



National Library  
of Canada

Bibliothèque nationale  
du Canada

CANADIAN THESES  
ON MICROFICHE

THÈSES CANADIENNES  
SUR MICROFICHE

NAME OF AUTHOR/NOM DE L'AUTEUR Andrew John ORMANROYD

TITLE OF THESIS/TITRE DE LA THÈSE Moon Imagery in The Poetry of Arthur Rimbaud and  
Georg Heym. A Case for Influence

UNIVERSITY/UNIVERSITÉ University of ALBERTA

DEGREE FOR WHICH THESIS WAS PRESENTED/  
GRADE POUR LEQUEL CETTE THÈSE FUT PRÉSENTÉE Master of Arts

YEAR THIS DEGREE CONFERRED/ANNÉE D'OBTENTION DE CE GRADE 1975

NAME OF SUPERVISOR/NOM DU DIRECTEUR DE THÈSE Prof. C. H. MOORE

Permission is hereby granted to the NATIONAL LIBRARY OF  
CANADA to microfilm this thesis and to lend or sell copies  
of the film.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the  
thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or other-  
wise reproduced without the author's written permission.

L'autorisation est, par la présente, accordée à la BIBLIOTHÈ-  
QUE NATIONALE DU CANADA de microfilmer cette thèse et  
de prêter ou de vendre des exemplaires du film.

L'auteur se réserve les autres droits de publication; ni la  
thèse ni de longs extraits de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés  
ou autrement reproduits sans l'autorisation écrite de l'auteur.

DATED/DATE September 15<sup>th</sup>, 1975 SIGNED/SIGNÉ AJ Ormanroyd

PERMANENT ADDRESS/RÉSIDENCE FIXE 507 BERGISCHE GLADBACH

ROBERT SCHUMANSTRASSE 10

WEST GERMANY

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

MOON IMAGERY IN THE POETRY OF ARTHUR RIMBAUD AND GEORG HEYM  
A CASE FOR INFLUENCE.

by

(C)

ANDREW JOHN ORMANROYD

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH  
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE  
OF MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF COMPARATIVE LITERATURE

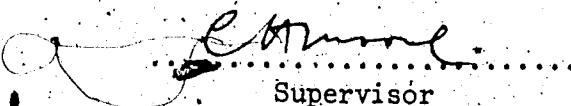
EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL, 1975.

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled MOON IMAGERY IN THE POETRY OF ARTHUR RIMBAUD AND GEORG HEYM. A CASE FOR INFLUENCE, submitted by Andrew John Ormanroyd in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

  
C. Moore.....  
Supervisor

  
W. S. Doherty.....

Date April 16, 1973.

## ABSTRACT

The influence of Arthur Rimbaud on the German Expressionists is established; principles are laid down for the study of such influence. The potential for a study of the influence of Rimbaud on Georg Heym is shown by a review of literature on the subject and by an analysis of Heym's own profession of admiration for both the life and work of his French predecessor.

A brief survey is then made of the literary tradition of moon imagery that both Rimbaud and Heym inherited, which indicates that the use of this imagery had had a predominantly positive function.

Taking the poetry of each poet in turn, it is shown that both used this literary tradition as a means to express their fall from early idealism. A tendency towards the negation of the positive values hitherto conventionally represented by the moon is revealed in the works of both poets.

Although Heym is seen to be far more extreme in his expression, the conclusion is made that Heym received the impetus for his visions from his reading of Rimbaud and that their close affinity lies chiefly in the negation of a particular literary tradition as a means to greater personal expression.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION .....	1
I. THE STATE OF RIMBAUD-HEYM STUDIES .....	8
II. THE TRADITIONAL MOON CONCEPT .....	29
III. MOON IMAGERY IN RIMBAUD .....	38
IV. MOON IMAGERY IN HEYM .....	55
V. CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION .....	72
NOTES .....	81
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	85

## INTRODUCTION

There have been many previous attempts to show the influence of Jean Arthur Rimbaud on the early German Expressionists, the majority of which have dealt with the affinities between the works of Rimbaud and Georg Trakl. Although literary historians and critics have pointed in passing to the apparent debt owed by Georg Heym to his French predecessors, there have been few works dedicated to a more detailed investigation of the question. This omission is no doubt due to the more frequent and striking occurrence of direct verbal parallels in the works of Trakl and Rimbaud, and to the excursion that the former made into the field of free verse, which provides wider scope for comparisons of technical innovations between the two poets. Nevertheless, the preliminary ground for a more detailed study of Rimbaud's influence on Heym's poetry has been ably covered. If we linger briefly for discussion of criticism concerning Trakl, it is because certain salutary lessons can be derived from a review of articles, which have attempted to treat a problem very similar to the one before us.

Meschendorfer's article, written only ten years after Trakl's death in 1924, was the earliest one to probe the connections between the works of the German poet and Rimbaud. It consisted entirely of a list of seemingly parallel passages, and made no attempt to explore beyond the merely superficial resemblance. Friedhelm Pamp's article, written thirty-one years later, is hardly more ambitious in its aims. Here again, an attempt is made to assemble side by side passages which would seem to have been inspired one by the other. Pamp goes slightly further than Meschen-

dörfer in that he divides his quotations into three separate spheres of interest--"Nature", "Man" and what he terms "Kosmogonische Vorstellungen"--in order to show that the poets also dealt with similar motifs. The weakness and indeed danger of picking out selected quotations, uprooting them from context and placing them side by side as evidence of influence, is amply demonstrated by Pamp's article. For example, we are asked to accept as proof of close affinity the fact that both poets used the image of the weeping willow. Heym also uses this traditional image in his version of "Ophelia". In this instance, the most that we can assume is that he had read Rimbaud's poem of the same name.

We still cannot talk of direct influence, since the two treatments of the same theme are so radically different. In the case of Pamp's example, however, one cannot make even the basic assumption that Trakl had read Rimbaud's poem, as the image of the willow is a commonplace one, and nothing in the context of the Trakl poem links it to the Rimbaud poem from which the quotation is taken.

If the above example demonstrates the weakness of Pamp's method, his reference to the common occurrence of the image of the black sun in Rimbaud and Trakl reveals its inherent danger. Once again he takes two quotations out of widely disparate poems, and puts them side by side. Not only does this prove nothing at all, for it is most likely that Rimbaud inherited the image from his readings of Gautier and Nerval, but it also does violence to the poems of which these quotations are an integral part. An image serves a function within a certain poem, and to extract it from the context in which it has significance is both a meaningless and dangerous process.

Already we have seen one of the inherent dangers of a study such as the one in hand: to ignore the special function each image performs in any given poem is to ignore the unique poetic practice of the poet himself. In the course of this study I hope to show certain very striking similarities between the two poets in question, but more rewarding still will be the discovery of the essential differences in the treatment and use of seemingly parallel themes and images.

An even more basic problem comes to light when reading Grimm's article. He uses the articles of Meschendorfer and Pamp as a starting point for his argument that Rimbaud's influence on Trakl was in fact considerably more important than had hitherto been thought. Indeed, he goes as far as to say "Trakl hat einen entscheidenden, ja den entscheidenden Einfluss von Rimbaud empfangen" (p. 304). But he makes the important point that influence came via the intermediary of K. L. Ammer, the first major translator of Rimbaud's verse into German, and he uses Meschendorfer's compilation of parallel passages to build up his case for a three-stage development in Trakl's poetry: the poetry which he wrote before reading Rimbaud, the intermediate stage where he was striving to incorporate into his own work the new wealth of vocabulary and metaphor that he had discovered in Rimbaud, and the final culmination of this process in the last two years of the poet's life and work. Grimm proceeds to draw conclusions from his argument which have direct bearing on Trakl's very poetic process. He was, Grimm maintains, a very conscious artist: "Trakls Gedichte gemacht wurden" (p. 312). His writing represents a constant striving after "die Magie des Wortes".

4

Once a sequence of words incorporated into an image strikes the poet as successful, they may well be used several times. Thus, Grimm continues, just as Trakl constructs his poems from these successful but often disparate fragments and images, "so baute er auch Bilder, Motive, ja ganze Zeilen aus dem Werk Ammers, beziehungsweise Rimbauds in seine Verse ein" (p. 312). In this Grimm sees a reversal of the traditional poetic practice "bei dem der Dichter einen ihm vorschwebenden ideellen Zusammenhang gestaltend in Worte umsetzt" (p. 313). Trakl combines disparate elements, "... und hofft, dass aus ihrer Zuordnung ein neuer, vielleicht nicht einmal von fern geahnter Sinn sich erschliesse" (p. 313).

One cannot underestimate the importance of the question that Grimm's study raises: to what extent does the evidence of the influence detract from a poet's originality? If Trakl's method of poetic creation had been as Grimm sees it, his poetry would surely no longer receive attention, for it could only be the haphazard product of playing with words, as opposed to the direct result of the compulsive drive to selfexpression one normally associates with true poetic activity. Indeed, we meet in Grimm's article the same kind of problem encountered in Pamp's approach. The presence of similar, even identical phrases in the works of two authors only bears witness to the acquaintance of the one with the work of the other. What is important is the way in which the corresponding passages are used, whether different emphasis is given, whether in fact one is negated by irony. These possibilities are not considered by Grimm; and he assumes that Trakl proceeded in an artificial, almost mechanical way, which can have little to do with true poetic

vision.

It remains for us to consider two final articles on the subject of Rimbaud's possible influence on Trakl, which serve as examples of criticism which treads wary of the pitfalls we have noted.

Lindenberger's study is confined mainly to questions of technique. Although he is able to make quite bold assertions regarding the impetus that the reading of Rimbaud's prose poems probably gave Trakl to break away from traditional poetic techniques, and also regarding the striking similarity in their common treatment of the themes of desolation and disintegration, he points as well to the considerable differences, particularly in temperament, between the two poets. He speaks of "Rimbaud's brash iconoclasm as against Trakl's frequent helplessness and passivity" (p. 33). He also minimises Rimbaud's influence on Trakl's language, a point that Bernard Böschenstein takes up most vehemently. Lindenberger allots them a common role in literary history, in that they both broke the "logical junctures of conventional poetic language", but his final conclusion is tempered in the extreme. "At most Rimbaud served as a central formative influence during a transitional stage in Trakl's development" (p. 34).

Lindenberger's sobriety and total lack of a *priori* judgement is carried one step further in Böschenstein's excellent article, which takes Grimm to task for the superficiality of his assumptions.

Böschenstein shows most convincingly that Trakl was influenced more by Klammer's translation, which repeatedly alters the emphasis of Rimbaud's thought. These changes effect a general toning down of Rimbaud's frequently destructive tone. Moreover, Ammer left out many of the early poems which border on the obscene. As Böschenstein

says, Rimbaud's

6

Lust an der Zerstörung der Gegenstände ... in vulgärer, oft obszöner Sprache sich ässernd, bestimmt vor allem die von Klammer weggelassenen Gedichte und erfährt in den übrigen eine Milderung, die Härten, Brüche, Aggressionen ausgleicht oder zumindest in eine weichere, glattere Fassung überführt. (p. 147)

To this shift in emphasis in the translation which Böschenstein sees as Trakl's main source, corresponds Trakl's tendency to avoid dwelling on the specific, in which he differs sharply from Rimbaud:

Rimbaud wirkt kühn dank der ungewohnten Spezifikation, Trakl wegen der fundamentalen Vereinfachung. (p. 147)

The outcome of this generalising process is that

ein Rimbaudvers hat denn auch nicht mehr viel mit seiner alten Umgebung gemein, wenn er in das Gedicht Trakls eingewandert ist. (p. 147)

His final conclusion tells us unequivocally:

Es ist schliesslich beinahe nicht mehr sinnvoll, diese Fragmente noch mit Rimbauds Namen zu belohnen. (p. 148)

From this selective survey of Rimbaud-Trakl criticism we can see a wide and surprisingly varied assortment of claims and attitudes. Yet it is only Böschenstein who really comes to grips with the poetry itself in an attempt to see whether the literal parallels, which he dismisses as mere "Splitter", really have anything to do with the essential qualities of both poets. It is in him that we find the qualities of good sense and respect for the poetic creation itself that are needed in such a study. Consequently, it is his approach that will serve as guide-line throughout this study.

Moreover, in his practical rejection of the idea of a direct influence of Rimbaud on Trakl, Böschenstein's reasons seem not only to point away from Trakl as the poet influenced, but towards Heym. He

7

claims that when Trakl uses an image or phrase which also appears in Rimbaud it automatically loses its quality of "progressive Aktivität". Trakl is more attracted by the "Tonart" of certain passages of Rimbaud, and pays more attention to this than to its "Bildbereich"; with Trakl it is the dreamlike, fairy-tale element which predominates over that of

unbarmherziger Konkretheit, in der die Dinge des niederen, kleinbürgerlichen Alltags belassen werden ...  
(p. 147)

Finally, Böschenstein contrasts Trakl's leaning towards the "stilleren Allgemeinen" as opposed to the "grell evozierte Besondere" of Rimbaud. All these qualities of movement and uncompromising harshness of expression which Böschenstein finds lacking in Trakl--a fact which makes him ill-suited for a close comparison with Rimbaud--are present in the poetry of Heym. It is significant to note also that, although parallel passages abound in the works of Trakl and Rimbaud, they serve only to highlight the radical differences between the two poets. It will be my aim to show that a closer comparative study of the works of Rimbaud and Heym reveals definite indications of similarity both in poetic outlook and in its expression.

## I.

## THE STATE OF RIMBAUD - HEYM STUDIES

There can be no doubt that Georg Heym not only read the majority of Rimbaud's works, but was also deeply impressed by them. Literary critics have pointed to the obvious connections between the two poets, and we need only take a sample of what has been said on the subject to show the potential of such a study.

In one of the earliest works on Heym, Helmut Greulich indicated the strong French influence on Heym's work:

'Als erbarmungsloser Seher der Widrigkeiten und der Verwesung fand er seine Meister in den Franzosen. Vor allem Rimbaud und Baudelaire haben Heyms lyrisches Schaffen beeinflusst.'

Albert Soergel is even more specific when writing of Heym:

Die literarische Ahnenschaft Heyms ist französisch bestimmt: George, Baudelaire und vor allem Rimbaud, von dem er Bilder und Verfahren variierend übertrug.

He sees two motifs running through the "ästhetische Lebensform" of both poets:

... eine revolutionäre Entschlossenheit und die in den grotesken Übersteigerungen des Verderbens ausgesprochenen Warnungen vor dem Unheil, die als rettenden Ausweg jenes 'metaphysische Land' aufleuchten liessen.  
(p. 87)

It is in itself significant that Rimbaud is allotted a section in a review of 20th century literature almost entirely devoted to German writers. That he occupies this place bears witness to the weight of his influence on the Expressionist generation of the early years of this century. Soergel goes as far as to say that Rimbaud could be regarded as "Patron der dichtenden Jugend des Expressionismus" (p. 45).

Certainly the revolutionary tenor of his poetry was an inspiration to young poets like Heym and Johannes Becher, who wrote a poem

3)

entitled "Rimbaud" in 1914.

Neither is there any shortage of evidence in the question of Heym's enthusiasm for the French poet. His friend Richard Baumgardt reports that at one time Heym had hanging in his room a portrait of Rimbaud bearing a Greek inscription which signified "das Göttliche". A contemporary of Heym's in the "Neuer Club", Heinrich Eduard Jacob, casts light on Heym's close familiarity with Rimbaud's poetry:

Er kannte Rimbaud und Baudelaire vielleicht besser, als er irgendeinen deutschen Dichter kannte. Und von seinem Todeskameraden Ernst Balcke wird erzählt, dass er in französischer Sprache gedichtet habe. (p. 82)

Paul Zech, a close friend of Heym, is even more specific when speaking of the possibility of Rimbaud's influence in Heym's poetry:

Mir fiel besonders seine Vorliebe für Rimbaud auf, den man damals in Deutschland kaum kannte. Das 'Bateau Ivre' schien ihm das Vorbild für seine eigenen Dichtungen zu sein. (p. 98)

The final, incontrovertible evidence of the impact of Rimbaud on Heym is provided by the German poet himself in three different references to Rimbaud, two of which appear in his diary, the other in a letter he wrote in June 1911 to a friend, Hildegard Krohn. This letter, in the arrogant dogmatism of its pronouncements, is curiously reminiscent of Rimbaud's famous letter to his friend Demeny of May 15th, 1871. As Rimbaud reviews the whole course of literary history, condemning or praising authors, in similar fashion Heym here dismisses George and Rilke as "diese Narren" but advises his friend:

Lies Rimbaud, Baudelaire, Samain, Keats. Das sind Kerle, die sich noch sehen lassen können. (p. 507)

Such letters, however, are commonly written with an audience in mind, and the desire to impress may outweigh the desire for absolute

truth. Heym's diary, however, must be regarded as a reliable source of information, since he describes his motive for writing it as follows:

Es soll den Stempel der Wahrheit tragen. Ich will nichts beschönigen. Es soll mein Spiegel sein. (Tagebücher, p. 6)

Other diary passages convey the deep reverence in which Heym held his French predecessors. In an entry for June 20th, 1909, we read:

Ich liebe alle, die in sich ein zerrissen Herz haben, ich liebe Kleist, Grabbe, Hölderlin, Büchner, ich liebe Rimbaud und Marlowe. Ich liebe alle, die nicht von der grossen Menge angebetet werden. Ich liebe alle, die oft so an sich verzweifeln, wie ich fast täglich an mir verzweifle. (p. 123)

While on November 5th of the following year he wrote:

Baudelaire, Verlaine, Rimbaud, Keats, Shelley. Ich glaube wirklich, dass ich von den Deutschen allein mich in den Schatten dieser Götter wagen darf, ohne vor Blässe und Schwachheit zu ersticken. (p. 149)

These passages reveal clearly the dual nature of Heym's attraction to Rimbaud, a duality which the accounts of Heym's friends have already intimated. The quotation from the letter leaves us in no doubt as to the high esteem in which Heym held Rimbaud as a poet. This obvious respect is highlighted by the equally evident self-esteem expressed in the third diary quotation. But the attraction is not merely literary:

Heym clearly feels a close personal kinship with the French poet.

