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COMMUNICATIONS

from the International Brecht Society

Volume 15, Number 2



COMMUNICATIONS

from the INTERNATIONAL BRECHT SOCIETY

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editor's note

I want to take this opportunity to draw attention to a number of important events that will be of interest to Brecht scholars and theater people alike. 1986 marks the thirtieth anniversary of Brecht's death and will be commemorated in several ways. Antony Tatlow's description of plans for the VII International Symposium in Hong Kong presents the Brecht Society's own contribution. In this context, I have been asked to remind all those presenting papers at the Symposium to confirm their participation with the organizer immediately. Another conference, "Brecht 30 Years After," planned in Toronto (Canada), is an especially momentous occasion as it will bring the Berliner Ensemble to the North American continent for the first time. For more information and other pertinent activities, see **notes** in this issue.

Looking to the future, the IBS has been approached about co-sponsoring with the Department of Drama and Theater Arts at the University of Birmingham (England) a major conference on the "Dramatic Medium." This would be the IBS' VIII International Symposium. Antony Tatlow is now discussing possible dates during Fall 1988 or Spring 1989 and would appreciate input or thoughts from all interested members.

Every two years the IBS holds elections for the four officers of the Steering Committee. Current President Antony Tatlow (Hong Kong University) and Vice-President Darko Suvin (McGill University, Canada) are running for the same offices. Ward Lewis (University of Georgia, USA) has been nominated for the office of Secretary/Treasurer. Professor Lewis studied at the Universities of Minnesota and Pennsylvania (Ph.D. 1968) and has published on German-American literary relations, exile literature and the reception of Eugene O'Neill in Germany. Michael Gilbert (Valparaiso University, USA) has been nominated for the office of *Communications* Editor. Professor Gilbert studied at the University of Wisconsin-Madison (Ph.D. 1983) and has worked and published on Brecht and music. All paid-up, individual members will find an official ballot enclosed in this issue. Election ballots must reach the Secretary/Treasurer by **May 15, 1986** to be counted (K.-H. Schoeps, Dept. of Germanic Languages, University of Illinois, Urbana, IL 61801, USA).

If the candidates for the Steering Committee are confirmed in the election, members should note that all correspondence regarding IBS membership dues and subscriptions will be directed to Ward Lewis, Department of German, University of Georgia, Athens, GA 30602. Similarly, all questions, submissions and correspondence regarding *Communications* will be directed to Michael Gilbert, Foreign Languages, Valparaiso University, Valparaiso, IN 46383.

Finally, the IBS membership/mailling list is computerized and available to paid-up members of the Society. Contact the Secretary/Treasurer.

Marc Silberman

Reflections on the New Poetry Edition

Jan Knopf

"Jedes Gedicht ist der Feind jedes anderen Gedichts und sollte also allein herausgegeben werden. Gleichzeitig benötigen sie einander, ziehen Kraft auseinander und können also vereint werden. Der Hut, unter den sie gemeinhin gebracht werden, ist der Hut des Verfassers, in meinem Fall die Mütze. Aber dies ist auch gefährlich, die vorliegenden Gedichte mögen mich beschreiben, aber sie sind nicht zu diesem Zweck geschrieben. Es handelt sich nicht darum, 'den Dichter kennenzulernen', sondern die Welt und jene, mit denen zusammen er sie zu genießen und zu ändern sucht."

Bertolt Brecht stated these considerations on the editing of poetry in a letter of May 1950 to Wieland Herzfelde, who was about to prepare the volume of the *Hundred Poems*. Brecht (seemingly) designates opposites by first determining the poem as the enemy of each other poem and then conceding the possibility of combining poems, thus giving them coherence and interrelation. It is amazing, how intensely and frequently Brecht compiled his poems into cycles. This starts in 1918 with the *Songs for Guitar by Bert Brecht and His Friends* and ends with the last huge collection, the *Buckow Elegies*. In between there are not only the published cycles, as the *Hauspostille* or the *Svendborg Poems*, but also numerous attempts at organizing and publishing further collections: from the "Augsburg Sonnets" to the "Poems in Exile," an attempt which stretched over more than a decade. We can see again and again that Brecht tries to overcome the isolation of the individual poem and to determine it as an "element" of a great whole.

Among both scholars and the more general public these facts are comparatively unknown, or at least one is not aware of them, because Brecht finished only a few collections himself and others were not even recognized as such, e.g. the *Songs of the Threepenny Opera* published in 1929. Volume 4 of the *Collected Works* is an additional proof that Brecht regarded his poems as being primarily part of a cycle. Unfortunately, it did not pass beyond the stage of a table of contents. It was scheduled to appear in 1938 at the Malik-Verlag publishing house and would have contained almost exclusively cycles. However, by "cycle" Brecht understands something that is quite different from concepts we find elsewhere in bourgeois literature. There, "cycle" usually means that individual poems constitute a series with formal and substantial harmony, thus joining into a self-contained whole. The coherence is brought about by a persistent similarity of theme and by the arrangement of the poems around an -- in most cases hidden -- center.

As opposed to that, Brecht's cycles are governed by the "unity of opposites." The individual poem definitely has its individual value -- which also means its relative autonomy -- yet at the same time it clearly corresponds to the other poems of the cycle. Usually, the individual poems reveal the author's extraordinary creative and formative genius, even when they are composed in "broken prose:" they are not a "Lyrik im Stammelook" (thus a fashionable judgement) that needs the cycle to become at least halfway permanent. Brecht's poems are "open," they refer to that which is outside of

themselves, they point to reality. Through his poems, we are to get to know the world and the people. They do not want to elicit contemplation of a world of art beyond reality, but neither do they attempt to be the "expression" of an individual. Brecht calls this art "gestural." Gestures prevent connections of a merely linguistic nature from forming in the poem and the references of meaning from remaining within it. That the rain falls from below to above can be said to match very well a sentence like the fruit comes before the blossom -- but it is not appropriate for the experience of reality with which Brecht is concerned. Therefore, Brecht's poems tend to be reports. Their mode of speaking is not the monologue, but the dialogue, not only with regard to the reader -- whom they cause by their indicative and demonstrative gestures to take up a position -- but also with regard to reality, by bringing "world" into words. "It is the whole world that engenders an image, but the image does not encompass the whole world."

Such poems correspond and collide differently in a cyclic arrangement than in a cycle that aims at inner harmony and coherence. They do not group around a secret center, but they grow together by depicting "the world and those whom he (the poet) joins in enjoying and changing it." The individual poem becomes meaningful through the reality to which it refers. Likewise, Brecht achieves the coherence of cycle through the reality that the poems, literally, begin to talk to each other. Only when the individual poem "grows together" with reality and when, moreover, actual connections appear between the poems -- when they "draw strength from one another" -- then does the poetry become, in the sense of Hegel, "concrete" and true (Brecht, during his exile in Denmark, wrote Hegel's sentence "Truth is concrete" on the wall of his house in Svendborg).

Because not even poetry -- the "subjective genre" -- has the purpose of "getting to know the poet" (as an "expressive personality"), the poems, once published, belong to the historical and biographical context in which they were written and in which they have an impact. Only in this way does the community with those others that Brecht mentions come about, only in this way is the "world" that we have to know present.

The new edition seeks to grant the cycles published or intended by Brecht their proper position by placing them in two volumes before the chronologically arranged individual poems. This requires either a complete publication, e.g. the *Hauspostille* from 1927, or the publication of excerpts, while making clear that this is only a selection from a planned cycle, or plans for a collection of poems that show a cyclic arrangement and the evidence of intended publication. Another decision that deviates from previous principles of editing is to treat all works as poems and to insert them at their historical place, either in a collection or in the chronological sequence of the individual poems. Brecht himself practiced this procedure. When his *Threepenny Opera* was very successful and its songs were about to become independent, he published in 1929 a collection "The Songs of the Threepenny Opera," which was also very successful. He did the same with the poems and songs of the *Measures Taken* and of the *Mother*, which were included as the most important "chapter" in the collection *Songs Poems Choruses* 1933. On the other hand, Brecht contributed the songs to Elisabeth Hauptmann's *Happy End* without having been active as playwright. Moreover, we should not forget that quite a few poems by Brecht are originally songs, for instance the "Remembrance of Marie A.," which can be sung to a sentimental ditty of the time with the refrain "I would have kissed the trace of your step."

The two volumes with "collections" are followed by three volumes with individual poems and fragments (the latter are separated). It holds true for the individual poems, too, that they should be placed in their historical context, that connections of a historical as well as of a biographical nature should become visible, and that their chronological sequence has to be secured. This will be ensured by an appropriate and clear structuring of Brecht's life into phases. The poems have to be assigned according to these phases, thus becoming part of the "unity of opposites" that will be, of course, looser than in the cycles because it has to be subject to the chronology (which is neutralized by the cycles).

A word about the dates. In critiques of the previous editions there was the repeated reproach that they were not dated throughout, and because of this, it was demanded that there be no dates if one is unable to trace a date for each text. This demand is, in its alleged consistency, absolutely inconsistent. If we did without any date whatsoever, it would be impossible to justify the sequence of the arrangement, and consequently we would have to do without any order at all. This demand implies a mania for unification that cannot be satisfied because reality is different. Of course, it would be nice if we could assign an exact date to each of the approximately 2500 poems by Brecht, but there is no point in sacrificing the dates that we have in favor of a questionable "principle."

Because the existing editions required such long preparation and did not try to be comprehensive, the poems are known only "disjointedly." The publication of the poetry from Brecht's estate, which was not possible until 1982, repeats again the chronological sequence of the *Werkausgabe*, and it "supplements" incompletely edited cycles. This edition, which was really only concerned with making available all of Brecht's lyric texts, did not intend to correct previous editions; neither could it have possibly done that. A new edition is required that -- based on the immense preliminary work done by the previous editions -- is able to bring together that which was "disjointed," to arrange it according to established principles, and to correct it by examining the whole body of texts. Among the individual poems -- comparable to the ahistorical form in which the cycles are presently arranged -- we find mistakes, poems by others, gaps, chronologically misplaced texts, and incomplete versions of parts of poems that Brecht did not reject but had, however, never printed, because the respective poem has already been included.

The commentaries to the poems will have to be extensive because the editors plan to consider individual poems in the commentary if adequate material is known or if a commentary seems justified. An essential quality of the edition is that it includes important versions that are still valid insofar as Brecht did not revoke them. Another considerable burden for the commentary comes from the fact that Brecht frequently used sources, the importance of which should become visible in the edition. Apart from that, however, the main point in annotating the cycles will be the explanation of each cycle, and the main point with the individual poems will be the respective "phase:" the different forms, the shaping of the language (style), predominant and connecting motifs, traditions involved, and the coherence with the life of the author and the themes of the time. The following individual commentaries are -- aside from the exceptions already mentioned -- meant to be exemplary. Value and durability will be determined by use.

Examples for Brecht's method:

(1) Bei der Lektüre eines sowjetischen Buches

Die Wolga, lese ich, zu bezwingen
Wird keine leichte Aufgabe sein. Sie wird
Ihre Töchter zu Hilfe rufen, die Oka, Kama, Unsha, Wetluga
und ihre Enkelinnen, die Tschussowaja, die Wjatka.
Alle ihre Kräfte wird sie sammeln, mit den Wassern aus 7000 Nebenflüssen
Wird sie zorn erfüllt auf den Satlingrader Staudamm stürzen.
Dieses erfinderische Genie, mit dem teuflischen Spürsinn
Des Griechen Odysseus, wird alle Erdspalten ausnützen
Rechts ausbiegen, links vorbeigehn, unterm Boden
Sich verkriechen - aber, lese ich, die Sowjetmenschen
die sie lieben, die sie besingen, haben sie
Neuerdings studiert und werden sie
Noch vor dem Jahre 1958
Bezwingen.
Und die schwarzen Gefilde der Kaspischen Niederung
Die dürrer, die Stiefkinder
Werden es ihnen mit Brot vergüten.

Brecht develops this poem directly from his source. It is the Soviet book *A River Becoming a Sea*, by Vassily Galaktionov, the geologist in charge of the hydropower plant of Stalingrad, and Anatoly Agranovsky, a journalist who assisted the scientist as far as language was concerned by providing a light, novel-like style. This type of documentary literature stems from Sergei Tretjakov's form of the "bio-interview." A writer observes and partly assists a scientist at his work, and then he asks him about his work, its purpose, its intentions, and its execution. In this way, the writer comes to know the scientific work on the spot, he learns to understand its purpose, and he familiarizes himself with the subject. Likewise, the scientist is challenged to consider not only his own points of view, but to justify everything he does for a layman and to reflect upon it critically at the same time. This results in books that are (or should be) scientifically valid and poetic in their linguistic form. Such a poetic description -- a vision of the finished dam (the book was written in 1952, the dam was not finished until years later) -- is the immediate source of Brecht's elegy. This is manifest even in individual phrases and images:

"In der Ferne erkennt man den Stalingrader Staudamm. Die flammende Morgenröte hat ihn in ein leichtes Rosa getaucht; er scheint gar nicht hoch, und wenn man ihn aus einiger Entfernung betrachtet, auch gar nicht sehr breit zu sein. Am betonierten Wasserüberfall ist die letzte Verschalung entfernt worden, das Pfeilerfeld ist geschlossen - und die Wolga, die Große Wolga,

macht verwundert vor dieser Mauer halt. Völlig verduzt erstarrt die listige 'Kriegerin' für einen Augenblick. [. . .] 'Was ist dort los? Warum die Stockung?' fragen ganz erstaunt die Oka und Kama, die Tschussowaja und Wjatka, alle siebentausend großen und kleinen Töchter des riesigen Flusses und schicken dem Mütterchen Wolga immer neue Ströme von ihrem Frühlingswasser zu Hilfe. Doch sie steht vor einem unüberwindlichen Betonhindernis, einer gewaltigen, neuen, massiven Mauer und ihre Wellen rennen vergeblich gegen die Böschung des Staudamms an, lösen sich in weißen Schaum und ziehen sich verzagt zurück."

(2) Bei der Lektüre eines spätgriechischen Dichters

In den Tagen, als ihr Fall gewiß war
Auf den Mauern begann schon die Totenklage
Richteten die Troer Stückchen grade, Stückchen
In den dreifachen Holztoren, Stückchen.
Und behaupten Mut zu haben und gute Hoffnung.

Auch die Troer also. . .

Brecht is referring to the poem "Troer" by Konstantinos Kavafis, which appeared in 1953 in a translation by Helmut von den Steinen. The adoptions are in some instances literal:

Troer

Unsre Bemühungen, die von Schicksalsduldern,
Unsre Bemühungen sind wie jene der Troer.
Stückchen richten wir grade, Stückchen
Nehmen wir über uns und beginnen,
Mut zu haben und gute Hoffnungen.

Immer doch steigt etwas auf und heißt uns stillstehn.
Aufsteigt in dem Graben uns gegenüber
Er, Achill, und schreckt uns mit großen Schreien.-

Unsre Bemühungen sind wie jene der Troer.
Kühn gedenken wir, mit Entschluß und Wagmut
Fallenden Schlag des Geschickes zu ändern,
Und wir stellen uns draußen auf zum Kampfe.

Aber sobald die große Entscheidung nahkommt,
Geht uns der Wagmut und der Entschluß verloren,
Unsere Seele erbebt, fühlt Lähmung,
Und in vollem Kreis um die Mauern laufen wir,
Durch die Flucht zu entrinnen bestrebt.

Dennoch ist unser Fall gewiß. Dort oben
Auf den Mauern begann schon die Totenklage.
Unser Tage Erinnerungen weinen, Gefühle weinen.
Priamos bitter um uns und Hekabe weinen.

The poem by Kavafis refers to the (legendary) destruction of Troy (or Ilium) by the Greeks after the ten-year siege. The capture of the city, however, was not achieved through its gates, but by the destroying of its walls (in order to let in the wooden horse = stratagem of Ulysses). Therefore, Brecht's "counter-poem" says that the endeavors of the late bourgeoisie to escape their decline still continue -- in spite of the irrefutable fact that it must occur (meaning of the myth). All they do, however, is patchwork. Yet the poem grants those endeavors much time and -- from the point of view of the source text -- much space, too.

(3) Erinnerung an die Marie A.

Brecht wrote this poem -- according to a note in his own handwriting -- on February 2, 1920 in the train to Berlin, supposedly at 7:00 p.m. He gave it the title "Sentimentales Lied No. 1004" (the number was added later). Below the text is the note "Im Zustand der gefüllten Samenblase sieht der Mann in jedem Weib Aphrodite. Geh. R. Kraus." The spontaneously written manuscript contains a version in its own right, independent from the version of the *Hauspostille*:

An jenem Tag im blauen Mond September
still unter einem jungen Pflaumenbaum
da hielt ich sie, die Bleiche Stille Liebe
an meiner Brust wie einen Wiegentraum,
und über uns, im schönem Sommerhimmel
war eine Wolke, die ich lange sah
sie war sehr weiß und ungeheuer oben
und als ich aufstand war sie nimmer da.

Seit jenem Tag sind viele viele Monde
geschwommen still hinunter und vorbei
die Pflaumenbäume sind wohl abgehauen
und fragst du mich: Was mit der Liebe sei -
So sag ich dir: Ich kann mich nicht erinnern
und doch, gewiß, ich weiß schon was du meinst.
Doch ihr Gesicht, das weiß ich lange nimmer
ich weiß nur mehr: Ich küßte es dereinst.

Doch auch den Kuß, ich hätt ihn wohl vergessen
 wenn jene Wolke nicht gewesen wär:
 die weiß ich noch und werd ich immer wissen
 sie war sehr weiß und kam von oben her.
 Die Pflaumenbäume blühen vielleicht noch immer
 Und jenes Weib hat jetzt vielleicht das 7. Kind -
 doch jene Wolke lebte nur Minuten
 und als ich aufstand schwand sie schon im Wind.

The revision (withdrawal of the explicit hints at sexuality, elimination of metric and rhythmic inaccuracies) was undertaken in 1925 for the edition of the *Taschenpostille*; later it became part of the *Hauspostille*.

The source of the poem (and of the music, too) is Leopold Spöwacker's "Verlor'nes Glück," an adaptation of "Tu ne m'aimais pas" by Léon Laroche and set to music by Charles Malo. The German version, or at least the music, was very popular (in innumerable arrangements) from the turn of the century until the beginning of the War. Brecht got to know it (probably) through Karl Valentin's sketch *Tingeltangel*, which had been part of the repertoire since 1915 (the song is parodied as sentimental kitsch).

DIE SÄNGERIN: Ein Lied: Das verlorene Glück.

KARL VALENTIN: Was hats verlorn?

DER KAPELLMEISTER: Ihr Glück hats verlorn.

KARL VALENTIN: Inserieren lassen!

DIE SÄNGERIN: *singt*

So oft der Frühling durch das offne Fenster

Am Sonntagmorgen uns hat angelacht,

Da zogen wir durch Hain und grüne Felder.

Sag, Liebchen, hat dein Herz daran gedacht?

Karl Valentin spielt ganz falsch auf der Geige dazu. Der Kapellmeister schimpft darüber. Darauf stimmt er die Geige. Der Kapellmeister schimpft wieder. Die Sängerin immer weitersingend

Wenn abends wir die Schritte heimwärts lenkten,

Dein Händchen ruht in meinem Arm,

So oft der Weiden Rauschen dich erschreckte,

Da hielt ich dich so fest, so innig warm.

Der Theatermeister und ein Tapezierer kommen mit Leiter und Werkzeug durch den Zuschauerraum auf die Bühne gepolt. Die Sängerin

Zu jener Zeit, wie liebt ich dich, mein Leben,

Ich hätt geküßt die Spur von dienem Tritt,

Hätt gerne alles für dich hingegeben

Und dennoch du - du hast mich nie geliebt!

Inzwischen hat der Tapezierer mit der Reparatur begonnen. Der Theatermeister zeigt ihm alles, man hört das Gemurmel der beiden, ihr lautes Klopfen und Schlagen stört den Gesang. Die Sängerin singt unbekümmert weiter

Stets sorgenlos, mit wenigem zufrieden,
Begabt mit leichtem Mut und frohem Sinn,
So saßen wir am kalten Winterabend
Und wärmten uns am traulichen Kamin -
Wir schwärmten nur von Liebeslust und Wonne,
Dein Haupt, es ruhte sanft auf meinem Knie,
Dein Auge über mir war meine Sonne,
Des Feuers Knistern süße Harmonie.

Zu jener Zeit, wie liebt ich dich, mein Leben,
Ich hätt geküßt die Spur von deinem Tritt,
Hätt gerne alles für dich hingegeben,
Und dennoch du - du hast mich nie geliebt. . .

The spontaneous creation can be explained by Brecht's habit of first testing such parodies -- together with the similarly parodied music of the source-- by singing them. The record of the music was made by Franz S. Bruinier (BBA 249/62, note Brecht/Bruinier, sung to a traditional melody). The number in the title of the original version refers to Casanova, who claims to have loved 1003 women (i.e. an absurdly high number). The title of the version of the *Hauspostille* alludes to Marie Rose Aman, the love of Brecht's youth (since 1916). He promised her seven children. When the poem was written, the affair had been over for two years. The plum and the plum tree, as well as the color "blue," run through Brecht's whole oeuvre as sexual symbols. The version of the *Hauspostille* has a strictly regulated meter: iambic pentameter. The rhyme is irregular, rhymeless lines alternate with "cross rhyme" (ratio 4:4, but with variable positions in the stanza). Some of the rhymeless lines are assonant.

Translated by Dietmar Pieper.

The Musical Dimensions of Brecht's Work as a Poet

Michael Gilbert

In a letter to the Young Pioneer group of the Gottleuba *Grundschule* dated January 15, 1952, Brecht observed that his choice of a profession occurred in this way: "I first wrote songs which I sang to friends with my guitar, to entertain them and myself." As suggested by this statement, music was an integral component of Brecht's creative work and personality ever since he began to write, and, I would argue, represents a central aspect of his overall artistic consciousness and development rather than one which was peripheral to his literary work. A recognition of this suggests in turn the need for a genuinely interdisciplinary approach to understanding Brecht's work and critical thought, rather than a traditionally "literocentric" one. Stated a bit radically: one cannot really appreciate Brecht the poet, dramatist, and critic/theoretician unless one gives serious consideration to Brecht the musician in both the theoretical and practical sense and his extensive involvement with music and composers throughout his career. I have decided to concentrate here on several specific issues relating to or involving the musical dimensions of Brecht's poetry which, in my opinion, have not previously received sufficient attention. At the same time, however, those issues should serve to suggest something of the broader significance and essential character of Brecht's poetic works in relation to the art of music. Also, I should clarify from the outset that the following remarks are not concerned with an interpretation or analysis of any "musical qualities" in Brecht's poetry as a function of his poetic diction and style (meaning that music is discussed here implicitly as an artistic medium distinct from that of the poetic text); nor is it my intention to discuss any specific musical (or "misucal") settings of Brecht's poems and the process by which those settings articulate the text in performance which, in the Brechtian scheme of things, involves the concept of *Gestus*. Neither of these issues or aspects of the topic are uninteresting or inconsequential for an understanding of Brecht's work as a poet and relationship to music; but the matters I wish to address approach that relationship from an angle which, I hope, will put the musical dimensions of Brecht's poetry into a larger context with regard to his artistic activity as a whole.

