

**The Theatrical Vision of Count Harry Kessler  
and its Impact on the Strauss-Hofmannsthal Partnership**

Michael Reynolds

Goldsmiths, University of London

PhD

December 2013

I hereby declare that the work presented in this thesis is entirely my own.

Michael Reynolds

## Acknowledgements

In Berlin, soon after the fall of the Wall in 1989, Hans-Jürgen Kaack was the first person to point me to the life and works of Harry Graf Kessler. The journey has never stopped and I owe Jürgen a debt of gratitude.

Help and advice has since come from many quarters: from the team at the Deutsches Literaturarchiv in Marbach, particularly Dr. Roland Kamzelak; from the Freies Deutsches Hochstift in Frankfurt, especially Dr. Joachim Seng and Dr. Katja Kaluga; from the Richard Strauss Institute in Garmisch Partenkirchen, especially Dr. Jürgen May and Dr. Claudia Heine, and from Professor Dirk Hoffmann, now in the United States, who co-edited (with Dr. Willi Schuh) the 1986 critical edition of *Der Rosenkavalier* and who has taken a kind interest in my researches, particularly those in France.

My researches in Paris would not have been possible without the unstinting help of Christophe Mirambeau, who found for me the libretto, *mise en scène* and full orchestral score of *L'Ingénu libertin*; and Professor Philippe Cathé, who shared with me his profound knowledge of Claude Terrasse and introduced me to some of his descendants, in particular Nicole Terrasse and Françoise Feltz, whose family photographs and papers proved very useful. Denis and Nicole Jeambar proved to be stimulating interlocutors and sleuths on the world of the *Belle Époque* that Terrasse inhabited. In addition to the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Richelieu), the Paris libraries that yielded most original material were the Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris, the library of the Paris Opéra, and the Société de l'Histoire du Théâtre. To those who kindly helped me in all these establishments, warm thanks.

Discussions with established Strauss scholars have proved interesting and enlightening: Michael Kennedy shared his expertise and enthusiasm and Dr. Joseph Jones gave great encouragement. Dr. Matthew Werley has been a stimulating and helpful interlocutor, and to him I am very grateful.

Professor Maria Shevtsova, and my fellow PhD students who attended her stimulating weekly seminars in the first two years of my research, all helped to give focus and context for my work. Professor John London, my second supervisor, has provided expertise and generous advice all along the way: I am grateful to him. My greatest debt of gratitude is, however, to my first supervisor, Dr. Jane Schopf of Rose Bruford College, who has been a never-ending source of guidance, encouragement and wise counsel: she, more than anyone, has helped me to see this project to its completion.

If I finish, as is traditional, with words of tribute to my wife Jessamy, they say this: thank you for your patience, forbearance, constant support and for your love.

## Abstract

Count Harry Kessler (1868–1937) was an intimate of Hugo von Hofmannsthal and a friend of Richard Strauss. Kessler's early exposure to European literature and works of music theatre, and the extensive network of theatre contacts that he made, combined with his appreciation of art, gave him a particular theatrical vision that impacted on two stage works by the Strauss-Hofmannsthal partnership: the opera *Der Rosenkavalier* (1911) and the ballet *Josephs Legende* (1914). The thesis traces, in particular, the derivation of *Der Rosenkavalier* from a French opérette, *L'Ingénu libertin* (1907) by Louis Artus and Claude Terrasse, which Kessler (alone of the three partners) had seen. The dramatic and musical structure of this work is analysed and compared with the work that it went on to inspire. The thesis concludes that Kessler's theatrical vision was a major component in the architecture and dramatic structure of both *Der Rosenkavalier* and *Josephs Legende*, and that he should be recognised as fully as one of the three co-creators of the former work, as he has already been of the latter.

## Table of Contents

Introduction	9
The relevant literature	26
Chapter One -	
‘The Development of Kessler’s Theatrical Vision’	40
1. Kessler’s earliest years	40
2. Alice Harriet Kessler, née Blossie-Lynch	45
3. Kessler’s exposure to theatre and growing theatrical awareness	49
4. Kessler and theatre, 1892-1908	62
4a. Hauptmann	67
4b. Wedekind	72
4c. Reinhardt	74
4d. Craig	77
4e. Hofmannsthal	83
5. Conclusions	87
Chapter Two -	
‘Claude Terrasse, Louis Artus and the genesis of <i>L’Ingénu libertin</i> ’	89
1. Claude Terrasse – status and reputation	96
2. Terrasse’s background and musical development	101
3. Collaboration with various librettists	104
A. Alfred Jarry and <i>Ubu roi</i>	104
B. Robert de Flers and Gaston de Caillavet	106
C. Louis Artus	110
<i>L’Ingénu libertin</i> (1907)	
1. The circumstances of its creation	112
2. Literary sources	115

3. Stage adaptations	120
4. Treatment by Artus	121
5. Reception	128
6. Features of the work	135
A. Musico-dramatic and performative	135
B. Musical	144
Chapter Three -	
‘The Decision to Create <i>Der Rosenkavalier</i> ’	151
Prior relationships	155
1. Strauss and Hofmannsthal	155
2. Kessler and Hofmannsthal	165
2.1 Hofmannsthal to Kessler	172
2.2 Kessler to Hofmannsthal	174
3. Kessler on Hofmannsthal	175
4. The Kessler-Hofmannsthal relationship by 1909	182
Methodology and sources	184
A. Methodology	184
B. Sources	190
Conclusions	207
Chapter Four -	
‘The characters in <i>Der Rosenkavalier</i> : their genesis, and the authorial process that created them’	213
The characters	225
1. Ochs of Lerchenau	225
2. Valzacchi and Annina	233
3. Faninal and Sophie	235
4. Octavian	238
5. The Marschallin	244
The authorial process	249

Two views of the authorship of <i>Der Rosenkavalier</i>	277
Chapter Five	
‘ <i>Josephs Legende</i> – postscript and overall conclusions’	299
Overall conclusions	322
Appendix 1	328
Appendix 2	388
Appendix 3	415
Appendix 4	423
Appendix 5	435
Bibliography	442

## Notes

All translations from the original French and German sources quoted in this thesis are my own work, unless otherwise stated, and apart from the well-known and accepted Hammelmann-Osers 1961 translation of the Strauss-Hofmannsthal correspondence, which I have used throughout. The originals of all texts form part of the thesis, with my translations in Appendix 1, keyed to the page of the thesis on which the text appears.

For works in this genre on the French stage, the term 'opérette' will be used throughout, to distinguish them from the Viennese 'operetta', these terms being in current use.

Claude Terrasse employed a press cuttings agency for reviews of his works, and a copy of his own dossier for *L'Ingénu libertin* was kindly passed to me by his biographer, Philippe Cathé, supplemented by documents given to me by members of Terrasse's family. In a small number of cases it has not proved possible to locate originals and page numbers, despite careful searches: these references are marked 'Terrasse dossier, nfd' (no further details).

## Introduction

This thesis sets out to examine how the theatrical vision of one man, Count Harry Kessler (1868-1937) came to impact on the collaborative partnership of two others: the Austrian poet, writer, dramatist and librettist Hugo von Hofmannsthal (1874-1929) and the German composer Richard Strauss (1864-1949). The thesis concentrates particularly on a period of seven years, from 1907 to 1914, when two major works of music theatre were conceived and first staged: the three-act opera *Der Rosenkavalier* (1911) and the one-act pantomime ballet *Josephs Legende* (1914). It argues that Kessler had an original, theatrical vision for both works, and that the contribution he made towards their creation and staging has been under-estimated in previous scholarship.

In the abstract, theatrical vision and its impact on others is hard to define accurately. The scope of what follows on the specific case of Kessler and his relationship with Hofmannsthal, which influenced - in ways that will be described - Hofmannsthal's creative partnership with Strauss, includes consideration of authorship, of creative artistic collaboration, of theatrical understanding and empathy, and of good (and bad) faith in inter-personal relationships. As will be shown, Kessler's grasp (and in particular his visual grasp) of theatre made him a highly interesting interlocutor for Hofmannsthal, who derived much from Kessler that improved his dramatic capabilities. Kessler's role as private critic, adviser

and friend to Hofmannsthal in theatrical matters has been noted previously, but no extensive, detailed critical assessment has been made of the impact of Kessler's theatrical vision on the Strauss-Hofmannsthal partnership since the recovery, at the end of 1983, of Kessler's diary for the period.<sup>1</sup>

Theatre was one of Kessler's passions but he had extensive other interests too: as diarist and writer, publisher, art collector and artists' patron, among others: these are explored more fully in Chapter One. Strauss and Hofmannsthal were the acclaimed authors of *Der Rosenkavalier* and it brought them both immediate further worldwide fame, and considerable wealth, as productions of their first truly collaborative opera proliferated from 1911 onwards. This thesis focuses on all the dramatic, theatrical and visual ingredients that went into *Der Rosenkavalier* in its earliest stages, particularly those that came from Kessler or were substantially fashioned by his theatrical imagination; but it also looks more generally (and briefly, in the concluding chapter) at *Josephs Legende*, and the collaboration – or, more accurately, the lack of collaboration – between Hofmannsthal and Kessler over this, mainly as an instructive postscript to the experiences of both men, in 1909 and 1910, as they embarked on and went through the process of authorship of *Der Rosenkavalier*. It assesses the relative contribution of each protagonist to that earlier work, in the light of

---

<sup>1</sup> As will be explained later, the critical edition of the text of *Der Rosenkavalier*, and several essays that have examined Kessler's role in its creation, all pre-date recovery of Kessler's diary for the 1906-14 period: see pp. 15-6.

all the evidence now available, and it advocates the weight that this evidence suggests should now be ascribed to Kessler's input.

This input derived especially from Kessler's imaginative re-working of the main French work on which *Der Rosenkavalier* is based and which – relatively at least – has been neglected hitherto in Strauss-Hofmannsthal scholarship (the opérette *L'Ingénu libertin*, which is described more fully below and considered in detail in chapters Two and Three).<sup>2</sup> The thesis argues that this piece was much more than the light-hearted potboiler that has hitherto been assumed, and that Kessler envisioned many of the theatrical features of *Der Rosenkavalier*, both in the initial scenario for the work and in its completed form, confident that Hofmannsthal (and Strauss) would execute a different treatment of, essentially, the same dramatic and theatrical ingredients.

Rumours that something was not quite right with the authorship of *Der Rosenkavalier*, which premiered at the Königliches Opernhaus in Dresden on 26 January 1911, clearly spread in certain theatrical circles almost as soon as the work began to gain national, and international, prominence throughout that year and into 1912. Some form of plagiarism was hinted at, suggesting that Hofmannsthal was not being entirely straight or honest about the circumstances of the work's creation. On 6 August 1912 Moritz Heimann, writer, critic and publisher's reader (for Fischer Verlag) wrote the following urgent words of warning to Hofmannsthal's publisher, and his own employer, Samuel Fischer:

---

<sup>2</sup> Louis Artus, *L'Ingénu libertin* (Paris: Librairie Théâtrale, 1908), hereinafter: Artus.

Sie sollten ihm von der Wolke, die zumindest über seine Ruhe hängt, Mitteilung machen! Er ist ein Autor Ihres Verlags, ein nicht gewöhnlicher Mann, wem muss man nicht täglich allüren nachsehen! Er muss sich gegen den Schlag, der ihm droht, rüsten können.<sup>3</sup>

But the threatened 'blow' never came, and with the instant and rapidly developing commercial and popular success of *Der Rosenkavalier*, Hofmannsthal's position as librettist of choice to Richard Strauss was secure for the next fifteen years (and for posterity), as the libretti for subsequent operas flowed – sometimes with difficulty – from his pen. Heimann had made clear earlier in the same letter, a fuller version of which is included in an anthology of correspondence between Samuel and Hedwig Fischer and their authors, the nature of the 'unsettling cloud' to which he went on to refer:

Aber Ihr heute, eben angekommener Brief zwingt mir die Feder in die Hand. Die Kesslerische Geschichte ist ja schrecklich! Wie sie sich ausgeht, ist sie schrecklich. Ich glaube sie vorerst nicht so, wie sie berichtet ist, denn via Blei und Holländer kann schon eine Unschuld in die Brüche gehen. Aber etwas wird schon daran hängen, und genug, ein Malheur zu geben. Beschuldigungen der Art sind übrigens in der Literatur schon oft vorgekommen; berechnete und unberechnete. Ich glaube nicht, dass *eine* unter Hofmannsthals Namen gehende Zeile von Kessler ist; wohl aber Ideen, Gedanken, Erfindungen, die wird H. vom Freunde so skrupellos (und berechnete trotz alledem!) genommen haben, wie er sie von jeder Seite, die er liest, von jedem Munde, den er sprechen hört, zu nehmen sich gewöhnt und geübt hat. – Kessler verstehe ich gar nicht. Warum rückt er jetzt mit dieser Enthüllung heraus, warum zu Reinhardt und seinem Holländer? Oder gibt es das nicht bloss im bürgerlichen Recht, dass man

---

<sup>3</sup> Harry Graf Kessler, *Tagebuch eines Weltmannes, Eine Ausstellung des Deutschen Literaturarchivs im Schiller-Nationalmuseum Marbach am Neckar*, ed. by Gerhard Schuster and Margot Pehle, (Marbach: Marbacher Kataloge, 43, 1988), p. 266, hereinafter: 'Kataloge, 43'.

bei zurückgehenden Verlobungen die Geschenke zurückfordern kann?  
Lauter Rätsel.<sup>4</sup>

Over the last hundred years scholars have examined periodically the Heimann notion that ‘there will be something in it’ but have concluded, with various degrees of nuance, that Kessler was wrong to claim in private as great a share as he clearly did of the authorship of *Der Rosenkavalier*, and that he had misjudged, given Hofmannsthal’s achievement with the libretto, the importance of his own contribution.<sup>5</sup> Kessler’s private claims, even if voiced to only a few of his extensive circle of friends and acquaintances, were undoubtedly what were seized on by Franz Blei, the Austrian writer, critic and translator, and by Felix Holländer, critic and dramaturg to Max Reinhardt, the latter being the real, albeit initially the unofficial, director of *Der Rosenkavalier* at its Dresden première. They were obviously unnerving to friends and supporters of Hofmannsthal such as Heimann, but their precise slant and extent are undocumented to this day, and the letter from Samuel Fischer to Heimann, which seems to have prompted the latter’s immediate and alarmed reply, is not included in the volume of correspondence quoted above. From today’s perspective, the most likely trigger for Kessler to have made his revelations (whatever they were) to Reinhardt and to Holländer is a meeting and subsequent written exchange that Kessler had had with his

---

<sup>4</sup> Samuel Fischer, Hedwig Fischer, *Briefwechsel mit Autoren*, ed. by Dierk Rodewald and Corinna Fiedler (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer Verlag, 1989), pp. 335-6, hereinafter: Rodewald/Fiedler.

<sup>5</sup> Comments on Kessler’s contribution by Burger, Hoffmann, Mühlherr, Weisstein and others are assessed later in this chapter in the review of literature, pp.28-30.

friend of many years' standing, Eberhard von Bodenhausen, in Paris on 24 March 1912.<sup>6</sup> This meeting, and its significance, is analysed in detail in Chapter Four. Moreover, echoes of something being not quite right, or clear, or settled, over the gestation of *Der Rosenkavalier* survive in manuscript, and in unlikely quarters, to this day. The 'Collection Craig (Edward Gordon)' at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BNF) includes Gordon Craig's own copy of the 1912 Fürstner edition of *The Rose Bearer* by Richard Strauss. Across the middle of the title page, underneath the words: 'The Rose-Bearer (Der Rosenkavalier), Comedy for Music in three Acts by Hugo von Hofmannsthal (English version by Alfred Kalisch), Music by Richard Strauss, Op. 59', is an annotation, in pencil, in Craig's own handwriting (emphasis in original): 'I had understood that Harry Ct Kessler had written the text'.<sup>7</sup> (Craig's only other annotation in the entire book is the single word 'Silly' against the final stage direction: 'Through it [the centre door] comes the little blackamoor with a taper in his hand. Looks for the handkerchief - finds it - picks it up - trips out. The curtain falls quickly').

One reason that Strauss and Hofmannsthal scholars, at least until the end of the 1980s, tended to discount the notion that Kessler had made much of a creative input to *Der Rosenkavalier* is that, until the end of 1983, a key piece of the evidence was missing. That evidence was contained in

---

<sup>6</sup> Eberhard von Bodenhausen, Harry Graf Kessler, *Ein Briefwechsel 1894-1918*, ed. by Hans-Ulrich Simon (Marbach am Neckar: Marbacher Schriften, 1978), pp. 92-4, hereinafter: Simon.

<sup>7</sup> Craig's copy is item EGC 16\* 1010 in the collection. It is unclear whether Craig intended to refer to the original libretto (i.e. Hofmannsthal) or to the English version by Kalisch, but clearly the absence of Kessler's name anywhere on the title page prompted his puzzled comment.

Kessler's diary, written more or less day by day and continuously over the fifty-seven years between 1880 and 1937, but not recovered in its near entirety, and for posterity, until the crucial volumes, covering precisely the period of Kessler's friendship and creative involvement with Hofmannsthal (1902-1914), were found in a bank safe in Mallorca.<sup>8</sup> Kessler had deposited them there late in 1933, when he was advised to keep out of Germany for his own safety (he was high on the list of those whom the newly-elected NSDAP regime wished to take into custody) and had indeed left Germany, as it turned out for ever; he died in France in 1937, without telling anyone of this bank deposit box arrangement, and so the fifty year lease he had taken out ran its course, until it finally expired at the end of 1983. After more than a year of delicate negotiation, the manuscript volumes were reunited with the remainder of Kessler's diary, letters and other memorabilia in the German Literature Archive at Marbach in 1985 (*Kataloge*, 43, p. 7), and the now-reassembled diary has been in course of publication ever since.<sup>9</sup> This timing meant, however, that the critical edition of the text of *Der Rosenkavalier*, nine years in the making and finally published in 1986, had gone to press a considerable time before its editors, Willi Schuh and Dirk Hoffmann, could take account of the relevant Kessler

---

<sup>8</sup> There are still gaps in the diary: no entries, for example, between February and May 1910, and the fifty loose-leaf pages with pencil entries between 8 August 1912 and 4 August 1914 may well not be complete.

<sup>9</sup> Harry Graf Kessler, *Das Tagebuch 1880-1937* (Stuttgart: Cotta, 2004- ). Eight of the planned nine volumes have so far appeared in print, with different editors. The raw text transcription was made available to subscribers on CD-ROM: in May 2013 the print version of Volume I was still awaited. Hereinafter: *Tagebuch*, followed by the relevant volume number in Roman numerals.

diary passages.<sup>10</sup> It is nonetheless significant that two years later, when the catalogue was produced for the first major exhibition in Marbach devoted to Kessler (in 1988), the editors Gerhard Schuster and Margot Pehle should have felt able to write in these terms about Kessler and Hofmannsthal:

Welche Sujets Hofmannsthals Theaterwelt dem stets szenisch, dramatisch erlebenden Kessler verdankt, wieviel Nuancierungen die Genese von 'Ödipus und die Sphinx', 'Cristinas Heimreise', 'Silvia', die komplizierte Entschlusslosigkeit des 'Schwierigen' beim produktiven Zuhören durchläuft, mag ein künftiger Biograph aufspüren. Zur veritablen Komödie gerät die Zusammenarbeit zwischen Dichter und Weltmann im Februar 1909, als aus der beschwingten Montage verschiedener Vorlagen in Geben und Nehmen das Szenarium des 'Rosenkavalier' entsteht (*Kataloge*, 43, pp. 249-50).

No such biographer has yet emerged. The underlying argument in this thesis, however, is that there was far more of original thought and theatrical vision by Kessler in *Der Rosenkavalier* than any previous analysis, assessment or appreciation of the work has so far admitted. This theatrical vision came from Kessler's constant exposure to everything that was happening on the stages and in the opera houses of Germany, France and England from the 1880s onwards, from his involvement and frequent discussions with theatre people as diverse as the dramatists Gerhart Hauptmann and Frank Wedekind, the directors and designers Max Reinhardt and Edward Gordon Craig, and performers such as the dancers Ruth St Denis and Vaslav Nijinsky (with whom Kessler communicated initially in French via Serge Diaghilev, at the time Nijinsky's lover).

---

<sup>10</sup> Hugo von Hofmannsthal, *Operndichtungen I, Kritische Ausgabe, Band XXIII* ed. by Dirk Hoffmann and Willi Schuh (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Verlag, 1986), hereinafter: '*Band XXIII*'.

Indeed, it was originally because of Nijinsky, and specifically for him, that Kessler drove forward the *Josephs Legende* project. In the case of *Der Rosenkavalier*, Kessler's specific vision of what the work was to become – how it was to look, to be structured, to work as a piece of music theatre – came, on top of all the other factors, from a lavish, amusing and sophisticated opérette he had seen onstage in Paris in January 1908. The derivation of *Der Rosenkavalier* from *L'Ingénu libertin*, a three-act *conte galant* by librettist Louis Artus and composer Claude Terrasse, and the appropriation of the French theatrical iconography central to the tale of Faublas and to the *libertinage* to which he succumbs before marrying his beloved Sophie are, very specifically, Kessler's achievements. The words and the music allocated to the same characters in their new incarnations in *Der Rosenkavalier* are, equally specifically, those of Hofmannsthal and Strauss respectively, although all three collaborators occasionally made suggestions to each other that helped to shape the emerging work as a coherent whole; as will be identified in the chapters that follow.

This thesis will assess all these aspects in detail. It will argue that previous mentions of *L'Ingénu libertin* as one of the source works for *Der Rosenkavalier* have failed to look closely at the totality of this important French opérette as a production, and have failed to appreciate just how closely the characters, the situations in which they find themselves, the mechanics of the plot, and above all the sumptuous look and feel of an eighteenth-century world reconstructed on the stage of the Théâtre des Bouffes Parisiens, came to drive both the concept of, and the realization of

*Der Rosenkavalier* as a major piece of music theatre a little over three years later. In effect, it will examine *Der Rosenkavalier* as a three-dimensional creation; not merely as a combination (and creative amalgam) of Hofmannsthal's words and Strauss's music. It will do so in the following ways:

Chapter One will examine and assess Kessler's qualities as a man of theatrical vision and as a man with sufficient competence to provide decisive, creative input both to *Der Rosenkavalier* and to *Josephs Legende*; it will trace his experience of theatre, and opera, the evolution of his thinking on theatrical matters and his ambition, after he had resigned his post as Curator of the Grand-Ducal Museum of Arts and Crafts in Weimar in 1906, to enter an artistically productive phase in his life; it will conclude that because of an ever-deeper artistic and cultural relationship between Kessler and Hofmannsthal, by 1909 the latter had sufficient confidence in Kessler's understanding of dramatic craft and of theatrical spectacle to trust Kessler's judgment in the planning, ordering and setting down of the scenario for which Strauss was to provide the music; the first *ab initio* operatic collaboration on which Hofmannsthal and Strauss were to work.

Chapter Two will trace the derivation of the French opérette that caught Kessler's attention early in 1908, *L'Ingénu libertin*, and assesses its qualities as a stand-alone piece of music theatre. Kessler was well aware at this stage, from his contacts with both men and from his freely-given dramaturgical advice and assistance to Hofmannsthal, just what Strauss was hoping for from his newly-found wordsmith – an original (or

adapted) comedy which he could set to music. Kessler saw *L'Ingénu libertin* as that comedy, but believed that it could be improved immeasurably by the lyrical genius of Hofmannsthal in the form of his new libretto, and by the grandiose, large-scale symphonic accompaniment of Strauss. The evidence for this is contained extensively in Kessler's diary for the years 1906-1914 (*Tagebuch IV*), which will be scrutinized particularly closely alongside all the other written evidence from the period.

Chapter Three looks critically and in detail at the prior relationships between all three of the main protagonists, and especially at the working relationship that was fashioned between Kessler and Hofmannsthal out of the social relationship that preceded it. It then analyses the process that gave rise to the dramatic scenario for *Der Rosenkavalier*. It shows – contrary to the accounts that pervaded more than half a century of *Der Rosenkavalier* scholarship – that Hofmannsthal was the recipient, not the initiator, of some of the main dramaturgical features of the work: it was not generally the case that Kessler made critical comments and suggestions in response to Hofmannsthal's theatrical ideas, but rather the other way around, the main ideas deriving in large part from *L'Ingénu libertin*, that Kessler had seen in Paris the previous year. The elements that Hofmannsthal undoubtedly brought to the scenario – notably Molière's Pourceaugnac, who became Ochs, and other creative borrowings from French literature (Molière again, Beaumarchais, Alfred de Musset) that have long been

identified<sup>11</sup> – also need scrutiny alongside the two characters in *L'Ingénu libertin* who perform a very similar *buffo* function to Baron Ochs (the Marquis de Bay and the Comte de Rosambert), in an attempt to assess the theatrical ancestry and derivation of the single character whom Kessler was the first of the three to call, in respect of *Der Rosenkavalier*, 'the driving force of the piece' (*Tagebuch IV*, p.559).

Chapter Four looks at the characters who inhabit the stage in *Der Rosenkavalier*, adds to the body of existing scholarship on their genesis, and then – following on from Chapters Two and Three – addresses the question and nature of their authorship, particularly in the light of the performance aspects of *L'Ingénu libertin* and of *Der Rosenkavalier*. The actual writing of *Der Rosenkavalier* has been well documented, and the 1986 Hofmannsthal critical edition (*Band XXIII*) is a model of exploration of each of the eighty-eight successive stages of Hofmannsthal's libretto as it took shape in Rodaun, was received by Strauss in Garmisch Partenkirchen, and was subsequently transformed by music – first the sketch, then the *particell*, then the orchestral score – into the opera score we know today.<sup>12</sup> For the music, then, Strauss is clearly both author and writer. For the text, Kessler could claim some, and for the dramatic architecture much more of the credit, both in terms of authorship and, at the margins, the writing. This emerges clearly from his correspondence with Hofmannsthal – which

---

<sup>11</sup> Alan Jefferson, *Richard Strauss – Der Rosenkavalier* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), hereinafter: Jefferson, who has a chapter on the most-commonly quoted sources for the work – Jefferson, pp. 12-20.

<sup>12</sup> *Band XXIII* has a pull-out folder inside its rear cover, showing in tabular form each successive stage of the making of *Der Rosenkavalier*.

took place simultaneously and in parallel with the Strauss-Hofmannsthal correspondence – and these letters require close study and analysis in their specific context. For *L'Ingénu libertin* had been a work latent with many unexplored possibilities when seen in its Bouffes Parisiens frame – which Kessler clearly appreciated – and *Der Rosenkavalier* a work that often, at key moments, betrays its essentially opérette-derived structure, through-composed and fully symphonic though it be. Side by side comparison of certain performance aspects of both pieces makes much clearer the theatrical vision that went into *Der Rosenkavalier*, from all three collaborators including, in particular, Kessler.

Chapter Five looks firstly at *Josephs Legende*, specifically from the angle of Kessler's original theatrical vision, tracing the ideas and influences in the work back to the events and circumstances that inspired them. Kessler's involvement with *Josephs Legende* has already been documented more fully and clearly than has been the case for *Der Rosenkavalier*,<sup>13</sup> despite the fact that his daily diary is unusually sparse and incomplete for the period of his most intense involvement in the creation of the work (the two facts are obviously connected). Published twenty years later than the critical edition of *Der Rosenkavalier*, the critical edition of *Josephs Legende* takes full account both of the Hofmannsthal-Kessler correspondence and of the Kessler diaries: the editors do not however compare and contrast the working collaboration between Kessler and Hofmannsthal, over both

---

<sup>13</sup> Hugo von Hofmannsthal, *Ballete, Pantomimen, Filmszenarien, Kritische Ausgabe, Band XXVII* ed. by Gisela Bärbel Schmid and Klaus-Dieter Krabiel (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Verlag, 2006), hereinafter: 'Band XXVII'. *Josephs Legende* is on pp. 392-499.

works, in the way that this thesis attempts to do. The 1914 libretto published by Fürstner credits the creative team on the title page as 'Josephs Legende, Handlung von Harry Graf Kessler und Hugo von Hofmannsthal. Musik von Richard Strauss'<sup>14</sup> but the case for Kessler's theatrical vision as being at the heart of the work still bears brief restatement. As things transpired, the relative failure of Strauss's major ballet score and the work's subsequent neglect, not only by the Ballets Russes, which never danced it again after the original Paris and London performances in 1914, but also by many of the major European ballet companies (Vienna and Berlin being exceptions), actually led Hofmannsthal to deny his own contribution to the work: in 1917 he wrote alongside the mention of *Josephs Legende* in a list of his works: 'Autor davon ist Graf Kessler, nicht ich! Wie in der Vorrede dazu klar und deutlich gesagt ist!'<sup>15</sup> This question of authorship requires objective analysis in the light of what had gone before with *Der Rosenkavalier*. The chapter then concludes with a summary restatement of the findings made in this thesis, and draws conclusions about the principal protagonists and the work that they achieved.

The theatrical inspiration that had led Kessler and Hofmannsthal to collaborate on the creation of an opera and then a ballet for Strauss had clearly, by 1914, run its course and the artistic relationship between Kessler and Hofmannsthal was by then at its nadir. It seems unlikely that the two

---

<sup>14</sup> Harry Graf Kessler, Hugo von Hofmannsthal, *Josephs Legende*, (Berlin, Paris: Adolph Fürstner, 1914), hereinafter: *Josephs Legende*.

<sup>15</sup> Hofmannsthal letter of 13 November 1917 to Wolf Przygode, who was preparing a list of Hofmannsthal's works for his own journal, *Die Dichtung* (Band XXVII, p. 485).

men would have collaborated for a third time on any major theatrical project, although a warm and friendly tone towards Hofmannsthal is still evident in the handful of letters sent to him by Kessler during the 1914-18 Great War.<sup>16</sup> On 5 August 1914, for example, Kessler wrote:

Lieber, in einer Stunde geht es ins Feld. In diesem Augenblick muss ich dir noch einmal in tiefstem Gefühl alter Freundschaft die Hand drücken. Deinen guten Brief erhielt ich. Es würde mich freuen, wenn du mir von Zeit zu Zeit ins Feld schreiben wolltest. Von meiner Familie bin ich abgeschnitten (Burger, p. 384).

However, Hofmannsthal was by this stage deep in correspondence with Strauss on the emerging *Die Frau ohne Schatten*, and had in fact already written to the latter about Kessler as an artistic collaborator in highly derogatory terms, several weeks previously.<sup>17</sup> This clear mismatch of perceptions *de part et d'autre* will be explored in the conclusions, which credit Kessler with more of the specific theatrical and artistic inspiration for both works than was admitted at all for a long time (certainly up until 1968, when the Hofmannsthal-Kessler correspondence first appeared) and has only been admitted to a certain, occasionally somewhat grudging extent, since then.<sup>18</sup>

The important question then arises, as to whether (or not) Hofmannsthal should be credited with less of the inspiration for either

---

<sup>16</sup> Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Harry Graf Kessler, *Briefwechsel 1898-1929*, ed. by Hilde Burger (Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag, 1968), hereinafter: 'Burger'.

<sup>17</sup> Richard Strauss-Hugo von Hofmannsthal, *The correspondence between Richard Strauss and Hugo von Hofmannsthal* ed. by Hanns Hammelmann and Ewald Osers (London: Collins, 1961) pp. 198-200, hereinafter: Strauss-Hofmannsthal.

<sup>18</sup> The introduction by Jörg Schuster to *Tagebuch IV* (pp. 17-26) reflects this reluctance to give Kessler too much credit for what he achieved.

work. The argument in this thesis is that this is not necessarily the case: in his introduction to *Tagebuch IV* the editor, Jörg Schuster, echoes many others in taking the view in respect of *Der Rosenkavalier* that 'In dem Masse, in dem zu diesem operettenhaften Szenario Hofmannsthals 'Charme', das Individuelle und Seltene [s]einer Vision hinzukam, sank aber Kesslers Anteil [...]' (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 21), but this zero sum equation approach to the artistic and practical work put in by both men is too simplistic. It ignores the creative dynamic of a piece of music theatre in which three people were involved, and tries to shut the door, solely on the basis that Hofmannsthal characterized the protagonists in *Der Rosenkavalier* by means of his words, and by the highly poetic, idiosyncratic language he allocated to them, on any claims by Kessler for his share of the credit. Kessler's achievement, however, includes the fact that Hofmannsthal would have had no protagonists to characterize in words, and no dramatic architecture to work on, but for his – Kessler's – decisive input right from the start. In other words, the impact of Kessler's theatrical vision was to inspire Hofmannsthal (and through him, Strauss) into creating the stage comedy for music that went on to surpass all their expectations in terms of stageworthiness and commercial success.

This argument will be made in much greater detail later, in relation to questions raised by the 1971 *Rosenkavalier* book compiled and edited by the most famous and authoritative twentieth-century commentator on Strauss, Willi Schuh, which in its time was the most complete collection of

*Rosenkavalier* sources, inputs and draft versions.<sup>19</sup> In this book, Schuh poses, but does not answer, one of the key questions addressed in this thesis: whether or not we should now [in other words *then* - after the 1968 publication of the Hofmannsthal-Kessler correspondence -] speak of *Der Rosenkavalier* as the work of three, rather than of two, people. Schuh's immediately following comment is crisp: 'Der Dichter hat es nicht getan' (*Fassungen*, p. 10). Yet Richard Exner, one of the early reviewers of the Hofmannsthal-Kessler correspondence and a notable authority on Hofmannsthal's writings himself, may have been quite close to the mark when he wrote in 1969:

We become intimate onlookers as details of the *Rosenkavalier* and *Cristinas Heimreise* are evaluated by the two men, re-evaluated and, one is tempted to add, negotiated. Kessler's was not only an extraordinarily quick and highly cultivated but also a creative mind, whose processes were not always obvious to Hofmannsthal.<sup>20</sup>

It is this negotiation that will emerge in the course of the thesis: the end product (Hofmannsthal's completed libretto) should not be allowed to obscure the origins of the raw materials from which it was fashioned.

---

<sup>19</sup> *Der Rosenkavalier, Fassungen, Filmszenarium, Briefe*, ed. by Willi Schuh, (Frankfurt am Main: S Fischer Verlag, 1971), hereinafter: *Fassungen*. This compendium reproduces a manuscript page in Hofmannsthal's hand which the editor had originally taken to be the very first draft for *Der Rosenkavalier*: as will be shown later, it is in fact the second draft.

<sup>20</sup> Richard Exner, 'Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Harry Graf Kessler, Briefwechsel 1898-1929', *Books Abroad*, 43.3 (1969), p. 417.

## The relevant literature

Interest in Kessler, and critical appreciation of his achievements, can be divided into several distinct periods: relative neglect from his death in 1937 until the 1960s; increasing (critical and general public) interest in his Weimar Republic activities following the 1961 publication of his diaries for the 1918-37 period,<sup>21</sup> and much greater interest in the earlier aspects of Kessler's life and activities following publication of his correspondence with Hofmannsthal (Burger, 1968) and with Bodenhausen (Simon, 1978). It was not, however, until after the 1983 discovery of the diaries covering the last major gap in Kessler's recorded life, 1902-14, that much fuller critical attention began to be paid to his life and works. The 1988 exhibition in Marbach, designed in the main to celebrate acquisition of this long-missing link, was accompanied by an illustrated 536 page catalogue (*Kataloge*, 43), which has since run to three editions, and full-length general biographies have followed.

The first was a 1991 dissertation (in English) by American scholar Laird Easton,<sup>22</sup> widely circulated in microfiche form initially, and published as a book eleven years later.<sup>23</sup> Easton's text was then translated

---

<sup>21</sup> Harry Graf Kessler, *Tagebücher 1918-1937*, ed. by Wolfgang Pfeiffer-Belli, (Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag, 1961). The period, and Kessler's slant on it, were of sufficient interest to English readers for extracts, translated by Sarah Gainham, to be published in *Encounter* (Vol. XXIX, No. 1, July 1967) and for a full translation to follow four years later: Count Harry Kessler, *The Diaries of a Cosmopolitan 1918-1937*, translated and edited by Charles Kessler, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971).

<sup>22</sup> Laird Easton, *The Red Count: The Life and Times of Harry Kessler*, Ph.D diss. Stanford University, 1991.

<sup>23</sup> Laird M. Easton, *The Red Count - the Life and Times of Harry Kessler*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), hereinafter: Easton.

into, and published in German.<sup>24</sup> In the meantime, two German-language biographies of Kessler had appeared, both in 1995, one by German foreign policy historian Peter Grupp covering all aspects of Kessler's life,<sup>25</sup> and one by Weimar-based literary historian Burkhard Stenzel, concentrating more on Kessler's cultural and culture promotional activities.<sup>26</sup> The only other full biography of Kessler followed in 2008, its author Friedrich Rothe taking a more thematic, impressionistic approach to the various ages and stages of Kessler's development.<sup>27</sup> None of these biographies deal with, or assess, Kessler's contributions to *Der Rosenkavalier* and to *Josephs Legende* in great detail: they restrict themselves largely to description, not analysis. Grupp has a chapter with the promising title of 'Anreger, Helfer oder Schöpfer?' (Stimulator, Helper or Creator?) for this period, but then covers 'Hofmannsthal und *Der Rosenkavalier*' in three pages (pp. 143-5), Stenzel hardly at all, Easton in a short factual chapter with the same title (pp. 176-84) and Rothe in a single paragraph (pp. 228-9).

Tamara Barzantny's book dealing with Kessler's lifetime involvement with the theatre appeared in 2002, based on its author's earlier thesis.<sup>28</sup> It has a thorough account of the gestation and initial thirteen performances of *Josephs Legende* (pp. 153-87), but the author

---

<sup>24</sup> Laird M. Easton, *Der Rote Graf: Harry Graf Kessler und seine Zeit*, (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2005).

<sup>25</sup> Peter Grupp, *Harry Graf Kessler 1868 – 1937: Eine Biographie*, (München: C H Beck, 1995), hereinafter: Grupp.

<sup>26</sup> Burkhard Stenzel, *Harry Graf Kessler: Ein Leben Zwischen Kultur und Politik*, (Köln: Böhlau, 1995), hereinafter: Stenzel.

<sup>27</sup> Friedrich Rothe, *Harry Graf Kessler*, (München: Siedler Verlag, 2008), hereinafter: Rothe.

<sup>28</sup> Tamara Barzantny, *Harry Graf Kessler und das Theater*, (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2002), hereinafter: Barzantny.

deliberately avoids any real analytical discussion of Kessler and *Der Rosenkavalier*, suggesting (p. 152) that previous researchers have already covered this ground adequately. The purpose of this thesis is to prove the contrary. Wayne Heisler's book on Richard Strauss and his ballet collaborations,<sup>29</sup> once again based on an earlier thesis, provides musical and source context for *Josephs Legende* (pp. 46-95) but the author constantly credits the narrative of the work to 'Hofmannsthal and Kessler' and similarly writes of 'Hofmannsthal and Kessler's conception of *Josephs Legende*' (p. 52) whereas, it will be argued, much that went into this commission for the Ballets Russes by-passed Hofmannsthal altogether, and Kessler's theatrical vision for the work frequently differed from that of Hofmannsthal. Lindsay Newman's book on Kessler's relationship, and correspondence, with Edward Gordon Craig, has many insights into the theatrical world in which both men were involved,<sup>30</sup> and this informs the section on Kessler and Craig in Chapter One.

There have been a number of articles and essays on Kessler's involvement in both *Der Rosenkavalier* and *Josephs Legende*, in the former notably by Hilde Burger (1972),<sup>31</sup> Robert Mühlher (1973),<sup>32</sup> Dirk Hoffmann

---

<sup>29</sup> Wayne Heisler Jr, *The Ballet Collaborations of Richard Strauss*, (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2009), hereinafter: Heisler.

<sup>30</sup> *The Correspondence of Edward Gordon Craig and Count Harry Kessler*, ed. by L M Newman (London: W S Maney and Son Ltd, 1995), hereinafter: Newman.

<sup>31</sup> Hilde Burger, 'Trois visages d'un ingénu ou Les chevaliers sans et avec rose (Louvét de Couvray, Louis Artus et Hofmannsthal)', *Australian Universities Language and Literature Association Proceedings and Papers of the Congress*, 14 (1972), 140-1, hereinafter: Burger *Trois visages*.

<sup>32</sup> Robert Mühlher, 'Hugo von Hofmannsthal: Die Komödie für Musik *Der Rosenkavalier*' in *Oesterreichische Dichter seit Grillparzer: Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Wien - Stuttgart: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1973) pp. 321-38, hereinafter: Mühlher.

(1979)<sup>33</sup>, and Ulrich Weisstein (1987).<sup>34</sup> All were written following publication of the Hofmannsthal-Kessler correspondence, but all pre-dated the discovery of Kessler's diary for the *Rosenkavalier* years (*Tagebuch IV*) and therefore contain surmises and deductions that can now be revised. Burger's paper, written shortly after her work on the Hofmannsthal-Kessler correspondence had concluded, was delivered in Melbourne and is only available in synopsis form, but it firmly locates the *Rosenkavalier* scenario in the Artus opérette and concludes: 'Kessler's idea to make use of Artus' *conte galant* inspired a good start and Hofmansthal's imagination, sense of humour and poetical language turned the *Rosenkavalier* into a comedy which will continue to amuse' (Burger *Trois visages*, p. 141). The full paper appears never to have been published.<sup>35</sup> The articles by Mühlher and by Hoffmann both deal objectively with the evidence then available to them on the working relationship between Hofmannsthal and Kessler, and both come to similar conclusions: namely that Hofmannsthal's imagination and use of poetic language, as he drafted the libretto, took him away from what they consider to be Kessler's original idea for the piece (a light-hearted pantomime or visual spectacle) and turned *Der Rosenkavalier* into a different work. Hoffmann's formulation has often been echoed subsequently by others: 'Kessler verkannte leider, dass das Wesen des

---

<sup>33</sup> Dirk Hoffmann, 'Zu Harry Graf Kesslers Mitarbeit am *Rosenkavalier*' in *Hofmannsthal-Blätter* 21/22 (1979), 153-60, hereinafter: Hoffmann *Mitarbeit*.

<sup>34</sup> Ulrich Weisstein, '(Pariser) Farce oder wienerische Maskerade? Die französischen Quellen des *Rosenkavalier*' in *Hofmannsthal-Forschungen*, 9, ed. by Wolfram Mauser (Freiburg im Breslau, 1987) pp. 75-102, hereinafter: Weisstein.

<sup>35</sup> Repeated enquiries have been made of Hilde Burger's son, Professor Henry Burger in Australia, who has attempted to locate the paper, or the notes for it, without success: he too believes it was never published in full.

‘Rosenkavaliers’ sich während der Niederschrift grundlegend geändert hatte – und damit auch sein Anteil’ (Hoffmann *Mitarbeit*, p. 158).

Weisstein basically shares this view, but goes into interesting detail on some of the similarities between *L’Ingénu libertin* and *Der Rosenkavalier*, drawing particular attention to the staging of the all-female trio in Act Three, and to the identical scenery in the bedrooms of the Marquise de Bay and the Marschallin, without realizing that all this detail came right at the outset from Kessler, as specified in the diary (*Tagebuch IV*, pp. 558-65). For reasons unknown, Weisstein erroneously names the composer of *L’Ingénu libertin* as Victor Terrasse (a mistake that has been repeated in other articles since). Andrea Landolfi has covered factually, in a paper and in a later programme note, Kessler’s involvement with Hofmannsthal in the gestation of *Der Rosenkavalier*,<sup>36</sup> subsequently drawing both on the diary and on Kessler’s follow-up written account of himself to Bodenhausen, but without any detailed consideration of Terrasse and *L’Ingénu libertin*.<sup>37</sup> Of English Strauss scholars, Michael Kennedy seems to have been the first to recognise Kessler’s rather greater role in *Der Rosenkavalier* than had previously been assumed, describing him in a 1990 programme note for a Welsh National Opera production as ‘the Third Man’ and drawing on several of the February 1909 diary entries to illustrate his contention that: ‘[...] in essence, what Kessler concocted in Weimar is the opera that has

---

<sup>36</sup> Andrea Landolfi, ‘L’ aiutante segreto, Kessler, Hofmannsthal e il *Rosenkavalier*’, *Studi Germanici, nuova serie*, 30/31 (1992-3), 361-74.

<sup>37</sup> Andrea Landolfi, ‘Harry Kessler e la nascita del *Rosenkavalier*’, *Der Rosenkavalier di Richard Strauss, Festival del Maggio Musicale Fiorentino*, 75 edizione (2012), 262-73  
[http://www.intoscana.it/intoscana2/multimedia/intoscana/documents/2012/05/03/8d5969b6a6001c7427023c38a959ba57\\_programmadisala.pdf](http://www.intoscana.it/intoscana2/multimedia/intoscana/documents/2012/05/03/8d5969b6a6001c7427023c38a959ba57_programmadisala.pdf) [accessed 23 September 2013].

enchanted audiences for eighty years'.<sup>38</sup> He does not, however, go into any detail. On *Josephs Legende*, two substantial articles appeared in the 1980s: the first by Willi Schuh, mildly critical of Kessler,<sup>39</sup> and the second by Cécile Prost-Romand, a narrative account of competing claims by the principal protagonists as to who achieved and invented what, in the genesis of the ballet.<sup>40</sup> Both of these will be referred to in Chapter Five.

The Bröhan Museum in Berlin held an exhibition of Kessler artefacts, mainly examples of his Cranach Press books, from December 2007 to January 2008, and published a commemorative brochure.<sup>41</sup> A much bigger celebration of the Cranach Press began in Weimar in March 2013 and runs until August 2014: the extensively illustrated brochure includes a collection of essays on Kessler's publishing (but not theatrical) activities.<sup>42</sup> The Canitzgesellschaft, Kessler's former student fraternity from his Leipzig years, held a commemorative seminar on Kessler in December 2007 and published the texts of proceedings, but none of these considered Kessler and the theatre.<sup>43</sup> Bernhard Zeller's monograph on Kessler's life and activities had appeared in the wake of the 1988 Marbach exhibition and

---

<sup>38</sup> Michael Kennedy, 'Rosenkavalier and the Third Man', *Welsh National Opera on Tour* (1990), 26-9.

<sup>39</sup> Willi Schuh, 'Hofmannsthal, Kessler und die Josephslegende', *Hofmannsthal Blätter* 27 (1983), 48-55, hereinafter: Schuh *Josephs Legende*.

<sup>40</sup> Cécile Prost-Romand, 'La Légende de Joseph', *Revue de Littérature Comparée* I (1989), 77-83.

<sup>41</sup> *Hommage à Harry Graf Kessler*, ed. by Corinna Pöpke (Berlin: Bröhan Museum, 2007).

<sup>42</sup> *100 Jahre Cranach Presse*, ed. by Hans Zimmermann (Berlin: Otto Meissners Verlag, 2013).

<sup>43</sup> *Harry Graf Kessler, Eine Spurensuche mit der Canitzgesellschaft*, ed. by Canitzgesellschaft (Berlin: Köthen, 2008).

contains a good general portrait of Kessler.<sup>44</sup> Finally, Kessler's time in Weimar is covered in a well-illustrated recent brochure, which includes a short account of his life and times,<sup>45</sup> while Kessler's final years in Mallorca form the concluding part of Albert Vigoleis Thelen's fantastical work, part novel, part autobiography, *The Island of Second Sight*.<sup>46</sup>

If critical interest in Kessler has increased, and continues to do so, the same cannot be said of Claude Terrasse and Louis Artus. There is no biography of the latter, and despite his relative prominence both as theatre critic and stage author between 1892 and 1910, it is only in the contemporary reception of his pieces – notably *Coeur de Moineau* (1905), probably his most successful play – that literature on him survives at all, mainly in the Gallica digital archive of the BNF, to which further reference will be made. There is one biography of Terrasse, by Philippe Cathé (2004).<sup>47</sup> This is based on his earlier thesis,<sup>48</sup> and covers the whole of Terrasse's life and composing career: there is only a brief descriptive passage on *L'Ingénu libertin* (Cathé, pp. 112-3). Cathé established and maintains the website devoted to Terrasse, which includes a useful bibliography.<sup>49</sup> More frequently than in his boulevard opérette context, Terrasse is mentioned in literature in two other ways: as brother-in-law of

---

<sup>44</sup> Bernhard Zeller, *Harry Graf Kessler, Zeuge und Chronist seiner Epoche* (Mainz: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, 1989).

<sup>45</sup> Klaus Bellin, *Das Weimar des Harry Graf Kessler* (Berlin: A-B Fischer, 2013).

<sup>46</sup> Albert Vigoleis Thelen, *The Island of Second Sight, from the Applied Recollections of Vigoleis*, translated by Donald O. White (Cambridge: Galileo Publishers, 2010). Kessler first appears in the book on page 636, then features to the end: Thelen became his secretary and typed the memoir that became *Gesichter und Zeiten* (GS I) and part of the second volume, never completed.

<sup>47</sup> Philippe Cathé, *Claude Terrasse* (Paris: L'Hexaèdre, 2004), hereinafter: Cathé.

<sup>48</sup> Philippe Cathé, *Claude Terrasse (1867–1923), Thèse de Nouveau Régime*, Paris-IV, (2001).

<sup>49</sup> <http://www.claudeterrasse.net/> [last accessed 10 December 2013].

the painter Pierre Bonnard, he and his family feature in a number of Bonnard pictures subject to regular commentary and analysis.<sup>50</sup> Similarly, as composer of the incidental music to *Ubu roi*, Terrasse features in works dealing with Alfred Jarry and the Théâtre de l'Oeuvre.<sup>51</sup> In an edition devoted to 'La Pataphysique' in 2000, the *Magazine Littéraire* profiled Terrasse both as a *pataphysicien* and as a composer of popular opérettes more generally.<sup>52</sup> In general, however, literature on Terrasse is sparse, apart from brief mentions in the standard musical works of reference, reflecting perhaps a career that blossomed brilliantly, and early, but then declined in the run-up to World War One and especially thereafter.<sup>53</sup>

Literature on the operatic collaborations between Strauss and Hofmannsthal is abundant and, even if one narrows down the field to the period running up to *Der Rosenkavalier*, much has already been explored and said about the working relationship between both men, based in particular on the fact that they saw each other so infrequently and communicated by letters, an increasing number of which have been available to scholars from 1926 onwards. However, the fact that Kessler had played any sort of creative role – let alone a major one – in the dramatic architecture of their first truly collaborative opera, was not

---

<sup>50</sup> Timothy Hyman, *Bonnard* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1998), pp. 41, 68.

<sup>51</sup> Alistair Brotchie, *Alfred Jarry, A Pataphysical Life* (Cambridge Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2011), hereinafter: Brotchie. Jill Fell, *Alfred Jarry* (London: Reaktion Books, 2010), hereinafter: Fell.

<sup>52</sup> Jean-Paul Morel, 'Claude Terrasse et Erik Satie', *Magazine Littéraire*, 368 (2000), 35-8.

<sup>53</sup> Philippe Cathé, who has kindly shared his expertise on Terrasse, and his collection of press cuttings taken from the Terrasse family archive, agrees and has added that the world of operetta changed as the 1900s progressed; between 1905 and 1910 traditional French operetta houses were closing as Viennese operettas arrived in Paris, but Terrasse and his collaborators did not really change their style.

widely known until 1968, when the Hofmannsthal-Kessler letters were published (Burger). For this reason, many of the otherwise admirable earlier studies are incomplete or incorrect in some of their assumptions: Ernst Krause,<sup>54</sup> Norman Del Mar<sup>55</sup> and the all-round guide to the operas by William Mann,<sup>56</sup> for example. Even after Kessler's exchanges by letter with Hofmannsthal had been published, and attention began to be paid to them in the German-speaking world, literature in English on Strauss-Hofmannsthal continued much as before: the 1985 *Cambridge Opera Handbook - Der Rosenkavalier* (Jefferson) made only passing references to Kessler, the book by Charles Osborne drew on all previous (and now clearly incomplete) source attributions,<sup>57</sup> and as late as 1999 Matthew Boyden somehow felt able to write:

When he [Hofmannsthal] finally decided on the idea for *Der Rosenkavalier*, it came to him as a completed canvas – with the language, period and characters in place – rather than as an isolated character-driven scenario; and like each of Hofmannsthal's librettos, it was as animated by its setting as by its plot.<sup>58</sup>

1999 also saw a general biography of Strauss by Tim Ashley,<sup>59</sup> and an accurate, if abbreviated account of the genesis of the *Rosenkavalier*

---

<sup>54</sup> Ernst Krause, *Richard Strauss – the Man and his Work*, translated by John Coombs (London: Collet's, 1964).

<sup>55</sup> Norman Del Mar, *Richard Strauss – a critical commentary on his life and works* (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1962), hereinafter: Del Mar.

<sup>56</sup> William Mann, *Richard Strauss – a critical study of the operas* (London: Cassell, 1964).

<sup>57</sup> Charles Osborne, *The Complete Operas of Richard Strauss* (London: Michael O'Mara Books Limited, 1988).

<sup>58</sup> Matthew Boyden, *Richard Strauss* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1999) pp. 195-6.

<sup>59</sup> Tim Ashley, *Richard Strauss* (London: Phaidon Press, 1999).

scenario in Michael Kennedy's biography of Strauss.<sup>60</sup> Collaboration with Hofmannsthal (and Kessler) is covered in ten pages, with Kessler being given credit for the 'large part he played in planning the plot of *Der Rosenkavalier*,' but without further detail (Kennedy, p. 163). Bryan Gilliam began to feature prominently in Strauss scholarship in the 1990s: as editor of two wide-ranging volumes<sup>61</sup> and as author of a Strauss biography including Strauss-Hofmannsthal (but with passing reference only to Kessler).<sup>62</sup> Gilliam also contributed a chapter on the Strauss-Hofmannsthal operas in the more recent *Cambridge Companion to Richard Strauss*.<sup>63</sup>

Schuh was the major and authoritative voice of Strauss scholarship in German in the twentieth century: his long, personal association with the composer and his status as an independent musicologist give added force to his many insights into Strauss's life and works, including the working relationship with Hofmannsthal. Of particular relevance is his short monograph on Hofmannsthal and Strauss, the text of an address given by Schuh on the centenary of Strauss's birthday, which refers extensively to *Der Rosenkavalier*, in particular to its key signatures and its musical setting of Hofmannsthal's libretto.<sup>64</sup> (Kessler's name is mentioned once only,

---

<sup>60</sup> Michael Kennedy, *Richard Strauss – Man, Musician, Enigma* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), hereinafter: Kennedy.

<sup>61</sup> *Richard Strauss and his World*, ed. by Bryan Gilliam (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992). *Richard Strauss: New Perspectives on the Composer and his Work*, ed. by Bryan Gilliam (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1992).

<sup>62</sup> Bryan Gilliam, *The Life of Richard Strauss* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

<sup>63</sup> *The Cambridge Companion to Richard Strauss*, ed. by Charles Youmans (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010). Gilliam's Chapter Seven, on Strauss-Hofmannsthal, is pp. 119-35. Hereinafter: Gilliam.

<sup>64</sup> Willi Schuh, *Hugo von Hofmannsthal und Richard Strauss* (Munich: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1964), hereinafter: Schuh – *Hofmannsthal and Strauss*.

among a list of people with whom Hofmannsthal had a difficult relationship). Schuh's detailed chronicle of Strauss's life covers only the first thirty-four years and was never completed.<sup>65</sup> Schuh's correspondence with Strauss was published in 1969,<sup>66</sup> and he acted as editor to works on and by Strauss, including the latter's own collection of thoughts and reminiscences, which first appeared in the year of the composer's death, 1949.<sup>67</sup>

The societies dedicated to Hofmannsthal and to Strauss respectively, the *Hugo von Hofmannsthal Gesellschaft* and the *Internationale Richard Strauss Gesellschaft*, have both published occasional essays on the Strauss-Hofmannsthal partnership over many years: the journal *Hofmannsthal Blätter* first appeared in 1968, and was followed three years later by *Hofmannsthal Forschungen* and later by the *Hofmannsthal Jahrbuch*. The first series of *Richard Strauss Blätter* ran from 1971-78, the more recent from 1979-2008: it too has now been replaced by a yearbook. Relevant articles from all these publications are referenced as appropriate throughout this thesis.

In the works that follow it can be assumed, unless specifically stated to the contrary, that there is no significant mention of Kessler and his impact on the Strauss-Hofmannsthal partnership. Kurt Wilhelm's

---

<sup>65</sup> Willi Schuh, trans. Mary Whittall, *Richard Strauss: A Chronicle of the Early Years 1864-1898* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982), hereinafter: Schuh – *Early Years*.

<sup>66</sup> Richard Strauss; Willi Schuh, *Richard Strauss: Briefwechsel mit Willi Schuh* (Zurich: Atlantis Verlag, 1969).

<sup>67</sup> Richard Strauss, *Betrachtungen und Erinnerungen*, ed. by Willi Schuh (Zurich: Atlantis Verlag, 1949), hereinafter: *Strauss Betrachtungen*.

extensively illustrated biography of Strauss appeared in 1984 (in German)<sup>68</sup> and in 1989 (in English).<sup>69</sup> Reinhold and Roswitha Schlötterer have contributed extensively to Strauss and Hofmannsthal studies, notably in this context with a *Rosenkavalier* collection of conference-derived essays, which includes a chapter on contemporary reception of the opera.<sup>70</sup> Contemporary reception of all Strauss-Hofmannsthal operas (and of *Josephs Legende*) has been covered more fully by Franzpeter Messmer.<sup>71</sup> Günter Brosche has researched Strauss's scores extensively and has become an authoritative voice on the composer: his biography of Strauss appeared in 2008.<sup>72</sup> Michael Walter's earlier biography of the composer restricted itself in terms of the operas to the years leading up to *Der Rosenkavalier*.<sup>73</sup> Kessler features, but only marginally, in Gerhard Heldt's book on *Der Rosenkavalier*, which appeared in 1981 in the series *Die Oper*.<sup>74</sup> The same is true of Joanna Bottenberg's later study of the Strauss-Hofmannsthal partnership.<sup>75</sup> Bottenberg also wrote on the 'The

---

<sup>68</sup> Kurt Wilhelm, *Richard Strauss Persönlich: Eine Bildbiographie* (Munich: Kindler, 1984).

<sup>69</sup> Kurt Wilhelm, *Richard Strauss An Intimate Portrait* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1989).

<sup>70</sup> *Musik und Theater im 'Rosenkavalier' von Richard Strauss*, ed. by Reinhold Schlötterer (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1985).

<sup>71</sup> *Kritiken zu den Uraufführungen der Bühnenwerke von Richard Strauss*, ed. by Franzpeter Messmer (Pfaffenhofen: W. Ludwig Verlag, 1989).

<sup>72</sup> Günter Brosche, *Richard Strauss: Werk und Leben* (Vienna: Edition Steinbauer, 2008).

<sup>73</sup> Michael Walter, *Richard Strauss und seine Zeit: Grosse Komponisten und ihre Zeit* (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 2000).

<sup>74</sup> Gerhard Heldt, *Der Rosenkavalier* (Berlin-Lichterfelde: Robert Lienau, 1981).

<sup>75</sup> Joanna Bottenberg, *Shared Creation: Words and Music in the Hofmannsthal-Strauss Operas* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1996).

Hofmannsthal-Strauss Collaboration' in the 2002 companion to Hofmannsthal's works.<sup>76</sup>

Specifically in respect of *Der Rosenkavalier*, the visual similarities between Hogarth's *Marriage à la Mode* and stage settings in the opera have been explored in detail by Mary Gilbert.<sup>77</sup> Albrecht Riethmüller's essay on comedy and Wagnerian associations in *Der Rosenkavalier* includes the phrase: 'Die Rolle des Grafen Kessler ist nicht zu unterschätzen', but gives no further details.<sup>78</sup> A 1995 book to commemorate Hofmannsthal and the ninetieth birthday of Hofmannsthal scholar Rudolf Hirsch includes a Kessler letter to Hofmannsthal, on *Der Rosenkavalier*, that had been omitted from the Burger edition of their correspondence.<sup>79</sup> Kessler also features in a 1991 collection of essays on Hofmannsthal and his German contemporaries, but more in connection with *Cristinas Heimreise* than with *Der Rosenkavalier*.<sup>80</sup>

The centenary of the opera's first performance was commemorated by an exhibition in the Grand Hall of the Austrian National Library in 2011: the accompanying catalogue mentions that Hofmannsthal's

---

<sup>76</sup> Joanna Bottenberg, 'The Hofmannsthal-Strauss Collaboration' in *A Companion to the Works of Hugo von Hofmannsthal* ed. by Thomas A. Kovach (Rochester NY: Camden House, 2002), pp. 117-38.

<sup>77</sup> Mary Gilbert, 'Painter and Poet: Hogarth's *Marriage à la Mode* and Hofmannsthal's *Der Rosenkavalier*', *Modern Language Review* 64 (1969), 818-27, hereinafter: Gilbert.

<sup>78</sup> Albrecht Riethmüller, 'Komödie für Musik nach Wagner: *Der Rosenkavalier*', in *Hofmannsthal Jahrbuch zur Europäischen Moderne 4/1996* ed. by Gerhard Neumann and others (Freiburg: Rombach Verlag, 1997), pp. 277-96 (p. 283).

<sup>79</sup> Rudolf Hirsch: *Beiträge zum Verständnis Hugo von Hofmannsthals*, ed. by Mathias Meyer (Frankfurt: S Fischer Verlag, 1995) p. 183. The letter seeks to reassure Hofmannsthal that Kessler's previous criticism (of lack of humour) related solely to the Act I aria of Ochs.

<sup>80</sup> Ewald Rösch, 'Komödie und Berliner Kritik. Zu Hofmannsthal's Lustspielen *Cristinas Heimreise* und *Der Schwierige*', in *Hugo von Hofmannsthal: Freundschaften und Begegnungen mit deutschen Zeitgenossen* ed. by Ursula Renner and G. Bärbel Schmid (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 1991), pp. 163-90.

collaboration with Kessler went well beyond ‘mere discussion’ of the scenario, but ignores completely the fact that Kessler used *L’Ingénu libertin* as his model, and not the Louvet de Couvray *Faublas* novel.<sup>81</sup> A detailed recent examination of the genesis and modeling of *Der Rosenkavalier* by Joseph Jones similarly limits discussion of Kessler to the role he was long assumed to have played: its emphasis, however, is on the Strauss sketchbooks.<sup>82</sup> Finally, a contention that anticipates some of the detailed argument in this thesis, but made without specific reference to Kessler at the time, dates from 1986 and accompanied an earlier *Rosenkavalier* exhibition at the Austrian National Library. In their introductory essay, Dirk Hoffmann and Ingeborg Haase wrote:

Bei keinem anderen Bühnenwerk Hofmannsthals spielen szenische Vorstellungen von den ersten Textentwürfen bis zur Uraufführung eine ähnlich wichtige Rolle wie beim ‘Rosenkavalier’.<sup>83</sup>

The look, the onstage atmosphere created by the visual architecture, the pantomime and gesture of *Der Rosenkavalier* are all, indeed, of great importance to the appeal and success of the work. As will be argued in detail later, substantial credit for precisely these features of the work – its theatrical vision – must go to Kessler.

---

<sup>81</sup> Thomas Leibnitz, *Richard Strauss: 100 Jahre Rosenkavalier* (Vienna: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 2010), p. 12.

<sup>82</sup> Joseph E. Jones, *Der Rosenkavalier: Genesis, Modelling and New Aesthetic Paths* (Ann Arbor: ProQuest, 2009).

<sup>83</sup> Dirk Hoffmann and Ingeborg Haase, ‘Der Rosenkavalier: das Ergebnis einer schöpferischen Zusammenarbeit’, *Richard Strauss Blätter 15* (Vienna: Internationale Richard Strauss Gesellschaft, 1986), p. 19.

## Chapter One

### The development of Kessler's theatrical vision

#### 1. Kessler's earliest years

Lives can have multiple narratives, and the life of Harry Clément Ulrich Kessler, born in Paris on 23 May 1868 to a German father and an Anglo-Irish mother (herself born in Bombay), had far more than most. This has led to a question posed frequently by commentators on Kessler, as to who he actually was. Looking back on his life, there is no recognisable career to be outlined, but he was in his time, and sometimes with overlaps, a printer and publisher, writer, modern art collector and propagandist, curator, artists' patron, soldier, unofficial German Foreign Office emissary, ambassador, political orator, and above all else, a diarist of his times. He was also, in all of these fields, a consummate behind-the-scenes intermediary, door-opener and impresario. These stages in an unusual and eventful life have been recounted thoroughly and with narrative flair by Kessler's recent biographers, whose very different approaches to Kessler's life and works are themselves emblematic of his versatility. Grupp, Easton, Stenzel and Rothe all indicate at different times the difficulties they have encountered in pinning down the real Kessler. The 'who was Kessler' question thus remains valid.

Interspersed with all his activities, and of primary relevance to the role he played in the creation of two specific stage works, Kessler lived and breathed theatre and opera, in Europe and in North America (and even in Japan) from his teenage years onwards. He was also friend, confidant and sponsor to some of the major European theatrical figures of his adult life, in particular from the 1890s to the outbreak of the First World War in 1914. These friendships and activities have been chronicled already in *Harry Graf Kessler und das Theater* (Barzantny), but the author, taking as her field the whole of Kessler's life and his involvement with theatre projects (most of them, ultimately, unrealised), pays no specific attention to the contention that is at the heart of this thesis: namely that, by 1909, Kessler had developed his own imaginative concepts of what would, and would not, work in the theatre; and that this led, through his creative involvement with Hofmannsthal (and through him, Strauss) to the creation of *Der Rosenkavalier* and subsequently to *Josephs Legende*.

Given the fissiparous nature of Kessler's activities once he had graduated from university, inherited a large fortune at the age of 26 on the death of his father, Adolf Wilhelm Kessler, in May 1895, and assumed the very recently bestowed hereditary title of Count, a great deal of autobiographical material – fascinating in itself – has to be sifted and discarded in order to arrive at a focused, coherent assessment of Kessler's theatrical vision. In the context of *Der Rosenkavalier* and *Josephs Legende*, this vision is only germane as it existed in Kessler's mind and sensibility prior to 1910 and 1914 respectively. For it was by then that Kessler had sufficient

confidence in his own vision of how, first an opera, and then a ballet, should be constructed for Hofmannsthal and then for Strauss, that he was prepared and willing to embark on two music theatre collaborative ventures of such magnitude. The evidence for all this is contained not only in Kessler's compendious daily diary, compiled over the fifty-seven years between 16 June 1880 and 30 September 1937 (*Tagebuch*), but also in his correspondence and personal exchanges with several theatrical and personal contacts (Hofmannsthal, E. Gordon Craig, Eberhard von Bodenhausen and others). These will figure in detail throughout this thesis.

Kessler's receptivity to what he was to see and hear onstage in his formative years was conditioned by his extraordinary upbringing. His own laconic account of his earliest years made up his diary entry on his thirteenth birthday, 23 May 1881 (written in English in the original) and these, his circumstances, gave rise to the epithet often used of Kessler, and to the title of the first chapter of Rothe's biography – *Sohn dreier Vaterländer*, the 'Son of three Fatherlands':

It was my birthday today. I was born in Paris at the corner of the rue de Luxembourg and the rue du Mont Thabor at the 3 étage in 1868 but soon after went to Hamburg. When 4 I went to America and stopped there till I was five then I came to England and Mamma and Papa soon after (about 2 years after) settled in Paris where I was during the remarkably cold winter of 1879-1880 in which the cold amounted to 24 degrees Cent. I saw the Seine frozen (*Kataloge*, 43, pp. 23-5).

What this bald account of a childhood spent moving from France to Germany, to America, to England, and back to France does not include, is

any reference to the rapidly-growing prosperity of Kessler's family as a result of his father's success as a banker and capitalist entrepreneur. There had always been a hint of the exotic on Kessler's mother's side – family legend was that her grandmother was a relative of the Persian royal family, who had been abducted and married at the age of twelve by the Middle Eastern adventurer (and later British Minister in Baghdad), Colonel Robert Taylor (Easton, p.16) – but into this romantic lineage came substantial wealth, very fast. The family progression in Paris itself was thus from a modest flat, to a much larger, representative flat, to a palais or fully-representative town house, an *hôtel particulier* at 30, Cours la Reine (between the Champs Elysées and the Seine), which had grounds extensive enough for Kessler's mother to commission the building of a small private theatre in due course, to which further reference will be made. Two contemporary accounts of the Kessler family's way of life in Harry's formative years make clear the sort of atmosphere in which he, particularly as he approached adulthood, was brought up:

After dinner cigars and coffee and fragrant Turkish cigarettes in an inner salon, where I talked long to Monsieur de Lesseps on things of Panama, and of the Court of Berlin and the German Empress, who is French at heart. Also of champagne and winegrowing with connoisseurs who praised the Count of Kessler's cellar and smacked their lips remembering the pleasure that was past. Also of journalism with M. Magnard of the *Figaro*, who asked me many things and told me much, of theatres and actresses with Monsieur Koning, who rules the Gymnase and is Jane Hading's husband. Meanwhile the Comtesse's reception had begun, and swarms of charming girls had filled the bright salons, and elegant cavaliers... It was worth looking on to see the perfect tact and hostess-ship of Madame de Kessler and the Count's bonhomie and kindly hospitality. An excellent host, the Count of Kessler, ever alert and all attentive. I am

glad I dined at the beautiful hotel in the Cours la Reine. Vedi Napoli – No, dine chez Madame la Comtesse de Kessler, e poi Muorir – Yes, gladly.<sup>84</sup>

Ferdinand de Lesseps was clearly a frequent visitor to the Kessler salon, and likewise the Editor of *Le Figaro*, François Magnard, as a similar atmospheric, insider account by the English writer and prolific biographer of Oscar Wilde, Robert Harborough Sherard, makes clear:

A week or two later I dined one night at the house of Count Kessler on the Cours-la-Reine. The Count was married to an Irish lady of remarkable beauty and the greatest charm. Their house – they entertained very largely – was one of the very best houses in Paris. One met everybody there. The countess's little dinners had a European reputation. Kessler was the kindest of men and an admirable host. His death a few years ago left a great gap in Parisian society.

That night there were many very distinguished people among the guests who were assembled in the drawing room. There was a superfluous king, there was an American railway magnate, there was the needy Princess Pierre Bonaparte and her millionaire son Roland, there was a French Minister of State, there was the editor of the *Figaro*, and a number of other people of note and distinction. Standing with his back to the fire was the grand Français Ferdinand de Lesseps. He was talking to the superfluous king and the railway magnate, and a bevy of adoring women were standing around the group. I was very pleased to see a man there whom I respected, but it never occurred to me that he would remember me, nor did I expect him to take any notice of a person whose intrinsic insignificance was heightened by the splendour of the company in which he found himself.

Shortly before dinner was announced, Kessler came up to me and said, "Oh, I want to introduce you to Magnard, the editor of the *Figaro*. He's a man you ought to know in Paris, and he might be useful to you. Come along."<sup>85</sup>

Grand occasions, with exotic guests, were therefore routine

---

<sup>84</sup> Maître Friand, *Chez Madame la Comtesse de Kessler*, in 'The Table' of 28 January 1888, requoted in *Kataloge*, 43, p. 21.

<sup>85</sup> Robert Harborough Sherard, *Twenty Years in Paris* (London: Hutchinson & Co, 1905), p. 131.

occurrences in the household, calling no doubt on all members of the host family for the ability to perform: as instigators of conversation and contact, as charming entertainers, as creators of splendid social events. Harry Kessler can hardly have failed to absorb the theatricality of what was going on around him, to play his part, and to notice the following qualities in his father:

*Adolf Wilhelm Kessler, ein quicklebendiger Geschäftsmann, gefiel es, zu repräsentieren, und fand Vergnügen an Gesellschaften. Er besass eine Tenorstimme, auf die er stolz sein konnte. Auf Soireen sang er gerne Verdi-Duette mit seiner Frau, die als Mezzosopranistin am Pariser Konservatorium ausgebildet war. Ihre Vorzüge zur Geltung zu bringen, wo es nur ging, und sie gesellschaftlich in den Mittelpunkt zu stellen, machte ihm Freude (Rothe, p. 24).*

Even more than the example set by his father, however, the earliest and strongest lasting theatrical imprint on Harry Kessler undoubtedly came from his mother, and this influence will now be explored.

## **2. Alice Harriet Kessler, née Blossé-Lynch**

Alice Harriet Blossé-Lynch was a daughter of Empire and a child of the Raj, born in Bombay in 1844 to a father in East India Company service (he became a Captain in the Indian Navy three years after her birth). Married to Adolf Kessler in Paris in August 1867, after a whirlwind courtship, she was twenty-four when she gave birth to her only son on 23 May 1868, and was soon after a rising star in Parisian society. Her particular beauty was

clearly fascinating and striking, and as Easton puts it: 'The remarkable and exotic family background of his mother fascinated Kessler. Its spell must have been doubly strong on the young boy' (Easton, p.15). That family background was Armenian-Persian via the maternal line, Anglo-Irish on the Blossie-Lynch paternal side. Her father, having distinguished himself in the Indian Navy and in Middle East commercial ventures of his own, returned to Europe and settled in Paris with his family in 1856, taking a flat at 6, rue Royale in the Faubourg St. Honoré.<sup>86</sup>

Kessler only completed and saw through to publication the first of a planned three-volume memoir of his life: it was published in German by Fischer in 1935<sup>87</sup> and in French, with revisions and added passages, by Librairie Plon in 1936.<sup>88</sup> The German text (and the added passages in French in an Appendix) was finally republished in 1988 as part of a three-volume edition of Kessler's complete writings, and all quotations in this thesis will be taken from this edition.<sup>89</sup> In prior negotiation with an alternative possible publisher, Heinrich Simon, Kessler had made it clear that his memoir would start with a whole chapter on his mother, in an effort to disprove once and for all the rumour that had dogged him all his life – that he was in fact the illegitimate son of Wilhelm I, who had become infatuated with Alice Kessler from a meeting in 1870 in Bad Ems onwards (*Tagebuch IX*, p. 396). But the 106 pages that he finally devoted to Mémé, as

---

<sup>86</sup> <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/printable/17254> [accessed 24 June 2013].

<sup>87</sup> Harry Graf Kessler, *Gesichter und Zeiten – Erinnerungen: Erster Band Völker und Vaterländer* (Berlin: S. Fischer Verlag, 1935).

<sup>88</sup> Harry Graf Kessler, *Souvenirs d'un Européen I: de Bismarck à Nietzsche, traduit de l'Allemand par Blaise Briod* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1936).

<sup>89</sup> Harry Graf Kessler, *Gesammelte Schriften in drei Bänden* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuchverlag, 1988), hereinafter: GS followed by I, II or III.

Alice was called by the family, are much more to do with her social and theatrical appearances and accomplishments – the admiration of son for mother shining through – than with the circumstances of his own birth. Much of it, too, is taken from Alice Kessler’s own unfinished, and unpublished personal memoirs. This narrative mixture of passages by mother and by son is emblematic in itself of the close personal bond between them. As Kessler writes early on: ‘Ja ich entsinne mich, als kleiner Junge meinen Spass daran gehabt zu haben, einen mit kindlichen Stolz gemischten Spass, wenn die Leute auf der Kurpromenade in Ems auf Stühle und Tische stiegen, um sie vorbeigehen oder –fahren zu sehen’ (*GS I*, p. 13). Elsewhere he made a specific theatrical parallel:

Ich glaube, dass diese besondere Art ihres Grusses und Lächelns viel dazu beitrug, dass ich mich etwas später, mit acht Jahren, in die schöne Hortense Schneider, Offenbachs ‘Schöne Helena’ sterblich verliebte, weil ich bei ihr einen verwandten, vertrauten Ausdruck des Grüssens und Lächelns wiederfand (*GS I*, pp. 13-4).

Kessler was eight in 1876, by which time Schneider, a great star and creator of roles in Offenbach’s opérettes at the Théâtre des Bouffes Parisiens, was forty-three and nearing the end of her career.<sup>90</sup> In the light of Kessler’s subsequent theatrical alchemy with a Bouffes Parisiens opérette over thirty years later, it is significant that he saw, so young, aspects of his mother in the alluring stage creature that was La Sneyder, as Hortense was popularly known.

It is instructive to consider the various ways in which Alice Kessler

---

<sup>90</sup> *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique Larousse*, ed. by Claude Dubois (Paris: Librairie Larousse, 1979), p. 1280

might have transmitted a sense of the theatrical to her young son. Firstly, her very existence as a salon hostess, among the Parisian and international (notably German) social elite of the 1870s and 1880s, placed her centre stage metaphorically and often literally. Rothe summarises her position neatly:

Adolf Wilhelm und Alice Kessler, mit oder ohne reussischen Grafentitel, lebten auf grossem Fuss und führten ein Haus, in dem wirtschaftliche Prosperität eine Metamorphose in raffinierte Pariser Salonkultur erfuhr. Ihr Salon, in dem Alice Montag nachmittags empfing, gab dem sprunghaft ansteigenden Reichtum des Bankiers eine erotische Atmosphäre, die Musik- und Schauspieldarbietungen verstärkten. Gelegentlich war die Dame des Hauses auch unter den Virtuosen zu finden. Ihr stürmischer Erfolg als Hauptfigur von Maupassants Rührstück 'Musotte' machte sie besonders stolz, in der Rolle eines Pariser Modellmädchens war sie dem berühmten Autor 'wie eine knospende Wildrose' erschienen (Rothe, p. 24).

In Alice Kessler's own account of Guy de Maupassant's reaction to her incarnation of the Musotte role, she says that a few days after her performance, Maupassant sent her a copy of the text with the dedication: 'A Madame la Comtesse de Kessler en souvenir de l'inoubliable Musotte – telle que je l'avais rêvée grisette de 18 ans' (*GS I*, p. 84). Yet she shone also in a very different genre of play, taking the part of Nora in Ibsen's *A Doll's House*, and acting with sufficient verve and passion (particularly in her tarantella dance in Act II) that Ibsen himself was given a full description of her thespian talents, by a society hostess and salon friend, Madame Nérissaie de Lalande, who visited Christiana (Oslo) for the specific purpose of inviting Ibsen privately to one of her performances (*GS I*, pp. 85-6). It has, incidentally, often been assumed that Ibsen accepted this invitation,

but the memoirs do not confirm this specifically. It was at Nérissaie de Lalande's private theatre that Alice Kessler had started her amateur acting career in Paris, but once the family had moved to Cours la Reine, her ambitions increased: she had her own theatre built in the gardens, and assembled her own troupe. Hereafter the standard of what was performed seems to have been of a rather high, albeit still notionally amateur standard. Kessler describes the daily pre-production routine, with a 9.00 am start every morning to rehearsals: the director arriving first, then the prompter and then the cast, and he names prominent members of the audiences for his mother's plays as Tommaso Salvini, Ermete Novelli and Eleonore Duse (*GS I*, pp. 83-4). Easton also names Duse as one of her salon guests but adds Guy de Maupassant, Sarah Bernhardt, Henrik Ibsen, and Auguste Rodin to the list, saying that the actors and actresses among these guests performed alongside her.<sup>91</sup> The inescapable conclusion is that Kessler, as he was growing up, was surrounded when at home with his parents by theatrical and musical figures of note and distinction: and that the atmosphere of theatrical creation was all around him.

### **3. Kessler's exposure to theatre and growing theatrical awareness**

If part of Kessler's privileged upbringing consisted of the material things in life that his family's wealth and social status brought him, the greater privilege undoubtedly came from the opportunities he was given, from a

---

<sup>91</sup> Laird Easton, *Journey To The Abyss, The Diaries of Count Harry Kessler 1880-1918* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2011), p. xix

young age, to immerse himself in the theatrical and musical performance culture of three countries: France, Germany and England. The most detailed record of where he went, what he saw, and what he thought of works (often premières) and their performance, is to be found in the first four volumes of his diary, but his subsequent memoirs (*GS I*), although not always strictly in accordance with his contemporaneous diary entries, also shed light on Kessler's own development as a culturally-aware, and in certain fields expert, critic and practitioner.

The memoirs portray a lonely child (Kessler was an only child until the birth of his sister Wilma in 1877, when he was nine) and, as is not uncommon in lonely children, an imaginative one, seeking refuge where he could find it. What is striking from this early age is Kessler's preoccupation with the visual aspects of everything that interested him, the start of his development of critical acumen, and the ability to see the overall structure of everything in which he became involved:

Abends im Bett, zwischen Halbschlaf und Traum, baute ich an Palästen für meine Prinzessinnen und Feen, labyrinthisch aneinandergereihten Höfen und Hallen, die von Edelsteinen funkelten und in einem wunderbaren Licht schwammen, obwohl sie meistens, wie ich mich zu erinnern glaube, aus Gründen, die mir nicht mehr gegenwärtig sind, unterirdisch waren. Durch diese Pracht führte ich dann unterschiedslos die Figuren, die mir am Tage aufgefallen waren, und die, von denen ich im Märchen gehört hatte. Ich arbeitete manchmal wochenlang Nacht um Nacht an den Plänen und der Ausstattung eines und derselben Zauberschlosses, das ich immer wieder umbaute und verschönerte; bis es mir der erlauchten Gesellschaft, die ich einzuladen gedachte, würdig erschien (*GS I*, p. 19).

There are also early signs of what can only be described as infatuation with his mother, her voice being described as made from 'einer hellen Legierung aus Silber und schmiegsamem Stahl...' (*GS I*, p. 20), which was capable, when Alice spoke to her son, of '[mich] in einen Zauberkreis zu bannen, der die übrige Welt von uns schied' (*GS I*, p. 20). Kessler likewise became aware of the power of performance in his early years, once again centred on his mother:

Sie erschien mir als eine Zusammenfassung aller Vollkommenheiten, die ich bei anderen Frauen entdeckte. Schon ihre Stimme bewegte mich in besonderer Weise, wie später nur die von ganz grossen Sängerinnen. Sie hatte einen etwas tief gelegenen, sehr sanften und vollen Mezzosopran und sang vor allem italienische Musik, Rossini und Verdi, die 'Wahnsinnsarie' aus Donizettis 'Lucia' und die Rolle der Zerlina aus dem 'Don Juan'. Ich habe nie 'Una voce poco fa' oder den letzten Akt der 'Traviata' hören können, ohne im Geiste neben der Stimme der Sängerin eine zweite, mich tief ergreifende aus den frühesten Tagen meiner Kindheit mit zu hören (*GS I*, p. 20).

Towards the end of the first section of his memoirs, the extended passage in the book that Kessler had intended originally to be a rebuttal of rumours concerning his parentage, he asks a rhetorical question about the real quality of his mother's theatrical and performative talents, and answers that question in a way that came to stand for Kessler's lifelong attitude to the essence of performance and theatrical techniques:

Wenn ich mich heute frage, ob und wie das Talent meiner Mutter über das Dilettantische hinausging, so sehe ich als Grundelement, das zu ihrer Schönheit und Grazie beim Spiel hinzukam, die Mimik, das packend ausdrucksvolle Zusammenspiel zwischen ihren dunklen Augen, den zart bebenden Nasenflügeln und dem fein geschwungenen Mund, der jedes Wort zu modellieren und ihm einen wundervoll geformten Körper zu

geben schien. Es war eine andere Schauspielkunst als die traditionelle französische aus dem Wort geborene, eine mehr sichtbare als hörbare, mehr plastische als musikalische. Wenn sie auf ihren kleinen Füßen dahinschwebte und das zarte Gesicht überzeugend wahr alle Nuancen eines Gefühls, von Freude oder Schmerz, Erwartung oder Zorn, ausdrückte, so war das keine Salonkunst, sondern Kunst schlechthin (GS I, p. 87).

This early realisation by Kessler of the importance of appearance and gesture onstage, the effectiveness of pantomime and mimic expression as part of the visual world created in the theatre, was to play a major part in his life a few years later, both when he became convinced of the importance of Edward Gordon Craig's stage designs and new aesthetics of the theatre, and when he became an occasional but important friend and adviser to Hofmannsthal, as the latter began to make the theatre a major outlet for his writing skills. Both these aspects will be considered in particular detail in Chapters Three and Four.

Kessler did not, however, spend all his childhood at home. Aged twelve, he was sent away to England to board at St. George's School, Ascot (for two years) and aged fourteen, he was transferred to a well-known *Gymnasium*, the Johanneum in Hamburg, where he was to lodge with the family of a middle-class Pastor for the next six years, until he began his university career. These formative teenage years, 1880-88, were marked by Kessler's immersion in the Classics (Latin, but above all, Greek), in English literature and in the art of becoming a gentleman while at St. George's: and by his gradual realisation of his deeper, spiritual German roots, as he became more absorbed by classical German literature, and of the German

attitude to education.<sup>92</sup> As he observed to himself: 'Die deutsche 'Bildung' war im Prinzip 'allgemein' und sollte auf alles vorbereiten' (GS I, p. 128). This realisation of his essential and spiritual German-ness began while he was still in Hamburg at the Johanneum, and continued through his university years at Bonn (1888-9) and then at Leipzig (1889-91). It was not, however, until 5 January 1891, at the outset of Kessler's last year in Leipzig, that he finally made the switch from English to German as the language in which his daily diary was written (although regular, and sometimes lengthy, excursions into both French and English were to be a hallmark of the diary until its final entry of all, on 30 September 1937).

Kessler recalled later, with affection, his experiences of theatre at St. George's:

Wir übersetzten mit dreizehn Jahren 'vom Blatt' Cäsar und Livius, Sophokles und Aristophanes, mit Ausnahme allerdings der Chöre. Ja, die 'Wolken' des Aristophanes führten wir in einer Vorstellung, bei der ich den Pheidippides spielte, in der Ursprache auf. Englische Geschichte und Literatur wurden gründlich und interessant betrieben, es legte sich kein Muff darauf. Shakespeare, Byron, Walter Scott, Dickens gingen in unsere Phantasie ein. Die 'Lustigen Weiber', 'Wie Es Euch Gefällt', den 'Kaufmann von Venedig' lasen wir mit verteilten Rollen; wobei wir gewisse Szenen, die besonders lustig waren, auch mimten. [...] Das Vorlesen oder Lesen mit verteilten Rollen geschah vielfach an schulfreien Tagen, am späten Nachmittag, wenn wir, die Auserwählten, Eingeladenen, nach dem Spiel, geduscht und in der dem Frack für Jungen entsprechenden Affenjacke, im Salon erschienen, wo wir auf Kissen auf der Erde Mr. Kinnersley zu Füßen sassen und Mrs. Kinnersley Tee und Kuchen reichte (GS I, p. 105).

The diary, moreover, records the theatre and opera visits that Kessler began to make, in London, in Paris, and then in various German

---

<sup>92</sup> Kessler uses the word *Bildung* and comments on what it did, and did not, embrace at his school.

cities, from 1881 onwards. The bare statistics mount up gradually but quite impressively: eight theatre and opera visits in 1881 were followed by sixteen in 1882, eight again in 1883, one in 1884, six in 1885, eight in 1886, twelve in 1887, thirteen in 1888, twenty-eight in 1889 and then forty-nine in 1890: a total of 149 pieces seen by Kessler by the time he was twenty-two.<sup>93</sup> More important than the numbers, however, are the works that Kessler saw onstage and the major houses in which he saw them: his first *Tannhäuser* in Berlin (21 March 1883), his first *Parsifal* in Hamburg (26 April 1886) and his first *Tristan und Isolde* in Hamburg (19 May 1887). Of the performance of *Parsifal* he wrote (in English):

After breakfast went to hear *Parsifal*. Magnificent music, especially the Communion scene and the Good Fridays [sic] miracle are really superb. I do not think I have ever heard anything so majestically grand as the Communion scene, with the bells clanging, the impressive choruses of the knights and the sweet choruses of the boys behind the scenes. I was so excited by the music that I could not get to sleep tonight till very late (26 April 1886).

His experience of *Tristan* was recorded in similar terms: ‘Gorgeous music: the love scene in the second act is one of the most sublime things I have ever heard’ (19 May 1887). In parallel with this early exposure to the Wagner canon, Kessler was also seeing boulevard theatre and operetta. He saw Gilbert and Sullivan’s *Patience* at the Savoy Theatre in 1881, noting

---

<sup>93</sup> All references to Kessler’s theatrical experiences prior to 1892, which is when *Tagebuch II* starts, are taken from the raw text contained on the first CD-ROM issued to subscribers to the entire edition, and are identified by the appropriate date; this is by kind permission of Dr. Roland Kamzelak of the DLA, Marbach. The edited print edition of *Tagebuch I* is unlikely to appear before 2015.

next day in his diary: 'I am utterly consummately intense wearing sun flowers and poppies and dahlias in my button hole' (16 October 1881), and he saw *La Mascotte*, Edmond Audran's major opérette success, both at its 400<sup>th</sup> performance at the Théâtre des Bouffes Parisiens (14 January 1882) and at the Strand Theatre in London five months later (14 June 1882). This gave rise to Kessler's first mild attempt at comparative criticism: of the Paris performance he noted: 'There are some pretty airs in it' (14 January 1882) whereas, after the Strand Theatre production, he wrote: 'I liked the music better this time than when I saw it in Paris although the acting in London cannot be compared to the acting in Paris' (14 June 1882).

Kessler's exposure to different productions, in different theatres and opera houses, of the same piece, was undoubtedly an early factor in what came to be his well-stocked theatrical mind, however unformed and unsophisticated his diary comments in the early years clearly were. His first ever *Das Rheingold* in Hamburg he liked 'very middlingly' (23 May 1888) but when he saw it again, in Leipzig, he noted: 'I liked it much better than the first time, some parts are magnificent' (5 June 1890); he went on to see it again in Berlin on 8 September 1894 (*Tagebuch II*, p. 278) and then yet again, on his first visit for a complete *Ring* cycle in Bayreuth conducted by Hans Richter on 19 July 1896 (*Tagebuch II*, p. 459). On that visit, Kessler found the décor for the second and third acts of *Siegfried* to be 'a revelation' (*Tagebuch II*, p. 459) and noted that Lili Lehmann as Brünnhilde in *Götterdämmerung* left him completely cold, in marked contrast to the Sieglinde of Rosa Sucher in Act One of *Die Walküre*, '[die Einen] aus dem

Sitz emporriss' (*Tagebuch II*, p. 460). Kessler's previous visits to Bayreuth had been in 1889, the year he had joined the Wagner Society, when he saw *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg* and *Parsifal*, and in 1891, when he had seen *Parsifal* and *Tannhäuser*. His 1889 experience of *Parsifal* had been close to mystical: 'No words can describe my sensations: it far, far surpassed my expectations. I am too excited to form any definite opinion' (18 August 1889). It was the second production of *Parsifal* he had seen in three years, and he was to see it for a third time in 1891. This compares with the seven productions of *Meistersinger* that he saw, in Hamburg, Cologne, Bayreuth, Leipzig, Potsdam and Berlin (twice), the last eliciting his diary comment: 'Man staunt immer über die dämonische Gewalt des Weibes über den Mann' (*Tagebuch II*, p. 416). On previous occasions he had been taken by the 'gorgeous music' (25 April 1888), thereafter noting: 'The opera pleased me more than ever' (24 November 1888) and: 'Magnificent, especially the choruses and orchestra' (17 August 1889). Once again, Kessler's ability to take in the totality of what he was seeing onstage, hearing from the musicians, and to make his own judgement, is striking.

Bearing in mind the associations with Mozart (especially *Le Nozze di Figaro*, and, to a lesser extent, *Die Zauberflöte*) and with Wagner (especially *Meistersinger*) that were later to be made with *Der Rosenkavalier*, it is worth noting Kessler's early reactions to the performances of these works that he saw. His comments on *Meistersinger* have been given above: in 1890, however, he saw both Mozart operas a few months apart. His reaction to *Figaro* in Leipzig was:

Heard Mozart's *Figaro*; a never ceasing stream of purest melody, flowing like a clear crystal brook; such combined grace, and sweetness, and abundance of imagination no other composition has ever attained (7 February 1890).

Kessler was similarly struck by Mozart's last opera, and clearly also by the circumstances of its creation:

Then to hear the *Zauberflöte*; few operas have ever pleased me so; Mozart certainly resembled Raphael in many points, the same exquisite grace, the same even flow of beauty, the same sweetness and purity of style; it is almost incredible that a man so unhappy as Mozart could have written works so perfectly serene and lovely (26 October 1890).

Yet, even more than Kessler's specific reactions to some of the works (both routine and of genius) that he encountered in the theatres and opera houses during this formative period, the outcome of his activities at this time was the rapid development of his thinking on theatre, arising from sheer exposure to all aspects of performance, theatricality, popular and classical music and – importantly – dance. Indeed, Kessler recorded some fascinating thoughts – in view of what was to come over twenty years later with *Josephs Legende* – when he took his friend Alfred von Nostitz to the opera house in Leipzig:

Abends mit Nostitz im Theater: Méhul Joseph in Aegypten. Nachher ein neues Ballett: Licht: Das Ballett könnte, wenn die Ballerinen ihre garstigen Mullröcke und ihr ungraziöses Gehüpf liessen, zu einer hohen Kunstgattung ausgebildet werden, vielleicht die Vollendetste um Grazie und Schönheit der menschlichen Gestalt, glühende und harmonische

Pracht der Farben, Schönheit der Szenerie verbunden mit der Macht der Musik zur Anschauung zu bringen; es müsste sich allerdings ein sehr grosser Maler und ein sehr grosser Musiker dazu in einem Menschen vereint finden (21 October 1891).<sup>94</sup>

Comments like this perhaps account for the following assessment by Grupp in his 1995 biography:

Zu Tanz und Ballett hat sich Kessler frühzeitig hingezogen gefühlt. [...] Tanz und Ballett erschienen ihm als fast ideale Realisierung der erstrebten Synthese von Körper und Geist, Intellekt und Sinnlichkeit, und gleichzeitig als Steigerung und Verlebendigung der Skulptur (Grupp, p. 146).

