

Anil Bhatti:

## **Haas Willy (1891-1973)**

### **"Homme de lettre"**

Willy Haas was an homme de lettres, i.e. a man of letters, and one of the great literary editors of Germany's legendary second Weimar period. He was also one of the first avant-garde film critics and film scriptwriters, apart from being an essayist, raconteur, friend and critic of writers like Kafka and Werfel. From 1925 to 1932 he edited one of the most widely respected literary journals in Germany and Europe: Die Literarische Welt. (Cf nr. 1, chapter 'notes and references')

He was probably one of the greatest classic feuilletonists in the German tradition.

Haas was born on 17 June 1891 in Prague, which at that time was in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and all through his life, which took him from Prague to Berlin, to Bombay, to London and finally to Hamburg, he retained the consciousness of the problems of the legal identity associated with a Central European citizen of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy in its dying phase.

Haas' family was of Spanish-Jewish origin that had migrated to a Moravian village from Holland in 1680. As Haas put it in a charmingly written curriculum vitae, he thus 'was born in Prague of a respectable Czechoslovak family that had been settled on Czechoslovakian soil for at least 250 years according to available records'. (Cf. nr 2, chapter 'notes and references')

His father, Dr. Gustav Haas, was apparently a well-known and respected lawyer. In the multilingual milieu of Prague, however, to be Jew was almost identical with being German, and both were hated. But, there were exceptions. Haas remembered mobs going on rampages as a child against the German-speaking Jewish community and in one of these attacks their house was saved by their Czech nurse. (Cf. nr 3, chapter 'notes and references')

Like many other intellectuals of his generation, Haas retained a degree of what might be called a clear insight into the inevitability of the collapse of the multilingual, multicultural, transnational Austro-Hungarian empire and the end of the Utopian myth of the Hapsburgs.

### **"Haas - der Weltbürger"**

Haas was in no sense a nationalist. On the contrary, he was a Weltbürger, a citizen of the world. A state citizenship, documented by a passport, was, however, a critical condition for survival for any emigre. Statelessness was a fear that haunted refugees and exiles. (Cf. nr 4, chapter 'notes and references')

By birth Haas was a citizen of the Austro-Hungarian empire. After die collapse of the Danube monarchy, his native city of Prague became the capital of independent Czechoslovakia and his nationality became Czech. He was, however, a German-speaking Czech, who repeatedly affirmed his love for the German tradition he had inherited. Intellectually, he was at home in Berlin. Fascism, however, forced him to emigrate to India, where he used the Czech version of his name Vilem Haas. In India he became His Majesty's subject and returned to Germany with

this legal identity. Only in 1950 did he formally adopt German citizenship. (Cf. nr 5, chapter 'notes and references')

By 1932 it had become clear to Haas that he would have to leave Germany which was in the grip of Fascist domination. He returned to Prague in 1933, where he worked as editor and script-writer. After Hitler's entry into Prague he decided to leave Europe. Although there was the possibility of getting an American visa, he chose instead to accept the offer of his friend Walter Kaufmann, the composer, who was already in India working with the All India Radio in Bombay. (Cf. nr 6, chapter 'notes and references')

Through the mediation of Paul Claudel, Haas was able to go from Prague to the south of France, where he could meet some of his friends from Prague, among them Franz Werfel. He reached Bombay in June 1939, where a post as a scenario-writer with Bhavnani Productions was waiting for him. A film version of Ibsen's *Ghosts*, *The Legend of the Dead Eyes*, which he called an 'Indian religious village story of my own invention' and a scenario *Kanchan*, in which the actress Leela Chitnis played the leading role, were the creative results that Haas mentions. (Cf. nr 7, chapter 'notes and references')

He also collaborated with Kaufmann on two operas, which were apparently produced by All India Radio. In addition Haas wrote a large number of essays and sketches on a wide range of topics such as the question of Hindu widows or German Jews, which were published in Indian journals. Of special interest are an anthology of German poetry in English translation titled *Germans beyond Germany* (1942), an essay on Kafka and a series of articles 'On Teaching German Literature' published in the *Punjab Educational Journal* (1944/45). (Cf. nr 8, chapter 'notes and references')

