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THE RECEPTION OF GRABBE'S HANNIBAL  
IN THE  
GERMAN THEATRE

A thesis  
submitted in fulfilment  
of the requirements for the Degree  
of  
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by  
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University of Waikato

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## Abstract

This study has undertaken to investigate the reception of Christian Dietrich Grabbe's tragedy, Hannibal, in the German theatre. Before the main topic could be approached, an outline needed to be provided in an expositional part of the genesis of the drama and the history of its publication; for the appearance and publication of the text marks the beginning of any reception process.

The thesis is divided into two major parts. The first deals with the adaptations of the drama, prepared with theatrical portrayal in mind. These act as a bridge between the original text and its realization in the theatre. The second part is devoted to the productions as seen mainly through the eyes of theatre critics who are able to give some permanence to a transitory experience by capturing it in writing.

Between 1901 and 1940, there were five printed adaptations of Hannibal: those of Spielmann (1901), Kilian (1919), Jessner (1926), Martin (1940), and Haas (1940). The adaptors themselves were recipients and created examples of productive reception which were able to be passed on to the public by way of the theatre. The adaptors all encountered similar problems when confronted with Grabbe's original, and to make the drama suitable for the stage, the structure had to be modified, lists of dramatis personae given and stage directions altered or added. A sixth adaptation was that of Brecht who began to prepare it for the Deutsches Theater, Berlin. It remained a fragment but shows that he wished to diverge from, rather than conform to, the original. The adaptations performed were those of Kilian, Jessner, Martin, and Haas.

The productions of Hannibal spanned the period from 1916 till 1958, after which time the tragedy seems to have been ignored by the German theatre. The main aim of this part is to make use of critiques as a method of obtaining an impression of individual presentations and any special tendencies in interpretation and particular dramaturgical problems or trends. Apart from the 1916 portrayal, the productions have been arranged into three groups: those from 1918 to 1932, 1933 to 1945, and 1946 to the present day. From each group, two major productions have been regarded closely. Further productions have been dealt with more briefly at the end of each section.

Receptive comments reveal that the presentations were usually understood in the context of the political, ideological, or philosophical climate of the time. The work placed enormous strains on the theatre. Innovative technological solutions had to be found to ensure fluency of action, and an outstanding actor was required for the title hero who was played by some of the greatest actors on the German stage: Steinrueck, Krauss, George, Meinecke, Schieske, and Zeidler.

Whilst the drama was played on a number of occasions during the 1920s, it experienced its heyday in the theatre in the Nazi period and appeared at National Socialist festivals held in honour of the dramatist. Grabbe was repudiated in the years immediately after the war and the revival of interest in Hannibal in the 1950s was shown to be limited and apparently short-lived.

To give a visual aid to the reader, I have included documentation at the end of my thesis in the form of a table of all productions, a play-bill for each of the six major ones, and photos of stage settings and leading and supporting actors.

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## Exposition

In accordance with the title of my thesis, I intend to investigate the reception of Christian Dietrich Grabbe's tragedy, Hannibal, in the German theatre. The main parts of my study will be an analysis of stage adaptations and an examination of the production of the Punic drama through the medium of existing documents. An undertaking of this type would be inconceivable without the existence of the text itself and for this reason I shall approach my main areas of study by way of a brief outline of the genesis of the work and the history of its publication. It is only from the time a drama has been completed and first published that it becomes accessible to potential recipients, whether they be interested readers, literary historians, theatre-managers with production in mind, or theatre-goers.

Although Grabbe had long shown interest in the period depicted in his Hannibal, the time of the Second and Third Punic Wars, it was not until April 1834, when employed as a judge advocate ("Auditeur") in his home town of Detmold that he began work on his Punic drama. On 4 October, he departed for Frankfurt where he endeavoured in vain to persuade his friend and publisher, Georg Ferdinand Kettnebeil, to accept the drama for publication. He then turned to Karl Immermann, the director of the model theatre in Duesseldorf, for assistance in finding accommodation and another publisher for Hannibal, and with an assurance of support, he moved to that city in December. Shortly afterwards, he forwarded the first scenes of the tragedy, written in iambic pentameters, to Immermann for consideration and readily accepted his new patron's suggestion that the drama be recast in prose. In January 1835, a fragment of the earliest version of Hannibal appeared in No. 3 of the Phoenix, and 10 February saw the

completion of the reworked drama. Immermann was to bring about another alteration, putting forward the idea that the tragedy be divided into five parts, each of which was to be preceded by a number and an appropriate title on a separate page<sup>1</sup>. On 21 February, Grabbe's patron made out a contract with the publisher, Carl Georg Schreiner, with the result that Hannibal appeared in print in mid-June 1835 at the same time as Grabbe's drama, Aschenbroedel, and treatise, "Das Theater zu Duesseldorf".

The history of publication of a drama is of great significance for literary and theatrical reception. The extent to which it is read may help to bring it into favour for production and the more often a drama is published, the greater the likelihood would seem to be of its appearing in the theatre. In the light of this, it is hardly surprising that no performance of Hannibal took place in the first few decades after the dramatist's death. Of the one thousand copies of the tragedy printed in 1835, almost three-quarters of these were still unsold in 1846<sup>2</sup>. The first complete edition was published in 1870 by Rudolf Gottschall for Reclam and was reprinted a total of six times until 1916. After 1870, the possibility of a staging of the drama was greatly enhanced. In 1874, another complete edition was brought out, this time by Oskar Blumenthal under the title of Christ. Dietr. Grabbe's saemtliche Werke und handschriftlicher Nachlass. Between 1902 and 1912 there were no fewer than three more full editions: by Eduard Grisebach in 1902, Otto Nieten in 1908, and Spiridion Wukadinovic in 1912. There were also two part editions in which Hannibal featured: Grabbes Werke in sieben Buechern, edited by Paul Friedrich in 1907 and Grabbes Werke, by Albin Franz and Paul Zaunert in 1910. The upsurge of critical appraisals of Grabbe's life and works after 1912 was attributable to a large extent to the

publication of the Wukadinovic edition. It is somewhat surprising that given the availability of so many texts containing Hannibal, the theatre was slow to take up the drama. It had been adapted once in 1901 and was performed in 1916 in a recited portrayal but was not staged properly for the first time until 1918.

I intend to follow the history of the publication of the drama beyond this point to the present day, for the number of editions published may well have influenced the theatre's attitude to it and its readiness to play it. In the 1920s, Hannibal appeared in a complete edition in 1923 by Paul Friedrich: Christian Dietrich Grabbes Gesammelte Werke and in a part edition in 1925 by Paul Zech: Grabbe: Werke. For the first time since 1835, it also came out in two separate editions: Hannibal. Tragoedie, introduced by Leo von Egloffstein (1922) and Hannibal. Tragoedie, with a postscript by Georg Richard Kruse (1924).

In the period of Nazi rule, the Punic drama was incorporated into three part editions. The first was commissioned by the Grabbe Society and edited by Heinz Kindermann: Christian Dietrich Grabbe, Was ist mir naeher als das Vaterland? (1939). The second and third were products of the 1940s: Chr. Dietrich Grabbe, edited and introduced by Benno von Wiese in 1943 and Christian Dietrich Grabbe, Dramatische Dichtungen, edited by Hermann Stresau in 1944.

In the post-war era, the first historical-critical edition of Grabbe's works was compiled by Alfred Bergmann. The most recent edition of complete works appeared in 1975: Christian Dietrich Grabbe, edited by Roy C. Cowen. In 1964, the Punic drama was incorporated into a part edition by Fritz Siefert and in the same year came out as a Reclam text: Hannibal. Endgueltige Fassung, with a postscript by

Alfred Bergmann. This has since been reprinted several times.

Up until, and including Cowen's edition, Grabbe's historical tragedy, Hannibal, has therefore appeared in no fewer than eight complete editions, in seven part editions, as well as in four separate editions. To these were added between 1901 and 1940 five stage adaptations and one fragmentary arrangement of the play for the stage.

List of Hannibal Editions (1835 - 1975)

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	<u>Single Editions</u>	<u>Collected Works</u>	<u>Complete Editions</u>
Chr.D. Grabbe	1835		
<u>Hannibal</u>			1870 ff. (Gottschall)
Tragoedie			1874 (Blumenthal)
			1902 (Grisebach)
		1907 (Friedrich)	
			1908 (Nieten)
		1910 (Franz/Zaunert)	
			1912 (Wukadinovic)
	1922 (Egloffstein)		
			1923 (Friedrich)
	1924 (Kruse)		
		1925 (Zech)	
		1939 (Kindermann)	
		1943 (Wiese)	
		1944 (Stresau)	
			1960 ff. (Bergmann)
	1964 (Bergmann)	1964 (Siefert)	
			1975 (Cowen)

Footnotes:

- 1 In a letter to Grabbe of 20 February 1835, Immermann also suggested that his protege delete some of the stage directions dealing with mood and expression, leading one to believe that he envisaged the work more as a reading drama. See Christian Dietrich Grabbe, Werke und Briefe, historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe in sechs Baenden, ed. A. Bergmann (Emsdetten, 1960 ff.), Vol. VI, p. 163. (hereafter quoted as "WuB" with volume number and page references.) The "ä", "ö", and "ü" will be typed as "ae", "oe", and "ue" throughout this thesis, the "ß" will be rendered as "ss".
- 2 A. Bergmann, "Grabbe und seine Verleger," Mitteilungen der Grabbe-Gesellschaft, 14 (1973), p. 8.

PART I: The Stage Adaptations of  
Christian D. Grabbe's Hannibal

## Introduction

At the beginning of my investigation of the reception of Grabbe's tragedy, Hannibal, in the German theatre, it is my intention to consider the six adaptations of the drama for the stage. Five of these appeared in printed form and were able to be used by any producer wishing to present the work in the theatre. In themselves, such adaptations provide examples of practical reception, and by their adherence to, or divergence from, the original, they have in turn the power to influence the way in which the drama is received by the theatre-going public. All five printed Hannibal adaptations were products of the first half of this century, after which time producers seemed to prefer to carry out their own alterations and rearrangements of the drama without recourse to such dramaturgical aids. The first attempt to mould the tragedy into a form suitable for dramatic presentation was made in 1901 by Christian Spielmann. His effort was followed after a lull of eighteen years by Eugen Kilian's adaptation in 1919. Over the next twenty-one years, three more were undertaken, that of Leopold Jessner in 1926 and those of Karl Heinz Martin and Carl Max Haas, which both appeared in 1940. The sixth adaptation has its place chronologically between those of Kilian and Jessner but it differs from the five already-mentioned renditions of Grabbe's Hannibal in a few notable respects. In 1922, Bertolt Brecht began to work on the drama at the specific request of the Deutsches Theater, Berlin. However, plans to stage it fell through, and the adaptation remained a fragment which has not yet been published in its entirety. The first scene was printed initially in the Berliner Boersen-Courier of 13 November 1922 to mark Brecht's receipt of the Kleist Prize. This and two others were included in the Suhrkamp edition of the

dramatist's complete works in 1967, and recently additional material has come to hand in H-W. Nieschmidt's study, Brecht und Grabbe. Rezeption eines dramatischen Erbes (Detmold, 1979). Brecht's arrangement of Hannibal was no less intended for the theatre than the other five, but its incompleteness sets it apart from them, and I therefore feel justified in placing it last in my discussion of the different versions.

In the case of the five completed adaptations, my investigations are not the first. Three valuable but not particularly comprehensive studies have already been carried out, all as minor parts of doctoral dissertations. The first is attributable to Walter Keller in "Grabbe und die Buehne" (diss. Wuerzburg, 1925). His work is predominantly concerned with Grabbe's relationship with the theatre of the dramatist's own day and his use of stage directions. However, a small section is devoted to the dramaturgical adaptation and stage history of Grabbe's dramas until 1925 and here Keller includes a brief discussion of the adaptations of Spielmann and Kilian. The second study appears in H-W. Nieschmidt's "Ch.D. Grabbes Tragoedie Hannibal. Eine Dramenanalyse" (diss. Mainz, 1950), the only one of the dissertations to limit itself to a single drama of Grabbe's. Nieschmidt introduces reports on all five theatrical adaptations, making pertinent observations and comparisons with the original. The third contribution comes from Willi Kowalk in "Das Raumproblem im Drama Grabbes" (diss. Koeln, 1958). He approaches the problem of the stageability of Grabbe's dramas from the point of view of "space". He alludes to the Spielmann and Haas adaptations but more especially to those of Kilian, Jessner, and Martin which he deems the most important of the five. References to selected theatrical performances for which these

adaptations formed a basis, augment his discussions of the texts themselves. Brecht's Hannibal fragment has yet to be included in an examination of the adaptations of Grabbe's Punic drama.

In my examination of each adaptation, I shall endeavour by means of a close textual analysis to demonstrate where the work differs from the original in structure and content, and how a stage adaptation proper has been brought about by the various adaptors. I shall also attempt to evaluate the merits of any alterations and, where applicable, compare the adaptations with each other.

1. Christian Spielmann's Adaptation of Hannibal

The first stage adaptation of Hannibal was printed in 1901, the year of the one hundredth anniversary of Grabbe's birth. It was published as "Hannibal. Eine Tragoedie von Christian Grabbe. Ergaenzt und fuer die Buehne bearbeitet von C. Spielmann" and it was accompanied by a preface in which the adaptor explained his intentions and alterations. Spielmann maintained he was inspired to write his version after becoming acquainted with adaptations of Grabbe's Don Juan und Faust and Napoleon<sup>1</sup>, and he felt that the Punic drama also deserved to be staged<sup>2</sup>. He was aware that this would require certain modifications to the tragedy and explained in his introduction that he had brought these about by omitting or reshaping portions of the text which might otherwise impede a smooth performance and by expanding other parts greatly where he detected gaps in Grabbe's "sprungweise fortschreitende Handlung"<sup>3</sup>. Spielmann envisaged himself as a co-worker of the dramatist's, a fact demonstrated by the cover

of one of the two copies of his adaptation present in the "Grabbe-Archiv Alfred Bergmann" in Detmold which reads "Hannibal von Grabbe-Spielmann". This was further substantiated by the adaptor's own words in his preface: "So sind etwa zwei Drittel des Dramas von Grabbe, waehrend ich ein Drittel ganz fuer mich in Anspruch nehmen darf"<sup>4</sup>. Spielmann intended to keep his alterations in conformity with the spirit and style of the poet so as to make the whole seem out of one mould.

The adaptor's treatment of the drama may only be fully understood and evaluated against the background of Grabbe's original. For the sake of comparison I shall list Grabbe's scenic arrangement beside that of Spielmann's:

## The Structure of Spielmann's Adaptation:

Erster Aufzug. (Hannibal ante portas!)	I.	
I. Der grosse Marktplatz zu Karthago.		HANNIBAL ANTE PORTAS!
II. Der grosse Saal im Kapitol zu Rom.		Karthago. Saal im Hause der Alitta (1)
III. Die Umgebung Roms.		Grosser Marktplatz in Karthago (2)
		Karthago. Abend. Kabinett in Hannos Palast (3)
		Rom. Kapitol. Sitzung des Senats (4)
		Vor Rom (5)
		II.
Zweiter Aufzug. (Karthagena und Kapua.)		NUMANTIA UND KAPUA
I. Das eroberte Karthagena.		Die Ruinen Numantias, noch gluehend und dampfend (6)
II. Die grosse Halle am Forum zu Kapua.		Kapua. Saal in Hannibals Wohnung (7)
III. Das Thal bei Casilinum.		Strasse in Kapua (8)
		III.
Dritter Aufzug. (Abschied von Italien und Ankunft in Afrika.)		ABSCHIED VON ITALIEN
I. Die Flur bei Cajeta.		Tal bei Casilinum (9)
II. Der Meeresstrand bei Kapua.		Hoehe des noerdlichen Engpasses bei Casilinum (10)
III. Der grosse Saal des Synedrion. (Zama.)		Weite schoene Flur bei Cajeta. Im vollsten Herbstschmuck (11)
		Kapua. Ein Zimmer im Schlosse des Despoten (12)
		Vor Kapuas Nordtor (13)
		Eine Hoehe mit dichtem, dunklem Kastanienwald bei Kapua. Man hoert aus der Naehue das Brausen des Meers (14)
		Am Gestade (15)
		Hinterverdeck des karthagischen Hauptschiffes (16)
		IV.
		GISGON
		Karthago. Nachmittag. Gemach in Melkirs Palast (17)
		Der grosse Marktplatz in Karthago (18)
		Halle im Palast des alten Barkas (19)
		In der Naehue der Staedtechens Zama (20)
		Die Ebene zwischen beiden Heeren (21)
		Warte ueber einem Hauptter Karthagos (22)
		In Karthago. Platz vor der riesigen erzernen Bildsaeule des Moloch (23)
		Saal in Gisgons Hause (24)
		V.
Fuenfter Aufzug. (Des Heldentums Ausgang.)		KOENIG PRUSIAS
I. Die grosse Halle im Palast des Barkas.		Hauptstadt Bithyniens. Thronsaal im Palast des Koenigs Prusias (25)
II. Der Thronsaal des Koenigs Prusias zu Nikomedien.		Karthago. Nacht. Grosse Halle im Palast des Barkas, festlich mit Ampeln und Lichtern erhellt (26)
III. Die Villa Hannibals bei Nikomedien.		Hauptstadt Bithyniens. Ein Zimmer im Palast Koenig Prusias (27)
		Villa vor Bithyniens Hauptstadt. Zimmer (28)

In my consideration of the various adaptations of Hannibal, I shall often have to refer to Grabbe's original, whose scenes will be alluded to with the numbers (1) to (28). This numeration corresponds closely to the dramatist's own view of his tragedy before he agreed to adopt Immermann's suggested divisions<sup>5</sup>. For the new versions of the drama, Roman and Arabic numerals will be used, where applicable, to designate the act and scene respectively.

Spielmann has divided his adaptation into five acts, which, with the exception of Act I, bear different headings to those of Grabbe's drama. Each act contains three scenes, bringing the total number to fifteen. Spielmann has thereby minimized one of the major hindrances to production inherent in the tragedy. The Detmolder's many short scenes meant that the setting would have to be changed constantly, putting a strain not only on the stage technicians but on the audience as well. To achieve a significant reduction in scene number, the adaptor has on occasions placed two or more previously separate pictures in sequence against the same backdrop which becomes the unifying element. Thus, Spielmann's I,1 is an amalgam of Grabbe's (1), (2), and (3); II,2 of (7) and (8); II,3 of (9) and (10); III,2 of (12) to (16); III,3 of (17) to (19); IV,1 of (20) and (21); IV,2 of (22) and (23); and V,2 of (25) and (27). The drama has not been shortened though. The adaptor has deleted none of Grabbe's action but has added to it considerably.

The first significant addition has been inserted into the opening scene immediately after the departure of Alitta's lover, Brasidas, for Italy. It introduces a subplot which

Spielmann felt was hinted at but not fully developed in the original. Gisgon, a member of the ruling faction of Carthage opposed to the exploits of Hannibal in Italy, arrives to declare his love for Alitta, a ward of the great general. The function of this new theme becomes clearer in the light of later action. In the fourth division of Grabbe's drama, after the Battle of Zama, Gisgon realizes that the Carthaginian defeat was directly attributable to the Synedrion's disloyalty towards, and lack of support of, Hannibal. Regretting this folly, he urges his people to defy the Roman peace conditions and fight to the bitter end. Spielmann sought to make Gisgon's sudden patriotism more credible by introducing the idea of his affection for Alitta. Thus in I,1 he has the Carthaginian maiden declare that she is only prepared to belong to a hero who has proved his loyalty to his country. This condition Gisgon has fulfilled when he confronts Alitta again (in a new opening passage of V,1) and is persuaded by her to join the Carthaginian women in burning their town.

This new action has no correlation with historical fact in contrast to passages inserted by Spielmann in the Roman Senate scene. Act one, scene two now begins with the election of two men to occupy the offices of consul. Whilst Gaius Claudius Nero is approved immediately, debate revolves around the suitability of Gaius Terentius Varro to hold the other seat. Historically, as one of the consuls present at the Battle of Cannae and one of the few survivors, he was held responsible for the devastating effect of the Roman

Army but subsequently redeemed himself in the minds of the people by his organisation of precautionary measures.<sup>6</sup> It is the respect Varro gained as a result of this action that Spielmann utilizes in his adaptation. The end of I,2 has a similarly discernible link with fact. The Senate's discussion turns to the matter of some fields outside Rome, belonging to Quintus Marcius. Since the owner is in debt to the city, the Senate resolves to confiscate the property even though it is being occupied by the Punic general. They know that the fields will automatically become Roman again once Carthage is captured. Livy mentions that some land in the vicinity of Rome was occupied and taken over by Hannibal's troops in 211 B.C.. Despite the fact that it no longer belonged to them, the Romans put it on the market and sold it at the full price.<sup>7</sup>

At the end of Act I, a new figure is included, "die Gestalt der Italia", an apparition which appears before Hannibal after his decision to withdraw from the walls of Rome. The general extends his arms to embrace the longed-for personification of Italy which he has grown to love, but she responds with a threatening gesture of refusal and disappears. By introducing this figure in the tradition of the Romantic dramas of fate, Spielmann has altered Grabbe's concept as to why Hannibal falls. The adaptor places emphasis on the overriding power of fate as a major reason, whereas Grabbe saw this in terms of a particular historical constellation; the Punier is forced to fight against two adversaries, on the one hand the Romans, and on the other his own people who refuse him vital supplies to repel the external enemy. A first impression of the nature of the forces

opposed to him is given in the arrangement of scenes in Grabbe's expositional part which consists of five pictures in contrast to Spielmann's three. The Westphalian dramatist devotes no fewer than four to the Carthaginian faction, each of which provides in almost kaleidoscopic manner a different perspective of the fractionated situation in the Punic state. The first scene leads us into the house of Alitta, a member of the Barkas family to which Hannibal belongs; the second underlines the preoccupation of the general population with trading and their indifference to the victories of Hannibal; the third shows the hostile and jealous attitude of the ruling Synedrion to the Barcids, while (5) introduces the great Punic general himself. One sole scene, (4), is devoted to Rome and indicates by its uniqueness and content the resolute cohesion of the enemy.<sup>8</sup> This symbolical structure is altered by Spielmann's reduction of the first division to three scenes. Grabbe's (4) and (5) have been retained as I,2 and I,3 and require no further comment, but his treatment of the three other originally separate scenes is disturbing. By allowing them to be played against the background of the market place in Carthage, he unites them in a way Grabbe never intended, for the latter used the diverse settings to reinforce the idea of friction and disharmony. In the adaptation, the conversation between Alitta and Brasidas loses its intimacy, and the Synedrion's discussion lacks the secretive and scheming character it attained when conducted in the enclosed and dimly-lit surroundings of Hanno's room.

The title of the second act, "Karthagena und Kapua", and of that act's opening scene, "das eroberte Karthagena", indicate that

Spielmann recognized Grabbe's anachronistic use of the name "Numantia", destroyed in 133 B.C., to denote New Carthage. The name has therefore been amended to Carthagera which was actually captured during the Second Punic War in 209 B.C.<sup>9</sup>. Act II, scene 1 depicting the sojourn of the Carthaginian army in Capua before its march to Upper Italy, is expanded by means of a passage adding mood and an impression of the luxuries and worldly pleasures which are enjoyed by the Carthaginian soldiers after considerable privation. The indolent life in Capua was reputed to have undermined the moral fibre of Hannibal's troops, making them less tough and resilient and contributing to their ultimate downfall<sup>10</sup>. This, however, was an aspect Grabbe did not wish to stress.

Spielmann's III,2 is made up of scenes (12) to (16) and is set on a beach at Capua. Hannibal's Italia monologue has been transferred from its original position in Grabbe's (14) to the end of III,2 as a concluding monologue and his horse, which was required to be present, has been deleted from the action. The monologue demonstrates yet another example of Spielmann's striving for historical accuracy, for in accordance with Livy, he corrects Hannibal's statement that he has been in Italy for seventeen years to sixteen<sup>11</sup>. Act III closes with "der grosse Saal des Synedrion" and conforms with Spielmann's new title for that act which embraces Hannibal's arrival in Africa. In content III,3 includes all the scenes taking place in Carthage before the negotiations between the Carthaginians and Romans: the general's arrival home, the market scene (which is now

characterized by a personal appeal from Hannibal for the assistance of his people in the ensuing battle), and Hannibal's meeting with old Barkas.

The fourth act is limited to preparations just prior to, and events during and immediately after, the Battle of Zama. It includes an attempt by Melkir to bargain with the Romans for peace and position in exchange for Hannibal and the correction of one minor detail which Bergmann noted Grabbe had overlooked<sup>12</sup>. The dramatist has announced Brasidas' death in (22) as a result of battle wounds, and again in (28) during Carthage's last heroic struggle. Spielmann allows him to be wounded in the battle and his death is only announced in a new passage in V,1 after a later encounter with the Romans.

Spielmann has placed the final scene in Carthage, Grabbe's (26), before the Prusias scenes. In so doing, the adaptor has failed to recognize an important feature inherent in the structure of the closing pictures of the drama<sup>13</sup>. By juxtaposing scenes of different localities, Grabbe makes the setting change from Africa (24) to Asia Minor (25), back to Africa (26) and finally to Asia Minor (27) again. In this way he interweaves the two geographically separate strands of action which are fused together in Turnu's report in (28). This arrangement ensures that the action in both localities is kept continuously before the reader's or spectator's eye, but even further it reflects the total interdependence of Carthage and Hannibal who suffer a comparable fate. Although the content of V,2 and V,3 is basically unchanged, the adaptor refers to "Nikomeden" as the name of the home town of King Prusias. Nicomedia was a city in

Bithynia at the head of the Bay of Astacus and the place in which the Punic general took his life<sup>14</sup>.

In contrast to the original drama, Spielmann has preceded his adaptation with a list of dramatis personae which has been arranged in two distinct parts<sup>15</sup>. The first is devoted to figures occupying speaking roles of some importance, the second to the innumerable occupants of more minor or dumb roles. They belong to such groups as soldiers, priests, or slaves and need not be further considered. However, many figures in the first list bear a notable characteristic. Spielmann has been meticulous in endeavouring to provide them with their authentic historical names, although this does not enrich or alter the action as such. Where, for example, Grabbe has called the Scipio brothers "Scipio der Aeltere" and "Scipio der Juengere", the adaptor lists them as "Lucius Cornelius Scipio" and "Publius Cornelius Scipio", "Kato Zensor" becomes "Marcius Porcius Cato" and the poet "Terenz" "Publius Terentius". Even Brasidas, who is not an historical figure, is given a basis in history by being described as "Enkel des Spartaners Xanthippos, Karthagischer Offizier". Xanthippos was a Spartan officer who had come to Carthage in charge of a band of Spartan mercenaries and advised the Carthaginian army that the secret to success against the Roman legions lay in the full use of its cavalry and elephants. His advice proved sound when the Carthaginians defeated the Romans in Africa in 255 B.C.<sup>16</sup>. Even where Grabbe has identified a person only by his position or occupation, the adaptor has often provided a name. The "erster Konsul", "zweiter Konsul", and "Praetor" become "Gaius Claudius Nero", "Gaius Terentius Varro", and "Gaius Calpurnius" respectively<sup>17</sup>.

In the course of his examination of the "immanent stage potential" of the Hannibal drama, H.-W. Nieschmidt has demonstrated that many instructions for the audience, producer, and actor, whose function it is to indicate how the written word is to be transferred into the three-dimensional world of the theatre, are to be found within Grabbe's tragedy. These are not always in the form of explicit stage directions, but many can be construed indirectly from the dialogue<sup>18</sup>. One would expect of an adaptor, however, who specifically aims at bringing a drama into a form suitable for a performance, to pay particular attention to the use and placing of stage directions. They are able to determine a smooth and effective staging, and in this regard assume almost as great a significance as the tailoring of content and form to suit a certain theatre or situation. The study of Spielmann's use of the stage direction in his adaptation may be divided into two parts. The first part will be a brief survey of those new portions he added to the text. They contain by far the greatest number of new instructions and will help to show what awareness Spielmann in his capacity as "dramatist" had of the technical and dramaturgic aspects of the theatre. The second part will focus on his treatment of the stage direction in the passages taken from Grabbe's original.

The preceding consideration of the content of the adaptation has revealed that Spielmann's own passages generally only form part of a scene; instructions for its production such as scenery, sound effects, and lighting are usually placed at the very beginning and apply to the scene as a whole. This means that,

apart from some allusions to sound effects, stage directions within the new parts are predominantly concerned with the conduct of the actors on stage. Precise pointers are given about the movements of figures. Their entrances and exits are carefully registered:

Gisgon (ist von links aufgetreten) (Sp. I,1, p.4),  
 (Ab rechts in Hannos Haus) (Sp. I,1, p.5),

P. Scipio (tritt auf, betrachtet den Melkir, der sich  
 stumm vor ihm verneigt, laengere Zeit) (Sp.IV,1, p.62),

Brasidas ... (Er kuesst sie. Ab) (Sp.V,1, p.84).

Instructions are provided about specific actions and gestures:

Erster Buerger...(Trinkt ihm zu) (Sp. II,2, p.28),

Hannibal...(Er breitet die Arme aus) (Sp.I,3, p.21).

Tone and mode of speech are given equally exact attention:

Zweiter Senator (nachdruecklich) (Sp. I,2, p.12),

Gisgon (schmerzlich und doch erfreut) (Sp. V,1, p.87).

As far as the original Grabbe text is concerned, Spielmann has retained most of the dramatist's directions. Those at the beginning of the scenes are, though, distinctive. With a few exceptions, Grabbe's scene instructions here are sparing in their details, whereas many of the adaptor's are of noticeably greater length:

Rom. Kapitel  
 Sitzung des Senats (WuB, III, 96)

becomes:

Der grosse Saal im Kapitel zu Rom.  
 (Sitzung des Senats. In der Mitte erhoehrt die kurulischen Sitze fuer die beiden Konsuln, leer. Rechts und links die Liktoeren mit den Fasces. Im Halbkreise rechts und links

die Sitze der Senatoren, rechts vorn die der Aedilen, links vorn die der Tribunen, davon einen leer. Hinter den Sitzen stehen andere roemische Vornehme, darunter die Brueder L. und P. Cornelius Scipio. Unter den Senatoren der Praetor Calpurnius und der Censor Cato) (Sp. I,2 p.12).

Apart from providing information as to what figure is present on stage when the action begins, the directions at the start of Spielmann's scenes convey detailed instructions for production, such as the presence and placement of realistic properties on the stage, general decoration, and explicit reference to lighting<sup>19</sup>. The adaptor visualizes in detail the whole setting in which events are to take place. This propensity towards lengthier stage directions is also to be found in Naturalist drama, especially in the works of Gerhard Hauptmann<sup>20</sup>.

A large majority of the new stage directions have their origins in the text of the drama and have been extracted by the adaptor. In this way Spielmann lightens the load for the producer, his assistants, and actors who can see at a glance what is required for a particular scene. In IV,3, for example, the objects with which Gisgon hopes to impress the Roman emissary are described in the form of a stage direction before the scene:

(Praechtige Einrichtung. Die Waende sind getaefelt und mit Schnitzereien und Gold verziert. Seltene Geraete und Gegenstaende aus allen von den Karthagern befahrenen Zonen stehen umher. Ampeln haengen von der Decke herab, mit Wohlgeruechen angefuellt.) (Sp. IV,3, p.76).

Other new instructions for staging concern the entrances and exits of characters. These are especially important in those scenes which are a composite of several of Grabbe's shorter ones against a common background. This is clearly demonstrated

in the opening scene. After Brasidas has taken his leave, we hear that Alitta:

(Will nach links abgehen)  
 Gisgon (ist von links aufgetreten. Als er Alitta bemerkt, bleibt er ploetzlich stehen; erst bei ihren letzten Worten tritt er naeher) (Sp. I,1,pp.3f).