To summarise, if one takes an arbitrary cut-off date of 11 May 1898, the day that Kessler and Hofmannsthal met for the first time, just twelve days before Kessler's thirtieth birthday, the diary records until then a total of around 350 theatrical spectacles seen by Kessler all over the world. He had visited regularly, in Paris, the Opéra, Opéra Comique, Comédie Française, Théâtre du Châtelet, Odéon, and many of the boulevard theatres including the Théâtre des Bouffes Parisiens. In Berlin he was a regular visitor to the Opera, Kroll Opera, Deutsches Theater, Berliner Theater, Freie Bühne, Neues Theater, Lessing Theater and other major houses. He had been to the Metropolitan Opera in New York, to theatres in Tokyo and Shanghai, to West End theatres in London and to the opera houses of Cologne, Hamburg, Leipzig, Munich, and, repeatedly, Bayreuth. He had

---

<sup>94</sup> 'Das Licht', music by Joseph Hellmesberger junior (1855-1907), choreography by Jean Golinelli, was a ballet in six scenes that premièred at the Neues Theater, Leipzig the night that Kessler saw it. The roles of Amor and Psyche were danced by Ms Sperling and Ms Hruby, and the Sun (prima ballerina) was Ms Fiebig. I am grateful to Melanie Hahn of the Stadtarchiv, Leipzig for researching Theaterzettel 1.3.5.23.2 for 21.10.1891.

also, in Paris and elsewhere, attended music halls and revues, the commercial and popular end of public places of entertainment attracting his interest alongside his exposure to Mozart, Wagner, and to the living composers of his time whose premières he frequently attended. Appendix 5 lists and dates this immersion by Kessler in the world of the theatre. Such an extraordinarily wide range of theatrical experiences also helped Kessler to develop a critical appreciation of the works he saw. From mere description of the earliest performances of Wagner and other operas that he attended, Kessler had begun to develop critical insight and a mind of his own by the time he saw the 1897 *Ring* cycle in Bayreuth:

Die Walküre. Eine Aufführung, die mir zum ersten Mal auch in der Wirklichkeit annähernd ein Bild vom Musikdrama gegeben hat; Nichts Opernhaftes mehr; wirklich Anklang an die alte griechische Tragödie. Sie konnte Einen zu den Anschauungen der „Geburt der Tragödie“ bekehren. Und doch, das Interesse bei der Trilogie ist immer nur episodenhaft, dreht sich um Das was gerade auf der Bühne vorgeht, ohne dass das Vorhergehende oder Nachfolgende es irgendwie erhöhte. Es ist Wagner nicht gelungen, den Faden, der das Ganze zusammenhalten soll, das Metaphysisch-Philosophische, in Kunst umzusetzen, künstlerisch wirksam zu machen. Daher wirken gerade die für das Ganze wichtigsten Stellen, z. B. die Szene zwischen Fricka und Wotan, wie überflüssige Längen und können unbeschadet der künstlerischen Wirkung gestrichen werden, trotzdem sie, wenn man den Ring als etwas dramatisch Einheitliches fasst, gerade die Höhepunkte der Handlung sind. Dies ist ein durch Nichts zu widerlegender künstlerischer Einwand (*Tagebuch III*, p. 72).

As an example of Kessler's ability to see his way to the core of music theatre and performance, to start to think critically of Wagner's *Gesamtkunstwerk* and to form his own judgement of its strengths and weaknesses, this passage is a pointer to much that was to follow. As will be explored in detail in Chapter Four, Kessler came to regard his own ability

to discern, plan and order dramatic structure as greatly superior to Hofmannsthal's abilities in this area. The earlier diary entries, such as the one above, show that Kessler began to consider dramatic structure and its effectiveness for stage narrative from a relatively early age.

Three months later Kessler was beginning to consider his own attitude to drama and theatre, recording his thoughts in the diary on a train journey from Amiens to London. His vague project was to write a play called *Der Einsame* ('The Lonely One') but his interest was in the loneliness stemming from an individual's own nature, and not in mere ideas about loneliness such as he had found in Hauptmann's *Einsame Menschen* ('Lonely People'), in other words, what concerned Kessler was cause, not effect:

Mama treibt mich, mich dramatisch zu versuchen. Aber im Grunde genommen ist eben diese meine Konzeptionsart des Dramas undramatisch; der geborene Dramatiker sieht Handlung, Vorgänge, Ereignisse, nicht Charaktere; und wenn er Talent oder Genie hat, dringt er von der Handlung in die Tiefe; er geht von einem Vorgang, der ihm als interessant oder erregend erschienen ist, in die Charaktere zurück, die durch ihr Aufeinandertreffen einen solchen Vorgang plausibel, überzeugend, machen würden, von der Blüte in die Wurzeln, und je tiefer um so fester und ewiger steht sein Werk (Shakspeare); umgekehrt kann es auch Meisterwerke geben (Goethe); aber Nichts eigentlich und notwendig Dramatisches, d. h. zu seiner vollen Verwirklichung die Darstellung auf der Bühne Verlangendes (*Tagebuch III*, p. 92).

Kessler had recently seen *Mutter Erde* by Max Halbe<sup>95</sup> in Berlin, three days after its première, describing it as: 'Fast ein Meisterstück; was dem Stück dazu fehlt ist die Überzeugungskraft der Voraussetzungen, auf

---

<sup>95</sup> Max Halbe (1865-1944) was an author and playwright and a member of the supervisory board of *Pan*. Kessler had particular admiration for his authorship of female roles onstage.

denen der Konflikt sich ausbaut' (*Tagebuch III*, p. 81). This had given rise to his own thoughts about characterisation in the theatre:

Wenn man das Drama dramatisch, d. h. bühnenmässig betrachtet, so ist die Charakterschilderung immer nur Mittel zum Zweck; sie dient dazu, das Geschehen als notwendig hinzustellen, d. h. dem Zuschauer den Zweifel zu benehmen an der Wahrheit der Vorgänge, die seinen Augen gezeigt werden; sie ist in dieser Beziehung eine Art von Fortsetzung und Erweiterung der Exposition (*Tagebuch III*, p. 82).

Kessler was clearly, by this stage, able to see the fundamental importance of dramatic structure, as the framework for everything that was to take place on stage, but he was equally in no doubt as to the theatrical importance of effective characterisation, concluding the same diary entry with (emphasis in the original):

Aber andererseits hat gerade der Umstand, dass die Charakterschilderung beim Drama Bedürfnis ist, während sie bei allen andren Kunstformen entweder als Luxus nebenherläuft oder durch andre Mittel sich ersetzen lässt, dazu geführt, dass das Drama am Meisten von allen Künsten zur Ergründung und Schilderung der Menschenseele gethan hat. An sich ist diese Ergründung nicht Kunst, d. h. nicht Reizmittel der Seele, sondern Wissenschaft, Erweiterung der Erkenntnis, Befriedigung des Wissenstriebes und des Verstandes (*Tagebuch III*, p. 82).

Although his thoughts on stage characterisation were evolving in this period, much influenced by the sheer variety of what he was experiencing in the theatre in the 1890s, Kessler seems to have seen quite clearly his own strengths and weaknesses in this area. It is significant, therefore, that when he and Hofmannsthal began to work together on *Der Rosenkavalier*, Kessler was in no doubt that his responsibility would be for

the dramatic structure, and that he would be able to rely on Hofmannsthal to make the characters come alive – this, too, will be assessed in detail in Chapter Four.

#### **4. Kessler and theatre, 1892-1908**

Exploration of Kessler's private thread of thought on theatre and drama, as confided to his diary, has left aside until now the way in which this fitted into his more general development. He had been schooled in France, England and Germany, and had studied law at the universities of Bonn and Leipzig, as a prelude to a career in government service, preferably the German Diplomatic Service. His hopes of such an appointment were to last until April 1902, when he was finally informed that 'too many people are against it' (*Tagebuch III*, p. 487). Kessler's real interests while in Leipzig, however, had been art and culture, in particular the art history lectures of Anton Springer that he regularly attended (Easton, pp. 36-9), and the psychology classes of Wilhelm Wundt, the latter informing Kessler's rapidly-growing interest in Friedrich Nietzsche (Easton, pp. 39-44). Kessler's subsequent involvement with the art world, the leading French, English and German neo-impressionists he came to know, and his passionate engagement with Nietzsche and his friendship with the philosopher's sister Elisabeth Förster-Nietzsche, precisely around the turn of the twentieth century and thereafter, are substantial chapters of his life in themselves, and have been well covered already by his biographers

(Rothe in particular, pp. 114-32, summarises both aspects).

After leaving Leipzig he had made a slightly truncated world tour (December 1891 – July 1892), and had completed his compulsory year of military service with his cavalry regiment of choice, the Third Guard Lancers based in Potsdam (September 1892 – September 1893). It was during this year that he had enjoyed his first fully-fledged homosexual affair with a fellow officer, Otto von Dungern, confirming the homosexual feelings he had started to feel whilst still at the Hamburg Johanneum (Easton, pp. 53-5). Kessler then commenced work in October 1893 at the District Court in Spandau, Berlin, while continuing to work on his doctoral dissertation. His diary is almost silent on his legal work for the next few years, but eloquent on the glittering social life he began to lead, and on the artistic and theatrical friends and acquaintances he began to make. His immersion into the world of Berlin theatre had already begun, however, from late 1892 onwards, when he and regimental colleagues often made the short journey from Potsdam to partake of the bigger city's cultural life. Kessler's heavy involvement in this cultural life was to last over a decade, until he moved to Weimar in 1903, and even after this move, he returned to Berlin regularly and continued his close involvement with some of its leading theatrical and artistic figures.

This pre- *Der Rosenkavalier* period in Kessler's adult life, taking him from twenty-four to forty, should really be divided into three sections; his ten years in Berlin, meeting most of the significant figures in the overlapping worlds of art, theatre, literature and politics, and absorbing

everything that he experienced there; his three subsequent years of official (unpaid) appointment in Weimar as Curator of the Grand-Ducal Museum of Arts and Crafts (1903-6), which were marked by his constant efforts to bring the artistic avant-garde from Berlin, and from abroad, to a conservative city and court whose officials resisted and obstructed many of his efforts, until they secured his (enforced) resignation; and his three years thereafter, when he had no official position, but continued to dream of a new Weimar which he could help to flourish in cultural terms, whilst continuing with his incessant schedule of European travel. Two and a half years into his Weimar curatorship, on 15 November 1905, Kessler had already reflected in his diary on what he thought his connections and activities really signified at this stage in his life:

Mir überlegt, welche Wirkungsmittel ich in Deutschland habe:  
 d. Deutschen Künstlerbund, meine Stellung in Weimar inclusive  
 d. Prestige trotz des grossherzoglichen Schwachsinn, die Verbindung mit  
 der Reinhardtschen Bühne, meine intimen Beziehungen zum Nietzsche  
 Archiv, zu Hofmannsthal, zu Vandavelde, meine nahen Verbindungen  
 mit Dehmel, Liliencron, Klinger, Liebermann, Ansorge, Gerhard  
 Hauptmann, ausserdem mit den beiden einflussreichsten Zeitschriften  
 Zukunft und Neue Rundschau, und ganz nach der andren Seite zur  
 Berliner Gesellschaft, Harrachs, Richters, Sascha Schlippenbach, dem  
 Regiment, und schliesslich mein persönliches Prestige. Die Bilanz ist  
 ziemlich überraschend, und wohl einzig. Niemand anders in Deutschland  
 hat eine so starke, nach so vielen Seiten reichende Stellung. Diese  
 ausnutzen im Dienste einer Erneuerung Deutscher Kultur: mirage oder  
 Möglichkeit? Sicherlich könnte Einer mit solchen Mitteln Princeps  
 Juventutis sein. Lohnt es der Mühe? (*Tagebuch III*, pp. 812-3).

This self-assessment was, however, wide of the mark: in particular, it ignored the opposition that was building, in conservative circles in Weimar, to much of what Kessler was attempting to achieve. For all that

Kessler could attract to Weimar illustrious personalities from every artistic field – as visits by Hofmannsthal, Hauptmann, Richard Dehmel, Auguste Rodin, André Gide, Aristide Maillol and many others were to prove – he failed to gauge realistically the effect he was having on small-minded, traditional officialdom in and around the Court there, and he neglected to make the case, locally, for his attempted radical renewal of all art forms in Weimar. His personal vision of a new Weimar thus came to an early, perhaps inevitable end.

Although Kessler only ever completed the first volume of his memoirs, in 1934-5 he sketched out the sequence of chapters that were to follow, and these indicate the developments in his life that, retrospectively, he himself regarded as important. After a chapter on Berlin court society, the emergence of banking and industrial magnates and traditional artist circles in the city, his planned sequence continued:

*Erste Kampffahre*

Etwa von 1892/93 an. Der aufkommende Naturalismus. Gerhart Hauptmann. Die Weber, die Florian-Geyer-Première.

Max Liebermann. Gründung des 'Pan'. Meier-Graefe, Otto Julius Bierbaum, Bode, Eberhard Bodenhausen, Richard Dehmel.

Die Bohème: Stanislaw Przybyszewski, Duscha, Edvard Munch usw.

Besuch beim kranken Nietzsche in Naumburg.

Hofmannsthal. – Rainer Maria Rilke (*GS I*, p. 310)

A planned chapter on developments in Paris is then followed by Berlin at the turn of the century, including: 'Kunst und Theater in Berlin. Die Anfänge von Max Reinhardt. Die Sezession' (*GS I*, p. 310) and later, most intriguingly of all, by:

XII. *Im Schatten der herannahenden Katastrophe 1911-1914*

Der Taumel der europäischen Gesellschaft, die sich ausleben will. Berlin – Paris – London. Das russische Ballett. Diaghilev. Nijinski. Die Rubinstein. Richard Strauss. Hofmannsthal. Der Rosenkavalier. Die Josefslegende. Die letzte Season in London. Höhepunkt des Rausches (*GS I*, p. 311).

Kessler had his diary, for these years, with him in Mallorca as he contemplated writing his own retrospective account of his relationships with all those he named. One can only speculate on what he might have said. Even with the raw materials, the diary text and the extant letters now available and easily accessible, it is hard to find real coherence in the plethora of activities, in quick succession, that such a highly mobile young man undertook. Stenzel describes Kessler as constantly going to museums, exhibitions and theatres in his spare time from 1892-3 onwards and associates him with the so-called Friedrichshagen Group:

Die bekannteste Berliner Bohemiengruppe war der 'Friedrichshagener Kreis'. Zu dem im Berliner Vorort Friedrichshagen zusammenkommenden Personen zählten u.a. die Naturalisten Arno Holz, die Bruder Hart, Gerhart Hauptmann, Max Halbe, Bruno Wille, Richard Dehmel, die Skandinavier Knut Hannsen, August Strindberg und der polnische Schriftsteller Stanislaw Przybyszewski (Stenzel, p. 44).

Of these names, the foremost German exponent of naturalism in the theatre, Hauptmann, and his developing relationship with Kessler, is one factor in parallel with several others that governed the development of Kessler's theatrical understanding and vision. Hauptmann and several other theatrical influences on Kessler will now be considered in five short, illustrative sub-sections.

#### 4a. Hauptmann.

Kessler saw *Die Weber* ('The Weavers') on 5 March 1893, a week after it had begun a run of private performances for members of the Freie Bühne. The diary records his fascination with the contrast between the luxurious new theatre and its elegant, refined audience, and the stark misery depicted onstage: 'In dem grossen Drama das sich abspielte waren die Hauptpersonen das Publikum u die Tendenz des Stückes; und das Drama war vielleicht fast weltgeschichtlich' (*Tagebuch II*, p. 208). He was to take a very similar view when he also attended the first ever public performance of *Die Weber* eighteen months later, wondering how bejewelled high society could applaud the play so warmly given its subject matter, but concluding that man's inner duality of spirit explained things:

Der Applaus gilt hier blos dem aesthetischen Genuss, dem Nervenkitzel, wenn man will, und es folgt aus ihm noch lange nicht, dass die Klatschenden mit weniger Genuss bei Dressel Austern essen sollten, weil sie bei der Familie Baumert ein Hundefleischdiner mitangesehen haben (*Tagebuch II*, p. 282).

In 1893 he had also seen *Der Biberpelz* ('The Beaver Fur') on 23 September and *Hanneles Himmelfahrt* ('Hannele's Ascension') on 23 November, which enchanted him: he was to see it again in 1894 and 1896. By December 1895 Kessler was comparing Hauptmann and Wagner, as onstage master dramatists of group psychology, with Mozart, as a master of individual psychology (*Tagebuch II*, p. 417). Then, on 4 January 1896,

after the tumultuous and highly contested première of *Florian Geyer* at the Deutsches Theater, Kessler found himself in a minority of one, defending the play against the negative opinions of a whole group of his friends (*Tagebuch II*, p. 421). Kessler regarded *Florian Geyer* as an advance on *Die Weber*, and having obtained and then read the text at least twice in the following days, came to a striking judgement on Hauptmann's skill as a dramatist (emphasis in original):

Seit Goethe haben wir eine ähnlich grandiose Charakterzeichnung, wie die des Florian, in Deutschland nicht gehabt; der düstere Humor, die Resignation, die aus dem Vergleich zwischen der Nichtigkeit der Wirklichkeit und dem Glanz der eigenen Phantasiegebilde fließt, also die eigentliche Dichter-Resignation, die so tief germanisch ist (cf. Bismarck in Nikolsburg), die überherrliche und suggestive Sprache, Alles das stellt den Geyer als Kunstwerk in der heutigen Produktion ganz hors de pair. Ich kenne nur Einen Lebenden, der Etwas Ähnliches schaffen könnte: Ibsen. Aber die Einfachheit der Mittel, die Hauptmann gerade zu seinen Haupteffekten verwendet, erhebt ihn in den Kapitalszenen für mich über Alles was ich von Ibsen kenne, selbst über Rosmersholm (*Tagebuch II*, p. 426).

By this time, Kessler was moving in artistic and literary circles in Berlin that were bound, sooner or later, to bring him into personal contact with Hauptmann. His association with the group of friends who launched the 'seminal German arts and letters journal, *Pan*' (Easton, p. 64) dated from its earliest planning stages in 1894, although he was not elected to the supervisory board of *Pan* until late 1895: from that date, until the journal ceased publication in 1900, Kessler was both a contributor to *Pan* (two articles only) and a tireless, unpaid worker on its behalf. He sat on the editorial committee, commissioned work for the journal from authors and artists in Germany, France, and England and was even invited (by

Bodenhausen, chairman of the editorial board, in August 1895) to take over 'the direction of *Pan*' – he declined (Simon, p. 121). The sheer quality of *Pan* – its layout, expensive paper, elegant design and modernist content<sup>96</sup> – gave Kessler added prestige as one of its leading figures and also gave focus to his exploration of the worlds of art, literature and theatre that was underway already: as Easton puts it:

One of the benefits Kessler drew from his experience with *Pan* was a growing acquaintance with modern French art and literature. Given his family connections and his interests, he of course would have encountered French modernism anyway, but the missions he undertook on behalf of *Pan* accelerated the process (Easton, p. 70).

Kessler's relationship with Hofmannsthal on behalf of *Pan* is detailed in Chapter Three: meanwhile he was to dine for the first time with Hauptmann, and the latter's future (second) wife Margarete, on 14 December 1899:

Hauptmann bei Tisch schweigsam, nachher unterhielten wir uns ziemlich lange. Er ringt beim Sprechen mit dem Wort, zieht die Stirn in tiefe Falten und beugt den Kopf vor; was er sagt hat mehr Gewicht durch diese Art, es zu sagen, als durch seinen Inhalt. Wir sprachen über Zacconi, Rittner und den neuen Schauspiel Stil; er meint, vorläufig sei es mit Shakspeare allerdings noch Nichts; aber er glaube, wir würden die Entstehung eines neuen, intimen Shakspearestils noch erleben. Das Gespräch kam dann auf ein von Strauss komponiertes Gedicht von Dehmel (Du wirst nicht weinen), das Hofmann nicht gefiel, das ich aber dann vorlas, worauf Hauptmann und Hofmann Beide es doch sehr zu bewundern erklärten (*Tagebuch III*, p. 287).

---

<sup>96</sup> *Pan* in its entirety has now been digitised by the University of Heidelberg and is available online at:  
<http://www.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/Englisch/helios/fachinfo/www/kunst/digilit/artjournals/pan.html>  
 [accessed 4 September 2013].

This first meeting was to lead, in time, to a friendship between both men that saw Hauptmann dedicate his 1908 book *Griechischer Frühling* (Greek Spring) to Kessler, and Kessler to reply in print with his 1909 essay with the same title (*GS II*, 147-79). The diary records an entire Sunday spent with Hauptmann in Berlin in December 1904: 'Tief sympathischen Eindruck von Hauptmann' (*Tagebuch III*, p. 768), an excursion to Leipzig with him in April 1905 (*Tagebuch III*, p. 781), meetings in Berlin in October 1905 (*Tagebuch III*, pp. 809-10) and for the rest of that year, culminating in a stay by Hauptmann with Kessler at the latter's house in Weimar on 10/11 December: the social highlight was a small dinner in honour of the Grand Duke (Wilhelm Ernst) on the first night, the theatrical highlight a reading by Hauptmann of his new play *Und Pippa Tanzt* ('And Pippa Dances') to a small, invited audience on the second day (*Tagebuch III*, p. 820). By this stage the diary records regular meetings with Hauptmann, but only occasional details of exactly what the two men discussed: there are, however, intriguing glimpses such as a meal with Hauptmann and the dancer Ruth St. Denis,<sup>97</sup> after a matinée performance by the latter in Berlin in November 1906, of which the diary notes difficulties over a language in common (Kessler clearly acting as interpreter) and continues:

Aber doch immer gute Stimmung, da sowohl Hauptmann wie die St Denis im Innersten einfach und naiv sind und sich deshalb garnicht genieren zu schweigen, während Andre sprechen. Der fond des Gesprächs waren natürlich Tanz und Pantomime. Ich sagte Hauptmann halb im

---

<sup>97</sup> Ruth St. Denis (1877-1968) was an American dancer who became a sensation in Europe: Kessler first wrote about her to Hofmannsthal on 26 October 1906, saying he must see her if possible, and again on 29 October, saying that Hofmannsthal absolutely *must* see her: 'I have seen her again in one of her major numbers which made the greatest impression that the art of dance has ever made on me' (Burger, p. 130).

Scherz über den Tisch weg: jetzt habe er ja seine Pippa. – Wenn auch nicht gerade das, meinte er, so schwebte ihm doch eine Art von Pantomime vor, die für die St Denis passen würde [...] (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 205).

This encounter, and exchange, gave rise a short time later to a conversation between Hauptmann and Kessler that goes to the heart of Kessler's theatrical vision, the principles that were to inform his input to the *Rosenkavalier* project three years later. For just as Kessler looked at art works and analysed their composition, seeing, particularly in Hogarth, the use of light, form and rhythm to portray strong narrative values (*Tagebuch IV*, pp. 139-41 provides some striking examples)<sup>98</sup>, so he approached theatre first and foremost from its visual aspects. This emphasis on the visual also explains Kessler's fascination with dance, and his enthusiastic championing of Ruth St Denis and, later, of Nijinsky and the Ballets Russes. The diary records his exchange with Hauptmann thus (emphasis in original):

Nach dem Frühstück sassen alle Andren um die St Denis im Kreise; ich mit Hauptmann allein am Kamin. Er gieng noch einmal ausführlich auf die Frage des Pantomimischen im Drama ein. „Sie wissen vielleicht, dass ich zuerst Bildhauer werden wollte. Ich bedauere eigentlich noch heute, dass ich dieser Neigung nicht gefolgt bin.“ – Ich: auch ein Drama sei doch eigentlich Nichts als bewegte, mit dem Wort begabte Plastik. – Er: „Ja, gewiss, Sie haben da ganz recht. Ich habe schon oft gedacht, man sollte eigentlich zuerst ein ganzes Stück mit dem Auge durchkomponieren und dann erst zu schreiben anfangen. Eine ganze Situation kann in einem einzigen Wort ausgedrückt sein; aber dann muss die Pantomime auch da sein, dass das Wort an der richtigen Stelle im richtigen Augenblick einschlägt. Sie werden sich vielleicht nicht entsinnen; aber ich habe schon im Friedensfest eine solche Szene. Von Anfang an habe ich mir Mühe

---

<sup>98</sup> Kessler spent 3-5 May at the Hogarth exhibition in the Whitechapel Gallery, discerning a versatility in Hogarth's drawing and painting techniques that allowed everything in his method of composition to fit the rhythm and character of a particular painting. 'Hogarth invents too, but in relation to life' (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 140).

gegeben, die Schauspieler zum Herumgehen zu kriegen. Ich habe mit Kainz früher lange Diskussionen darüber gehabt. Jetzt thut er es ja und übertreibt es oft sogar; aber damals war er garnicht leicht zu überzeugen. Die Schauspieler standen damals fest nebeneinander und deklamierten bloß. Deshalb war Antoine so interessant. Er war der Erste, der herumgieng, sich bewegte, uns die Pantomime brachte (Gespenster)“ (*Tagebuch IV*, pp. 206-7).

Kessler's close involvement with Hauptmann, and the thoughts that the two men exchanged, were, however, just one strand in the web of theatrical connections made by Kessler in the pre- *Der Rosenkavalier* period. Of equal importance were the relationships he developed at the same time with the director and theatre manager Max Reinhardt, with the playwright Frank Wedekind (whose plays were first performed in Reinhardt's theatres) and with the artist, designer and director Edward Gordon Craig. Of these, Wedekind has received perhaps the least attention, but his approach to theatre intrigued Kessler, and their relationship should be noted.

#### **4b. Wedekind.**

As in the case of Hauptmann, Kessler moved slowly and steadily towards him, firstly seeing his work in the theatre: *Erdgeist* ('Earth Spirit') in January 1903 (*Tagebuch III*, pp. 532-3) and *Der Kammersänger* ('The Chamber Singer'), in a double bill with Wilde's *Salome*, in October 1903 (*Tagebuch III*, p. 612). The latter elicited no comment, but Kessler was intrigued by *Erdgeist*: 'Gewisse Szenen wirken unwiderstehlich komisch,

trotz Mords und Selbstmords' (*Tagebuch III*, p. 532), and he found Punch and Judy elements in Wedekind's treatment of the narrative, concluding (emphasis in original):

In Wedekinds Drama stecken die Möglichkeiten unentwickelt. Es liegt noch 100 Jahre vor Shakspeare zurück. Es ist sozusagen praeraphaelitisch, besitzt latente Kraft wie eine Knospe. Die vollendete dramatische Form hätte Lulus Liebesgeschichten in ihr letztes Abenteuer hineinkomponiert, als Elemente dieses letzten Konflikts vorgeführt, sie nicht hinter einander hergezählt (*Tagebuch III*, p. 532).

The diary records subsequent discussions on Wedekind with Hauptmann (*Tagebuch III*, p. 810) and with Hofmannsthal (*Tagebuch III*, p. 816), the latter admitting to Kessler that he found Wedekind a master of style, and was studying his dramatic writings because of that. Then, on 17 December 1905 Kessler saw Wedekind onstage in a production of *Der Marquis von Keith* ('The Marquis of Keith') and noted: 'Sehr viel Witz, sehr viel Dumas und Eine glänzende Komödienszene: die zwischen der Wildenfels und Scholz am Ende des IV Akts' (*Tagebuch III*, p. 823).

Kessler added however that much of the play remained intellectual, more so than Shaw, whose female characters, he thought, had more life to them.

Shortly thereafter, on 2 February 1906, Kessler met Wedekind properly for the first time, at a dinner arranged by Max Reinhardt following the première of Hofmannsthal's *Oedipus*. The diary records Wedekind's highly negative opinion of the piece and an admission: 'Wedekind sagte von seinen Stücken: Sie seien ja eigentlich nur eine Sammlung von Aphorismen. Sie seien gar nicht dramatisch' (*Tagebuch IV*,

p. 93). A month later Kessler and Wedekind met at another dinner arranged by Reinhardt, this time in honour of the visiting Maxim Gorki (*Tagebuch IV*, pp. 102-4). Thereafter, they began to see more of each other, especially towards the end of 1906: after a supper given by Walter Rathenau<sup>99</sup> that included Reinhardt, Kessler and Wedekind, the party broke up around 1.30 a.m. and: 'ich ging mit Wedekind bis an die Brücke nachhause' (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 187). What they discussed is not recorded. Yet what Kessler got from his relationship with Wedekind was exposure to dramatic narrative of an entirely different – and not always successful – kind, a complete contrast to the naturalism of Hauptmann, and an attempt to structure drama in a new and original way, using short, episodic and self-contained scenes. Wedekind was thus a further enrichment of Kessler's developing theatrical vision as the prospect of his creative collaboration with Hofmannsthal approached.

#### 4c. Reinhardt.

If Kessler was interested in, and involved with, the naturalist Hauptmann and the precursor of Expressionism and Symbolism Wedekind, as theatrical authors whose works were constantly being developed and first performed at this time, he was equally fascinated by theatre projects and

---

<sup>99</sup> Walther Rathenau (1867-1922) was an industrialist – rising to become head of AEG, the conglomerate originally founded by his father – who then entered government service and politics, eventually being assassinated by right-wing extremists while serving as Foreign Minister. Kessler knew Rathenau from the mid-1890s onwards, both being associated with *Pan*: Kessler's acclaimed biography of Rathenau was published in 1928.

by the business of theatre, always looking for ways that his network of international connections could be brought together and put to good use in an artistic cause. He had taken a strong interest in the work of Max Reinhardt since the latter's early days as a director in Berlin from 1902 onwards: he was to become ever closer to Reinhardt in succeeding years through projects – many of them unrealised – involving Hofmannsthal, Craig and the Belgian architect and designer Henry van der Velde, who was a particular protégé of Kessler's.<sup>100</sup> The value to Kessler of his association with Reinhardt was the frequent, easy and informal access he enjoyed, afforded by their friendship, to the creative theatrical team around the man who revolutionised the Berlin theatre scene from the 1890s onwards, first with the Kleines Theater and the Neues Theater and then – from 1905 – with the Deutsches Theater. Moreover, Reinhardt's strikingly new stage pictures, and production values, chimed with Kessler's own emphasis on the importance of the visual elements onstage. Conversely, the value of Kessler to Reinhardt was the stream of ideas, suggestions and contacts that he constantly put forward, from Berlin high society circles whom Kessler managed to interest in Reinhardt's work<sup>101</sup> to the planned creative association with Craig that ultimately failed to prosper. Barzantny

---

<sup>100</sup> Henry van de Velde (1863-1957) played an important part in Kessler's life, and vice-versa. He designed Kessler's flat in Berlin and his house in Weimar: in 1900 he moved to Berlin and with Kessler's help was appointed head of Arts and Crafts at the Court of Weimar in December 1901. Kessler followed Van de Velde to Weimar just over a year later and tried, over a long period, to obtain commercial commissions for Van de Velde's theatre designs.

<sup>101</sup> Kessler's diary for 4 December 1905 records: 'Reinhardt came in the evening. Discussed *Oedipus* with him, also how to interest Berlin society in him and his theatre, so as to break through at last into the predominance of high finance governing art' (*Tagebuch III*, p. 817).

provides a good summary of Kessler's relationship with Reinhardt, concluding with an apposite quote from a 21 March 1911 telegram sent by the latter to Kessler: 'Danke ihnen herzlichst fuer ihren sehr interessanten brief, der mir wieder wie so oft beweist, von welcher bedeutung eine regelmaessige fuehling mit ihnen fuer unser theater waere' (Barzantny, p. 144). In terms of Kessler's developing theatrical vision, however, Barzantny omits a diary entry for 18 October 1905 that records an exchange in the early hours between both men, following Kessler's private tour of the renovated Deutsches Theater, the night before it was due to reopen (emphasis in original):

Reinhardt über die Schauspielschule. Ich sagte ihm, die Hauptsache, neben der Diktion, scheine mir, dass der Körper wieder mitspiele, mitzucke, wie heute nur bei Kainz und allenfalls bei Moissi. Dazu wäre das sicherste Mittel, Kinder zu nehmen und sie daran zu gewöhnen, ganz nackt zu spielen, zu tanzen und zu turnen. Da das bei unserer Prüderie Skandal geben würde, jedenfalls so wenig wie möglich bekleidet. Reinhardt stimmt bei. Er meint noch, bei uns komme jetzt die Gebärde immer erst nach dem Wort, während sie im gewöhnlichen Leben und bei guten Schauspielern dem Wort vorangehe; das Wort eigentlich immer nur die Gebärde erkläre (*Tagebuch III*, pp. 808-9).

In this reported conversation with Reinhardt, Kessler demonstrated an unusual and sophisticated understanding of performance values and techniques. Moreover, Kessler's interest in, and engagement with Reinhardt was undoubtedly because he recognised the sheer theatrical quality and innovation of what was being achieved. On 20 November 1905 Kessler saw *The Merchant of Venice* at the Garrick Theatre in London and commented: 'Ich habe nach dieser Aufführung hier in einem der ersten Theater eine sehr viel höhere Meinung von Reinhardt' (*Tagebuch III*, p.

813). Kessler's high opinion of Reinhardt's work was by no means uncritical, however, as shown by his reaction to a later production of

*Twelfth Night*:

Abends mit Musch Richter in „Was ihr wollt!“, Schroeders Übersetzung. Reinhardts Effekte mit der Drehbühne. Er verbindet die einzelnen Szenen, indem er die Bühne während des Drehens offen lässt und auf den nacheinander passierenden Schauplätzen des Stückes die Schauspieler und Comparsen in Thätigkeiten und Bewegungen zeigt, die zu der nächsten Szene überleiten. Er erhält so sehr hübsche lebende Bilder. Auch die Kostüme sind diesmal besonders hübsch. Aber er hat kein Gefühl für die Tempi und namentlich für die Kontraste der Tempi bei Shakspeare. Er lässt die NarrenSzenen ebenso Adagio spielen wie die lyrischen. Es ist, als ob man alle Sätze einer Symphonie nacheinander auf dasselbe Tempo einspannte und ausspannte. Die Dynamik Shakspeares entgeht ihm; was in diesem Falle unverzeihlich ist, da Schroeders Übersetzung sie fühlen lässt (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 364).

Kessler demonstrates here his ability to link artistic genres, his appreciation of classical music in the concert hall informing his judgement of the theatrical spectacle, its attractive visual aspects notwithstanding, that he attended. Kessler's involvement and friendship with Reinhardt were to continue for many years, however, and it was Reinhardt who was to step in as director of the first ever Dresden production of *Der Rosenkavalier* when the house director, Georg Toller, proved quickly to be inadequate for the task (Kennedy, p. 166).

#### 4d. Craig.

Four years previously, Kessler had found theatrical enchantment of a different sort in a London production by Craig, at the Imperial Theatre, of Ibsen's *The Vikings*. Kessler noted (emphasis in original):

Ein höchst merkwürdiger Versuch der Bühnenreform. Hauptänderungen: dass er das Rampenlicht ganz abschafft, und die Bühnendekoration fast ganz; er benutzt nur Oberlicht und Requisiten. Die Bühne ist ringsum wie mit Tüchern drapiert, die hinter wechselnden Beleuchtungseffekten und farbigen Lichtschleiern fast unsichtbar bleiben. Man hat den Eindruck, in eine Art von unendlichem Raum hineinzusehen (*Tagebuch III*, pp. 556-7).

Kessler found this approach, and Craig's basic ideas of ridding the stage of all artificial elements, ground-breaking and very valuable, and seized his first opportunity to meet Craig in person: they were introduced by Will Rothenstein at the Café Royal in London on 29 September 1903. In the meantime, Kessler had seen Craig's production of *Much Ado About Nothing*, with Craig's mother Ellen Terry playing Beatrice (*Tagebuch III*, p. 578) in May, and three open-air productions (not directed by Craig) in the Botanic Gardens in July – *Comus* by Milton and *Hue and Cry after Cupid* by Ben Jonson on 1 July, *The Faithful Shepherdess* by John Fletcher on 11 July (*Tagebuch III*, p. 586). Kessler's visual imagination was stimulated in particular by *Comus*: 'Die Nacht war wunderbar, mondhell und mild, und die Aufführung wirklich feenhaft; ein artistischer Genuss wie ich ihn so rein und ohne Beimischung noch nie empfunden habe' (*Tagebuch III*, p. 584). This led to Kessler, at their first meeting, to propose that Craig direct an open-air production, in the park of Schloss Belvedere in Weimar, of a masque or entertainment to be written by Hofmannsthal: Craig, however, immediately declared his antipathy to open air theatre, and the project (although Kessler's correspondence with Hofmannsthal continued on the matter) proved abortive.

Kessler's subsequent, passionate advocacy of Craig in Germany, and the committed efforts he made over many years to see the work of a uniquely important – albeit more theoretical than practical – theatrical reformer staged in German houses, has already been covered thoroughly by various authors and requires summary restatement only.<sup>102</sup> Kessler launched Craig into potential working relationships with Otto Brahm (Bablet, p. 68), with Hofmannsthal (Bablet, p. 70), with Reinhardt (Newman, p. 11) and even with Diaghilev (Barzantny, p. 138) but, in every case, Craig's insistence on absolute control over every aspect of production – coupled with his high financial demands – led either to only partial realisation of each project (Brahm – two scenes in *Das Gerettete Venedig*, Hofmannsthal's re-working of Thomas Otway's *Venice Preserved*) (Bablet, p. 72) or to a breaking off of negotiations. The impact this was to have at the height of the *Rosenkavalier* creative process in 1910, when Craig failed to come to terms with Reinhardt and Hofmannsthal over a planned production of the latter's *Oedipus*, will be assessed fully in Chapter Four.

Kessler's theatrical vision had been broad enough, and eclectic enough, to embrace Craig's ideas from the moment he first saw Craig's work in the theatre (*The Vikings*), but even before that, Kessler had been very impressed by Craig's artistry with bookplates: 'Ex Libris Ausstellung. Die besten und eigenartigsten die von Gordon Craig, nach Art der alten

---

<sup>102</sup> Denis Bablet, *The Theatre of Edward Gordon Craig*, translated by Daphne Woodward (London: Eyre Methuen, 1966), hereinafter: Bablet. This provides a good general introduction to Craig and Kessler (pp. 68-74) but was written before Kessler's diary for the period came to light. Newman, first published in 1995, rectifies that omission and provides the best, complete account of the relationship between Craig and Kessler. Barzantny provides a useful, concise summary with several insights of her own (pp. 125-39).

Handelsmarken einfache, in der Form sehr kräftige und merkbare Zeichen; für ein Ex Libris sehr richtig' (*Tagebuch III*, p. 555). This gave Kessler the idea of arranging and sponsoring an exhibition of Craig's work in Germany: it duly opened on 3 December 1904 at Friedmann and Weber's Gallery in Berlin:

It comprised sixty items, including designs for *Acis and Galatea*, *The Masque of London*, *Much Ado About Nothing*, *Henry V*, *The Vikings*, *The Masque of Love*, etc., some English landscape sketches, and a number of portraits and illustrations. The very important introduction to the catalogue is signed 'Harry Graf Kessler' (Bablet, p. 73).

This 'very important introduction' became better known when it was reprinted as the introduction to Craig's seminal work *The Art of the Theatre*<sup>103</sup> in its German translation, *Die Kunst des Theaters*, which actually appeared in print before the English text was published.<sup>104</sup> Since this text is Kessler's attempt, in his own words, to introduce to a German public the theatrical ideas and vision of Craig for the first time, the essential concepts adumbrated by Kessler reveal much of the latter's own thinking at this stage of his life. Kessler started to write this essay on his journey from Weimar to Paris on 22 November 1904 (*Tagebuch III*, p. 763). He finished it while in Paris, and sent it to Craig six days later, on 28 November (*Tagebuch III*, p. 764).

---

<sup>103</sup> Edward Gordon Craig, *The Art of the Theatre* (Edinburgh & London: Foulis, 1905).

<sup>104</sup> Edward Gordon Craig, *Die Kunst des Theaters*, ed. and translated by Maurice Magnus with an introduction by Harry Graf Kessler (Berlin & Leipzig: Seeman, 1905). As Lorenzo Mango has pointed out in his detailed analysis of the manuscripts, the German edition was published in June 1905 and was followed later that summer by the English: see [http://www.actingarchives.unior.it/Public/Articoli/e277a742-fd1b-4547-9e20-91b9eee30dc4/Allegati/Lorenzo%20Mango\\_The%20Manuscripts%20of%20The%20Art%20of%20the%20Theatre.pdf](http://www.actingarchives.unior.it/Public/Articoli/e277a742-fd1b-4547-9e20-91b9eee30dc4/Allegati/Lorenzo%20Mango_The%20Manuscripts%20of%20The%20Art%20of%20the%20Theatre.pdf) [accessed 30 May 2013].

Kessler's introduction, reprinted in his collected writings, starts by listing the disappointments and deficiencies of most theatrical productions being seen by the public, and then offers a ray of hope:

Einige, deren Stücke wie seltene Blumen im dürren Wald der modernen Bühnenerzeugnisse auffallen, haben von Zeit zu Zeit dieser Sehnsucht immer wieder Hoffnung gemacht: Hauptmann, Hofmannsthal, Maeterlinck. Sie boten dem Geist, was er verlangt: statt Schablonen wieder Kunst. Aber die Dichtung müsste ein Bühnenbild vom gleichen Wert hervorbringen, der grosse Schauspieler nicht allein bleiben als Fragment der nötigen künstlerischen Verbildlichung; dann erst gäbe es eine Bühnenkunst (*GS II*, p. 92).

Kessler's theatrical vision, that of the totality of each and every stage work with all its component parts, is very apparent here. With Craig clearly in mind, however, he goes on to argue in favour of the all-powerful stage director, not someone who is subject to the whims of theatre managers and the troupe of actors, and not reliant on conventional scenery painters, but someone capable of directing and inspiring every aspect of theatrical production: 'Er muss ein bildender Künstler von feinem und sicherem Gefühl für Proportionen, Linien, Farben sein, um alles Bildliche in jedem Stück selbst zeichnen zu können' (*GS II*, p. 93). Characteristically for Kessler, he evokes the dancing of Loie Fuller and Sada Yacco as having revealed, almost by chance: 'Der Traum, die Möglichkeiten einer Phantasielkunst auf der Bühne sind uns offenbart worden [...]' (*GS II*, pp. 92-3). Kessler then comments on what Craig has tried to achieve with his stage designs to date, and concludes:

Jedoch Craig erwartet eine weitere Entwicklung. Der Bühnenkünstler könnte selbst Schöpfer werden. Craig meint, ein Bühnenwerk brauche nicht immer wieder nach dem alten Rezept geschaffen zu werden aus drei

Teilen Dichtung und einem Teil Malerei und Musik. Im Gegenteil: wenn irgend ein einzelnes Element auf der Bühne wichtiger sei als alle anderen, so sei es nicht das Wort, sondern die Bewegung, die Gebärde. Also Craig mochte anknüpfen an die alte Pantomime und noch weiter zurück an den Tanz, aus dem die griechische Tragödie ans Licht stieg. Er hat ein Werk in diesem Sinne komponiert: der 'Hunger'.

Craig spricht bestimmt aus, dass er für das Theater im nächsten Jahrhundert eine völlig veränderte Rolle sieht. Er verachtet nicht den Dichter, aber er protestiert gegen die Art, wie die Männer des Theaters, Direktoren, Schauspieler, Theatermaler auf den Dichter sich verlassen. Er will die Bühne ihrer eigenen Kunst zurückgeben. Er hat die Bedingungen dieser von so vielen erhofften reinen Kunst der Bühne klar erkannt und in seiner Person, wie es scheint, verwirklicht. Das Gesamtkunstwerk, das Wagner von Musik und Dichtung aus in Angriff nahm, wird, von ihm, oder durch ihn angeregt, vielleicht heute von Malerei, Tanz und Gebärde aus neu verwirklicht werden (*GS II*, pp. 94-5).

Kessler must have found this introduction to Craig's ideas on theatre easy to write: as stated, he finished it in a few days, and the ideas expressed by Craig coincide so closely with Kessler's own vision of theatre, with the over-riding importance of gesture, visual elements, pantomime and dance, that Kessler's enthusiasm for his new protégé – and the chance to get his work shown on German stages – is easy to understand. Although the latter aim was largely unfulfilled, Craig was to remain for ever in Kessler's debt:

Kessler, the mentor of taste at Weimar and 'one of the men who has done most for the German theatre', (5) was now to do more than anyone else to make Craig's work known in Germany and help him carry out and propagate his ideas. Craig always remained deeply grateful to the man of whom he gives the following description: 'My friend was immensely energetic. All the time he went unceasingly here and there, placing sums of money in one branch of art after another. Wood-engraving – Painting – the Stage – Publishing – Printing – Type-cutting – Paper-making – Literature – Sculpture – Music – there was nothing in the Arts that he missed' (Bablet, p. 69).<sup>105</sup>

---

<sup>105</sup> Bablet attributes his quote (5) to *On the Art of the Theatre*, face p. 136 and adds: 'Not in the Mercury Books edition'.

In 1910, however, it was Kessler's passionate advocacy of Craig that was to lead to a serious rift in Kessler's relationship with the last theatrical influence to be examined here, that of Hofmannsthal.

#### **4e. Hofmannsthal.**

This chapter has omitted, thus far, any real consideration of Kessler's relationship with Hofmannsthal, which will be analysed in much greater detail in Chapters Three and Four. Since the Kessler-Hofmannsthal relationship dated from 1898 however, and became particularly intense during Kessler's years in Weimar, leading up to their eventual decision to collaborate on the *Rosenkavalier* scenario, brief consideration should be given here to the part that Hofmannsthal played, early on, in the period that Kessler's theatrical vision was developing.

Kessler clearly did not think that highly of Hofmannsthal's first theatrical excursions: there is little or no comment in the diary about the earliest performances of Hofmannsthal plays that he saw in Berlin in 1898 and 1899: and it was not until the première of *Elektra* on 30 October 1903 that he regarded Hofmannsthal as having had real theatrical success and having reached a turning point in his development (*Tagebuch III*, p. 616). This had not, however, prevented Kessler from considering, and discussing with Hofmannsthal, the possibility that the latter should follow Kessler to Weimar and take over the Court Theatre there: the diary records

on 26 August 1903: 'Nachher sprach ich mit Hofmannsthal darüber, ob er nicht hier Intendant werden möchte. Er antwortete nicht positiv, schien aber nicht abgeneigt' (*Tagebuch III*, p. 592). The following day, Hofmannsthal gave Kessler a preview of the way *Elektra* would be staged, and spoke of his longing to have a theatrical success that would bring him real money: 'Seine Verhältnisse seien so eng. Er glaube ein Gelderfolg würde ihm ein mächtiger Sporn zum Produzieren sein' (*Tagebuch III*, p. 593). The first extant letter from Kessler to Hofmannsthal, after this discussion in Weimar, evokes the mooted open-air production in the gardens of Schloss Belvedere and records the latter's: 'Entschluss, an Weimar Anteil zu nehmen [...]' (Burger, p. 54). In his reply to Kessler, Hofmannsthal writes of his own excitement at the project, and the possible collaboration with Craig (emphasis in original):

Ich komme nun zum Hauptthema: Gordon Craig. Das ist die wichtigste Sache von der Welt. Ich kann Ihnen nicht sagen, wie froh, wie dankbar ich über Ihr Telegramm war. Dass Sie mir das anknüpfen, ungebeten, gerade das was ich brauche, so schön, so wohlthuend! Dabei, glaub ich, wissen Sie nicht einmal *ganz*, wie wichtig es mir ist. Ich dachte die ganze Zeit: dieses Festspiel im Park *kann* nur etwas werden, wenn ich den stage-designer dazu bekomme, sei es Appia, sei es Fortuny, sei es Gordon Craig, einer der drei, die in Europa das gleiche zu realisieren suchen (Burger, p. 55).<sup>106</sup>

In the cold light of Hofmannsthal's subsequent experience of Craig as a potential theatrical collaborator, this letter must go into the 'what might have been' category. Hofmannsthal's excitement at being linked, through Kessler, with Craig, was not to survive the practical aspects of such a

---

<sup>106</sup> Newman says that Hofmannsthal considered the three leading stage-designers in Europe to be Appia, Fortuny and Craig, but adds: '[...] but to Kessler the figure of a visionary creator, intoxicated by his dream, suggested only Craig' (Newman, p. 6).

collaboration, as will be explored later. Yet Hofmannsthal's stated commitment to do something in Weimar that involved Kessler – apart from after-dinner readings from his works, to small assembled audiences, that became a regular feature during his stays with his host – was to last for some time. On a visit in November 1905, when Kessler's increasingly precarious relationship with his employer had already become apparent, Hofmannsthal asked Kessler if he thought he would survive in Weimar. Kessler's reply was that he would stay on in Weimar and work for its cultural renewal, regardless of whether he continued to be employed in an official position, and the diary records his exchange with Hofmannsthal in the following terms:

Wir müssten nur zusammenhalten, unsere Beziehungen nach allen Seiten befestigen und wo neue Kräfte auftauchten, erweitern, mit unserer ganzen Kraft jedesmal für Jeden eintreten und unser Zentrum immer mehr in Weimar sehen, das sich seiner Vergangenheit und seines Namens wegen besser als irgendein anderer Ort in Deutschland zum Mittelpunkt eigne, wobei der Hof im Grunde ganz gleichgültig sei. Hofmannsthal stimmte bei und versprach immer häufiger und immer länger herzukommen, eventuell auch sich eine kleine Wohnung hier zu nehmen. Wichtig sei es, auch Gerhard Hauptmann in derselben Weise mit Weimar und uns zu verbinden (*Tagebuch III*, p. 815).

This stated determination to work together found even more passionate expression the following year, after Kessler had resigned as Curator and had begun to consider what he should do next. In his first letter to Hofmannsthal, informing him of the latest developments, Kessler repeated: '[...] denn was wirklich wichtig ist, ist unser Zusammenhalten. Der Kreis den wir bilden, nicht die Beziehung zu einem ohnehin recht wenig bedeutenden Weimarer Grossherzog' (Burger, p. 118). Kessler

repeated the same thoughts, with variations, in several follow-up letters, enthusing about Hofmannsthal's own writings and adding on 17 July 1906 (emphasis in original):

*Unter uns* durch unsere Freundschaft; nach *aussen hin* durch unsere *Werke*, müssen wir die neuen Lebensformen schaffen, die von unermesslicher Bedeutung sein können, wenn wir wirklich das sind, wofür wir uns bis jetzt halten dürfen (Burger, p. 123).

Stressing the need to stay closely in touch and to plan exactly how they would work together, Kessler finally gave Hofmannsthal the clearest possible indication of what he was envisaging: in his letter of 26 January 1906, he promised Hofmannsthal that he would always be the one to provide whatever help he could possibly give him, and continued (emphasis in original):

Ich möchte auch, wenn auch nur in meiner eigenen bescheidenen Weise selbst irgendetwas produzieren. Ich habe das viel zu sehr vernachlässigt und möchte und will das jetzt nachholen. Für mich persönlich muss, wenigstens die nächsten Jahre *dieses direkte Produzieren* der Hauptzweck meines Lebens sein. Ich brauche für meine geistige Gesundheit ein Werk unter meinen Füßen. Mag es ändern viel oder wenig geben, mir ist es als Lebensbasis unentbehrlich (Burger, pp. 126-7).

Kessler was thus voicing his inner ambition: to become creative and productive. There is no extant letter in reply from Hofmannsthal, but he must have done so, for Kessler's letter of 4 October 1906 refers to 'your wonderful letter' (Burger, p. 128). Regardless of how Hofmannsthal may have taken, and understood Kessler's expressed desire to have a work under his belt, with the vast range of theatrical experiences and contacts that he had behind him at this point, Kessler must have seemed to

Hofmannsthal to be an almost ideal resource: someone who would produce interesting and original ideas, keep him up to date with the wider European theatrical scene, act as his advocate in leading theatrical circles. Their relationship, as it actually developed in the period immediately preceding *Der Rosenkavalier*, is on these lines and is considered and assessed critically in Chapter Three. What can be said of this earlier period, however, is that Hofmannsthal was one of several significant contacts in Kessler's involvement with theatrical life around the turn of the twentieth century, and that Kessler – increasingly – began to discern for himself a way of playing a part in Hofmannsthal's theatrical output, seeing faults in his playwriting that he, Kessler, could begin to address. This too – a role in Hofmannsthal's creative process – became part of Kessler's internal theatrical vision at the time.

## 5. Conclusions

This chapter, on the making and shaping of Kessler's theatrical vision, illustrates the journey that he undertook from small child, born into a highly theatrical and socially representative family, to well-informed advocate for the radical new concepts of theatrical staging that Craig espoused and tried, with Kessler's help, to see implemented in Germany. Concerned in the main with Kessler's reception of the theatrical works that he saw, as he grew up and developed his understanding of the art form, it also highlights the recurring theme in Kessler's conversations with

Hauptmann, with Reinhardt, with Craig – the over-riding importance to him of the visual elements of theatre, the pantomime, gesture of the actors, and the aesthetic impact of dance. Kessler's exposure to, and understanding of painting and sculpture, and the extraordinary circle of artist friends he developed (and in some cases supported financially) from the 1890s onwards, fed into his feeling for theatre and for the artistic values that he thought it should exemplify: but Auguste Rodin, Aristide Maillol, Pierre Bonnard, Edvard Munch, Maurice Denis, Max Liebermann, Augustus John, Will Rothenstein and many others would all require substantial chapters of their own if Kessler's overlapping interests in the art world of his time were to be assessed thoroughly. For the purposes of this thesis, with its concentration on Kessler's theatrical vision, what needs to be borne in mind is that Kessler approached the theatre with its visual, gestural and pantomime aspects firmly to the fore. His creative input to *Der Rosenkavalier*, and to *Josephs Legende*, was to demonstrate precisely that within a few years.

## Chapter Two

### Claude Terrasse, Louis Artus and the genesis of *L'Ingénu libertin*

The first and only known production of *L'Ingénu libertin* was a major – perhaps *the* major – event in the 1907-8 Paris opérette season.<sup>107</sup> It had resonance and symbolic significance in the theatre world, being a work specially commissioned to launch the reopening of the Théâtre des Bouffes Parisiens as an opérette venue. It had three lavish sets, designed by one of France's leading scenic designers, Eugène-Louis Carpézat (a pupil of Charles Cambon and his successor in 1876 as chief of design at the Paris Opéra), and built by his close associates and long-term partners, Atelier Lavastre (Jean-Baptiste and his brother Antoine Lavastre).<sup>108</sup> It had costumes designed and made by Maison Landolff, one of the leading couture houses in Paris of the day. It had one star performer, in the person of the versatile and highly striking actress, Arlette Dorgère, playing the leading role of the Marquise de Bay. Above all, it had a libretto by a noted critic and *homme de lettres*, Louis Artus, and music by one of the best-known and most popular French opérette composers of his day, Claude

---

<sup>107</sup> For works in this genre on the French stage, the term 'opérette' will be used throughout, to distinguish them from the Viennese 'operetta', the term currently used.

<sup>108</sup> Robin Thurlow Lacy, *A Biographical Dictionary of Scenographers* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990), respective entries Carpézat, Lavastre. Lavastre is described as 'one of the great scene painters in the tradition of Pierre Ciceri'. The settings for *L'Ingénu libertin* are sumptuous and visually striking, as described in greater detail later in this chapter.

Terrasse. All these factors combined to make it a huge, immediate, critical and popular music theatre success.

Part of this success may have come from the fact that the 1907-8 Paris opérette season was not particularly distinguished. Hopes had been raised by the première on 5 June 1907 of André Messager's *Fortunio* at the Opéra Comique (libretto by Robert de Flers and Gaston de Caillavet, twenty-seven performances in 1907), but the autumn and winter season consisted largely of revivals, with only a handful of new, original music theatre works.<sup>109</sup> Of these, *Le Chemineau*, with music by Xavier Leroux to Jean Richepin's own adaptation of his 1897 verse drama of the same name, was hailed as promising, and achieved eighteen performances at the Opéra Comique, but other offerings at the Gaité, Chatelet and Porte Saint Martin seem to have been run of the mill (Stoullig 1907, pp. 135-8).<sup>110</sup>

*L'Ingénu libertin*, described as a *Conte galant en trois actes*, was the only piece that Terrasse and Artus wrote together. This chapter considers all aspects of this important but now forgotten opérette that can and will be characterised as the single work that most influenced the creation of *Der Rosenkavalier*, which premièred just over three years later. The principal characters in *Der Rosenkavalier*, and their behavioural traits, all derive directly or indirectly from *L'Ingénu libertin*, as will be shown. The dramatic scenario of both works has many theatrical features in common, albeit the

---

<sup>109</sup> Edmond Stoullig, *Les Annales du Théâtre et de la Musique 1907* (Paris: G. Charpentier, 1908), hereinafter: Stoullig, with the relevant year appended. Stoullig lists, and comments on all works presented in the major Paris theatres year by year, from 1875-1914.

<sup>110</sup> Stoullig records *L'Attaque du Moulin* at the Gaité, *La Princesse sans Gêne* at the Chatelet and *Chevalier d'Eon* at the Théâtre de la Porte Saint Martin, none of which seem to have had any wider resonance at the time or subsequently.

narrative flow of the later work was skilfully reworked, and this too will be demonstrated. Above all, the fact that *L'Ingénu libertin* was seen by Kessler, described by him in every detail to Hofmannsthal, and used by both men as the source work and main scenario for their comedy to be set to music by Strauss, leads logically to one conclusion: namely, that without *L'Ingénu libertin*, there would have been no *Der Rosenkavalier*. Since, however, the process of adaptation and transformation was long, and was conducted quite discreetly, with a degree of deliberate transposition and obfuscation – the move of the action from Paris in the 1770s to Vienna in the 1740s, as the *milieux* of the respective pieces, being just one example – each step along the way requires identification, careful examination and full assessment. The methodology for this is described in greater detail below. However, in terms of Kessler's theatrical vision and its impact on the Strauss-Hofmannsthal partnership, what can be stated at the outset is as follows. Kessler saw (once only, as far as the evidence shows) this recreation onstage of an eighteenth century aristocratic and erotic tale, noted the effect of its décor, elaborate costumes and stage action on the audience, thought about its literary and philosophical associations and was able, twelve months later, to deconstruct it and reassemble its main elements – with additions and embellishments both from himself and from Hofmannsthal (and later on in the process from Strauss) – into the first full scenario of *Der Rosenkavalier* as we now know the piece. Both Kessler and Hofmannsthal, moreover, hid their tracks very successfully in the work that they went on to do – there is nothing in the contemporary reception of

*Der Rosenkavalier* to suggest that any critic, commentator or committed opera-goer had any idea that *L'Ingénu libertin* in Paris had yielded so much stage context and content for its much more ambitious re-working three years later in Dresden. It must be a possibility that both Kessler and Hofmannsthal were aware of, and anxious to avoid, accusations that they had copied so many of the elements of a successful stage work by others, but this question, for the moment, cannot be answered with certainty.

Context, as always, is important. After many months of closure for complete refurbishment, the Théâtre des Bouffes Parisiens reopened on Wednesday 11 December 1907 with a brand new, specially commissioned opérette, *L'Ingénu libertin ou La Marquise et le Marmiton*, by Artus and Terrasse.<sup>111</sup> The title is both revelatory and a slight tease – an *ingénu libertin* can only be a male and must, in context, refer to a young aristocrat, but a *Marquise* and *Marmiton* (Marquise and kitchen-boy) is a social juxtaposition: what relationship can there be between a titled lady and a young kitchen boy – unless the *marmiton* is also the *ingénu libertin*? But that would be faintly shocking, with disruptive social class overtones, and, as will be seen later, the sub-title *La Marquise et le Marmiton* was thought to be less elegant or inviting than the definitive *L'Ingénu libertin*. The piece was an instant success, both with critics and public. An unnamed reviewer in *Le Temps* on 13 December 1907 expressed concisely the views of many fellow critics with an opening paragraph that ran: 'Voilà l'opérette de nouveau revenue aux Bouffes Parisiens, son vrai théâtre; souhaitons

---

<sup>111</sup> Nozière (Fernand Weyl), *Le Théâtre* in *Gil Blas*, 12 December 1907, p. 3.

qu'elle ne le quitte plus. L'acueil fait, hier soir, à l'ouvrage de MM. Louis Artus et Claude Terrasse donne bon espoir'.<sup>112</sup>

The Théâtre des Bouffes Parisiens, Offenbach's former theatre, was an iconic venue for lovers of French opérette, and contemporary reception of this production is noteworthy in two respects: there is a tangible wave of goodwill towards the theatre's reversion to type, and there are almost daily press headlines chronicling the crowds who flocked to see the show. In the former respect, one of many such articles ran:

Les partisans de l'opérette, ce genre si aimable, si piquant, si artistique quand il est traité par un musicien de valeur, un Offenbach, un Herve, un Lecocq, se sont donc rejouis, a juste titre, en apprenant le but que se proposaient MM. Deval et Richemond, lors du transfert de leurs pénates au berceau même de l'opérette: et leur confiance était d'autant plus grande que le musicien chargé d'écrire la pièce d'ouverture était dans le groupe des 'jeunes', le plus incontestablement propre à continuer la tradition des 'anciens', et qu'il avait, d'ailleurs, triomphé déjà sur cette même scène de la rue Monsigny, avec le *Travaux d'Hercule*.<sup>113</sup>

In the latter respect, *Le Figaro* was quick to prognosticate:

L'Ingénu libertin s'annonce comme un des gros succès de la saison. Il y a foule, chaque soir, pour applaudir le charmant Conte imaginé par M. Louis Artus et la musique si parfaitement appropriée de M. Claude Terrasse. Les plus hautes personnalités étrangères, de passage à Paris, la plus brillante société de la capitale se donnent rendezvous aux Bouffes Parisiens, et la location déjà réalisée permet de dire que tout le boulevard réapprend le chemin de cet aimable théâtre, - si injustement oublié un instant.<sup>114</sup>

---

<sup>112</sup> Unsigned, *Le Temps*, 13 December 1907, p.3.

<sup>113</sup> B. de Lomagne, *Les Premières* in *Le Soir*, 12 December 1907, p. 3. *Les Travaux de Hercule* was the first huge popular operetta success for Terrasse, and Kessler is likely to have seen it at the Bouffes Parisiens in 1901, but his diary does not record the event. It is discussed later in this chapter.

<sup>114</sup> Unsigned, *Le Figaro*, 14 December 1907, p. 5, hereinafter: *Le Figaro*.

Given the stir created by *L'Ingénu libertin* and the reports of Parisian high society and VIPs from abroad flocking to it, the spectacle must have been high on Kessler's priority list. Given moreover his personal potential link to Claude Terrasse through the latter's brother-in-law, Pierre Bonnard, and given that he was in Paris over Christmas and New Year 1907-8, albeit only between 24 December and 2 January, it is slightly surprising – and uncharacteristic of Kessler – that he did not actually see *L'Ingénu libertin* until 18 January 1908, six weeks into its run. The diary does not explain this lacuna, for Kessler was normally to be found at premières, often in a prominent box and in VIP company. Moreover, he saw Bonnard on 28 December 1907 – when extra performances of *L'Ingénu libertin* were being announced in the newspapers, to accommodate the demand for seats – and the diary records a lengthy and lively, gossipy dinner party in the famous cellar of Vollard,<sup>115</sup> with a group of artistic guests, who must have been aware of the Bonnard-Terrasse connection and of the theatrical success the latter was again enjoying with *L'Ingénu libertin* (*Tagebuch IV*, pp. 393-5). When Kessler did finally see the piece, however, following his return to Paris on 16 January 1908 (and a further meeting with Bonnard in the latter's studio on 17 January), it made its mark on him. Although he frequently noted in his diary no more than the title of a work he had seen or the place of its performance, in this case the work prompted some serious reflections:

---

<sup>115</sup> Ambroise Vollard (1866-1939) was a well-known art dealer and writer, with a cellar for dinners and receptions under his gallery on Rue Laffitte.

Abends eine Operette nach Faublas: „L'Ingénu Libertin.“ Die Dorgère spielte, die der arme Conder<sup>116</sup> so gern hatte. Der „Libertinage“ des 18<sup>ten</sup> Jh. das Seitenstück zum „Sentiment“. Crébillon jeune u Rousseau sind Zwillinge, wie Lovelace und Clarissa. Sie sind untrennbar, weil Beide auf derselben hyperindividualistischen Wurzel wachsend. Man muss Faublas durch Rousseau und Rousseau durch Faublas beleuchten, um Beide im richtigen Relief zu sehen. Vereinigung in Heine (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 400).

These thoughts – in other words, Kessler’s private and personal critical reaction to the work he saw onstage that night - will be analysed in Chapter Three, which traces the initial creative process surrounding *Der Rosenkavalier*. It must be remembered, however, that the opérette, which made such a vivid and powerful impression on him – sufficient for him to be able to recount it in every detail to Hofmannsthal over a year later – did not come from nowhere. It was the creation of two men who understood the genre and whose previous work for the stage, working with others, had equipped them for what the reopened Bouffes Parisiens required: a sumptuous spectacle, a witty and slightly erotic plot and libretto, and a take on the libertinage of eighteenth century Paris that remained just on the right side of good taste, and the Censor. To understand how they got there, the methodology of this chapter will be as follows. The status, background and musical development of Terrasse will be examined first, followed by his collaboration with various librettists, including, eventually, Artus. The circumstances of the creation of *L'Ingénu libertin*, the literary sources on which it is based and prior stage adaptations, its treatment by Artus and the contemporary reception of the work will then

---

<sup>116</sup> Charles Conder (1868-1909) was a painter, member of a bohemian artist set in Paris around 1890 and friend of Toulouse Lautrec: he subsequently moved to London, where Kessler saw him regularly on his frequent visits.

be analysed. The chapter ends with consideration of those dramatic and musical features of *L'Ingénu libertin* that made it the ideal vehicle for the much more ambitious reworking it was to receive at the hands of Kessler, Hofmannsthal and Strauss when the creation of *Der Rosenkavalier* began, just over one year later, at Kessler's home in Weimar.

### **Claude Terrasse – status and reputation**

In his heyday, the early years of the twentieth century when he had just turned thirty, Terrasse was a major musical figure in a popular musical genre in France. A classically-trained organist (Lyons Conservatoire and Ecole Niedermeyer in Paris), he began to write for the stage and, as his entry in *New Grove* puts it: 'he now found his métier in opéra bouffe; his works formed a conspicuous part of the renaissance of this genre which followed the last examples by Audran and [Johann] Strauss, and was contemporary with Lecocq's last pieces'.<sup>117</sup> It is however as part of this lineage, and not as a significant composer in his own right, that Terrasse appears in most of the standard works of musical reference. Take Grout, for example:

The line of French light opera, established in the nineteenth century by Auber, Adam and Offenbach, was continued after 1870 by Alexandre

---

<sup>117</sup> David Charlton/Cormac Newark, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by Stanley Sadie, 3rd Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), vol. 25, p. 303, hereinafter: *New Grove*.

Charles Lecocq (*La Fille de Madame Angot*, 1872), Robert Planquette (whose sentimental, fantastically successful *Cloches de Corneville* came out in 1877), Edmond Audran (*La Mascotte*, 1880), and Louis Varney (*Les Mousquetaires au Couvent*, 1880). Somewhat later began the long and popular series of operettas by André Messager (1853–1929), distinguished conductor and facile composer in a straightforward, attractively melodious vein (*La Basoche*, 1890; *Les P'tites Michu*, 1897; *Monsieur Beaucaire*, 1919). At the beginning of the twentieth century appeared the operettas [sic] of Claude Terrasse (1867–1923); *Le Sire de Vergy*, 1903; *Monsieur de la Palisse*, 1904).<sup>118</sup>

This placing of Terrasse in a Lecocq-Audran-Messager line of descent does not really do justice to the originality of a musician who, when still in his twenties, was at the heart of the theatrical scandal that was Alfred Jarry's *Ubu roi* at the Théâtre de l'Oeuvre in 1896, but who thereafter rapidly and seamlessly became known throughout France as 'l'Offenbach de nos jours' (Cathé, p. 70), for the whole series of boulevard opérettes that he created on Parisian stages during the Belle Epoque. It is thus perhaps the facility with which Terrasse can be associated with the opérette genre, and his shorthand identification as a modern-day Offenbach, that have resulted in serious critical neglect of his music in its own right, even though his period in the opérette limelight lasted well over twenty years, right up until his death in 1923. It may also be, given the importance of the spoken word in both opérette and opéra comique, that the true status of Terrasse and his music has been overshadowed by some of his literary collaborators. His entry in *New Grove* includes:

The appeal of Terrasse's works in over 30 years came partly from the distinction of his librettists, who were active contributors in a vintage period of French light comedy; they included De Flers and De Caillavet,

---

<sup>118</sup> Donald Jay Grout, *A Short History of Opera* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1947), p. 434.

Tristan Bernard and Franc-Nohain. Jarry himself was a co-librettist (*New Grove*, 25, p. 303).

There are undoubtedly certain features in Terrasse's music that make him worthy of his Offenbach sobriquet. The first is his melodic invention: his tunes are many and various, easy to assimilate on first hearing, and relatively easy to perform (App. 2, Ex. A, p. 388), Terrasse having learned quickly that the polyphonic musical style of his first real stage success, *La Petite Femme de Loth* written to a libretto by Tristan Bernard in 1900, was technically too difficult for the average opérette cast, and thus had to be rewritten in simpler vein (Cathé, p. 71). The second is his rhythmic verve and musical wit: his scores abound with patter songs (App. 2, Ex. B, p. 390), bright, fast choruses (App. 2, Ex. C, p. 391), and musical jokes that provoke smiles if not outright laughter on the part of audiences. Terrasse was very preoccupied by these aspects of composition: summarising the genius of Offenbach he himself wrote:

Mais son levier irrésistible pour soulever l'auditoire, c'est la puissance du rythme, d'un rythme persistant, obstiné, vaillant, qui entraîne dans un mouvement vertigineux des scènes entières. Offenbach est un merveilleux, un inépuisable inventeur de rythmes. Quand on veut citer un musicien connaissant comme lui la vertu du rythme dessiné comme un geste et de l'insistance rythmique, c'est le nom de Beethoven qui se présente à l'esprit. Si paradoxal qu'il semble, le rapprochement s'impose.<sup>119</sup>

The third is his skill at orchestration: the orchestral accompaniments to his strophic airs and ballads are constantly varied from verse to verse, the voice being doubled now by an oboe, now a flute, the melody passing

---

<sup>119</sup> Claude Terrasse, *L'Oeuvre de Jacques Offenbach* in *Musica* (1908), reprinted in *Ecrits non musicaux* (Paris: Editions du Fourneau, 1997), p. 41.

from one instrument to another in kaleidoscopic fashion, words being pointed up by tiny (and sometimes ironic) interjections by trombones and other lower wind instruments (App. 2, Ex. D, p. 392). Some of these features of the score of *L'Ingénu libertin* in particular are explored in the last section of this chapter, which considers Kessler's reactions to the musical side of the opérette that he heard.

Given this musical distinction in a popular and commercially successful genre, it is surprising that the only full-length biography of Terrasse, written by a professor of musicology at the Sorbonne, Philippe Cathé, did not appear until 2004. Developed from his earlier doctoral thesis,<sup>120</sup> the book concentrates mainly on his life and achievements. It makes clear, as do other more general writers on this period, that the slight but distinct revival of the French opérette that Terrasse and his collaborators introduced, especially between 1900 and 1914, ran counter to the prevailing tide and fashion of the Viennese operetta, which began to conquer French theatres from the première of Léhar's *The Merry Widow* (1905) onwards.<sup>121</sup> But it still cannot really explain why it was that Terrasse, who had such a run of initially scandalous and then of popular successes, and who worked with such an exalted circle of literary and artistic figures, should have fallen into relative obscurity nowadays. 'Malmené par la postérité, Terrasse n'occupe pas la place qui semble devoir lui revenir. Les problèmes liés à la modestie de sa maison d'édition

---

<sup>120</sup> Philippe Cathé, *Claude Terrasse (1867–1923), thèse de nouveau régime*, Paris-IV, (2001) 2 vols, 993 pp. All quotations from Cathé are from his book, not from the thesis.

<sup>121</sup> Benoît Duteutre, *L'Opérette en France* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1997), p. 100. Hereinafter: Duteutre.

y ont une part non négligeable' (Cathé, p. 198). Duteutre goes further: 'L'oubli total dans lequel sont tombées les opérettes de Terrasse paraît injuste' (Duteutre, p. 95).

Cathé sees Messenger and Reynaldo Hahn as the only real rivals of Terrasse in the light opera genre during his lifetime but suggests that of the three, it was solely Terrasse who had the originality to introduce expanded tonality as an almost constant feature of his opérette scores (Cathé, p. 166). He attributes this to Terrasse's training at France's leading organ school, the Ecole Niedermeyer, which allowed him to escape the 'tyranny of the degrees in tonal scales', and he suggests:

Dans les modes à tierce mineure, les mélodies modales lui donnent l'occasion d'utiliser des progressions harmoniques peu tonales, qui se retrouvent dans tout le reste de son écriture. Dans la logique majeure, il élargit son harmonie aux diverses substitutions d'accords, comme Gabriel Fauré. Cette remise en cause de la tonalité, toute en douceur, le conduit beaucoup plus loin qu'il n'y paraît. Seul parmi les musiciens d'opérette, Terrasse emprunte la même voie que Debussy, Dukas, d'Indy ou d'autres illustres contemporains et se révèle être le passeur qui adapte au genre particulier de l'opérette les éléments les plus importants du langage musical du début du XXIème siècle (Cathé, p. 166).

This is praise indeed for the musical qualities of a composer specialising in the lighter and more popular end of the music theatre of his time. In fact however the score of *L'Ingénu libertin* is mainly diatonic, with occasional chromatic interludes, and is reminiscent more of Lecocq or of Messenger than of Debussy. This is undoubtedly because Terrasse was trying to capture the essence of eighteenth century musical style in *L'Ingénu libertin*, with conventional harmonic progressions and a small orchestra (including a harpsichord) in the pit, whose specific features will

be examined later in this chapter. However, the overall musical strengths of Terrasse's scores have been demonstrated to a new public in a handful of Terrasse revivals in the twenty-first century (*Chonchette, Aux Temps des Croisades* and, most recently *La Botte Secrète* have all been played in Paris and elsewhere in France on tour by a small and versatile company called Les Brigands).<sup>122</sup> The scores contain 'une musique à la découpe à la fois très précise et très légère, presque aérienne, qui pose les mêmes difficultés que l'opéra mozartien. Et en même temps un sens de la prosodie infaillible, qui n'est pas sans rappeler Offenbach, et une fluidité de l'harmonie qui est le propre de son époque, et fait parfois écho à Debussy'. This was the verdict of Christophe Grapperon, musical director of the 2009 revival of *Aux Temps des Croisades*, when asked to comment on Terrasse's music.<sup>123</sup>

### **Terrasse's background and musical development**

Terrasse was born at Arbresle, near Lyons, in 1867. Both his parents were in domestic service, although his father subsequently entered the silk trade and was promoted to a senior managerial position with the firm of Mancardi. Aged seven, Terrasse was sent away to boarding school (just as his parents separated – and perhaps because of that) and at thirteen, having shown distinct signs of musical aptitude, entered the Lyons

---

<sup>122</sup> [http://www.lesbrigands.fr/v2/?page\\_id=998](http://www.lesbrigands.fr/v2/?page_id=998) [accessed 15 August 2013]. In Paris, Les Brigands have established a close relationship with the Athénée Théâtre Louis Jouvet.

<sup>123</sup> Christophe Grapperon, *Et la musique?* In <http://www.lefigaro.fr/musique/2009/12/16/03006-20091216ARTFIG00028-les-brigandsau-temps-des-croisades-.php>, [accessed 4 May 2011].

Conservatoire, with the cornet as his main instrument. In his teenage years he played the cornet in several orchestras, including that of the Lyons Grand-Théâtre, and became a Conservatoire prize-winner in musical theory. After four years in Lyons, he won a place to study with one of France's leading organists, Eugène Gigout at the prestigious Ecole Niedermeyer in Paris, but in 1887 Terrasse was conscripted into military service. Terrasse and Gigout had become personal friends, however, and Terrasse continued as a private pupil even after Gigout left the Niedermeyer following a dispute: Terrasse also seems to have worked, although details are scanty, as organist and choirmaster in a neighbouring parish at this time (Cathé, p.18).

Terrasse's period of military service is noteworthy for one connection made. Fellow conscript Charles Bonnard, whose family lived near Grenoble, became a close friend and invited Terrasse to spend leave days with him at the family home. Terrasse thus got to know Charles Bonnard's siblings Andrée, whom he went on to marry in 1890, and Pierre, who became a celebrated painter and a member of the modernist group known as the Nabis, or prophets.<sup>124</sup> Andrée was herself a pianist and helped her husband to organise seventy or more chamber concerts in the first few years of their married life spent at Arcachon. It was during this period that Terrasse played a hymn of his own composition to the visiting Charles Gounod, who is alleged to have exclaimed: 'Mais c'est de

---

<sup>124</sup> *The Oxford Companion to Art*, ed. by Harold Osborne (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 761-2.

l'opérette, mon cher! Vous devriez essayer ce genre, il vous irait très bien!' (Cathé, p. 32).<sup>125</sup> As for Pierre Bonnard, he quickly became the illustrator of musical textbooks that Terrasse began to write in his Arcachon years and later, when both men were in Paris, acted as a prolific source of introductions to the literary and artistic avant-garde comprising and surrounding his fellow Nabis: radical disciples of Gauguin, their number included Paul Sérusier, Maurice Denis, Edouard Vuillard, Ker-Xavier Roussel and Félix Vallotton, while others associated with the group included Toulouse-Lautrec, Aristide Maillol, Claude Debussy and the brothers Alexandre and Thadée Natanson ( of the *Revue Blanche*). Of this group, Bonnard, Sérusier, Vuillard, Roussel and Toulouse-Lautrec were all involved in scenery painting for an infamous theatrical première in 1897, which is considered next.

---

<sup>125</sup> Fanély Révoil, *Claude Terrasse, compositeur de la Belle Epoque* (Paris: 'Les Annales' no. 176, June 1965, p. 23) and quoted in Cathé, p. 32. José Bruyr quotes this slightly differently: 'Gounod: Non! Quel bon refrain bouffe cela ferait! Essayez-vous a l'opérette'. (José Bruyr, *L'Opérette* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1974), p. 53.

## Collaboration with various librettists

### A. Alfred Jarry and *Ubu roi*

Claude and Andrée Terrasse arrived in Paris from Arcachon in 1896 for Claude to take up a post as second organist at the church of La Trinité. The position was well paid and gave him scope for outside musical activities. Through Pierre Bonnard he quickly met Aurélien Lugné-Poe, who was running the symbolist and avant-garde Théâtre de l'Oeuvre, and through Lugné-Poe he met – and instantly befriended – the latter's new secretary and assistant, Alfred Jarry (Cathé, p. 44). When Terrasse learned that a production was planned by Lugné-Poe of Jarry's *Ubu roi*, he offered to compose the incidental music. The infamous first performance, with Claude and Andrée Terrasse in the wings playing piano, percussion and almost certainly a cornet took place on 10 December 1896. Terrasse had scored his music for a whole variety of fairground, and somewhat obscure, instruments but they could not be assembled in time: in his introductory speech, Jarry spoke of the great importance, in order to be serious about being marionettes, that this fairground music should have played, but referred: 'A l'orchestration distribuée à des cuivres, gongs et cornes de trompettes marines que le temps a manqué pour réunir'.<sup>126</sup> So piano and percussion (and presumably cornet) had to suffice. There is, to this day, uncertainty over the details because the retrospective accounts of those

---

<sup>126</sup> Alfred Jarry, *Oeuvres complètes en trois volumes*, ed. Arrivé and others (Paris: Pléiade, 1972–1988), vol. 1, p. 400.

who were – or who claimed to have been – there, at the dress rehearsal and the sole première performance, all differ substantially.<sup>127</sup> What is, however, certain is that Terrasse's musicality, and his ability both to compose original music and to improvise in the theatre, dated from this time and was to become part of his future working practice.

The seminal influence of *Ubu roi* on French Surrealism and its status as the founder-play of avant-garde theatre have been well documented.<sup>128</sup> Less attention has been paid to the originality of Terrasse's music, which Cathé describes as minimalist in the extreme: 'Des dix minutes du *Prélude à L'Après-midi d'un faune* aux aphorisms de dix secondes de Claude Terrasse, un chemin important est parcouru' (Cathé, p. 46), but an extensive recent study by Peter Lamothe has highlighted and analysed the 'parallel world of absurdity' that Terrasse created in music in response to Jarry's text (App. 2, Exs. E and F, p. 393).<sup>129</sup> What is clear from the score and from its only extant recording<sup>130</sup> is that Terrasse matched his snatches of music to the fragmented nature of Jarry's text: and was not afraid to break traditional musical conventions – quoting and parodying national

---

<sup>127</sup> Brotchie quotes Lugné-Poe as saying that the uproar [at the première] was so loud, that Terrasse could not follow the action and struck the cymbals at random 'like a dog catching flies' (Brotchie, p. 164). Fell says that the accompaniment had to be restricted 'to the piano, which he played himself, and the drum' (Fell, p. 82).

<sup>128</sup> Phyllis Hartnoll Ed. *The Oxford Companion to the Theatre*, Fourth Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), p. 436.

<sup>129</sup> Peter Lamothe, 'The Music of *Ubu roi*: Terrasse's Parallel World of Absurdity' in *Theater Music in France, 1864-1914*, published dissertation submitted to the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill (2008), 169-206

[https://cdr.lib.unc.edu/indexablecontent?id=uuid:54c8c3a8-84a7-4a53-a8f2-f849a13fa88f&ds=DATA\\_FILE](https://cdr.lib.unc.edu/indexablecontent?id=uuid:54c8c3a8-84a7-4a53-a8f2-f849a13fa88f&ds=DATA_FILE) [accessed 2 July 2013].

<sup>130</sup> [http://www.ubu.com/film/jarry\\_ubu-averty.html](http://www.ubu.com/film/jarry_ubu-averty.html) [accessed 20 August 2012]. This 1965 film of *Ubu roi* uses all Terrasse's music in re-orchestrated form and gives a good impression of just how *avant garde* the play and its music must have seemed in 1896.

anthems, inserting modal and atonal passages and refusing to resolve his final cadences, thus leaving the audience in a state of musical suspense to match the equivocal nature of the dramatic narrative (Cathé, p. 47) (App. 2, Exs. G and H, p. 394).

The theatrical and musical anarchy of *Ubu roi* did not bring Terrasse to wide public attention (there was only one full public performance, ending in disorder, preceded by a dress rehearsal for friends and initiates) (Fell, p. 89). What it did do was to commend him to a small circle of up-and-coming writers (such as Tristan Bernard and Franc-Nohain) who realised that Terrasse would be capable of setting their texts imaginatively and sympathetically to music. It was thus the group of theatrical contacts made from the experience of *Ubu roi* that propelled Terrasse towards his true vocation as a composer of comic operas and opérettes – exactly as Gounod had predicted.

**B. Robert de Flers and Gaston de Caillavet - *Les Travaux d'Hercule* (1901) and *Le Sire de Vergy* (1903)**

In the two years immediately following *Ubu roi*, Terrasse, Jarry, Franc-Nohain, Bonnard and others devoted themselves to a small puppet theatre – Théâtre des Pantins – which put on musical revues and entertainments, including a reprise of *Ubu roi* performed solely by marionettes (Fell, pp. 116–9). Terrasse composed the music for the three new shows performed here (one of which, *Vive la France!*, was immediately banned by the Censor

for its satirical treatment of a Jew wishing to become French – just in the wake of the Dreyfus affair) (Fell, p. 122). But success for Terrasse on the main stages of Paris was not long in coming, and after setting *La Petite Femme de Loth* to a text by Tristan Bernard, which transferred in 1900 to the Théâtre des Mathurins, was toured elsewhere in France and returned to the Mathurins for a second successful run in 1901, Terrasse found himself the object of career- and life-changing attention. The rich and successful writing partners Robert de Flers and Gaston de Caillavet needed a composer for their new opérette, *Les Travaux d'Hercule*, the libretto for which was already written. After protracted financial negotiations, Terrasse found himself with less than a month to compose and fully orchestrate a three-act work: he began the task on 26 January 1901 and completed the full score thirty-one days later on 25 February (Cathé, p. 74).

*Les Travaux d'Hercule* opened at the Bouffes-Parisiens on 7 March 1901. It was an immediate critical and popular success and ran for eighty-six performances. Duteutre situates the work in a direct line running from *La belle Hélène* and *Geneviève de Brabant* (Duteutre, p. 94), the joke in this case being that Hercules is not really a hero at all, in fact a weak and useless cuckold, incapable of performing his famous labours, but happy to take the credit when others accomplish them for him. Terrasse's music has rhythmic verve and élan, some memorable and instantly popular melodies, and some well developed 'slow waltz' numbers (App. 2, Ex. I, p. 395).

Two years later the same team had even greater success with *Le Sire de Vergy* at the Théâtre des Variétés, in a production which was to enjoy a run of 110 performances. In a variation of the Hercules joke, the Sire in question pretends to have been away at the Crusades when in fact he has been living a debauched life in Paris. To make his return to Vergy seem more authentic, he persuades his Parisian cronies (including his latest mistress) to impersonate his 'captives' from the Holy Land. His wife however, and her Vergy friends, have been living an equally unchaste existence during his 'crusade': the ensuing imbroglio on his return is farcical comedy couched in conventional opérette form.

In terms of orchestration, Terrasse made major strides in the two years between *Les Travaux d'Hercule* and *Le Sire de Vergy*. The former work is set in conventional four-part harmony and is easy to assimilate, even on first hearing, but there is little specific orchestral colour or timbre to its various characters and dramatic situations: and whilst admiring the speed at which it had been written, fellow composer Maurice Emmanuel suggested in a contemporary article that Terrasse could have done better if he had been given more time (Cathé, p. 75). *Le Sire de Vergy*, on the other hand, is full of obvious and, sometimes, more subtle orchestral effects: from the chromatic horn calls that announce the hunt, to subtle interplay between woodwind and strings in the strophic ballads, to the distinctive oriental sound and colour that Terrasse manages to impart to the song sung by the 'captives' who are led on in Act Two. The geographical setting of Vergy is near Avignon, and Terrasse uses a device that is later to occur

in *L'Ingénu libertin*, namely the incorporation of a well-known popular French melody into some of the through-composed passages. In *Le Sire de Vergy* the melodic outlines of *Sur le pont d'Avignon* are worked – with variations – into the extended opening sequences of the first two acts, with highly effective orchestral colouring, whereas in *L'Ingénu libertin* it is the main melody of the Marseillaise that accompanies the heroine, Sophie and her faithful servant boy La Jeunesse, as they describe the risks and perils facing them on the darkened streets of Paris, all alone and late at night (App. 2, Ex. J, p. 396).<sup>131</sup>

It was Claude Debussy, reviewing *Le Sire de Vergy* in 1903, who first praised Terrasse's musical invention and orchestration (*New Grove*, 25, p. 303). What he wrote more fully was:

Offenbach orchestrait péniblement, C. Terrasse orchestre finement; là encore, je me permettrai de lui affirmer qu'il y aurait dans certaines associations de timbres inattendues une mine inexploitée de drôlerie. Il le sait mieux que moi certainement, et la trompe d'automobile qui annonce le retour des 'croisés' de Terre sainte, dans *Le Sire de Vergy* est une invention indéniable (Duteutre, p. 94).

Two further aspects of *Le Sire de Vergy* should be noted. The first is that the role of the pageboy Fridolin (the trouser role) was played by a striking young actress called Arlette Dorgère, who four years later was to assume the leading role of the Marquise de Bay in *L'Ingénu libertin*. The

---

<sup>131</sup> *La Marquise et le Marmiton ou L'Ingénu libertin*, Eschig, undated, private copy of manuscript full orchestral score, no. 7 p. 23, hereinafter: ms score. Eschig took over Terrasse's own publishing house, the Société d'Éditions Musicales, and the manuscript full score was stored in Milan (now Casa Ricordi) until 13 November 2009, when it was located for, and made available to the author. It does not appear ever to have been printed. The vocal score was, however, published: *La Marquise et le Marmiton, ou L'Ingénu libertin* (Paris: Société d'Éditions Musicales, 1907).

second is that the critic for *La Presse*, Louis Artus, was in a minority of two in finding fault with *Le Sire de Vergy* in the national press, in effect damning it with faint praise.<sup>132</sup> In an elegant and ironic put-down of the *La Presse* review that had been written by Artus, published in *Le Figaro* a week after the first night, Gaston de Caillavet highlighted in an interview the factual errors made by Artus in his description of the plot and suggested that as a man of the world who dined late, he clearly had not had the time to see the first act (Cathé, p. 92). Whether he accepted the reproach or not, Artus continued to combine his activities as a dramatic critic with a great deal of writing for the stage, and it was he who in 1907 was to approach Terrasse and ask him to set to music a libretto he was in the process of writing – that of *L'Ingénu libertin*. He thus succeeded Jarry, de Flers and de Caillavet as librettist to an opérette composer by now at the height of his powers, and enjoying great commercial and critical success.

### C. Louis Artus

Author and critic Louis Artus was born in Paris in 1870. His early education and life do not seem to have been documented in any detail: 'Parisien de Paris, où il a été élevé et où il a reçu toute son éducation' is the laconic biographical note in the programme book for *L'Ingénu libertin*,<sup>133</sup>

---

<sup>132</sup> In his review, Artus misquoted the plot device that saw the Sire set off for the Crusade: and asked rhetorically whether or not *Le Sire de Vergy* meant a revival of the operetta as an art form, before answering in the negative (*La Presse*, 20 April 1903, p.3).

<sup>133</sup> Programme book dated 10 December 1907, printed by Landais and Legay, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Richelieu, Arts du Spectacle, Collection Rondel côte

but by his early twenties he was already making a name for himself as a stage dramatist and as a critic. The Collection Rondel at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France lists stage plays by Artus as first appearing in 1892 (*Clématite, comédie en vers* and *La Duchesse Potiphar, farce romantique*) and includes further comedies and vaudevilles being staged in major theatres such as the Vaudeville, Palais Royal and Cluny, until big productions of *Coeur de Moineau* (1905) and *La Ponelle* (1906), both at the Théâtre de l'Athénée (*Rondel*, côte 50.353). This venue is significant because it brought Artus to the personal attention of impresario Abel Deval, who was running the Théâtre de l'Athénée at the time. When Deval joined forces with Jean Richemond two years later to take over the Théâtre des Bouffes Parisiens and to restore it to its former glory as a home for French opérette, Artus had a ready-made entrée and a favourable reputation. His offer to write what became *L'Ingénu libertin* was readily accepted.

Although clearly a prolific and successful stage author, particularly with comedies (*Coeur de Moineau* ran for more than 1,000 performances in all, and reopened at the Théâtre de l'Athénée on 25 December 1907, in direct competition with *L'Ingénu libertin*), Artus remained a regular theatre critic. His biography in the programme book lists him as an increasingly important theatre critic for *La Presse*, then for *L'Intransigeant* and finally (in 1907) as successor to the late Léon Kerst for the *Petit Journal*, a widely-read publication. These two functions – critic and stage dramatist – seem to

---

50.353, hereinafter: *Rondel* followed by the côte number. The Collection Rondel comprises more than 10,000 theatrical artefacts – programmes, news clippings, photographs and miscellanea.

have made Artus sufficiently well-known in theatrical circles for Nozière, in his Preface to Stoullig's *Annales* for 1907, to include the name of Artus alongside a select group (including Robert de Flers and Gaston de Caillavet) as masters of their art: 'La scène française appartient à quelques homes qui, certes, ont beaucoup de talent [...] ' (Stoullig 1907, p. xvi). A few years later, from 1913 onwards Artus moved away from the theatre and became a novelist, his trilogy *La Maison du Fou*, *La Maison du Sage* and *Le Vin de ta Vigne* establishing his reputation as a prose writer and – as described on the jacket of his biblical novel of 1941 set in Palestine – as a 'catholic moralist'.<sup>134</sup>

### *L'Ingénu libertin (1907)*

#### **1. The circumstances of its creation**

The Bouffes Parisiens (briefly located in Salle Lacaze and since 1856 in Salle Choiseul, rue Monsigny, not far from Palais Garnier), had half a century of history as an opérette theatre by 1900, notably because of its close association with its founder Offenbach and with his works. It had been licensed initially as a theatre for works with fewer than five performers, but Offenbach himself had led the attempt to expand its repertoire and to 'position the Bouffes Parisiens and its emergent genre of

---

<sup>134</sup> Louis Artus, *La Plus Belle Histoire d'Amour Du Monde* (Paris: Editions Denoel, 1945).

*opérette* squarely within the tradition of international comic opera of the past'.<sup>135</sup> Yet by the early years of the twentieth century, with the gradual decline in popularity of French *opérette*, the Bouffes Parisiens had turned to straight plays, mainly vaudeville comedies, farces and theatrical revues to keep itself going, to general critical disapproval. It was thus a widely welcome and exciting development in the spring of 1907 when two highly successful Parisian theatrical impresarios, Abel Deval and Jean Richemond, announced their intention of closing the theatre for its complete refurbishment and reopening it as an *opérette* theatre. The archives of the Paris Opéra at Palais Garnier record the event thus: '1907. Réouverture des Bouffes Parisiens le 29 novembre 1907 qui reviennent à la véritable vocation, sous la Présidence de MM. Deval [sic] et Richemond: Victor Silvestre, metteur en scène, Chs Samson administrateur'.<sup>136</sup>

In an interview shortly before opening night with journalist Max Heller, Terrasse made very clear the bespoke nature of the *opérette* that was going to reopen the theatre:

Quand Artus, me dit Claude Terrasse, fut averti que Deval et Richemond songeaient à reprendre les Bouffes, il leur confia son intention d'écrire un livret d'*opérette*. Comme il est 'de la maison' depuis longtemps, surtout depuis ses beaux succès de *Coeur de Moineau* et de *la Ponchelle*, les deux directeurs lui dirent: 'Faites cet *opérette* et apportez-nous là; nous serons ravis de la jouer'. Conseil qu'Artus s'empressa de suivre; après quoi, il m'offrit de collaborer avec lui. J'acceptai immédiatement, vous vous en doutez, sa flatteuse proposition (*Rondel*, côte 50.353).

---

<sup>135</sup> Mark Everist, 'Jacques Offenbach - The Music of the Past and the Image of the Present', in *Music, Theater and Cultural Transfer, Paris 1830 - 1914*, ed. by Annegret Fauser and Mark Everist (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009), p. 74

<sup>136</sup> Paris Opéra library, Palais Garnier: Microfilmed record entitled *Bouffes Parisiens*, réserve pièce no. 39.

In the same interview, Terrasse detailed the close collaboration that ensued between him and Artus as the text and score took shape:

J'ai composé une grande partie de ma partition cet été, à Deauville, chez mon excellent ami, M. Louis Mors, qui avait poussé la sollicitude jusqu'à mettre à ma disposition un pavillon isolé. Quelques kilomètres, très facilement franchissables, me séparaient, là-bas, de Louis Artus, qui, lui, villégiaturait à Cabourg... Et je l'ai terminé, comme je fais toujours, à l'avant-scène, trouvant, fixant, modifiant mon inspiration, suivant le jeu de mes interprètes, me conformant de mon mieux au tempérament dramatique de chacun, aux qualités dont ils disposent (*Rondel*, côte 50.353).

This comment by Terrasse, 'as I always do', confirms once again his credentials as a man of the theatre: he clearly needed to assess the musical and dramatic qualities of the cast who had been assembled to perform his score, before finalising the details in a way that worked convincingly on the stage. One is reminded of Terrasse in the wings of *Ubu roi* a decade earlier, improvising from his score to the chaotic scenes onstage as the play developed (see pp. 105-6).

In a separate open letter to Serge Basset (the pseudonym of playwright and theatre critic Paul Ribon, who wrote for *Le Figaro* and later for the *Petit Parisien*), Terrasse described the evolution of *L'Ingénu libertin* in more detail:

Quand Louis Artus m'a lu sa pièce, au printemps dernier, c'était purement une comédie élégante et raffinée, avec un côté comique assez développé. Il souhaitait seulement que j'y ajoutasse des musiques de scène et un couplet de-ci de-là. J'ai accepté parce que la lecture m'avait ravi. Tandis que je travaillais, il m'apporta chaque jour un morceau nouveau, duo ou couplet, puis ce furent des ensembles, un final, enfin une véritable partition à

laquelle je me suis efforcé de conserver le caractère dix-huitième siècle que comportait le sujet (*Rondel*, cote 50.353).