## **Exilland Indien**

There are many aspects of Haas' life and experiences in India which deserve greater attention. I would like to refer briefly only to his attempts as a litterateur to come to terms with 'India' as presented in his autobiographical recollection and to some comparative cultural reflections in his essays. Like all reconstructions his autobiographical recollection of India is also a construct in which the site of India as a place of exile is justified by an achieved awareness between conscious individual choice and inevitability. An individual acts out a personal history, the prefiguration of which he only becomes aware of in the form of a subsequent epiphanic realization. Given Haas' literary background, it is not surprising that this is articulated through a literary association. In this context Kipling's *Kim* and Gandhi function as chiffres for Haas' elective affinity to the country of his exile. Rediscovering *Kim* is one of the central passages of Haas' autobiography. As in all autobiographical reconstruction, Haas too tried to establish a secret pattern of life that unfolds itself gradually through the course of life's journey. Political reasons forced Haas to leave Europe. But why did he choose India? One of the reasons, he subsequently realized while in exile was Kipling's *Kim*, which he had read as a boy. The daughter of one of his Indian friends in Lahore showed him the famous canon, *Kim's gun*, with which the novel's action begins. A strange restlessness gripped Haas and he re-reads this book in one night with amazement, disbelief and indeed horror (LW260).

It seemed to him that subconsciously he had retraced the path of the narrative action of the book as an exile in India. He actually knew all the places in the book. All the places he had dreamed

about when as a young boy he had first read Kipling's novel and he had forgotten that he knew these places. Only now, while reading the book again, he remembered.

Had the complicated preparations of his youth, he queries, been made by Providence for this? Did Professor Moritz Winternitz's lectures on Indology at the University of Prague and the study of Paul Deussen's translations of Indological texts take him towards India? He recalls seeing an Indian film in Venice in 1937 and wondering if he could ever work as a script writer for an Indian film production. (LW 261). And now he was in India. Fate, however, had sent him to India in a somnambulant state, so that he had been unable to recognize the dream world of his childhood. His wish had been fulfilled in an ironic and indeed malicious manner. It had come too late. Now he was over 50 years old.

Life in India had been a stage play with pain, laughter, and joy; but its meaning lay below the surface. Kim was the climax leading to an epiphanic awareness: I had the feeling that after this magical moment I would not experience anything in India. I felt myself to be indescribably near to Fate, to Providence, to a mysterious, clever, unbelievably inventive and infinitely ironic being, which I would not call 'God', although that is exactly what I would like to do. It was like a demiurge of the Gnostics, who had fulfilled everything that fate had decreed, exactly, but completely in reverse. (LW 262)

Almost in keeping with one of the laws of fiction, according to which the final insight into all the ramifications of narrative complexity also closes the narrative, it became clear to Haas that his time in India was coming to an end. Nothing remained after the war was over to really keep him in India. Although, as a British citizen, he could have lived in India, he felt the need to live in a German-speaking environment. His considerations were, however, not tinged with any 'sweet feelings of home'. It was merely the necessity of building up a new existence. As he says: 'I was already over 50 - much too late to put down roots anywhere' (LW 262).

## **Zurück in Europa**

Haas left India for Europe in March 1947. The news of Gandhi's assassination (30 January 1948), reached him in London. Gandhi and the principle of non-violence constituted the second reconstructive chiffre for his affinity to India. Already as a young man he had affirmed a Tolstoyan fundamental pacifism and probably around the First World War he had read Reinhold Niebuhr's book on Gandhi. As he writes: 'I wanted to see Gandhi's country. And I have seen Gandhi's country.' (LW 266). And it is around the shock of the news of Gandhi's assassination that Haas puzzles out his complex relationship to 'Gandhi's country'.

He remembers holy men who wore masks so that they would not inadvertently kill an insect. He remembers a servant who refused to kill a snake and instead carried it carefully away into a nearby jungle. He also saw a dying, suffering cow that nobody would kill. And one of them had gone and killed the one person who preached the sanctity of life. Clearly, Haas' epiphanic re-discovery of Kipling's *Kim*, and the shock over the assassination of Gandhi cannot but generate the gesture of the futility of understanding the 'difference'. Haas ultimately decides in his autobiographical reconstruction to leave the plane of intellectual understanding and analysis. The only satisfactory possibility to demonstrate his empathy for India was to leave the terrain of discursive articulation and situate himself in the epiphany of non-verbal recognition:

