellectual dedication to the house. However, through the leadership he demonstrated in business and technological affairs, Kippenberg did make a salient contribution towards solidifying the existing connection with the

eminent young Austrian poet into a permanent bond. To the faltering enterprise Kippenberg brought essential stability and consistency which made the continuation of the association possible.

Kippenberg charted the course of the Insel-Verlag carefully. His four point program of development, which he communicated to Hofmannsthal in December 1906, aimed at serving world literature in the Goethean sense, clothing the thoughts expressed in these works in a garment equal to their stature, expanding the market and audience for these titles without sacrificing quality to economics, and finally, advancing the writings of selected contemporary authors while maintaining a similar commitment to excellence in both the form and content of their books. These goals, conjoined with the business acumen and stress on craftsmanship which Kippenberg brought to the Insel-Verlag, played a major role in creating the kind of environment in which an artist like Hofmannsthal could flourish.

Hugo von Hofmannsthal published selectively with the Insel-Verlag. His publishing activity within the firm can be divided into four general categories of material. The first, and most major in terms of significance for the corpus of Hofmannsthal literature, is the early work collected under the title Die Gedichte und Kleinen Dramen. Although the origins of these poems and lyrical dramas predate both the inception of Die Insel and

Anton Kippenberg's association with the house, they attained new heights through their collective publication under the Insel imprint. Through their publication in a simple, tasteful, and affordable set under Kippenberg's aegis, they gained immense popularity and expanded the aura of Hofmannsthal's reputation beyond the relatively small circle of literary intimates into the wider public. The reception of this approving audience provided an enduring foundation on which all of Hofmannsthal's later achievements rested. Furthermore, the publication of Die Gedichte und Kleinen Dramen marked a milestone in Hofmannsthal's career. By gathering together his early works in a single, unified collection, he was not only able to demonstrate their relevance to each other, granting his readers the opportunity of seeing the text within the context of his work, and thus establishing heretofore unknown relationships and meanings, but also to embody, through the physical representation of the book, a turning point in his creative life. The author was ending this stage in his career; his writing now took on a different character as he moved away from the lyrical works which had made him famous and began to focus more on prose pieces and other types of dramatic material.

Beyond the psychological support derived from Hofmannsthal's popular success, the sales of the author's early works offered tangible rewards. Not the least of the Insel's attraction for Hofmannsthal was the income it guaranteed him. In addition to the

royalties accumulated through the sales of repeated printings of his collected works, Hofmannsthal was also able to profit through another category of his works published by the Insel-Verlag, the Luxusdruck. These deluxe editions, intended for the bibliophile, allowed the author to reissue works already published, and, when offered in a luxurious format, to appeal to a different audience than those who might already possess the title in question. Thus the author found a new market for old material, enabling him to increase the work's value for him without an additional creative effort on his part. The appeal of the deluxe edition for the author, however, did not derive exclusively from its possible financial advantage. As clearly demonstrated in Hofmannsthal's attention to the publication of his drama Der Weiße Fächer in a luxury edition, one of his chief goals was to enhance the piece by ensuring that its format made it a beautiful book whose exterior would reflect the interior. Such harmony between form and content appealed greatly to Hugo von Hofmannsthal, who repeatedly expressed his satisfaction with the care the Insel-Verlag devoted to its physical products.

The third category of Hofmannsthal's writings published with the Insel-Verlag is comprised in the author's contributions to the various Insel periodicals and series. Selection from Hofmannsthal's production were routinely incorporated into the Insel-Almanach or Das Insel Schiff, house publications which served

the dual purpose of acquainting readers with the work of Insel authors and as vehicles for promoting sales of their works. The appearance of Hofmannsthal's name in these periodicals was beneficial for the Insel-Verlag, since his well-established reputation was an inducement for potential readers. Because of the wide circulation of the Insel-Almanach, which was sold at nominal cost, the arrangement was mutually beneficial when it stimulated sales of his own books. The immense popularity of the Insel-Bücherei, the Insel series begun in 1912 which was to become one of Kippenberg's outstanding achievements, married literary quality with tasteful form, but at eminently affordable prices. Sales of Hofmannsthal's Der Tor und der Tod and Der Tod des Tizian ultimately numbered in the hundreds of thousands of copies. Once again, cooperation between author and publisher reinforced their rewards. Kippenberg provided the concept and the form; Hofmannsthal the content and the name. Together they formed a union which enhanced the efforts and success of both and which was stronger than either would have been singly.

A fourth activity which tied Hugo von Hofmannsthal to the Insel-Verlag was his role as editor. Hofmannsthal's involvement in this area equaled and sometimes even exceeded the attention he devoted to his own works for publication. As the compiler of German narrative tales issued under the title Deutsche Erzähler, Hofmannsthal paid tribute to writers who had influenced him and

sought to provide a context through which readers might understand the present through knowledge of the past. In his capacity as editor of the series Österreichische Bibliothek, Hofmannsthal attempted to present a particular Austrian perspective which he felt was needed, especially during the political and social confusion to which the Great War gave rise. By editing the works of his compatriots in the volumes of this series, he drew on a wide variety of concepts and philosophies and shaped them into a unified representation of Austria as he viewed it and as he wished the German-speaking world to view it. This collective voice provided Hofmannsthal with an opportunity to express ideas beyond his own, and in another sense, to claim them as his own, thus further extending his creative powers and aims.

