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I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Mary Lucille Hoak entitled "French Influences on the Dramas of Bertolt Brecht, Max Frisch, and Heiner Müller." I have examined the final copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Modern Foreign Languages.

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FRENCH INFLUENCES ON THE DRAMAS OF BERTOLT BRECHT, MAX FRISCH, AND HEINER MÜLLER

A Dissertation

Presented for the

Doctor of Philosophy

Degree

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Mary Lucille Hoak

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Dedicated

to my parents,

George and Ella Hoak,

whose belief in education and the power of the written word never wavered, even when their children were skeptics, and whose faith in their daughter's abilities remained strong, even when she wondered, especially about this project.

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Abstract

This dissertation examines French historical influences on the dramas of Brecht, Sartre's influence on the dramas of Frisch, French literary sources for Müller's Quartett, and how the three playwrights adapted Molière's Dom Juan. Brecht's Die heilige Johanna der Schlachthöfe, Die Gesichte der Simone Machard, and Der Prozeß der Jeanne d'Arc zu Rouen 1431 include a Joan of Arc figure. The first was written as Europe prepared for the five hundredth anniversary of her death. This event may have inspired the tenuous association of Joan of Arc with a figure from a Salvation-Army-type establishment. Outside history had a role in the second play as Joan of Arc remained a symbol for French resistance in the 1940s. The Slansky trial in Prague coincided with the premiere of the third play, an adaptation of a radio play by Anna Seghers. The controversy over the role of female assistants in Brecht's collective theatrical enterprise causes one to speculate on the appeal of Joan of Arc to them as well as to audiences. Die Tage der Commune, based on the Paris Commune of 1871 and written as a counterplay to Nordahl Grieg's The Defeat, is the final Brecht play examined. It is motivated by the question of how a revolt can succeed

rather than be defeated.

Sartre's existentialist themes of freedom, the struggle between bad faith and authenticity, the role of the Other in self-definition, individual freedom versus responsibility to the community, and the role of a fundamental project are examined in six plays by Frisch: Santa Cruz; Graf Öderland; Biedermann und die Brandstifter with its Epilogue; Andorra; Biografie. Ein Spiel; and Triptychon.

Müller's play Quartett is examined in relation to Laclos's novel Les Liaisons dangereuses and affinities with Antonin Artaud. Some performances reflect Samuel Beckett and Jean Genet. Violence and terrorism as layers of the play can be traced back to Georges Bataille and Jean Baudrillard.

Both Brecht and Frisch adapted Molière's play Dom Juan and Müller translated it. Frisch wrote a very original play with the title character's existentialist struggles to create an identity separate from the legend.

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Table of Abbreviations

AATG American Association of Teachers of German

BBA Bertolt Brecht Archives (usually followed by a number for the packet of information and either a colon or slash, followed by the pages within the packet)

BFA Berliner und Frankfurter Ausgabe, the historical-critical edition of Bertolt Brecht's collected works (followed by the volume, a colon, and then pages)

DDR Deutsche Demokratische Republik (see GDR)

GDR German Democratic Republic

GW Gesammelte Werke, collected works, here referring to Frisch's collected works

Chapter I:

Introduction

This dissertation examines the influence of French history on the plays of Bertolt Brecht (1898-1956), the impact of Jean-Paul Sartre's existentialist philosophy on the dramas of Max Frisch (1911-1991), the influence of French literature on the theater of Heiner Müller (1929-1995), and the way in which these three German-speaking dramatists deal with the Don Juan theme in relation to Molière's play. The final chapter on Don Juan provides the opportunity to compare the way the three writers approach one theme, though they utilized the theme at different stages in their careers and with differing degrees of creativity.

Reading about Joan of Arc's portrayal in literature led me to the three plays by Brecht discussed in this dissertation and stimulated me to explore other French influences on modern German drama. A survey of secondary literature identified other French influences on the three German-language dramatists whose works are examined here. While references can be found to certain French influences on these writers as well as the influence of these writers

on French writers, no thorough study has established the extent of the French influences on these three playwrights. This dissertation will begin that study as it examines French historical influences on Brecht, the French philosophical influences of Sartre on Frisch, and French literary influences on Müller.

Before turning to an overview of the three writers and a review of significant secondary literature for this study, I will consider the concept of "influence." The American Heritage Dictionary defines the word as

> 1. A power indirectly or intangibly affecting a person or a course of events. 2. Power to sway or affect based on prestige, wealth, ability, or position. 3. A person or thing exercising such power. 4. An effect or change produced by such power. (674)

While there is a tendency to think of influence as immediate and direct, the first of these definitions is helpful in the examination of these literary works which in many ways do not show direct influences from French history, philosophy, or literature. One can, however, identify "a power" from French history, philosophy, or literature which "indirectly or intangibly" is reflected in the dramas written by Brecht, Frisch, and Müller.

In a thoughtful essay on Brecht's influences on later

playwrights, Eric Bentley discusses fallacies resulting from looking too hard for influence. His "first fallacy" involves equating a new star, a new writer, with a new influence, and what he calls "the first fallacy" is "the assumption--the taking it for granted--that this is a good thing" (186). Using the recent example of Samuel Beckett's influence on later playwrights, he notes that "[t]he plays that are full of Beckettry are not equally full of talent. . . . It is possible that some of the Beckett epigones would do better left to their own devices. Or influenced by someone else" (186). Bentley points out a circular nature that can easily arise from arguments about influence as he contends:

> The aim is to celebrate Beckett. Beckett has influence because he is big. He is big because he has influence. So what is wrong? Primarily, I suppose that, when we thought that we were talking about literature as such, we find that we were talking only about public relations. (186)

Bentley's "second fallacy" has to do with the difficulty of defining the word influence, which covers so many different extremes and can allow "neither for accidental coincidence nor for natural affinity and confluence" (187). This is a question which may need to be asked as one looks at Sartre's existentialist ideas and Max

Frisch's theater. Frisch definitely deals with existentialist themes, but to what extent is the coincidence accidental, a confluence of ideas of the times in which both lived? Literary influence is not as clear as Bentley's example of Saul of Tarsus seeing Jesus and being so influenced and changed by him that he becomes Paul, the Christian saint (187). Such a strong and direct influence will not be seen in the literary works examined in this dissertation.

Bentley's "third fallacy" holds that use of or reliance on outside sources does not necessarily mean that the source has influenced the author (188). Brecht's concept of the counterplay, the play which responds to a source, is a concept Bentley neglects. Brecht's Die Tage der Commune was a response or counterplay to Nordahl Grieg's The Defeat. While Bentley rejects Grieg as an influence on Brecht because he believes that an influence should be positive rather than negative, part of Brecht's theory challenges that interpretation. At the same time, Bentley argues that Shaw influenced the genesis of Die heilige Johanna der Schlachthöfe. He argues that the influence of Shaw's Saint Joan on Brecht "is not limited to use of source material. And it is in part negative. Brecht is reacting against Shaw" (190). This seems to contradict his earlier argument. The role of sources is

of interest in examining the plays of Brecht based on French history and Müller's Quartett in relation to Laclos's novel, Les Liaisons dangereuses. How much those sources influenced the author is a key question to be kept in mind.

Brecht, Frisch, and Müller are recognized as outstanding German-language dramatists of the twentieth century. Brecht wrote extensively for over thirty years in the first half of the century, was forced by Hitler into fourteen years of exile, and then directed the Berliner Ensemble theater group, building it into an internationally acclaimed repertory company. Müller built on Brecht's innovations and new traditions and benefited from the existence of the Berliner Ensemble, where he was director when he died in 1995. Frisch, along with his compatriot Dürrenmatt, helped build a strong German-language theater in Switzerland during World War II. The Zürcher Schauspielhaus which nourished them also premiered several of Brecht's plays during his exile in Scandinavia and then in the United States. When Brecht returned to Europe from America, he went first to Switzerland. He returned there in 1949 after moving to Berlin to recruit members of the Berliner Ensemble and to do the research for Die Tage der Commune. The three writers thus also represent theater before World War II in Germany, Swiss

theater during and after the war, and GDR drama.

The works examined in this dissertation span the fifty-eight-year period from 1929 when Brecht began working on Die heilige Johanna der Schlachthöfe to 1987 when Frisch finished Triptychon. During that period and in the dozen years since the first performance of the last of these plays, playgoers and critics have examined the works from many points of view. The basic question which this work attempts to answer is how an idea from French history for Brecht, from French philosophy for Frisch, from French literature for Müller, or from the legend of Don Juan for each of the three writers provides a spark which then inspires a given work and plays a role in the entire literary oeuvre of the playwright.

Brecht's earliest plays were written and first performed in Munich, where he met Lion Feuchtwanger, his main collaborator for Die Gesichte der Simone Machard and a fellow member of the exile community in California at the beginning of the 1940s. His early plays show that he had

> revolted violently against his social background, rejected all moral standards and codes of conduct, and discarded his religious belief. In the Jungle . . . is the work of a writer . . . who has not yet replaced the loss by new values based on a

political ideology or a new philosophy of life. (Raknem 204)

Shortly after Brecht moved to Berlin in 1924, he began studying Marxism as he and Elisabeth Hauptmann researched American capitalists and the Salvation Army. This study led to the figures of Pierpont Mauler and Johanna Dark in Die heilige Johanna der Schlachthöfe. During the writing of this play, Brecht discovered the political ideology which would drive his didactic plays or Lehrstücke, but Hitler had already taken power and no German theater would perform the play. He settled for a radio performance in 1932 of seven of the scenes. The next year, Brecht, his wife, and son fled Germany the day following the February 27 burning of the Reichstag. While Brecht continued to write in exile and wrote most of his best known plays during this period, theater in Germany ceased for a time to allow free expression of ideas. That role was slowly taken over by the theater of Zurich in neutral Switzerland.

As Germany stabilized after World War II, Brecht returned to Europe via Zurich, where he met Max Frisch. Brecht finally settled in East Berlin and rebuilt the Theater am Schiffbauerdamm for his Berliner Ensemble, managing to be protected from political whims by an Austrian passport, a West German publisher, and a Swiss

bank account. His theater became a showplace in the GDR. It continued after his death in 1956, initially under the leadership of his wife, Helene Weigel.

There are two important French historical influences on the plays attributed to Brecht. Three of his plays and one screenplay are based in varying degrees on the legend of Joan of Arc. Another play depicts the Paris Commune of 1871. Brecht's most historical treatment of Joan of Arc, Der Prozeß der Jeanne d'Arc zu Rouen 1431, written and first performed in 1952, is an adaptation of a 1937 radio play by Anna Seghers. In true Brechtian form, he adds imaginative elements to the play, primarily driven by a Marxist Weltanschauung. Brecht's other Joan of Arc plays, Die heilige Johanna der Schlachthöfe and Die Gesichte der Simone Machard, as well as the screenplay, Silent Witness (or Der stumme Zeuge),[1] are less driven by history, but could not exist without historical references to Joan of Arc.

There is extensive secondary literature on Brecht and Frisch. With both authors, it was helpful to begin with overviews of European drama and then turn to an earlier

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[1]Written while in exile in California, Silent Witness was written to be sold in Hollywood and thus the main text is in English. It is the English text only which appears in BFA, vol. 20. The 1969 Suhrkamp edition of Texte für Filme II: Exposés, Szenarien was published with a German text, Der stumme Zeuge, on the page facing the English.

dissertation by Leonard Retiz on Brecht and by Peter Ruppert on Frisch, which deal only in part with the subject to be examined. W. G. Cunliffe's article on Frisch and existentialism also offers a useful overview of the topic. Oscar G. Brockett and Robert Findlay's Century of Innovation is an especially pertinent overview of the place of Brecht and Frisch in the history of post-war western drama.

A visit to the Brecht Archives in Berlin during the summer of 1993 provided me with access to the text of an exhibit on Brecht in France which was prepared for the GDR cultural center in Paris in 1988. It surveyed both of the historical themes examined in this dissertation. A visit to the Frisch Archives in Zurich in 1994 provided access to much secondary material on the author and his plays.

Retiz's 1972 dissertation, "The Historical Dramas of Brecht," begins with a foreword on historiography and drama. He then examines three of Brecht's plays in detail: Die Tage der Commune, Leben des Galilei, and Der Prozeß der Jeanne d'Arc zu Rouen 1431. While Retiz emphasizes history as a driving force in Brecht's dramas, this dissertation will focus only on plays in which French history drives the play. His discussion of the two plays treated in this dissertation is very useful.

Jan Knopf's Brecht-Handbuch. Theater. Eine Ästhetik

der Widersprüche provides the best introduction to these plays. In the first section on each play, Knopf details the development of the text. The discussion includes information on when the plays were written, the various titles of the plays, initial performances, and an overview of the publication history. It is followed by references to the various editions, sources for the play, and major secondary literature prior to the time the book was published in 1980.

The second section varies according to the play under discussion. It includes current events that influenced the writing of the play and a more in-depth examination of the use of the sources. For Die Tage der Commune, comparisons with Nordahl Grieg's Die Niederlage and Arthur Adamov's Printemps 71 follow. The final section is an overview of major performances of each play prior to the publication of Knopf's book in 1980. This is a superb overview of Brecht's theater for the Germanist and a key piece of secondary literature for this dissertation.

The notes on the plays in the recent Berlin and Frankfurt critical edition provide useful background information on the four Brecht plays for this study.[2]

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[2]This edition published by Aufbau Publishers in Berlin and Suhrkamp Publishing Company in Frankfurt am Main between 1988 and 1997 will be identified by the abbreviation BFA throughout this dissertation.

Collaborators are named, but the exact nature of the collaboration can seldom be identified. Sources are often cited.

Another key secondary reference for a study of any non-German influence on Brecht's plays is Reinhold Grimm's Bertolt Brecht und die Weltliteratur. This is a much less detailed work than Knopf's book, but it provides an overview of the subject, emphasizing major issues rather than details. Of the plays discussed in this study, only Don Juan is discussed extensively. Grimm notes that it alone among Brecht's works is an adaptation of a French play (41). Die heilige Johanna der Schlachthöfe is deemed to be most important as an attack on the capitalist system (Grimm 10), and Die Tage der Commune is seen as significant as a counterplay to Grieg's play (Grimm 40).

Knopf wrote a volume for students on Die heilige Johanna der Schlachthöfe. Suhrkamp published volumes of material related to the play (Materialienbände) for many of the plays, including Die heilige Johanna der Schlachthöfe, edited by Knopf, and Die Tage der Commune, edited by Siegert. As Siegfried Mews summarizes, "these volumes . . . usually print the texts of sources, variant versions, notes, and other pertinent information concerning both the textual genesis and reception of the

respective plays" ("Review Essay" 92). Before the publication of the Berlin and Frankfurt historical-critical edition, these were essential volumes for examining sources of Brecht's plays. They remain valuable volumes. Mews's review essay in the winter 1977 Papers on Language and Literature is an excellent concise overview of secondary literature on Brecht. Mews also edited two books of essays on Brecht in the past decade. A variety of more detailed pieces of secondary literature on Brecht, including some dealing with a specific play, have also been examined.[3]

Certain existentialist themes, in particular, existentialism as expressed in Sartre's L'être et le néant and exemplified in a number of Sartre's plays, appear in most of Max Frisch's dramas. Frisch's theatrical works

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[3]In addition, Max Spalter's Brecht's Tradition examines the influence of earlier German dramatists on Brecht and Hans Mayer's Brecht und die Tradition considers literary, philosophical, and popular traditions which Brecht continues. Several studies of Brecht's influence on others can be found, including Victoria Hill's book Bertolt Brecht and Post-War French Drama (especially his influence on the Théâtre populaire exemplified in the works of Roger Planchon, Armand Gatti, André Benedetto, and Ariane Mnouchkine); the essays in Kleber and Visser's book Re-Interpreting Brecht: His Influence on Contemporary Drama and Film; and Knopf's Brecht-Handbuch. Theater clearly points to the influence of Die Tage der Kommune on Adamov's Printemps 71. Wulbern's book on Brecht and Ionesco examines common characteristics of the two as well as the fundamental role that political commitment to Marxism played in Brecht's theater and the results of the lack of such a doctrine on Ionesco's works.

reflect the existentialist ideas of Sartre as they examine freedom, responsibility, and community. They also reflect the political climate of his time. His play Andorra combines philosophy and politics in one of the masterpieces of German dramatic literature of the century. Freedom is seen as central to most of Frisch's and Sartre's plays. The struggle between bad faith and authenticity is represented in many characters in the plays, and the concept of the Other has a role in defining their identity. Fewer plays by Frisch deal with a sense of community than plays by Sartre, but Frisch's best known works struggle with the battle between an individual's freedom and his responsibility to the community. Sartre believed that a fundamental project could help focus the actions of a responsible human being. Such a project drives the actions of characters in many plays by both authors.

Since 1970, there have been critics who have examined Frisch's plays from an existentialist perspective. The best introduction to existentialist themes in Frisch's works is Cunliffe's 1970 Monatshefte article, "Existentialist Elements in Frisch's Works." He joined other critics who had examined existentialist elements in Frisch's novels, particularly in Stiller,[4] in his survey

[4]See Hoffman, Manger, and Wintsch-Spiess.

of existentialist elements in three plays, Santa Cruz, Biografie. Ein Spiel, and Andorra, and in the novels Stiller and Mein Name sei Gantenbein. Viewing Frisch's basic Tagebuch 1946-49 entry of "Du sollst dir kein Bildnis machen" as "a plea for the authentic life and a rejection of the inauthentic life" (113), Cunliffe connects this with Sartre's definition of existentialism from 1944: "L'existentialisme n'est rien du tout sinon une certaine manière d'envisager les questions humaines en refusant de donner à l'homme une nature fixée pour toujours" (Sartre, qtd. in Cunliffe 114). This absence of a fixed nature of man is based on freedom of choice and the freedom to define oneself, which are central to existentialism.

In a 1970 essay on Max Frisch, Martin Esslin also stressed that "the problem of identity . . . is the central pivot around which most of Frisch's work revolves" (247). Esslin, however, believes that "Frisch's existentialism owes more to Kierkegaard than to the French or German school of our own time" ("Max Frisch" 256). Esslin's defense of Kierkegaard's influence on Frisch notwithstanding, this dissertation chapter does argue for a strong debt on Frisch's part to Sartre and the French "school of our own time." Like Ruppert, Esslin contends that "Frisch merely wants to define some questions that

ought to be asked" ("Max Frisch" 257). Esslin further illustrates the point by quoting Frisch, who asserted that

> [a]s a playwright I would consider my task to have been thoroughly fulfilled if one of my plays could succeed in so posing a question that from that moment on the audience could not go on living without an answer--without their own answer, which they can only give through their own lives (qtd. in "Max Frisch" 257)

Frisch was more interested in exploring the questions that become the major themes of his dramatic and prose works than in developing a comprehensive, systematic philosophy. Those questions, however, are existentialist in nature and have an affinity with the questions that Sartre posed as he wrote his dramas and his narrative prose works as well as his systematic philosophy. Frisch connected asking questions and finding answers to them with responsibility (see Esslin, "Max Frisch" 257).

Esslin ties together these themes in Frisch's narrative prose works and in his plays. He notes, for instance, that "Stiller, who refuses the world's image of himself, who is unable to accept his own image of himself, is ... himself a maker of images, a sculptor" ("Max Frisch" 249). These same questions of human identity and image occur in Andorra, in which "the existential

situation of man as the product of the opinions of neighbors" (Esslin, "Max Frisch" 252) emphasizes the importance of the Other in Frisch's drama.

A year before Esslin's essay, Adelheid Weise's study, Untersuchungen zur Thematik und Struktur der Dramen von Max Frisch, assessed Frisch's dramas as expressions of the experiences of existence and explored existentialist alienation in several plays. She concludes with a look at Frisch as a writer committed to socially responsible literature in a manner which resembles Sartre's idea of the fundamental project, though she does not use the term.

Ruppert's dissertation makes connections between Frisch and the writings of Kierkegaard and Sartre by examining the themes of freedom, authenticity and responsibility as portrayed in Frisch's plays. He discusses freedom as a theme which developed from the motif of a romantic longing in the earlier plays to "Frisch's concern with the self and possibility" in the later plays ("Existential Themes" 10). He examines the relationship between authenticity and the graven image, including the effects of the opinions of others on the main characters of Andorra, Don Juan oder Die Liebe zur Geometrie, and Als der Krieg zu Ende war. Finally, he treats the role of responsibility, especially for the intellectual who analyses too carefully and cannot bring

himself to act decisively, and who thus exhibits a form of bad faith. Ruppert emphasizes Frisch's

> basic interest in writing . . . not to set down answers to the problem of modern man but to ask the important questions, and to ask them in such a way that each man feels the need to provide himself with his own answer ("Existential Themes" 153).

He concludes that

> rather than developing a detailed philosophy of existential freedom and responsibility, such as Sartre has given us, he [Frisch] has only concerned himself with the same questions. Yet his affirmations, though far humbler than Sartre's, are worthy of our attention precisely because they may be more realistic in an era such as ours. ("Existential Themes" 156)

Ruppert later published articles on two of Frisch's plays, Don Juan oder Die Liebe zur Geometrie and Biografie. Ein Spiel, in which he investigated existentialist themes in the plays. In his article on Biografie, Ruppert begins by summarizing Frisch's new dramaturgy of possibility, which "should reflect the contemporary consciousness of the open possibilities, or open-endedness, of existence" ("Possibility and Form" 349). He goes on to say, "Frisch sought in Biography to

present a drama based on this dramaturgy" ("Possibility and Form" 349), but in an interview with Rolf Kieser, Frisch admitted that "The stage proved me wrong. The stage has more of an illusionary power than I wished for" (Frisch, qtd. in Ruppert, "Possibility and Form" 354).

Several other critics have pointed to existentialist themes in Frisch's works. Hans Bänziger's notes on Andorra in the Reclam publishing house's volume of Erläuterungen und Dokumente include selections from Sartre's writings about the role of the Other in self-definition and self-identity as well as selections from Sartre's 1945 essay on anti-semitism. Dietrich Meinert examines Andorra from the viewpoint of society's role in defining individual identity.

Gerhard Knapp examines the relationships between Sartre's theater and Frisch's final play, Triptychon. He finds that the existentialist themes from Sartre's screenplay Les jeux sont faits and from Huis clos are reflected in Frisch's play. In all three, he notes that the primary concern is with the individual, in spite of the actions of Sartre's Pierre, who works for a revolutionary cause, and Hugo in Les mains sales, who dreams of acting for a greater cause:

> Auch Texte, die konkret ein Revolutionsgeschehen oder politische Aktionen darstellen--man denke an Les

> mains sales oder auch Les jeux sont faits--, fragen in der Regel (noch) nicht nach den gesellschaftlichen Voraussetzungen oder den Zielen dieser Revolution. Im Zentrum steht immer das Ich. . . . (440)

Knapp notes the finality of death, clearly seen in Huis clos. After a brief summary of Les jeux sont faits, he claims that the play is trivial. He then concludes that the three scenes in Triptychon result in a synthesizing dialectic:

> Die triadische Gliederung seiner szenischen Bilder verrät eine Art der inhärenten Dialektik. . . . Im ersten Bild wird der Zuschauer der Welt der Lebenden konfrontiert. . . . Das zweite Bild zeigt in geschickter Umkehr die Toten unter sich. . . . Im dritten Bild schließlich erleben wir die Synthese der inhärenten Dialektik: den Versuch eines Austauschs zwischen Lebenden und Toten. . . . Roger tötet sich durch einen Pistolenschuß . . . und besiegelt damit die Unmöglichkeit eines Dialogs mit der für immer petrifizierten Vergangenheit. (Knapp 445-46)

Although Frisch has the dead Francine inspire Roger to commit suicide, his suicide marks a failure to synthesize the living and the dead, which makes one question whether this dialectic actually works as smoothly as Knapp implies.

Michael Butler's book, The Plays of Max Frisch, is an excellent introduction to Frisch's dramas and frequently refers to existentialist themes in individual plays. This begins in the introductory chapter when Butler offers Friedrich Dürrenmatt's description of Switzerland's position of neutrality during the Second World War--when Switzerland was surrounded by the hostile Axis powers--as having led to "a 'curse' inflicted on the nation in return for the privilege of being 'spared.' For Frisch, this 'curse' manifested itself most clearly in terms of Sartrean bad faith. . ." (Butler 3). References to the theme of bad faith return as he discusses five of Frisch's plays (19, 81, 90, 107, 121, 139). Butler also discusses the themes of freedom (16, 18, 125) and the role of the Other (113) as existentialist themes. He speaks of an "existential crisis" in three of the plays (48, 70, 73. 78). Butler believes that the death concept in the play Nun singen sie wieder owes something to Huis clos (29). He finds that the epilogue to Biedermann und die Brandstifter presents a "comic version of Sartre's hell" (96).

While these works of secondary literature also find the French existentialist thought of Jean-Paul Sartre to be a source among others for ideas in Frisch's plays, Knapp alone focuses exclusively on the influence of Sartre

on Frisch, and that focus is on only one of Frisch's plays, Triptychon. Ruppert looks at three existentialist themes from Sartre and Kierkegaard in Frisch's plays. His dissertation was written before Frisch's final play, Triptychon. Others, such as Butler, mention existentialist themes in broader discussions of the plays. This dissertation examines five themes from Sartre's thought as they are reflected in six of Frisch's plays.

The third author whose works will be investigated is Heiner Müller. Chapter four concentrates on French literary influences on Müller. Müller translated several works from classical French literature and based his short play Quartett on Laclos's novel Les Liaisons dangereuses. Several critics have examined this work and its relation to Laclos's novel, although Müller claims in his autobiography, Krieg ohne Schlacht, that he based the play on Heinrich Mann's introduction to the translation of Laclos's Les Liaisons dangereuses (316). Mann's introduction and its relation to Müller's Quartett thus is more carefully examined in this dissertation than in other studies of this play.

