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## **Communications from the International Brecht Society. Vol. 20, No. 1-2 October 1991**

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1991

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# COMMUNICATIONS

from the International

*Brecht* Society

VOL. 20 No. 1, 2



INTERNATIONAL BRECHT SOCIETY  
*COMMUNICATIONS*

Volume 20 Number 1, 2

October 1991

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All correspondence should be addressed to the Editor or the Associate Editor. *Communications* welcomes unsolicited manuscripts ca. 10-20 double spaced typed pages in length conforming to the *MLA Style Manual*. Submissions on 3-1/2" (or 5-1/4") formatted diskettes are strongly encouraged provided they are using wp5.1 or any program compatible to wordperfect.

See the inside back cover for information on subscriptions and membership; membership in the IBS includes subscriptions to both *Communications* and *The Brecht Yearbook*.

The Editor wishes to thank Lehigh University for its technical and financial support in the production of *IBS-Communications*.

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Front and Back Cover: Two scenes from *The Resistible Rise of Arturo Ui*, as presented in April and May 1991 at the CSC Repertory Theatre in New York, in a new translation by Ralph Manheim. Starring John Turturro (back).



### EDITOR'S NOTE

Many of you have probably been awaiting this issue of *Communications* for a long time now; 'spät kommt Ihr, doch Ihr kommt...' The transition process of passing the editorship from Michael Gilbert to me has delayed the production a bit; and unfortunately we had to skip an issue for that reason. So this issue should be considered as "volume 20 number 1, 2." It grew thicker than the usual format of *Communications* calls for; and the fact that I needed to add another 20 pages to the mockup sheet for *Communications* explains the unusual pagination style of starting with roman and then shifting over to arabic numerals. In spite of the added length, I still could not include all the materials sent to me. If I had to omit a few items or postpone them for the next volume, this is no comment on their quality, just on the current need to accomodate almost a year's worth of documents.

Starting with this volume, *Communications* should appear regularly again on a biannual basis. I shifted the schedule slightly from the way Michael Gilbert had set it up: *Communications* will now appear in May and November, with the respective deadlines for submission being March 15 and September 15.

I am very happy that Mark Fearnow is joining me as associate editor of *Communications*. A former colleague of mine at Lehigh's theatre department, he has now accepted an appointment at Penn State University. His areas of expertise center on twentieth century American theatre. He will provide insights into Brecht from the point of view of a theatre person, whereas I, though I studied theatre extensively, see myself more as a 'Germanist' and a 'Komparatist.'

Finally, I want to express my gratitude to Marc Silberman and to Michael Gilbert for assisting me in the transitional process. Both of them always took time to answer questions and give advice, whenever I needed their feedback. Many thanks also to Veena Setty, my student-in-aide, for typing articles and helping with the layout, and to Lehigh University for allowing me access to their printing facilities.

Vera Stegmann

### IN BRIEF

Those far away from New York may not have been aware of the considerable critical interest in the George C. Wolfe production of *The Caucasian Chalk Circle* that opened at The Public Theatre just as the previous *Communications* was appearing in November/December. Wolfe is an African-American playwright and director--best known for his *Spunk*, a Broadway success based on the works of Zora Neale Hurston, and his own play *The Colored Museum*. The production used an adaptation of the play done by Thulani Davis, a *Village Voice* writer and playwright, based on a literal translation by William R. Spiegelberger, which sets the play in the civil-war-torn Haiti of Papa Doc Duvalier. Davis omitted the play's Prologue and employed a Creole-flavored dialect for the language of the play. The production made use of puppets, masks, and grotesque costume. The Wolfe-Davis production was especially significant as a relatively unusual and promising meeting between Brecht and African-American artists. Also notable is the fact that it will be the last Brecht production to be done at The Public under the aegis of Joseph Papp, who is retiring as Artistic Director and turning over creative control to Joanne Akalaitis.

Eric Bentley's *The Brecht Memoir* is available from Northwestern University Press in what Mr. Bentley refers to in a note to us as "an amplified re-issue as of May 1991." The slim but provocative memoir (issued in its original version in 1985) includes a new "Postscript" describing Bentley's own life and his personal feelings about the relationship with BB (Bentley had kept himself well in the background in the original memoir) and features a new Introduction by Martin Esslin. Esslin's Introduction praises Bentley as . . . one of the dwindling band of critic-scholar-artists whose work, in the tradition of the creative critics from Lessing, Coleridge, Hazlitt, to Shaw and Edmund Wilson, is readable for its own sake . . .

Followers of the recent controversy over "Postmodern" theoretical and critical approaches to BB (see our story about the criticisms of the call for papers for the Augsburg symposium) might be especially interested by what follows in the Introduction; Esslin projects Bentley's critical approach, and indeed his very personality, into the contemporary critical fray over theory in interpretations of BB when Esslin writes:

It is a saddening aspect of our times that this type of criticism now seems threatened with extinction, as the ever growing scholasticism, self-reflexiveness, and indulgence in obscurantist jargon (which merely serves to give the appearance of depth to platitudinous and shallow insights) tends to exclude all but a coterie of 'knowing' insiders. (Introduction, xi)

The book is available from Northwestern University Press, ISBN 0916-6 (cloth, \$19.95) or ISBN 0917-4 (paper, \$8.95). In Britain, the book is published by Carcanet Press.

## IV Communications

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The editors of *The Reader: Essays in Reader-Oriented Theory, Criticism, and Pedagogy*, a semiannual publication published at Michigan Technological University, wish to make their journal known to our readers. *The Reader* addresses "reading, readers, and reader-oriented approaches to texts including literature, visual images, and student writing." Address inquiries to Elizabeth Flynn, Editor, Department of Humanities, M.T.U., Houghton, MI 49931.

Holly Ford-Pelton, a doctoral student at Vanderbilt University, wishes to hear from people who are working in a similar area of research. Her topic is the English reception of Brechtian theatre and the Berliner Ensemble between 1949 and 1970 in comparison to the reception in West Germany during the same period. Ms. Pelton's address is: Department of Germanic and Slavic Languages, Box 1567 Station B, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, TN, 37235, USA. Ms. Pelton was on a Fulbright in Berlin last year.

R. G. Davis became interested in Hoffman R. Hays while doing research on Kurt Weill in the USA. He would like to get in touch with Hays' widow or learn more about the family or their papers. Anybody who has any leads, please contact R. G. Davis, 611 Rhode Island, San Francisco, CA 94107; tel. (415) 647-2982.

### CALL FOR PAPERS:

Douglas J. McMillan seeks essay proposals for *A Bertolt Brecht Reference Companion* (a Greenwood Press Original Reference Book). All Brechtian essay proposals of various lengths will receive serious consideration. However, for general guidance, suggested areas for essay topics may include the following: biographical, contextual, sources, influences, reception; analytical on poetry, drama, prose, films; thematic, research, technique; topical on Marxism, women, influence on world theatre, etc. Those interested please submit an approximately 500-word proposal and a short vita before January 15, 1992. Send proposals and inquiries to Professor D.J. McMillan, Dept. of English, East Carolina University, Greenville, NC 27858-4353; or call (919) 757-6667 (office).

## Pressemitteilung

Das "International Classical Theatre" (ICT), New York, ein internationales Ensemble in den USA, das 1988 aus der von Heinz-Uwe Haus geleiteten Werkstatt für antikes griechisches Drama hervorgegangen ist, wählte unlängst den Berliner Regisseur erneut zum Künstlerischen Leiter für die nächsten 5 Jahre.

Anlässlich des dreijährigen Bestehens des ICT fand am 10. und 11. August eine "Intensiv-Werkstatt" für Schauspieler in New York statt, die gemeinsam von Heinz-Uwe Haus, dem japanischen Choreographen Andrew T. Tsubaki und dem amerikanischen Schauspielpädagogen James J. Christy geleitet wird.

Zu den künftigen Plänen gehören Gastspiele mit der erfolgreichen "Antigone"-Inszenierung (in der Titelrolle Robyn Hatcher), u.a. im Sommer 1992 in Japan, der Türkei und in den USA. über eine Tournée durch Deutschland wird zur Zeit verhandelt. Als nächstes Projekt ist der Abschluß der Atridentrilogie vorgesehen.

28. 06. 91

## Notizen aus dem Brecht-Zentrum

Das Kulturprogramm im November 1991:

### NOVEMBER

**Frei 1.11.- Internationale Woche gestisches**

**Sa 9.11. Theater - Berlin 91**

Die internationale Woche findet in diesem Jahr zum achten Mal statt. Veranstalter sind das MimeCentrumBerlin, das Hebbel-Theater und das BrechtZentrumBerlin.

**Mo 4.11.- Die Ausnahme und die Regel**

**So 10.11.** Eine Werkstatt mit Karla Sachse (Raum-  
installation), Anja Kleye (Körperarbeit) und  
**jeweils** Peter Andert (Musik) für junge Leute ab 13.  
**von 16.00-** Ausgangspunkt ist Brechts Text  
**19.00 Uhr** „Die Ausnahme und die Regel“.

**Mo 4.11. Ein Körpertraining für Theaterarbeit**

**19.00 Uhr** Tai Shi Chuan mit Kerstin Rahn (Wien) und  
Inge Gellert.

**Mo 4.11. Der Montag-Film**

**21.00 Uhr** Rainer Werner Fassbinder  
„Satansbraten“, 1976

**Do 7.11. Restbestände**

**Sa 9.11.** Ein Konzert mit Stefan Korb (voc, git, viol),  
**20.30 Uhr** Tina Tandler (sax, acc, perc, perc.) und Lexa  
Thomas (bg, rec)

**Mo 11.11. Ein Körpertraining für Theaterarbeit**

**19.00 Uhr** Tai Shi Chuan mit Kerstin Rahn (Wien) und  
Inge Gellert.

**Mo 11.11. Der Montag-Film**

**21.00 Uhr** Rainer Werner Fassbinder  
„Eine Reise ins Licht - Despair“, 1978

**Di 12.11. Vaterland - Muttersprache**

**20.00 Uhr** Eine Lesung in Vorbereitung der Tagung des  
„Vereins zur Förderung der Literatur von  
Frauen und der Frauenforschung e.V.“ vom  
5.-8.12.1991 im Literarischen Colloquium Berlin.

**Mi 13.11. Lyrik im Gespräch**

**10.00 Uhr** Ein Gespräch mit jungen Leuten über die Lyrik  
Brechts

**Frei 15.11. Internationale Literatur im Gespräch**

**20.00 Uhr** Eine musikalische Lesung aus Vaclav Havels  
„Briefen an Olga“ mit den Schauspielern  
Ulrike Hauke-Hänsel und Jürgen F. Schmid. Udo  
Wildemann und Ralf Zimmermann mischen sich  
ein mit Titeln aus ihrem Wyssozky-Programm.

**Sa 16.11. Eine Spielwerkstatt**

**So 17.11.** Angelika Plett und Michael Spitzer, Berlin,  
arbeiten ein Wochenende mit Leuten, die  
Vergnügen am spielerischen Ausprobieren  
verschiedener Ausdrucksformen haben.  
(Teilnahme nur mit Anmeldung)

**Mo 18.11. Ein Körpertraining für Theaterarbeit**

**19.00 Uhr** Tai Shi Chuan mit Kerstin Rahn (Wien) und  
Inge Gellert.

**Mo 18.11. Der Montag-Film**

**21.00 Uhr** Rainer Werner Fassbinder  
„Die dritte Generation“, 1979

**Di 19.11. Vaterland - Muttersprache**

**20.00 Uhr** Eine Lesung in Vorbereitung der Tagung des  
„Vereins zur Förderung der Literatur von  
Frauen und der Frauenforschung e.V.“ vom  
5.-8.12.1991 im Literarischen Colloquium Berlin

**Mi 20.11. Dramatik im Gespräch**

**10.00 Uhr** Ein Gespräch mit jungen Leuten über  
ausgewählte Stücke von Brecht

**Do 21.11. Ich bin Tag und Nacht**

**20.00 Uhr** Erika Wilde und Bernd Kummer mit einem  
Klabund-Programm zum 101. Geburtstag des  
Dichters

**Frei 22.11. Exhort Sany-sur-mer**

**20.00 Uhr** Eine szenische Montage von und mit Gerd  
Koch (Berlin) und Eberhard Voß (Mannover),  
gelesen von Studentinnen der Fachhochschule  
für Sozialarbeit und Sozialpädagogik

**Mo 25.11. Ein Körpertraining für Theaterarbeit**

**19.00 Uhr** Tai Shi Chuan mit Kerstin Rahn (Wien) und  
Inge Gellert

**Di 26.11. Vaterland - Muttersprache**

**20.00 Uhr** Eine Lesung in Vorbereitung der Tagung des  
„Vereins zur Förderung der Literatur von  
Frauen und der Frauenforschung e.V.“ vom  
5.-8.12.1991 im Literarischen Colloquium Berlin

**Mi 27.11. Prosa im Gespräch**

**10.00 Uhr** Ein Gespräch mit jungen Leuten über Brechts  
Kalendergeschichten

**Do 28.11. Alles wandelt sich - Eine CD-Premiere**

**Frei 29.11.** Ein Brecht-Abend mit Gina Pietsch (voc),  
**jeweils** Hannes Zerbe (keyb, electronics) und  
**20.30 Uhr** Jürgen Kupke (cl, sax)

Der Eintritt zu den Veranstaltungen ist frei.  
Informationen und Voranmeldung  
unter der Telefonnummer 2823417

Im BrechtZentrum Berlin arbeiten  
Gabriele Müller Sekretariat, Dr. Sigmar Gerund  
Presse/Öffentlichkeitsarbeit, Marianne Conrad  
Finanzen/Öffentlichkeitsarbeit, Dr. Barbara Wallburg  
Stellvertreterin der Leiterin/Programm, und Dr. Inge Gellert  
Leiterin/Programm

Einige Neuerscheinungen:



In Kooperation mit dem BrechtZentrumBerlin

Hans Bunge

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# THE THEATRE OF THE WEIMAR REPUBLIC: GERMANY 1918-1933

Focus Weekend: Oct. 18-20, 1991

**F**rom the outcry of Expressionism through the scandals of cabaret to the harsh realism of the New Sobriety, the theatre of the Weimar Republic forged its immortality with brash experiments and brilliant artists: Max Reinhardt, Erwin Piscator, Marlene Dietrich, Greta Garbo, Peter Lorre, Kurt Weill, and an *enfant terrible* named Bertolt Brecht. This era of turmoil – political and artistic – is the focus of this fall's Classics in Context Festival.

## P E R F O R M A N C E S

### **Love and Revolution** The Berliner Ensemble in a Brecht cabaret

Featuring 35 of Bertolt Brecht's songs, ballads and poems set to music, this vibrant cabaret exemplifies the ethic of the internationally acclaimed Berliner Ensemble: knowledge of human nature, stimulus to social action, and entertainment. Performers Carmen-Maja Antoni and Hans-Peter Reinecke are accompanied by composer/pianist Karl-Heinz Nehring in this boisterous musical revue.

### **Tales from the Vienna Woods** by Ödön von Horváth; translated by Christopher Hampton

This tale of love and disenchantment takes a winding road to tragedy through the taverns, nightclubs and castle ruins of a fabled Vienna de-romanticized. Winner of the Kleist Prize in 1931, Germany's top honor for new drama, this Weimar Republic classic paints a haunting portrait of a callous bourgeoisie facing economic and spiritual bankruptcy.

## L E C T U R E S

### **Experiment and Mass Appeal: Theatre of the Weimar Republic** by Dr. Heinz-Uwe Haus

This lecture describes major theatrical achievements in Germany's "Golden Twenties." By examining landmark performances, character interpretation, and innovative staging, Dr. Heinz-Uwe Haus will illuminate the revolutionary nature of Weimar theatre.

*Dr. Heinz-Uwe Haus is an internationally renowned German director, whose productions have appeared at the Deutsches Theater Berlin and the National Theater Weimar, among others. He has been a guest professor and director at numerous American universities, including the University of Delaware, where he is currently artist-in-residence for the Professional Training Program.*

### **Weimar and Germany: The Twenties and Today** by John Willett

What was the distinctive nature of Weimar culture? How was that era formed by democracy and radical politics, technology, media and urbanization? Preeminent critic and translator John Willett will examine the spirit of those times as it relates to reunified Germany and our own post-cold war age.

*John Willett is the editor and chief translator of **Brecht: Poems 1913-1956**, and was the first president of the International Brecht Society. His lengthy series of critically acclaimed books on artists of the Weimar Republic include: **Art & Politics in the Weimar Period: The New Sobriety 1917-1933** and **The Weimar Years: A Culture Cut Short**.*



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The San Francisco performance is presented  
in conjunction with the MLA 1991.

GROSSE BERLINER UND FRANKFURTER AUSGABE DER WERKE BERTOLT BRECHTS

Die Ausgabe ist auf insgesamt 30 Bände geplant. Im Februar 1991 liegen mit Erscheinen des Bandes 7 (*Stücke*) nunmehr elf Bände vor:

Geplante Termine für die Fortführung der Ausgabe:

<u>Band:</u>	<u>Geplante Termine:</u>
Band 21 ( <i>Schriften</i> )	Herbst 1991
Band 24 ( <i>Schriften</i> )	Herbst 1991
Band 22 ( <i>Schriften</i> )	Herbst 1991
Band 23 ( <i>Schriften</i> )	Herbst 1991
Band 25 ( <i>Schriften</i> )	Herbst 1991
Band 8 ( <i>Stücke</i> )	Frühjahr 1992
Band 9 ( <i>Stücke</i> )	Frühjahr 1992
Band 26 ( <i>Frühe Tagebücher</i> )	Frühjahr 1992
Bände 13-15 ( <i>Gedichte</i> )	Frühjahr 1992
Band 18 ( <i>Prosa</i> )	Herbst 1992
Band 27 ( <i>Journale</i> )	Herbst 1992
Band 10 ( <i>Stückfragmente</i> )	Frühjahr 1993
Bände 19-20 ( <i>Prosa</i> )	Herbst 1993
Band 28-29 ( <i>Briefe</i> )	Frühjahr 1994
Band 30 ( <i>Editionsberichte, Register</i> )	Herbst 1994

*Distributed for the International Brecht Society*

### Revolution 1989: Whither Brecht?

The Brecht Yearbook 16

Edited by

Marc Silberman et al.

July

182 pp. 4 halftones, 2 line drawings 6 x 9

ISSN 0734-8665

ISBN 0-9623206-2-5

paper \$17.95

### Essays on Brecht

The Brecht Yearbook 15

Edited by

Marc Silberman et al.

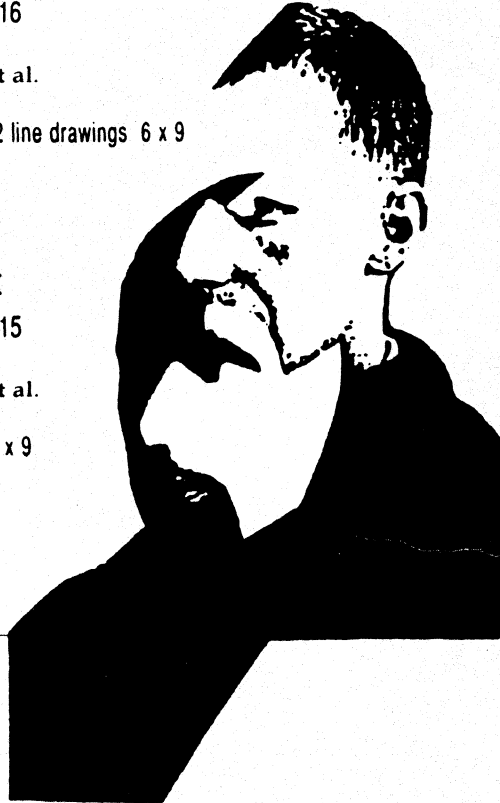
1990

254 pp. 4 halftones 6 x 9

ISSN 07034-8665

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*The Brecht Yearbook / Das Brecht-Jahrbuch 16/1991*

## **Revolution 1989: Whither Brecht? / Brecht wohin?**

edited by Marc Silberman, Antony Tatlow, Renate Voris, Carl Weber

### **ARTICLES**

- Peter Horn*, "Doch die am ärgsten brennen/Haben keinen, der drum weint." Die Verleugnung der Emotion in den frühen Gedichten Brechts  
*Craig Kinzer*, Brecht, the "Fable" and the Teaching of Directing  
*Vladimir Koliazin*, Brechtian Theater in the Soviet Union. Attempt at an Overview  
*Vera Stegmann*, Strawinsky, Brecht und Weill: Stationen des epischen Musiktheaters

### **INTERVIEWS**

- Valters Nollendorfs*, "...this would be his show." Brecht in Latvia between *Perestroika* and Independence. An Interview with Mara Kimele and Viktors Hausmanis  
*Vladimir Koliazin and Boris Zingerman*, The Taganka Theater and the Brechtian Tradition. Iurii Liubimov in Dialog

### **DOCUMENTS**

- Guillermo Deisler*, Donde con Brecht?  
*Heinz-Uwe Haus*, Brecht: Umwälzungen finden in Sackgassen statt. Gedanken zur Frage "Brecht wohin?"  
*Holger Teschke*, Im Dickicht der Städte das Gespenst aus der Zukunft  
*Manfred Wekwerth*, Zum Grundverständnis des Berliner Ensembles in unserer Zeit  
*Andrzej Wirth*, Ausnahme und Regel am Deutschen Theater oder Der preußische Adler füttert seinesgleichen (Gedicht)

plus: book reviews, photos, drawings

*The Brecht Yearbook / Das Brecht-Jahrbuch 17/1992*

## **The Other Brecht/Der andere Brecht**

Volume 17 of the *The Brecht Yearbook* will contain the selected proceedings of the 8th Symposium of the International Brecht Society (December 1991 in Augsburg, Germany). All formal papers as well as short interventions will be considered by the Editorial Board for publication. The volume is planned for distribution in early Fall 1992, so it is imperative that contributions be submitted to the Managing Editor as soon as possible after the Symposium, at the latest by January 15, 1992. Manuscripts prepared with computer should be submitted in hard copy as well as on diskette, identifying which word processing program was used. Otherwise clear, typed copies on white paper are required so that articles can be computer scanned. *The Brecht Yearbook* regularly publishes in English, German, French, and Spanish.

The Editorial Board, consisting of Marc Silberman, Antony Tatlow, Renate Voris, and Carl Weber is pleased to welcome the co-organizer of the 8th Symposium, Hans-Thies Lehmann, to join us in preparing Volume 17. The *Yearbook* is published annually by the International Brecht Society and distributed by the University of Wisconsin Press. If you have any questions, please contact the Managing Editor. In addition, Editorial Board members will be at the Symposium in Augsburg where any inquiries concerning the *Yearbook* generally and Volume 17 specifically can be discussed.

Managing editor: Marc Silberman  
Department of German  
University Wisconsin  
Madison, WI 53706 USA

## VICE-PRESIDENT'S REPORT

*John Rouse, Vice-President*

The IBS was elected an Associate Member of the FORUM of the ATHE (Association for Theatre in Higher Education) in 1990, but this year was the first in which we organized programming at ATHE's annual August convention. ATHE by-laws allow us to sponsor two program sessions and hold a business meeting; in addition, we put together a panel on "Feminist/Marxist Strategies and the German Theatre" that Women & Theatre, a regular FORUM Focus Group (roughly comparable to an MLA Division), kindly agreed to sponsor. More information on these sessions is included elsewhere in this issue of *Communications*.

All three sessions were lively and well-attended; we're off to a good start with ATHE. But we need to keep up our momentum. Although 75 ATHE members have requested more information on the IBS, only three have actually become dues-paying members. I don't expect all of the remaining 72 to join, but these numbers indicate how little we can afford to neglect the "theatre people's MLA." Unfortunately, we did not come up with any clear plans for increasing membership at our very sparsely attended business meeting, nor did the meeting result in panel topics for 1992. So I need to hear right away from any of you who might be interested in organizing a panel, or giving a paper, for ATHE in Atlanta in August 1992. Also, please pass the word to your graduate students.

I have the same request concerning MLA sessions. We have two good sessions for this December, but nothing in the pipeline. Since MLA deadlines for 1992 will come up in February, it would be nice to organize at least one panel before our business meeting in San Francisco.

## IBS FINANCIAL REPORT (Through August 31, 1991)

*Ward B. Lewis, Secretary/Treasurer*

The financial health of the IBS remains robust notwithstanding a drop in individual American/Canadian membership from a high of 100 for volume fourteen to 83 for volume fifteen and 56 for volume sixteen. Foreign membership has dwindled correspondingly from 15 to 12 to 7.

June 30, 1990

Balance \$ 4,423.69

Deutsche Bank Düsseldorf  
Konto-Nr. 7674146  
DM 1.079,76

August 31, 1991

Receipts \$ 8293.93  
Disbursements \$ 6867.39  
Balance \$ 5850.23

DM 2.058,70

Fachdienst Germanistik  
Nr. 9 (Sept. '91) S. 9

Das Haus in Skovsbostrand auf der Insel Fünen, in dem **Bertolt Brecht** von 1933 bis 1939 lebte und arbeitete, soll Museum werden. So planten es die Stadtväter von Svendborg, als sie 1988 den ziemlich verfallenen Bau ankauften und mit dem Brecht-Zentrum der DDR Zukunftspläne schmiedeten. Dann jedoch kam die „Wende“ und entzog allen Abmachungen die Grundlage. Zusagen aus DDR-Zeiten konnten nicht eingehalten werden, und derzeit gebe es keinen geeigneten Ansprechpartner in Deutschland. Das Haus sei jetzt völlig renoviert, stehe aber leer und bleibe verschlossen, berichtet Thomas Borchert („Tagesspiegel“, 24.7. / „Frankfurter Rundschau“, 3.8.). Was aus Brechts erster Exilstation in Zukunft werden wird, sei vollkommen unklar. „Allgemeine Unsicherheiten nach der Wende“ seien, zusammen mit unerwarteten Problemen bei der Herstellung der Manuskripte, auch der Grund für Verzögerungen bei der Fertigstellung der Bertolt-Brecht-Gesamtausgabe („Große kommentierte Berliner und Frankfurter Ausgabe“). Besonders die Bearbeitung der theoretischen Schriften Brechts erweise sich als schwieriger als ursprünglich angenommen. Der Abschluß der Edition war eigentlich für 1992 geplant. Als neuen Termin für die dann dreißig Bände nannte Paul Gerhard Wenzlaff (Aufbau-Verlag) jetzt frühestens Ende 1993, wahrscheinlich jedoch erst das Jahr 1994 („Leipziger Volkszeitung“, 23.7.).

Die von Dirk Grathoff und Eva Schreiber erarbeitete Ausstellung „**Peter Suhrkamp (1891-1959). Vom Bauernsohn aus Kirchhatten zum Frankfurter Verleger**“ (vgl. Fachdienst 6/91) ist bis zum 25. September 1991 in der Deutschen Bibliothek in Frankfurt am Main (Zeppelinallee 4-8) zu betrachten.

