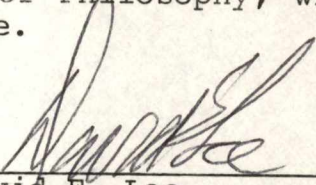
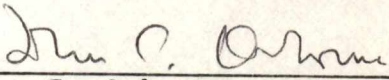


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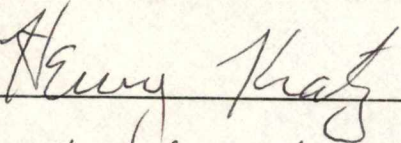


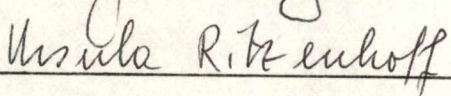
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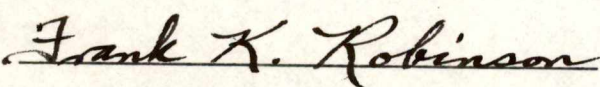


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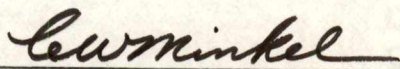
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CRITICAL REACTION TO GOETHE'S WEST-ÖSTLICHER DIVAN
THROUGH 1905

A Dissertation
Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Finley M. Taylor

March 1986

ABSTRACT

Although Goedeke's Grundriß lists well over 100 items from the nineteenth century which pertain to Goethe's West-östlicher Divan, twentieth-century scholars have generally claimed that their predecessors neglected the work and did not like it. A second widely held view is that anything of importance from nineteenth-century criticism was subsumed in Konrad Burdach's Divan editions or his articles. This study tests those beliefs by reviewing the literature on the Divan up to Burdach's commentary in the Jubiläums-Ausgabe of 1905. The material is arranged chronologically with a bibliographic entry and a synopsis for each major item listed. A short section in Chapter I treats the reactions of those of Goethe's friends who were intimately involved in the genesis of the Divan, otherwise the focus is on the development of informed public attitudes towards the work. The seven chapters of text reflect changing phases and/or high points in early scholarship. A final, eighth chapter concludes that the nineteenth-century contributions to Divan scholarship have been undervalued and that the earlier commentaries of Gustav von Loeper and Heinrich Düntzer deserve equal billing with Burdach's work.

There are two appendices. The first responds to a serious need for detailed bibliographies on individual poems by Goethe. It catalogues references to all the Divan poems

in the works discussed in the text. The second appendix collates material on the first Divan book from the seven commentaries covered in the study. It indicates which ideas were repeated or disputed in later commentaries and provides a close look at the interrelationships between the commentaries.

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ABBREVIATIONS, CONVENTIONS, TEXTS USED

This work uses the following conventions and abbreviations which would be familiar to anyone working with Goethe or with the Divan, but which are included for the benefit of those who are not.

NA "Noten und Abhandlungen zu besserem Verständniß des West-östlichen Divans." This is the prose section of the Divan. It will often be accompanied by the name of a chapter or chapters from the NA in quotes, e.g. NA "Allgemeines."

Par. Paralipomena as numbered and printed by Ernst Grumach in vol. 3 of his three-volume edition West-östlicher Divan in Werke Goethes, herausgegeben von der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag 1952).

Roman numeral, arabic numeral, e.g. I, 17

A roman numeral followed by an arabic numeral indicates the book and poem in the Divan according to the numbering system of Hans Albert Maier, ed., West-östlicher Divan, 2 vols. (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1965). IV, 7 is the seventh poem in Book IV. Maier's numbering system does not distinguish between multiple poems on a page, and in such cases I supplement his system

by adding a small letter after the Arabic numeral, e.g. VI, 16a, VI, 16b, etc.

WA I Goethes Werke. Herausgegeben im Auftrage der Großherzogin Sophie von Sachsen. [Ser. 1: Poetic Works]. 53 vols. in 63. Weimar: Hermann Böhlau, 1887-1918.

The volume number will be given by an arabic number, the page also, but preceded by p., e.g. WA I 6, p. 302. When there is one volume in two, these will be listed by adding a period and arabic number to the volume number, e.g. WA I 5.2, p. 301.

Bibliographic report. The Goethe-Jahrbuch listed articles and books recently published on Goethe. Often a sentence or two of comment is included, but the references hardly qualify as a review. I have used the above term to refer to them.

Poem titles are cited according to Maier's edition, the text of the NA according to the Weimarer Ausgabe (WA I 7). I have elected to leave the names of the authors Goethe discusses in the form he used rather than to provide the modernized or English forms.

INTRODUCTION

A review of the critical reaction to a work can serve two purposes. The first of these is to accumulate knowledge about the work. This presupposes that objective statements can be made about a literary work and that scholarship must proceed historically and build up a body of knowledge over time. This philosophy predominates in literary studies; it is a source of our belief in bibliographies, reviews of research, footnotes and the like.

A second purpose can be to gain knowledge not so much about the work itself, as about the people who read and commented on it. In carrying out the second type of study, we try to reveal the system of beliefs, values, preconceptions and prejudices which cause particular groups or ages to view a work in a particular way. The presupposition here is that the insight of every age is limited by historical factors and that few, if any, escape the prejudices of their time. A possible corollary is that there is no such thing as "objective knowledge" of a literary work; there is only a succession of historically determined viewpoints. This study is devoted to the first of these two purposes. It reviews scholarship on Goethe's West-östlicher Divan in order to document the development of critical thought about the Divan from the time of its publication in 1819 to the appearance of the annotations to the work by Konrad Burdach in 1905.

As the amount of scholarly material on literary subjects grows, it becomes increasingly difficult for one person to sift through all the relevant material. The problem is essentially the same for any topic, but especially obvious when dealing with a major figure such as Goethe. The vehicles used to overcome this difficulty include increasingly sophisticated bibliographies and reviews of research, which may be either independent works or a part of special studies.

Simple bibliographies are essential; however, they only define the dimensions of a problem without solving it. Reviews of research which precede studies on special topics are very instructive, but usually limited in extent and restricted to the topic at hand. Annotated bibliographies or broadly conceived reviews of research are the only means of effectively dealing with large quantities of past scholarship.

For the study of the Divan we do have an excellent starting point in Karl Goedeke's Grundriß. It offers an extensive, unannotated listing of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century contributions, with well over 100 items which pertain directly to the Divan or are tangentially related.¹ There are, however, difficulties. The entries are often

¹Grundriß zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung aus den Quellen, ed. Edmund Goetze, 3rd ed. (Dresden: Ehlermann, 1912), vol. 4, pt. 3, pp. 492-501.

cryptic and crammed together. Many items are in publications which are difficult to locate. And normally one does not begin with Goedeke, but with a modern selective bibliography, assuming thereby that the "important" gains of earlier research have been incorporated into later studies. Consequently, Goedeke is neglected.

In the corresponding section on the Divan in Hans Pyritz's selective Goethe-Bibliographie, the more than 100 items in Goedeke are reduced to 14. On the other hand, Pyritz includes in a separate section six items on Goethe and Marianne von Willemer from the period up to 1912. Both the degree of selectivity and the obvious slant of the material towards a particular biographically oriented topic give rise to doubts about the effectiveness of the selection.² The selective bibliography in the Wege der Forschung volume on the Divan lists four commentaries and otherwise only three items from the period 1819-1905 on the work as a whole. Two more articles on Marianne von Willemer and Goethe are also included.³

There are no extensive reviews of Divan research in the nineteenth century. Bibliography was a greater problem at

²Goethe-Bibliographie, ed. Heinz Nicolai and Gerhard Burkhardt, 2 vols. (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1965-1968), Vol. 1, pp. 604-610.

³Edgar Lohner, ed. Studien zum West-östlichen Divan Goethes. Wege der Forschung 287. (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1971), pp. 469-477.

the time (the third edition of the Goedeke volume appeared in 1912). Konrad Burdach is looked upon as the man who synthesized the results of nineteenth-century scholarship. However, much of what Burdach did concerned the genesis of the Divan and was based on the new material he uncovered while preparing the poems for the Weimarer Ausgabe (WA).⁴ There is no coherent summary of earlier research in his works. There are tributes to Christian Wurm for his Commentar zu Göthe's west-östlichem Divan and to Herman Grimm for "Goethe und Suleika" in which Marianne von Willemer's authorship of some Divan poems was first disclosed; but Burdach has very few comments on works by others.⁵

Gustav von Loeper does present a four-page sampling of reactions in his annotated Divan edition of 1872.⁶ He

⁴Konrad Burdach, ed., West-östlicher Divan, [ser. I], vol. 6 of Goethes Werke, herausgegeben im Auftrage der Großherzogin Sophie von Sachsen (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau, 1888).

⁵Wurm's Commentar (Nürnberg: Schrag, 1834) will be discussed in Chapter II; Grimm's article (Preußische Jahrbücher 24 [1869]) in Chapter III. For Burdach's references see his essays: "Goethes West-östlicher Divan in biographischer und zeitgeschichtlicher Beleuchtung," Vorspiel: Gesamelte Schriften zur Geschichte des deutschen Geistes, by Konrad Burdach, vol. 2 (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1926), pp. 286, 323; "Die Kunst und der dichterisch-religiöse Gehalt des West-östlichen Divans," Vorspiel, vol. 2, pp. 333, 343, 352, 361-362; "Die Aufnahme und Wirkung des West-östlichen Divans," Vorspiel, vol. 2, pp. 375-378, 393-394.

⁶West-östlicher Divan von Goethe (Berlin: Gustav Hempel, 1872), pp. xlv-xlvii. The people to whom reference is made and the works will be treated below in a detailed discussion of Loeper's edition.

comments that his citations are brief and are meant only to indicate how the Divan had been received. Beginning with a three-sentence quotation from Hegel in praise of the Divan, he proceeds with one-sentence quotes from eight different sources, including Wilhelm von Humboldt, Charlotte von Schiller, Heinrich Heine and a variety of works on literature, aesthetics and art. They are all positive. He concludes with a one-page discussion of several literary histories, evaluations he groups broadly as negative and positive and upon which he comments briefly.

Quantitatively the twentieth century does not have much more to offer in this area. Hans-Joachim Weitz has some interesting excerpts from early reactions to the Divan by J. G. L. Kosegarten (1819), Matthäus Collin (1822), Friedrich Rückert (1822) and others.⁷ Ursula and Manfred Beyer discuss the nineteenth-century reaction in four pages of their Berliner Ausgabe of the Divan.⁸ The tenor of their report is that with few exceptions the nineteenth century misunderstood or neglected the Divan; proper understanding and appreciation come only in this century. There are two

⁷Hans-J. Weitz, ed. West-östlicher Divan. Gesamtausgabe, (Leipzig: Insel, 1949). There were several subsequent editions. I cite from the edition of 1953, pp. 423-452. Kosegarten, Collin, etc., are treated in Chap. I below.

⁸West-östlicher Divan, vol. 3 of Goethe. Berliner Ausgabe, which is also Poetische Werke: Gedichte und Singspiele, vol. 3 (Berlin and Weimar: Aufbau, 1965), pp. 709-13.

reasons for this, they say. The first is that when the Divan appeared in 1819 there was no longer a large "Goethege-meinde." The second reason is that the work was too exotic and also too difficult for people to understand. They discuss Kosegarten's essay of 1819 and four more reviews from 1820, commenting that this list exhausts contemporary reviews. They offer few details.⁹ The summaries by both Weitz and the Beyers are included as small sections in larger editions and thus are not easily locatable by someone looking for this information.

The Beyers devote more space than they had given the early reviews to the negative remarks of the "nahezu geschlossene Front von Goethegegnern" which formed after 1820. They mention critics on the right who objected to Goethe's political and moral philosophy, and they quote at some length from Börne, who represents reaction from the political left. They balance these negative comments with a laudatory quotation from Heine. There is also a one-page discussion (713) of their second allegation, namely that the Divan's Oriental costume and its difficult passages and allusions made it inaccessible to earlier readers. They attribute a supposed reversal of this situation to the

⁹One review they cite actually has nothing to do with the Divan, whereas there are two others from 1820 which are not mentioned. Collin's comments in 1822 also bill themselves as a belated review of the work. See Chap. I below.

strides of Goethe philology, which had synthesized the accumulated findings of Germanists and Orientalists in the "richly annotated editions of recent decades." The nineteenth-century contributions seem to be Christian Wurm's compilation of Goethe's sources for the Divan, certain publications of biographical material relative to Goethe and Marianne, Burdach's reliable text (i.e. the WA) and certain of his essays which clarified the genesis of the Divan.

Of the 19 articles in Edgar Lohner's Studien zum West-östlichen Divan Goethes mentioned above only four precede Burdach. They are the introductions to the commentaries of Wurm and Loeper, Kosegarten's review and Grimm's article on Marianne. In his own introduction Lohner, like the Beyers, claims that nineteenth-century scholars were remiss in writing about the Divan.¹⁰ While he tells us that the critical attention given the Divan is surpassed in amount only by that shown Faust, he says that this is all recent activity; and he quotes Erich Trunz as stating that the twentieth century is making up for what the nineteenth neglected. In a brief review of nineteenth-century works, Lohner mentions Wurm's commentary and editions by Loeper and Heinrich Düntzer, some biographically oriented works about Goethe and Marianne, and Burdach's WA-volume.¹¹ Lohner's second volume

¹⁰Pp. 3-14.

¹¹The Düntzer edition to which Lohner refers is Heinrich Düntzer, ed., West-östlicher Divan, vol. 85 of Deutsche

concentrates on the coherent explication of poems and, as is to be expected, contains no articles from the nineteenth century.¹²

The newest edition of the Divan in the Hamburger Ausgabe includes a section on "Äußerungen von Zeitgenossen."¹³ It offers excerpts from comments and writings by six of Goethe's contemporaries. The most extensive and the most welcome of these are the passages from Hegel, who was a great admirer of the Divan. Trunz includes Düntzer's final commentary and Loeper's edition in his list of annotated editions (p. 767), but at the conclusion of his afterword he indicates that it was not until the turn of this century that readers developed an understanding for the work. He writes:

Als der Divan 1819 erschien, hat man ihn wenig beachtet, kaum verstanden. Das 19. Jahrhundert hatte für seine Geistigkeit und Stilform wenig Sinn und sah in ihr ein bedauerliches Absinken im Vergleich zu der Lyrik der Jugend und der klassischen Zeit. Erst um 1900 kam ein Wandel. Bahnbrechend war Konrad Burdach. (p. 570)

Trunz then refers his readers to the WA and mentions by name various twentieth-century commentaries beginning with Burdach.

National-Litteratur, ed. J. Kürschner, which is pt. 4 of Goethe's Werke (Berlin and Stuttgart, [1885]).

¹²Interpretationen zum West-östlichen Divan Goethes. Wege der Forschung 288. (1973) pp. vii-xvii.

¹³West-östlicher Divan. Ed. Erich Trunz. Vol. 2 of Goethes Werke. Hamburger Ausgabe. 12th ed. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1981, pp. 544-549.

The summary judgments on the extent and value of nineteenth-century opinions on the Divan seem based more on tradition than on any demonstrable survey of the literature. This study seeks to test these conclusions by reviewing in as comprehensive a manner as possible the reactions to and the studies and commentaries on the work. The material is arranged chronologically. The first chapter covers the years 1819-1826 and includes early reviews and private and published reactions of Goethe's contemporaries. It coincides with the period between the first edition of the Divan in 1819 and the appearance in 1827 of the Ausgabe letzter Hand. Chapter II, which covers 1827-1835, begins with the first mention of the Divan in a history of literature and ends with Wurm's extensive commentary and the reaction to it. The years 1836-1867 treated in Chapter III mark the production of the first major set of interpretive notes for the poems and the onset of specialized studies. Chapter IV, 1868-1879, includes the first major articles on Marianne von Willemer by Grimm and Düntzer, various special studies and commentaries by both Loeper and Düntzer. Chapter V, 1880-1888, notes the beginning of many notes and notices from the new Goethe-Jahrbuch, the appearance of Düntzer's final commentary and Wilhelm Scherer's literary history. The years 1888-1899 covered in Chapter VI saw the publication of the first modern historical critical edition, and Chapter VII closes with the publication of Burdach's annotated Divan

edition of 1905. The Divan volume of the Weimarer Ausgabe contained no interpretive comments, and Burdach's annotations in 1905 represent (or at least should represent) the summation of nineteenth-century scholarship and a new beginning for the twentieth.

I have not included works that are more properly considered source material. Thus, Goethe's own comments on the Divan in his letters and diaries are not treated. The same is true of the comments of those intimately connected with the genesis of the Divan, e.g. Sulpiz Boisserée, Marianne von Willemer and Karl Friedrich Zelter. Their reactions have been adequately chronicled elsewhere.¹⁴

There are two appendices. The first is an index of references to the poems discussed in the works covered. While there are general Goethe bibliographies, there is no detailed bibliography devoted exclusively to his poems. It is relatively easy to check the major commentaries and annotated editions for what they have to say, but there is no guide to the introductions to these works and to numerous other articles, reviews, books on related subjects, etc. A complete review of the literature on a particular poem is, in fact, impossible under present conditions. Appendix A provides a solution to the problem for the Divan and for the time period indicated. It includes the introductions to

¹⁴See particularly Weitz' edition (1953), pp. 368-452.

the commentaries and annotated editions of Wurm, Düntzer Loeper and Burdach, but not the systematic treatment of poems in the works themselves, since these can be located without difficulty. Burdach wrote essays on the Divan after 1905. My study included them originally, and, although they were later eliminated from consideration in the main body of the text because they fell outside the cutoff point of 1905, I have kept them in Appendix A.

The second appendix collates material on the first Divan book from the seven commentaries covered in this study. It has various purposes. It is first an aid in evaluating the degree to which later commentaries repeat, react to or ignore earlier scholarship. Secondly, it is difficult to gather all the commentaries, and Appendix B makes them available in one location. The early commentaries also used various editions of Goethe's works when pointing out related passages in his biographical writings, essays, plays and other poems. I have identified these references and located them in the WA.

Although the original intention was to make the annotated bibliography complete, this turned out to be the ideal rather than the actual result. My inability to locate some sources in U.S. libraries, the cost of obtaining others, and the time and energy which went into the preparation of Appendices A and B prevented me from reviewing everything. There are omissions especially in the later years of the

nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth. I hope that the breadth provided by the appendices makes up for anything lacking in completeness and that the discussion of over 150 major and minor titles will give greater emphasis to a body of scholarship which is rich and varied and deserving of more attention.

CHAPTER I

CONTEMPORARY REACTIONS AND EARLY REVIEWS, 1819-1826

A. The Private Reactions of Goethe's Friends and Collaborators

When the Divan appeared in August 1819, Goethe sent copies of the work, some specially bound, to friends and admirers. Some of the recipients, like Marianne von Willemer and Sulpiz Boisserée, were intimately and inextricably bound up with emotional experiences from which the work had sprung, while others, such as Karl Ludwig von Knebel and Karl Friedrich Zelter, had heard some of the poems read shortly after they were written and had reacted to them. Others, like Friedrich Rochlitz, were seeing them for the first time. All responded to the gift and expressed their thanks and their deep admiration for the work.

We are interested primarily in the development of Divan criticism, and although the reactions of Goethe's friends and collaborators certainly help us understand the personal setting from which the work arose, they tend to tell us more about the emotional bond between Goethe and the person involved than about the Divan, and they are of secondary importance here. In addition, most of them have been well chronicled, so they will only be summarized.¹

¹See particularly Goethe, West-östlicher Divan. Gesamtausgabe, [ed. Hans-J. Weitz] (Leipzig: Insel, 1949). I

Both Sulpiz Boisserée and Marianne von Willemer reacted similarly in that they seemed shocked at seeing words in print and in a public form that had been such an intense part of their inner selves.² Zelter accepted the work as he had the individual poems which were first read and later sent him by returning to it repeatedly for inspiration.³ Knebel, and to a lesser extent Charlotte von Schiller, had also been exposed to the poems at various earlier stages, and they exchanged comments on the finished collection. Knebel wrote:

[Goethe] war in der letzten Zeit sehr wohl und beschenkte mich auch mit seinem neu herausgekommenen "Divan", der mir viel Freude macht. Sie werden ihn künftig, zumal die Anmerkungen, mit Vergnügen lesen und sich wundern, wie ein Mann in Goethes Jahren noch so jugendlich phantasieren kann.⁴

cite from the edition of 1953. Hereafter Weitz, Gesamtausgabe. See pp. 423-431 for Weitz' citations from Marianne von Willemer, Zelter, Boisserée and Count Reinhard.

²Marianne von Willemer to Goethe, [October 1819], Letter 92, Marianne und Johann Jakob Willemer, Briefwechsel mit Goethe: Dokumente. Lebens-Chronik. Erläuterungen, ed. Hans-J. Weitz (Frankfurt a.M.: Insel, 1965), p. 92; Boisserée to Goethe, March 13 and March 23, 1820, as cited in Weitz, Gesamtausgabe, pp. 428-429.

³Der Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Zelter, ed. Max Hecker, 4 vols. (of which only 3 appeared, Leipzig: Insel, 1913-1918), Vol. 2. See Zelter to Goethe, Feb. 11, 1820, Letter 333, pp. 48-49; April 19, 1820, Letter 339, p. 55; May 13 (section from May 16), 1820, Letter 342, p. 63; July 29, 1820, Letter 353, p. 86.

⁴Knebel, Letter to Charlotte von Schiller, September 3, 1819, Goethe in vertraulichen Briefen seiner Zeitgenossen, ed. Wilhelm Bode, 3 vols. (Berlin: Mittler, 1917-1923); rpt. 3 vols. (Bern: Lang, 1969). Cited here from the reprint, vol. 3, p. 78.

Charlotte von Schiller replied:

Ich habe mich mit Frau v. Stein über Goethe's Sprüche im Divan ergetzt. So viel Klarheit und Poesie und Fülle findet man darin, daß es eine immer neue, belebende Erscheinung ist. Man findet immer neue Resultate, je mehr man liest.⁵

Immediate reactions also came from Ottilie von Goethe, Thomas Johann Seebeck and Friedrich Rochlitz.⁶ Rochlitz wrote:

Als es [der Divan] mir zuerst zur Hand kam und ich in Neugier es durchlief, da rief ich oft genug: Mein Gott, kann Er denn Alles? Und hernach, als ich es langsam, in kleinen Portionen zur abgewarteten, besten Stunde einschlürfte: Ja, Er kann Alles! In letzter Art, meine ich, müssen aber diese Gedichte genossen werden; als ein feinsten Wein, ein köstlicher Nachtisch, nach abgefertigtem Bedürfnis, doch bei erregtem Geist und noch wachem Appetit. Weiter Erregendes, Stärkendes und Nährendes kömmt einem doch mit. -- Der betrachtende, wissenschaftliche Teil gab mir Ungeweihten meistens ganz Neues, neu schon durch den Stoff, vielmehr noch durch die Ansicht, Zusammenstellung, Beurteilung, Verwendung desselben. Und nun auch hier die Leichtigkeit, Heiterkeit, Anmut, womit Sie den Lastwagen der Gelehrsamkeit führen durch Dick' und Dünn', als wie zur Zier oder im Spiel! Daß das noch nie dagewesen

⁵Schiller, Letter to Knebel, 1819, Briefe von Schillers Gattin an einen vertrauten Freund, ed. Heinrich Düntzer (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1856), p. 475; partially rpt. in Goethe, West-östlicher Divan, ed. Gustav von Loeper (Berlin: Gustav Hempel, 1872), p. xlv. Cited here according to Loeper's reprint. See also her comments in a letter to Karl Jakob Alexander von Rennenkampff, December 28, 1820, "Mittheilungen von Zeitgenossen über Goethe, 1774-1832," Goethe-Jahrbuch 10 (1889), 160.

⁶Briefe an Goethe, ed. Karl Robert Mandelkow, 2 vols. (Hamburg: Christian Wegner), 1969, Vol. 2. Ottilie writes June 20, 1818, Letter 485, pp. 241-243; Seebeck, Dec. 11, 1819, Letter 503, pp. 272-273. This edition cited hereafter Briefe an Goethe (HA).

ist und bei keiner Nation, das weiß Gott. Aber wir wissen's auch.

B. Public Reactions to the Work

[Johann Gottfried Ludwig Kosegarten]. Rev. of Goethe's West-östlicher Divan. Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung vom Jahre 1819. Nos. 287 and 288 (Nov. 1819), col. 585-598.

Rpt. in Goethe und seine Kritiker. Ed. Oscar Fambach. Düsseldorf: L. Ehlermann, 1953, pp. 239-251 and in Studien zum West-östlichen Divan Goethes. Ed. Edgar Lohner. Wege der Forschung. Vol. 287. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1971, pp. 173-189. Cited here according to Fambach's edition.

Public reaction to the work followed almost as quickly as the comments in private correspondence. By public I mean here formal reviews printed in journals as well as reactions of the general reader. The criteria which separate this group from the one discussed above are fluid, and I do not mean to draw a strict dividing line between them. Johann Gottfried Ludwig Kosegarten was certainly not a disinterested party. Kosegarten was a student of the famous French Orientalist Silvestre de Sacy and a professor of Oriental languages at Jena. Since Kosegarten had contributed to the Divan and since Goethe had recognized him in the work as "der ebenso einsichtige als gefällige Freund" (NA "Revision"), one immediately wonders whether Kosegarten's review was part of an orchestrated campaign to bring the Divan to

⁷April 8, 1820, Letter 504, Briefe an Goethe (HA), Vol. 2, p. 274.

the attention of the public. Although it is almost out of the question that Kosegarten would have written a critical review, he clearly undertook the task on his own. He did not inform Goethe that he was writing the review, and as late as December 29, 1819, Goethe had still not seen the article. As a colleague of Kosegarten's later remarked, it was typical of the young Orientalist that he had not even kept a copy of the review and was thus unable to provide Goethe with the text when Goethe wrote asking for it.⁸

The way to the East is a difficult one, Kosegarten says, and the reader will be happy to find in Goethe a powerful spirit who finds his way quickly and adroitly in a strange world. It is all the more fortunate that Goethe is a poet and not merely a philologist, for many grammarians have been unable to cope with the literature, and poetry is highly important in Eastern culture. Building on Goethe's comments in NA "Allgemeinstes," he says the inner spirit of poetry resembles Western "wit," but surpasses it by virtue of its "nobility" and "freedom." The Western reader will,

⁸Fambach 250-251, and Otto Jahn, "Goethe und Kosegarten," Grenzboten 27 (1868), 399. Concerning Goethe's attempts to discern who wrote the review, Fambach quotes the following: Karl Ludwig von Knebel's suggestion that only Kosegarten could have written it (letter to Goethe, December 21, 1819), Kosegarten's admission of authorship (Kosegarten, letter to Goethe, December 22), Goethe's remark that he had not yet seen it (letter to Knebel, December 29) and Knebel's statement that Kosegarten no longer had a copy of the review but would send one to Goethe soon (letter to Goethe, January 21, 1820).

Kosegarten adds, often be surprised to encounter speculations, observations and sentiments, which are regarded as products of the latest Western thinking, but which have circulated in the Orient for centuries or millenia.⁹

He points out that Goethe, choosing among the East's many elements, touched on the older conditions and ideas of the Hebrews and the Parsi but spent most of his time in the Moslem Orient among the modern Persians, whose literature and history are best known in the West. He says the whole Moslem East and its literature are brought much nearer through Islam, which is closer to Christianity than other Oriental religions.

In commenting on the meaning of the title "West-eastern," Kosegarten states succinctly that it expresses "theils östlichen Stoff in westlicher Form, theils westlichen Stoff in östlicher Form."¹⁰ While Goethe was mostly concerned with presenting Eastern content in accustomed Western forms, he occasionally adopted Eastern form, using for example, predominantly identical rhyme running from the beginning to the end of a poem, or a rhyme built on different forms of the same word. "In tausend Formen magst du dich verstecken . . ." (VIII, 42) and "Ob der Coran von Ewigkeit sey? . . ." (IX, 3) are examples of the former and "Sie haben wegen der

⁹Kosegarten, pp. 239-240.

¹⁰Kosegarten, p. 241.

Trunkenheit . . ." (IX, 10) is an example of the latter technique, which was employed especially in Persian lyrical works and also, he says, in very early German ones.¹¹ Identical rhyme is a characteristic of the lyric poetry of the Arabs, Persians and Turks, whose languages allow for it more readily than German; but in longer works even they are forced to limit its use to identically rhymed couplets. Goethe, *Kosegarten* continues, occasionally employs special, characteristically Eastern images and allusions--as for example in "Lesebuch" (III, 3), where images derived from literature and philological studies and used frequently by later Eastern poets are employed. Naturally, he adds, Goethe--who refused to tolerate metric regulations in general--did not allow himself to be limited by such conventions.¹²

The *Divan's* Eastern content--ideas, views, images--springs from both generally accepted Eastern thought and from noteworthy individuals or books, *Kosegarten* claims, illustrating his point with some examples taken mostly from the "Buch des Sängers." He states that the Koran is the source for three passages in the poems "Freysinn" (I, 3) and "Talismane" (I, 4), that Saadi's *Rosengarten* is the source for another two lines of "Talismane," and that "Vier Gnaden" (I, 5) is based on an Arabian proverb.¹³

¹¹*Kosegarten*, p. 241.

¹²*Kosegarten*, p. 241.

¹³*Kosegarten*, p. 242. From the Koran: Freysinn [vv. 5-6] and Talismane [vv. 1-2 and 11-12]. From the introduction

Kosegarten explains that Goethe correctly gave love the preeminent place among the elements of a poem because the law of older Arabian poetry held that any longer poem, and especially a panegyric, had to open with a greeting to one's beloved. He states that for this purpose poets often addressed a lady whom they did not even know and notes some complications which arose from this practice. He further explains two images: the dust from the beloved's doorstep is valued more than any earthly treasures, and the moth dying in the flame is the symbol of true love.¹⁴ As he concludes his short discussion of "Buch des Sängers," Kosegarten notes that Goethe, in accord with his own nature and purpose, treats the East from its brightest (heiterste) side, and justifiably so since the inner being of the Orient was otherwise everywhere suffused with serious and melancholy elements.

Kosegarten states that the poems are divided into books whose character and meaning are detailed in the NA chapter "Künftiger Divan." He adds the general observation that information in the NA is not exhaustive. He names "Musterbilder" (III, 1) as one example of verses that need further

to Saadi's Rosengarten: Talismane [vv. 17-18, Persianischer Rosenthal, trans. Adam Olearius, (Schleßwig: Nauman, 1654); included in Olearius' Colligirte und viel vermehrte Reise-Beschreibung (Hamburg, 1696; rpt. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1980)].

¹⁴The referenced poems are "Elemente" (I, 7), "Alleleben" (I, 16) and "Selige Sehnsucht" (I, 17).

explanation and then gives details about the poem's six pairs of lovers. He adds that, besides "sofa" and "conference," for Arabs, Persians and Turks the word divan usually means "Liedersammlung," a collection of poems.

The "Buch des Unmuths" takes its material from the West more than the East, and, says the author, if he is not mistaken, it contains unpleasant truths for certain vociferous contemporaries active in the recent past and the present, who, in the manner of Thomas Münzer, had recently had much to say about the Germans versus the French. To illustrate, he quotes the first four stanzas from "Als wenn das auf Namen ruhte . . ." (V, 6). He thinks that the poem parallels statements in the NA about freedom and despotism and he feels that "heroes" of contemporary literature will also find much that applies to themselves.

Kosegarten briefly characterizes the "Buch Suleika," "Das Schenkenbuch," the "Buch des Parsen" and the "Buch des Paradieses." In the first two he sees noble love; he stresses the reciprocity of the relationship with the boy and quotes from the NA to explain the relationship's origin and meaning. He says Hatem's poem "Locken! haltet mich gefangen . . ." (VIII, 20) is exemplary of how the Persian poet's language and sexual imagery can be retained without offending Western sensibilities. The latter books take the reader to the religious spheres of the Orient, from the life of the enthusiastic Moslem to the death of the simple, guiltless

Parsi. He quotes the first two stanzas from "Berechtigte Männer" (XII, 2), as showing the religious heroism of Islam, and says that the friendly naivete found in the poem is also present in "Begünstigte Thiere" (XII, 8).

Kosegarten sees the NA as a two-part discussion of Oriental poetics: an external and an internal history. The former, from the beginning through the discussion of the seven chief poets, imparts remarkably correct and fitting observations about Oriental religion, government, life and language. He quotes Goethe's claim that the true theme of history is the conflict between belief and unbelief--all epochs in which belief prevails are brilliant, joyful and productive--and then recapitulates Goethe's main points. He stresses that light and purity are the chief words which characterize the religion of the Parsi, adding a few comments about Mohammed and emphasizing that the Koran presents Islam as an attempt to restore the old religion rather than as a new belief. He criticizes only Goethe's attitude towards Indian religion; one should judge, he says, not only the externals, e.g. the monstrous images of the gods, but the spirit from which the idea sprang. Much must be done before we can draw conclusions about these beliefs.

In the internal history Goethe comments on the general character and the special characteristics of Eastern poetry, on its exalted spirit and those elements which might be especially strange or discomfoting. Kosegarten emphasizes

that he agrees with Goethe's apologia for Persian panegyrics. He notes that Goethe discusses language, tropes, metaphors and types of Oriental poetry; and, agreeing with Goethe, he decries the tendency to equate Eastern poetic forms and poets with Western ones and to describe poetry as "Redekunst."

Finally Kosegarten discusses mysticism. He quotes Goethe's claim, expressed in NA "Künftiger Divan," that the aware individual regards sensory perceptions as a mask behind which a higher, spiritual life playfully waits to draw one to nobler regions. Kosegarten adds that this turning from sensory, transitory appearance to the spiritual and lasting is the real essence of mysticism, which is therefore a universal ingredient of all faiths. He claims that mysticism is strong among the Moslem peoples, and he cites linguistic examples to prove that they believe the real world lies beyond the senses. In his argument he notes that Moslems call the feeling for godly perfection amor verus; sensual love, however, is amor metaphoricus.

Kosegarten distinguishes two types of mysticism, speculative and ascetic. The former becomes theosophy and attempts to solve eternal problems about God, the world and the future--where it most easily offends. The other type is satisfied with emotional outbursts in praise of the magnificence and beauty of the spiritual origin, and it attempts to approach the source. This mysticism, proceeding from truth

and uprightness, will contain spirit and feeling in high degree; it is the type most suitable for poetry.

Taking cognizance of Goethe's biblical exegesis and argument that the Jews wandered only two years instead of forty, Kosegarten adds a few considerations and implies that although the forty years may not be correct in the strictest sense, it is probably more accurate than Goethe's supposition.

Ludwig Achim von Arnim. "Otto Brüggeman. Ein Beitrag zu Goethe's 'Westöstlichem Divan.'" Gesellschafter. Berlin, 1819, pp. 201f., 801ff., 803ff.

Rpt. in Ludwig Achim von Arnim. Unbekannte Aufsätze und Gedichte. Mit einem Anhang von Clemens Brentano. Ed. Ludwig Geiger. Berliner Neudrucke. Ed. Ludwig Geiger and Georg Ellinger. Ser. 3. Vol. 1. Berlin: Paetel, 1892, pp. 43-55 with Geiger's notes, introduction, p. vi. Cited here according to Geiger's edition.

Bibliographic report on Ludwig Achim von Arnim. Unbekannte Aufsätze und Gedichte. Goethe-Jahrbuch, 14 (1893): 338.

The Divan also evoked a quick response from Achim von Arnim, but rather than writing a review, he used the work as the inspiration for a short essay on a theme suggested by the NA. He comments only incidentally on the Divan.

In this 1819 article, Arnim acknowledges Goethe's great influence. He begins by noting that Goethe's recent studies recalled for him his own student days and made him want to take up his books again. Thus, he says, he was especially affected when, reading the Divan, he came upon the NA chapter "Olearius" and the reference there to the Holstein

ambassador who accompanies Olearius on his trip to the Persian court. Goethe merely indicated that this person was an unpleasant sort, not even naming him. Arnim identifies him as Otto Brüggeman. Brüggeman's untoward actions during the journey earned him the sentence of death by sword when he returned home. Arnim tells his story and speculates on the causes for Brüggeman's general behavior. He ends with a poem by Paul Fleming, who had also accompanied the expedition.

In the article Arnim speaks of the Divan itself only twice. The first occasion is on page 44 where, as noted above, he relates how he came to this subject. He says that he considers his own essay a contribution to the Divan, supplying material which Goethe had omitted because of space considerations. He also takes the opportunity to protest Goethe's "definition" of Bescheidenheit. In the NA chapter "Künftiger Divan" Goethe had called modesty a "gesellige Tugend," adding, "Bescheidenheit aber ist immer mit Verstellung verknüpft und eine Art Schmeichelei" (WA I 7, p. 141). Arnim replies that he does not at all believe that it is dissembling, but "eine wahre Einsicht, das Wenige, was der einzelne Mensch leistet, in seinem abhängigen Verhältniß gegen das große Weltleben zu erkennen und sich dessen nicht zu überheben." He returned again to this topic in another note in 1822 (see below, p. 50).

Later (pp. 52-53) Arnim speaks of "Goethe's tiefgreifende Bemerkung über das Wesen der Poesie." This is a reference to Goethe's statement in NA "Verwahrung": "Poesie . . . bleibt immer wahrhafter Ausdruck eines aufgeregten erhöhten Geistes, ohne Ziel und Zweck" (WA I 7, p. 116).

G. C. O. Rev. of Westöstlicher Divan, by Goethe. Hermes oder kritisches Jahrbuch der Literatur (Zweites Stück für das Jahr 1820; Nr. VI der ganzen Folge): 154-165. Hereafter G. C. O.

There were five reviews in 1820. The first of these was an enthusiastic twelve-page review in the literary year-book Hermes. G. C. O., its author, stresses, as had Kosegarten, Goethe's role as intermediary in introducing the reader to the Orient. Goethe's efforts, he says, are directed at those who know little or nothing of the area. He says that the poet-king is unpretentious, gay, and communicative in a carefree, open way and that he wishes to be seen as a traveler or merchant. He defends the present effort against any future detractors such as had also, he claims, attacked Goethe previously when he had ventured into a new area.¹⁵

Stating that Goethe's admirers will be pleased to encounter poetry which is a lively, productive expression of the totality of the world, G. C. O. recognizes in the poetic Divan "ein wechselseitiges Geben und Empfangen zwischen dem Dichter und dem Orient, indem Oestliches und Westliches in

¹⁵G. C. O., p. 154.

Gehalt und Form sich bis zur Sättigung zu durchdringen streben" The Persian title "östlicher Divan vom westlichen Verfasser" does not make this relationship very clear, he adds, because there is little in the work which is mere translation.¹⁶

He says that Goethe reflected in the work his attempt to absorb the seven great Persian poets of "der alten neu-persischen Lyrik," and that he wrote in the sense and spirit of Saadi and especially of his (Goethe's) twin Hafis. The East became for him an element of being and knowing. He briefly characterizes the 12 books of the poetic Divan. These are collectively the sphere of "being," which does not, he says, exclude knowing. They present the common, human concerns of East and West or, in reciprocal illumination, the poet's Western material in Eastern coloring and Eastern material portrayed in Western light. He adds that those who want more information on the word Divan should consult Joseph von Hammer's comments in Der Divan von Mohamed Schemsed-din Hafis.¹⁷

The reviewer wonders at the life which Goethe has been able to inject in the object of his studies. He says that he can only indicate the Divan's treasures, which, he notes

¹⁶G. C. O., p. 155.

¹⁷G. C. O., p. 155-156. Cotta had published Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall's two-volume translation of Hafis' works in 1812-1813 (Stuttgart and Tübingen).

rhapsodically, sketch in broad and bold strokes the whole of a human life--from youthful exuberance through interaction with the world to heights of love, which are suffused with reasoned views and sentimental hope. He adds,

Aber es [das poetische Werk] wird auch ausgeführt in östlichem Styl und mit westlicher Eigenthümlichkeit innig verschmelzet. Als östlicher Stoff, dem der Dichter wieder die rein menschliche Seite, und die Idee abgewann, heben wir vorzüglich die Knabenliebe, als Gegenstück der Frauenliebe, hervor; als westliche Individualität hauptsächlich die oben schon berührte Liebesseligkeit des Greises, in östlicher Farbengluth.¹⁸

By Eastern style he seems to mean certain subjects as well as strength--and perhaps type--of description.

Continuing on the theme of Knabenliebe, he says that, since it is found in the works of Saadi and Hafis, it is necessarily a part of the Divan. He thinks that Goethe correctly treats the subject as a "pure" pedagogical relationship where the extremes of age meet and where awe and respect--which, he says, are requisites for love--are paired.¹⁹

The author defends the "Buch des Unmuths," stating that such outbursts are natural to talented and favored persons and that they are all the more acceptable here because the dissonances of the "Buch des Unmuths" are artfully resolved in the "Buch Suleika." He adds that there is much in the

¹⁸G. C. O., p. 156.

¹⁹G. C. O., pp. 156-157.

book which, properly understood, would do the poet's popularity no good. But even when envy or mean-spiritedness seem to drive him, they complete the picture of the whole, and they are far preferable to timidity and hypocritical dissembling, which he believes otherwise characterize the age. And he quotes from the "Buch der Sprüche" to back his contention that Goethe combines his criticism with humility.²⁰

G. C. O. is especially pleased with Goethe's treatment of the love between Jussuph and Suleika. He says that Goethe used the six pairs of lovers in "Musterbilder" (III, 1) as a model but developed a relationship appropriate to the poet's age and personality:

aus des Dichters wahrhafter Eigenthümlichkeit
ging ein schönes geistreiches Verhältniß hervor,
das im schönsten Maaß . . . als selige, klare
Gewißheit der Gegenliebe, als Schmuck greiser
Haare, Bürgschaft dichterischer Unsterblichkeit, in
wärmster Farbengebung, mit der liebenswürdigsten,
zärtlichsten geistreichsten Innigkeit.²¹

He also thinks the form is especially beautiful, stating that Goethe wrote a small love drama with dialogue and a chorus of women. He says that this treatment has an Eastern flavor, and he mentions that Goethe wisely distributed examples of the love relationship throughout the Divan.²²

²⁰G. C. O., pp. 157-158.

²¹G. C. O., p. 158.

²²G. C. O., p. 158-159.

In closing remarks on the poetic Divan, the reviewer observes that describing Mary in the Moslem paradise as one who "getäuscht in bitterm Leide/ Sah den Sohn am Kreuz verloren" (XII, 3) does not accord with the Koran. He regrets that Goethe did not make greater use of "external" Eastern form, specifically the ghazel and the kasida. He would like to see awkward constructions and grammatical impurities removed, and he lists several examples.²³

The reviewer finds more to criticize in the NA. He writes that happily the book shows Goethe's "scharfes Feingefühl und seine, wir möchten sagen sinnpflanzliche Ansprechbarkeit für das Gegenständliche bei gemüthlicher besonnener Mittheilbarkeit." He likes Goethe's concise description of sources and says that Goethe's understanding and portrayal of della Valle is almost instinctive and communicates the Eastern spirit well. And he thinks Goethe's presentation of personalities and relationships much more precise than Hammer's. Only once, he says, does Goethe lose the thread, and that is in the section "Israel in der Wüste."²⁴

But he spends most of the remaining five pages pointing out limitations and misconceptions in the Divan. He feels that the chapters "Alt-Testamentliches" and "Israel in der Wüste" are digressions. Mostly, however, he regrets that

²³G. C. O., pp. 159-160.

²⁴G. C. O., p. 160.

Goethe spent so much time with a later period of Persian literature and did not follow his trail of discovery back to the beginnings, from where, he says, Goethe could have effected the real understanding which he had sought. He claims that Goethe failed to comprehend adequately Zoroastrian concepts and a broader pan-Asian religious unity. Consequently, Goethe misunderstood fundamental concepts, such as the priesthood, mysticism and despotism, and, he says, based on these misconceptions, Goethe needlessly defended dry and conventional encomia and parables. Like Kosegarten, he feels that Goethe unjustly slights Indian religion. Finally, the reviewer reaffirms his pleasure in the Divan and says that, while not perfect, Goethe is still far ahead of everyone else of his time.²⁵

By every appearance G. C. O. is an accomplished Orientalist and philologist. His statement that the "Buch der Liebe," Persian "Usch Nameh" (sic) should be "Eschek Nameh" and his casual reference to Hammer for information on the word Divan--one expects a reviewer of 1820 to explain the word--, indicate that he is thoroughly at home when discussing things Persian.²⁶ Later he presents his arguments about the Orient with a tone of authority. He expresses certain reservations about the NA, which ignore his passionately

²⁵G. C. O., p. 160-165.

²⁶G. C. O., p. 155.

held and argued belief in a primal religious unity in Persia and India, but he obviously treasures Goethe's writing. He finds the book remarkable, and he thinks the poetic Divan is a work of true genius.

T. Rev. of Westöstlicher Divan. Literarisches Wochenblatt, Vol. 6, Nos. 12-13 (June, 1820): 45-47, 50-51. Hereafter T.

A second review from 1820 repeatedly expresses admiration for Goethe and the Divan. The author, T., begins by quoting lines 1-6 of Hegire (I, 1) and says that Goethe, surrounded by a second and even third generation of admiring followers, has given them this collection of poems just at the right moment, since it beneficently directs their attention away from the current political muddle:

um sich Dir wohlthätig zu erweisen, auf daß Du Dir
nicht gar den Kopf zerbrechest über die wunderlichen
Umtriebe, deren Larven jetzt . . . aus dem zwar
blutgedüngten aber schlecht benutzten Staatsboden
hervorbrechen.²⁷

The Wochenblatt was originally founded by August von Kotzebue and the writer is obviously in sympathy with Goethe's more conservative leanings.

T. says that Goethe calls the book Divan in accordance with Eastern custom because the word means both "high councils" and "collection of poetry," and that it is westöstlich because it contains the results of Goethe's Western reflections and studies of Eastern poetry.²⁸

²⁷T., p. 45.

²⁸T., p. 45.

T. continues with hyperbolic praise of Goethe for having combined Western intimacy of thought with Eastern passion and color. He then says that, in hopes of winning the work readers, he will present a kind of capsule Divan, interspersing examples from the rich content of the work with his own exclamations of delight.²⁹

Starting with statements from the NA chapter "Einleitung" on how the poet would like to be taken for a traveler or tradesman, T. says that this attitude must win Goethe the devotion of his public anew. He assures the reader that he will not find translations of Oriental poems but something much better, "das reiche Bild des westlichen Poeten- und Prophetenlebens." He then proceeds through the Divan books, usually quoting from a single poem or paraphrasing explanatory material from the NA, mostly from the chapter "Künftiger Divan."³⁰

The review in general is less creative than those of Kosegarten and G. C. O., and depends more on Goethe's own words to enlighten the reader. The short descriptions of the first four books have little to distinguish them. One might perhaps note in passing that T. takes the comments on the "Buch Hafis" from the NA chapter "Hafis" rather than "Künftiger Divan." He finds nothing in the "Buch des Unmuths" at which one should take offense. T. says that

²⁹T., p. 45.

³⁰T., p. 46ff.

Goethe's displeasure is harmless. Goethe only wishes that the most noble people in Germany should be held in proper esteem, and no one can begrudge him this. Unlike Kosegarten and G. C. O. he believes that Goethe had indeed removed, as promised in "Künftiger Divan, Buch des Unmuths," all references to the present and was saving them for a paralipomena volume.³¹

The "Buch Suleika" is for him the strongest in the collection. T. asks who Suleika is and where she lives and, in purported answer, quotes the last two stanzas of "Gingo biloba" (VIII, 10). He thus implies that Suleika is a creation of the artist's imagination.³² For the books "Parabeln" and "Parsen" he only quotes from the poetry.

T. writes that the NA are not simply dry, explanatory material, but contain interesting stories and Oriental views. He lists the "choicest" chapters and compares the NA to drawings of talented masters, which offer only a few lines, but which inspire our imagination and our own creativity.³³ He concludes the review with expressions of well-wishes for Goethe and a hope that an expanded Divan will soon be forthcoming. Throughout the essay T. has had

³¹T., pp. 46-47.

³²T., p. 50.

³³T., p. 51. He lists 38 chapters and omits 22. Named are: "Hebräer," "Araber," "Ältere Perser," "Regiment," "Geschichte," "Mahomet," "Caliphen," "Dichterkönige," "Überlieferungen," "Ferdusi," "Enweri," "Nisami," "Dschelâl-eddin Rumi," "Saadi," "Hafis," "Dschami," "Despotie," "Gegenwirkung," "Orientalischer Poesie Ur-Elemente," "Dichtarten,"

nothing negative to say about either Goethe or the Divan and has bestowed superlatives freely.

Rev. of West-östlicher Divan. Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen 3rd piece (July 10, 1820): 1105-06.

In this short unsigned review the author remarks that the Divan could provoke negative comments, but he gives the work a good rating. He begins by saying that it shows yet another side of "the most versatile" German writer, who hardly needs this review to become better known. And this is also not the place, he continues, to explain how this or that person might object to the way in which the Orient is presented in the book. Stating that he must nevertheless give the Divan its due, the reviewer says that it is a true enrichment of German poetry. He thinks that it is more than a good translation or imitation of Oriental poetry; he credits Goethe with making the East comprehensible to the German and speaks of the Divan as a renewal and expansion of Goethe's poetry:

nur vom Geiste dieses einzigen Dichters aufgefaßt, konnte die orientalische Poesie auf eine solche Art sich nicht sowohl germanisiren, wenn man uns diesen Ausdruck hier erlauben will, als in Deutscher Sprache sich eigentlich individualisiren. Denn durch

"Naturformen der Dichtung," "Blumen- und Zeichenwechsel," "Chiffer," "Künftiger Divan," "Alt-testamentliches," "Israel in der Wüste," "Wallfahrten und Kreuzzüge," "Marco Polo," "Johannes von Montevilla," "Pietro della Valle," "Olearius," "Tavernier und Chardin," "Lehrer . . .," "Von Diez," "Von Hammer," "Endlicher Abschluß," "Revision."

den Eindruck, den das Eigenthümliche der orientalischen Geistes-Blüten und Früchte auf diesen Deutschen Dichter machte, erscheint gerade dasjenige, was von jeher individueller Character seiner eignen Poesie war, auf eine neue Art erweckt und ausgebildet.

The reviewer adds that one sees Goethe everywhere; it is as though he belonged to both the Orient and the West.

The author says that he will refrain from a detailed analysis and that he will also leave an evaluation of the NA to those knowledgeable of the Orient, especially Persia. However, he does say that there is much in the NA which will interest philosophers, aestheticians and historians.

Joseph von Hammer[-Purgstall]. "Handschrift des persischen Botschafters Mirsa Abul-Hassan Chan." Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst, Literatur, Theater und Mode 92 (August 1, 1820): 747-748.

Rpt. in Rudolf Payer von Thurn. "Zum West-östlichen Divan." Chronik des Wiener Goethe-Vereins 8 (1894): 15-16.

Bibliographic report Goethe-Jahrbuch 16 (1895): 282.

Hammer's first reaction to the Divan was one of disappointment. In a letter to Böttiger, he says (p. 342) that Goethe's recently published Divan had left him feeling unsatisfied and adds that he felt slighted because Goethe had used a translation by Kosegarten in the NA rather than Hammer's own ("Auf die Fahne" and "Auf das Band des Ordens" in "Endlicher Abschluß").³⁴

³⁴Letter to Karl August Böttiger, September 16, 1819, "Mittheilungen von Zeitgenossen über Goethe," ed. Robert Boxberger, Goethe-Jahrbuch 1 (1880): 315-59.

It was not long before he had the opportunity to express his disappointment in print, which he did in a veiled but unmistakable manner. The same Persian ambassador to St. Petersburg whose presence in the West had given rise to the texts which Goethe used in the NA chapters "Neuere, Neueste" and "Endlicher Abschluß" came to Vienna again in 1820 on his way back to Persia. Hammer asked him for a few lines from his hand so that Hammer might demonstrate to him the ability of the lithographic institute to make facsimiles. In the short piece in the Wiener Zeitschrift Hammer communicated these circumstances and his translation of Mirsa Abul-Hassan Chan's text to the public. He mentions that the ambassador is known to the readers through the daily press, but also through Goethe's Divan. The difference in style between the ambassador's newest text and the sample of his writing supplied by Goethe (in "Neuere, Neueste") will surprise some, he says, but that is only because Goethe missed the fact that the text is not the ambassador's at all, but a citation from Saadi's Baumgarten. Goethe appears to have used only the Latin translation of the Rosengarten, says Hammer, and he seems never to have read the German version of the Baumgarten. Since Goethe uses this text to illustrate characteristics of modern Persian style, the error is particularly significant, and Hammer makes no attempt to soften the blow.

Adolf Müllner. "Dichtkunst." Rev. of West-östlicher Divan, by Goethe. Literaturblatt auf das Jahr 1820 67 (August 12): pp. 265-268. Hereafter Müllner.

Adolf Müllner is also a great admirer of the Divan, but before stating his own arguments, he gives a compilation of the comments he has heard expressed by others on the work. Müllner's fictitious speaker begins with the title, which he says is curious and confusing. He notes unflatteringly that the word Divan refers to a group of pillows on which one can comfortably fall asleep, and a group of poems which can perform a similar service. "Westöstlich," he contends, offends against mathematical geography. He says that the poems are also confusing--one doesn't know if they are translations of Oriental originals or, mostly, incomprehensible imitations. And just think! he adds, the introduction comes in the middle of the book and the conclusion is a meaningless index. As regards the NA, anyone really wanting explication of the Orient would do better to consult Hammer's Geschichte der schönen Redekünste Persiens or any of other learned, more extensive treatments.³⁵ In short, he concludes, regardless of the learned journals' talk of the book as "intermediary between Eastern and Western poetry", the Divan is one of Goethe's strangest works, a puzzle without a key; and the public, which wants "comfortable" entertainment and instruction, has no taste for it.

³⁵ Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (Wien: Heubner und Volke, 1818).

Müllner--now voicing his own opinion--counters that these overheard criticisms are wrong. He thinks the Divan is a powerful work and wants to tell us why he looks forward to rereading it yearly. He has never deified Goethe, he says, and only came to him later in life. For him the Divan is not a puzzle, but a garden which is best entered through the "gardener's house," which in Goethe's case is Dichtung und Wahrheit.³⁶

Müllner spends considerable time discussing whether Goethe is an "objective" (objectiver) writer, a contention he vigorously disputes. Those who say this only mean that Goethe's works vary immensely, but all, he says, are "fragments of a great confession."³⁷ He next refers the reader to that section of Dichtung und Wahrheit (Part I, Book 4) where the author had described his study of Hebrew with Rector Albrecht, and his interest in biblical and Eastern questions. Müllner speculates on young Goethe's visions of the East and says that the Divan is the logical continuation of those early flights of fantasy:

³⁶Müllner, p. 265.

³⁷In a one-page reply to Müllner's review ["Einige Worte über poetische Objektivität," Literarisches Wochenblatt 118 (November 1820): n.p.], S. L. R. challenges Müllner's handling of the critical term "objective" and explains that the word means treating a matter from all sides, such that its nature, and not the poet's individuality, emerges as inevitable. He says the term is a designation of highest praise, reserved for classical authors and, alone among the moderns, Goethe. He does not discuss the Divan.

Wer wüßte nicht, daß zu den Hütten, die der Knabe oder Jüngling in reizender Ferne sich baute, gern auch der Mann und lieber noch der Greis zurück wandelt. Wen könnte es befremden, daß Goethe das Land, wo er sich in dem Spiele jugendlicher Einbildungskraft ergötzt hatte, späterhin an der Hand der gelehrten Forscher kennen zu lernen suchte?³⁸

As an example of Goethe's later studies Müllner cites Fundgruben des Orients, a work which Goethe had mentioned in the NA chapter "Von Hammer."³⁹

Müllner thinks that the reader is now ready to enjoy the Divan, about which he says there is nothing irregular except its incompleteness. He advises the reader to put aside his Western notions of how a book should be ordered and make his approach through the NA chapter "Künftiger Divan"--advice essentially imparted by Kosegarten. He says the Persian book names may put off the reader, but he asserts that these names are completely in character with the author's Oriental costume.⁴⁰

The final third of the review offers short statements on, and usually a quote from, each of the Divan books. He says that the "Buch des Sängers" has a joyous and free character, and he mentions that he especially likes "Er-schaffen und Beleben" (I, 8) and "Derb und Tüchtig" (I, 15). He says that Goethe characterizes Hafis in the next book by

³⁸Müllner, p. 267.

³⁹[Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall], ed., Fundgruben des Orients, 6 vols. (Wien: A. Schmid, 1809-1818).

⁴⁰Müllner, p. 267.

writing in his spirit, and he quotes the first two stanzas from "Offenbar Geheimniß" (II, 8), saying they are also a coup de pinceau for many contemporary critics. Noting that the "Buch der Liebe" is quite short, he says "Unvermeidlich" (III, 13) seems to have strayed there from the "Buch des Sängers" and is aimed at "censor-mania." He believes that the "Buch der Betrachtungen" and the "Buch der Sprüche" are closely related and need no explanation. Saying that the "Buch des Unmuths" assuages anger, he quotes the first four stanzas from "Uebermacht, Ihr könnt es spüren . . ." (V, 4). He notes the impure rhymes "geengten" "beschränkten" (vv. 5, 7) as well as the later "teutschet" and "heischet" (V, 13) and says that they reflect the book's anger but that they should not be copied. "Buch des Timur," he says, has only two "wenig eindringende Gedichte"; from "Buch Suleika" he quotes "Hätt' ich irgend wohl Bedenken . . ." (VIII, 15). He feels that some may take offense at the second stanza of "Du, mit deinen braunen Locken . . ." (IX, 9), but he says that the poem is chastity itself. He thinks that "Die Perle die der Muschel entrann . . ." (X, 4) is a masterpiece and contains in a nutshell everything that Schiller had expressed about the sacrifice of the individual for the general good in Über die aesthetische Erziehung des Menschen. Finally, he quotes stanzas 1-2 from "Höheres und Höchstes" (XII, 9) and says that this is the summation of Parsi thinking and the essence of religion. He ends with a note that none of

the NA "curiosities" appeals more to him than comments on Jean Paul in the chapter "Vergleichung."⁴¹

Rev. of West-östlicher Divan by Goethe. Revue encyclopédique; ou Analyse raisonnée des productions les plus remarquables dans la littérature, les sciences et les arts 10 (1820): 579-80.

The writer begins this cool, even negative review by saying that the Divan was made to excite public attention both in Germany and abroad. He notes that Goethe's recent works had garnered little attention in France and attributes this to changes which time had made in Goethe's youthful and ardent imagination. Goethe currently translates, imitates, collects and functions as a scientist. In all this, he says, one recognizes the touch of the master, but not of the genius.

He remarks that the Divan is a work of bits and pieces and of translations and imitations. He notes that the first part is divided into books with Persian titles and that the second part is supposed to serve as a kind of commentary to the first; and he says that such a commentary is needed, since there are indeed some murky passages. One rarely knows, he says, whether the Persian or the Weimar poet is speaking; and he adds that sometimes the subject matter is really too trivial to bother with.

⁴¹Müllner, pp. 267-268.

He thinks that the NA contains interesting observations on Persian poets, the earlier travelers who visited the Orient, and Oriental customs. He finds the chapter "Israel in der Wüste" strange and says that one wonders why Goethe included it at all.

Finally, the author criticizes a perceived refusal on Goethe's part to declare himself politically. He says that in one Divan passage Goethe tried to justify or excuse Oriental despotism and that in another he praised governments with constitutions; one does not know, he says, where Goethe stands. He adds that Goethe had tried to please everybody and that he had never used his genius to claim social rights for his countrymen. In this regard, he says, Goethe had rendered his country no service, and he regrets the absence of civic medals among Goethe's other laurels.

August Graf von Platen-Hallermünde. Ghaselen. Erlangen: Karl Heyder, 1821.

----- Vermischte Schriften. Erlangen: Karl Heyder, 1822.

Also in Sämmtliche Werke. Historisch-kritische Ausgabe. Eds. Max Koch and Erich Petzet. 12 vols. in 4. Leipzig: Hesse & Becker, 1910, vol. 3, pt. 2. Rpt. 6 vols. Hildesheim and New York: Georg Olms, 1969, vol. 2. The two stanzas from the Ghaselen also quoted in Weitz, Gesamtausgabe, p. 433. Cited here according to the 1969 Olms reprint.

At the close of his first collection of ghazels, Platen pays homage to the Divan in a poem "An Goethe." In the first five-line stanza, he acknowledges Goethe as poetic guide; in the second, he asks Goethe's blessing:

Dein Name steh zu jeder Frist
Statt eines heiligen Symboles
Auf allem, was mein eigen ist,
Weil du mir Stern des Dichterpoles,
Weil du mir Schacht des Lebens bist.

Der Orient sei neubewegt,
Soll nicht, nach dir, die Welt vernüchtern;
Du selbst, du hast's in uns erregt:
So nimm hier, was ein Jüngling schüchtern
In eines Greisen Hände legt.

(Vol. 2, p. 44)

At the end of "Der Spiegel des Hafis," which was in Ver-
mischte Gedichte, there is also a quatrain that refers to
Goethe:

Wem dies Büchlein will gefallen?
Wem sein letzter Vers gehört?
Großer Hatem, dir vor Allen,
Dem es ew'ge Liebe schwört.

(Vol. 2, p. 99)

Friedrich Rückert. Oestliche Rosen. Leipzig: Brockhaus,
1822.

The nineteenth century view, which will be repeated by
many critics and which prevailed until recently, was that
Goethe's Divan was the direct inspiration for Rückert's
Oestliche Rosen. Newer studies have shown that Rückert had
begun to write poems in the Persian manner under the influ-
ence of Hammer's translation of Hafis several years before
Goethe's Divan appeared.⁴² Perhaps Rückert had seen the

⁴²Helmut Prang, Friedrich Rückert. Geist und Form der Sprache. Selbstverlag der Stadt Schweinfurt (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1963), pp. 83-86, and Manfred Grosser, "Friedrich Rückert's 'Oestliche Rosen,'" Rückert-Studien I, ed. Helmut Prang (Schweinfurt: Förderungskreis der Rückert-Forschung, 1964), pp. 45-107.

Divan poems Goethe published in the Morgenblatt, but this is not certain. Although there is now a difference of opinion on the exact degree to which Goethe affected Rückert's poems, it still seems that his influence was considerable, if not decisive.⁴³ The first mention of the Divan comes in a letter to Friedrich von Cotta of July 16, 1819, when Rückert asks Cotta to save him a few pages of Damenkalender for a few of the items in a thick packet of poem manuscripts that he has just gotten back from a friend. They are, he says, "curiosa, persica nemlich, nicht Übersetzungen zu nennen und auch nicht Nachbildungen, in seiner Weise ein Gegenstück zu Göthes Diwan, den ich aber leider noch nicht kenne."⁴⁴ When the Divan arrived in September 1819, Rückert reports to a friend how he read the work through in one sitting. He had been bogged down with his own poems, and now he cannot do anything but sing a song of praise to "den alten Teufelskerl selbst."⁴⁵ Less than a month later he

⁴³Prang emphasizes that Rückert came to the material independently (p. 84), while Grosser (pp. 52-53) feels that Goethe's Divan pointed the way to a freer reproduction of the Persian forms. Grosser still sees the publication of the Divan as the crucial formative influence for Oestliche Rosen.

⁴⁴Letter 90 in Friedrich Rückert, Briefe, 2 vols. ed. Rüdiger Rückert, Sonderband, Veröffentlichungen der Rückert-Gesellschaft (Schweinfurt: Rückert-Gesellschaft, 1977), Vol. 1, pp. 136-137.

⁴⁵To Christian Freiherr von Truchse, Letter 95, Rückert, Briefe, Vol. 1, p. 142.

sends a five-stanza poem in praise of Goethe's Divan which was to become the introduction to Oestliche Rosen.⁴⁶

In these verses he states that whoever wants to savor the real East must go to Goethe. He calls Goethe a poetic light illuminating both Eastern and Western sky, whose power age has not diminished. He likens the effect Iran had on Goethe to that exerted earlier by Italy and characterizes Goethe's moods in the Divan: "Jugendhadern/ . . . Zorn und Glut und Mild' und süßes Kosen;/ Alles Lieben/." He hopes that Goethe will continue the work he had begun in the Divan and, like Saadi and Dschami, continue his instruction in its arts. I quote here from the text as it appears in the letter, which varies somewhat from the version which finally appeared in 1822.

Wollt ihr kosten
Reinen Osten,
Müßt ihr gehn von hier zum selben Manne,
Der vom Westen
Auch den besten
Wein von jeher hatt' in seiner Kanne.
Als der West war durchgekostet,
hat er nun den Ost entmostet,
Seht, dort zecht er auf der Ottomanne.

Abendröthen
Dienten Göthen
Freudig als dem Stern des Abendlandes;
Nun erhöhte
Morgenröthe
Herrlich ihn zum Herrn des Morgenlandes.

⁴⁶To Christian Freiherr von Truchse, Letter 97, Rückert, Briefe, Vol. 1, pp. 144-146.

Wenn die beiden glühn zusammen,
 Muß der Himmel blühn in Flammen,
 Ein Diwan voll lichten Rosenbrandes.
 Könnt ihr merken
 An den Stärken
 Dieses Arms, wie lang er hat gefochten?
 Dem das Alter
 Nicht den Psalter
 Hat entwunden, sondern neu umflochten.
 Aus iran'schen Naphtabronnen
 Schöpft der Greis jetzt, was die Sonnen
 Italiens ihm dem Jüngling kochten.

Jugendhadern
 In den Adern.
 Zorn und Glut und Mild' und süßes Kosen;
 Alles Lieben
 Jung geblieben,
 Seiner Stirne stehen schön die Rosen.
 Wenn nicht etwa ew'ges Leben
 Ihm verliehn ist, sey gegeben
 Langes ihm von uns gewogenen Loosen.

Ja von jenen
 Selbst mit denen
 Du den neuen Jugendbund errichtet,
 Sei mit Brünsten
 Unter Künsten
 Jeder Art, in der auch unterrichtet,
 Wie Saadi in jenem Orden
 Über hundert Jahr alt worden,
 Und Dschami hat nah daran gedichtet.⁴⁷

At the end of the year Rückert wrote to Hammer and commented that Hammer, because he has written so much, may not have noticed how often Goethe borrowed from Hammer's Hafis translation. He is only surprised, says Rückert, that Goethe did not use Hafis even more frequently. There will be more in his own poetry.⁴⁸ Finally, as a clear indication that

⁴⁷Ibid. The text from Oestliche Rosen is also cited by Weitz, Gesamtausgabe, pp. 434-435.

⁴⁸To Hammer, December 12, 1819, Letter 98, Rückert, Briefe, Vol. 1, p. 147.

Goethe's poems had a significant effect on Rückert's final text, he asks Cotta for the return of the poems sent to him. Having studied Hafis more exactly and having been strengthened by Goethe's Divan, he has come, he says, to a new understanding and is no longer satisfied with his previous efforts.⁴⁹

Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine took note in the letter of a correspondent from Hamburg of the appearance of Oestliche Rosen and reprinted the introductory poem along with a translation or "imitation" of its verses. The claim is made that Rückert's poem is "written in the Metrum [of] the Proëmium of the Divan of Go[e]the and . . . a very close imitation of it." This must refer to the fact that both Rückert's poem and "Hegire" are trochaic, but the forms have little in common otherwise. The English version, which preserves Rückert's rhyme scheme and general strophic form, is referred to as clearly Oriental in every respect.⁵⁰

Later scholars of the nineteenth century credit Rückert with a discovery concerning the Divan poem "Locken! haltet mich gefangen . . ." (VIII, 20, vv. 9, 11). They refer to the stanza of the above poem, beginning "Abendröthen/ Dienten

⁴⁹To Cotta, January 2, 1820, Letter 102, Rückert, Briefe, Vol. 1, pp. 152-153.

