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CATERINA PASZTORY PEDRONI

## GOETHE AND STENDHAL

*In memory of my father, judge August Alcsuti*

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They seem to be two very high mountains of Europe: Goethe as the Mont Blanc, static, unchangeable, while Stendhal similar to the volcano Etna.

Stendhal was born thirty-four years after Goethe, but survived him only by ten years. For about thirty-five years the two have lived, read, written and thought simultaneously. During this period one can compare and oppose them to each other, in chronological order, whether for provable analogies, or spontaneous similarities.

The relations between them begin with the novel of Goethe, »Die Leiden des jungen Werther« (1774, enlarged 1788) and terminate, it is to be believed, with Stendhal's unfinished short story »Féder« (1839).

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Goethe, along with his friend Herder, joins the literary movement »Sturm und Drang«, the German pre-romanticism, Goethe notably with his drama »Götz von Berlichingen mit der eisernen Hand« (1773) and exactly with »Werther«<sup>1</sup>.

Goethe moves in 1785 from his native Frankfort-on-the-Main, for good, to the small Thuringian duchy of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach. Its capital, Weimar, is a city strongly imbued with classicism. His great journey to Italy follows (1786–88). There, of course, he is going to be still more deeply impressed by the classical culture.

1 Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744–1803).

We have almost reached the end of the century, when romanticism proper is born in Germany and evolves at the beginning of the next century. Goethe then becomes his own »Zauberlehrling«, because the style he himself has created thirty years earlier, starts blooming. This will cause to him, as will be seen, extremely mixed feelings<sup>2</sup>. For the remainder of his long literary activity it will become virtually impossible to separate the different stylistic elements in his works, namely classicism and romanticism, so subtly will he have combined them, even in his so classicizing »Iphigénie auf Tauris« (1787). These two terms were possibly created and introduced into literary criticism by Goethe himself, along with Schiller<sup>3</sup>.

According to Kataoka »Goethe n'est [...] ni Romantique ni Classique, car au lieu de se révolter, l'esprit travaille chez lui pour aider la volonté à effectuer la clarté par la maîtrise, en établissant un équilibre dans l'être qui se réjouit d'une pleine vitalité«<sup>4</sup>.

On the other hand Stendhal adds to these two styles an element of naturalism, thus pointing to the future. Dupouy characterizes him as »en avance d'une cinquantaine d'années sur ses confrères«, but it could be said that he was still more ahead<sup>5</sup>. It seems that here these three stylistic elements are much better distinguishable than the two in Goethe. The Frenchman is classical as to the style, so concise, abrupt and sober, romantic of soul, and a modernist »avant la lettre«, because of divination, mostly in his frequent psychological analyses. He is »classique d'âme«, says Barrès<sup>6</sup>, »de discipline«, according to Carré<sup>7</sup> and the same author finds him romantic »de tempérament«<sup>8</sup>. Kataoka writes: »Beyle est à la fois Romantique et Classique; Romantique par sa louange de l'énergie et Classique par l'exigence de la clarté dans l'expression«<sup>9</sup>. Stendhal himself will write: »Peut-être faut-il être romantique dans les idées: [...]: mais soyons classiques dans les expressions et les tours, [...]«<sup>10</sup>.

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By the time of the first contact, which is never going to become personal, Henri Beyle will have moved to Paris from his native Grenoble and, like Goethe, he will have made his acquaintance with Italy: Lombardy (1800) with pleasure, while Piedmont (1801) without pleasure.

There is no evidence whatsoever that the young Grenoblese would have read Goethe's *Bildungsroman* »Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre« (1778–93, appearing

2 See below pp. 534–535.

3 Friedrich von Schiller (1759–1805). – See [George] OPRESKO et al., *Entretiens Sur Goethe à l'occasion du centenaire de sa mort [...]*, in: League of Nations. International Institute for Intellectual Cooperation. Paris (1932), pp. 181–182.

4 Miti KATAOKA, *Goethe et Stendhal. Thèse complémentaire de doctorat ès lettres. Faculté des Lettres de Paris 1950*, p. 139.

5 Aug[uste] DUPOUY, *France et Allemagne: Littératures comparées*, Paris 1913, chap. 5. *La dette du romantisme*, p. 106.

6 STENDHAL [Marie Henri Beyle, hereafter only cited as Stendhal], *Correspondence de Stendhal 1800–1842*, ed. Ad. PAUPE and P. A. CHERAMY, introd. Maurice Barrès, Paris 1908, v. 1, p. VII.

7 Jean-Marie CARRÉ, *Les écrivains français et le mirage allemand 1800–1942*, Paris 1947, p. 26.

8 Ibid.

9 KATAOKA (see n. 4), p. 139.

10 STENDHAL, *Réponse à quelques objections* (hereafter cited as *Réponse*), in: *Racine et Shakespeare*, v. 37 of *Œuvres complètes* (hereafter cited as *Œuvres*), ed. Pierre MARTINO, postface and more notes by Victor DEL LITTO, new ed. DEL LITTO and Ernest ABRAVANEL, Genève 1970 (All volumes have same place. The entire series has these same new editors), p. 276.

1795–96)<sup>11</sup>, in 1802<sup>12</sup>, the year of publication of its French translation by Sevelinges in Paris, under the title »Alfred ou les années d'apprentissage de Wilhelm Meister« [...] <sup>13</sup>. At about the same time another, even if very mediocre, translation of the same work appeared<sup>14</sup>.

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The young Beyle writes, at the end of a letter written to him by his maternal grandfather<sup>15</sup>, dated January 13 1805: »Goetz won [sic] Berlichingen by Goëthe [sic]«<sup>16</sup>, although it does not seem probable that he should have read Götz, then, or later<sup>17</sup>. Even if very »Sturm und Drang«, it is all but of Wertherian character, to which the young man is going to dedicate his attention, as will be seen soon.

The twenty-second edition of Werther's French translation appears in 1804, this too done by Sevelinges<sup>18</sup>. (The re-editions and reprints are included in this number. The two first editions from 1776 are translations of the original, short form.) It has, as its frontispiece, an imaginary portrait of Goethe's hero, engraved by a C. Noël, after the original of Boilly<sup>19</sup>. The latter is going to paint, in 1807, a portrait of Stendhal, lost in 1940 during the war. (See Illustr. 1, p. 505).

On January 21 1805 Beyle writes in his diary: »Acheté le 1<sup>er</sup> pluviôse [same day] Werther, bonne traduction de Sevelinges<sup>20</sup>. [Goethe had a poor opinion of most of the French translations.] Si j'aurais [follows his English:] writ as I pense, I did writ as this youngman. 4 livres 10 sous«<sup>21</sup>.

The German author was twenty-five years old when he wrote Werther, while Beyle, when reading the book, was twenty-two. He would like to be identified, not as much with the novel's hero, as with its author.

The influence of this work – as we shall see – is going to last to the end, even if

11 STENDHAL, *Journal* (hereafter cited as *Journal*), v. 30 of *Œuvres*, ed. Victor DEL LITTO, 1969, v. 3, p. 55n. The novel's dates of publication are given here as 1777–1785.

12 Marguerite ARNAUTOVIC, *Nouveaux aperçus sur Stendhal et Goethe. Stendhal »détracteur« et débiteur de Goethe*, in: *Actes du XIII<sup>e</sup> congrès international stendhalien*. Brunswick (G.F.R.) 1978, ed. Victor DEL LITTO and Hermann HARDER, Paris 1983, p. 97.

13 Charles-Louis de Sevelinges (1767–1832). ARNAUTOVIC (see n. 12) (p. 91) writes G.-L.

14 Fernand BALDENSPERGER, *Bibliographie critique de Goethe en France*, Paris 1907, p. 142, no. 1130. He gives the initials of Sevelinges' first names as C.F. – The other translation is being mentioned in same work under p. 142, no. 1129.

15 Dr. Henri Gagnon (1728–1813).

16 STENDHAL, *Correspondence* (hereafter cited as *Correspondence*), ed. Henri MARTINEAU and Victor DEL LITTO, *Bibliothèque de la Pléiade*, Gallimard, Dijon 1962, v. 1, 1800–1821, p. 1095, no. 18\* Appendice.

17 Translated for the first time by Friedel and de Bonneville, as early as 1782, v. 9 of *Nouveau Théâtre allemand*, Paris 1782 and following years. – BALDENSPERGER, *Bibliographie* (see n. 14), p. 65, no. 535.

18 [Johann Wolfgang von GOETHE,] *Werther*, Traduit de l'Allemand, sur une nouvelle édition, Augmentée, par l'Auteur de douze Lettres, et d'une Partie historique entièrement neuve (hereafter cited as *Goethe-Sevelinges, Werther*), Trad. C.-L. SEVELINGES, Paris 1804. – BALDENSPERGER, *Bibliographie* (see n. 14), p. 15, no. 112.

19 Louis Léopold Boilly (1761–1845).

20 STENDHAL, *Œuvres intimes*, ed. Henri MARTINEAU, *Bibliothèque de la Pléiade* 109, N.p. 1955, p. 607. – *Journal*, v. 28 of *Œuvres*, ed. Victor DEL LITTO, 1969, v. 1 (see n. 11), p. 254.

21 Walter F. SCHIRMER, *Stendhal und Deutschland*, in: *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen* 133 (1915), p. 161. The author doubts that Stendhal should have read it at all; a very exaggerated supposition.

undergoing changes. On February 11th he writes: »Si je ne me corrige pas, j'aurai été the greatest bard au fond de mon cœur, de moi-même, et n'ayant jamais pu me montrer aux hommes, je passerai without fame«<sup>22</sup>. Cf. with the passage in Werther: »Ich könnte jetzt nicht zeichnen, nicht einen Strich, und bin nie ein grösserer Mahler gewesen als in diesen Augenblicken«<sup>23</sup>. In the French translation: »Pas un trait ne pourrait aujourd'hui sortir de mon crayon, et jamais je ne fus plus grand peintre qu'à présent«<sup>24</sup>.

On February 12 he will call Victorine Mounier, one of his early loves »ma Charlotte«<sup>25</sup>. (Or does he perhaps speak of Adèle de Landevoisin, sister-in-law of general Michaud, whom he gets to know in Paris?)<sup>26</sup>. He writes of the girl that, according to some, they would give her to him in marriage. However it is at this moment that his relationship with the young actress, Mélanie Guilbert, who assumed the pseudonyme Louason on the stage, is in the process of formation; it is not going to be an easy relation<sup>27</sup>. This explains the following:

It is on March 4 that he writes for the first time of a noble race of horses<sup>28</sup>: »J'ai senti cet après-midi, à trois heures, en traversant le château des Tuilleries pour aller voir Mounier<sup>29</sup> [brother of Victorine], combien ce passage d'Othello était sublime: »On dit qu'il y a une noble race de chevaux«, etc. Le cœur me démangeait intérieurement: j'aurais eu une vive jouissance à me donner un coup de poignard [...].«

As later, at every next instance, he attributes the passage erroneously to the Shakespearian Othello, while he has read it in Werther, where we find: »Ich wollte, dass sich einer unterstünde mir es vorzuwerfen, dass ich ihm den Degen durch den Leib stossen könnte; wenn ich Blut sähe, würde mir es besser werden. Ach ich habe hundertmal ein Messer ergriffen, um diesem gedrängten Herzen Luft zu machen. Man erzählt von einer edlen Art Pferde, die, wenn sie schrecklich erhitzt und aufgejagt sind, sich selbst aus Instinct eine Ader aufbeissen, um sich zum Athem zu helfen. So ist mir's oft, ich möchte mir eine Ader öffnen, die mir die ewige Freiheit schaffte«<sup>30</sup>. In French the text reads as follows: »Je voudrais que quelqu'un osât me parler en face, pour pouvoir lui plonger mon épée dans le sein; je me trouverais mieux si je voyais du sang. Ah! j'ai cent fois saisi un couteau, pour donner de l'air à mon cœur oppressé. J'ai ouï parler d'une noble race de chevaux, qui, lorsqu'ils sont violemment échauffés par une longue course, s'ouvrent par instinct la veine avec les dents, pour soulager la respiration. – Cette envie me prend souvent de m'ouvrir la veine, pour me procurer une éternelle liberté«<sup>31</sup>.

22 Journal, v. 1 (see n. 11), p. 273.

23 [Johann Wolfgang von GOETHE,] Die Leiden des Jungen Werther (hereafter cited as Werther), ser. 1, v. 19 of Goethes Werke, Weimar 1899 (hereafter cited as Weimar), pt. 1, p. 8, May 10.

24 GOETHE-SEVELINGES, Werther (see n. 18), p. 5. – Brought to this author's attention by Anthony PURDY, Stendhal et Werther du secret à la publicité, in: Actes du XIII<sup>e</sup> congrès international stendhalien. Brunswick (G.F.R.) 1978, ed. Victor DEL LITTO and Hermann HARDER, Paris 1983, p. 161.

25 Marie-Marthe-Victorine Mounier (1788–1822). – Journal, v. 1, p. 283.

26 Adèle or Adelaïde de Landevoisin (1786–1832). See also p. 518 and n. 156 below.

27 Jeanne-Françoise-Mélanie Guilbert (1780–1828).

28 Journal, v. 1 (see n. 11), p. 334.

29 Claude-Philibert-Edouard Mounier (1784–1843).

30 Weimar, ser. 1, v. 19, pt. 2 (see n. 23), p. 106, March 16.

31 GOETHE-SEVELINGES, Werther (see n. 18), p. 155.

Beyle repeats this passage the following day (March 5): »[...] l'autre jour, après avoir écrit: ›Le cœur me démange‹ ou, en noblifiant la chose comme Shak[espeare]: ›On dit qu'il est une noble race de chevaux‹, etc.«<sup>32</sup>.

The other Wertherian motif which he is going to use several times is the wooden hand. This one he attributes rightly to Werther, where it sounds like this: »Ich [...] fasse manchmal meinen Nachbar an der hölzernen Hand und schaudere zurück«<sup>33</sup>, while in French: »Je saisis quelquefois mon voisin par la main, je sens qu'elle est de bois et je recule en frissonnant«<sup>34</sup>.

When writing to his sister Pauline<sup>35</sup>, on April 29, we read: »[...] point de cœur qui entende le mien; je crois saisir et presser la main d'un homme et d'un ami, je trouve une main de bois, comme dit le sensible Werther«<sup>36</sup>. He writes this while jealous of Louason.

On July 9 he returns to the allegory of the horses, this time in his English: »They are a noble race of horse days [sic] Othello«<sup>37</sup>. He writes this in Grenoble, after having somewhat criticized his grandfather.

On August 20 Beyle is in Marseilles, at last united with Louason. Writing of her to his sister we read: »Elle sent comme toi, mille fois elle m'a dit ta comparaison: Je crois saisir la main d'un homme, etc.«<sup>38</sup>. We have seen that it was he who had written this motif to Pauline, though she might have later repeated it to him.

While his love starts to wear out, but still in Marseilles, Beyle writes to Pauline, on February 15 1806: »Nous voyons que les amants malheureux des romans (Werther, [...]) nous ont touchés«<sup>39</sup>.

On March 25 he notes<sup>40</sup>: »L[ambert] me dit que S[amade]t et Mme. P[allard] me croient Werther dans tout le grand du caractère«<sup>41</sup>. He does not deny it, even if he puts it into the mouth of another. He seems somewhat proud of it.

On March 30, while writing of a friendly running contest: »bonne en soi, car cela dessine le caractère Werther«<sup>42</sup>.

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Here ends Beyle's first Wertherian period, with the end of his love for Louason; the period of more or less serious identification with the German author through the hero, both of them (Goethe and Werther) proto-romantic.

He has returned to Paris in July; the line of demarcation is formed by his entry into the Napoleonic service.

32 Journal, v. 1 (see n. 11), p. 336.

33 Weimar, ser. 1, v. 19, pt. 2 (see n. 23), p. 97, January 20.

34 GOETHE-SEVELINGES, *Werther* (see n. 18), p. 142.

35 Pauline Beyle (1786–1857).

36 Correspondence, v. 1 (see n. 16), p. 198, no. 88\*.

37 STENDHAL, *Journal littéraire* (hereafter cited as *Journal littéraire*), v. 34 of *Œuvres*, ed. Victor DEL LITTO, 1970, v. 2, p. 254.

38 Correspondence, v. 1 (see n. 16), p. 215, no. 95\*.

39 Ibid., v. 1 (see n. 16), p. 288, no. 124\*.

40 STENDHAL, *Œuvres intimes* (see n. 20), p. 806. – Journal, v. 29 of *Œuvres*, ed. Victor DEL LITTO, 1970, v. 2 (see n. 11), p. 173.

41 Léon Lambert († 1832).

42 Journal, v. 2 (see n. 11), p. 186.

He will spend the rest of the year, starting at the end of October, in Brunswick, Saxony, where he will remain the following year too, as commissary of the town, and of the department of the Ocker.

Perhaps under the romantic influence of his new love for Wilhelmine (Minna, Mina, Minette) von Griesheim, Werther is still present to him at certain moments<sup>43</sup>. E.g. on March 24 of 1807, when he writes to Pauline: »Plus on réfléchit sur toutes les passions, depuis celle de César pour régner sur la république romaine jusqu'à celle de Werther pour Lotte, on voit que l'analyse ci-dessus est bien une description exacte de ce qui se passe dans le cœur de l'homme passionné.« He advises Pauline to get married. »Songe que quelque apparence que tu trouves, tu as une main de bois à tes côtés qui ne comprendra pas ou enviera tes jouissances«<sup>44</sup>. A strange encouragement, to tell the truth.

Beyle has fallen in love with Mina like a Werther, but he terminates the idyll somewhat like Don Juan<sup>45</sup>, leaving the girl, daughter of a general, who is not wealthy, to her Dutch fiancé, de Heerdt<sup>46</sup>. According to Del Litto she will become Clelia Conti's prototype<sup>47</sup>. As we shall see, the girl is never going to get married, as de Heerdt will be killed in action<sup>48</sup>.

It is not likely that Beyle would have, even then, read Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre<sup>49</sup>. He might have heard talk of it in Brunswick and so, probably, he suggests it to his sister, among other readings, on June 3<sup>50</sup>. He calls the novel »Trois semaines d'apprentissage de Meister«.

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Goethe has been working at his »Faust«, one could say, throughout all of his life. He might have started it at the age of twenty-five and will not finish it earlier than just before his death. What is of interest to us, because of its possible influence on Beyle, is only the first part, completed in 1806 and printed two years later<sup>51</sup>.

As early as 1790 a fragment of it was published<sup>52</sup>.

A German friend, perhaps Beyle's only one in Brunswick, baron von Strombeck, who undoubtedly knew this fragment, must have talked about it to the young Frenchman<sup>53</sup>.

In July the two friends climb the summit of the Brocken, highest peak of the Harz

43 Wilhelmine von Griesheim (1786–1861).

44 Correspondence, v. 1 (see n. 16), pp. 342–344, no. 151.

45 See below p. 527

46 [André] FRANÇOIS-PONCET, *Stendhal en Allemagne. Les Soirées du Luxembourg*, N.p. 1967, pp. 65–66, 68, 72–73, 76.

47 Victor DEL LITTO, *Stendhal et l'Allemagne*, in: *Bulletin Mensuel de l'Académie Delphinale*, ser. 8, yr. 17, no. 8 (December 1978), p. 191.

48 See below p. 512.

49 See above p. 494. – Cf. Francis CLAUDON, *Le Séjour de Stendhal à Brunswick*, in: *Actes du XIII<sup>e</sup> congrès international stendhalien. Brunswick (G.F.R.) 1978*, ed. Victor DEL LITTO and Hermann HARDER, Paris 1983, p. 45.

50 Correspondence, v. 1 (see n. 16), p. 353, no. 157\*.

51 GOETHE, *Faust: Eine Tragödie*, Tübingen 1808.

52 GOETHE, *Faust: Ein Fragment*, Leipzig 1790.

53 Baron Friedrich Karl von Strombeck (1771–1848), superintendent of the duchess of Brunswick, but also extremely interested in art, occasionally writing poetry, having travelled quite extensively and speaking French and Italian. – See Christian SÉNÉCHAL, *Stendhal et l'Allemagne*, in: *Tentatives*, new ser., no. 1, sec. 3 (January 1924), p. 78.

mountains, south of Brunswick<sup>54</sup>. The Brocken figures in Faust I, as the site of the Walpurgis Night orgy of the witches. Henri, carried away by enthusiasm, is supposed to have recited parts of the work, who knows how, his German being rather poor. – In Paris he will possess a German grammar and he is going to take lessons in 1808, even if without much success<sup>55</sup>. In Milan, on September 12 1811, in a rather objective disposition, he will note in his diary: »Je remarque qu'il est bien difficile de juger un peuple dont on ignore la langue«<sup>56</sup>. In 1831, supposedly he still considered to study this language, in case he would have remained in Trieste, and so he writes: »Je relis l'allemand. Si j'étais resté j'allais donner un coup de collier, [...], et me mettre en état de comprendre la prose«<sup>57</sup>. – Much later, in the last one of three drafts – dated »Civita-Vecchia«, October [16, 17–28 and] 28–29 1840, for a letter to Balzac (dated November 30, but of which it is not known when mailed and arrived to the addressee), Stendhal writes: »J'ai oublié leur langue [the German] par mépris«<sup>58</sup>. – According to Pilon »[...] cet allemand, cette langue allemande, [...] qu'il a pratiquée, étudiée, à Brunswick, il mettra, selon Bourget, s'il faut, deux années à le désapprendre!«<sup>59</sup>.

There is no proof of Beyle having ever read the entire Faust I., not even later, even if this possibility cannot be completely excluded. The two first French translations of it will not appear before 1823: 1./of the pen of the Swiss Albert Stapfer<sup>60</sup>, and 2./by Count de Saint-Aulaire<sup>61</sup>.

On January 14 1808 he will note in his diary: »M. de Bothmer, grand chambellan [...] A le goût littéraire qui régnait en Allemagne sous Frédéric le Grand. Adoration du genre français, avec ses vices et ses vertus. Les grands hommes allemands, Goethe, [...] ont changé cela«<sup>62</sup>. This is the first culminating point of his admiration for Goethe, even if not any more for Werther. However a change of mind begins here:

54 According to [STENDHAL,] *Séjour de Stendhal à Brunswick (1807–1808) Fragment du Journal*, in: *La Nouvelle Revue Française* 1 (April 1914), pp. 560–563, p. 560, n. 4, it was on the 13th, 20th or 27th. According to FRANÇOIS-PONCET (see n. 46) (p. 55), on the 10th (?). – Friedrich Karl von STROMBECK, *Darstellungen aus meinem Leben und aus meiner Zeit*, 2d ed., Braunschweig 1835, v. 1, p. 269. The author, while praising the culture and the good-naturedness of Beyle, mentions also the ascent of the Brocken, which, according to him, they would have undertaken repeatedly together.

55 André MONCHOUX, *L'Allemagne devant les lettres françaises: De 1814 à 1835. Thèse pour le doctorat ès lettres présentée à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris, Toulouse 1953*, p. 419. His source is PAUPE, *La vie littéraire de Stendhal*, Paris 1914, p. 81.

56 *Journal*, v. 3, chap. 28 (see n. 11), p. 250.

57 *Correspondence*, 1967, v. 2, 1821–1834 (see n. 16), pp. 258–259, no. 969. Dated from Corfu, February 23, but really Trieste, March 23 1831, to his friend, baron Apollinaire-Adolphe de Marest (1784–1867).

58 *Correspondence*, 1968, v. 3, 1835–1842 (see n. 16), p. 404, no. 1744\* [III](a), 731n. – Honoré de Balzac (1799–1850).

59 Edmond PILON, *Stendhal et l'amour allemand*, in: *Mercure de France*, no. 457, v. 122, yr. 28, 1–8 (August 1 1917), p. 433.

60 [Frédéric-]Albert[-Alexandre] STAPPER (1802–1892). – *Faust. Œuvres dramatiques de J.W. Goethe traduits de l'allemand*, [...], p. 4, Paris 1823. See BALDENSPERGER, *Bibliographie* (see n. 14), p. 91, no. 761.

61 *Faust*, trad. Louis-Clair de BEAUPOIL, comte de SAINT-AULAIRE, v. 1 of *Chefs-d'œuvre du théâtre allemand*. In: *Chefs-d'œuvre des théâtres étrangers* v. 25, Paris 1823. See BALDENSPERGER, *Bibliographie* (see n. 14), p. 91, no. 762.

62 *Journal*, v. 2 (see n. 11), p. 277.



Beyle has assisted at a performance of Schiller's drama »Kabale und Liebe«, in the style of »Sturm und Drang«. On September 20 he writes the following of it: »cette sensibilité appuyée sur des idées vagues et enflées, comme celle de Werther [...], ne m'émeut pas«<sup>63</sup>.

In this period happen the encounters of Goethe with Napoleon: first the important one, which lasted almost an hour, in Erfurt, Thuringia, on October 2<sup>64</sup> and, at which Pierre Daru<sup>65</sup> and three or four others were present, among them Talleyrand<sup>66</sup> –, then at Weimar, on the 6th and the 10th. Beyle will hear of it probably from his cousin Daru. He seems to feel, if not envy, at least regret<sup>67</sup>. He writes in his diary, on October 14: »Les souverains ont, en fait de goût, un grand avantage: c'est d'être entourés, en artistes, de l'élite de ceux qui vivent de leurs jours. L'empereur vient d'accorder une audience à Goethe à Erfurt et de parler avec lui de littérature allemande. Le poète aura probablement présenté ses pensées mères. L'empereur peut donc avoir des idées beaucoup plus saines de cette littérature que le commun des hommes. Et il est ainsi pour tout«<sup>68</sup>. This quote does not seem to be ironical. And yet he never attempted, as far as we know, to meet the great German, when he was not too far from him, in Brunswick.

What did Goethe write of these his imperial encounters? For the moment being, nothing, not even in his diary. To his friend, the chancellor Müller, who was with him in Erfurt, waiting for him in the next room, he related something, little by little<sup>69</sup>. Müller noted down everything and combined all that, with what Goethe told him almost twenty years later very laconically<sup>70</sup>. According to this combined description they had talked of Werther and of tragedy. Talleyrand described the interview somewhat differently<sup>71</sup>.