In his autobiography Müller claims that Quartett actually deals with terrorism and only superficially deals with Laclos's novel. Most studies of Müller in the past two decades refer to Sue Ellen Case's dissertation, which

provides especially interesting insight into the role of terrorism in Müller's dramas of the 1960s and 1970s. Even though Case's dissertation on Müller was completed shortly before Quartett appeared in print or on the stage, it is helpful as it begins with a definition of theater of terrorism and describes in detail how several of Müller's earlier plays fit the definition. Quartett also fits this definition. With that insight, Müller's Quartett begins to make sense in a way that it does not when not included in that tradition. Case also notes the influence of Antonin Artaud on Müller. Frank-Michael Raddatz includes an account of Müller's life, emphasizing that the suicide of the latter's second wife, Inge Müller, in 1966 led to his being haunted by violence in a number of plays, including Quartett (21-33).

A thorough study of Müller's Quartett is Christine Kiebuzinska's article "The Narcissist and the Mirror in Les Liaisons dangereuses: LaClos, Hampton, Müller," in The Comparatist. She assumes, as do all critics and reviewers examining the play before the publication of Müller's autobiography, that it was based on a thorough knowledge of Laclos's novel.[5]

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[5]Reviews include those by Mona Heinze, Michael Merschmeier, Christoph Müller, and Werner Schulze-Reimpell. Scholarly criticism has also been written by Norbert Otto Eke, Christian Klein, and Klaus Teichmann.

In 1994, the University of Sydney in Australia sponsored a German Studies Symposium entitled "Heiner Müller/Theatre-History-Performance" and the next year Gerhard Fischer edited selected essays from the symposium. Two works of importance for this dissertation were included in that volume: David Roberts's article on Quartett and Edward Scheer's study of Artaud's influence on Müller's Hamletmaschine.

With Müller's death in December 1995, Theater heute Jahrbuch devoted its 1996 cover story to Müller. The winter 1998 issue of New German Critique is devoted to Müller. In 1998, Cambridge University Press published Jonathan Kalb's book on Müller, the first English-language book devoted to Müller published by a university press. In his discussion of Quartett, Kalb notes that it was the opportunity to see nine performances of this play that convinced him that Müller is both a great playwright and a great director. Katharina Keim also published a work on Müller's late plays in 1998. She watched videotapes of performances of Quartett to describe the work as a theatrical performance.

Finally, each of the authors treated in this dissertation wrote a play based on the Don Juan legend. These plays will be compared to one another and to Molière's play, which Brecht adapted and which Müller

translated. In the case of Brecht's Don Juan as with the three plays based on Joan of Arc and Die Tage der Commune, there is again a question of the extent to which Brecht was actually the author. Primary authors seem to be Benno Besson and Elisabeth Hauptmann. Besson reappears as a collaborator with Müller in his translation of Molière's play. Frisch's play is the most creative of the three treatments of Don Juan. The discussion benefits from several pieces of secondary literature on Don Juan as well as from specific analyses of the Don Juan plays by Brecht and Frisch.

While Die Tage der Kommune and Der Prozeß der Jeanne d'Arc zu Rouen 1431 are unthinkable without the French history which they retell, and neither Die heilige Johanna der Schlachthöfe nor Die Gesichte der Simone Machard would have the balance and interest that the Joan of Arc figure adds to the plot, these works comprise only about one volume of the total thirty-volume Berlin and Frankfurt critical edition of Brecht's works. While one could read or see all of Frisch's plays and miss the existentialist themes that permeate the works, these themes are found in varying degree in all of his plays. French literature and theory influence Müller's two plays examined in this dissertation in more ways than any one previous work of secondary literature has shown.

The questions that Bentley asks in his study of Brecht's influence on later authors can lead one to questions related to this study. Concerning Brecht and French history as an influence on his oeuvre, how does French history influence his theatrical productions and his Marxist message? To what extent was Sartre an influence on Frisch and to what extent was existentialism part of the spirit of the times in which both wrote? How much of an influence did Laclos have on Müller and in what respect was Müller writing a counterplay to Laclos's novel? Why and for what purpose was Molière adapted by these German-speaking writers for a German-speaking audience in the twentieth century, and in what sense did the Don Juan motif provide a background for their own creativity? These are among the major questions to be addressed in the following pages.

All of the works considered here are influenced by French history, philosophy, or literature. These influences should be acknowledged if one is to strive for complete readings of these plays. The final chapter of the dissertation will review the French influences examined throughout this dissertation as well as discuss possibilities for further research on this general topic.

Chapter II:

French Historical Influences on Bertolt Brecht's Dramas

This chapter examines the use of the historical Joan of Arc and the events surrounding the Paris Commune of 1871 in Brecht's dramas as well as questions of why he and his collaborators might have been drawn to these motifs. Brecht turned to the medieval French legend of Joan of Arc for at least partial inspiration for three of his plays: Die heilige Johanna der Schlachthöfe, written in 1929-31; Die Gesichte der Simone Machard, conceived in 1940-41; and Der Prozeß der Jeanne d'Arc zu Rouen 1431, written and performed in 1952. Die heilige Johanna der Schlachthöfe was not performed until 1959 in Hamburg (Knopf, Brecht-Handbuch. Theater 114), although a Radio Berlin broadcast was aired in 1932. Die Gesichte der Simone Machard was not performed until 1957 in Frankfurt am Main (Knopf, Brecht-Handbuch. Theater 242). All three were written in collaboration with others, a matter which will be discussed below. In addition, a screenplay, Der stumme Zeuge or Silent Witness, written in California, dealt with the figure of Joan of Arc. Die Tage der Commune treated

the events of the Paris Commune of 1871.

From 1994 to 1997, there was great interest in the popular press and considerable consternation among Brecht scholars as a result of John Fuegi's 1994 book Brecht and Company: Sex, Politics, and the Making of the Modern Drama.[1] Before publication of Fuegi's book, a clear explanation of why Brecht might have turned to Joan of Arc as a major inspiration for three of his plays seemed to be that she was a revolutionary figure whom audiences would recognize and who would make his Marxist message more palatable. In a 1963 article introducing Brecht's three plays based on Joan of Arc to the American readers of Catholic World, Bruce Cook had concluded

> [i]t was only in retrospect that Joan of Arc was regarded as the savior of her country. The French ruling classes saw her as a dangerous leader of dissident peasants; a disruptive influence at best. Brecht cherished this contemporary, secular view of

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[1]Mews and Munk have written thoughtful reviews of Fuegi's book. Willett, Lyon, Mews, and Nørregard surveyed "Scholarly Mistakes, Misquotes, and Malpractices" in Fuegi's work. The roles and supposed roles played by Elisabeth Hauptmann, Margarete Steffin, and Ruth Berlau permeate Fuegi's book. Yet Munk's caution in a Brecht Yearbook review that "theater is a collective enterprise, and left-wing theater often makes a principle out of Brecht's production practices . . . " (241) should not be forgotten. Bunge adds to the discussion of collaboration in regard to Ruth Berlau. Hanssen more objectively examined Hauptmann's role in Brecht's dramas.

> her--the ur-revolutionary view--he saw that her revolution had been betrayed. And this was the precise point of identification, for Brecht in this oversimple, political portrait of the saint saw something of himself. ("Bertolt Brecht" 256)

Brecht's identification of Joan of Arc with a revolution which was betrayed is not without merit. In addition, in a 1952 letter to Brecht following the premiere of Der Prozeß der Jeanne d'Arc zu Rouen 1431, Anna Seghers emphasizes "[d]as Wichtigste bleibt: Alles herausfinden, was den Widerstand mehr zum Ausdruck bringt" (qtd. in Fehervary, "Brecht, Seghers" 38). Resistance is a theme in all three Joan plays, though it is strongest in the last two.

An overview of Brecht's working methods and collaboration shows that he "relied on the teamwork of friends and collaborators," but that Brecht held the "dominant position in the collective" (Mews, Critical Essays 5). Notes in the historical-critical edition and in Knopf's Brecht-Handbuch. Theater show that the collaborators changed with time. Major collaborators can be documented for individual plays and will be examined in the following pages. Copies of typescripts in the Brecht Archives show handwritten notes in several people's handwriting, though predominantly in either Brecht's or

Elisabeth Hauptmann's for these plays. One can only speculate about who contributed which idea when, including who thought of adding the idea of Joan of Arc to which play, when, and why. A key concern of Brecht was his interest in financially successful plays, demonstrated in his effort to use Happy End to capitalize on the success of Dreigroschenoper a year earlier. Both depicted the corruption of capitalism and religion. These themes also occur in Die heilige Johanna der Schlachthöfe. As one wonders why Brecht and his collaborators returned to Joan of Arc for these plays, the popularity of her figure in European drama appears to be one reason.

Paula Hanssen speculates that a major influence on the plays and on Hauptmann's views of her role in a writers' collective derived from Hauptmann's belief in "Marxism, with its emphasis on collective accomplishments, a tenet which Hauptmann, a member of the Communist party from the late 1920's, took very seriously" (13). As an analysis of Brecht's plays with a Joan of Arc character shows, Marxism influences Brecht's use of this character. This becomes even clearer in the examination of French history in Die Tage der Commune, with one of the sources being Marx's account of the Paris Commune of 1871. A Marxist philosophical and political viewpoint permeates the uses Brecht made of French history in his plays.

Knopf summarized Brecht's role in the constellation of a writers' collective for Die heilige Johanna der Schlachthöfe as being part of a larger group including primarily Elisabeth Hauptmann and Emil Burri, but also Hermann Borchardt, Walter Benjamin, and Bernhard Reich. He notes: "Brechts Arbeit bestand im wesentlichen darin, die Vorschläge zu überprüfen, die Texte zu redigieren und auszubauen" (Brecht-Handbuch. Theater 107). Fuegi ignores the number of collaborators and states that

> [t]he play's strength, in my own view, is traceable to two radically different, wholly irreconcilable points of view. . . . The central drama of the work . . . is the conflict between the title character, who is a typical Hauptmann creation, and her opponent, the arch-Brechtian figure of Mauler. . . . Nowhere is this clear-cut opposition quite as readily visible as in Saint Joan of the Stockyards. (Fuegi, Brecht and Company 263)

Hanssen presents a more objective analysis of Hauptmann's role when she states

> [i]n an interview from 1964 Hauptmann . . . attributed the economic analysis to Brecht and the information about the church and the Salvation Army to herself (Hauptmann, Julia 245). She herself, however, contributed to the understanding of the

economy by her research in the stock market for Joe Fleischhacker. (58)

Hanssen reiterates the importance of the short story "Bessie Soundso," fragments, and Happy End to "the material and ideas" that led up to the play, so that "Hauptmann's collaboration was an essential ingredient in the genesis of this play" (59). Hanssen's research revealed "many pages of text written by Hauptmann and Burri. Numerous pages of manuscript are edited in Hauptmann's handwriting (BBA 113/09, 13, 14, 29) and many pages of notes about the plot are by Hauptmann (BBA 115/11, 12, 13 and 117/32, 34)" (57).

In his review of the premiere in Hamburg on April 30, 1959, Alexander von Cube tells how, in spite of the lengthy delays in finding a stage willing to present it, the premiere was greeted by half an hour of applause. Cube notes that the play was finished in time for a special celebration. It was "der vor allem in Frankreich mit viel Pomp gefeierte 500. Todestag der Jungfrau von Orleans, Jeanne d'Arc" (224). This historical coincidence of commemorations of the quincentennial of Joan of Arc's death may well have been the primary inspiration for changing the Salvation Army character Lilian in Happy End into Johanna Dark. André Müller also is convinced of this, as indicated in his May 16, 1959, review from the

Deutsche Volkszeitung:

> Auf die Idee, diesen Stoff mit der Gestalt der historischen Jeanne d'Arc, der Jungfrau von Orleans, zu verbinden, kam Brecht durch die Feiern, die 1931 in der katholischen Welt anläßlich der 500. Wiederkehr des Todestages der Jeanne d'Arc stattfanden. (230)

Die heilige Johanna der Schlachthöfe, set in Chicago's stockyards, was influenced by Brecht's reaction to Schiller's Die Jungfrau von Orleans, by his study of Marx and his views of capitalism, by Elizabeth Hauptmann's Happy End, and by two of George Bernard Shaw's plays, Saint Joan and Major Barbara (conversation with Dr. John Osborne, fall 1990; also Hanssen 55). In 1924, Brecht attended the rehearsals for Shaw's Saint Joan, "a spectacular production in Berlin [directed by] Max Reinhardt" (Claude Hill 72), so Brecht was familiar with the play by this date. Shaw's Major Barbara contained the Salvation Army theme. In addition to pointing out visits to the Salvation Army in Berlin by both Brecht and Elisabeth Hauptmann, Jan Knopf's Brecht-Handbuch. Theater notes that both the 1926 Festschrift Sechzig Jahre Heilsarmee and a 1916 book by Paul Wiegler, Figuren, were sources of Brecht's information on the Salvation Army. The second of these books is of special interest, because it contains a chapter on Joan of Arc (Knopf Brecht-

Handbuch. Theater 106). Two of the eight pages dealing with Joan in the chapter "Die Jungfrauen" discuss imitators of the historical figure. The discussion of four different young women who attempted to pass themselves off as Jeanne d'Arc after she was burned at the stake (Wiegler 53-54) do lead one to wonder how much such reading material might have influenced Brecht to imitate the historical figure in the characters Johanna Dark and Simone Machard.

The most accurate answer to the question of why Brecht repeatedly used figures based on Joan of Arc is no doubt a combination of her status as a recognizable revolutionary figure, as a figure to whom women collaborators were drawn, as a figure who was effectively dramatized by George Bernard Shaw in a play which Brecht had seen rehearsed in Berlin, as one who was canonized the decade before the first play, as one to whom the French symbolically turned during World War II, and as one who died five hundred years before the first play was presented.

Brecht's earlier works had been very rebellious and expressionistic, but he worked on Die heilige Johanna der Schlachthöfe as he began to study Marx and Marxist political economy. Marxism began to replace the childhood values he had rejected with a focussed philosophy.

Continuing the setting of Chicago from the earlier plays Im Dickicht der Städte and the unfinished Der Brotladen, the play opposes the tycoon Pierpont Mauler to Johanna Dark, who is a member of the Black Straw Hats, a group named for the hats worn by the Salvation Army members.

Several critics agree that Die heilige Johanna der Schlachthöfe combines three basic themes: the Johanna theme, the Mauler theme, and a third theme which deals with the social and economic reality of life in a big city (ostensibly Chicago) in the first quarter of the twentieth century (Wagner 497-98; Rülike 429-44; Knopf, Die heilige Johanna 55-68). The Johanna theme is obviously of most interest in considering the influence on the play from French history.

As one examines the Johanna theme, one quickly realizes that the historical Jeanne d'Arc was of minimal importance to Brecht as he wrote the play. She is portrayed in what is essentially a counterplay to the Saint Joan figures created by Friedrich Schiller and George Bernard Shaw. There are a few places where scenes seem to be directly reflected; more often they are parodied. Often she is simply seen as an innocent being confronted with the unpleasant reality of the life of the proletariat.

The name of the heroine--Johanna Dark--is an obvious

reference to the historical Joan of Arc: Johanna, German for "Jeanne," and Dark, an English play on words based on the French "d'Arc" (of Arc). The German-speaking reader or spectator joins Bernard Dukore in finding the very wording of the title "Die heilige Johanna" reminiscent of Shaw's Saint Joan (Dukore 136). Even though Dukore uses this as an argument for Shaw's influence as opposed to the influence of Schiller's Die Jungfrau von Orleans, a strong case can be made for Schiller's influence, albeit in the form of parody of the classical worldview that Brecht rejects and derides. Seidel and Kuntze claim that Brecht was acquainted with Schiller's romantic tragedy by no later than 1921 (n.pag.).

As Die heilige Johanna der Schlachthöfe begins, Johanna Dark has the innocence of the historical saint, and naively she decides to approach the Chicago meat-packing baron, Pierpont Mauler, to find out why he has left the workers in such agony over lost jobs. Critics note that Johanna Dark's recognition of Mauler parallels the historic Joan of Arc's recognition of the Dauphin Charles (Dukore 137; Wagner 555). Dukore believes Mauler's decision to send Johanna Dark to visit the stockyards with Slift can be compared to the Dauphin's sending Jeanne d'Arc to the siege of Orleans (137).

For both the historical personage and Johanna Dark,

their mission leads to different knowledge than they had expected. Yet the goal of Johanna Dark's struggle is not to help the meat-packing king. Thus, her struggle does not parallel that of the historic Jeanne, who believed that only by helping restore a French king to the French throne could the masses be free to retain their nationality and language. Brecht's Johanna yearns instead for the freedom to overcome capitalistic exploitation in the modern sense, but her innocence allows her to become a pawn to the powerful Mauler.

After her visit to the slaughterhouses with Slift, Johanna returns to the Black Straw Hats and throws out the capitalists. The leader of the movement, Paulus Snyder, who had hoped that the capitalists would pay his rent, dismisses her. Dukore notes that "his throwing Jo[h]an[na] Dark out of the mission house for having insulted the capitalists is the Brechtian equivalent of the Catholic Church's casting out Joan of Arc as a heretic" (137).

In a café near the stockyards, Johanna asks in a moment of despair if anyone can improve the workers' lot. She is told of the Communists and put in contact with them. Mrs. Luckerniddle leads Johanna to the Communists. They entrust her with a letter telling the workers in Criddle's factory that the utility workers in the city

have agreed to join them in a general strike. This army of workers could be seen as a parallel to the troops the historic Jeanne d'Arc led. However, when she hears rumors that the stockyards will reopen the next day and then hears shots as the police try to clear the stockyards of workers, she fails to follow through and deliver the letter calling the workers to a general strike, because she fears such action would lead to violence. Dukore sees this as a parallel to the historical Jeanne d'Arc's recantation (138). Her failure plays into the hands of the capitalist magnates and enables them to maintain the status quo and to continue to oppress the slaughterhouse workers.

The final canonization scene in Die heilige Johanna der Schlachthöfe reflects the Epilogue of Shaw's Saint Joan. In both plays, Dukore notes that

> the real Joan is unwanted, and a Joan is canonized who is useful to the canonizers. . . . Just as Shaw's Joan of Arc was destroyed by the feudal aristocracy in league with the Catholic Church, so is Brecht's Jo[h]an[na] Dark destroyed by the capitalists in league with the Black Straw Hats. Joan of Arc is turned into a saint when she no longer threatens the powers that destroyed her; Brecht's Jo[h]an[na] Dark is turned into a saint in order not to threaten the

powers which destroy her. (138-39)

The play masterfully depicts the dialectic of capitalism and the exploited worker. The capitalists, represented primarily by Pierpont Mauler, align themselves with the Black Straw Hats, who need financial support and who calm the masses so that they are more accepting of the status quo. Käthe Rülicke has analyzed the economic subplot of the play and explained how it is based on Marx's Das Kapital. Her Marxist interpretation of the industrial cycle consists of the end of prosperity (scenes 1-4), overproduction (scenes 5-8), crisis (scenes 9a-k), and stagnation (scenes 10-12) (434, 436-43). Patty Lee Parmalee and Peter Wagner correctly suggest that the figure of Johanna is needed as a bridge between the capitalists and the Black Straw Hats (Parmalee, "S[ain]t Joan of the Stockyards" 63; Wagner 496). Indeed, she is present each time that the two groups meet on the stage. Thus, she becomes a key in bringing together the opposing elements in the play.

The addition of a figure based on the historic Joan of Arc enables this play to appeal to the audience or reader more than Brecht's other plays dealing with life in Chicago, with the Salvation Army, or with the injustices of capitalism. Moreover, the Joan of Arc character bridges those various elements. However, unlike the other

members of the Black Straw Hats, Johanna maintains an allegiance to the poor and an innocent belief in the goodness of man that keep her from forming an alliance with the capitalists when it is clear that their interests are at odds with those of the poor.

In her discussion of this play, Parmalee notes that "it is not a protest play, i.e., an appeal to those in power; Brecht never wrote protest literature. It is a revolutionary play, an appeal to those not in power to take power" (Parmalee, "S[ain]t Joan of the Stockyards" 67). This distinction between protest and revolutionary drama is central to the transformation that Brecht and Hauptmann brought to this theme. Esslin had called Joan Dark a "female revolutionary" as early as 1960 (Brecht 255). Plays dealing with Joan of Arc before Brecht accept Joan of Arc's role as a protester against the English who were in power, but only to the point that power be returned to the French Dauphin, thus reestablishing an earlier status quo. Brecht's Johanna proposes that the workers have the right to a voice in the power structure which defines their lives. In the play that power structure is not overturned, but the possibility that it can be and that the workers will need to work together rather than as individuals is addressed.

The fact that Joan of Arc was a revolutionary figure

who appealed to Brecht's female collaborators as well as to audiences made her an expecially attractive figure for two more plays by Brecht. The revolution she represents also connects this first play with a Joan of Arc subplot to the revolution in Die Tage der Commune.

The second play in Brecht's Gesammelte Werke which has a Joan of Arc figure is Die Gesichte der Simone Machard. The Berlin and Frankfurt critical edition notes show that Brecht first had the idea for a Joan play in occupied France in July 1940, that he worked on the idea in Finnish exile in December 1941, and that his intense collaboration with Lion Feuchtwanger took place from October 1942 to February 1943. At that time they parted ways, Brecht to work on the play in May to June 1943 and in 1946 and Feuchtwanger to work on a novel, Simone (BFA, 7: 389). In an entry in his Journal from July 7, 1940, Brecht noted, "Die Stimmen, die Jeanne hört, sind Stimmen des Volkes" (qtd. in BFA 7: 390). The technique of having the voices that Joan hears be the voices of the people is repeated in Brecht's adaptation of Anna Seghers's radio play, Brecht's third and final drama based on this theme.

This second play which is attributed to Brecht and which has a character based on Joan of Arc is again a collaboration. Brecht and Feuchtwanger never agreed on it as a finished play, particularly not on the age of Simone

(BFA 7: 392). Brecht insisted that she should be quite young. Carl Richard Mueller, English translator of the play; Hilde Waldo, Feuchtwanger's secretary; and Ruth Berlau in her memoirs written by Hans Bunge agree that Brecht emphasized that Simone be very young and naive, while Feuchtwanger preferred her to be older and more calculating. Marthe Feuchtwanger discussed her husband's preference for a fifteen-year-old Simone, almost a woman, and Brecht's preference for a Simone who has yet to reach puberty (Cook, Brecht in Exile 68) Stage directions indicate that Simone should be eleven years old, and Brecht insisted on this point in correspondence with Feuchtwanger in the 1950s. Fuegi states that

> the young woman's straightforward and successful heroism is highly unusual in the Brecht canon, so much so that he would never be comfortable with it. Brecht heroes-heroines either bend to force or . . . die as a result of openly showing either compassion or courage. (Fuegi, Brecht and Company 417)

Fuegi cites James Lyon's note that Brecht could only "conceive of Simone's patriotism and heroism" by suggesting that "she be played by a child or that she be described as retarded" (cited in Fuegi, Brecht and Company 676). The portrayal of a strong female protagonist is likely due

to the women who collaborated on the work.[2]

The play was not performed during Brecht's lifetime. This was due in part to the Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer contract for the film rights to Feuchtwanger's novel Simone. The notes to the critical edition of the play explain that

> [i]m Laufe des Jahres 1943 schreibt Feuchtwanger . . . seinen Roman Simone. Die englische Rohübersetzung des Romans wird von Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer als Vorlage für eine Verfilmung akzeptiert. Am 24. Februar ist der Vertrag zwischen Feuchtwanger und dem Filmkonzern in Hollywood unterschriftsreif (Lion Feuchtwanger an Brecht, 20. und 25. Februar 1944). Zuvor jedoch muß Brecht in einer notariellen Erklärung auf alle Rechte an dem gemeinsam

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[2]While Fuegi seems to document thoroughly Ruth Berlau's role in writing the play and the two men's eventual shortchanging her of royalties she had been promised (Brecht and Company 417, 438-39, 447), he fails to distinguish between the agreement for rights to the play, which was never sold, and rights to Feuchtwanger's novel, Simone. Feuchtwanger sold the rights to a film to be based on the novel to MGM and shared the profits with Brecht, who did not share them with Berlau.

Berlau's published memoirs, written by Bunge after interviewing her, make no mention of work on the play in Finland. After Brecht's arrival in the United States, this work became a collaboration with Feuchtwanger, who had fled as France fell to the Germans. Berlau's memoirs tell how she was present at the initial discussions in California, but she soon left for Washington and then began work in New York. Brecht later sent her drafts of several plays he wrote in California while she lived in New York. Little indicates she was involved in this play, as Fuegi implies.

> erarbeiteten Text des Stücks und am Roman verzichten. MGM erwirbt von Feuchtwanger die Film-, Fernseh- und Radiorechte und besteht zudem auf einer Sperrung aller Theateraufführungen für dreieinhalb Jahre. (BFA 7: 394)

But the novel was not filmed, and, with the end of World War II, the play was no longer of interest for depicting resistance to the German occupation of France (BFA 7: 394). Peter Suhrkamp advised Brecht not to publish the play for political reasons in both 1948 and 1953. Finally, in 1956 the play was published in Sinn und Form (BFA 7: 395). It did not premiere until March 8, 1957, in Frankfurt am Main. The audience liked the play, but the critics were less kind (BFA 7: 403-05).

Although Brecht and many critics discount it, Die Gesichte der Simone Machard is in many ways a refreshing retelling of the Joan of Arc legend in a modern situation. Bruce Cook suggests that it "stands out as about the only play in the Brecht canon that might possibly be described as charming" and one which "is a fine piece of work, the most underrated of all Brecht's 'American' plays--perhaps of all his works" (Cook, Brecht in Exile 68). Albers also notes that "Die Gesichte der Simone Machard gehört zu den unbekanntesten Stücken Brechts" (66).