⁵⁰"Letter from Hamburg" and "Goethe's West-Oestlichem Diwan." Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine 11, no. 60 (January-June, 1822): 67-70.

Goethen . . ." For more on this, see J. F., "Goethe, Suleika und der West-östliche Divan" (below, pp. 159-160).

Christian Dietrich Grabbe. Scherz, Satire, Ironie und Tiefere Bedeutung. 1822.

First published in Grabbe's Dramatische Dichtungen. Nebst einer Abhandlung über die Shakspeare-Manie. 2 vols. Frankfurt a.M.: Hermann, 1827. Vol. 2, pp. 53-190. Also in Werke und Briefe. Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe in sechs Bänden. Göttinger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Emsdetten: Lechte, 1960. Vol. 1, pp. 213-273. Cited here according to the critical edition.

As noted in the author's prefatory remarks, Grabbe's witty drama was written and read to audiences in 1822. The Divan is one of the literary works satirized in it. At the end of the play the devil's young and beautiful grandmother negotiates his release from the schoolmaster, and grandmother and grandson speak of their return to hell:

Des Teufels Großmutter: So, lieber Enkel! Sei lustig! Das Scheuern in der Hölle ist vorbei! Du kannst gleich mit mir heimkehren; der heiße, dich wieder erwärmende Kaffee dampft schon auf dem Tische.

Teufel: Vortrefflich, Großmütterchen, vortrefflich.--Aber zum Kaffee habe ich gern etwas zu lesen!--Schulmeister, haben Sie vielleicht die Schriften des Professors Krug bei sich, insbesondere diejenige, welche den neuesten Stand der griechischen Sache betrifft?

Schulmeister: Ja, man hat mir heute faule Heringe geschickt;--vermittelst derselben faulen Heringe (indem er mehrere Pakete herauszieht) kann ich Ihnen auch noch mit den Erzählungen von van der Velde, mit den sämtlichen Werken der ertrunkenen Louise Brachmann, und wenn ich nicht irre, sogar mit dem West-östlichen Divan und Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahren von Goethe aufwarten. (271-272)

[Ludwig Achim von] Arnim. "Biographie." Rev. in Literaturblatt to Morgenblatt 66 (August 16, 1822).

Qtd. in Ludwig Geiger. "Arnims Recension von Goethes biographischen Schriften." Goethe-Jahrbuch 21 (1900): 278-281. Cited here according to Geiger's text.

Arnim again took notice of the Divan in the review "Biographie" for the Morgenblatt. It was signed Am. and contains comments on Book Five of Goethe's Dichtung und Wahrheit, Lauzun's memoirs and the first volumes of an edition of Casanova by Schütz. A goodly part of the essay concerns Goethe alone, and the Divan is mentioned (pp. 280-81); Goethe's--he now says--inconsistent treatment of "Bescheidenheit" still bothers him:

So sehen wir fast gleichzeitig die Bescheidenheit im westöstlichen Divan angegriffen und in der morphologischen Zeitschrift höchlich empfohlen. Liegt so etwas vielleicht in dem Styl und dessen Angewöhnung, auch das Flüchtige, Leichte, Vorübergehende mit großem Ernste und vieler Wichtigkeit vorzutragen? Wir gestehen, daß uns so etwas dennoch ein Problem bleibt. . . .

Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, ed./tr. Juwelenschnüre Abul-Maanis. Wien: Anton Doll, 1822.

Qtd. in M. v. Collin. "Persische Dichtung." Rev. in Jahrbücher der Literatur 19 (1822): 145. (See directly below.) Cited here from Collin's review.

Hammer had initially registered disappointment in the Divan (see above, pp. 36-37). In the Juwelenschnüre Abul-Maanis, he compares Persian poetic forms to various jewels and then describes a work which would unite these gems as a "breastplate of Mithra." Hammer modestly suggests that his

translation is not such a work; only Goethe can claim this honor:

Dieser Schmuck sey vorbehalten einem in die Geheimnisse persischer Sprache eingeweihten Priester westöstlicher Poesie, welcher, wie Göthe, die Tiara als Hierophante zu tragen versteht; dem Hermeneuten genügt es hiermit den Wink gegeben zu haben, wie die Edelsteine des Brustschildes zu fassen seyen.

Whether at this point the term "high priest" is a compliment is difficult to say.

M[atthäus] v. Collin. "Persische Dichtung." Rev. of Juwelenschnüre Abul-Maanis, ed./tr. Joseph von Hammer . . . Jahrbücher der Literatur 19 (1822): 142-168, esp. 154-158.

In 1822 Matthäus Collin reviewed five recently published books: one translation by Joseph von Hammer, Friedrich Rückert's Oestliche Rosen and three books by August Graf von Platen. Although the Divan is not listed among the books to be discussed, over four pages are devoted directly to it. Collin comments that the staff of the Jahrbücher delayed reviewing the Divan when it first appeared because they expected it to be imitated and they wanted to see what sort of effect it would have. In addition, he says, Goethe had himself indicated that the work was a first offering which was to be followed by another more detailed edition. They did not wish to criticize many of the statements in the NA with which they were not in agreement on the chance that Goethe might alter them a short time later (pp. 154-155).

Collin first sets up a framework for his reviews by noting that the Germans had begun to assimilate Eastern

literature as they had earlier absorbed the literature of Greece and Rome. This process, he says, alarms people who fear for the independence of German literature. He does not plan to deal with learned works, which have helped bring forth the interest in things Eastern, but rather with attempts to see the world in the spirit of Eastern poetry. His purpose is to take both the hopes and fears of the friends of German art into account and to relate these new works to the existing tradition of German poetry.

After discussing the contents of Hammer's translation of the poetry of Abul Maani, Collin concludes that the work of the translator has been directed more at fidelity to the sense of the word than to a truly poetic translation.⁵¹ This, he feels, will limit the acceptance of the work by the reading public. This will not, however, prevent "masters of art from recognizing and appreciating gold as gold, as they did in the case of Hammer's translation of Hafis" (p. 151). Other works by Hammer have been better, he feels, particularly Schirin, but these did not have the effect that Hafis did.⁵² This latter translation lacked a characteristic melody and only after continued work with it is one in a position to understand the attraction and greatness of the

⁵¹Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, ed./tr., Juwelenschnüre Abul-Maanis. See directly above.

⁵²Schirin. Ein persisches romantisches Gedicht nach morgenländischen Quellen (Leipzig: Fleischer) 1809.

author and the credit due the translator (pp. 151-152).

Only a mind of great depth could have been inspired by this serious study to approach Hafis. Collin describes Hafis as a cheerful and serene nature who understood the beauty in animate and inanimate nature as well as the foolishness of human life and who used these elements to carry us to higher regions of beauty. Hafis draws upon older Persian religious tradition only insofar as its tales and fairy tales are imprinted in his soul, but otherwise he is "ganz nur das Kind der Gegenwart, in der er gelebt, die ihm eine Schule der Weisheit aufschloß, welche die große Lehrmeisterin Erfahrung reich ausgestatteten Gemüthern darzubieten pflegt" (p. 153). Collin feels that it would have been more natural for Goethe, or German writers in general, to have approached Persian literature through the medium of later epic poetry, had it not been for the close relationship between Goethe's views and those of Hafis (p. 154).

In spite of Goethe's other studies as reflected in the NA, he was not just interested in revealing the wellsprings of older epic poetry but also wished to embellish his glorious old age with a garland from the floral riches of Hafis. He wanted to communicate new feelings and ideas to his German readers, and the Divan became "eine Sammlung heiter nachempfunder, aus der modificirten Individualität des deutschen Dichters hervorgegangener Poesien . . ." (p. 154).

The reading public had not expected such a work and reacted with uncertainty and doubt.

Goethe, he says, dresses German ideas in Oriental costume, joyfully repeats Hafis' own expressions, and "renews" images he finds in Hafis' work. Nonetheless, the independence of the German is everywhere apparent. The reader who does penetrate the sense of the work finds remarkable new poems: "Dichtungen, wie . . . sie hier, das erste Mal aus der Phantasie eines Deutschen hervorgequollen . . ."

(p. 155). He emphasizes the range of tones, which reach the sublime, but which also often give account of the musings and feelings of the writer in a charmingly careless way. In that the poems always aim for total involvement of our humanity, they have nothing in common with "unsicheren gelehrten Versuchen" (p. 155).

Collin admits that writing about wine and love is not new, that praising Mohammed is not especially a Christian virtue, and that even enthusiastic exclamations of life's joys are an ancient theme. What attracted Goethe, he says, is the extraordinary in these seemingly everyday things, and the basic unities which bind different times and cultures:

die aus dieser Ungewöhnlichkeit selbst wieder hervorleuchtende wunderbare Uebereinstimmung der Ideen und Empfindungen, der Lebensverhältnisse und des Ganges der Einbildungskraft unserer Zeit mit jenen eines so entfernten Jahrhunderts und eines so ganz anderen Volkes . . . (p. 155)

Men of every age have been drawn to seek out the commonalities underlying external differences, and these

efforts invariably direct us to the common dignity of mankind and the existence of a supreme being as the central point of our lives. When we recognize this, it is easy to see why in certain ages the spirit, dissatisfied with the inadequacies of its own epoch, returns to antiquity to expand its view. Germans particularly seek to overcome the limitations imposed by the temporal circumstances of one's own age, and the real unity in Goethe's work has always been to see the world clearly and to present a pure image of humanity. Goethe is in this respect as "German" as many who have restricted themselves to depicting past ages of their own culture, but these more limited souls have in turn helped to counterbalance the tendency towards overgeneralization which looms in Goethe's later works and which has affected other writers as well.

Goethe treated earlier German ages in Götz von Berlichingen and Faust, and writers like Max von Schenkendorf and Johann Ludwig Uhland continued the tradition (pp. 158-159). Friedrich Rückert created almost a new language of national fervor, and it is therefore particularly important that Rückert, whom one can hardly call unpatriotic, is the first to have followed Goethe on this path to the Orient. As much as they incorporate the spirit of Hafis, Rückert's poetry also displays the "Gang des deutschen Liedes, wie es durch Göthe erneuert worden [ist]" (p. 160). Collin feels that with all its independence, Rückert's poetry has succeeded

better in expressing the depths and the intellectual characteristics of Hafis' poetry (p. 161). Platen's work, he is convinced, communicates the character of Eastern poetry best, adding:

Diese Dichtungen werden daher ein stets bleibendes Verdienst haben, ob sie gleich, wie Recensent überzeugt ist, in der Art, wie sie gegeben wurden, sich nicht in Deutschland wahrhaftig fortbilden können. (p. 165)

[Karl Förster]. Article "Goethe" in Brockhaus' Conversations-lexikon. n.s. "Zweite Abtheilung des ersten Bandes oder des Hauptwerks Elften Bandes zweite Hälfte." Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1824, pp. 484-92.

Rpt. in Goethe im Urteil seiner Kritiker. Dokumente zur Wirkungsgeschichte Goethes in Deutschland. Ed. Karl Robert Mandelkow. Wirkung der Literatur. Deutsche Autoren im Urteil ihrer Kritiker 5. Vol. 1: 1773-1832. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1975, pp. 368-376, 570-71. Mandelkow reports (p. 570) "Von dem vorliegenden Goethe-Artikel erschien ein ausführlicherer Vorabdruck 1822 im 'Literarischen Conversations-Blatt' (Nr. 299ff.)" Citations here according to the Mandelkow reprint.

Förster believes that examination of Goethe's recent publications--the Divan and the first volume of the Wanderjahre along with various artistic and scientific studies--yields deeper insights into the character of "the whole Goethe" than had previously been possible. In contrast with Goethe's youthful works, which he calls creative and representational ("schaffend" and "darstellend"), Förster states that these later writings show an increasingly didactic penchant and reflect Goethe's increasing preoccupation with the study of art and science--a development, he says, which

accompanies a change in Goethe himself: whereas the young Goethe could reconcile himself with neither the world nor with science, he was becoming ever more able to resolve conflicts between his inner world and his surroundings: "In allen seinen letzten Werken, den künstlerischen wie den wissenschaftlichen, zeigt sich Goethe in wachsender Übereinstimmung mit dem Leben und mit den Gegenständen des Wissens." (pp. 368-370)

Förster discusses the Lehrjahre and the first part of the Wanderjahre (pp. 369-370) and concludes that the Lehrjahre is an attempt to come to terms with the totality of life; however, it reflects the author's own doubts and thus cannot be regarded as a completely successful one. On the other hand, Förster thinks, the Divan shows the author's "complete and unexpected" satisfaction with the world and all that is in it:

Durch alle Lieder des "Divan" weht das ungetrübte Gefühl einer unerwartet eingetretenen Befriedigung mit dem Leben und einer heitern Zufriedenheit mit jedem Zustand des Daseins. (p. 371)

Förster cites the Divan as evidence that during the period of turmoil when the Divan was created Goethe had resolved the struggle between himself and the outside world and had been able to penetrate that age of man's beginning when he had communicated directly with God and had lived at peace. When there is no dichotomy between the inner world and the outer one, one remains untroubled by outer conflicts.

Förster asks whether it is possible for a writer to be in better, purer spirits than the Divan poet?

The Divan, Förster thinks, had not yet been the subject of "proper understanding." Beyond the lighter part of the Divan, he says, there is a deeper side. People appear not to have understood that the East, as depicted by Goethe, is a reflection of the West. Beyond the personality of the author and the objective side of the collection, the poems present a picture of what man can make of his life under the constraints of despotism. Man stands alone, isolated with his drives, thoughts and feelings. Goethe's original reaction to this state of man had lost its bitterness, and Goethe himself had become a copy of those Oriental wise men who transcend the vagaries of time and place because they are inwardly cheerful and peaceful.

After making short, summarizing statements on the Divan books--saying, for instance, that the "Buch des Sängers" and the "Buch Hafis" show that the poet can prosper even under despotism and that the "Buch der Liebe" shows that the poet and his beloved need nothing beyond themselves--Förster concludes that Goethe offers us in the Divan, rather than the old spirit of yearning, a pleasant picture of nature, love, wine and song. What otherwise troubled the poet no longer bothers him; the more alone he is, the happier he is. Rather than be bowed by despotism, he accepts it as the will of God and flourishes under it. Finally, he summarizes:

Je bedächtiger man auf das Leben von Goethes morgenländischen Dichtungen im "Divan", die erörternden Abhandlungen zum Gegenstand der Beschäftigung macht, so mehr zeigt sich darin ein Bemühen, auch das Fremdartige zu verstehen, und seiner innern Beschaffenheit durch ein Urteil, das seine Grenzen überschreitet, keinsewegs vorzugreifen. (p. 372)

August Graf von Platen-Hallermünde. "Prolog an Göthe zu einer Übersetzung Hafisischer Gedichte." Urania. Taschenbuch auf das Jahr 1824 n.s. 6 (Leipzig, 1824): 343-349.

Rpt. Goethe im Urteil seiner Kritiker. Vol. 1, pp. 376-79, notes pp. 571-72. Cited here according to the reprint.

Platen's "Prolog an Göthe zu einer Übersetzung Hafisischer Gedichte" is a longer poem, having 14 stanzas of eight lines each. He flatteringly acknowledges Goethe, the "erhabner Greis," as the first to understand and respond to Hafis' poetry. He draws several parallels between Goethe and Hafis, or their works, and these similarities are frequently drawn from the Divan. I cite only a few examples below.

He speaks of Hafis' suffering, and the release of that suffering in wine, the cupbearer's kiss and song, while "they" decried him as a great sinner; and then he continues:

Er schuf indes durch Bilder und durch Sprüche
Ein Netz, worin die Herzen man erbeutet,
.....
Und so verglichest Du Dir ihn bescheiden
In Tat und Sinn, in Streben und in Leiden.

He writes further, of Goethe's youthful poetic gifts to the masses and how they respond by "heaping scorn upon your silver locks." His next lines recall the opening of "Hegire" (I, 1):

Da schwoll die Zeit in ungeheuern Wogen,
Da schien der Boden unter Dir zu wanken,
Die ganze Masse ward mit fortgezogen,
.

He echoes Goethe's words from "Buch des Unmuths":

Da galt es Kämpfe gegen große Massen,
Ein ernster Streit erkühnte sich, ein neuer,
Weit über das hinaus, was Menschen fassen,
Und der Politik kleine Ungeheuer
Verzehrten sich im gegenseit'gen Hassen:
.

And he concludes, only Goethe's broad shoulders can support
this great poetic sky.

J[ohann] B[aptist] Rousseau. Buch der Sprüche. Für Freunde
der Hafisklänge. Hamm and Münster, 1824.

Pierre Grappin, editor of the commentary to Heine's
Buch der Lieder, suggests that the Divan influenced not only
Heine's book (see below, p. 65), but also that Heine's
friend Rousseau took the name of his own book of poetry,
Buch der Sprüche, from the Divan.⁵³

As this chapter makes clear, Goethe's contemporaries
devote a considerable amount of attention to the Divan, and
most of this attention is favorable. There are some outspo-
kenly negative reactions, but one was printed in a French
journal, Grabbe's was in an unpublished play, Hammer's in a
private letter, so they did not represent or reach the
mainstream of the literary press. Probably more significant

⁵³Pierre Grappin, ed., critical notes to Heinrich
Heine, Buch der Lieder. Apparat. Vol. 1, pt. 2 of Histo-
risch-kritische Gesamtausgabe der Werke, ed. Manfred Wind-
fuhr (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1973), p. 584

were the reflections in the positive reviews of negative reader reaction, as in Müller and Collin.

One major topic in the reviews which was apparent to the public then, but which has faded from view, is that of cultural mediation, the Divan as a bridge between East and West. Three of the reviewers were either Orientalists or very knowledgeable on the subject (Kosegarten, G. C. O., Collin). Another was attempting to do the same thing Goethe was (Rückert). These knowledgeable observers were very favorably impressed by Goethe's ability to find his way in this new world and waxed enthusiastically about his ability to make it accessible to the reading public. Collin especially emphasizes how Goethe reveals the basic humanity underlying the Eastern ways and forms.

The early reviewers tend also to treat both the poems and the Noten, i.e. the work as a whole (Kosegarten, T., G. C. O., Müllner). Kosegarten, who had contributed to the NA and who knew them intimately, takes the most care with them and comments on their organization. They use the NA as the entry way into the poems (Kosegarten, Müller).

One problem which is discussed immediately is the poetic relationship between East and West. Kosegarten, G. C. O. and Collin pose the question; the problem is solved in terms of the work itself without undue recourse to biography. Müllner does invoke Dichtung und Wahrheit and the idea of Goethe's works as a "great confession," but does not

explore the idea in depth. Collin strikes a theme of criticism which will be much emphasized later, namely that the work has much more of the West than the East about it and that Rückert succeeds in capturing the truly Eastern elements better.

There is also discussion about contemporary themes, directing attention primarily to the "Buch des Unmuths" and the question of how topical the poems are. Kosegarten and G. C. O. emphasize the topical aspects, T. feels that they have been relegated to the paralipomena where they belong. G. C. O. points out that whatever ill humor is in the "Buch des Unmuths" is balanced by the love poetry, and he thus opens discussion of the artistic unity of the book. Förster in a positive way and the French reviewer in a negative manner ask about the peculiarities of Goethe's style as an older writer. For both critics the Divan is poetry in a different mode than Goethe's youthful verse. Förster recognizes a kind of serenity about it which he thinks is typical.

Among negative reactions there is especially the (French) statement that Goethe is politically disinterested. The same reviewer also states that the older Goethe shows diminished poetic fervor. Grabbe presumably thinks along similar lines, but his criticism is not clearly defined. Kosegarten believes that the NA do not do the Indian religion justice. G. C. O. missed the unity of Eastern religions (this criticism is predicated on the existence of

fundamental unity). Hammer missed the allusions in the modern Persian text quoted in "Neuere, Neueste." Collin seems to distance himself from the notes, stating that he did not want to point out inaccuracies if the text would be revised soon. Since the text was not revised, the implication is that these inaccuracies remain. The French reviewer wonders what "Israel in der Wüste" is doing in the NA at all.

CHAPTER II

WURM'S COMMENTARY, LITERARY HISTORIES

AND OTHER REACTIONS, 1827-1835

August Koberstein. Grundriß der Geschichte der deutschen Nationallitteratur. Leipzig: F. C. W. Vogel, 1827. 5th ed. Ed. Karl Bartsch. 5 vols. with index. 1872-84. Cited here according to the 5th edition.

Koberstein sees the older Goethe as a powerful writer whose poetic ability is on the decline. Of the many works that filled the years after Schiller's death, he tells us, some are among Goethe's best, and some show increasing signs of age and sinking creative power.¹

The Divan rates only one sentence; some of the poems are praised, but the context points to a generally negative evaluation. In the section concerned, Koberstein tells us that some of Goethe's deepest, most artistic and substantial works, such as Faust I, Die Wahlverwandtschaften and Dichtung und Wahrheit were finished or conceived after 1805. He devotes a page to Die Wahlverwandtschaften and says it was unjustly accorded a mixed critical reception. Then he tells us that in the Divan, written in advanced age, Goethe presented us with a series of poems among which some are so beautiful and intimate that they may be placed alongside the best lyrical works of his young years.

¹Koberstein, Vol. 3, pp. 149-150.

Immediately Koberstein digresses into the increasingly evident effect of age in Goethe's writing. He says that the fresh, true images yielded to contemplation and symbols and allegories and that, in the process, much was lost in the last "greatest and most remarkable" works, among which he includes Die Wanderjahre and Faust II.²

H[einrich] Heine. Buch der Lieder. Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1827.

Pierre Grappin, editor of the commentary to Heine's Buch der Lieder, suggests that the Divan influenced both the title of the book and the poems in it. Among collections of lyric poetry of the time, he says, only the Divan has similar, modestly formulated titles. He quotes five lines from "Lesebuch" (III, 3) and says that they would not sound strange in the Buch der Lieder.³

"Dem achtzigsten Geburtstag Goethes." Poem quoted by Goethe in letter to Kanzler Müller. September 1, 1828. "Goethe in Dornburg." Goethe Jahrbuch 2 (1881): 359-363.

Full text in Weitz, Gesamtausgabe, pp. 449-450. Also in HA 2 (12th ed), pp. 548-549.

In this letter Goethe recorded that he had received an anonymous poem from Gotha in praise of his works. The short

²Koberstein, Vol. 4, pp. 940-942.

³Heinrich Heine, Buch der Lieder. Apparatus, ed. Pierre Grappin, vol. 1, part 2 of Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe der Werke, ed. Manfred Windfuhr (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1973), p. 584. See also Grappin's remarks on Buch der Sprüche by Heine's friend J. B. Rousseau (above, p. 60).

rhymeless lines reminded Goethe of his own and intrigued him. The 37 lines are reproduced as cited by Weitz and Trunz in the 12th edition of the Hamburger Ausgabe.

Der "Divan":
Ein Schirasbecher,
Mut sprudelnd zum Leben
Und gläubigen Kämpfen;
Ein Iransgarten,
Von Rosendüften
Reinmenschlichster Lehre,
Und Nachtigalliedern
Liebherzigster Innigkeit
Klangvoll durchwürzet;
Der Vorhöfe einer
Zum Heiligtume
Des Buchs der Bücher;
Ein Sonnenaufgang,
Der Thron des Heiligsten, Höchsten,
Von Wahrheit und Liebe umfunkelt.

Und Suleika?
Seht doch hin,
Die ihr reinen Herzens seid,
Was ist des Dichters Geliebte,
Die Sonne der Sonnen?
Was ist sein liebeverklärtes Ich,
Der Stern der Sterne?
Unverwandelbar verbunden
In blühender Bräutlichkeit, ist
Sie holdeste fehllose Gattin;
Reintreuester Gatte liebt er
Stets zärtlicher, wahrer;
Die Glücklichen verknüpfen
Mit köstlichem Besitz fürs Leben
Den Zartsinn, die Innigkeit,
Die begeisternde Glut,
Die lautere Seelenfülle
Der ersten Liebe;
Suleika schließt mit ihrem Hatem
Paradiesischen Bund,
Beide Welten umfassend.

Karl Simrock. "Conjekturen" and "Scholion." 1831. Excerpted in Gustav von Loeper's edition of the West-östlicher Divan, pp. 144-145. Complete text in Goethes West-östlicher Divan. Ed. Karl Simrock. Heilbronn: Gebr. Henninger, 1875, pp. vi-viii.

Karl Simrock is mentioned several times in nineteenth-century Divan literature in connection with verses 9 and 11 of the poem "Locken! haltet mich gefangen . . ." (VIII, 20). While this poem otherwise has alternate rhyme throughout, the stanza with these verses reads:

Du beschämst wie Morgenröthe
Jener Gipfel ernste Wand,
Und noch einmal fühlet Hatem
Frühlingshauch und Sommerbrand.
(vv. 9-12)

Realizing that substituting "Goethe" for "Hatem" would produce a completely consistent rhyme scheme, Simrock cleverly expressed this in poetry of his own:

Conjektur:

Nein, das ist nicht auszuhalten,
Was der Cotta Schnitzer druckt!
Blind hat sich an diesen Spalten
Der Corrector nicht geguckt.

Morgenröthe reimt auf Hatem!
Das kann nimmer richtig sein;
"Du beschämst wie Morgenathem"--
Nein, das will mir auch nicht ein.

Also reimt's auf Morgenröthe?
Ja, ich hab' es gleich erkannt:
"Und noch einmal fühlet Goethe
Frühlingshauch und Sommerbrand."

Kritiker, nun triumphiere:
Diesmal hast du nicht geleimt.
Der Beweis ist, alle viere
Sind die Strophen durchgereimt.

In a second poem, Simrock tells why the "mistake" was not corrected, and he voices his conviction that there was a German girl involved:

Scholion:

Ganz gewiß hat der Conjektor
Diesesmal nicht falsch gesehn,
Doch mit Recht ließ der Corrector
"Hatem" hier im Texte stehn.

Denn uns machen alte Sagen
Aus des Dichters Zeiten kund,
Daß er noch in alten Tagen
Ward vom Pfeil des Gottes wund.

Was der Greis mit Jünglingsmuth
Von Suleikas Schöne sang,
Nicht erheuchelt hat der Gute
Seiner Lieder Seelenklang.

Nein, man weiß, daß ihrer Fülle
Herzbezwingende Gewalt
Unter orientalscher Hülle
Einem deutschen Mädchen galt.

Ihr hat er sich nicht verborgen
Und den Namen gern genannt,
Der vom Abend bis zum Morgen
Mit Verehrung füllt das Land.

Wir nur sollten nicht erfahren
Seiner späten Liebe Glück;
Aber noch nach tausend Jahren
Hallts aus seinem Lied zurück.

Selber hat er sich verrathen,
Stäts verräth die Liebe sich:
Hatem Goethe, Goethe Hatem,
Einig sind sie ewiglich.

In his Divan edition, from which the above poems are quoted,
Simrock tells us that the verses were first printed in 1831
in a Festschrift of the Mittwochsgesellschaft.

Ludwig Börne. Aus meinem Tagebuch. Vol. 8 of Gesammelte
Schriften. Hamburg, 1832, pp. 119-123.

Rpt. in Goethe im Urteil seiner Kritiker, pp. 512-513,
593. Cited here from this reprint.

Börne did not like the Divan; he felt that it was
"stiff" and that it was an open espousal of anti-democratic

principles. In the "Sodener" diaries for May 27, 1830, he states that he had finished the Divan; he had had to read it with his reason, he assures us, since he had failed in a previous effort to read it with his heart.

Börne denies that Goethe possessed genius and says that while some of the poems may seem free and pleasant enough, the structure is rigid:

Nein, das sind keine Weingesänge, das sind keine Liebeslieder! Das sind keine losen, das sind feste Gedichte. Wohl anmutig säuselt die Luft durch Zweige und Blätter und schüttelt sie freundlich; aber den starren Stamm bewegt sie nicht. Was wurzelt, ist halb der Nacht halb dem Lichte und hat nur halbes Leben. (p. 512)

Börne continues, explaining that Oriental despotism has produced a poetry which is both childlike and childish-- because on the one hand the people were protected and on the other they were afraid. And Goethe, he adds, naturally embraced this despotism:

Das zahme Dienen trotzigen Herrschern hat sich Goethe unter allen Kostbarkeiten des orientalischen Bazars am begierigsten angeeignet. Alles andere fand er, dieses suchte er; Goethe ist der gereimte Knecht, wie Hegel der ungereimte. (p. 512)

Börne comments on Goethe's style and explains that he is popular because the masses wrongly interpret Goethe's bad qualities as good ones; in and of himself, Goethe remains slow, soft, quiet and cold, presumptuous or pedantic, perhaps both. Goethe's own thoughts are confined, he declares, and will confine the reader as well. A master poet, he says, frees the reader through his poems; Goethe remains an apprentice.

Heinrich Heine. Zur Geschichte der neueren schönen Literatur in Deutschland. 2 vols. Paris and Leipzig: Heidehoff und Campe, 1833.

Included in Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe der Werke as a part of Die Romantische Schule. Ed. Manfred Windfuhr. Vol. 8, Part 1. Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1979, pp. 160-162. Cited from the critical edition.

In very flattering remarks which first appeared a year after Goethe's death, Heinrich Heine states that Oriental thought and feeling suffuse the Divan and that it is full of "blühenden Liedern und kernigen Sprüchen." He speaks of the reader's being transported to the East and says that the lines are so "glücklich, so hingehaucht, so ätherisch, daß man sich wundert wie dergleichen in deutscher Sprache möglich war." He also praises the NA:

Dabey giebt er auch in Prosa die allerschönsten Erklärungen über Sitten und Treiben im Morgenlande, über das patriarchalische Leben der Araber; und da ist Goethe immer ruhig lächelnd, und harmlos wie ein Kind, und weisheitsvoll wie ein Greis. Diese Prosa ist so durchsichtig wie das grüne Meer wenn heller Sommernachmittag und Windstille und man ganz klar hinabschauen kann in die Tiefe, wo die versunkenen Städte mit ihren verschollenen Herrlichkeiten sichtbar werden;--manchmal ist aber auch jene Prosa so magisch, so ahnungsvoll wie der Himmel wenn die Abenddämmerung heraufgezogen: und die großen goetheschen Gedanken treten dann hervor, rein und golden, wie die Sterne. Unbeschreiblich ist der Zauber dieses Buches; es ist ein Selam, den der Occident dem Oriente geschickt hat. . . . (p. 161)

Heine contrasts the abstract intellectual world in Faust with the sensuality in the Divan, and says that it is significant that the latter work appeared shortly after the former. He calls the Divan Goethe's "final phase" and says that the work had a great influence on contemporary writers.

Goethe and Karl Friedrich Zelter. Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Zelter in den Jahren 1796 bis 1832. Ed. Friedrich Riemer. 6 vols. Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1834.

The correspondence between Goethe and Zelter does not qualify in the strict sense as a reaction to the Divan, but it is included here as a separate entry because it did chronicle the comments and collaboration of a good friend who had seen the work through from its earliest stages to publication and beyond. It also provided at a very early point a companion piece to Goethe's biographical writings and enabled the interested reader to chart in some detail the genesis of the work. These documents were seized upon immediately by Christian Wurm in his commentary.

Christian Wurm. Commentar zu Göthe's west-östlichem Divan. Nürnberg: Johann Leonard Schrag, 1834; rpt. Hildesheim: Olms, 1973.

The first Divan commentary appeared only two years after Goethe's death. Its author, Christian Wurm, was a Nürnberg teacher; Konrad Burdach tells us that he is not well known because his more correct than wise criticism of Jakob Grimm's Deutsches Wörterbuch caused later critics to ignore him. This is unfortunate, says Burdach:

Es gebührt Christian Wurm der Ruhm, als Erster planmäßig und mit den richtigen Mitteln den Zugang in Goethes west-östlichen Rätselbau allen Unkundigen, die danach verlangten, eröffnet zu haben.⁴

⁴Konrad Burdach, "Die Aufnahme und Wirkung des West-östlichen Divans," in Vorspiel, Vol. 2 (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1925-26), p. 393. Information on appearances of this and other Burdach articles in the Bibliography.

In the six-page introduction Wurm states the need for clarification of the poems other than that provided by Goethe. This is partially due to the fact that lyric poetry cannot explain the allusions it employs. It is also because in spite of scholarly efforts the East remains unknown and Goethe's allusions are often very abstruse. Wurm distinguishes two types of Divan poems: originals, produced on Eastern soil by a Western poet, and copies from the East, transplanted to the West--from which, he says, the name of the collection derives. For the notes, Wurm states that he will employ all those sources cited by Goethe, plus some others of his own (Wurm's) discovery. He has used some reference works which Goethe could not have used himself but has given a date to indicate this. Wurm does not further define what he means by source; he leaves to the reader the task of figuring out which of the passages cited was actually used by Goethe in writing a particular poem. He warns that he does not vouchsafe the accuracy of those travelers' reports cited by Goethe, especially those pertaining to the cult of the Parsi. Wurm states that he presumes knowledge of the NA and will not repeat in his notes information contained there. He will quote in French or Latin if the wording of the original seems especially important for the particular poem. He adds that he does gloss older German words and unusual and foreign terms and that he cites

parallel passages from Goethe's other writings. And finally, he says he will refrain from aesthetic judgments.

Next Wurm compares the edition of 1819 with the 1827 edition (Ausgabe letzter Hand). Aside from corrections there are no variations; previous printing errors were corrected, but new ones appear. "Phaenomen," (I, 9) "Liebliches" (I, 10) and "Zwiespalt" (I, 11) previously had a different order; the last named preceded the first two. The poem "An Hafis" (II, 10) was absent from the Divan, but appeared in the NA. And Wurm lists 44 poems which had been added to the later edition.

There follows a section of some twelve pages, called "Ueber Entstehung und Fortbildung des westöstlichen Divans," in which Wurm cites passages from the Tag- und Jahreshefte and the Goethe-Zelter correspondence in tracing the development of the Divan. The passages cover the years 1814 to 1820.⁵

Wurm's reproduction of relevant material from the Tag- und Jahreshefte is almost complete. He does not include the last paragraph from the year 1815 in which Goethe wrote that he had enough poems to divide into books, that he already looked forward to a conclusion and that he had been able to

⁵The Tag- und Jahreshefte als Ergänzung meiner sonstigen Bekenntnisse had first appeared in 1830 in vols. 31 and 32 of the Ausgabe letzter Hand. See the entry directly above for the correspondence.

accomplish more during this busy period than he would have been able to in a quieter one.⁶

Wurm's citations from the correspondence, which are interspersed with the passages from the Tag- und Jahreshefte, are not always clear, especially if one compares his quotations with similar quotations in works such as Burdach's edition of the Divan in the WA. Using both the dates of the letter (when given) and the volume and page number from the Briefwechsel, one can determine that the passages quoted by Wurm are from Goethe's letters of November 21, 1814 (2:142), December 27, 1814 (2:143), April 17, 1815 (2:161f.), end of May 1815 (2:181 and 184), October 29, 1815 (2:201), March 11, 1816 (2:219f.), January 4, 1819 (3:4), October 7, 1819 (3:64), May 11, 1820 (3:85-86), and June 6-7, 1820 (3:106), and from Zelter's letters of March 31 - April 1, 1815 (2:156)--Wurm writes March 21,--, September 17, 1819 (from a letter begun July 20, and ended October 1, 3:59), and April 19, 1820 (3:79). I have not inspected the correspondence beyond the year 1824.

In the citations Zelter had spoken of setting "Erschaffen und Beleben" (I, 8) to music (March 21, 1815) and his reading of and enthusiasm for the Divan (October 1819 and April 1820). Wurm additionally tells us that Zelter, according to his published correspondence, had written music

⁶WA I 36, p. 93.

for eleven Divan poems: "Erschaffen und Beleben" (I, 8), "Wiederfinden" (VIII, 35), "Ach! um deine feuchten Schwingen" (VIII, 34), "Elemente" (I, 7), "Selige Sehnsucht" (I, 17), "So lang' man nüchtern ist" (IX, 5), "Alle Menschen groß und klein" (X, 8), "In tausend Formen magst du dich verstecken" (VIII, 42), "Derb und Tüchtig" (I, 15), "Dreistigkeit" (I, 14), and "Lied und Gebilde" (I, 13).

The quotations from the correspondence are also not exhaustive; Wurm deletes lines; he occasionally summarizes; and he skips references in at least four of Goethe's letters and some twelve of Zelter's.⁷

Wurm's is the first of seven large commentaries which were written between 1832 and 1905. The contributions of these works for the first two books of the Divan have been catalogued in detail and are in Appendix B.

Wurm has 262 pages of notes on the poems. Besides references to Goethe's other works and to Hafis, he cites some 105 different titles. Even allowing that some of these works appeared in excerpted forms in journals, the sheer quantity of material is impressive and commanded the respect of subsequent critics. Burdach's comment about Wurm, quoted

⁷Goethe to Zelter: June 28, 1818, May 29, 1819, January 30, 1820, and October 14, 1821. Zelter to Goethe: April 1815, March 18, 1816, January 15, 1818, April 26, 1819, 2 references in Zelter's long letter of July 20, - October 1, 1819: III, 39 & 42-43, January 23, 1820, February 11, 1820, May 13, 1820, May 21, 1820, July 29, 1820, August 8, 1821, and April 4, 1824.

at the beginning of this section, shows his admiration. But Burdach's claim that Wurm was ignored by later scholars is inaccurate.⁸ As a reading of the collected comments on almost any poem in Appendix B shows, the later critics are deeply indebted to Wurm, and at some point or another they openly acknowledge this debt.

As indicated, Wurm has something to say about most of the Divan poems, and his information is usually copious. He presents material without comment, and only four or five times does he indicate that Goethe had this or that work "vor Augen." Aside from citing in French or Latin as an indication that the wording of the work quoted was especially important, Wurm leaves it to the reader to decide the degree of influence a given text may have exerted on Goethe's verses. The later commentaries, beginning with Loeper's in 1872, were more positive about indicating sources. Wurm quotes directly or paraphrases, changing a personal pronoun or so. He frequently compacts material from two, three or many different works into one or more paragraphs and then lists citations together. This results in some ambiguity as to who said what and leads to a certain degree of confusion. In general, Wurm gives more copious material on Oriental names, customs, etc. than the later commentaries.

⁸Burdach, Vorspiel, Vol. 2, p. 293.

Unfortunately for the development of further scholarship, Wurm viewed the NA only as explanatory material and not as a text in their own right. Had he provided more material, we can assume that later commentaries would have devoted much more attention to them.

[Wolfgang Menzel]. Rev. of Kommentar (sic) zu Goethe's westöstlichem Divan by Christian Wurm. Literatur-Blatt 34 (1835): 136.

This "review" of Wurm's Commentar is a thinly veiled attack on the Divan itself. While he states that Wurm deserved praise for his meticulous work in tracing the Oriental allusions and references in the Divan, Menzel relates that this will not be a cause of joy for Goethe's admirers since the "original" works of the Oriental poets are not infrequently far superior to Goethe's "imitations." This is no surprise to him, Menzel assures us, since he had never idolized Goethe and even inspired imitations will never be as good as originals. Although Goethe had claimed to be reacting "productively" to the Orient--this is a reference to comments from the Tag- und Jahreshefte quoted by Wurm--, Menzel says that for him, the Divan had never been more than a "collection of studies." Poetry, he declares, is never really potent unless it remains nationalistic, and this had been true of Goethe's also.

The Divan had served two positive ends, Menzel claims; it shows "whither Goethe's spirit withdrew," and it led some to pay greater, more productive attention to Oriental poetry

and literature than otherwise would have been the case. Wurm's commentary will aid this process, he thinks. Yet, he adds in conclusion, he cannot share Wurm's hope that the commentary will heighten the "poetic effect" of the Divan poems; poetic effect, he says, is an immediate, electrifying occurrence, which the Divan's reflective poems will never produce.⁹

Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel. Vorlesungen über die Ästhetik. Ed. H. G. Hotho. Vol. 10, Pts. 1-3 of Werke. Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1835-1838.

Also in Hegel. Sämtliche Werke. Jubiläumsausgabe in zwanzig Bänden. Ed. Hermann Glockner. Vol. 12, 5th ed. Stuttgart: Friedrich Frommann Verlag, 1971, pp. 370-371; 492-493. Vol. 13, 4th ed., 1971, pp. 239-240. Vol. 14, 4th ed., pp. 463. HA 2 (12th ed.) pp. 546-548 quotes all the immediately relevant passages except Vol. 12, pp. 492-493.

-----. Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte. Ed. Ed. Gans. Vol. 9 of Hegel's Werke. Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1837.

Also in Hegel. Sämtliche Werke. Jubiläumsausgabe in zwanzig Bänden. Ed. Hermann Glockner. Vol. 11, 4th ed. Stuttgart: Friedrich Frommann Verlag, 1961, pp. 458-459. The relevant passages are also in HA 2 (12th ed.), p. 546.

As Erich Trunz notes in the newest edition of the Hamburger Ausgabe, Hegel gave his lectures on the philosophy

⁹ Menzel takes the opportunity to refer briefly and mockingly to another admirer of the Divan, the neo-Hegelian philosopher and popular essayist Friedrich Wilhelm Carové. The latter's comments on the Divan are possibly in his Neorama: Beiträge zur Literatur, Philosophie und Geschichte, 3 vols., (Leipzig, 1838). I was only able to inspect volumes two and three of this work, and they are not there.

of history several times between 1822 and 1831. His lectures on aesthetics were delivered for the first time from 1820 to 1821 and for the last time from 1828 to 1829.¹⁰ They did not appear in an official edition until after his death.

In the chapter "Der Muhammedanismus" (= Part 4, Sec. 1, Chap. 2) in Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte, he says that the Arab world inspired noble poetry and free fantasy among Germanic peoples; the example he cites is the Divan, which he calls "eine Perlenschnur . . . die an Innigkeit und Glückseligkeit der Phantasie Alles übertrifft."

In his discussion of the presentation of the ideal in art ("Die Aeußerlichkeit des idealen Kunstwerks im Verhältniß zum Publikum" = Part 1, Chap. 3) in Vorlesungen über die Ästhetik, Hegel deals with the question of the externality of the ideal work of art and its relation to the public (vol. 12, pp. 355-76). He is concerned with how external reality--the mores, customs and other particulars of the worlds portrayed in art--relate not only to the characters in the work itself but to the reading and viewing public as well. He investigates three viewpoints: first, the subjectivity of the author's own age; secondly, low level objective fidelity towards the past and, finally, true

¹⁰HA 2, 12th ed., p. 545.

objectivity in the presentation and assimilation of eras and nationalities distant in time and place (Vol. 12, p. 358). In a work like Götz, which he feels has not maintained its popularity on stage, he finds much that is true to the earlier age but nevertheless trivial (Vol. 12, pp. 364-65). The novelty of fidelity carried these parts at first, but they do not wear well.

Goethe's Divan is a work which for him succeeds in incorporating Oriental poetry in contemporary art without losing its own identity:

Bei dieser Aneignung hat [Goethe] sehr wohl gewußt, daß er ein westlicher Mensch und ein Dichter sey, und so hat er wohl den morgenländischen Grundton in Rücksicht auf den östlichen Charakter der Situationen und Verhältnisse durchweg angeschlagen, ebenso sehr aber unserem heutigen Bewußtsein und seiner eigenen Individualität das vollständige Recht widerfahren lassen. (Vol. 12, pp. 370--71)

Hegel feels the foreign element is a frame for the portraits presented in the art work; the internal reality of these elements, however, is modified to accomodate the present. He thinks Goethe's Iphigenie remains the most remarkable example of this phenomenon (Vol. 12, p. 371). He makes the interesting point that lyric poetry, especially erotic verses, is least dependent on fidelity to historical detail and epic poetry demands it most (Vol, 12, p. 371).

True objectivity, he explains, reveals the substantive content of a situation and the rich and powerful individuality in which these substantive factors of the spirit thrive

(Vol. 12, p. 375), and we may assume that Hegel saw in the Divan an example of this "wahre Objektivität."

Trunz notes that Hegel saw in the Divan a work which had taken form and had gained independence from the subjectivity of its author. It stood as a model against the poetic mistakes of the Romantics and their followers (HA 2, 12th ed., pp. 545-546).

Hegel speaks of the Divan on several other occasions; as the following examples show, he repeatedly states that the Divan is unique among Goethe's own works and in Western literature; he talks about how the author is joyous and detached. The poems have a special fervor or intimacy (Innigkeit), and these are qualities which Goethe and the Divan share with Eastern poets and works.

Hegel returns to the Divan in Vorlesungen über die Ästhetik when in the chapter "Symbolik der Erhabenheit" he discusses "Der Pantheismus der Kunst" (Part 2, Sec. 1, chap. 2. A.; this segment was omitted by Trunz in his citations from Hegel). Pantheism, Hegel believes, enables the Persian poet to overcome ego-related negative qualities; it "broadens and frees" him and produces a "characteristic" "joyous fervor," a "free happiness and a luxurious bliss"--qualities which Hegel contrasts with the "closed" outlook of egocentric, "sensitive" and brooding Western poets, especially those of Northern Europe. This attitude enables the Persian poet to express himself fervently, yet maintain a

healthy equilibrium: "auch im Schmerze bleibt [Hafis] sorgenlos wie im Glücke." Then Hegel says that Goethe, too, was seized and transformed by this "expansive, carefree joy";

[er] hat sich als Greis noch, durchdrungen vom Hauch des Morgenlandes, in der poetischen Glut des Blutes, voll unermesslicher Seligkeit zu dieser Freiheit des Gefühls hinübergewendet, welche selbst in der Polemik die schönste Unbekümmertheit nicht verliert.
(Vol. 12, pp. 492-93)

Using Goethe's own words from "Die schön geschriebenen . . ." (VIII, 17, vv. 31-43) to describe the Divan poems, Hegel says that their production required a self-assured mind broadened to its fullest extent, a profound and youthful mood and--again quoting from Goethe--"eine Welt von Lebens-trieben . . . " ("An Suleika," VII, 2, vv. 9-12.)

In his third discussion of the Divan in "Das Ende der romantischen Kunst" in the Ästhetik (Part 2, Sec. 3, Chap. 3, Subsec 3c), Hegel again begins with praise of Persian poets, their opulent images and their sovereign freedom of imagination in play with the poetic object. Among moderns, he states, primarily Goethe in the Divan and Rückert achieve such "ingenious freedom," coupled with profound and ardent depth. Maintaining that Goethe's Divan poems differ from his former poems, Hegel compares "Wilkommen und Abschied" and "Wiederfinden" (VIII, 35). The former, he finds, has beautiful language and description, ardent feeling, but a quite ordinary situation and a trivial ending; fantasy, with

all its freedom, he says, has contributed nothing. "Wiederfinden," on the other hand, has put love "ganz in die Phantasie, deren Bewegung, Glück, Seligkeit." He continues, stating that the "similar productions in this manner" have no negative murky sentiments, only lightness and freedom; we have, he says,

keine subjektive Sehnsucht, kein Verliebtsein, keine Begierde vor uns, sondern reines Gefallen an den Gegenständen, ein unerschöpfliches Sich-ergehen der Phantasie, ein harmloses Spielen, eine Freiheit in den Tändeleien auch der Reime und künstlichen Versmaaße, und dabei eine Innigkeit und Frohheit des sich in sich selber bewegenden Gemüthes, welche durch die Heiterkeit des Gestaltens die Seele hoch über alle peinliche Verflechtung in die Beschränkung der Wirklichkeit hinausheben. (Vol. 13, pp. 239-40)

In a last reference from the Ästhetik in "Die Arten der eigentlichen Lyrik" (Part 3, Sec. 3, Chap. 3, Subsec. 2c), Hegel contrasts among the types of true lyric poetry the folksong with "Lieder einer schon in sich vielfach bereicherten Bildung." The latter can often become trivial, but the Divan does not fall into this category. Many anacreontic poems, Hafis poems and the Divan share the same unburdened freedom, "diese Ausweitung des Herzens und Befriedigung im Elemente der Vorstellung," which gives many anacreontic poems, as well as those of Hafis and Goethe's Divan, their great charm.

During this period several excellent works appeared which seem to have found little immediate resonance. Wurm's commentary gave readers an important tool with which to investigate and define the relationship between East and

West in the Divan poems. It did not, however, result in any flood of works on the Divan and seems to have had an effect mainly on later nineteenth century commentaries, the first of which did not appear for another quarter century.

Hegel supported the Divan eloquently. He offered a philosophical foundation for a description of the particular style, which both admirers and detractors felt permeated the Divan, and he put forth a number of other arguments, including the idea that a particular kind of mysticism, one grounded in pantheism, inspired both Goethe and his earlier Persian counterparts. Although an unclear version of this thesis was offered later by Burdach without attribution, Hegel's writings on the Divan seem to have been largely ignored. Of the nineteenth-century critics, only Loeper cited him.

There are not many detractors during this time, and they have no new positions. Börne finds no lack of evidence in the Divan to justify his leftist view of Goethe as a lackey of the despots. Heine, who was no friend of apolitical Romanticism, responded to the airiness and special quality of the verses. On the political right, Menzel does not go much further than the French critic who claimed in 1820 that the Divan lacked poetic fire. He did suggest that a part of the fault is the absence of national spirit. Koberstein represents a middle-of-the-road position, and this will characterize general critical reaction for a good many

years, namely, that the Divan has a number of great poems,
but the work as a whole is lacking.

CHAPTER III

DÜNTZER'S FIRST COMMENTARY, HISTORIES

AND SPECIAL STUDIES, 1836-1867

[Joseph] von Hammer-Purgstall. "Vorrede" to Vol. 1 of Geschichte der Osmanischen Dichtkunst bis auf unsere Zeit. Mit einer Blütenlese aus zweitausend, zweihundert Dichtern. 4 vols. Pesth: Conrad Adolph Hartleben's Verlag, 1836, pp. xiii-xix.

When Hammer again refers to Goethe's Divan it is apparent that he is willing to overlook any past affronts in order to invoke Goethe's name as an ally in a battle against the incompetents who populate his discipline. Oriental poetry had its detractors not only among those who read journals but even within the ranks of the German Orientalists, complains Hammer. Priests of the holy fire, like Rückert, have ignored this travesty and continued to sacrifice at the altar of the living word. Other creative spirits, including Goethe, have also done more justice to Eastern poetry than the poetic rubble of Orientalists. Hammer also takes the opportunity to remind readers of the effect his Hafis translation had had on German literature.

Unpartheyischer und befugter als jene Orientalisten Poesieklasten, haben Göthe, Herder, und spruchfähige Kunstrichter, wie Collin und Menzel, ohne in die orientalischen Sprachen eingeweiht zu seyn, der Poesie des Morgenlandes und den Uebersetzern derselben Recht widerfahren lassen; was die Geschmacklosigkeit des deutschen Pedanten, Rieske, durch Montebbi's Proben gesündigt, hat des Engländers W. Jones classisches Werk: Von der asiatischen Poesie, längst gesühnt. Die Uebersetzung von Hafis hat den westöstlichen Diwan und Platen's Ghaselen, wie Stahl den Funken, der im Kiesel schlummert, aus demselben geweckt.

Goethe. Poetische und prosaische Werke in zwei Bänden. 2 vols. (in 4 parts). [Eds. Johann Peter Eckermann and Friedrich Riemer.] Stuttgart and Tübingen: Verlag der J. G. Cotta'schen Buchhandlung, 1836-1837. (Called the Quartausgabe and referred to as Q.)

Together with the Tag- und Jahreshefte and the Goethe-Zelter correspondence, the Quartausgabe formed the mainstay of Divan research for the next thirty years. The Quartausgabe did not fade in importance until the publication of the Divan volume of the Weimarausgabe in 1887. It was important not so much for the poems which were added from Goethe's literary estate to the Divan but for the dates supplied in the table of contents for each of the poems. The dates were taken directly from the manuscripts in so far as they showed a date, and they offered a detailed look into the growth of the collection.

Bettina von Arnim. Goethes Briefwechsel mit einem Kinde. Seinem Denkmal. 3 vols. Berlin: C. H. Jonas, 1835.

Also Vol. 2 of B. von Arnim. Werke und Briefe. Ed. Gustav Konrad. Frechen: Bartmann-Verlag, 1959. Cited according to the 1959 edition.

In her free adaptation of the correspondence between herself and Goethe, Bettina von Arnim inserted poems from and allusions to the Divan. In a passage from a letter dated July 18 [1808], Bettina tells how she lost Goethe's ring while sailing on the Rhine. In a note she then quotes "Als ich auf dem Euphrat schiffte . . ." (VIII, 7), and the implication is that the anecdote inspired the poem (Vol. 2, p. 123). Goethe's letter of July 7, 1809 includes "Wie! Mit

innigstem Behagen, . . ." (VIII, 39), and Bettina declares in her reply, "Das Gedicht gehört der Welt, nicht mein, denn wollt ich es mein nennen, es würde mein Herz verzehren" (Vol. 2, pp. 204-205). Sentences reminiscent of "Wiederfinden" (VIII, 35) in Bettina's letter of March 31, 1810 are glossed with the note "Buch Suleika" (Vol. 2, p. 238). Even though Riemer sought just a few years later to discredit these purely fictional claims, they created the impression that lingered on in some circles for many years that Goethe had used the Divan as a convenient repository for older, previously unpublished verses.

Friedrich Wilhelm Riemer. Mittheilungen über Goethe. Aus mündlichen und schriftlichen, gedruckten und ungedruckten Quellen. 2 vols. Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1841.

There are two sections in which the Divan is discussed, Chapter III, "Bettina Brentano" (Vol. 1, pp. 31-40) and in Chapter VII, "Goethes Schriften," the entry "Divan" (Vol. 2, pp. 544-548). In the first section Riemer debunks Bettina's intimations in Goethes Briefwechsel mit einem Kinde that she was Goethe's inspiration for some of the poems in the "Buch Suleika." The comments on the Divan in the second section are largely derived from the Tag- und Jahreshefte and from Goethe's letters to Zelter. Riemer quoted primarily from the latter, but he rewrote the passages from the Tag- und Jahreshefte into indirect discourse. He changed pronouns from first to the third person and mistakenly substituted

the date 1813 where the 1815 entry had said "the previous year." The error was probably inspired by Goethe's statement in NA "Von Hammer" that he had received Hammer's translation in the Spring of 1813. Riemer also discusses the kind of natural mysticism that he finds in the work.

Düntzer in the introduction to his commentary of 1858 (see below, p. 109) claims that Riemer reports having seen Hammer's translation at Goethe's house, presumably in 1813. Goethe supposedly advised Riemer against reading it because it would be too distracting. I have been unable to locate the source of this particular quote. Even if it is accurately attributed to Riemer, it must be remembered, as Weitz points out, that Riemer was 76 when he compiled these recollections and that they contain several errors.¹

G[eorg] G[ottfried] Gervinus. Geschichte der poetischen National Literatur der Deutschen. Vol. 5 Leipzig: Wilhelm Engelmann, 1842, pp. 699-715.

Georg Gottfried Gervinus's important history of German literature appeared ten years after Goethe's death. Its author does not see Goethe's poetic powers as waning. For him the Divan is the culmination of a process which marks a change in Goethe's attitude and style and which, in

¹Hans-Joachim Weitz, "Das früheste Gedicht im 'West-östlichen Divan,'" Jahrbuch der Sammlung Kippenberg, n.s. 3 (1974), p. 180. Richard Friedenthal also declares that Riemer is an invaluable companion, but not everything he passes on is of equal worth. Friedenthal, Goethe -- Sein Leben und seine Zeit, (München: Piper, 1968), pp. 544-549.

important aspects, effects a rapprochement with Romanticism.

Gervinus begins his analysis with those characteristics of the Romantics which Goethe and Schiller disliked--aspects which Gervinus groups under dilettantism. Especially in sculpture, he assures us, Goethe espoused a classical ideal, to which he held true in spite of remarks he made in Kunst und Alterthum. Although Sulpiz and Melchior Boisserée and Georg Moller tried to revive his youthful inclinations for Gothic art and interest him in a project to complete the Cologne cathedral, Goethe maintained a skeptical attitude; it was only the historic considerations that were important to him.²

Gervinus comments on Goethe's later preoccupations and their influence on his literary works. He says the nature studies are important only to the extent that they influenced or reinforced an artistic proclivity to identify the typical and prototypical. Goethe's philosophic activities since his acquaintance with Schiller either had no direct influence or else were detrimental. However, Gervinus states that Goethe's encounter with philosophy was very important for its indirect influence; he became more contemplative.

Like his contemporaries, Goethe's interests changed from the light and clear to the mystic and twilight, from

²Gervinus, pp. 702-703.

intuition to speculation, from without to within--a change which affected his poetry fundamentally. The roots of this change can be traced to 1792, when, preparing for another Italian journey, Goethe was laying plans to collect art. But this collecting was a response to what he perceived as a universal need to collect and to create order and he began to regard the objects and his collecting differently. Whereas before he had observed coldly, he now became an impassioned observer and felt, Gervinus says, that the objects and the act of observation influenced him. He bestowed on each object a symbolic value and sought to give it ideal form. This ultimately resulted in his investing even the most common object with great meaning. From this point on Goethe treated his poetic works in the allegorical and symbolical sense of the Romantics.³

Gervinus notes that Goethe was inclined by nature to keep up with the times and naturally followed the spirit of Romanticism. New characteristics of his style included hiding all sorts of secret wisdom in his writing and teasing the reader with problematical compositions. Goethe wrote ghost and mystery stories and liked unbelievable and strange tales. Gervinus calls the small plays of the early 1800's "Gelegenheitsallegorien." He says the sense of participation is lost; the fresh youthful colors are gone, replaced

³Gervinus, pp. 704-710.

by the paler sight of the old man. Self-indulgently Goethe leads us to the world of the small and everyday, where he connects the most disparate things and ascribes the most superficial phenomena to significant causes.⁴

Gervinus says Goethe's patriotism and the patriotic drama Des Epimenides Erwachen left something to be desired. He notes that just at the time of liberation Goethe deliberately sought to escape politics by studying the Chinese empire. He became increasingly fond of Persian, Arabic and Indian writings and pointed the nation away from the fatherland to the Orient, from the blessings of freedom to the fruits of despotism, from an active to a quietistic life. Previously published poems by Hafis had failed to win Goethe's approbation, but Hammer's translation of the whole corpus of Hafis' poems now won Goethe completely and stirred his old desire poetically and creatively to master all that moved him. He felt it necessary to flee the real world that had threatened to destroy itself for an ideal world--to the East where, Gervinus says, he sought and found analogues to which his whole being responded. Gervinus thinks that the result is remarkable; the poet is changed:

Der Gegensatz gegen die kämpfende Außenwelt, die Abgeschlossenheit, in der er in die Tiefen drang, "wo die Menschen noch von Gott Erdensprachen und Himmelslehren empfangen," der ganze Quietismus des Alters spricht sich vortrefflich in jener körperlosen, nebelhaften und unfäßlichen Lyrik aus, die er

⁴Gervinus, pp. 711-713.

mit der alten Virtuosität an das orientalische Original zu accomodieren wußte, die uns aber einen ganz anderen Dichter zeigt, als den wir früher gewöhnt waren. . . .⁵

Gervinus points out that Goethe did not follow his own advice--that age should seek out material which contains the sensuousness age lacks; the poems lack sensuous charm. A gradual transition in the lyric poetry toward the murky and incomprehensible culminated in the West-östlicher Divan; the epigram became prophecy, a secret and a puzzle; travel poems and ballads, the plastic genres, became abstruse and mysterious, and required the poet's explication; the old Hellenic elements gave way to Indian resonances; the elegy became filled with soulless moodiness and intellectualizing; where previously one felt inclined to forge ahead in the imagination, one now found oneself before puzzling depths. There are linguistic peculiarities: often the resistant material is handled boldly; often one feels a force as though a wizened diplomat were physically pulling himself together to maintain a worthy posture. One often sees the studious poet, chained to the Orient by scientific interests, who wrote the explanations--the formal decoration without sufficient substance.⁶

Gervinus has an ambivalent view of the Divan; he admires it, yet he finds much that is insubstantial:

⁵Gervinus, p. 714.

⁶Gervinus, pp. 713-715.

wenn man Einmal mit Rückert die vollkommene orientalische Metamorphose des bejahrten Dichters bewundern muß, so fühlt man ein andermal doch auch, daß er sich über den Werth jener Dichtermanier nicht täuscht, bei der "das derbste Gedicht, ehe man sich versieht, wie ein Luftballon vor lauter rationellem und spirituellem Gas, womit es⁷ sich anfüllt, aus den Händen und in alle Luft geht."

Gervinus sees the Divan as epoch-making in German lyrics. Rückert and Platen immediately followed in the steps of the German Hafis with their collections and "Bülbüls Gesang" resounded in individual poems of many others. While Gervinus cannot entirely approve of this direction, which he sees as a flight from political reality, he can admire the poems.⁸

Ludwig Börne. "Über Goethes Kommentar zum Divan." Nachgelassene Schriften. Herausgegeben von den Erben des literarischen Nachlasses. Vol. 4. Mannheim, 1846, pp. 324-328.

Rpt. Goethe im Urteil seiner Kritiker, pp. 513-514, 593. Cited here from the reprint.

Like the Sodener diary entry (see above, pp. 68-69), these remarks by Börne were originally written in 1830. Unlike Dichtung und Wahrheit, Börne says, the NA contain only "truth" and are therefore the most autobiographical of Goethe's writings. In them, he says, Goethe admits his own guilt and shows how he really thought. Pausing to consider Goethe's remarks on the difference between prophet and poet,

⁷Gervinus, p. 715.

⁸Gervinus, p. 715f.

Börne quotes to Goethe's disadvantage from NA "Mahomet"--
"der Poet aber vergeudet die ihm verliehene Gabe im Ge-
nuß . . ."--and construes this as an admission of petty
hedonism. Then he continues:

Mit der seeleninnigsten Behaglichkeit preist Goethe
in seinem "Divan" die Despotie. . . . Wer nur
sonst, als der einzige deutsche Goethe, war je so
schamlos, das Knechtische in der Natur des Menschen
zu verherrlichen und nackt zu zeigen, was ein edler
Mensch mit Trauer bedeckt. Tyrannen hat schon man-
cher Dichter geschmeichelt, der Tyrannei noch kei-
ner. (p. 514)

In support of his argument, Börne, repeating and emphasizing
for effect, again uses Goethe's words from the NA. The
quoted passage is from "Fortleitende Bemerkung" and begins
"In der Republik bilden sich große, glückliche, ruhig-rein
tätige Charaktere. . . ." Goethe seems to be saying in the
chapter that the more despotic the government, the greater
the men it produces.

H[einrich] Düntzer. "Moses." Part 5 of "Studien zu Goe-
the's Werken." Archiv für das Studium der neueren
Sprachen und Literaturen (The journal is also referred
to as "Herrigs Archiv" after its editor Ludwig Herrig.)
6 (1849): 140-153.

In this essay Düntzer examines that piece of Goethe's
writing which is included in the NA as "Israel in der Wü-
ste." He begins by recounting Goethe's early interest in
Biblical tales and his studies of Hebrew with Rector Al-
brecht and how the latter evoked questions and doubts which
in turn led to further studies. He relates that Goethe's

lively imagination reacted to this material poetically, especially to the story of Joseph.

After returning from Strassburg, he says, Goethe's studies of the Pentateuch resulted in the 1773 publication "Zwo wichtige, bisher unerörtete biblische Fragen, zum erstenmale gründlich beantwortet von einem Landgeistlichen in Schwaben." Goethe's speculations there on what was actually written on the tablets which Moses received from God did not meet with critical approval, Düntzer notes, but he attained the realization that the Bible was constructed out of various pieces which were developed over a long period of time and he was therefore not disturbed by the inconsistencies he discovered there. (p. 142)

However, he adds, if Goethe later thought that at the above time he had already developed his unusual conception of Moses and his conviction that the Jews spent only two years wandering in the wilderness, rather than 40, then he was mistaken. (p. 142f.) It is clear, he says, from Goethe's correspondence with Schiller that these ideas belong to 1797 when, working on Hermann und Dorothea, Goethe turned to the Old Testament while exploring the nature of epic poetry. Quoting from the letters of Goethe and Schiller, Düntzer recounts how Goethe prepared the essay "Moses" for the Horen. For some unknown reason this essay remained unpublished until Goethe included it, virtually unchanged Düntzer says, roughly 20 years later in the NA in 1819. If Goethe

later thought that the essay was actually older or based on even earlier studies, he was wrong. And if he mentioned later papers in connection with it, then he must have meant his preparations in 1811 for the first volume of Dichtung und Wahrheit; this, however, did not involve additional contributions; at most, he says, Goethe simply reread his previous work. (pp. 144-145)

Düntzer says that Goethe characterizes the second through the fifth books of the Old Testament as markedly different from the first and badly in need of editing to sort out the expository material from the mass of laws. Goethe's intention in the essay, he says, is twofold--to develop Moses' character and to show that the Jews wandered in the desert for two years at most (pp. 143-148). In accordance with his nature, Goethe, says Düntzer, could only approach Moses and the wanderings from the "human" side and not through any mystic aura. Whereas the conventional view held that Moses was a great leader and general, Goethe thought Moses' greatness to be a consequence of his character or personality. Actually, Moses had absolutely no talent as a leader or statesman; he was completely obsessed with the ideal of freeing his people; he felt himself strong and great because of this idea and would stop at nothing to attain his end. He therefore seems to us a sinister, yet important and worthy person. Düntzer says that it is remarkable that Goethe did not emphasize Moses' unshakable

faith in the God of his fathers since Goethe could not possibly have believed that Moses' faith was a sham.

Goethe could not reconcile this picture of Moses as a man of action with the long period of wandering and the many stations mentioned in Numbers 33; Goethe believed these to be later additions, which could partially be explained as an attempt to bring the story into line with certain other cycles.

Goethe's analyses are untenable in light of later scholarship, Düntzer states (p. 148); the stations are attested to in the oldest sources and the 40 years, if not exact, are more historically accurate than Goethe's postulated two years.

Düntzer also compares Goethe's conception of Moses with that of Schiller (pp. 149-153). After briefly discussing Schiller's essay "Die Sendung Mosis" which had appeared in the Thalia some eight years previous to Goethe's investigations, Düntzer says that the two author's approach to Moses is similar to their approach to Wilhelm Tell. Schiller's is the "historical" treatment, whereas Goethe was concerned with "character"; Schiller attached a deeper, historical significance to the actions of Moses while Goethe sought to explain the historical events as a natural human reaction to unjust circumstances.

Heinrich Kurz. Geschichte der deutschen Literatur. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1851-1859. 7th ed. 3 vols. 1876. Cited here from the 7th, unchanged edition.

Heinrich Kurz rates the Divan high among Goethe's works. He feels there is a loss of artistic direction and a turn towards reflection in Goethe's later works. But the Divan is still an exceptional piece:

Diese Neigung zur Reflexion und mit ihr die Abnahme der gestaltenden Dichterkraft hatte sich übrigens schon in früheren Arbeiten kundgegeben, an welche man oft genug erinnert wird, wie der Dichter außer sich sucht, was er in sich nicht mehr zu finden vermag. Nur in seinen lyrischen Produktionen trat seine Dichterkraft noch in den späten Jahren großartig hervor, so in dem "Westöstlichen Divan," welcher zwar oft auch in Reflexionen und romantische Symbolik ausläuft, in vielen einzelnen Liedern und Sprüchen aber beinahe jugendkräftig erscheint. (Vol. 3, p. 96.)