Equally as significant as what Hofmannsthal published with the Insel-Verlag is what he chose to publish elsewhere. For the most part, original editions of Hofmannsthal's dramas, narratives, and essays appeared under the imprint of the S. Fischer-Verlag, or in the latter years of his life, in the Verlag der Bremer Presse. Hofmannsthal's relationship with the Insel-Verlag and its helmsman, Anton Kippenberg, therefore, was anything but exclusive. Hugo von Hofmannsthal's division of his writings among several publishing houses was a practice few successful authors have followed. Unlike some writers, he did not fragment his production because he moved from publisher to publisher out of disenchantment

with any house or individual, but rather he maintained strong ties with several publishers simultaneously. The diverse nature of his work made it appropriate for him to seek out a variety of publishers for whom different facets of his writings held especial appeal. His choice of publishing houses shows both an astute sensitivity to the unique Verlagsprofil developed by each firm, and the recognition that some aspects of his own work would fit more suitably within the context of a particular house's publications. Such an arrangement enabled Hofmannsthal to develop his creative powers in several directions, and, at the same time, to reach a desired audience for each of his efforts, an audience which he correctly perceived to be in part determined by the imprint under which he published.

In addition, by not publishing exclusively with the Insel-Verlag, Hofmannsthal maintained an independence which allowed him to seek out the most attractive financial arrangement available to him. His early success as a poet liberated him from entering into the traditional role of a writer in the type of patron-artist relationship which had often characterized the publisher-author association of the past and which had continued into his day. Anton Kippenberg's own philosophy of publishing also did not cast himself into the part of benefactor of emerging talent, and thus the two men established a business-like intercourse, which, although not entirely satisfactory, was more

than adequate to bind the two together for Hofmannsthal's lifetime. Both parties benefitted from the association. Anton Kippenberg proudly published one of the most acclaimed poets of the twentieth century and enjoyed the prestige as well as material advantages through his relationship with Hofmannsthal. The artist in turn found a suitable climate for some of his more fragile literary undertakings, and a steady, dependable partner in Kippenberg, who consistently published Hofmannsthal's works in an aesthetically pleasing format designed to appeal to a public whose positive reception gratified and encouraged the author.

The publisher-author relationship of Anton Kippenberg and Hugo von Hofmannsthal may be said to describe a transitional phase in the history of publishing, where the publisher is moving from the position of friend and benefactor sharing a common intellectual goal with his author to that of the businessman whose calculation of profit and loss increasingly becomes the most significant factor in the decision to publish. Kippenberg managed a profitable organization without sacrificing his goals and principles, but in general his relationships with his authors were of a more contractual than intimate nature. For Kippenberg, what mattered about a book was "Preis, Einband, Verlag."¹ He elevated the material culture of a book to the status of its contents, working with an for his author to achieve a totally harmonious

¹ Buchwald, p. 20.

effect in which form and content were woven together into an intergral whole. On a larger scale, he exercised the same care in weaving together a tapestry combing strands of modern and classical literature, creating a bibliography of Insel publications in which Hofmannsthal's works figured prominently. All of Hofmannsthal's contributions to the Insel-Verlag became part of a pattern which reflected a particular view of German and world literature. Such was the warp and woof of the two men's relations. Each contributed significantly to the success and reputation of the other, albeit in new and changing ways from the past history of publisher-author relations, as the publisher moved further away from the inherited role of patron and into the commerical sphere and the author developed a growing awareness of the specialized nature of a particular publishing house. The case study of the Kippenberg - Hofmannsthal connection reveals a complex interaction between two men whose interests coincided, bringing them together in a partnership not without its trials, but which, nonetheless, resulted in a significant contribution to literature and the world of publishing.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

Frankfurt am Main. Insel-Archiv. Insel-Verlag. Papers and Correspondence of Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Anton Kippenberg, Katharina Kippenberg, Rudolf von Pöllnitz, Carl Ernst Poeschel, Stefan Zweig, and the Insel-Verlag, 1899-1929.

Marbach am Neckar. Deutsches Literaturarchiv. Schiller Nationalmuseum. Letters and Correspondence of Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Anton Kippenberg, Katharina Kippenberg, Rudolf von Pöllnitz, Carl Ernst Poeschel, Rudolf Alexander Schröder, Stefan Zweig, and the Insel-Verlag, 1903-1929.

Weimar. Nationale Forschungs- und Gedenkstätten der klassischen deutschen Literatur zu Weimar. Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv. Bestandsnummer/ Archivsignatur NFG (GSA) 50. Papers and Correspondence of Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Alfred Walter Heymel, Anton Kippenberg, Katharina Kippenberg, Rudolf von Pöllnitz, Carl Ernst Poeschel, Rudolf Alexander Schröder, Stefan Zweig, and the Insel-Verlag, 1901-1912.

INTERVIEW

Unsold, Siegfried. Personal interview, October 1978.

PRINTED SOURCES

Adolph, Rudolf. Rudolf Alexander Schröder. Aschaffenburg: Paul Pattloch Verlag, 1958.

Aengeneydt, G. Die wirtschaftlich-kulturelle Bedeutung des Verlagsbuchhandels. Leipzig: n.p., 1932.