I have seen it once on an evening in a dirty bazaar street in a village, and I will never forget it. It was in a small brightly lit open shop, in which a woman squatted on the floor with her family. With red colour she drew the holy sign on the foreheads of her husband and her children, decorated them with garlands and handed them food with her small dark hands. And she smiled. She was by no means a beautiful woman, but a Leonardo da Vinci would not be able to paint her smile. I have loved this Indian smile so much, that I have learnt to waken it on the countenance of almost every Hindu child by smiling at it with love and affection. It is a smile full of dreams and sufferings; it is the first weak reflection of a distant and future non-existence, of the sublime merging with the world-soul. It is the unforgettable magic of India, more than the Taj Mahal, more than the cave temples of Ajanta and Elefanta [sic], more than the Shalimar Gardens of Shah Jahan. (Cf. nr 9, chapter 'notes and references')

Such passages may not be very far from kitsch. But they have been contextualized within a comparative cultural meditation and the metaphor of a 'love' which, as it were, transcends difference, and is none the less, based on a conscious awareness and conceptualization of difference. This aspect is articulated in an essay on 'Indische Probleme' published in 1946 in the famous *Die Neue Rundschau*, which at that time was still being brought out from Sweden by the Bermann-Fischer Verlag. Here, Haas would speak with the intellectual authority of the former editor of *Die literarische Welt* and the political anti-Fascist credentials of a European exile, living in India.

India's crisis, Haas claims- and he was referring to the post-war and pre-independence phase- was not just a political one. To understand it, he stressed that Europeans must demarcate some fundamental concepts which differ essentially between India and Europe as far as their thought content and emotional connotations were concerned. Haas referred to the concept of history, historical action and historical development (understood as progress) (NR81). Haas approached this problem by first referring to the concept of history as he saw it articulated in the Old Testament. The Jewish philosophy and analysis of history are concerned with the history of their sins and penance, virtues and rewards; in other words with divine vengeance. Jewish historical research, therefore, becomes a search for the sin or virtue responsible for unhappiness or happiness respectively. This, Haas asserted was true for Hinduism and its concept of history also, but with a completely different accent and range. Here it is not just a question of man, but of nature in its entirety, whether animate or inanimate. Above this nature there is not just any God, but a precise mechanism of guilt or crime and punishment that is impersonal. For this mechanism does not exclude anything, be it human, natural divine.

It is not necessary here to explain how this essential dichotomy between an individual retribution that can be genealogically codified and a non-personal order of things leads to two essentially different societies. One, the European, which is fundamentally mutable and the other, Indian, which is fundamentally immutable. This fundamental immutability also means that tradition cannot be changed in the sense that it is radically eradicated. This interpretation, however, has nothing to do with volition. Haas tried to maintain as neutral a tone as possible in his essentialist diagnosis. The believer in an idol and the believer in an intellectual divine principle are neither better nor worse as Hindus. All that matters is that their place in the cosmic order be fixed.

### **India - an 'ahistorical idea of history'**

India then represented to Haas, fundamentally an 'ahistorical idea of history' and its social changes were anti-political politics. India's crisis lies in the fact that two forces, two 'metaphysical' factors were attempting to reconcile these with the real world of historical and political action. One was the Gita and the other was Gandhi. But, as Haas pointed out, the philosophy propounded in the Gita, was the precursor to one of the bloodiest wars depicted and justified in world literature. Hindu-Muslim riots too co-existed with Gandhi in India's world. From Haas' point of view, which in this case follows the tradition of 'Orientalism', this co-existence ('sowohl-als auch' instead of 'entweder-oder') resulted from the metaphysical dissociation of action from volition.

In this context then the role of the Congress Party (and Gandhi, Haas wrote, was still its 'nominal leader') consisted simply in 'intro-ducing Western nationalism and political activism into the Indian social psyche, in covering the many historical and geological layers of India with yet another layer, a layer, which sociologically is identical with the poor and disgracefully underpaid class of the urban Indian intelligentsia.' (NR 88).