Kurz says the Divan is therefore more significant than the other works of Goethe's old age. It also initiated the Oriental trend of the 1820's. And it also started Goethe's increasingly more notable imitation of foreign elements and the concomitantly developing idea of a world literature, which he believed possible to effect through the German language and literature.⁹

Kurz tells us that Goethe worked several years with great love on the Divan and that every single poem refers to Oriental customs, religion and poetry. Nevertheless, with few exceptions the poems do not, like Oriental poems of later poets, create a foreign impression because Goethe blended Eastern and Western views so perfectly that, he feels, Goethe must have drawn upon an original unity for

⁹Kurz, p. 96.

common poetic elements. Of the 12 books, "Suleika" is the best; the sensitivity and the passion with which the old Goethe portrayed love there are admirable. Still Kurz acknowledges that the poems mostly lack the lasting charm of Goethe's youthful works; although they offer everything which his poetic imagination and artistic perfection could give, they are not "flesh of his flesh."¹⁰ Kurz briefly discusses Oriental literature as recently introduced into Germany and claims the Divan contributed much to spreading the knowledge of Persian poetry.¹¹ Also an anthology, the book includes 30 lyric poems by Goethe; one, "Wiederfinden" (VIII, 35), is from the Divan.¹²

Ernst Freiherr von Feuchtersleben. "Die größten Dichter Persiens. Ergänzung zu Goethe's Noten zum Diwan; für Freunde östlicher Poesie." In his Sämmtliche Werke. Ed. Friedrich Hebbel. Wien: Carl Gerold und Sohn, 1852, Vol. 5, pp. 117-143, esp. pp. 117-122 and 139-142.

Reported on by Franz Ilwof. "Feuchterslebens Goethestudien." Chronik des Wiener Goethe-Vereins 17 (1903): 3-7, esp. 5.

In the subtitle Feuchtersleben declares his work to be a supplement to Goethe's NA. The seven Persian poets (NA "Ferdusi" - NA "Dschami") he says (pp. 117-118) are only a representative selection which, in light of Hammer's

¹⁰Kurz, p. 101.

¹¹Kurz, pp. 11, 96.

¹²Kurz, p. 108a.

Geschichte der schönen Redekünste, needs both modification and expansion. Goethe, he says, was writing more for friends of his Divan than for friends of Eastern poetry, but that should not prevent the latter from having the fuller, corrected picture offered by the present essay.

He begins by explaining (p. 119) that although Persian literature is quite different from European literature, it is both rich and self-contained and will amaze the Western reader who bothers to investigate it. He speaks of its fantastic structure to which many succeeding generations have contributed and of the new life created by later writers through combinations of preserved and venerated forms. Again mentioning that Goethe's choice of seven poets reveals only a small part of the total picture, he says that he would add at least five other poets to that list. First, however, he addresses Goethe's remarks on the writers in the NA.

Goethe should have put greater stress on Ferdusi's uniqueness, Feuchtersleben says, for he was different from almost all other Oriental poets and his views varied from Oriental views in general. Feuchtersleben points out Ferdusi's humble background, problems with public officials, his courage and perseverance in undertaking the Schahname and even his rebuff of the sultan; and he concludes that Ferdusi had a strict and decisive manner which naturally drew him to an ethical dualism and this in turn impelled him to fight

against evil. Feuchtersleben adds that Ferdusi's way of thinking also led to melancholy and that his Schahname, a "Heldenlied," was also an elegy or "Nänie" (pp. 120-121).

Feuchtersleben says that Goethe forgot to mention two of Enweri's most remarkable characteristics. One is that he was both an inexhaustible encomiast and also the bitterest satirist. The second characteristic concerns the reversal that must have transpired at the end of Enweri's life, causing him to write lines (quoted p. 121) in which he asks God to protect him from love, praise and mockery and in which he renounces boasting and admonishes himself to wait patiently on salvation. Since Goethe did not relate the above, Feuchtersleben implies, his picture of Enweri is quite incomplete.

Goethe also failed to grasp Hafis fully, Feuchtersleben contends. At least the phrase "mäßige Lebendigkeit" (NA "Hafis") which Goethe used to describe Hafis' poems does not do them justice:

Schon die rhapsodische Art des Hafisischen Ghasels, von tiefster Qual zum himmlischen Entzücken, zwischen Lachen und Weinen, überzutaumeln, die ihm ganz eigen ist, deutet vielmehr auf dithrambische Fülle, die kein Maß anerkennt, als jenes, das die anmuthvollste Form jedem Dichter auflegt. Ein wunderbarer Uebermuth, man kann wohl sagen, Religion und Ausgelassenheit, waltet zumal im Moganni Name. . . . (p. 122)

And Feuchtersleben says that his own study will soon prove wrong Goethe's intimation that Dschami left his descendants nothing to do (NA "Übersicht").

Feuchtersleben then discusses Omar Chiam, Ferideddin Attar, Hatifi, Saib and Feisi. He gives dates and short bibliographies and attempts to characterize the work of each, frequently with a quote or quotes taken from Hammer's Geschichte der schönen Redekünste. Feuchtersleben's remarks on these writers are of a general nature. However, in his discussion of Ferideddin Attar--and with him Senaji and Dschelâl-eddin Rumi--(pp. 125-131), he indicates (p. 126) that Goethe did not understand or depict Oriental mysticism very well, but he goes on to say that Persian mysticism is so bound up with Islam and Oriental folklore that Europeans cannot understand it anyway. On pages 131-132 he takes umbrage at Goethe's lack of enthusiasm for the literature of the period after Dschami, in which era we find the last three writers championed by Feuchtersleben. And in his discussion of Saib (pp. 134-136), Feuchtersleben's impatience with Goethe shows as he asks: "sollte ein so ausgezeichnetes Name unter denen der Nachahmer ungewürdigt verhallen?"

Finally, Feuchtersleben rewrites (pp. 139-142) Goethe's overview of great Persian writers (NA "Übersicht"). Partly he repeats Goethe's words; but, of course, he has 12 poets rather than seven, and he adds or deletes to reflect the above modifications--only the section on Saadi is left in Goethe's original form. Feuchtersleben ends by saying that his zodiac of 12 stars has greater symbolic significance than Goethe's seven.

The principal problem with the Feuchtersleben article is that he treats Goethe as a scholar rather than as a poet who has been inspired to approach a new literary world. Writing a third of a century later, he also does not bother to ask what Goethe might reasonably have known in the year 1819, when knowledge of the Near East was not nearly as extensive.

Karl Alexander Freiherr von Reichlin-Meldegg. Heinrich Eberhard Gottlob Paulus und seine Zeit. 2 vols. Stuttgart: Verlags-Magazin, 1853. 2:289-90.

Reichlin-Meldegg reports that while Goethe was in Heidelberg he visited the home of the Orientalist Paulus every evening. In remembrance of the visits, Goethe gave Paulus a handwritten copy of the poem "Heute hast du gut gegessen" (IX, 15). Preceding the poem is the line "Der gute Schenke spricht": and at the end in parenthesis "Nach dem Lateinischen." It is dated "W[eimar], den 1. Jan[uary] 1815." We are told that Goethe copied the poem himself after a pleasant New Year's evening. The slight variations from the Divan text are detailed in the WA and in Maier.

There is a further report that could be connected to Divan poem "Gingo biloba" (VIII, 10). The Paulus family revered Goethe (p. 290), and when he pointed out a remarkable leaf during a walk to the castle, one of the family members took a similar leaf home. At the writing the leaf, which is not identified in the story, was still in the

family; an accompanying note read "Ein Blatt, auf welches Goethe aufmerksam machte."

Heinrich Viehoff. "Gedichte des west-östlichen Divans" in Periode des eklektischen Universalismus 1806-1832. Vol. 3 of his Goethe's Gedichte. Düsseldorf: Böttcher, 1853, pp. 152-190, 544-546.

Heinrich Viehoff published a three-volume work on Goethe's poetry in 1853. He thought that a detailed treatment of the collections in the Divan and the Xenien would overly extend his study; still he devoted some 40 pages to the Divan. Viehoff includes poems especially selected and annotated for students; thus his treatment consists of a 14-page introduction followed by eight poems.

Viehoff credits Frédéric-Jacob Soret with tracing Goethe's Oriental interests to 1811, when an officer, returning from Spain, gave Goethe some pages of an Arabian manuscript of the Koran. Their beauty attracted Goethe greatly and supposedly provided the impetus for the Oriental studies.¹³

Viehoff emphasizes Goethe's words about the need to escape to an ideal world. He explains who Hafis is and the meaning of his name, the Moallakât, Diez, Medschnun und Leila and Lorsbach and makes reference to the NA for information on della Valle, Tavernier and Chardin.¹⁴

¹³Viehoff, p. 153. He gives his source as Soret, "Notice sur Goethe," Bibliothèque universelle des sciences, belles lettres et arts: Littérature Vol. 2 (1832): 113-147; 262-288.

¹⁴Viehoff, pp. 153-157.

Viehoff affirms, as Koberstein had, that Goethe found "zum Theil die frischen und innigen Töne seiner Jugendliryk wieder" during the Rhine trip of 1815. The time in Frankfurt and Heidelberg was especially rich in love poetry, and he speculates that most of the "Buch Suleika" was written then. He believes that these poems point to an actual relationship and thinks Goethe said as much in his comments on the "Buch Suleika" in the NA "Künftiger Divan". But he also says much of the "reflective" poetry can be traced to the period.¹⁵

From this point Viehoff follows Wurm closely. Quoting from the Tag- und Jahreshefte and the correspondence with Zelter, he traces the Divan's evolution, printing and further development into 1820; he lists the 44 poems added to the Ausgabe letzter Hand and notes that three poems appeared in different order.¹⁶

Viehoff reproduces the poems "Hegire" (I, 1), "Frey-sinn" (I, 3), "Vier Gnaden" (I, 5), "Nachbildung" (II, 7), "Fünf Dinge" (IV, 2) "Fünf andere" (IV, 3), "Der Winter und Timur" (VI, 1), and "Vermächtniß alt persischen Glaubens" (XI, 1). He has explanatory notes, which, he acknowledges, rely on Wurm's Commentar.¹⁷

¹⁵Viehoff, p. 158.

¹⁶Viehoff, pp. 159-165.

¹⁷Viehoff, p. 165-190.

In a separate section, meant to make the Divan's development more apparent to the reader, Viehoff lists when and where a number of Divan poems were written. He lists 32 for 1814; 13 for the first half of 1815 and some 48 for the last half, by which time he says most of the Divan poems were completed.¹⁸

Daniel Sanders. "Zur Kritik unserer Goethe-Ausgaben." Unterhaltungen am häuslichen Herd n.s. 2.6 (1856): 92-94.

In a short notice in 1856 Daniel Sanders suggested a few corrections in Goethe texts. His suppositions are based mostly on rhyme; if the text does not rhyme, he speculates on what a rhymed text might have said before it was changed. Two Divan poems are discussed. He suggests that Goethe changed the rhyme "Morgenröthe/Goethe" in a "Gelegenheitsgedicht" to "Morgenröthe/Hatem" and included the poem in the collection as "Locken! haltet mich gefangen" (VIII, 20). In the second instance he maintains that verses 13-16 repeat verses 9-12 in the poem "Zwiespalt" (I, 11); he says that a negligent copyist included both the original quatrain (9-12) and the revised verses.

Heinrich Düntzer, ed. West-Oestlicher Divan. Part 5 of Goethe's lyrische Gedichte. Elberfeld: R. L. Friedrichs, 1858. Vol. 2, 129-240. Hereafter Düntzer 58.

The first of Heinrich Düntzer's three commentaries appeared in 1858. There are no poem texts, only explanatory

¹⁸Viehoff, pp. 544-546.

notes, but there is an entry for every poem. This work of Düntzer's is not mentioned in any modern Divan bibliography, and the information in it was subsumed in Düntzer's two later commentaries of 1874 and 1885, both of which are more accessible. It is worth noting, however, that this complete commentary was available for readers 31 years after the publication of the Ausgabe letzter Hand.

In an eleven-page introduction Düntzer relates Goethe's encounters and responses to Eastern literature before he began work on the Divan, and he attempts to trace the Divan's development from its inception to a point when Goethe no longer felt any relation to it; he also makes a statement on the worth of its poems. Roughly half of the introduction is devoted to the Divan's development. Like Wurm, Düntzer quotes from the Tag- und Jahreshefte and Goethe's letters to Zelter, which he combines with the known dates and place of composition of poems; he adds citations from persons close to Goethe and includes a few conjectures of his own.

Düntzer tells us that Goethe studied and reacted creatively to Eastern influences early--at the beginning of the 1770's to Mohammed and to the Koran in Maracci's Latin translation and in the 1780's to Jones' translation of the Moallakât. He notes that Lorsbach translated some Arabian poems around 1785, and he says that among them was one which Goethe later included in the NA chapter "Araber."¹⁹

¹⁹Düntzer 58, p. 131.

Then, he says, for 25 years Goethe had little time for the East; nevertheless he read the Sakontala. And in April 1797 Goethe studied the first books of the Old Testament and wrote an essay, "Moses," for the Horen, which initially remained unpublished but was rewritten and dictated to Friedrich Wilhelm Riemer in 1806 and ultimately found its way into the NA as "Israel in der Wüste." Around 1810 Goethe also read Dschami's Medschnun und Leila in Anton Theodor Hartmann's translation and Hammer's Schirin. Düntzer also mentions that in 1811 Goethe was captivated by the beauty of a few pages from an Arabian manuscript of the Koran. And at the time of the battle of Leipzig--October 16-19, 1814--Goethe was studying the Chinese empire.²⁰

However, Düntzer emphasizes, other matters overshadowed Goethe's earlier Eastern interests and the impetus for the Divan can not be dated before the encounter with Hammer's translation of Hafis.

Speculating on this encounter, Düntzer says that Goethe received Hammer's book early, 1812-13, probably from Hammer, but that he let it lie.²¹ Düntzer claims, as we noted above, that Riemer saw the book at Goethe's, but he says that

²⁰Düntzer 58, pp. 131-133.

²¹For the most recent account of Goethe's earliest encounter with Hammer's translation see Hans-Joachim Weitz, "Das früheste Gedicht," pp. 158-189, esp. p. 164 and fn. 31a, p. 183, for strong indications that Hammer's translation, in spite of the dates 1812-1813 on the title pages, did not appear until 1814.

Goethe advised against reading it because it would be too distracting (see pp. 88-89 above). Düntzer thinks that Goethe then took up the book much later, perhaps by chance. Goethe could only respond to Hafis' lighter mood after enemy troops had been driven from Germany, he feels, and the close acquaintance with Hafis came in the Spring of 1814, before the trip to Berka, where Goethe may have conceived the plan for the Divan and the general divisions into books.²²

Düntzer recounts that Goethe reacted strongly to Hafis and was soon producing poems of his own--several in Berka and one, "Elemente" (I, 7), on July 22, 1814, soon after his return to Weimar. He composed several on a trip--begun July 25--to Wiesbaden, where he wrote "Selige Sehnsucht" (I, 17) on July 31. He added a few poems at the end of August, a few more on the trip home in October, and at least one in November. Düntzer says that the collection was significantly enhanced during a 14-day stay in Jena at the end of December. He reports that Goethe wrote Karl Ludwig von Knebel on January 11, 1815 and spoke of the number of poems having doubled; Düntzer presumes this means since Jena. Düntzer says that only five poems can actually be traced to the period in Weimar; however, since Knebel had also spoken of "einer ungeheuern Zahl kleiner Gedichte" he assumes that Goethe later discarded some poems.²³ Continuing, Düntzer

²²Düntzer 58, p. 133.

²³Düntzer 58, pp. 134-135.

says that in a letter of February 8, 1815 Goethe thanked Knebel for "Oriental pearls," which he immediately "strung"; Düntzer says the reference is to the Divan poem "Talismane" (I, 4).

Meanwhile, Düntzer says, Goethe began to familiarize himself with Eastern customs. He studied Diez' Denkwürdigkeiten and got to know both Diez and Lorsbach closely. Düntzer notes that Lorsbach, like Hammer, was involved in a bitter dispute with Diez. He also mentions that Goethe read Hammer's Fundgruben, the accounts of della Valle, Olearius, Tavernier, and Barthélemy d'Herbelot's Bibliothèque Orientale, Oelsner's Mahomed and Sacy's Chrestomathie arabe.²⁴

Düntzer reports that the second trip to the Rhine in 1815 brought "a rich harvest of happy songs"; especially May and September were productive. In Frankfurt Goethe spent a lot of time at the Willemer estate; on about September 25, he went to Heidelberg; both stops were productive for the Divan. At Professor Paulus' in Heidelberg Goethe practiced writing Arabic for two weeks. After Goethe's return to Weimar and up to January 1816 he wrote several poems. But from this point until the publication, no poems, Düntzer says, can be traced with certainty.²⁵

However, Düntzer says that these years are productive for the NA, for which Goethe studied works of Diez and Hyde.

²⁴Düntzer 58, pp. 135-136.

²⁵Düntzer 58, pp. 136-137.

He notes that 13 poems appeared in the Taschenbuch für Damen auf das Jahr 1817 and says that printing on the Divan began January 1818 but that completion was delayed until August 1819.²⁶

Düntzer says that Goethe had noted that the Divan needed expansion, and he mentions the 44 poems added in the Ausgabe letzter Hand. By January 1827, Düntzer reports, Goethe told Eckermann he could no longer relate to the Divan poems, either in regard to the Orient or to the strong feelings he had formerly felt for the subject; it was like a snake's shed skin.²⁷ Düntzer adds that 14 more poems were found and published after Goethe's death.²⁸

Wurm spoke of the poems as either nurtured on Eastern soil or transplanted to the West; but Düntzer thinks the poet completely submerges himself--as in the Römische Elegien and, to some lesser extent, in the Venetianische Epigrammen--in an Eastern world. Düntzer says that the poems reflect that world, especially the tone and mood of Hafis. But Düntzer also says that the poet occasionally feels himself in contrast to that world and that the reader is

²⁶Düntzer 58, pp. 137-138.

²⁷This reference is to Eckermann's report of Goethe's comments on the evening of January 12, 1827, in part I of his Gespräche mit Goethe, 3 vols. (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1836-1848). In the Aufbau-Verlag edition of 1982 the comments are on page 173.

²⁸Düntzer 58, pp. 136-138.

presented with an image and counterimage. The poet maintains his own identity, peeking out everywhere from his mask.²⁹

Düntzer speaks of the Divan's new poetry, remarking that the aging poet was no longer satisfied by the old, worn-out lyrics. Düntzer conceived the newness as a different tone, contrasting with Goethe's classical poetry, a combination of playfulness, baroque hyperbole and impassioned revelry with sometimes mystic statements about religion and nature:

Schwärmerischer, in tollender Leidenschaft sich be-
rauschender Genuß von Liebe und Wein, dem der al-
ternde Dichter sich zum Aergerniß seiner geistlichen
Brüder und Vorsteher überläßt, gestützt auf den
Schutz der Fürsten und ihrer Minister, der Schahs
und Vezire, schwungvolle, häufig schmeichlerische
Erhebung dieser weltlichen Herrscher, mystisch gläu-
bige, dem Allwaltenden sich ganz hingebenden Ver-
ehrung neben leichtfertigem Hinwegsetzen über manche
Lehren des Propheten, sinnige, sich oft in's Spie-
lende verlierende Beschaulichkeit und Naturbetrach-
tung bilden die Grundzüge der mit allem Bilderglanze
orientalischer Einbildungskraft ausgestatteten hafi-
sischen Dichtung. . . .³⁰

Düntzer further tells us that the poet took from Oriental poetry only what does not stand in sharp contrast to our views. For example, he treats the attraction to boys chastely; he avoids the demeaning aspects of despotic regimes; and he shuns the extremes of Persian poetry, giving rather German feelings.³¹

²⁹Düntzer 58, pp. 138-139.

³⁰Düntzer 58, p. 139.

³¹Düntzer, pp. 139-140.

Düntzer gives Hammer's definition of a ghazel, the form of most of Hafis' poems, and says Goethe sometimes suggests this form by using the same rhyme or word or that he rhymes several times on the same word in either odd or even lines, seldom in both. Düntzer then mentions some seven examples, including "Hafis dir sich gleich zu stellen, . . . (WA 1 6, p. 279)" "Haben sie von deinen Fehlen . . ." (IV, 8), "Höchste Gunst" (IV, 22), "Da du nun Suleika heißest . . ." (VIII, 3), "Ob der Coran von Ewigkeit sey? . . ." (IX, 3), "Sie haben wegen der Trunkenheit" (IX, 10), and "Gute Nacht" (XII, 11).³²

Düntzer adds that Goethe mostly uses his accustomed meter and rhyme scheme; there are even some "Knittelverse" and unrhymed free rhythms. The poems are only loosely organized into books, he says, which are meant to indicate the most important aspects of Oriental life.³³

Düntzer finds the Divan a lively and engaging work; he says that some of its poems are among the finest and most tender in German poetry.³⁴

Düntzer has 99 pages of commentary. As the first item of information for each poem, he gives (if known) the date

³²It is not clear whether Düntzer's reference on p. 140 includes the poem "An Schach Sedschan und seines Gleichen" (IV, 21), which rhymes "Klang," "Sang," "bang," "lang."

³³Düntzer 58, pp. 140-141.

³⁴Düntzer 58, pp. 138-141.

and place of composition, and subsequent commentaries will follow his example. This is essentially data from the fair copy of the poem and had first appeared in the Quartausgabe, but Düntzer seeks to give the reader meaningful information. For instance, he says (p. 154) of "Beiname" (II, 1): "Unter den ersten Liedern des Divan am 26. Juni 1814 zu Berka gedichtet" and he points out which poems were composed on the same day. He is also concerned with variora: e.g. in a footnote (also to II, 1) he notes that the Taschenbuch had "an mich gesogen" (v. 20) rather than "an mich genommen" and that this violated the rhyme.

Like those who followed after him, Düntzer relies heavily on Wurm, but he cites selectively. He sometimes indicates where the information originated--e.g. Hafis in Hammer's translation--, but frequently he does not. He occasionally indicates that a particular citation was Goethe's source--certainly more often than Wurm had done. At intervals he also criticizes: the "purely sensual nature" of the Moslem paradise (XII, 2, vv. 49-52), choice of word or rhyme word (XII, 1 and 2), lack of unity (VIII, 5) and lack of clarity (V, 10).

Karl Goedeke. Grundriss zur Geschichte der Deutschen Dichtung aus den Quellen. Vol. 2. Hanover: L. Ehlermann, 1859, pp. 862-863.

In his history of literature, Goedeke states that in the Divan Goethe-Hatem was responding productively to new foreign influences--Goethe's understanding of these had come

via Calderón's "blumige Beschaulichkeit"--with his own re-working of translations by Hammer, Diez and others. Goethe's own poetic contribution, Goedeke declares, is thoroughly Western and any Orientalia are purely decorative:

Der Grundzug ist im Buche Suleika kenntlich geworden, einer Sammlung von Liedern die durch einige äußere Operationen dem Colorit des Orients näher gebracht wurden, ursprünglich deutsch empfunden, deutsch ausgeführt waren. Da wo Goethe nicht unmittelbar entlehnte, ist es auch in den übrigen Teilen des Divans wie mit dem Buche Suleika gegangen; es wurden Liedchen und Sprüche, die ohne Zwang unter den zahmen Xenien oder den Liedern der gesammelten Gedichte stehen konnten, durch einige orientalische Wörter oder Anspielungen, oft nur durch die Mischung solcher Stücke unter das Entlehnte, orientalisiert. Dazu reichte die Erwähnung des Euphrat, Hafis, Mahmuds, eines Mufti oder Fetwa, der Houris oder Ves-sire aus; die Nachtigall brauchte nur Bulbul, der Katzenjammer nur Bidamagbuden genannt zu werden. (p. 862)

The whole thing is a long masquerade, not a metamorphosis, Goedeke claims. He states that Western mythic figures occur alongside of Eastern characters and cities and comments that even Ulrich Hutten is present. Goethe announced a hegira, he says, but didn't get to Mecca.

In regard to Oriental form, Goedeke begins by saying that Goethe either hardly knew anything about Oriental form or else considered it very unimportant:

Die Form der durchreimenden Distichen scheint Goethe kaum gekannt zu haben; jedenfalls hielt er ihre Bedeutung nicht hoch, da er im andern Falle wol wenigstens versucht hätte, dieses Einheitsband der buntesten Fülle . . . durch Nachbildung sich sinnlich warnehmbar zu machen. (p. 862)

Goedeke then explains that constant rhyme is an essential poetic device in Oriental verse--in Western poetry it is

just a nice decoration--which connects various and scattered images; without it, he says, Oriental poetry remains an open riddle for the Western reader. That no one explained this to Goethe is not surprising, he says, for scholars of the day did not understand it. But he adds that it is remarkable that a sensitive poet like Goethe did not discover this for himself. Then, stating that some had tried to say that Goethe's use of Western form [in the Divan] proves that one must use native forms, even when "orientalizing," Goedeke concludes that Goethe, who copied Arabic letters and Oriental words and decorated his poems with penwork and gave "empty titles" to his [Divan] books, would certainly not have "sacrificed" the charm of Oriental rhyme, had he known it. And this, he says, would have really given the critics something to puzzle about:

Seine zu geheimnisvollen, mystisch-symbolischen Andeutungen aufgelegte Natur würde hier gerade ein bequemes Mittel gefunden haben, Rätsel auszustreuen, an denen die Ausleger sich dann weidlicher hätten üben können, als an den schlichten, dürftigen Reimen des jetzigen Divans. (p. 863)

Goedeke ascribes great influence to the Divan, stating that it took the Orient from the realm of science and brought it into literature. Thus, he says, Goethe prepared the way for Rückert; he also reinvigorated Oriental studies, contributed to the study of comparative linguistics and helped make the best of world literature available in German translation.

Philipp Wolff. "Studien über Göthe's westöstlichen Divan." Orient und Occident 1 (1862): 307-326.

Philipp Wolff published a 20-page article in 1862, in which he discusses the Divan, 9 of its books and some 23 of its poems.

In his four-page discussion of the Divan's background, Wolff employs Goethe's own, now familiar, words from the Tag- und Jahreshefte and letters to Zelter, and he mentions the similar times in which Goethe and Hafis lived. He believes that only a few of the poems can be dated before 1813--Wolff, like Düntzer, thinks Goethe had Hafis' Divan in 1813. He points out, however, that Goethe's love of the East manifested itself early, and he quotes passages from Dichtung und Wahrheit in which Goethe recounts his Hebrew lessons with a Frankfurt rabbi. He further points out that Goethe once reworked the story of Joseph. He says that what was true for the youthful Goethe--that he liked to flee to the East seeking rest and peace--is also true of the older man.³⁵

The poems which supposedly predate Goethe's preoccupation with Hafis go back, Wolff thinks, to purported correspondence between Goethe and Bettina von Arnim, as recorded in her book Goethes Briefwechsel mit einem Kinde. He declares her unequivocally to be the real-life counterpart

³⁵Wolff, pp. 307-310.

of Suleika.³⁶ Apparently he was unaware of Riemer's refutation of this claim.³⁷

Wolff is an Orientalist; he cites his own translation of the Moallakât. He treats Goethe as an equal, or even superior, and expresses amazement that Goethe began to learn Arabic in his sixties.

The remainder of the article is devoted to a book-by-book commentary. The discussion of the first two books takes up about 10 pages, 7 more books follow rapidly in 6 pages, and the article then breaks off, leaving Books 10-12 and the NA untouched. Wolff's major intent is to relate the poems to Oriental customs and attitudes. Most of his material derives from Wurm. He also uses more recent sources to explicate certain lines. Although presentation is pleasant and more coherent than the more fragmentary approaches of Wurm and Düntzer and although the information from more recent sources deepens our understanding of the Oriental elements which gave rise to certain images, the article does nothing to explain Goethe's particular use of them. Its principal value lies first in Wolff's implicit reaffirmation of the premise that the Orientalia in the Divan are so interwoven with the fabric of the work that they cannot be dismissed as superficial trappings. His essay is also

³⁶Wolff, pp. 309, 324. See pp. 87-88 above for comments on Bettina's work.

³⁷Riemer, Mittheilungen, Vol. 1, pp. 31-40.

useful in that he expresses his enjoyment of "reflective" poetry. He states that both Oriental poetry and the Divan tend to "reflection" (pp. 309-310), but unlike many other critics of the period, he treats the term as value-neutral and does not require of lyric poetry that it be spontaneous in order to be good. Of the collection he says:

Wir werden durch die heitere Laune und den feinen
Witz belustigt und erheitert, durch die Preisgesänge
der Liebe erquickt und erhoben, durch die ernsten
Wahrheiten und tiefsinnigen Betrachtungen in uns
selbst gekehrt, erschüttert, belebt, erbaut.
(p. 310)

Wolff states (p. 322) that the character of the "Buch des Unmuths" is different from the other Divan books and that it may have been inspired by the example of Oriental poets in whose works the outpouring of dissatisfaction has an important role.

Wolff also cites Eastern parallels for some Divan passages; these have been noted in Appendix A.

Otto Jahn. "Goethe und Kosegarten." Grenzboten. 27.23
(1868): 396-400.

Jahn, who was Kosegarten's former colleague (p. 391), begins this article by recalling Goethe's acknowledgement in NA "Revision" of both Kosegarten's reliability and his help. He further recalls that Goethe had previously sought the help of Diez, Lorsbach and Silvestre de Sacy and states that after Lorsbach's death, Kosegarten, who replaced Lorsbach at the University of Jena, provided Goethe the nearest, and therefore most welcome, help.

Jahn gives a brief biographical account of Kosegarten and reports that soon after Kosegarten's arrival in Jena in 1817 he and Goethe were in contact and were providing one another with mutual assistance: Goethe supplied Kosegarten with books from the Weimar library and Kosegarten answered Goethe's questions about the Orient--in which latter regard, he assures us (p. 397), Goethe could have had no better advisor.

The Goethe-Kosegarten exchange on Oriental matters was mainly oral, Jahn states (p. 397), and occurred during Goethe's visits to Jena between 1818 and 1824 and when Kosegarten was in Weimar. However, Jahn says, Kosegarten's widow allowed him to examine her husband's letters from Goethe and he found a few items worth reporting.

In a letter (pp. 397-398) of September 23, 1818, Goethe sent Kosegarten the poem "Unter dem Felsen am Wege" (NA, "Araber"), explaining that he had found it in a prose version in some travelogue and that he had set in free rhythms. Goethe could no longer remember where he had found it or what period the original was from and was asking Kosegarten's advice.

Jahn gives some information about the poem and tells where it can be found. The poem may be a literary forgery written some 200 years after the time of Mohammed (see NA "Araber"), but this is of little consequence for the Divan, Jahn says, because the poem gives an accurate representation

of the ideas and expressions of the desert Arabs at the time Goethe had intended.

However, Jahn questions Goethe's hope of deducing "den poetischen Werth aus der 'lyrischen Versetzung' der einzelnen Gedankenglieder" (p. 398). Jahn explains that various oral traditions report a different ordering of stanzas. One frequently must reorder the stanzas according to internal evidence, he says, but any attempt to postulate the original order is very uncertain.

He also thinks that Goethe's memory was faulty when he wrote that he had found the poem in a travelogue; Jahn says that research had failed to discover such an occurrence. Goethe's model was Freytag's Latin and German translation from 1814, which, he says, Goethe's poem follows, even in a few errors (p. 398).³⁸

Kosegarten's answer to Goethe's letter, Jahn says, is not available. He adds that there were a few, unimportant changes in the printed version of the poem, and does not state what these changes are.

Goethe sent Kosegarten the Divan's "Titelkupfer," Jahn reports (p. 399), on December 9, 1818 and again on July 16, 1819. Goethe wanted to be sure that the Arabic inscription was correct. Towards the end of printing, Goethe again wrote

³⁸Modern scholarship accepts this view (cf HA 2, 12th ed., p. 676). I was unable to examine the article upon which Jahn drew for his information: Baur, Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft 10: 96f.

Kosegarten, on July 16, 1819, requesting an Oriental proverb (see the final poem in NA "Revision"). If nothing more appropriate occurred to Kosegarten, then the saying should approximate:

Herr laß dir gefallen
Dieses kleine Haus
Auf die Größe kommts nicht an,
Die Frömmigkeit macht den Tempel.

Noting Kosegarten's 1819 review of the Divan, Jahn says (p. 399) that it was characteristic of Kosegarten's modesty not to have sent Goethe a copy and that when Goethe later requested one, Kosegarten did not have one to send him. In the remaining part of the article, Jahn reports on further communication between Goethe and Kosegarten; but this does not concern the Divan.

This period sees the publication of important critical works. The Quartausgabe, was important in dating the poems, and Düntzer's basic study sought to provide a more integrated approach to the Divan than Wurm had attempted. But, like Wurm's commentary, Düntzer's will also find little immediate response; it will be 15 years before Loeper, in his edition, will acknowledge a debt to this commentary.

Düntzer responds to the known dates of poems by tracing specific poems to places Goethe visited on his Rhine trips of 1814-1815, and this will characterize Divan scholarship during the rest of the nineteenth century. But other people are also looking for the inspiration for the poems. Several

are willing to believe that there is a real-life model for Suleika (Bettina, Wolff, Viehoff); and several others look for specific stimuli (Düntzer, Viehoff, Jahn).

The reactions are predominately positive. Börne continues to attack the work, but he has nothing new to say. There is a clear dichotomy among the writers concerning the unity between East and West in the work. Düntzer and Wolff believe that there is perfect union; Goedeke maintains that the only Eastern elements are simply costume.

There are four Orientalists (Hammer, Feuchtersleben, Wolff, Jahn) writing, and three of these give Goethe high marks for his accomplishments. Hammer emphasizes Goethe's role as mediator, stating that Goethe had done much more to promote Oriental studies than certain Orientalists. Feuchtersleben relates to the Divan as a scholarly presentation; Wolff sees the book as a perfect blending of Eastern and Western elements and Jahn seeks to illuminate the contributions of Kosegarten to the Divan as well as certain matters in the NA. Among the non-Orientalists, Düntzer seeks to balance Eastern and Western elements; unfortunately, he, as had Wurm, does not treat the NA as a part of an artistic unity. Goedeke feels that the only Oriental elements present are "costume." While some writers (Düntzer, Wolff) speak enthusiastically of the poems, others (Gervinus, Viehoff) speak of the great poems in the collection but leave the impression that the work as a whole is lacking.

CHAPTER IV

GRIMM, LOEPER, DÜNTZER AND OTHER CRITICISM, 1868-1879

Johann Friedrich Böhmer. Leben, Briefe und kleinere Schriften. Ed. Johannes Janssen. 3 vols. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1868.

J. F. Böhmer was a historian, a literary confidant of Clemens Brentano and a good friend of Marianne von Willemer. In his biography of Böhmer, Johannes Janssen mentions that he has just read Marianne's still unpublished correspondence with Goethe (Vol. 1, p. 94, ft. 1). He says that the most beautiful poems in the Divan were written to her, and he also identifies a poem from Goethe's works, "Zarter Blumen leicht Gewinde . . ." (WA I 4, 268), as one written by Marianne. Part of the secret of Marianne's role in the creation of the Divan was thus revealed a year before Herman Grimm's epochal essay, but in a relatively obscure spot which only the redoubtable Düntzer seems to have noticed. The news was also published without the knowledge that seven of the poems from the "Buch Suleika" were also by Marianne. That revelation belonged to Grimm.

Herman Grimm. "Goethe und Suleika." Preußische Jahrbücher 24 (1869): 1-21.

Rpt. Grimm. Fünfzehn Essays. Zweite vermehrte Auflage der Neuen Essays. Berlin: Ferd. Dümmler's Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1874, pp. 258-287; also in Grimm, Aufsätze zur Literatur. Ed. Reinhold Steig. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1915, pp. 135-160; also in Edgar Lohner, ed. Studien zum West-östlichen Divans Goethes. Wege der Forschung 287. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1971, pp. 285-309.

In 1869 Herman Grimm announced that Marianne von Willemer was the true-life model for Suleika; further, she had authored several of the book's poems, including two of the best known. Grimm subtitles his essay "Zur Erinnerung an Marianne von Willemer." He begins with general statements about epochs in Goethe's life and how they correlate most naturally with major exchanges of letters. He mentions several, eventually Marianne's, which when published, he says, will rank alongside Sulpiz Boisserée's in importance. And since Boisserée had sketched Marianne's younger years, he, Grimm, will tell us about her later ones.¹

Grimm returns to Boisserée and the differences that separated him from and bound him to Goethe. He then discusses first Goethe as a South German and then Goethe and Frankfurt. In connection with Frankfurt he introduces himself as a young student, and with him we meet Marianne and visit her in her tiny apartment. He connects Marianne with Goethe's poems indirectly, stating that on each visit she gave him something of Goethe's--on one occasion a handwritten poem which she had received as a gift.

Grimm recounts descriptions of Marianne as a beautiful young woman and gives his own account of the older woman, whose charms captivated him. He relates that Marianne gave

¹Sulpiz Boisserée, [Autobiography and Letters. Ed. Mathilde Boisserée], 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1862); rpt. under the title Briefe, Tagebücher, 2 vols. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1970).

him a dried-flower bouquet with a poem, saying she had sent the same poem once to Goethe; and he reveals that the poem appears in Goethe's Nachlaß with the title "Sie"; Goethe's reply is titled "Er."²

Throughout these apparently aimless wanderings Grimm has interrupted his pleasant narrative style with elegaic reflection. Half way through the essay, he changes to dialog in his dramatic revelation. The setting is an idyllic country house; in the late afternoon Grimm and Marianne are walking and, of course, come to speak of Goethe:

Ich erinnere mich deutlich, wie über den Himmel von Westen her allerlei Gewölk zog . . . und ein seufzender Wind über die Felder zog. Ich weiß nicht, wie mir Goethe's Verse da in den Sinn kamen "Ach, um deine feuchten Schwingen, West wie sehr ich dich beneide." Ich sprach sie halblaut vor mich hin im Weiterschreiten.

Marianne machte Halt, sah mich eine Weile mit ihren graublauen, glänzenden und beweglichen Augen an und sagte "Höre, wie kommst du dazu, dies Gedicht zu sagen."

"O, es fiel mir gerade so lebhaft ein, antwortete ich. Es ist eins von Goethe's schönsten."

Marianne sah mich immer an, als wolle sie etwas sagen und besänne sich, ob sie es thun sollte.

Ich will dir etwas sagen, rief ich plötzlich aus und weiß selbst nicht wie ich darauf kam: das Gedicht ist von dir? du hast es gemacht!

.
"Du darfst es Niemand wiedersagen, begann sie nach einer Weile und streckte mir die Hand hin: Ja, ich habe die Verse gemacht." (p. 11)

Marianne did not believe her personal relationship with Goethe had great importance for Divan scholarship. She

²This is the same poem referred to by Janssen directly above. Marianne gave the poem as a gift to several people; see the notes to the poems, WA I 5^{II}, pp. 162-163.

wrote Grimm:

Im Divan hast du nichts auszuscheiden; außer dem Ost- und Westwinde habe ich nichts auf meinem Gewissen, als allenfalls noch "Hochbeglückt in deiner Liebe," und "Sag du hast wohl viel gedichtet." Doch habe ich manches angeregt, veranlaßt und erlebt! (p. 13)

In a later letter she admitted partnership in the "Chiffrenbriefe." Thus, she claimed authorship of poems VIII, 5, 11, 31 and 34 in "Buch Suleika" and co-authorship of "Dir zu eröffnen / Mein Herz . . ." in the NA (WA I 7, p. 131).

Grimm sees her role in less modest terms and believes himself justified in assigning other poems to her.³ He suggests that all with the title "Suleika" are hers--directly or indirectly--and adds that only the part of the Divan written with Marianne shows unity:

Goethe's Divan ist aus sehr heterogenen Elementen zusammengesetzt. Er scheint eine Masse von Gedichten, die sich aus den verschiedensten Epochen vielleicht angesammelt hatten, angeregt durch Hammers Hafis, mit dem starken einheitlichen Parfüm persischer Anschauungen versetzt und dadurch, mit etwas Gewalt, zu einem Ganzen vereinigt zu haben. . . . Einstweilen dürfen wir ihr [Marianne] wohl direkt oder indirekt zuschreiben was die Ueberschrift Suleika trägt. Diese Verse haben etwas Verwandtes. Es waltet in den Vorstellungen ein eigenthümlicher Ton, . . . der Goethe nur in seltenen Fällen eigen ist. Im Divan haben ihn fast ausschließlich die Suleikalieder. . . . (pp. 17-18)

Grimm says Goethe made a few trivial changes in Marianne's poems when he put them into the Divan. The greatest

³Grimm, pp. 15-16. He further suggests that poems VIII, 7 and 39 are by Marianne.

modification occurs in stanza four of "Was bedeutet die Bewegung? . . ." Marianne had written:

Und mich soll sein leises Flüstern
Von dem Freund lieblich grüßen,
Eh noch diese Hügel düstern
Sitz ich still zu seinen Füßen.
(Grimm, p. 14)

The corresponding lines in the Divan read:

Und mir bringt sein leises Flüstern
Von dem Freunde tausend Grüße;
Eh noch diese Hügel düstern
Grüßen mich wohl tausend Küsse.

Marianne questions Goethe's judgment:

es ist nur noch eine einzige [Strophe,] die G. verändert hat, und ich weiß wirklich nicht warum, ich finde die meine wirklich schöner . . . (p. 13)

Grimm, whose opinion is echoed by later critics, also raises the question of the emotional effect of the change:

Goethe hat die vierte Strophe in's Leidenschaftliche verändert und nicht zu ihrem Vortheile, scheint mir.⁴

Several years later Grimm again mentions how Goethe introduced passion into Divan poems where it was not at first present (see below, pp. 187).

Grimm's essay was very effective, and Marianne von Willemer became a focal point for the rapidly growing biographic interest in Goethe.

Hermann Kluge. Geschichte der deutschen National-Litteratur. Altenburg: Oskar Bonde, 1869. Cited here according to the 15th ed., 1884, pp. 160-161.

⁴Grimm, p. 15. Konrad Burdach, JA p. 395, agrees.

Hermann Kluge feels that Goethe accomplished relatively little in the field of poetry after Schiller's death. Like Gervinus, he states that Goethe turned his back on the stormy period of the Wars of Liberation and fled into the contemplation of the Orient. Here, he says, Goethe began studying Arabic and Persian and wrote a series of poems, partly free reworkings and partly originals in Oriental costume. Kluge is obviously not very impressed by the Divan. In the 1884 edition of his history he identifies Marianne in a footnote.

H[einrich] Düntzer. "Goethe und Marianne v. Willemer."
Westermanns Monatshefte 7 (September 1870): 639-663.

Remarking that Herman Grimm's "Goethe und Suleika" talks more about Grimm and Marianne than about Goethe and Marianne, Düntzer explains (p. 639) that his purpose is to write in depth about Marianne herself and her relationship with Goethe. He adds that Grimm had not taken the dates of composition of Divan poems into account in his article and that this had to led to some inaccuracies.

Düntzer begins by stating that the Goethe-Marianne relationship was not marked by the great passion which people had come to associate with Goethe's friendships with many other women, but that it would be hard to find a relationship which showed greater variety of emotion. Düntzer then says (p. 640) that certain statements about Marianne could lead us to suspect a youthful indiscretion, but

Düntzer prefers to believe other sources which deny this possibility.

He then relates (pp. 640-641) that Maria Anna Katherina Theresia Jung was born November 20, 1784, in Linz, and that very little is known about her before she came to Frankfurt with a theater-dance troupe. Düntzer recounts her appearances on stage and emphasizes how charming she was. Clemens Brentano fell under her charms, Düntzer says, and the character Biondette in his Die Romanzen vom Rosenkranz is modeled after Marianne; and she is also the "liebstes Großmütterchen" in Gockel, Hinkel und Gackeleia.

Düntzer introduces (p. 641) Johann Jakob Willemer and emphasizes--several times in the article--that he was a well-to-do banker, that he was concerned with education, that he loved both the arts and artists, that he wrote on religious and patriotic themes and that he was somewhat eccentric. He had been twice married and was again a widower when he met Marianne, whom he "saved" from the stage, brought into his home, educated and ultimately married. Düntzer describes and speculates (pp. 641-644) on how and when the principals met and fared before Goethe came to the Willemers: how Goethe and Willemer met; what Marianne's life at Willemer's was like and how she had met both Goethe's wife and son; how Sulpiz Boisserée and Willemer met by chance in March, 1814 and became immediate and close friends.

Düntzer reports (p. 644) that when Goethe came to Frankfurt in September, 1814, he was in exceptionally good spirits because of the "freeing of the fatherland" and that everyone found him "höchst liebenswürdig." Whether Goethe and Marianne met before or after Goethe's trip to Heidelberg--Goethe returned October 10--Düntzer does not know, but he says that Willemer and Marianne became engaged on September 27 and that Goethe was at the Gerbermühle, Willemer's "country" home, on the evening of the celebration of the victory at Leipzig. Although Goethe and Marianne did not become close friends at the time, Düntzer assures us that Goethe never forgot the day.

Düntzer is concerned with any possible relationship between Marianne and the Divan poems and reports (p. 644-645) a number of poems Goethe wrote between his return to Weimar, October 27, 1814, and his arrival on August 12 of the following year at the Willemers'. He mentions these poems to support his claim that since they pre-date Goethe's close relationship with Marianne, they can not have any connection with her. These poems include "Komm Liebchen, komm! umwinde mir die Mütze . . ." (VIII, 13), "Nur wenig ist's was ich verlange, . . ." (VIII, 14), "Die Welt durchaus ist lieblich anzuschauen, . . ." (VIII, 41), "Daß Suleika von Jussuph entzückt war . . ." (VIII, 2), "Da du nun Suleika heißest . . ." (VIII, 3), "Gruß" (III, 11), "Ergebung" (III, 12), "An Suleika" (VII, 2), "Frage nicht durch welche

Pforte . . ." (IV, 11), and "Süßes Kind, die Perlenreihen . . ." (WA I 6, pp. 288-289).

Soon after his arrival at the Willemers', Goethe and Marianne were close friends, Düntzer writes (pp. 645-647). He reports in detail about the daily routine at the Gerbermühle and visits to Frankfurt. Concerning the Divan, he says that Goethe liked to read aloud to his friends in the evenings, especially Divan poems. He points out (p. 647) that the production of Divan poems stopped completely at this period from mid-August to the end of the month, and that this would not be comprehensible if Goethe had celebrated Marianne earlier as Suleika.

He gives an especially vivid description (pp. 647-648) of the celebration of Goethe's birthday on August 28, relating how the celebration was held in the garden house, which had been decorated in an Oriental fashion, and how Marianne and her daughter-in-law Rosette Städel presented Goethe with a turban--a gift, Düntzer says, which was inspired by the poem "Komm Liebchen, komm! umwinde mir die Mütze . . ." (VIII, 13). Later, Goethe again read Divan poems aloud.

For a short while Goethe moved into Frankfurt, from where he sent Marianne a leaf from the ginkgo tree. Düntzer says (p. 648) that Goethe may have sent her the Divan poem "Gingo Biloba" (VIII, 10) at this same time, but he thinks

that this poem was composed later at the Gerbermühle.⁵ Goethe returned there on September 15; and on this day, Düntzer says (pp. 648-650), begin the poems which have a relationship to Marianne and the ones she wrote to him. The first of these, written that evening, was Goethe's "Nicht Gelegenheit macht Diebe, . . ." (VIII, 4); Marianne answered the next day with "Hochbeglückt in deiner Liebe . . ." (VIII, 5), which Düntzer quotes. Düntzer had earlier reported that Marianne sang compositions of Goethe's poems, and now he says that her renditions became especially fervent as Goethe's inclination for Marianne influenced her. Düntzer assures us that Marianne's attentions do not represent infidelity, but a sort of social game played with Willemer's understanding.

The next day, September 17, there were two more poems: "Als ich auf dem Euphrat schiffte, . . ." (VIII, 7) and Suleika's reply "Dies zu deuten bin erbötig! . . ." (VIII, 8). Marianne did not claim this poem as hers; but, Düntzer points out, Grimm thought it was hers, and Grimm also wrote that verses 5 and 8 had originally rhymed "Morgenröthe" and "Goethe." Düntzer feels that both poems are by Goethe.

Over the next pages (650-653) Düntzer lists the poems which were, according to manuscript dates, written in

⁵For the most recent literature on this question and for further indication of how useful forgotten nineteenth-century sources can be, see the engaging article by Günther Debrön, "Das Blatt von Osten. Gedanken zum Ginkgo-biloba-Gedicht," Euphorion 73.2 (1979): 227-236.

September and early October, 1815, or which may belong to that period.

On page 653 Düntzer reports in a brief paragraph that on the trip home and during the rest of 1815 and January 1816 Goethe wrote the following Divan poems: "Vollmondnacht" (VIII, 36), "Jene garstige Vettel, . . ." (IX, 14)--, "Hochbild" (VIII, 32), "Nachklang (VIII, 33), "Hafis dir sich gleich zu stellen, . . ." (WA I 6, p. 279), "Sprich! unter welchem Himmelszeichen" (WA I 6, p. 278), and "Bist du von deiner Geliebten getrennt . . ." (VIII, 21b). He begins his next paragraph, "Wir haben den Antheil Mariannens am 'Buche Suleika,' so weit er nachzuweisen ist, darzulegen gesucht." Thus, I assume he thinks all these last poems also relate to Marianne. Düntzer then says that Grimm's claim that all the Divan poems with the heading "Suleika" are Marianne's is disproven by an examination of the dates of writing. However he thinks Grimm is correct in ascribing to her "Wie! Mit innigstem Behagen, . . ." (VIII, 39).⁶ This poem is a reply to the poem which precedes it in the Divan, "Abglanz" (VIII, 38), and Düntzer says they may not have been written before 1816. Finally, he says that Goethe sent Marianne the following Divan paralipomena poems: "Hudhud sprach: mit einem Blicke . . .," "Hudhud auf dem Palmensteckchen, . . ." and "Schoen und koestlich ist die Gabe . . ." (WA I 6,

⁶The question is still unresolved; see Maier's notes, West-östlicher Divan, vol. 2, p. 344.

pp. 294, 295, 298), and he mentions that the bird messenger "Wiedehopf" in Divan poem (see "Gruß," III, 11) was the subject of several jokes between Marianne and Goethe.

In the rest of the article Düntzer talks mostly about Marianne's subsequent life in Frankfurt. He says that the Willemers and Goethe maintained contact, that Marianne closely followed events in Goethe's life, that he sent her a copy of the Divan when it appeared, and that she correctly understood Goethe to be Germany's greatest poet.

Düntzer mentions the Divan one more time (p. 656), noting that Goethe sent Marianne a copy in September 1819 and that she was overjoyed to find her own poems as well as several inspired by her and the beautiful period in 1815. He denies the notion that Goethe had playfully hidden references in the Divan to Marianne's role:

Julian Schmidt würde nicht behauptet haben, Goethe habe im "Divan" selbst "wiederholt die Autorschaft seiner Freundin bald schelmisch versteckt, bald den Schleier halb gelüftet," hätte er sich der frühen Entstehungszeit der von ihm dafür angeführten Lieder erinnert; denn als er diese am 7. und 10. October 1815 dichtete, konnte er noch nicht die Aufnahme ihrer Lieder in den erst 1819 erschienenen "Divan" andeuten.

The two poems referred to here are "Wie des Goldschmieds Bazarlädchen . . ." (VIII, 19) and "Kaum daß ich dich wieder habe . . ." (VIII, 28).⁷

⁷I have been unable to locate the particular comment by Schmidt.

Hermann Sauppe. "Goethiana." Index scholarum publice et privatum in academia Georgia Augusta per semestre aestivum. Göttingen: Fr. Kaestner, 1870, pp. 3-19, esp. pp. 15, 18-19.

Hermann Sauppe's 1870 article "Goethiana" examines printing and copying variations and errors; he mentions four Divan poems.

He first quotes and gives preference to an earlier version of "Hegire" (I, 1) verses 19-22 (p. 15). The Divan lines read:

Will mich unter Hirten mischen,
An Oasen mich erfrischen,
Wenn mit Caravanen wandle,
Schawl, Caffee und Moschus handle.

The verses from the fair copy, which Sauppe quotes, read:

Will mich unter Hirten mengen,
Mich durch Blüthenbüsche drängen,
Will mit Caravanen wandlen,
Schawl, Caffee und Moschus handlen

Heinrich Düntzer, in his next Divan edition (p. 208), will cite Sauppe and like him, give preference to the earlier version.

Then, citing Sanders, Sauppe notes (pp. 18-19) that in "Zwiespalt" (I, 11) verses 9-12 repeat verses 13-16, and says that they were mistakenly left in by a copyist. And, like Düntzer in his 1858 commentary, he thinks that the word Augen should be Auen in these verses from "Ach! um deine feuchten Schwingen":

Blumen, Augen, Wald und Hügel
Stehn bey deinem Hauch in Tränen.
(VIII, 34, vv. 7-8)

Finally, in connection with the poem "Frage nicht durch

welche Pforte" (IV, 11), Sauppe quotes three stanzas which were not included in the Divan. Goethe, however, appended these stanzas to the poem when he used it for an occasion which does not relate to the Divan at all.⁸

Karl Goedeke, ed. Goethes Sämmtliche Werke. Vol. 2. Stuttgart: Cotta, 1872, pp. xv-xx.

Karl Goedeke included the West-östlicher Divan in his edition of Goethe's works in 1872, and he devotes five pages of his introduction to it. Goedeke says (p. xv) that Goethe himself recorded the Divan's beginning and development in the Tag- und Jahreshefte and the character of the various books in the NA "Einleitung." Goedeke repeats that Goethe was reacting productively to Hammer's translation of Hafis and that he regarded the Divan books as incomplete, especially the "Buch des Timur."

He sees the Divan as a product of Romantic interest in world literature (p. xvi). In a brief summary, Goedeke says that English and French studies had virtually no effect on Germany, where the movement towards world literature began with Herder's advocacy of the study of "Volkspoesie." He mentions the significance of the "Great War" and of Friedrich Schlegel's 1808 study Über die Sprache und Weisheit der Inder. He says that Arabian and Persian literature was slow to follow, and he mentions Hammer's Hafis, which, he says,

⁸Maier, Vol. 2, pp. 179-181, has a detailed description of the manuscripts involved.

was deficient in several areas. In general Goedeke feels that available translations gave no feeling for the original form; only Calderón's poetry, he says, approached that of the Orient.

Mentioning that Goethe's had previously translated a few Oriental poems and parables--but not from the original languages--Goedeke says (p. xvi) that Goethe fled East to escape the troubled times around him--but remained what he was. The Divan is German, he says; and everything which appears unfamiliar is only ornamental: "nur leicht angeeigneter Schmuck, unvollkommenes Kostüm."

Goedeke claims that the Divan has neither Eastern content nor form (p. xvii). As proof of the former he cites "Vermächtniß alt persischen Glaubens" (XI, 1) and "Der Winter und Timur" (VII, 1), which give the appearance of Eastern content. But he says that the former is an educated German's poetic representation and that the latter is about Napoleon's Russian campaign with Tamerlane's name substituted for Napoleon's. He also states that "Locken! haltet mich gefangen . . ." (VIII, 20)--where, he says, Goethe simply changed his own name in verse 11 to Hatem--shows how easy it was for Goethe to affect Eastern dress. And he cites Boisserée as external evidence that Goethe decked out two more "German" poems, "Dem Schenken" (IX, 8b) and "Heute hast du gut gegessen . . ." (IX, 15), in Oriental costume.

Goedeke calls these poems "Nachdichtungen" and says that they are poetic games.

As for form, Goedeke states (pp. xviii-xix) that Goethe's sources gave him a very poor idea of what Oriental (Persian) poetry is all about; and he cites "In tausend Formen magst du dich verstecken . . ." (VIII, 42) and "Sie haben wegen der Trunkenheit . . ." (IX, 10) as examples where Goethe tried, and failed, to copy that form. He cites "Nachbildung" (II, 7) as proof that Goethe tired of the attempt.

Goedeke thinks that the Oriental costume, or coloring, was a replacement for the lacking form (pp. xviii-xix). He says that Goethe brought Islamic religion, mythology, and literature into the Divan as a kind of Oriental mythology, which is disturbing and also unneeded since Goethe could assert himself in any case as Hafis' spiritual and intellectual equal.

Goedeke believes (p. xix) that when one looks past the Oriental trappings, one finds poems "deren Gehalt und Ausdruck sich der empfängliche Leser nicht verschließen kann." He mentions especially "Buch Suleika," "Das Schenkenbuch" and "Buch des Paradieses" with the poem "Einlaß" (XII, 4). Goedeke says that the poems dedicated to Suleika are the deepest and warmest and most free of Oriental costume. Goedeke thinks that they were written earlier--but not to Bettina von Arnim. Perhaps they were directed at the same

person whom Goethe celebrated in the sonnets, in which case, he says, they would date back to 1807. Goedeke states, however, that the plan for the Divan was laid in 1814, and he gives a brief publishing history. Obviously Goedeke had written these remarks much earlier and had not revised them in light of the articles by Grimm and Düntzer on Marianne.

Finally, Goedeke expresses the thought (p. xx) that the NA were valuable when they appeared and still were at the time, not for details but because of the ideas. He says that subsequent Eastern studies had profited greatly from them--more even than from thorough scholarly research--because the esteem which Goethe enjoyed gave great weight to what he said. He says that German literature had also profited, and he mentions Rückert and Platen. Goedeke thinks that the real gain had been the acquisition of new poetic forms, which, though they could not compete with native ones, were proper for translating Oriental thought.

Robert Boxberger. "Zu Goethe's Gedicht im Saki-Nameh des West-Oestlichen Divan: Ob der Koran von Ewigkeit sei?" (Gosche's) Archiv für Litteraturgeschichte 2 (1872): 244-245.

In this short notice, Boxberger advances a possible source for Divan poem IX, 3. Stating that in Luigi Pulci's Morgante Maggiore the hero asks Margutte, the son of a Turkish priest and a Christian nun, whether he is Christian or Mohammedan, Boxberger gives the latter's reply as:

Io non credo più al nero ch' all' azzurro;
 Ma nel cappone, o lesso, o vogli arrosto,
 Ma sopra tutto nel buon vino ho fede.
 Or queste son trè virtù cardinale [sic],
 La gola, e'l culo, e'l dado, ch'io t'ho detto.

Boxberger adds only that he had found these verses in Voltaire's introduction to Pucelle, Paris: Didot, 1801, p. 9.

Gustav von Loeper, ed. West-östlicher Divan von Goethe. Berlin: Gustav Hempel, 1872. Notes, pp. xv-xlvii, 380-389. Hereafter Loeper.

Gustav von Loeper's 1872 annotated Divan edition has a 33-page introduction which recounts the Divan's development and assesses its place in literature. He says that most of the Divan poems were written in 1814-1815 and calls these years a peak period in the production of Goethe's lyric poetry. He thinks that Goethe was an Olympian spirit and expresses amazement at the fact that Goethe was 70 when the Divan appeared.⁹

He emphatically denies that Goethe's studies of the East were unpatriotic. He cites Otto Friedrich Gruppe--whose Leben und Werke deutscher Dichter had appeared 1863-68--as claiming that Goethe was conquering the Orient while Germany was being invaded from the West; and he, Loeper, argues the reverse--that only after Germany had invaded the

⁹Loeper, pp. xxviii, xxiv-xv.

West was Goethe able to conquer the East.¹⁰ And he says that Gervinus wrongly believes that the Divan is full of Eastern fatalism and quietism. Declaring that no poet did more for his fatherland during the period in question, Loeper asserts that Goethe's renewed poetic activity was a response to the freeing of Germany from foreign yoke and maintains that Goethe used the East as a kind of Archimedes' point from which he could move the Western world, idealize and symbolize the moment or polemise against it; and he relishes this decidedly political aspect of the Divan.¹¹

Loeper writes that the years 1814-1815--with political and intellectual currents that were, he says, giving rise to a "New Germany"--determined the Divan's character. Yet, he maintains the Divan-poems are not "Zeitgedichte" but rather "reine, von den Bedingungen der Zeit unabhängige Poesie." The moment in time, he says, is only a secondary factor; and, apart from individual stimuli, the poems are a happy product of the development of the Goethean spirit and the development which Oriental studies had taken in Europe during the Napoleonic era.¹² He says that the book is anti-Romantic; it is life-affirmative poetry in a period of

¹⁰Loeper, pp. xxii-xxiv. Gruppe, Leben und Werke deutscher Dichter: Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung, 4 vols. München: Bruckman, 1863-68.

¹¹Loeper, pp. xxi-xxii; xxxi.

¹²Loeper, pp. xv-xvi.

Byronic weltschmerz; it is also, he says, a fulfillment of Herder.¹³

Loeper states that both internal and external evidence show that not a line of Divan poetry can be traced before the Winter of 1813-1814 and that therefore both Gruppe and Goedeke are wrong in dating the start in 1807; and he rejects Bettina's claim that some of the poem were written to her.¹⁴

Loeper claims that the Orient was one of several "Lebenszentren" in Goethe's life and that the Divan is a "return to himself." He says that the Hebrew poetry of the Old Testament and the Bible in general were always among Goethe's favorite studies and that he knew Hebrew and studied Arabic. He adds that Goethe studied biblical questions in the early 1770's and again later, and he mentions translations of the Song of Solomon and Koran verses, and a planned drama about Mohammed. Loeper says that Herder and Eichhorn gave Goethe's proclivity new direction. The latter introduced him to Jones' work on Asian poetry and, thus, to Persian poetry--of which, he says, Goethe probably knew little more than the translation of Saadi's Rosengarten and Baumgarten. He says that Goethe met the Persian poets again in Herder's translations and says that there were trial

¹³Loeper, pp. xxxi-xxxiv.

¹⁴Loeper, pp. xxi-xxiii.

translations of Persian poetry in the Tiefurter Journal.

Loeper says that Goethe's taking up the theme of the Jews' wanderings again in 1797 shows how close he felt to the Orient, even in times ruled by other concerns.¹⁵

He says that Goethe had little time from 1800-1810 for Oriental poetry, but that he read the Sakontala and the Gita-Govinda. He mentions the interest that Friedrich Schlegel had aroused in India; however, he says that for the Divan the East means Arabia and Persia with perhaps a bit of Turkey.¹⁶

Recounting Goethe's strong reaction to Hafis, he stresses that the two poets were related in spirit, that Hafis opened up new poetic possibilities for Goethe, and that the two lived in similar times. He also says that Goethe was relieved to have just finished the first three volumes of his biographical writings and was therefore all the more receptive and ready to respond creatively to Hafis' moods.¹⁷

Loeper speaks of new scientific and historical interests in Arabian-Persian poetry which drew Goethe to begin Oriental studies again in the fall of 1813 after the battle of Leipzig. He calls Goethe's preoccupation a "Herzenssache," stating that Goethe took possession of all Arabian

¹⁵Loeper, pp. xvi-xviii.

¹⁶Loeper, pp. xviii-xix.

¹⁷Loeper, pp. xix-xxi.

and Persian literature and "conquered" the Arabic language rather more by storm than by learning. For this latter information, he cites Goethe's conversations with Chancellor von Müller.¹⁸

Loeper states that ten poems of the first two Divan books (I, 2-5, 7, 8 and II, 1-4) were written in the first half of 1814 in Berka and Weimar; and he speculates that individual ones of the "Buch der Betrachtungen," "Buch des Unmuths," and "Buch der Sprüche" were written then as well. He thinks that these poems were partially inspired by readings in works by Hammer, Chardin and others noted in the NA. Stating that patriotic duties prevented Goethe from devoting himself completely to Oriental poetry, he mentions that Goethe had to write "Festspiele," theatrical productions and poems for state occasions and asserts that no German poet did more then for the fatherland than Goethe.¹⁹

Loeper says that during the trip to the Rhineland (begun July 25, 1814) Goethe shed his cares and produced 10 to 12 poems a day. Although he admits the exact date of composition of many can not be determined, this period of poetic productivity excels in spontaneity and quantity any

¹⁸Loeper, pp. xxif. Friedrich von Müller, Goethe Unterhaltungen mit dem Kanzler von Müller (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1870). Ernst Grumach edited recent editions: Kanzler v. Müller, Unterhaltungen mit Goethe. Kritische Ausgabe (Weimar, 1956); or Kleine Ausgabe with notes (Weimar, 1959).

¹⁹Loeper, pp. xxiii-xxiv.

other time in Goethe's life. He says that Goethe's relaxed state of mind experienced everything around him as poetry and that he created poems that seem to be made out of air. Loeper says that the poems written during this time (I, 9-12; IV, 4, 5; V, 2, 4-6; and IX, 5) and "Der neue Kopernikus" (WA I 3, p. 155), "Sollt einmal durch Erfurt fahren . . ." (WA I 6, p. 278) and "Jahrmarkt zu Hünefeld . . ." (WA I 6, p. 268) form a "poetic diary," the like of which--except for the time spent in Venice in 1790--is evidenced in none of Goethe's other trips.²⁰

Loeper states that production of poems continued unabated in August and mid-October in Wiesbaden, Frankfurt and Heidelberg, and that the following winter in Weimar and Jena also saw Goethe in the spell of Oriental studies.²¹

The year 1815, he says, was a repeat of the previous one, with daily matters and theatrical duties keeping Goethe busy. The second Rhine trip began on the 27th of May and lasted until October 11. Again there was a daily outpouring of poems, although not so many as during the trip of 1814. Loeper cites Boisserée's claim that Goethe himself was amazed at this productivity. Loeper says that the greatest part of the Book "Buch Suleika" and the "Schenkenbuch" were

²⁰Loeper, pp. xxiv-xxv.

²¹Loeper, p. xxv.

written in Frankfurt and Heidelberg between mid-September and mid-October.²²

Marianne von Willemer, he says, wrote most of the "Suleika-Lieder" and deserves special attention. He tells us who she was, that she and Goethe met in 1814, that Goethe won her heart in 1815 when he was 66 and she was 30, and that they kept the relationship a secret. He says that the happiness of this late friendship benefited the Divan and that they expressed their love "truly and purely" in the only way they were able, in the form of Oriental poetry--in Hafis' own lines or in lines patterned after his. Loeper thinks that Marianne was a very talented poet, whose Divan poems seem fully equal to Goethe's. The measure of her contribution to the Divan may never be known with certainty, he says, but "Hochbeglückt in Deiner Liebe . . ." (VIII, 5), "Was bedeutet die Bewegung? . . ." (VIII, 31) and "Ach! um Deine feuchten Schwingen, . . ." (VIII, 34) are certainly hers. He cites Grimm's article and Heinrich Düntzer's "Goethe und Marianne von Willemer." He agrees with everything said in the latter about Divan poems except Düntzer's denial that "Die schön geschriebenen . . ." (VIII, 16) refers to Marianne. Loeper mentions Schubert and Mendelssohn's compositions of Marianne's Divan poems and says that it must have been a great pleasure for Goethe to see his love returned in

²²Loeper, p. xxv.

such songs. He says that it is unique in Goethe's love relations that Goethe took Marianne's poems uncondescendingly into the Divan as its greatest treasure.²³

The years 1815-20, he says, also saw growth in the Divan, especially in the "Buch des Paradieses." He counts 284 poems in the Divan, of which he says some 200 can be reckoned to the latter half of 1814 and to 1815.²⁴

The Divan poems grew entirely out of preoccupation with the Orient, he says; therefore, the Divan is not Western, not Eastern, but "west-östlich." He says that George Henry Lewes--whose The Life and Works of Goethe had been translated into German in 1857--is correct in stating that the Römische Elegien are an analogue to the Divan poems.²⁵ He says that both collections depict German things "newly localized and nationalized," and that one does not wonder at finding Marlborough and Frederick the Great in the elegies or Hutten, St. George, the Doge of Venice and Greek and Roman gods in the Divan. The poetic fiction still allows the poet his German soul, he says; both East and West have many things in common, such as the word "Amen" ("Talismane," I, 4b), Roman and Greek gods, literature and philosophy.²⁶

²³Loeper, pp. xxv-xxviii.