It is worth noting that Beyle will not ever write anything concerning his presentation to the emperor, on December 16 1810<sup>72</sup>.

On December 20 1809 Henri Beyle wrote from Austria: »Le célèbre Goethe a fait paraître depuis peu un nouveau roman dont le titre est singulier, les Affinités ou Attractions Electives. Mais on prétend que la singularité du titre n'ôte rien à l'intérêt du sujet«<sup>73</sup>.

63 Ibid., v. 2 (see n. 11), p. 304.

64 The Italian painter, Carlo Gerosa (active 1840–1860), pupil of Palagio Palagi, executed a large painting of this scene.

65 Pierre-Bruno Daru (1767–1829).

66 Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord (1754–1838).

67 François VERMALE, *L'influence de Goethe sur Stendhal*, in: *Annales de l'Université de Grenoble*, new ser. Section Lettres-Droit 14 (1937), p. 63. – Matthew JOSEPHSON, *Stendhal or the pursuit of happiness*, Garden City 1946, p. 128.

68 Journal, v. 2 (see n. 11), p. 308.

69 Chancellor Friedrich Theodor Adam Heinrich von Müller (1779–1849).

70 Kanzler [Friedrich] von MÜLLER, *Unterhaltungen mit Goethe*, ed. Ernst GRUMACH, rev. ed., Weimar 1956, pp. 283–289.

71 *Goethes Gespräche*, v. 22 of GOETHE, *Werke*, Gedenkausgabe [...] 1949, Zürich 1964, pp. 507–509, no. 820.

72 Henri MARTINEAU, *Le cœur de Stendhal* [...], Paris 1952, v. 1, p. 248, n. 1.

73 Quoted in KATAOKA (see n. 4), p. 8, but without mentioning his source.

We know that in February 1810, after his return to Paris, he does read this novel: »Die Wahlverwandtschaften«, published in 1809 and, shortly afterwards, twice translated into French: by Raymond with others, under the title »Affinités électives« (Paris 1810) and by Breton, who gives it the title *Otilie ou le pouvoir de la sympathie* (Paris 1810). It is generally believed that Beyle would have read the latter translation.

The influence of this work is going to be perceptible until almost the end of Stendhal's »œuvre«. – According to Imbert, this novel »apportait [...] à Stendhal: une occasion d'approfondir son expérience de beyliste«<sup>74</sup>.

On February 18 Beyle writes: »Le soir du 18 je lis les »Affinités« de Goethe, roman d'un homme d'un grand talent, mais qui pourrait toucher bien davantage [the judgment is conditional]; il paraît que, par originalité, il a pris le chemin qu'il suit dans *Werther* et aussi dans *Otilie*«<sup>75</sup>. This sentence, as it is, is illogical. It should sound slightly differently. Why »par originalité« the author would have taken the way which he follows in *Werther*? And how could *Otilie* follow *Affinités*, which are two translations of the same work? If eliminating the conjunction »et«, the sense would become less obscure: »[...] il a pris le chemin qu'il suit dans *Werther* aussi dans *Otilie*.« – The mentioning of both *Otilie* and *Affinités* would make it possible to presume that Beyle might have read both translations.

According to Carré, Beyle was perhaps the only (non German?) person of his time who would have read the novel, a somewhat extreme supposition<sup>76</sup>.

Next day (on the 19th) Beyle writes to his sister, who has by then been married for two years to François Perier-Lagrange: »J'ai été tendrement ému hier soir, tu connaîtras *Otilie*«<sup>77</sup>.

Later, on March 20, we read: »*Otilie* (the book of) lui [to Mlle. Jules de la Bergerie] semble ridicule. Passe. Il faudrait, avec une tête française, une âme à la Mozart (de la sensibilité la plus tendre et la plus profonde) pour goûter ce roman«<sup>78</sup>.

Gone is by now the initial restriction. – His predilection for Mozart dates back to his sojourn in Brunswick. – Goethe similarly loves Mozart<sup>79</sup>.

On May 1st Beyle writes: »Ce matin je suis allé porter *Otilie* à Mme. Z\*\*«<sup>80</sup>. This is of course Mrs. P. Daru, with whom he is, at that moment, in love<sup>81</sup>. (See Illustr. 2, p. 506).

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74 Henri-François IMBERT, *Le rouge et le jaune ou de l'affinité élective chez Goethe et Stendhal*, in: Actes du XIII<sup>e</sup> congrès international stendhalien. Brunswick (G.F.R.) (1978), ed. Victor DEL LITTO and Hermann HARDER, Paris 1983, p. 128.

75 Journal, v. 2 (see n. 11), p. 61.

76 CARRÉ (see n. 7), p. 28.

77 Correspondence, v. 1 (see n. 16), p. 558, no. 391. – François Perier-Lagrange (1778–1816).

78 Journal, v. 2 (see n. 11), p. 368. – Jules de La Bergerie (1790–1853).

79 Johann Peter ECKERMANN, *Gespräche mit Goethe in den letzten Jahren seines Lebens*, 20th ed., Leipzig 1923, p. 297, December 6 1829, p. 358, February 14 1831, p. 604, June 20 1831, and p. 615, March 11 1832, eleven days before his death.

80 Journal, v. 2 (see n. 11), p. 395.

81 Her maiden name was Alexandrine-Thérèse Nardot (1783–1815).

After »Wahlverwandtschaften«, but with the same appreciation, he reads »Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre« only now, although the book – we repeat – has appeared in French in 1802<sup>82</sup>.

This is the third and last novel of Goethe which will influence the French author, perhaps till the end. According to Baldensperger, Beyle was the only contemporary Frenchman who understood it<sup>83</sup>.

August 1st is the date of Beyle's nomination to auditor at the State Council (section of the war).

Perhaps it is not by chance that here follows the second peak of his philo-Goethean period, one almost without restrictions. He does not seem to need to give vent to bad feelings by criticizing the German writer.

We read in his diary on August 12th: »J'ai joui [...] avec Goethe, near to my soul. J'ai fini les Années d'apprentissage de Wilhelm Meister; ces idées m'avaient rendu fou, et c'est dans cette disposition que j'ai commencé à écrire«<sup>84</sup>. How could he thus have read the novel earlier? Also yet four years pass, before he publishes his first work.

He has not completely rejected Werther (he never will), because on September 9th, while advising his friend, Faure<sup>85</sup> as to the style, he observes<sup>86</sup>: »Remarquez [...] le jugement [...] que le cuistre Geoffroy<sup>87</sup> porte de Werther et vous pourrez vous vanter d'avoir une belle collection d'idées justes.«

We should not forget that we are just about at the peak of the Napoleonic classicism, when he has already taken stand on the romantic side, against the ultra-classical Geoffroy.

In September we hear him repeat one of his early favorite Wertherian sayings: »Quelquefois [...] j'y [to other people's pleasure] prends quelque goût [...], bientôt je sens que ce sont des mains de bois che non sono niente per me«<sup>88</sup>.

On October 9, when writing to his sister, he signs »W.m MEISTER«<sup>89</sup>.

On April 8 1811, we see Beyle use the word »Goethe« in parenthesis, in a footnote without any apparent connection with the text<sup>90</sup>.

Similarly, on March 27 1812, he writes, as a footnote, »seen the 27 mars 1812« and, again in parenthesis: »Goethe, 1784«<sup>91</sup>.

82 Strangely SÉNÉCHAL (see n. 53) (p. 139) and Berkholz fail to mention this novel. See Else BERKHOLZ, *Stendhal und Deutschland. Inauguraldissertation [...]* Ludwig-Maximilians Universität München 1924, p. 5.

83 Fernand BALDENSPERGER, *Goethe en France: Etude de littérature comparée*, 2d rev. ed., Paris 1920, p. 187.

84 *Journal*, v. 3 (see n. 11), p. 55.

85 Félix Faure (1780–1855).

86 *Journal*, v. 3 (see n. 11), p. 62.

87 Julien Louis Geoffroy (1742–1814), important dramatic critic. See BALDENSPERGER, *Goethe en France* (see n. 83), p. 50: »Geoffroy traite »Werther« de monstrueuse folie.«

88 *Journal*, v. 3 (see n. 11), p. 60.

89 *Correspondence*, v. 1 (see n. 16), p. 592, no. 413\*.

90 *Journal littéraire*, v. 2 (see n. 37), pp. 337, 547. According to the editor, the parenthesis is a mask, an alibi for him, to hide what he is saying.

91 *Journal littéraire*, vol. 35 of *Œuvres*, ed. Victor DEL LITTO, 1970, v. 3, p. 13. – It can only be a coincidence that, (on September 4) in 1784, Goethe happened to be on the Brocken. This was the third time he climbed the peak. The first time it occurred on December 10 1777, before which, on the 4th, he

In July Beyle leaves for Russia. He passes through Weimar. Goethe follows a cure in Teplitz, in Bohemia (at the time belonging to Austria) and it is impossible to know whether the young aspirant writer would have attempted to see him if he had been at home. (Napoleon passes through the town and he does ask about the great German.)

On October 2, after the extinction of the fire, the Grenoblese writes from Moscow to Faure, speaking of friendship: »Deux corps se rapprochent; il naît de la chaleur et une fermentation,« but, as if he would not want to commit himself, he adds: »mais tout état de cette nature est passager«<sup>92</sup>. The beginning of this quotation could be inspired by *Wahlverwandtschaften*, although Naumann denies this novel's influence on »beylisme«, as in general he belittles Goethe's influence on Beyle<sup>93</sup>.

\*

After the Russian campaign Beyle returns to Paris, on January 31 1813. According to Martineau, he feels shipwrecked, being similar in this to the young Goethe, in 1768, upon his return home from Leipzig<sup>94</sup>.

Next Beyle travels repeatedly in France and in Germany, with the army.

On May 2nd 1813 at Lützen, in Saxony, he assists, while not taking any active part in it, at the battle. He mentions to have seen in that town, portraits of Goethe<sup>95</sup>. Similarly he is present, on May 22nd, at the battle of Bautzen (also in Saxony), which was Napoleon's last victory, again without participating in it. He does observe this battle from a hut made out of branches. (We think of his later description of Waterloo.)

We find among his writings of the following day, again the name »Goethe« (in the manuscript *Göthe*) in parenthesis, again in a footnote, and again without any apparent relevance to the text<sup>96</sup>. Finally, after his return to Paris, dated December, we read for the last time »Goethe« as a footnote<sup>97</sup>.

Copied on December 18, he writes: »M. Schlegel divise les poètes en deux classes. Les poètes grecs et français ont cultivé la littérature classique; Shakespeare, Calderon, Schiller, Goethe sont des poètes du genre romantique. A la bonne heure, je ne vois là d'autre mal qu'un mot nouveau ou pris dans une acception nouvelle, [...],

executed a charcoal drawing of it, in moonlight, as seen from the »Torfhaus«. It is considered one of Goethe's best drawings. »Unconsciously Goethe created a first romantic landscape...« It is strongly illusionistic. It was there he observed the colored shadows. – The second time he climbed it between September 6 and October 6 1783. The above mentioned date marks the third ascent. – See Gerhard FEMMEL, ed., *Corpus der Goethezeichnungen*, Leipzig 1958, v. 1, pp. 74, 232, N° 190. – Bernhard GAJEK, Franz GÖTTING and Jörg GÖRES, eds., *Goethes Leben und Werk in Daten und Bildern*, Frankfurt a.M. 1966, pp. 30, 416 (from here the above quotation), illus. 252. – Earlier, exactly on March 27, on the other hand exactly in 1784, Goethe has discovered the inter-maxillar bone.

92 Correspondence, v. 1 (see n. 16), p. 659, no. 461.

93 Manfred NAUMANN, *Deutschland im Urteil Stendhals*, in: *Beiträge zur französischen Aufklärung und zur spanischen Literatur: Festgabe für Werner Krauss zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Werner BAHNER, Berlin 1971, p. 242.

94 MARTINEAU, *Le cœur de Stendhal* v. 1 (see n. 72), p. 299.

95 *Journal*, v. 31 of *Œuvres*, ed. Victor DEL LITTO, 1969, v. 4 (see n. 11), p. 68.

96 *Journal littéraire*, v. 2, (see n. 37), pp. 386, 553 n.

97 *Journal littéraire*, v. 3 (see n. 37), p. 8.

j'admets la littérature romantique, [...]»<sup>98</sup>. Stendhal overlooks Goethe's classical side, because he intends to use him in his battle for romanticism and against classicism; the beginning of this battle can be put here.

The work of Schlegel he refers to is *Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst und Literatur* (Heidelberg 1809)<sup>99</sup>.

In 1814, in the Paris of the Bourbon Restoration, Beyle writes his first work which is going to be put up for sale the following year, under the title »Lettres écrites de Vienne en Autriche, sur le célèbre Compositeur Joseph Haydn, suivies d'une Vie de Mozart et de Considérations sur Métastase et l'Etat présent de la Musique en Italie«<sup>100</sup>. As author he uses the pseudonym Louis-Alexandre-César Bombet. As later all his works, this is being published in Paris.

This is not the place to discuss Beyle's plagiarisms committed against the work of the Italian author, who lived and died in Vienna, Giuseppe Carpani, entitled »Le Haydine«, written in Italian and published in Milan in 1812<sup>101</sup>.

Kühnau qualifies Beyle's way of using Carpani, applying the second half of Goethe's title of his »Aus meinem Leben Dichtung und Wahrheit«<sup>102</sup>. What counts for us is the influence on this first work of Beyle of the three novels of Goethe which, as we saw, had made a lasting impression on him. The impression undoubtedly did exist, even if each of the three novels inspired him in different ways.

When we see what he writes about music, it makes us think of what Goethe has said in »Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre«<sup>103</sup>.

In letter 7, dated falsely from Vienna (while he was in Germany), October 3 1808, he remembers Isola Bella, where he supposedly had met with a young Milanese; he writes: »c'est un Werther, qui a choisi ce lieu célèbre pour finir son existence d'une manière piquante«<sup>104</sup>. The young man is a Werther, a character similar to the novel's hero. Thus we do not find here either the imitation of the author, or the influence of the work entitled *Werther*. He has abandoned both, as early as his first work, as literary ideals. At least this is what he believes.

Now what he is unable to forget is »Wahlverwandtschaften«.

He has taken from there the idea of the living pictures, which imitate well known

98 *Journal littéraire*, v. 2, Variétés. Fragments de mes voyages (see n. 37) pp. 478–479. – STENDHAL, *Correspondence inédite* [...], Paris 1855, v. 1, p. 33 contains this text as a letter, dated from Paris, December 18 1813, written to his cousin and friend Romain Colomb (1784–1858).

99 Hereafter, when speaking of Schlegel, [August] Wilhelm von Schlegel (1767–1845) will be meant and never his brother [Karl Wilhelm] Friedrich. – The work was translated into French as *Cours de littérature dramatique* [...], trad. Albertine Necker de SAUSSURE, Paris 1814. Did Beyle read it in German (?), or was this French translation not the first edition?

100 Martineau considers Haydn German. See MARTINEAU, *Le cœur de Stendhal*, v. 1 (see n. 72), p. 316.

101 Giuseppe Carpani (1752–1825).

102 Richard KÜHNAU, *Quellen-Untersuchungen zu Stendhal-Beyle's Jugendwerken: [...]*, Inaugural-Dissertation [...] Fakultät der Universität Marburg, Marburg a.d. Lahn 1908, pp. 28–29.

103 Weimar, ser. 1, v. 21–22, *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*, 1898, 1899 (hereafter cited as *Wilhelm Meister*). – ARNAUTOVIC (see n. 12) (p. 98) speaks of similar »explications sensorielles de la musique« in *Wilhelm Meister* (bks. 1–5 *passim*) and in Stendhal's work on Haydn, etc.

104 STENDHAL, *Vies de Haydn, de Mozart et de Métastase*, v. 41 of *Œuvres*, ed. Daniel MULLER, postface and more notes by Victor DEL LITTO, 1970, p. 64, letter no. 7. This is the title of the work, starting with its later issues.



Fig. 1 Louis-Léopold Boilly, Stendhal. 1807. Lost in 1940. Photograph in the Musée Stendhal, Grenoble.



Fig. 2 Jacques-Louis David, Mrs. Pierre Daru. Frick Collection, New York.



Fig. 3 Guercino (1591–1666), Abraham and Agar. Brera Gallery, Milan.





Fig. 4 Raphaël, St. Cecilia, c. 1515. Painting Gallery, Bologna.

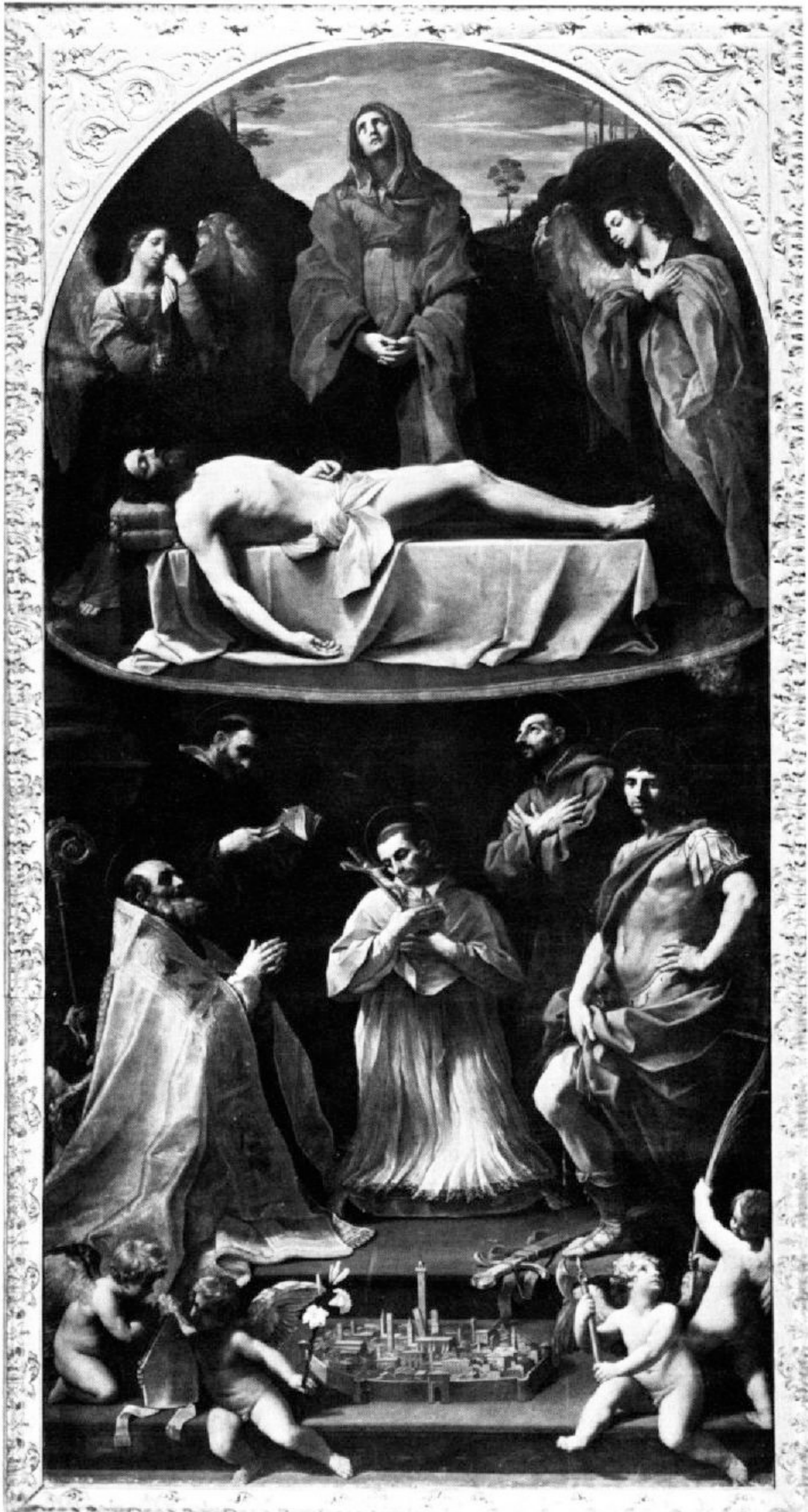


Fig. 5 Guido Reni, «Pietà dei Mendicanti», 1615–1616. Painting Gallery, Bologna.

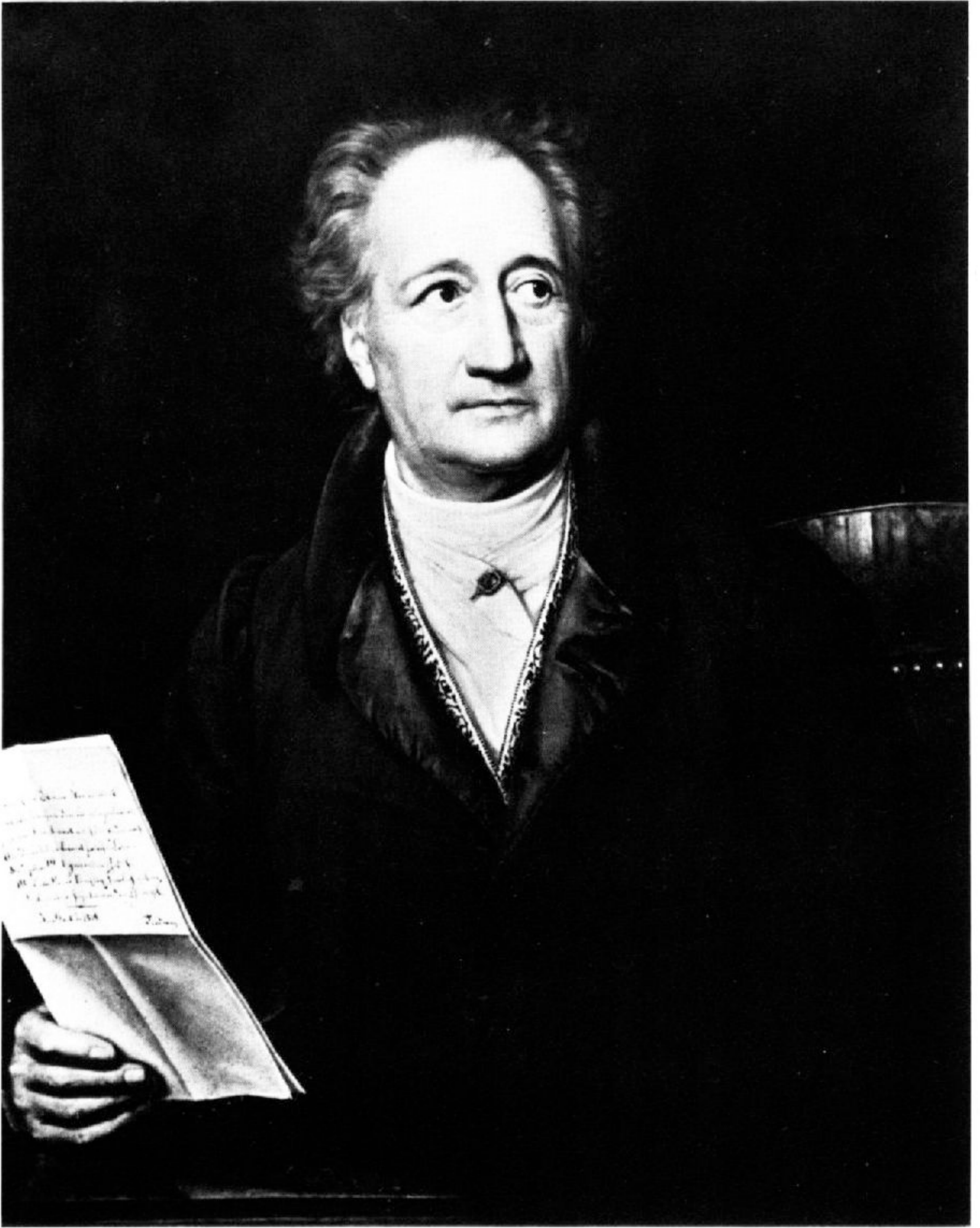


Fig. 6 Joseph Karl Stieler, Goethe 1828. Neue Pinakothek, Munich. This copy by Stieler's nephew, Friedrich Dürek (1809–1889), 1829. Goethe Museum, Weimar.

paintings<sup>105</sup>. He used them in letter 9, dated Salzburg, May 4 1809<sup>106</sup>. He happens to be in Upper Austria, going from Ebelsberg to Enns, not in the Salzburg province (Salzkammergut).

So much does he remember this German book that he reaches the point of falsifying (not plagiarizing, as, in one case, has been believed) a fragmentary letter<sup>107</sup>. It is contained in letter 18, dated, this one too, from Salzburg, but this one from May 31 of the same year<sup>108</sup>. This date is possible as, in those times, he was stationed not too far, in Vienna.

This fragmentary letter is supposed to be written by Ottilie, young heroine of »Wahlverwandtschaften«<sup>109</sup>. In addition to her, the letter similarly deals with the captain, he also being a character of the same German novel. Its introduction goes like this: »Voulez-vous me passer une comparaison bien ridicule? Me promettez-vous bien sérieusement de ne pas rire? C'est une idée allemande que je vais vous présenter. Je lis dans Ottilie ou les Affinités électives de Goethe: [...]«.

Ottilie of Beyle says she would like to do needlework while being at a concert, but the captain dissuades her of it. Here follows a symbolic explanation of the bobbin garnished with a golden thread, which signifies the soul's sensibility for music. (The remainder of letter 18 deals with the »Creation« of Haydn<sup>110</sup>.)

It is possible that the allegory of the thread would take its origin in Goethe's novel mentioned here above, where we read: »Wir hören von einer besondern Einrichtung bei der englischen Marine. Sämtliche Tauwerke der königlichen Flotte, vom stärksten bis zum schwächsten, sind dergestalt gesponnen, dass ein roter Faden durch das Ganze durchgeht, den man nicht herauswinden kann, ohne alles aufzulösen und woran auch die kleinsten Stücke kenntlich sind, dass sie der Krone gehören. – Ebenso zieht sich durch Ottiliens Tagebuch ein Faden der Neigung und Anhänglichkeit, der alles verbindet und das Ganze bezeichnet«<sup>111</sup>.

However from Stendhal's fictitious Goethe-fragment we see emerging the Stendhalian style and mentality: his own ideas<sup>112</sup>.