The attempt by the Congress to forge an essentially cult-oriented and particularistic community into a new nation was comparable to the efforts of the Jewish agency to take die Jews out of their geographic diaspora by creating a modern Israeli state. In both cases an essentially traditional people were being led into the 'promised land'(!) of a modern industrial state (NR 88). Wisely, Haas uses the prerogative of the essayist and refrains from any land of prognosis. Examples that Haas chose to depict this co-existence may have derived from his own social experiences: This modern Indian lady discusses Baudelaire, Rimbaud, T.S. Eliot, Huxley (obviously) and Hemingway with great intelligence. But she still dresses in the way her ancestors have been doing for centuries: in a saree, which however is the most graceful dress ever to adorn a completely feminine body. She is not only called Uma or Parvati or Sarasfati [sic], but she also looks like a dark mythological goddess. The furnishings in her house however resemble a sale in the department store Wertheim around 1910. No Greek dancer on a marble frieze can imitate a small Indian village girl who runs after her rolling bangles laughing and with hair flying. But her father is decked out in a random mixture of old American, English and Indian clothes like a clown in Circus Barnum. The dead are burnt near the holy Ganges with sandalwood, but the crematoriums are protected against the rain with horrible rusty asbestos sheets; the cremation, which often lasts for hours, reminds one with its atmosphere of complete indifference, of the roasting of a chicken on an open fire. Tradition means simultaneously everything and nothing to the Indian. (NR 87)

It is important to emphasize that in his numerous attempts to come to terms with a theory of India, Haas took great care to differentiate between the popular European prejudices concerning India and a philosophical understanding. Haas, for instance, did not fall prey to the widely prevalent myth of the lazy native, which, colonial writing had popularized. Instead, like many European liberal sympathizers with India he preferred to write: 'It is often said that the Indian is indolent and passive. That is not true. The Indians are one of the most diligent peoples on the face of the earth.' For Haas, the 'problem' lay elsewhere. And by placing it elsewhere he erected an insurmountable structure of demarcation. According to Haas: 'Time runs differently in India from what it does in Europe.' Or again: 'The Hindu is not a fatalist.' A remark that would be rare to find in popular literature on India. The Hindu, however, is not a fatalist 'in the sense in which a Mohammedan is one. Kismet and Karma are exact opposites.' (LW 292)

One of the interesting points resulting from this observation is the absorption by Haas of a theory of the Indian predilection for the abstract, which precludes modern art. In Haas' view, the whole movement of Western art was towards an aesthetics of relations between the fleeting moment and the permanent, and in capturing the transient you saw the infinite. India's movement was essentially the opposite: 'Indian art achieves its apotheosis not in a portrayal of the eternal through the fleeting moment, of the permanent through the transient, of God through nature, but in the opposite: change through the permanent, the (ever) changing through identity.' (Cf. nr 10, chapter 'notes and references')

It is possible to interpret this view by suggesting that, according to Haas, the Western tradition sought to discover the symbol, whereas the Indian tradition was essentially allegorical so that what was 'missing in Indian art is the secret meaning beyond that which is portrayed, even when the portrayal in Indian art is of a very high quality' (Merkur 867). This restatement of classic German idealistic aesthetics was, however, not his real point.

The essential difference lay in the fact that time and space were occupied in India by mythology, whereas in Occidental art, these were thrown open to art and, therefore, by implication, to imagination. The argument revolved around secularization. Therefore, modern Indian art was not really possible, because it was either a cheap imitation of the West or a modernization of the Ajanta style. Even in the West, Haas wrote, countries with great art traditions such as Italy or Spain have now only a few great artists. The reasons for this decline would be related to the historical and political decline of these countries. India's contemporary poverty in art lay in the fact that the mystically inspired life-element was outside the artist: 'Indian art shows the separation of the divine from the visible world, not their mutual interpenetration—even when it evokes the immanence of God in this world, and especially when it does so. All that lies beyond the here and now, all imaginary spaces and times are occupied in India by mythology and abstract theology.' (Merkur 872)

The exclusion of the individual from a civilization like India meant for Haas that all modernity was either a superimposition or a juxtaposition, but not unification; modern dams and an age-old system of ploughing the fields or primitive animism and abstract, even atheistic and nihilistic philosophy. Modernity in India merely meant that India was a palimpsest. It is not surprising that Haas ends his brief meditation on art with a political reflection. In India space and time did not build a continuum. In India, time was without perspective, space without eternity, and nothing changed, nothing developed. Even historical time required an imaginary dimension in order to move: 'The real historical events appear strange and unconnected in this unhistorical country and we are observing - not without a measure of anxiety - a new political formation, which will probably not achieve anything other than to put a new layer of hyper-modern formations over the old stratified ones without establishing any connections between the two' (Merkur 872).