The first issue to be considered involves Brecht's talents in the area of musical-poetic improvisation, and takes one back to his adolescent and young adult years in Augsburg and Munich, representing both the initial phase of his career and the period in which this type of activity was most prominent as an aspect of Brecht's creative work. It is not difficult to understand why this particular dimension of Brecht's artistic output and personality has not been more closely examined by critics, even though it and other aspects of Brecht's musical and literary activity during these formative years have been extensively documented. In particular, the basic reason for this state of affairs, it seems to me, is the fact that extemporaneously produced poetry and song is seldom recorded for posterity, and is, therefore, in a strict sense, a non-literary entity or, more precisely, a non-literary non-entity, which eludes the scrutiny of critics in search of textual evidence. In Brecht's case, however, I would like to suggest in a somewhat improbable manner that the existence at one time of a certain amount of poetry and/or song by him which none of us will ever have the opportunity to read or hear *can* tell us something -- perhaps even something significant -- about the man's creative personality and work,

and, above all, just what it means -- particularly in reference to the early phase of his career -- when we speak of Brecht as a *poet*. I think this latter consideration is more important and interesting than it might seem at first glance, for there are several things about Brecht's relationship to music and involvement with this artistic medium (and not only during his youth) which place him in a fundamentally different category than most twentieth century poets.

What supporting evidence exists for Brecht's extemporaneous musical-poetic works? First, the numerous memoirs and published reminiscences of Brecht's friends and acquaintances from the Augsburg and Munich years make reference repeatedly to his remarkable and highly entertaining ability to create poetry and song, both texts and melodies, on an impromptu basis -- sometimes with a little help from his musically talented friends or his brother Walter, and almost always with the assistance of his trusty *Klampfentier*, which, as shown by numerous photographs from that time, was an essential element of Brecht's presence and image. Secondly, these recollections of contemporaries are supported by evidence contained in Brecht's letters, diaries, and notes -- as for example in the case of the following statement from a letter to Caspar Neher (dated March 1918): "I'm on vacation, am sitting here all alone in my *Zwinger* among your paintings and inventing grotesque songs with my guitar;" or the following diary notation from July 1920: "Ate ice cream at the orchid garden, then made up a psalm while walking, then drank some *Heidelbeerwein* at Gabler's (tavern) and read psalms." These are only two examples among many pieces of evidence referring to this sort of spontaneous (musical-)poetic activity, the results of which often did not find their way onto paper, although some undoubtedly did. The basic question to be considered now with regard to this evidence is: apart from merely confirming the fact that there are poems and songs by Brecht that have not been preserved, what is the significance, to paraphrase a comment by Brecht's first wife, Marianne Zoff, of all these splendid songs and ballads, which often occurred to him spontaneously, were written down by no one and have therefore remained unknown? And, as a corollary to this question, one might ask: should "non-literary" works of this sort (whether preserved or not) be brushed aside or dismissed as being less significant or valuable than the more refined products of the poetic imagination which are contained in the pages of the writer's collected works? Indeed, why should they be considered at all in this case?

First, although Brecht's musical-poetic improvisations were influenced by ballad singers and cabaret artists like Frank Wedekind and Karl Valentin, his two great idols, who, presumably, engaged in a certain amount of this activity themselves, they also stood, as documented by Brecht himself, under the influence of several popular oral poetic traditions that were intrinsically musical ones as well. The most often cited of these is the *Moritat*, to which Brecht was exposed along with other forms of "billige Musik" at fairs and folk festivals. But there were others as well, as shown by the following remarks made by Brecht in the early fifties in reference to the role that genuine folk music (i.e. musical-poetic traditions had played in his artistic development: "What I heard in my childhood were long songs about noble robbers and 'cheap' popular tunes (*Schlager*). In all of this there resounded, albeit in an obscured and distorted way, something ancient, and in the process poetry was still being created. The women workers at the nearby paper factory didn't always remember all of the verses of a song and improvised transitional passages, from which there was a lot to be learned." In the same

passage, Brecht goes on to note that in their attitude toward the songs they sang, these women were "not far removed . . . from those highly educated compilers of the Homeric epics."

Whatever the specific influences on Brecht's early musical-poetic improvisations may have been (the popular tradition of parodying hymns, for example, also played a role here), it seems noteworthy that Brecht took such a serious interest in oral poetic traditions from an early point in his life and that, as far as his own work at the time is concerned, being a poet was not necessarily synonymous with *writing* poetry or poetry as a purely literary phenomenon. Although this characterization of Brecht's creative activity applies primarily to the earliest phases of Brecht's career (by the mid-twenties, according to Elisabeth Hauptmann, Brecht had less and less opportunity to sit around and invent songs with his guitar), it should not be overlooked that throughout his life -- for example, around the end of the second World War, when he attempted to persuade Hanns Eisler to set his versified version of the *Communist Manifesto* to music, or in the early fifties, in his collaboration with Paul Dessau on *Die Erziehung der Hirse* -- Brecht promoted the ideal of revitalizing the tradition of the oral epic. Such thoughts also played a role in his critical writing on music, when, for example, in the mid-thirties he lamented the failure of contemporary composers to take an interest in such matters as the art of performing epic poetry in his essay "On the Use of Music for an Epic Theater" (in reference to the basic problem of restoring to contemporary musical culture an intrinsic sense of social purpose). But, even if Brecht was, as Eisler said, chasing after a phantom in this case (recognizing that the oral epic -- though "entirely correct" in intent -- was a practical impossibility under modern conditions of cultural activity and production), it is important to keep in mind for the purposes of this discussion that Brecht's ideal of epic poetry, which he took quite seriously, was an intrinsically *musical-poetic* one. And given the fact that Brecht maintained such an ideal, it seems appropriate to view the matter of oral (musical) poetry, including Brecht's improvisational work, as a significant constitutive element of his poetic aesthetic rather than as a non-literary concern of secondary importance; or, stated more broadly, one might view this matter in relationship to the question of oral as opposed to written or literary cultural tradition and the history of non-dramatic literature in performance, a critical perspective to which I will return in my conclusion.

The second basic issue I would like to focus on in reference to the musical dimensions of Brecht's work as a poet involves his recurrent emphasis on the musical setting and accompaniment of his poetic texts as a fundamental element of their socio-political utility (*Gebrauchswert*). Pertinent examples here include the *Taschen-* and *Hauspostille* (1926 and 1927, respectively), which contained, in Brecht's words, "almost exclusively songs and ballads . . . almost all of which were singable in the simplest way;" and the subsequent collection entitled *Lieder, Gedichte, Chöre* (published in Paris in 1934), which included the music by Hanns Eisler for many of Brecht's poems, as well as references in the text to the specific hymn melodies Brecht had in mind as the basis for the "Hitler-Chorales" (elements of which, incidentally, may have resulted from the improvised songs about Hitler referred to by Marianne Zoff in her memoirs). With regard to this latter collection, the importance to Brecht of its utility is shown by his correspondence concerning the publication of the four *Wiegenlieder* ("Lullabies") from it under the title "Songs of Proletarian Mothers" in the journal *Internationale Literatur* at the suggestion of Johannes R. Becher. In a letter to the editorial office of the journal (published in Moscow by the International Association of Revolutionary Writers) Brecht

wrote: "I request that Hanns Eisler's music be printed along with the texts so that they assume a utilitarian value." Brecht implies here that the utility of the poetry is fundamentally related to or derived from its transformation into song which people can perform -- underscoring again the significance of orality and performance as elements of Brecht's relationship to poetry and the impact of orality on the written word here, in a non-improvisational context. To be sure, after his experience with the widespread dissemination and popularization of songs from the *Threepenny Opera*, for example, Brecht was well aware of the impact that effective musical settings of his texts could have, even at the risk of trivializing them into *Schlager*; and in this context it is worth noting that, for better or worse, some of Brecht's poetry is known to a broader public only by virtue of the fact that it was set to music at some point, whether in accordance with Brecht's intentions and aesthetic concepts or otherwise.

To consider another aspect of this issue: it would be mistaken, I believe, to associate this perspective on utility which Brecht emphasized in conjunction with the collection *Lieder, Gedichte, Chöre* only with this kind of overtly political verse or the other *Massen-* and *Kampflieder* he wrote over the years. In the case of these works, of course, utility was the foremost goal in the sense of an immediate politicizing impact. But Brecht maintained a similar perspective on the musical setting of poetry of a different sort as well -- my example here being his "Hollywood Elegies," which, according to the *Arbeitsjournal*, were written with the specific intention of subsequent musical composition by Eisler in mind. In reference to Eisler's settings, Brecht observed that the significance of the music in this case, apart from any artistic merit it possessed on its own terms as music, was that it greatly enhanced the impact of these epigrammatic lines of poetry by providing an aesthetic context or dimension conducive to what Brecht called "ein studierendes Lesen" and "nachgrabendes Studium." While this involves "utility" of a different sort than in the case of Brecht's *Massenlieder*, Brecht's remarks here do underscore again the value he attached to musical settings of his poetry as performable realizations of those texts which can be "used" more effectively as a result -- in this case to promote critical reflection about them. Not just any musical realizations would do, of course, since Brecht advocated a certain approach to musical composition consistent with his concept of *Gestus*, of which Eisler's settings of the "Hollywood Elegies" are an excellent example and, in this instance, as far removed in style from *Massenlieder* as Brecht's texts. Moreover, the gestic quality of these pieces and two other rather similar epigrammatic song cycles from Eisler's *Hollywooder-Liederbuch* -- the "Anakreon"- and "Hölderlin-Fragmente" -- led Brecht to observe that such settings of his poetry suggested to him new possibilities for *dramatic* choruses, indicating not only Brecht's desire for a heightened impact through musical performance, as characterized above, but also a transformation of the poetic text via the music into a form of dramatic presentation, a matter to which I will return in my conclusion.

At this point it is also worth considering for a moment, in reference to the "Hollywood Elegies," that these poems have something in common with the majority of poetic texts Brecht wrote in conjunction with his dramatic works, namely: they were written from the outset with subsequent musical composition in mind (as noted above). That is to say, on some level of creative process or intention, the act of subsequent musical composition and performance was a point of reference for Brecht as poet. As far as the song elements of his plays are concerned, it is widely known by now that Brecht

sometimes had specific musical ideas in mind, or certain notions concerning the gestic qualities he wanted the music to express even though he didn't possess the technical skill to write it himself. Moreover, although it obviously cannot be said that all of Brecht's poetry was conceived with subsequent musical setting in mind, the issue of the compatibility of his poetry for musical composition -- that is, to coin a word, the "composability" of his poetic texts -- had a fairly significant impact on Brecht's ideas concerning poetic style in general. This is shown in particular by his essay "On Rhymeless Poetry with Irregular Rhythms" (1939), in which he specifically mentions that the suitability of this style of poetry to the sophisticated contemporary musical idioms of composers like Weill, Hindemith, and Eisler (his primary musical collaborators up to this point) was an influential factor in his decision to adopt the use of "firm but irregular rhythms" in his poetry. These remarks are also significant in that they show "composability" to be a factor in Brecht's poetry apart from those texts written in stricter, implicitly musical forms, for example, the ballad or *Lied*.

Finally, with regard to the matter of subsequent musical setting, Brecht had something to say about his work with Hanns Eisler which should be noted here vis-à-vis the musical dimensions of his work as a poet. Specifically, in reference to Eisler's settings of poems from the *Steffinische Sammlung* (or the "Finnische Gedichte" as Brecht refers to them in the *Arbeitsjournal*), Brecht employed the analogy that Eisler's act of setting his poetry to music was for it -- as a measure of aesthetic quality -- what a performance was for one of his plays: "the test." "Eisler," said Brecht, "reads with enormous precision." While these remarks were also intended as a compliment concerning Eisler's capacity for aesthetic judgment in both literary and musical matters, they serve to emphasize again, in a somewhat different way, the value Brecht attached to the musical enhancement of his poetry and its suitability for musical setting -- something which can be said about few, if any, other twentieth century poets. In any event, it is no coincidence, I believe, that Brecht's texts rank among the most frequently composed of any major twentieth century poet in any language.

The uniqueness of Brecht's position as a poet with respect to the musical dimension of his work provides the basis for some concluding speculations on the relationship of Brecht's poetic activity to his overall creative output. Commenting in the early forties on the style of his *Kampf-* and *Massenlieder*, Brecht made reference to "meine Hauptarbeit auf dem Theater," implying both that the theater represented the true nexus of his artistic-aesthetic development (here, in regard to the matter of poetic meter and rhythm), and, more generally, that other aspects of his creative activity were *Nebenarbeit* -- including not only the *Massenlieder*, but, presumably his work as a poet independent of his dramatic writing as well. This is in no way to be construed as a qualitative judgement against Brecht's "purely poetic" works, many of which have found their way into the literary canon for good reason. But putting Brecht's work as a poet into the perspective of his *Hauptarbeit* as a man of the theater helps to illuminate, I believe, the uneasiness Brecht seems to have had concerning the impact and, consequently, the socio-political utility of his poetry. All of the dimensions of Brecht's sensibilities as a poet considered above -- improvised song, the idealization of the oral epic, Brecht's fascination with the *Moritat*, his admiration for Valentin and Wedekind, his concern about *Gebrauchswert* -- relate in some way to the dimension of *performance*, the transformation of the text as a literary entity (words on paper or in the mind) into an aesthetic object possessing the immediacy of drama, whereby music functions, as it were, as a bridge between the poetic and the dramatic

(Brecht's *Neben-* and *Hauptarbeit*). By discussing Brecht's poetry in these terms it is not my intention to wander off into the hazy realms of genre theory as a way of "understanding Brecht"; among other things, it should not be forgotten that Brecht's concerns about utility were in the first place a political consideration and only secondarily an aesthetic one. But, for the sake of clarifying the relationship of music to Brecht's work as a poet and, in turn, that complex of issues to Brecht's primary domain in the theater, it seems worthwhile to consider this topic in the context of literature in performance and/or oral cultural traditions, many of them inherently *volkstümlich*, with which much of Brecht's poetry, including all of those songs and ballads we'll never hear, is involved. It seems to me that these are elements of Brecht's work and artistic consciousness as well as his political perspective which have not been adequately explored. In light of these matters, Brecht's poetry and his very conception of poetry as a "literary" medium cannot be discussed in the same critical terms as the works of most other twentieth century writers.

The Young Bertolt Brecht and Religion

Horst Jesse

That Bertolt Brecht was an atheist is generally regarded as a self-evident fact: almost every presentation of Brecht's ideological stance mentions his atheism along with his marxism. However, this strikes experts and readers of the writer's work as a one-sided interpretation of Brecht's poetic production. The frequency of the word "God," religious statements, or the resemblance to Biblical language impresses any one who reads Brecht's works closely. Taking this into account, it is clearly understandable when Wolfgang Beutin states: "Bertolt Brecht's critique of Christianity is not an unessential component of his art" (Beutin, 260).

We, too, who as readers have so often come across the word "God" and religious statements, must ask ourselves first of all what their appearance means in regard to the conduct of religious individuals and particularly Christians. The religious individual sees himself in relation to God and views history and the world sub specie aeternitatis. In this sense Brecht's statements about God are to be understood functionally, according to specific behavior patterns. In the Keuner stories Brecht describes this in the following manner: "A man asked Mr. K. if there were a God. Mr. K. replied: 'I suggest you ask yourself whether your behavior depends on the answer. If it wouldn't change, then we can drop the question. If it would change, then I can at least be of help to tell you that you have already decided: you need a God.'" (G. W. 12, 380). Here it becomes evident that Brecht steers every question concerning existence or being to its function for specific behavior.

On the basis of this preliminary remark we can explain how Brecht views the essence of religion. The nature of religion is complex. There is the mystical dimension which stresses submersion in God and the contrasting active dimension which determines the life and actions of an individual. It is exactly this latter aspect of religion which is so prominent in Brecht's works. However, lest it be misunderstood, it is not that Brecht would have understood religion as a code to live by, but rather he critically comes to terms with his religious socialization. It is not a destructive critique, but the reader notices that Brecht as searcher is not satisfied with conditions as they are.

1. Brecht's Religious Socialization

The Bible fascinated Brecht. It always had a hold on him. At fifteen he wrote a drama called *The Bible* which then appeared under the pseudonym Bertolt Eugen in the student newspaper of the Royal Bavarian Grammar School in January, 1914. In 1928 in response to a Berlin reporter's question concerning what -- from a literary viewpoint -- had made the "greatest impression" on him, he answered, "You'll laugh, the Bible." It is well-known that, when working with actor Charles Laughton during the preparations for the American performance of *Galileo*, he used Biblical texts known to them both, particularly the creation story, to serve as models for "gestic" language (Brecht 1968, 43). After the completion of his work *Baal* Brecht attempted again and again to write a Biblical theater project focusing on David and Bathsheba/Absalom (in 1919). He noted in his diary after attending a

passion play in Augsburg's Metropol Theater: "In the evening at the *Great German Passion* of the Fasnacht brothers. Miserable text, tasteless presentation. But certain Biblical phrases just can't be ruined. They sink right in. Shivers run down the spine, like with love" (Brecht 1975, 49). The twenty-two year old felt existentially touched by the words from the Bible.

That statement leads us back to Brecht's biography, where we can find more information about his religious socialization, for his religious training became a major factor in the formation of his person and his poetic production. Eugen Bertolt Brecht was born on February 10, 1898, of a mixed marriage. His father, managing director Bertold Friedrich Brecht, was Catholic and his mother Sophie, née Brezing, was Protestant. That he was baptized in the Protestant church "Zu den Barfüßern" on March 20, 1898, was certainly a rarity in the former free Imperial city of Augsburg, where both denominations were equally represented. However, it was possible because his father was a religious liberal and handed over to his wife his children's religious education. The Brecht family occupied an intermediate social position between the working class and the upper middle class. The mixed marriage also brought with it an intermediate religious position for the children. The in-between status characterized the emergence of a new class which possessed no traditional connections with Augsburg. This religious training made Brecht well-versed in conservative Augsburg Lutheranism. "Brecht obviously took confirmation class very seriously. Without any effort he could spout out the demanded Biblical texts" (Frisch/Obermeier, 46). On the other hand, he also admired the more rigorous Catholic discipline and ceremony whenever he accompanied his girlfriends to the Catholic service. "At that time he was greatly interested in religion. Since I'm Catholic he accompanied me [Paula Banholzer] to the Cathedral several times for the May devotions in honor of the Virgin Mary. The obligation of obedience and the rigorous orthodoxy of Catholicism impressed him deeply. He told me that Catholicism was more consistent" (Frisch/Obermeier, 125).

Brecht was influenced very much by the esteemed pastor, deacon, and church elder Hans Betzer (1868-1935). He was a great preacher and confirmed Brecht on March 29, 1912. Brecht has him appear as a priest named Detzer in his adaptation of Lenz's 1774 comedy *The Tutor*:

Miss Miller: I love listening to Pastor Detzer. Those passages in his sermons.

Miss Cotton: About sinning in secret!

Miss Miller: He's a thunderer, but only by allusion. (Imitating him) "You think no one sees it, no one is present, it can never come to light. But I say unto you, the devil lies in wait for those that eat of the fruit in secret."

(Brecht, 1973, Vol. 9, 10)

After 52 years Brecht still remembered this parish pastor, who was also his religious instructor at the "Barfüßer" elementary school and at the Royal Bavarian Grammar School. During these years in school, which supposedly did not impress him, this minister imparted to him certainly the most essential and fundamental concepts of Protestant teachings and of piety through his sermons and instruction. Brecht appeared deeply moved by the Lutheran teaching of justification, and much of what he wrote -- diaries, work journals, letters, and essays -- served as self-justification to himself and others. Through his secondary school religious instruction Brecht was introduced to the nature

of the Reformation and its meaning for humankind, i.e. God justifies the individual. However, Brecht transformed this affirmation into the declaration that he must justify himself. In his essay "Bert Brecht und Luther" F. Lau suggests that Brecht realizes Luther's teaching of the two realms in *The Good Person of Sezuan*. Shen Te/Shui Ta, the woman torn in half, demonstrates two faces of God of both realms (Lau, 92ff).

Brecht was also deeply moved by the Lutheran teachings of the fundamental depravity of all earthly things, the death of all things corporeal, the incapacity of the individual to save himself, and the universal sentencing to either heaven or hell to take place at the Last Judgement. Albrecht Weber maintains: "The themes of decay and death, the metaphors of heaven and particularly of hell dominated that of the depths of a gnawing consciousness of guilt in the early Augsburg works. Time and time again Brecht dealt with these themes and their social implications in both thought and writing. One can also read his work as a wrestling with this Lutheran complex and explain the constant restlessness of his life from this viewpoint" (Weber, 378). Brecht attempts to come to terms with this somewhat ironically in his poem "From Sinners in Hell" ("Von den Sündern in der Hölle," 1918):

8. Und dort im Lichte steht Bert Brecht
An einem Hundestein
Der kriegt kein Wasser, weil man glaubt
Der müßt im Himmel sein.
9. Jetzt brennt er in der Höllen
Oh, weint, ihr Brüder mein!
Sonst steht er am Sonntagnachmittag
Immer wieder dort an dem Hundestein
Schlendernd durch Höllen und gepeitscht durch Paradiese.
(Brecht, G.W., Vol. 8, 20)

Brecht's mother played an important role in his religious socialization. She sensed that her eldest son -- a weak, nervous, difficult child with a poor appetite -- was special. His physical weakness enhanced the closeness to his mother, also of delicate health. During his entire life Brecht dealt critically with his mother. This can be seen in several of his dramas, particularly in those in which he so impressively brings to life the role of the mother (Hartmann, 31-85). Again and again she urged him to learn the Smaller Catechism by Martin Luther. In the autobiographical poem "Omissions of a Martyr", the twenty year old attempts to relativize the catechism's claim of truth in an argument with his mother:

Then they shouldn't print anything about truth in the catechism
If one may not say, what is.

(G. W., Vol. 8, p. 37f)

Even the fifty-two year old Brecht incorporated this experience in the catechism scene of *The Tutor* which he added to Lenz's original text:

Gussie: I believe that God created me.

Hasty: If only He hadn't! (Helping her along) And all . . .

Gussie: And all other creatures . . .

Hasty: And has given me . . .

Gussie: And has given me, and keeps my body and soul . . .

Hasty: Body too . . .

(Brecht, 1973, Vol. 9, 20)

An example from the "Children's Songs" of 1937 also quite clearly reflects the norms of religious education under which Brecht grew up.

"Was ein Kind gesagt bekommt"

Der liebe Gott sieht alles.

Man darf für den Fall des Falles.

Die werden nichts, die nichts taugen.

Schmökern ist schlecht für die Augen.

Kohlentragen stärkt die Glieder.

Die schöne Kinderzeit, die kommt nicht wieder.

Man lacht nicht über ein Gebrechen.

Du sollst Erwachsenen nicht widersprechen.

Man greift nicht zuerst in die Schüssel bei Tisch.

Sonntagsspaziergang macht frisch.

Zum Alter ist man ehrerbietig.

Süßigkeiten sind für den Körper nicht nötig.

Kartoffeln sind gesund.

Ein Kind hält den Mund.

(G. W. Vol. 9, 585)

Even if Brecht comments critically on religious instruction, about religious training at home, or the methods of instruction, it is nonetheless in the sense of adapting this body of tradition. He cites the maxims of adults, a series of partly false adult rules for children, the purpose of which was to lead the child by the nose in an authoritarian manner. This all brings us back to the autobiographical poem of 1920, "The Bible." The poem, which ends with the mother quoting Hebrews 13,9, Brecht's confirmation motto, once again shows how he treated the theme of the reception of the Bible:

I can hear her still, how she spoke my confirmation motto: It is a precious thing, that the heart become constant...

My mother said: The Lord loves the simple ones, child

And always laid the Bible before me on the table

I read from it until I could keep my eyes open no longer

And I was always refreshed on the next morning.