## COMMENTARY

## Vom Umgang mit der Vergangenheit

Die kurze Revolution ende im Mittelmaß, lamentieren Linke vom Bodensee bis zum Greifswalder Bodden. Ihr anfänglich perplexes Schweigen ist längst wendigem Verschweigen gewichen. Nach dem Abriß der Mauer, den sie nicht verhindern konnten, wollen sie jetzt wenigstens die alten Seilschaften erhalten. Mit mittlerweile bereinigten Kaderakten repetieren sie unablässig ihre "Erfahrungen und Visionen", die stets nur beweisen, daß ihnen die ganze Richtung nicht paßt. Gebetsmühlenartig behaupten sie, die Einigung der Nation habe uns das "gesellschaftliche Experiment" geraubt. Beharrlich versuchen sie, die Bundesrepublik ("BRD") als die andere DDR, als Unfreiheit mit anderen Mitteln erscheinen zu lassen. Wird ihnen ihre Vergangenheit vorgehalten, sehen sie sich einer "Haßkampagne" ausgesetzt. Ihre neualten Parteikader halten gar die "Schmerzgrenze" für erreicht, wenn ihrem Syndikat verbrecherische Finanzmanipulationen nachgewiesen werden. Wo immer sie auftreten, inszenieren sie eine neue Dolchstoßlegende. Blauäugig lavieren sie, als sei ihre Biographie eine "Sonntagsgeschichte" ohne Feigenblatt und Blöße.

Verquaste Rechtgläubigkeit wird zur Schützenhilfe. "Was war das für eine Chance nach 1945, und wie wurde sie immer wieder versaut", behauptet z.B. Heym, der anscheinend auch nicht wahrhaben kann, was war. Man müsse, nach dem historisch einmaligen Übergang vom Sozialismus zum Kapitalismus, nun ein paar Jahrzehnte warten, "bis wir wieder an die Sache rangehen" (Fachdienst Germanistik, 8/90, S. 2). Das hört sich an, als ob es in der sowjetischen Besatzungszone bzw. im SED-Staat nicht von Beginn an und kontinuierlich bar jeder Demokratie und jeden Rechts herging. Das unbeirrt eingeklagte utopische Moment "für unser Volk" hat sich doch nicht erst durch Glasnost und Perestroika desavoiert - seit Lenin ist es für alle beroffenen Völker vom Blut der unterdrückten Massen zur Unkenntlichkeit entstellt. Das war und ist in Flensburg so gut bekannt wie in Bautzen. Das wußten Brecht, Anna Seghers und Becher ebenso wie es Heym, Hermlin oder Müller wissen. Daß dennoch auch heute der Selbstbetrug weiter epidemisch unter deutschen Intellektuellen grassiert, mag, wie Kunert sagt, "der für überraschend halten, der sein Vaterland nicht kennt" (FAZ, 30. 6. 90). Prinzipienhörig und wirklichkeitsimmun seien die meisten deutschen Dichter und Denker seit jeher, warnt auch Kunze. (Die Welt, 2. 7. 90) Mit deprimierendem Kastengeist zimmern sie sich im Nachhinein aus der Ineffizienz und Rückständigkeit des Systems vermeintliche Nischen idyllischer Verheißung. In den weißesten Farben malen sie ihr vergangenes Reich der Inkompetenz und Niedertracht aus, als sei es nur zufällig und nicht folgerichtig zusammengebrochen.

Peter Wapnewski rückt nur Tatsachen ins Licht, wenn er zur Gruppe "schwieriger Günstlinge des SED-staates" Heym, Kant und Hermlin zählt, die zuweilen oppositionell gedacht, selten oppositionell geredet und niemals oppositionell gehandelt hätten. (Die Welt, 15.10.) Tatsächliche Vergangenheitsbewältigung beginnt dort, wo jeglicher Verklärung die Widersprüche entgegengehalten werden und sich damit eine Chance zur



Wahrheitsfindung eröffnet. Warum verdrängt die Diskussion in den Medien, den "cross-cultural"-Treffen und Akademietagungen das subversive Wirken der Texte von Kunze und Kunert, von Biermann, Fuchs und Neumann, von Gabriele Eckart und Monika Maron, von Kolbe und Schädlich? Es sind doch nur manche (wenn auch viele) so geworden, wie sie heute sind. Und nicht jedermanns/fraus Kindheitsmuster kann so einfach herhalten für die Verführbarkeit durch Ideologie. "Was bleibt" sind zuallererst "Diktaturschäden", zu denen auch die Fluchten nach vorn, die der Montage durch die Wirklichkeit entgehen wollen, zählen. Mancheines "Nachruf" entlarvt sich als eitle Lebenslüge.

Bei allem Respekt vor Heyms und anderer Integrität, es muß ihrer Melancholie ebenso widersprochen werden, wie dem dreisten Anspruch der staatsintellektuellen Nomenklatura. Beides reflektiert eine Insiderproblematik, die die tatsächlichen gesellschaftlichen Prozesse und Gewichtungen verzerrt und die Mehrheitsinteressen vor und nach dem Herbst 1989 ignoriert. "Lesarten" a la Heym tragen schnurgerade zur Legendenbildung bei, die nur jene ermutigt, die ihre gewohnten Paradigmen als "neues Denken" verkaufen wollen. Mit zunehmender Chuzpe haben sie es eilig, von sich abzulenken und ihre bigotte Zustimmung zum Stasi-Staat vergessen zu machen. Warum ist es nötig, die unterschiedlichen Vergangeheiten unter den Teppisch einer gemeinsamen Gegenwart zu kehren? Gab es außer den Täter-Opfern und Opfer-Tätern nicht auch Opfer und Täter? Vor allem "bei älteren Autoren", meint Jürgen Fuchs im Gespräch mit Adelbert Reif (Die Welt, 24. 9.), "standen das Auf-sich-bezogensein und das taktische Verhalten im Vordergrund, auch ein gewisser Zynismus und Sarkasmus." Jeder, der hier gelebt hat, weiß, wie wenig Zivilcourage und wie viel Karrieredenken das Dichten und Denken geprägt haben. Nur wenige schienen ihrem Talent moralisch gewachsen. Unumwunden fordert deshalb Heinz Czechowski (Frankfurter Rundschau, 22.9.): "Diestels unter den Schriftstellern", hießen sie nicht Görlich, Schulz oder Holtz-Baumert, gehörten ebenso "ins Nichts" wie manche Ex-DDR-Germanisten. Ist es solche Klarheit, die Heiner Müller "verbittert" (tageszeitung, 12.10), wenn er sich die Auswirkungen der deutschen Einheit für die Kultur vor Augen führt? Piratenschiffe sollten von der Besatzung befreit, ehe sie wieder flott gemacht werden.

Auch Peter Schneider wendet sich als einer der wenigen gegen ein "Vermauscheln der Widersprüche zwischen früher und jetzt vertretenen Standpunkten, das möglichst unauffällige Hinübereitschleichen in den Jetzt-Zustand". Umdenken und Eingestehen von Irrtümern fordert er von der deutschen Linken. Stattdessen diene deren Denken "vornehmlich der Selbstberuhigung." Auch stehe er der Frage nach den Vorzügen des realen Sozialismus ziemlich ratlos gegenüber. Erst heute sehe man auch, wie systemimmanent die DDR-Kritik dortiger Schriftsteller gewesen sei. Die Figur des mutigen Flüchtlings etwa habe in der DDR-Literatur nie existiert. "Wer dem Staat die Loyalität aufkündigte und ihn freiwillig verließ, galt als Verräter; wer sich, wie Reiner Kunze, in seiner Kritik nicht als Sozialist bekannte, konnte auf Solidarität nicht hoffen." (Die Zeit, 27.4) Zweifelloos schmerzt es, die Parteidisziplin als Kadavergehorsam und die Selbstentmündigung als Verkrüppelung vorgehalten zu bekommen. Doch anstatt die Debatte zu rügen, ist es an der Zeit, selber in den Spiegel zu gucken, sich und der Öffentlichkeit Rechenschaft abzulegen. Erinnerung und nicht Verdrängung ist gefragt!

Die Voraussetzung dazu ist wohl oder übel die Anerkennung des menschenzerstörenden Charakters des Sozialismus als Gesellschaftsform.

Das Mindeste, das von den früheren westlichen Beobachtern, die aus ihrer Sicherheit in der Demokratie heraus oft Opfer wie Täter gleichermaßen zum Durchhalten anspornten, heute zu erwarten wäre, ist, daß sie die moralische und materielle Rehabilitation der vom Regime Geschädigten anerkennen. Das "Verursacherprinzip" gilt auch für sie. Die vielberedete "Einheit ohne Einigkeit" hat mit diesen Unterlassungen zu tun, nicht mit fehlenden "Rücksichtnahmen" beim Beitritt nach S. 23. Auch Kommunisten, die niemals die SED-Herrschaft beseitigen, sondern in "verbesserter Form" erhalten wollten, haben heute wie die hundertausenden Opfer des Regimes Anspruch auf Rehabilitation. Doch es darf nicht übersehen werden, daß die meisten von ihnen auf den vielen Seiten ihrer Rechtfertigung nicht ein einziges Mal erwähnen, daß vor und neben ihnen unzählige andere, vor allem Nichtkommunisten, übles durch die Partei, der sie die Treue halten, erlitten haben. Ihre Publikationen sind trübsinnige Dokumente intellektueller Selbstbezogenheit und politischer Anmaßung. Warum macht keiner dieser Linden "von seinem sozialistischen Impuls dadurch Gebrauch, ... daß er nicht das eigene Leiden, sondern das der vielen Millionen einfacher Leute schildert", fragt mit Recht Wolfgang Schuller (FAZ, 7. 9. 90) angesichts der Veröffentlichung des Herrnstadt-Dokuments. Fakten und Schicksale kommen tagtäglich mehr ans Licht.

Würdelos und unanständig an der "häßlichen" Einheit ist nicht die Markterweiterung, die Grass für den Westen rügt (Frankfurter Rundschau, 4. 10), sondern der Machterhalt der Kader und Strukturen im Osten. Warum scheinen plötzlich so viele linke Freunde von Blindheit geschlagen? Warum diese vorauseilende Behutsamkeit im deutsch-deutschen Einigungsprozeß der Linken? Wohl weil in den 40 Jahren die einen mitgemacht und die anderen weggesehen haben? Auch das zweite deutsche Trauma ist die Summe aller einzelnen Traumata!

Macht und Pfründe des intellektuellen Hof(narren)staates in der DDR basierten auf treuer Parteigängerschaft und Staatssicherheitsinteresse. Die folgerichtige Entwicklung hat dazu geführt, "daß die heute arrivierten akademischen Lehrer und Wissenschaftler bis auf wenige Ausnahmen eine Negativauslese - gegenüber dem, was unser Volk bei natürlicher Leistungsauslese im Kultur- und Geistesleben hätte hervorbringen können - darstellen, vor allem in bezug auf die geistige Kultur und die charakterlichen Eigenschaften" (Kurt Reinschke auf dem Wartburgtreffen Ende Mai, FAZ 11. 9. 90). Von dieser "negativen Elite ... auf Kosten anderer", sieht keiner "Veranlassung zu Selbstbesinnung und Selbstkritik. Der Zusammenbruch und der Neubeginn berühren ihre Moral nicht. Die Revolution handeln die ab wie den nächsten Punkt auf der Tagesordnung ihrer Karriere", schreibt das Wochenblatt "Sonntag" (20/90). In den Verwaltungen und Verbänden, Universitäten und Museen, Theatern und Verlagen, wissenschaftlichen wie künstlerischen Akademien, Instituten und Bibliotheken entziehen sie sich der Vergangenheitsbewältigung, die die Voraussetzung für eine Gesundung des Kultur- und Geisteslebens in den neuen Bundesländern wäre. Zum moralischen Neubeginn gehört auch, daß die dem totalitären System Ergebensten so konsequent wie möglich aus dem öffentlichen Wirken und aus Spitzenpositionen der Wirtschaft, als

Geschäftsführer der eilig gebildeten GmbHn etc. entfernt werden. Die fortexistierenden SED-Stasi-Seilschaften behindern in den neuen Bundesländern einen personellen Neubeginn auf rechtsstaatlicher Grundlage. Die Enteignung des Vermögens der SED einschließlich ihrer Massenorganisationen und der Blockparteien ist noch immer die entscheidende Voraussetzung dazu. Sie bleibt die aktuelle Forderung aller Demokraten. Es geht nicht um die Vergeltung an Schuldiggewordene, sondern um die Schaffung von Bedingungen zur sittlichen Erneuerung. Die Gesellschaft muß sich vor einer Fortsetzung und Wiederholung der menschlichen Deformierungen feien.

*Heinz-Uwe Haus, University of Delaware, Newark*

### Was nicht bleiben soll

"Die großen Zeiten", so sang 1972, vier Jahre vor seiner Ausbürgerung, Wolf Biermann, "na, was wird bleiben von denen? von denen wird bleiben, daß sie erheblich gekürzt wurden." (1)

Die sozialistischen Dichter und Denker von SED-Gnaden haben alle mehr als weniger ihr Tun mit den Muehen der Ebenen und dem aufrechten Gang. Ihre "Pädagogik durch Schrecken" (2) befindet sich dementsprechend in einem "Prozeß der Verklärung" (3), der Reinigung der Kaderakten vor allem und der Trosts durch Selbst-Glorifizierung. "Sie irrten sich allesamt, wie wir - kaum fähig es zu glauben - im letzten Jahr erlebt haben, schreibt Hans Noll, der, bezogen auf Müller eine m.E. auf viele zutreffende Beobachtung formuliert: "Er beruft sich, um das Didaktische, Repressive seines Auftritts zu legalisieren, auf Brecht. Doch es ist viel älter. 'Es ist Hartnäckigkeit an verkehrter Stelle', wie Tacitus fand, "sie selbst nennen es Treue'." (4) Die erbärmliche Neigung zur Verharmlosung, das Leben aus zweiter Hand und der Rückzug auf das Bekenntnis ist nicht neu und gehört zum ABC des Literaturmißbrauchs. Das Desaster von gestern entsorgt sich fast spielend leicht, wenn es mir verbissen genug als stalinistische Verfehlung umschrieben wird. Alle öffentlichen Verlautbarungen der Mehrheit der ehemaligen angepaßten und Parteimitglieder in Universitäten, Museen, Schulen, Theatern und Verbänden sind unablässig darauf aus, das Verhalten vor dem Herbst 1989 zu verdunkeln und sich weiße Westen und weiße Mieder zuzulegen. Der Rückzug der ehemaligen Lobby in den altbundesrepublikanischen Medien wird mit wenig Fassung ertragen.

Die Diskussion dort und in den "cross-cultural"-Treffen und diversen Akademietagungen verdrängt das subversive Wirken der Texte von Kunze und Kunert, von Biermann, Fuchs und Neumann, von Gebriele Eckart und Monika Maron, von Kolbe und Schädlich? Kein Wort zur systematischen Terrorisierung von Künstlern und Wissenschaftlern, von Arbeitern und Bauern, die sich gegen Herrschaftsdenken und -praxis des DDR-Sozialismus wandten. Es sind doch nur manche (wenn auch viele) so geworden, wie sie heute sind: unbelehrbar und diskreditiert. Und nicht jedermanns/fraus

Kindheitsmuster kann so einfach erhalten für die fortgesetzte Verführbarkeit durch Ideologie. "Das zweifache Debakel totalitärer Auftrumpfversuche sitzt tiefer in den Knochen, als man sich eingesteht." (5) Von der Bürgerbewegung und der breiten demokratischen Öffentlichkeit wird der auftrumpfenden Melancholie ebenso widersprochen wie dem Anspruch der staatsintellektuellen Nomenklatura. Beides reflektiert bestenfalls eine wirklichkeitsfremde Insiderproblematik, die die tatsächlichen geschichtlichen und gesellschaftlichen Prozesse und Gewichtungen verzerrt und die Mehrheitsinteressen in der Gesellschaft vor und seit dem Herbst 1989 ignoriert. Unter dem Deckmantel von Bewahrung von Identität ermutigen sie jene Kader, die ihre gewohnten Paradigmen als "neues Denken" verkaufen wollen. Mit zunehmender Chuzpe haben sie es eilig, von sich abzulenken und ihre bigotte Zustimmung zum Stasi-Staat vergessen zu machen. Warum ist es nötig, die unterschiedlichen Vergangenheiten unter den Teppich einer gemeinsamen Gegenwart zu kehren? Gab es außer den Täter-Opfer und Opfer-Täter nicht auch Opfer und Täter? Es ist mehr als peinlich, wenn die Quislinge von gestern ihre Verstrickungen als alternative Denkkultur etikettieren. Fragen, die in allen Schichten der Gesellschaft gestellt werden, kommen mit Monaten Verspätung zunehmend auch unter Autoren aufs Tapet. (6) Kenner der Szene wie der einst verfemte Hans Mayer oder Walter Jens, rücken beharrlich die verfälschte Literaturgeschichte der letzten 40 Jahre ins rechte Licht. Vor allem wird die These, daß er nicht nur zwei Staaten für Deutschland, sondern auch zwei Literaturen gegeben habe, als politisches Märchen enthüllt. Desweiteren argumentieren beide werbend mit ihren eigenen Erfahrungen, wonach das Diktat des Marktes leichter zu unterlaufen sei als das Diktat der Macht. Vor allem den jüngeren und künftigen Autoren raten sie zu "mutiger Unbekümmertheit": "Die Literaturgeschichten, die in der DDR geschrieben wurden, wollen wir, auf ein fröhlichen Finale sinnend, getrost vergessen. (...) Die Literatur ist zwar derzeit in einem Tal. Aber: Jeden Tag kann ein Werk auftauchen, das die Rangfolge radikal verändert." (7) Das bleibt.

Hinweise:

- 1) Tonbandmitschnitt eines "Hauskonzerts" vom Herbst 1772, Klaus-Lenz-Band & Wolf Biermann (für CBS)
- 2) Vgl. Hans Noll, Beim Whisky steigt die Liebe aus dem Dreck, Die Welt, 29. 9. 90, S. 17
- 3) Herbert Schirmer, Kultur wohin, Tagesspiegel, 1. 6. 90
- 4) Hans Noll, a.a.O.
- 5) Ebenda
- 6) Vgl. Dorothea von Törne, Geschichtsentsorgung und Intellektuellenschelte, Neue Zeit, 4. 12. 90 S.12
- 7) Neue Zeit, 7. 12. 90, S.12

FR

30.11.90

S.36

## Vom Veränderer Brecht

### Call for Papers

8. Tagung der Internationalen Brecht-Gesellschaft  
Augsburg  
8-13. Dezember 1991

## DER ANDERE BRECHT

Jenseits (und in Kritik) dogmatisierender Forschungstraditionen sollen neue Lektüren Brecht in diskursanalytischer, semiologischer, psychoanalytischer, feministischer oder dekonstruktivistischer Perspektive reflektieren.

Das herrschende philologische Paradigma scheint erschöpft. Zugleich ist die neuere Theaterentwicklung weit am mumifizierten Brecht-Erbe vorbeigegangen. Allein *By-Texture* (Roland Barthes) kann verhindern, daß in Brechts Texten immer nur die gleiche Story verstanden wird: "Gesucht, das andere in der Wiederholung des Gleichen" (Heiner Müller): die andere Lust am Text Brechts, das Surreale, das Böse, der Tod, die Text-Brüche. Nicht zuletzt die Paradoxie und Verwerfungen in Brechts zweifelhaften Wahrheiten. Unverführt durch den Fetisch der Signatur, den Mythos von der Sinnlichkeit der Texte sollen partielle, auch tangential Lektüren diesen anderen Brecht zu lesen geben: neue Verknüpfungen und Konfrontationen mit anderen Diskursen, Geschichten, Ästhetiken, Materialien wären vorzuschlagen, Genre Grenzen und ausgegrenzte Verbindungen zu mäßigen.

#### Voraussichtliche Arbeitskreise

- 1) Textprobleme
- 2) performance-Theorie
- 3) Männlich/Weiblich
- 4) Brecht und Theoriediskurse

Abstracts (1-2 Seiten) bitte bis zum 15. März 1991 an

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## zum anderen Brecht

### *Offener Brief an die International Brecht Society*

Sehr geehrter Herr Prof. Dr. Lehmann, sehr geehrte Frau Prof. Dr. Voris, angewidert habe ich Ihr Einladungsschreiben zur 8. Tagung der Internationalen Brecht-Gesellschaft im Dezember 1991 gelesen, das leider auch an mich adressiert war. Angewidert schon vom marktschreierischen US-Stil, der herrührt vom dortigen Dauerwirbel der akademischen Marktkräfte: um unentwegtes Leben vorzutauschen, wo doch nur bedrucktes Papier raschelt und flattert. Überschrieben ist der Aufruf mit *Call for papers*, wie bei so vielen internationalen Papierkongressen mittlerweile. Und die Wissenschaftler in aller Welt billigen diesen Stil, nehmen ihn selber zu sich und geben ihn wieder von sich; so wie die noch schlichteren Verbraucher es tun mit den Big Macs und den Brühen aus den bedeckelten Plastikbechern einer anderen weltweiten Vertriebsfirma. Da vielleicht Theaterkenner unter Ihnen weilen, werden sie womöglich auch die lachhafte Assoziation haben bei *Call for Papers* zu einem einst populären

plumpen Bühnenschwank der Jahrhundertwende: *Der Schrei nach dem Kinde*. Angewidert war ich erst recht vom raunenden Kauderwelsch des Schreibens, das, abermals markterpicht, die neuesten oder beinahe neuesten quasitheoretischen Prosagesänge schleunigst auch dort durch Mikrophone, Elektrogitarren und Lautsprecherboxen jagen will, wo eine besonders lukrative Marktlücke zu klaffen scheint. Noch dazu eine, die zumal durch vielerlei Skandal seit über einem halben Jahrhundert einen hohen Aufmerksamkeitswert verspricht. Also Brecht. Angewidert schließlich, aber auch nochmals zum Lachen gereizt war ich vom bauernschlaun Trick, großmäulig am Gegenstand selbst allerlei Verwurmtheiten und Verwesungsköstlichkeiten aufzutun, um die eigene einschlägige, derzeit selbstverordnete Interpretationsdiät zu rechtfertigen. Komisch in der Tat: Wie vitalistisch sie nun aufstampfen unterm diktatorischen Rezept des momentanen „Paradigmas“; wie die seminaristischen Diskurs-Gretchen und Abstract-Hänschen die wilden Augen rollen auf stierer Suche nach dem „Bösen, dem

Tod, den Textbrüchen und Verwerfungen“ im Textcorpus des Brecht. Denn das — oder ihr — bisher „herrschendes Paradigma scheint erschöpft“. Und das „mumifizierte Brecht-Erbe“ mögen sie nicht. Vielleicht, weil die Mumienwindeln, wie das eben so ist seit den Ägyptern, die Leiche nicht unmittelbar zugänglich macht für nekrophile Leckermäulchen. Zwei Empfehlungen zum Schluß, sogar ernst gemeinte als Zeichen guten Willens. Erstens: Man bilde auf der Tagung eine Gruppe, die den Spieß umdreht; die aus Brechts Blickwinkel und mit seinen Methoden dem Gebaren dieser Verweser aus vitalistische Leiberl rückt. Zweitens: Sie selber, die aufrufenden Organisatoren der Tagung und ihre Hörigen, mögen den Aufruf fünf Jahre gut verwahren, dann wieder hervorholen und lesen. Ich prophezeie mit den Schlußversen aus einer Frau-Wirtin-Strophe: „Als das die Lokusratten sah'n; hui machten die Gesichter.“ Ich wünsche Ihnen eine adäquate Tagung  
Volker Klotz

Volker Klotz, Prof. für Dt. Philologie an der Universität Stuttgart, u. a. Autor von „Offene und geschlossene Form im Drama“. fr

### UPCOMING EVENTS

DER ANDERE BRECHT - THE OTHER BRECHT  
ACHTES SYMPOSIUM DER INTERNATIONALEN BRECHT GESELLSCHAFT  
(EIGHTH SYMPOSIUM OF THE INTERNATIONAL BRECHT SOCIETY)  
AUGSBURG, 8.-14. DEZEMBER 1991

Vorläufiges Programm, Stand August  
Preliminary program as of August

Sonntag, 8.12./Sunday, 8th Dec.

Anreisetag/Arrival Day

ab 15.00 Uhr/after 3:00 p.m.:

"Warming up" in einem Augsburger Lokal

19.00 Uhr/7:00 p.m. Stadttheater Augsburg:

"Im Dickicht der Städte" (Premiere)

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Montag, 9.12./Monday, 9th Dec.

9.00 Uhr/9 a.m., Kongreßhalle, Mozartsaal:

Eröffnung des Achten Symposiums der Internationalen Brecht Gesellschaft

Opening of the Eight Symposium of the International Brecht Society

10.00 - 13.00 Uhr/10 a.m. - 1 p.m., Kongreßhalle, Fuggerzimmer:

Vorträge und Diskussionen: Brecht, Benjamin: Gestus und Körpersprachen

Lectures and Discussions: Brecht, Benjamin: "Gestus" and Body Languages

Mittagspause/Lunch Break

15.00 - 16.00 Uhr/3 - 4 p.m., Goldener Saal des Rathauses:

Empfang für die Teilnehmer des Symposiums durch die Stadt Augsburg

Reception for the Symposium Participants given by the City of Augsburg

17.00 Uhr/ 5 p.m., Goldener Saal des Rathauses:

Eröffnungsveranstaltung (öffentlich) mit Heiner Müller (zugesagt) und Vaclav Havel (angefragt)

Opening Ceremony (open to the public) with Heiner Müller (confirmed) and Vaclav Havel (invited)

20.00 Uhr/8 p.m., Stadttheater Augsburg:

Gastspiel (öffentlich)

Guest Performance (open to the public)

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Dienstag, 10.12./Tuesday, 10th Dec.

9.00 - 11.00 Uhr/9 a.m. - 11 a.m.:

Mitgliederversammlung der IBS

Members' Meeting of the IBS

9.00 - 12.00 Uhr/9 a.m. - 12 a.m.:

Auf den Spuren des jungen Brecht. Führungen durch Mitarbeiter des Verkehrsvereins in deutscher und englischer Sprache (wird wiederholt Samstag, 14.12., 10.30 Uhr).

On the Trail of Young Brecht. Guided Tours with members of the Tourist Office in German and English (to be repeated Saturday, 14th Dec., 10:30 a.m.)

Frankreich im Werk Bertolt Brecht. Führungen durch die Ausstellung des Bertolt-Brecht-Archivs im Unteren Fletz des Rathauses (wird wiederholt Freitag, 13.12.).

France in the Work of Bertolt Brecht. Guided Tours with the Exhibition of the Bertolt-Brecht-Archive in Unterer Fletz of the Rathaus (will be repeated Friday, 13th Dec.)

11.00 - 13.00 Uhr/11 a.m. - 1 p.m.:

Die Brecht Sammlungen der Staats- und Stadtbibliothek. Führungen durch die Ausstellung durch Dr. Helmut Gier (wird wiederholt Freitag 13.12.)

The Brecht Collection of the State and City Libraries. Guided Tours with Dr. Helmut Gier (to be repeated Friday, 13th Dec.)

Mittagspause/Lunch Break

14.00 - 18.00 Uhr/2 p.m. - 6 p.m., Kongreßhalle, Fuggerzimmer:

Vorträge und Diskussionen: Fatzer-Fragmente und Blicke auf das Lehrstück

Lectures and Discussions: Fatzer Fragements and Perspectives of/on the "Lehrstück"



19.30 Uhr/7:30 p.m., Stadttheater: "Im Dickicht der Städte"

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Mittwoch, 11.12./Wednesday, 11th Dec.

9.00 - 11.00 Uhr/9 a.m. - 11 a.m., Kongreßhalle, Fuggerzimmer:

Vorträge und Diskussionen: Das Brechtsche Subjekt

Lectures and Discussions: The Brechtian Subject

11.30 - 13.00 Uhr/11:30 a.m. - 1 p.m., Kongreßhalle, Mozarthalle:

Öffentliche Podiumsdiskussion: Theaterleute, Wissenschaftler und Publikum diskutieren über die Aufführung vom 9. und 10.12.

