

Editor's Notes

The Society apologizes for the long delay between the last issue of the *Newsletter* and this one. All memberships will be extended for at least an additional year in partial compensation.

Memberships and Subscriptions

Annual memberships include a subscription to the *Newsletter*:

Individual members	£ 9	\$15
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Receipts available on request.

Payment may also be made by credit card through the Society's web site at: <http://audensociety.org/membership.html>

The W. H. Auden Society is registered with the Charity Commission for England and Wales as Charity No. 1104496.

Submissions to the *Newsletter* may be sent in care of Katherine Bucknell, 78 Clarendon Road, London W11 2HW,
or by e-mail to: newsletter@audensociety.org

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The W. H. Auden Society Newsletter

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the world. The reproduction of the film is far better than any earlier reissue on video cassette. To order this DVD, visit the publisher's web site at: <http://www.panamint.co.uk/railway.html>

Two important biographies of Auden's friends appeared in the spring of 2004: Peter Parker's *Isherwood: A Life*, published in London by Picador (scheduled for American publication by Random House in the autumn of 2004), and John Sutherland's *Stephen Spender: The Authorized Biography*, published in London by Viking. Both books are of great interest in themselves, and both contain much new material about Auden's two longest-lasting friendships.

W. H. Auden: Nel Trentennale della scomparsa (1973-2003), edited by Tiziana Morosetti, is a book of essays and interviews about Auden, in Italian and English, published by Ila Palma, Rome, in 2004. It contains an essay by and interview with Edward Mendelson; an interview with Thekla Clark and Irving Weiss; essays by Paola Marchetti, Franco Buffoni, and Tiziana Morosetti; a listing of Auden's books available in Italian libraries; and a list of Italian dissertations on Auden's work. Readers who wish to obtain this book may send an e-mail message to Doctor Rean Mazzone at teanovacinema@excite.it or write to the publisher: Ila Palma, c/o Teanova Cinema, via Alberico II, 00100 Roma, Italy.

W. H. Auden Encyclopedia, by David Garrett Izzo, published in 2004 by McFarland & Company, Jefferson, North Carolina, is an extensive reference guide to Auden's writings, friends, influences, and themes, all in a single alphabetical listing.

The City of York Auden Society is a new organization, founded in 2002, which, despite its similar name, is not affiliated in any way with the W. H. Auden Society that publishes the present *Newsletter*. This new organization writes that its purpose is "to promote awareness of W. H. Auden's literary works and his association with York since 1907. We organise events which celebrate his work and provide opportunities [for] creative response to his work and interests." (Auden was born in York and spent the first two years of his life there, where his father was a general practitioner.) Further details of the organization's program are available from Hugh Bernays, The Ruins Craffhouse, 34 Dale Street, York, YO23 1AE; tel: (01904) 644318 or (01904) 636997; e-mail: hughbernays@btopenworld.com

Recent and Forthcoming Books and Events

An annotated critical edition of *The Sea and the Mirror*, edited by Arthur Kirsch, was published by Princeton University Press, May 2003. The book has been widely reviewed, notably by Peter McDonald in the *TLS*, 2 January 2004, and by Mark Ford in the *New York Review of Books*, 10 June 2004.

Katherine Bucknell's 1994 edition of Auden's *Juvenilia: Poems 1922-1928*, has been reprinted in a corrected and expanded edition with twelve poems discovered in a notebook a few years ago. The new edition was published in paperback by Princeton University Press, February 2003.

A new edition of *The Oxford Book of Light Verse*, edited by Auden and first published in 1938, is to be published in August 2004 by NYRB Books, under the title *W. H. Auden's Book of Light Verse*. The edition will restore a poem by William Dunbar that appeared in the first printing but was removed from later printings because (Auden reported) the obscene words made the book difficult to sell to girls' schools.

The Cambridge Companion to W. H. Auden, a volume of new essays edited by Stan Smith, is scheduled to appear in January 2005. The contributors are Stan Smith, Richard Davenport-Hines, Patrick Deane, Nicholas Jenkins, Edward Mendelson, Tim Youngs, Christopher Innes, A. E. Sharpe, Peter Porter, John R. Boly, John Lucas, Rod Mengham, Richard R. Bozorth, Gareth Reeves, Paola Marchetti, Rainer Emig, Ian Sansom, and Nadia Herman Colburn.

The Voice of the Poet: W. H. Auden, a selection of Auden's recorded readings first published in 1999 in tape cassette format, was reissued in compact disc format in May 2004 by Random House Audio. The selection was edited by J. D. McClatchy and includes a commentary by him. This is the most extensive selection of Auden's recorded readings available in any format.

The 1936 documentary film *Night Mail*, with its famous verse narration by Auden and music by Benjamin Britten, is now available on a DVD disk from Panamint Cinema. The DVD is a "Region zero" disc, which means it can be viewed on players and computers anywhere in

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contemporary audience and that his ideas are seen as far from dated or limited to his own immediate biographical environment.

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Notes and Queries

A possible source for "Memorial for the City"

When "Memorial for the City" was published in *Horizon* in 1949 and in *Nones* in 1951, it did not yet have the dedication "In memoriam Charles Williams, d. April 1945" that it received in 1966 when Auden reprinted it in his *Collected Shorter Poems 1927-1957*. As John Fuller and others have noted, the poem alludes to Auden's visit to Germany in May 1945, shortly after Williams' death (which Auden would certainly have learned about during his visit to England that same summer, if by chance he had not heard about earlier in America); the epigraph to the poem by Julian of Norwich is taken from Williams' *The Descent of the Dove*; and the metre of Part II of the poem echoes the internal rhyming of much of Williams' verse.

Another possible source, not previously cited, is an essay by Williams "The Image of the City in English Verse," in the July 1940 issue of the *Dublin Review*. (It was reprinted in a selection of Williams' work, *"The Image of the City" and Other Essays*, ed. Anne Ridler; London: Oxford University Press, 1958.) The essay begins: "There are in English verse a certain number of recurrent images. One of these is the image of the City; it is built up by many descriptions, similes, metaphors, and maxims. These images, making altogether one greater image, show the City both ideally and actually (and even historically), in schism and in concord, as in heaven and as on earth" (Williams 92). There is no way of knowing whether Auden knew of this essay at the time he wrote the poem, but it is at least possible that he learned about it from T. S. Eliot or some other enthusiast of Williams' work.

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ples in Tolkien's fictional universe in writings such as "The World of the Sagas." Other instances when Auden features in the German press is when reviewers rediscover the complexity and appeal of his opera libretti during performances of Stravinsky and Henze operas. His libretti still continue to be translated or reissued (so, for instance, Maria Bosse-Sporleder's 1966 translation of *The Bassarids* was reissued in 1993, and the middle section, which Henze had meanwhile removed from the opera, was issued separately as *The Judgement of Calliope* in 1994).