A simple country girl, Simone Machard, tries to save

France from the invading German army in a situation which parallels the legend of the saint. Henri Soupeau, the owner of the inn and garage where she is working to hold the job earlier held by her soldier brother André, gives her a copy of a book on Saint Joan, which he encourages her to read, until he realizes that she is reading during working hours and that she is willing to act from conviction even if it conflicts with his interests.

In Simone, Brecht depicts another fearless innocent, who feeds the refugees by taking supplies from the inn and burns the gasoline supply before it can be used to fuel German tanks. These actions are reinforced by a dream sequence in the play in which Simone hears the voice of an angel, her seventeen-year-old brother André, a soldier at the Front. The voices occur four times and are presented as interludes (Cook, "Bertolt Brecht" 254). Both André and the French townspeople address Simone as Johanna, maid of Orleans, in the dreams. Stylistically, the dreams parallel the purpose of the letters Mauler receives from his friends on Wall Street in Die heilige Johanna der Schlachthöfe, but they also parallel Johanna's dream of leading the masses of workers, a dream she relates to Gloomb and Frau Luckerniddle at the beginning of the ninth scene of Brecht's first Joan play. These dreams motivate the heroine's actions just as the voices of Saint

Catherine, Saint Margaret, and Saint Michael motivated the historic Joan of Arc.

Both Albers (67) and John (205) note that a class struggle is central to the play. John states that "the poor are quite simply sacrificed to the rich" (205), and Albers points out, "Brecht . . . zeigt, daß sich letztlich der Gegensatz der Klassen als stärker erweist als der der Nationen" (68). Soupeau, the owner of the inn where Simone is working, aligns himself with the victorious German troops and is horrified as Simone burns fuel that he had hidden. Her patriotic gesture was inspired by her reading about and dreaming of Joan of Arc. The class conflict ties this Joan play to Die heilige Johanna der Schlachthöfe, written a decade earlier.

In addition to the life of Joan of Arc, sources for the play include André Maurois's Tragedy in France, a work which the editors of the Berlin and Frankfurt critical edition summarize as an "Analyse über das Scheitern des französischen Widerstandes im Juni 1940." Brecht read this book in April 1941. Feuchtwanger's experiences as a captive in France in 1940, including those retold in his book Unholdes Frankreich. Meine Erlebnisse unter der Regieurung Pétain, were also sources. Both give examples of collaboration between the French and the German conquerors (BFA 7: 397).

Of the three plays, this second one has the most immediate link to the reality of the time in which it was written and effectively uses the example of the legendary Joan to motivate Simone. Simone never recants, but her sword is taken from her as she is made noble in her second dream. This event corresponds partially to the canonization scene in Die heilige Johanna der Schlachthöfe. However, it differs insofar as it occurs before she has acted. The purpose here is to tempt her not to act. It does not have the desired effect. In the final scene, she is silenced when she is taken to the insane asylum, but she has already taught her active method of resistance to the refugees. Her example inspires the refugees to burn the building where they had been promised refuge when that offer is withdrawn.

The third of the Joan of Arc plays has always been clearly labeled an adaptation of Anna Seghers's 1937 radio play Der Prozeß der Jeanne d'Arc zu Rouen 1431. A comparison of Seghers's original to the play published in Brecht's collected works shows that most of the play is directly taken from Seghers's radio play. Fuegi refers to it as "a Besson-Brecht version of Anna Segher's [sic] Joan of Arc material" (Fuegi, Brecht and Company 521) and adds in reference to the Hauptmann-Besson Don Juan that "French is Besson's native language, and Hauptmann was fluent in

it" (522). What has not been clearly labeled is that Seghers herself was involved in the adaptation of the radio play. As Helen Fehervary notes in the only work of secondary literature in English to deal exclusively with the play,

> Elisabeth Hauptmann wrote to Peter Suhrkamp in 1959, when the adaptation was to appear in volume 12 of Brecht's Stücke: "Wichtig war ihr [Seghers], daß sie nicht als Bearbeiterin ihres eigenen Hörspiels genannt wird. ("Brecht, Seghers" 30)

Der Prozeß der Jeanne d'Arc zu Rouen 1431 was Brecht's only Joan play to be performed on a professional stage during his lifetime and it was, at least on the surface, the most conventional of the three. Brecht completed his adaptation and directed the play in 1952 with his Berliner Ensemble theater group. Unlike the earlier plays which use the Saint Joan legend, it is set in fifteenth-century France. It is almost, as Bruce Cook terms it, a "straightforward presentation of historical matter" (Cook, "Bertolt Brecht" 256). Yet Brecht does add commentary. For example, the fishwife states that Jeanne's voices only say what everyone says, and the farmer, Legrain, explains to the grandfather and the child in the epilogue that the voices that really led Jeanne were the voices of the people. This theme of the voices

coming from the people is a major transformation of the historical theme in this play, though it repeats a theme first expressed in Brecht's journal in 1940. In the thirteenth scene the stage directions announce: "Im Gefängnis La Tour des Champs. Jeanne hat die Stimme des Volks vernommen und setzt ihren Kampf fort." Basing her conclusion on Seghers's "Gruß an den II. Internationalen Schriftstellerkongreß 1937," Fehervary notes that Jeanne's voices "expressed her faith in her 'Partei' and the impassioned cries and directives of her 'Volk'" ("Brecht, Seghers" 23, 40).

In his dissertation on Brecht's historical drama, Retiz points out that by leaving the word "deine" out of his question to Jeanne, the bishop contributes to Brecht's distancing of the voices from the supernatural. Brecht has the bishop ask: "Hast du inzwischen auch wieder Stimmen gehört?" Joan's reply emphasizes the importance of the people to her: "Nur, jetzt zweifelte ich am Volk, als ob ich stürbe und sie achteten es nicht und tränken ihren Wein. Sie aber wußten alles von mir, immer, da war nichts umsonst" (qtd. in Retiz 160).[3] Legrain explains it in the epilogue as follows:

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[3]Four words of the Brecht quote, "achteten es nicht und" do not appear in the critical Berlin and Frankfurt edition of Brecht's collected works, BFA 9: 114.

> Und als sie in ihrem Turm in Rouen saß, hörte sie von uns nichts mehr and wurde schwach wie du und ich. Sie hat sogar widerrufen. Aber als sie widerrief, haben sich die einfacheren Leute in Rouen so über sie geärgert, daß sie den Engländern am Hafen die Köpfe blutig schlugen. Sie erfuhr es, keiner weiß wie, und gewann ihre Tapferkeit zurück. . . . (BFA 9: 124)

Retiz argues that by admitting the mistake of her recantation, by admitting the fear that contributed to it--a fallible human fear--and by transforming her voices into those of the people, Joan regains the strength to renew her struggle. The first two admissions are historic; the third is Brecht's poetic version (Retiz 167-68).

This combination of historical fact and the writer's creativity is fundamental to Retiz's understanding of Brecht's historical dramas. He explains that

> the literary evaluation of a poetic treatment of history will involve not only understanding the artist's particular view of history, but will furthermore be guided by recognizing and establishing the poetic character of that work. Thus, the artist's work emerges as an intellectual and artistic portrayal--i.e., re-interpretation--of a past event. (185)

Brecht begins and ends the play with peasant women singing

an adaptation of Christine de Pisan's ballad "La Ditié de Jeanne d'Arc" (Retiz 150). This is an addition to Anna Seghers's play as a source. Retiz summarizes the structure of this ballad thus:

> the play has a very short, sketchy opening. In the first scene, Joan's career passes in review in the form of a three-part ballad: Her battles (strophe 1), her effect on her countrymen (strophe 2), and her betrayal into the hands of the English invader (strophe 3). (150)

Brecht restructured Seghers's radio play so that his play consists of many short scenes, half with Johanna either on trial or in her prison cell, and an equal number with comments from the people. Brecht has added a commentator, Legrain, who supports her throughout the play (Retiz 162). Most other characters are types. However, they make individual statements, rather than the lengthy speeches Anna Seghers had for a more anonymous people. A good deal of Brecht's dialogue does come from Anna Seghers's radio play, though much is new. Much of her radio play is based directly on the trial documents (see Knopf, Brecht-Handbuch. Theater 316-17; Retiz 148-49).

Fehervary points out that Seghers originally wrote her radio play at a time of political trials and executions:

> The play championed faith and activism at the very time that political trials and executions in Germany--5,425 trials and 60 executions between 1933 and 1935 alone--threatened the survival of the antifascist resistance. Meanwhile, the Spanish Civil War tested the political future of Europe. . . . ("Brecht, Seghers" 22)

Seghers's play was initially broadcast in Flemish by Radio Antwerp in 1937. Fifteen years later, with much delay caused by all the occupying allied forces in Germany, it was broadcast in German by Berliner Rundfunk with the help of Maximilian Scheer (Fehervary, "Brecht, Seghers" 22). By the time that Brecht staged the adaptation of Seghers's radio play, there were also Stalin's purges and trials, including the Prague trial of Slansky and thirteen codefendants, along with the trial of the Rosenbergs in the United States. Brecht was recently returned from exile in the United States himself, and

> soon after the November 1952 Berliner Ensemble premiere of Der Prozeß der Jeanne d'Arc zu Rouen 1431, the text of Brecht's telegrams to Einstein, Hemingway, and Arthur Miller appeared in Neues Deutschland: "könnten sie und andere wissenschaftler noch etwas tun für ethel und julius rosenberg stop habe akten gelesen stop sie sind unschuldig."

(Fehervary, "Brecht, Seghers " 22)

Fehervary notes that

> [a]rtistic differences notwithstanding, Brecht and Seghers appear to have agreed in 1952 that the Berliner Ensemble production of Der Prozeß der Jeanne d'Arc zu Rouen 1431 should make direct, if cautious, references to Stalin's show trials. ("Brecht, Seghers" 31)

Fehervary argues that the use of trial documents helped protect Seghers and later Brecht from accusations of too much sympathy with defendants in trials in their own time.

> A statement by Seghers in the theater program stressed the protocol character of her original text and blurred the date of its publication in Internationale Literatur as "ungefähr 1935," that is, before the first Moscow trial. Thus the Berliner Ensemble exempted itself from any suggestion that the production alluded to the trials and purges. (Fehervary, "Brecht, Seghers" 32)

Seghers's play was inspired by Carl Theodor Dreyer's 1927 silent film, La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc. She included many pictures from the film in her Reclam-Edition and maintains the compression of the action from eighteen days to one (Knopf, Brecht-Handbuch. Theater 316). Seghers acknowledged the importance of the film for her in a 1968

letter:

> In a letter to the Piccolo Teatro di Milano on 1 February 1968, that is, just as the fourteen defendants in the 1952 Slansky trial were officially rehabilitated, she again focused on the authentic aspect of the trial and acknowledged her debt to Carl Dreyer:
>
> > Ich schreib das Hörspiel in Paris auf Grund der originalen Prozeßprotokolle, die ich in der Bibliothèque Nationale studiert habe. Ich war damals sehr beeindruckt von dem Stummfilm, den Dreyer über den Prozeß der Jeanne d'Arc gemacht hat, mit der Falconetti. Dieser Film war sicher einer der besten Filme der damaligen Zeit. (qtd. in Fehervary, "Brecht, Seghers" 30-31)

The language of Brecht's adaptation appears to be more similar to the colloquial speech of twentieth-century Germany than Seghers's language was. Retiz argues that through the language, the portrayal of the English soldiers, and descriptions of a divided country (especially Legrain's final line of the play, "Das singen sie jetzt in beiden Frankreich, hüben und drüben") Brecht draws parallels between fifteenth-century France and postwar, divided Germany (Retiz 169). The portrayal of the English soldiers is a particularly stinging critique

of the American soldiers, who conquered and occupied Nazi Germany (Retiz 170-72).

Like Brecht in his depiction of Simone Machard, who resists the enemy and teaches resistance to the refugees, Seghers was concerned that Jeanne d'Arc's resistance be underscored in Brecht's adaptation. Fehervary notes that "for Seghers, Jeanne d'Arc is the very personification of political resistance" ("Brecht, Seghers" 34). Citing a letter, first published as an appendix to Fehervary's article in the 1996 Brecht Yearbook, from Seghers to Brecht "on 27 November 1952, the very day the Prague court pronounced death sentences and three of life imprisonment" on Slansky and his codefendants, Fehervary notes that Seghers's reaction to seeing the adaptation performed led her to write a letter to Brecht which "urges that the production put greater emphasis on moments of resistance" ("Brecht, Seghers" 33). Her letter concludes with an emphasis on this: "Das Wichtigste bleibt: Alles herausfinden, was den Widerstand mehr zum Ausdruck bringt, als den Terror der Invasion. Die Konsequenzen des Prozesses und der Hinrichtung mehr als das Mitleid mit Jeanne" (qtd. in Fehervary, "Brecht, Seghers" 38).

One helpful concept in looking at the three plays can be found in Sara Lennox's discussion of the "child-woman." She concludes that

> [i]f he had allowed his child-women from the beginning to possess the capabilities of adult women, their deeds would have diminished correspondingly in the eyes of the audience. . . . Johanna Dark functions convincingly as a naive supporter of the ideological status quo because she possesses the stereotypical features of the child-woman: she is young, irresolute, nurturing, idealistic, "good." Women like Johanna Dark . . . are thus particularly apt vehicles for Brecht's Marxist "consciousness raising" because of the distance they must travel from ignorance to knowledge. (87)

In contrast, Lennox finds the Jeanne of the third of these plays to be "portrayed as a mature and responsible young woman" which she attributes to the source of the adaptation, Anna Seghers's radio play (87). While Lennox laments that "Johanna (and) . . . Simone are admirable, if foolish, precisely because they fail to act in ways which are rational and calculating" (95) and that they retain the usual stereotypes of women, she does allow that Brecht's "works may urge us to perceive the changeablility of society as far as capitalism is concerned, but they are oblivious to the necessity, or even the possibility, of a change in women's condition" (96).

Brecht wrote in 1926 in an "Ovation for Shaw" that it

was important to the playwright Shaw for the character of Joan of Arc to be easily recognized and well known by his audience (Dukore 139). It may be assumed that the audience's recognition of Joan was as important to the playwright Brecht. The very familiarity of her story and the well-known burning of the historical figure removed the suspense and allowed the spectator to think of actions that would help her to more effectively propel her revolution and lead to a better outcome for the masses.

In fact, Brecht thought about the Joan of Arc theme on two other occasions: when he collaborated on the writing of the filmscript "Silent Witness" and when he considered combining Joan and Charlotte Corday, the murderer of Marat. Karl-Heinz Schoeps quotes notes which outline a possible film version of the Jeanne d'Arc theme. One note from material in the Brecht Archives [BBA Archiv-Mappe 235/53] considers the idea of pairing Joan with Charlotte Corday, both of whom realize that the power figures of their time oppress the common people:

> Die Jungfrau von Orleans kombiniert mit der mörderin marats, sie entdeckt, daß sie, als sie dem könig half, dem unterdrücker des volkes geholfen hat, der könig versucht, sich mit dem feind zu verbinden. im prozeß verschweigt sie das, da sonst die feinde den vorteil haben. (zivile version: ein mann wird

> verfolgt, wegen eines mordes. die frau befreit ihn, indem sie sich mit ihm liiert, sie entdeckt, sie hat den mord begangen, die üblen hatten recht). (Brecht qtd. in Schoeps 29-30)

Discussing the filmscript, "Silent Witness," James Lyon recounts how

> [i]n October 1944 he [Brecht] collaborated with Salka Viertel and the screen writer Vladimir Pozner on a film story entitled "Silent Witness." Brecht told Viertel . . . that he wanted to do it to make some money. . . . According to her, he "bit into his cigar and assured me that we could write our story in such a way that they would not notice what a highbrow masterpiece it was." (Bertolt Brecht in America 76)

When her husband returns from the war and finds his wife had her head

> shorn for her association with the Nazi commandant of the city. . . . She now claims that, on orders from a certain abbé who was working for the underground, she was assigned to extract information from the Nazi commandant that could save French lives. (78)

The abbot was murdered by German troops. At his funeral, the husband notices the church's new stained glass window. The face depicted there is that of his wife. The window is thus her silent witness. While this should have made

an excellent plot for a Hollywood movie, one Lyon finds reminiscent of Kleist, he notes that

> Brecht seriously miscalculated one element . . . his insistence that the star appear with her head shaven. Viertel pleaded that the actress at least be allowed to wear a scarf. . . . Hollywood agents knew that no star could be induced to shave her head, and the story was not sold. (Bertolt Brecht in America 77)

Although a screenplay was completed, it was never sold and filmed.

When any of the major historical representations of the Joan of Arc theme written in this century in France --by Charles Péguy, Paul Claudel, or Jean Anouilh--are compared to any of Brecht's presentations of the legend, it is clear that the French authors' nationalistic sentiments allow them to depict a heroine preserving the nation in a manner Brecht rejected. Once again, Parmalee's contrast between protest drama and revolutionary drama is helpful to remember. Brecht's Simone Machard reflects an understanding of the patriotic symbolism of the French dramatists, but Brecht uses Simone's distribution of her boss's capitalistic wealth to the poor refugees and the destruction of his supplies before they could be given to the occupation forces to transform the medieval legendary figure into a modern, Marxist, epic heroine.

Each of Brecht's three Saint Joan plays is a revolutionary play in its own way--urging those not in power to gain power--and each stresses a need for group action. The first of these plays, Die heilige Johanna der Schlachthöfe, was written in 1929-31, among the first of his Lehrstücke. The setting of the play is contemporary. Joan of Arc is used indirectly as a model for an innocent, almost childlike, approach to the power structure. Like the historical Joan of Arc, Johanna Dark can recognize an authority figure who attempts to hide. She dreams of leading the workers, just as Joan of Arc led the Dauphin's soldiers. Retiz notes that the play examines a "moral problem" (147), one which deals with wealth and power versus the common man. Neither the historical Joan of Arc nor Johanna Dark is canonized until it is obvious that she no longer poses a threat of overthrowing the power structure of her day. Brecht presents a series of contemporary actions which parallel those of the historical saint. These parallels of attitude and action transform the legend of Joan of Arc in the play.

A decade later, Brecht worked on his second play influenced by the Joan of Arc legend. In Die Gesichte der Simone Machard the historical Joan of Arc spurs the contemporary Simone Machard to action in France as the occupying forces are arriving. The play was written

during the period of Brecht's anti-fascist plays. Simone's dreams and the book she reads on the life of Joan of Arc motivate her to act to feed the refugees and to burn the gasoline supply to hinder the Germans. Although she is unable to overthrow the occupying forces, she does resist collaboration. As she is taken away to an insane asylum, fire lights the skies and her coworkers guess that the refugees have learned from her to burn supplies before they can be used by the enemy. Until this final episode, Simone acts as an individual. Yet the ending shows the power of group action. The title character generates an "emotional power" (Retiz 147).

A decade later, in 1952, Brecht adapted Anna Seghers's radio play into his final work based on the Joan of Arc legend, Der Prozeß der Jeanne d'Arc zu Rouen 1431. In the postwar period, most of Brecht's new works were adaptations. In this one he returns to fifteenth-century France and inserts twentieth-century concepts and language into the action. By transforming the voices that Jeanne d'Arc hears from the voices of the saints into the voices of the people, Brecht again emphasizes the role of group action in creating a revolution.

Although the time and/or country in which the three plays are set vary, all three are revolutionary plays, encouraging the people to rise in group action to overthrow

or resist the power structure of the day. They reflect Brecht's beliefs that people can change and that audiences should be inspired by theater to act. Brecht uses the historical figure of Joan of Arc or modern transformations of her as a medium for that message.

Examining how Joan of Arc has been used as inspiration for these plays takes one to some documents that challenge the claims that Fuegi makes. One particularly enticing work is the brochure and scrapbook with text for an exhibition on France in the works of Brecht that Gerhard Seidel and Gisela Kuntze prepared in 1987. Sponsored by the Bertolt Brecht Archive of the Academy of the Arts of the GDR, it was displayed at the Cultural Center of the GDR in Paris in 1988 and provided an overview of the main French influences on the works of Brecht.

The Academy of the Arts of the GDR seemed as protective of Brecht as Helene Weigel was. As a cultural icon, he was of greater value if he could be considered the author of all that was attributed to him. The text for the exhibit includes notes on Brecht's readings for French courses in the Königliches Realgymnasium in Augsburg from 1911 to 1917, a listing of books in French in Brecht's personal library, references to ideas for plays and poetry that he had mentioned in his journals and letters, information about the themes of Joan of Arc and

the Paris Commune, and references to French influences on his poetry. Seidel and Kuntze assume that Brecht's French was adequate enough to work from primary sources in French. Fuegi challenges this assumption and believes instead that Brecht relied on Hauptmann's knowledge of French (Brecht and Company 522). More to show Brecht's cunning than his poor French, Esslin retells an amusing story of Brecht's schoolboy attempt to improve his grade on a poor French paper by adding corrections to correct parts and then questioning his teacher (Brecht 18), but we can assume that his French was limited. Yet he skillfully surrounded himself by collaborators like Hauptmann and Besson who could compensate for those limits[4].

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[4] French connections with Brecht's works are not limited to the three Joan plays and Die Tage der Commune. There is a somewhat historical connection in the works of Denis Diderot which led Brecht, while in exile in Denmark in 1939, to consider founding a society dedicated to Diderot's works and to inductive theater. While exile prevented him from realizing the idea, he did own three of Diderot's books. On the page before the contents of the Brecht Yearbook, one reads "The International Brecht Society has been formed as a corresponding society on the model of Brecht's own unrealized plan for the Diderot Society" (1995 Brecht Yearbook n.pag.). Seidel and Kuntze consider Beaumarchais to be a precursor of the historic events in the French Revolution and note that Brecht compared the role of the bourgeois hero in Beaumarchais's "Le Mariage de Figaro" to the bourgeois hero of Lenz's "Der Hofmeister." They note that "[d]ie Hauptsache ist, daß der Blickpunkt nunmehr der Bürger ist" (n.pag.). Four books in Brecht's library dealt with the French Revolution and three were by or about Napoleon.

Brecht's play Die Tage der Commune was written as a counterplay (Gegenstück) to Nordahl Grieg's play The Defeat (Nederlaget. Et shuespill om Pariser Kommunen, Oslo 1937, BFA 8: 507). Martin Esslin explains how Brecht's counterplays attempt to write "a reply to, or refutation of, an existing work" (Brecht 126). Esslin states that "[i]t uses some of the characters and situations of that play [Die Niederlage] to give Brecht's view on the reasons for the defeat of the Paris Commune" (Brecht 311) in Die Tage der Commune. Inspired by Margarete Steffin's 1937 translation of Grieg's play, Die Niederlage, Brecht helped get her translation published in the exile newspaper Das Wort in Moscow in 1938.

Berlau's memoirs tell how she introduced Brecht to Grieg in Denmark before the war. As an actress in Denmark, she was familiar with the play from the Royal Theater's performance of it. She reports that

> Brecht on that occasion criticized Grieg's work. He pointed to a page in Marx about "the civil war in France" and said "There is more about the communards on this one page than in the whole of your play." He looked at Grieg: "Your play is called The Defeat. What I want to know is: What have we learned from the defeat." (Bunge 175-76)

Knopf relates how Brecht met Grieg and worried him with

transformations he wanted:

> Brecht traf Grieg 1937 auf Fünen, im dänischen Exil, nach der Kenntnisnahme des neuen Stücks. Offenbar war die Verständigung nicht gut, Grieg soll Brechts entschiedene Ansichten übers Drama so gefürchtet, daß er regelrecht die Flucht ergriff, um seine Begriffe vom Drama nicht völlig verdreht zu finden. Möglich wurde die Kenntnisnahme durch eine Übersetzung von Margarete Steffin, an der Brecht aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach beteiligt gewesen ist . . . . (Brecht-Handbuch. Theater 280)

The two playwrights never again met. If any ever existed, all trace has been lost of Brecht's involvement in the idea of a play about the Paris Commune in the 1930s beyond the premiere of Grieg's play in Copenhagen in 1937 with Ruth Berlau depicting Madame Lasalle ("die ihre Tochter Pauline ins Hurenhaus verkauft," BFA 8: 507) and his aid in publishing Steffin's translation in Das Wort. Although Brecht did not work on a play on the Paris Commune during his years in exile, he did refer to it once in America, according to Retiz:

> Writing about Brecht's feelings towards France, Vladimir Pozner, one of Brecht's co-workers during his Hollywood exile, tells of a statement made by Brecht sometime in 1942 or 1943 to the effect that he had

dedicated two plays to that country, and that one of these had the Commune as its subject (51).

Steffin's translation of Grieg's play was published in book form by Bruno Henschel and Son of Berlin in 1947. The actual revision of Steffin's translation appears to have begun in 1949. Brecht made a trip from Berlin to Zurich with Ruth Berlau in February 1949 to work on a "Modellbuch" for Galilei and to look for members for the Berliner Ensemble. Before the trip, Brecht was considering presenting Grieg's play during the 1949-50 theater season, without having reread the play. When he did reread it, Brecht decided that the work was impossible. In a letter to his wife, he wrote:

> Ich las jetzt Die Niederlage, zeig das niemandem mehr, es ist erstaunlich schlecht, aber man kann es, glaube ich, ändern, ich machte viele Notizen. Ich verstehe jedenfalls jetzt Engels Horror. Jedoch hat das Stück gute Rollen und kann noch bessere kriegen. (Letter to Helene Weigel, end of February 1949, qtd. in BFA 8: 508)

Berlau's account, reported by Fuegi, is that on the plane,

> while she slept, Brecht read Defeat, Grete Steffin's German version of Nordahl Grieg's play on the Paris Commune of 1871. On the cover was the notation: "Autorisierte Übertragung aus dem Norwegischen von

> Margarete Steffin." When Berlau woke up, Brecht said he planned to take over the play. Berlau pointed out this would violate Grieg's and Steffin's copyright. But Brecht was adamant. . . . Brecht now invented a fictitious "original author," claiming the work was "an adaptation from the French of Jacques Duchesne." Neither Berlau nor Brecht had enough expertise in French to work from that language. The "new work" was called The Days of the Commune, a play by Brecht (written large) and by R. Berlau (written small). The names of Grieg and Steffin were dropped altogether. (Fuegi, Brecht and Company 510)

Brecht and Ruth Berlau wrote the play between February and May of 1949. Knopf describes how Berlau and Brecht considered passing off the work as a translation and how Elisabeth Hauptmann was instrumental in the French spelling of Commune in the title, in spite of the usage of the German "Kommune" throughout the play (Brecht-Handbuch. Theater 281). Berlau explains how her collaboration with Brecht in this "counterargument to Grieg's The Defeat" consisted largely in "finding out, in conjunction with him, what consequences could be drawn from their defeat" (Bunge 176). She summarizes the meaning of the play as "the necessity of hanging on to power once gained, and defending it by all possible means" (Bunge 177).