105 Weimar, ser. 1, v. 20, Die Wahlverwandtschaften, v. 2, chaps. 5 and 6, 1892, pp. 252–256, 269–275. – Cf. IMBERT (see n. 74) (p. 126 n. 7), who only mentions chap. 6, calling it letter 6.

106 STENDHAL, Vies de Haydn [...] (see n. 104) p. 98.

107 SCHIRMER, (see n. 21) p. 161.

108 STENDHAL, Vies de Haydn [...], (see n. 104) pp. 173–193.

109 STENDHAL, Vies de Haydn [...], (see n. 104) pp. 183–186. One year before Schirmer's work, Daniel Muller had established that the »fragment de lettre« was fictitious. See STENDHAL, Vies de Haydn [...], ed. MULLER, Paris 1914, p. 430n. – This information reappears in Vies de Haydn [...], 1970 (hereafter cited as Vies de Haydn), pp. 430–431n. – It is also known that this fragment can be found in manuscript form, among the notes of Beyle's next work, i.e. Histoire de la Peinture en Italie, in the »cahiers vert-pomme« of the Municipal Library of Grenoble, under the class-mark R289, t. II, foll. 279–282. See Victor DEL LITTO, La vie intellectuelle de Stendhal, Genèse et évolution de ses idées (1802–1821), Université de Grenoble Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines [...] 18, Paris 1959, p. 421, furthermore STENDHAL, Histoire de la Peinture en Italie (hereafter cited as Histoire), v. 26 of Œuvres, ed. Paul ARBELET, 1969, v. 1, p. 309n., and Vies de Haydn, new notes 522n.

110 Vies de Haydn (see n. 104), pp. 186–193.

111 Weimar, ser. 1, v. 20, chap. 2 (see n. 105), p. 212. – BERKHOLZ (see n. 82) (p. 93 n. 6) relates this letter with chapter 11 of pt. 2 of Wahlverwandtschaften. This can only be a typing error, 11 being typed instead of II.

112 Imbert (see n. 74), pp. 126–128.

The letter 20 of same work by Stendhal dates from Hallein, June 5 1809, when he was somewhat far, in Vienna. It contains an element taken from Werther, but this again in a superficial, non literary way, to which we have seen so far reduced the influence of this German novel. It is a footnote with no apparent relevance to the text<sup>113</sup>. It reads as follows:

»Je prie qu'on me permette une répétition. J'ai envie de citer une lettre que j'envoyai en original à mon ami, en même temps que celle-ci. Elle fut écrite en français par une aimable chanoinesse de Brunswick que nous pleurons aujourd'hui. Elle finissait ainsi une lettre sur Werther, qui, comme on sait, est né à Brunswick, et était le fils de M. l'abbé de J\*\*\*. Elle décrivait exactement, à ma demande, l'espèce de goût que Werther avait pour la musique. »[...] La musique étant l'art qui peint le mieux les nuances et dont les descriptions suivent ainsi le plus loin les mouvements de l'âme, je crois distinguer la sensibilité à la Mozart de la sensibilité à la Cimarosa.«  
Let us note that Wilhelmine von Griesheim (loved by Beyle in Brunswick) ended her life as abbess in the convent of Sankta Maria in Preussisch Minden. As seen above, in note 43, she will still live for almost half a century. True, Strombeck's sister-in-law, Philippine also became abbess, she of Steterburg<sup>114</sup>. If J\*\*\* stands for Jerusalem, he was by no means an abbot<sup>115</sup>. He was the real life prototype for Werther, as a suicide. Beyle (if the initial means him) makes an abbot out of him and the father of the fictitious Werther. Perhaps by father he really means the prototype.

As we could see, the influence of »Werther«, as well as of »Wilhelm Meister« are tangential; what counts here is »Wahlverwandschaften«, especially in the creation of his sensitive Ottilie.

At this point it is necessary to mention, for the sake of chronology, the existence of a manuscript passage dated from November 3 (1814), when, starting with August 10, Stendhal was in Milan, far from the fall of the French Empire. This manuscript was then corrected in June of the following year, in the same city<sup>116</sup>. The passage deals with religious art. It is going to be quoted below, when Beyle will have changed, enlarged and published it in »Histoire de la Peinture en Italie«.

\*

Turning our eyes toward Germany, notably toward Weimar, we see that Goethe has published the three first parts of his autobiography »Aus meinem Leben Dichtung und Wahrheit« (begun in 1809) in 1811, 1812 and 1814. (The publication was completed posthumously in 1833.)

Now »The Edinburgh Review« publishes a review dealing with Schlegel<sup>117</sup>. While

113 Vies de Haydn (see n. 104), p. 216n.

114 Philippine von Bülow (1772-?).

115 Karl Wilhelm Jerusalem (1747-1772).

116 Victor DEL LITTO, En marge des manuscrits de Stendhal [...] (1803-1820). Thèse de doctorat, Université de Grenoble Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines [...], v. 13, Paris 1955, pp. 243, 246, 260-262. Manuscrits R5.896, t. XVII, foll. 75v-76, in the »cahiers vert-pomme«, mentioned above.

117 Lectures on Dramatic Literature. By W. A. SCHLEGEL. Translated [...], in: The Edinburgh Review or critical Journal (hereafter the subtitle will be omitted) 26, no. 51 (February 1816), article 4, pp. 67-107.

it is anonymous, we know of it to have been written by Hazlitt<sup>118</sup>. Its tone is objective, even laudatory as to Schlegel, while it does criticize the German literature in general. Until now we can say that Beyle has approved of Schlegel, on account of German literature, while, from now on, he becomes mostly his furious enemy, although, as we shall see, not without exception.

In this same volume of »The Edinburgh Review« appears an anonymous review of the three first parts of Goethe's autobiography, filled with hatred and scorn against Goethe's work, but also, similarly to Hazlitt's review, against German literature in general, as well as against German philosophy<sup>119</sup>. Goethe's work is being analyzed and depreciated, one can say, point by point.

To look at only a few examples:

»With the single exception of Schiller, they [the Germans] have no writer of chaste or elegant prose<sup>120</sup> [...] Goethe [...] possesses great and versatile talents, though he is far from applying them to the best advantage [...]. Goethe's delineation of passion and character are almost always strained and unnatural, [...]. It is a singular fact, that Goethe [...] should [...] labour [dealing with Wahlverwandtschaften] under a complete inability of avoiding the ridiculous and the disgusting [...] to show him in all his energy, he must have incest, and adultery, and infanticide.«

As to the work itself which is being reviewed: »His diverse aunts receive a tribute of gratitude [...]. He also mentions] the daughter of an innkeeper in the suburbs [of Leipzick] [...], the charming »Aennchen«, [...]. His head also was placed under the care of a Strasburgh friseur; [...].«

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118 William Hazlitt (1778–1830).

119 Aus meinem Leben, Dichtung und Wahrheit. Von GOETHE 1–3 [...] (The German words in the English title are often misspelled) in: The Edinburgh Review 26, no. 52 (February 1816 [...] June 1816), article 3, pp. 306, 310–312, 325. – Carlyle has to say the following on this matter: »The Dichtung und Wahrheit has been censured considerably in England; but not, we are inclined to believe, with any insight into its proper meaning. The misfortune of the work among us was, that we did not know the narrator before his narrative; and could not judge what sort of narrative he was bound to give, in these circumstances, or whether he was bound to give any at all. We saw nothing of his situation; heard only the sound of his voice; and hearing it, never doubted that he must be prerorating in official garments from the rostrum, instead of speaking trustfully by the fireside. For the chief ground of offence seemed to be, that the story was not noble enough; that it entered on details of too poor and private a nature; verged here and there towards garrulity; was not, in one word, written in the style of what we call a gentleman. Whether it might be written in the style of a man, and how far these two styles might be compatible, and what might be their relative worth and preferableness, was a deeper question, to which apparently no heed had been given. Yet herein lay the very cream of the matter; for Goethe was not writing to »persons of quality« in England, but to persons of heart and head in Europe; a somewhat different problem perhaps, and requiring a somewhat different solution. As to this ignobleness and freedom of detail, especially, we may say, that, to a German, few accusations could appear more surprising than this, which, with us, constitutes the head and front of his offending.« See Thomas CARLYLE, review of Goethe's [sic] Sämmtliche Werke. Vollständige Ausgabe letzter Hand (Goethe's Collective Works, Complete Edition, with his final Corrections). Zweite Lieferung, Bde 6–10. Cotta, Stuttgart, and Tübingen, 1827. In The Foreign Review, and Continental Miscellany. London, 2, no. 3 (1828). Republished in: Oscar FAMBACH (ed.), Goethe und seine Kritiker [...]. Berlin 1955, p. 275.

120 KÜHNAU (see n. 102) (p. 58) quotes and compares this much with what Stendhal is going to write on this basis. See below p. 520 and pertaining n. 175.

The year 1816 finds Beyle again in Italy, in Milan. His health is not good, neither the state of his nerves. For instance he feels discomfort, when exposed to strong smells. (The same thing happens sometimes to Goethe, e.g., when once smelling rotten apples in Schiller's desk-drawer.)<sup>121</sup>.

From this year we have two letters of Beyle pertaining to our subject matter, both written to his friend Crozet<sup>122</sup>. In the first one, dated from September 28, he tells of his great discovery of »The Edinburgh Review«, of which he is enchanted<sup>123</sup>. (We shall soon return to this subject.) Besides he strongly criticizes Schlegel, according to whom »Goethe est immoral et a éparpillé son génie en petits morceaux«<sup>124</sup>. Schlegel does not say this. He acknowledges Goethe's exceptional versatility.

In the second letter dated from Leghorn (but written in Milan) on November 15, he applies the motif of fermentation, used earlier on account of friendship, now to the nature of art (in this case of that of Michelangelo): »[...] M. le chimiste [Crozet was an engineer], cette espèce d'écume qu'on nomme beaux-arts est le produit nécessaire d'une certaine fermentation. Pour faire connaître l'écume, il faut voir la nature de la fermentation«<sup>125</sup>. – This is the moment when he is working on his »Histoire de la Peinture en Italie«, which is going to be published toward the end of July 1817 and which he is going to sign M.B.A.A. (Monsieur Beyle, Ancien Auditeur)<sup>126</sup>. – This will be his first prolific period.

In the introduction of his »Histoire« the reference to the bobbin returns, however mistakenly referred to as having mentioned it in the »Vie de Mozart«, instead of that of Haydn<sup>127</sup>.

His career having suffered a break with the fall of Napoleon, he is reminded several times of Werther<sup>128</sup>. True, with the help of his beylisme, it seems he is recovering rather quickly of this disillusion; not to speak of his rupture with Angela Pietragrua, very easily survived<sup>129</sup>.

When, in the »Histoire«, he writes about the Florentine conspiracy for liberty of Giano Della Bella in 1293, age in which the passions still existed, he goes on: »En 1816, la féodale Allemagne n'est pas encore à cette hauteur. Werther«<sup>130</sup>. The importance of his hero, not so long ago glorified to the point of identification, starts to diminish.

The text on religious art written by our French author in 1814 has been mentioned above. He uses it now, changing it quite a bit. Some of its passages are – as mentioned before – inserted in his »Histoire«.

Our aim in quoting them is to point out their fortuitous similarity to certain passages of the German writer, which, in turn, will be quoted after the French ones.

»La Bible, à ne la considérer que sous le rapport humain, est une collection de

121 ECKERMANN, *Gespräche*, 1923 (see n. 79), p. 518, October 7 1827.

122 Louis Crozet (1784–1858).

123 Correspondence v. 1 (see n. 16), pp. 819–820, no. 603\*.

124 SCHLEGEL, *Vorlesungen* (see p. 504), p. 15.

125 Correspondence v. 1 (see n. 16), p. 839, no. 611\*.

126 Robert VIGNERON, *Stendhal et Hazlitt*, in: *Modern Philology* 35, no. 4 (May 1938) p. 388.

127 *Histoire* v. 1 (see n. 109), pp. 48 n. 1, 309n.

128 NAUMANN (see n. 93), p. 244.

129 Angela Pietragrua, née Borrone (1777?–?).

130 *Histoire* v. 1, bk. 1, chap. 2 (see n. 109), p. 65 n. 1.

poèmes écrits avec assez de talent, et surtout parfaitement exempts de toutes les petites, de toutes les affectations modernes. Le style est toujours grandiose; mais elle est remplie des actions les plus noires [...].

Quel talent pour exprimer la beauté morale, veut-on qu'acquière un pauvre peintre ouvrier qui est employé tous les jours à représenter Abraham envoyant Agar et son fils Ismaël mourir de soif dans le désert. [Note: Chef d'œuvre du Guerchin à Brera. On ne peut plus oublier les yeux rouges d'Agar, qui regardent encore Abraham avec un reste d'espérance; ce qu'il y a de plaisant dans le tableau du Guerchin c'est qu'Abraham, poussant Agar à une mort horrible, ne manque pas de lui donner sa bénédiction] [...].« As a fact, Agar's eyes seem red from crying. (See Illustr. 3, p. 507).

«Quelle différence pour le talent de Raphaël si au lieu de peindre la Vierge au donataire et les tristes saints qui l'entourent et qui ne peuvent être que des froids égoïstes son siècle lui eut demandé la tête d'Alexandre prenant la coupe des mains de Philippe, [...].»<sup>131</sup>.

However Stendhal will say in Bologna, in his following work, *Rome, Naples et Florence en 1817*, on December 29 1816: »[...] je monte à ce musée souvent pour voir un seul tableau, la Sainte Cécile de Raphaël [...]«<sup>132</sup>, (see Illustr. 4, p. 508) while in a later edition this sentence will have been changed to: »Je vais tous les jours admirer au musée de la ville, la Sainte Cécile de Raphaël«<sup>133</sup>. – Goethe has made an exception in the case of Raphael's St. Cecilia too. He saw the painting the first day of his short stay in Bologna, on October 17 1786 and it is the first painting he describes there<sup>134</sup>.

Returning to Stendhal's text in the »Histoire«: »Quand les sujets donnés par le christianisme ne sont pas odieux, ils sont du moins plats [...].«

»Heureux les grands peintres s'ils eussent lu un peu plus l'Arioste et le Tasse«<sup>135</sup>.

On October 27 1818 we shall hear him – in a similar occasion – again, but by no means the last time, when speaking of England, which he has visited: »[...] tout le reste de la nation n'a le loisir que le dimanche, et pour finir par le trait le plus triste, les 5/6 de ce loisir sont occupés par l'infâme et féroce lecture de la Bible. Assurément rien n'est plus contraire à l'esprit ou à l'invention des idées agréables à nos hommes du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle que la contemplation des images féroces gigantesques de ces vieux poèmes orientaux. Ces images rendent le pauvre féroce dès cette vie et le remplissent de sombres alarmes et de tristesse, en le tournant sur la seule consolation qui lui reste: l'espérance du bonheur dans l'autre vie«<sup>136</sup>.

And let us now listen to Goethe in the »Italienische Reise«<sup>137</sup>. He is in Bologna, on October 19 1786: »Ein grosses Hinderniss der reinen Betrachtung und der unmittel-

131 Ibid., v. 1, bk. 2, chap. 16 (see n. 109), pp. 113–116. – Beyle has, by now, read the work of the Lombard painter Giuseppe Bossi (1777–1815) and has done it not without the book having left traces in his own work. See Giuseppe Bossi, *Del Cenacolo* [...], Milano 1810, p. 118: »[...] religione [...], si opponeva [...] alla loro [delle arti d'imitazione] perfezione e ne ritardò [...] il conseguimento.«

132 STENDHAL, *Rome, Naples et Florence en 1817* (hereafter the title of this first edition cited as R.N.F.), Paris 1817, p. 183.

133 STENDHAL, *Rome, Naples et Florence*, Paris n. d., p. 117.

134 Weimar, ser. 1, v. 30, *Italienische Reise*, 1903, pt. 1, p. 60.

135 *Histoire*, v. 1, bk. 3, chap. 57 (see n. 109) [p]p. [232–]233, n. 1.

136 STENDHAL, *L'Italie en 1818*, in: *Rome, Naples et Florence*, v. 2, v. 14 of *Œuvres*, ed. Daniel MULLER, n. d., p. 574.

137 Weimar, ser. 1, v. 30 (see n. 134) pp. 164–165.



baren Einsicht sind die meist unsinnigen Gegenstände der Bilder, über die man toll wird, indem man sie verehren und lieben möchte.

Es ist, als da sich die Kinder Gottes mit den Töchtern der Menschen vermählten, daraus entstanden mancherlei Ungeheuer. Indem der himmlische Sinn des Guido, sein Pinsel, der nur das Vollkommenste, was geschaut werden kann, hätte mahlen sollen, dich anzieht, so möchtest du gleich die Augen von den abscheulich dummen, mit keinen Scheltworten der Welt genug zu erniedrigenden Gegenständen wegkehren, und so geht es durchaus; man ist immer auf der Anatomie, dem Rabensteine, dem Schindanger, immer Leiden des Helden, niemals Handlung, [...]. Entweder Missethäter oder Verzückte, Verbrecher oder Narren, [...]! Unter zehn Sujets nicht eins, das man hätte mahlen sollen, und das eine hat der Künstler nicht von der rechten Seite nehmen dürfen.

Das grosse Bild von Guido, in der Kirche der Mendicanti [La Pietà dei Mendicanti (1615–16)]<sup>138</sup>. (See Illustr. 5, p. 509). Today in the painting gallery (Pinacoteca) of Bologna] ist alles was man mahlen, aber auch alles was man Unsinniges bestellen und dem Künstler zumuthen kann [...]. Die beiden Engel, die werth wären, eine Psyche in ihrem Unglück zu trösten, müssen hier – [sic] [...]

Betrachte ich in diesem Unmuth die Geschichte, so möchte ich sagen: der Glaube hat die Künste wieder hervorgehoben, der Aberglaube hingegen ist Herr über sie geworden, und hat sie abermals zu Grunde gerichtet.«

And we even know that Goethe has mitigated his original notes in many cases.

The French and the German passages breathe the same spirit, in spite of the fact that the similarity – it has to be repeated – is completely fortuitous. The French text was written, as we know, in 1814 and published end of July 1817, while the German one, written in 1786, appeared in October 1816. Beyle could have read this latter one, but he does not know enough German for doing so.

»The Edinburgh Review« publishes, in March 1817, a review – anonymous this one too – of »Italienische Reise«, written with much less bitter partiality than the one on »Aus meinem Leben«, from a year earlier<sup>139</sup>.

In this review we read: »Under date of October 19th, we have a number of remarks on painting and painters. Goethe is dissatisfied with the subjects on which the pencils of the great masters have been usually employed. The saints of the popish mythology are often insipid, and the circumstances under which they are represented revolting to taste and feeling. ›If religion gave a new existence to art, it is no less true that superstition, by gaining the mastery, has degraded it in its turn.‹ ›The art claims all our admiration; the objects which it represents are often insupportable.‹ This is sensible enough; [...].«

Beyle has read this review too. The above quotation is such that it might have been able to inspire him, even in its conciseness. But we know he wrote his passage as early as 1814.

Later in the »Histoire« we read: »Ce lecteur [qui ne connait pas les passions] [...]

138 Gian Carlo CAVALLI, Guido Reni, Firenze 1955, pp. 67–68, illus. 72–73.

139 »Aus meinem Leben. VON GOETHE [...]« (The German words in the English title are often misspelled), in: The Edinburgh Review 28, no. 55 ([March...] August 1817), article 4, pp. 83–105. – As to the title: Goethe's intention was to make of *Italienische Reise* the continuation of *Aus meinem Leben*, giving this title to it, with the v. no.[s]. 1 [and 2], preceded by »sec. 2.«.

verra dans ce tableau [Concert du Giorgion] le grand ridicule des âmes tendres: Werther parlant des passions au froid Albert«<sup>140</sup>. The mention is completely superficial and thus void of importance.

In the »Histoire« returns, for the fourth time, the metaphor of the wooden hand. While discussing Florentine painting, the coloring of which he finds hard and sharp, devoid of harmony and of sentiment, he goes on like this: »Werther aurait dit: ›Je cherche la main d'un homme, et je ne prends qu'une main de bois«<sup>141</sup>. The quotation, by now, has nothing profound in it.

He repeats: In order to understand the works of art or of literature, the person has to know the passions<sup>142</sup>. »On ne voit pas les passions, comme des incendies ou des jeux funèbres, avec les yeux du corps. Leurs effets seuls sont visibles. Werther se tue par amour. M. Muzart vient dans la chambre de ce beau jeune homme, et le voit posé sur son lit; mais les mouvements qui ont porté Werther à se tuer, où les verra-t-il«<sup>143</sup>?

In addition to this Wertherian element, we find some intrinsic analogy, when hearing Goethe say: »Es wäre doch thöricht, wenn jemand nicht an die Liebe seines Mädchens glauben wollte, weil sie ihm solche nicht mathematisch beweisen kann! Ihre Mitgift kann sie ihm mathematisch beweisen, aber nicht ihre Liebe«<sup>144</sup>.

Still once in the »Histoire« we find: »Werther ne sera pas indifférament sanguin ou mélancolique; [...]«<sup>145</sup>.

Finally there is a footnote in »Histoire«, added in extremis<sup>146</sup>, which reads<sup>147</sup>: »une force de niaiserie [attributed to Sulzer<sup>148</sup> and Herder] qu'on ne se permettrait pas en France. – Voyez surtout la Vie de Goethe écrite par lui-même; [...]«

It is possible to attribute this sudden antipathy against German philosophy and literature, which Beyle knew little of, to his reading of the two reviews of »The Edinburgh Review« of 1816<sup>149</sup>. But, without explaining it more in detail, reference has to be made to what is going to be said here below, concerning the next work of the young Grenoble, i. e. »Rome, Naples et Florence en 1817«, which he is now working at.

Returning to Paris for some time, Beyle dictates, on July 14, the first five pages of the first Goethean article of »The Edinburgh Review« (1816), translating it while dictating. It is a very free translation with extremely sarcastic additions, which is going to be used only in part, inserted in »Rome, Naples et Florence en 1817«<sup>150</sup>.

He does not have French translations neither of »Aus meinem Leben«, nor of »Italienische Reise«, as he had them of »Werther«, »Wahlverwandtschaften« and

140 Histoire, v. 1, bk. 2, chap. 34 (see n. 109), p. 174.

141 Histoire, v. 1, bk. 2, chap. 35 (see n. 109), p. 176.

142 Histoire, v. 27 of Œuvres, ed. Paul ARBELET, 1969, v. 2, bk. 5, chap. 90 (see n. 109), pp. 32–33. – See also Purdy (see n. 24), p. 159.

143 Histoire, v. 2 (see n. 109), p. 437, n. 33. A character of contemporary comedy, »Musard«, who wants to know the inside of everything.

144 ECKERMANN, Gespräche, 1923 (see n. 79), p. 151, December 20 1826.

145 Histoire, v. 2, bk. 5, chap. 101 (see n. 109), p. 81.

146 DEL LITTO, La vie (see n. 109), pp. 537, 555.

147 Histoire, v. 2, bk. 5, chap. 96 (see n. 109), p. 50, n. 2.

148 Johann Georg Sulzer (1720–1779), philosopher.

149 See above, pp. 512–513.

150 DEL LITTO, La vie (see n. 109), pp. 551–553.

»Wilhelm Meister«. »Aus meinem Leben« was only translated in 1823, by Aubert de Vitry, under the title of »Mémoires de Goëthe« (Paris)<sup>151</sup>. Instead he has the two English reviews (even three), which he understands.

This third work of his appears at the beginning of September<sup>152</sup>. For the first time he has it published under the name »M. de Stendhal«. Into the name of the city which exactly reads Stendal, in Prussia (today G.D.R.), Beyle inserted the »h«, in order to make it sound more German<sup>153</sup>. He did not chose the name of Winckelmann's native city, as expression of his esteem, which he actually did not have for Winckelmann, as Düntzer<sup>154</sup> and Strich suggest<sup>155</sup>. He knew this city by way of the event of April 1809, when his old friend whose aide de camp he had been in the army in Italy, general Michaud<sup>156</sup>, now commanding officer of Magdeburg, took it, after and in spite of a strong Prussian resistance<sup>157</sup>. – There was also a handsome and very eloquent Swedish baron de Stendhal, who frequented the diplomatic circles of London. Perhaps Beyle knew him, or at least used to see him.

First we find two mentions of Werther, here vaguely, as, for some time we have been seeing him mention the novel's hero.

The first one, dated from Milan, December 8 1816, reads as follows: »Je connais une lourde copie de Werther, intitulée Lettres de Jacopo Ortis«<sup>158</sup>. This passage is not to be found in the original edition<sup>159</sup>. It has been added later from Stendhal's notes. In the original edition, belonging to the text dated from Florence, April 10 1817, he says it thus<sup>160</sup>: »Le Lettere di Jacopo Ortiz [sic] ne sont qu'une imitation de Werther«<sup>161</sup>. Later on, dated again from Florence, but October 27 1818, he is going to broaden this thought by saying<sup>162</sup>: »La femme la plus héroïque que j'aie jamais rencontrée vient de me prêter ce soir la quinzisième édition des Lettres de Jacopo Ortis, c'est une excellente traduction de Werther quoique l'auteur jure d'être original. C'est le Werther d'Italie comme le jeune Jérusalem fu le Werther de la froide et imaginante Allemagne«<sup>163</sup>. The mentioned lady is of course Matilde Dembowski, whom he calls »Métilde«<sup>164</sup>. The harsh judgement on the book

151 François Jean Philibert Aubert de Vitry. See BALDENSPERGER, Bibliographie (see n. 14), p. 216, no. 1696.

152 VIGNERON (see n. 126), p. 388. – R.N.F. (see n. 132).

153 DEL LITTO, Stendhal et l'Allemagne (see n. 47), p. 191 n.

154 [Johann Peter] ECKERMANN, Gespräche mit Goethe in den letzten Jahren seines Lebens, ed. Heinrich DÜNTZER, 6th ed., Leipzig 1885, pt. 3, p. 239.

155 Fritz STRICH, Goethe und die Weltliteratur, Bern 1946, pt. 1. Goethes Idee der Weltliteratur, p. 262.

156 Baron Claude-Ignace-François Michaud (1751–1835).

157 Claude BONCOMPAIN and François VERMALE, Stendhal ou la double vie de Henri Beyle. Artistes et écrivains, Paris 1955, p. 108.