(Rohse, 51 and 54)

His mother even initiated Bible reading as a means of educational regimentation with her twenty-two year old son. Again and again he was admonished with his confirmation motto. This substantiates just how strongly Brecht's mother, as a resolute Protestant, conformed to the dogmatic norms which went along with religious instruction.

In the school year of 1913-1914 the material of instruction in the Protestant religion at the Royal Bavarian Grammar School was the history of the Reformation and the Augsburg Confession. No other place in Germany could more vividly illustrate that topic than Augsburg. The history of the city made a considerable impression on Brecht, presenting him daily with the great past: its many churches in the inner city representing the medieval world, the magnificent Renaissance and Baroque structures of Augsburg's wealthy merchants, the small houses of the artisans in the Jakobervorstadt, and finally the growing industrial section in the Bleichstraße. These historical impressions shaped Brecht. It can even be said that he absorbed something of the spirit of his section of town, the area around the church "Zu den Barfüßern," built by Franciscan monks in 1221. They stood on the side of the artisans and day laborers, fought for their concerns, and protected them against the large merchant families of the city. During the Reformation Luther's and Zwingli's ideas were met with enthusiasm in the monastery "Zu den Barfüßern," and in particular they found a large audience among the artisans and day laborers. These people perceived the Reformation as a social movement directed against the misuse of power by the Church and big money. They created a counter-world to that of the wealthy established families of Augsburg (the Fuggers, Welsers, Bimmels, and Baumgartners). In addition, the notions of rebaptism and communal property introduced by the Anabaptists, who held a council in Augsburg in 1527, found a large following among the artisans living around the church. The concept of communal property was so popular that a council against cooperative groups felt the need to take action. The spirit of freedom and self-confidence of that epoch survived in Augsburg, and Brecht absorbed much of this spirit. He knew class differences from history and experienced them himself in the contrasting lives of the rich and poor in Augsburg.

On his daily walk to school from the Bleichstraße to the Royal Bavarian Grammar School, Brecht passed the Schwedenweg. Built in 1632 by a Swedish garrison, it was a road on which the troops could, with the help of a bridge over the city moat, quickly reach the so-called Swedish Mountain. The Thirty Years' War was remembered through this name, and the "Stone Man" still stands on the Schwedenstiege. According to legend, the baker Konrad Hackher climbed up this Stiege when the Catholic Imperial troops surrounded the Swedes in Augsburg. There, on top of the city wall, he pointed to a big loaf of bread baked with the last flour in Augsburg, making clear to the besiegers that the city still had enough bread. Enraged by this, the aggressors shot down the valiant man, who then died of his wounds. Brecht eternalized the hero's deed -- a man saves the city from the hands of the enemy -- in *Mother Courage* in the character of the mute Katrin, who rescued the city of Halle during the Thirty Years' War.

2. Brecht's Early Works

It is curious that so many of Brecht's works have the Thirty Years' War as their setting. In the "Augsburg Chalk Circle," he tells a story in which the religious schism of the Thirty Years' War serves as the basis for the plot. Brecht wrote the novella in Finland but has everything in the novella take place in the area around Augsburg. At the same time the religious difference between Catholics and Protestants as well as that between Lutherans and followers of Zwingli are described, for example by mentioning the name Z(w)ingli, which recalls Huldreich Zwingli, Zürich's reformer. In this novella Brecht reworks the church history he had learned. Yet he once again deals critically with another Biblical theme: I Kings 3, 16-25. What Brecht focused on in contrast to the Biblical presentation is that he does not let the biological mother be found, but rather the foster mother who took care of the child during the chaos of war. That Brecht dealt critically with biblical themes at an early stage became clear in his first drama *The Bible* (G. W. Vol. 7, 3029-3038). Again the Thirty Years' War acts as the historical backdrop. The Catholics lay siege to a Protestant city in Holland which can only be saved if the daughter of the mayor "sacrifices" herself to the enemy's commander for one night. The action takes place in the mayor's house, between the grandfather, who, relying on the Bible and its concept of justice, rejects the "sacrifice" under any circumstances, and the girl's father, who, as representative of the people, reports the news and is incapable of reaching a decision about it. He is finally dissuaded by the grandfather, who believes strongly in the Bible. The drama ends with the destruction of the entire city.

Brecht treated the Judith-motif in the same drama (Judith Ch. 7-16). Here, too, Brecht shifts the emphasis of the Biblical material from an act of faith to one of a humanitarian nature on Judith's part, thereby questioning the one-sided stress of a rigid system of justice and the conviction that faith is worth more than human life. Brecht expressed all these thoughts a year after his confirmation. Already at that time (in 1913-1914), he sensed the discrepancy between Christian doctrine and Christians' actual conduct. In this first play, then, he puts forth his critique of religion in a nutshell. At this time he already stressed the here and now in contrast to the Christian hope for the afterlife. Thus, the sacrifice of the girl had a very definite function in this particular situation, namely that of rescuing the city. Brecht places humanitarian action before faith.

For Brecht the Bible had a multifaceted function: stabilizing, challenging, and criticizing. Repeatedly he rebelled against its tradition-bound daily use. As a result, the Bible became an argument against the Church for Brecht. "They've handed down nothing more than a book which they've spoiled with scribbling and smeared with recipes and medicine written over its wisdom" (G. W., Vol. 20, 21). Now just what wisdom did Brecht find in the Bible, which he maintained that the Church had suppressed and whitewashed? He regarded the Bible as a model of interpretation for existing society, and he used it to enumerate its weaknesses. A criterion for Brecht's use of the Bible is reason acquired through doubt. Thus, the Bible itself becomes a critical question directed toward the Church and society.

Brecht's intention becomes even more obvious in his poems, which are modeled on Protestant hymns. It is not the language of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe but rather the language of Martin

Luther which he picks up, as the songs and chorales of the *Manual of Piety* (G. W., Vol. 8, 172-268). Brecht wrote in the style of Christian hymns and with the "alienation effect" in mind. An example is Peachum's "Morning Chorale" in *The Threepenny Opera*:

Wach auf, du verrotteter Christ!
Mach dich an dein sündiges Leben!
Zeig, was für ein Schurke du bist.
Der Herr wird es dir schon geben.

Verkauf deinen Bruder, du Schuft!
Verschacher dein Eheweib, du Wicht!
Der Herrgott, für dich ist er Luft?
Er zeigt dir's beim Jüngsten Gericht
(G. W., Vol. 2, p. 397)

The following hymns form the basis of this song:

Wach auf, wach auf's ist hohe Zeit, Christ,
sei mit deiner Hilf nicht weit! Das wütend ungestüme
Meer läuft an mit G'walt und drängt uns sehr.
(*Evangelisches Kirchengesangbuch Deutschlands*, 1954, no.204)

"Wachet auf", ruft uns die Stimme der Wächter sehr hoch auf der Zinne, "wach auf, du Stadt
Jerusalem! Mitternacht heißt diese Stunde"; sie rufen uns mit hellem Munde: "Wo seid ihr klugen
Jungfrauen? Wohlauf, der Bräutigam, kommt, steht auf, die Lampen nehmt! Halleluja! Macht
euch bereit zu der Hochzeit; ihr müsset ihm entgegengehn".
(*Evangelisches Kirchengesangbuch Deutschlands*, 1954, no. 121)

The first lines of these chorales consist of the characteristic call to rise: "Rise up, Christianity," which made its way into spiritual poetry from the medieval morning song during its development into contrafactum. Just as in the Christian call to "awaken," Brecht wants to wake up the reader at the very beginning and grab his attention. The closing line of "The Threepenny Song", pointing toward the "Last Judgement," stresses that when the world comes to an end, all will be exposed -- therefore it would probably be better to begin the day with positive deeds. It is striking that Brecht concerned himself during his entire life with the concept of the "Last Judgement." In a conversation with Walter Benjamin he said, "I often think about a tribunal before which I am being interrogated." One must consider how often courtroom scenes appear, for example, in *The Life of Galileo* and *The Trial of Lucullus*. It is the question which Brecht asks repeatedly: How will he as a poet get through his testimony?

Certainly these thoughts occupy him in his late works. However, his early works breathe the atmosphere of a Baalian sense of the world and of Nietzsche's nihilism. The themes always revolve

around death and nothingness, and as a reaction to this an extreme will to live. Consider the changes he makes in the following hymn:

Lobe den Herren, den mächtigen König der Ehren,
 Meine geliebte Seele, das ist mein Begehren,
 Kommet zu Hauf,
 Psalter und Harfe, wacht auf,
 Lasset den Lobgesang hören.

(*Evangelisches Kirchengesangbuch Deutschlands*, 1954, no. 234)

This is a celebration of heaven's greatness out of joy in the day, and praises security in God. Brecht imitates the song's meter, verse, and melody exactly in "The Grande Chorale of Thanks:"

Lobet die Nacht und die Finsternis, die euch umfängen!
 Kommet zuhauf
 Schaut in den Himmel hinauf:
 Schon ist der Tag euch vergangen.

(G. W., Vol. 8, 215f)

He praises the night which is all-embracing because one looks to heaven in vain. He glorifies transitoriness and nothingness. The poem "Against Temptation" was written in this spirit as a radical renunciation of transcendence. Originally entitled "Lucifer's Evening Song" it hits exactly the "no" of the the entire *Hauspostille*: Lucifer is God's opponent. Each line of this poem articulates such a negation, a "no" to the Christian worldview and hope for redemption. But from this negation comes an affirmation: "to slurp up life is everything." It finally concedes, with religious pathos, the impossibility of redemption. "You're dying . . . and there is no afterlife."

Luzifers Abendlied

Laßt euch nicht verführen!
 Es gibt keine Wiederkehr.
 Der Tag steht in den Türen,
 Ihr könnt schon Nachtwind spüren;
 Es kommt kein Morgen mehr.

Laßt euch nicht betrügen!
 Das Leben wenig ist.
 Schlürft es in vollen Zügen!
 Es wird euch nicht genügen!
 Wenn ihr es lassen müßt.

Laßt euch nicht verträsten!
 Ihr habt nicht zu viel Zeit.

Laßt Moder den Erlösten.
Das Leben ist am größten:
Es steht nicht mehr bereit.

Und es kommt nichts nachher.
Zu Fron und Ausgezehr!
Was kann euch Angst noch rühren?
Ihr sterbt mit allen Tieren!
Und es kommt nichts nachher.

(G. W., Vol. 4, 260)

Hymns also underlie this poem:

Lasset uns mit Jesus ziehen, seinem Vorbild folgen nach . .
(*Evangelisches Kirchengesangbuch Deutschlands*, 1954, no. 252)

Jesus geht voran auf der Lebensbahn!
Und wir wollen nicht verweilen, dir getreulich nachzueilen;
führ uns an der Hand bis ins Vaterland.
(*Evangelisches Kirchengesangbuch Deutschlands*, 1954, no. 274)

3. World War I

Brecht transformed the function of religious experience expressed in the songs. He stresses the will to live, using the language of church chorales. Nonetheless, there remains a certain contradiction: The Bible and the Christian way of life have become mere form. If there had once been life in the Christian dogma as a call or challenge to awaken and an incentive to act, they now appear empty. His reproach to Christianity derived from the fact that it did not serve life but rather devotion and consolation. He arrived at this opinion because of the First World War. Brecht was initially just as enthusiastic about the war as everyone else. The three concepts of Emperor, War, and God still meant something to him, as his newspaper publications substantiate ("Turmwacht von einem Augsburger Mitschüler" and "Augsburger Kriegsbrief" in *Augsburger Neueste Nachrichten*, August 8 and 14, 1914). However, in the face of the horrible news from the Front and the first announcements of fatalities, the three metaphysical greats crumbled, and Brecht fought against their sacrosanct relationship. In a "fragment" of 1919, God, mixed up in the war, has become for Brecht a mendacious metaphysicum of romanticism, gruesomely suspended over that which he has wrought -- "the evening sky over the field of slaughter, the commonality of the corpses, far away military marches, the alcohol of history that was the romanticism of the battlegrounds" (G. W. Vol. 20, 4).

Brecht recognized war in its utter cruelty. He decidedly turned against war in a school essay from the year 1919, in which he argues against the theme of the essay: "Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori." That he wrote in such a manner was determined in part by the sermons he heard. Deacon Hans Detzer, at that time in the Protestant church "Zu den Barfüßern," chose as his text: "Lord, Thy dead

shall live! In memory of the many fallen of the war, as comfort to the mourning!" (Jeremiah 29,11). That was clearly a protest against the war. Pastor Thomas Breit spoke in the Protestant church St. Ulrich's: "The fifth commandment 'Thou shalt not kill' has been annulled for the years from 1914 to 1918. We are ordered to kill." These too were brave words coming from the pulpit. The pastors' pronouncements were well known in Augsburg and certainly not unfamiliar to Brecht, who at that time regularly went to church because of the girls.

The poems written during his school years are a conscious renunciation of the obligatory warlike Christian faith in God, the emperor, and the fatherland. Brecht began to extricate himself from the affairs of a world coming to an end. He sought to win life anew and to reshape it. As a symbol for necessary historical change -- here the destruction of the bourgeois world -- he transformed and actualized the flood motif not only in his early notes "On the Theater in Large Cities" but also in his theoretical remarks. In 1954 Brecht wrote in "Scanning my Early Plays": "All five plays taken together [*Baal*, *Trommeln in der Nacht*, *Im Dickicht der Städte*, *Leben Eduards des Zweiten von England*, *Mann ist Mann*] show how without regret the great flood begins from puddles which become marshy pools and straits; then all that is left is black water with islands, which are quickly crumbling" (G. W., Vol. 17, 592). The deluge motif joins the motif of Sodom and Gomorrha in a sketch for the radio play entitled *Die Geschichte der Sintflut* (1926):

Untergegangen ist die Grosstadt Gomorrha
 Seit Gestern ist der grosse Hafen Jokohama nur mehr Wasser
 Heute früh verschwand die Paradiesstadt Miami
 Und nicht mehr antwortet das gewaltige Sodom
 Im dritten Monat bestürmen die namenlosen Wasser
 Das Festland Europa und eine große Furcht breitet sich aus.
 (G.W., Vol. 2, 505)

Brecht's treatment of the Biblical text (Genesis 6-8) is recognizable in the natural disasters of the twenties which befell modern cities such as Miami, Palm Beach, etc. Later, he continued to orient himself to the Bible as he placed his concept of the world on stage: "Moreover, the figure of Jesus is to be characterized by urgency and indolence. A man for the people, for now, for the place where he is, breathes, speaks, suffers. The entire project is lyrical, not suited for the drama, because not logical, even a-logical, a pure destruction of the concept of sequence . . ." (Brecht, 1975, 49f). His diary provides insight into the degree with which Brecht dealt with the Bible in order to find his approach and explanation of the world.

In conclusion, Hans Otto Münsterer observed how religion fascinated Bertolt Brecht:

In those days there were exciting discoveries not only in literature, but also in visual arts. Works by van Gogh and Gauguin, the blue-green moonscapes of Kokoschka and the marvelous Liebermann hung in the Neue Staatsgalerie. Above all the gestural quality of this latter picture, the visible effort with which the old woman tugs at the resistant goat, aroused Brecht's admiration. In addition, the bearing of John, with his overlong bent fingers pointing to the historical event at Golgotha in the Isenheim Altar, the most revolutionary work

stemming from the transition period between the Middle Ages to the modern times, which at that time was being shown in the Alte Pinakothek, so impressed the future man of the theater. Soon the possibility of a meeting with Beckmann availed itself, and we admired in the Glaspalast, where the official "unworthies" of the exhibit were gathered together, those strange and macabre clown and circus scenes which characterized the early creative activity of the artist (Münsterer, 32).

Translated by Jacqueline Vansant

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BRECHT, SCHWEYK AND THE MILITARY REVIEW MOTIF

Jan E. Olsson

Brecht twice grappled extensively with the figure Schweyk, a modern archetype with the status of a Don Quixote or a Madame Bovary -- perhaps the most irrefutable contribution of our century to this gallery. Between the end of the twenties, with his collaboration on the Berlin production of Hašek's Schweyk of WWI, and the forties, with his own Schweyk in the Second World War, Brecht returned to the material several times. Moreover, in the same period Brecht wrote Fear and Misery of the Third Reich, whose motific and structural points of contact with the later Schweyk work will be treated at the end of this article.

In 1927/28 Brecht was involved in the adaptation of Jaroslav Hašek's novel The Adventures of the Good Soldier Schweyk During the World War for Piscator's stage. In his book The Political Theater Piscator relates the story of this adaptation and staging as one of historical upheaval in which the representatives of new, promising ideas carry their point against routine and prejudices:

It was clear to me from the beginning that a dramatization of Schweyk could be nothing else but a faithful recapitulation of the novel in which the task is to string together episodes as numerous and as easily remembered as possible so that they showed Hašek's total view of life. Likewise, a way had to be found to recreate the Hašekian satire which glossed individual episodes. While we were racking our brains over these important questions and problems of the dramatization, we received the manuscript of the adaptation which Max Brod and Hans Reimann, holding the copyright, had undertaken earlier. Our worst fears were confirmed. What lay before us here was not Hašek but a pseudo-comical burlesque of an officer's orderly, in which, for the sake of "comical" effects and the endeavor to construct a real "play," Hašek's satire fell completely flat.¹

Piscator decided to produce his own stage version together with Brecht, Gasbarra and Lania and to present this with the copyright holders' tacit toleration. Gasbarra describes the difficult requirements for a dramatization:

Schweyk as a person was fixed from the beginning and did not experience any kind of development during the story. He never appeared actively but rather always only passively; he is conceivable in every situation except in that of

his own demise. The course of the novel was, however, determined by the development of the events in the period from 1914 to the middle of the World War. Therefore all the elements of which Hašek's work consisted. . . seemed to resist a dramatic adaptation. (Quoted in Piscator, p. 183.)

About the Brod-Reimann dramatization Gasbarra continues: "In spite of their taking over the best portions of text from the original work, Schweyk completely lost his characteristic air. The beginning lacked his tales and points; Hašek's circularity in handling the material turned out to be indispensable, while the flow of dramatic action narrowed everything and made it small" (*Ibid*). Gasbarra draws the conclusion "that the way to transform novels into plays" was false. "The consequence turned out to be that we were forced to refrain from 'dramatizing' the figure, and instead of a play about Schweyk we brought parts of the novel itself onto the stage" (*Ibid*).

Gasbarra explains immediately how such a solution looked:

It appears impossible to manage the epic course of the material with the old means of the theater. Using the stationary stage floor, you ultimately always had to split the Hašekian course of events into individual scenes, which thoroughly contradicted the novel's character. Piscator overcame this impossibility by transforming the stationary stage floor into a rolling one. With a sure touch he found the corresponding stage means for the course of the novel: the conveyor belt. (Piscator, p. 184)

This Gasbarra article appeared in the Welt am Abend in the same month as the premiere. It is not strange that its advertisement-like tone preempts the possibility of investigating the problem critically. But likewise Piscator, who included the article in his book The Political Theater, gives no real explanation for the dramatic accomplishment of the conveyor belt.

Let's look at several passages in the stage version.² To its technical profile belong, besides the use of the conveyor belt, also the animated cartoon, projected backdrops, puppets and marionettes. Piscator is said to have considered bringing Schweyk onto the stage as the only three-dimensional figure while having all antagonists appear only as drawings. (A successful example of this idea is the scene with Schweyk and the military doctor.) Using puppets, marionettes and drawings was considered to be an effective way to express an even stricter division corresponding to the different class ideologies.

In the major series of scenes where Schweyk is supposedly on his way to the front but in reality deserts and must avoid the villages with police, these police are

shown partially as projections or as silhouettes and partially through the veil of a map on which Schweyk's route and his long detours around the villages are drawn. The performance text is printed in two columns with the dialogue on the left and the technical notes on the right. It relays approximately the impression of a film scenario. A film projection is described in the right column, which first shows parts of a train station, then the night sky and a landscape. Through it appears a written text in white letters in which Schweyk's way to Budweis is compared with Xenophon's *Anabasis*, that is, with the famous description of the march from inner Asia Minor to the coast following the war. Next the directions state: "During the text the landscape rolls steadily onward." On the left it is noted that Schweyk is singing a song: "When we went to Jaromsch, we believed it was a lie. . . ." Then on the right the directions continue, "the distant landscape begins to move faster, while Schweyk's near surroundings maintain the march tempo." The "near surroundings" presumably mean the milestones, signposts, buildings, etc., which are driven in by the conveyor belt and driven back out again. These are followed on the left by Schweyk's conversations with various people, conversations which suggest Schweyk's disguised desertion. On the right it then continues, "after the whole conversation a shadowy back and forth of police moves across the sky." And later: "The map disappears. The landscape goes on to a crossroads. A policeman (possibly drawn) appears and disappears." If the policeman was not drawn, it might have been a puppet or an actor brought in on the conveyor belt (cf. Knust, pp. 77-86).

In this scene technology is utilized most distinctly. Otherwise it is employed principally to introduce abrupt transitions between the scenes. After the scene where the army chaplain Katz takes Schweyk to be his orderly, Katz remains sitting on the open stage while First Lieutenant Lukasch (seated on a chair) and a table with cards are driven in. Then Katz loses Schweyk to the Lieutenant. Such a transition is not only an effect, it is also an effective way of telling the story. If epic dramaturgy, here obviously represented by the technique of the conveyor belt, proves its suitability for preparing a broad epic portrait for the stage with the example of Schweyk, then I believe that the following factors were at work:

--The splitting of the action into individual scenes necessitates a certain dramatic complexity because every scene must have its own arrangement to be understandable, not to mention the setting change and a certain running time in order to be accepted. Such a dramaturgy, which serves the episodic drama, leads to a loss of epic material.

--The stage form with the conveyor belt and the epic dramaturgy which builds on it signify, in contrast, purely technically, a saving of time, but coincidentally also acceptability. The psychological need for scene arrangement disappears almost completely. The run of action in a scene is ensured by the belt's approach and the running time of the individual "scene" becomes irrelevant when all things are moving, guided by the epic subject as personified in the technology. The saving of

time allows epic circularity, and this precisely is an essential element of effect in Hašek's work.

This could comply with Piscator's programmatic demand that "episodes as numerous and as easily remembered as possible be strung together so that they show Hašek's total view of life." Piscator's other demand to recreate the Hašekian satire on the stage is fulfilled, I believe, by means of the other technique, the use of drawings, puppets and marionettes.

The portrayal of the ruling powers on another level of reality than that where Schweyk and similar people stand takes up significant space in all of Brecht's deliberations about a new Schweyk on the stage. Already in 1928 he told Fritz Sternberg he had an idea for Schweyk. He wanted to show Ludendorff in an extraordinarily high room as he is directing the German divisions on huge maps: ". . . but the divisions don't arrive in time, and they don't arrive in the strength he planned. . . . It does not work -- and why doesn't it work?" Brecht claims to answer this question by showing a mass of soldiers, all of whom resemble Schweyk, in the basement room of the stage under Ludendorff's huge room on stage, sabotaging the plans in their own way. "Nowhere is there active resistance; in the conversation there isn't even opposition which would be specifically directed against the war: they all follow orders, they respect their superiors, they move out when they get their marching orders. But they never arrive at their destination in the time Ludendorff has indicated on the map above, and they never reach it in their full complement" (quoted in Krust, p. 149). Similarly, according to a note in his journal in 1942, Brecht wanted to let the ruling powers be seen up on the stage. That was to happen by playing scenes out of Karl Kraus' The Last Days of Mankind, while beneath we would see the soldier who survives the grandiose plans. And in the new Schweyk play executed in the following year, Brecht implemented this division of stage levels. In a prologue and two interludes Hitler, Himmler, General von Bock and Goebbels enter the higher regions in the manner of Valhalla. There they deliberate in the tone of Wagnerian opera about the course of the war, the mobilization of the reserves and the loyalty of the little man. And how this is carried out can be seen in the scenes in Prague or on the Russian steppe where the historical meeting between the soldier Schweyk and Hitler is then also staged.