In those early postwar days, before the libraries in Berlin had been rebuilt and filled with books, Zurich was a good place to write, since Brecht could send Berlau to the library to find books for the project. They also had access to Theodor Pinkus's archive on the history of the workers' movement (BFA 8: 508). Berlau explains their working pattern as follows:

> It was my job to go through the books and mark the relevant passages, for Brecht did not enjoy reading thick books. In addition, he expected suggestions from me for the next scene. That was my night work, for Brecht retired early to bed. Next morning he would find the marked books outside his door, together with my suggestions. I felt proud if among them Brecht found two sentences he could use. He had to have something to get him started, even if it was only two sentences. (Bunge 177)

Brecht would then work from seven to ten in the morning, discuss his work with Berlau and Caspar Neher, who would make sketches, and then

> [a]t noon Benno Besson came along to join in the discussions. Brecht wanted to form an impression of him, for he was thinking of engaging him and his wife Eva for the Berliner Ensemble. (Bunge 178)

That engagement would lead to a collaboration which

entailed work on Brecht's Don Juan and directing several of Brecht's plays, including Der Prozeß der Jeanne d'Arc zu Rouen 1431, and collaborating with Manfred Wekwerth on Die Tage der Commune, which had its premiere in Karl-Marx-Stadt on November 17, 1956, three months after Brecht's death.

The first draft of Die Tage der Commune is dated April 21, 1949. On the same day, Brecht wrote his wife, according to notes in the critical edition of the play, "daß das Stück fertig ist, nachdem er an einigen Details noch 'herumgefeilt' habe" (BFA 8: 509).

Like Die heilige Johanna der Schlachthöfe, Die Tage der Commune came to the conclusion that violence can be unavoidable: "daß das Proletariat die Gewalt seiner Gegner nicht brechen kann, wenn es selber nicht bereit ist, Gewalt anzuwenden" (BFA 8:509, quoting a letter from Brecht to Eric Bentley, November 12, 1949). Selected parts were published in 1954 and 1956, but the first complete published texts appeared in the fifteenth and final issue of Versuche and in the 1957 Suhrkamp series of Brecht's Stücke. The drama's first performance by the Berliner Ensemble was on October 7, 1962, shortly after the building of the Wall. A key source for Brecht's play was Prosper Lissagaray's Histoire de la Commune de 1871 in a German translation of 1877 (Knopf, Brecht-Handbuch.

Theater 282). Retiz notes that "Scene after scene finds its exact source in Lissagaray's account, parts of which have been subsumed with only minimal changes in wording into the play" (32).

Brecht was also influenced by Karl Marx's Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich with an introduction by Engels as well as by Georg Büchner's Dantons Tod and Gerhart Hauptmann's Die Weber (Kaufmann and Hartung, qtd. in Knopf, Brecht-Handbuch. Theater 282). Wolf Siegert notes that books about the Commune that Brecht used in exile in Scandinavia included both Grieg's Norwegian text and Steffin's translation, Lissagaray's history as well as Pariser Kommune 1871. Berichte und Dokumente von Zeitgenossen, edited by Duncker, and The Paris Commune of 1871 by Jellinek (Brechts "Tage" 331, 350-51). The Berlin and Frankfurt critical edition quotes a letter from Brecht to Albert H. Schreiner that says that he used Lissagaray, Dunker, Marx, Lenin's Über die Pariser Kommune (Vienna/Berlin 1931) and Les 31 Séances-Officielles de la Commune (Paris 1871) (BFA 8: 508).

As one studies Marx's account of the Paris Commune, issued to the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association members in Europe and the United States on May 30, 1871, only two days after the end of the Commune, one quickly sees that the interpretation that

Brecht gives to the events surrounding the Commune have been influenced by Marx. For Brecht and Marx, as well as for Engels, who wrote an introduction to the printed version of Marx's account, the Commune represents a revolution of the proletariat. Like Die heilige Johanna der Schlachthöfe, the Commune, as presented by Marx and by Brecht, shows that the weak must be willing to use force in order to overthrow those with power, who in both plays are depicted as quite willing to violently subjugate the working class. Marx speaks in general terms of the international working class. Brecht shows the meaning of this when the soldiers treat the German captive soldier of their class, called Fritz, as one of them rather than as a prisoner, and when Madame Cabet states that her son Jean is to the left of the soldiers of the national guard.

While Marx and Lissagaray provide historical accounts of the events of the Paris Commune and were sources that Brecht used to write his play on the Commune, Grieg's play was the one that he first thought of performing in Berlin and the one to which he then wrote Die Tage der Commune as a reaction or counterplay. Siegert recounts how Grieg wrote his play after returning from the second International Writers' Conference in Madrid during the Spanish Civil War. He compares several aspects of the two dramas, beginning with the types of main characters:

> Anders als bei Grieg--und damit eher an die Hoffnungen denn an die Niederlagen der dreißiger Jahre anknüpfend--ersetzt Brecht die Darstellung von Helden-Figuren durch die Schilderung einer heldenhaft kämpfenden und ganz 'unheldisch' lebenden Pariser Bevölkerung, die, gruppiert um die Familie Cabet, zum kollektiven Helden des Stückes wird. (Brechts "Tage" 317)

The plays also end with a different emphasis. In Grieg, individuals die, but Brecht focuses on the conquerors watching the defeat of the Commune from the fictional walls of Versailles (Siegert, Brechts "Tage" 318). For Siegert, there is an essential difference between the two plays: "Für Grieg ist die Kommune von Paris Sinnbild des unglücklich endenden Spanienkrieges, für Brecht ein Aufruf, dort weiterzumachen, wo die Bewegung von 1871 scheitern mußte" (Brechts "Tage" 319). Siegert remarks on the emphasis on something new in Brecht's play and notes that the one work to deal extensively with Die Tage der Kommune before the 1980s was Hans Kaufmann's Geschichtsdrama und Parabelstück (318).[5] The actual

[5] Another exception is Retiz's dissertation, which is not included in Siegert's selected bibliography of secondary literature, 353-55. One should also not overlook Siegert's second work dealing with the play, Die Furcht vor der Kommune: Untersuchungen zur Entstehung und Bedeutung von Bertolt Brechts "Die Tage der Kommune," which was published three years later.

events of the Paris Commune of 1871 provided the historical events which Brecht and Berlau brought to life by adding fictional characters who were types, but more individualized than nameless types.

The Commune itself had a short history from March 18 to May 28, 1871. Thiers led the new French Republic from February 17, 1871, weeks after Bismark "was crowned Emperor of Germany in Versailles' hall of mirrors" on January 18 (Retiz 28).

> The National Assembly cancelled the moratorium on rents and bills, which had been imposed during the siege; terminated the already low pay of the workers and the National Guard; announced that it would disarm the latter . . . and decided to move . . . to Versailles. (Retiz 29)

These conditions are depicted as the play opens and Madame Cabet sees François, recently returned from battle and wounded:

> **Mme. Cabet:** François, sind Sie verwundet? Ich muß Sie bitten, Ihren Teil der Miete für das Zimmer zu bezahlen. Sie wissen, die Regierung verlangt, daß jetzt die rückständigen Hausmieten bezahlt werden. . . .
>
> **François:** Aber Mme. Cabet, ich habe meinen Sold nicht ausbezahlt bekommen seit drei Wochen. Es ist

mir auch ein bißchen schlecht im Augenblick. (BFA 8: 250)

Then the days of the Commune began:

> The incident of the cannons and the execution of the generals took place on March 18, 1871. . . . The Central Committee of the Republican Federation arranged for municipal elections on March 26, which remained in a coalition dominated by extreme leftists who formed themselves into the Commune de Paris. (Retiz 30)

The Communards were members of the artisan class and the middle class. The latter dominated. On May 21, "an army of some 130,000 men [entered Paris] to put down the insurrectionists" or members of the Commune. Retiz concludes: "The Communards never had a chance. . . . they lacked the military discipline and professionalism of the Versaillese. . . . The last battles were fought in the cemetery of Père Lachaise on May 28, the last day of the Commune" (32). There were at least 25,000 dead.

Retiz summarizes the structure of the play as one which begins "like the birth of a new life," then has a period similar to "the heady days of liberation and freedom," before ending with "the sudden, spasmodic death of an entity that was doomed before the beginning." (33) The play mixes historical figures and fictitious ones in a

manner which Retiz explains as follows:

> Non-fictitious, documented characters are assigned roles as Brecht the dramatist sees fit. . . . In turn, fictitious characters become the identifiable agents of a real historical action, as when "Papa" rushes off to supervise the execution. (41)

Retiz summarizes Brecht's use of history in relation to a Marxist concept of history (48-49). In 1970, Hans Kaufmann attempted to draw parallels between the Paris Commune and the early days of the GDR. He hoped that the GDR would profit "from the mistakes of its 'model'" (qtd. in Retiz 49). Retiz continues, remarking that "[a]mong Kaufmann's parallels are the end of a disastrous war, the agonized split in opinion over the form of the nation's future government, and the eventual formation of a government based theoretically on the rule of the working classes" (49). He dismisses Kaufmann's argument that events after 1945 that led to the founding of the GDR were instrumental in the writing of the play by pointing to the longer history of Brecht's work on the play (51-54). Still, the topic allowed Brecht to point to a historical antecedent for the socialist government for which he had high expectations and which he hoped would last much longer than the days of the Paris Commune.

Berlau would support Kaufmann's argument through her

unexpected explanation of why Brecht considered writing the play under a pseudonym:

> With The Days of the Commune . . . his aim was to engage directly in current political events and to provoke discussion. How can we manage to hold out longer than seventy-two days? How much force will be necessary? . . . Brecht was at first uncertain whether the play was strong enough, or whether it would remain valid. As it neared completion, he abandoned the idea of a pseudonym. (Bunge 178)

The end of Die Tage der Commune reveals two groups and a new view of history, even for Brecht. Thiers is now "an old-fashioned portrayal of a villain" and the "little man" has a new dignity, which ends with "an action-packed finale [which] depicts the conventionally dramatic end of a band of heroes" (Retiz 59). Retiz concludes that in opposition to epic drama, an historical play like Die Tage der Commune "in the Aristotelian manner, traditionally and consistently seeks to imitate life" (60). Brecht combines historical details with individualization of fictional characters in Die Tage der Commune in an unusual manner. Placing Brecht in the tradition of the historical dramas of Grillparzer and Hebbel, Retiz observes

> Grillparzer was observed to maintain that the aim of the writer of historical dramas consists in imbuing his

> work of creation with a core of reality, a "Schwerpunkt der Realität," which serves as a point of orientation for the otherwise purely fictitious characters created for the stage. Hebbel warns against the restrictions imposed on poesis by a demand for strict historical accuracy, which would turn a creative attempt into a journalistic report. As if in direct opposition to Hebbel's thesis, Büchner asserts the primacy of historical accuracy for the writer of historical plays, for the purpose of capturing the spirit of the times and characters involved. (76-77)

Brecht's primary contribution to this history "consists in assigning a dramatic role to the unnamed and unknown historical persons of low rank" (Retiz 78).

In keeping with his theory of epic drama and his Marxist worldview, Brecht attempts to represent the proletarian masses in his theater. In this final play based on French history, he balances that theory with an attempt to bring the events alive in front of an audience. Less successful as a drama than the earlier Joan of Arc plays, which represented the people through an easily recognizable historical personage, it did succeed in depicting a proletarian revolution and its shortcomings. In Die Tage der Commune as in Die heilige Johanna der Schlachthöfe, that revolutionary spirit is central to the

play.

As one asks the initial question posed by this chapter, namely, how did French history influence Brecht's dramas, one can argue whether or not one French historical figure, her fifteenth-century time (in at least one of the three plays dealing with her), and one series of events from the nineteenth century have deeply influenced Brecht's dramatic works. At the same time, Joan of Arc provides a catalyst for three plays and a screenplay, and the Paris Commune was the catalyst for an historical play that dealt with Brecht's era and offered insight into what is needed for a successful proletarian revolution. Such a revolution was taking place in the country where Brecht chose to live after World War II and where he established the Berliner Ensemble.

While these influences are limited, there is a close connection between the meaning of influence and that of collaboration. Writing about the latter, Bunge remarked:

> A collaboration has many intangible aspects. Whose idea was it? Was it accepted? Was it used? And in what way was it used? Maybe it was just a passing remark that proved important, and possibly only long afterward, by which time the speaker might already have forgotten it. Cause and effect are almost never distinguishable from one another. Inspirational

> ideas, some quite definite, others perhaps only vague, were accepted or rejected by Brecht, usually with no reasons given, and some might also have subconsciously taken root. Nobody could judge in advance whether the time was favorable for suggestions or unfavorable. What could prove decisive was from whom they came, and to whose advice Brecht was at that particular moment vulnerable. (254)

Precisely who proposed the initial idea of changing the Salvation Army character Betsy Soundso of Happy Days to the Johanna Dark of Die heilige Johanna der Schlachthöfe and who had the idea of Simone's visions of Joan of Arc seems impossible to pinpoint. But the appeal of Joan of Arc returns to haunt Brecht's playwriting as strongly as the urge to counter Nordahl Grieg's Nederlaget with a play which attempts to depict the potential of the Paris Commune of 1871 rather than its defeat. In so doing, Brecht hoped that the Marxist revolution in the GDR would last longer than seventy-two days. The plays are of unequal dramatic quality and differ in the strength of Marxist philosophizing and politicizing. However, French history played an essential role in these works and thus strongly influenced all four of the plays discussed in this chapter. The last two, Der Prozeß der Jeanne d'Arc

zu Rouen 1431 and Die Tage der Commune simply could not have existed without French history. In spite of being among his Lehrstücke, the first two Joan plays, Die heilige Johanna der Schlachthöfe and Die Gesichte der Simone Machard, are more appealing dramatically and less didactic because of the incorporation of references to Joan of Arc in the plays.

Chapter III: French Philosophical Influences on the Dramas of Max Frisch

The philosophical ideas of Jean-Paul Sartre are the major French influence on the plays of Max Frisch. While the French philosopher, dramatist, and novelist developed a systematic philosophy, most notably in L'être et le néant (Being and Nothingness), the Swiss playwright, novelist, and architect disliked labels, including the label "existentialist" (Ruppert, "Existential Themes" 153). However, his world view is that of an existentialist. This chapter examines the themes of freedom, bad faith, the gaze of the Other, the community, and the fundamental project in six plays by Frisch which best represent these themes: Santa Cruz, Graf Öderland, Biedermann und die Brandstifter with the Epilogue, Andorra, Biografie. Ein Spiel, and Triptychon.[1]

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[1]Frisch's other plays do have at least one existentialist theme. Nun singen sie wieder, Als der Krieg zu Ende war, and Phillip Hotz provide good case studies of bad faith. Die chinesische Mauer deals with expectations of the Other in an interesting manner. The play Don Juan oder Die Liebe zur Geometrie will be examined in the final chapter both in relation to these themes and to the Don Juan plays by Brecht, Müller, and Molière.

Freedom is the most fundamental of the existentialist themes in the plays of both Sartre and Frisch. One of the most basic freedoms the characters in the plays seek is that of self-creation. The free character is able to live an authentic life. Characters such as the cavalry officer in Santa Cruz, Frisch's Don Juan, and Sartre's Orestes succeed in self-creation and living authentic lives. They experience a freedom that balances personal responsibility with personal liberty, and their freedom helps them create the values which are their essence.

The two most dramatic struggles between freedom and responsibility in the theaters of Sartre and Frisch are that of Orestes in Les Mouches and that of the cavalry captain in Santa Cruz. Orestes returns to the town of his father, Argos, murders his stepfather uncle who had murdered his father, and then leaves the town to heal from the homicides, taking with him the flies which had infested the city since his father's death. Two key passages describe the free choices he has made. In the first, the god Zeus (Jupiter) in Les Mouches finds these choices of Orestes frightening. In a discussion with Aegistheus (Egisthe), he explains:

> Jupiter. -- Oreste sait qu'il est libre.
>
> Egisthe, vivement. -- Il sait qu'il est libre. Alors ce n'est pas assez que je le jette dans les

fers. Un homme libre dans une ville, c'est comme une brebis galeuse dans un troupeau. Il va contaminer tout mon royaume et ruiner mon oeuvre. . . .

Jupiter, lentement. -- . . . Egisthe, les Dieux ont un autre secret. . . . Quand une fois la liberté a explosé dans une âme d'homme, les Dieux ne peuvent plus rien contre cet homme-là. Car c'est une affaire d'hommes, et c'est aux autres hommes--à eux seuls--qu'il appartient de le laisser courir ou de l'étrangler. (Sartre, Théâtre 86-87)

At this point both the god and the king have realized that Orestes knows that he is free and that they can only maintain their power and their order by suppressing his expression of freedom.

This scene also shows Orestes's transformation from an innocent young man into a man ready to spill blood. He frees the people of Argos from the guilt they have lived under for fifteen years and from the swarms of flies, but he never claims the power that his father and stepfather had exercised. He leaves the town at the end of the play, telling the people that he is unlike Aegistheus because he will admit his action, will not demand to rule, and will take the flies with him. For both the people of Argos and

for Orestes, that day is the dawn of a new age.

George Ross Ridge sees Orestes's willingness to assume responsibility for his actions and his assumption of the guilt of the whole city as Sartre's introduction of "the mythic element in order to say that the free man is a god and that, moreover, the world is composed only of gods and beasts. It is for the individual to decide which he will become" (441). In the conclusion of his article, "Meaningful Choice in Sartre's Drama," Ridge posits that

> the ordinary condition for sensitive man is nausea; anguish is the realization of the status and entails the desire to change. Anguish is also born of the arrested action, whenever a man on the path of <u>becoming</u> stops short of full moral responsibility for his choices. One must act with good faith, not with <u>mauvaise foi</u>. He must tear away the persona and reveal his true face to himself and to the world. Then the individual is actually free to make choices for which he can hold himself accountable: meaningful choices, not mere gratuitous acts. . . . One must reflect, before choosing. . . . If man masters himself, he deserves the appelation of God. And he will, Sartre warns, have all the terrible responsibilities of God. He will be responsible for his actions, and he will mold his own destiny. (441)

One can certainly see Orestes in Les Mouches as a man who chooses his action, takes responsibility for the action, and is willing to live with his destiny. First presented during the German occupation of France in 1943, the play's structure and the setting in ancient Greece disguised from the German censors Sartre's call for freedom and commitment. Sartre wrote:

> Orestes is free as regards crime and beyond crime; I have shown him as a prey to freedom, just as Oedipus is a prey to his destiny. He struggled beneath this iron fist, but he will have to kill in the end, and he will have to shoulder the burden of his murder. . . . For freedom is not some vague abstract ability to soar above the human predicament; it is the most absurd and the most inexorable of commitments. (qtd. in Contat and Rybalka 186)

This struggle between freedom and commitment, accompanied by the nausea and anguish which enable one to attain an authentic life in good faith, also appears in Frisch's plays in characters such as the cavalry captain in Santa Cruz, in Andri in Andorra, and in Antoinette in Biografie. Ein Spiel. Another type of freedom, one which is not checked by responsibility and commitment, is portrayed by the count in Graf Öderland and by Biedermann in Biedermann und die Brandstifter. Their freedom is a

more self-centered freedom.

For Sartre, freedom arises from nothingness. The void of nothingness is filled by the actions of the free human being, the <u>être-pour-soi</u>. Freedom in Frisch's plays is also dependent on the ability to act. Lavine summarizes Sartre's argument:

> I see that to be a conscious being is to be free--free in relation to any particular object of consciousness; free from the causally determined world of things; free to negate--to say no, to raise doubts, to imagine possibilites which are not present; free to reduce to nothingness, to negate and nihilate the region of things, of being-in-itself, by questions. . . . my freedom as being-for-itself is my power. . . . I have the power of negation. (356)

Ruppert's examination of freedom in Frisch's work is of special interest. He begins his examination of the topic by noting that for existentialists "free choice is characteristically ranked as the highest human value" ("Existential Themes" 34). Examining Sartre's concept of freedom by pointing out that "it is through our choices, our freedom, that we create value. . ." ("Existential Themes" 36), he further supports his argument with a quote from Frisch's <u>Tagebuch</u>: "Die Würde des Menschen, scheint mir, besteht in der Wahl. . . . Erst aus der möglichen

Wahl gibt sich die Verantwortung; die Schuld oder die Freiheit. . ." (qtd. in Ruppert, "Existential Themes" 37). But Ruppert cautions that there is a difference between Sartre and Frisch in regard to freedom:

> . . . unlike Sartre's inner freedom, Frisch's view recognizes that there are degrees of freedom, that individuals are more or less free depending on their awareness of reality and external socio-economic obstacles. ("Existential Themes" 38)

Ruppert supports this claim with Frisch's observation in his Tagebuch: "Der Hungernde hat keine Wahl. . . . Er ist ein Opfer, auch wenn er keinen Hunger leidet. Er wird nicht, was er werden kann, und niemals wird er wissen, was er kann. . . ." (qtd. in "Existentialist Themes" 38).

The freedom of the individual être-pour-soi in Sartre is determined in large part by his or her reaction to his or her situation in life. Sartre's arguments strongly side with free will in the battle between free will and determinism. Lavine explains:

> Sartre argues that my "facticity," by which he means the contingent circumstances or facts of my life, may be biologically, psychologically, socially, and economically determined, but as conscious being, I choose the meaning they have for me. As a free, active consciousness, I transform this facticity by

> my choice of meanings and possibilities, by my projects, into my <u>situation</u>. By situation Sartre means an organization of the world into a meaningful totality from the viewpoint of a free individual. (358)

While both Frisch and Sartre create characters who balance freedom and responsibilty and live in good faith, there are others who struggle with bad faith, the second theme to be examined in this chapter. Discussing Sartre's <u>Huis clos</u>, Knapp defines "bad faith" as a dialectic of lies, marked by fear of freedom and responsibility:

> Auch hier geht es um eine Dialektik von Unwahrhaftigkeit--Sartre nennt sie 'mauvaise foi'--, bedingt durch die Furcht vor der Freiheit, und der Möglichkeit, Verantwortung und das heißt: Freiheit zu übernehmen. (441)

The individual who can freely act lives a life of good faith, but many characters in the plays of both dramatists lead lives of bad faith. This second major theme of existentialism, bad faith, separates an individual from an honest and free life, usually by actions taken by the individual. The effort to escape "from freedom and responsibility" is called "bad faith," which Lavine explains as

> lying to oneself, it is self-deception, it is

> pretending that we are not free and responsible for what we are and do, when in fact we know that we are. Bad faith is pretending that . . . we are only victims of circumstances, passive products of our conditioning. (367)

Thus, bad faith "is the attitude of those who seek to escape from the anguish and the nausea that inevitably follow the realization that man is free and that the world is absurd" (Hardré and Daniel xv). Many of Frisch's dramatic characters find themselves in this state of bad faith in contrast to the few who reach the authentic stage of existence.

Sartre illustrates his arguments with concrete examples of different types of bad faith in L'être et le néant. He distinguishes four types of bad faith: pretending that the past has no role in determining the present, identifying with a role, pretending actions are determined by nature, and pretending to be a thing (Lavine 362-63). Furthermore, bad faith is closely related to the theme of inauthenticity. As Lavine relates:

> Inauthenticity is the attempt to escape from the truth of what we are as conscious beings, free to choose the meaning of our world, free to make ourselves by the projects which we choose, and totally responsible. To be inauthentic is to be

> untrue to oneself as a conscious being; it is to deny what it means to be a conscious being. (367)

Characters such as Estelle in Huis clos, Electra in Les Mouches, and Hannes Kürmann in Biografie. Ein Spiel are unable to define or create authentic selves and suffer from bad faith.

The first of the several types of bad faith that Sartre discusses in L'être et le néant is the one exemplified by those who pretend that the past has no role to play in the present. Both Hannes Kürmann in Biografie. Ein Spiel and Electra in Les Mouches live in bad faith as they pretend to live in the present without being influenced by the past, but both are unable to escape their past. Andri in Andorra reflects both the second and third of the categories, identifying with a role and pretending actions are determined by nature, as he accepts the role of the token Jew and then blames the nature that the Andorrans associate with that role as the source of his problems. The fourth and final category of bad faith occurs when people are treated as things. Frisch's Biedermann treats Knechtling in this manner.

Bad faith in many of these plays deals with the relationship between the community and the individual. Sartre's play La Putain respecteuse deals primarily with the roles of authenticity and bad faith among individuals

in a community. The bad faith of others in their community devastates the lives of the main characters in La Putain respecteuse and in Andorra. Individuals who suffer from bad faith influence other individuals in Sartre's plays Le Diable et le bon Dieu, Morts sans sépulture and Les Mains sales as well as in Frisch's Graf Öderland and Biedermann und die Brandstifter. The bad faith of one person has a negative effect on large groups of people.

The third and fourth themes, the gaze of the Other and the community, reveal how much all the themes are intertwined, and it may be quite an arbitrary exercise to attempt to separate them. These two themes may be associated with bad faith, as in the examples above, or with authenticity.