Panel Discussion: Theater Professionals, Scholars and Members of the Audience discuss the performance of Dec. 9th and 10th.

Mittagspause/Lunch Break

15.00 - 17.00 Uhr/3 - 5 p.m., Kongreßhalle, Mozarthalle:

Vorträge und Diskussionen: Editions- und Übersetzungsfragen

Lectures and Discussions: Questions of Editions and Translations

17.00 - 18.00 Uhr/5 - 6 p.m., Kongreßhalle, Fuggerzimmer:

Vorträge und Diskussionen: Brecht und Theoriediskurse I

Lectures and Discussion: Brecht and Discourses of Theory I

18.30 Uhr/6:30 p.m., Neue Universität:

Empfang der Symposiumsteilnehmer durch die Universität Augsburg

Reception for the Symposium Participants given by the University Augsburg

21.00 Uhr/9 p.m.:

Komödie: "Haifische und andere Menschen" (Hanne Hiob und Pfeffermühle Leipzig)

Comedy: "Sharks and Other People" (Hanne Hiob and Pfeffermühle Leipzig)

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Donnerstag, 12.12./Thursday, 12th Dec.

9.00 - 12.30 Uhr/9 a.m. - 12:30 p.m., Kongreßhalle, Fuggerzimmer:

Vorträge und Diskussionen: Brecht und Theoriediskurse II  
Lectures and Discussions: Brecht and Discourses of Theory II

12.30 - 13.00 Uhr/12:30 - 1 p.m., Kongreßhalle, Fuggerzimmer:  
Vorführung Video "Taniko"  
Video Presentation "Taniko"

Mittagspause/Lunch Break

15.00 - 18.00 Uhr/3 - 6 p.m., Kongreßhalle, Fuggerzimmer:  
Vorträge und Diskussionen: Performance, Theatertheorie  
Lectures and Discussions: Performance, Theory of the Theater

19.30 Uhr/7:30 p.m., Stadttheater:  
"Der Gute Mensch von Sezuan" (Gastspiel Theater tri-bühne Stuttgart)  
"The Good Woman of Sezuan" (Guest Performance Theater tri-bühne Stuttgart)

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Freitag, 13.12./Friday, 13th Dec.

9.00 - 10.00 Uhr/9 - 10 a.m., Kongreßhalle Fuggerzimmer:  
Vorträge und Diskussionen: Poetologie und lyrischer Diskurs  
Lectures and Discussions: Poetological and Poetic Discourse

10.00 - 13.00 Uhr/10 a.m. - 1 a.m., Kongreßhalle, Fuggerzimmer:  
Vorträge und Diskussionen: Brechtscher Text und Theorien der Weiblichkeit/  
Männlichkeit  
Lectures and Discussions: Brechtian Text and Theories of Femininity/Masculinity

Mittagspause/Lunch Break

15.00 - 17.00 Uhr/3 - 5 p.m., Kongreßhalle, Fuggerzimmer:  
Vorträge und Diskussionen: "Vorlieben" (nicht nur) des jungen Brecht  
Lectures and Discussions: "Passions" (not only) of the Young Brecht

17.00 - 19.00 Uhr/5 - 7 p.m., Kongreßhalle, Fuggerzimmer:  
Vorträge und Diskussionen: Kontroversen um "Galilei"  
Lectures and Discussions: Controversies about "Galilei"

21.00 Uhr/9 p.m., Stadttheater:

## 18 Communications

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Diskussion: Brecht auf dem Theater, heute

Discussion: Brecht in the Theater, today

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Samstag, 14.12./Saturday, 14th Dec.

9.00 - 12.00 Uhr/9 a.m. - 12 p.m., Kongreßhalle, Fuggerzimmer:

Vorträge und Diskussionen: Produktive Rezeption Brechts?

Lectures and Discussions: Productive Reception of Brecht?

12.00 Uhr/12 p.m., Kongreßhalle, Fuggerzimmer:

Resümee des Symposiums

Summary of the Symposium

Mittagspause/Lunch Break

13.30 Uhr/1:30 p.m.:

Abfahrt mit dem Bus und der Kongreßhalle nach München

Departure by Bus from the Kongreßhalle to Munich

15.30 Uhr/3:30 p.m.:

Auf den Spuren des jungen Brecht in München

On the Trail of Young Brecht in Munich

Stadtfrundfahrt und Stadtrundgang mit Wolfgang Höper (Staatstheater Stuttgart) und Dr. Bernd Mahl (Tübingen) (u.a. mit Besuch des Valentin-Museums)

Driving and Walking Tour of the City with Wolfgang Höper (Staatstheater Stuttgart) and Dr. Bernd Mahl (Tübingen) (including a visit to the Valentin Museum)

19.00 Uhr/7 p.m.:

Empfang der Teilnehmer durch die Stadt München

Reception for the Participants given by the city of Munich

20.00 Uhr/8 p.m., Besuch einer Brecht-Aufführung in den Münchener Kammerspielen (bzw. in einem anderen Münchener Theater)

Attendance of a Brecht Performance in the Munich Kammerspielen (or in another Munich theater)

Rückkehr nach Augsburg/Return to Augsburg

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Organisation und Koordination (in Zusammenarbeit mit der Stadt Augsburg)  
Organisation and Coordination (in Cooperation with the City of Augsburg)

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Germany

Prof. Dr. Renate Voris  
Department of German  
108 Cocke Hall  
University of Virginia  
Charlottesville, VA 22903  
U S A

**MLA San Francisco, 1991**

Friday, 27 December, 5:15 p.m.

[A50B]. *Rethinking Revolution: Brechtian Theory and the New Order*

5:15-6:30 p.m. Marina Room F. Marriott

Program arranged by the International Brecht Society.

*Presiding:* E. Robin Jackson, Univ. of Alabama, Birmingham

1. "Thank You for Calling My life a Story/History: Brecht's Postnarrative Script." Harris Gruman, Univ. of Maryland, College Park
2. "Unthinking Revolution: Feminist Visions of Social Change." Katrin Sieg, Univ. of Washington, Seattle
3. "Instant Replay: Epic Spectator Meets New World Order." Sarah Bryant-Bertail, Univ. of Washington, Seattle

Sunday, 29 December, 7:15 p.m.

[A50A]. *Brecht and American Music, Musicians, and Musical Traditions*

7:15-8:30 p.m., Pacific Conference Suite 4H, Marriott

Program arranged by the Interantional Brecht Society.

*Presiding:* Michael Gilbert, Wake Forest University

1. "Brecht's Impact on American Film Music." Thomas R. Nadar, Auburn University
2. "Brecht's Influence on Marc Blitzstein, Leonard Bernstein, and Elie Siegmeister." Leonard Lehrman, Jewish Academy of Fine Arts
3. "Of Burg(h)ers and Brecht: Marx, Sharks and Survivability Projections for a Big Mac Attack." Robert W. Cook, University of Texas at Arlington

*Respondent:* Joachim Lucchesi, Akademie der Künste, Berlin

## International



## Bertolt Brecht Symposium

UNIVERSITY OF DELAWARE  
Newark, Delaware

February 28 - March 1, 1992



## ABSTRACTS / REPORTS

## MLA 1990 in Chicago:

## Brecht und die nachaufgeklärte Editionswissenschaft:

## Vortrag in der Sektion der Brecht Society zur "Großen kommentierten Ausgabe"

Die nachaufgeklärte Editionswissenschaft hat Prinzipien entwickelt, die sich aus der "bürgerlichen" Literaturauffassung herleiten und die von der marxistischen Literaturwissenschaft übernommen worden sind. Ihre Ausgabetypen, die "historisch-kritische", die "Studien-" und die "Lese"-Ausgabe, zeigen die Entwicklung bzw. "Reifung" des individuellen Dichters in seinem Werk, d.h., sie zeigen die Einheit von Dichter und Werk ohne Rücksicht auf den historischen Kontext. Daraus ergibt sich das Prinzip der "Ausgabe letzter Hand": die vom Dichter zuletzt redigierte Fassung ist gültig, da die "reifste".

Zwei aufgrund ihres ungenügenden Anmerkungsapparates als Lese-Ausgaben einzustufende Brecht-Editionen erschienen in den fünfziger und sechziger Jahren: die noch von Peter Suhrkamp begonnene Ausgabe von 1953 bis 1968 und die Suhrkamp-Werkausgabe in zwanzig Bänden von 1967. Letztere machte zum ersten Mal Brechts Werk einer größeren Öffentlichkeit zugänglich, war jedoch als Ausgabe letzter Hand und durch ihre Mißachtung des zyklischen Charakters der Gedichtsammlungen für Forschungszwecke ungeeignet. Demgegenüber stellen die Gedicht-Bände 11 und 12 der großen kommentierten Brecht-Ausgabe einen Fortschritt dar: Jan Knopf hat die jeweils als Erstdruck bezeugte Fassung aufgenommen und gibt Varianten bzw. ausführliche Erläuterungen der Werkgenese im Anhang. Die Tatsache, daß nur "Originalforschungen" verwendet wurden, d.h., daß die riesige Sekundärliteratur zu Brecht unberücksichtigt bzw. unerwähnt bleibt, haben zu Fehlern und Ungleichgewichtigkeiten im Kommentar geführt, die einer sich in Abwesenheit der historisch-kritischen Ausgabe als das Nächstbeste rühmenden Studien-Ausgabe schlecht anstehen.

Ein grundsätzliches Problem ist jedoch, daß Brechts eigene Forderung, daß das Werk ein "historisches Feld in seiner Relativität" (*Kleines Organon*) bezeichnen muß, immer noch nicht als eine Besonderheit erkannt worden ist. 1953 begründete Brechts zögernde Zustimmung zu einer Ausgabe traditioneller Art um des Publikumerfolges willen die Anwendung der nachaufgeklärten Editionswissenschaft auf sein Werk. Brecht hat jedoch in seinen eigenen Überlegungen und in den von ihm selbst zusammengestellten *Versuchen* die traditionelle Vorstellung von der Einheit von Dichter und Werk durch die der dialektisch begründeten Einheit von Werk, Dichter und geschichtlichem Kontext ersetzt. Brechts Auffassung sollte Konsequenzen für die Editionswissenschaft haben. Insofern ist die große kommentierte Ausgabe—auch wenn man von den Mängeln im Anmerkungsstil, die ihren Gebrauchswert einschränken, absieht—eine verpaßte Gelegenheit.

Christiane Bohnert, Washington University

### Betrachtungen eines Unbeteiligten:

Ein paar ausgewählte Kommentare zur neuen "kommentierten" Brecht-Ausgabe

Aus Zeitgründen konnte nur der den "Zeilenkommentaren" gewidmete Teil des Referats vorgetragen werden. Untersucht und an bezeichnenden Beispielen veranschaulicht wurde also die ja auf Anhieb erkennbare Problematik der den Brechtschen Texten in geradezu verschwenderischer Fülle beigegebenen Wort- und Sacherläuterungen völlig fehlen und andererseits überflüssige oder schlechthin falsche Informationen geliefert werden. Und verantwortlich dafür dürfte nicht zuletzt das Versäumnis vieler, vielleicht aller Bandbearbeiter sein, die reichlich vorhandene Sekundärliteratur zu Rate zu ziehen.

*Reinhold Grimm*

*University of California at Riverside*

### Realism Against Illusion: The Ceremonial Divestiture of Power in Brecht's and Cavani's *Galileo*

Bertolt Brecht's *Life of Galileo* exemplifies the multiplicity of the epistemological issues involved in the Galileo affair--especially when translated into polemical, intellectual arguments. On the other hand, Liliana Cavani's *Galileo* (1968) offers a cinematic account of the controversial episode which construes a framework for opposite distinctions. Given the inherent ideological differences which characterize Brecht's militant Marxism from Cavani's a-political stance, one could claim that both authors emphasize artistic expression as a unique mode of personal "thought" and place themselves at the very center of contemporary debates on the nature and expressive potential of theater and cinema.

Brecht's *Life of Galileo* is a work of poetry, distinctively subjective in its interpretation; Cavani's film, initially commissioned as a "TV biography," requires from the director a fundamental objective point of view of the historical truth. My paper tries to determine whether Brecht's and Cavani's respective arguments are as wide apart as generally believed or, rather, their initial questions suggest a focus on issues which constitute a cultural, if not ideological, interaction.

*Gaetana Marrone-Puglia*

*Princeton University*

## Brecht, Melodrama and Fassbinder

The comparison of Brecht and Fassbinder on the basis of Peter Brook's criteria for melodrama which I had briefly explored at the end of my book on *Bertolt Brecht and the Theory of Media* was placed in this paper into the context of the postmodernism debate. My conclusion was that Brecht's ultimate modernist position (despite very strong postmodern tendencies) has to do with his investment in the "grand narrative" of Marxism. Fassbinder on the other hand no longer has recourse to such redemptive explanations. His approach, which brings him squarely into the orbit of postmodernism, is to strike a compromise and maintain the tension of paradoxes. How this compromise is reflected on the level of his cinematic techniques (with particular emphasis on point-of-view structures) was demonstrated in an analysis of short segment from the television series *Berlin Alexanderplatz*.

Roswitha Mueller  
University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee

Broadcasting the "Asocial":  
Brecht, Müller, And Radio Fatzer

Heiner Müller's radio version of Brecht's *Fatzermaterial* (broadcast on Radio DDR in early 1988) critically reworks Brecht's ambivalent interest in the fall of the "egoist" as "asocial" foil to social problems. In addition to an engagement with the Brechtian inheritance, Müller's experiment represents a significant moment in his continuing confrontation with the "real socialist" aesthetic of the positive hero whose value is defined by his "usefulness to the state." Like Müller's early production play, *Der Lohndrucker*, *Fatzer* subverts the "real socialist" identification of production with progress and emancipation; unlike *Der Lohndrucker*, recuperated by its prestige production at the Deutsches Theater in 1988 (30 years after its composition), Radio Fatzer eludes appropriation as a prestige object.

Using the intimacy and apparently asocial quality of radio to critical effect, Radio Fatzer juxtaposes the isolated voices of Fatzer and friends with fragments of a historicising frame narrative pointing to key events in the first world war and the Bolshevik revolution, without however insisting on the authority of that narrative as a putative historical explanation for Fatzer's behavior. The radio play thus invites its audience to ponder the juxtaposition of history and individual accident but, in the final analysis, desists from speaking with the (Brechtian?) Master's voice.

Loren Kruger  
University of Chicago



### **ATHE 1991 in Seattle:**

As mentioned in John Rouse's V.P. Report, the Society is now an affiliate member of the Association for Theatre in Higher Education (the largest academic theatre organization in North America) and the Society sponsored or co-sponsored five panels at the ATHE's annual August conference, held this year in Seattle, Washington. Panels are sponsored by a "focus group" of the Association (IBS is one of those) and may be co-sponsored by other focus groups as well. Next year's conference will be in Atlanta. What follows are the descriptions of the panels as they appeared in the conference brochure, along with abstracts of papers or summaries of the sessions.

#### **Brecht in American Performance**

(Sponsored by the Directing Program and co-sponsored by IBS)

Three directors discuss problems of and practical methods for using Brecht's work in the classroom and staging Brecht's plays for a contemporary American audience.

Robert Yowell, California State University--San Bernadino, Chair

Craig D. Kinzer, Northwestern University:

"Brecht, the 'Fable' and the Teaching of Directing"

Becky B. Prophet, Agnes Scott College:

"Staging Problems in *The Good Person of Setzuan*: Politics and Economics"

#### **Feminist/Marxist Strategies and the German Theatre**

(Sponsored by Women in Theatre and co-sponsored by IBS)

These papers will critically evaluate a number of tactics developed by Marxist and feminist theory to resist dominant representations, especially those depicting a monolithic "German identity" in the theatre.

Janelle Reinelt, California State University--Sacramento, Chair

Sarah Bryant-Bertail, University of Washington:

"Brecht, Women and the Market: Disappearing Futures"

Gay Gibson Cima, Georgetown University:

"Retrieving Women's Voices in the Brecht Collective's Parables"

Katrin Sieg, University of Washington:

"Marxist Aesthetic and Feminist Identity Politics in the Work of Garlind Reinsharen"

**The Politics of Contemporary German Poetics**

(Sponsored by IBS and co-sponsored by Women in Theatre)

Panel examines the impact of various political, aesthetic, and philosophical discourses on scenography, acting and actor training, and directing in the contemporary German theatre.

Sue-Ellen Case, University of California--Riverside, Chair

Susan Russell, University of Washington:

"The Gest of It: Brecht's Legacy for Contemporary German Acting"

Marna King, University of Wisconsin, Madison:

"Aesthetics and Function in Recent German Scenography"

John Rouse, Tulane University:

"Figures in Landscapes: Contemporary German Directing"

**Brecht and the Actor**

(Sponsored by the Directing Program and co-sponsored by IBS)

A workshop where attendees will explore exercises developed in the laboratory/classroom which attempt to bridge the gap between Brecht and Stanislavski.

Meredith Alexander, University of Iowa, Chair

Craig D. Kinzer, Northwestern University

Mary Poole, Northwestern University

**Brecht/Theory/Social Intervention I**

(Sponsored by IBS and co-sponsored by Theatre for Social Change)

Panel examines the continuing usefulness of Brechtian theory for a theatre of social intervention.

James Carmody, University of California--San Diego, Chair

Sarah Bryant-Bertail, University of Washington:

"Lenz, Brecht, and the Body Politic"

Wolfgang Sohlich, University of Oregon:

"Brecht's *The Good Woman of Setzuan* and the Aesthetics of Allegory"

Harris L. Gruman, University of Maryland:

Performing Allegory and Intimacy in the Epic Theatre

### Brecht/Theory/Social Intervention II

(Sponsored by Theatre and Social Change and co-sponsored by IBS)

Focuses on adaptation and use of Brechtian theatre and technique for direct social intervention on the levels of both production process and cultural product.

Wolfgang F. Sohlich, University of Oregon, Chair

David Hlavsa, Saint Martin's College:

"Confronting Racism and Sexism through Brecht's Plays"

Assunta Kent, Northwestern University:

"Ntozake Shange's Afrocentric Adaption of *Mother Courage*"

### Session Title: Feminist/Marxist Strategies and the German Theatre

This panel was organized by the International Brecht Society and was offered at the conference under the sponsorship of the Women and Theatre Program.

Taken together, these three papers critically evaluated a number of tactics developed by Marxist and feminist theory to resist dominant representations, especially those depicting a monolithic "German identity" in the theatre.

Sarah Bryant-Bertail spoke on "Brecht, Women and the Market: Disappearing Futures." Reading the semiotics of the picaresque tradition, in particular *Mother Courage* as a Brechtian version of *La Picara Justina* (1525), Bryant-Bertail recovered the gender markings of a "dismantlement story" which is present but less visible in Brecht's version, with its emphasis on economics.

Gay Gibson Cima delivered "Retrieving Women's Voices in the Brecht Collective's Parables" in which she explores the present-but-repressed female voices of co-authorship within the Brecht collective. She suggests that they provide an authority for re-reading Brecht, in particular *The Good Person of Setzuan*, in order to produce a new feminist interpretation from the multivocality of these texts.

Katrin Sieg's paper, "Marxist Aesthetic and Feminist identity Politics in the Work of Gerlind Reinshagen" takes up the issue of the meaning of recent German re-unification and the on-going debates about the ideology of unification from a feminist perspective, as configured in Gerlind Reinshagen's trilogy. Seeing the conflict between ethnos or demos, Sieg argued that the triumph of ethnos brings the taming of possibility and reconfigures utopia in confining repression of difference. Reinshagen's female characters represent the various positions available to women within the socio-cultural situation in Germany since WWII.

Janelle Reinheld  
Chair

### Retrieving the Women's Voices in the Brecht Collective's Parables

Recent scholarship has begun to clarify the collaborative nature of the Brecht script, its production through a Collective. This recuperation of the female voices in the scripts enables us to rethink Brechtian parables and performance codes, positing a style of production which includes not only what Brecht himself calls for, but also what seems necessary to the other sources, the women who collaborated with him. This reconstructive process of trying to determine how much and what Brecht's collaborators wrote, is, of course, in process at this very moment and presents a complex research problem, but one thing seems clear: the issue of how the idea of woman and man are constructed is central to an understanding of many of the parables, and reflects the tensions within the Brecht Collective.

*The Good Person of Szechwan*, one of the better-known parables, for example, has typically been read as a Marxist allegory about the difficulty of being good in an evil capitalistic world, but it also reproduces the ambivalent social relations involved in its long and complicated collaborative history: good and evil are inseparable in this script from considerations of gender.

Brecht called *Good Person*, like many of his later plays, a parable. Many have come to regard these parables as straightforward pedagogical exercises, simple stories structured to illustrate a lesson, but the definition of parable offered by Frank Kermode, and by Brecht himself in his discussions with Benjamin, identifies the interpretive act engendered by the parable as one creating mystery rather than disclosure, excess rather than didacticism. Parables do not make clear a simple story; they hide a complex representational system which is difficult to discern. In terms of production, if Shen Te/Shui Ta, from scene two on, can be staged not as a woman who occasionally dresses up as a man, but rather as a person constantly moving in relation to two "fixed" entities (the idea of man and the idea of woman), refusing to be locked into one or the other, the parable becomes more evocative, and possibly more reflective of the women's voices in the script. She represents simultaneously the creator as man (in the business world) and as woman (with the potential child, and also--importantly--as the self-progenitor, the virtual author of another [cross-dressed] version of herself, Shui Ta). Shen Te/Shui Ta quite usefully breaks not one but two important taboos: first, the representation of a self-authoring female who may "quote" but cannot be subsumed by traditional gender roles; and second, the representation of the sexually desiring mother as a power broker in the public sphere.

Gay Gibson Cima  
Georgetown University

### The 'Gest' of It: Brecht's Legacy for Contemporary West German Actor Training

Two of the most influential theorists in twentieth century Western theatre, Brecht and Stanislavski, both played a considerable role in the development of contemporary German actor training. My paper investigates the role of Brechtian theory and its reception specifically in West German actor training within state-sponsored schools up until reunification. I argue that the "Brecht vs. Stanislavski" debate in the 1970s and early 1980s within theatre pedagogy is actually an updated version of the same issues which have circulated in Germany since the eighteenth century, i.e. arguments about the "thinking" vs. the "feeling" actor. Thus, "Brecht" and "Stanislavski" have become code words for much older ideas which have little to do with either man's methodology. I discuss briefly the history of actor training schools in Germany from the mid-eighteenth century on, and the reception of Stanislavskian and Brechtian theory vis-a-vis school curriculum. Both Brechtian and Stanislavski theories existed mainly in a diluted and misunderstood fashion in the classrooms of the sixties and seventies. Despite the reform measures taken in the early 1970s as a result of political upheaval in West Germany and a landmark theatre pedagogy conference in 1973, the majority of state-sponsored acting schools remained relatively conservative in their approaches, due in large part to the demands of the marketplace. Recently, West German theatre practitioners intersect with contemporary U.S. feminist performance theorists in their call for a reclamation of Brechtian performance strategies, rejecting actor training which only includes what "Stanislavski" has come to signify: an emotional, psychological interpretation of a role based on personal experience. Whereas the taught version of the "Method" asks actors to stop at the stage of utilizing personal experience in portraying a character, Brecht's dramaturgy and U.S. feminist performance theory go a step further by examining ways in which identity and experience are discursively formulated in an effort to suggest more informed and responsible ways of representing the complex relationship between the individual and society.

*Susan Russell*  
*University of Washington*

### Aesthetics and Function in Recent West German Scenography

The theatre aesthetic developed to support "The Theatre of the Seventies" has often appeared empty and pretentious in performance during the late 1980s and early 1990s. Scenography has expanded to fill the void in significant dramaturgy. Poetic, evocative spaces of a cosmic nature lack a corresponding resonance in meaning. Such "Effektsbühne", as it is called, can occur with even the best of production teams. Symptomatic of the stress of image over text are the directing experiments of BRD scenographers such as Achim Freyer and Axel Manthey. Then too, directors, dramaturgs and designers tend to place extraordinary

emphasis on the style of the images to be presented. Gone is the gritty reality of the actor/character/costume symbiosis fostered by Brecht and adopted by the post-Brechtian theatre of the BRD. In its place are costumed figures who transmit a more artificial theatricality to the spectator. Such an imbalance in form over content has resulted in a mannered stage language which often, consciously or unconsciously, projects an indulgent artificiality similar to the world of advertising.

The slide lecture presentation covered three recent seasons- 1987-88, 1988-89 and 1990-91 -using examples from important director/designer teams working at major city and state theatres.

*Marna King*  
*University of Wisconsin at Madison*

### Figures in Landscapes: Contemporary German Directing

The German theater today is marked by experimentation along diverse lines of inquiry. My paper discusses the most potentially fruitful lines of inquiry, which I labelled with Brecht's term "separation of the elements"--the attempt to break the conventions of realism that cement the performer's gestures and voice to character, the design's space, mass and materials to milieu and costume.

After tracing the genesis of contemporary efforts to the rediscovery and reinterpretation of Brecht in the late 1960's, I outline two major influences on more recent developments: Robert Wilson's work, which suggests the possibility of treating a dramatic text as material to be kept separate from the performance process; and Tanztheater's influence on elaborating sound and gesture, both as general components of a production and as components of a text of the body.

The rest of my paper discusses three examples of recent work. I begin with Achim Freyer's 1990 Burgtheater production of *Woyzeck*, which rigorously separated performance from text. The actors moved very slowly in geometrical trajectories, rarely touching--even where their lines indicated physical contact.

Heiner Müller's 1990 *Hamlet/Machine* for the Deutsches Theater kept the actors at an emotional distance from their roles, eschewing the realist's obsession with character motivation as cause rather than effect--in this case, the effect of a network of fictionally historicized power relations.

Finally, Einar Schleef's 1987 Frankfurt *Before Sunrise* turned one of the founding texts of realism against its performance ideology. Hauptmann's original text is written in violently incomplete sentence fragments. Schleef used anti-realistic staging and exaggerated physical and vocal patterns to reveal Hauptmann's characters as hysterically divided subjects rather than coherent selves.

*John Rouse*  
*Tulane University*

## PERFORMANCE REVIEWS

*Der Gute Mensch von Sezuan.* Akademietheater Vienna, January, 1991.

Manfred Karge's production of Brecht's *Gute Mensch* opened at the Akademietheater, Vienna's second national theatre, in June of 1989 and remains in the active repertoire there. When Karge suggested directing the play, the larger Burgtheater was offered to him, but he preferred the intimacy of the Akademie, and although the setting is a large and deep one, there are many asides and lengthy addresses to the audience, and this choice seems to have been a good one.

The basic setting remains the same throughout the evening--a dark alleyway with towering walls of black brickwork extending into the flies on all sides, their grim expanse broken only by a few dirty small and dirty windows high up on their sides. Down left, a dim outside light and a metal railing mark the entrance to Shen Te's lodgings, and there is another door up center, with a few steps up to it and a railing. In front of it hangs another external light, used very effectively for the rain scene, which is achieved by water running down over the edges of the metal shade of this lamp and falling to the stage floor beneath. A few other pieces break up this expanse in various scenes--garbage cans, a public urinal, a column for theatrical posters, all so darkly shadowed that nothing about them suggests any particular country. The tobacco shop is presented as a very tiny interior, rolled in on a platform and soon filled to overflowing by Shen Te's parasitic guests.

This is the least "Chinese" *Gute Mensch* that I have ever seen. The proper names are unchanged, but the back alley setting could be in any large industrialized city in the world, and the actors are clearly European, dressed in costumes that suggest the 1940's but with a certain cartoon exaggeration, not only in cut and color, but in the fact that some of the hats, suits and jackets have a very high sheen, as if made of plastic.