It has not yet been unequivocally proven what the direct provocation was for Brecht to take up the Schweyk material in the Spring of 1943. In New York he met Piscator, who had always been carrying Schweyk plans around with him and who wanted to collaborate with Brecht. Piscator described it, surely with subjective honesty, as if Brecht had snatched Schweyk away from him right out from under his nose. In his journal and letters Brecht points to contact in this time period with Kurt Weill and Ernst Josef Aufricht, the composer and the director with whom he had shared the success of the Threepenny Opera in 1928. While Brecht was writing

Schweyk in the Second World War, he planned on their assistance, but both then withdrew. In his notes Aufrecht characterizes the play as a failure.

Brecht was of course very conscious of what the actualization meant for WW II, which was not to end for some time to come. When the work was essentially completed, he reflected in his journal: "In contrast to the Schweyk which I wrote for Piscator around '27 -- a pure montage from the novel -- the present one (of WW II) is considerably sharper, corresponding to the shift from the well-ensconced tyranny of the Hapsburgs to the invasion of the Nazis."³ That reminds us how tricky it could be artistically to make war and fascism the object of comedy in the middle of the war and under the uninterrupted tyranny of fascism. Before completing the manuscript, Brecht wrote to his friend Ruth Berlau: "I'm so anxious to know whether you will laugh at the piece, also whether it's succeeded in keeping the background serious enough."

The interludes in the higher regions have already been mentioned. Many of the remaining scenes play in the inn "The Goblet," which becomes a connecting point where the various threads of action always join together. "The Goblet's" innkeeper, Mrs. Kopecka, who replaces the innkeeper Palivec in Hasek's novel, is a patriot who in her own way perpetrates sabotage against the occupation force. She exploits the superstitions of the SS-people to weaken their battle spirit. In the inner room of her inn she listens to a forbidden radio station while her guests protect the radio from being heard by their very loud dancing of a beseda. "The Goblet" is therefore through and through a nest of conspiracy, as the SS-commander Bullinger surmises. Besides that, it has a symbolic meaning: it represents the hope for peace and human relationships, for a very generally conceived political utopia. This function is manifested in the "Song of the Goblet" where first of all the inn's praises are sung, then the earth is seen in a utopian vision as a "hospitable house." This bond to a spatial center which, in addition, is symbolically superelevated, suggests something like one step back from the viewpoint of epic dramaturgy of the 1928 Schweyk.

Mrs. Kopecka accomplishes resistance against the occupation regime according to plan. This behavior, which could be understood as the opposite model to Schweyk, is, however, not so alien to Brecht's Schweyk as to the earlier Schweyk. In the work's conceptual phase Brecht writes after a conversation with his son Stefan:

I told Steff something about my Schweyk plan. He immediately said the original Schweyk would hardly trouble himself about Baloun's difficulties, but rather advise him to join the German army, and he would hardly hang around in such a dangerous place as this inn. Indeed, here are the changed conditions compared to 1914. However, I decided immediately to include this unpolitical behavior

of Schweyk, even though saving the glutton Baloun is inconsistent in the little story. (Arbeitsjournal, 27 May 1943)

Baloun is a role which Brecht created by throwing together three characters in Hašek's novel, one of whom was called Baloun. Baloun cannot be a patriot on an empty stomach; he contemplates joining the German army as a volunteer so he can eat his fill. In order to save him and the homeland from such dishonor, the other members of the "Goblet" circle make an effort to get him a decent meal of meat. Finally, Schweyk brings wrapped in a package the dog which he had actually obtained for the troop commander Bullinger as a pet but which he has now slaughtered for his friend's sake. When right after that a SS-raid is carried out in the "Goblet", Schweyk rescues Baloun in a more concrete way. The package with the dog has been passed secretly among the guests; when Baloun has it in his hands, he smells the meat and loses all inhibitions. He does not know how to answer the charge against black marketeering. Schweyk attempts to help him at first by saying that Baloun cannot be the owner of the package because he would not have had to inspect it to see what was in it. When that fails, Schweyk takes responsibility for it. He attempts to talk his way out with his usual tirades, but this time it is in vain. Prior to that Mrs. Kopecka has been brutally knocked down, which underscores just how daring Schweyk's behavior is. He is not shot dead, as we fear, but is sent to the Eastern front.

In the previously quoted note from his journal after talking with his son, Brecht continued: "In the course of reading the earlier Schweyk I am again overwhelmed by Hašek's massive panorama, the genuinely unpositive viewpoint of the people in it, which is precisely the only positive thing itself and therefore can't stand 'positively' by anything else." In the next sentence he again appears to talk about his Schweyk: "Under no circumstances must Schweyk be conceived as a sly, underhanded saboteur. He is simply the opportunist of the few opportunities offered him." But then Brecht scarcely held to the last characteristic, and Schweyk repeatedly becomes a saboteur. Brecht transforms into a direct act of sabotage one episode from the novel where Schweyk talks an NCO to distraction by the very long-winded and complicated retelling of a stunt for remembering big numbers -- it has to do with the numbers on train cars. Schweyk's opposite is a guard on whose memory it depends whether machine guns go to Stalingrad and the harvesting machines come to Bavaria, or vice versa.

These traits in Brecht's Schweyk character are the objects of an investigation by Charles Hoffmann and John Fuegi.⁴ They polemicize against the wide-spread conception (which has not been proven adequately in their opinion) that Schweyk in character and attitude is simply taken over from Hašek's novel. It is especially important to recognize the difference if one sees Schweyk as a central figure in

Brecht's works with traces in Mother Courage, the judge Azdak in the Caucasian Chalk Circle, Matti in Puntila and his Servant Matti as well as in other figures. They even more strongly stress the need for caution in identifying the two Schweyks if one wants to see something of a self-portrait in Brecht's Schweyk. Besides the two previously mentioned episodes, Hoffmann and Fuegl also name two additional ones where Brecht's Schweyk shows a courage which would be alien to Hašek's figure: in the dognapping he is careful to protect the servant girl from suspicion of complicity; in the scene in Russia he very energetically defends two Russian peasant women against the Army chaplain Ignaz Bullinger.

Both the scenes in the higher regions and the scenes at the inn "The Goblet" share the form of a review, a stock-taking. Hitler and his satraps ask themselves if the "little man" is ready to make sacrifices, and the scenes give us the answer. With Schweyk as the example, the general mustering of the last reserves in the occupied areas is completely run through. Brecht also considered the series of scenes Fear and Misery of the Third Reich a military review (thus in a letter to Erwin Piscator in 1938).⁵ Here the connecting motif, the authority from which the review results -- corresponding to the opera world of the higher regions in Schweyk and to similar arrangements in the Schweyk projects of 1928 and 1942 -- is represented by a dramatic-turgical idea which was not incorporated into the play's text but was rather attached to it in the form of notes. In letters to the directors Erwin Piscator, Max Reinhardt and Berthold Viertel one can trace how this idea developed.

Brecht's aim was the production he aspired to in the US. When he arrived there in 1941, he wrote from California to Erwin Piscator in New York, in whose drama workshop at the New School for Social Research his collaboration was planned. Brecht suggested using his scenes from the Third Reich for instructional purposes. He was of the opinion that one could rehearse these scenes one at a time, but "everything would have to be played one right after the other, under a forest of illuminated swastika flags, with a ballad in between" (Briefe, p. 435f., letter 431). Brecht did not come back to the idea of the flags. The association with the Nuremberg Party rallies would perhaps have been too difficult to distanciate. Yet he further developed the notion of the ballad. At the end of May 1942, Brecht wrote to Max Reinhardt who, Brecht hoped, would have an opportunity to talk about the play on an information trip to New York -- a play he already knew and was interested in performing in the US. Brecht wrote that he had found a good visual device for the musical framework:

In the center of the performance one could place as the main prop the classical German Blitzkrieg vehicle, the combat army's armored truck which appears from the North Pole to the Mediterranean Sea and from the Channel to the Volga and everywhere brings the New Order which has already been established in Hitler's

Germany. This truck is occupied by the chalk-white-faced soldiers of the Hitler army, the enslaved who bring slavery everywhere. The vehicle could appear four times, ballad-like, accompanied by the distorted melody of the Horst Wessel song. . . (Briefe, p. 450, letter 443)

The idea of the distorted Horst Wessel song was used in Hanns Eisler's performance of Schweyk in the Second World War (in the seventh scene "Behind the drums/trot the calves"). But the notes to Fear and Misery contain several strophes in the meter of the Horst Wessel song under the title "Chrous of the Armored Occupation," divided into four sections and corresponding to the fourfold appearance of the armored truck. In the letter to Reinhardt he continues: "Before the individual scenes the thunder of guns and rolling wheels could, however, be produced with a recording. . ." In a letter to Berthold Viertel Brecht expands this idea of the recording and writes that the noise should also be audible during the scenes "when there is a threat" (Briefe, p. 448f., letter 442) -- or, as it says in the notes to the play: "when the terror strikes which would bring the people onto the war vehicle." This formulation approaches Brecht's synopsis in his letter to Viertel: "The truck carries the New Order throughout the world, and the scenes show how it is manned." In relation to the ballad motif of the armored truck, the scenes have therefore the character of informing, similar to the Schweyk scenes vis-à-vis the prologue and interludes in the higher regions.

One other element confirms this relationship between both plays. In Fear and Misery of the Third Reich the not unduly exaggerated comment that the Nazis are preparing for the big war is frequently repeated. That is the reason for the alternative title "military review." At the time when Brecht spoke of the enslaved bringing slavery everywhere in the previously quoted letters, this was already reality. And in Schweyk in the Second World War this military review is conducted on a new level in one of the countries to which slavery was brought. Both plays share thus the dramaturgical element of a level from which a military review is conducted. This directs our attention to Brecht's attitude which was sustained when, viewed dramaturgically, the cases are also similar. In 1928 and later, as we have seen, he wanted to show the ruling powers above and the soldier who survives their grandiose plans; whether on a simultaneous stage as perhaps in Ludendorff's case, or with alternating focus as can be supposed in the 1942 formulation ("with scenes from The Last Days of Mankind intercut"), is not crucial. How Brecht wanted to portray the soldier below is not known further. At the time of his earlier deliberations he had already come a long way dramaturgically. The fragments The Breadstore and the Story of the Egoist Johann Fatzer originated in this period. By the time Brecht wrote his Schweyk fifteen years later, using the idea of a separate level for the higher powers, the scenes on the normal level of the common mortals turned out to be rather traditional, even

"Aristotelian." The scenes in "The Goblet" are not structured according to a pronounced Brechtian dramaturgy. Yet the entire structure, with the alternation between higher and lower regions, compensates for that. The step backwards in dramaturgical respect from the 1928 Schwegk dramatization to the one of 1943 did not happen, as Hoffmann and Fuegi explain, without good reason. And if Brecht -- with good reason -- put up with a step backward, he was anxious to make it up again, as he had in Fear and Misery of the Third Reich and in Schwegk in the Second World War, by means of the epically structuring motif of the military review.

Translated by Juliette Victor-Rood

Footnotes

¹Erwin Piscator, Das politische Theater (Hamburg 1963), p. 180 (first published 1929).

²Description and quotations are from Materialien zu Bertolt Brechts "Schwegk im zweiten Weltkrieg", ed. Herbert Knust (Frankfurt/M. 1974).

³Bertolt Brecht, Arbeitsjournal, ed. Werner Hecht (Frankfurt/M. 1973), 24 June 1943.

⁴Charles W. Hoffmann and John B. Fuegi, "Brecht, Schwegk and Commune-ism," in Festschrift für D.W. Schumann zum 70. Geburtstag, ed. Albert R. Schmitt (Munich 1970), pp. 337-349.

⁵Bertolt Brecht, Briefe, ed. by Günter Glaeser (Frankfurt/M. 1981), p. 360, letter 356.

Brecht and the West German Theater: A Case Study

John Rouse

Aside from the German Democratic Republic, where he has become a kind of heroic model for the development of a national theater, Brecht's influence has been nowhere greater than in West Germany. A discussion of this influence should prove particularly valuable to North American theater people, first, because production conditions in West Germany are closer to our own than to those in East Germany, and second, and more importantly, because the West German theater has over the years assimilated not only the more visible stylistic elements of Brecht's theater (such as episodic scene structure, flown scene titles, masks, antiillusionism, etc.) but also the underlying dramaturgic principles and practices that guided Brecht's own development. These stylistic elements can still guide the development of other practical techniques long after Brecht's own "style" has grown stale through cooptation by the conservative theater. Further, the directors, designers, and dramaturgs who now determine the character of the West German theater have understood that Brecht's legacy is most essentially neither theoretical nor stylistic but interpretational: Brecht developed a dialectical approach to the theatrical interpretation of dramatic texts that can be used for the interpretation of any play, including, but not exclusively Brecht's own. Indeed, the West German theater has used this approach particularly well for the reinterpretation of the classical texts that form the core of its repertory, for the dialectical confrontation between an old, historically and culturally determined object and the reality of a contemporary audience.

The history of Brecht's influence in West Germany itself casts light on the difference between the stylistic surface and the dramaturgic core of Brecht's theater. The reception of Brecht's theater work may be divided roughly into three periods. Brecht's importance as a playwright was recognized relatively early, but the theater practice he had developed before World War II and was modifying at the post-war Berliner Ensemble had very little influence during his own lifetime. The Ensemble remained one theater among many in Germany, and it remained so for most of the second phase of Brecht's reception. Beginning around the time of his death in 1956 and ending about 1964, this was the phase during which an increasing number of theaters began performing Brecht's major plays and even the conservative directors who controlled these theaters began assimilating the more visible elements of the epic theater "style" into their repertory of devices, using them as they saw fit. At the same time a new generation was encountering Brecht for the first time. For many, the initial interest was a political one; Brecht became an elder statesman of the movement that would become the German New Left. During the mid-, and especially the late 1960's, the young members of this movement brought the Brechtian model with them as they moved into positions in the professional theater where they could radicalize its attitudes and techniques -- among them precisely the Brechtian stylistic techniques their fathers had coopted. As Henning Rischbieter has put it (in a personal letter), "Brecht's dramaturgical and directorial working methods constituted the most powerful model for the transformation of the German theatre's working methods that began in the mid-1960's." Further, when Brecht's interpretational model finally made the lasting impact it deserved, it did so through a variety of specific techniques that, on the surface, seem anything but "Brechtian."

Before we look more closely at this use of Brecht's legacy, we need to examine the legacy itself. Most fundamentally, Brecht's theater work begins with the principle that the theater as a social and artistic institution must commit itself to the dialectic of social change by presenting society and human nature as changeable. The arena in which men structure and restructure themselves and their lives together is, of course, history. Accordingly, for Brecht, a dramatic text must first of all be analyzed as a story, or "fable," in which "the ideas of the fable's creator concerning people's lives together are expressed." (GW 16: 704) Thus, the first stage in a Brechtian approach to any one text necessarily involves detailed research on the text, its author, and his social experience. This work also involves, however, an investigation of the text using the methods of dialectical analysis -- an analysis that reads the text's structures out into its author's personal and historical situation and examines the way in which the text mediates these determinants.

This dramaturgical work is not, however, aimed at anything approaching an "historical" reconstruction of the text. On the contrary, the purpose of research work is to enable a production staff to understand a text as an interpretation of its own time in order to interpret it more effectively in terms of our own historical experience. Many of Brecht's productions mediated this general dialectical confrontation between past and present through a quite specific, topical connection. Brecht's *Mother Courage*, for example, is generally an anti-war play, but specifically it is a warning to Denmark that it could not engage in neutralist trade with Nazi Germany without eventually paying the price of war.

This kind of dialectically historicizing interpretation guides and becomes visible in the next two, overlapping stages of production work. The first of these is the restructuring of the analyzed text. This restructuring, which involves anything from minor interpolations to major cutting and rewriting, is intended both to rework the conventions of an older text and to enable interpretation to become visible in the enacted text itself. The final stage of production work is the concrete work with theatrical means through which the director, designers, dramaturg, and actors prepare the physical production for performance. Dramaturgy is not simply a general preparation for rehearsals, but the work that guides rehearsals. At the same time, dramaturgy is itself guided by the theatrical investigation of the text in rehearsal. There are, for example, six different, complete versions of the text for Brecht's *Hofmeister* adaptation; four of these were completed during rehearsal.

It is this "special mixture of scholarly analysis and direct artistic confrontation," as Hans Mayer puts it, that gives Brechtian theatrical interpretation its particularly powerful character. Brecht took this work very seriously at the Ensemble (Mayer). Indeed, to carry it out effectively, he began using his company's dramaturgs not only in their traditional roles as schedulers, play readers and program-note writers but also as research associates. Moreover, he grouped dramaturgs together with a production's director and designer, and their assistants, into an interpretational team, thereby drawing all the disparate aesthetic disciplines of a theatrical production into the kind of analytic work we in North America tend to think of as too abstract even for a director.

This structural re-functioning of the theater has had its own influence. In 1968 few West German theaters allowed their dramaturgs to work intensively on individual productions, and few dramaturgs cared to do so. There is now no major German theater without a staff of as many as five "production-dramaturgs." I have interviewed five of the most prominent dramaturgs working today; all freely claim the Berliner Ensemble as the model for their new interpretational function within their institutions. By the same token, this structural re-functioning came about because the German theatre's radical young artists were eager to realize the potential of Brecht's interpretational model. To illustrate this development, and to further clarify both Brecht's way of working and its influence, I will discuss Peter Stein's 1969 Bremen production of Goethe's *Torquato Tasso*; by general consent one of the landmark productions of the postwar German theater.

Goethe's Tasso dreams of a "golden age" (Goethe 1952, I. 979), when the visions of the poet guided the deeds of the "hero," or man of action (551), and also when desire was reconciled with fulfillment, when man unthinkingly, naturally performed the good. At the play's beginning, Tasso projects the realization of his Utopia outside of history -- evoking Homer in his vision of the unity of poet and hero and Eden in his vision of natural morality. He has embodied his visions in the just-finished *Jerusalem Delivered*. By the beginning of Act II, his manuscript has been gratefully accepted by his patron, the Duke of Ferrara, and his sister, the Princess Leonore, whom Tasso loves with a barely concealed passion. She, however, has declared a platonic love for him while at the same time assuring him that any other consummation is impossible. Inflamed by these contradictions, the bourgeois artist Tasso attempts to prove himself worthy of the patrician Princess by participating in the active political life of his aristocratic society. Specifically, he over-enthusiastically offers his friendship to the Duke's Secretary of State, Antonio Montecatino. Antonio rejects him. Tasso draws his sword against him, thereby breaking one of the court's strictest rules. For this, the Duke confines him to his room -- like an unruly child.

The Princess soon persuades the Duke to lift his punishment, but Tasso has come to understand that he can never be anything more to this court than a lovable eccentric, a "jester and parasite, subordinated in the most miserable way," as Goethe himself said of the character (attributed as "nach Ursula Wertheim," Goethe 1968/1969). The result is a kind of madness, an extreme melancholy exploding periodically into an increasingly uncontrolled raging against his patrons. Eventually, Tasso resolves to leave the court. He asks for his manuscript back. The request is refused; the product of his labor is no longer his own property. Finally, Tasso bids farewell to the Princess. In a last desperate moment of rapture and despair, Tasso attempts to embrace her -- a chaste enough action, but one tantamount to sexual assault in Goethe's time. Tasso is banished from Ferrara.

As my plot summary has implied, Goethe is not ultimately concerned with the historical Tasso except insofar as the figure reflects, across the distance of two hundred years, Goethe's own contradictory situation as bourgeois individual within the aristocratic society of the Weimar court and as bourgeois artist at the service of aristocratic power. Unfortunately, however, the realism of this historical mediation is at once embodied and negated by the closure of the play's five-act structure and the perfection of its verse form; as Ivan Nagel points out, "Goethe wasted his Utopia on the eternalizing of iambically purified Weimar court conversation, which he elevated to the image of a perfect society"

(Nagel, 186). As a result, Tasso's alienation from his society may too easily be seen -- and has traditionally been interpreted -- merely as a personality fault, or as the inevitable inability of the "Genius" to adhere to "proper" social norms.

Peter Stein, the designer Wilfried Minks, a group of young Bremen actors that were to become the core of the Berlin Schaubühne, and the novelist Yaak Karsunke, engaged as dramaturg for this one production by Bremen's theater management, used an extensive battery of Brechtian dramaturgic principles and practical techniques to free Goethe's text from its reductivist tradition and to develop a theatrical interpretation at once critical of the play's form and surface action and true to its underlying mediation of historical experience. The production focused on Tasso's dual function as provider of poems and as what Karsunke called "emotional clown." This rephrasing of Goethe's "court jester" points not only to the production's stylistic approach but to its critique of Goethe himself; the emotionality that was for Goethe the manifestation of Tasso's rebellious freedom was examined as the unwilling, unwitting fulfillment of a political responsibility. This critique, in turn, was motivated by a specific topical context: the *Tasso* company attempted to draw a historicizing relationship between Tasso/Goethe's situation and their own situation as theater artists producing the luxury of cultural recreation for bourgeois audiences who are no more interested in allowing artists direct involvement in social reality than Tasso's Duke. The company introduced this context into the production by discussing their situation with the audience at intermission.

To enable this interpretation, Stein and Karsunke literally tore open the closed poetic form of Goethe's original. First, they trimmed the text by about one-third. They then restructured the remaining text into an episodic collage. Their text began with a section entitled "prologue," in which the characters introduced themselves using typical aphorisms drawn from various places in Goethe's text. The remaining text was divided into ten scenes and two "interludes." The scenes presented the significant developments in Goethe's original plot in sequence; each was, however, a self-contained encounter breaking off at its climax. This episodic quality was reinforced, in turn, by the interludes. Placed just after Tasso submits his manuscript to the Duke, the first of these allowed the consumers of Tasso's poetic and emotional wares to delineate their opinions of the artist with lines drawn from throughout the text. The second interlude, on the other hand, pulled the scenes in which Tasso tells first the Duke, then Antonio that he is leaving Ferrara out of their original climactic positions in the plot and turned them into a debate over the artist's social role (Note: the complete text of the adaptation, accompanied by photographs that help clarify the way in which the production's stylistic exaggeration functioned, is included in Goethe 1970).

Mink's set provided the visual foundation for this critical reexamination of the artist's role. Goethe's play is set not in the main court of Ferrara but in the garden of the Duke's summer palace, Belreguardo. Minks underlined the degree to which this pleasure garden is Tasso's prison -- the assigned space for the luxurious recreation provided by this poetry and his emotional antics -- by covering the entire depth of the Bremen stage with a luxurious, deep nylon carpet of poisonous green. Only three objects occupied this carpet: an armchair; Tasso's writing desk; and a bust of Goethe -- a concrete reminder that the production mediated between Tasso's time, Goethe's, and the audience's. Minks enclosed this carpeted space with large plexiglas panels around three sides of the

stage; another wall covered in gold foil was dimly visible behind these panels. A two-foot high plexiglas border running along the forestage completed the set's closure. Thus, Minks' set provided not decor but a concrete theatricalization of the dramaturgic interpretation of an essential aspect of the text.