Since a detailed account of Rimbaud's life appeared in Ammer's translation of his work, it is almost certain that Heym was well acquainted with the facts of Rimbaud's life, such as they were known at that time. (5)

The second diary quotation bears witness to this attraction of Heym to Rimbaud the personality, while the fact that he kept a picture of the French poet in his room would seem to suggest a kind of hero worship

based as much on knowledge of Rimbaud's life as of his poetry. It is relevant, therefore, to discuss briefly the kinship which Heym may well have felt with Rimbaud, an identification with him which would have rendered Heym particularly receptive to his poetry.

In drawing parallel between the lives of poets, extreme caution must be exercised. In much Trakl criticism, attention has been drawn to the fact that, like Rimbaud, Trakl was shot at by a friend. To view this as anything more than a strange coincidence is to shape the vagaries of history into the particular pattern that one wishes to impose. Even in the criticism of Kurt Pinthus, who has much of value to say with regard to Heym, one reads the following questionable statement: in Heym we (the contemporaries of Heym) see fulfilled, he claims, everything after which we strive:

... des unhaltbaren Lebens Herrliches und Schreckliches, grell Sichtbares und dumpf Unbewusstes in mächtige Form zu gestalten. Es schien wie eine Inkarnation Baudelaires, Poes, Rimbauds. (Dokumente, p. 102)

The word "Inkarnation" is too strong: it suggest affinities beyond even the sphere of literary influence. When we look for common traits in the lives of Rimbaud and Heym, it is not to suggest that Heym modelled himself upon Rimbaud's exploits supposed or real. We are merely looking for aspects of Rimbaud's situation in life and of the way in which he reacted to that situation, that may have attracted or inspired Heym, which is, after all, part of the process of any influence that one poet might wield over another.

If one looks at the respective achievements of both poets, one might venture to say that, far from modelling himself on Rimbaud, Heym merely sees in him the qualities he would like to possess, but which are lack-

ing in him. Like Heym, Rimbaud had lived in the oppressive atmosphere of a provincial town. Both reacted against the restrictive rule of school life; but in neither case was there any true understanding at home for their feelings of frustration. Both Heym's father and Rimbaud's mother exercised strict control over their children, and were determined that they should pursue careers within the accepted confines of bourgeois society. One can imagine the impact of the accounts of Rimbaud's escape to Paris and his supposed participation in the events of the Commune in 1871 on Heym, whose feeling of frustration and boredom was caused by something far more fundamental than the restrictions placed on him as a schoolboy. This is made evident by a diary entry as late as September, 1911:

Mein Gott--ich erstickte noch in meinem brachliegenden Enthusiasmus in dieser banalen Zeit. Denn ich bedarf gewaltiger äusserer Emotionen, um glücklich zu sein. Ich sehe mich in meinen wachen Phantasien, immer als einen Danton, oder einen Mann auf der Barrikade, ohne meine Jacobinermütze kann ich mich eigentlich gar nicht denken. Ich hoffe jetzt wenigstens auf einen Krieg. Auch das ist nichts. (p. 164)

It would be dangerous to consider Heym's preoccupation with the French Revolution as having direct relevance to Rimbaud's involvement in the Commune, for it naturally assumed symbolic proportions for both the young schoolboy condemned to what he termed "Verbannung" in his school at Neu-Ruppin and to the later young man suffering under the complacency of society that he found decadent. Moreover, there are several probable literary sources for Heym's awareness of and inspiration by the French Revolution, which have been examined in detail by

6)

K. L. Schneider. Nevertheless, Heym must have been impressed by Rimbaud's revolutionary tendencies and by his willingness in expressing

those tendencies to defy authority, both in his flights from home and his openly anti-bourgeois behaviour. Either from lack of outlet (there was after all no Commune in which he could get involved), or more likely from lack of that spirit of daring which inspired many of Rimbaud's actions, Heym never gave full expression to his own acute revolutionary feelings. His defiance of authority was restricted to the secret drinking societies of which he was a member during his school-days. This identification with Rimbaud, but also this inability to emulate him are reflected also in the fact that, whereas Rimbaud shunned all regular occupation and led a bohemian, wandering life, Heym followed through to the bitter end the legal training which had been prescribed to him. How bitter that conformity was is conveyed in the following diary quotation, where he indulges in the most violent outburst against the soul-destroying work he is forced to do:

Und nun muss ich mich vollstopfen wie eine alte Sau auf der Mast mit der Arsch-Scheiss-Lause Sau Juristerei, es ist zum Kotzen. (p. 152)

The profession that has been chosen for him is a hated yoke, but one which he is unable to shake off. Helmut Greulich sums up this idea of the basic difference between the two poets, but one which is a difference of degree rather than of outlook, when he writes:

Was für Heym nur brennender Wunsch blieb: einmal auf Barrikaden zu stehen, führt der Franzose während der Kommune aus, um danach ein vollkommenes Abenteuerleben zu führen. (p. 126)

It is only towards the end of Heym's life that one sees a definite step being taken to escape. K. L. Schneider discovered a letter that Heym wrote to a friend, Lily Friedmann, in August 1910, which shows a definite shift in his attitude:

Ich habe viel mehr Talent, in der Ferne zu leben, in den weiten Horizonten von Asien, als hier irgendwo. Ich will also entweder Dragoman bei den ausländischen Gesandtschaften werden, oder ich versuche es, noch irgendwo in einem Handelshause angestellt zu werden.

That this was not merely another vain wish on Heym's part, which he had no real intention of putting into practice, is born out by the fact that, in the summer of 1911, Heym took a holiday with the intention of going to France: "Zunächst jedoch betreibt er eifrig chinesische Studien."<sup>8)</sup> This desire for a complete break with the civilisation in which he had grown up marks a close parallel with Rimbaud's abandonment of western civilisation. That Heym should see his means of escape in the form of trade and travel emphasises even further the parallel with Rimbaud's life.

Enough evidence exists, both of Heym's acquaintance with Rimbaud the poet and the man and of his attraction towards them, to warrant a deeper study into the relationship between the two poets. Yet since Greulich drew attention to the connection in 1930, little has been written on the subject.

In 1939, a thesis appeared by H. Reitz, which attempted to draw stylistic parallels between Rimbaud and the early Expressionists including Heym. Since its emphasis is entirely on stylistic points, it need not concern us here. Nevertheless, it was the first study to deal at all with the connection between Rimbaud and Heym. Nothing more of significance was written on the subject until 1954, when Kurt Mautz's article "Die Farbensprache der Expressionistischen Lyrik" appeared.<sup>9)</sup>

This article and his subsequent book Mythologie und Gesellschaft im Expressionismus: Die Dichtung Georg Heyms (into which the article was incorporated) and a thesis by Anton Regenberg are the key works which

have direct bearing on our study.

Let us first consider Mautz's article: he assumes that the accepted categories of Symbolism, Impressionism and Expressionism are valid.

It is important to note that point, for in that respect he differs radically from Regenbergs. Having made this assumption, he proceeds to establish the importance that Heym places on the visual aspect of poetry, going on to claim that

... Symbolismus und Expressionismus haben gemeinsam, dass in ihnen sich der dichterische Ausdruck ins Rätselhafte des puren Bildes verschliessen will. (p. 334)

This is not, however, to forge immediately a link between Rimbaud and Heym. It becomes quite clear, although Mautz does not make the point explicitly, that Rimbaud is not numbered, as he is so often, among the Symbolist ranks. If the tendency to speak through images and to make significant use of colour are common traits of both Symbolism and Expressionism, Mautz continues, there are fundamental differences within these traits. The symbolists were attracted by "der unmittelbare Sinnesreiz ungewöhnlicher Farbvaleurs" which they used to construct a world of ornamental beauty to counter "eine farblose abstrakt gewordene Welt" (p. 335), which was the world of reality. The expressionists also felt alienation from the world of reality, but their use of colour was a means to express this alienation rather than an escape from it. Mautz does admit that the expressionists' use of colour have developed from symbolist techniques, but points out that there are certain elements in Expressionism (and here he mentions the abstract and subjective nature of their colour metaphors and the inclusion of examples of dissonant and sordid reality) which reveal the basic intensification which the feeling of alienation underwent. That these elements,

missing in Symbolist poetry, are present in Rimbaud's work will become very evident when we consider his poetry itself.

Despite his adherence to the traditional concept of literary movements, therefore, Mautz is not establishing a case for a general linking of Symbolism to Expressionism. He will show that there are symbolist uses of colour in Heym's poetry; but we shall see that this is only part of Mautz's whole argument, which attempts to trace a general tendency towards negation of all positive values in Heym's work. That a very similar process can be seen in Rimbaud's use of colour is merely an incidental point in the essay (although he considers it to be an indication of further close connections between the two poets). No further implications are made regarding the literary movements of which the two poets may or may not be part. Incidental though the inclusion of Rimbaud in the essay may be, however, it raises a point that will be central to our study, for it will be our aim to show that the tendency towards the negation of positive values, which Mautz sees reflected in both Rimbaud's and Heym's use of colour, is also present in their use of moon imagery.

Let us review Mautz's argument more closely. He detects three major manipulations of colour in Heym's poetry, all of which we find anticipated by Rimbaud:

... die Verselbständigung der Farben, ihre Loslösung vom sinnlich Wahrnehmbaren, ihre Subjektivierung, d. h. Besetzung mit affektiven Bedeutungen, und auch schon die Tendenz, den Charakter einer Farbe "ins Minus zu ziehen", ... wenn auch noch nicht mit derselben systematischen Konsequenz. (p. 360)

Colours become independent of the objects to which they refer if, for example, they are applied to objects which cannot be perceived

visually. Mautz is careful to differentiate between examples of "symbolistische Synästhesien", which were used by the Symbolists to imbue their poetry with "die Kostbarkeit einer künstlichen, ornamentalen Schönheit" (p. 335) and the expressionist use of such effects, not as an escape into an artificial world divorced from reality, but as a means to its fuller expression. Thus, although examples of synaesthesia do exist in the work of Heym and Rimbaud, where the aim is simply to evoke a mood, or to explore the various nuances of sensory perception, Mautz concentrates on those instances where synaesthesia is used to focus attention on the colour itself, and on its emotive associations. In Heym we read of "Düfte schwarz" (p. 292) and "graues Lachen" (p. 475) while corresponding examples in Rimbaud's work are "noirs parfums" (p. 130) and "les rouges froissements" (p. 89).

Similarly, colours become abstracted when qualities that one normally associates with them stand in direct contrast to the objects that they are describing, as for example, in such phrases as "gelbe Winde" (p. 160) and "roter Wiesen" (p. 262) in Heym, and "la nuit verte" (p. 129) and "des grandes juments bleues" (p. 275) in Rimbaud.

Finally, colours are actually endowed with emotional qualities, and even applied to abstractions, or to objects that cannot be perceived by any of the senses. Mautz gives the examples of "violettes Schweigen" (p. 163) and "gelbe Seuchen" (p. 349) for Heym, while in Rimbaud we encounter "noirs sommeils" (p. 124) and "l'épouante bleuâtre" (p. 112).

That such use of colour, where attention is diverted from the object described to the colour itself, and where the colour may be endowed with unique characteristics, can be found in the work of both

Rimbaud and Heym adds further weight to the case for the influence of Rimbaud on Heym. More important, however, is the direction which Mautz's article takes after this basic assumption; for although certain colours in Heym's poetry take on a kind of systematic value (black, for example, is synonymous throughout with death, red with forboding and the threat of destruction), his use of [REDACTED] defies such a logically applied interpretation, for the colours are undergoing a constant change of function. Mautz's point here gives another timely reminder of the danger of removing images from the context of the poems in which they appear. For although a form of "Be-deutungsschema" can be assumed, this has its dangers:

Da ... in der Dichtung Heyms symbolistische und expressive Stilelemente zu unterscheiden sind und da Heym Farbbezeichnungen auch rein gegenständlich oder impressionistisch verwendet, kann ein solches Schema bei der Interpretation eines Gedichtes nicht als Passepartout-schlüssel dienen. Ob es sich um eine rein gegenständliche Farbbezeichnung, um eine symbolistische oder expressive Farbmetapher handelt, geht nur aus der Funktion des Farbwortes in einem bestimmten Bild- und Sinnzusammenhang hervor. (p. 335-36)

To illustrate this point he takes the poem "Printemps" (p. 261) and shows how examples of purely descriptive, symbolic and expressive uses of colour are to be found in one poem. Moreover, the function of the colour white changes from one stanza to the next, having a purely descriptive function in the first stanza but an expressive one in the second.

Now using Goethe's theory of emotional values of colours as a guide-line, Mautz analyses Heym's use of each colour in turn, in order to show that in his poetry there is a constant tendency "ins Minus zu ziehen". In the use of the colours black, red, yellow and

green, this tendency is reflected in the process of emphasising only the negative qualities of these colours, and ignoring whatever positive elements Goethe may have seen in them. In the case of white, gold and blue, however, the tendency is reflected in a different way, for here we have the case of colours which possess a distinctly positive symbolic value. Mautz shows how Heym, in his early poetry, used these colours with their original symbolic significance, and that the process of negating their former value represents the shift from a symbolic to an expressive function. To assume a schematic application of colour on Heym's part would be to assume a totally static poetic outlook. In reality, there is a definite development in Heym's work, in which the change from a principally symbolic use of colour represents a growing sense of alienation from the world of reality, the breaking down of all accepted norms, as well as the destruction of any concept of an utopian ideal which such colours as gold and blue, in their symbolic function, served to represent. Thus Mautz can maintain:

Aus dem metaphorischen Bedeutungswandel von golden als einer ursprünglich idealistischen Metapher geht indirekt hervor, dass die in der Frabensprache Heyms vorherrschende negative Tendenz ebensowenig wie die seiner angeblich "periorisierenden" Metaphernsprache überhaupt eine subjektiv bedingte und nihilistische ist, sondern Ausdruck eines enttäuschten Idealismus, eines "brachliegenden Enthusiasmus". (p. 254)

In this quotation, which will have direct bearing on the main argument of this thesis, is contained a clear rebuttal of the approach adopted by K. L. Schneider in his study of Heym's imagery. Although the two critics agree in the basic contention that Heym's work presents an overall tendency towards the negation of all positive

aspects of life, Mautz disagrees most strongly with Schneider's use of such terms as "zynische Metapher" and "periorisierende Metapher" and with Schneider's implication that Heym used his poetry as a form of cathartic outlet to allay his own cynical feelings. In the question of attitude one must side with Mautz, who is much nearer to the truth than most critics who, ignoring Heym's early poetry, see him as a totally one-sided critic of the world who seems to wallow in his own destructive tendencies. His early poetry is rarely mentioned, yet it is out of the idealism expressed therein, and because of its failure, that this negative outlook developed. To ignore that part of his aesthetic and metaphysical development is to misinterpret Heym's entire attitude.

Mautz was the first critic to undertake a close comparison of the poetry of Rimbaud and Heym. In his later book, he broached another aspect of Heym's poetry which was probably founded on the influence of Rimbaud, that of the "navigatio vitae". We have already heard from the evidence of Paul Zech that Rimbaud's poem "Le Bateau Ivre" made a great impression on Heym; and, indeed, the theme of the sea voyage or of boats and water in general, constantly recurs through his work. Mautz traces the adaption that this image has undergone throughout literary history. His very detailed survey of this development, with the particular turn it took in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, probably inspired Jürg Peter Rüesch to write his study on the subject in 1965. This work represents one of the principal contributions to Rimbaud-Heym criticism, but it concentrates on a field of imagery that has little connection with our own.<sup>14)</sup>

If Kurt Mautz's chapter "Die endlose Reise" gave Rüesch the lead

<sup>15)</sup>

for his study, it is almost certain that Anton Regenberg received the impetus for his thesis from Mautz's article on colour-language, which, although brief in its reference to Rimbaud, contained a footnote which pointed to the possibility of further study in the field of Rimbaud's influence on Heym:

Das Verhältnis Heyms zu Rimbaud verdiente eine eingehendere Untersuchung, die den mannigfachen gehaltlichen, motivischen und sprachlich-stilistischen Beziehungen zwischen Rimbaud und Heym nachginge (Andeutungen bei Greulich, S. 126 f.). An dichterischen Phänomenen und sprachlich-stilistischen Zügen, die der Lyrik Heyms eigentümlich sind, finden sich bei Rimbaud u. a. vorgebildet: die Einbeziehung des Abstossenden und Grauenhaften in die ästhetische Gestaltung, das Groteske, das dämonisierte Mondbild, die Aneinanderreihung dichterischer Bilder in weitgespannten, vielstrophigen Gedichtformen, der intermittierende, Satz- und Wortzusammenhänge zerhackende Rhythmus, die Bevorzugung von Pluralbildung... (p. 362)

This call for a more detailed study was answered by Regenberg.