It would not be correct to call Karge's approach realistic. The cartoonlike costumes are matched by odd hair colors, exaggerated makeup on a number of characters, comical exaggeration of acting style in such characters as the Barber, and in the singing of some the songs, particularly the "Lied vom Sankt Nimmerleinstag" as presented to the audience by Sun, with very exaggerated emotion. Nevertheless, the play gives overall a more realistic impression that is often the case in Brecht and in *Gute Mensch*, as we may see most clearly perhaps in Shen Te, portrayed by Therese Affolter, and in the three gods. Shen Te does not, as is usual, wear a mask as Shui Ta, but simply removes the blond wig she wears as a prostitute, puts on a male suit, hat, and glasses, and strides about in a firm, almost parody male style. The asides are handled in a way that interestingly blends realistic and theatrical conventions. When an actor steps forward to speak or sing directly to the audience, the others do not ignore him, as they would normally do in either a realistic or a conventionalized performance. They continue to watch him and react to what he is doing, individually or among themselves, thus providing an unusual integration of aside and overall stage action.

The gods appear from beginning to end as well-dressed businessmen with light brown suits, hats, umbrellas, suitcases, and plastic raincoats, these gradually becoming more dusty and battered as the play progresses. In several scenes they appear to Wang before a small inset curtain down right, but this never suggests, as the script indicates, a "dream," rather a neutral undefined area. For some scenes Wang and the gods clearly meet in the "real" world of the city, perhaps most strikingly in the interlude between the sixth and seventh scene where Wang reads from the imaginary book. Here they are gathered in a refuse area near Shen Te's house, Wang sitting on the garbage can that the small child will dig through in the next scene, the gods leaning against the brick walls or the metal railings of the trash enclosure. When the gods make their final exit, there is no ironic rosy light, no ascending cloud. They simply file out the up center door, tipping their hats to the despairing Shen Te who is leaning against the wall downstage right, in Wang's usual area.

Previous productions of *Gute Mensch* that I have seen (mostly in England) have not used the Paul Dessau music (the 1989 staging by Deborah Warner at the National had new music by the National's Music Director Dominic Muldowney), as, I understand, is required in Germany. What struck me about seeing this music with a stage performance is how much it follows the conventions of nineteenth century melodrama—not in the tunes themselves, but in the use of music to bring characters on stage and to underline important moments, most notably in the final court scene. Karge utilized this musical commentary, as he did the costumes and certain of the gestures and poses, to inject a continuing theatricality into his realistically oriented interpretation. Characters, for example, entering the tobacco shop would come all the way across stage to it from the opposite side, accompanied by the amusing Dessau traveling music and usually with a distinctive and faintly comic walk.

The outstanding actor of this production was, as usual, the Shen Te/Shua Ta, Therese Affolter, who managed the difficult task of making her male self both exaggerated and acceptable. Matthias Redlhammer as Sum was best in his early scenes with Shen Te, where in his longing and vulnerability one could sense Shen Te's attraction to him. The more cold and calculating Sun of the wedding and after drew more upon stock characterization and was much less interesting. On the other hand Else Ludwig, in a ghastly red wig and Hermann Schmid as an elephantine Barber who still seems to move always on the points of his toes, managed to present broad comic characters with sympathy and depth. Adolf Laimboeck created a very interesting first god, attempting to be rational and understanding, but always on the brink of losing control himself. Particularly successful also was Hans Dieter Knebel as Wang the waterseller, a retiring but always totally human and engaging character. His delivery of the final exhortation to the audience mixed pleading and passion to make a very powerful conclusion: "Es muss ein guter da sein, muss, muss, MUSS!"

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### *Der aufhaltsame Aufstieg des Arturo Ui, Nikosia.*

Das Zyprische Staatstheater in Nikosia hat sich zur Saisoneneröffnung 1990/91 gegen allen Trend für ein politisch brisantes Thema entschlossen: Brechts *Der aufhaltsame Aufstieg des Arturo Ui*. In der Regie von Heinz-Uwe Haus entsteht eine Aufführung, die die Aktualität und theatralische Überzeugungskraft des Stücks mehr als unter Beweis stellt.

Haus, der seit Jahren international unbeirrt vom Erbemief und epigonalen Altchic der Vitalität Brechtscher Texte vertraut, knüpft auch mit dieser Arbeit an seine früheren Erfolge in Zypern an: Kreidekreis (1975), Courage (1977) und Sezuan (1979), die hier heute schon Legende sind. Die Aufführung macht Spaß, ist intelligent, unbefangen und direkt, hat Tempo und ansteckenden Spielwitz. Ohne Krampf und Kasteiung bewahrt der Regisseur das Stück vor dessen ideologischem Kontext: der Tendenz deklamatorischer Rechthaberei und dogmatischer Geschichtssicht. Er schafft hingegen seine Modellwelt, in der heutige politische und gesellschaftliche Verhalten und Prozesse durchscheinen.

Ui, geschrieben von Brecht im Frühjahr 1941 in Finnland auf der Flucht in die USA vor der sich in Europa ausbreitenden nationalsozialistischen Diktatur, sollte nach Brechts eigenem Verständnis niemals ein "Schlüsseldrama" oder Aufriß des Hitleraufstiegs sein. Die damals aktuellen Parallelen deutscher Geschichte wurden von Brecht "verhüllt" - um sie zu "enthüllen". Die Substanz der Fabel ist es, daß das Uihafte in der gesellschaftlichen Normalität zur Abbildung kommt. Eine solche Perspektive erlaubt es, die von Hitler entlehnten Züge mit anderem Material zu verdichten, damit sie etwas darüberhinaus bedeuten. Der ganze Fundus theatralischer Erzählweisen und Konventionen steht demnach zur Verfügung. Die Aufführung in Nikosia nutzt ihn in brillanter Weise: Die Wahl einer Frau in der Rolle des Ui erlaubt für jene von Brecht gewünschte "Doppelverfremdung - Gangsterhandlung und großer Stil" eine überzeugende Existenz.

Mit dieser natürlichsten und provozierendsten Verfremdung zwingt Haus zum Zuschauen und Beobachten. Das bekannte Machogehabe und der nostalgische Faschorsamsch bleiben von vornherein draußen. Weder der naheliegende Reiz einer "Hosenrolle" noch der einer Adaption auf eine konkrete heutige Politikerin sind das Ziel. Despina Bebedeli, eine der besten griechischen Schauspielerinnen, zieht hingegen alle Register ihrer komödiantischen Kunst und Lust: eine aus Richard III. - und Betty Davis-Images kreierte Figur beherrscht die Szene. Mit allem Können und Verve nutzt die ansonsten als Tragödin bejubelte Darstellerin ihre Mittel antiker Heldinnen, um Muster der Demagogie bloßzustellen. Wie in einer heruntergekommenen Haupt- und Staatsaktion, die immer noch großartig vorkommt, wenn sie sich im Fernsehen oder zum Wahlkampf darstellt (Und dann werden schon mal scharf Züge von Maggi/Isolda/Evita zitiert), schafft sich die Bebedeli eine gleichermaßen verführerische wie aufklärerische Publikumsnähe. Indem sie Widersprüche hart nebeneinander behauptet, destabilisiert sie den anscheinenden Gegensatz von Gangster und großem Stil. In gekonnter Rhetorik werden so Verbrechen und Idealisierung als verwoben und zusammengehörig gezeigt.

Im Milieu italo-amerikanischer Maffia, wie es uns vom Hollywood-B-Filmen

familiär ist, projiziert die Regie eine Modellwelt, die den Zuschauer ständig auch an eine andere als die vorgeführte Welt erinnert. Jeder der Darsteller spielt mindestens zwei Rollen. Das zwingt zur Körperlichkeit, zur Auswahl des darstellerischen Details. Knapp, panoptikumhaft beschränken sich die Verhalten und Szenen auf das Ausschnitthafte. Die 20 Darsteller schaffen konsequent einen eigenen grotesken Stil für die ins Visier genommenen Verdichtungen, Abkürzungen, Wegführungen zu Mechanismen, Ursachen gesellschaftlicher Verhalten. Glyn Hughes assoziiert mit seinen Kostümen die dreißiger Film-Jahre ebenso wie die Belange einer "road company". Andys Bargillys drei mobile Podeste schaffen im offenen Bühnenraum auch optisch immer wieder komplementäre Perspektiven, die überraschende optische Anzüglichkeiten treffen.

Anstatt eine chaplineske Historienfarce zu versuchen, vertraut die Aufführung auf das Vermögen der Schauspieler und Zuschauer, aus den vielgestaltigen Gesichtern der Bedrohung der Demokratie und des Faschismus, eines, das ihnen authentisch und gefährlich scheint, zu "enthüllen". Gelungen ist eine überzeugende Gestaltung des Brechtschen Anliegens.

*Maria Hylas*

Pressemitteilung:

Heinz-Uwe Haus inszenierte in Ankara

Zum Höhepunkt der diesjährigen Saison wurde die Premiere von Brechts LEBEN DES GALILEI am 21. Mai 1991 im Großen Haus des Türkischen Staatstheaters Ankara in der Gastregie von Heinz-Uwe Haus.

Szenenapplaus und langanhaltender Beifall feierten gestern Abend den Regisseur sowie die Leistungen des Hauptdarstellers Kerim Afsar und des Ensembles.

Vor allem beeindruckte hier die Theatralik und Sinnlichkeit der Aufführung, die aus einem Karneval entwickelt ist und die Auswirkungen des Verhaltens von Galilei "auf den Mann auf der Straße" zeigt. Wesentlichen Anteil am Erfolg der Inszenierung haben die Choreographie: Cihan Yöntem und das Lichtdesign: Fahrettin Özen.

Heinz-Uwe Haus wurde als erster deutscher Regisseur ans Türkische Staatstheater verpflichtet. Das Projekt konnte mit Hilfe des Goetheinstituts verwirklicht werden.

Haus, der seit 1982 in dem USA tätig ist, war in den 70er Jahren am Regie-Institut bzw. am Deutschen Theater in Ostberlin engagiert. Seit Herbst 1989 lebt er wieder in Berlin.

22.5.91

PR/German/NK

*The Caucasian Chalk Circle*. Bertold Brecht. Trans., Ralph Manheim. Director, Jeff Steitzer. Court Theater, Chicago, May 3 - June 9, 1991.

Chalk this one up as another ill-informed attempt to let Brecht's play stand on its own in lieu of being placed on the stage with an assured directorial hand. Judging from Steitzer's efforts here and his earlier bungling of Barnes's *Red Noses* at the Goodman Theater, he would be much happier directing television. To his credit, he works well with close-ups. First, he gives his good actors opportunities for fine solo performances. Linda Emond uses these opportunities to portray Grusha with an impressive gestic clarity. Her simple interest in survival is, for the most part, unadulterated by theatrical effusions of sentiment or anxiety. Dan Oreskes's Azdak is noteworthy for his earthy humor and a physical vulnerability that prevents humor from becoming a degrading, mechanical slap stick.

Steitzer's other directorial strength is the finely honed vignette. The balance between irreverent play and real suffering when Azdak is beaten and nearly executed before being reappointed judge is one of the more ambitious examples of this strength. It is also in evidence in a number of well-constructed scenic transitions. After Grusha flees the palace with the royal baby, two Ironshirts rush in. One holds up a lantern while the other lifts to it a cup from which Grusha was feeding the baby and pours out the remaining drops of milk. At the end of the bath scene in which the (nude) farmer upbraids Grusha for not being a proper wife, his mother, suddenly siding with Grusha, dumps a pitcher of hot water in his lap. When Michael is carried back to the capital by the Ironshirts, Grusha follows frantically to the edge of the stage then suddenly becomes a disinterested narrator as the Singer discards his ceremonial robe to become Asdak.

Unfortunately, Steitzer's skill in directing short bursts of activity do not extend to the whole play or even the whole stage. When called upon to arrange large groups of people, he settles invariably upon a vague semi-circle with the principles at the center. His staging of entrances, exits, and movement seems to be governed only by a desire for what I suppose he considers interest-inducing variation, rather than a well-defined conceptual plan. This is a particularly unfortunate strategy for *Chalk Circle*, where Brecht has given such distinct shapes and movements to the narrative.

Consider, for example, how the play revolves around expanding and contracting geometries. In the first act the characters move back and forth on straight line between palace and cathedral or between inner and outer courtyards. In the second act the line expands into Grusha's long march to the northern mountains and her return to the capital. Azdak's story, in contrast, moves in a circle from the jail of the capital through his judicial circuit and back to the jail. In the final section the circle reappears in chalk on the ground. A director could do any number of things with the narrative figures Brecht provides, but Steitzer seems only to have ignored them.

The details of the play sometimes show an affinity for and familiarity with Brecht's stage craft and sometimes succumb to more conventional notions of theater. The scenic and costume designs of Mary Griswold and John Paolette are both simple and well-worn. The characters look as if they have lived in their cloths and the mottled, limp, purplish

brown curtain that is drawn back after the Prologue seems soaked in a long history of its own. The only prop present during the Prologue, a blackboard with the valley in question sketched on it, sets an appropriately matter-of-fact tone, and the two small pictures gracing the walls of Azdak's hovel, nude women on one side with Marx and Engels revealed on the backs when Azdak turns them over before confronting the policeman, make a wry comment on his character. The food that appears throughout the play is always real and at least partially eaten, although rarely with the attention that Brecht has called for.

The lighting and music are farther from Brechtian ideals but hardly interesting enough to be called culinary. Rita Pietraszek's lighting verges on the incompetent. Her attempts to create mood result in nothing but mud--usually grayish green in tone. Larry Schanker's music is better but thoroughly banal and sentimental.

The actors also occasionally misuse their talents in attempts to wring empathy from Brecht's words. Given the rather middle class, unsophisticated audience at the Court and theater's commitment to the aesthetic expectations of its subscribers, this move is not surprising, but it grated on my nerves both for its inappropriateness and its lack of imagination. Where Brecht uses song and indirect discourse mediated by the Singer to place some thought-provoking distance between the audience and the cruelties of life during war, this production revives bourgeois theatrical conventions with plaintive melodies and predictable, Method-acting emotionality. Brecht meant to create a sober look at moral and social problems, but the actors have turned some of the most crucial moments of reflection, such as the war song, the reunion of Grusha and Simon, and Grusha's decision to save Michael from a life of morally corrupt luxury, into vehicles for the old empathy-seeking ploys of taut muscles and constricted voices. As a result, instead of offering the spectators food for thought, the play gave them a cheap holiday in someone else's misery.

The relatively subtle shortcomings in Dan Oreskes's interpretation of the Singer are indicative of the productions larger problems. Brecht describes the Singer as a consummate craftsman, one who knows 2100 verses by heart and sits before his musicians thumbing through a small, well-worn book of notes as he sings or recites the text. Oreskes has turned him into a celebrity master of ceremonies who stands center stage for his lines and delivers them in a style closer to the narrative voice-over of a television documentary than to the rhapsodies of a traditional Caucasian story-teller. Oreskes, in this case, and Steitzer more generally seem unwilling to trust the inherent appeal of craft. In place of the straightforward display of theatrical skills, for which Brecht's play is written and for which his productions are famous, we are often given predictable formulas for emotional engagement either to the sentimental plight of the characters or to the authority of the Singer. Judging from the shortcomings in skill of this production, the authority of Brecht's reputation was also being counted on to engage the audience.

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*The Caucasian Chalk Circle*, Court Theatre, Chicago. Press photo.

A second view on the same production follows:

*The Caucasian Chalk Circle*, receiving its world premiere at Carleton College in Minnesota in 1948, was the last play Brecht wrote during his 14-year exile from Germany. A few months before then Brecht had returned to Europe, the day after he testified before the House UnAmerican Activities Committee. The source material for the play was traditional: a 13th century Chinese play by Li Hsing Dao which was adapted in German by Klabund in 1924 and the biblical story of King Solomon's judgement.

The Court Theatre's production of *The Caucasian Chalk Circle* was professional, polished, and as such, full of ironies. For starters, I couldn't help questioning whether Brecht would have approved of a theatre program that contained advertisements for products such as liqueurs, luxury cars and Rolex watches. The acting, which was generally appealing, especially Daniel Oreskes's charming portrayal of Azdak, seemed too smooth for a play which is set up as a play-within-a-play, put on by the members of an agricultural kolkhozs. Only Linda Emond as Grusha, strong, honest and refreshingly plain-looking, gave a performance that truly belonged in this play.

I also had problems with the set, designed by Mary Griswold and John Paoletti mainly because there was so much of it. Their attempted realism was misdirected in this production (as it really would be in any production of Brecht), especially the allegedly precarious bridge across the chasm, which would have appeared to be considerably less sturdy had it been merely suggested, rather than built. Likewise the cyclorama (lighting design by Rita Pietraszek), although pretty to look at, was just wrong in this play. The procession of sunrises, sunsets and various weather conditions distracted me from the action on stage; especially when I found myself wondering if the cyc hadn't been dragged out for the production because The Court had spent a lot of money on it and not used it previously this season.

I left the theatre hoping that one of Chicago's younger, less well-funded theatre companies will decide in the near future to try their hand at producing *The Caucasian Chalk Circle*. The political implications of the play, particular after the independence movements among various Soviet republics including Georgia, deserve to be thought about, not made pretty to look at.

*Ilona S. Koren-Deutsch*  
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*Antigone at the Schaubühne, Berlin.*

The film directors Jean-Marie Straub and Danièle Huillet are particularly respected for their films based on classical plays. They have also worked intensively with Hölderlin. So it seems fitting that they chose the *Antigone des Sophokles* for their first theatrical production in over twenty years.

As Straub noted in an interview with the Berlin magazine *Tip*, Brecht "erlaubte den

Kontakt zu Hölderlin" (9/91, p.78). The team used Brecht to reach back to Hölderlin/Sophocles. They were not interested in the political thematic of Brecht's own adaptation, the prologue to which they cut.

The team also had a theatrical axe to grind. In their *Tip* interview, Straub accused actors of a "Zuviel an illustrierenden Gesten" and directors of a "*panische Angst...vor dem Text*" (79)--a fear that grounds all the diversity of staging and interpretation spectators have rather come to expect. Instead, Straub and Huillet tried to strip away illustrating gesture and directorial intervention, hoping instead to craft "jedes Zwinkern und jede Fingerbewegung" into "Rhythmen vom Text" (79). The team understood this attempt as an experiment and demanded four months rehearsal to undertake it--which the Schaubühne, of course, gladly granted.

The team's larger staging decisions were clearly intended to enable spectator focus on speech and the rhetoric of minimal gesture. *Antigone* was staged in the Schaubühne's rehearsal hall in the Cuvrystraße. Bleachers provided seating for about eighty spectators; the back row of the house was not more than forty feet from the back of the stage. The set itself consisted of a simple plank floor some 25 feet wide by fifteen feet deep, bounded by three large flats at right and left and up-center. A photo-realist depiction of an ancient ruin was shared out across the three flats. Entrances and exits were made in the *paradoi*-like spaces between the flats at upstage right and left.

Once the four-man chorus of *Alten* entered, it stood along the right flat. Kreon stood at center just onstage of the left flat. The *Wächter*, *Antigone*, *Hämon* and *Tiresias* came to upstage center for their scenes. This was ninety percent of the production's blocking; once the actors reached their positions, they stood there. All other movement was kept to an absolute minimum, so much so that when Kreon took a half step, or one of the *Alten* raised an arm, the gesture seemed to explode within a landscape of stillness. By the same token, the actors spoke with rhetorical inflection but quietly and with very little emotional coloring.

At its worst, this was a production in which we heard, and could weigh, every word. Unfortunately, little more could be claimed for rather long stretches of the performance. The directoral approach demanded considerable rhetorical skill from the actors, and some were simply not well-trained enough to meet the challenge. Straub and Huillet further hampered themselves by casting the amateur Astrid Ofner as *Antigone*. She revealed more clearly than any of her fellow cast-members how under-trained actors suffer when they're forced to stand still; she built up so much tension that her arms twitched periodically at her side. This was, of course, one of the directing team's points; but Ofner proved it in the negative.

Werner Rehm, on the other hand, provided a sustained demonstration of how clearly text and interpretation can be displayed through a minimalist score of gesture and intonation. But Rehm, one of the Schaubühne's founding members, is a superb, and superbly trained, actor.

The production was not successful, but it failed at a very high level--one that raised an entire catalogue of interesting questions about what the theater is these days and what it could be. By allowing us to hear and weigh the text, Straub and Huillet rather

compellingly demonstrated how often the modern theater's everyday frenzy of movement and emotional bombast quite regularly swallows large portions of the texts upon which it inflicts itself. The comparison between Ofner and Rehm demonstrated the degree to which the way actors are trained already conditions the possibilities of the theaters they work in--a lesson other anti-realist German directors have also learned, and complained against. And Ofner's problems also raise interesting, if unfair questions about the relationship of theater to film: Tight camera focus on her face would have prevented us from seeing her twitching arms, and camera movement and angle can make such a focus variegated and interesting. Straub and Huillet regularly use amateurs in their films, but what works there didn't work here.

Finally, the production's refusal to interpret the text--to flesh out the political and personal stakes that the text makes clear, but not necessarily compelling--raised questions of how much movement and emotion can be eliminated before performance crosses the border into recital. A desire to keep actors from "illustrating" their texts is quite visible in the German theater right now, but the question of how one interprets without illustration is still being worked out. *Antigone* didn't provide the answer, but it helped clarify the questions.

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## BOOK REVIEW

*Bertolt Brechts Tagebuch 1913 No. 10.* Faksimile der Handschrift und Transkription.  
Mit einem Geleitwort von Siegfried Unseld. Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt/M.  
1989. 226 Seiten Preis 180.- DM.  
ISBN 3-3518-40194-7

Als eine Sensation darf die Herausgabe des Brecht Tagebuch Nr. 10, 1913, durch den Suhrkamp-Verlag Frankfurt/M. 1989 betrachtet werden. Es umfaßt den Zeitraum vom 15. 5. - 25.12.1913. In einem schönen Schuber sind der Faksimiledruck Brechts Tagebuch und seine Transkription nun auf dem Buchmarkt gekommen und geben Aufschluß über Schreiben, Tun und Denken des Fünfzehnjährigen. Das Tagebuch Nr. 10 zwingt zum Umschreiben der bisherigen Biographien über Bertolt Brecht, die ihn als



Bürgerschreck zeichneten und kaum auf das Phänomen eingingen, Dichter werden zu wollen: "Ich muß immer dichten". Durch die Herausgabe des Tagebuchs von 1913 ist uns nun ein relevantes Dokument über Brechts Leben gegeben. Auf 105 Seiten finden wir exakte Berichterstattung über die Ereignisse des Tages in der Schule, im Elterhaus und während eines Kuraufenthaltes in Bad Steben, sowie mehr als 80 Gedichte, zahlreiche Entwürfe von Dramen, von Prosastücken und Romanen.

Das Tagebuch zeigt, daß Brecht die Schule liebt. Am 8. Juni 1913 notiert er: "Es ist jetzt gerade wieder schlimmer mit der Gesundheit. Erleben tue ich nichts, außer in der Schule. Sie ist meine einzige Unterhaltung. Solange ich dahinein kann, ist Alles gut!" Am 12. Juli erhält er sein "bestes Schulzeugnis seit Jahren". Der Vater schenkt ihm offensichtlich daraufhin 5 Mark, für die er sich sofort eine Anthologie französischer Lyrik kauft. Seine ersten literarischen Arbeiten werden zu seinem Pech abgelehnt. Doch bald wird ihm die Schule zur Qual. Die Notiz vom 25. Juni belegt dies: "In der Schule der ewige Schlaf. Kein Leben und nichts. Alles ist so tot. U. so müd."

Dennoch betreibt Brecht ein intensives Leseprogramm: Gedichte, Erzählungen und vor allem Hebbels "Ästhetische Schriften", die ihn Zeit seines Lebens begleiten werden. Mit seinem Freund Georg Pflanzelt besucht er Theater und Konzerte.

Bei der Lektüre des Tagebuchs fällt sein großes Vergnügen auf, Menschen zu beschreiben und zu beobachten. Der Eintrag vom 1. Juni, "Satirische Biographie", schildert der Reihe nach seine Schulkameraden: "Und dann Albrecht! Dies blöde Gesicht im Latein! Der Mund hängt herab, die Augenbrauen sind empor gezogen, die kleine, enge Stirn unter der senkrechten Haarplatte gerunzelt. Ein Kinn und eine Intelligenz sind nicht zu sehen ... Groß, Walter der Lausbub mit dem frechen Lachen, Wiedemann, der dicke, grinsend und Witze reißend ... -Schur, der überhöfliche, kriechende Streber, blaß, verkrümmt und klein. "Herr Progessor, entschuldigen Sie, ich habe meinen Spazierstock verloren." Als sich Brecht mit seiner Mutter vom 14. Juli - 15. August zu einer Kur in Bad Steben aufhält, werden ins Tagebuch Beobachtungen über das Verhalten der Kurgäste geschrieben.

Vor allem die vielen - 80 Gedichte, die in Reinschrift im Tagebuch enthalten sind, lassen erahnen, daß noch weitere Tagebücher vorliegen müssen. Gegenüber seinen Gedichtexperimenten ist Brecht recht kritisch: "Das die Probe einer Ballade. Ich beherrsche den Stil noch nicht!" (21. Mai 1913). "Dies Gedicht ist eine Skizze und nichts wert" (20. August 1913). Fast resignierend klingt der Eintrag vom 10. September: "Ich sehe es ein: es hat kaum Wert. Meine ganze Dichterei ist ein Gefühlsfusel. Ohne Form, Stil und Gedanken. Ich muß wenden. Kleine, feine Gedichtchen!" Inhalt der Gedichte sind Themen des Geschichts- und Religionsunterrichts: "Aleander"; "Judas Ischariot" und viele Heldengedichte, so wie eine große Anzahl Naturgedichte: Juni; Juli 1913; August; Herbst; November. Sie stellen ein friedliches Naturidyll dar. Ab und an wird das Problem des Arbeiters angesprochen: "Sie kommen aus grauen Steinkolossen/ drinn sie arbeiten ein Leben verdrossen,/ als seien sie Maschinen/ die fremden Herren dienen, /die nie zur Ruhe kommen/ Immer weiter sich plagen, Jarein, Jahraus-" (26. Mai 1913). Versuche in der Ballade, des Sonetts, des Versepos, des Knüppelverses und ein Drama zu schreiben "König Erich von Schweden" stehen seinem Zweifel an seinen

dichterischen Fähigkeiten gegenüber: "Dichte fast nichts. Nichts schade. Nur manchmal mehr fühle ich in verlorenen Stunden, daß ich ein Dichter bin. Dann versinken die Welten. Die Zeit steht. Und ich sehe Menschen eilen. Schwer fällige, gramgebeugte Gestalten, leichtsinnige Abenteurer, verwirrte Grübler und Denker, die in der Reifung steckenbleiben. Arbeiter, die hasten und schaffen und nichts erreichen. Schlachten, in denen Tausende hinsicken mit blasser Stirne, Cäsaren, die bestehen, starr und groß und unberührt ... Nur der Dichter sieht den schmalen, verlassenem Zug und den eingeknickten Mund. Und er sieht ihre Seele." (23. September 1913) Am 25. August 1913 notiert er: "Gehweyer und ich geben eine Zeitschrift heraus - "Die Ernte". Eine Auflage bereits fertig. Mitarbeiterschaft Hohenesters gesichert." Es macht Spaß; doch der Verdienst ist gering. Brecht sinnt über eine Verkaufsstrategie nach.