This comment illuminates the elegant, eighteenth century musical style of the piece alluded to earlier. However, an elegant comedy, with some incidental music, would not have fitted the proclaimed ambition of Deval and Richemond to restore the Bouffes Parisiens to its former days of opérette glory with a specially commissioned work. So there may well have been an element of deliberate understatement in Terrasse's open letter to Basset. It emerges clearly nevertheless, both from the letter and from the interview with Heller, that *L'Ingénu libertin* was a truly collaborative effort between librettist and composer, an attempt to match literary and musical style to the nature and period of the dramatic scenario, and an attempt by Terrasse to set the musical numbers in accordance with the vocal and histrionic strengths of the performers at his disposal, a not uncommon practice.

## 2. Literary sources

Both the programme book and the open letter from Terrasse to Basset give very precise accounts of the literary work from which *L'Ingénu libertin* is derived. In the letter, Terrasse writes:

La pièce a été inspirée à mon collaborateur et ami par un épisode du roman fameux du conventionnel Louvet de Coudray, *les Amours du chevalier de Faublas*. Cet épisode peut se lire entre les pages 38 et 50 du tome I de la bonne édition Garnier. Il se retrouve dans quelques passages du premier acte, et dans la scène principale du second. Tous le reste est de

l'invention d'Artus. Il a emprunté encore au roman du dix-huitième siècle le nom de ses personnages, mais il en a dénaturé les caractères, estimant qu'on pouvait prendre de telles libertés avec une vérité légendaire (*Rondel*, côte 50.353).

'Tous le reste est de l'invention d'Artus' (Artus has made up all the rest). This is a highly significant comment by Terrasse, for it means, *inter alia*, that Artus has made up the crucial dénouement scene in Act III of *L'Ingénu libertin*, in which the Marquise de Bay and Sophie vie with each other for the love of Faublas (in a trio) until Faublas decides that his true love is Sophie; and the Marquise, with resigned dignity, blesses the union of the two young lovers. There is no such scene with these three characters in the Louvet de Couvray novel. The equivalent scene in Act III of *Der Rosenkavalier*, in which the Marschallin allows Octavian and Sophie to find true love together as a couple, and resignedly blesses their union, can only therefore derive from Artus – and not, as many previous commentators have surmised, from Louvet de Couvray.<sup>137</sup> This, however, is crucial for the argument that Kessler's theatrical vision played a major role in the dramaturgy and shaping of the *Rosenkavalier* scenario, for it is inconceivable that Kessler would – or could – have narrated to Hofmannsthal the full story of *L'Ingénu libertin* on 9 February 1909 without describing its resolution in Act III: the love duet between Faublas and Sophie, the all-female trio in which Faublas opts for Sophie rather than the

---

<sup>137</sup> As indicated in the Introduction, critical studies of the Richard Strauss operas that pre-date publication of the Hofmannsthal-Kessler correspondence do not mention Artus: Norman Del Mar (1962), William Mann (1964) and Ernst Krause (1964) for example; and even Alan Jefferson, in the Cambridge Opera Handbook on *Der Rosenkavalier* (1985) only mentions Louvet de Couvray, not Artus. One of the earliest articles on *Rosenkavalier* sources was written by Felix Poppenberg in 1911, in *Literarisches Echo* 14, pp. 1254-59, pointing all who read him subsequently only towards Louvet de Couvray.

Marquise, and the abrupt dismissal by the latter of Rosambert (Artus, pp. 154-64). A more detailed comparison between the two French works, novel and opérette, will make clear later in this chapter the effective stage devices that Artus introduced to his scenario, that were to find their way eventually (via Kessler, and through him via Hofmannsthal) into *Der Rosenkavalier*.

The full chronicles of the life and adventures of Faublas, written in three major volumes by Jean-Baptiste Louvet de Couvray between 1787 and 1790, cover a far longer time-span and a far greater range of emotions – from innocent young fun, to wholesale adult libertine adventures, to foreign escapades, retribution and eventual tragedy – than a comic opérette usually encompassed. The work, a minor classic of erotic literature, was a huge success in Louvet de Couvray's lifetime and made him a rich man. It provides not only a commentary on the morals and manners of high society in eighteenth-century France just prior to the Revolution, but a vivid account, written in the first person, of the sexual awakening of Faublas, a fifteen-year-old aristocrat at the start of volume one, whose increasingly risky affairs and liaisons in Paris and then wider afield are described in graphic detail. There is naturally a romantic love interest as counterpoint to the sexual escapades: Louvet de Couvray places his heroine, the beautiful fourteen-year-old Sophie de Pontis, in a convent near Paris, where she becomes the best friend of Faublas's younger sister, Adelaide, who has been sent to the same convent. On his first visit to Adelaide, Faublas is introduced to Sophie and falls instantly in love with

her. Sophie thus represents innocent true love, trapped in a gilded convent cage and revisited there by a repeatedly remorseful Faublas after each of his new sexual dalliances.<sup>138</sup> The work acquired a number of different titles in the course of its many reprintings, but volume one was originally entitled *Une Année de la Vie du Chevalier de Faublas*.

The episode in volume one used by Artus as the basis for *L'Ingénu libertin* runs as follows in Louvet de Couvray's novel. An older male friend of Faublas's family, the Comte de Rosambert, who is charged with introducing Faublas to the ways of the world in Paris, has already embarked on an affair with the Marquise de B. (Louvet *Une Année*, pp. 24-5). To spice up his budding relationship with the Marquise, Rosambert persuades Faublas to dress up as a young girl and accompany him to a ball, where the Marquise de B. will see them, imagine that Faublas is Rosambert's new young mistress, and be piqued with jealousy. Faublas is kitted out in a suitable female costume, and in a trial run visits Adelaide in her convent and manages to kiss his beloved Sophie full on the lips (Louvet *Une Année*, p. 28). He then sets off to the ball with Rosambert: the Marquis and Marquise de B. duly meet Rosambert there with his young 'mistress' and both are highly taken by 'her' (Louvet *Une Année*, p. 32). The Marquise insists that they all return to her house for supper. The hour grows late and the Marquise insists that 'she' stay the night and do her the honour of sharing her bed (Louvet *Une Année*, p. 45). Rosambert makes

---

<sup>138</sup> <http://dbooks.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/books/PDFs/501047207.pdf> [accessed 16 February 2013]. This 1787 edition of the first volume is directly relevant to the narrative of *L'Ingénu libertin* and its pagination corresponds almost exactly to the 'fine Garnier edition' mentioned by Terrasse. Hereinafter: Louvet *Une Année*, with page number in brackets.

increasingly desperate attempts to end the fiction and to reveal that his 'mistress' is a young man in disguise, but the Marquise refuses to hear anything of this: Rosambert is dismissed and the Marquise and Faublas go to bed (Louvét *Une Année*, p. 48). The Marquise discovers the truth, feigns a degree of indignation but embarks on a night of lovemaking with Faublas anyway. In a quiet moment during the night the Marquis enters the bedroom intent on his own dalliance with the intriguing young creature: the Marquise and Faublas change places in bed, however, and the Marquise sends her husband packing (Louvét *Une Année*, pp. 52-3). The following morning, Faublas dons his dress and is taken back to his lodgings by the Marquis and Marquise: his true identity is protected by his guardian, and his own affair with the Marquise (which will provoke revenge by Rosambert as it develops) is under way (Louvét *Une Année*, pp. 56-7). A detail to note is that Louvét de Couvray always refers to his mature, female, aristocratic seducer of Faublas as the Marquise de B. This (not uncommon) literary device undoubtedly provided contemporary readers with the added frisson of a real person possibly being lightly disguised in the fictional narrative: leaving open the intriguing question of who the Marquise de B. might really be.

Throughout this episode, Sophie is an entirely passive character, innocently in love with Faublas, living in her convent, unaware of anything that is going on in the world outside. Having slept with an older, sophisticated society lady, Faublas promptly visits Sophie in her convent, inwardly swears undying love to her, and promises himself that he will try

harder to resist the temptations of the flesh...only to embark immediately on his second escapade with the Marquise the following night (Louvet *Une Année*, p. 67). And so the pattern is repeated; not only with the Marquise, but also with her servant, Justine, with other aristocratic ladies whom he meets such as the Comtesse de Lignolle, and with delightful stage creatures such as *les filles de l'Opéra*.

### 3. Stage adaptations

Artus was by no means the first author to detect in Louvet de Couvray's novel a rich source of stage comedy. The characters in *Faublas* clearly came off the page and into the public domain even as the novel was being read, and circulated, by an ever-widening public. Some of the evidence for this can be found in Louvet de Couvray's own words, in his preface to a new edition of the work, and written in July 1789:

Que de bruit pour un petit livre! Si beaucoup en ont ri, quelques-uns en ont pleuris ; plusieurs l'ont imité, d'autres l'ont travesti; d'honnêtes gens l'ont contrefait, des gens honnêtes l'ont dénigré. Ainsi, puissamment encouragé de toutes les manières, j'ai repris la plume avec quelque confiance et j'ai fini [...]<sup>139</sup>

The first adaptation, a spoken play, was by Willemain d'Abancourt in 1789 and the last, an opéra comique by Cadol, Duval and Luigini, was in 1881: in the meantime there were also a vaudeville, a ballet pantomime, and a comedy interspersed with songs – a total of six stage adaptations of

---

<sup>139</sup> Jean-Baptiste Louvet de Couvray, *Les Aventures du Chevalier de Faublas* (Brussels: Librairie Universelle de Rozez, 1881), p. xli.

*Faublas* in all. These are described individually and more fully in Appendix 4. Some were successful, some disastrous, but in terms of the decision by Artus to write his own opérette version of the narrative, the fact that various Parisian stages had regularly attempted to dramatise Louvet de Couvray's work (in 1789, 1818, 1822, 1833, 1835 and 1881, as described in Appendix 4) meant that the essence of the novel must have been in the general awareness, if not necessarily in the active consciousness, of the Paris theatre-going public for over a century. The productions that were fiascos showed, however, it was not sufficient merely to mount a piece with *Faublas* in the title and with the (somewhat salacious) characters out of the novel, and hope for the best. Careful thought had to go into its adaptation, and the correct dramatic tone had to be adopted, to make a frankly erotic novel acceptable, and amusing, on the stage. This was a task now assumed by Louis Artus.

#### **4. Treatment by Artus**

Taking the narrative episode from Louvet de Couvray's novel, outlined above, as the framework for his dramatic scenario, and ignoring the various intervening stage adaptations, Artus made a number of changes to the disposition of the main characters and to the *milieu* in which they meet. Since he was creating an individual, delicate and complex stage character, and the female role that was to carry the entire plot forward from the moment of her entrance in Act I, Artus renamed the Marquise de B. as the

Marquise de Bay. Apart from the obvious onomatopoeia, he was on relatively safe ground with his choice of name: there had been a real Marquis de Bay, in the form of Alexandre, Maître de Bay, who had been elevated by King Philip V of Spain to the rank and title of Marquis de Bay in 1704, but by the nineteenth century the family title subsisted only in the form of Marquis de Maître, and use of de Bay seems to have died out – moreover, they were certainly never a socially active, prominent Parisian aristocratic family who could have been taken as the inspiration for Artus’s stage creations.<sup>140</sup> The much more important change made by Artus however was to the character and role of Sophie: instead of leaving her passively in her convent, awaiting periodic visits from Faublas, Artus decided to bring her in Act I onto the streets of Paris, at carnival time, accompanied by her duenna, Mademoiselle Sauce and by her comic, country lad servant boy, La Jeunesse. His Sophie is a modern, spirited girl, determined to have a bit of fun. Since she thus becomes her own free agent, Sophie is in a position to observe the cross-dressed Faublas (whom she recognises) being presented to the Marquise. She thereafter takes matters into her own hands and becomes, to some extent, the real heroine of the piece – she goes for, and gets her man.

To structure his plot, Artus moves from a street scene and public open air ball (the *Jardins d’Armide*) in Act I, to an extended supper scene in the grand boudoir of the Marquise de Bay in Act II, to the bedroom of the

---

<sup>140</sup> Jean-Baptiste Pierre Courcelles, *Dictionnaire universel de la noblesse de France*, digitized as [http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=Tops\\_B93JPgC&pg=PA428&redir\\_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false](http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=Tops_B93JPgC&pg=PA428&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false) [accessed 2 August 2013].

Marquise de Bay in Act III. The Carpézat designs, executed by Lavastre for each of these acts, are shown in Appendix 3, ex. A, B and C. The first act is thus a significant change of milieu from the Louvet de Couvray novel: whereas the latter sets the initial encounters between Faublas and the Marquise as aristocratic, high society, indoor social occasions with invited guests only, the opening stage picture in *L'Ingénu libertin* is that of a popular street party, with all social classes represented. The stage directions make this clear: *Au lever du Rideau, une foule remuante occupe la scène: grisettes, militaires, grandes dames sous le masque, laquais, petits abbés. C'est la bousculade joyeuse d'une nuit de carnaval* (Artus, p. 5). The choice of *Les Jardins d'Armide* as the name and setting for the public open air ball at which the Marquise de Bay and Faublas will first become attracted to each other will also have had particular resonance for enlightened members of the audience such as Kessler: as Noémie Courtès puts it, in her 2004 essay on *Les Jardins d'Armide*:

Or Armide, la plus emblématique magicienne du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, celle qui incarne le mieux les pouvoirs ambivalents du charme – séduction féminine et puissance magique – est indissociablement attachée à ses jardins magiques, si bien que le syntagme 'jardins d'Armide' devint une référence à la mode [...]<sup>141</sup>

In November 1907 the Fokine-Benois ballet *Le Pavillon d'Armide* première in St Petersburg, with the 18 year-old Vaslav Nijinsky dancing the role of Armida's slave. Artus had finished his work on *L'Ingénu libertin* by then, but the Bouffes Parisiens decorative setting for the *Jardins d'Armide*

---

<sup>141</sup> Noémie Courtès, 'Les Jardins d'Armide – du topos classique au mythe moderne', in *Les mythologies du jardin de l'antiquité à la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. by Gérard Peylet (Bordeaux: Presses Universitaires de Bordeaux, 2004), p. 101.

- stage right and into the rear stage distance, behind an avenue of plane trees - will undoubtedly have had symbolic meaning as a place of enchantment and feminine seduction. Moreover, when Kessler saw the Ballets Russes dance *Le Pavillon d'Armide* in Paris in June 1909, he immediately made the seductive, feminine connection, and made a number of visual and decorative suggestions to Hofmannsthal for the look and atmosphere of the nascent *Der Rosenkavalier*, as detailed in the next chapter.

The dramatic structure adopted by Artus is as follows. In Act I, Rosambert (baritone) and Faublas (mezzo soprano) meet by chance in the street at carnival time. Rosambert persuades Faublas to cross-dress for the encounter with the Marquise (soprano), they all meet up, watched by Sophie (soprano), and the Marquise invites everyone to supper. Observing and overhearing that a traiteur will be supplying the supper, and staff to wait at table, Sophie cross-dresses in the tunic of a kitchen boy and becomes a member of the traiteur's staff. In Act II, both the Marquis (tenor) and the Marquise flirt at table with the disguised Faublas, both Rosambert and the disguised Sophie become increasingly uncomfortable with the way things are developing (the meal at table includes comic business by Sophie as a maladroit waiter as she witnesses the flirtation between Faublas and the Marquise), and when the Marquise and Faublas make preparations for bed, Rosambert storms off swearing revenge, and Sophie despairs of her true love. The climax of the act is the arrival of the morals police, or *police des mœurs*, prompted by Rosambert and the Marquis, with orders to search

the house for the Chevalier de Faublas disguised as a woman and bent on immoral behaviour. To save Faublas, Sophie removes her kitchen boy tunic, dons his discarded dress instead and gives herself up, pretending to be Faublas in disguise.

In Act III, the Marquise and Faublas awake after a night of passionate lovemaking. They learn that it was Sophie who was arrested and taken away in the night. Faublas is troubled: the Marquise recognises the object of his young love and sends discreet word to her friend, the chief of police. Prompted by the Marquise, and since the dress he wore the previous evening has been appropriated by Sophie, Faublas now dons the kitchen boy tunic that Sophie had previously worn. Shortly thereafter Sophie is released and arrives back at the house. She tells Faublas that she now hates him for the way he has behaved. The Marquise, Faublas and Sophie have an extended scene together: Sophie firstly recalls a romantic air that Faublas once wrote for her, and sang in the garden beneath her convent window: she and Faublas then sing the air as a simple duet, and this leads directly to the all-female trio that is the longest number in the piece, and its musical and dramatic highlight. The Marquise blindfolds Faublas with her scarf and asks him to follow his heart, not his eyes: in an amorous form of blind man's buff, Faublas moves instinctively between the two ladies, relives the delights of his night with the Marquise, but decides finally that it is Sophie whom he really loves. The Marquise blesses their union, tells Sophie that she is the more deserving of Faublas's love, hands him over to her younger rival and sheds a wistful tear. The rest of

the cast then enter and a final rousing chorus points up the moral of the piece.

The theatrical and visual effectiveness of *L'Ingénu libertin* must have been striking, both for the sumptuousness of the costumes and for the ingenuity of the cross-dressing: hardly a new feature of opérette and comic opera, but exploited here by Artus to an unusually sophisticated degree. With his keen eye for visual detail, Kessler cannot fail to have noticed the progression and swapping of roles: first seeing Faublas in his elegant chevalier costume, in knee-high boots, dark red silk taffeta trousers and jacket, with green and white silk embroidered waistcoat (Appendix 3, ex. D); then cross-dressed in a cream coloured silk shepherdess outfit; and finally dressed again as a young man in the kitchen boy tunic (white satin jacket, culotte and beret) discarded by Sophie. For her, the progression is reversed: from her lavender coloured dress in Act One (Appendix 3, ex. E), to the kitchen boy tunic in Act Two, to Faublas's discarded shepherdess outfit in Act Three.<sup>142</sup> The two young lovers, at the end of the piece, are thus in each other's costumes as they swear undying love, and both are played by women anyway: the sexual frisson in many productions of both the opening and the closing scenes of *Der Rosenkavalier* is foreshadowed here.

In schematic form, the changes made by Artus to the Louvet de Couvray narrative are shown in the following table. It should be noted at

---

<sup>142</sup> *Comoedia*, 12 December 1907, pp. 1-2. This fully illustrated account of the piece and its first night reception includes articles by Edmond Diet, Louis Schneider and Pierre Souvestre, with detailed descriptions of the mise en scène, décors and costumes.

this stage that between February and July 1909 Hofmannsthal only had Kessler's oral account of the Artus scenario and libretto, plus whatever Kessler saw fit (and was able) to relate about Terrasse's musical treatment of the piece, to work on: it was not until 28 July 1909 that he wrote to Kessler saying that he had just obtained a copy of the libretto of *L'Ingénu libertin*, which he found 'very charming' (Burger, p. 253). But by that time Strauss was already in possession of draft versions of Acts I and II, had completed what he described as the musical 'rough sketch' of the first act, and was well ahead with his musical inspiration for the whole piece (Strauss-Hofmannsthal, p. 33).

### **Louvet de Couvray**

Faublas meets Sophie when he visits his sister Adelaide in the latter's convent, and falls instantly for her.

Sophie remains in her convent with Adelaide while Faublas explores Paris.

Faublas visits the convent dressed as a girl to get close to Sophie and give her a first kiss on the lips.

Rosambert has embarked on his affair with the Marquise de B and wants a disguised Faublas to give added piquancy to their liaison.

Rosambert has no interest in Sophie.

Sophie knows nothing of the encounter between Faublas and the Marquise de B.

The Marquis de B is a comic dupe, "expert" in physiognomy. He tries to creep into bed with the disguised

### **Artus**

Faublas and Sophie are already childhood sweethearts before the play starts.

Sophie has escaped from her convent to enjoy a street party in Paris.

No equivalent incident.

Rosambert wants Faublas disguised as a girl to excite the Marquise de Bay's jealousy, provoking her into embarking on an affair with him.

Rosambert tells Faublas he will marry Sophie soon but wants to enjoy his affair with the Marquise de Bay first.

Sophie cross-dresses as a kitchen boy to enter the Marquise de Bay's home and to observe her and Faublas.

The Marquis de Bay is a comic dupe, "expert" in physiognomy, and flirts with the cross-dressed Faublas at table: he also insists on a goodnight

Faublas: the Marquise sees him off.	kiss from the Marquise and from Faublas.
Sophie remains in her convent throughout.	Sophie saves Faublas from the vice squad by impersonating him and by allowing herself to be arrested.
After his night of passion with the Marquise, Faublas is taken by her and the Marquis back to his guardian: his adventures continue.	After his night of passion with the Marquise, Faublas has to choose between her and Sophie: he chooses the latter. The Marquise de Bay gives way to the young lovers and blesses their union.
Justine, clever and resourceful maid to the Marquise, acts as go-between to Faublas and is seduced by him.	Justine, clever and resourceful maid to the Marquise, has her own love interest and sub-plot.

## 5. Reception

*L'Ingénu libertin* opened to near universal critical approval. As indicated at the start of this chapter, there was a wave of goodwill anyway towards the return of opérette to its spiritual home, the Bouffes Parisiens. Yet the musical and dramatic qualities of *L'Ingénu libertin* drew widespread critical plaudits in their own right.

The veteran poet and playwright Catulle Mendès had nothing but praise for the work. 'C'est tout à fait charmant. Le livret? La musique? Egalement jolis. Tout muse, s'amuse, scintille, pétille, et chante et enchante.'<sup>143</sup> Paul Reboux wrote:

La musique de M. Claude Terrasse a été non moins applaudie que ne le fut la délicieuse comédie de M. Artus. Le compositeur a su écrire dans le sentiment de l'époque, sans avoir recours au pastiche. Ses airs ne sont peut-être pas très mémorables et n'obsèdent pas les auditeurs une fois la pièce terminée, mais tous ont de la grâce, de l'accent, de la fantaisie ou de

---

<sup>143</sup> Catulle Mendès, *Le Journal*, 12 December 1907 (Terrasse dossier nfd). Catulle Mendès, (1841-1909) was a well-known writer and critic.

la tendresse; et les accompagnements se distinguent toujours par une savante originalité.<sup>144</sup>

Nozière, who had himself just made a stage version of *Les Liaisons Dangereuses*, which played outside Paris at the château of Le Comte de Clermont Tonnerre in Maisons Laffitte in December 1907, concentrated initially in his review on the stage adaptation and on the work done by Artus:

M. Louis Artus m'a inspiré le désir de connaître toutes les aventures de l'irrésistible chevalier. Sur la scène des Bouffes Parisiens nous assistons aux premières leçons qu'une femme donne à cet adolescent, à ce Cherubin, à ce Fortunio. C'est un spectacle fort agréable et qui nous a délicieusement troublés. M. Louis Artus a su conserver le ton exquis du dix-huitième siècle, il s'est presque gardé des mots qui nous choquent; il nous montre des scènes hardies, mais toujours élégantes. La musique de M. Claude Terrasse, qui accompagne heureusement cette pièce, est, le plus souvent, d'une grande distinction.<sup>145</sup>

Nozière's reference to the adolescent Faublas as a Cherubino has been echoed many times by scholars attempting to examine the literary, stage and operatic forerunners of Octavian in *Der Rosenkavalier*: an extended, relatively recent essay on precisely this topic by Juliane Vogel forms part of an anthology of writings on the women in the Strauss-Hofmannsthal operatic canon.<sup>146</sup> But Vogel looks no further than Cherubino for Octavian's operatic ancestor and role model. More interestingly Nozière also refers to Fortunio in the Faublas context: the premiere of Messenger's opérette *Fortunio* had taken place at the Opéra

---

<sup>144</sup> Paul Reboux, *L'Intransigeant*, 13 December 1907 (Terrasse dossier nfd).

<sup>145</sup> Nozière, *Gil Blas*, 12 December 1907, p. 3.

<sup>146</sup> Richard Strauss, *Hugo von Hofmannsthal Frauenbilder*, ed. by Ilja Durhammer and Pia Janke (Vienna: Edition Praesens, 2001), pp. 97-107.

Comique a mere five months previously, and onstage seduction of an adolescent boy was still clearly a topic worth mentioning (although *Messenger* had written the part of Fortunio for a lyric tenor, thus avoiding the sexual ambiguities of a girl, cross-dressed as a boy, being seduced by an older woman). These aspects are examined in greater detail in Chapter Four.

Writing in *Le Soir* on 13 December 1907, B. de Lomagne assessed the work thus:

M. Claude Terrasse a écrit sur cet aimable livret une partition abondante et brillante, appropriée au sujet, sans vaine recherche archaïque et dont les nombreux numéros ont été chaleureusement applaudis. Nous citerons particulièrement: au premier acte l'air de la physiognomie, le duo de la marquise et de Faublas, le chœur des Marmitons; au deuxième acte l'air de Justine, un piquante soubrette; le duetto bouffe, la chanson à boire; au troisième le duo du reveil, l'ensemble du lever de la marquise (très curieuse reconstruction du célèbre tableau de Baudoin, le 'coucher de la mariée', etc.<sup>147</sup>

In *Libre Parole*, Jean Drault wrote:

M. Terrasse a soigné aussi son orchestration. C'est peut-être la première fois qu'on entend dans une opérette certaines sonorités jusque-là réservés aux orchestres symphoniques modernes. Le compositeur a d'ailleurs eu son petit succès personnel en accompagnant au clavecin les jolis couplets désolés que chante la fiancée en songeant que son amant est tombé dans les filets de la marquise. Bref, c'est un succès.<sup>148</sup>

Robert de Flers was even more fulsome in *Liberté*:

Hier au soir, M. Claude Terrasse, auquel nous devons *Les Travaux d'Hercule*, *Le Sire de Vergy* et *Monsieur de la Palisse*, que je ne puis pas

---

<sup>147</sup> B. de Lomagne, *Le Soir*, 13 December 1907 (Terrasse dossier nfd). The Baudoin painting and its inspiration for the opening scene of *Der Rosenkavalier* will be addressed later.

<sup>148</sup> Jean Drault, *Libre Parole*, 12 December 1907 (Terrasse dossier nfd), hereinafter: Drault.

prendre mon parti d'oublier tout à fait, s'est révélé comme le Marivaux de l'opérette.<sup>149</sup> Il a trouvé, chemin faisant, une variété de rythmes et de mélodies qui attestent la souplesse de son inspiration et la finesse de son art. Le trio du dernier acte est du meilleur opéra-comique, et du plus délicat. Le duetto de la soubrette et de La Jeunesse au second acte est du plus joyeux opéra-bouffe, et je voudrais encore citer vingt numeros dont vous retiendrez plus aisément les airs que les noms.<sup>150</sup>

Thus in contemporary review after review – around thirty in total – the same adjectives to describe the libretto and music keep recurring: delicate, charming, inspired, witty, gracious, refined, joyful, brilliant; whilst the only mildly critical remarks refer to the suggestive nature of the erotic theme itself ('disturbingly equivocal') and the difficulty for Jeanne Alba, the mezzo playing Faublas, to convey the complexities of a woman playing a young man who cross-dresses as a woman. However, the overwhelming critical consensus is that the work is cleverly and delicately written, and set to music by Terrasse in entirely appropriate fashion. The anonymous critic 'Intérim' summed up many other reviews in *Echo de Paris* when he wrote:

La partition de M. Claude Terrasse enveloppe ce livret léger d'une atmosphère pleine de finesse et de charme. Elle a la légèreté des personnages, avec aussi, plus de verve. Tous les couplets ont été applaudis; plusieurs ont même été bissés, entre autres une romance délicieuse, d'un tour archaïque, que l'auteur accompagnait lui-même au clavecin. C'est une des meilleures et des plus raffinées partitions que M. Claude Terrasse ait écrites.<sup>151</sup>

---

<sup>149</sup> Pierre Marivaux (1688-1763) was a master of the playful, sometimes erotic eighteenth century style onstage, to which Artus and Terrasse aspired.

<sup>150</sup> Robert de Flers, *Liberté*, 12 December 1907 (Terrasse dossier nfd).

<sup>151</sup> Intérim, *Echo*, 13 December 1907 (Terrasse dossier nfd).

Likewise Edmond Diet in *Comoedia*, whose overall summing up ran as follows:

Un orchestre complet et sonore, avec deux trompettes remplaçant avantageusement les deux pistons traditionnels, a fait ressortir les charmants détails de l'instrumentation, sous la direction ferme et autorisée de M. Philippe Moreau, un 'capellmeister' étonnant, qui dirige tout de mémoire, sans défaillance ni faiblesse. Voilà enfin le théâtre des Bouffes rendu à sa destination première, qu'il n'aurait jamais dû abandonner. L'expérience est là pour démontrer qu'un théâtre dont on change le genre n'est pas exploitable avec profit (Edmond Diet, *Comoedia*, 12 December 1907, p. 1).

This overall favourable critical consensus subsequently found its way into the standard companion guide to French opérette, *Histoire de l'Opérette en France* by Florian Bruyas. Bruyas writes:

Mais, vers la fin de l'année, les Bouffes-Parisiens eurent le grand mérite de faire une très jolie création. Il s'agissait d'une opérette 'galante' de Louis Artus dont le titre primitivement choisie était *La Marquise et le Marmiton* qui, finalement, fut représentée sous le titre plus alléchant de *L'Ingénu libertin*. C'était Claude Terrasse lui-même qui avait composé la partition. Sur cette même scène où l'on avait représenté, et avec quel succès! ses *Travaux d'Hercule*, il faisait jouer le plus agréable, le plus joli conte léger, dans le goût du XVIIIème siècle, que l'on pût rêver. Sa partition était élégante et gracieuse. Elle prouvait que le jeune maître pouvait se renouveler et que si la bouffonnerie à la Offenbach était sa manière habituelle il était capable d'écrire des ouvrages soignés où la science de Lecocq transparaissait. *L'Ingénu libertin* fut un grand succès... avec *L'Ingénu libertin* Claude Terrasse avait établi la preuve qu'il était capable d'écrire aussi bien de la musique fine et sentimentale que des partitions bouffonnes ou parodiques (Bruyas, pp. 354-5).

This, then, was the subsequent received critical opinion of the work. Its immediate success, and the raft of favourable contemporary reviews (to which Kessler had ready access, during the twenty-eight days that he spent on and off in Paris during its run) must have been among those

factors that inspired Kessler, just over one year later, to suggest it to Hofmannsthal as a matrix for the comedy to be set to music by Strauss. There is, however, one unexplained aspect to its reception and stage history. On 19 January 1908 (the day after Kessler saw the piece), the columns of *Le Figaro* announced that its fiftieth performance would be on 20 January and wrote:

Première étape vers le grand succès; première étape qui ne sera pas la seule si nous en croyons les belles recettes du moment et les unanimes bravos du public, chaque soir (*Le Figaro*, 19 January 1908, p. 5).

Fifty performances of a new piece in an original run were regarded as a success on the Paris stages of the time: a hundred performances were celebrated, even more, as a great success. In exactly the same vein, *Le Petit Parisien* made the same announcement (that the fiftieth performance of *L'Ingénu libertin* would take place the following day) and added: 'And this is still only the beginning of its stage career.'<sup>152</sup> However, on 28 January the same newspaper reported that rehearsals were at an advanced stage for a new revue at the Bouffes Parisiens, and that Deval and Richemond were therefore announcing the final performances of *L'Ingénu libertin* (*Petit Parisien*, 28 January 1908, p. 4). A clue as to what might have happened came with a report, elsewhere in the press, on the same day:

Mlle Arlette Dorgère reprendra, demain, dans *L'Ingénu libertin*, le rôle de la Marquise de Bay si remarquablement créé par elle. Elle aura été remplacée pendant son absence par Mlle Brioux; la charmante artiste

---

<sup>152</sup> Unsigned, *Le Petit Parisien*, 19 January 1908, p. 4, hereinafter: *Petit Parisien*.

supplée sa brillante camarade avec beaucoup d'habilité (*Le Figaro*, 28 January 1908, pp. 4-5).

Arlette Dorgère therefore came back for the last six performances only, as subsequently reported in *Le Figaro* on 1 February: 'Pour ce soir et demain (matinée et soirée), sont affichées les trois dernières représentations de *L'Ingénu libertin*, qui se trouvera arrêté en plein succès' (*Le Figaro*, 1 February 1908, p. 4). There was, however, no report as to where Dorgère might have been, nor of what might have happened to her, either in *Le Figaro* or elsewhere in the press. As it happens (and as detailed in the next section), the Marquise de Bay was to be the last opérette role taken by Dorgère, but the reason for her sudden disappearance (and reappearance for the last few performances) are unexplained. It might be that she quarrelled with the management, or made financial demands on them that could not be met, or there may have been some mundane reason such as illness that kept her offstage at a key moment in the developing commercial success of the piece. Of possible significance is that the revue, which came out of nowhere to replace *L'Ingénu libertin*, had in its cast four of the main performers from that work: Jeanne Alba (Faublas), Milo de Meyer (Marquis de Bay), Hasti (La Jeunesse) and Andrée Divonne (Justine) and some of the supporting performers too. Their presence, and the absence of Dorgère, seem to indicate that personal factors relating to her, of one sort or another, were at work. The net outcome, for whatever reasons, was that *L'Ingénu libertin* enjoyed twenty-five performances in 1907 and

forty-one in 1908, a grand (and perfectly respectable) total of sixty-six performances in all.

So a huge commercial and critical success for the Bouffes Parisiens came to a somewhat abrupt and surprising end. The reception of *L'Ingénu libertin* speaks for itself, however. This chapter will conclude with a more detailed analysis of some of its musico-dramatic and performative elements, and of its impact as a piece of musical theatre.

## 6. Features of the work

### A. Musico-dramatic and performative

*L'Ingénu libertin* is a number work and has many of the conventional features of that genre. Act I starts with a full company chorus - *C'est le carnaval!* (It's carnival time!) - and ends likewise - *Les marmitons dans la marmite, Ont mis le chef des marmitons;* (The kitchen boys have put their boss in the cooking pot). These are in G major and in F major respectively. Act II ends with the most rousing chorus in the whole work - *Des greniers jusqu'aux caves* (From the attics to the cellars) in D major, and the finale to Act III draws a moral, sung by chorus and principals, from the play that has just been acted:

Le Marquis	Ainsi tout finit bien, dans notre dénouement
	Le marquis est heureux, sans crainte d'un amant
[...]	

Sophie	Sophie a le bonheur qu'elle a tant désiré; Elle épouse, demain, son Faublas adoré
[...]	
La Marquise	Accepterez-vous ce conte galant? Les auteurs, à votre guise, Ont-ils peint une marquise Trop facilement conquise? (Artus, p. 165)
[The Marquis	So in our dénouement all ends well
[...]	The marquis is happy, without fearing a lover
Sophie	Sophie has the happiness she so longed for
[...]	Tomorrow she will marry her adored Faublas
The Marquise	Will you accept this <i>conte galant</i> ? As you see it, have the authors Depicted a marquise Who was conquered too readily? ]
Choeur	Vous tous, prenez votre part Du Bonheur qu'il sème Il veut que l'on s'aime. Il peut naître d'un hasard D'une mèche folle, D'un baiser qu'on vole, Ou bien d'un regard. (Artus, p. 166)
[Chorus	All of you, share in the Happiness that [love] sows It wants you to love each other. It can be born by chance, From a head of wonderful hair, From a stolen kiss, Or from a look. ]

The audience leaves the theatre, therefore, with the satisfied feeling that the story has come to a happy end and that most of the characters (with, perhaps, the exception of Rosambert) have enjoyed themselves along the way. Equally, however, the work has a number of features that are not at all standard for boulevard opérettes. Instead of a chorus, Act II

starts with a G major/G minor solo for Justine, maidservant to the Marquise, singing of the equality between servants and their masters (or mistresses) at carnival time (Artus, pp. 64-5). If the setting and the placing of this solo recall the Countess's aria at the start of Act II of *Le nozze di Figaro*, the sentiments expressed by Justine recall those of Figaro himself. There is an interesting parallel here, too, with the *Faublas* of Dupeuty, Brunswick and Lhérie (see Appendix 4). Their Act II also opens with a short monologue by Justine, complaining sarcastically about being forced to abandon the pleasures of the ball, and its music, early, so that she can prepare supper for the party that is just about to arrive (Dupeuty and others, p. 404). Secondly, after the rousing chorus sung by the morals police (*police des moeurs*) as they search the house of the Marquise for Faublas at the end of Act II, the music fades into waltz (3/4) time for the repeated melody that becomes the motif of the whole work: and as the principals make their way to their respective bedrooms, candles in hand, to an orchestral *decrescendo*, the stage direction says: *Dans la coulisse, on entend comme un grand murmure voluptueux, encourageant les amours de Faublas et de la marquise* (In the wings we hear a great wave of voluptuous murmuring, encouraging the lovemaking between Faublas and the Marquise) (Artus, p. 124). The chorus here sing the word 'Ah!', notated in the tonic (D major) and sub-dominant in three-part harmony. In other words, there is musical (and choral) depiction of the sexual act(s) that take place between the Marquise and young Faublas behind the closed stage curtain, a construct that was also used by Strauss when he went on to compose the passionate, sensual

prelude to Act I of *Der Rosenkavalier* before the curtain rises. Thirdly, the last act starts unusually and with an extraordinary stage tableau: a depiction of Baudoin's picture *Le Coucher de la Mariée*, with its richly embroidered tapestry double bed upstage left, and with Faublas and the Marquise caught in post-coital tristesse, as they sing a haunting duet together (Artus, p. 125). These features alone make *L'Ingénu libertin* stand out as a work of some originality, and they were to form the equally striking opening scene of *Der Rosenkavalier* in 1911.

One or two moments in *L'Ingénu libertin* suggest that Artus may, in his researches into the Faublas narrative, have obtained and read the 1833 libretto by Dupeuty, Brunswick and Lhérie. It had been published in 1836 as part of a collection entitled *La France Dramatique au Dix-neuvième Siècle* and was widely available. The solo placing of the maidservant, Justine, to open Act II in both versions has already been mentioned. There is also a very similar dialogue exchange in Act I, when Faublas starts flirting with the Marquise, although the basis for this exchange can also be found in Louvet de Couvray (*Une Année*, p. 31). In *Faublas*, this is dramatised as:

Marquise: Mademoiselle, avez-vous toujours du goût pour le couvent?

[...]

Faublas: Madame, j'aimerais toujours le couvent s'il s'y trouvait beaucoup de personnes qui vous ressemblaient.

Rosambert Pas mal, pour un commençant  
(*à part*)

(Dupeuty and others, p. 403).

[Marquise: Tell me, miss, do you still like the convent?

[...]

Faublas: Madam, I should still like the convent if it had lots of people in it who looked like you.

Rosambert: Not bad, for a beginner.  
(*aside*)

The equivalent passage in *L'Ingénu libertin* runs:

Marquise: Dites-moi, mademoiselle, si vous avez du goût pour le monde?

Faublas: Madame, je ne l'ai pas encore vu. Mais je l'aimerais bien, s'il s'y trouvait beaucoup de personnes qui vous ressemblassent

(Artus, p. 48).

[Marquise: Tell me, miss, if you like society?

Faublas: Madam, I haven't seen it yet. But I would like it a lot, if it had lots of people in it who looked like you.]

This is suggestive, rather than conclusive, and the Artus libretto is elegant, quick-witted and sparky in places where its 1833 predecessor creaks. Moreover the casting of *L'Ingénu libertin* is hardly standard, with three major roles for women's voices (the Marquise and Sophie are contrasting sopranos, Faublas a mezzo), an additional starring part for a soubrette (Justine, who comes to the fore in Act II) and three well contrasted male roles – La Jeunesse, a male servant to Sophie since her childhood days in the country, with the function of fool or jester; the Marquis de Bay, whose pronouncements on physiognomy (and repeated attempts to flirt with, and court Faublas *en travesti*) are a running gag; and

Rosambert, whose cunning plot to lure the Marquise de Bay into his bed ends up by launching Faublas into his brief libertine escapade. As will be explored in the next chapter, Hofmannsthal first described the *Rosenkavalier* scenario to Strauss by highlighting its essential features: 'It contains two big parts, one for baritone and another for a graceful girl dressed up as a man, à la Farrar<sup>153</sup> or Mary Garden.'<sup>154</sup> The graceful girl was Faublas, later to become Octavian, the baritone a combination of three prototypes: Pourceaugnac from the eponymous Molière *comédie ballet*, the Marquis de Bay and Rosambert, as will be argued in greater detail in Chapter Four. They became Baron Ochs.

Hofmannsthal may have highlighted to Strauss the roles that were to become Ochs and Octavian, but as the contemporary reception of *L'Ingénu libertin* makes clear, the star feature of the piece was the role of the Marquise, played by Arlette Dorgère (Appendix 3, ex. F). She was twenty-seven at the time and had already appeared in the *travesti* role in Terrasse's *Le sire de Vergy* four years previously. Raoul Aubry encapsulated the views of many critics when he wrote of her:

Arlette Dorgère, rose sous ses cheveux blonds, et coquette, et fine, et malicieuse, pourrait si bien se contenter d'être adorablement jolie. Or, figurez-vous qu'elle s'avise de chanter, de jouer la comédie, et qu'elle chante à ravir, d'une voix facile et délicieusement timbrée, et qu'elle joue avec une aisance spirituelle, une grace mutine tout à fait dix-huitième!<sup>155</sup>

---

<sup>153</sup> Kessler had attended Geraldine Farrar's debut as Marguérite in Gounod's *Faust* at the Berlin Hofoper on 15 October 1901: he noted her 'great all-round talent' in the diary that day (*Tagebuch III*, p. 440).

<sup>154</sup> This passage in a letter from Hofmannsthal to Strauss of 11 February 1909 is considered in detail in Chapter Four (Hofmannsthal-Strauss, p. 27).

<sup>155</sup> Raoul Aubry, 'Soirée Parisienne' in *Gil Blas*, 12 December 1907, p. 3.

Other adjectives used of her performance include ‘exquisite’, ‘adorable’, ‘seductive’, with unanimous praise for her singing and acting abilities and comments on her beauty onstage: ‘Mlle Arlette Dorgère is a ravishing Marquise de Bay, as well dressed in Act I as undressed in Act III’.<sup>156</sup> And the part clearly marked a sort of coming of age for her: in an interview dated 10 May 1910, after Dorgère had abandoned the opérette stage to launch her career as a serious actress, she recalled:

Mais un hasard me fit accepter un engagement aux Bouffes pour faire une création dans *L’Ingénu libertin*, une pièce de moeurs, délicate et spirituelle, et j’y gouttai une joie si intense à composer, minutieusement, la personnage que j’avais à représenter, que je résolus aussitôt de consacrer tous mes efforts à la comédie.<sup>157</sup>

In the role of Faublas, Jeanne Alba had good, but slightly more mixed reviews. Nozière praised her ‘clear diction, warm voice and natural movement’ but added that ‘she does not yet have that star quality, that mastery that unleashes an audience’s enthusiasm’.<sup>158</sup> The *Libre Parole* reviewer, seeing in the part qualities that Alba did not possess, wrote, ‘What this role should have had was a Déjazet or a Granier!’<sup>159</sup> (Drault). He and others questioned the effectiveness of having a woman dressed as a man who disguises herself as a woman for much of the play – ignoring perhaps the musical opportunities this gave Terrasse for contrasting and occasionally harmonising three very different female voices, and the long

---

<sup>156</sup> Mondor, *La Presse*, 13 December 1907 (Terrasse dossier nfd).

<sup>157</sup> Arlette Dorgère, interview on 10 May 1910, held on microfiche (Dorgère) in the *Collection Rondel*, BNF, Paris.

<sup>158</sup> Nozière, *Gil Blas*, 12 December 1907 (Terrasse dossier nfd).

<sup>159</sup> Virginie Déjazet (1798–1875) and Jeanne Granier (1852–1939) were among the leading French actresses of their day, often playing young male roles *en travesti*.

stage history of precisely that *travesti* construct, exemplified by Déjazet on the nineteenth-century French stage, and in the opera houses of Europe for even longer.

The Sophie of Jeanne Petit was praised for her delicacy and artistry but the minor role that elicited real enthusiasm from the critics – and clearly from the audience – was that of the soubrette Justine, played by Andrée Divonne. Robert Dieudonné went as far as to say:

Enfin, la grande triomphatrice de la soirée, il faut bien le dire, a été Mlle Andrée Divonne qui, dans un petit rôle de soubrette, a ravi tous les spectateurs. Il est impossible de se montrer plus gaie, plus charmante, plus adroite, et je vous assure que le plaisir qu'on prend à la voir se double du plaisir qu'on prend à l'entendre.<sup>160</sup>

General critical opinion of the male roles was less favourable, with Jean Coizeau being found too lightweight (and with too small a baritone voice) in the role of Rosambert, and Milo de Meyer being accused of somewhat gross overacting in the role of the Marquis de Bay (an accusation that many a Baron Ochs has faced in the hundred years of *Der Rosenkavalier*). But unanimous and high praise was given to the chorus and orchestra, conducted from memory – as several critics noted – by a young conductor making his debut, Philippe Moreau, who was studying composition with Xavier Leroux at the Paris Conservatoire at the time.<sup>161</sup> Moreau's father, Emile, had collaborated with Victorien Sardou on the hugely successful play *Madame Sans Gêne*.

---

<sup>160</sup> Robert Dieudonné, *Le Courrier de la Presse*, December 1907 (Terrasse dossier nfd).

<sup>161</sup> Leroux himself had studied with Jules Massenet and went on to compose many operas: his works were played at the Promenade concerts in London until the 1920s.

The main features of the work created by Artus and Terrasse that was to lead on, quite unknown to them, to much greater things, can be summarized in the following manner. Firstly, *L'Ingénu libertin* should be regarded as an opérette variant of the well-made play. Its action is set within the compass of twenty-four hours. Its libretto is sharp, stylish and witty, as noted by a number of the critics, and although some of the spoken dialogue is occasionally wordy for the modern ear, the tone throughout is elegant and the words are in character – from the foppish speeches of the Marquis de Bay to the resigned, elegiac and frequently ironic patterns of speech of the Marquise.

One or two of the contemporary critics saw how elegantly it had been constructed. Henry de Gorsse, for example, wrote:

Le joli conte galant que M. Artus a tiré de 'Faublas' n'est cependant pas une opérette, ou du moins ce n'est pas une opérette comme celles que nous avons eu l'habitude d'applaudir jusqu'ici. C'est plutôt une comédie, agrémentée de numéros de musique, d'une musique mièvre, charmante et jamais tapageuse, comme il convenait à un conte libertin du dix-huitième siècle.<sup>162</sup>

These words, interestingly, pre-echo those of the debate that was to go on between Hofmannsthal, Kessler and Strauss in late 1910, when all three were trying to decide how to describe the nascent *Der Rosenkavalier* generically, and indeed, what title to give it. 'Operetta' had often been used in correspondence between them: indeed, it is noteworthy that Hofmannsthal was still using the term as late as on 20 November 1910,

---

<sup>162</sup> Henry de Gorsse, *Les Premières* in *La Vie au Théâtre*, December 1907 (Terrasse dossier nfd).

when he wrote to Hedwig Fischer: '[...] doch im Januar während der Dresdner Proben denke ich schon manchmal nach Berlin zu kommen, und nach dem 25ten (dies ist die Première der Operette) dann für eine längere, wenn nicht lange Zeit [..]' (Rodewald/Fiedler, pp. 546-7). As posterity knows, the genre description finally agreed by all parties was *Komödie für Musik*, or 'Comedy for Music'; and this recalls Henri de Gorsse's formulation, quoted above: 'It is more of a comedy play, enhanced by musical numbers'.

Like Gorsse, Louis Schneider picked up on the literary antecedents of what Artus was trying to achieve on stage, when he wrote:

Cet aventure a été fort joliment contée par Louis Artus, qui a, par instants, retrouvé et fait passer dans sa pièce le style fané comme une vieille étoffe du temps, le ton léger et mélancolique des romans amoureux de Crébillon, de Choderlos de Laclos, et de Louvet de Couvray.<sup>163</sup>

That could merely have described a play, however, whereas the *conte galant* was above all a work of musical theatre, and it is the second aspect that now needs consideration.

## **B. Musical**

A key question, given the paucity of information in Kessler's laconic diary entry: 'I then narrated Terrasse's *Faublas* opérette to him. Hofmannsthal delighted' (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 557) is what it was, precisely, that Kessler

---

<sup>163</sup> Louis Schneider, *Le Figaro*, 12 December 1907, p. 3. Pierre Choderlos de Laclos (1741-1803) was already well-known for his epistolary novel *Les Liaisons Dangereuses*: as mentioned earlier, Nozière's stage version of the novel was also playing in December 1907 at Maisons Laffitte.

narrated. From the written scenarios that followed immediately, he clearly went into great detail about the characters and their unfolding narratives, and Hofmannsthal's earliest sketches and descriptions of the Marschallin's bedroom for Act One suggest, beyond reasonable doubt, that Kessler described the Baudoin bedroom scene in minute detail right at the outset. This can be seen in Appendix 3, exs. G and H. As Schuh noted in 1971, having placed the texts of the scenic instructions for *Der Rosenkavalier* and for *L'Ingénu libertin* side by side and compared their respective wordings:

Die auffallende Übereinstimmung der szenischen Angaben bei Artus und bei Hofmannsthal kann nicht auf die Lektüre des Textbuches zurückgeführt werden, da die erste Niederschrift schon im März erfolgte, der Brief mit der Mitteilung an Kessler jedoch erst Ende Juli 1909 geschrieben wurde. Sie beruht anscheinend auf Kesslers Erzählung (*Fassungen*, p. 302).

Kessler's artistic eye and aesthetic sensibility, and above all his appreciation of things that worked onstage in terms of theatrical effectiveness, can account for this striking similarity, as noted by Schuh. However, the musical features of *L'Ingénu libertin* that Kessler may have related to Hofmannsthal are less easy to describe: there is simply no specific evidence. It must, however, be a strong presumption that Kessler said something about Terrasse and his musical treatment of the Artus libretto; Kessler, after all, and as detailed in Chapter One, had immersed himself in opera, opérette, spoken theatre and the lighter side of public entertainment such as music hall from his earliest years. So whatever he said to Hofmannsthal must have derived from the piece he sat down to

watch in the theatre at 9.00 pm on Saturday 18 January 1908. In musical terms, it (and the context in which it was played) can be described as follows.

The Bouffes Parisiens is an intimate performance venue (audience capacity around 600, although this varied slightly with successive re-modellings of the Salle Choiseul) with a small orchestra pit, measuring seven and a half metres wide and two and a third metres deep in 1907.<sup>164</sup> This gave comfortable playing space to an orchestra of eighteen to twenty musicians, with an absolute maximum of twenty-five: however, for *L'Ingénu libertin* there was also a harpsichord in the pit, which points to a lesser number than the maximum. The work is scored for the standard string section (first and second violins, violas, celli and double basses), plus flute, piccolo, oboe, two clarinets, bassoon, two horns, two trumpets, trombone and timpani, implying perhaps an orchestra of twenty-one. For the size of auditorium and acoustic of the Bouffes Parisiens, this orchestra will have been more than adequate, and with a young conductor who had learned the score by heart and conducted it from memory, the results were clearly impressive.

Kessler will have heard immediately, during the overture, that the work was to be full of waltz melodies. The overture itself is a pot-pourri of melodies from the later numbers: after a rousing opening in D major, for

---

<sup>164</sup> These dimensions were provided in person by the current stage management staff, during two visits to the theatre on 5 and 8 March 2012, after careful measurement and some research. Most of the historical records of the period had been taken away and either lost or destroyed during the period of ownership (1986-2007) of the Bouffes Parisiens by Jean-Claude Brialy (1933-2007): very few have found their way to the BNF or to the BHVP.

full orchestra including the two trumpets, in 2/4 time, the music softens to play Sophie's solo *Romance* from Act Two, an *Andantino* in waltz time, firstly just played by strings and then gradually with flute, oboe and clarinet lending colour to the melodic line (App. 2, ex. K, pp. 397-9). After a brief modulatory passage, the orchestra then takes up the refrain of the first extended number in Act One between the Marquise de Bay and Faublas: *Duo et Valse des Questions Amoureuses*, a waltz tune that is to recur as a motif (in different keys) in the piece, and to be used as the finale to the whole work in Act Three, sung by the Marquise and Faublas, this time over full chorus, and in the home key of D major. (In its B flat major incarnation in Act One, *Amour vous guette* has some interesting and subtle orchestration, with a high solo violin accompanying and embellishing the melodic line of the Marquise as the voice is sustained by the lower strings, violas and celli). The overture then has a lively passage in A major, anticipating both the full chorus of servants and kitchen boys in the finale to Act One, and the duet for Sophie and La Jeunesse as they arrive in the home of the Marquise de Bay in Act Two, before reverting to an orchestral flourish in D major in its final bars.

In terms of the preponderant rhythms of *L'Ingénu libertin*, it is quicker and easier to highlight the relatively few numbers that are not in either waltz or minuet time (3/4) than the converse, for the whole work is dominated by the waltz. Of twenty-seven separate numbers, nine are in 2/4 or in common time, including the introductory section of the trio in Act III, which is both the longest (nearly seven minutes) and the most

dramatic ensemble of all. The trio merely consists, however, of each of the three soloists singing their respective passages consecutively, then in unison for the *C'est Colin Maillard* refrain, in waltz time, and only right at the end in simple three part harmony (App. 2, ex. L, pp. 400-1). Despite this relative vocal simplicity, the number is of great musical distinction and clearly – from the reception already detailed – made a big impression in the theatre. Played and sung as it was against the most striking décor of the three acts – the Baudoin bedroom – it must have made a particularly vivid impression on Kessler.

Terrasse's orchestration throughout the piece is painted with a fine brush, especially when musical phrases are repeated and when words in the libretto are to be pointed up: the bassoon and horn interjections in the Act II duet between Justine and La Jeunesse have already been noted (App. 2, ex. D, p. 392). Similarly, in the septet in Act II that precedes preparations for the Marquise and Faublas to take themselves off to bed, a distinct musical warning around Rosambert's name can be heard, in the form of a woodwind *appoggiatura* playing recurring descending minor seconds, as the Marquise tries to get rid of him and he sings of his anger about what is happening (App. 2, ex. M, p. 402). As the number progresses, high flutes play little mocking phrases as Rosambert realises he has been outwitted: the orchestration and musical characterisation are witty and vivid here, and, as he and the Marquis are ushered outside the room, with bedtime approaching, bassoon, clarinets and horns darken the orchestral sound as the Marquise's four maids enter to undress her for bed.

The Entr'acte between Act II and Act III is a short, orchestrally bright number (G major) with an introductory fanfare, announcing that something special is about to happen: the orchestral refrain that then follows is a reprise of the Act II morality song, *Chanson du Joli Jardin*, sung by the Marquise as an after-dinner entertainment for her guests. The moral of the song is that for things to grow in a garden...a gardener is required – a clear reminder to the audience (if one were needed) of the situation in which Faublas and the Marquise have been left at the end of the previous act (App. 2, ex. N, pp. 406-8). The musical mood changes, however, as the curtain rises on Act III, and apart from the visually striking Baudoin bedroom, the delicacy of Terrasse's orchestration must have made a particularly strong impression here, with muted strings accompanying the couplets (down a tone, to F major) in which Faublas, and the Marquise, declare their feelings for each other. The flowing melodic vocal line is carried by the celli and clarinets, with frequent *pianissimo* markings: after both soloists have made their professions of love and admiration, the orchestral playout switches to slow waltz time (App. 2, ex. O, pp. 409-13).

Kessler's ability to describe to Hofmannsthal, in general terms, the musical features and highlights of *L'Ingénu libertin* can be assumed. The precise degree to which he did so, however, can only be surmised. What can, however, be said is this: on the basis of all the assembled evidence, *L'Ingénu libertin* had more literary merit, more onstage musical and dramatic interest and more potential for adaptation and for further reworking than any earlier work by Terrasse, such as *Les Travaux d'Hercule*,

which had been a stock formula piece. So when Hofmannsthal, just over a year later, was to tell Kessler of his desire to add his individual genius to the substance of a well-made French play and to present the result to Strauss in order to make a light opera, the material that came to Kessler's mind after sleeping on the problem for no more than one night was entirely logical. The use that was made of that material as *Der Rosenkavalier* took initial shape is considered in the next chapter.

## Chapter Three

### The decision to create *Der Rosenkavalier*

Between 18 January 1908, when he recorded various diary thoughts about the work he had seen that evening at the Théâtre des Bouffes Parisiens, and 9 February 1909, when he enthused Hugo von Hofmannsthal with the notion, there is no evidence that Kessler gave any serious thought to adapting or to reworking *L'Ingénu libertin* as a new piece for the stage. There is no further mention of the work in his diary, nor in his regular correspondence with Hofmannsthal. The diary does, however, illuminate why Kessler may have refrained from putting forward a completely new theatrical suggestion to Hofmannsthal for so long. Following his week in Paris (16-22 January) when he saw *L'Ingénu libertin*, Kessler went to London and spent several days looking at art, in particular pictures by Hogarth, to which further reference will be made in Chapter Four (*Tagebuch IV*, pp. 402-4). He then returned to Paris for the rest of February, before moving on to Berlin and spending much of the second half of March in the city in Hofmannsthal's company. The diary records that on 13 March 1908, Hofmannsthal gave Kessler a full account of the Casanova scenario that he intended to write as an opera for Strauss (*Tagebuch IV*, pp. 432-3). From Kessler's written description in the diary, it appears that Hofmannsthal had planned the opera in some detail, right down to the ending:

Als er wieder aufgeht, sitzt Casanova in der Morgendämmerung noch immer am Tisch; plötzlich kommt der Freund allein die Treppe herunter, Casanova springt auf, greift nach dem Degen, aber der Freund stürzt freudestrahlend auf Casanova zu, umarmt ihn und dankt ihm, für das Glück, das er ihm geschenkt hat, von oben hört man die Stimme des Mädchens liebend den Namen des Freundes rufen. Vorhang.

Hofmannsthal: Casanova sei hier eine Art Gegenfigur zu Figaro: Jemand, der bloß durch seine Lebensfülle, durch sein Temperament, die Dinge weiterbringe. Kainz habe ihm die Geschichte aus Casanova erzählt, eigentlich genau so, wie er sie jetzt sehe (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 433).

Kessler may well have thought, from this thorough and enthusiastic description, that Hofmannsthal had the project well planned and would see it through to completion. He may have continued to think that too, until the following February, when the Hofmannsthals came to stay with him in Weimar. On 8 February 1909, however, in a long and agonised evening conversation, Hofmannsthal told Kessler that he could not see any way of salvaging the Casanova play that he had been writing for so long, (the work that was to become *Cristinas Heimreise*), the scenario that Strauss had been urging him for over a year to turn into an opera collaboration. So he was going to abandon it. Kessler however made various practical suggestions for changing the relative attributes of the main characters, prompting this credo from Hofmannsthal (my emphasis):

Aber du verstehst, das ästhetische Problem war so reizvoll, so die Figur des Carlo, den ich nachher nötig hatte, hier in dieser ungezwungenen Weise, nicht episodisch, schon im zweiten Akt einzuführen; das war gerade der ganze Charme des Stückes für mich. Wenn das wegfällt, wenn ich die Figur in zwei Figuren auflöse, dann hat der Stoff seinen Reiz für mich verloren. Was ich will, ist doch ganz Etwas Bestimmtes. **Nämlich: etwa so wie in einem Gewebe Zettel und Einschlag ineinander greifen, so die gut geführten französischen Szenarios mit Etwas, das in mir liegt,**

**nenne es Gemüt oder Ideal oder wie du willst, verweben.** Und das bot mir gerade diese Szene (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 555).

In their further lengthy conversation that evening, Kessler drew Hofmannsthal's attention to Falstaff, to Greek ship's captains of old, to characters who acted naturally, spontaneously and instinctively, and finished by suggesting Tristan Bernard<sup>165</sup> as a role model for the captain in *Cristinas Heimreise*. The diary records Hofmannsthal's immediate take-up of the suggestion: 'H: Ja, ich glaube, Keiner könnte mir so viel für mein Stück geben wie gerade Tristan Bernard. Sieh, jetzt fühle ich doch wieder eine Möglichkeit, das Stück zu retten' (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 557).

Hofmannsthal's doubts and difficulties over the Casanova material for Strauss, and his reference to the 'well-made French scenario', may well have set Kessler's creative imagination into motion. However, the specific trigger for their joint endeavour that was to see, within two weeks of intensive collaboration, a complete and basically stageworthy scenario for a three act comic opera to be set to music by Strauss, came from Hofmannsthal's request to Kessler, made in the afternoon of 9 February during a walk in Tiefurt Park in Weimar, to tell him about Terrasse's *Les travaux d'Hercule* (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 557). Having done so, and while he was still in Terrasse vein, Kessler spontaneously went on to narrate and to describe *L'Ingénu libertin* in detail, to Hofmannsthal's immediate and obvious excitement:

---

<sup>165</sup> The larger than life figure of French writer Tristan Bernard, drawn notably by Toulouse-Lautrec, was well-known to both men: Bernard had also supplied the libretto for *La Petite Femme de Loth*, set to music by Terrasse in 1900.

Hofmannsthal entzückt. Das sei gerade Etwas, wie er es für Strauss machen möchte; er wolle gleich den Faublas wieder vornehmen und suchen, ob er einen Stoff hergebe. Wenn das gelinge, dann sei er auf Jahre hinaus materiell geborgen. Mit dem Gelde, das so eine lustige Spieloper von ihm und Strauss eintrage, könne er seine ganzen Kinder erziehen. Er werde dann viel freier, um Andres zu schaffen (*Tagebuch IV*, pp. 557-8).

The purpose of this chapter is to identify, analyse and assess the various elements that then went into the initial creation of *Der Rosenkavalier*, from Tuesday 9 February, when Kessler first mentioned *L'Ingénu libertin* to Hofmannsthal, until Monday 22 February, when the two men said goodbye to each other in Berlin. The authorship and subsequent writing of the piece, later in 1909 and in 1910, are considered in the next chapter. The prior relationships, personal and artistic, between the three key protagonists are first of all examined as they were at the time. The methodology used for the writing of the scenario for the work, and the sources appropriated, are then considered and assessed. The seamless derivation of *Der Rosenkavalier* from *L'Ingénu libertin* is summarised, quantified and the appropriate conclusions drawn. These are that without decisive input, practical help and guidance from Kessler, Hofmannsthal - at the stage of development he had reached by 1909 as an opera librettist and original dramatist - would not have been capable of creating the piece that became almost instantly the most assured, stageworthy and successful of all his music theatre works.

## Prior relationships:

### 1. Strauss and Hofmannsthal

Modern critical assessment of the Strauss-Hofmannsthal partnership has been determined largely by the body of work, as a whole, that the two men went on to achieve in a working partnership that spanned twenty-three years (1906–1929). It is thus largely retrospective in nature. *Der Rosenkavalier* has been seen as a natural (and spectacularly successful) link in the chain that ran from *Elektra* to the unfinished *Arabella*, so much so that a recent judgement by one of the doyens of Strauss scholarship, Bryan Gilliam, is emblematic of much of the received wisdom since the death of Strauss in 1949: ‘The collaboration between Richard Strauss and Hugo von Hofmannsthal was one of the greatest composer-librettist relationships of all time. [...] It was an artistic association at the level of Verdi-Boito or Mozart–Da Ponte...’ (Gilliam, p. 119). Kurt Pahlen, in the Piper–Schott edition of *Der Rosenkavalier*, makes a very similar claim in his extensive commentary on the work: ‘Es gibt wohl keinen zweiten, ähnlichen Fall in der Geschichte des Musiktheaters, in dem ein Dichter und ein Komponist höchsten Ranges in so zielbewusster und eindringlicher Gemeinschaftsarbeit geschaffen haben’.<sup>166</sup> But these and all similar judgements, entirely valid as they may be from today’s perspective, are

---

<sup>166</sup> Kurt Pahlen, ‘Zur Geschichte der Oper ‘Der Rosenkavalier’, in *Der Rosenkavalier, Textbuch, Einführung und Kommentar*, ed. by Kurt Pahlen (Mainz – München: Piper – Schott, 1980) p. 293, hereinafter: Pahlen.

made with the benefit of hindsight, and fail to take a considered view of how things actually were in 1909. Instead, if one looks at the creation of *Der Rosenkavalier* solely in the light of the prior social and artistic relationship between Strauss and Hofmannsthal – in other words, as things stood between them when they embarked on this particular venture – a rather different picture emerges.

Various sources, including the Fischer paperback edition of Hofmannsthal's Collected Works in ten volumes<sup>167</sup>, suggest that the two men first met in 1898, but this seems to be a full year out: they actually met for the first time in March 1899 in Berlin at a gathering hosted by the writer Richard Dehmel (Schuh – *Early Years*, p. 442).<sup>168</sup> Had they met in 1898 it is almost certain to have been recorded in the Richard Strauss *Chronik*,<sup>169</sup> but there is no such mention. It is equally almost certain that Hofmannsthal would have mentioned the fact of a meeting with Strauss in his 1898 letters to his parents (again, no such mention) and it is highly likely that such a meeting would have been flagged in the Hofmannsthal-Kessler correspondence for 1898 – but it is not. There are two authoritative accounts of the first meeting, the first by Willi Schuh:

On 23 March 1899 Hugo von Hofmannsthal lunched with Count Harry Kessler, and then the two drove to visit Dehmel in the Berlin suburb of Pankow, where they also met Richard and Pauline Strauss, Paul

---

<sup>167</sup> Hugo von Hofmannsthal, *Gesammelte Werke*, ed. by Bernd Schoeller and Rudolf Hirsch (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1979). The date 1898 appears in the *Lebensdaten* at the end of each volume: in volume 4 this is on page 572.

<sup>168</sup> Likewise Kennedy, p. 126, although he gives the date as 23 March 1899, whereas it was 28 March.

<sup>169</sup> Franz Trenner, *Richard Strauss Chronik zu Leben und Werk* (Vienna: R. Strauss Verlag, 2003), hereinafter: *Chronik*.

Scheerbart and Wilhelm Schäfer. The date is important, because it was probably Strauss's first meeting with Dehmel, and certainly his first with Hofmannsthal (Schuh, p. 442).

The date is indeed important and 23 March is also given in the *Chronik*, but it is almost certainly a case of a handwritten '8' being mistaken for a '3'. For the best evidence of all, from Kessler's continuous and handwritten daily diary, suggests that they in fact first met on 28 March 1899 at Dehmel's house in Pankow as a result of an introduction by Kessler. Kessler had known Dehmel since 1894, had worked with him subsequently on the board of the literary and arts magazine *Pan* and had spent considerable time and effort in 1898 arranging the publication in *Pan* of various writings by Hofmannsthal.<sup>170</sup> Kessler's diary entry for 28 March 1899 states:

Hofmannsthal bei mir gefrühstückt. Nachher mit ihm zu Dehmel nach Pankow hinaus. Dort noch Richard Strauss mit seiner Frau, Scheerbart u. Schäfer. Hofmannsthal fällt mir auf die Dauer zur Last; es liegt etwas an seiner Eitelkeit, dass er nie daran denkt, dass er zu lange bleiben kann (*Tagebuch III*, p. 231).

By contrast the diary entry for 23 March 1899 merely states: 'Hofmannsthal bei mir gefrühstückt' (*Tagebuch III*, p. 230). Kessler himself had first encountered Strauss in 1894 (*Tagebuch II*, p. 287) and by 1899, because of the Dehmel connection to both men and because of his own considerable public profile, was undoubtedly known to Strauss, although

---

<sup>170</sup> *Donna Dianora*, the first version of *Die Frau im Fenster*, was published in *Pan* in 1898 for example.

the diary does not record any other face to face meetings with the composer in the intervening period.

Hofmannsthal subsequently spent 13 February to 2 May 1900 in Paris, living in a student room at 192 boulevard Haussmann, working intensively on various literary projects and networking through the good offices of the Austrian and German embassies (Burger, pp. 463-4). During this stay, on 6 March 1900 (Gilliam, p. 120) he met socially with Strauss and had a conversation about ballet. On 17 and again on 30 November 1900 Hofmannsthal wrote to Strauss, recalling their conversation in Paris and inviting Strauss to compose the music for his newly-written ballet libretto *Die Triumph der Zeit* (Strauss-Hofmannsthal, pp. 1-2). Strauss declined the offer.

There is then a five-year gap, both men working on their own projects, until Strauss saw Hofmannsthal's stage play *Elektra* during its revival run at the Deutsches Theater in Berlin in October/November 1905 (Kennedy, p. 152). Strauss was immediately struck by the operatic possibilities in Hofmannsthal's reworking of Sophocles, in particular by the power and by what has been aptly called the 'crescendo of action' in the treatment (Gilliam, p. 121), and recontacted Hofmannsthal, seeking permission to use a version of his text as an opera libretto. They met in Berlin on 22 February 1906 and Hofmannsthal gave Strauss permission to go ahead.

The Strauss-Hofmannsthal correspondence in 1906-7 (there are only nineteen letters in all, mostly rather formal in tone) documents how this

particular collaborative relationship worked in practice. Strauss took Hofmannsthal's play text, cut it down substantially, made musical annotations in the margin and began to compose the first scene in earnest in June 1906 (Strauss-Hofmannsthal, p. 7). At the same time he began to voice doubts as to whether or not he really wanted to set material so similar to that of *Salome* (in which Hofmannsthal had played no part). From his perspective, Hofmannsthal stressed the differences between *Salome* and *Elektra* – with evident concern that his embryonic association with the illustrious composer might come to nothing – and prevailed to the extent that Strauss continued work (Strauss-Hofmannsthal, p.8). But a constant theme in the correspondence, articulated by Strauss as early as in his letter of 11 March 1906, is his desire to get Hofmannsthal started on a new, original and quite different opera libretto. As the letter says:

That is why anyway I should be glad to know if you've got anything else in stock for me, and if I might perhaps have a go at some other subject from your pen, farther removed from *Salome*, before doing *Elektra*. Apart from *Semiramis*, which I am extremely anxious to see, you mentioned some other work that you had in hand: perhaps I could see something of it soon? [...] Have you got an entertaining renaissance subject for me? A really wild *Cesare Borgia* or *Savonarola* would be the answer to my prayers (Strauss-Hofmannsthal, p. 3).

Hofmannsthal, at this time as throughout his life, did indeed have other works in hand – 'fragmentary scenarios and sketches' as he was to describe them to Strauss two years later (Strauss-Hofmannsthal, p. 14) – but he held out little prospect to the composer that they would or could be produced before work on *Elektra* had progressed further, despite Strauss's

mentions of Saul and David, of *Dantons Tod* by Büchner, of *Thermidor* by Sardou, and despite Strauss's repeated pleas to see something of *Semiramis*. Thus some of Strauss's frustration clearly showed when he next met Hofmannsthal (in Kessler's company) on 10 December 1906, for the Kessler diary entry for that day runs:

Dann mit Hofmannsthal zu einer Verabredung mit Richard Strauss bei Töpfer. Schillings, der Afrikaner, der Bruder von Max Schillings, war zufällig da und setzte sich zu uns, um zu hören, was Strauss vom „Moloch“ und dem Eindruck in Dresden hielt. Strauss war aufrichtig ablehnend. Es seien auf der Bühne lauter Ideen, keine Menschen. Wenn eine Oper wirken solle, müsse auch der Schusterjunge auf der Gallerie noch Etwas davon haben. Sonst kriege man das Publikum nicht hinein. Der Moloch sei ein sogenannter schöner Achtungserfolg. Aber man müsse trachten, die Achtung loszuwerden. Das sei ihm, Strauss, mit der *Feuersnot* gelungen. Das Nächste sei dann, seine „Gemeinde“ abzuschütteln. Man sei da immer umringt von einem Haufen Menschen, die ganz genau wüssten, welches „Ziel“ man verfolge. „Aber mein „Ziel“, das weiss ich doch selber nicht. Ich mache, was mir halt gerade Spass macht. Was kümmere ich mich um irgendein Ziel, das irgendwo da ganz hinten liegt? Jeder Mensch hat nur ein Ziel, den Tod. Was ich mache, das mache ich, weil ich muss, nicht weil ich irgendein Ziel habe. Ich kann auch nicht immer, selbst wenn ich will. So bei der *Elektra*. Ein Drittel ungefähr ist fertig. Aber dann bin ich hängen geblieben, im Gespräch der *Klytämnestra* mit der *Elektra*. Die Phantasie lässt mich da im Stich. Mir fällt Nix ein. Ich weiss nicht, ob ich nicht erst irgendein leichtes, komisches Werk dazwischen komponieren sollte. Ich habe an den *Tartuffe* gedacht. Die *Elektra* ist vielleicht zu ähnlich mit der *Salome*; die Phantasie braucht auf dieser Seite Ruhe.“ Hofmannsthal war ziemlich bedrückt über diese Mitteilung. Er versuchte, Strauss klarzumachen, wie sehr die *Elektra* sich für ihn eigne, durch das rapide Hindrängen gegen den Schluss und durch die Vorgänge im Hause, die erst durch die Symphonie herauskommen könnten. Strauss meinte: Ja, ja, er werde sie auch zu Ende komponieren, nur könne er nicht sagen, wann. Dann gieng Hofmannsthal, und ich setzte mich mit Strauss noch zu Schirachs und andren musikalischen Leuten, und Strauss fragte mich nach meinem Konflikt in Weimar (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 219).

This is a fascinating and revealing passage, that does not yet seem to have found its way into the main body of Strauss-Hofmannsthal scholarship. It shows that Strauss was happy to voice in public, in front of

Kessler and others, the thoughts that he had vouchsafed privately in his letter to Hofmannsthal nine months previously. It shows that Kessler knew directly from Strauss's own mouth, as early as December 1906, of the composer's desire to write a light, comic opera that would appeal to the gallery, *Tartuffe* being a possible subject. It shows that Hofmannsthal was hurt by Strauss's remarks – as Kessler noticed – and left the gathering early. In the light of both the prior and the subsequent working relationship between Hofmannsthal and Kessler, it is a significant piece of evidence.

Work on *Elektra* continued however, at Strauss's pace, and as the musical tapestry grew in 1908, Hofmannsthal was asked by Strauss to supply some new words to be set: 'eight, sixteen, twenty lines, as many as you can, rising all the time towards a climax' (Strauss-Hofmannsthal, p. 16). This rather limited further input by Hofmannsthal to the opera that was taking shape has led to the widely-held judgement that 'it was not technically a collaboration [...] the libretto is strictly Strauss's work, a skilful reduction of the play' (Kennedy, p. 155), and: '*Elektra* was not really a collaboration, for [...] Strauss received permission from a delighted Hofmannsthal to use his text as he saw fit' (Gilliam, p. 121). Even musical reference books suggest the same: 'By the time the piece [*Elektra*] was performed, he was already working on his first real collaboration with Hofmannsthal [...]' (*New Grove*, vol. 24, p. 501). Strauss moreover was finding himself perplexed by a crucial part of Hofmannsthal's original *Elektra* scenario:

One more thing: I still don't understand the scenic action at the end. Surely, Orestes is *in* the house. Surely, the front door in the middle is shut. Chrysothemis and the serving maids hurried off on page 88 *into the house on the left*. On page 91 they are 'rushing out madly'. Out of where? The left or through the middle? Page 93: Chrysothemis comes running out. Out which way? Through the courtyard gate on the right? What for? Surely, Orestes is in the centre of the house! Why is she at the end beating at the front door? Surely because it is barred? Do please answer these questions of mine in detail. I have never been quite clear about the scenario since reading it through (Strauss-Hofmannsthal, p. 16).

This very direct – brusque almost – catalogue of questions was perhaps prompted by an admission by Hofmannsthal, in his letter to Strauss of 4 June 1908 that preceded it. Moreover, this admission goes to the heart of the case that on his own, even by 1909, Hofmannsthal was not technically or psychologically equipped to devise and execute the 'full and entirely original scenario for an opera' (Strauss-Hofmannsthal, p. 27) that was to presage *Der Rosenkavalier* and that, as argued below, must be regarded as one of the most misleading letters in opera history. For in his previous letter (the one of 4 June 1908), Hofmannsthal had said (my emphasis):

But now allow me to discuss at once your main point, and please set my mind at rest by an immediate reply. You understand, don't you – and have never counted on anything else – that I shall have the comedy [*Cristinas Heimreise*], just as it comes from my pen, performed first on the ordinary stage. There is, I think, in any case no other alternative, for what attracts me as an artist to the subject and what I aim at (now that I have got this good, slim scenario) is to round out the characters as much as possible and to produce as natural and varied a dialogue as I can. Quite conceivably you may be able to make direct use of this dialogue, after extensive cuts, as you did in the case of *Salome*. If so, all the better. But it is equally possible that you may wish me to transpose the whole thing into a simpler and more lyrical key, while preserving the scenario entire, an operation such as Da Ponte carried out on the text of the comedy *Le Mariage de Figaro*. This I would willingly undertake, **but never could I**

**attempt to formulate the text from the outset in this lyrical manner which leaves most of the characterization to the composer.** To do this would make me lose all certainty of touch and so produce something that falls between two stools. On the other hand, once the comedy is done and has succeeded on the stage, and once each character has gained, so to speak, something of an independent existence, then it is possible to summon up the necessary effrontery to treat it all, if need be, very much *en raccourci* (Strauss-Hofmannsthal, p. 15).

As will be seen in the next section of this chapter, covering Hofmannsthal's prior relationship with Kessler, this perceived inability on the poet's part to invent new and original characters for the stage and to construct plausible scenarios around them was very much a feature of Hofmannsthal's thinking at this time. With adaptations from antiquity, with Sophocles as the model for his undoubtedly powerful and exciting *Elektra*, Hofmannsthal felt more secure. But with what Strauss really wanted from him at this time – a new, colourful, comic work (that in Strauss's mind would extend the *opera buffo* lineage through Mozart's comedies and Wagner's *Die Meistersinger*) – Hofmannsthal felt decidedly under-confident. It is true that he had come through the crisis of language that in 1902 had found eloquent expression in his sensational *Chandos-Brief*<sup>171</sup>, but it is not true that he was ready, or knew how, to plunge into a new, collaborative opera partnership with Strauss using an original plot or scenario of his own. The persistent tenor of Hofmannsthal's contribution to the Strauss-Hofmannsthal correspondence of this period (1900-08) is that

---

<sup>171</sup> *Ein Brief* was a fictitious letter from Philip, Lord Chandos to Francis Bacon published in *Der Tag* in October 1902: it bemoans the author's loss of coherent thinking and speech and has generally been regarded as autobiographical, although the noted Hofmannsthal scholar Rudolf Hirsch has argued convincingly that this is not entirely so: Rudolf Hirsch, *Ein Brief des Lord Chandos in Beiträge zum Verständnis Hugo von Hofmannsthals* (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer Verlag, 1995) pp. 45-51.

of a gifted, lyrical, poetic wordsmith becoming more and more hassled by a practical but impatient composer keen on original libretti that he can set to music – and having to explain why he feels unable to comply.

The prior relationship between Hofmannsthal and Strauss (in other words, their pre- *Der Rosenkavalier* relationship) can thus be characterised objectively as embryonic and rather distant. Strauss was already famous as a composer and conductor, Hofmannsthal was making his name as a writer and lyric poet, who possessed an extraordinary facility in the German language. His stage works – with the exception of *Elektra* – were attracting very mixed critical appreciation and limited success with the public. With the adaptation of *Elektra* from stage play to opera, it was Strauss who fashioned the libretto, just as he had done with *Salome*, and it was Strauss who dictated exactly what he wanted to see on the stage. In the light of all this, one can only imagine Strauss's astonishment when he read in Hofmannsthal's letter of 11 February 1909:

Now something which is (as I hope) of far greater importance to the two of us. I have spent three quiet afternoons here drafting the full and entirely original scenario for an opera, full of burlesque situations and characters, with lively action, pellucid almost like a pantomime. There are opportunities in it for lyrical passages, for fun and humour, even for a small ballet. I find the scenario enchanting and Count Kessler with whom I discussed it is delighted with it. It contains two big parts, one for baritone and another for a graceful girl dressed up as a man, à la Farrar or Mary Garden. Period: the old Vienna under the Empress Maria Theresa (Strauss-Hofmannsthal, p. 27).

This news came from the man who, eight months earlier, had written: 'never could I attempt to formulate the text from the outset in this lyrical manner which leaves most of the characterization to the composer.'

So something had clearly changed in the interim. That ‘something’ can undoubtedly be ascribed to the third man named in the letter, Harry Kessler, whose prior relationship with Hofmannsthal now requires close scrutiny and assessment.

## 2. Kessler and Hofmannsthal

There is much more documentary evidence of the pre- *Der Rosenkavalier* relationship between Kessler and Hofmannsthal than is the case for Strauss and Hofmannsthal. There are the Kessler diaries, chronicling his activities, encounters and innermost thoughts day by day throughout this period.<sup>172</sup> There are letters about Kessler (and about Hofmannsthal) that were exchanged between their large circle of mutual friends – Eberhard von Bodenhausen, Richard Dehmel, Ottonie Degenfeld, Helene von Nostitz and many others. And there is the Hofmannsthal-Kessler correspondence, running to almost 400 letters in the period 1898 – 1929, and to 300 in the pre- *Der Rosenkavalier* period alone. The quality and the texture of Hofmannsthal’s ever-changing relationship with Kessler, who was his sponsor, practical helper, adviser and (at least until 1910) intimate friend can thus be analysed in great detail.

---

<sup>172</sup> The handwritten pages of the diaries, written continuously and in close script, can be inspected at the German Literature Archive in Marbach, and that body has confirmed in the published volumes to date that, although there are corrections and insertions (and clear signs that Kessler reread and marked certain passages for inclusion in his planned three-volume memoirs in 1934-5) there are very few instances of entries being altered or inserted at much later dates: the diaries can thus be regarded as a contemporaneous record.

The precocious flowering of a new German literary talent, publishing under the pseudonym Loris, was guaranteed rapidly to come to the attention of Kessler, who by the mid to late 1890s (and with the fortune he had inherited from his father in 1895) was starting to collect friends and influential contacts in every branch of the arts – painters, sculptors, designers, printers and musicians. Indeed, the second volume of *Pan* in 1895 saw the publication of *Terzinen* by Loris, a collection of *terza rima* poems that enchanted Kessler, who promptly tried to find out more about the author (Burger, p. 433). He evidently contacted Princess Cantacuzène<sup>173</sup>, for in an unpublished letter of 8 May 1896 from her to Kessler she says: ‘Weil Sie sich für Loris interessieren und ich’s Ihnen versprochen habe, lege ich den einen Brief [...] und zwei Gedichte von ihm bei’ (Burger, p. 453). The following year Eberhard von Bodenhausen wrote to Hofmannsthal on 25 September 1897 and said: ‘Sie müssen die Briefe lesen, die ich eben an Kessler und Fleischlein über Ihr herrliches, herrliches Gedicht geschrieben habe’ (Burger, p. 453). So the ground was being prepared by intermediaries. However, the first actual meeting between the two did not take place until 11 May 1898, in Berlin, and was recorded thus by Kessler in his diary: ‘Nachmittags Hofmannsthal mich besucht; es ist ein kleiner, lustiger Wiener mit hoher, detonierender Stimme sprechend, aber durchaus sympatisch und natürlich (?eher affektiert natürlich) in

---

<sup>173</sup> Princess Cantacuzène’s father, Frederick Dent Grant, had been appointed US Minister to the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1889 and she was at the centre of social life in Vienna in the 1890s.

seiner Art und Weise' (*Tagebuch III*, p. 143). Kessler was nearly 30, Hofmannsthal six years his junior at 24.

Hofmannsthal had come to Berlin for the first-ever performance in the theatre (a matinée) of one of his plays. *Die Frau im Fenster* was directed by Otto Brahm, who was later to be linked with Kessler, at the *Freie Bühne* or small experimental stage attached to the Deutsches Theater. Kessler attended the performance on 15 May 1898 but (as is frequently the case for his entries on works which made no particularly good or bad impression on him) made no comment about it in his diary. He wrote to Hofmannsthal on 11 July 1898 however, saying that the play had impressed him much more on subsequent reading than it had done in the theatre, and asking for permission to reinstate certain passages, cut by Hofmannsthal, for the version that Kessler wished to have printed in *Pan* (Burger, p. 6). Kessler's lack of inhibition in criticising – and in praising – Hofmannsthal's work is evident even at this very early stage of their relationship.

The May 1898 visit to Berlin was evidently not an unqualified success and Kessler's mixed feelings about Hofmannsthal as a person are recorded in the diary. Whereas on 14 May 1898 he wrote: 'Er gewinnt sehr bei näherer Bekanntschaft' (*Tagebuch III*, p. 144), two days later, the two men having been in each other's company daily, he came to a somewhat harsher judgement:

Überhaupt ist er eitel und sozial ehrgeizig; er schwebt noch in Gefahr, so zu enden wie Heyse oder Bourget, als Theezirkeldichter und Boudoirphilosoph; sein Temperament ist ganz unrevolutionär, und die Gedanken bequemen sich mit der Zeit meistens dem Temperament an.

Ausserdem ist der Dichter für ihn offenbar ein ganz besonderes Wesen, von allen Andren durch Abgründe getrennt (*Tagebuch III*, pp. 145-6).

However, the ties that began to bind them were stronger than the character traits that irked, and their tone in correspondence between 1898 and 1908 is one of growing mutual admiration, on Kessler's part for Hofmannsthal's extraordinary lyrical writing talent and on Hofmannsthal's part for Kessler's wide knowledge, astute critical judgement and extremely useful circle of friends. By February 1899 Kessler was writing: 'Lieber Herr von Hofmannsthal! Von irgendwelcher Schwierigkeit, die mir Ihre Dichtung dem Pan Comité gegenüber bereitete, ist keine Rede; es ist mir im Gegenteil sehr schmeichelhaft, Ihnen als parrain dienen zu können' (Burger, pp. 16-7). Then, in March 1899, Hofmannsthal came to Berlin for an extended stay (he spent time with Kessler on numerous occasions between 11 and 30 March)<sup>174</sup> in an attempt to gauge his literary effect on those he described as 'real Germans', outside Viennese literary circles. The diary records some creative interaction. On 12 March for example: 'Man müsse Hofmannsthal in seinen Versen das Plaudern abgewöhnen' (*Tagebuch III*, p. 229). On 18 March Kessler made a slightly fuller entry: 'Première von Hofmannsthal's *Sobeide* and *Abenteurer*.<sup>175</sup> Kainz im *Abenteurer* so brillant, dass es schwer ist, das Stück als solches zu beurteilen. Dehmel über die *Sobeide* im Zwischenakt

---

<sup>174</sup> The diary records time spent by Kessler with Hofmannsthal on 11, 18, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29 and 30 March 1899.

<sup>175</sup> Hofmannsthal's two short plays *Die Hochzeit der Sobeide* and *Der Abenteurer und die Sängerin* premièred simultaneously on 18 March 1899 at the Deutsches Theater in Berlin and at the Burgtheater in Vienna.

empört' (*Tagebuch III*, p. 230). The most significant entry during this stay however, in terms of the theatrical collaboration that was to follow between Kessler and Hofmannsthal, is that of 22 March (my emphasis):

Mit Hofmannsthal gegessen, der gerade von Hauptmann kam; Hauptmann hatte ihm das Hirtenlied vorgelesen. Hofmannsthal klagt, **dass ihm nie Sujets zu Stücken einfielen; ich möchte doch auf welche achten in Memoiren etc. und sie ihm mitteilen** (*Tagebuch III*, p. 230).

This admission by the rapidly up-and-coming Hofmannsthal that he lacked the imagination to think up, independently, suitable plots and scenarios for his stage plays was to lead Kessler into providing a constant stream of suggestions in years to come. The role of mentor, stimulator and general guardian of Hofmannsthal's imaginative and creative development was clearly one that appealed to him. Likewise, Kessler's persona and aura undoubtedly appealed almost immediately, and equally strongly, to Hofmannsthal: on 18 November 1899 the latter wrote to him:

Der mir kaum recht erklärlicher Antheil, den Sie während meines Berliner Aufenthaltes an mir genommen haben, gehört zu meinen liebsten, ich möchte hinzusetzen geheimnisvollsten Erinnerungen. Es ist mir wahrscheinlich zum ersten Mal im Leben da eine gewisse persönliche Superiorität vereint mit wirklicher Cultur entgegengetreten. Dieser Brief wird immer unmöglicher zu schreiben (Burger, p. 19).

The scale, and range of Kessler's theatrical experiences and his undoubted ability to discuss artistic, theatrical and dramaturgical matters, as detailed in Chapter One, may have prompted Hofmannsthal's reference to 'personal superiority allied to true culture'. Kessler had in fact ventured some mild criticism of Hofmannsthal's sentimentality in his double bill,

and Hofmannsthal had admitted to being wounded by it: 'Ich war nichts weniger als persönlich verletzt – ich verstand sofort, dass Sie vollständig im Recht waren [...]' (Burger, p. 18), but these exchanges served further to establish and clarify the dynamics of the relationship that was beginning to form between them. Kessler took up Hofmannsthal's claim to have been hurt in his own letter in reply of 22 November 1899:

Ich bedauere nicht im geringsten, Sie in Berlin durch eine vielleicht ungerechte Kritik gereizt zu haben. Ihre Verse sind so 'charmeurs', dass Sie wahrscheinlich nie das für das Talent nützliche Maass von Unannehmlichkeiten zu hören bekommen; und was Sie schaffen können ist für mich zu wertvoll, als dass ich nicht jede vorübergehende Erkältung unseres Verhältnisses hinnehmen würde, wenn ich hoffen kann, Ihr Talent durch Widerspruch zu einer noch fruchtbareren und gereizteren Produktion anzutreiben. Sie können also sicher sein, dass ich auch in Zukunft, falls Sie mir weiter dazu die Gelegenheit geben wollen, keinen mir in Ihren Dichtungen gebotenen Anlass, Ihnen etwas unangenehmes zu sagen, vorübergehen lassen werde (Burger, pp. 19-20).

These ground rules established, the two men began to explore, through frequent correspondence and infrequent meetings, the various ways in which they could be of service to each other. The correspondence reveals lively exchanges of view on matters social, political and above all artistic. It also reveals a deepening of the emotional attachment they both began to feel and, sometimes, quite openly to express to each other. In marked contrast to the Strauss-Hofmannsthal correspondence, which remained for many years at the formal 'You' (German: *Sie*) level and in which Strauss normally opened 'Dear Herr von Hofmannsthal' and Hofmannsthal 'Dear Dr. Strauss', the Hofmannsthal-Kessler correspondence has three clearly defined stages. Between 1898 and 1902

they are formal with each other, using full names and the *Sie* form. A friendlier and more informal tone emerges between 1903 and 1905, with Kessler writing '*Mein lieber Hofmannsthal*' and Hofmannsthal '*Mein lieber Graf*' or '*Mein lieber Kessler*' ('My dear ...'). Then, from February 1905 onwards, they switch to the informal '*Du*' form and salutations become '*Lieber Hugo*' or simply '*Lieber*' or '*Mein lieber*'. In other words, their form of address towards the end of the pre-*Rosenkavalier* period indicates close and informal friendship and affection, almost intimacy, a state of grace that Hofmannsthal was never to achieve with Strauss.

Exegesis of the 1898–1908 Hofmannsthal-Kessler correspondence is important for the light it casts on a question not posed at all hitherto in Strauss-Hofmannsthal scholarship – why was Hofmannsthal prepared to take from Kessler a complete opera scenario, incorporate some ideas of his own, work on it with him for a few days in Weimar and then present the entire proposition confidently to Strauss in Berlin as the subject for their first proper opera collaboration? As outlined above, Hofmannsthal had resisted every such entreaty from Strauss to date. He had said that he absolutely had to see onstage any characters that he had authored, so that he could then assess and decide how to turn their spoken words into libretto for musical setting by the composer. He had insisted, moreover, that he could not produce lyrical passages of spoken text that depended on the composer's own musical characterisation. So he must have had complete faith in Kessler's artistic judgement. He must also have accepted Kessler's assurances that a reworked, rewritten *L'Ingénu libertin* would

succeed on the stage. The fuller answer to the question can only come, however, from a closer look at the Hofmannsthal-Kessler correspondence when read against Kessler's diaries. The editor of the Hofmannsthal-Kessler correspondence, Hilde Burger, completed her work in 1968, some fifteen years before the missing volumes of diary were discovered in Mallorca. So some of the judgements she reached at the time require amending in the light of Kessler's incredibly detailed, personal and private diary comments on the issues explored in his letters with Hofmannsthal.

The letters themselves reveal respect, admiration and growing affection. The best way to situate the thoughts and ideas expressed by the correspondence in the creative consciousness of Kessler, as outlined in the diary, is to elide the relevant passages. In what follows, all quotes are from the Burger edition of the Hofmannsthal-Kessler correspondence, with the relevant page numbers in brackets, and all emphases in bold are my own. The specific references to the joint work being undertaken on *Der Rosenkavalier* are preceded by [RK].

## 2.1 *Hofmannsthal to Kessler*

Ich darf in diesem Zusammenhang wohl aussprechen, dass ich von Ihrem Dasein für mein eigenes, für mein Weltbild und meine Arbeit, eine ganz solche Bereicherung und Förderung ausgehen fühle, **als wenn Sie ein sehr starker und unvergleichlicher Künstler wären**. Dieser *modus irrealis* erscheint mir, indem ich ihn niederschreibe, sehr unsinning – und doch wäre es sehr schwer zu bezeichnen, was Sie eigentlich sind [...] (pp. 28-9).

Es is mir nicht das Glück zu Theil geworden, mit vielen Künstlern gleichzeitig zu leben, deren Producte wie Blitze aus dem Nebelgrau hervorbrechend, mir das Gefühl des Daseins wieder und wieder steigern

würden: **aber von einer Erscheinung wie die Ihre erwarte ich mir – und ich weiss, dass ich darin Recht habe – etwas Ähnliches** (p. 46).

Manchmal habe ich das, bei niemandem aber so stark wie dir gegenüber, diese seltsame Unruhe und Angst, wenn ich von Dir nichts höre, nicht weiss wo du bist, was dich beschäftigt. Und dann ist es so schön zu hören, dass du indessen etwas von mir gelesen hast, dass es dir nicht missfallen hat, **dass es dich für Viertelstunden gezwungen hat, an mich zu denken, mit mir zu denken** (p. 80).

Das Verlangen, **mich und meine geistige Existenz – nicht nur die künstlerische – mit dir** – und soweit es möglich ist mit van de Velde – zu verknüpfen wird in mir immer leidenschaftlicher [...] (p. 94).

[...] **ich vielleicht hätte nicht arbeiten können, ohne dich vorher gesehen zu haben** (p. 103).

Daneben stürmt 'Jedermann' herein, eine wundervolle Semiramis, **zu der du mir helfen musst, so viel helfen** [...] (p. 109).

Harry, thu mir nur das jetzt nicht, dass du für weniger als 3-4 Tage herkommst. **Ich brauche diese Aussprache mit dir so notwendig** [...] Immerfort sagen wir: durch diese Thür wird Harry hereinkommen! Auf diesem Fauteuil wird Harry sitzen! (p. 148).