On a more serious note, what strikes as surprising is that Auden's war and post-war writings have not yet been rediscovered as statements on the effect of the turmoil and atrocities of the last years of the Second World War. Here, novelists like Günther Grass have created a lively debate with new fiction, but so far no one has looked at the already extant texts. This was, perhaps not surprisingly, different when the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 also made the German media desperately search for texts suitable for the event – and find, amongst others, Auden's poem "September 1, 1939".

A more productive discussion involving Auden might emerge from the ongoing reassessment of what it means to be European. Not only since the recent rhetorical attacks by some members of the American government, but in fact ever since the collapse of the Eastern Bloc – and with accelerating momentum since the plans for an enlarged European Union were put on the table – European intellectuals, but also people in the street, have wondered how to define "Europeanness". A recent series of lectures as part of the significantly-labelled "East-West Studies" programme at Regensburg University (itself not far from the Czech border and very popular with students from the former Eastern Bloc) also featured a lecture on "W. H. Auden: A British European". In it the present author tried to problematize not only the role of Britain in Europe, but also to demonstrate that Auden's life, ideas, and works contribute strongly to a multifaceted understanding of cultural belonging in which allegiance is contractual rather than essential, and national identity is the effect of translation processes rather than simple formation by a given context. Part of this argument was inspired by Robert Caserio's 1997 essay "Auden's New Citizenship". The subsequent debate, especially with Eastern European and foreign students whose disciplines were generally not English Literature, but Law, Social, and Management Studies, proved that Auden's complex ideas strike a chord with a

Barry Cambray Bloomfield (1931-2002)

The *Newsletter* belatedly pays tribute to B. C. Bloomfield, the pioneer of Auden bibliography, a founding member of the W. H. Auden Society, and a generous friend and helper to students of Auden's work everywhere.

B. C. Bloomfield was born on 1 June 1931 in the East End of London, and went to East Ham Grammar School. During World War II he was among the children evacuated from London to the countryside, where he continued his education at Exeter, and later received his MA in librarianship at University College, London. In 1952-54 he served with the British Intelligence Corps in Malaya, where he developed a lifelong fascination with South-East Asia and where the special interests he pursued in his later career began to take shape.

Back home, after taking his degree, he worked as an assistant in the National Central Library, then became librarian of the College of St. Mark and St. John. In 1961 he became Assistant Librarian at the London School of Economics, then, at the School of Oriental Studies, he became Deputy Librarian in 1963 and Librarian in 1972. In 1978 he became India Office Librarian, and oversaw its transfer from the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (which was somewhat embarrassed by this apparent colonial relic) to the British Library, and its move to its own building. In the process, he became Keeper of the Department of Oriental Manuscripts and Printed Books for the British Library, and in 1985 took charge of collection development for the British Library's entire collection of Humanities and Social Sciences. He retired in 1990, but remained active in many professional organizations, among them the Bibliographical Society, of which he became President. He traveled all over the world in the course of his work, and made friends among librarians and scholars everywhere he visited.

Bloomfield's master's thesis was a bibliography of Auden's works through 1955. He expanded this into its published version, *W. H. Auden, A Bibliography: The Early Years through 1955*, published by the University Press of Virginia in 1964. Auden wrote an engaging preface in which he described his pleasure in bibliographies and all other kinds of lists. In collaboration with Edward Mendelson, Bloomfield greatly expanded the bibliography for its second edition, published in 1972, which carried the bibliographical record up through 1969.

One of Bloomfield's closest friends was his fellow librarian working at the University of Hull, Philip Larkin. Slightly to Larkin's

alarm, Bloomfield compiled *Philip Larkin, A Bibliography 1933-1976*, which was published in 1979 and in much-enlarged second edition in 2001. This was Bloomfield's masterwork, with its apparently dry lists of publications enlivened with characteristically sharp and illuminating notes and commentary.

Barry Bloomfield combined an intense focus on his scholarship and librarianship with a sociability, ease, and self-deprecating humor that made even his most nervous visitors relax and brought laughter and excitement to any gathering. He was generous with advice but never expected anyone to follow it, and was equally generous with books that unexpectedly arrived in friends' mailboxes because he knew they had been looking for a title, or simply because he thought a friend would enjoy it. His knowledge of the obscure corners of nineteenth- and twentieth-century English fiction and culture would have been terrifying if he had not been so generous with it.

He gave his collection of letters and books relating to his Auden bibliography to the Edinburgh University Library, where they form the core of an exceptionally strong Auden collection. At his death he was working on a bibliography of the poet Robert Bloomfield, who he said was probably not related to him, but whom he liked to claim as a kind of spiritual ancestor. His extensive collection of Robert Bloomfield's books is now in the British Library.

He married Valerie Philpot in 1958, and is survived by her. They had no children, but many scholars and students remember being welcomed into their homes in Lewisham and later in Wye as if they had been members of the family.

Barry Bloomfield died suddenly in Wye, Kent, on 26 February 2002, and is mourned by friends and colleagues on every continent.

Latest News

The W. H. Auden Society is Formally Registered as a Charity

In June 2004 the W. H. Auden Society was formally listed by the Charity Commission for England and Wales as Registered Charity No. 1104496. The Society offers heartfelt thanks to Katrina Johnston for the many hours of tenacious effort that she devoted over a period of months in order to achieve this important goal.

A further bilingual selection of Auden's poems, this time with translations by the famous poet Erich Fried, appeared in 1987 under the title *Anrufung Ariels* [The Invocation of Ariel] with another big publisher, Piper. Piper also reissued the 1977 translation of *Forewords and Afterwords* in 1989 and commissioned a new translation of *The Age of Anxiety* by Hanno Helbling in 1992 as well as a reissue of the 1961 translation of *For the Time Being* in the same year.

One of the strong voices in the German academic Auden camp, Günter Jarfe (now at Passau University), also emerged in the 1980s. His postdoctoral thesis submitted at Hamburg University in 1983 and published as *Der junge Auden: Dichterische Verfahrensweisen und ihre Bedeutung in W. H. Auden's Frühwerk* [The young Auden: poetic strategies and their significance in Auden's early Works] in 1985 still marks a milestone of structural (mainly psychoanalytically informed) engagement with Auden. It remained a lone voice, at least as far as book-length studies are concerned, until the publication of Imke Kreiser's *Die Lüge als anthropologisches Prinzip und ihre Korrelate in W. H. Auden's "The Age of Anxiety"* [The lie as an anthropological principles and its correlatives in Auden's *The Age of Anxiety*] in 1999. The present author's *W. H. Auden: Towards a Postmodern Poetics* then followed in 2000. That the latter appeared in English and with an Anglo-American publishing house was partly due to biographical reasons. Yet considerations of readership (small in the German-speaking world, much larger in the English-speaking one) also contributed to the decision.

It is a good sign, though, that recently German publishers have once again started to issue new translations and bilingual editions of Auden's writings. The paperback giant Goldmann published ten Auden poems in translation under the title *Sag mir die Wahrheit über die Liebe* [Tell me the truth about love] in 1994. Persuaded by the same reason as Goldmann, namely the enormous success of the British-made, but American-produced film *Four Weddings and a Funeral*, Pendo decided on an illustrated German translation of selected Auden poems (*Stoppt alle Uhren, kappt das Telefon: Ausgewählte Gedichte*) in 2002. The same publisher had already issued a translation of Auden's writings on Shakespeare one year before (*Aus Shakespeares Welt*).