His very thorough work covers all the points of reference between the works of Rimbaud and Heym, and of Heym and Baudelaire, who also receives frequent mention in Heym's diary as a source of influence.

As Mautz suggests, Regenberg takes up the points made by Greulich and deals with them in turn. His work is in two parts: in the first, he compares the treatment that the three poets give to common themes such as death, the city, nature and the grotesque; in the second he concentrates on the stylistic similarities between the poets.

From the outset, Regenberg's approach is cautious in the extreme; indeed, it borders on the sceptical. Unlike Böschenstein, who succeeds in showing that the main influence in the case of Trakl is Ammer's translation of Rimbaud, and that whatever remains in Trakl's poetry of Rimbaud's influence no longer bears the stamp of the

original, Regenberg seems at every turn to bring forward quite conclusive evidence to support a case of French influence (he makes extensive use, for example, of Mautz's essay in his chapter on colour), only to shy away from any definite conclusion in the matter. His overall thesis relies heavily on Hugo Friedrich's Die Struktur der modernen Lyrik, a work of great scope which traces the development of lyric poetry since Baudelaire as a continuous evolution. Following Friedrich, who sweeps away the traditional categories (Symbolism, Impressionism, Expressionism) to which Mautz still adheres, Regenberg lifts the seemingly cumbersome barriers between Symbolism and Expressionism. But whereas Friedrich deals with the overall development of modern European lyric poetry, Regenberg has chosen a specific case of poets who are linked by the self-professed admiration of one for the others. Yet his conclusion is the same as Friedrich's: all three poets--Baudelaire, Rimbaud and Héym--were inspired by a similar consciousness, in which "das lyrische Ich" shifts in its relationship to an external world which no longer seems real. Such a conclusion strikes one as valid as far as it goes, but somewhat disappointing in its open-ended nature. As Regenberg says in his summing up, the three poets whom he has chosen, and in whom he finds striking similarities, are in the final analysis only part of a new modern consciousness, which is common to such distinctive poets as Rilke, T. S. Eliot and Valéry and which could be seen to embrace a seemingly indefinite number of others:

... die Aufzählung liesse sich ergänzen--Namen über Länder und Kontinente verstreut. Eine Poesie, die Vergleich über Vergleich herausfordern könnte. (p. 205)

It would be wrong to suggest, however, that Regenberg's thesis

achieves nothing for research into Rimbaud-Heym relations. He raises interesting points, for example, regarding Heym's knowledge of Rimbaud's poetry. In a section devoted to the discussion as to whether or not Heym read Rimbaud in the original or in translation, Regenberg comes to the conclusion that Heym must have had frequent recourse to the translation as a means of checking his own reading of the original poems. Clearly, this point must remain pure speculation, but the evidence that Regenberg brings forward to support his case must be questioned. He cites the diary passage where Heym regrets the absence of a Keats' translation as an indication that Heym needed translation, and therefore, presumably of Rimbaud. This reasoning is hardly convincing, as Heym's knowledge of French was probably more extensive than his knowledge of English: as we have already heard, his friend Ernst Balcke recounted that Heym was able to compose poetry in French. This information points to a familiarity with the language which would make even the difficulties of Rimbaudian syntax accessible to the young German reader. The point is by no means irrelevant, for the question of Heym's knowledge of French and his ability to read the original texts has direct bearing on the date from which Heym may have been acquainted with Rimbaud's poetry; and certainly, Regenberg's claim that Heym needed translation allows him to make some rather dogmatic assumptions on this subject. He maintains that Heym read no Rimbaud poetry until 1909: this view is based principally on the fact that there is no diary entry referring to Rimbaud before that date (although the diary extracts quoted earlier hardly bear the ring of recent discovery!). Regenberg's view is strengthened if one accepts his claim that Heym read from a translation, or with the need of one, for

Ammer's edition was not published until 1907, but, as he himself mentions, George had translated three of Rimbaud's early works ("Le Dormeur du Val", "Voyelles" and "Tête de Faune") as early as 1904.<sup>17)</sup>

Clearly, Regenberg's opinion cannot be taken as fact, particularly bearing in mind Heym's fluency in French, for editions of Rimbaud's work in the original had existed in Germany from as early as 1897.

And yet his assumption that Heym ~~had~~ no Rimbaud poetry before 1909 allows him to discount the possibility of any influence by Rimbaud on Heym's entire poetic output up to that year (by which time Heym's aesthetic and metaphysical development was almost complete), and leads him to his final conclusion that there is little evidence of influence at all. The doubt that surrounds Regenberg's initial hypothesis must, therefore, be stressed, as it is on this initial assumption that his final conclusion largely rests.

Regenberg's study is chiefly to be praised for its sober appraisal of many irrelevancies which threaten to obscure the essentials of a study on Rimbaud and Heym. For instance there are three examples of poems by them which bear the same or strikingly similar titles:

"Ophélie" -- "Ophelia", "Le Dormeur du Val" -- "Der Schläfer im Wald", "Bal des Pendus" -- "Der Galgenberg". Regenberg's analysis of these poems shows that, although they are superficially similar in theme, each poet gives his version its own specific direction and emphasis.

If Rimbaud's "Ophélie" inspired Heym, it was only because its theme was that of a corpse in water, which as Bernd Blume demonstrates,<sup>18)</sup> has become a predominant motif in twentieth-century poetry. Moreover, whatever themes and images Heym takes from "Ophélie" he gives to them a negative slant.

The textual parallels between "Der Galgenberg" and "Baldes Pendus" are striking enough to confirm Heym's strong attraction to Rimbaud's poem, but Regenbergs again successfully shows the fundamental difference between the two poems, which here are mainly rooted in the tone, grotesque but fantastic, in Rimbaud, grotesque and forboding in Heym. Regenbergs analysis of these two sets of poems clearly shows that literal parallels and identical titles do not constitute proof of direct influence. Heym, who as a schoolboy kept a skull on his desk and flirted constantly with the idea of death, would by nature have been attracted to these particular poems. The theme of death is predominant in his work. We must look, therefore, for influence in the very nature of the poetry, in the actual treatment of the parallel motifs, to ascertain whether Heym was attracted to and influenced by Rimbaud's poetry as such, or merely by its subject matter. To do so, we must analyse poems as a whole and avoid the temptation to filter off only the information that we require of them, for what is ignored in the poem may well be its essence, or may modify our reading of the rest of the poem.

Regenbergs cannnot be accused of succumbing to that temptation. He treats the individual poems as units, and his analysis shows care and sensitivity. If anything, we can regret his overcaution, which is at least to err on the right side of scholarly prudence. The two sections where his work is weakest are those devoted to Heym's use of nature imagery and grotesque. One senses in the former section that Regenbergs feels all has been said by K. L. Schneider in his review of Heym's nature imagery, for he contents himself with a large quotation from this critic and a list of random images, wilfully uprooted from

context. Yet it is through their nature imagery that Heym and Rimbaud express vividly their sense of alienation from reality. The imagery of the moon bears with it such a wealth of literary tradition that it offers considerable possibilities for manipulation. The moon has in the past had a predominantly positive, symbolic value in poetry. This study will attempt to show that the use of such imagery in a positive sense is present in both poets, but that they transform this imagery into a negation of its positive significance. Mautz showed that this process, reflected in Heym's use of colours, represents a fall from idealism into nihilism. We will show that a similar process, although taking a markedly different turn, is present in Rimbaud's poetry. That such a process is intimately connected with the use of the grotesque is not surprising, for we are dealing with the distortion of traditional norms of reality; and here again, striking similarities between the two poet's use of the grotesque in their nature imagery will be shown. This choice to concentrate on one, specific field of imagery is made because of the particularly rich nature of the field, reflecting most clearly the dialogue in both poets between an utopian ideal and a grotesque, distorted reality, and because Regenbergs, in an otherwise detailed and thorough study, overlooked this important similarity in a superficial analysis of the nature imagery in Rimbaud and Heym.

The choice to concentrate on the aspect of imagery rather than on technique, for example, is not due to lack of similarities, for the second half of Regenbergs thesis shows that there is scope for a comparative study of technique in the two poets. Nor should too much be made of Rimbaud's embarkation into free verse and the prose poem,

which would seem perhaps to indicate a marked divergence in technique.

A letter written by Heym in July 1911 to his publisher Ernst Rowohlt, telling him of his latest works, speaks of "ein paar Gedichte in Prosa" (p. 255). Although these prose poems are not extant, it is significant that Heym, so noted for his adherence to the iambic pentameter quatrain, also made a sortie into this relatively new genre. Moreover, Rimbaud's experimentation with free verse is often overemphasized. He, like Heym, restricts himself to the rigidity of the sonnet form and to regular quatrains to some degree, and it is to this "Strophenstrenge" that Pinthus is referring in the following quotation, which also explains why the imagery of the two poets is of special importance. He is speaking of Heym:

... wie sein französischer Vorläufer Rimbaud ballt er  
in diese unerbittliche Form nicht Gefühltes und Erlebtes,  
sondern: unendliche Visionen. (Dokumente, p. 141)

One might quibble with Pinthus that the visions of these poets are prompted by personal feelings and experience, for he seems to be crediting them with some mystical qualities that invite scepticism. However, he is right to emphasise the visionary aspect of both poets. Here is not the place to enter into a discussion of Rimbaud's theory of "voyance" or what he meant by the term. Suffice it to say that both poets reveal the tendency "alles durch ein Bild zu sagen". This is reflected in one of the technical similarities that Mautz noted in passing, and which Regenberg deals with in greater detail: the almost breathless piling up of images tenuously connected, but all focussed on one central idea running through the poem. It is this apparently ceaseless flow of expression in visual terms, this "visionary" quality, which constitutes one of the most important similarities between

Rimbaud and Heym, a similarity which makes a comparative study of their imagery all the more significant.

It has already been ascertained that one of the principal factors linking Rimbaud and Heym was their rebellious nature and outlook. While Rimbaud expressed his feelings of revolt by painting sacrilegious slogans on park benches and drawing up Communist manifestos, Heym defied authority by participating in banned secret societies. Such escapades are common in a school community where feelings of frustration run high, but in the case of both poets, the feeling of revolt was directed at something far more fundamental than school authority, although its repressiveness was representative of the greater restrictions that society in general imposed on the individual: their common revolt was against the society and civilisation in which they had been raised, and against the values that they had been taught to hold. Poetry was their means of expressing their disillusionment with the world around them and their sense of alienation from it. It is not surprising therefore to find them manipulating the traditional norms of poetic imagery to give immediate expression to their disillusionment.

That the use of the moon as a poetic device is particularly suited to this end will become evident in the course of a brief review of the rôle it has played in the history of literature. As Mautz points out, it is the classical Homeric picture of Selene on her journey to Endymion which served as the model for the subsequent use of the moon in poetry. He cites a German translation of a Homeric hymn to the moon goddess, in which all the qualities attributed to her are positive ones: she is the source of heavenly light which reveals the beauty of all things, being herself a figure of beauty and fulfilment, and when

she casts her light on the earth, "so gilt es den Menschen als Zeichen  
 1)  
und Ordnung". It is this picture of beauty, light and order which,  
Mautz claims, "bestimmte das Mondbild der deutschen Lyrik von Klopstock  
bis zu Däubler hin" (p. 248). Greulich supports this view when he  
says: "Die empfindsamen Gemüter des 18. Jahrhunderts kannten nur 'das  
Lächeln des freundlichen Mondes'" (p. 64), quoting the following lines  
 from Klopstock's poem "Die frühen Gräber": "Willkommen, o silberner  
Mond / Schöner, stiller Gefährte der Nacht".

Dieter Arendt in his review of the changing rôle of the moon in  
 lyric poetry cites the following lines from Matthias Claudius' "Wiegen-  
lied" as his starting point:

Der Mond ist aufgegangen,  
 Die goldnen Sternlein prangen  
 Am Himmel hell und klar.<sup>2)</sup>

In the Klopstock poem, the moon is the companion of the night, and  
 the same union is implicit in the lines from "Wiegenlied", in which the  
 overriding impression is one of sparkling clarity, of an unblemished sky  
 allowing the full splendour of moon and stars to make its impact. The  
 same impression is conveyed in the Eichendorff poem "Mondnacht" which  
 starts with the beautiful image of the moon's light as a kiss, evoking  
 an atmosphere of harmony between heaven and earth: "Es war als hätt'  
 3)  
der Himmel / Die Erde still geküsst". The peaceful harmony of the moon-  
 lit scene is once more complemented by the unblemished sky: "... so  
sternklar war die Nacht". It will be interesting to return to this  
 motif of the clear sky as complement to the moon when we consider the  
 ways in which Heym's imagery destroys the traditional conception of the  
 moon.

Both Mautz and Arendt find in the poetry and drama of Goethe many

examples of moon imagery with roots in classical mythology. Mautz draws on Goethe's Faust, where in the final scene of the "klassischen Walpurgisnacht", as preparation for the appearance of Helen, the birth "des zeitlos Schönen" takes place in the magical light of the moon, to the invocations of the "schönen" and "holden" Luna, the "hochverehrten, allerliebsten Göttin". In the earlier of the two poems entitled "An den Mond", the moon is referred to as "Schwester von dem ersten Licht", a direct reference to the classical myth which made Selene the sister of Helios, a relationship in the "West-Ostlicher Divan", where we read of "das allerhöchste Weltenpaar".

Also, in the earlier "An den Mond", the moon is described as "Bild der Zärtlichkeit in Trauer", and it is this idea of the moon as a comforting agent, particularly to the love-lorn, that Arendt has in mind when he talks of

... die bleibende Verbindung ... zwischen einer alten Weltleid lindernden Liebe und dem in der Welt-Dunkelheit tröstenden Mondlicht. (p. 183)

He quotes from the later "An den Mond" as an example of a lover's plea to the moon for solace:

Breitest über mein Gefild  
Lindernd deinen Blick,  
Wie des Freundes Auge mild  
Über mein Geschick.

He points out the change from an earlier version, which reads "Wie des Liebsten Auge ..." to emphasise the connection between the moon and the theme of Love.

Brentano's poem "Sprich aus der Ferne" could also be given as an example of the moon seen as a source of comfort:

Wenn des Mondes still linder-de Tränen  
 Lösen der Nächte verborgenes Weh,  
 Dann wehet Friede ... (p. 227)

In his account of the Italian journey, Goethe describes the comforting moonlit nights he experienced in the South, but also the lurking memory of the darkness of the North, a dichotomy which acquired symbolic meaning for him: the moon relieves the disquieting darkness of the World and becomes a symbol for the hidden but constant light of day in the midst of nocturnal threat. Already we see here the idea of night as disquieting, an idea far removed from that contained in the Klopstock poem already mentioned, where moon and night appeared as co-travelers. The emphasis has swung markedly to the comforting aspect of the moon's light, which assumes increasing importance for Goethe as he approaches death:

Durch bewegter Schatten Spiele  
 Zittert Lunas Zauberschein,  
 Und durchs Auge schleicht die Kühle  
 Säntigend ins Herz hinein.

With the advent of Romanticism, the moon underwent further adaption, becoming an indispensable requisite for the nocturnal setting and magical atmosphere of much Romantic poetry, as in the following example from Ludwig Tieck quoted by Arendt:

Mondbeglänzte Zaubernacht,  
 Die den Sinn gefangen hält,  
 Wundervolle Märchen welt,  
 Steig auf in deiner alten Pracht.

The moon is no longer seen simply as a source of welcome light or comfort, but itself becomes a symbol of the Romantic longing for the infinite and the unknown, which in turn offers an escape from reality, a substitution of a poetic invention for the harsher actuality of life. The same equation of aspiration and poetic expression can be seen in

Mautz's claim that the moon in Romantic poetry became, in fact, a symbol for "die magische Beschwörungskraft der Poesie selbst" (p. 249), which he supports with a quote from Jean Paul in which the poet advocates the reader to turn alternately to "bald dem Sonnenlicht der Wirklichkeit, bald dem Mondschein der Dichtkunst".

Because the Romantics based their hopes on such flimsy and escapist premises, Arendt claims, their subsequent disillusionment was all the greater, but instead of aiming for the safety of more traditional ground, they turned to self-parody, as a means of warding off despair.