Das Tagebuch ist auch ein Krankheitsbericht. Brecht hatte öfters Herzattacken: "Habe wieder Herzbeschwerden." Immer wieder finden sich folgende Eintragungen: "Abends ging das Herz sehr laut und schnell. Angst." Todesahungen beschäftigen ihn und werden auch in den Gedichten und Erzählungen ausgedrückt: "Die Geige des Todes". In einem poetischen Plan am 2. Juli 1913 "Das sterbende Dorf" stellt er die Frage: "Was geschieht, wenn der Tod in eine Gemeinschaft von Menschen tritt? Da ändern oder, besser, verschärfen sich die Charaktere. Da wandelt sich die Welt."

Daß Bertolt Brecht ein positives Verhältnis zu seinem Vater hat, wird deutlich in der Sorge um den kranken Vater: "Man ist nicht gewohnt, Papa daheim zu sehen. Er geht vormittags zum Arzt. Ich habe schreckliche Angst." (4. Dezember 1913). Die Sorge um den Vater läßt Glaubenszweifel aufkommen. "Oh Gott! (Was ist das Christentum eine bequeme Religion: man glaubt fest an die Hilfe Gottes! - Und ich zweifle!" (5.12. 1913). Der Vater ermahnt in einem Brief seinen Sohn: "Sei immer brav und vernünftig; jetzt wo auch die liebe Mama, die mich so treu und aufopfernd gepflegt, nicht bei Euch sein kann und aber auch später besonders in einer Zeit wo vielleicht einmal Vater oder Mutter nicht mehr hilfreich Dir & Walter zur Seite stehen können, ist es doppelt von Nöten, daß Du als der Ältere ein gutes Beispiel gibst. Es ist mir ein großer Trost, daß Ihr beide gutgeartete Jungen seid - bleibt so und dann werdet Ihr auch tüchtige, brauchbare, ins Leben passende Männer werden. (110)

Nach einem Besuch beim kranken Vater in München schreibt er folgendes Dankgebet am 25.12.1913: "Herr Gott, ich danke dir!/ Ich schrei es heraus aus Not und Leid/ und meine Brust wird vor Liebe weit/ Herr Gott ich danke!"

Es lohnt sich, diese Ausgabe von Brechts Tagebuch Nr. 10, 1913, genau zu lesen, um zu erkennen, welche Gedanken bereits den fünfzehnjährigen Brecht bestimmten, die er dann in seinem Leben zur Entfaltung brachte. Bereits am 13.8.1913 prophezeite Frau Veeh: "Ich habe das Gefühl, Eugen, als ob Sie noch einmal ein ganz großer unseres Volkes werden würden."

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The Yamabushi  
(As Presupposed in *Tanikô*)

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## 1. GENERAL

"Yamabushi" (possibly a contraction for "yamabushi no gyôja," see Renondeau, *Shugendô* IX) is a term first found in 10th-Century writings, and it means literally "those [ascetics] who lie down in the mountain/s/" -- from *yama*, mountain, and *fuseru*, to lie prone (though given the many Japanese homophones and the frequently military character of the Japanese monasteries --including some yamabushi groups--, early Western commentators have not always resisted the temptation to translate *bushi* as warrior, viz. "mountain warriors"). They started out as mountain ascetics making periodical religious ascensions of high peaks, originally in the Yamato area east of the old capitals Nara and Kyôto. These ascents were believed to be in themselves severe religious exercises, which would in proportion to their length and harshness fortify the observant and confer on him magical powers. The powers were then to be used by the adept to help ordinary people in exorcism of demons, divination, rain-making, healing, etc. The yamabushi spread all over Japan, to begin with as wandering monks, offering the populace such services. Being among the exceedingly few groups who could move through the country, they became important mediators of news and cultural disseminators (of stories, dances, Mystery plays, painting, sculpture) as well as messengers, spies, and sometimes warriors. Derivatively, their characteristic dress was used as disguise by non-yamabushi, as seen particularly from the perennially popular tales (*Taiheiki*, *Gikeiki*, etc.) and Nô plays about the hero Yoshitsune, who also had a yamabushi magician-follower, the giant priest-warrior Benkei. Specialized yamabushi mountain guides led not only their own ascents but also pilgrimages to the most sacred mountains by medieval nobility aspiring to the Pure Land, and later by some groups from the people, especially pilgrimages connected with the boys' rituals of passage to adulthood.

The system of practices developed by the yamabushi is an idiosyncratic Japanese form of magico-religious syncretism that came to be called *shugendô*, the way (*dô*) of austere exercise or testing conferring magical powers (*gen*). *Shugendô* seems to have arisen around ancient, shamanic nature (and especially mountain) worship, upon which were grafted Shinto, popular Daoism transplanted from China, and finally esoteric Buddhism. Mountains have always been extremely important in hilly Japan where life depended on the water coming from them; from times immemorial, many had their own tutelary deity (in Shinto called *kami*) whose body was constituted by the mountain itself, and who came down every year to ensure the fertility of the paddies (cf. Hori, *Folk* and "Mountains," and Ikegami). This gave rise to an extraordinary number of myths, rituals,

and folk beliefs, included under the term *sangaku shinkō* (mountain creed). The Buddhist or folk-Daoist tradition brought from India and China hermit meditation in mountains and grottoes. The yamabushi twist on this was to take the Shinto group-activity and the Chinese-derived upward orientation (*gyōja* means properly a Buddhist ascetic) and to recombine it into pilgrim groups going actively up the mountain-mandala in order to imbue members with the magical powers obtainable through this activity in this place. Popular Daoism and esoteric Buddhism contributed the beliefs (which they had historically absorbed) in magical rituals, shamanic divination, and similar practices, easily reconcilable with the basic Japanese nature-worship. Finally, Buddhism seems to have consolidated the yamabushi organization, beginning with the 9th-Century Shingon monk Shōhō, through firm establishment in ca. 12th Century, and with the finishing touches being applied a century or two before *Tanikō* (Earhart, *Study* passim; Renondeau, *Shugendō* 90; Rotermund, "Legende" 221). The pragmatic Shugendō was strictly speaking not an independent sect, but its adepts were semi-autonomous groupings within either of the two main esoteric Buddhist sects in Japan, Shingon or Tendai. Thus, the written doctrines of the yamabushi are --except for some instructions for rites and ascetic exercises --taken from these two sects, and the yamabushi brotherhoods (composed of both monks and lay brothers) were attached to one of the regional temples of the two sects.

There is no clear founder or historical beginning to the Shugendō, but subsequent legend found both in a possibly historical (ca. 7th Century C.E.) but very minor figure of En (or E) no Ozunu (also read "no Ozumi," "no Shōkaku," etc.), who is usually called En the Lay Brother (En no ubasoku) or En the Ascetic or (Mountain) Anchorite (En no gyōja). He is first mentioned in the 8th-Century *Nihongi* as a (shamanic) magician living on Katsuragi mountain who was reputed to command demons. Other reports, such as the *Nihon ryōiki* from 9th Century, have him as an ascetic-magician stemming from the clan of the mountainous Yamato region, and punishing the local deity of Katsuragi named Hitokoto-nushi ("The One-Word Lord") for failing to complete at his behest a bridge going from that mountain toward Ohmine mountain (the deity was ashamed to work by day because he was too ugly). In both reports En is banished by reason of slander, but in the 9th Century he has already become a Buddhist and a quasi-Daoist immortal, flying on a five-coloured cloud. In later references, strongly influenced by the upcoming Shugendō and retrospective glorification, En is especially connected with various Shugendō deities, such as the fierce Zaō-gongen and the Sun deity Dainichi Nyōrai (Great Buddha Illuminator) in its angry manifestation as Fudō-myōō, so that later yamabushi tradition calls En (in the spirit of the *honji-suijaku* syncretic Shinto-Buddhist doctrine) an incarnation or "trace" of theirs (Rotermund, "Legende" 240-41; cf. also Earhart, "Shugendō" and Hori, "Concept").

In the Kamakura period (12th-14th Century), the yamabushi organization became fully established. Parallel to their characteristic mountain pilgrimages throughout Japan, many yamabushi settled in local communities, married there, and functioned as a kind of resident "medicine man," often within the Shinto shrines. Together with fierce financial and political power-struggles within Shugendō (cf. Earhart, *Study* 4-5), this undoubtedly

led to the corruption of the original asceticism. While early Nô plays, e.g. Zeami's account of the Hitokoto-nushi legend in *Kazuraki*, treat the yamabushi with great respect, now a number of popular sources, and in particular the kyôgen farces emerging in the 15th and 16th Century, satirize their sloth, greed, stupidity, and above (or before) all their bragging and charlatanery.<sup>17</sup> The time of *Tanikô* (mid-15th Century) is probably one of the last periods when yamabushi could be seriously shown to a popular audience as either rigidly devout or saviour figures. By the Edo period, the sessile yamabushi had often become influential village figures, but they also began to merge with other Shinto sects, while on the other end of the spectrum true or fake yamabushi had often little beyond attire to distinguish them from itinerant beggars or city hangers-on. They were finally dissolved by imperial decree in 1872 (though some of their organisations have revived after World War 2).

## 2. MINE-IRI AS SALVATION, DEATH AND REBIRTH RITUALS

My first section did not hide that I was engaged in synthesizing a number of sources for purposes of a general introduction. Yet as I am now entering upon more particular matters, an explicit word of warning may not be longer delayed. Since the pioneering standard work by Professor Wakamori Tarô in 1943, "yamabushi studies" have burgeoned within studies of Japanese religion, so that a 1986 Shugendô encyclopedia prints 20 Japanese-character pages of bibliography (Cieslik 438-39 and 450). There is by now also no dearth of both basic surveys and in-depth narrower explorations in European languages, gathering steam from the mid-60s: a French book by Renondeau, works by Earhart and Blacker in English, Rotermund and Immoos in German, as well as translations from the Japanese, e.g. of Hori and Yamasaki--in all about two dozen items including four books and a dozen substantial studies. Nonetheless, many questions remain open either through dearth of data or through conflicting frames of interpretation, and this article can only try to give an overview that involves frequent guesses at the most believable interpretation within my own interpretive framework.

In this light, I shall approach what is the central practical and cognitive activity of the yamabushi, as well as the chronotope of *Tanikô*: the mine-iri (Berg- oder Gipfel-Besteigung, entering the mountains or ascending the peaks). This was no tourism or sport, but a severely ascetic traversing of patterned, highly numinous spacetime. The space syncretized shamanic, Shinto, and folk-Daoist sacred mountains with an approximation to Buddhist paradise or Pure Land (Jôdo); the duration of up to seven weeks included periods of condensed time recapitulating at the mountain-mandala's nodal points, by means of ordeals or rites, the six realms of transmigratory existence, from various Hells through human to heavenly realms, and the four levels of enlightenment. A precondition of mine-iri was the purity of the pilgrims, so that it required a period of purification. The ritual purity, in general "the outstanding feature of Shintô observances" (Sansom 52), included abstinence (kessai --especially from meat, grains, drinks, and sex), ritual ablutions in waterfalls or similar, and special difficult psychophysical exercises; it

lasted as a rule from 7 to 100 days (though it could be reduced to an ablution on the foot of the mountain--see Rotermund, *Yamabushi* 143-44). Purity also demanded freedom from sickness and open wounds, since these were proof of being tainted by evil powers (menstruation would have been emphatically included, except that no women were allowed into yamabushi pilgrimages anyway, it being in this case unclear --if I am allowed this phrase --which is the chicken and which the egg). It should be emphasized for the monotheistic reader that impurity has no connection with personal guilt, it is "not even necessarily the result of [the individuals'] own actions or their own fault" (Sansom 53).

In sum, then:

For the itinerant yamabushi the goal was a periodic revitalization whereby he renewed his personal power and ability to serve the people. For the average parishioner the goal was the resort to a transcendent religious power to meet the crises of everyday life, from childbirth to sickness to death. (Earhart, *Study* 3)

It is highly significant that the yamabushi appealed centrally to persons, groups, and times that needed *immediate* efficacious reprieve and salvation, e.g. women, children, villagers: "Perhaps no other Japanese religious movement has become more deeply enmeshed in everyday life than Shugendô" (Earhart, *Study* 4). In class terms, this meant that the yamabushi were one of the principal links between lower class or plebeian and upper-class or aristocratic culture and ideology. They were undoubtedly used by the local daimyô (feudal lords) as emissaries of various sorts, and they certainly also spread aspects and elements of culture from the capital and the Court to the provinces. However, it is reasonable to assume that, given their peregrinations back and forth and the osmosis between plebeian and patrician elements, the yamabushi also coopted and spread popular culture, creating thus interferences between the upper and higher cultural circuits in ways which have not yet been clarified.

Most attention has so far been devoted to their religious syncretism. The yamabushi took over from popular Daoism the figure of the magical mountain hermit-"genius", the ascetic Immortal able to conquer sickness and even death: "From the beginning, Taoist thought was captivated by the idea that it was possible to achieve a material immortality" (Needham 139). The strong folk-Daoist influence in medieval Japan allotted mountains, where one looked not only for medicinal herbs but also for the elixir of life, a privileged place (Rotermund, *Yamabushi* 24-26). But esoteric Buddhism too had by the 13th Century gone over to the more popular (Shingon) belief that Buddhdom, salvation by enlightenment, could be the result of instantaneous magic. The essential dogma of Shugendô is in fact the possibility of instant Buddhdom. This could be arrived at, e.g., by the pure-hearted adept --such as the *Tanikô* Boy or Master --reciting proper prayers and having them granted by a Buddha, or by the adept's manifesting his intrinsic merits (Renondeau, *Shugendô* 41 and 103-04). Obversely, the principal Shugendô deity, Fudô-myôô (a myôô, Sanskrit vidyâ-râjâ, is a "Wondrous

King"), the Great Knowledge or Light, is the pugnacious and conquering transformation or aspect of the compassionate force of illumination, a wrathful deity, the bodhisattva who allows salvation by quelling the evil forces with his sword of Esoteric Intellect cutting delusions off at the root and his rope binding the evil Passions. Derived from Acala, the Hindu deity of fire, Fudô appears as a blue-black figure amid a sea of purifying flames, fighting passion with passion. He is the most folksy yamabushi godhead, popularly called Fudô-sama, the saviour from imminent danger --a complex allegorical figure in whose temples "the principal symbol is... the ever-rolling, unavoidable Wheel of the Law or of Fate, which most Yamabushi have represented on their brocade scarves" (Casal 16-17). Traditionally his is the most powerful invocation against malefic forces available in the Japanese pantheon (he is invoked in, e.g., the Nô plays *Nomori*, *Funa Benkei*, and *Aoi no ue* --in the latter two, his invocation also proceeds "in the tradition of En no Gyôja," cf. Renondeau, *Bouddhisme* 87-95). En no gyôja is as a rule also accompanied by two servant daimons, of whom one carries an ax as symbol of power and routing the enemy forces of evil (it used to be given to army leaders --Rotermund, "Legende" 235-36).

Further, the yamabushi had a special focus on those usually most in need of instantaneous saving: the children (also the sick and the pregnant women). I have mentioned earlier how climbing mountains was in Japan often used for --or indeed as --the coming-of-age initiation ceremony, a practice eagerly continued by the yamabushi (cf. Hori, *Folk* 27, and Ikegami 159). The yamabushi exorcised evil spirits impeding delivery; after birth he gave the child a special "patron Buddha" name distinct from the lay name (*torigo-na*), thus becoming the child's god-parent until the seventh birthday (when the child is vaguely believed to quit the *kami* world and fully enter the human one --see Earhart, *Study* 82-83).

The obverse of this coin was that the usual institution of pages (*chigo*) --elegant novices in their teens, usually sons of aristocratic patrons, who in the yamabushi sect also accompanied the pilgrimages --in the all-male Buddhist monasteries easily turned to pederasty (cf. Rotermund, *Yamabushi* 101 and 233-34, who even proposes that the Master-Pupil relation in *Tanikô* is to be considered such, which I think is reading into the text what is not implied there). This is attested to in contemporary tales, and it was eagerly reported by Christian missionaries (cf. Schurhammer 227, repeated by Cieslik 434) though it was, of course, in Japan neither illegal nor immoral.

What about the allegations of ritual murder by stoning to death or throwing into rocky abysses? The situation is unclear, for there are few reliable reports about the action-oriented rather than verbally or scripturally oriented yamabushi; but it is clear that it is composed of diverse elements. First, there is no doubt that disciples, including young ones, underwent severe ordeals, some of which symbolized the pains of various hells and had clear elements of danger. One of the ordeals, "weighing the karma," seems to have had the neophyte, hands tied, sit

on a kind of balance, projecting over a precipice, with a large stone to act as counterweight. In this terrifying position he must confess all his sins to

the assembled company. If he refuses or conceals anything, he will be hurled [I assume by the weight of his misdeeds, DS] over the precipice. If he confesses all, his karma is lightened, the counterweight sinks and he is out of danger. (Blacker 103)

The repentance purging the neophyte from ordinary consciousness (*sange*) was as a rule arrived at by such techniques of sudden shock in positions of terror or danger, e.g. on a steep and slippery rock (Rotermund, *Yamabushi* 239). Second, the 16th-17th Century Catholic missionaries, whose reports (handily summarized in Schurhammer) are often full of rich information aberrantly interpreted, also report that as a result of the severe exercises and lack of food, and especially of water, many pilgrims fall sick and that all such are left by the way. They further report that *yamabushi* punishment for pilgrim transgressions by hanging them up from a height sometimes resulted in the offender falling from it, in which case the nearest relatives had to go on without mourning on pain of the same treatment (212-13, 226, and *passim*; cf. the recounting in Cieslik 433ff.). Third, the mystery-loving and mystifying *yamabushi* probably spread hints among the uninitiated of terrifying rituals in store for transgressors, perhaps exploiting accidental mishaps (Rotermund, *Yamabushi* 239). Yet fourth, there is a kindred, attested *yamabushi* custom, namely *ishi-kozume* "a form of capital punishment by means of stoning to death, practiced in Shugendō. A *yamabushi* who had violated the sect's rules, such as committing adultery, was subject to this punishment" (Earhart, *Study* 164-65). Though there is no Japanese overview about human sacrifice, there are many stories and some evidence of its propitiatory and atoning forms --as in the *Nō Ikeniye*, which Waley linked with *Tanikō*. Burying under stone heaps people who for whatever other reason died during the ascent might also have got contaminated with these accounts. In other words, there was real punishment for sect members and pretended punishment in tests for disciples which sometimes got out of hand. There were certainly accidents due to the rough rituals, and quite possibly cases of warding off impurity by exposure of those who for some reason became unable to go on and thus revealed that they were "tainted." It should be remembered that non-Christian religions as a rule do not foreground help to the weak individuals but survival of the community. In the special case of the *yamabushi*, they were specialists for binding and exorcising evil forces, the doctrinal premise being that this will be enough for the "normal" good forces --childbirth, health, etc. --to go on unhindered. In sum, what the missionaries grew indignant about was the absence of the idea of Original Sin in East Asian religions (where my position would be that this absence is a more sophisticated and friendly stance than the Christian premise).

At any rate, popular belief in some kind of mysterious death as penalty for impurity in the numinous mountains is attested (cf. Rotermund, *Yamabushi* 238). Obversely, the *yamabushi* participated vigorously in the general Shinto-Buddhist fascination with *rebirth*. The neophytes were offered a symbolic rebirth in the lapis lazuli (*jōruri*) world, or the Pure Land of Amida Buddha. Their intimate connection with childbirth carried over into the pilgrimage which was structured as the birth of the Buddhodom (enlightenment) in each pilgrim, with overt analogies such as the first cry of



the newborn baby being mimicked at the pilgrims' arrival on the summit (Blacker 110; cf. also the Haguro rites described in Earhart, *Study* 114-15, 128-30, and passim). Again, the missionaries, in a fine show of professional jealousy, suspected these "devil-worshippers" of faking the deaths in order to simulate resurrection (Schurhammer 217-18). In our times, however, Father Immoos has argued, following the Japanese folklorists Origuchi Shinobu and Moriguchi Tari, that the *ishi-kozume* was not a punishment or (as Waley implied) human sacrifice, but a symbolic ritual of initiation rebirth in the mountains (*yama-gomori*) during which the boy is buried under the stones which synecdochically represent the body of the mountain godhead (Immoos "Custom" 6-7 and *Ritual* 23-24). Zeami's *Nô Kazuraki*, e.g., recalls this widespread belief: "Heißt es nicht, daß auch im Stein/ Eine Gottheit wohnen kann?", alluding to the well-known mythologeme "Ishi wa hitotsu noshintai to shite," the mountain rock as body of godhead --170). This approach has in turn been doubted by Professor Zobel, an authority on *Nô* plays and their ethnological derivation, who thinks that the ancient magical leanings of the *yamabushi* may well have preserved a reminiscence of human sacrifices (52).

Within the magico-religious horizon of initiation rituals --which were in Japan as a rule carried out in the mountains --as well as in fictions mimicking them, symbolic, seeming death necessarily involves rebirth into a higher stage of existence as its purpose (cf. Toida 50). In *Tanikô* this necessity is seemingly jeopardized, only to be reaffirmed in the second part as an unforeseen miracle. Waley cut out the miracle, unbelievable in Edwardian Cambridge and London. Brecht was then left with the gaping problem how to judge a consent to (fictionally) real rather than seeming death.

#### A PHILOLOGICAL ADDENDUM ON THE TRANSMISSION FROM *TANIKO* TO HAUPTMANN

Elisabeth Hauptmann's *Sammelband* reprints a text by her from 1966, where she reminisces on how she came to translate *Tanikô* (175-77; see also Steinweg ed. 214-17 for the only readily available collation of two textual variants). She mentions there that her translations from Waley's book *The Nô Plays of Japan*, which she received in Winter 1928/29, and her opinions about the originals were later supplemented and modified by "Japanese students," presumably then studying in Germany:

Dann [i.e. after having made the translations, DS] erfuhr ich auch durch japanische Studenten, die mir kurz darauf einige *Nô*-Stücke und Teile von Seamis Schrift *Kwadenscho* aus dem Original übersetzten, daß Waleys Übertragungen, die sehr schön sind, zugleich sehr frei gehandhabt waren. (176)

During my work in Japan I was alerted by Professor Iwabuchi Tatsuji--scholar, critic, theatre director, and the leading authority on Brecht in today's Japan--that an Altmeister of Japanese Germanistics, Professor Takahashi Kenji, had at that time been in Germany and in contact with Hauptmann. I accordingly contacted him and posed some written questions to him. I reproduce the relevant part of his answer, dated June 17, 1990:

Ich kannte Elisabeth Hauptmann gut, da wir Anfang 1932 [sic] zufällig ganz nah in Charlottenburg Berlin wohnten. Sie bat mich, bei der Übersetzung von *Tanikô* zu helfen. Ich ließ den japanischen Text davon über Sibirien schicken. Dadurch verbesserte ich einige Stellen der Übersetzung. Das ist alles, was ich für sie getan habe. Ich traf Brecht selbst nicht.

A number of possibilities are opened up by this new information, bearing in mind that Hauptmann's translation was printed in the periodical *Der Scheinwerfer* in Jan. 1930, and Brecht's first *Jasager* version in 1930 (see Szondi ed., 51-52, and Hauptmann 248). Thus, either Professor Takahashi, who was 88 at the time of writing the above letter, has written "1932" as a mistake for "1929"; or the date is correct, and Hauptmann may have changed an early version of her translation later on, possibly too late for Brecht to take this into account in his text--though not necessarily too late for him to profit from the realization that Waley's "translation" was indeed very free. (I argue elsewhere that Waley's *Tanikô* should rather be called a rewrite, and may be more profitably treated as an independent play than a translation, cf. Suvin.) The state of Professor Takahashi's health has so far prevented me from checking out the first possibility. In any case, Hauptmann speaks above of more than one student, so that further helpers in the *Tanikô*-Hauptmann mediation remain to be found.

## NOTES

1/ Eight kyôgens --*Kaki yamabushi*, *Kani yamabushi*, *Negi yamabushi*, *Inu yamabushi*, *Tsuo*, *Fukurô*, *Koshi inori*, *Kusabira*, and *Kagyû* --are discussed from that point of view by Rotermund (*Yamabushi* 211-16). The excellent *Kani yamabushi* is available in the translation by Tyler ("Crab"). He has also translated a Nara ehon (popular picture-book) tale of the life of En no gyôja, showing the state of the legend by ca. 16th Century, in "Wizard." For Zeami, see the German translation in the Bibliography.

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## Brecht's *Coriolan*: The Tragedy of Rome

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Brecht is known to be an inveterate adapter who shows a marked preference for English sources, especially Elizabethan. According to Brecht, the drama of the Elizabethan age features an epic form, one suited to anti-classical, anti-Aristotelian tragedy. In addition, the Elizabethan theatre offers specific structuring elements employed by Brecht in his own epic theatre, such as prologues, epilogues, songs, an actor's direct addresses to the audience, and an episodic structure in the succession of scenes (Mews 101). Among all English writers, it was Shakespeare who exercised the most powerful influence on the German dramatist: "Bei Shakespeare fand Brecht die epischen Formen der theatralischen Veranstaltung, die er für geeignet hielt, die heutige Wirklichkeit zu erfassen" (Rülicke-Weiler 105).

Taking into account only those works which rely on Shakespeare's plays as their models, Brecht adapted *Macbeth* for an October 14, 1927 broadcast by Radio Berlin ("Vorrede zu *Macbeth*," GW VII, 115-19), and again as *Der Mord im Pförtnerhaus* in 1939. *Hamlet* appeared as a 1931 radio presentation and in *Die Fähre* (1939). Brecht drew upon *Richard III* in his creation of *Der aufhaltsame Aufstieg des Arturo Ui* of 1941. His 1933 *Die Spitzköpfe und die Rundköpfe*, as well as the 1936 variation *Die Rundköpfe und die Spitzköpfe*, contains elements from the plot of *Measure for Measure*. In 1939 he created his *Romeo und Julia* after Shakespeare's model. Early in April 1951 Brecht was working on a translation of *Troilus and Cressida*, but by May he had opted for "probably the only Shakespeare play with anything like contemporary relevance," namely the tragedy of *Coriolanus* (Manheim and Willett xv).

According to calculations by Dirk Grathoff, *Coriolanus* was staged in Germany at least 103 times between 1911 and 1929. Shortly after the Second World War the play was banned by American occupying forces due to its glorification of dictatorships (169).

Brecht became familiar with Shakespeare's *Coriolanus* as early as 1924, when Erich Engel staged it for the *Deutsches Theater* where Brecht served as *Dramaturg*. The Engel production featured Fritz Kortner as a deflated hero who exhibits an extremely excitable, ambitious nature (Manheim and Willett xv-xvi). According to Klaus Völker, Brecht viewed this production as a decisive attempt at epic theatre (41). In 1951 Brecht began planning his own version of *Coriolanus*, only to abandon the project in 1953. At his death in August 1956, Brecht's play remained incomplete and unperformed.

It is easy to deduce why Brecht might have chosen to adapt *Coriolanus*, a tragedy which receives far less attention worldwide than many of Shakespeare's other works. Considering Brecht's aims of creating a didactic theatre for the proletariat, *Coriolanus* is the perfect choice. The play centers on the class struggle in the establishment of the Roman republic around 500BC, and investigates the role of the plebeian class in the political upheaval. Rudolf Leonhardt studies Brecht's interpretation of the *Coriolanus*

legend in his 1964 review, "Können wir den Shakespeare ändern?" He points out that, while Shakespeare's work concentrates on the development and fate of the character Coriolanus, in Brecht's version the Roman people take precedence over the hero, whom Brecht portrays, not as the traditional tragic hero, but as a man who is destroyed by the discovery of his own dispensability (20).