The world-wide success of the recent film version of Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings* has alerted the arts sections of some of the more respectable German newspapers, such as *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, to the fact that Auden commented very seriously on the epic princi-

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Brecht: Die Dramen von W. H. Auden, John Osborne, John Arden in ihrer Beziehung zum epischen Theater von Bert Brecht und den gemeinsamen elisabethanischen Quellen"). A Tübingen University PhD thesis of 1971 by Hans-Joachim Hahn already concerned itself with the crisis of the poetic in Yeats and Auden ("Die Krisis des Lyrischen in den Gedichten von W. B. Yeats und W. H. Auden"). A University of Hamburg PhD thesis by Sigurds Dzenitis of 1972 looked at the reception of German literature in England by Auden, Spender, and Isherwood ("Die Rezeption deutscher Literatur durch Wystan Hugh Auden, Stephen Spender und Christopher Isherwood").

The early 1970s also saw another wave of Auden translations in Germany. A selection entitled *Gedichte* [Poems] appeared in a translation by Astrid Claes and others with Europaverlag in Vienna in 1973. It was reissued by the prominent Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag in 1976. In 1978 Erwin Koeppen published his Marburg University PhD thesis of the same year on Auden and German literature ("Wystan Hugh Auden und die deutsche Literatur"). The late 1970s saw a further popularisation of Auden in the reissue of the 1951 translation of *The Age of Anxiety* with the large paperback publisher Heyne in 1979.

The German Democratic Republic also staked its claim by publishing a selection of translated poems (partly by Claes) under the title *Wystan Hugh Auden* with Verlag Neues Leben in 1975. Volk und Welt, another GDR publisher, issued a bilingual volume of Auden's poems, translated by Carl Heinz Berger, under the strategically chosen title *Glück mit dem kommenden Tag* [Luck for the coming day] in 1978. The GDR also produced at least one PhD thesis on Auden: Faraj Sheerin Hamid's "W. H. Auden: A Critical Assessment of His Work Between 1948 and 1973", submitted in English at Halle University in 1979.

Forewords and Afterwords then appeared in a translation by Hella Bronold, again with Europaverlag in Vienna, in 1977. Austria also saw the publication of another bilingual edition of Auden's poems, this time his so-called "Kirchstetten poems", with translations by Johannes W. Paul under the title *Poems 1958-1973* in 1983.

The 1980s saw a diversification both of the general interest in Auden and his writings as an object of academic research. The Cologne University PhD thesis of 1982 by Barbara Engelbert entitled "Wystan Hugh Auden: Seine opernästhetische Anschauung und seine Tätigkeit als Librettist" [Auden: his ideas concerning the aesthetics of opera and his work as a writer of libretti] appeared in 1983.

It is easy to see that the cultural and philosophical co-ordinates of Auden's poetry range widely across space and time. But his work is also very much of its own time, particularly in its restless, vagrant, sometimes harried, note of unsettlement. In 1939 in an "Ode" in praise of a Manhattan hotel where he was temporarily based, Auden wrote that: "I've stayed in hotels in most places | Where my passport permits me to go, | (Excluding the British Dominions | And Turkey and U.S.S.R.)". The tone is light, but the claim contains a significant figurative truth, one that most critics have not taken seriously enough, or have not thought through in detail. The claim goes to the heart of the kind of writer that Auden was. It points to the role of the displaced, cosmopolitan poet which history forced Auden to take on and which, when he did take it on, made him such a historically representative figure.

But just how "cosmopolitan," how "international" was Auden? What precisely were the historical conditions from which his uprooted vantage point emerged? How much traveling did he in reality do? How much of his life was spent away from his residence of the moment (whether that was in England, Germany, the United States, Italy, or Austria)? What were the journeys and choices that produced his own complicatedly transnational literary identity and his ideal of "a sort of world, quite other, | altogether different from this one | with its envies and passports"? This note attempts to supply some basic details out of which satisfying answers to these questions might be built.

In a note to himself late in life Auden roundly declared that "Behavior that can be statistically expressed, is the behavior of the enslaved" (British Museum holograph notebook, used 1947-?1964). My first impulse on reading this sentence is to agree cravenly. Striving to be more honest, though, I find that in gauging the extent of Auden's boundary-spanning cultural profile, a few figures and statistics (of a kind) are actually helpful. They make clear that the restlessness and eclecticism of Auden's poetry emerged not just from a cerebral internationalism of the desk and study but from an existence - a *career* - in movement, a life with multiple foci. Auden's cosmopolitanism was not just an ethical notion but a reflection of specific cultural and social experiences during a period in which almost no-one expected life to go on unchanged, a period which one historian (Eric Hobsbawm) has called "an era of havoc."

So . . . some facts. During his lifetime (1907-1973) Auden held **two different passports** (British and American) at different times. Although he was finally “naturalized” as an American citizen in May 1946, apparently he did not receive an American passport until Feb 1948, shortly before he traveled to Italy. This presumably means that he traveled to Europe with the USSBS in 1945 on some kind of temporary, military-issued pass rather than an ordinary American passport.

At various points Auden had long-term **homes in five countries: UK, Germany, USA, Italy, and Austria** (these are places where he lived at least once for six months or more at a stretch). He made no - or practically no - journeys abroad from the place which was at the time his *de facto* home during 26 years out of the 67 or so years of his life (1907-1924, 1933 [bar a few days in Germany during January 1933], 1940-44, 1946-47). However, if we subtract his years of childhood from this total, we see that Auden made no - or practically no - journeys abroad in only eight out of his 49 adult years, and five of those eight years were a direct result of wartime restrictions. In other words, when Auden was an adult and could have traveled abroad, he did so during roughly **94% of the possible years**, frequently for quite substantial stretches of time. For him, then, traveling was a norm.

Vaguely defined plans to travel to Australia in 1935 and Mexico in 1938 fell through, meaning that Auden visited or lived in **four of the world’s seven continents** (Asia, Africa, Europe and North America). In all he **visited 27 countries** at some point in his life (leaving aside Britain, the place of his birth, which of course later, technically became a foreign country for him). Those countries (and colonies) are: Austria, Belgium, Canada, Ceylon, China, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Djibouti, Egypt, France, Germany, Greece, Hong Kong, Hungary, Iceland, India, Israel (is there any other important English-language poet with a reputation established before the Second World War who traveled to Israel, I wonder?), Italy, Japan, Macao, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, USA, and Yugoslavia.