The conversation between Alitta and Gisgon ends with their departure which allows the business activities to commence:

Alitta (Ab nach links; Hanna folgt ihr)  
 Gisgon (Ab rechts in Hannos Haus)  
 (Bereits waehrend der letzten Worte ist der Markt lebhaft geworden. Von allen Seiten kommen Verkaeufer sowie Verkaeuferinnen mit Lebensmitteln, Fruechten u.a., Sklavenhaendler mit Sklaven und Sklavinnen. Gruppierung Karthager aller Volksschichten. Zollbediente) (Sp.I,1,p.6).

Following the bartering and selling, the meeting of the three men of the Synedrion can begin:

(Waehrenddessen sind rechts auf dem Altan vor Hannos Hause Diener Hannos herausgetreten and haben mehrere Polstersessel hingestellt. Bald darauf:)  
 Melkir, Hanno, Gisgon (aus dem Hause. Sie setzen sich auf die Polster) (Sp. I,1, p.8).

Finally Spielmann has modified some of the original stage directions to exclude potential difficulties for production. Grabbe's second scene contains little doubt that the Ethiopian caravan, complete with its menagerie of exotic animals, was supposed to appear on stage. The adaptor avoids this complication by stating unequivocally that the sheik both enters from, and departs to, the left, calling into the wings to where his caravan has been left:

Sheikh (kommt von links - in die Kulisse rueckwaerts rufend)  
 ...  
 (Er legt seine Arme eine Zeitlang betend ueber die Brust und entfernt sich dann nach links) (Sp. I,1, p.8).

A similar solution is undertaken with regard to the need for a horse on stage. This has already been mentioned with the allusion

to the Italia monologue but a further example occurs in the Cajeta scene (III,1) where the general enters on foot. The adaptation contains no instructions pertaining to the opening and closing of the curtains.

Spielmann's treatment of form and content of the Punic drama reveals a certain lack of understanding of fundamental features of Grabbe's work. The adaptor took Grabbe to task for leaving out what he considered necessary details whose absence left gaps in the action, and attempted to "correct" these errors by inserting his own passages<sup>21</sup>. These, however, extended the work to a length which rendered it impracticable for stage production and the insertions themselves do nothing to enhance the drama<sup>22</sup>.

Furthermore, the content of some of the adaptor's new portions, his correction of small historical inaccuracies in other parts, and the manner in which he lists the figures demonstrate a tendency towards positivism. In striving for absolute historical authenticity he fails to comprehend the role of history in Grabbe's drama. The latter's aim was to render what he termed in his essay "Ueber die Shakespearo-Manie" "die Idee der Geschichte", which sometimes resulted in an actual distortion or rearrangement of historical details<sup>23</sup>. Spielmann's attempt to improve upon Grabbe's tragedy has been equated by Willi Kowalk with the final scenes of the Hannibal drama itself where Prusias informs the famous general of his mistakes on the battlefield and offers his own solutions<sup>24</sup>. In the matter of stage directions, the adaptor shows an awareness of the requirements of the theatre,

putting in stage direction form matters which could formerly only be construed from the dialogue, and eliminating directions which would be impossible to fulfil within the dimensions of the conventional theatre of his time. Spielmann's adaptation was never played.

## 2. Eugen Kilian's Adaptation of Hannibal

The second adaptation of Hannibal appeared in print in 1919, although Eugen Kilian states that he had already completed it before Albert Steinrueck's premiere of the drama in Munich in December of the previous year<sup>25</sup>. Events in politics and developments in literature during the first eighteen years of the twentieth century had worked in Grabbe's favour and in the light of the time his Punic drama acquired a pertinence it did not have when Spielmann undertook his version. In Kilian's foreword to the work, he acknowledges that he is struck by the proximity of Hannibal to products of contemporary dramatists and describes him as a forerunner of later artistic developments. Writing so soon after the end of the First World War, he also sees similarities between the pessimistic mood and actions in the drama and the political atmosphere and state of affairs existing in Germany in 1918<sup>26</sup>. He used the suitability of the time as a pretext for revitalizing a play he considered had been unjustifiably forgotten.

In contrast with Spielmann's adaptation, Kilian's version relies on a simplified, stylized stage arrangement which allows for an unbroken progression of each act without pauses for changes of setting between the individual scenes. He has in mind a solid structural front stage, which can be divided off from the rest by different kinds of curtains. This small acting area would be used for scenes located inside, whilst for all landscape scenes the size of the acting area would be extended to encompass the back stage as well. Decorative elements would be limited to a generous suggestion<sup>27</sup>. Where possible, the adaptor places those

scenes requiring a short stage next to those whose dimensions are larger and therefore require a more expansive acting surface. The curtains are drawn only at the end of the acts, of which there are five, with an overall total of eighteen scenes:

Erster Aufzug:

1. Karthago. Kurze Halle.
2. Karthago. Marktplatz.
3. Gemach in Hannos Palast.
4. Rom, Kapitol.
5. Vor Rom.

Zweiter Aufzug:

Kapua. In Hannibals Wohnung.

Dritter Aufzug:

1. In Kapua.
2. Flur bei Cajeta.
3. In Kapua.
4. Hinterverdeck des karthagischen Hauptschiffs.

Vierter Aufzug:

1. Karthago. Halle.
2. Freies Feld bei Zama.
3. Warte ueber einem Tor Karthagos.
4. Karthago. Marktplatz.
5. In Gisgons Hause.

Fuenfter Aufzug:

1. Bithynien. Thronsaal im Palast des Koenigs.
2. Karthago. Halle.
3. Villa vor Bithyniens Hauptstadt.

With this number of scenes Kilian has made a genuine attempt to abbreviate the length of Grabbe's work and bring it within the bounds of a theatrical evening of no more than three hours. The reduction is achieved by the complete omission of some scenes, the concentration of features previously found in different scenes into one, and the deletion of individual lines.

In a letter to Immermann of 22 December 1834, Grabbe has described his Punic drama as "das Werk mit den grossen Heerstrassen, an deren Enden sich Carthago in Scipios Helm und Harnisch brennend

abspiegelt, und Hannibal in der Nacht des Todes erlischt"<sup>28</sup>.

The great military routes of which the dramatist speaks are those of the Carthaginian and Roman armies which are introduced in the expository scenes comprising the first act. The first step along the Roman military route, shown in "Die Ruinen Numantias" (6)<sup>29</sup> is deleted by Kilian, producing an imbalance, in that attention becomes focussed to a far greater extent upon the Carthaginian military exploits. Grabbe had formulated "Die Ruinen Numantias" and "Kapua. Saal in Hannibals Wohnung" as parallel scenes, offering the spectator or reader a glimpse into the two opposing camps after the fall of Carthage's Spanish provinces.

Although far removed from each other geographically, the two scenes contain cross-references which strongly suggest that they occur simultaneously or at least in close proximity as far as time is concerned. Grabbe's (6) contains a remark about Hasdrubal's march to Italy:

SCIPIO DER AELTERE Indes wir hier belagerten, ist uns  
Hasdrubal mit Karthagos letztem Heer  
in Spanien entwischt. Er klettert  
schon in den Alpen zu Hannibal. ...  
(WuB, III, 107).

In (7), a messenger arriving at Hannibal's camp reports Hasdrubal to be at the same stage of his journey as the Elder Scipio brother has done:

BOTE Da dieses [Numantia] fiel, so hat er geglaubt,  
nichts Besseres tun zu koennen, als Deiner Spur  
zu folgen, er hat die Pyrenaeen bereits im  
Ruecken und ist auf den Hoehen der Alpen.  
(WuB, III, 109).

Reinforcing the impression of parallelism is the mention in both scenes of the position of Consul Nero at the foot of the Alps where

he is lying in wait for Hasdrubal and his troops. In order to inform the audience briefly of the Romans' military accomplishments in Spain which spectators now don't see, Kilian has merely inserted a few explanatory words into "Kapua. In Hannibals Wohnung":

Bote      Dazu war Numantia bestimmt. Da dies durch die  
 Scipionen fiel, so hat er geglaubt, nichts  
 Besseres tun zu koennen, als deiner Spur zu  
 folgen. (K. II,1, p.23).

The third act begins with Grabbe's (8) "Strasse in Kapua", which originally formed the closing picture of his second division. Its new position is more logical since it belongs thematically to, and begins, a sequence of scenes in which a total rotation of events is to be observed. The citizens of Capua witness the departure of the Carthaginian army from their town. The army proceeds north with the intention of meeting and assisting Hannibal's brother, Hasdrubal, but in Cajeta, the latter's severed head is presented to the general, making his continuation to Upper Italy pointless. Thus, the army turns back to its point of departure, Capua. Not only do the two scenes form a framework around the action in between, but the departure and subsequent return of Hannibal bring with them their corresponding influence on the lives of the Capuan people who are the main focus of attention in these two scenes. After Hannibal's departure, their town is ruled by the former despot who once again has to relinquish his post to Hannibal<sup>30</sup>. The two Casilinum scenes have been omitted altogether<sup>31</sup>. In Grabbe's text, they demonstrate Hannibal's military genius in a difficult and dangerous situation and serve to strengthen the idea that his failure to take Rome by storm has only been the result of a lack of adequate troops and not due to

any inadequacy in Hannibal's command of them. The exclusion of the Casilinum scenes means that Hannibal's military prowess is never satisfactorily elucidated in the drama which becomes a tragedy of unmitigated falling action. Also removed from the third group of scenes is "Vor Kapuas Nordtor". Elements of three other pictures from the original, "Eine Hoehe mit dichtem, dunklem Kastanienwald bei Kapua", "Am Gestade", and "Hinterverdeck des karthagischen Hauptschiffs" are fused together to form III,4. This now opens with what was previously "Am Gestade", continues with the dialogue on the ship, which is still at anchor for this scene, and closes with the Italia monologue, a repositioning which Spielmann also undertook.

A similar amalgamation of several of Grabbe's scenes occurs in IV,1 which consists of (17) and portions of (18) and (19). The section corresponding to (18), the second Carthaginian market scene, is played off stage, so that only the voices are audible, and the herald's message inviting the citizens to assist in the defence of their city and the reception it receives are therefore able to be included in the action without the difficulty of moving a large body of actors on to and off the stage within a short space of time<sup>32</sup>.

"Freies Feld in der Naehe des Staedtchens Zama" is a combination of (20) and (21). The first of these two scenes has been shortened by the cutting out of the dialogue between Scipio the Younger and Allochlin and of the remarks of Terenz. Both of the latter figures made their initial appearance in Grabbe's Numantia scene, and Kilian maintains consistency with his earlier omission by leaving them out at this later stage. The negative result of Terenz's

exclusion, however, is that the humane voice of the poet is no longer heard in the harsh world of the Roman wars. Almost in the manner of the Brechtian alienation technique, Grabbe established a contrast between the contemplative spirit on the one hand and the men of action on the other, which led to a more profound definition on both sides. Whilst Kilian dispenses with this, he sees fit to insert here lines of Scipio the Younger spoken in the Numantia scene which make explicit the Roman code of conduct in time of war and which are demonstrated by the Romans' behaviour during and after the Battle of Zama:

Scipio der Juengere ... Es ist bei uns Sitte, dass man den Krieg solange fuehrt, bis der eine Teil ausgerottet oder Sklav geworden. Einen halben Frieden lieben wir nicht, er gibt dem Feinde nur Zeit, sich zum neuen Kriege zu staerken. (K.IV,2, p.42).

The historic meeting of Scipio the Younger and Hannibal forms the final part of this scene and is consequently enacted against the same background.

One alteration of arrangement is to be observed in the scenes of the fifth act. The original (27), depicting Flamininus' demand for the extradition of Hannibal to Rome, is joined to the first of the Prusias scenes, to become V,1. This transposition at least does not alter the important arrangement of scenes at the end of the drama which has already been discussed in relation to Spielmann's adaptation<sup>33</sup>.

Closely allied to Kilian's simplification of structure and action is his treatment of characters. The large number of figures required to perform the Hannibal tragedy in its original form would have been beyond the means of the average-sized theatrical



Scipio brothers whose function is to act as a counterweight to Hannibal<sup>34</sup>. The lines attributed to them at the time of their selection to lead the Roman legions against the enemy in Spain are excluded from the Roman Senate scene, and there is no indication at all that they are even required to be present. Because of the omission of the Numantia scene of which they are the main figures, they are not characterized by their own actions until "Freies Feld vor Zama". Thus, Hannibal's military opponents, who emerge as victors over Carthage, appear on stage in no more than one single scene. Much of the drama depicts one military route and action falls from the very beginning with increasing momentum, making the scene at Cajeta in which Hannibal is presented with the head of his brother yet another tragic incident rather than the turning point of the work. Significantly, the adaptor has seen fit to retain such elements of the Roman action which highlight the similarities between the drama and Germany's position in 1918. These are the already mentioned code of conduct applied by Rome in wartime, and the Roman peace conditions (IV,5) which may be compared to those inflicted by the Allies upon their enemies after hostilities had ceased<sup>35</sup>.

As regards the stage directions, Kilian has retained almost all of Grabbe's instructions, although some additions and alterations are to be observed. It is these new or modified directions with which this analysis intends to concern itself. In his instructions for production, the adaptor avoids all use of elaborate props, giving the barest indication of scenery, mainly the dimensions of the stage. In I,1 and IV,1, he even appears to be less specific than Grabbe by calling in each case for a railing rather than a window. He restricts the particularization of props to smaller

articles and objects, as for example in IV,1:

Melkir. Hanno. Gisgon. Zur Seite ein Sklave mit Weinkanne und Bechern. (K. IV,1, p.34).

The second adaptor, like Spielmann, sometimes puts in stage direction form information pertaining to dramaturgy which was inherent in the dialogue. The significance of this was discussed with regard to the previous adaptor<sup>36</sup>.

In parts of the adaptation, music attains a symbolic significance. This is clearly seen at the end of IV,2 where the decision to go to war is heralded by an appropriate type of music which continues into the next scene:

(Kriegerische Musik setzt ein und leitet zur folgenden Szene ueber) (K. IV,2, p.43)

(Kriegerische Musik in der Ferne) (K. IV,3, p.43).

Table music is added as an accompaniment to the conversation between Gisgon and the Roman emissary in IV,5 and its abrupt termination immediately after the news of the Romans' intention to raze Carthage to the ground reinforces the horrified reaction of the Carthaginians present. In this way, dramaturgic devices are employed to highlight the words:

Zweiter Gesandter: Geschleift werden, und ihr koennt im  
Lande, vierzig Stadien vom Meer, eine  
neue aufbauen, jedoch mit anderem Namen.  
(Tafelmusik bricht ab)

Gisgon: Und nicht einmal den Namen lasst ihr uns? (K.IV,5, p.51).

Kilian perhaps lays greater stress on his instructions to the actors than those for production. He is concerned with the comings and goings of figures, and especially at the beginning of scenes, devotes more attention to people required on stage and their order of appearance than to stage decoration:

Vor Rom. Hannibal. Einige Anfuehrer. Gleich darauf  
Turnu. Ein Bote des Synedrions. (K. I,5, p.18),

In Kapua. Kurze Buehne. Durch Vorhang geschlossen.  
Verschiedene Buerger. Nachher der Despot von Kapua.  
(K.III,1, p.25).

A striking example of his attention to movement and gesture occurs in I,3. In Grabbe's corresponding scene, the three ruling men of Carthage remained seated round the table for the duration of the discussion. Kilian may have felt that the scene would benefit from the introduction of increased action and render the scene more appealing to the eye of the spectator. Gisgon is made to stand up, move away from the table, return to it and sit down, while later in the same scene, Hanno gets up and operates a trap door concealed in one of the walls of the house.

Occasionally the tone or manner in which words are to be spoken is added:

Scipio der Juengere:... und ihr zehn Zenturionen da, schliesst euch an seine Seite (leise) und toetet ihn, sobald er uns untreu wird. (K. IV,2, p.40).

Like Spielmann, Kilian has dealt with potential impediments to production<sup>37</sup>. For the Ethiopian caravan in I,2, he has a similar, although not identical solution:

Der Scheich der Karawane kommt und ruft in die Szene.  
Scheich: Die Karawane halte...(K. I,2, p.11).

After the custom's officer's order that the caravan be brought on, the final words of the scene read:

Er [der Scheich] legt die Arme betend ueber die Brust  
(K. I,2, p.12),

so that the caravan does not have to appear on stage. In I,5, Hannibal calls into the wings with the command that his troops withdraw from the walls of Rome. Grabbe's equivalent stage direction suggests that the siege of Rome takes place on stage in full view of the audience:

HANNIBAL seine Truppen vom Sturm zurueckfuehrend.  
Lagert.  
Es geschieht. (WuB, III, 99).

Hannibal (in die Szene rufend): Lagert (K. I,5, p.18).  
Directions calling for the presence of horses on stage have also been deleted.

Kilian's adaptation appears as the antithesis of Spielmann's in many respects. He has sought to effect a smooth progression from one scene to the next by an adroit use of the front and back stage, restricting, rather than enlarging the decorative elements, and considerably shortening the overall length of the tragedy. Although his deletions have not always proved felicitous and in the best interests of the work, Kilian's keen eye for the framework of the theatre works to good effect with his playing of the second market scene off stage, his restrictions in the number of minor figures, and his use of stage directions, such as the appropriate use of music and movements to infuse life and colour into a scene. Kilian's adaptation formed the basis of several productions, in Dessau in 1921, in Dortmund in 1922, in Bremen in 1925, and in Chemnitz and Karlsruhe in 1936.

### 3. Leopold Jessner's Adaptation of Hannibal

Leopold Jessner's version was published in Berlin in 1926, the year after he had staged Hannibal at the Staatliches Schauspielhaus with Werner Krauss in the title role<sup>38</sup>. The adaptor's stated aim was not to provide an enrichment to the literary editions of the Westphalian's work but a dramaturgic adaptation endowed with new stage directions whose origins lay in the theatrical workshop.

In his foreword, he points out that the basis on which the poetic vision rests has to be reworked in order to comply with the possibilities of the stage and its laws, because Grabbe's Punic drama could not be transferred in its original state into a theatrical medium:

Es kommt... darauf an, die grosse Linie dieses Dichters frei zu machen von der ihr eigenen arabesken Abschweifung, die unaufhaltsam draengenden Kraefte seiner Dramatik von ihren barocken Auswuechsen zu entlasten und den Grundrhythmus aus dem Spiel von Obertoenen herauszumeisseln.<sup>39</sup>

His introduction provides an indication and justification of his main alterations, the first of which is his amalgamation of the two opening scenes. He envisages the activity on the market place in Carthage as supporting music to the main theme of action which has its climax in the announcement of the victory at Cannae. He hopes that the combination of the Cajeta scene and "Abschied von Italien" will contribute more towards the homogeneous flow of the dramatic events in this part of the drama. Neither the revolving stage nor the sliding stage could, in his opinion, help to retain tension if the scenes were to be played as two separate entities. He also attributes the drawing together of several figures into one role to this propensity for unification, so that throughout the whole work Hannibal's various messengers are represented by the figure of the captain. Almost in contrast to his reduction of characters is the scene depicting the Battle of Zama in which he replaces the two commentating figures, the porter and his son, with a number of less significant figures amongst whom the lines are divided. In this way Jessner endeavours to produce a more lively effect as well as to cater for the practical purpose of enabling a theatrical company to fill the roles with actors of less merit rather than having to locate two

Four such illustrations were undertaken by Sigfrid Sebba, the first of which is a plan for the unadorned stage. This consists of two platforms, the one on the right resting on top of, and extending slightly above, that on the left. Both right and left platforms are equipped with a stair-like structure which is movable. This may be seen as a development inspired by the "Jessnertreppe", a tall staircase which was used by the producer symbolically to elevate certain figures, emphasize ideas or scenes, or even bring about the reverse effect. The steps in their original form were said to have been used by Jessner for the last time in 1924<sup>41</sup>. The remaining three line drawings depict settings in Carthage, the Roman Senate, and the Roman camp in Africa set up on this fundamental stage arrangement and are included in the documentary appendix of this thesis<sup>42</sup>.

The scenes to be enacted on this stage have been reduced to eighteen, the same number as were present in Kilian's adaptation. Jessner's sequence is, however, composed differently:

Erstes Bild.  
Karthago.

Zweites Bild.  
(Gewoelbe mit niedrigen Ausblicken.)

Drittes Bild.  
Rom. Kapitol.

Viertes Bild.  
Vor Rom.

Fuenftes Bild.  
Numantia.

Sechstes Bild.  
Beobachtungsmauer vor Capua.

Siebentes Bild.  
Hohlweg bei Casilinum.

Achtes Bild.  
Anhoehe.

Neuntes Bild.  
Cajeta.

Zehntes Bild.  
Karthago. Gewoelbe.

Elftes Bild.  
Halle mit Ausblick.

Zwoelftes Bild.  
Zwischen den Zelten.

Dreizehntes Bild.  
Freie Ebene.

Vierzehntes Bild.  
Schlacht.

Fuenfzehntes Bild.  
Moloch.

Sechzehntes Bild.  
Prusias.

Siebzehntes Bild.  
Halle mit Ausblick auf Platz (wie Bild 1).

Achtzehntes Bild.  
Hannibals Tod.

The larger structural divisions have been dispensed with<sup>43</sup>.

As has already been stated, the opening scene contains elements of Grabbe's (1) and (2). Although the adaptor has remained true to the dramatist's words in the speeches he has reproduced, he has distributed the material in such a way as to create a new situation, where Grabbe intended the market activities to be of equal rank with the conversation between the two Carthaginian lovers in exposing various attitudes prevailing in the African city towards Hannibal, Jessner places the buying and selling in a secondary position. He arranges portions of Grabbe's (2) as a framework around the dialogue of Alitta and Brasidas which proportionately occupies more space and therefore commands greater attention. The picture opens with the arrival of the

caravan and continues with the meeting between the young Carthaginian couple. After Brasidas' departure for Italy and the Punic maiden's disappearance into the crowd, it proceeds with snippets of (2), ending in the arrival of the messenger from Cannae and the reaction of the common people to the victory. The formulation of this reaction in the Jessner adaptation falsifies the image Grabbe aimed to project in his second scene, that of a mercantile society which reacts with disinterest to their general's military exploits carried out on their behalf. Jessner's stage direction indicates that the news is received at first with jubilation:

(Tumult, Umarmungen, Siegesgesang, dann Ruhe.) (J. 1, p.14).

Only after the disadvantages of the long campaigns to their lives are pointed out to them, does their enthusiasm wane.

The next major change does not occur until the deletion of the two despot scenes in Capua (Grabbe's (8) and (12)) and "Vor Capuas Nordtor" (13). This throws light on a major difference between Kilian's and Jessner's adaptations. Where the former had omitted a scene from the Roman strand of action ("Die Ruinen Numantias"(6)) and the Casilinum episodes ( (9) and (10) ), Jessner chooses to drop episodes whose content, although adding historical colour, exerts less direct bearing on the main action and whose absence thus distorts the whole to a minimal extent<sup>44</sup>. The adaptor's ninth picture, "Cajeta", is a combination of several scenes. To the festivities in the Italian valley are added parts of Grabbe's (14), (15), and (16) in altered sequence. First comes Hannibal's encounter with the Carthaginian emissaries requesting his return home (15). This is followed by the chorus of the sailors

and the Italia monologue from "Eine Hoehe mit dichtem, dunklem Kastanienwald bei Kapua" (14) and a reference to the sighting of cranes overhead and Hannibal's allusion to spring (16). The exclusion of much of the action on the stern of the Carthaginian ship has resolved a problem of scenery but has also resulted in the cutting out of much imagery, some of which forewarns of the outcome of the drama. This includes the concept of the onset of evening and the parting gift of the autumn leaves, both of which indicate that the dramatic action is entering another, more gloomy phase, for Hannibal himself is leaving the land he loves for the darker prospect of the land on whose behalf he has to fight.

The tenth picture, "Karthago. Gewoelbe", is a union of (17) and part of the second market scene (18) which, like its earlier counterpart, has been pruned of all activities and statements of the crowd not pertaining directly to the main action. The scene portraying the battle itself evinces other alterations in addition to those referred to by the adaptor in his introduction. The text has been shortened by approximately one printed page, with the many commentating figures observing changes of fortune in the world-historical confrontation from a low hill. The brisk exchanges of speech, almost all of which have been provided with a stage direction referring to tone, reflect the ever-changing situation in a form of stichomythia:

- 2. Mann (leise). Hilft ihnen keiner?
- 1. Mann (sachlich). Nachher.
- 5. Mann (stark). Hu, was straeuben sich da die Lanzen empor!
- 1. Mann (ebenso). Der Feind zieht seine Schwerter und rollt sich zusammen.
- 4. Mann (lachend, vor Freude ergriffen). Es hilft ihnen nichts, unsere Lanzen sind laenger!
- 3. Mann (dumpf). Der Feind schlaegt sie beiseit.
- 1. Frau (breit, verhalten). Weh, da wuergen sie sich an den Kehlen. (J. 14, p.54).

Grabbe's (23) and (24) have been placed together to form Jessner's fifteenth picture, "Moloch", with the final alterations to the drama occurring in the sixteenth scene, "Prusias", whose scope has been extended to incorporate the arrival of the Roman emissary demanding Hannibal's extradition<sup>45</sup>.

Jessner complies with Kilian in not only reducing the number of scenes but also the number of actors required. A comparison between Bergmann's list of dramatis personae and that of the Berlin producer reveals that, whilst the former stipulates in excess of 86 different roles, the latter lists about half that number<sup>46</sup>. The deletion of whole scenes or portions thereof has resulted in the corresponding elimination of figures playing in them, but Jessner on occasions redirects speeches from very minor figures to others in an effort to economize on personnel. This is well illustrated in the Roman Senate scene. Speeches apportioned in Grabbe's drama between the first and second consuls are apparently now spoken by one person only, since Jessner, unlike Grabbe, does not specify which of the consuls is speaking. Each of their utterances is introduced simply by the designation "Konsul". The speech of the tribunes is spoken by Cato Censor, the two remarks of an aedile by the praetor and consul respectively, and that of a lictor likewise by the praetor.

By far the largest number of modifications to Grabbe's drama are visible in the area of the stage direction. Many have been left out completely, others changed, and a number created where none have previously existed. Of the directions for production, those concerned with stage decoration are to be found mainly at the

beginning of scenes and are characteristically not elaborate. The opening scene merely calls for "Halle mit Ausblick", and the seventh picture is set in "Hohlweg bei Casilinum", the brevity of the title indicating less detail than that of Grabbe's corresponding scene, (9).

In Jessner's attempt to articulate space and bring tempo into the work, sound effects and music play a dominant role. In his ninth picture, the abrupt halt of the music after the Roman has thrown Hasdrubal's head at Hannibal's feet becomes symbolic of the horror experienced by the witnesses of the event:

(Die Musik bricht mit weher Dissonanz ab. Alles weicht entsetzt auseinander und verhuellt die Gesichter.)  
(J. 9, p. 40).

An effort to revive the festivities after the event also proves abortive and to use Grabbe's terminology, emphasizes the "sea of mist" which the once cheerful area has become, not only for the Punic general but for all the observers:

(Musik und Tanz beginnen von neuem, aber beklommen. Nach einigen Takten bricht es ab, langsam, als ob von einer Rose welkende Blaetter fallen. Die Menge hat sich hierbei entfernt...) (J. 9, p.40).

A recurrent musical theme encountered in the Carthaginian strand of action is the Carthaginian song of victory. Introduced initially in the first picture with the crowd's reaction to the news of Cannae, it reappears at the end of the tenth picture following the herald's plea for assistance:

(Die Menge stimmt den karthagischen Siegesgesang an und zerstreut sich mit dem Hauptmann.) (J.10, p.46).

It is taken up again by spectators at the Battle of Zama when the battle seems to be going in Carthage's favour:

4. Mann (ist auf dem Huegel geblieben, jubelnd): Die Haende von den Augen -- Karthago siegt! (Alle erheitern sich zum Siegesgesang, der einige Takte geht und abgebrochen wird durch:)

3. Mann. Was fuer eine Eisenmasse kommt aber da aus der Ferne? (J. 14, p. 55).

It expresses the crowd's appreciation when Melkir is taken to be sacrificed to Moloch:

Volk (singt den karthagischen Siegesgesang, waehrend Melkir in den Moloch geworfen wird. Dazwischen Posaunen.) (J. 15, p.58),

and at the close of the same picture it assumes the role of a song of defiance against the Roman peace conditions. A song, although not specified, underlines the climax of the women's burning of Carthage as a hymn of victory in (17):

(Sie [Alitta] wirft ihre Fackel fort; die uebrigen ebenso. Ringsum Feuerschein. Alle umarmen sich. Jubelnder Tanz. Alitta singt. Die Maedchen nehmen ihren Gesang jedesmal auf. Auch Barkas jubelt: das letzte heroische Wachsen eines Hundertjaehrigen. Dann Stille.)

Alitta. Urvater, wie ist dir?  
Barkas. Wohler als je!

(Wieder Gesang und Tanz in grossartigster Steigerung.)  
(J. 17, p.66).

For the battle scene, Jessner reverses Grabbe's requirement of joyous music which is alluded to by the boy. Now no music at all is to be played but the action is to be punctuated by a clap of thunder at the beginning of the scene. This sound effect also accompanies Hannibal's retreat from the walls of Rome in Jessner's (4).

Jessner appears to show less concern for lighting and the time of day than Grabbe<sup>47</sup>. In the new Cajeta scene, the season may be ascertained from the allusion to the grapes, as may the lighting in the battle scene with the mention of the dark foreboding clouds but on the whole one must look to the spoken work as its main indicator. This applies even in the Casilinum scenes which rely

so heavily on darkness for their successful outcome. In each case the reference to lighting comes only in the form of a stage direction at the end of the respective scene:

(Dunkel. Gleich darauf hell.) (J. 7, p.35)

(Dunkel. Sofort wieder hell...)

(Alles wendet sich. Das Lachen verstummt. Dunkel.) (J.8, p.37).

Darkness is used symbolically following the fateful climax of the Cajeta scene:

(Der Himmel verdunkelt sich.) (J.9, p.40).

From the thirteenth picture onwards, all scenes except for (15) end with the word "Dunkel". Since in the first part of the drama this was used on only one occasion, the afore-mentioned second Casilinum scene, it would not seem unrealistic to assume that its function in the latter part of the tragedy would be to underline the ever-darkening prospects for the Carthaginian general.

Our first consideration of directions for actors pertains to the use of requisites and costumes which may serve to illustrate a race or reinforce a certain situation. A traditional symbol of victory accompanies the messenger from Hannibal:

Ein Bote (durch die Menge, eine Siegespalme schwingend).  
(J. 1, p.14).

The participants in the wine festival are attired in gaudily-coloured costumes which accentuate the jovial mood of the first portion of the scene. A similar instance of colour symbolism occurs with the white cloths brought by the Carthaginian emissaries to the Roman camp as a sign of truce:

(Die beiden karthagischen Abgeordneten kommen schnell,  
weisse Tuecher in der erhobenen Hand.) (J.12, p.50).

The women sacrificing their children wear black as a sign of sorrow and mourning and the level to which the once great general

has sunk at the end of the tragedy, where he is forced to beg for refuge, is underlined by his appearance in the garb of a penitent:

Hannibal (vom Protovestiar begleitet, in buesserartigem Gewande, tritt ein...) (J.16, p.61).

The adaptor also adds to the finery called for by Grabbe as costuming at the burning of Carthage. The women are to be decked in white, the colour traditionally associated with brides and the celebration of weddings.

The second category of directions to actors is formed by instructions indicating movement and actions of different types. In the Numantia scene, the manner in which the Celtiberian soldiers enter functions as a visual introduction to their customs and military bearing which contrast so sharply with the Roman army:

(In eiligem Tritt -- durcheinander -- mit Gaensegeschrei und Gegacker nahen die K e l t i b e r i e r unter Fuehrung des Fuersten A l l o c h l i n. Sie schwingen die Keule in der einen und haben Mandolinen in der anderen Hand. Das Gegacker verwandelt sich angesichts der Scipionen in "Herr! Herr!"-Rufe.) (J.5, p.26).

Facial mimicry and gesture are also of importance. The messenger's news in the opening scene is given with tears of joy:

Ein Bote ... Bei Cannae Sieg! Unermesslicher Sieg!  
(Wiederholt vor Freude weinend.) (J.1, p.14).