As a prelude to the actual writing of Brecht's script, the playwright and three of his assistants, Peter Palitzsch, Käthe Rülicke-Weiler and Manfred Wekwerth, met to study in detail Shakespeare's first act. Brecht claims that Act I contains all the information pertinent to the understanding of the entire play. It is, in fact, in his words, "die Grundlage des ganzen Stückes" (GW VII, 1253). This careful examination by Brecht and his staff is recorded as "Studium des ersten Auftritts in Shakespeares *Coriolan*."

Brecht's notes for an earlier version reveal his intention to follow more closely the legend as told by Livy and handed down by Plutarch. This would require beginning the plot earlier than Shakespeare with the plebeians' secession to the Mons Sacer (Subiotto 148). The inclusion of these loosely related events that precede Shakespeare's frame of action would lend a Brechtian "epic" flavor to the theatre. Walter Benjamin points out in his definition of epic theatre that the course of time is handled "in an entirely different way from that of the tragic theater" (150). He explains that instead of the development of a single action, a chain of historical events would be presented through a series of scarcely related scenes. Brecht's final text, however, makes certain concessions to Shakespeare's "tragic theater," adopting the same restricted time limits for the plot, as well as Shakespeare's five-act format. Nevertheless, Brecht designs the plot with a different purpose in mind. His view of motive and event, dictated by his professed political and didactic goals, influences the treatment of the borrowed material. To adapt the text to his purposes, Brecht's poetic license leads him to rework Shakespeare's tragedy through a series of additions, transformations and omissions.

## OMISSIONS

According to estimates by Arrigo Subiotto, Brecht retained roughly one half of Shakespeare's text in creating his *Coriolan*. Only about 17% of the German version is new material. Consequently, omission is the primary feature in Brecht's alteration (150).

The most striking deletion of text is found in Brecht's first act. At the time of the playwright's death, *Coriolan*'s Act I lacked six scenes of the Shakespearean model. A note in the 1967 published text indicates:

Es war Brechts Absicht, für die 3. Szene des I. Aktes seiner Bearbeitung die Auftritte 4-10 des Shakespeareschen I. Aktes zu einer großen Schlachtszene zusammenzuziehen. Den Text dieser neuen 3. Szene wollte er während der Inszenierung schreiben, da es ihm notwendig erschien, ihn auf den Proben gleichzeitig mit den Stellungen und Gängen zu erarbeiten. (GW III, 2409n)

The omission of these scenes from Brecht's version stands as a reminder of the

importance of staging in the creation of text. The missing scenes call attention to the methods of a playwright who regards the roles of director and theatre critic as fused with that of the author. Indeed, Brecht was known to rewrite entire sections of his work as suggested by his actors or his stage experience. R.B. Parker notes in his study "Dramaturgy in Shakespeare and Brecht" that for Brecht, drama was a craft, rather than a sacrosanct art. His plays "grew in the critical conditions of public discussion and performance, not in the subjective silence of a poet's library, just as Elizabethan plays evolved from commercial demands, collaboration, and revision for as long as a play stayed in the repertory (231). In printed versions of *Coriolanus*, as well as in performances of the tragedy, the gap is filled by the corresponding scenes from Dorothea Tieck's translation of Shakespeare (Gebhardt 116).

Other less extended cuts involve the deletion of a portion of a scene, a character's speech or even a single word. When Brecht fuses Shakespeare's fourth and fifth scenes of Act IV, he eliminates the 92-line exchange between the three serving men, thereby excluding the humorous ending of this scene. Shakespeare's meeting of the serving men immediately follows and stands in juxtaposition to the hyperbolic dialogue between their master, Aufidius, and his patrician guest, Coriolanus. The dialogue reveals the nonsensical, illogical reasoning exhibited by the lower classes:

*First Serv.* He had so, looking as it were--would I were hanged, but I thought there was more in him than I could think.

*Second Serv.* So did I, I'll be sworn. He is simply the rarest man i'th'world.

*First Serv.* I think he is: but a greater soldier than he, you wot on.

*Second Serv.* Who? my master?

*First Serv.* Nay, it's no matter for that.

*Second Serv.* Worth six on him.

*First Serv.* Nay, not so neither: but I take him to be the greater soldier.

(Brockbank, ed. *Coriolanus* IV.v.160-70. All further references to Shakespeare's *Coriolanus* are to this edition.)

Although they pretend to state their opinions vehemently, each character's noncommittal judgments prove to be ambiguous or contradictory due to the overuse of the third person pronoun. Besides providing humor, Shakespeare's comic scene serves as a reiteration of Coriolanus' nobility and prowess in battle, this time reported by members of the plebeian class. Brecht drops this episode, thereby eliminating the statements that make the commonpeople appear ridiculous.

Elsewhere, small cuts from Shakespeare's text result in a more positive perspective of the tribunes and the common people. From V.ii.39-40, Brecht suppresses the guard's blame of "violent popular ignorance" for the banishment of Coriolanus. Likewise, Sicinius' description of the people in revolt as "in wild hurry" or as the "dissentious numbers pest'ring streets" (IV.vi.4 and 7), is withheld from Brecht's version.

In yet another omission, Brecht eliminates from Act V the First Senator's announcement that the women have prevailed and saved the city from Coriolanus' attack.



Whereas Shakespeare depicts the enthusiastic return of the "patroness, the life of Rome," Brecht's early outline of the tragedy notes a revised V.v in which "Rome receives Volumnia without thanks on her return" (Manheim and Willett 376. They translate from BBA 1769/02-3). In the final version, however, the scene disappears completely.

In lieu of Volumnia's triumphant return, Brecht substitutes a messenger's news that the Volscians have withdrawn, followed by Brutus' couplet: "Der Stein hat sich bewegt. Das Volk erhebt/ Die Waffen, und die alte Erde bebt" (*Coriolan* in GW 6, 2493. All further references to Brecht's *Coriolan* are to this edition.). The image of the stone being moved by the power of the people echoes the tribune's prediction given in Brecht's v.iii: "Er mag unbeweglich sein durch ihre [Volumnia's]/ Rede--obgleich das nicht so sicher ist, sie hat ihm manches zu berichten, was ihm neu sein wird--, der Stein dort ist unbeweglich. Ein Erdbeben, und ich bewege ihn vielleicht danach doch" (2487).

The imagery in these two German scenes depends on the pessimistic speech of the English Menenius: "See you yond coign o'th'Capitol, yond cornerstone? . . . If it be possible for you to displace it with your little finger, there is some hope the ladies of Rome, especially his mother, may prevail with him. But I say there is no hope in't. . ." (V.iv.1-7). Brecht owes the earthquake image to Lartius' praise of Coriolanus in battle: "Thou mad'st thine enemies shake, as if the world/ Were feverous and did tremble" (I.iv.60-61), and he infuses the entire trope with a new meaning. Hoping that the information that the people are taking up arms to defend their city ("was ihm neu sein wird") will cause Coriolan to retreat, Brutus lets the stone signify Coriolan's immovable will that can only be displaced by the earthquake of the plebeians' rising. Here Brecht borrows the image provided by his model, but modifies it by introducing a new element, the people's revolution.

Brecht omits a section of II.i in which Brutus and Sicinius plan to stir the masses against Coriolanus, the effect of which is the transformation of Shakespeare's scheming tribunes into honest political leaders of the people. They foresee only submission if Coriolanus continues his rise: The people will become his mules, his camels of war "for bearing burthens, and sore blows" (250). But more alarming is the threat the hero poses to their own authority. For this reason, they conclude: "We must suggest the people in what hatred/ He still hath held them. . ." (243-44). If the revolution to force out Coriolan is to come from within the plebeian class, Brecht must not include the plotting of the tribunes.

Two scenes later, Brecht cuts 115 lines that document the tribunes' active roles in inducing the citizens to change their votes. Shakespeare's Brutus asks the crowd: "Did you perceive/ He did solicit you in free contempt/ When he did need your loves; and do you think/ That his contempt shall not be bruising to you/ When he hath power to crush?" (II.iii.197-201). He proceeds to order them: "Get you hence instantly, and tell those friends/ They have chose a consul that will from them take/ Their liberties. . ." (211-13). In Brecht's version it is not the persuasion of the tribunes that causes the sudden outburst of hatred toward Coriolan. It is instead the hero's rejection of the free distribution of corn. The grain taken recently as booty in the war against the Volscians becomes a heated campaign issue. Sicinius is sure to get a quick reaction from the candidate when he asks, "Was, elder Marcier/ Würdst du als Konsul tun mit diesem Korn?" (2443).

Here is Coriolan's opportunity to lash out at his opponents.

In yet another instance Brecht omits a character's speech. Of Volumnia's two appeals to her son in Shakespeare's v.iii, Brecht retains a portion of the first, paraphrasing and simplifying the Elizabethan text. He replaces lines 97-104 which record the range of emotions that the sight of Coriolanus evokes in his family: "... our eyes flow with joy, hearts dance with comforts" (99). Wishing to avoid any emotional stimulation of the character or audience, Brecht offers instead Volumnia's well-reasoned analysis of the situation: "Denn ich ging nicht wie andre Mütter weg/ Das Kind zu retten, sondern zu verderben/ Und zwar, wenn ich's noch menschlich find, ansonsten/ Fällt's mich an" (2491).

Brecht chooses to abandon Volumnia's second speech and to substitute his own version. The English text is an impassioned plea, appealing to the emotions of the hero and affecting even the onlooking Aufidius who admits: "I was mov'd withal" (194). Brecht finds that he must remove the ardent supplication which calls upon Coriolanus' honor, nobility, pride and mercy. His appeal is to the hero's reason. The German Volumnia is forceful and direct as she delivers a threatening warning:

... laß die kindische Rührung, wisse  
 Daß du auf ein sehr andres Rom marschierst  
 Als du verließest. Unersetzlich  
 Bist du nicht mehr, nur noch die tödliche  
 Gefahr für alle. Wart nicht auf den Rauch  
 Der Unterwerfung! Wenn du Rauch sehn wirst  
 Dann aus den Schmieden steigend, die jetzt Schwerter  
 Wider dich schmieden, der dem eignen Volk den  
 Fuß auf den Nacken setzen will und dafür  
 Sich seinem Feinde unterwirft. . . . (2492)

This altered speech is fundamental to the understanding of Brecht's interpretation of Coriolan's motives. Brecht notes: "Coriolan kehrt nicht um, weil er der Sohnesliebe nachgibt, sondern weil er erkennt, daß er sich selbst überschätzt hat" (BBA 650/24, qtd in Subiotto 159). Shakespeare portrays a proud leader who, when offended by a people he despises, seeks revenge until he succumbs to his mother's appeals for mercy. Brecht's hero believes he is an irreplaceable asset to Rome, but his mother provides him with a vision of a Rome made stronger by his absence. Coriolan must face the fact that he is not indispensable. Brecht documents this calculated change in his character's motivation in the following notation, dated May 20, 1951: "So scheint es uns am besten, aus dem verletzten Stolz des Coriolan eine nicht allzu shakespeareferne andere bedeutende Haltung zu machen, nämlich den Glauben des Coriolan an seine Unersetzlichkeit" (qtd. in Hoffmeier 189). Brecht revealed in a letter that the didactic value of his adaptation was found in the tragic fall of a great individual who considers himself indispensable to the state. Coriolan is, quite to the contrary, a threat to the equilibrium of the state, and is, therefore, rightfully opposed (Fludas 129).

Finally, Volumnia attempts to draw her son back into the battle of the classes by

shaming his patrician pride:

. . . Wir aber  
Der Glanz und Adel Roms  
Muß nun die Rettung vor den Volskern  
Dem Pöbel danken oder deinen Volskern  
Die Rettung vor dem Pöbel! (2492)

In these few lines Brecht summarizes the dominating conflicts which organize his plot. The ongoing struggle between the social classes in Rome yields momentarily before the threat of attack by the Volscian enemy. Volumnia's words, however, are a reminder of the ever present conflict within Rome. She dreads the inevitable from her tenuous patrician viewpoint: Either the plebeians will win both battles for Rome or the foreign enemy will triumph over all.

Brecht frequently de-emphasizes the nobility of the patricians which results in a favorable view of the plebeians. He accomplishes this through a series of simple omissions. "Noble" is a significant word in Shakespeare's play; it occurs 58 times. To devalue the prestige of the upper class, Brecht omits lines containing the adjective "noble" from Shakespeare's III.ii: "Well said, noble woman" (31); ". . . you can never be too noble" (40); and "Noble lady!" (60), as well as the patrician's comment "You do the nobler" (6) and the substantive in "I am in this / Your wife, your son, these senators, the nobles" (64-65). From I.iii he cuts Valeria's reference to Coriolanus' son: "Indeed, la, 'tis a noble child" (67), when she comments on the sudden change of behavior that causes him to tear the butterfly to pieces. Brecht omits all reference to noble behavior and substitutes the remark: "Ein kleiner Schläger, Madame" (2408), which echoes Virgilia in Shakespeare's version: "A crack, madam" (68). Philip Brockbank notes the meaning of "a crack" as "a lively lad," "a rogue (playfully)" or "the little devil" (123-24n68). Brecht's judgment is more severe. Likewise in the opening scene, Brecht not only deletes "noble" from "You cry against the noble Senate. . ." (I.i.185), but he also intensifies the harshness of Coriolanus' speech by providing him with coarse, undignified language: "Das spuckt auf den Senat. . ." (2402).

When not cutting sections of Shakespeare's text, the German playwright chooses to reduce some speeches to their essence, thereby distilling the text down to its didactic message. Brecht often reduces text through paraphrase, avoiding poetic flourishes and limiting Shakespearean imagery. He introduces instead local color and everyday images. A fine example appears in his reduction and interpolation of Shakespeare's 17-line description of the populace's acclaim for Coriolanus in II.i. Here is a sample of Brutus' panoramic view:

All tongues speak of him, and the bleared sights  
Are spectacled to see him. Your prattling nurse  
Into a rapture lets her baby cry  
While she chats him. The kitchen malkin pins  
Her richest lockram 'bout her reechy neck,

Clamb'ring the walls to eye him. . . .  
 . . . Seld-shown flamens  
 Do press among the popular throngs, and puff  
 To win a vulgar station. Our veil'd dames  
 Commit the war of white and damask in  
 Their nicely gauded cheeks, to th'wanton spoil  
 Of Phoebus' burning kisses. . . . (203-17)

Brecht alters the speech to Sicinius' concrete description:

Und horch, wie jetzt ein siegbesoffnes Rom  
 Vom Ruhm des Unbotsamen widerhallt!  
 Heut kündet jeder Sattler seinem Weib  
 Er hab Corioli hinzubekommen  
 Sie planen, wo sie zwei, drei Marmorvillen  
 In ihrem Keller unterbringen wollen. (2430)

Shakespeare's enthusiastic reception of the hero is replaced by the familiar tone and the ridiculous image of the saddler dreaming an absurd dream of luxury. In addition, Brutus' excited commentary concentrates on reactions to Coriolanus' person, enumerating the voices who praise him, the eyes searching for a glimpse of him and the seldom-seen priests and fair maids who come forth to greet him. Sicinius, on the other hand, in his attempt to de-emphasize Coriolanus' appeal, focuses on the hero's indirect effect on the life of a single citizen while he refers to the warrior only once, and then as a lawless man.

## TRANSFORMATIONS

In numerous instances Brecht faithfully retains scenes from his source, but transforms them by adding a new thematic twist or by allowing for a different interpretation. He repeats Menenius Agrippa's famous belly speech of I.i. almost without alteration. It is perhaps puzzling that Brecht would include essentially the same speech, even though Menenius's moral does not suit the purposes of the German play.

Some explanation of the speech appears in the 1954 "Studium des ersten Auftritts in Shakespeares *Coriolan*." When Palitzsch first suggests playing Agrippa's speech as ineffective, Brecht elaborates on the possibilities:

Wir haben den Versuch des Agrippa zu zeigen, mit Hilfe von Ideologie, rein demagogisch--und ergebnislos--die Einigung zwischen Patriziern und Plebejer zustande zu bringen, die in Wirklichkeit erst etwas später, nicht viel später übrigens, durch den Kriegsausbruch zustande kommt. Die wirkliche Einigung erfolgt auf gewaltsame Weise, durch die Heeresmacht der Volsker. Ich habe über eine Möglichkeit nachgedacht und schlage vor, den Marcius mit seinen Bewaffneten schon etwas früher auftreten zu lassen,

als des Agrippa "Heil, Freund Marcius" und die wahrscheinlich wegen dieser Begrüßung gegebene Regieanweisung es verlangt. Die Plebejer sähen dann die Bewaffneten hinter dem Redner auftauchen und könnten ohne weiteres Zeichen von Unschlüssigkeit zeigen. Agrippas plötzliche Aggressivität würde ebenfalls verstehbar, wenn er selbst den Marcius und seine Bewaffneten erblickt, (GW VII, 878)

In the final version, the plebeians do not react to the sight of the soldiers since Brecht's stage directions indicate the arrival of Coriolan and his men by: "Auftritt unbemerkt, außer von Menenius, . . ." (2401). This early entrance can, however, justify the patrician's bolder language when he threatens his unruly audience: "Du Schurke, du ansteckend fauler Apfel/ Selbstsüchtiger Räuber--ja, schwenkt nur die Knüppel!--/ Jetzt wird Rom Krieg mit seinen Ratten führen/ Und euch für alle Zukunft--Heil, Freund Marcius!" (2402). When ideology fails, Brecht's Menenius resorts to name-calling and threats of physical violence. Ironically, he believes that he has power over the weak-willed plebeians. He boasts to Coriolan: "Laß! Diese hab ich alle schon bekehrt./ Ich hielt sie auf mit einem Märlein. . ." (2403).

Elsewhere during the speech, Brecht's slight deletions serve to quicken the pace of the exchange between the Senator and the citizens. He omits poetic details ("Even to the court, the heart, to th'seat o'th'brain;/ And through the cranks and offices of man," 135-36) and lengthy enumerations of various parts of the body and their personifications in the tale (114-18). Additions to the text include Brecht's emphasis on "der faule Bauch," the lazy belly. He enlarges Shakespeare's "the sink o'th'body" to the coarser "des Leibes Senkgrub und Abtritt," and in doing so, he devalues the belly and the social class it is meant to personify.

Yet another alteration serves to illustrate the ineffectiveness of Menenius' fable of the belly. When the patrician announces that he will offer his audience "a pretty tale", the First Citizen answers: "Well, I'll hear it, sir; yet you must not think to fob off our disgrace with a tale; but, and't please you, deliver" (92-94). Brecht's version presents a sarcastic Erster Bürger: "Das ist kaum eine Zeit für Märlein. Aber ich für mein Teil möchte schon lang gern schön reden lernen, und das kann man von dir, Agrippa. Schieß los!" (2400). Even before Menenius delivers his famous speech, mention of his reputation as a smooth talker and an entertaining orator reveals the attitude of his listeners. In the Brechtian version, the patrician is not taken seriously, but humored by the heckling plebeians.

Again in Act I, scene 1, Brecht introduces minor changes that prove to have meaningful results. In Shakespeare's version Coriolanus describes the protests that took place at the capital and which led to the granting of the people's tribunes. In the German rendition, however, Coriolan does not yet have knowledge of the Senate's decision. Accordingly, the great warrior enjoys boasting how, when he intervened (one supposes militarily) during the protests for bread, the crowd shouted as they retreated, "We'll emigrate!" And he wished them "Gute Reise" (2403). At the moment in which Coriolan jovially concludes his version of the intimidation of his enemies, a messenger arrives to whisper in his ear the news of the plebeians' victory. A simple postponement of the

announcement allows for a moment's show of force and self-glorification that soon deflates the hero of Brecht's play.

Brecht's citizens are industrious workers who are preoccupied, not by the affairs of the upper classes, but rather by the day to day routine of their lives. He transforms Shakespeare's meeting of a Roman informant with his Volscian contact in IV.iii to the chance encounter between Latus, the Roman tanner, and Piger, the Volscian ropemaker. There is no mistaking the treasonous conduct witnessed in the English version. The friendly exchange between the two men of enemy camps only serves to emphasize the divisions between fellow Romans. The traitor divulges the information of Rome's weakness as a result of internal strife and the news of Coriolanus' banishment, which both men recognize as favorable for Aufidius' imminent attack on the city, for "the fittest time to corrupt a man's wife is when she's fallen out with her husband" (32-33). Brecht's rendition in IV.i exudes a different tone altogether. There is never a question of treason. Each character sums up his uneventful life with the repetitive: "Man ißt, schläft und zahlt Steuern" (2465). News of Coriolanus' banishment is mentioned as an afterthought. Differing from Shakespeare's version, the hero's misfortune does not threaten the capture of Rome by Aufidius. Instead, the news is hailed as a sign of future peace: "Mensch, daß endlich wieder Friede ist!" (2465).

Additional changes in Shakespeare's IV.vi present a positive view of the tribunes and the common people, while doubting the bravery of the patrician class. At the news of the Volscian attack on Rome led by Coriolanus, Shakespeare depicts the panic of the cowardly tribunes and the recanting of the plebeians' decision to banish the warrior: "I ever said we were i'th'wrong when we banished him" (155-56). Brecht, on the other hand, follows a contrary plan: "Der Adel in Panik ausbrechen, wie kopflose Hennen, denen der Hahn auf den Nachbarhof geflogen ist" (BBA 1769/06, qtd. in Subiotto 178). Both Cominius and Menenius allow their pessimistic views of destruction to get the best of them. Addressing a band of citizens, Cominius professes: "Ihr halt die eignen Töchter schänden und/ Der Dächer Blei auf eure Schädel schmelzen./ . . . Und eure Tempel niederbrennen zum/ Zement" (2475-76). And Menenius concludes with the lament: "Wir sind verloren/ Wenn jetzt der große Mann nicht Gnade übt" (2476).

In contrast to the frightened patricians, the people and tribunes unite under Sicinius' direction:

Seid nicht entmutigt. 's gibt  
Ein Pack in Rom, das gern bestätigt sähe  
Was es zu fürchten vorgibt. Leute, geht, und  
Ich sag nicht lauft, in die Bezirkslokale  
Und zeigt, daß ihr nicht Furcht habt. (2478)

When a citizen asks if it was wise to banish Coriolanus, a firm simple "Ja" echoes in response. Stage directions note that the citizens file out slowly, not trampling each other in fear. Again, by a seemingly simple alteration, Brecht presents the common citizens and their representatives in a favorable light, while he consequently devalues the ruling class.

Brecht rewrites three of Coriolanus' speeches from III.i to supplement his II.iii, simplifying Shakespeare's text while retaining much of the original imagery. In the first instance Brecht includes the imagery of food and feeding that appears throughout the source play. Shakespeare's "In soothing them, we nourish 'gainst our senate/ The cockle of rebellion, insolence, sedition,/ Which we ourselves have plough'd for, sow'd and scatter'd. . ." (68-70) is similar to Brecht's "Ihr nährt nicht Tugend, wenn ihr Korn wegschenkt! Ihr füttert Ungehorsam und ihr mäset/ Ihn zur Empörung. Denn mit jedem Wunsch/ Den ihr der schmutzigen Brut erfüllt, erzeugt ihr/ Die neuen Wünsche" (2444). Stronger language ("der schmutzigen Brut") betrays the deep-seated disgust Coriolan feels in the presence of the common people.

The second rewritten speech describes the plebeians' "Erpressung" or blackmail for corn: "They ne'er did service for't; being press'd to the war,/ Even when the navel of the state was touch'd,/ They would not thread the gates. . ." (III.i.121-23). The German rendering of Coriolan's speech includes coarser language: "Mir ist/ Bekannt, daß, als der Krieg die Stadt bedrohte/ Mit jähem Untergang, sich das Geschmeiß/ Der stinkenden Bezirk' am untern Tiber/ Korn ausbedungen für den Waffendienst" (2445). The description of the people as the "Geschmeiß der stinkenden Bezirk" underlines the patrician's extreme sensitivity to smells and his resultant physical nausea when forced to deal with the people.

Brecht borrows sensory imagery from the Elizabethan model as early as the play's first scene in which the First Citizen's: "They say poor suitors have strong breaths. . ." (58-59) becomes a direct complaint against Coriolanus: "Euer Cajus Marcius sagt, unser Geruch verschlage ihm den Atem. Arme Klienten haben einen faulen Atem. . ." (2399). Again in III.iii, Coriolanus' rhetoric reveals his revulsion at the odor of the mob: "You common cry of curs! whose breath I hate/ As reek o'th'rotten fens. . ." (120-21). Brecht translates this loathing of the stinking masses as "Ihr Kropfzeug! Dessen Atem ich schon hasse/ Wie den Gestank vom Sumpf. . ." (2459). Indeed, one can concur, as does Subiotto, that Coriolan's "hatred of the populace is more aesthetic than political" (155). He rejects the citizens because they offend his highborn senses. Coriolan expresses no strong political convictions during the course of the play and his political commitment to his city is weak, as proven by his facile volte-face to join Rome's enemies.

The hero's third altered speech, an attack on Brutus and Sicinius, secures his condemnation. Coriolanus calls for an end to the tribunes' power: ". . . In a better hour,/ Let what is meet be said it must be meet,/ And throw their power i'th'dust" (III.i.167-69). His German counterpart lashes out with animal imagery, previously used to describe the plebeians:

Ihr Hunde! Ihr verkrüppelten Söhne  
Des Aufruhrs! Denn in einem Aufruhr war's  
Wo nicht, was recht, wo nur, was nötig ist  
Gesetz wird, daß man euch bestätigt. Jetzt  
Wo Rom nicht mehr den äußern Feind am Hals hat  
Und das durch mich, kann Rom von seinem Aussatz  
Sich lachend waschen. (2446)

In equating the tribunes with leprosy, Brecht echoes Shakespeare's use of infectious disease imagery in Coriolanus' harangues against the people (III.i.77-79). The remainder of the scene is shorn of speeches leaving only the bare essentials to advance the plot.

A surprising alteration of speech takes place in II.iii: Brecht omits the Shakespearean soliloquy in which Coriolanus wishes that the honor to stand for consul would go to one who is willing to call for the people's votes. In answer to the citizen's inquiry concerning the warrior's battle wounds, Brecht substitutes the succinct: "Und ich will euch nicht mit dem Anblick belästigen. Aber wenn ihr auf Unterhaltung dringt, kann ich euch ein Lied singen von der Dankbarkeit der Wölfin" (2441). After which Brecht includes stage directions indicating that Coriolan imitates a bagpipe player, piping for small change. Shakespeare's version of Coriolanus' appeal to the citizens,

Here come moe voices. Your voices!  
 For your voices I have fought,  
 Watch'd for your voices; for your voices, bear  
 Of wounds two dozen odd; battles thrice six  
 I have seen and heard of; for your voices have  
 Done many things, some less, some more; Your voices!  
 Indeed I would be consul (II.iii.124-30),

is emended by the nonsense of the Brechtian song:

Hier steht ihr Cajus Marcius Coriolan  
 Bei dem Versuch, sich Hinz und Kunz zu nahn.  
 Er hat römische Adler zu verkaufen  
 (Bitte die lieben Kleinen, sich nicht um die  
 Federn zu raufen!)  
 Ich bitte die Herrn, von Amtes wegen  
 Die Finger in meine Wunden zu legen.  
 Gegen ein kleines Almosen bin ich bereit  
 Zu jedwedem Dienst. Tretet heran! Letzte  
 Gelegenheit! (2441-42)

Coriolan's behavior shocks the onlookers, who conclude: "Laßt ihn Konsul werden und basta!" (2442). The citizens promise their votes so as to bring an end to the folly. This circus-barker fiasco underlines the insincerity of the hero who overtly ridicules the election process. Brecht's rendition sheds new light on Shakespeare's text. Though the Elizabethan Coriolanus speaks nobly as is required by custom, he practices a quiet form of deception on the people with his mock adherence to the rules. Although he does not resort to a comic song, preferring a more subtle manner to ridicule his listeners, his disdain for the citizens is nevertheless just as strong.