- Alewyn, Richard. Über Hugo von Hofmannsthal. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967.
- Anton Kippenberg zum Hundertsten Geburtstag. Ed. Friedrich Michael. Frankfurt am Main: Insel-Verlag, 1973.
- Anton Kippenberg zum Gedächtnis. Wiesbaden: Insel-Verlag, 1951.
- Arnold, Heinz Ludwig, ed. Literaturbetrieb in Deutschland. Boorberg: n.p., 1971
- Auernheimer, Raoul. "Deutsche Erzähler." Die Neue Freie Presse, 1 November 1912, pp. 1-4.
- Balzer, Rudolf Wilhelm. "Aus den Anfängen schriftstellerischer Interessenverbände. Joseph Kürschner: Autor-Funktionär-Verleger." Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens, 16 (1976), cols. 1457-1648.
- Barstad, Noel Kraig. "Rudolf Borchardt's Critical Assessment of Hugo von Hofmannsthal." Diss. University of Minnesota 1973.
- Berg, Wolfgang. "Der poetische Verlag der J.G. Cotta'schen Buchhandlung unter Georg von Cotta (1833-1863): ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der deutschen Literatur in den Jahren nach Goethes Tod." Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens, 2 (1960), cols. 609-715.
- Bettmann, Otto. Die Entstehung buchhändlerischer Berufsideale im Deutschland des XVIII. Jahrhunderts. Diss. Leipzig 1927. Leipzig: Buchdruckerei R. Pries, 1927.
- Blei, Franz. Erzählung eines Lebens. Leipzig: P. List Verlag, 1930.
- , "Wie die grossen deutschen Verlage gegründet wurden: die Insel und der Inselverlag." Die Literarische Welt, 4, Nr. 11, (1928), p. 3.; rpt. Nendeln, Lichtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1973.
- Brecht, Erika. Erinnerungen an Hugo von Hofmannsthal. Innsbruck: Österreichische Verlagsanstalt, 1946.
- Broch, Hermann. Hofmannsthal und seine Zeit: eine Studie. München: R. Piper, 1964.
- Bruchner, Gisela. "Rudolf Borchardt und der Buchhandel: ein Beitrag zur Situation des deutschen Buchhandels in den letzten Jahren der Weimarer Republik." Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens, 14 (1974), cols. 28-348.

- Carter, T.E. "Comments on German Book Production in the Nineteenth Century." German Life and Letters, 23 (1970), 112-19.
- Cazden, Robert E. German Exile Literature in America, 1933-1950: a History of the Free German Press and Book Trade. Chicago: American Library Association, 1970.
- Collins, A. S. The Profession of Letters: a Study of the Relation of Author to Patron, Publisher and Public, 1780-1832. London, 1928; rpt. Clifton, N.J.: A.M. Kelley, 1973.
- De Mendelssohn, Peter. S. Fischer und sein Verlag. Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer-Verlag, 1970.
- Diederichs, Eugen. Selbstzeugnisse und Briefe von Zeitgenossen. Ed. Ulf Diederichs. Düsseldorf: Diederichs Verlag, 1967.
- Dittberner, Hugo. Heinrich Mann: eine kritische Einführung in die Forschung. Frankfurt: Athenäum-Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1974.
- Ebner, Helga, ed. "Die Briefe Hugo von Hofmannsthals an Josef Redlich" Diss. Vienna 1963.
- Eloesser, Arthur. "Verleger und Autor." Weltbühne, 20 (1924), 334-38.
- Erken, Günther. "Der Expressionismus: Anreger, Herausgeber, Verleger." In Handbuch der deutschen Gegenwartsliteratur. Ed. Hermann Kunisch and Hans Hennecke. München: Nymphenburg, 1965, pp. 647-76.
- "Hofmannsthal-Chronik: Beitrag zu einer Biographie." Literaturwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft, NF 3 (1962), 239-313.
- Ernst Rowohlt zum Gedächtnis, 1.12.1961. Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1962.
- Eulenberg, Herbert. "Der Insel-Verlag." Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, 15 May 1928.
- Exner, Richard. Index Nominum zu Hugo von Hofmannsthals Gesammelten Werken. Heidelberg: L. Stiehm, 1976.
- Ferring, Josef. Verlagskunde in Einzeldarstellungen. Düsseldorf: Verlag "Der Jungbuchhandel", 1965.
- Fiedler, Leonhard M. Hugo von Hofmannsthals Moliere-Bearbeitungen: die Erneuerung der comédie-ballet auf Max Reinhardts Bühnen. Darmstadt: Agora, 1974.

Fischer, Heinz Dietrich. Deutsche Verleger des 18. bis 20. Jahrhunderts. München: Pullach, 1975.

Fischer, Werner A. "'Die Insel' unter Anton und Katharina Kippenberg: Sonderausstellung im Marbacher Schiller-Nationalmuseum." Börsenblatt für den deutschen Buchhandel, 46 (1965), pp. 1129-31.

Fontane, Theodor. Briefe an Wilhelm und Hans Hertz, 1859-1898. Stuttgart: E. Klett Verlag, 1972.

Fraser, James H. "German Exile Publishing: the Malik-Aurora Verlag of Wieland Herzfelde." German Life and Letters, 27 (1973/1974), 115-24.

75 [Fünfundsiebzig] Jahre Insel-Verlag: eine Geschichte in Daten, Programmen und Dokumenten. Frankfurt am Main: Insel-Verlag, 1974.

Fünfzig Jahre Insel-Verlag. Ed. Ingeborg Schnack. Marburg: Privatdruck der 'Marburger Presse,' 1949.

"50 [Fünfzig] Jahre Insel-Verlag: Blüte der neuen deutschen Buchkunst." Der Polygraph, 2 (1949), 392-93.

George, Stefan. Briefwechsel zwischen George und Hofmannsthal. Second enlarged edition. München: Helmut Küpper vormals Georg Bondi, 1953.

Göbel, Wolfram. "Der Ernst Rowohlt Verlag 1910-1913: Seine Geschichte und seine Bedeutung für die Literatur seiner Zeit." Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens, 14 (1974), cols. 465-608.