The bowed heads at the start of the Senate scene emphasize the heavy, almost intolerable loss Rome has suffered in the disastrous battle:

Sitzung des Senats. Eine Versammlung gesenkter Haeupter, die sich mit dem ersten Worte heben. (J.3, p.18).

Thirdly, Jessner has frequently stated the mood or tone in which a speech is to be delivered. In the second picture, Gisgon pronounces some words:

(Fast schluchzend vor Erregung.) (J.2, p.15).

Later the jubilation of the victorious Carthaginians who have outmanoeuvred the troops of Fabius Maximus gains expression in laughter which in Grabbe's version is more fittingly limited to the general only:

(Dunkel. Sofort wieder hell. Laerm, der in ein grosses, wieherndes Lachen ausklingt: das ganze Heer ist in schallendes Gelaechter ausgebrochen. -- Auf der Anhoehe erscheint Hannibal in weitem Mantel. Um ihn herum die lachenden Soldaten. Er die anderen ueberlachend.) (J.8, p.37).

In the tenth picture, Jessner has employed stage directions indicating tone to create contrasts between characters at the second meeting of the rulers of Carthage:

(Gisgon und Hanno sprechen in Angst vor der Ankunft Hannibals, Melkir dagegen spricht zuversichtlich-haemisch.) (J.10, p.43).

Gisgon (durch die Oeffnung blickend, erregt). Seine Flotte ruehrt sich!  
 Melkir (ruhig). Nach Westen, genau wie wir vorgeschrieben.  
 Hanno (erregt). Wendet sie sich jetzt nicht oestlich?  
 Melkir (ruhig). Um den Ostwind zu gewinnen. Sie geht schon wieder nach West.  
 Gisgon (erregt). Und nun wieder nach Ost -- alle Blitze und ihre Zickzacke!  
 Melkir (ruhig). Sie laviert.  
 Gisgon (in Todesangst). Erhebt euch, Goetter der Unterwelt, und reisst diese L a v i e r e r in eure Tiefen! ... (J.10, p.45).

Many of the effects Jessner wishes to produce are strongly based on the use of contrasts. This is evident in the Roman Senate scene which he, in accordance with the dramatist's own intentions, endeavours to offset against the meeting of the Carthaginian rulers:

Rom. Kapitool.

(Diese Szene wird im Gegensatz zur vorigen frei und offen gespielt -- sowohl in Dekoration wie auch im Ausdruck.) (J.3, p. 18).

It also plays a striking role in the encounter between the two opposing generals in Jessner's (13):

Freie Ebene.

(Diese Szene ist stark auf Gegensatz zu spielen.  
Hannibal: ihm entringen sich die Urtoene eines  
verwundeten Loewen. Scipio: mit der Siegesgebaerde  
eines roemischen Elegants.) (J.13, p.52).

There remains to point out several apparent irregularities in both the stage directions and the text of Jessner's adaptation. In the Cajeta scene, a little while after Hannibal has been presented with his brother's head, and a vain effort has been made to revive the merry-making, reference is made to the fact that Hannibal wakes up, although no indication has been given either in the spoken word or in a stage direction that he has ever fallen asleep. A comparable situation arises in the tenth picture where one hears that Hanno enters. This presupposes that he has left the stage a moment before since he has already been present in the scene and involved in an active capacity. No mention of his departure has been given in the meantime.

It is clear that Jessner has succeeded in providing a usable adaptation whose great asset lies in its suitability for smaller stages. Contributing to this is his employment of simple and few props and unelaborate stage settings, as well as his acceptable limitation of scenes whose continuity he has attempted to preserve by deleting only those pictures which are not crucial to the main flow of events. In this regard, his version is much more balanced than that of Kilian. His reduction of the number of minor figures also lightens the burden of a theatrical company considerably. Much of his effect is gained from the heavy emphasis on music and colour to elucidate and reinforce actions and words. The adaptation whose introduction bears the date October 1925, was used for Jessner's own production that year even though it was not actually printed until 1926.

#### 4. Karl Heinz Martin's Adaptation of Hannibal

The penultimate adaptation of Hannibal was undertaken by Karl Heinz Martin and was printed in Berlin in about 1940<sup>48</sup>. It differs from those already examined in that it was not introduced by words of the adaptor himself, justifying any modifications or stating any particular aims, but it has in common with the versions of Kilian and Jessner the reduction of Grabbe's twenty-eight scenes to eighteen. These have been listed by Martin before the start of the action and like Jessner's scenes, they are not grouped into divisions or acts:

1. Bild Palast der Barkas
2. Bild Strasse
3. Bild Palast der Dreimaenner
4. Bild Senatssaal
5. Bild Vor Rom
6. Bild Ruinen Numantias
7. Bild Palast in Capua
8. Bild Unter einer Eiche
9. Bild Anhoehe und Pallisaden
10. Bild Weinberg bei Cajeta
11. Bild Hauptschiff Hannibals
12. Bild Palast der Dreimaenner
13. Bild Haus der Barkas
14. Bild Zelt der Scipionen
15. Bild Palast des Gisgon
16. Bild Haus der Barkas
17. Bild Palast des Prusias
18. Bild Palast des Prusias.

Martin foresaw that the three-hour drama would be broken by an interval after the eleventh picture. The titles the adaptor has placed over the scenes in the text itself often differ slightly in wording from the above list<sup>49</sup>. Many have been augmented by an indication of lighting. No fewer than fourteen are explicitly to take place at night and by implication a similar setting is required for the final scene. Only three pictures, (4), (10), and (14), occur in daylight. The predominance of darkness is meant to reflect the tragic fate of the hero in a symbolical fashion, and its effect on some parts of the action warrants its mention here rather than later in the discussion.

This is already discernible in the opening scene where, because of the darkness, the window is no longer applicable as a teichoscopic device and has been removed. The adaptor's tendency to delete aspects of colour symbolism is also evident here. Alitta's reference to Hannibal as the "Schwarzgelbe vor Rom" has been replaced by the less graphic:

Du sprichst von Hannibal Barkas Siegen? (M.1, p.6).

The same colours are omitted in Martin's (14), "Im Zelt der Scipionen bei Zama", where in the original a Celtiberian warrior has alluded to Carthage as a huge yellow toad with black spots. The colours in both instances are used in association with Carthage and form an internal symbolical link between the two scenes. Similarly Martin has dispensed with colour motifs contained in Turnu's report in (18) of the apocalyptic fire of Carthage<sup>50</sup>.

The form of the second scene diverges markedly from Grabbe's concept. Its new perspective is already hinted at in the first stage direction:

Karthago. Eine Strasse. Nacht.  
 Fern vom Markt her Laerm und Musik einer ankommenden  
 Karawane. (M.2, p.8).

Grabbe's corresponding scene is set in daylight on the bustling market place and attains its impact from the colourful glimpses it provides of a diversity of trading activities. Retaining components from Grabbe's scene, Martin has transferred the locality of (2) to a Carthaginian street at night, within hearing range of, but nevertheless removed from, the main hub of activity. Events from the market place reach the street second-hand through the report of an eye-witness who is returning home and chances to meet an acquaintance. He tells him of the arrival of ships from Italy, and the latter, surmising that they bring news of a further victory, voices his discontent at the economic loss the campaigns are causing. The conversation turns to the newly arrived Ethiopian caravan which they hold in higher esteem. Its contents are described by the eye-witness, thus eliminating the need to bring the caravan on to the stage in its entirety. The pair are then joined by a slave dealer whose attempts to pedal his wares are interrupted by a messenger with news of Hannibal's victory at Cannae. The half-hearted reaction of the few people on stage in Martin's rendition fails to convey the degree of the Carthaginian apathy towards the general, which, in Grabbe's drama, is a contributing factor to his downfall.

The Roman Senate scene contrasts with the three Carthaginian ones in its daylight setting, and demonstrates a reduction in the number of speaking roles<sup>51</sup>. Against historical authenticity, Scipio the Younger is made to pronounce Rome's planned offensive:

Scipio d.J.: (springt auf, verhalten)  
Karthago soll zugrunde gehen! (M. 4, p.18).

If Martin has intended to use darkness to mirror the demise of Hannibal, he has not been consistent about his use of light as a symbolical antithesis in the Roman scenes. In his sixth picture, where it may be contended that the dramatist himself has employed the image of the sun rising over the rubble of Numantia to underline Rome's upturn of fortune, the adaptor allows all the action to take place during the hours of darkness. He has also abbreviated by leaving out the Allochlin episode.

His choice to exclude "Strasse in Kapua" and "Kapua. Ein Zimmer im Schlosse des Despoten" and to retain the Casilinum scenes conforms to Jessner's version some fifteen years earlier. Grabbe's dramatization of the Punic general's encounter with Fabius Maximus extends over two scenes. The first concentrates on the preparations of the Carthaginians to escape from the valley, the second shows developments in the Roman camp before and during the African army's attack which ends in the flight of the Romans and Hannibal's emergence as victor. The Carthaginian action is woven around the Roman one to form a type of framework, and Martin disturbs this close cohesion by transferring the last utterance of the two scenes to the end of the first:

Hannibal: Hahaha! - Ich hoffe, doch noch dem Hasdrubal erzaehlen zu koennen, dass mir Rindvieh den Weg durch ein Diktatorheer oeffnete! (M. 8, p. 38).

A further rearrangement of material in the second of the aforementioned scenes has likewise exerted a detrimental effect upon the sense. In Grabbe's drama, Fabius orders the sacrifice of eight sheep before he knows what the exact movements of the Punic army will be. His aim is to placate the gods and so put the Roman

army in a more favourable position for whatever might eventuate. In the adaptation, Fabius offers the sacrifice only after he is cognizant of the Carthaginian advance. It becomes a last minute, meaningless effort to bring about a solution and could have been left out with no ill-effect to the work.

Grabbe's (11), "Weite schoene Flur bei Cajeta", and (14), "Eine Hoehe mit dichtem, dunklem Kastanienwald bei Kapua" comprise Martin's tenth picture which begins immediately with Hannibal's arrival on foot to the wine festival at Cajeta. In the preliminary conversation between the local people and the Atellanian players in the original, one hears that the presence of the Roman army on the surrounding hills poses no threat to the residents of the valley who are well used to it. Martin has altered the slant by placing the same words in the mouths of an old man and Hannibal:

Greis: Saht ihr nicht die Roemer auf den Bergen ziehen -  
wie die Wolken?

Hannibal: (hat sich auf einen Mauervorsprung gesetzt)  
Des Anblicks sind wir monatelang gewohnt: die Wolken  
regnen nicht, die kommen nie herunter! (M. 10, p.43).

In the adaptation it is Hannibal himself who is responsible for attracting the Romans to Cajeta and his confidence and assurance about their harmlessness soon prove ironically and tragically incorrect. The most striking addition to the scene is Turnu's stabbing of the Roman officer who delivers Hasdrubal's head. This resembles the solution Grabbe had in mind in the second version of his tragedy where the general himself retaliates by thrusting a sword into the Roman's chest. It was subsequently deleted from the final draft on the advice of Immermann<sup>52</sup>. The scene ends with the Italia monologue (Grabbe's (14) )<sup>53</sup>.

"Vor Kapuas Nordtor" and "Am Gestade" have been dispensed with. The

omission of the latter is of note in that the audience now receives a one-sided view of the Carthaginian general's return to his home town. He has reached a stage where he is left with no other option, but by sending messengers from the African city to request his assistance in fighting the battle of the African continent, Grabbe has also emphasized Carthage's ultimate, even though reluctant, recognition of its need of his military prowess. Each is dependent on the other.

The second half of the adaptation opens with the twelfth picture which brings the action to North Africa. The scene is a fusion of Grabbe's (17), "Karthago. Nachmittag. Gemach in Melkirs Palast", and elements of (18), "Der grosse Marktplatz in Karthago", (22), "Warte ueber einem Haupttor Karthagos", and (23), "In Karthago. Platz vor der riesigen erzenen Bildsaeule des Moloch". The events unfold in the palace of the three rulers of the city, not in the afternoon as was previously the case, but at night. It therefore seems incongruous that Martin has retained the window by means of which events outside the sphere of the room are described, especially in view of his treatment of it in the opening scene. The portion of Martin's twelfth scene corresponding to Grabbe's (17) contains no radical changes in structure although one small remark may be made about the content. The adaptor makes no mention of the fact that the wine offered by Melkir to his colleagues is laced with poison. Thus he distorts Grabbe's attempt to demonstrate the extent of the discord between the members of the Synedrion. In the remainder of the scene, Martin has been extremely free in his use of Grabbe's material. Before the triumvirate has time to escape, Turnu and Brasidas

burst in, announcing Hannibal's invitation to the citizens to defend their town and calling for the deliverance of the council for crucifixion:

Brasidas: (auf dem Tuertritt) Hannibal hat, - solange die roemischen Legionen herandreaeu, das Regiment Karthagos ergriffen! Jeden Buerger ladet er ein, das Vaterland zu verteidigen! - der Rat aber der Drei, der Hannibal ja immer das Erlesenste uebersandte, moege eintraechtiglich, wie stets, bestimmen, wer in der hoechsten Dreiheit der Wuerdigste sei, ihm ueberliefert zu werden! - Diesen will Hannibal dann, vor allem Volke, am Kreuz - erhoehen! (M.12, pp.53f.).

As in Grabbe's Moloch scene, which has inspired this utterance, Melkir is ultimately picked as the most suitable candidate for death and in the adaptor's (12) he is strangled by Turnu. He dies with words borrowed from Grabbe's (22), "Warte ueber einem Haupttor Karthagos", and amended somewhat:

Melkir:... Die Roemer koennten mir keinen groesseren Gefallen erzeigen, als mit ihrem Sieg! Dann ist Hannibals Name dahin! Und der alte Melkir hat auch alle ueberlistet! (M.12, p.55).

The role of the common people of Carthage is almost negligible in Martin's adaptation, and Moloch has been removed completely. This renders meaningless the adaptor's retention of the remarks made by the Celtiberian and Scipio the Younger in his fourteenth scene (an amalgamation of Grabbe's (20) and (21) ):

Keltiberier: Herr, was fuer schwarze Riesen ragen ueber all die Daecher und Tuerme Karthagos noch hinaus, - ihre Haende gen Himmel streckend, - dampfend, als boeten sie Brandopfer dar?  
 Scipio d.J.: Es sind die ehernen Bilder der Goetter, und wenn Gefahr droht, legen die Karthager in deren gluehende Haende ihre Kinder zum Opfer, Errettung flehend! (M.14, p.61).

The scope of the Zama scene has been extended to encompass not only Grabbe's (22) but also parts of (23) and (24). The world

historical battle is witnessed by an old slave and his teenage son from a window in Gisgon's palace, to which one Roman emissary then brings all of the Roman peace conditions. Because they are heard only by Gisgon and a few slaves, the crowd's sudden rallying to support their defeated city is not portrayed at all. The conflagration of Carthage follows directly after this scene<sup>54</sup>.

The Flamininus scene is joined to the first of the Prusias episodes.

Like his two immediate predecessors, Martin has reduced the demand on a theatre by dispensing with many occupants of minor parts such as Hanna, Allochlin, and the despot of Capua. He may even be reproached for having deleted too many. This applies particularly to his drastic cutting out of the crowd scenes which abound with such figures who impart a special historical atmosphere. Where lines delivered by less important figures could not logically be left out, they are taken over by more dominant characters. Thus in Martin's seventh picture, Turnu appears in lieu of the messenger from Hasdrubal and in the fourteenth, the Nubian and Brasidas are cast as the two Punic delegates to the Roman camp.

If the fewer actors required are on the credit side for medium-sized and smaller theatres, this advantage is somewhat diminished by the stage decoration which is to be realistic rather than symbolic and ranges from simple settings as in (1) and (3), to very detailed ones, some of which call for cumbersome props and the production of rather elaborate dramatic effects. The fifth picture is one such scene, the stage direction for which specifies war machinery and a series of special effects designed to simulate a battle:

Rom. Sturmmaschine und Pallisaden der Karthager vor der Stadt. Nacht. Riesiges, schweres Wurfgeschuetz, auf dessen Fussbalken Hannibal beobachtend steht. Unter den Befehlen Turnu's, eines nubischen Hauptmanns, ziehen punische Schleuderer das Geschuetz nieder und schiessen es ab. Turnu erklettert eine Pallisade, um die Wirkung zu ersehen. In diesem Augenblick trifft ein Gegenschuss der Roemer die Pallisaden und die Maschine, die zum Teil einstuerzen, waehrend ein Hagel von riesigen Steinen und Dreck sich ueber alle ergiesst, vor dem alle, ausser Hannibal, der sich nur schuetzelt, sich ducken. Turnu ist von den einstuerzenden Bohlen direkt vor Hannibals Fuesse geschleudert worden, der ihn hochreisst und ihm kurz befiehlt) (M.5, p.20).

A more moderate but unmistakable emphasis on army equipment is to be observed in his fourteenth picture, "Im Zelt der Scipionen bei Zama". In this respect Martin appears very much an adaptor of his era, for 1940 was marked by climaxes in the fortune of the German armies at the front and the activities of war were glamourized to the people at home.

Many of the new stage directions incorporated by Martin pertain to music and sound effects which have been added in some form or other to every scene of the adaptation. The opening three pictures provide a striking example of the manner in which Martin employs music to create internal connections. In (1), it brings the dimension of the outside world into the confines of Alitta's palace and at the same time points forward to action in (2):

(von fernher Musik: Kamelglocken, Floeten, Gesang) (M.1, p.6f.).

It sounds again at the close of the scene after the stage has been blacked out, as well as at the start of the next one, forming a bridge between the two:

Die Musik der heranziehenden Karawane rauscht auf.  
(M.1, p.7).

Fern vom Markt her Laerm und Musik einer ankommenden Karawane. (M.2, p.8).

Within (2), the approach of the caravan is indicated twice through the medium of music until the entrance of the slave dealer gives proof of its arrival. A comparable link by means of sound effects exists between (2) and (3). The messenger from Italy is announced by "eine grelle Fanfare" (M.2, p.10). This fanfare continues to sound at the end of (2) and beginning of (3), until it is silenced by the triumvirate:

Die Fanfaren der Laeufer toenen weiter. (M.2, p.11).  
 Die Fanfare bricht ab. Aufschrei des gefolterten  
 Boten in der Ferne. (M.3, p.12).

Music is employed in a symbolic capacity in the Cajeta scene after the tragic event:

(... Die Musik sinkt in Schwermut und verklingt.)  
 (M.10, p.44).

Jessner had used it here in a comparable manner.

At the opening of Martin's penultimate scene, it functions as a device to create a specific atmosphere and as a method of characterization. Martin seeks to project an image of Prusias as an aesthete whose interests centre exaggeratedly on cultural endeavours. In National Socialist thinking, the aesthete was considered the opposite of the heroic man of action, and the strains of music which are audible in Prusias' palace are the antithesis of Wagner's compositions:

... das Studio eines Aestheten, ueber dem eine tiefe  
 Stille liegt, umschwebt von fernen Klaengen einer  
 versponnenen, spielerischen Musik. (M.17, p.73).

This disapproval of the man of letters is typified also by Martin's portrayal of Terenz who provides an example of the way in which a producer is able to direct a spectator's interpretation of a figure by a specifically chosen attire:

Terenz: (ein fast narrenhafter Alter, gar nicht soldatisch, aber mit niederem Helm, zerfetztem Mantel, taucht spukhaft im Rahmen der Pforte auf, von Rauch umwirbelt) (M.6, p.25).

The impression given is one of a comic figure of limited intelligence, whereas Grabbe has visualized him as a cultured, sensitive commentator acting as a foil for the Scipio brothers.

The Roman armour worn beneath the coat of the disguised soldier on the peaceful plain of Cajeta serves to identify him as a servant of the enemy:

Turnu: (springt zu dem Krieger und reisst ihm den Mantel herunter, unter dem sein roemischer Harnisch sichtbar wird.) (M.10, p.44).

In the final picture, Hannibal appears "im dunkel-haerenen Hemd" (M.18, p.79). Similar clothing was used for him by Jessner, but in the first of the Prusias scenes.

Many new stage directions are concerned with movement and gesture. Those placed in association with Alitta in the first scene are not in accord with Grabbe's concept of her as a woman of extreme resoluteness and composure. Throughout the scene she acts with restlessness and agitation:

(Sie wandert unstedet umher) (M.1, p.5)  
(sinkt ausbrechend nieder) (M.1, p.6).

In the twelfth picture, movement demonstrates the relationship between people on stage and their changes of position:

(Hanno entflieht ihm. Turnu will nach, da reisst sich Melkir von Gisgon los, um ebenfalls zu entlaufen, wird jedoch von Turnu ergriffen.) (M.12, p.55).

The decision to go to battle at Zama is sealed by a handshake between Hannibal and the younger Scipio brother, an inappropriate

gesture of good will between two arch-enemies. Some references to tone are also unsuitable. Alitta's lack of tranquility is reinforced by incessant weeping which pervades the whole of the scene, while laughter from Turnu and Hannibal punctuates much of the action in the first of the Casilinum scenes<sup>55</sup>. The servants at the court of Prusias are permitted to conduct conversations only in a whisper.

Martin has recognized that the formidable length of Grabbe's drama provided one of the main obstacles to its production, but his attempt to rectify the situation has not always worked in the drama's favour. His version suffers because of a disregard of certain key themes. This discontent of the Carthaginian people with Hannibal's battles, Carthage's eventual need of his assistance, and the disharmony between the three rulers are not adequately exposed, and the crowd's sudden support for Gisgon after the Battle of Zama is not demonstrated at all. Repositioning and reworking of material has resulted in the destruction of some formal elements and in some incongruities in content. The undeniable advantage for smaller theatres stemming from the need for fewer actors is to some extent counteracted by the representational sets and at times ambitious stage effects. Martin's use of lighting may give rise to misunderstandings because the symbolical intention behind it is made questionable by inconsistent application. Finally, some inappropriate stage directions offer a threat to the dignity of Terenz, Alitta, and in one scene, Hannibal and Turnu. Although Martin's Hannibal adaptation is clearly not the most suitable, the theatres using such a tool are by no means bound to follow every detail; it is

meant as a guide and producers are at liberty to alter and avoid any obvious shortcomings. Like Kilian's adaptation, Martin's version was used for several productions, in Munich in 1940, Berlin in 1941 and Reval in 1943.

#### 5. Carl Max Haas' Adaptation of Hannibal

Carl Max Haas' association with Grabbe's Hannibal dated back to the Munich premiere in December 1918 on which he himself had worked. In 1940, while occupying the post of Senior Director of Drama at the Stadttheater in Wuerzburg, he worked out his own stage arrangement. His aim was to create an adaptation with a general validity. Haas held the opinion that those already in existence were too highly specialized, since most had been undertaken to fulfil the requirement of a particular theatre. He described his own attempt in the foreword:

Sie [die Arbeit] soll nichts anderes sein als eine Buehnengestaltung des Hannibal, ohne Hinzudichtung, ohne Eigenwilligkeiten des Gestalters, ohne willkuerliche Striche und ohne Effekthascherei. Sie soll m i t t l e r e n u n d k l e i n e r e n Buehnen die Moeglichkeit geben, die Tragoedie zu spielen. Sie soll aber vor allem die alte Maer von der Unauffuerbarkeit des Werkes<sup>56</sup> an mittleren Theatern ein fuer allemal beseitigen<sup>56</sup>.

An examination of Haas' scenes shows that he has adhered to the five divisions suggested to Grabbe by Immermann, even employing the same titles:

#### I. Teil: Hannibal ante portas!

1. Saal im Hause der Alitta
2. Platz in Karthago
3. In Hannos Palast

4. Rom. Kapitol

5. Vor Rom

II. Teil: Numantia und Capua.

6. Die Ruinen von Numantia

7. Capua, Hannibals Wohnung

III. Teil: Abschied von Italien

8. Tal bei Casilinum

9. Hoehe des noerdlichen Engpasses bei Casilinum

10. Weite schoene Flur bei Cajeta

11. Eine Hoehe mit dichtem, dunklem Kastanienwald bei Capua

12. Hinterdeck des karthagischen Hauptschiffes

IV. Teil: Gisgon

13. Gemach in Melkirs Palast

14. Halle im Palast des alten Barkas

15. In der Naehe des Staedtchens Zama

16. Warte

17. Platz vor der riesigen erzernen Bildsaeule des Moloch

18. Halle bei Gisgon

V. Teil: Koenig Prusias

19. Thronsaal im Palast des Koenig Prusias

20. Karthago Halle im Palast des Barkas

21. Thronsaal im Palast des Koenig Prusias

22. Villa vor Bithyniens Hauptstadt

His enumeration of the scenes reveals that they have been condensed to twenty-two. Four have been deleted completely: the two despot scenes, "Vor Kapuas Nordtor", and "Am Gestade"<sup>57</sup>. This perhaps constitutes the most radical departure from the original to be found in the text, for Haas has stated that he wished to respect Grabbe's word and keep his version in line with the spirit of the drama. He believed that the greatest hindrance to the production of Hannibal by smaller theatres resided in technical features, especially the abundance of characters. He places paramount importance on their reduction in number, listing only thirty-five with speaking roles. This, not surprisingly, underlines some of his most pronounced alterations in the action.

Hanna has been removed as a comforter and companion of the Carthaginian maiden at the end of the opening scene, and the second totally reworked so that fewer actors are called for. Its reshaping has made it strikingly similar to Martin's in its sequence of events, although not identical as far as smaller details are concerned. The venue is a square to which a citizen comes with information about ships from Italy. A compatriot reacts with a tirade about the disadvantages of the military campaigns, before attention is diverted to the caravan whose sheik describes its contents and presents slaves for sale. (In Grabbe's text, this constituted an independent aspect of trade on the Carthaginian market place and was carried out by two figures.) His transaction with the two citizens is interrupted by the messenger from Cannae whose words are promptly dismissed with derisive comments:

2. Buerger: Hyaenen schreien nicht so vor Hunger,  
wie der. (H.2, p.18).

Aspects of Haas' (4) and (6) also suggest the application of principles perceptible in Martin's corresponding scenes. In (4), Haas has diverted lines from the praetor, senators, aedile, and lictor to the first and second consuls and the Allochlin episode has been deleted from both his "Die Ruinen Numantias" (6) and "In der Naehede des Staedtdchens Zamas"(15). Terenz, too, is not incorporated in the latter and several of his most pertinent remarks have been removed from the Numantia scene, most notably those criticising the immoral military conduct of the Roman army and drawing attention to Terenz' role as a literary man:

TERENZ in sich Die Geisselei mit Bleiknoepfen:  
S i t t e ! Goetter, was mag in Rom Unsitte sein?  
(WuB, III, 105)

TERENZ der, seitwaerts stehend, aufmerksam zugehoert  
kat, fuer sich V e r brauchen! Das arme Gesindel fuellt  
bald die Graeben mit seinen Leibern und die Roemer  
g e brauchen es dann zur Bruecke! (WuB, III, 106)

TERENZ betruebt, fuer sich Lustspiele, jahrelang  
bedacht, bearbeitet, bei Tag und Nacht -- Possen!  
Das der Lohn! (WuB, III, 106).

Such adverse comments regarding unacceptable practices in the theatre of war would have been incompatible with the image of frontline battle being propagated amongst the German people at home. A small aspect of congruity with the adaptation of Haas' immediate predecessor appears in the Casilinum scenes where Hannibal's closing words are moved from their rightful place to the end of the first of the pair of pictures.

Amongst the adaptors, Haas is unique in devoting a separate scene to Hannibal's Italia monologue. Recognizing that it forms one of the climaxes of the drama, he has taken his predecessors to task for combining it with the Cajeta scene or the action on Hannibal's

ship, since this weakens its impact<sup>58</sup>. The sailors' words, audible towards the end of Grabbe's corresponding picture, are now uttered by Brasidas and have been placed in the form of a bracket around the monologue. It still retains its quality of a personal confession by virtue of the fact that Brasidas departs from the stage before, and returns just after, it has been spoken<sup>59</sup>. If Haas has dismissed the incorporation of the afore-mentioned scene into another as harmful to the overall effect of the drama, he has felt justified in uniting scenes on two occasions in the fourth division in order to make the tragedy more concise. His thirteenth picture resembles Jessner's (10) in being composed of Grabbe's "Karthago. Nachmittag. Gemach in Melkirs Palast" and "Der Grosse Marktplatz in Karthago". Both of these adaptors abbreviate only the second of these two scenes, focussing on the plea for assistance made on behalf of the Punic general<sup>60</sup>. Haas' drawing together of the two scenes in the Roman camp (Grabbe's (20) and (21) ) conforms with the treatment of them in each of the versions except Jessner's<sup>61</sup>.

The remainder of Haas' Hannibal is distinctive because of its lack of alterations. This applies in particular to the final group of scenes. The adaptor emphasizes the importance of portraying King Prusias as a human being and not as an operetta king, and of keeping the Flamininus episode separate after the final Carthaginian scene. He views its addition to the first Prusias scene which was a feature of the four adaptations already discussed, as distorting the concept of time and being contrary to the sense. One minor deviation from the original in the closing scene is the dropping of a small amount of imagery from

Turnu's description of burning Carthage:

Bald wogten die Flammen hin und her, als waere aus  
 allen Loewen Afrikas Einer geworden, und spiegelte  
 er sich mit seinen Maehnen im Meer! (WuB, III, 151)<sup>62</sup>.

Haas' stage directions evince a lack of embellishment comparable to his treatment of the contents of the tragedy, with modifications of a minor nature only. At the beginning of every scene, he has provided assistance to possible producers by listing the holders of speaking or more important roles in the order that they will be appearing in the action. This may be demonstrated by a glance at the directions in Grabbe's and Haas' *Cajeta* pictures:

Winzer und Winzerinnen bei der Weinlese (WuB, III, 116)

Winzer und Winzerinnen bei der Weinlese, Greis, dann  
 Brasidas, Hannibal, Turnu, ein verkleideter Roemer.  
 (H. 10, p.47).

His instructions for stage decoration on the whole adhere to Grabbe's, although on a few occasions a simplification of decoration seems to be intended. In the third scene, he ignores the props Grabbe stipulates, mentioning only the general location of the action:

Karthago. Abend  
 Kabinett in Hannos Palast  
 Brennende Kerzen auf einem kleinen runden Tische,  
 um welchen Hanno, Melkir und Gisgon sitzen (WuB, III, 94)

Karthago. Abend.  
 Kabinett in Hannos Palast.  
 Hanno, Melkir und Gisgon (H.3, p.19).

No elaborate setting is given for the first of the *Casilinum* scenes either. This is in keeping with Haas' intention to create a more generally applicable adaptation, but he has also indicated in the foreword an abhorrence of bringing the drama into the realm of the opera. He felt that the extravagant number of

supernumeraries in the original, especially in the mass scenes, threatened to turn the tragedy into a pageant in the order of the triumphal procession in Aida. His aim was to produce drama in a pure form<sup>63</sup>. With his reference to the place of music in a presentation, he gives more than tacit disapproval of Jessner and especially Martin who used it liberally as a bridge between scenes. Haas calls for "Buehnenmusik mit Mass! Man verschoenere damit nicht aus Verlegenheit die Umbaupausen. Harfenglissando oder Zwischenspiel nach Tonfilmart gehoeren nicht zu Grabbe<sup>64</sup>.

In the category of directions for actors, a few have been added, primarily where the adaptor has reworked the text. He has dispensed with some entrance and exit lines present in the original. The Prusias scene now commences with the king already seated on his throne. Exit lines at the end of Grabbe's (4), (6), (7), (14), and (21) (Haas' (4), (6), (7), (11), and (15) ) have also been removed. Grabbe's (6) and (14) call for the movement of a whole army and a departure on horseback respectively and it is conceivable that Haas saw fit to leave them out to avoid possible technical difficulties.

Haas had the unusual opportunity of being able to familiarize himself with other Hannibal adaptations before embarking on his own. His impression of these, combined with his own long and close association with the drama induced him to pursue a different course and bring out a less specialized text whose merits would lie in its suitability for smaller stages. While seeming at times to adopt some solutions of his predecessors, he has shown a much greater respect for the original work and discernment in his treatment of certain features, especially the Italia monologue and the structural arrangement of the closing scenes.