Wie oft, während dieser Arbeit, und wie lebhaft muss ich an dich denken. Manchmal ist es, als stündest du mitten unter den Gestalten: je schärfer sie sich erleuchten, desto deutlicher sehe ich auch dich. [...] Dich vielleicht allein wird diese Verwandlung, die stärkere Realität, der neue Ton, die Prosa schwankend zwischen der höheren Sprache und dem österreichischen Dialekt, der Dialekt wieder gefärbt nach den Ständen, anders im Mund des Barons, des Bedienten, des Hofmeisters, des Wirtes, nicht überraschen, aber hoffentlich amüsieren. [...] **Ich hätte nie gedacht, dass man einem Menschen so viel und so vielerlei schuldig werden kann, wie ich dir** [...] (pp. 157-8).

Wie gut und schön, dass du mir und dir selbst versprichst, mich nicht so im Stich zu lassen wie Hauptmanns Freunde ihn im Stich lassen, da wo sie durch Offenheit und Schärfe ihm unendlich nützen könnten. **Du wirst immer alles von mir rechtzeitig vorher sehen, Harry** (pp. 173-4).

**Wie wunderschön, wenn du so durch deine unendliche Güte, deine unvergleichliche Aufmerksamkeit mit den Besten an mir, mit meiner Arbeit verbunden bist** (p. 176).

[RK]Danke tausendmal für Deinen zweiten schönen Brief. Bin seelensfroh dass dir die Ausführung des gemeinsamen Szenario im Ganzen Vergnügen macht (p. 230).<sup>176</sup>

---

<sup>176</sup> This and the following two quotes post-date the intensive working-up of the *Der Rosenkavalier* scenario in Weimar and subsequently in Berlin.

[RK] **Für die Schärfe und Lebendigkeit Deiner Kritik bin ich dir ja gerade so unendlich dankbar** (p. 234).

[RK] **Bin immer sehr glücklich über die Teilnahme** (page 235).

## 2.2 *Kessler to Hofmannsthal*

Es würde mir die höchste Freude sein, wenn sich **Etwas von meinen Gedanken in die goldenen Formen Ihrer Kunst verwandeln könnte** (pp. 29-30).

Sie haben eine so wunderbare, so neue und reiche Stimmung und Stellung zur Welt [...] (p. 52).

Ich wüsste nicht, was mir grössere Freude bereiten könnte, **dass ich etwas mitgewirkt habe** an der Selbstverwirklichung eines grossen Künstlers oder Dichters oder Menschen (p. 66).

Ich konnte und kann Nichts Anderes thun, als Ihnen, was ich für eine Möglichkeit hielt, zeigen. **Sie sind der einzige Richter über Ihr eigenes Schaffen, Wirken und Verwirklichung und ich würde es nie unternehmen durch irgendeinen Versuch zur Überredung oder Umstimmung in Ihre Selbstständigkeit einzugreifen.** Das ist die Voraussetzung jeder Freundschaft, wie sie, hoffe ich, allmählich zwischen uns ausbildet (p. 77).

[...] so liegt es auf der Hand, **dass ich immer der sein muss, der dir hilft**, soweit es in meinen Kräften steht, ausnahmsweise nur du deine Kräfte zugunsten meiner Ziele ablenken darfst (p. 126).

Ich brauche für meine geistige Gesundheit **ein Werk unter meinen Füßen** (p. 127).

Ich weiss nur, dass es für mich ein unverdientes Glück ist, **zu dieser Lebensdichtung mitzugehören, und geniesse es im Stillen** (p. 159).

Zunächst meine grosse Freude, dass du arbeitest. Ich verfolge dich im Gedanken **durch die Szenen deines Stückes, die ich ziemlich deutlich nach deiner Erzählung sehe**<sup>177</sup> (p. 184).

[RK] **Auf die Spieloper brenne ich. Bitte schicke mir doch den I. Akt, sobald er fertig ist**<sup>178</sup> (p.217).

The tone that runs through Hofmannsthal's comments is slightly needier, slightly more emotional, in many cases more demanding of

<sup>177</sup> Hofmannsthal was working on an early version of *Cristinas Heimreise*.

<sup>178</sup> At this stage, 30 March 1909, both men were still clearly committed to a full-scale collaboration.

psychological help and support: and the exchanges that Kessler had with Hofmannsthal's wife at the end of 1908, when Hofmannsthal went through one of his periodic nervous, depressive crises, show how finely-tuned Kessler was to the emotional needs of his friend and protégé. However, even more than the letters, it is the Kessler diary that reveals his innermost thoughts about the man and poet who so interested him, about Hofmannsthal's productive and artistic capabilities, and about the possibility of a practical creative partnership between them. For such a partnership, Kessler clearly saw himself as the overall strategist, provider of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* concept that had fascinated him from his early exposure to Greek tragedy, to the ideas of Nietzsche, and above all to the music theatre of Wagner. Equally clearly, he saw Hofmannsthal as the lyrical poet, whose words and ideas would fit into this dramatic structure that he would provide.

### 3. Kessler on Hofmannsthal

During and after a seven day stay with Kessler in Weimar and Berlin in 1903, Hofmannsthal clearly irked his host on a number of occasions, his frequent bad moods being matched only by the quantities of milk that he drank and ham that he ate: 'Hofmannsthal fährt fort, krank zu sein und Schinken zu essen; auch sonst beunruhigend viel zu essen' (*Tagebuch III*, p. 593). Later, after losing an overcoat during a carriage ride: 'Hofmannsthal

meinte, die Kleinigkeiten des Lebens ärgerten ihn so, dass er nie zum Gleichgewicht zwischen Genuss und Ärger komme' (*Tagebuch III*, p. 595).

Then Kessler came to an overall summing-up:

Besonders aufgefallen ist mir Hofmannsthals merkwürdige Geld Besorgtheit. Er kommt immer wieder auf seinen Wunsch, Geld zu verdienen, auf seine Sehnsucht, Geld zu haben, und scheint fortwährend daran zu denken. Daneben beschäftigt ihn etwas unverhältnismässig viel der österreichische Hohe Adel. [...] Durch diese Geld und Adels Préoccupation gleicht seine Konversation der der Schwabach, Bleichroeder u. C<sup>o</sup>. Schade (*Tagebuch III*, p. 596).

Kessler's wealth may, of course, have been one of the factors that kept Hofmannsthal close to him. The theme reoccurred later in 1906 after Kessler had advised Hofmannsthal not to write pot-boiler articles on culture for a popular monthly magazine, with Hofmannsthal complaining bitterly:

Was man aber dann machen solle, wenn immer gerade das, was Geld bringe, ihm verboten sein solle? Er müsse noch 5 bis 10,000 M mehr im Jahr verdienen zu den etwa 30000, die er hat. Sonst könne er nicht dichten. Das Gefühl, nicht frei zu sein, unterbinde geradezu seine Produktion. Wenn er wieder 10,000 M auf die Bank gelegt habe, bekäme er wieder Lust zum Dichten.' Ich riet zu Vorträgen, etwa Serien von Five O clocks. H. ist der reichste meiner Künstler Freunde und der Einzige, der fortgesetzt über Geld spricht und klagt; offenbar ein merkwürdiger Rest von Judentum (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 214).

Nevertheless, Kessler's ability to distinguish the man, with his annoying traits, and the artist, emerges clearly from his diary entries at the time of the *Elektra* première - the play, not the opera - in October 1903. On 30 October he wrote: 'Das Stück erinnerte mich in seiner Verbindung von

raffiniertes Sprachschönheit und gesteigerter Grausigkeit an Marlowe. Es wird ein Wendepunkt in H.'s Entwicklung sein' (*Tagebuch III*, p. 616).

Then, by 1 November he had added to the portrait: 'Er ist ein merkwürdiges Gemisch von Geschäftsmann, Snob, Poet und orientalisch einschmeichelndem Freudenjüngling; naiv und bis zur Komik egotistisch' (*Tagebuch III*, p. 617). However a productive working relationship was starting to emerge. From being someone who regularly sent Hofmannsthal esoteric books that he had possibly never encountered, thoughts on the classics that both men had read, ideas for his projects and writings, Kessler by 1905 was able to note: 'Abends las er die erste Szene des zweiten Akts und nachher die erste Hälfte der zweiten Szene des II Akts vor. Viel gekürzt mit ihm' (*Tagebuch III*, pp. 815-6). Two days later, even more substantially:

Vormittags mit Hofmannsthal die III Szene von Akt II. Ihm einige Zusätze in den Worten des „Volks“ empfohlen, damit es noch klarer werde, dass das Volk Etwas Andres als Antiope und als Kreon von Teiresias verlangt. Die drei verschiedenen Verlangen müssen wie drei verschiedene Valeurs abgestuft sein. Daher empfohlen, gleich die ersten Worte beim Erscheinen des Teiresias ein stürmisches Verlangen des Volks nach Bezeichnung eines Retters sein zu lassen, und dann nachher einmal die drei Bitten streng symmetrisch unmittelbar nacheinander aussprechen zu lassen. – Abends kam Reinhardt (*Tagebuch III*, p. 817).

*Oedipus* was premiered in February 1906 and was a success, despite criticism of its length (5 hours) and of its Wagnerian, operatic qualities.<sup>179</sup>

However, Kessler (characteristically) was not sparing in his private criticism of Hofmannsthal's dramatic characterisation and noted:

---

<sup>179</sup> Franz Wedekind was one such critic, Max Liebermann another, as noted by Kessler on 2 and 4 February 1906 (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 93).

Mit Hofmannsthal nochmals über den Oedipus. Ich sagte ihm, er habe einen allerdings schlimmen Fehler: im ersten Akt der Bruch im Charakter des Oedipus. [...] So wie Oedipus hier hätte auch Jeder Andre gehandelt, während gerade hier so handeln sollte, dass man fühlt, so konnte nur er, nur ein von diesem grausigen Blut Getriebener handeln. Hofmannsthal schien durch diese Ausführung sehr betroffen. Er sagte, ich habe vollkommen recht. Er fühle jetzt, als ob er den Dritten Teil, Oedipus der Magier, erst dichten könne, nachdem er diesen ersten Akt im angedeuteten Sinne neu gedichtet habe (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 99).

By this stage in their relationship (nearly ten years since they had first met), both men seem to have known, and been comfortable with, each other's capabilities and limits. When Hofmannsthal was asked in late 1907 by Max Reinhardt for advice on a forthcoming production of *Lysistrata* for example, he turned to Kessler for advice:

Hofmannsthal bat mich die *Lysistrata* durchzulesen, um ihm Reinhardt beraten zu helfen: „Weisst du, ich denke mir das so, dass du das Stück durchliesest und am Rande die Stellen, wo dir besonders starke „valeurs“ auffallen, anstreichst; auch die, wo etwa ein Ton besonders stark gegen einen andren kontrastiert, z B. das Lyrische gegen das Zotige oder Ähnliches. Wir bekommen so eine Art von Schema, das unter allen Umständen bei der Aufführung festgehalten werden muss (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 374).

Three months later, when Kessler suggested to Hofmannsthal that his earlier play *Die Hochzeit der Sobeide* could be improved by cutting out the third scene, Hofmannsthal told Kessler that the scene had been added in by [Otto] Brahm (the director) and added spontaneously, 'Ich verspüre aber jetzt solche Lust, sie gleich in diesem Sinne umzudichten! Gelt, das machen wir?' (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 424). Then, shortly afterwards, on 13 March 1908, Hofmannsthal told Kessler all about the opera libretto that he wanted

to write for Strauss, the work that eventually (with Kessler's help) became the play *Cristinas Heimreise*. In the diary, Kessler noted down very full details of the scenario, act by act, and then recorded Hofmannsthal's doubts about the venture as vouchsafed to him on 19 March 1908:

Dann kam er wieder auf seine Spieloper: „Wenn man das doch Alles so leicht auf die Schultern nehmen könnte, wie im 18<sup>ten</sup> Jh, wie Crébillon. Es kommt Einem immer vor, als ob die Schriftsteller damals gar keine Last getragen hätten. Aber wenn man heute so thun wollte, so wäre das einfach unehrlich; es wäre Kitsch. Ich könnte sehr leicht solchen Kitsch machen. Aber das hätte gar keinen Wert (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 435).

Crébillon fils was the very author whose name had popped into Kessler's mind when he had seen *L'Ingénu libertin* in Paris seven weeks previously. It is entirely plausible that he noted inwardly this comment by Hofmannsthal, and began to put things together in his own mind. The diary is silent on this, however, overtaken as it was by the tragic-comedy and fiasco of a long planned trip to Greece, undertaken by Hofmannsthal in the company of Kessler and of Aristide Maillol, the French sculptor<sup>180</sup> in the spring of 1908, on which the diary has much to say. Since this trip exposed both men to the limits of what they found acceptable in each other, and led to an interim summary judgement by Kessler on Hofmannsthal, it is worth a brief recapitulation of the salient features.

Hofmannsthal had told Kessler repeatedly of his dislike of travel in general, and of his feeling that if ever travel were to become palatable to him, it could only be with Kessler as company. The latter – perhaps

---

<sup>180</sup> Kessler got to know Maillol in 1904 and became not only his sponsor but a major collector of his work. Maillol eventually provided the woodcuts for Kessler's Cranach Press edition of Virgil's *Eclogues*.

misguidedly seeing himself as the sponsor of two completely different protégés who would flower in his company on a trip to Greece – conceived of a holiday *à trois*: the earthy, monoglot French sculptor Maillol, the moody, refined and elegant Hofmannsthal and himself as epicentre of the triangle. The three men met up in Athens on 1 May 1908.

In his biography of Kessler, Laird Easton gives a succinct and accurate account of what transpired (Easton, pp. 170-4). Yet the diary entries need to be read in full to experience the growing scorn and contempt Kessler felt for Hofmannsthal, who from the moment of his arrival had started to complain that he did not like Greece and wanted to go home. His (somewhat incoherently expressed) problem was that he did not feel any attachment to a country whose language he did not speak, and he resented anyway that Kessler and Maillol always spoke French with each other, thus cutting him out (although Hofmannsthal was perfectly fluent in French). The threesome began to break up, Kessler and Maillol doing one thing and Hofmannsthal another, until the diary records for 7 May (emphasis in original):

Auf dem Rückwege, eine halbe Stunde vor Delphi, kam uns Hofmannsthal entgegen; und hier begab sich das Unangenehmste, das bisher zwischen uns überhaupt je vorgefallen ist. Hofmannsthal erzählte mir, offenbar ohne sich dabei Etwas zu denken, dass er in meiner Abwesenheit meine Reisetasche nachgesehen hätte, um ein Buch zu suchen; er habe endlich ein zugebundenes Paket entdeckt und aufgemacht, das zwei Brochüren enthalten habe: Beide seien übrigens nichts wert. Mir war, während er erzählte, als ob ich Ohrfeigen bekäme, dass ich Jemanden, der so weit vom gentleman ist, so in meine Nähe habe kommen lassen. Ich sagte ihm: „ich sei erstaunt“, und gieng zu Maillol weiter, der vorauf war. Bei Tisch war Hofmannsthal wie besinnungslos vor Verwirrung. Er ass Nichts, sagte Nichts und empfahl sich gleich. Ich gieng nach einiger Zeit hinterher und klopfte an seine Thür. Er rief herein

und stand im Nachthemd im Zimmer, weinend und offenbar ganz und gar nervös zerrüttet. Ich sagte ihm, ich sei gekommen, die Sache beizulegen. Er dankte mir schluchzend und entschuldigte sein Verhalten. „Er sei zu seiner Handlungsweise gekommen durch seinen Nervenzustand infolge der Seekrankheit und der heissen Sonne heute Morgen; er wisse, sie sei unentschuldig“, und in einem Atem fügte er hinzu: „ob es denn wirklich so schlimm sei, die Koffer eines Reisebegleiters nachzusehen?“ Ich sagte, ich wolle Nichts diskutieren; ich sei nur gekommen, um ihm zu sagen, dass ich die Sache vergessen habe: das sei das Einzige. Er fiel mir um den Hals [...] (*Tagebuch IV*, pp. 461-2).

By this stage the die had been cast: Hofmannsthal was to return early, leaving Kessler and Maillol to continue their Greek escapade together. The diary records one last and significant conversation, and Kessler's summary judgement of an artist and man he had by now known for nearly a decade, and who had shown gratifying signs of depending on him for artistic guidance and practical help:

Er fühle aber, dass er hier nie produzieren könnte, oder jedenfalls erst, wenn er sich viel intimer als jetzt in die Landschaft eingelebt hätte. Nun müsse er aber absolut noch in diesem Frühjahr seine Arbeit anfangen. Der Casanova sei schon sozusagen fertig in seinem Kopf; es gehörten nur ein paar glückliche Tage dazu, ihn aufs Papier zu bringen. Er könne dieses nicht aufs Spiel setzen u. s. w.“ Ich glaube allmählich zu erkennen, dass sehr viel von Hofmannsthals scheinbarer Launenhaftigkeit, Nervosität, Aufgeregtheit von einem intimen Drama, von einem Ringen nach Produktivität, einer Angst vor irgendwelcher plötzlich hereinbrechenden endgültigen Impotenz, kommt. Ich muss dabei an Etwas denken, das mir Simmel einmal über ihn gesagt hat<sup>181</sup> (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 467).

From his departure for Greece on 25 April 1908, Kessler was now to spend the next nine months away from Germany. He corresponded with Hofmannsthal periodically, from Paris and from his mother's house in Sainte Honorine, Normandy, but there were no face to face meetings until

---

<sup>181</sup> Sociologist and Berlin University professor Georg Simmel (1858-1915), a contact of Kessler. At this point in the diary there is a half page space, destined either for a photograph or a written insert. What Simmel actually told Kessler remains unrecorded.

25 January 1909, when Kessler went to the Dresden première of the Strauss-Hofmannsthal *Elektra*. The diary records their first meeting since the disaster in Greece in sober, factual terms:

In Dresden Hofmannsthal mich vor dem Frühstück im Bellevue abgeholt. Mit ihm in die Galerie wo seine Frau und Schalks. Es geht ihm scheinbar wieder ganz gut. Er sieht wohl aus und macht einen frischen Eindruck. Er und seine Frau setzten sich zu mir, während ich frühstückte; nachher kamen Richard Strauss und Frau heran; auch Hermann Bahr (*Tagebuch IV*, pp. 539-40).

#### 4. The Kessler-Hofmannsthal relationship by 1909

Considering the Kessler-Hofmannsthal relationship to this point - a week before the two men sat down together to construct the scenario for *Der Rosenkavalier* - the aspects to emerge most clearly from the diary and from the correspondence can be summarised as follows. Hofmannsthal was undoubtedly gratified and flattered by the attentions of Kessler, his patronage, his skill at networking and his encyclopaedic knowledge of Classical Greek as well as European theatre and literature. He had looked up to Kessler from nearly the start of their relationship and, increasingly, he had asked him for help and advice with his own writings - particularly his stage plays. He wanted to please Kessler - that is abundantly clear in some of the more sycophantic turns of phrase in his pre-1909 letters, highlighted in section 2.1 above - and he wanted his approval. Whether he hoped for more tangible favours in the form of financial support and assistance is a moot point: the diary entries sometimes hint that

Hofmannsthal was casting around for offers, financial or otherwise from Kessler, but actual hard evidence is lacking. Above all, however, by 1909 Hofmannsthal was already in creative dialogue with Kessler about his own work in progress: they had worked on *Oedipus* together, on the Reinhardt production of *Lysistrata*, and Hofmannsthal had asked for help – lots of help – with *Semiramis*, which he had long had in mind for Strauss, and with the much more recent Casanova comedy (*Cristinas Heimreise*) on which Strauss was pressing him for an operatic treatment. All the evidence thus suggests that Hofmannsthal trusted Kessler's theatrical instincts and judgement, took constructive criticism from Kessler on his own earlier work, and was well disposed – almost eager – to work on something actively with his friend and mentor.

The converse assessment, Kessler's view of Hofmannsthal at this point, is more nuanced. Kessler was excited by Hofmannsthal's youthful talent for language, for lyrical expression and for poetic thought. He was less convinced of Hofmannsthal's skill as a dramatist. He enjoyed debating with Hofmannsthal, on aesthetics, on national literatures and their specific characteristics (especially French, English and German), but the more time he spent in Hofmannsthal's company, the more it was that certain attributes of Hofmannsthal's character seemed to irk him. He nonetheless wanted to be of service to Hofmannsthal, to see him published more widely and to help with the development of his career. Kessler felt absolutely confident about making structural criticisms of Hofmannsthal's stage plays and suggesting that he change them accordingly. He seems to

have regarded himself as the teacher, not the pupil, in their relationship. At the same time – particularly after the episode in Greece, but more generally because of certain traits in Hofmannsthal that Kessler perceived as Jewish (as opposed to his own Aryan German background) – Kessler was aware of a gulf between them. He was thus not an unconditional fan of Hofmannsthal's sheer talent, rather a mentor with the intellectual, social and artistic background and awareness that could be used in order to help the promising writer do better.

This context is vital for a proper understanding of what actually went on during Hofmannsthal's visit to Kessler in Weimar in February 1909. The Hofmannsthal letter to Strauss, already quoted (Strauss-Hofmannsthal, p. 27) makes it sound almost accidental that Hofmannsthal should have devised an original opera scenario while staying with Count Kessler, the implication being that Hofmannsthal took time away from his host, drafted the scenario quietly on his own, and then discussed the result with Kessler for the latter's approbation. A close look at the making of the scenario as it took shape shows, however, that it was anything but an accident that the work was devised on this particular visit to this particular host: absent the latter, and *Der Rosenkavalier* would not even have come into existence.

## **Methodology and sources**

### **A. Methodology**

The methodology of writing the *Der Rosenkavalier* scenario is straightforward to describe. It was crafted in a series of conversations between Kessler and Hofmannsthal and written down as they went, and between their creative sessions together. Kessler gave Hofmannsthal the initial idea and the stimulus, with his full description of *L'Ingénu libertin*, in the afternoon of 9 February 1909. Hofmannsthal went to bed that evening with volume one of the novel on which *L'Ingénu libertin* is based (which he borrowed from Kessler's library), *Les Aventures du chevalier Faublas* by Jean-Baptiste Louvet de Couvray. He would hardly have had time to read the entire three volume novel, but nor would he have needed to, for Kessler – from the programme notes to *L'Ingénu libertin*, quoted in the previous chapter – is likely to have said that the episode at the heart of the opérette occupies no more than pages thirty-eight to fifty of the first volume. Hofmannsthal therefore had time to read this thirteen-page passage several times overnight and early the following morning.

At tea-time on 10 February Hofmannsthal told Kessler that he would like to go ahead with an opera libretto for Strauss, by combining the *Faublas* episode with the character of Pourceaugnac<sup>182</sup> (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 558). This insertion of the title character from a Molière play fitted the dramatic construct of *L'Ingénu libertin* neatly: instead of two male dupes (Rosambert and the Marquis de Bay), neither of whom achieves the object of his amorous affection, a single Pourceaugnac, suffering the same fate, gave

---

<sup>182</sup> *Monsieur de Pourceaugnac*, a 1669 comédie-ballet by Molière and Lully. A full consideration of this work is in Chapter Four.

added colour and a slightly simpler line to the narrative. Hofmannsthal added that Pourceaugnac should become compromised as a result of a rendezvous with Faublas – a rendezvous (as Kessler must have told him) that the Marquis de Bay tries to arrange from the first time he encounters Faublas in *L'Ingénu libertin*. Kessler and Hofmannsthal then started work on their own new scenario immediately.

From the diary entries it is possible to reconstruct their working sessions, and approximate minimum durations, as follows:

9 Feb: 1 hour in the afternoon (Kessler's description of the Artus narrative).

10 Feb: 3 hours from tea to dinner (act order planned, varied and then finally determined).

11 Feb: 3 hours, in a morning session and an afternoon session (Act II).

12 Feb: 4 hours, all afternoon until dinner (Act III completed).

13 Feb: 2 hours discussion on the train from Weimar to Berlin.

15 Feb: 2 hours in the morning, 2 hours in the afternoon (Acts I and II, in detail).

(*Tagebuch IV*, pp. 557-64)

Kessler's concluding entry on this day is: 'Um fünf waren wir mit dem Scenario, das jetzt bis ins Einzelne, Situation für Situation, und fast Geste für Geste, ausgearbeitet ist, fertig: es fehlen nur noch die Worte, die die Personen bei den einzelnen pantomimischen Bewegungen sprechen' (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 563). The time both men had spent together on the scenario is thus of the order of seventeen hours, spread over seven days, starting in Weimar and finishing at Reinhardt's house in Berlin. This is a world away from the impression given by Hofmannsthal to Strauss in the 11 February

letter, with its reference to 'three quiet afternoons' and to 'Count Kessler, with whom I discussed it'. The diary shows that even by that stage they had both been at work for at least seven hours together.

There are, moreover, both contemporary and subsequent corroborative accounts of this working method. The diary entry for 12 February 1909 is clear and concise:

Hofmannsthals und meine Arbeit fließt dabei im Gespräch so ineinander, dass es unmöglich ist, die Anteile zu sondern. Der eine giebt einen Einfall, eine Linienführung, der Andre kritisiert dann, im Hin u. Her entsteht Etwas ganz Andres; oft könnte weder er noch ich nach zehn Minuten mehr sagen, wer die Szene eigentlich erfunden hat (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 560).

In a letter to his sister Wilma on 18 February 1909, Kessler wrote (in English, emphasis in original):

Entre temps Hofmannsthal and I had written, together, the scenario for Rich. Strauss's new opera; it took us only three days to write and although I am half party to it, I can say it is charming: [...] We used to work about three or four hours a day, walking up and down, each of us giving une idée by turns, so that it is now quite impossible for either of us to say which is which, and who is the author of this part or of that. In three days we thus managed to set down the scenario *dans ses plus petits détails, jusqu'aux jeux de scène*, so that only the words are still missing.<sup>183</sup>

At the same time, Hofmannsthal was writing to his father. Two letters in quick succession, on 14 and 16 February 1909 respectively, confirm Kessler's accounts of the methodology and add detail. The first letter was written by Hofmannsthal on a Sunday morning, the day after he and Kessler had arrived in Berlin by train from Weimar. During this train journey they had continued discussion of the scenario that Hofmannsthal

---

<sup>183</sup> Kessler to Wilma de Brion, ms letter of 18 February 1909 in Manuscript Department, German Literature Archive, Marbach (HS.1971.0001).

was to present to Strauss, the Kessler diary recording: 'Mit Hugo im Zuge den Faublas weiterbesprochen' (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 561), but on arrival on the Saturday night, after dinner at the Hotel Adlon, they split up. In the morning Hofmannsthal wrote to his father:

Ich möchte jetzt hier nur noch ein paar Tage bleiben, habe aber immerhin nicht wenig zu erledigen. Habe nämlich erstens in Weimar mit Kessler das Szenarium einer reizenden Spieloper gemacht, das ich heute nachmittag Strauss vorlege und worüber vielleicht mehrmals zu konferieren sein wird.<sup>184</sup>

After the afternoon meeting with Strauss, Hofmannsthal then rejoined Kessler, the latter's diary recording (emphasis in original):

Mit Hofmannsthals nachher in die Schadow Ausstellung.<sup>185</sup> Abends mit ihm und Musch, Kainz in Hamlet sehen.<sup>186</sup> Matte, tödlich langweilige Vorstellung; Kainz nur technisch, ohne einen Funken von Genie. Hofmannsthal meinte ganz richtig, er sei immer neben der Gestalt, nie drin (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 562).

This diary entry makes no mention, however, of the outcome of Hofmannsthal's meeting with Strauss, nor of anything that was said on the subject. Once again, it was Hofmannsthal who made a contemporary record in the form of a second letter to his father, this time dated 16 February 1909:

---

<sup>184</sup> Hugo von Hofmannsthal, *Briefe 1900–1909* (Vienna: Bermann-Fischer Verlag, 1937), letter 273, p. 353.

<sup>185</sup> Johann Gottfried Schadow (1764-1850), sculptor, friend and correspondent of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832).

<sup>186</sup> Joseph Kainz (1858-1910) was a well-known Austrian actor who performed in many German theatres (Munich, Berlin, Weimar) and in Vienna. He performed in Hofmannsthal's early plays and Hofmannsthal subsequently wrote verses in memoriam for him.

[...] Noch wichtiger ist, dass Strauss ganz entzückt ist von dem Szenarium, das ich in Weimar mit Kessler (bis ins kleinste Detail) fertig gemacht habe. Er hofft, mit dieser dreiaktigen Oper leichten Stiles in anderthalb Jahren fertig zu werden. Es ist immerhin ganz möglich, dass ich mit diesen beiden Sachen zusammen eine Viertel-million Mark verdiene.

Ich spreche jetzt mit Kessler die Komödie (Florindo) szenenweise durch, die ganz neu konstruiert wird, mit einer komischen Figur als Bräutigam und Wegfall der peinlichen Szene mit dem Kamin.<sup>187</sup>

The first full scenario of *Der Rosenkavalier* was thus the product of interaction, the original creative stimulus being supplied by Kessler, the reactive embellishment by Hofmannsthal, and as the process got under way, the roles often clearly being reversed. Towards the end of his life Hofmannsthal recalled (accurately it would seem) just how the work, which had meanwhile made him a millionaire, came about, writing in his preface to a new and popular edition of *Der Rosenkavalier* a passage that has often been quoted subsequently under the title *Der Rosenkavalier – Zum Geleit*:

Gesellig wie das Werk selbst war seine Entstehung. Das Szenarium ist wahrhaft im Gespräch entstanden, im Gespräch mit dem Freund, dem das Buch zugeeignet ist (und zugeeignet mit einer Wendung, die auf wahre Kollaboration hindeutet), dem Grafen Harry Kessler.<sup>188</sup>

The fuller implications of this statement by Hofmannsthal, and the passage that immediately followed it, are considered in Chapter Four.

---

<sup>187</sup> This fuller version of the letter (no. 275 on page 355) published by Bermann-Fischer Verlag in 1937 is in the forthcoming critical edition of Hofmannsthal's correspondence with his parents, to which advance electronic access was granted in the Hofmannsthal Archive at the Freies Deutsches Hochstift, Frankfurt am Main on 26 October 2011.

<sup>188</sup> Hugo von Hofmannsthal, *Der Rosenkavalier von Richard Strauss, Musik für Alle Vol. 1, Nr. 246*, ed. by W. Hirschberg (Berlin: Ullstein, 1927), pp. 2-3, hereinafter: Hofmannsthal *Zum Geleit*.

## B. Sources

Exactly what Kessler and Hofmannsthal created in this way now needs careful assessment, together with the sources they used. On 10 February, according to Kessler, they started as follows, this being the very first draft of the scenario:

Morgen. Faublas steigt bei der Marquise aus d. Bett. Pourceaugnac, ein Verwandter der Marquise, kommt aus der Provinz an, um sich mit Sophie, der eigentlichen Geliebten von Faublas, zu verloben, und lässt sich bei der Marquise melden. Faublas wird schnell als Kammerzofe verkleidet. Pourceaugnac tritt ein und wird von der Marquise im Bett empfangen. Lever der Marquise: viele Friseure, Lakaien, Geldverleiher u. s. w. (Hogarths Lever aus den „Marriage à la mode.“) Am Ende giebt Pourceaugnac Faublas, den er für ein Mädchen hält, ein Stelldichein (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 558).

The individual elements here are very clear. Faublas, the Marquise and Sophie are three of the four principal characters in *L'Ingénu libertin*. Morning, with Faublas climbing out of the Marquise's bed is the start of Act III of *L'Ingénu libertin*. Pourceaugnac arriving from the provinces for his engagement to a young girl, in an arranged marriage, is from Molière, but also from *L'Ingénu libertin*. For as soon as the Comte de Rosambert meets up with Faublas in Act I, and tells him about the libertine adventure on which he hopes to embark, he also tells Faublas that he will shortly be engaged to the young girl Sophie, just out of her convent. The fact that Sophie is the very girl whom Faublas loves is once again *L'Ingénu libertin*,

as is Faublas being disguised in women's clothes. The Hogarthian levée scene is, as stated, from 'Marriage à la Mode', although there is also a charming levée scene in Act III of *L'Ingénu libertin* involving the Marquise, her all-female chorus of servants, and Faublas. The Pourceaugnac assignation with Faublas (taken for a girl) is based on the Marquis de Bay in *L'Ingénu libertin*, who tries throughout the opérette to make an assignation with Faublas (who, in a dress, calls himself not Mariandel, but Sophie du Portail).

Zweiter Akt bei Sophie im Treppenhaus. Liebeszene zwischen Faublas u. Sophie. Faublas holt einen „Intriganten“ und eine „Intrigantin“, die Pourceagnacs Plan vereiteln sollen. Pourceagnac kommt; macht Sophie seine Antrittsvisite. Einzug von P. mit sehr viel Gepäck, Leuten u. s. w. (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 558).

Apart from the Faublas/Sophie relationship, which is the motif and main driver of the plot in *L'Ingénu libertin*, the other elements in this act come from *Monsieur de Pourceaugnac*. In the Molière, the male and female intriguers who spoil Pourceaugnac's plans are Sbrigani and Nérine: however there is no grand entrance with luggage and retinue, which seems to have been dreamt up by Kessler and Hofmannsthal as an opportunity for ballet or stage business.

Dritter Akt. Esshaus, in dem Pourceagnac Faublas das Stelldichein gegeben hat. Im entscheidenden Moment werden sie auf Betreiben der Intriganten von der Sittenpolizei überrascht. Ausserdem führen die Intriganten eine ganze Anzahl Lumpe, die sie als „grands seigneurs“ kostümiert haben, herein. Pourceagnac, der glaubt, dass es lauter Fürsten sind, ist verhaftet und vernichtet (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 558).

The lively street scene at carnival time, with an onstage auberge, tables and chairs is Act I of *L'Ingénu libertin*. The arrival of the morals police (*police des mœurs*), prompted by Rosambert, to catch Faublas in an illicit liaison with the Marquise is the finale of Act II of *L'Ingénu libertin*. The downfall of Pourceaugnac is a combination of the downfall of Rosambert in *L'Ingénu libertin*, who never has his mooted affair with the Marquise, and that of Pourceaugnac in the Molière, who returns mightily relieved to Limoges. All the essential structural elements of *Der Rosenkavalier* are here assembled from a combination of two French stage works.

Hofmannsthal however had reservations about the love triangle at the centre of the piece, suggesting to Kessler that it would be too gross to have Faublas simultaneously as the Marquise's lover and suitor to Sophie. He suggested making Faublas Sophie's cousin, the two falling in love as the piece developed (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 558). So in a decision that long had wide implications for *Der Rosenkavalier* scholarship, both Kessler and Hofmannsthal wrote out their own copies of a revised scenario (which I shall call 'the first variant'), that reversed the order of Acts I and II. Hofmannsthal's copy was found among his papers after his death by Willi Schuh, who used it as the basis for his 1951 article in the Swiss magazine *Trivium*, which was entitled *Die Entstehung des Rosenkavalier*.<sup>189</sup> Kessler's

---

<sup>189</sup> Willi Schuh, *Die Entstehung des Rosenkavalier* (Zurich: Atlantis Verlag, *Trivium* Year IX, Volume 2, 1951), page 69, hereinafter: Schuh *Trivium*.

copy was found in his manuscript diary when it was repatriated to Germany from the Mallorca bank thirty-three years later in 1984.

Before looking in detail at the assumptions made and (unfortunately) consequent wrong conclusions drawn by Schuh in 1951, although it must immediately be said that he corrected these and realised the importance of *L'Ingénu libertin* as a prime source work for *Der Rosenkavalier* after publication of the Hofmannsthal-Kessler letters in 1968, the two versions of 'the first variant' (of 10 February 1909) should be compared side by side:

#### **Kessler**

Erster Akt Haus des G ronte. Sophie u Faublas. Sophie erz hlt dem Faublas ihre Verlobung und freut sich auf ihre Heirat. Ankunft des Pourceagnac. Einzug seines Gep cks. Entsetzen der Sophie  ber den rohen Patron. Bitte an Faublas, sie zu befreien.

Zweiter Akt. Szene bei der Marquise: wie vorher. Faublas steigt aus d. Bett, Pourceagn. ist von der Marquise zum Lever bestellt. Er giebt Faublas das Stelldichein. II. Szene: bei Sophie. Faublas u Sophie. F. entdeckt seine Liebe zu Sophie.

3 Akt wie vordem; aber ich schlug vor, Vater m sse durch irgendeinen  usserlichen Grund gezwungen sein, sofort einen Mann f r Sophie zu finden. Da m sse Faublas vortreten (er ist Graf

#### **Hofmannsthal**

I. Das Haus des G ronte. G ronte erwartet Schwiegersohn aus gutem Landadel. Sophie mit h bschem Faublas erz hlt Verheiratung. Sie wundert sich, dass es ihn  rgert. Ankunft des Pourceagnac und  ltliche Tanten, Tiere und wunderbares Gep ck (Ehebett). Intrigante bestellt. Marquise. Stelldichein f r die Nacht mit Faublas, wor ber Faublas nicht so r ckhaltslos erfreut. Sophie bittet um Befreiung. Die Intriganten.

II. Schlafzimmer der Marquise. Liebesnacht. Morgen. Dank. Pourceagnac gemeldet. Faublas bleibt im Travesti. Faublas so  hnlich: ja, alles nat rliche Kinder von Adeligen. Friseur, Dienerschaft usw. imponieren Pourceagnac. Dieser geht. W hrend Marquise Frisiert wird, proponiert Pourceagnac dem Zofe ein Souper. Pourceagnac geizig (umst ndlich besprochen wo das Souper). Pourceagnac geht. Intrigant kommt und sagt, wie es zu machen.

III. Gasthauszimmer. Probe der Statisten. Faublas Stiefel unterm Kleid. Das Souper. Verhaftung, G ronte compromittiert vor der Hofgesellschaft. Die Marquise dazu. G ronte will ins

aus altadeligem Haus und reich); und  
Géronte, dem er aus einer tödlichen  
Verlegenheit helfe, (welche?) genehmige  
aufs freudigste gleich diese Verlobung

(*Tagebuch IV*, p. 559)

Brautgemach. Faublas im Travesti  
meldet sich. Marquise bestätigt, dass  
er ein Mann.

(*Schuh Trivium*, p. 69)

The slight difference in emphasis between both men in the first variant is interesting: Kessler is concerned with logic and structure, the motivation behind the plot, whereas Hofmannsthal is already putting in more pictorial detail, the boots under the dress, Pourceaugnac's surprise at the facial similarity between the Faublas he has met in Act I and the chambermaid (Faublas disguised as Mariandel) in this version of Act II. Kessler had obviously seen most of this onstage at the Bouffes Parisiens, so probably had no need to record it specifically: Hofmannsthal, who only had Kessler's oral account of *L'Ingénu libertin* to go on, was allowing his imagination to work and noting down details as he thought of them. However, this time it was Kessler who then objected to what the embryonic scenario had become: 'Dieses Szenario aber viel schwächer als das erste: weniger grade, reine Linie, Notwendigkeit einer zweiten Szene im zweiten Akt; ausserdem wie im ersten Pourceaugnac fast ganz passiv' (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 559). Evidently the two men then took a break from their labours, for the crucial reversion to the original act order and the accompanying changes that would solve Hofmannsthal's objections came to Kessler, on his own, as he thought further about the scenario whilst

dressing for dinner. The 'second variant' is described thus in the diary

(emphasis as in the original):

Beim Anziehen fiel mir Rettung ein, die ich Hofmannsthal im Wagen sagte: nämlich Stellung von Akt I u II wie zuerst. Faublas kennt Sophie noch garnicht, sondern wird durch die Marquise im Auftrag von Pourceaugnac, um P. bei ihr anzumelden, zu ihr hingeschickt. Hier tritt die Peripetie des Stückes ein, indem 1) Faublas sich in Sophie verliebt, 2) Sophie Pourceaugnac kennen lernt und gleich hasst. Der Grund, warum Géronte absolut gleich einen Mann für seine Tochter haben muss, muss auf einer täppischen Intrigue von Pourceaugnac selber beruhen. Pourceaugnac muss dazu auch die Intriganten, die Faublas nachher benutzt, indem er sie besticht, selber mitgebracht haben. Durch diese Änderungen wird Pourceaugnac aus einer fast passiven Figur zur Haupttriebfeder des Stücks; er „verschuldet“ Alles Unglück, das ihm widerfährt, selbst; sogar die Bekanntschaft zwischen Sophie und Faublas wird durch ihn vermittelt, indem Faublas in seinem Auftrage durch Vermittlung der Marquise hingeht. Faublas andererseits wird vom Theaterodium befreit, dass er bei einer Frau im Bette liegt, während er eine andre liebt, und dass er eine hässliche Intrigue anzettelt; er bedientsich nur der Intriguen von Pourceaugnac, um diesen zu vernichten; was viel geistreicher ist. So stehen sich Faublas und Pourceaugnac nicht nur wie Jugend und Alter, Schönheit und Hässlichkeit, schlechte und gute Manieren, sondern auch wie Täppischeit und Geist gegenüber; dieses Antithetische kommt ganz rein heraus. Die Dummheit ist, wie in der Welt, das treibende Motiv, Geist macht sich die Bewegung aber zu Nutze. Ausserdem wird die Linie des Stückes ganz rein: Erster Akt: Liebesszene, Aufzug (der Bedienten), vielleicht Ballett. Zweiter Akt: Liebe des Faublas. Aufzug (Einzug des Pourc.) Liebesszene. 3 Akt. Clownsszene (Einkleidung der „Hochadligen“), groteske Liebesszene zwischen Pourc. und Faublas, der Pourceaugnac immer mehr zu animieren sucht (Grazie) Aufzug (Entlarvung, Einzug der falschen Adligen), Faublas' Anerbieten u Liebesszene Sophie X Faublas. Hofmannsthal nahm Alles gleich an (*Tagebuch IV*, pp. 559-60).

Since Kessler wrote this in his diary almost immediately after the long and intensive working session that day with Hofmannsthal, there is no reason to doubt the essential accuracy of his account. It articulates, very precisely, Kessler's theatrical vision for the embryonic work, incorporating a number of striking elements that make this *Der Rosenkavalier* scenario

much more the specific construction that it is today, and much less of a mere reworking of *L'Ingénu libertin* and of *Monsieur de Pourceaugnac*, to say nothing of the Beaumarchais/da Ponte/Mozart (*Le Nozze di Figaro*) antecedents that are also commonly ascribed to the piece.<sup>190</sup> The crucial change made by Kessler is to turn Faublas and Sophie into strangers to each other and to have Faublas sent to Sophie by the Marquise on Pourceaugnac's behalf. This is entirely original on Kessler's part: in *L'Ingénu libertin*, Faublas and Sophie are already young sweethearts in the back story, and only meet up in Act III; similarly, neither in *L'Ingénu libertin* nor in *Monsieur de Pourceaugnac* is the young hero (Faublas or Eraste) used as any sort of emissary to the young heroine in the piece. However, for all the dramaturgical reasons given by Kessler, the dynamic of the scenario in his version is completely altered: Pourceaugnac becomes the author of his own misfortune and (almost literally) drives the two young lovers into each other's arms. There is clearly a distinct parallel with the narrative line of *L'Ingénu libertin*: in this work it is Rosambert who makes Faublas put on women's clothes (Act I) to pique jealousy from the Marquise, and ends up discomfited at seeing the two, clearly having been in the Marquise's bed for the night, in Act III (and Kessler was to refer to this in a later letter to Hofmannsthal, considered below). Yet given the joint decision to start *Der Rosenkavalier* with the Act III situation from *L'Ingénu libertin* (and with no hint that Octavian has ever needed to dress up as a

---

<sup>190</sup> Edward J. Dent, *Opera* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd, 1940), p. 133, for example: there are many obvious similarities between Cherubino's activities (including cross-dressing as a servant girl) in Almaviva's palace, and those of Octavian: but Faublas is the proximate model.

girl in order to bed the Marschallin), Kessler's idea is inspired: it preserves the comedy inherent in Pourceaugnac mistaking a boy for a girl (and making an assignation with "her") whilst introducing a wholly new element that was to lend itself to unforgettable stage music from Strauss: the *coup de foudre* of Faublas (Octavian) and Sophie's first meeting and falling instantly in love at the start of Act II of *Der Rosenkavalier*.

The assumptions made and (incorrect) conclusions drawn by Schuh when he first came across, and wrote about Hofmannsthal's version of 'the first variant' can be disregarded now, given the subsequent evidence that has emerged, but Schuh was such an authority on Strauss that his 1951 article had huge implications for the next twenty years of *Rosenkavalier* scholarship: it appeared definitive, and was consequently reproduced in many articles and programme notes. His main points were as follows. His first assumption was that Hofmannsthal went to see Kessler with 'the first variant' already written: in other words, Hofmannsthal already had a draft scenario for a Strauss opera in mind (even though the sheet of paper in Hofmannsthal's handwriting appears to bear the date 10 II 09 in the top right-hand corner). As is now clear from all the evidence, Hofmannsthal arrived in Weimar with nothing definite at all in mind for Strauss, apart from the unfinished play text for *Cristinas Heimreise*, which he told Kessler he was on the point of abandoning. So Schuh's rhetorical questions posed in *Die Entstehung des Rosenkavalier* about the first variant were misconceived:

War das Szenar überhaupt von Anfang an für Musik bestimmt> Das bleibt offen. Wenn ja, dann meint der Entwurf eine *Opera buffa*, keine Komödie, die in jene 'höhere Region des Rührenden' hinaufreicht, von der der Autor einmal mit Bezug auf die Marschallin gesprochen hat. – Es existieren zahlreiche Komödienentwürfe von Hofmannsthal, nur ein kleiner Teil davon ist ausgeführt worden (*Trivium*, p. 70).

Schuh cannot be blamed for ignorance of what was later to emerge, firstly in the Hofmannsthal-Kessler correspondence and secondly in Kessler's diary for the crucial years. His assessment of Hofmannsthal's capabilities and intentions at the time does appear flawed, however, in the light of all the evidence now available, and again betrays the critical tendency to judge Hofmannsthal's capabilities as a dramatic librettist with hindsight, and not with the dramatic and theatrical qualities he possessed in 1909:

Diesem war aber ein erstaunliches Wachsen beschieden, nicht nur, weil es eine Erwartung und Hoffnung – die des Komponisten – zu befriedigen galt, sondern weil eine glückliche Fügung dem Dichter im rechten Augenblick einen Gesprächspartner zuführte, der den Ball, den Hofmannsthal ihm mit der Erzählung des kleinen Szenars zuspielte, zurückzuwerfen verstand. [...] Im Februar 1909 besuchte Hofmannsthal den Freund in Weimar, und dort ist – sicherlich auf Grund der flüchtigen Aufzeichnung des Szenars, die wir kennengelernt haben – das Gespräch über das geplante Lustspiel in Gang gekommen (*Trivium*, p. 70).

Schuh's firm belief that Hofmannsthal was the initiator, Kessler merely the respondent, has found its way into many accounts of the creation of *Der Rosenkavalier* ever since.<sup>191</sup> It also seems to have influenced some of the subsequent German scholarship on the issue: after working

---

<sup>191</sup> Jefferson, Del Mar, Mühlher and many others; see also Jakob Knaus, *Hofmannsthals Weg zur Oper 'Die Frau ohne Schatten'* (Berlin New York: De Gruyter, 1971).

with Schuh on the critical edition of *Der Rosenkavalier* (Band XXIII), Dirk O. Hoffmann has written extensively, and in the main somewhat critically of Kessler, in terms of the relative importance of Kessler's input to *Der Rosenkavalier* in its final form (Hoffmann *Mitarbeit*, pp. 153-60). This line of argument is also to be found in Jörg Schuster's introduction to Volume IV of the diary (*Tagebuch IV*, pp. 17-26). Schuster argues, on lines similar to those of Hoffmann, that the charm and individual vision of Hofmannsthal's words, combined with the greater emphasis he gave to the character and psychological portrait of the Marschallin, all serve to diminish the legitimacy of any claim by Kessler to be co-author or co-creator of *Der Rosenkavalier*. Once again, this is retrospective judgement and seems to have been written without any real consideration of the theatrical qualities of *L'Ingénu libertin*. For *Der Rosenkavalier*, taken as a total piece of music theatre, ended up as it did because it started from the fundamentals it was given by Kessler and Hofmannsthal – the cast of characters, the scenario, the dramaturgy and the stage décor. Strauss set the libretto to music, but the words and music of *Der Rosenkavalier* are only part of the story. In addition, Kessler's diary has a great deal more to say that is pertinent in this respect. On 11 February for example:

Wieder mit Hofmannsthal über die Komödie. Er hat das Motiv gefunden, warum Faublas zu Sophie geschickt wird: als Brautwerber, um ihr nach alter Wiener Sitte den Besuch des Bräutigams anzukündigen und ihr eine silberne Rose zu überreichen. Damit würde der zweite Akt anfangen, was pantomimisch sehr hübsch ist und Etwas Zartes als Kontrast zum Groben des Pourceaugnac giebt (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 560).

The fact of Faublas being sent to Sophie by the Marquise on Pourceaugnac's behalf, to announce Pourceaugnac to her, had been Kessler's idea the previous evening, and had cut through the Gordian knot of establishing relationships between the various characters and the dynamics of their stage actions. The embellishment of this idea with a silver rose as a visual token, a piece of symbolism, was Hofmannsthal's idea, and illustrates the productive theatrical interaction between both men. The working period in Weimar is then rounded off by a diary entry that is of cardinal importance to the contention of this thesis, that Kessler had a sound structural grasp from the outset, and a theatrical vision, of how the finished opera would look and sound once Strauss had composed it. It follows straight on from Kessler's remark (quoted earlier) that after ten minutes back and forth in conversation with Hofmannsthal, it was often impossible to identify their respective contributions (my emphasis):

[...] oft könnte weder er noch ich nach zehn Minuten mehr sagen, wer die Szene eigentlich erfunden hat. **Für mich allein reklamiere ich** nur das Schlussbild, dass die Figuren nacheinander in Gruppen, sozusagen ballettmäßig, abtreten, bis die beiden Liebhaber allein bleiben und auch abgehen, endlich, scherzend und Flambeaux haltend, nur noch einige Negrillons auf der Bühne; dann Mondschein. **Für eine Oper dieser abschwellende Schluss, mit dem abnehmendes Licht parallel geht, bis die Bühne dunkel, blos vom Mond erhellt bleibt, scheint mir für Musik wie die von Strauss, die bis zu solcher Lautheit anschwillt, sehr wohlthätig.** Nach Tisch Gespräch über Hauptmann mit Hofmannsthal (*Tagebuch IV*, pp. 560-1).

This claim by Kessler to sole authorship of the finale to Act III concept, the gradual emptying of the stage, the final scene for the two lovers, the exoticism of the 'few little negro boys' (who became just one,

'ein kleiner Neger' in the cast list) is just as significant theatrically as Kessler's decision to turn Faublas and Sophie into complete strangers to each other. For, once again, Kessler is departing here from the matrix of *L'Ingénu libertin*. What he had seen the previous year on the stage of the Bouffes Parisiens was an entirely conventional ending to the piece. After the trio, in which the Marquise (not without a tear) relinquishes Faublas and he pairs off with Sophie, the happy couple are joined by the entire cast, who celebrate the announcement of their marriage – and the work ends with a bright, D major full chorus. This is the antithesis of the projected ending of *Der Rosenkavalier* – to which Kessler lays 'sole claim'. He, correctly, predicts that a quiet, elegant, balletic and tableau-like ending to the work, played against a long Straussian *decrecendo*, will be effective and original. That, in dramaturgical and structural terms, is almost exactly how *Der Rosenkavalier* turned out, and the subsequent stage directions (by Alfred Roller) for the final scene echo Kessler's vision almost exactly:

Einer der Diener, die mit Faninal und der Marschallin von B eingetreten waren, nimmt nun von dem vorderen Seitentischen den Armleuchter, der zuerst auf dem Esstisch gestanden hatte und jetzt die einzige Beleuchtung des Zimmers bildete, auf, um den Abgehenden voranzuleuchten. Das Zimmer wird infolgedessen (mässig) dunkel. Von hier ab beginnend: Mondschein durch das ovale Fenster in der linken Seitenwand ober C einfallend, ganz unmerklich wachsend, Octavian und Sophie treffend (*Fassungen*, p. 179).

In terms of the visual, dramatic architecture of the piece, this is pure Kessler, the perfect accompaniment to the Straussian *decrecendo* that he also imagined at this point, nearly two years before its onstage realisation. There is, however, even earlier evidence of Kessler's enchantment with a

very similar stage picture. On 15 April 1901 he had attended a performance of *Twelfth Night* at Her Majesty's Theatre, Haymarket, and had been very taken by its tragic-comic nature, by Shakespeare's ability to conjure up pure comedy from the tragedy of human emotions, stuttering relationships and the characters' inability to see things clearly through their disguises, noting:

Sehr unterstrichen wird die Bedeutung des Stücks durch den Maskenzug, mit dem man es hier enden lässt, und in dem alle Figuren Hand in Hand wie eine Art von Totentanz abziehen; zuletzt bleibt der Narr allein zurück und epilogisiert mit einem hohen Flötenton (*Tagebuch III*, p. 402).

It is thus quite possible, as Kessler thought back for theatrical examples of elegant endings to comedies of mistaken identity and of cross-dressing, that this production of *Twelfth Night* came to mind, and that he imagined the emptying stage as a similar final tableau, but this time with orchestral accompaniment.

There is one further diary entry that records Kessler's specific input to the scenario as it was developing at this stage. The two men had now moved to Berlin, Hofmannsthal had been to see Strauss (on his own – and the significance of this is discussed in Chapter Four), had obtained his approval of the whole concept, and Max Reinhardt's dining room had now become their place of work. On 15 February Kessler wrote (my emphasis):

Vormittags und Nachmittags in Reinhardts Speisezimmer Unter den Zelten mit Hofmannsthal das Szenario des „Faublas“ weiter ins Einzelne bearbeitet, den ersten und den zweiten Akt. Ich hatte für diese beiden Akte Dinge aufnotiert, die H. akzeptierte. So das Gegenspiel zwischen Pourceagnac, der Marquise und Faublas im ersten Akt, das darauf

beruht, dass Faublas möglichst schnell und unauffällig fortwill, während P., der ihn für ein Mädchen hält, ihn festzuhalten sucht. Die Marquise, die P.'s Verliebtheit merkt und den Spass sehr goûtirt, zieht schliesslich eine Miniatur von Faublas heraus und macht selber P. auf die Ähnlichkeit aufmerksam, indem sie sagt, die Kammerzofe sei eine natürliche Schwester ihres Neffen Faublas; ob P. vielleicht dieser junge Herr als Brautwerber recht sei? Durch diesen tollen Übermut der Marquise wird motiviert, dass F. Brautwerber wird. Im zweiten Akt, statt des Banketts, um Pourc. und Géronte von der Bühne wegzubringen und Sophie und Faublas allein zu lassen, Notare, die mit P. und G. den Ehekontrakt aufsetzen müssen und dazu mit ihnen in einen Nebenraum gehen: beim Bankett hätten Faublas und Sophie zugegen sein müssen. Hierzu der weitere Vorteil, dass das Auftreten der „Antichambre“ im ersten Akt, auf das H. dekorativ grossen Wert legt, mit der Handlung verknüpft wird, indem die Marquise sie hereintreten lässt, um P. ihren Notar, der mit antichambriert, vorzustellen. So kann denn im ersten Akt Pourc. dem Notar seine Weisungen geben, während rechts die Marquise frisiert wird und ein Flötist schmelzend die Flöte spielt. Um fünf waren wir mit dem Scenario, das jetzt bis ins Einzelne, Situation für Situation, und fast Geste für Geste, ausgearbeitet ist, fertig: es fehlen nur noch die Worte, die die Personen bei den einzelnen pantomimischen Bewegungen sprechen. **Ich drückte namentlich auf die dramatische und pantomimische (sichtbare) Zuspitzung aller Situationen, während diese in Hofmannsthal's Erfindung leicht etwas verwaschen ineinander übergehen** (*Tagebuch IV*, pp. 562-3).

Kessler's reading of their respective attitudes and contributions to the theatrical aspect of the scenario finds a distinct echo in a letter sent to him by Hofmannsthal six months later, after work on the libretto itself was well under way. Saying that, uniquely among his friends, he could not write to Kessler and omit any mention of his work, and asking Kessler never to chivvy him for details on exactly how the work of creation was progressing, Hofmannsthal added:

Mein lieber Harry, nicht wahr, du missverstehst das nicht? Es berührt ja in keiner Weise unser Verhältnis, und ebenso wenig dein Verhältnis zu allen anderen Stadien meiner Arbeit, wovon ich im Gegentheil hoffe, es wird immer inniger. Denn kaum geht mir ein Plan durch den Kopf, wie jetzt eine moderne Gesellschaftscomödie, ohne dass ich mir aufs lebhafteste verlange, den Plan mit dir durchzusprechen. Desgleichen erwarte ich von

dir einen entscheidenden Rat über das Sylvia-Stück, später einmal (Burger, p. 261).

This letter is a fair reflection of the close working, productive relationship that was developing between Hofmannsthal and Kessler at this stage. It had a word of warning to Kessler not to intrude too closely, but it also showed how much input Hofmannsthal felt that he needed from his friend. Moreover, however selective his memory may have been, and however much Hofmannsthal began to feel that he was creating an original work of his own, as he sat and penned the *Der Rosenkavalier* libretto in Rodaun in 1909-10, he cannot have been unaware – as he referred back to the written scenario – of all the little details that had actually been suggested by Kessler. In terms of the piece's visual and theatrical effects, the very first scene on which he worked was the revamped Act III Scene 1 of *L'Ingénu libertin*, Hofmannsthal's initial task being to put words into the mouths of two protagonists: Faublas and the Marquise. Even as he worked, and as the draft *Rosenkavalier* libretto began to take shape, he received constant reminders by letter from Kessler of the shape and visual outlines of the work that was to be shown onstage. As flagged in the previous chapter, Kessler saw the Ballets Russes in *Le Pavillon d'Armide* in early June 1909: he promptly wrote to Hofmannsthal (emphasis as in original):

Für die Kostüme geben mir die des *Pavillon d'Armide* vom russischen Ballett Ideen: barock (in diesem Falle altwienerisch natürlich) mit einem Stich ins Beardsleysche, um das Phantastische der Operette zu markieren. Ich glaube es wäre gut, wenn du da später, nach Fertigstellung des Textes,

in deiner Bühnenausgabe *recht weit ins Einzelne* giengest, da die traditionelle *Opern* Regie sonst überall hilflos unkünstlerisch ist. Einen Anfang hast du ja bei Octavian und seinen Läufern gemacht. Aber ich meine du solltest *später systematisch* von Anfang bis zu Ende ziemlich genaue *Farben* und *Stil* Angaben machen. Das Beste wäre natürlich direkte *kolorierte Illustrationen* (ganz geschäftsmässiger Art), die der Partition beizugeben wären, sei es von Roller (dessen Faust allerdings schlimm ist) sei es von Stern (der sehr viel Talent hat), sei es von einem der Russen, der die ganz *wunderbaren* Kostüme und Dekorationen für das Ballett hier gemacht hat. Der Dekorateur, der den *Pavillon d'Armide* inszeniert hat, wäre ganz der Mann dazu, mit seiner nach Beardsley hin gravitierenden Phantasie, die aber doch den Zeitcharakter ganz zu wahren weiss. An Craig wage ich natürlich nicht mehr zu denken (Burger, p. 241).

Kessler was running ahead here, visualising the reworked *L'Ingénu libertin* in its completely new Viennese setting and applying his artist's eye to details of exactly how the new creation would look. Hofmannsthal meanwhile was working out the 'great scenario' that he and Kessler had already devised, and incorporating as many of its effective features as possible into the text that he was already sending to Strauss. So, in terms of visual effects, the (repeated) joke with the likeness of Faublas to the chambermaid, the interplay between Pourceaugnac, the Marquise and Faublas in the first act, all this, once again, comes from *L'Ingénu libertin*, in which the Marquis de Bay makes constant reference to his expertise in physiognomy and his unfailing ability to 'read' people – whilst failing miserably to detect that the disguised and feminine-looking Faublas is a young male. Out of exactly this construct springs Ochs, with his vague awareness that Mariandel and Octavian are suspiciously similar in appearance – explained away however by their (common) noble natural parentage. Likewise Kessler's suggestion that the Marquise (Marschallin) should be audacious enough to get out a miniature of Faublas (Octavian)

and to draw Pourceaugnac's (Ochs's) attention to the likeness: this is very much in character with the Marquise of Artus and Terrasse, who dominates the stage and takes all the key decisions that move the plot along. She it is, after all, who having had one night of lovemaking with Faublas gives her blessing to his reconciliation with Sophie and brings about the final dénouement:

La Marquise *très émue*            Je vous pardonne.

*Et à Sophie – parlé – tandis que l'orchestre murmure: C'est Colin Maillard*

C'est vous qui le méritez mieux,  
Gardez-le donc, cet enfant que j'adore.

*Et comme Sophie, radieuse, va dénouer le fichu, la marquise l'arrête*

Je voudrais essayer mes yeux,  
Laissez-lui ce bandeau, pour un instant encore

(Artus, p. 159).

[The Marquise *very moved*    I forgive you.

*And to Sophie – spoken – while the orchestra softly murmurs the 'Colin Maillard' melody*

You deserve him the most,  
So keep him, this child whom I adore.

*And as a radiant Sophie is about to untie the knot in the scarf, the Marquise stops her*

I should like to dry my eyes,  
Leave the blindfold on him, for a moment.]

The hint of melancholy, the elegant resignation of the Marschallin as she moves offstage leaving Octavian with Sophie, the emotion she feels as her lover abandons her for another, younger girl, all these elements are also present in this vignette from *L'Ingénu libertin*. The details correspond too: the Marquise refers to Faublas as *cet enfant*, the Marschallin to Octavian as *mein Bub*: the erotic mother figure/young person relationship is preserved. The argument does not therefore really run that the French work is a mere light-hearted pot-boiler and that Hofmannsthal was to change it out of all recognition. There is a great deal more of the Artus scenario, character development and colour in *Der Rosenkavalier* than has previously been admitted. Yet since few, if any, Hofmannsthal-Strauss scholars have looked in detail at *L'Ingénu libertin*, either libretto or score, this major omission is understandable.

## Conclusions

A return to the impact made on Kessler by *L'Ingénu libertin*, when he saw it on 18 January 1908, provides plausible context for the clarity and force of the narration he gave to Hofmannsthal on 9 February 1909, which triggered the collaboration that resulted in *Der Rosenkavalier*. Kessler had seen a work of literary quality, with music by one of the foremost exponents in the genre, with décor and costumes by craftsmen at the top of their game. There was clearly more than a frisson of eroticism to the scenario, and to its onstage execution, and the representation of French

eighteenth-century *libertinage* certainly struck a chord not only with Kessler but also with a number of French critics.<sup>192</sup> Kessler's diary entry for 18 January 1908, as noted in the previous chapter, had highlighted the leading actress, Arlette Dorgère; had contrasted *libertinage* and 'sentiment', Lovelace and Clarissa, Crébillon fils and Rousseau and had evoked Heine as an author capable of unifying all these different elements.

If Kessler saw the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century dialectic between *libertinage* and 'sentiment' or sensibility portrayed onstage in *L'Ingénu libertin*, he was situating the piece well within his own literary and dramatic vision and understanding, formed, as argued in Chapter One, through intense and constant exposure to a vast range of works of French, English and German literature. He had read Richardson's *Clarissa* in 1906 and had been overwhelmed by it, writing in the diary on 23 June:

Clarissa Bd V. zu Ende in restloser Bewunderung und Ergriffenheit. Nur Balzac und Dostojewski sind de pair; unter englischen Epikern Niemand, nicht einmal Fielding. Die unerhörte Neuheit seines Unternehmens und die Genialität der Ausführung stellen Richardson ausser Wettbewerb (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 151).

A month later, Kessler had finished Rousseau's *La Nouvelle Héloïse* and was making detailed comparisons between Rousseau and Richardson, between the lyrical realism of the former (leading through subjectivity to later impressionism) and the epic realism of the latter (leading through objectivity to *le document vécu*) (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 163). Kessler's conclusion was that the relationship between Rousseau and Richardson was akin to

---

<sup>192</sup> Nozière in *Gil Blas* of 12 December 1908, for example.

that of a photographic negative and positive. Kessler's subsequent thoughts, post *L'Ingénu libertin*, on the inter-dependence of Crébillon fils and Rousseau, of Lovelace and Clarissa, of *libertinage* and *sentiment*, are echoed rather strikingly in modern Crébillon fils scholarship:

It has already been noted that the balance to be achieved between sensibility, that is *sentiment*, and *libertinage* is never decisive and varies throughout the period of the eighteenth century. [...] Sensibility, for the major novelists Prévost, Marivaux, Diderot and Rousseau, was reflected in the importance given to feeling, the study of feelings, reflection on the emotions and accentuating them to allow refined and detailed analysis. The novel of sensibility was popularised by Richardson in both England and France, followed by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, the foremost pre-Romantic novelist of the period, with the publication of *La Nouvelle Héloïse* (1761).<sup>193</sup>

The fact that Kessler saw two opposing poles in the source material of *L'Ingénu libertin* - the need to illuminate Faublas with Rousseau and Rousseau with Faublas - is eloquent also of his deeper understanding of what was going on: *La Nouvelle Héloïse* being a narrative of moral and emotional repair, the need for the heroine Julie to recover after her fall, meaning the loss of her virginity. Clarissa never recovers from her fall, and wills herself to death: Julie and Saint-Preux concentrate on the long period of time needed for recovery. It is telling also that Kessler saw a union of these opposites in Heine, a poet with the ability to combine, to embody even, a mixture of raw sensuality and dreamy sentimentality. Kessler had

---

<sup>193</sup> Patrick Fein, *Crébillon fils, Les Egarements du Coeur et de l'esprit* (London: Grant & Cutler Ltd, 2000) p. 10

long been preoccupied with the differing strains that made up Romanticism, and, precisely of Heine had noted in the diary in 1903:

Bei Heine lässt sich die Mischung am leichtesten trennen. Das Sentimentale ist seine Romantik. Seine Liebe zum wirklichen Leben giebt sich als Witz. Deshalb ist sein Witz auch, was geblieben ist und weiterwirkt (*Tagebuch III*, p. 528).

So the 18 January performance of *L'Ingénu libertin* crystallised in Kessler's mind some of his previous thinking about libertinage and 'sentiment' in works of eighteenth-century French and English literature, and he saw a combination of these symbiotic elements in the work of the nineteenth century German poet Heine. This sort of thinking, this desire to situate the character of Faublas among a gallery of pre-existing literary characters, was also exemplified in the Preface by Hippolyte Fournier to a new edition of *Les Aventures du Chevalier Faublas* in 1884, who wrote:

Faublas, prenant place entre le Lovelace de Richardson et le Chérubin de Beaumarchais est à son plan: il est la sentimentalité séductrice donnant au besoin du plaisir chez l'homme la grace de l'amour, tandis que Chérubin, c'est le désir éclectique, ébloui jusqu'à l'aveuglement, non point raffiné mais gourmand, et aussi brutal, dans son habilité câline, que le sensualisme à froid de Lovelace est corrompu.<sup>194</sup>

Richardson, Rousseau, Crébillon fils, Beaumarchais were all therefore authors whose creations were seen to impinge on the world created in novelistic form by Louvet de Couvray, and dramatised subsequently onstage – as outlined in Chapter Two and in Appendix 4 –

---

<sup>194</sup> <http://dbooks.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/books/PDFs/N10271587.pdf> [accessed 2 September 2013]. Hippolyte Fournier, *Louvet et le roman de Faublas* (Paris: Librairie des Bibliophiles, 1884), p. xxiii

throughout the nineteenth century. Kessler was certainly aware of all these currents of thinking and perhaps he saw too in Hofmannsthal a poet capable of expressing in German some of the subtleties that Artus may not quite have captured: in a prescient letter of 3 August 1909, when work on the libretto of *Der Rosenkavalier* was well under way, Kessler wrote (my emphasis):

Doch, Scherz beiseite, natürlich wird 'Quin-Quin'<sup>195</sup> viel besser als der Artus'sche Faublas, **weil der dichterische 'Charme', das Individuelle und Seltene deiner Vision hinzukommt**. Das ist, was überhaupt den modernen Franzosen, inklusive Bernard et Becque abgeht, der 'charme', der Letzte, der ihn hatte, war Musset. Irgendwie fehlt der Duft, der zarte Flaum, der auf den Schöpfungen der echten poetischen Phantasie ruht, diesen Parisern allen. Ihre Welt ist keine Zauberwelt wie die von Balzac oder Shakespeare. Sie interessieren mich, aber es zieht mich nie zu ihnen hin, ich habe nie grosse *Lust* auf sie. **Das ist, was deine Komödie, wenn du ihr 'métier' lernst, doch mit der ihrigen inkommensurabel machen muss**; und wo das 'métier' auch ersticken darf. Derjenige welcher am genialsten von den Franzosen in diesem Sinne gelernt hat, ist wohl Ibsen gewesen: er gab den Braten, sie ihm die Sauce (Burger, pp. 255-6)

Kessler thus anticipated that Hofmannsthal would come up with a libretto that went beyond the formulaic, that added to the scenario that the two men had put together over their seventeen hours of joint endeavour. However, he saw Hofmannsthal's contribution precisely as this overlay, an addition and accretion of highly individual language and idiosyncratic lyric poetry, to the essentially sound and workmanlike dramatic structure that had been created. These were the terms in which he had high hopes of

---

<sup>195</sup> Octavian's nickname was one of several working titles for *Der Rosenkavalier*; the others were *Der Vetter vom Land*, and *Ochs von Lerchenau*, although *Mariandel*, *Die galanten Abenteuer des Barons von Lerchenau*, *Der Grobian in Liebesnot* and *Der Grobian im Liebesspiel* were also considered (Burger, pp. 264-9).

the collaboration thus started. In the light of the finished piece, the opera that was to première on 26 January 1911, Kessler's anticipation was in the main well-founded and his vision acute, despite certain aspects, including its longueurs, of the final libretto that will be considered as part of the next chapter, which examines authorship, in particular, of the characters and their onstage performances in *Der Rosenkavalier*, and assesses the diametrically opposed self-assessments made by Kessler and by Hofmannsthal of their respective parts in the creation of this work.

## Chapter Four

### **The characters in *Der Rosenkavalier*: their genesis, and the authorial process that created them**

The identities of the characters who fill, and empty the stage in performances of *Der Rosenkavalier*, their antecedents, and their literary and occasionally real life origins, are questions that have often been addressed in *Der Rosenkavalier* scholarship in the past, but rarely in the light of all the evidence now available: no-one, in particular, has analysed them by making a close reading of the Hofmannsthal-Kessler correspondence (published 1968) in the subsequent light of the Kessler diaries (published from 2004 onwards). It is the purpose of this chapter to do precisely that. The derivation of the opera's essential narrative and dramatic architecture from *L'Ingénu libertin* has been traced in the preceding two chapters, but the work done subsequently by Kessler and Hofmannsthal – and, of course, by Strauss – was transformative, resulting in a new piece of music theatre that rapidly conquered the opera houses of the world. Versions of the carefully defined, prescriptive original production of *Der Rosenkavalier* opened in opera houses all over Germany and in Italy from 1911 onwards, were seen in London and in New York in 1913 (Warrack/West p. 610), although, interestingly, the opera did not receive its first performances in France until 23 March 1926, when it premièred at the Monte Carlo Opéra

(Burger, p. 558), followed by its première at the Paris Opéra on 10 February 1927. By this time – sixteen years after its Dresden première – any audience memories of the look of the stage settings, characters and costumes for *L'Ingénu libertin* had, presumably, long since faded. But the question that remains is what the full, accurate genesis of these *Rosenkavalier* characters really was, and how authorship of them came about; how they were imagined, visualised and then fashioned as individual characters on the stage.

The nature of authorship in general, and more particularly its definition, is a much-debated issue:<sup>196</sup> in this thesis it will be restricted to those aspects that concerned Hofmannsthal, Kessler and Strauss. On Sunday 14 February 1909, having arrived in Berlin from Weimar the previous evening, Hofmannsthal narrated to Strauss the reworked version of *L'Ingénu libertin* and invited him, in effect, to author the music for it. Strauss's acceptance of the proposition was more or less instantaneous: in *Zum Geleit* Hofmannsthal himself described it thus (my emphasis):

[...] Ich fuhr nach Berlin, ohne eine Notiz als das Personenverzeichnis auf die Rückseite einer Tischkarte gekritzelt, aber mit einer erzählbaren Handlung im Kopf. Die Wirkung dieser Erzählung auf Strauss ist mir erinnerlich, als wäre es gestern gewesen. **Sein Zuhören war ein wahrhaft produktives. Ich fühlte, wie er ungeborene Musik an die kaum geborenen Gestalte verteilte.** Dann sagte er: 'Wir werden das machen' (*Zum Geleit*, p. 3).

---

<sup>196</sup> Barthes, and his theories, are considered below: he and Michel Foucault have prompted extensive debate on the author as writer, and the author as part of discourse. Jack Stillinger, *Multiple Authorship and the Myth of Solitary Genius* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991) and *Theories of Authorship*, ed. by John Caughie (London: Routledge, 1981) provide useful overviews. Jonathan Bate's research into authorship of Shakespeare is considered below.

Hofmannsthal's use of the first person here is selective, and it is somewhat unlikely that he had no notes: as has been shown, he and Kessler had talked of little else during the preceding four days in Weimar, and they had spent two hours in the train together from Weimar to Berlin, going over the *Faublas* scenario in minute detail. Regardless of that, his narration of the scenario must, however, have been as interesting and inspiring to Strauss on 14 February as Kessler's narration of *L'Ingénu libertin* to Hofmannsthal had been some five days previously. It is also interesting – if Hofmannsthal's retrospective account is broadly correct – that Strauss's musical response to the scenario, and to the characters who would figure in it, should have been so immediate and so intuitive. This suggests that Strauss began to have some feeling for the musical shape of the embryonic work purely on the basis of Hofmannsthal's oral description of its main features: in other words, before he had seen a single line of the libretto. As is well known, there were several subsequent examples of Strauss composing musical passages for *Der Rosenkavalier* and then asking Hofmannsthal to supply additional lines of text, the most famous being the final love duet between Octavian and Sophie in Act III (see Strauss-Hofmannsthal, pp. 33-5, where three such examples are given).

On this basis, the initial authorship of *Der Rosenkavalier* can thus reasonably be ascribed to the jointly-conceived dramatic scenario, in which Kessler played as much of a role as Hofmannsthal (and was the driving force in the process of its construction), and to Strauss's immediate acceptance of that scenario as the next opera he would set to music. An

aspect to consider, however, is the degree to which Hofmannsthal's words – once Strauss had said yes to the project – began to usurp joint authorship of the dramatic construct, the scenario, and to become the factor that most inspired Strauss's music. This is where theoretical definitions of authorship may come into play. In literature, Barthes famously refers to text as 'a multi-dimensional space in which a variety of writings, none of them original, blend and clash' and again as 'a tissue of quotations drawn from the innumerable centres of culture'.<sup>197</sup> This is apt: the texts of Hofmannsthal as literature, both coincidentally and objectively speaking, often fit that description. Branscombe expresses similar thoughts about certain aspects of Hofmannsthal's dramatic writings:

From the conscious and admitted adaptations it is fascinating to turn to the hidden literary borrowings, more or less conscious memories of his passionate and voracious reading in several languages; antecedents of the most varied kind can be found for a vast number of tiny details in his writings. Yet these borrowings are so creative, his use of them so subtle, that the accusation that he was a kleptomaniac has only the most superficial application.<sup>198</sup>

Yet these textual, pointillist details added by Hofmannsthal are embellishments in the main: they create atmosphere and suggest back-stories to characters who have already been authored in their essential dimensions by the scenario that has been constructed around them (the Marschallin's mention of going to eat with 'Uncle Greifenklau, who is old

---

<sup>197</sup> Roland Barthes, 'Death of The Author' (1968), in *Image – Music – Text*, essays selected and translated by Stephen Heath (London: Fontana Press, 1977) pp. 142-8 (p. 146), hereinafter: Barthes.

<sup>198</sup> Peter Branscombe, 'Hugo von Hofmannsthal – Man of Letters' in *Der Rosenkavalier*, ed. by Nicholas John (London: Calder Publications, 1981) pp. 33-6 (p. 35).

and lame' in Act I of *Der Rosenkavalier* is just one such example of pathos and colour being added by the text to the principal female character, who has already emerged in theatrical terms, the sentiment underlined even further by Strauss's music at this point) (Pahlen, p. 105). Authorship in literature, moreover, and Barthes' contention that 'the birth of the reader must be at the cost of the death of the author' (Barthes, p. 148) is not strictly or necessarily applicable to authorship for the stage, where actors and actresses assume their roles, decide on their interpretation, and are then subject to designers, and costumiers, and above all to directors, for onstage incarnation of the character who performs the written text, their delivery of that text being no more than one element in their performance overall – and its reception. The lengthy (and ongoing) debate on authorship of the plays of Shakespeare is relevant to this contention: of modern Shakespeare scholars, Jonathan Bate has written most persuasively about the collaborative nature of what we refer to as 'Shakespeare', pointing out a fundamental misconception on the part of those who look for an alternative single author (emphasis as in original):

The Romantic idea of authorship locates the essence of genius in the *scene of writing*. [...] This conception of what it is to be a genius has the effect of investing talismanic power in *the author's original manuscript*. This in turn has the effect of removing Shakespeare from the playhouse – it was in the Romantic period that idealists began complaining that the plays were too great to be soiled by the stage.<sup>199</sup>

---

<sup>199</sup> Jonathan Bate, *The Genius of Shakespeare* (London: Picador, 1997), p. 82, hereinafter: Bate.

Bate goes on to develop more fully the notion of joint authorship of some of the plays of Shakespeare's time:

Shakespeare's contribution to *Sir Thomas More* reveals a number of things about his working life. He was a man of the theatre. He did jobbing work, fulfilling particular commissions as well as creating plays of his own. He contributed to plays which had different scenes written by different dramatists. He revised other writers' work. [...] Such a Shakespeare is utterly unlike the Romantic image of authorship in which the poet works alone in his study, is answerable only to his own inspiration, and cherishes his manuscripts (Bate, p. 99).

This then leads him to the following conclusion:

For by 'Shakespeare' we mean not an individual, but a body of work, and that body was [...] shaped by many individuals – by the dramatist's education and his precursors, by the actors of his company, by the audience without whom no play can be completed (Bate, p. 185).

In a subsequent book, and dealing with what he describes as *The Myth of Shakespeare's Retirement*, Bate goes into greater detail on Shakespeare's co-authors and collaborators, and the works (and parts of works) that they fashioned together.<sup>200</sup> With such examples in mind, it is at least arguable that the notion of Hofmannsthal crafting the libretto for *Der Rosenkavalier* all alone in his Rodaun study is akin to the Romantic image of authorship as quoted above, and that the *scene of writing* alluded to by Bate is but one component in the work of music theatre that was put together by Kessler, by Hofmannsthal and by Strauss: that the finished work therefore, is more than a mere fusion of words and music, but rather a

---

<sup>200</sup> Jonathan Bate, *Soul of the Age, The Life, Mind and World of William Shakespeare* (London: Penguin Books, 2009), pp. 359-63.

musico-dramatic experience in which the *unsaid*, or rather *unsung* (or as Kessler would have put it, the *pantomimic* and visual elements) play a crucial theatrical role.

To address this basic question of authorship of the whole piece, of the structure that surrounds and supports the characters, of the scenario according to which they act out their roles, particularly in the specific context of Kessler's theatrical vision and its impact on the Strauss-Hofmannsthal oeuvre, the following factors should now be considered: analysis of the main recorded exchanges on the topic, particularly between Kessler and Hofmannsthal; inclusion of some of the subsequent pronouncements by both men on the creation of *Der Rosenkavalier*; and assessment of critical comment on the issues raised by their collaboration, that has for the most part postdated publication of their correspondence and of Kessler's diary (indeed, before publication of their correspondence, Kessler was merely known, if at all in this context, as the man in whose house Hofmannsthal was staying when he seemingly came up with the *Rosenkavalier* ideas).

The whole question of authorship was an issue that arose between both men, in acute form, in July 1910, and the exchanges that passed between them at that time show that each of them had a very different conception of the contribution made by the other. These exchanges are explored and analysed later in this chapter. The broad issues raised, but not fully answered, are exemplified, however, by a comment on Kessler by

Jürgen Haupt in 1970, shortly after the Hofmannsthal-Kessler

correspondence first appeared:

Man täte ihm Unrecht, wenn man – wie es Hofmannsthal tat – das zugleich geistige und Schöpferische daran verkleinern oder verkennen wollte. Gerade die künstlerische Kooperation mit Hofmannsthal in den Jahren vor dem Weltkrieg ist Beweis für die originelle künstlerische Produktivkraft Kesslers. Idee und wichtige Details des *Rosenkavalier* stammen, so wissen wir heute, ebenso von ihm wie Motive zu *Cristinas Heimreise* (Haupt, p. 60).

This is echoed, seventeen years later, by Gerhart Baumann, in his contribution to a collection of essays on Kessler as a pioneer of modernism.

Baumann suggests:

Die Anregungen, Ergänzungen, Einwände zu *Cristinas Heimreise* oder zum *Rosenkavalier*, sie verdienen ein eigenes Studium, entfalten Möglichkeiten schöpferische Kritik, welche die Grenzen zwischen dem Kritiker und dem Schöpfer auslöschen (Neumann/Schnitzler, page 15).

Likewise, more recently and more tentatively, Ilya Dürhammer considers Hofmannsthal's relationship to the female characters in his stage works:

Es sei an dieser Stelle noch einmal an die Auseinandersetzung Hofmannsthals mit dem Androgynen erinnert [...] an Harry Graf Kessler, der an der Konzeption sowohl des *Rosenkavaliers* wie auch an der der *Josephs Legende*, des Ballett-Vorwurfs [sic], wesentlich beteiligt war. Es ist eine Überlegung wert, wieweit hier die Ästhetik eines Homoeroten nicht unwesentlich auf die Konzeption Hofmannsthals Einfluss genommen hat (Dürhammer/Janke, p. 233).

Hofmannsthal does not really illuminate any of these issues by contributing, in 1927, a warm tribute to Kessler followed immediately by

some remarks on the origins and authorship of *Der Rosenkavalier* that, like his famous (or infamous) letter to Strauss of 11 February 1909, do not tell the whole story. The tribute itself is quoted in Chapter Three and is repeated here for continuity: immediately thereafter he wrote (my emphasis):

Das Szenarium ist wahrhaft im Gespräch entstanden, im Gespräch mit dem Freund, dem das Buch zugeeignet ist (und zugeeignet mit einer Wendung, die auf wahre Kollaboration hindeutet), dem Grafen Harry Kessler. **Die Gestalten waren da und agierten vor uns, noch ehe wir Namen für sie hatten: der Buffo, der Alte, die Junge, die Dame, der 'Cherubin'.** Es waren Typen, die zu individualisieren der ausführenden Feder vorbehalten blieb. Aus dem ewig typischen Verhältnis der Figuren zueinander entsprang die Handlung (*Zum Geleit*, p. 3).

This may be how Hofmannsthal thought back on his work some eighteen years later, and chose to write about it, but it is somewhat misleading on his part to reduce the characters from *L'Ingénu libertin* to mere types without names, and to ignore its specific narrative: for the very first drafts of the scenario of *Der Rosenkavalier*, analysed in the previous chapter, show that all the characters bore the names that denoted their stage origins, as they were likely to – Faublas, the Marquise, Sophie and Pourceaugnac, the latter being the only name introduced by Hofmannsthal at that stage. Nor, strictly speaking, does the evidence support Hofmannsthal's contention that 'the plot arose from the eternal ways these figures related to each other'. As has been shown, the basic idea, the very concept of the comic opera that was to be written for Strauss was Kessler's narration of all the elements he had taken from *L'Ingénu libertin*, plus

Hofmannsthal's decision to combine these elements with 'the Pourceaugnac figure', followed by the initial seventeen hours of joint work, refashioning and recrafting the elements thus brought together. It would therefore, with today's evidence before us, be more accurate to change Hofmannsthal's formulation to something like: 'the plot arose from our joint deconstruction of the very specific ways Faublas, Sophie, Rosambert, the Marquis and the Marquise related to each other in *L'Ingénu libertin* and our refashioning of those elements, plus some new ones, and the order in which the narrative unfolds, into the *Rosenkavalier* scenario'. That might however have started hares running in 1927, and the first ever volume of correspondence between Strauss and Hofmannsthal had only recently been published,<sup>201</sup> thus awakening general public and critical interest in their collaborative methods: but that formulation, or something similar, is precisely what Kessler's diary, and the full Hofmannsthal-Kessler correspondence both show, as demonstrated here. It may well be, however, that as he was working on the characters so vividly and accurately described to him by Kessler, Hofmannsthal found it necessary for his own purposes to reduce them in his imagination to cipher figures, before recreating them in their *Rosenkavalier* incarnations. Hofmannsthal's letter to Kessler of 27 June 1909 rather suggests this: reflecting on the difficulty of creating rounded characters for the opening scene of the play *Cristinas Heimreise*, he remarks (my emphasis): 'Das ist ganz ein anderer

---

<sup>201</sup> Richard Strauss, *Briefwechsel mit Hugo von Hofmannsthal*, ed. by Dr. Franz Strauss (Berlin: Paul Zsolnay Verlag, 1926).

effort, **als das Spielen mit Typen und typischen Situationen** in der Operette' (Burger, p. 247).

None of this is to deny that Hofmannsthal's subsequent imaginative crafting of the language put into the mouths of each of these remodeled characters is anything other than poetic, idiosyncratic, nuanced and for much of the time profoundly original. It is a truism that precisely Hofmannsthal's multilingual text, High German and Austrian German for the most part but enriched with borrowings from Italian and French, and enlivened by dialect, by archaisms and by colloquialisms, in itself creates the new setting, half real and half imaginary (as Hofmannsthal himself described it in *Zum Geleit*) of Vienna in the time of Maria Theresia. Hofmannsthal is thus both author and writer of this milieu. This, too, is precisely what Kessler wanted and intended all along: his aim from the outset had been to free Hofmannsthal of the burden of plotting, motivation and dramatic structuring, thus leaving him to concentrate on what he was to do best of all: characterization, by means of language, of the new roles in their new setting. There are many pointers to this very process in the Hofmannsthal-Kessler correspondence: it provides much of the evidence as to how one work of art was completely transformed into another.

Before turning to this, however, and considering it alongside the evidence in Kessler's contemporaneous diary entries, the genesis of the characters who make up the cast of *Der Rosenkavalier* will be addressed. A vital aspect to bear in mind in this context is that the guiding theatrical vision for the *Rosenkavalier* scenario, including many details of exactly how

the work was to be performed onstage, came from the experience, already described, of a single performance of *L'Ingénu libertin*, seen by Kessler on 18 January 1908. The world created onstage by this work was undoubtedly attractive, visually pleasing, intriguing and effective. With its sumptuous, thought-through settings, and above all with its cast of characters, the stagecraft worked, in marked contrast to some of the previous stage adaptations of *Faublas*, as demonstrated in Chapter Two. However, although this is clearly what happened, Kessler's way of briefing and instructing Hofmannsthal on how all the characters in *L'Ingénu libertin* performed their roles, and related to one another dramatically, is the one factor in the equation that is inadequately recorded; most likely because it was a major feature of the many hours of intensive conversation between both men that surrounded, but was not included in, the very first written scenario (Kessler's diary), the first variant (Kessler's diary and the Hofmannsthal paper found by Schuh), the reversion to the original scenario and act order (Kessler and Hofmannsthal, as documented in Chapter Three) and the many subsequent drafting revisions that followed (see, in particular, *Band XXIII*). Since specific evidence of the Kessler-Hofmannsthal conversations here is lacking, the most fruitful way of attempting to assess the origins and authorship of the performance aspects of *Der Rosenkavalier* is to analyse the characters and situations in their 'before and after' contexts. The first to be considered in this way is Baron Ochs of Lerchenau, the man who, as Kessler first suggested, is the driving force of the work. Consideration will then be given to Valzacchi and

Annina, to Faninal and his daughter Sophie, to Octavian and, finally, to the Marschallin.

## The characters

### 1. Ochs of Lerchenau

The generally accepted prototype of Baron Ochs is Monsieur de Pourceaugnac, the principal character in the Molière/Lully 1669 comédie-ballet of the same name. As soon as Kessler had narrated *L'Ingénu libertin* to Hofmannsthal, and the latter had subsequently read the relevant section of text in *Les Aventures du Chevalier Faublas*, the idea had come to Hofmannsthal of combining the narratives of the Pourceaugnac and Faublas characters, and of having the former compromised by means of an assignation with the latter (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 558). The name Pourceaugnac thus figures in all the early draft scenarios, until its replacement by the name of Ochs in the second half of March 1909. Pourceaugnac is not, however, the only model for Ochs. Jefferson ranges more widely than some in his search for the origins of Pourceaugnac/Ochs:

Hofmannsthal felt that the character of Ochs made *Der Rosenkavalier* more readily acceptable in England than in France, for there are a number of similarities between the Baron and several characters in the English drama: Falstaff himself, including Verdi's knight (although Falstaff is older); Sir Toby Belch in *Twelfth Night*; Sir Tunbelly Clumsey in Vanbrugh's *The Relapse* (1696); Bob Acres in Sheridan's *The Rivals* (1775); Tony Lumpkin in Goldsmith's *She Stoops to Conquer* (1773) (Jefferson, p. 14).

The Falstaff of Verdi and Boito as a role model for Ochs was also in the minds of Kessler, Hofmannsthal and Strauss as the characterization progressed – Strauss drew Hofmannsthal’s specific attention to it for the scene with the wounded Ochs on the sofa at the end of Act Two, in his letter of 13 August 1909 (Strauss-Hofmannsthal, p. 47). To this list might also be added Squire Western in *Tom Jones* by Fielding, whom Kessler specifically mentioned to Hofmannsthal when he first suggested a thoroughgoing revision to Ochs’s big aria in Act One. Kessler’s suggestions for the sort of characterization that might be applied to Ochs derived in equal measure from literature and fine art: ‘Auerbachs Keller, Squire Western, Jordaens (nicht Giorgione), Jordaens Teniers geben hier die Note an’ (Burger, p. 228). The bucolic student scenes set in Auerbach’s Keller in Goethe’s *Faust*, and the scenes of aristocratic and peasant merriment painted by Jacob Jordaens and by David Teniers the Younger were undoubtedly mentioned by Kessler as a visual and literary prompt to Hofmannsthal to make Ochs a more rounded, plausible, theatrical character and not – as the first draft of the aria had presaged – a mere mouthpiece for lyrical poetry. As Kessler went on to put it, more colloquially: ‘Diese Arie des Ochs kommt mir so vor, als ob Caliban

plötzlich anfienge wie Ariel zu reden, od. Bottom der Schneider wie Titania' (Burger, p. 228).<sup>202</sup>

The other elements of *Monsieur de Pourceaugnac* that Hofmannsthal incorporated in the *Rosenkavalier* scenario, but with changes, are: a Parisian father (Oronte) deciding to marry off his daughter (Julie) to a rich provincial promising a dowry (Pourceaugnac, a lawyer from Limoges); a pair of intriguers (Sbrigani and Nérine) meddling in the affair and stage-managing the discomfiture of Pourceaugnac; the arrival onstage (prompted by the intriguers) of fake former wives of Pourceaugnac (Lucette, and Nérine in disguise) who produce fake children to taunt Pourceaugnac with cries of 'Mon papa! Mon papa!'; and the final flight of Pourceaugnac from Paris back to Limoges, bewildered and defeated at every turn, thus allowing Julie to marry her intended all along (Eraste).<sup>203</sup>

The dramatic structure of *Monsieur de Pourceaugnac* is, however, completely different to that of *Der Rosenkavalier*, and the characterization of Pourceaugnac and of Ochs has little in common: they both come from the provinces, but that is about all. The outcome of *Monsieur de Pourceaugnac* – that parents will always fail if they try to prevent young love – is told in advance by the musical prologue, orchestrated and controlled onstage by Eraste: in the first and second scenes, Julie, Eraste, Nérine and Sbrigani describe comprehensively how Pourceaugnac will be dealt with once he

---

<sup>202</sup> Kessler had studied the works of Jacob Jordaens (1593-1678) and David Teniers the Younger (1610-90) as part of his projected *magnum opus* on art, originally entitled *History of European Colour since Giotto*, which he began to research seriously in 1906 (but never completed).

<sup>203</sup> Molière, *Oeuvres Complètes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1900), pp. 445-64 (hereinafter: Pourceaugnac).

dares to show his face in Paris (*Pourceaugnac*, p. 446-7). When he does so, his role turns out to be that of a passive dupe. He is tricked and ridiculed at every turn by accomplices of Sbrigani pretending to be doctors, an apothecary, lawyers, officers – even by Eraste, who pretends to have spent time in Limoges and to know all of Pourceaugnac’s friends and acquaintances there (*Pourceaugnac*, pp. 448-50). What is more, Pourceaugnac is bemused by Paris from the moment of his arrival in the city – his first speech, to an offstage crowd, tells us so (*Pourceaugnac*, p. 447) and it is his utter helplessness that allows Sbrigani to make a show of befriending him, in order to unleash a series of plots against him. As a character, therefore, Pourceaugnac is entirely reactive: his sin is his presumption that a lawyer from Limoges could come to Paris to marry a smart young Parisienne, and his punishment is pre-ordained, with the entire cast of characters against him. Julie and Eraste, Sbrigani and Nérine, all work hand in glove from the outset to inflict successive humiliations on their hapless victim. Pourceaugnac does nothing except arrive, become bewildered, protest, and depart. There is therefore a simple narrative, but no dramatic development of his character.

As a character, moreover, Pourceaugnac is at the opposite end of the spectrum from Ochs. The latter’s arrival onstage in the first act of *Der Rosenkavalier* is forceful and entirely self-assured: he arrives in Vienna with a large and rowdy retinue of servants and supporters. Ochs practically forces his way into the Marschallin’s bedroom, brooking no interference from servants who try to hinder his passage (and creating, incidentally,

both the initial frisson of fear that the noise offstage might be the Marschallin's husband returning home unexpectedly, and the motivation for Octavian to disguise himself as Mariandel, thus launching immediately the sub-plot with the Ochs-Mariandel assignment). From the moment of his arrival, Ochs is the driving force of the narrative, in the Kessler sense: he is in Vienna with a purpose, he tries to see this purpose through, he is at the centre of the stage action for large sections of all three acts. The financial motive is also reversed: Pourceaugnac has a dowry of three or four thousand crowns (écus) on offer for the hand of Julie, whereas the straightened Ochs, with only his noble lineage on offer, is unashamedly after Faninal's substantial wealth. Ochs thus drives the narrative of *Der Rosenkavalier* and is the active, dynamic force within it; the narrative of *Monsieur de Pourceaugnac* involves its passive victim, Pourceaugnac, in one misfortune after another.