The fundamental project, the fifth theme, is an overarching goal and value which constantly defines the individual. The concept of a project appears in the final section of Sartre's L'être et le néant, wherein he claims that the choices that one freely makes are viewed as closely connected to one's past and future. The project's role in tying together the past and the future are stressed as Sartre writes:

> Pour que nous ayons un passé, il faut que nous le maintenions à l'existence par notre projet même vers

> le futur. . . . Or la signification du passé est étroitement dépendante de mon projet présent. . . . en me pro-jetant vers mes buts, je sauve le passé avec moi et je décide par l'action de sa signification. (L'être et le néant, 554-555)

The French "pro-jetant" ties the concept of the project to the verb "jeter" (to throw), which emphasizes the motion from the past through the present into the future. Yet, particularly significant in this idea of the project is how one can define the past in relation to the project. The active, freely chosen project becomes the means to define the past and to shape the future through the present.

Ronald Grimsley further explains the role of the basic project as follows:

> The original choice can embrace and give direction to a large number of individual actions, even though it is always free to change the direction of its projet fondamental. Freedom, as the choice of an original pro-ject, expresses, as we have seen, the being of the for-itself, and the for-itself is free to the extent to which it has to be its own nothingness . . . . The fundamental pro-ject of the free pour-soi is to be in-itself-for-itself (en-soi-pour-soi) and this basic aim is inescapable. . . . the main

pro-ject may be revealed in a number of ways. (131-32)

Citing Sartre's example of a man who admits his exhaustion on a hike, Grimsley offers this as an illustration of a man who makes certain choices in regard to his relation to his body and the world. Next he contrasts existential psychoanalysis with Freudian psychoanalysis, concluding that the existentialists "will concentrate mainly on the future aspect of the choice, which will be seen as 'a return from the future towards the present'" (133). Finally, Grimsley notes that one can change one's decisions so that the project changes:

> Since we are 'condemned to be free,' we are constantly committed to the necessity of repeating the basic choice of ourselves and we can never say that we have chosen once and for all. At any moment, therefore, the direction of the projet fondamental may be changed, and it is this perpetual modifiability of our choice which is revealed to us in dread. . . . that basic choice is reversible. . . . We pro-ject our future through our being, but our existential freedom constantly modifies the meaning of that being and is ever liable to make us other than what we are (EN, p. 542) (Grimsley 134).

Catalano explains that

> the fundamental freedom of the for-itself is its very reality as a free project in relation to the in-itself and others. While this project, or choice of being, is not a deliberation, it is not thereby unconsciousness, but unreflective. (199)

The concept of the project helps one understand the central role of freedom and existentialism in Frisch's plays. In these plays, the grand project moves those dedicated to it closer to an authentic level of existence.

Santa Cruz

For Sartre, freedom has a more abstract meaning than for Frisch. The Swiss dramatist contrasts freedom with an opposing desire for order. One notices this in the first scene of the first act of Santa Cruz, when the cavalry captain feels compelled to fire a groomsman who has taken a small amount of tobacco from him each day. While he seems to feel sympathy for the groomsman, he defends his action with the aphorism: "Ordnung muß sein."

In Santa Cruz and Graf Öderland, the main character leads a very routine life until he decides in the course of the play to break free of that routine. Freedom in Frisch's plays includes what has been called the "romantic longing to break out from a stifling social order" (Ruppert, "Existential Themes" 10). The "Rittmeister" or

cavalry captain in Santa Cruz fears that he lost the chance to have great adventures seventeen years earlier when he married Elvira instead of following Pélégrin to the island of Hawaii from Santa Cruz. When Pélégrin appears at his castle as a blizzard engulfs it, the cavalry captain decides in the middle of the night to take one last stab at freedom and leaves. By the next morning, he has decided that his obligations to the people he governs and to his wife and her daughter Viola are great enough that he should return. Ruppert turns to Kierkegaard's analysis of necessity replacing possibility as the individual searches for freedom ("Sickness unto Death") to explain the captain's choice to limit his freedom. The balance that necessity gives to possibility in this schema differs from Sartre's emphasis on free choice, but it shares Frisch's recognition of degrees of freedom (Ruppert, "Existential Themes" 38-40). It also continues the contrast between freedom and order in the first scene of the play. In keeping with Sartre's philosophy of freedom, the cavalry captain finally faces his inner desire and freely choses how much he will strive for freedom and how much he will be tamed by his responsibilities. He returns to his wife, who has also sacrificed the possible freedom with which Pélégrin tempted her as a young adult. Like the hungry figure from

Frisch's Tagebuch who realizes that he can only be as free as his society and his position in the society allow, the cavalry captain decides that he has a role to play in his state and in his family which precludes the freedom Pélégrin enjoys. This causes him to return home. Similarly, Elvira sacrifices freedom for her child and her family. Ruppert optimistically concludes that

> the Captain and his wife both realize that the flaw in their lives has been the concealment of their longings from each other. . . . They realize that love can create genuine freedom, and that freedom means . . . confronting one's life as it is, integrating the longing for possibility with the necessity incurred by one's choices. . . . ("Existentialist Themes" 46-47)

As the play ends, each reveals a side to the other which has been repressed for seventeen years. The daughter, Viola, appears to be the synthesis of freedom and responsibility which the adults have been unable to achieve. Their individual freedom is balanced by the responsibility they feel to the Other and to the community. The adults try to deny the role of the past, and their lack of attention to it leads them into acts of bad faith. Denying the role of the past is especially obvious in the actions of the cavalry captain and his

wife.

Santa Cruz has elements of the grand project in Pélégrin's constant striving for freedom and in the cavalry captain's desire for freedom tempered by responsibility for his estate and his family. The two acts of the play which are flashbacks to decisive events seventeen years earlier emphasize the importance of the past for the present in the play.

Graf Öderland

The same romantic longing and the same contrast between freedom and order which are found in Santa Cruz occur in Graf Öderland. The public prosecutor, Martin, is assigned to prosecute a bank clerk, Schweiger, who attempted to break free of the order of society. Ruppert compares the two plays as follows:

> As in Santa Cruz, Graf Öderland contains social and political overtones. . . . In his rebellion, Öderland becomes a purely destructive force--he breaks away from society and simply kills those who try to stop him. . . . His reliance on force and violence leads to a wholly destructive anarchy. Thus Öderland's act of rebellion remains essentially negative. . . . ("Existential Themes," 48-49)

For Frisch, the focus in this play is on a very private

inner struggle for freedom. When Frisch's characters act, they tend to do so in a more destructive manner than Sartre's characters do. Öderland is free only because he is willing to kill others. Thus, his freedom is at the expense of the good of the society and is a less positive freedom than even an individual like Sartre's Orestes displays as he commits two murders to accomplish a grand project that will free the people of his town from a corrupt government and the fury of the flies. Orestes is able to stop himself from committing further murders, but Öderland continues to kill in order not to have his freedom reined in. The existential issue in the final exchange between Martin and Schweiger in Graf Öderland is summarized well by Butler:

> the threat posed by 'Count Oederland' and his gang of marauders is effectively neutralised by the simple expedient of transforming the existential revolt boldly into the next stage of government with no significant changes of personnel or direction. Martin can achieve power, but not life or freedom. . . . (73)

The third type of bad faith, pretending that actions are determined by nature, is most visible in both Santa Cruz and Graf Öderland. Both Pélégrin in Santa Cruz and Count Öderland try to convince themselves and others that

nature preordains their actions. In Graf Öderland, the action seems driven by the individual crisis of the public prosecutor, Martin. But he is not quite himself when he can feel the gaze of the woman who undergoes several transformations from his housemaid Inge to the coaler's daughter Hilde to the countess Inge to the companion of successful government leaders, Coco. In all of her forms, this woman seems to trigger his erratic behavior. Yet, he never deals with her effect on him or with the effects of his actions on the others in his society.

His fundamental project seems to be the wild exercise of freedom. This freedom does not take into account the bad faith of his actions, the effect of his actions on others, or the community of which he is a part, which he violently rejects and then reenters. The active exercise of freedom drives the action of the play, but some of the balances of freedom with responsibility that one expects from an existentialist definition of freedom are missing during the middle part of the play. As he becomes at the end a tool of the power structure that he rejects at the beginning, some sense of responsibility for a bigger community is reintroduced in the play.

Biografie. Ein Spiel

The protagonist of Biografie. Ein Spiel, Hannes Kürmann, desperately wants to freely choose to change parts of his past. The structure of the play, a theater rehearsal that will allow him to change decisions he made earlier in life, seems to permit this freedom. But even with this freedom, Hannes Kürmann is unable to make the necessary changes for a different present life, namely a life free of his wife Antoinette. When, near the end of the play, the director of the rehearsal asks her if she would like to make any changes, Antoinette quickly and freely acts, making the changes that Hannes was unable to make. First she explains that she had only stayed to listen to Hannes's music box once again. Then she does actually get up and leave, even as Hannes Kürmann looks at her incredulously:

Antoinette

> Eigentlich wollte ich nur noch einmal Ihre alte Spieluhr hören. Spieluhren faszinieren mich: Figuren, die immer die gleichen Gesten machen, sobald es klimpert--. . .

Antoinette

> Ich werde jetzt gehen. . . .

(Sie ist bereit, Kürmann begleitet sie zur Türe und kommt sogleich ins Zimmer zurück:)

Kürmann

Und jetzt?

Spielleiter

Sie ist weg.

Kürmann

Und jetzt?

Spielleiter

Jetzt sind Sie frei.

Kürmann

Frei--

Spielleiter

Biografie ohne Antoinette.

(Frisch, Biografie 174-75)

Frisch turns Antoinette into an active character who can freely make choices and live with the consequences, thus comparable with Sartre's Orestes in Les Mouches and Inès in Huis clos. Very much like Electra in Les Mouches or Estelle in Huis clos, Hannes laments the state of affairs in his life, but he is unable to act when the opportunity arises. By contrast, Electra did have a brief moment of freedom when she danced freely and joyfully rather than joining her stepfather and the god Jupiter in mourning for the "Day of the Dead." But as soon as Orestes kills their stepfather, Electra panics and wants to return to her old routine. Orestes best represents a free human being in

Sartre's theater. Likewise, Antoinette represents one who can take her freedom and act in Frisch's theater. This play is an effort to exemplify a new theory of drama, Variantentheater, which makes the play "a kind of endless reflection on possibilities" (Ruppert, "Existential Themes" 79).

The somewhat melodramatic ending of Les Mouches implies that Orestes as a free man has joined the realm of the ancient gods. In a less melodramatic but equally decisive scene at the end of Biografie. Ein Spiel, Antoinette decides in one rehearsal of her life with Hannes not to stay with him after his party has ended. This decision erases all of their future together that was the alleged aim of the rehearsals which make up most of the play. She, like Sartre's Orestes, is able to choose an action, take responsibility for it, and live with the result of her action.

By contrast, there are only brief hints that Sartre's Electra could "tear away the persona" (Ridge 441) of the downtrodden princess-turned-laundress in the palace ruled by the stepfather who had murdered her father: when she danced before the crowd and when she talked to Orestes outside the castle, both before and immediately after the ceremony. However, after she has revealed her "true face . . . to the world" (Ridge 441), she panics, is

unable to act, cannot take responsibility for collaborating with Orestes in the murder of her mother and stepfather, and cannot live with the results of her actions. Her display of bad faith contrasts with Orestes's decisive exercise of free choice and responsibility or authenticity. She is enslaved to the fifteen years of Aegistheus's rule and to her role in his household.

The character Hannes Kürmann in Biografie. Ein Spiel, similar to Sartre's Electra, exhibits only a momentary ability to reveal his "true face . . . to the world" (Ridge 441) when he initially claims that he wants a biography without Antoinette. He is unable to act, cannot take responsibility for the actions he does take or, in this case, for the actions which he repeats from the past, and he finds the results of these repeated actions difficult to live with. Likewise, at the end of Les Mouches, Electra is presented as having aged by many years over the night following Orestes's murder of their mother and stepfather. Her only cause for optimism is the freedom Orestes may have brought to the town of Argos by killing his traitorous mother and stepfather and destroying the myth that the people were not free.

Hannes Kürmann in Biografie. Ein Spiel attempts to rid himself of bad faith, but he repeatedly makes the same

decisions that led to his initial bad faith, so that he changes little in the play. The character of his ex-wife Antoinette contrasts with his. We finally realize that Hannes Kürmann acts from bad faith as he claims to want to make changes in his life, but is unable to change throughout the rehearsals that make up the play.

Antoinette is the character who is able to complete the project of defining an existence separate from Hannes Kürmann. Her fundamental project is creating a future centered on her interests in the art world. Hannes, by contrast, implies that a life without Antoinette is his project, but he is never able to act in such a manner that he achieves it. The difference between the focus of their two fundamental projects determines the success of the two characters in this whole spiral of existentialist questions raised by the play: Are they able to freely define themselves? Do they live in good or bad faith? Is the individual or the Other the source of the individual's self-definition? How does the individual relate to the community? Does the past, present, or future have the greatest influence on the individuals' actions in the present?

Andorra

The most basic type of freedom in Frisch's plays is the freedom to define oneself, what Marjorie Grene in her discussion of existentialism calls "self-creation." In Frisch's Andorra, Andri's efforts to define himself free of stereotypical prejudices about "the Jew" represents this desire for the freedom of "self-creation." Andri yearns to define himself as an Andorran, but the townspeople continually label him as being different, based on all their stereotypes of Jews. Even when his father and the priest finally try to persuade Andri that he really is an Andorran, the others have so totally defined him with their stereotypes that he is unable either to define himself or to live freely among them. The townspeople have established their identities and their sense of order by contrasting themselves to others, such as the Jew they take Andri to be. They are more tied to their sense of order than to a need for freedom and, thus, are able to deny Andri self-definition in their society.

Sartre's second category of those who live in bad faith concerns those who play roles and become so identified with their role that they lose their individual human qualities. One of Sartre's examples in Being and Nothingness (L'être et le néant) is the waiter who is

expected to act only as a waiter, thus losing touch with his most human qualities.

Andri in Andorra becomes so involved in playing the role of the Jew that he is unable to freely define his own being and lives the bad faith of one who overplays a role. In the play all the members of the society demonstrate bad faith in their dealings with the main character, Andri, though his mothers, stepsister, and the village priest are aware that he is not being treated fairly. When Andri's father brings him home to Andorra and tells the lie that he is saving a Jewish child from the neighboring state, a whole series of stereotypes are awakened in the people of Andorra.

During the time of the action of the play, Andri is living with the expectations of the Andorrans as they now await invasion from the neighboring state. He has been denied his freedom to define himself because of the stereotyped expectations of the Andorrans. When his father attempts to convince Andri and the Andorrans that Andri is really his son and not a Jewish child, the stereotypes are so deeply embedded that the young man is unable to escape the consequences of being Jewish, which in this time and place result in his death at the end of the play.

Most characters in Sartre's La Putain respectueuse

act as their roles and the establishment dictate and not in a truthful or charitable manner. Both the black man in La Putain respecteuse and Andri in Andorra are living lives which are determined by the roles their society imposes on a racial group. The others of that society define them. Both plays have characters who have compassion with these persecuted characters: Lizzie in Sartre's play and Andri's family in Frisch's play. Both plays also have authority figures who uphold the status quo: the senator, his son, and the police in La Putain respecteuse; the townspeople and the invading soldiers in Frisch's play. However, only Frisch's priest is tormented by his guilt.

Andri tries to convince himself that his actions, thoughts, and gestures are determined by the characteristics which the Andorrans believe the Jewish people possess. In Andri's case, the bad faith of over-playing the role of the Jew mixes with the bad faith of believing one's actions are determined by nature. The combination leads Andri to be resigned to accept the stereotyped beliefs of the Andorrans and the invading army which result in Andri's tragic death.

In both Andorra and La Putain respectueuse, the major existentialist theme is the role of the Other in determining the meaning of life for an individual. In

Andorra, Andri has been defined by the lie that he was a Jewish child saved from the neighboring enemy until his natural mother appears and that enemy attacks. Andri cannot look at his image in a mirror or analyze his daily actions without seeing himself through the eyes of the Other. When looking at himself through the eyes of the Other, Andri stops seeing himself as a human being and sees the characteristics by which the Other defines him as the token "Jew" in Andorra. The gaze of the Other, the third existentialist theme, dehumanizes Andri because he is rendered as an object, an être-en-soi in Sartre's terms.[2] In Andorra it is easier for Andri's father to raise his son as a Jewish boy he saved from the enemy than as his own son whose mother lives in the neighboring enemy state. The father's fear of the opinions of his countrymen leads to this first lie. The stereotypes of the Andorrans then rob Andri of the ability to create his own identity within the society and to fit in.

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[2] In a long monologue at the end of the first act, Agnes in Als der Krieg zu Ende war provides one of the clearest examples of existential reasoning in Frisch's dramatic works when she offers to let Stepan read letters her husband had sent her from Russia to prove that the people in Berlin are neither animals nor things: "Wenn Sie die Briefe lesen wollen--dort im Schreibtisch--vielleicht glauben Sie, daß es auch hierzulande Menschen gibt, und Sie würden nicht einfach schweigen, wie man zu einem Tier schweigt . . . was sage ich! zu einem Ding." (GW II 251) Like Sartre's characters, she wants to define herself and not be seen as a thing by the Other.

As in Santa Cruz, Andri's family in Andorra is weakened by individuals who are afraid to be truthful with other members of their family for fear of their judgment and reaction. Andri's father, Can, suppresses the truth that he is Andri's real father until the fact explodes in the events of the play. He could not be honest with himself, his wife, his fellow citizens, or his son about who Andri is. Because of that dishonesty he witnesses the death of his son.

While Andri is treated as the outsider, the very act of doing so seems to solidify a communal group identity in the Andorrans. Most of the characters in the play offer very weak excuses for their actions and ideas. The most authentic character among the townspeople is the village priest, who suffers from true existentialist anguish as he prays for forgiveness for his part in not preventing the death of Andri. Only the priest in the play is able to move beyond his identity with the townspeople to judge his own actions. He is able to say:

> Auch ich bin schuldig geworden damals. Ich wollte ihm mit Liebe begegnen, als ich gesprochen habe mit ihm. Auch ich habe mir ein Bildnis gemacht von ihm, auch ich habe ihn gefesselt, auch ich habe ihn an den Pfahl gebracht. (Andorra 65)

The priest is the only person in the community besides

members of Andri's family who sees him as an individual rather than merely as an outsider. The question of collective good versus individual freedom becomes a major issue.

Andorra shows the bad faith of an entire community as the town deals with experiences of anti-Semitism, patriotism and its misuses, guilt, and the imposition of stereotypical characteristics on an individual. The tragedy stems from the deaths of both Andri and his mother and from the refusal of the townspeople to confront their guilt. Members of the community change from being part of a collection of individuals to being part of a fused group, as they allow Andri to be sacrificed to the invading soldiers.

Andri struggles with a fundamental project as he attempts to define himself freely in a society where the Other tries to designate who he is. His fundamental project becomes a struggle that is destined to fail, because the others in his environment deny him that basic right to create his own identity free of their stereotypes. Andri's love of Barblin and his effort to delineate his role in the society of Andorra have elements of the grand project. As with Frisch's Don Juan, the freedom to define himself is a key to his project throughout the play. However, Andri's project is not only

self-definition, but the attempt to play the role of an integrated member of the community in which he lives, rather than being forced to remain an outsider in that community. This play clearly illustrates the limits of the individual's role in achieving his grand project. The other members of the community can and do prevent him from succeeding. As Andri dies at the end of the play, the audience becomes aware of the difficulty of reconciling the individual's desire to belong with the community's desire to find a scapegoat and deny him a place in the community. In this play, the Other determines the failure of the protagonist's project of self-definition.

Triptychon

Frisch's Triptychon demonstrates the end of freedom to change oneself that occurs with death. The first scene takes place at Mathis Proll's funeral. The second is a scene in the afterlife in which the characters possess traits and attributes which are basically unchanged from when they were alive. The final scene includes the dead Francine talking to the living Roger and finally driving him to commit suicide, as he realizes that he is unable to choose freely to change and is, in her words, as incapable of love then as when they had lived together. Ruppert states that

> [i]n Frisch's plays, freedom of choice means choosing oneself as one is. . .--and this is precisely what Frisch's characters find so dreadful about existential choice. For in existential choice ". . . to choose one possibility is to forego another . . . ." (Hazel E. Barnes, Existentialist Ethics qtd. in Ruppert, "Existential Themes" 75)

Frisch's characters who want to keep possibilities open risk losing their freedom in acts of bad faith.

As the third scene of Triptychon opens, Francine is dead. Roger shoots himself after she tells him that she considers him unable to love--then and now. Francine acts as Roger's judge and he plays the role she assigns. Once again, one has the sense that the character acts with as little ability to change as the concrete object, as l'être-en-soi. As Inès does for Garcin in Huis clos, Francine acts as a mirror to reveal Roger's inner self. The dependence on the Other means that

> I begin to understand that "I am no longer master of the situation." The Other is making his own predictions of me, . . . he is judging me and putting labels on me. I am what he makes of me, not what I make of myself. I may then try to overcome the Other who has made an object of me by making an object of him in return. But in being "looked at" by the

Other, I already know that the Other is free. (Lavine 378)

Reduced to the state of an object by the Other, the self may seek hope in love:

> for the beloved I am the chosen one, the free and adored center of all values. By being loved, I thus become the Other's complete foundation, and my existence is justified. But, says Sartre, "this project," on the part of the lover "is going to provoke a conflict." . . . the lover's project of being the masterful, adored, and absolute center of values for a captured consciousness, for an enslaved free being, necessarily fails. (Lavine 380)

This is seen quite clearly in relationships such as those between Hilda and Goetz in Le Diable et le bon Dieu and between Hannes and Antoinette in Biografie. Ein Spiel.

Biedermann und die Brandstifter (with the Epilogue)

The conflict between the individual and the community is very strong in Biedermann und die Brandstifter. The epilogue or Nachspiel to Biedermann und die Brandstifter places Biedermann and Babette in an afterlife. Although Biedermann insists that they must be in heaven, Babette points out details that indicate they are not and then screams at the first mention of Beelzebub's name (Frisch

GW IV 398). Biedermann defends himself to his wife, claiming that he broke none of the ten commandments, but as he reaches the commandment "Du sollst nicht töten," the audience knows that his hardheartedness led Knechtling to commit suicide and gradually learns that his supposed tolerance and humanity towards the arsonists not only cost him his life and his home but also resulted in the loss of many lives and many homes in his city. The devil and Beelzebub who sit in judgment of Biedermann and Babette are played by the arsonists of the main drama. The epilogue parodies the traditional concept of hell. In spite of being confronted with the consequences of his actions on earth, Biedermann never admits the effect of his actions on others. He purports to have seen flames coming from the roofs of other homes, claiming thereby to have been no worse than his neighbors (Frisch, GW IV 401) He even ends the epilogue by answering Babette's question "Glaubst du, wir sind gerettet?" with the incredulous "ich glaub schon . . ." (Frisch, GW IV 415). The arsonists in this epilogue attempt to play the role for Biedermann of l'être-pour-autrui, that is, they perceive his conscious being, his l'être-pour-soi, in a manner which defines it as the being is seen by the Others. Biedermann is incapable of seeing himself for what he is and thus becomes as fixed a character as the concrete object, the

existentialist being-in-itself (l'être-en-soi). Any freedom he has to choose, either in the main play or in the epilogue, is stubbornly ignored by this millionaire businessman who evades the woeful pleas of the wife of the inventor whose hair tonic made his fortune. She argues unsuccessfully that her husband does not deserve to lose his job.

Biedermann is tricked by the two arsonists who live in his attic and prepare to burn his house and his city. In the epilogue, he rationalizes:

> Warum hat Knechtling nicht eine Woche gewartet und gesprochen mit mir, Herrgottnochmal, in einem günstigen Augenblick? Ich konnte ja nicht wissen, daß Knechtling sich tatsächlich unter den Gasherd legt, Herrgottnochmal, wegen einer Kündigung. (Frisch, GW IV 404)

As the main play ends, he even ignores the pleading of a companion of the arsonists who wishes to disassociate himself from them. The former waiter and thus well-mannered and elegantly dressed arsonist Willie Eisenring reveals their methods to Biedermann when he explains:

> Scherz ist die drittbeste Tarnung. Die zweitbeste: Sentimentalität. Was unser Sepp so erzählt: Kindheit bei Köhlern im Wald, Waisenhaus, Zirkus und so. Aber die Beste und sicherste Tarnung (finde ich)

ist immer noch die blanke und nackte Wahrheit. Komischerweise. Die glaubt niemand. (Frisch, GW IV 363)

Naming the other homes where he believes arsonists had been, Biedermann maintains that he acted in good faith ("daß ich in Treu und Glauben gehandelt habe," Frisch, GW IV 401). His bad faith is his inability to see through the actions of others in his immediate environment and his inability to act to affect others positively. While playing the role of the good everyman, he treats his employee Knechtling as an object rather than as a person and loses his own human qualities in the process.

Biedermann is too concerned with what others think of him to ever act sensibly in regard to either his employee Knechtling or the arsonists. He does not expect Knechtling to commit suicide in despair over having been fired by Biedermann and refuses to accept responsibility for this action. He cannot believe the arsonists, even when one tells him sincerely that honesty is the best cover for his actions. Biedermann attempts to act in the way that he thinks will earn him the most acceptance from the other person. However, he never realizes that his actions affect others.

Frisch's Biedermann und die Brandstifter depicts the effects of Biedermann's decisions on his community. As he

blindly ignores the implications and the signs of his house guests' preparation for arson, he prepares the way for the destruction of his entire town. At the same time, by callously firing Knechtling, the employee who had invented the hair tonic which is the major source of income for his company, he affects not only his whole community's safety from fire but also the life, happiness and well-being of one individual and his family. The arsonists form a fused group as they prepare and execute the burning of the city.