To the advantage of the adaptation is his condemnation of an immoderate addition of musical effects and his urge for care in the portrayal of figures such as Prusias. His lack of specification of stage settings leaves individual producers at liberty to decorate in accordance with their particular circumstances and conception of the drama. Haas' Hannibal adaptation was staged in Wuerzburg in November 1940.

6. Bertolt Brecht's Adaptation of Hannibal

The last adaptation of Grabbe's Punic drama to be considered in this context is Brecht's Hannibal fragment<sup>65</sup>. In 1918 and 1919, the young writer was residing in Augsburg and Munich and was an avid frequenter of the Munich theatres. At the end of 1918 and well into 1919, the first production of Hannibal, brought on to the stage by Albert Steinrueck, was appearing at the Nationaltheater in the Bavarian capital. Brecht's friend, Hans Otto Muensterer, testifies that the young dramatist not only attended one of the performances but was inspired with the thought of creating his own adaptation<sup>66</sup>. The opportunity arose in the second half of 1922 when he was commissioned by the famous Deutsches Theater, Berlin, to prepare the tragedy for a planned performance in the Grosses Schauspielhaus<sup>67</sup>. From the outset, Brecht worked with a specific theatre in mind, and one of his jottings pertaining to his adaptation indicates that he had even considered which of the acting personnel of the Reinhardt Theatres might be suitable for the leading roles. He foresaw Kortner as Hannibal, Kloepfer as Fabius, Granach as Maharbal, Guelstorff as Kaleb, Jannings as Mattan, and Muther as Han, the main female figure in his version<sup>68</sup>. This list of figures divulges important information about Brecht's adaptation. Apart from Hannibal, none of the other characters has a counterpart in the earlier drama, suggesting that the Augsburg dramatist may have veered away from an adaptation in the strict sense of the word and relied on Grabbe's Hannibal more as a basis from which to fashion a new conception that was entirely his own<sup>69</sup>.

In an attempt to establish the relationship of Brecht's adaptation to Grabbe's original, I shall examine the plan of the drama found

amongst the papers about Brecht's project<sup>70</sup>. This will give an impression of the shape of the adaptation and possibly the direction in which the adaptor intended to proceed. Following this, an investigation will be made of any existing scenes with apparent correspondence with Grabbe's pictures:

### H A N N I B A L

#### 1

- |                      |        |                                      |
|----------------------|--------|--------------------------------------|
| 1) Italien in Sicht  |        | (ALPENPLATEAU. ES IST HERBST)        |
| 2) Karthago rechnet  |        | (SYNEDRION IN KARTHAGO)              |
| 3) Zug durch Italien |        | (IN DEN ARNOSUEMPFEN. ES IST SOMMER) |
| 4) Rom kaempft       | Fabius | (CAPITOL)                            |
| 5) Hannibal vor Rom  |        | (EBENE VOR ROM. HERBST)              |

#### 2

- |                           |  |                                |
|---------------------------|--|--------------------------------|
| 1) Fabius, der Zeit hat   |  |                                |
| 2) Hannibal vor Casilinum |  | (TAL BEI CASILINUM. FRUEHJAHR) |
| 3) Fabius rechnet         |  |                                |
| 4) Der Markt von Karthago |  |                                |

#### 3

- |                               |        |  |
|-------------------------------|--------|--|
| 1) Hamilcars Kopf in Ligurien |        |  |
| 2) Der Neger denkt nach       |        |  |
|                               | Fabius |  |
| 3) Abschied von Italien       |        |  |

#### 4

- |                           |  |  |
|---------------------------|--|--|
| 1) Der Markt von Karthago |  |  |
| 2) In der Ebene von Zama  |  |  |
| 3) Die Schlacht           |  |  |

## 5

- 1) Kaempfe in Kleinasien
- 2) Die Prusiasposse
- 3) Hannibals Tod (TURM)

(Brecht und Grabbe, p.32)

The titles in brackets on the right have been inserted by me and are the headings which appear above those few scenes Brecht actually completed. He reduced Grabbe's twenty-eight scenes to eighteen, a number which Kilian had already considered satisfactory and Jessner and Martin afterwards also found adequate for the stage<sup>71</sup>. Of these scenes, a proportion demonstrates a definite likeness with pictures in the original. Brecht's I,2, I,4, and I,5 resemble Grabbe's (3), (4), and (5) respectively. Act two, scene two appears to have its equivalent in (9); II,4 in (2); III,1 in (11); IV,1, IV,2, and IV,3 in (18), (20/21), and (22); and V,2 and V,3 in (25/27) and (28). Brecht's III,3, "Abschied von Italien", has been given the title of the earlier writer's third division. It may be noted that Brecht made provision for the two market scenes in his plan. He admired the opening scene of Napoleon oder die hundert Tage because of the different factions on the Paris market place and the abundant and colourful figures<sup>72</sup>. This probably also applied to the scenes of commerce in Hannibal which share the same features. Present in the Augsburg dramatist's list of scenes are also some which appear to have little or no correspondence with Grabbe's drama. These are Brecht's I,1, I,3, II,1, II,3, III,2, and V,1.

The comparison of the scenes of the two dramas reveals little on its own but the placement of the various scenes within the framework

of the whole work is all-important. The special composition of the Detmolder's expository group of pictures has already been discussed with regard to Spielmann's adaptation<sup>73</sup>. Of the five scenes, the first three, taking place on the same day in Carthage, throw light on aspects of the people on whose behalf Hannibal is fighting in Italy. This hints at the importance of the role of Carthage within Grabbe's tragedy. The remaining two pictures occur in, and near, Rome on a later day, and it is only in the last of these that the climax of the division is reached with the introduction of the Punic general. Brecht's expository part also consists of five scenes. However, no fewer than three concentrate on the military progress of the title hero whom we meet at the very beginning of the drama as he encourages his generals and soldiers to advance into Italy. Of the remaining two, one (I,2) is devoted to the Synedrion, the seat of Carthaginian politics, and the other (I,4) to the Roman Senate. Now both are conceived of as senate scenes which are so arranged that they balance each other and alternate with the military ones. The structure reflects the drawn-out procedure of the march of Hannibal and his soldiers from Upper Italy to Rome, with a lengthy gap in time separating the events in I,1, I,3, and I,5. Thus Brecht aimed at giving the drama a more pronounced epic structure and at focussing far more on Hannibal and his officers and privates than on his compatriots in Carthage. The shift of emphasis in the opening part away from political factions in the North African city becomes valid for the whole of Brecht's plan, because he apparently had in mind no more scenes involving the Synedrion or the Barkas family. Beside the title of the Roman scene (I,4), Brecht has written the name of a new antagonist, Fabius, whose indecision and ineptitude act as a foil for the Punic general's tactical

expertise in Grabbe's drama where his role is a minor one. "Fabius" appears in the titles of the first and third scenes of the second act and his name is mentioned yet again beside the adaptor's third act. This demonstrates his significance in the adaptation, and the wording of the headings indicates that Brecht endowed him with the characteristic of his historical counterpart which earned him the name "Cunctator".

As in the original, the Carthaginians move south where they encounter Roman opposition. (The Roman attack on Numantia has no place in the new concept of the work.) The action then follows Grabbe's basic direction until V,1 where Brecht wished to concentrate on Hannibal's military involvement in Asia Minor as a mercenary in the service of foreign countries before his encounter with Prusias and his suicide. The absence at the end of the drama of any Carthaginian episodes confirms the different slant Brecht aimed at presenting in his adaptation. It amounts to a sequence of stations of Hannibal's military career from the time of his conquest of the Alps and his victories in Italy until his death, and this seems to conform with one of Brecht's notes alluding to the activities of the protagonist:

Er fing an, fuer einen Staat zu kaempfen, dessen fuehrender Rasse er wahrscheinlich nicht einmal angehoerte (denn ich glaube, er war von der Urbevoelkerung: ein Neger), verbiss sich in seinen Gegner und hoerte auf als Privatsoldat.  
(Brecht und Grabbe, p.28)

The political complexion of this city for which Hannibal wages war at the beginning of the action is presented by Brecht in "SYNEDRION IN KARTHAGO". Both the latter and its counterpart in Grabbe's work ("Karthago. Abend. Kabinett in Hannos Palast") centre on deliberations of the rulers of Carthage about the future of the armies in Italy

and the supply of provisions. In the Detmolder's picture, the discussion is conducted in camera between Melkir, Hanno, and Gisgon who devise a plan to bring harm to Hannibal and the Barkas family and to enhance their own reputation at the same time. In Brecht's scene, the debate is carried out in a public setting and is constantly punctuated by the reactions of the anonymous participants and onlookers. In the adaptation, Melkir, Hanno, and Gisgon retain their preoccupation with money and the economy, ignoring the positive aspects of Hannibal's campaigns and viewing him as a squanderer of their revenue<sup>74</sup>. They have, however, been given a counterforce in the figure of Barkas who is no longer conceived of as a member of Hannibal's family but nevertheless speaks up in his favour and sees the exploits and plight of the Carthaginian armies in human terms. Ultimately the decision is made to supply the Punic general with provisions but the mere fact that they are selected by the anti-Hannibal faction leaves little doubt that they will be mediocre. Even in the adapted version, Hannibal becomes the victim of a "stab-in-the-back" conflict instigated by the governing men of Carthage. Grabbe's influence is evident in Brecht's scene in the form of a few textual similarities:

HANNO... Die Barkas, Gisgon, haben maechtige Gruben in Spanien --  
(WuB, III,95)

ZWEITE STIMME Und die Weizenkammern in Hispanien sind entbloesst.  
GISGON Die Zinngruben! (GW, 7,2878)

MELKIR nach einiger Ueberlegung... Ich aber will die Truppen  
auswaehlen. (WuB, III, 95)

HANNO Ich selbst werde Hannibal die Soldaten aussuchen.  
(GW, 7, 2879).

The second of Brecht's two political scenes is "CAPITOL" and corresponds to Grabbe's "Rom. Kapitol". The Detmold dramatist depicts the Roman

Senate as a highly disciplined and cohesive body of men who place their duties to the state above personal feelings and demand the same of their citizens. Their discussions concerning the future of Rome and the eradication of their Punic enemy are marked with resoluteness and total confidence and the two Scipio brothers are elected unanimously to lead the Roman army against Carthage's Spanish provinces. Brecht's "CAPITOL" is a condensed and concentrated adaptation of Grabbe's (4). The tough, united Rome is not so much in evidence, but a somewhat more humane face presents itself in the course of I,4. Brecht's rendition of Cato's "Karthago soll zu Grunde gehen", for example, loses its crisp peremptoriness and the adaptor has endeavoured to capture the spirit of the quote rather than the tone:

cato kartago muss dem erdboden gleich gemacht werden fabius  
(BBA, Folder 520/24).

Rome is now more hesitant about the possibility of victory over the enemy. Contributing most to the changed image of the Senate is Hannibal's new antagonist, Fabius, who replaces the Scipio brothers of the original. (Initially it may have been Brecht's intention to include them. The word "die scipionen" has been entered in his short list of characters before the scene and then deleted.) From the time of Fabius' arrival, he appears as a delayer and deliberator who is singled out from the Senate and given prominence. At the end of the scene, the immediate course of Rome's action is decided upon in private. Fabius withdraws from the Senate to the walls of Rome with his secretary. In total contrast to the Scipio brothers, who are men of action, the new antagonist, called "das Mammut" by his compatriots, opts to treat Hannibal's threat to Rome in a passive way. He simply bides his time, while placing legions in strategic

positions in the city in case protection should ever be required. Apparently Brecht was not entirely satisfied with the scene in the present form, as may be gathered by the remark, "holz!", he wrote by hand on top of the typescript. Despite the obvious differences between Brecht's and Grabbe's Senate scenes, the latter's influence is immediately recognizable in several passages which have either been taken over almost literally or with slight alterations by the modern dramatist. Outstanding examples are:

ERSTER KONSUL Wisst ihr es?

PRAETOR ruhig und fest Ja.

ZWEITER KONSUL Demnach zur Tagesordnung.

EIN SENATOR Hier ein Gesetzesvorschlag, nach welchem der Vormund dem Senat jaehrlich Rechnung ueber seines Muendels Vermoegen abzulegen hat. (WuB, III, 96)

consul sind die tueren zu

stimme zu

consul dann zur tagesordnung

senator hier ein gesetzesvorschlag nach welchem der vormund jaehrlich rechnung ueber das geld seines muendels ab zu legen hat (BBA, Folder 520/24)

KATO ZENSOR Da haltt was Schlimmeres: auf den Gassen die Weiberstimmen!

EIN KURULISCHER AEDIL Lass sie! Es fielen bei Kannae sechzigtausend ihrer Soehne.

KATO ZENSOR "Lass sie!" Die Weiber rasen lassen? Das hoer ich vom kurulschen Sitz? Fielen sechzigtausend ihrer Soehne, so moegen sie sorgen, sechzigtausend ehelich dafuer wieder zu gebaeren. Ehen und Kinder daraus werden ohnehin selten.

AEDIL Das Unglueck darf Nachsicht fodern.

KATO ZENSOR Nicht, wenn es heult!

Abermals Weibergeschrei von draussen

Hoert, nochmals Gequicke von "Kannae und Rache!" Elendes Ende, braune Bastardenkel, schloesse Niederlage der Weiber unsre Annalen! Dahin mit ihnen, wo sie sein sollen, nach Haus! Und jedes, das nicht binnen einer Stunde an seiner Spindel sitzt, verhafte ich, der Zensor, und lasse ihm Scham eingeweissen, blutrote, wenn im Gesicht nicht, doch -- Und seinem Mann nehme ich das Buergerrecht. (WuB, III, 97)

cato was ist das fuer hyaenengeheul in den gassen  
consul die weiber

senator cannae und rache! 50000 muetter  
 sie sollen in die haeuser jede die nicht binnen einer  
 stunde an ihrer spindel sitzt verhafte ich/ ich lasse  
 ihr scham eingeisseln blutrote wenn im gesicht nicht  
 doch im hinterteil / bis fabius kommt ein antrag gegen  
 die unsittlichkeit der schaubuden. (BBA, Folder 520/24).

The expositional parts of both dramas end with Hannibal's armies before the gates of their enemy. In Grabbe's picture "Vor Rom", our attention is drawn immediately to the main figure in the scene, the Punier himself, who orders his troops to pitch camp after their failure to take Rome by storm. Their lack of success is directly and solely attributable to the Synedrion's campaign of withholding suitable reinforcements. Letters brought from Barkas and the triumvirate by messenger confirm to Hannibal the continuing acts of conspiracy and the niggardliness of Carthage which we have already witnessed in scene (3). Aware of the disastrous consequences Carthage's attitude will have for him, Hannibal obtains poison from his confidant, Turnu, and gives a command for the withdrawal of his army to Capua. Grabbe's hero is depicted as a solitary character who holds himself aloof from his soldiers, communicating mainly with Turnu who has no place in the adaptation. The stage direction at the opening of Brecht's "EBENE VOR ROM" shows that the adaptor did not wish to project such an image of the Punier in his version:

biwak mago und mattan seitwaeets [sic] kaleb soldaten  
 machen ein Zelt (BBA, Folder 520/28).

Reference is to officers and ordinary soldiers, and Brecht's Hannibal is seen in close association with them. From a discussion between Mattan, Mago, and Kaleb, it becomes clear that their commanding officer

has not even attempted to attack Rome although the African army has already been stationed in its vicinity for four days.

Brecht has closely followed the wording and motifs of his model with his inclusion of the letter-bearing messenger who brings news from the Synedrion on the one hand and the protagonist's brother, Hasdrubal, on the other. However, the contents of only one letter can be revealed, since Brecht's protagonist, an illiterate negro, can find no-one capable of explaining the second. In this way, Carthage's poor provisions are mentioned but not given the emphasis they receive in Grabbe's corresponding scene. This is in keeping with the adaptor's new concept. He does not hold Carthage responsible for Hannibal's failure to conquer Rome. Instead, Brecht attributes Hannibal's decision to move to Capua at the end of the scene to the latter's feeling for the living and has given expression to this in one of his notes:

Er hat Angst:

- Marschieren wir! Wollt ihr naechstes Jahr nichts zu tun haben?  
und irgendwo glaubt er nicht an Karthago und wagt nicht, das Lebendige zu zerstoeren.

(Brecht und Grabbe, p.31).

Significant portions of Brecht's text in I,5 are to be found in the parallel scene in the original. These include Hannibal's conversation with the messenger which the adaptor has rendered in condensed form, and also the remarks pertaining to the city of Capua:

HANNIBAL nachdem er ihn eine Zeitlang betrachtet hat Du bist ein doppelter Kerl!

BOTE bestuerzt, besieht sich Herr, ich wuesste nicht -- doppelte Gliedmassen? Nein -- er sagts aber -- Baal, waere was dran?

HANNIBAL Es ist. Du bringst zugleich Nachrichten vom Barkas und dem ihm feindlichen Synedrion.

BOTE S o meint Ihrs? Ach, Herr, ich habe neun arme Wuermer, (Kinder wollt ich sagen) und da ich sie ernaehren muss --

HANNIBAL Wirst Du ein Schurk?

BOTE Ich nahm also, da ich von Eurem Grossvater und vom Synedrion

jederseits insbesondere bezahlt ward, beider Auftraege insbesondere an.

HANNIBAL Freund --

BOTE -- Freund! Der gnaedige Herr! Das sagt kaum unser Profoss, haelt man ihm auch noch so willig den Buckel hin.

HANNIBAL Beruehre, wenn er es erlaubt, mit Deiner rechten Hand, die ich Dir druecke, in meinem Namen Grossvaters Fuesse --

BOTE Herr, ich kuesse die Fuesse!

HANNIBAL Nein, sie werden leicht schmutzig. -- Und sag ihm, auf der weiten Erde waere mir das Kostbarste ein Gruss von ihm, und einer an ihn. (WuB, III, 101)

hannibal ... (nachdem er in [sic] eine zeitlang betrachtet hat) du bist ein doppelter kerl

bote herr ich habe 9 arme wuermer

hannibal ja ihr seid viele in kartago das setze ich auch in rechnung fechte der satan wo kaufleute rechnen! gruesse mir meinen bruder wenn du hin kommst

bote ich kuesse ihm die fuesse

hannibal nein die werden leicht schmutzig und sag ihm auf der weiten erde waere mir das kostbarste ein gruss von ihm und einer an ihn (BBA, Folder 520/28)

HANNIBAL ... Er zu Turnu

Und fragen Dich Deine Landsleute, warum wir aufbrechen, so sag ihnen, weil der Winter nah sei, und es in Kapua sich waermer lagre.

TURNU Ich verstehe!

HANNIBAL Der versteht mehr, als ich. (WuB, III, 102)

hannibal dort [Kapua] ist es gut fuer uns dort ist es warm im winter dort gibt es essen dort sind huetten zum schlafen genug

mago und wenn das heer fragt warum

hannibal so sag weil es winter wird

bote ich verstehe

hannibal der versteht mehr als ich (BBA, Folder 520/30)

The scene also provides an example of Brecht's tendency to insert snippets of dialogue from entirely unrelated Grabbe scenes. These give a montage effect and often attain a different meaning in their new context. From Grabbe's (1), he takes the parallel metaphors of Alitta's



approaches him. Conspicuous by its absence is the pertinent social criticism contained in Grabbe's (7), where the hero verbally attacks the rulers of his city and its people for the decrepit state of the provisions. Brecht's title figure comments only with brevity upon them. In the remainder of the episode, the Augsburg writer's adherence to his model is remarkable. His Hannibal reacts in an almost identical manner to Grabbe's at the news of his brother's march over the Alps despite the fact that Brecht has reduced the length of the original passage. He also shortens the oxen ruse episode, that part of his scene corresponding to Grabbe's (9). In both the original and adapted versions the success of the manoeuvre is dependent upon the onset of darkness:

HANNIBAL Wieviel Ochsen sind noch im Proviantzug?  
 TURNU Viertausend.  
 HANNIBAL Lass Reisig, Fallholz aufsuchen, es verpechen und dem Vieh an die Hoerner binden.  
 TURNU Ich eile! Ab  
 HANNIBAL Geh, Brasidas, gib dem Heere Trank und Speise, tue heiter.

Brasidas ab

-- Wenn die List huelfe! -- Horch, da rufen sich die roemischen Nachtwachen an, und man erfahrt, wo sie stehen. Ei, sind sie noch so unvorsichtig, zwing ich sie auch mit Ochsen.

TURNU kommt zurueck Die Ochsen sind ausstaffiert! Nun den Reisig angezundet, und mit ihnen auf die Roemer!

HANNIBAL Woher weisst Du, dass sie dahin sollen?

TURNU .. Was denn andres?

HANNIBAL Unternimmst Du, sie auf jenen noerdlichen Engpass, durch den wir vorwaerts muessen, treiben zu lassen?

TURNU Fuer alles schon gesorgt, und die Treiber stehn bereit, trockne Schwaemme in der Hand, die sie dem Vieh brennend in den Hintern stecken sollen, nachdem vorn die Reisigbuendel angezundet sind. Brennt nun der Ochs zuerst an den Hoernern, und dann hinten, so verliert er die Vernunft, und stuermt vorwaerts, seinem Hintern zu entwischen!

HANNIBAL Entstellt den Tieren Gesicht und Gestalt, macht sie tollten Soldatentrupps aehnlich, bindet Schilde vor ihre Koepfe, Lanzen an ihre Seiten, und habt Acht, sobald ich befehle, mit grossem Geschrei, Posaunen, Zimbeln, sie auf den Feind zu jagen; das Heer folgt ihnen in gedraengter Ordnung. (WuB, III, 113f.)

hannibal es haeuft sich es wird besser wieviel ochsen im  
 proviantzug  
 mago 4000  
 hannibal her mit dem vieh reisig und knieholz verpecht und  
 an die hoerner  
 mago geschieht  
 soldaten eine falle  
 hannibal mit frischem fleisch jungens  
 soldaten geht es zu ende  
 hannibal nicht vor der mond drunten ist  
 soldat anbinden  
 mago die ochsen bruellen  
 hannibal ein heller mond  
 ...  
 den treibern trockene schwaemme in die hand den ochsen  
 in die hintern angezundet und durch den noerdlichen  
 pass getrieben  
 mago ochsen fliehend vor ihren hintern und kartago ist  
 gerettet  
 hannibal pfeifen trommeln musik sie wollen musik haben  
 mago kommst du mit  
 hai wenn du mich traegst  
 hannibal vorwaerts (BBA, Folder 520/32)

All that exists of Brecht's final group of scenes is "TURM" which has  
 its equivalent in Grabbe's (28), "Villa vor Bithyniens Hauptstadt".  
 Of all the corresponding scenes so far discussed, the closing ones  
 contain the least number of comparable points, and these may be quickly  
 listed. Common to both dramas is the fact that Hannibal perceives the  
 approach of his murderers, in the original by means of visual observation  
 since the Punier and Turnu witness the approach of Flamininus from the  
 window, in the adaptation through the faculty of hearing as it is dark.  
 In each scene, Hannibal wishes to deny the Romans the triumph of  
 disposing of him and uses a phial of poison to kill himself. Here  
 the similarities end, and there are no passages resembling each other  
 in diction.

In Grabbe's (28), the protagonist is a guest in a villa at the court  
 of King Prusias. He is free to receive visitors, and his confidant,  
 Turnu, brings him word of Carthage's heroic struggle and ultimate  
 self-destruction. The important role the African city plays throughout

Grabbe's tragedy has already been alluded to. The final group of scenes and the last scene in particular show the extent to which Grabbe saw the fates of Hannibal and Carthage as being dependent on each other. Hannibal's suicide in effect parallels Carthage's own defiance of the hated Roman enemy and the dual catastrophe lends an heroic and triumphant touch to the tragedy.

Brecht's Hannibal, on the other hand, is a prisoner confined to a tower and is forced to rely on those guarding him for his daily ration of rice which he is not given on the evening of his death. His solitude is intensified by the atmosphere with which the scene is pervaded, as it is set at night and Hannibal discovers that even the friendly light of the moon is blotted out because of the rain. This contrasts sharply with the bright colours and lively activity which come out in Turnu's report of the fire of Carthage and give a sense of moral strength to Grabbe's Hannibal. The scenes diverge markedly in the respective dramatists' treatment of their protagonist's death. Grabbe's title hero, in the company of his friend, Turnu, greets death as a black pilot after he has drunk his poison in the manner of a toast to his Roman persecutors. Brecht's Hannibal shows an all too human reaction. His hands tremble before he consumes the deadly liquid and, as the poison takes effect, his only comfort comes to him in the form of a vision of his war-elephant, Moti. He does not look beyond life and hail the unknown to come and take him. In 1926, the Augsburg dramatist in an essay entitled "Weniger Gips!!!" provided what may be understood as an explanation of the recasting of the final scene<sup>75</sup>. The essay was an attack on the monumental drama and theatre, characterized by hero worship, huge stage props, and loud

acoustical elements, which were then in vogue and were lapped up by the audience, merely ensuring a continuation of a tradition which had become harmless and ineffectual. Brecht sees the final scene of Grabbe's Hannibal as an example of just such monumentality. To salute death as the Punier does is simply harmless at a time when death has become such a common feature of our lives.

It was Brecht's desire to be entrusted personally with the production of his Hannibal adaptation in the Deutsches Theater. The anti-heroic content of his final scene, foreshadowing his written statement against monumentality, suggests that he would have deliberately avoided heroic features and loud and extravagant dramaturgical effects which were predominant characteristics of the Reinhardt style of production. In accordance with its plan to stage Hannibal in 1922, the theatre administration had commissioned Hanns Haas to prepare a series of sketches of stage settings and figurines<sup>76</sup>. It is not certain whether these were meant specifically for the planned, but unstaged May production, the Brechtian one, or for them both. Of significance though, is the fact that Haas' pictures depict colourful, monumental, and heroic settings reminiscent of traditional theatre and opera. Furthermore his provision for scenes set in the house of Alitta, Hanno's palace, and near the altar of Moloch, amongst others, reveals that he worked with Grabbe's original in mind, making no provision for any of Brecht's independent scenes or new locations. Haas' concept of stage arrangement seemed antithetical to that of Brecht's, and one may only speculate that this or the wide divergence of the adaptation from the model may have proved unacceptable to the theatre and contributed to the breakdown in negotiations to stage the drama late in 1922. In a letter to his friend and patron, Herbert Jhering,

Brecht mentions the reason for his wish to produce the adaptation himself: "Denn immer kann das mit dieser Art Spielen nicht weitergehen, wenn es nicht eine Bochsache werden soll, zivilisiert!"<sup>77</sup>.

## Conclusions

Each of the adaptations of Grabbe's Hannibal, which together span forty years of theatrical history, arose from the recognition that modifications needed to be undertaken before the drama could be staged. In fashioning the dramatist's material to suit a particular theatre or theatrical concept, the adaptors became recipients and interpreters themselves who imparted their own views to the audience through the medium of theatrical performances. All of the adapted versions of Hannibal are in their own way unique and distinctive and yet similar by virtue of their common origin, as an evaluation of their most salient characteristics will demonstrate. Because of the special features pertaining to Brecht's adaptation, this will, here too, be considered after the others.

Spielmann perceived that one of the greatest obstacles to the production of the twenty-eight scene drama lay in its form which called for the setting to be changed for each picture. He sought to remedy this by outwardly reducing the scenes to fifteen. The beneficial effect intended by this was, however, counterbalanced by his inability to comprehend and accept the breaks in time and in the linear continuity of the action which are evident in Grabbe's tragedy. Under the pretext of creating logical connections, Spielmann inserted his own passages liberally and in a dilettantish fashion, greatly lengthening the drama. Kilian's attempt to solve the problem was more practical. He made a genuine reduction of scenes to eighteen by deletion and amalgamation and coupled this with an astute utilization of stage technology. Where possible, he alternated the place of action from the front to back area of the stage to effect a smooth and rapid transition from one scene to the next. By totally removing the Numantia and Casilinum

episodes though, he cut into the main action. In this respect, more discernment was shown by Jessner and Martin who excluded from their sequence of eighteen scenes such pictures as Grabbe's "Strasse in Kapua" (8) and "Kapua. Ein Zimmer im Schlosse des Despoten" (12) which could be more readily dispensed with. Jessner's version suffers somewhat from the uniting of the first two scenes, whilst Martin's is marred not only by the radical reworking of Grabbe's (2) and of material belonging to the Detmold dramatist's fourth division, but by a number of other alterations. Although Haas has also restyled the second scene in the manner of Martin, his twenty-two pictures demonstrate on the whole a balanced respect for Grabbe's word. He, too, removes only scenes whose absence distorts the action as little as possible but more particularly, he stands out as being the only adaptor to realize the importance of the Italia monologue and Flaminius scene by retaining them as separate entities.

As far as the technical aspects of the adaptation are concerned, each version has been provided with a list of dramatis personae. All, apart from Spielmann's, display a marked reduction in the number of more minor figures especially. Kilian's text stands out in being the only adaptation in which the roles of important figures are downgraded. Hannibal's main antagonists, the Scipio brothers, play a less prominent role than was foreseen by the dramatist.

Stage directions regarding decor indicate that Spielmann aimed at creating realistic settings in contrast to Kilian and Jessner who strove for simplicity. With the penultimate version, the scenery became realistic again, whereas Haas, by refraining from adding any ideas to those of the dramatist, has left the matter entirely to the discretion of the producer concerned. Lighting has attracted the

attention of the first four adaptors. A symbolical use of it is discernible in Jessner's and Martin's versions, of which the latter is distinguished by an inappropriate preponderance of scenes set at night. Music and sound effects are most evident in the 1919, 1926, and first 1940 adaptations. Kilian has added them with moderation, Jessner has attributed a more important function to them by using them as recurring motifs which create inner connections between different parts of the drama, and Martin has placed them rather immoderately into every scene. Directions for actors, such as entrances and exits, gestures, movements, tone, and mode of speech have likewise been noted by all but Haas who is very sparing in his inclusion of any new stage directions. Amongst them, Jessner is significant because of his frequent specification of costume as a symbolical device. This is done by Martin to a lesser degree.

Of Brecht's Hannibal fragment, the plan and a limited number of scenes have been discussed in the present context. Among the seven scenes completed in accordance with the plan, only five may be described as adaptations of Grabbe's drama in the strict sense of the word, in that they reveal Brecht's unmistakable reliance on the earlier text in the form of motifs and quotations. However, even these scenes, like the fragment as a whole, show the adaptor's tendency to treat literary tradition in a unique way. In the words of Hans Mayer:

"Tradition bedeutet fuer den Schriftsteller und den Theoretiker Brecht stets aufgehobene Tradition"<sup>78</sup>. Brecht was inspired by the Detmolder's material, taking from it elements which conformed with his own ideas and moulding them to suit his own concepts whilst altering or playing down others. Thus he confronts Hannibal with a different opponent in Fabius and reduces the accent on the Carthaginian political manoeuvres. One may detect in embryonic form characteristics which were to become

typical of his theatre. His plan, with its elucidation of particular moments in Hannibal's path through life, reveals a more emphatic use of the epic structure which was already inherent in Grabbe's Punic drama and had prompted one of the latter's contemporaries to suggest the alternative title: "dramatische Skizzen aus dem Leben Hannibals"<sup>79</sup>. The content of the scenes themselves demonstrates the younger dramatist's desire to move away from the traditional image of the monumental and heroic protagonist as embodied in Grabbe's drama, for Brecht's title figure is often seen in a social context and is afflicted by ordinary human emotions. Because of its incompleteness, Brecht's Hannibal adaptation has never been staged. The only other adaptation not taken up by the theatre was that of Spielmann who proved unable to come to terms with the epic tendencies of the original.