Stein's staging complemented Minks's environment by keeping all the characters onstage at all times. Those not involved in one of the scenes would wander in a languorous boredom through their recreational space. Sometimes they would look at their own reflection in the plexiglas. More often they would observe Tasso's behavior. To further defamiliarize the form of Goethe's text from moment to moment, and to defamiliarize the characters so that their real motivations could be perceived behind the mask of their idealizing language, Stein and his actors developed an exaggerated, artificial performance style strikingly reminiscent of the gestural style Brecht and his actors used for productions like the Ensemble's 1951 *Hofmeister*. Wolfgang Schwarz's Duke, for example, "quoted" the slick attitudinizing and generous arm-waving of the clichéd German operetta-aristocrat, but never allowed the audience to forget that his urbanity and artificiality were the indulgences of a man who always expects to have the last word. Jutta Lampe's Princess drifted around the stage with the kind of lascivious lassitude of a figure who has half-consciously escaped from the felt threat of her own sexuality into a self-imposed alienation. In strong contrast to her moralistic dialogue, she kept constantly edging towards Tasso, then breaking back away whenever she talked with him, a kind of unconscious mating dance.

While Lampe revealed a character who voluntarily represses the expression of her personality, Bruno Ganz revealed in Tasso a character repressed by his social role. His Tasso was never allowed any mode of self-expression other than that of the emotional clown. The production opened, for example, with a pantomime sequence in which Tasso practices various poses of the heroic artist easily identifiable as the attitudes that can be observed on any German city's Goethe and Schiller statues. Indeed, at one point, Ganz stretched himself across his worktable in an obvious imitation of Tischbein's famous portrait of Goethe in Italy. However, at the end of this sequence, he lowered himself aristocratically onto his chair but missed it, collapsing in a heap on the floor. The moment symbolized not only the "dethroning" of Goethe as cultural object, but also the artificiality of the socially determined physical vocabulary through which Tasso must express himself -- an artificiality as great as that of his verse.

At times, this exaggeration threatened to denounce the character along with his tradition. That this ultimately did not happen was the result of both Stein's and Ganz's skill in establishing psychological realism in minute, passing details so that the gap between feeling and gesture could be made clear. Indeed, the production managed a difficult transition during the scenes where Tasso realizes the real character of his situation. Ganz began gradually to drop his earlier posing during these scenes. Instead, he made greater and greater use of a kind of desperate clowning, an exaggeration of gesture that bodied forth with astonishing clarity the character's rage and anguish in the physical vocabulary dictated to him by his subjugation.

Stein's *Tasso* in an unusually clear example of the creative seizure of Brecht's legacy by one of the German theatre's most creative directors, one of its most original designers, and a group of its most powerful actors. I would not want to imply that all productions in the late 1960s took precisely the same interpretational approach or made precisely the same use of the same techniques. Nor would I want to imply that *Tasso* can serve as a model for the productions now being mounted in West Germany. Nonetheless, *Tasso* reflects the salient features of Brecht's lasting influence: that it is a production's job not simply to stage but to interpret a classical text, that this interpretation must be carried through into all aspects of a production, including work on the text itself, that it must be undertaken by a team of artists united by a shared dramaturgical understanding of the text, and that any and all techniques can and should be used that will help realize interpretation on stage. The Brechtian theater is not fundamentally a matter of style but of interpretational direction. Stein and the other directors of his generation have understood this fact and continue to be guided by it. Brecht's legacy is in good hands in West Germany.

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Brecht in Latin America: The Ideology and Aesthetics of the New Theater

Bernard Baycroft

Thus our practice with Brecht reveals that we can be most Brechtian by not reproducing his plays in Latin America, but by using Brecht's principles to create our own Latin American dramaturgy.

-Santiago García, Director of Teatro La Candelaria.

Seminar on Brecht, Bogotá, Colombia, May 1983.

The movement known as the New Theater (*Nuevo Teatro*) since the mid 1960's is the result of the assimilation or "Latinization" of certain elements from the European theatrical tradition combined with a Latin American element to produce what I have found to be an original Latin American theater. The most important European element in this equation is the Brechtian epic. The most important Latin American contribution is found in the methodologies or "methods" (*métodos*) of collective creation. By "methodologies" I refer to those that have been presented in essays written on the process of collective creation. The most important of these are the ones by Enrique Buenaventura and his group, Experimental theater of Cali, and by Santiago García and his group, La Candelaria.

These methods are ostensibly limited to the operational mode of theatrical activity, but they achieved an aesthetic and ideological significance beyond their original intention. As operational guides, they were written as a scientific and systematic approach to the problem of creation and production, based on several years of practice with collective creation. They are used as models for other groups for the purpose of organizing and streamlining the process of creating an original play within the context of the collective structure.

The content of the methodologies may be summarized as follows. First, the group specializes its activity by dividing its tasks among commissions, or teams of actors, which concentrate on research, scenery, dramaturgy, etc. This organization indicates how the group structure replaces the traditional commercial hierarchy organized around the director. Secondly, the methods establish the use of the actors' improvisation as the basic working tool to achieve the theatrical image. This theatrical image constitutes the visual and sonoral text of the play. At the same time, a script, or written text is produced in relation to the improvisations. The creative/productive process thus becomes an interplay among the different texts, leading step-by-step to a defined structure. In Brechtian terms, the goal of this dialectic process is to produce a *gestus*, a concept that combines the notion of gist and gesture. *Gestus* is an attitude that is expressible in a series of theatrical images. To state it another way, *gestus* is an organized density of images, conveying a particular attitude. The final product is the theatrical text, a combination of the verbal, visual, and sonoral texts. The work is defined as a theatrical text to emphasize the notion that the theater can be understood only as a live performance, as a dialectic between actor and spectator, an ephemeral event that exists at the moment of the performance, but not beyond it and in no way can be reduced to the script, or written text. Creation in the New Theater, then, is the process of using improvisation

to arrive at a polytextual structure, or the achievement of a balance between the various texts that make up the theatrical text.

What I have described to this point is what is discussed in the methodologies, but as I mentioned before, the implications of the methodologies go far beyond. To begin with, they demonstrate the clear break the New Theater has made with the traditional commercial procedure. In the traditional method, the director conceives and imparts the ideas, and the actors carry them out. The structure is an authoritarian hierarchy featuring a lack of integration among its functional parts (author, director, actor, owner, etc.), based on commercial contracts, and dissolves when the performance run is finished. By contrast, in the methodologies of collective creation the Group structure is implicit and replaces the authoritarian hierarchy. The Group, with its closely integrated functions, is the basic unit of production and is a stable entity creating a succession of works over time. The privilege given to improvisation as a fundamental tool has the effect of emancipating the actor, giving him or her a double or triple responsibility. The new actor, who is called a *teatrlista*, a theater-maker or cultivator of theater, now performs the functions of actor, director, author, and promoter. In this scheme, each actor has a share of responsibility in the conception and production of the work. At the same time, the actor is given a more important role as the fundamental conveyor of the message when on stage, which reflects the rejection of the naturalistic stage setting for one controlled by the notions of economy and portability. The simplified and suggestive qualities of props and scenery return the focus of significance directly upon the actor and upon his or her intimate relationship with the spectator, and allow the theater to be taken to spaces not designed for it, such as factories, slum streets and remote villages. In addition to the new role of the actor, the break with traditional procedure has evoked a new Latin American historico-referential content and a new public.

At this point the Brechtian element of our equation merits further consideration. The New Theater can be said to be in agreement with the basic tenets of Brecht's aesthetic. It agrees with Brecht's promotion of epic rather than Aristotelian theater, distance and estrangement rather than identification and catharsis, reason or intellect rather than emotion, sociology rather than psychology, theater on a large exterior scale rather than on a small interior one, a so-called "theatrical" theater rather than one of naturalism and illusion, human nature as changeable rather than static, and an "interrupted" narrative structure rather than a linear plot. Here we have in essence the Brechtian rejection of the Aristotelian and Nineteenth Century naturalist tradition in favor of an epic theater of the scientific era. And the New Theater would find itself in basic concordance. The oppositions I have described above are paraphrased from Brecht's notes to his epic opera *Mahagonny*. They became model guidelines for the New Theater, at least in its early stages of development. Their manner of assimilation is the source of the first aesthetic problem for the New Theater, for they were interpreted as formulae rather than as relative emphases, as intended. Thus it is possible to identify an unfortunate, mechanical interpretation of Brecht dominating many groups in the 60's and early 70's.

Of course the fundamental obstacle in the pathway of assimilation was to be found in the difference between the German and Latin American social and historical contexts. To begin with, Brecht was a social rebel, but he was rebelling in the context of a highly developed and industrialized society. He

roundly criticized the tradition of his country's theater, but he was still able to work in the most developed and well-financed theatrical infrastructure of his day. Germany in the twenties was also on the verge of a violent political transition that could swing to either socialism or Nazism, and in this context, Brecht, Piscator and associates were able to promote an openly socialist theatrical practice. Yet, in reference to the transfer of these practices to Latin America, a careful perspective must be kept in mind. When Brecht promoted his revolutionary opera, for example, a major stroke was to reduce the full orchestra to only 15 musicians. This was a scandal in Germany. In Colombia, by contrast, there were *no* musicians at all in the theater. The physical spaces, the training programs, the actors themselves, the public, the corpus of plays, the entire infrastructure had to be invented. Brecht was involved with chastising and challenging a public that had become conformist and complacent "consumers" of culture, whereas the public in Latin America had no theater whatsoever. The need to invent and cultivate a new public had vast implications for the kind of theater that would be produced and in the way Brecht would be interpreted. The most obvious evidence of this practice is seen in the radical divergence from Brecht regarding selection of theme and content.

It may be said that Brecht wrote best about what he knew least. In the rejection of his own tradition, he shunned the German milieu in favor of exotic places, characters, and themes. This was part of his program that rejected naturalism and identification in favor of aesthetic distance. The New Theater, by contrast, has purposefully cultivated a Latin American thematics and content. This was seen to be necessary for a public that lacked a theatrical tradition and had been subjected to an official view of events that needed reinterpretation and demystification. This historical-referential imperative attempted to recover what is considered the authentic Latin American tradition which had been lost, and it functioned within an ideology that promoted a new Latin American identity and cultural independence. The practitioners of the New Theater learned early on that they could not challenge and confront their public in the way that Brecht and Piscator had done in Germany. The New Theater had assigned for itself the creation of a new working and middle class public. It promoted Brecht's notion of a didactic theater, but it had the additional problem of attracting and not driving away the neglected and uninformed native spectator.

At this point, the answer to the question "what to do?" was to determine the success or failure of the entire theatrical project. What kind of theater to do? At what level was it to be projected to the public? These were the big questions. The answer was supplied by Enrique Buenaventura and is summarized in his phrase "un teatro de los máximos propósitos" or a theater of the maximum propositions or objectives. This notion was developed in a key essay in which Buenaventura rejected flatly the idea of "lowering" the level of the theater in order to project it to the masses. He also rejected a return to the theater of folklore and "costumbrismo" (customs, manners). He stated that the science of the colonizers would be turned around to be used to awaken the sleeping tradition of the colony. "We believe," wrote Buenaventura, "that the goal of the theater is not to bring together the masses around a few minimal objectives, but, on the contrary, to set forth the maximum objectives and the most ample complexity." The subsequent aesthetic development of the New theater is an extension of this basic concept. With this in mind, the new creed became the creation of a new public for a new theater; in other words, both the level of the public and that of the theater would

be given the maximum elevation possible. Brecht, in this plan, was not to be disseminated in a mechanical or simplified form, but rather the maximum implications of the Brechtian aesthetic were to be reinterpreted, expanded upon, and assimilated within the new project.

To return to my original equation. I have attempted to show that the essence of the New Theater is the addition of a European element, the Brechtian epic, to a Latin American one, the methodology of collective creation. The result of the equation, that is, the kind of theater practiced by the new movement, has not been given a name. I have provisionally called it the Latin American epic. It could also be called the "*gran teatro*". The Latin American epic or *gran teatro* can be described as having three elements. The first two are called the visible and the invisible. The visible are the outward features of the *gran teatro*, and the invisible, or internal structure, consists of a several elements which refine and extend the principles of aesthetic distance and indirect reference. Regarding the visible features, the *gran teatro* may be described as theater on a large scale, able to interpret large national and international themes in all their complexity. It requires the ideal group structure in the New Theater, a team of 15 actors, each responsible for 5 to 10 different characters in a play that has 80 to 100 characters in total and that deals with time, place, and historical events in their full, dynamic extension. This is the operative ideal of the New Theater: the creation of an analysis of crucial social events in all their complexity and ambiguity by a reduced but efficient team of actors and minimal use of setting and props. There are at least 10 invisible elements of aesthetic distance which show the advances made in applying this concept to stage practice. I will mention them but not discuss them in detail. These are the elements:

1. Rejecting illusion and "atmosphere"
2. Clarity of demonstrative "*gesto*" or gesture
3. The relative nature of identification
4. A clear showing of the alternative
5. Avoiding total transformation
6. Acting as if quoting the text, but not quoting it, not improvising
7. Adopting point of view of social criticism
8. The distancing of the *gestus*, not just revealing it
9. *Historization*
10. "Artistic" acting, but not stylized.

The combination of the visible and invisible elements produced the third and most important element of the *gran teatro*, the application of distance, ambiguity, or indirect reference to the Latin American context. The notion of indirect reference is a characteristic of Brecht's works and consists of employing three points of reference in the narrative structure. There is a referent to the present, to a historical moment, and a third so-called cultural referent that establishes a relationship between the first two. In Brecht's *Galileo*, for example, the referents are the Germany of 1940 and Galileo's Italy, while the cultural referent is the scientific controversy over the development of the atomic bomb. This yoking of disparate and apparently unrelated elements separated in time provides the rich ambiguity sought in the epic theater.

In the Colombian play, *Diálogo del Rebusque* (*The Dialogue of a Rogue*, La Candelaria, 1982), a similar structure is employed. The referents are Latin America today, the Spain of Quevedo, and the cultural referent is a hybrid and distanced mixture of languages, using elements from both time periods. The result is an intriguingly ambiguous work whose language and motifs locate it somewhere between the adventurous struggle for social validation of a *pícaro* or rogue in the decay of the Spanish empire and a *gamlín* or orphan in modern marginal and underdeveloped capitalism. The "message" is never made obvious, but the examination of the Spanish heritage and the prominent evidence that the system has remained so much the same after 400 years is brought home to the audience by each new trick and silver-tongued deceit of the *rebusque/gamlín*, whose language-mix is at once strange and yet hauntingly reminiscent of the streets just outside the theater. The technique of this play is thoroughly Brechtian, although the casual observer would not recognize it as such. And yet the creation of the various texts of the play -- images, script, costumes, setting, etc. -- are entirely original products of the New Theater, taken from Spanish and Latin American literature and reality. At the same time it has taken up the theories of Brecht, the New Theater has penetrated into the reality of its own context to discover a new autonomy and a new Latin American identity.

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Magic Theater - Political Theater

Alan Bolt

[Alan Bolt is the director of the Nicaraguan National Theater Workshop, based on a farm in Matagalpa, five kilometers from the war zone. The contras have declared the Workshop a target and have raided it on numerous occasions. Bolt, a man who refuses to eat a meal unless it is prepared with conscious care, is much more interested in process than results. That process is worthless unless it demonstrably contributes to building a better life. It does so by actively engaging everyone it touches as full participants. Bolt goes beyond Brecht, for the actor's process becomes that of the pueblo, the people. Or, to put it another way, everyone becomes an actor, an active participant in daily life. This emphasis on process underlies all of his actions and is the basis of all of his work in Nicaragua. The National Theater Workshop receives no funding from the Ministry of Culture. Bolt and Ernesto Cardenal (Minister of Culture) are friendly but fundamentally disagree on the needs of Nicaraguan theater today. While Cardenal would like the National Theater Workshop to develop works of high quality that could be shown as a mark of Nicaraguan artistry, Bolt's primary concern is with the people and popular culture. The following is a short excerpt from a talk Bolt presented at the Yale School of Drama on "The History of the Nicaraguan Theater" in May, 1985. The complete text is printed in *Theater* (Yale University), Volume 17, No. 2 (Spring 1986).--Adam Versényi]

Sixteen years ago, I had gone to Germany on a scholarship to study nuclear physics. While there I decided that theater was more useful and returned to Leon. This was under Somoza, and I started working with a student group against the dictatorship -- the Revolutionary Students Front. People thought I was nuts to talk about theater being used to make the revolution, but Pedro Arrau, a commandante of the Sandinistas who was there at that time, liked the idea, and the Sandinistas ordered theater to be used.

We formed a theater group at Leon University and performed there, but most of our work was done in the streets. Somoza and the National Guard were still very powerful at this time, and we had to perform where we could run. It was a dangerous "aesthetic position." Our model at that time was Brecht. When I was in Germany I had studied with the Berliner Ensemble for two months. They have a beautiful theater there, a technical marvel. But in the street there are only two forms of light: daylight and streetlamps, and I began to doubt Brecht's theory.

While we were organizing our theater group we were also organizing the neighborhoods simultaneously. This was in the seventies, and the majority of the neighborhoods had no electricity, no clean drinking water. We decided we would live with the poorest people. . . Around this time it became necessary for me to go underground. I went underground in Masaya. What I learned in Masaya was that colonization had made people deny their own culture. When they looked in a mirror they didn't see themselves but a mask of themselves. So I began to organize the Indians. I

discovered theater forms that they had kept alive under hundreds of years of Spanish and US domination. This was a culture shock for me because I wanted to be a European, or at least a North American. . . We performed with the Indians and learned from them. We learned how they organized the theater space, how they developed characterization. And from this and from Carl Jung we developed the concept of "collective memory" -- the memory of the people of the community that needed to be used in order to break down the colonization.

We decided that, if we were trying to change society, we must create a democratic practice to change. No more directors or playwrights, we must create things together -- fighting, struggling. We must be democratic in the community as well, involve them in creation. So we began to create a theater group in each community, and we created 350 theater groups. These groups didn't necessarily perform. We always stressed that it was more important to create a beautiful life than a beautiful play. . .

When I was underground I was trained by an Indian wizard. Some people say I'm a wizard too, but I don't know. He told me that people from the city always want a product, they don't care about the process. Everything is fast, fast, fast, no process. Recently when I was in New York, they wanted a four hour theater workshop. Fast food, fast theater workshop. No process of knowledge. The theater is the same way only more so. The theater is magic. Everything in it must be magic. You can't walk on stage as you do in everyday life. You must walk in a magical way. From our work with the Indians we formed the theory of "extraordinary reality." There is no reason for a chair, props, etc., when we have our bodies. This is the reason I am afraid to publish my plays, because they need imagination. . .

So, our theater theory, the one we are developing, is related to the spiritual component. We do research in the culture in order to break down the colonial mentality. It is fine to say that we must build a better democracy, but how? This theater activity helps peasants who never had rights to learn how to participate, it helps to build a better democracy. This takes time, no fast food. The aestheticians say to me that I am not an artist but a politician. I say that to be an artist means to understand what is going on, what is happening. You see, we are dwarf selfish. We must be giant selfish. We mustn't want little things, but to change life, to be truly happy. People from Africa, Asia, Bangladesh and India are interested in this theory. We are part of an international movement dealing with the relationship between popular theater and popular education.

The following letter soliciting support for Alan Bolt's Community Theater Movement was circulated internationally in Fall 1985. It is reproduced in excerpt here:

September 28, 1985

Dear Compañeros,

We would like to provide you with a brief description of the recently formed Community Theater Movement. The movement is presently composed of three professional theater groups, or collectives. . . and all three are members of the ASTC (Sandinista Association of Cultural Workers). . .

Initial Clarification

It may sound exaggerated for us to say that we want to get three theater groups rolling. However we define our intentions, you will see that one of our objectives is to develop the rural cultural movement.

Basic Goal in Working with Rural Communities

To promote a broadening and deepening participation, beginning with traditional artistic expression, collective recovery of the people's history, a collective analysis of their problems, and a collective search for practical solutions.

Special Objective

To promote a rural cultural movement that can be useful to the community not only for recreational purposes but also as a means of achieving a higher quality of everyday life. This movement should maintain close ties with the rural organizations. The artistic groups would deal with subjects such as the proper functioning of unions, cooperatives, the government, and its different structures. They would also relate to the people's myths, legends, language, vision of the world, etc. The purpose of the groups would not be to act as a substitute for propaganda but rather to help their members affirm themselves creatively and critically as human beings committed to the everyday and profound interests of their collectivity. . .

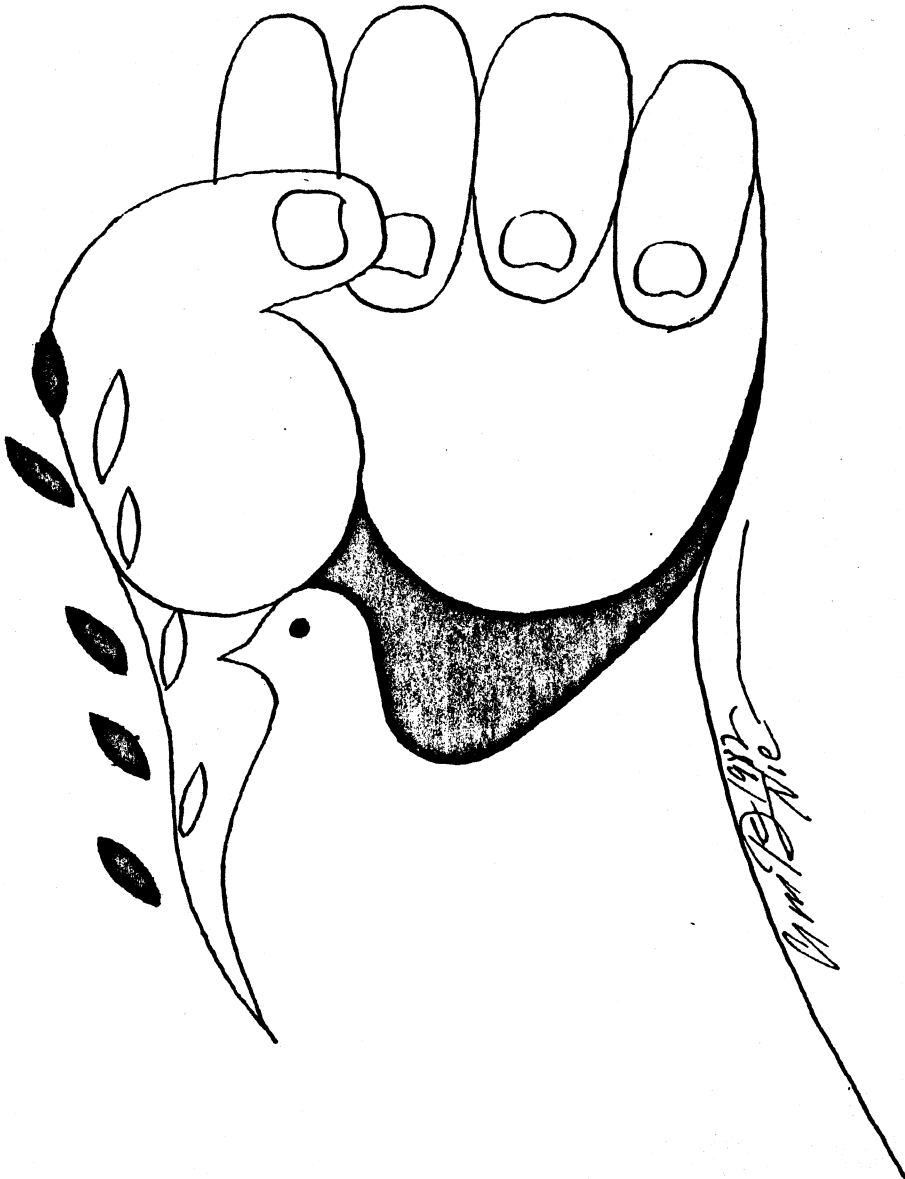
Basic Goal Concerning Cultural Work

To write plays on a collective basis, critically exposing a problem that we believe to be important. As much as possible, we should base our plays on adequate research, making a serious attempt to discover images related to the symbols of our complex life. We should search for a verbal language that really allows for communication and should try to develop techniques that respond to our needs and goals. We do not intend to be a substitute for propaganda, although we do disseminate ideas. Neither do we intend to clarify and explain certain decisions on the part of the authorities so that people will accept them. Transformations in consciousness do not occur as a result of theatrical plays. Instead they require a permanent praxis, which is exactly what we are endeavoring to encourage by way of the rural cultural movement and the training centers. The plays written by each collective will serve to motivate the rural population's imagination, creativity, and confidence in our work and their own. . .