----- . "Der Kurt Wolff Verlag 1913-1930: Expressionismus als verlegerische Aufgabe." Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens, 15 (1975), cols. 521-962.

Göpfert, Herbert, ed. Lesen und Leben: eine Publikation des Börsenvereins des deutschen Buchhandels in Frankfurt am Main zum 150. Jahrestag der Gründung des Deutschen Buchhändler am 30. April 1825 in Leipzig. Frankfurt am Main.: Buchhändler-Vereinigung, 1975.

----- . Vom Autor zum Leser: Beiträge zur Geschichte des Buchwesens. München: C. Hanser Verlag, 1977.

Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von. Aus Meinem Leben: Dichtung und Wahrheit. Teil 3, Buch 12. In Werke. Vollständige Ausgabe letzter Hand. Vol. 25. Stuttgart: Cotta, 1829.

- Grossmann, Stefan. "Der Insel-Verlag." Das Tagebuch, 5 (1924), 1512-13.
- Grothe, Wolfgang. "Die Neue Rundschau des Verlags S. Fischer: ein Beitrag zur Publizistik und Literaturgeschichte der Jahre von 1890 bis 1925." Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens, 4 (1962), cols. 809-996.
- Haas, Willy. "Besuche bei deutschen Verlegern. I. Am Insel-Verlag." Die Literarische Welt, 2 (1926), 5.; rpt. Nendeln, Lichtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1973.
- . Hugo von Hofmannsthal. Berlin: Colloquium Verlag, 1964.
- Halbey, Han Adolf. "Lob der Buntpapiere." Insel-Almanach auf das Jahre 1963. Frankfurt am Main: Insel-Verlag, 1962, pp. 130-40.
- Hamburger, Michael. "Hofmannsthals Bibliothek; ein Bericht." Euphorion, 55 (1961), 16-76.
- . Hofmannsthal: Three Essays. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972.
- Hammelmann, H. A. Hugo von Hofmannsthal. London: Bowes & Bowes, 1957.
- Hay, Gerhard. "Leonhard Frank: Aus seinem Briefwechsel mit dem Insel-Verlag." Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens, 14 (1974), cols. 133-62.
- Hellge, Manfred. "Der Verleger Wilhelm Friedrich und das 'Magazin für die Literatur des In- und Auslande.'" Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens, 16 (1976), cols. 791-1216.
- Hermann, Klaus. "Deutschland im Spiegel seiner Verleger: der Insel-Verlag." Die neue Bücherschau, 7 (1927), pp. 140-42.
- Hesse, Hermann. Gesammelte Briefe. Bd. I. 1955-1927. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1973.
- . Der Steppenwolf. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1975.
- Heuschele, Otto. Hugo von Hofmannsthal: Dank und Gedächtnis. Freiburg: Karl Alber Verlag, 1949.
- . Hugo von Hofmannsthal: Bildnis des Dichters. Mühlacker: Stieglitz-Verlag, 1965.

- Hiller, Helmut and Wolfgang Strauß, eds. Der deutsche Buchhandel: Wesen, Gestalt, Aufgabe. 3d. revised and expanded ed. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1966.
- Hirsch, Rudolf. "Die Handschriften im Besitz der Familie Hofmannsthal." Hofmannsthal-Blätter, 2 (1969), 79-83.
- , "Hofmannsthal und Frankreich: Zwei Beiträge." Etudes Germaniques, 29 (1974), 146-53.
- Hölscher, Eberhard. "Fünfzig Jahre Insel-Bücherei." Gebrauchsgraphik, 33 (1962), 20-25.
- Hofmann, Ludwig von. Tänze. Intro. Hugo von Hofmannsthal. Leipzig: Insel-Verlag, 1905.
- Hofmannsthal, Hugo von. "Brief Hugo von Hofmannsthals an Edward Gordon Craig, 29.1.1905." Jahrbuch des Freien Deutschen Hochstifts, 29 (1975), 415-17.
- , Briefe: 1890-1901. Berlin: S. Fischer Verlag, 1935.
- , Briefe: 1900-1909. Wien: Bermann-Fischer Verlag, 1937.
- , Briefe an Marie Herzfeld. Ed. Horst Weber. Heidelberg: L. Stiehm, 1967.
- , "Briefe an Willy Wiegand und die Bremer Presse." Jahrbuch der Deutschen Schillergesellschaft, 7 (1963), 44-189.
- , Briefe der Freundschaft: Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Eberhard von Bodenhausen. Düsseldorf: Diederichs, 1953.
- , "Briefe Hugo von Hofmannsthals an Josef Nadler." Jahrbuch der Deutschen Schillergesellschaft, 18 (1974), 54-84.
- , Briefwechsel mit Max Rychner, mit Samuel und Hedwig Fischer, Oscar Bie und Moritz Heimann. Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer-Verlag, 1973.
- , Gesammelte Werke in Einzelausgaben. Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer Verlag, 1953-1969.
- , Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Anton Wildgans: Briefwechsel. Heidelberg: L. Stiehm, 1971.
- , Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Arthur Schnitzler: Briefwechsel. Frankfurt: S. Fischer Verlag, 1964.

- , Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Harry Graf Kessler: Briefwechsel 1898-1929. Ed. Hilde Bürger. Frankfurt am Main: Insel-Verlag, 1968.
- , Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Helene von Nostitz: Briefwechsel. Frankfurt: S. Fischer Verlag, 1965.
- , Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Rudolf Borchardt: Briefwechsel. Frankfurt: S. Fischer Verlag, 1954.
- , Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Willy Haas: ein Briefwechsel. Berlin: Propyläen Verlag, 1968.
- The Hofmannsthal Collection in the Houghton Library: A Descriptive Catalogue of Printed Books. Heidelberg: L. Stiehm, 1974.
- Die Insel: eine Ausstellung zur Geschichte des Verlages unter Anton und Katharina Kippenberg. Marbach am Neckar: Schiller Nationalmuseum, 1965.
- Janik, Allan and Stephen Toulmin. Wittgenstein's Vienna. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973.
- Johann, Ernst. Die deutschen Buchverlage des Naturalismus und der Neu-Romantik. Weimar: Böhlau, 1935.
- , ed. S. Fischer Verlag: Vollständiges Verzeichnis aller Werke, Buchserien und Gesamtausgaben mit Anmerkungen zur Verlagsgeschichte 1886 bis 1956. Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer Verlag, 1956.
- Johnston, William M. The Austrian Mind: an Intellectual and Social History 1848- 1938. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972.
- Kant, Immanuel. Über die Buchmacherey. Zwei Briefe an Herrn Friedrich Nicolai. Königsberg, 1798; rpt. Berlin: Officina Serpentis, 1925.
- Kippenberg, Anton. "Briefe an Stefan Zweig." in Der große Europäer Stefan Zweig. Ed. Hanns Arens. München: Kindler, 1956.
- , "Anton Kippenberg an Leopold von Andrian." Insel-Almanach auf das Jahr 1965. Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag, 1964.
- , "Briefe." Briefe an Kurt Saucke. Hamburg: Privatdruck der Buchhandel Daucke, 1970.

- . In Alles Lebendige meint den Menschen: Gedenkschrift für Max Niehaus. Ed. Irmgard Buck and Georg Kurt Schauer. Bern: Francke, 1972, pp. 308-10.
- . "Der deutsche Buchhandel im Ausland." Alldeutsche Blätter, 5 (1895).
- . "Jubiläum." Börsenblatt für den Deutschen Buchhandel, 73 (1896).
- . "Miscellen. I. Motive in Romanen zu Brauchen." Jahrbuch der Sammlung Kippenberg, 8 (1929/1930), 330-31.
- . Reden und Schriften. Wiesbaden: Insel-Verlag, 1952.
- . Die Sage vom Herzog Luxemburg und die historische Persönlichkeit ihres Trägers. Niederwalluf bei Wiesbaden: M. Sändig, 1970.
- Kippenberg, Katharina. Kleine Schriften. Wiesbaden: Insel-Verlag, 1948.
- . Rainer Maria Rilke: ein Beitrag. Leipzig: Insel-Verlag, 1935.
- . Rainer Maria Rilkes Duineser Elegien und Sonette an Orpheus. Wiesbaden: Insel-Verlag, 1946.
- . Die Vierte Duineser Elegie. Leipzig: Insel-Verlag, 1943.
- Kirchgässner, Bernhard. "Der Verlag im Spannungsfeld von Stadt und Land." Veröffentlichungen der Kommission geschichtlicher Landeskunde Baden-Württemberg, 82 (1974), 72-128.
- Kirchgraber, Jost. Meyer, Rilke, Hofmannsthal: Dichtung und bildene Kunst. Bonn: Bouvier, 1971.
- Kirchhoff, Albrecht. Beiträge zur Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels. Osnabrück: Otto Zeller, 1966.
- Kleiß, Marietta. "Wieder eine Hofmannsthal Ausstellung in Frankfurt am Main." Aus dem Antiquariat, 30 (1974), 213-16.
- Kobel, Erwin. Hugo von Hofmannsthal. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1970.
- Koch, Ernestine. Albert Langen: ein Verleger in München. München: Langen-Müller, 1969.
- Koch, Walter. "Die Ausgewogenheit von Qualität und Quantität als verlegerische Aufgabe." Diss. Munich 1950.

- Koszyk, Kurt. Deutsche Presse 1914-1945. Berlin: Colloquium Verlag, 1972.
- Kron, Friedhelm. Schriftsteller und Schriftstellerverbände, Schriftstellerberuf und Interessenpolitik 1842-1973. Stuttgart: Metzler, 1976.
- Kussmaul, Ingrid. "Sammlung Anton und Katharina Kippenberg." Jahrbuch der Deutschen Schillergesellschaft, 15 (1971), 505-54.
- Läuter, Peter. "Die Anfänge der sozialistischen Verlagstätigkeit in Deutschland (1844-1900)." Beiträge zur Geschichte des Buchwesens, 2 (1966), 169-243.
- Lehnacker, Josef. Die Bremer Presse: Königin der deutschen Privatpressen. München: Typographische Gesellschaft, 1964.
- Lohrer, Liselotte. Cotta, Geschichte eines Verlags, 1659-1959. Stuttgart: Cotta, 1959.
- , "Fontane und Cotta." In Festgabe für Eduard Berend zum 75. Geburtstag. Weimar:n.p., 1959, pp. 439-66.
- Loram, Ian. Goethe and his Publishers. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1963.
- Mahrholz, Werner. Deutsche Literatur der Gegenwart. Berlin: Sieben Stäbe Verlag, 1931.
- "Manifest [zum Plan des 'Hesperus'] 1909." Philobiblon, 15 (1971), 287.
- Mann, Heinrich. Die Kleine Stadt. Prospekt. Marbach am Neckar: Schiller-Nationalmuseum, 1971.
- , Heinrich Mann, 1877-1950: Werk und Leben in Dokumenten und Bildern. Berlin: Aufbau-Verlag, 1971.
- Mann, Thomas. Briefe 1889-1936. Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer Verlag, 1961.
- , Briefwechsel mit seinem Verleger Gottfried Bermann Fischer, 1932-1955. Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 1973.
- Mariacher, Bruno. "Lob der kleinen Bücherei." Stultifera navis 4 (1947), 49-57.
- Meiner, Annemarie. "Die Anfänge des Insel-Verlags." Imprimatur, 9 (1939/40), 45-8.