Each of the six adaptations contains at least one aspect which stamps it as a product of its particular era. Spielmann's striving for historical accuracy demonstrates a positivist influence and the setting of his action in a realistic environment was a feature commonly found in the theatre of his day. It was the striking parallels between content in Hannibal and the situation in Germany at the end of the First World War that induced Kilian to adapt it, whilst Jessner's stage directions reflect a leaning towards an Expressionist style of production which he himself had promoted vigorously especially in the early 1920s. Both versions of 1940 give a hint of a National Socialist bias. Martin is particular about his description of machinery of war, and he and Haas have treated men of letters in a way which conforms to National Socialist doctrine. Even Brecht's fragment is bound to the time in which it was written, but in an inverse way, since it was a conscious and deliberate reaction against the

monumentality prevailing in the theatre then. The significance of the historical time factor will be exposed more fully in the analysis and examination of the productions of Hannibal.

Footnotes:

- <sup>1</sup> By the time the Spielmann adaptation of Hannibal came out, Don Juan und Faust had been adapted four times:

Don Juan und Faust. Eine Tragoedie in fuenf Akten. Fuer die Buehne einger. von Gustav Karpeles. Den Buehnen gegenueber als Ms. gedr. (Berlin, 1876),

Don Juan und Faust. Trauerspiel in fuenf Akten. Fuer die Buehne bearb. von A. Freiherrn von Wolzogen. (Den Buehnen gegenueber Ms.) (Leipzig, 1877),

Don Juan und Faust. Eine Tragoedie in vier Akten. Fuer die Buehne bearb. von Paul Lindau. (Leipzig und Wien, 1895),

Don Juan und Faust. Eine Tragoedie in vier Akten. Fuer die Buehne einger. von Viktor Leon. Die zur Handlung gehoerige Musik von Alfred Kaiser. Als (Buehnen-) Ms. gedr. (Muenchen, um 1896).

Napoleon had been adapted twice by 1900:

Napoleon oder Die hundert Tage. Drama in zwei Abteilungen und fuenf Akten. Fuer die Buehne bearb. von Adolf Stoltze. Erste Abteilung: Ludwig XVIII. Zweite Abteilung: Napoleon. Buehnen Ms. (Frankfurt a.M., um 1895),

Napoleon oder Die hundert Tage. Schauspiel in fuenf Aufzuegen. Fuer die Buehne bearb. u. einger. von O.G. Flueggen. Als Ms. vervielfaeligt. (Berlin, 1895).

Another Napoleon adaptation (that of Ferdinand Lamey) appeared in 1901 but it is not known if it came out before Spielmann's Hannibal adaptation or whether Spielmann was familiar with it.

- <sup>2</sup> By the end of the century, Grabbe's Herzog Theodor von Gothland, Scherz, Satire, Ironie und tiefere Bedeutung, Don Juan und Faust, Kaiser Friedrich Barbarossa, Kaiser Heinrich der Sechste, and Napoleon had been staged. Except for Don Juan which Grabbe had seen in Detmold at the Hoftheater on 29 March 1829, all were first produced in the last thirty years of the nineteenth century. Their presence in the theatre may at least partially be attributed to the interest exponents of Naturalism showed in Grabbe.

- <sup>3</sup> Hannibal. Eine Tragoedie von Christian Grabbe. Ergaenzt und fuer die Buehne bearbeitet von C. Spielmann (Halle a.S., 1901), p. XI. Quoted in this section as "Sp." with act, scene, and page numbers.

- <sup>4</sup> ibid., introduction, p. XII.

- <sup>5</sup> Cf. my exposition, p. 2.

- <sup>6</sup> Cf. J. Warrington, Everyman's Classical Dictionary 800 B.C. - A.D. 337 (London, 1961), p. 525.

- <sup>7</sup> T. Livius, Livy in Fourteen Volumes, trans. Frank G. Moore (Cambridge [Mass.] / London, 1970), VII, p. 41.

- 8 Cf. H-W. Nieschmidt, Christian Dietrich Grabbe. Zwei Studien (Detmold, 1951), p. 61.
- 9 G. de Beer, Hannibal. The Struggle for Power in the Mediterranean (London, 1969), p. 253. See also F. Boettger, Grabbe. Glanz und Elend eines Dichters (Berlin, 1963), p. 318. He believes that the taking of Numantia and not Carthage by the Romans in Grabbe's drama was deliberately done by the dramatist in order to heighten the historical atmosphere ("Zeitkolorit"): "Wenn der Dichter zum Beispiel den Verlust des Hauptbollwerks der Punier in Spanien, Neukarthago, mit der Zerstoerung Numantias gleichsetzte, so geschah das nicht in Unkenntnis der Fakten, sondern aus einem Hoehchstmass kuenstlerischer Freiheit, die sich fuer Numantia entschied, weil darueber viel reichere Details ueberliefert wurden."
- 10 See de Beer, Hannibal, p. 221 and Livy, VI, p. 63.
- 11 Livy, VIII, p. 465.
- 12 WuB, III, 480.
- 13 Nieschmidt, Zwei Studien, p. 65.
- 14 Warrington, Classical Dictionary, p. 364.
- 15 The list of dramatis personae in Bergmann's historical critical edition and in the separate Reclam edition was compiled by Bergmann himself, not by Grabbe or Immermann. Walter Kordt in his dissertation "Christian Dietrich Grabbes Stellung zur Buehne" (diss. Koeln, 1923), p. 74, sees the lack of such a list in Grabbe's later dramas as evidence that he himself had conceived of them as book dramas.
- 16 See B.H. Warmington, Carthage (Harmondsworth, 1964), pp. 190f..
- 17 The adaptor obviously consulted ancient sources, most notably Livy, for these authentic names.
- 18 H-W. Nieschmidt, "Ch. D. Grabbes Tragoedie Hannibal. Eine Dramenanalyse" (diss. Mainz, 1950), pp. 149ff..
- 19 The instructions for lighting occur in the form of references to time of day or season and are to be found in ten of Spielmann's fifteen scenes as opposed to only six of Grabbe's twenty-eight.
- 20 J. Osborne, The Naturalist Drama in Germany (Manchester / Totowa, 1971), p. 159.
- 21 Cf. Spielmann's introduction to his adaptation, p. XI.
- 22 Osborne (The Naturalist Drama, p. 159) points out that there was a tendency in Naturalist drama to compile rather than condense and that such a style undermined the economy normally associated with the dramatic form.
- 23 WuB, IV, 41.
- 24 W. Kowalk, "Das Raumproblem im Drama Grabbes" (diss. Koeln, 1958), p. 181.

- 25 Hannibal. Tragoedie in fuenf Aufzuegen von Christian Dietrich Grabbe. Fuer die Auffuehrung eingerichtet von Eugen Kilian (Muenchen, 1919). Quoted in this section as "K." with act, scene, and page numbers.
- 26 ibid., p. 3.
- 27 ibid., p. 4.
- 28 WuB, VI, 121.
- 29 W. Hegele in Grabbes Dramenform (Muenchen, 1970), pp. 116 f., describes Grabbe's (6) as a scene with a demonstrating function. This type of scene is often to be found in Grabbe's dramas. Not just main figures but also commentating figures such as Terenz are important in such scenes.
- 30 This causes W. Hoellerer in Zwischen Klassik und Moderne. Lachen und Weinen in der Dichtung einer Uebergangszeit (Stuttgart, 1958), p. 38, to see Grabbe as allowing the Capuan matters of state to appear as an embodiment of the carousel course of history.
- 31 ibid., pp. 96f..
- 32 Kowalk, Das Raumproblem, p. 183, takes Kilian to task for deleting much of the mass scene on the market place: "Solche Stellen zu streichen, heisst dann: einen wesentlichen Teil des dramatischen Raumes ausser acht lassen. Den Rest dieser wichtigen Szene hinter die Buehne zu legen, ist ohnehin ein abzulehnender Notbehelf".
- 33 See this thesis p.18 . Kowalk, Das Raumproblem, p. 184, disapproves of Kilian's amalgamation of the first Prusias scene and that of the Roman emissary's visit to Prusias.
- 34 In a letter to Immermann of 17 December 1834, Grabbe says: "Nichts mir fataler als Schauspiele, wo alles sich um Einen Goetzen dreht." (WuB, VI, 115).
- 35 L.L. Snyder, The Weimar Republic. A History of Germany from Ebert to Hitler (Princeton / Toronto / New York / London, 1966), p. 39, uses the term "Carthaginian peace" in connection with the demands of the Treaty of Versailles.
- 36 Cf. this thesis, p.22.
- 37 ibid., p.23.
- 38 Hannibal. Tragoedie von Christian Dietrich Grabbe. Buehneneinrichtung von Leopold Jessner (Berlin, 1926). Quoted in this section as "J." with the scene and page numbers.
- 39 ibid., p. 7.
- 40 Kowalk, Raumproblem, p. 186. He states: "Kurios ist, dass Jessner glaubte, den von Grabbe angeblich als 'Serenissimus' gezeichneten Prusias in einen mit allen Attributen des Byzantinismus behafteten Herrscher voll krankhafter Eitelkeit aendern zu muessen, ohne zu wissen, dass er damit gerade das erfuehlt, was Grabbe vorschwebte, als er dem Prusias die Zuege des Uechtritz gab."

- 41 G. Ruehle, Theater fuer die Republik 1917 - 1933 im Spiegel der Kritik (Frankfurt a.M., 1967), p. 25.
- 42 Cf. .documentary part of this thesis, table 5.
- 43 Cf. this thesis, p.13.
- 44 Cf. my discussion of Kilian's adaptation, p.28.
- 45 This has also been done by Spielmann and by Kilian.
- 46 The exact number of actors needed for the original of the Punic drama can not be ascertained because of the many general categories such as "Reiter", "Senatoren", "Gefolge des Koenigs".
- 47 See fn. 19.
- 48 Hannibal. Tragoedie. Buehnenbearbeitung von Karl Heinz Martin (Berlin, 1940). Quoted in this section as "M." with scene and page numbers. A. Bergmann in his Grabbe Bibliographie (Amsterdam, 1973), p. 85, dates the adaptation around 1940 and as preceding that of Carl Max Haas. Nieschmidt, however, reverses the order in "Ch.D. Grabbes Tragoedie Hannibal", p. 181.
- 49 It is these titles I shall quote when describing certain of Martin's scenes in my own text.
- 50 Imagery in the Hannibal tragedy has been examined and its importance emphasized by W. Weiss in Enttaeuschter Pantheismus. Zur Weltgestaltung der Dichtung der Restaurationszeit (Dornbirn, 1962). He has proved that the recurrence of certain images in different forms throughout the work gives it a concentric inner structure.
- 51 The praetor, senators, and aediles have all been removed.
- 52 Cf. Immermann's letter to Grabbe of 20 Feb. 1835 in WuB, VI, 164.
- 53 Jessner has also placed the Italia monologue in the same position.
- 54 Cf. my examination of Spielmann's adaptation, p. 18. Martin corrects the information about Brasidas' death.
- 55 Jessner has also changed this to the disadvantage of the drama. Although he restricts the laughter to the end of the scene, he extends it to the whole of the Punic army.
- 56 Hannibal. Tragoedie. Neue Buehnengestaltung von Carl Max Haas (Leipzig, 1940), p. 4. Quoted in this section as "H." with act, scene, and page numbers.
- 57 The despot scenes and "Am Gestade" were deleted by Martin, whilst both he and Jessner left out "Vor Kapuas Nordtor".
- 58 Haas, p. 7.
- 59 In Grabbe's comparable scene, Hannibal's words were heard only by his horse which Haas has left out in his adaptation.

- 60 Despite his intention to cut down on the numbers of figures, Haas, unlike Martin, has recognized the importance of the common people as witnesses to Hannibal's request for help and has brought them on to stage at the junction of the two previously separate scenes.
- 61 In (17) and (18), where the Roman peace conditions are delivered, Haas conforms with Martin in using only one messenger.
- 62 In this context it is interesting to note that the running lion was held to be the symbol of Carthage and North Africa and that Hannibal and his brothers were dubbed "the Lion's Brood" by their father (cf. de Beer, Hannibal, pp. 63 and 95 respectively). Furthermore a medallion in the Bibliothèque Nationale reputed to be that on Hannibal's shield depicts a lion standing in front of a tree. It is not certain whether Grabbe knew of the significance of the lion for Carthage but his use of the motif of the lion at the height of Turnu's description of the fire provides an interesting counter-motif to the she-wolf, symbol of Rome, in the first picture.
- 63 Haas, p.6.
- 64 ibid., p. 6.
- 65 For the study of Brecht's Hannibal fragment, there are three available sources:
- (i) Bertolt Brecht, Gesammelte Werke in 20 Bänden (Frankfurt a.M., 1967), hereafter cited as "GW", with volume and page numbers.
  - (ii) H-W. Nieschmidt, Brecht und Grabbe. Rezeption eines dramatischen Erbes (Detmold, 1979), henceforth quoted as Brecht und Grabbe, with page number.
  - (iii) The Bertolt Brecht Archives, Berlin is the source of the unpublished material and will be cited as "BBA", with the Folder and page number.
- 66 H.O. Muensterer, Bert Brecht. Erinnerungen aus den Jahren 1917 -22 (Zuerich, 1963), p. 117. See also A. Bronnen, Tage mit Bertolt Brecht. Die Geschichte einer unvollendeten Freundschaft (Muenchen, 1960), pp. 49 and 110.
- 67 W. Keller ("Grabbe und die Buehne" (diss. Wuerzburg, 1925), p.132), reports that the same theatre made an earlier attempt in 1922 to stage Grabbe's Hannibal. It was to be performed on 6 May with Alexander Moissi in the title role and plans went as far as the dress rehearsal. For reasons not stated, it was then abandoned. It was clear that this was an entirely different production to Brecht's since work on his adaptation was mainly done during the second half of 1922.
- 68 Cf. Nieschmidt, Brecht und Grabbe, p. 10.
- 69 Brecht adopted the same method in Das Leben Eduards des Zweiten von England (nach Marlowe) in 1924. Cf. R. Grimm, Bertolt Brecht und die Weltliteratur (Nuernberg, 1961), pp. 29 ff..

- 70 Following Nieschmidt, Brecht und Grabbe, p. 32.
- 71 Confront this thesis, pp. 27, 40, 50.
- 72 K. Ruelicke-Weiler, Die Dramaturgie Brechts. Theater als Mittel der Veraenderung (Berlin,<sup>2</sup> 1968), p. 250.
- 73 See this thesis, p. 16.
- 74 In a sketch headed "Hannibal nach Grabbe" in which Brecht noted jottings and ideas, Carthage is described as "die kaeufliche Stadt" (Nieschmidt, Brecht und Grabbe, p. 30).
- 75 GW, 15, 108 ff..
- 76 All Haas' sketches referring to Hannibal are signed "Hannibal nach Grabe [sic] ". Today they are in the possession of the Theaterwissenschaftliches Institut in Cologne and in the Lippische Landesbibliothek in Detmold.
- 77 Cf. C. Niessen, Brecht auf der Buehne (Koeln, 1959), p. 9.
- 78 H. Mayer, Bertolt Brecht und die Tradition (Pfullingen, 1961), p.13.
- 79 A. Bergmann (ed.), Grabbes Werke in der zeitgenoessischen Kritik (Detmold, 1963), IV, p. 75.

PART II: The Productions of Christian D. Grabbe's  
Hannibal in the German Theatre

## Introduction

It is the main objective of this part of my thesis to investigate the reception of Grabbe's Hannibal on the stage. Under consideration will be all of the productions. Apart from the first public performance of the tragedy in 1916, these fall into three clearly definable historical periods: the post-First-World-War era from 1918 to 1932, the time of National Socialist rule between 1933 and 1945, and the years from 1946 to the present day. I shall divide my study according to these historical periods, and for each group, I shall single out two major performances. Minor ones will then be summarized in a more general manner but will certainly not be ignored because they contribute in a very valuable way to a rounded picture of the reception and theatrical history of the drama.

A performance of a play is transient by nature and dies after the actors have walked off the stage for the last time. Even the next evening, it can never be recreated in quite the same way. The only lasting things about it are the scripts, the stage sets and costumes, the photographs, the memories of the audience, actors, and producers involved, as well as newspaper reviews. All of these are to ~~some~~ extent inadequate means of reconstructing or understanding the production. The spectators who come to the performance are not trained in the sense of the theatre reviewer to observe every aspect of the drama critically, and their memories are therefore not necessarily reliable sources of information. Neither are the memories of actors and producers. They often have many other commitments in the theatre each week, and their

recollections of one particular performance or production years after it took place are bound to have become coloured or dimmed with time. This would be especially true for a drama like Hannibal which never established itself in the theatre as a very popular play and was only performed, even by those companies which did stage it, on a comparatively small number of occasions. For my investigations, I have used programmes, play-bills, and in almost every case, I have corresponded with the theatres concerned. For the most part, however, I have relied on newspaper critiques, which are housed in folders at the Grabbe Archives, Detmold and are analysed here for the first time. Wolfram Viehweg in the foreword to Georg Buechner s Dantons Tod auf dem deutschen Theater (Muenchen, 1964), dismisses press reports as having been unsatisfactory for the purposes of his study which he describes as a stage history of Buechner's drama from its first performance in 1902 until 1962. He also condemns Ingeborg Strudthoff for having used such sources almost exclusively in her 1957 work Die Rezeption Georg Buechners durch das deutsche Theater. Viehweg fails to recognize that the task of a reception history is not to reconstruct a performance scene by scene in the manner of a theatrical historian like himself. It is more particularly to discover special features and aspects of a staging and spectators' reactions to them. For this purpose, press reports provide the best insight. Written immediately after a performance, they capture and crystallize impressions of the drama and its impact on the audience, even if this is sometimes done in a biased or distorted fashion. In much the same way as the stage adaptor, the critic is both a recipient and a passer-on of information. He is not merely the channel through

which a performance can attain some lasting recognition in whatever sense this may be, but also disseminates the ideas of the production beyond the walls of the theatre to the reading public, and what he says may even be more widely propagated than the play's performance itself.

Throughout this part of my thesis, I shall attempt to present what seems to be the general consensus of the critics' opinions and shall note where praise or condemnation of a performance as a whole, of the producer, or of actors seem out of line with the commonly held view. In this way, I hope to attain as objective a picture as possible about the ideas and special aspects which come across in different productions.

In the entire history of the production of the Punic drama, but to an extremely marked degree during the Third Reich, particular articles were published in virtually unaltered form in different newspapers throughout Germany. I shall not permit the number of times an article was printed to influence my evaluation of a performance. Of importance is its content only. Such repeated articles do not appear, either, in my lists of reviews which will be placed directly after each performance. These lists will enable the reader to cross-check the statements made with regard to the production concerned.

Snippets of information and limited reports about various performances of Hannibal have appeared in works on Grabbe from the time of the 1920s when the drama began to gain a measure of popularity on the stage. The first significant reference is to be found in Das Grabbe-Buch (Detmold, 1923), which was edited by Paul Friedrich and Fritz Ebers and contains a list of performances

of the dramatist's works, compiled by Alfred Bergmann. His list of the Hannibal productions extends from the 1916 recited portrayal in Dresden until the 1922 Frankfurt staging and is included by Walter Kordt in the appendix of his thesis "Christian Dietrich Grabbes Stellung zur Buehne" in 1923 and by Walter Keller two years later in "Grabbe und die Buehne". The latter, however, upgrades it with additional information and is the first researcher to offer an impression of certain productions. He points out some prominent scenes from the 1918 premiere and alludes to the 1919 Cologne, the 1920 Meiningen, and the 1922 Frankfurt presentations. For the last three, he also names a few of the main actors. Nieschmidt makes only a brief reference to the 1941 Martin production in his 1950 study of Hannibal, preferring to investigate the drama itself for its inherent stage potential and the adaptations based on the tragedy. Thus, it is not until 1958 that theatrical performances are mentioned again. As part of his study of the problem of space in Grabbe's dramas, Kowalk carefully selects those productions which enhance his discussions of the adaptations and demonstrate how these were transformed into the world of the theatre. His interest lies solely in the stage designers' utilization of stage space and in the creation of an acting environment, and it is from this angle that he looks at the 1922 Dortmund production based on Kilian's adaptation, Jessner's 1925 Berlin performance, Haas' presentation of Hannibal in Wuerzburg in 1940, and Martin's 1941 Berlin production. Apart from these, Kowalk refers to the two outstanding Bochum stagings by Schmitt (1941) and Schalla (1950). The East German literary historian, Fritz Boettger, remarks on seven productions between 1918 and 1922 in his book Grabbe. Glanz und Elend eines Dichters (Berlin, 1963), although his interest in the

dramatist is predominantly literary. In his study Christian Dietrich Grabbe (Velber b. Hannover,<sup>2</sup> 1972), Wilhelm Steffens gives the dates of the premiere performances of the Detmolder's dramas and he discusses briefly the four most frequently seen in the theatre: Scherz, Satire, Don Juan und Faust, Napoleon, and Hannibal. As far as the latter drama is concerned, he mentions only the 1918 (Steinruëck), 1925 (Jessner), 1941 (Martin), and 1957 (Koch) performances. The most recent information about aspects of the Punic drama's theatrical history comes from D. Schrage's thesis "Saladin Schmitt am Stadttheater Bochum 1919-1949" (diss. Wien, 1967) in which he mentions the 1941 Bochum Grabbe Week.

It is striking that no complete study of Grabbe's Hannibal in the theatre has yet been made, either within the framework of a reception or a theatrical history. I shall try to place each production into the time in which it was staged, and through the eyes of reviewers, endeavour to gauge the ideas and interpretation promoted by the producer and the play's dramaturgical effectiveness, taking note of such elements as impressive scenes, stage decorations, and costuming, and acting achievements. The extensiveness and depth of my individual discussions will to some extent depend on the content of the press reports or the number still in existence, for the records pertaining to some productions were partially or totally destroyed during the war.

## 1. The Recited Portrayal of Hannibal in 1916

The few previously mentioned Grabbe researchers who make reference to the Hannibal drama in the theatre have all disregarded the first stage appearance of the tragedy. As has already been stated, this did not take the form of a conventional performance but was a recited portrayal only. It must, however, be viewed as an important initial step in bringing the drama to the attention of the public as a piece of theatrical art. On the suggestion of the literary historian, Dr Rudolf Glaser, Baron Carlo von der Ropp arranged for the drama to appear at the R e s i d e n z - T h e a t e r, D r e s d e n, on Repentance Day, 22 November 1916. All proceeds from the sale of tickets, programmes, and flowers went to the aid of the "Vereinslazarett vom Roten Kreuz 'Carolahaus'", and the recital was attended by the Prince and Princess Johann Georg of Saxony. The first theatrical performance of Grabbe's Punic drama therefore marked a special occasion, and the work itself was clearly deemed suitable for portrayal on the people's day of mourning which called for an interruption in the theatre's usual repertoire. It may be of interest in this context to note that Schiller's tragedy, Maria Stuart, was frequently staged by German theatres on Repentance Days. There are only subtle hints as to why Hannibal in particular was chosen in Dresden, but these indicate that it may have been because of certain similarities between aspects of the drama and the state of war-torn Germany in 1916. By one critic, Hannibal was described as "die zur kriegsdurchwehten Gegenwart... nicht ganz beziehungslose Karthager-Tragoedie", whose performance amounted to a literary-historical lesson<sup>1</sup>.

Without doubt, the audience could have easily identified with various

features in the drama. Throughout his Italian campaign, Hannibal was fighting on enemy soil, out of sight of his people. In 1916, the German armies were in a comparable situation in the West where they were involved in fighting against the French and English in the offensives of Verdun and the Somme. The Carthaginian and German troops were both facing an enemy far superior in numbers and were short of supplies, the former because of Carthage's political decisions, the latter because the soldiers were forced to remain for weeks in the trenches without any relief or new provisions. Furthermore, the Carthaginian people believed themselves to be directly disadvantaged as a result of Hannibal's endeavours in the arena of war. In Germany, the population began to suffer in a real way in 1916 in the form of serious privations, especially as far as food was concerned. Already very early in the course of the hostilities, the German people had been exhorted to relinquish their gold coins and valuables for the general good of the country, and this has its parallel in Gisgon's request to the Carthaginian women after the Battle of Zama in Grabbe's twenty-fourth scene. The similarity becomes particularly striking in the light of an article which was published in the Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung of 30 December 1914:

Even a hundred years ago German women and girls gave their gold jewelry, without getting anything in return; gave it to save their fatherland. Therefore, women, do not let yourselves be tempted by the glitter of the gold; give it to the Empire, for which those belonging to you are shedding their blood, and you will get paper money for it which has quite the same value.<sup>2</sup>

In 1916, it was the structure of Hannibal which proved decisive in limiting the presentation to a recital. Stage technology was considered not yet sophisticated enough to bring about rapid

changes from one scene to the next, and apart from a single voice amongst the critics which contradicted this view<sup>3</sup>, it was generally held that the recital form of portrayal would remain the only possibility of bringing the Punic drama on to the stage for many years to come<sup>4</sup>. The idea had had its successful precedent in the presentation of Urfaust and Faust II. The reading of Hannibal was introduced by an explanatory preamble from Dr Glaser who also indicated necessary stage directions throughout. The five-act play was reduced to twenty-one scenes with an interval after the third act. Five scenes were entirely dispensed with, (Grabbe's (2), (12), (14), (16), and (18) ) and others amalgamated, ( (13) with (15), and (17) with (19) ). The abbreviations did not impair the production whose clarity was remarked upon.

No attempt was made at stage decoration or costuming. The readers sat in evening dress behind a long table draped with a green cloth. Thus, emphasis was thrown on the power of the spoken word which succeeded in bringing to life impressions such as Hannibal before the gates of Rome, the Battle of Zama, the court of King Prusias, and the burning of Carthage. Theodor Becker proved well suited for the title role. Grabbe's Punic drama stands or falls by the quality of the portrayer of Hannibal, and Becker's strong voice and vigour were positive attributes which brought out the heroic nature of the Punic general. Other readers were entrusted with bringing several diverse characters to life, generally one or more major, and some minor figures. Hans Balder, for example, read the parts of Brasidas and those of ten other less important figures; Rolf Roenneke, those of Hanno, the younger Scipio brother, Turnu, and a Bithynian courtier; and Alfred Meyer, Melkir, Cato, Terenz, Prusias, and an old man. The

reading was reported to be a resounding success and was repeated for the same charity by the almost identical cast on 7 March 1917, another Day of Repentance.

List of Reviews:

Theatre programmes for November 1916 and March 1917 .

F.K., "Residenztheater," Dresdner Anzeiger (23 November 1916).

-dt., "Grabbes Hannibal im Residenz-Theater," Dresdner Nachrichten (23 November 1916).

rt., "Theater. Grabbes Hannibal," Dresdner Volkszeitung (23 November 1916).

fk., "Residenz-Theater. (Grabbes Hannibal)," Saechsische Staatszeitung (23 November 1916).

j. fr., "Theater im Reich," Berliner Tageblatt und Handelszeitung (24 November 1916).

ag., "Grabbes Hannibal in rezitatorischer Darstellung," Dresdner Neueste Nachrichten (24 November 1916).

lz., "Residenztheater," Saechsische Dorfzeitung und Elbgaupresse (24 November 1916).

-ch-, "Hannibal im Residenz-Theater," Dresdner Lokal-Anzeiger (28 November 1916).

"Residenz-Theater. Hannibal Reading," The Dresden Herald (2 December 1916).

## 2. Productions between 1918 and 1932

### (i) The Premiere of Hannibal in 1918 (A. Steinrueck)

Despite the gloomy predictions of some critics in 1916 regarding the prospects of a proper production of Hannibal, only just over two years elapsed before the premiere took place. It was held at the N a t i o n a l t h e a t e r, M u n i c h, on Friday, 20 December 1918. In the remaining days of that year and until the end of August 1919, it was repeated on ten further occasions, the final three performances having been staged at the Prinzregententheater as part of the theatre's annual festival<sup>5</sup>.

At the time of the premiere, the political situation in Germany had undergone a violent upheaval. Hostilities with the Allies had ceased, but the German army returned home as the underdog, discontented and demoralized. Revolution reared its ugly head in many parts of the country, and the old order, symbolized by kings and noble rulers, was toppled. Bavaria had been in the vanguard of the revolutionary developments. As early as 7 November, the rule of the Wittelsbach dynasty, embodied in the person of Ludwig III, had been brought to an end and Bavaria was declared an autonomous state under the leadership of a socialist intellectual, Kurt Eisner. The determination to eradicate all traces of the old order made itself felt in the established institutions which had had connections with the monarchy, not least in the theatre which in many parts of the country had been under the control of princes and courtly administrators. In Munich, the Hoftheater was renamed the Nationaltheater, and the position of director of drama was given to Albert Steinrueck who had until then been engaged as an actor with the

company. The rearrangement of the theatre administration was far more than a symbolical and superficial gesture. Although Steinrueck made use of actors and actresses employed by the court theatre, he aimed at introducing innovative and revolutionary ideas. He began "mit dem ausgepraegten Willen, sich nach der Revolution des Lebens als Revolutionaer des Theaters vorzustellen"<sup>6</sup>. In this regard, he was adhering to one of the basic historical characteristics of German theatre, which has traditionally had a strong heritage of spiritual and political activity unsurpassed by the theatre in other countries<sup>7</sup>. Most significantly, Grabbe's Hannibal was his first major undertaking, and there was even a suggestion that it may have been carried out at the specific request of Kurt Eisner<sup>8</sup>. The performance of the tragedy had, in any case, clearly not been planned before the Revolution. The text used for the production, Gottschall's Reclam edition of Christ. Dietr. Grabbe's saemmtliche Werke, entered the theatre library only on 19 November 1918 according to a note on its cover. There is evidence that the personnel of the Nationaltheater acted with some haste in bringing the tragedy on to the stage. Some critics observed with astonishment that the play had been rehearsed only thirty instead of the usual one hundred times before the initial performance. Their remarks are substantiated by the fact that, excluding 19 November and 20 December, there remained only thirty days on which rehearsals could have taken place. All external factors suggest therefore, that the choice of the Hannibal tragedy was not an arbitrary one. The reasons for its particular suitability may be gleaned from reviews and evaluations of the various performances.

The stage debut was attributed to two factors: aspects of the drama's

style and certain features of its content. It has already been pointed out that its form, with its sequence of twenty-eight loosely-arranged scenes, was one of the greatest deterrents to its production<sup>9</sup>. By 1918, a new tendency was emerging. Expressionism had been present as a literary and artistic movement before the First World War but had been suppressed to a large extent during the Wilhelminian rule, and now it began to assert itself in the theatre. Many Expressionist dramas were distinguished by a form consisting of a series of individual scenes whose often contrapuntal arrangement was inclined to make the plot seem disjointed. It is hardly surprising, then, that a strong affinity was recognized between Grabbe's Hannibal and the contemporary "Stationendrama". The effect produced by the structure of the eighty-three-year-old tragedy was so emphatically modern that several commentators believed spectators unaware of its origin would have attributed it to a recent dramatist:

Es kann schon sein, dass Theaterbesucher, die in der Literaturgeschichte nicht recht Bescheid wissen, gestern abend diesen Grabbe fuer einen unserer Juengstdeutschen gehalten haben. So mancherlei sprach fuer diese Annahme. Zunaechst die Bezeichnung Urauffuehrung. ... Ferner ist der Bau des Stueckes, dieses lose Aneinanderreihen zahlreicher kuerzerer and laengerer Szenen und diese Freude am Grelen und Kontrastreichen auch Stilmerkmal vieler Stuecke der Juengsten.<sup>10</sup>

The new respectability of Expressionist drama therefore made Hannibal structurally acceptable for stage consideration for the first time, and in addition to this, the technology of the theatre had advanced to the point where the production of such a drama became a viable proposition.

An even more striking factor contributing to the staging of the tragedy is to be found in its content which was recognized as manifesting certain similarities with the situation prevailing

in Germany at the end of the war. These analogies were noted not only in the general theme of the drama but in more particular aspects as well<sup>11</sup>. Historical comparisons awakened in the minds of spectators in December 1918 were intensified or may even have changed over the nine-month period during which the play was repeated, for this was a time when the most profound decisions were made regarding the course of Germany's future. I thus intend to consider here the period of all the Steinrueck performances.