Thus Heine can write:

Doch der Mond, der lacht herunter  
Und mit heller Stimme spricht er  
Jener ist verliebt und närrisch  
Und noch obendrein ein Dichter...

and elsewhere describe the moon as "eine Riesenpomeranze" while at the same time submitting to its more positive qualities of "duftig labend" and "süss". It is, therefore, Arendt's conclusion that there had been no dramatic negation of the moon-symbol in German poetry until the turn of the century and that the change was effected by the Expressionists, notably Heym and Trakl.  
4)

A short review of the rôle played by the moon in French literature will indicate a very similar tendency towards a predominantly positive conception of the moon. The sixteenth-century poet Belleau gives an early indication of this tendency, when he addresses the moon as "lune porte-flambeau" and beseeches her:

Montres le teint vermeil de ton visage plein,  
Et les rayons sacrés de ta belle paupière.

In this poem the poet requests the moon to appear in order to create the required setting for a amorous encounter, but there is also a

feeling of identification on the poet's part with the moon's freedom of movement and its isolation, which points forward to the idea of immersion in the beauties of nature found in the poetry of Lamartine. In "Le Vallon" for example the poet seeks solace in nature, in which he can hear the comforting voice of God. In this idealised picture of nature, the moon is, with its gentle light, an essential ingredient; the poet advises:

Avec le doux rayon de l'astre du mystère,  
Glisse à travers les bois dans l'ombre du vallon. (p. 262)

In "Le Lac" the poet mourns the ephemerality of mortal pleasures, in contrast to the permanence of nature, and asks that the memory of his lost love be made eternal, preserved as it were in the beauties of nature, in the lake, the rocks and the breeze, and

Dans l'astre au front d'argent qui blanchit la surface  
De ses molles clartés! (p. 256)

In the poetry of Hugo we encounter the moon used both in the creation of atmosphere and in a clearly symbolic rôle. In "Quand nous habitions tous deux" Hugo recollects the memory of his daughter, and of the happy days which they spent together and which are no more. He remembers this with the words together "Quand la lune claire et sereine / Brillait aux cieux" (p. 346). This picture of calm and clarity, used as an idyll setting, is also evident in the final stanzas of "Booz Endormi" where "la croissant fin et clair" (p. 358) looks down on the sleeping couple. In "Lune" Hugo takes the moon as a direct symbol of the revolutionary "Idée" which will overthrow the repressive despotism under which the free-thinkers languish:

L'obscurité couvre le monde / Mais l'Idée illumine et  
luit / De sa clarité blanche elle inonde / Les  
sombres azurs de la nuit. (p. 333)

The idea of comfort already seen in the use made of the moon by the German Romantics is also present in the line: "Elle apaise l'âme qui souffre" while once more the qualities of serenity and purity are portrayed in the rise of the "Idée" symbolized by the moon:

En voyant dans la brume obscure  
L'Idée, amour des tristes yeux,  
Monter calme, sereine et pure ... (p. 340)

The idea of the moon as the natural setting for a love scene appears also in Musset's "La Nuit d'Octobre" where the poet recalls, in a conversation with the Muse, the love affair which threw him into despair:

Je vois encore, aux rayons de la lune  
Ce beau corps plier dans mes bras... (p. 399)

It will be seen from this brief review of the use of moon imagery in French and german literature that Heym and Rimbaud both inherited a literary tradition in which the moon had played an almost exclusively positive rôle, either symbolically or in the evocation of atmosphere.

There can be little doubt, however, that both poets did encounter examples of negative moon imagery in the course of their reading in their respective languages.. Rimbaud must have been acquainted with the poetry of Vigny and Leconte de Lisle, in both of whom can be found quite striking, if as yet, isolated examples of negative moon imagery. In Vigny's "La Mort du Loup" we read: "Les nuages couraient sur la lune enflammée" (p. 311) which points forward to Rimbaud's image of the burning moon in "Villes: Ce sont des Villes" (p. 276).

Even more strikingly original uses of the moon are to be found in Leconte de Lisle. In "Les Hurleurs" the scene is overcast:

Seule, la lune pâle, en écartant la nue 6)  
Comme une morne lampe oscillait tristement

and the wild dogs scream in anguish "Devant la lune errante aux livides clartés". In "Le Coeur de Hiawatha" the moon no longer brings solace to suffering humanity: "La lune froide verse au loin sa pâle flamme" (p. 441) on to the battle field littered with dying men. The moon in these poems seems rather to represent the indifference of the gods to the suffering of mankind, as opposed to its earlier rôle of comforter.

Heym could also have encountered such departures from tradition in his reading of German poetry. Arendt's explanation of Heine's use of negative moon imagery as self-parody does not fully account for the following example from Heine's poetry:

Aus herbstlich dämmernden Wolkenschleiern  
Ein traurig todblasses Antlitz  
Bricht hervor der Mond (p. 326)

The quotation is taken from a description of a sunset, and its sole function in the poem is to create an atmosphere of decline which matches both the time of the day, and of the year. Nevertheless the image of the moon as a deathly pale face could be seen as pointing forward to Heym's images of the moon as an old man (p. 683) and as a white skull (p. 133).

Instances of negative moon imagery do occur in both French and German literature, therefore, and cannot be discounted as having influenced either Rimbaud or Heym in their use of such imagery. That is still not to deny, however, that the use of moon imagery which they encountered was predominantly positive, and that the negation of the moon image, before Rimbaud, was limited to isolated examples, whose aim was to create an effect within the poems in which they appeared, but which were in no way significant in the wider context of the poet's overall vision.

Indeed, Leconte de Lisle, in whose poetry we have seen most striking examples of such negative usage, significantly returned to a positive

conception of the moon, in his later retreat into the realm of l'art pour l'art. In one of his last poems, "Les Yeux d'or de la Nuit", he describes an idyllic nocturnal scene in which, from behind the silent mountain peaks:

Émerge, en épanchant sa blancheur qui déferle,  
La lune éblouissante, épanouie aux cieux. (p. 241)

In the "Hymnes Orphiques" we actually find a hymn to Selena, a return to the Greek myth which Mautz points to as determining the use of moon imagery in German poetry right up to the twentieth century: "Parfum de Lélène: Le Myrte" contains all the ideas traditionally associated with the Greek moon goddess:

... ton front charmant ... doux rayonnement... De tes beaux yeux ... Reine des belles nuits ... tes molles lumières ... ta tranquille clarté ... O Perle de l'azur ... (pp. 234-35)

In this one poem are summed up those qualities of peace, serenity, beauty and light, and of sympathy with the plight of man, that we have seen embodied in the moon-image in its positive function in our review of its traditional usage. That Leconte de Lisle should return to the very source of the original moon-image shows most clearly the fundamental difference between those poets in whom negative moon imagery does occur but only incidentally, and Rimbaud and Heym, in whose use of moon imagery we shall seek to show a much more conscious and deliberate manipulation of the inherited literary tradition.

It is most probable that Rimbaud, who was a voracious reader, was well acquainted with the wealth of literary tradition associated with the moon. Indeed his earliest published work, Soleil et Chair, reveals his knowledge of classical mythology, and of the Selena myth in particular. It is a youthful poem which bears the stamp of adolescent idealism, but already we see that it is an idealism based on nostalgia for a past age of innocence and harmony: "Je regrette le temps de l'antique jeunesse" (p. 40). It soon emerges that it is the figure of Venus that represents for him the lost Golden Age: "Vénus, c'est en toi que je crois" (p. 41). The poem ends with a vision of the return of the gods and figures of antiquity: Kalipyge (Venus), Eros, Ariadné, Zeus, Europé, Léda, Héraclès and Séléné. Man, who is prevented by doubt from attaining the infinite, will be released once more, and live in harmony with the gods: "Les Dieux écoutent l'Homme et le Monde infini" (p. 45).

Rimbaud sent this poem to Banville for possible inclusion in the Parnasse contemporain. In its declamatory style and generous use of mythological material, it owes much to the Parnassians, and, indeed, it is largely derivative. Nevertheless, for our purpose it is important to note for Rimbaud's as yet idealistic picture of the moon:

La blanche Séléné laisse flotter son voile  
Craintive, sur les pieds du bel Endymion,  
Et lui jette un baiser dans un pâle rayon ... (p. 45)

Séléné is a white figure, which suggests purity, and the image of the goddess fearfully casting her veil over the legs of her sleeping lover conveys the gentleness of her caress, as does the image of the ray as a kiss. Most important is Rimbaud's use of the mythological names, for it shows at this early stage how closely bound up with each other were

the young poet's idealistic belief in a past Golden Age and the literary tradition.

There is also a trace of this lingering tradition in "Soeurs de charité". The picture that we encountered in "Soleil et Chair" of the Dryade standing naked "dans sa pâleur doré" in the half-light of the summer moon, finds its echo in the first stanza of the later poem:

Le beau corps de vingt ans qui devrait aller nu.  
Et qu'eût, le front cerclé de cuivre, sous la lune  
Adoré, dans la Perse, un Génie inconnu... (p. 108)

One must be wary of possible parody, but the stark, almost bitter contrast between the idealised youth in the first half of the poem and the mysogynistic outburst in the second, is surely calculated. Moreover, one detects a positive identification on Rimbaud's part in the lines:

Le jeune homme, devant les laideurs de ce monde  
Tressaille dans son coeur largement irrité... (p. 108)

A final example of a picture in which the moon plays a distinctly symbolic rôle in a positive sense is in the prose work "Nuit de l'enfer" (Une Saison en Enfer). It is significant that in this retrospective work it should be the moon that crowns his image of the lost youth:

Ah! l'enfance, l'herbe, la pluie, le lac sur les pierres,  
le clair de lune quand le clocher sonnait douze... le  
diable est au clocher à cette heure... (pp. 220-21)

In this last sentence Rimbaud effectively sums up his negation of the moon image which evolves through his work. This process of negation assumes three forms, which represent varying degrees of intensity in his assault on the old tradition.

The first approach is the use of ironic reference: the moon appears in situations far removed from settings in which one is accustomed to

finding its presence, and the aim in the first instance is simply to shock, as a means of protest against the established order. Thus the following examples, although representing a dramatic departure from the traditional moon concept, are limited in their intention. In "Mes petites amoureuses" he makes a brutal attack on the female sex:

Sous les lunes particulières  
 Aux pialats ronds  
 Entrechoquez vos genouillères,  
 Mes Laiderons! (p. 92)

This final stanza, which is a slight adaptation of the second, sets the women he has known beneath "les lunes particulières", but this represents a grotesque transformation of the traditional love scene. The use of the plural "lunes" in itself expresses the "déjà vu" nature of his encounters, while their association with "pialats ronds", as well as representing a dramatic break with tradition, also emphasises the carnal side of his past love affairs, to the exclusion of all else.

While the moon in the above poem is almost entirely stripped of its former associations by the very grotesqueness of the image, the shock in "Accroupissements" is produced simply by providing a moonlit setting for an act of prosaic crudeness:

Et le soir, aux rayons de lune, qui lui font  
 Aux contours du cul des bavures de lumière;  
 Une ombre avec détails s'accroupit sur un fond  
 De neige rose ainsi qu'une rose trémière ... (p. 94)

No longer does the moon caress the sleeping figure of Endymion, but the backside of the squatting monk. No more does it provide the setting for a love scene, but for an act of crude necessity.

If ironic reference is used in these examples simply in order to outrage the reader's sensibilities, it can also be used for a deeper purpose. Thus the second way in which Rimbaud undermines the positive

tradition of the moonimage is related to the first because of its use of irony, but its aims are more far-reaching.

In the first example, Rimbaud consciously evokes the traditional moon setting as an ironic contrast to the rest of the poem. Referring here to the hands of Jeanne-Marie, the poet asks:

Ont-elles trempe dans des lunes  
Aux étangs de sérénités? (p. 105)

The image evoked here is one of hands rippling the surface of a pool in which the moon is reflected, but the question posed is tinged with sarcasm, for the hands which indulge in this pointless Romantic pastime are contrasted with the rough but productive hands of a woman revolutionary. It should be noted in passing that Rimbaud employed a very original use of the plural to emphasise the habitual nature of such dallying, and in doing so underlines the fact that he is not so much interested in the moon as a realistic phenomenon, as in its potential as a means to expression. Both the stylistic trait and its function point forward to 1) similar developments in Heym's use of the moon.

A poem which also depends for its effect on the undermining through irony of the moon as a force beneficial to man, and which relates most directly to the theme of the ideal as encountered in the poem "Soleil et Chair", is the intriguing piece "Entends comme brame ...". This poem has mystified the majority of Rimbaud's critics, most of whom have seen it merely as an example of Rimbaud's system of notation by which he worked to prepare himself for the experience of "voyance" that he describes in the celebrated letter to Demeny (p. 344). Certainly, the poem contradicts our normal perceptions of reality, but Edward J. Ahearn has attempted to find a structured interpretation of the poem which is

for the most part convincing. A short summary of his ideas will show what relevance this poem has to our study.

The poem seems to express, according to Ahearn, "an awareness of a strange movement and life in nature, an attraction between the earthly or sublunary world, and the celestial sphere of the moon" (p. 409).

The vegetable order is endowed with animate characteristics of sound and motion--pointing forward to the frequent animation of nature in Illuminations--in order to reflect a similar human longing for a mystical union with the cosmos. Ahearn sees this longing for union as a theme running through many of Rimbaud's poems, but whereas in "Soleil et Chair" faith was professed in a turn to a state of harmony, in later poems this desired union is seen as attainable only in the identification of earth and body in death. The theme of man's immersion in nature through death is traced by Ahearn in four poems: in "Ophélie", the girl was drowned listening to "le chant de la Nature", risking her life to attain the ultimate freedom of "L'Infini" (p. 47); in "Comédie de la soif", the answer to the poet's spiritual thirst for the infinite is death:

Expirer en ces violettes humides  
Dont les aurores chargent ces forêts. (p. 154)

In "Les Soeurs de charité", the young man searches for the sister of charity who can restore him to his former state of bliss--"sous la lune / Adoré"--that loving relationship between the human, the natural and the divine, and he rejects in turn the solace of a woman and of la "Muse verte et la Justice ardente", finally to summon death: "O Mort mystérieuse, ô soeur de charité" (p. 109); as his final example, Ahearn quotes from "Bannières de mai" to show a similar desire for union with

nature in death:

Que par toi beaucoup, ô Nature,  
--Ah moins seul et moins nul!--je meure... (pp. 156-57)

"Entends comme brame" can be seen as the culmination of this theme of striving for the infinite, and at the same time as its rejection.

In the first stanza, the dramatic departure from normally perceived reality represents, according to Ahearn, the stirring of animate awareness and purpose in the vegetable world. The poet now wishes to endow the plants with real movement and life, and consequently he must strip them of their normal qualities of solidity. Hence the obscure phrase "Dans sa vapeur nette" (p. 173) is taken by Ahearn to refer to the clearly outlined sticks on which the peas are growing, while at the same time pointing to the vague, scarcely discernible shape of the peas themselves. The use of "Dans" is meant to convey the transformation of former human life into vegetable existence.

Ahearn gives the following quotation from "Soleil et Chair" to illustrate a similar usage: "Pour aimer dans la rose, et croire dans les blés ... ?" (p. 43).

Ahearn now makes the point, so central to our study, that even in death, or rather in the extension of life in vegetable existence, the desire for union with the infinite lives on, here conveyed by the image of the dead saints yearning for Phœbé, the moon. The moon is seen as the object of their longing, but the rest of the poem shows that this yearning is destined to remain unfulfilled. The first indication that the quest is sterile is the strange image of "ce philtre sournois". Ahearn's attempt to interpret this "sly love-potion" as an image of cosmic love is far-fetched, but he is right to

see in the use of "sournois" a somewhat ironic attitude towards the saints' yearning. And certainly, the final two stanzas show that the saints have attained no identification with divine Being, the ancient harmony longed for in "Soleil et Chair" has not been restored. There is no sign of the original source of light, which has been negated by "ce brouillard triste / et blêmi ..." (p. 173).

Once again Rimbaud creates the positive image, in this case the moon as the object of spiritual longing, only to destroy it through irony. The process of ironic reference is taken a stage further in the poem "Jeune ménage", in that it is used to convey the idea of threat. Here the subject is the "drôle de ménage" which Rimbaud shared with Verlaine. The tone of the poem is forcefully lighthearted, but there is an idea of threat inherent in the aimlessness of their lives. Their room is invaded by "des esprits des eaux, malfaisants" to which "le marié"--presumably Verlaine--is an easy prey:

La nuit, l'amie oh! la lune de miel  
Cueillera leur sourire et remplira  
De mille bandeaux de cuivre le ciel.

Here there is a play on words, as "l'amie" refers to the moon, covering the sky with its "mille bandeaux de cuivre", but there is also the idea of honeymoon, an ironic reference to their first few weeks of living together. Their relationship, condemned by society, stands in contrast to the idyllic associations of a honeymoon. The insertion of the exclamatory "oh!" suggests an air of mock exultation, while the sudden pathos of the final line: "Puis ils auront affaire au malin rat" dispels any doubt as to its being a case of ironic reference.