It is interesting to consider the concept of the project in Biedermann und die Brandstifter. There is a project that is very central to the play but which does not concern Biedermann. Rather it is the arsonists who have a project and who cleverly convince Biedermann to help them throughout the play. Biedermann finds this project so incredible that he ignores obvious signs, such as the barrels of fuel in the attic and the request for matches at the end of his final meal, that they are preparing to burn his house and his city. The arsonists strive to destroy the city by fire throughout the play.

The fact that both Biedermann and the arsonists define their past through their present actions mirrors Sartre's idea that "la signification du passé est étroitement dépendante de mon projet présent" (L'être et

le néant 555). Biedermann strives for a common but respectable middle class existence and maintains his efforts at anonymity throughout the play and the epilogue, never realizing the consequences of his actions. It is possible to view his efforts to maintain a respectable middle-class existence as Biedermann's project.

Though Frisch disliked labels, his dramatic work reflects a struggle with basic questions which can be related to Sartre's concepts of bad faith, freedom, authenticity, and inauthenticity. Inauthentic characters like Max Proll, Biedermann, and Andri's father do contrast with authentic characters like Antoinette, Andri, Barblin, and both of Andri's mothers. The juxtaposition of the authentic and inauthentic characters and the search for meaning in life is central to these plays.

Sartre's existentialism is a philosophy that begins with the premise that there is no God and that man is thus totally responsible for defining human existence, and Frisch, similarly, forces human characters to define their essence rather than allowing tradition to define the essential nature of human beings. It is this reliance of the individual on himself or herself to create a self-definition which is the essential influence of Sartrean existentialism on the theater of Max Frisch. This self-

creation allows the individual to escape images others have, whether they are the fate of the unhappy marriage which Hannes Kürmann attempts to escape, the image of a Jew which Andri challenges and then accepts, or the literary image of Don Juan which Frisch's Don Juan manages to escape. Others do not always allow the individual to create himself or herself in the plays of Max Frisch, but the drive for self-creation is there. Frisch owes that concept, that basic drive which expresses itself in such a variety of ways in his dramas, to Sartrean existentialism.

These five fundamental themes from Sartre's existentialist philosophy are illustrated throughout Frisch's dramatic works as well as throughout Sartre's plays. While Frisch was not a philosopher and would likely have denied the label "existentialist," the themes from this philosophy permeate his literary works. The avoidance of labels is itself an existentialist theme, and Sartre also disliked the existentialist label (Ruppert, "Existential Themes" 153). Frisch emphasized this theme with his frequent reference to the Biblical commandment "Du sollst Dir kein Bildnis machen" ("You shall not make for yourself a graven image. . ."--Exodus 20:4). While employing existentialist themes, Frisch constantly emphasized his characters' freedom to change and not be frozen with a fixed label at a given stage of life.

Chapter IV:

French Literary Influences on Heiner Müller's Quartett

Much secondary literature and most theater reviews on Heiner Müller's Quartett imply that he took Choderlos de Laclos's 1782 epistolary novel Les Liaisons dangereuses and adapted it as this stage play in 1980. Quartett was written in 1980 and published in Theater heute and in Filmkritik in 1981. It premiered in Bochum in 1982 and was published in the volume Herzstück in 1983 (Herzstück 135). It initially seemed to be a use of French literature similar to Brecht's use of French history, that is, a way to express the playwright's own ideas so that they appeal to a wider audience or at least are more comprehensible to a larger audience. If one looks too hard for a direct reflection of Laclos's novel in Müller's Quartett and fails to consider this work in the history of Müller's dramatic writings, one can easily misread and oversimplify this text. There are other French influences on Quartett. Case's dissertation examines the ideas of two essayists, Jean Baudrillard and Georges Bataille, who influenced early plays by Müller. Their ideas are also reflected in Quartett. Theoretical essays on theater by

Antonin Artaud as well as the plays of Samuel Beckett and Jean Genet also influenced Müller and several directors of performances of Quartett.

A strong hint that there is more to this play than a new presentation of Les Liasons dangereuses is found in Müller's autobiography, Krieg ohne Schlacht: Leben in zwei Diktaturen, where he argues that Quartett deals with terrorism without treating the subject directly and that he never read Laclos's novel completely but based the play on Heinrich Mann's introduction to his German translation of the French novel:

> "Quartett" ist ein Reflux auf das Problem des Terrorismus, mit einem Stoff, mit einem Material, das oberflächlich nichts damit zu tun hat. Die Vorlage, Laclos' "Gefährliche Liebschaften", habe ich nie ganz gelesen. Meine wesentliche Quelle war das Vorwort von Heinrich Mann zu seiner Übersetzung. (316)

The source of the play is certainly more than Mann's preface, including additional information from Laclos's novel along with theoretical influences discussed below. The theme of terrorism that Müller mentions becomes clear as one considers Case's analysis of Müller's early plays and Roberts's discussion of a historical reading of Müller's plays.

There are two basic summaries of the structure of Quartett. Katharina Keim echoes Norbert Otto Eke in focussing on four plays-within-the-play ("Spiel-im-Spiel-Konfigurationen") which she notes have a structure like a mirror:

> In der ersten und vierten Spiel-im-Spiel-Einlage nimmt die Marquise jeweils die Position des männlichen Verführers ein, und Valmont übernimmt den Part der verführten Tourvel. Umgekehrt verhält es sich hingegen in der zweiten und dritten Szene, wo der Vicomte seine eigene Rede simuliert und die Marquise in den Sprachmasken der Opfer Cécile und Madame de Tourvel auftritt. (80-81)

Between the role-playing are intermezzi which allow Valmont and Merteuil to discuss their thoughts as they play the other roles and in the real time of the play.

Mona Heinze summarizes a second view of the structure of the play in her review of a performance directed by Robert Wilson at Ludwigsburg Castle. While there are certainly elements of a traditional play in Quartett, there are five or six changes in speakers which have limited elements from the structure of a traditional drama. Heinze believes that

> Müller's play has an implicit five-act structure: transitions between "acts" are marked by Valmont's

> exits and entrances: in Part I Merteuil is indulging herself in a sexual fantasy, which is suddenly interrupted by Valmont's entrance. Part II shows Valmont and Merteuil as aging cynics, plotting intrigues. (19)

At the beginning of this second part, Valmont tells Merteuil that his new love is Madame de Tourvel, the virtuous wife of the President. Merteuil feigns amusement and offers Valmont her niece, who has just left the convent and is engaged to marry Count Gercourt. She taunts him, asking if he fears the count and wondering how he can be interested in such a devoted wife as Madame de Tourvel. She suggests that Merreault might be a better choice.

Valmont leaves, and the third part begins with Merteuil speaking as Valmont to Madame de Tourvel (Herzstück 78). When Valmont returns, he speaks for Madame de Tourvel and Merteuil continues as Valmont. Merteuil (playing Valmont) tells Valmont (as Madame de Tourvel) that if she refuses his advances, he will ruin Merteuil's niece and she will be the cause of the ruin of three souls:

> Es handelt sich um das Blut einer Jungfrau. Die Nichte des Ungeheuers, die kleine Volanges. Sie verfolgt mich. . . . Ihre Kälte, Madame, wirft drei

Seelen in das ewige Feuer, und was ist ein Mord gegen das Verbrechen schon an einer Seele. (Herzstück 82)

After a pause, Valmont asks whether they will continue. They then change roles, Valmont playing himself and Merteuil speaking as her niece, the young Volanges. They act out his seduction of her, ending with her destruction for the fourth part. After another pause, they return to the roles of their own characters, with Valmont telling Merteuil "Ich bedaure, Ihnen sagen zu müssen, daß ich schon gespeist habe, Marquise. Die Präsidentin ist gefallen" (Herzstück 87). They then act out her fall, with Valmont playing Madame de Tourvel and telling him that he is her murderer. He describes a horrible mutilation of the veins leading to Madame de Tourvel's death by suicide before he returns to address Merteuil, saying that she need not inform him that the wine he drank was poisoned. The play ends with Valmont and Merteuil alone. Merteuil ends it with the words "Tod einer Hure. Jetzt sind wir allein. Krebs mein Geliebter" (Herzstück 90). Madame de Tourvel's death by suicide, Valmont's death by poisoning, and, one assumes, Merteuil's cancer end the play on a tragic note. None of these endings were found in the novel, but all emphasize calamity and violence in a world beyond human control. They are examples of Müller's theater of terrorism.

Müller sets the play in a salon before the French Revolution and in a bunker after World War III. Christine Kiebuzinska observes that

> [w]hat emerges from the merging of the Age of the Enlightenment with post-nuclear annihilation is the suggestion that the end of civilization may be a consequence of the tradition set forth in the Age of Reason, observations that link Müller's vision with that of the Frankfurt School critics, particularly Theodor W. Adorno and Max Horkheimer. . . . behind Enlightenment rationality is a logic of domination and oppression. . . . (Kiebuzinska 94)

The age of the Enlightenment is both the time of Laclos's novel and a time Müller had depicted in his play Leben Gundlings Friedrich von Preußen Lessings Schlaf Traum Schrei (Herzstück 9-40). In the preface to his translation of Laclos's novel, Heinrich Mann makes a point which no doubt struck a chord with Müller and repeats Müller's treatment of the literary past in Hamletmaschine when Mann remarks that the work represents the "Geist des Jahrhunderts der Vernunft, analytisch und dem Gefühl feindlich" (Mann ii). According to Mann, "die Liebe ist das herrschende Gesellschaftspiel" (ii). This spirit of reason is overturned in the course of the short play. Kiebuzinska concludes that "Müller does not, however,

attempt to analyze the causes nor to resolve the problems he encounters" (94).

This is similar to what Frisch did when he asked questions like those of the existentialist philosophers but did not always answer them. As with Frisch and Sartre, drama once again seems to be a good genre to ask questions and to depict problems, but not necessarily a good one in which to answer those questions or to solve those problems. Heinze cites a related image from Müller: "a room filled with questions rather than answers" (19). Kiebuzinska does conclude that "[w]hile outside the bunker, civilization has destroyed itself, inside the bunker/salon the last two vestiges of the rot of civilization have destroyed each other" (97). Keim makes an additional link to Horkheimer and Adorno when she notes that the bestial language and vocabulary used in hunting found in several seduction scenes in Quartett can be related to the discussion of humans and animals in Horkheimer and Adorno's Dialektik der Aufklärung (90).

In her discussion of Müller's first major play, Der Lohndrucker (1958), Case speaks of an "ironic subtext" which "remained successfully hidden" (19). The subtexts of terrorism and the depiction of violence continue in Quartett. Part of the reason for these subtexts may be the continuing impact of the suicide of Müller's first

wife, Inge, in 1966, on him as a writer. Even though an author's own interpretation of why the author wrote a work and what the author meant is generally discredited by modern literary critics, probably most eloquently in W. K. Wimsatt, Jr.'s essay "The Intentional Fallacy," there is no overt authorial intent involved when critics like Frank-Michael Raddatz point to this event in Müller's life as being a probable source of the continuing subtext of violence connected with the depiction of women in Müller's works (Raddatz 21-25). In his autobiography, Müller also notes that he wrote a draft of Quartett in Rome while sharing a house with his third wife and her new lover after the collapse of his third marriage. The tension of that relationship is also reflected in the language of Quartett.

Roberts believes that Müller's theater invites two readings: a historical one and an aesthetic one. The aesthetic reading "is fascinated by the avantgardism of a postmodern aesthetic which continues and intensifies the dominant tendency of the 20th century--the emancipation of the theatre from the constraints and limits of the dramatic tradition" (97). Roberts refers briefly to the inclusion of elements from Nietzsche, Artaud, Genet, Beckett, Bataille, and Baudrillard as parts of this avant-garde, postmodernist aesthetic. By contrast, the

historical reading is defined as one in which the focus is on "Müller's obsession with the destructive terror of history [which] lays bare the trauma of subjectivity and releases the dynamic of the death drive" (97). Put "together we get the potent combination of nihilism and avantgardism which characterizes Heiner Müller's theatre of destruction" (Roberts 97). As one examines Müller's oeuvre, it becomes apparent that these poles are found in most of his plays and continue in Quartett. The Laclos connection is part of what Roberts terms the historical reading and the connection to Artaud is part of what he classifies as the aesthetic reading, although the play is more complex than a mere reaction to these sources.

Roberts finds Quartett to be "situated in a post-historical no man's land" (97). Roberts identifies several themes that Müller takes directly from Laclos: "the war of the sexes, the avenging woman (Merteuil), the self-destruction of the male principle (Valmont)" (98). He concludes that "the patriarchal dialectic of enlightenment --revolution is the mask of death/death is the mask of revolution--reverses into the matriarchal myth of romanticism--nature is the mask of death, death is the mask of nature" (98). He quotes Müller, who said in Rotwelsch that "my strongest impulse is to reduce things down to their skeleton, to tear off flesh and surface"

(qtd. in Roberts 99). Roberts finds that "the presentation of Valmont as both murderer and victim is the crucial element of Müller's intensification and reduction of his model" (100). For Roberts, there are "echoes of Tristan and Isolde in Quartet" which are both "an ironic variation on the Liebestod" and signs of "the romantic equation of sex and death" (101). This nihilism leaves room only for "the flight forward into the redemption of death" (Roberts 101) Once one recognizes that avant-gardism and nihilism go together in Müller's plays, the combination of the avant-garde forms with the themes of violence, terrorism, nihilism, and death seem more logical.

The theme of terrorism may not be readily apparent in Müller's works, but it is addressed in Case's dissertation, which contains a chapter that examines Müller's earlier plays, including Hamletmaschine, in comparison to Edward Bond's treatment of Shakespeare, as examples of the theater of terrorism. Case argues that Müller presents a post-Brechtian political theater, in part by creating a terrorist theater which leads to a radical reinterpretation of a number of historical and classical plays. She begins her discussion with a definition:

The Theater of Terrorism acts like street terrorists:

> it takes hostages, promotes acts of violence against the system, and exists outside of an organized political or ideological movement. The terrorist acts are its base; it offers no alternatives or solutions. The Theater of Terrorism takes three kinds of hostages--historical heroes, the Shakespearian tradition, and the very possibility of a dramatic text. The texts of this theater then perform acts of aesthetic violence against these hostages. (59)

Though Case's dissertation was written shortly before Müller completed Quartett, the taking hostage of characters, this time from Laclos's novel, and even the text as a hostage are ideas from this definition of a theater of terrorism which clarify Müller's own summary of Quartett. Case argues that this new theater provides the means for Müller and Bond to break with Brecht's model of a new political theater by taking "hostage on their stage the great forms of the representation of history, its heroes" (62). Müller does in a sense take the four major characters from Laclos's novel hostage, although they are less heroic than Shakespearean heroes. Quartett is less political than most earlier plays by Müller, but breaking with a literary tradition and the hostage-taking of its characters are certainly part of what he does in Quartett.

Case believes that "Germania does more than kidnap its historical characters . . . . Germania moves toward a French, structuralist terrorism in its 'Aufstand der Zeichen' or its 'revolt of signs'" (71). She states that

> Heiner Müller suggested the book by Jean Baudrillard entitled Kool Killer oder Der Aufstand der Zeichen as central to his dramaturgical thought. The book is a study of terrorism, beginning with an analysis of the terrorist defeat in Mogadischau. . . . . The point in Mogadischau was the failure of the terrorists, who died as the hostages died. . . . The aim of the terrorist act is to make everything exchangeable: no fixed value may be assigned to any act. . . . the point of terrorist action is to evade the emulation of or absorption by the Establishment. . . . True terrorism celebrates failure. . . . It abandons logic and strategy for the interchange or reversibility of values. . . . Germania . . . is composed in such a way that all is fragmentary, all mixed together and confused, ultimately spinning values at a high velocity of reversibility--true/false, fact/fiction, history/myth. (71-73)

Several of the above ideas are relevant to understanding the terrorist elements of Quartett. The outward structure of the play, two people playing four people, emphasizes

the making of "everything exchangeable" (Case 72). Much of the surface confusion and fragmentation of the play fits into this definition of terrorist theater. The scant noting of when one character changes roles is part of the "high velocity of reversibility" (Case 73) seen in earlier plays by Müller. The idea of kidnapping a character (Case 71) is interesting as Quartett kidnaps the characters of Madame de Tourvel, Cécile Volanges, and even Merteuil and Valmont. They are reduced to their most extreme. Certainly, as the most positive and innocent characters from Laclos's novel (Cécile Volanges and Madame de Tourvel) become the victims of Valmont and Merteuil, innocence and worldliness are exchanged and past good fails to prepare the characters for continued goodness. Values are reversed and logic is abandoned. In comparing the depiction of Shakespeare by Edward Bond and by Heiner Müller, Case concludes that "Bond approaches Shakespeare through theme and Müller through structure" (80). The structure of Quartett is also important as Müller approaches Laclos.

Case concludes that "torture dominates Müller's Macbeth" (91). Likewise, violence dominates his Quartett. Cunningly, Valmont and Merteuil plot physical and psychological violence against Cécile Volanges and Madame de Tourvel. For de Tourvel, its effect then leads her to

inflict violence on herself by committing suicide. The last half of Quartett is particularly strong in its depiction of self-inflicted violence on Madame de Tourvel and Valmont's violence against Cécile Volanges. There is a power structure--both within the French aristocracy of the eighteenth century and as a gender battle between Valmont and Merteuil which represents a feminine challenge to a patriarchal power structure in the play. This power structure permeates Quartett from beginning to end. The violated characters are certainly left as pitiful creatures, as Case had found in other plays of this type. She had summarized Germania as a play in which "the heroes are hostages, and violence is the only action" (70). On one level, one can also read Quartett from this point of view. The characters who should be positive, namely Madame de Tourvel and Cécile Volanges, are taken hostage by Valmont and Merteuil and violence against them drives the action of the play.

Case connects Müller's terrorist phase with "a process of deconstructing the prior constraints of the dramatic text" (115). She finds two sources for this to be Derrida and Baudrillard. In regard to Derrida, she claims that "the aim of the terrorist plays was to deconstruct the way plays had been constructed, revealing structural principles in the critical process" (116).

This is combined with "Baudrillard's theory of the reversal of values [which] can be seen as a structural terrorism" (Case 117). Viewed through Case's analysis of Müller's earlier plays which represent a theater of terrorism, Quartett is certainly continuing in this tradition.

In spite of Roberts's historical reading of Müller and Case's arguments for Müller's place in a theater of terrorism, these themes are partially hidden in Quartett by the characters and themes that Müller borrowed from Laclos's novel and Mann's preface to his translation of it. Details such as Mann's translation of the title as Gefährliche Freundschaften rather than Gefährliche Liebschaften or Schlimme Liebschaften make the accuracy of Müller's recall in his autobiography seem somewhat questionable. However, the fact that Rudolf Fleck also premiered a play in Kiel based on Laclos's novel a few months before Quartett premiered in 1982 and that it was called Gefährliche Liebschaften may account for Müller's recollection of the title.[1] Christian Klein recounts how Fleck relied more heavily on Laclos: "Il a écrit une

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[1]Keim (79) notes that Rudolf Fleck and Eberhard Wesemann wrote an account of the history of German versions of Laclos's Les Liaisons dangereuses in 1988. Keim quotes from a 1972 publication of the work, Schlimme Liebschaften. My quotes from Mann's introduction come from an edition with the title Gefährliche Liebschaften.

transposition en 16 tableaux des principales actions du roman épistolaire" (401). More of the characters from the novel appeared in Fleck's play and the whole presentation remained closer to Laclos's novel than did Quartett (Klein 402). One might well wonder whether parts of Fleck's play may have been a source for Müller.

Since Müller claimed in his autobiography to have based Quartett on Mann's preface to the latter's translation of Laclos's novel, the preface does seem to be a logical influence to examine. It begins with a brief consideration of Laclos's main characters: its first page describes the characters and their relationships in very general terms. The first sentence treats the Marquise Merteuil's niece, Cécile Volanges:

> Ein ganz junges Mädchen, frisch aus dem Kloster in die Welt versetzt, wird von zwei eleganten Verbrechern mit Rat und Tat, ohne daß sie ahnt, was mit ihr geschieht, bis zu den niedrigsten Verrichtungen der Dirne gebracht. (Mann i)

Madame de Tourvel, the wife of the president de Tourvel, is likewise described in one sentence: "Eine seit kurzem glücklich verheiratete, fromme Frau wird von demselben Verbrecherpaar, durch langsame Qualen geriebener Verführung hindurch, in Schande und Tod getrieben" (Mann i). One notes that Mann judges Merteuil and Valmont to be

criminals in his initial descriptions of the two women Valmont seduces. Mann states that Valmont never feels anything for the young girl and supresses his feelings towards the young woman as he fears the laughter of Merteuil ("aus Furcht vor dem Hohngelächter der Genossin," Mann i).

About a third of the preface analyzes what is occurring psychologically in this game of love which centers on power and intrigue rather than on romantic love. The Marquise, Merteuil, is seen as the one who plays the most heartlessly, playing for power, and always being sure that she knows a secret about her lover which will keep him from talking about her ("von jedem kennt sie ein gefährliches Geheimnis, selbst von Valmont," Mann vii). Mann discusses the life of Laclos before concluding that the novel really argues for the importance of love (xiv) and that Laclos intended to draw his reader to Madame de Tourvel, but instead discovered that readers were fascinated by the intrigues of Merteuil: "Er dachte, zu der sanften Tourvel zu führen: und sie bewundern die ruchlose Merteuil" (xv). These intrigues become central to the surface action of Quartett. Müller refers to only the major psychological motivations of Merteuil and Valmont in the play.

Müller's Quartett focuses on the four major

characters from the novel: Merteuil, Valmont, Madame de Tourvel, and Cécile de Volanges. Other important figures from the novel, such as Gercourt, Danceny, and Cécile's mother, simply are never mentioned.[2] By limiting his scope to four characters, Müller is able to emphasize their role and to intensify the way they interact with each other and their influence on each other. This structure magnifies the actions of these four characters. If one accepts Müller's explanation of the play as a study in terrorism, this structure facilitates the audience's ability to scrutinize the actions of these characters and their capacity to terrorize one another. It also allows him to focus on them by taking the characters hostage.

Christian Klein notes that while details of the

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[2]There are a number of departures from the novel in the play. There is no mention of Merteuil's anger at Gercourt, Merteuil's own former lover and the fiancé of her niece, Cécile Volanges, though Merteuil's attitude implies that her anger could be a motivating force in her actions and her taunting rapport with Valmont. Cécile's love for Danceny in the novel and the eventual duel between Valmont and Danceny are major motivators of the actions in Laclos's work which simply do not exist in Müller's play. In Quartett, Valmont's argument that he will seduce Cécile Volanges if de Tourvel does not allow him to seduce her is a new twist to the plot. Letters and changes of location are keys to the seduction in the novel. The young woman with whom Valmont attends the opera in the novel is not Cécile but Emilie. As the novel ends, the news of Valmont's death in the duel with Danceny leads to Madame de Tourvel's death. Cécile seeks refuge in a convent. Danceny goes into exile in Malta, and Merteuil goes to Holland after being scarred by smallpox.

epistolary novel do not find their way into Quartett, the two principal characters and their double intrigue remain:

> Les "Liaisons Dangereuses" faisaient 400 pages, "Quartett" en fait 18. Müller a supprimé les anecdotes, les épisodes et autres rebondissements qui sont des éléments constitutifs d'un récit. Il n'y a plus, apparemment, de fable. Mais on y retrouve les deux personnages principaux, la double intrigue: la séduction de Cécile et de la présidente de Tourvel, la même rivalité entre les deux protagonistes, leur jalousie réciproque. Leur motivation immédiate reste la recherche du plaisir et le goût de l'aventure, l'affirmation d'un libre arbitre. (411-12)

The rivalry of Merteuil and Valmont is intensified in Quartett because it is such a compact play.[3] Klein determines that a single sentence in Müller's play comes directly from Laclos's novel. He quotes Müller's "Nur die Lust nimmt der Liebe die Binde ab" as a translation of Laclos's "Ne savez-vous pas que la seule volupté a le droit de détacher le bandeau de l'amour?" (414), though

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[3]Investigating how Müller turned about five per cent of Laclos's epistolary novel into a play, Klein finds that Freud's writings on dreams help explain this condensation: "Analysant le 'travail' du rêve, Freud dégage deux mécanismes fondamentaux, la condensation et le déplacement. . . . Il montre que la condensation procède par fusion, superposition du matériau latent. . . ."(416)

one also notices that it is not a complete translation of the French and that Müller has turned Laclos's question into a statement.

In spite of the difficulties that Quartett presents, Mona Heinze writes in a review of a performance of the play in 1988 that

> Quartet has been performed more frequently than other Müller texts. The play may seem more accessible to directors and actors because it pretends to be a conversation piece. On its surface Quartet shares the major motifs of the novel. . . .(16)

But this accessibility to those selecting and performing the play and to audiences seeing it in comparison to other Müller plays does not mean that Müller is as straightforward to follow as either Brecht or Frisch, although understanding may be easier for the spectator than for the reader. In order to perform, the actor and actress must necessarily supply some of the movements and expressions which are missing from the stage directions in the play, thus making the play easier to follow when one views it as compared to when one reads it. Heinze notes that

> [t]he two characters in Quartet don't just play themselves: they also "play" for each other, presenting offstage characters, as well as exchanging

> roles. Two actors play four parts: one male, Valmont (played by Valmont and Merteuil), and three female: Merteuil (played by Merteuil), the niece (played by Merteuil), and Mme. de Tourvel (played by Valmont). (16)

Having noted that true emotion was replaced in the play by "the deliberate use of the mask" (15), Heinze adds that "[f]or Valmont and Merteuil language functions as a mask . . . at the same time as an element that unmasks" (18). References to the masking and unmasking of the characters occur in several other studies of the play (Kiebuzinska 98-99; Kalb, The Theater 174; Keim 95) with a general consensus that these characters mask and unmask emotions through their use of language.