158 Rome, Naples et Florence, v. 13 of Œuvres, ed. Daniel MULLER, n. d., v. 1 (see n. 136), p. 139.

159 When below, as in this case, not (or not only) the original edition of Rome, Naples et Florence en 1817 will be quoted, it will be because of a difference in date or in wording.

160 R.N.F. (see n. 132), p. 164. – Rome, Naples et Florence, v. 2 (see n. 136), pp. 158–159, n. 1. Here the text reads »Les Lettere [...]«.

161 Ugo FOSCOLO, Ultime lettere di Jacopo Ortis, 2d ed., Mantova 1802.

162 L'Italie en 1818, in: Rome, Naples et Florence, v. 2 (see n. 136), p. 574.

163 See above n. 115.

164 Matilde Dembowski, née Viscontini (1790–1825).

might be an outburst of jealousy, directed against the author, Foscolo, perhaps loved by, but certainly a friend of »Métilde«<sup>165</sup>.

The second Wertherian mention, dated from Florence, January 28 1817, is: »Bernardino Luini, le grand peintre des Milanais (... Saronno) est certainement très froid, mais ses personnages ont l'air de petits Werther [...]«<sup>166</sup>.

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Here should be mentioned an analogy with Goethe, but which, similarly to the thoughts on religious art, seems casual and to be explained only psychologically.

Beyle gives as his date »Césène, 20 mai« (1817), even if we know that at that time he was in Paris. He tells us: »[...] maintenant mon âme est plus calme. Je vois nettement l'ensemble des mœurs italiennes; [...]«<sup>167</sup>.

Goethe, on November 10 1786, was writing in his »Italienische Reise«, in Rome: »Ich lebe nun hier mit einer Klarheit und Ruhe, von der ich lange kein Gefühl hatte [...]. Alle Tage ein neuer merkwürdiger Gegenstand, täglich frische, grosse, seltsame Bilder und ein Ganzes, das man sich lange denkt und träumt, nie mit der Einbildungskraft erreicht«<sup>168</sup>.

\*

The only passage of which Stendhal admits to have been taken from »Italienische Reise« follows<sup>169</sup>. It is the story dealing with Frederick II (the Great) of Prussia, dated from San Marino, May 22 (1817), while Goethe's account was written in Perugia, on October 25 1786. To this Stendhal dutifully added the footnote: »Aus meinem Leben 1816, tome IV«, even if he read it in the second English Goethe revue (1817)<sup>170</sup>.

Goethe terminates this account by giving a blow to the Catholic clergy. Stendhal mentions the latter too, but his mention does not follow any more the one of Goethe. Remy de Gourmont considers this to be plagiarism<sup>171</sup>. However, although the German attributes to the clergy the quality of »klug«, while the Frenchman calls the same »finesse«, the similarity between the two texts ends here.

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It is now that we arrive to the passage largely translated from »The Edinburgh Review« mentioned above and part of it inserted, without a good reason, in his

165 Niccolò Ugo Foscolo (1778–1827).

166 Rome, Naples et Florence, v. 1 (see n. 136), p. 339.

167 R.N.F. (see n. 132) p. 208.

168 Weimar, ser. 1, v. 30 (see n. 134), p. 212.

169 Weimar, ser. 1, v. 30 (see n. 134), pp. 180–181. – KÜHNAU (see n. 102), (p. 61) gives the German and the French text side by side, but he still believes Stendhal would have read Goethe in the original. It is going to be Del Litto to cast full light on Stendhal's doings. See DEL LITTO, *La vie* (see n. 109), pp. 551–562, in this specific case pp. 556–557.

170 As seen above, in n. 139, *Italienische Reise*, v. 1 had first appeared as the continuation of and under the title *Aus meinem Leben*. – R.N.F. (see n. 132), pp. 209–210.

171 Remy de GOURMONT [Coffe, pseud.], *Chronique Stendhalienne*, in: *L'Ermitage* yr. 17, v. 1, no. 4.15 (April 1906), p. 244. The same text in Remy de GOURMONT, *Chronique Stendhalienne*, Milano 1907, p. 19 (hereafter this second work is going to be cited and not both).

»Italian journey«, dating it from »Padoue 19 juin« (1817). The date must be necessarily fictitious, as we know that he had found and translated the English text on July 14. This would not surprise us from him in general, but here it is motivated by the necessity of defending himself against the suspicion of plagiarism.

In the passage we read<sup>172</sup>: »Les Allemands n'ont qu'un homme, Schiller, et deux volumes à choisir parmi les vingt tomes de Goëthe. On lira la vie de ce dernier, à cause de l'excès de ridicule d'un homme qui se croit assez important pour nous apprendre, en quatre volumes in -8°, de quelle manière il se faisait arranger les cheveux à vingt ans, et qu'il avait une grand'tante qui s'appelait Anichen<sup>173</sup>. Mais cela prouve qu'on n'a pas en Allemagne le sentiment du ridicule, et quand on n'a pas ce sentiment, et qu'on veut à toute force faire de l'esprit, on est bien près de tomber dans ce qu'on ne connaît pas; et quand on s'avise de juger de l'esprit des autres et de décider, du haut de son tribunal tudesque, que Molière n'a fait que des satires tristes, on est bien près de faire rire l'Europe à ses dépens [...]»<sup>174</sup>. A l'exception des deux grands[!] poètes que j'ai cités, tous les Allemands ne doivent leur célébrité douteuse qu'à l'obscurité de leurs écrits [...]. Aussi manquent-ils de belle prose, [...]»<sup>175</sup>.

Schlegel has found Molière's comicality, which, in general, he treats extremely unjustly, of inferior level<sup>176</sup>. He mentions four of his comedies which he finds up to the mark, among them »Tartuffe«, which he calls »excellente satire« not »triste«, but »sérieuse«. – Stendhal does not know (how could he?) what Goethe is going to say, first on May 12 1825 on Molière: »[...] seine Stücke grenzen ans Tragische«<sup>177</sup>, and later, on March 28 1827 (both times to Eckermann): »Ich kenne und liebe Molière [...] seit meiner Jugend.« Eckermann hears this with pleasure and finds that this sounds [...] different from Mr. von Schlegel, to which Goethe answers: »Einem Menschen wie Schlegel, [...], ist freilich eine so tüchtige Natur wie Molière ein wahrer Dorn im Auge; [...]»<sup>178</sup>.

Here should still be mentioned a Stendhalian saying on Goethe, contained in his

172 Cf. this following text with the English one above, on p. 513, quoted from *The Edinburgh Review* 26, no. 52, article 3 (see n. 119), pp. 306, 310–312, 325. Stendhal's text is in R.N.F. (see n. 132), pp. 252, 253, 256.

173 Stendhal makes mistakes as to the identity and the spelling of »Aennchen«.

174 Baldensperger quotes, in connection with this text »Indice de vanité«, which however cannot be found either here, or was it possible to detect it elsewhere. See Fernand BALDENSPERGER, *Le Dossier Stendhalien de Goethe*, in: *Mélanges de philologie, d'histoire et de littérature offerts à Joseph Vianey*. Paris 1934, p. 337.

175 KÜHNNAU – we have to repeat it – (see n. 102) (p. 58) has, in this case, but only in this one, discovered the use by Stendhal of *The Edinburgh Review* and has compared the English and the pertaining French texts. See also above p. 513 and pertaining n. 120.

176 SCHLEGEL, *Cours*, v. 3, Conférence 11 (see n. 99), p. 263.

177 ECKERMANN, *Gespräche*, 1923 (see n. 79), p. 126.

178 ECKERMANN, *Gespräche*, 1923 (see n. 79), pp. 483–484. – »Dieses Verhältnis [with the brothers Schlegel] ist durchaus nur ein literarisches und kein freundschaftliches, [...]«. Follows an objective evaluation of the Schlegel brothers. »An der lächerlichen Verehrung(?), welche die beiden Schlegels Goethe erweisen, ist er selbst unschuldig, [...], er leidet vielmehr dadurch und sieht selbst recht wohl ein, dass die Quelle dieser Verehrung nicht die reinste ist; denn diese eiteln Menschen bedienen sich seines Namens nur als eines Paniers gegen ihre Feinde, und es ist ihnen im Grunde nur um sich selbst zu tun. Dieses Urteil, [...], ist aus Goethes eigenem Munde, [...]«. See Schiller [...] an Charlotte Gräfin von Schimmelmänn, Weimar, Nov. 23 1800. Quoted in Friedrich von SCHILLER, *Ausgewählte Briefe* 2, ed. Eugen KÜHNEMANN, Hamburg, pp. 235–236.

original notes dictated on July 14. These were not taken from the English text, but neither did he include them into his definitive version: »Quand vous voyez un titre à un chapitre de Goëthe, c'est une raison suffisante pour que le sujet indiqué dans ce titre ne soit pas traité dans le chapitre«<sup>179</sup>.

In continuation of the last but one paragraph here above, we get to a passage which, in a study dealing, strictly speaking, with Goethe and Stendhal, is not even supposed to be mentioned, because it is dealing with Stendhal versus German literature in general. However it is being quoted because it seems inseparable from our subject matter. On the same June 19th, and also dating it from Padua, Stendhal translates an entire passage from »The Edinburgh Review«; now not from any one of the two Goethe reviews, but from the above mentioned one on Schlegel, unsigned, but by Hazlitt<sup>180</sup>. Nothing is omitted, except the parts which praise the Germans. In the English original it starts by »In all that they do [...]« and ends by »ought to be«, while in Stendhal's version we read »[...] dans tout ce que font les Allemands, [...]« and at the end: »[...] doit être«.

\*

We must ask: why this fury against the great German? Because of the passages – very limited in number – which he took from Goethe: one, as we have seen, quoting his source, and four, not quoting it<sup>181</sup>?

We know that Beyle does not like those whom he »took in aid«. We have to think of the Lombard Giuseppe Bossi, whom he calls »fat célèbre qui passe ici pour un grand homme«<sup>182</sup>, and this after having, a short time ago, ransacked his beautiful book on Leonardo's »Last Supper«, for the corresponding part of his »Histoire«<sup>183</sup>.

Beyle's hatred toward Goethe, previously to »Rome, Naples et Florence en 1817«, was negligible (probably not more than four revilings; the one added in extremis to the »Histoire« does not count, as it belongs to those to be found in »Rome, Naples et Florence en 1817«).

This period certainly marks a peak in Beyle's anti-Goethe feelings<sup>184</sup>. It is not motivated by anything else, than perhaps by the urge to use the content of the two quoted 1816 book-reviews. – It will pass and return.

Shortly after the mentioned diatribes follow four passages taken from »Italienische Reise«<sup>185</sup>. These being discussed in another study, they are not going to be mentioned here.

\*

The two descriptions of travel in Italy are not too similar in character and yet, or perhaps just therefore, they deserve to be compared.

One is German, while the other is Latin in character. To the order, to its classical

179 DEL LITTO, *La vie* (see n. 109), pp. 553–554.

180 *The Edinburgh Review* 26, no. 51 (February 1816), article 4 (see n. 117), p. 67.

181 See below, on p. 531.

182 *Rome, Naples et Florence*, v. 1 (see n. 136), p. 150, dated from Milano, December 12 1816.

183 See above n. 131.

184 Not a »polemic«, as says NAUMANN (see n. 93), p. 245. It lacks reciprocity.

185 *Weimar*, ser. 1, v. 30 (see n. 134), pp. 124, 129–131, 132–133 and 156–157.

sobriety, to the objectivity and the strict chronology of »Italienische Reise« the French text has to be opposed, being impressionistic, romantically brilliant and impulsively subjective<sup>186</sup>. The French author's sense of humor does hardly have a parallel in the case of the German text. We see, as opposed to Goethe's ceremoniousness, in Stendhal's work studied informality and, most important, even less artificiality as to the style, than in Goethe's writing. The latter's description is generalized, almost complete, as to the aspects to be described, while Stendhal's is more specialized: it only covers sociology, politics, music and religion.

According to Kayser, »Goethe came to Italy with very definite cultural ideas, and abandoned his subjective longings under the influence of historical impressions. But the freedom Henri gained in Italy was freedom for the most radical subjectivity«<sup>187</sup>.

Remak gives us a complete and very sensible comparison of the two works. Only one of his parallels is quoted here, that seems to be more to the point than any of the rest: »What Goethe gained in breadth, he lost in the emotional intensity that was Stendhal's«<sup>188</sup>. This points back to the initial comparison of Mont Blanc and Etna.

Their love of Italy is common, but how differently do they see it! Common is also in both that their respective visit of that country has marked a decisive point in their life. This point is of different quality for the two men; it becomes more decisive for the Frenchman<sup>189</sup>.

\*

After the publication of »Rome, Naples et Florence en 1817«, on September 15, the proud young author, the »new-born« Stendhal has had sent by his publisher copies of it to a quantity of national and international notabilities, among whom »M. Goethe, ministre d'Etat à Francfort-sur-le-Mein«<sup>190</sup>. He does this at the time when the German has been an eminent figure at the court of Weimar for over forty years already. In his immense library today there is not a single work of Stendhal to be found. (The same is true also vice versa<sup>191</sup>.)

And yet Goethe must have received and possessed »Rome, Naples et Florence en 1817«. Some authors believe that Stendhal would have sent him the »Histoire« too, but of this there is no evidence at all<sup>192</sup>. He never mentioned the work.

\*

186 KÜHNNAU (see n. 102) (p. 60) considers Goethe subjective, while he feels Stendhal objective.

187 Rudolf KAYSER, *Stendhal*, New York 1930, p. 48.

188 Henry H.-H. REMAK, *Goethe on Stendhal: Development and Significance of his Attitude*, in: *Indiana University Publications, Humanities Series* 22 (1950), pp. 216–217.

189 André SUARÈS, *Portraits*. 8. D'après Stendhal, Paris 1913, p. 199. The author gives a bias to Goethe.

190 Manuscript in the Municipal Library of Grenoble. See *Correspondence*, v. 1 (see n. 16), p. 870, no. 627. – See also Friedrich von OPPELN-BRONIKOWSKI, *Ein Selbstbildnis Henry Beyles (de Stendhal)*, in: *Allgemeine Zeitung, Supplement*, no. 291 (December 17 1905), p. 516. Stendhal has not dedicated the book to Goethe; he had one copy sent to him. – STENDHAL, *Reise in Italien (R.N.F.)*, ed. and trans. Friedrich von OPPELN-BRONIKOWSKI, v. 5 of *Gesammelte Werke*, 3rd ed., Berlin 192?, p. XVIII. – BERKHOLZ (see n. 82), p. 6. – NAUMANN (see n. 93), p. 245.

191 BALDENSPERGER, *Le dossier stendhalien* (see n. 174), pp. 338–339.

192 STENDHAL, *Souvenirs d'égotisme [...]*, ed. Casimir STRYIENSKI, Paris 1892, pp. 253, 255. – SCHIRMER (see n. 21), p. 161. – Charles SIMON, *Le Sillage de Stendhal en Allemagne*, Editions du Stendhal-Club 21, N.p. 1926, p. 4. – BALDENSPERGER, *Le dossier stendhalien* (see n. 174), p. 338. – VERMALE (see n. 67), p. 65. – REMAK (see n. 188) (p. 210) only finds it possible.

Now the aged man of Weimar appears on the scene. In a year he is going to be seventy. He reads Stendhal's most recent book after dinner on January 18 1818 and finishes it the next day<sup>193</sup>. We read in his diary of the 19th: »Stendhal, Italien 1817«, and later, but still the same day: »Abends für mich Rom pp. [sic] ausgelesen. Das Urtheil über diese Arbeit bestätigt und berichtigt«<sup>194</sup>. We ignore whatever he meant by this.

Next day he has to go to Jena for some weeks, but he takes the book along. Hardly has he arrived, the same day (January 20th), when he takes it in his hands again<sup>195</sup>, probably because he is writing to his friend, the composer Zelter<sup>196</sup>.

He has read in »Rome, Naples et Florence en 1817« about the opera of the German composer Mayr<sup>197</sup> who, now, for many years, has been living in Bergamo (Italy), entitled »Elena«, as well as of the sextet in this opera<sup>198</sup>, and now asks Zelter to send him the printed music of the sextet.

In 1811 the opera »Ginevra, Regina della Scozia« by the same composer interested him and he had written about it to Zelter<sup>199</sup>, as well as to a lady friend, Silvie von Ziegesar<sup>200</sup>.

Returning to »Elena«, this music interests him, because, namely in Stendhal's work, he has read that the sextet would be based upon Bohemian melodies, which, in turn, raises his curiosity because of his visits to spas of Bohemia: Teplitz, Karlsbad, Marienbad and Franzensbad. He adds a Stendhalian anecdote on Rossini<sup>201</sup>. However he does not as yet mention his source.

According to this anecdote Stendhal, having met Rossini, would have asked him if he preferred his »Italiana in Algeri« or his »Tancredi«. Rossini supposedly answered: »Il matrimonio segreto.« As Zelter does not understand the comicality of this answer, Goethe explains, on February 16: »Il matrimonio segreto, die Composition von Paesiello [...]«<sup>202</sup>. It is Goethe's turn now to commit a blunder, the »Matrimonio« being an opera by Cimarosa<sup>203</sup>.

On February 20, Goethe notes in his diary: »Rom und Neapel 1817«<sup>204</sup>. Was he re-reading it? It seems so from the following:

Upon his return to Weimar, on March 8<sup>205</sup>, he writes a letter to Zelter which, for

193 BERKHOLZ (see n. 82), (p. 31) gives the dates of 28 and 29. — BALDENSPERGER, in: *Le dossier stendhalien* (see n. 174), p. 338, writes 1817.

194 Weimar, ser. 3, v. 6, *Tagebücher*, 1817–1818, 1894, pp. 159, 160.

195 Weimar, ser. 3 (see n. 194), p. 174.

196 Karl Friedrich Zelter (1758–1832). — Weimar, ser. 4, v. 29, *Briefe*, January–October 1818, 1904, p. 18–20, no. 7955. — BERKHOLZ (see n. 82) (p. 97 n. 24) gives the v. as 19.

197 Johann Simon Mayr (1763–1845). Stendhal, as well as Goethe write »Mayer«.

198 R.N.F. (see n. 132), p. 19, Milan, November 20 1816. — Rome, Naples et Florence, v. 1 (see n. 136), p. 24, also Milan, but here October 4 1816.

199 Weimar, ser. 4, v. 22, January 1811–April 1812, 1901 (see n. 196), p. 195, no. 6212, November 11 1811.

200 Baroness Silvie von Ziegesar (1785–1855). — Weimar, ser. 4, v. 22 (see n. 196), p. 201, no. 6215, November 25 1811.

201 Gioacchino Rossini (1792–1868). — R.N.F. (see n. 132), p. 58, Terracina, January 9 1817. — Rome, Naples et Florence, v. 1 (see n. 136), p. 374, Terracina, but February 7.

202 Weimar, ser. 4, v. 29 (see n. 196), p. 56, no. 7981.

203 Giovanni Paisiello or Paesiello (1740–1816). — Domenico Cimarosa (1749–1801).

204 Weimar, ser. 3, v. 6 (see n. 194), p. 174.

205 STENDHAL, *Lucien Leuwen* (hereafter cited as *Lucien Leuwen*), v. 4, v. 12 of *Œuvres*, ed. Henry DEBRAYE, n. d., p. 437n. The date here is given as the 18th.



us, is of capital importance. Because it has been quoted by so many authors in incorrect and partial translations, whether in French or English, may the entire passage be quoted in the original German.

That part of the text which concerns us goes like this:

»[...] Hier etwas über den alten Mayer aus einem Buche das dich unterhalten wird [...]«<sup>206</sup>.

He encloses here a copy of almost three pages, transcribed from ›Rome, Naples et Florence en 1817‹, dealing once more with Mayr. Here follows the letter itself.

»Vorstehende sind Auszüge aus einem seltsamen Buche: ›Rome, Naples et Florence, en 1817, par M. de Stendhal, Officier de Cavalerie Paris 1817‹, welches du dir nothwendig verschaffen musst. Der Name ist angenommen, der Reisende ist ein lebhafter Franzose, passionirt für Musik, Tanz, Theater. Die paar Pröbchen zeigen dir seine freye und freche Art und Weise. Er zieht an, stösst ab, interessirt und ärgert, und so kann man ihn nicht loswerden. Man liest das Buch immer wieder mit neuem Vergnügen und möchte es stellenweise auswendig lernen. Er scheint einer von den talentvollen Menschen, der als Offizier, Employé oder Spion, wohl auch alles zugleich, durch den Kriegesbesen hin- und wieder gepeitscht worden. An vielen Orten ist er gewesen, von andern weiss er die Tradition zu benutzen, und sich überhaupt manches Fremde zuzueignen. Er übersetzt Stellen aus meiner Italiänischen Reise und versichert das Geschichtchen von einer Marchesina gehört zu haben. Genug man muss das Buch nicht allein lesen, man muss es besitzen.

Weimar den 8 März 1818 G.«<sup>207</sup>

There is one error in this letter: In the passages referred to, there is no mention of any ›marchesina«<sup>208</sup>.

\*

Different authors have qualified this text, or rather Goethe's attitude in this respect, in extremely different ways. Some of these samples are being given here in their chronological order.

We find ›plaintes«<sup>209</sup> and ›indulgence«<sup>209</sup>, ›Humor und Überlegenheit«<sup>210</sup>, ›véritable fascination«<sup>211</sup>, we read that Goethe ›hat [...] ihm [...] nichts übelgenommen«<sup>212</sup>, we find that ›Goethe n'en voulait pas [à Stendhal]«<sup>213</sup>, furthermore we hear Goethe

206 Weimar, ser. 4, v. 29 (see n. 196), pp. 77–81, no. 8003. On the basis of Stryienski's writings, Lombroso wrongly believes that Goethe spoke of R.N.F. (see n. 132) in his conversations with Eckermann. See Alberto LUMBROSO, *Stendhal e Napoleone. Estratto del volume 6. del Saggio di una bibliografia ragionata per servire alla storia dell'Epoca Napoleonica*, Roma 1897–1903, p. 88. – PILON (see n. 59) (pp. 428–429) also believes that this letter would be quoted by Eckermann.

207 R.N.F. (see n. 132), pp. 292–295, Milan, July 17 1817.

208 OPPELN-BRONIKOWSKI (Ein Selbstbildnis [see n. 190], p. 516) still believes it.

209 Casimir STRYIENSKI, *Soirées du Stendhal Club. Documents inédits*, 2d ed., Paris 1905, pp. 20, 21. The word ›plaintes« was previously published by Alberto LUMBROSO, ed. *Vingt jugements inédits sur Henry Beyle (Stendhal)*. Nuptiis ROUSSEL-LAROUMET, N.p. 1902, p. 34.

210 BERKHOLZ (see n. 82), p. 32.

211 SÉNÉCHAL (see n. 53), p. 80.

212 STENDHAL-OPPELN-BRONIKOWSKI, *Reise in Italien* (see n. 190), p. XIX.

213 Hippolyte LOISEAU, *Goethe et la France, ce qu'il en a connu, pensé et dit*. Occident 12, Paris 1930, p. 170.

»rendre justice [...] à Stendhal«<sup>214</sup>, we feel »à la fois de l'agrément et de l'aigreur«<sup>215</sup>, another author thinks that Goethe »s'amusa« [...] and attributes to him »malicieux jugement« and »regret«<sup>216</sup>, still another makes him write with »Verwunderung und nicht ohne Ironie«<sup>217</sup>. Other opinions mention »spontaneity and honest directness«<sup>218</sup>, »sincerity of enthusiasm«, »good-humored reaction«, find in Stendhal »a manner which cannot have impressed Goethe very favorably«<sup>219</sup>, and in the latter »real magnanimity«, »admirable detachment«<sup>220</sup>, »no room for petty recriminations, but only for a wholehearted ›Bravo! accompanied by a knowing smile and some mental reservation«<sup>221</sup>.

The only attribute »aigreur« which would suggest that Goethe was offended, comes from Baldensperger.

It is by now no novelty to consider Goethe the first German Stendhalian and perhaps even the best one to give an opinion of the young author's work<sup>222</sup>.

According to Witkop, Goethe appreciated Stendhal decades before the latter's fellow-countrymen would<sup>223</sup>.

It is opportune to cite here, as a conclusion, Daniel Muller, who says: »Il n'y a encore que les grands hommes pour se juger entre eux«<sup>224</sup>. But can we say the same thing also vice versa? In a way, yes.

\*

How does Goethe react to the above quoted diatribes which the French author scatters on him? He does not. He remains impassible. Neither the personal, nor the national insults hit him. He ignores them. The anti-German diatribes should have rather amused him: he must have divided part of the latter ones with the French critique. We have to admit: Stendhal neither looked at his own nation without criticism, going as far as detaching himself of most of them in spirit.

\*

After his return to Italy, Stendhal writes from Milan, on March 21 1818, to his friend Mareste, again mentioning and glorifying the twenty-seven numbers of »The Edinburgh Review«<sup>225</sup>.

Dated from the Tremezzina, »Lac de Como«, in a letter to the same Mareste, October 24, we read: »Si vous voulez, je vous dirais que je ne vois rien en France de

214 Emile HENRIOT, *Stendhaliana*. Collection »Essais et Critique«, Paris 1924, Goethe et Stendhal, p. 75.

215 BALDENSPERGER, *Le dossier stendhalien* (see n. 174), p. 338.

216 Henri MARTINEAU, *L'Œuvre de Stendhal. Histoire de ses livres et de sa pensée*, Paris 1945, p. 149, and STENDHAL, *Rome, Naples et Florence en 1817 suivi de l'Italie en 1818*, ed. MARTINEAU, Paris 1956, pp. XX and 402n.

217 STRICH (see n. 155), p. 261.

218 REMAK (see n. 188), p. 212.

219 Ibid. p. 213.

220 Ibid. p. 214.

221 Ibid. p. 217.

222 SÉNÉCHAL (see n. 53), p. 80.

223 Philipp WITKOP, *Goethe. Leben und Werk*, Stuttgart 1931, p. 454.

224 STENDHAL, *Rome, Naples et Florence*, v. 2, in *Œuvres complètes de Stendhal*, ed. Daniel MULLER, Paris 1919, p. 255, repeated by the ed. of Lucien Leuwen, v. 4, p. 437n. See above n. 205.