If you are interested in this project, which is already under way, and would like to support it (even with healthy criticism), please contact us.

Sincerely,

[Alan Bolt]
General Director
Movimiento Teatro Comunitario
Apartado postal P-174
Managua, Nicaragua



production reviews & reports

KLEINBÜRGERHOCHZEIT

Freiburger Kammertheater, October 1985

Gerhard Jörder (reprinted from *Badische Zeitung*, Oct. 7, 1985)

... Good news from the Freiburger Kammertheater: Eva Diamanstein has let the play speak for itself. She has neither made it into a comedy nor weighted it down with meaning. The one and three-quarter hour, occasionally long-winded production is worthwhile: the careful work of a young director and also, or especially, an evening of good actors. There are nine of them who sit around the wedding table in Dietlind Konold's sober, bright, room-size stage. And the nine, who dine intently on the aromatic fresh fish and in the course of the evening become more and more drunk as they imbibe wine, all nine have not been condemned by the dramaturgy to cold caricatures of petty bourgeois monsters. Although their manners are bad and their words as hollow as their morality, the director does not punish them with complete withdrawal of love. What we see is stereotypical petty bourgeois behavior, but the spectator does not have to feel like a visitor at the zoo or like a student in a sociology seminar. There is always an iota of tenderness mixed in with the humor. Never is the distance to the observed object over-extended. Similarities to living persons are intended. The bride's father, whose good mood takes priority over everything else: Werner Handrick tries almost always in vain to tell his boring little stories between fish and dessert. The bridegroom's mother: Ilse Boettcher is a quiet mouse whose face is set permanently in a painfully touching smile mixed with a touch of old-age panic. The bridegroom's friend: Stefan Hunstein is a mustachioed smoothy with a winning smile. . . And then two more couples. The young man with a pointed face who, under the table, makes tactile overtures to the bride's sister (Vilmar Bieri, Kim Collis), and as a contrast to such cheesy innocence, a pair of middle-aged Strindberg characters: Dagmar Gabriel, a dominating, loudmouthed platinum blond who considers herself better than the rest and her husband, Thomas Kasten, who with his horned-rimmed glasses, tie clip and ring, must have at least achieved a lower-level management position in a department store. His vulgar hee-hawing suggests acute sexual frustration, and it is no surprise when he finally lunges in a drunken stupor at his wife. At the end, a battlefield: broken furniture, quick departures of the guests, and the newlyweds left alone. Enveloped in a delicate veil, already pregnant, Dorothee Rüttimann throws herself like a lascivious flounder over the dinner table. Her new husband, Ivo Dolder, wanders like a crazed, petty bourgeois Othello through the room, bereft of all illusions about fidelity. "Now the wedding night," he yells and grabs his victim by the hair. A wild and frightening moment, full of brutality, blindness, helplessness, and sorrow, all in one image. The curtain falls, in the darkness a terrible cracking noise -- the marriage bed too has collapsed.

LA VERDADERA HISTORIA DE PEDRO NAVAJA
Teatro del Sesenta, 1985 Festival Latino, New York City

Adam Versényi (reprinted from *Theater*, 17/2 [Spring 1986])

The 1985 Festival Latino in New York opened with one of its most exciting events, the Puerto Rican Teatro del Sesenta's *La verdadera historia de Pedro Navaja*. Written and directed by Pablo Cabrera, the play is based upon a pastiche of John Gay's *Beggar's Opera* and Brecht /Weill's *Threepenny Opera* and owes a great deal of its spirit to Ruebén Blades' *salsa* hit, "Pedro Navaja," which tells the story of a street criminal who casually murders a woman. Cabrera's play has two endings, the first bloody finale being protested by the play's characters on the grounds that the hero never dies. But the play is hardly Brecht. It is, rather, a smart transposition of Gay and Brecht into a 1950's Puerto Rican milieu. This is the time period during which the Commonwealth Constitution came into effect, putting its seal of approval upon the ever-closer symbiotic relationship of Puerto Rico and the USA, leading to the island's dependence upon its larger neighbor.

The play's turbulent world pits Pedro Navaja, an underworld kingpin whose gold tooth shines every time he smiles, against Don Ramon Buenaventura, a wealthy capitalist whose fortune rests upon the exportation of workers to the mainland, and Navaja's old army buddy, now the Chief of Police, Rafael Mckenna. When Navaja elopes with Buenaventura's fifteen year old daughter in order to inherit his fortune, and Mckenna's daughter "Betty" reveals that she is pregnant by "Peter," Buenaventura and Mckenna join forces, bribing Navaja's old flame Diana la Marmora (the Acrobat) to murder him.

Cabrera's tale is told in a lively, flashy fasion which astutely captures the feeling of Puerto Rican society. *La verdadera historia de Pedro Navaja* moves with the rhythm of a *merengue* (a popular Caribbean dance); and music and dance compose a large part of its appeal. The performance begins with the "Lince de la baradilla" (The Bannister Lynx) -- Cabrera's version of the Streetsinger, excellently played by Raúl Carbonell, entering through the audience. While a follow spot is reflecting off his mirrored glasses and bouncing off the brim of his baseball cap, he introduces us to the play's setting and characters. Carbonell also has a fine voice, giving us the first rendition of the play's recurrent theme song, the chorus of which tells us that "the best cure (for our ills) is a television novel."

This tongue-in-cheek view of life as a "tele-novela" or Spanish-language soap opera, continues throughout the play as the Bannister Lynx moves through and around, commenting upon the play's action. A two-tiered wooden platform with sliding doors of corrugated tin effectively conveys the impression of a San Juan slum while providing a means of smooth transition from scene to scene. Pedro Juan Texidor's set is completed by the opposing poles of this world: Don Buenaventura's office on one side and a large jukebox on the other side of the stage floor. The soap opera and the jukebox are fitting symbols for this world in which there is a popular song for every occasion and Diana shoots Pedro as he slits her throat. Television characters and popular culture idols, however, never die for long, and *La verdadera historia de Pedro Navaja* ends with song and dance in the same rapid-fire manner in which it began. The point here is first to entertain; instruction is a by-product. In this way

Teatro del Sesenta's production, despite its non-Brechtian orientation, is probably closer to Brecht's theatrical intentions than lugubrious stagings which assault us with attempted manifestations of Brecht theories.

THE EXCEPTION AND THE RULE

The Brecht Company, Ann Arbor (Michigan), February 1986

Peter Batacan (reprinted from *The Michigan Daily*, February 18, 1986)

Shunning the more conventional flatteries and panderings of Valentine's Day, the Brecht Company set out to conquer the audience with their heartfelt performance of the parable *The Exception and the Rule*. Urging not love of one's sweetheart, but of truth and wisdom, they arrested the audience in a truly Brechtian "dialectical" fashion. Whose wisdom and whose truth? Brecht propounds no formulaic answer. Laid in the wilderness of Outer Mongolia, and the Gobi Desert, the play presents a situation that is universal. The austerity and distance of the setting provides a context in which anything is possible -- the moral philosopher's laboratory. The main action of the play, a familiar tale of oppression, is "estranged" in the Brechtian sense; an imperialist merchant kills his coolie in a mad oil-seeking expedition across the "uninhabited desert of Yahi." A trial ensues, a kangaroo court presiding, and the merchant is exonerated. Justice is served, the coolie's hapless survivor's disserved. Or so it seems. . . . Bob Brown, the director, explains that Brecht "sublimates character to situation," and the company so ordered their interpretation. The players used several clever devices to universalize character. They switched roles at the beginning of each new act. Behind anonymous choral masks, they assumed the universal roles of oppressor and oppressed. Distinctions were deliberately blurred. True to the title of the play, the team-playing anonymity of the cast flouted the audience's expectations of who was an "exception" and who, a "rule." Adding much to the spectacle were the Pakistani costumes and the score by Peter W. Ferran. They provided a nice conjunction of oriental mystery with the strident boldness of Dixieland Jazz -- estranging overall. In this dialectical parable the players held their cards close, each maneuvering to out-trump the other. Brecht leaves the audience with a murder, and a sequence of putative explanations, a moralist's algorithm, as it were, without providing a closing statement. The choral epilogue brought all the actors on stage to exhort the audience to arrive at their own conclusions. . . . In an innovative post-performance informal discussion, the players engaged the audience in a rehashing of the events of the play. We were disabused by the "instant reply" of complex actions in the play. The discussion was every bit as interesting as the play, a congruity that would have, no doubt, pleased Brecht. In one of his poems on the theater, Brecht encouraged his actors to "make the experience of struggle the property of all and transform justice into a passion."

BRECHTIANA FROM THE GDR AND THE BRITISH ISLES

John Willet

There is quite an effective version of *Mahagonny*, made by the theater section of Polish TV in 1984. This was a studio production in black and white, directed by Krystov Zaleski and incorporating some of the songs from *Happy End*.

The Berliner Ensemble's current collectively-directed *Dreigroschenoper* had one or two embarrassing touches of cuteness (notably in the handling of the curtains and the ballad-singer) but otherwise is a precisely-executed production along conventional lines. Stefan Lisewski is a Macheath in the macho mold, the newcomer Corinna Harfouch a convincing Polly, capable of taking over the gang in his absence. *Mann ist Mann*, however, was not good.

Koreya Senda's recollections of his experiences in the Berlin theater from 1927-1931 (inter alia with Wangenheim and the agitprop groups) have been published by Henschel under the title *Wanderjahre*. Ernst Schumacher contributes a 10-page essay on the author. The Schumachers' own picture biography of BB has appeared in a paperback version of Reclam (Leipzig).

In London the National Theatre's *Threepenny Opera* is due to open on March 13, in a new translation by Robert David Macdonald. Musical director is Dominic Muldowney. There was a concert of Muldowney's own compositions by the Endymion Ensemble and Linda Hurst on 20 February, including a much-acclaimed performance of the Brecht cycle "The Duration of Exile" which he wrote for the late Cathy Berberian.

The Scottish Opera opened *Mahagonny* (full opera version) on March 5 in Glasgow. The Royal Shakespeare touring production of *Happy End*, Feingold's version, directed by Di Trevis, has just finished in Newcastle. The same director has staged *The Mother* in Steve Gooch's translation, with the Eisler songs (piano accompaniment) at the Contact Theatre in Manchester, where the Caspar Neher exhibition has just opened at the new Corner House Arts Centre (see separate report following). The Library Theatre in the same city is currently doing C.P. Taylor's adaptation of *Drums in the Night*. In Sheffield, where the exhibition goes next, the Crucible Theatre is doing *Arturo Ui* in (I think) the Tabori version.

BBC Radio 3 did a number of programs on the German twenties in the first half of February. These included a repeat of their previous broadcast of the *Threepenny Opera* in the Manheim/Willet translation, a *Mahagonny* from the Wexford Festival and other things like *From Morning to Midnight* and Max Brand's *Machinist Hopkins*.

CASPAR NEHER EXHIBITION IN LONDON

(English Arts Council / Riverside Studios)

John Willett

I'm always puzzled by the "durchschlagende Wirkungslosigkeit" theory of Brecht which seems so popular these days in the Federal Republic of Germany. Certainly our experience so far with the English Arts Council's Caspar Neher Exhibition suggests that there is still a great deal in the whole Brecht complex that is new and stimulating to our theater -- even thirty years after Brecht's death. With between 120 and 160 drawings, plus photographs, dummies, documents and a tape-slide programme, this is the first show of Neher's work ever to be held outside Germany and Austria; and even there no such comprehensive exhibition has been seen since the 1960s. As a result it has hit experts and ordinary exhibition-goers alike as something fresh: the work of a great artist who helped shape famous plays and radically original productions by the liveliness, purpose and beauty of his graphic work.

The exhibition, I must admit, is my conception, and I have written a catalogue which Methuen is publishing as a book under the title *Caspar Neher. Brecht's Designer*. Both are virtually confined to his work with Brecht, including such tangential operations as the designs for the 1925 *Coriolanus* and for Fleisser's *Pioniere in Ingolstadt*. I just hope they will inspire our directors and designers rather as Eisler's Brecht settings are already inspiring composers and singers. And certainly the climate of the Riverside Studios, where the London showing has taken place, is anything but museum-like; with the various peripheral events that have been going on (including a staged tribute to Neher by theater design students at the Central School, and a ventriloquial program with a most credible Brecht) there has been an almost electric feeling about the place each time I have been there.

Refreshing as this is in these days of Brecht's alleged ineffectiveness, the visiting pundit too will find new evidence about the plays and their staging. Thus Neher's 1922 designs for *Trommeln in der Nacht* have been hung together for the first time (all but the "Walkürenritt" of Act 3), so we can appreciate what a pity it was that Falckenberg gave the job to Otto Reigbert instead. There are two drawings for the *Macbeth* project which led to *Eduard II*. Illustrations -- presumably those rejected in 1919/1920 -- make clear the importance of the Verlaine image for *Baal*. The half-curtain -- always thought to have made its first appearance with the Darmstadt *Mann ist Mann* -- appears already in the *Dickicht* and *Eduard* drawings, though we have no reason to suppose it was actually used in these plays. The "literarization" envisaged for *Die Dreigroschenoper* turns out not to have been as seen in the photographs: the intention rather was to use the screens to project drawings for each song (the "das angenehme Leben" on p. 92 of *The Theatre of BB* evidently being one). Galy Gay in 1931 was at one point drawn as being dark-skinned; was this ever Brecht's idea, or purely Neher's?

There are visualizations of *Der Brotladen* and designs for *Die heilige Johanna* -- some of the latter apparently for a specific theater before 1933. There is a scene drawing for the 1932 *Die Mutter* marked by Neher "Tod der Mutter"; was this a mistake, or was such a scene ever conceived? There is valuable evidence about the staging of *Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahagonny*, particularly in the form of a handwritten and drawn "Regiebuch," but also written on the back of a drawing for Leipzig

which has been glued down (this belongs to the Cologne University Theater Museum). There are the fine, forceful projections for the Basel *Furcht und Elend* directed by Ernst Ginsberg in January, 1947, and the gaily colored designs for Lindtberg's second *Mutter Courage* in Zurich the previous spring -- two productions which tend to be neglected in the Brecht secondary literature. Suppose Neher had been able to design the Berlin *Courage*, as Brecht originally wanted him to do: would he have made it equally light and colorful, instead of that now famous grey?

So many pictures. So many questions. Perhaps IBS members can solve some of these and the various other problems raised by Neher's lovely drawings if they are in England at all before the beginning of July (1986), when the Exhibition will finally close in Plymouth (after showings in Manchester and Sheffield). We have also put out an illustrated list of some drawings we want to locate; they include the splendid one of Galy Gay leading the elephant on a rope which I reproduced on p. 114 of *The Theatre of BB* -- nobody now seems even to know the photo, let alone the original drawing. (See **notes** in this issue for the drawings being sought.)

The Arts Council and I naturally thought of offering this exhibition to institutions in other countries, particularly France and the USA. However the rules of the Austrian National Library, the main lenders and holders of Neher's *Nachlass*, would not allow this. Would a much reduced show be of any interest? We are wondering whether to put the idea to Barbara Brecht, the Cologne and Munich theater museums, the city graphics collection in Augsburg and other potential lenders.

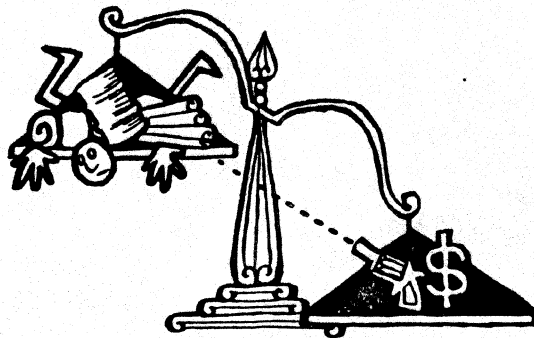
CONGRESS OF THE VERBAND DER THEATERSCHAFFENDEN DER DDR Berlin, November 11-13, 1985

Heinz-Uwe Haus

The Fifth Congress of the Verband der Theaterschaffenden der DDR (Association of Theater Professionals in the GDR) took place in Berlin from November 11-13, 1985. According to official views theater professionals could point to a positive balance in their work during the last five years. The GDR is counted among the most active theater production countries in the world. The final report summarized the main themes of the Congress as the theater's contribution to further social progress and ways to increase its impact. Discussion about important creative problems, especially about the impact on the public, was divided between the plenary and five working groups. The latter directed their attention to the following topics: interpreting old and new texts as theater's contribution to contemporary struggles; fundamental positions and current tendencies in socialist-realist theater; the spectators' various demands on what theaters offer; children and young people's theater as a contribution to socialist education; conditions for the growth of the artist's personality in socialist society. About fifty theaters in the GDR introduced 280 new productions during 1984. Among the classical authors, Friedrich Schiller's plays were the object of special attention owing to the commemoration of his 225th birthday. New productions of *Wallenstein*, *Don Carlos*, *μMaria Stuart* and other Schiller plays were especially aimed at attracting young audiences. Continuing the developments initiated in the seventies, the artistic quality in the reception of classical texts is

growing. Another fifty new productions took up new plays by GDR authors and served the needs of opening up new themes and topics. Thirty-five years of GDR history were reflected in productions of Alfred Matusch's *Cap der Unruhe* and Hermann Kant's *Die Aula*. Volker Braun's new Nibelungen play (written in 1984) is currently being rehearsed at the Berlin Ensemble for a Summer 1986 premiere. (This author is also discussing with the Eureka Theater in San Francisco the possibility of a US-premiere.) After a period of stagnation the interest in Brecht is also growing. After 14 Brecht plays in 26 different productions in 1982 on GDR stages, in 1983 there were 16 plays, 2 Brecht Evenings, 2 operas and a ballett based on Brecht texts in 39 productions. Although I have no statistics, the trend seems to be continuing in 1984 and 1985. One thing does seem to be clear now: Stanislavski's *Ethic*, which was once cited so quickly when someone did not understand Brecht's *Organon*, has become part of the past, as have Brecht's polemics too.

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notate

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Brecht-Zentrum in the GDR, appears six times a year

No. 5/1985 Topic: Directing after Brecht

Erika Stephan on the Brechtian method in the GDR today
Joachim Fiebach on theater's function as entertainment today
Heinz Uwe-Haus on problems with Brecht's method in England
Dieter Hoffmeier on Stanislavski and Brecht
Wolf Bunge on his production of *The Mother* in Afghanistan
Ernst Schumacher on Brecht and Kabuki (Part II)
Excerpts from Antony Tatlow's polemic against James Fenton

No. 6/1985 Topic: Brecht in the Schools

Wilfried Bütow on Brecht in GDR curricula
Sigmar Gerund on a postcard Brecht sent to his son Stefan
Hartmut Jonas on the results of an empirical analysis: How
pupils read the *Buckower Elegien*
Joachim Lucchesi interviews Paula "Bi" Banholzer on the
young Brecht as musician (1979)

No. 1/1986 Topic: The Brecht Edition

Günter Müller-Waldeck on the planned honorary doctorate for
Brecht from Greiswald University (1956)
Jan Knopf on the *Hauspostille* for the new Brecht Edition
Horst Görsch and Benno Slupianski on Brecht's relationship to
his publishers
Zbigniew Slupinski on Brecht reception in Poland
and further book and production reviews

notate now provides a new service to foreign subscribers: each issue contains a special four-page supplement with abstracts of the most important articles, available upon request in English, French, Spanish or Russian. Contact the Editor, Brecht-Zentrum der DDR, 1040 Berlin, Chausseestr. 125, GDR, or Buchexport DDR, 7010 Leipzig, Postfach 160, GDR.

notes

MLA BRECHT SESSIONS: Call for Papers

1) At the 1986 Convention of the Modern Language Association (December 27-30) in New York City, the IBS, in conjunction with ATINT, will once again sponsor a session on "Brecht and Latin America." Please contact Professor Marina Pianca immediately: Dept. of Modern Languages, St. Lawrence University, Canton, NY 13617 (Tel: 315/379-5154).

2) The other IBS session will be on "Brecht -- Thirty Years After." Contact Professor Michael Gilbert by May 15: Dept. of Foreign Languages, Valparaiso University, Valparaiso, IN 46383 (Tel: 219/464-5019 home, 219/464-5000 ofc.)

AMERICAN THEATRE ASSOCIATION: Call for Papers

The ATA has not yet announced the final selection of panels for its 1986 Convention, but the convention coordinator is fairly certain that a second ATA-IBS Brecht panel has been approved. Assuming acceptance, the panel -- "Brecht and Performance" -- will take place during the Convention, August 17-20 at the New York Marriott Marquis Hotel.

Moderator: John Rouse (Tulane University)

Janelle Reinelt (California State University): Brecht and the Politics of Form

Gene Burk (University of Washington): The Political Frame: The Performative Legacy of Brecht in the Theatre of Brenton and Müller

Johannes Birringer (University of Texas, Dallas): Brecht and Medea: Heiner Müller's 'Synthetic Fragments'

John Rouse urges IBS members to consider the following problem: competition for panels at any ATA convention is very strong. Thus far, we have applied twice through the Theory/Criticism subdivision. The ATA has been very forthcoming in approving both panels. Moreover, we could possibly win approval of a regular yearly ATA-IBS panel, arrangement similar to the one we have with the MLA, if ATA bylaws allow such an arrangement. But I am reluctant to pursue this under the present circumstances. The 1986 panel includes three participants from 1985. No other IBS members submitted papers. We cannot in good conscience continue this joint project if all we have to offer is the same people year after year. I urge IBS members to let me know now if they are interested in future panels; otherwise we should drop the project.

THEATER SEMINAR SERIES this spring in the GDR

The Brecht-Zentrum in Berlin is offering a series of ten seminars between March 6 and May 15, 1986, on practical questions of the theater. Topics discussed include Brecht's dramaturgy and theater concept, the art of watching, direction, the art of acting, music and songs in Brecht's plays, set design, masks and make-up. If there is enough interest, the seminars may be repeated in the Fall. In addition, the Center is planning a workshop with films, discussions and practical demonstrations about set design, costumes and make-up on June 20, 1986 from 7 PM to midnight.

DIRECTORIAL SEMINAR this summer in the GDR

The International Theater Institute (iti) in the GDR announces an international directorial seminar on "Theater after Brecht" from June 1-22, 1986. For further information, contact: iti-Zentrum der DDR, 1080 Berlin, Leipzigerstr. 112, German Democratic Republic.