Nothing could be simpler than to see in Haas' formulations a variation of an essentialist dichotomization of cultures. He freely uses the familiar topoi of the European imagination of India so well analysed by critiques of orientalism. But Haas was not a theoretician of culture. His idealistic background made a comprehension of cultural complexity difficult. This is, however, a puzzling fact. The cultural complexity of the Danube monarchy should have sensitized him to the complexities of a colonial society rooted in tradition, yet struggling to overthrow colonialism and attempting to embark on a journey of modernity, however problematic that may have been.

It is precisely, however, because simple identification is not possible (in the sense of a naive acceptance), and rejection is not permissible, that a logic of 'difference' has to be erected. In the case of Willy Haas this logic of difference has neither voyeuristic overtones, nor is it by any stretch of imagination the product of a colonial impulse. Haas consciously situated himself as a German-speaking Jew, living in exile, and in exile reacting to Fascism and trying to make his contribution to the anti-Fascist struggle. This, for him was the primary focus and it is, therefore, not surprising that his feelings for the British were marked by the gratitude of the refugee: 'They saved me from the German concentration camps, from the gas-chambers and the gallows, where almost all my relatives and friends, Czechs, Jews and German aristocrats died, unless they had committed suicide in time. How can I not be thankful to them for the rest of my life?' (LW 203)

But Haas did register certain aspects of the Indian freedom struggle: Indian antipathy to the British, anti-British propaganda, political boycott, and when, in a conversation, Bhavnani, his boss, coolly suggested that just as Haas hated Hitler, so too, Indians hated the British, Haas ended the passage with the comment 'Das war alles' (LW 264). Of course that was not all that could be said. Haas did mention that Indian soldiers were fighting the Japanese and that Gandhi reportedly spent sleepless nights at the thought of bombs over London. But the complex relation between the Indian contribution to the anti-Fascist struggle and the struggle for independence also explained Haas' ambivalences. 'Whatever we say about free India - and naturally we are on its side - at that time the white official was the last hope of the desperate Indian. He wasn't corrupt like the village headman, the village policeman. . . . This was the only "authority" that the rural Indian knew in daily life.' (LW 215)

The problem for the contemporary reader may lie in the parentheses used by Haas; in the need to assure the reader that though, in humanistic terms, one has to support the desire of a country to be independent, there is, nevertheless, sufficient evidence to reclaim for the colonial power that measure of impartial justice which the native power structure lacked. This is a point of view which is perfectly consistent with many liberal European (and often also Indian) positions towards the anti-colonial struggles and the process of decolonization. Haas wrote about India with a sense of urgency and troubled empathy. Perhaps the stylized cultural bracket he used to link cultural myths of Prague and India brings out this aspect clearly:

I have never seen any miracles in India not even the famous rope trick of the charmers. But I become serious when one calls India the 'land of miracles'. One is closer there to fate (Schicksal) than elsewhere. There are countries and places without fate. One can feel it. ... But there are countries where the hand of fate reaches down to you, albeit in a curious manner. One such place is Prague. But the country of such countries is India. (LW 261)

The biennale in Venice, which Haas visited as a press correspondent, also gave him the opportunity to visit Padua where the sepulchre of St. Antony is situated. Indian readers will sympathize with the story he communicated. Apparently all one's wishes are fulfilled when one touches the marble of the sepulchre. Haas joined the chain of pilgrims and wished for a journey to India, the country of his childhood dreams. (Cf. nr 11, chapter 'notes and references')

He could not have known then that he would spend almost eight years there and that it would become a country he would, as he wrote 'love with an ache' (NR 88). The gesture of a non-verbal epiphany is re-affirmed in his reaction to the news of Gandhi's assassination and these lines may perhaps be the closest approximation of his wish to articulate his Indian experience: 'Mahatma Gandhi, the great holy man of India was dead. I sat beside the radio in London and I knew

suddenly that I would never understand this country, not the country and not its people. But I could love it. I still love it today. Perhaps this love is a higher kind of understanding which however cannot be expressed in words' (LW 267).

1. I am grateful to Dr Herta Haas, Hamburg, for much of the material on Willy Haas that I have used in this paper. I thank Rekha Kamath for commenting on an earlier draft and translating the quotes from the original German. *Die Literarische Welt* was reprinted as a facsimile edition by the 'Freie Akademie der Künste in Hamburg', ed. by Rolf Italiaander, 1961. For Haas' role in cinematographic history see 'Willy Haas. Der Kritiker als Mitproduzent', in *Texte zum Film, 1920-1933*, ed. by Wolfgang Jacobsen, Karl Prümm und Benno Wenz, Berlin, 1991 (edition Hentrich).