225 *Correspondence* v. 1 (see n. 16), p. 894, no. 638\*.

comparable à Monti et à Goethe<sup>226</sup>. And this, after just having willingly and at length reproved Goethe.

Similarly, dated from Varese, on November 21, he writes: »Quant à Schiller et à Goethe, aux vrais grands hommes, [...]«<sup>227</sup>. (He feels that Mme. de Staël has known and described well their personality, but not their works<sup>228</sup>.)

The sudden and diagonal change of opinion while amazing, is going to last for some time, as we shall see later.

\*

We arrive to »De l'Amour«, a result of Stendhal's unhappy love for »Métilde« (1818–1819)<sup>229</sup>.

Baldensperger thinks that Stendhal's »crystallization« would take its origin from Goethe's works<sup>230</sup>, and notably from »Aus meinem Leben Dichtung und Wahrheit«, part 3, book 13<sup>231</sup>. Henriot has not found there anything that would indicate it<sup>232</sup>. And yet one text that could come into consideration in the mentioned book of the mentioned part is the following: »Hier entstanden sogleich neue Wahlverwandtschaften.« Goethe deals here with friendships between two men, between two ladies, young boys among each other and Goethe's casual attraction to a girl. However we have seen that Stendhal read »Wahlverwandtschaften« eight years earlier and so he would not have had to wait for this single word in Goethe's autobiography, in order to create his »crystallization« on this basis.

After Henriot, Naumann<sup>233</sup> denies the origin of »crystallization« from »Aus meinem Leben«, which work, by the way, Beyle has not even read, except what »The Edinburgh Review« has written about it<sup>234</sup>. But this review has nothing specific on part 3, book 13. It is however somewhat amazing that Naumann even denies that »beylisme« would have been influenced by »Wahlverwandtschaften«, while this might result to be true, at least in part<sup>235</sup>.

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We should not forget it: we are in the period of the Bourbon Restoration. »Werther« is again in fashion in general, as also specifically for Beyle, suffering from moral, as well as physical uneasiness.

226 Ibid., v. 1 (see n. 16), p. 942, no. 660\*. Somewhat freely quoted by Martineau in Stendhal, *Vie de Henry Brulard*, ed. Henri MARTINEAU, rev. ed., Paris 1949, v. 1, p. 250 (hereafter cited as *Vie de Henry Brulard*). – Vincenzo Monti (1754–1828).

227 *Journal littéraire*, v. 3 (see n. 37), p. 142. – This text also quoted in *Correspondence*, ed. PAUPE and CHERAMY [...], v. 2 (see n. 6), p. 86, here as a letter written to Colomb, dated from June 17, when Stendhal was in Milan.

228 Baroness Anne-Louise-Germaine de Staël-Holstein, née Necker (1766–1817).

229 See above pp. 518–519 and n. 164.

230 BALDENSPERGER, *Bibliographie* (see n. 14), p. 156.

231 Weimar, ser. 1, v. 28, [Aus meinem Leben] *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, p. 184.

232 HENRIOT (see n. 214), p. 69. Instead of »book«, it should read »part« and instead of »chapter« »book«.

233 NAUMANN (see n. 93), p. 242.

234 *The Edinburgh Review* 26, no. 52 (see n. 119), pp. 304 ff.

235 NAUMANN (see n. 93), p. 242. – Cf. IMBERT (see n. 74), pp. 132–133.

Returning to »De l'Amour« proper, speaking of the beginning of an admiration and of a passion, we find the footnote: »V. Saint-Simon et Werther«<sup>236</sup>.

The first clasp of the hands with the beloved woman in Stendhal's work might take its origin from Werther: »Le plus grand bonheur que puisse donner l'amour, c'est le premier serrement de main d'une femme qu'on aime«<sup>237</sup>. And later: »Quel moment que le premier serrement de main de la femme qu'on aime!«<sup>238</sup> Werther says: »Ach ich wusste dass du mich liebtest, [...], an dem ersten Händedruck«<sup>239</sup>. And in its French translation: »Ah! je savais, [...], que tu m'aimais; je l'ai su [...] dès la première fois que ta main se trouva dans la mienne«<sup>240</sup>.

But it is possible that the motif should originate from Faust I. Beyle might have known of it on the Brocken from his Faustophile friend Strombeck, in the far away 1808. Goethe makes Margaret exclaim<sup>241</sup>: »Sein Händedruck, /Und ach sein Kuss!«<sup>242</sup>.

However as early as April 30 1807, Stendhal has written: »Minette [von Griesheim] m'a serré la main«<sup>243</sup>.

Again, while dealing with »De l'Amour«, when the author writes about »le naturel« in love, we find: »C'est la seule coquetterie permise dans une chose aussi sérieuse que l'amour à la Werther, où l'on ne sait où l'on va«<sup>244</sup>.

Follows now, for the last time, the metaphor of »la [même] main de bois«<sup>245</sup>.

The last chapter of the work proper, previous to the »Fragments divers« which concludes it, chapter 59<sup>246</sup>, is entitled »Werther et Don Juan«<sup>247</sup>. Here however the romantic hero of Goethe does not appear in footnotes, or reminiscences, as he did so far. He is Stendhal himself, unhappily in love with »Métilde«. He sums up his ideas on love, glorifying the love à la Werther, against the sensuous (and according to him condemnable) one à la Don Juan. Gone is Goethe's influence. Werther has become a symbol<sup>248</sup>.

Finally in maxim 61 of »Fragments divers« we find this sentence: »Goethe, ou tout autre homme de génie allemand, estime l'argent ce qu'il vaut. [...] Le sot, [...], ne

236 STENDHAL, *De l'Amour* (hereafter cited as *De l'Amour*), v. 3 of *Œuvres*, ed. Daniel MULLER and Pierre JOURDA, n.d., v. 1, chap. 13, p. 60 n. 4.

237 See ARNAUTOVIC (see n. 12), pp. 96–97. – *De l'Amour*, v. 1, chap. 32 (see n. 236), p. 157.

238 *De l'Amour*, v. 4 of *Œuvres*, ed. Daniel MULLER and Pierre JOURDA, n.d., p. 2, *Fragments divers*, maxime 69 (see n. 236), p. 164.

239 Weimar, ser. 1, v. 19 (see n. 23), p. 179.

240 GOETHE-SEVELINGES, *Werther* (see n. 18), p. 270.

241 GOETHE, *Faust*. Ein Fragment (see n. 52), p. 135. – Weimar, ser. 1, v. 14, *Faust*, 1888, p. 170. Scene in Margaret's room.

242 It is again ARNAUTOVIC (see n. 12) (p. 96) who thinks of it.

243 *Correspondence*, v. 1 (see n. 16), p. 347, no. 152<sup>n</sup>.

244 *De l'Amour*, v. 1, chap. 32 (see n. 236), p. 159.

245 *Ibid.*, p. 162.

246 SÉNÉCHAL (see n. 53) (p. 75) writes mistakenly 61, while BALDENSPERGER *Bibliographie* (see n. 14), p. 156, no. 1244, calls it chap. 70, none of which exist.

247 Del Litto calls this chapter »véritable clé de voûte de l'ouvrage«. See DEL LITTO, *La vie* (see n. 109), p. 182.

248 *De l'Amour*, v. 2, chap. 59, p. 123 ff. – According to a footnote of the editor (see n. 236) (p. 123), there is, in the manuscript of the work, on foll. 112 and 126, dated April 15 1820, a considerably differing text. – NAUMANN (see n. 93), p. 244. – STRICH (see n. 155) (p. 208) sees Stendhal protesting against Werther's passive melancholy.

comprend pas l'avantage qu'il y a à sentir et penser comme Goethe; [...]»<sup>249</sup>. – In Stendhal's maternal family, following the fashion of the »ancien régime«, money was not a topic to be talked about<sup>250</sup>.

Imbert explains rather accurately, even if somewhat concisely, the analogies between »De l'Amour« and »Wahlverwandschaften«<sup>251</sup>.

Stendhal is back in Paris, when, in August 1822, »De l'Amour« is being published.

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In January of 1805 Goethe had finished his translation into German of a satiric novel in dialogue form, by Diderot<sup>252</sup>, »Le Neveu de Rameau«, in German entitled »Rameau's Neffe«<sup>253</sup>. This novel was a posthumous one, unpublished until then and unknown in France. The original manuscript was (or is) in the Imperial Library of Saint Petersburg in Russia. A copy of it was taken to Weimar in 1804. In order to complete this translation, Goethe wrote, in March-April 1805, also »Anmerkungen über Personen und Gegenstände deren in dem Dialog Rameau's Neffe erwähnt wird«, as well as some more passages which, however, bear no interest for us<sup>254</sup>. Both, novel and »Anmerkungen«, were published in May of this year of 1805.

This manuscript was lost in Germany, after April 28<sup>255</sup>. Goethe's translation, as well as the »Anmerkungen« were re-translated, partly and very freely, by viscount De Saur and by De Saint-Géniès<sup>256</sup>, under the title »Le Neveu de Rameau« and »Des Hommes célèbres de France au dix-huitième Siècle, et l'Etat de la Littérature et des Arts à la même Epoque« [...], in 1823<sup>257</sup>.

According to Délerot: »la permission d'amplifier prend des proportions inouïes. Un mot dans l'allemand devient souvent une page entière dans le français. – Ce n'est pas une traduction, c'est un ouvrage original où l'on a pris pour thème quelques indications de Goethe«<sup>258</sup>. – However Goethe, on March 29 1824, when writing to Aubert de Vitry, who obviously had found the translation too free, justifies the translators by saying that, especially in French, the translators have to change things, according to the circumstances and the conditions<sup>259</sup>. The translators have to get away from his (Goethe's) work, in order to get close to the comprehension and the inclination of their own nation. He goes on in this justification.

249 De l'Amour, v. 2 (see n. 236), p. 161.

250 Vie de Henry Brulard, v. 2 (see n. 226), pp. 115–116.

251 IMBERT (see n. 74), p. 130 n. 16.

252 Denis Diderot (1713–1784).

253 Weimar, ser. 1, v. 45, Rameau's Neffe (1900), pp. 1–157.

254 Ibid., ser. 1, v. 45, Anmerkungen [...] (see n. 253), pp. 159–217.

255 Ibid., ser. 1, v. 45 (see n. 253), p. 327.

256 Not Faur, as written in Correspondence, ed. PAUPE and CHERAMY, v. 2 (see n. 6), p. 307 n. 1, and not Saint-Saur, as put in STENDHAL, Racine et Shakespeare, ed. Pierre MARTINO, Paris 1925, p. 357n, and by the editors of Racine et Shakespeare, v. 2, p. 438n. (»XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle« [see n. 10] [p. 437 n. 1] must be a printing mistake).

257 Both works published in Paris. See BALDENSBERGER, Bibliographie (see n. 14), p. 195, nos. 1536, 1537 (hereafter cited as Des Hommes célèbres).

258 [Johann-Peter] ECKERMANN, Conversations de Goethe pendant les dernières années de sa vie 1822–1832, trans. Emile DÉLEROT, Paris 1883?, v. 2, p. 376 n. 2.

259 Weimar, ser. 4, v. 38, January-October 1824, 1906 (see n. 196), pp. 96–97, no. 83, rough draft. See also above p. 518 and n. 151.

On October 26 1822 an anonymous and partial review of these writings, entitled »Du Goût«, appears in »Le Miroir«<sup>260</sup>. (This fact could imply an edition of the French translation of, or before 1822.) Its author appreciates, even if, to a certain point, also contradicts Goethe. He mentions the chapter dealing with literary taste.

On January 3 1823, in a report published in February in the »New Monthly Magazine«, Stendhal thinks again of »Le ultime lettere di Jacopo Ortis« and repeats: »Les Lettres de Jacopo Ortis, publiées par M. Foscolo en 1798, sont une copie du »Werther« de Goethe, [...]«<sup>261</sup>.

Returning to »Le Neveu de Rameau«: Stendhal has read its French re-translation, as well as the translation »Des Hommes célèbres«, and probably also the review in »Le Miroir« periodical which he likes very much.

At this time an important literary movement takes its beginning in France, which will consist of single, isolated battles, and which is going to extend over the political field too. Stendhal's contribution, which seems to mark the beginning of the movement, is going to bring him a great deal of success in certain groups favoring innovation. He has succeeded in this, not without the help of a profit drawn from Goethe's Diderot translation and »Anmerkungen«. At the beginning of March (1823) the Stendhalian manifest »Racine et Shakespeare I« is being published.

He, who, in his early youth, was strongly adhering to Racine, has changed his views. He got thoroughly acquainted with Shakespeare in Paris and that causes this change<sup>262</sup>.

In chapter 2 of »Racine et Shakespeare I«, entitled »Le Rire«, we find an interesting phenomenon: What, in 1817, he has been criticizing in Goethe (but really in Schlegel): that »Molière n'a fait que des satires tristes (we have seen, on p. 520 that he was translating or interpreting wrongly: Schlegel had said of »Le Tartuffe« »excellente satire sérieuse«), now he himself asserts it in a way: »La comédie de Molière est trop imbibée de satire pour me donner souvent la sensation du rire gai, [...]«<sup>263</sup>.

We should not forget – it has to be repeated –: romanticism in Germany is, at this time, in full bloom (as well as in Italy). Stendhal's romanticism is based on the German one, the one of Goethe, even if he later adapts it to the Milanese »Romanticesimo«. (The latter style, as opposed to the former one, includes the contemporary element, the modern, and is also a movement seeking liberation from under the Austrian yoke. Both Goethe and Stendhal are aware of this fact.)

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Also forming part of the literary battle, Stendhal writes, on March 21, as an answer to a letter of Lamartine<sup>264</sup> to Mareste, a manifest entitled »Réponse à quelques Objections«, on account of his »Racine et Shakespeare I«<sup>265</sup>.

260 *Le Miroir des spectacles, des lettres, des mœurs et des arts*, no. 641 (October 26 1822), pp. 2–3.

261 STENDHAL, *Mélanges* (hereafter cited as *Mélanges*), v. 2, *Journalisme*, v. 46 of *Œuvres*, ed. Victor DEL LITTO, 1972, Presse anglaise, pp. 84, 314n. The text re-translated into French by MARTINEAU (see p. II).

262 See more of this matter below, on pp. 535–536.

263 *Racine et Shakespeare*, chap. 2 (see n. 10), p. 32.

264 Alphonse de Lamartine (1790–1869).

265 *Réponse* (see [above] n. 10), pp. 255–289.

In section 5 of this »Réponse« there is a footnote: »Ton ignoble en 1788 et qui, suivant moi, est redevenu énergique et vrai en 1823, comme il l'était peut-être en 1650, avant que la cour eût épuré et tamisé la langue, comme dit fort bien Goethe, p. 117«<sup>266</sup>. The page number means that it is being quoted from »Des Hommes célèbres de France [...]«.

True Goethe does not say this. He mentions the »[...] zu Ludwig des XIV. Zeiten zur Reife gedeihende Verstandescultur [...]«<sup>267</sup>, while his translators speak of the fact that »la littérature française [...], sous les auspices de Louis XIV [...] a brillé d'un éclat [...] prodigieux: [...]«<sup>268</sup>. Later, in one of their own notes, the French translators, quoting »De l'Allemagne« of Mme. de Staël (vol. 3, 160), say: »les écrivains du siècle de Louis XIV, [...] depuis ce temps-là que la littérature française a pris une direction plus classique, [...]« Thus Stendhal, while speaking of the style used under this monarch, gives it a different sense of Goethe's and even of his translators.

In section 6 Beyle attacks the verse, especially the Alexandrine, and notably in the case of tragedy. (Yet let us note: only in the case of contemporary works, not in that of Racine's times.) It seems he would have called the Alexandrine »un cache-sottise«, for the first time at Delécluse's home<sup>269</sup>. Goethe too has mentioned, in »Wilhelm Meister« »den albernen Fall und Klang der Alexandriner«, in Germany<sup>270</sup>.

Knowing that Stendhal had read »Des Hommes célèbres« and presuming also that he knew the article of »Le Miroir«, we cannot be surprised to find section 8 of the »Réponse« entitled »Du Goût«, dealing with literary taste<sup>271</sup>. Stendhal explains in it Goethe's homonymous chapter<sup>272</sup>. He does it, as one can imagine, in an extremely free manner. We know how free the French translation was. And Stendhal only had access to this version. From this he took over certain paragraphs verbatim.

The chapter starts as follows: »Qu'est-ce que le goût?

Goethe répond »C'est la mode; c'est, en écrivant, l'art de plaire le plus possible aujourd'hui. C'est l'art de bien mettre sa cravate dans les ouvrages de l'esprit«<sup>273</sup>. Needless to say: Goethe has never written this.

And Beyle continues, now keeping himself to Goethe, or rather to what the latter's translators have given into Goethe's mouth: »Le caractère du génie, c'est de produire en abondance des idées neuves«<sup>274</sup>. Here we see Stendhal following the bibliographic rules: In a footnote we find »Hommes célèbres de France au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, p. 100«.

After this he acts just about the way he did, when, in 1817, he was using Goethe, through »The Edinburgh Review«, in part adding his own views freely. Except that the criticism has gone.

266 Ibid. (see n. 10), p. 268.

267 Weimar, ser. 1, v. 45 (see n. 253), p. 174.

268 Des Hommes célèbres, chap. 7 (see n. 257), pp. 105 and 216 n. 1.

269 Etienne-Jean Delécluse (1781–1863), editor of the Journal des Débats. See STENDHAL, Souvenirs d'égotisme (see n. 192), p. XXI.

270 Weimar, ser. 1, v. 22, bk. 4, chap. 18 (see n. 103), p. 117.

271 Réponse, chap. Du Goût (see n. 10), pp. 276–281.

272 Weimar, ser. 1, v. 45 (see n. 254), p. 171 ff. Der Geschmack. – In Des Hommes célèbres, chap. 7 (see n. 257), p. 99 ff.

273 Réponse (see n. 10), pp. 276–277.

274 Ibid. (see n. 10), pp. 277–278.

Follow the rest of this paragraph and another original Stendhalian one and, after these, taken from the French translation: »La juste appréciation de ce qui doit plaire en tel pays ou à telle époque, [...], voilà ce qui constitue le goût«<sup>275</sup>.

After the end of this paragraph he repeats, more or less, the example given by Goethe, not just by the translators<sup>276</sup>, of how the poem of du Bartas, the »Semaine« has lost all appreciation in France<sup>277</sup>. (Goethe mentioned how they still appreciate this work in Germany<sup>278</sup>.)

He closes this paragraph using almost exactly the French translation: »[...] tant le goût est local et instantané, tant il est vrai que ce qu'on admire en deçà du Rhin, souvent on le méprise au delà, et que les chefs-d'œuvre d'un siècle sont la fable du siècle suivant«<sup>279</sup>. Goethe's original thought was: »[...] das Genie [...] wird theils [...] bestimmt durch die Nation, durch das Jahrhundert, für welche gearbeitet werden soll«<sup>280</sup>.

This Goethean thought is not new. In December 1787, much earlier than his translation of »Le Neveu de Rameau«, being in Rome, he writes: »[...] [dass] jeder Künstler auf gar vielfache Weise bedingt ist, durch sein besonderes Talent, durch Vorgänger und Meister, durch Ort und Zeit, durch Gönner und Besteller«<sup>281</sup>.

Returning to the »Réponse«, follow two paragraphs of his own, in the second of which we read: »Ne voit-on pas sortir de toute cette révolution, décrite par Goethe en 1805, et des habitudes qu'elle dut laisser, le caractère du pédantisme si marqué aujourd'hui chez nos gens de lettres d'un certain âge? [...]«<sup>282</sup>.

The chapter ends with a paragraph entirely taken from the French translation, missing in the original German: »Chez un peuple plus résonneur que sensible [...]. C'est la situation où se sont trouvés la plupart des auteurs français«<sup>283</sup>. Stendhal »scrupulously« adds here a similar footnote to the one at the chapter's beginning: »Goethe, »Hommes célèbres de France«, p. 109.« We can see: he has not even tried to read the German text.

It seems almost natural that we see, on May 1st, Beyle give account in the »New Monthly Magazine«, of »Des Hommes célèbres«<sup>284</sup>.

It begins thus: »Goethe le seul homme supérieur que possède la littérature allemande depuis la mort de Schiller [...]. Mais« he continues »Goethe crut devoir donner de plus amples détails qui les rendissent plus intelligibles [the portraits of the

275 Ibid. (see n. 10), p. 278.

276 See Weimar, ser. 1, v. 45 (see n. 254), p. 175 and Des Hommes célèbres, chap. 7 (see n. 257), pp. 104–105.

277 Guillaume de Salluste, seigneur du Bartas (1544–1590).

278 Weimar, ser. 1 v. 45 (see n. 254), pp. 173–174.

279 Réponse (see n. 10), p. 279.

280 Weimar, ser. 1, v. 45 (see n. 254), p. 175 and Des Hommes célèbres, chap. 7 (see n. 257), p. 105, translated somewhat freely.

281 Weimar, ser. 1, v. 32, v. 3, Rom 2 (see n. 134), p. 174.

282 Réponse (see n. 10), p. 280.

283 Ibid. (see n. 10), p. 281.

284 STENDHAL, revue of Des hommes célèbres de la France au dix-huitième siècle et de l'état de la Littérature et des Arts à la même époque, par Goethe [...], May 1 1823, in: Courrier Anglais. New Monthly Magazine, ed. Henri MARTINEAU, Paris 1935, v. 2, pp. 73–76. The text re-translated into French by MARTINEAU (see p. 9).



writers whom, according to Goethe, Diderot has ridiculed]<sup>285</sup> à ses compatriotes. Chemain faisant, il n'a pas toujours su se garder de propos absurdes. Toujours plus ou moins en extase devant les maisons de poupées et des cours en miniature des petits princes de l'Allemagne, son imagination ne connaît plus de bornes dès qu'il s'agit de la cour de Versailles et des monarques français. [Of course Stendhal could never read certain words of the Weimarese: »Ich kann dir nicht sagen was ich schon die kurze Zeit an Menschlichkeit gewonnen habe. Wie ich aber auch fühle was wir in den kleinen Souverainen Staaten für elende einsame Menschen seyn müssen weil man, und besonders in meiner Lage, fast mit niemand reden darf, der nicht was wollte und mögte«<sup>286</sup>.] Louis XIV surtout est son idole et quelques-uns de ses mots relatifs à ce personnage pompeux sont aussi solennels que grotesques. [The expression »surtout« is unfair: If Goethe had felt adoration for all French monarchs, he would not have said to Eckermann, on April 27 1825: »[...] ich bin kein Freund [...] eines Ludwigs des fünfzehnten«<sup>287</sup>, and to Soret, on March 6 1830, while reading the »Mémoires« of Saint-Simon: »Mit dem Tode von Ludwig dem Vierzehnten, [...], habe ich jetzt Halt gemacht [...] von dem Augenblick an, wo jener Monarch abgeht, und eine andere Personage auftritt, die zu schlecht ist als dass St. Simon sich zu seinem Vortheil neben ihr ausnehmen könnte, machte die Lectüre mir keine Freude mehr; der Widerwille trat ein und ich verliess das Buch da, wo mich der »Tyran« verliess«<sup>288</sup>.] Par exemple: »La nature créa, à l'étonnement du monde, et à la gloire de la famille des Bourbons, Louis XIV, l'homme souverain, le type des monarques, le roi plus vraiment roi qui ait porté la couronne.« In fact in the original German we find: »So entstand in Ludwig dem XIV ein französischer König im höchsten Sinne«<sup>289</sup>. Stendhal has exaggerated; also he will not forget this part of his text, as will be seen<sup>290</sup>. He goes on:

»D'un bout à l'autre de ce livre, M. Goethe a l'air de vouloir s'amuser de la réciprocité de ses bons amis les hommes de lettres français, à force de les porter eux-mêmes aux nues.« As Beyle did not read »Aus meinem Leben«<sup>291</sup>, he cannot know of the long and objective description of the French literature, which the work contains<sup>292</sup>.

Afterwards he deplures the servility of the French literary men: they return flattery with flattery.

He continues: »Lors que Goethe ne s'efforce pas de chatouiller la vanité des Français, il dit beaucoup de choses fort ingénieuses et originales, surtout dans un chapitre de seize pages sur le »Goût«, qui vaut largement à lui seul tout le reste du livre. Ce chapitre est digne de la réputation de l'auteur. Il porte le cachet d'un fin jugement et d'un esprit large.« Here follows a variant of what, in the »Réponse«, he took from Goethe, i.e. the passage on du Bartas, who, in Germany, has been

285 Weimar, ser. 1, v. 45 (see n. 254), p. 171 »Diderot will seine Landsläute lächerlich darstellen.«

286 Weimar, ser. 3, v. 1, 1775–1787, 1887 (see n. 194), pp. 230–231.

287 ECKERMANN, *Gespräche*, 1923 (see n. 79), p. 457.

288 Ibid., p. 375. – The Swiss Frédéric-Jean Soret (1795–1865).

289 Weimar, ser. 1, v. 45 (see n. 253), p. 215.

290 See below, p. 537.

291 See above pp. 517–518.

292 Weimar, ser. 1, v. 28, pt. 3, bk. 11 (see n. 231), pp. 57–77.

published thirty times over five years. Goethe and not even his translators say this. Stendhal continues: [in Germany] »les critiques le qualifient de »roi des poètes français«<sup>293</sup>. And he goes on:

»Dans un chapitre sur la musique, M. Goethe se montre fâcheusement influencé par les préventions nationales. Il s'efforce de dénigrer toutes les enchanteresses compositions de l'Italie en même temps qu'il fait l'éloge du bruit insignifiant et de la triste psalmodie de la musique française, qu'il rapproche, à notre grand regret, de la musique allemande au point de vue de l'harmonie imitative et de l'expression des passions.«

While Jaloux says with some exaggeration: »[...] les observations de Goethe sur la peinture italienne [...] sont à peu près aussi absurdes que celles de Stendhal, ce qui n'est pas peu dire«<sup>294</sup>, one has to say that their notions and their judgements on music were not much better, at least when comparing them to musicological opinions of our day. However we have to proceed with caution, when criticizing them in both these fields. We have to consider that research is at its dawn in that period. Besides Stendhal did hardly know anything else but lyric music. In fact, in Vienna, when he hears, on the occasion of the requiem mass held for Haydn, the »Requiem« of Mozart, he finds it »trop bruyant«<sup>295</sup>. Here should also be mentioned that, on June 23 1832, he will say: »J'aime passionnément la musique, mais uniquement la musique de Cimarosa et de Mozart«<sup>296</sup>.