The role of performance in interpreting this play is best conveyed by Kalb's account of the nine versions of the play he saw between 1985 and 1996. He concludes that the richness of these productions led him "to understand the enduring value of his [Müller's] masks per se, the general importance of his aesthetic of malleability for the theater" and that "it was not textual investigations but rather the cumulative experience of productions--as it happens, numerous productions of one play--that convinced me of Müller's significance" (The Theater 174). Kalb describes the 1985 American premiere at the Theater for

the New City in New York (181); Michael Haneke's 1987 production in Frankfurt (182-83); Hans Peter Cloos's 1988 production in Berlin (183-86); two productions directed by Müller, one in 1991 at the Deutsches Theater in Berlin (183-90) and one in 1994 at the Berliner Ensemble (194-98); two productions directed by Robert Wilson, a 1988 version at the American Repertory Theater in Cambridge, Massachusetts (190-93) as well as the German version at Ludwigsburg Castle which Mona Heinze described; and the GDR premiere directed by Bernd Peschke in 1989 at the Theater im Palast in Berlin (199-204). Wilson's and Müller's 1994 productions included three mimes, which introduced another layer to the play. Cloos's production recalled Beckett. Wilson also had maids, reminiscent of Genet. Kalb concludes that:

> Quartet . . . was the impetus for at least half a dozen different kinds of theater experience. Gerald Thomas and Michael Haneke directed essentially conventional evenings. . . . Hans Peter Cloos's actors . . . used the same text to suggest, in the tradition of Beckett, that all such apparently consistent backgrounds were unreliable. Recalling another Beckettian tradition, Müller's Deutsches Theater actors intelligently transformed the play into a vehicle for their own clownish routines. . . .

> Robert Wilson directed a slow-moving tanztheater piece in which text was subordinated to image and movement . . . . Müller's Berliner Ensemble production was a marriage of Brecht and Genet that used the verfremdet acting of an 84-year-old woman and atextual maids ritually rehearsing crimes to force people to think historically about the emulation of aristocracies. And Bernd Peschke's production was primarily a deliberate political provocation. (Kalb, The Theater 205)

Müller attributes the idea for the power and gender struggle he depicts to his having seen his play Mauser in Cologne as directed by Christoph Nels and Urs Troller in 1980 (Müller, Krieg ohne Schlacht 316-17). Müller's 1991 evening of theater at the Deutsches Theater began with Mauser and used Quartett for comic relief as a middle play surrounded by intermissions before completing the evening with The Foundling (Kalb, The Theater 183, 186-88). Kalb notes that "[a]fter Mauser, what was most jarringly different about Gudzuhn and Manzel's performance in Quartet was their engagement with each other in a focussed, conversational manner and their interest in presenting a sensible, linear sequence of actions connected to their lines" (The Theater 187). This linear sequence, even when the language is what Kalb has described as "hyper-

concentrated, freeze-dried prose" (The Theater 176), is basic to the popularity of the play.

More than other critics, Kiebuzinska has explored basic differences in genre between Laclos's epistolary novel and Müller's play. She notes that "epistolary fiction is based on the aspect of absence, and the letter serves as a sign of absence; in contrast, in performance, the presence of the body of the actor is essential for representation to occur" (82). In the epistolary novel, time "dissolves into absence, while in theatrical reality, time projects itself as continuous presence" (82). Furthermore, "letters are private, whereas events represented in the theater, [are] social and public" (82).

One final key to understanding Quartett and many other plays by Müller is Antonin Artaud's Le Théâtre et son double. In an article on Müller's Hamletmaschine and Artaud, Kalb notes that "nearly every dissertation and book-length study on Müller contains a separate section, if not an entire chapter, summarizing Artaud's theories and establishing affinities between the two writers" ("On Hamletmaschine" 47-48). In spite of that, such sections and chapters are short.

In a 1989 collection of materials related to Müller's writings and edited by Frank Hörnigk, there is a short one-page summary of Artaud, which appears in the table of

contents under its first sentence: "Artaud, die Sprache der Qual." Müller praises the value of Artaud's thought in this piece from 1977. His statement "[d]er Blitz, der das Bewußtsein Artauds gespalten hat, war Nietzsches Erfahrung, es könnte die letzte sein" (20) summarizes Artaud's value for Müller as explained in the essay. Following Müller's death in December 1995, critics often comment on Müller's continuous attempt to try new things as well as on his frequent reflections on death (see the special edition of New German Critique from 1998).

Artaud's theoretical essays, Le Théâtre et son double, were originally published in 1938 and republished in 1944. The second publication has been the more important one for the reception of the ideas of the author (Bradby 8). Bradby summarizes that "suffering and cruelty are never far from his [Artaud's] preoccupations" (8). These ideas are also central to the world Müller presents in Quartett. Whether one reads the play as a sexual confrontation of an actress and actor playing the roles of four characters in a personal one-upmanship game, as a study of terrorism, or as a demonstration of the power of personal confrontations which may carry terroristic elements, Müller takes ideas which were first presented in Artaud's Le Théâtre et son double and pushes them close to their limit. The most complete reading of Quartett

acknowledges both a personal confrontation between two characters and a terroristic element to that confrontation.

The double of the title of Artaud's Le Théâtre et son double is life itself (Costich 45). In a very circular way, the doubling of theater and cruelty as presented in the theoretical writings and stage attempts of Artaud returned a half century later in Müller's theater. The choice of Laclos's novel as the basis for one of Müller's plays is a natural one in keeping with the postmodernist theater of Müller, a theater which has strong roots in the avant-garde theater of a half century earlier in France.

Artaud believes that the director makes the most important contribution to a theatrical production and that ideally the author and director should be one and the same person (Costich 49). Costich notes that Artaud did not believe in input from the actors. As one reads Müller's Quartett and looks in vain for traditional stage directions, one wonders if this insistence on directoral power does not account at least in part for their scant presence, although Scheer created a strong interpretation of Müller's Hamletmaschine and Artaud through the performances of Müller's play that Robert Wilson directed.

In interviews, such as one with Sylvère Lotringer from 1988 (see Klein 400-01), Müller claimed that he did

not read texts but devoured them. This sense of devouring rather than reading and digesting a text becomes basic to interpretations by Klein (401) as well as Kalb ("On Hamletmaschine 47-49). This is related to Artaud's theory of the death of the author, though Kalb notes that

> Heiner Müller was an author, and the apparent paradox of this, of an author producing dramas that map the failure of drama to take place, is partly a result of his not taking the Artaudian tradition fully seriously . . . . On the contrary, the death of drama, like the death of the Author, was a myth to him, a double-edged fiction whose ambiguity and power over others he tried to harness on his behalf. . . . ("On Hamletmaschine" 49)

Yet Müller went so far as to have his own picture torn apart to represent the death of the author in Hamletmaschine. Kalb argues that this action suggests that "iconography, representation itself, is under attack as much as any male- or author principle" ("On Hamletmaschine" 56). Referring to this same scene, Edward Scheer concludes that this gesture "simultaneously reinscribes the author, torn in two, as the founding divided subjectivity of the text" and "dramatises the destruction of that which made it possible but also that which must be destroyed for the work to stand alone"

(205). It shows how "Hamletmaschine stages Artaud's call for the end of the narrative of the Cartesian subject while reintroducing the dislocated anti-narrative of the schizophrenic subject which desires its emancipation through becoming what it is not" (205). His description of the "dislocated . . . schizophrenic subject" is reminiscent of Valmont and Merteuil as they take on other roles in Quartett: Valmont as Merteuil and as Madame de Tourvel; Merteuil as Valmont and as Cécile de Volanges.

Visual images are very important in Müller's theater. They are the most easily lost elements of theater when plays are read. The importance of seeing what is performed on the stage links Müller to Artaud, who was even more suspicious of language. Kalb summarizes Artaud's influence on Müller when he writes that "his relationship to Artaud was tactical, borrowing a complexion of authentic pathology to lure us into a diabolical literary-historical funhouse where he could administer his own version of cruelty" ("On Hamletmaschine" 62). The deaths at the end of Quartett, especially that of Madame de Tourvel, portray a level of cruelty that reminds one of the primeval drives which Artaud wanted to depict on the stage.

The most thorough discussion of Artaud and Müller in secondary literature is the article by Scheer which

focusses on Artaud, Müller, Robert Wilson, and a new aesthetic of cruelty. Scheer adds Robert Wilson to the discussion as he finds that when Wilson works as the director of Müller's play Hamletmaschine, the meaning of cruelty in the theater of both Artaud and Müller becomes better illuminated. Writing about Hamletmaschine, Scheer observes that Müller takes from Artaud's "Theater of Cruelty, not its achievement or embodiment, but the continuation of the arc of its aesthetic trajectory and the thematic relaunching of its essential structure" (202). Scheer believes that both Artaud and Müller engage in the "act of calling forth the advent of something unique, archaic and colossal, preparing a frame for the unframable, a stage for the presentable event in a desacralised performative ritual" (202). How much the stage frames the reality it presents and how much that reality attempts to escape from the frame of the stage are discussed at length by Scheer, who refers both to Artaud and Derrida for ideas. He believes that "for Artaud, that which chains the theatre to representation and thereby to its secondary status is its reliance on language" (202). Scheer concludes that

> [t]o repeat the unrepeatable, to represent the unrepresentable, constitutes the structure of cruelty in Artaud's theatre . . . . Cruelty is . . . the

> impossible staging of the trespass beyond the aesthetic world of representations from which true life and death are of necessity excluded. (204)

Likewise, Müller's Quartett "repeat[s] the unrepeatable" and "represent[s] the unrepresentable" in its scenes.

In an effort to distinguish Müller's learning plays from Brecht's, Case argues that

> the GDR Learning Play must free the collective from its official unity to discover its individual components . . . . Perhaps the Müllerian Learning Play operates more in the Artaudian tradition than in the Brechtian one. Through a negative model the play creates a 'double' which the actors themselves invent. This 'double' is the world of dream and fantasy which the official texts omit . . . . The play produces the negative image underlying the classical heritage . . . . Artaud's combination of 'plague' and 'double' parallel the effective form of Müller's political writings. (48, 49)

If one looks for traces of Artaud in Müller's Quartett, one recognizes that some of the apparent influence is tied to the subject and that at least part of that subject is a doubling of Laclos's novel Les Liaisons dangereuses. This doubling includes new interpretations of the characters from the novel and their influence on each other.

In her discussion of Müller's Macbeth, Case notes that "Romain Weingarten, in his article entitled 'Re-read Artaud,' describes the Artaudian actor as 'someone acted upon, not someone who acts'" (92). This description is equally valid for the characters in Quartett. Certainly it applies to Cécile Volanges and Madame de Tourvel and insofar as they each act as a reaction to the other, to Valmont and to Merteuil.

With respect to Müller's autobiography and its claim that Quartett represents terrorism, there is a relation between the terrorism of the second half of the twentieth century and the ideas expressed in Artaud's theater of cruelty in its first half. In both, violence is an acceptable means to an end. In both, that end includes the determination to portray anything, even actions that are socially unacceptable. It certainly carries with it a willingness to shock and sometimes pride and even joy in participating in shocking activities. The way in which the play is staged can provide a sense which is not evident in the written text, but which is essential to fully understand Müller's work and how it was intended to be staged, seen, and experienced.

Occasionally critics have mentioned a connection between Genet and Müller. Citing an interview in Der Spiegel, Carl Weber state that he believes that the play

Der Auftrag or

> THE TASK, even more, Quartet show his affinity to Genet, about whom he said: "I believe that Genet articulated very precisely and correctly: The only thing a work of art can achieve is to create the desire for a different state of the world. And this desire is revolutionary." (Müller in an interview for Der Spiegel, May 9, 1983, qtd. in Weber, "Introduction" to Hamletmachine 14)

Sieghild Bogumil has also explored the roles that violence plays in the theaters of Müller and Genet in a short article. Both the role of violence and that of death in Genet's theater may be seen to be extended in Müller's theater, though "Genet appears to have read very little Artaud" (Bradby 179), a fact that rules out too complex an interweaving of these themes in the three playwrights. Kalb also finds affinities between Müller and Genet.

In addition to Quartett, Müller translated some plays by Molière. He worked with Benno Besson on a translation of Molière's Dom Juan, which will be discussed in the next chapter. He also translated Molière's Le medecin malgré lui (Arzt wider Willen in Kopien 1) and Lu Hsün's version of Le Misanthrope (Der Misanthrop in Kopien 1). The play Leben Gundlings Friedrich von Preussen Lessings Schlaf

Traum Schrei ends with a translated selection[4] from the fifth scene of the second act of Racine's Phèdre (Herzstück 38-40).

Another play in Herzstück is related to a Francophone, if not a French, setting. Der Auftrag is based on Anna Seghers's novella "Das Licht auf dem Galgen," set in Haiti, and in part on her novella "Wiedereinführung der Sklaverei in Guadalupe" (Fehervary, "Auftrag" 129 and 131). In addition to this recent study of Seghers's influence on Müller, Fehervary has also published a study of Seghers's influence on Brecht. Seghers's role in introducing other German writers to non-German settings based on her years of exile is an area which could be promising for further exploration. Several of those non-German settings are French or Francophone.

Antoine Roquentin from Sartre's La nausée appears as a "self-mocking ghost figure" in the 1990s version of Müller's Hamletmaschine (Kalb, "On Hamletmaschine" 54). This final appearance of a figure from French literature in a play by Müller once again involves Müller's taking the character from the French novel hostage to become the vehicle for his own reinterpretation of literature.

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[4]From a translation by Schiller according to Case (135).

Müller's theater challenges traditions even as it uses tradition. Artaud's similar challenges to theatrical traditions a half century earlier seem to have influenced Müller. Quartett provides an example of how Müller can take a literary work, extract just the essential, and add another dimension and another set of themes to it. The theater of terrorism is a major dimension of this play, a vital subtext in a play based on Laclos's novel. The form and the content, parallel to Roberts's aesthetic and historical dimensions, sometimes work together but often at cross-purposes in this postmodern theater which owes debts to Artaud, Baudrillard, Bataille, Genet, and Beckett as well as to Laclos.

Chapter V:

The Common Topic: Adaptations of Molière's Dom Juan

Both Brecht and Frisch wrote plays based on the seducer Don Juan and Müller translated Molière's play. This figure first appeared in Tirso de Molina's El burlador de Sevilla y convidado de piedra, a play which was first staged in 1613 and first printed in 1630 (Frenzel 156). Brecht's collaborators Benno Besson and Elisabeth Hauptmann began the adaptation of Molière's play in 1951 without having first approached Brecht. It was intended for the first collaboration between the Berliner Ensemble and a GDR provincial theater. Frisch's novel treatment of the theme, Don Juan oder Die Liebe zur Geometrie, was written in 1952 and revised in 1961. Benno Besson collaborated with Heiner Müller on a translation of Molière's play into German in 1967.

Their plays are among the hundreds of adaptations since the first production of Tirso de Molina's play combined the exploits of the rogue with revenge by the statue of the dead father of one of the women he had seduced. Variations of the tale soon appeared in Italy

and then France. In 1665 Molière wrote the second well-known version of the legend, his Dom Juan ou le Festin de Pierre.[1]

As the presentation in Rostock approached, Brecht became involved in the reworking of the play, although his name did not even appear in the program for the Rostock performance. The first version of the play was presented at the Volkstheater Rostock on May 25, 1952. In April and May 1952, Brecht discussed the play with Besson in Berlin and attended the last few rehearsals. The program for the performances in Rostock read "für die deutsche Bühne eingerichtet von Elisabeth Hauptmann und Benno Besson." Elisabeth Hauptmann claimed that there was a new translation of the play, but there is no trace of it in

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[1] A century after Molière, the first version important for Germany appeared in the Mozart/da Ponte opera Don Giovanni of 1787. A visit to this opera provided the framework for E.T.A. Hoffmann's 1813 novella, Don Juan. Hoffmann introduced the theme of striving for the unattainable, which is important in Frisch's version. Christian Dietrich Grabbe's Don Juan und Faust combined the two legendary figures as symbols for the opposition of sensualism and a striving for an idealistic eternal in 1829. Nikolaus Lenau's 1851 dramatic poem Don Juan introduced themes of emptiness and weariness. Paul Heyse's 1883 play Don Juans Ende added the seducer's son, Gianetto. After these major nineteenth-century versions of the legend, the German stage had to wait for the early post-war period for new adaptations. In addition to the three versions discussed here, the post-war stage in Vienna saw the presentation of Ödön von Horváth's Don Juan kommt aus dem Krieg in 1953 (Rinsum 235-36, Frenzel 156-61).

either the Brecht or Hauptmann Archives. In the Brecht Archives, there is a translation by Eugen Neresheimer with notes in the margins by Hauptmann and Brecht (BFA 9: 418).

On May 19, 1953, rehearsals began for the Berliner Ensemble production, which opened the company's stay at the Theater am Schiffbauerdamm on March 19, 1954, where it initially played for eighty performances until August 31, 1955. The adaptation for Rostock was reworked. The program for this production did not mention either Brecht or Besson, but read "Bearbeitet und übersetzt von Elisabeth Hauptmann und dem Berliner Ensemble" (BFA 9: 418-19). This account in the historical-critical edition of Brecht's works basically agrees with John Fuegi's 1974 article in which he concluded that Brecht's Don Juan really needed to be designated as being of "the school of Brecht," a designation which he then generously believed pointed to Brecht and Hauptmann as teachers of a method mastered by the pupil Besson, though he wonders in a footnote to the article "whether Elisabeth Hauptmann's loyalty to Brecht has not frequently prevented her taking credit for her own work" ("Whodunit" 170). This concern became part of a major theme in Fuegi's 1994 book Brecht and Company.

Brecht's play retains the comic elements of Molière's play, while adding subtle Marxist allusions to the role of

the proletariat in keeping the world afloat despite the foibles of an aristocrat like Don Juan. Brecht's characters closely follow Molière's choices. Ulrich Goldsmith notes that Molière's Don Juan expressed an "aristocratic . . . code of values" (318) which contrasts with Brecht's reduction of "him to a good-for-nothing member of a class which lives parasitically, i.e., by means of the exploitation of the lower orders" (319). Brecht's characters are engaged in a modern form of social criticism in which capitalists rather than members of an aristocracy lack humane feelings. His Don Juan does retain the classical aristocratic and cynical bearing of his prototype in order to become "the perfect anti-hero: one who is outrageously impervious to change" (Goldsmith 316). Goldsmith notes that Brecht as a director sided with the part of his theoretical writings which argues that one should "modernize and reinterpret the text" (314). While this is done to some degree in Brecht's Don Juan play, Frisch modernizes and reinterprets the text even more.

The Frisch play challenges much of the tradition of the legend in what Oscar Mandel terms an "anti-Don Juan play" (695). Annemarie and Wolfgang van Rinsum have appropriately labeled it a parody (236), although Rolf Kieser argues that this is only Frisch's secondary intent

(120). Max Frisch takes the legend of Don Juan, keeps a few aspects, and inverts other parts. Frisch's intellectual Don Juan struggles to overcome the tradition associated with his name and to redefine himself in existential terms. Ruppert believes that Frisch's Don Juan's "devotion to geometry is an expression of his desire to objectify himself" and of "the desire to avoid ambiguity" ("Max Frisch's Don Juan" 238).

In contrast with Brecht, Frisch keeps few characters from Molière. Don Juan is still there as the central figure, though his character is much more serious and he is trying hard to escape the image that has been created of him. This fits well with the basic tenet of Frisch's Tagebuch 1946-1949: "Du sollst dir kein Bildnis machen." As Ruppert explains it, "the graven image is any fixed image which one individual projects onto another, making it difficult for that person to change, to use his freedom . . . ("Max Frisch's Don Juan" 237). He further explains that

> [a]s a construction of inauthenticity or bad faith, the graven image has two sides: there is bad faith on the side of the one who projects such an image, for he is denying the freedom of the other; there is bad faith, too, on the side of the one who accepts such an image in place of his individual

> subjectivity, for in accepting a reified image of himself, an object-like existence, he denies his own freedom. ("Max Frisch's Don Juan" 237)

This Don Juan, like the Don Juan character in Frisch's earlier play Die chinesische Mauer, is constantly trying to escape the image of his legendary character. He is what Kieser calls "a self in search of identity" (121).

Like Molière's Dom Juan, Brecht's Don Juan has a faithful servant named Sganarelle and Donna Elvire's servant is Guzmann. In the first scene of the French play, Sganarelle summarizes his master to Guzmann in the pithy style of Molière as an evil gentleman, "un grand seigneur méchant homme" (Oeuvres 286). Frisch's Don Juan lacks the Sancho Panza-type servant Molière and Brecht create in Sganerelle. Instead, he has one true friend at the beginning of the play. In what is probably the worst moment of existential "bad faith" in the play, Frisch's Don Juan betrays this friendship as he rapes his friend's fiancée. This leads to the friend's suicide. In the later acts this friendship is replaced by a servant, Leporello, named after a character from Mozart's Don Giovanni. Although he concludes the play with a quote from Molière, Leporello lacks the moral authority of the Sganarelle of Molière and Brecht or of Frisch's Don Rodrigo. In his notes which acccompanied the publication

of the play, Frisch explains Don Juan's inability to make friends with men as an adult:

> [und] wenn der Jugendfreund einmal verloren ist, . . . kommt es zu keiner Freundschaft mehr; die Männer meiden ihn. Don Juan ist ein unbrüderlicher Mensch; schon weil er sich selbst, unter Männer gestellt, weiblich vorkäme. . . . (GW 3: 169)

Indeed, Frisch elaborates on his theory of Don Juan as a man who questions his own manliness in these same notes:

> Kein Beau! Und auch kein Herkules; er ist schlank wie ein Torero, fast knabenhaft. . . . Man wird sich immer wieder fragen: Ist er ein Mann? Er hätte Tänzer werden können. . . seine Männlichkeit ist etwas Gefährdetes. . . . weil er etwas anderes (beispielsweise die Geometrie) mehr liebt als die Frau, muß er sie immer wieder verlassen. (GW 3: 168-69)

In the versions by Molière and Brecht, Donna Elvire is Don Juan's last conquest. In both, she has two brothers who are looking for Don Juan to duel with him and restore the family honor. In these two versions as well as in Müller's translation, Don Juan saves one of her brothers, Don Carlos, from an attack by thieves, causing Don Carlos to spare him when his brother Don Alphonse arrives.

Frisch's play includes the character of Don Gonzalo, the father of Donna Anna, based on the character in Tirso de Molina's play whose statue led Don Juan to hell. Frisch's Don Gonzalo searches for Don Juan to avenge the family honor with the help of three cousins. These four replace the two brothers of Donna Elvire who perform similar functions in the plays of Molière and Brecht. The clergy is represented by Pater Diego, a character who is as concerned with his personal gain as Molière's Tartuffe.

There is once again a woman named Donna Elvire in Frisch's play, but this is not the most recent spouse of Don Juan. Instead she is the mother of the intended bride of a Don Juan brought back from war as a hero after he has measured enemy fortifications. We in the audience know that he did this by using his knowledge of geometry, not by penetrating the enemy stronghold. The daughter of his commander, Donna Anna, is to be his reward for this accomplishment. Although this timid character is missing in Molière's and Brecht's versions of the legend, there is a Donna Anna in the first version of the legend by Tirso de Molina (Frenzel 156).

The dynamic of the relationship of the young peasant couple, Charlotte and Pieter, is basically unchanged in Brecht's play from Molière's play. The famous scene with the beggar is somewhat inverted in Brecht's version. By

having Sganarelle and Don Juan change clothes, Brecht actually removes some of the sharpness of the scene, as the beggar addresses Sganarelle, who is dressed as Don Juan, even though the real Don Juan speaks many of the same lines found in Molière. Because the apparent servant asks the beggar to swear for the Louis d'Or and the apparent nobleman apologizes, the action and words seem less biting. As J. W. Smeed has noted:

> this beggar is the only mortal who gets the better of Dom Juan, who at first regards him as an easy target, a hungry man who can be bribed with the promise of rich alms to betray his religion by blaspheming. The term in which 'le Pauvre' refuses this bribe ('j'aime mieux mourir de faim') show him clearly as the moral victor in this clash of wills, even if the initial impression made by him had been rather abject and cringing. (14)

Brecht's version of the play retains the clothier Mr. Dimanche and the satire associated with Don Juan's flattery of him and with his treatment of him as an equal in a society in which they are not considered equals. The poor merchant is then unable to call his bluff and collect the money he is owed. One can imagine the humor from Brecht's Marxist perspective. This humor which Molière adds to Tirso's legend emphasizes the materialistic side

of Don Juan who, as Smeed has pointed out, treated suggestions that it is time for him to repent with the same procrastination "as if a debtor were talking of the day on which a debt will fall due--but the creditor in this case is God and the debt Don Juan's weight of sin" (2-3). This secularization of the legend by Molière is retained by Brecht and many later authors dealing with the legend.

Brecht maintains the role of Don Juan's father as an ashamed but forgiving man, always looking for the best in his son. Don Juan takes advantage of this and pretends to change when he has not done so. Once again in Frisch's play, Don Juan's father appears, but this man is more ashamed and less inclined to forgiveness. His son drives him to suicide by the third act.

Brecht adds a cook, Seraphine, a doctor, Marphurius, and an additional servant, Ragotin. The cook and servant appear at the beginning of the fourth act, the part of the play which departs most radically from the source by Molière. Seraphine adds a reassuring note as she predicts that the servant would not be judged by God for the actions of his master. The doctor adds a voice for morality from the bourgeoisie.

Finally, the statue of the commander is retained from the legend. But acknowledging modern audiences' inability

to believe in talking statues of the dead, Frisch has Don Juan stage the statue's speech by bribing Celestina, the madame of a Madrid brothel. The ruse fails when another new character, the Bishop of Cordoba, played by Don Baltazar, refuses to go along. Brecht keeps the statue of the commander, basically unchanged from Molière's version. In Frisch's play, the failed ruse of Don Juan's journey to hell leads Don Juan to agree finally to marry the former prostitute and now widowed Duchess of Ronda, Miranda.