The final instance of this approach is in the poem "Michel et Christine". This is a disturbing piece, particularly as its inherent

threat has as yet eluded satisfactory interpretation by Rimbaud critics. Suzanne Bernard takes the lines:

Cette religieuse après-midi d'orage  
Sur l'Europe ancienne où cent hordes iron! (p. 174)

to refer to the invasion of Europe in the Middle Ages by the barbarian hordes, but the picture as a whole seem to evoke, rather than a historical fact, a future disaster which threatens a tottering civilisation. Indeed, it would be fitting to group it with the older poems of an apocalyptic nature, e. g. "Après le déluge", "Villes: Ce sont des villes". The poem starts with the threat of an oncoming storm, which causes the poet to invoke flight. The resultant chaos is dramatically conveyed by the impression of movement in the poems:

Fuyez! plaine, déserts, prairie, horizons  
Sont à la toilette rouge de l'orage. (p. 174)

Not only does this convey the enormous extent of ground to be covered, but also highlights the vast expanses of the sky, for it is unrelenting flatness which typifies the description. Attention is consequently drawn to "les cieux glaceés de rouge", with its paradoxical associations of fire and freezing, an image which vividly conveys the feeling of foreboding which characterises the poem.

Suddenly we meet the phrase: "Après, le clair de lune!". We assume that peace and calm have returned to the landscape, but we are immediately presented with the warriors: "Rougis et leurs fronts aux cieux noirs, ...". Rimbaud uses the traditional evocation of serenity that one associates with the moon, in order to heighten the horror and foreboding of his vision. In all three instances of this use of moon imagery, Rimbaud trades on traditional associations,

employing the moon in such a way that the reader presupposes certain images (or as in "Les mains de Jeanne-Marie" conjuring up the image for the reader), only for these to be negated by the context in which they appear.

Rimbaud's destruction of the traditional moon image reaches its climax, however, in those poems where it detaches itself entirely from all previous associations of beauty and harmony, and becomes an object of threat or even horror. In such cases, it is no longer a question of irony or parody, but the creation of a new poetic vision. Let us first consider two poems that are relevant in this respect, as they involve nocturnal settings. We saw that Klopstock regarded the moon as companion of the night, while for Goethe it assumed symbolic importance as a welcome source of light in the face of nocturnal threat. Rimbaud now endows the night with active life of a threatening nature:

Tu fermeras l'oeil, pour ne point voir, par la glace,  
Grimacer les ombres des soirs,  
Ces monstruosités hargnouses, populace  
De démons noirs et de loups noirs      (p. 75)

This is a poem of only slight import, for it simply recounts the apparently casual meeting, during the winter, of Rimbaud and a woman, in the protective warmth of a coach. Yet this personification of the shadow, with their crowds of black demons, points forward to the demonisation of natural phenomena such as is found in Heym's poetry. Moreover, this poem provides another interesting parallel with Heym's work, for we find here the striking image of a kiss as a mad spider. This image is not merely an invention to lead up to the cleverly provocative final line, for we find in "Roman" a similar image:

On divague; on se sent aux lèvres un baiser  
 Qui palpite là, comme une petite bête ... (p. 71)

while in "Les Premières Communiions" the flesh and heart of the young communicant "fourmillent du baiser putride de Jésus" (p. 125). It is significant that in the earlier poetry we read of the sun's kiss, the wind kissing the breasts of Ophélie, and Séléné, sending her kiss to Endymion, all in a positive sense; either bringing life, protection, or expressing love. In the above examples, however, the image is given a grotesque turn, and points forward to the following lines from Heym:

Der Mond umfängt sie sanft mit Spinnenarm,  
 Ihr Haupt wird von dem Kuss weiss gemalt, (p. 253)

Night is personified even more specifically, and with the same idea of foreboding, in "Les Premières Communiions".

La Nuit vient, noir pirate aux cieux d'or débarquant.  
 (p. 122)

The inherent threat is given human form: the pirate carries associations of attack, robbery and lawlessness, and it is on this night the young girl loses her purity.

Let us now consider those poems in which Rimabud endows the moon with attributes which not only contradict those normally associated with it, but also negate its very phenomenological qualities. For example, in "Comédie de la soif", Rimbaud writes:

Nous sommes tes Grands-Parents,  
 Les Grands!  
 Couverts des froides sueurs  
 De la lune et des verdures (p. 151)

This is indeed a strange image. It is not surprising that one of the first editors substituted the word "terre" for "lune". Rimbaud's aim, however, was poetic effect rather than logical clarity. There

would seem to be a definite suggestion that the sun is representative of life, in sharp contrast to the cold, misty climes which "les

Grands" (p. 133). The image of the "froides sueurs" of the moon evokes a picture of a young man, his white face bathed in the cold sweat of mortal fear. But a short step from this technique of endowing the moon with attributes of death to Heym's transformation of the moon into a very symbol of death: "der weisse Schädel" (p. 133).

Rimbaud uses the moon to convey an idea of threat, with supernatural qualities, in his hallucinatory prose poem "Nocturne vulgaire" (Illusions). It bears interesting parallels to the earlier piece "Rêve de l'hiver" already discussed, with the important difference that now the dream has been transformed into a nightmare, while the carriage which transported the poet is now a hearse. The vehicle is no longer a haven or refuge from the encroaching threat of its surroundings: "Un vert et un bleu très foncés envahissent l'image" (p. 236).

There is mention of the approaching storm, while the reference to St. Michael introduces the idea of heavenly wrath and destruction; "bêtes fâchées" and "bêtes de songe" pursue the vehicle "qui vire sur le gazon de la grande route effacée"; and, as the poem ends, the waters are lapping round the coach. In this picture of forboding and disintegration there are visible, in a fault in the glass, "les blèmes figures, feuilles, seins", which swirl around in accordance with the frantic movement of the poem, grotesque and frightening figures bathed in a moonlight which no longer covers them with beauty, but casts a wan, cadaverous light.

We shall now consider the culmination of Rimbaud's transformation of the traditional moon image. In his prose poem "Après le déluge"

(Illuminations), he deals with a theme which reoccurs throughout his work and which we have already encountered in the early poem "Soleil et Chair", that of the lost Golden Age, when man lived in child-like confidence, before the advent of civilisation in all its varied aspects.

In "Soleil et Chair" we saw that man had begun to question the hitherto unchallenged union between himself and the gods, and that his doubts had destroyed the ancient harmony. It was for the return of this state of harmony that Rimbaud called in a vision based more on youthful optimism than on rational thought. In "Après le déluge" the question still haunts Rimbaud, but his reaction is significantly different. The Flood has swept away the ideal state of child-like confidence, and modern civilisation has taken over in the form of commerce ("Dans la grande rue sale, Les étals se dressèrent"), in the form of man's inhumanity ("Le sang coula, chez Barbe-Bleue, --aux abattoirs, --dans les cirques"), and in the form of religion ("la messe et les premières communions se célébrèrent aux cent mille autels de la cathédrale"). The literal recollection of the poem "Les Premières Communions" is surely not coincidental: it emphasises the bitterness of the attack on religion, here seen as one of the most important corrupting influences of civilisation. There is also a strong sense of the encroachment of modern civilisation contained in the lines: "Madame établit un piano aux Alpes" and "le Splendide-Hôtel fut bâti dans le chaos de glaces et de nuit du pôle", and, most significantly with regard to our study:

Depuis lors, la Lune entendit les chacals piaulant par les déserts de thym, --et les églogues en sabots grognant dans le verger. (p. 253)

As Suzanne Bernard remarks, "le silence des nuits n'est même plus

respecté" (p. 481). The sounds of whining and growling add an air of eeriness to this shattering of the nocturnal silence, while the animation of the moon, which is suddenly endowed with the power of hearing, explodes the normal concepts of reality. The picture of civilisation created here is far more extreme than that of "Soleil et Chair", in which the normal guide-lines of reality were still present; here they are swept aside in the creation of a vision independent of such guide-lines--the moon is able to hear the jackals howling round the caravans which invade the former peacefulness of the deserts; the flowers are able to watch the effects of civilisation; the precious stones bury themselves in the ground. The call is no longer for the return of the antique gods, but for a new Flood to sweep away man's doûts and false values:

Ecume, roule sur le pont et pardessus les bois;--  
draps noirs et orgues,--éclairs et tonnerre,--montez  
et roulez;--Eaux et tristesses, montez et relevez les  
Déluges. (p. 254)

There is no longer a confident belief in the return of the former state of natural grace, but rather a desire for destruction at all costs. The poem does not end with revolutionary vision, but with a restatement of an idea also contained in "Soleil et Chair", that of man's inability to probe the mysteries of life and his existence. Whereas in the earlier poem this idea was countered optimistically by the final vision of the return of the gods, the impression left by "Après le déluge" is one of man's impotence. The change of attitude in the two poems is mirrored by the different rôles played by the moon.

It is in another prose poem, "Villes: Ce sont des villes!"

(Illuminations), that Rimbaud's final reshaping of the moon-image occurs. Like Heym, Rimbaud was deeply concerned with the problems of modern industrial city-life, a concern expressed in many poems. In Illuminations, three prose poems, of which the second one is to concern us chiefly, are grouped closely together: "Ville", "Villes: Ce sont des villes!" and "Villes: L'acropole officielle". The first is almost totally realistic description of an industrial city, which in its harshness announces Heym's savage attacks on modern city-life:

... de ma fenêtre, je vois des spectres nouveaux roulant à travers l'épaisse et éternelle fumée de charbon. (p. 274)

Both the second and third poems appear to be projections into the future, fantasy cities in which

des chalets de cristal et de bois ... se meurent sur des rails et des poulies invisibles. (p. 276)

However, in "Villes: Ce sont des villes!" intermingled with these futuristic visions are mythological and legendary figures of all ages:

... les centaresses séraphiques évoluent parmi les avalanches,

while

... les pieds dans le cascade et les ronces, les cerfs tettent Diane.

In the midst of such dramatic changes of perspective and direction, where all is movement and seeming confusion, it is difficult to assess whether this vision is an ideal to be set against the grimy reality of "Ville", or an equally disturbing projection into the future. There is an indication of a belief in a progressive future, in the picture of workers singing "la joie du travail nouveau"; and certainly one detects a note of regret in the conclusion, suggesting the tragic fleetiness of such a vision:

Quels bons bras, quelle belle heure me rendront cette  
région d'où viennent mes sommeils et mes moindres  
mouvements? (p. 277)

But the juxtaposition of the abstract and the concrete is too disturbing for one to draw an optimistic conclusion from the whole.

Moreover, we find here the most extreme example of Rimbaud's animation of the moon:

Les Bacchantes des banlieues sanglotent et la lune brûle  
et hurle. (p. 276)

If, as Suzanne Bernard suggests, the image of Diane giving suck to stags evokes a Golden Age, in which the lion will lie down with the lamb, the image of the shrieking, burning moon, with its implication of forboding and its suggestion of some mythological creature inherently threatening to man, immediately destroys the idyll. Moreover, animation is also used with disturbing effect in the line

... des moissons de fleurs grandes comme nos armes et  
nos coupes, mugissent. (p. 276)

In this dynamic picture of futuristic splendour and threat, the image of the moon stands out in its starkness and in the horrifying transformation of both its phenomenological and symbolic qualities.

In "Après le déluge", the moon is endowed with the power of hearing, but its rôle is passive: it can only listen to the howling of the jackals. Here it is the moon that screams, that has been transplanted from its habitual pastoral setting into the city, that has been given life of an almost demonic nature.

It remains for us to discuss one final poem which is relevant to our study. "Le Bateau ivre" (p. 128) has been taken by most critics to be a very personal account by Rimbaud of his attempts at "voyance" through the process of "déreglement de tous les sens". The voyage of

the boat, which in the course of the poem becomes identified with the poet himself ("Or moi, bateau perdu . . ." p. 130), is conveyed by a breathless flow of images which are only tenuously connected to each other. In his analysis of the poem, Rolf Kloepfer has attempted to show that the images can be grouped into certain "Bildbereiche", which by their recurrence produce an overall spiralling effect, reflecting the poet's search, through the "déreglement de tous les sens", for contact with the infinitive: "Rimbaud dichtet nichts anderes als den Weg in die Ekstase"<sup>3)</sup> (p. 161).

Whether one accepts Kloepfer's analysis or not, there is undeniably a build up through the poem to the image of the poet-boat piercing the sky: "Moi qui trouais le ciel rougeoyant". At this moment of climax, however, in the very act of making contact with "des immobilités bleues", the poet expresses his longing for "l'Europe aux anciens parapets!" (p. 131). The boat is an un-salvageable wreck after its tumultuous journey, and is now contrasted with the frail but secure paper boat launched by the little child on the pond, and it is the pond, as opposed to the rivers and seas over which he has travelled, that becomes the object of the poet's yearning. In the weariness of the final stanzas, and in the desire for death expressed in the call for the breaking up of the boat, can be seen a longing for the modest existence of those who choose the safety of conventional life. The child sending his boat across the pond is "plein de tristesses", showing the resigned sadness of those who have never known the excitement or adventure of true experience, but this picture of resignation is seen by the poet as preferable to the anguish of his own experience.

The image of the boat piercing the sky finds an echo in the later

poem "L'Eternité". Rimbaud defines the idea of eternity in the following image:

C'est la mer allée  
Avec le soleil.

Suzanne Bernard takes this as representing "la joie de l'instant" experienced by those who rediscover "l'esprit païen", but the moment of joy is not totally free of suffering, which is seen in fact to be an integral part of the experience: "Le supplice est sûr" (p. 161).

If, in this later poem, Rimbaud had reached a more balanced and objective view of his experiments, and had accepted suffering as part of the process of attaining true experience, in "Le Bateau ivre" there is no such acceptance, and weariness and desire for death are expressed through a striking image, which provides our final example of negative moon imagery:

Mais, vrai, j'ai trop pleuré! Les Aubes sont navrantes.  
Toute lune est atroce et tout soleil amer:  
.....  
O que ma quille éclate! O que j'aille à la mer!

We have come full circle from the conception of the moon as Séléné, caressing her lover by a pastoral stream, to the screaming moon in "Villes: Ce sont des villes!" hovering over the city as a source of uncertain threat. The moon in the poetry of Rimbaud has indeed become the "lune ... atroce" of "Le Bateau ivre".

It is now our task to discover whether a similar negation of the moon image occurs in the poetry of Georg Heym and whether, if evidence of such development emerges, there can be any question of influence. While negation of the idealistic conception of the moon presupposes knowledge of its use in poetry, this does not necessarily mean that the poet who transforms the image has, in fact, ever used it himself in its traditional form. Yet, it is interesting to note that both Rimbaud and Heym wrote poems in which the moon appears with unqualified positive significance. In other words, when later they parody the traditional conception of the moon-image, they are not only parodying a cliché-ridden poetic style, but also themselves.<sup>1)</sup> Thus the parody assumes heightened significance, in that it represents a development in the poet's outlook. In both poets, there is a close link between literary development and adaption of outlook or philosophy of life.

Since this idea of development has been sadly overlooked in Heym criticism, we shall be laying more emphasis on his early, more idealistic poetry than perhaps their quality merits. Even Mautz, who, as we have seen, traces a parallel in Heym's work between a development from a symbolist to an expressive use of colours and a trend from idealism to nihilism, does not see this trend reflected in Heym's moon imagery. The one critic who has attempted to trace this development in Heym's poetry, in the more general sphere of nature imagery, is K. L. Schneider, who begins his essay by regretting the almost total neglect of Heym's early poetry in interpretations of his work. Certain critics, he maintains, have written that "die zarten Töne einer Landschaftszeichnung" are as much a part of Heym's poetical

make-up as the harshness of his later expressive vision, and some even allot to them the highest praise. But, he continues:

Solche Urteile sind ... bei der Deutung Heyms bisher kaum berücksichtigt worden, denn er gilt nach wie vor in erster Linie als Dichter der Grosstadt motive und als unerbittlicher Gestalter expressionistischer Untergangsvisionen.

(p. 44)

These interpretations, claims Schneider, are not false "aber einseitig". Ironically he is answering a call suggested by his own earlier work Der bildhafte Ausdruck in den Dichtungen Georg Heyms, Georg Trakls und Ernst Städlers where we meet this very onesidedness of which he accuses previous critics of Heym's poetry. There were, however, mitigating circumstances, in that his aim had been to draw conclusions about the essential nature of Expressionist poetry as a whole from a parallel study of the imagery of three early expressionist poets and to establish the salient features of a "Zeitstil". Such an approach, while obviously valid within the terms of its aims, does not admit of any analysis of development within the work of an individual poet. Indeed, by almost completely ignoring the early work of Heym, except for those instances where he shows signs of future expressionist style, Schneider creates a distorted picture of Heym's philosophy of life. Here is not the time to embark on a review of this book, but we refer to Mautz's vehement criticism, which although one may not agree that Schneider's approach exposes Heym's poetry to "den gröbsten Fehldeutungen ... die einem Dichter je widerfahren sind" (p. 34) serves to expose the shortcomings of Schneider's method of criticism in this instance. He shows particularly well the unconvincing volte-face that Schneider performs at the end of his section

on Heym, when he suddenly declares the image of the nihilist and cynical Heym, which he has carefully built up by means of his categories of "periorisierende Metapher" and "zynische Metapher", to be the exact opposite of the true case. It is entirely unconvincing for it remains a piece of pure conjecture in opposition to a wealth of evidence, albeit onesided, to support the contrary view.