Colesanti makes a distinction, in great detail, between the knowledge of the musicians and critics of music on the one hand and the dilettantism of Stendhal on the other, which, for some aspects, he finds more valid<sup>297</sup>.

What did Goethe have to say on music? »Alle neuere Musik wird auf zweierlei Weisen behandelt, entweder dass man sie als eine selbstständige Kunst betrachtet [...] wie es der Italiener zu thun pflegt, oder dass man sie in Bezug auf Verstand, Empfindung, Leidenschaft setzt [...] wie es die Weise der Franzosen, der Deutschen und aller Nordländer ist und bleiben wird«<sup>298</sup>.

Stendhal ends his judgement on Goethe thus: »Je regrette de n'avoir pas assez d'espace pour développer ses remarques sur le »Goût«: c'est à peu près le seul endroit de son livre où M. Goethe soit vraiment lui-même«<sup>299</sup>.

Martineau calls Beyle's admiration »fort désinvolte«<sup>300</sup>. The same scholar speaks also of »Contrepartie piquante aux jugements de Goethe sur Stendhal«, while Vermale, repeating Martineau's opinion<sup>301</sup>, suggests also »malice« on the part of Stendhal<sup>302</sup>.

293 See above p. 531 and n. 277.

294 Edmond JALOUX, *Vie de Goethe*, Paris 1933, p. 144.

295 Correspondence, v. 1 (see n. 16), p. 536, no. 373, July 25 1809, to Pauline.

296 STENDHAL, *Souvenirs d'égotisme*, chap. 5 (see n. 192), p. 51. – See also more on this subject matter below, on p. 538.

297 Massimo COLESANTI, *Stendhal. Le regole del gioco*, Milano 1983, pp. 51–171.

298 Weimar, ser. 1, v. 45 (see n. 254), pp. 181–182.

299 Thus it is not here that Stendhal deals with the chap. on taste, but in the *Réponse*, as seen above. Cf. *Racine et Shakespeare* (see n. 10), p. 438n.

300 H[enri] M[ARTINEAU], review of *Le dossier stendhalien de Goethe*, by Baldensperger, in: *Le Divan* (March–April 1935), p. 428.

301 VERMALE (see n. 67), p. 70.

302 *Ibid.* (see n. 67), p. 68.

Martineau<sup>303</sup> also says, on the same subject: »[...] il est certain que la réelle indépendance d'esprit du grand Allemand était masquée à Stendhal par la souplesse du courtisan et la déférence que le citoyen manifestait aux pouvoirs établis«<sup>304</sup>.

We have to notice: Stendhal's tone is new, when comparing it to chapter 8 of the »Réponse«. It makes us think of 1817. These judgements going into extremes seem to originate from his »stendhalian« mentality.

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Still during the first half of 1823, still as part of the literary battle, Stendhal writes the »Nouveau chapitre sur Molière«. In its section entitled »Des habitudes de la vie par rapport à la littérature« we find among others: »Quels tragiques, suivants d'Aristote, ont produit, depuis un siècle, quelque œuvre à comparer à ›Tom Jones‹, à ›Werther‹, [...]? Comparez cela aux tragédies françaises contemporaines; [...]«<sup>305</sup>. He enumerates these non-French works as examples of anti-classicism, i. e. romanticism to be followed. We should wonder about the sudden re-evaluation of Goethe, after the more than mixed judgements of his article of May 1st in the »New Monthly Magazine«, if, by now, we would not know him.

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As there has been an author who thought Stendhal might have been the only contemporary Frenchman to read »Wahlverwandtschaften«<sup>306</sup>, similarly Naumann's opinion is that Goethe would have probably been the only German to read »Racine et Shakespeare I.«<sup>307</sup>. Certain is that he has read it, and that on July 26 in Marienbad, where to he had arrived on the 4th<sup>308</sup>.

He notes in his diary on the 26th: »Gelesen ›Racine et Shakespeare‹; [...]«<sup>309</sup>. He similarly will write it to his son August, on August 6<sup>310</sup>.

What does he write about it? Nothing; not now and not later, unlike the case of his meeting with Napoleon.

It might be the name »romanticism«, even if perhaps invented partly by him, or its manifold meaning, which would keep him from making a statement, for fear of taking obligations on himself, who has emitted such varied judgements on the subject, at different times of his life. He is going to say on October 17 1828 to Soret: »Was will der ganze Plunder gewisser Regeln einer steifen veralteten Zeit! [...], und was will all der Lärm über classisch und romantisch! Es kommt darauf an, dass ein Werk durch und durch gut und tüchtig sey, und es wird auch wohl classisch seyn«<sup>311</sup>.

On April 2 1829, Eckermann would relate: »[...] kamen wir [...] auf die Bedeu-

303 Vie de Henry Brulard, v. 1 (see n. 226), p. 250.

304 Cf. above pp. 532 and n. 286.

305 STENDHAL, Nouveau chapitre sur Molière, in: Racine et Shakespeare (see n. 10), p. 208.

306 CARRÉ (see n. 7), p. 28.

307 NAUMANN (see n. 93), p. 251.

308 1823 and not 1824. Cf. Racine et Shakespeare, préface (see n. 10), p. CIII.

309 Weimar, ser. 3, v. 9, 1823–1824, 1897 (see n. 194), p. 83.

310 Weimar, ser. 4, v. 37, April–December 1823, 1906 (see n. 196), p. 151. – BERKHOLZ (see n. 82) (p. 33) puts July, instead of August, and also (p. 97 n. 24) writes vol. 4, p. 154. – [Julius] August [Walther] von Goethe (1789–1830).

311 ECKERMANN, Gespräche, 1923 (see n. 79), p. 551.

tung von classisch und romantisch [...], sagte Goethe [...]. Das Classische nenne ich das Gesunde, und das Romantische das Kranke [...]<sup>312</sup>. On April 5 of the same year we read, also noted by Eckermann, speaking of a tragedy: »Ich dächte, das wäre pathologisch oder auch romantisch, [...]«<sup>313</sup>. To the same Eckermann, on December 16 of 1829, he will say, as the opinion of the French literary men: »Es ist alles gut und gleich, sagen sie, Classisches wie Romantisches, es kommt nur darauf an, dass man sich dieser Formen mit Verstand zu bedienen und darin vortrefflich zu seyn vermöge«<sup>314</sup>.

Later, on March 14 1830, Soret will say<sup>315</sup>: »[...] Goethe n'approuve pas plus la tendance trop exclusive du romantisme actuel que la pédanterie bornée de certains classiques«<sup>316</sup>.

Both great men can be labelled partly »romantic«, but both of them hate the excessive elements of this style, as e.g. the supernatural and all exaggerations. Here enters the classical element of both of them, as a brake.

It may be that Goethe has expressed his opinion indirectly, when, at this moment, talking to a Prussian princess (it might have been a Princess Hohenzollern who was in Marienbad in July and perhaps also in August), he was praising French tragedy<sup>317</sup>.

More important, count de Saint-Leu, who is nobody else but Louis Bonaparte, has arrived to Marienbad<sup>318</sup>. Goethe had met him in March 1810 at Karlsbad, when the former still was King of Holland, also in August–September at Teplitz, after his abdication<sup>319</sup>. At this moment the ex-monarch is cultivating literature.

We have seen how Stendhal was for the abolition of the Alexandrine, as to contemporary tragedy. We also know of his juvenile enthusiasm for Racine, and finally we have seen how he passed into the opposite extreme, making his acquaintance with Shakespeare. So it can happen that, in 1834–35, he will call Racine »un hypocrite lâche et sournois«<sup>320</sup>. – These switches happened, to a certain extent, to Goethe too. First his appreciation of Racine in Strasbourg (1770–71). Settled later in Weimar, he tells us his own literary change of opinion through Wilhelm Meister's story<sup>321</sup>. Here a count almost prescribes to the hero to love Racine, in order to please a prince. This might have roused Stendhal's anger, perhaps only unconsciously. And

312 Ibid., p. 263.

313 Ibid., p. 269.

314 Ibid., p. 299.

315 Frédéric SORET, *Conversations avec Goethe*, ed. A. ROBINET DE CLÉRY, Paris 1932, pp. 100–101.

316 Goethe also shows his anti-romantic feelings when writing about Victor Hugo's *Notre-Dame de Paris*, which he judges somewhat partially. See Weimar, ser. 3, v. 13, 1831–1832, 1903 (see n. 194), pp. 92–93, June 15 1831, and Weimar, ser. 4, v. 48, November 1830–June 1831, 1909 (see n. 196), p. 259, no. 235, June 28 1831.

317 BALDENSPERGER, *Le dossier stendhalien* (see n. 174), p. 341. – See Weimar, ser. 4, v. 37 (see n. 196), p. 143, no. 99, July 11–25, to August. Date of this information July 23.

318 (1778–1846). Not count Leu, as BERKHOLZ (see n. 82) (p. 33) writes. We get to know from Goethe that he has arrived. See Weimar, ser. 3, v. 9 (see n. 194), p. 81, and Weimar, ser. 4, v. 37 (see n. 196), p. 1, no. 99. Date of this information July 22.

319 REMAK (see n. 188) (p. 218) only mentions Teplitz and Marienbad, as places where the two would have met.

320 Lucien Leuwen, v. 9 of *Œuvres*, ed. Henry DEBRAYE, n.d., v. 1. *Le chasseur vert*. Première préface (see n. 205), p. 1.

321 Weimar, ser. 1, v. 21, bk. 3, chap. 8 (see n. 103), pp. 287–288.

yet Goethe, similarly to Beyle, passes into the other, the Shakespeareian extreme, when getting to know the Bard's theatre<sup>322</sup>. He had known something of Shakespeare as early as 1768, thus previously to his stay in Strasbourg. But only upon his return to Frankfort do we hear him talk on Shakespeare's name day, on October 14 1771, converted to the latter's works<sup>323</sup>.

Let us return to Marienbad. On July 24, 27 and 29, as also on August 5, 10, 15, 19 and 20, Goethe and Saint-Leu visit each other and go for walks together. On July 24 Goethe writes: »König Louis, wie ich ihn noch immer gerne nennen mag, besuchte mich, und was wahre Verhältnisse Schönes haben, es war immer das Alte, als wenn man sich gestern gesehen hätte.« To his son he writes in these same notes: »In meinem Schatzkästlein, du weißt es, liegt ein Brief mit der Überschrift ›Au Roi Louis‹, schicke mir diesen mit der nächsten Sendung hierher. Es ist wunderbar genug, dass ich dieses verjäherte Document endlich noch abgeben kann«<sup>324</sup>.

The two gentleman talk, on July 27, of the necessity of rhyme in French poetry and of the possibility of abolishing or restricting it<sup>325</sup>. On August 1st they discuss French theatre<sup>326</sup>. – Goethe reads some of Saint-Leu's writings and sends some of the same's poems to his daughter-in-law, Otilie<sup>327</sup>.

On August 16 Goethe mentions a »königliche Gabe« received from his friend<sup>328</sup>. It would be food for Beyle's anger, although who knows, dealing with a Bonaparte?

As a conclusion to this meeting: Probably both friends are of the opinion that Stendhal's manifests are extreme and that Racine too has his undeniable merits. They have thus placed themselves in middle course. Saint-Leu, in his writings, shows himself an apostle of compromise.

As to »Racine et Shakespeare I« in general, it seems that Goethe finds it to be a subject hard to deal with. He might keep silent even to himself<sup>329</sup>.

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There exists a Stendhalian letter, dated from August 8 and written to Albert Stapfer, translator, in addition to »Faust I«, of other dramatic works by Goethe<sup>330</sup>. It seems that he would have asked from Beyle (as a loan?) one of »Wahlverwandschaften«'s translations, because the latter answers thus: »Hélas! Monsieur, je voudrais bien pouvoir vous envoyer les ›Affinités électives‹, mais il faudrait pour cela être à deux cent lieues de ces secs Parisiens. La simple et douce Otilie [sic] est avec mes livres à Mil[an] [...]. C'est l'effet involontaire, tout-puissant, et par tant non criminel de l'amour que Goethe a peint avec une exactitude mathématique dans les ›Affinités‹.

322 Ibid., pp. 287–291.

323 Weimar, ser. 1, v. 37, Jugendschriften, v. 1. Zum Shakespeare Tag, 1896, pp. 129–135.

324 Weimar, ser. 3, v. 9 (see n. 194), pp. 82, 84, 86, 88, 89, 91, 94, 95, 96. – Weimar, ser. 4, v. 37 (see n. 196), pp. 144–145, no. 99. Dates of this information July 24 and 25.

325 Weimar, ser. 3, v. 9 (see n. 194), p. 84.

326 Ibid., p. 86.

327 Weimar, ser. 4, v. 37 (see n. 196), pp. 164–166, no. 108, August 14 (1823). – Otilie Wilhelmine Ernestine von Goethe, née von Pogwisch (1796–1872).

328 Weimar, ser. 3, v. 9 (see n. 194), p. 94.

329 REMAK, (see n. 188), p. 218.

330 Correspondence, v. 2 (see n. 16), pp. 20–21, no. 750. – We are in 1823 and not in 1825, as ARNAUTOVIC (see n. 12) (p. 95) says.

Mais il a mis tout cela dans de diables de cœurs allemands qui manquent trop de logique pour nous intéresser beaucoup à la longue [...].»

The usual anti-German attacks follow here in the same letter, after which: »Goethe est plus inversif [than Schiller] le verbe principal est à la deuxième page, [the German language is very inversive] voilà qui touche un cœur allemand [...].»

As said before, Stendhal does not forget certain things. On October 26 (dated from Isola Bella »Lac Majeur« – and in fact, he was there at that time –) he writes to Colomb, almost half a year after having read of Goethe's admiration for the court of Versailles<sup>331</sup>: »[...] il fallait que ce Louis XIV me frappât de respect, me donnât l'idée du grand roi, de l'homme souverain, c'est-à-dire né pour être souverain, comme le dit si bassement le célèbre Goethe«<sup>332</sup>.

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A new work by Stendhal, »Vie de Rossini«, appears in November. The observations on music contained in it make us think of »Wilhelm Meister«<sup>333</sup>. We find in it the following passage: »[...] quand on ne connaît que par les livres l'amour-passion (celui de [...] Werther), il est bien difficile de se tirer de la peinture de la jalousie pour que la jalousie soit touchante dans les imitations des beaux-arts, il faut qu'elle prenne naissance dans une âme possédée de l'amour à la Werther, j'entends de cet amour qui peut être sanctifié par le suicide«<sup>334</sup>.

After this: »Voyez [...], par exemple la Vie de Goëthe écrite par lui-même, et particulièrement l'Histoire de l'expédition de Champagne; voilà ce que gagnent les hommes de génie à se rapprocher des cours. Canova [...], Rossini, pauvre artiste italien, a cent fois plus de dignité dans sa manière de penser et de juste fierté, que Goëthe, philosophe célèbre«<sup>335</sup>.

Goethe's work »Campagne in Frankreich«, written in December 1819 and published in Stuttgart in 1822, was not translated earlier than 1882 (by Porchat) and published in Paris, under the title »Campagne de France«<sup>336</sup>. Under the title mentioned by Stendhal it is not enumerated in Baldensperger's bibliography. (In the original it bears the motto »Auch ich in der Champagne«<sup>337</sup>.) How would have Stendhal read it?

Finally in »Vie de Rossini«, talking of the violoncellist Romberg, we read<sup>338</sup>: »Quels plaisirs ravissants ne devrions-nous pas à Romberg par son violoncelle, s'il

331 Correspondence, ed. PAUPE and CHERAMY, v. 2 (see n. 6), p. 307. – This text has not been included in the Correspondence of 1962, however it appears in *Mélanges*, v. 1, Politique, Histoire, Economie, v. 45 of *Œuvres*, ed. Victor DEL LITTO, 1971, in *Le Pape Léon XII* (see n. 261), pp. 238–239, 358n.

332 ARNAUTOVIC (see n. 12) (p. 89) speaks of one year.

333 *Ibid.*, p. 98. – Goethe's opinions on music in *Wilhelm Meister* are to be found as said above, in: *Weimar*, ser. 1, v. 21–22 (see n. 103) *passim*, in books 1–5.

334 STENDHAL, *Vie de Rossini* (hereafter cited as *Vie de Rossini*), v. 22 of *Œuvres*, ed. Henry PRUNIÈRE, 1968, v. 1, chap. 18, *Otello*, p. 275.

335 *Vie de Rossini*, v. 23 of *Œuvres*, ed. Henry PRUNIÈRE, 1968, v. 2, chap. 26, *Mosè* (see n. 334), p. 76.

336 BALDENSBERGER, *Bibliographie* (see n. 14), p. 217, no. 1705.

337 *Ad analogiam* »Et in Arcadia ego«, which, by the way, Goethe used, translated to the German, as his motto in the first two volumes of his *Italienische Reise*: »Auch ich in Arkadien.«

338 *Vie de Rossini*, v. 2 (see n. 334), p. 132n.

avait l'âme passionnée de Werther au lieu de l'âme candide et honnête d'un bon bourgeois allemand!»<sup>339</sup>. He has not forgotten his Werther.

As to the musicological merit of this work, Berlioz<sup>340</sup>, born in the same department as our Grenoble, attributes to it »les plus irritantes stupidités sur la musique, dont il croyait avoir le sentiment«<sup>341</sup>. In this same text of Berlioz we find an authentic, even if perhaps not objective, description of the »consul de Civita-Vecchia«, which can, in a way, be considered, with Colesanti, »una caricatura«<sup>342</sup>.

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Vermale talks of an incomprehension in 1824, which would have become the rule between the two great writers<sup>343</sup>. However, once more, of such there cannot be any question, because we do not find any such feeling on the part of Goethe. For Stendhal it is a period of hostility toward the German, really started in 1823, similar to the one of 1817, but this time it is going to last altogether for about three years<sup>344</sup>.

On April 24<sup>345</sup> of this year, at a solemn meeting of the French Academy, Auger reads a manifest, of very strong classical tendency, geared against German romanticism<sup>346</sup>. Among others he scoffs at Goethe<sup>347</sup>. Under the signature »T«, he has written, in 1810, a very strong critique against »Wahlverwandtschaften«<sup>348</sup>.

The subject matter has to be briefly interrupted here, for the sake of chronology, in order to quote a short sentence of Stendhal. It appears in the middle of one of his reports on the »Salon«, held at the Louvre, which had appeared on September 9 1824, in the »Journal de Paris«<sup>349</sup>. It reads like this: »Je vois dans les yeux de Corinne [peinted by Gérard] le reflet des passions tendres [...] je sens quelque chose qui tient à l'enthousiasme sombre de Werther, [...]«<sup>350</sup>.

Returning to the literary battle which goes on: Stendhal works on an answer to Auger. It is going to become »Racine et Shakespeare II«, dated from March 19 1825, which, however contains nothing new as to our topic.

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Arnautovic finds, in Stendhal of 1826 a real Goethephobia<sup>351</sup>. It is true, but it has started – we have to repeat it – three years earlier<sup>352</sup>.

He writes and has published, on the pages of the June number of »New Monthly Magazine«, an article against Goethe.

339 Bernhard Heinrich Romberg (1767–1841).

340 Hector Berlioz (1803–1869).

341 Hector BERLIOZ, *Mémoires*, Paris 1926, v. 1, chap. 36, p. 215 n. 1.

342 COLESANTI (see n. 297), p. 74.

343 VERMALE (see n. 67), p. 70.

344 See below n. 351, on same the reference to Arnautovic.

345 VERMALE (see n. 67) (p. 67) writes the date as the 14th.

346 Louis-Simon Auger (1772–1829).

347 The text can be read in *Racine et Shakespeare*, ed. Roger FAYOLLE, Paris 1970, pp. 235–250.

348 L[ouis]-S[imon] AUGER [T., pseud.], *Ottolie*, [...] traduit de l'allemand de Goethe [...] *Les Affinités électives*, roman de Goethe [...], in: *Journal de l'Empire* (May 16 1810) p. 1–4.

349 *Mélanges*, v. 3 *Peinture*, v. 47 of *Œuvres*, ed. Ernest ABRAVANEL, 1972 (see n. 261), pp. 18–20.

350 François, baron Gérard (1773–1852).

351 ARNAUTOVIC (see n. 12), p. 87.

352 See above n. 344.

It is dated from May 20<sup>353</sup>. He finds the reaction of a German journal which »annonce une chose aussi mince que la publication d'une nouvelle édition de Werther« so ridiculous, that he goes as far as to quote its text, which, in French, sounds like this: »Le JUBILÉ LITTÉRAIRE: une nouvelle édition des ›Malheurs de Werther‹! Evènement extraordinaire! Le berceau de gloire de Goethe, nouvelle édition avec de jolies vignettes et embellie d'un portrait du poète! En 1824, pour le cinquantième anniversaire de la publication de ›Werther‹, l'auteur a fêté les noces d'or de son livre et de ses éditeurs.«

Stendhal's comments go like this: »Sans doute M. Goethe est un homme fort distingué. [One has to think of Shakespeare's ›Julius Caesar‹; the funeral oration of Marcus Antonius, act 3, scene 2: ›For Brutus is an honourable man‹] Ses ouvrages, écrits avec facilité, ne s'élèvent souvent pas au-dessus de la médiocrité, mais ils sont nombreux et embrassent tous les genres, de la chanson et de la théorie des couleurs jusqu'à la tragédie. On dit[!] qu'il écrit en allemand d'une manière exquise, mais aucun de ses ouvrages multiples n'a plu en France, excepté précisément ce ›Werther‹ (dont l'auteur fête les noces d'or) et ›Faust‹. Rien ne nous semble plus ridicule que l'exagération des éloges que le seul nom de Goethe ne manque jamais de faire éclater dans toutes les revues d'Allemagne. Notre irrévérence ne va pas jusqu'à vouloir expliquer ce délire littéraire. Il paraît que les dignes Allemands, fâchés d'entendre les Anglais parler sans cesse de leur Shakespeare et les Français porter aux nues leur Voltaire, se sont dits: ›Il nous faut également un grand homme.‹ [But Goethe himself was aware of this: ›Wir Deutschen sind von gestern«<sup>354</sup>]. Goethe était tout près. Il avait écrit sur tous les sujets; il était ministre d'un prince et tout constellé de croix; cette dernière circonstance a une grande valeur aux yeux d'un Allemand. Goethe fut par conséquent proclamé le prodige national. Mais les étrangers se moquent de cette admiration outrée, qui est peut-être plutôt la fille de la vanité des adulateurs eux-mêmes que l'expression d'un vif sentiment de reconnaissance pour le plaisir que donnent les œuvres d'un grand poète. Nous goûtons mieux Schiller que Goethe, mais celui-là ne convenait point au grand projet patriotique des Allemands [...]. ›Faust‹ bien qu'il soit un ouvrage extraordinaire, n'est jamais qu'une imitation. Nous le considérons comme fort inférieur au ›Guillaume Tell‹ de Schiller; et à ›Werther‹ près, tous les autres ouvrages de Goethe ne valent pas à notre avis ›Wallenstein‹ ou ›Don Carlos‹. [Has he read them? Once he claimed to have read all of Schiller<sup>355</sup>]. Depuis quelques mois, deux ou trois hommes de talent s'efforcent en vain de mettre Goethe à la mode en France. Mais ils ont d'abord eu le tort de le traduire et rien n'est plus plat qu'›Egmont‹ et ›Berlichingen‹. [Albert Stapfer, with whom, as seen above, Stendhal was in correspondence, Ampère, Sautélet, Bastide and perhaps some others, all friends and acquaintances of Stendhal, used to meet in order to read Goethe<sup>356</sup>. Translations of Goethe's theatrical works by Stapfer kept appearing.] En second lieu, l'annonce des ›noces d'or‹ que j'ai transcrite plus haut, avec le galimatias que Goethe

353 STENDHAL, *Jubilé littéraire*, May 20 1826, *Courrier anglais*. *New Monthly Magazine*, ed. Henri MARTINEAU, Paris 1935, v. 3 (see n. 284), pp. 90–93. This text also re-translated into French by the editor.

354 ECKERMANN, *Gespräche*, 1923 (see n. 79), p. 501, May 3 1827.

355 SÉNÉCHAL (see n. 53) (p. 74) believes it.

356 Jean-Jacques Ampère (1800–1864), the editor A. Sautélet and Jules Bastide (1800–1879).



a lui-même ajouté en tête de la nouvelle édition de »Werther«, gênent par leur outrance les admirateurs les plus acharnés eux-mêmes du Voltaire allemand. Goethe, quoique loué en France, n'y est plus lu, il est trop plein d'ostentation.« According to Gross, Goethe was not read in France, except his »Werther«, but this is to be doubted to a certain extent<sup>357</sup>. According to Loiseau only »Werther« and »Faust« had influence in France<sup>358</sup>. However Strich, among others, feels that Stendhal seems to be an exception, denying the Goethean influence in France<sup>359</sup>. Goethe himself was aware of this influence, by reading the contemporary French writers and the »Globe«. His influence, at that point, was more considerable than Stendhal's.

What comment can be made to Stendhal's above article?

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Starting with the beginning of this year (1826) Stendhal is working on his novel »Armance«<sup>360</sup>. It is going to be published in August of the following year.

This is the point from where the author does not seem to need Goethe any more, although we still find elements of four of Goethe's works in his writings: the three novels and »Faust I«<sup>361</sup>. It is the beginning of the period of his novels. From now on he stands on his own feet.

Beginning with the hero of »Armance«, Octave de Malivert, he might be a »cousin [...] de branche cadette« of Werther<sup>362</sup>: we find in him the same type of love of suicidal character, not, like in »Armance's« author, only of intention. – Goethe too once wanted to stab himself with a dagger<sup>363</sup>, but he got out of the dilemma by what he later on called his »Generalbeichte«<sup>364</sup>, while Beyle will never get out of it<sup>365</sup>, because he loves love, including its difficulties, more than the beloved one<sup>366</sup>.