2. Cf. 'Career of Mr. Vilem Haas', (typed manuscript in the possession of Dr Herta Haas). This document was apparently required by Haas for his residential formalities in India. During his exile in India Haas used the Czech version 'Vilem' of his name 'Willy' (occasionally also 'Willi'). See also Luisa Valentini: *Willy Haas. Der Zeuge einer Epoche*. Frankfurt a.M., Peter Lang Verlag, 1983; Johannes H. Voigt, 'Die Emigration von Juden aus Mitteleuropa nach Indien während der Verfolgung durch das NS-Regime', in *Wechselwirkungen. Jahrbuch 1991. Aus Lehre und Forschung der Universität Stuttgart*.

3. Willy Haas, *Die Literarische Welt, Lebenserinnerungen*. München: Paul List Verlag, 1957. Republished Hamburg: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1983. I quote subsequently in the text from the 1983 edition as LW and page number.

4. Cf. Werner Vordtriede, 'Vorläufige Gedanken über eine Typologie der Exilliteratur', in *Akzente*, Vol. 15 (1968). Anna Seghers' novel *Transit* and Brecht's poems during the period 1933-45 bring out die problems of exile most vividly.

5. Erich Lüth, 'Wie Willy Haas (1891-73). deutscher Staatsbürger wurde', in *Jahrbuch. Freie Akademie der Künste in Hamburg*, 1974.

6. The composer Walter Kaufmann (1907-84), left Prague for India in 1934. He lived for twelve years in Bombay and worked in the music department of All India Radio and also did significant research into Indian music. The signature tune of All India Radio, familiar to all Indian Radio listeners, was composed by him. Kaufmann later worked as conductor and teacher in Canada and USA. Interest in his life and compositions has recently revived. Cf. Agata Schindler, 'Bühnenwerk als Schiffskarte nach Bombay', *Sudetendeutsches Musikinstitut, Regensburg*, 1996. Cf. also Agata Schinder's contribution to the present volume.

7. Cf. 'Career of Mr Vilem Haas', op. cit.

8. *Germans Beyond Germany: An Anthology*. Edited, with biographical notes, and an Introduction by Vilem Haas, Bombay: The International Book House, 1942; V. Haas, 'On Teaching German Literature', in *The Punjab Educational Journal*, Vol. XXXIX, September 1944 no. 6, October 1944, no. 7 and Vol. XLI, July 1945, no. 4; Vilem Haas, 'Franz Kafka', in *Tomorrow 1*, ed. by Raja Rao and Ahmed Ali\_ Bombay: Padma Publication, 1943. This essay may well be the first publication on Kafka in India; Vilem Haas, 'The Problem of the German Jews in Exile', in *The Indian Review*, Vol. XLI, no. 10, Madras, October 1940. *The Aryan Path*, Vol. XII, no. 6, June 1941, published a discussion on 'Hindu Widows' in which Vilem Haas and Radhakamal Mukherjee presented what the editor of the journal called the

'Western" and the 'Indian' point of view. A full bibliography of Haas' publications in India is unfortunately not available and would be desirable in the context of a history of exile in India. Karin Sandfort-Osterwald, Willy Haas, Eingeleitet von Rolf Italiaander, Hamburg: Hans Christians Verlag, 1969 (Hamburger Bibliographien Bd. 8) omits the period 1933-52.

9. Willi (sic) Haas, 'Indische Probleme', in *Neue Rundschau* (Stockholm: Bermann Fischer Verlag), October 1946, p. 85. Subsequently quoted in the text as NR and page number.

10. Willy Haas, 'Versuch über die indische Kunst', in *Merkur*, no. 43, 1951, p. 866. Subsequently quoted as *Merkur* and page number. The essay is reproduced in a slightly abridged version in LW, 303-12. Haas often uses the same material in different contexts and different writings on India.

11. Quoted from Willy Haas, 'Der Kritiker als Mitproduzent', op. cit. (note 1), p. 260. The editors of this volume refer to Rolf Italiaander, 'Erlebte Literaturgeschichte. Zum 65. Geburtstag von Willy Haas', in *Der Schriftsteller*, Heft 7/8, Sonderdruck, 1956.