- , Der Deutsche Verlegerverein 1886-1935. Leipzig: n. p., 1936.
- , "Neues von der Insel-Bücherei." Imprimatur, 12 (1954/55), 155-62.
- Meyer-Dohn, Peter. Buchhandel als kulturwissenschaftliche Ausgabe. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1967.
- Michael, Friedrich. "Anton Kippenberg." Imprimatur, 10 (1950/51), 21-3.
- , Buchhändler und Sammler: Erinnerung an Anton Kippenberg. Düsseldorf: Goethe Museum, 1967.
- , "Dienst am Wort." In Für Rudolf Hirsch: zum 70. Geburtstag am 22. Dezember 1975. Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer Verlag, 1975, pp. 46-51.
- , "Die Insel-Bücherei: Betrachtungen aus Anlaß ihres fünfundzwanzigjährigen Bestehens." Imprimatur, 7 (1936/37), p. 205-210.
- Michels, Volker, ed. Materialien zu Hermann Hesses Der Steppenwolf. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1972.
- Mühlberger, Josef. "Erinnerung an Anton Kippenberg: aus Anlaß seines zwanzigsten Todestages." Welt und Wort, 25 (1970), 345-47.
- Müller, Georg. Schriftsteller, Verleger, und Publikum. Eine Rundfrage. München: Georg-Müller-Verlag, 1913.
- Navigare necesse est: eine Festschrift für Anton Kippenberg zum zweiundzwanzigsten Mai MCMXXIV. Ed. Katharina Kippenberg. Leipzig: Insel-Verlag, 1924.
- Nostiz, Oswald von. "Exemplarisches am Fall Insel." Wort und Wahrheit, 21 (1966), 393-96.
- Pechel, Rudolf. "Anton Kippenberg." Deutsche Rundschau, 76 (1950).
- Poppel, Steven M. "Salman Schocken and the Schocken Verlag: a Jewish publisher in Weimar and Nazi Germany." Harvard Library Bulletin, 21 (1973), 20-49.
- Prohl, Jürgen. Hugo von Hofmannsthal and Rudolf Borchardt: Studien über eine Dichterfreundschaft. Bremen: Schünemann Universitätsverlag, 1973.

- "Prolog zu Ludwig von Hofmanns 'Tänzen': [Zur Handschrift.]"
Jahrbuch der Deutschen Schillergesellschaft, 15 (1971), 512.
- Ramseger, Georg. Literarische Zeitschriften um die Jahrhundertwende unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Insel. Berlin: Verlag Emil Ebering, 1941.
- Rauch, Karl. Die planmässige Arbeit zur geistigen Versorgung des deutschen Volkes. Dessau: K. Rauch, 1924.
- Rech, Benno. Hofmannsthal's Komödie: verwirklichte Konfiguration. Bonn: Bouvier, 1971.
- Redlich, Fritz. "German literary Expressionism and its Publishers." Harvard Library Bulletin, 17 (1969), 143-168.
- Redlich, Josef. Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Josef Redlich: Briefwechsel. Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 1971.
- Rilke, Rainer Maria. Briefe an seinem Verleger 1906 bis 1926. Leipzig: Insel-Verlag, 1934.
- . Rainer Maria Rilke, Katharina Kippenberg: Briefwechsel. Wiesbaden: Insel-Verlag, 1954.
- Rodenberg, Julius. Bibliographie Kippenberg. Verzeichnis der von Professor Dr. Anton Kippenberg verfaßten, herausgegebenen und übersetzten Schriften und Aufsätze. Leipzig: n.p., 1939.
- Roth, Paul. Leipzig, der Mittelpunkt des Buchhandels. Leipzig: Verein der Buchhändler, 1914.
- Rowohlt, Ernst. Ernst Rowohlt in Selbstzeugnissen und Bilddokumenten. Ed. Paul Mayer. Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1968.
- Rudolf Borchardt, Alfred Walter Heymel, Rudolf Alexander Schröder: eine Ausstellung des deutschen Literaturarchivs im Schiller-Nationalmuseum, Marbach am Neckar, 1978. München: In Kommission bei Kösel-Verlag, 1978.
- Ryan, Judith. "Die allomatische Lösung: gespaltene Persönlichkeit und Konfiguration bei Hugo von Hofmannsthal." Deutsche Vierteljahresschrift für Literaturgeschichte und Geistesgeschichte, 44 (1970), 189-207.
- Salzmann, Karl H. "Michael Georg Conrad, Wilhelm Friedrich und die 'Gesellschaft': ein Bericht." Börsenblatt für den Deutschen Buchhandel, Leipzig, 1949. 116. Jg., Nr. 29/30/31, July 16, 23, 30, 1949, pp. 241-2, 252-3, 261-2.

Sarkowski, Heinz. "Aus den frühen Jahren des Insel-Verlags, 1899-1908." Aus dem Antiquariat, 30 (1974), 305-17.

----- "Bruno Cassierer: ein deutscher Verlag 1898-1938." Imprimatur, 21 (1972), 107-31.

----- Der Insel-Verlag 1899-1969: Bibliographie. Frankfurt am Main: Insel-Verlag, 1970.

Scharfenberg, Renate. "Der Beitrag des Dichters zum Formwandel in der äußeren Gestalt des Buches um die Wende vom 19. zum 20. Jahrhundert." Diss. Marburg 1953.