BRECHT YEARBOOK topics

John Fuegi, Managing Editor of the *Brecht Yearbook*, announces that Volume 13, "Brecht and Performance," will include articles by Fuegi, Heinz-Uwe Haus and Carl Weber, among others, as well as Spanish language contributions for the first time. Expected publication date is late Fall 1986. Volume 14, tentatively announced under the title "Brecht and the World Beyond Europe," will include papers from the IBS International Symposium to be held in Hong Kong in December 1986. Others who intend to submit papers should note that the deadline is February 1, 1987. Contact the Editor: John Fuegi, Comparative Literature Program, University of Maryland, College Park, MD 20742 (USA).

SYMPOSIUM: Brecht -- Still a Resistable Force in the American Theater?

The Department of German together with the Department of Theater at Bowling Green State University is sponsoring a week of activities to commemorate the 30th anniversary of Bertolt Brecht's death under the title "Still a Resistable Force in the American Theater?" The exhibition "Bertolt Brecht Then and Now" will be on display from April 7-13, including posters, books, photographs, slides, records, and other items portraying Brecht's career as a playwright and theater director both in Europe and his exile in the US. Heinz-Uwe Haus' German and American productions of *The Resistable Rise of Arturo Ui* will be presented on alternate nights. A symposium on April 12, will include presentations by John Brustein (American Repertory Theater), Roger Gross (University of Arkansas), Robert Hansen (Bowling Green State University), Heinz-Uwe Haus (GDR), Marna King (University of Wisconsin, Madison), Guy Stern (Wayne State University), Klaus M. Schmidt (Bowling Green State University), Carl Weber (Stanford University). Finally, the GDR television production of *Furcht und Elend des 3. Reiches* (Ursula Bonhoff, 1981) will be premiered on April 12. For more information, contact the Symposium Organizing Committee, Department of German, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, OH 43403 (tel.: 419/ 372 7139).

CONFERENCE: Brecht 30 Years After

On the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the death of Bertolt Brecht, the University of Toronto is sponsoring a conference on Brecht and the contemporary theater to be held in Toronto from October 22-25, 1986. Among the forty scholars and theater practitioners who will be presenting papers are John Willett, Klaus Völker and Bernard Dort. In addition, there will be a concurrent theater festival from October 21-26 with 8 performances by the Berliner Ensemble of *Die Dreigroschenoper* in German at the Royal Alexandra Theatre. Eighteen other theater groups from Canada and the United States are also tentatively scheduled to present plays. For information, contact: Colin Visser / Pia Kleber, University College Drama Programme, University of Toronto, Toronto, ONT M5S 1A1, Canada.

SPECIAL ISSUE: Commemorating 30th Anniversary of Brecht's Death

Joel Schechter, editor of *Theater* (Yale University) announces that Volume 17, Number 2 (Spring 1986) is a special Brecht issue commemorating the 30th anniversary of his death. It includes Howard

Brenton's adaption of *Conversations in Exile* (published for the first time in English) with an introduction by Brenton; Heiner Müller's *Slaughter* and an essay "To Use Brecht Without Criticizing Him Is Betrayal" with an introduction by Marc Silberman; an interview with Ekkehard Schall on the occasion of his tour in the USA conducted by Joel Schechter and Gitta Honegger; an interview with Bill Irwin and Robert Woodruff on their *Man Is Man* production at the La Jolla Playhouse, conducted by Jan Breslauer; a lecture by Nicaraguan director Alan Bolt accompanied by Adam Versenyi's article "Brecht, Latin America and Beyond;" Joel Schechter on "Brecht after Brecht;" a review of Theatre for the New City's New York production of Heiner Müller's *Quartet*; and Roswitha Mueller's review of ten years' of Brecht criticism. The issue is available for \$6.00 from: Theater, Yale School of Drama, 222 York Street, New Haven, CT 06520.

AWARD WINNING Brecht Articles

For those who think Brecht studies in the USA is in the doldrums or who believe Brecht's work is no longer appreciated, there is good news. Two publications by John Rouse recently received special recognition:

"Bertolt Brecht's Interpretational Model and its Influence on West German Theatre Directing" won the American Theatre Association dissertation award for 1984;

"Brecht and the Contradictory Actor" (*Theatre Journal* 36 [1984]: 25-41) was awarded the American Society for Theatre Research "Younger Scholars Prize" for 1985.

SPECIAL ISSUE: Ekkehard Schall's Visit In the USA

Gestus (a Quarterly Journal of Brechtian Studies) devoted its second issue (Volume 1, Nr. 2, Summer 1985) to Ekkehard Schall's tour through the USA from February 25 to March 20, 1985. The issue includes, among other things, summaries of Schall's programs, a selection of critics' reviews, a short interview with Schall, and some excellent stage photos of the actor in action. Contact: The Brecht Society of America, 59 S. New Street, Dover, DE 19901

COMMEMORATING TWENTY YEARS of El Teatro Campesino

El Teatro Campesino, the first Chicano theater group in the United States, has recently published a commemorative magazine called *The First Twenty Years*. It includes an overview of the Teatro's work from 1965-1985, documentary articles and photos, bio-bibliographies of the key personalities involved in the theater's productions and a note about the Teatro archives at the University of California, Santa Barbara. As founder and director Luis Valdez wrote in 1966, "El Teatro Campesino is somewhere between Brecht and Cantinflas." In an earlier issue of *Communications* (12/2), he explained in detail what role Brecht played in the development of a Teatro aesthetic. To order the commemorative issue, send \$10.00 plus \$2.00 postage/handling to: El Teatro Campesino, P.O. Box 1240, San Juan Bautista, CA 95045, or call 408/ 623 2444.

BUENOS AIRES: New Brecht Theater

Galpón del Sur, a new theater opened recently in Buenos Aires under the direction of Manuel Iedvabni, will be producing plays which adapt Brecht's aesthetics and dramaturgy to new material. A collective consisting of Iedvabni, Rolando Acciarito, Daniel Samoilovich and Anibal Guiser recently staged *Pedro Bohorquez: Chronicle of the Andalusian Inka*.

MIAMI UNIVERSITY: Walfriede Schmitt in Residence

Gisela Bahr announces that stage and screen actress Walfriede Schmitt from the German Democratic Republic will be the William P. Huffman Artist-in-Residence at Miami University in Oxford, Ohio from mid-March to mid-April, 1986. Ms. Schmitt has been engaged in numerous roles in many theaters in the GDR, most recently at the Volksbühne. During her stay at Miami University she will play the title role in the Theatre Department's production of Brecht's *The Good Woman of Setzuan* from April 9-13.

ANN ARBOR: Brecht Company Projects

Martin W. Walsh from the Brecht Company (Ann Arbor, Michigan) reports that his theater collective will be staging Caryl Churchill's *Vinegar Tom* in early May and Brecht's *Caucasian Chalk Circle* in June/July 1986. In addition, the Company is carrying forth its *Lehrstück* Workshop project of Fall 1985 with a second workshop in September 1986. Walsh and composer/music director Peter Ferran will be reporting at length on the workshop experiments in *Communications* 16/1.

AFRICA: series of Brecht lectures

Professor Reinhold Grimm (University of Wisconsin, Madison) reports that he presented a series of lectures in Africa in January/February 1986, including two lectures in German in Senegal and Togo and four lectures in English in Nigeria.

SOUTH AFRICA: Is Brecht helping?

Arnold Blumer writes from the University of Stellenbosch: One of the organizations presently fighting for equality and freedom in South Africa is the "Federation of Cape Civic Associations." It issues an information bulletin called *Civic News*. Its main aim is to bridge the communication gap artificially upheld by the authorities to "govern" the people more easily. Volume 3, nr. 3 (June-August 1985) of this bulletin carries the following title on page 3, "In Another State of Emergency" and continues: "In 1934 (sic) Adolf Hitler assumed the title of Führer (Leader) and Germany went into a state of emergency which lasted until 1945 when Nazism was blasted out of existence. Bertolt Brecht, the great German writer, captured that state of emergency in a play called *Fear and Misery of the Third Reich*. We reproduce below snatches of his poems depicting facets of that state of emergency." Then five of the short poems prefacing each scene of the above mentioned play are quoted ("The Storm Troopers," "Judicial Process," "Army Charity," "The Sermon on the Mount," and "A Case of Betrayal"). At the end a note mentions that the info comes from *Apdusa Views* in Durban. This only goes to show that Brecht is not only known to the Federation of Cape Civic Associations, but also 1700 kilometers northeast in Durban. In short: Bertolt Brecht is alive and well, living and fighting in South Africa.

BITBURG: Brecht Censored

A group called "Kämpfende Jugend" in Munich was planning as a commemoration of the 30th anniversary of the Bundeswehr a reading by Hanne Hiob of Brecht's "Legende vom toten Soldaten" at the SS Cemetery Kolmeshöhe on November 10, 1985. The city of Bitburg (made famous by the visit

of US President Ronald Reagan) denied permission to the cultural event. Further readings were planned on November 9 in Verdun and on November 13 in Bergen-Belsen. Author Ingeborg Drewitz directed the following protest note to the City Council: "The disqualification of the Brecht poem by the Bitburg City Council not only contradicts the constitutionally guaranteed freedom of artistic expression but also misunderstands the poem's message of peace. The presentation of "Die Legende vom toten Soldaten" would be appropriate to transform the horror of two world wars into the will for peace. It would be regrettable if this presentation were prohibited." For more information, contact: Kämpfende Jugend, Tulbeckstr. 4, D-8000 München 2, Federal Republic of Germany.

BERLIN/GDR: Brecht-Tage 1986 at the Brecht-Zentrum

John Willett reports that the 1986 Brecht-Tage were held in the East Berlin Brecht-Zentrum from 10-13 February and devoted to discussing the planned new 'Berliner und Frankfurter Ausgabe' which has superseded the nebulous historical-critical edition that has been floating in the air for as many years as the new edition is to have volumes. Mornings were devoted to sessions of the East and West German editors -- Mittenzwei, Hecht, Knopf and K.-D. Müller -- and their teams of collaborators; afternoons to actual samples from the proposed treatment of *Baal*, *Galileo*, the *Hannibal* fragment, the *Hauspostille*, the Augsburg newspaper contributions, and the *Messingkauf*. Here the visitors, of whom perhaps a third came from outside the GDR, were able to make comments and suggestions.

It was very clear that, while a very demanding timetable had been set -- five fat volumes to appear next year and all 30 by the end of 1990 -- and uniform editing methods laid down, the actual contents of those volumes had not been completely thrashed out. For the first time, however, Aufbau and Suhrkamp will produce a uniform edition, typeset in the Federal Republic and printed and bound in the GDR. (There has as yet been no mention of paperback, nor of likely prices.) Its composition will follow a different principle from either of its predecessors -- the olive-green or red cloth edition started in 1953 and the Suhrkamp *Gesammelte Werke* of 1967 -- in that it is to abandon the notion of 'definitive' texts. Instead it will accept that many of Brecht's most interesting and important works remain still in motion, as it were: a set of successive versions or stages. In other words, while not going as extravagantly far as the old 'historisch-kritisch' scheme, it will incorporate features of the Suhrkamp Materialien series.

This means, for instance, that in the case of *Baal* the 1919 and 1926 versions will appear on a par with that passed by Brecht for the Aufbau *Erste Stücke* of 1955, and of course readers, scholars and theater directors alike will benefit from the publication of so many more or less inaccessible texts. It is not, however, clear whether performance as well as publication rights will be available for the additional material, and it appears to have been accepted that the texts in question will already need to have been published in some form. In other words, "Rezeption" rather than intrinsic merit will determine their choice, and it seems doubtful if wholly unpublished versions -- like, say, the 1922 Deutsches Theater version of *Trommeln in der Nacht* are going to qualify.

This principle of accepting Brecht's own publication policy as decisive -- which was responsible for some of the anomalies of the old editions -- has once again led the editors to keep the poems in the collections published by Brecht in his lifetime, irrespective of chronology. The visitors did however manage to make strong representations that the *Schriften* should no longer be divided by subject (as if Brecht kept his political ideas, his literary and artistic criticism, and his theatrical theories in separate compartments) but be regrouped in historical sequence. My own effort to have Brecht's

ingoistic newspaper exhortations of 1914 excluded as dreadful juvenilia was rejected on the technical grounds that they were published and underwent "Rezeption." Other guests, however, were able to suggest that the obligatory notes on such "Rezeption" should not merely be limited to the verdicts of contemporary critics but should also consider length of run (of a play) and numbers of copies sold (of a book), which is at least more realistic.

I am not sure if the editors had expected quite such lively arguments from the floor. But I hope and believe that they will be just as prepared as were the visitors to question both their detailed assertions and their basic assumptions. The attitude on all sides seemed to be constructive; after all, our interest is a common one, and if Brecht is regarded as a dead classic in some parts of Germany, he is very much alive in Poland and Hungary, Japan, the English-speaking countries and the Third World. Nobody has a monopoly of this man, and there is no telling where he is going to be relevant next.

INSPIRED by Brecht!

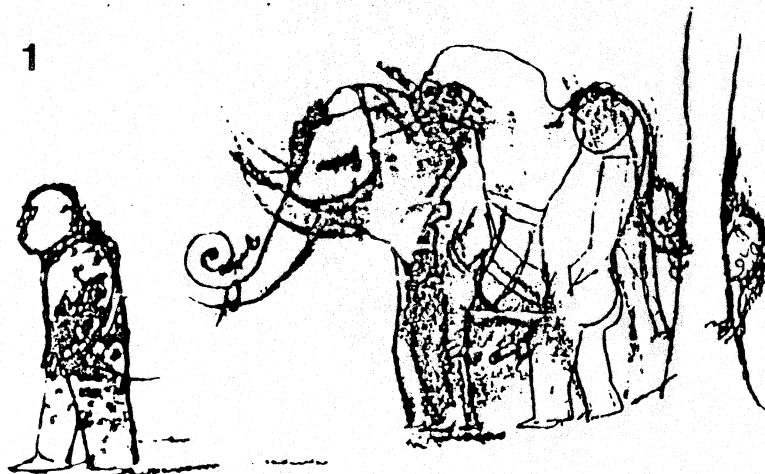
Die Korbmacher, "eine Parabel nach C. M. Wielands 'Geschichte des weisen Danischmend' zur Welt gebracht mit Hilfe Bert Brechts," is a new, as yet unpublished play by Andreas R. Mielke, in which -- the subtitle indicates -- Brecht plays a major role, although not as a character. The play in ten scenes, set perhaps in Kashmir several centuries ago, can be obtained from the author: 318 Tree Road, Centereach, NY 11720.

INFORMATION REQUESTED !

In preparing the Caspar Neher Exhibition which is now travelling through England, the organizers -- John Willett and Roger Malbert -- were unable to locate several drawings and projections. If any *Communications* readers should recognize the photocopied images below and have information as to where the originals might be found, please contact the organizers immediately (c/o Arts Council of Great Britain, 105 Piccadilly, London W1V 0AU, England).

- 1) Galy Gay leading the fake elephant on a leash (*Mann ist Mann?* 1931)
- 2) 3 larger-than-life soldiers talking with Galy Gay, seen from the side
- 3) - 5) 3 drawings reproduced in *Versuche* 7 from Scenes 5, 6, and 13 of *The Mother*
- 6) sketch of a scene from *Happy End*
- 7) - 14) 8 sketches for projections in *Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahagonny* (reproduced in *Versuche* 2)
- 15) sketch of a projection for *Mann ist Mann*

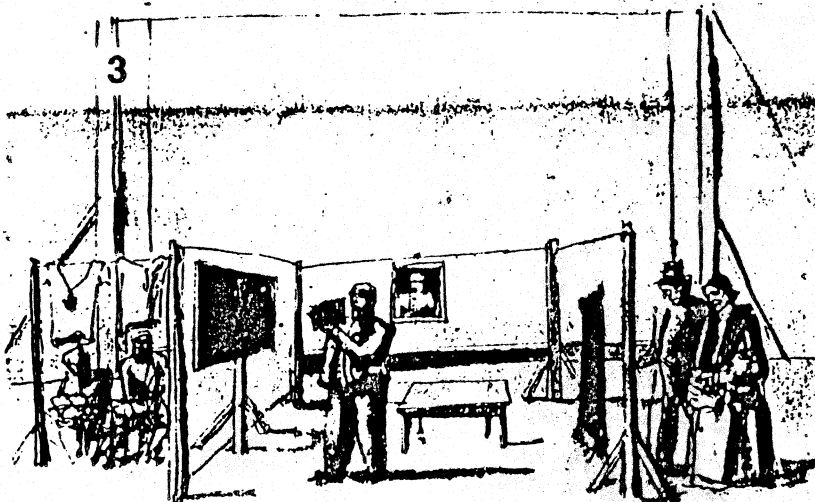
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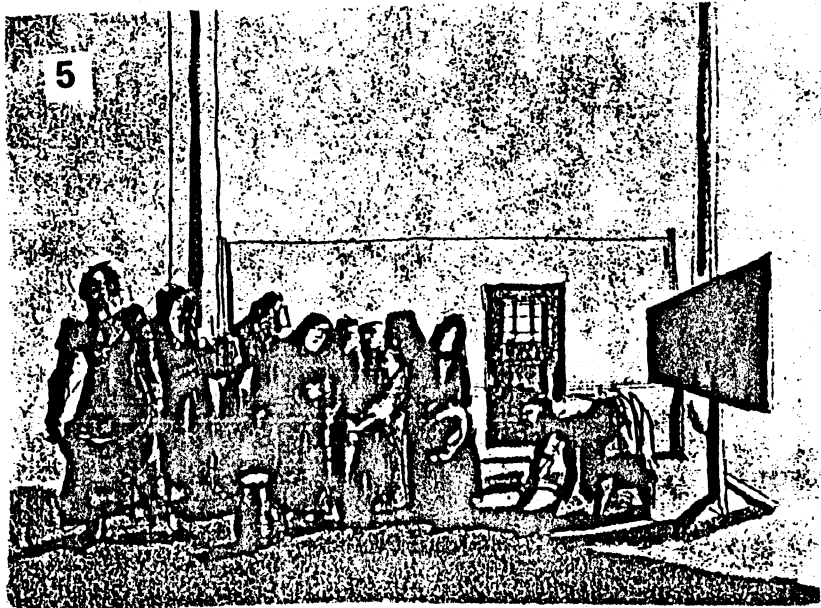
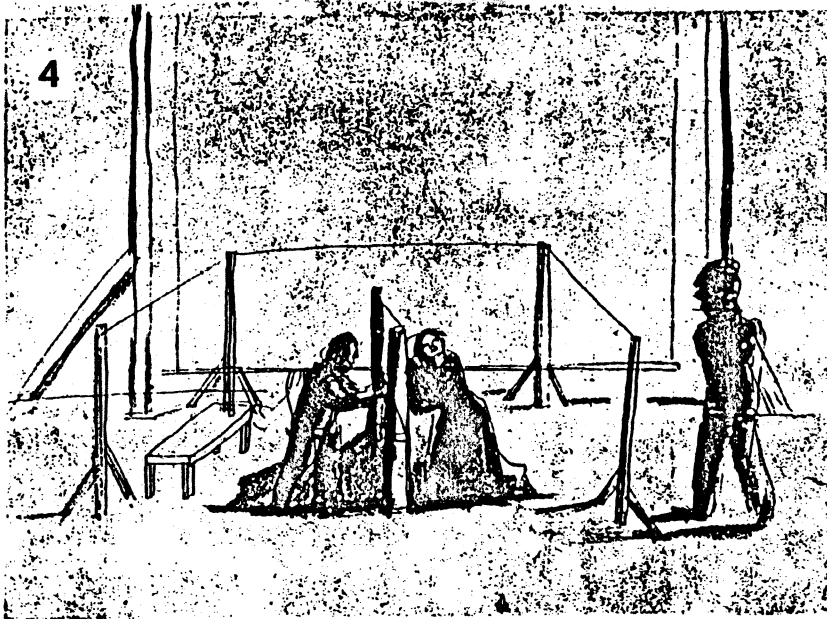


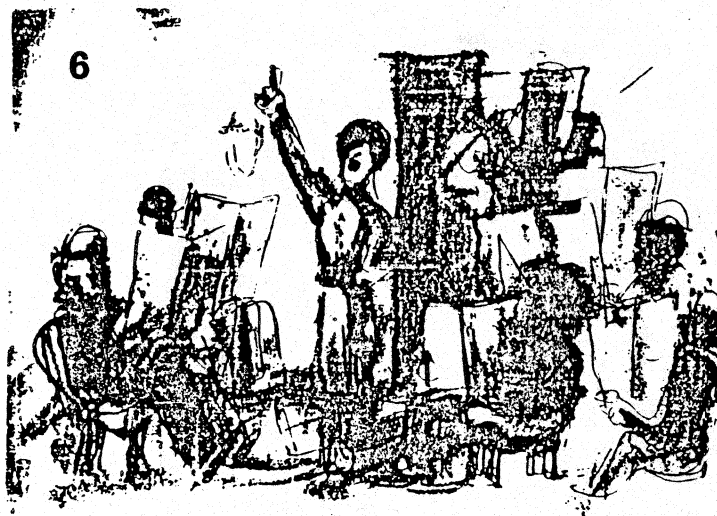
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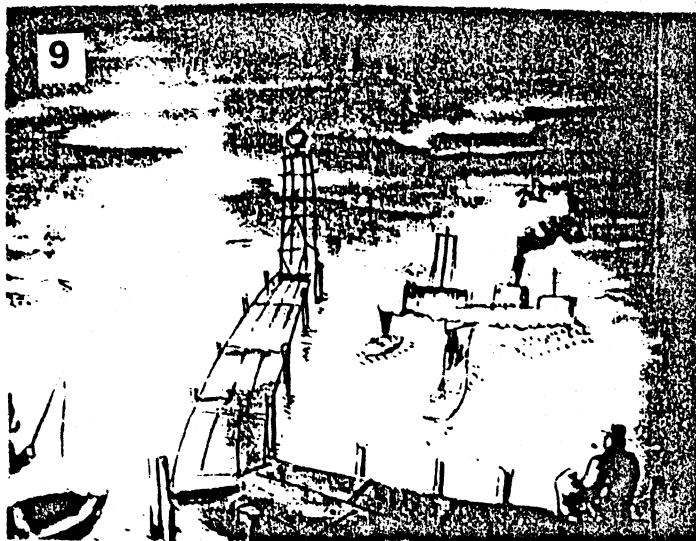


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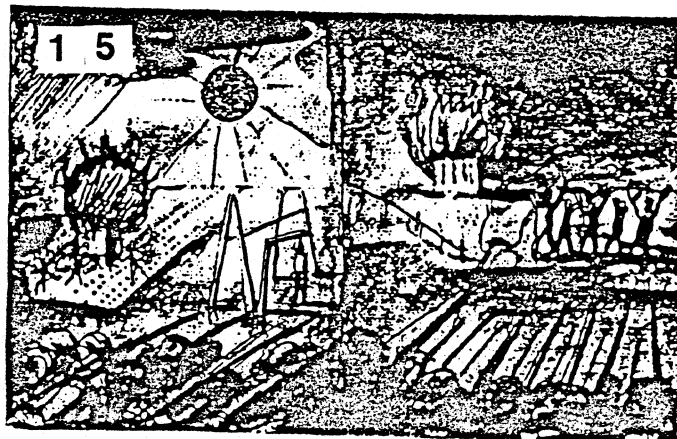
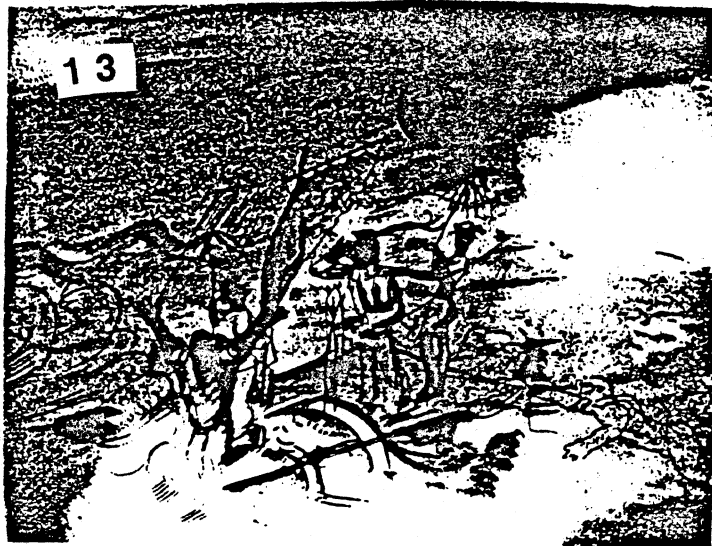
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DEB. VIETNAM





mla reports

BRECHT IN LATIN AMERICA

December 28, 1985

Introduction: Marina Planca (St. Lawrence University)

This session, organized jointly by the IBS and ATINT, was undertaken with the idea of a) informing about the role of Brecht in Latin American Theater, and b) exposing the disparate views and interpretations which his presence, and this Theater, arouses. With this purpose in mind, the following panelists were invited: Fernando de Toro, a semiologist who has written a book on the subject (*Brecht en el teatro hispanoamericano contemporanea*, Ottawa: Girol Books, 1984); Bernardo Baycroft, who had just returned from participating in a six month national seminar in Colombia dealing with the theme of the session; and Maria Lima, who used reception theory to analyze the impact of *A Opera do Malandro* in Brazil. Heidrun Adler was to speak on a key Latin American figure but was unable to attend. We are, nevertheless, including the abstract of her paper as a reference.