From the dramaturgical point of view, the character and behaviour of Ochs have far more in common with two of the male protagonists in *L'Ingénu libertin* – the Comte de Rosambert and the Marquis de Bay – than they have with Pourceaugnac. These features must therefore derive from Kessler's narration of the Artus scenario. To deal with the Marquis first: from the moment that he meets Faublas, cross-dressed as Mademoiselle du Portail, he starts to flirt with the beguiling creature before him (Artus, p. 36) and attempts to arrange an assignation. The similarity between this sub-plot and that of Ochs-Mariandel is striking. The Marquis de Bay is also a self-styled expert in physiognomy, and claims to recognize Faublas as the

daughter of M. du Portail as soon as he learns the name (Artus, pp. 34-5). The same construct is applied to Ochs in Act I of *Der Rosenkavalier* – when the Marschallin shows him the medallion of Count Octavian Rofrano, the man she has designated to become bearer of the silver rose for Ochs, the latter is struck by the facial similarity to Mariandel but draws entirely the wrong conclusions: she must be an out-of-wedlock sister to Octavian (and he chuckles over the naughtiness of it all) (Pahlen, p. 67). There is however one major difference between the Marquis de Bay and Ochs, in that the former remains unaware of his wife’s infidelity throughout the piece, whereas Ochs finally becomes aware of the Marschallin’s infidelity with Octavian, and is enjoined to forget all about it and leave Vienna.

Many of Ochs’s strong, positive attributes, by contrast, are pre-echoed in the character of Rosambert. It is Rosambert’s forthcoming marriage with Sophie, to the dismay of Faublas, that is announced in Act I (Artus, p. 25). It is Rosambert who wants to have his quick affair with the Marquise de Bay before his wedding day, and who persuades Faublas to cross-dress as Mademoiselle du Portail: Rosambert’s attitude to the business of marriage not being allowed to mar the fun of his seduction of other women is thus exactly the attitude that Ochs exemplifies. It is therefore Rosambert who is the main driver of the narrative in *L’Ingénu libertin*, since his attempted use of a cross-dressed, jealousy-inspiring third party (Faublas) to achieve his affair with the Marquise results in nothing of the sort: Rosambert neither has his intended affair, nor does he marry Sophie. Here too is a parallel with Ochs: the latter’s attempted use of a third party (Octavian) to

prosecute his suit with Sophie merely drives the two into each other's arms: and his projected affair with Mariandel comes to nothing either. This is precisely what must have been in Kessler's mind on 10 February 1909 when he wrote in the diary: 'Durch diese Änderungen wird Pourceaugnac aus einer fast passiven Figur zur Haupttriebfeder des Stücks; er 'verschuldet' alles Unglück, das ihm widerfährt, selbst [...]' (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 559).

In his narration of *L'Ingénu libertin*, Kessler clearly recounted in detail to Hofmannsthal the characteristics and plot functions of the Marquis de Bay and of Rosambert. There is another distinct echo of the latter in a small passage of dialogue in Act II of *Der Rosenkavalier*, which adds to the perception that Hofmannsthal had this model at least partly in mind when characterizing Ochs: as the latter is about to leave the stage to sign the marriage contract in the notary's presence, Ochs encourages Octavian to flirt with Sophie during his absence:

Baron (*eifrig*)                      Natürlich wird's belieben

(*im Vobeigehen zu Octavian, den er vertraulich anfasst*)

Hab' nichts dawider  
 Wenn du ihr möchtest Äugerl machen, Vetter,  
 Jetzt oder künftighin,  
 Ist noch ein rechter Rührnichten.  
 Betracht's als förderlich, je mehr sie dégourdiert wird.

(Pahlen, p. 147).

[Baron (*eagerly*)                      Of course I'm pleased to come!

(*to Octavian as he passes, gripping him conspiratorially*)

I've nothing against it  
 Cousin, if you want to flirt with her,  
 Now, or anytime in future,  
 She's still a very prim little customer  
 I regard it as a service, the more she's relaxed.]

In *L'Ingénu libertin*, Rosambert promises Faublas a little reward if the latter will aid him with his stratagem for seducing the Marquise de Bay. The reward will be an introduction to Sophie de Pontis, the day after she has married Rosambert:

Faublas (*à part*): Sophie!  
 Rosambert: Je pense que tu ne la connais pas, bien qu'elle soit ta parente. Elle n'est guère sortie de son couvent.  
 Faublas: Je ne la connais pas.  
 Rosambert: Tu lui feras la cour et elle te dégourdira. Nous en usons ainsi, entre gens du bel air.

(Artus, p. 25)

[Faublas (*aside*): Sophie!  
 Rosambert: I don't think you know her, even though you are related. She has only just left her convent.  
 Faublas: I don't know her.  
 Rosambert: You can make love to her and she will relax you a bit. This is the way we aristocrats behave.]

The placing of the unusual and somewhat titillating word 'dégourdieren' in Ochs's mouth can only have come from Hofmannsthal's subsequent reading of the Artus libretto, although Kessler cannot have given a detailed account of the work that he had seen without sketching out the dramatic relationship between Rosambert and Faublas, and

between the Marquis de B. and Faublas, right from the outset; and Hofmannsthal's borrowing of the character traits and dramatic functions of both men, to create a vital, dramatically powerful Ochs, is a long way removed from the entirely passive, beaten before he starts, figure of Pourceaugnac. Strictly in dramatic terms, therefore, it is more convincing to see many of the origins of Ochs of Lerchenau in *L'Ingénu libertin* rather than in *Monsieur de Pourceaugnac*. The derivation is very clear.

## 2. Valzacchi and Annina

Molière's play does, however, provide convincing surface prototypes for the intriguers Valzacchi and Annina, in the form of Sbrigani and Nérine. Yet once again there are some key dramaturgical differences. At the outset of *Monsieur de Pourceaugnac*, we are introduced to a quartet of characters who know each other, trust each other and who resolve to work together to destroy the importunate Pourceaugnac and to dash any hopes he might entertain of marrying Julie. Eraste and Sbrigani may or may not be social equals, but Eraste refers to him in flattering terms throughout: Sbrigani is 'adroit' and 'subtle' and can be relied upon unequivocally (*Pourceaugnac*, p. 446). This is quite a different construct to Valzacchi and Annina, who simply turn up at the Marschallin's levée and seek their respective fortunes from there, offering their services to the highest bidder. The Marschallin rejects their offer of the latest scandal sheet, and clearly despises them and all that they stand for. So Valzacchi and Annina have a different dramatic,

and somewhat extraneous function in *Der Rosenkavalier*: their onstage denunciation of Octavian and Sophie in Act II, and their summoning of the crowd of extras for the inn scene in the first half of Act III, to see Ochs ridiculed and denounced, are mechanical plot devices, more akin to the ancient *deus ex machina* prototype than to the integrated, harmonious function of Sbrigani and Nérine as part of the plot against Pourceaugnac. There is no pair of intriguers in *L'Ingénu libertin*, nor is there any need, given the way its narrative unfolds, for this particular dramatic device.

There is, however, one scene that closely resembles the onstage imbroglio of the first half of Act III of *Der Rosenkavalier*, when Ochs is surprised during his attempted seduction of Mariandel and has to face, not only the crowd of fake extras and his supposed former wives and children, but the full force of the law in the form of a police commissioner and his constables who are duly summoned to the scene. This is, in fact, a combination of elements from *Monsieur de Pourceaugnac* and from *L'Ingénu libertin*. The climax of Act II of the latter sees the arrival of a large crowd at the Marquise de Bay's house, headed by a police commissioner (*police des mœurs*) with orders to search the house for Faublas, allegedly engaged in immoral behaviour (Artus, p. 148). This has been prompted by Rosambert, anxious to prevent Faublas from climbing between the sheets with the Marquise (he is too late). A full chorus sings of searching the house from top to bottom: 'from the attics to the cellars, let's search every cupboard,

every basket'<sup>204</sup> – the mood created is one of urgency and excitement, with the music at this point underpinning the dramatic certainty that someone, or something, will be found and revealed. In *L'Ingénu libertin* this dénouement comes when Sophie dons the Act I dress abandoned by Faublas, steps forward and claims to be him: she is led away for a night in prison (Artus, p. 121). In *Der Rosenkavalier* the Act III tumult ceases with the arrival of the Marschallin, and the dénouement follows from there (Pahlen, p. 237). The 'stage moment' in each case is similar: a point of arrival, at a given moment, and a new departure. In this context, what happens to Valzacchi and to Annina is of no interest: having helped to move the plot along, they are simply discarded, along with the crowd of extras. By contrast Sbrigani, in *Monsieur de Pourceaugnac*, maintains his pivotal role and status right to the end, appearing alongside Eraste, Julie and Oronte in the very last scene before the final, celebratory masques (Pourceaugnac, p. 463). It was, however, Kessler who first suggested the changed role of the intriguers in *Der Rosenkavalier*: having originally seen them as accessories to Faublas (see Chapter Three, p. 194), he then made them into Pourceaugnac's helpers, who are subsequently 'turned' by Faublas in order to further the plot.

### 3. Faninal and Sophie

---

<sup>204</sup> *Des greniers jusqu'aux caves/Des caves au greniers/Cherchons dans les placards/Fouillons dans las paniers!* (Artus, p. 118).

The fact that Hofmannsthal used the name G ronte for the father figure in the revised scenario of 10 February 1909 (the first variant) has led many commentators to search more widely in the works of Moli re, and elsewhere, for the prototype of Faninal (Jefferson, p. 15): and it is indeed the case that G ronte is the father of Lucinde in *Le M decin Malgr  Lui* and that G ronte is the father of Hyacinte in *Les Fourberies de Scapin* (the Moli re play to which Kessler specifically referred in his letter to Hofmannsthal of 3 August 1909). There is nothing specific to the father-daughter relationship in either play, however, that goes beyond the relationship between Oronte and Lucie in *Monsieur de Pourceaugnac* as a basic model for the rebellious Sophie, once she has met Ochs and been appalled by him, defying Faninal and saying that she will not obey his orders to marry. The spirited exchanges between Sophie and Faninal in Act II of *Der Rosenkavalier*, with their repetitions and parallel phrases (Pahlen, pp. 175-9) are precisely foreshadowed in *Monsieur de Pourceaugnac*, when Julie (knowing that Oronte has been set against Pourceaugnac already) pretends to be determined to marry him, thus increasing further Oronte's opposition to the match (*Pourceaugnac*, pp. 457-8). Hofmannsthal's borrowing from the structural and performance aspects of this particular scene in *Monsieur de Pourceaugnac* seems very clear.

Sophie, viewed in isolation in performance terms, is an interesting case. Breaking away from all previous stage adaptations of Louvet de Couvray's novel, Artus makes her one of the principal characters in *L'Ing nu libertin*, brings her out of her convent and places her onstage, at

the centre of the action, showing her to be quick-witted, resourceful, able to command (and outwit) her chaperones (Mademoiselle Sauce and La Jeunesse) and to rise to the climactic scene of the opérette, her sentimental duet with Faublas followed by the decisive trio in Act III. The role, moreover, gives the singer playing Sophie the chance for considerable comic by-play as a maladroit waiter at table during the 'getting to know you' scene in the Marquise de Bay's salon in Act II. By her sacrifice (a night in prison), the Sophie of *L'Ingénu libertin* proves herself to be the equal of her intended, Faublas, and she enjoys some spirited arguments with him in which she more than holds her own – particularly when Faublas tries to argue that a man's casual affair with a woman is of no real importance (Artus, pp. 146-7).

In performance terms, the Sophie of *Der Rosenkavalier* is somewhat of a reversion to the more passive Sophie of Louvet de Couvray's original novel: she is the pretty, but ordinary, conventional young girl, obedient to her father's wishes in the matter of her arranged marriage, and without much original – or interesting – spark of her own: until she has met, and fallen in love with Octavian. Her existence in the confines of Faninal's house is loosely analagous to the existence of Louvet de Couvray's Sophie in her convent, and not at all to Artus's Sophie, who roams Paris freely and who seeks out her Faublas when she scents the danger of his imminent involvement with another woman. This *Rosenkavalier* Sophie, however, is entirely consistent with Kessler's theatrical vision for the piece. For if, as Kessler suggested when making the biggest single initial change to the

Artus scenario, Sophie and Faublas do not know each other before the narrative starts, then she has to be located – not quite imprisoned - in the location in which Faublas is most likely to find her: and that location, Faninal's house, has the added advantage (in visual, pantomimic terms) of being eminently suitable for grand display. The only real sign of original character shown by Hofmannsthal's Sophie occurs during her Act Two argument with Faninal, when she threatens to defy him at every turn if he persists with the intended match with Ochs. As outlined above, this is a borrowing from Julie and Oronte (*Pourceaugnac*, pp. 457-8).

#### 4. Octavian

There is a rich stage history of females playing the parts of males, *en travesti*, both in the theatre and on the opera stage, but the legion of possible, theoretical generic predecessors to Octavian should not be allowed to obscure the simple fact that the character started life in the *Rosenkavalier* scenario as Faublas, and this is the character on whom he is most closely modeled in performative dramatic terms. Faublas is played by a mezzo-soprano in male attire who, in the course of *L'Ingénu libertin*, sings of his 'love' for two females – so does Octavian. Faublas then cross-dresses into female attire onstage and finds himself, thus transformed, to be the object of unwelcome male attention from the Marquis de Bay – so does

Octavian, from Baron Ochs. Faublas is discovered *nu et en chemise*<sup>205</sup> in the bedroom of the Marquise, after a night of passionate love-making – so is Octavian. Faublas, having tasted the delights of love with an older woman, falls for a girl of his own age – so does Octavian. It should be remembered, incidentally, that the act order of Octavian's narrative is a mirror image of that of Faublas, with *L'Ingénu libertin* moving Faublas from public place to grand drawing room to bedroom, while *Der Rosenkavalier* moves Octavian from bedroom to grand drawing room to public place. The resolution of the narrative is, in each case, the same.

Hofmannsthal's letter to Strauss of 11 February 1909 had indicated clearly the sort of singer who would take one of the two big parts: 'a graceful girl dressed up as a man, à la Farrar or Mary Garden' (Strauss-Hofmannsthal, p. 27). Both Geraldine Farrar (1882-1967) and Mary Garden (1874-1967) were known to Kessler, who, having seen Jeanne Alba, a relatively new and inexperienced actress, take the part of Faublas, must have thought – along with some of the critics, as noted in Chapter Two – that a big name would invest the role of Octavian with the star quality that it required. Kessler's opinion of Farrar varied: as noted earlier, he saw her début at the Berlin Court Opera on 15 October 1901, singing Marguerite in Gounod's *Faust*, and praised her great all-round talent (*Tagebuch III*, p. 440), then got to know her over lunch in December 1901 (*Tagebuch III*, p.

---

<sup>205</sup> Jean-Claude Bologne, *Histoire de la Pudeur* (Paris: Olivier Orban, 1986) p. 134. The sexual frisson provoked by a woman in male undergarments, allowing the shape of her body and legs to be seen onstage, was a hallmark of actresses such as Virginie Déjazet (1798-1875) and many others. The stage direction for Faublas at the start of Act III runs: 'Faublas, qui vient de sortir du lit, est dans sa petite culotte et chemisette de cavalier. Sa robe de nuit est sur un meuble'. [Faublas, who has just got out of bed, is in his underpants and cavalier's undershirt. His nightshirt is on a chest of drawers] (Artus, p. 125).

449) – making no further comment on her – and subsequently heard her sing privately, in the presence of Cosima Wagner, judging her performance as ‘disastrous’ (*Tagebuch III*, p. 457). Farrar’s onstage allure, however, and her ability to inspire devotion among a growing army of female fans as well as male admirers, may well have been factors in the decision to include her name, as a prompt to Strauss of the sort of starring role that was envisaged by Kessler and by Hofmannsthal at that early stage.

The name of Mary Garden was an equally strong prompt to Strauss – she had, after all, studied the role of Salomé with him for the French version of the opera in Paris (Kennedy, p. 142) and by 1907 she had become a strong and versatile performer in Paris. Kessler had seen her at the Opéra Comique on 8 May 1902, creating the role of Mélisande in Debussy’s *Pelléas et Mélisande* under the baton of Messager: his diary entry for that day is full of thoughts about the work, its dramaturgy and its restrained instrumentation, but says nothing about the performers (*Tagebuch III*, p. 493). Kessler must have seen her three times that month, for the diary records subsequent visits on 10 May (*Tagebuch III*, p. 494) and 15 May (*Tagebuch III*, p. 495), but he merely records the fact of his attendance. Nearly four years later, on 3 April 1906, Kessler saw Garden playing the lesbian role of Chrysis in Camille Erlanger’s *Aphrodite*, again at the Opéra Comique, but his diary comment is enigmatic: ‘Hübsche Tänze: sonst Wenig’ (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 112). What else Garden might have brought to the role of Octavian was her experience of the title role in Jules Massenet’s *Chérubin*, an opera recounting the subsequent adventures of the

Cherubino of Beaumarchais and of Mozart, that premièred in Monte Carlo on 14 February 1905. Her ability to switch from seductive femininity onstage to trouser roles such as Chérubin (and, later in America, to play Jean – originally written for a tenor - in Massenet's *Le Jongleur de Notre Dame*) has led to judgments such as that by Terry Castle: 'Garden, who cultivated an air of sexual ambiguity quite brazenly [...]'<sup>206</sup> in respect of her performance skills.

The assumption can safely be made that Kessler, just as he wanted all along for Hofmannsthal to improve on the Artus libretto by applying 'poetic charm, the individual and rare qualities of your vision' (Burger, p. 255), wanted equally the mezzo who was to be cast as Octavian to be a striking actress-singer, someone with qualities akin to those already being displayed in the opera house by Garden and Farrar. Too late for it to have any bearing on the casting of *Der Rosenkavalier*, but still of aesthetic and theatrical interest in that context, Kessler was later to see onstage the female singer whom he described to Hofmannsthal as follows: 'Übrigens sah ich dort bei dieser Gelegenheit auch *den idealen Quinquin*, den absolut idealen, wie wir ihn leider wohl nie im *Rosenkavalier* erleben werden [...]' (Burger, p. 317). Kessler's description of an act he had seen at the third night of the newly-opened London Palladium makes clear the Faublas (Octavian) he had been envisaging from the outset:

---

<sup>206</sup> Terry Castle, 'In Praise of Brigitte Fassbaender', in *En Travesti, Women, Gender Subversion, Opera* ed. by Corinne E. Blackmer and Patricia Juliana Smith (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), pp. 20-58 (p. 27).

Dieses Wunder heisst Ella Shields, das reizendste, frischeste Gesichtchen, die schlankste, knabenhafteste Figur, bis auf zwei, kaum knospenhaft angedeutete Brüste, Bewegungen wie ein frischer, graziöser Schulbub, und eine hübsche, aber nicht sehr starke Sopranostimme, die aber doch immerhin den riesenhaften Raum (5000 Sitzplätze) durchdrang: das Ganze wohl erst neunzehn bis zwanzig Jahre alt. Sie singt und tanzt als 'junger Herr' im Frack, und als Lieutenant in Uniform. Ich habe selten Etwas so reizendes und Graziöses gesehen, ohne jede Süßlichkeit oder äquivoque Farbung. Also, ein vollkommener Quinquin ist *möglich* [...] (Burger, pp. 317-8).

Kessler was fooled by the stage appearance of American-born Ella Shields (later to achieve music hall immortality as 'Burlington Bertie from Bow') – she was in fact thirty-one when Kessler saw her that night. His description of her shows, however, that the Octavian he visualized was to be slim, androgynous, stylish and elegant – a far cry from the 'dicke Dame, glückliche Mutter von zehn bis vierzehn selbstgesäugten Kindern, in prall sitzenden Kniehosen' (Burger, p. 318) that he dreaded seeing onstage in Dresden or Berlin, as he went on to write in that same letter. Kessler's theatrical vision in 1910, honed by the hundreds of operas he had seen in the preceding decade, clearly encompassed the ideal as well as the predictable.

Concentration on Faublas as the immediate model for Octavian does not, of course, eliminate all thoughts of Mozart and Da Ponte's Cherubino as a more distant predecessor. Strauss wanted *Der Rosenkavalier* to be his Mozart opera, and he, Hofmannsthal and Kessler had all referred *en passant* to Cherubino in their correspondence during the *Rosenkavalier* gestation period. In March 1911, two months after *Der Rosenkavalier* had been launched in the opera houses of Europe, Hofmannsthal referred to the relationship between *Der Rosenkavalier* and *Le Nozze di Figaro* as: 'not

[...] an imitation, but bearing a certain analogy' (Strauss-Hofmannsthal, p. 76). So authorship of Octavian must include certain elements of Cherubino that were also to be found in the stage incarnation of Faublas: both the latter share a spirited attitude and manner, attractive to the older woman with whom they may or may not become romantically entangled (Countess Almaviva and the Marquise de Bay); they also betray willingness to defy the male authority figure in their own pursuit of personal, including sexual, pleasure (Count Almaviva and Rosambert) and they both sing of frank, exuberant enjoyment of the opposite sex.

Cherubino is, however, a vivid but minor figure in the narrative scheme of *Figaro*, portraying a young page who is attracted by every new woman he meets and thus indiscriminate in his feelings. Whatever happens, *Le Nozze di Figaro* will reach its narrative conclusion without him. Both Faublas and Octavian, on the other hand, are major figures in their respective narratives, and it is their specific decision, in both cases, to renounce the charms of the older woman in favour of the young, innocent Sophie (in Octavian's case, with a little prompting from the Marschallin), that resolves the main dramatic construct. As for the construct itself, one could go back much further than Da Ponte and Mozart: to take but one example, Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*. Here, the young female character (Viola), dressed as a boy, is sent by Count Orsino as his love emissary to Olivia: the latter falls in love with the boy who appears before her, who is supposedly prosecuting his master's suit. Shakespeare's gender confusions were all the more entertaining, in that the young man who originally played Viola had

to convey the femininity of her character (that exerts its attraction on Orsino) and the masculinity of her disguise (that makes Olivia fall for her). The operatic treatment in reverse, with a mezzo soprano or alto playing a male role but subsequently cross-dressing as a female character, is no more than yet another variation of a centuries-old theatrical device. It is thus both Faublas and Octavian who have ancient stage pedigrees.

## 5. The Marschallin

The final main character in *Der Rosenkavalier* to be considered in terms of genesis and characterisation is Die Feldmarschallin Fürstin Werdenberg (Marie Theres'), called throughout the piece the Marschallin. Although she appears only in the first act, and in the second half of the third act, the Marschallin is a role that can make a huge impression on audiences and, by their own admission, on some notable singers who have performed her. In her reminiscences of the role, Lotte Lehmann wrote:

It became one of my favourite roles, yes, I think even the one I loved most. It is a part in which one has to be an actress to be convincing. I don't believe that anyone can be really successful if she is only a good singer and not at the same time a good actress. This role must be played with great subtlety and it takes a long time to make it really one's own. Only a fully mature mind can grasp the delicate feelings of this aging woman who says goodbye to love and to youth with a smile.<sup>207</sup>

---

<sup>207</sup> Lotte Lehmann, *Memoirs of Rosenkavalier* (essay in sleeve note to RCA Victor LP boxed set LCT-6005 (2) pp. 7-10 (9-10).

Strauss himself, referring to the 'aging woman' in his 1942 reminiscences of the première of *Der Rosenkavalier*, had an important requirement:

[...] so muss die Marschallin eine junge schöne Frau von höchstens 32 Jahre sein, die sich bei schlechter Laune einmal dem 17-jährigen Octavian gegenüber als 'alte Frau' vorkommt, aber keineswegs Davids Magdalena ist, die übrigens auch oft zu alt gespielt wird. Octavian ist weder der erste noch der letzte Liebhaber der schönen Marschallin, die auch ihren ersten Aktschluss durchaus nicht sentimental als tragischen Abschied fürs Leben spielen darf, sondern immer noch mit wienerischer Grazie und Leichtigkeit, mit einem nassen und einem trockenen Auge (Strauss *Betrachtungen*, pp. 237-8).

As with Octavian, *Le Nozze di Figaro* and this time its older woman character, Countess Almaviva, has generally been regarded as a prototype, if not *the* prototype, for the Marschallin (Jefferson, p. 13). Moreover, even though the name 'Marquise' figured in the very first scenarios for *Der Rosenkavalier*, for a long time very little consideration was given, in critical commentary on the work, to the actual features of the society lady described in Louvet de Couvray's novel – how she might be dramatized and portrayed onstage – since she was regarded merely as a literary figure, and not as a stage creature. In other words, before thought was given to the Marquise de Bay of *L'Ingénu libertin* as a possible model for the Marschallin, she seemed to have no obvious or immediate onstage predecessor. The role was thus assumed to be a more original stage creation from Hofmannsthal's pen than, it will be argued, was truly the

case. Jörg Schuster echoed and summarized earlier commentators in this respect, when he wrote in the Introduction to *Tagebuch IV*:

Während Hofmannsthals Arbeit am Libretto verlor der balletthaft-pantomimische Charakter nach dem Vorbild des Molièreschen comédie-ballet, der Kessler vorschwebte, zunehmend an Bedeutung. An die Stelle des 'tanzmässig Ornamentale[n]' trat eine Komödie für Musik mit überaus differenzierten lyrischen und psychologischen Elementen. Am deutlichsten äussert sich diese Tendenz in der gegenüber dem ersten Szenario grundlegend neu konzipierten Gestalt der sich selbst als alternder Frau empfindenden Marschallin, die schliesslich ihrem jugendlichen Liebhaber Octavian entsagt (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 21).

As will be shown later in this chapter, Kessler was absolutely in agreement with the treatment that Hofmannsthal began to give to the role of the Marschallin as the character took shape in his head. Yet Schuster is right in pointing out, as Hoffmann and others have done before him, that the initial scenario makes no mention of the Marschallin coming to the fore, and leading off in the trio which forms the musical climax of Act III. Kessler's own original diary entry for the end of Act III merely recorded: 'Pourceaugnac, der glaubt, dass es lauter Fürsten sind, ist verhaftet und vernichtet' (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 558). Hofmannsthal, in the first variant, wrote: 'Faublas im Travesti meldet sich. Marquise bestätigt, dass er ein Mann' (*Trivium*, p. 69). The clue to what might have been in Kessler's mind, at least, comes, however, from his final diary entry for 10 February 1909, after the original act order had been restored following his decision to make Sophie and Faublas strangers to each other. The entry reads: 'Faublas Anerbieten u Liebesszene Sophie X Faublas' (*Tagebuch IV*, pp. 559-60).

The question is precisely what the capital X signifies here. It could merely mean Sophie AND Faublas but a possible – and, in context, perfectly plausible – explanation is that Kessler merely wrote a capital X rather than specifying that the Marquise was also to figure here. The words ‘love scene’ (*Liebesszene*) could thus refer to the love triangle of Marschallin, Octavian and Sophie and its resolution into the Sophie-Octavian duet. For it is scarcely conceivable that Kessler and Hofmannsthal, deconstructing and rearranging all the major elements of *L’Ingénu libertin* as they had decided to do, would omit the highlight of that piece – its longest and most striking musical number – and dispose of the characters in some other way. Indeed, the Act III trio of *L’Ingénu libertin* could be said to be so striking and remarkable that Kessler and Hofmannsthal may have regarded it as wise counsel to be discreet about their appropriation of it as their work on *Der Rosenkavalier* progressed. Their new opera was going to incorporate an all-female trio as the dramatic (and musical) resolution of a love triangle, both men knew it and had agreed it, and there was therefore no need to write down any further detail. The detailed way of working this out, in libretto form, came to Hofmannsthal gradually as his work on Act III progressed (and as the letters to be quoted later in this chapter will document), and he undoubtedly gave a deeper and more wistful dimension to the Marschallin, as he characterized her in words, than the Marquise of Artus can be said to possess. This, however, is partly because of the timelines of the respective narratives: in *L’Ingénu libertin* we see the start of the affair,

the conquest by the Marquise of the youthful affections of Faublas and their resulting night of love-making. She therefore has to be characterized as beautiful, elegant, attractive and vibrant, and as a lady with enough presence of mind and social skill to conduct her affairs under the nose of her foppish husband. The Marschallin has all these qualities too, but we see her and Octavian at the end of their affair (it is never revealed exactly how long it has lasted), and this allows Hofmannsthal, with the Feldmarschall conveniently and always well away from Vienna, to develop different aspects of her character: the lonely woman behind the mask of an assured, elegant, all-commanding social presence. However, in theatrical terms she is still basically the Marquise, the *maîtresse de l'heure* - to borrow Kessler's phrase (Burger, p. 260) - the central figure in the Act III dénouement. In this respect, the conclusion drawn by Burger in the synopsis of her 1972 paper is apposite (my emphasis): 'Artus's Marquise and Hofmannsthal's Marschallin are **individuals**. Both present la femme du XVIII siècle, as defined by the Frères Goncourt: *[elle] était le principe qui gouvernait, la raison qui dirigeait et la voix qui commandait*' (Burger *Trois visages*, p. 1).<sup>208</sup> The claim, therefore, that she is 'a newly-conceived figure compared with the initial scenario' is simply not supported by the evidence, and can only come from someone who has no knowledge or awareness of the role played by the Marquise in *L'Ingénu libertin*, nor of the

---

<sup>208</sup> 'She was the governing principle, the directing reason, the commanding voice'. The actual full quote is in the present tense: *La femme, au XVIII siècle, est le principe qui gouverne, la raison qui dirige, la voix qui commande*. It continues: *Elle est la cause universelle et fatale, l'origine des événements, la source des choses* ('She is the universal and fatal cause, the origin of events, the source of all things'). Edmond et Jules de Goncourt, *La Femme au Dix-huitième Siècle* (Paris: Librairie de Firmin Didot Frères et Cie, 1862) p. 321.

striking performance given in that role by its original exponent, Arlette Dorgère.

### **The authorial process**

The brief but intense personal collaboration between Kessler and Hofmannsthal, between 9 and 22 February 1909, had given rise to a working scenario for the libretto to be written for Strauss (as outlined in Chapter Three). The period of putting flesh on the bones, or inserting ‘the words [that] are still missing’ as Kessler had written to his sister,<sup>209</sup> then ran from the moment that they parted company in Berlin and began to correspond, with Hofmannsthal in Rodaun and Kessler in Weimar, Paris and (for a lengthy period of 1909) in the South of France. As close analysis will show, the thoughts and ideas exchanged by both men between late February 1909 and January 1911 are as important and revealing in any consideration of authorship of *Der Rosenkavalier* as the thoughts and ideas exchanged between Hofmannsthal and Strauss during the same period. There can be no doubt, either, that Hofmannsthal and Kessler both thought from the outset that they were authoring the new work together: there is no other explanation for the intensive dramaturgical, textual and stage business exchanges they had by letter, Kessler coming up with a constant stream of suggestions as to how and why the characters would and should behave as they did, whenever Hofmannsthal sent him the emerging

---

<sup>209</sup> Kessler to Wilma de Brion, ms letter of 18 February 1909, DLA Marbach, HS.1971.0001.

libretto, scene by scene (sometimes) and act by act. In total, Kessler sent 46 *Rosenkavalier* letters to Hofmannsthal, mostly long, detailed and full of constructive – and occasionally hard-hitting – criticism, and he received 38 letters from Hofmannsthal in return. (This compares with 37 letters from Hofmannsthal to Strauss in the same period, and 36 in return).<sup>210</sup> The Strauss-Hofmannsthal correspondence over *Der Rosenkavalier* has long been regarded as providing detailed insight into the ways in which such an opera can be created. Reconsideration of the Hofmannsthal-Kessler correspondence on *Der Rosenkavalier* is similarly instructive, especially if it takes particular account of the relevant diary entries and, above all, of the stage pictures and dramaturgy that were in Kessler's mind on the basis of his theatrical experience with *L'Ingénu libertin* at the Bouffes Parisiens. 'Arbeite fleissig Spieloper' wrote Hofmannsthal to Kessler on 17 March 1909 (Burger, p. 214) and, a month later, 'Dann bekommst du natürlich auch sogleich ein Exemplar' (Burger, p. 218). Kessler received his copy on 17 May 1909 and wrote a three page critique the same day: he found the language put by Hofmannsthal into Baron Ochs's mouth, particularly in his aria, much too poetical and out of character; he found the Marschallin's aria slightly too sad and sensitive (making her not sufficiently Voltairean as a character) and he suggested some new stage business whereby Octavian tries to leave the Marschallin's bedroom (which, Kessler suggests, would be the natural thing to do) but Ochs keeps stopping him from

---

<sup>210</sup> Klaus Dieter Schneider, *Harry Graf Kesslers Einfluß auf die Gestaltung der Komödie für Musik 'Der Rosenkavalier'*. Typed dissertation (Celle, 1970), held by the Hofmannsthal Archive, Freies Deutsches Hochstift, Frankfurt am Main.

making good his escape, thus inserting comedy into the onstage situation almost from the start (Burger, pp. 222-4). This stage business, prompted by Kessler, can be seen in virtually every production of *Der Rosenkavalier* until today. Kessler followed up the next day with an even longer letter, reinforcing and justifying all his reservations about the Ochs aria, revising his initial opinion of the Marschallin ('Von den Figuren scheint mir die Marschallin am gelungensten' (Burger, p. 228)) and adding new ideas for the role of Octavian, to make him bolder, more manly, less effeminate: he also had praise for the introduction of the characters in the levée scene, for 'auch der kleine Mohr, der die Schokolade bringt' (Burger, p. 229) and he highlighted the generally amusing qualities of the whole act - 'stilistisch mit das Beste, was ich von dir kenne' (Burger, p. 229). Kessler makes no further reference to the 'little moor' but his February 1909 visualisation of the concluding scene of the opera ('all that I claim for myself', as outlined on p. 205) had included 'a few little negro boys' left onstage as the lights dimmed, the moonlight grew bright and a Straussian *decrescendo* ended the piece (see Chapter Three). This shows that this particular piece of visual stage imagery had been in Kessler's mind from the outset, all the more interesting in that there are no signs of any little negro or moorish pageboys in the surviving photographs of the production of *L'Ingénu libertin* - although, of course, precisely that construct - a handsome black servant and a boy slave in Moorish dress - figure in Plate Four, 'The Countess's Levée, in Hogarth's 'Marriage à-la-Mode', which Mary E. Gilbert (in particular) has analysed in great detail for its many visual and

narrative correspondences with *Der Rosenkavalier* (Gilbert, pp. 818-27). Kessler had mentioned this specific plate as part of the original scenario, in his diary entry for 10 February 1909 (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 558) and had long been an enthusiastic admirer of the narrative force and detailed observation to be found in Hogarth's pictures: his comments on the Hogarths in the Royal Academy Winter Exhibition of January 1908 are also pertinent: 'Wenn man ein Hogarthsches Bild abliest, schreitet man von Einfall zu Einfall, deren jeder eine packende und bedeutungsvoll und neu projizierte Form ist; am nächsten steht ihm in dieser Beziehung unter den Modernen Bonnard' (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 403). Six years previously, while studying Hogarth's pictures intensively in London, Kessler had referred to him as 'der bedeutendste "Maler" der englischen Kunst' and had added: 'Im Detail allerdings bleibt er einer von den grossen Meistern aller Zeiten, der grösste reiner 'Maler' englischer Rasse' (*Tagebuch III*, pp. 558-9). The stage imagery to be found in Hogarth's scenes, which could be used for an onstage levée, thus must have added significantly to the visual impact on Kessler of the levée scene that he had seen in Act III of *L'Ingénu libertin*.

On 20 May 1909 Hofmannsthal accepted the stage business proposed by Kessler in his first letter, and explained his portrayal of the Marschallin and the language he had placed in the mouth of Ochs, saying of the former:

Wenn sie einem hier schon viel, fast zuviel Teilnahme abgewinnt, so ist das richtig, denn wie ich erst im Arbeiten verstand, sind sie und Ochs, als Gegenpole, die Hauptpersonen, Octavian und Sophie, das Liebespaar, de second plan. Die Polarität ist die absolute, wenn auch keineswegs

geistlose Gemeinheit und die vornehme, reife Persönlichkeit: in diesem Sinn endet die Marschallin das Stück: sie wird nicht sitzen gelassen sondern sie schiebt mit einer überlegenen Geste Octavian zu Sophie hin. (Das Liebespaar als Centrum, Wagnerisch, liegt mir gar nicht; beim Ausarbeiten des Scenario war uns das noch nicht so ganz klar) (Burger, p. 225).

This may not have been quite so clear to Hofmannsthal when the scenario was drafted, but it is precisely what Kessler had seen onstage at the Bouffes Parisiens when the Marquise de Bay takes command at the end of the Act III trio (Artus, p. 159). The detailed instructions for the production make this very clear.<sup>211</sup> At the cue *je vous pardonne* the stage directions are:

Sophie, toujours no. 3, ôte le bandeau de Faublas qui supplie la Marquise. Celle-ci, en souriant, lui montre Sophie. Faublas, en se tournant de son côté, lui tend les bras, Sophie s’y jette (*Mise en scène*, p. 40).

These are very precise pantomimic and gestural indications and Kessler cannot have failed to take them in when he saw them sung and acted. However, before he could make any reply to Hofmannsthal, a second letter arrived (also dated 20 May) with a warm reaction to Kessler’s earlier words of praise: ‘Danke tausendmal für deinen zweiten schönen Brief. Bin seelensfroh dass dir die Ausführung des gemeinsamen Scenario im Ganzen Vergnügen macht’ (Burger, p. 230), and Hofmannsthal went on to undertake a rethink of Ochs’s aria - ‘So bin ich überzeugt dass du wo du so lebhaft fühlst, mindestens zum grossen Teil im Recht sein musst’

---

<sup>211</sup> Louis Artus, Claude Terrasse, *L’Ingénu libertin ou La Marquise et le Marmiton – Mise en scène* (Paris: Société d’Editions Musicales, 1907), hereinafter: *Mise en scène*.

(Burger, p. 230) - and to reveal how much he was deriving from the entire exercise (my emphasis):

Im Übrigen möge die Marschallin mit dem Baron sich in das Interesse theilen: so sehe ich jetzt die Accente in dieser kleinen Maschinerie (an der ich übrigens ziemlich viel gelernt haben werde) (Burger, p. 230).

The tone of Hofmannsthal's letters to Kessler at this time often suggests that Hofmannsthal is writing not only for Kessler's pleasure but also for his approval. It indicates a voice of inexperience seeking ratification by someone with greater theatrical understanding and insight. Even the new features and developments that Hofmannsthal was introducing as the libretto progressed were, however, within the parameters of the piece that the two men had discussed and envisioned together, and it will have come as no surprise to Kessler that Hofmannsthal now saw the Marschallin and Baron Ochs as the key figures. As outlined in Chapter Three, from the moment that Kessler had reverted to the original act order but had turned Faublas and Sophie into strangers to each other, he had hit upon the dramatic motivation and mainspring of the whole piece:

Durch diese Änderungen wird Pourceaunac aus einer fast passiven Figur zur Haupttriebfeder des Stückes; er 'verschuldet' Alles Unglück, das ihm widerfährt, selbst; sogar die Bekanntschaft zwischen Sophie und Faublas wird durch ihn vermittelt (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 559).

Nor can he ever have entertained any doubts about the key role to be played by the Marquise, or Marschallin, in her new incarnation, as the

central, most important female character, particularly in the Act III dénouement. As the reception of *L'Ingénu libertin* showed, outlined in Chapter Two, Arlette Dorgère as the Marquise de Bay had been the undoubted star of the piece, rising in particular to the extended musical and dramatic highlight in the third act in which she takes charge of the situation, confronts Faublas with the decision he has to make – choose Sophie or me – and hands him over to the younger woman, with a tear in her eye but with magisterial dignity, once Faublas has finally confessed his true feelings. Kessler's reply to Hofmannsthal's second letter of 20 May reflected this precisely:

Was du über die Marschallin sagst, interessiert mich sehr. Die Figur als solche ist durchaus glaubhaft; ich bin nur gespannt, wie Du sie im III. Akt in die richtige Distanz zum Zuschauer bringst. Ich kann dir übrigens eine Zeitgenossin von ihr nennen, die viel Ähnlichkeit mit ihr gehabt hat, Jeanne d'Albert de Luynes, Comtesse de Verrue, eine wunderschöne Freundin des Régent, die sich ihre Grabschrift selbst in folgende Worte dichtete:

Ci gît dans une paix profonde

Cette dame de volupté

Qui, pour plus grande sûreté

Fit son paradis dans ce monde.

Ich kann mir die Marschallin als Verfasserin dieser Zeilen auch denken (Burger, pp. 232-3).<sup>212</sup>

Adding a further plea for Octavian to be made a more vivid, headstrong character so as to bring out more contrast between the mezzo

---

<sup>212</sup> Whether or not Kessler remembered this at the time of his letter to Hofmannsthal, a very similar quote had been sent in a note from Bernhard von Bülow to Kessler's mother in 1878 after she had rebuffed his amorous advances: 'I see that I was wrong and you are not like the witty lady who placed this epitaph on her gravestone *Here lies a lady who enjoyed her paradise on earth, uncertain of the one beyond the grave* (GS, I, p. 78). It is at least possible that Kessler had seen certain features of his beautiful, thespian mother in the Marquise of Arlette Dorgère and was now seeing them in the emerging character of the Marschallin.

in male attire and the mezzo cross-dressed as Mariandel, Kessler finished the *Rosenkavalier* section of this letter with a revealing sentence in answer to Hofmannsthal's admission on how much he had now learned: 'Dass dir diese kleine Komödie auch allgemein förderlich gewesen ist, freut mich sehr, ich hoffe, sie ist nur der Anfang von einer Serie' (Burger, p. 233). It does not demand deep analysis to detect a master/pupil tone in Kessler's words (a tone that Hofmannsthal was subsequently to find somewhat wearisome, as his letter of 27 January 1910 to his wife Gerty clearly indicated),<sup>213</sup> and to conclude that he saw the authorial relationship – at this stage – as if it were proceeding according to plan.

Hofmannsthal's next letter, a week later, admitted the force of Kessler's objections to the lyrical poetry that had been placed in the mouth of Baron Ochs ('Für die Schärfe und Lebendigkeit Deiner Kritik bin ich dir ja gerade so unendlich dankbar' (Burger, p. 234)), added that the aria had now been rewritten, and he then addressed, – for the first time in their *Rosenkavalier* correspondence – the question of Strauss's musical style. The reservations that Hofmannsthal expressed were that Strauss would simply ladle a symphonic outpouring over the narrative dialogue in the libretto ('über das er eine – entbehrliche – Symphonie schüttet wie sauce über den Braten' (Burger, p. 234)) unless forced into musical depiction of each of the characters ('Durch die Arien zwingen ich ihn, die Hauptfiguren durch die Stimmführung zu charakterisieren (nicht bloss durch Orchester) – und nur

---

<sup>213</sup> Referring to Kessler's many (justified) suggestions for improving Act III of *Cristina's Heimreise*, Hofmannsthal wrote sarcastically: 'Before going to bed I usually find a letter from Kessler with suggestions on how the last act of the comedy really ought to be done, or something equally pleasant' (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 18).

so kann eine organische Oper entstehen' (Burger, p. 234). Hofmannsthal went on to plead for Kessler to approve the rewritten Ochs passages, confirmed that he had already enlivened the role of Octavian and ended (my emphasis):

Mit gleicher Post geht Act II an dich als imprimé, recommandé. Bitte um Kritik. Er gibt, wie gesagt, nicht so viel her wie I und III. Der Schluss ist (vielleicht?) ein bisschen still. **Immerhin folgt er, wie alles, dem braven Szenarium. Bin immer sehr glücklich über die Teilnahme** (Burger, p. 235).

These few words from Hofmannsthal are almost as if he were trying to forestall the criticism from Kessler that he knew – or felt strongly – would be forthcoming, in particular his insistence that he was sticking to their joint scenario. But Kessler replied positively and constructively five days later. He now praised the Ochs aria as having exactly the right tone, or value.<sup>214</sup> He suggested a number of ways in which Ochs's words could be accompanied by mime or gesture, clearly indicating to Hofmannsthal that he was already able to visualize the emerging stage character and had ideas on how to make him more effective dramatically, and he asked Hofmannsthal to have a word with Strauss, so that the music would clearly differentiate such moments, 'durch jeweiliges *obligates Piano* und *Herausheben* der Stelle aus dem Fluss des Ganzen, etwa durch eine andere Klangfarbe oder ein neues Motiv oder Ähnliches' (Burger, p. 236).

Kessler went on to say:

---

<sup>214</sup> Once again, Kessler uses the French word 'valeur'.

Eine andere Stelle, wo die Musik sehr zur Komik beitragen kann, ist S. 24, 4 Zeilen von unten, die Zeile 'der gnädige Herr' die Ochs *wie ein Truthahn sich blähend* und fortissimo singen müsste. Diese Akzente muss die Musik *in sich tragen*, das macht Wagner so dramatisch, dass die Akzente, die *mimischen*, musikalisch so stark unterstrichen sind, dass sie kein Sänger verfehlen kann (Burger, p. 236).

Kessler's letter of 5 June 1909 is his longest in the *Rosenkavalier* correspondence. It contains a detailed critique of Act II, with unqualified praise for the first 7 pages – the arrival of the Rosenkavalier and his meeting with Sophie ('und was das Wichtigste ist, durch und durch musikalisch, d.h. für Musik erfunden' (Burger, p. 236)) - and with suggested minor changes to the libretto on pages 7, 9, 10, 11, 13, 15, 16, 24, 26 and 27; some of Kessler's objections being to the language placed in the mouth of Sophie, and some being dramaturgical in nature, in particular to make clearer the motivation for the Italian intriguers Valzacchi and Annina to change sides from Ochs to Octavian. (In general, Hofmannsthal rejected Kessler's linguistic suggestions or merely changed words here and there, but accepted his dramaturgical, plot and narrative points). It went on to say:

Der Schluss des Akts will auch mir nicht recht gefallen. Wir haben so *drei leise* Aktschlüsse. Ich finde dieser sollte laut buffonesk sein, als Kontrast zu den leisen und gefühlvollen Schlüssen von Akt I und III (Burger, p. 238).

Kessler then signed off with delight that Hofmannsthal 'so leicht und schnell schreibst, macht mir besondere Freude, da es mir für deine Gesundheit, deine geistige Frische, die beste Gewähr gibt' (Burger, p. 239).

This letter from Kessler of 5 June (which he described as ‘endless’ in a follow-up letter the very next day) illustrates perfectly the impact his theatrical vision had on the Strauss-Hofmannsthal partnership, when one compares it with the very next letter that Hofmannsthal sent to Strauss, on 12 June 1909. Extracting and reordering the essential points, particularly when seen side by side in English translation, reveals the following:

#### **Kessler to Hofmannsthal 5 June**

Nuances of expression must be marked in this aria [by Ochs] so that the music brings out the characterization and emphasizes it.

There must always be a haystack nearby (at this point Ochs his hand over his mouth and leans conspiratorially towards the ear of the Marschallin).

As it is, we have *three quiet* act endings. I think that this one should be loud and *buffo*-like. [...] At the same time, more pantomimic, more ballet-like.

This is the only way of properly justifying Annina and Valzacchi *switching* from Ochs to Octavian, the fact being that Ochs is *miserly* and *does not pay them*.

I would prefer to see Valzacchi brought on as well, with a *buffo*-like balletic quarrel between both of them and Ochs, who puffs himself up and calls in his retinue..

The music must have all these accents *within itself*, this is what makes Wagner so dramatic, the fact that the accents, the *mimic* ones, are so heavily underlined that no singer can ever miss them.

(Burger, pp. 235-40).

#### **Hofmannsthal to Strauss 12 June**

When you go again into the detail of composition, further appropriate and characteristic shades may suggest themselves to you for this aria [by Ochs].

The ‘there must always be a haystack nearby’ cannot conceivably be acted or sung in any but a sentimental manner. Ochs must whisper it to the Marschallin as a stupid and yet sly piece of coarse familiarity, with his hand half covering his mouth;

Three ‘quiet’ curtains are impossible; they might even endanger the whole effect [...] This gives us an energetic, grotesque, ballet-like curtain for the Act..

I know already how to do it: Annina demands a tip for bringing her message, the miserly Ochs refuses her...

...Valzacchi comes to support her, the Baron calls in his retinue and makes them beat up and throw out the Italians, while he himself smugly watches and hums his little song.

Here the music must force the singers to act with unfailing authenticity, as Wagner’s operas so happily contrive to do. Wagner differentiates such things in declamation with marvellous nicety.

(Strauss-Hofmannsthal, pp. 34-5).

Hofmannsthal's letter to Strauss illustrates the degree to which he and Kessler were in tune, at this stage, on all the major aspects of dramatic structure that *Der Rosenkavalier* was to contain. Hofmannsthal confirmed this: in addition to writing to Strauss on 12 June with the points outlined above, he also wrote to Kessler the same day. 'Actschluss, hast du absolut Recht, ich werde dieses buffoneske Finasle suchen' (Burger, p. 244). This was followed by an extraordinary outburst against Strauss:

Drei stille Actschlüsse gehen nicht! Wenn ich einen raffinierteren künstlerischeren Componisten hätte. Alles was er sagt, was er sich wünscht, wonach er tendiert, degoutiert mich ziemlich stark (Burger, p. 244).

It was Strauss however, going further than Kessler had done and reordering the draft second act much more radically, who was to solve the dramaturgical problems that had already been identified, when he intervened decisively a month later. His letter of 7 July 1909 was a masterly combination of the reassuring ('Well then, up to the Baron's entrance everything is fine') and the devastating ('But I feel that, as it now stands, I can't do anything with the second act. It's too much on one level. I must have a great dramatic construction if I want to keep myself interested for so long in a particular setting' (Strauss-Hofmannsthal, pp. 37-9)). Meanwhile the dialogue between Hofmannsthal and Kessler had continued. On 26 June 1909 Hofmannsthal wrote to Kessler:

Ich werde ganz knapp und 'geschäftlich' sein, aber ich bitte nicht einmal um Vergebung, denn dieses 'Geschäftliche' ist ja durch eine glückliche Fügung unser Gemeinsames, ein heiteres freundliches Spiel das uns verbindet. Ich gehe zu *Quinquin*, Act II. Den burlesken Schluss, in gereimten Versen, mit einem *pas de coups de pieds au cul* als Finale, habe ausgeführt. Sonderbar genug, eine Anwandlung von Zerstreutheit und halb gedankenlosem Festhalten an dem einmal fixierten Szenarium, dass ich nicht gleich so endete (Burger, p. 247).

The correspondence between both men now began to embrace, in much more detail, the play that Hofmannsthal was attempting to write simultaneously with *Der Rosenkavalier*. Analysis of the letters exchanged on the dramaturgy of *Cristinas Heimreise* shows, just as clearly as those concerning *Der Rosenkavalier*, how much Hofmannsthal was looking for, and how much he depended on his friend Kessler for guidance with plot, dramatic structure and overall theatrical style. Kessler's letter of 7 July 1909 illustrates perfectly the way opera and play were being interwoven in both men's thoughts:

[...] habe ich mir doch Zeit gemacht, deine Komödienszenen mehrmals aufmerksam durchzulesen. Ich finde es aber unmöglich irgendetwas im *Einzelnen* daran zu kritisieren: denn was ich daran auszusetzen habe, betrifft den Stil des *Ganzen*, der mir etwas breit und gewöhnlich, etwas gar zu alt-wienerisch erscheint. Ich weiss nicht ob ein modernes Theaterpublikum die Geduld zu dieser Art von Malerei haben wird. Namentlich da noch ein *Zweites* hinzukommt; dass die Bewegung, das Leben in dieser Ausführlichkeit zu fassen berufen ist, doch für eine Komödie etwas äusserlich ist. In einer Oper, in einer Posse lässt man sich diese Art von Bewegtheit, die nur durch das geschickte Anziehen von Puppendrähten hervorgerufen wird, gefallen; in einer Komödie verlangt man meines Erachtens mehr (Burger, p. 250).

The voice of experience that Kessler had acquired from his long immersion in European theatres shows through clearly here, as does his

*Gesamtkunstwerk* approach. Having then made a number of (quite drastic) dramaturgical suggestions for simplifying and de-cluttering the stage in *Cristinas Heimreise*, Kessler finished his letter with a further tribute to the quality of Hofmannsthal's work on *Der Rosenkavalier*: 'Da ist Quinquin meines Erachtens als Kunstwerk, als *gelungenes* morceau, ein grosser Fortschritt' (Burger, p. 251). Coming from Kessler, whose tongue could be sharp and malicious about the many failures and fiascos he had experienced as a spectator in European theatres, this practical affirmation of the writing that had been done so far must have been very welcome to Hofmannsthal: Kessler knew that *L'Ingénu libertin* had worked in theatrical terms, and if he had praise for the re-imagined and re-worked version now taking shape in the form of Hofmannsthal's libretto, the chances of a successful outcome onstage must have seemed quite high to the latter.

Indeed, Hofmannsthal's reaction to this criticism was almost ecstatic: 'Danke dir tausendmal!' and 'Dein Brief ist mir kostbar und ganz besonders im gegenwärtigen Moment, wo ich alles für die Komödie zurechtlege, arbeite, *zusammenzusehen* trachte' (Burger, p. 251). And, once again reflecting on how much he was learning (implicitly from Kessler as part of this whole learning process), Hofmannsthal continued:

Der kurze Satz über die Atmosphäre der Comödie gehört zum Besten von vielen Guten was du über diese Dinge mir gesagt oder geschrieben, in seiner Kürze. Dass 'Quinquin' besser, ist gut; ist auch notwendig, das Gegenteil wäre deprimierend. Man muss von Halbjahr zu Halbjahr *vorwärts kommen* in diesen Dingen. Immerhin beschäftige ich mich erst seit genau 2 Jahren damit, das *métier* der Comödie zu durchblicken und mir anzueignen (Burger, p. 251).

Kessler accepted these kind words from Hofmannsthal graciously, in a letter in reply of 27 July 1909, but suggested that the author should not restrict himself to French authors and dramatists as his role models, once again drawing upon his own experience of theatre-going in England, France, Germany and elsewhere. If Kessler saw weaknesses in Hofmannsthal as a dramatist at this stage, it was perhaps the latter's propensity to wordiness, for he wrote:

Was die von 'innen', d.h. aus dem Innern der Hauptfiguren herausgeholte 'Atmosphäre' anbelangt, so scheinen mir die Franzosen gerade in diesem Punkte nicht vorbildlich sondern Shakespeare, Kleist, Ibsen, Hauptmann. Das französische 'drumherum' ist immer Geist, Etwas 'Moralisches', daher nicht mehr rein Sinnliches und Artistisches (Burger, p. 252).

In the midst of these exchanges on both works, Hofmannsthal reported the following day that he had now obtained the libretto of *L'Ingénu libertin*. He had clearly had time to read it, and to make comparisons with the *Rosenkavalier* draft libretto as it now stood, for he said:

Auch das Textbuch der Faublas-operette, die in den ersten Weimarer Stunden uns den Anstoss gegeben hat, habe ich mir verschafft, und finde es sehr reizend. Es ist von Louis Artus. Wenn das meinige im *Ganzen* ebenso gut wird, und dann noch ein kleines darüber hinaus hat, will ich sehr zufrieden sein (Burger, p. 253).

Hofmannsthal did not mention in this letter that he had also obtained from Paris a copy of the stage comedy by Artus, *Coeur de Moineau*, which had been a huge hit at the Théâtre de l'Athénée in 1905 (see Chapter Two). *Coeur de Moineau* is a light, drawing room comedy

about a man who finds all women irresistible: obtention of a copy of the text will have given Hofmannsthal further insights into Artus's stage writing style. Purely coincidentally, there is an offstage aria by an Italian tenor at the end of Act II of *Coeur de Moineau*, which enchants the two onstage protagonists.

In the spirit of fully-fledged collaboration, embarked on in Weimar in February 1909, continued in Berlin later that month and pursued in correspondence thereafter, Kessler now absorbed and commented on the implications of Strauss's drastic revision of the second act. In a letter of 3 August 1909 he wrote:

Gewiss hat Strauss recht; der Akt ist so viel besser, ja, ausgezeichnet! Sehr gefällt mir auch das Motiv der 'verfluchten Visage', das so für Akt III entsteht. Es ist in der Tat sehr zum lachen, umsomehr als die Abneigung Lerchenaus, ihm selber unbewusst (aber dem Publikum bewusst) viel tiefer motiviert ist, nämlich durch die 'Mannheit' des sogenannten 'Mariandels'. Nur eine Klippe scheint mir zu vermeiden, das Herausfallen aus dem tanzmässig Ornamentalen beim Duett, bei der Verbandsszene etc. Diese Motive müssen m. E. im Gegenteil ganz aufs Rhythmische zugespitzt werden, durch Wiederholungen, Parallelfiguren etc. so wie in Molières kleinen Spielen (Fourberies de Scapin z. B. die Sackschlagen Szene u.s.w.)<sup>215</sup> Nichts reizt mehr zum Lachen als komische Situationen in stylisierter Vorführung. – Ich finde übrigens, dass wir zu dreien, du, Strauss und ich, einen ganz ordentlichen Sardou abgäben.<sup>216</sup> Doch, Scherz beiseite, natürlich wird Quinquin viel besser als der Artus'sche Faublas, weil der dichterische 'Charme', das Individuelle und Seltene deiner Vision hinzukommt (Burger, p. 255).

---

<sup>215</sup> In Act III Scene 2 of *Les Fourberies de Scapin*, Scapin hides G ronte in a sack, assumes a number of different threatening voices and beats the sack repeatedly, until G ronte realizes what is happening and chases Scapin offstage.

<sup>216</sup> Victorien Sardou (1831-1908) was renowned as an author of well-made plays and had enjoyed great success with *Madame Sans-G ne* (1893), co-written with Emile Moreau. The latter's son, Philippe Moreau, was the conductor of *L'Ing nu libertin*.

Once again, this is a very clear statement by Kessler of what it was he thought he was doing: providing Hofmannsthal with a structure, a vehicle, on the basis of which Hofmannsthal's poetic language could take wing. This particular letter, after some further strictures on the inadequacies of modern French writers ('the last one to have had charm was Musset'), finishes with some gloomy remarks on the sad fates of a number of personal friends in recent years ('suicide, grief, long and painful illness and death') and makes an enjoiner (my emphasis):

Das Leben ist, wenigstens in gewissen Milieus, doch eine recht gefährliche und zerbrechliche Sache. Deshalb **hat man viel Humor und viel gute Komödie nötig, die uns Herr v. H. schreiben muss** (Burger, p. 256).

In the summer of 1909 Kessler was travelling in France: his letters reached Hofmannsthal from Aix-en-Provence, Marseille, Arles, Avignon and, finally, from his mother's house at Sainte Honorine in Normandy. In every letter he had something to say about *Der Rosenkavalier* (and in most of them, something about *Cristinas Heimreise*). On 8 August 1909 Kessler wrote:

Ich denke mir deinen Ton in dieser Richtung. Was von dieser Stilwandlung in *Quinquin* und dem Lustspiel zu spüren sein wird, erfüllt mich mit den grössten Erwartungen. [...] Ich denke mit immer neuer Freude an die sehr lustige Wendung, die ihm Straussens Einfall gegeben hat. Sehr gut ist, dass sich so Gelegenheit bietet, schon im II Akt Lerchenaus Feigheit, auf die der III Akt so wesentlich gebaut ist, vorzudemonstrieren. Er wird ja wohl dem Waffengang mit *Quinquin* zunächst auszuweichen suchen? So 'väterlich', wie es solche alte feigen Lämmel lieben. Jedenfalls bin ich auf diese Duellszene sehr gespannt (Burger, p. 257).

A week later, Hofmannsthal attempted to moderate Kessler's 'great expectations', writing on 15 August:

Ich möchte etwas sagen: nicht wahr du erwartest dir vom 2ten Act der Operette ebensowenig eine complete Durchsetzung mit diesen *Figuren* der Molièreschen Comödie (Parallelismus, Wiederholung etc) als der Ite sie hat. Ich habe nicht diesen Ton angeschlagen sondern ein gemischteren, mit mehr Realität, - erinnere dich an die Führung des ersten. Immerhin enthält der zweite sogar mehr von dergleichen gebundenem Spiel als der erste. Strauss scheint mit der neuen Fassung höchst zufrieden und bei seinem richtigen Instinct kann ich sicher sein, dass es in der Hauptsache stimmt. Unter den vielen avantagen der neuen Fassung ist auch dieser, dass aus dem Faninal nun eine ganz amüsante Figur geworden ist (wogegen er früher nur ein Füllsel war). Von den Menschen denen ich das Fertige zeigte, wurde sehr bedauert dass die Marschallin, die man liebgewonnen hatte im II nicht vorkommt. Da sie nun wirklich die netteste Figur ist, so muss ich recht sehr trachten ihr in III alle Vorteile einer dominierenden und zugleich rührenden Situation zuzuwenden damit sie den Hörern als eine Hauptfigur oder fast als *die* Hauptfigur sich eingrabe (Burger pp. 258-9).

Nothing in what Hofmannsthal said here can have come as any real surprise to Kessler. He had seen the portrayal of the Marquise de Bay onstage and can have been in no doubt, in the third act of *L'Ingénu libertin*, just how she came to dominate proceedings in an equivalent and equally effective stage situation. He answered the points made by Hofmannsthal, both on the second and third acts, in a letter of 22 August, sent from Paris:

Ich habe natürlich nie erwartet, dass der zweite Akt der Komödie<sup>217</sup> so stylisiert sein würde. Aber ich freue mich dass doch das Tanzhafte dort auch zur Geltung kommt, denn diese Mischung von Realität und Balletthaften Aufzügen war ja einer von den Pünkten, von denen die Idee ausging. [...] Dass die Marschallin eine ganz besonders rührende Figur ist, war ja auch gleich mein Gefühl. Ich finde es entspricht durchaus dem natürlichen Schwergewicht der Figuren, wenn sie im dritten Akt in den

---

<sup>217</sup> Kessler uses the word 'Komödie' here, but the context makes it clear that he is thinking of, and meaning to refer to *Der Rosenkavalier*.

Vordergrund tritt. Der ganze Gang der Handlung weist ihr ja im Übrigen an einem bestimmten Punkt die entscheidende Rolle zu: Sie wird da von selbst zum 'maître de l'heure', um nicht zu sagen zur maîtresse und es ist schön, wenn dann dieser Moment durch seinen Umfang und seinen Glanz die hellste Valeur im Stücke wird (Burger, pp. 259-60).

The 'scope and brilliance' of the Marschallin's appearance in Act III of *Der Rosenkavalier*, her dismissal of Ochs from the stage, her launch of the trio with the words '*Hab' mir's gelobt...*' have indeed become, for many operagoers the world over, the 'supreme value in the whole piece', just as Kessler wrote, although this has as much, if not more, to do with Strauss's melodic invention at this point and with his brilliance in stretching a poignant moment into the realms of successive chromatic harmonies that illustrate perfectly the conflicting emotions being revealed onstage. Once again, one is reminded of the comment by Robert de Flers in respect of *L'Ingénu libertin*, when he wrote: 'The trio in the last act is the very best in opéra-comique, and of the utmost delicacy' (see Chapter Two): in a different convention, Terrasse also excelled at the culminating moment of his *conte galant*. Kessler is the binding link between *L'Ingénu libertin* and *Der Rosenkavalier*, the only one of the team of three who saw both works onstage. For this reason it is hard to accept the proposition, reproduced yet again in the introduction to Kessler's diary for the years 1906-14, that the figure of the ageing Marschallin, who finally renounces her young lover Octavian, is a 'fundamentally new conception' (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 21). As Kessler's letter shows, she came out under Hofmannsthal's pen exactly as she was destined to, and as the whole course of the plot indicated she would, on the basis of the character of the Marquise de Bay and of her

central role in the resolution of *L'Ingénu libertin*. This cannot have come about by chance, and although Hofmannsthal's reading of the Artus libretto may have given him some additional ideas, the basic construct that had been agreed in February 1909 between Hofmannsthal and Kessler was the one to emerge.

From late August 1909, with the libretto taking detailed shape around the architecture of the piece, and with Strauss now articulating regular demands of his own for insertions and amendments to scenes he had already composed, in letters dated 9, 13 and 15 August 1909 for example (Strauss-Hofmannsthal, pp. 46-8), the intensity of exchanges between Kessler and Hofmannsthal on all the constituent elements of *Der Rosenkavalier* began to abate, although comments and observations on what was being created still came back and forth. With his letter of 28 August 1909, Kessler sent to Hofmannsthal a number of books, designed to help him to develop his theatrical style and understanding: a volume of plays by Tristan Bernard that had just appeared ('very light reading but with lovely insights, for browsing in bed') and a selection of plays by Jean-François Regnard<sup>218</sup> ('these plays seemed to me to have an extraordinary similarity in style and colour with Quinquin, much more so than Molière') as well as: 'Überhaupt erscheint mir die szenische Erfindung (die Pantomime) bei Regnard fast neuer und genialer als bei Molière; während allerdings das Allgemein menschliche, die Charaktere unvergleichlich schwächer sind' (Burger, p. 261). Kessler's preoccupation with the visual

---

<sup>218</sup> Jean-François Regnard (1655-1709) was the author of *Le Joueur*, *Les Folies Amoureuses* and *Le Retour Imprévu*, among other plays.

and gestural aspects of theatre, the effective pantomime at the heart of his theatrical vision, is once more in evidence here. Hofmannsthal replied to this letter on 10 September by saying that he was not that sure about Regnard, but preceding his comments, somewhat introspectively, with a fulsome personal tribute to Kessler and a frank admission that their relationship had now reached a point where he could never write [a letter to Kessler] without mentioning his own work – adding that this made Kessler unique, not even his own parents having enjoyed this status – but that his personal creative process was such that Kessler was never to interrogate him on exactly how things were going, ‘whether this piece has been completed, that one started’; yet that he hoped, for all other stages of his productive output, that their relationship would become ever closer: ‘Desgleichen erwarte ich von dir einen entscheidenden Rat über das Silvia-Stück, später einmal’ (Burger, p. 261). There are complex messages here which Kessler, possibly with the excitement of how matters had been progressing with *Der Rosenkavalier* and *Cristinas Heimreise*, may have failed to pick up: viewed dispassionately, and with the benefit of hindsight, Hofmannsthal was acknowledging the unique and creative role that Kessler had started to play, as dramatic adviser, confidant and sounding board, whilst drawing a line in the creative process that Kessler was not to cross. In the earlier letters there are no more than hints or indications of an ultimate severance of dependency, but the more of the *Rosenkavalier* libretto that Hofmannsthal – working simultaneously with Kessler and with Strauss – managed to complete, the more his personal possessiveness

began to show. Within a year the dispute that arose over authorship of *Der Rosenkavalier* was to invade this territory once again.

Between September and December 1909 Hofmannsthal and Kessler swapped ideas on possible titles for *Der Rosenkavalier*. Hofmannsthal and Strauss rejected *Quinquin* as a title because of its onomatopoeic associations with French farces such as *To-To* and *Rip-Rip* and Hofmannsthal asked Kessler what he thought of *Der Rosencavalier* (Burger, p. 264). Kessler replied from Paris with a string of suggestions: *Der Grobian in Liebesnot*, *Der Grobian im Liebesspiel*, then *Die galanten Abenteuer des Barons von Lerchenau* (or *Baron von Ochs*) (Burger, p. 266). On 18 December 1909 Hofmannsthal wrote 'Ich bin ziemlich fest für den Titel 'Ochs von Lerchenau' entschlossen der den buffo in die Mitte stellt' (Burger, p. 269). In this, Hofmannsthal was reflecting Strauss's preference: as the Strauss-Hofmannsthal correspondence shows, Strauss remained in favour of *Ochs* as the title until mid-1910: 'Title? I'm still in favour of *Ochs*!' (Strauss-Hofmannsthal, p. 55). But most of the main dramaturgical exchanges between Kessler and Hofmannsthal on *Der Rosenkavalier* had now taken place, and their correspondence began to embrace other theatrical projects, including the scenario for Hofmannsthal's social comedy *Der Schwierige* and the imminent first production (by Max Reinhardt) of *Cristinas Heimreise* in Berlin. With this in mind, and with all that had passed between them since work on *Der Rosenkavalier* and on *Cristinas Heimreise* had begun in earnest in Weimar the preceding February, Hofmannsthal paid Kessler a compliment in his letter of 9 January 1910 (my emphasis):

Mich freut alles sehr, was du über diesen Menschen sagst. So zeitigt das Theater als *métier* da und dort wunderbare Individuen. Reinhardt wird mir ganz persönlich immer kostbarer. **Deine und seine Existenz sind, was mich beim Theater hält und wodurch ich finalement etwas dem Theater adaequates und bleibendes leisten werde** (Burger, p. 272).

There is no evidence, elsewhere in Hofmannsthal's correspondence, of him regarding any other friend quite in this light, although he never seems to have considered Kessler to be among his three closest personal friends; that accolade being bestowed on his own father, on Eberhard von Bodenhausen and on Richard Beer-Hofmann.<sup>219</sup> True, moreover, to his earlier stricture that he would always be critical of Hofmannsthal's literary output where he found it to be at fault, Kessler (in a letter of 25 January 1910) did not shy away from criticism of *Cristinas Heimreise* even as Reinhardt began his initial rehearsals of the piece. He praised the magisterial beginning, the exposition, but found much wrong with the third act, and concluded:

Mir thut es um diese zwei schönen, starken Situationen leid, dass du dir noch etwas mehr Zeit von Reinhardt ausgewirkt hast, um an den dritten Akt die letzte Hand zu legen. Aber wie gesagt, ein Misserfolg des Stückes befürchte ich nicht, und es enthält so viel Schönes, dass es gewiss Schade gewesen wäre, es nicht herauszubringen (Burger, p.275)

Yet by 28 January, in a letter expressing uncertainty as to whether or not he would be able to attend the imminent première of *Cristinas Heimreise*, Kessler's reservations about the third act had hardened:

---

<sup>219</sup> Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Richard Beer-Hofmann, *Briefwechsel* (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer Verlag, 1972), p. vii.

Alles in Allem bedauere ich doch, dass das Stück mit dem dritten Akt, wie er ist, in Szene geht. Er erregt mir ziemlich starke Bedenken, die eher wachsen als abnehmen. So finde ich (dies ein Detail aber ein Detail, das doch seine Wichtigkeit hat), dass Florindos Eintreffen gerade fünf Minuten nachdem Cristina ihr Jawort gegeben hat stark nach 'altem Repertoire' schmeckt; es ist gar sehr Theater! Auch gefällt mir die Motivierung dieser Rückkehr nur wenig; sie liegt ganz und gar ausserhalb des Stückes, ist ein nachträglich angeflicktes Rad, das die ursprüngliche Maschinerie nicht voraussehen lässt (Burger, p. 279).

As with Kessler's dramaturgical criticisms and suggestions for *Der Rosenkavalier*, Hofmannsthal responded promptly to these critical remarks on Florindo and Cristina in the third act, writing on 1 February:

Bezüglich Act III habe eine ganze Menge von Retouchen gemacht, zum Teil auch mimische, die sehr efficace sein dürften, und auch starke Textänderungen. Der Schluss der ersten Verlobungsscene Cristina Tomaso wird mehr in suspenso bleiben und alle freien Accents angehender Zärtlichkeit sind auf die allerletzte Scene der beiden gespart. Dort auch nennt sie ihn zum ersten Mal 'Liebster'. Ein *mehr* in der Florindoscene scheint Reinhardt wie mir in diesem Stück ganz undenkbar, ebenso eine andere minder discrete Steuerung dieser Scene (Burger, pp. 281-2).

Hofmannsthal had therefore clearly taken Kessler's criticisms onboard and had discussed them with Reinhardt, whose judgment he respected (and in quoting Reinhardt, he was perhaps seeking to minimize Kessler's role and the force of his criticisms). In retrospect, for this first production they were too little and too late anyway. Kessler does not mention the première of *Cristinas Heimreise* in his diary, but on 12 February 1910 he wrote (in English) to his sister Wilma:

Hofmannsthal's piece went as I had predicted; a great success for the first two acts, utterly destroyed and made useless by the complete failure of the third; the net result of course is a failure [...] (Burger, p. 537).

This failure underlines the importance of Kessler's theatrical vision to Hofmannsthal at this time, for not even with Reinhardt's help was Hofmannsthal able to craft the third act of *Cristinas Heimreise* in convincing dramatic fashion. Kessler did, however, advance some positive, specific ideas to improve the ending (emphasis in original):

Ich sehe im Gegenteil in Florindos *Charakter* (ohne kapriziöse Gräfinnen, die durchaus reisen wollen) die Möglichkeit eines Motivs; er kehrt zurück, weil er *Cristina* sehen will, und er will sie sehen weil... Hier lassen sich Motive in ihm, in seinem Casanovahaften Wesen dicht wie Brombeeren pflücken, z. B. das sozusagen künstlerische Auskosten des Abenteuers, der gewisse Anstand, der ihm doch trotz Allem geblieben ist u.s.w. Und aus diesen Motiven entwickelt sich dann logisch die Szene mit *Cristina*, die deren latente Anhänglichkeit an Florindo schliesslich totstampft. Der Konflikt wächst ganz natürlich aus ihren gegenteiligen Auffassungen u.s.w. Schade, wenn dieses Stück, das auf einen so starken und schönen dritten Akt angelegt war mit einem ausgemacht schwachen in Szene geht (Burger, p. 279).

*Der Rosenkavalier* was still never far from either man's thoughts, however. On 25 January 1910 Kessler met Thadée Natanson<sup>220</sup> in Paris by chance, and told him of the project: the outcome was a long and enthusiastic letter to Hofmannsthal suggesting that Natanson and Kessler should translate the libretto into French and then negotiate its rapid appearance on the Parisian stage, avoiding the Opéra Comique and entrusting the work instead to Alphonse Franck, Director of the Gymnase and Théâtre Apollo, with a specially assembled orchestra and conductor

---

<sup>220</sup> Thadée Natanson and his brothers moved in the same artistic circles in Paris as Kessler, their mutual friends including Misia Sert (Thadée's first wife), Pierre Bonnard, Edouard Vuillard and other members of the Nabis: *La Revue Blanche* was published by the Natansons until its closure in 1903. Thadée was also a playwright and was influential in the Parisian theatre world.

and a continuous long run of performances immediately after the Dresden première (Burger, pp. 275-6). The answer from Hofmannsthal was a resounding 'no', both because the translation rights had already been ceded to the publishers but equally because, in Hofmannsthal's view, Kessler was underestimating the 'dreadful, dispiriting, dismal task' of matching French words to Strauss's score (Burger, p. 278). The promptness with which Hofmannsthal turned down the suggestion does however rather betray a reluctance on his part to give Kessler free rein – in French, which in Kessler's case was as good as his German and English – with his own artfully and skillfully constructed German libretto. Kessler took the refusal in his stride – 'A pity, it would have been amusing' – and moved on. More importantly, Hofmannsthal was now turning to the third act of *Der Rosenkavalier*, and wrote to Kessler on 8 March 1910:

Ich bin sehr wohl und eifrig in der Arbeit, zunächst Spieloper III. Die 'Erledigung' des Barons und zugleich Aufrollung der definitiven Situation zwischen den 3 Liebenden (es muss ein *Zugleich*, kein Nacheinander sein) ist nicht leicht, aber reizvoll. Hoffe den Act in 6-10 Tagen zu Ende zu bringen (Burger, p. 283).

It took, inevitably, slightly longer, even though the mechanism for simultaneous resolution of the Marschallin/Octavian/Sophie relationship must have been perfectly clear to Kessler (and to Hofmannsthal) from the outset: the matrix for this, in Act III of *L'Ingénu libertin*, is the trio between the Marquise, Faublas and Sophie which confronts Faublas with his moment of decision, and which resolves the love triangle in Sophie's favour. If, moreover, Hofmannsthal was merely referring to the difficulty

of getting Baron Ochs offstage quickly and decisively so that the trio could get under way, he also had an elegant and ready-made example in the Artus libretto: immediately before the final chorus, the Marquise dismisses Faublas, suggesting that he marry Sophie in the country and keep out of Paris for a time, for reasons of discretion, and bids farewell to the Comte de Rosambert. In agreeing to go, the latter suggests he might enjoy some 'compensations' in return for his silence, but the Marquise turns him down and says she has vowed to behave properly from now on (Artus, p. 164). Hofmannsthal in effect recreates the same moment when Baron Ochs, realizing that Mariandel and Octavian are one and the same, and that Octavian has been having an affair with the Marschallin, wonders aloud what he should think of the whole 'qui-pro-quo' (Pahlen, p. 247): the Marschallin, fixing him with a long and steady gaze, reminds him that he is a gentleman and tells him that he should think nothing at all about it. The dramatic complicity thus created between the Marquise-Rosambert and the Marschallin-Ochs, and their respective partings, is identical at this point.<sup>221</sup>

His 'delightful task' resolved, on 27 March 1910 Hofmannsthal reported that he was only missing the last five to six minutes of the opera (Burger, p. 285) but further exchanges by letter were mostly on general matters of theatrical interest to both men, including a dramatic and

---

<sup>221</sup> As Ochs wonders aloud what he should think of the love affair which has just become apparent to him, the resolution is as follows. Marschallin (*mit einem langen Blick*): Er ist, mein' ich, ein Kavalier? (*dann mit grosser Sicherheit*): Da wird Er sich halt gar nichts denken. Das ist's, was ich von Ihm erwart./ You are, I think, a gentleman? (*then, with great assurance*): So you will think nothing of it at all. That is what I expect from you (Pahlen, pp. 245-7).

theatrical *credo* from Kessler in a long letter that was clearly intended to stimulate Hofmannsthal's thinking about his own qualities as a dramatist. Kessler had been to see a Berlin production of *Tantris der Narr* by Ernst Hardt, a dramatic treatment of the Tristan legend that had shared the 1908 Schiller Prize.<sup>222</sup> Kessler's intended message to Hofmannsthal emerges clearly from his account of the piece (emphasis in original):

Der 'Tantris' hat doch, wie mir scheint, weit stärkere Qualitäten, als man beim blossen Lesen merkt. Hardt ist ohne Zweifel ein *geborener Dramatiker*, wie wir einen (ich sehe von den poetischen und litterarischen Qualitäten hier ganz ab) wohl seit Schiller und seit Wagner nicht gehabt haben. Die 'Valeurs' aller Situationen von der ersten bis zur letzten sind so lückenlos richtig wie die in einem Bilde von einem 'geborenen Maler'; ich meine, um es anders auszudrücken, *alle Spannungen sitzen richtig*, sind an Intensität, Lozierung and Zeitmass im Verhältnis zu allen anderen Spannungen im Stück absolut richtig, schliessen sich zu einem wirklichen Organismus zusammen, das ist eine Qualität, die man von allgemeinen ästhetischen Gesichtspunkten hoch oder niedrig einschätzen mag, wie das Erfinden eines Stuhls oder Schranks; aber es ist doch die fundamentale Qualität des eigentlichen Dramatikers, ohne die alle Poesie und Gestaltungskraft auf der Bühne ebenso unwirksam bleibt wie schöne Ornamente auf einem unsitzbaren Stuhl. Ich finde nun, dass Hardt diese Qualität, wie gesagt, in einem fast genial zu nennendem Masse besitzt [...] (Burger, p. 287).

Kessler's reference to poetry and ornamentation betrayed perhaps an undercurrent in his thinking about Hofmannsthal that had been present almost from the start of their relationship: his fear that Hofmannsthal might end up as no more than a 'tea party poet and boudoir philosopher' (*Tagebuch III*, p. 145). However, as often happened in their correspondence, Kessler followed up his letter on Hardt as a born dramatist with more encouraging words for Hofmannsthal, comparing him favourably with

---

<sup>222</sup> Ernst Hardt was the pen name of Ernst Stockhardt (1876-1947), dramatist and theatre manager, and an acquaintance of Kessler from 1907 onwards.

Tristan Bernard, whose play *Le Costaud des Epinettes* Kessler had just seen (emphasis in original):

Aber der Hauptreiz liegt doch in der eigenartigen *Farbigkeit*, die dadurch entsteht, dass Typen aus ganz verschiedenen Milieus durcheinander gewirbelt werden. Im Gespräch mit einem Theaterdirektor oder Bankier wird selbst ein Einbrecher oder Zuhälter ganz romantisch. Diese so geschaffene hochfarbige Atmosphäre, ist was Bernards Stücke so reizvoll macht. Aber *Poesie* hat er eigentlich wenig, und ersetzt sie deshalb durch Sentimentalität, wo er sie nötig hätte; wie übrigens die meisten Franzosen. Hier wärest du ihm sehr überlegen, weil du ähnliche Sujets, die durch mehrere verschiedene Welten spielen, auch noch mit echter Poesie ausstatten könntest (Burger, p. 290).

Their correspondence went on to cover several other projects, including a revised and much-abridged version of *Cristinas Heimreise* that was to travel to Budapest before its first appearance in Vienna, at the Theater an der Wien (in late May). Then, however, on 5 July 1910, Hofmannsthal sent Kessler a letter that was to cause a serious rupture in the personal and professional relationship between them that had been building over the previous decade, as summarized in Chapter Three. The exchanges that followed go to the heart of what their collaboration had been all about.

### **Two views of the authorship of *Der Rosenkavalier***

Hofmannsthal wrote a fateful letter to Kessler on 5 July 1910 (emphasis in original):

Mein Lieber, da die Musikcomödie dir gefiel, vielleicht mehr als sie verdient, so möchte ich sie dir widmen, wenn ich darf. (Natürlich die Buchausgabe, nicht das rein merkantilisch gedachte Textbuch). Mir schwebt vor, dich, nur mit deinen Initialen zu bezeichnen, als den 'verborgenen Helfer'. Aber vielleicht ist der volle Name richtiger – dann freilich ohne Attribut (Burger, p. 296).

These two words, 'verborgenen Helfer' (*hidden helper*), reached the latter while he was exercising with his regiment, the 3<sup>rd</sup> Garde-Ulanen cavalry corps, in Potsdam. Kessler makes no mention of its receipt in his diary, nor does he record anything other than militaria in his diary entries (which are sparse in this period anyway) until 10 August, when he said farewell with regret to the squadron he had been leading. It was not until 21 August 1910 – almost seven weeks later – that Kessler replied to Hofmannsthal, from Paris, as follows (emphasis in original):

Was die Widmung des 'Rosenkavaliers' betrifft, so danke ich dir bestens für deine freundliche Absicht. Eigentlich glaubte ich, wir hatten deinem Wunsch gemäss ausgemacht, dass mein Anteil daran nicht offiziell zur Sprache kommen sollte; und hiermit wäre ich natürlich auch heute noch einverstanden. Dagegen wäre mir, wie ich sagen muss, so wenig gern ich dieses gerade dir gegenüber thue, die Widmung in der von dir vorgesehenen Formulierung *nicht angenehm*: ich meine das Wort 'Helfer'. 'Helfer' sind du und Borchardt und ich bei Schröders Homer, oder ich allenfalls bei der Cristina; d.h. wir haben da ein vom Autor im Wesentlichen fertiggestelltes, ausgereiftes Werk durch Rat und grössere und kleinere *Korrekturen* in facon zu bringen geholfen. [...] Beim 'Rosenkavalier' stammt aber die Konzeption selber und die Ausarbeitung des Pantomimischen, Grundlegenden, d.h. also die *Substanz* des Werkes zu einem Teil von mir, wie sie zum anderen von dir stammt. Wenn du nachher über diesen Grundriss einen luftigen und reizenden poetischen Bau errichtet hast, so bin ich dadurch ebensowenig zum blossen 'Helfer' geworden, wie du Strauss gegenüber, dadurch dass er wieder deine Poesie mit Musik ausschmückt. Wir sind alle drei im ganz gewöhnlichen und üblichen Sinn *Mitarbeiter* und als solchen, und nur als solchen, kann ich mich, wenn überhaupt, in der Widmung bezeichnen lassen. Also nochmals, ich bin ganz einverstanden damit, wenn *Nichts* geschieht: wenn aber eine Widmung hinein soll, so könnte ich nur eine Widmung annehmen, die mich als *Mitarbeiter* bezeichnet, also etwa: dem

unbekannten Mitarbeiter H.K. Mit den blossen Initialen bin ich *sehr* einverstanden; sie sind mir durchaus sympatisch (Burger, pp. 297-8).

As with Hofmannsthal's letter to Kessler of 10 September 1909, there are mixed messages here, with Kessler seeking to define his role in the collaboration very precisely, whilst assuring Hofmannsthal that he would still be perfectly happy not to be mentioned at all. Tellingly, Kessler also (in relation to the 'agreement' between them that he should not be mentioned), immediately used the phrase 'in accordance with your wishes'. The nature of this agreement and the reasons for Hofmannsthal to wish that Kessler's name be kept out are not recorded in their correspondence, nor in Kessler's diary, but will be examined below in the context of Kessler's subsequent exchanges with their mutual friend Eberhard von Bodenhausen, nearly two years later.

Hofmannsthal replied almost immediately, on 25 August 1910, with a long letter of apology for any hurt feelings he might inadvertently have caused, and with justification for the terms in which he had thought up the suggested dedication, saying that he did not like the word collaborator ('Mit-arbeiter') because of its ugly, composite nature. He added that co-creator ('Mit-schöpfer') might have been nicer, but pretentious in respect of his own person. Hofmannsthal then continued:

Mein Mitarbeiter beim Aufbau eines Scenarium hätte Schnitzler sein mögen, oder Rudi Schröder oder Andrian. Aber ich frage mich ob dann, wenn das Scenarium dagelegen wäre, ich die Lust und den inneren Schwung gefunden hätte, den gewissen Ekel und Unglauben an die Möglichkeit, die Skizzen, deren kleiner Tanz vorgezeichnet ist, zu beseelen, zu überwinden – wenn nicht hier ein so kostbares imponderabile

dazugekommen wäre, wie Deine wunderbar freundliche immer spannkraftige Teilnahme an der Ausführung , deiner dem Gelungenen so warmen, dem Verfehlten gegenüber so scharfen Kritik. Wo das Scenarium gelegentlich mich kalt liess – hat der Gedanke an deiner Teilnahme mich gespornt – die Sicherheit Deiner schöpferischen Kritik mir vor mir selber den Rücken gedeckt. Dies alles auszusprechen, dir gegenüber, Strauss gegenüber, unseren gemeinsamen Freunden gegenüber, war mir Bedürfnis und Freude. Die Widmung sollte es nochmals zusammenfassen. [...] Deine Rolle zum Homer Schröders ist ja eine andere, und scheint mir der Anteil den du an der Entstehung der Operette hast, gleichwertig, so incommensurabel dergleichen geistige Verhältnisse auch sind: die eine wie die andere Arbeit wäre ohne dich nicht entstanden (Burger, pp. 298-9).

The whole tone of Hofmannsthal's letter is rather anguished, and he gets the date of Kessler's letter wrong. His salutation and sign-off also indicate his state of mind: his letter starts 'My dear Kessler' and ends 'Sincerely, Your Hugo Hofmannsthal', a reversion to the more formal mode of address that had been abandoned in their correspondence from 1905 onwards. Two points of particular interest in this letter are these: firstly, his admission how hard he had found it to motivate himself to complete the work of transforming the scenario into the finished work of art that was the *Rosenkavalier* libretto, and secondly, the admission that he had talked about Kessler's role 'to Strauss, to our mutual friends'. Hofmannsthal does not of course reveal the terms in which he talked about Kessler's participation, and the written evidence suggests that he rather played it down, but this admission at least makes clear that Strauss was aware, through Hofmannsthal, of Kessler's active involvement. This is further confirmed, although the entry is tantalizingly short on detail, by a look back to Kessler's diary for 21 February 1910:

Nachmittags mit Hofmannsthals zu Richard Straussens, wo Tee getrunken, und Strauss uns aus dem 2ten Akt der Spieloper Duellscene, Briefszene und Schluss vorspielte. Frau Strauss tanzte und sang zum Walzer mit hochgehobenen Rökken (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 590).

This glimpse of Kessler, Hofmannsthal and Strauss all together in Berlin,<sup>223</sup> listening to the emerging *Rosenkavalier* score with Strauss at the piano, nearly a year before its première in the opera house, is the only recorded example of the three ‘collaborators’ at work: according to the diary, the last time Kessler had spoken to Strauss (on his own) had been in Dresden on 27 January 1909, after a performance of *Salome* the previous evening. This entry merely records: ‘Vormittags vor der Abreise Richard Strauss noch einen Augenblick gesprochen’ (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 541).

Whatever their topic of conversation might have been, this was just two weeks before Kessler and Hofmannsthal were to meet up in Weimar, develop their ‘full and entirely original scenario’ together, and embark by train for Berlin, in order for Hofmannsthal to go to Strauss with an oral, extempore outline of their characters and plot, in order to see if he were interested.

Eighteen months later, after all the work they had done together, both Hofmannsthal and Kessler now reviewed their *Rosenkavalier* collaboration in a series of difficult, pained letters that ran into the autumn. On 27 August Kessler wrote to Hofmannsthal, explaining that he had thought it better to speak openly and honestly right from the start (‘Ich habe oft Empfindungen verschwiegen, aber gefunden, dass unterdrückte

---

<sup>223</sup> Strauss was in Berlin to conduct *Elektra*, which Kessler attended that evening with the Hofmannsthals, and all had supper at the Kaiserhof afterwards (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 590).

Gefühle meist mit der Zeit erstarken statt zu verschwinden [...]’ (Burger, p. 300) and adding in conciliatory fashion that as things had blown up between them, he was now happy to accept Hofmannsthal’s original dedication. Viewed objectively, this is unlikely to have been a true statement. Hofmannsthal replied on 6 September, half blaming Craig for the uneasiness that had arisen between them,<sup>224</sup> and ending in a PS:

Ich habe mich indessen, mehr noch durch eigenes Nachdenken als durch deinen Brief, mit dem Ausdruck ‘Mitarbeiter’ so sehr befreundet, dass ich durchaus bitte, endgültig diesen anstatt des anderen Wortes anwenden zu dürfen, der ja das thatsächliche Verhältnis am richtigsten und nettesten kennzeichnet (Burger, p. 302).

Kessler replied on 14 September, saying that he was happy with either of the two suggested formulations, admitting that Hofmannsthal’s handling of the Craig affair had influenced his reaction to the suggested dedication, and wishing *Der Rosenkavalier* (‘what a terrible title’, he added) every success. Kessler wrote again on 23 September to express his condolences on the death of Kainz and to revert to the more businesslike tone of previous *Rosenkavalier* correspondence:

Gleichzeitig mit dieser traurigen Nachricht lese ich aber auch die erfreuliche, dass Strauss sich mit Seebald wieder vertragen hat, und dass S. sich sogar auf die Rollerschen Dekorationen und Kostüme verpflichtet hat; da ich weiss, dass dir diese am Herzen lagen, freue ich mich über beides für dich. Dabei fällt mir ein, dass ich den Schluss deines Textes

---

<sup>224</sup> Although Kessler had been trying his hardest since April 1910 to get Craig to do the scenery, costumes and lighting for the planned Reinhardt production of *König Oedipus* in the Musikfesthalle, Munich, Hofmannsthal was horrified by Craig’s financial demands and had agitated against the latter’s involvement (successfully): the première on 25 September 1910 had scenery by Franz Geiger and costumes by Ernst Stern (Newman, p.68). Hofmannsthal seems to have been unaware of just how passionately Kessler wanted to see Craig’s work hailed on the German stage.

noch gar nicht gelesen habe, ich würde mich freuen wenn du ihn mir bei Gelegenheit schicken wolltest (Burger, p. 303).

There was then a long silence on Hofmannsthal's part, a period of over a month, before he sent Kessler the saddest, most depressed letter in their entire correspondence to date. Full of dramatic statements – 'Ich hielt in diesen Wochen damals nicht einmal für möglich, dass ich dich je wiedersehen, je wieder Dein Haus betreten könnte' (Burger, p. 304) - the letter drew the conclusion, *inter alia*, that true friendship can never have existed between both men. Once again, displacement activity is evident, Hofmannsthal going to some lengths to explain and justify his attitude and activity in respect of the disagreements that had arisen between Reinhardt's team and Craig (rather than addressing directly the question of Kessler's real role in the creation of *Der Rosenkavalier*), and the letter ends with a cry for help:

Ebenso gross wie Dein Temperament ist Deine Vernunft, Dein Gerechtigkeitssinn und Dein Humor. Also hoffe ich, du wirst uns beiden heraushelfen. Du brauchst nur meine Briefe vom Mai Juni und August nachzulesen um zu fühlen, wie mein ganzes Empfinden dir entgegenkommt. Aber mit dem Empfinden allein komme ich hier nicht durch. Also hilf mir, bitte (Burger, p. 305).

Kessler replied to this letter promptly but without providing that much help, in the sense that Hofmannsthal had requested. He spelled out in greater detail just how hurt he had been by the outcome of the Craig-Reinhardt project and, moreover, by Hofmannsthal's apparent indifference

to a project that had meant so much to him, Kessler, personally. Ignoring whether or not they had ever been true friends, Kessler nevertheless suggested that they had a very special productive relationship and expressed this hope: 'Es war und ist und wird hoffentlich auch weiterhin ein Zusammenwirken sein, indem wir gegenseitig die Kräfte, die in uns sind, durch Sympathie steigern' (Burger, p. 307).

Hofmannsthal's reply to this letter, again prompt, did not move on, as Kessler had invited him to do, but went instead into further detail about Craig's behaviour and disproportionate financial demands, telling Kessler how angry this had made him and how he was now 'endlessly sad' (Burger, p. 309) over the behaviour of a third party, who had perhaps turned Kessler against him: Hofmannsthal also expressed his opinion that correspondence on the topic was driving them further apart, and that face to face discussion might be the only way to resolve matters. This letter, dated 9 November 1910, crossed with one from Kessler dated 10 November and prompted the latter to send a follow-up letter in reply the following day. The first assured Hofmannsthal of the very special place he had in Kessler's affections, which is why Kessler had devoted ten years of his life in promoting Hofmannsthal in every possible way and why he expected more in return from Hofmannsthal than he might, for example, expect from other friends and acquaintances, whilst repeating the essential message:

Was nun aber die Widmung anbelangt, so wäre mir die von dir gewählte Fassung auch unter normalen Verhältnissen nicht sympatisch gewesen,

weil sie, wie ich sie zunächst verstand, meinem Sachlichkeitsgefühl widersprach. Ich hätte aber vielleicht geschwiegen, wenn nicht schon in unserem Verhältnis eine solche Spannung bestanden hätte, dass ich jede weitere Belastung *coûte que coûte* vermeiden wollte (Burger, p. 311).

The second letter stressed even more strongly that Kessler now wished to put the entire episode behind them, and it provided a pithy yet elegant summary of where matters now stood:

Wirklich, mein Lieber, es gibt so wenig Wärme in der Welt, man hat so wenig Menschen, mit deren Wesen man ungezwungen Sympathie empfindet, und noch seltener lässt sich auf Grund einer solchen Wahlverwandschaft wirklich praktisch eine menschliche Beziehung aufbauen; wir haben uns nun gegenseitig ein halbes Menschenalter hindurch kennengelernt, wir wissen ungefähr, was wir voneinander erwarten, was wir einander geben können; sollen wir das Alles aufs Spiel setzen, weil wir in einem Moment der Leidenschaft, in einem Moment, wo wir beide vielleicht durch andere Dinge besonders empfindlich und mürbe gemacht worden waren, uns unabsichtlich gegenseitig wehgethan haben? (Burger, p. 313).