Grabbe has depicted the downfall of Hannibal and Carthage as being the result of lack of assistance from the Punier's compatriots and of the petty intrigues of the rulers of the North African city who refuse him support. This weakens the Carthaginian army to such an extent that it can easily be defeated by the Romans. Soon after the signing of the Armistice on 11 November 1918, a similar view pertaining to the outcome of World War One began to gain acceptance in Germany. What became known as the "Dolchstosslegende" was propagated by Nationalists and the former military command, who laid the blame for the failure of the German armies in the field at the feet of revolutionary factions at home. They failed to acknowledge the truth of the situation, namely that the Revolution had resulted from the low morale and dismal state of the armed forces, and they played down the fact that the United States, with its late entry into the war, had inflicted heavy losses on the German armies. The wretched state of the armies on the battle field did not come to the full attention of the German people since much of the fighting had taken place outside Germany's borders. Thus, the image of Hannibal and his troops being called home to defeat in corrupt Carthage when they were fighting successfully in Italy, was something with which the audiences of December 1918 could readily

identify. Further to this, military leaders in post-war Germany were able to accuse the civilian politicians, by then governing the country, and the plenipotentiaries of having stabbed Germany in the back by their signing of the Armistice at Compiègne. (The Allies had refused to negotiate with the monarchy and military leaders whom they held responsible for the instigation and perpetuation of hostilities and a civilian, Erzberger, had therefore been chosen to lead the German delegation.) The reception and respect this "stab-in-the-back" theory acquired in Germany is demonstrated by comments in the Muenchen-Augsburger Abendzeitung of 21 December 1918. The reviewer, G.J. Wolf equates the diverse elements in Carthage, revealed above all in the expository scenes of Hannibal, with forces at work in Berlin:

Als Grundmotiv mochte ihm [Grabbe] vorgeschwebt haben, zu zeigen, wie das Grosse der Uebermacht des Gemeinen erliegt. Indessen leitete er das nicht aus dem Charakter Hannibals oder seiner Gegenspieler ab, sondern aus Zeit und Milieu, und eben diese Zeit- und Milieuschilderungen bewirken die Parallelen mit der Gegenwart. Der bittere Vergleich Karthago-Berlin draengt sich auf: Hannibal von seinen Mitbuergern im Stich gelassen. Draussen der tapfere Feldherr, mit einem kleinen, prachtvoll aus heterogenen Elementen zusammengescheissten Heer gegen die vielfache Uebermacht kaempfund, daheim eine Mischung von Intrigenwirtschaft, Gleichgueltigkeit und Genussucht. Die Ankunft der aethiopischen Karawane ist den Karthagern ein wichtigeres Ereignis als Hannibals Sieg bei Cannae. Die Drei-Maenner, ein dreikoeufiges Hoellenhundungetuem, sind auf Hannibals Ruhm eifersuechtig. Sie fuehren seinen Sturz herbei, sie bewirken, dass er sich in Italien nicht mehr halten kann. Ergreifend ist Hannibals Abschied von Italien, dem Land seiner Siege. Unbesiegt-besiegt geht er ...

The concept of the vanquished victor returning home applied to the German soldier as well.

If Carthage was seen to have its modern counterpart in Germany, Rome was identified with the Allies. Some critics adopt a more

specific stand, comparing the unflinching iron will of the Romans with England's determination to take revenge on Germany. Cato Censor, who early in the drama calls for the annihilation of the enemy state with the words: "Karthago soll zu Grunde gehen!" was compared with contemporary English diplomats. Since the beginning of the war, Britain had suffered such colossal losses in combat that she resolved to make her foe pay heavily, even to the point of incapacitating her. This was demonstrated in a statement by Sir Eric Geddes: "We will get out of her all you can squeeze out of a lemon and a bit more ... squeeze her until you can hear the pips squeak"<sup>12</sup>. The issue was made a key platform by the Prime Minister, Lloyd George, for the lobbying of popular votes in his election campaign of November and December 1918, when such slogans as "We propose to demand the whole cost of the war" became the order of the day<sup>13</sup>. The analogy between the Romans and Allies was even clearer to the audiences of July 1919. At this time, Ludwig Seyfried singled out the words of Scipio the Younger, spoken in scene (6): "Einen halben Frieden schliessen wir nicht, er gibt dem Feind nur Zeit, sich zu verstaerken!"<sup>14</sup>. The conditions of peace imposed upon Germany at the signing of the Treaty of Versailles on 28 June 1919 were worse than the German people had ever dared to imagine<sup>15</sup>.

The most glaring topical correspondences appeared in the fourth, and to a lesser degree, the fifth divisions of the tragedy. In the fourth division, the Romans dictate the peace terms to the Carthaginians after the Battle of Zama in such a way that they exclude all possibility of negotiation. A comparable enforcement of terms was a feature of the Armistice of 1918 as well as of the

later Peace Treaty which was to gain the name of "Diktat". The requirements of the Allies for the laying down of arms proved to be non-negotiable, so that the German delegation arrived at the Forest of Compiègne on 8 November 1918 to be presented with an ultimatum by Marshal Foch which gave them seventy-two hours either to accept the terms in toto or to resume hostilities. The first Roman peace conditions are delivered to the Carthaginians in (23) of Hannibal:

DER GESANDTE Ich bringe billige Friedensvorschlaege. ...  
 Rom wuenscht nicht, dass eine wuerdige  
 Nebenbuhlerin, wie eure Stadt, untergehe. ...  
 Ihr verzichtet auf alle Laender, ausser  
 Afrika -- ... Dann liefert ihr uns eure  
 Waffen, eure Kriegsschiffe aus, diese bis  
 auf zwanzig, welche ihr immer in Stand  
 erhalten und ersetzen moegt, aber nie  
 vermehren sollt. ...  
 Ferner helft ihr dem Massinissa sich in  
 Besitz des Landes eures Bundesgenossen  
 Syphax setzen, und besoldet dazu zehntausend  
 Mietvoelker. ... Endlich zwanzigtausend  
 Talente zu Roms Entschaedigung --

(WuB, III, 139).

The concurrences between the above and at least a few of the many requirements of the Armistice were unmistakable. Germany, like Carthage, was to lose a portion of her territory: land won in France and Belgium, the province of Alsace-Lorraine, and her East African colonies. Like the Romans, the Allies demanded substantial booty, including weapons and equipment of war, trucks, trains, and naval vessels. Gold taken from Russia and Rumania was to be returned. For those theatre patrons attending the performances at the Prinzregententheater in July and August 1919, more points of congruity manifested themselves. According to the stringent demands of the Treaty of Versailles, Germany was to be stripped of her Asian and Pacific colonies as well, strict limitations were

to be imposed on the size of her armed forces, and she was ordered to pay huge sums in indemnities.

Scene (26) of Hannibal shows the heroic action of the women of Carthage who, when their only alternative is to surrender to the enemy, set light to their city in defiance of their conquerors. One reviewer reports the effect this had on a spectator at the performance of 25 July 1919:

Und als im fuenften Aufzug Karthagos Jungfrauen den Flammentod der Knechtschaft vorzogen, ergriff das bei offener Szene einen Zuhoerer derart, dass er die rhetorische Frage ins verdunkelte Haus schleuderte: 'Und wir?'<sup>16</sup>.

To many Germans, the prospect of fighting to the bitter end against all odds indeed seemed no more odious than the peace conditions themselves. The final scene of the tragedy demonstrates the unflagging tenacity of the Romans. They are not content with having won the war but hunt Hannibal down in his Bithynian exile with the intention of leading him in the triumphal procession in Rome. This has its modern parallel in the desire of the British to take punitive action against the person they considered responsible for the war, Kaiser Wilhelm II, who had gone into exile in Holland. In 1918, Lloyd George fought the election successfully, partly on the expectation of the people that he would have the Kaiser brought to London for trial and hanged<sup>17</sup>. This ambition was subsequently incorporated into the Treaty under Article 227 which indicted Wilhelm II "for a supreme offence against international morality and the sanctity of treaties". The application for extradition later made to the Dutch government as a result of this clause was refused.

The majority of critics draw parallels between Hannibal and aspects of the overall German situation. Worthy of note is an observation by Karl Friess in the Leipziger Neueste Nachrichten (27 December 1918) relating to the special circumstances in Bavaria. He sees a relationship between a statement uttered by a Celtiberian warrior in (6) about the song of the bards: "zu fechten mit der Zunge, ist schwerer als mit dem Schwert!" (WuB, III, 107), and words reputed to have been said by a follower of Kurt Eisner: "Es gehoert heute vielleicht mehr Mut dazu, einen Artikel zu schreiben, als vier-einhalb Jahre im Schuetzengraben zu liegen".

There can be no doubt that Steinrueck was inspired to produce Hannibal in 1918 because of its stylistic affinity with Expressionist drama and its glaringly recognizable parallels with contemporary political developments. The topical comparisons were so obvious that the production incurred the indignation of many a critic who held such a dramatization to be tactless and embarrassing. Those who believed it could be a source of inspiration for the renewal of society were conspicuously few in number.

Critical reviews have placed a far greater emphasis on the reasons behind the staging of Hannibal than on its shape or special dramaturgical features. There is unfortunately no extant theatre programme which might indicate what scenes were played or omitted from the first performance of the historical tragedy. In this regard, however, we may call for assistance on the prompt book used for the production. Steinrueck did not rely on a printed adaptation but, as has been stated, used Gottschall's edition of the dramatist's works as a basis on which to create his own personal arrangement for the stage, indicating modifications by means of

marginal notes and jottings. The worth of the prompt book as a key to understanding the production is not diminished by a small number of inconsistencies in Steinrueck's system of notation or by a few hand-written details which have become faded with time and less easily decipherable. Our interest here will not be concerned with alterations of a minor nature such as the deletion of figures or animals, but with major rearrangements or changes in the text. Steinrueck made provision for the first of two intervals directly after "Kapua. Saal in Hannibals Wohnung" (7). His first deletion, "Strasse in Kapua", points to a tendency to dispense with some of the smaller scenes in this portion of the drama. Of the Casilinum scenes, only that concerned with Hannibal and his oxen ruse was enacted. The deletion of "Kapua. Ein Zimmer im Schlosse des Despoten" and "Vor Kapuas Nordtor", together with the repositioning of the Italia monologue and the words of the sailors from "Eine Hoehe mit dichtem, dunklem Kastanienwald bei Kapua" to the end of Grabbe's (16), ("Hinterverdeck des karthagischen Hauptschiffes"), meant that "Am Gestade" became the direct sequel to the tragic events on the Capuan plain. "Am Gestade" itself was extended to incorporate the dramatist's (16) whose activities Steinrueck intended to take place on land within sight of the Carthaginian fleet. In this way, the producer, like Spielmann, managed to avoid the technical difficulty of simulating the movement of a boat on stage.

Steinrueck has combined Grabbe's (17), set in Melkir's palace, with the herald's announcement from the second market scene, a solution later undertaken by Jessner as well<sup>18</sup>. The second interval was inserted after "Die Ebene zwischen beiden Heeren" and in this a definite distinction was made between the pre-battle

scenes in and near Carthage and those coming after the disastrous defeat of the Carthaginian army. The break is made even more pronounced by virtue of the fact that the battle scene was apparently not played, even though the leaflet on which the names of the actors were printed stipulated the actor Basil and the actress Neuhoff as the two commentating witnesses of the historical event. No convincing reason for the scene's omission was given by critics, but a clue may be found in the content of the Zama scene itself. It depicts Hannibal's troops being defeated in a fair battle by the superior power of the Romans, who, as the victors, were then perfectly entitled to make their harsh demands on the Carthaginians. The portrayal of this confrontation would have weakened the special parallels between the Carthaginian and German situations which the producer wanted to stress, because the "Dolchstosslegende" rested on the belief that Germany had been undefeated in the war and that the terms of the Armistice were therefore undeservedly severe.

The prompt book reveals that the Moloch scene (23) in which the first peace conditions are delivered, was extended to embrace Grabbe's (24), making a change of setting from an external to an internal one unnecessary. In the course of the delivery of the first conditions, Steinrueck has added to, and reinforced, comments spoken by Carthaginian recipients of the news:

Gisgon. Das sei verkuendet; die Kriegsschiffe sind Roms Eigentum.  
Alle Buerger haben unverzueglich die Waffen abzuliefern.

Volk. Wir? 20.000 Talente zu Roms Entschaedigung?<sup>19</sup>

Such additions are not typical of Steinrueck who has dispensed with all elements, including conversation, he feels are superfluous. Even

their content contributes nothing new to the action, but their importance may reside in the fact that they draw a little more attention to the strictness of the victors' demands. Significantly in the same scene, the producer seems to have struck out Gisgon's request of his compatriots to fight back and relinquish their valuables. Whereas for the audience of 1916, this was important in making the drama seem particularly topical, the new political situation prevailing in Germany in 1918 gave the Roman demands special pertinence.

We have to rely on a report by Eugen Kilian for an accurate impression of the arrangement of scenes at the end of the drama as it was presented on the stage. He viewed Steinrueck's solution critically, because he placed together all of the Carthaginian scenes, including (26), depicting the incineration of Carthage:

Fuer den vierten Aufzug, namentlich seine letzten Auftritte, ist an der szenischen Anordnung des Originals festzuhalten. Die Wirkung dieser Szenen, die durch die Brennus-Bedingungen der roemischen Gesandten heute zu den aktuellsten des Stueckes gehoeren, werden in ihrer Wirkung abgeschwaecht, wenn sie, wie es in Muenchen geschieht, mit Beseitigung der Verwandlung in Gisgons Haus auf dem freien Platze Karthagos weiterspielen und sich hier sofort die Brandlegungsszene aus dem letzten Akt (V,2) ohne Verwandlung anschliesst.<sup>20</sup>

His remarks demonstrate the privileged position of the adaptor-producer to alter his opinion, because in the text, scene (26) has been deleted with no indication to show that Steinrueck intended to retain it and move it forward. It appears that the producer totally contravened the logic of the time sequence of the final scenes by joining together all three Bithynian pictures, Grabbe's (25), (27), and (28).

Comments regarding the manner in which this series of pictures was

brought to life give the impression of a production of somewhat uneven quality. Only a handful of scenes attain prominence, either by their excellence or mediocrity. An impression of those scenes opening the dramatization has been provided by one single reviewer in the Muenchener Neueste Nachrichten of 21 December 1918. It is informative in that it offers a glimpse into the dramaturgical handling of the important expository part. After the discussion between Alitta and her lover, the transformation of the stage from an inside to an outside locality was brought about by the simple means of drawing back the curtains completely to reveal a market place and harbour in an African city. The elimination of a few figures from (2) apparently had no adverse effect on the impact of the scene which attained its essential characteristic of movement and life from the presence of slave dealers hawking their commodities, sly youths, snake charmers, and idle onlookers. In this "idyll of southern voluptuousness", the news of Hannibal's victory met with a cool reception. The lust for power of the three helmsmen of Carthage and their campaign of calculated neglect towards Hannibal were exposed in (3). Steinrueck brought out in his production the perfidy of Carthage and succeeded in laying bare the forces and spheres of influence in the Punic city whose opulence and frivolity were offset effectively by a composed and sober rendering of the Senate scene.

The wine festival at Cajeta, on the other hand, failed to make an impact. This was mainly attributed to the solution employed for Hasdrubal's head, for it was not gruesome enough and could even have been misconstrued as a comic touch. A commentator of 1919 proposed that the effect might be heightened by means of a blood-red cloth thrown over the head. Hannibal's departure from Italy

formed the scenic climax of the performance as a result of the combination of stage designer, Emil Pirchan's background and the display of Hannibal's touching sorrow which captured the admiration of critics. In contrast, pictures of the fourth section of Grabbe's drama were viewed critically, especially because of the omission of the battle description and the concentration of the later Carthaginian scenes into one place. The presentation of the Moloch scene was also deemed unsatisfactory. It failed to find the necessary impetus and the swinging of the torches by the Punic women in the shadow of the towering, red, glowing god was too tame. It was likened to a glow-worm roundelay which would have benefitted from a greater emphasis on rhythm to extend and project the spoken word. Again it was the combination of an appropriately impressive setting with the competent acting talents of Waldau (Prusias), Steinrueck (Hannibal), and Stieler (Turnu) which elevated the Bithynian episodes to highlights of the production. They gave a good impression of the confrontation of the great man of history with the vain, petty Byzantine monarch, and there was only one reviewer who cautioned against the danger of a possible descent into the operatic.

The scenes were enacted on the Shakespeare stage, and frequent allusion has been made to the debt Steinrueck owed to Emil Pirchan for the impact of many scenes. Despite this, our impressions of props, scenery, and costumes remain sketchy. It has been suggested that the settings for the Punic city were inspired by descriptions in Flaubert's novel, Salamambo, which unfolds in Carthage at the time of the Mercenaries' War<sup>21</sup>. The most comprehensive reference to Pirchan's technique was provided by Kurt Moreck in the Allgemeine Zeitung of 5 January 1919:

Emil Pirchan schuf die Ausgestaltung des Buehnenraumes vom Prinzip antinaturalistischer Illusionsfoerderung aus, indem er der Phantasie des Zuschauers richtungsweisende Anregungen gab. Stark und eindrucksvoll im Farbigen, gab er der dramatischen Stimmung kongruente, auf Monumentalitaet hinstrebende und sie erreichende Bilder and in ihnen gleichsam schlagende Formeln als Symbol der Szene. Groesse der Flaechen, gewaehlte Lichtverteilung in dem hier angewandten Prinzip bedeuten Konzentration aller Sinne und staerkere Einstellung auf das Wort des Dichters, die Pirchan hier zu erreichen vollkommen gelang. Die Verwirklichung dieser Absicht, auch im Buehnenbild vom Dichter und der Dichtung ausgehend und sich ihnen unterordnend verinnerlichter Ausdruckskunst, Raum zu schaffen, sei freudig begruesst, um so mehr, da sie an einer Stelle beginnt, wo in dieser Beziehung schreckliche Rueckstaendigkeit und ein oft nicht mehr zu messender Ungeschmack herrschte.

Pirchan was to become known as one of the most prominent Expressionist stage painters, and it is hardly surprising that his sets for the first Hannibal production already showed features recognized by the above critic as "Ausdruckskunst". No particularly distinctive musical or sound effects predominated, apart from the blowing of the trumpet between each scene. A disturbing feature of the whole performance was the excessive shouting of some members of the cast, and even Steinrueck was not exempt from this criticism, being accused of occasionally flaunting on the stage and speaking too loudly. Again a hint of an Expressionist influence manifests itself here, as Expressionist theatre came to be characterized by a form of speech which rose to declamation and often shouting<sup>22</sup>.

Reservations have been expressed as regards the dual function of Steinrueck as the producer and holder of the title role, especially for a production of Hannibal's magnitude. Advertising photographs show him attired in a costume appropriate to his race and occupation, and his physical impression of a warrior and leader of men was at least to some extent matched by his acting. He brought out the contrasts in Hannibal's character, counterbalancing the soldierly harshness,

decisiveness, and insensibility by a portrayal of the human side of the general's nature. His most outstanding moments occurred with his receipt of Hasdrubal's head, his own departure from Italy, and his death in Bithynia. Steinrueck's ability to bring out this facet of Hannibal's nature corresponds with Grabbe's aim of endowing the cold figure of history with human warmth, an intention which the dramatist expressed in a letter to Immermann of 11 February 1835: "Den Hannibal menschlich zu machen, war 'ne Kunst, er steht in der Geschichte wie eine kalte Mythe" (WuB, VI, 156).

Other actors are given a more fleeting reference. Wohlmuth, Hoefler, and Ulmer embodied Melkir, Hanno, and Gisgon respectively. Hoefler's performance was characterized by scratching which was meant to convey a comic effect. Ulmer's Gisgon was so good that one reviewer voiced the opinion that he would have been suited for the part of Hannibal. Of the Carthaginian noble family, Jacobi played a dignified Barkas whose granddaughter, Alitta was acted competently and passionately by Frl. Lena. On the Roman side, the Scipio brothers were portrayed in such a way that their differences of character became visible. Graumann played the elder brother sharply, dryly, and prudently, and Janssen was a gloomy, boasting, and vain younger Scipio. Waldau played the part of Prusias, and his controlled acting formed a counterweight to the tragedy of the whole drama. To fill all the secondary roles, Steinrueck required not only the cooperation of the theatre ensemble but of the ensemble from the opera as well. Even then, fourteen actors had to appear as two or sometimes even three figures in the course of the drama, although this did not prevent them from earning consistently favourable criticism as a group.

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Play-bill compiled by the Lippische Landesbibliothek.

F.G., "Grabbe-Urauffuehrung in Muenchen," Leipziger Tageblatt (21 December 1918).

G.J. Wolf, "Hannibal. Tragoedie von Christian Dietrich Grabbe. (Urauffuehrung im Muenchner Nationaltheater)," Muenchen-Augsburger Abendzeitung (21 December 1918).

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Victor Manheimer, "Andrejew, Grabbe, Halbe," Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung (7 February 1919).

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Edgar Steiger, "Schauspiel und Festspiel. Randbemerkungen zu den Muenchner Festspielen," Berliner Lokalanzeiger (19 August 1919).

Eugen Kilian, "Grabbes Hannibal auf dem Theater," in Der Merker: Oesterreichische Zeitschrift fuer Musik und Theater, 12 (1921).

(ii) Leopold Jessner's Production of Hannibal

The wave of events that had enabled Steinrueck to assume the directorship of drama at the Nationaltheater in Munich was also responsible for bringing Leopold Jessner to B e r l i n in the summer of 1919. The Jewish socialist had been called from his position of "Intendant" in Koenigsberg to take over the administration of the Staatstheater (the former Koenigliches Schauspielhaus) and the Schiller-Theater, and he soon established himself alongside Max Reinhardt as a producer of great merit in a city with no fewer than forty theatres. In May 1922, using his own adaptation, he staged Grabbe's Napoleon at the Staatliches Schauspielhaus and repeated it at the Schiller-Theater in March 1925. Later that year, he turned his attention to Hannibal which was performed at the S c h a u s p i e l h a u s on Sunday, 17 October and played on fourteen more occasions until 15 November 1925<sup>23</sup>. Two actors listed in the programme, Albert Florath and Wilhelm Krueger, shared the distinction of having participated in the very first theatrical rendition of the drama in 1916. Jessner's production could only have attracted greater attention by the fact that actors and actresses of excellent repute, including Werner Krauss and Agnes Straub, were cast in important roles.

Compared to the political turbulence which predominated in Germany from the end of the war until 1924, the mid 1920s were a time of slightly greater stability. This stability was largely illusory, but it nevertheless exerted its effect on the theatre. The vigorous fostering of Expressionist themes and styles of the earlier years of the 1920s weakened, although many elements which had been adopted for the first time in Expressionist theatre were retained

in the form of certain stage techniques and attitudes to decoration, lighting, and modes of acting<sup>24</sup>. Social and political themes were given less emphasis. This fundamental change was to be observed in the critical evaluations of Jessner's Hannibal production. They contained considerably fewer allusions to topical features than reports of the 1918 and 1919 Munich performances, and those few remarks there were mainly referred to social and political events of the first two years after the war. The large gap in time meant that the similarities were not felt so keenly and very few specific parallels were drawn. One exception is to be found in the report of Franz Servacs in the Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger of 19 October 1925:

Diesmal stieg wirklich die Weltgeschichte auf die Buehne. Und in einem Spiel, das Vorgaenge, die rund zwei Jahrhunderte vor unserer Zeitrechnung sich ereigneten, widerspiegelte, spiegelte sich momentweise unsere eigene Zeit. So wenn Geld- und Haendlerinteressen die nationale Schwungkraft eines Volkes, diesmal des karthagischen, niederhalten und laehmen. Oder wenn brutale und hoffaertige Sieger, diesmal die Roemer, den zu Boden geworfenen Feind zuerst der Waffen beraubten, um ihn hinterher desto tiefer zu demuuetigen und zu knechten. Dies alles hat sich schon einmal ereignet und ein deutscher Dichter hat es vor drei Menschenaltern in einer der gewaltigsten Tragoedien, die je geschrieben wurden, gestaltet.

Reference is not only to the humiliations heaped upon Germany by the Allies with the Versailles Treaty. The comments may also be understood to apply to the period of gross and uncontrolled inflation which culminated in the currency reform of 1923, as well as to the occupation of the Ruhr in that same year by a French-Belgian contingent because of Germany's failure to keep up with the payment of reparations. Alfred Kerr, on the other hand, who, like his rival, Herbert Jhering, became one of the best-known theatre critics in Berlin and in particular of Jessner's theatre, totally dismissed the possibility of any parallel between the Punic drama and contemporary history<sup>25</sup>.

More stress has been placed on the artistic and dramaturgical merits of the performance. Attention was devoted to the role of Jessner as adaptor and his method of drawing scenes together, omitting others and pruning the work of all non-essential dialogue and action to accomplish what he himself called: "die Uebertragung der dichterischen Vorstellung in die Moeglichkeiten der Buehne"<sup>26</sup>.

Because of the detailed examination of the adaptation in Part One, any further discussion of it would be superfluous. There is nothing to suggest that Jessner played a sequence of scenes that differed from it<sup>27</sup>. Of interest here are the impressions made when the printed word is brought to life by actors and actresses in an environment endowed with colour, light, and sound.

Like Steinrueck, Jessner succeeded in bringing out sharp contrasts in the exposition between the two antagonistic world powers. The roguish and underhand dealings of the Carthaginian triumvirate had their opposite in the sober reasoning of the Roman Senate and in the resoluteness of the people it represents. Herbert Jhering describes this scene as: "hervorragend in der Raumgliederung, auffallend in der sprachlichen Plastik und schauspielerisch von Kraussneck (Konsul) wundervoll gehalten"<sup>28</sup>. An unfortunate effect emerged in the Numantia scene with the duck-like noises of the Celtiberians. The amalgamation of the wine festival and Hannibal's departure from Italy has received mixed comments. The union has resulted in the contravention of the logical time sequence, since the Punier remained in Capua for a whole winter, but the scene did constitute a highlight. The humorous and joyous aspects of the Italian carnival were built up and underlined so that the abrupt interruption of the festival by the terrible tragedy created in the theatrical portrayal the shattering effect the dramatist

intended in order to make the scene a climax and turning point of the action. The manner in which the merrymaking was produced, however, earned itself the term "Opernschablone"<sup>29</sup>, and ran counter to Jessner's own aim, expressed in the foreword of his adaptation, of avoiding any reminiscence of opera<sup>30</sup>. The mid-twenties and later twenties witnessed a burgeoning not only of serious theatre but also of more frivolous types of theatrical entertainment, and operetta, formerly seldom seen on the stage in Berlin, gained in popularity<sup>31</sup>.

Of the bracket of scenes set in Carthage, it is the meeting of Hannibal and his grandfather, Barkas, which stood out. Jessner evoked a tonal contrast in which the sound of the Roman tuba penetrates into the personal atmosphere of the family reunion and at the same time acts as a pointer to the approaching battle. This scene superseded both that of the battle and the Roman declaration of the peace conditions in impact. Jessner has differed from Steinrueck in retaining the scene of the burning of Carthage amongst the Bithynian ones<sup>32</sup>. If the final actions of the Punic women were given too meek an expression in the 1918 premiere, it was almost unanimously agreed in 1925 that the wild and uncontrolled ballet, danced by the maidens bearing flares would have been more appropriate in a review or operetta. The impression of over-exaggeration was reinforced by the long, coughing song with which Barkas accompanied the dancing. Jessner was well aware of the ease with which the figure of Prusias could appear in a comic light on the stage. He took pains to avoid this from the outset by deleting the sneezing episode from the action. The Byzantine king came across as a pompous figure with an overbearing pride behind which were hidden weakness and buffoonery. These characteristics

emerged most clearly in his betrayal of Hannibal to the Romans and in his arrangement of folds of the cloak placed over the Punier's body.

In the introduction of his adaptation, Jessner indicated his conception of the setting for his production. The drama was not to be bound by the constraints of an historical milieu which a representational setting would have imposed. Jessner aimed at unobtrusive backdrops, giving a suggestion of a certain area, and these would be infused with light and colour to evoke different symbolical impressions. His theoretical solution was translated into reality by stage designer, Sigfrid Sebba, who used a clear sky backdrop, the colour of which could be changed at will to indicate a new place. The sky over Carthage, for example, was desert-yellow and was altered to blue when Italy became the place of action. By this means the different continents, Africa, Europe, and Asia Minor became clearly recognizable without specification. Sebba also provided several illustrations for the arrangement of the stage which have already been remarked upon briefly in the discussion of the adaptation<sup>33</sup>. The stage floor was broken up into three different acting surfaces placed at various angles to each other, and visible on two of them was a movable stair-like construction. In both of these features, Jessner had been strongly influenced by the stage theorists, Appia and Craig<sup>34</sup>. Sebba's three illustrations designed for particular scenes demonstrate that the principle of simplicity governed not only the stage backdrop proper, but the whole stage environment. Jessner has joined together the first and second scenes of Grabbe's drama, but Sebba's special stage makes it clear that he strove to preserve the private and public aspects inherent in the new scene. On a platform closer to the

audience, he has erected a wall, reminiscent of that of an inside corner of a building. It is broken by three large openings through which the activities of the people on the market place behind are visible. The intimate conversation between Alitta and her lover can take place on the front stage while the steps and planes on the recessed part of the stage form the centre for the business transactions. The only other decorations are a few pyramidal-like structures suggesting an African locality.

For the Senate scene, the wall from the first picture has been removed and the higher steps on the more elevated platform become the heart of the Senate from which the announcement of the leading actors are made. As an indicator of place, the steps are adorned with a group of six plain pillars which further draw the eye of the spectator and of the lesser members of the governing body of Rome (who are standing on the lower expanses of the stage and to the rear of the steps) towards this focal point. The third sketch depicts the Roman encampment in Africa. For this the steps have been removed and replaced on the higher platform by six tents arranged in groups and singly, while one solitary tent adorns another platform towards the front of the stage. In the background some stylized rock formations may be seen. The decor was, on the whole, characterized by its unclutteredness, but another element was criticized by Herbert Jhering:

In einer Zeit der Revuen und grossen Opern, von denen jede zweite exotische Bilderbogen gibt, kann man nicht mit Turbanen, Fruchtkoerben, Winzerfesten, Fackeln arbeiten, auch wenn sie kuenstlerisch und literarisch richtig sind. Jessner haette fuer die Marktszene in Karthago, fuer die Winzerszene in Italien andere, neutrale Kostueme waehlen muessen. ... Sigfrid Sebba zeigte in den Farben leider altes Theater. ... Sebba gibt unter Jessners Leitung 35 Raumdisposition, aber mit dekorativen Verkitschungen.

Jhering was one of the few critics of the 1920s who could back up his opinions with practical experience and a thorough knowledge of the theatre because he had been a drama producer and stage manager in Vienna, unlike such commentators as Alfred Kerr and Max Osborn who were products of the university.

The simplicity of the settings had the effect of making the changes of scene less problematic, but it meant that the curtains had to be opened and closed disturbingly frequently to make the ever-changing scene vivid by means of new movable scenery. This became annoying for the audience and heightened any dramaturgical shortcomings even more.