We have already seen that Auden claimed by the age of 32 he had “stayed in most places” where he was allowed to go, “Excluding the British Dominions | And Turkey and U.S.S.R.” Perhaps the most noticeable and significant places that Auden did *not* visit are Russia (an especially meaningful omission for a supposed poet of the 1930s Left), Central and South America: “I . . . have never been to Mexico nor wish to go there” Auden wrote rather campily in his 1956 introduction to John Ashbery’s *Some Trees*. (The tentative plan for Auden and Ish-

Auden’s opera libretti also enjoyed considerable popularity, as can be seen in the early translations of Auden and Kallman’s libretto of Igor Stravinsky’s *The Rake’s Progress* by Fritz Schröder in 1951 (the title chosen for the translation, *Der Wüstling*, has not aged well and reads today like the equivalent of “The Sex Offender”). Auden and Kallman’s libretto for Hans-Werner Henze’s *Elegy for Young Lovers* appeared in a translation by Ludwig Landgraf in 1961. Their libretto of Henze’s *The Bassarids* followed in a translation by Maria Bosse-Sporleder in 1966. Already in 1962 *Spectaculum*, a series dedicated to performative texts, had published an Auden libretto next to ones by Busoni, Cocteau, Hofmannsthal, Pirandello, Claudel, Hindemith, Krenek, Menotti, and Brecht.

Auden as an essayist became a visible presence when his (still very topical) views on the role of religion in the post-war era appeared in a collection edited by Gert Kalow entitled *Zwischen Christentum und Ideologie: Die Chance des Geistes im Glaubenskrieg der Gegenwart* [Between Christianity and Ideology: The Chances of the Spirit in the War of Faith of the Present Age] next to those of Simone Weil and Robert Musil in 1956. Five of Auden’s Shakespeare essays were published in a translation by Fritz Lorch by the well-known Insel Verlag in 1964. *The Dyer’s Hand and Other Essays* followed, again in a translation by Fritz Lorch, with Mohn, another large publishing house, in 1965.

This strong presence of Auden on the German book market also spawned an academic engagement with his works. As early as 1961 Rudolf Friedrich Villgratder published his PhD thesis on the basics of the poetic theories of Auden, Day Lewis, and Spender (“Die Grundzüge der Dichtungstheorie der Lyriker Wystan Hugh Auden, Cecil Day Lewis und Stephen Spender”), which had been successfully submitted at Freie Universität Berlin in the same year. A University of Münster PhD thesis followed in 1969: Achim Rathe’s “Zum Vers-, Strophen- und Gedichtbau im Werk von W. H. Auden” [On the structures of verse, stanza, and poems in Auden’s works]. Such analyses reflect the cautious approach with which literary scholarship in post-war Germany attempted to tread the supposedly safe ground of form and structure.

Yet already in the 1970s the interest shifted. A Swiss PhD thesis produced at Bern University already looked at intertextual and intercultural relations when debating the connection of modern English theatre with both Brecht and Elizabethan drama and looking specifically at Auden, Osborne, and Arden (“Das englische Theater und Bert

drop of an emerging confrontation of Fascism and Communism in Europe.

Equally appealing, though often frightening at first, is Auden's serious playfulness with gender and sexuality. It often seems to be the best strategy to let students figure out for themselves which gender the speakers of Auden's texts have – and which their addressees. Then a debate on the covert or ostensible proclamation of homosexuality or the appeal or restrictive hegemonic power of heterosexuality can fruitfully emerge in class debates. Placing Auden "safely" in the category of "homosexual" writer, on the other hand, often precludes such debates (apart from failing to alert students to the fact that such a category is always historically specific and had a very different significance in the 1930s, 1950s, 1960s, and after).

While students generally feel a sometimes naive sympathy with Auden's early works, his more philosophical later writings often encounter resentment or outright resistance. Yet especially in texts such as "The Unknown Citizen" or "The Shield of Achilles" students can find useful departure and connecting points for debates on cultural and political utopias and realities. Their ambivalence also productively challenges any facile ideas they might have developed in engagements with "standard" modern utopian texts, such as Orwell's 1984 or Huxley's *Brave New World*.

In recent years dedicated Auden courses at university level have only been offered at Duisburg, where Prof. Michael Gassenmeier held an advanced course on "W. H. Auden's 'The Sea and the Mirror' as a Political Rendering of Shakespeare's 'The Tempest'", and Regensburg, where the present author taught a course entitled "The Poetry of W. H. Auden".

Academic research on Auden in Germany has been rather patchy since the 1970s. This is partly due to the changing popularity of Auden's texts in Germany in the post-war era. There were numerous translations of selections from his poetry and prose in the 1950s and 1960s. *The Age of Anxiety* was already translated in 1951 by Kurt Heinrich Hansen and supplemented with a preface by the famous German poet Gottfried Benn. "The Wanderer" appeared in a translation by Astrid Claes and Edgar Lohner in 1955. *For the Time Being* followed in a translation by Gerhard Fritsch in 1961. In the later 1960s bilingual editions of selections from Auden's poetry with translations by Dieter Leisegang appeared repeatedly in the series "Das neueste Gedicht" [The latest poem] with Bläschke Verlag in Darmstadt. It published *The Common Life* in 1964 and *The Cave of Making* in 1965.

erwood to meet Spender in Mexico in the summer 1938, after their trip to China, was apparently abandoned.) Closer to "home", we note he never set foot in the country that, in his elegy for W. B. Yeats, he aggressively describes - based on no first-hand knowledge - as "mad Ireland."

In judging the substance of Auden's travels, I count **29 separate journeys that each lasted more than two months**. Indeed, 26 of those 29 journeys lasted more than five months, blurring remarkably the notion that, especially in Auden's later years, there were for him clear definitions of what "at home" and "abroad," "domestic" and "foreign," "here" and "there," meant.

In a manner that helps us to sharpen our sense of specificity about Auden's travel-dominated life, the extent of his movement contrasts starkly and suggestively with those of three major poets of the generations before and after his own. First, the older poets. In 1946 Eliot wrote of Ezra Pound that "I have never known a man, of any nationality, to live so long out of his native country without seeming to settle anywhere else." Yet in spite of Ezra Pound's cultivation of an intensely cosmopolitan, mobile poetic persona and in spite of his bookish fascination with the ancient cultures of Egypt and China, he seems only ever to have set foot in seven countries (the United States, Spain [Gibraltar], the United Kingdom, France, Italy, Germany, and at the very end of his life, seeking medical treatment, Switzerland), all of them, bar his native land, in the heart of Western Europe. Together these were essentially the countries that produced the literature covered in his MA in Romance languages at Penn as long ago as 1905-06.

Besides comparing Pound's mobility to Auden's, it is also interesting to compare it in passing to William Carlos Williams's. Pound traveled less widely and less often than Auden. He even traveled less widely than Williams. In the 1910s and 1920s, Pound often cast his internationalist purview against Williams's nativist stance. Yet Williams actually saw a more diverse group of cultures than Pound - he traveled at various times to France, Switzerland, Belgium, Germany, Holland, the United Kingdom, Italy, Spain, Austria, and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. This suggests that being identified, by oneself or by others, as a rooted or a deracinated artist has as much to do with the stories that writers tell about themselves as it does with actual experience. I am reminded that in *A Colder Eye* Hugh Kenner calculated Yeats, the poet of Irish nationalism, spent more time out of Ireland than James Joyce, the professional exile. Yet in 1948, the Irish

government actively sought to have the body of the nationalist Yeats returned to Ireland while discreetly rejecting the idea of repatriating Joyce's remains.