Schneider's later article corrects this failing to a certain extent in that it points to the positive aspect in Heym's early nature poetry, and illustrates the way in which these aspects gradually lose their positive element as they become part of Heym's expressionist vision. He gives examples of this process in Heym's use of clouds, in his use of the images of the ploughman and the sailor, and in his techniques of "räumlichen Entgrenzung" which all illustrate

... den Zug zur Verhäßlichung der Natur und die Neigung Einzelerscheinungen der Landschaft auf dem Wege über Metaphorik in einer Weise zu kennzeichnen, die in striktem Gegensatz zu allen Techniken der 'poetischen' Landschaftszeichnung steht. (p. 52)

This observation introduces the idea of development which is lacking from his former study, but no conclusions are drawn by Schneider. He restricts himself to noting that the idealisation of nature turns to its "radikale Eintrübung" (p. 53) without indicating that this has any bearings on Heym's outlook or on any corresponding change in his philosophy of life. Indeed, Schneider at one point still uses the term "periorisierende Metapher", which, as it is totally without explanation, must be held to signify exactly what it did in the earlier study.

Schneider's article is, therefore, a study restricting itself to a purely literary observation. Nevertheless, it introduces a fundamental

point. He claims that the most striking characteristic of Heym's early poems involving landscape description is that

... sie relativ wenig konkrete Natureindrücke bieten,  
dafür aber alle gängigen Klischees klassischer und ro-  
mantischer Stilgebung aufweisen. (p. 45)

As we shall show, this point is particularly true of Heym's use of the moon in his early poetry, just as it was true of Rimbaud's use of the moon-myth in "Soleil et Chair". Schneider's observation raises an important question: to what extent can we regard these early efforts of the two young poets, working as they are with material handed down to them by literary tradition, as genuine expression of inner feelings? In other words, does the inherited idiom, the very stuff on which they perfect their poetic practice, in both cases involving idealistic concepts, dictate to them the content of their poetry, or did they naturally turn to traditional modes of expression to convey their early feelings of idealism? It has already been suggested from our study of Rimbaud's use of moon imagery, that a genuine belief in the possibility of an ideal does exist in Rimbaud's poetry, and indeed it is a theme that is constantly recurring throughout his work. There is no such oscillation between acceptance and rejection of the ideal in Heym's work. His disillusionment is complete, and, moreover, occurs at a much earlier phase in his career than it did in Rimbaud's. Nevertheless, it is our intention to show that the early poetry of Heym does represent a genuine search for an escape from the repressive reality which the young poet feels to be stifling his true potential. Indeed, Schneider claims that Heym's protest was not merely an escape from the "Kerkern der Jugend" but also a protest

... gegen einen Idealismus und den vitalen Tatendrang

der Jugend gewaltsam unterdrückenden Gesellschaftsordnung.

His assertion that Heym's protest sprang from frustrated idealism would seem to point, however incidentally, to the kind of development in outlook that his other criticism largely overlooks. It is this development that we see reflected in Heym's use of moon imagery. The extreme bitterness of Heym's final visions will only be seen in their true light when measured against the idealistic rôle of the moon in the early poetry.

Here we find four principal uses of moon imagery, all of which comply with the traditional conception of the moon as the bringer of light, beauty and harmony, and a sympathetic friend of the lovelorn.

In the first category, we find the moon providing the romantic setting for a love-scene. "Die Sklavin" is a fine example of Heym's totally idealistic conception of the moon; its imagery is packed with all the requisites of "Jugendstil" description: the moon weaves a silver band round the blue sea, and wraps the slave girl in its golden light. The girl herself, a wreath of roses in her hair, is compared with Diana, often equated with the moon in ancient mythology, and her qualities could indeed be attributed to her or the moon ("strahlend prachtvoll, schön"). However, this picture, lulled by the soothing tones of the zither, is invaded momentarily by the lustful thoughts of the poet; but even they succumb to the calm of the vision:

(p. 538)

Ich, der eben noch mit buhlenden Blicken  
Ihren weissen leib umkoste,  
Beuge mich den Harmonien.  
Ihre Seele sang sie frei.

Closely linked to the first category of poems, but introducing an element of comfort or reassurance (just as we saw the moon used in the

past as a comforter of the lovelorn) are the two poems from late 1904 and early 1905, "Sommerabend" and "Der alte Krug". In the first example, the sentiments are so trite as to suggest a possibility of self-parody, but the reference to Hölderlin, whom Heym held in such high esteem, would seem to counter such an idea. As the poet stands sadly watching a setting sun, he feels two hands materialise over his eyes:

Ich wandte mich, die Liebste war's.  
Grad hinter ihr stand voll der Mond  
Und manch Sternlein glimmte schon. (p. 563).

The moon is again witness of the love scene, in a similar fashion to the presence of the moon in "Die Sklavin", but here its very immediacy ("Grad hinter ihr ...") and its simultaneous appearance with the consoling sweetheart make its role more than merely decorative. In "Der alte Krug" the theme is clearly that of the disappointed lover, for whom the old tankard has particular associations with the former mistress. As he breaks it in his bitterness, it is to the moon as an understanding friend in whom he can confide and seek solace, that he turns:

Du weisst es, lieber Mondschein,  
Wem ich ihn trank so Zug für Zug. (p. 588)

The third, and most important rôle of the moon in Heym's early work is a symbolic one. The moon as symbol for the ideal first appears in one of his very earliest poems, written in 1902, "Wunsch". This is a six-stanza poem, whose limited effect lies in its "Rahmenstruktur", based on the antithesis of the suicidal mood of the poet and the comfort he gets from the moon. The first and last stanzas are identical, a fact which emphasises a principal feature of Heym's early

idealism: an awareness of the fundamental unreality or unattainability of the ideal. Hence, stanzas three, four and five, although representing a soaring escape from the overcast skies and longing for death which dominate the first two stanzas, give way to this original atmosphere of gloom, which is consequently the impression left by the poem as a whole. Nevertheless, the middle section is worth examining as an indication of Heym's conception of an ideal: the appearance of the moon, transforming the earlier scene of gloom, induces the poet to see his surroundings both figuratively and literally in a new light. He becomes aware of their eternal qualities and feels moved to listen to their "ewgen Klängen". The waves, into which he had wanted to throw himself minutes before are now a source of joy, with their "fliessend kosendem Geflüster" while nature itself is a soothing agent. It is at this point that the poet expresses his wish to make this moment eternal:

Möchte mich auf Mondenstrahlen  
 Schwingen in die lichten Höhen  
 Und in Lunas goldnem Reiche  
 Dort die ewgn Freuden sehen. (p. 521)

It is as though the poet wishes to capture this moment of peace by reaching its very source: "in Lunas goldnem Reiche". Significantly Heym also uses the old mythological name, as yet without a trace of irony, as we encountered it in Goethe.

The concept of the ideal as an escape from the harsh realities of the world is even more evident in a poem from the same year entitled "Märchen". Here we are taken completely into the realm of fantasy, as the title implies. Heym's figure is one with butterfly wings, whose aim is to bring happiness to man. Heym enters the smoky, teeming

city, and there is abused by the materialistic populace; consequently it seeks refuge in the depth of the wood:

Du findest es beim Vollmondschein am Bach,  
Der Menschheit blieb die Vernunft und die Sorgen. (p. 526)

The implication is obviously that it is only in an idealistic moonlit setting that the "Märchen" can survive; and the poem represents a rejection of rationalist and materialistic society such as we have already noted in Rimbaud's work, particularly in "Soleil et Chair" and "Après le Déluge". The moon is once more associated with an unreal ideal that can have no place in the modern world. This idea reaches its culmination in a surprisingly late poem, at a point when the negation and demonisation of the moon were already firmly established in Heym's poetry. "Eine Heimat wüsste ich uns beiden ..." is, in fact, the land of the dead, where in the clouds lies "des Mondes Stadt" significantly in a setting of "grünen Weiden, kleiner Inseln, wo die Herden streichen" (p. 92). This pastoral setting and the very use of the word "Heimat", with its association of belonging, point to the death as an ideal, with the moon as a distant symbol for this object  
5) of their longing.

One final category remains to be discussed. Here, as well, the moon plays a symbolic rôle, representing positive values, but now Heym gives a distinctly negative slant to such images. One cannot yet talk of total negation, as the positive symbol is still assumed. For example, in "Mitternacht" we find the image of black clouds before the face of the moon followed by the lines:

Gibt es denn Wahrheit? Ist denn Licht,  
Des Abglanz nur durch Wolken bricht. (p. 527)

There is in this poem an obvious symbolic reference to the moon as

representing truth, used to convey its fragmentary, incomplete nature. The viewing of this seemingly negative use of the moon as being essentially positive is supported by a poem written at much the same time, "Abend am See":

Still ruhn die Wogen in dem Silberschein  
Des Monds, der sich erhebet wolkenrein. (p. 528)

The resemblance to the lines quoted from Claudius' "Wiegenlied" is striking and underlines the importance of the clear sky to show off the beauty of the moon. The moon in "Mitternacht" is the symbol of truth, but the impossibility of total truth is represented by the shrouding effect of the clouds. A very similar process, although involving a destruction of mood rather than of symbolic value, is evident in "Alles ist eitel". Again the theme of the poem is a love affair that has died; and this idea is conveyed once more by a cloud's concealment of the moon. In the first stanza, the poet surveys the idyllic summer night, the ideal setting for a renewed meeting with his former love:

Ach der laue Mondenschein  
Glänzt so bräutlich durch den Hain. (p. 554)

But the mood is shattered in the next stanza, the poet's dreams are shown to be vain, and

Eine schwere Wetterwolke  
Hat sich vor den Mond geschoben.

The idyllic love setting returns in the final stanza, in the form of a wish that another couple, one day, might see their names carved in the birch tree by moonlight. In "Mondaufgang" written in the same month as the previous poem, the moon acts as a Leitmotiv through the poem, reflecting the poet's inner moods as he struggles to ascertain

"den Urgrund des Seins". His inner confusion is conveyed symbolically by the image:

Der Mond kämpft wunderlich  
Mit grossen, schwarzen Wolkenbänken" (p. 555)

As the poet senses that the path to discovery lies more in intuition and feeling than in logical reasoning, he sees the edges of the clouds outlined by the moon's pale light, or with the moon behind the clouds but visible through them. When this supposition becomes certainty, at the end of the poem, we read:

Ganz langsam, langsam steigt der Mond  
Über den schwarzen Wolkenberg,  
Der wie ein Schatten fern versinkt. (p. 556)

Although this particular form of moon imagery, in which the moon is seen as a positive symbol struggling with the threat of negation represented by clouds, is predominantly confined to the early poetry, we do find it in a typically intensified form in a poem as late as December 1910. In "Die Dämonen der Städte" we encounter the image of the demonic power which rises and

... Dem weissen Mond hängt  
Er eine schwarze Larve vor. (p. 187)

A last example of the moon representing a force, however weak, of resistance to the demonic forces of the city.

In the early poetry, therefore, Heym's use of the moon is chiefly as a positive symbol or as a setting for the romantic idyll. But, already at an early stage, there is a tendency towards irony which foreshadows the utter destruction of the moon as an image of the ideal. We saw that "Die Sklavin" was written with all the trappings of traditional love poetry; but two other poems written at the same time, involving the moonlit setting for a love-scene, reveal in one case an

ironic treatment of tradition and in the other a bitter rejection of it.

In the lighthearted "War ein Knab" there is a certain irony in the implication contained in the following lines that the moon is an essential prerequisite for romantic sorties

Wenn der Mond am Himmel stand,  
Küsst' er hier und küsst' dort ... (p. 550)

There is no trace of ironic amusement, however, in the heartfelt cry of "Auf eine Verlobung". Here it is a question of love that has died while the couple have been separated. There is desperation in the plea of the disappointed lover as he cries:

Sieh, heut nacht wolln wir  
Unter dem Silbermond  
An unserer alten Liebe stehn  
Und wieder froh sein. (p. 552)

He is obviously thinking "An jene Nacht im lauen Mai" when he exchanged vows with his fiancée, and hopes that this re-creation of its moonlit setting will rekindle her love. But there is bitterness in his final cry, a rejection of the Romantic trappings which induced him to surrender to her.

These poems can be seen as early indications of Heym's later negation of the positive aspects of the moon as a literary device, forming a transitional stage between an acceptance of the traditional conception of the moon and its utter rejection. For, at this stage, Heym is still working with traditional material; and his weapons for undermining its poetic value are irony and parody. The first sign of a complete break with tradition will become visible when we contrast poems already considered with later ones, which directly negate the positive values we have found embodied in the early moon imagery.

The moon, formerly a source of comfort, as exemplified in "Der alte

Krug", now only serves to intensify the suffering of the individual.

This is particularly evident in the poem "Kennst du die Stunden, wenn der Abend naht", in which the poet recalls a time when the appearance of the moon brought beauty to the surroundings and solace to him in moments when he was tempted by thoughts of suicide; here it appears as:

Ein Greisenantlitz, dessen Züge tragen  
Die ganze Traurigkeit in Menschentagen.  
Kahl ist es, faltig, Jeden Schmucks beraubt. (p. 683)

In "Der Bettler", the inefficiency of the moon in bringing comfort to the afflicted is conveyed by a striking, paradoxical image, in which Heym portrays the beggar:

Die nackten Füsse steckt er aus den Lumpen  
Und wärmt sie an des Mondes kalter Glut. (p. 182)

A second example of the tendency towards negation is found in those poems where the moon acts as a setting for a scene. Where once the moon provided a romantic setting for ideal love (e. g. "Die Sklavin"), it is now the witness to a horrible murder, that of a doctor by one of his mental patients ("Die Irren"; p. 91). Similarly, in the poem "Abende im Vorfrühling I" (p. 8), the moon is compared to a jewel "einsam, rein und klar", but its sparkling attributes stand in stark contrast to the images of cruelty and violence which appear in the poem, and even these qualities are shown to be transitory: "Er brennt zu hell. Zur Nacht wird Regen kommen". Whether one sees a causal relationship between these two statements is not important, for the impression remains that the moon's light is either superfluous or even harmful, or that it shows indifference to the human baseness it illuminates.

More important, however, is the tendency towards animation, which is to be perhaps the most striking characteristic of Heym's use of the moon. Here, we see a direct development from those images which show the moon being covered by clouds, and which were still using the moon in a positive symbolic role. Now we find a significant departure:

Der Mond verbarg sich, dunkel ward das Land.  
Die Schatten sprangen aus der Büsche Wand. (p. 653)

The moon is given a life and will of its own. No longer is a cloud negating its positive aspects, but the moon itself is denying them of its own accord. Although the idea of an outside force blotting out the moon is present in Heym's poetry as late as 1910 (in the poem already cited "Die Dämonen der Städte"), this is an isolated example of such imagery. From 1907 onwards, there are no examples whatsoever of any use of the moon in any positive symbolic sense. Indeed, it is interesting to note that in a poem in 1910, Heym wrote:

... Und weiter in die Auen  
Des toten Sommers, wo schon weisslich schwimmt  
Des Mondes leere Larve in dem Blauen ...  
("Der Spaziergang", p. 114)

In this poem, yet another which describes the ending of a love affair, reflected in the end of summer, the moon has itself become the mask, the covering ~~farce~~, while the emptiness implies that there is very little to hide.

There remain for discussion two further striking examples of negation, the first of which is to be found in a comparison of the poems "Die Luft ist warm ..." (1910) and "Da mitternachts ein feiner Regen fiel ..." of the same year. The first poem is a rare example of Heym's ability to compose pictures of calm and serenity, and it is all the more surprising to find it at such a late stage in his poetic develop-

ment. The scene is a warm night in which the moon is compared to a ship, propelled by a light breeze, and steered by the calm direction of "Der alte Fährmann". The use of adverbs such as "sacht", "still", "leise", and "langsam" help to convey the gentle movement of the ship/moon as it makes its way towards its zenith; and the moonlight is witness to the peaceful sleep of the poet's mistress as she dreams.

In the later poem, we again encounter the image of the moon as a ship, a parallel which would seem to suggest a conscious reference to the more idyllic picture of a poem written only four months before; but now the moon is no longer a sailing ship, it resembles a "Geisterschiff". This note of eeriness is given a threatening quality when we discover: "So gross und glühend war des Mondes Kiel". This impression is intensified when we see the "Mond-Geisterschiff" compared to a meteor:

Das in den Wald gestürzt die Bahn verlor  
Den Wald zerdrückend mit der glühenden Hülle. (p. 85)

The moon has ceased to be an element in the creation of a picture of serenity; it is now endowed with destructive qualities, a development clearly visible from the comparison of the two poems. When we contrast the poems, "Wunsch", which we have already discussed, with the later work "Die Irren" (1911) this development becomes even more evident. The youthful work concerned the poet's longing to travel on the moon's beams to "Lunas goldnem Reich". "Die Irren" is concerned with the varied types of insanity, the final section dealing with sleepwalkers. Heym paints a grotesque picture of the sleepwalkers enchanting the moon, tickling it and tweaking its yellow ear, dancing and singing as they make their way towards the moon. But their quest

meets its horrific fulfilment in the final stanza:

Der Mond umfängt sie sanft mit Spinnenarm.  
Ihr Haupt wird von dem Kusse weiss gemalt. (p. 258)

Luna's golden kingdom is transformed into a spider's embrace, the search for an ideal into an erotic fantasy in a madman's mind.