Werner Krauss in the title role appeared on stage as a one-eyed man with a Semitic cast of feature, in keeping with a member of the Phoenician race. It was this characteristic that later enabled the actor to play a number of the Jewish roles in Veit Harlan's film Jud Suess, during the National Socialist period. His countenance has been described by Kurt Aram in Taegliche Rundschau of 20 October 1925 as having a resemblance to Grabbe's own face; this likeness may have been deliberately promoted since Hannibal has consistently been hailed as the most personal of Grabbe's dramas. Krauss stood commandingly in the foreground of the action in his portrayal of the Punic general which was acclaimed as one of his strongest roles at the time of the production. He interpreted the figure as a man smitten by fate, a strong human being whose will is smashed because of the misunderstanding and hollowness of others, and the actor brought out the obstinacy and endurance of the figure rather than emphasizing his moments of human warmth and feeling. His cool, plain style of acting gave way on two or three occasions to explosive

outbursts, and he demonstrated at those times a tendency to noisiness and wildness. His most memorable moments, however, appeared to have coincided with these outbursts and mainly occurred from the time when the throwing of his brother's head at his feet seals the irreversibility of his fate. Here he wept, but dryly and in an heroic manner. The revelation of his weaker emotions seen with the demonstration of his melancholy at having to leave Italy did not exert the same impact as the scene of his confrontation with Scipio the Younger:

Er [Hannibal] und der juengere Scipio stehen sich gegenueber. Treffend maskiert der karthagische Feldherr seine Meinung hinter leutseligen Mitteilungen. Als der Roemer die Kriegsentschaedigung wissen will, da klingt die Antwort von Krauss unnachgiebig. Dem Verlangen der Feinde, bedingungslose Uebergabe auf Gnade und Ungnade, pariert Hannibal mit dem dumpfen Schlachtruf angetasteter Ehre. Von dieser Szene an fuellen sich die Eindruecke mit der Strenge und Haerte des Charakters und gipfeln in dem grandiosen Abklang des heldischen Lebens.<sup>38</sup>

His heroic attitude, therefore, is maintained to the very end where he stands aged but unbroken before Prusias and drinks poison with an idle gesture, the direct antithesis to that Brecht strove for in the final scene of his Hannibal fragment. This last scene, simply entitled "Hannibals Tod" in Jessner's adaptation, has been robbed of its more personal surroundings because it took place in the large throne room at the court of King Prusias. "Schwarzer Pilot, wer bist Du", spoken by Hannibal as he hails death, was almost inaudible in contrast to the sound of his body falling finally after a long lingering death, marked by too many asides and pauses which had a tiresome effect.

The other actors and actresses were somewhat eclipsed by Krauss' Hannibal. The Carthaginian schemers, Melkir, Hanno, and Gisgon, played by Albert Florath, Wolf Trutz, and Ferdinand Hart respectively, were conceived of as a type of vermin, hatching vile plans in a cellar-like room. Of the three acting achievements, it was Florath's

performance as the bloated, sluggish merchant Melkir which stood out. Fritz Valk's Barkas was creditable in the scene of the reunion but his overall portrayal of the figure was marked by a tendency to sway back and forth between a naturalistic characterization of old age and declamation. Agnes Straub's Alitta was viewed as a less important character whose best effort was seen in the opening picture, not in her final appearance in the drama. Of the Romans, Carl Ebert portrayed the younger of the Scipio brothers, with a cold-hearted objectivity, projecting the idea of a radiant, heroic, cutting character. He overshadowed his brother, played by Gustav Keune. Erwin Faber depicted Prusias as an effected tyrant and dilettante. According to one critic, he removed much of the sting from the figure, making it difficult for the spectator to grasp his true position at the end of the tragedy.

The overall effect the production made on those who were present was a somewhat tempered one. Although it was considered an adequate attempt, and was sometimes even described as good, it was not upheld as one of Jessner's outstanding successes on a par with his Wallenstein of the previous year. Despite the fact that the theatre director had devoted a lot of study to the drama and was able to produce good features and even climaxes, it was said that the action lacked the tempo to grip the imagination of the spectator and hold his attention.

List of Reviews:

Programme: Staatstheater, Schauspielhaus Berlin am Gendarmenmarkt.

Play-bill.

R.A., "Grabbes Hannibal im Staatstheater, "Taegliche Rundschau (18 October 1925).

Max Hochdorf, "Grabbes Hannibal im Staatstheater, "Vorwaerts. Berliner Volksblatt (18 October 1925).

Herbert Jhering, "Hannibal. Staatstheater," Berliner Boersen-Courier (19 October 1925).

Franz Servacs, "Grabbes Hannibal im Staatstheater, "Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger (19 October 1925).

Alfred Kerr, "Grabbes Hannibal. Staatstheater," Berliner Tageblatt und Handels-Zeitung (19 October 1925).

Norbert Falk, "Grabbes Hannibal im Staatstheater. Hannibal: Werner Krauss, "Berliner Zeitung am Mittag (19 October 1925).

Hugo Kubsch, "Grabbes Hannibal. Staatliches Schauspielhaus," Deutsche Tageszeitung (19 October 1925).

Alfred Muehr, "Werner Krauss als Hannibal. Inszenierung: Leopold Jessner. Staatliches Schauspielhaus, "Deutsche Zeitung (19 October 1925).

Hans W. Fischer, (Title missing), Die Welt (19 October 1925).

Rolf Nuernberg, "Hannibal im Staatsschauspielhaus, "Neue Berliner Zeitung (19 October 1925).

Alfred Klaar, "Grabbes Hannibal. Erstauffuehrung im Staatstheater," Vossische Zeitung (19 October 1925).

Max Osborn, "Grabbes Hannibal. Auffuehrung im Staatstheater," Berliner Morgenpost (20 October 1925).

Kurt Aram, "Grabbes Hannibal im Staatstheater, "Taegliche Rundschau (20 October 1925).

H.H.B., "Hannibal von Chr. D. Grabbe. Erstauffuehrung, "Die deutsche Kritik. Zeitschrift und Sammelwerk fuer Theater-Interessenten, II, 27 (1925).

(iii) Further Productions

During the period of the Weimar Republic, there were eleven more productions of Grabbe's Punic drama, most of which took place between 1919 and 1925<sup>37</sup>. On 31 October 1919 the tragedy was staged at the Schauspielhaus, Cologne, under the guidance of Johannes Tralow. The reviewers of this presentation had been influenced by the same social circumstances as the critics of the premiere a little less than one year previously, and not unexpectedly, those in Cologne also recognized in the Hannibal production a reflection of modern literary trends and political events. A writer in the Rheinische Zeitung of 3 November 1919 has captured the quintessence of the prevailing opinion, but has added a further dimension to the historical parallels inherent in the drama by his equation of the vain and hollow image projected of King Prusias with the popular image of Kaiser Wilhelm II:

Die scharf umrissenen Stichproben aus Hannibals Leben und Tod, die mit der geschichtlichen Wahrheit sehr frei umgehen, tragen Merkmale jener Kunst des Ausdrucks, des Expressionismus, die auf dem Banner der jüngsten Dramatiker als Allerneuestes steht. Und, seherischer Dichter, sei bedankt fuer den Prusias von Bithynien! Wer je die Tragikomoedie der letzten Hohenzollern auf dem Thron schreiben wird, wer je den Gegensatz von byzantischer Fassade und innerer Leere buhnenerschuetternd gestalten will, der wird kein keckeres Vorbild finden, als die Prusias-Szenen Grabbes.<sup>38</sup>

As far as the dramaturgical effect of the tragedy was concerned, the audience apparently found difficulty in comprehending the action on the stage and received the drama in a cool manner. This was attributed both to their own lack of knowledge of Punic history and to the new composition of the work which Tralow presented in a series of seventeen scenes. The cutting out of portions such as the information in (3) regarding the capture of the messenger by the rulers of Carthage and the later report of the Battle of Zama

exerted a detrimental effect by making the course of events less intelligible. The producer, on the other hand, attained a fluent progression of action. This was partly due to his restriction of some of the settings to a narrow section of stage framed by curtains. His employment of this technique for the market and Senate scenes, however, was too inhibiting. In the latter, the consuls and senators, seated between four pillars, were unable to see each other. The plainness of this setting contrasted sharply with the decorative splendour which marked other scenes, such as that depicting a harbour at night with the silhouette of large sails and shimmering stars. Tralow's mixture of stylisation and illusion in the stage decorations was considered mainly in a negative light<sup>39</sup>, as indeed were many of the sound effects. The Moloch scene was enacted against a musical background of Wagner's Walkuerentritt, and a general tendency towards overplaying was epitomized by the folk scenes which were so noisy that much of the dialogue was lost to the spectator. A linguistic irregularity was a characteristic of Hellmuth Pfund's rendition of Hannibal, as he spoke with a marked Silesian accent. In addition he was considered somewhat too young for the role, but managed to bring out the tough and resilient side of the general's nature and his longing and sensitivity. His opponents, the Scipio brothers, played by Heinz Froitzheim and Richard Assmann, did not give outstanding performances.

List of Reviews:

Play-bill.

F.B., "Schauspielhaus. Grabbe: Hannibal," Koelner Tageblatt  
(1 November 1919).

G. Hoelscher, "Grabbes Hannibal," Koelnische Volkszeitung  
(3 November 1919).

Dr Walter Schmits, "Grabbes Hannibal," Koelnische Zeitung  
(3 November 1919).

Wilhelm Stoeppler, "Schauspielhaus. Hannibal," Rheinische Volkswacht  
(3 November 1919).

-y-, "Hannibal von Grabbe," Rheinische Zeitung (3 November 1919).

F. Joehlinger, "Hannibal von Grabbe," Berliner Boersen-Zeitung  
(7 November 1919).

Dr Rud. Regeniter, "Koelner Erstauffuehrung: Grabbes Hannibal,"  
Duesseldorfer Nachrichten (8 November 1919).

K.v.St., "Grabbes Tragoedie Hannibal," Berliner Tageblatt  
(12 November 1919).

W. Schnell, Fregattenkapitaen v.D., "Die Karthager und wir,"  
Deutsche Zeitung (3 December 1919).

The first production of Hannibal to be undertaken by a theatre in a smaller city was staged at the L o b e - T h e a t e r in B r e s l a u on 2 February 1920. The performance was preceded by an introductory address in which the producer, Richard Gorter, provided the audience with explicit details about the relationship between aspects of the drama and events during and after the war, thereby seeking to justify his "experiment". His preamble was judged to be superfluous, because it removed the element of surprise which had exerted such a profound impact on the spectators of 1918 and because the prophetic qualities of Grabbe's Punic drama emerged quite clearly as the action unfolded<sup>40</sup>. In contrast to Tralow's scenes, Gorter's sequence of seventeen pictures which he described as a "Skizzenmappe", gave a very good understanding of the events taking place, despite the fact that deletions were inevitable.

Gorter's adaptation was said to resemble Kilian's with the difference that a more balanced picture emerged as a result of the retention of the Roman scenes, some of which Kilian had seen fit to remove<sup>41</sup>.

The demands of a drama of Hannibal's proportions were, however, frequently unable to be met adequately by the Lobe-Theater for it lacked the more refined technical apparatus and range of personnel of a playhouse in a larger city. Thus, many of the aspects of the production were simplified as much as possible. This manifested itself in the omission of the market scene with its requirement of a disciplined body of actors for walk-on parts. Other scenes calling for rich adornment or a wide acting expanse such as that in the Roman Senate, on the plain in Cajeta, before the statue of Moloch, and at the Bithynian court had to be played against a background decorated with insufficient hints of the place of action. The Senate scene fell short even more because of the manner in which the action was executed. The impression of control and determination, so vital for the effect of the scene, failed to emerge, and the reason was clearly stated in the Breslauer Zeitung of 4 February 1920:

Weder trat vielfach das Wesen der einzelnen Persoenlichkeiten, noch die Bedeutung der einzelnen Bilder mit genuegender Schaerfe zutage. Das gilt... von der Sitzung des keineswegs an eine Versammlung von Koenigen gemahnenden roemischen Senats, an dessen Spitze ein<sup>42</sup>nicht genuegend fester Konsul in Julius Barna ... thronte.

The wine festival put one in mind of a ballet interlude.

To facilitate the flow of action, Gorter employed the simple device of the double stage suggested by Kilian. It was composed of a front stage for more intimate scenes and a more expansive back stage which could be revealed by the drawing back of the dividing curtain when a landscape was to form the backdrop. The lack of technical aids even forced many sound and stage effects to be carried out by the actors themselves with not always fortunate results. This was true of the over-eccentric behaviour of the Celtiberian army, the unnatural

sounding roar of the oxen, made by human voices, and the noise of battle which inevitably sounded absurd to those spectators who had so recently experienced it at first hand.

It was the aim of the producer to give unity to the scenes through the figure of Hannibal played by Franck. Critics differ in their opinion of his performance, some praising his heroic moments when the tough character of the general came to the fore, others taking him to task for inappropriate shouting and commenting favourably instead, on his revelation of the gentle and more emotional side of the Punier's nature. Certainly he did not conform physically to one's expectation of the Carthaginian general. He had a stocky figure, was thick-necked and almost ugly. Paul Kohlmann-Heyde as his faithful servant, Turnu, elevated the description of the burning of Carthage to one of the climaxes of the performance. A further characteristic which stood out positively from the generally mediocre acting was that of Josef Halpern as Prusias who avoided allowing the figure to become a mere caricature. Although the production was clearly marred by many flaws, the audience appreciated the producer's attempt to bring the drama on to the Breslau stage.

List of Reviews:

Play-bill compiled by the Lippische Landesbibliothek.

Paul Rille, "Grabbe: Hannibal. Erstauffuehrung im Lobetheater," Breslauer Neueste Nachrichten (3 February 1920).

Erich Freund, "Lobe-Theater. Montag, 2. Februar: Hannibal. Tragoedie von Christian Dietrich Grabbe," Breslauer Morgenzeitung (4 February 1920).

Wa., "Breslauer Theater. Lobetheater," Breslauer Zeitung (4 February 1920).

"Lobetheater. Erstauffuehrung von Grabbes Hannibal," Schlesische Volkszeitung (4 February 1920).

A.D., "Chr. Fr. [sic] Grabbes Hannibal im Lobetheater. Zur Erstauffuehrung am 2. Februar," Schlesische Zeitung (4 February 1920).

"Lobe-Theater. Hannibal," Volkswacht (4 February 1920).

G.Z., "Breslauer Theater und Konzerte. Lobe-Theater. Zum ersten Male: Hannibal. Tragoedie in 2 Abtl. (17 Bildern) von Christian Dietrich Grabbe," Schlesische Tagespost (5 February 1920).

F., "Grabbes Hannibal in Breslau," Berliner Boersen-Courier (6 February 1920).

F.E.B., "Grabbes Hannibal im Lobe-Theater," Berliner Boersenzeitung (8 February 1920).

The final evening of the 1920 theatre season at the H o f - und L a n d e s t h e a t e r in M e i n i n g e n on 15 April was devoted to Dr Franz Ulbrich's adaptation and production of Hannibal which was divided into twenty pictures. Because of the paucity of critical reviews about the performance (only one exists), we have very few impressions about its effects. The scenery was simple and yet monumentally effective, and was most probably of a representational rather than an abstract or stylized nature since the producer strove to render authentically the landscape, national, and historical details and distinguish between the three continents in this way. Criticism has been made of Ulbrich's treatment of the Prusias scenes which were almost farcical and so offered what was considered an inadequate anticlimax to the demonstration of Carthage's and Hannibal's tragic fate. The scope of the drama demanded the involvement of almost the whole of the theatre's personnel. The most outstanding moments of Franz Nachbaur's Hannibal were those in which his emotions were demonstrated, whereas his somewhat weak voice was less suitable for the portrayal of the bellicose and rougher traits of the general's nature.

Review:

Play-bill compiled by the Lippische Landesbibliothek.

R.C.C., "Hof- und Landestheater. Letzte Vorstellung der Spielzeit. Grabbe's Hannibal. In der Buehnenbearbeitung von Dr Franz Ulbrich," Meininger Tageblatt (17 April 1920).

The production by Waldemar Juergens at the F r i e d r i c h -  
T h e a t e r, D e s s a u, on 22 February 1921 was in accord with  
many of the early presentations of Grabbe's Hannibal in that it was  
motivated by the prevailing political and cultural situation. Again  
Grabbe's drama was viewed against a background of contemporary  
literature and certain aspects of Wedekind's style were held to be  
discernible in the Prusias scenes. The production was based on the  
adaptation of Eugen Kilian. This was further modified by Juergens  
to fifteen scenes, which were played on a stylized stage. The radical  
condensation of the work led to simplification but not to an improvement  
of the drama and it was believed that the play-bill could have been  
used more effectively to indicate not only the actors and actresses  
involved and give general comments, but also to provide remarks  
which might assist the public to a deeper understanding of the  
series of scenes. In the Cajeta episode, Juergens, to the apparent  
detriment of the drama, employed a solution that was not used in  
Kilian's adaptation but was reminiscent of the middle version of  
the Punic drama. The Roman emissary was struck down in the wings  
by three javelins<sup>43</sup>. In the picture depicting the general's  
departure from Italy, the symbolic intent behind the scenery was  
misconstrued by critics. The backdrop showed two pairs of painted,  
fully-blown sails standing stiffly and motionlessly on the sea, and  
this was held to be highly inadequate for a fleet intended to  
transport so many troops. However, the stage decoration of this

picture gives an indication of Juergens' production style. He aimed at a concentration on the spiritual reality of the work, with decorations and accessories often being limited to abbreviations and colourful hints. Of the statue of Moloch, for example, only the foot was visible. The title role was played by Mehring. Gildemeister gave a flexible portrayal of Turnu, and Kanzenel played Prusias. No one effort was singled out consistently as having been excellent.

List of Reviews:

Play-bill compiled by the Lippische Landesbibliothek.

"Christian Grabbe im Friedrich-Theater," Anhalter Anzeiger (16 February 1921).

"Grabbes Hannibal im Dessauer Friedrich-Theater," Anhalter Anzeiger (19 February 1921).

J., "Friedrich-Theater-Erstauffuehrung: Hannibal. Tragoedie von Grabbe," Volksblatt fuer Anhalter (23 February 1921).

v.K., "Friedrich-Theater," Anhalter Anzeiger (24 February 1921).

W. Sp., "Grabbes Hannibal im Dessauer Friedrich-Theater," Boersen Zeitung (25 February 1921).

The producer of the D o r t m u n d presentation of Hannibal in 1922, Wilhelm Maurenbrecher, also made use of Kilian's adaptation but adhered far more closely to it than Juergens had done. He presented the drama in eighteen pictures at the S t a d t t h e a t e r on 6 February to the "Verein Dortmunder Presse" and on 10 February to members of the general public. Emphasis was, on the whole, directed towards the word of the dramatist. The one scene inadequate in this regard was the first of the market episodes where the indifference of the crowd at the news of the victory was not accentuated enough.

The scene of the porter and his son was excellent. Here the stage-manager produced teichoscopia in its original meaning by transferring the place of action from the city gate to a portion of the city wall. The two figures appeared as dark silhouettes on a small portion of the wall, and, with their backs to the audience, they commented on the state of the battle. The stage decorations of Hans Wildermann were simple and often no more than a suggestion, with the marked exception of the scene of Hannibal's death when the stage was adorned with an ultramarine-blue palm tree. A feature of the production was the smooth and rapid progression of scenes which was directly attributed to the alternate use of the small and expansive acting surfaces as suggested by Kilian and used by Gorter in 1920:

Das Problem: Wechsel zwischen kurzer und langer Buehne (wie es Kilian angibt), loeste Wildermann durch einen Zwischenvorhang, der gelegentlich in der Mitte eine zeltfoermige Oeffnung aufwies, so dass - wo es notwendig war - auch bei Szenen, zu denen der Bearbeiter eine kurze Buehne vorschreibt, der Raum doch in seiner Tiefe zur Geltung kam.<sup>44</sup>

Walter Pittschau, as Hannibal, provided a unifying force for the drama and gave a balanced performance, elucidating the heroic and gentler sides of the Punier's nature, although he spoilt his acting performance by loudness especially in the earlier scenes.

List of Reviews:

Play-bill compiled by the Lippische Landesbibliothek.

Buehnenblatt des Stadttheaters Dortmund, I, 5 (1921/22).

Theo Schaefer, "Grabbes Hannibal. Zum 3. Westfalenabend des 'Pressevereins', "Dortmunder Zeitung (2 February 1922).

Wilh. Haeusgen, "Chr. Friedrich [sic] Grabbe," Westfaelische Allgemeine Volks-Zeitung (4 February 1922).

Th. Sch., "Stadttheater Dortmund. Zum ersten Male: Hannibal," Dortmunder Zeitung (8 February 1922).

f.l., "3. Westfalen-Abend. Grabbe: Hannibal," Tremonia (8 February 1922).

W.H., "Hannibal. Tragoedie in 18 Bildern von Chr. Dietr. Grabbe. Fuer die Auffuehrung eingerichtet von Eug. Kilian," Westfaelische Allgemeine Volks-Zeitung (8 February 1922).

F. Luetgenau, "Westfalenfest im Stadttheater. Hannibal, Tragoedie in 18 Bildern von Christian Dietrich Grabbe," Westfaelische Morgenzeitung (8 February 1922).

F.R., "Vom Dortmunder Stadttheater," Duesseldorfer Nachrichten (10 February 1922).

P., "Grabbes Hannibal in Dortmund," Rheinisch -Westfaelische Zeitung (10 February 1922).

"Stadt-Theater in Dortmund. Hannibal," Generalanzeiger (11 February 1922).

The producer of the 1919 Cologne production, Johannes Tralow, was responsible for the F r a n k f u r t premiere of the drama at the S c h a u s p i e l h a u s on 4 November 1922. It formed one of his first undertakings as a new producer in Frankfurt and it has been suggested that his choice of play may have been influenced by the fact that Grabbe was working on the tragedy when he was residing in the city for a short time in 1834.

For the eighteen scenes, one more than was played in Cologne, fifteen stage sets of strong colour were designed by Ludwig Sievert whose settings assisted in drawing diverse elements of the drama more closely together and yet in making plain contrasts between the three main places of action, Carthage, Rome, and Bithynia. The stage was flanked by side portals in the form of red ornamental flames reputedly symbolizing Hannibal's unhappy love with his fatherland. These portals could be moved in or drawn apart according to necessity. The glow and vibrance of the African world was offset

sharply against the clear, factual world of reason of the Romans. The profusion of races in the Carthaginian market place was emphasized by gaudy colours. Cinnabar was placed beside cobalt-blue, and the action took place on red terraces against light walls. Tralow used platforms in much the same way as Jessner to divide the movements of certain groups of actors from each other within scenes<sup>45</sup>. Moloch was depicted as a huge silhouette stretching in monumental fashion into the smouldering sky.

Whilst the decorations were largely viewed in a favourable light, other features came in for criticism. The whole performance and the mass scenes in particular resembled Tralow's 1919 production because of the exaggerated noise, and again the arrangement of the Senate scene was unsatisfactory. The senators sat hidden behind a type of wall and only came into view when the assembly arose. The few pictures singled out for their merit were the scene in which Hannibal was presented with his brother's head and that in which he knelt before King Prusias. Like Hellmuth Pfund, Richard Feist was not an ideal choice of actor for the protagonist. In ability he did not measure up to Steinrueck and physically he did not possess the stature one generally imagines of the Punic hero. Of the other roles, the Scipio brothers played by Hans Baumann and Ludwig Andersen, Alitta by Leontine Sagan, and Prusias by Fritz Odemar were creditable but failed to make up for the inadequacies in the acting of the title role. As after the Cologne production, the applause at the end did not indicate that the audience had become particularly closely involved or that the evening had been a great success.

List of Reviews:

Play-bill.

Dr M. Leuchs-Mack, "Frankfurter Schauspielhaus. Zum erstmal:  
Hannibal. Tragoedie in 5 Aufzuegen von Christian Dietrich Grabbe,"  
Frankfurter Nachrichten (6 November 1922).

Bernhard Diebold, "Hannibal von Grabbe. Erstauffuehrung im Frankfurter  
Schauspielhaus: 4 November," Frankfurter Zeitung (6 November 1922).

F.R., "Grabbes Hannibal. Erstauffuehrung im Frankfurter Schauspielhaus,"  
General Anzeiger (6 November 1922).

ng., "Grabbes Hannibal im Schauspielhaus," Volksstimme (6 November 1922).

J.M., "Grabbes Hannibal in Frankfurt," Berliner Boersen-Courier  
(10 November 1922).

"Grabbes Hannibal in Frankfurt a.M.," Hamburger Fremdenblatt  
(11 November 1922).

Werner Deubel, "Frankfurter Theaterbrief," Braunsch. Landeszeitung  
(12 November 1922).

M.G., "Hannibal im Frankfurter Schauspielhaus," Neue Badische Landes-  
Zeitung (20 November 1922).

Richard Dohse, "Frankfurt," Die Schoene Literatur. Beilage zum  
literarischen Zentralblatt fuer Deutschland (23 December 1922).

Erik Reger, "Merkbuch. Grabbe?," Die Scene. Blaetter fuer Buehnenkunst,  
XIII, 7 (1923).

The adaptor and producer of Hannibal at the H a n n o v e r  
O p e r n - u n d S c h a u s p i e l h a u s on 11 April 1923,  
Dr Rolf Roenneke, had already become closely acquainted with the  
Punic drama some years earlier through his participation in several  
roles at the recited portrayal of 1916<sup>46</sup>. In Hanover, he proved  
to be a capable producer, who reduced the work to twenty-one scenes,  
leaving out, amongst others, the market place activities (2) and  
the two despot pictures, (8) and (12). For technical reasons, his  
arrangement of scenic details had to be limited to suggestive  
decorations. The use of long flowing curtains offered a good,  
closed stage framework and in their simplicity, they tended to

concentrate all interest on to the main action and the spoken word, as had occurred in the 1916 presentation. Such sparing elements of scenery avoided all operatic pomp and nevertheless seem to have done justice to such scenes as the burning of Numantia, the wine festival in Cajeta, and the palace of King Prusias. The scenic changes took place rapidly and fluently. Unlike the Frankfurt production, the casting of Hannibal was extremely successful and contributed greatly to the very favourable reception of the performance. Hans Teschendorf presented a well-balanced, impressive rendition of the Carthaginian general, capturing the heroic and tender aspects of his nature<sup>47</sup>. The rest of the acting did not measure up to his high standard, but good performances were given by Hans Ebert as Turnu and Hugo Rudolph in the roles of Brasidas and Cato Censor. Special mention was given to the acting talents of little Boda Kernic who commented on the Battle of Zama. In almost every respect, the evening seemed to exert a favourable impact, and this could be gauged by the plea of some critics that Grabbe should not be permitted to fall into the background again but rather be promoted by the staging of others of his dramas.

#### List of Reviews:

Play-bill compiled by the Lippische Landesbibliothek.

Dr V., "Grabbe: Hannibal. Auffuehrung im Staedtischen Opern- und Schauspielhaus," Hannoverscher Kurier (12 April 1923).

W. Fg., "Hannibal. Erste Auffuehrung im Staedtischen Opern- und Schauspielhause," Hannoversches Tageblatt (12 April 1923).

Dr Fritz Wedekind, "Staedtisches Opern- und Schauspielhaus. Hannibal von Christian Dietrich Grabbe," Hannoversche Zeitung (12 April 1923).

Dr Erich Madsack, "Grabbes Hannibal. Erstauffuehrung des Opern- und Schauspielhauses," Hannoverscher Anzeiger (13 April 1923).

"Staedtisches Opern- und Schauspielhaus. Grabbes Hannibal," Niederdeutsche Zeitung (13 April 1923).

M.R., "Staedtisches Opern- und Schauspielhaus zu Hannover. Christian Dietrich Grabbes Hannibal," Volkswille (14 April 1923).

E.R., "Christian Dietrich Grabbes Einzug in das hannoversche Hoftheater. (11. April 1923: Hannibal. Eine Tragoedie)," Hannoversche Landeszeitung (15 April 1923).

At the time of Waldemar Juergens' second production of Hannibal which took place in B r e m e n in Mai 1925, the drama was still considered a difficult and rather risky undertaking. The performance taxed all the resources of the S t a d t t h e a t e r, and in contrast to the producer's 1921 presentation, the change from scene to scene was brought about by the use of the revolving stage. Fluency was partly attributed to the small number of fifteen scenes which resulted in a more compact drama, but, as with the producer's first attempt, the concentration of events impaired the clarity and understanding. Scenes such as "Grosser Marktplatz in Karthago", "Weite, schoene Flur bei Cajeta", and "In Karthago" were not played with enough dynamism and remained stiff and dry. Certain features of some pictures were nevertheless brought out to advantage. The inner pessimistic mood of the work was revealed in the opening scene and the tragic reversal of events at the wine festival was emphasized. One of the strongest moments was the school boy's description of the Battle of Zama, a feature of the 1923 production in Hanover as well. On the whole, the acting was said to be of a high calibre, with Hans Gruen as Hannibal, Leo Hubermann as Turnu, and Heinrich Kastner as Prusias.

List of Reviews:

Gerh. Hellmers, "Hannibal von Grabbe," Die deutsche Kritik. Zeitschrift und Sammelwerk fuer Theater-Interessenten (25 May 1925).

M.H. "Hannibal von Grabbe," Die deutsche Kritik (25 May 1925).

In June 1925, the Punic drama was staged at the S t a d t t h e a t e r, D u e s s e l d o r f, the city in which Grabbe had lived while completing the drama and for whose model theatre, under the direction of Immermann, he had acted as a theatre critic. It was this close connection of Grabbe's with Duesseldorf which prompted Muench to produce the drama. The work was treated in an operatic manner. The dialogue was often unclear, slovenly, or too loud, although there was fine acting from Balser as Gisgon, Bucher as Turnu, and Brand as Prusias. It appeared that Balser outranked Malkowsky (Hannibal) whose best moments came with his lament about the death of Hasdrubal and his own approach to death.

Review:

Dr Heinz Stolz, "Duesseldorf, Stadttheater. Hannibal von Chr. Dietrich Grabbe. Festspiele," Die deutsche Kritik. Zeitschrift und Sammelwerk fuer Theater-Interessenten (22 June 1925).

In the S t a e d t i s c h e S c h a u s p i e l e, B a d e n - B a d e n, on 18 November 1925, Hannibal was presented under the direction of Dr Hans Waag with stage decorations by Heinz Porep. The performance, not distinguished by any great actors or actresses, was arranged in seventeen pictures, from which the scene of the Battle of Zama was apparently absent. It is not mentioned on the play-bill and neither the boy nor his father feature in the list of performers. No comments seem to have survived pertaining to the reception and evaluation of the production.

Review:

Felix Poppenberg, "Grabbe-Grotesken. Zur morgigen Auffuehrung von Hannibal," Baden Badener Buehnenblatt (17 November 1925).

The final production of Grabbe's historical tragedy in the 1920s was performed in the *Stadttheater, Kiel* on 6 January and 24 February 1927 under the direction of Alfred Stoeger who was also responsible for adapting the drama for his presentation. The work took the form of 19 pictures which were divided into five acts, and the large number of actors required was reduced to a manageable forty. Even as late as 1927, comparisons between the fate of the Carthaginians as Grabbe presented it and the peace conditions imposed upon the German nation by the Allies were recognized and remarked upon by critics. The stage decoration was in the hands of F.X. Scherl who was said to have given a good sense of continuity to the course of events. The true strength of the performance, however, seems to have resided in the actors themselves, the most outstanding of whom was the portrayer of the protagonist, Edward Wandrey, who succeeded in giving Hannibal a human complexion, whilst he did not neglect the strong and determined side of the general. Turnu's utter devotion to his master found adequate expression in the person of Hermann Menschel. Otto Danza's portrayal of Prusias emphasized the contrast between Hannibal's fate and the hollowness of the Byzantine court. The performance was well-patronized and well-received.

Review:

A portion of the Programme.

C.C., "Wissenschaft, Kunst und Literatur. Kieler Stadttheater. Hannibal, Tragoedie von Christian Dietrich Grabbe;" Kieler Neueste Nachrichten (7 January 1927).

### 3. Productions between 1933 and 1945

#### (i) Karl Heinz Martin's Production of Hannibal

Seven years separated the final performance of Hannibal in the 1920s (Kiel, 1927) and the first one in the 1930s (Oldenburg, 1934). The intervening time saw the demise of the Weimar Republic and the installation of the National Socialist Regime early in 1933. From then until 1945, a completely new set of circumstances regulated all aspects of daily life in Germany. Those of relevance to this study must be mentioned, for they have a bearing on the productions of Hannibal which experienced its heyday in the theatre during the Third Reich.