Of course, the duration and intensity of a person's immersion in a culture counts for far more in the shaping of an identity than the number of places visited for brief holidays. *The Cantos* is impossible to imagine without Pound's confrontation with avant-garde ideas and poetic techniques in London and Paris during the 1910s and 1920s, or with his immersion in Italian politics in the 1920s and 1930s. Quite why some literary historians persist in seeing Pound's poem as simply "American" and Pound as an "American" poet is a mystery to me: surely it and he are as much products of Europe as they are anything else? Still, the degree of diversity that a writer experiences surely also matters and in this respect Williams was more widely-traveled than Pound.

But if Pound's personal experience of the world seems limited compared with Auden's, then the self-proclaimed introspective isolatedness of the most important poet of a younger generation of English poets, Philip Larkin, seems even more distinct and contrasting. In spite of Larkin's enthusiasm for the works of Isherwood (that prototypical 1930s wanderer), Larkin himself only seems to have traveled abroad three times: to Germany in 1936 and 1937 (with his father) and to Belgium in 1939 with his school. Larkin was 16 years old at the time of this last visit. In other words, while Auden traveled in 94% of the years of his adult life, Larkin travelled in 0% of the years of his adult life. In later years Larkin's carefully cultivated dislike of foreignness and of travel became widely known, and it was from this vantage point that the parochial weight of his sarcasm in his 1960 review of *Homage to Clio* can best be felt. Bemoaning Auden's disappearance from the English scene in 1939, Larkin castigated the "individual and cosmopolitan path" that the later Auden had followed.

What follows is a summary list of Auden's main foreign journeys, together with dates, the approximate length of the journey being given in months (side trips and brief stops are indicated in square brackets). The order of the countries listed here is, in the simplest sense, the order in which Auden visited the countries during his travel for that year. But each country is listed only once for each journey even if Auden visited the country several times during that journey. This was often the case with his trips to Britain, Germany, Italy and Austria after 1948. Short of a day by day itinerary, which would be beyond my powers to compile and anyone else's to read through,

It is not impossible that one of these lost copies (not the one that belonged to Auden's father) may be the same as the surviving copy listed as unnumbered copy [e].

Further information about any of these copies, or about other copies that have not come to the compiler's attention, will be gratefully received and noted in future issues of the *Newsletter*.

E. M.

Auden Studies in Germany

Auden is not a popular option for teachers and students in Higher Education in Germany. This is not to say that his works do not feature in courses on modern British as well as American poetry. Such courses are regularly on offer at almost all German universities. There he is sometimes integrated into a genealogy of modern poetry, as for instance in a seminar offered at Marburg University by David W. Debney entitled "Introduction to Twentieth-Century Poetry: Eliot, Auden, Thomas, Hughes, Heaney". Sometimes Auden is used as a dissenting voice offering an alternative to the so-called "High Modernism" of the likes of T. S. Eliot. He is also a consistent feature in courses on the 1930s, which are also a regular feature of the higher education syllabus as far as English Literature is concerned. Yet there is a noticeable reluctance to engage exclusively with his works at university level (he is hardly ever taught at secondary schools, which is due to perhaps understandable scruples when it comes to exposing language learners to complex poetry in a foreign language).

Even university students complain, however, that his vocabulary and cultural references are too cryptic for non-native speakers and non-Britons (little do they realise that even British readers frequently voice similar complaints). His technical virtuosity appears to confirm students' suspicions that poetic form has only been invented to torture them in examinations. Auden's politics and philosophy, however, are generally a fertile point of departure, a trigger that, at least in a minority of courageous students, stimulates a long-term interest in Auden. Here, students often discover an almost "natural" affinity with Auden's juvenile rebellion. His experiments with Socialist and Communist ideas strikes them as perhaps naive, yet thoroughly understandable given his cultural and class background and the back-

Unnumbered copies (five are known to exist; the italicized letters are arbitrarily assigned for convenience):

- [a] Inscribed by Auden to Spender; then by both Auden and Spender to Cyril Connolly; University of Tulsa. The earlier inscription reads: "From the young author to the younger printer, with youthful love, Wystan Auden October 1929." The later one reads (in Auden's hand except for "and Stephen"): "Dear Cyril, | We thought you might like this | Wystan | and Stephen | We worship truth for we are true | beauty for we are fair | And goodness loves both me and you | For we have lovely hair".
- [b] William Plomer; Columbia University Library.
- [c] George Rylands; Library of King's College, Cambridge.
- [d] Martin D'Arcy; Mabel Zahn (Philadelphia bookseller); sold at Sotheby Parke-Bernet, 20 February 1973; Pierpont Morgan Library.
- [e] Uninscribed; sold at Christie's, 4 April 1974; House of Books (New York bookseller); Indiana University Library.

Lost copies (copies that are known to have existed but of which no trace can now be found; Rex Warner may also have had a copy that has not been traced):

- [w] George Augustus Auden, Auden's father. Auden promised to retrieve this copy and give it to Spender after his father's death, but nothing more was ever said about it, and the copy has disappeared.
- [x] E. H. Jacob, about whom nothing seems to be known except that he received a copy of the book (he was perhaps the Professor E. H. Jacob who was the father of E. F. Jacob, tutor in medieval history at Christ Church, Oxford, when Auden was there).
- [y] Louis MacNeice. A typed transcription of this copy was made in the 1930s by Ruthven Todd, who did not note the existence of any inscription or number. Auden probably gave this copy to MacNeice when they became friendly in Birmingham in the mid-1930s.
- [z] A. L. Rowse, who was told by Auden or Spender that the book was sold by subscription, and who seems to have been the only original recipient who paid for his copy. Rowse lent it to an unidentified friend, and it disappeared during World War II.

it is impossible to represent the frequent complexities - the circlings, lateral movements, hiatuses, forays, and repetitions - of Auden's journeys, especially in the post-World War 2 period. For example, in 1956-57, Auden made several journeys back and forth from Italy to Britain. I list each country only once in each journey, indicating merely the order in which he first visited them during the trip. Note too that the dating of the journey refers only to the months in which all or part of the journey was made. It does not necessarily mean that Auden was away for the whole of the month in question.