Karl Ludwig Schneider, in his review of Heym's moon imagery, sees this demonisation of the moon as reflecting the intensity of Heym's "Angstgefühl". He gives further examples of animation which serve to transform reality, and which give the moon threatening or destructive qualities. In "Die Morgue", he points to the combination of unnatural movement and pitiless indifference to the inevitability of man's decay conveyed by the lines:

Und werden wir langsam zerfallen,  
In dem Gelächter des Monds  
Der hoch über Wolken saust, ... (p. 478)

The moon is frequently endowed with movement of an unnatural nature.

In "Der Affe II" we read:

..... Da kommt mit gelbem Hut  
Der Mond gerannt und stolpert durch den Grund. (p. 200)

In "Halber Schlaf" the moon

... wie ein Greis  
Watschelt oben herum,

while in "Die Nebelstädte" we read

... der rostige Mond  
Kollerte unter den Rand  
Zu wolkiger Wolken Geknarre. (p. 495)

The unnatural nature of such movement takes us beyond simple personification to the creation of a universe which is threatening to man:

Nicht nur die Welt steht dem Menschen drohend gegenüber,  
der ganze Kosmos hat sich gegen ihn verschworen.

(Schneider, p. 51)

Nowhere is this more apparent than in the example cited by Schneider:

Die grossen Bäume wandern durch die Nacht  
Mit langen Schatten, der hinüber läuft  
Ins weisse Herz der Schläfer, die bewacht  
Der kalte Mond, der seine Gifte trauft

Wie ein erfahrner Arzt tief in ihr Blut. (p. 177)

But although the moon is transformed by Heym into an agent of threat, it too is seen to be prey to the nightmare which grips mankind. Schneider gives the following examples of poems where the moon itself is shown to be frightened:

Plötzlich stürmet vorbei an dem Mond ein Geschwirre.  
Und er schreit wie ein Kind vor der Federn Gekläritte.  
("Die Vögel", p. 496)

In "Arabeske" the ideas of terror and movement merge in the striking image:

Der Mond erschrickt. Er kriecht in einen Baum;... (p. 260)

Schneider, therefore, sees Heym's use of the moon as playing an important part in his projection of his expressionist vision. Schneider also points to the use made by Heym of a positive literary tradition to intensify his power of expression:

Galt der Mond durch die Jahrhunderte deutscher Dichtung hindurch und selbst noch bei dem überwiegenden Teil der Expressionisten als der stumme Freund und Tröster des Dichters, so hat bei Heym ein vollkommener Umschlag ins andere Extrem stattgefunden. (p. 51)

In this respect he mentions particularly the transformation of the moon into the hangman in "Luna" (p. 243):

Es zeugt für die Tiefe des metaphysischen Angstgefühls Heyms, dass sich ihm auch der alte stumme Freund in einen "Henker" verwandelt.

What we have also, and which Schneider's approach necessarily

ignores, is a transition within Heym's poetry from an idealism to its negation and rejection, a development reflected in his transformation of the moon image, and one which we have already seen in Rimbaud's use of the moon. As can be seen from the dates of the various poems of Heym quoted, there can be no claim made, as Mautz attempts to do, for a rigidly chronological development in his poetry. We have seen in the two poems as late as 1910 uses of the moon which could be interpreted as positive, at a stage when Heym's demonisation of the moon was firmly established. What does emerge from an analysis of the dates, however, is the clear indication that a development is present, in that the idealisation of the moon is almost totally limited to the years 1902-4, while without exception there is no demonisation, which marks the extreme of Heym's transformation of the moon image, until 1910. Mautz's thesis of a very distinct three-stage development is summarily destroyed by Schneider in his review of Mautz's book, but isolated cases of either early selfparody, or later, lingering idealism do not preclude the idea of an overall development from idealism to disillusionment.

7)

From the outset it must be emphasised that no claim is being made for direct influence. If we have seen a process of conscious destruction of inherited literary tradition in both poets, there still remains the indisputable fact that in terms of degree there is a marked difference between the two. A brief summing up of the development and intensification of Heym's animation of the moon will show how much further he took the process than his French predecessor.

Rimbaud's image of the moon listening to the howling of the jackals is striking in that the moon ceases to have any symbolic or metaphorical rôle in the traditional sense, but has become an agent in its own right. It is in this creation of a new universe, where old values and relationships give way to the poet's vision, which becomes the new 'reality', that Rimbaud can be said to have a strong influence on the visionary Heym. If the moon has the faculty of hearing in Rimbaud, however, Heym takes the process one stage further by making the moon deaf, implying that the moon should be endowed with hearing, but is denied it ("Ultima Hora", p. 277). Heym also denies his moon the power of sight ("Die Nacht ist ohne Sterne", p. 433; "Wie Augen schauen, die das Licht nicht finden", p. 21), a poetic device which corresponds closely to his images of the moon as an old man ("Nachtgesang", p. 459; "Halber Schlaf", p. 401; "Kennst du die Stunden, wenn der Abend naht", p. 682). The extreme intensification of Heym's use of the moon can be seen in his equation of it with a skull ("Da mitternachts ein feiner Regen fiel . . .") while a comparison of two poems written in the same month (September 1910), and appearing side by side in the collected works, shows how close he came to the image of the moon as death.

itself. In "Mors", death is compared to a bird:

Wie alt ist er. Wie stumm. Was mag er denken  
In seines grossen Schädels weissen Dach. (p. 132)

While in "Die Vorstadt" the moon appears as:

Ein ungeheuer Schädel, weiss und tot. (p. 133)

Having established the fact that there can be no claim of direct influence, let us now consider to what extent we can talk of influence at all. Regenberg discounts any likelihood of it, on the grounds that Heym did not read any poetry by Rimbaud before 1909; and he points to the poems prior to that date which already show a revolutionary use of moon imagery, a view which Greulich supports. Quite apart from the questionable validity of Regenberg's claim (cf. pages 17-18), neither he nor Greulich are convincing in the evidence they bring forward.

Greulich cites two poems from 1904 to show that, at an early age, Heym had a demonic conception of the moon. From "Manche laufen blindlings" he quotes two lines which at first sight seem to support his claim:

Doch sie gehen scheu und bang  
An dem lauten langen Tage  
Voller Angst und voller Grausen  
Vor der stillen weissen Mondnacht ... (p. 575).

However, when considered in context, these lines appear as part of a dialogue between those who run "schlank und sicher im Mondlicht" who are "Feierlich der Nacht vermählt" and those who stare anxiously up to the moon:

Und sie quälen sich und grübeln  
Um die Sterne und den Mondschein.

The implication is that those who act instinctively (which the poet in "Mondnacht" decides is the best way to act) go through life without worry. Heym is contrasting the attitudes of the unthinking and the

doubters towards the moon, which is intended to reveal their respective attitudes to life; and one cannot say that the moon is being endowed as yet with any demonic qualities.

The following quotation is also given to support Greulich's case:

Auf die verlassene Heide kriecht  
 Langsam der trübe Mond herauf,  
 Torkelt an einen Wolkenberg  
 Und setzt sich mürrisch hinter ihn. (p. 607)

This is an early example of Heym's animation; but again, when one considers as a whole the poem from which it is taken, one cannot talk of a demonisation of the moon. The poet is mourning the death of a friend and drowning his sorrow in a consolatory drinking bout. Heym, by endowing the moon with the movement of a drunken man and feelings of discontent, establishes a form of empathy between the moon and the drunken mourner below. In any case, when one considers the date of the poem, which was written when Heym was eighteen, there is a definite possibility that he was already acquainted with Rimbaud's poetry. The question as to whether Heym read Rimbaud in the original French is, as we have seen, an open one; and for Regenberg to discount totally such a possibility, which we hold to be a strong one, and to base much of his thesis on this rejection, makes many of his claims doubtful.

In regard to the question of Rimbaud's influence, it is surprising that neither Regenberg nor Greulich refer to one of Heym's earliest poems, written at the age of fifteen, to support their claims. Even at this early age, when he was writing poems of a distinctly idealistic nature, Heym was hounded by dreams and nightmares. In "Winterwald-nacht", the poet feels himself pursued by unknown, threatening creatures and he describes the chase as follows:

Ich laufe schneller und schneller  
 Im Monde tanzt auf Fichtenstamm  
 Ein hässliches Gelichter. (p. 528)

Here is a definite suggestion that there is something ambiguous or even evil about the moon's light, conveyed by the dancing movement of its light on the pine-tree and by the subsequent lines:

Bald dunkelt's schwarz  
 Bald scheint es heller, ...

This is one poem which, by its linking of the idea of threat with the moon's light points forward to the demonisation of the moon of Heym's later poetry. Moreover, as instance of animation are also to be found in the early poetry, we must arrive at the conclusion that Heym's reading of Rimbaud brought out certain latent aspects of his poetic vision. Such a claim can be supported by the fact that, apart from the hint contained in the poem just quoted, there is no demonisation, as opposed to simple animation, of the moon until the appearance of "Da Mitternachts ..." in 1910, which would allow for influence even following Regenberg's assumptions! One can even detect a struggle in Heym's mind at this stage, as to whether or not to endow the moon with demonic qualities. In the two versions of "Der Tag" a significant change appears in the final lines. The first version reads:

... Aus schwarzer Wand  
 Der Haine steigt der düstere Trabant,  
 Der seines Dunkels bösen Pfad beginnt. (p. 146)

  
 There is a distinct toning down in the second, and final version, the evil nature of the moon's journey being suppressed:

... da der Nacht Trabant,  
 Schildknappe Mond, den dunklen Pfad beginnt. (p. 148)

It is only from December 1911, when he describes the moon as "ein

erfahrener Arzt", dripping poison into the blood of sleeping men, that Heym consistently uses the moon in demonic fashion. Once more, if we accept Rimbaud's screaming, burning moon as the initial impetus, Heym's demonisation is taken to far greater extremes, the implied threat of Rimbaud's vision being translated into apocalyptic destruction in Heym's poetry. However, if we consider the poem "Luna", written in 1911, we shall see the main area of influence, which provided the starting point for this study.

The very title of the poem, by invoking for the reader the varied preconceptions associated with the traditional mythological name, emphasises the force of the destructive vision that is to come. Indeed, Heym provides us with three versions of the poem, which would seem to support Mautz's view that it is a parody, although his attempt to prove that it is principally a satire on the "Jugendstil" tendencies of Rilke and George is tortuous and unconvincing. That Heym should initially write a poem with all the trappings of mythology, only to destroy the myth with typical savagery, points to very conscious self-parody; this is not the whole point, however, as otherwise the result would be nothing more than a trivial poetic exercise. The point is the following: that the placing, side by side, of two such diametrically opposed poems heightens the effect of the destruction of the myth. Not only are we presented with a title whose associations will be destroyed, but an entire poem against which to measure the new vision.

The first version is not entirely without signs of a break with tradition: the female figure which we are expecting from the title becomes a conquering soldier, and this change is stressed by the

opening: "Den blutrot dort der Horizont gebiert". Moreover, a vague idea of threat, completely lacking in the Homeric myth, is present in the line: "Der aus der Hölle grossen Schlünden steigt", an idea heightened by the description of "sein Pupurhaupt mit Wolken schwarz verziert". These elements apart, however, the poem is composed of banal images which border on the cliché:

Wo mit Posaunen schon der Wächter wacht,... Zu seinem Fusse schlummert Asia weit, ... und im Winde wehn Ölwälder fern um leere Tempel lind, ... (pp. 239-40)

Only the brief mention of "der bösen Sterne Bahn" disturbs a traditional nocturnal setting, where serenity reigns over the dark elms.

For the purposes of showing the contrast, we shall discuss the third and final version, as it is an abridgment of the transitional second version, and, certainly, the culmination of the development of the idea. Any preconceptions that we might have had from the title, perhaps reinforced by the first version with its attractive, broadchested athletic hero, are summarily shattered by the first line of the poem. The image of the moon as a source of comfort, light and beauty is dramatically swept aside by the picture of the as yet undefined seeker of prey. In the first version even the standard metaphor "wie ein Partherfürst" was retained. Now the moon is an executioner and, indeed, such is the intensity of Heym's vision that all phenomenological connections with the moon, some of which were still present in the second, transitional version (e. g. "In eure Herzen bohrt er seinen Strahl"), are totally severed. Other comparisons between the first and final version show a conscious departure from traditional conceptions of the moon. Whereas in the first we read of "der Schläfe goldenes Gelock" (p. 239), the hangman/moon

wears a three-cornered hat "auf dem Nachtgelock". While the witnesses to the moon's course were originally slumbering Asia, Sirius "wie ein grosser Schwan", Ninive with its marble-like walls, it is now the jackdaws and worms who respond to the call from the flute made of dead men's bones.

It is this very conscious use of traditional mythological ground as a springboard for new poetic vision which points to a close relationship between Rimbaud and Heym. That there is a marked difference in degree of expression and also in ultimate aims has already been mentioned, but the affinity still remains. It has been shown that Rimbaud's use of the moon, through ironic incongruity to its use in an animate and finally demonic rôle, enabled him to make greater impact, because of the wealth of associations brought by the reader to any description of the moon or moonlit settings. The same technique is at work in the poem "Vénus Anadyomène", where Rimbaud shocks the reader who expects a picture of feminine beauty arising from the traditional sea-shell, with a grotesque parody in which Venus emerges from an old bath-tub:

Et tout ce corps remue et tend sa large croupe  
Belle hideusement d'un ulcère à l'anus. (p. 61)

The deliberate nature of this destruction of traditional mythology is underlined when we remember the symbolic stature that Venus attained in the youthful "Soleil et Chair", where she represented a Golden Age of the past. Rimbaud chooses a figure who has played an important rôle in his former idealism in order to make the shock all the greater. Elsewhere he writes, in a way summing up his technique of transformation of mythological material:

vénus entre dans les cavernes des forgerons et des ermites. (p. 276)

We have already seen a similar technique in Heym's "Luna", where an actual mythological name is used to awaken a false response. In like manner in "Tote im Wasser", after six stanzas of horrific description of a corpse manned by a crew of rats, her stomach "Zerhöhlt und fast zernagt", we witness a surprise appearance of the sea-god:

Sie treibt ins Meer. Ihr salutiert Neptun  
Von einem Wrack, da sie das Meer verschlingt,  
Darinnen sie zur grünen Tiefe sinkt,  
Im Arm der feisten Kraken auszuruhn. (p. 118)

Neptune, whose rôle it was in mythology to protect ships and seafarers, is here seen greeting the corpse which has already been compared to a ship with its crew of rats. The horror of the corpse is heightened by this placing side by side of two images that one normally would not associate with each other: a young girl drowned in "der Stadtnacht Spüllicht", an impersonal death in the filthy waters of a modern industrial town, and the personal protection of a figure of a bygone age. In this case, the process of awakened responses is reversed, in that we do not expect something only for it to be destroyed; here the positive element is used to heighten the horror of reality. Nevertheless, the technique of using traditional associations to project a new vision remains the same. Similarly in "Sehnsucht nach Paris" we discover the grotesque association:

Weit über deinem Haus der Invaliden,  
Des schwarzen Totenmal vorüberzieht,  
Glänzt wie das Bernsteintor der Hesperiden.  
des Abendgottes goldnes Augenlid. (p. 229)

In the last two examples, we find mythological names used to

intensify grotesque effect. But by their very use, Heym seems to be expressing a certain regret at their passing, a sadness which Mautz refers to as "die Trauer um einen Verlust, um den unwiderruflichen Untergang des mythischen Zeitalters" (p. 253). The mythological figures are beyond recall because they belong to a past ideal age which no longer has relevance and are therefore used to throw the present frightful reality into relief. Whether, as in the case of Heym, this process led to further extremes of transformation in order to express the intensity of his vision, or in Rimbaud's case, became part of a fluctuating dualism in relation to the possibilities of an ideal state, there remains common to both poets a regret that the age of confidence is past, a regret we found expressed in "Soleil et Chair":

Je regrette les temps de l'antique jeunesse ...

and which finds its echo in the following lines from Heym, written as late as February 1910:

Wo ist der Sang der stolzen Olympiad  
Wo sind die Götter hin. Sie sind verwandelt,  
Sie sind zerstreut ... (p. 15)

## NOTES

### INTRODUCTION

1) A. Meschendorfer, "Trakl und Rimbaud", Klingsor: Siebenbürgische Zeitschrift, 2 (1925), 93-103; F. Pamp, "Der Einfluss Rimbauds auf Georg Trakl", Revue de Littérature Comparée, 32 (1958), 396-406; R. Grimm, "Georg Trakls Verhältnis zu Rimbaud", Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift, N. F. 9 (1959), 288-315; H. Lindenberger, "Georg Trakl and Rimbaud", Comparative Literature, 10 (1958), 26-36; B. Böschenstein, "Wirkungen des französischen Symbolismus auf die deutsche Lyrik der Jahrhundertwende", in Studien zur Dichtung des Absoluten, Zürich, 1963, 140-49. To these publications could be added an article drawing attention to the affinities between Rimbaud and Brecht, who is seen by many critics as an Expressionist poet: S. Steffenson, "Brecht und Rimbaud", Zeitschrift für Deutsche Philologie, (1965), 82-89. Henceforth all references to these studies will be by the author's name only.