²⁴Loeper, p. xxviii.

²⁵Lewes, London, 1855. Many printings.

²⁶Loeper, pp. xxviii-xxix.

He says that Oriental names, designations and modes of expressions are an integral part of the Divan and that Goedeke is wrong to say that the Oriental costume is a mask and the poetry a disturbing Maskenspiel. Loeper says that one cannot talk of masking when poetic inspiration is voicing itself and that only poetry allowed Goethe to be wholly truthful and open.²⁷

Loeper says that the Divan is foreign poetry adapted to and born anew in the German spirit, a true product of German art which presents only what accords with contemporary thinking. Contradictory elements such as the harem and the Oriental concept of love are not there; the love celebrated in the Divan is German. He says that the clarity of the Divan-poems has nothing of the fanatic, mystic or contemplative spirit of the Mohammedan Orient. Only occasionally is there a hint of such directions, as in "Selige Sehnsucht" (I, 17).²⁸

The Divan, Loeper thinks, has a dual position in regard to the Romantics. The "Buch der Betrachtungen," the "Buch des Unmuths" and the "Buch der Sprüche" put the Divan in a class with Goethe's Über Kunst und Alterthum in den Rhein- und Main-Gegenden; like that essay the Divan opposed the

²⁷Loeper, p. xxx.

²⁸Loeper, pp. xxx-xxx1.

Romantics, who accordingly afforded it a mixed reception.²⁹ Yet, he says, it is a product of Romantic attempts to unite the best of foreign literature and folk poetry with the German tradition--a goal the Divan achieves, but in a classical spirit. He likens Goethe's "poetic approach to the problems of Asia" to scientific research by people like Jones and Carsten Niebuhr and to the work of German linguists.³⁰

He also sees the Divan as a link in a chain of mutual exchanges between Orient and Occident and says that Goethe referred to this circuit of ideas in the Divan. Loeper mentions that already Reuchlin and his students studied Oriental poetry, and that the Vossius family continued the trend in the 17th century. He notes that Leyden became a center for the study of Oriental literature and had made the Persian poets a part of a common European heritage. He thinks that the NA chapter "Pietro della Valle" shows the mutual effect of travels and travel books.³¹

Stating that the Divan added considerably to contemporary preoccupation with the East, Loeper gives examples of works which show the Divan's influence and other examples

²⁹The essay appeared in Vol. 1, Nos. 1-2 of Über Kunst und Alterthum, 6 vols., (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1816-1832). Loeper cites Vol 1, No. 2, p. 7ff. as especially relevant.

³⁰Loeper, pp. xxxii-xxxiii.

³¹Loeper, pp. xxxiii-xxxiv.

which illustrate general European interest in the Orient. He says that while Goethe's influence on Rückert is undeniable, that poet had begun Oriental study independently under Hammer in Vienna. He quotes from Platen's poem in his Ghaselen and also lines by Karl Lebrecht Immermann:

Alter Dichter, Du gemahnst mich als wie Hameln's
Rattenfänger,
Pfeifst nach Morgen, und es folgen all' die lieben
kleinen Sänger.

This poem stands in Immermann's works along with four other two-line poems to "Östliche Poeten."³² All the poems are negative, but Loeper does not note this. He does mention the "little singers" W[ilhelm?] Müller, J. B. Rousseau, Nikolaus Lenau, Georg Friedrich Daumer, Leopold Schefer, Emil Ritterhaus and Friedrich Bodenstedt. Of all these, he says, only the latter's Die Lieder des Mirza-Schaffy deserve a place near the Divan.³³

Claiming that at the time of writing, the major works of Oriental poetry had been translated, Loeper cites four translations of Ferdusi, two of Hafis--not including Hammer's--, and new translations of Saadi, Ferideddin Attar, and Dschami. He also mentions scientific treatment of the

³²Immermann, Werke, 5 vols. ed. Benno von Wiese, (Frankfurt am Main: Athenäum, 1971), p. 94.

³³Loeper, p. xxxiv-xxxvi. Bodenstedt, (n.p.: Hofbuchdruckerei, 1851). Many editions.

Parsi and Zoroaster and notes translations from Arabic and biographies of Mohammed.³⁴

He says that Thomas Moore's Lalla Rookh increased German appetite for the Orient--as notably evidenced in Gasparo Luigi Pacifico Spontini's opera Nurmahal (1822) and Robert Schumann's Paradies und die Peri (1843); but he does not explain why these works are important or how they show the Divan's influence.³⁵ Both musical compositions were based on Moore's work; Spontini was chief "Kapellmeister" in Berlin, and Schubert wrote music for Divan poems. In his notes to the Divan poem "Einlaß" (XII, 4), Loeper argues that it was influenced by Moore's work--a claim rejected by later scholarship.³⁶

While it also influenced other poets, especially Heinrich Heine, Loeper says, the Divan's real value lies in its being one of the greatest products of German poetry. He attributes to the poems most of what is good in Goethe's lyrics: choice but simple language, union of nature and art, sovereign control of form and rhyme, clarity, and the absence of pathos and sentimentality. Comparing Goethe to a sculptor, he says that Goethe avoids Oriental excesses. He

³⁴Loeper, pp. xxxiv-xxxv.

³⁵Lalla Rookh, London: Longman, 1817. There were early translations by Johann Ludwig Witthaus (Zwickau: Gebrüder Schumann, 1822) and Friedrich de la Motte-Fouqué (Lalla Rukh, Berlin: Schlesingersche Buch- und Musikhandlung, 1822).

³⁶Loeper, pp. xxxv-xxxvi. See Maier, 2, p. 417f.

thinks that the sensuality of the Römische Elegien or the "Tagebuch" would be undesirable here. Goethe almost went too far, he says, when, in imitation of Persian poets who combine the lowly with the sublime, he wrote about the hangover and the "Schwänchen" (IX, 13 and 15). And Loeper does not care for those poems like "Versunken" (III, 6) and "Wie des Goldschmieds Bazarlädchen" (VIII, 19), in which, he says, Goethe imitated Eastern poets who "dissect" the beloved.³⁷

Loeper claims that the Divan is ahead of its time in lightness, clarity and fineness and that not a line shows the weakness of age. However, he thinks that "Wenn der Mensch die Erde schätzt . . ." (XI, 2) needs revision since form suppresses content. And he says that "Die Jahre nahmen dir, du sagst, so vieles . . ." (IV, 17) belongs to the "Altersdichtung" and is a later addition which does not really belong in the collection. He likes the spirit and grace which he says pervades each book and each one differently.³⁸

Goethe understood Oriental forms, Loeper says, but correctly chose not to give up German rhyme in the Divan. Stating that Goethe attempted an analogue in some poems, Loeper says that he prefers those where Goethe combined

³⁷Loeper, pp. xxxvi-xxxviii.

³⁸Loeper, pp. xxxviii-xxxix.

constant rhyme with changing rhyme, such as "Höchste Gunst" (IV, 22), "In tausend Formen magst du dich verstecken . . ." (VIII, 42), and "Sie haben wegen der Trunkenheit . . ." (IX, 10). He feels that the Divan offers other novel poetic devices: bold ellipses, daring and even impossible rhymes like "zeugtest, leuchtet" (I, 17) and "teutschet, heischet" (V, 13), and missing or extra syllables.³⁹

As the outstanding Divan poems--"unrhymed dithyrambs in which Goethe, so to say, outdid himself"--Loeper picks "Le-sebuch" (III, 3), "Schlechter Trost" (III, 9), "Gruß" (III, 11), "Der Winter und Timur" (VII, 1), "Kenne wohl der Männer Blicke . . ." (VIII, 9), "Die schön geschriebenen . . ." (VIII, 16), "Und warum sendet . . ." (WA I 6, p. 291), "Laßt mich weinen! . . ." (WA I 6, p. 290), "Nicht mehr auf Seidenblatt . . ." (WA I 6, p. 293), "Jene garstige Vettel" (IX, 14) and "Siebenschläfer" (XII, 10). He says that the value of these poems is all the more evident when one compares them with similar ones, for instance with Heine's Nordseelieder.⁴⁰

Loeper says that the dialogues with Suleika and the cupbearer constitute a special category--one that had been virtually unknown up to that point--, and that the poet shows in them great tenderness, grace, mischievousness and

³⁹Loeper, pp. xxxix-xli.

⁴⁰Loeper, p. xli.

humor. He says that the drinking songs are new for Goethe and had not been practiced since Lessing, Gleim and Hagedorn.⁴¹

He likes the "Sprüche" very much and says that the proverb owes its current popularity among younger poets to Goethe and, after him, Rückert. He says that his notes show that the source for most of the "Sprüche" is the Orient and that even more will prove to be Oriental when their origins are discovered. He quotes Karl Goedeke's opinion, expressed in the Grundrisz, that the "Sprüche" are the same as those in Goethe's Zahme Xenien but "orientalized" through a word or reference. Loeper answers that this is simply not true, that Goethe never undertook such a procedure, and that Goethe rather did the reverse, sending out "Oriental wares under a German flag."⁴²

"Israel in der Wüste" does not belong in the Divan, Loeper says; otherwise the NA is unsurpassed in characterization of Arabic-Persian poetry and the seven great Persian poets; he says that its scientific value is great and that it is a masterpiece of prose style.⁴³

⁴¹Loeper, p. xlii.

⁴²Loeper, pp. xlii-vliii, is citing from the 1st edition: Grundrisz zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung. 3 vols. (Dresden: Ehlermann, 1859 & 1881), Vol. 2, p. 862.

⁴³Loeper, p. xliii.

In the last four pages of the introduction Loeper quotes and summarizes a number of statements from previous reactions to the Divan, which we have mentioned in the introduction. His first and most extensive quote is from Hegel's Vorlesungen über die Ästhetik; he also quotes from Heine's Zur Geschichte der neueren schönen Literatur in Deutschland (see above, p. 70) and Charlotte von Schiller's letter to Knebel (see above, p. 15). The other passages are summarized below.

Friedrich Theodor Vischer, Asthetik, says that Goethe was still writing gay, carefree poems in advanced age. In 1816 Wilhelm von Humboldt wrote Friedrich Gottlieb Welcker that he had heard Goethe read his Oriental poems and that they were as good as his earlier work. Theodor Wilhelm Danzel, Ueber Goethe's Spinozismus, thinks that Goethe did well in the Divan to avoid Oriental reflection and keep a free and playful manner, as when he attributes the names of Allah to the beloved in "In tausend Formen magst du dich verstecken" (VIII, 42). Philipp Moritz Carrierre, in Die Kunst im Zusammenhang der Kulturentwicklung, says the Divan returns poetry to its origins in the Orient; and Johannes Scherr, in Allgemeine Geschichte der Literatur, says that the Divan fulfilled Herder's call to look to the East and that it nurtured the idea of world literature.⁴⁴

⁴⁴Vischer, 3 vols. (Leipzig and Stuttgart, 1846-54), III, 1372. Humboldt, Briefe an F. G. Welcker (Berlin: R.

Loeper states that Gervinus' history of literature is too polemical in its treatment of the Divan, that Goedeke's is more reasoned but still prejudiced, and that Gruppe's is full of mistakes. He cites several works as making positive remarks: Karl Rosenkranz' Goethe und seine Werke, Joseph Hillebrand's Die Deutsche Nationalliteratur, August Friedrich Christian Vilmar's Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der deutschen National-Literatur, Julian Schmidt's Geschichte der deutschen Nationalliteratur, Hermann Hettner's Geschichte der deutschen Literatur and Lewes' Life and Works of Goethe.⁴⁵

Loeper acknowledges that his notes are indebted to Wurm and Düntzer and adds that his contribution lies in offering Western analogies. In a final section "Zur Revision des Textes," he compares manuscripts and printings and includes items which he did not think belonged in the notes, such as a statement that the spelling "Moghanni" is more correct than "Moganni" or the question whether the word Abracadabra is related to Abraxas.⁴⁶

Gaertner, 1859), p. 35. Danzel, (Hamburg, 1843), p. 20. Carrière, 5 vols. (Leipzig, 1863-73). Scherr, 2 vols. Stuttgart, 1851; Several editions.

⁴⁵Rosenkranz, (Königsberg, 1847). Hillebrand, 3 vols. (Hamburg und Gotha, 1845). Vilmar, (Marburg: Elwert 1845). Schmidt, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1853); 2nd ed. 3 vols. (Berlin, 1853). Hettner, 3 vols. Braunschweig, 1862-70. There were numerous printings of these histories.

⁴⁶Loeper, pp. 380-389.

G[ustav] v. Loeper. "Zu den Quellen Goethischer Gedichte und Sprüche." Archiv für Litteraturgeschichte 3 (1874): 488-494, esp. 490-491. (Also called Schnorr's Archiv).

Loeper had not treated the NA in his commentary. In this 1874 essay, he says that the source for the verses "Mir will ewiger Durst nur frommen/ Nach dem Durste." (NA "Zweifel") is a passage in Joseph Freiherr von Eichendorff's novel Ahnung und Gegenwart. According to Loeper, in book 2, chapter 12, a poet "'von mehr schmachtendem Ansehn,' ein 'Poesierer,'" recites a poem "Hat nun Lenz die silbern' Bronnen," the fourth stanza of which reads:

Was die Andern sorgen wollen,
Ist mir dunkel,
Mir will ew'ger Durst nur frommen
Nach dem Durste.

Loeper comments that Eichendorff said of the poet's efforts, "die Poesie selber kam nicht zum Vorschein"; and he adds that this is probably the only place in Goethe's writings which shows familiarity with Eichendorff's works.

Karl Simrock. Goethes Westöstlicher Divan. Mit den Auszügen aus dem Buch des Kabus. Heilbronn: Gebr. Henninger, 1875.

J. F. "Goethe, Suleika und der West-östliche Divan." [Stuttgart] Allgemeine Zeitung 53 and 54 (February 22 and 23, 1877): (Beilage) 793-795 and (Beilage) 810-811.

The writer J. F. explores three concerns in this article. He first addresses the idea that Goethe indicated in the Divan that he wanted readers to identify him (Goethe) with the character Hatem (and Marianne with Suleika); he

then reviews the literature concerning Goethe and Marianne, with particular attention to misinformation; finally, he discusses the issue of Marianne's authorship of Divan poems.

He begins by stating that Karl Simrock had supposedly been the first to recognize that Goethe used the verse endings "Morgenröthe"/"Hatem" (VIII, 20, vv. 9 and 11) to indicate that the reader should recognize Goethe in Hatem (see above, pp. 66-68). But J. F. thinks that Rückert was the first and that he had quietly indicated his "discovery" in 1822 by alluding to those verses and to

Und da duftets wie vor Alters,
Da wir noch von Liebe litten,
Und die Saiten meines Psalters
Mit dem Morgenstrahl sich stritten.
(I, 12, vv. 9-12)

in the following verses of his poem "Zu Goethes west-östlichem Divan":

Abendröthen
Dienten Goethen
Freudig als dem Stern des Abendlandes;
Nun erhöhten
Morgenröthen
Herrlich ihn zum Herrn des Morgenlandes.
.
Dem das Alter
Nicht den Psalter
Hat entwunden, sondern nur umflochten.
(Werke 3:222.)

What is remarkable is that anyone had to discover the Goethe-Hathem "secret," says J. F., when Goethe openly stated what he was doing. Quoting VIII, 3, vv. 1-6, in which the poet takes the name Hatem, J. F. says that v. 5, "daß man mich daran erkennt" means "wo im Buche 'Suleika'

der Name Hatem steht, da ist darunter zu 'erkennen' Goethe, da ist zu lesen und zu sprechen Goethe" (p. 793).

Likewise, he believes, the name Suleika is really meant to be read and spoken Marianne, "written with four syllables but spoken three" (p. 793). He writes that this secret, too, was already evident in Goethe's time and he quotes verses by Simrock which state that Goethe's feelings for Suleika were not pretended, and people knew that Goethe really meant a German girl. Now J. F. quotes Divan verses, substituting the name "Marianne" for "Suleika" and decides that in every verse of the "Buch Suleika" which ends with the word "Suleika" "ist die Assonanz auf A und damit der wirkliche Name Marianne indiciert" (p. 793). His examples are from poems VIII, 27, vv. 13-16, and VIII, 16, vv. 14 and 29. To more clearly illustrate, here is his first example:

Möge Wasser, springend, wallend,
Die Cypressen dir gestehn:
Von Marianne zu Mariannen
Ist mein Kommen und mein Gehn.

Read in this manner, he says, the poems to Suleika emerge as individual entities and "assume a personal life and concrete presence."

Turning to the question of whether and how much of the Divan Marianne may have written, J. F. gives evidence (pp. 793-794) which supports the position that she authored certain parts of the Hatem-Suleika dialogue: he quotes from VIII, 28, vv. 25-30 and VIII, 29, vv. 1-7, 9-12, and he

quickly reviews the literature on Marianne by Grimm and Düntzer and in Goedeke's Divan edition.

His real interest is Emilie Andreae Kellner's Goethe und das Urbild seiner Suleika, which had appeared in 1876.⁴⁷ Since Kellner was a relative of Marianne, one expects elucidation and authentication in her account; instead, he says, one finds confusion and myth. J. F. discusses the work in some detail (pp. 794-795) and points to inaccuracies and misunderstandings, which, if correctly reported, certainly support his contention that the book is unreliable. He tells us, for instance, that Kellner suggests that Marianne was the model for Mignon, that Kellner took material from Düntzer's article but got the references mixed up, and that some dates were off by as much as 20 years.

Mostly, J. F. is concerned with one of Kellner's stories in which Marianne supposedly related details about being with Goethe in Heidelberg; the anecdote connects "Gingo biloba" (VIII, 10) to a gingko tree at Stift Neuburg, which Fritz Schlosser owned since 1806. But all that did not happen, at least as Kellner relates it, says J. F., and he advances numerous arguments to show that Goethe was never at Neuburg and that Marianne's visits did not begin until long after 1815. J. F. agrees with Düntzer that "Gingo

⁴⁷Kellner (Leipzig: Schlicke, 1876).

biloba" was composed in Frankfurt, and he cites a passage from Boisserée which he thinks indicates this.⁴⁸

In the second part of the article (p. 810), J. F. argues that Marianne probably did not write any of the Divan poems. He likes Marianne's poems, especially one written in 1824 and titled "An Goethe." He calls it her most beautiful but remarks that no one would mistake it for Goethe's. He also says that it has verses which read too much like the Divan; he makes comparisons and concludes that Marianne's work is not free allusion but a kind of quotation; he says such poetry hardly comes from a really first-rate poet, to which level people were trying, he says, to raise Marianne. He says no such passages can be found in those Divan poems attributed to Marianne.

J. F. then examines external evidence and says there is no indication in Goethe's other writings or in NA "Künftiger Divan: Buch Suleika" which supports the idea of coauthorship. And to poems VIII, 2 and 3, which seems to indicate this, there are other verses ("Fühlst du nicht an meinen Liedern/ Daß ich eins und doppelt bin?" [VIII, 10, vv. 11-12]), he thinks, which give the answer, namely that Goethe is both Hatem and Suleika. He mentions other considerations (p. 811): the lack of suitable responses in the Divan to (Marianne's) VIII, 31 and 34; the fact that Goethe's

⁴⁸See Günter Debron, "Das Blatt von Osten."

intimate friends, especially Zelter and Boisserée, had no idea of Marianne's involvement; and that Marianne's intimate friends also had no idea of her alleged contributions. He quotes from poems VIII, 31 and 34, and asks whether anyone could seriously believe that someone other than Goethe had written them. He adds that the latter poem is like a formal pendant to Goethe's "Herz, mein Herz, was soll das geben?" and he says the imagery there is the same as that in "Der Fischer," "Erlkönig" and Mignon's songs.

J. F. also cites examples of word usage to support his claim. Düstern in VIII, 31, v. 15 means "to grow dark," he says, and departs from the accepted usage "to cause to darken"; it is an unicum and characterizes the master Goethe, not an occasional poet such as Marianne. His second example is fingerab in VIII, 7, which Grimm, but not Düntzer, had attributed to Marianne.

J. F. says that he looks forward to the publication of Marianne's literary legacy, which should clarify the situation. If his ideas are wrong, he says, Germany will be richer by a great poet.

He can not close, he says, without expressing his renewed admiration for the Divan. The Suleika question has taken him, he reports, back to those places where Goethe's poetry had begun; and he briefly but rhapsodically recalls associations from Goethe's Sturm-und-Drang and classic

periods. Finally he speaks of the Divan as a great crowning achievement, likening it to a Jupiter Symphony in words.⁴⁹

Th[eodor] C[reizenach]. Letter in reply to J. F. March 8, 1877. In "Verschiedenes." Allgemeine Zeitung 70 (March 11, 1877): 1052.

Shortly after J. F.'s article appeared, Th. C. replied from Frankfurt. Since this writer has detailed knowledge of Goethe and Marianne's correspondence, he is certainly Theodor Creizenach, who was preparing Marianne's letters for publication. He basically agrees with J. F.'s warning regarding Kellner's book, and he agrees that Marianne and Goethe were never together at Stift Neuburg. But he adds that the situation is even worse than J. F. had reported, and he mentions other, more glaring errors. He adds that one must even suspect the poems quoted there, and he tells us that Kellner attributed a poem to Marianne which in reality Goethe had written.

He disagrees with J. F.'s evaluation of Marianne's poem "An Goethe." What J. F. calls "borrowing," he says, was conscious allusion. This will become clearer from Goethe and Marianne's correspondence, when it appears, he says; and this will also show that Marianne is without doubt the author of "Westwind" (VIII, 34).

⁴⁹Mozart's late work, the "Symphony No. 41 in C Major" K. 551, regarded by many as the finest symphony ever written.

Heinrich Düntzer, ed. Goethes Westöstlicher Divan. Vols. 31-33 of Erläuterungen zu den deutschen Klassikern. Erste Abtheilung: Erläuterungen zu Goethes Werken von Heinrich Düntzer. Leipzig: Ed. Wartig, 1878.

Heinrich Düntzer's second complete commentary on the Divan appeared in 1878 as part of his Erläuterungen zu Goethes Werken (hereafter ERL). The book has three main divisions: a 178-page "Entstehung des Divans und des Dichters Beziehung zu Marianne von Willemer (Suleika)," a 26-page "Würdigung des Divans," 220 pages of notes or "Erläuterung der einzelnen Lieder" and a final 3-page section "Zusätze und Berichtigungen."

The first 20 pages of the "Entstehung" detail Goethe's interests in the East before the Divan and recount activities of Orientalists and publications of Eastern literature in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Like Loeper, Düntzer says that Goethe was always interested in the East. He cites Goethe's continued studies of the Bible, Hebrew, Mohammed and the Koran and mentions Goethe's own poems with Eastern themes, translations from the Bible and the Koran, fragmentary sketches, and a 1773 essay, Zwo wichtige bisher unerörterte Biblische Fragen. . . . He mentions Indian literature and accounts of China and the influence of Herder and Eichhorn. Düntzer occasionally speculates on what Goethe might have read; he recounts Herder's activities relating to Eastern literature and says that Goethe must have shown at least friendly interest. He indicates that

Goethe would have been aware of most of the Oriental studies that were being published.⁵⁰

Emphasizing Goethe's patriotism, Düntzer states that Goethe could not begin work on the Divan before the enemy was driven from German soil in early 1814. He says that Hammer did not send Goethe a copy of his translation of Hafis himself, but he also believes that Goethe received Hafis' Divan in the Spring of 1813. Düntzer does not much care for Hammer's translation, which he calls stiff, and he speculates that Goethe--put off by bad style, parallel passages from Latin and Greek literature and Hafis' self-praise--set the book aside. Düntzer cites Jacob Frédéric Soret's "Notice sur Goethe" as dating the start of Goethe's Oriental studies in 1811 when Goethe got a page of a Koran manuscript from a soldier returning from Spain; but Düntzer thinks that Goethe did not get the document before 1813.⁵¹ Düntzer examined the lending lists from the Weimar library and says that Goethe borrowed no books on the Orient before the winter of 1814; nevertheless he thinks that Goethe read Chardin and some other writers mentioned in the NA.⁵²

Düntzer gives a detailed account of the writing of the Divan poems and of Goethe's activities, readings and other

⁵⁰ERL, pp. 1-20.

⁵¹Soret, (Geneva: Imprimerie de la Bibliothéque universelle, 1832).

⁵²ERL, pp. 16-20.

writings during the time when he was working on the Divan. His most important source for the dating of the poems is the Quartausgabe; he points out, however, that sometimes the dates there are wrong and cites "Vier Gnaden" (I, 5), which the Quartausgabe had said was written February 6, 1814. He says other important sources are Boisserée's letters and diaries and the correspondence between Marianne von Willemer and Goethe which had appeared in 1877.⁵³

Düntzer says that the first poems were written in Berka and that the very first was "Erschaffen und Beleben" (I, 8). Düntzer points out that the manuscript had the date June 21, 1814, and the heading "Die 18. Gasele des Buchstaben Dal.," which, he explains, is a reference to a poem in Hafis' Divan. He explains how the poems are arranged there and that Goethe did not himself undertake such an arrangement in his own book. He tells us what a ghazel is and says that Goethe did not use that form often. During his stay in Berka Goethe wrote or began, Düntzer says, poems I: 8; II: 1, 3, 4, and, shortly thereafter in Weimar, I, 7.⁵⁴

Düntzer continues in this manner, chronologically, stating when and where the poems were written and giving

⁵³ERL, pp. 20-21. Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Marianne von Willemer (Suleika), ed. Th. Creizenach (Stuttgart: Cotta). A newer edition is Marianne und Joh. Jakob von Willemer: Briefwechsel mit Goethe, ed. Hans-J. Weitz (Frankfurt a.M., 1965).

⁵⁴ERL, pp. 22-24ff.

details about Goethe at the time: whom he saw, the weather, whether he felt well, and what else he was writing. He gives a vague indication of sources by saying that a poem derives from Hafis or some other author. He quotes from the Tag- und Jahreshefte and from Goethe's correspondence with Zelter, Boisserée, the Willemers, Karl Ludwig von Knebel, and Christian Gottlob von Voigt; and from the letters, diaries and conversations of Boisserée, Knebel, Zelter, Charlotte von Schiller and Riemer, including papers in the latter's "Nachlaß."⁵⁵ And Düntzer tries to identify the Divan poems to which these persons were or might have been referring. He quotes and cites the editors of the above works, especially when he thinks they are wrong; most of all he cites or takes exception to Loeper's commentary. For instance, he interrupts his narrative to explain that his own 1858 notes to poem I, 12 had been guided by a comment in Riemer's "Nachlaß"; Loeper had followed the Quartausgabe and ignored Düntzer's comments; Düntzer thinks that Loeper was wrong in doing so, and he tries to reconcile the sources of information.

Goethe began the 1814 Rhine trip in a fresh carefree mood, Düntzer states; and he recounts the stops and the

⁵⁵Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Knebel, ed. G. E. Guhrauer, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1851); ed. H. von Maltzahn, K. L. von Knebel (Jena, 1919).

Goethes Briefe an Chr. Gottlob Voigt, ed. Otto Jahn (Leipzig: G. Hirzel, 1868). Also Goethes Briefwechsel mit Chr. Gottlob Voigt, ed. H. Tümmeler. 4 vols. Weimar 1949-62.

visits, mentioning especially the Willemers and Boisserée. He says that Goethe wrote Riemer on August 29 and spoke of 29 poems, but Düntzer only knows of 18 completed and 2 others begun. Düntzer lists the poems from the trip, including those not included in the Divan. For the rest of 1814, he notes that Goethe changed his pronunciation of the name Hafis and that he borrowed books on the East from the Weimar library, which Düntzer lists. During this time, he says, Goethe wrote or completed poems I, 1, 14; II: 3, 4, 8; IV, 2, 3, 16; V, 2, 5, 11; VII, 1; IX, 19; XII, 10 and VIII, 1.⁵⁶

Between January and May 24, 1815, the start of the second Rhine trip, Goethe pursued Eastern studies, wrote more poems and, Düntzer adds, read Homer in order to keep a proper balance. To this period belong poems I: 4a, 5, 13; II, 2; V, 3; VIII: 13, 14, 15, 30, 41; IX: 3, 17; X, 5, 6, 8; XII, 8; and "Ferner sind allhier zu finden . . ." (WA I 6, p. 444) Fifty-two poems have been finished and two more begun, says Düntzer; but he quotes from Goethe's letters--to Knebel (January 31) and to Zelter (May 24)--references which would put the number higher. To account for these poems, he speculates that a number of the "Sprüche" were written in January and says many of the undated Divan poems were written before the start of the second Rhine trip. And Düntzer

⁵⁶ERL, pp. 24-35.

says that "Ob der Coran von Ewigkeit sey? . . ." (IX, 3), written May 20, departs from previous Divan rhymes and that it is the first poem to show influence of the ghazel form.⁵⁷

For the period of the second Rhine trip, Düntzer lists the poems which Goethe wrote or completed, including some others not now in the Divan. He concentrates on the time spent with Boisserée and the Willemers. He quotes extensively from the former's diaries, which, he reports, shed some light on otherwise undated Divan poems, since Boisserée briefly recorded the contents of poems on various occasions. He names 23 poems which he thinks Boisserée meant, including one about which Düntzer is doubtful and two he thinks Goethe must have later discarded. He quotes Boisserée as saying that Goethe was busy writing on the morning of September 23, and he speculates on which poems these might have been.⁵⁸

Gleaning from Boisserée's diaries, Marianne's letters and Grimm, Düntzer gives details on the time that Goethe and Marianne were together. He thinks that poems VIII: 4, 7, 11, 12, 18, 19, 23, 26, 28, 30, 35, 38, 36, 32, 33 and another poem "Laßt mich weinen! . . ." (WA I 6, p. 290)-- which he says were written then or before the end of 1815-- relate directly to Marianne. Düntzer denies that Marianne wrote or had a hand in writing "Sag du hast wohl viel

⁵⁷ERL, pp. 35-45.

⁵⁸ERL, pp. 45-75, esp. pp. 48-55 and 62-63.

gedichtet . . ." (VIII, 11), "Die schön geschriebenen . . ." (VIII, 16) or "Locken! haltet mich gefangen . . ." (VIII, 20). Having returned to Weimar, Goethe continues Eastern studies and wrote some six poems according to Düntzer's listing. Düntzer speculates a division into books occurred at this point and mentions that Goethe continued to collect Orientalia.⁵⁹

Noting the books which Goethe borrowed from the Weimar library, Düntzer reports mostly work on the NA for 1816. He says that Goethe wrote two Divan poems in the early part of the year but that from February 1816 to November 1817 no poems can be dated. He quotes from Goethe's letters to Cotta, including unpublished ones, and notes that Divan poems were printed in the Morgenblatt and Gaben der Milde. He quotes the "Ankündigung" in the Morgenblatt, February 24, 1816, and concludes that that the poems "Gute Nacht!" (XII, 11) and "Dem Kellner" (IX, 8a) had been written by that time. Goethe remained in contact with Marianne, he says, but the "Suleikalieder" had stopped. He quotes from Goethe's letters to Zelter, from a letter to Riemer, and from the Tag- und Jahreshefte; and he mentions Zelter's compositions. By late 1816, he says, Goethe was losing interest in the "Persian air," and that of the Rhine and Main as well; and he thinks that the poems were basically finished by this time.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ERL, pp. 55-80.

⁶⁰ERL, pp. 80-90.

For 1817 Düntzer reports more Oriental readings and says that Goethe definitely had conceived the idea of writing the NA by the end of the year. He quotes Tag- und Jahreshefte entries and reports that death robbed Goethe of Orientalist friends Diez and Lorsbach and that Goethe was glad when Kosegarten took over Lorsbach's position in Jena. He says that one Divan poem was written towards the end of the year.⁶¹

Düntzer says that Goethe moved to Jena in early 1818 to oversee the Divan's printing, which proceeded slowly. He follows the work's progress and again notes that the "Suleikastimmung" was gone. He reports that Goethe was now asking Kosegarten for aid in Oriental matters. He quotes from Boisserée's letters and extensively from the letters between Goethe and Marianne and says that Goethe sent both these friends printed sections of the Divan. He reports hectic Eastern studies, especially at the end of the year. These Divan-related activities continued into 1819. Goethe was reading Divan poems to friends and presenting more gifts of some of the printed poems. He tells us that Goethe asked Kosegarten for appropriate verses for the title page.⁶²

Düntzer reports how the work finally appeared in late 1819. He gives a detailed description of the book and translations of Arabic and Persian inscriptions at the

⁶¹ERL, pp. 90-92.

⁶²ERL, pp. 92-100.

beginning and the end. He counts five poems Goethe had left out, and he paraphrases the NA "Künftiger Divan" on plans to add to the book. Then he summarizes the NA, which he generally likes; he objects however, to the presence of the essay "Israel in der Wüste."⁶³

Düntzer states that Goethe had special copies of the Divan with painted title pages made for friends and mentions that he sent such copies to the Willemers and to Zelter. He quotes from Goethe's letters to Zelter and the Tag- und Jahreshefte for 1820 as he lists the poems written in 1820. He says that an assumption by Loeper that "Vorschmack" (XII, 1) was also written in 1820 cannot be proved. He mentions the musical settings of Divan poems by Zelter and Eberwein and the appearance of poems in the Wanderjahre. He also recalls that Charlotte von Schiller and Frau von Stein enjoyed reading the Divan "Sprüche" and mentions Kosegarten's review.⁶⁴

Most of the rest of the essay is devoted to the Goethe-Marianne relationship. He points out that they never saw each other again but that they remained friends until Goethe's death and that Marianne cherished his memory. Düntzer quotes extensively from their letters and also from Boisserée's, detailing Goethe and Marianne's closeness and again their separation, the exchanged gifts and Marianne's concern

⁶³ERL, pp. 106-109.

⁶⁴ERL, pp. 113-118.

with his health and his writings. Düntzer mentions the Divan-related poems, the "Chiffernbriefer" and "Hudhud" poems, as well as other poems they exchanged.⁶⁵

Düntzer further notes the appearance of Rückert's Oestliche Rosen and Platen's Ghaselen and that there were reviews of their works in Kunst und Alterthum (Vol. 3, No. 2). He mentions that Eckermann in his Beiträge zur Poesie had praised "Ach! um deine feuchten Schwingen . . ." (VIII, 34) as exemplary of Goethe's lyrics and that Goethe had forwarded these comments to Marianne; and he mentions Schubert's compositions.⁶⁶

Describing the Divan volume in Ausgabe letzter Hand, Düntzer notes that the number of poems had been increased, but he says that Goethe had still not included them all. He thinks that Goethe was so busy with work on the final edition of his works that he did not get around to completing the Divan as he had intended; he implies, for instance, that having two of Suleika's poems appear before her introduction in the eighth book is a mistake which Goethe would have corrected. And he repeats the comment from 1828 recorded by Eckermann that Goethe no longer felt a relation to the Divan poems.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ERL, pp. 109-171.

⁶⁶ERL, pp. 125-126, 136-137. Eckermann, Beiträge zur Poesie (Cotta, 1823).

⁶⁷ERL, pp. 144-152.

Christian Wurm's Commentar, Düntzer says, is a thorough and diligent work. He records that the Quartausgabe of 1837 contained a number of new poems, mostly, he says, poems to Marianne and he feels these additions are in accordance with Goethe's wishes. Noting other minor changes, he vents his annoyance that several poems are often printed together on one page with a title that applies to possibly only one poem. He says that the nine poems dropped from a later Goethe edition should have been retained. He notes other changes, such as those required in moving the poem "An Hafis" from the NA to the "Buch Hafis." Again, he defends Eckermann as an editor, stating that he would only have made changes approved by Goethe.⁶⁸

He notes without comment that Heinrich Viehoff included Divan poems in his Goethe's Gedichte and he mentions his own 1858 commentary. He considers Philipp Wolff's "Studien über Göthes westöstlichen Divan" of 1861 insignificant. Loeper's edition is deserving, he thinks, but contains irrelevant material. He mentions that Loeper added poems "Schoen und koestlich ist die Gabe . . ." (WA I 6, p. 298) and "Wo man mir Guts erzeugt überall . . ." (WA I 6, pp. 302-303); he disapproves the former addition and approves the latter; and he says that Loeper made some changes in the arrangement of the poems which he does not condone.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ERL, pp. 171-174.

⁶⁹ERL, pp. 176-178.

Refuting Goedeke's charge that Goethe is playing some sort of masked game or costuming himself in the Divan, Düntzer says in "Würdigung des Divans" that Goethe rejected masks and Romantic pretense. He also calls Hammer "half-learned" and says that he misunderstood Hafis--who, Düntzer believes, is really a mystic poet--and misrepresented him as a poet of wine and love. However, he tells us, only this misrepresentation could and did attract Goethe. The first Divan poems were written to and dedicated to Hafis; they were responses to him, not copies and not ghazels, although Goethe did put Hafis' name in at the end of the poems as required by the ghazel. Gradually, Düntzer says, Goethe had the idea of a group of poems into which he would put Eastern life, thought and feeling. The needed inspiration and subjects for the completion of the Divan were supplied by Marianne and the wine from the Rhine and Main.⁷⁰

Previous explanations of the Divan, Düntzer thinks, had been too superficial. The best presentation, he says, was Loeper's; but--maintaining that there is not a drop of patriotic joy in the Divan--Düntzer adds that Loeper is too interested in seeing politics in the Divan. He says that Hettner misinterprets the whole thing because he sees it as

⁷⁰ERL, pp. 178-185.

a vehicle for Goethe's pantheism and that Goedeke did not understand the way the Divan developed.⁷¹

Düntzer says that the first two books are an introduction to the Divan. Quoting from the "Ankündigung," he says that we immediately see the poet in the East, nurtured by a different air there; and he gives a one-sentence summary of the poems in the first book, which is meant to show the diversity of interests expressed there. Goethe begins the "Buch Hafis" with Oriental hyperbolic praise of that poet, Düntzer says; but Goethe will compete with Hafis in his own way and only in those things that really matter, not by using Oriental form.⁷²

In the next ten books Goethe presents different types of lyric expression as found in Hafis or in the East, Düntzer says. He tells us that we find love and sorrow, thoughtful teachings, and expressions of Goethe's displeasure. He says that Goethe mixes Oriental ideas and motifs with his own ideas and that the individual poems are sometimes more Oriental, sometimes more Western. Love is treated generally in the "Buch der Liebe," he says and adds that he does not think that any of the poems there are meant allegorically. He says that a number of the poems in the "Buch der Betrachtungen" do not belong there, mentioning

⁷¹ERL, pp. 186-88. For Loeper see above, pp. 142-158; for Hettner, p 158.

⁷²ERL, pp. 188-190.

that two refer to Goethe's position at the Weimar court and another was for the empress of Austria. And he says that the girl who speaks the last poem should have been named something other than Suleika.⁷³

He notes that the poet appears in both the "Buch des Unmuths" and the "Buch der Sprüche," with all the more justification in the former since Hafis also had numerous enemies. Again disparaging Goedeke's remarks about the "Sprüche" being "Orientalized," Düntzer states that there is little reference to the East in the sayings and that over half of the poems were inspired by Oriental models. However, he does not see much justification for the "Buch des Timur." Adding that Hafis did not write such poems and that Goethe himself was fleeing from Western politics and not really interested in finding them in the East, Düntzer says that there just is not enough material there for a whole book.⁷⁴

The union of two hearts has never been more beautifully expressed than in the "Buch Suleika," Düntzer states. He explains that Goethe differs from Hafis in having a name for his beloved. He is especially pleased that the girl is portrayed spiritually, that is, in her love for the older poet. He says that the ordering of the poems is very good since it gives an increasingly dramatic picture; however, he

⁷³ERL, pp. 190-192.

⁷⁴ERL, pp. 192-94.

is disturbed by some "superfluous retarding poems," especially in the latter part.⁷⁵

The "Schenkenbuch" is also very good, Düntzer thinks; but he wishes it had been somewhat expanded. He thinks the poem "Warum du nur oft so unhold bist? . . ." (IX, 6) comes unprepared and is only there to introduce the next poem. He objects to the dismissal of the waiter because he says that one now has to imagine Hafis drinking at home, and he says that one also needs the waiter as a contrast to the "Schenke."⁷⁶

Düntzer thinks the "Buch der Parabeln" has a proper place in the Divan, but not the "Buch des Parsen." The early religion portrayed there had little meaning for Islam, he says. The poem "Vermächtniß alt persischen Glaubens" (XI, 1), which he thinks is very good, should have been included in the last book. The "Buch des Paradieses" is especially well done, Düntzer states, with the inclusion of men, women and animals. Placing the poet in Paradise completes an idea expressed in the opening poem "Hegire." He thinks that "Gute Nacht" (XII, 11) is an appropriate closing poem.⁷⁷

The Divan's unity does not suffer for Goethe's having included a very few things by Marianne or, unmodified, from

⁷⁵ERL, pp. 194-96.

⁷⁶ERL, pp. 196-97.

⁷⁷ERL, pp. 197-199.

other sources, Düntzer states; however, he says that these "foreign flowers" may have decreased its poetic value ever so slightly. On the other hand he thinks that those poems which are based on words or a poem by Hafis are not any less deserving as a result. Perhaps, he says, Goethe should be slightly faulted for having Oriental allusions which are difficult for the Western reader to understand.⁷⁸

Düntzer believed that Goethe imitated Oriental "tone" especially well. He says that Goethe took from Persian and Arabic poetry only attractive qualities: fresh sensuousness, playful lightness, sensuous conception, and pleasant, sparkling tropes, images and similes--all which he had already but which were refreshed under the the influence of Oriental literature. He tells us that Goethe, the Frankfurter, already used images, similes and proverb-like sayings frequently. He calls the Divan poems pure and clear, saying that they are simple but that missing connections often make them difficult to understand.⁷⁹

He sees no real signs of age in the Divan; but sometimes, he says, the poet made it easy for himself, rhyming i - ü, ei - eu, e - ä - ö (Höhe, Nähe, Sehe; Gewölbe dasselbe, flötet, drommetet), b - p (liebet, piepet), ch - g (riechen, schwiegen; brauchen, Augen; zeichnen, aneignen); and s - ß (diesen, genießen). But, he says, more offensive is the use

⁷⁸ERL, pp. 199-200.

⁷⁹ERL, pp. 201-02.

of the same word: war - war, an - an, Rechte - Gerechte or that "Elemente" (I, 7), "Liebliches" (I, 12) and "Lied und Gebilde" (I, 13) as well as other poems have four-line stanzas which first rhyme throughout and then have rhyme only in lines two and four. Even worse, he thinks, are the rhymes zeugtest - leuchtet, teuschet - heischet and brennt - kömmnt. Düntzer cannot agree with Loeper that such infractions are the sign of genius and should be praised.⁸⁰

Düntzer praises the Divan style as light and flowing, but he sees no essential difference between it and that of Des Epimenides Erwachen and Pandora. He states that Goethe occasionally used the ghazel form, in "An Hafis" (II, 10), "Haben sie von deinen Fehlen . . ." (IV, 8) "Höchste Gunst" (IV, 22) "Da du nun Suleika heißest . . ." (VIII, 3), "In tausend Formen magst du dich verstecken, . . ." (VIII, 42), "So weit bracht' es Muley, der Dieb, . . ." (IX, 2b), "Sie haben wegen der Trunkenheit . . ." (IX, 10), and the parali-pomena poems "Mit der Teutschen Freundschaft . . ." (WA I 6, p. 282) and "Wo man mir Guts erzeugt überall . . ." (WA I 6, pp. 302-303); he thinks that Goethe did well not to use it often.⁸¹

Herman Rollett. Allgemeine Zeitung no. 48 (February 17, 1878). Beilage. (No. 48).

⁸⁰ERL, p. 203.

⁸¹ERL, pp. 203-04.

Rollett describes the manuscript of V, 15b, which was later reproduced by Rudolf Payer von Thurn in the Chronik des Wiener Goethe-Vereins, vol. 19 (1905), p. 9. Burdach also took note of the article in WA I 6.

Robert Koenig. Deutsche Literaturgeschichte. Bielefeld and Leipzig: Velhagen & Klasing, [1879, earliest National Union Catalog listing]. Cited here according to 18th ed. 1886, pp. 509-511.

Robert Koenig's history of literature appeared in 1879. He speaks of the aging Goethe's freshness and vitality, but also states that in the later period his life and writing were characterized by a tone of increasing contemplation and introversion. He, too, is pained by Goethe's cool aloofness towards the Wars of Liberation. He thinks Des Epimenides Erwachen lacks enthusiasm, which he finds regrettable but more understandable when one realizes that Goethe was completely submerged in the Orient. However, he feels the title West-östlicher Divan is only a mask for totally German poems. Giving Marianne one-half of the space devoted to the Divan, Koenig has an illustration of her as a young woman and a brief account of her relationship with Goethe. And he says her poems are "gerade die allerschönsten, gefeiertsten und bekanntesten." He adds that besides the songs of love and drinking the collection has a series of epigrams in which Goethe glorifies the nature-religion of the Persians and also expresses his own pantheistic views.

Concern with the psycho-genetic roots of the Divan and with biographic details about Goethe, the Rhine trips and his relationship with Marianne characterize the years 1869-1879. The best measure of this is shown in a size comparison of the two new commentaries with the older ones. Wurm's introduction had been six pages and the rest of his commentary, mostly explanations of Eastern allusions or parallel passages from Eastern literature, was 281. In his 1858 commentary, Düntzer reduced the amount of Wurm's explanations and citation of parallel passages or sources; he has 111 pages, of which 11 are an introduction. Loeper needs thirty-three pages for his introduction in 1872. And Düntzer's introduction and evaluation in 1878 are 204 pages, and with notes--there was no Divan text--his work extends for 436 pages.

In his introduction, Loeper seeks to assess the Divan's place in literature, to develop his thesis that the East was always one of Goethe's "centers-of-interest," and with tracing psycho-genetic roots. He explains that in 1814 Goethe was able to freely turn his attention to the Divan because "he was relieved at the freeing of the fatherland," and because "he was relieved at having completed three volumes of his autobiography," and so on. Loeper tries to demonstrate that there was indeed considerable interest in Oriental literature at the time and that much more Oriental literature was available than perhaps usually imagined. In

the commentary itself, Loeper is mostly concerned with adding new Western parallels or sources.

Düntzer's main thrust is elucidating the Divan as a poetic diary. He is especially concerned with the years 1814-1815, when most Divan poems were written. His penchant for detail enables him to see clearly where others sometimes guess. For instance, he points out that Marianne can not have influenced certain Divan poem because of when they were written.

The NA are almost completely forgotten in this period. Some light is shed on them as more details emerge about Goethe's studies from 1815 on. Düntzer, for instance, obtained useful information which relates to the NA when he checked the Weimar library to see what books Goethe used and when.

There had been those previously who had identified the author Goethe with his character Hatem. During this period, there is only interest in Goethe; "Hatem" in the term "Goethe-Hatem" becomes superfluous. Some occasional voices still speak of Goethe's Divan costuming or his "peeking out from a mask," but most writers speak and mean "Goethe." The "hegira" means a trip to the Rhine and people seek to identify which field or tree or garden Goethe was looking at when he wrote particular verses.

And, of course, there is Marianne. Assessing her role is difficult. Certainly her appearance did the Divan no

harm and she became a focal point for biographic interest. At last the German girl Simrock had predicted! Yet, Grimm and Düntzer, who praise her most, were drawn to her because of Goethe, not to the Divan because of Marianne. Loeper says that the "Buch Suleika" deserves special attention because of Marianne, but he devotes only three of his 33-page introduction to them; Düntzer writes glowingly of her but, given his approach, does not devote inordinate attention to her. And as J. F. makes clear, he finds the Divan a great work regardless of whether Marianne wrote some of its poems.

CHAPTER V

GOETHE YEARBOOKS AND DÜNTZER'S

FINAL COMMENTARY, 1880-1887

With the Goethe-Jahrbuch, which began in 1880, came a multiplicity of smaller articles and reports. The articles are treated here as previous articles have been. Some letters or notices published there have already been reported on because they shed particular light on reactions to the Divan. Most of them were included in this chapter because of the time at which they came to the attention of scholars. The Divan is mentioned frequently. Sometimes these notices simply mention that a lecture was given or a book published; sometimes they give additional information, often they do not. In a few instances I have departed from standard bibliographic practices. In sections called "miscellaneous" or "notices" where the surrounding material is unrelated to the mention of the Divan, I have indicated only the page where the references occur. When the report or short review is about an article or book, I give that information also.

Herman Grimm. "Bettina von Arnim." Goethe-Jahrbuch 1
(1880): 1-16.

In the above article Grimm mentions (p. 8) that Marianne had complained to him that Goethe had introduced into those Divan poems written to her an element of passion foreign to their actual relationship.

Karl Bartsch. "Goethe und der Alexandriner." Goethe-Jahrbuch 1 (1880): 119-39.

Bartsch states (p. 129) that there is only one alexandrine in the Divan, in the poem "Buch Suleika" (VIII, 25); the other lines in that poem, he notes, are all five-footed.

Wilhelm Grimm. Letter to his brother Jacob. October 14, 1815. "Mittheilungen von Zeitgenossen über Goethe." Robert Boxberger. Goethe-Jahrbuch 1 (1880): 315-59.

Among previously unpublished material from Goethe's contemporaries is Grimm's letter (pp. 338-39), in which he mentions that Goethe was at Boisserée's, that he was busy with "Persian things," had a "packet" of poems in Hafis' manner and was learning Arabic with Paulus.

Ludwig Geiger. "Miscellen" no. 16. Goethe-Jahrbuch 1 (1880): 384.

Geiger notes that in the first edition of the Divan (Stuttgart 1819) the title of poem I, 4 was "Talismane, Amulette, Abraxas, Inschriften und Siegel." Since the title did not apply to that poem but rather to I, 2, Geiger says, Goethe had that section of the book, pages 7-10, reprinted; the new pages were in Geiger's own copy, he notes. He adds that Goethe was referring to this reprint in a letter to Willemer of August 23, 1819.

Bibliographic report on Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und K[arl Wilhelm] Göttling in den Jahren 1824 bis 1831, ed. Kuno Fischer. Munich: Fr. Bassermann, 1880. Goethe-Jahrbuch 1 (1880): 420, 424.

The editor notes that in a letter of March 12, 1825 Goethe gave Göttling, who edited the Ausgabe letzter Hand,

free hand in matters of spelling, grammatical forms, foreign words and punctuation, and also sent him a copy of the Divan with newly added poems. In a letter of November 17, 1827, Goethe asked Göttling to look through the Divan again.

Bibliographic report on Theodor Arndt. "Goethe's Verhältniss zum Alten Testament." In Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie 1 (1880): 162-184. Goethe-Jahrbuch 1 (1880): 448.

The anonymous reviewer states that this work principally treats sections of Dichtung und Wahrheit and Materialien zur Farbenlehre as well as biblical allusions in the Divan.

Julian Schmidt. "Goethe's Stellung zum Christenthum." Goethe Jahrbuch 2 (1881): 49-64.

In a restatement of lines from "Beyname" (II, 1), Schmidt asserts (p. 54) that in the Divan the poet declared he had taken on the image of the holy books as Veronica's cloth had assumed the image of the Lord and that the poet was refreshed by this joyous image of faith.

Goethe. Letter to Adolph Oswald Blumenthal. May 28, 1819. "Einundzwanzig Briefe von Goethe nebst 2 Briefen der Frau Rath und 1 Brief von K. Ph. Moritz." Goethe-Jahrbuch 2 (1881): 237-315.

In this letter, Goethe mentions (pp. 284-86) that he had expressed himself briefly on the necessity of treating poets historically in the NA (probably "Überlieferungen").

Bibliographic report on Berichte des Freien Deutschen Hochstiftes für Wissenschaften, Künste und allgemeine Bildung in Goethe's Vaterhause. Vom Lenzmonate 1878 bis zum Wintermonate 1879. Leipzig: Brockhaus. Goethe-Jahrbuch 2 (1881): 495-96.

The compiler notes that on page 320 there is a report on research by a Dr. Volger on the Willemers, along with a rich collection of supplemental material and corrections to the correspondence with Marianne. On page 444 there is a notice that the poem "Im Athemholen sind zweyerley Gnaden" (I, 4e) was written into one G. R. von Poletika's "Stammbuch" (Weimar, April 1825); Poletika, we are told, had long suffered from asthma.

Bibliographic report on Johann Wolfgang v. Goethe als Freimaurer. Festschrift zum 23. Juni 1880, dem hundertjährigen Freimaurerjubiläum Goethe's, by J. Pietsch. Leipzig: Bruno Zechel. Goethe-Jahrbuch 2 (1881): 523.

Noting that the author claims that the Divan is the "freimaurerisches Glaubensbekenntniss," the compiler of this report remarks that the author shows scanty and immature literary judgment.

Wilhelm Scherer. "Über die Anordnung Goethescher Schriften." Goethe-Jahrbuch 3 (1882): 159-73.

In the first part of a continued article (see below, pp. 198-199), Scherer argues that Goethe was an artist even in the arrangement of his works. He discusses earlier editions and then three Cotta editions: the 12-volume edition of 1806-08, the 21-volume edition of 1815-19 and the Ausgabe letzter Hand 1828-30 in 40, then 55, later 60 volumes. Scherer argues for the careful arrangement of the first but says that other considerations interfered with that order in the second. The third, he says, basically

returns to the order of the first. On page 168 he mentions that the Divan, volumes 5 and 6, is grouped in the Ausgabe letzter Hand with the poems, but he makes no special point here.

Hermann Hüffer. "Goethe und Johann Gottfried Eichhorn" ("Miscellen" no. 19). Goethe-Jahrbuch 3 (1882): 343-45.

Recalling that Goethe had written very favorably of Eichhorn in the NA, Hüffner gives a brief biographical sketch and then states that Goethe had sent Eichhorn the poem "Vor den Wissenden sich stellen" (IV, 18)--along with a copy of the Divan--some eight years before the poem was first published in the Divan of 1827. The verses are in Goethe's handwriting and dated "Weimar den 16. November 1819." Hüffner reports that in their commentaries Loeper and Düntzer note similarity to a Persian saying translated by Chardin: "Aimer à interroger les sages, c'est déjà la moitié de la sagesse"; but he adds that the poem's true significance is revealed when we know to whom it is dedicated and that it characterizes the personal relationship between Goethe and Eichhorn.

Bibliographic report on Daniel Sanders. "Spracheigentümlichkeiten bei Lessing." Auf der Höhe: Internationale Revue, ed. Sacher-Masoch. Leipzig: Gessner und Schramm. 1.1: 101-07. Goethe-Jahrbuch 3 (1882): 395-396.

The reviewer states that Sanders notes that the Divan poem "Zwiespalt" (I, 11) and a passage in "Claudine"

(probably Claudine von Villa Bella) treat the same theme.

And he says that Sanders had complained because other critics had supposedly ignored his previously stated contention that the last four lines of "Zwiespalt" are like the preceding four and were meant for deletion. The reviewer says that Sanders had overlooked the fact that Loeper had considered and rejected Sander's idea.

Wilhelm Scherer. Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur. Berlin, Weidmann, 1883. Cited here according to the 1885 edition.

Scherer sees the Divan (pp. 656-658) as representative of a literary and political turn in the old cosmopolitan interest in foreign peoples. He thinks that in his later years Goethe liked forms and masks, which, though they make the poet's task more difficult, make the poetic effect easier; and he says that the characters Hatem, Suleika and Timur are masks for Goethe, Marianne and Napoleon. As he had earlier followed the lead of others when he wrote Der Gesellschaft gewidmete Lieder and the sonnets, Goethe began the Divan in 1814-1815 by following Hammer's translation of Hafis. The twelve books surge from earthly love, hate and enjoyment up to paradise, and are accompanied by essays of wide vision; together, Scherer says, they are a powerful phenomenon. Wanting to take man back to the depths of his beginnings, Goethe followed the scriptures--the basis of his education--to the East, where he approached the holiest figures, partly in awe, partly in the coarser manner of Hans

Sachs. Exemplifying the great regions to which Goethe takes us is the poem "Wiederfinden" (VIII, 35), which combines powerful lines about the creation with love, separation and reunion. However, it is the analogies with the West that really attracted Goethe; his "flight" is only an apparent one; in actuality he remained at home, writing of an 1811-vintage wine and of Napoleon's Russian expedition, and composing a panegyric to his duke and, presumably, the duchess. Goethe, Scherer says, told his people the truth; his office was not politics, but moral-literary education. He accused the Germans of being flighty followers of fashion, and he said that "Deutschthümelei" is no better than Gallomania. He denounced the Germans' inability to recognize quality, their jealousy and their ill humor--all of which he had personally experienced. Goethe called the critics' attention to the essential: respect for the person who understands his craft and willingness to immerse oneself in the author's intentions before criticizing. Scherer maintains that Goethe's Oriental costume is only a light covering; Goethe copies the style of Persian poetry--always discreetly--through some clever words and surprising combinations; an Eastern air penetrates the Western one like some exotic perfume, without, however, changing its essence. Islam stands as the dominant religion; behind it lurks the old Persian cult of Nature, as Goethe's pantheism lurks behind Christianity.

Among the later additions to the Divan Scherer especially likes (p. 658) the dialogues with the houris, in which the poet demands entrance into paradise. He says that the poet, "as a human and therefore as a fighter," actualizes in these dialogues the thought expressed in "Hegire" (I, 1)--i.e., the poet's words hover about the gates of paradise seeking eternal life.

Scherer does not think (pp. 580-581) that Goethe's poetic powers wane with age. He says that Goethe was worried by Schiller's death and by political threats to Karl August, but that he pulled himself together and tried to express the great changes of the time in symbolical and allegorical compositions. Only after 1815 did Goethe seem to age noticeably.

There are three stages, Scherer tells us (p. 767), in the development of Goethe's style, and he characterizes these stages as naturalistic (pre-Weimar), idealistic (before the Italian trip), and the later "stylized realism." He tells us that Goethe himself identified the three as imitation of nature, of manner and of style, but Scherer says that he thinks of them more in terms of respective tendencies to seek the individualistic, the general and the typical. Like Koberstein and other historians of literature, Scherer praises (p. 681) Die Wahlverwandtschaften, but he states that the Wanderjahre are more material for a book rather than a book itself--he says that it is full of dark

places, wisdom and experience, but lacking in action. He praises Faust II and finds Goethe's depiction of Euphorion especially effective:

die graziöse Knabengestalt (macht) auf der Bühne einen hinreißenden Eindruck, und sein Tod wirkt tief erschütternd: die unverwüstliche Darstellungskraft des Meisters schlägt durch alles Symbolisieren und Hineingeheimnissen siegreich durch. (p. 713)

Scherer says (p. 714) that the beginning of Act III shows Goethe at the height of stylized realism; in invention and execution it shows youthful fantasy; one believes oneself in a Shakespearean world.

Thus, while Scherer does not deny that Goethe's later works abound in contemplation, he does not think that this is necessarily a weakness. And he admits (p. 658) that the Divan--like the Marienbader Elegie with which, he says, it has certain points in common--has obscure places. But he believes that these late works, which wonderfully blend the individual and the typical, are also infinite treasures which elicit the understanding reader's tears and relieve his sorrows.

Scherer sees everything around Goethe as being of his making; thus (pp. 659-660), both Rückert and Platen copied the Divan. He says that they were outwardly more perfect than Goethe and that together they brought the ghasel-form to its highest peak. He believes that Rückert had perfect form but little worth and that Platen was very good, but not so good as Goethe.

A bibliographic report on Scherer's history appeared in the Goethe-Jahrbuch (5 [1884]: 403-04). The compiler notes that Scherer includes a discussion of the Divan.

Friedrich Vischer. "Kleine Beiträge zur Charakteristik Goethes." Goethe-Jahrbuch 4 (1883): 3-50.

Vischer states (pp. 43-44) that love was Goethe's long and faithful companion. Quoting the last four lines of "Phaenomen" (I, 9), he finds in the Suleika-poems an accurate and joyful picture of the still vigorous poet, whose pleasing poems combine passion with reflection, spring with fall and the present with memories. He thinks that the most charming of these poems is the "Kastanienlied" (probably "An vollen Büschelzweigen" VIII, 26). So, too, he says, the poems about wine show bliss and revelry without excess, naive symbolism, and enjoyment of the moment combined with readiness to submit the individual consciousness to a universal will. The Persian costume is sometimes disturbing, he says, but it suits these poems perfectly.

Gustav Hauff. "Zum Divan" ("Miscellen" no. 9). Goethe-Jahrbuch 4 (1883): 356-58.

Hauff states that he had suggested an explanation for "Ihr lieben Leute bleibt dabey . . ." (VI, 12b) in his "Die Weltanschauung der deutschen Classiker und der Straussische neue Glaube" (Herrigs Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen 52 [1874], 242). He complains that Düntzer had rejected that argument in his commentary of 1858

and ignored it entirely the 1878 edition. Since Hauff is convinced that he is correct but that his explanation will go ignored where it is, he repeats here what he had previously stated. He first says that Goethe believed in the existence of more than one "first" couple and he explains why he feels neither Düntzer nor Loeper had adequately explained the poem. Then he concludes:

Der Sinn ist . . .: Ihr lieben Leute bleibet nur bei eurem kindlichen Autoritätsglauben, wonach wir Menschen alle von Adam und Eva abstammen; beim Licht betrachtet freilich stammen wir vom ersten Mann und Weib ab; die Meinung von Adam und Eva gehört ins Gebiet der Mythologia, Fabula; allein autoritätsbedürftig sind ja die meisten Menschen, darum bleibet eben bei eurem Glauben.

"Chronik." Goethe-Jahrbuch 4 (1883): 374-395.

In this compilation of numerous notices, many of which had to do with commemoration of the 50th anniversary of Goethe's death, the Divan is mentioned twice. The editor notes (p. 379) that R. Gosche delivered a lecture on the Divan at Halle. He also writes (p. 394) that he had received a 24-page festschrift Zum fünfzigjährigen Todestag Goethes (Berlin: n.p.) with well-meant but prosaic verses about several of Goethe's works, including the Divan.

Bibliographic report on Ernest Lichtenberger. Étude sur les poésies lyriques de Goethe. 2nd ed. Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie. Goethe-Jahrbuch 4 (1883): 435.

The editor notes that the first edition of this work had been well received and he welcomes the appearance of the

second, revised edition. He says that one of the 14 chapters concerns the Divan and that Lichtenberger knows and uses the recently published Goethe-correspondence, commentaries and monographs.

Wilhelm Scherer. "Über die Anordnung Goethescher Schriften. III." Goethe-Jahrbuch 5 (1884): 281-82.

In part three of this continued article (see above, pp.190-191), Scherer states that the original plan for the Divan--if one reads it carefully with attention to themes--calls for two sets of three pairs of books with "Buch Timur" in the middle: (3 x 2; VII; 3 x 2). The plan to which he refers is the announcement in the Morgenblatt from February 24, 1816 (Par. 5 is the handwritten copy of the announcement). He reasons that I and II are "Buch des Dichters" and "Buch Hafis": the Western and the Eastern poet. III and IV are "Buch der Liebe" and "Buch der Freunde": the well known pair, love and friendship. V and VI "Buch der Betrachtung" and "Buch des Unmuths": his own wisdom and others' folly. VII "Buch des Timur". VIII and IX: "Buch der Sprüche" and "Buch der Parabeln": sayings and parables, related genres. X and XI "Buch Suleika" and "Buch des Schenken": Again love and friendship--which constitute the middle of both sets of pairs. XII and XIII "Buch des Parsen" and "Buch des Paradieses": religious consecration in both; the song rises to heaven before its close.

Scherer claims that the order of the finished Divan was rather in groupings of three: "Sänger, Hafis, Liebe; Betrachtungen, Unmuth, Sprüche; Timur, Suleika, Schenke; Parabeln, Parse, Paradies." Scherer also states (p. 284) that no one has given sufficient attention to the premise that Goethe regarded the 1815 edition of his poems as finished and added only two sonnets, but that he had begun new collections and put his poems partly into the Divan and partly into different sections of volumes 3 and 4 of the Ausgabe letzter Hand.

Heinrich Voss. Letter to Goethe. July 28, 1820. "Nachträge zu Goethe-Correspondenzen. Im Auftrage der von Goetheschen Familie aus Goethes Handschriftlichem Nachlass," ed. F. Th. Bratranek. Pt. 5 "Familie Voss." Goethe-Jahrbuch 5 (1884): 38-133.

Complaining about unfavorable critical reception of his father's recent translations, Voss states (p. 84) that he wishes Goethe's "herrliches Wort über die dreifachen Übersetzungen" (NA, "Übersetzungen") in the Divan were spread through reviews. To elucidate this reference, Bratranek quotes Goethe's statements from NA "Übersetzungen" concerning the elder Voss's translations (p. 103).

Gustav von Loeper. "Zu Goethes gereimten Sprüchen." Goethe-Jahrbuch 5 (1884): 288-297.

Stating that they are treated elsewhere, Loeper excludes the Divan "Sprüche" from the discussion in this article; the Divan is therefore mentioned only incidentally. He claims (pp. 289-290) that a number of sayings were

written in 1814 and can be traced to Oriental sources and states that the saying "Verweile nicht und sei dir selbst ein Traum" (WA I 2, p. 249) is a precursor of the Divan, where it appears in the "Buch der Betrachtungen" (IV, 24): "Verweilst du in der Welt, sie flieht als Traum." And he claims (p. 293) that "Wie einer ist, so ist sein Gott," Zahme Xenien (WA I 2, p. 288), dates from June 21, 1814 and is taken from NA chapter "Israel in der Wüste": "Wie der Mann, so auch sein Gott."

Heinrich Laube. Address. Qtd. in "Die Enthüllung des Goethe-Denkmal in Karlsbad." Goethe-Jahrbuch 5 (1884): 359-364.

The editor summarizes the activities at the unveiling from the Berliner Tageblatt of July 6 and quotes Laube's keynote address. Laube mentions in passing that Goethe worked on the Divan in Karlsbad (p. 360).

Bibliographic report on Goethe. Werke. Gedichte, ed. Gustav von Loeper. Vol. 2, pt. 2. 2nd ed. Berlin: Gustav Hempel. Goethe-Jahrbuch 5 (1884): 374-376.

The compiler notes that section XVIII contains the poem group "Gott und Welt" and "Wiederfinden" (VIII, 35). For details on the latter poem he refers the reader to Loeper's edition of the Divan.

Bibliographic report on Goethe. Werke, ed. Ludwig Geiger. Berlin: G. Grote'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. Goethe-Jahrbuch 5 (1884): 378ff.

Stating that this edition is annotated for educated readers but not for Goethe specialists, the reviewer notes

(p. 380) that the Divan is included in volume two.

Bibliographic report on Goethe. Westöstlicher Divan. In neuer Rechtschreibung. Billigste Ausgabe in eleganter Ausstattung. Elberfeld: Eduard Lolls Nachfolger. Goethe-Jahrbuch 5 (1884): 393.

The announcement states that this volume, number 19 of the series Museum, Sammlung literarischer Meisterwerke, contains both the Divan poems and the NA with register.

Bibliographic report on Goethe. Oeuvres: Poésies div., Pensées, Divan, avec le comment. Tr. Jaques Porchat. Paris: Hachette & Cie. Goethe-Jahrbuch 5 (1884): 402.

Bibliographic report on Bernhard Ziemlich. Lecture. "Goethe und das Alte Testament." Verein Merkur. Nürnberg. Goethe-Jahrbuch 5 (1884): 416-17.

This announcement states that Ziemlich discussed NA "Israel in der Wüste."

Bibliographic report on John Stuart Blackie. The Wisdom of Goethe. New York: Charles Scribners Sons, 1883. Goethe-Jahrbuch 5 (1884): 428-29.

The reviewer says that this collection of Goethe-quotes is taken mostly from Eckermann's Gespräche and Wilhelm Meister, but that there are also many quotes from other works, including the Divan.