----- "Heymel und die Anfänge des Insel-Verlags." Diss. Marburg 1948.

Scharnagl, Sebastian. "Kleine Nachlese: Bekannte und unbekannt deutsche Verleger aus der Zeit vor dem Weltkrieg." Imprimatur, 9 (1940), 1-11.

Schauer, Kurt Georg. Deutsche Buchkunst 1890 bis 1960. Vol. I. Hamburg: Maximilian Gesellschaft, 1963.

----- Dienst am Buch, 1922-1972. Frankfurt am Main: [Privatdruck], 1973.

----- "Die Insel-Bücherei, eine Vorschule der Bibliophilie." Philobiblon, 6 (1962), 201-26.

Schaukal, Richard von. "Fünfundzwanzig Jahre Insel-Verlag: eine an Erinnerungen geknüpfte Übersicht." Orplid, 1, Nr. 11 (1924), 97-101.

Schmidt, Rudolf. Deutsche Buchhändler, deutsche Buchdrucker: Beiträge zu einer Firmengeschichte des deutschen Buchgewerbs. Berlin: Verlag der Buchdruckerei Franz Weber, 1902-1908. 6 v.

Schmolke, Michael. Der Verleger zwischen Tradition und Innovation. Salzburg: Universitätsverlag Anton Pustet, 1976.

Schnack, Ingeborg. "Dichter und Verleger: ein Kapitel aus der Geschichte des Insel-Verlags." Börsenblatt für den Deutschen Buchhandel, 33 (1966), 829-39.

Schnitzler, Arthur. Hugo von Hofmannsthal: Charakteristik aus den Tagebüchern. Freiburg i. Br.: n.p., 1975.

Schorske, Carl E. Fin-de-siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture. New York: Knopf, 1980.

Schriftsteller, Verleger, und Publikum: eine Rundfrage.Zehnjahreskatalog. München: Georg Müller Verlag, 1913.Schröder, Rudolf Alexander. Die Aufsätze und Reden. Berlin: S. Fischer-Verlag, 1939. 2 v.Schroers, Paul. "Heinrich und Thomas Mann und ihre Verleger: Hinweise auf zwei Briefe und eine Briefsammlung." Philobiblon, 2, Heft 4 (1958), 310-14.Schröter, Klaus. Anfänge Heinrich Manns: zu den Grundlagen seines Gesamtwerks. Stuttgart: Metzler, 1965.Schütte, Wolfgang U. "Linke Verlage im Leipzig der Weimarer Republik." Marginalien, (1973), 28-36, (1974), 29-40.Schulte Strathaus, Ernst. Kippiana: freundliche Begegnungen mit Anton Kippenberg in München 1908 bis 1949. München: Privatdruck in Dez. 1969 für die Mitglieder der Gesellschaft Münchner Bücherfreunde und der Bibliophilen Gesellschaft Köln, 1969.Schulze, Friedrich. Der deutschen Buchhandel und der geistigen Strömungen der letzten hundert Jahre. Leipzig: Verlag des Börsenvereins der Deutschen Buchhändler, 1925.Sondrup, Steven P. Hofmannsthal and the French Symbolist Tradition. Bern: Herbert Lang, 1976.Spranger, Eduard. "Anton Kippenberg Gestorben." Goethe, Neue Folge des Jahrbuchs der Goethe-Gesellschaft, 12 (1951), 5-8.Stark, Gary D. Entrepreneurs of Ideology: Neoconservative Publishers in Germany, 1890-1933. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981.

-----, "Entrepreneurs of Ideology: Neoconservative Publishers in Germany 1890-1933." Diss. Johns Hopkins University 1974.

-----, "Publishers and Cultural Patronage in Germany, 1890-1933." German Studies Review, 1 (1978), 56-71.-----, "Der Verleger als Kulturunternehmer: Der J.F. Lehmanns Verlag und Rassenkunde in der Weimarer Republik." Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens, 16 (1976), cols. 291-318.Steiner, Herbert. "The Harvard Collection of Hugo von Hofmannsthal." Harvard Library Bulletin, 8 (1954), 54-64.

- Stern, Martin. "Ein Brief Hofmannsthals an Samuel Fischer." Mitgeteilt von Mario Uzielli. Erläutert von Martin Stern. Hofmannsthal-Blätter, 5 (1970), 336-40.
- Storck, Joachim W. "Hofmannsthal und Rilke -- eine österreichische Antinomie." Hofmannsthal-Forschungen, 2 (1974), 141-84.
- . "Ein unbekannter Brief Rainer Maria Rilkes an Anton Kippenberg." Jahrbuch der Deutschen Schillergesellschaft, 18 (1974), 23-36.
- Strauss, Richard. Richard Strauss, Hugo von Hofmannsthal: Briefwechsel. Gesamtausgabe. Zürich: Atlantis, 1964.
- Sternheim, Carl. "Carl Sternheim, Hugo von Hofmannsthal. Briefe." Mitgeteilt und kommentiert von Leonhard M. Fiedler. Hofmannsthal-Blätter, Heft 4 (1970), 243-54.
- . Vorkriegseuropa: im Gleichnis meines Lebens. Amsterdam: Querido Verlag, 1936.
- Strauss, Richard. Richard Strauss, Stefan Zweig: Briefwechsel. Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 1957.
- Szondi, Peter. Das Lyrische Drama des Fin de siècle. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1975.
- Die Tätigkeit des Verlages Eugen Diederichs in Jena während des letzten Jahrzehnts, 1914-1924. Jena: E. Diederichs, 1924.
- Unsel, Siegfried. Der Autor und sein Verleger: Vorlesungen in Mainz und Austin. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1978.
- van de Velde, Henry. Geschichte meines Lebens. München: Piper, 1962.
- Verlegerglück und Autorenruhm: Altes und Neues über das Buchmachen. Ed. Volkmar Muthesius. Frankfurt am Main: F. Knapp, 1960.
- Verzeichnis aller Veröffentlichungen des Insel-Verlages, 1899-1924. Leipzig: Insel-Verlag, 1924.
- Vinz, Curt and Günter Olzog, eds. Dokumentation deutschsprachiger Verlage. 5th ed. München: G. Olzog Verlag, 1974.
- Vogeler, Heinrich. Erinnerungen. Berlin: n.p., 1952.
- Volke, Werner. "Auf der Südbastien unseres Reiches." Hofmannsthal-Blätter, 15 (1976), 128-39.