Brecht's impact in Latin America can only be understood if we note the historical coincidence of his death (1956) with the birth of the Cuban Revolution (1959). After his death, and after his appearance in the Theater of Nations in Paris, Brecht's writings began to appear in the Latin American press. Latin America needed tools to respond to a new historical challenge and Brecht offered a possible answer to that challenge. Nevertheless, he is, and was, constantly modified in the face of historical developments. As new insight into the needs of new audiences never before reached by theater emerged, so did the need for a national autonomous theater. The New Theater (Nuevo Teatro) movement which resulted is deeply rooted in Latin America because it was born as a response to a very specific Latin American history, molded according to it. We can thus say that Brecht has been nationalized in every country, fused into "Nuevo Teatro."

Abstracts

Fernando de Toro (Carleton University): "The Epic Latin American Theater: Structures of Convergence"

The present study attempts to verify the following hypothesis: what generally has been known in Spanish America as "social theater" may be systematized in order to distinguish a considerable number of plays that show significant convergences in relation to what we have called the Brecht system. These convergences, as we will attempt to show here, are not an accident but a conscious and willful decision on the part of those playwrights who have found in Brecht the principles of a theatricality in tune with the socio-political circumstances of Latin America. The knowledge of the Brecht system and of the aesthetic basis of such a system are fundamental if one is to understand its incorporation into Latin American theater production. To study the relations between the formal aspects of Brechtian theory and its ideological basis is what makes the system so appealing and appropriate for many Latin American playwrights. They attempt to offer a "practical" and "useful" knowledge to the audience so that they in turn integrate that knowledge in the society itself. Theater

viewed from this perspective is no longer only entertainment but becomes instructive and militant. And it is here where the relations between Brecht and Latin America begin to emerge very clearly. To demonstrate this relation in a systematic manner, I have employed a rigorous descriptive method (actantial model) which will validate the initial hypothesis.

Bernardo Baycroft (Stanford University): "The 'Gran Teatro' in the New Theater of Colombia"

My paper demonstrates how aesthetic constitution and cultural autonomy are achieved in the specific case of the theater in Colombia. I discuss how Brechtian technique is "Latinized" or assimilated in the Latin American context to produce an independent dramaturgy. Thus, for my work the transition from a reproductive mode of production (the staging or "copying" of Brecht's plays) to a productive one (the creation of original works) is a key moment and the primary indicator of the "arrival" or coming-of-age of the independent national theater. In other words, the period of Brechtian influence is synonymous with the birth of the modern national stage, a most significant point in cultural history. To follow this transition, I trace the development of theatrical image and text, focusing on the *gestus*, Brecht's term which combines the notions of "gist" and "gesture" and refers to an organized density of images which convey a particular attitude. This dynamic stage image is the principle text in my analysis, in accordance with the plural notion of text (polytextuality, in which there are individual texts for voices, sounds, lights, props, scenery, etc.) and the deprivileging of the written text or script, dominant in traditional criticism. In this order of ideas, my work deals with tracing the process of the aesthetic constitution of the *gestus* as it progresses from historico-referential, single dimensionality (referential directness) to applications of aesthetic distance and ambiguity (referential indirectness). The *gestus*, then, develops from imitation to autonomy as the national theater is born. More specifically, I discuss the aesthetic and ideological development of the New Theater, showing how a European element, the Brechtian epic, combines with a Colombian one, the aesthetic-operative methodology of collective creation, to produce a new form, which can be called the Latin American epic or *gran teatro latinoamericano*. To summarize, I attempt to demonstrate how the national theater becomes constituted by following the development of the *gestus*, culminating in a new image structured by such Brechtian techniques as aesthetic distance and ambiguity, historicization, narrative interruption, and indirect reference. This is an attempt to show the "how" or the anatomy of an aesthetic constitution.

Marla Lima (University of Maryland): "New Teeth for an Old Shark: The Brazilian Version of *The Threepenny Opera*"

This paper shows the extent to which the aesthetics of reception has presented a challenge to Marxist literary theory. The analysis of the structural differences in *The Opera of the Marginal* (Francisco Buarque de Hollanda, 1978) against the circumstances of the play's reception, leads us to believe that we should think of revolutionary drama less in terms of the script alone than in terms of when, where and for whom it is presented. In the two years the play has successfully travelled Brazil, *A Opera do Malandro* has not hurt the bourgeoisie it attacks. By changing Peachum's "establishment for beggars" to an employment agency for prostitutes called "The Brazilian Employment Agency," Buarque de Hollanda creates a more immediate metaphor for capitalism, one that portrays the extent

to which everything is prostituted in the bourgeois system. If man is the supreme prostitute of the bourgeoisie, Buarque de Hollanda makes of Duran's (Peachum's) vast brothel a microcosm for the whole country. The figure of President Getúlio Vargas (1930-1945 dictatorship) stands behind the character of Duran, and his policy of pacification of the workers through the institution of several "progressive" measures is satirized. In the Brazilian version the workers are not held back by Duran's partial solutions, and they do start to descend like an avalanche. The scene is stopped at that moment, and the producer demands that the author offer the customary happy end, since the uprising was not in the approved script. João Alegre (Buarque's marginal and the play's author) refuses to change anything and abandons the stage with the comment that "it is the end of a promising career..." After a brief intermission, we see Alegre back on stage behind the wheels of a new convertible, ready to build a happy ending with pure opera: excerpts from classical operas are given Brazilian lyrics that satirize the false appearance of progress made possible by complete foreign domination of the Brazilian economy. The paper argues that the play is not a very strong statement and, considering the reception of the play, no one has really paid much attention to the words that were being sung. Moreover, the author has entered a dialogue with a very limited intellectual elite who seems to have been the only group to understand the play. Although for Brecht the stage ought to permit a mixed class audience to understand how history is being created by and against people like themselves, the Brazilian example seems to show that the only possible audience for dramatists who really believe in theater as an instrument for social change and as a rehearsal for the revolution is the long exploited people themselves who can then be taught and prepared to lead the way out of capitalism and imposed underdevelopment.

Heldrun Adler (Hamburg University): "Enrique Buenaventura -- Wanting to Change the World"

The theories and techniques of Brecht's theater have had profound influence on Latin American theater -- in a negative as well as in a positive way. Columbia's Enrique Buenaventura is one of the few authors whose intense preoccupation with Brecht has resulted in excellent Latin American theater. Taking his play *El Monumento* (1959) as an example, we shall see how the author assimilates Brecht's rules for didactic theater. Using a simple parable, it proposes the following thesis: written history holds a key to the understanding of social tensions in Latin America. In strict accordance to the rules of the *Lehrstück* he repeats his hypothesis and proves it in six variations with analogies and contradictions. His directing techniques too are a development of Brechtian theater usage: improvisational groundwork, gesture and mask as principal vehicles of expression, etc. *El Monumento* is a small masterpiece that seeks to visualize Columbia's social gestus with Brechtian means in order to change it by way of an extended educational process. The moral -- indispensable in a *Lehrstück* -- is surprising and as contradictory as its Latin American setting: Don't trust anyone in power, but still, you can change the world.

Summary of Discussion (Marina Planca):

The question and answer period began when a member of the audience objected to what he considered a "mechanical and schematic" tone in de Toro's talk, making reference to the charts, models and graphics the speaker circulated before his talk. Dr. de Toro responded by admitting a

certain dose of schematization but he rebutted that a systematization can only be established based on a theoretical model and that if a systematization is to be achieved, schematization is needed. He added that there is no theoretical systematization in Latin America, neither among authors nor critics. There was disagreement on this point among the panelists. Another point of disagreement among the speakers had to do with the presence of Latin American Theater in Europe. Dr. de Toro argued that it is virtually insignificant, while others (Pianca, Baycroft) mentioned the role of the Theater of Exile and key figures like Enrique Buenaventura, Boal, etc. Further questions were directed at Maria Lima requesting specific information about the audience's reaction to the *Opera do Malandro*. She commented on the success of the play in spite of its direct attack on the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie is ready to accept cultural products that mock it without undermining its structure. In many cases, and Lima makes it clear in this one, the bourgeoisie is quite ready to applaud these efforts. Bernardo Baycroft was asked to elucidate on Buenaventura's work, on his approach to epic theater. Baycroft summarized some of the techniques Buenaventura and others in Colombia and in other parts of Latin America use, emphasizing those that create distance and rupture in the narrative structure. He also spoke of the use of techniques which derive from the study of Kinesis and Proxemia, allowing the incorporation of visually defined counterpoints on stage.

BRECHT AND POETRY

December 29, 1985

Abstracts

Dagmar C.G. Lorenz (Ohio State University): "Liebe In Brechts Gedichten -- welche Liebe?" (Love In Brecht's Poems -- Which Love?)

The homosexual component in Brecht's works has been unduly neglected by critics, although homosexuality plays an important role in Brecht's early dramas *Baal* and *Trommeln in der Nacht*. It is only on the foil of homosexuality that the heterosexual relations in Brecht's texts before 1945, particularly those of the twenties, can be interpreted. The image of women in poems of this time reflects -- often in contrast to the women Brecht actually knew -- the masochistically suffering love object. Women appear pathetic if they are merely the instrument of men's lust, despicable if they seek their own pleasures. Particularly the sensual woman is viewed alternately as a threat or an enemy. Sexual relations between the male speakers and a woman are frequently portrayed as a struggle rather than as sensual or tender. There is no heterosexual "love" contained in Brecht's poems. If the women figures are tolerated, it is because they are, as sisters or mother figures, non-threatening to the man who cannot avoid sleeping with them lest his masculinity be questioned. This constellation is brought about by the underlying homosexual desires which often are merely implied and rarely made explicit. Brecht's most intimate love poem is "Ballade von der Freundschaft," in which the partners -- two men -- are shown both as friends and, however shyly, as lovers. Within the dominant discourse, however, their love is an impossible one -- so much so that even critics rarely recognize the true nature of this poem, let alone the homosexual act articulated in it. The love of the two men, however, not only contains the promise of eternal loyalty from one man to another but as

well the lover's complaint and self-sacrificing death. In Brecht's works, the words "I love you" are spoken by men to men.

Theweleit as well as Irigaray point at the homosexual nature of Western society. Men are socially more attractive because of the activities open to them; they enjoy a much more glamorous image than women. Homosexuality may thus well be the collective fate of Western men. Brecht's poetry reflects this fate: the glorification of the male as lover, comrade and friend, as well as the brutalization of women. His sexual poetry depicts the battering of women, their being wiped out of the memory of men, their being used by groups of men as sex animals. In contrast the "love of men" is praised as "that of the heaven." Brecht's speakers stylize the male lovers in the way homosexuals are traditionally thought of: the tough and the queen. The speakers, who in spite of their role vis-à-vis other men are nevertheless brutal and unfeeling toward women, tend to be the latter, the more "feminine" one, who suffers abuse from his male beloved. Often the true love object, the man, is not available. Therefore hatred and beatings are showered upon the available, but undesired woman. Brecht's poems depict a clearly homosexual parameter and show the suffering brought about by the socially ordained repression of one of the sexual possibilities open to human beings. Brecht's poems written after his acceptance of Marxism, and particularly the postwar texts, no longer contain openly sexual themes -- be they hetero- or homosexual. It appears that his new socio-political stance was so much at odds with the sexual conflicts present in his early works that complete repression of sensuality seemed the only way toward a reconciliation.

Michael Gilbert (Valparaiso University): "The Musical Dimensions of Brecht's Work as a Poet"

Music was an essential component of Brecht's creative work and personality since the beginning of his career, and, consequently, represents a central factor in his overall artistic-aesthetic development rather than one which was peripheral to his literary accomplishments. This presentation focuses on several specific issues involving the musical dimensions of Brecht's poetry, which, at the same time, serve to clarify the nature of Brecht's work as a poet in relationship to his artistic activity as a whole and the work of other major twentieth century poets: 1) his talents in the area of musical-poetic improvisation and serious interest in oral musical-poetic traditions from an early age (as documented by contemporaries and Brecht himself); and 2) Brecht's recurrent emphasis on the musical setting and realization of his poetic texts as an enhancement of their socio-political utility (Gebrauchswert), and his related concern about the 'composability' of his poetry (ie. its suitability for subsequent musical composition). Both of these dimensions in Brecht's work as a poet underscore the significance of orality and performance as fundamental constitutive elements of Brecht's poetic aesthetic (a matter which has not received sufficient attention in the past). In addition, Brecht's relationship to poetry (improvised or otherwise) vis-à-vis the issue of performance can be viewed in terms of a transformation of the poetic text as a literary entity into an aesthetic object possessing the immediacy of drama -- whereby the musical setting functions, as it were, as a bridge between the poetic and dramatic, Brecht's Neben- and Hauptarbeit. In all, the paper offers concrete evidence of the need to view Brecht's work and critical thought from an interdisciplinary perspective (rather than a traditional "literocentric" one), and emphasizes the extent to which Brecht is unique among twentieth century poets in the depth and character of his relationship to music.

Reinhold Grimm (University of Wisconsin, Madison): "Bertolt Brecht and Carl Sandburg: Kindred Poets"

Sandburg (1879-1967) seems to have been and remained totally unaware of Brecht while the latter got to know at least some of the former's poems, if only rather belatedly. Nevertheless, there obtains a certain kinship between the two poets, extending from their political stance -- Brecht's socialism and Sandburg's populism -- right down to the specific, almost unique, mode of musical performance they shared. This similarity manifests itself both thematically and in terms of form and composition; most strikingly, it comes to the fore in what has been labeled their "mid-poem shifts," i.e. sudden dramatic turning points which are structural as well as emotional and even ideological (as witness, for instance, Sandburg's famous "Chicago" and Brecht's "Verschollener Ruhm der Riesenstadt New York").

Lane Jennings (World Future Society): "Carriers of Knowledge: Brecht, Graves, and Ginsberg as Model Poets for the Twenty-First Century"

One can enlarge Brecht's audience in the US through small volume publication of Brecht's poetry in translation that would -- as in the case of Ginsberg -- make his work more accessible to the common public. Because the future of poetry lies in video tapes and computers, these media would be very apt to win a future audience for authors such as Ginsberg, Brecht and Graves. These authors, who were rebels and very popular within their society, now run the danger of becoming classics and thus remote. (Abstract by Lioba Multer)

Summary of Discussion (Lioba Multer, Ohio State University):

The discussion was brief owing to restricted time. Prof. Lorenz's paper triggered several baffled responses. It was asked whether other classical male authors should now be questioned on their possible homosexuality. Furthermore it was claimed that Brecht, like any other author, has to be considered polymorphous perverse rather than bisexual -- a tendency which in the eyes of the questioner obviously excluded homosexuality. Another voice from the audience maintained that works of art would be taboo to such approaches as Prof. Lorenz's since they represent nothing but the love of creating. Prof. Grimm was asked whether a connection between Brecht and Langston Hughes could be considered since the latter was widely read within the marxist circles of the thirties. This certainly was an interesting contribution to which a definite answer could not be given at that point. The other two papers were received with equally contributing responses.

SEVENTH INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM OF THE IBS

Antony Tatlow
President, International Brecht Society

Our Seventh International Symposium will be held in Hong Kong from December 8-13, 1986. It will benefit from various levels of assistance, sponsorship, and cooperation from the Hong Kong Arts Centre, the University of Hong Kong, the Urban Council, and the Hong Kong Academy for the Performing Arts. Some governments have indicated their readiness to enable the attendance of their own nationals. The Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft has also confirmed that it is prepared to support participation from the Federal Republic, and the Goethe Institute has agreed to enable attendance by some theater practitioners.

The initial call for papers went out in February 1985, with a deadline set at the end of November 1985. A circular letter was sent on December 9, 1985, to all those who had offered over 50 abstracts of papers and to others who wished to attend. Confirmation of these offers are coming in steadily, with indications of accommodation preferences. I hope that those who have not yet confirmed their participation, because they are still seeking funding, will do so as soon as possible. A second circular will be sent out at the end of June with more detailed information about the academic program and about performances. **Note:** There is still time to include those who have not yet responded to the call for papers/participation, but they should write to me straightaway.

Participants: At the moment we have firm offers of participation from prominent stage directors, performers with full theater performances and/or workshop performances and discussions, leading academics in the fields of theater, comparative literature, German and East Asian Studies, and publishers and journalists. They will be coming from the following countries: Australia, Austria, Canada, China, Denmark, France, Germany, Holland, India, Japan, Korea, Philippines, Poland, South Africa, Thailand, United Kingdom, United States. We also hope to have a Latin American workshop, but this has yet to be confirmed.

Topics: There seems to be a satisfactory distribution of papers over a range of topics. Nearly every paper responds to the implications of the title for the Symposium, "Brecht and the Paradigm Change." Though this title has naturally been interpreted in different ways, most of these papers seek to re-examine some of the fundamental assumptions about Brecht's work and in some cases the premises from which it started. They present new ideas about theatrical performance, or engage with new forms of critical discourse, or discuss areas of study -- theories of the subject, psychoanalytic theory -- which for long seemed uncongenial to the Brechtian perspectives. Many of these proposals offer stimulating suggestions that link up with other areas of discussion: the confrontation/compatibility, for example, between an East Asian and a "Western" aesthetic in relation to theatrical practice and to varying psycho-social concepts of the self. Other areas of interest include Brecht and the media, group interaction aesthetics, alternative theater, Brecht and Nietzsche, feminist perspectives, Brecht in the Third World. There are also several interesting proposals which re-examine topics in Brecht criticism -- Brecht's mythical America; or re-thinking questions in comparative dramatics -- Brecht, Strindberg and the Dream. We plan a workshop discussion on "Producing Brecht Today."

Performance: We are hopeful there will be a significant performance component and are planning for a small Brecht Festival in conjunction with the academic Symposium. We have definitely secured the participation of the 57 member production of the *Caucasian Chalk Circle* by the China Youth Art Theater of Beijing. I have seen this production and, in my opinion, it is a major event. A full production by the Hong Kong Repertory Theater -- probably *Man is Man* -- is also secured. There is a possibility that we will also have performance from Tokyo. Korea Senda wishes to bring *The Good Person of Sezuana* and a didactic play, performed by the Haiyuza Theater, Brecht no Kai and TES. The question of Hong Kong costs has been settled. We are still waiting to hear whether the Japan Foundation, which has shown interest, will meet the cost of air travel for this 27 member group. The latest news from the National Theatre of London is still that their participation is a "firm possibility, not yet a categorical yes." Unity Theatre of Calcutta, directed by Sekhar Chatterjee, is ready to participate with a Hindi production of *Puntilla*. This is not commercially viable, and we are still seeking funds to underwrite the costs. In addition, it now seems likely that we will have a Danish singer -- Birgitte Bruun -- performing Brecht songs. There may be other small performance groups from China.

Travel and Accommodation: This information concerns those who may be interested but have not yet written to me. With a creative travel agent it is possible to find fares well below the normal economy rates. One method is to book two single fares, as the single fares from Hong Kong to elsewhere are often much cheaper than half the price of a return fare. If you need information, write to me. Apart from hotels which are not particularly cheap, we can suggest three types of accommodation:

1. International House, which contains excellent, hotel-type self-contained rooms (toilet and shower), a very reasonable restaurant, and is right next door to the Hong Kong Arts Centre. The double-room price is the same, whether single or double occupancy, and we hope for around a 20% reduction on the rate of HK\$ 360/night (HK\$7.80 = US\$1.00). We recommend this, and most people wish to stay there. The reduction will depend upon the size of the block-booking. That is why I need confirmation of attendance as soon as possible.

2. Hong Kong University Robert Black College at approximately HK\$140 for bed and breakfast. This accommodation is attractive, and journey time to the Arts Centre is about 30 minutes by public transport. Taxi is quicker and is relatively cheap.

3. YMCA at the tip of the Kowloon peninsula. This also costs around HK\$140. Travel time is also about 30 minutes. To secure accommodation at the YMCA, you must send me a HK\$ 50 deposit immediately, as it is usually heavily booked.

We also recommend you arrive two days before we begin, therefore on December 6, to get over jet-lag. The weather in early December is usually sunny and dry with temperatures between 26-18 centigrade. All questions and inquiries should be directed to: Antony Tatlow, Department of English Studies, Pokfulam Road, University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong.

CONTRIBUTORS

Bernardo Baycroft teaches in the Department of Spanish and Portuguese at Stanford University.

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Michael Gilbert teaches German at Valparaíso University and is preparing a book-length manuscript on Brecht and music for publication.

Heinz-Uwe Haus is a theater director from Berlin/GDR and has staged guest productions in Greece and the USA.

Horst Jesse is founder and organizer of the Bert-Brecht Förderkreis in Augsburg (FRG) and directs the Brecht-Haus there.

Jan Knopf teaches at the University of Marburg (FRG) and is one of the editors of the new Brecht edition.

Jan Olsson, originally from Sweden, teaches German at the Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika in Toruń, Poland.

Dietmar Pieper is a graduate student in German Literature at the Freie Universität Berlin, presently studying at the University of Texas-Austin on an exchange program.

John Rouse teaches in the Theater Department at Tulane University in New Orleans, LA (USA) and is preparing a book-length manuscript on Brecht's influence in postwar West German theater.

Jackie Vansant recently completed her doctoral studies at the University of Texas-Austin and works on women writers in Austria.

Adam Versényi studies and teaches dramaturgy and dramatic criticism at Yale University and was recently dramaturge for Pablo Neruda's *Joaquín Marieta* at La Mama in New York.

Juliette Victor-Rood (Boulder, Colorado) publishes on film, Austrian and Hungarian literature and is also a published translator.

John Willett is an internationally recognized Brecht scholar residing in London, England, whose most recent study is *Brecht in Context* (1984).

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