Victor Hehn. "Einiges über Goethes Vers." Goethe-Jahrbuch 6 (1885): 176-230.

In part IV, "Gedichte des 19. Jahrhunderts," of this article, Hehn develops his thesis (p. 217) that Goethe's "lyric age" ends with the beginning of the 19th century: while Goethe remains productive, the organic unity between

form and content has disappeared; Goethe's genius remained, but one is always conscious of bothersome details.

In a short discussion (pp. 225-226) of the Divan, he speaks of the poet's "disguise" being thin enough to allow us to recognize the German poet and says that Goethe still uses his accustomed, many-faceted German metrics. Goethe spares us the ghazels, Hehn contends, with which his followers shone but which won no one's heart. "In tausend Formen magst du dich verstecken" (VIII, 42) comes closest to the ghazel form, he states, but it is not one. Hehn likes that poem and says that it reminds one of "Gegenwart," which was written in the Winter of 1812-23; he adds that only the first line of the fourth strophe and the last line contain "slight irregularities." Otherwise, the Divan abounds in profound and serene observations and beautiful verses which are neither precious nor marred by rhythmic imperfections. But, he says, this is only true for individual pieces; in general one senses stiffness in the apparent adroitness.

Bibliographic report on Goethe und Gräfin O'Donell. Briefe nebst dichterischen Beilagen, ed. Richard Maria Werner. Berlin: Wilhelm Herz. Goethe-Jahrbuch 6 (1885): 381-82.

The editor notes that Werner refutes (p. 199ff.) Düntzer's contention that the poem "Geheimstes" (III, 15) refers to the empress.

G. Stickel. "Meine Berührungen mit Goethe." Goethe Jahrbuch 7 (1886): 231-40.

Upon his departure for Oriental studies in Paris, Stickel relates (p. 235), Goethe helped him by sending greetings and a handwritten copy of four lines from the Divan (I, 4a) to friends there. Of a later visit with Goethe on March 22, 1831, he reports (pp. 238f.) that the conversation had turned to the Divan:

über dessen Entstehung Goethe mitteilte, es seien Misshelligkeiten eingetreten, die ihn zu dem Entschluss gebracht hätten, in ein fernes Land zu ziehen.

Supposedly Goethe had then gone to Jena, where he had "prepared" that work. Stickel says that Goethe told him that in his youth he had studied Hebrew and some Arabic. Stickel had then expressed his admiration for Goethe's translation of the poem in NA "Araber" and Goethe had recited some of the stanzas from memory.

Bibliographic report on Goethe. Werke. Neue Ausgabe, ed. Ludwig Geiger. Berlin: G. Grotesche Verlagsbuchhandlung. Goethe-Jahrbuch 7 (1886): 338.

The compiler states that the new edition differs from the previous one only by the addition of the NA to volume two.

Rudolf Hildebrand. "Etwas vom Sterben" and "Ein nicht anerkannter Vers von Goethe." Parts 6-7 of "Tagebuchblätter eines Sonntagsphilosophen." Grenzboten 46.40 (September 29, 1887): 38-48 and 46.41 (October 6, 1887): 80-85.

"Ein nicht anerkannter Vers von Goethe" rpt. in Hildebrand's Gesammelte Aufsätze und Vorträge. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1890, pp. 249-256. Cited here according to the reprint.

Rudolf Hildebrand's articles concern the following strophes from the guest register of a mill in the Körnbachthal near Ilmenau.

Lange hab ich mich gesträubt,
Endlich gab ich nach:
Wenn der alte Mensch zerstäubt,
Wird der neue wach.

Und so lang du das nicht hast,
Dieses Stirb und werde!
Bist du nur ein müder¹ Gast
Auf der dunkeln Erde.¹

A controversy arose over these verses and they will be mentioned again, so a word of clarification is in order. All parties agree on the description of the page concerned (see WA I 6, 353): there is a heading "Von Goethe"; the handwriting is not Goethe's; but his signature is on the next page. According to local legend the original page had been stolen. The last four verses are quite close to a stanza in "Selige Sehnsucht" (I, 17, vv. 17-20)--Burdach cites the page as manuscript H⁹⁴. The question, of course, is whether the top stanza is by Goethe. Before G. W[ustmann] will reveal the author of the verses (see bibliographic report, p. 244), Düntzer will correctly claim (DNL, p. 21) that they are not by Goethe. Burdach (WA I 6,

¹Quoted from Hildebrand, Gesammelte Werke, p. 250; the WA shows different punctuation for the first four verses.

pp. 353, 373) will give details but leave the question of ultimate origin open, and Düntzer will chide him for this in his review of the WA (see below, p. 235).

In "Goethe und das Sterben," a two-page subsection of "Etwas vom Sterben," Hildebrand says that Goethe expressed himself on the continuance of existence after death in the Divan several times--most remarkably in "Selige Sehnsucht." He thinks that the first part of that poem is one instance of that expression, that verses 17-20 are a second, later instance and that the first four verses quoted above are a third instance.²

Hildebrand tells us that Goethe feels that dying is an integral part of life. "Stirb und werde" (I, 17, v. 18) express the idea of respiration, he says, which is a modest analogue to dying and becoming. And "werden" has analogies in, he says, Mignon's words in Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre, "So laßt mich scheinen, bis ich werde" and the expression "jetzt wirds!".³

In the second article, Hildebrand reports that persons in the "Goethegemeinde" have informed him that the verses in question are not by Goethe. He weighs the evidence and concludes that they are, and he traces a hypothetical route back to Goethe through theologians who purportedly visited

²Hildebrand, "Goethe und das Sterben," pp. 46-48.

³Hildebrand, "Goethe und das Sterben," p. 48. Quotations cited according to Hildebrand.

Goethe in 1828. Hildebrand states that the verses express an idea similar to that in the Divan poem "Ob ich Ird'sches denk' und sinne" (I, 4d).

In his argument, Hildebrand states that the last two stanzas--in the previous article he had only specified verses 17-20--of "Selige Sehnsucht" are a later addition and represent a second expression of Goethe's original idea; the new verses from the guest register are a third statement. Hildebrand seems to think that one can distinguish later, added verses by analysis of rhyme and structure:

Die zwei letzten Verse des Gedichtes "Selige Sehnsucht" sind . . . Nachträge zu den drei ersten, als solche erkennbar an dem jedesmal andern Strophenbau, und unser Vers ist ein dritter Nachtrag, den er einmal dem mit dem "Stirb und werde!" als andere, näher liegende Unterlage vorausschickte, wieder mit anderm Bau. . . .⁴

Hildebrand tells us that verses 1-2 of "Ob ich Ird'sches denk' und sinne," where, he says, Goethe is justifying thinking earthly thoughts, is very "ungoetheian." He says that "das Ird'sche" contrasts with the "höherem"--two areas between which the "Ich" moves, on its way to its goal. He says that the former will be "zerstoben," adding parenthetically that "Stäubchen" means atom. In the last two verses, he says, "das Ird'sche" becomes synonymous with the body and assures us that Goethe was thinking about his death, not just "the higher striving in life itself."⁵

⁴Hildebrand, "Ein nicht anerkannter Vers," 255.

⁵Hildebrand, "Ein nicht anerkannter Vers," 254-255.

A bibliographic report of Hildebrand's article appeared in the Goethe Jahrbuch (9 [1888]: 329). The writer states that Gustav von Loeper informs him that the poem "Lange hab ich mich gesträubt, . . ." refers to Goethe's death.

Heinrich Düntzer, ed. Der westöstliche Divan. Pt. 4 of Goethes Werke and vol. 85 of Deutsche National-Litteratur: Historisch kritische Ausgabe. Berlin and Stuttgart: W. Spemann, [1887].

Rep. Tokyo: Sansyusya, 1974, pp. i-xxiv. Cited here according to the reprint. Hereafter DNL

In 1887 Düntzer edited Der westöstliche Divan as a volume of the Deutsche National-Litteratur. He has a 24-page "Einleitung" which essentially repeats information from the ERL, and he refers the reader seeking thorough and detailed information to that work.

Reacting to Scherer's article (see above, pp. 198-199) on Goethe's lyric poetry, Düntzer rejects Scherer's interpretation of the "Ankündigung" of February 24, 1816 as showing "two sets of three" groupings with the "Buch Timur" in the middle. Düntzer says that Goethe was following an old habit of putting like things together, yet avoiding monotony. Pointing out that there is constant variety in the Divan, Düntzer notes that poems with iambic lines alternate with poems with varying meter and adjacent poems have different rhyme schemes.⁶

⁶DNL, pp. viii, xix-xxf.

Discussing the Divan's appearance in 1819, Düntzer says those people who found the title incomprehensible knew no Arabic. He is referring to the Arabic inscription, which he renders: "Der östliche Divan vom westlichen Verfasser." Düntzer goes on to mention that Goethe's Frankfurt acquaintance Ehrmann gave the title as reason for including Goethe among "die verrückten Hofräte." Düntzer is referring to the same Ehrmann of whom he had written in "Goethe und Marianne v. Willemer" (p. 647):

Am 19. [August 1815] kam [Goethe] bei Tisch mit dem wunderlichen alten Medicinalrath Ehrmann zusammen, der immer durch Pfeifen seine Ankunft im Garten bei Willemer zu erkennen gab, und nicht eher eintrat, bis dieser ihm geantwortet hatte. Zur größten Freude von Frau Willemer machte sich Goethe's Begegnen mit dem seltsamen Kauze sehr gut, da dieser lustig auf seine Thorheiten einging, wie er denn auch später sogar sich unter dessen "verrückten Hofräte" aufnehmen ließ."

Düntzer did not mention the Divan's title in this earlier work, but the passage seems to make Ehrmann's reference a positive, or at least, a friendly one.

Repeating his claims from the ERL that Goethe is not using an Oriental mask in the Divan and that Goethe remains throughout a German with a background in classical studies, Düntzer refers to the first Divan poems "an Hafis" as "only a poetic game." He again gives his own analysis of the Divan books, which differs from the ERL in that he points out the poems' varied rhyme scheme and meter. His comments on the "Buch Hafis" are clearer than those in the ERL had been. He notes that the poem "An Hafis" (II, 10) was added

in the Quartausgabe where it was behind "Nachbildung" (II, 7); he says that the poem's position can be questioned but that it does make a fitting close for the second book. A similar discussion of the last ten books is unnecessary, he says, but he mentions the "Buch der Liebe" and the "Buch des Unmuths." He does not think that either the "Buch Timur" or the "Buch des Parsen" are developed enough to justify their existence as separate units and that in each instance the second, final poem is unsuccessful. Its bulk and the inner warmth of its poems make the "Buch Suleika" the most important, he says. He especially likes the order of poems in the "Schenkenbuch." And he calls the last book one of the most wonderful creations of the older Goethe.⁷

The DNL has 212 pages of text and notes. Düntzer says that the text follows that of the Taschenausgabe, i.e. the first printing of the Ausgabe letzter Hand. Although it had become impossible to have every poem on a different page, he says, each book has its own title page. He includes the poems which Riemer and Eckermann had added in the Quartausgabe, but with the exception of "Süßes Kind, die Perlenreihen . . ." (WA I 6, pp. 288-289) they have been moved into the notes. The NA is included.

⁷DNL, pp. xviii-xix.

A bibliographic report on this edition appeared in the Goethe-Jahrbuch 8 (1887): 285-86. The compiler makes no comment about the work.

Goethe. Friedrich Johannes Frommann. "Fünfunddreissig Geschäftsbriefe von Goethe an Fr[riedrich Johannes] Frommann aus den Jahren 1816-1824," ed. H. Frommann. Goethe-Jahrbuch 8 (1887): 144-161.

Goethe's business correspondence with the Jena printer Frommann offered further insights into the actual production of the work and the relative status of the Viennese edition of 1820. In a letter of February 12, 1818, Goethe expressed the hope (p. 150) that Frommann could have the type set for a "Probebogen" within the next week, before Goethe returned from Jena to Weimar. On September 19, 1818, he requested (p. 152) Divan "Aushängebogen 13 & 14" and promised the necessary manuscript for the 15th soon. He also wrote "Mit den Noten und Zusätzen fangen wir einen neuen Bogen an." On November 14, 1818, he said (p. 152) that he was sending a copy of the "Titelblatt"; he added that the the Divan manuscript was "diesmal noch recht brauchbar" and asked for a copy of the Divan, promising to correct the mistakes and stating that the people in Vienna could start a completely fresh edition. On December 23, 1818, he wrote (pp. 153-154) that he would see to Divan corrections immediately; he had been unable to think of something suitable for the empty cover pages and added "Indessen kann das Vorstehende nach Cottas Wunsch darau[f] Platz finden." He further requested

a "Druckprobe der Schrift . . ., wie der prosaische Nachtrag zum Divan gedruckt werden könnte, so würde bald Msct. zu einigen Bogen schicken, damit nur ein Anfang gemacht würde."

H. Frommann. "Zur Erinnerung an Friedrich Johannes Frommann." Goethe-Jahrbuch 8 (1887): 242-62.

Frommann's son reports (p. 252) that Goethe gave Frommann a letter of introduction to the Willemers in Frankfurt and that Frommann was accordingly well received by the "Suleika" of the West-östlicher Divan. Again the Divan is mentioned, when he records (p. 257) that his father was once described with words from the poem "Einlaß" (XII, 4).

Gustav von Loeper. "Zu Goethes Gedichten 'Trilogie der Leidenschaft.'" Goethe-Jahrbuch 8 (1887): 165-86.

Loeper makes a passing allusion (p. 181) to Goethe's having shared poems from the "Buch des Paradieses" with Wilhelm von Humboldt in November 1823. He later states (p. 183) that Ulrike von Levetzow was "immer kindlich und dadurch unüberwindlich," an "ungebrochene naive Natur und dadurch dem Dichter und seiner ewigen Jugend verwandt." He adds, touching the Divan, "Bezeichnend hatte dieser ein Divansgedicht von der Erhebung über das Alter und seine Mängel am Tage obiger Fahrt nach Elbogen 'erneuert', mit dem Schlusse: 'Mir bleibt genug! Es bleibt Idee und Liebe!'" This is "Die Jahre nahmen dir, du sagst, so vieles . . ." (IV, 17a, v. 10).

Victor Hehn. "Goethe und die Sprache der Bibel." Goethe-Jahrbuch 8 (1887): 187-202.

Hehn states (p. 189) that Goethe grew up with the Bible and quotes from Dichtung und Wahrheit to the effect that Goethe loved the Bible and was indebted to it morally, literarily and linguistically. He adds that there are similar statements by Goethe in the NA.

Goethe. "Daß ich bezahle." Goethe-Jahrbuch 8 (1887): 271.

These eight lines--which are now counted among the Divan paralipomena (Par. 85)--are printed along with two other poems in the bibliographic section for previously unpublished material. The date "Berka 21. Juni 1814" precede the poem; following (p. 272), is the information "Aus Hirzels Sammlung gedruckt: Düntzer, Goethes Gedichte III, 2 S. 274."

Erich Schmidt. "Aus dem Goethe-Archiv." Goethe-Jahrbuch 8 (1887): pp. 325-26.

Schmidt, trustee of the Goethe archives, reports that among the many treasures there are "die herrlichen Blätter des 'Divan'," i.e. manuscript copies of numerous poems.

Bibliographic report on Garlieb Merkel. "Weimar in den neunziger Jahren. Aufzeichnungen aus dem Nachlasse." Deutsche Rundschau October and November, pp. 65-80, 284-301. Goethe-Jahrbuch 8 (1887): 317.

The unnamed reviewer regrets the appearance of these notes which, he says, unfairly compare Goethe and Herder. He

says that Merkel claims that the Divan is a "Nachklang von Herders Würdigung der orientalischen Poesie."

The short period 1880-1887 sees a rapid increase in the relative number of writers who have something to say about the Divan. This probably reflects nothing more than the fact that the Goethe Jahrbuch provided a central organ for Goethe scholars and devotees. It concentrated material that would otherwise have been scattered and no doubt provided a sense of communality which encouraged participation. It was also ideally suited for smaller contributions; items which would probably otherwise never have been reported or, if reported, could well have faded into oblivion in a provincial newspaper, found a ready home here. The faithful compiler of bibliographic reports--probably the editor, Ludwig Geiger--reports all that comes to his attention, even if he occasionally adds a note that he finds an item of little value or even bizarre.

Both the number and consistency of articles and reports in the Goethe Jahrbuch show that the Divan is both read and appreciated. Attention to detail had always characterized those writing about the Divan and that is true of the writers of this period as they conscientiously report sources, interpretations, related passages, biographical anecdotes, and so on.

Several new matters concerning the Divan surface.

Göttling's importance emerges when his and Goethe's correspondence is published and it is revealed that Goethe gave him broad powers as editor. Geiger shows sensitivity to the switching of titles in the 1819 edition. More information on the printing history comes to light with the publishing of Goethe's letters to Frommann. A paralipomena poem is also published. But the most consequential news is the announcement of the existence of fair copies of many Divan poems.

An interesting premise of the period is Scherer's contention that Goethe arranged his works within an edition--or tried to--according to artistic principles. He does not expand upon the significance of this remark for the Divan. When he later discusses the Divan, his remarks are limited to the poetic part. Again, the NA receive little attention during this time. Scherer agrees--as almost everyone else by now--with Loeper's earlier statements that the Divan represents Goethe's return to early, even childhood, interests in the Bible and the East, as the beginning of civilization.

The Divan is included in several editions of Goethe's works; the period also sees Düntzer's annotated edition, which includes reaction to the scholarship since his 1878 commentary. The appearance of French and English works relative to the Divan is also noted in the Jahrbuch.

CHAPTER VI

THE WEIMARER AUSGABE, DÜNTZER'S REVIEW,

AND THE YEARS 1888-1899

Konrad Burdach, ed. West-östlicher Divan. [Ser. 1], vol. 6 of Goethes Werke. Herausgegeben im Auftrage der Großherzogin Sophie von Sachsen. Weimar: Böhlau, 1888.

The first items in Konrad Burdach's Divan edition for the Weimarer Ausgabe are the poems themselves (pp. 3-272), related poems from Goethe's literary estate (pp. 273-304), and Goethe's "Register" for the Divan (pp. 305-310). Forty-eight pages of material introduce the varia. Burdach explains (p. 313) that the edition is based on the Ausgabe letzter Hand, and later he specifies the Oktavausgabe of 1828 as the version chosen (p. 357). He includes the poems published after Goethe's death in that edition and in the Quartausgabe, and he adds new material from the Goethe archives. Two of the new items are especially important for Divan chronology: the "Wiesbader Register," a list of 100 entries, most of which indicate Divan poems, dated May 30, 1815, and the draft of a letter from Goethe to his publisher, Johann Friedrich Cotta, from May 16, 1815, which gives insight into the development of the work at that point; Burdach describes these documents, prints their contents and

offers suggestions on which poems are represented by the entries in the list (pp. 314-318).¹

There follows (pp. 318-335) a compilation of items which relate to the Divan's genesis and development. These items are arranged chronologically, from June 7, 1814, to January 23, 1827. They are taken mostly from entries in Goethe's diaries, the Tag- und Jahreshefte, his letters, and his comments as reported by others. Also included are references to the Divan in letters and diaries of Goethe's acquaintances, especially those of Sulpiz Boisserée. Many of these "Zeugnisse" had been already reported by previous scholars, but among the new citations are entries from Goethe's then still unpublished diaries and excerpts from Goethe's letters to his wife Christiane, also previously unpublished.

Next is a description of manuscripts (pp. 335-353). Burdach reports that 89 of the poems have a number in red ink in the upper left corner; and in the upper right corner 36 have a black number, which has usually been crossed out in red. The red numbers, Burdach tells us, refer to the poem's order in the "Wiesbader Register." He also says that the numbers show that 23 previously undated poems were written before May 30, 1815. He believes the black numbers

¹A bibliographic report on this letter appeared in the Goethe-Jahrbuch 10 (1889): 289. It offers no additional information.

show a yet older, chronologically ordered collection, but he offers no summary of its elements. Burdach tells us that, according to the dates on the fair copies, the first and last Divan poems are "Erschaffen und Beleben" (I, 8) and "Die Jahre nahmen dir, du sagst, so vieles . . . " (IV, 17). Finally, he describes (pp. 353-360) the Divan editions and printings of certain poems which are reflected in the variora.

The variora (pp. 360-459) include Goethe's own references to the Divan book or poem in the "Ankündigung" of February 24, 1816, and his diaries, and Burdach himself occasionally refers the reader to the NA. He also includes references from Boisserée's diaries and the correspondence between Goethe and Zelter. The listing of variora includes a description of the manuscript and the page number in the edition cited. Occasionally other scholars and considerations are mentioned.

Burdach then describes and reproduces Divan paralipomena (pp. 460-493). The paralipomena reproduced here are divided into translations and imitations, sketches ("Entwürfe"), motifs and notes, and the "Chiffernbrieфе." As already mentioned, a number of posthumously published poems are included at the end of the previously published poems. An index and a page listing errata close the book.

Burdach's edition was a model of accuracy and clarity. It has been augmented but not replaced by Maier's edition, and in the presentation of information on the publication of

individual poems, Burdach's is the superior work. It remains an essential tool of scholarship nearly a century after its publication. The wealth of information offered on the early stages of the Divan's development, and the presentation of variants opened a fertile field for scholarship, but it was Burdach himself who was best able to interpret the information, as he then proceeded to do in his various articles on the Divan.

In an editors' report for the Goethe-Jahrbuch, Burdach summarizes his work and draws certain conclusions (see below, pp. 220-222). Heinrich Düntzer also included it in his review of published volumes of the Weimar edition (see below, pp. 230-236).

Carl Siegfried and Bernhard Seuffert, eds. Noten und Abhandlungen zu besserem Verständniß des West-östlichen Divans. [Ser. 1], vol. 7 of Goethes Werke. Herausgegeben im Auftrage der Großherzogin Sophie von Sachsen. Weimar: Böhlau, 1888.

Since the NA were separated off into an individual volume in the Ausgabe letzter Hand the WA follows suit. The editors first describe the various printings. Because there is no fair copy of the NA as there was for the poems, the variants occupy only eleven pages. The paralipomena on pp. 278-335 are divided into two sections, Preliminary Studies and materials for the Divan and all the documents having to do with the chapter "Israel in der Wüste." The first section is itself subdivided into three parts: excerpts and notes from books; communications from others to Goethe; and

preliminary sketches for the Divan, including caligraphy exercises and various lists and outlines.

Bibliographic report on Rich[ard] Mar[ia] Werner. Kleine Goetheana für Freiherrn Woldemar von Biedermann zu Feier des 3. März 1887, aus dem Archiv für Literaturgeschichte besonders veröffentlicht. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 19 pp. Goethe-Jahrbuch 9 (1888): 327.

In a listing of contents, the editor notes that the work touches upon the Divan twice: there is an echo of the poem "Geheimstes" (III, 15) in a letter to Duke Karl August and a conjecture (Aehre for Ehre) in a poem "Jahrmarkt zu Hünefeld" (WA I 2, p. 268) which was written on Goethe's trip to the Rhineland in 1814 and which is described as part of the Divan paralipomena.

E. Zeller. "Zur Erinnerung an Friedrich Vischer." Goethe Jahrbuch 9 (1888): 262-278.

Zeller states (p. 269) that the words which Vischer liked to quote, "Denn ich bin ein Mensch gewesen/ Und das heißt ein Kämpfer sein" ("Einlaß," XII, 4), applied to him (Vischer).

Bernhard Seuffert. "Goethes Roman in der 'sogenannten Blumen-sprache'." Goethe-Jahrbuch 10 (1889): 242-250.

Seuffert attempts here an explication of the "kleiner Roman" in the NA chapter "Blumen- und Zeichenwechsel." He conceives of the list of objects as a story and says that the story's framework does not necessarily call for a happy ending. The conclusion is indeed an unhappy one. Working through each verse, he concludes that the "novel" is a

coquettish game, reminiscent of Falstaff and the merry wives. He is convinced that the plot is unified and continuous but admits that there are difficulties no matter how he assigns the verses to the two speakers. And he says that there are one or two interruptions in the action which the reader must fill in. He gives Loeper credit for having found the source for the "Blumenzeichen" in Hammer's article "Sur le langage des fleurs," which has a "Dictionnaire du langage des fleurs" (Fundgruben, vol. 1, p. 32ff.); and Seuffert adds that Goethe did not use a subsequent article "Nachtrag zum symbolischen Wörterbuche der Hareme" (Fundgruben, vol. 2). Comparing Goethe's usages with the French "source," Seuffert says that the content of Goethe's "novel" is not in the "dictionary," but the main points are there: burning love, mocking reply, rendezvous, and a coarse ending. The exchanged gifts have no meaning in themselves, he says; only the names are used for rhyme words.

Bibliographic report on A. Girot. "Agrégation d'Allemand en 1889: Extrait de la Revue de l'Enseignement secondaire et de l'enseignement supérieur 1. Nov. 1888." Goethe Jahrbuch 10 (1889): 268.

This note states that pages 3-4 of the above work contain a bibliography of authors and commentaries on Werther, Egmont and the Divan.

Konrad Burdach, Bernhard Seuffert et al. "Weimarer Goethe-Ausgabe. Bericht der Redaktoren." Goethe-Jahrbuch 10 (1889): 269-82.

In his report (pp. 273-74), Burdach writes that during the preparation he had at his disposal manuscript copy (R) of a large number of Divan poems. He postulates a copy of R as the basis of the first edition (E). Burdach believes that this hypothetical copy accounts for differences between E and R. He says the differences are errors in E and adds that these errors were only partially corrected later. He finds two such instances especially interesting. The first concerns the words "In deinem Namen" in verse 8 of "Offenbar Geheimniß" (II, 8). E had "deinen" but R had "deinem"; Loeper was the first to correct the mistake, Burdach notes. The second example occurs in the words "Auch einmal dich raufen." (V, 5, v. 32); R had "Auch" but E had "Aus." The parallel Viennese edition also had "Auch," and Burdach thinks that Goethe himself corrected the error. He believes that the somewhat obscure reference in Goethe's letter to Frommann (GJb VIII, p. 152) shows Goethe's intention to correct the errors for the Viennese printing himself and he says that the editors of the WA should pay attention to the Viennese impression. Burdach says that his edition offers a rich array of sources for the Divan chronology. Burdach also mentions the paralipomena, which he thinks are important for investigating the question, "How does the poet work?" He refrains from going further into detail, but mentions that the manuscript copy of the poem "Den Gruß des Unbekannten ehre ja! . . ." (IV, 7) sheds light on the

previously unknown relation between Goethe and General von Gneisenau.

Bernhard Seuffert describes (pp. 274-77) his own work and that of co-editor Carl Siegfried on the NA. He first discusses the rules of punctuation which were used. Then he describes the types of manuscripts from Goethe's "Nachlaß" and compares the present NA to the "Entwurf eines Inhaltsverzeichnisses" (WA I 7, pp. 305-06). He says that Siegfried had shown that Goethe's principal source was Hammer's Geschichte der schönen Redekünste Persiens and that Goethe was indebted to Kosegarten for the "Schlußspruch." He also briefly discusses NA "Israel in der Wüste."

Konrad Burdach. "Goethes Ghasel auf den Eilfer in ursprünglicher Gestalt." Goethe-Jahrbuch 11 (1890): 3-18, 196.

Rpt. in Vorspiel. Vol. 2, p. 263-281. Cited here as "Ghasel" according to the reprint.

This is the first of four Burdach essays which will be considered in the final chapters of this dissertation. Although Burdach intended to write a book on Goethe and the East, he never did; and his contributions over some forty years have to be reconstructed from his Divan editions and his essays and lectures. The essays appear mostly in two collections: Vorspiel, noted above, and Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des West-östlichen Divans.²

²Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des West-östlichen Divans: Drei Akademie Vorträge, ed. Ernst Grumach (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1955; 2nd ed. 1959).

In "Ghasel" Burdach supplies biographical details for this previously unpublished Divan paralipomenon and uses it to illuminate those influences affecting Goethe in 1814-1815, when, according to Burdach, he developed a new style--one marked by a return to the mood and devices of the Sturm und Drang.

Burdach begins (pp. 263-268) by citing the poem. He provides textual notes and tells how the poem had recently surfaced (Par. 47a; it is an earlier version of the text printed in WA I 6, pp. 302-303). He then explicates the poem as a biographical document (pp. 268-269). The "Freund" (v. 27) is Willemer, and Marianne is the "Freundin"; the fourth person is Hafis. Burdach will not always depict Hafis so warmly as he does here, when he refers to him as a constant companion and spiritual patron:

Der Vierte in diesem Bunde und der geistige Patron
war Hafis, . . . dessen Divan . . . Goethe zur
Nachbildung und zum Wetteifer angeregt hatte und
während der folgenden Jahre sein steter Begleiter
war, im Kreise Willemers eine wohlbekannte und wohl-
gelittene Persönlichkeit. Die ältesten Gedichte des
Goethischen Divans, der ursprünglich nichts als ein
deutsches Seitenstück zum Divan des Hafis sein soll-
te, richten sich sämtlich an den persischen Sänger,
ihn feiern sie, auf ihn berufen sie sich, in seinem
Sinne wollen sie reden. (p. 269)

Next Burdach considers various factors which could help date the poem (pp. 269-271) and concludes that this early version was composed October 9 or 10, 1815, in Meiningen. The version in the WA, he says, was written several years later, as the Divan was being printed. Among the

considerations in his discussion, Burdach mentions that Goethe's "first modest efforts" to imitate Eastern form were in December 1814 and that Goethe did not attempt the stricter ghazel before March 1815.

Burdach thinks that this early "Ghasel" shows certain things which are important for a great number of the Divan poems, especially the "Buch Suleika." He introduces these considerations (pp. 271-274) by saying that the poem's tone recalls the "Geniezeit" and likening it to "Wanderers Sturmlied" in style and content and even in genesis. He then tells us (pp. 275-276) there was an almost unbelievable regeneration of Goethe's creative powers in the years 1814-1815 and says that the source of this power has to do with Goethe's returning to the Rhine-Main area of his youth and to the reawakening of youthful studies in the holy books of the Hebrews and Arabs. He sees the Divan as blending and reflecting these elements:

So verschlingt sich wundersam, im Divan . . . , für die Vorstellung des Dichters der Zug zum Orient und die Reise zum Rhein, die Wanderung zur Kindheit des Menschengeschlechtes und die Rückkehr zu den Stätten der eigenen Kindheit; eins wird im andern symbolisiert und der Leser muß immer beides als Hintergrund des Verständnisses bereit halten. (p. 276)

As the continuation of these lines show, these elements effect a change in Goethe's writing, which manifests itself in the Divan:

Mit jenen beiden Rheinreisen und ihrem Ergebnis, dem Divan, vollendet sich bei Goethe ein Umschwung in menschlicher wie künstlicher Hinsicht: Stimmung, Stoff und Stil des Dichters ändern sich. (p. 276)

Burdach tells us (pp. 276-278) that this newness contrasts with or represents the "overcoming of one-sided classicism." The trimeter and the distych disappeared, he says, and were replaced by "Spanish" trochaic tetrapody and English blank verse. Rhyme, he says, came into its own again; and one finds traces of Frankfurter and Thuringian dialect and archaic forms. He says that Goethe again took up ideas of Herder, but, instead of collecting folksongs, he moved in the sphere of world literature. The Italian, classical principle of holding an object at a distance in order that it may appear more beautiful disappeared, he says; gone, too, are the ideal masks and abstract allegories; now Goethe employed more realistic symbolism and more individualistic art.

Burdach thinks (pp. 278-279) that a decisive element in this change was "die Wendung zum Geschichtlichen," which occurred within Goethe and which "overcame the dogma of style." He also believes that the political events of 1814 helped. He says that with the freer political climate, Goethe "awakened as if from a stupor"; and he likens Goethe to the mythical Epimenides.

Burdach concludes the essay (pp. 279-281) with remarks of a general nature and a panegyric to the lady who had helped scholars to the poem manuscript.

Bernhard Seuffert. "Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und v. Diez." Goethe-Jahrbuch 11 (1890): 24-41.

In the NA chapter "Von Diez" Goethe wrote that the letters to him from Diez deserved to be published; Seuffert fulfills that wish with the printing of ten letters between Goethe and Diez from the Goethe-Schiller archives (Diez's letters Par. 219-224). In his first letter of May 20, 1815, Goethe asked (p. 25) for information about the Turkish novel "Vamek und Ada" (see "Noch ein Paar," III, 2) and the Persian word for hangover, which, he said, he had read in Chardin and which literally meant "freudloser Zustand" ("Welch ein Zustand! Herr, so späte" . . . , IX, 13). In a letter of October 11, 1816, Diez discusses (pp. 35-36) Nussreddin Chodscha and sends four of his stories to Goethe, one of which was taken into the NA ("Künftiger Divan, Buch des Timur"). And in a letter of October 23, 1816 (p. 37) Goethe sent Diez a short text in translation by the Persian ambassador Mirza Abul Hassan Chan (NA, "Endlicher Abschluß") and solicited his opinion on the appropriateness of its style.

A. Koch. "Zum west-östlichen Divan." Goethe-Jahrbuch 11 (1890): 173-74.

Koch begins by stating that the poem in NA "Araber" is ascribed to Taabbata Scharran and that Rückert had said in his notes to the "Liederbuch der Tapferkeit" that Goethe's source had been a 1748 Latin translation of the poem by Schultens. However, he says, in a recent article a well-known Orientalist B. Bauer had pointed to an 1814 brochure

by S. W. Freytag. Koch compares Goethe's poem with Freytag's and concludes that Freytag's work was indeed the source.³

G. Hauff. "Bemerkung zu Victor Hehns Aufsatz: Goethe und die Sprache der Bibel." GJb 8: 187-202. Goethe-Jahrbuch 11 (1890): 176-179.

To Hehn's citations of unusual usages of the word "so" (p. 201), Hauff adds (p. 176) the biblical passages Matthew 11:18-19 and Luke 16:3 and says that Goethe's usage in "Wiederfinden" (VIII, 35) is similar. The text reads:

Auf that sich das Licht! So trennte
Scheu sich Finsterniß von ihm,
Und sogleich die Elemente
Scheidend auseinander fliehn.
(vv. 17-20)

Hauff points out that Loeper's text, which is based on the 1819 edition, reads: "Auf that sich das Licht, sich trennte/ Scheu die Finsterniß von ihm" (Loeper, p. 161). Hauff, agreeing with Düntzer, states that Goethe intended the former version. However, he thinks that Düntzer's interpretation of so as "ebenso" is incorrect and says that the word means "da," or "alsdann."⁴

³Otto Jahn ("Goethe und Kosegarten," 1868) had referred to Bauer's article in the Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft 10: 96f. As explained there, I did not examine the article by Bauer.

⁴Düntzer had written, "So steht für ebenso und wird dann durch scheu erklärt; beide trennten sich scheu voneinander" (ERL, p. 355).

Hehn had quoted a letter (p. 192) in which Goethe had spoken of "die Götter"; and Hauff states (p. 177) that it is remarkable how Goethe switches between Gott and Götter, in letters and elsewhere. He thinks that the reason was Goethe's understanding of the Hebrew plural "Elohim," and he cites "Erschaffen und Beleben" (I, 8) and the conclusion of the eighth book of Dichtung und Wahrheit as illustrative examples.

Hermann Henkel. "Sprichwörtliches bei Goethe." Goethe-Jahrbuch 11 (1890): 179-83.

In this compilation of sayings from various of Goethe's works, Henkel notes that Matt. 6:24, "Niemand kann zwei Herren dienen," is in a letter of May 5, 1798, to Schiller and in "Höchste Gunst" (IV, 22); "Hat alles seine Zeit!" occurs in slightly varied form in Dichtung und Wahrheit, Book IV, and in the Divan where it is praised as "Ein Spruch, dessen Bedeutung man bei längerem Leben immer mehr anerkennen lernt" (NA, "Einleitung"). Henkel says that Goethe collected and organized sayings in, among other works, the "Buch der Sprüche."

Bibliographic report on Konrad Burdach. Lecture. "Goethes Vorlesungen auf deutschen Universitäten." Goethe-Jahrbuch 11 (1890): 205f.

This reference states that Burdach delivered a lecture on the Divan at the university in Halle.

Bibliographic report on Goethe. Werke, ed. Adolf Stern. Leipzig: F. W. Grunow. Goethe-Jahrbuch 11 (1890): 225-26.

According to this report the Divan will appear in a later, second series of Goethe's poetry.

Bibliographic report on Publications of the English Goethe Society 1-4 (1886-88). London: David Nutt. Goethe Jahrbuch 11 (1890): 230-231.

Report No. 2, "Papers and Reports of proceedings 1886," contains translations from the Divan by Wilhelm Heinemann.

Bibliographic report on Goethe. Lyrik, ausgewählt und erklärt für die oberen Klassen höherer Schulen, ed. Franz Kern. Berlin: Nicolai. Goethe-Jahrbuch 11 (1890): 245.

The book contains 71 mostly independent poems, but also some from, among other works, the Divan.

Bibliographic report on "Literarische Ursachen und Wirkungen. Streiflichter und fragmentarische Denkbblätter," by Julius Grosse. Nord und Süd vol. 51, "Heft" 151, pp. 33-49. Goethe-Jahrbuch 11 (1890): 247.

The editor notes that Grosse, in agreement with Rudolf Hildebrand, thinks that Goethe is the author of "Lange hab' ich mich gesträubt . . .," the purported supplementary stanza to I, 17 (see above, pp. 203-207).

Bibliographic report on "Zwölf Briefe Jean Pauls an seinen Sohn Max." Leipziger Zeitung: Wissenschaftliche Beilage. Goethe-Jahrbuch 11 (1890): 260-61.

In a letter of September 4, 1821, Jean Paul writes, "ihr habt alle Göthen über mich im Divan misverstanden; lies z. B. nur dieses vor vielen Jahren geschriebene Blättchen;

auch weiss ichs sonst." The paper's contents are not included.

Bibliographic report on Friedrich Schlegel. Briefe an seinen Bruder August Wilhelm, ed. Oskar F. Walzel. Berlin: Speyer und Peters. Goethe-Jahrbuch 11 (1890): 262.

The editor states that the book contains negative remarks about the Divan on page 631.

Bibliographic report on "Leo Liepmannssohns Antiquariat. Catalog 80. Autographen aller Art, A-K." Goethe Jahrbuch 11 (1890): 268.

Alexander von Humboldt made in a letter to [Heinrich Gustav] Hotho the "merkwürdige Notiz," "Einige Noten zum westöstl. Diwan von Goethe haben mich dahin gebracht, G. für politisch noch 'böartiger gesinnt' als H. [Hegel, ed.] zu halten." No date for the letter is given.

Bibliographic report on Goethe über Bismarck: Eine Gabe zum 1. April. Berlin: Gebrüder Paetel, 1887. Goethe-Jahrbuch 11 (1890): 275.

The editor says that this April Fool joke contains collected passages from Goethe's works under headings which apply to Bismarck. Included are some selections from the Divan.

Heinrich Düntzer. Rev. of Goethe's Werke. Herausgegeben im auftrage der grossherzogin Sophie von Sachsen . . . Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie 23 (1891): 294-349, esp. 325-331. Hereafter Düntzer 1891.

In 1891 Düntzer published a review in which he discusses the then published volumes of the WA, including Konrad

Burdach's Divan edition. In general, Düntzer is not in agreement with the principles behind the WA; he thinks that new material from the recently opened Goethe archives should be made available to scholars as quickly as possible, instead of being reserved for the work on the new Goethe edition. He points out some of the errors which he thinks the editors are making: they place too much trust in the reliability of the Ausgabe letzter Hand; they are generally not removing the letters e and i in unpronounced syllables; and they are proceeding too hastily.

Discussing errors made while Karl Wilhelm Göttling was preparing manuscripts for the Ausgabe letzter Hand, Düntzer speaks of several Divan poems. Most of these instances have to do with orthography, but some concern wording. For example, in "Haben sie von deinen Fehlen . . ." (IV, 8) the shifting reference to the poet--second, third, and finally first person--confused Göttling, who questioned Goethe about the matter (letter of April 8, 1825; Par. 228, sec. e). Düntzer says that Goethe had meanwhile lost contact with the poems and agreed to textual changes which, Düntzer says, should have been restored in the WA. He notes inconsistencies in spelling and how indirect discourse is indicated and disagrees with other punctuation, especially the presence of "disruptive" commas. Among the WA editors, he singles out Burdach for praise for having consistently deleted the letters e and i when not called for in the meter; he still

lists some five instances where he thinks Burdach should have removed more.⁵

The Divan is discussed as a unit on pages 325-331; Düntzer says that Burdach's work shows great care, thorough knowledge and good schooling. Stating that Burdach departed from other WA editors in matters of orthography and punctuation, Düntzer says that he can not always approve. He disagrees with Burdach's use of a comma to set off lines beginning with "denn" and other independent clauses. Adding that the dash is really misused, he cites eleven cases where he says it is superfluous and some eleven more instances where he says other punctuation should have been used.⁶

Düntzer welcomes the appearance of the "Wiesbader Register" (WR) of May 30, 1815, but says that Burdach did not draw important conclusions. On pages 337-38 of WA I 6, Burdach had described the red and black numbers on the manuscripts of certain poems. According to Burdach the black number on the right refers to an older grouping of poems "in chronological order." Düntzer claims that a comparison of numbers shows that this earlier collection had no more than 53 poems, which number is on the last poem of the "Wiesbader Register." He reconstructs the previous collection; that is "Hegire" is poem 1 of the older collection and

⁵Düntzer 1891, pp. 297-308.

⁶Düntzer 1891, pp. 325-326.

poem 3 of the WR, and so on. Düntzer's results--and there are numerous printing errors here--include 16 guesses and four blank numbers. He says that the previous collection was not in chronological order, although in general the oldest Divan poems are toward the beginning of the collection because of the subjects treated. Noting that there was a blank page in the manuscript with the number 18, Düntzer guesses that the page was meant for the poem "An Schach Sedschan und seines Gleichen" (IV, 21); he adds that this position would place the poem at the end of those in celebration of Hafis and says that it must have been composed in 1814 in Frankfurt when Goethe was on the way to see Duke Carl August in Wiesbaden. Burdach, he says, wrongly set the date of composition of that poem as January 1815. Number 96 in the "Wiesbader Register" is also missing, and Düntzer thinks that this must have been "Berechtigte Männer" (XII, 2). This position, before No. 97 of the "Register," "Vier Frauen," would be the logical place for the poem. He says XII, 2 must have existed before the date Burdach ascribes to it--September, 1818--because the beginning of a previous version of "Auserwählte Frauen" (XII, 3) from March 10, 1815 refers to "Berechtigte Männer."⁷

Behind the "Register" titles, Burdach had listed the position of the corresponding Divan poem. For number 95,

⁷Düntzer 1891, pp. 326-27.

"Alles Golden," Burdach has no corresponding listing. Noting that the words "Aepfel goldner Zierd" occur in "Berechtigte Männer" (XII, 2), Düntzer says that the title must refer to paradise, where everything shines like gold, and adds that Goethe probably discarded the poem later. The same is true for number 85, "Dichtungsarten"; Düntzer says that Goethe had already expressed himself on that subject in WR number 16, "Elemente" (I, 7), and he believes that the poem may have concerned the lack of drama as a genre in Persian literature. Düntzer adds that "Lied und Gebilde" (I, 13) should be dated somewhat later than he had previously guessed because it was missing from the "Wiesbader Register."⁸

Düntzer takes note of the presence of a previously unpublished letter from Goethe to Cotta and letters from Goethe to his wife. Düntzer is disturbed by the fact that these latter letters were not printed in their entirety. The WA edition is not complete, he says; much is lacking and other things are imprecise and difficult to understand. Such things as an entry from Goethe's diary from November 10, 1815, "Sendung von Jacobs. Catalog Orientalischer Manuscripte," and citations from Goethe's letters to Karl Friedrich Ernst Frommann are meaningless to the ordinary reader.⁹

⁸Düntzer 1891, pp. 327.

⁹Düntzer 1891, p. 327.

Saying that Burdach's description of manuscripts had generally been detailed, Düntzer wishes that the manuscripts numbered 46-67 had been treated more fully. (These contained, according to Burdach, "gelegentliche Aufzeichnungen abgerissener Divanverse" and he gave no description of the manuscripts at all; WA I 6, p. 347.) Düntzer adds that Burdach's inclusion of lines from the Massenmühle "Fremdenbuch," the specious extra stanza for I, 17 (WA I 6, pp. 353, 372-373), is a disservice to the WA. He notes Burdach's discussion of the Divan editions and the errors that supposedly had existed since the first edition and says that Burdach forgot that Goethe could have made changes while the first edition was being printed. And he adds that when one considers the number of errors in the Vienna edition, it is apparent that Goethe simply could not have worked on it.¹⁰

Finally, Düntzer says that Burdach's treatment of individual poems shows knowledge and poetic feeling. He ends his discussion by stating that Burdach should be praised for his work but adds that the edition is not what it could and should be. He notes some 14 instances where he disagrees with Burdach's interpretations; these are recorded with his other references to Divan poems in Appendix A. Düntzer

¹⁰Düntzer 1891, pp. 328. See Burdach's comments, pp.220-222.

devotes one paragraph to WA I 7 (the NA), calling the work a masterful accomplishment.¹¹

Heinrich Düntzer. "Das Ghasel auf den Eilfer in doppelter Fassung." Zur Goethe-Forschung. Neue Beiträge. Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1891. 217-245.

Bibliographic report Goethe-Jahrbuch 13 (1892): 289.

Düntzer contests Burdach's interpretation of Par. 47.

Max Friedländer. "Musikerbriefe." Goethe-Jahrbuch 12 (1891): 77-132.

In notes to the letters of Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Friedländer states (p. 117) that Mendelssohn's sister Fanny composed melodies for Divan poems "Ach! um deine feuchten Schwingen . . ." (VIII, 34) and "An des lust'gen Brunnens Rand . . ." (VIII, 27). Felix, he says, wrote musical settings for the Suleika poems "Was bedeutet die Bewegung . . ." (VIII, 31) and "Ach! um deine feuchten Schwingen . . ." (VIII, 34), "Dem Kellner" (IX, 8a) and "So lang' man nüchtern ist . . ." (IX, 5).

Friedländer also notes (p. 126) that in 1821 Schubert wrote musical compositions for Divan poems "Geheimes" (III, 14), "Versunken" (III, 6), "Im Gegenwärtigen Vergangnes" (I, 12) and "the two Suleika songs," i.e. "Was bedeutet die Bewegung . . ." (VIII, 31) and "Ach! um deine feuchten Schwingen . . ." (VIII, 34).

¹¹Düntzer 1891, pp. 329-31.

Carl Siegfried. "Zu Goethes Divan." Goethe-Jahrbuch 12 (1891): 259.

Siegfried communicates information, which he has gathered from expert Orientalists, explaining expressions in the NA. Demazsul Sani (WA I 7, p. 81) is an incorrect rendering of the Arabic "double month" Dhumâdâ and means the second Dhumâdâ. Ku-tu (WA I 7, p. 84) is: "k'eü-t'eü, wörtlich den Kopf aufschlagen." It is also called kow-tow, kou-tou, kau-tau by Europeans in China.

Bibliographic report on Eduard Grisebach. Das Goethesche Zeitalter der deutschen Dichtung. Mit ungedruckten Briefen Wilhelm Heinses und Clemens Brentanos. Leipzig: W. Engelmann, 1891. Goethe-Jahrbuch 12 (1891): 308.

This collection includes a section on the Divan and Faust II (pp. 133-141).

Otto Pniower. "Goethes Faust und das hohe Lied." Goethe Jahrbuch 13 (1892): 181-98.

In the introduction to his article, Pniower includes (p. 181) NA "Israel in der Wüste" as one of Goethe's Biblical studies. Later, he quotes (pp. 192-93) from NA "Hebräer" on the "Hohes Lied" and says that that description is an approximation of the atmosphere in the first garden scene in Faust. Finally, Pniower cites NA "Hebräer" again (p. 197) as evidence that the Song of Solomon continued to fascinate Goethe in later years.

Ludwig Geiger. "Nekrolog [for Gustav von Loeper]." Goethe Jahrbuch 13 (1892): 243-46.

Geiger states (p. 244) that Loeper's chief contributions to the Hempel edition of Goethe's works were the two Divan volumes (4 & 5), Faust (12 & 13), Sprüche in Prosa (19) and Dichtung und Wahrheit (20-23). Geiger says that while Loeper did not provide the last word on these works, his efforts provided an essential service to Goethe scholarship.

Bibliographic report on Marco Antonio Canini, tr. Il libro dell'amore. Poesie italiane raccolte e straniere raccolte e tradotte. 5 vols. Venice: C. Coen, later J. Merto, 1885-1890. Goethe-Jahrbuch 13 (1892): 308-09.

The reviewer notes that volume 2 of this set contains Divan poems "Lesebuch" (III, 3), "Geheimes" (III, 14), "Wie! Mit innigstem Behagen . . ." (VIII, 39), "Versunken" (III, 6), "Ja! die Augen warens, ja! der Mund . . ." (III, 4). Volume 4 has the poem "Locken! haltet mich gefangen . . ." (VIII, 20).

Oskar F. Walzel. "Goethes 'West-östlicher Divan' im Rahmen der Lyrik seiner Zeit." Chronik des Wiener Goethe-Vereins 6 (1892): 42-43.

Bibliographic report Goethe-Jahrbuch 14 (1893): 338.

Walzel contests the view that the Divan represents a flight from contemporary reality and stresses instead the aspects of the work which were modern.

Rudolf Payer von Thurn. "Zum West-östlichen Divan." Chronik des Wiener Goethe-Vereins 6 (1892): 44-46.

Bibliographic report Goethe-Jahrbuch 14 (1893): 338.

As the reviewer for the Goethe-Jahrbuch notes, the samples of text by the Persian ambassador Mirza Abul Hassan Khan (WA I 7, pp. 78-81) are essentially taken from Saadi's "Guter Rath an die Könige."

Adalbert Merx. Idee und Grundlinien einer allgemeinen Geschichte der Mystik. Heidelberg: Hörning, 1893.

Of this seventy-eight page study only pp. 3-9 deal with Goethe. Merx notes that many a young man has been inspired to study the East, as he himself was, but "der Divân ist ein Irrlicht, der in ihm abgeschilderte Orient eine wesenlose Phantasmagorie, und indem Goethe Hammer folgte, folgte er einem einäugigen Führer und wurde zum Irrlehrer derjenigen, die ihm folgten" (p. 4).

Merx is proposing a theory of historical interrelatedness between mystical traditions, and Hafis is one of the linchpins in his argument. He maintains that Hafis must be understood mystically and that the wine of which he sings can only be understood allegorically: "Hätten die Zeitgenossen des Hâfis seine Lieder wörtlich verstanden, so hätten sie ihn todt geschlagen" (p. 7).

"Sechs Briefe Goethes." Goethe-Jahrbuch 14 (1893): 151-61.

In an explication of a letter from Goethe to Adele Schopenhauer, the editor notes (p. 158) that in September 1829 Adele received some pages from Goethe with handwritten

lines from the Divan. The editor does not record which poems.

Richard M. Meyer. "Goethes Art zu arbeiten." Goethe-Jahrbuch 14 (1893): 167-95.

In passing, Meyer refers (p. 187) to the "flood of Divan poems" as products of one of Goethe's extremely prolific periods.

H. Morsch. "Goethes Festspiel: Des Epimenides Erwachen." Goethe-Jahrbuch 14 (1893): 212-244.

In this article Morsch speaks of the Divan on three occasions. In a footnote (pp. 230-31), he states that there was personal contact between Goethe and Friedrich Creuzer in Heidelberg in September 1815 and that the poem "Gingo biloba" (VIII, 10) owes its origin to a conversation between the two on symbolism; he cites Creizenach's Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Marianne von Willemer and Loeper's note to the poem. In that note Loeper quotes from Boisserée's diary and reports that Goethe sent Creuzer a copy of the poem inscribed "Zur Erinnerung glücklicher Septembertage 1815."

He also mentions the Divan in connection with his contention (pp. 233-34) that Goethe likened himself on several occasions to the mythical Epimenides, who had reportedly slept some forty years. Morsch says that Goethe especially compared himself to the "sleeping, dreaming, awakening" figure during the years 1814-1815. He cites "Die Sonne

war eben im Aufgehen,/ Als ich zu neuem Tag erwacht'" ("Zahme Xenien" I.9 [= WA I 3, p. 231, vv. 35-36]) as an example of this motif and adds in a footnote that these lines are similar to the motto to "Buch Suleika." He further notes that this poem was written in the summer of 1814, a short time after Epimenides. The same theme is also in "Sieben-schläfer" (XII, 10) and "Gute Nacht! (XII, 11), Morsch says.

Morsch thinks (pp. 238-239) that the motivating factors in Epimenides are spiritual and that political and historical elements are, at best, incidental. Goethe expressed his feelings on this matter in Divan poem "Hab' ich euch denn je gerathen . . ." (V, 8), Morsch tells us in a footnote.

Bibliographic report on Goethe. Gedichte. Auswahl in chronologischer Folge mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen, ed. Ludwig Blume. Vienna: Graeser, 1892. Goethe-Jahrbuch 14 (1893): 336.

The reviewer states that the collection includes selections from the Divan. After Blume's death, Ad. Lichtenheld wrote a short article on him for the Goethe-Jahrbuch (19 [1898]). Lichtenheld praises the above book (p. 317) and states that the notes had in some cases grown to "Abhandlungen." He mentions notes on the Divan but does not elaborate on them.

Bibliographic report on Goethe. "Gingko biloba. (Ist es ein lebendig Wesen?)" Frankfurter Journal Abendblatt No. 255. Goethe-Jahrbuch 14 (1893): 338.

Bibliographic report on Heinrich Bellermann. Musical compositions which had appeared in print by April 1891.
Berlin: M. Driesner. Goethe-Jahrbuch 14 (1893): 357.

The editor notes that there are compositions of Divan poems "Lieb' um Liebe, Stund' um Stunde . . ." (VIII, 17) and "Was bedeutet die Bewegung? . . ." (VIII, 31).

Bibliographic report on Goethe. "Gedankenspäne." Reported by Bernhard Suphan. Goethe-Jahrbuch 15 (1894): 8-17.

Bernhard Suphan publishes from the Goethe-Schiller Archives a series of Goethe's comments about various things. Two sentences under the heading "Kunsttheorie und Motive" (p. 10, no. 30) are not related to the Divan, but in a footnote Suphan states that on the same paper is a hastily written note:

a. Perche Stange
 Percher Stängeln
 Bohnen
 Vögel
 die Vögel stängeln

After the last entry, Suphan tells us that these are related to v. 21 of "Sommernacht" (IX, 19).

Bibliographic report on Goethe. "Ouvrages Poétiques." Reported by Bernhard Suphan. Goethe-Jahrbuch 15 (1894): 17-19.

Goethe wrote a list in French of his works for the years 1769 to 1821 for Count St. Leu. For the years 1815 to 1818, he reports (p. 19) a new edition of his works in 20 volumes; several volumes in prose, mostly biography; and "Le Divan, Collection de Poemes dans le Gout Orientale, avec des Notes littéraires."

Hermann Henkel. "Randbemerkung zum 'Goethischen Gleichnis.'" Goethe-Jahrbuch 15 (1894): 277-282.

Henkel claims that Goethe's metaphors are unique. Only occasionally, he says, is there a foreign coloring; he cites biblical and Shakespearean influence in the works of the young Goethe, and the influence of Oriental-Persian poetry in the Divan, especially in the love poetry there. He lists examples (pp. 277-278) from several Divan poems: "der süsse Rubinenmund" from "Laß deinen süßen Rubinenmund . . ." (VIII, 21a); "Wimperpfeile und Schlangenlocken der Geliebten" in "Sag du hast wohl viel gedichtet? . . ." (VIII, 11) and "Locken! haltet mich gefangen . . ." (VIII, 20); "Zöpfe und Kämme" which decorate the beloved's head as the cupola decorates the mosque in "Wie des Goldschmieds Bazarlädchen . . ." (VIII, 19). In "An Hafis" (II, 10) the beloved's gait is likened to a "wandelnde Cypresse," her foot "schleicht wie Wurzelfasern" and "buhlet mit dem Boden," her greeting "verschmilzt wie leicht Gewölk," her breath "Wie Ostgekos." She is "herrlich wie Moschus; wo sie war, gewahrt man sie noch" in Par. 57a and 57b, and, finally, the lover pleads "Laß mich nicht so der Nacht dem Schmerze,/ Du allerliebstes, du mein Mondgesicht!/ O du mein Phosphor, meine Kerze,/ Du meine Sonne, du mein Licht" in "Nachklang" (VIII, 33). Henkel concludes that an exotic, Oriental air pervades these poems and their tropes.

At the end of his short article, speaking of Goethe's personification of mythic figures, he lists two examples

(pp. 281-282) from the Divan: Aurora in "Sommernacht" (IX, 19) and Helios in "Hochbild" (VIII, 32).

Bibliographic report on G. W[ustmann]. "Ein angeblich Goethischer Vers." Grenzboten 12: 596f. Goethe-Jahrbuch 15 (1894): 343.

Wustmann shows, says the editor, that the author of the lines "Lange hab' ich mich gesträubt . . .," which were thought by many to be a variant stanza to I, 17 written by Goethe (see Hildebrand, above, pp. 203-207) was the Leipzig doctor Johann Christian August Heinroth. Heinroth had published the poem in 1818, in his Gesammelte Blätter (Leipzig: Gleditsch, vol. 1, p. 143). This two-volume work had appeared under the pseudonym Treumund Wellentreter.

Bibliographic report on Rudolf Hildebrand. "Der wirkliche Urheber eines angeblichen Verses von Goethe." Zeitschrift für den deutschen Unterricht 7: 291-293. Goethe-Jahrbuch 15 (1894): 343.

Hildebrand, the editor states, repeats G. Wustmann's discovery (immediately above) that J. Ch. A. Heinroth was the author of the "Fremdenbuch" lines "Lange hab' ich mich gesträubt" Hildebrand also adds some information on Heinroth's relationship with Goethe.

Graf Anton Prokesch-Osten. Letter to his father. August 27, 1820. "Goethe und Graf Anton Prokesch-Osten." Goethe Jahrbuch 16 (1895): 201-09.

Prokesch reports enthusiastically that he had visited Goethe and that Goethe had read to him from the Divan. In a footnote (p. 205), Baron Anton Warsberg is cited as

reporting (Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung no. 352, Beilage) that Prokesch still spoke enthusiastically of that meeting when, in advanced age, he related the same story.

C. Fasola. "Goethes Werke in italienischer Uebersetzung." Goethe-Jahrbuch 16 (1895): 220-40.

In the introductory remarks to this listing, Fasola, repeating a comment that there is much translated into Italian but little read thereof, states that there were many translations of Goethe, but insufficient knowledge of this master. In his opinion the translations, especially of Goethe's poetry, are not very good. He lists (p. 234) translations of two Divan poems: "Wiedergefunden"--probably "Wiederfinden" (VIII, 35)-- as "Ritrovandosi" and "Vollmondnacht" (VIII, 36) as "Pleniluno," along with the work in which the two appear.

Rudolf von Payer. "Die Entwicklung der orientalischen Studien und Goethe's 'West-östlicher Divan.'" Wiener Zeitung. no. 58 (Friday, March 8, 1895): 2-5; no. 59 (Saturday, March 9, 1895): 2-6.

Summarized in "Der West-östliche Divan im Rahmen der orientalischen Studien." Chronik des Wiener Goethe-Vereins 8 (1894-1895): 23-24.

Bibliographic report on the original article in Goethe-Jahrbuch 17 (1896): 293.

The article should be consulted in the longer version from the Wiener Zeitung. The author discusses the transfer of knowledge about the Near East to the West, particularly as it affected Goethe. The whole second half is devoted to Olearius's expedition to Persia and his translations of

Saadi and to Hammer's training as an Orientalist and those works of his which influenced Goethe. The article offers insights into why Goethe chose these particular source works.

Konrad Burdach. "Goethes West-östlicher Divan in biographischer und zeitgeschichtlicher Beleuchtung. Festvortrag gehalten in der 11. Generalversammlung der Goethe-Gesellschaft in Weimar am 30. Juni 1896." Goethe-Jahrbuch 17 (1896): *1-*40. Hereafter "Beleuchtung."

Rpt. in Vorspiel 2: 282-332. Cited here according to the reprint.

This lecture is divided into five sections. In part I (pp. 282-287) Burdach discusses the Divan's place in Goethe's works and its reception in relation to his other works. He begins (p. 282) with a statement that the Orient was one of three formative influences--the others being Antiquity and nature--on Goethe's artistic development. He reviews (282-285) Oriental influences on Goethe and Goethe's preoccupation with Oriental themes: early Biblical studies; an attempt to treat the story of Joseph poetically; reinforcement of interest through the biblical poetry of Klopstock, Milton, and Geßner; more Biblical studies with Susanna von Klettenberg; certain influences of Herder and Hamann, a translation of the "Song of Solomon"; Arabic and Islamic influences; and readings in works by Dschami and Marco Polo.

But it was Hafis' Divan that caught Goethe's imagination, "sweeping him away as once Shakespeare, Ossian, Homer and Rousseau" had done (p. 285). Burdach does not think

Hammer's translation is very good: in one place (p. 285) he speaks of Goethe's reading Hafis in "der ungelenken, vielfach dunkeln und durch Mißverständnisse entstellten Übersetzung [Hammers]" and on a second occasion (p. 286) he refers to "das Lichtlein Hammerscher Übersetzungsmühsal." Nevertheless this translation was enough to give Goethe a feeling for the East and for Hafis:

es leuchtete ihm doch daraus der Duft und die Glut
des zauberhaften Ostens entgegen. . . . Und vor
allem: zum erstenmal schlug hier die Dichtung eines
großen Lyrikers des Orients im Zusammenhang an sein
Herz. Es waren Töne aus dem Gemüth einer verwand-
ten, stark ausgeprägten Individualität: eines le-
bensfrohen, welt- und menschenkundigen, trink- und
liebeseligen, witzigen, aber auch mystischen . . .
Dichters. (pp. 285-286)

Burdach sees the Divan as a great work, equal to Goethe's other great works, and like many of them the product of a life-long study:

Der Divan ist das große Denkmal in Goethes orientalischer Provinz, wie 'Prometheus', 'Iphigenie', 'Helena' die Marksteine seiner . . . antiken Eroberungen, wie der 'Faust' das ragende Siegeszeichen seiner naturwissenschaftlichen Lebensarbeit. (p. 286)

However, he continues, the Divan does not share the popularity of these works. He says that contemporaries find the Divan rather strange, and he lists supposedly common misunderstandings: it as an artificial product of an aging poet; it is more shaped by chance and arbitrariness than a natural expression of the soul; there is more reflection and wisdom than feeling and passion. He adds: "Selbst Kenner und

Verehrer des Werks urteilen in der Regel nicht viel günstiger." Burdach himself thinks that the work has flaws:

Gewiß, der Divan ist eine Dichtung, die den Typus des Alters zur Schau trägt: er wandelt in gedankenvoller Beleuchtung, in symbolischem verallgemeinern-dem Denken. Und er verleugnet in der Form der Darstellung wie des rein sprachlichen Ausdrucks nicht die Schwächen des Alters: er enthält stilistische und grammatische Sonderbarkeiten, gemachte Wortbildungen, gravitatische Wendungen, seltsame Wortspiele, selbst Dunkelheiten und schlechthin Unverständliches. Goethe hat es nicht immer vermocht, den verarbeiteten fremdartigen Stoff der orientalischen Quellen in reine Poesie zu verwandeln: zuweilen bietet er uns Schlacke statt Gold. Das Werk zeigt manchmal bereits die Weitsichtigkeit greisenhafter Augen und die umständliche Manier der Nestorjahre. (p. 287)

However, these weaknesses are not the cause of the Divan's supposed lack of popularity. Mostly, he says, people just do not understand the work. Burdach intends to provide the explanation and clarification which will open the way for reevaluation and appreciation of the Divan.

In part II Burdach argues (pp. 287-293) that Goethe's response to Hafis and the ensuing two years of lyric production may be understood within the overall European context. The Divan is Goethe's response to the new universal, Romantic, historic spirit of the time. The most productive of the current impulses was the drive toward a supposed past higher unity of human nature. Rousseau and his followers had postulated the original condition of man a priori and focused on distant, exotic worlds with lower cultures that seemed to realize the lost ideals of the natural state. Under Rousseau's influence Bernardin de St. Pierre followed

Daniel Defoe's example in Robinson Crusoe and sought to recreate the patriarchial times with his travelogues and novels; especially Paul et Virginie showed an elegiac yearning for the childlike state of man. Chateaubriand continued the trend of seeking exotic locals for his works. Just at the time the Orient appeared in literature, the French Orientalist Silvestre de Sacy was laying the groundwork for the scientific evaluation of Arabic and Persian antiquity. Southey, who, like Chateaubriand, had religious and Christian intentions, also reflected Arabic customs, beliefs and the splendor of Oriental nature. The contrast of the ideal with modern culture drove Lord Byron to seek Turkish-Greek settings from the Middle Ages as well as from modern times.

Scholarship now came to aid the search for the origins of European language, religion and customs; the philosophic-aesthetic problem turned into a historic-genetic one. Scholars from England, France and Germany became the "Lehrlinge zu Sais," travelers to the East. Since the 1780's the recognition of the relationship of Sanskrit to the Western languages had pointed to a common cultural ancestry with Indians, Persians and, so it was long thought, Arabs and Jews.

When Goethe chose to follow the lead of a Persian poet, he was following impulses which he had already met as a youth, impulses which he had helped strengthen and make a part of general world culture.

Burdach also speaks (pp. 288-292) of the Divan within German literary tradition: German writers and thinkers participated in and made significant contributions to the universal, Romantic spirit. Following Rousseau's postulation of the natural state, it was Herder's friends and followers who sought to demonstrate these primitive human qualities as they had existed in history and to reveal them through historical reconstruction. The generation of the 1770's discovered original poetry in the so-called nature, or folk poetry, and they studied its nature in Homer, Old English ballads, the pseudo-Ossian, German folksongs and the songs of wild and primitive peoples.

The ideas of Rousseau and Herder lived on in metamorphosized form; the German Romantics, in their rejection of Classicism, found what they needed and sought in Oriental sources. From the Oriental Märchen, used by the French, Wieland and even Klinger as pure costume, there arose an appreciation of Eastern works for their own sake, for their human and poetic worth. To be sure, Tieck's early works have only an Oriental veneer; however, as early as 1800 Friedrich Schlegel announced that the highest Romanticism was to be found in the East, and Tieck's Poetisches Journal carried an essay, the "Morgenträume unseres Geschlechts," on Old Indian mythological poetry as well as "Europa," Schlegel's translation of a piece from Firdusi's book of heros. Novalis "dreame[d]" in Hymnen an die Nacht that it was Eastern

wisdom that first recognized the beginning of the new Christian age. Oehlenschläger created his Aladdin from one of the episodes of Thousand-and-one Nights. And Schelling taught that, as philosophy had been born of poetry, it would have now have to return to poetry through mythology, that Christianity derived from the Oriental spirit which had also created the Indian religion and pervaded the whole Orient. The Orient became a magic word. It appeared as the homeland of the proclaimed magical idealism; its disciples believed they could find there the genuine fullness of life, the true and whole nature of man and religion in its pure form.

Friedrich Schlegel's Über die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier and Franz Bopp's Konjugationssystem cleared up some long-standing misconceptions and laid the groundwork for further scholarly studies. Daub and Creuzer, inspired by Arnin and Brentano, studied the religion of the Orient; as Schlegel had shown the way for comparative linguistics, they created the mood for the comparative study of religion. Looking for the kernel of the old religions among the symbols of the cult and the stories of the myth, they found them in the East. The great founders of religions were to them prophets of the people, called by God to raise and purify humanity in steps.