Corrado Rosso saw Octave as a kind of Faust<sup>367</sup> and Stendhal himself must have seen him as such too, as he gives into the mouth of Octave's mother the words: »Cher Octave, ce goût singulier [the love to be isolated] est l'effet de ta passion désordonnée pour les sciences; tes études me font trembler; tu finiras comme le Faust de Goethe.« Did Stendhal ever read »Faust I«? If he did read it, did he finish reading it?

At the head of »Armance's« Chapter 15 we find a quotation from »Doctor Faustus« by Marlowe<sup>368</sup>.

357 Ferdinand GROSS, *Goethe's Werther in Frankreich. Eine Studie*, Leipzig 1888, pp. 16, 19.

358 H[ippolyte] LOISEAU, *Goethe en France*, in: *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift* 20, nos. 3–4 (1932) p. 159.

359 STRICH (see n. 155), p. 261.

360 STENDHAL, *Armance, ou quelques scènes d'un salon de Paris en 1827*, v. 5 of *Œuvres*, ed. Raymond LEBÈGUE, n. d.

361 We owe to ARNAUTOVIC (see n. 12) (pp. 92–96, 99–101) a masterly parallel between the three Goethean novels dealt with and *Armance*. – See also Marguerite ARNAOUTOVITCH, *Au bord de l'Armance*, in: *Stendhal Club*, no. 68 (July 1975).

362 Pierre BRUN, *Henry Beyle-Stendhal*, Grenoble 1900, p. 57.

363 Weimar, ser. 1, v. 28, bk. 13 (see n. 231), p. 220.

364 *Ibid.*, p. 225.

365 KATAOKA (see n. 4), pp. 18–19.

366 MARTINEAU, *Le cœur de Stendhal*, v. 1 (see n. 72), pp. 110, 197 »plus amoureux de l'amour que de l'amante.«

367 Corrado ROSSO, *Il serpente e la sirena. Collana di saggi* 34, Napoli 1972, p. 254.

368 Christopher MARLOWE (1564–1593), *Dr. Faustus*, c. 1588, verses 102–105.

We have in this novel the parallel of a chaste love, similar to the one Goethe himself had been feeling at the age of twenty (»Ernstere, unschuldige aber schmerzliche Jugendempfindungen drängen sich auf, werden betrachtet und ausgesprochen«<sup>369</sup>) and to the one he described also in »Wahlverwandtschaften«. Stendhal, at this point, is forty-five and there is also the fact that in »Armance« there is the prohibitive physical condition of Octave (perhaps, even if only temporarily experienced by the author too).

On the other hand, Armance herself resembles Ottilie, and that perhaps even more than is going to be the case of Stendhal's later heroines.

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In 1828 the re-edition of Stapfer's translation of »Faust I« (first published, as mentioned above, in 1823)<sup>370</sup> appears in Paris, now adorned by lithographs after designs executed by Delacroix, while, in the same year, another translation, the one by Gérard de Nerval, is also published<sup>371</sup>.

Next year a copy of the illustrated edition is being sent to Goethe. – However two years earlier, on November 29 1826, somebody has brought him a few (two?) preliminary sheets of the illustrations. Of these Goethe said: »Da muss man doch gestehen, [...], dass man es sich selbst nicht so vollkommen gedacht hat«<sup>372</sup>.

It is possible, even if not ascertainable that Stendhal would have read one of these translations<sup>373</sup>. Goethe – as said above – did not consider the French translations very exact. He even found in them some ridiculous mistakes. According to Forster he found the translators ignorant of the German language<sup>374</sup>. This makes us reflect. Gérard de Nerval's translation is somewhat an exception. To this translator Goethe wrote a letter about this matter: »Je ne me suis jamais si bien compris qu'en vous lisant«<sup>375</sup>. And yet Gross thinks that the reason why Goethe gave so much praise to this translation, was his gratitude for having the ground prepared in France. For this reason he would have overlooked the translation's deficiencies. Even so it is the best early translation, after the ones of Saint-Aulaire and of Stapfer<sup>376</sup>.

It also is possible that Stendhal would have seen »Faust I« in 1828 or 1829,

369 Weimar, ser. 1, v. 35, Tag- und Jahreshefte, 1749–1806. Bekenntnisse. Von 1764 [really 1765] bis 1769. Aufenthalt in Leipzig [...], v. 1, pp. 3–4.

370 See n. 60.

371 Eugène Delacroix (1798–1863). – Gérard Labrunie, called Gérard de Nerval (1808–1855).

372 ECKERMANN, Gespräche, 1923 (see n. 79), p. 146, November 29 1826. – Hans HENNING, »Faust« in der Malerei, Weimar 1969, p. 10, p. 21, p. 28, no. 13, plate 10, p. 29, no. 20, plate 12, nos. 28, 39, p. 32, nos. 95, 100.

373 Faust, Œuvres dramatiques de J. W. GOETHE, trad. Frédéric-Albert-Alexandre STAFFER, v. 4, Paris 1828. – [Goethe] Gérard [Labrunie dit de Nerval], Faust, [...], Paris 1828. See for both BALDENSPERGER, Bibliographie (see n. 14), p. 91, nos. 761, 764.

374 Goethes Gespräche, v. 23 (see n. 71) of Goethe, Werke, Gedenkausgabe [...] 1949, 1964, pp. 589–591. Notation of the historian and journalist Friedrich Christoph Forster (1791–1868), May 1829.

375 GROSS (see n. 357), pp. 7, 24.

376 Leo G. SERA, Stendhal, in: Die Zukunft 66 (1909) p. 343: »Stendhal [ist...] der Mann, der [...] die [...] wissensdurstige Seele Fausts verkörperte.« – Jean PRÉVOST, Les Epicuriens français. Trois vies exemplaires, 3d ed. Le chemin de Stendhal, Paris 1931, p. 139: »Faust [...] offre plus de grandeur et de majesté que de charme. Alors vient l'heure de Stendhal.«

performed at that time, in the »Théâtre de la Porte St. Martin«, while he was in Paris<sup>377</sup>.

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We are in 1828. Stendhal writes »Promenades dans Rome«, which is going to be published in September of next year.

When (dated from January 27), he writes in it about the »[...] considérations, [...], sur les mœurs des Romains de la basse classe«, about the large number of murders which often establish the criminal's reputation on the pity which the people of Rome reserve to the assassin, and not to the victim, he used an idea previously expressed by Goethe<sup>378</sup>.

Dated from April 30, we find following footnote: »[...] personne ne veut être ridicule, pas même Werther«<sup>379</sup>. It is said after advising to pay full attention to your interlocutor, otherwise he will feel scorn for you.

In this period he is deeply depressed. He had to leave Milan on January 1st, within twelve hours. He is short of money. He has suicidal crises. He has again become Werther. His state of mind is reflected in his work. This might explain the repetition of certain reproofs against Goethe, repeating, on June 26, more or less what he had written on May 20 1826, two years earlier:

»Les Allemands se sont dit: Les Anglais vantent leur Shakespeare, les Français, leur Voltaire ou leur Racine, et nous, nous n'aurions personne! C'est à la suite de cette observation que Goethe a été proclamé grand homme. Qu'a fait cependant cet homme de talent? »Werther«. Car le »Faust« de Marlowe qui fait apparaître l'Hélène (de l'Iliade) vaut mieux que le sien«<sup>380</sup>. It is obvious: Stendhal did not arrive to »Faust II«, which contains Helena, and which, besides, would not even have interested him<sup>381</sup>.

Here we have to deal with a note. It has been believed to be taken by the author himself, some time later, in one copy of »Promenades«. It is the copy Serge André, in the Municipal Library of Grenoble (vol. 2, p. 120). The note was later incorporated into the edition Lévy of 1853 of »Promenades«. It reads as follows: »C'est un peu fort! rarement un étranger peut sentir tout le prix du Faust de Goethe. Et d'ailleurs il est absurde de citer seulement son Faust et son Werther. Ne connaissez-vous donc pas son Tasso son Goetz, son Egmont? Au reste, l'Allemagne oppose aux grands auteurs de la France et de l'Angleterre plusieurs grands esprits que l'auteur paraît ne pas connaître.« In »Promenades« v. 2 the editor still considers the note autographical and says: »Stendhal s'est ravisé«<sup>382</sup>. However in the 1982 German translation of

377 »[...] une féerie à grand orchestre.« See LOISEAU, Goethe en France (see n. 358), p. 157.

378 STENDHAL, Promenades dans Rome (hereafter cited as Promenades) v. 6 of Œuvres, ed. Armand CARACCIO, introd. Henri de REIGNIER, n. d., v. 1, p. LVII, also n. 1. – Promenades, v. 7 of Œuvres, ed. Armand CARACCIO n. d., v. 2, p. 24.

379 Promenades, v. 2 (see n. 378), p. 117.

380 Ibid. pp. 248–249.

381 When HENRIOT (see n. 214) (p. 180) quotes part of this Stendhalian text, he also says that Stendhal considered Goethe »affecté«, which judgement could not be certified. – On March 14 1830 Goethe is going to say to Soret: »Ich habe in meiner Poesie nie affectirt.« See ECKERMANN, Gespräche, 1923 (see n. 79), p. 583.

382 Promenades, v. 2 (see n. 378) p. 444n.

»Promenades«, we find the note qualified »von fremder Hand« and this must be the truth<sup>383</sup>.

Follows one more Faustian thought, dated November 21, while dealing with the history of Rome: »[...] Gerbert, [...] devint pape sous le nom de Sylvestre II [...] plus heureux que Faust, avant de mourir, il se repentit de s'être donné au diable«<sup>384</sup>.

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On November 18 of this year we get a sudden glimpse of what Goethe must have thought of »The Edinburgh Review«, in the 1810s<sup>385</sup>. He says of a present number of said periodical: »Von der früheren Pedanterie ist keine Spur mehr, und grosse Eigenschaften sind an deren Stelle getreten«<sup>386</sup>.

Here, once more, we have to stay in Weimar. (See Illustr. 6, p. 510). We write 1829.

The sculptor David d'Angers<sup>387</sup> has arrived from Paris<sup>388</sup>, in order to execute the bust, or rather the gigantic head in the round, as well as a profile bas-relief, of the great, now indeed old German<sup>389</sup>. (He is eighty.)

According to a note of Goethe to his daughter-in-law, of August 24, he lends himself unwillingly to these sittings, after so many by now, considering them a nuisance, but he feels he has to submit himself to it, perhaps because of the sculptor's fame and because of the important people who had given David letters of recommendation<sup>390</sup>. – The artist will stay in Weimar from August 23 to September 9th<sup>391</sup>.

He has brought along a box of gifts: plaster casts of his medals of famous Frenchmen (the sources do not mention Stendhal's portrait)<sup>392</sup> and some new French publications. The Stendhal medal which Goethe is going to possess and which is to be found in the Goethe-house of Weimar, is dated 1829. It dates from a month earlier than David's journey, thus he must have taken it along, and not sent it afterwards, among many other similar works, in 1830<sup>393</sup>. Its original in bronze is in the Louvre, while one of its copies is on Beyle's grave-stone in the Père Lachaise cemetery of Paris. Enlarged by Rodin, it is to be found on the Stendhal monument, in the Luxembourg garden in Paris.

The artist starts to work and, one day, the famous model supposedly tells him: »Je m'applaudis d'avoir écrit mes »Mémoires«, puisqu'ils ont été de quelque secours à

383 STENDHAL, *Wanderungen in Rom*, ed. and trans. Bernhard FRANK, on the basis of Friedrich von OPPELN-BRONIKOWSKI and Ernst DIEZ, in: *Werke*, Berlin 1982, p. 804.

384 *Promenades*, v. 8 of *Œuvres*, ed. Armand CARACCIO n.d., v. 3 (see n. 378), p. 127–128.

385 He has mentioned it as early as January 1st 1819. See *Weimar*, ser. 3, v. 7, 1819–1820, 1895 (see n. 194), p. 1.

386 ECKERMANN, *Gespräche*, 1923 (see n. 79), p. 238.

387 Pierre-Jean David d'Angers (1788–1856).

388 *Weimar*, ser. 3, v. 12, 1829–1830, 1901 (see n. 194), pp. 116–124.

389 The Goethe-bust is illustrated in Henri CLASSENS, *David d'Angers*, in: *L'Art et les Artistes* 23, yr. 26, no. 122 (December 1931) p. 77. It is to be seen in the Goethe-house of Weimar.

390 *Weimar*, ser. 4, v. 46, July 1829 – March 1830, 1908 (see n. 196), p. 61, no. 64.

391 Not more than a month, as says Gaston VARENNE, *Goethe et David d'Angers*, in: *Mélanges Henri Lichtenberger hommage de ses élèves et ses amis*, Juin 1934. *Goethe et son temps*. Paris 1934, p. 81.

392 E. G. VARENNE (see n. 391), p. 82 ff.

393 REMAK (see n. 188), p. 222. – The medal of Stendhal is likewise illustrated in CLASSENS (see n. 389), p. 73.

M. Beyle qui a daigné s'emparer de plusieurs traits que j'avais racontés et qu'il a reproduit comme s'ils étaient son œuvre<sup>394</sup>.

As in the instance of 1818, let us see some different epithets used, while explaining this Goethean saying, by different commentators, again in chronological order.

»[...] liebevoll, wie es im Alter seine Gewohnheit war<sup>395</sup>, »mit leiser Ironie<sup>396</sup>, »[Goethe] avait déjà pardonné<sup>397</sup>, »petite rancune humoristique<sup>398</sup>, »Goethe's memory proved inexorable [eleven years have indeed passed], [...], yet we sense more sly pride than touchiness in his comment<sup>399</sup>.

It is in this period that Goethe mentions once more »The Edinburgh Review<sup>400</sup>. He probably read the volume of 1816 and, if he did, what did he think of the review dealing with his »Aus meinem Leben«? We have just seen that, in 1828, he found the early numbers pedantic, which, knowing the content of the first Goethe review, seems an understatement. And yet, similarly to Stendhal, he has now nothing but praise for the periodical. This is characteristic of him. Not without interest however is also his absolute silence, when discovering Stendhal's by no means free use of the English text, dealing with those certain Goethean episodes<sup>401</sup>.

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There exists a letter to Stendhal from January 7 1830<sup>402</sup>, written to Paris by Custine<sup>403</sup>, which, while strongly oversimplifying the situation, helps us to create a

394 Henri JOUIN, *David d'Angers, sa vie, son œuvre, ses écrits et ses contemporains*, Paris 1878, v. 1, p. 225. – *Goethes Gespräche (1829–1830)*, ed. Woldemar Freiherr von BIEDERMANN, Leipzig 1890, v. 7, p. 124. – SIMON (see n. 192), p. 5. The text only changed »comme s'ils avaient été [...]«. – LOISEAU, *Goethe et la France* (see n. 213), p. 170. – Beginning here we find the text changed. The one who seems to have modified it is Léon CERF, *Souvenirs de David d'Angers sur ses contemporains, extraits de ses carnets de notes autographes. Documents et témoignages*, Paris 1929, p. 34: »Je me suis applaudi d'avoir écrit mes Mémoires puisqu'ils ont été utiles à M. Beyle, qui a daigné prendre quelques histoires racontées par moi, comme si elles venaient de lui.« From here on all quote it thus. – H[ENRI] M[ARTINEAU], *Stendhal vu par ses contemporains*, in: *Le Divan* 18, yr. 22, no. 155–164 (February 1930), *Chroniques. Petites notes stendhaliennes*. Reprint Nendeln, Liechtenstein, 1968, pp. 82–83. – Jacques LEVRON, *Goethe et David d'Angers*, in: *Revue Bleue* 76 (1938) p. 327. – Jean THÉODORIDÈS, *David d'Angers, Goethe et Stendhal (?)*, in: *Stendhal Club* 4, no. 15 (April 15 1962), *Carnet des lecteurs*, p. 290. – Francis-L. MARS, *David d'Angers, Goethe et Stendhal (?)*, in: *Stendhal Club* 5, no. 17 (October 15 1962) pp. 47–48. According to Mars the first version is the right one, while the one of Cerf is less »olympienne«. One should also consider that the earlier dates make their text seem more authentic.

395 SCHIRMER (see n. 21), p. 161.

396 Paul von BOJANOWSKI, *David d'Angers in Weimar und seine Kolossalbüste Goethes*, in: *Deutsche Rundschau* 170 (January–March 1917), p. 61.

397 Charles ANDLER, *Quelques lectures françaises de Goethe*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Goethe 1749–1832. Exposition organisée pour commémorer le centenaire de la mort de Goethe, N.p., but Paris 1932, p. 214.

398 BALDENSPERGER, *Le dossier stendhalien* (see n. 174), p. 342.

399 REMAK (see n. 188), p. 222.

400 See above n. 385.

401 See above p. 521, study of this author, still in manuscript.

402 MARTINEAU, ed., *Cent-soixante-quatorze Lettres à Stendhal (1810–1842)*, Paris 1947, v. 1, p. 190.

403 Astolphe marquis de Custine (1790–1857).

picture of the addressee's sentiments toward Goethe. We find the following in it: »Goethe que vous n'aimez pas.« This way his friends kept him in evidence.

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At this point starts Stendhal's literary ascent, even if not immediately evident to all. It is the moment of the publication of »Le Rouge et le Noir, Chronique du XIX<sup>e</sup> Siècle«, written the preceding year and issued on November 13.

Looking at this novel, solely from the point of view of Goethe's influence, we find what is a well-known fact, that the young Julien Sorel does not read »Werther«, but the »Memorial of Saint Helena« of Napoleon. Melancholy is substituted by the desire for action. No, Julien is not a Werther<sup>404</sup>. – Naumann however seems to see a relation with »Werther« and thinks that even the contemporary critiques had found some such relations, although Werther is not mentioned in the novel<sup>405</sup>. And indeed there is one aspect connecting the two works. It is the social difference between the hero and his environment.

Count von C\*\*\* says to Werther: »Sie wissen, [...], unsere wunderbaren Verhältnisse; die Gesellschaft ist unzufrieden, [...], Sie hier zu sehen«<sup>406</sup>. In French: »Vous connaissez, [...], notre bizarre étiquette; la société [...], ne vous voit point ici avec plaisir«<sup>407</sup>.

And Julien »n'éprouvait que haine et horreur pour la haute société où il était admis, à la vérité au bas bout de la table, ce qui explique peut-être la haine et l'horreur«<sup>408</sup>.

We find »Wilhelm Meister« as an influence in so far as »Le Rouge« is a novel of »years of apprenticeship«.

As mentioned above, it is possible that Stendhal would, in the meantime, have read or seen »Faust I«. It might be for this reason that Julien, once, comparing his »triste habit noir« to those of the officers: »Eh bien! se dit-il en riant comme Méphistophélès, j'ai plus d'esprit qu'eux; je sais choisir l'uniforme de mon siècle«<sup>409</sup>.

Later, before his execution again, »il se mit à rire comme Méphistophélès«<sup>410</sup>.

However, beyond these more or less superficial Goethean elements, there certainly is the strong influence of »Wahlverwandtschaften«, an influence to which only an »avant-garde« writer like the Grenoblese could have been subject.

He has given to his chapter 7 of book 1 the title »Les Affinités électives«<sup>411</sup>. It deals with the birth of the love between Mme. de Rênal and Julien, in a deeply psychological manner.

Toward the end of the novel, at head of chapter 40<sup>412</sup> (of book 2), entitled »La

404 BALDENSPERGER, Goethe en France (see n. 83), p. 88.

405 NAUMANN (see n. 93), p. 242.

406 Weimar, ser. 1, v. 19, pt. 2 (see n. 23), pp. 102–103, March 15.

407 GOETHE–SEVELINGES, Werther (see n. 18), p. 150.

408 STENDHAL, Le Rouge et le Noir (hereafter cited as Le Rouge) v. 1 of Œuvres, ed. Jules MARSAN, n. d., v. 1, chap. 7, p. 61.

409 Le Rouge, v. 2, v. 2 of Œuvres, ed. Jules MARSAN, n. d., chap. 13 (see n. 408), p. 167.

410 Ibid., v. 2, chap. 44 (see n. 408), p. 473.

411 Ibid., v. 1, chap. 7 (see n. 408), p. 61.

412 BALDENSPERGER (Bibliographie [see n. 14], p. 156, no. 1244) calls it chap. 70, which does not exist.

Tranquillité<sup>413</sup>, the author put an epigraph signed »Mme. Goethe<sup>848</sup>«<sup>414</sup>. It goes like this: »C'est parce que alors j'étais fou qu'aujourd'hui je suis sage. O philosophe qui ne vois rien que l'instantané, que tes vues sont courtes! Ton œil n'est pas fait pour suivre le travail souterrain des passions.« This can be considered a preferred subject matter of Stendhal; also perhaps aptoved by Goethe. But could have Stendhal known this latter fact? – The chapter deals with Julien's reactions, which are contrary to the attempts to save his life and with Mme. de Rênal's letter to the jury-men to serve that purpose. It is believed that this epigraph was also invented by Stendhal, like Otilie's letter in »Vie de Haydn«.

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Here follows chronologically the third and last visit to Weimar of young Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy. It takes place between May 21 and June 3. – What the musician has noted to have issued forth from the aged writer's mouth is the following: »Nun kam er [...], auf den Engländer Stendal [sic] [...] zu sprechen »Mr. Stendal ist ein mittlerer Geist, hat Verstand und hat auch was gelernt, aber das Beste, Erste fehlt ihm [...]«<sup>415</sup>. We have to think that Mendelssohn had misunderstood his old friend's saying. Some believe that Goethe was talking about the novel of Kératry: »Frédéric Styndall ou la fatale Année« (Paris 1827), which, according to its author, would have been written as French parallel to »Wilhelm Meister«<sup>416</sup>. From there would come »hat [...] was gelernt«. But then why would he have called the author (the book) English<sup>417</sup>? This novel does not figure today among the books in Goethe's library. He had borrowed another work by the same author: »Annuaire de l'Ecole française de Peinture ou lettres sur le Salon de 1819« (Paris 1820) from the Weimar library between March 8 and April 10 1820<sup>418</sup>.

Goethe's judgement reproduced by Mendelssohn is going to be strongly contradicted by the one the former will emit soon on »Le Rouge«<sup>419</sup>. But, without anticipating, it suffices to think of his completely contradictory opinion, back in 1818 on »Rome, Naples et Florence en 1817«. It is inconcievable that Goethe would have said of Beyle what young Mendelssohn was thinking the old man had said.

Previous to the publication of »Le Rouge« we find, dated from May 29, in the notes of chancellor Müller, exactly during the visit of Mendelssohn in Weimar, a

413 *Le Rouge*, v. 2, chap. 40 (see n. 408), p. 425.

414 According to KATAOKA (see n. 4) (p. 10) Martineau's opinion would have been that »Mme.« was a printing mistake, instead of »W«. The later editions have »W«. The meaning of the number »848« seems unclear.

415 Karl MENDELSSOHN-BARTHOLDY, *Goethe und Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy*, Leipzig 1871, p. 37. The work is based on the letters of the author's father, Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy (1809–1847). This event probably took place on June 1st. Certainly not on July 1st, as says SÉNÉCHAL (see n. 53), p. 81, n. 1.

416 Augustin Hilarion comte de Kératry (1769–1859).

417 REMAK (see n. 188), pp. 223–224. Prior to this author it was believed that Goethe would have been talking of Beyle. BERKHOLZ (see n. 82) (p. 34), BALDENSPERGER (*Le dossier stendhalien* [see n. 174], pp. 342–343), and Bertram BARNES (*Goethe's knowledge of French literature*, Oxford 1937, p. 125) still believed it.

418 Elise von KEUDELL, ed., *Goethe als Benutzer der Weimarer Bibliothek [...]*, Weimar 1931, p. 214, no. 1336.

419 Cf. with p. 47 below.

laconic, but important note: »Msr. de Stendahl-Belley [sic]«<sup>420</sup>. It would be interesting to know what Goethe had told Müller at that point, or what work by Beyle the poet would have been reading at the time.

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Goethe procures (or receives) later »Le Rouge et le Noir«. He reads at home the entire first book, between December 15 and 19. The first days it is his daughter-in-law who reads it to him. He finishes the second book the night of the 21<sup>421</sup>.

On the afternoon of January 1st 1831, chancellor Müller pays him a visit and notes down<sup>422</sup>: »Über rouge und noir von Stendal [sic] [Paris 1831] war sein Urteil meist günstig«<sup>423</sup>.

But Goethe is going to talk of this novel in more detail to Soret, who will take note of it on the 17th of the same January: »Nous avons ensuite parlé du »Rouge et du Noir«<sup>424</sup>. Goethe l'estime comme étant le meilleur ouvrage de Stendhal. [What else could he have possibly read, in addition to »Rome, Naples et Florence en 1817« and »Racine et Shakespeare«?] Il trouve cependant quelques caractères de femmes (Mathilde, par exemple) par trop extraordinaires, mais ils sont frappants et tous renferment de grandes preuves d'observation psychologique aussi justes que profondes; elles font pardonner bien des extravagances ou improbabilités dans les détails«<sup>425</sup>.

This opinion – it has to be repeated – invalidates Mendelssohn's letter, concerning Beyle. It is also probably the first and fairest critique of the novel in question. One would be curious to know whether Goethe, while reading »Le Rouge«, had noted the new elements to be found in it, i. e. the political, social and religious ones<sup>426</sup>. They are all absent from »Wahlverwandtschaften« which only could and did teach him psychology. We have seen the social elements appearing as early as in »Werther«. However all three had been present in Stendhal's work, as early as »Rome, Naples et Florence en 1817«.

Following this, Goethe lived only fourteen more months. He died on March 22 1832.

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420 MÜLLER (see n. 70), p. 190.

421 Weimar, ser. 3, v. 12 (see n. 194), pp. 344–347. – Gourmont pretends that Goethe would have talked of Le Rouge to Eckermann, but this is not the case. See GOURMONT, *Chronique Stendhalienne*, 1907 (see n. 171), p. 18. We will see here below that he was talking of it to Müller and mainly to Soret.

422 MÜLLER (see n. 70), p. 198.

423 According to SCHIRMER (see n. 21) (p. 162), in the first edition of Müller's book, the name would have been spelled »Steudel«. This would be a pardonable mistake, as Beyle was not well known in Germany at that time. We have seen above how Müller had misspelled »Beyle« on May 29 1830.