Furthermore, the comic tone of Coriolan's song interrupts the action, as Brecht prescribes in his definition of the epic theater. As Benjamin observes, in epic theatre "interruption is one of the fundamental devices of all structuring" (153). Shakespeare's



frequent use of song in his comedies sometimes contributes to and enhances the plot, but more often than not, it postpones the action so as to comment upon it. The intrusion of the ridiculous jingle into Brecht's version of the tragedy astonishes the spectator with an unexpected change of tone and manner of presentation. By not providing what is anticipated, the illusion of continuity is shattered so as to discourage the audience's identification with the character, while inhibiting the Aristotelian effects of catharsis. Brecht's altered version abruptly draws attention to certain personality traits of the hero, traits that intimate Brecht's interpretation of the play. Subiotto points out the most obvious of these when he offers a plausible explanation for Brecht's remarkable alteration: "The violence done to Shakespeare's text is for Brecht a necessary step towards diminishing the glamour of Coriolanus in readiness for the demonstration that he is not indispensable. . . ." (172). The device of the Brechtian song clearly enhances the playwright's chosen theme.

#### ADDITIONS

Though Brecht's additions to Shakespeare's work seem few in comparison with his omissions, they nevertheless enhance significantly the Brechtian interpretation of Coriolanus' tragedy. One of the most obvious additions to the original text is the inclusion of various supporting characters such as *Der Mann mit dem Kind* of I.i. Brecht substitutes a personalized individual for Shakespeare's nameless, faceless Second Citizen. Instead of a confrontation between the First and Second Citizens on the motivations of the successful but proud Coriolanus, the German variation reveals the private concerns of a single citizen as he announces his decision to emigrate.

Here is a man who prefers to expose himself and his child to danger and starvation in an unknown land, rather than to endure the hardships of Coriolanus' Rome. Hunger threatens not only in the arid desert, but in the city as well. Brecht borrows Shakespeare's notion of the plebeians' leanness as a measure of the patricians' abundance, but he modifies the message, lending it a stronger appeal to the senses as it emphasizes the act of eating, or of starving, in its succinct: "Es schmeckt ihnen besser, wenn sie uns hungern sehen" (2398).

While Shakespeare's Second Citizen rejoices in the warrior's military accomplishments, the pacifist *Mann mit dem Kind* points out the ultimate advantage of his destination: "Dort werden wir zumindest keine Kriege für die Reichen führen müssen" (2398). Brecht's treatment of the scene avoids any defense of Coriolanus' warlike behavior and offers instead a personal testimony that chronicles the suffering of "die armen Bürger." The Second Citizen is noticeably absent from the Brechtian text. There is, consequently, no one to defend or praise Coriolanus.

Brecht includes a child once again in a brief episode that explains the meaning of Coriolanus' "gown of humility," as Shakespeare terms it. In Brecht's II.iii, a man enters and points to Coriolanus:

Das ist die schlichte Toga, mit der sie sich auf dem Markt bewerben müssen, Terzios. Sie hat keine Taschen, damit er keine Stimmen kaufen kann, hahaha. Sonst möchte er sie vielleicht kaufen, wie? Hahaha. Aber er bekommt meine Stimme, weil er Rom eine Stadt

dazu erobert hat, er bekommt sie. (2439)

The joking attitude of the speaker makes the indignity of wearing the toga and begging for votes among the plebs all the more painful to Coriolan. In the previous scene he protested bitterly against putting on the gown. The toga of humility fits Coriolan very poorly indeed. It seems he has borrowed the very costume of the deceitful wolf who disguises himself with the sheeps' fleeces only to win their trust long enough to destroy them. Shakespeare's Coriolanus makes reference to this comparison when he speaks of "this wolvisch toge" (II.iii.114).

Brecht adds new dialogue to this same scene, after the man explains the toga's significance to the child and before Coriolan performs his outlandish song and dance for votes. Here again, Shakespeare's citizens take on the personalized roles of a shoemaker and a gardener, and by doing so, they offer certain tangible illustrations of Brecht's political themes.

In the first instance, Brecht presents an episode strongly reminiscent of the opening exchange in *Julius Caesar*. When Marullus demands to know the cobbler's profession, the man responds: "A trade, sir, that I hope I may use with a safe conscience; which is, indeed, sir, a mender of bad soles" (I.i.13-14). Brecht's Third Citizen appropriates Shakespeare's riddle with very little alteration. He describes his trade thus: "Ein Gewerbe, das ich mit besserem Gewissen betreiben kann als mancher hochmögliche Mann das seine. Es besteht darin, einen schlechten Wandel zu verbessern" (2440). The lines that follow Brecht's plagiarism, develop the borrowing in such a way as to express a truly Brechtian theme. The Fourth Citizen explains: "seine Stimme habt Ihr, weil der Krieg den Schuhpreis hinauftreibt und Ihr eine wahre Personifikation des Krieges seid, Herr" (2440). The cobbler owes his present success to Coriolan's love of war, and he will cast his vote accordingly. Brecht condemns all such citizens who care only for their private gain and fail to see the ultimate danger of a war which weakens the state.

Coriolan meets with less success when begging the vote of the next citizen, a gardener. Once again Brecht shows his familiarity with the corpus of Shakespeare's works when he adopts the metaphor of the garden as kingdom, as expressed in Act III, scene 4 of *Richard II*.

While Queen Isabel conceals herself behind a cover of trees, the King's gardener enters, dispensing instructions to his assistants:

Go, bind thou up young dangling apricocks,  
Which like unruly children make their sire  
Stoop with oppression of their prodigal weight,  
Give some supportance to the bending twigs.  
Go thou, and like an executioner  
Cut off the heads of too fast growing sprays,  
That look too lofty in our commonwealth:  
All must be even in our government.  
You thus employed, I will go root away  
The noisome weeds which without profit suck  
The soil's fertility from wholesome flowers. (29-39)

Richard's disordered state is likened to a neglected garden, and by implication, he becomes the remiss gardener. Had he pruned the ambition of pompous lords, his realm would be healthy, his sovereignty intact.

Brecht's Fifth Citizen is a simple tiller of soil who compares his garden to Rome's political realm:

Herr, mein Garten lehrt mich—  
Dies kleine Reich der Beete und Rabatten—  
Daß selbst die edle Rose von Milet  
Von allzu üppigem Wuchs beschnitten sein muß  
Soll sie gedeihn. Auch muß sie sich drein finden  
Daß Kohl und Lauch und allerlei Gemüse  
Von niederer Abstammung, doch ziemlich nützlich  
An ihrer Seit ihr Wasser abbekommen. (2440)

But Coriolan (the rose) does not tolerate the presence of base root vegetables such as beets and turnips. He is nauseated by the reek of the poor man's cabbage and leek. The citizen implies that Coriolan's pride needs pruning. Through the use of the garden metaphor, he insinuates that all patricians' power must be diminished if the people are to have an equal voice through the representation of their elected tribunes. The simple gardener teaches that if the kingdom is well-ordered and political power is justly distributed, all can thrive together in harmony.

The parable of the well-ordered garden complements Menenius' fable of the belly in I.i. In both cases, the moral teaches that all must adhere to its proper place. However, the difference lies in the point of view of the narrator. The fable of the belly, as told by Menenius, justifies the order of the commonwealth from the point of view of a member of the ruling class, insisting on the superiority of the belly and the necessary subordination of the other parts of the body. The gardener's tale provides the common man's view of the kingdom. This vision emphasizes equality and utility as fundamental considerations in cultivating the garden. In the well-tended garden, utility is valued as highly as nobility. The lowly, smelly cabbages and leeks are entitled to a well-watered and well-cultivated plot alongside the graceful rose. Brecht's insistence on equality echoes Shakespeare's "All must be even in our government" (*RII* III.iv.36). Nevertheless, the Elizabethan does not suggest a revolt against the status quo. He advocates instead the firm maintenance of order. "Even" merely implies that things must exist in proper proportion, that no man may overstep his bounds to usurp the power of another.

A significant modification in the adaptation of Shakespeare's tragedy is the addition of V.vii, the final scene of Brecht's *Coriolan*. The Elizabethan version ends with V.vi, in which Aufidius has the last word. His speech honors the dead hero:

My rage is gone,  
And I am struck with sorrow. Take him up.  
Help, three o'th'chiefest soldiers. I'll be one.

Beat thou the drum that it speak mournfully;  
 Trail your steel pikes. Though in this city he  
 Hath widow'd and unchilded many a one,  
 Which to this hour bewail the injury,  
 Yet he shall have a noble memory. (146-153)

Brecht's V.vii, on the other hand, opens his play to the future by portraying the well-working political machine as it returns to the business of governing the state. Secure after the withdrawal of Coriolan and his Volscian army, senators and tribunes work together in perfect harmony.

The scene opens with the Senate enacting into law a motion put before it by the tribunes, namely that the lands taken from the people of Corioli be returned to them, a pledge of peace and goodwill. The next order of business is the building of an aqueduct, a mundane domestic matter of peacetime. A messenger then interrupts with news that Cajus Marcius has been slain in Antium. A moment of silence follows, not as a sign of respect, but as a dramatic pause of surprise which allows Menenius to begin his eulogy: "Antrag: Sein Name, nunmehr, da er tot/ Der ihn einmal so groß trug und einmal/ So wenig glücklich, sei am Kapitol/ Als eines Römers und als eines. . . ." (2497). Brutus' prompt call for a return to the current business brusquely puts an end to the devoted patrician's speech. When asked if the women of the family may be allowed to observe the customary public mourning for ten months, Brutus dismisses the request with the firm and seemingly unanimous "Abgeschlagen." Brecht's final stage direction indicates that the Senate then continues its peaceful business. The tribunes control the new Senate; the plebeians finally have their voice. Herein lies Brecht's vision of a new democratic Rome.

Käthe Rülicke-Weiler, one of Brecht's assistants on the *Coriolan* project, views the final scene as the culmination of the plebs' struggle for government representation: "Brecht deutet mit nur einer kleinen Schlußszene die tatsächliche historische Weiterentwicklung an. Es wird deutlich, wie die Parteinahme für die Plebejer eine Fabelführung ermöglicht und erzwingt, die den objektiven gesellschaftlichen Gesetzmäßigkeiten entspricht" (153).

More than any other scene, Brecht's V.vii foregrounds the social concerns of the play, as it bears witness to the resolution of the class war. The final scene of Shakespeare's version (the death of Coriolanus) terminates the action. The concerns of the play end with the liquidation of the protagonist. He and his plight constitute the center around which the Elizabethan play revolves. Brecht's hero, on the other hand, is merely one of several elements in the dramatic presentation of a political theme. From the moment of his banishment, Coriolan loses significance as a motivating force in the development of the plot. The true purpose of the German adaptation is the illustration of the socio-political evolution of the Roman Republic, more specifically, the rise of the working class. The scene created by Brecht focuses on the collective, concentrates on social issues, and consequently establishes a distance between the audience and the fortunes of individual characters.

## SEQUENCE

Brecht again deviates from his Shakespearean source by reversing the order of two vital scenes. The episodes in question are Shakespeare's V.iii, the pivotal scene of Volumnia's pleas for Coriolanus to spare Rome, and V.iv, in which Rome receives word of Coriolanus' retreat. This simple alteration in sequence results in profound changes on the thematic level.

Brecht's V.iii opens with the desertion of the patricians: "Sie gehen packen. Sie wollen lieber auf ihren Gütern sterben" (2486). Meanwhile, his plebeians bravely take up arms to defend Rome:

*Brutus*: . . . Wie steht es in euren Bezirken?

*Ein Bürger*: Die Mehrheit hat sich zum Kriegsdienst gemeldet. Wer noch wartete, ob Menenius etwas bei Coriolanus ausrichten würde, wird sich jetzt melden.

*Brutus*: Gut. Wenn diejenigen, die von Rom leben, es nicht verteidigen wollen, werden wir es verteidigen, von denen Rom bisher gelebt hat...

*Cominius*: Rechnet einige von uns dazu. Ihr sollt die Waffen ausgehändigt bekommen, ich nehm's auf meine Kappe. (2486-87)

The organized popular resistance evidenced in this scene differs greatly from the panic-stricken response portrayed by Shakespeare. A messenger warns Sicinius of an attack by the fear-driven plebs:

Sir, if you'd save your life, fly to your house.  
The plebeians have got your fellow-tribune,  
And hale him up and down, all swearing, if  
The Roman ladies bring not comfort home,  
They'll give him death by inches. (36-40)

This display of recrimination is noticeably absent from Brecht's version.

When a citizen announces the women's request to plead with Coriolan, Sicinius rejects their petition, but the strategist Brutus allows them to try for two reasons. First, Volumnia will be able to report to her son Rome's readiness to defend itself; secondly, her visit will grant Rome some additional time to prepare for battle. By postponing Volumnia's meeting with her son to V.iv, Brecht diminishes the effect of the scene on the outcome of the play. The fate of Rome no longer rests upon the success of Volumnia's speeches. From his mother, Coriolan learns that Rome no longer needs him. The city will not passively stand by to be trampled by its traitorous hero. As Brutus expresses it in V.iii, Rome is "Ein besserer Platz, seit dieser Mensch nicht mehr/ In seinen Mauern geht, wert zu verteidigen. . ." (2488). The theme of Coriolan's mistaken belief in his own indispensability emerges from Brecht's rewritten V.iv.

With the new polemic thrust of Brecht's *Gegenentwurf*, the tragedy of Coriolanus

becomes the tragedy of Rome. Coriolanus is reduced from an overstepping Shakespearean hero to a misguided egoist with no sense of moral or social commitments. A new theme--a hero's unfounded belief in his own indispensability--creates new relationships between the principal characters, Coriolanus and Rome. Rome and its common people become the victorious heroes of Brecht's modern adaptation.

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### Changing Directions in Staging War: Beyond *Mann ist Mann*

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Death ain't so bad. It's very, very peaceful. I mean real death, with real guts strewn about the ground. Real ashes of real houses burned to the dirt. Real skulls buried in the dirt with just the grew teeth left to grin up at the sun. Baby bodies doting the dirt like bean sprouts in chow mein. I ain't afraid to look. Slant-eyed mommas crying over the limp remains of black-haired sons.

(Sergeant in *Viet Rock*)

These powerful words, spoken on stage at the Cafe la Mama Experimental Theatre Club in New York in 1966, shocked the American public into awareness of the full implications of the war that was being waged in Southeast Asia.<sup>1</sup> It took a play to achieve that effect. Then other plays maintained the pressure. For, while few films dared to expose the horrors of the Vietnam war during its duration, theatre had become a favorite public medium of opposition during the early years of the conflict; and it continued to speak about it during the decade that followed it.<sup>2</sup> It counteracted the general "silencing" of the Vietnam war that resulted in what has been called a public "amnesia".<sup>3</sup> Why did theatre escape that amnesia? The answer no doubt involves the special nature of theatre as art, as social event and as business.

As art: because, in contrast to cinema, theatre does not create an illusion of truth. When films try to show the horror of war, they have a mimetic power of reality even when they are fictional. And the American public of the sixties and seventies was not eager to look at the reality of the Vietnam war.<sup>4</sup> Theatre, however, displays only signs on a stage, some obviously symbolic, and though they can trigger emotions, the audience is aware that they are not witnessing actual events but merely representations. As a social event: because many theatres cater primarily to limited but faithful audiences of friends and supporters, expected to share the ideological views of the producers of plays. Directors of small theatres in particular need not to worry about satisfying the vast publics of movies and Broadway shows. And, while the majority in the sixties did not want to hear about Vietnam, a small minority was ready for it. As a business: because, for similar reasons, experimental theatres have an economic independence that is lacking in the film industry. Their production costs are minimal, they do not have to make money, and they require few large investments. Furthermore, a play can be written and produced in a few months in contrast to the long time it takes to make a movie. As a result of all these factors, companies that staged plays about Vietnam could dare and afford to be bold.

No wonder then that, from 1966 to the present day, theatre has produced a substantial body of Vietnam protest drama. I cannot discuss all that corpus here nor attempt to submit an exhaustive bibliography of sources. For the purpose of this short study, I have selected only those plays the openly refer to Vietnam, offering an overt judgement. I have, for example, eliminated David Kopit's *Indians*, which may be read as an allegory on Vietnam, but is neither obvious nor forceful. I have also tried to limit my choice to the most popular and hence the most influential plays. written both during and immediately after the war, i.e., during the "silent" years. My last text will be *Tracers*, which was first staged in 1980.<sup>5</sup> I believe nevertheless that my final sample of a dozen works provides a good cross section of the various ways in which the war was perceived and interpreted by Americans as an American tragedy.<sup>6</sup>

An American tragedy, and not a Vietnamese tragedy. For all these plays share a definite one-sided American perspective, paying little attention to the Vietnamese viewpoint. In that special sense, they are less about the Vietnam war than about the American experience of the war. In addition, while some action is indeed located in Vietnam, most of it takes place in the United States, either before or after the American soldiers are involved in actual war.

This variation in the choice of the theatrical space provides a convenient way of dividing the plays into three major categories. The first category includes plays that refer to the initial stage of the war, i.e. before the Americans leave for Vietnam. Thus Michael Weller's *Moonchildren*<sup>7</sup> shows how the life of a group of students, living together in a peace-loving community, is shattered by the draft. It was a timely homage to the early protest movement, crushed but morally triumphant. The action of David Rabe's *Screamers*<sup>8</sup> takes place in a training camp somewhere near Washington D.C. It demonstrates how the oppressive atmosphere of the camp, combined with personal drama, lead the future freedom fighters to disaster, before they even encounter the enemy. This theme, one may note, will later clearly inspire Stanley Kubrick's successful movie, *Full Metal Jacket*. The war is only a backdrop to the recruits' racial and sexual problems but it dominates their thinking, or so Rabe would have us believe as indicated by his authorial intrusion in the stage directions: "The war - the threat of it - is the one thing they share" (Rabe 30). To that extent, the play's lesson may be summarized, with some irony, as "War is hell, especially at home." As this and other "home" plays treat Vietnam as an abstraction and not as a direct subject, I shall not dwell on them.

A second category of plays deals with the experience of Vietnam veterans who survived the war and have come back to the United States. The first in this long series of is Rabe's *Sticks and Bones*<sup>9</sup> which gained him rapid reputation success in 1969. It was written at a time when the veterans only began to return home, but it was prophetic of a more general evolution of Vietnam theatre in later years. Next came out Tom Cole's *Medal of Honor Rag*<sup>10</sup>, Emily Mann's *Still Life*<sup>11</sup>, and Steven Metcalfe's *Strange Snow*<sup>12</sup>, all offering similar visions of the readjustment of the Vietnam "Vet". There is no need here for a special discussion of their main themes and images since, in recent years, there has been abundance of films, narratives and case studies which have treated this topic.<sup>13</sup> Besides, the Vietnam experience as such is downplayed in these plays.



They avoid referring to actual war stories just as the veteran's mother, in *Sticks and Bones*, tries to avoid listening to his war memories, interrupting his comments during a slide projection: "Harriet gets to her feet, marches to the projector, pulls the plug, begins a little lecture" (Rabe 162). Vietnam in these plays is merely a remote source of psychological trauma and social culpability. The main topic is the adjustment to life in the United States, so that the focal point is shifted from abroad and centered on the home front.

The third category, that I want to explore more thoroughly, takes the U.S. soldiers from America to Vietnam. Most of the plays in this category limit there space to Vietnam: Brant Duay's *Fruit Salad*<sup>14</sup> and Terrence McNally's *Botticelli*<sup>15</sup> are both one act plays which focus on direct combat in the war zone between American soldiers and the Viet Cong. The only characters evoked on stage, however, are the U.S. soldiers; the Vietnamese are but assumed presence. In the same category belong Amlin Gray's *How I Got That Story*<sup>16</sup>, using a journalist's perspective, the already mentioned *Tracers* and the recent Broadway production, *The Boys of Winter*, which moves the action from two boys playing at home in a tree house to their discovery that they are in the same platoon in Vietnam. There follows a systematic murder of all the platoon members by an unknown sniper, who, it is revealed, is not a Viet Cong but one of the boys. One should also mention Rabe's *The Basic Training of Paulo Hummel*. But the most interesting of these plays, I believe, remains the first one: Meg Terry's *Viet Rock*. Both in its content and dramatic structure, it still can be claimed to be the most innovative, scandalous and complete of all the plays about Vietnam. For not only does it split the staging of action between the United States and Vietnam, as does the later *Tracers*, but its cast of characters includes Vietnamese as well as Americans.

Richard Shechner claims that although *Viet Rock* was a "non-political play," it was "a war play and as such it was an anti-war play".<sup>17</sup> In fact, it was very specifically an anti-Vietnam War play. Its structure and content clearly refer to Vietnam: a political message that cannot be ignored. After the actors form a symbolic flower--this was the era of the flower children--action starts with a scene at a recruiting office. Next come the basic training, the farewell to homeland and the arrival in Vietnam. At this point, action shifts back to America: recruits, their families, and a patriotic sergeant are replaced by a Senate committee investigating the Vietnam involvement. Terry ridicules senators, American public figures and the credulity of the masses, and suggest, through the voice of Hanoi Hannah, that there were imperialistic reasons for the war:

"Good evening, my little baby ball, Yankee imperialists. How goes our tiny battle today? ... You who bring murderous destruction to a people who fight only for their own homes ... You must understand that everything is divisible - especially the colossus of the United States, especially the immoral giant of U.S. imperialism." (Terry 90)

In the first act, still in America, protesters claim that "innocent people on all sides are being maimed and murdered" (Terry 45). The action then returns to Vietnam, where an

interesting development takes place. Up to this point *Viet Rock* has transmitted a very negative image of the U.S. participation in Vietnam, faulting American imperialism. From now on, however, this protest is undermined by the fact that all actual violence on the stage is attributed to the Viet Cong. They launch a sneak attack on a platoon of American soldiers, killing most of them. And, at the end, the Viet Cong capture an American soldier and murder him and his Vietnamese mistress in a particularly brutal way, shooting off his genitals, ripping out and eating his heart, in short acting like the savages many patriotic Americans believed them to be. *Viet Rock* certainly was against the Vietnam war, but it presented Americans as its primary victims: victims of both warlike Americans and warlike Vietnamese.<sup>18</sup>

Very soon, however, barely three years after *Viet Rock*, a dramatic change took place. Suddenly, no more Viet Cong are shown acting and speaking on stage. In *Botticelli*, for example, two U.S. soldiers play the word game Botticelli to pass the time while they are waiting for an attack. Halfway through the game, they are fired at and, when a helpless Vietnamese emerges out of a tunnel, they shoot him down, without missing a beat in their game:

Man has begun to move cautiously away from the tunnel opening.

Wayne: Here he comes. Quiet now.

Stu: Okay, and this is it, Wayne. Did you write a famous "Lives"?

Wayne: I'm not Plutarch. Let's go.

Man's face contorts with pain as He is cut down by a seemingly endless volley of gunfire. (McNally 75)

The man is both anonymous and voiceless, and we focus, like the soldiers, on the Botticelli game. Then in *Fruit Salad* three characters, Melon, Banana, and Cherry, clearly standing for American troops, do blunder into an ambush: but it is not shown who has killed them. In fact, a note of uncertainty exists as it is implied that perhaps some other U.S. troops, not recognizing them, are responsible for their death. After they have been slaughtered the following image appears on the overhead projector:

Film: Black and white Army training film shows  
close-up of Sergeant-narrator...close-up of  
MELON eating slice of melon...shot of soldiers  
loading recoilless rifle in black and white...  
CHERRY eating cherries...BANANA eating banana."  
(Duay 137)

In short, the soldiers consume themselves.

Rabe's *The Basic Training of Paulo Hummel*<sup>19</sup> goes even further: at first, we assume that a concealed Viet Cong must have thrown the Grenade that kills Paulo at the beginning of the first act: "A grenade, thrown by a hand that merely flashes between the curtains, hits with a loud clump" (Rabe 9). But the same scene, replayed at the end,

reveals that it was another American soldier moved by jealousy: "And Sgt. Wall, there in the corner, beginning to move, is pulling him on a grenade....And the grenade, thrown by Sgt. Wall, lands" (Rabe 106). The enemy and violence have moved from outside to inside the American camp. In *Sticks and Bones*, the same impression is conveyed by the memory of the blind veteran David: his Vietnamese girlfriend, Zung, moves about his house, but she can only speak in her native tongue. Her image reminds him that she was the only source of love and comfort that he had and that he renounced: "and there was total understanding in you of me and in me of you... and...such delight in your eyes that I felt it; yet... I discarded you" (Rabe 174). Just like the Man in *Botticelli*, she is a silent victim. Quite loud, however, are David's memories about the atrocities committed by fellow Americans. His parents, like most Americans at the time, do not want to believe him.

Meantime, in late 1969, the My Lai massacre was publicized and the public perspective changed, inspiring the presence of more radical themes on the stage. The innocent and victimized American soldier in *Viet Rock*, already transformed into a killing machine dealing death to other Americans, was further metamorphosed in the public eye into a vicious beast murdering helpless Vietnamese. The new negative image of the American army appears first in plays about veterans. They convey it indirectly through their remembrances, sometimes supported by slides as in *Sticks and Bones*. However, in order to see crazed soldiers in action, the American public had to wait till the end of the war. Even then the staged killing was not always presented as a theatrical reality. In *Tracers*, for example, while they wear war uniforms during their Vietnam memory sequences, veterans are located back in America, and their experiences have a dreamlike character. In *Steamers*, however, a recruit "really" kills other recruits before they reach Vietnam; and in *The Boys of Winter* a whole platoon is "really" wiped out by one American killer. But this was perhaps too much. The last great Vietnam plays, *How I Got that Story* (1979), while still dedicated to exposing the horrors of war, gives up a military vision focusing on killing and replaces it with the perspective of a reporter. A sympathetic character, basically innocent, he changes from a naive witness to a Viet Cong sympathizer, then to a victim of the American System. There is even a reasonable Viet Cong officer: cold and calculating but not vicious as in *Viet Rock*: "This war has lasted all my life. Ten days is soon. (Untying the REPORTER'S hands) You will be fed on what our soldiers eat" (Gray 110). The Vietnamese have been given their voice back and now, licensed to speak, they speak with reason. It is also significant that the play combines its radical message with the spirit of avant-garde experimentation: a single actor stands for all the "Historical Events" observed by the reporter. In this way, more than by its content, *How I Got that Story* recaptures the jolting effect of theatrical experiments in *Viet Rock*, breaking with the constraints of traditional theatre both thematically and structurally. About the same time, the *collage* architecture of *Tracers*, made up of discontinuous memories of Vietnam, also was trying new forms--monologues, choruses, dialogues merging into narratives--but with less dramatic power.