The Romantic cult of the Orient was born from the youthful spirit of Hamann-Herder, of Goethe; it was a wave of his own making that swept the old poet away:

Weder Chateaubriand noch Lord Byron noch Schelling noch die deutschen Romantiker wären denkbar, ohne daß sie der Atem Goethischer Geniedichtung angeweht hätte. (p. 293).

Burdach then explains (p. 294-299) that the Divan's unity derives from a synthesis of Goethe's rekindled interest in the East with his visit to the scenes of his youth. An important element in this synthesis was a supposed rapprochement with the younger Romantics (Boisserée et al.)

In section III (pp. 299-318), Burdach treats the genesis of the Divan as individual poems written in response to experiences encountered on the Rhine trips in July-October 1814 and May-October 1815--first under the influence of Hafis and later of Marianne. Burdach devotes only four pages to the first Rhine trip. Two items of interest are found here. He states (p. 301) that one of the poems written on the trip, "Der neue Kopernikus," was not included in the Divan because "ein orientalisches Anhängsel hier nicht geglückt sein mag." He also refers (p. 303) to "Selige Sehnsucht" as the deepest of all Divan poems. The rest of the space is given to the relationship with Marianne.

In part IV (pp. 319-321) Burdach discusses Goethe's efforts to discover the universal in the particular, to reconstruct, using Burdach's words, the "Urelemente orientalischer Poesie." Part V (pp. 322-324) consists of concluding remarks of a general nature. Burdach says that the Divan is responsible for a long line of Oriental poems, but he names only Rückert and Platen. He mentions Börne's

negative criticism and ends with a statement that Germany must continue to study its treasure of great literature, in which he includes the Divan.

Richard M. Meyer. "J. P. Eckermann." Goethe-Jahrbuch 17 (1896): 105-121.

In this laudatory article, Meyer states that Eckermann nicely illustrates how Goethe takes his images out of the sphere of experience of his own person. One of the two cited examples (p. 113) is from the Divan, vv. 19-20 of "Sommernacht" (IX, 19).

Max Friedländer. "Goethes Gedichte in der Musik." Goethe Jahrbuch 17 (1896): 176-94.

In the introduction to this article, Friedländer mentions (p. 177) Schubert's musical settings of Divan poems "Geheimes . . ." (III, 14), "Was bedeutet die Bewegung . . ." (VIII, 31) and "Ach! um deine feuchten Schwingen" (VIII, 34). He does not treat these compositions in the article.

W[oldemar Freiherr] von Biedermann. "Hatem." Chronik des Wiener Goethe-Vereins 10 (1896): 1.

Bibliographic report Goethe-Jahrbuch 17 (1896): 293.

Biedermann advances the far-fetched thesis that Goethe took the name Hatem from Hadem, a character in Geschichte eines Deutschen der neuesten Zeit, a novel by Klinger which appeared in 1798.

Max Morris. "Zum Divan." Goethe-Jahrbuch 18 (1897): 277-279.

In this report Max Morris offers two sources for Divan passages. For "Zwiespalt" (I, 11), where the poet is caught between conflicting sounds of the war trumpet and Cupid's flute, Morris cites two passages from Calderón's Tochter der Luft (La Hija del aire). Especially the first of these is, he says, closer to the poem than the Hafis source cited by Loeper. For vv. 1-6 of "Hätt' ich irgend wohl Bedenken . . ." (VIII, 15) he cites lines from Molière's Le Misanthrope. Admitting that Hafis, as cited in Loeper, was probably the immediate inspiration, Morris says that the Molière quote was significant if only as an unconscious memory.

Louis P. Betz. "Goethe und Gérard de Nerval. Eine vergleichende Studie aus der französischen Romantik." Goethe Jahrbuch 18 (1897): 197-217.

In this article, Betz states (pp. 213-14) that Nerval's great love of the Orient--exclusive of Africa and Asia--came from Goethe's Divan, Schlegel's learned treatises and the Oriental productions of Rückert and Platen.

Ludwig Geiger. "Dreizehn Briefe Goethes an Adele Schopenhauer. Nebst Antworten der Adele und einem Billet Börnes an Goethe." Goethe-Jahrbuch 19 (1898): 53-119.

Geiger states (p. 92) that Goethe had given Adele Schopenhauer a copy of the Divan for Christmas, 1820. He quotes the dedication and says the copy is in the Goethe-Schiller Archives. In a letter to Goethe of January 3, 1830, she mentions (p. 76) that A. W. Schlegel had talked her out of one of the copies "der erneuerten Geburtstagslieder." Geiger explains (p. 112) that this poem, dated

August 28, 1829, consisted of three different Divan "Sprüche" and that it was sent to her in different copies. Geiger does not say which "Sprüche" are involved.

Otto Pniower. "Zu Goethes Wortgebrauch." Goethe-Jahrbuch 19 (1898): 229-47.

Pniower cites (p. 246) ewig in the Divan poem "Höheres und Höchstes" (XII, 9, vv. 12, 43) as an example of Goethe's "instinctively" finding his way to the "Quelle der Sprachbildung." He says that Goethe commonly uses the word to mean "unendlich," applying it to both time and space. An example of the first usage is unnecessary, he says; for the second, he quotes "Nichts wirst du sehn in ewig leerer Ferne" (Faust II, v. 6249). However, in the conclusion of Faust II, he says, Goethe uses the combination "Ewig Weibliche" to mean "das Idealweibliche, das Weibliche, wie es, befreit von der irdischen Schwere, im Reiche der Ewigkeit waltet." How the word got to have this meaning is seen, he says, in "Höheres und Höchstes" where "ew'ge Zeiten" (v. 12) can only mean "für die in der Ewigkeit zu verbringenden Zeiten." He says that Goethe then combines that meaning of the word with the temporal meaning in the poems's concluding verses, "Bis im Anschauen ewiger Liebe/ Wir verschweben, wir verschwinden." Goethe had returned, he claims, to the word's ancient meaning which had been lost to the contemporary user. He tells us that the word had derived from the concept "des Dauernden, immer Währenden" and had acquired

the meaning "des Rechtmäßigen, Wahren, Vorbildlichen," shown, he says, in the related "Ehe" (once meaning "Gesetz") and "echt" (from êhaft). The close relationship between the original meaning and Goethe's use in "Ewig-Weiblich" is obvious, he says; both approach the concept "Ideal." He concludes that Goethe's intuitive linguistic genius re-created the lost meaning.

Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff. "Goethes Pandora." Goethe Jahrbuch 19 (1898): *3-*21.

The author mentions (p. *3) that Goethe did not finish "Pandora" because he was "mit dieser Phase seiner Entwicklung innerlich fertig." In a footnote he cites--without giving page numbers--Burdach's "Festvortrag" of the previous year.

Xanthippus [= F. Sandvoss]. "Suleika eine deutsche Dichterin. Chorizontische Divan-Studie". Preußische Jahrbücher 91 (1898): 193-239.

Johannes Niejahr. "Die Osterscenen und die Vertragsszene in Goethes Faust." Goethe-Jahrbuch 20 (1899): 155-196.

In 1899 in an article on the Easter scenes and the pact scene in Faust, Johannes Niejahr mentions some Divan poems. Niejahr is trying to determine when these particular parts of Faust were planned and/or composed. Stating that lines 937-940 of "Vor dem Tore" differ in meter and content from surrounding lines, Niejahr calls them an "unorganischer Zusatz"--something, he says, one finds frequently in Goethe--"eine inhaltliche Heterogenität begleitet von einem

Wechsel des Metrums, resp. der Strophe." As examples he cites the concluding strophes in "Selige Sehnsucht" (I, 17) and "Im Gegenwärtigen Vergangnes" (I, 12). He says that one may conclude that these verses were written at different times.¹²

Later, Niejahr mentions the Divan poem "Hochbild" (VIII, 32). He is discussing lines 1064-1069 of Faust: "O glücklich, wer noch hoffen kann . . ." and the question is whether they belong to the young "Sturm und Drang" Goethe or the classical Goethe. Niejahr maintains the latter and points out that the older Goethe also wrote enthusiastically, using similar images in lines 702ff. of Faust and in "Hochbild."¹³

The twelve years of 1888-1899 saw on the one hand the production of a comprehensive critical edition which laid the philological basis for scholarship for the next century and at the other extreme the onset of a host of minor contributions which concentrated on a very limited point. The Weimar edition provided the framework for the first, the Goethe-Jahrbuch the vehicle for the other.

Interest in the NA continued (Seuffert 1891, Koch, Henkel, Siegfried, Pniower, Payer), but it was limited to occasional comments or isolated word or source studies.

¹²Niejahr, p. 166.

¹³Niejahr, p. 178.

Both editors of the critical edition of the NA, Carl Siegfried and Bernhard Seuffert, published articles on the notes, and it is significant that in both instances their contributions dealt with highly restricted topics. Neither undertook to do for their section of the work what Konrad Burdach was doing for the poems.

Some of the shorter articles are word studies (Hauff, Pniower 1892 and 1898, Siegfried), several concern sources (Koch, Pniower 1892, Payer 1893, Henkel, Morris), others present new primary material (Seuffert 1890, Jean Paul letters, Suphan). Biography and the relationship with other works is the primary focus of the longer article by Morsch, while Pniower (1892) and Niejahr are also interested, as is Morsch, in the relationship of the Divan to other works by Goethe.

Düntzer's review of the WA, emphasizing as it did the disparity between the text chosen as a standard and the ideal form of the poems, pointed out a major problem which Divan scholarship did not take up for another half century, and his attempt to recreate the first numbering of the poems was also an original contribution.

Certainly the most interesting and entertaining articles were produced by Burdach. Much in them was derivative. The investigation of the relationship between the Divan and Goethe's earlier preoccupation with the East had begun in Wurm's commentary and had been discussed by both Düntzer and

Loeper in the introductions to their commentaries. Similarly the concept of Goethe's trip to the Rhineland as a poetic diary was considered by both these earlier scholars. The idea expressed in part V of "Beleuchtung" was one of the main points made by Burdach's teacher Wilhelm Scherer in his history of German literature.

One of the most original aspects of Burdach's writing was his attempt to make more precise what he meant by the development of a new style in Goethe's writing, which he did in his article on the "Ghasel auf den Eilfer." His attempts to tie in Goethe's interest in the East with the history and development of the European tradition of Primitivism in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth century, which are found in part II of "Beleuchtung," were also new. This is one area which could use further study today and which has not been explored further.

The shift in emphasis which the discovery of Suleika's identity had brought about can be seen in part III of "Beleuchtung," where the production of over 100 Divan poems is summarized in four pages, and the remaining fifteen are devoted to Goethe and Marianne. Burdach did not initiate the biographical inclinations of Divan scholarship, nor was he responsible for the emphasis placed on the relationship between Goethe and Marianne, and both these early essays present the material in a balanced fashion. There is a dichotomy, however, between his ability to relate the

broader intellectual trends of Orientalism and Primitivism to specific poems and his ability to relate biographical facts and suppositions to the poems. The biography becomes very concrete in its application, the intellectual trends very general.

CHAPTER VII

BURDACH'S COMMENTARY AND OTHER CRITICISM, 1900-1905

Bernhard Suphan. "Briefe Goethes an Ulrike von Levezow und ihre Mutter Amalie von Levezow, geb. von Brösigke." Goethe-Jahrbuch 21 (1900): 7-51.

Suphan points (p. 46) to a parallel between stanzas 1, 2 and 9 of the "Marienbader Elegie" and lines 30-32 of "Einlaß" (XII, 4).

A. Schlossar. "Friedrich Rückert und Josef Freiherr von Hammer-Purgstall." Wiener Zeitung. no. 117 (May 22, 1900).

Reported on in "Friedrich Rückert über den West-östlichen Divan". Chronik des Wiener Goethe-Vereins 14 (1900): 24.

Rückert's letter to Hammer of December 22, 1819 in which he comments on the extent of Hafis's influence on Goethe's Divan was first published here.

Bibliographic report on Goethe. Westöstlicher Divan, nebst Noten und Abhandl. zu bess. Verständniß Leipzig: M. Hesse. Goethe-Jahrbuch 21 (1900): 304.

Bibliographic report on A. Ehrenfeld. "J. C. Lavater in Goethes westöstlichem Divan." Neue Zürcher Zeitung 75. Goethe-Jahrbuch 21 (1900): 304.

Bibliographic report on J. V. Widmann. "Aus dem neuen 'Westöstlichen Divan'" Frankfurter Zeitung. 79, Abendblatt. Goethe-Jahrbuch 21 (1900): 304.

Bibliographic report on Franz Schubert. "Suleikas erster und zweiter Gesang für 1 Singstimme m. Orch." By F. Mottl. (Part. und Orch.-St.) Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel. Goethe-Jahrbuch 21 (1900): 318.

Rudolf Hildebrand. Lectures on Goethe. Ed. Julius Goebel.
Goethe-Jahrbuch 22 (1901): 205-224.

The Divan is mentioned twice, in a section "Einleitung zu Goethes Liedern" (pp. 205-14). In connection with his claim (p. 206) that Goethe expressed his deeper thoughts as puzzles or "secrets," Hildebrand quotes the first two lines of "Selige Sehnsucht" (I, 17). And, stating that Goethe's poetic ideal had become "the recreation of God's creations," he closes (p. 214) with a quote from "Wiederfinden," (VIII, 35, vv. 39-40).

Heinrich Buck. "Handschriftliches aus dem West-östlichen Divan." Chronik des Wiener Goethe-Vereins 16 (1902): 24-27, 32-33.

With a reproduction of "Frage nicht . . ." (IV, 11) as "Beilage zur Chronik . . .," vol. 16, no. 7-8, and reproduction of "Vom Himmel steigend . . ." (X, 9), p. 27. The reproduction of IV, 11 is true facsimile in the original Chronik des Wiener Goethe-Vereins, but in the Kraus reprint (1970) it appears only as a photocopy.

Bibliographic report in Goethe-Jahrbuch 24 (1903): 304.

Bibliographic report on Goethe. West-östlicher Divan. Nach den vorzüglichst. Quellen rev. Ausg. m. Anmerkgn. Ed. Gustav von Loeper Leipzig: Hempel. Goethe-Jahrbuch 23 (1902): 280f.

W. Cohn-Antenorid. "Die Quellen des Faustischen Papiergeldes." Goethe-Jahrbuch 24 (1903): 221-24.

In this short compilation of sources for the paper money in Faust, Cohn points to a parallel with the NA chapter "Marco Polo," where Goethe speaks of "Scheinmünze." Cohn first quotes Lessing on Marco Polo and claims that Goethe

would have been aware of Lessing's comment when he wrote the NA chapter. Then, citing Düntzer as authority that Goethe read Felix Peregrin's German translation of Polo's works, Cohn points to a passage there having to do with paper money.

For whatever interest it may be, Cohn's citation of Lessing (collected works, Berlin, 1793, part 13) reads:

Die Nachrichten, welche Marco Polo, zu Ende des dreyzehnten Jahrhunderts, von den orientalischen Ländern bekannt machte, die er in Diensten des Kub-laikhan selbst zu bereisen, oder sonst näher kennen zu lernen, Gelegenheit gefunden hatte, haben das besondere Lob, daß sie mit der Zeit immer mehr und mehr bestätigt werden."

Herman Krüger-Westend. "Goethe und das Arabische." Goethe Jahrbuch 24 (1903): 244-48.

Krüger notes examples of Goethe's early interest in the Orient, Mohammed, and the Arabic language; he then examines certain Divan passages and examples of Goethe's Arabic and concludes that Goethe felt at home in classical Arabic as spoken at the time of the Prophet. As examples of Goethe's interest in the Koran, he states that the following passages were taken from or show the influence of that work. "Talismane" (I, 4a) verses 1-2 ["Gottes ist der Orient! . . ."] are from Koran sura 2:109: "Und Allahs ist der Westen und der Osten etc." The poem "Erschaffen und Beleben" (I, 8) derives from sura 15:26: "Und wahrlich, erschaffen haben wir den Menschen aus trockenem Lehm, aus geformtem Schlamm." "Anklage" (II, 2) verses 1-2 ["Wißt ihr denn auf wen die

Teufel lauern, . . ."] are from sura 26:221: "Soll ich euch künden von denen, auf welche die Satane herniedersteigen." Mohammed's words after the battle of Bedr (in "Berechtigte Männer," XII, 2) from suras 2, 3, 23, 17, 55, 56, and 37. And the first part of the "Siebenschläfer" legend (XII, 10) from sura 18; Krüger states, however, that Goethe found this material in a work by J. G. Rich.

Krüger then discusses the NA "Araber," especially the poem beginning "Unter dem Felsen am Wege." Citing Bauer (Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft 10: 96ff.), he says that, of available translations of the poems by Michaelis and Freytag, Goethe used Freytag's; however, he says that Goethe also must have had the original Arabic, from which he translated directly. Krüger does not say why he is convinced of this. He adds that Goethe wrongly dated the poem during Mohammed's life; it was written, he says, two centuries later by Taabbata Sarraan. Also, he thinks that Goethe's translation is superior to those by Michaelis and Freytag. Krüger finally examined Goethe's handwritten copies of Arabic declensions and conjugations, the Arabic title of the Divan, and a poem to Silvestre de Sacy; and comes to the above-mentioned conclusion.

[Rudolf Payer von Thurn ?] "In memoriam." Chronik des Wiener Goethe-Vereins 17 (1903): 1-3.

With reproduction on p. 2 of an album page with a late (1828) copy of VI, 16d.

Konrad Burdach. "Die älteste Gestalt des West-östlichen Divans." Lecture. Königlich Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Berlin, May 19, 1904. First printed in the Academie's Sitzungsberichte 1904, pp. 858-900. Hereafter "ält. Gestalt."

Rpt. in Entstehungsgeschichte. pp. 7-50. Cited here according to the 1955 reprint.

In an introductory statement to this essay (pp. 7-8), Burdach refers to NA chapter "Naturformen der Dichtung," where Goethe speaks of there being three "natural" forms of poetry (epic, lyric and dramatic) and of the possibility of their simultaneous occurrence in even the smallest poem. Burdach says that the Divan is itself a collection of poems in which these three forms of poetry mix and mingle.

There follows a discussion (pp. 8-19) of philological methods and the general nature of an individual lyric poem versus its nature in an environment, especially that of the cycle. The point of Burdach's argument is that while a poem may gain certain things from being included in a collection, the collection itself imposes a foreign element on the poem which destroys its originality and freshness. In the following passage he explains what important factors he feels are lost. Poets and friends of poets, he says,

sind doch einig darin, daß es die Probe für alle echte Poesie sei, ob sie aus der Tiefe einer starken Persönlichkeit hervorquelle, daß nicht der Stoff und nicht die Form das Kunstwerk machen, sondern ihr Durchgang durch ein davon ergriffenes Temperament, nicht das Erlebnis an sich, sondern wie es in einem einzigen Augenblick und in einer Beleuchtung, die so niemals wiederkehren, sich spiegelt in der Stimmung des Schaffenden. Sie wissen, die lyrische Impression ist eine Lichtquelle inneren Lebens. Schon auf

dem Wege zum Wort und Vers verliert sie an Glanz und Wärme, stirbt etwas in ihr. Und das geschriebene, das gedruckte Gedicht gibt nur noch einen Auszug, einen Rest, der im Verhältnis zur unendlich gefühlten, unendlich momentanen, unendlich persönlichen lyrischen Inspiration als kalte blasse Formel erscheint. Ein ganzer Band lyrischer Gedichte vollends ist wie eine Schmetterlingssammlung: was zuvor umherflatterte und hundertfarbig im Sommersonnenglanz funkelte, nun starr und grau, in Reih und Glied aufgespießte Leiber. (pp. 15-16)

Burdach says that some ways of collecting and preserving poems are better than others. Goethe's principles, he feels, stem from Herder and are especially severe; he explains:

Unter dem Einfluß der "Zerstreuten Blätter" Herders gibt er der ältesten Sammlung nach dem Prinzip der Verkettung durch ähnliches oder gegensätzliches Motiv eine Art epischen Zusammenhang typischen und symbolischen Charakters. Mit grausamen Wüthen gegen sich selbst schnitt er seinen Gedichten den Lebensnerv ihrer unsterblichen Schönheit, die Wurzeln des Momentanen und Individuellen durch. (p. 12)

It is the task of philology, Burdach says (pp. 17-18), to restore life to these poems. He says this can be accomplished by tracing the poem back from the book to its publication and beyond: to its copying, its completion, where possible to its very conception. He believes that Divan study can uniquely open a view to hidden regions of the genesis and slow poetic ripening of a work of lyric art.

Burdach devotes the rest of the essay to the some 36 known poems of the Deutscher Divan of 1814--before the division into books--, showing how the idea of the cycle developed from the earliest poems in imitation of Hafis, July 1814, through influences which superceded Hafis and

evoked the new poetic style, and culminated in December in an epic-lyric setting for lyric-confessional poems.

Burdach maintains (pp. 19-26) that the poems in the "Deutscher Divan" are chronologically ordered, but says that this order was changed several places for cyclic considerations. He feels (p. 22) that the very first poems were those with personal and literary ties to Hafis and claims that they are "dramatic."

In his arguments and discussions Burdach makes several references which should be noted. He remarks (p. 20) that "Beyname" (II, 1) is probably the oldest Divan poem. He is convinced (pp. 23-24, 33) that a number of the early poems were completed in one form and that Goethe then "tacked on" a few verses to fit them into the collection. He believes these instances are recognizable by a "Formel," usually "Und so." He specifically excludes "Beyname" (II, 1, v. 18) as an instance. Burdach does not seem to have a high opinion of these "Anhängsel." He also refers (p. 24) to the early poems as anacreontic, patriotic-heroic and satiric and speaks (pp. 24, 31) of some being "gesellige Lieder." He seems to regard these poems as somehow less significant than later Divan poems.

The positioning of "Offenbar Geheimniß" (II, 8), "Wink" (II, 9), and "Der Winter und Timur" (VII, 1) is significant, Burdach feels (pp. 33-35), for two reasons. According to him, this order is an unmistakable indication that Goethe

wanted the last poem understood as referring to Napoleon's Russian winter campaign. He also feels that the positioning is reason to assume that the undated poem "Wink" was written purely out of cyclic considerations, as a bridge between "Offenbar Geheimniß" and "Der Winter und Timur."

"Der Winter und Timur," Burdach feels (pp. 34-36), is also "a significant step forward." Although the work is a translation, Burdach says that the few changes which Goethe made in style are enough to show that the "new Divan style begins with it. In this connection he remarks:

Der Geniestil lebt wieder auf, gemeistert aber durch einen gereiften, universal geschulten Kunstverstand. Weggeblasen die flüssige Anakreontik des hafisierenden geselligen Liedes aus den ersten Anfängen des Divans mit ihren lässigen Reimen, ihrer glatten Singbarkeit. (p. 35)

"Sommernacht" (IX, 19), he tells us (pp. 36-37), is the first product of this new style; and he renounces (p. 36) his previous agreement (WA I 6, p. 435) with Loeper that this poem was written in June 1814 and dates it December 16, 1814.

The next and greatest influence on the "new Divan style was Ferdusi, Burdach now says (pp. 38-42). Ferdusi was a "double hero," as person and as poet. He believes that Goethe now vied with Ferdusi as he previously had with Hafis:

Bei Hafis ergriff ihn die Ähnlichkeit des Zeitalters mit dem seinigen, "wo bei Zerstörung aller Sicherheit des bürgerlichen Daseins der Mensch sich auf flüchtigen, gleichsam im Vorübergehen gehaschten

Genuß des Lebens beschränkt". Ferdusi sollte ihm nun den Stoff und den Stil liefern, diese Zerstörung selbst als geschichtlich-politisches Ereignis im Divan west-östlich abzuspiegeln. (pp. 39-40)

Burdach also thinks that the ideas which will later be expressed in the "Buch des Paradieses," can be traced to Ferdusi rather than to Hafis.

The final poems of the "Deutscher Divan" were written in December 1814. They include "Hegire" (I, 1), "Gute Nacht" (XII, 11) and, Burdach argues (pp. 45-47), "Sieben-schläfer" (XII, 10). These poems, he feels, provide an "epic framework" for the "Deutscher Divan."

A bibliographic report on this lecture appeared without comment in Goethe-Jahrbuch 26 (1905), p. 325.

Burdach had promised to some day attempt to identify the poems which had been in the "Deutscher Divan" but whose names remained unknown; but he did not do so. Wilhelm Solms undertakes this mission in his article "Goethes 'Deutscher Divan' von 1814."¹

As Solms points out (p. 40), Düntzer had already attempted this reconstruction in his review of the WA in 1891 and had concluded that the order of poems was determined by principles other than chronology. Düntzer's attempt is marred by a number of printing errors, and Solms gives a corrected version of Düntzer's work (p. 46).

¹Solms, Literaturwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch n.s. 15 (1974): 39-80.

Solms also points out that in "ält. Gestalt" Burdach ignored Düntzer's attempt but took Düntzer's conclusion as his own; and Solms notes (p. 40) that Burdach was able to discover only two of the missing poems. He also states (p. 42) that Burdach made several mistakes in this article, and that this contrasts with his careful work on the WA; Solms concludes that Burdach's "ält. Gestalt" is not a philological investigation, but an interpretative one. Solms also has a discussion of "Die neue Form" (pp. 57-79), in which he claims that the Divan style is a consequence of Goethe's reaction to Hafis--not, as Burdach claimed, to Ferdusi.

E. v. Lippmann. "Zu Seite 220." Goethe-Jahrbuch 25 (1904): 257.

In a previous article, "Parallelstellen zu Faust" (GJb 24: 219-21), Lippmann had spoken about the scene "Innerer Burghof," where Helena expresses her amazement at rhymed speech. Faust's words "Doch ist am sichersten wir übens gleich,/ Die Wechselrede lockt es, ruft's hervor" (vv. 9375-76) cause Lippmann to wonder whether Goethe was inspired by a Persian story "Bechrâm" and "Dilâram." Since that report, several readers had written Lippmann, he now relates, to reminded him of "the fifth poem in book 'Suleika' and the appropriate parts of the NA"; he concludes that Goethe must have taken the "Reim-Wechselspiel" from the Persian source. Lippmann is referring to the poem "Behramgur, sagt man, hat den Reim erfunden" (VIII, 29) and the NA chapter "Allgemeinstes."

Richard M. Meyer. "Theodor Mommsen." Goethe-Jahrbuch 25 (1904): 258-262.

In this necrology, Meyer mentions the Divan twice. He states (p. 258) that for Mommsen Goethe was the writer of Faust, the Divan, the Xenien, the Sprüche: "der lehrhafte, in fremde Formen sich versenkende, mit dem ungeheuersten Stoff ringende Meister unserer Meister." On page 261, he says that Mommsen had written poetry which reflected the influence of the Divan's and the old Goethe generally.

Hermann Henkel. "Zu Goethes Divansgedicht [sic] 'Selige Sehnsucht.'" Studien zur vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte 4 (1904): 346-347.

Bibliographic report Goethe-Jahrbuch 26 (1905): 325.

Henkel argues that the stanza by Heinroth which was mistakenly attributed to Goethe is not a reflection of Goethe's "Stirb und werde," but a Christian turn of thought that sees the old self replaced by the new.

Bibliographic report on Goethe. "Weimarer Goethe-Ausgabe. Band 41." Goethe-Jahrbuch 25 (1904): 277-283.

This "Selbstanzeige" states that this volume consists of two parts which contain Goethe's contributions to Cotta's Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände. The Divan is mentioned on pages 278-79.

Bibliographic report on Goethe. Werke. Unter Mitwirkung mehr. Fachgelehrter. Kritisch durchgesehene und erläuterte Ausgabe." Ed. Karl Heinemann. Goethe-Jahrbuch 25 (1904): 288-89.

Volume four, edited by Georg Ellinger and Gotthold Klee, contains Achilleis, Reineke Fuchs and the Divan.

Konrad Burdach, ed. West-östlicher Divan. Vol. 5 of Goethes Sämtliche Werke. Jubiläums-Ausgabe. 40 vols. Stuttgart and Berlin: Cotta, 1905. Hereafter JA.

The introduction appears as "Die Kunst und der dichterisch-religiöse Gehalt des West-östlichen Divans," in Vorspiel, Vol. 2, pp. 333-374. Cited here according to the reprint as "Kunst und Gehalt."

"Kunst und Gehalt" was conceived as a continuation of the 1896 "Beleuchtung." In Part I (pp. 333-341) Burdach traces the genesis of the Divan as the product of historical and contemporary Eastern influences upon Goethe.

Burdach begins with a restatement of ideas he had expressed in "Beleuchtung." He says (pp. 332-333) that the Divan needs more explication than Goethe's other works and complains that histories of literature continued to promote old fallacies about the work. He repeats the assertion that the Divan is the product of a life-long interest in the East and then summarizes (pp. 334-340) these interests. Most of this account had been said before by Düntzer in the ERL and by Burdach himself in "Beleuchtung." He does add (pp. 335) three citations of passages in the Frankfurter gelehrte Anzeigen in 1772, passages with deprecatory remarks on the quality of translations of Oriental works. And Burdach mentions the "Klaggesang von der edlen Frauen des Asan Aga" as Goethe's first encounter with the contemporary Near East,

a world that "excited him passionately" with its moral-social problems.

Burdach also delves into the Divan's psychological-genetic roots (pp. 336-340), which, he contends, began with the isolation and loneliness Goethe felt after the death of Schiller. Goethe's rapprochement with Romanticism began, and he read Persian poets and imitations for the first time. Old age set in; Goethe was shaken by the political storms; he spurned the present. He began to "sum up" his life, preparing an edition of his collected works, writing an autobiography and theoretical works on art, and finishing Faust I and works on the natural sciences. During this process he began to think of himself historically, i.e. as a product of history. He looked for his own beginnings and the beginnings of mankind. He returned to his youthful study of Moses.

As the political unrest towards the end of the Napoleonic wars grew, Goethe sought refuge in the quiet and ordered reserve of the East. He hoped to find there new sources for his poetic energy:

Er reservierte sich nun den Orient mit Bewußtsein als einen sicheren Bezirk der Beruhigung und Sammlung. Er hofft, hier seiner Dichterkraft neue Quellen zu erschließen: vor allem symbolische Analogien zur Gegenwart. . . . Langsam, planmäßig schickt er sich nun an, von hier aus seine Poesie zu 'kommandieren'. (p. 337)

It almost seemed that the closer the war came to Goethe, the farther East his thoughts carried him:

Aber er zieht weiter bis an das äußerste Ende jenes reservierten Bezirks, um der inneren Aufregung dieser schmerzlichen Lebensjahre das Gleichgewicht zu halten: am Vorabend der nationalen Befreiungsstunde, im Oktober 1813, vertiefte er sich zweifelnd und das Schlimmste befürchtend, zu Flucht bereit mit gepackten Koffern . . . in chinesische Studien und liest die Reisebeschreibungen des Venezianers Marco Polo . . . (p. 338)

Then some Eastern artifacts and visitors brought a "breath of the East" to Goethe and reestablished the link with Mohammed--facts whose significance Burdach thinks has been underestimated. He mentions the fragment of Arabic handwriting which soldiers had brought back from Spain in 1813. And he also relates (pp. 338-339) that soon Russian troops marched through Weimar; among them were Islamic Bashkir, who held an Islamic service in the lecture hall of the Gymnasium. Goethe attended the service and also received a present from one of the visitors. At this time the positive qualities of the East attracted Goethe; yet, the troubled times of the Napoleonic era recalled for him the conqueror Tamerlane. The uncontrolled forces of Russia overcoming France terrified him, and he saw the danger of demonic forces of despotism, servitude, war and destruction.

In this mood of war a contemporary of Tamerlane had an overpowering effect on Goethe; Hafis opened up the poetic energies of the East for him:

In dieser Disposition seiner Phantasie wirkte überwältigend auf ihn ein Timurs Zeitgenosse: Hafis, der bald nach jenen Baschkirentagen in der vollständigen Übertragung von Hammer auf ihn herantrat. Der Orient, all die Jahre seit Schillers Tod nur 'Opium

für die Gegenwart', wird nun endlich das ersehnte Mittel der Stärkung, das Bad der Abspülung für die Leiden des Verwaisten, das Bad poetischer Verjüngung. (p. 340)

In Part II (pp. 341-345) Burdach explains that what so attracted Goethe to Hafis, the elements to which he responded poetically, were the analogues to his own life. Hafis's life and works seemed to him an earlier version of his own. He saw living in turbulent times a true joyous nature, firmly rooted in the here-and-now, writing of the nightingale and the rose, of love, while empires fell around him. Here he heard the great tone of an endlessly rich lyric art, which in content and style affected him in a wholly new way, which revealed Persian vistas, nature and culture, which proclaimed a human, free conception of religion, wisdom and love: a religious pantheism that would not be bound by the outer law of orthodoxy. He saw the poet of wine and love in a constant fight with a world that didn't understand him, with zealot priests who twisted his words. He saw him standing proudly at the side of the great, defending his poetry against the conqueror Tamerlane.

These analogies are the source of the Divan, Burdach says (pp. 342-343); and from them derive the name and concept West-Eastern. For Burdach this means first competition with Hafis, second a revelation of the common human elements which unite East and West, and finally a historic-genetic summation of the East, as presented in the NA. Burdach clarifies this last:

Die "Noten und Abhandlungen" versuchen nichts Geringeres als einen vollständigen Überblick über die Geschichte der Dichtung Persiens von der ältesten bis zur neuesten Zeit . . . (p. 344)

In Part III (pp. 345-353) Burdach returns to the effect on Goethe of his encounter with Catholic, Romantic influences during the Rhine-trips, especially the visual art of Jan van Eyck and other lower-Rhine painters.

Burdach first reiterates (pp. 344-353) his claim that 1814-1815 was a period of unusual, renewed poetic activity, and that this was a result of Goethe's physical return to the area of his birth. The purpose of the Rhine trips, we read (pp. 347-348) concerned the plastic arts and Sulpiz Boisserée's interest in Germanic art. Goethe's initial resistance had been overcome by Sulpiz's enthusiasm, and soon Goethe's youthful interest for German antiquities was revived. Goethe's reacquaintance with the Brentanos, von Guaitas and the Schlossers effected an otherwise unknown empathy for the naive, folklike traditions of the Catholic church and the Middle Ages. And the art of the lower Rhine painters, Jan van Eyck, Hans Memling and Schoreel, made a significant and lasting impression. As he continued to read Hafis, his impressions of the real trips and the imagined one blended, as past and present had blended in his trip to Italy. The return to the childhood of mankind and to the places of his own childhood reflect each other symbolically in the Divan. After comparing Goethe's "flight" of 1814/1815 to Goethe's earlier trip to Italy in 1786-1787 and

discussing other of Goethe's writings occasioned by the 1814-1815 trips, Burdach concludes (pp. 352-353) the above experiences and influences convinced Goethe that he should find a style more appropriate to the times and subject.

Although Hafis was the starting point for Goethe's search for a new style, Burdach categorically denies that Hafis had any significant formal influence on that style; Goethe early renounced his intention of competing formally with Hafis:

Orientalische Formen hat Goethe seinem Divan nur in sehr begrenztem Maß gegeben. Die Reimkünste des Hafis . . . hat er mit höchst bescheidenem Anklang gelegentlich . . . das Ghazel spät und selten, dabei recht frei nachgeahmt . . . (p. 353)

In Part IV (pp. 353-358) Burdach discusses the "new Divan style." He repeats (pp. 353-354) from "älteste Gestalt" his claim that the earliest Divan poems "continued in the manner of the 'geselliges Lied'"; a second, similar group followed; but, Burdach believes, the reflective nature of the poems soon put an end to these. He lists (pp. 355-356) the verse forms of the Divan: flowing, singable verses with frequent use of dialect forms and assonance--these often have an ironic tone with jocular and idealistic elements--; proverblike poems in "Knittelverse"; iambic or trochaic pentapody; rhymeless trochaic tetrapody; free rhythms. These latter, he says, most aptly show the basic stylistic tendency of the Divan: "eine gewisse Prosaierung der Poesie."

Burdach adds (p. 356) that the Divan is full of folksy and dialect forms and expressions, every-day phrases, jocular and vulgar elements, foreign words and exotic names. Saying that it also show a predilection for unusual, pregnant expression, Burdach points to a vocabulary with rare or "daring" compounds, new words and archaic ones, as well as to numerous asyndeta and to a penchant for a "piling up" of dependent clauses.

The Divan style, he concludes (pp. 357-358), combines multiple and sometimes contradictory elements--e.g. idyllic elements near passionate ones--; the result is sometimes inharmonious. There is a certain indifference towards artistic illusion, even towards the object of the art itself. Burdach says this new style is Goethe's extension of the Kant-Schiller "Spielbegriff." He calls it artless art and compares what Goethe was doing in poetry with what Jan van Eyck did in his paintings. Burdach seems to be saying that the whole is best comprehended by viewing the parts under the many and varied illuminations provided by the artist.

In Part V (pp. 358-367) Burdach discusses Goethe and the Divan in the light of Goethe's contemporaries, whose limited and sometimes confusing views Goethe sought to transcend. He says (pp. 359-360) that Goethe's conception of the East never divorced from eighteenth-century Humanities and from associations with idyllic elements of the Old Testament. He speaks of Goethe (pp. 360-362) as prophetic

and compares the Divan to Epimenides. He discusses (pp.362-364) Goethe's relationship with the "Grimm-Arnim circle" and Romanticism and concludes that the Divan represents Goethe's "geformte und gekühlte, entdüsterte Romantik." And he states (pp. 364-367) that the Divan is filled with a spirit of deep religiosity and pantheistic mysticism.

Part VI (pp. 367-373) concerns mysticism. Citing Orientalist Adalbert Merx as the most vocal of a group who claim that Goethe misunderstood Eastern mysticism, especially that of Hafis, Burdach argues (pp. 367-379) that Merx in turn did not understand Goethe's position.² He continues (pp. 369-372) with a listing of symbolic and mystic elements in the Divan. Finally, he makes a brief statement (pp. 372-373) on how he believes Goethe arrived at his understanding of Eastern mysticism, referring the reader to his notes to a number of Divan poems. Of these, his discussion of "Selige Sehnsucht" (I, 17) is the most thorough, and that discussion is summarized in Appendix B. Burdach ends the essay, Part VII (pp. 373-374), with a description of Goethe as a scientist and thinker, seeking common elements in nature and human feelings which unite East and West.

²Merx, "Ideen und Grundlinien einer allgemeinen Geschichte der Mystik" (Heidelberger Prorektoratsrede, 1893), p. 4.

A short introduction (pp. 320-321) to the "JA Notes" summarizes the work's genesis and gives a word about its present form. Burdach states the Divan in its present form consists of twelve books with no central climax. It divides into four sections of unequal length, with three books in each section. The first group, "Buch des Sängers," "Buch Hafis" and "Buch der Liebe," present rather theoretically and generally the problem of poetic existence, of Hafis's art and of love. "Buch der Betrachtungen," "Buch des Unmuths" and "Buch der Sprüche" are purely gnostic, partly satiric and partly reflective. The next unit introduces dramatic personages, Tamerlane, Suleika and the cupbearer; but Suleika is so much more splendidly and passionately presented that the other two appear dead in comparison. At the end are three didactic books, "Buch der Parabeln," "Buch des Parsen" and "Buch des Paradieses," which treat religious and moral matters.

As can be seen from an examination of material in Appendix B, Burdach's notes to the poems generally are a winnowing of information presented in previous commentaries. He frequently repeats information from Wurm, sometimes D58 and Loeper, but rarely the ERL or the DNL. He gives literary antecedents and parallel passages in other of Goethe's texts, dates of composition or transcription, Goethe's scattered references to the work, variant readings, Boisseree's references to the poem, and sometimes a note on important

textual features. Burdach frequently indicates the general purpose of the poem, e.g. "an introduction to Oriental thinking." In his own interpretative or guiding remarks, Burdach mixes his genetic-historic and biographic-psychological approaches.³ A one-page note to the NA points to the need for further study.

Ludwig Geiger. "Müllner, Goethe und Weimar." Goethe-Jahrbuch 26 (1905): 184-202.

In this discussion of Goethe's relationship with Adolf Müllner, Geiger mentions the Divan incidentally, in a footnote (p. 197).

Herman Krüger-Westend. "Goethe und Persien." Goethe-Jahrbuch 26 (1905): 270-274.

Krüger begins by praising Persians in general and Persian poets in particular. He states that Goethe, who had a life-long interest in the Orient, was especially attracted to Persia, and that the Divan shows especially Persian influence. He recounts Goethe's readings of Persian works: Herder's renderings, Hammer's Schirin and translation of Hafis' Divan, poetic and political works about Persia from libraries, Malcolm's history of Persia, Abu Said's verses, and Hekim Senaji's ghazels. Calling these sources "meager," Krüger expresses amazement at how quickly Goethe gained

³For Burdach's discussion of his methodology see his "Zum hundertjährigen Gedächtnis des West-östlichen Divans" (Vorspiel, Vol. 2), pp. 406-415.

knowledge of Persian attitudes. He says that the best contemporary translations of Persian poems were unequal to the originals but that Goethe always had a good word for the Persian poets.

Krüger notes that Goethe's interest in Persia peaked in Hafis. He says that Goethe expressed his high opinion of Hafis in the lines "Hafis dir sich gleich zu stellen,/ Welch ein Wahn!" (Divan paralipomena) and that Goethe characterized Hafis accurately in the motto to the "Buch Hafis." He says that Goethe's great veneration of Hafis can only be explained as a "meeting of minds"; and he lists several purportedly common characteristics. Krüger says that Goethe honored all the Persian poets listed in the NA. He says that Goethe was especially interested in Ferdusi's "Schah Nameh," from which he read to the Herzogin.

Krüger claims that Goethe learned some Persian. He quotes H. Wernecke as saying that among Oriental manuscripts in the Goethe-Schiller Archives there are no Arabic or Persian texts, only unordered, written exercises--repeated words, names, geographic locations, and transcriptions which were often rendered inexactly. Krüger concludes that Goethe therefore did not understand the Persian poems which he included in the Divan, "Auf die Fahne" and "Auf das Ordensband" (NA "Endlicher Abschluß"). He gives the Persian originals and German translations of those poems and of the

Divan "Schlußspruch," which, he says, is from Saadi's Rosen-
garten. He says that Goethe's use of these Persian poems,
which he himself could not understand, shows his love of
Persian poetry. Repeating that it was the Persians who had
inspired the Divan, Krüger closes, stating that Goethe con-
quered Persia for German poetry.

Rudolf Lehmann. "Stephan Waetzoldt." Goethe-Jahrbuch 26
(1905): 305-308.

Concluding this necrology, Lehmann quotes (p. 308)
verses 3-4 from Divan poem "Volk und Knecht und Ueberwinder"
(VIII, 18), as applicable to Waetzoldt.

Rudolf Payer von Thurn. "West-östliches." Chronik des
Wiener Goethe-Vereins 19 (1905): 9-13.

With reproduction of V, 15b before p. 9.

Robert Teichl. "Goethe und Georg Graf von Buquoy." Chronik
des Wiener Goethe-Vereins 19 (1905): 17-30, esp. 25-26.

With reproduction of VI, 5c before p. 25-28.

Bibliographic report on O. Strohmeyer. "Zu Goethes Divan."
Zeitschrift für den deutschen Unterricht 18.3 (March
24): 210f. Goethe-Jahrbuch 26 (1905): 325.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY

The fifteen years between 1872 and 1887 are the most productive of those covered. Loeper's introduction and commentary of 1872 were an outstanding achievement and presented a full picture of the poems. Two years later Düntzer's extensive introduction of over 200 pages and his equally ambitious commentary of the poems broadened the understanding of the work and offered new perspectives. The information in them was repeated and in many cases augmented or revised in his Deutsche National-Litteratur volume of 1885. The year 1887 saw the publication of the Weimar edition and the wealth of information it brought on the condition of the manuscripts, the text variants, and the development of the earlier stages of the collection.

If one compares the treatment of the poems in Appendix B by the various editors, it is clear that Burdach's commentary is not a true summation or adjudication of previous works, but rather a selective highlighting of topics and in many instances a new departure. Loeper's seven-page summary of reactions to the Divan and critical opinion of it indicate his sensitivity to previous work, and it is in Loeper's and Düntzer's commentaries that one gets a greater sense of the development of criticism and the ebb and flow of discussion. Both men devoted considerable thought to the poems

and to related themes, motifs and images in Goethe's work and in the works of his contemporaries. Time has not diminished the usefulness of their insights.

The major stages in the Divan's growth were clear to Loeper and Düntzer. One of the most significant contributions of the Weimarer Ausgabe was to lay to rest once and for all the theory inspired partially by Bettina von Arnim and partially by the inclusion of "Israel in der Wüste" in the NA that the Divan poems extended many years into Goethe's past. The news of the numbering on the manuscripts was also a significant aid to scholarship. One should not forget, however, that the information thus provided enabled readers to refine an outline that was already present in considerable detail as a result of the Quartausgabe. One conclusion to be drawn is that it is a mistake to do as the newest edition of the Hamburger Ausgabe does and to recommend Burdach's commentary for modern readers while reducing Loeper and Düntzer to items of historical interest (vol. 2, 12th ed., pp. 570, 767). Their work deserves equal billing with Burdach's. Nor can one assume that subsequent works have successfully integrated and assimilated the information that Burdach left out. When Loeper and Düntzer wrote, the quantity of information with which they had to cope on any particular poem was still limited; they could air their disputes with one another and reflect the current state of scholarship. Burdach already makes some significant choices

to drop information, and later commentaries are under no less pressure to reflect recent trends and highlights of past scholarship. A full review of scholarship has to include their work, not just out of a desire for completeness, but because they represent an important and still vital resource.

One problem raised from the very first was the relationship between the Eastern and Western elements in the work. The earliest reviewers such as Kosegarten, G. C. O. and Collin were much taken by what they perceived as an inspiring and successful fusion of the two elements. The opposite viewpoint was represented strongly by Goedeke, who held that the Eastern element was exotic mummary overlaid over German poems and that it was a meaningless costume. Loeper and Düntzer give both aspects equal emphasis, and they are even-handed in their treatment. Burdach's assessment of Hafis' influence, his insistence that the impetus was biographical and that the poems from June through mid-December 1814 were by and large poems of the moment later often spoiled by the interlarding or appending of some Eastern element, is actually Goedeke's argument in a slightly modified and chronologically restricted form.

Burdach's greatest contribution in his essays to the understanding of the work is his portrayal of the general intellectual currents from which the work arose and its relationship to the works of his Romantic contemporaries.

Much of what he wrote had been pointed out before, but his engaging style and his ability to paint a broad picture undoubtedly enlivened the work for many of his contemporaries. Whether the work was so misunderstood at the time as one might believe from reading Burdach is, however, open to question. Three major commentaries in thirteen years--1872 to 1885--and the positive assessments of Burdach's teacher Wilhelm Scherer in his influential history of German literature attest to a strong and articulate following. One would have to investigate whether there was a real outpouring of interest for the work after 1905 as a result of Burdach's essays and commentaries, but it would have to be very strong indeed to match the record of the period 1872-1885.

The NA are the subject of isolated studies, but they never did share the degree of attention they gained in the first year after the work appeared. Early readers, bereft of any commentary, turned to them for help, and several seemed to find a degree of orientation there. With Wurm's commentary the focus shifted to the poems and the essays and comments on literature in the NA largely faded from view. They are only fragmented glosses for individual poems or the object of isolated source studies.

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If the author's name or the title of a work without an author used by Goethe or his contemporaries does not correspond to the standard form now used to identify the author or work in the National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints, I have indicated the standard form with brackets and an equal sign [=]. Brackets elsewhere in the entry signify, as elsewhere in this work, information that is being supplied by me.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

INDEX OF DIVAN POEMS AND PASSAGES TREATED

As explained in the Introduction, this index seeks to respond to the lack of bibliographical material on Goethe's poems. While locating articles on individual Divan poems is relatively simple, there is no practical way to locate the many references scattered in books, articles, introductions to commentaries, etc. This index lists all such references in the works named below. Besides the reviews, articles and bibliographic reports, it includes the introductions to the commentaries and editions of Wurm, Loeper, Düntzer and Burdach (but not the systematic references in those major works), as well as all available articles by Burdach.

Divan poems are listed in the order in which they occur in Maier's edition of that work. Underneath the poem entry is a listing of those works which make reference to it. These works are in chronological order, except for Burdach's, and his are listed together. Works are identified by some abbreviation, usually the author's last name or a key word in the title. The following alphabetized list defines the extent of the index and provides enough information to locate the work in the bibliography.

WORKS INCLUDED

ARNIM (Achim). "Otto Brüggemann."

BARTSCH. "Goethe und der Alexandriner."

BELLERMANN. Bibliographic report on "Heinrich Bellermanns musikalische Compositionen . . ."

(bib. rep.) GJb 8, 271. Bibliographic report on "Daß ich bezahle."

BLACKWOOD'S 1. "Goethe's West-Oestlichem Diwan."

BÖRNE. Goethe im Urteil seiner Kritiker.

BOXBERGER. "Zu Goethe's Gedicht im Saki-Nameh des West-Oestlichen Divan: Ob der Koran von Ewigkeit sei?"

Burdach, Konrad. The following works by Burdach are listed in the order of their writing. The page references, except BUR 5, are to articles as collected in Vorspiel and Entstehungsgeschichte.

WA The references here are to poems in the section PARALIPOMENA.

BURDACH (bib. rep.) GJb 10. Bibliographic report on "Weimarer Goethe-Ausgabe. Bericht der Redaktoren . . ."

BUR 1 "Goethes Ghasel auf den Eilfer in ursprünglicher Gestalt."

BUR 2 "Goethes West-östlicher Divan in biographischer und zeitgeschichtlicher Beleuchtung."

BUR 3 "Die älteste Gestalt des West-östlichen Divans."

BUR 4 Meant here are a few pages which introduce the notes accompanying the Jubiläums-Ausgabe. The references are of a general nature and are included here for completeness.

BUR 5 "Die Kunst und der dichterisch-religiöse Gehalt des West-östlichen Divans." The page numbers here are from the reprint in Vorspiel.

JA The notes to poems from the "Nachlaß."

BUR 6 "Die Aufnahme und Wirkung des West-östlichen Divans."

BUR 7 "Der hundertgliedrige Divan des Wiesbader Registers."

BUR 8 "Zum hundertjährigen Gedächtnis des West-östlichen Divans."

BUR 9 "Die Anordnung des Wiesbader West-östlichen Divans."

- CANINI (bib. rep.) GJb 13. Bibliographic report on M. A. Canini.
- COHN-ANTENORID. "Die Quellen des Faustischen Papiergeldes."
- CREIZENACH. Letter. Allgemeine Zeitung 1877.
- DNL. Introduction to Der Westöstliche Divan, ed. Heinrich Düntzer, 1887.
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 DÜNTZER-"MOSES" Part 5 of "Studien zu Goethe's Werken."
 DÜNTZER-58 The introduction to Goethe's lyrische Gedichte, Pt. 5, 1858.
 DÜNTZER-MARIANNE "Goethe und Marianne v. Willemer."
 DÜNTZER REV. Review of Goethes Werke.
 DÜNTZER (bib. rep.) GJb 13. Bibliographic report on Heinrich Düntzer, Zur Goetheforschung . . .
- ERL. The introduction to Goethe's Westöstlicher Divan, ed. Heinrich Düntzer, 1876-1878.
- FASOLA. "Goethes Werke in italienischer Uebersetzung."
- FEUCHTERSLEBEN. "Die größten Dichter Persiens."
- J. F. "Goethe, Suleika und der West-östliche Divan."
- FÖRSTER. Goethe-Article in Brockhaus' Conversationslexikon.
- FREIES DEUTSCHES HOCHSTIFT. Bibliographic report.
- FRIEDLÄNDER. "Musikerbriefe."
- FRIEDLÄNDER 2. "Goethes Gedichte in der Musik."
- FROMMANN. "Zur Erinnerung an Friedrich Johannes Frommann."
- G. C. O. Rev. of Westöstlicher Divan.
- "GEDANKENSPÄNE" (bib. rep.) GJb 15. Bibliographic report on "'Gedankenspäne' von Goethe." (In Bibliography under Goethe.)
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- GRIMM. Herman Grimm. "Goethe und Suleika."
- GROSSE (bib. rep.) GJb 11. Bibliographic report on "Literarische Ursachen und Wirkungen . . ."
- HAUFF. "Zum Divan." GJb 4 (1883).
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- HENKEL. "Sprichwörtliches bei Goethe."
- HENKEL 2. "Randbemerkung zum 'Goethischen Gleichnis'."
- HENKEL (bib. rep.) GJb 26. Bibliographic report on "Zu Goethes Divansgedicht 'Selige Sehnsucht.'"
- HILDEBRAND 1. "Etwas vom Sterben."
- HILDEBRAND 2. "Ein nicht anerkannter Vers von Goethe."
- Hildebrand (bib. rep.) GJb 9. Bibliographic report on "Tagebuchblätter eines Sonntagsphilosophen. Ein nicht anerkannter Vers von Goethe."
- HILDEBRAND (bib. rep.) GJb 15. Bibliographic report on "Der wirkliche Urheber eines angeblichen Verses von Goethe."
- HILDEBRAND 3. "Aus Vorlesungen über Goethe."
- HÜFFNER. "Goethe und Johann Gottfried Eichhorn."
- JAHN. "Goethe und Kosegarten."
- KOCH. "Zum west-östlichen Divan."
- KOSEGARTEN. Rev. of "West-östlicher Divan."
- KRÜGER-WESTEND 1. "Goethe und das Arabische."
- KRÜGER-WESTEND 2. "Goethe und Persien."
- LEHMANN. "Stephan Waetzoldt."
- LIPPMANN. "Zu Seite 220."
- LOEPER. West-östlicher Divan von Goethe, ed. Gustav von Loeper, 1872. Included here are the sections "Vorbemerkung des Herausgebers" and "Zur Revision des Textes."

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 LOEPER xli; 386.
 ERL 34, 48, 59, 198.
 DNL xvi., xvii.
 DÜNTZER rev. 297, 302, 326 (several times),
 KRÜGER-WESTEND 1: 245.
 MORSCH 233-34.
 BUR 3: 44f.; BUR 5: 355, 361, 364; BUR 8: 404; BUR 9:
 103.
- XII, 11 Gute Nacht!
 DÜNTZER-58 140.
 ERL 85, 198.
 DÜNTZER rev. 326, 329.
 MORSCH 233-34.
 BUR 3: 44f.; BUR 9: 103.

NOTEN UND ABHANDLUNGEN

Noten und Abhandlungen

KOSEGARTEN 242-243, 246-250.
ARNIM 43-55.
G. C. O. 160-165.
T. 51
MÜLLNER 268.
BÖRNE 512-514, 593.
DÜNTZER-"MOSES." 140-153.
FEUCHTERSLEBEN. esp. 117-122, 139-143.
DÜNTZER-58 131f, 137f.
JAHN esp. 396-399.
GOEDEKE xix - xx.
DÜNTZER-MARIANNE 652.
LOEPER xxxiv; xliii; xliv; xlvii; 386-389.
LOEPER-1874. 490-491.
J. F. 810.
ERL 86-100, 105-09, 154, 172, 174-76, 182, 197, 201.
SCHERER 641, 656.
LOEPER 2: 293.
ZIEMLICH (bib. rep.) 416-17.
DNL ix., xxiv.
SEUFFERT 242-250.
SEUFFERT (bib. rep.) GJb X, 273-74.
DÜNTZER rev. 327, 330, 331.
SEUFFERT 2: 24-41.
KOCH 173-74.
HENKEL 181.
SIEGFRIED 259.
PNIOWER 181-98.
PAYER (bib. rep.) GJb XIV, 338.
COHN-ANTENORID, 221-24.
KRÜGER-WESTEND 1: 245-47.
KRÜGER-WESTEND 2: 271-274.
BUR 5: 343; BUR 6: 387, 400; BUR 8: 402.
JA 431-432.

Die Wächter sind gebändiget...

ERL 106.
BUR 9: 83.

PARALIPOMENA

A. TITEL UND GLIEDERUNG

2. Widmungsblatt (Verehrung sey!...)
WA No. 30. p. 482.
BUR 7: 56.

Wiesbader Register Nr. 3
WA 459.
DÜNTZER rev. 236-27.

BUCH DES SÄNGERS / BUCH HAFIS

6. Hafis dir sich gleich zu stellen
DÜNTZER-58 140, 158.
DÜNTZER-MARIANNE 653.
LOEPER 37-38.
ERL 172, 239-240.
DNL 31.
WA 452.
KRÜGER-WESTEND 2: 271.
JA 424.

7. Hör ich doch in deinen Liedern...
LOEPER 112.
ERL 172, 174, 307-308.
DNL 96-97.
WA 451.
JA 424.

8. Und in Alammannen Mundart...
WA 480.

9. Sollt einmal durch Erfurt fahren...
LOEPER xxiv-xxv; 70-71.
ERL 26, 172, 174, 273-274.
DNL 62-63.
WA 451-452.
DÜNTZER rev. 326
BUR 2: 300; BUR 3: 25.
JA 424.

10. Wer sich selbst und andre kennt...
WA 451.
JA 424.

11. So der Westen wie der Osten...
WA 451.
BUR 3: 40 (footnote 1).
JA 424.

BUCH DER BETRACHTUNGEN

15. Seh ich zum Wagen heraus...
WA 475.

BUCH DER FREUNDE

ERL 78, 105.
SCHERER 2: 281-82.
DNL vii., viif.

WA 472-473.

BUR 4: 320; BUR 9: 79.

13. An Diez. (Wie man mit Vorsicht auf der Erde wandelt,...)
VIEHOFF 201-203.

DNL v.

WA 473.

14. An Diez. (Nicht nur als Kabus hast du mich belehrt...)
WA 473.

BUCH DER BETRACHTUNGEN

16. Mich nach- und umzubilden miszubilden...

DÜNTZER-58 180.

LOEPER 83. (V, 6)

ERL 172, 284-285.

DNL xv, 73.

WA 453.

JA 424.

BUCH DES UNMUTHS

20. Mit der Teutschen Freundschaft...

DÜNTZER-58 178.

LOEPER xl; 80. (V, 3)

ERL 92, 172, 204, 281-282.

DNL 71.

WA 453.

JA 424.

BUCH DER SPRÜCHE

21. So traurig daß in Kriegestagen

WA 453.

JA 424.

22. Dem den tausend Menschen lieben...

WA 478.

23. Traue nicht dem Truncken Klugen...

WA 474.

28. Eh man Theriac von Bagdad holt...

WA 479.

29. Nach unfruchtbarem Baume...

WA 479.

30. Wenn das Trockne brennt...

WA 475.

31. Das Herz legt die Gewohnheit nicht ab...

WA 475.

BUCH DES TIMUR

32. Untergang der Zund-Dynastie.
WA 468-469.
- 33b. Und nun erhebt sich das größte Gelächter...
WA 471-472.
34. Da liegt ein Ey es ist kein Ey nein
WA 467.

BUCH SULEIKA
WA 451.

35. Hatem und Suleika. (Hudhud sprach: mit einem Blicke...)
DÜNTZER-MARIANNE 653.
LOEPER 52
ERL 110, 254.
DNL xiv, 45.
WA 457.
JA 427.
36. Schreibt er in Nesky... (Die Liebende.)
DÜNTZER-58 208.
LOEPER 149.
ERL 64, 173, 343-344.
DNL xxiii., 132-133.
WA 456.
DÜNTZER rev. 326
JA 427.
37. Sprich! unter welchem Himmelszeichen
DÜNTZER-58 203-204.
DÜNTZER-MARIANNE 653.
LOEPER xl; 140-141.
ERL 81, DÜN 2: 173, 335-336.
DNL vii., xxiii., 125-126.
WA 454.
DÜNTZER rev. 326
JA 425.
38. Süßes Kind, die Perlenreihen,...
DÜNTZER-58 201-202.
DÜNTZER-MARIANNE 645.
LOEPER xxvii; 134-136; 384.
ERL 48, 54f., 55, 173, 329-331.
DNL xvi, 120-122.
WA 454-455.
JA 425-426.
BUR 5: 364-365, 365; BUR 9: 95-96, 97.
39. Laßt mich weinen! umschränkt von Nacht,...
DÜNTZER-58 209-210.

LOEPER xli; 154-155.
ERL 69, 173, 348-349.
DNL xxiii, 137-138.
WA 455.
JA 426.
BUR 5: 356.

40. Nicht mehr auf Seidenblatt...
DÜN 1: 215.
LOEPER xli; 168-169.
ERL 64f., 69, 173, 174, 361-362.
DNL xxiii, 149.
WA 456.
JA 427.
BUR 5: 356; BUR 8: 432-433.

41. So sag mir doch wie soll ich ihn denn winden...
WA 478.
BUR 2: 308.

43. Doppelschema. (Suleikas Lob durch ihre Dienerinn...)
WA 470-471.

DAS SCHENKENBUCH

44. In welchem Weine...
DÜNTZER-58 218.
LOEPER 173-174.
ERL 173, 368.
DNL 157.
WA 459.

45. Wißt ihr denn was Liebchen heiße?...
DÜNTZER-58 217.
LOEPER 174.
ERL 173, 174, 177, 368.
DNL 157.
WA 459.
JA 428.

- 46a. Diesen Wein von Ispah...
WA 474.

- (46.b) Wein er kann dir nicht beha...
DÜNTZER-58 217.
LOEPER 174.
ERL 173, 174, 177, 368.
DNL 157.
WA 459.
JA 428.

- (46c.) Zu geniessen weiß im Prachern...
DÜNTZER-58 172.

LOEPER 61.
ERL 172, 174, 266.
DNL 58.
WA 453.
JA 424.

47. Wo man mir Guts erzeugt überall...
(Das Ghasel auf den Eilfer)
DÜNTZER-MARIANNE 651.
LOEPER xl; 178-179; 385.
ERL 372.
DNL 159-160.
WA 459.
DÜNTZER (bib. rep.) GJb XIII, 289.
BUR 1: 263-281.
JA 428-431.

47b. Wo man mir Guts erzeugt überall...
ERL 70, 177, 204.
DNL xix..
DÜNTZER rev. 298

48. Schenke erröthet...
WA 474.

49. Verlängertes Zusammensey...
WA 474.

50. Heftger Wein und Sanftmut...
WA 479.

BUCH DER PARABELN

51. Wo kluge Leute zusammen kommen
ERL 389-390.
DNL 180.
WA 459.
JA 431.

52b. Doch bedingt ins aller engste...
WA 471.

VERSE UND FRAGMENTE ...

56 a, b. Sollt ich nicht ein Gleichniss brauchen...
DÜNTZER-58 152.
LOEPER 25.
ERL 172, 226-227.
DNL 19.
WA 454.
JA 425.

57b. Herrlich bist du wie Moschus:
DÜNTZER-58 203.

LOEPER 139.
ERL 173, 334.
DNL xxiii, 124.
HENKEL 2: 277-78.
WA 454.
JA 425.

58. Daß des Hauses Glanz sich mehre...

LOEPER 110.
ERL 172, 174, 306.
DNL 96.
WA 453.
JA 424.

59. Solcher Bande darf sich niemand rühmen...

LOEPER 115.
ERL 173, 174, 310-311.
DNL 99.
WA 475-476.
JA

60. Wunder kann ich nicht thun sagt der Prophete,...

WA 476.

61. Schwarzer Schatten ist über dem Staub der Geliebten Gefährte;...

DÜNTZER-58 152.
LOEPER 25, 381.
ERL 172, 226-227.
DNL 19.
WA 454.
JA 424-425.

62. Jedes Wort ist ein Versprechen...

WA 476.

64. Und so ists auch Hafisen ergangen...

WA 476.

65. Und da schleppte sich ein Mann auf den Knieen.

WA 476.

66. Trumpf: Und wenns der Vater wäre

WA 480.

AUS DEM DIVAN AUSGESCHIEDEN

67. Vision. Also: Der neue Kopernikus.
(Artges Häuschen hab ich klein,...)

LOEPER xxiv-xxv.
ERL 27f.
BUR 2: 301; BUR 3: 26; BUR 9: 82.

69. Der Kessel straft den Ofentopf...
WA 479.

70. Steckt doch mark in jedem Knoch...
WA 478.

71. ... wenn alle sprechen...
WA 475.

ZUM DIVANKREIS GEHÖRIG

85. Daß ich bezahle
(bib. rep.) GJb VIII, 271.

GELEGENHEITSGEDICHTE FÜR MARIANNE

87. Hudhud auf dem Palmensteckchen,...
DÜNTZER-MARIANNE 653.
LOEPER 52
ERL 110, 163, 254, 45.
DNL xiv..
WA 456-457.
DÜNTZER rev. 298
JA 427.

88. Hudhud erklärt eine räthselhafte Stelle.
ERL 112
WA 457.
JA 428.

89. Hudhud, als einladender Bote.
ERL 112f., 115.
DNL xiv, 46.
WA 457.
JA 427.

90. Hudhud erbittet ein Neujahrsgeschenk, räthselweise.
ERL 112f.
WA 457-458.
JA 428.

91. Schoen und koestlich ist die Gabe...
DÜNTZER-MARIANNE 653, 656.
LOEPER 52; 382.
ERL 113, 177.
DNL 46.
WA 458.
JA 428.

92. Ach ich kann sie nicht erwidern,...
DÜNTZER-58 203.
LOEPER 139.
ERL 173, 334.

DNL xxiii, 124.
WA 458.
JA 428.

CHIFFERNBRIEFE ...

94. Leicht ist die Lieb' im Anfang...
DÜNTZER-MARIANNE 652-653.
WA 487-489.
95. Die Einsamkeit ist schön,...
DÜNTZER-MARIANNE 652.
WA 486-487.
96. Was der Geliebte schenkt, ist nichts als milde Huld,...
WA 489-490.
97. Ich und mein Herz, du weißt, wir bleiben getrennt vom
Geliebten....
WA 490-491.
98. Dir mein Herz zu eröffnen verlangt mich,...
DÜNTZER-58 240.
DÜNTZER-MARIANNE 652.
WA 492-493.
BUR 5: 354.
99. Und warum sendet...
DÜNTZER-58 207-208.
LOEPER xli; 148-149.
ERL 64, 173, 343-344.
DNL xxiii, 132-133.
WA 455-456, 490.
BUR 2: 316-317.
JA 426-427.

ÜBERSETZUNGEN ...

100. Bruchstück... der... Moallaga
WA 460-462.
101. Bruchstücke... aus Ferdausis Schahname...
WA 463-467, 474.
- 102c. Gar viele Laender hab ich bereist
DÜNTZER-58 176.
LOEPER 74.
ERL 172, 174
WA 452-453.
KRÜGER-WESTEND 2: 272.
JA 424.

E. EXZERPTE UND NOTIZEN

138. An Gottes Tisch sitzen Freund und Feinde...
WA 483-484. (Nr. 35)
147. (Und wer sich selbst erkennt...)
WA 476. (Nr. 16)
150. Das Buch Kabus...
WA 479 (Nr. 23); 485 (Nr. 41).
156. Ich roch der Liebe Gerüche...
WA 481. (Nr. 29)
159. Erwiede(r)te so Wort, als Maas und Reim...
WA 483. (Nr. 34)
167. Bete hundert Jahre das Feuer an,...
WA 483. (Nr. 33)
168. Hyde wie Diez muß an eine externam...
WA 480. (Nr. 26)
171. Oelsner...
WA 485. (Nr. 42)
172. (Der Lebens strom fließt durchs...)
WA 480. (Nr. 25)
173. Badachschan herrlichst Rubin...
WA 477-478. (Nr. 18)
174. (Wenn du einen Klügern als du reden...)
WA 484-485. (Nr. 38)
175. Bulistan...
WA 476-477. (Nr. 17)
184. (Es war ein rechtschaffener und wachsamer Mann...)
WA 480-481 (Nr. 27); 485 (Nr. 40).
185. (Lapis Lazuli...)
WA 485. (Nr. 39)
186. (Abuherriris Katze...)
WA 483. (Nr. 32)
189. Die Dichter sprechen von sich...
WA 484. (Nr. 36)
196. Wenn bey einem ausgefüllten Graben...
WA 481. (Nr. 28)

APPENDIX B

EARLY CRITICS ON DIVAN POEMS

When this appendix was begun, its aim was to collate the material on all the Divan poems from the seven commentaries included in this survey. The major reason for undertaking the project was the desire to provide in one place what was otherwise not readily available. In the meantime, Wurm's work has been reprinted, thus reducing the necessity and value of this treatment as a primary research tool. Additionally, it soon became evident that the project was beyond the scope of this study. The appendix now seeks to provide a tool for comparing the commentaries.