- . "Die Hofmannsthal-Bestände des Deutschen Literaturarchivs im Schiller-Nationalmuseum in Marbach am Neckar." Hofmannsthal-Blätter, 2 (1969), 85-7.
- . Hugo von Hofmannsthal im Selbstzeugnissen und Bilddokumenten. Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1977.
- Ward, Albert. Book Production, Fiction, and the Reading Public, 1740-1800. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974.
- Weber, Horst. Hugo von Hofmannsthal: Bibliographie des Schriftums, 1892-1963. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1966.
- . Hugo von Hofmannsthal: Bibliographie, Werke, Briefe, Gespräche, Übersetzungen, Vertonungen. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1972.
- Weber, Eugen. "Die Hofmannsthal-Sammlung in Besitz der Harvard University." Hofmannsthal-Blätter, 2 (1969), 91-6.
- Weiß, E.R. Künstler und Buchkünstler. Frankfurt:n.p., 1931.
- Wierzejewski, Achim. "Rudolf Alexander Schröder, Rudolf Borchardt: Zwei unveröffentlichte Briefe zum Hesperus-Jahrbuch." Philobiblon, 20 (1976), 166-186.
- Widmann, Hans. Geschichte des Buchhandels vom Altertum bis zur Gegenwart. Teil I. völlige Neubearbeitung der Auflage von 1952. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrasowitz, 1975.
- Wilkening, William H. "Otto Julius Bierbaum's Relationships with his Publishers." Diss. University of Cincinnati 1967. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1967.
- Williams, C. E. The Broken Eagle: the Politics of Austrian Literature from Empire to Anschluß. London: Paul Elek, 1974.
- "Wo sich Hofmannsthals schriftlicher Nachlaß befindet." Österreich in Geschichte und Literatur, 15 (1971), 423.
- Wolfenbüttler Arbeitskreis für Geschichte des Buchwesens. Buch und Leser: Vorträge des ersten Jahrestreffens des Wolfenbüttler Arbeitskreises für Geschichte des Buchwesens, 13. und 14. Mai 1976. Ed. Herbert G. Göpfert. Hamburg: Hauswedell, 1977.
- Wolff, Kurt. Briefwechsel eines Verlegers, 1911-1963. Frankfurt: Scheffler, 1966.
- Wright, Sue Ellen Shape. "Toward a Conservative Revolution: Social and Economic concerns of Hugo von Hofmannsthal." Diss. Washington University 1971.

Zeller, Bernhard and Werner Volke, eds. Buchkunst und Dichtung: zur Geschichte der Bremer Presse und der Corona. Marbach am Neckar: Schiller-Nationalmuseum, 1966.

----- . "75 Jahre Insel: Ansprache bei dem Festakt des Insel-Verlages und der Eröffnung der Insel-Ausstellung im Städelschen Kunstinstitut in Frankfurt a. M. am 12. Oktober 1974." Jahrbuch der Deutschen Schillergesellschaft, 19 (1975), 473-78.

----- . "Rilke in Marbach: zur Geschichte der Marbacher Rilke-Sammlung mit einem unveröffentlichten Gedicht Rilkes." Für Rudolf Hirsch: Zum 70. Geburtstag am 22. December 1975. Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer Verlag, 1975.

Ziegler, Edda. Julius Campe: der Verleger Heinrich Heines. Hamburg: Hoffmann & Campe, 1976.

Ziesener, W. "Anton Kippenberg." Goethe, 12 (1951), 359-65.

Zweig, Stefan. Begegnungen mit Menschen, Büchern, Städten. Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer Verlag, 1955.

----- . Europäische Erbe. Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer Verlag, 1960.

Appendix A

VITA

Sarah Elizabeth Thomas was born on October 2, 1948 in Springfield Massachusetts to Cecil A. P. Thomas, Sr., a sales engineer, and Marie Schroeder Thomas, a high school English teacher. She attended public schools in Williamsburg, Massachusetts, graduating from Williamsburg High School with high honors in 1966. From 1966 to 1970 she studied at Smith College in Northampton, Massachusetts, graduating with an A.B. in German in May 1970. From 1968 to 1969 she was enrolled at the University of Hamburg, in summer semester 1971 at the Albert-Ludwigs-Universität in Freiburg i. Br., and from 1977 to 1978 as a DAAD fellowship recipient at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe Universität in Frankfurt am Main. In addition she holds a Master of Science degree in Library Science from Simmons College, Boston, Massachusetts. In May 1977 she was awarded an M.A. degree in German literature from the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland. Married to Peter Hirtle in 1978, she presently manages the Library Coordination unit at the Research Libraries Group in Stanford, California.