Hofmannsthal's reply, dated 15 November, was gracious: 'Für die guten wohlthuenden Worte deines letzten Briefes danke ich Dir von Herzen' (Burger, p. 314), and apparently responsive, at last, to the root cause of their disagreement:

Versuchen zu sehen, wie der andere gesehen hat, das ist immer das Nötige. Vielleicht ist es mir dann möglich, ganz gut zu verstehen, wie Du jene berechtigte Verstimmung in die andere so zarte intime Sache deines Anteils an der dramatischen Arbeit hinüberziehen konntest – oder musstest (Burger, p. 314).

The correspondence over the suggested dedication had now run on for nineteen weeks, from 5 July to 15 November 1910. The end result was a new formulation by Hofmannsthal: 'Ich widme diese Komödie dem

Grafen Harry Kessler, dessen Mitarbeit sie so viel verdankt' (Burger, p. 543). As mentioned earlier in this chapter, Hofmannsthal referred back to this wording when, in 1927, he wrote the Preface to a new edition of *Der Rosenkavalier* and said that the formulation of this dedication pointed towards true collaboration with his friend, Count Harry Kessler. The latter's feelings had, however, long since been expressed in a letter to his sister, written (in English) just after the Dresden première of *Der Rosenkavalier*:

As for Hofmannsthal, I think he has gone as far in trying to be just to me as his nature (which is not generous) will allow him; but I don't think it very likely I shall ever collaborate with him again; and certainly not on these terms.<sup>225</sup>

The question that is posed therefore, and still not answered unequivocally even after 100 years of *Der Rosenkavalier* performance history and scholarship, is whether or not Hofmannsthal took as much from Kessler – in terms of the dramatic architecture of the piece, the unfolding of the narrative, the stage characterization of the principal figures, all key characteristics of authorship – as the latter clearly thought he did. This is no longer a simple issue of whether or not Kessler bears major responsibility for the initial scenario of *Der Rosenkavalier* – quite clearly, he does – but rather the degree to which Kessler's theatrical vision for a reworked, improved *L'Ingénu libertin* in its new guise actually corresponds to the *Komödie für Musik* that bears the names of

---

<sup>225</sup> Letter from Harry Kessler to Wilma dated 3 February 1911: in DLA (Manuscript department) HS.1971.0001

Hofmannsthal and Strauss. Before attempting to answer that question, some of the subsequent pronouncements of both Hofmannsthal and Kessler, relevant to their respective views of the authorship of the piece, need to be included.

Hofmannsthal saw in the New Year of 1910-11 at Schloss Neubeuern in Upper Bavaria, at a gathering hosted by Julie von Wendelstadt and her sister-in-law (and Hofmannsthal's close friend) Ottonie von Degenfeld: his stay lasted from 28 December 1910 to 9 January 1911 (the *Der Rosenkavalier* première in Dresden then being a mere seventeen days away).<sup>226</sup> Other members of the house party included Eberhard von Bodenhausen, who made an entry in his own diary for 1 January 1911: 'Nachm. Langer Gang mit Hugo, erzählt mir Kessler-Aventüre mit der Widmung Rosenkavalier' (Simon, p. 182). Exactly what Hofmannsthal told him is not recorded, but he evidently reverted to the same theme over a year later, as can be inferred from a meeting in Paris between Bodenhausen and Kessler on 24 March 1912: this time there is a more detailed Kessler diary record of what was said:

Bodenhausen meine Verlegenheit wegen Hofmannsthals Handlungsweise in der Ballettsache gesagt; namentlich so kurz nachdem er mich beim „Rosenkavalier“ so cavalièrement behandelt hat. Dieses provozierte bei Bodenhausen die Antwort, er verstehe nicht, was ich H. in der Rosenkavalier Sache vorzuwerfen habe; er habe von Hofmannsthal vor einigen Wochen in Berlin erfahren, was mein Anteil am Rosenkavalier gewesen sei, und finde nicht, dass er mich schlecht behandelt habe. Ich fragte, was denn H. als meinen Anteil bezeichnet habe. Bodenhausen: „Hofmannsthal habe ihm gesagt, ich habe hier und da „eine Szene umgestellt“. Ich sagte darauf, dann sei H. ein ganz infamer Lügner, wenn er das behauptete: ich hätte an Erfindung und Szenario des Rosenkavalier mindestens ebensoviel, wenn nicht mehr Anteil als er. Bodenhausen war

---

<sup>226</sup> <http://www.navigare.de/hofmannsthal/Neubeuern.html> [accessed 29 August 2013].

über meine detaillierten Einwendungen und Entgegnungen offenbar sehr betroffen und meinte, ich solle die Sache nicht tragisch nehmen und lieber auf irgendetwas Pathologisches bei Hofmannsthal schieben (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 802).

Kessler's decision, however, was to think things over and to write a long, detailed letter to Bodenhausen the same day. This letter, written under the shock of having just learned how Hofmannsthal was describing to close, mutual friends the extent of Kessler's alleged contribution to *Der Rosenkavalier*, and written moreover to Bodenhausen – a man whose opinion Kessler had valued extremely highly, ever since their joint membership of the editorial board of *Pan* at the turn of the century<sup>227</sup> – can be taken as Kessler's considered view of what he had done, and of how he had done it (original emphasis, in italics, throughout):

Paris, 24. III 1912. Mein Lieber, um jedes Missverständnis zu vermeiden, möchte ich die Hauptpunkte meiner Einwendungen gegen die von Dir mitgeteilte Darstellung Hofmannsthals von meinem Anteil am 'Rosenkavalier' *schriftlich* niederlegen. Von einem blossen Umarbeiten, Korrigieren oder Beraten kann gar keine Rede sein, da *schon das Thema des Stückes* zur Hälfte von mir stammt, nämlich die Idee der Verkleidung und die Figur des Quinquin, des Rosenkavaliers selber. Ferner ist von diesem Ausgangspunkt an sofort der *ganze Inhalt* des Stückes (bis auf das von *Strauss*, nicht Hofmannsthal, hinzuerfundene Duell und die Skandalszene im dritten Akt) *Akt für Akt und Situation für Situation fortlaufend* von Hofmannsthal und mir *gemeinsam erfunden* worden. Die Arbeit hieran gieng in meinem Hause in Weimar vor sich und erstreckte sich über mehrere Tage (drei oder vielleicht vier), wobei ein Jeder anknüpfend an das bis zur Stunde schon Festgelegte die Fortsetzung der gerade in Arbeit befindlichen Szene nach seiner Idee ausmalte und dann *aus dem beiderseitig Erfundenen* nach gründlicher Besprechung eine endgültige Version festgelegt und von Hofmannsthal protokolliert wurde. Hierbei stammte das endgültig Festgehaltene *mindestens zu einem ebenso grossen Teil aus meinen Einfällen und Erfindungen* wie aus denen von Hofmannsthal. Dieses war damals auch durchaus *Hofmannsthals eigene Auffassung*; denn er äusserte öfters, so wie wir, arbeiteten gewiss Autoren wie Flers und Caillavet zusammen; jetzt erst könne er sich ein solches

---

<sup>227</sup> See p. 67 and footnote 95.

gemeinschaftliches Verfassen von Stücken vorstellen: es sei Jedem von uns ja schon jetzt (schon damals) unmöglich anzugeben, was von ihm und was vom Anderen sei. Diese Auffassung hielt bei Hofmannsthal zunächst auch vor; denn er äusserte sie, und zwar durchaus *ernsthaft*, und *nicht* als Höflichkeitsfloskel in dem von mir erwähnten späteren Gespräch *wieder*. Der Inhalt dieses Gespräches war im Wesentlichen Folgender: H. sagte zu mir in meinem Arbeitszimmer in Weimar, bei dem Anteil, den ich am 'Rosenkavalier' habe, müsste ich eigentlich mit als Verfasser des Stückes auf dem Titelblatt stehen. Indessen sei ich als dramatischer Dichter ganz unbekannt; ein neuer Name bei einem so grossen Unternehmen sei nicht ungefährlich, könne vielleicht sogar Strauss verwirren; von dem Erfolge hieng aber für ihn, Hofmannsthal, so viel ab (pekuniär und anderweitig), dass er mir dankbar sein würde, wenn ich auf mein Recht für dieses Mal verzichte. Von einer blossen Höflichkeit Hofmannsthals bei diesem Gespräch kann gar keine Rede sein; sondern es war ein durchaus ernstes und geschäftliches Gespräch, wie schon aus seiner Länge und aus dem Ton, den Hofmannsthal dabei anschlug, ohne jeden Zweifel hervorging. Ich habe damals sofort eingewilligt, dass ich nicht genannt werden sollte, wobei Hofmannsthal noch in ziemlich unbestimmten Wendungen hinzufügte, dass sich ja später vielleicht meine Mitverfasserschaft oder mein Anteil bekanntgeben lasse; (später: d.h. nachdem der *Erfolg* des Stückes dadurch nicht mehr beeinträchtigt werden konnte). Ich wäre auch nie wieder auf die Sache zurückgekommen, wenn H. nicht durch die von ihm erdachte Widmung des Stückes an mich als 'Helfer' meinen Anteil in ein *falsches* Licht vor das Publikum gestellt hätte. Diese öffentliche Fälschung des Verhältnisses wollte ich nicht gutheissen, und daraus haben sich die späteren Unstimmigkeiten ergeben. So weit der tatsächliche Inhalt unseres Gespräches heute Morgen (Simon, pp. 92-4).

It is immediately apparent that, for the purposes of his argument, Kessler omitted one very salient fact: that the cross-dressing and the figure of Quinquin, the actual Rosenkavalier, was not strictly speaking his invention, but rather a creative borrowing from the Bouffes Parisiens opérette that he had seen a year previously. Yet that should not take away the force of his main argument: the contents of this, and the preceding chapter, refute any notion that all Kessler did was to 're-arrange a scene here and there'. Likewise, the letter seems to have convinced Bodenhausen to some degree, for Kessler's diary records a further conversation the following day, 25 March 1912:

Bodenhausen früh bei mir und über Hofmannsthal. Ich bat ihn, Nichts zu thun, da H. und ich uns doch zu nah stehen, als dass ein Dritter zwischen uns vermitteln könnte. Bodenhausen stimmte bei: H. liebe mich geradezu. Allerdings eine sonderbare Art von Liebe! (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 802).

In considering everything that Kessler had said, and subsequently written, to him, Bodenhausen may even have thought back to the last time that he had seen *Der Rosenkavalier* onstage, a few months previously. For in an enthusiastic letter to Hofmannsthal written on 19 November 1911, Bodenhausen had said: 'Deine Beherrschung der Bühnentechnik ist mir nie annähernd so vor Augen gestanden'.<sup>228</sup> This was undoubtedly so, with the single possible exception of *Elektra* (play and opera), but the scale of the two works, and size of cast, is very different, and *Der Rosenkavalier* had by then launched Hofmannsthal into European and world prominence as an original and highly successful opera librettist. The huge improvement on his earlier stage works was being noted.

The only other recorded allusion by Hofmannsthal to Kessler's work on *Der Rosenkavalier* came two years later, at a time of heightened tensions between both men over the creation of *Josephs Legende*. In a letter of 2 June 1914 to Strauss, and in an attempt to distance himself from the criticism that the introductory essay to *Josephs Legende* had started to attract, Hofmannsthal wrote:

---

<sup>228</sup> Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Eberhard von Bodenhausen, *Briefe der Freundschaft* (Berlin: Eugen Diederichs Verlag, 1953), p. 133.

[...] I was distressed to think of you without any acceptable work: the Russians wanted a ballet from you, and so I drafted this one and brought in Kessler since he had been present at these discussions anyway (and because he had assisted me with the drafting of the *Rosenkavalier* scenario, pleasantly and skillfully, though perhaps he tends rather to over-estimate the importance of his help) (Strauss-Hofmannsthal, p. 198).<sup>229</sup>

The questions raised by these statements on the drafting of the ballet will be addressed briefly in the next chapter: but in terms of the authorship of *Der Rosenkavalier*, Hofmannsthal, once again, is referring to assistance from Kessler, in terms that indicate (at the very least) that the driving force for the scenario came from the librettist, who availed himself of a little help from his friend. To Strauss it may not have mattered that much, or at all, precisely how the amusing scenario and subsequent libretto came about (although he had certainly been aware of some involvement by Kessler right from the outset, and during the creative process – as shown by the diary entry for 21 February 1910, quoted above), but to posterity it is both of interest and importance to pay proportionate tribute to the creators of the work. Kessler moreover, as the continuation of his letter of 24 March 1912 to Bodenhausen clearly shows, was at pains to keep matters in proportion (original emphasis, in italics, throughout):

Du wundertest Dich, dass ich überhaupt auf diese Form der Mitarbeit mit Hofmannsthal eingegangen sei und nicht lieber allein Stücke oder Balletts verfasst habe. Die Erklärung liegt in einer durchaus klaren Erkenntnis der *Grenzen sowohl von Hofmannsthals* wie von *meiner* dichterischen Begabung. Hofmannsthal fehlt *ganz genau das* zu einem dramatischen Dichter, was ich besitze, *und umgekehrt*. Hofmannsthal hat garkein konstruktives Talent, er hat nur ein sehr geringes Talent sogar zur Auswicklung und dramatisch

---

<sup>229</sup> The Hammelmann translation here is of the original German 'die Wichtigkeit welches Dienstes er vielleicht ziemlich überschätzt', which might better be rendered as: 'the importance of which service he perhaps somewhat over-estimates'. It is a biting comment.

wirksamen Ordnung eines schon gegebenen Stoffes; deshalb hat er sich immer, ausser in bloss lyrischen Dramen, an *vorhandene* Szenarien angelehnt. Ist aber ein wirksames Szenario da, so kann er es in wunderbare Weise lyrisch beleben, den Figuren und Situationen auf dem Umweg über die Lyrik Leben einhauchen. Mir fehlt gerade *diese* Gabe wieder; ich kann *nicht* die Figuren zum Reden bringen, so dass die Stimme wie *ihre* Stimme klingt (die grosse Gabe des Lyrikers), aber ich kann, und zwar in einer weit sichereren und klareren Weise als Hofmannsthal, eine dramatische Handlung *erfinden* und *ordnen*. So werde ich wohl nie allein ein Stück schreiben, das Leben in dem Sinne hat, wie ich es für notwendig halte; ich hatte mir aber zugetraut, mit Hofmannsthal zusammen Stücke zu schreiben, die eine dramatische Sicherheit und Wirksamkeit gehabt hätten, wie sie wieder Hofmannsthal allein nie erreichen wird. Ich meine, dass der 'Rosenkavalier' und Manches im 1ten und 2ten Akt der Cristina dafür den Beweis liefern, obwohl dies blos *Anfänge* waren [...] (Simon, p. 94).

If one takes, and analyses Kessler's letter to Bodenhausen as a whole, particularly in the light of some of Kessler's diary entries, a consistent theme emerges. The diary entries for 15 and 18 February 1909 are instructive. On 15 February Kessler recorded: 'Hofmannsthal meinte über den Faublas: dieses Szenariomachen mit einem Andren gebe ihm dieselbe Sicherheit, wie wenn das Szenario aus einem fremden Stücke stamme' (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 564). On 18 February Kessler wrote (referring this time to their ongoing collaboration over *Cristinas Heimreise*):

H. meinte, der grosse Dienst, den ihm diese Art von Arbeit leiste, sei, dass sie ihn zwingt, nachzudenken. Bisher habe er nie über seine Arbeit nachdenken können; er habe immer rein visionär gearbeitet; dadurch habe sich oft das Detail vor die Hauptsache geschoben, und die Linienführung sei unsicher geworden (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 565).

This reported gratitude on Hofmannsthal's part for Kessler's provision of security, or assurance, in their two joint play-writing endeavours gives credence to Kessler's main claims in the letter to

Bodenhausen: namely that Hofmannsthal understood as a result of his sessions with Kessler in Weimar, and then in Berlin, how Robert de Flers and Gaston de Caillavet could have collaborated, successfully, on their works for the stage, and that he and Kessler were now engaged in a very similar creative process. These thoughts on Hofmannsthal's part are dated – both from the diary and from the context of Kessler's letter to Bodenhausen – to February 1909, a time when both men were in Berlin and were presumably feeling exuberant that they had drafted a viable scenario and that Strauss had accepted it. The letter goes on, however (my emphasis): 'Basically the **later** conversation was this: **in my study in Weimar H. said to me** that in view of my role in *Rosenkavalier*, I really ought to be credited as co-author of the work on the title page'. If this conversation was indeed later, and if it took place in Kessler's study in Weimar, then its timing can only have been between 23 and 28 February 1910 – a whole year later – for Kessler had spent all of the rest of 1909 travelling, mainly in France, and had not met up with Hofmannsthal at all. The diary entry for 23 February 1910 is consistent with this interpretation, running as follows (emphasis in original):

Mit Hofmannsthals Nachmittags nach Weimar gefahren. Abends sagte mir Hofmannsthal, inbezug auf das Theater komme er sich vor wie ein junger Mensch, der ganz frech gesagt habe, er könne reiten, und den man dann auf ein sehr schwieriges Pferd gesetzt habe; oben wundre er sich, dass es einigermaßen gehe, dass er nicht herunterfalle; aber er habe das Gefühl, dass bei der geringsten falschen Bewegung ein Unglück geschehen müsse. Jetzt, nach der „Christine“, habe er das Gefühl, dass er reiten könne. Selbst die „Elektra“ sei bloß schlafwandlerisch geglückt (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 591).

This stay with Kessler lasted nine days, the first few days being spent on elaboration of the scenario for Hofmannsthal's much later social comedy *Der Schwierige* (completed in 1919, first performed in Munich and in Berlin in 1921). There is, however, one *Der Rosenkavalier* diary entry, dated "February 1910" but attributed by Burger to 1 March: 'Abends las Hofmannsthal bei mir den 'Rosenkavalier' vor' (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 592). The diary makes no mention of those who attended the reading but Burger lists them as the families Nostitz, Van de Velde, Förster-Nietzsche and Von Hofmann, adding that Rilke was present as well, the reading being of the third act: 'Hofmannsthal las dort mit grossen komischen Erfolg den dritten Akt [...]' (Burger, p. 537). This context – nine days with Kessler in Weimar, further collaboration with him on a dramatic scenario, a *Der Rosenkavalier* reading to an invited audience of close friends – makes it likely to the point of near certainty that Hofmannsthal seized this particular moment to ask his friend and mentor to remain in the background of the fast-emerging work, to practise reticence and discretion, and to come out of the shadows – possibly – later on. What rings particularly true, in addition in Kessler's letter to Bodenhausen, is the reported admission by Hofmannsthal that 'so much was riding on this for him, financially and in other ways', for by February 1910 the first two acts had largely been completed, with much of the third act under way, and the promising, potentially lucrative dimensions of what had already been achieved were increasingly clear both to Strauss and, even more pertinently, to Hofmannsthal.

During the whole period that the libretto took shape, the creative exchanges were between Strauss and Hofmannsthal on the one hand, as has long been documented, and between Kessler and Hofmannsthal almost exactly in parallel. No *Der Rosenkavalier* letters from Strauss to Kessler nor from Kessler to Strauss appear to exist. Strauss may well have realized that Kessler was in some way behind the sudden burst of creativity on Hofmannsthal's part – given that the rapid and fluent emergence of the scenario, and the libretto for Act One, and the stream of ideas for the work as a whole, were all in complete contrast to Hofmannsthal's stone-walling on any question of an original opera libretto ever since Strauss had first asked him to consider writing something new for him in March 1906 (Strauss-Hofmannsthal, p. 3) – but if he did, he seems to have been content to accept what was coming his way, and not to enquire further.

A line of argument could be developed that Hofmannsthal had begun to exploit Kessler's ideas, and to use him rather cynically, intending all along to drop him, from the moment he wrote the letter to Strauss of 11 February 1909 outlining his 'new and entirely original scenario'. This would be consistent with his reference to the 'delight of Count Kessler', and 'with whom I discussed it'. It would also be consistent with Hofmannsthal going alone to see Strauss in Berlin on 14 February, obtaining his agreement, and only then rejoining Kessler for the Schadow exhibition and for the theatre that evening: a deliberate attempt to keep Kessler out of the picture. But there is too much else in the multi-faceted

relationship between Hofmannsthal and Kessler in the 1900-10 period, too many positives in their interaction, to support the notion that Hofmannsthal acted so cynically, and so cold-heartedly, and with such selfish purpose, just as Kessler had come up with such promising ingredients for Hofmannsthal's first real operatic collaboration with Strauss. It seems more likely that Hofmannsthal, having been stimulated and inspired from the outset by Kessler's keen sense of the operatic possibilities in a re-worked and augmented *L'Ingénu libertin*, genuinely began to think as his work in Rodaun progressed that the language of his libretto, and the esoteric onstage Vienna of his imagination as it emerged in the course of 1909 and 1910, were sufficiently original and important as to change the underlying parameters of the collaboration to which he had initially subscribed. He lacked the inter-personal skills however, or the psychological understanding of Kessler, to make this proposition in a way that the latter could ever accept.

An associated question is why it was, almost from the outset, that Kessler had ever agreed to be so self-effacing: to act in the background as Hofmannsthal's collaborator and ideas man, to provide a dramatic architecture for the piece that (in Kessler's view) Hofmannsthal would have been incapable of providing by himself, and to devote so much time, energy and passion to the project without seeking any public recognition of his role. No reader of Kessler's letters to Hofmannsthal from May 1909 onwards can fail to be struck by the energy, the flood of ideas, the detailed and reasoned critiques that came from Kessler's pen in response to each

new section of the draft libretto that he read. However, what Kessler wanted – clearly wanted at that stage – was for Hofmannsthal to enjoy sole credit for the piece, to make a major name for himself, and to earn a substantial sum of money from the project (Kessler in 1909 had no need of any additional wealth and probably thought that he would never need to earn more money in his lifetime). It is thus a reasonable assertion that Kessler’s theatrical vision for the new piece was intended all along as a gift to Hofmannsthal: a gift, moreover, that although behind the scenes on this occasion, might have led to a fuller, more overt theatrical association between the two men in due course. This is the sense in which Kessler’s mention of *Cristinas Heimreise* and *Der Rosenkavalier* to Bodenhausen, ‘although these were only the beginning’, should be understood.

Considered as a three-dimensional creation, a piece of music theatre with words by Hofmannsthal and music by Strauss, it is hard in the light of all the evidence to deny Kessler a place as one of the work’s authors. Much of his input derived initially from *L’Ingénu libertin*, but realization of the dramatic potential of this particular piece was his, and many of his own ideas were inspired: the new relationship that Kessler created between Faublas and Sophie, the amalgamation of Rosambert and the Marquis de Bay into the character of Pourceaugnac/Ochs, the dispatch by Ochs of Faublas to be his love emissary to Sophie, the pantomime of the Sophie-Faublas meeting at the start of Act II, the final *decrecendo* scene of Act III, as well as countless small details of stagecraft and dramatic characterization throughout. The Act III trio for the three principal female

characters is not original on Kessler's part, for it performs exactly the same function – resolution of the love triangle – for Artus as for Hofmannsthal, but it remains a key element that Kessler brought to the *Der Rosenkavalier* table in Weimar. The overall conclusion must therefore be that Kessler's theatrical vision for a reworked, improved *L'Ingénu libertin* is largely reflected in the *Komödie für Musik* that bears the names of Hofmannsthal and Strauss, much more so than has been admitted hitherto, and that his creative interaction with Hofmannsthal was a key determinant of the lasting success that *Der Rosenkavalier* has enjoyed.

## Chapter Five

### *Josephs Legende* – postscript and overall conclusions

It is not possible to examine the theatrical vision of Count Harry Kessler, and its impact on the Strauss-Hofmannsthal partnership, without some consideration of *Josephs Legende*, the one-act pantomime ballet that was written for the Ballets Russes between 1912 and 1914, and given six initial performances in May and June of that year by the company at the Paris Opéra, and seven subsequently in London at the Drury Lane Theatre, the latter finishing just two weeks before Britain declared war on Germany on 4 August 1914. The first point to make about Kessler's theatrical vision for the piece, however, is that he never saw it realized as he had originally conceived it. Kessler came up with *Josephs Legende* with one man in mind – Vaslav Nijinsky – both as director/choreographer and as principal dancer, in the role of Joseph. Circumstances dictated that this was not to be – Nijinsky was expelled from the company by Diaghilev late in 1913 (because of his marriage to Romola de Pulszky) and was replaced as Joseph by the unknown Léonide Massine, and as director/choreographer by Mikhael Fokine. A recent biography of Nijinsky hints at Kessler's vision for the work:

Harry Kessler had tried and failed to persuade Diaghilev to retain Nijinsky as choreographer for *Joseph*. He and Strauss thought Nijinsky the only person capable of communicating Joseph's 'terrible beauty', which contained within its perfection a destructive element – Mephisto and God

in one; but Diaghilev, still smarting, could not be convinced and had used Fokine.<sup>230</sup>

The *Josephs Legende* of Kessler's original conception was thus never realized. Nevertheless, a major work in the 1914 season was created and produced and aspects of it, relating to Kessler's theatrical vision, will now be considered. The Hofmannsthal critical edition (*Band XXVII*, pp. 392-499) includes key passages from the Hofmannsthal-Kessler correspondence and from Kessler's diary, but does not attempt to assess the triangular working relationship that ensued, between Kessler, Strauss and Hofmannsthal, with specific reference to the 1909-10 collaboration over *Der Rosenkavalier*, as described in Chapters Three and Four. Unlike the case of *L'Ingénu libertin*, however, a work that had not been explored and fully assessed hitherto for its multiple lines of influence on *Der Rosenkavalier*, the case of *Josephs Legende* is much clearer, at least in certain respects. Moreover, authorship and elaboration of the scenario and libretto of *Josephs Legende* are credited on the title page, in pride of place, to Kessler (see p. 22), and although contradictory statements as to inspiration and genesis of the work still require careful assessment, the main lines of Kessler's responsibility for it have long been known. As Barzantny puts it:

Kesslers Qualitäten als 'Kultur-Organisator' kommen in diesem Falle ebenso zum Ausdruck wie seine originelle künstlerische Produktivkraft bei der Konzeption und Realisierung eines Balletts, bei dem er seinen Anteil am Werk kenntlich zu machen verstand (Barzantny, p. 153).

---

<sup>230</sup> Lucy Moore, *Nijinsky* (London: Profile Books, 2013), p. 178.

Yet Hofmannsthal's introductory words to the libretto reflect the competitive tension between him and Kessler that, as in the case of *Der Rosenkavalier*, document the uneasiness in their working relationship.

Hofmannsthal wrote:

Habe ich durch das Ergreifen eines solchen Stoffes, durch den Einfall, ihn in der Art von Cartons von Veronese zu behandeln und ihn so in ein noch freieres Gebiet der Phantasie hinüberzuspielen, den Anstoss gegeben, dass die Kunst von Richard Strauss sich mit der von Leon Bakst begegnen und beiden das wundervolle Instrument des von Sergei Diaghilew geschaffenen Kunstkörpers dienstbar wird und in dieser Dienstbarkeit herrschend hervortritt, so werde ich mich des Hervorgerufenen bleibend freuen. An der Entwicklung der poetischen und mimischen Motive hat mein Freund Graf Kessler den überwiegenden Anteil, wovon die nachfolgende Niederschrift des choreographischen Ganzen, von seiner Hand herrührend, Zeugnis gibt (*Josephs Legende*, pp. 11-2).

The implications of Hofmannsthal's carefully crafted words are clear: it was he who had the idea of treating the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife in the manner of Veronese's paintings and of bringing the creative team together, and Kessler was left to work out the detail. Yet the Hofmannsthal-Kessler correspondence, when compared with Kessler's diary entries for the period, gives a very different picture and one, moreover, that places Hofmannsthal at the margins of the enterprise in its crucial, creative phase, as will become apparent.

Kessler's vision of what ballet, in the right hands, could become, had gone back at least as far as 1891, when he enthused about the possibilities of the art form, immediately after seeing a short ballet that

followed a performance of Méhul's opera *Joseph in Egypt* (see p. 58).<sup>231</sup>

Whether or not he made a subliminal connection at this time – although there is no Potiphar's wife in Méhul's version of the Joseph story, and the cast is all-male except for the soprano who sings the role of Benjamin, Joseph's brother – the figure of Joseph clearly meant something to Kessler. Barely three months later, crossing the Atlantic to New York at the start of his world tour, Kessler noted in his diary:

Auf See 1 Januar 1892. Freitag. Das Leben an Bord immer ziemlich das Gleiche. Viel mit Baragnon<sup>232</sup> zusammen. Etwas Abwechslung bringt eine kleine Komödie hinein, in der ich die Rolle des Joseph und eine alte, abgedankte Cocotte die Rolle von Potiphars Frau spielt (*Tagebuch II*, p. 77).

Whatever game was being played, it is therefore evident that Joseph and his entanglement with the older 'woman of the world' was a concept well-known to Kessler for twenty or more years before work began on the drafting of *Josephs Legende* for Strauss. Three years previously Kessler had made another, similar diary entry (in English):

Slipped away with Woikonsky after supper and retired to a seemingly respectable Café where very nearly had an aventure galante; any how the 'no' was not on the female side; felt like Joseph and Potiphar's wife (16 January 1889).

The Joseph legend was thus dramatic material with which Kessler identified and felt comfortable: in structural terms, as he was to conceive it

---

<sup>231</sup> *Joseph en Egypte* by Etienne-Nicolas Méhul had premièred at the Opéra Comique in Paris in 1807 and was still in repertoire a hundred years later: Strauss was later to tell Hofmannsthal not to use the same name for the proposed ballet.

<sup>232</sup> A fellow passenger, described only by Kessler as a 'globe-trotter' (*Tagebuch II*, p. 76).

for the stage, a play between light and darkness, an absolute contrast between the natural innocence of a fifteen year-old boy, a child of nature who is at home on the plains with his flocks of sheep, and the sexual depravity of a greedy, bored married woman at court, who lusts after Joseph's body having seen him dance. Kessler felt that this episode, basically taken from the Book of Genesis, would make a powerful and effective ballet: his 1914 essay describing the plot of *Josephs Legende* begins:

Der Inhalt des 'Joseph' ist der Gegensatz und Kampf zwischen zwei Welten. Der Kontrast reicht vom Kostüm bis in das innerste, durch Gebärden und Musik sich offenbarende Seelenleben der Figuren (*GS II*, p. 180).

The aspect to be addressed here, however, is how Kessler got from his theatrical, internal vision of what a work dealing with this material would and should be all about, to the Ballets Russes production of *Josephs Legende* on which the curtain of the Paris Opéra rose for the first time on 14 May 1914. For that, he needed Hofmannsthal and – above all – Strauss, and the vision that he required was not merely theatrical, but practical and entrepreneurial in equal measure.

Kessler first saw the Ballets Russes in Paris on 27 May 1909 and wrote the following day to Hofmannsthal in exuberant terms (my emphasis):

Ganz phänomenal. **Für diese Leute würde es sich lohnen ein Ballett zu schreiben.** Ein junger Tänzer (mir sind sonst Ballett tanzende Männer ein Brechmittel) ist das Wunderbarste, was ich in dieser Kunst ausser der Ruth gesehen habe. Das muss man sehen, um zu begreifen, wie man einen Mann im Ballett verwenden kann. [...] Wenn du je ein Ballett schreibst (mit Strauss), **müssen wir diesen jungen Nijinski bekommen** (Burger, pp. 233-4).

Kessler's use of the first person plural – 'we shall have to get...' is indicative of how he saw collaboration with Hofmannsthal at this time: the letter was written at the height of his *Rosenkavalier* exchanges with Hofmannsthal which, as Kessler later wrote to Bodenhausen, was thought of by him as merely the first in a whole series of theatrical collaborations (see pp. 290-1). Kessler's enthusiasm, moreover, expressed both in his diary entries and in subsequent letters to Hofmannsthal, only increased the more he saw of the company. From the moment he began to explore the repertoire of the Ballets Russes, the harder he tried to persuade Hofmannsthal to come to Paris and to see the company for himself (emphasis in original): 'Das ist wirklich eine neue Kunst die da geboren wird. Dass *musst* du sehen; denn vorstellen kann man eine solche Vollkommenheit nicht (Burger, p. 240). Even more urgently, a few days later, Kessler added (emphasis in original):

Könntest du nicht wenigstens auf *einen* Tag herüberkommen: z.B. zu Donnerstag, wo gerade eine besonders schöne Vorstellung ist? Ich gebe dir meine Versicherung, dass es der *Mühe wert wäre*, ja geradezu *entscheidend* für dich sein könnte, insofern eine unabsehbare Wirkung auf deine Phantasie der Ertrag sein könnte (Burger, p. 245).

Hofmannsthal, however, was too busy and declined to come, and Kessler's repeated entreaties – even the offer of giving up his own seat at a Ballets Russes performance – had no effect. Indeed, the first performances by the Ballets Russes that Hofmannsthal attended were not to be until March 1912 in Vienna – three years after Kessler had first urged him to get

to know their work. By that time, Kessler had seen the 1909, 1910 and 1911 seasons in Paris and in London, had got to know Diaghilev, Nijinsky, Ida Rubinstein, Léon Bakst and other members of the company, had attended late night rehearsals and had often supped with the artistic circle surrounding the company until three and four o'clock in the morning, thus becoming a well-informed, regular, intimate of theirs. One diary entry of the period is representative of many: after a performance of *Spectre de la Rose*, Kessler took Maillol and Rilke on to one of his favourite restaurant haunts, Larue.<sup>233</sup> As he wrote: 'There were Diaghilev, Mme Edwards, Sert, Bakst, Lucien Daudet, Jean Cocteau, Astruc, Reynaldo Hahn and, later on, Nijinsky' (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 690). Others with whom Kessler records similar post-performance suppers and conversations in Ballets Russes company include Ravel and Stravinsky (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 835, p. 843). The concentration of creative artists around the company at this time is striking.

The importance of Kessler's prior history and involvement with Diaghilev, Nijinsky and the company, between 1909 and 1912, becomes evident when one goes on to consider how the commissioning of *Josephs Legende* actually came about. Kessler's diary and his correspondence with Hofmannsthal record many strands in a creative process that included the following, overlapping elements. On 10 June 1911, Hofmannsthal wrote to

---

<sup>233</sup> Larue, formerly located on Rue Royale running into the Place de la Madeleine, was a favourite haunt of artists and writers, including Marcel Proust. In his 1928 essay *Die Entstehung der Josephs-Legende*, Kessler conflates several strands in the genesis of the ballet into one (mythical but representative) evening at Larue, at whose tables he places Diaghilev, Reinhardt, Hofmannsthal, himself, Cocteau, Nijinsky, Reynaldo Hahn, Proust and the Aga Khan. His diary has a less exotic but more accurate account of the genesis (*GS II*, p. 277).

Kessler, confided to him a plan for an exotic new work, with the atmosphere of '1001 Nights' to be seen through eighteenth century eyes, and asked Kessler to put him in touch with Bakst as a possible designer of the piece.<sup>234</sup> On 16 June Kessler lunched with Diaghilev (and Nijinsky) and mentioned Hofmannsthal's planned new work, alluding to it as a ballet, however, which led to Diaghilev asking Kessler outright if he could not persuade Strauss to compose a ballet for the company (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 689). On 17 June Kessler saw Bakst, who agreed to travel to Rodaun to meet Hofmannsthal (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 690). Kessler duly reported all this in a letter to Hofmannsthal of 25 June. He said that Bakst appeared delighted at the prospect of working with Hofmannsthal and continued: 'Diaghilev hat mich inzwischen beauftragt, dich um ein Ballett mit Musik von Strauss für Nijinsky (Hauptrolle) zu bitten' (Burger, p. 331).

Shortly afterwards, on 4 July 1911, Kessler and Rilke met for a long discussion in Paris, in the course of which Rilke asked Kessler if he would collaborate with him on a ballet to be written for Nijinsky: the narrative would be that of a unicorn that could only be hunted by a young boy cross-dressed as a girl (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 705). Kessler agreed in principle, suggesting that Pierre de Bréville should compose the music, and that Benois should design the costumes. Hofmannsthal replied to Kessler's letter of 25 June, wondering rhetorically what he could do for the Ballets Russes that they had not already done, adding that he could certainly interest Strauss in such a project, and finally proposing (emphasis in

---

<sup>234</sup> Hofmannsthal added that Strauss was 'burning' to compose it: the idea was not a ballet, but the opera that eventually became *Die Frau ohne Schatten*.

original): 'Möchtest du das, ganz offiziell, *mit mir machen?!?*' (Burger, p. 333). Kessler's reply was interesting, and slightly cautious. The implications of Hofmannsthal's words 'entirely officially' were that he and Hofmannsthal would be credited as joint authors of the work to be created. Yet the scars of the *Rosenkavalier* collaboration were still deep. So Kessler replied on 21 July that Hofmannsthal's plan to work together on a ballet for Diaghilev was lovely, adding only that he had already promised someone else to work on a ballet for the Russians, but that this project was still up in the air (Burger, p. 334). He did not mention Rilke's name.

At this stage, with Kessler and Hofmannsthal in agreement that they would need to meet up in order to make any real progress, their letters touched on various possible ballet subjects. Kessler mentioned *Amor and Psyche*, Hofmannsthal replied that he had written this as a pantomime for Grete Wiesenthal six months previously, and counter-proposed *Daphnis and Chloe* (Burger, pp. 334-5). Kessler then evoked Borobudur in Java as a possible, exotic, oriental location for a Buddha ballet, only to find the idea rejected swiftly by Diaghilev, who had another Indian ballet in rehearsal (Burger, p. 338). The jockeying between both men over a suitable theme is already indicative of the distancing of their relationship, and of the wariness they clearly both felt. Kessler and Hofmannsthal finally agreed to meet and discuss their ballet plans in February 1912, too late for their work to be shown in the planned 1913 season, but designed to enter the Ballets Russes schedule thereafter (Burger, p. 339).

Kessler went to London on 25 October 1911 and stayed until 3 November, attending three of the Ballets Russes evenings and spending much of his time with Diaghilev, Nijinsky and Gordon Craig, introducing the latter to the Russians and acting as interpreter for their long conversations on the art of theatre and theatrical décor. His correspondence with Hofmannsthal at this time is distant in tone, culminating in a letter from Hofmannsthal that insisted on both men meeting in person to clear the air between them (Burger, p. 341). They did meet, in Berlin on 27 November, and Kessler's diary entry for that day records the psychological and behavioural irritation that both claimed to experience with the other's behaviour: but having resolved mutually to try and do better, Kessler and Hofmannsthal then dined together, and discussed their ballet project. Hofmannsthal voiced a new idea for the theme (the Greek legend of Atalanta and Althea) and, more interestingly, told Kessler that he would prefer not to have Strauss compose the music, and certainly not to enter into a joint contract for the work with him (*Tagebuch IV*, pp. 750-1). Kessler does not record what he said in reply.

On 16 March 1912 Kessler's diary entry consists largely of the text of a letter from Hofmannsthal that awaited Kessler on his return from a trip to Spain (with Maillol) to Paris. The letter is not included in the Hofmannsthal-Kessler correspondence. It informs Kessler that Hofmannsthal had spent an entire, extraordinary and inspiring six days in the company of Diaghilev and Nijinsky in Vienna in early March, eating with them, discussing ballet with them night and day, and composing two

ballets for the company, one of which – *Orestes and the Furies* – was a thirty-five minute work that was being sent to Strauss on 8 March for composition by him (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 800). Almost as an afterthought, Hofmannsthal said that none of this excluded collaboration with Kessler on a third ballet, but the diary entry continues with Kessler's own reaction to Hofmannsthal's news (emphasis in original):

Dieses Gemisch von schlechtem Gewissen, Cynismus und Zucker aufmerksam betrachtet, ohne darauf gleich eine Antwort zu finden. Übrigens ein kleines Meisterwerk! Das tragische Ballett hatte ich im Sommer mit Diaghilev auf Hofmannsthals bewegliche Freundschaftsbeteuerungen und Bitten hin als gemeinsame Arbeit von mir und ihm besprochen, und für ihn und mich in Bestellung genommen. H. kennt natürlich Diaghilev und Nijinsky nur durch mich (*Tagebuch IV*, pp. 800-1).

Kessler might at this point have had visions of his *Rosenkavalier* experiences being repeated, and this probably informed all that he did next. It was one week later that he met Bodenhausen in Paris, and, prompted by this letter from Hofmannsthal, poured out his version of the earlier collaboration (see pp. 286-8). The Hofmannsthal-Kessler correspondence has a long gap, between January and June 1912, but the diary records one short, curt letter sent by Kessler in answer to Hofmannsthal's enquiry as to his likely presence in Paris in May 1912: it merely says 'probably', with Kessler adding in his diary entry that a fuller response was beneath his dignity (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 802). Kessler was however in Paris in May 1912, so was Hofmannsthal, and the actual launch

of *Josephs Legende* as their ballet project dates from the end of that month and the first days of June.

On 25 May, Kessler received two letters from Hofmannsthal: the first said that they should meet for two minutes, once again to clear up any misunderstandings between them; the second, that his earlier references to two ballets that he had supposedly composed were merely a *'façon de parler'* (*Tagebuch IV*, pp. 828-9). On 27 May they met, and Hofmannsthal repeated that it was naturally not true that his ballet scenario was ready, Kessler's diary comment being: 'Diese wenn auch nur angedeutete Rechtfertigung genügte aber, um auf seine geschäftige Besprechung unserer Arbeitsweise einen Schein von Unwahrhaftigkeit zu werfen' (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 831). Once again, the wariness in Kessler's attitude is very clear. However, when he met Kessler's sister two days later, Hofmannsthal repeated his claim that all he had given Diaghilev was a sketch for a ballet, and he talked animatedly of the joint ballet they intended to write together (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 835). From then on, matters progressed swiftly.

On the morning of 3 June 1912, Hofmannsthal and Kessler met again to discuss the ballet project, with Hofmannsthal asking Kessler to read through his two earlier draft scenarios – *Orestes* and *La Mort du Jeune Homme Voluptueux* – and to make constructive suggestions. Kessler was reticent, saying that he did not want to lend his name to projects that had basically been finalized by others – and adding that Strauss had turned down *Orestes* as being too close in style to *Elektra* (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 841). In

the afternoon, Kessler met Diaghilev (alone) and recorded their discussion as follows (my emphasis):

Nachmittags ging ich zu Diaghilev, **setzte ihm das Verhältnis zwischen Hofmannsthal und mir auseinander** und bat mir das Szenario zum 'Orest' aus. Wir besprachen dann noch zwei oder drei andre Themata. Schliesslich sagte D., künstlerisch redeten wir nun schon ein Jahr um ein Ballett herum, ohne zu einem Resultat zu kommen, **er wolle jetzt einfach als Geschäftsmann zu mir sprechen**. Er brauche ein Szenario für eine bestimmte Dekoration und bestimmte Kostüme von Benois, die schon existierten, zu denen aber das Ballett fehle. Diese Vorarbeiten seien für ein Ballett gemacht, das auf Debussys 'Fêtes' aufgebaut werden sollte, eine kleine Sache, die nur fünf Minuten dauere. Nun seien aber die Kostüme so schön geworden, dass sowohl er wie Nijinski es schade fänden, sie auf eine so kurze dünne Sache zu vergeuden, in der sie gar nicht zur Geltung kämen. Dekoration und Kostüme seien im Stil des Paolo Veronese, die Dekoration eine grosse Palladiosche Säulenhalle mit einer erhöhten Loggia hinten, wie auf Veroneses Hochzeit zu Cana, die Kostüme zum Teil venezianisch, zum Teil orientalisch. Ob ich ihm mit Hofmannsthal zusammen ein Szenario hierzu machen wolle, das dann womöglich Strauss komponieren würde? Ich fand die Aufgabe höchst reizvoll, wie wenn man einem Kinde ein Puppentheater mit kostümierten Puppen schenkt, und dazu in diesem Falle eine Wunderpuppe, Nijinski; so sagte ich denn sofort zu (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 841).

Exactly what Kessler said to Diaghilev can only be conjectured, but if, as recorded in the diary, it really was 'all about the relationship between me and Hofmannsthal', then Diaghilev is likely to have realized that he had better deal with one of the two potential partners rather than with both at once, if he wanted to make practical progress. His man-to-man, entirely practical discussion with Kessler, is indicative of this. He gave Kessler the layout and décor of the work that he wanted to stage, and asked him to come up with a suitable ballet. This is the true, rather prosaic reason for the contrast between two worlds, those of the east and those of Renaissance Venice, that form the backdrop to the narrative of *Josephs*

*Legende*. The narrative itself had yet to be devised, by Kessler and Hofmannsthal, but the scenic parameters had now been set. Hofmannsthal's words of introduction to the finished piece (see p. 304) thus ring rather hollow, at least as far as his claimed choice of the world of Veronese was concerned. Yet Schuh took these words at face value and in 1983 expressed 'certainty' that the idea came from Hofmannsthal – once again, before Kessler's missing diaries had been recovered (Schuh *Josephs Legende*, p. 53). Similarly, Heisler believes that Kessler might have thought of an Italian Renaissance setting for their ballet project a year previously, but this is clearly based on a misunderstanding of the text of Kessler's letter to Hofmannsthal of 25 July 1911 (Heisler, p. 53).<sup>235</sup>

Kessler took Diaghilev's proposition to Hofmannsthal the following morning: the diary records Hofmannsthal's further immediate objections to Strauss as the composer, but Kessler succeeded in talking him round, and the two men set off for the Louvre to look at the Veronese paintings hanging there, which include the *Marriage at Cana* (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 842). They agreed provisionally on a Bacchus theme, with a procession in the style of a Ben Jonson masque, culminating in the grand hall ablaze with flaming torches, and Kessler told Diaghilev later that night that they would present their scenario the following day (*Tagebuch IV*, pp. 842-3). When they did so, Diaghilev turned the theme down as being too predictable: he and Hofmannsthal then discussed matters further (Kessler having to leave them together), and decided that a biblical theme in Veronese costumes

---

<sup>235</sup> Kessler's letter had proposed a Buddha ballet and added, in parenthesis, that Greek elements entered Indian art, just as they had entered the Italian Renaissance. See p. 306.

would be suitable, the story of Absalom or Solomon, or something similar. Hofmannsthal so informed Kessler that evening, and when Kessler saw Diaghilev late at night in the restaurant Larue, he gave enthusiastic assent to the idea: 'Bei Larue trafen wir noch Diaghilev, dem ich meine volle Zustimmung, ja, mein Entzücken über diese Idee sagte' (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 845).

According to the diary, Kessler then came up with the Joseph and Potiphar scenario very early the following morning, working on his own, still in bed, deciding on the basis of the parameters given to him by Diaghilev that the Egyptians would be in Venetian costumes, the Jews in the oriental ones, and that their two worlds could be effectively visualized and contrasted in this way. With a working draft from which only the ending was missing, Kessler then went to Hofmannsthal's hotel at eleven o'clock, took him off into the Tuileries Gardens, and recounted his newly-invented scenario (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 845). Hofmannsthal said that he and Diaghilev had considered the story of Joseph briefly the previous day, but had rejected it as being epic in scope rather than dramatic: however, Kessler's placing of the episode with Potiphar's wife as the centrepiece of the narrative changed everything - this could make it suitably dramatic, and all it now lacked was the ending. The diary entry continues:

Ich sagte, da Joseph nach der Bibel aus dem Kerker durch ein Wunder errettet sei, so wäre es vielleicht erlaubt, eine analoge Wunderrettung schon bei Potiphar hinzuzudichten; damit werde man wenigstens dem Geist der Legende nicht untreu. Man könne also z.B. Joseph durch einen Engel befreien lassen, einen Erzengel ganz in Gold auf einer weissen Wolke, der herabschwebe. Ja, meinte H. das gienge; und dann müsste sich

Potiphars Frau als Kontrast zur himmlischen Seligkeit Josephs töten; Diener könnten sie tot unter einer schwarzen Decke forttragen, während auf der anderen Seite der Bühne der Erzengel auf seiner weißen Wolke Joseph ins Freie führe, und andere Engel mit goldenen Palmen aus einem rosigen Morgenhimmel zwischen den Säulen einer weiten Palladioschen Perspektive herabwinkten. Wir beschlossen das Szenario gleich Diaghilev zu erzählen, ich ging ins Crillon, um uns anzusagen, während Hofmannsthal seine Frau abholte (*Tagebuch IV*, pp. 845-6).

The diary similarly records that Kessler and the Hofmannsthals lunched with Diaghilev, told him the scenario they had just devised, to his surprise that a ready-made ballet should have been completed just twenty-four hours after the idea had emerged, and gave his reaction: '[Er] fand es aber ausgezeichnet und nahm es zur Aufführung an' (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 846). However, Kessler's time with the Ballets Russes was not over that day. He clearly said goodbye to the Hofmannsthals after lunch, spent the afternoon and evening with Maillol in Marly le Roi, then returned to the theatre to watch a rehearsal of *Daphnis and Chloe*. The diary records his utter fascination with, and admiration for Nijinsky in the male title role: then, after a rehearsal lasting until two o'clock in the morning, Kessler, Diaghilev, Nijinsky and Cocteau went to Larue and dined until nearly four o'clock (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 847). It is hard to imagine that there was no further talk of the Joseph scenario that had been decided earlier that day, at least between Kessler and Diaghilev, but the diary makes no mention of it. It does, however, record the following day (7 June 1912):

Paris - Berlin. 7 June 1913 [sic]. Friday. Im Nordexpress, mit dem Nachmittags nach Berlin ab, das Ballett im Einzelnen fixiert (ausgearbeitet u. niedergeschrieben). In Lüttich war das Manuskript fertig (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 847).

If Kessler's theatrical vision of the ballet was now taking shape, there was every reason for him to get the details down on paper as soon as possible. The immediate thought occurs, however, that he was already determined to shore up his own position and status as co-author. This is documented too: although he now acted swiftly to obtain Hofmannsthal's endorsement of what he had written, sending him the manuscript on 8 June, and describing it as a more detailed sketch that he had worked out for Diaghilev and Nijinsky so that they could comment and amend it before it was sent to Strauss (Burger, p. 345) he also wrote to his sister on the same day. This gave her the clearest possible indication of what was in his mind, and of how he intended to proceed. The letter (written in English) said:

My dear sweet child, here is the sketch of the ballet as I wrote it out in the train yesterday. You will see that I have added a good deal to it, especially in the details. [...] J'ai pris les durants, [sic] as you see, so that H cannot say again, afterwards, that he did the whole thing (*Band XXVII*, p. 445).

'Prendre les durants' has no obvious meaning in French, as the editors of *Band XXVII* note, but 'prendre les devants' means to forestall, and this is undoubtedly what Kessler meant to write (or did write, and it has been mis-transcribed), in a clear expression of his intentions: he has seized the initiative so as to ensure that there will be no repeat of his experience over *Der Rosenkavalier*. Continuing to work at the same pace, on 9 June Kessler then sent Hofmannsthal a further slightly amended version, stressing that nothing was definitive until Hofmannsthal had commented,

but suggesting that this version was broadly satisfactory as it stood (Burger, p. 345). On 10 June, Hofmannsthal sent a telegram to Kessler from Rodaun, saying that he approved of the draft (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 848). Kessler's 12 June letter to his sister included this phrase: 'Hofmannsthal wrote a [sic] telegraphed he thought it good and "fast complett"' (*Band XXVII*, p. 446).

The next face-to-face meeting between Kessler and Hofmannsthal did not take place until six months later, on 9 December 1912, in Berlin. By that time, Kessler had effectively secured agreement from all the interested parties that a production of *Josephs Legende*, on lines that he had by then worked out in detail, would go ahead. His own theatrical vision for the piece was largely intact.

Kessler started by visting Reinhardt in Berlin, and mentioning (casually) that he had drafted a ballet - when Reinhardt responded by asking Kessler to read the scenario aloud, Kessler asked if Reinhardt would invite Strauss's close friend and business associate, Willy Levin, to listen to it as well (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 849). The reading took place on 20 June 1912: the diary records that both men found it 'excellent' and that Levin, although finding the scenario similar to *Salome*, promised to write to Strauss, and urged Kessler to send the manuscript to Strauss as soon as possible (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 849). Kessler wrote a long letter to Hofmannsthal on 21 June, reporting back on the positive comments made by Reinhardt and Levin, and urging Hofmannsthal to visit Strauss so that any *Salome* reservations on the composer's part could be dealt with informally, in

personal conversation. Kessler also summarized the four basic stages of the narrative that he envisaged (1. Potiphar's wife; 2. Joseph; 3. Conflict between them; 4. Triumph of the child and death of the evil soul), and he stressed the importance of Strauss understanding fully Nijinsky's talent and capabilities (Burger, pp. 346-9).

Hofmannsthal did not visit Strauss, but wrote to him on 23 June. He described the proposed ballet as follows:

Together with Kessler, who possesses a most fertile, and quite specifically a designer's imagination, I have produced a short ballet for the Russians, *Joseph in Egypt*, the episode with Potiphar's wife; the boyish part of Joseph of course for Nijinsky, the most extraordinary personality on the stage today (Strauss-Hofmannsthal, p. 134).

Clearly still mindful of the reservations he had expressed to Kessler in Paris about Strauss as the composer of choice for this work, Hofmannsthal added later in this letter:

Even if you are not willing to set it to music, I cannot withdraw yet another piece from the Russians (Diaghilev and Nijinsky know the sketch!) But I would endeavour to modify, as far as possible, my collaboration with the Russian or French musician of Diaghilev's choice, so as to make it quite clear that I was concerned to be of assistance only to the dancer, and not to the musician concerned (Strauss-Hofmannsthal, p. 134).

The implications were clear enough: Strauss was to have first refusal, and if he did refuse, someone else would be asked to compose the music. Kessler was having similar thoughts in Berlin – on 25 June he wrote to Hofmannsthal, suggesting Max Reger as an alternative to Strauss, if the latter refused, but rejecting Debussy who, he said, had been suggested by

Reinhardt. In the event, neither Hofmannsthal nor Kessler needed to have worried: Strauss accepted the proposition by telegram on 28 June:

Joseph ausgezeichnet. Finden Sie nicht zu grosse Ähnlichkeit mit Salome Jochanaan? Hoffe ihn schön zu komponieren. Erwarte russische Bedingungen. Honorar, Tantieme und Angabe seiner Verpflichtung. Strauss (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 849).

In a letter to Hofmannsthal on 2 July, Strauss added: 'Once again, *Joseph* is excellent: I'll bite!' (Strauss-Hofmannsthal, p. 136). Kessler meanwhile was making preparations to meet Diaghilev and Nijinsky in London: he travelled there on 6 July, to find a letter waiting for him from Strauss, asking for immediate notification of any changes or additions to the scenario, as the compositional sketches had begun (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 850).

The diary entry for 10 July then records:

Diaghilev, Nijinsky, Bakst bei mir im Cecil. In einem grossen Eckzimmer nach der Themse hin mit der Durcharbeitung des Balletts begonnen. Die 'plantation', die Gruppen, Bewegungen, Gebärden im Einzelnen durchgenommen. Ich zeigte, wie ich mir die Gebärden des Joseph, der Frau u.s.w. denke, Nijinsky machte sie mit wunderbarer poetischer Erfindungsgabe nach. Bis spät gearbeitet; dann Alle bei mir soupiert (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 850).

A similar working session followed on 12 July. Kessler then left London for France, stopping briefly in Paris, and travelled straight on to Garmisch Partenkirchen for his first artistic and business meeting with Strauss. Strauss's publisher, Fürstner, was there for the business side but the diary records much more of the artistic discussion, with Kessler explaining his vision of the piece, in detail, to Strauss: 'Wir giengen das

Manuskript von Anfang bis zu Ende im Einzelnen durch. Strauss hörte aufmerksam zu, sagte wenig. Dann setzte er sich ans Klavier und spielte den Anfang des Balletts' (*Tagebuch IV*, pp. 853-4). The motif that made the biggest impression on Kessler was the dark, brooding chord sequence that introduces Potiphar's wife (App. 2, ex. P, p. 414).

Kessler was in Garmisch and Munich for five days, and was joined by Diaghilev for further discussions with Strauss and Fürstner, but full details of these are lacking, the diary for this period consisting of hardly legible, loose-leaf pages with entries in pencil, which have not been fully transcribed. Hofmannsthal's letters to Kessler during this period are also missing. There are, however, letters from Kessler to Hofmannsthal that document how matters progressed, both in terms of the business arrangements, and those that indicate how the theatrical vision for *Josephs Legende* was being progressed. Kessler's letter of 19 July, written from London after his sessions there with Diaghilev, Nijinsky and Bakst, revealed who was running the project (emphasis in original):

Beifolgend die *Regie-mässige* Ausarbeitung der Tänze, und eine *gänzliche Umarbeitung des Schlusses*, die ich vorgenommen habe [...] Alles ist natürlich genau mit Diaghilev, Nijinsky und Bakst durchgesprochen, von diesen bis ins jede einzelne Gebärde hinein gebilligt und bühnenmässig geprüft. Ich bin aber gespannt, was *du* dazu sagen wirst, ob du Einwendungen haben oder Zusätze wünschen wirst? (Burger, p. 353).

Barzantny remarks that it was entirely natural for Kessler to work this closely on his highly personal, pet project with leading members of the Ballets Russes, but she also correctly observes:

Zum anderen wird aber hier deutlich, dass Kessler – trotz seiner lebhaften Versicherung, alles habe nur provisorischen Charakter – Hofmannsthal kaum eine Möglichkeit liess, mehr als Detailkorrekturen und Randbemerkungen zu machen (Barzantny, p. 173).

There was, however, something that Hofmannsthal was doing for the *Josephs Legende* project in the background, amid the flow of his regular correspondence with Strauss (concerned principally with *Ariadne auf Naxos* and the emerging *Die Frau ohne Schatten*). Firstly, Hofmannsthal urged Strauss to treat Kessler from the outset as a collaborator in the venture, adding in his letter to the composer of 24 July 1912:

Ballet is perhaps the only form of art which permits real, intimate collaboration between two people gifted with visual imagination, and my share in this one has been smaller, Kessler's larger than you may imagine (Strauss-Hofmannsthal, p. 140).

This was an honest and accurate admission. Three weeks later, Hofmannsthal wrote to his father, in similar vein. His letter of 14 August 1912 confirms:

Kessler hat jetzt das ganze Ballett *Joseph in Ägypten* hergeschickt, es ist weit mehr seine Arbeit als meine und scheint mir recht schön, so dass ich begreife, dass Strauss mit Enthusiasmus daran arbeitet (*Band XXVII*, p. 456).

Secondly, whenever Strauss expressed doubts about his ability to find the right music for *Joseph*, Hofmannsthal cajoled and encouraged him to find inspiration in the deeper meaning of the work – his letters of 13 September 1912 (Strauss-Hofmannsthal, pp. 142-4), 13 December 1912

(Strauss-Hofmannsthal, pp. 148-51) and 22 December 1912 (Strauss-Hofmannsthal, pp. 151-2) are all good examples of Hofmannsthal arguing the case, with the composer, for producing stage music that would go beyond conventional ballet 'numbers', and would allow the unusual theatrical creativity of Nijinsky and the Ballets Russes company to produce a truly striking, original work of art in a new dance style. It is Kessler's vision of Joseph as a character that emerges from Hofmannsthal's words of counsel to Strauss, but as a vital element in keeping the composer engaged with the work, and musically productive, Hofmannsthal's dialogue with Strauss at this time was an important factor in its eventual realization. So, too, were Kessler's meetings with Strauss in the course of 1913, notably a long session together in Berlin on 4 June 1913 (a week after the infamous Paris première of *Le Sacre du Printemps*, which Kessler had attended and of which he produced a detailed, cogent account in the diary (*Tagebuch IV*, pp. 886-7), at which Kessler talked Strauss through the mental, compositional blockages he claimed to be experiencing with *Joseph*, made a number of musical suggestions, but above all assured Strauss that if he gave free rein to his musical genius, he (Kessler) and Nijinsky would see to all the rest: 'Alles Einzelne würde ich und würde eventuell Nijinsky seiner Musik anpassen' (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 890). However he may have been inspired or persuaded, by August 1913 Strauss was playing Joseph's music to Kessler, Diaghilev and Nijinsky in Munich, to Kessler's evident satisfaction: 'Die Musik verkörpert ganz meine Vision von Jos Charakter. Nij fand Alles zu Derwischartig' (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 905).

The remainder of the pre-production period, the many practical battles Kessler had to fight to see his creation actually take to the stage, are summarized by Easton (Easton, pp. 206-11), Barzantny (Barzantny, pp. 182-7) and by Heisler (Heisler, pp. 86-93) and little needs to be added to what they, and the critical edition (*Band XXVII*) have to say. The changes of cast and choreographer, the different dimensions that the piece took on, the tensions between company members, Diaghilev and the missing (but never that far absent) Nijinsky, all contributed to make this a highly fraught period in Kessler's life, not least in terms of the effect of his frenetic activities on his deteriorating relationship with Hofmannsthal. Yet his basic theatrical vision – a pantomime ballet depicting, in visually dramatic terms, the narrative of the attempted seduction by Potiphar's wife of the handsome young innocent, Joseph, took its scheduled place in the 1914 Ballets Russes season and enjoyed audience and commercial – if not critical – success. It also went down in history as part of the canon of stage works created jointly by Richard Strauss and Hugo von Hofmannsthal, despite bearing Kessler's name in pride of place as co-librettist.

### **Overall conclusions**

There are symmetrical aspects to the working relationship between Hofmannsthal and Kessler in the two works considered in this thesis. Hofmannsthal took the basic idea for *Der Rosenkavalier* from Kessler (who in turn took it from *L'Ingénu libertin*) and then worked up the libretto

largely on his own, accepting detailed amendments and additions along the way both from Kessler and from Strauss as the work progressed, but basically retaining control over the piece of music theatre that he was crafting, to the scenario that Kessler and he had devised. In the case of *Josephs Legende*, the roles were reversed: Kessler had the basic idea of inserting the narrative of Joseph and Potiphar's wife into the pre-existing Veronese-style stage setting and costumes, worked on the scenario briefly with Hofmannsthal in Paris, and then – although he needed Hofmannsthal's name, and relationship with Strauss, in order to progress the venture – largely cut his titular co-librettist out of the picture. Easton refers to the 'fiction of Hofmannsthal's co-authorship' (Easton, p. 209) and even Hofmannsthal himself was later to boast to his father about the thousands he had earned for so little work, in his letter of 15 May 1914, the day after the Paris première:

[...] wenn mir eine Sache, die mich 35 Minuten Arbeit gekostet hat, mindestens 25,000 Kronen, vielleicht auch das Doppelte trägt, so ist das doch ganz anständig! (*Band XXVII*, p. 481-2).

Consideration of *Josephs Legende* in this chapter has concentrated on the dynamic of the working relationship between Kessler and Hofmannsthal in the light of their falling out over the respective contributions they made to *Der Rosenkavalier*. One vital feature of this second attempted collaboration was the fact that Kessler was closer to the Ballets Russes in Paris, had a much longer and deeper relationship with

Diaghilev and with Nijinsky, and was mobile enough to follow them to London and to visit Strauss in Garmisch and elsewhere in Germany, as work progressed. Kessler thus had territorial advantage. For his part, Hofmannsthal was engaged in other work for Strauss – *Ariadne auf Naxos* and the beginnings of *Die Frau ohne Schatten* – and seems to have been content to follow Kessler's progress from a distance. Their earlier respective roles had been completely reversed.

Of the many aspects that Kessler brought to the collaboration that resulted in both works, not the least was confidence. Hofmannsthal's moods, his bouts of nervous depression, his ongoing uncertainties about his own true merits as an author for the stage, were in marked contrast to Kessler's self-confidence that he understood the requirements of theatre, and had the ability to devise and order those ingredients that would make an opera – or ballet – dramatically effective. A minor exchange between Strauss and Kessler in June 1913 is fascinating in this respect: Strauss felt able to confide in Kessler as follows:

Wir sprachen dann über das Wesen des Dramatischen, die Konzentration, die Zuspitzung. Er meinte 'unser Freund Hugo' könne das allmählich, es sei für ihn eine ganz gute Schule, dass er für Musik schreiben müsse, weil er so notwendig zur Kürze gedrängt werde (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 891).

For Strauss to talk – to Kessler – about Hofmannsthal gradually getting there as a dramatist, in mid-1913, is revealing. It underlines the weaknesses that Kessler had long since noticed in Hofmannsthal's earlier works for the stage, and points up the role played by Kessler as ideas man,

stimulator and co-crafter of Hofmannsthal's dramatic scenarios from around 1905 onwards (see pp. 182-4). It is also striking that, with Kessler's involvement from the outset, *Der Rosenkavalier* progressed astonishingly quickly and fluently: no other opera by Strauss and Hofmannsthal was to enjoy as rapid and productive a period of gestation. So if Kessler's theatrical vision did indeed have an impact on the Strauss-Hofmannsthal partnership, it was not least in the positive, productive effect Kessler had on Hofmannsthal and in the confidence that the latter began to reflect as his *Der Rosenkavalier* exchanges with Strauss progressed. The striking degree to which Hofmannsthal was actually voicing Kessler's musico-dramatic thoughts, at the height of his *Der Rosenkavalier* correspondence with Strauss in June 1909, has been shown in tabular form in Chapter Four (p. 259).

If, in public perception, Strauss and Hofmannsthal are linked as partners from the time of *Elektra* onwards, their first real, original collaboration only started with *Der Rosenkavalier*. As has been shown in detail, without Kessler's narration of the plot of *L'Ingénu libertin*, without the three or four working days he and Hofmannsthal then spent intensively turning this piece into the scenario for *Der Rosenkavalier*, it seems unlikely that Hofmannsthal would ever have presented and offered such a project to Strauss on his own. All the evidence suggests that he would have completed *Cristinas Heimreise* as a stage play, seen it performed, and then set about turning it into the new, original, comic opera libretto for which Strauss had long been pestering him – or turned to

*Semiramis*, or to one of Strauss's other suggestions at the time - and the course of opera history might have been different. As for *Josephs Legende*, it is noteworthy that Strauss accepted the commission so promptly, given that he had consistently turned down other, earlier ballet scenarios from Hofmannsthal, starting as far back as 1900 with *The Triumph of Time* (Strauss-Hofmannsthal, p. 2) and ending as recently as *Orestes and the Furies* (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 800). Strauss knew of Kessler's intimate association with the Ballets Russes, had learned from Levin of the reading of the *Joseph* scenario at Reinhardt's home, and was by now well aware that Kessler had been a productive contributor to the *Rosenkavalier* project (see Chapter Four, p. 280). It is at least possible that Kessler's involvement was thus one of the factors in Strauss's decision to accept.

As the exchanges between Kessler and Hofmannsthal on the question of authorship of *Der Rosenkavalier* show, as outlined and analysed in Chapter Four, their collaboration - which started enthusiastically and cordially - became increasingly fractious as the work progressed. Exactly the same is true of *Josephs Legende*, despite the fact that Hofmannsthal stayed largely in the background and allowed Kessler to progress the project on his own. The artistic temperaments of the two men were simply incompatible. Nevertheless, Kessler's theatrical vision, developed alongside his visual imagination from all the influences and theatrical experiences described throughout this thesis, impacted on the Strauss-Hofmannsthal partnership and played a major role in the creation of both the stage works that have been described. If performances of *Josephs*

*Legende* provide only occasional reminders of this, the enduring popularity and commercial success of *Der Rosenkavalier* are testament to Kessler's theatrical imagination, and to the work he put in to help Hofmannsthal achieve the iconic position as librettist to Strauss that he has ever since enjoyed. Kessler's status as one of the co-creators of both works, *Der Rosenkavalier* and *Josephs Legende*, should therefore now be recognized.

## Appendix 1

### Translations of texts in the thesis

#### Page 12

You ought to inform him of this unsettling cloud hanging over him! He is one of your authors, an unusual man, which one of us doesn't have foibles that we forgive all the time! He must be given the chance to defend himself against the blow that is threatening him (*Kataloge*, 43, p. 266).

#### Pages 12-3

But your letter, which has just arrived today, forces me to write to you. The Kessler story is terrible! However it turns out, it is still terrible. I cannot yet believe it as it is being reported, because even something innocent can be tarnished via Blei and Holländer. But there will be something in it, and enough to cause trouble. Accusations of this sort have been common in literature; justified and unjustified. I do not believe that a single line in Hofmannsthal's name will have been written by Kessler: but there will be ideas, thoughts, inventions, H. will have taken these from his friend as unscrupulously (and justifiably despite everything!) just as he has always taken things from everything that he has read and from everything that he has heard from others. – I do not understand Kessler at all. Why is he coming out with this revelation now, why is he telling Reinhardt and his man Holländer? How could he go into their relationship like this? Or is it not simply the case in civil law that if an engagement is broken off, you can ask for your presents to be returned? It is a complete mystery (Rodewald/Fiedler, pp. 335-6).

#### Page 16

It may be that a future biographer will be able to reveal those subjects that Hofmannsthal's theatrical world owes to Kessler, who lived and experienced everything scenically and dramatically, and to lay bare all the nuances that Hofmannsthal was able to take on board by listening productively during the creation of *Oedipus und die Sphinx*, *Cristinas Heimreise*, *Silvia* or the complicated irresolution of *Der Schwierige*. But the collaboration between the poet and the man of the world turned into a real comic drama in February 1909, when the scenario for *Der Rosenkavalier* grew out of the giving and taking of various ideas (*Kataloge*, 43, pp. 249-50).

#### Page 22

*Josephs Legende*, Libretto by Harry Graf Kessler and Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Music by Richard Strauss (Berlin, Paris: Adolph Fürstner, 1914, title page).

## Page 22

Count Kessler is the author of this, not me! As is stated quite clearly in the preface to the work! (*Die Dichtung (Band XXVII, p. 485)*).

## Page 23

My dear, we are off to the field in an hour. At such a moment I must once again shake your hand with the deepest feelings of long-standing friendship. I received your nice letter. I should be glad if you were to write to me from time to time in the field. I am now cut off from my family (Burger, p. 384).

## Page 24

To the extent that Hofmannsthal added his charm, his individual and rarefied vision to the operetta-like scenario, so Kessler's contribution was reduced (*Tagebuch IV, p. 21*).

## Page 25

The poet [Hofmannsthal] did not do so (*Fassungen, p. 10*).

## Pages 29-30

Kessler unfortunately failed to recognize that the essence of *Der Rosenkavalier* had fundamentally changed in the drafting - and thus his share in the piece too (Hoffmann, *Mitarbeit, p. 158*).

## Page 38

The role of Count Kessler must not be under-estimated (Freiburg: Rombach Verlag, 1997 p. 283).

## Page 39

There is no other stage work by Hofmannsthal in which the scenic instructions, from the first drafts of the text right through to the first performance, play a similarly important role as is the case with *Der Rosenkavalier* (Dirk Hoffmann and Ingeborg Haase, 'Der Rosenkavalier: das Ergebnis einer schöpferischen Zusammenarbeit', *Richard Strauss Blätter 15* (Vienna: Internationale Richard Strauss Gesellschaft, 1986), p. 19).

## Page 45

Adolf Wilhelm Kessler, a brilliant businessman, enjoyed representative functions, and loved being in society. He had a tenor voice to make anyone proud. At soirées he loved to sing Verdi duets with his wife, who had been

trained as a mezzo soprano at the Paris Conservatoire. He loved showing her off to best advantage in whatever way possible and making her the centre of society (Rothe, p. 24).

Page 47

I remember my youthful pleasure, mixed with childish pride, when people along the promenade at Ems would climb onto tables and chairs to watch her drive or stroll past (*GS I*, p. 13).

Page 47

I believe this special way she had of greeting and smiling contributed greatly to my falling fatally in love, when I was eight, with the beautiful Hortense Schneider in Offenbach's *Belle Helène*, because I recognised in her the same, familiar greeting and smiling expression (*GS I*, pp. 13-4).

Page 48

Adolf Wilhelm and Alice Kessler, with or without the title of Count bestowed by Reuss, lived extravagantly and ran a household in which economic prosperity was transformed into refined Parisian salon culture. Their salon, where Alice received on Monday afternoons, gave an erotic atmosphere to the wealth of the banker that increased by leaps and bounds, and this was further enhanced by musical and theatrical performances. The lady of the house was also to be found now and then among the real virtuosi. Her huge success in the leading role of Maupassant's sentimental play *Musotte* made her particularly proud, her appearance as a Parisian model eliciting from the famous author the words 'just like a budding wild rose' (Rothe, p. 24).

Page 48

To Countess Kessler to commemorate her unforgettable *Musotte* - the eighteen year old grisetite I had dreamed of (*GS I*, p. 84).

Page 50

In bed in the evenings, half-asleep but not yet dreaming, I built onto palaces for my princesses and fairies, rows and rows of labyrinthine courts and halls, sparkling with jewels and swimming in wonderful light, although, for reasons I no longer remember, I seem to recall they were underground. Making no distinction between the people I had met that day and those I had heard of in nursery rhymes, I then led them through this splendour. Sometimes I worked every night for weeks on end planning and decorating one and the same fairy-tale castle, rebuilding it and making it lovelier; until it seemed to me to be worthy of the illustrious society figures whom I was considering inviting (*GS I*, p. 19).

Page 51

A light alloy of silver and flexible steel (*GS I*, p. 20).

Page 51

Casting me in a magic circle, which cut us off from the rest of the world (*GS I*, p. 20).

Page 51

She seemed to me to be a combination of all the perfect features that I detected in other women. Merely her voice moved me in a special way, rivalled only by the voices, later, of the greatest singers. She had a somewhat low, very soft and full mezzo soprano, and sang Italian music above all, Rossini and Verdi, the mad scene from Donizetti's *Lucia* and the role of Zerlina from *Don Giovanni*. I have never been able to listen to 'Una voce poco fa' or the last act of *Traviata* without hearing inside me, in addition to the singer's voice, a second deeply-moving voice coming from the earliest days of my childhood (*GS I*, p. 20).

Pages 51-2

Today, if I ask myself whether and how my mother's talent went beyond the amateur, the basic element that I perceive, in addition to her beauty and gracefulness in performance, is the mimic quality, the strongly expressive combination of her dark eyes, her tenderly-flared nostrils and her finely curved mouth, which seemed to sculpt every word and to give it a wonderfully-formed body. Her theatrical artistry was different to that of the word-based traditional French style, it was visual rather than audible, plastic rather than musical. When she floated around on her little feet, and her gentle face expressed with truthful conviction every nuance of a particular feeling, whether joy or pain, expectation or anger, this was not salon art, it was art pure and simple (*GS I*, p. 87).

Page 53

German education was, in principle, generalised and was supposed to prepare one for everything (*GS I*, p. 128).

Page 53

At thirteen we translated at sight Caesar and Livy, Sophocles and Aristophanes, omitting the choruses. We even performed 'The Clouds' by Aristophanes in the original and I played Pheidippides. English history and literature were taught thoroughly and interestingly, not in a dry or dusty way. Shakespeare, Byron, Walter Scott, Dickens entered our imaginations. We all took roles and read aloud the 'Merry Wives', 'As You

Like It' and 'The Merchant of Venice'; and we also acted out those scenes that were particularly funny. [...] Readings or role-playing often took place on lesson-free days, in the late afternoon, when after sports and a shower we chosen ones, specially invited and in our monkey jackets that were the boys' version of tailcoats, appeared in the salon and sat at Mr Kinnersley's feet on floor cushions, while Mrs Kinnersley handed out tea and cakes (*GS I*, p. 105).

Pages 55-6

... who had torn people from their seats (*Tagebuch II*, p. 460).

Page 56

One is always amazed at the daemonic power of woman over man (*Tagebuch II*, p. 416).

Pages 57-8

Theatre in the evening with Nostitz: Méhul *Joseph in Egypt*. Then a new ballet: *Light*. If the ballerinas were to abandon their nasty gauze skirts and their graceless hopping around, ballet could be turned into a high form of art, possibly the most perfect expression and demonstration of grace and beauty in human form, vibrant and harmonious splendour in colours, beauty of décor combined with the power of music: there would, however, have to be a very great painter and a very great musician combined in one person for this (21 October 1891).

Page 58

Kessler felt himself drawn to dance and ballet from an early age. [...] Dance and ballet seemed to him to be the almost ideal realisation of a desired synthesis of body and soul, intellect and sensuality, and simultaneously as an augmentation and bringing to life of sculpture (*Grupp*, p. 146).

Page 59

The *Walküre*. A performance that for the first time gave me even in reality an approximate picture of music drama; no longer operatic, a real echo of ancient Greek tragedy. It could convert one to the views in *The Birth of Tragedy*. And yet, interest in the trilogy is always merely episodic, centred on what is actually happening onstage at that moment, without being lifted in any way by what came before or what comes after. Wagner has not succeeded in turning the thread that is supposed to hold everything together, the metaphysical-philosophical thread, into art, or to make it artistically effective. This means that the very scenes that are vital for the whole, for example the scene between Fricka and Wotan, come across as

long, superfluous passages that could be cut without harming the artistic effect, despite the fact that if one looks at the *Ring* as a dramatic whole, they are the climaxes of the plot. This is an artistic objection that nothing can refute (*Tagebuch III*, p. 72).

Page 60

Mama is urging me to try to write drama. But basically my conceptual form of drama is undramatic; a born dramatist sees plot, circumstances, events, not characters; and if he has talent or genius, he drills down from the plot into the fundamentals; he goes from an event that he has found interesting or exciting back into the characters, who would come together to make that event plausible, convincing, from the flower into the roots, and the deeper he goes, the more his work stands the test of time (Shakspeare) [sic]. On the other hand there can also be masterpieces (Goethe); but nothing that is necessarily and actually dramatic, i.e. that demands to be performed on the stage in order to be realised in full (*Tagebuch III*, p. 92).

Page 60

Almost a masterpiece; what it lacks is power of conviction for the preconditions on which the conflict is based (*Tagebuch III*, p. 81).

Page 61

If one looks at drama as drama, i.e. as a work for the stage, then characterisation is always merely the means to an end; the purpose it serves is to make what has happened seem necessary, i.e. to remove any doubts in the audience's mind as to the veracity of what takes place before their eyes; in this respect, it is a sort of continuation and amplification of the exposition (*Tagebuch III*, p. 82).

Page 61

But on the other hand it is precisely the fact that characterisation in drama is a necessity, whereas in all other forms of art it is either an incidental luxury or can be substituted by other means, that has resulted in drama doing more than all the other arts in penetrating and portraying the human soul. In itself this penetration is not art, i.e. not a stimulant of the soul, but rather science, a broadening of understanding, a quenching of the thirst for knowledge and understanding (*Tagebuch III*, p. 82).

Page 64

I have thought about my means of achieving things in Germany: the German Artists' Association, my position in Weimar including its prestige, despite the idiocy of the Grand Duke, my connections with Reinhardt's

theatre, my intimate links with the Nietzsche Archive, my close links with Dehmel, Liliencron, Klinger, Liebermann, Ansorge, Gerhard [sic] Hauptmann, and with the two influential magazines *Zukunft* and *Neue Rundschau*, and completely on the other hand Berlin society, the Harrachs, Richters, Sascha Schlippenbach, the regiment, and finally my personal prestige. The outcome is surprising, and undoubtedly unique. Nobody else in Germany has such a strong position that radiates in so many directions. To make use of this in the service of a renewal of German culture: mirage or real possibility? Someone with these resources could undoubtedly be Princeps Juventutis. Is it worth it? (*Tagebuch III*, pp. 812-3).

Page 65

*First combative years* from around 1892-3 on. Growth of naturalism. Gerhart Hauptmann, 'Die Weber', premiere of 'Florian Geyer'. Max Liebermann. Establishment of *Pan*. Meier-Graefe, Otto Julius Bierbaum, Bode, Eberhard Bodenhausen, Richard Dehmel. Bohemians: Stanislaw Przybyszewski, Duscha, Edvard Munch etc. Visit to Nietzsche on his sickbed in Naumburg. Hofmannsthal. – Rainer Maria Rilke (*GS I*, p. 310).

Page 65

Art and theatre in Berlin. The beginnings of Max Reinhardt. The Secession (*GS I*, p. 310).

Pages 65-6

XII. *In the shadows of the coming catastrophe 1911-1914*. The fever of European society, wanting to live it up. Berlin – Paris – London. The Russian ballet. Diaghilev. Nijinsky. [Ida] Rubinstein. Richard Strauss. Hofmannsthal. *Der Rosenkavalier*. *Josephs Legende*. The last London season. Height of the euphoria (*GS I*, p. 311).

Page 66

The best-known bohemian group in Berlin was the 'Friedrichshagen Group'. Among those attending meetings in the Berlin suburb of Friedrichshagen were the Naturalists Arno Holz, the Hart brothers, Gerhart Hauptmann, Max Halbe, Bruno Wille, Richard Dehmel, the Scandinavians Knut Hamsen, August Strindberg and the Polish writer Stanislaw Przybyszewski (Stenzel, p. 44).

Page 67

The main characters in the great drama that was enacted were the public and the thrust of the play, and this drama was perhaps almost world historical (*Tagebuch II*, p. 208).

## Page 67

In this case the applause is only for aesthetic pleasure, nervous stimulation as it were, and it by no means indicates that those applauding will find their oysters at Dressel any less tasty just because they have seen the Baumert family eating dog meat for dinner (*Tagebuch II*, p. 282).

## Page 68

In Germany we have not had as grandiose a characterisation as Florian since Goethe; the dry humour, the resignation that flows from comparison between the nothingness of reality and the lustre of his own imagination, in other words the poetic resignation which is so deeply Germanic (cf. Bismarck in Nikolsburg), the splendid and suggestive language, all of this makes *Geyer* as a work of art in a class of its own amongst today's productions. I only know one living author who could create something similar: Ibsen. But the simplicity of the means that Hauptmann uses to achieve his main effects puts him, in my eyes, in the capital scenes, over and above everything of Ibsen that I know, even above *Rosmersholm* (*Tagebuch II*, p. 426).

## Page 69

Hauptmann quiet at table, afterwards we talked for quite a long time. When he speaks he struggles with the words, creases his forehead into deep wrinkles and lowers his head; this way of speaking gives more weight to what he says than its content. We discussed Zacconi, Ritter and new theatrical style; he thinks for the moment it does not apply to Shakspeare [sic]; but he thinks we shall live to experience the creation of a new, intimate Shakspeare style. Talk then turned to a Dehmel poem set to music by Strauss ('Du wirst nicht weinen'), which Hofmann did not like, but I then read it aloud, whereupon both Hauptmann and Hofmann said it was very wonderful (*Tagebuch III*, p. 287).

## Page 70

Deeply sympathetic impression of Hauptmann (*Tagebuch III*, p. 768).

## Page 70

But the mood was good throughout, as both Hauptmann and St. Denis are in essence simple and naïve people and thus not at all bothered by being silent while others talk. The heart of the conversation was naturally dance and pantomime. Half-joking, I told Hauptmann across the table: you have your Pippa now. – Even if not exactly that, he said, he had an idea for a sort of pantomime which would be suitable for St. Denis [...] (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 205).

## Pages 71-2

After the meal all the others sat in a circle around St. Denis; I sat alone with Hauptmann by the fire. Once again he went into great detail on the question of pantomime in drama. "You know, maybe, that originally I wanted to be a sculptor. Actually, I regret to this day that I did not pursue this". I said: "A drama too is actually nothing more than plastic in motion, enacted in words. – He said: "Yes, undoubtedly, you are absolutely right there. I have already often thought that you should actually through-compose a play with your eyes, and only then start to write it. An entire situation can be expressed in a single word; but then the pantomime has to be there too, so that the word has its effect in the right place and at the right moment. Maybe you will not remember this; but I have a scene just like this in *Friedensfest*. Right from the start I have tried to get my actors to move. Earlier on, I had long discussions about this with Kainz. Nowadays he does so and often even overdoes it; but then he was not easy to convince. In those days actors stood still beside each other and merely declaimed. This is why Antoine was so interesting. He was the first to walk about, to move, to give us the pantomime (*Ghosts*)" (*Tagebuch IV*, pp. 206-7).

## Page 72

Some of the scenes are irresistibly funny, despite murder and suicide (*Tagebuch III*, p. 532).

## Page 73

The possibilities that are in Wedekind's drama are undeveloped. It is still 100 years before Shakspeare [sic]. It is, as it were, pre-Raphaelite, with latent power like a bud. The perfect dramatic form would have been for Lulu's love affairs to have been written into her last adventure, performed for us as elements of this final conflict, not recounted one after the other (*Tagebuch III*, p. 532).

## Page 74

A great deal of wit, a great deal of Dumas and one brilliant comedy scene: the one between Wildenfels and Scholz at the end of Act IV (*Tagebuch III*, p. 823).

## Page 73

Speaking of his own plays, Wedekind said that they were actually only a collection of aphorisms. They were not dramatic at all (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 93).

Page 74

I walked home with Wedekind as far as the bridge (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 187).

Page 76

Thank you so much for your very interesting letter which once again, as so often, proves to me the great importance for our theatre that regular consultation with you would provide (Barzantny, pp. 139-44 (p. 144)).

Page 76

Reinhardt mentioned his theatre school. I told him that in my view the most important aspect, in addition to diction, was that the body be brought into play again, to add enchantment, such as is solely the case nowadays with Kainz, or with Moissi at a pinch. The best way of achieving this would be to take children and to get them used to acting, dancing and acrobatics completely naked. Since that would provoke a scandal, given our prudery, then to give them as little clothing as possible. Reinhardt agreed. He added that in Germany, gesture always followed the word, whereas in real life and with good actors it preceded the word; all the word actually did was to explain the gesture (*Tagebuch III*, pp. 808-9).

Page 77

After this performance in one of the leading [London] theatres I now have a much higher opinion of Reinhardt (*Tagebuch III*, p. 813).

Page 77

In the evening to *Twelfth Night* with Musch Richter, in Schroeder's translation. Reinhardt's effects with the revolving stage. He links successive scenes by leaving the stage open while the turntable operates, and by showing the actors and extras getting ready for the next location from scene to scene. He thus creates very pretty living pictures. The costumes are also particularly pretty this time. But he has no feel for tempi and above all for the contrasting tempi in Shakspeare [sic]. He allows the clown scenes to be played just as *adagio* as the lyrical scenes. The effect is like playing all the movements of a symphony in one and the same tempo. Shakspeare's dynamics elude him; and this is unforgivable in this case, because you can feel them with Schroeder's translation (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 364).

Page 78

A highly remarkable attempt to reform the stage. Main changes: that he gets rid of footlights completely, and the scenery almost completely; all he uses is overhead lighting and props. All around the stage are drapes that

are almost invisible under changing lighting effects and coloured lighting gauzes. You have the impression that you are looking into infinite space (*Tagebuch III*, pp. 556-7).

Page 78

It was a wonderful night, moonlit and mild, and the performance truly fairylike; artistic pleasure such as I have never previously experienced as purely and without anything extraneous (*Tagebuch III*, p. 584).

Pages 79-80

Ex Libris exhibition. The best and most original were those by Gordon Craig, simple, very powerfully and distinctively formed characters in the style of old trade names; absolutely right for an Ex Libris (*Tagebuch III*, p. 555).

Page 81

A few, whose plays seem like rare flowers in the barren forest of modern stage productions, have repeatedly given hope for this desire: Hauptmann, Hofmannsthal, Maeterlinck. They have offered the soul what it desires: art once again, not artifice. But the poetry ought to inspire a stage picture of equal value, not leaving a great actor alone as a mere fragment of the artistic imagery that is required; only then would we have an art of the theatre (*GS II*, p. 92).

Page 81

He must be a creative artist with a fine, sure sense of proportion, line, colour, so that he can design for himself every visual image in each play (*GS II*, p. 93).

Page 81

This dream, these possibilities of imaginative art on the stage have been revealed to us [...] (*GS II*, pp. 92-3).

Pages 81-2

Craig anticipates a further development, however. The stage artist could himself become a creator. Craig believes that a stage work does not have to be created on old lines, three parts of writing and one part painting and music. On the contrary: if there is a single onstage element that is more important than all the others, it is not the word but the movement, gesture.

So Craig would like to link up with ancient pantomime and, even further back, with dance, out of which Greek tragedy emerged. He has composed

a work on these lines: *Hunger*. Craig definitely predicts a completely different role for the theatre in the next century. He does not despise the writer, but he protests against the way that theatre people, directors, actors, stage painters, rely on the writer. He wants to give the theatre back to its own form of art. He has clearly recognised the conditions for this pure art of the theatre that is desired by so many, and he has realised them, it would seem, in his own person. The *Gesamtkunstwerk* (total work of art), that Wagner attempted with music and poetry, may now once again be realised by him, or its realisation stimulated by him, by painting, dance and gesture (*GS II*, pp. 94-5).

Pages 83-4

Afterwards I discussed with Hofmannsthal whether he would like to become [the theatre] Intendant here. He did not say yes, but he did not seem to reject the idea (*Tagebuch III*, p. 592).

Page 84

He was in such straightened circumstances. He thought that a financial success would be a huge boost for his productivity (*Tagebuch III*, p. 593).

Page 84

Your decision, to play a part in Weimar (Burger, p. 54).

Page 84

Now I reach the main topic: Gordon Craig. That is the most important thing in the world. I cannot tell you how happy and grateful I was at your telegram. The fact that you involve me, without being asked, in something that is precisely what I need, how lovely, how beneficial! Moreover, I do not think you really know *totally* how important it is to me. I thought continually: this festival production in the park is *only possible* as something special if I get the right stage designer for it, whether it is Appia, or Fortuny, or Gordon Craig, one of the three in Europe who are trying to realise the same ends (Burger, p. 55).

Page 85

All we have to do is to stick together, strengthen our relationships and make new ones in all directions, do all in our power to support each and every one of us, and increasingly take as our centre Weimar, which because of its past and its name is better as a centre than any other place in Germany, the Court being basically an irrelevance. Hofmannsthal agreed and promised to come here ever more frequently and for longer periods, maybe even taking a small flat here. It would be important to bind in Gerhard [sic] Hauptmann with Weimar and with us in similar fashion

(*Tagebuch III*, p. 815).

Page 85

[...] what is truly important is to stick together. The circle that we constitute, not the relationship with a Weimar Grand Duke who is insignificant anyway (Burger, p. 118).

Page 86

We have to create new life forms, *between ourselves* through our friendship; *to the outside world* through our *works*, and these could be immeasurably important if we really are that which we have considered ourselves to be so far (Burger, p. 123).

Page 86

I should also like, in my modest way, to produce something myself. I have neglected this aspect far too much, and would like to, and will, catch up now. For me personally, for at least the next few years, *this direct production* must be the main purpose of my life. For my spiritual health, I need a work under my belt. It may say a lot or very little to others, but this is indispensable as the basis for my life (Burger, pp. 126-7).

Pages 92-3

Opérette has returned to the Bouffes Parisiens, its true home; let us hope that it never leaves it. The reception given last night to the piece by Messrs Louis Artus and Claude Terrasse gives grounds for hope (*Le Temps*, 13 December 1907).

Page 93

Fans of opérette, a genre that is so delightful, so witty, so artistic when composed by a first-rate musician such as Offenbach, Hervé, Lecocq are thus delighted, and rightly so, on learning that Messrs Deval and Richemond have set themselves the task of repatriating opérette to its very cradle: and they are all the more confident of success on learning that the musician entrusted with the task of writing the opening work is in the group of those 'young artists' totally and undeniably cut out to continue the tradition of the 'old masters', having triumphed already, as it happens in this very theatre in Rue Monsigny, with *Les Travaux d'Hercule* (B. de Lomagne, *Les Premières* in *Le Temps*, 12 December 1907).

Page 93

*L'Ingénu libertin* looks like being one of the big successes of the season. The house is crowded out each night, applauding the charming fable devised

by Louis Artus and the music so perfectly composed for it by Claude Terrasse. Foreign VIPs visiting Paris, and the whole of Parisian high society are making for the Bouffes Parisiens and advance bookings permit one to say that the entire boulevard is back at this delightful theatre – unjustly neglected as it has been for a while (*Le Figaro*, 14 December 1907, p. 5).

Pages 94-5

In the evening an opérette after Faublas: *L'Ingénu libertin*. Dorgère was acting, whom poor Conder liked so much. 18<sup>th</sup> century libertinage as the pendant to 'sentiment'. Crébillon fils and Rousseau are twins, just like Lovelace and Clarissa. They are inseparable, because both are growing from the same hyper-individual root. You have to illuminate Faublas with Rousseau and Rousseau with Faublas in order to see them both in the right relief. Union in Heine (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 400).

Page 97

The Offenbach of our times (Cathé, p. 70).

Page 99

But his irresistible lever for galvanising an audience is powerful rhythm, persistent rhythm, constant, bold, plunging entire scenes into vertiginous movement. Offenbach is a marvel, an inexhaustible inventor of rhythms. If you want to quote another musician as aware as he was of the virtue of rhythm couched as gesture and of rhythmical insistence, Beethoven is the name that springs to mind. This may seem paradoxical but there is a true parallel (Claude Terrasse, *L'Oeuvre de Jacques Offenbach in Musica* (1908), reprinted in *Ecrits non musicaux* (Paris: Editions du Fourneau, 1997), p. 41).

Page 99

Treated roughly by posterity, Terrasse does not occupy the position that seems due to him. A not inconsiderable factor in this comes from the problems arising from his small-scale publishing house (Cathé, p. 198).

Page 100

It seems unjust that Terrasse's opérettes should have been totally forgotten (Duteutre, p. 95).

Page 100

In the keys with minor thirds, he uses harmonic progressions for his melodies that are uncommon in the genre, and these abound throughout all his scores. In the major keys, he enlarges his harmonic palette with

various substituted chords, like Gabriel Fauré. This quiet and unassuming challenging of conventional tonality takes him much further than one might think. Terrasse is the only opérette musician to go down the same road as Debussy, Dukas, d'Indy and their other illustrious contemporaries and he can be seen as the man who adapts the most important elements of the musical language of the early twentieth-century to the particular genre of opérette (Cathé, p. 166).

Page 101

Musical passages that are simultaneously very precise and very light, almost airborne, that pose the same difficulties as the operas of Mozart. But also a sense of faultless prosody, reminiscent of Offenbach, with the harmonic fluidity of his own era, sometimes echoing Debussy (Christophe Grapperon, *Et la musique?* In <http://www.lefigaro.fr/musique/2009/12/16/03006-20091216ARTFIG00028-les-brigandsau-temps-des-croisades-.php>, [accessed 4 May 2011]).

Page 103

But this is opérette, my dear chap! You should try the genre, it would suit you very well! (Cathé, p. 32).

Gounod – No! What a good *buffo* refrain that would make! Give opérette a try (José Bruyr, *L'Opérette* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1974), p. 53).

Page 104

We have not had time to get together the brass, gongs and marine trumpets, between which the orchestration should have been divided (Alfred Jarry, *Oeuvres complètes en trois volumes*, ed. Arrivé and others (Paris: Pléiade, 1972–1988), vol. 1, p. 400).

Page 105

A major step has been taken from the ten minutes of *L'Après-midi d'un faune* to the ten second aphorisms of Claude Terrasse (Cathé, p. 46).

Page 109

Offenbach was a terrible orchestrator, C. Terrasse is a fine orchestrator; there too I shall permit myself to tell him that in the way unexpected timbres might be linked, there would be an untapped vein of humour. He certainly knows this better than me, and the car horn that announces the return of the 'crusaders' from the Holy Land in *Le Sire de Vergy* is an undeniable invention (Duteutre, p. 94).