An investigation of even a few poems shows a pronounced tendency of these nineteenth century scholars to regard the accumulated data on any one poem as being more or less in the public domain--data they were free to quote without, in most cases, noting who had first discovered what. Of the earlier commentators only Wurm made a consistent and determined effort to document his notes. The critics were very repetitious, but much was also winnowed out; today we do not know, in most cases, who initiated what critical opinion or who first drew a useful parallel. In order to more fully reveal this process involving 73 years of criticism, I have catalogued notes from these commentaries for the first Divan book.

These authors and works included are: Christian Wurm, Commentar, 1834 (herein WURM); Heinrich Düntzer, Goethe's lyrische Gedichte, Pt. 5, 1858 (herein DÜNTZER 1858); Gustav von Loeper, West-östlicher Divan, 1872 (herein LOEPER); Heinrich Düntzer, Erläuterungen: Goethes Westöstlicher Divan, 1876/78 (herein ERL); Heinrich Düntzer, Der Westöstliche Divan in Deutsche National-Literatur, 1887 (herein DNL); Konrad Burdach, West-östlicher Divan, WA I 6, 1888 (herein WA); and Konrad Burdach, West-östlicher Divan, Jubiläumsausgabe, 1905 (herein JA).

The following principles guide the appendix.

The order is by Divan book, poem and line; the commentaries are arranged chronologically. The information is given in a modified outline form, which tries to present meaningfully Wurm's copious notes and which is also amenable to the works of Düntzer, Loeper and Burdach.

Entries are numbered for reference when a subsequent commentary repeats a point. When the entry addresses a particular line or lines of a Divan poem, these lines are listed in parentheses, eg. (vv. 4-8). If there is a key word or phrase involved, this follows in quotes. Wurm, especially, tends to give explanatory material gleaned from several different authors or books, which he then cites together. I have tried to retain his groupings without unnecessary subdivisions, unless the citations of later commentaries forced a more traditional outline structure. I

list cited works or authors following a --; thus "--Oelsner, p. 161," "--Hafis, 'Vorrede'," or "--Chardin, T. 5, p. 122." As evidenced in the case of Chardin, I tried to preserve some sense of the original citation because it is after all easier to locate material when one knows what it originally was and because the various German and French abbreviations for volume and part, "Bd.," "T.," "Th.," etc. can be presumed to be familiar to the reader. "p" or "pp" and "f" or "ff" are for page or pages and following. "(" means that the entry addresses the same Divan lines as the preceding entry. Foreign words in English sentences are given in quotes, as are quotations. I have especially sought to give those passages that might have influenced Goethe or have been known to him in the language quoted by the commentator. And whenever translation or restating would have made the point or passage less meaningful, I have also quoted. The words "REPEATS" "CITES" and "ADDS" on the line with the commentary seem clear enough.

References to the appearance of a poem in print or in musical settings or to variant readings among the printings and copies are not included, unless the citation is interpretative or indicates preference. Dates and place of composition of the poems could often be read from a copy of the poem and only implied dates and places are given here. Hans Albert Maier's Goethe: West-östlicher Divan treats dates and variant readings in great detail.

In general Wurm did not say which of his citations he regarded as the source, whereas the other commentators did. I have marked passages so identified with the symbol (S).

It is especially frustrating when researching a Divan poem to find a reference to an unnamed work of Goethe's, simply to volume and page of an edition which is not readily available. I have tried to locate these references and make them more meaningful. Conversion to the WA was the only logical choice. But even the WA is not always readily available; and, when a referenced passage is easily identifiable, I have tried to make such reference as will allow one to use most editions of Goethe's works. It is, for example, sufficient for many purposes to know which NA chapter a critic was referencing.

Still, it may be helpful to know which edition of Goethe's works the commentators were using. Wurm used the Ausgabe letzter Hand. DÜNTZER 58 cites from Sämmtliche Werke in 40 Bänden. LOEPER used two edition, sometimes citing a reference in both. The one is the 40-volume edition; the other is Werke Nach den vorzüglichsten revidirte Ausgabe (36 parts in 23 vols. Berlin:[Hempel], [1868-1879]). ERL gives the reader sufficient information to find the references. DNL, WA, and JA reference other volumes of the series in which they appear.

I have tried to identify and standardize references to other works quoted in the commentaries -- especially Wurm's

references since he quoted extensively. Citations are usually abbreviated to the author's last name and/or a key word in the title; more complete information is in the bibliography. In some cases I was unable to locate the references and I give the information in the most complete form cited. The bibliography has a note on which editions Wurm and Goethe used; for the latter, I consulted Wilhelm Solms' Goethes Vorarbeiten zum Divan (München: Wilhelm Fink, 1977).

WEST-ÖSTLICHER DIVAN. (TITLE)

WEST-ÖSTLICHER DIVAN. (TITLE)

WURM, p. 18

1. "Divan." An Arabian word with 2 meanings:
 - A. "Raths- oder Gerichtsstube, oder eine Rathsver-sammlung."
 - B. "Sammlung verschiedener Stücke von einem Autor, . . . in Prosa oder Poesie, die gewöhnlich nach dem Tode desselben zusammengestellt wurden."
--d'Herbelot, p. 298.
--Chardin, T. 5, p. 260.
2. (") Hafis' Divan inspired this title.

DÜNTZER 1858, p. 133, footnote 1. REPEATS W 1B, 2 ADDS

3. "Divan." Persians call "Divan" a collection of ghazels ordered by the last letter of the rhyme.
4. (") This form of the word, as is true elsewhere of Goethe's usage, derives from the French.
5. See Bd. 4, p. 335 (= NA, "Revision" [question of proper orthography]).

LOEPER, p.1. ADDS

6. The Arabic inscription in the first edition means: The eastern "Divan" by the western author.

MOGANNI NAMEH. BUCH DES SÄNGERS. (BOOK TITLE)

WURM, p. 19.

1. "Moganni Nameh." The title comes from Hafis, who has a "Moganni- und Saki-nameh, . . . d.h. ein Sänger- und Schenken-Buch." --Hafis II, pp. 484, 489.
2. "Nameh." Persian for book, document or letter; the title of many Persian books. --d'Herbelot.

MOGANNI NAMEH. BUCH DES SÄNGERS. (BOOK TITLE)

3. The Persian titles of the Divan books were in each instance glossed by Goethe in German.

DÜNTZER 1858, Intro. pp. 140-41. REPEATS W 1 ADDS

4. An Orientalist friend, perhaps Diez or Kosegarten, supplied Goethe with the Persian names for his divisions.

LOEPER, p. 3. REPEATS W 1, 2 ADDS

5. "Buch des Sängers." Orientals call even a few pages on a given subject a book. --Denkwürdigkeiten 2, p. 51.
6. For Hafis, the "Sänger," like the "Schenke," is another person being addressed. For Goethe it is the poet himself. In the NA "Künftiger Divan" Goethe also calls this the "Buch des Dichters."

WA, p. 361 and JA, p. 322. REPEATS W 1.

ZWANZIG JAHRE LIESS ICH GEHN . . . (MOTTO)

WURM, pp. 19-22. All citations reference "Barmekiden."

1. Story of Giafar Barmek, founder of the house of Barmek: A descendent of Persian kings, he fled civil wars to the court of Soliman in Damascus. He often became depressed about the strife in his country and was tempted to suck the poison in his ring, thus "barmek," which means "suck" in Persian.
2. A. Giafar's descendent Jahja and his sons, Fadhel and Giafar among others, achieved high positions, esp. during the reign of Harun al-Raschid.
B. This latter Giafar excelled through his love of sciences and was counted as the best writer of the century.
C. For 17 years the family held the post of vizier before Raschid unaccountably destroyed them and confiscated their property.
--Marigny, Pt. 2, pp. 276-278 and pp. 450-470.
--Abi'l Feda, Annales Moslemici, p. 159.

ZWANZIG JAHRE LIESS ICH GEHN . . . (MOTTO)

3. More on Barmecides

- A. They were a treasure of their time.
- B. Their generosity was proverbial.
- C. They were favored by fortune.
- D. They gathered talents and sciences around them.
--Sacy, T. II, pp. 9, 17, 23.
--Wurm cites Richardson, "Abhandlung über Sprachen, Litteratur und Gebräuche morgenl. Völker,"
tr. Federau, Leipzig, 1779, p. 300.

4. More on Barmecides

- A. It is impossible to speak of Arabian literature without renewing the fame of the Barmecides.
- B. They were known for being favored by the Caliph and for their precipitous end. They shone ca. 100 years, 97-187 of Hedschra.
- C. Arabian saying: "Schön wie das Zeitalter der Barmekiden." --Oelsner, p. 161.

DÜNTZER 1858, p. 142. REPEATS W 4B-C ADDS

5. (v. 1) "Zwanzig." refers to the peaceful time, before the chaos following the overthrow of the French government.

LOEPER, pp. 3-4. REPEATS W 2B-C ADDS

- 6. (v. 1) "Zwanzig." General term for a long period that inspired the following poems.
- 7. (v. 4) "Zeit der Barmekiden." Proverbial for "Zeit lokalen, lebendigen Wesens und Wirkens." --NA "Kali-fen."
- 8. (") Quotes 4vv. elegaic praise of Barmecides by the Arabian poet Saalebi. --Zeitschrift der Morgenl. Gesellschaft, Vol. 6, Nr. 252, p. 48ff.
- 9. (") Klinger's Geschichte Giafar's des Barmekiden (1792) was well known. It was even attributed to Goethe.

ZWANZIG JAHRE LIESS ICH GEHN . . . (MOTTO)

ERL, p. 205. REPEATS W 1, 2, 4C(S); D58 5; L 7 ADDS

10. (v. 1) "Zwanzig." The motto does not mean time spent at the Weimar court.
11. (v. 4) "Barmekiden." When Harun al-Raschid became aroused against the family in 803, he had even his favorite, Dschafar, the youngest, hanged.
12. Motto is meant as the opposite of the first poem.
13. (v. 1) "ließ ich gehn." That is, lived without concerning myself about them, since they left me alone.
14. (v. 2) "was mir beschieden." The poet's fortunate situation, which allowed him to devote himself to his writing and his prince.
15. (v. 3) "Reihe." A long, uninterrupted time; the usage is unusual.

DNL, p. 1. REPEATS W 2, 4C; D58 5; L 6; 7 ADDS

16. See NA "Ältere Perser."

WA, p. 361. REPEATS L 7; DNL 16 ADDS

17. A reference to WA 7, pp. 291-292, Bl. 167. This is a note from Kosegarten on the orthography.

JA, pp. 322-323. REPEATS W 3D; D58 5; L 7; DNL 16 ADDS

18. (v. 1) "Zwanzig." A definite time, from the Italian trip to the battle of Jena, 1786-1806.

HEGIRE. (I, 1)

WURM, pp. 22-30.

1. "Hegire."

A. The Mohammedan standard for measuring time.

- B. "Egere" (French "Hegire") means withdrawal or flight.
- C. There is a similarity with the exodus of the Jews.
- D. Time reckoning begins with Mohammed's flight from Mecca.
--Chardin, T. 5, p. 122.
2. (") German "Hegire" is from the French. --Goethe, Bd. 6, p. 255 (= NA, WA VII, 253, 13).
3. (vv. 1-2) Hafis' peaceful, liberated life contrasted with the political upheaval of his time, which culminated in the coming of Tamerlane. Tamerlane received Hafis graciously. --quoted verbatim from Hammer-Hafis, "Vorrede," pp. xxx-xxxi.
4. (") A. Goethe's situation is similar to Hafis'. Wurm cites:
- B. "Und so, Hafis, wär's wie Dir/ Deinem Freund ergangen." --Divan poem III, 5, vv. 3-4.
- C. "Diese freundliche Beschäftigung [mit Hafis, c.w.] half mir über bedenkliche Zeiten hinweg . . ." --Goethe, Bd. 6, p. 233 (= NA, WA VII, 231).
- D. "In Westen hatten sich die Angelegenheiten verwirrt, und die Entwicklung schien auf neue Verwirrung zu deuten; ich hatte mich nach Osten geflüchtet und wohnte in glücklicher Abgeschiedenheit eine Zeit lang entfernt von Westen und Norden." --Goethe, Bd. 46, p. 320 (= "Serbische Lieder" WA I 41¹¹, p. 150, ll. 8-13).
5. (vv. 5-6) "Chisers Quell." Chiser, (Arabian "Khedher") means green; Chiser guards Ab-Zendeghian, the Spring of Life, and having drunk from it, he enjoys eternal life. --d'Herbelot.
6. (") More details of Chiser and accounts of his regenerative powers. He wanders the earth eternally.
--Rosenöl Tl. I, p. 117.
--Hammer, Redekünste, p. 20.

7. (") Recounts the legend of Hafis' becoming a poet: he spent 40 nights at Pirisebs, after which time Chiser appeared, had him drink from a pitcher and promised him eternal fame. --Hammer-Hafis, "Vorrede," pp. xxii-xxiii.
8. (") Hafis uses the legends variously:
 "Dein Flaum ist Chiser und dein Mund des Lebens Quell." --Hafis I, p. 190.
 "Den Quell der Chisern Leben schenkt,/ Such' in der Schenk', das Glas ihn hat." --Hafis I, p. 277.
9. (vv. 17-18) "gesprochen Wort." The East is very rich in proverbs, for which reason Goethe dedicated a whole book to them. For more information see:
 --Chardin, T. 5, p. 164.
 --Oelsner, p. 210.
 --Denkwürdigkeiten I, pp. 161-164; II, 638-640.
 --Kabus, pp. 248-256. Wurm cites the line that one saying is worth many books and relates a story in which a great library is reduced to 4 proverbs.
 --Brucker, historica critica philosophiae, 3, pp. 207-240 for a collection of Arabian and Persian proverbs.
 --Eichhorn, Geschichte der Literatur, 2nd ed., Vol. 1, p. 634ff.
10. (v. 29) "Sterne erwecken." The Talmud says the dawn never caught David asleep. Thus Psalm 57, 9: "Wache auf die Fiedel und die Harfe, ich will den Morgenstern erwecken." Cites:
 --Der Talmudische Tractat Brachoth, tr. Rabe. Halle 1777, p. 8.
 -- Quotes also Knapp's translation of Psalm 57, 9. No citation.
11. (vv. 35-36) "Huris."
 A. Beautiful virgins, promised to the believers in paradise.
 B. "Hhur", "Hhor", "Hhure", "Hhori" means: "die blendend weiß und rein wie Silber strahlt."
 C. Their eyes and skin are especially praised.
 --Wahl on the Koran, p. 438.

12. (") The word's etymology is not clear. Possibly from Greek "hora" or, more probably, "charis." --Hammer II, p. 440, ft.

DÜNTZER 1858, pp. 142-143 REPEATS W 1B, 4D, 7, 11A ADDS

13. "Hegire." Another form is "Hedschra."

14. (") Cites A. Goethe's letter to Knebel Feb. 1814

B. Goethe, Bd. 27, p. 304 (= "Tag- und Jahreshefte 1815, WA I 36, p. 91, prob. ll. 16-18: "aus der wirklichen Welt, die sich selbst offenbar und im Stillen bedrohte, in eine ideelle zu flüchten.").

15. (vv. 3-6) Enjoyment, the opposite of vv. 1-2.

16. (vv. 7-12) These lines refer to "die natürliche Frische der Anschauung im Orient."

17. (vv. 13-18) Belief, free from abstraction and ambiguity; (and)

18. (") The poet goes East because conditions are so much closer to man's original state; he seeks the youthfull spirit as it existed at the time of Hafis.

19. (vv. 17-18) These lines connect loosely to "Jugendschranke."

20. (vv. 19-30) Life in free nature.

21. (v. 27f.) Goethe remarked that camel and mule drivers sang Hafis' songs. The reference is in WA 7, p. 69.

22. (vv. 29-30) A. The robbers are frightened by the gripping songs; (and)

B. The sweetness of the songs seems to attract the stars.

23. (vv. 31-36) The enjoyment of wine and love; life-praising poetry is stressed, of which the poet will avidly avail himself. See D58, 18!

24. (v. 34) "schüttlend Ambralocken." The locks smell of amber, or musk, of "Ghalie", which blackened the hair.

25. (") "schüttlend." Before the dependent accusative for euphony.
26. (v. 36) "Huris." Goethe took the plural from Hammer, but not the Persian accent on the last syllable.
27. (vv. 39-42) Show the poet's hopes for the houri's favors, the most charming expression of his cheerful serenity in the youthfully fresh Orient.

LOEPER, pp. 4-6 REPEATS W 1, 4D, 5-7, 11; D58 13, 16, 21
CITES W 10, D58 22B ADDS

28. (title) The date of Muhammed's flight: July 15, 622.
29. (") Time is dated from Mohammed's flight since this was the beginning of the spread of Islam. --Diez, Denkwürdigkeiten 2, 390 ff.
30. (") The title has a double meaning, referring to the flight of the poet to the Orient (cf. W 4D!) and to the beginning of a new, happy era.
31. (vv. 1-18) The opposites that motivate the flight. (See D58, 15.)
32. (vv. 1-2) 1812-1815.
33. (vv. 4-6) Poetic rebirth of the poet.
34. (v. 6) "Chisers Quell." Alexander looked for the spring in vain.
35. (") Chiser is model for the wandering Jew. References Rückert's poem Chidher.
36. (") Cites Hafis 1, p. xxxvii and 151, ft. 3. (cf. W 7!)
37. (v. 9) "des Ursprungs Tiefe" = "Urzeit."
38. (vv. 17-18) "Sprüche der Väter." Formed a collection which accompanied the Koran. References Buch des Oghuz, Nr. 77-78 and Denkwürdigkeiten I, 184.
39. (") Arabian grammarians and lexicographers spent time with the Bedouins to get material. --cites Rückert,

Note to 23rd "makame" of Hariri, from which he quotes 4 verses.

40. (") The home of Arabian poetry is the desert; its youth the life of the Bedouin. Nomadic life and caravans contrast with western settled life.
 41. (vv. 19-30) These lines are complemented by stanzas 3-4 of V, 1.
 42. (vv. 17-18) Internal rhyme with repetition of last word: "dort war, Wort war." Repeated VIII, 19, vv. 14, 16: "gemalt seyn, bezahlt seyn." --cites Wh. Grimm, Zur Geschichte des Reims, p. 146.
 43. (v. 29) Cites W 10 and D58 22B on these lines. Probably the meaning is simply to sing to the sky, whereby the stars are personified; compares the figure to III 13, vv. 9-10.
 44. (v. 30) The singing shows the watchfulness of the caravan.
 45. (vv. 36-42) The poet speaks to Mohammedan houri, whereas the old Persian paradise was populated by peris. See XII, 5.
- ERL, pp. 206-209 REPEATS W 7D, 5-7, 11; D58 15-19, 21-22, 23-27; L 30, 37, 42, 45 DISPUTES W 9, 10; L 30, 43-44 ADDS
46. (title) Goethe used "Hegire" to refer to
 - A. Knebel's emotion-laden departure from Weimar, 1781;
 - B. Goethe's second trip to Italy six years later.
 47. (vv. 1-2) Each commentary has increasingly emphasized the destruction in these lines; now ERL writes: "zunächst den Umsturz und die Zerstörung der ganzen übrigen Welt."
 48. (vv. 3-6) The East is restricted to Arabia and Persia.
 49. (v. 5) Goethe praises the joys of later Persian poetry.

50. (v. 6, Chiser) References Hafis II, pp. 56, 64.
51. (v. 8) "Geschlechter." A. Refers to reproduction in succeeding generations. --cites Greek "geneai."
 B. The plural "Geschlechter" was used by Klopstock in the Messias, and by other later writers.
52. (vv. 13-18) World of the patriarchs and strength of their belief and oral traditions.
53. (vv. 15,19) "ich" is deleted, as in folksongs; this is a favorite device of Goethe's.
54. (vv. 17-18) "gesprochen Wort." Repeats D58 19; disputes W 9 interpretation as "Sprichwort"; cites Kosegarten, rev. of the Divan, 586f. Arabs attached magic power to a word; a word was holy because it passed from mouth to mouth.
55. (") For more on the time of the patriarchs see Herder, Auch eine Philosophie der Geschichte zur Bildung der Menschheit (1774), Part 1.
56. (rhyme) See also I, 14, vv. 1,3 (überall an, Schall an). The odd lines in I, 14 are double rhymes; only the first stanza has internal rhyme. (cf. L 42)
57. (vv. 19-24) Düntzer prefers a previous version. He says it is clearer, more descriptive. Cites Sauppe as agreeing.
58. (v. 22) Like Luther, Goethe uses "handeln" rather than "erhandeln." Does the same in prose, e.g. Lehrjahre 4, 8.
59. (vv. 23-24) Refer to caravan routes; one expects "durch die Wüste" since caravans gathered in cities.
60. (vv. 25-30) Hafis introduced for first time here.
61. (") A. Disputes L, who, he claims, is still thinking of the caravans.
 B. (vv. 29-30) Disputes Wurm's morning star. Goethe, he says, is thinking of Hafis, whose songs have the power to awaken the stars and, as expressions of holiness, to comfort. Cites Hafis, "Elif 9" (= Hafis I, p. 16-17) and "Ta 2" (= Hafis I, p. 43).

62. (v. 31ff.) Hafis often mentions the tavern and a beloved. See
- A. Lifting the veil, "Be 4" (Hafis 1, pp. 34-36), "Ta 67" (Hafis 1, pp. 146-147).
- B. The sweet smell of her hair, Hafis 1, pp. 59, 73, 280, and "Ta 15" (Hafis 1, p. 65)
63. (") Hafis frequently visited his lover in churches and cloisters. (--Hafis I, 106.) Goethe adds baths to the taverns as gathering places.
64. (vv. 31-42) References Goethe's statement that the traveler does not reject the idea that he is Muslim.
65. (vv. 37-42) References Divan poems XII, 4 and 5. (cf. L 45!)
66. (") Contrasts Goethe's humorously treated desire to enter into the Muslim paradise with Klopstock's vision in the ode to Laura and Petrarka.
- DNL, pp. 3-4 REPEATS W 1A-B, 2, 4D, 5, 10, 11A; D58 13, 18, 19, 21, 24-25; L 37, 45; ERL 57-59, 62-63 ADDS
67. (title) The English is "hegira."
68. (v. 5) "singen." In the manner of Hafis.
69. (v. 8) "Geschlechten." Like "Gemüthen," VIII, 37 v. 19.
70. (vv. 12, 14, 15) Disputes Goethe's punctuation.
71. (vv. 17-18) The double rhyme is "kräftig."
72. (v. 23) "jeden." Even the worst.
73. (v. 31f.) Cites Hafis on "Ambralocken" in a poem not included in Hammer-Hafis.
74. (v. 34) "düftet." "Duft verbreitet," an older form, used especially by Wieland.
75. (v. 36) "Huri." Hammer has the word with iambic stress; Goethe changes it to trochaic.

76. (v. 38) "verleiden", since unworthy of a Christian poet.

WA, pp. 361-362 REPEATS W 2 ADDS

77. Quotes from "Ankündigung" Morgenblatt February 24, 1816: "Hegire" gives the sense and intention of the whole; the poet is a traveler, already in the Orient . . .

78. References NA "Künftiger Divan -- Buch des Singers" WA 7, 132,15 - 133,25.

JA, pp. 323-325 REPEATS W 1A-B,D, 2, 4D, 7; D58 13; L 28-33, 42 ERL 46B, 56; WA 77 ADDS

79. (title) The beginning of new epoch in the poet's artistic development. See L 30, which is disputed by ERL.
80. (") Burdach interprets the poem "Hegire" in terms of biographical details from Goethe's Rhine trip, 1814. See L 28-33.
81. (v. 6) "verjüngen." Burdach cites his treatment of the concept in "Ghasel," Goethe-Jahrbuch XI, 13ff.
82. (vv. 17-18) The split rhymes -- disyllabic and spondaic -- are a weak attempt to illustrate Oriental richness of rhymes. They had a great effect on later German rhyme. Other examples: I, 14; V, 6; VIII, 1, 19, 41, 42; IX, 17, 19. (See L 42; ERL 56!)
83. (v. 25) "Bösen Felsweg." The term made vivid by the first stanza of the old-Arabian poem in NA "Araber."
84. (vv. 26-30) "Hafis." "Hafis," NA, JA 191 vv. 17-22 applies to these verses. See D58, 21.
85. (vv. 19-36) Stanzas 4-6 supply details from the Orient: the nomads' life, the merchant caravans, the cities.
86. (vv. 37-42) The last stanza returns to the first.
87. (v. 40) "Paradies." A. Verse 4 originally has "Paradieses Luft." The change heightens the effect of the final stanza considerably.

B. After the poem Goethe finished "Siebenschläfer" (XII, 10) and "Gute Nacht" (XII, 11). This "double epilog" has the same tone as I, 1.

C. "Der Deutsche dankt" (II, 4) and the paradise poems of 1820 are also similar.

SEGENSPFÄNDER. (I, 2)

WURM, pp. 31-37.

1. (v. 1) "Talisman." From "Telisme," Persian for "Bezauberung." --Chardin, T. 8. p. 123.
2. (") "Tilism, Talisman." An "unauflöslicher Knoten." --Encyclopädische Übersicht der Wissenschaften des Orients (Leipzig, 1804), Tl. 1, p. 509.
3. (") The word apparently comes from Greek "telesma." --Salmasius, de annis climactericis, ed. Elzev, p. 578.
4. (v. 12) "Amulet." From Arabian "Hamele," meaning "he wore." Usually a paper with a prayer, worn by Moslems around the neck, arm, or head, against headaches, etc. --Rosenzweig, Note to the translation of Dschami's Jussuf und Suleicha, p. 378.
5. (") Persians make excessive use of amulets and talismans against magic, wearing them on arm or neck. Amulets are inscriptions on paper, parchment, stone like onyx, agate, carniol Cites --Chardin, T. 5. p. 145; T. 4. p. 140; T. 7. p. 61; T. 2. p. 289. --Richardson, Abhandlung über Sprachen, Litteratur und Gebräuche morgenl. Völker, tr. Federau (Leipzit, 1779), p. 220.
6. (") See Encyclopädische Übersicht I, p. 494 for an example of such amulets. He lists the symbols on it and quotes a four-line verse.
7. (") Currently there are 3 types of talismans in Arabian, Persian or Turkish script: A.) Suras B.) various prayer forms C.) the 100 names of God and the Prophet and his apostles.
 --Fundgruben 4, p. 155
 --Denkwürdigkeiten 2, p. 124.

8. (vv. 1, 12) "Heute besteht der Unterschied zwischen Talismanen und Amuleten darin, daß bei jenen die Inschrift auf Stein, bei diesen auf Papier geschrieben ist, daß jene größtentheils nur von Frauen am Gürtel oder Busen, diese von Männern und zwar größtentheils von Soldaten als Scapuliere oder en baudrier getragen werden." --Fundgruben 4, p. 155.

9. (v. 24) "Abraxas" The Gnostics call talismans abraxas. --Fundgruben, 4, p. 155.

10. (") The Gnostic heretic Basilides is said to have attributed the word "Abraxas" or "Abraxas" to the supreme godly being. Along with various strange figures the word can be found on certain old stones. . . . It seems to refer to the number of days in a year -- for Greek a=1, b=2, r=100, s=200 and x=60, which together are 365; and this connects to the idea of 365 angels and heavens. --Arnold, p. 69.

11. (") Montfaucon divided abraxas into seven classes . . . --Sulzer, Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste, 3rd ed, Note to the article "Geschnittene Steine," 2. Tl. p. 429.

12. (") There are pictures of abraxas in --Maffei, Gemme antiche (Rome, 1707), 2. Tl. Illustrations --Ebermayer, Thesaurus gemmarum affabre sculptarum, Illustrations 4, 6 and in Pt. 2 of the same work (Capita deorum et hominum illustrium) Illustration 17 along with a discussion by Reusch. --Salmasius, de annis climactericis, p. 573.

13. (") Winkelmann did not consider abraxas worthy of study. --Lessing, Kollektaneen zur Litteratur, Sämmtl. Schriften, Vol. 15, p. 11.

14. (") "Nichts schrecklicher kann den Menschen geschehn/ Als das Absurde verkörpert sehn" --Goethe, Bd. 3, pp. 268-269 (= "Nicht jeder kann alles ertragen: . . .", Zahme Xenien II, WA I 2, p. 256, vv. 396-397).

15. (v. 30) "Siegelringe." Worn by kings, princes . . . in oldest times. Such signet rings and signets of onyx, carniol, agate and other precious stones, whose impression had served from earliest times in the orient instead of the written signature--for which reason they

normally still had only engraved ("eingegrabene") characters--, were a sign of royal or royally bestowed power.

--G. Wahl's note to Schahnameh in Fundgruben 5, p. 386.

16. (") The rings contain names or short sayings. Mohammed is said to have had such a ring with the two articles of faith: "I believe that there is no God but God" and "I believe that Mohammed is the prophet of God."

--Toderini, 2. Tl., p. 265.

--Dapper 1, p. 485.

17. (") Concerning Solomon's signet ring see Encyclopädische Übersicht, p. 499.

DÜNTZER 1858, pp. 143-145. REPEATS W 5, 7, 8, 10, 13
ADDS

18. The various charms symbolize the poet's different songs.
- A. Talismans and amulets express pious honor to God in short or long form.
 - B. "Inschriften" are pure expression of inner mood.
 - C. Abraxas are the "strange expression of the passion controlling the poet."
 - D. Signet rings are wise sayings.
19. Stanzas 1 and 2 have the same meter and rhyme scheme; they probably originally stood alone. Stanzas 3 and 4 have the same rhyme scheme; 3 and 5, the same meter.
20. (v. 20) "Das Interim hat den Schalk hinter ihm."
--Goethe, Bd. 3, p. 16. This is "Sprichwörtlich":
"Das Interim/ Hat den Schalk hinter ihm./ Wie viel Schälke muß es geben,/ Da wir alle ad Interim leben"
WA I 2, p. 230, vv. 163-166).

LOEPER, pp. 6-8. REPEATS W 8(S), 9, 10, 13, 15, 16, 17
(w/o story or source) ADDS

21. Like the three following, this poem leads deeper into the customs, beliefs and superstitions of the primitive world. The first 5 poems constitute a close unit.

22. States that Hammer's "Über die Talismane der Moslimen" in Fundgruben 4, pp. 155-166 is the source. See W 8!
23. (v. 1f.) The worship of stars, overthrown by Mohammed, continued in talismans and gems associated with the constellations.
24. (v. 3) "Onyx." The sign of recognition between Rustem and Sohrab in Firdusi's Schah Nameh.
25. "en baudrier" in Hammer's text means "als Wehrgehänge." See W 8!
26. (vv. 20-23) These verses stress the difference between words meaningful in themselves and pictures or words that are only magical.
27. (v. 23) "Ich . . . Ich!." Used in heraldic devices and mottos.
28. (v. 24) "Abraxas." Cites Lessing, Lachmann edition, Vol. 11, p. 220f. Repeats in this quote W 9, 10, 13. Also cites Lessing, p. 222, for differences between carneol and onyx.
29. (v. 31) "im engsten Raum." Like "Steines Enge," v. 15.
30. (vv. 32-33) Whereas talismans are read on stone, the seal is cut in reverse and can be read only from an imprint. This is the sense of the final verses; if the cut is successful, the word is engraved, but one hardly realizes it.

ERL, pp. 210-211. REPEATS W 5, 8(S), 10, 13; D58 19, 20; L 22, 26 DISPUTES L 29 ADDS

31. The poem was read to Boisserée 3 Aug 1815. If he reported correctly, he did not hear vv. 20-23.
32. (vv. 1-19) Only stanzas 1 and 2 were inspired at first by Hammer (similar to D58 20).
33. (vv. 6-8) Indicates humorously that meaning, not magic, is at heart of effectiveness (cf. L 26).
34. (v. 2) "Gläubigen." Corrects to "Gläubgen."
35. (v. 8) Refers to a teaching pleasing to God.

36. (v. 24) "Abraxas." Of the final three items named, the abraxas is the only true "charm" from Arabian superstition.
37. (") It is striking that Goethe said there would be few of these, whereas he did not say that he really offers the others.
38. (v. 30) "Siegelring." The opposite of abraxas.
39. (vv. 15, 30-31) A. "zeichnen." Means to supply with pictorial representation, and the lines mean to supply with representation of a worthy thought.

B. He disputes L 30 and feels it means you not only think but also see the thought.

40. (") Relates an experience of Goethe's with rings from Italy which had puzzling figures. Goethe also had some in his own collections.

DNL, pp. 5-6. REPEATS W 5(S), 7C, 8(S), 10; D58 19; L 22, 27; ERL 31, 34, 36, 39C ADDS

41. The "original" title was "Talismane, Amulette, Abraxas, Inschriften und Siegel" and it was incorrectly placed before I, 4.
42. (vv. 1-3) In restating elements of W5 (= Chardin), he indicates this was a source of Goethe's poem.
43. (vv. 20-23) The Persians have nothing like this. It is simply a motto in which one strongly believes (see development of L 27, ERL 36).
44. (v. 32) Instead of "hier" one expects "dir."
45. (vv. 30-33) Signet rings and talismans differ only in purpose and the engraving on the ring.

WA, pp. 363-364. REPEATS W 8(S); D58 19; L 22; ERL 31; ADDS

46. A. Disputes DNL 42 that W5 (Chardin) is a source, feels Hammer is only source.

- B. Further possible sources from Fundgruben 2, pp. 282, 474; 3, pp. 197-198; 4, p. 331ff.; 5, pp. 264, 331.
47. Diary entry of January 1, 1815, "Amulete etc." must refer to this poem.
48. Offers further evidence that poem was written in stages (= D58 19).
- A. Goethe's diary of May 28, 1815.
- B. WA Paralipomenon Nr. 32, H⁶⁶ (WA I 6, p. 483).
- C. Short title in Wiesbader Register.
49. (v. 20) "Inscription." References WA I 7, p. 286. item k, Bl. 121-123, reading notes on inscriptions from Arabian Spain from Carter, Reise von Gibraltar nach Malaga, Leipzig, 1779.
50. (vv. 32-33) A. "hier" = "im engsten Raum." The sense of the final lines is: "Weißt du diesem ein echtes Wort anzupassen, so steht es gegraben, ehe du es erwartest." See L 29; ERL 39!
- JA, p. 325. REPEATS W 8(S), 10; L 21, 22; ERL 40 ADDS
51. Now dates poem January 1, 1815 (cf. WA 47).
52. (vv. 1-3) "Karneol . . . Onyx." Supports ERL 40 with further evidence of Goethe's interest in gems from Antiquity.
- A. Cites Goethe, JA Bd. 28, p. 201ff.; Bd. 35, pp. 222ff. and 226ff.
- B. NA "Geschichte" contains reference to Oriental signet rings and compares with Roman art.
- C. Goethe's art collection, described by Chr. Schuchardt, 2. Teil, Jena, 1848, pp. 1-8.
53. (v. 24) "Abraxas." "Goethe hatte sich darüber schon in Straßburg Gedanken gemacht und in den "Ephemenides" eine Stelle aus Mosheim dazu notiert." --WA, Bd. 37, p. 110.

SEGENSPFÄNDER. (I, 2)

54. (") "Das Fratzenhafte . . ." References his "Einleitung", p. xxxviii, which discusses Goethe's views on Romanticism.
55. (") Burdach's age has as lively an interest in the subject of abraxas as did Goethe's, cf. A. Dietrich, Abraxas. Studien zur Religionsgeschichte des späteren Altertums, Leipzig, 1891.

FREYSINN. (I, 3)

WURM, pp. 37-38.

1. (vv. 1-4) "Der Mann -- der einst einen Antrag zur Unterwürfigkeit mit der kurzen Antwort zurückwies: Ueber seiner Mütze sehe er nur die Sterne." --Engelhardt, "Besuch bei den Galga-Inguschen" in Fundgruben 4, p. 36.
2. (vv. 5-8) "Er hat euch die Gestirne gesetzt als Leiter in der Finsterniß zu Land und See." --Koran in Fundgruben 1, p. 1.

DÜNTZER 1858, p. 145. REPEATS W 1, 2. ADDS

3. Düntzer speculates that the poem was composed at time of the preceding poem, as a contrast to the supersitition there.
4. Düntzer speculates the sayings quoted in W 1 and 2 are the objects for which Goethe thanked Knebel in a letter of February 8, 1815.

LOEPER, p. 8. REPEATS/CITES W 1(S), 2(S) ADDS

5. (vv. 1-4) A. Noting that these lines owe their origin to Engelhardt's description of a trip on horseback through the Caucasus, Fundgruben 4, pp. 26-37, L expands W 1, giving the lines preceding Wurm's quote and emphasizes the elements he feels related to verses 1-4: "Menschen, die blos durch die Bande des Bluts und einer gemeinsamen Sprache locker zu einem Volke vereinigt, in völliger Ungebundenheit freudig die wohlgeübte Kraft des Armes gebrauchen, um zu erlangen, was ihnen gelüftet, und die in solche Freiheit ihr ganzes Glück

setzen, -- wo finden wir diese auf unserm Kontinent
außer im Kaukasus? -- so daß wir den Mann loben möchten
. . ."

B. He remarks that Wurm incorrectly quoted "die Sterne" rather than "den Himmel."

6. (vv. 5-6) Goethe found Hammer's translation of the Koran verses (W 2) in large letters as the motto of Hammer's essay "Ueber die Sternbilder der Araber."

7. (") The lines are from Koran sura 98, line 21.

8. (vv. 7-8) This "addition" repeats Goethe's earlier "Die Sterne, die begehrt man nicht,/ Man freut sich ihrer Pracht."

ERL, pp. 211-212. REPEATS W1(S), 2(S) with L's modifications 5, 6 ADDS

9. Both stanzas were in Morgenblatt (i.e. No. 71, March 22, 1816) after I, 4, without a heading.

10. (vv. 1-4) Goethe "dramatized" these lines from the Fundgruben nicely.

11. (vv. 7-8) Goethe's "addition" doesn't suit the sura verses well; the latter stress usefulness; the former, pleasure.

12. (") See Goethe's poem "Trost in Thränen," stanza 6f. (image of the stars).

13. (") "damit." One expects "und daß."

DNL, p. 6. REPEATS W 1(S), 2(S); ERL 9 ADDS

14. He says that one expects "und daß" (see ERL 11!) "da hier eine zweite Bestimmung der Steine (sic) angeführt wird."

WA, p. 364. REPEATS W 2; L 7; ERL 9

JA, pp. 325-326. REPEATS W 1(S), 2(S); L 7; ERL 9

TALISMANE. (I, 4)

TALISMANE. (I, 4)

This poem consists of 5 talismans, which are discussed together in the commentaries, but which are treated separately here for the sake of clarity.

GOTTES IST DER ORIENT! (I, 4a)

WURM, p. 38.

1. (vv. 1-2) "Sag' [nämlich, o Mahomed!] Gottes ist der Orient und Gottes ist der Occident; er leitet wen er will den wahren Pfad." --Koran sura 2, in Fundgruben.

DÜNTZER 1858, pp. 145. REPEATS W 1(S)

LOEPER, pp. 8-9. REPEATS W 1(S) ADDS

2. The previous saying (Divan poem I, 3b!) is also a talisman; they are scattered throughout the book, as stated in Divan poem VI, 1a.
3. The source (W 1!) for this stanza is the motto to all volumes of the Fundgruben.
4. A. Compare: "Die Erde ist des Herrn, und was darinnen ist, der Erdboden, und was darauf wohnt." --Psalm 24: 1.
B. Goethe thought of this psalm near Naples, March 3, 1787. --Ital. Reise.
5. (v. 3) "Nord- und südliches Gelände." Strictly speaking, "Nord" should be "Nörd," but to demand this would be pedantic. Because of the combination, the ear does not expect umlaut.

ERL, p. 212. REPEATS W 1(S); L 3, 4, 5 ADDS

6. Goethe used these lines in a letter to Boisserée, beginning of January 1815.
7. (vv. 3-4) These lines are a "pleasing expansion" of Goethe's source.

GOTTES IST DER ORIENT! (I, 4a)

8. (v. 3) "Gelände." The usage is peculiar.

DNL, p. 7. REPEATS W 1 (S); L 3, 4, 5; ERL 6, 8

WA, p. 364. REPEATS W 1; L 3

JA, p. 326. REPEATS W 1(S); L 3 ADDS

9. (vv. 3-4) In the first version these lines read: "Auch den Norden wie den Süden/ Hat sein Auge nie gemieden."

Burdach thinks the newer lines are a relatively unique instance when change has indeed brought out the truly poetic and memorable form.

ER DER EINZIGE GERECHTE . . . (I, 4b)

DÜNTZER 1858, pp. 145.

1. Sources.

A. The saying "Gott ist gerecht"

B. The 99, so-called beautiful names of God, which with "Allah" make 100, and which are often used in magic, for talismans, etc. Cites

(1) --Goethe, Bd. 4, p. 196 (= NA, "Dscelâl-Eddin Rumi").

(2) --Goethe, Bd. 4, p. 112 (= Divan poem VIII, 42, vv. 17-24).

LOEPER, p. 9. ADDS

2. The saying belongs to the 3rd category of talismans, which have the name of God and the prophets. --Fundgruben 2, p. 160ff.

3. (") The 29th name of God being praised, "Der Allgerechte."

ERL, p. 213. REPEATS D58 1 (except 1 B(1); L 3 ADDS

4. The Fundgruben are the source of the 99 names of God. See D58 1B!

ER DER EINZIGE GERECHTE . . . (I, 4b)

5. (v. 8) "Amen." Also used by Arabs.

DNL, p. 7. REPEATS D58 1B, 1 B(1); ERL 5

WA, p. 365. REPEATS D58 1B(1)

JA, pp. 326. REPEATS D58 1B(1)

MICH VERWIRREN WILL DAS IRREN; . . . (I, 4c)

DÜNTZER 1858, p. 145.

1. This talisman expresses "Der sehnsuchtsvolle Vertrauen auf Gottes Leitung."

LOEPER, p. 9. ADDS

2. Sayings 3 - 5 belong to the 2nd category of talismans, "Formeln des Gebetes und der Zuflucht." --Fundgruben 2, p. 159.
3. There is perhaps a relation to lines in Koran sura 1, "das mahometanische Vater-Unser": "Sollst uns leiten auf graden Pfad, Derer, denen Du nicht zürnend gnädig warst, und die nicht irren."

ERL, p. 213. REPEATS L 3 ADDS

4. Talismans 3 and 4 are Goethe's own invention.
5. This talisman states that we should not let the "Irrwege" lead us into despair since God will always make us aware of the mistakes; the poet also hopes that he will not wander from the right path.
6. Düntzer references similar passages in Goethe's works:
 - A. Numbered couplets 51 and 53 of the poem "Vier Jahreszeiten."
 - B. Stanza 2 of the poem "Generalbeichte."

MICH VERWIRREN WILL DAS IRREN; . . . (I, 4c)

C. "Seinen eigenen Weg zu verfolgen bleibt immer das Vortheilhafteste, denn dieser hat das Glückliche, uns von Irrwegen wieder auf uns zurückzuführen."
--"Tag- und Jahreshefte. 1817.

D. the Divan poem "Betrübt euch nicht ihr guten Seelen! . . ." (VI, 16a)

7. (vv. 3-4) Cites Kosegarten as stating that these lines, in addition to Divan poems I, 3b and I, 4a, are from the Koran. --The reference is to Kosegarten's review of the Divan, ALZ, col. 589.
8. (") "Zu Dir wollen wir flehen, daß Du uns führest den rechten Weg." --Koran sura 1. See L 3!

DNL, p. 7. REPEATS L 3; ERL 4, 6D, 8 ADDS

9. Düntzer explains that vv. 1-2 are Goethe's and that vv. 3-4 are from the Koran. See ERL 4, 6 and 7!

JA, p. 326. REPEATS L 3, ERL 8

10. Burdach's comment is the fullest combination of L 3 and DNL 7. He writes: "im Sinne des Anfangsgebets in der ersten Sure des Korans: 'Zu dir wollen wir flehen, auf daß du uns führest den rechten Weg und nicht den der Irrenden.'"

OB ICH IRD'SCHES DENK' UND SINNE . . . (I, 4d)

DÜNTZER 1858, pp. 145-146.

1. This talisman expresses the conviction "daß alles tüchtige irdische Streben und Wirken die zu unsterblichem Leben bestimmte Seele kräftig und ihrer höhern Bestimmung näher bringe."

LOEPER, p. 9. ADDS

2. Sayings 3 - 5 belong to the 2nd category of talismans, "Formeln des Gebetes und der Zuflucht." --Fundgruben 2, p. 159.

OB ICH IRD'SCHES DENK' UND SINNE . . . (I, 4d)

3. Even more than the previous one, this talisman represents the poet's relationship to the following poems. It expresses his ideal or, better, symbolic conception of the real world, through which he feels ties to Oriental mystics.
4. (v. 4) "in sich selbst gedrängt." Concentrated through thinking and reflection.
5. (v. 4) "nach oben." That is, to God.

ERL, p. 213. REPEATS D58 1; L 4, 5 ADDS

6. Talismans 3 and 4 are Goethe's own invention.
7. This talisman is an expression of the Faustian idea "daß der Mensch in seinem dunkeln Drange sich des wahren Weges wohl bewußt bleibt." --Faust
8. The lines are truncated.
 - A. (vv. 1-2) "Ob -- das gereicht." Should be "ob auch -- so gereicht dies doch."
 - B. (v. 3) "Mit dem Staub." Add "ist."
 - C. (v. 4) "dringet." Add "er."
 - D. (v. 4) "in sich selbst gedrängt." Should be understood: "da er in sich selbst gedrängt worden ist." See L 4!
9. (v. 4) "nach oben" "wie es im Faust heißt, zu den Gefilden hoher Ahnen, zu Gott." (See L 5!)
10. (") On the other hand Goethe said "Jede Form, sie kommt von oben." No reference given.

DNL, p. 7. REPEATS ERL 6, 8A

11. Thinking about earthly things, nature and life, raises the spirit and benefits the "higher" life; for the spirit is eternal and, fortified through activity, returns to its home on high. See D58 1, L 5, ERL 9, 10!

OB ICH IRD'SCHES DENK' UND SINNE . . . (I, 4d)

JA, p. 326. ADDS

12. The talisman expresses the idea of immortality and is related to the conclusion of Faust. See ERL 7.
13. Burdach references lines 17-20 of the Divan poem "Selige Sehnsucht" (I, 17) and his own notes to that poem.

IM ATHEMHOLEN SIND ZWEYERLEY GNADEN: (I, 4e)

WURM, pp. 38-39.

1. (v. 17f.) A. "Lob sey dem großmächtigsten und allerhöchsten Gott. Ihm gehorsamen ist ein Mittel ihm näher zu kommen; ihm Lob und Dank sagen vermehrt seine Wohltaten über uns. Ein jeglicher Athem, den man in sich zeucht, hilft zur Verlängerung des Lebens und der wieder aus uns gehet, erfreuet den Geist. Darumb seynd im Athemholen des Menschen zweierlei Gnaden und für jegliche soll man Gott im Herzen danken." --Saadi's "Vorrede" to Rosenthal in Olearius (1660).

B. Herder's version of the above:

Lob sey dem ewigen Gott! Ihm nahet wer ihm gehorchet;
Wer ihm danket genießt, zwiefach des Gebenden Huld;
Wie der Athem, der in uns zieht, das Leben erweitert,
Wie der Athem, den wir wieder verathmen, erquickt."
--Blumenlese aus morgenländischen Dichtern.

C. Another version by Eismond:

So oft der Athem in uns zeucht,
Erneut er unser Leben;
So oft der Athem von uns fleucht,
Erfreut er unser Leben.
In jedem Athemzug ist zwiefach seine Huld
Und unsre Schuld."

--Teutscher Merkur, 1782, p. 2.

DÜNTZER 1858, p. 146. REPEATS W 1A(S) ADDS

2. This talisman expresses the religious conviction that all sorrow and discomfort which God sends are in man's best interests.

IM ATHEMHOLEN SIND ZWEYERLEY GNADEN: (I, 4e)

3. A. Stating that (W 1A) is the source, Düntzer also conveys the information that Herder has a more exact translation than Olearius.

B. For Saadi's Rosengarten he cites Goethe, Bd. 4, pp. 197 and 258 (= NA "Saadi" and "Künftiger Divan," section "Schenkenbuch," where there are anecdotes about Saadi).

LOEPER, pp. 9-10. REPEATS W 1A(S), B MENTIONS W 1C
ADDS

4. Specifies that W 1A is the prayer with which Saadi opens his introduction.
5. Sayings 3 - 5 belong to the 2nd category of talismans, "Formeln des Gebetes und der Zuflucht." --Fundgruben 2, p. 159.
6. Quotes yet another translation of the source (W 1A). --Nesselmann, Saadis Rosengarten, p. 5.
7. (vv. 5-6) "Das Pressen und Entlassen . . . entspricht dem Züchtigen und Loslassen Lukas 23, 16."

ERL, pp. 213-214. REPEATS W 1A(S), C ADDS

8. "Source." Cites Kosegarten as stating that this talisman comes from Saadi. The reference is to Kosegarten's review of the Divan, ALZ, col. 589.
9. (") Düntzer repeats W 1C but quotes 4 additional, previous lines. He attributes the quote to Herder (Teutscher Merkur 1782) and states that Herder's later version was at the beginning of Blumen aus morgenländischen Dichtern. The lines quoted are "Lob sei dem Ewigen!/ Gehorchen ihm, ist näher zu ihm gehn:/ Mit Dank von ihm empfangen/ Heißt: mehr erlangen." See W 1B and C!
10. (") Goethe's application of the Saadi lines is his own.
11. (v. 5) "preßt." Meaning "drücken," as often used with the heart. --"bei Wieland, Goethe (Großkoptha II, 6) u.a."

IM ATHEMHOLEN SIND ZWEYERLEY GNADEN: (I, 4e)

DNL, p. 8. SUMMARIZES W 1 ADDS

12. (v. 3) "Jenes bedrängt, dieses erfrischt."

A. Saadi has "Das erstere dient zur Verlängerung des Lebens, das andere erfreut den Geist."

B. Instead of "erfreut" Herder had "erneut" and "erquickt." "Goethe faßt das erstere . . . als eine Anstrengung."

13. (vv. 5-6) Saadi has only "für beiderlei Gnaden müsse man Gott danken."

14. (v. 5) "preßt." "drückt, bedrängt, wie man sagt, 'in der Presse sein'." See DNL 11!

15. (v. 6) "entläßt" = "von der Not befreit."

WA, p. 365. REPEATS W 1A ADDS

16. (v. 2) "einziehn." The form "einziehen," introduced in C¹, makes the line correspond metrically and rhythmically to the preceeding.

JA, pp. 326-327. REPEATS W 1A, B ADDS

17. For Saadi's verses (W 1C!), references Teutscher Merkur, ed. Suphan, Vol. 26, fn. p. 370.

18. Burdach claims that the image of this talisman is at the core of Goethe's philosophy. He cites related passages in Goethe's works.

NA, "Endlicher Abschluß," final paragraph.
Burdach's own Divan "Einleitung," JA, p. xlvi.
and 21 further (non-Divan) passages.

Burdach sees the source of this "tiefsinnigen mystisch-naturwissenschaftlichen Gleichnisses" in third century pseudo-clementine writings, with which, he states, Goethe was familiar through his studies of the early church and heretics. He summarizes the teaching.

WURM, pp. 40-41.

1. (vv. 1-12) "und daher sagen die Araber, Gott habe sie vor andern Völkern mit vier Gaben begünstigt, nämlich erstlich habe er ihnen Turbane gegeben, mit denen man ein besseres Ansehen habe, als mit den Tiaren der Monarchen; Gezelte, die schöner wären als Häuser, Schwerdter oder Säbel, die sie besser beschützten als andere Völker ihre Schlösser und Burgen; und endlich die Gedichte, die viel vortrefflicher wären, als die Schriften und Bücher der umliegenden Völker.
--Chardin, T. 5, p. 258.
--"Pococke addenda ad Tograi carmen, p. 233."
2. (v. 19-20) "Moralien." Said of the Persians: "Der gewöhnliche Gegenstand ihrer Poesie ist die Moral."
--Chardin, T. 5, p. 262.
3. (") For the Arabs the study of morals was always the study of poetry. --Oelsner, p. 210.
4. (") For more information see Jones, Poeseos asiaticae, p. 274.

DÜNTZER 1858, pp. 146-147. REPEATS W 1, 2 ADDS

5. A. The Quartausgabe gives February 6, 1814, as the date of composition,
B. But this must be 1815.
6. A. As the pious subjection to God expressed itself in talismans, so here the feeling of being favored by Allah above other peoples;
B. Yet the poet dwells on poetry, stressing the love poem and the clever usage of flowers and fruits as a language of love. Thus he introduces the following poems about his own poetry.

LOEPER, pp. 10-11, 380. REPEATS W 1(S); D58 5 DISPUTES
VIEHOFF ADDS

7. Loeper is inclined to accept February 1814 as the date of composition, but adds "(oder 1815?)"
8. First printed in the Morgenblatt, March 22, 1816.
9. The source material from Chardin is restricted to strophes 1-3; the rest is Goethe's.
10. (vv. 5-6) "Turban." This idea is developed further in the Divan poem "Komm Liebchen, komm! umwinde mir die Mütze . . ." (VIII, 13).
11. (v. 10) "Ihrem." Notes that in the Morgenblatt of March 22, 1816, "Ihrem" was used instead of "ihrem," which Loeper has chosen.
12. (vv. 13-16) A. Viehoff claims that the poet, certain that his beloved will not be angry with him, sings for other girls, who reward him with flowers taken from their shawls. --Viehoff, Vol. 3, p. 174.

B. Loeper thinks this interpretation too artificial. He says that the shawl is the beloved's and that its flowers become poetic ones, which the beloved recognizes as belonging to her. He "sings" his songs from the flowers as one sings a melody from notes. Compare "Jede kennt die Töne, die sie erregte." --Goethe, Werke, II, p. 70.

13. (v. 20) "frisch." A. Corresponds to the image of fruit.

B. The poet's morals are not tedious or monkish; but there must be morals since no Oriental "Divan" is without didactic poetry. Rather, Arabic literature is filled with "Sententiae morales," for example Fundgruben 2, p. 303.

(v. 19) "Moralien." C. Goethe refers to the latter point in a light vein, as he also demands in the conclusion of the poem "Tagebuch" that "zuletzt bei jeder Dichtungsweise Moralien uns ernstlich fördern sollen."

ERL, pp. 214-216. REPEATS W 1(S), 2; D58 5B, 6B; L 13B, C
DISPUTES VIEHOFF & VL 12B ADDS

14. (vv. 1-12) Arabians say of themselves: "Die Turbane sind ihre Kronen, die Zelte ihre Mauern und die

Schwerter ihre Zäune und das Lied ist ihre Urkunde."
--Kosegarten, ALZ, col. 589.

15. (v. 12) "gefällt und nützt." See Horace, Ars Poetica, vv. 333-346. See DNL 19!
16. (vv. 12-13) "Liedchen." The poet's own songs, through which he will praise his beloved, is joined to the Arabian poetry through a simple "und," but the previous phrase "Worauf die Mädchen lauern" provides a bridge.
17. (vv. 13-16) A. Disputes both Viehoff and Loeper (see L 12!).

B. What the poet says about flowers has to do with his affection for the girl or lack of it; and this inclination is expressed in such a heartfelt way that the beloved must understand that the reference is to her. Cites --NA, "Blumen- und Zeichenwechsel."
18. (vv. 17-20) Goethe progresses from the flowers to the "fruits" of art and from there to ethical concerns.
19. (vv. 19-20) Arabian penchant for "Spruchdichtung" is well known (see L 13B!); Saadi was a recognized master among the Persians.

DNL, pp. 8-9. REPEATS W 1; D58 5B, 6; L 13B, C; ERL 15, 16, 17B ADDS

20. (vv. 14-15) The Ausgabe letzter Hand has "ihrem" and "ihr" instead of "Ihrem" and "Ihr" (cf. L 10).
21. (v. 14) "herunter." That is, one after the other.

WA, p. 365-366. REPEATS W 1(S); D58 5B ADDS

22. A. A quotation of Arabian words from Goethe's fair copy, meaning "im Namen des gnädigen, des barmherzigen Gottes."
B. Cross reference to a portion of the Arabic formula on a paralopomena sheet, WA I 7, p. 297, Bl. 160.

JA, p. 327. REPEATS W 1(S); D58 5B; L 9, 12; ERL 17B
ADDS

23. (vv. 11-20) A. These lines present a double-image: the poet turns the embroidered or woven flowers in the beloved's shawl into "poetic flowers" or homage as described in the NA chapter "Blumen- und Zeichenwechsel."

B. However, for the audience he is a trader proffering flowers and fruits, and also "useful" plants, i.e. pleasing and moral poetry. See ERL 16B!

GESTÄNDNIß. (I, 6)

WURM, p. 41.

1. (vv. 5-6) Wurm cites the following parallel passages, without comment.

A. "Wer die Liebe will verstecken,/ Wird gespäht aus allen Ecken." Motenebbi, p. 319.

B. "Putatne amator, amorem celatum iri,/ Qui partim effusis lacrymis, partim cordis ardore detegitur? etc." --Tograi in Jones, Poeseos asiaticae, p. 71.

DÜNTZER 1858, p. 147. ADDS

2. Written in Frankfurt, May 27, 1815.
3. Printed first in Taschenbuch für Damen (= J²) with the title "Drei Fragen."
4. (vv. 13-14) Horace repeatedly makes fun of those poets who torment the world with the reading of their poems.

LOEPER, p. 12. REPEATS D58 2, 3 CITES WURM ADDS

5. The day on which the poem was written (cf. D58 2), was especially "rich in poems."
6. Like the poem preceding and the one following, this poem praises poetry from various sides.

7. "Source." This note consists of similar passages or possible sources. Only the first two are repeated in later commentaries.

A. Goethe this time follows a Western proverb: Agricola, "Vier Dinge lassen sich nicht bergen: das Feuer, denn wo Feuer ist, da ist auch Rauch und Dampf oder Hitze," second coughing; third, a rash; and fourth, love, "denn sie ist blind und meint, es sehe sie Niemand." --Sprichw. 1529. II. 133. Nr. 663 in Latendorf, p. 124.

B. (v. 8) "Scheffel." This image comes from the Bible. --Matth. 5: 15 and --Markk, 4: 21.

C. (v. 1f.) "Feuer." Also from the Bible: "flamma fumo proxima" --Erasmus, Adagia, Jesus-Sirach 22, 30.

D. (") "Dove fuoco si fa, nasce dal fumo." --Italian proverb.

E. "Moschus und Liebe können nicht verborgen werden." --Persian proverb in Touti Nameh, p. 259.

F. "Love and a cough cannot be hid." --English proverb.

8. (vv. 7-14) "ein Gedicht." This element is Goethe's addition. It serves as a justification for the whole Divan and recalls a similar turn in the last of his "Römische Elegien."

ERL, pp. 216-217. REPEATS D58 2, 4; L 7B(S) CITES L 7A(S) ADDS

9. The practice of combining several things, of which the same thing is said, is both Oriental and German. Cites --Divan poem "Fünf Dinge" (IV, 2) --Grimm, Deutsches Wörterbuch, art. "fünf."

10. In this note, which is a development of D58 4, Düntzer states, "Hier wird diese Form benützt, um gleichsam im Gegensatz zu dem großsprecherischen Schlusse des vorigen Gedichts der Eitelkeit der Dichter zu spotten, die aller Welt ihre Gedichte aufdrängen möchten."

11. Source. Citing L 7A, Düntzer states that Goethe executed the two passages taken from Agricola just as nicely as those which he added.
12. (") The German proverb reads: "Feuer, Husten und Krätze lassen sich nicht verbergen." See L 7A!
13. (v. 8) "Scheffel." The biblically inspired proverbial expression in German is: "sein Licht unter einen Scheffel stellen." See L 7B!
14. (v. 11) The poet first sings his poem, then writes it with Oriental artfulness to show to the world.
15. (vv. 13-14) A. On poets who torment the world with their work, see Horace. --sat. I, 4, 74-78; Ars Poetica, vv. 472-476.
B. Boileau imitated him. --IV, 33f. See D58 7A!

DNL, p. 9. REPEATS D58 2-4; L 7A(S), B(S); ERL 9, 10
ADDS

16. Except for the first four, the iambic lines rhyme in masculine or feminine couplets.
17. (v. 11) For Arabs decorative script is very important.
18. (v. 14) "ob." Means "ohne sich darum zu kümmern, ob."
19. (") "uns." This word is more effective than "ihn" would be.
20. Original title "Unverborghes" (Reference to entry in the Wiesbader Register).

JA, pp. 327-328. REPEATS W 1; D58 4; L 7A; ERL 12, 14
ADDS

21. No oriental source has been identified for the three things that cannot be hidden.
22. Goethe had read "Putatne amator . . ." in Jones, Poeseos asiaticae, p. 71. See W 1!

ELEMENTE (I, 7)

WURM, pp. 42-43.

1. (vv. 1, 5) "Elementen," "Liebe." Jones' divisions of Oriental poetry include love poems, heroic poetry and satire. Arabs and Persians have sung of love in a rich array of images and with the most glowing fantasy.
 --Jones, Poeseos asiaticae, pp. 295-305.
 --Eichhorn, Geschichte der Literatur, Pt. 1, p. 638.
2. (vv. 13, 18) "Waffenklang," "Dichter." Uncultured and unlettered, the ancient Arabians were divided into constantly warring tribes. They loved to hear their exploits praised and had as many notable poets as heroes; frequently victor and poet were the same. The descriptions of battle were sublime and terrible. There were annual panegyric assemblies where the deeds of tribes and single members were immortalized.
 --Jones, Poeseos asiaticae, pp. 231, 312.
 --Moallakât (Tr. Hartmann), pp. 7-8, 18f.
 --Supplement to Sulzer's Allgemeine Theorie, Vol. 5. p. 251.
3. (v. 18) "hasse." Asians also have excellent satire, which springs from hate and enmity. Arabic satiric poems are coarse and biting and often show sublime verve.
 --Jones, Poeseos asiaticae, pp. 321-322.
 --Appendix to Geschichte Nadir Schahs, 498.
4. (v. 1) "Elementen." For more on Oriental genres see Herder, Abhandlungen über schöne Literatur und Künst.
5. (vv. 9-12) Wine could be listed as a special element of poetry; it probably inspired no Asian more than Hafis.

DÜNTZER 1858, p. 147. REPEATS W 3 ADDS

6. Written Weimar, July 27, 1814.
7. Love, wine, war and ridicule are given as primary elements of Oriental poetry, but this listing is not exhaustive. The poet wanted to have a foursome, as he

did in "Vier Gnaden" (I, 5). The number four is especially popular in such sayings.

8. (v. 13ff.) An excellent example of the "Preislied" is the Moallakât.

LOEPER, pp. 13-14, 380. REPEATS W 1, 5; D58 6, 7 ADDS

9. First published in the "Liedertafel," p. 317.

10. A. The heading on the fair copy reads "Buchstabe Sin. Gasele XIII." Loeper says that this means "Das Gedicht sollte also ursprünglich das 13te des XI. Buchs bilden, sofern das Alphabet der Bücher ganz ausgefüllt wurde."

B. p. 380: Hafis' "Buch Sin" has only 6 ghasels, so perhaps Schin XIII (Hafis 1, p. 275) is meant. Divan poem I, 11 is also related to it.

11. To the types of Oriental poetry in Jones (love, heroic, satire), Goethe adds Hafis' beloved "Schenken- oder Weinlied," more so to have a group of four than to exhaust the range of his Divan. See W 1 and 5 and D58 7!

12. For development of the poem's elements, see

Love. (v. 5) Divan Books III and VIII

Wine. (vv. 8-12) Book IX

Hate. (v. 18) Book V

Heroic poetry. (vv. 13-16) Except for Book VII, the "Buch des Timur," only in NA, "Araber."

13. (v. 7) The meaning is "kann das Lied sie gar durchdringen."

14. (v. 10) "Rubin des Weins." From Hafis:

A. "Bring des Weins Rubin." --Ra, XII (= Hafis 2, p. 21).

B. "Wackern Trinkern gilt Nektar der Reb' als Rubin" --Dal, LXXXV (= Hafis 1, p. 330).

15. (vv. 17-20) "Haß." A. Although Goethe seldom expressed this thought, it occurs in the Xenien and Divan poem V, 6, vv. 5-8.

B. Another example occurs in a conversation with A. W. Schlegel in 1804: "Hier sagte Goethe, als von der Sakontala die Rede war: 'Eigentlich aber hasse ich alles Orientalische (d.h. die indischen Formlosigkeiten). Ich bin froh, daß ich etwas hassen kann; denn sonst geräth man in Gefahr, aus leidiger Angewöhnung Alles relativ gut zu finden -- und das zerstört alle wahre Empfindung'." --Crabb Robinson, Diary, Reminiscences and Correspondence, Lond. 1869, I. 188 sq.

16. (v. 23) "Hafis." Because Goethe originally accented Hafis on the last syllable, this line originally read "Wird er wie Hafis die Völker." --Goethe, Briefe an Eichstädt, Nr. 182.
17. (vv. 21-24) Compare Schiller's "Punschlied."
- ERL, p. 217-218. REPEATS W 1, 3, 5; D58 7; L 9, 14-15A,
(reference to Divan poem V, 6), 16 DISPUTES L 13
ADDS
18. The rhyme scheme is not consistent. Stanzas 2, 4, and 5 are rhymed pairs; in the other stanzas only even lines rhyme.
19. (v. 4) "Die Meister hören auch die Kunst des Dichters."
20. (vv. 5, 9-12) "Liebe, Wein." Having noted that to the love poem Goethe adds Hafis' beloved songs in praise of wine, Düntzer adds that what Kosegarten wrote about each long poem having to begin with a greeting to the beloved does not apply here. --Kosegarten, ALZ, col. 589.
21. (v. 6) "Thema." This word is "fremd"; it disrupts somewhat.
22. (vv. 7-8) The prerequisites for a true love poem. "Die Liebe muß seelenhaft das Lied ganz durchdringen." Von Loeper's interpretation whereby love is the object is "hard" and unsuitable. See L 13!
23. (v. 10) "Rubin des Weins." Hafis used the ruby to refer to wine, also to lips. See L 14!
24. (v. 11f.) Poems in praise of love and wine get the highest praise.