2) It should be noted that we are using the term "influence" in a strict sense. The very fact that Trakl and Heym treated themes that they had encountered in their reading of Rimbaud constitutes a case of influence, in that their initial reading provided the impetus for their own work. What will concern us more in this study is the question of direct influence, where the reading of Rimbaud's poetry had a profound effect on the very writing of a particular work, as opposed to merely serving as a starting point for it.

3) For examples of the weeping willow, Pamp refers to Trakl's poem "Die Drei Teiche in Hellbrunn", in Georg Trakl, Gesammelte Werke, hrsg. von Wolfgang Scheditz, Salzburg, Bd. 2, p. 62, and to Rimbaud's "Ophélie", which is to be found on p. 46 of the edition of Rimbaud's work to which all references will henceforth be made by page number only: Oeuvres de Rimbaud, ed. Suzanne Bernard, Paris, 1960.

4) Trakl's poem "Entlang", Bd. 1, 122 and Rimbaud's poem "L'Eclatante victoire de Sarrebrück", p. 79 are here quoted by Pamp.

### I.

1) Helmut Greulich, Georg Heym (1887-1912) Leben und Werk: Ein Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte des deutschen Expressionismus, Germanische Studien, 8, 1931, p. 124.

2) Albert Soergel und Curt Hohoff, Dichtung und Dichter der Zeit: Vom Naturalismus bis zur Gegenwart, Düsseldorf, 1961, p. 87.

3) Johannes Becher, Gesammelte Werke, Berlin, 1966. The poem makes no reference to Rimbaud other than in its title, and is clearly an attempt to pay tribute to him by writing in the style which had made such an impression on the German poet.

4) Georg Heym, Dichtungen und Schriften, hrsg. von Karl-Ludwig Schneider, Darmstadt, 1961-68, Bd. 6, p. 11. The following testimonies of Heym's contemporaries are taken from Bd. 6 of the complete edition, entitled Dokumente zu seinem Leben und Werk. For the purposes of this study, two other volumes of the complete works will be used: for quotations of Heym's poetry references will be made to Bd. 1, Lyrik, and for diary entries Bd. 3, Tagebücher, Träume und Briefe. Henceforth page numbers only will be given, except for cases where greater clarity is needed.

- 5) The exact details of Rimbaud's life are still a matter of considerable controversy. Etiemble has demonstrated the fallacy of most interpretations of Rimbaud's poetry which have been based on romanticised biography in his book Le Mythe de Rimbaud: Structure du mythe, Paris, 1952. As Heym's knowledge of Rimbaud's life most probably came from his reading of Klammer's translation of Berrichon's biography, it is almost certain that his identification with Rimbaud was based on the "myth".
- 6) K. L. Schneider, in Deutsche Dichter der Moderne, hrsg. von Benno von Wiese, Berlin, 1965, pp. 361-78.
- 7) Ibid., p. 368.
- 8) Greulich, p. 37.
- 9) H. Reitz, Impressionistische und expressive Stilmittel bei Arthur Rimbaud, Diss., München, 1938.
- 10) Kurt Mautz, "Die Farbensprache der expressionistischen Lyrik," Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte, 31 (195), 193-240. As this article is incorporated into Mautz's later book, all future references to the article will be by page number in the book.
- 11) Kurt Mautz, Mythologie und Gesellschaft im Expressionismus: Die Dichtung Georg Heyms, Frankfurt am Main, 1961; Anton Regenberg, Die Dichtung Georg Heyms und ihr Verhältnis zur Lyrik Charles Baudelaires und Arthur Rimbauds, München, 1961.
- 12) Even Mautz is at fault in this respect. His examples of expressive metaphors in Rimbaud do not all stand up to closer analysis when seen in context: the appearance of "le cresson bleu" in "Le Dormeur du val" can in no way be seen as expressive. It is rather to be considered as contributing to the impressionist effect of light which is essential to the overall effect of the poem.
- 13) K. L. Schneider, Der bildhafte Ausdruck in den Dichtungen Georg Heyms, Georg Trakls und Ernst Stadlers, Heidelberg, 1954.
- 14) J. P. Ruesch, Zum Wandel des lyrischen Bildes im Motiv der "navitatio vitae" bei Arthur Rimbaud und im deutschen Expressionismus, Diss., Zürich, 1954.
- 15) Jürg P. Ruesch considers a different sphere of imagery to our own, it is interesting that he too detects a manipulation of a traditional image, that of the sea journey.
- 16) Hugo Friedrich, Die Struktur der modernen Lyrik: Von Baudelaire bis zur Gegenwart, Hamburg, 1956.
- 17) For a comprehensive list of translations of Rimbaud's poetry to appear in Germany before 1914, many of which were published in literary magazines before Klammer's collection, see Französische Symbolisten in der deutschen Literatur der Jahrhundertwende, Bern, 1971.
- 18) Bernard Blume, "Das ertrunkene Mädchen. Rimbauds Ophélia und die deutsche Literatur", Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift, N. F. 4 (1955), 108-19. For an even more detailed analysis of the two poems, which also points to the essential difference in tone, we refer the reader to Renate von Heydebrand, "Georg Heym: Ophelia", in Interpretationen expressionistischer Lyrik, München, 1971, pp. 33-55.
- 19) Regenberg, p. 198.

## II.

- i) Quoted by Mautz from Homerische Hymnen, hrsg. von Anton Weiher,

München, 1951, p. 131.

2) Dieter Arendt. "Die Umwertung des poetischen Mond-Bildes in der Moderne", Welt und Wort, 20 (1965), 183-85.

3) The Oxford Book of German Verse, ed. H. G. Fiedler, Oxford, 1920, p. 273. Future reference to German poems, unless quoted by Mautz or Arendt, will be from this collection, cited by page number only.

4) It should be stressed that the tradition of the moon, with its roots in classical mythology, has also its negative side, and that this negative tradition has also played a part in literary history. J. E. Cirlot has pointed to the complexity of moon symbolism in A Dictionary of Symbols (translated by Jack Sage), London, 1962. He writes: "René Guenon has confirmed that, in the 'sphere of the moon', forms are dissolved, so that the superior states are severed from the inferior, hence the dual role of the moon as Diana and Hecate--the celestial and the infernal" (p. 216). There is also confusion surrounding the original Greek myths, in which Hecate herself is attributed both protective and destructive qualities. The Pauly-Wissowa Realencyklopädie der klassischen Altertumskunde shows that the figure of Hecate, although depicted as helpful to mankind in the works of Hesiod, subsequently became the goddess of spirits and ghosts, with many connections with the underworld, to which she is finally depicted as holding the key, deciding which souls should be admitted. She was the patron of all sorcery and magic, and popular superstition held that she could cause epilepsy and madness. Pauly does point out that Hecate was not originally held to be the moon goddess in ancient mythology, but there can be no doubt that a negative tradition has grown around the figure of Hecate, and also Artemis, with whom she is frequently identified, and that traces of this tradition can be found in the works of Shakespeare, for example, where the moon appears as an image of change and inconstancy, and as a cause of melancholy and madness, and Hecate is seen in her role as goddess of hell and sorcery. Although no reference to this negative tradition can be found in Heym's early poetry, it is interesting to note that in a poem of 1906 entitled "Die stille Musik", the moon is referred to as "Hekates Boot". Here again, Heym chooses to dwell on the positive aspects of the tradition, describing the gentleness of the moon's dwindling light, and its magical quality, and the swan-like clouds following "dem selgen Schifflein".

Hekates Boot versank. Doch um die Zinnen

Der schwarzen Felsen glänzte noch sein Schimmer

Lange herauf, in sanftem Schleier zu spinnen

Ein zauberhaftes Leuchten durch die Gründen. (p. 626)

It is significant for our study that both Rimbaud and Heym, in their earlier poetry, totally ignore this negative tradition, concentrating solely on those positive qualities which we have seen embodied in the use of moon imagery. If the negative tradition is part of the literary inheritance of both poets, it is certainly one that they choose to ignore in their earlier, idealistic poetry.

5) The Oxford Book of French Verse, ed. St. John Lucas, Oxford, 1936, p. 99. All future references to French poetry, unless otherwise stated, will be from this collection, cited by page number only.

6) Leconte de Lisle, Choix de Poesies, ed. M. Froment, Paris, 1930, p. 347.

## III.

- 1) Cf. Heym's poems in Lyrik, pp. 327, 365-66.
- 2) E. J. Ahearn, "'Entends comme brame' and the Theme of Death in Nature in Rimbaud's Poetry", French Review, 53 (1970), 407-17.
- 3) R. Kloepfer, "'Das trunkene Schiff': Rimbaud--Magier der kühnen Metapher", Romanische Forschungen, 80 (19 ), 147-67.

## IV.

- 1) K. L. Schneider, "Das Bild der Landschaft bei Georg Heym und Georg Trakl", in Der deutsche Expressionismus, hrsg. von H. Steffen, Göttingen, 1965.
- 2) Cf. p. 15 of this study.
- 3) André Dhôtel traces this theme through Rimbaud's work in his study Rimbaud et la révolte moderne, Paris, 1952.
- 4) K. L. Schneider, op. cit., p. 364.
- 5) Heinz Rölleke has pointed to Heym's total rejection of death as a means of salvation in his essay in Expressionismus als Literatur, hrsg. von Wolfgang Rothe, München, 1969. His view that Heym's image of death is one of a repetitious continuation of life would temper the seemingly idealistic picture in "Eine Heimat wüsste ich uns bilden."
- 6) K. L. Schneider, Der bildhafte Ausdruck.
- 7) Schneider's review of Mautz's book is to be found in Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie, 81 (1962), 505-10.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Primary sources.

Heym, Georg. Dichtungen und Schriften: Gesamtausgabe, hrsg. von Ludwig Schneider. 3 Bde. Hamburg, 1960.

Rimbaud, Arthur. Oeuvres de Rimbaud, ed. Suzanne Bernard. Paris, 1960.

Other texts cited:

Becher, Johannes. Gesammelte Werke, Berlin, 1966.

Leconte de Lisle, Charles Marie. Choix de Poésies, ed. M. Froment, Paris, 1930.

Trakl, Georg. Gesammelte Werke, hrsg. von Wolfgang Schneditz, Salzburg, 1949-51.

The Oxford Book of German Verse, ed. H. G. Fiedler, Oxford, 1920.

The Oxford Book of French Verse, ed. St. John Lucas, Oxford, 1936.

2. Articles consulted.

Ahearn, Edward J. "'Entends comme brame' and the Theme of Death in Nature in Rimbaud's Poetry", French Review, 43 (1970), 407-17.

Arendt, Dieter. "Die Umwertung des poetischen Mond-Bildes in der Moderne", Welt und Wort, 20 (1965), 183-87.

Bernard, Suzanne. "La Palette de Rimbaud", CAIEF, 12(1960), 105-19.

Blume, Bernard. "Das ertrunkene Mädchen. Rimbauds 'Ophélie' und die deutsche Literatur", Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift, N. F., 4 (1955), 108-19.

Böschenstein, Bernhard. "Wirkungen des französischen Symbolismus auf die deutsche Lyrik der Jahrhundertwende", in Studien zur Dichtung des Absoluten. Zürich, 1968, pp. 140-49.

Grimm, R. "Georg Trakls Verhältnis zu Rimbaud", Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift, N. F., 10 (1959), 288-315.

Heydebrand, Renate von. "Georg Heym: 'Ophelia'", in Gedichte der Menschheitsdämmerung: Interpretationen expressionistischer Lyrik. Hrsg. von H. Denkler. München, 1971, pp. 33-35.

Kloepfer, Rolf. "'Das trunkene Schiff': Rimbaud--Magie der kühnen Metapher", Romanische Forschungen, 80 (1967), 147-67.

Kohlschmidt, Werner. "Der deutsche Frühimpressionismus im Werke Georg Heyms und Georg Trakls", Orbis Litterarum, Revue internationale d'études littéraires, 9 (1954), 3-17.

Lange, H. "Georg Heym. Bildnis eines Dichters", Akzente, 1 (1954), 180-87.

Lindenberger, H. "Georg Trakl and Rimbaud: A Study in Influence and Development", Comparative Literature, 10 (1958), 21-35.

Martini, Fritz. "Georg Heym: 'Der Krieg'" in Die deutsche Lyrik, Form und Geschichte. Hrsg. von Benno von Wiese. Düsseldorf, 1956, pp. 425-49.

Mautz, Kurt. "Die Farbensprache der expressionistischen Lyrik", Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte, 3 (1957), 198-246.

Meschendorfer, Adolf. "Trakl und Rimbaud", Klingsor: Siebenbürgische Zeitschrift, 2 (1925), 93-103.

Pamp, Friedhelm. "Der Einfluss Rimbauds auf Georg Trakl", Revue de Littérature Comparée, 32 (1958), 396-406.

Rölleke, Heinz. "Georg Heym", in Expressionismus als Literatur. Hrsg. von Wolfgang Rothe. München, 1969.

Schneider, Karl Ludwig. "Georg Heym" in Deutsche Dichter der Moderne. Hrsg. von Benno von Wiese. Berlin, 1965, pp. 361-75.

"Das Bild der Landschaft bei Georg Heym und Georg Trakl", in Der deutsche Expressionismus. Hrsg. von H. Steffen. Göttingen, 1965, pp. 44-62.

Steffenson, Steffen. "Brecht und Rimbaud. Zu den Gedichten des jungen Brecht", Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie, (1965), 82-89.

Vigée, Claude. "The Metamorphosis of Modern Poetry", Comparative Literature, 7 (1955), 97-120.

Weinberg, B. "'Le Bateau Ivre', or the Limits of Symbolism", Publications of the Modern Language Association, March 1957.

### 3. Books and theses cited.

Greulich, Helmut. Georg Heym (1887-1912): Leben und Werk. Ein Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte des deutschen Expressionismus. Germanische Studien, 8, 1931.

Mautz, Kurt. Mythologie und Gesellschaft im Expressionismus: Die Dichtung Georg Heyms. Frankfurt am Main, 1961.

Regenborg, Anton. Der Einfluss Charles Baudelaires und Arthur Rimbauds auf die Dichtungen Georg Heyms. Diss. München, 1962

Schneider, Karl Ludwig. Der bildhafte Ausdruck in den Dichtungen Georg Heyms, Georg Trakls und Ernst Stadlers. Heidelberg, 1954.

Soergel, Albert und Curt Hohoff. Dichtung und Dichter der Zeit. Vom Naturalismus bis zur Gegenwart. Düsseldorf, 1961.

4. General Works consulted.

Bays, G. The Orphic Vision. Seer Poets from Novalis to Rimbaud. University of Nebraska, 1963.

Brand, Guido K. Die Frühvollendeten: ein Beitrag zur Literaturgeschichte. Berlin, 1929.

Cirlot, J. E. A Dictionary of Symbols. London, 1962. Translated by Jack Sage.

Dhotel, André. Rimbaud et la révolte moderne. Paris, 1952.

Etiemble, R. Le Mythe de Rimbaud: structure du mythe. Paris, 1952.

Eykman, C. Die Funktionen des Hässlichen in der Lyrik Georg Heyms, Georg Trakls und Gottfried Benns. Zur Krise der Wirklichkeits-erfahrung im deutschen Expressionismus. Bonn, 1965.

Friedrich, Hugo. Die Struktur der modernen Lyrik. Von Baudelaire bis zur Gegenwart. Hamburg, 1956.

Frohock, W. M. Rimbaud's Poetic Practice: Image and Theme in the Major Poems. Cambridge (mass.), 1963.

Gsteiger, Manfred. Französische Symbolisten in der deutschen Literatur der Jahrhundertwende (1869-1914). Bern und München, 1971.

Guirand, P. Index du vocabulaire du symbolisme. Paris, 1954.

Hackett, C. A. Rimbaud. London, 1957.

Houston, J. P. The Design of Rimbaud's Poetry. London, 1963.

Kayser, Wolfgang. Das Groteske, seine Gestaltung in Malerei und Dichtung. Bern, 1951.

Mann, Otto. Einführung in den Expressionismus. Gestalten einer literarischen Bewegung. Hrsg. von Hermann Friedmann und Otto Mann. Heidelberg, 1955.

Martini, Fritz. Was war Expressionismus? Urach, 1948.

Reitz, H. Impressionistische und expressive Stilmittel bei Arthur Rimbaud. Dis., München, 1939.

Rüesch, Jürg Peter. Zum Wandel des lyrischen Bildes im Motiv der 'navitatio vitae' bei Arthur Rimbaud und im deutschen Expressionismus. Diss., Zürich, 1954.

Schwarz, G. Georg Heym. Mühlacker, 1963.

Sokel, Walter. The Writer in Extremis. New York, 1959.