With a British passport:

- o Aug 1925: Austria
- o ?Dec 1925 - Jan 1926: Austria
- o Dec 1926 - Jan 1927: Austria
- o July - Aug 1927: Yugoslavia
- o July-Aug 1928: Belgium
- o Oct 1928 - July 1929: Germany
- o June-July 1930: Germany
- o Dec 1930: Germany
- o July 1931: Germany
- o Dec 1932 - Jan 1933: Germany
- o Aug - Sept 1934: (motoring tour through) Belgium, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Austria, Switzerland
- o Jan 1935: Denmark
- o Oct 1935: Switzerland [possible visit to Greece? See the article on p. 14]
- o Oct 1935: Belgium
- o March - April 1936: Portugal
- o May 1936: Belgium
- o June - Sept 1936: Iceland
- o Jan - March 1937: [France], Spain
- o April 1937: France
- o Jan - July 1938: [France, Egypt, Djibouti, Ceylon, Hong Kong, Macao], China, [Japan, Canada, USA]
- o Aug - Sept 1938: Belgium
- o Dec 1938 - Jan 1939: [France], Belgium, [Germany]
- o Jan 1939 - : USA

With an American military pass:

- April - Aug 1945: [Britain], Germany

With an American passport:

- April - Sept 1948: [Britain, France], Italy, [Austria]
- April - Sept 1949: Italy
- March - Sept 1950: Italy
- March - Sept 1951: India, Italy
- March - Sept 1952: [France], Italy, [Austria]
- May - Nov 1953: Italy, [Britain, Austria]
- April - Sept 1954: [France], Italy, [Britain, Austria]
- April - Sept 1955: [Britain], Italy, [Germany]
- April 1956 - Nov 1957: Italy, Britain, [Austria]
- April - Oct 1958: Britain, Austria, Italy
- April - Oct 1959: Britain, Austria, [France]
- Feb 1960: Britain
- April - Nov 1960: Britain, Austria, [Germany]
- April - Oct 1961: Austria, [Germany, Norway, Britain]
- April - Oct 1962: Austria, [Britain, ?Germany]
- April - Oct 1963: [Britain, Germany], Austria
- April 1964 - Oct 1965: Iceland, [Sweden], Austria, [Britain, USA, Greece, Yugoslavia], Germany, [Hungary, Italy]
- April - Oct 1966: Britain, Austria, [Germany]
- April - Oct 1967: Austria, Britain, [France]
- Feb 1968: Austria
- April - Oct 1968: Austria, [Italy, Britain]
- March - Oct 1969: [?Greece], Austria, Britain, [Sweden]
- April - Nov 1970: Israel, [Greece], Austria, Britain
- April - Oct 1971: [Italy], Austria, Britain, [Macedonia]
- April 1972 - Sept 1973: Austria, Britain, [USA, Belgium]

Clearly Auden's travels are not without cultural foci or biases: they predominantly, though not exclusively, involve journeys around and between Europe and the United States. Such intensive journeying was far less typical or easy than it is today. After he had flown on a US military plane from the United States to Britain on his way to Germany in April 1945, Auden presciently announced to friends

Britten, who like Auden and Hayward was an ex-Greshamian; the English verses are by George Herbert].

- 11 Archibald Campbell (a friend of Auden and Spender at Oxford); Edinburgh University Library.
- 12 Winifred Paine (Spender family housekeeper, with whom he had a close relationship); perhaps retrieved by Spender and given by him to John Johnson (a young writer associated with the Group Theatre in the 1930s, later a literary agent); sold at Phillips', 16 March 1995; Roger Rechler (American collector); sold at Christie's New York, 11 October 2002; present owner unknown. *Reproduced in a "copyflo" xerographic facsimile edition first made available by University Microfilms in 1960; still available from Proquest.*
- 15 E. R. Dodds (perhaps given to him during a visit from Auden to his parents' home in Birmingham where Dodds was a family friend); Bodleian Library.
- 16 John Layard; Carter Burden (American collector); Joseph the Provider (California bookseller); private English collector.
- 17 Uninscribed copy apparently retained by Spender; University of Cincinnati Library. *Reproduced in a facsimile edition published by the Elliston Poetry Foundation in 1964, with a prefatory note by Spender.*
- 18 Gabriel Carritt (close friend of Auden and Spender at Oxford); Sidney Newman (organ scholar at Oxford and close friend of Auden); Berg Collection, New York Public Library.
- 19 Gabriel Carritt; Houghton Library, Harvard.
- 24 S[heilah] H. Richardson 26.2.29 [her dating of the copy given to her by Auden in Birmingham around the time he broke off their engagement]; given by her to Dr. H. M. Trudgian (lecturer in French at Durham); Durham University Library. *Reproduced in a facsimile edition for the Ilkley Literature Festival, 1973, with a separate booklet containing a foreword by B. C. Bloomfield.*
- 24—*About* David Ayerst (a friend of Auden and Spender at Oxford); Glenn Horowitz (New York bookseller); private American collector. The approximation in the numbering suggests that this was either the last or one of the last copies to be numbered. Inscribed by Spender: "This valuable work to David Ayerst from Stephen Spender, the printer. But if he has a true regard for the future at Christie's, he will also get the author's signature. Feb 1st 1929." Inscribed below this by Auden: "To David with love and best wishes Wystan Auden".

Most surviving copies include a number written in Spender's hand beneath the "About 45 copies" statement of limitation; a few do not, and may have been given away after the first batch of copies was distributed. All known owners are listed in chronological order, separated by semi-colons; the name or approximate location of the owners of copies 4, 16, and "24—*About*" are known but have been kept private; the owners of copies 10 or 12 are entirely unknown. Details of Auden's and Spender's inscriptions are added in some but not all instances.

Numbered copies (thirteen are known to exist; the copies with the twelve numbers missing from the sequence below are presumably lost):

- 2 Christopher Isherwood; Don Bachardy; Huntington Library. The inscription reads: "To Christopher with love from the Author 'Dura virum nutrix'" ["stern nurse of men," the motto of Sedbergh School, which had a special place in Auden's private mythology because his Oxford friend Gabriel Carritt had been a pupil there].
- 4 Cecil Day-Lewis; H. Bradley Martin (American collector); sold at Sotheby's, 30 April 1990; James O. Edwards (American collector); Gekoski (London bookseller); private American collector. The inscription reads: "To [Rex *deleted*] Cecil | With love from | the Author. | 'Dangerous: does set | Dancing blood.'" [The deleted dedication was presumably to Rex Warner; the verses are from Gerard Manley Hopkins, "To what serves mortal beauty?"]
- 9 Edward Upward; British Library.
- 10 First inscribed by Auden to an illegible deleted name, perhaps something resembling John or Luke Turlledren, then inscribed by Auden to D. Van Lennep (otherwise unknown; perhaps the Dutchman called Dan in Auden's 1929 Berlin journal?); perhaps retrieved by Auden, or never given to Van Lennep, and given by him to John Hayward; Anthony Hobson (English collector); sold at Sotheby's, 28 June 1996; present location unknown. The inscriptions read: "To D. van Lennep | with love from | the Author | Nov 1929 | John Hayward | with love | from | Wystan Auden | 'Permanendo Vincimus' | 'Who sweeps a room as for thy laws | Makes that and the action fine'" [The nonsensical Latin tag, perhaps intended to mean something like "By persistence we conquer," may have been an in-joke among pupils at Gresham's School, as it also occurs in a letter from Auden to Benjamin

waiting to greet him, "I'm the first major poet to fly the Atlantic." (Pound's flight to the United States in November 1945 also seems to have been made on a US military plane.) But before long in the post-war period, flying writers were becoming less anomalous. Isherwood flew to Britain in January 1947; E. M. Forster flew to the United States in April 1947; Eliot flew from the States to Britain in November 1948. So Auden was *not* the first "major poet" to cross the Atlantic ocean on a commercial flight when, in September 1949, when he flew TWA from Italy to the United States. Auden's history of geographical mobility - the Christmas of 1937, the year in which he suffered a laying on of patriotic hands when the George VI personally awarded him a Gold Medal for Poetry, was the last Christmas he spent in England until the Christmas of 1972, his last - while telling and pronounced is hardly unique within the culture(s) of Auden's place and time. And of course it does not count as one of the innumerable histories of tragic journeying involuntarily lived out around the planet in the 1930s and 1940s. But then that is the point.