25. (vv. 13-16) Goethe made the heroic poem into a celebration of victory. However, Goethe had to forego this type poem in the Divan, says Düntzer, "da er eben aus Deutschland sich geflüchtet hatte, er auch im Epimedes, dem es so schlecht erging, genug gethan hatte, und eine Feier von arabischen Kalifen oder persischen Schahs ihm nicht ziemte."
 26. (v. 14f.) "daß." Points to the intended result.
 27. (") "Trommete." The drum signifies victory.
 28. (v. 15) "Glück zu Flammen lodert." Probably refers to victory offerings which are brought to the gods but in which actually the hero is worshipped like a god.
 29. (vv. 17-20) Goethe made the satire into an expression of discontent against opponents and "falsche Richtungen," and Hafis also favored such expressions of discontent.
 30. (v. 22) "Urgewalt'gen." Means eternally affecting the emotions.
 31. (v. 23) "Hafis." Repeating the information that Goethe originally accented Hafis on the last syllable (L 16!), Düntzer references his introduction "Entstehung des Divans . . .", p. 32. There he has the information that Goethe, having heard from a "Kenner" that he was incorrectly pronouncing Hafis' name, learned the correct pronunciation from Lorsbach, through Eichstädt.
- DNL, p. 10. REPEATS W 1; D58 6; L 9, 14A, 15A (reference to Divan poem V, 6), 16; ERL 18, 21, 27 ADDS
32. Repeating what he had said in ERL 18 about rhymes, Düntzer points out that stanza 2 has "the same rhyme throughout" and is different from stanzas 4 and 5 and 1, 3 and 6.
 33. (v. 4) "Meister." That is, those who understand art.
 34. (vv. 13-15) "auch, daß." The repeated words stand out.
 35. (v. 14) "Trommete" For another usage of the drum to announce victory see Hermann und Dorothea I, 201.

ELEMENTE (I, 7)

36. (v. 15) "Glück zu Flammen lodert." "Das Lodern des Glückes zu Flammen vom glänzendsten, folgereichsten Glücke." Compare DNL 28!
37. (v. 16) "vergöttre." Means to become a god.
38. (v. 22) "urgewalt'gen" = "auf jedes Gemüt wirkenden." Compare DNL 30!

WA, pp. 338, 366-367. REPEATS L 10B, 16; ERL 31 ADDS

39. Reports on the existence of a second numbered fair copy of the poem by an unknown hand.
40. (v. 23) "Hafis." Repeating the information about Goethe's originally having accented the name Hafis on the second syllable, Burdach cites:
 --Goethe, Briefe an Eichstädt, p. 189.
 --(on Lorsbach) WA I 7, p. 220, 24 - p. 221, 16.
 There is a discussion of Lorsbach in NA chapter "Lehrer."

JA, p. 328. REPEATS L 10B, 14 ADDS

41. The poem is an independent counterpiece to the 13th ghazel of Hafis' Divan "Buch Shin." Goethe retained Hafis' strophic form. See L 10B!

ERSCHAFFEN UND BELEBEN. (I, 8)

WURM, pp. 44-45.

1. (vv. 1-8) The legend of man's creation out of a mixture of dirt; how God ordered the spirit to reside in the body, whereupon it entered through the mouth and proceeding into the chest and heart. When it got to the brain Adam sneezed and opened his eyes.
 --Rosenöl Tl. I, p. 21.
 --Chardin, T. 9, p 296.
2. (v. 5) A. "Elohim." A lower order of Hebrew gods. Jehovah, as the highest, is also called "Jehova der Elohim."

B. God puts them in a class with himself when he says, "Wir wollen einen Menschen machen, ein Bild, das uns gleich sey." --Mayer's mytholog. Lexicon 1, p. 31. I was unable to locate this work.

3. (v. 8) "niesen." Wurm's recalls having read passages where the first sign of restored life is sneezing. -- Tausend und eine Nacht, Vol. 4, p. 93.

4. (vv. 9-20) A. "Ihr Engel an der Schenkethür,/ Lobsin-
get euren Preisgesang,/ Die Säuerung von Adams Stoff,/ Nichts anders ist der Trinker Thun."
--Hafis 1, p. 233 (= Dal 18).

B. "Trinken heißt nichts anderes, als den Erden-
teig säuern, aus dem Adam geknetet ward; ohne diese
Säuerung bliebe der Mensch ein abgeschmackter ungegohr-
ner Klumpen."

--Hammer's note to Hafis 1, p. 233.

5. (") Wurm brings two additional passages from Hafis.
They are similar.

A. "Du frommer Mann, o halte mich/ Nicht ab vom
Weine,/ Es ward mein Staub am Schöpfungstag/ Mit Wein
geknetet." --Hafis 1, p. 106. This is Ta, 40.

B. "Einstens ward der Staub des Körpers/ Abgekne-
tet mit dem Wein,/ Sagt, was fordert ihr, ihr Tadler,/ Kann darauf Verzicht ich thun." --Hafis 2, p. 182 (= Mim 20).

DÜNTZER 1858, pp. 147-148. REPEATS W 1B, 2B, 4A(S), 5A(S)
ADDS

6. Only wine and song give man true verve.

7. (v. 1) "Hans." A humorously contemptuous name.

LOEPER, pp. 14-15, 381. CITES WURM for sources REPEATS W
1, 2B, 4(S), 5A ADDS

8. The poem was set to music by Zelter, December 11, 1814.

9. A. Citing the fair copy heading "Buchstabe Dal/ 18te
Gasele," Loeper establishes Hafis' poem as this poem's
impetus. See W 4!

B. He repeats W 4, sees it particularly as source of "Säuerung" (v. 15) and "Klumpen" (v. 10).

C. He also refers to Hafis 1, p. 106 (W 5A) and Hafis 1, p. 417 (= Dal 142).

10. (vv. 1-12) A. Referring the reader to Wurm for sources, Loeper states that the first three stanzas are based on creation accounts of Moses, Koran sura 15, and the Arabic legend of man's creation.

11. (v. 1) "Hans." Goethe individualizes the first man in a folksy manner with the name Hans, similar to the poet Gaudy's calling death Hans Mors.

12. (vv. 21-24) The Sufistic moral in these lines is clear. Compare "Der Trinker blickt Gott frischer ins Angesicht" (sic!) from Divan poem IX, 3, vv. 11-12.

13. One finds Western resonances:

"Der Wein, der das adamisch Rößlein (den Menschen) laufen macht" --Seb. Frank (Lasth. 2). This reference is probably to Sebastian Franck's Von dem gewrelichenn laster der trunckenheit.

"Es soll uns noch verdampfen der wasserreiche Erdenkloß" --Motto for the Uhland-Kerner'schen Sonnentagsblatt 1807 (Weinlied).

14. (v. 21) Originally "So soll Hafis"

ERL, pp. 218-219. REPEATS W 1A(S), 2B(S), 4(S), 5A; D58 7; L 8, 9A, 14 ADDS

15. A fresh, lively poem. Düntzer cites his introduction "Entstehung . . .", p. 22, where he remarks that this poem was written just after Goethe had absolved "der zuletzt drückenden Last des nationalen Festspiels."

16. Hafis' poem, the impetus, was directed against the vexatious priestly life.

17. (vv. 11-12) "Noah." The account of Noah is cleverly brought in to show that while the process of giving life to the "Erdenklumpen" is complete, it must be continually renewed.

18. (v. 18) "heilig." As in "Hegire," I, 1, v. 32.

ERSCHAFFEN UND BELEBEN. (I, 8)

19. (vv. 19-20) "führen . . . Tempel." "Launig nennt Goethe die Begeistigung durch den Wein 'Führen zu unsers Schöpfers Tempel', insofern diese die wahre Verehrung Gottes als eines geistigen Wesens ist, wozu des Hafis Dichtung und Beispiel mahne."

DNL, p. 11. REPEATS W 1A(S), 2B, 4(S), 5A; D58 7; L 8, 9A, 14; ERL 16, 18 ADDS

20. (v. 1) "Hans." "Goethe nennt sonst nur die Menschen ähnlich Hanse." See D58 7!
21. (vv. 11-12) "Noah." Noah as the inventor of wine is taken from the biblical account, "die freilich Goethe nicht zuerst so launig verwandte."
22. (vv. 17-20) The song and example of the wine praising Hafis should likewise fill them with the higher spirit.
23. (v. 17) The change in wording (see L 14) for the same reason as in I, 7, v. 23 (see Loeper 16, on I, 7).

WA, p. 367. REPEATS W 2B; L 8 ADDS

24. In relation to Zelter's musical setting, Burdach cites Zelter's letter of April 22, 1815, to Goethe. --Briefwechsel 2, p. 168.
25. Poem read to Boisserée, August 4, 1815. --Boisserée 1, p. 257.
26. This poem was written the same day as the lines: "Daß ich bezahle,/ Um zu verführen,/ Das gilt in Westen,/ Das gilt in Osten" --Goethes Gedichte, ed. Düntzer (DNL), 3. 2, 274; Goethe-Jahrbuch 8, 271.

JA, p. 328. REPEATS W 2B(S), 4(S); L 9A, ADDS

27. This is perhaps the oldest Divan poem.
28. This poem belongs to those poems Goethe classified as "gesellige Lieder"; it is a drinking song like "Ergo bibamus." It is "burschikos" in overall tone as well as in individual expressions. Cites --Goethe, JA, Vol. 1, p. 69 (text of "Ergo bibamus").

ERSCHAFFEN UND BELEBEN. (I, 8)

--his own "Einleitung," p. xxvif.

--"Kindleben, Studenten-Lexikon, art. "Erdenkloß."

29. (v. 5) "Die Elohim." Also "burschikos," this is the usual term for God in the Old Testament and is a plural form, which Goethe, in analogy with many usages in the Old Testament, construes as a grammatical plural and uses with a plural verb. He does so jokingly. Plural use also JA, Vol. 22, p. 152, v. 11.

PHAENOMEN. (I, 9)

DÜNTZER 1858, p. 148.

1. Noting that this poem was written July 25, 1814 with the following one during the trip to the Rhine in 1814, Düntzer asserts that the poem was inspired by an unusual atmospheric phenomenon.
2. Even if the blossom of youth is gone, the poet can still enjoy love because his heart remains young.
3. In the first edition this poem was preceded by I, 11.

LOEPER, pp. 15-16. REPEATS D58 1 ADDS

4. That this and the following three poems were written during the poet's "Hegire" of 1814 and 1815.
5. A. He states that the poem's impetus was a colorless rainbow in the morning fog, seen July 25, 1814. Related passges:

B. A "moon rainbow" --Goethe, Schweizer Reisebrief of October 24, 1779.

C. "Ein Regenbogen mitten in der Nacht!/ Es ist das Licht des Mondes, das ihn bildet./ Das ist ein seltsam wunderbares Zeichen!" --Schiller in Wilhelm Tell (Act II, Sc. 2). As there, the poet takes the phenomenon to be a good omen for the trip and for love.
6. (vv. 9-12) "die Haare weiß." Compare VIII, 20, v. 7.
7. Poem first printed in the Taschenbuch für Damen 1817, p. vii.

ERL, p. 219. REPEATS D58 1, 2 REPEATS/DISPUTES L 5
ADDS

8. Düntzer makes reference to his introduction, p. 26, where he repeats much of the information in D58 1 and L 5. He states that there is no reason to think Loeper is correct in assuming that Goethe saw the rainbow on the first day of the trip. The event could have been in the distant past.

9. (vv. 9-12) A. Hafis also wrote of his white hair and called himself a "Greis"; however, his and Goethe's usages differ.

"Hafis nennt sich wohl Greis, gedenkt auch seines greisen Kopfes (I, 381) und seiner weißen Haare (I, 261), aber nicht in einer solchen Weise wie hier und wie sie in den anakreontischen Gedichten (34. 36. 47. 54) sich findet, die auch des kahlen Hauptes (11) erwähnen."

DNL, p. 12. REPEATS D58 1, 2; L 5A, 6, 7 ERL 9 ADDS

10. "Freilich gedenkt auch Hafis seines greisen Kopfes, seiner weißen Haare, aber es schwebten hierbei wohl eher sogenannte anakreontische Lieder vor. In einem derselben (47) heißt es von einem Alten, an Haaren sei er ein Greis, aber an Geist ein Jüngling." See ERL 9!

JA, pp. 328-329. REPEATS D58 1; L 4 ADDS

11. In verses 9-12, the poet modestly takes the "Nebel-Regenbogen" as a good omen.

A. For Goethe, like Herder, the rainbow was a symbol of poetry as bridge between heaven and earth.

B. For Goethe the natural scientist, the rainbow symbolized the limits of scientific knowledge.

C. The tragic side of the image expressed itself in other poems as insatiable yearning, for Suleika-Marianne and Ulrike von Levetzkw.

D. In this poem the aberrant rainbow means that the old poet's love and poems no longer have the former richness of color, yet he still has the "godly light."
Cites

- Herder, Geiste der ebräischen Poesie, Suphan's ed., Vol., 11, p. 390.
- Goethe's poems "Regen und Regenbogen" and "Aeolsharfen"
- Faust, vv. 4721-27
- to Eckermann, April 11, 1827.
- Boisserée, Vol. 2, p. 591.
- Divan poem "Hochbild" (VIII, 32)

LIEBLICHES. (I, 10)

WURM, pp. 45-49.

1. (v. 4) "Sehe." Old German "Seha" meant eye; later, the ability to see. See dictionaries under "Sehe" and "Augapfel." Klopstock used the word; for instance "die kurze Sehe." Cites
 - Frisch.
 - Adelung.
 - Klopstock (Göschen ed., 1823), Vol. 12, p. 44.
2. (v. 11) "Schiras." A. The city of Hafis' birth. Wurm has several descriptions of the city and environs:
 - B. 8 lines praising the city, the river Roknabad, the wind, and the inhabitants. --Hafis 2, p. 63 and a note by Hammer.
 - C. A description of Schiras, the area and plants. Schiras' wine and women make it famous in all Persia. --Mandelslo, p. 12.
 - D. A Persian proverb praising the wine of Schiras. --Tavernier, p. 44.
 - E. A description of Schiras and its gardens. --Thevenot, Reisen in Europa, Asien und Africa in the Sammlung der besten und neuesten Reisebeschreibungen (Berlin: Mylius, 1765), Vol. 3, p. 376.
 - F. Schiras can hardly be equalled in the number of flowers. --Chardin, T. 5. p. 276.
 - G. For more on Schiras see
 - Tavernier, Persianische Reise, p. 275.
 - della Valle, T. 5, p. 338ff.
 - Chardin, T. 9, p. 175 ff.

3. (vv. 11-12) "Schiras . . . des Nordens trübe Gauen."
Goethe cannot actually mean to contrast Schiras with its heavy air with "des Nordens trübe Gauen." He means all of Persia, whose air is pure. --Chardin, T. 9, p. 190 and T. 4, pp. 18, 21.

DÜNTZER 1858, pp. 148-149. REPEATS W 2A, B, 3 ADDS

4. Written at the same time as the previous poem.
5. The inspiration was the poppies before the bathhouse in Berka.
6. (v. 15) This line points to near-by troop maneuvers, to which the next poem refers.

LOEPER, pp. 16-17. REPEATS W 1, 2A, F; D58 4 ADDS

7. Composed later in the day than the previous one, this poem was written near Erfurt and the inspiration is poppy fields there. See D58 4 and 5!
8. (v. 4) "Sehe." The many poets who have used this term include Gellert, Kosegarten, Stolberg and Voß. See W 1!
9. (v. 11) "Schiras." Another quote about Schiras: Hafis says that he has spread the fame of his birthplace. --Hafis 2, p. 536, 48. Rubajat.
10. (vv. 11, 13) "dein Schiras . . . Mohn." "Dein" because the poppy, which is used for opium, belongs to the Orient.

Compare: "Am 19. Juni 1799 bemerkten wir sehr deutlich an den Blumen des orientalischen Mohns, die vor allen andern eine sehr mächtig rothe Farbe haben, etwas Flammenähnliches, das sich in ihrer Nähe zeigte."
--Goethe, Farbenlehre 54 (Vol. 37, p. 29, and Vol. 40, p. 20 of the "40 vol. ed.)

11. (v. 14) "nachbarlich." That is, from neighbor to neighbor, from field to field or, Loeper questions, does it mean bordering Weimar.

LIEBLICHES. (I, 10)

ERL, pp. 219-220. REPEATS W 1, 2A, F, 3; D58 4, 5, 6;
L 8, 10 DISPUTES L 7 ADDS

12. Written between Eisenach and Fulda. Düntzer cites his introduction, pp. 23 and 25. There, recounting Goethe's Rhine trips and repeating D58 4 and 5, he cites a note in Riemer's "Nachlaß," which identifies the poppy fields in Berka. See L 7!
13. The poet wishes that he may often view the sunny poppy fields, which remind him of Schiras. His home is in the Orient, and he thinks he sees a harem tent or a vizier's wedding party, but he soon realizes that it is flowers, whose splendor recall Schiras; and he must admit that he is in the "trüben Norden."
14. (vv. 1-2) "verbindet . . . Höhe." Connecting sky with hill can only mean that the poppy fields are on a hill, where the poet cannot clearly distinguish them in the fog.
15. (v. 3) "verblindet." Rather than "verblendet" because of rhyme. Bodenstedt has a similar usage.
16. (v. 11) "Schiras." Hafis praised Schiras above all other places. Only once in anger did he try to leave. --Hafis 2, pp. 351f, 359.
While in Jesd, he longed for Schiras. -- Hafis 2, p. 175.
17. (v. 13) "Mohn." An additional citation (see L 10!):
--Letter to Schiller, Juli 19, 1799.
18. (") As though in defiance of the neighboring troops, the poppys stand "in Reih und Glied."
19. (vv. 17-20) The last stanza casually notes the poppy's usefulness.

DNL, pp. 12-13. REPEATS W 2A, F; D58 4, 5; ERL 14, 15, 17,
19 CITES L 7 DISPUTES L 11 ADDS

20. In an effort to reconcile D58 5 and ERL 12 with L 7, Düntzer postulates that the poem was begun at Berka and finished near Erfurt.
21. (v. 5) "Vesires." The highest state official. "Vezier" is the English and French form for "Wesîr."

LIEBLICHES. (I, 10)

Notes various spellings of the word in different editions and parts of the Divan.

22. (v. 6) "lieben Frauen." The women in his harem.
23. (v. 14) "nachbarlich." Near each other or near the poet. See L 11!
24. (v. 18) The poppy is decorative as a garden plant, but it becomes useful as a source of opium.

WA, p. 368. REPEATS L 7 DISPUTES D58 5, ERL 12 ADDS

25. (v. 14) Originally said "Die um Erfurth sich erstreckten."

JA, p. 329. REPEATS W 1, 2A; D58 4; L 7, 8; WA 25 ADDS

26. Repeating the information that this poem was written on the same day as the previous one, Burdach presents them as a chronological continuum. The "white rainbow" yields to something bright. The poppys are almost a colorful rainbow connecting heaven and earth.
27. (vv. 5-12) Burdach speculates that stanzas 2 and 3, which differ in rhyme scheme from the others, are later additions to this otherwise "ganz momentanen Reisebildes." The poem was purely Western to begin with; the only Oriental elements are in stanzas 2 and 3.
28. (v. 11) "Schiras." This city of Hafis' birth was the capital of the province Persia.

ZWIESPALT. (I, 11)

WURM, pp. 50-51.

1. "Bittern Wein verlang' ich, dessen/ Stärke selbst die Männer umwirft,/ Daß ich von den Erdenplagen/ Doch ein wenig ruhen möge.// Bringe Wein! wer könnte sicher/ Bleiben vor des Himmels Raubsucht,/ Wenn dort Sohre Lauten schlaget,/ Und Mehrih die Waffen traget."
--Hafis 2, p. 75. This is "Buchstabe Schin, Gasele XIII."

Hammer's note to the above: "Wie ists möglich hienieden ruhig zu seyn, wenn Sohre d.i. Venus beständig mit ihrer Laute lärmeth, und Mehrih d.i. Mars mit seinen Waffen klirret, wenn Liebe und Krieg das Leben der Sterblichen unter sich theilen."

2. (v. 10) "Kriegesthunder." The same as "Kriegesdonner." "Thunder" is English; "Dunder" and "Dunderwetter" are German dialect; numerous English words have come into German with provincial German pronunciation, for example "Master" for "Meister" in Nuremberg.

Wurm notes borrowings in other Divan poems: "be-whelmen" (VIII, 19, v. 30) and "entmanteln" (III, 15, v. 14) from English, the latter reminiscent of English "dismantle"; and "gestängelt" (IX, 19, v. 21) from English "perched" or French "perché."

DÜNTZER 1858, p. 149. REPEATS W 2 ADDS

3. Written one day after the previous poem, these verses show how the writer, whose thoughts are filled with love, is unpleasantly disturbed. The poem expresses Goethe's dislike of war and warlike behavior.
4. In the first edition of the Divan it preceded "Phaenomen."

LOEPER, pp. 17-18. REPEATS W 1(S), 2 DISPUTES SANDERS
ADDS

5. A. Loeper saws that the poem has two sources. The first impetus are Goethe's experiences on the day of composition, when he saw soldiers and other evidences of war at the Hünefeld market. For Loeper this poem, the preceding and the following ones, "Der neue Kopernikus," and "Jahrmarkt zu Hünefeld" constitute a "poetic diary" of Goethe's trip.
- B. Hafis was a literary model. He quotes "Wer könnte . . . traget" and Hammer's note.
- C. Loeper adds "Das deutsche Sprichwort zwar sagt: 'Zu der Pfeife gehöret eine Pauke', Musae quando sonant, sonitum bene tympana donant." --Neander's deutsche Sprich. (Latendorf, 1585), p. 44.

6. (v. 10) "Kriegesthunder." Asserting that "Thunder" or "Tunder" is "oberdeutsch" and that Brandt's Narrenschiff always has "Tunder," that Kaisersberg has "Tunderklap" and "Tunderschlag" and that Weckherlin has "Dunder," Loeper argues that the rhyme shows that Goethe is here using the upper-German form rather than English thunder. --Grimm, article "Donner." See W2!
7. (vv. 9-12, 13-16) The last 4 lines repeat the preceding 4; the Oriental parallelism shows itself especially in the repeated questions, vv. 11-12 and 15-16. Sanders is wrong to think that the last 4 lines are a corrected version and that vv. 9-13 were left in by mistake. The repetition is a natural enhancement. Similar usage in the Bible. --Hosea 6:1 (recte 4) --Ecclesiasticus 25:6.
8. (v. 14) "Posaune." The "Kriegesposaune."

ERL, pp. 220-221. REPEATS W 1(S), 2; D58 3, 4; L 6 CITES L 7 ADDS

9. Düntzer cites his introduction, pp. 23 & 26, where, among details of Goethe's trip, he notes
 - A. that this poem expresses Hafis' thought that the person who is troubled by love and war at the same time cannot be secure, and
 - B. Riemer said this poem was composed in Berka.
10. Has the same verse form as "Phaenomen" (I, 9).
11. Goethe did not hear a peaceful flute and a war trumpet at the same time; this is poetic venting of feeling. He cannot free himself of the martial music.
12. (v. 10) "Kriegesthunder." Repeating information from W 2 and L 6, Düntzer notes that Goethe probably took his orthography from English, but that German pronunciation is clearly intended. He adds "Donder" to the list of upper-German citations and Hans Sachs to the writers.

DNL, pp. 13-14. REPEATS W 1(S); D58 3; ERL 10, 11, 12
ADDS

13. The order in which the poems appeared in the Erstauss-gabe was changed so that this poem would not be next to "Phaenomen" because the two have the same verse form. See D58 4 and ERL 10! The DNL prints the poem in 4 stanzas of 4 lines.
14. (v. 4) "Mavors." Older, poetic form for Mars.
15. (v. 14) "Posaune." Used because it is stronger than the drums of v. 4.
16. (v. 15) "irre." Like "Posaune," used because it is stronger than "toll werden."

WA, p. 369. REPEATS W 1 ADDS

17. (vv. 13-16) The manuscript shows that these last lines were an alternate version of the preceding ones and it was correct to ask whether they should be included in the poem.
--Sanders, Zeitschrift für dt. Sprache, 1, 23f.
--Sauppe, Goethiana, p. 18.
A majority of the WA editors opted to maintain the established text tradition.

JA, pp. 329-330. REPEATS W 1(S); D58 3; WA 17 ADDS

18. Repeating information from WA 17, Burdach says that the last four lines were written because the older form "Kriegesthunder" caused second thoughts. However, after both versions were published together three times during Goethe's life, deletion of either 4 line unit would do violence to the text tradition.

IM GEGENWÄRTIGEN VERGANGNES. (I, 12)

DÜNTZER 1858, pp. 149-150.

1. Hafis's lines were the impetus: "Zwei Gesellen bleiben noch/ In dem Garten, Ros' und Lilie." No further citation.

IM GEGENWÄRTIGEN VERGANGNES. (I, 12)

2. For every age there is a pleasure; if youth is past there is memory and sharing.
3. A. Düntzer sees the poem as reflecting the scala of Goethe's feelings and stirred memories on July 26, 1816: from morning in Eisenach to evening in Fulda when he wrote the poem.

B. Goethe had enjoyed lively times at the Wartburg and in Eisenach during his early Weimar days and the Duke had often hunted there.

C. He cites Goethe's lyrische Gedichte I, p. 358, which is a discussion of the poem "Harzreise im Winter." There he states that during the 1777 trip Goethe was to meet in Eisenach with the Duke who had gone there with a great hunting party.
4. (v. 8) "versöhnet." Means "verbindet." Compare "Das Ufer ist dem Meer versöhnt" and "Die Erde mit sich selbst versöhnet." --Faust, vv. 11,222, 11,541.
5. (v. 23) "nun." "Auffordernd," like "wohlan."
6. (v. 26) "Hafis." Hafis taught that the moment should be enjoyed to its fullest.

LOEPER, pp. 18-20. REPEATS D58 3A & B, 4, 6 ADDS

7. Related feelings in "Sollt' einmal durch Erfurt fahren"; especially the last lines: "Und so wollen wir . . ./ Uns der Gegenwart erfreuen,/ Das Vergange mitgenießen." Loeper included this "Nachlaß" poem in the Divan "Buch der Betrachtungen," after "Die Jahre nahmen dir, du sagst, so vieles."
8. Goethe spoke of this singular feeling earlier: "die Empfindung der Vergangenheit und Gegenwart in Eins. -- Sie ist in vielen meiner größern und kleinern Arbeiten ausgedrückt und wirkt im Gedicht immer wohltätig." -- Dichtung und Wahrheit, Book 14.
9. (v. 17) "Wälder." The forests continually renew themselves and symbolize a similar process in mankind.
10. (vv. 23-24) "allen Lebensreihen, genießen." These lines are connected with Hafis (v. 26!), of whom Hammer

IM GEGENWÄRTIGEN VERGANGNES. (I, 12)

said "Keiner versteht zu genießen und zu lieben wie Hafis." Thus his enjoyment is "ein veredeltes und vergeistigtes." --Hammer 1, p. xxxviii. See D58 6!

11. (v. 25) "Lied und Wendung." Hendiadys for "diese Liedeswendung."

ERL, pp. 221-223. CITES D58 1(S) REPEATS 3, 4, 6(S); L
7, 9, 10, 11 ADDS

12. Düntzer cites his introduction, p. 27. His comments there and his summary here are an expansion of D58 3.

A. He notes that Divan poems "Uebermacht, Ihr könnt es spüren" and "Wenn du auf dem Guten ruhst" (V, 4 & 5) were written two hours later than this one, and, like it, recall Hafis' sayings.

B. He states that this poem is by no means an out-pouring of the moment and speculates that while Goethe wrote the poems down in Fulda, he may have thought them out earlier and that there may have even been some previous version.

13. To the source he adds two lines: "Beide halten hoch den Kelch/ Auf des Freundes Angedenken." Düntzer also states that Hammer's note was a source. See D58 1 & 6!

14. (v. 1) "morgenthaulich." Means "im Morgenthaue." A completely new adverbial usage, like Goethe's beloved "nächtlich."

15. (v. 2) "Garten meiner Nähe." Also unusual usage.

16. (vv. 9-16) Compare the end of Goethe's poems "Harzreise" and "Rastlose Liebe."

17. (v. 11) "Psalters." As Goethe wrote Lavater in August 1775: "er singe dem Herrn Psalmen, von denen er ehestens eine Schwingung haben solle."

"Psalter" is used as in the Bible. Klopstock also has "Psalter, singe dem Herrn."

--Psalm 33:2, 77:22. (sic!)

--Klopstock, "Ode an den König."

18. (v. 12) "stritten." Means "in lebendiger Kraft."

19. (v. 16) "brauchte." "bedurfte, steht hier vom Drange."

IM GEGENWÄRTIGEN VERGANGNES. (I, 12)

20. (vv. 17, 23) "nun." The word is "aufmunternd." In the first instance it should be followed by a comma. The address is to older persons, like the poet. Instead of the second "nun", a "ja" or a "nein" would be better.
 21. (v. 22) "wir's." Read "wir das Genießen." He especially means the enjoyment of youth.
 22. (v. 23) "Lebensreihen." Meant are various ages, whereas "Andern" (v. 20) had meant only mature youth. Compare "eine Reihe völlig schön," the motto to "Buch des Sängers."
 23. (v. 25) "Lied und Wendung." A. Compare "Duft und Garten" in "Sommernacht" (IX, 19, v. 37).

B. Düntzer also cites his Erläuterungen 1874, Vol. 2, p. 125, first footnote. Düntzer notes Goethe's frequent use of hendiadys and gives two examples).
 24. (v. 26) "Hafisen." The word is incorrectly accented on the second syllable, and this pronunciation was taken from Hammer. Elsewhere in the Divan Goethe makes the a in Hafis long.
 25. (v. 27) "Denn." This word continues stanza 3. An "und" would be "easier."
 26. (vv. 25-28) The last stanza must be emphasized through good delivery.
- DNL, pp. 14-15. REPEATS D58 1(S), 3A & B, 4, 6(S); ERL 13, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24 ADDS
27. Düntzer says that while he had literary models, Goethe's "deutsches Gemüth" created these incomparably beautiful and deeply felt lines.
 28. Although written in the evening, this poem is about the the early morning, just as some of his poems of summer were written in the winter.
 29. Noting that the usual printing had been in 8-line stanzas with the last 4 lines constituting "half a stanza," the DNL prints the poem in 7 stanzas of 4 lines.

IM GEGENWÄRTIGEN VERGANGNES. (I, 12)

30. (v. 2) "meiner Nähe." The poet is in front of the garden at the inn.
31. (vv. 3-8) The view of the mountain, the castle is Goethe's free creation.
32. (v. 17) "die Wälder ewig sprossen." This phrase Düntzer has set off with commas because it gives a justification (see ERL 20!).
33. (v. 25) "Lied und Wendung." To the hendiadys in ERL 23, this note adds "Glück und Stern" (IV, 22, v. 13); "Farb' und Bogen" (VIII, 32, v. 17) and "Mühlen und Räder" for which Düntzer cites --"verm. Ged. 38, 12."
34. (v. 27) "Tags Vollendung." "The evening," which does not fit the image of morning freshness.

WA, p. 369. REPEATS D58 3A; ERL 12B CITES ERL 20 ADDS

35. This is poem number 22, "Erinnerung," in the "Wiesbadener Register."
36. Repeating information from D58 3A, Burdach agrees with Düntzer's assertion in ERL 12 that the poem, although written in the evening in Fulda, was conceived in the morning in Eisenach. Cites a Tagebuch-citation in a prefatory section to the commentary, which reads: "26. Juli. Fünf Uhr von Eisenach. Herrlicher Tag. Um 6 Uhr in Fulda."
37. "Ritterschloß." Allusion to the Wartburg.
38. (v. 17) "nun." Causal, "da."
39. (v. 23) "nun." Perhaps "nur" was meant.
40. (vv. 25-28) Noting that this is only a half-stanza, Burdach speculates that the lines were added later, in Fulda (c.f. ERL 12).

JA, p. 330. REPEATS D58 1(S), 3A & B; ERL 12B, 13; WA 37, 40 ADDS

41. Agreeing with D58 1 that Hafis' lines were the literary model, Burdach cites additionally --Hammer 1, p. 294

IM GEGENWÄRTIGEN VERGANGNES. (I, 12)

(another use of "Rosen . . . Lilien") and --his own "Einleitung," p. xlv, where he argues "Rosen und Lilie" are symbolic in the manner of Hafis.

42. (v. 26) "Hafis." "wieder eine Beziehung auf Hafis angehängt."
43. (v. 27) "Tags Vollendung." Means both the end of the day and the end of life.

LIED UND GEBILDE. (I, 13)

WURM, p. 51.

1. (vv. 11-12) "Schöpft . . . ballen." Goethe's Indian "Legende," i.e. the second section of "Paria" [WA I 3, pp. 10-15], helps explain these lines.

DÜNTZER 1858, p. 150. REPEATS W 1 ADDS

2. The plastic presentation of the Greeks is contrasted with the diffused, fantastic style of the Orient, which is nonetheless not lacking in well-rounded poems.

LOEPER, p. 20. REPEATS W 1; D58 2 ADDS

3. Like the following two, this poem is in praise of poetry. The poet hopes to create poems in the Oriental manner.
4. Loeper quotes from the "Legende" cited by Wurm: "Sel'gem Herzen, frommen Händen/ Ballt sich die bewegte Welle/ Herrlich zu krystallner Kugel." --WA I 3, p. 10, vv. 9-11.
5. Notes the poem appears on p. 430 of Zelter's Lieder-tafel, which is dated 1818.

ERL, p. 223. REPEATS W 1; D58 2 ADDS

6. Düntzer speculates that this poem was written in February 1815. Cites his introduction, p. 38f.

LIED UND GEBILDE. (I, 13)

7. (v. 3) "der eignen Hände Sohn." The statues of the gods, the perfection of Greek art.
8. (v. 9) "der Seele Brand." A. Düntzer speculates that this means that the poet was greatly agitated when he wrote these lines.

B. The writer must quench the fire, before he can pour out his feelings.

9. (v. 10) "erschallen." Means "mächtig, ergreifend tönend."
10. Stating that the conclusion uses the image from Goethe's "Legende," Düntzer notes that Goethe carried the material with him for many years, but did not work it out until September, 1816. Refers to his notes to "Legende," --Düntzer, Erläuterungen 1874, Vol. 2, p. 450.

DNL, pp. 15-16. REPEATS W 1; D58 2; L 5; ERL 6, 7, 8B, 9
ADDS

11. (v. 5) "uns." Refers to Orientals, especially Indians.

JA, pp. 330-331. REPEATS W 1; D58 2; L 4; ERL 10 ADDS

12. This poem is a renunciation of "one-sided" classicism.
13. Goethe's Indian "Legende" was mentioned in the Tagebuch May 27, 1807; the source was known to Goethe even longer. Cites -Vol., 39, p. 50, v. 5; Goethe-Jahrbuch 17: 28*.

DREISTIGKEIT. (I, 14)

WURM, p. 51.

1. (vv. 1-2) "Worauf . . . gesundet." Cites as a parallel the "Zahmes Xenion" "Mir will das kranke Zeug nicht munden,/ Autoren sollten erst gesunden." --WA I 3, p. 238, vv. 149-150.

DREISTIGKEIT. (I, 14)

2. (vv. 1-2) "?." Wurm places the question mark at the end of the first verse rather than after v. 2 as in the "Ausgabe letzter Hand."

DÜNTZER 1858, p. 150. REPEATS W 1 ADDS

3. The poet must strive for inner harmony; he cannot fight against himself.
4. Compare Goethe's poem "Rechenschaft," WA I 1, pp. 140-143.

LOEPER, p. 21, 380. REPEATS W 1; D58 4 REJECTS W2 ADDS

5. Written the same day as I, 1.
6. A. A combining of Hafis and Spinoza, a "vivire mememento."
- B. True poetry comes from a healthy life. Compare Goethe's "Leben erst muß Leben geben" --Werke 3, p. 379 (= "'Was ist denn die Wissenschaft? . . .'", Zahme Xenien V, WA I 3, p. 316, v. 1216).
- C. The words against "alle Druckser, Aechzer und Krächzer" in the poem "Rechenschaft." See D58 4!
- D. Loeper also cites the xenion given in W 1.
7. Printed in Zelter's Liedertafel, 1818.
8. (v. 2) "?." The question mark should follow v. 4. Its present position derives from Goethe's habit of placing question marks and exclamation points at the end of the appropriate clause rather than at the end of the whole sentence.
9. (v. 7) "Eh er singt und eh er aufhört." A true model of allowable ellipsis: "Eh er anfängt zu singen" would be the full form.

ERL, pp. 223-224. REPEATS W 1; D58 3, 4; L 5, 6C REFUTES L8 CITES SANDERS ADDS

10. In the odd lines we have "den volltönenden zweisilbigen Reim, nur in der ersten Strophe steht am Schlusse beidemal an."

11. The title is poorly chosen; also Zelter's title "Entschluß" for the poem in the Liedertafel is a poor one. Düntzer suggests "Versöhnung."
12. In his summary Düntzer writes: "Bei allem Dichten kommt es darauf an, daß der Mensch gesund ist, wie man ja auch nur den Schall lobt, der sich zu einem Tone rundet"
13. (v. 2) "?." Düntzer thinks the question mark should be at the end of line 1. He cites Loeper who put it at the end of verse 4. "Ich sehe darin nur die völlige Entstellung des hübschen kleinen Liedes, das offenbar nicht fragt, wodurch der Mensch gesundet, sondern die Forderung stellt, daß er gesunde."
14. (v. 9) "Erzklang." "Von dem rauhen, so manchen Mißklang bringenden Leben." The opposite is "Silberklang." He cites Sanders as taking the word to be a reference to the blaring of brass instruments.

DNL, p. 16. REPEATS W 1, 2; D58 4; L 5; ERL 10, 11, 13, 14
CITES WURM 2 REFUTES L 8 ADDS

15. (v. 1) "überall." Only poetry is meant. Cites "Du kleiner Schelm du" (IX, 11, v. 3). Cites the xenion from W 1 here also.
16. (v. 3f.) "Man liebt ja den vollen, runden Ton."
17. (v. 9) "Und so." Means when the poet is healthy.
18. (v. 12) "wird." "er wird, da sein Herz stark ist."
19. (v. 12) "selbst." "durch sich."

WA, p. 370. REPEATS L 4 REFUTES W 2, L 8, ERL 13 ADDS

20. (vv. 1-2) Burdach cites Wurm and Düntzer on the question mark and refutes their position, stating that Goethe meant: "'um sich zu gesunden muß man sich ausleben, muß der Schall zum Ton werden' nicht 'muß man gesunden d.h. sich ausleben.'"
21. Claims Zelter sent back Goethe's first draft, probably the fair copy, on September 15, 1818. Refers reader to

DREISTIGKEIT. (I, 14)

WA I 6, p. 354, where only I, 7 and "Dir zu eröffnen mein Herz" are mentioned.

JA, p. 331. REPEATS WA 20

DERB UND TÜCHTIG. (I, 15)

WURM, p. 52.

1. (vv. 13-16) "weiser Mann." "Der Prophete hat gesprochen: Greise sind in ihren Stämmen, wie ein Prophet unter seinem Volke, das heißt, gleichwie wenn es unter einem Volke einen Propheten giebt alle Zweifel in Angelegenheit der Zeitlichkeit und Ewigkeit von ihm aufgelöst werden, ebenso müssen auch Greise die Auflöser der Zweifel ihres Stammes seyn. Verachte also die Greise nicht, und sey nicht unverschämt, wenn du solche siehest. --Buch Kabus, p. 312!

DÜNTZER 1858, pp. 150-151. ADDS

2. The poet must express himself freely. The transition to limitation from a moral standpoint is made by considering the type of reader the poet would like to have. He condemns moral censors. Even if the song is not determined by any external condition, the poet appreciates receptive souls who can feel what he feels.

LOEPER, pp. 21-22. ADDS

3. Written on the trip to the Rhineland the same day as I, 11 and 12.
4. This poem is related to the previous poem and to the lines "Nur die Lumpe sind bescheiden;/ Brave freuen sich der That" of Goethe's poem "Rechenschaft." --WA I 1, p. 143. vv. 71-72.
5. Like the preceeding poem, this one is completely German, free of Oriental views or images, except as noted in number 7 below.
6. (v. 18) "treib." First person singular.

7. (vv. 21-24, esp. v. 21) "Mönchlein ohne Kapp' und Kutt'."

A. The poet feels like a second Hafis, but also
 B. like Ulrich Hutten. In support Loeper argues:
 C. The parallel with Hutten is expressly stated in V, 4 vv. 17-20, which was written on the same day: "Hafis auch und Ulrich Hutten/ Mußten ganz bestimmt sich rüsten/ Gegen braun' und blaue Kutten;/ Meine gehn wie andre Christen."

D. V, 4, v. 20 explains "ohne Kapp' und Kutt'." Meant are the "Catholics, Romantics and Nazarenes in art and science." Those against whom he wrote: "Der Gottes-Erde lichten Saal/ Verdüstern sie zum Jammerthal;/ Daran entdecken wir geschwind,/ Wie jämmerlich sie selber sind." --Zahme Xenien, Nachlaß WA I 5¹, p. 102, vv. 253-256.

E. Later Goethe also wrote a similar passage: "Auch mir kann es an Ulrich Hutten,/ An Franz von Sickingen nicht fehlen." --"Werke II 386 u. 388" (= "Reuchlin! wer will sich ihm vergleichen . . ." and "Ist dem Gezücht Verdienst ein Title? . . .", Zahme Xenien V, WA I 3, p. 341 and p. 346, vv. 1551-1552).

F. The Schenke warns the poet of the monks. -- IX, 18, vv. 5-7.

G. Hafis cried: "O Pred'ger, ferne, ferne bleib/ Von mir und schwatz nicht weiter!" --Buchstabe Mim, Gasele XL, Hafis 2, p. 219.

8. Since writing requires a heightened self-awareness, "ein bescheidenes Dichten" is a contradiction in terms.

ERL, pp. 224-225. REPEATS D58 2; L 7A, F, G ADDS

9. This poem is against those who want to limit the poet's free expression. Düntzer has a summary of stanzas 1, 2-4, 5-7, and 8, concluding that one must allow the poet to follow the spirit which drives him.

10. (v. 21) "Mönchlein ohne Kapp' und Kutt'." A. Düntzer agrees with L 7A that there is an identification with Hafis; he says nothing of Hutten.
 B. Disciples of Shiek Hasan wore blue, and Hafis was one of them.
 C. Hood and cowl are the signs of the monk. By the "monks without cowl" Goethe means "sittenstrenge Richter," among whom he includes Herder and the Romantics. See L 7D!
 D. Besides the lines in L 7G, he cites and quotes Hafis:
 --Hafis I, 244 (= Dal 25), 292 (Dal 59), & 313 (Dal 73).
 --Hafis, Dal. 5 (Hafis 1, p. 212): "Obgleich (rec-te Wiewohl) mir nichts als Seitenblicke der Mönch gemacht."
 11. (v. 23) "caput." This common word from a card game exactly fits the mood of the poem. Quotes similar usages in Lessing, Claudius, Iffland.
 12. (v. 27) "abgeschliffen." As in the usage, found in Faust 2, v. 6178: "etwas an den Sohlen abgetragen haben."
 13. (v. 29) "Mühle." "Das Gehen der Mühle" is used of someone who is active. One says "eine Mühle in Gang bringen."
 14. Poem "mit schwacher Anlehnung an Hafis" (c.f. L 5).
- DNL, pp. 17-18. REPEATS/SUMMARIZES D58 2; L 7A, C, D, G; ERL 9, 10A, 11, 12 ADDS
15. (v. 25) "leeres Was." Means "Leerheit."
 16. (v. 29) "geht." To be in motion. Cites --Faust I, 1593.

WA, pp. 370-371. REPEATS L 7G

DERB UND TÜCHTIG. (I, 15)

JA, p. 331. REPEATS L 7C, G DISPUTES L 7D ADDS

17. Relating this poem to Goethe's Rhine trip, Burdach remarks that it is a lively example of newly awakened feelings of strength and life.
18. Nonchalant tone, forms and expressions of the student vernacular.
19. (v. 21) "Mönchlein ohne Kapp' und Kutt'." This poem is meant less against the Nazarenes in German art and the "catholicizing" Romantics (see L 7D!) than "alle unduldsamen Obskuranten, die engherzigen Moralprediger, die philisterhaften, splitterrichtenden Gesinnungsdoktrinäre und politisch-religiösen Tugendwächter, unter denen gerade auch viele Liberale und Nationalisten . . ." Cites his "Einleitung," pp. xxxv & xxxviii f.

ALLLEBEN. (I, 16)

WURM, pp. 52-55.

1. (v. 1f.) "Staub." Wurm quotes seven examples of Hafis' use of the word and some notes by Hammer. Later commentaries follow Wurm, quoting some examples. The dust is dear because it comes from the beloved's doorstep. I give three examples and indicate the others:
 "Das Blut des Safrans ist zwar schön und lieblich,/ Der Staub von ihrem Fuß zermalmt ist besser."
 --2, p. 352 (He 16).
 "Hoher Geist ward Hafisen!/ Von dieser Welt und von der andern/ Springet nichts ihm in's Aug', als/ Der Staub der Schwelle deiner Thüre." --1, p. 147 with note. This is Ta 67.
 "O Morgenwind bring' mir Kohol,/ Bring mir Kohol der Perlen./ Bringe mir's vom hochbeglückten Staub,/ Vom Staub der Thür der Freundin. --1, p. 57 (Ta 10) with Hammer's note "Kohol die schwarze Augenschminke. Perlenkohol eine der geschätztesten Arten."
 --2, p. 51 (Sin 4). --1, p. 42 (Ta 2).
 --1, p. 174 (Ta 84) with note. --1, p. 59 (Ta 11).
2. (v. 8) "Mahmud." Which ruler is meant is uncertain. Hafis wrote a poem in praise of Ebu Ishak Mahmud and Hammer noted "Mahmud, der Gelobte, ein Bename des Fürsten Ebu Ishak." --2, p. 451.

3. (vv. 20, 28) "grunelt." A. The same as "grüneln."
"Nach frischem Grün schmecken; z. B. auf einen Wetter-
regen grünelt es gar schön." --Schmeller, Baierisches
Idiotikon.

B. Also used in Faust 2: "Hier weht gar eine
weiche Luft,/ Es grunelt so und mir behagt der Duft!"
--v. 8266.

DÜNTZER 1858, p. 151. REPEATS W 1, 2, 3 ADDS

4. The poem uniquely expresses Goethe's desire that a
rainstorm bring new life to the parched earth.
5. In quoting Hammer's Hafis, Düntzer combines 3 of Wurm's
7 examples in a collage.
6. (v. 8) "Mahmud." Mahmud is the name of the caliph.
7. (vv. 15-18) Goethe wrote of dust in the Venetianischen
Epigrammen. v. 17f. indicate "daß ihm Italien längst
verschlossen."
8. (vv. 20, 28) "grunelt." Düntzer cites a similar usage
in Goethe's poem "Laßt mich weinen! Umschränkt von
Nacht." (WA I 6, 290)
9. (v. 26) "heilig, heimlich." Probably should read
"heilig-heimlich."

LOEPER, pp. 23-24, 381. REPEATS W 1, 3; D58 6, 8, 9 ADDS

10. A note that July 29, 1814, the day of the poem's compo-
sition, was hot; but an evening storm caused the tem-
perature to drop. --Knebel, "Kalender."
11. (vv. 1-12) A. The praise of dust in this poem is
authentically Oriental.

B. Loeper quotes three of the seven examples from
W 1 and says that passages such as the three I quoted
inspired stanzas two and three of Goethe's poem. He
relates Ta 67 to stanza two and Ta 10 and He 16 to
stanza three.

C. He cites Hammer's note to Ta 67, which Wurm had
omitted and which relates Hafis' words to a line from

Tibullus: "Et sedeo duros janitor ante fores."
--Tibullus I, 1.

12. (vv. 9-12, 17-20) Stanza 5 relates back to stanza 3.

13. (vv. 20, 28) "grunelt." More related passages:

A. The earth "dampft erquickenden Geruch"--Iphigenie, III. 3.

B. during a thunderstorm: "der erquickendste Wohlgeruch stieg in aller Fülle einer warmen Luft zu uns auf." --Werther, letter of June 16.

C. He also cites an Englishman who wrote of this phenomenon in the Orient: "there rises from the ground a cool and penetrating aroma, the scent of the dry soil saturated,"

D. Arabic has a word for the "ersten zarten Pflanzentrieb, der über den Sand erscheint." --Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft 6: 205.

ERL, pp. 225-226. REPEATS W 1, 2, 3; D58 4, 7, 8, 9; L 13A & B CITES LOEPER ADDS

14. (v. 1-12) "Staub." Düntzer categorizes various ways in which Hafis uses the image of dust from the threshold of his lover's door: he wants to use it as a cosmetic; it is all he desires in the world; he has wetted the dust with his tears so it does not blow about; it is more precious than saffron. To the seven passages cited in W 1 he adds Hafis 1, p. 22 (Elif 12).

15. (v. 8) "beknien." A suitable new expression.

16. (v. 17f.) "Pforte." Düntzer claims that this somewhat unusual image was inspired by Hafis.

17. (vv. 15-18) Düntzer expands on D58 7.

A. The dust of Italy bothered Goethe. --Venetianische Epigramme 4, v. 1. (WA I 1, p. 308, v. 1)

B. Although it is strange for the writer who sojourns in the Orient, he cannot help but to regret that it has been such a long time since he was in Italy.

18. (v. 19f.) The poet quickly jumps to the wish for a refreshing storm, which the last 2 stanzas depict vividly.
19. (vv. 20, 28) "grunelt." To the citations in W 3 & L 14, Düntzer adds, "Simrock erklärt: 'Wenn die Erde dampft und alle Pflanzen duften.'"

DNL, pp. 18-19. REPEATS W 1, 2, 3; D58 4, 6, 7, 8, 9; L 13A & B; ERL 14, 17 ADDS

20. (vv. 11-12) "Moschus, Rosenöl." Hafis often mentions these pleasing scents.
21. (v. 23) "des Windes." Means driven by the wind.
22. (v. 24) "hingefeuchtet." Means driven by moisture.
23. (v. 27) "grünet." The word explains and intensifies "grunelt."

WA, pp. 371-372. REPEATS (see below) D58 4, L 10, 11C(S) REJECTS D58 9 ADDS

24. Burdach states that the inspiration for this poem was the storm (see D58 4!). He gives details of Goethe's trip for July 28 and 29 and cites several sources which however do not relate specifically to this poem.
25. Burdach quotes Hafis' lines from Ta 67 and the Latin of Tibullus (See W 1 & L 11C!), adding that it was the latter's words in Hammer's note which caused Goethe to think of his Italian trip and allude, vv. 13-20, to the Römische Elegien. Compare D58 7!

JA, pp. 331-332. REPEATS W 1, 3; D58 4, 7; L 11A & B, 11C(S), 13A & B; WA 24, 25 REJECTS W 2, D58 6, 9 ADDS

26. A. Another poem from Goethe's trip, which is seen as a journey into the land of the Eastern poet, a repetition of his journey to Italy, and a mystical image of the desire for new life and metamorphosis.

B. The water of the rainstorm is used repeatedly in the Koran as a symbol for immortality.

C. For Werther, Orestes and Homunculus it is such a symbol (cf. W 3B, L 13A & B).

27. (v. 8) "Mahmud" refers to the caliph Ebu Ishak Mahmud, whom Hafis praised (cf. W 2 and D58 6: Neither Wurm nor Düntzer believed Goethe was referring to a specific figure.)

SELIGE SEHNSUCHT. (I, 17)

WURM, pp. 55-60.

1. "Wie die Kerze brennt die Seele/ Hell an Liebesflammen/
Und mit reinem Sinne hab' ich/ Meinen Leib geopfert./
Bis du nicht wie Schmetterlinge/ Aus Begier verbren-
nest,/ Kannst du nimmer Rettung finden/ Vor dem Gram
der Liebe./ Du hast in des Flatterhaften/ Seele Gluth
geworfen,/ Ob sie gleich längst aus Begierde/ Dich zu
schauen tanzte./ Sieh' der Chymiker der Liebe/ Wird den
Staub des Körpers,/ Wenn er noch so bleiern wäre,/ Doch
in Gold verwandeln./ O Hafis! kennt wohl der Pöbel/
Großer Perlen Zahlenwerth?/ Gib die köstlichen Juwelen/
Nur den Eingeweihten." --Hafis 2, pp. 90-91 (Sad 1).

2. (vv. 1-2) A. The thought which ends Hafis' poem
begins Goethe's.

B. Saadi also expresses the sentiment that cer-
tain truths should be expressed only to the wise: "Doch
nicht allen darfst du sagen das Geheimniß solcher
Red';/ Sagst du es so schelten viele. Nur der Weise
dich versteht." --Baumgarten, Tr. Olearius, p. 45.
(Wurm takes his quote from a work printed in 1825:
Tholuck, Blüthensammlung, p. 243).

3. (") "Wir sind gewohnt, daß die Menschen verhöhnen/ was
sie nicht verstehen. --Faust 1, vv. 1205-1206.

4. (v. 16) "Schmetterling." A. Also "Nachtfalter." Its
love is one of the most beautiful allegories in Orien-
tal literature; it is the symbol of self-sacrificing
love.

B. --Rosenzweig, notes to Dschamis Joseph und
Suleika, p. 362.

C. --Hammer, Redekünste, p. 26.

D. --Hartmann, Aufklärungen 2, p. 566.

E. "Genau betrachtet werden die Naturgegenstände bei den persischen Dichtern zum Surrogat der Mythologie." --Goethe, NA "Allgemeines."

5. (") Wurm quotes a number of passages from Oriental literature to show the multiplicity of uses to which this allegory or personification of the light and the moth can be put. I have quoted or summarized and given a reference letter to those which are repeated by later commentaries; I indicate the rest.

A. "Als die Wangen den Glanz des Lichts entflammten,/ Und ein Schmetterling mein verbranntes Herz war,/ Erwinnere dich." --Hafis 1, p. 364 (Dal 108).

B. "Der Schmetterling brennet am Licht/ Im Genuß der Liebe,/ Hingegen zerschmilzet mein Herz/ Vom Lichte deiner Wangen ferne." --Hafis 2, 37 (Sa 7).

C. "O Nachtigall, . . . lerne die Liebe zu Gott von der Mücke, welche um das Licht fleucht, stille schweiget und sich darinnen verbrennet." --Saadi, Vorrede zum Rosenthal.

D. "Verbrennet die Mücke nicht im Lichte und ist das nicht besser vor sie, als wenn sie ohne die Kerze sonst in einer Ecke sterben sollte?" --Saadi, Baumgarten, p. 40.

E. Wurm gives a condensed version of the legend of "Die verliebte Mücke," in which a man tells the moth that he is foolish: "Armes Blut! Suche jenamd zu lieben, der deines Gleichen ist. Du und das Licht, deine Geliebte, sind so weit von einander als Tag und Nacht" In his reply the moth says, "Was ist daran gelegen, wenn ich sterbe. Mit Willen werfe ich mich nicht selbst ins Feuer, aber die Ketten der Liebe zu der Kerzen ziehen mich dahin; da ich ferne davon war, brannte ich schon und nicht eben jetzo, da du die Funken um mich fliegen siehest" --Saadi, Baumgarten, p. 47. There is a rhymed version in Tholuck, p. 247.

F. "Wirft sich Schmetterling des Nachts in Kerzenschein,/ Werft auch euch in Gottes Feuermeer hinein." --Dschelaleddin Rumi in Tholuck, p. 71.

G. Also --Hafis 1, p. 367 (Dal 109) and --Hafis 2, p. 215 (Mim 38).

--Dschari, Joseph und Suleicha, p. 101.

--Saadi, in Hammer's Redekünste, p. 210.

DÜNTZER 1858, pp. 152-153. REPEATS W 1(S), 3, 4A, 5C
ADDS

6. A. The yearning for a higher life is beautifully expressed here in an allegory frequently employed in Persian literature.

B. Repeating the Faust quote from W 3, Düntzer adds that this sense of higher life gives the strength required in life.
7. In the Taschenbuch für Damen (1817) the poem bore the title "Vollendung."
8. (v. 8) The rhyme requires the line to read: "Wenn du stille Kerze leuchtest."
9. (v. 19) "Gast." That man is a guest on earth who owns nothing is expressed by the "Lemurenchor" in Faust 2, v. 11606. The sense of the image is the opposite of the image in v. 19.

LOEPER, pp. 26-27. REPEATS W 1(S), 2A, 4, 5A, B, D, F; D58
6A, 7 CITES WURM ADDS

10. A. A note that "Buch Sad. Gasele 1" is written at the top of the manuscript. See W 1!

B. Loeper cites similar passages; from Hafis he quotes W 5A & B and adds --Hafis 1, 296 (Dal 62).

C. For other authors he cites Wurm in general, as well as 5D and F and Fundgruben 2, 314.
11. A. Goethe transformed Hafis' verses; he raised the idea of the sacrifice of earthly love to that of life in death. The idea is Oriental, filling the New Testament and the Koran. Cites

B. "Begehre den Tod, damit Dir geschenkt werde das Leben." --Ebubekjr, in Denkwürdigkeiten 1, 7. and Unfug und Betrug, p. 35.

C. But the idea is also to be found among the Greeks:
"Ich suchte den Urheber des Lebens und fand den Tod."
--Socrates.

12. (v. 4) "Flammentod." The manuscript had "Flammenschein" which von Loeper prefers.
13. (vv. 5-8) "zeugtest . . . stille Kerze." The candle is the light of the higher world contrasted with earthly love. "Die Zeugung" is regarded as the point where life and death diverge.
14. (v. 19) "Gast." He cites similar passages.

"Der Mensch in der Welt gleicht dem Gaste, der in ein Haus kommt, wo Verhängniß und Schicksal der Hauswirth ist." --Hippocrates

"Die Welt ist ein Gasthof, pack auf, geh fort!/
Hier geht ein Alter, ein Neuer kommt dort" --Ferdusi,
Schah-Nameh, VII, v. 1791 (Tr. Rückert).

ERL, pp. 227-229. REPEATS W 1(S), 2A, 3; D58 6A, 7, 9; L
10 CITES L 12 MODIFIES D58 8 ADDS

15. Drawing attention to differences between Goethe's poem and Hafis' lines, Düntzer notes that
 - A. Goethe expresses Hafis' last four lines in only two
 - B. Hafis' poem is addressed to his cruel lover
 - C. Goethe addresses the moth directly
 - D. Düntzer feels Goethe only refers to the night as a time of animalistic sexuality in order to characterize the desire to unite with light as a higher and irresistible principle.
16. Goethe praised the yearning to achieve a higher state of being as the noblest drive. It is the cause of man's constant development, intensifies life and gives it purpose. Goethe frequently expressed himself on this "development of the entelechy," most beautifully in a letter to Zelter of March 19, 1827. See D58 6!

17. (v. 5) Düntzer interprets "Kühlung" to mean the coolness of the evening. It contrasts with the heat of the day and for this reason is conducive to love.
18. (vv. 6, 8) "zeugtest, leuchtet." Goethe permitted this imperfect rhyme "aus Bequemlichkeit." (cf. D58 8!) Cites for further information Erläuterungen 3, p. 613 (= Notes to "Auf dem Kauf" listing numerous examples of Goethe's use of impure rhyme).
19. (v. 19) "Gast." A. Düntzer repeats what he said in D58 9, that the lemures in Faust use the image of the guest but in the opposite sense,

B. Psalm 119: 19 is similar to the Faust passage.

C. He adds that one can also interpret "Gast" generally and cites Goethe's usage of "ein sauberer Gast," "ein grober, ein durchtriebener Gast."

DNL, pp. 20-21. REPEATS W 1(S), 2A, 3, 5C; D58 6A, 7, 9; L 10; ERL 15B, 17, 18 DISPUTES L 12 ADDS

20. A. Goethe used the image of the "verliebte Mücke" (W 5C) in "Sollt ich nicht ein Gleichnis brauchen," (WA I 6, p. 286).
- B. Cites the Saadi passage quoted by Wurm (W 5C), says they were also available in two translations by Herder.
21. (v. 4) Flammentod." Does not agree with L 12 that the variant "Flammenschein" is better. Finds in "Flammentod" a "beautiful contrast."
22. (v. 7) "fremde Fühlung." A yearning never before experienced.
23. (v. 8) "still." From quiet burning.
24. (v. 9) "umfangen." Unusual; means "in dich versunken, auf dich beschränkt."
25. (vv. 11-12) In explaining that the desire for the light is the urge to a union higher than the sexual one, Düntzer refers to I, 6, implying that "fire" there means the fire of physical love.

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26. (v. 13) "macht dich schwierig." Means detains you.
27. (v. 15) "des Lichts begierig." Since you cannot resist union with the light.
28. (v. 16) "Schmetterling." The moth is not named until this point in the poem.
29. (v. 17) "und." Effects the transition to man.
30. (v. 18) "Stirb und werde." The conviction that death leads to a higher life.
31. (v. 19) "trüber Gast." "Gast," since the earth is not home. He is "trüb" because he has no hope of a "beyond."
32. (v. 20) "dunklen." Contrasts with "the bright beyond."
33. (vv. 17-20) A note about four similar lines in a guest register of the Massenmühle in the Körnbachtal near Elgersburg. Düntzer states that the lines were not written by Goethe, but that they continue to be attributed to him in various publications.

WA, pp. 338, 353, 372-373. REPEATS W 1(S), 2A; D58 7, L
10A MODIFIES DNL 33 ADDS

34. Reports on the existence of a second numbered fair copy of the poem by an unknown hand.
35. (vv. 17-20) Modifies Düntzer's claim (DNL 33) that four more lines which appear together in a guest register cannot be Goethe's. Says that Goethe did not write them in the quest book, but that their citation in Usteri (ft., p. 227) still stands. Internal evidence alone must be our guide.

JA, pp. 332-338. REPEATS W 1(S), 5E; ERL 16, 17; DNL 33
REFUTES WA 34 ADDS

Burdach wrote more in his commentary about this poem than about any other. His analysis covers six pages and is a coherent interpretive essay rather than the loose series of remarks and observations which otherwise characterize this and the other commentaries. For this

reason I have chosen to outline Burdach's argument as it develops and to treat sections of the poem as they arise in his discussion rather than to dissect his presentation and rearrange it according to line number.

36. This is probably the most difficult of all Goethe's poems,
37. Goethe used the image of the moth earlier: "Ich habe nun wieder auf der ganzen Redoute nur deine Augen gesehen -- und da ist mir die Mücke ums Licht eingefallen." --Letter to Frau von Stein of February 23, 1776.
38. Goethe drew from Hafis' poem Sad 1 (W 1).
39. (esp. vv. 11-12) A passage from Saadi (W 5E) excerpted in a paralipomenon is similar in content.
40. (vv. 1-16) Both passages from Hafis and Saadi have their basis in Sufi mysticism.
 - A. According to this doctrine the soul is a prison. Cf. IX, 6, vv. 2-3.
 - B. Imprisonment causes pain, one expression of which is physical love, and only through a higher love working in the heart and through a union with God can freedom be found. Goethe's first four stanzas follow this train of thought.
 - C. (v. 4) "Flammentod." Was originally "Flammenschein," and this expressed only erotic love.
 - D. The burning flame of the candle is the reflection of a higher light, as in XI, 1, vv. 56, 57, 65-69.
41. (vv. 17-20) The last stanza is a departure from the thought of the first four.
 - A. (v. 18) "Dieses." The demonstrative represents a thematic jump and does not relate directly to the allegory in vv. 1-16.
 - B. In Sufi mysticism death in the flame was a one-time occurrence, a symbol of union with God. In Goethe's poem "Stirb' und Werde" happens in the midst of life.

- C. The lines differ in form and were added later.
--R. Hildebrand, Grenzboten 4 (1887) [see my summary above].
--J. Niejahr, Goethejahrbuch 20 (1899): 166 [see my summary above].

42. Goethe added elements from philosophy of nature to Oriental mysticism.

- A. Goethe fused Sufi mysticism with a Heraclitic-Platonic philosophy of nature.
--Plato, Symposium, Chap. 26, p. 207D
- B. He also used Orphic symbolism from classical art, i.e. the soul (psyche) as butterfly. Goethe knew the symbol from gyms.

43. The poem hovers between two opposing philosophies.

- A. (vv. 1-16) The first four stanzas are Romantic.
- B. The concept of death as release can already be found in "Prometheus," vv. 368-415.
- C. The title [better: entry] "Selbstopfer" in the Wiesbader Register reflects the Romantic side of the poem.
- D. The title "Vollendung" from the Taschenbuch für Damen is this-worldly.
- E. (vv. 17-20) The title "Vollendung" was not used until the final stanza had been added.
- F. (v. 4) "Flammentod." When the final stanza was added, "Flammenschein" was changed to "Flammentod."

44. The integrating element for these two traditions is a third element, Goethe's original thoughts on natural life processes. The bridge between these two philosophies was there from the beginning in the concept of metamorphosis, which is part of life, but which also reaches beyond life.

- A. "Alles ist Metamorphose im Leben, bei den Pflanzen und bei den Tieren, bis zum Menschen, und bei diesem auch."
-- Letter to Boisserée, August 3, 1815.

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B. As a child Pandora observes without understanding the sex act and interprets it as dying and rebirth.

--Pandora

C. There can be divine illumination in life, as the Pater ecstaticus in Faust II reveals.

--Faust 2, vv. 11854-11865.

D. Procreation is a kind of division, a splitting, a kind of death: "das ganze Dasein ein ewiges Trennen und Verbinden."

--JA, Vol. 39, p. 71, v. 26.

E. (Title.) Final title reflects the fusion of philosophies.

F. The sense of the whole is very close to the words Goethe addressed to Zelter on the occasion of the death of Zelter's son.

--Goethe's letter to Zelter, March 19, 1827.

45. A four-line stanza printed in conjunction with Goethe's vv. 17-20 (see DNL 33 and WA 35) is definitely not by Goethe.

THUT EIN SCHILF SICH DOCH HERVOR . . . (I, 18)

WURM, pp. 60-61.

1. "Schilf, Schreibe-Rohr."

A. Persian pens come from either Schiras or the Arabian gulf and are made from cane or reed. Sugar is drawn from the cane, and authors frequently use the metaphor of sweetness to describe their writings.

B. --Olearius, Note on the Saadi passage quoted in 2C below and in the Moscowitische und Persianische Reisebeschreibung, p. 614.

C. --Chardin, T. 5. p. 49.

2. Wurm quotes the following similar passages which employ the metaphor.

THUT EIN SCHILF SICH DOCH HERVOR . . . (I, 18)

A. "Was für ein seltenes Rohr Hafis ist deine Feder,/ Sie traget Früchte süß wie Honig und wie Zucker." --Hafis 1, p. 69 (Ta 16).

B. "Es ist Hafisens Feder/ Ein Rohr voll Zucker, o brich es,/ Hast du geseh'n von Früchten/ Je eine süßer als diese." --Hafis 2, 305 (Nun 21).

C. "die Worte, so aus seiner [Saadis F.T.] Feder geflossen, werden als Zucker beliebt. --Saadi, Preface to Rosental, Tr. Olearius.

DÜNTZER 1858, p. 58 REPEATS W 1A, B, 2C ADDS

3. The poem stood alone in the first edition as a kind of epilog.

LOEPER, p. 28. REPEATS W 1A, 2A, C; D58 3

ERL, pp. 229-230. REPEATS W 1A, 2 ADDS

4. Düntzer cites his introductory "Würdigung," p. 189f. where he says that in this concluding stanza the poet expresses the hope that his book will be successful.

5. Düntzer quotes two translations by Herder of Saadi's Rosenthal (see W 2C).

A. "der Mächtige verwandle durch sein Wort dürrer Schilf in Zucker." Teutscher Merkur 1781; cf. Suphan's ed., Vol. 26, p. 371.

B. "Seine Rechte verwandelt den Saft des Schilfes in Zucker." --"Blumen"

6. Goethe also uses image of the sweet cane in VI, 14.

DNL, p. 22. REPEATS W 1A, 2; D58 3; ERL 4, 5B, 6

JA, p. 339. REPEATS W 1A, 2A, B; ERL 5A

VITA

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