Page 110

A Parisian from Paris, where he was brought up and received all his education (*Rondel*, côte 50.353).

Page 112

The world of French theatre belongs to a few men who, undoubtedly, have a great deal of talent (Stoullig 1907, p. xvi).

Page 113

1907. Reopening of the Bouffes Parisiens on 29 November 1907, thus returning the house to its true vocation, under the presidency of Messrs Devel [sic] and Richemond : Victor Silvestre, director, Chs Samson manager (Paris Opéra library, *Bouffes Parisiens*, réserve pièce no. 39).

Page 113

When Artus, Claude Terrasse tells me, was told that Deval and Richemond were thinking of taking over the *Bouffes*, he told them of his intention to write an opérette libretto. Since he has long been 'one of the team', especially since his great successes with *Coeur de Moineau* and *La Ponelle*, the two directors told him: 'write your opérette and bring it to us - we shall be delighted to put it on'. Artus took them up on this immediately; and then he offered me the chance to collaborate with him. As you can imagine, I accepted this flattering proposition immediately (*Rondel*, côte 50.353).

Page 114

I composed most of my score this summer, at Deauville, at the property of my dear friend Mr Louis Mors, who was kind enough to make available an isolated little house for me. I was only a few kilometres away from Louis Artus, and it was an easy journey, because he was staying at Cabourg... And I finished the score, as I always do, in the theatre, having ideas, making changes, fixing things according to the capabilities and dramatic qualities of my cast (*Rondel*, côte 50.353).

Pages 114-5

When Louis Artus read me his play last spring, it was purely an elegant and refined comedy with a fairly well developed comic side to it. All he wanted was for me to add some stage music and the odd couplet here and there. I accepted because it was such a delightful read. While I was working on it, each day he brought me a new piece, a duet here, a couplet

there, then some ensembles, a finale, and finally we had a proper full score which I tried to keep in eighteenth century character as befitted the subject (*Rondel*, côte 50.353).

Pages 115-6

My friend and collaborator was inspired for his play by an episode in the famous novel by Louvet de Couvray, a member of the Convention, *Les Amours du Chevalier de Faublas*. The episode runs from pages 38 to 50 of volume 1 of the fine Garnier edition. It is used for some of the first act and for the main scene of the second act. Artus has made up all the rest. He has also used the same names as those in the eighteenth century novel but he has changed their natures, reckoning that such liberties can be taken with the stuff of legend (*Rondel*, côte 50.353).

Page 120

What a fuss about a little book! Many have laughed over it, a few have even cried; several have imitated it and others have travestied it; some 'honest' people have counterfeited it, and some sincere people have denigrated it. So, strongly encouraged by all these reactions, I have taken up my pen with confidence and I have finished (Jean-Baptiste Louvet de Couvray, *Les Aventures du Chevalier de Faublas* (Brussels: Librairie Universelle de Rozez, 1881), p. xli.)

Page 123

As the curtain rises, a lively crowd is seen onstage: grisettes, soldiers, masked ladies, servants, clergymen. A joyous throng of people on carnival night (Artus, p. 5).

Page 123

Thus Armide, the most emblematic sorceress of the XVIIth century, the creature who is the very incarnation of the ambivalent powers of charm – feminine seduction and magical powers – is inextricably linked to her magical gardens, to the extent that the phrase 'jardin(s) d'Armide' became a popular reference (Noémie Courtès, 'Les Jardins d'Armide – du topos classique au mythe moderne', in *Les mythologies du jardin de l'antiquité à la fin du XIXe siècle*, ed. by Gérard Peylet (Bordeaux: Presses Universitaires de Bordeaux, 2004), p. 101).

Page 128

It is utterly charming. The libretto? The music? Equally fine. Thoughtful, amusing, scintillating, sparkling, it all sings and enchants (Catulle Mendès, *Le Journal*, 12 December 1907).

## Pages 128-9

The music by Claude Terrasse was applauded as enthusiastically as the delicious comedy by M. Artus. The composer has managed to recreate the style of the age without reverting to pastiche. Maybe his melodies are not that memorable and do not stay indelibly with you after it is all over, but they are all graceful, accented, original and tender: and all his orchestral accompaniments are distinguished by masterful originality (Paul Reboux, *L'Intransigeant*, 13 December 1907).

## Page 129

M. Louis Artus has inspired me to read all the adventures of this irresistible Chevalier. Onstage at the Bouffes Parisiens we can watch a lady giving first lessons to this adolescent, this Cherubino, this Fortunio. It is a very enjoyable show with a delicious frisson to it. M. Louis Artus knows how to maintain the exquisite tone of the eighteenth century, he has almost entirely avoided words that shock us, he lets us see some daring scenes, but they are always elegant. Claude Terrasse's music is a fitting accompaniment to this play and is nearly always of great distinction (Nozière, *Gil Blas*, 12 December 1907).

## Page 130

For this fine libretto M. Claude Terrasse has written a full and brilliant score, in keeping with the subject, without trying to be archaic and with many numbers that were warmly applauded. In particular: in Act I the 'physiognomy' song, the duet for the Marquise and Faublas, the chorus for the kitchen boys; in Act II, the air for Justine, a touching soubrette, the buffo duet, the drinking song; in Act III the awakening duet, the ensemble for the Marquise's levée (a fascinating reconstruction of the famous Baudoin painting called 'le coucher de la mariée' etc (B. de Lomagne, *Le Soir*, 13 December 1907).

## Page 130

M. Terrasse has also taken care over his orchestration. This is perhaps the first time in opérette that we can hear certain sonorities that have been the province of modern symphony orchestras until now. The composer also had a personal success playing the harpsichord to accompany the sad refrain of the heroine who thinks that the Marquise has trapped the man she loves. In brief, it's a success (Jean Drault, *Libre Parole*, 12 December 1907).

## Pages 130-1

Last night M. Claude Terrasse, to whom we owe *Les Travaux d'Hercule*, *Le Sire de Vergy* and *Monsieur de la Palisse*, which I cannot manage to put completely out of mind, proved himself to be the Marivaux of the opérette. In so doing he found a variety of rhythms and melodies that bear witness to the flexibility of his inspiration and the finesse of his art. The trio in the last act is the very best in opéra-comique, and of the utmost delicacy. The duet between the soubrette and La Jeunesse in the second act is the most joyful type of *opéra bouffe* and I could quote twenty more numbers, the tunes of which you would remember more readily than their names (Robert de Flers, *Liberté*, 12 December 1907).

## Page 131

The score by M. Claude Terrasse envelops this light-hearted libretto in an atmosphere full of finesse and charm. It is as light and airy as the characters but also has lots more verve. All the verses received ovations; and several were encored, including a delicious romance of an archaic nature, which the composer himself accompanied at the harpsichord. This is one of the best and most refined scores that M. Claude Terrasse has ever written (*Intérim*, *Echo*, 13 December 1907).

## Page 132

A full and sonorous orchestra, with two trumpets improving on the traditional two cornets, brought out charming instrumental details, under the decisive and authoritative baton of M. Philippe Moreau, an astonishing 'capellmeister', who conducted entirely from memory without a single lapse. At last we have the Bouffes back on its original course, which it never should have abandoned. Experience shows that one cannot run a theatre profitably if you change its genre (Edmond Diet, *Comoedia*, 12 December 1907, p. 1).

## Page 132

But near the end of the year, the Bouffes Parisiens were to be applauded for a fine piece of work. This was the 'galante' opérette by Louis Artus originally called *La Marquise et le Marmiton* but finally and more invitingly called *L'Ingénu libertin*. Claude Terrasse himself had written the score. On the very stage where *Les Travaux d'Hercule* had been performed with such success, he put on the most charming and delightful light-hearted tale, in the manner of the eighteenth century, that you could possibly imagine. His score was elegant and gracious. It proved that the young master was capable of reinventing himself, and that even if his normal style was Offenbach buffoonery, he was capable of writing refined scores with the Lecocq style much in evidence. *L'Ingénu libertin* was a big success...with *L'Ingénu libertin* Claude Terrasse had given proof that he was just as

capable of writing refined and sentimental music as he was of writing buffo or parody scores (Bruyas, pp. 354-5).

Page 133

The first stage towards great success: and this first stage will not be the only one, to judge by the large sums currently coming in via the box office and the unanimous cheers of the audience, night after night (*Le Figaro*, 19 January 1908, p. 5).

Pages 133-4

Tomorrow Miss Arlette Dorgère will resume the role in *L'Ingénu libertin* of the Marquise de Bay, which is such a remarkable creation of hers. During her absence she has been replaced by Mademoiselle Brioux: a charming artist who has stood in for her brilliant colleague very skilfully (*Le Figaro*, 28 January 1908, pp. 4-5).

Page 134

Tonight and tomorrow (matinée and evening) the last three performances of *L'Ingénu libertin*, which will be taken off in the midst of its success (*Le Figaro*, 1 February 1908, p. 4).

Page 140

Arlette Dorgère, rosy under her blonde hair, and flirtatious, and elegant, and sly, could have settled for being adorably pretty. But just imagine, she decides to sing, to act, and she sings enchantingly, in a voice with a natural, delicious timbre, and she acts to the manner born, with mischievous grace that is absolutely eighteenth century! (Raoul Aubry, *Soirée Parisienne*, 12 December 1907).

Page 141

But it was lucky chance that made me accept a job with the Bouffes to create a new character in *L'Ingénu libertin*, a cautionary tale, delicate and spiritual, and I was filled with such intense joy at getting into every minute aspect of the role I had to play that I immediately decided to focus all my efforts on acting (Arlette Dorgère, interview on 10 May 1910, held on microfiche (Dorgère) in the *Collection Rondel*, BNF, Paris).

Page 142

Finally, the greatest triumph of the evening, be it said, was that of Andrée Divonne who enchanted the whole audience with her small soubrette part. It is impossible to act more gaily, more charmingly, more adroitly and let me assure you that looking at her onstage doubles the pleasure you get in

hearing her sing (Robert Dieudonné, untitled and undated press cutting, from *Le Courrier de la Presse*, presumed December 1907).

Page 143

The pretty *conte galant* that M. Artus has drawn from *Faublas* is not, however, an opérette, or at least it is not an opérette like the ones we are accustomed to applauding to date. It is more of a comedy play, enhanced by musical numbers, the music being graceful, charming and never rowdy, as is appropriate for an eighteenth century libertine tale (Henry de Gorsse, *Les Premières* in *La Vie au Théâtre*, undated, presumed December 1907).

Page 144

While the rehearsals in Dresden are on in January I am thinking of coming to Berlin, after the 25<sup>th</sup> (that is the première of the operetta), for a reasonable length of time (Rodewald/Fiedler, pp. 546-7).

Page 144

This adventurous tale was retold very prettily by Louis Artus who, at times, has woven into his play the faded old stuff of that age, with the lightly melancholic air of the erotic stories of Crébillon, Choderlos de Laclos and Louvet de Couvray (Louis Schneider, *Le Figaro*, 12 December 1907).

Page 145

The striking similarity between the scenic instructions for Artus and for Hofmannsthal cannot be ascribed to the latter's reading of the [Artus] libretto, since they were first written down in March [1909], whereas the letter telling Kessler [that Hofmannsthal had obtained the Artus libretto] was not written until the end of July. It would seem that this is all down to Kessler's narration (*Fassungen*, p. 302).

Page 152

When it [the curtain] rises again, Casanova is still seated at the table in the dawn light; suddenly his friend descends the stairs alone, Casanova jumps up, goes for his dagger, but his friend rushes joyfully to Casanova, embraces him, and thanks him for the happiness that he has bestowed, from above you hear the girl's voice lovingly calling the friend's name. Curtain. Hofmannsthal: in this opera Casanova is a sort of counter-figure to Figaro: someone who moves things along simply by virtue of his affirmation of life, his temperament. Kainz had told him this story from Casanova, actually exactly as he now saw it (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 433).

Pages 152-3

But you understand, the aesthetic problem was so attractive, introducing the Carlo character whom I needed later, in this unforced and unepisodic way as early as the second act; this was precisely the whole charm of the play for me. If that is omitted, if I have to turn this one character into two, then the material loses all its attraction for me. What I want is something very particular. **Namely: just as the warp and the weft knit together in a woven fabric, I want to weave well-made French scenarios into something that is inside me**, whether you call it my temperament or my ideal or whatever. And this is precisely what this scene gave me (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 555).

Page 153

H: yes, I don't think anyone could give me so much for my play as absolutely as Tristan Bernard. Look, I now feel there is a possibility once again of saving my piece (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 557).

Pages 153-4

Hofmannsthal delighted. This was exactly the sort of thing he wanted to do for Strauss; he would get out *Faublas* again immediately and see if it yielded material. If it worked, he would be made financially for years (*Tagebuch IV*, pp. 557-8).

Page 155

In the history of music theatre there is no rival, similar instance of a poet and a composer of the first rank working so purposefully and insistently on their creations together (Kurt Pahlen, 'Zur Geschichte der Oper 'Der Rosenkavalier'', in *Der Rosenkavalier, Textbuch, Einführung und Kommentar*, ed. by Kurt Pahlen (Mainz – München: Piper – Schott, 1980) p. 293).

Page 158

Hofmannsthal ate with me in the morning.<sup>236</sup> I then took him to the Dehmels out in Pankow. Those still there were Richard Strauss and his wife, Scheerbart and Schäfer. Hofmannsthal is beginning to irk me; it is partly because of his vanity that it never occurs to him that he might have outstayed his welcome (*Tagebuch III*, p. 231).

Page 158

Hofmannsthal ate with me in the morning (*Tagebuch III*, p. 230).

---

<sup>236</sup> In his diary, Kessler uses the word *gefrühstückt*, nowadays 'breakfasted' but in Kessler's time used for any morning meal, including lunch.

Page 160

Then with Hofmannsthal to an appointment with Richard Strauss at Töpfer's. Schillings, the African, Max Schillings's brother happened to be there and joined us to hear what Strauss thought of the *Moloch* [three act tragic opera by Max von Schillings that had just premièred] and the impression it made in Dresden. Strauss was really negative. All that was onstage were ideas, no real people. If an opera were to be effective, it had to say something to the ordinary lad in the gallery. [...] [Strauss:] 'As for my "goal", I don't know what it is. I just do what amuses me at the time. What do I care about some goal or other that is behind it all? We all have only one goal, death. I do what I have to do, not because I have any goal. And I can't even always do that, even if I want to. Take *Elektra* for instance. About one third is completed. But I've got stuck in Clytemnestra's conversation with Elektra. My imagination has let me down. I have no ideas. Maybe I should take a break and write a light, comic work before continuing. I have been thinking of *Tartuffe*. It may be that *Elektra* is too similar to *Salome*; my imagination needs a rest in this area.' Hofmannsthal was rather dismayed by this statement. He tried to persuade Strauss how perfect *Elektra* was for him, because of the rapid urgency towards the end and because of events inside the house, which could only be revealed by the orchestra. Strauss said yes, yes, he would compose it to the end but he could not say when. Hofmannsthal then left and Strauss and I sat down with the Schirachs and with other musical people, and Strauss asked me about my conflict in Weimar (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 219).

Page 166

Since you are interested in Loris and since I promised you, I am enclosing a letter [...] and two poems by him (Burger, p. 453).

Page 166

You must read the letters that I have just sent to Kessler and Flaischlein about your wonderful, wonderful poem (Burger, p. 453).

Page 166

In the afternoon Hofmannsthal visited me; he is a small, jolly Viennese who speaks in a high, resonant voice, but thoroughly sympathetic and natural (? or rather affectedly natural) in his manner (*Tagebuch III*, p. 143).

Page 167

He improves greatly on further acquaintance (*Tagebuch III*, p. 144),

Page 167

Above all he is vain and socially ambitious; he is still in danger of ending up like Heyse or Bourget, as a tea party poet and boudoir philosopher; his temperament is completely unrevolutionary, and over time one's thoughts usually adjust to one's temperament. In addition it is clear that he regards the poet as a very particular creature, with a gulf separating him from everyone else (*Tagebuch III*, pp. 145-6).

Page 168

Dear Herr von Hofmannsthal! There is no question of my having a problem with the *Pan* Committee over your work; on the contrary, I find it very flattering to serve as your sponsor (Burger, pp. 16-7).

Page 168

We must get Hofmannsthal used to cutting out the chatter in his verses (*Tagebuch III*, p. 229).

Page 168

Première of Hofmannsthal's *Sobeide u Abenteurer*. In *Abenteurer* Kainz was so brilliant that it is hard to judge the play as a whole. In the interval Dehmel was horrified by *Sobeide* (*Tagebuch III*, p. 230).

Page 169

Ate with Hofmannsthal, who had just arrived back from Hauptmann; Hauptmann had read him 'The Shepherd's Song'. Hofmannsthal complained that **he could never think of subjects for plays; please would I look out for some in memoirs and the like, and convey them to him** (*Tagebuch III*, p. 230).

Page 169

The sympathetic interest you showed in me during my stay in Berlin, which I can hardly explain to myself, is among my dearest and I should add most mysterious memories. Probably for the first time in my life I was confronted by someone who combined personal superiority allied to true culture. This letter is becoming ever more impossible to write (Burger, p. 19).

Pages 169-70

I was no less than personally hurt – I understood immediately that you were completely right [...] (Burger, p. 18).

Page 170

I don't regret in the slightest having irritated you in Berlin by criticism that may have been incorrect. Your verses are such "charmeurs" that you probably never get to hear the unwelcome comments that talent needs; and what you can create is of such value to me that I am prepared to accept any amount of temporary cooling-off in our relationship if I stand a chance of challenging your talent into creating ever more fruitful and delightful work. So you can be certain that if you continue to give me the opportunity, I shall never refrain from saying something that you may not want to hear about any of your writings (Burger, pp. 19-20).

Page 172

May I say in this context that I feel from your presence such enrichment and encouragement for me, my view of the world and my work, **it is as if you were a very strong and incomparable artist**. Even as I write it down, this *modus irrealis* seems nonsensical to me – and yet it would be very difficult to characterise what you really are [...] (pp. 28-9).

Page 172

I have not had the good fortune to live contemporaneously with many artists whose work would increase my feeling for existence time and again, like flashes out of the foggy grey: **but I anticipate something like this from an appearance such as yours – and I know that I am right** (p. 46).

Page 173

I sometimes have this strange feeling of distress and fear, more strongly with you than with anyone else, if I don't hear from you, don't know where you are, what you are doing. And it is then so lovely to hear that you have been reading something of mine, that you did not dislike it, **that it has forced you to think of me for periods of time, to think with me** (p. 80).

Page 173

The desire to ally myself **and my spiritual existence – not only my artistic one – to you** – and to van de Velde as far as this is possible – is becoming ever more passionate inside me [...] (p. 94).

Page 173

[...] **I may not have been able to work, without seeing you first** (p. 103).

Page 173

In addition *Jedermann* is seething inside me, and a wonderful *Semiramis*, **with which you must help me, help me such a lot** [...] (p. 109).

Page 173

Harry, just don't say that you will be here for less than 3-4 days. **I absolutely have to talk things through with you** [...]. We keep saying to each other: Harry is going to come through this door! Harry is going to sit in this armchair! (p. 148).

Page 173

How often and how vividly I have to think of you while I am working. It is sometimes as if you are standing among my characters: the more they reveal of themselves, the more clearly I see you too. [...] You are possibly the only person who will not be surprised, but hopefully amused, by this transformation, this greater realism, new tone, the prose switching between high German and Austrian dialect, and the dialect in turn coloured by respective rank, tailored to the Baron, the servant, the major-domo, the innkeeper. [...] **I could never have realised that one could be so much in debt to such a degree and in so many ways as I am to you** [...] (pp. 157-158).

Page 173

How good and how wonderful that you have promised me and yourself never to leave me in the lurch like Hauptmann's friends have abandoned him, just when they could do so much for him by being open with him and critical. **You will always see all my work well in advance, Harry** (pp. 173-4).

Page 173

**How wonderful that you are linked to the best of me, to my work, through your boundless goodwill, your incomparable care and attention** (p. 176).

Page 173

[RK]A thousand thanks for your second lovely letter. I am thrilled that on the whole you are pleased by **execution of our joint scenario** (p. 230).

Page 173

**I am endlessly grateful to you for your sharp and lively critical comments** (p. 234).

Page 174

I am still **very happy about your participation** (p. 235).

Page 174

It would be an absolute joy for me if **some of my thoughts could be transformed** into the golden forms of your art (pp. 29–30).

Page 174

You have such a wonderful, new and rich attitude to the world [...] (p. 52).

Page 174

I cannot think of anything that could give me greater joy than **my having played a part** in the realisation of a great artist or poet or person (p. 66).

Page 174

I could not and cannot do anything other than point out to you what I thought was a possibility for you. **You are the sole judge of your own works, activities and creativity and I should never interfere with your autonomy** by trying to talk you round or get you to change your mind. That is a precondition for every friendship like the one, I hope, that is taking shape between us (p. 77).

Page 174

[...] it is obvious that **I always have to be the one who helps you**, as long as it is in my power to do so, and you may only divert your energies to my projects in exceptional cases (p. 126).

Page 174

For my spiritual wellbeing **I need a work under my belt** (p. 127).

Page 174

All I know is that I do not deserve the happiness **of being part of this poetic life**, and I enjoy it secretly (p. 159).

Page 174

First, I am so glad that you are writing. **In my thoughts I am going through your play scene by scene, which I can envisage quite clearly** after your narration (p. 184).

Page 174

I am burning for the [*Rosenkavalier*] libretto. So please send me Act I as soon as it is written (p. 217).

Page 175

Hofmannsthal carries on being ill and eating ham; and eating alarmingly large quantities in general (*Tagebuch III*, p. 593).

Page 175

Hofmannsthal said the little things in life annoyed him so much that he could never get to the happy medium between enjoyment and irritation (*Tagebuch III*, p. 595).

Page 175

I particularly noticed Hofmannsthal's curious concern about money. He kept coming back to his wish to earn money, and to his longing to have money, and he seems to think about this all the time. In addition he is rather too preoccupied with the higher levels of Austrian aristocracy. [...] Through this preoccupation with money and aristocracy his conversation is similar to that of the Schwabachs, Bleichroeders and co. A pity (*Tagebuch III*, p. 596).

Page 176

So what is a man supposed to do when he is forbidden to do the very things that would bring in money? He simply has to earn another 5 to 10,000 M more a year on top of the 30,000 or so that he has. Otherwise he cannot write. The feeling of not being free is exactly what stops him being productive. Once he has paid another 10,000 M into the bank, he will get back his appetite for writing.' I advised him to do some lectures, like those in the five o'clock series. H is the richest of all my artist friends and the only one who goes on and on talking and complaining about money; clearly a strange residue of his Jewishness (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 214).

Page 176

The piece reminded me of Marlowe, with its mixture of refined and beautiful speech and exaggerated cruelty. This will be a turning point in H's development (*Tagebuch III*, p. 616).

Page 176

He is a curious mixture of businessman, snob, poet and ingratiating oriental rent boy; naïve and laughably egotistical (*Tagebuch III*, p. 617).

Page 177

In the evening he read out the first scene of Act II and then the first half of the second scene of Act II [of *Oedipus*]. We cut out a lot together (*Tagebuch III*, pp. 815-6).

Page 177

Spent the morning with Hofmannsthal on the third scene of Act II. I recommended a few additions to the words of the "people", so that it is even clearer that the people are demanding of Tiresias something other than Antiope and Creon. The three different demands have to be differentiated just like three different *values*.<sup>237</sup> So I recommended that as soon as Tiresias appears, the very first words should be stormy cries by the people for a saviour to be designated, with the three demands then being spoken strictly symmetrically one after the other. - In the evening Reinhardt came (*Tagebuch III*, p. 817).

Page 177

Talked to Hofmannsthal about *Oedipus* again. I told him he had made a bad error: the flaw in the character of Oedipus in Act I. [...] Anyone would have acted in the same way as Oedipus here, whereas what we had to feel was that it was only he who would have acted in this way, only he driven as he was by this terrible bloodlust. Hofmannsthal seemed to be very affected by my remarks. He said, I was absolutely right. He now felt that he would only be able to write the third part, *Oedipus der Magier*, once he had rewritten this first act along the lines I had outlined (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 99).

---

<sup>237</sup> A characteristic and frequently used word in Kessler's diary - which he wrote in English from 1880-91 and in German thereafter (although always with passages in French and, indeed, seamlessly in all three languages when it suited him) - is *valeurs*, translated throughout as 'values'. Kessler always scrutinised works of art for their *valeurs* and often commented on them.

Page 178

Hofmannsthal asked me to read through *Lysistrata* so that I could help him to advise Reinhardt: 'Look, I've had this idea that you read through the piece and mark up those passages where you think there are particularly strong *values*; and also those passages where there is a particularly strong contrast in tone with another passage, e.g. lyrical as opposed to the smutty sections and that sort of thing. This will give us a sort of schematic, which will absolutely have to be observed in performance, whatever else (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 374).

Page 178

I feel an incredible urge to rewrite it as you suggest right now! Go on, shall we do it? (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 424).

Page 178

He then reverted to his opera libretto. 'If only one could be as relaxed and light-hearted about it as in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, like Crébillon. It always seems to me that authors in those days bore no burdens at all. But if you tried to do that nowadays, it would simply be unethical; it would be *Kitsch*. I could very easily do *Kitsch* of this sort. But it would have no value at all' (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 435).

Page 180

On the way back, half an hour from Delphi, Hofmannsthal met us; and there followed the most unpleasant thing that has ever happened between us so far. Hofmannsthal told me, clearly not thinking anything of it, that during my absence he had gone through my travel case looking for a book; he had found a sealed package and had opened it, to find two brochures: both were not worth anything incidentally. As he spoke it was as if someone were slapping me round the ears, for allowing someone to get so close to me who is far from being a gentleman. I told him 'I am astonished' and went ahead to join Maillol. At table Hofmannsthal was hopelessly confused. He ate nothing, said nothing and said his goodnights immediately. A while later I went and knocked on his door. He called me in – he was standing in his nightshirt, crying, and obviously in a state of nervous collapse. I told him I had come to put an end to the matter. He sobbed as he thanked me and asked me to forgive his behaviour. 'He had acted as he did because of his nervous condition as a result of his seasickness and the hot sun that morning; he knew that his behaviour had been unforgivable' and without a pause added 'was it really so terrible to look into the travel case of a travelling companion?' I said there was nothing to discuss; I had come only to tell him that I had forgotten the incident: that was all. He flung his arms around my neck (*Tagebuch IV*, pp. 461-2).

Page 181

He felt that he could never produce anything here, or at most only after he had lived his way into a much more intimate relationship with the landscape. But now he absolutely had to make a start on his work this spring. *Casanova* was all ready in his head; all it needed was a few untroubled days to get it all down on paper. He couldn't take any chances with this, etc.' I think that I have gradually come to realise that much of Hofmannsthal's obvious moodiness, nervousness, excitability springs from an inner drama, from a struggle for productivity, from fear of a sudden attack of total impotence. In this I have to think of something that Simmel once told me about him (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 467).

Page 181

In Dresden Hofmannsthal came to fetch me before a morning meal in the Bellevue. I went to the Galerie with him, to meet his wife and the Schalks. He looks as if he is quite well again now. He looks healthy and makes a crisp impression. He and his wife sat down with me while I ate; Richard Strauss and his wife then joined us; Hermann Bahr as well (*Tagebuch IV*, pp. 539-40).

Page 186

At five o'clock we had completed the scenario, which is now worked out in intimate detail, situation by situation and practically gesture by gesture; all that it lacks are the words spoken by the characters as they act out the pantomime (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 563).

Pages 186-7

In conversation the work done by Hofmannsthal and by me is so intertwined that it becomes impossible to separate out our respective contributions. One of us has an idea, a train of thought, the other criticises and as ideas pass to and fro, something quite different emerges; it is often the case that ten minutes later neither he nor I can say who actually thought up a given scene (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 560).

Page 187

Talked further about the *Faublas* with Hugo in the train (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 561).

Page 187

Berlin, Sunday a.m. I should like to stay here now just a few more days, I have quite a lot to do. For I have just done the scenario for a charming

opera in Weimar with Kessler, that I am going to present to Strauss this afternoon and which will possibly require several more discussions (Hugo von Hofmannsthal, *Briefe 1900–1909* (Vienna: Bermann-Fischer Verlag, 1937), letter 273).

Page 188

Afterwards went with the Hofmannsthals to the Schadow exhibition. In the evening went with him and Musch to see Kainz in *Hamlet*. A flat, deadly dull performance; Kainz merely a technician, without any spark of genius. Hofmannsthal said quite correctly that he was always alongside the character, never inside him (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 562).

Page 188

[...] Even more important is the fact that Strauss is absolutely delighted with the scenario that I completed with Kessler in Weimar (down to the smallest detail). He hopes to complete this three act lighthearted opera within one and a half years. Incidentally it is entirely possible that taking these two projects together I shall earn a quarter of a million Marks.

I am now going through the comedy [*Cristinas Heimreise*] scene by scene with Kessler, it has to be completely redone, with a comic figure as the bridegroom and omission of the awful scene with the chimney (Hofmannsthal's correspondence with his parents, advance electronic access granted in the Hofmannsthal Archive at the Freies Deutsches Hochstift, Frankfurt am Main on 26 October 2011).

Page 189

As jovial as the piece is, so was its creation. The scenario really was born in conversation, in conversation with the friend to whom the book is dedicated (and dedicated in terms that indicate true collaboration), Count Harry Kessler (Hugo von Hofmannsthal, *Der Rosenkavalier von Richard Strauss, Musik für Alle Vol. 1, Nr. 246*, ed. by W. Hirschberg (Berlin: Ullstein, 1927), pp. 2-3).

Page 190

Morning. Faublas climbs out of the Marquise's bed. Pourceaugnac, a relative of the Marquise, arrives from the provinces for his engagement to Sophie, who is actually the girl that Faublas loves, and has himself announced to the Marquise. Faublas is quickly disguised as a chambermaid. Pourceaugnac enters and is received from her bed by the Marquise. Marquise's levée: hairdressers, lackeys, moneylenders etc (Hogarth's levée from 'Marriage à la Mode'). As it ends Pourceaugnac makes an assignation with Faublas, taking him for a girl (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 558).

## Page 191

Act II at Sophie's house, in the hall. Love scene between Faublas and Sophie. Faublas fetches a male and a female 'intriguer' to spoil Pourceaugnac's plan. Pourceaugnac arrives; pays his respects to Sophie. Entry of P. with lots of luggage, retinue etc (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 558).

## Page 191

Act III. An inn, where Pourceaugnac has made his assignation with Faublas. At the crucial moment the intriguers usher in the vice squad to catch them. The intriguers also usher in a crowd of low life people whom they have dressed up as 'grands seigneurs'. Pourceaugnac, who believes that they are all nobles, is arrested and crushed (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 558).

## Page 193

**Kessler**

I. G ronte's house. Sophie and Faublas. Sophie tells Faublas of her engagement and looks forward to marriage. Pourceaugnac arrives. His baggage is brought in. Sophie horrified at her coarse lord and master. Pleads with Faublas to free her.

II. Scene with Marquise: as before. Faublas gets out of bed, Pourceaugnac summoned by the Marquise to her lev e. He makes his assignation with Faublas. Scene 2. At Sophie's. Faublas and Sophie. F. discovers his love for Sophie.

III. As previously; but I suggested, the father had to have some external reason to have to find a husband for Sophie immediately. So Faublas would have to step forward (he is a Count from an old noble family, and rich); and G ronte, whom he is helping out of some dreadful embarrassment (what?) is

**Hofmannsthal**

I. G ronte's house. He awaits his son-in-law who comes from good country nobility. Sophie with the delightful Faublas talks of marriage. She is surprised that this annoys him. Arrival of Pourceaugnac with elderly aunts, animals and quaint baggage (wedding bed). Intriguer summoned. Marquise. Night assignation with Faublas who is not totally happy. Sophie pleads to be freed. The Intriguers.

II. Marquise's bedroom. Night of love. Morning. Thanks. Pourceaugnac is announced. Faublas remains *en travesti*. Faublas so alike: yes, all noblemen's natural children. Hairdresser, servants etc importune Pourceaugnac, who goes. While the Marquise has her hair done, Pourceaugnac invites maid to supper. Pourceaugnac stingy (full discussion of where supper is to be). Pourceaugnac departs. Intriguer arrives and says how it will be done.

III. Room in an inn. The extras rehearse. Faublas boots under dress. Supper. Arrest. G ronte compromised before court society. The Marquise joins them. G ronte wants to enter the bridal room. Faublas appears *en travesti*. Marquise confirms that he is a man.

delighted to bless the match immediately.

(*Tagebuch IV*, p. 559).

(Schuh, *Trivium*, p. 69)

Page 194

This scenario much weaker than the first one: less of a clear-cut, straight line, the need for a second scene in the second act and moreover, just as before, Pourceagnac almost entirely passive (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 559).

Pages 194-5

As I got dressed the solution came to me, and I told it to Hofmannsthal in the carriage: namely Acts One and Two in the original order. Faublas does not yet know Sophie at all, but is sent to her by the Marquise on Pourceagnac's behalf, to announce P. to her. This is where the fun begins with 1) Faublas falling in love with Sophie, 2) Sophie meeting Pourceagnac and loathing him on sight. The reason why G ronte absolutely has to have a husband for his daughter immediately must be the result of some base intrigue by Pourceagnac himself. In addition Pourceagnac must have been the one to introduce the intriguers, whom Faublas then bribes and makes use of them himself. These changes will turn Pourceagnac from an almost passive figure into the main driving force of the work; he is the cause of all his own misfortune and he is even responsible for Sophie and Faublas getting to know each other, with Faublas going to her on his behalf at the Marquise's request. In addition, Faublas will come over in a better light in the theatre than if he were in one woman's bed while loving another, and then sparking off some dirty intrigue; all he does is to exploit Pourceagnac's intrigues in order to eliminate the latter; which is much more ingenious. In this way Faublas and Pourceagnac are not merely young and old, beauty and ugliness, bad and good behaviour but are also contrasts in stupidity and cleverness of spirit; the antithesis emerges very clearly. As in real life, stupidity is the driving force, but cleverness exploits this to its advantage. Moreover the line of the piece is very clear: Act I: love scene, Tableau (of the servants), maybe a ballet. Act II: Faublas in love. Tableau (Pourc's entry). Love scene. Act III: Clown scene (disguises for the 'grands seigneurs'), grotesque love scene between Pourc. and Faublas, who tries to animate Pourceagnac more and more (Grace) Tableau (unmasking, entrance of the bogus nobility), Faublas's offer of service and love scene Sophie X Faublas. Hofmannsthal accepted all this immediately (*Tagebuch IV*, pp. 559-60).

Page 197

Was this scenario intended to be set to music from the outset? It is an open question. If so, then the draft indicates an opera buffa, not a comedy that reaches the upper spheres of touching sentiment, of which the author once

spoke with reference to the Marschallin. - There are lots of draft comedies by Hofmannsthal, and he only completed a small proportion of them (*Trivium*, p. 70).

Page 198

This work was however to grow extraordinarily, not only because it was designed to meet the expectations and hopes of the composer, but because lucky chance brought the poet to someone who knew how to return in conversation the ball that Hofmannsthal threw him when he narrated to him his little scenario. [...] Hofmannsthal visited his friend in Weimar in February 1909 and – undoubtedly on the basis of a quick narration of the scenario already outlined – a conversation started on the planned comedy (*Trivium*, p. 70).

Page 199

Discussed the comedy with Hofmannsthal again. He has thought of the motive for Faublas being sent to Sophie: as bridegroom's intermediary, to pre-announce a visit by the bridegroom according to the old Viennese custom and to hand her a silver rose. Act II would begin with this, which would be a very pretty pantomime and provide some tenderness in contrast to Pourceaugnac's crudeness (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 560).

Page 200

[...] ten minutes later it is often impossible for him or for me to say who actually conceived the scene. **All that I claim for myself** is the final tableau, with the characters exiting one after the other in groups, rather ballet-like, until the two lovers are left alone and then exit, joking and holding torches, with just a few little negro boys left onstage; then moonlight. Music as Strauss writes, **which reaches such huge crescendos, seems to me perfect for an opera with this fading finale, as the light fades in parallel, until the stage is dark and lit only by moonlight.**

Discussed Hauptmann with Hofmannsthal after dinner (*Tagebuch IV*, pp. 560–1).

Page 201

One of the servants who has come in from [door] B with Faninal and the Marschallin, now takes from the small front table the candelabra which had been on the dining table and which is now the only source of light in the room, so as to light the way for those who exit. As a result, the room becomes (fairly) dark. From this moment on: moonlight through the oval window, hitting the left-hand side wall or [door] C, brightening imperceptibly and illuminating Octavian and Sophie (*Fassungen*, p. 179).

## Page 201

The meaning of the play was very much underlined by the masked procession at the end, with all the characters leaving the stage hand in hand like a sort of dance of death; finally the Fool is left on his own and delivers the epilogue with a high flute sound (*Tagebuch III*, p. 402).

## Pages 202-3

Worked in detail with Hofmannsthal morning and afternoon in Reinhardt's dining room at *Unter den Zelten* on the 'Faublas' scenario, first and second act. I had noted down things for both these acts that H. accepted. For example the interplay between Pourceaugnac, the Marquise and Faublas in the first act, which rests on Faublas wanting to creep away as fast as possible while P., taking him for a girl, tries to keep him there. The Marquise, who notices P.'s infatuation and is amused by the jest, finally gets out a miniature of Faublas and draws P.'s attention to the likeness herself, adding that the chambermaid is a natural sister to her nephew Faublas; would P. find this young man suitable as his envoy? The Marquise's audacity provides the motive for F. to act as the bridegroom's messenger. In Act II, in place of the banquet, in order to get Pourc. and G ronste offstage and to leave Sophie and Faublas alone, notaries, who have to draw up the marriage contract with P. and G. and therefore go into a sideroom with them: if we had left the banquet, Faublas and Sophie would have had to attend. An added advantage is that the entry of the whole retinue in Act I, which H. thinks very important in visual terms, becomes part of the plot in that the Marquise admits them all in order to introduce P. to her notary, who is in the retinue. This means that Pourc. can give the notary his instructions in Act I while the Marquise is having her hair done on the right and a flautist is playing mellifluously. By five we had completed the scenario which has now been worked out in detail, situation by situation and almost gesture by gesture: all that is missing are the words that the characters speak as they act out the play. **I pressed literally for all the situations to be intensified in terms of the dramatic and the pantomime (visual) effects, whereas in Hofmannsthal's imagination they all tend to blend together in somewhat insipid fashion** (*Tagebuch IV*, pp. 562-3).

## Page 203

Dear Harry, you won't misunderstand this, will you? It does not affect our relationship in any way, and neither does it affect your relationship with all the other stages of my work, which - conversely - I hope will become ever more intimate. For there is hardly a plan that enters my head, such as my latest modern social comedy, without me absolutely longing to discuss the plan with you. Likewise I am expecting from you some decisive advice on the *Sylvia* play, when you get round to it (Burger, p. 261).

Page 204

For the costumes, the ones in *Le Pavillon d'Armide* by the Ballets Russes give me ideas: baroque (in this instance, old Viennese of course) with a hint of Beardsley, in order to emphasise the fantastical in the operetta. I think it would be good, once you have finished the text, if you were to go into the smallest details in your stage edition, because otherwise traditional opera direction is hopelessly unartistic everywhere. You have made a good start with Octavian and his footmen. But I think later on, and systematically, you should give directions for exact colours and style from start to finish. Best of all obviously would be direct coloured illustrations (standard professional ones) to be attached to the score, either by Roller (although he is heavy-handed) or by Stern (who is very talented), or by one of the Russians who has done the simply wonderful costumes and décor for the ballet here. The man who designed the *Pavillon d'Armide* would be the perfect choice, with his Beardsley-like imagination coupled with his ability to keep everything exactly in period. I don't dare think of Craig any more for this, obviously (Burger, p. 241).

Page 208

Finished volume V of *Clarissa* with stupendous admiration. Balzac and Dostoevski are the only comparable authors: nobody who writes English epic novels, not even Fielding. The incredible novelty of his approach and the genius of its execution put Richardson in a class of his own (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 151).

Page 209

The mixture is most easily separated in Heine. The sentimental is his Romanticism. His love of real life is portrayed as wit. Thus his wit is also what has remained and continues to be effective (*Tagebuch III*, p. 528).

Page 210

Faublas is well situated, taking his place between the Lovelace of Richardson and the Cherubino of Beaumarchais: he is seductive sentimentality, giving the gracefulness of love to man's desire for pleasure, whereas Cherubino represents eclectic desire, dazzled to the point of blindness, not at all refined but simply greedy, and as brutal in his artful caresses as Lovelace's cold sensualism is corrupt (Hippolyte Fournier, *Louvet et le roman de Faublas* (Paris: Librairie des Bibliophiles, 1884), p. xxiii).

Pages 210-1

But joking apart, of course 'Quin-Quin' will be much better than Artus's *Faublas*, because it will be overlaid with poetic 'charme', the strange and

**individual nature of your vision.** This is what is declining especially among modern French authors, including Bernard and Becque, 'charme', the last one to have it was Musset. Somehow all these Parisians lack the fragrance, the soft down that sits on works created out of true poetic imagination. Their world is not the enchanted world of Balzac or Shakespeare. They interest me but I am never drawn to them, I never really long to see them. **So if you learn their *métier*, and where to go beyond it, this is what will make your comedy incommensurably better than theirs.** The person who has shown most genius in learning from the French in this way is undoubtedly Ibsen: he provided the roast, they gave him the sauce (Burger, pp. 255–6).

Page 213

[...] I travelled to Berlin without any notes, apart from the cast of characters scribbled on the back of a menu card, but in my mind I had a plot that could be narrated. The effect of this narration on Strauss is as memorable to me as if it had happened yesterday. **The way he listened to me was truly productive. I could feel him allocating music as yet unborn to characters who had hardly been born.** Then he said: 'We'll do it' (Hofmannsthal *Zum Geleit*, p. 3).

Page 219

It would be unfair on him if – as Hofmannsthal did – one were to minimize or overlook the intellectual and creative side in this. It is precisely his artistic cooperation with Hofmannsthal in the years leading up to the Great War that provides proof of the original, artistic productive energy in Kessler. As we now know, ideas and important details in *Der Rosenkavalier* come from him, as well as motifs for *Cristinas Heimreise* (Haupt, p. 60).

Page 219

The initiatives, added passages, objections made in respect of *Cristinas Heimreise* or *Der Rosenkavalier* are worthy of a study all to themselves, they develop the possibilities inherent in creative criticism that extinguish the boundaries between the critic and the creator (Neumann/Schnitzler, p. 15).

Page 219

At this point we should once again recall Hofmannsthal's efforts to deal with the androgynous figure [...] – and Harry Graf Kessler, who played a major part in the conception both of *Der Rosenkavalier* and of *Josephs Legende*, the draft ballet. It is worth considering in this respect the considerable degree to which the aesthetic of a homoerotic influenced Hofmannsthal's conception (Dürhammer/Janke, p. 233).

Page 220

The scenario was really born out of conversation, in conversation with the friend to whom the book is dedicated (and dedicated with a formulation which points towards true collaboration), Count Harry Kessler. **The figures were there and moved around before us, even before we had names for them: the buffo, the old man, the young girl, the lady, the 'Cherubino'. They were types, waiting to be turned into individuals by the executive pen. The plot arose from the eternal ways these figures related to each other** (Hofmannsthal *Zum Geleit*, p. 3).

Page 221

This requires a completely different effort than **playing with types and typical situations** in the operetta (Burger, p. 247).

Page 225

Auerbach's Keller, Squire Western, Jordaens (not Giorgione), Jordaens [sic] Teniers strike the right note in this context (Burger, p. 228).

Pages 225-6

This aria by Ochs comes across to me as if Caliban were suddenly to start speaking like Ariel, or Bottom the Tailor like Titania (Burger, p. 228).

Page 230

These changes will turn Pourceaugnac from an almost passive figure into the main driving force of the work; he is the cause of all his own misfortune [...] (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 559).

Page 240

Pretty dances: not much else (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 112).

Page 241

Incidentally I saw on this occasion the ideal Quinquin, the absolute ideal, such as we shall, alas, never see in *Der Rosenkavalier* (Burger, p. 317).

Page 242

This miracle is called Ella Shields, the most attractive, fresh little face, the slimmest, most boyish figure, apart from two budding little hints of breasts, her movements like a young, gracious schoolboy and a pretty, but not very strong soprano voice, which nevertheless filled the huge

auditorium (5,000 seats): she cannot be more than nineteen or twenty. She sings and dances as a young gentleman in a tailcoat and as a lieutenant in uniform. I have seldom seen anything as charming and gracious, without a hint of saccharine or equivocal colouring. So, a perfect Quinquin is possible [...] (Burger, pp. 317-8).

Page 242

The fat, contented mother of ten to fourteen breast-fed children, in bulging knee-breeches (Burger, p. 318).

Page 245

The Marschallin must be a young, beautiful lady aged thirty-two at most, who comes across to herself as an 'old lady' once, when comparing herself in a bad mood with the seventeen year old Octavian, but she is absolutely not David's Magdalena, who incidentally is often played too old. Octavian is neither the first nor the last lover of the beautiful Marschallin, who also must not play the end of her first act sentimentally or as a tragic farewell to life, but always with Viennese grace and lightness, with one eye moist and the other dry (Strauss *Betrachtungen*, pp. 237-8).

Page 246

As Hofmannsthal worked on the libretto, the balletic and pantomimic character based on the Molière *comédie-ballet*, which was in Kessler's mind, became less and less significant. In place of the ornamental dance-like elements [...] there arose a comedy for music with clearly differentiated lyrical and psychological elements. This tendency is expressed most clearly in the Marschallin, who is basically a newly-conceived figure compared with the initial scenario, and who feels herself to be an aging woman, who finally renounces her young lover, Octavian (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 21).

Page 246

Pourceaugnac, who believes that they are all nobles, is arrested and crushed (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 558).

Page 246

Faublas appears *en travesti*. The Marquise confirms that he is a man (*Trivium*, p. 69).

Page 246

Faublas' offer of service and love scene Sophie X Faublas (*Tagebuch IV*, pp. 559-60).

Page 250

I am hard at work on the opera (Burger, p. 214). 'You of course will get a copy [of the Act I libretto] simultaneously [with Strauss]' (Burger, p. 218).

Page 251

The Marschallin seems to me to be the most successful of the characters (Burger, p. 228).

Page 251

Also the little moor, who brings in the chocolate (Burger, p. 229).

Page 251

Up among the best, stylistically, of the work I know of yours (Burger, p. 229).

Page 252

When you decrypt a Hogarth picture, you go from one idea to another, each of which is an exciting and significant and newly-projected shape; among modernist painters, the one who comes closest to him in this respect is Bonnard (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 403).

Page 252

[He is] the most significant painter in English art[...] However, in terms of detail he remains one of the great masters of all time, the greatest pure "painter" of the English race (*Tagebuch III*, pp. 558-9).

Pages 252-3

If she has great, almost too great an appeal here, then that is correct, because as I only understood while working on this, she and Ochs, as opposite poles, are the main characters, Octavian and Sophie, the pair of lovers, are subsidiary. The polarity is between absolute coarseness, but not without a certain wit, and a noble,<sup>238</sup> mature personality: and this is how the Marschallin will end the piece: she will not be abandoned, but with a magisterial gesture she will command Octavian to go to Sophie. (I am not at all fond of the pair of lovers as the epicentre, Wagner-like; this was not quite so clear to us when we drafted the scenario (Burger, p. 225).

---

<sup>238</sup> The German word here is 'vornehm', meaning superior, posh, refined, even aristocratic - I have used 'noble' for its allusive reference to nobility and to nobleness of character.

Page 253

Sophie, still in the number three position, takes the blindfold off Faublas, who implores the Marquise. The latter, smiling, indicates Sophie to him. Faublas, turning sideways, holds out his arms to her. Sophie throws herself into them (*Mise en scène*, p. 40).

Page 253

A thousand thanks for your second lovely letter. I am truly delighted that implementation of our joint scenario gives you pleasure, taken all in all (Burger, p. 230).

Page 253

If you feel this so strongly I am convinced that you must basically be right (Burger, p. 230).

Page 254

Otherwise it will be for the Marschallin and the Baron to share the main interest between them: this is how I now see the accents in the mechanics of this little staging (**and incidentally I shall have learned quite a lot from it**) (Burger, p. 230).

Page 254

These changes will turn Pourceaugnac from an almost passive figure into the main driving force of the work; he is responsible for all his own misfortune; even Faublas getting to know Sophie is all down to him (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 559).

Page 255

I am very interested by what you say about the Marschallin. The character as such is completely plausible: I am just fascinated to know how you will place her at the right distance from the audience in the third act. By the way, I can name a contemporary of hers who was very like her, Jeanne d'Albert de Luynes, Comtesse de Verrue, a wonderful friend of the Regent, who wrote her own epitaph with the following words: *Here, in profound peace/This voluptuous lady died/Who, to make absolutely certain/Enjoyed her paradise in this world*. I can imagine the Marschallin too being the author of these words (Burger, pp. 232-3).

Page 256

I am delighted that this little comedy has proved to be useful in general for you, I hope it is merely the start of a series (Burger, p. 233).

Page 256

I am eternally grateful to you for your sharp and lively critique[...] he pours an – unnecessary – symphony over it like sauce over a roast' [...] (Burger, p. 234).

Pages 256-7

Through the arias I force him into characterizing the main figures by means of their melodic lines – not just through the orchestra – and this is the only way an organic opera can come about (Burger, p. 234).

Page 257

Act II is on its way to you by registered letter in the same post. Please give me your critique. As I have said, it has not yielded as much as I and III. The ending is (maybe?) a little quiet. **But, just like everything else, it is sticking to the great scenario. I am still very happy about your participation** (Burger, p. 235).

Page 257

By becoming *piano* and *detached* from the overall flow, maybe by different orchestration or a new motif or something (Burger, p. 236).

Page 258

Another passage where the music can add greatly to the comedy is on p. 24, 4 lines from the bottom, the lines *Dear Sir* which Ochs will have to sing fortissimo *all puffed up like a turkey*. The music must have all these accents *within itself*, this is what makes Wagner so dramatic, the fact that the accents, the *mimic* ones, are so heavily underlined musically that no singer can ever miss them (Burger, p. 236).

Page 258

What is most important of all, it is musical through and through, i.e. devised for music (Burger, p. 236).

Page 258

I am not very happy about the ending to the act either. As it is, we have *three quiet* act endings. I think that this one should be loud and *buffo*-like, as a contrast to the quiet and contemplative endings to Acts I and III (Burger, p. 238).

Page 258

I am particularly happy that you are writing so quickly and easily, since it offers me the best possible proof that you are in good health and mentally alert (Burger, p. 239).

Page 259

### **Kessler to Hofmannsthal 5 June**

Namentlich wenn die Musik das Mimische in der richtigen Weise herausbringt und unterstreicht.

‘Muss halt ein Heu in der Nähe dabei sein’ (Ochs hält bei dieser Stelle die Hand an den Mund und neigt sich vertraulich der Marschallin ans Ohr).

Wir haben so *drei leise* Aktschlüsse. Ich finde dieser sollt laut buffonesk sein [...] Auch gleichzeitig mimischer, ballettmässiger.

Das Motiv, dass Annina und Valzacchi von Ochs zu Octavian *übergehen*, wird dadurch erst stark genug begründet. D.h. das Motiv, dass Ochs *geizig* ist und sie *nicht bezahlt*.

Am liebsten mochte ich nicht bloss Annina sondern auch Valzacchi auftreten lassen, einen buffonesken ballettmässigen Streit [...] zwischen Ochs und den beiden sehen, wobei Ochs sich truthahnässig bläht, womöglich seine Livree hereinruft [...]

Diese Akzente muss die Musik in sich tragen, das macht Wagner so dramatisch, dass die Akzente, die mimischen, musikalisch so stark unterstrichen sind, dass sie kein Sänger verfehlen kann.

(Burger, pp. 235-40).

Page 260

You are absolutely right about the act ending, I shall look for a *buffo*-like finale (Burger, p. 244).

Page 260

Three quiet act endings will not do! If only I had a more refined, more artistic composer. Everything he says, everything he wants, his every tendency I find really rather disgusting (Burger, p. 244).

Page 261

I shall be very brief and business-like, with no apologies, since the 'business' is a happy turn of events that has brought us together, an amusing, friendly plaything that binds us. Turning to *Quinquin*, Act II. I have done the burlesque ending in rhyming verse, with a balletic punch-up as the finale. It is rather strange that I did not end it like this from the outset, it must have been a combination of absent-mindedness and semi-mindless adherence to the scenario that had already been settled (Burger, p. 247).

Page 261

[...] I have found the time to read through the scenes in your play carefully several times. But I find it impossible to criticize anything *in particular*; for my objections concern the style of the *whole*, which seems to me somewhat broad and conventional, even a bit old-fashioned Viennese. I do not know whether today's theatre-going public will have the patience for this sort of scene painting. Especially because there is a *second* aspect; the fact that the events, the life conjured up in such detail that has to be absorbed, is somewhat external to a stage comedy. People enjoy this in opera or in farce, when everything happens simply because puppet strings are being pulled skillfully; but in my view people want something more in a stage comedy (Burger, p. 250).

Page 262

In this respect, in my view, *Quinquin* represents major progress as a work of art, as a piece *that works* (Burger, p. 251).

Page 262

A thousand thanks! [...] your letter is precious to me, especially just now when I am assembling, working on, *contextualizing* the comedy (Burger, p. 251).

Page 262

The short, concise sentence you wrote on the atmosphere of the comedy is among the best of many good things that you have said or written to me. It is good that *Quinquin* is better; it needs to be, and the converse would be depressing. You have *to make progress* year by year in these matters. And the fact is that I have only been trying to assimilate and appropriate the *métier* of stage comedy for precisely the last two years (Burger, p. 251).

Page 263

As for the *atmosphere* that is to be created from *within*, i.e. from within the main characters, it seems to me that in this respect you should not take the French as your model but rather Shakespeare, Kleist, Ibsen, Hauptmann. The French always *cloak things* with intellect, something *moral*, and thus no longer purely sensory and artistic (Burger, p. 252).

Page 263

I have also obtained the libretto of the Faublas opérette, which gave us our impetus in those first hours in Weimar, and I find it very delightful. It is by Louis Artus. If my effort *as a whole* turns out just as good, and then has a little extra something, then I shall be very content (Burger, p. 253).

Page 264

Strauss is undoubtedly right: the act is so much better, excellent even! I also love the *spooky face* motif that presages Act III. It is really very funny, all the more as it provides much deeper motivation for Lerchenau's aversion, which he doesn't realize (but the audience does), through the *manliness* of so-called Mariandel. I only see one obstacle to avoid, a departure from the balletic and ornamental in the duet, the scene with the bandages etc. I think these motifs have to be *accentuated* in rhythmical fashion, by repetition, parallel figures etc., as in Molière's little plays (Fourberies de Scapin, e.g. the scene where the sack gets beaten etc.) Nothing incites more laughter than comical situations in stylized performance. – Incidentally, I think that we three, you, Strauss and I, could deliver a regular little Sardou. But, joking aside, of course Quinquin will be much better than Artus's Faublas, because the additional factor will be poetic *charm*, the individual and rare qualities of your vision (Burger, p. 255).

Page 265

Life, at least in certain areas, is a very dangerous and fragile affair. This is why we need a lot of humour **and a lot of good comedy, which Mr. v. H. will have to write for us** (Burger, p. 256).

Page 265

I am imagining your tone in this direction. I am filled with great expectations thinking about this change of style in Quinquin and the stage comedy. [...] Every time I think of the very comical change that Strauss's brainwave has brought about, I am filled with delight. It is very good to be able to show Lerchenau's cowardice in Act II already, since Act III is so

firmly built on that. He will surely start by trying to avoid the duel with Quinquin? In *fatherly* fashion, which cowardly old rogues like him love to do. At all events, I am impatient to see this duel scene (Burger, p. 257).

Page 266

I should like to say something: you are not expecting, are you, in the second act of the opérette a complete implementation of the *figures* from Molière comedies (parallelism, repetition etc.) any more than the first act has them. I have not adopted this tone, but a more nuanced one, with more realism – think of the flow of the first act. Nonetheless, the second act contains even more of the same controlled playing as the first. Strauss seems to be very happy with the new version and given his sound instinct, I can be certain that the main lines are right. Among the many advantages of the new version is that Faninal has become a really amusing character (previously he was just a stop-gap). Those to whom I have shown the finished work were very sorry that the Marschallin, who had become very endearing, does not appear in II. Since she really is the nicest character, I shall now have to do everything to ensure in III that she enjoys all the advantages of a dominating and at the same time moving situation, so that to the audience she becomes a main character or almost *the* main character (Burger, pp. 258-9).

Pages 266-7

Obviously I never expected that the second act of the comedy would be that stylized. But I am delighted that the balletic side will also come in here, because this mixture of reality and ballet-like acts was one of the considerations that launched the whole idea. [...] I also felt immediately that the Marschallin is a very specially moving figure. I find it absolutely appropriate to the natural gravitas of the characters if she comes to the fore in the third act. The whole course of the plot also provides her with the decisive role at a certain point: at that moment she naturally becomes *master of the hour*, or rather, *mistress*, and it is lovely if this moment then becomes, through its scope and brilliance, the supreme value<sup>239</sup> in the whole piece (Burger, pp. 259-60).

Page 268

All in all the scenic invention (the pantomime) in Regnard seems to me almost more modern and clever than in Molière; whereas the human side, the characters, are incomparably weaker (Burger, pp. 260-1).

Page 269

---

<sup>239</sup> Valeur, once again.

Likewise I am expecting decisive advice from you on the Sylvia play, in due course (Burger, p. 261).

Page 270

I am quite firmly for *Ochs von Lerchenau*, which places the *buffo* centre stage (Burger, p. 269).

Page 271

I am very pleased by all that you have to say about these people. Thus does the theatre as a *métier* bring forth wonderful people here and there. Purely personally, Reinhardt is becoming more and more precious to me. **Your and his existence are the factors that keep me in the theatre and are the means by which I shall in the end produce something adequate and lasting for the theatre** (Burger, p. 272).

Page 271

These are two lovely and powerful situations [in the final act] and they make me sorry that you have not been able to ask Reinhardt for more time, so as to perfect and finalise the third act. As I have said, I do not think the piece will fail, and it does contain so many lovely things that it would undoubtedly be a pity not to have it performed (Burger, p. 275).

Page 272

All in all I do regret that the piece is going to be performed with the third act as it is. I have strong reservations that are increasing rather than diminishing. I find (this is a detail, but an important one) that Florindo's arrival just five minutes after Cristina has said 'yes' is a very old and stale theatrical device! Nor am I happy about the motivation for this return; it is right outside the piece, an afterthought of a mechanism, impossible to foresee on the basis of the original stagecraft (Burger, p. 279).

Page 272

In respect of Act III, I have retouched lots and lots of things, including some of the mimic indications, which should be very effective, and I have made big textual changes. The end of the first engagement scene between Cristina and Tomaso will remain more *in suspenso* and all the free accents of emerging tenderness have been saved for the final scene between the two of them. This is also when she calls him 'dearest one' for the first time. Both Reinhardt and I think that anything *more* in the Florindo scene in this piece is inconceivable, likewise any other, less discreet direction of this scene (Burger, pp. 281-2).

Page 273

On the other hand, I can see in Florindo's *character* (without the flighty countesses, who insist on travelling) the possibility of a motive; he comes back *because he wants to see Cristina*, and he wants to see her because... The motives that are in his Casanova being can be picked like blackberries off a bush, e.g. the artist in him making the most of an adventure, the degree of decency that he still has despite everything etc. And the scene with Cristina then develops logically out of these motives, and crushes her latent devotion to Florindo. The conflict arises entirely naturally from the opposite views that they hold etc. It will be a pity if this play, designed around such a powerful and lovely third act, goes onstage with a decidedly weak one (Burger, p. 279).

Page 274

I am very well and hard at work, starting with III of the opera. It is not easy to get rid of the Baron and to resolve simultaneously the definitive situation between the 3 lovers (it has to be *simultaneous*, not sequential) but it is a delightful task. I hope to finish the act in 6-10 days (Burger, p. 283).

Page 276

In my view, *Tantris* has far greater qualities than you realize simply by reading it. Hardt is undoubtedly a *born dramatist*, such as we simply have not had since Schiller and Wagner (I am totally disregarding here poetic and literary qualities). The 'values' in every situation, from the first to the last, are as completely correct as those in a picture by a 'born artist'; or to put it another way, *all the tensions are in the right places*, absolutely right in terms of intensity, elasticity and tempo in the way they relate to all the other tensions in the piece, they all come together as a single organism, a quality that you can judge entirely as you wish in general aesthetic terms, just like the design of a chair or a cupboard; but this is the fundamental quality of a true dramatist, without which all his poetry and onstage characterization is as ineffective as a lovely ornament on a chair that you cannot sit on. I now find that Hardt has this quality, as stated, to a degree that you could almost label genius [...] (Burger, p. 287).

Page 277

However the main charm is in the individual *colouring*, which is brought about by mixing up different types from completely different milieux. Talking to a theatre director or banker even a thief or a pimp becomes quite romantic. The highly-coloured atmosphere that is created in this way is what makes Bernard's plays so charming. But actually he has *little* poetry and so he substitutes sentimentality for the places that poetry

would have been needed; like most of the French, actually. This is where you would be vastly superior to him, because you could cloak similar subjects, playing across several different worlds, in true poetry (Burger, p. 290).

Page 278

My dear, as you liked the comedy for music, maybe more than it deserves, I should like to dedicate it to you, if I may. (Obviously the book edition, not the purely commercial libretto). I had this idea of denoting you simply with your initials, as the *hidden helper*. But perhaps your full name is more correct – but then without any attribution (Burger, p. 296).

Pages 278-9

As for the *Rosenkavalier* dedication, very many thanks for your kind thought. I actually thought we had agreed, in accordance with your wishes, that my part in it should not be mentioned officially; and I would still be happy if this is so. On the other hand, and I have to say this, even though I am very unhappy saying it to you of all people, I find the dedication as you have formulated it *not agreeable*: I mean the word ‘helper’. You and Borchardt and I are ‘helpers’ with Schröder’s Homer, or if you like, I with *Cristina*; i.e. we help to finalise and polish a work that has basically been produced already by an author, by means of good advice and greater or lesser *corrections*. [...] In the *Rosenkavalier* case however, the very concept and the implementation of the pantomime, the essentials, i.e. the *substance* of the piece come partly from me and partly from you. If subsequently you have taken this outline and built an airy and charming poetic structure on top of it, this no more reduces me to the status of a mere ‘helper’ than it reduces you to a ‘helper’ of Strauss, who has decorated your poetry with music. In the absolutely normal, common sense of the term, all three of us are *collaborators*<sup>240</sup>, and this is the only term I would permit to be used in the dedication, if any. To repeat, I am perfectly happy with *nothing at all*: but if there has to be a dedication to me, it has to be to me as a *collaborator*, such as: to the unknown collaborator H.K. I *very much* agree with the use of mere initials: I like that (Burger, pp. 297-8).

Pages 279-80

My collaborator in constructing a scenario might have been Schnitzler, or Rudi Schroeder, or Andrian. But I wonder, when such a scenario were there, whether I would have found the desire, the inner compulsion to overcome a certain aversion and scepticism over my ability to make real characters out of the sketchy figures who have to perform their little dance – unless, as here, such a precious imponderable had been added in the

---

<sup>240</sup> ‘Mitarbeiter’ in German.

form of your wonderfully friendly yet always forceful participation in the implementation, your criticism that was so warm for the successful parts and so sharp for the parts that were wrong. Where the scenario left me cold occasionally – the thought of your participation made me buckle down – the certainty of your constructive criticism stiffened my resolve, even against myself. I found myself with the pleasant task of saying all this to you, to Strauss, to our mutual friends. The dedication was supposed to summarise it all once again. [...] Your role in the *Homer* by Schroeder is different, and seems to me to be as valuable as the share you have in the creation of the operetta, however incommensurable such intellectual contributions are: neither of these two works would have been created without you (Burger, pp. 298-9).

Page 281

In the afternoon to the Richard Strauss's with the Hofmannsthals, where we had tea, and Strauss played us the duel scene, the letter scene and the finale from the second act of the opera. Mrs Strauss danced and sang to the waltz with her skirts hitched up (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 590).

Page 281

In the morning, before departure, I spoke to Richard Strauss again for a moment (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 541).

Pages 281-2

I have often kept quiet about feelings, but I have discovered that suppressed emotions grow stronger, not weaker, with time (Burger, p. 300).

Page 282

In the meanwhile, more by thinking about it myself than as a result of your letter, I have so got to like the word 'collaborator' that I earnestly ask you to be allowed to use this word instead of the other one, because it characterizes the actual relationship in the nicest and most rightful way (Burger, p. 302).

Pages 282-3

Alongside this sad news I have read the happy report that Strauss has again come to terms with Seebach, and that S. has even agreed to Roller's scenery and costumes; since I know how much these mean to you, I am delighted on both counts for you. This reminds me that I have not even read the end of your libretto, so I would be very happy if you could send this to me when convenient (Burger, p. 303).

Page 283

In these weeks it seemed to me quite impossible ever to see you again or ever to enter your house again (Burger, p. 304).

Page 283

Your great temperament is matched only by your good sense, your fair-mindedness and your sense of humour. So I hope you will help us both out of this. All you have to do is read over my letters of May, June and August to realize how totally I am in tune with you. But I cannot get over this simply by being in tune with you. So, please, help me (Burger, p. 305).

Page 284

It has been, and is, and I hope will be, a joint effort, with both of us increasing the strengths that lie within us by our mutual sympathy (Burger, p. 307).

Page 285

But as for the dedication, even under normal circumstances the wording that you selected would not have pleased me because, in the way that I understood it initially, it offended my objective feeling of things and, if you like, my self-esteem. I might however have kept quiet about it, if our relationship had not already been under such strain that I wanted to avoid any further impediment, coûte que coûte (Burger, p. 311).

Page 285

Really, my dear, there is so little warmth in this world, there are so few people for whose being one feels involuntary sympathy, and it is even rarer that such an elective affinity can form the basis in practice for a human relationship; we have now known each other for half a lifetime, we know approximately what we expect of each other and what we can give to each other; should we risk all of this simply because we have each, unintentionally, hurt each other in the heat of the moment, at a time when perhaps we were both particularly sensitive and prickly because of other things? (Burger, p. 313).

Page 285

I thank you from the heart for the lovely, beneficial words in your latest letter (Burger, p. 314).

Page 285

What is always necessary is to try and see things from the other's point of view. It is then perhaps possible for me to understand full well how you were able to – or had to – transfer the justifiable disgruntlement you were feeling to the other highly delicate and intimate matter of your contribution to the dramatic work in progress (Burger, p. 314).

Pages 285-6

I dedicate this comedy to Count Harry Kessler, to whose collaboration it owes so much (Burger, p. 543).

Page 287

Long walk with Hugo in the afternoon, he told me about the Kessler business over the *Der Rosenkavalier* dedication (Simon, p. 182).

Pages 287-8

I told Bodenhausen how embarrassed I was about Hofmannsthal's behaviour in the ballet project; particularly so soon after he had treated me in such a cavalier fashion over *Der Rosenkavalier*. This provoked Bodenhausen into replying that he did not understand what I could accuse H. of in the *Rosenkavalier* business; he had learned from Hofmannsthal a few weeks ago in Berlin what my part had been in *Der Rosenkavalier*, and he did not think he had treated me badly. So I asked how H. had described my part. Bodenhausen: Hofmannsthal had told him that I had 're-arranged a scene' here and there. To this I replied that H. was quite simply an infamous liar if he claimed that: my part in the invention and scenario of *Der Rosenkavalier* was just as great, if not greater than his. Bodenhausen was clearly very shaken by my detailed objections and rejoinders and advised me not to take the matter tragically but rather to treat it as pathological on Hofmannsthal's part [...] (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 802).

Pages 288-9

Paris, 24.III.1912. My dear friend, in order to avoid any misunderstanding, I would like to set down **in writing** my main objections to Hofmannsthal's version as told to you of my part in *Rosenkavalier*. Forget any talk of mere redrafting, correcting or advice, for the fact is I was half responsible **for the very theme of the work**, in other words the idea of the cross-dressing and the figure of Quinquin, the actual *Rosenkavalier*. Moreover from the very outset the **entire content** of the piece (except for the added duel scene, and the scandal scene in Act Three, that were added by **Strauss**, not by

Hofmannsthal) was **created jointly** by Hofmannsthal and by me, **in ongoing work act by act and situation by situation**. Work on this took place in my house in Weimar and went on for several days (three or maybe four), with each of us taking what had been decided so far and adding our own ideas for the scene being developed, so that **our joint creative efforts** were discussed thoroughly in order to determine a final version that Hofmannsthal wrote down. In this way the final version was made up of **at least as many ideas and creative concepts on my part** as it was on Hofmannsthal's. At the time **Hofmannsthal thought exactly the same too**; for he often said that authors like Flers and Caillavet undoubtedly collaborated in the way we were doing; for the first time he could now see how plays could be co-written in this way: and neither of us could now say (then say) which bit came from him and which from the other. For a time Hofmannsthal continued to believe this; for he said so, **in all seriousness**, and repeated it, and **not** as a mere politesse in the later conversation I mentioned. Basically the later conversation was this: in my study in Weimar H said to me that in view of my role in *Rosenkavalier*, I really ought to be credited as co-author of the work on the title page. But I was completely unknown as a dramatist; for a major work like this a new name had its dangers, might even perplex Strauss; and given that so much was riding on this for him, Hofmannsthal (financially and in other ways), he would be grateful to me if I would renounce my right on this occasion. This was absolutely not some kind of politesse on Hofmannsthal's part; it was a serious, businesslike conversation, as evidenced by its length and by the whole tone that Hofmannsthal adopted. I agreed immediately not to be named, whereupon Hofmannsthal added somewhat vaguely that maybe my co-authorship or the part that I had played could be announced **later**; (i.e. once the **success** of the piece could no longer be adversely affected by this). And I would never have raised all this again, if H had not tried to **misrepresent** to the general public my contribution when he thought of dedicating the work to me as his 'helper'. I refused to sanction this clear misrepresentation of our working relationship, and that was the origin of our subsequent disagreements. Those are the basic facts of the matter in our conversation this morning (Simon, pp. 92-4).

Page 290

Bodenhausen came to me early and discussed Hofmannsthal. I asked him to do nothing, since H. and I really are too close to each other for a third party to be able to act as intermediary. Bodenhausen agreed: he said H. virtually loves me. Maybe, but this is a peculiar form of love! (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 802).

Page 290

Your mastery of the stagecraft seems to me to be in a different league to anything that I have seen before (Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Eberhard von

Bodenhause, *Briefe der Freundschaft* (Berlin: Eugen Diederichs Verlag, 1953), p. 133).

Pages 291-2

You were surprised that I embarked on this way of collaborating with Hofmannsthal at all and did not prefer to write plays or ballets on my own. This is explained by a very clear realisation of the limits of Hofmannsthal's poetic gifts and of mine. Hofmannsthal simply does not have precisely what I do have as a dramatic author and vice versa. Hofmannsthal has no talent for constructing things, and he has only a limited talent for developing and ordering dramatically pre-existing material; this is why, except for purely lyrical dramas, he has always taken existing scenarios. But if there is an effective scenario, he can make it come wonderfully alive in lyrical terms, breathing life into the characters and situations by use of the lyrical. This is precisely the talent that I lack; I cannot make the characters speak in voices that belong to them (the great gift of a lyricist) but I can, much more clearly and securely than Hofmannsthal, invent and order a dramatic plot. This means that I shall never write a play on my own that is alive in the way that I believe necessary; but what I had thought was that I would write plays together with Hofmannsthal, which would have been dramatically secure and effective in a way that Hofmannsthal will never achieve on his own. I believe that this is evidenced by *Rosenkavalier* and by much in the first two acts of *Cristina*, although these were only the beginning [...] (Simon, p. 94).

Page 292

Hofmannsthal said the following about *Faublas*: making a scenario in this way with someone else gives him the same sense of security as taking the scenario from someone else's play (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 564).

Page 292

H. said that the huge service this way of working gave him was the fact that it forced him to reflect on things. Hitherto he had never been able to reflect on his work; he had always worked in purely visionary fashion; as a result, the detail had often got in the way of the main subject, and the shaping of his pieces had lacked assurance (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 565).

Page 293

Travelled to Weimar with the Hofmannsthals in the afternoon. In the evening Hofmannsthal said to me, in respect of the theatre, that he thought of himself like a young man who had boasted that he could ride horses and who had then been mounted on a very demanding steed; once up in the saddle he was surprised that he could sort of manage, and not fall off;

but he still felt that the slightest wrong move would inevitably lead to an accident. Now, after *Cristina*, he felt that he could ride. Even *Elektra* had merely been a sleepwalking successful exercise (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 591).

Page 294

In the evening, at home, Hofmannsthal read aloud *Der Rosenkavalier* (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 592).

Page 294

Hofmannsthal read aloud the third act with great comic success (Burger, p. 537).

Page 300

Kessler's qualities as a cultural organizer, in this case, are as evident as his original artistic productive creativity in the conception and realization of a ballet, in which he understood how to make people aware of his share in the work (Barzantny, p. 153).

Page 301

If, by taking up this material and having the idea of treating it in the manner of Veronese's paintings and thus transposing it into an even freer realm of the imagination, I provided the stimulus for the art of Richard Strauss to meet that of Leon Bakst, and to place both in the service of the wonderful instrument of the artistic ensemble created by Serge Diaghilev, so as to emerge in sovereign fashion in this respect, then I shall always be delighted at what has been created. My friend Count Kessler is mostly responsible for developing the poetic and mimic motifs, as demonstrated by the following written account of the overall choreography, as drafted by him (*Josephs Legende*, pp. 11-2).

Page 302

At sea, 1 January 1892. Friday. Life on board is fairly monotonous. Spending lots of time with Baragnon. A little comedy being played is quite diverting, in which I am in the role of Joseph and an old, retired 'cocotte' plays Potiphar's wife (*Tagebuch II*, p. 77).

Page 303

The content of 'Joseph' is the contrast and struggle between two worlds. The contrast extends from the costumes worn by the characters to their innermost, spiritual lives, as revealed by gesture and music (*GS II*, p. 180).

Page 303

Quite phenomenal. **It would be worth writing a ballet for these people.** A young male dancer (men dancing ballet usually make me want to vomit) is the most wonderful creature I have ever seen in this art form apart from Ruth [St Denis]. You have to see him, to understand how the male can be used in ballet. [...] If you ever write a ballet (with Strauss), **then we shall have to get this young Nijinski** (Burger, pp. 233-4).

Page 304

This is truly a new art form being born. You *must* see them; because you cannot imagine this sort of perfection (Burger, p. 240).

Page 304

Could you not come for *one* day at least: e.g. Thursday, when there is a particularly lovely performance. I promise you that *it would be worth it*, indeed it could be absolutely *decisive* for you, the benefit being some unforeseeable effect on your imagination (Burger, p. 245).

Page 306

Diaghilev has meanwhile instructed me to ask you for a ballet with music by Strauss with Nijinsky in the main role (Burger, p. 331).

Page 307

Would you like *to do this with me*, entirely officially?!?' (Burger, p. 333).

Page 309

I carefully considered this mixture of bad conscience, cynicism and sugar, without immediately finding an answer to it. Actually it's a little masterpiece! Last summer I discussed the tragic ballet with Diaghilev, in response to Hofmannsthal's requests and agile protestations of friendship, as work to be done jointly by him and me, and I accepted the commission on our joint behalf. Of course, the only way H. knows Diaghilev and Nijinsky is through me (*Tagebuch IV*, pp. 800-1).

Page 310

His implied justification was enough to cast a note of falsehood on his businesslike discussion of how we should work together (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 831).

Page 311

That afternoon I went to Diaghilev, **told him all about the relationship between me and Hofmannsthal** and excused myself from the *Orestes* scenario. We then discussed two or three other themes. D. finally said that we had now been talking around a ballet for a year without a result, and he now wanted **to address me quite simply as a businessman**. He needed a scenario for a particular décor and particular costumes by Benois, they existed already, but there was no ballet for them. The preliminary work had been done for a ballet to be based on *Fêtes* by Debussy, a trivial work lasting a mere five minutes. Meanwhile the costumes had been made so beautifully that both he and Nijinsky would regret using them for such a short, inconsequential piece, where they would not be appreciated. The décor and costumes were in the style of Paolo Veronese, the décor being a huge, Palladian hall with pillars with a raised loggia at the rear, as shown in Veronese's *Marriage at Cana*, the costumes being half Venetian and half oriental. Would I and Hofmannsthal devise a scenario for him, with Strauss as the composer if possible? I found the proposition highly attractive, like giving a child a puppet theatre with costumed puppets, and with a wonder puppet in this case, Nijinsky; so I immediately said yes (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 841).

Page 313

We met Diaghilev who was still at Larue, and I gave him my full agreement, in fact my delight at this idea (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 845).

Pages 313-4

I said that in the Bible, Joseph was rescued from prison by a miracle, so it might be permissible to write an analogue miracle salvation into the Potiphar episode; at least this would not be untrue to the spirit of the legend. For example, Joseph could be freed by an angel, an archangel all in gold on a white cloud that would descend. H. agreed that this would work, and suggested that Potiphar's wife would have to kill herself by way of contrast to Joseph's heavenly bliss; servants could carry her body out under a black sheet while, on the other side of the stage, the archangel on his white cloud would take Joseph away, and other angels with golden palms would look down from a rosy morning light between the pillars framing a huge Palladian perspective. We decided to give this scenario to Diaghilev immediately, I went to the Crillon to have us announced while Hofmannsthal fetched his wife (*Tagebuch IV*, pp. 845-6).

Page 314

[He] found it excellent, however, and accepted it for performance (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 846).

Page 314

Paris – Berlin. 7 June 1913 [sic]. Friday. In the ‘Nordexpress’, leaving for Berlin in the afternoon, I finalized the ballet in detail (worked it out and wrote it down). The manuscript was ready when we reached Liège (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 847).

Page 318

Joseph excellent. Do you not think it too similar to Salome Jochanaan? I hope to compose it beautifully. Await Russian conditions, fee, percentage and details of his commitment. Strauss (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 849).

Page 318

Diaghilev, Nijinsky, Bakst came to me at the Cecil. Began to work on the ballet in a big corner room overlooking the Thames. Addressed the layout, groupings, movements, gestures in detail. I demonstrated how I envisaged the gestures of Joseph, the woman etc. Nijinsky imitated with wonderful poetic invention. Worked until late; then they all dined with me (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 850).

Pages 318-9

We went through the manuscript from beginning to end in detail. Strauss listened carefully, said little. Then he sat at the piano and played the start of the ballet (*Tagebuch IV*, pp. 853-4).

Page 319

I enclose the directorial instructions for the dances and a *complete re-working of the ending*, that I have undertaken [...] All this has obviously been discussed in detail with Diaghilev, Nijinsky and Bakst, approved by them down to each and every last gesture and checked for stageworthiness. I would love to know, however, what *you* have to say to this, whether you have any objections or any desired additions? (Burger, p. 353).

Page 320

On the other hand it is clear from this that Kessler – despite his brisk assurance that all this was only provisional in character – hardly gave any chance to Hofmannsthal of making anything more than amendments to the detail, and marginal observations (Barzantny, p. 173).

Page 320

Kessler has now sent me the entire *Joseph in Egypt* ballet, it is much more his work than mine and I think it is really lovely, so I understand how it is that Strauss is working on it with enthusiasm [...] (*Band XXVII*, p. 456).

Page 321

I and Nijinsky as appropriate would adapt all the detail to fit his music (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 890).

Page 321

This music embodies totally my vision of Joseph's character. Nijinsky found it all too dervish-like (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 905).

Page 323

[...] If something that has taken up 35 minutes of my time will bring me at least 25,000 Kronen, maybe even double that amount, that really is quite something! (*Band XXVII*, pp. 481-2).

Page 324

We then talked about the essence of drama, its concentration and intensification. He said that 'our friend Hugo' was gradually getting there, it had been a very good discipline for him to have to write for music, because this forced him to be briefer (*Tagebuch IV*, p. 891).

**End of original texts translated in the thesis.**

## Appendix 2

### Music examples quoted in the thesis

Page 98

**COUPLETS DE LA PETITE MAMAN**

№ 17

LA MARQUISE

Copyright by Société d'Éditions musicales 1907  
Société d'Éditions musicales (ancien fonds Paul Dupont), Paris, 7, rue de la Pépinière.

Ex. A

*L'Ingénu libertin*, Vocal Score, no. 17 (Paris: Société d'Éditions Musicales, 1907). This example of a simple diatonic melody, narrow in range, comes in the middle of Act II, as the Marquise and Faublas are starting to undress for bed. Faublas is having trouble with the lacings of his dress, so the Marquise helps him to undress, acting as his *petite maman* (contd. on next page).

verts ou les yeux clos, en s'en dor-mant Sur un sein que l'a-mour sou-  
 lève. Il s'a-lan-  
 guit, il a bien chaud le gar-ue-ment, Dans l'e-treiu-te vo-lup-tu-  
 eu-se. Et le le'

Tous droits d'exécution publique, de reproduction et d'arrangements réservés pour tous pays y compris la Suède, la Norvège et le Danemark.

## Ex. A (contd.)

The melody continues in simple vein (the orchestral score has string quartet and woodwind accompaniment). The concept, and terminology of *la petite maman* as the older, woman lover was well-known to French audiences of the time.

42

**COUPLETS DE LA PHYSIOGNOMONIE**

Clar A

9<sup>o</sup> 6

All<sup>o</sup> Mod<sup>o</sup>

L. MARQUIS

1<sup>o</sup> Couplet. *mf* La chi.mie et ses a. lambics, As.tro.no.mie et bota.  
2<sup>o</sup> Couplet. J'ai vraiment un coup d'œil ad hoc, Des contra.dicteurs je me

L. MARQUISE  
FAUBLAS  
ROSAMBERT

All<sup>o</sup> Mod<sup>o</sup>

PIANO

*mf*

L.M.  
F.R.

...nique, La phy.sique la mé.canique Né.ga.lent pas mes diagnostics  
moqué, Un trait de la figure évoque Pour moi toute u.ne vie en bloc

La chi.mie et ses aliaa.  
Vraiment son coup d'œil est ad

D

Ex. B

*L'Ingénu libertin*, Vocal Score, no. 6. From *Les Travaux d'Hercule* onwards, Terrasse used the patter song to comic effect in most of his operettas. In this case, *Les Couplets de la Physiognomie*, the Marquis de Bay has just met Faublas, disguised as a girl, and has been told his (her) name: Mademoiselle du Portail. He sings of the extraordinary powers of physiognomy to distinguish the male sex from the female, and to detect whether or not a wife is being unfaithful: on both counts, in the course of the narrative, he is to be found wanting.

Page 98

Sop.  
 Et main-te.nant que la pièce est fi - ni - e Sui - vant l'u - sa - ge  
 Tén.  
 Et main-te.nant que la pièce est fi - ni - e Sui - vant l'u - sa - ge  
 Basses  
 Et main-te.nant que la pièce est fi - ni - e Sui - vant l'u - sa - ge

12  
 s.  
 Des ai - eux Nous nous re.commandons mes - sieurs à votre in.dulgence infi -  
 T.  
 Des ai - eux Nous nous re.commandons mes - sieurs à votre in.dulgence infi -  
 B.  
 Des ai - eux Nous nous re.commandons mes - sieurs à votre in.dulgence infi -

s.  
 - ni - - e On n'est pas gai, gai, gai, Mais on est  
 T.  
 - ni - - e On n'est pas gai, gai, gai, Mais on est  
 B.  
 - ni - - e On n'est pas gai, gai, gai, Mais on est

## Ex. C

*Les Travaux d'Hercule*, Vocal Score, no. 1 (Paris: Société Nouvelle d'Editions Musicales, 1901). Part of the bright, fast, opening chorus. As with the opening chorus of *L'Ingénu libertin*, 'C'est le carnaval!' it is set in G major.

Ex. D

*L'Ingénu libertin*, ms full score, no. 12. The horn and bassoon chords on 'Non, c'était des viaux' were noted by several contemporary critics, including Joseph Trillat, who wrote: 'Listen to the two bassoon notes that highlight the cattle in the comic duet in Act II, and what a feeling of *terroir* you get from comic musings of a country lad (Joseph Trillat, *Bulletin Français de la Société Internationale de la Musique*, January 1908, pp. 82-3): 'Ecoutez comment deux notes de basson font sauter les 'viaux' dans le duetto bouffe du 2ème acte, et quel accent de *terroir* relève alors les plaisanteries d'un rustaud'.

Père Ubu - Un heblou, de par un chandelle verte, j'aime mieux être greux comme un moine et brave rat que riche comme un méchant et gras chuit.  
Mère Ubu - Et la capelou? et le parapluie? Et le grand culou?  
Père Ubu - Eh bien, après, Mère Ubu? (Il s'en va en claquant la porte.)

3bs C(u) — 28 —

Ex. E

Mère Ubu (surtout) - Un heblou, de par un chandelle verte, j'aime mieux être greux comme un moine et brave rat que riche comme un méchant et gras chuit.  
Mère Ubu - Et la capelou? et le parapluie? Et le grand culou?  
Père Ubu - Eh bien, après, Mère Ubu? (Il s'en va en claquant la porte.)

-28-

Ex. F

Nos 1 and 2 of the *Ubu roi* libretto and score (Paris: Editions du Mercure de France, 1897). In his study of the score, Lamothe traces influences in Terrasse's 'absurd' music from Wagner, from symbolist marionette dramas, to melodramas and fairground music, a rich variety of sources and influences befitting the theatre of the absurd of which *Ubu roi* was a precursor.



**ACTE II**  
**ENTR'ACTE**

Mouv! de Valse

*PLANO*

Ex. I

*Les Travaux d'Hercule*, Vocal Score, start of the Entr'acte between Acts I and II. Terrasse went on to develop the slow waltz genre in a number of his operettas, including *L'Ingénu libertin* (nos. 2, 8 and 19 of that work being particularly good examples).



Handwritten musical score for page 11, featuring a transition from *rall.* to *Andantino*. The score includes staves for Flute (Fl.), Clarinet (Cl.), Bassoon (Cb.), Cor Anglais (Cor.), Violins (Viol.), Viola (Vla.), Cello (Cello), and Double Bass (Cb.). The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 4/4. The *rall.* section is marked with *mp* and *mf*. The *Andantino* section begins with a dynamic marking of *pp*. The score shows the start of a flowing *Andantino* movement.

Ex. K

The start of the flowing *Andantino* that becomes a feature of the work in later numbers.

Handwritten musical score for Ex. K (contd) on page 147. The score includes staves for Flute, Clarinet in B-flat, Violin, Viola, Cello, and Double Bass. The Flute part features a melodic line with a slur and a fermata. The Clarinet part has a melodic line with a slur and a fermata. The Violin and Viola parts have a rhythmic accompaniment. The Cello and Double Bass parts have a simple bass line. The number 12 is written in the top right corner.

Ex. K (contd)

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation, page 147, for a string quartet. The score is written on ten staves. The instruments are labeled as follows: Flute (Fl.), Clarinet (Cl.), Bassoon (B.), Cello (Cello), Violin (Viol.), Viola (Viola), and Double Bass (C.B.). The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings. The top right corner of the page is marked with the number '13'. The handwriting is in black ink on a light-colored paper.

Ex. K (end)

Handwritten musical score for Act III, page 148. The score is for a trio and includes staves for Flute (fl.), Clarinet (Cl.), Bassoon (B.), Contrabass (Cous.), Violin (Viol.), Viola (Vla.), Soprano (Soph.), Tenor (Faubl.), Cello (Celle.), and Double Bass (C. B.). The music is in 3/4 time and features complex three-part harmony. The lyrics are: "je vous pardonne", "me", "Elle pardonne, elle pas -", "vous m'accordez mon pardon", and "Elle pardonne, elle pas -". The score includes dynamic markings such as "Dim.", "mp", "p", and "pp", and performance instructions like "Arco" and "And me".

Ex. L

The only excursion into three-part harmony that occurs in the Act III trio. The solo outbursts by Sophie, in her rage and despair, here give way to her happiness that Faublas has been forgiven by the Marquise, who blesses their union.

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation. At the top, there are tempo markings: "rall" and "Tutti Moderato et tutti piano". The score is divided into several systems. The first system includes woodwind parts for Flute (Fl), Oboe (Ob), Clarinet (Cl), Bassoon (B.), Cor Anglais (Cor I), and Trombone (Trib). The second system includes Violin (Viol) and Alto (Alt) parts. The third system features vocal soloists: Soprano (Sopr), Alto (Alto), and Bass (Bass). The vocal parts have lyrics in French: "je vous pardonne", "Don", and "Don". The bottom system includes a double bass part. Various dynamic markings such as "pp", "p", and "f" are used throughout. Performance instructions like "Arco" and "Pizz" are also present. The notation includes notes, rests, and bar lines.

Ex. L (end)





2. Entracte

Fl.  
ob.  
Cl.  
B.  
C.  
Tr.  
Tb.  
Tuba  
Timp.

*lunga*  
*apertamente*  
*acceleratamente*

*f* + *p*

Ex. N

Act III Entracte (second of six pages) (continued)

Ex. N  
(Third of six pages).

The image shows a handwritten musical score for a woodwind and percussion ensemble. The score is written on ten staves. The instruments are labeled on the left: Flute (Fl.), Oboe (Ob.), Clarinet (Cl.), Bassoon (Bs.), Trumpet (Trp.), Trombone (Tbn.), and Percussion (Perc.). The Flute part has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The Oboe, Clarinet, and Bassoon parts have a bass clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The Trumpet and Trombone parts have a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The Percussion part has a bass clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, dynamics (e.g., *f*, *mf*, *ff*), and articulation marks. There are also some handwritten annotations and corrections throughout the score.

Ex. N  
(Fourth of six pages)

2. Cuatro

gtr

bajo

C.

D.

C.

Tbn

Tbn

SC

Ex. N

(Fifth of six pages)

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation for a woodwind ensemble. At the top, there is a large, dark scribble that appears to be a signature or a title, possibly "S. J. ...". Below this, the score is organized into two systems. The first system includes parts for Flute (Fl.), Clarinet (Cl.), Bassoon (Bsn.), Saxophone (Sax.), Trombone (Tbn.), and Trombone (Tub.). The second system includes parts for Trombone (Tbn.), Trombone (Tub.), and Saxophone (Sax.). The notation is dense, featuring various musical symbols such as clefs, time signatures, and dynamic markings. The handwriting is in black ink on a white background.

Ex. N

(Sixth of six pages)

Handwritten musical score for "Les Couplets de Reveil" from Act III. The score is written on ten staves. The top five staves are for woodwinds: Flute, Hautbois, Clarinet in Bb, Basson, and Cor. The middle three staves are for strings: Violins (I and II), and Alto. The bottom two staves are for Cello and Double Bass. The music is in 6/8 time with a key signature of two flats. The tempo is marked "all: mod:". There are various dynamics like "pp", "p", and "f". Handwritten notes above the staves include "ce la tite un peu plus tranquille" and "3e acte". The score ends with a double bar line and a fermata.

Ex. O

The Couplets de Reveil constitute the opening exchanges of Act III between the two lovers who have just spent the night together. They compliment each other in a strophic number that has a delicate cello and clarinet accompaniment (one of five pages).

Page 149

Handwritten musical score for Ex. O, page 149. The score is written on ten staves. At the top, the time signature  $2 \frac{1}{5}$  is handwritten. The staves are labeled as follows: Flute (fl), Clarinet (Cl), Bassoon (Ba), Contrabass (Cont), Violin (Viol), Viola (Vla), Cello (Cb), and Double Bass (Cb). The music is written in a single system with four measures. The Flute part starts with a forte (f) dynamic. The Violin and Viola parts have a '6' written below them, possibly indicating a sixteenth note. The Cello and Double Bass parts have a '6' written below them, possibly indicating a sixteenth note. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

Ex. O

(Page two of five)

Page 149

Handwritten musical score for a woodwind and string ensemble. The score is written on multiple staves. The instruments listed on the left are Flute (Fl.), Clarinet (Cl.), Bassoon (B.), Contrabass (Cont.), Violin (Viol.), and Viola (Vla.). The score includes dynamic markings such as *pp* (pianissimo) and *mf* (mezzo-forte). There are also performance instructions like "V. f. p. p. p." and "V. f. p. p. p." written in the bassoon part. The music features complex rhythmic patterns, including sixteenth and thirty-second notes, and rests. The score is divided into measures by vertical bar lines.

Ex. O

(Page three of five)

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation for a chamber ensemble. The score is written on ten staves, organized into three systems. The instruments are: Flute (Fl), Clarinet (Cl), Bassoon (Bsn), Cello (Cello), Violin (Viol), Viola (Vla), and Double Bass (Cb). The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings (p, mp, f). Performance instructions like 'div' (divisi) and 'arco' (arco) are present. The score is marked with 'I<sup>a</sup> fois' and '2<sup>a</sup> fois' in several places, indicating first and second endings. The handwriting is in black ink on aged paper.

Ex. O

(Page four of five).

Ex. O  
(Page five of five).

Page 319

Potiphars Weib sitzt starr aufgerichtet da. Sie regt sich nicht. Ihre Haltung drückt eisigen Hoch-  
Potiphars Wife sits rigid, erect. Her demeanour expresses icy pride

10 gemessen M. d = 52  
misurato, un poco moderato

8 mut und eine brütende, fast leidenschaftliche Langeweile aus. Sie beachtet die drei Sklaven, die an sie herantreten, mit keinem Blick.  
and a brooding, almost passionate weariness of life. She casts no glance on the three slaves who approach her.

Ex. P

The chords used to introduce, and accompany Potiphar's wife, which Kessler found particularly exciting and impressive when he first heard Strauss play them on the piano.