Probably the most interesting character Frisch adds to his play is Miranda. To the theme of Don Juan as the womanizer from the legend, she adds the opposing theme revealed in the character of a prostitute. Then, in the intermezzo following the first act of the play, she announces to the madame of her brothel that she is in love with Don Juan. Disdainfully, but finally cooperatively, Celestina accompanies her throughout the play as she pursues Don Juan. Gontrum notes that there is no precedent for a character like Celestina in the Don Juan adaptations (118).

Miranda's initial attempt to capture Don Juan's attention uses a device seen in many Don Juan plays, beginning with Tirso's, though not in Molière's: the impersonation. Tirso's Don Juan impersonates the betrothed of Donna Isabella to seduce her. Miranda

attempts to impersonate Donna Anna in Frisch's play, but at the moment that Don Juan is focussing on Miranda, Pater Diego arrives carrying the body of the real Donna Anna, who committed suicide the night before when Don Juan did not appear for their rendezvous at the pond where they had met twenty-four hours earlier, their identities then unknown to each other. In the final scene of the play, Frisch's Miranda tells Don Juan that he is going to be a father, something assumed to happen only in Heyse's earlier version of the legend. In the notes that accompanied the play, Frisch notes that "[i]ndem er Vater wird--indem er es annimmt, Vater zu sein--, ist er nicht mehr Don Juan. Das ist seine Kapitulation, seine erste Bewegung zur Reife" (GW 3: 171). This is the ultimate domestication of the Don Juan legend (Kieser 122). Miranda's character is central to Frisch's treatment of the legend, inverting earlier versions. Kieser notes that when Don Juan "realizes in the end that his existence is absurd," he is left with only two choices: "death or capitulation" (121). He capitulates and marries Miranda.

Besides his initial meeting with Donna Anna when neither knows the identity of the other, Don Juan's other flirtation with impersonation in Frisch's play is his acceptance of Don Gonzalez's initial naming of him as a hero. But he becomes too uncomfortable with that

designation to accept the rewards the system intends to give him for his measurement of the enemy fortifications in wartime. These impersonations are related to the theme of "naming," which is central to Robert Matthews's "deconstruction" of Frisch's Don Juan play. Butler also notes that names have a significant role in this play when he writes

> [n]ames are fixed upon him, one after another, in order to pin him firmly into place: bridegroom, hero, knight, to be followed by seducer, ravisher, murderer . . . . The idiosyncratic nature of Don Juan's personal crisis forms the thematic core of Frisch's play: the didactic demythologisation of the 'Don Juan' story itself. (51)

Matthews notes that "[a]s Sartre has argued, accepting the name that the Other gives is significant: it indicates one's acceptance of the role as defined by the Other. But Don Juan only smiles!" (42).

In addition to impersonation and naming, traditional themes from the legend which are retained in the versions by Brecht and Frisch are Don Juan's seduction of many women, at least one duel, the invitation to the statue of the dead commander, the acceptance of that invitation, and the journey to hell. Don Juan's womanizing is an aspect of the legend that remains in both the Brecht and Frisch

versions of the play. Brecht follows the tradition of Don Juan's seduction of a noblewoman and then a fisherwoman and/or a peasant woman. Frisch inverts this theme, as the women are more likely to long for this Don Juan than he is to seduce them. This is most obvious with Donna Elvire and Miranda. In the Brecht and Molière versions, Don Juan marries and then abandons many women. In Frisch's version, he delays marriage as long as possible and then resigns himself to it.

Benno Besson had the idea of compacting the fourth and fifth acts of Molière's play into a final fourth act for the Berliner Ensemble performances in Rostock (BFA 9: 419). Both Hauptmann and Brecht acknowledged Besson as the originator of this idea (Fuegi, "Whodunit" 168-69). Besson did not repeat this when he and Müller translated the play fifteen years later. Brecht/Besson also changed the location of the play from Sicily to Versailles (BFA 9: 419).

Frisch portrays the existential journey of a more serious Don Juan, more interested in geometry than in women, devoid of emotions and seeking an abstract order. The first half of the play portrays his realization that he is free to make choices. Kieser notes that Frisch's Don Juan is "an existential searcher whose greatest fear is the fear of repetition" (122). The final act depicts

his existentialist nausea as he deals with the consequences of his choices. Gontrum notes that "[a]lthough there is no direct statement by Frisch on the importance of existentialistic thought for his plays, he has been affected by existentialism, either consciously or unconsciously . . ." (121). Iten finds that

> Miranda's direct and sharp critique of the Don's way of life and her almost clinical assessment of his relationship to himself opens up the possibility that Donjuanismus is, at bottom, an existential condition marked by self-estrangement as well as alienation from others. (231)

This Don Juan character in Frisch's play is finally trapped by everyday life as Miranda announces at the end of the play that they are expecting a child. Kieser has developed this into a metaphor of a game of chess with this final scene as his concession to his chessmate (122). This contrasts with the flight that characterizes Don Juan in the first act of Frisch's play. Whether one sees the play as the completion of a game of chess or as the evolution from flight to acceptance that flight is ineffective, the play completes a full circle, as the Don Juan who would not marry Donna Anna becomes the reluctant husband of Miranda.

Beginning with a partial quote from Frisch's notes that accompanied the publication of his play Don Juan oder Die Liebe zur Geometrie, Ruppert argues that the philosophy of Kierkegaard is the key to the play. But Frisch's reference to Kierkegaard in his notes reads, "Die beste Einführung zu Don Juan, ausgenommen Kierkegaard, bleibt der Besuch eines spanischen Stierkampfes" (GW 3: 173). Frisch's Don Juan does manage to escape half of the definition of him by others when he stages his descent into hell and then marries the Duchess of Ronda. But as the play ends, it becomes clear that the price of escaping others' definition of him as Don Juan is the acceptance of Miranda's definition of him. Like the Spanish torero, he fights the bull. His first bull is the definition of himself as Don Juan by his father, by Don Gonzalez, and by women he meets during the thirteen years after his escape from the marriage Don Gonzalez had offered him to his daughter Donna Anna. But the only way Don Juan could elude that role is to stage a descent into hell which distracts those around him enough to allow him to flee to the Castle of Ronda to work on his geometry. But daily life does not stop and Frisch's Don Juan becomes tamed by it. As he played the role of the torero earlier in a more public life, Miranda takes over the role in Ronda and tames him as he is forced to wait for her for meals and

then to accept family life as he learns that they will have a child.

Frisch's play based on the Don Juan legend centers on both the definition of oneself by others, in this case the definition as Don Juan by the legend others remember and impose on him, and the changing role of women in modern society. The traditional passive woman, represented by Donna Anna, who commits suicide when her life does not follow the script she and her family expected, is replaced by the much more aggressive former prostitute, Miranda, who is able to re-define both herself and Don Juan. But this ending is no fairy-tale happy ending for Don Juan because he fails to re-define himself as he sets out to do as the play begins when he first attracts Miranda's attention by visiting the brothel where she works and by doing what he wants, though not what is expected of him, namely, playing chess. His effort to define himself exclusively as an intellectual fails. Instead, his life in the Castle of Ronda combines the physical side of his nature which he attempts to deny throughout the play with the only opportunity to escape from this physical nature and devote himself to his geometry. Thus, the ending acknowledges the impossibility of total self-definition in the modern world. At the same time, it provides an environment in which a man escapes some definitions of

himself by others and a woman succeeds in defining her role and the role of a man in the world in an active way traditionally granted only to men.

Although Müller's play on the Don Juan theme is a translation rather than an adaptation or a creative work, one does gain some insight into Müller as a playwright by comparing his translation to Molière's original. The second scene of the second act is an interesting selection to compare. In it, Don Juan talks with Sganarelle and the peasant girl Charlotte. The translation is basically an accurate rendition of the seventeenth-century French text. Müller does not follow Molière's lead in sentence length. Sometimes, beginning with Sganarelle's reply to Don Juan's opening statements, he combines two French sentences into one German sentence, something which one might expect to generally occur in translating French into German. However, some of Molière's statements in French are such complex sentences that Müller actually divides the French sentence into two or more sentences. Don Juan's opening statement illustrates this. Thus, Molière began the scene by writing:

> Don Juan: Nous avons manqué notre coup, Sganarelle, et cette bourrasque imprévue a renversé avec notre barque le projet que nous avions fait; mais, à te dire vrai, la paysanne que je viens de quitter répare

ce malheur, et je lui a trouvé des charmes qui éffacent de mon esprit tout le chagrin que me donnait le mauvais succès de notre entreprise. (Oeuvres 292)

Müller divides this into four sentences:

Don Juan: Sganarelle, wir haben unsere Sache verfehlt. Und dieser unvorhergesehene Windstoß hat mit unserem Boot unsern Plan umgeworfen. Aber, um dir die Wahrheit zu sagen, die Bäuerin, die ich eben verließ, macht es wieder gut. Ich fand an ihr Reize, vor denen mein ganzer Kummer über unser mißratenes Unternehmen verflog. (Kopien I 24)

One also notices that Molière begins with a slightly more boastful claim of "notre coup" than Müller's more neutral mention of "unsere Sache." But Müller's basic rendition can only be seen as an accurate translation.

One of the most striking examples of the attempt to exactly translate the text is Molière's "amours cr . . ." being translated as "Liebesverbr . . ." at the end of Sganarelle's first speech. A footnote in the Nouveaux classiques Larousse edition of Molière's play indicates that the "cr . . ." should be read as "criminelles" (47) and we can assume that the "verbr . . ." likewise is abbreviating "verbrechen."

In contrast to this exactness, one does find that Müller has not translated several of the stage directions,

beginning with the direction for the whole scene ("au fond du théâtre"). Missing stage directions have been seen to be part of the confusion in reading Quartett. Noting that they are also not always included in this translation leads one to conclude that Müller may not have considered them essential parts of the text of a drama, but rather something that the director would add later.

There are two examples of times when Müller is less exacting in his translation of Molière's text, but both balance out so that the same tone is conveyed. Molière has Dom Juan ask Charlotte: "D'où me vient, la belle, une rencontre si agréable? Quoi? Dans ces lieux champêtres, parmi ces arbres et ces rochers, on trouve des personnes faites comme vous êtes?" (Oeuvres 292). Instead of beginning with the neutral "D'où," Müller's Don Juan begins with the more personal "Wem." However, Molière uses the more personal "personnes" and Müller substitutes the more neutral "Wesen" when he writes: "Wem verdanke ich, meine Schöne, eine so angenehme Begegnung? Was, in dieser ländlichen Gegend, inmitten von Bäumen und Felsen, findet man Wesen, geschaffen wie Sie?" (Kopien I 24). Müller has also used the possessive adjective "meine" when he addresses her as "meine Schöne" in contrast to the somewhat more distanced "la Belle" of Molière.

In all except one case, Müller follows Molière's lead

on the level of formality of address between Don Juan and Sganarelle and between Don Juan and Charlotte. Don Juan addresses Sganarelle in the informal ("tu" in French and "du" in German) and Charlotte in the formal ("vous" in French and "Sie" in German). The one exception is when Don Juan is preparing to compliment Charlotte on her beautiful hands and turns to Sganarelle. Molière's Dom Juan uses the informal command, saying "Sganarelle, regarde un peu ses mains" (Oeuvres 293). Müller's Don Juan is formal when he says "Sganarelle, sehen Sie ihre Hände an" (Kopien I 25). With this one exception, both playwrights skillfully have Don Juan use the informal address with Sganarelle and the formal with Charlotte. One wonders whether this slip is due to a quick rendition of the original text without careful proofreading which would have caught this inaccuracy, or to a confusion talking about rather than to Charlotte, or to a quick effort to get the main ideas without worrying about details like address or stage directions.

After this aside to Sganarelle about Charlotte's hands, Dom Juan asks to kiss her hands. She has not washed them. In Molière's version she says that she would have used bran ("son") if she had guessed that such a gentleman would have wanted to kiss her hand. In Müller's version she would have used sand ("Sand").

At this point, Molière's Dom Juan says, "Hé! dites-moi un peu, belle Charlotte, vous n'êtes pas mariée, sans doute?" (Oeuvres 293). Müller's says, "Eh, sagen Sie mir doch, schöne Charlotte, Sie sind noch nicht verheiratet?" (Kopien I 26). The "doch" is more positive and stronger than Molière's "un peu" combined with "sans doute."

Twice Müller keeps words of French origin, "Taille" and "amourös," but twice when he could have kept French words, he replaced them with more down-to-earth words of German origin. He changed "mignon" to "niedlich" and changed "esprit" to "Grips." Molière's "femme d'un simple paysan" becomes Müller's "eine einfache Bauernfrau," a more modern expression that is less tied to the medieval class structure.

Müller's translation of Molière's Dom Juan strikes the modern reader as a relatively accurate translation, though there are subtle ways in which it is more modern than the seventeenth-century original. In one place in this scene, one has the feeling that the translation was inaccurate and a director might want to make a change (namely, the one time Don Juan addresses Sganarelle in the formal). Other changes that have been made are carefully balanced so that the level of formality and the distance between characters is carefully maintained. It is a translation that a German director selecting a translation

of Molière's Dom Juan might well select.

The Berliner Ensemble adaptation of Molière retains the humor of Molière's comedy as Don Juan rushes from one amourous adventure to the next driven by a sense of being the conqueror. Indeed, the role of the conqueror Alexander the Great is emphasized in Brecht's version where the hero is mentioned four times, in contrast to the one mention in Molière. Brecht's Don Juan stays in control of situations even when they seem out of control, until the very end when the commander's statue leads him to hell to pay for his arrogance. This version kept much of the lightheartedness of Molière and made the play a popular choice for the new theatrical ventures of the Berliner Ensemble. The Brechtian adaptation of Molière demonstrates one extreme in the post-war staging of this literary legend. It remains very close to a traditional representation of Don Juan. Aside from some subtle Marxist leveling of language, the audience must accept a seventeenth-century mindset.

By contrast, Frisch addresses a twentieth-century audience with characters who think in a post-war fashion. While incorporating many aspects of the legend, as much from Tirso de Molina and Mozart/da Ponte as from Molière, Frisch challenges that legend. His protagonist tries to escape his literary image only to find another mundane

world. Ruppert concludes that

> Frisch's use of myth is like that of the French Existentialists--not to present the universal recurrence of a pattern of behavior, but to reveal the freedom of the individual to depart from patterns. What Frisch's Don Juan finally demonstrates is not the loss of freedom through the power of myth, but the human freedom that strikes beyond myth, beyond all static, geometric images of man. ("Max Frisch's Don Juan" 247)

That modern escape from the myth and legend is not necessarily more satisfying theater than a seventeenth or nineteenth-century protagonist in quest of ultimate change. But until or unless a post-modern version of this legend is written, these two versions for the German stage by Brecht and Frisch represent the possibilities for staging a Marxist or existentialist Don Juan in the twentieth-century theater. Müller's translation represents a slightly updated but relatively accurate translation of the seventeenth-century French play by Molière for a director in search of a translation rather than an adaptation or fresh version of the legend.

Chapter VI:

Conclusion

As I began work on this dissertation, I expected to find clear indications that Brecht, Frisch, and Müller knew and directly relied on the French historical, philosophical, and literary works that were ostensibly the inspiration for certain of their dramas and to be able to show a direct influence. What I discovered instead is that influence is a much vaguer concept. The links between French and German literature are strong, but different from what I had expected.

I began by studying the French influences on Bertolt Brecht's Joan of Arc plays. Initially, it seemed that Brecht had returned to Joan of Arc as a partial inspiration for three of his plays because this sympathetic character enabled him to present a radical call to a revolution led by a member of the people in an appealing manner. But the reviews of Die heilige Johanna der Schlachthöfe point to a major reason that Joan Dark was given that name: 1931, when the play was ready to be performed, was the 500th anniversary of the death of Joan of Arc.

Anna Seghers's radio play was written in 1937, six years after that anniversary and inspired by Carl Theodor Dreyer's 1927 silent film La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc. Dreyer's film and the anniversary were reminders of the events surrounding the life of Joan of Arc. The presentation of the play in 1952 by the Berliner Ensemble coincided with the Slansky trials in Prague. Both Brecht and Seghers were fully aware of this relationship. That Brecht used a successful character more than once was no accident, nor was it unique in his collected works. That this revolutionary figure had different meanings in three decades was no mere coincidence of history.

There have been challenges in this decade to Brecht's role in the creation of works attributed to him. Even with the myriad shortcomings of the work, John Fuegi's 1994 book Brecht and Company along with Paula Hanssen's book on Elisabeth Hauptmann lead one to explore whether it might have been three women playwrights who were drawn to Joan of Arc as a strong, independent woman. While Fuegi seems to argue that Brecht appropriated their work as his own and was possibly even more concerned with financial gain than with the content of the plays, most find this view extreme. A man whose writings will fill thirty volumes in the critical edition certainly was a creative genius, even if many of the plays were written in

collaboration with others. If for some of the most successful plays on the stage he chose good theater over strict adherence to his philosophical and social values, good stagecraft marked him as a great man of the theater. However, the very question of authorship reminds us of the collaborative aspect of all dramatic works and of Brecht's significance as a director as well as his having been an influential drama writer, poet, and writer of narrative prose. One may certainly argue, however, that for Brecht "nothing can alter the fact that he has been--and remains--a dominant force in the twentieth-century theatre" (Thomson and Sacks xxxi).

Future research on these plays should concentrate more on the role of the women collaborators. While Hanssen wrote her work on Elizabeth Hauptmann without complete access to personal letters, it will help to have access to personal letters in the Hauptmann Archives (Hanssen 116-17). Hanssen notes that uncatalogued documents in the Archives of the Berliner Ensemble at the Theater am Schiffbauerdamm (121) and in the Hauptmann Archives (157) should hold other keys to Hauptmann's collaboration with Brecht. It should be possible to move beyond Fuegi's accounts of Hauptmann's role in writing Die heilige Johanna der Schlachthöfe and Berlau's role in writing Die Gesichte der Simone Machard and in

transforming Grete Steffin's translation of Nordahl Grieg's Die Niederlage into the Brechtian work, Die Tage der Commune. However, comparison of Grieg's text with Die Tage der Commune indicates that Grieg's work was more of a springboard to further creation by Brecht and Berlau than something resembling adaptation or plagiarism.

Fuegi's account does call on Germanists to revise the traditional reading of Brecht's works. The minimal amount of that revision should be an open acknowledgement of the collaboration that was behind so much of the work that is attributed to Brecht. But much of that collaboration has long been recognized, including acknowledgements in programs at the premieres of the works and in the earliest published editions.

When one considers the reason for Brecht's returning to Joan of Arc as at least partial inspiration for three plays, the fact that Joan of Arc as a strong woman, able to be independent for a time as all of Brecht's female collaborators dreamed of being at times, cannot be overlooked, but she still was burned at the stake in Rouen after recanting the false confession she gave under stress that could have saved her life. All of these women who subsumed their own desire for independence and recognition to the power of Brecht could identify with this woman who did not win in the end.

Yet, Joan of Arc was only partial inspiration for three plays and a screenplay. Die heilige Johanna der Schlachthöfe depicts life among the workers in a modern industrial city of the 1930s. Though set in Chicago, it can certainly have been understood to apply to the conditions of workers in a large city like Berlin in that time. This first Joan of Arc figure provided an idealized view of a naive woman attempting to make a difference in her world a decade after Joan of Arc was canonized as a saint and coinciding with the 500th anniversary of her having been burned at the stake. Die Gesichte der Simon Machard offers an idealized view of a woman who made a difference in war-torn France and provided reason for optimism in war-ravaged Europe. The final play, Der Prozeß der Jeanne d'Arc zu Rouen 1431, was an historical account which stayed close to both history and Anna Seghers's radio play. By taking the audience to the fifteenth century, it was in many ways more a form of entertainment than Brecht generally strove for, yet exactly the type of play that would draw an audience to a theater at the time of its premiere in 1952. Thus, Joan of Arc had a different role in each of the three plays and that role reflected the political, social, and economic realities of the German-speaking theater and world at the time in which each work was written.

Die Tage der Commune took a subject from French history, but its major inspiration was a play by the Norwegian Nordahl Grieg. Brecht knew Grieg's work through Margarete Steffin's translation, Die Niederlage, and by a performance of the play while he was in exile in Denmark. While Brecht may have been the one who wanted to adapt the translation after the war, the work certainly also involved Ruth Berlau at that point. It had an appeal to Brecht as a rising of the people before the Russian Revolution of 1917 and as a parallel to the Spanish Civil War against the Fascists in the 1930s, which was the event that had inspired Grieg. The adaptation may have also made Brecht seem more likely to go to the midst of a battle than the man who not only carefully evaded Hitler's power, protecting himself, his Jewish wife, their children, and his mistress, but also than the Brecht who was unwilling to go to Spain in 1937 after attending a Congress in Paris and giving a speech which led

> Koltsov, now a general in the Soviet forces in Spain . . . [to arrange] for a private aircraft to take him to his duty station in Madrid, and hoped Brecht and Berlau would join him. Brecht had no such intention. . . . Berlau decided to fly to Madrid with the general. (Fuegi, Brecht and Company 351)

Viewed in the larger context of Brecht's complete

works and of twentieth-century German literature, the playwright was certainly not opposed to drawing inspiration from French history, but presentations like the Academy of Arts of the GDR's exhibit on "Brecht and France" that claim that he had a schoolboy's fascination with France that led him to read primary literature in French as sources for his plays seem to be exaggerations. Collaboration appears to be a key to all of the plays attributed to Brecht which were inspired by French history, the three plays with a Joan of Arc figure and Die Tage der Commune, as well as with the adaptation of Molière's Dom Juan, for which Benno Besson and Elisabeth Hauptmann were primarily responsible.

The war that divided Brecht's career also led him into over a decade of exile and strengthened the theater in Zurich and made it the center of the free German-language theater in the 1940s. It also helped induce the architect Frisch to write dramas which happened to be inspired by the philosophy of Sartre, an individualistic French philosopher who considered himself part of the French Resistance even as he lived in Paris during much of the war.

Just as there is not a direct trail from Brecht's readings or even the theater that he saw to his plays based on French history, there is no place that I clearly

find a direct link between Sartre's existentialist philosophy and Frisch's plays. What can be traced, however, is a series of plays that deal with similar themes to Sartre's existentialist themes and a diary entry that ascertains that Frisch saw Sartre's Les Mouches. The drive for freedom and self-creation are strongly present in the plays of Max Frisch. More than something that can be dismissed as part of the Zeitgeist, these existentialist themes are essential to the analysis of Frisch's plays and are particularly strong in Santa Cruz, Graf Öderland, Andorra, Biografie. Ein Spiel, and Triptychon.

As the ashes of World War II settled, Müller's post-modern theater turned once again to the West and to France and an eighteenth-century French novel as inspiration for his 1981 short play, Quartett. His autobiography challenges the impression of a direct link between the French novel and his German play by implying that the real source for Müller's inspiration was Heinrich Mann's introduction to the latter's translation of the French novel and that Müller's play was really about terrorism. Closer acquaintance with Müller's earlier plays and with definitions of terrorism by Case, Derrida, and Baudrillard illuminate this claim and the blunt and violent language of the play. Events in Müller's life, such as Nazi

soldiers taking away his socialist democratic father in the middle of the night and the death of his second wife by suicide, may also have contributed to the direct and blunt presentation of violence in the play. I was intrigued by Müller when I first read his plays based on Anna Seghers's short stories, part of the volume Herzstück, a volume which includes Quartett and fragments from Schiller's translation of the second act of Phèdre by Racine which conclude the play Leben Gundlings Friedrich von Preußen Lessings Schlaf Traum Schrei.

The discovery that Müller had also translated Molière's Dom Juan seemed to round out the examination of these three German-language playwrights. Once again, however, collaboration complicates things for Benno Besson collaborated with Müller, just as he had with Hauptmann and Brecht. Müller's "adaptation" of Molière's play is a translation rather than an adaptation. The most creative and modern version of Don Juan by these three playwrights is Frisch's Don Juan oder Die Liebe zur Geometrie. With the strong existentialist themes of self-definition and freedom, it presents a man saddled with a name tied to a legend that he is trying to escape.

France and Germany are neighboring countries which have a long history of authors who have moved between the two countries, inspired by the history, philosophy, and

literature of the neighbor, but always part of a different cultural tradition and a different language. Twentieth-century writers have been no different in that regard than their predecessors. The only common theme these three playwrights addressed was Don Juan. An examination of the three versions of this play resulted in a change in my perception of the creative powers of these three authors: Brecht, perhaps the most widely recognized German-speaking dramatist of the century, wrote or collaborated on an adaptation of Molière's play. Frisch actually created a much more original twist to the legend and did it with minimal collaboration with others. His Don Juan who is searching for a sense of self independent of the preconceptions of the others in his society is an original variation to the Don Juan legend. His Scagnarelle who quotes from Molière shows a familiarity with Molière's version of the legend, even though the quotations are an addition to the 1961 revised version of the play. Unlike the Don Juan of Molière, Brecht or Müller, Frisch's Don Juan is a free man who accepts responsibility for his actions and lives an authentic life in which he, not others, defines who he is. Müller's Don Juan is a mere translation, though the playwright is generally extremely creative. One wonders if it might have been conceived as a basis for a more creative work which never was written.

Thus, Brecht's status as the premier twentieth-century German-speaking playwright seems tarnished as one examines sources of his plays and the collaborative process of writing them. At the same time, Frisch's status is enhanced. Although he repeated the same themes in many variations throughout his collected works, the influences on him seem to have been more basic than those on Brecht and his works appear more creative and individualistic than those of Brecht. However, Brecht challenged the concept of theater and introduced multimedia and the concept of alienation to twentieth-century theater. Müller built on that tradition and developed both concepts further. Frisch was stylistically the least experimental of the three writers, but his dramatic works in a style that frequently resembles the style of narrative prose convey his message the most clearly of that of any of the three playwrights examined in this dissertation. In the case of Don Juan, both Frisch's style and content provided an original retelling of an old story.

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