424 Soret (see n. 315), p. 128. – Stryjenski thinks it was said to Eckermann. See Casimir STRYJENSKI, *Lettres de Mérimée à Stendhal*, in: *Revue de Paris* (July–August 1898), p. 414.

425 The word »extraordinaire« used by Soret has been translated in German »romantisch«. STRICH (see n. 155) (p. 262) thinks of this version, when he comments it thus: »zu romantisch, was immerhin bei Goethes sonstigem Urteil über Auswüchse der französischen Ultraromantik eine sehr milde Bemerkung war.«

426 See BALDENSPERGER, *Le dossier stendhalien* (see n. 174), p. 342, and REMAK (see n. 188), p. 228.



The last period of Beyle's life, the consular period, begins in 1831.

The influence of the German master, even if defunct, does not disappear, it just becomes more vague, more general and the single instances diminish and become more spaced.

Between Civitavecchia, his consular seat, and Rome, which he often visits, his unfinished novel, »Lucien Leuwen« is being born (1834–35), this one too a novel of »years of apprenticeship«.

»Werther« as such, is absent, as to any sentimental reference. The only time he mentions it, he does it erroneously. He writes: »Vous souvenez-vous du fil rouge que l'on trouve au centre de tous les cordages, gros ou petits, appartenant à la marine royale d'Angleterre, ou plutôt vous souvenez-vous de »Werther«, je crois, où j'ai lu cette chose?« He writes »Werther«, je crois, but, as we know, he would have had to write »Wahlverwandtschaften«<sup>427</sup>.

On the other hand he mentions twice the Faustian tempter. Once Lucien asks: »Si j'allais à Nancy me jeter à ses pieds? [...]. Et lui demander pardon de ce qu'elle m'a fait cocu«, ajoutait le parti Méphistophélès en ricanant«<sup>428</sup>.

A second time Lucien says: »[...] le Méphistophélès que j'ai en moi triomphe de la partie agissante«<sup>429</sup>.

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In the »Chroniques italiennes« (1833–39), here and there, we find musical explanations, similar to those in »Wilhelm Meister«<sup>430</sup>.

\*

Between January and April 8 1836, Beyle writes, without finishing it, the autobiographical »Vie de Henry Brulard«, that he began perhaps on November 23 of the previous year, but possibly even three years earlier. Here we read: »[...] disposition d'âme [...] comme le peuple de Milan est en 1835; les autorités allemandes et abhorrées veulent lui faire goûter Schiller dont la belle âme, si différente de celle du plat Goethe, serait bien choquée de voir de tels apôtres à sa gloire«<sup>431</sup>.

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From April to June 1837, in Paris, where he came on leave (which he will extend to three years), he writes the novel »Le Rose et le Vert«, this one unfinished too. Here we find a German general. First the author makes him talk of the »société française«, members of which »ont bien osé faire une bouffonnerie du sublime roman de »Werther«, le chef-d'œuvre allemand du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle«<sup>432</sup>.

427 Lucien Leuwen, v. 11 of Œuvres, ed. Henry DEBRAYE, n. d., v. 3 (see n. 205), pp. 155, 373n. See above p. 511.

428 Ibid., v. 3 (see n. 205), p. 147.

429 Ibid., v. 3 (see n. 205), p. 288.

430 ARNAUTOVIC (see n. 12), p. 98.

431 STENDHAL, Vie de Henry Brulard, v. 22 of Œuvres, ed. Victor DEL LITTO, 1968, v. 2, pp. 28–29. January 1st 1836.

432 STENDHAL, Le Rose et le Vert, in: Romans et Nouvelles, v. 38 of Œuvres, ed. Ernest ABRAVANEL, p. 219.

After this: »Le général donnait mille preuves de ce manque du sixième sens, comme l'appelle le divin Goethe, chez les Français«<sup>433</sup>.

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In a letter of January 20 1838, written from Paris to the same city to a friend, the poet G. C., we read: »Goethe a donné le diable pour ami au docteur Faust, et, avec un si puissant auxiliaire, Faust fait tout ce que nous avons tous fait à vingt ans, il séduit une modiste«<sup>434</sup>.

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This same year Stendhal has published the first volume of »Mémoires d'un touriste«. From March to July he travels in the South of France (and abroad), the result of which is going to be the second volume of these »Mémoires«, entitled »Voyage dans le Midi«. In this work, dated from Toulouse, March 27, we read<sup>435</sup>: »J'échange quelques mots avec un pauvre jeune homme pâle, mais de la plus belle figure (beauté de Craven<sup>436</sup>, il ressemble à la tête de Werther [...]).« The author has not forgotten the frontispiece of Sevelinges' translation, representing the imaginary portrait of Werther, mentioned above.

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La »Chartreuse de Parme« is being written from November 4 to December 26. It tells Fabrice del Dongo's »years of apprenticeship«. It is being published in April 1839.

Arnautovic<sup>437</sup> has pointed out the relationship on the one hand, between the description of the actors' life and the technique of reciting in »Wilhelm Meister«<sup>438</sup> and on the other hand, the way Stendhal talks about it in the »Chartreuse«<sup>439</sup>, and in his diary, which partly contains his theatrical critiques<sup>440</sup>. Beyle praises the German and English declamation, while he blames the French one, considering it exaggerated. It might even be that the relationship between Wilhelm Meister and the actress Mariane<sup>441</sup> made Beyle think of his authentic juvenile adventure with Louason<sup>442</sup>. – However here Goethe's theatrical critiques proper have to be mentioned too, notably »Englische Schauspieler in Paris«, where he deals with the difference between German and French Shakespeare criticism<sup>443</sup>.

433 Ibid., p. 220.

434 Correspondence, v. 3 (see n. 16), p. 255, no. 1612.

435 STENDHAL, Mémoires d'un touriste, v. 3, v. 17 of Œuvres, in this vol. Voyage dans le Midi, ed. Louis ROYER, 1968, p. 54.

436 Lord Richard Keppel Craven, English literary man (1779–1851).

437 ARNAUTOVIC (see n. 12), pp. 98–99.

438 Weimar, ser. 1, v. 21–22 (see n. 103), passim, in bks. 1–5.

439 La Chartreuse de Parme, v. 24 of Œuvres, ed. Ernest ABRAVANEL, 1969, v. 1, chap. 8, pp. 268–271.

440 E.g. Journal littéraire, v. 3, Du Romantisme dans les Beaux-Arts, p. 144 ff., chap. 4, Del bello nella declamazione, Italian text (see n. 37) pp. 157–158, April 5 1819.

441 Weimar, ser. 1, v. 21 (see n. 103), bk. 1, chap. 1, p. 3 ff.

442 ARNAUTOVIC (see n. 12), p. 99.

443 Instead of quoting, as usual, the articles on the basis of the Weimar edition, they are being cited here in another edition, i. e. in: Aufsätze über bildende Kunst und Theater, v. 30 of Goethes Werke, ed. Alfred Gothold MEYER and Georg WITKOWSKI, Stuttgart 1895, Aufsätze über Theater, pp. 665–813,

On another plane and, more important: Otilie of »Wahlverwandtschaften« becomes Clelia Conti, at least to a certain point.

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According to Baldensperger, Stendhal wrote »Marguerite [...] fait pâmer les belles dames du faubourg Saint-Germain«<sup>444</sup>. It is true, he did write it, even if not of Goethe's Margaret<sup>445</sup>. He meant a painting by Ary Scheffer, exhibited at the »Salon« of 1839<sup>446</sup>.

\*

After the »Chartreuse« Stendhal writes, still in 1839, without finishing it, the short story »Féder«.

A surprising, we could say »Stendhalian« thing happens in it: The hero, Féder, disguises himself virtually, cynically as Werther<sup>447</sup>. He intends to amuse himself a little »en jouant et en chargeant« his »rôle de Werther désespéré«<sup>448</sup>. Later: »Il n'en joua qu'avec plus de verve son rôle de Werther désespéré«<sup>449</sup>. And again: »[...] ce défaut lui donnait un air de bonté, et [...] un air de possibilité de passion qui ne parut point à dédaigner au jeune Werther«<sup>450</sup>. But the thing finishes in an unexpected way. Time passed and »[...] il ne songea plus à jouer son rôle de Werther«<sup>451</sup>. »Dans cette manœuvre, il oublia son rôle de Werther«<sup>452</sup>.

Thus Féder did not succeed in being de-Wertherized. The question is whether the author himself was ever more successful in this endeavour.

\*

We now arrive to the last year which interests us, to 1840. He has returned to Civitavecchia on August 10.

In August a work, entitled »Idées italiennes« is being published<sup>453</sup>. Its author is Abraham Constantin<sup>454</sup>. He is from Geneva and a painter on enamel and on china. He is also a friend of Stendhal. Quite some of the text has been contributed by the latter, partly taken from his »Histoire«. Probably from his pen will have issued the following: »[...] sa physionomie [Raphael's self-portrait] est le contraire de la fatuité

where all the works on this topic are to be found together. This author owes not only the information, but the book itself to the generosity of Dr. Hans Henning, mentioned at head of this study. – The mentioned article is on pp. 804–806.

444 BALDENSPERGER, Goethe en France (see n. 83), p. 139.

445 Correspondence, v. 3 (see n. 16), p. 275, no. 1631, March 21 1839, to Mrs. Jules Gauthier, née de La Bergerie. See above n. 78 and corresponding text on p. 501.

446 Ary Scheffer (1795–1858).

447 STENDHAL, Féder ou le mari d'argent (hereafter cited as Féder), in: Romans et Nouvelles, p. 477.

448 Ibid., p. 477. In a variant (p. 477n) he had written: »je veux jouer et encore en caricature mon rôle de Werther.«

449 Ibid., p. 478.

450 Ibid., p. 479.

451 Ibid., p. 480.

452 Ibid., pp. 483–484. Quotation not found in any previous source.

453 Abraham CONSTANTIN, Idées italiennes, Paris 1931.

454 Abraham Constantin (1785–1855).

française, ou la sensiblerie des Allemands, qui dans leurs copies et gravures en font un Werther bonace«<sup>455</sup>.

Returning to Paris on November 8 1841, he dies there on March 23 1842, ten years and one day after Goethe.

\*

Now if we want to compare and confront our two authors, we see that they had several mutual interests, among others Italy, Shakespeare, Mozart, Napoleon, women (»das ewig Weibliche«). We also find a mutual lack of interest on the field of patriotism.

We should first listen to both of them, speaking of their own life. Goethe, on January 27 1824: »[...] ich kann wohl sagen, dass ich in meinen fünf und siebenzig Jahren keine vier Wochen eigentlich Behagen gehabt«<sup>456</sup>. – And Stendhal in 1827: »Ma vie se remplissait [...], non pas de choses agréables mais enfin de choses quelconques qui s'interposaient entre moi et le dernier bonheur [...]«<sup>457</sup>. There is nothing amazing in this parallel. We are dealing with two superior men.

A less known self-judgement than Stendhal's »To the happy few« is what Goethe said to Eckermann, on October 11 1828: »Meine Sachen können nicht popular werden; [...]. Sie sind nicht für die Masse geschrieben, sondern nur für einzelne Menschen, [...]«<sup>458</sup>.

Also: when they both are searching for their identity, at a certain moment, Goethe describes it like this to Eckermann, on April 10 1829: »Von sich selber weiss er [der Mensch] bloss wenn er geniesst oder leidet, [...]«<sup>459</sup>.

Stendhal »empfindet [...] nur dank der feurigen Durchmischung von Geist und Blut die sinnvolle Schönheit der Welt«<sup>460</sup>.

\*

If we now look at some of what has been said through the ages in this respect of confronting and comparing, we find the following views in a chronological order.

»[...] eine Verletzlichkeit des Herzens sich zu schützen, wo nicht zu verbergen weiss jenes olympische Wesen Goethes, der Verse über seine Leiden machte, um sie loszuwerden, in gleichen Stendhal, [...]«<sup>461</sup>, even if Stendhal did not write in verse.

»Bei allen tieferen und umfänglicheren Menschen dieses Jahrhunderts war es die eigentliche Gesamt-Richtung in der geheimnisvollen Arbeit ihrer Seele, den Weg

455 *Mélanges*, v. 3 (see n. 261), p. 144.

456 ECKERMANN, *Gespräche*, 1923 (see n. 79), pp. 65–66.

457 Quoted by BONCOMPAIN and VERMALE (see n. 157), p. 198.

458 ECKERMANN, *Gespräche*, 1923 (see n. 79), p. 233. – Speaking of Goethe's writings, Carlyle quotes from an unnamed English critic: »This is the true Rest of man; the dim aim of every human soul, the full attainment of only a chosen few [...]« CARLYLE (see n. 119), p. 304.

459 ECKERMANN, *Gespräche*, 1923 (see n. 79), p. 285.

460 Stephan ZWEIG, *Drei Dichter ihres Lebens*, Leipzig 1928, p. 170. The author does not give his primary source, e.g. a quotation of Stendhal.

461 Friedrich NIETZSCHE, *Nachträge* [...], v. 19 of *Gesammelte Werke*, München 1926, p. 387. These are notes dating from 1885–1886. Nietzsche's saying was probably based on the following Goethean thought: »[...] dasjenige, was mich erfreute oder quälte, oder sonst beschäftigte, in ein Bild, ein Gedicht zu verwandeln und darüber mit mir abzuschliessen, [...]« See Weimar, ser. 1, v. 27, chap. 7, pp. 109–110.

zu jener neuen Synthesis vorzubereiten und versuchsweise den Europäer der Zukunft vorwegzunehmen: [...]. Ich denke an Menschen wie [...], Goethe, [...] Stendhal, [...]<sup>462</sup>.

»Unwillkürlich wird man durch Stendhal in Rom an Goethe in Rom erinnert. Freilich zu einem Kunstwerk konnte er seine Eindrücke nicht formen, er hat keine ›Italienische Reise‹ [...] schreiben können[?] [...]. Aber die Art, wie er in Rom lebte und wie er Rom sah, hat etwas Goethisches<sup>463</sup>.

»Goethe connaissait très bien Stendhal; [...]<sup>464</sup>.

»Ira-t-on découvrir dans Goethe l'un des premiers créateurs de l'égotisme, l'un des plus illustres théoriciens et praticiens de la culture du moi! Mais, prenez garde, vous le trahissez!<sup>465</sup>.

»[...] with the exception of Goethe and Byron, no writer of eminence in the last century enjoyed such a sentimental education as Stendhal [...]. Goethe relieved the pain of many partings by writing a poem or a play and seeking fresh faces. Stendhal did the same – substituting a novel or a study or innumerable letters for poems and plays.« As we can see, this was freely taken from the first Nietzsche quotation, even if completed<sup>466</sup>. It thus makes this author's complementary note to the same Nietzsche saying superfluous.

»[...] la ›culture du moi‹, c'est le fond même du goetheisme. [...] Maurice Barrès et d'autres [...] avaient pour s'aider à le comprendre, l'exemple d'un autre égotiste célèbre, d'un Français authentique, d'un Latin, de Stendhal [...]<sup>467</sup>.

»Sans le moindre effort, Stendhal est un Ancien. Et non pas un Romain, mais un Grec à Rome [...] je suis toujours plus frappé du Romain dans Goethe. L'antiquité de Goethe est romaine: [...] Plus il veut être Grec, et moins il l'est: [...]<sup>468</sup> Goethe et Stendhal sont les premiers européens depuis la fin du moyen âge [...]. Et combien notre Stendhal est plus libre, moins docteur, moins timoré, plus homme enfin [...]. Stendhal le premier, depuis Montaigne<sup>469</sup>, fut un Européen de France. Et le seul, avec Goethe, jusqu'ici l'a été<sup>470</sup>.

»[...] er [Stendhal] wusste kaum etwas von Goethe<sup>471</sup>.

»[...] Goethe rangeait Stendhal parmi les écrivains de cette ›littérature universelle‹, dont il fut le génial annonciateur<sup>472</sup>.

462 Friedrich NIETZSCHE, *Jenseits von Gut und Böse* [...], v. 15 of *Gesammelte Werke*, 1925, p. 217. First published 1886.

463 Eugen GUGLIA, *Franzosen in Rom*, in: *Cosmopolis* 11 (July–September 1898), p. 585.

464 LUMBROSO, *Stendhal e Napoleone* (see n. 206), p. 88, n. 1. Lumbroso marks this quotation: »(Casimir Stryienski)«. Previously (pp. 87–88) he has translated into French our above quotation of Guglia, without giving his source, or without using quotation-marks.

465 J. ERNEST-CHARLES, *L'influence française de Goethe*, review of *Goethe en France* by BALDENSPERGER, in: *Revue politique et littéraire, La vie littéraire*, ser. 5, v. 1, no. 1 (February 20 1904), p. 248.

466 James HUNEKER, *Egoists; a book of supermen* [...], New York 1909, chap. 1. A sentimental education: Henry Beyle-Stendhal, pp. 28, 30. – See above p. 551 and n. 461.

467 DUPOUY (see n. 5), pp. 228–229.

468 SUARÈS, *Portraits*, 8. D'après STENDHAL (see n. 189), pp. 199–200.

469 GUGLIA (see n. 463) (p. 583) has, previously to Suarès, compared Stendhal to Montaigne.

470 SUARÈS, *Portraits*, 18. Européen (see n. 189), pp. 269–272. This quotation starts after n. 468.

471 SCHIRMER (see n. 21), p. 161. Cf. above text on p. 522, corresponding with n. 464.

472 SÉNÉCHAL (see n. 53), p. 72.

»[...] il y avait des stendhaliens, longtemps même avant qu'on ne parlât de Stendhal-Club, témoin[s] Goethe, [...]«<sup>473</sup>.

»Ab Jove principium: le premier Allemand qui découvrit Stendhal [...] et le seul qui, avant Nietzsche, le pénétra et le comprit en homme d'esprit, fut Goethe«<sup>474</sup>.

»Stendhal est le premier grand Européen, depuis Montaigne. Et comme il fallait s'y attendre, c'est un Français [...]. Goethe est Européen, sans doute: mais son Europe est allemande«<sup>475</sup>.

»[Stendhal] schildert [...] Waterloo als ein unübersichtliches Durcheinander chaotischer Kräfte; er bekennt hemmungslos ein, dass er sich während des Russischen Feldzuges [...] grässlich gelangweilt habe [...], kümmert [...] sich nicht [...] um Patriotismen (>le ridicule le plus sot<) [...] ebenso wie Goethe in seinen Annalen an welthistorischen Tagen nur die Lektüre aus dem Chinesischen, so notiert Stendhal, sich selbst getreu, in den welterschütterndsten Stunden seines Zeitalters einzig seine privatesten Wichtigkeiten: [...]«<sup>476</sup>.

»Alles Panische, alles Titanische, alles Weltgefühlte erschreckt diesen nur Menschenmenschen [Stendhal] [...] jede gewitterhafte und dunkelsinnige Schönheit bleibt seinem klaren Sinn darum rettungslos verschlossen, [...] man erwarte sich nie von ihm eine so rundumschlossene Darstellung seiner Eigenwelt, wie etwa Goethe sie in >[Aus meinem Leben] Dichtung und Wahrheit< gegeben«<sup>477</sup>.

»Tritt selbst bei Goethe der [...] Zwiespalt zwischen zwei Trieben zutage: dem Trieb nach aussen tätig zu wirken und zu leben einerseits, und dem Trieb, die Welt nach innen aufzunehmen [expression often used by Goethe once later by Proust] und sie durch das Ich und das Ich durch sie zu klären andererseits – so wirkt sich in einer Natur wie Stendhal dieser Zwiespalt noch heftiger und gefährlicher aus [...]. Gleich wie Goethe [...] ein Herzog hätte sein können [this is also being said by an unnamed officer of the Prussian artillery in August 1792, otherwise not too appreciative of Goethe<sup>478</sup>], wenn er nicht an den Zwang zur Ich-Bildung gebunden gewesen wäre, so hätte Stendhal ein grosser Diplomat oder dergleichen werden können, wenn nicht sein Daimonion ihn gebieterisch auf sein einsames Ich und dessen Schauenskräfte verwiesen hätte«<sup>479</sup>.

»[...] soit choisi celui des deux écrivains [Goethe and Stendhal] [Goethe] qui domine de plan intellectuel et l'enveloppe dans une sorte de totalité«<sup>480</sup>.

»Winckelmann les aveugle à ce point et les égare [Goethe et Stendhal]. Stendhal lui-même a boîté de ce pied-là. Par bonheur, il a l'autre jambe hardie et légère: ce

473 HENRIOT (see n. 214), p. 2.

474 SIMON (see n. 192), p. 4.

475 André SUARÈS, *Voyage du Condottière. Vers Venise*, Paris 1927, v. 1, chap. 20, p. 153.

476 ZWEIG (see n. 460), pp. 181–182.

477 Ibid. (see n. 460), pp. 202, 219. And yet Zweig will mention below (p. 220), with appreciation, *Vie de Henry Brulard* (see n. 431).

478 *Goethes Gespräche* (see n. 71), v. 22 of Goethe, *Werke, Gedenkausgabe* [...] 1949, 1964, p. 199, no. 298.

479 Hans REISIGER, review of Stendhal, by Rudolf KAYSER, in: *Die Literatur. Das literarische Echo*, yr. 31, no. 7 (April 1929), p. 394. – See Marcel PROUST, *A la recherche du temps perdu*, v. 8. *Le côté de Guermantes*, v. 3, Paris 1920–1921, p. 200.

480 BALDENSBERGER, *Le dossier stendhalien* (see n. 174), p. 333.

qu'il refuse aux siècles chrétiens, il le rend en partie à l'énergie du Moyen Âge<sup>481</sup>. This opinion is somewhat unfair: Goethe did appreciate German Gothic, as well as Giotto, probably more than Stendhal did, while Stendhal did not care for Winckelmann.

»Goethe [...] war von Stendhal sehr gefesselt«<sup>482</sup>.

»[...] le bon sens avec profondeur de Goethe mais bon sens réaliste et précis, était parfois aux antipodes de l'espagnolisme toujours un peu chimérique de Stendhal«<sup>483</sup>.

Ils »figurent [...] deux formes de l'égotisme enraciné chez l'homme qui s'attache à découvrir un art de vivre«<sup>484</sup>.

»Goethe was too even, too philistine for him [Stendhal]«<sup>485</sup>.

»A la différence de Goethe, Stendhal n'a jamais acquis cette calme maîtrise du soi qui constitue la sagesse«<sup>486</sup>.

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Let us now see some criticism of Stendhal, as to his passing sentence upon Goethe:

»[Stendhal] kannte Goethe wenig und hat ein paar ungeheure Albernheiten über ihn gesagt«<sup>487</sup>.

»An [...] Goethe, [...] hat er sich durch schiefe und überhebende Urteile schwer versündigt«<sup>488</sup>.

»[...] die überaus abschätzigen und durch ihre Kindlichkeit entwaffnenden Urteile [Stendhals] gegen Goethe [...]«<sup>489</sup>.

»Goethes Grösse blieb ihm [Stendhal] verschlossen [...] eine Reihe literarischer Urteile, die neben den verständnisvollen, klugen Bemerkungen Goethes über Stendhal ein wenig beschämend in ihrer Dürftigkeit wirken«<sup>490</sup>.

Also: »Le besoin de s'exprimer par boutades et épigrammes, le désir de surprendre par des paradoxes, une tendance quasi naturelle à se singulariser et, surtout, un esprit critique toujours en éveil [qualities in which Stendhal is decidedly superior to Goethe] font que Beyle s'abat avec désinvolture sur le grand Johan [sic] Wolfgang Goethe<sup>491</sup> [...]« and later »les variations antigoethiennes de Stendhal [...] sont vraiment déconcertantes«<sup>492</sup>.

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Some closing examples follow here, in which their authors try to justify, or at least explain Stendhal's hostile attitude:

481 André SUARÈS, *Goethe le grand européen*, Paris 1932, chap. 75. *Goethe et l'Art*, p. 127.

482 STRICH (see n. 155), p. 262.

483 *Vie de Henry Brulard* v. 1 (see n. 226), p. 250.

484 KATAOKA (see n. 4), p. 125.

485 REMAK (see n. 188), p. 221.

486 IMBERT (see n. 74), p. 128.

487 GUGLIA (see n. 463), p. 585n. Also taken over in French by LUMBROSO (*Stendhal e Napoleone* [see n. 206], p. 88, n. 1), marking this too: »(Casimir STRYIENSKI)«.

488 Friedrich von OPPELN-BRONIKOWSKI, *Beyle-Stendhals Lebensroman*, Berlin 1923, p. 21. – NAUMANN (see n. 93) (p. 242) will not at all share this opinion.

489 STENDHAL-OPPELN-BRONIKOWSKI, *Reise in Italien* (see n. 190), pp. XVII–XVIII.

490 BERKHOLZ (see n. 82), p. 5.

491 ARNAUTOVIC (see n. 12), p. 85.

492 *Ibid.* (see n. 12), p. 90.

»[...] scheint [...] hervorzugehen, dass diesem von der Renaissance begeisterten Dichter [sic] [...] Goethes dichterische und schriftstellerische Art nicht heroisch genug, zu alltäglich, zu gewöhnlich war«<sup>493</sup>.

Opinions of the same category which sound somewhat forced, talking of Stendhal, are: »Souvent [le] publique ›ridicule‹ [est] sa façon de louer [...]. [Le] ridicule pour lui est le signe de la grandeur«<sup>494</sup>.

And finally:

»La contestation des grands écrivains est chez Stendhal régulièrement porteuse de création«<sup>495</sup>.

✱

In spite of everything, there cannot be any doubt about it: The appreciation between the two was mutual, even if as dissimilar among each other as almost everything in them. Goethe understood and appreciated Stendhal without wanting (or perhaps even without being able) to follow his example.

As to Stendhal: ses »idées [...] s'opposent souvent et il n'arrive pas toujours à les concilier«<sup>496</sup>. Perhaps it is the double heredity, Beyle and Gagnon, which caused him to have such a contradictory nature. He felt toward the German a love-hate, or rather a hate-love.

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493 STRICH (see n. 155), pp. 261–262.

494 KATAOKA (see n. 4), p. 19.

495 ARNAUTOVIC (see n. 12), p. 91.

496 STENDHAL, La Chartreuse de Parme, ed. Henri MARTINEAU, Classics Garnier, Paris 1961, p. XXI.



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