Which takes us back to *Viet Rock* and its exemplary function as an anti-establishment play. A product of Joseph Chaikin's "Open Theatre", it molded theatrical

forms to its revolutionary message.<sup>20</sup> Instead of a linear progression of action and solid characters building up a logical plot, it offered disjointed scenes, ephemeral characters, and constant switches between actors playing multiple roles. The story on the stage make no more sense than the story of the war in Vietnam. And the spectators, facing a bewildering puzzle of symbols, realistic episodes, bawdy or vulgar songs, poetic images, were urged to strive for an insight into its fragmented meaning. Of course, this formal shock generated good theatre. *The Basic Training of Paulo Hummel* relied on similar theatrical experimentation in its circular structure, as did *Fruit Salad* with soldiers masquerading as fruits, and, much later, *How I Got that Story* and *Tracers*. To that extent, the Vietnam plays seem to confirm the theory that successful revolutionary plays must have revolutionary forms, supporting the thematic subversion with a formal subversion.<sup>21</sup>

In contrast, by the same rule, plays written about veterans back home in America, a pathetic but rather conservative topic, want to promote understanding and tolerance instead of challenge or critique; and they tend to conform to traditional forms. There are exceptions. *Sticks and Bones*, written by a "Vet", does include a ghost among its characters: but it was the earliest and most committed among these plays. Later, as the war receded into the past, the same veterans who kept alive the memory of military atrocities were turned into victims. Their problems in America became human problems, to be solved within the social system. Integrating of burying them, society was supposed to exercise its Vietnam memory. The message became now that not veterans, nor society, were really guilty, but a bunch of crazy politicians and generals, no longer in power. In short, the mood became: "Back to normalcy."

Obviously, the changing attitude on Vietnam directed changes in Vietnam plays: first a protest against war as such, where nasty Viet Cong matched brutal Army brass. The subversive presentation of simple soldiers as victims of war generated, perhaps naturally, subversive theatrical forms. Then, as more was learned about Vietnam, as more soldiers were sent there to be killed, opposition gained momentum but focused specifically on the American experience: and plays written after 1969 Americans are addressing not only the Vietnamese but also fellow Americans. As an American topic, war interested more people; and the experimentation with forms abated. Finally the war ended, only veterans remained: some wrote plays, like Amlin Gray, bit all bore witness to a horrible past. Traditional plays were best suited to deal both with their new life and with their memories.

This is one view. Alternatively one could claim that social changes in America were responsible for changes in the Vietnam plays. The American society in the sixties was both affluent and fragmented; it could encourage not only flower children and communes, but also the proliferation of experimental theatres, ran for and by marginal dissenters. There was enough money and rebellion to generate subversive plays, in content and form. Hence the Living and Open Theatres, and *Viet Rock*. But funds dried out, and conformity set in. Broadway blossomed with popular shows, off-broadway sold out to affluent intellectuals. Vietnam plays moderated their forms, and sought success in provocative but reassuring themes.<sup>22</sup>

The two theories are not necessarily exclusive. Both generalize and gloss over exceptions. But then theatre is not simple, and its interface with a complex reality like the Vietnam war cannot be simple either. What is apparent though, is that theatre offered a public forum where urgent political issues could be openly acted out, closely following the changes in popular consciousness and memory.

### Notes

1. Megan Terry, *Viet Rock* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1966), p.49. All further references to this text are from this edition.
2. I am referring here, specifically to films which were box office hits. Indeed, there are a large amount of unsuccessful attempts about these are virtually unknown. Films of the early seventies such as *Apocalypse Now*, *The Deer Hunter*, and *Coming Home* stand out, but they are followed by a period of about ten years of silence until the mid-eighties when the market has become flooded with war films, such as the *Rambo* series, *The Killing Fields*, *Platoon*, *Full Metal Jacket*, *Hamburger Hill*, and *Gardens of Stone*, to name but a few - all of them box office hits.
3. "Commenting on this silencing on the veterans by a society unwilling to deal with the experience of Vietnam, a number of analysts have used the term 'Amnesia' to describe this period in the late 1970's (J. Balaban, "The Legacy of the War". *Philadelphia Inquirer Books/Leisure* (Sunday April 28), 1-10. P. Caputo, *A Rumor of War*. New York: Ballantine Books, 1977. D. Goleman, The politics of memory: on commemorative public sculpture. Symposium at the Washington project for the Arts, Washington, D.C., 5 November, 1987.)" from Patrick Hagopian, "Diminished Return: Secondary Revision and the Memory of Vietnam," Popular Culture Association, New Orleans, 24 March. 1988.
4. It must be stressed here that the Vietnam war was the first war that the United States was unable to win, and many people would rather have pretended that it did not exist.
5. John Difusco, *Tracers* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1986). All further references to this work are from this edition.
6. Hence, all of the plays chosen are by American authors and I have not dealt with the large corpus of material from abroad.
7. Michael Weller, "Moonchildren," in *Coming To Terms: American Plays and the Vietnam War*, ed. James Reston Jr., (New York: Theatre Communications Group Inc., 1986), pp.151-211. All further references to this work are from this edition. A similar homage to a protest against the Vietnam war can be seen in Berrigan's *The Trial of the Catonsville Nine*.

8. David Rabe, *Streamers* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985). All further references to this work are from this edition.
9. David Rabe, *Sticks and Bones* (New York: The Viking Press, 1969). All further references to this work are from this edition.
10. Tom Cole, "Medal of Honor Rag," in *Coming To Terms: American Plays and the Vietnam War*, ed. James Reston Jr., (New York: Theatre Communications Group, Inc., 1985), pp. 119-150. All further references to this work are from this edition.
11. Emily Mann's "Still Life," in *Coming To Terms: American Plays and the Vietnam War*, ed. James Reston Jr., (New York: Theatre Communications Group, Inc., 1985), pp. 213-274. All further references to this work are from this edition.
12. Steven Metcalfe, "Strange Snow," in *Coming To Terms: American Plays and the Vietnam War*, ed. James Reston Jr., (New York: Theatre Communications Group Inc., 1985), pp. 275-312. All further references to this work are from this edition.
13. See notes #2 and #3.
14. Grant Duay, "Fruit Salad," in *The New Underground Theatre*, ed. Robert J. Schroeder, (New York: Bantam Books, 1968), pp. 117-138. All further references to this work are from this edition.
15. Terrence McNally, "Botticelli," in *Coming To Terms: American Plays and the Vietnam War*, ed. James Reston Jr., (New York: Theatre Communications Group, Inc., 1985), pp. 67-76. All further references to this work are from this edition.
16. Amlin Gray, "How I Got That Story," in *Coming To Terms: American Plays and the Vietnam War*, ed. James Reston Jr., (New York: Theatre Communications Group, Inc., 1985) pp. 77-118. All further references to this work are from this edition.
17. Richard Schechner in Introduction to *Viet Rock*, p. 17.
18. Though the vicious portrayal of the Vietnamese may be ironical, this does not change the fact that this is how they appear on stage in the earlier plays.
19. David Rabe, *The Basic Training of Paulo Hummel* (New York: The Viking Press, 1969). All further references to this work are from this edition.
20. See Richard Schechner's Introduction to *Viet Rock* p. 7-18.
21. For further treatment of this subject, see Reinhold Grimm, "Spiel und Wirklichkeit im Revolutionsdrama," in *Jahrbuch für deutsche Gegenwartsliteratur, Basis I*, (Frankfurt (M): Athenäum Verlag, 1970).

22. A similar pattern to the one outlined above may be seen in the treatment of South Africa. In the past decade there have been a large number of plays dealing with South Africa, in contrast to only one popular film: *Cry Freedom*.

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## Brecht and The Actor

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It is a given that the vast majority of acting training in American universities and colleges is based in the work of Constantin Stanislavski. The Stanislavski system, as well as its descendants such as the "Method", with their emphasis on the actor creating the "subjective" reality of an individual character, are often assumed to be incompatible, and at worst antithetical to the approaches to character and performance advocated by Brecht. This near-hegemony of one tradition has left Brecht's work rather far out of the mainstream of acting pedagogy, and the value of his approach has largely been lost on the student of acting.

Over the years, in our work with undergraduate acting students at Northwestern University, we have observed that this privileging of the Stanislavski approach has lead to a set of assumptions about what constitutes "Brechtian" theatre and performance. During one recent term, student response to the suggestion of featuring Brecht in the acting curriculum included the following:

"First of all, I dislike Brecht; second, I don't do caricature well, nor do I read well."

"I can't feel any sympathy for the characters."

"The humor's vague."

"What is the style?"

"How do we reconcile the lack of humanity?"

"The audience needs to be distanced from the play so they can see the point and irony behind it, but don't they have to feel something for the characters as well?"

If the students' level of misapprehension seemed extreme, it was matched by their hostility, generally and liberally applied to all things "Brechtian." The nature of this resistance, inchoate but deeply felt, and initially inarticulate, resolved into two principal fears: devaluation of character (and by implication, actor); and loss of emotional affect. In the students' minds, "Brecht" threatened forfeiture of both the actor's subject and mode.

This set of perceptions stems in part from an incomplete understanding of the terminology associated with Brecht. Brecht's polemical writings on the theatre, which are the principal source for college studies, are filled with difficult and sometimes anxiety inducing phrases: "alienation;" "standing outside of the character;" "critique of character and social circumstances;" "theatre for social change;" etc. To students, this loaded language suggests a bewildering performance model, at once obtuse, complex, unfamiliar,



and inhospitable to emotion.

These assumptions and misunderstandings result not only in a dismissal of Brecht's value to the actor, but a marginalizing of his plays, as well as an entire tradition of theatre that has profoundly influenced contemporary drama. Brecht has become something of a forgotten man in the acting classroom.

At this summer's convention of the Association for Theatre in Higher Education (ATHE), we staged a workshop entitled, "Brecht and the Actor." The workshop was designed to explore the assumed incompatibility of Brecht's theories with the Stanislavski approach to teaching acting, and, the practical application of Brecht to the actor's process within non-Brechtian drama. The project was based on several years of joint work between classes in advanced acting and directing seminars focussing on Brecht's plays, classes taught to senior and graduate students from Northwestern University's Department of Theatre.

Our goals in this workshop were multiple and wide-ranging. They were, in brief:

- to test the applicability of Brechtian technique to non-Brechtian material;
- to find approaches to Brecht which are accessible for the Stanislavski trained actor;
- to redefine some accepted terminology of Brechtian performance in language at once more immediate and clear;
- to discover both points of divergence and of confluence between the two traditions of performance;
- to define Brechtian performance in terms of the experience of the actor.

Exercises for the workshop were drawn from various sources in Brecht's writing and documentation of his rehearsal process, as well as techniques of storytelling and narrative performance. Our actors came from the professional theatre in Seattle, and brought with them previously rehearsed scenes from contemporary realistic drama (Keith Reddin's *Peacekeeper*, and Shepard's *True West*). The discussion centered on the impact of a given exercise on the actor's performance, and included the points of view of both the actor and the audience.

Herewith is a brief description of the exercises, and precis of the ensuing discussion with the participants.

### 1. THE FAIRY TALE: Three versions

This exercise is drawn from several storytelling workshops, and is often used as a ensemble warm-up or theatre game. In it, the first actor tells a familiar fairy tale (in Seattle, "Goldilocks and the Three Bears"). The second actor then tells the same story from the point of view of one of the characters. The third actor follows with the story told from the point of view of an inanimate object connected with the narrative.

For the actors, this exercise works as a technique for exploring the posture of the

narrator. They begin to distinguish the differences between narration and character, determine relative values of story information (objective) versus character information (subjective). The actors experience the undeniable necessity of the story, and privilege it in their performance of the exercise. Responsible now for the "whole", the actors perform with increased commitment to the fullness of the story, and to communicating its multiple levels and possible interpretations. A primary goal of the exercise is to present the actor with the concept of "point of view," which they experience unmistakably in performance as they struggle to balance the demands of story and character. An able first actor may even attempt multiple characters, to varying degrees of impersonation and point of view. In order to accomplish the tasks of the second and third actor in the exercise, the actor must assume a separate point of view, creating an alternate version of the story, often at odds with both our expectations and with the first telling. His/her performance of that version becomes an *agon*, an argument for a particular interpretation of events.

The effect of this is to site the experience of the performance squarely back in the audience. Confronted with several versions of the events of the story, the audience is left to decide which point of view is most accurate, as well as becoming aware of the underlying causes and consequences of the story's events. *Goldilocks*, for example, became a story about home invasion, the irresponsibility of a young girl intruding on a stable household, when told from the point of view of the youngest bear. This approach is akin to what Brecht refers to as "critique" in performance. Actors experience the singularity of "point of view," but also the possibility of *multiple* interpretations when point of view is placed in the context of the story. The actor also gains a clear sense of the audience's role in the performance dynamic: their task is to make judgements about cause and consequence.

## 2. FIRST IMPRESSIONS

This exercise draws on Brecht's suggestion that actors be fully aware of their first impressions of events, in order to avoid 'fixing' a scene and allowing it to escape critique. In the exercise, actors perform a non-Brecht scene which they have already rehearsed. Then, members of the audience perform their first impressions of what they have just seen. The exercise serves both as task in observation (for the responding actor) and a reflection of the way events and character are perceived by the audience (for the actor in scene).

Without fail, the actors in scene reacted defensively to the second performance, feeling their "ownership" of the characters and scene threatened. As discussion located points of difference and similarities between the two versions, the actors became aware of the unconscious choices and signals they may have communicated, and more importantly, became aware of other options for those choices. The responding actors were forced to observe detail of behavior and choice in the characters. Pressured by time and often unfamiliar with the material, the respondents focussed on one or two central

choices and attempted to develop *explanations* for those choices. There occurred a new urgency and clarity in the logic of the developing situation, particularly moments that may have appeared problematic, or simply muddy, in the initial performance. This "explanatory playing" demanded that both respondent actors and audience analyze and critique multiple causes within the action. Key moments of decision were rendered in high relief, freed from the distractions of too much additional information, which allowed the audience to focus on other possible choices. This is the basis of Brecht's concept of "fixing the not/but." By choosing a specific explanations of events, the actors must be aware of those other possible explanations or choices which were available to the character.

### 3. STAGE DIRECTIONS

In this approach, actors in a non-Brecht scene narrate stage directions in the first person, present tense. (This exercise is drawn from specific suggestions found in Brecht's writings.) Actors are challenged in this exercise to maintain a "reportorial" posture in at least part of their performance by describing in an "objective" voice, physical actions, bits of business, etc. In our workshop, we discovered that the difficulty here was for the actor to avoid revealing subjective internal life and to keep the narrative purely descriptive. The struggle to maintain both positions emphasized the distinction between actor and character mask, but initially frustrated most actors. As the performers became more adept, alternating rapidly between actor and mask, they necessarily experienced increased focus and energy, and a heightened awareness of action, which they began to describe, and play, in greater detail.

Actors also noted a different sense of playing emerging during this exercise. The sheer effort of concentration required (one actor admitted he had "never sweated doing this scene before"), the rapid rhythm of alternating view points, and the audience's laughter acknowledging the actors' predicament, encouraged a playfulness during performance. In particular, the audience's acceptance of the open display of the actor/mask established an unexpected rapport, and the actors sensed immediate access to the audience.

From the audience's perspective, a similar relationship emerged between actor and spectator as the audience was made aware of both aspects of the character portrayed and the technical facility of the actor portraying. As action was described as well as enacted, the audience perceived both the subject of the portrayal and the choices made in performance. This dual perspective led one audience member to describe the relationship to the actor as almost "chummy;" actor and audience began to become allied in the examination of the character. The playful nature of the exercise for both actors and audience served to diminish the inherent distinction between audience and event.

The experience of actors and spectators implies that the key to Brecht's notion of alienation can be viewed as less a question of *increasing* the distance between actor and character as *decreasing* the distance between actor and audience. Both actors and

audience members found this redefinition of a central and always problematic term provocative.

#### 4. INTERNAL LIFE IN DIRECT ADDRESS

"Speaking the subtext," or having the actor narrate the character's thoughts, remains a worthy staple in Stanislavski-based actor training. The exercise locates lapses in the performer's understanding of character and identifies significant moments of transition and decision. Our variation of the exercise places the monologue in the form of *direct address* to the audience. It achieves the above results, while isolating a separate phenomenon. Repositioning the focus of narration and extending it across the boundaries of the scene and stage out to the audience, creates a public forum for what was heretofore the private world of the character. Individual reason and choice are therefore opened to argument, to judgement and weighed against the concerns of both the other characters and the audience. Where actors speaking subtext *within the scene* (the thrust of the Stanislavski "inner monologue") can simply mouth the independent logic of already determined decisions, the 45 degree turn of the head out admitting the audience challenges the privacy and privilege of individual action.

Literally faced with the audience, the actors in character attempted to justify and explain actions to the audience, and in so doing began to discover deeper levels of reason and emotion. The urgency of the argument prompted a desperate honesty. One of the actors who found his narration repeatedly in contradiction to his actions, later said, "I think I knew he was lying, but it wasn't until then (in the exercise) that I felt how ashamed and vulnerable he was as a result." The audience reported an almost identical experience: engaged empathically with the character, they were simultaneously provoked by the narration to question (critique) motive and consequence, i.e., how the lying affected the other characters, and why the liar didn't just tell the truth. In the Stanislavski version of this exercise, the exposure of inner life is experienced by the actor and used as an enrichment of character; later, in performance, the inner life is only indirectly perceived by the audience. In this version, the inner life is now foregrounded; what is exposed is experienced simultaneously by actor and audience, leading to immediate critique.

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The Seattle workshop, along with our experiments in the classroom, revealed numerous and surprising points of convergence and compatibility between the two acting traditions, and their assumed polarity was diminished. The refocussing of the "inner monologue" exercise, for example, retained Stanislavski's basic intent, while engaging the audience in a "Brechtian" process of analysis and critique. We have found that these approaches instill in actors a heightened awareness of form, the importance of story and their obligation to its totality, and reduce the actors' fears of both the audience and of Brecht. Moreover, these exercises have provided actors an experiential reality to what

had been largely theoretical concepts. Much of Brecht's terminology, such as "alienation," "actor-as-demonstrator," etc., was demystified as the actor and audience experienced it directly.

Actors also became more comfortable with the idea of "political" theatre. These exercises focus on politics in that they reveal to the actor and audience the consequences of characters' choices and actions, in the context of larger relationships. What had been for the actor purely subjective concerns of individual characters are now seen as part of a larger political frame. Contrary to actors' assumptions ("I always thought 'political theatre' just flattened character"), this political frame dulls neither action nor character. Character becomes a means for understanding politics, but is not diminished by political point of view.

Our exploration of these issues is by no means complete, and the list of exercises is not exhaustive. It is our hope in the future to refine and expand these exercises in an effort both to further understand Brecht's theatre, and discover ways to integrate his approach into contemporary acting training.

### Brecht in Indonesia and the Philippines: A Brief Report

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Just as Brecht borrowed examples from, among others, East Asian forms of theater to support, expand, and even to articulate his own concepts of what a "theater for the scientific age" could and should be doing, Philippine and Indonesian theater workers have for the past three decades been appropriating Brecht's works and theories in order to support, expand and articulate the significance of their efforts to create a viable theater for their own distinctive contexts. This back and forth borrowing and retooling of practices indeed poses serious and significant questions about the dynamics (or to be more precise, the dialectics) of international cultural relations, questions which can not possibly be addressed satisfactorily in a brief report such as this.

For the present, I would like simply to present some preliminary data regarding productions, translations, and discussions of Brecht in Indonesia and the Philippines in order to give some idea of the scope of Brecht-reception in the two countries.

In the Philippines, serious consideration of Brechtian theater appears to have begun towards the end of the 1960's. Several productions can be listed in this respect. The first known production of one of Brecht's works in the Philippines was that of *Mother Courage*, performed by Zenaida Amador's Repertory Philippines in 1968. Not long afterwards, the Repertory Philippines also performed *The Caucasian Chalk Circle*, but upon that occasion the performance was in Pilipino rather than English. During roughly the same period, Anton Juan Jr. staged *The Threepenny Opera*. The company most clearly associated with "Brechtian Theater", the Philippines Educational Theater Association (PETA), performed *The Good Woman of Setzuan* twice during the years 1970-71. The first performance was in English, the second in Pilipino. This shift from English to Pilipino as regard to both PETA and the Repertory Philippines productions of Brecht's plays, points to a decisive shift in the world of Philippine theater which can be linked directly to the upsurge of nationalist sentiment during the last few years of the 1960's and first years of the seventies. Another aspect of this social ferment was a marked increase in political activism and protests. Brechtian concepts such as alienation, the instructional use of theater, and creating a critical audience, seem to have been appropriated at this time by radical street theater groups in alignment with radical nationalists opposed to the Marcos government. The attempts of these groups to carry theater to new and different audiences, along with the need to raise consciousness, for which Brechtian theater suggests some possibilities, were an important legacy for PETA and other cultural groups throughout the archipelago, particularly as such nationalist theater groups began to rebound, in the late seventies, from the immediate impact of the imposition of martial law (September 22, 1972).

PETA is not the only group to have performed Brecht after the late sixties.

Rolando Tinio and the Teatro Pilipino mounted *Ang Katwiran May Katwiran* (Die Ausnahme und die Regel) in 1974; Anton Juan Jr. and Kabataang Barangay staged *Santa Juana ng Kural* in 1978; the Dulaang U.P. (University of the Philippines) under Tony Mabesa performed *Ang Pabilog na Guhit ng Tisna* (Der Kaukasische Kreidekreis) at some point in the mid seventies; *Mutter Courage* was similarly performed on the U.P. campus at Diliman in 1985; the Cultural Center of the Philippines staged *Puntilla* in February of 1987; and there were several versions of *Die Gewehre der Frau Carrar* during the mid 1980's.

PETA, however, is the single Philippine group most associated with Brechtian theater, and their performances of *Ang Hatol ng Guhit ha Bilog* (Der Kaukasische Kreidekreis) in 1977, and *Ang Buhay ni Galileo* in 1981, both staged under the direction of Fritz Bennewitz, must be regarded as seminal simply because of the excitement and enthusiasm which they aroused both among audiences and other cultural workers. Both plays seem to have generated a desire for numerous subsequent stagings in various parts of the country, and in a number of regional languages. Obviously, the themes of these works were relevant to contemporary conditions, but PETA was also in the process of evolving a new kind of dramaturgy, as well as a new socio-cultural theater practice which greatly enhanced the reception of these plays and their subsequent productions by local theater groups.

These statements deserve some additional clarification. PETA'S original vision of establishing a national theater movement fused, ironically during the early years of martial law, with the Freirian-inspired activities of radical catholics attempting to build Basic Christian Communities in Mindanao. What such a fusion yielded was a new, conscientizing kind of theater practice that was pivotal in establishing a national "People's Theater Network" consisting today of around two-hundred groups. As this grassroots-workshop theater practice evolved, it incorporated elements of Augusto Boal's "Theater of the Oppressed", as well as, rather more implicitly, Brechtian notions which figured so prominently in the protest theater of the late sixties, and which were becoming so important to PETA's own dramaturgy and general philosophy. The techniques of this practice, crucial to contemporary cultural nationalist activism, were also used several times in mounting Brechtian plays in regional districts<sup>1</sup>. And, it is precisely these kinds of practices which constitute one of the Brechtian tradition in the Philippines today. Unfortunately, once again a longer discussion of such activities will have to be postponed until another occasion.

Finally, to cap this brief summary of Brechtian Theater in the Philippines, it should be mentioned that aside from PETA's most recent productions of Brecht ("A Tribute to Brecht" in conjunction with the Goethe Institute in 1985, for which scenes from *Mother Courage*, *The Caucasian Chalk Circle*, *Badener Lehrstück vom Einverständnis*, and readings of some Brecht's poems were presented; and the 1987 production of *Ang Napigil Sanang Paghahari ni Arturo U*), numerous plays have been written by Filipino playwrights that show diverse and intriguing borrowings from Brecht's plays and concepts.

Indonesian theater workers have also shown an interest in Brecht's word and ideas,

an interest which I have been able to trace as far back as 1957, when an article commemorating the first anniversary of Brecht's death appeared in the cultural bi-weekly *Zaman Baru* (The New Age). *Zaman Baru* was a publication of LEKRA, a cultural organization connected to the Indonesian Communist Party, and the article, written by Bintang Suradi for the August 20-30 edition, hailed Brecht as an ardent anti-fascist, anti-war writer, and especially lauded his *Dreigroschenroman*, *Mutter Courage*, and several anti-fascist poems written during the second world war. These works were contrasted, to some extent, to Brecht's earlier "anarcho-syndicalist" period (e.g., *Baal*) and used to demonstrate Brecht's growing political maturity. Suradi also introduced, however, Brecht's notion of "Verfremdung" in a rather favorable, matter of fact manner. In 1962, the same publication also featured a short article commenting on the campaign by West German authorities to prevent performances of Brecht's work in retaliation for the erection of the Berlin wall. Yet, as far as I can ascertain, Brecht's works were not performed in the pre-1965 period.

Following the events of 1965 and the complete destruction and banning of the Indonesian communist party, other cultural workers also began to take an interest in Brecht's work. Contemporary Indonesian theater experienced a remarkable creative flowering during the late 1960s and throughout the seventies. Several of the major figures involved in this flowering saw fit to stage Brecht's works a one point or another, beginning with W.S. Rendra's Bengkel Theater, which presented three short Brecht plays at some point between 1967 and 1969. Judging from two translations by Rendra which appeared in the late sixties in the cultural magazine, *Budaya Jaya*, two of the plays must have been scenes taken from *Furcht und Elend des Dritten Reiches* (*Informan* [Der Spitzel] and *Mencari Keadilan* [Rechtsfindung]). Another of the central figures in contemporary Indonesian Theater, Arifin C. Noer and his Theater Kecil company performed Rendra's translation of *Rechtsfindung* in late March of 1969. Rendra staged Brecht once more in 1976 with a production of *Lingkaran Kapur Putih* (Der Kaukasische Kreidekreis), and a third of the major companies of the period, Teguh Karya's Theater Populer, performed *Perempuan Pilihan Dewa* (Der Gute Mensch von Sezuan) under the direction of Slamet Rahardjo in March of that same year. 1976 was in fact a banner year for Brecht in Indonesia, as *Budaya Jaya* published an Indonesian translation of the complete "Kleines Organon für das Theater" in its November issue.

In 1978, Studiklub Theater Bandung mounted a production of *Der Kaukasische Kreidekreis*. The same play became the object of one the most interesting attempts to stage Brecht in Indonesia, undertaken in 1980 by, ironically, a company from Surabaya, the Bengkel Muda. Under the direction of Basuki Rachmat, Bengkel Muda attempted to blend Brecht with elements from several forms of traditional Javanese theater: ludruk, ketoprak, and wayang wong. This performance was quite successful with Indonesian audiences, and after playing in Surabaya, toured to Central Javanese city of Jogjakarta as well as to Jakarta.

One of the more controversial of contemporary stage directors, N. Riantiarno, who has attained a high degree of commercial success in Jakarta with his style which combines elements of the Broadway musical with pointed political criticism, admits to having



Brecht as one of the key influences in the development of his theater. In 1983, Riantiarno staged an adaptation of *Die Dreigroschenoper* (Opera Ikan Asin) and went on to produce a television version of *Der kaukasische Kreidekreis* several years later. Finally, ASTI Bandung, a performing arts institute company, performed a version of *Puntila* in the summer of 1988.

One final note is in order here. The type of grassroots workshop theater developed by PETA in the Philippines is currently also being practiced, with modifications, by several Central Javanese cultural groups linked to non-government developmental organizations. The Brechtian tradition in this type of cultural practice can be traced through the assimilation of some of Boal's ideas, as well as those of PETA, with whom a number of the Indonesian cultural workers have undergone training, more than through a direct acquaintance with the Brecht's own concepts.

#### NOTES

1. For more information on this, see Maria Luisa F. Torres, "Brecht and the Philippines: Anticipating Freedom in theater" in *The Brecht Yearbook XIV*; pp. 134-154.

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