During Auden's life, travel was becoming not so much a rarefied class privilege as a more general condition. Raymond Williams identified exilic, modernist writing and experimentation as occurring within the "*general processes* of mobility, dislocation and para-national communication." Reflecting on Williams's words and commenting on this idea of "mobility" as a key to modernism both as a literary and a social formation, Michael North considers the endlessly peripatetic careers of just three British subjects, Charlie Chaplin, Claude McKay and D. H. Lawrence, and comments that they share an "experience of restless travel so relentless that citizenship ceases to have any meaning." Such was also Auden's case. Auden's status as a writer almost always "in transit" derives from a particular historical moment, and endows his work with a certain very modern cultural representativeness. These are facets of his writing which are still too infrequently analyzed, or even noticed. It was not as if Auden was unaware of this motif of displacement in his writing and his life. Some of his most telling self-definitions (whether in his poetry, prose, letters or conversations) involve ideas of dislocation or displacement. Thus, at various times after 1940, Auden refers to himself as "the Wandering Jew," as an "alien," a "*déraciné*," a "metic."

In 1941 Auden looked back to the exemplary writing of another heroic member of the first generation of modernists (just as he would do in his 1946 address to the Grolier Club on the expatriated Henry James), when he sought to define why the disaffiliated or nationless

writer had become such an important symbol of the fate imposed on everyone by modernity. "Kafka is important to us," Auden the New World émigré claimed, "because the predicament of his hero is the predicament of the contemporary man.... It was fit and proper that Kafka should have been a Jew, for the Jews have long been placed in the position in which we are all now to be, of having no home."

The place where a person is born has a symbolic value in the story of their life. So too does the place of their death. As we noted at the start of this essay, in 1939 Auden announced that he had "stayed in hotels in most places | Where my passport permits me to go." By 1947 he had begun to believe that he would not only keep staying in hotels. He told a friend mournfully: "I shall probably die in a hotel." In September 1973, Auden, on his last evening as himself, gave a poetry reading and then, during the ensuing night, died alone in the Altenburgerhof in Vienna. Chester Kallman wrote that the following morning he found Auden "Turning icy-blue on a hotel bed."

NICHOLAS JENKINS

Special thanks are due to Edward Mendelson who offered essential help with the compilation and tabulation of data about Auden's travel as well as several important memory-joggers. I would be grateful to readers for any corrections and/or additions they can offer.

When Did Auden First Visit Greece?

A Minor Biographical Mystery

In "The Traveling Auden" (above) Nicholas Jenkins lists all recorded instances of Auden's travels. One apparently unrecorded instance remains a mystery in the otherwise well-recorded annals of Auden's life. When Auden visited Greece in 1965 he remarked at least twice on an earlier visit about which nothing definite is known. This note is an attempt to reconstruct the details of that visit.

David Jackson, in "Three Pictures of W. H. Auden," published in *Christopher Street*, October 1977, p. 42, is comprised of three passages apparently quoted from Jackson's diaries. An entry for 1965 reads:

WHA is arriving from Austria to visit Chester Kallman. I go off to meet his plane. Auden hasn't been in Greece since the

A Preliminary Census of Auden's *Poems* (1928)

Auden's first book, *Poems*, was privately printed by Stephen Spender during the long vacation from Oxford in 1928 in an edition described on its colophon (the verso of the page containing the dedication "To Christopher Isherwood") as comprising "About 45 copies." This number seems to have been optimistic. Perhaps thirty copies were completed; eighteen copies are known to exist; at least twelve are presumed to be lost.

Spender printed the front matter and the first 22 pages of text on a hand-press at his home in Froggnal, Hampstead. When the hand-press broke down, he hired the Holywell Press in Oxford to complete the job by printing the remaining pages of text (23 through 37) and an erratum slip containing a section of a poem omitted from the earlier part of the book, and then binding the book in its brick-orange paper wrappers. He asked the press to prepare the forty-five copies indicated on the colophon, but the press discarded some of his own hand-printed work (evidently it was too amateurishly printed to use) and bound up only thirty.

Auden supplied Spender with much of the manuscript of the book; some seems to have been obtained from A.S.T. Fisher, a student at Oxford with whom Auden had been friendly during his first year at the university and who retained copies of Auden's earlier poems. Some of the copy was sold (presumably by Auden) to the American collector Caroline Newton, and is now in the Berg Collection of the New York Public Library. Spender apparently began printing the book in September 1928 and the Holywell Press finished the job apparently in October.

Spender sent copies to Auden in Berlin. In an undated letter, probably around November 1928, Auden wrote to Spender, apparently in reference to the many typographical errors, "Please don't think I was cross with you about the books. It was jolly nice of you to do it at all and I know what my script is like" (Berg Collection). Auden and Spender separately (later, sometimes together) gave copies to their friends and relations, and the roster of the known copies provides a glimpse of their circle of acquaintances in early adulthood. The following census of copies is based partly on information in B. C. Bloomfield and Edward Mendelson's *W. H. Auden: A Bibliography* (University Press of Virginia, 1973), partly on Katherine Bucknell's edition of Auden's *Juvenilia* (Princeton University Press, 1994), and partly on more recent information.

a projected encyclopedia: "Med[izin]. Jede Kranckheit ist ein musicalisches Problem - die Heilung eine musicalische Auflösung."

The evidence of "River Profile" and "The Art of Healing" strongly suggests that Auden was reading Novalis in the 1960s. He also included a number of other remarks by Novalis in his commonplace book, *A Certain World* (1970). I cannot offer any definite explanation of why Auden suddenly turned to Novalis in the 1960s. But it should be noted that George MacDonald, one of Auden's favorite childhood authors and an author whom Auden re-read enthusiastically in the 1960s, was passionately inspired by Novalis's writing. (Auden published an introduction to MacDonald's *The Golden Key* in 1967.)