### Appendix 3

#### Illustrations referred to in the thesis

All photographs are from the January 1908 issue of *Le Théâtre*



Ex. A - Act I (see page 123)

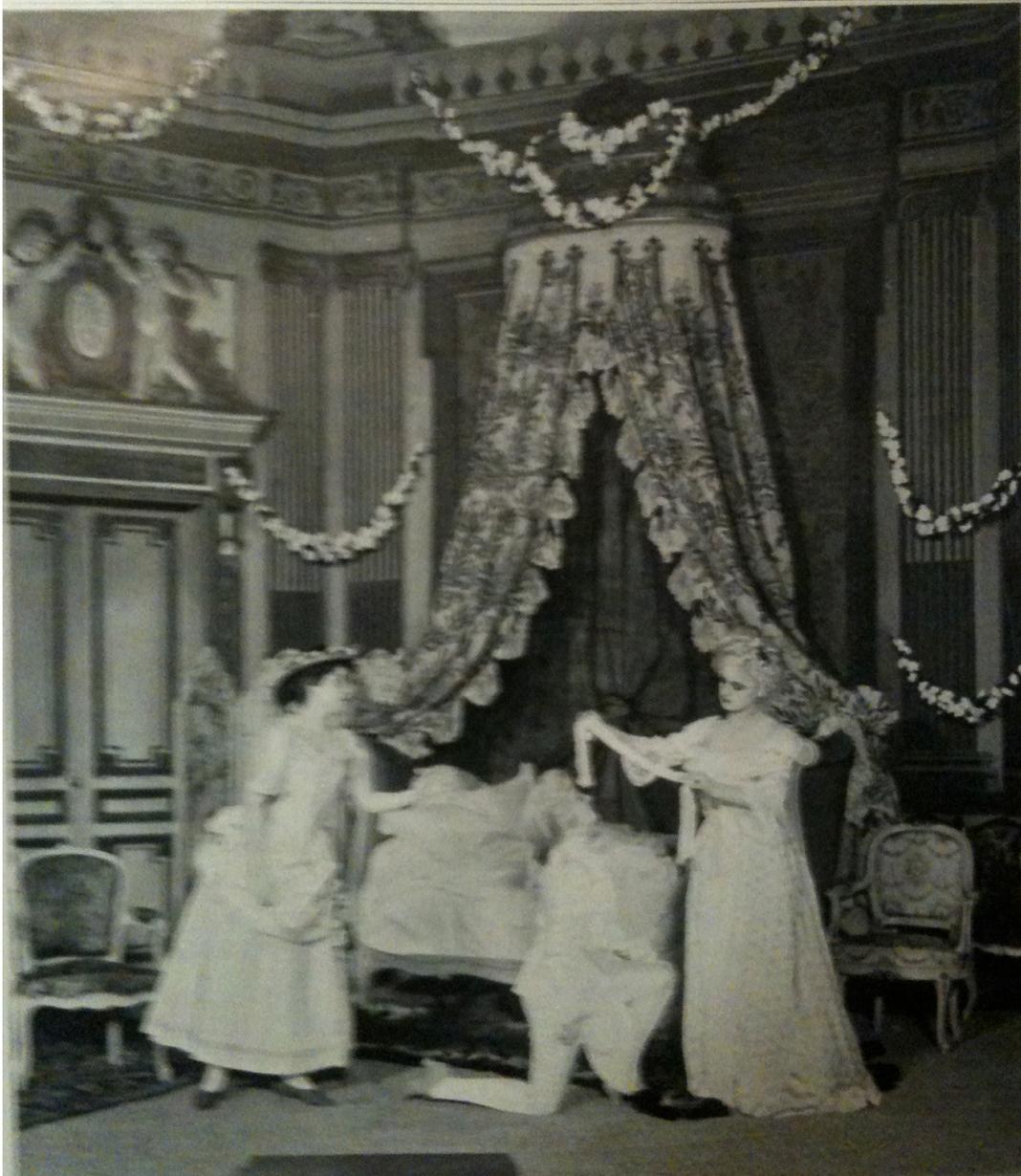
#### Les Jardins d'Armide – bal public

Marquise de Bay, Marquis de Bay, Comte de Rosambert, Faublas (cross-dressed already as Sophie du Portail, and being presented to the Marquis). The Ochs/Mariandel sub-plot in *Der Rosenkavalier* is pre-figured here, with increasingly persistent attempts by the Marquis de Bay to court Rosambert's delightful female companion. The shepherdess outfit being worn by Faublas will later be worn by Sophie de Pontis.



Ex. B - Act II (see page 123)

The grand boudoir of the Marquise de Bay, described as being very elegantly decorated in late Louis XV or early Louis XVI style. Prior to the arrival of full chorus and principals, the scene has been set with a dining table for the Marquis and Marquise de Bay, Faublas and Rosambert, with Sophie (disguised as a kitchen boy) and La Jeunesse waiting at table.



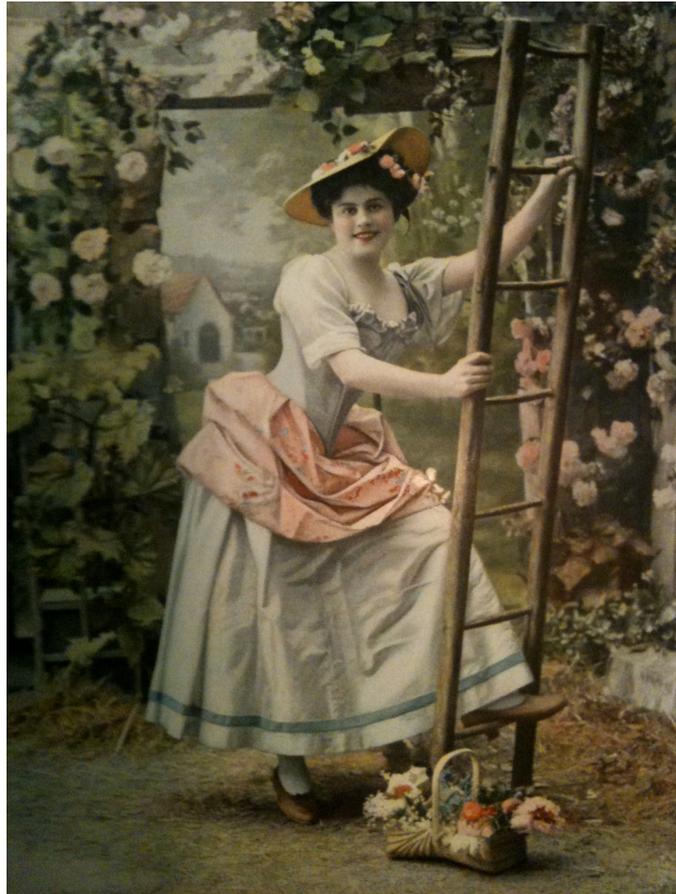
Ex. C - Act III (see page 123)

The bedroom of the Marquise de Bay. At the start of the act, the Marquise is still lying in bed, with one hand and the sleeve of her nightdress hanging outside the sheets and bed covers. Faublas takes her hand, and smothers it with kisses. In the opening duet, Faublas and the Marquise sing in successive verses of the attraction each exerts on the other, and both regret that it is day already. The photograph, taken later in Act III, shows Faublas being blindfolded before he plays a game of Blind Man's Buff, in which he has to choose between Sophie and the Marquise (No. 25. Trio. Scène du Colin-Maillard).



Ex. D - Faublas (Jane Alba) in her Act I Chevalier costume

(see page 126)



Ex. E - Sophie (Jeanne Petit) in her Act I costume

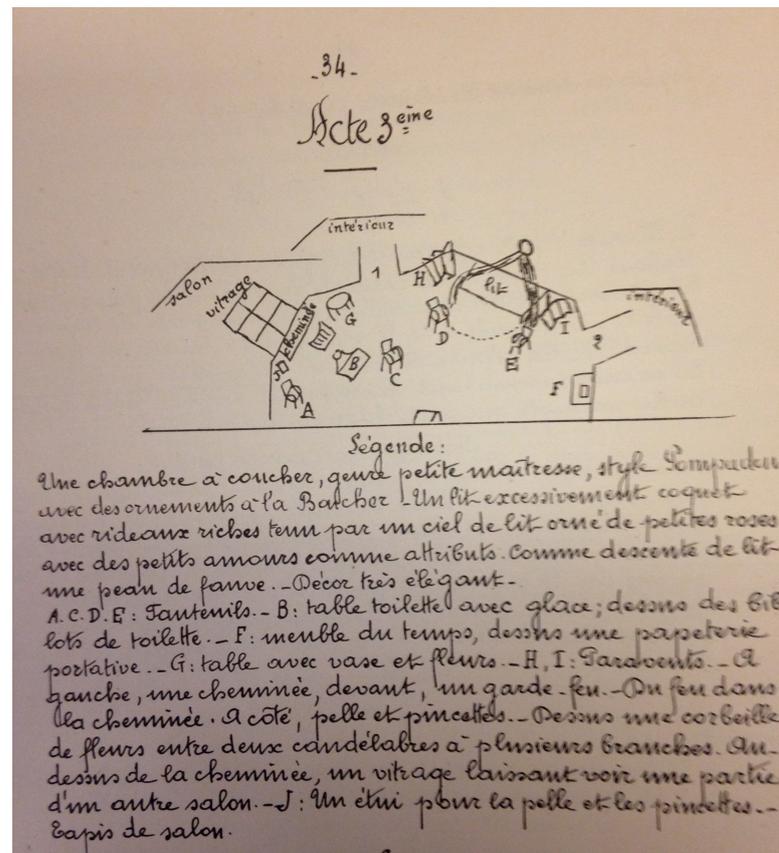
(see page 126)



Ex. F - Arlette Dorgère as the Marquise de Bay.

(see page 140)

In a subsequent interview she spoke of the 'intense joy' she felt every night, recreating this particular role at the Bouffes Parisiens, which made her determined to train immediately as a more serious, straight actress: *L'Ingénu libertin* was thus the last opérette in which she appeared.



Ex. G

(see page 145)

The opening scene of Act III of *L'Ingénu libertin*, re-creating the famous Baudoin painting. The bed is upstage left, with alcoves either side. Kessler must have described this stage layout in great detail to Hofmannsthal, as Ex. H will show, for the basic concepts are identical. (*La Marquise et le Marmiton, ou L'Ingénu libertin, mise en scène*, p. 34).



## Appendix 4

### Stage adaptations of Louvet de Couvray's *Faublas* novels prior to that of Louis Artus (1907)

#### Le Chevalier de Faublas (1789)

The first stage adaptation of *Faublas* appears to have been by François-Jean Willemain d'Abancourt, who also wrote under the name Léonard Gobemouche (1745–1803), whose one-act verse comedy *Le Chevalier de Faublas* had already premièred by the time Louvet de Couvray wrote his new preface. The play appeared at the Théâtre de Monsieur, located in the north wing of the Palais des Tuileries, on 3 February 1789. With a clear nod to what the public might have been expecting – even hoping for – the stage adaptation to portray, Abancourt wrote the following somewhat enigmatic words in his own introduction:

I have taken the subject of this bagatelle from a novel that is so well-known that it needs no further praise from me: I know that I have not dramatised the most amusing part; but I had a purpose that circumstances external to the work have not permitted me to fulfil. Given the title of the piece, the public might have imagined, I cannot think why, that they would see the Chevalier de Faublas disguised as a woman in the home of the Marquis de B\*\*\*; I admit that this would have been more intriguing;<sup>241</sup> but my only response is to repeat what I have already said a few lines earlier.<sup>242</sup>

---

<sup>241</sup> 'Piquant' is the French word used here.

<sup>242</sup> Willemain d'Abancourt, *Le Chevalier de Faublas* (Paris: Chez Brunet, Libraire, 1789), [http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=pL1MA7PEI4YC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs\\_ge\\_summary\\_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false](http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=pL1MA7PEI4YC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false) [accessed 1 February 2013]

This adaptation concentrates on the relationship between Faublas and his father Baron Faublas, who at the outset is determined to marry off Sophie (his ward) to someone else, and to obtain for Faublas a regimental commission: after several onstage imbroglios involving Sophie and the Comtesse de Rosambert (dressed in a ball gown) hiding in an ante-room adjacent to Faublas's quarters, exchanging dresses so that Sophie can escape (in the ball gown) from under the eyes of Baron Faublas, and after further sub-plots involving Faublas's tutor and his valet, all is resolved when Sophie and Faublas throw themselves on the mercy of the Baron, admit they have behaved immaturely and foolishly, and ask for his permission to marry – which he grants. The verse is moralistic in tone, but light and amusing, with no real attempt by the author to play to the gallery. There is thus no indication in the text of Faublas being, or becoming, a young libertine, and the Baron's expressed objection to his son being allowed to marry Sophie at the outset is simply that she is too rich for him, and that his son must make his way in the world before contemplating marriage. There are no indications of any musical numbers or interludes for this piece. *Le Chevalier de Faublas* had a respectable performance history, with sixteen performances between the February première and its last performance on 3 June 1789.<sup>243</sup>

---

<sup>243</sup> [http://www.cesar.org.uk/cesar2/titles/titles.php?ct=edit&script\\_UID=125891](http://www.cesar.org.uk/cesar2/titles/titles.php?ct=edit&script_UID=125891) [accessed 4 March 2013].

### **Une Aventure de Faublas (1818)**

On 19 February 1818 a one-act vaudeville comedy, *Une Aventure de Faublas* or *Le Lendemain d'un Bal Masqué*, by Thomas Sauvage and N. Lecouturier, premiered at the Théâtre du Vaudeville.<sup>244</sup> The authors made a number of changes to the names of the principal characters, turning the Marquis and Marquise de B. into the Marquis and Marquise de Senneville, and turning Faublas's beloved Sophie into a heroine called Clara (who never actually appears onstage). On the cast page there is a stipulation: 'The role of Faublas can only be played by a woman'. Although Faublas cross-dresses as Mademoiselle du Portail and spends time alone onstage with the Marquise de Senneville in this disguise, before revealing his masculine identity and changing back into military uniform, there is no seduction and no love affair between them: the main driver of the plot is an extended, somewhat laboured scene in which Faublas is interrogated (over an accusation of theft) by a pedantic, comic police commissioner, summoned to the house of Madame de Senneville. When Faublas's uncle, Baron Faublas is also summoned to vouch for his nephew's honour, the proceedings are wound up swiftly with general agreement that Faublas can after all now marry Clara. The solo songs and ensemble numbers are set to melodies by several composers, including the conductor of the Vaudeville orchestra in 1818, Joseph Denis Doche, and the work is

---

<sup>244</sup>[http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=3XILAAAACAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs\\_ge\\_summary\\_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false](http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=3XILAAAACAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false) [accessed 20 August 2013].

therefore a true vaudeville. *Une Aventure de Faublas* was revived four years later at the Gymnase Dramatique, this time with music by Douai, but the première on 20 February 1822 was interrupted and booed offstage before it could finish.<sup>245</sup>

### **Faublas (1833)**

In 1833, a much more elaborate stage adaptation appeared at the Théâtre Nationale du Vaudeville. *Faublas*, by Messrs Dupeuty, Brunswick and Lhérie, is described as a 'comedy in five acts, interspersed with songs'.<sup>246</sup> The authors take a considerably broader sweep through Louvet de Couvray's narrative, starting in Act I with a coming-out ball, given for Faublas by his father; and moving in Act II to the boudoir of the Marquise de B. (where Faublas, cross-dressed as Mademoiselle Duportail, is persuaded to spend the night). Act III portrays the subsequent seduction by Faublas – this time cross-dressed as Mademoiselle Brumont – of the Comtesse de Lignolle in her country home. Rosambert and the Marquise de B. both arrive at the Lignolle house and play an elaborate game that threatens to reveal who Mademoiselle Brumont really is: the Marquise then gets rid of Rosambert by marrying him off to an heiress, whose fortune he can use to buy himself a regiment. Act IV sees Rosambert

---

<sup>245</sup> <http://www.artlyriquefr.fr/dicos/operas%20-%20U.html> [accessed 27 August 2013].

<sup>246</sup> Charles Dupeuty, Léon-Lévy Brunswick and Victor Lhérie, *Faublas* (Paris: J.N. Barba, Delloye, Bezou, 1836), hereinafter: Dupeuty and others. Léon-Lévy Lhérie and Victor Lhérie were brothers and frequent collaborators: the former habitually used the name Brunswick, and under this name collaborated with Adolphe Adam to create *Le Postillon de Lonjumeau* in 1836 (*New Grove 1*, p. 130).

established with his regiment near Metz: he and Faublas talk themselves into fighting a duel over the Marquise de B. but another challenger to Rosambert intervenes and in a duel with pistols, he is lightly wounded (the challenger is the Marquise de B., disguised as a man). Act V reunites all the principals in the apartment of Faublas in his father's house in Paris: neither the Marquis de B (expert in physiognomy) nor the Comte de Lignolle ever come to realise that Faublas (as Mlle Duportail/Brumont) has seduced their respective wives under their very noses: a final onstage charade, a play within a play, is then interrupted by an announcement that the Baron and his daughter Sophie have just arrived for the latter's marriage to Faublas. Faublas then watches the Marquise and the Comtesse make ready to rejoin their husbands and depart: with a muttered: 'Eléonore!...Julie!... what a shame', Faublas prepares to meet his beloved Sophie and settle down with her. Neither Sophie nor her father ever actually appear onstage however: the final chorus is all about the mixed emotions felt by the other characters, led by Rosambert, whose final cynical comment to Faublas is: 'You are going to get married? Good luck!'

The musical numbers appear to consist of new couplets written to existing, and quite well-known melodies. The opening chorus, for example, has an attribution in brackets, 'Léocadie'. This is the title of a three act opera (described as a 'drame lyrique') by Auber and Scribe,<sup>247</sup> first performed at the Opéra Comique on 4 November 1824. Other musical numbers are described as having airs or tunes by Doche. The libretto does

---

<sup>247</sup> [http://data.bnf.fr/16304770/daniel-francois-esprit\\_auber\\_leocadie\\_awv\\_12\\_/](http://data.bnf.fr/16304770/daniel-francois-esprit_auber_leocadie_awv_12_/) [accessed 21 August 2013]

not make it clear whether the composer of these was Joseph Denis Doche, conductor of the Théâtre de Vaudeville Orchestra from 1810 – 1823, or his son Alexandre Doche, who conducted the same orchestra from 1828 – 1848 (*New Grove*, vol. 7, p. 416). At all events, the musical numbers are relatively brief, with choruses being used to end four of the five acts, and with background orchestral accompaniments being used to add atmosphere at key moments, in true melodrama fashion. A waltz is featured as the climax to the ball in Act I, to a tune by Doche.

The dramaturgy reveals a piece that has been co-written by, in this case, three librettists. It does not obey the Unities, and the action can, perhaps, best be described as episodic. The characters of both the Marquis de B. and of the Comte de Lignolle are too similar – they are both dupes and cuckolds – and the feminine, seductive interest is transferred, rather clumsily, from the Marquise de B. in the first two acts, to the Comtesse de Lignolle, who becomes the mature lady who really holds Faublas's interest – and emotional attachment – to the end of the piece. The stage directions indicate a lavish production, however, with onstage musicians, servants bearing lit torches, and five contrasting, elaborate sets. No evidence of the contemporary reception of this piece has been found in any of the theatrical collections still held by the relevant libraries – notably the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, the Paris Opéra Library, the Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris and the Société de l'Histoire du Théâtre.

### Les Amours de Faublas (1835)

It is reasonable, however, to assume a certain success for the piece, from the fact that a ballet pantomime, *Les Amours de Faublas*, with a libretto ascribed to Lockroy,<sup>248</sup> the pseudonym of Joseph-Philippe Simon, and Léon-Lévy Lhérie (Brunswick), and with music by Alexandre Piccini, premiered at the Théâtre de la Porte Saint Martin on 12 June 1835.<sup>249</sup> The narrative libretto reveals an obvious debt to *Faublas*, with Brunswick reworking the basic outlines of the script he had co-authored two years before. There is however an effective visual addition to the narrative, in the form of a medallion, enclosing a portrait of Sophie, that Faublas carries with him as he embarks on his amorous adventures with, firstly the Marquise de B., and subsequently with the Comtesse de Lignolle. In the first scene of Act II, the boudoir of the Marquise de B., her husband inserts a surreptitious note into Faublas's pocket and finds the medallion there, which he purloins: this visual reminder of the Sophie who is Faublas's true love then forms a balletic sub-plot of its own, as it falls into different hands throughout the piece. As with *Faublas*, however, there is no stage role for Sophie herself.

---

<sup>248</sup> <http://data.bnf.fr/13009774/lockroy/#rdt470-13009774> [accessed 1 September 2013]

<sup>249</sup> <http://search.ugent.be/meercat/x/bkt01?q=900000017974> [accessed 28 August 2013].

### Faublas (1881)

The only other surviving evidence of a stage adaptation of the novel dates from 1881 (when Artus was eleven). On 25 October 1881 Edouard Cadol and Georges Duval premièrered their *Faublas* at the Théâtre Cluny, with music by Alexandre Luigini, describing it as an opéra comique in three acts.<sup>250</sup> It was a complete flop and lasted for three performances, disappearing as completely as the theatre itself eventually did:

Pauline Luigini, the director's wife, Mary Albert and Pierre Mesmacker appeared firstly in a revival of Offenbach's *Les Braconniers*, and then in *Faublas* (25 October), [...] which was a failure.<sup>251</sup>

In his subsequent review of the piece, Edmond Stoullig revealed that the authors had in fact withdrawn their names from the playbill at the last moment and went on:

Pleasant scenery and pretty costumes, with nothing lacking, and whatever Messrs Cadol and Duval may think of it (these authors are never happy), M. Taillefer has arranged things to his own satisfaction, since he is working for his father-in-law, François [sic] Luigini, composer of the Italianate and too often banal music for *Faublas*, and for his wife Pauline Luigini, who acts with spirit and sings the role of the naughty titular hero with a pleasant albeit very tremulous vocal timbre. You cannot hear a single word said by Mme Luigini. You can understand Mlle Clary better: this explains the success of her verses in the third act, a success that a mocking audience had fun in exaggerating with purely ironic calls for a third encore. Dull libretto and poor music (Stoullig 1881, p. 415).

---

<sup>250</sup> Florian Bruyas, *Histoire de l'Opérette en France* (Lyon: Emmanuel Vitte, 1974) p. 309, hereinafter: Bruyas.

<sup>251</sup> Philippe Chauveau, *Les Théâtres Parisiens Disparus* (Paris: Editions de l'Amandier, 1999), p. 169.

Withdrawal of the authors' names from the playbill must have caused Stoullig to misremember the name of the composer when he came to write his annual review, for Alexandre Luigini was making a considerable name for himself by 1881, having studied violin at the Paris Conservatoire (second prize) and having gone on to become, firstly, leader and then conductor of the Lyons Opéra orchestra (*New Grove*, vol. 15, p. 288). Luigini subsequently became a conductor at the Opéra Comique in Paris (1897) and composed a number of music theatre pieces, particularly ballets. Of particular interest in the *Faublas* context, it was Luigini who had first auditioned Terrasse for a place at the Lyons Conservatoire, in 1880:

His father then decided to get an opinion from Alexandre Luigini, conductor of the Grand-Théâtre Orchestra and professor of harmony at the Conservatoire. Claude entered a magnificent salon and placed his cornet on a fine table. But when the professor seized his instrument and put it by the piano legs, he suddenly lost confidence and played badly. Luckily, Luigini wanted more. He asked him to sight read some scores. Terrasse recovered his aplomb and sight read very well. When he left with his father, he was reassured. The professor had discerned in him some solid musical qualities and had advised him to study the piano and the cornet (Cathé, p. 15).

Terrasse subsequently entered Luigini's classes in harmony and composition in the autumn of 1881, just at the time that *Faublas* was about to premiere at the Théâtre Cluny. Music professors have long enjoyed discussing the finer points of their own compositions with their pupils, but, however tempting a speculation, there is no evidence that Luigini and

Terrasse discussed a subject that the latter was to set to music twenty-six years later.

Originals of texts translated in this Appendix

Page 423

J'ai tiré le sujet de cette bagatelle d'un Roman trop avantageusement connu, pour que je puisse ajouter à son éloge; je n'en ai sans doute pas pris la situation la plus gaie, je le sais; mais j'avais un but que des circonstances étrangères à l'Ouvrage ne m'ont pas permis de remplir. Sur le titre de la Pièce, le Public s'était imaginé, je ne sais à quelle propos, voir le Chevalier de Faublas déguisé en femme chez le Marquis de B\*\*\*; je conviens que cela aurait été plus piquant; mais je n'ai à répondre que ce que je viens de dire quelques lignes plus haut (Willemain d'Abancourt, *Le Chevalier de Faublas* (Paris: Chez Brunet, Libraire, 1789).

Page 430

Pauline Luigini, l'épouse du directeur, Mary Albert et Pierre Mesmacker parurent d'abord dans la reprise des *Braconniers* (Offenbach), puis dans *Faublas* (25 octobre), [...] qui échoua (Philippe Chauveau, *Les Théâtres Parisiens Disparus* (Paris: Editions de l'Amandier, 1999), p. 169.

Page 430

Décors convenables et jolis costumes, rien n'y manque, et quoi qu'en pensent MM. Cadol et Duval (jamais content, ces auteurs), M. Taillefer a fait les choses comme pour lui, puisqu'il travaillait pour son beau-père, M. Francois Luigini, l'auteur de la musique italienne et trop souvent banale de *Faublas*, et pour sa femme, Mme. Pauline Luigini, qui joue avec entrain et chante d'une voix agréablement timbrée, encore que bien chevrotante, le rôle du petit mauvais sujet. On n'entend pas un traître mot de ce que dit Mme. Luigini. On comprend mieux ce que dit Mlle. Clary: de là vient le succès qu'on a fait à ses couplets du 3ème acte, succès qu'une salle gouailleuse s'est plu à exagérer par un ter purement ironique. Triste poème et pauvre musique (Stoullig 1881, p. 415).

Page 431

Son père décide alors de recueillir l'avis d'Alexandre Luigini, chef de l'orchestre du Grand-Théâtre et professeur d'harmonie au conservatoire. Claude entre dans un magnifique salon et pose son cornet sur une table luxueuse. Mais, quand le maître se saisit de son instrument et le met aux pieds du piano, il perd tout à coup toute assurance et joue mal. Heureusement, Luigini n'en reste pas là. Il lui demande de lire à vue des partitions. Terrasse retrouve son aplomb et déchiffre très bien. Lorsqu'il repart avec son père, il est réconforté. Le chef lui a reconnu de solides

qualités musicales et lui a recommandé l'étude du piano, en plus celle du cornet (Cathe, p. 15).

**End of texts translated in the Appendix**

## Appendix 5

### Stage works seen by Kessler (theatre and music theatre) prior to his first meeting with Hofmannsthal on 11 May 1898

[Details taken from Kessler's dated diary entries with author/composer or general description of work added in brackets: or nfd for 'no further details']

1880

25 May London, Alexandra Palace *The Howard Paul Theatre* (theatrical revue)

1881

22 Jan London, Drury Lane *Mother Goose and the Enchanted Beauty*  
(pantomime)  
17 Apr Paris, Châtelet *Michel Strogoff* (Verne/ Alexandre Artus)  
18 Apr Paris, Opéra *Le Tribut de Zamora* (Gounod)  
8 May Paris, Opéra Comique *Le Pré aux Clercs* (Hérold), *Les Noces de Jeannette*  
(Victor Massé)  
13 May Paris, Opéra Comique *Les Contes de Hoffmann* (Offenbach)  
15 Oct London, Savoy *Patience* (Gilbert and Sullivan)  
12 Nov London, Prince of Wales *The Colonel* (Bernand)  
31 Dec Paris, Châtelet *Mille et Une Nuits* (Dennerly/Ferrier)

1882

1 Jan Paris, Porte St Martin *La Biche au Bois* (Cogniard frères/Hervé)  
8 Jan Paris, Gaîté *Quatre-vingt Treize* (Hugo)  
14 Jan Paris, Bouffes Parisiens *La Mascotte* (Audran)  
16 Jan Paris, Opéra *Le Comte Ory* (Rossini), *La Korrigane* (Widor)  
23 Jan London, Drury Lane *Robinson Crusoe* (pantomime)  
18 Mar London, (nfd) *Dearer than Life* (HJ Byron), *Domestic Economy*  
(Lemon)  
21 Apr Paris, Opéra *Françoise de Rimini* (Thomas)  
22 Apr Paris, Opéra Comique *Galante Aventure* (Guiraud)  
26 Apr Paris, Folies Dramatiques *Boccace* (Suppé)  
28 Apr Paris, Opéra *Hamlet* (Thomas)  
14 Jun London, Strand *La Mascotte* (Audran)  
10 Dec Hamburg, Thalia *Die Hexe von Sülbenberg* (pantomime)  
31 Dec Paris, Porte St Martin *Voyage à Travers l'Impossible* (Verne)

1883

11 Mar Hamburg, Oper *William Tell* (Rossini)  
13 Mar Hamburg, Oper *William Tell* (Rossini)  
17 Mar Berlin, Oper *Gudrun* (Draeseke)  
18 Mar Berlin, (nfd) *Fédora* (Sardou, German text by Lindau)  
19 Mar Berlin, (nfd) *Der Registrar* (nfd)  
20 Mar Berlin, Fr. Wil. St. Theater *Der Bettelstudent* (Millöcker)  
21 Mar Berlin, Oper *Tannhäuser* (Wagner)  
28 Mar Hamburg, Central Halle *Das gestohlene Herz* (nfd)  
30 Sep Paris, (nfd) *Peau d'Ane* (nfd)

1885

7 Jan Paris, Opéra Comique *Romeo et Juliette* (Gounod)  
1 Apr Berlin, Deutsches Theater *Der Prinz von Homburg* (Kleist)  
27 Apr Hamburg, Oper *Götterdämmerung* (Wagner)

27 Dec	Paris, Odéon	<i>Les Jacobites</i> (Coppée)
29 Dec	Paris, Châtelet	<i>La Guerre</i> (Erckmann/Chatrian)
31 Dec	Paris, Variétés	<i>Les Brigands</i> (Offenbach)
1886		
2 Jan	Paris, Opéra Comique	<i>Lalla Roukh</i> (David), <i>Dame Blanche</i> (Boieldieu)
22 Mar	Hamburg, Thalia	<i>Intendanz</i> (nfd)
26 Apr	Hamburg, Oper	<i>Parsifal</i> (Wagner)
5 May	Hamburg, Oper	<i>Die Walküre</i> (Wagner)
15 Jun	Berlin, Kroll	<i>La Traviata</i> (Verdi)
26 Dec	Paris, Porte St Martin	<i>Le Crocodile</i> (Sardou)
27 Dec	Paris, Opéra	<i>Patrie!</i> (Sardou/Paladilhe)
31 Dec	Paris, Comédie Française	<i>Hamlet</i> (Shakespeare)
1887		
29 Mar	Dresden, Oper	<i>Un Ballo in Maschera</i> (Verdi)
30 Mar	Prague, National Opera	<i>The Hermit's Bell</i> (Maillart)
31 Mar	Vienna, Oper	<i>Merlin</i> (Goldmark)
1 Apr	Vienna, Theater an der Wien	<i>Der Feldprediger</i> (Millöcker)
2 Apr	Vienna, Burgtheater	<i>As You Like It</i> (Shakespeare)
4 Apr	Vienna, Karl-Theater	<i>Ein Toller Einfall</i> (Lauf)
7 Apr	Budapest, Opera	<i>Lohengrin</i> (Wagner)
19 May	Hamburg, Stadttheater	<i>Tristan und Isolde</i> (Wagner)
29 Oct	Hamburg, (nfd)	<i>Macbeth</i> (Shakespeare)
27 Dec	Paris, Porte St Martin	<i>Tosca</i> (Sardou)
28 Dec	Paris, Comédie Française	<i>La Souris</i> (Pailleron)
31 Dec	Paris, Opéra	<i>Le Prophète</i> (Meyerbeer)
1888		
2 Jan	Paris, Variétés	<i>Le Grand Casimir</i> (Prével)
25 Apr	Hamburg, Oper	<i>Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg</i> (Wagner)
23 May	Hamburg, Oper	<i>Das Rheingold</i> (Wagner)
24 May	Hamburg, (nfd)	<i>Faust</i> (Goethe)
25 May	Hamburg, (nfd)	<i>Faust Pt 2</i> (Goethe)
21 Sep	Paris, Odéon	<i>Crime and Punishment</i> (after Dostoyevski)
22 Sep	Paris, Opéra	<i>Robert le Diable</i> (Meyerbeer)
24 Sep	Paris, Renaissance	<i>Miette</i> (Audran)
28 Sep	Paris, Gymnase	<i>Les Femmes Nerveuses</i> (Blum/Toche)
29 Sep	Paris, Ambigu Comique	<i>Roger la Houte</i> (Jules Mary)
19 Oct	Paris, Gymnase	<i>Les Surprises du Divorce</i> (Bisson)
24 Nov	Cologne, Oper	<i>Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg</i> (Wagner)
30 Nov	Bonn, (nfd)	<i>Antigone</i> (Sophocles, in German translation)
1889		
13 Jan	Bonn, (nfd)	<i>The Taming of the Shrew</i> (Shakespeare)
25 Jan	Cologne, Oper	<i>Die Walküre</i> (Wagner)
30 Jan	Cologne, Oper	<i>Otello</i> (Verdi)
8 Mar	Bonn, (nfd)	<i>Die Pisaner</i> (Schack)
19 Mar	Monte Carlo, Opéra	<i>Romeo et Juliette</i> (Gounod)
26 Mar	Monte Carlo, Opéra	<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i> (Lalo)
15 May	Cologne, Flora-Theater	<i>The Mikado</i> (Gilbert and Sullivan)
15 Jun	Bonn, (nfd)	<i>Des Königs Befehl</i> (nfd), <i>L'Ami Fritz</i> (Erckmann/Chatrian)
17 Aug	Bayreuth, Festspielhaus	<i>Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg</i> (Wagner)
18 Aug	Bayreuth, Festspielhaus	<i>Parsifal</i> (Wagner)
22 Aug	Lucerne, Kursaal	<i>Les Charbonniers</i> (Jules Coste)
30 Sep	Paris, Nouveautés	<i>Le Royaume des Femmes</i> (Cogniard frères)

11 Oct	Paris, Comédie Française	<i>Jean Baudry</i> (Vacquerie)
17 Oct	Paris, Odéon	<i>La Famille Benoiton</i> (Sardou)
25 Oct	Leipzig, Carola Theater	<i>Die Jungfrau von Orleans</i> (Schiller)
28 Oct	Leipzig, Neues Theater	<i>Siegfried</i> (Wagner)
5 Nov	Leipzig, (nfd)	<i>Bluthochzeit</i> (Lindner)
7 Nov	Leipzig, (nfd)	<i>Die Hexe</i> (Fitger)
11 Nov	Leipzig, (nfd)	<i>Die Rosen von Tyburn</i> (Fitger)
19 Nov	Leipzig, (nfd)	<i>Julius Caesar</i> (Shakespeare)
21 Nov	Leipzig, (nfd)	<i>Iphigénie</i> (Racine)
24 Nov	Leipzig, (nfd)	<i>The Merchant of Venice</i> (Shakespeare)
26 Nov	Leipzig, (nfd)	<i>Esther</i> (Grillparzer), <i>Le Malade Imaginaire</i> (Molière)
27 Nov	Leipzig, (nfd)	<i>Zwischen den Schlachten</i> (Björnson), <i>The Taming of the Shrew</i> (Shakespeare)
6 Dec	Leipzig, Neues Theater	<i>Benvenuto Cellini</i> (Berlioz)
15 Dec	Leipzig, (nfd)	<i>S'Nutterl</i> (nfd)
21 Dec	Brussels, (nfd)	<i>L'Officier Bleu</i> (Elie)
1890		
2 Jan	Paris, Odéon	<i>Shylock</i> (adapted from Shakespeare)
12 Jan	Leipzig, Neues Theater	<i>Götterdämmerung</i> (Wagner)
15 Jan	Leipzig, Neues Theater	<i>Die Walküre</i> (Wagner)
21 Jan	Leipzig, Neues Theater	<i>Zampa</i> (Herold)
24 Jan	Leipzig, Neues Theater	<i>Der fliegende Holländer</i> (Wagner)
30 Jan	Leipzig, Altes Theater	<i>La Belle Helène</i> (Offenbach)
7 Feb	Leipzig, Neues Theater	<i>Le Nozze di Figaro</i> (Mozart)
12 Feb	Leipzig, (nfd)	<i>Meissner Porzellan</i> (ballet)
15 Feb	Berlin, Lessing Theater	<i>Ehre</i> (Sudermann)
5 Mar	Leipzig, Neues Theater	<i>Carmen</i> (Bizet)
10 Mar	Leipzig, Neues Theater	<i>Gwendoline</i> (Chabrier)
12 Mar	Leipzig, Neues Theater	<i>Martha</i> (Flotow)
17 Mar	Leipzig, (nfd)	<i>Ehe</i> (nfd)
20 Mar	Paris, L'Ambigu	<i>Le Drapeau</i> (Emile Moreau)
23 Mar	Paris, Palais Royal	<i>Boulinard</i> (Ordonneau)
30 Mar	Paris, Comédie Française	<i>Les Originaux</i> (Fagan)
16 Apr	Paris, Odéon	<i>La Vie à Deux</i> (Bocage/Courcy)
18 May	Leipzig, Neues Theater	<i>Rienzi</i> (Wagner)
21 May	Leipzig, Neues Theater	<i>Der fliegende Holländer</i> (Wagner)
22 May	Leipzig, Altes Theater	<i>Faust I</i> (Goethe, adapt. Devrient)
23 May	Leipzig, Altes Theater	<i>Faust II</i> (Goethe, adapt. Devrient)
24 May	Leipzig, Neues Theater	<i>Der arme Jonathan</i> (Millöcker)
25 May	Leipzig, Neues Theater	<i>Tannhäuser</i> (Wagner)
5 Jun	Leipzig, Neues Theater	<i>Das Rheingold</i> (Wagner)
8 Jun	Leipzig, Neues Theater	<i>Die Walküre</i> (Wagner)
10 Jun	Leipzig, Altes Theater	<i>Natalie</i> (Turgenyev)
11 Jun	Leipzig, Neues Theater	<i>Siegfried</i> (Wagner)
14 Jun	Leipzig, Neues Theater	<i>Götterdämmerung</i> (Wagner)
18 Jun	Leipzig, Parodietheater	<i>Die Ehre, Gioconda, Die Quitzows</i> (nfd)
21 Jun	Leipzig, Neues Theater	<i>Die Fledermaus</i> (J. Strauss)
24 Jun	Leipzig, Neues Theater	<i>Tristan und Isolde</i> (Wagner)
26 Jun	Leipzig, (nfd)	<i>Der Raub der Sabinerinnen</i> (Gebrüder Schönthan)
6 Jul	Leipzig, Neues Theater	<i>Il Trovatore</i> (Verdi)
13 Jul	Leipzig, Neues Theater	<i>L'Africaine</i> (Meyerbeer)
1 Aug	Leipzig, (nfd)	<i>Le Maître des Forges</i> (Ohnet)
22 Oct	Leipzig, Neues Theater	<i>Euryanthe</i> (Weber)
26 Oct	Leipzig, Neues Theater	<i>Die Zauberflöte</i> (Mozart)
31 Oct	Leipzig, Neues Theater	<i>Der Wildschütz</i> (Lortzing)

2 Nov	Leipzig, Neues Theater	<i>Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg</i> (Wagner)
7 Nov	Leipzig, Neues Theater	<i>Zar und Zimmermann</i> (Lortzing)
10 Nov	Leipzig, Neues Theater	<i>Die Lustigen Weiber von Windsor</i> (Nikolai)
18 Nov	Leipzig, Neues Theater	<i>Siegfried</i> (Wagner)
23 Nov	Leipzig, Neues Theater	<i>Götterdämmerung</i> (Wagner)
26 Nov	Leipzig, Neues Theater	<i>Fidelio</i> (Beethoven)
30 Nov	Leipzig, (nfd)	<i>The Mikado</i> (Gilbert & Sullivan)
2 Dec	Leipzig, Neues Theater	<i>Les Huguenots</i> (Meyerbeer)
5 Dec	Leipzig, Neues Theater	<i>Der Vampyr</i> (Marschner)
12 Dec	Leipzig, Neues Theater	<i>Wilhelm Tell</i> (Rossini)
17 Dec	Leipzig, Altes Theater	<i>Nathan der Weise</i> (Lessing)
19 Dec	Leipzig, Neues Theater	<i>Hans Sachs</i> (Lortzing)
1891		
27 Jan	Leipzig, Altes Theater	<i>Die Quitzows</i> (Wildenbruch)
18 Feb	Leipzig, Neues Theater	<i>Der Widerspenstigen Zähmung</i> (Götz), <i>Fidelio</i> (Beethoven)
8 Mar	Leipzig, Altes Theater	<i>Hasemanns Töchter</i> (L'Arronge)
24 Mar	Paris, (nfd)	<i>Musotte</i> (Maupassant)
25 Mar	Paris, Comédie Française	<i>Le Filibustier</i> (Richepin)
28 Mar	Paris, Vaudeville	<i>Infidèle, Bonheur à Quatre</i> (Porto-Riche, Thomé)
31 Mar	Berlin, (nfd)	<i>Fausts Tod</i> (nfd)
1 Apr	Berlin, Freie Bühne	<i>Einsame Menschen</i> (Hauptmann)
13 Apr	Leipzig, Neues Theater	<i>Hans Heiling</i> (Marschner)
26 Apr	Leipzig, Neues Theater	<i>Il Barbiere di Siviglia</i> (Rossini)
30 Apr	Leipzig, Neues Theater	<i>Tannhäuser</i> (Wagner)
3 May	Leipzig, Neues Theater	<i>Mignon</i> (Thomas)
11 May	Leipzig, Neues Theater	<i>Lohengrin</i> (Wagner)
8 Jun	Leipzig, (nfd)	<i>Die Legende der heiligen Elisabeth</i> (Liszt)
23 Jun	Leipzig, Neues Theater	<i>Götterdämmerung</i> (Wagner)
12 Jul	Leipzig, Altes Theater	<i>Der Kriegsplan</i> (Werther)
19 Jul	Leipzig, Altes Theater	<i>Der Freund der Frauen</i> (Dumas)
26 Jul	Leipzig, Altes Theater	<i>Vaterland</i> (nfd)
29 Jul	Bayreuth, Festspielhaus	<i>Parsifal</i> (Wagner)
30 Jul	Bayreuth, Festspielhaus	<i>Tannhäuser</i> (Wagner)
8 Aug	Marienbad, (nfd)	<i>Cavalleria Rusticana</i> (Mascagni)
24 Sep	Leipzig, (nfd)	<i>Pension Schöller</i> (Jacoby/Laufs), <i>Cavalleria Rusticana</i> (Mascagni)
25 Sep	Leipzig, Neues Theater	<i>Lohengrin</i> (Wagner)
6 Oct	Paris, Folies Dramatiques	<i>Le Mitron</i> (Boucheron)
21 Oct	Leipzig, Neues Theater	<i>Joseph en Egypte</i> (Méhul), <i>Das Licht</i> (J. Hellmesberger jun.)
25 Oct	Leipzig, Neues Theater	<i>Wem die Krone?</i> (Ritter)
8 Nov	Leipzig, Krystallpalast	<i>Der Protzenbauer vom Tegernsee</i> (Harti-Mitius)
13 Dec	Leipzig, Neues Theater	<i>Götterdämmerung</i> (Wagner)
25 Dec	Paris, Opéra	<i>Lohengrin</i> (Wagner)
1892		
20 Jan	New York, Metropolitan	<i>Les Huguenots</i> (Meyerbeer)
25 Jan	New York, Amberg	<i>Der Vereinspräsident</i> (revue)
12 Feb	New York, Metropolitan	<i>Don Giovanni</i> (Mozart)
23 Feb	New York, Garden	<i>Ten Thousand A Year</i> (Emma Sheridan)
24 Feb	New York, Metropolitan	(nfd)
29 Feb	New York, Madison Square	<i>A Trip to Chinatown</i> (revue)
23 Mar	San Francisco, (nfd)	(nfd) (music hall extravaganza)
25 Mar	San Francisco, (nfd)	(nfd) (pantomime)
3 Aug	Leipzig, Altes Theater	<i>Phèdre</i> (Racine)

4 Aug	Leipzig, Altes Theater	<i>Iphigénie</i> (Racine)
28 Aug	Leipzig, (nfd)	<i>Don Juan</i> (nfd)
7 Sep	Leipzig, (nfd)	<i>Narziss</i> (Brachvogel)
25 Sep	Leipzig, Neues Theater	<i>Gringoire</i> (Brull), <i>Der Wasserträger</i> (Cherubini)
30 Sep	Berlin, Apollo	(nfd)
12 Nov	Berlin, Schauspielhaus	<i>Donna Diana</i> (Weber)
23 Nov	Potsdam, (nfd)	<i>Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg</i> (Wagner)
26 Nov	Potsdam, (nfd)	<i>Tannhäuser</i> (Wagner)
30 Nov	Berlin, Berliner	<i>Dora</i> (nfd)
16 Dec	Potsdam, (nfd)	<i>Mala Vita</i> (Giordano)
22 Dec	Potsdam, (nfd)	<i>La Locandiera</i> (Goldoni)
23 Dec	Potsdam, (nfd)	<i>Fédora</i> (Sardou)
26 Dec	Potsdam, (nfd)	<i>Der Millionenonkel</i> (Müller jun.)
28 Dec	Berlin, (nfd)	<i>Romeo and Juliet</i> (Shakespeare)
29 Dec	Berlin, Oper	<i>Djamileh</i> (Bizet), <i>Cavalleria Rusticana</i> (Mascagni)
30 Dec	Potsdam, (nfd)	<i>Die Jahreszeiten</i> (ballet), <i>Pagliacci</i> (Leoncavallo)

## 1893

1 Jan	Berlin, Deutsches	<i>Zwei Glückliche Tage</i> (Schönthan/Kadelburg)
2 Jan	Berlin, Oper	<i>Bastien und Bastienne</i> (Mozart), <i>Pagliacci</i> (Leoncavallo)
29 Jan	Berlin, Oper	<i>Die Hexe</i> (Enna)
5 Feb	Berlin, Oper	<i>Pagliacci</i> (Leoncavallo)
6 Feb	Berlin, Residenz	<i>Gläubiger</i> (Strindberg)
18 Feb	Berlin, Apollo	<i>Les Mousquetaires au Couvent</i> (Varney)
25 Feb	Berlin, Berliner	<i>King Lear</i> (Shakespeare)
5 Mar	Berlin, Neues	<i>Die Weber</i> (Hauptmann)
9 Apr	Berlin, Oper	<i>Djamileh</i> (Bizet), <i>Pagliacci</i> (Leoncavallo)
30 Apr	Potsdam, Residenztheater	<i>Jugend</i> (Halbe)
27 May	Berlin, Oper	<i>Don Giovanni</i> (Mozart)
28 May	Berlin, Oper	<i>Tannhäuser</i> (Wagner)
16 Jun	Berlin, Oper	(nfd)
29 Sep	Berlin, Oper	<i>Lohengrin</i> (Wagner)
14 Oct	Berlin, Apollo	(nfd)
20 Nov	Berlin, Oper	<i>Parsifal</i> (Wagner)
8 Dec	Berlin, (nfd)	<i>Froufrou</i> (Meilhac/Halévy)
10 Dec	Cologne, Oper	<i>Pagliacci</i> (Leoncavallo)
28 Dec	Munich, Oper	<i>Il Barbiere di Siviglia</i> (Rossini)
29 Dec	Munich, Gärtnerplatztheater	<i>Jägerblut</i> (Rauchenegger)

## 1894

8 Feb	Berlin, Oper	<i>Die Zauberflöte</i> (Mozart)
19 Feb	Berlin, Oper	<i>Die Brautjagd</i> (Suppé)
9 Mar	Berlin, (nfd)	<i>Madame Sans Gêne</i> (Sardou/Moreau)
16 Mar	Berlin, Oper	<i>I Medici</i> (Leoncavallo)
28 Mar	Berlin, Freie Volksbühne	<i>Ein Volksfeind</i> (Ibsen)
7 Apr	Berlin, Oper	<i>Götterdämmerung</i> (Wagner)
8 Apr	Berlin, (nfd)	<i>Die Journalisten</i> (Freytag)
29 Apr	Berlin, Oper	<i>Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg</i> (Wagner)
24 Jun	Berlin, Oper	<i>The Bartered Bride</i> (Smetana), <i>Carneval</i> (ballet - nfd)
14 Jul	Berlin, Deutsches	<i>Ghosts</i> (Ibsen)
31 Aug	Berlin, (nfd)	<i>Die Haubenlerche</i> (Wildenbruch)
2 Sep	Paris, Ambassadeurs	<i>Revue déshabillée</i> (nfd)
3 Sep	Paris, République	<i>Les Orphelins du Pont Neuf</i> (nfd)
4 Sep	Paris, Cluny	<i>Boubourouche</i> (Courteline)
5 Sep	Paris, Comédie Française	<i>Hernani</i> (Hugo)

8 Sep	Berlin, Oper	<i>Das Rheingold</i> (Wagner)
9 Sep	Berlin, Oper	<i>Falstaff</i> (Verdi)
25 Sep	Berlin, Deutsches	<i>Die Weber</i> (Hauptmann)
13 Oct	Berlin, Volksbühne	<i>Die Schmetterlingsschlacht</i> (Sudermann)
14 Oct	Berlin, Oper	<i>Hänsel und Gretel</i> (Humperdinck)
17 Oct	Berlin, Théâtre Libre	<i>Les Revenants</i> (Ibsen), <i>Boubourouche</i> (Courteline)
25 Oct	Berlin, Théâtre Libre	<i>Les Fenêtres</i> (nfd), <i>L'Ecole des Veufs</i> (Ancey)
28 Oct	Berlin, Théâtre Libre	<i>Jacques Damour</i> (Zola/Hennique), <i>La Tante Léontine</i> (Boniface/Bodin)
31 Oct	Berlin, Théâtre Libre	<i>Nuit Bergamasque</i> (Bergerat) <i>Soeur Philomène</i> (Goncourt frères)
7 Dec	Berlin, Deutsches	<i>Ghosts</i> (Ibsen)
16 Dec	Leipzig, Neues Theater	<i>Die Walküre</i> (Wagner)
21 Dec	Berlin, Oper	<i>Orpheus und Euridice</i> (Gluck)
26 Dec	Berlin, Centraltheater	<i>Oh Diese Berliner</i> (revue)
27 Dec	Berlin, Adolf Ernst Theater	<i>Ein Fideles Corps</i> (revue)
1895		
21 Jan	Berlin, Residenztheater	<i>Un Fil à la Patte</i> (Feydeau)
29 Jan	Berlin, (nfd)	<i>L'Homme Masqué</i> (Zavala)
1 Mar	Berlin, Schauspielhaus	<i>Nibelungen</i> (Hebbel)
4 Mar	Berlin, Neues	<i>Erbförster</i> (Ludwig)
5 Mar	Berlin, (nfd)	<i>Gwissenswurm</i> (Anzengruber)
11 Mar	Berlin, (nfd)	<i>Der Pfarrer von Kirchfeld</i> (Anzengruber)
15 Mar	Berlin, Schauspielhaus	<i>Kriemhilds Rache</i> (Hebbel)
1 Dec	Leipzig, Carola	<i>Martin Lehnhardt</i> (Flaischlen)
8 Dec	Leipzig, Neues Theater	<i>Der Fliegende Holländer</i> (Wagner)
15 Dec	Berlin, Oper	<i>Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg</i> (Wagner)
18 Dec	Berlin, Oper	<i>Tristan und Isolde</i> (Wagner)
26 Dec	Paris, Renaissance	<i>La Dame aux Camélias</i> (Dumas)
27 Dec	Paris, (nfd)	<i>Les Amants</i> (Donnay)
29 Dec	Paris, Renaissance	<i>Phèdre</i> (Racine)
1896		
4 Jan	Berlin, Deutsches	<i>Florian Geyer</i> (Hauptmann)
15 Jan	Berlin, Deutsches	<i>Florian Geyer</i> (Hauptmann)
20 Jan	Berlin, Oper	<i>Tristan und Isolde</i> (Wagner)
21 Jan	Berlin, Residenztheater	<i>Lebenswende</i> (Halbe)
11 Mar	Berlin, (nfd)	<i>Winterschlaf</i> (Dreyer)
26 Apr	Berlin, Oper	<i>Don Giovanni</i> (Mozart)
23 May	Paris, Vaudeville	<i>Le Prince d'Aurec</i> (Lavedan)
25 May	Paris, Comédie Française	<i>Thermidor</i> (Sardou)
2 Jun	London, Lyric	<i>The Sign of the Cross</i> (Barrett)
5 Jun	London, Haymarket	<i>Henry IV, Part One</i> (Shakespeare)
19 Jul	Bayreuth, Festspielhaus	<i>Das Rheingold</i> (Wagner)
20 Jul	Bayreuth, Festspielhaus	<i>Die Walküre</i> (Wagner)
21 Jul	Bayreuth, Festspielhaus	<i>Siegfried</i> (Wagner)
22 Jul	Bayreuth, Festspielhaus	<i>Götterdämmerung</i> (Wagner)
27 Sep	Paris, Comédie Française	<i>Britannicus</i> (Racine)
30 Sep	Paris, (nfd)	<i>Lysistrata</i> (Aristophanes)
1897		
23 Jan	New York, (nfd)	<i>The Late Mr Castello</i> (Grundy)
25 Jan	New York, (nfd)	<i>Much Ado About Nothing</i> (Shakespeare)
5 Feb	London, St James's	<i>Alls Well That Ends Well</i> (Shakespeare)
28 Apr	Berlin, Oper	<i>Haschisch</i> (Chelius)
17 Jun	Berlin, Central	<i>Die Sozialaristokraten</i> (Holz)

19 Jun	Bayreuth, Festspielhaus	<i>Parsifal</i> (Wagner)
21 Jul	Bayreuth, Festspielhaus	<i>Das Rheingold</i> (Wagner)
22 Jul	Bayreuth, Festspielhaus	<i>Die Walküre</i> (Wagner)
23 Jul	Bayreuth, Festspielhaus	<i>Siegfried</i> (Wagner)
24 Jul	Bayreuth, Festspielhaus	<i>Götterdämmerung</i> (Wagner)
21 Sep	Berlin, Residenztheater	<i>Mutter Erde</i> (Halbe)
26 Sep	Berlin, Freie Bühne	<i>Das Tschaperl</i> (Bahr)
4 Oct	Berlin, Schauspielhaus	<i>Die Einzige</i> (Petzold)
9 Oct	Berlin, Deutsches	<i>Agnes Jordan</i> (Hirschfeld)
14 Oct	Paris, (nfd)	<i>Les Trois Filles de Monsieur Dupont</i> (Brieux)
15 Oct	Paris, Vaudeville	<i>Jalouse</i> (Bisson)
16 Oct	Paris, Nouveautés	<i>Petites Folles</i> (Capus)
17 Oct	Paris, Comédie Française	<i>La Vassale</i> (Case)
18 Oct	Paris, Antoine	<i>Blanchette</i> (Brieux)
20 Oct	Paris, Opéra Comique	<i>Lakmé</i> (Delibes), <i>Phryné</i> (Saint-Saens)
21 Oct	Paris, Folies Bergère	(revue with Loie Fuller)
24 Oct	London, Criterion	<i>Liars</i> (Jones)
26 Oct	London, Savoy	<i>The Yeomen of the Guard</i> (Gilbert & Sullivan)
2 Nov	Berlin, (nfd)	<i>I Disonesti</i> (nfd)
3 Nov	Berlin, (nfd)	<i>King Lear</i> (Shakespeare)
4 Nov	Berlin, (nfd)	<i>Einsame Menschen</i> (Hauptmann)
11 Dec	Berlin, Lessing	<i>Bartel Turaser</i> (Langmann)
25 Dec	Paris, Comédie Française	<i>Athalie</i> (Racine)
26 Dec	Paris, Antoine	<i>Le Repas du Lion</i> (Curel)
28 Dec	Paris, Renaissance	<i>Les Mauvais Bergers</i> (Mirbeau)
29 Dec	Paris, Vaudeville	<i>Sapho</i> (Belot/Daudet)
30 Dec	Paris, Antoine	<i>L'Ecole des Veufs</i> (Ancey)
31 Dec	Paris, Porte St-Martin	<i>Cyrano de Bergerac</i> (Rostand)
1898		
1 Jan	Paris, Comédie Française	<i>L'Avare, Le Malade Imaginaire</i> (Molière)
27 Jan	Berlin, Oper	<i>Zar und Zimmermann</i> (Lortzing)
10 Mar	Berlin, (nfd)	<i>The Second Mrs Tanqueray</i> (Pinero)
11 Mar	Berlin, (nfd)	<i>Hamlet</i> (Shakespeare)
13 Mar	Berlin, Oper	<i>Die Königskinder</i> (Humperdinck)
17 Mar	Berlin, Deutsches	<i>Der Biberpelz</i> (Hauptmann)
19 Mar	Berlin, Deutsches	<i>Hedda Gabler</i> (Ibsen)
25 Mar	Paris, Variétés	<i>Le Nouveau Jeu</i> (Lavedan)
21 Apr	Berlin, Deutsches	<i>Gyges</i> (Hebbel)
11 May	Berlin	First meeting with Hofmannsthal.

## Bibliography

### Primary sources

- d'Abancourt, Willemain, *Le Chevalier de Faublas* (Paris: Chez Brunet, Librairie, 1789)
- Artus, Louis, *L'Ingénu Libertin* (Paris: Librairie Théâtrale, 1908)
- Artus, Louis and Claude Terrasse, *L'Ingénu libertin ou La Marquise et le Marmiton – Mise en scène* (Paris: Société d'Éditions Musicales, 1907)  
*L'Ingénu libertin*, programme book dated 10 December 1907 (Paris: Landais and Legay, 1907)
- Craig, Edward Gordon, *The Art of the Theatre* (Edinburgh & London: Foulis, 1905)  
*Die Kunst des Theaters*, ed. and translated by Maurice Magnus with an introduction by Harry Graf Kessler (Berlin & Leipzig: Seeman, 1905)
- Dupeuty, Charles, Léon-Lévy Brunswick and Victor Lhérie, *Faublas* (Paris: J.N. Barba, Delloye, Bezou, 1836)
- Hofmannsthal, Hugo von, *Operndichtungen I, Kritische Ausgabe, Band XXIII* ed. by Dirk Hoffmann and Willi Schuh (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Verlag, 1986)  
*Ballete, Pantomimen, Filmszenarien, Kritische Ausgabe, Band XXVII* ed. by Gisela Bärbel Schmid and Klaus-Dieter Krabiel (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Verlag, 2006)  
*Gesammelte Werke*, ed. by Bernd Schoeller and Rudolf Hirsch, 10 vols. (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1979)  
*Der Rosenkavalier* (Berlin: Adolph Fürstner, 1911)  
*Der Rosenkavalier von Richard Strauss, Musik für Alle Vol. 1, Nr. 246*, ed. by W. Hirschberg (Berlin: Ullstein, 1927)  
*Buch der Freunde* (Leipzig: Insel Verlag, 1929)
- Jarry, Alfred, *Oeuvres complètes en trois volumes*, ed. Arrivé and others (Paris: Pléiade, 1972–1988)
- Jarry, Alfred and Claude Terrasse, *Ubu roi* (Paris: Editions Mercure de France, 1897)
- Kessler, Harry Graf, *Das Tagebuch 1880-1937*, 9 vols. (Stuttgart: Cotta, 2004- )  
*Gesichter und Zeiten – Erinnerungen: Erster Band 'Völker und Vaterländer'* (Berlin: S. Fischer Verlag, 1935)  
*Souvenirs d'un Européen I: de Bismarck à Nietzsche, traduit de l'Allemand par Blaise Briod* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1936)  
*Gesammelte Schriften in drei Bänden*, 3 vols (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuchverlag, 1988)  
*Tagebücher 1918-1937*, ed. by Wolfgang Pfeiffer-Belli, (Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag, 1961)  
*The Diaries of a Cosmopolitan 1918-1937*, translated and ed. by Charles Kessler, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971)

- Das Tagebuch 1880-1911 und 1916-1937, Rohtranskription* (Marbach: CD-ROM for subscribers to the 9 volumes of diaries still in course of publication (Stuttgart: Cotta, 2006)
- Kessler, Harry Graf and Hugo von Hofmannsthal, *Josephs Legende*, (Berlin, Paris: Adolph Fürstner, 1914)  
*The Legend of Joseph*, translated by Alfred Kalisch (Berlin and Paris: Fürstner, 1914)
- Louvet de Couvray, Jean-Baptiste, *Les Aventures du Chevalier de Faublas* (Brussels: Librairie Universelle de Rozez, 1881)
- Molière, *Oeuvres Complètes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1900)
- Strauss, Richard, *Betrachtungen und Erinnerungen*, ed. by Willi Schuh (Zurich: Atlantis Verlag, 1949)  
*Der Rosenkavalier, Study Score* (Vienna: Verlag Dr. Richard Strauss GmbH & Co. KG, 1996)  
*Josephs Legende, Two piano score, arr. Otto Singer* (London: Boosey & Hawkes Ltd., 1943)
- Terrasse, Claude, *La Marquise et le Marmiton ou L'Ingénu libertin* (Eschig, undated, private copy of manuscript full orchestral score)  
*La Marquise et le Marmiton ou L'Ingénu libertin, Vocal Score* (Paris: Société d'Éditions Musicales, 1907)  
*L'Oeuvre de Jacques Offenbach in Musica* (1908), reprinted in *Ecrits non musicaux* (Paris: Editions du Fourneau, Collection 'La Marguerite', no. 4, 1997)

### Primary sources - Correspondence

- Bodenhausen, Eberhard von and Harry Graf Kessler, *Ein Briefwechsel 1894-1918*, ed. by Hans-Ulrich Simon (Marbach am Neckar: Marbacher Schriften, 1978)
- Hofmannsthal, Hugo von, *Briefe 1900-1909* (Vienna: Bermann-Fischer Verlag, 1937)
- Hofmannsthal, Hugo von and Eberhard von Bodenhausen, *Briefe der Freundschaft*, ed. by Dora Freifrau von Bodenhausen (Berlin: Eugen Diederichs Verlag, 1953)
- Hofmannsthal, Hugo von and Harry Graf Kessler, *Briefwechsel 1898-1929*, ed. by Hilde Burger (Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag, 1968)
- Strauss, Richard, *Briefwechsel mit Hugo von Hofmannsthal*, ed. by Dr. Franz Strauss (Berlin: Paul Zsolnay Verlag, 1926)
- Strauss, Richard and Hugo von Hofmannsthal, *Richard Strauss – Hugo von Hofmannsthal: Briefwechsel*, ed. by Willi Schuh (Zürich: Atlantis, 1964)
- Strauss, Richard and Hugo von Hofmannsthal, *The correspondence between Richard Strauss and Hugo von Hofmannsthal* ed. by Hanns Hammelmann and Ewald Osers (London: Collins, 1961)
- Strauss, Richard and Willi Schuh, *Richard Strauss: Briefwechsel mit Willi Schuh* (Zurich: Atlantis Verlag, 1969)

## Secondary sources

- Abbate, Carolyn, *Unsung Voices* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991)
- Abbate, Carolyn and Roger Parker, *A History of Opera* (London: Allen Lane, 2012)
- Alewyn, Richard, *Über Hugo von Hofmannsthal* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1958)
- Applegate, Celia, and Pamela Potter, eds., *Music and German National Identity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002)
- Arlaud, Sylvie, 'Hugo von Hofmannsthal's Return to Molière 1909-23: The Conditions of Reception' in *Austrian Studies* Vol. 13, No. 1 (1 October 2005), 55-76
- Artus, Louis, *Coeur de Moineau* (Paris: Librairie Théâtrale, 1905)  
*La Plus Belle Histoire d'Amour Du Monde* (Paris: Editions Denoel, 1945)  
*La Maison du Sage* (Paris: Emile-Paul Frères, 1920)
- Ashley, Tim, *Richard Strauss* (London: Phaidon Press, 1999)
- Aubry, Raoul, 'Soirée Parisienne' in *Gil Blas*, 12 December 1907, 3-4
- Austin, Gerhard, *Phänomenologie der Gebärde bei Hugo von Hofmannsthal* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1981)
- Bablet, Denis, *The Theatre of Edward Gordon Craig*, translated by Daphne Woodward (London: Eyre Methuen, 1966)
- Barker, Harley Granville, *Plays by Harley Granville Barker*, ed. by Dennis Kennedy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987)
- Barthes, Roland, 'Death of The Author' (1968), in *Image - Music - Text*, essays selected and translated by Stephen Heath (London: Fontana Press, 1977)
- Barzantny, Tamara, *Harry Graf Kessler und das Theater*, (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2002)
- Bate, Jonathan, *The Genius of Shakespeare* (London: Picador, 1997)  
*Soul of the Age, The Life, Mind and World of William Shakespeare* (London: Penguin Books, 2009)
- Beck-Mannagetta, Christian, *Der Ochs von Lerchenau: eine historische Betrachtung zum 'Rosenkavalier'* (Vienna: Edition Praesens, 2003)
- Bellin, Klaus, *Das Weimar des Harry Graf Kessler* (Berlin: A-B Fischer, 2013)
- Bennett, Benjamin, *Hugo von Hofmannsthal. The Theatres of Consciousness* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988)
- Benois, Alexandre, *Reminiscences of the Russian Ballet*, translated by Mary Britnieva (London: Putnam, 1941)
- Bentley, Eric, *The Theory of the Modern Stage* (London: Penguin Modern Classics, 2008)
- Bergerat, Emile, *Faublas malgré lui* (Paris: Librairie Ollendorf, 1903)
- Bitterli, Urs, 'Harry Graf Kessler: Aussenseiter in vielen Rollen', *Schweizer Monatshefte für Politik, Wirtschaft, Kultur*, 76 (1996), 32-3

- Blackmer, Corinne E. and Patricia Juliana Smith eds., *En Travesti, Women, Gender Subversion, Opera* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995)
- Blay, Philippe, 'Un théâtre français, tout à fait français, ou un débat fin de siècle sur l'Opéra Comique', *Revue de musicologie* 87, no. 1 (2001), 105-44
- Blom, Philipp, *The Vertigo Years: Change and Culture in the West, 1900-1914* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 2008)
- Bologne, Jean-Claude, *Histoire de la Pudeur* (Paris: Olivier Orban, 1986)
- Bottenberg, Joanna, *Shared Creation: Words and Music in the Hofmannsthal-Strauss Operas* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1996)
- 'The Hofmannsthal-Strauss Collaboration' in *A Companion to the Works of Hugo von Hofmannsthal* ed. by Thomas A. Kovach (Rochester NY: Camden House, 2002), 117-38
- Boyden, Matthew, *Richard Strauss* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1999)
- Branscombe, Peter, 'Hugo von Hofmannsthal – Man of Letters' in *Der Rosenkavalier*, ed. by Nicholas John (London: Calder Publications, 1981), 33-6
- Brayshaw, Teresa and Noel Witts, *The Twentieth Century Performance Reader*, 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition (London and New York: Routledge, 2014)
- Brindejont-Offenbach, J., 'Cinquante ans de l'opérette française' in *Cinquante ans de musique française* (Paris: Rohozinski, 1925), 199-322
- Brissac, Anne de Cossé, *La comtesse Greffulhe* (Paris: Perrin, 1991)
- Brosche, Günter, *Richard Strauss: Werk und Leben* (Vienna: Edition Steinbauer, 2008)
- Brotchie, Alistair, *Alfred Jarry, A Pataphysical Life* (Cambridge Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2011)
- Bruford, WH, *Culture and Society in Classical Weimar, 1775-1806* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961)
- Bruyas, Florian, *Histoire de l'Opérette en France* (Lyon: Emmanuel Vitte, 1974)
- Bruyr, José, *L'Opérette* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1974)
- Buckle, Richard, *Diaghilev* (New York: Atheneum, 1979)
- Budden, Julian, *The Operas of Verdi* 3 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002)
- Burger, Hilde, 'Trois visages d'un ingénu ou Les chevaliers sans et avec rose (Louvet de Couvray, Louis Artus et Hofmannsthal)', *Australian Universities Language and Literature Association Proceedings and Papers of the Congress*, 14 (1972), 140-1
- Cain, Georges, *Anciens Théâtres de Paris* (Paris: Eugène Fasquelle, 1906)
- Canitzgesellschaft, *Harry Graf Kessler, Eine Spurensuche mit der Canitzgesellschaft*, ed. by Canitzgesellschaft (Berlin: Köthen, 2008)
- Cannon, Robert, *Opera* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012)
- Cathé, Philippe, *Claude Terrasse* (Paris: L'Hexaèdre, 2004)
- Claude Terrasse (1867-1923), Thèse de Nouveau Régime, Paris-IV*, (2001)
- Caughie, John, ed., *Theories of Authorship* (London: Routledge, 1981)
- Charlton, David, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Grand Opera* (Cambridge:

- Cambridge University Press, 2003)
- Chauveau, Philippe, *Les Théâtres Parisiens Disparus* (Paris: Editions de l'Amandier, 1999)
- Christiansen, Rupert, *Prima Donna: A History* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1984)
- Cohen, H. Robert, *Cent ans de mise en scène lyrique en France (environ 1830-1930): Catalogue descriptif des livrets de mise en scène, des libretti annotés et des partitions annotés dans la Bibl. De l'Association de la Régie Théâtrale (Paris)* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1986)
- Courtès, Noémie, 'Les Jardins d'Armide – du topos classique au mythe moderne', in *Les mythologies du jardin de l'antiquité à la fin du XIXe siècle*, ed. by Gérard Peylet (Bordeaux: Presses Universitaires de Bordeaux, 2004), 101-14
- Crébillon, Claude Prosper Jolyot de, *Oeuvres* (Paris: Editions François Bourin, 1992)
- Crittenden, Camille, *Johann Strauss and Vienna: Operetta and the Politics of Popular Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000)
- Cryle, Peter, *Goemetry in the Boudoir: Configurations of the French Erotic Narrative* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994)
- Dehmel, Richard, *Ausgewählte Briefe. Vols 1 and 2: 1883-1902* (Berlin: S Fischer, 1923)
- Del Mar, Norman, *Richard Strauss – a critical commentary on his life and works* (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1962)
- Denis, Maurice, *Journal Vol. 2: 1905-1920* (Paris: La Colombe, 1957)
- Dent, Edward J., *Opera* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd, 1940)
- Diet, Edmond, 'L'Ingénu libertin' in *Comoedia*, 12 December 1907, 1
- Drummond, John, *Speaking of Diaghilev* (London: Faber and Faber, 1997)
- Dubois, Claude, ed., *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique Larousse*, (Paris: Librairie Larousse, 1979)
- Dufresne, Claude, *Histoire de l'Opérette des Origines à nos Jours* (Paris: Fernand Nathan, 1981)
- Durhammer, Ilja and Pia Janke eds., *Richard Strauss, Hugo von Hofmannsthal Frauenbilder* (Vienna: Edition Praesens, 2001)
- Duteutre, Benoît, *L'Opérette en France* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1997)
- Easton, Laird, *The Red Count: The Life and Times of Harry Kessler*, Ph.D diss. Stanford University, 1991  
*The Red Count – the Life and Times of Harry Kessler*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002)  
*Der Rote Graf: Harry Graf Kessler und seine Zeit*, (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2005)  
*Journey To The Abyss, The Diaries of Count Harry Kessler 1880-1918* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2011)
- Edelmann, Bernd, 'Das Lever im I. Akte des Rosenkavalier: Szene und Musik' in *Richard Strauss und das Musiktheater: Bericht über die Internationale Fachkonferenz in Bochum, 14-17 November 2001*, ed. by Julia Liebscher (Berlin: Henschel Verlag, 2005), 245-62
- Everist, Mark, 'Jacques Offenbach – The Music of the Past and the Image of

- the Present', in *Music, Theater and Cultural Transfer, Paris 1830 – 1914*, ed. by Annegret Fauser and Mark Everist (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009), 72-98
- Exner, Richard, 'Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Harry Graf Kessler, Briefwechsel 1898-1929', *Books Abroad*, 43.3 (1969), 417
- Fein, Patrick, *Crébillon fils, Les Egarements du Coeur et de l'esprit* (London: Grant & Cutler Ltd, 2000)
- Fell, Jill, *Alfred Jarry* (London: Reaktion Books, 2010)
- Fiedler, Leonhard Maria, *Max Reinhardt und Molière: Text- und Bilddokumentation* (Salzburg: O. Müller, 1972)  
*Hugo von Hofmannsthals Molière-Bearbeitungen* (Darmstadt: Agora, 1974)
- Fischer, Samuel and Hedwig Fischer, *Briefwechsel mit Autoren*, ed. by Dierk Rodewald and Corinna Fiedler (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer Verlag, 1989)
- Foucart, Claude, *D'un monde à l'autre. La correspondance André Gide – Harry Graf Kessler (1903-1933)* (Lyon: Centre d'Etudes gidiennes, Université de Lyon II, 1985)
- Fournier, Hippolyte, *Louvet et le roman de Faublas* (Paris: Librairie des Bibliophiles, 1884)
- Fournier, Jean-Claude, 'Claude Terrasse' in *Opérette* no. 47, April 1983, 24-7
- Fulcher, Jane F., *French Cultural Politics and Music: From the Dreyfus Affair to the First World War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999)
- Gainham, Sarah, 'In the Twenties', *Encounter* (Vol. XXIX, No. 1, July 1967) 7-17
- Garafola, Lynn, *Diaghilev's Ballets Russes* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989)
- Garafola, Lynn and Nancy Van Norman Baer, eds., *The Ballets Russes and its World* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999)
- Gerigk, Horst-Jürgen, 'Literarische Vergänglichkeit: Notizen zu Oscar Wilde's 'Bildnis des Dorian Gray' und Hugo von Hofmannsthals 'Rosenkavalier' mit Rücksicht auf Johann Peter Hebels 'Unverhofftes Wiedersehen'', in *Bilderwelten als Vergegenwärtigung und Verrätselung der Welt: Literatur und Kunst um die Jahrhundertwende*, ed. by Volker Kapp, Helmuth Kiesel and Klaus Lubbers (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1997) pp. 139-44
- Gide, Andre, *Journals. 1889-1949* (New York: Penguin, 1967)
- Gilbert, Mary, 'Painter and Poet: Hogarth's *Marriage à la Mode* and Hofmannsthal's *Der Rosenkavalier*', *Modern Language Review* 64 (1969), 818-27
- Gilliam, Bryan, *The Life of Richard Strauss* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)
- Gilliam, Bryan, ed., *Richard Strauss and his World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992)  
*Richard Strauss: New Perspectives on the Composer and his Work* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1992)
- Goncourt, Edmond et Jules de, *La Femme au Dix-huitième Siècle* (Paris: Librairie de Firmin Didot Frères et Cie, 1862)

- Gourret, Jean, *Histoire de l'Opéra Comique* (Paris: Editions Albatros, 1983)
- Grout, Donald Jay, *A Short History of Opera* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1947)
- Grupp, Peter, *Harry Graf Kessler 1868–1937: Eine Biographie*, (München: CH Beck, 1995)
- Hamburger, Michael, *Hofmannsthal: Three Essays* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972)
- Hartmann, Rudolf. *Richard Strauss: The Staging of His Operas and Ballets* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1982)
- Hartnoll, Phyllis, Ed. *The Oxford Companion to the Theatre, Fourth Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983)
- Haupt, Jürgen, *Konstellationen Hugo von Hofmannsthals* (Salzburg: Residenz Verlag, 1970)
- Hauptmann, Gerhart, *Sämtliche Werke* 6 vols. (Berlin: Ullstein Verlag, 1996)
- Heine, Heinrich, *Gesammelte Werke* 5 vols. (Berlin and Weimar: Aufbau Verlag, 1974)
- Heinemann, Michael, Matthias Herrmann and Stefan Weiss, eds., *Richard Strauss: Essays zu Leben und Werk* (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2002)
- Heisler Jr, Wayne, *The Ballet Collaborations of Richard Strauss*, (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2009)
- Heldt, Gerhard, *Der Rosenkavalier* (Berlin-Lichterfelde: Robert Lienau, 1981)
- Hirsch, Rudolf, 'Hofmannsthal und Frankreich. Zwei Beiträge', *Etudes Germaniques* 29, no. 2 (1974), 145-53  
 'Hugo von Hofmannsthal und das Ballett. Zwei unbekannte Entwürfe für das Russische Ballett und Zeugnisse zur Entstehung der Josephslegende', *Neue Zürcher Zeitung und schweizerisches Handelsblatt, Fernausgabe*, 202. Jg., Nr. 17, 23 January 1981  
*Ein Brief des Lord Chandos in Beiträge zum Verständnis Hugo von Hofmannsthals* (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer Verlag, 1995), pp. 45-52
- Hoffmann, Dirk, 'Zu Harry Graf Kesslers Mitarbeit am *Rosenkavalier*' in *Hofmannsthal-Blätter* 21/22 (1979), 153-60
- Hoffmann, Dirk and Ingeborg Haase, 'Der Rosenkavalier: das Ergebnis einer schöpferischen Zusammenarbeit', *Richard Strauss Blätter* 15 (Vienna: Internationale Richard Strauss Gesellschaft, 1986), 1-20
- Hofmannsthal, Hugo von, *Buch der Freunde* (Leipzig: Insel Verlag, 1929)  
*Andreas*, trans. by Marie D. Hottinger (London: Pushkin Press, 1998)
- Hofmannsthal, Hugo von and Rudolf Borchardt, *Briefwechsel*, ed. by Marie-Luise Borchardt and Herbert Steiner (Frankfurt am Main: S Fischer Verlag, 1954)
- Hofmannsthal, Hugo von and Edgar Karg von Bebenburg, *Briefwechsel*, ed. by Mary Gilbert (Frankfurt am Main: S Fischer Verlag, 1966)
- Hofmannsthal, Hugo von, *Briefe an Marie Herzfeld*, ed. by Horst Weber (Heidelberg: Lothar Stiehm Verlag, 1967)
- Hofmannsthal, Hugo von and Leopold von Andrian, *Briefwechsel*, ed. by Walter Perl (Frankfurt am Main: S Fischer Verlag, 1968)
- Hofmannsthal, Hugo von and Richard Beer-Hofmann, *Briefwechsel*, ed. by

- Eugene Weber (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer Verlag, 1972)
- Hofmannsthal, Hugo von and Rudolf Pannwitz, *Briefwechsel 1907-1926*, ed. by Gerhard Schuster (Frankfurt am Main: S Fischer Verlag, 1993)
- Höhn, Gerhard, *Heine Handbuch* (Stuttgart Weimar: Verlag J.B. Metzler, 1997)
- Hyman, Timothy, *Bonnard* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1998)
- Ibsen, Henrik, *Four Major Plays*, translated by James McFarlane and Jens Arup (Oxford: Oxford World's Classics, 1998)
- Illies, Florian, *1913 Der Sommer des Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 2012)
- Jacobshagen, Arnold, 'Staging at the Opéra-Comique in Nineteenth-Century Paris: Auber's *Fra Diavolo* and the *livrets de mise en scène*', *Cambridge Opera Journal* 13, no. 3 (2001), 239-60
- Jahn, Bernhard, 'Übergang und Gabe als Dimension der Zeit im 'Rosenkavalier' von Hofmannsthal und Strauss', *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*, 3. (1999) 419-56
- Jefferson, Alan, *Richard Strauss – Der Rosenkavalier* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985)
- Join-Diéterle, Catherine, *Les décors de scène de l'Opéra de Paris à l'époque Romantique* (Paris: Picard, 1988)
- Jones, Joseph E., *Der Rosenkavalier: Genesis, Modelling and New Aesthetic Paths* (Ann Arbor: ProQuest, 2009)
- Kahan, Sylvia, *Music's Modern Muse: A Life of Winnaretta Singer, Princesse de Polignac* (Rochester NY: University of Rochester Press, 2003)
- Kappacher, Walter, *Der Fliegenpalast* (St Pölten-Salzburg: Residenz Verlag, 2009)
- Kendrick, M. Gregory, *Tending the Garden: The Kessler-Bodenhausen Circle and the Cultural Policies of Imperial Germany* (Los Angeles: University of California dissertation, 1995)
- Kennedy, Michael, 'Rosenkavalier and the Third Man', *Welsh National Opera on Tour programme* (1990)  
*Richard Strauss* (New York: Schirmer, 1996)  
*Richard Strauss – Man, Musician, Enigma* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)
- Kerman, Joseph, *Opera as Drama* (New York: Random House, 1956)
- Knaus, Jakob, *Hofmannsthals Weg zur Oper 'Die Frau ohne Schatten'* (Berlin New York: De Gruyter, 1971)
- Kohler, Stephan, 'Musikdrama ohne Worte – zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Josephs Legende' in *Josephs Legende: Programmheft der Bayerischen Staatsoper* (München: Bayerische Staatsoper, 1980), 12-29
- Kolb, Annette, 'Harry Graf Kessler' in *Mass und Wert* 4 (1938), 630-1
- König, Christoph, *Hofmannsthal. Ein moderner Dichter unter den Philologen* (Marbach: Wallstein Verlag, 2003)
- Krakauer, Siegfried, *Jacques Offenbach und das Paris seiner Zeit* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1994)
- Krause, Ernst, *Richard Strauss – the Man and his Work*, translated by John Coombs (London: Collet's, 1964)

- Krüger, Karl-Joachim, *Hugo von Hofmannsthal und Richard Strauss* (Berlin: Junker und Dünnhaupt, 1935)
- Lacy, Robin Thurlow, *A Biographical Dictionary of Scenographers* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990)
- Lamothe, Peter, 'The Music of Ubu roi: Terrasse's Parallel World of Absurdity' in *Theater Music in France, 1864-1914*, dissertation submitted to the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill (2008)
- Landolfi, Andrea, 'L'aiutante segreto, Kessler, Hofmannsthal e il *Rosenkavalier*', *Studi Germanici, nuova serie*, 30/31 (1992-3), 361-74  
'Harry Kessler e la nascita del *Rosenkavalier*', *Der Rosenkavalier di Richard Strauss, Festival del Maggio Musicale Fiorentino*, 75 edizione (2012), 262-73
- Ledout, Annie, 'Le théâtre des Bouffes-Parisiens, historique et programmes, 1855-1880' (Ph.D. diss., Université de Paris IV. 2001)
- Legrand, Raphaëlle and Nicole Wild, *Regards sur l'Opéra Comique: trois siècles de vie théâtrale* (Paris: Editions du CNRS, 2002)
- Lehmann, Lotte, *Five Operas and Richard Strauss* (New York: Macmillan, 1964)  
*Memoirs of Rosenkavalier* (essay in sleeve note to RCA Victor LP boxed set LCT-6005 (2))
- Leibnitz, Thomas, *Richard Strauss: 100 Jahre Rosenkavalier* (Vienna: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 2010)
- Lockspeiser, Edward, *Debussy: His Life and Mind* 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978)
- Lomagne, B. de, 'Les Premières' in *Le Soir*, 12 December 1907, 3
- Mahler, Alma, *Gustav Mahler: Memories and Letters*, translated by Basil Creighton, edited by Donald Mitchell and Knud Martner (London: Cardinal, 1990)
- Mahler, Gustav and Richard Strauss, *Correspondence 1888-1911*, ed. by Herta Blaukopf and trans. by Edmund Jephcott (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984)
- Maître Friand, *Chez Madame la Comtesse de Kessler*, in 'The Table' of 28 January 1888, quoted in *Kataloge*, 43, p. 21
- Mango, Lorenzo, 'The Manuscripts of *The Art of the Theatre* by Edward Gordon Craig', in *Acting Archives Essays, Supplement* 7 April 2011
- Mann, Golo, *Erinnerungen und Gedanken: Eine Jugend in Deutschland* (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 1986)
- Mann, Thomas, *Joseph und seine Brüder*, 4 vols. (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer Verlag, 2007)  
*Lotte in Weimar* (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer Verlag, 1990)
- Mann, William, *Richard Strauss – a critical study of the operas* (London: Cassell, 1964)
- Mazouer, Charles, *Molière et ses comédies-ballets* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2006)
- Messmer, Franzpeter, *Kritiken zu den Uraufführungen der Bühnwerke von Richard Strauss* (Pfaffenhofen: W. Ludwig Verlag, 1989)
- Meyer, Mathias, ed., *Rudolf Hirsch: Beiträge zum Verständnis Hugo von*

- Hofmannsthals*, (Frankfurt: S Fischer Verlag, 1995)
- Miller-Degenfeld, Marie-Therèse, *The Poet and the Countess: Hugo von Hofmannsthal's Correspondence with Countess Ottonie Degenfeld* trans. by Eric Barcel (Rochester NY: Camden House, 2000)
- Millington, Barry, *Richard Wagner The Sorcerer of Bayreuth* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2012)
- Morel, Jean-Paul, 'Claude Terrasse et Erik Satie', *Magazine Littéraire*, 368 (2000), 35-8
- Mühlher, Robert, 'Hugo von Hofmannsthal: Die Komödie für Musik *Der Rosenkavalier*' in *Oesterreichische Dichter seit Grillparzer: Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Wien - Stuttgart: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1973), pp. 321-8
- Nabokov, Nicolas, *Invitation of a Russian Cosmopolitan* (New York: Atheneum, 1975)
- Neumann, Gerhard and Gunter Schnitzler, eds., *Harry Graf Kessler: Ein Wegbereiter der Moderne* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Rombach, 1997)
- Newman L. M., *The Correspondence of Edward Gordon Craig and Count Harry Kessler*, ed. by L M Newman (London: W S Maney and Son Ltd, 1995)
- Nostitz, Helene von, *Aus dem alten Europa* (Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag, 1979)
- Nozière, Fernand, 'Le Théâtre' in *Gil Blas*, 12 December 1907, 3
- Osborne, Charles, *The Complete Operas of Richard Strauss* (London: Michael O'Mara Books Limited, 1988)
- The Complete Operas of Strauss: A Critical Guide* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1992)
- Osborne, Harold, ed., *The Oxford Companion to Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970)
- Pahlen, Kurt, 'Zur Geschichte der Oper *'Der Rosenkavalier'*', in *Der Rosenkavalier, Textbuch, Einführung und Kommentar*, ed. by Kurt Pahlen (Mainz - München: Piper - Schott, 1980), pp. 288-360
- Päpke, Corinna, ed., *Hommage à Harry Graf Kessler* (Berlin: Bröhan Museum, 2007)
- Paris Opéra library, Palais Garnier: Microfilmed record entitled *Bouffes Parisiens*, réserve pièce no. 39
- Patureau, Frédérique, *Le Palais Garnier dans la société parisienne, 1875-1914* (Liège: Pierre Mardaga, 1991)
- Perry, Gill, *The First Actresses - Nell Gwynn to Sarah Siddons* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 2011)
- Phillips, John, *The Marquis de Sade, A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005)
- Poppenberg, Felix, *Literarisches Echo* 14, 1911, 1254-59
- Prost-Romand, Cécile, 'La Légende de Joseph', *Revue de Littérature Comparée* I (1989), 77-83
- Proust, Marcel, *Remembrance of Things Past*, trans. by Scott Moncrief and Terence Kilmartin (London: The Folio Society, 2000)
- Puffett, Derrick, *Richard Strauss: Elektra* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989)
- Renner, Ursula and Gisela Bärbel Schmid, eds., *Hugo von Hofmannsthal*,

- Freundschaften und Begegnungen mit deutschen Zeitgenossen*  
(Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 1991)
- Renucci, Françoise Salvan, *Ein Ganzes von Text und Musik – Hugo von Hofmannsthal und Richard Strauss* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2001)
- Révoil, Fanély, *Claude Terrasse, compositeur de la Belle Epoque* (Paris: 'Les Annales' no. 176, June 1965, 22-34)
- Richardson, Samuel, *Clarissa* (London: Penguin Books, 1985)
- Richter, Thomas, 'Die Bibliothek Harry Graf Kesslers. Möglichkeiten und Grenzen einer Rekonstruktion' in *Bibliotheken und Sammlungen im Exil*, ed. by Claus-Dieter Krohn and Lutz Winckler (München: et+k, 2011), pp. 42-68
- Riethmüller, Albrecht, 'Komödie für Musik nach Wagner: Der Rosenkavalier', in *Hofmannsthal Jahrbuch zur Europäischen Moderne 4/1996* ed. by Gerhard Neumann and others (Freiburg: Rombach Verlag, 1997), pp. 277-96
- Robichez, Jacques, *Le symbolisme au théâtre: Lugné-Poe et les débuts de l'Oeuvre* (Paris: L'Arche, 1957)
- Rösch, Ewald, 'Komödie und Berliner Kritik. Zu Hofmannsthal's Lustspielen *Cristinas Heimreise* und *Der Schwierige*', in *Hugo von Hofmannsthal: Freundschaften und Begegnungen mit deutschen Zeitgenossen* ed. by Ursula Renner and G. Bärbl Schmid (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 1991), pp. 163-90
- Rothe, Friedrich, *Harry Graf Kessler*, (München: Siedler Verlag, 2008)
- Rothenstein, William, *Men and Memories, Vol. 2 1900-1922* (London: Faber and Faber, 1932)
- Sadie, Stanley, Ed. *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, Second Edition*, 29 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001)
- Sammons, Jeffrey L., *Hugo von Hofmannsthal, the Elusive Poet* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1969)
- Schlögel, Karl, 'Das Jahrhundertprotokoll: Harry Graf Kesslers Tagebuch 1880-1937', *Merkur: deutsche Zeitschrift für europäisches Denken*, 58 (2004), 557-68
- Schlötterer, Reinhold, ed., *Musik und Theater im 'Rosenkavalier' von Richard Strauss* (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1985)
- Schneider, Klaus Dieter, *Harry Graf Kesslers Einfluß auf die Gestaltung der Komödie für Musik 'Der Rosenkavalier'*. Dissertation (Celle, 1970)
- Schneider, Louis, 'L'Ingénu libertin' in *Comoedia*, 12 December 1907, 1-2
- Scholes, Percy A., *The Oxford Companion to Music, Tenth Edition*, ed. by John Owen Ward (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970)
- Schuh, Willi, ed. *Der Rosenkavalier, Fassungen, Filmszenarium, Briefe*, (Frankfurt am Main: S Fischer Verlag, 1971)
- 'Hofmannsthal, Kessler und die Josephslegende', *Hofmannsthal Blätter* 27 (1983), 48-55
- Hugo von Hofmannsthal und Richard Strauss* (Munich: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1964)
- Richard Strauss: A Chronicle of the Early Years 1864-1898* trans. by Mary Whittall (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982)

- Die Entstehung des Rosenkavalier* (Zurich: Atlantis Verlag, *Trivium* Year IX, Volume 2, 1951), 65-91
- Umgang mit Musik* (Zurich/Freiburg: Atlantis Verlag, 1970)
- Schuster, Gerhard and Margot Pehle eds., *Harry Graf Kessler, Tagebuch eines Weltmannes, Eine Ausstellung des Deutschen Literaturarchivs im Schiller-Nationalmuseum Marbach am Neckar* (Marbach: Marbacher Kataloge, 43, 1988)
- 'Auf den Spuren von Harry Graf Kesslers Nachlass' in *Sinn und Form* Vol. 2 (2008), 278-84
- Shattuck, Roger, *The Banquet Years* (New York: Vintage Books, 1967)
- Sheehy, Helen, *Eleonora Duse: A Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003)
- Sherard, Robert Harborough, *Twenty Years in Paris* (London: Hutchinson & Co, 1905)
- Signorelli, Olga, *Eleonora Duse* trans. by Isabel Quigly (London: Thames and Hudson, 1959)
- Smith, Patrick, *The Tenth Muse, A historical study of the opera libretto* (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd, 1971)
- Soubies, Albert, *Histoire du Théâtre-Lyrique* (Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1894)
- Le Théâtre Italien de 1801 à 1913* (Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1913)
- Souvestre, Pierre, 'L'Ingénu libertin' in *Comoedia*, 12 December 1907, 2
- St. Denis, Ruth, *An Unfinished Life: An Autobiography* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1939)
- Stenzel, Burkhard, *Harry Graf Kessler: Ein Leben Zwischen Kultur und Politik*, (Köln: Böhlau, 1995)
- 'Gerhart Hauptmann und Harry Graf Kessler' in *Euphorion* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter 102.4. (2008), 413-49
- Stewart, Robert Sussman, ed., *Richard Strauss, Der Rosenkavalier* (London: Michael Joseph, 1982)
- Stillinger, Jack, *Multiple Authorship and the Myth of Solitary Genius* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991)
- Stoullig, Edmond, *Les Annales du Théâtre et de la Musique 1907* (Paris: G. Charpentier, 1908)
- Sutcliffe, Tom, *The Faber Book of Opera* (London: Faber and Faber, 2000)
- Thelen, Albert Vigoleis, *The Island of Second Sight; being the Applied Recollections of Vigoleis*, translated by Donald O. White (Cambridge: Galileo Publishers, 2010)
- Meine Heimat bin ich selbst, Briefe 1929-1953* (Köln: Dumont, 2010)
- Traubner, Richard, *Operetta – A Theatrical History* (New York: Routledge, 2003)
- Trenner, Franz, ed., *Richard Strauss: Dokumente Seines Lebens und Schaffens* (München: C. H. Beck Verlag, 1954)
- Richard Strauss Chronik zu Leben und Werk* (Vienna: R. Strauss Verlag, 2003)
- Trillat, Joseph, 'Le Mois' in *Bulletin français de la Société Internationale de la Musique* (January 1908), 82-3
- Uglow, Jenny, *Hogarth A Life and a World* London: Faber and Faber, 1997)

- Van de Velde, Henri, *Récit de ma Vie*, ed. by Anne van Loo and Fabrice van de Kerckhove (Brussels: Versa Flammarion, 1995)
- Vogel, Juliane, 'Schattenland des ungeliebten Lebens. Zur Kunst des Prologs bei Hugo von Hofmannsthal', *Hofmannsthal Jahrbuch I*, 1993, 165-81
- Vogel, Juliane, ed., *Hugo von Hofmannsthal Operndichtungen* (Salzburg: Residenz Verlag, 1994)
- Walter, Michael, *Richard Strauss und seine Zeit: Grosse Komponisten und ihre Zeit* (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 2000)
- Warrack, John and Ewan West, *The Oxford Dictionary of Opera* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992)
- Weber, Horst, *Hugo von Hofmannsthal Bibliographie des Schrifttums 1892 bis 1963* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1966)  
*Hugo von Hofmannsthal Bibliographie Werke Briefe Gespräche Übersetzungen Vertonungen* (Berlin New York: de Gruyter, 1972)
- Wedekind, Frank, *Gesammelte Werke*, 6 vols. (München und Leipzig: Georg Müller, 1912-14)
- Weisstein, Ulrich, '(Pariser) Farce oder wienerische Maskerade? Die französischen Quellen des *Rosenkavalier*' in *Hofmannsthal-Forschungen*, 9, ed. by Wolfram Mauser (Freiburg im Breslau, 1987), 75-102
- Wild, Nicole, *Dictionnaire des théâtres parisiens au XIX siècle: Les théâtres et la musique* (Paris: Aux Amateurs de Livres, 1989)
- Wilhelm, Kurt, *Richard Strauss Persönlich: Eine Bildbiographie* (Munich Kindler, 1984)  
*Richard Strauss An Intimate Portrait* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1989)
- Wolff, Stéphane, *Un demi-siècle d'opéra-comique* (Paris: André Bonne, 1953)
- Yon, Jean-Claude, 'La création du Théâtre des Bouffes-Parisiens (1855-1862), ou La difficile naissance de l'opérette', *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 39 (1992), 575-600
- Youmans, Charles, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Richard Strauss* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010)
- Zeller, Bernhard, *Harry Graf Kessler, Zeuge und Chronist seiner Epoche* (Mainz: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, 1989)  
 'Aus unbekanntem Tagebüchern Harry Graf Kesslers' in *Jahrbuch der deutschen Schillergesellschaft*, 31 (1987) 3-34
- Zimmermann, Hans, ed., *100 Jahre Cranach Presse* (Berlin: Otto Meissners Verlag, 2013)