And - to dare for a moment the biographical heresy mentioned at the start of this note - we should also remember that mining was a profoundly poetic activity for German Romanticism. In his book on Auden, *The Hidden Law*, Anthony Hecht quotes Hans Kühn on Romantic Germany's obsession with mines: "every major writer of that period either was a professionally trained mining engineer or was otherwise closely associated with or intensely interested in that institution." Kühn continues: "The roster includes Novalis, Hölderlin, Goethe, Clemens Brentano, Joseph von Eichendorff, Alexander von Humboldt, and E. T. A. Hoffman." Novalis's father was the director of a salt mine, and during his short life Novalis himself studied mining as an academic subject and then both worked in and wrote about the darkly numinous underground world of mines. Would it be that odd if Auden, in childhood a fantasy mining-engineer, became attuned to Novalis's remarkable work through a frisson of interest in his remarkable life?

NICHOLAS JENKINS

My sincere thanks to Heiko Weissbach of the Novalis-Museum in Wied-erstedt (Novalis's birthplace) for helping me to locate these references.

early thirties, and it's *changed*. We start up Syngrou Avenue which runs from the Sea to the columns of the Temple of Zeus, near City Center. Now, instead of country, ugly car salesrooms and various pseudo-modern office buildings line this street. "My dear! What a pity! It was all quite open before. All the way from the Sea one had an unobstructed view of . . ." (a break in the buildings, the Acropolis appears) "Oh, my God, there it is!"

This records Auden's arrival in Athens, around 7 January 1965, for a three- or four-day visit. On 9 January the Athens newspaper *Mesimvriini* published a news story about his visit to a private home where he met with American and British writers who were living in the city in the time. The story, under a title which may be translated "VIPs of the Spirit in Athens Meet Wystan Auden," reported that Auden said, "I came to Greece once before, also for a short time, in 1935."

The trouble with this recollection is that Auden's movements in 1935 are generally well-accounted-for, and there scarcely seems to have been time for him to get to Greece and back during the few brief periods when his location is unknown. A journey by train from London would have taken at least three days each way, and even if Auden had been able to afford to travel by air, the journey would have taken at least as many days, although of course with more time to visit the cities where one would have stopped *en route*. Auden's remarks to David Jackson suggest that he might have taken an even slower and cheaper route that would have ended with a two-and-a-half day sail from Trieste to Piraeus, and then by train to Athens along a line that ran parallel to the drive that David Jackson recorded along Syngrou Avenue.

In January 1935 Auden was in London, then in Copenhagen briefly with Christopher Isherwood, then, until early April, at the Downs School. During much of April he was in Birmingham with his parents then briefly in London, and back at the Downs School until late July. Around 1 August he was in the Limes, a hotel in Wisbech, Cambridgeshire, perhaps on his way either from the Downs School, or from his parents' summer home in the Lake District, to the Group Theatre's summer school, held around the same time at Summerhill, near Leiston, about sixty miles to the southeast. A gap in the record occurs here, perhaps time enough for a very rushed visit to Greece, but later the same month he was spending two weeks in Ramsey, on

the Isle of Man, and on 1 September 1935 he joined the GPO Film Unit in London to work on documentaries. Almost every day for the rest of the year is accounted for, including a brief visit by air to Switzerland in mid-October. Auden had intended to travel on to Australia by air to work on a documentary film about the air mail service, but turned back to London, and certainly did not fly to Greece. He almost certainly could not have afforded a separate air journey to Greece unless the GPO Film Unit or a publisher paid for it, and there is no reason to suppose that anyone had done so.

Possibly Auden misremembered 1935 as the date of his earlier visit, or the newspaper reporter in Athens misheard him. David Jackson noted that Auden had last visited Greece in "the early thirties," and perhaps the visit had occurred in July 1933, the only period of about a month in Auden's adult life about which nothing is definitely known. Auden seems to have finished teaching at the Downs School early in the month, and is next recorded arriving at Sissinghurst on 2 August 1933 for a three-day visit with Nigel Nicolson and Vita Sackville-West. The unusual gap during August gave Auden more than enough time to travel inexpensively to and from Greece. But why would he have gone there, and why would he have made so long a journey for a visit that, as he said in 1965, was only for a short time?

The most likely explanation is that Auden was visiting his dissolute archaeologist friend Francis Turville-Petre, about whom Auden had loosely based a play *The Fronny* which he wrote in 1930 and never published, but which later formed the basis of *The Dog Beneath the Skin*. Auden seems to have got to know Turville-Petre in Berlin in 1928-29, and introduced him to Christopher Isherwood in the summer of 1929. Isherwood spent a couple of months with Turville-Petre in Germany in 1932; not long afterward, Turville-Petre began excavations on the island of St. Nicholas in Greece, and in April 1933 invited Isherwood to visit him there.

Isherwood spent a miserable summer on St. Nicholas from May until early September 1933, which he later fictionalized in the "Ambrose" section of *Down There on a Visit* (1962). Isherwood said nothing in his diaries or memories about a visit from Auden to the island, but it seems at least possible that such a visit occurred. If it did, Auden may have found the emotional and physical atmosphere so squalid and discouraging that he would have left almost immediately; although Auden was famously untidy, he preferred to visit friends who lived in bourgeois order.

Whether Auden visited Greece in July 1933 or a year or two later, his most likely destination was Turville-Petre's island. It was a popular destination among Auden's friends: Stephen Spender made a brief journey there in May 1936. The fact that Auden seems to have said almost nothing about his visit may perhaps confirm the account he gave of himself to interviewers in later years, when he said that he had the fortunate ability to suppress the memory of almost anything that he found deeply unpleasant.

EDWARD MENDELSON

Novalis and Auden

In spite of the later Auden's frequent and (over-)emphatic denunciations of a generic Romanticism, his attitude towards Romantic writers, like his attitude to biography, remained more complex and engaged than his public, "official" voice was willing to admit.

One corroborating example of this truth that has recently come to light concerns his interest in the 1960s in the German Romantic poet Novalis (Freiherr Georg Friedrich Philipp von Hardenburg). Nothing insinuates itself into the fabric of Auden's verse randomly or meaninglessly. So it is interesting and suggestive to see fragments from Novalis emerge in Auden's late poetry. Who, by contrast, would expect to see lines from Wordsworth or Keats unironically absorbed into the post-1950s, Kirchstetten-based collections? But perhaps Novalis's relative "foreignness" and enigmatic unfamiliarity to an Anglo-American readership exempted him from Auden's more dogmatic anti-Romantic prohibitions, fortunately allowing the poetic and youthful sensuousness of Novalis to cast a poignant, eerie glow over Auden's poetry of old age.

Auden used an epigraph from Novalis (1772-1801) for the 1966 poem "River Profile": "Our body is a moulded river" (*Collected Poems*, 1991, 806-07). This is drawn from Novalis's "Physikalische Bemerkungen" (part of the set of writings titled "Fragments and Studies 1799-1800" by Novalis's modern editors), no 248: "Dass unser Körper eine gebildeter Fluss ist, ist wohl nicht zu bezweifeln." And Auden cited Novalis again in the 1969 poem "The Art of Healing": "Every sickness | is a musical problem,' | so said Novalis, | 'and every cure | a musical solution'" (836). This is from no. 386 in "Das allgemeine Brouillon," the collection of jottings that Novalis made for