Only a short while after the declaration of Hitler's leadership, a proposal was put forward which exerted a decisive influence over every cultural event taking place in the country. The "Reichsministerium fuer Volksaufklaerung und Propaganda" was established under the auspices of Josef Goebbels. This was composed of individual chambers for literature, the theatre, music, films, fine arts, the press, and broadcasting, and each of these chambers was responsible for directing all its activities for the good of, and in the spirit of, National Socialism. A fundamental difficulty one encounters when attempting to evaluate dramatic productions of the Third Reich arises precisely because of the all-embracing influence of these official bodies. Newspapers were totally state-controlled and there is scarcely an account free of a National Socialist bias: "Aufgabe der Presse ist es, als Kampfschrift und Sprachrohr des Nationalsozialismus aufzutreten. Jede objektive Berichterstattung ist unerwünscht, ja verboten"<sup>48</sup>.

The state encouraged the press to give favourable reviews of theatrical performances. These could act as powerful incentives to entice the people to visit the theatre, where, in turn, spectators would be confronted with a drama which had been chosen for its latent or overt propaganda potential. As early as 8 May 1933, Goebbels had made it clear to theatre directors that they, too, were to be significant instruments in the propagation of National Socialist ideas. In November 1936, the Propaganda Minister expressly forbade any criticism of the arts to appear in print. This was to be replaced by art consideration which would include "all there is to be said, but should not evaluate. The only possible standard for judging a work of art in the National Socialist State is the National Socialist concept of culture"<sup>49</sup>.

Not surprisingly, then, press reports about Hannibal during these years show a certain sameness, and many are embellished with peripheral comments regarding the dramatist which are selected because of their ideological suitability for National Socialism. Even so, variations do emerge in reviews because different facets of ideology may have been highlighted at different times and because producers, actors, and set makers inevitably brought their own special style to a production. Sometimes, too, the drama was staged on the independent initiative of individual producers, on other occasions it made guest appearances at the Grabbe Weeks and Days officially promoted by the state, which placed it in a somewhat different context.

The first outstanding production to be discussed here was performed at the Schiller-Theater, Berlin in 1941 and it made a further appearance in Detmold later that year at just such a Grabbe celebration. The director of the Schiller-Theater, Heinrich

George, had been present at the 1938 Detmold Grabbe Days and had been so impressed by Saladin Schmitt's presentation of the Punic drama that he invited him to bring the Bochum company to Berlin where George planned to play the role of Hannibal himself. No documentation exists to indicate that this project eventuated. George's encounter with the tragedy in 1938, however, may have provided him with the inspiration to include it in the repertoire of his own company three years later. The drama was performed by the ensemble of the Schiller-Theater on Saturday, 29 March 1941 after having been postponed from the previous Tuesday as a result of technical difficulties. The production was in the hands of Karl Heinz Martin and was his first task at the theatre although he had already staged Hannibal on 25 May 1940 in Munich with a different cast.

The National Socialists had strict standards with which an artist or writer had to comply before his work could even be considered for presentation. Thus, many reviews of the Berlin production alluded to features of Grabbe's character and dramas. Since they are valid for most productions of Hannibal during the Nazi period, it will be useful to expose those appearing in the press in 1941 before a discussion of the performance proper is attempted.

The view was held by the National Socialists that a work could not be separated from its creator. In the very nature of the writer resides the type of work he will produce, its contents, and the degree of its perfection <sup>50</sup>. Grabbe's Lower Saxon origins were emphasized and his Aryan descent gave producers licence to perform his dramas:

Grabbe, der Niedersachse, urspruenglich, bodenstaendig, der Heimat, den Werten und Idealen des Nordens verhaftet, herb, knorrig, eigenbroetlerisch, verhalten im Gefuehl, gedraengt, sparsam, knapp im sprachlichen Ausdruck, abhold allem Rhetorischen, war in der Tat "der einzige voelkische Visionaer seiner Zeit" (Rainer Schloesser)<sup>51</sup>.

Considered in a favourable light were his avowed longing for military activity in the peaceful Biedermeier period and his reaction against the sentimentality of the literature of the time in which he lived. This was manifested by his innovative dramas which gained very little recognition from contemporaries. By distorting a quotation made by an acquaintance of the dramatist during his student days in Berlin:

"Ein hiesiger Schriftsteller hat von mir gesagt: ich waere ein Mensch, den man erst nach Jahrhunderten verstehen wuerde" (WuB, V, 48)

to read:

"[ich] waere ein Mensch, den man erst nach hundert Jahren verstehen wuerde"<sup>52</sup>,

the reviewers were able to give the impression that the misunderstood dramatist had not been discovered until the advent of National Socialism and that Grabbe himself had been endowed with prophetic powers, a notion which was constantly reiterated in the press: "Er [Grabbe] ist nicht weniger ein Deuter unserer Vergangenheit, ein Kuender der Zukunft als Nietzsche"<sup>53</sup>.

Critics were also favourably impressed by his portrayal of great characters of history, men of action such as Marius, Sulla, Napoleon, and Hermann. History often provided the subject matter for dramas written and performed between 1933 and 1945, for "that which had passed" was said to show eternal, unchangeable laws and lasting validity which were relevant to the present<sup>54</sup>. It was noted, too, that many of Grabbe's heroes are solitary figures, Hannibal being no exception. Despite the large number of characters in the drama, he

has no real peers, and journalists argued that Scipio the Younger, who would form a natural antagonist to him, is inferior since he is, as a figure, an expression of an anonymous political power and carries out what he is commissioned to do by that power. In many dramas written in the Nazi years, including some by Bacmeister, Johst, and Moeller, the antagonist was deliberately placed on an unequal footing with the protagonist. As an embodiment of the "leader figure", the latter was to be positive and dynamic, whilst his opponents were representative of the negative and formed a contrast against which his heroic attributes could be offset<sup>55</sup>.

One reviewer defined Grabbe's Punic drama in terms of the heroic:

Hannibal ist kein historisches Drama im heutigen Sinne, kein Ideendrama, kein politisches Schauspiel, sondern eine Heldendichtung, die, wie das Heldische selbst, in grossartigen Visionen zum Betrachter spricht und auch im<sup>56</sup> Formalen nirgendwie in das uebliche Schema passen will.

Under the National Socialist Regime, the concept of the "hero" and the "heroic" took on a special meaning, becoming firmly embedded in the nomenclature of the Germanic studies of that time. In Truebner's Deutsches Woerterbuch (1939), the hero is described as: "ein heldischer (heroischer) Mensch, in dem Sinne, dass dieser eine gefaehrliche Situation mit Mut meistert"<sup>57</sup>. The figure of the hero was both representative of the past and binding for the present, and according to many theorists, was understood as the ideal embodiment of the German, displaying the qualities of courage and fearlessness. The hero in adversity was held in even higher esteem than the victorious hero, and this may account for the quotation by Friedrich Schiller which was placed prominently at the beginning of the programme for the Berlin performance and which some critics maintained

had been used as a mould for Grabbe's title figure:

Gross ist, wer das Furchtbare ueberwindet, erhaben ist, wer es, auch selbst unterliegend, nicht fuerchtet, HANNIBAL war theoretisch gross, als er sich ueber die unwegsamen Alpen den Durchgang nach Italien bahnte; praktisch gross and erhaben war er nur im Unglueck. Gross war Herkules, da er seine zwoelf Arbeiten unternahm und beendigte. Erhaben war Prometheus, da er, am Kaukasus angeschmiedet, seine Tat nicht bereute und sein Unrecht nicht eingestand. <sup>58</sup> Gross kann man sich im Glueck, erhaben nur im Unglueck zeigen.

The drama does, in fact, depict the downfall of the great soldier, whose military conquests are ruined by the machinations of the Carthaginian politicians and the lack of help from the people. This has prompted Westecker to describe it as: "das Schauspiel eines Voelkerkampfes, in dem der Geist der Voelker entscheidet"<sup>59</sup>.

The detailed attention paid to Martin's adaptation in the first part of this thesis makes it unnecessary to list his series of scenes again. The production deviated from the printed adaptation in one respect. The scene of the Battle of Zama was played separately, bringing the total number of pictures performed to nineteen<sup>60</sup>.

Abundant references to these scenes provide an excellent idea of their effectiveness.

The opening picture has been criticized as being overemphasized and played in an almost Expressionist manner. Particularly jarring was Alitta's wailing which was considered not in keeping with the nature of a woman with the bravery to set the town alight<sup>61</sup>. The action in (1) was also spoilt by a lack of clarity of diction. Beside this is placed the mass scene on the Carthaginian street, where the petty trading spirit of the African city was portrayed in such a way that the seeds of Hannibal's ultimate downfall were already sown. The image projected of Carthage was one of opulence, even decadence:

"Weiss leuchtend mit rund ueberwoelbten Kuppelhaeusern liegt  
Karthago, eine Wuestenstadt unter naechtlichem Sternenhimmel"<sup>62</sup>.

Before the white marble domes of the palaces lay the street itself which served as a market and was covered by a striped sun awning. The impression of a somewhat flat and lifeless scene suggested by the adaptation fortunately did not emerge on the stage<sup>63</sup>. The street was apparently populated by citizens, buyers, and onlookers dressed according to the style of African antiquity, many bartering for fine material and slaves. It was a noisy spectacle, with merchants shouting each other down, and whips cracking over the backs of shrieking slaves, two of whom had to strip naked for those wanting to make a purchase. The sound of the surf was audible from the direction of the harbour, and from the desert, the caravan entered bringing riches from the heart of the Dark Continent. It amounted to a panorama of materialism and was described by one critic as a gathering place from which the oriental Semitic world of the Phoenicians would have conquered Europe, had it not been for Rome's superiority.

The negotiations of the three men of Carthage served to reinforce the notion that the city would fall. Their meeting place was a cellar-like room with woven sides where they discussed their course of action in a whispering tone which must have been a stark contrast to the previous picture. The Roman Senate scene formed a climax of the performance and a good illustration of Martin's use of stage space. The sets for the whole production were constructed in terms of height and depth, and the action unfolded within these two dimensions rather than within a three-dimensional stage framework. High above the Senate were seated the Roman consuls as though on towering thrones, and the sober atmosphere in which the Scipios were nominated to lead Rome

against Carthage was permeated by the sound of Hannibal's ramming of the walls outside the city. The impression of toughness was reinforced by the acting of such figures as the first consul, a symbol of endurance with his unflinching attitude to his personal sorrow. Martin worked out the contrasts between Carthage and Rome decisively and deliberately.

For Hannibal's sojourn in Campania, Martin created an idyllic setting. There was red masonry and the blossoms from the yellow mimosa-covered slopes showed up against the indigo-coloured sky. The general was treated to a display of dancing by girls adorned in vine leaves. The antithesis between the gaiety and the sudden intrusion of horror made the picture stand out clearly to reviewers as the climax and turning point of Hannibal's life.

The boat transporting Hannibal to Carthage in Martin's eleventh picture was of heavy "Tristan" proportions, its deck reaching almost from the grid-iron at the top of the stage down to the apron. The yellow foliage blowing on to the deck was interpreted by a critic as indicative of the mood pervading the whole drama: the rebellion against a jealous environment. The interval was placed after this picture to separate the action occurring on the European continent from that in Africa.

As with many of the stagings in the 1920s, the description of the battle by the slave and his little boy was praised as a lively masterpiece, both from the point of view of production and presentation. Attention, in this second portion of the drama, was also drawn to the meeting between the Roman emissary and Gisgon. It is significant that the writer in Der Angriff of 31 March 1941 described the drama as a whole as an indictment against 1918 and gave this as a reason for its being

played so often as the war progressed. The scene of the peace demands which was so topical for the first audiences of the Punic drama was thus understood to have a didactic purpose. In 1941, there was still a bone of contention in Germany about the Treaty of Versailles and Hitler used it as an explanation of all of Germany's ills. It was regretted that Martin abbreviated this scene and thus caused it to lose some of its dramatic effect and prophetic symbolism. Other features of the second half of the production were criticized by reviewers:

Der zweite Teil ist ueberhaupt zu aeusserlich, zu "theatermaessig" zusammengerissen, die grosse Molochofferszene wurde einfach fallengelassen, vom Synedrion ist nur Gisgon uebriggeblieben, der seinen flammenden Aufruf an einen roemischen Gesandten richten muss: Hanno und die Sklaven sind verschwunden. ... Karl Heinz Martin hat im zweiten Teil die Masse fast bewusst, als formalen Akzent, als Echo, als Kulisse ausgeschaltet.<sup>64</sup>

The end of the tragedy was formed by the Prusias scenes. The action was set in a fairy-tale-like palace in Bithynia, made out of luminous, large-meshed net behind which, to the right and left, were the scribes recording the words of the king. Their heads were adorned with huge, red feather crests. Prusias himself was seated on a tiny throne raised high above the thick, white carpet; he was dressed in a costume with a long flowing white train and black tufts, had a chalk-white face, and red-painted fingernails. Critics confirm that the weakness of this non-fighting figure was meant to form a contrast to Hannibal, the man of action<sup>65</sup>.

In my discussion of Martin's adaptation, I have indicated that the final scene of the drama was, by implication, to take place at night, the time of day stipulated for the scene immediately preceding it<sup>66</sup>. Whereas many pictures of the production were acted in darkened

surroundings, Martin actually staged the activities at the end of the drama against the fiery-red, sinking sun. In this way, he attempted to link the death of Hannibal in a symbolical fashion with the great fire of Carthage introduced into the scene through the medium of Turnu's description.

Reservations were expressed about the alteration of the sequence of pictures here which was carried out against the intention of the dramatist. The Prusias scenes were concentrated together at the end, in the nature of a caricature which destroyed the equilibrium of the entire tragedy. There was even a suggestion that the Bithynian episodes should have been omitted completely and the drama brought to a close after the women had set Carthage alight. The audience would have been denied the heroic death scene but would at the same time have been spared the antics of King Prusias which came across as childish pranks.

The account of scenes at least provides a hint at the important contribution of Josef Fenneker's stage settings to the overall effect of the presentation. He was also responsible for optical effects such as twinkling stars, flares, flames, smoke, and incense, and he ensured that a fast tempo was maintained with the use of the revolving stage. Underlining the monumentality, light, and colour of the sets were the music and sound effects of Ludwig Fischer-Schwaner. These consisted of general noises, the beating of drums, sounding of tubas, and noises of battle. The music often dominated the scene, becoming stunningly loud and even obscuring the actors' words at times. Martin's production has been likened more to opera than to drama.

All the figures of the drama were grouped round the title hero, played by Heinrich George. Of very imposing stature which seemed in harmony

with the monumentality of the production and suggested physical superiority, he portrayed Hannibal as a bearded man with curly grey hair - "eine Urgewalt von Fuehrertum"<sup>67</sup> - with his right eye covered with matted hair. Significantly as far as National Socialism is concerned, he was seen as a man of the north rather than an African, an idea supported by Hannibal's own words when he declares that he feels a closer affinity with Italy than with his own country and even speaks of a desire to build an eyrie in the north. He endowed his Hannibal with great extremes of emotion, with moods ranging from sensitivity, even warm-heartedness, to brutality and despair. Many of these moods were created by the skilful regulation of his voice. He built up the figure of the general, achieving a heightening effect until his meeting with Prusias and his suicide in Bithynia where his apostrophe to death: "Schwarzer Pilot, wer bist du?" is said to have been cried out in an Expressionist manner. His best moments occurred with his first appearance in the drama in scene (5), the tragedy on the plain of Cajeta, his departure from Italy, and his encounter with Scipio the Younger before the Battle of Zama. Doubt was cast on whether this Hannibal conformed with the way Grabbe intended his hero to be, although George's performance was hailed as magnificent.

His Carthaginian adversaries were portrayed by Ernst Stahl-Nachbaur, Ernst Legal, and Horst Caspar, each of whom brought out distinctive characteristics. Stahl-Nachbaur's Melkir was malicious and brutal, Legal's Hanno, old, obstinate, and even witch-like, and Caspar's Gisgon, youthful and passionate. Of the Carthaginian noble family, Gerda Maria Terno was a young, dark-haired, patriotic Alitta. Highly praised was Karl Meixner's Turnu who excelled himself in this role

with his flexibility and agility. His performance was summed up by Biedrzyński in the Voelkischer Beobachter of 31 March 1941: "Mit Pantherspruengen des Temperaments und mit katzenhafter Geschmeidigkeit meistert er seine Virtuosenrolle, in Wort und Bewegung sehnig, pfeilschnell, treffsicher". The Scipio brothers, played by Karl Kluesner and Claus Clausen were hard, proud, energetic warriors, certain of their goal and dressed in gleaming armour. The elder brother, dark, somewhat restrained but dignified, contrasted with cutting, ambitious, self-confident younger Scipio. Hans Halden gained recognition as Terenz who appeared as a ludicrous, weak-nerved poet<sup>68</sup>. There remains Paul Kemp's Prusias who looked old, wrinkled, and at the same time immature. He gave the figure sharp tragi-comic outlines.

These highly commended actors were only a few of the ensemble of the Schiller-Theater, all members of which were involved in the production and demonstrated acting talents of a particularly high standard. The impact of the performance was expressed in superlative terms. "Diese Auffuehrung ist ein Theater-Ereignis ersten, allerersten Ranges"<sup>69</sup>. It was reported that the audience appreciated the drama most of all when its historical subject yielded recognizable parallels with their own situation. This did not just mean the scene of the Roman peace demands which was such a glaring reminder of the Treaty of Versailles. The drama showed by example the value of a strong cohesion between a people, their leaders, and their armies. In Carthage, the mercantile interests of the populace took precedence over their support of Hannibal who was then unable to avert the downfall of his fatherland despite his readiness for total self-sacrifice on their account. In Rome, a strong national identity and military consciousness enabled the troops, and therefore the Roman

people, to emerge victorious from the Battle of Zama. Between the beginning of the Second World War in September 1939 and the time of the Berlin performance of Hannibal in March 1941, the German armies had enjoyed great success on the field of battle. Poland had been invaded and Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium, and France occupied, bringing large territorial gains and boosting the morale of the German people at home<sup>70</sup>. The Hannibal drama at that time served to illustrate and confirm the qualities which could lead a country to victory or defeat in the theatre of war.

List of Reviews:

Play-bill.

Programme.

"Kleine Berliner Kunstnachrichten," Charlottenburger-Zeitung (23 March 1941).

Wilhelm Westecker, "Der einsame Feldherr. Grabbes Hannibal im Schillertheater," Berliner Boersenzeitung (31 March 1941).

F.A. Dargel, "Im Schiller-Theater. Hannibal - George / Grosser Beifall gruesst das Drama Grabbes," Berliner Illustrierte Nachtausgabe (31 March 1941).

Paul Kersten, "Einsame Groesse. Grabbes Hannibal mit Heinrich George im Schiller-Theater," Berliner Lokalanzeiger (31 March 1941).

Otto Ernst Hesse, "Der Untergang eines Helden. Christian Dietrich Grabbes Hannibal im Schillertheater," Berliner Zeitung am Mittag (31 March 1941).

Florian Kienzl, "Abgesang eines Heldendichters. Grabbes Hannibal im Schiller-Theater," Das 12-Uhr-Blatt (31 March 1941).

Hans Jenker, "Man plant - man probt - man zeigt. Schiller-Theater: Grabbes Hannibal," Der Angriff (31 March 1941).

Franz Goetze, "Grabbes Hannibaldrama von Karl-Heinz Martin im Schiller-Theater der Reichshauptstadt inszeniert," Der Westen (31 March 1941).

Paul Fechter, "Grabbes Hannibal. Schillertheater," Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung (31 March 1941).

Dr Ludwig Fischer, "Hannibal. Grabbes Tragoedie im Schiller-Theater," Steglitzer Anzeiger (31 March 1941).

Richard Biedrzynski, "Im Schillertheater der Reichshauptstadt. Grabbes Hannibal," Voelkischer Beobachter (31 March 1941).

Carl Weichardt, "Grosser Grabbe-Abend. Hannibal im Schiller-Theater," Berliner Morgenpost (1 April 1941).

Paul Otte, "Heinrich George als Hannibal. Karl Heinz Martins Grabbe-Inszenierung im Schiller-Theater," Berliner Volkszeitung (1 April 1941).

Gerhard Bohlmann, "Im Schiller-Theater: Grabbes Hannibal," Charlottenburger - Zeitung (1 April 1941).

Frank Vogl, "Grabbes Hannibal mit Heinrich George. Berlin. Ende Maerz," Hamburger Fremdenblatt (1 April 1941).

Friedrich Duesel, "Grabbes Wiedererweckung. Hannibal im Berliner Schillertheater," Schwaebischer Merkur (1 April 1941).

Franz Dartsch, "Heinrich George spielt den Hannibal! Grabbe-Feier im Schillertheater," Berliner Allgemeine Zeitung (2 April 1941).

Walter Kaul, "Grabbes Hannibal im Berliner Schillertheater," Der Mittag (2 April 1941).

Friedrich Maerker, "Grabbes Hannibal im Schiller-Theater," Muenchner Zeitung (2 April 1941).

Rudolf Poertner, "Ein monumentales Heldendrama. Karl-Heinz Martin inszenierte Grabbes Hannibal im Berliner Stadttheater," Westfaelische Tageszeitung (2 April 1941).

Hildegard Mirbt, "Grabbes Hannibal in Berlin," Frankfurter Oder-Zeitung (16 April 1941).

"Hannibal. Grabbes Tragoedie im Schiller-Theater der Reichshauptstadt," Frankfurter Zeitung (3 April 1941).

Dietzenschmidt, "Hoehepunkt deutscher Schauspielkunst. Heinrich George als Hannibal im Berliner Schiller-Theater," Der Neue Tag (4 April 1941).

E.K. Wiechmann, "Grabbes Hannibal in Berlin," Jenaische Zeitung (4 April 1941).

Hermann Wanderscheck, "Dietrich Christian Grabbe : Hannibal / Auffuehrung im Berliner Schillertheater," National-Zeitung (4 April 1941).

Max Baumann, "Grabbe als Aufgabe deutscher Buehnen. Bemerkungen anlaesslich der Berliner Hannibal-Auffuehrung," Hamburger Tageblatt (5 April 1941).

Hans Havemann, "Vulkanische Romantik / Grabbes Hannibal mit Heinrich George," Westfaelische Neueste Nachrichten (5/6 April 1941).

Juergen Petersen, "Tragischer Grabbe - heiterer Shakespeare. Neue Inszenierungen auf Berliner Buehnen," Das Reich (6 April 1941).

Juergen Petersen, "Grabbes Hannibal im Schillertheater," Bruesseler Zeitung (8 April 1941).

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Carl Weichardt, "Grabbe, Shakespeare und ein Unbekannter," General-anzeiger (9 April 1941).

Theodor Hueppgens, "Grabbes Hannibal. Im Schillertheater der Reichshauptstadt," Koelnische Volkszeitung (9 April 1941).

Julius Segner, "Helden der Geschichte und der Phantasie. Berliner Theater-Rundschau," Kattowitzer Zeitung (12/13 April 1941).

Ernst Wachler, "Grabbe als heroisch-politischer Dramatiker der Deutschen," Die Sendung (13 April 1941).

Hans Knudsen, "Grabbes Hannibal im Schiller-Theater," Rheinisch-Westfaelische Zeitung (18 April 1941).

Bruno E. Werner, "Helden der Vergangenheit / Berliner Theater," Leipziger Neueste Nachrichten (30 April 1941).

Florian Kienzl, "In Berlin Grabbes Hannibal," Wiesbadener Tageblatt (7 May 1941).

Paul Fechter, "Berliner Theater," Deutsche Rundschau (May 1941).

(ii) Saladin Schmitt's Production of Hannibal

The second outstanding production of the Punic drama during the Nazi period also occurred in 1941. On 12 July, the drama was staged in the Stadttheater of the Städtische Bühnen, Bochum under the direction of the Intendant Saladin Schmitt. The performance formed part of a Bochum Grabbe Cycle held in conjunction with the Grabbe Society and its president, Reichsdramaturg Rainer Schloesser<sup>71</sup>. Whilst the festival as such will be examined later, a word might profitably be said here about its inception. Schmitt specialized in staging cycles of works by great classical writers, devoting commemorative weeks to Shakespeare (1927 and 1937), Goethe (1928), Schiller (1934), Kleist (1936), and Hebbel (1939). His technique was to introduce works of a particular dramatist slowly into his repertoire over a number of years and to combine them ultimately into a balanced festival of plays in honour of that dramatist. His fostering of Grabbe's dramas began in 1935 with Napoleon but it was not until 1938 that he added Hannibal which captured the admiration of Heinrich George at the Grabbe Days. These early productions of the work might almost be classified as dress rehearsals which reached their peak within the framework of the festivals. This was so in the case of Hannibal which was said to have benefitted from not having been played for several years, and it is for this reason that I wish to concentrate on this later production of Schmitt's rather than the 1938 presentation. His eight-day Grabbe Cycle was a particularly ambitious undertaking, for, in contrast with the Detmold Grabbe Weeks and Days which relied on the participation of guest theatrical companies, all the dramatic presentations were carried out by the personnel of his own theatre. Furthermore, Schmitt diverged sharply from such producers as Martin by insisting that a drama be produced in as pure a form as possible

with no cuts or rearrangements of material:

Leitziel ist ... der Vorsatz, das Werk des Dichters nicht nur insgesamt, sondern auch im einzelnen in seinem vollen Umfange und in der ueberlieferten Gestalt wirken zu lassen. ... Die scheinbare Masslosigkeit im Aufbau und in der szenischen Durchfuehrung, die dem Typ des Grabbeschen Dramas im Sinne einer ueberwundenen Dramaturgie nachgesagt wird, erscheint ihm [Schmitt] keineswegs als Rahmen- und Rankenwerk, das bei einer Auffuehrung zu beschneiden waere, sondern als Gesetz und Gestalt eines voelkisch-politischen Dramas grossen Stils. Die gluehenden Welthorizonte, die Staatsauf- und -untergaenge erscheinen unter diesem Gesichtswinkel nicht mehr als dekorative Hintergruende, sondern als wesentliche Faktoren der Grabbeschen Dramaturgie.<sup>72</sup>

On the seventh evening of the Grabbe festival, Schmitt staged all of the twenty-eight scenes of Hannibal. He was a conscientious theatre man and in Grabbe's case acknowledged that the poet, not the producer, determined the style of production. His word-for-word presentation of the tragedy had the effect of guarding him against the tendencies of his time. He seemed noticeably less interested than Martin in deliberately promoting National Socialist ideals in his production, despite the fact that the series of dramas was accompanied by lectures and music in keeping with the current tenor of thought. This is confirmed by D. Schrage in his dissertation "Saladin Schmitt am Stadttheater Bochum 1919 - 1949" where he says that by adhering closely to the original, the producer wished to place the self-willed poet and not the "voelkisch" prophet in the centre of the scene<sup>73</sup>.

This aim of Schmitt's was not reflected in the pages of the press which provided background ideas and interpretative comments of an unmistakably National Socialist leaning. Inevitably these were similar to some expressed earlier in 1941<sup>74</sup>. However, certain aspects were more emphatically stressed. The profoundly personal connection between the dramatist and his Hannibal tragedy was made plain. The poet's struggle

against his time and against the misery of his own life was compared with Hannibal's war on two fronts, against the Carthaginian and Roman enemies:

Nicht von ungefaehr hat Grabbe, dieses Genie ohne Volk, den Hannibal geschrieben. Er spuerte die Verwandtschaft des Schicksals, das auch dem grossen Feldherrn Karthagos das Volk versagte. H i e r G r a b b e, der Kaempfer und voelkische Visionaer, die inneren Zusammenhaenge der Weltgeschichte mit seherischer Schau erkennend und gestaltend, inmitten des saturierten, sich mit dem haeuslichen Stubenofen zufriedengebenden Biedermeiers; d o r t H a n n i b a l, Held inmitten armseliger Kraemer, soldatischer Titan unter raffgierigen, feilschenden Plutokraten.<sup>75</sup>

The term "plutocrat" was applied by the Nazis to defame their British adversary and in its use in the above quotation, a comparison between the Carthaginians and the British is implied. The economic concerns were held to be the root cause of the Carthaginians' ultimate defeat, inducing Uthoff in the Luebecker Volksbote of 16 July 1941 to describe "Fechte der Satan, wo Kaufleute rechnen" (WuB, III, 101) as the pivot point of the whole tragedy. The notion that Carthage's fall is directly attributable to its trading interests puts one in mind of a passage in Hitler's Mein Kampf in which he maintains that a state preoccupied with its economic situation is frequently on the decline. Only if these material qualities are replaced by ideal virtues would the state flourish and with it the economic conditions<sup>76</sup>.

The topical features of the drama were particularly obvious to reviewers although it was evident that Schmitt had not deliberately made any effort to expose them:

Diese Grabbe-Tragoedie scheint in unserer Zeit, aus unseren Erkenntnissen geschrieben. ... Auch hielt sich die Auffuehrung der Bochumer Buehne bewusst von jeder Aktualisierung fern, nichts von Liebaeugelei zur Gegenwart war zu sehen oder zu spueren. Und doch war es, als koennten erst wir Heutigen, die selbst einmal den Dolchstoss der Heimat und jetzt die endgueltige Ueberwindung alles Plutokratischen erleben, den letzten, tiefsten und wahrsten Sinn dieses Grabbeschen Hannibal erkennen.<sup>77</sup>

Reports on the dramaturgical aspects of the production were less comprehensive than those for the Berlin staging. Although generalized comments were made about the panorama of historical pictures, only the scenes depicting the wine festival and the sacrifices to Moloch, and Hannibal's last moments were singled out. Their descriptions, however, indicate that the solutions of the stage technicians were indispensable to the success of the theatrical performance.

It was the task of Johannes Schroeder, the set-designer, to see that the twenty-eight scenes, interrupted by a single interval after the sixteenth picture, flowed past with a maximum of fluency and without any undue increase in the length of the drama. His stage consisted of a front portion which could be divided off from the larger area at the rear by means of a curtain. He ensured that each scene ended with the actors and actresses standing on the front stage area before the curtain, thereby enabling the scenery to be changed at the back without the audience being so aware of this transformation. Certain reviewers felt the technique was employed so often that it became a cliché. It was, though, used to great advantage in the scene of the Capuan wine festival where the happy celebration sank behind a black curtain as the horror of the decapitated head of Hasdrubal was placed glaringly in the light.

To enliven the action on the stage, Schroeder designed backdrops which gave only the barest indications of location but were infused with colour:

Die blossen Andeutungen des Schauplatzes durch Projektionen und Zwischenvorhaenge verhinderten von vornherein das Abrollen eines "naturalistischen Bilderbogens". Bei Schroeder bedeutete jedes Bild eine farbenpraechtige Vision: die afrikanische Landschaft grellweiss, Rom dagegen blaukuehl und klar, die Weinberge leuchtend in schwelgerischer Fruchtbarkeit, bizarr schliesslich der Palast des Prusias.

The Moloch scene also formed a visual climax of the evening and was most successful from the point of view of theatrical effects, but lost some of its shattering impact because of constant pathos: "Konsequent folgte er [Schmitt] Grabbe auch in die grauenhaft furchtbare Moloch-Szene, die man sich wohl klarer, uebersichtlicher, nicht kaum aber furioser, drastischer und bildhafter denken kann"<sup>79</sup>. The focal point of the last scene was a framework, not unlike a cage, in the middle of which Hannibal appeared seated on a broad bench.

Schmitt made a special effort to differentiate between the three continents in which the action took place and strove to attain historical authenticity. This was also reflected in the costuming, and especially impressed the critics in an era in which history and geography had become very highly esteemed academic disciplines. The music of Emil Peeters provided a background of sound which suited all the moods of the action in which every member of Bochum's large ensemble featured.

In the centre stood Gerhard Meinecke whose rendition of Hannibal was reputed to have been even more convincing than in 1938. His portrayal won unanimous accord and was enhanced by his powerful voice, swaying between pathos and irony, and by his heavy figure. Almost equally acclaimed was the Turnu of Alfred Schieske who had played the role in 1938 whilst employed in Bochum and returned from a position at a Berlin theatre to participate in the production again in 1941. The National Socialist reviewers recognized in him the simple loyal retainer who not infrequently accompanied the great heroes of National Socialist dramas with undaunting fidelity in both good and adverse situations<sup>80</sup>. The press attributed distinctly National Socialist traits to two more figures. Gisela Hoerter's Alitta was

understood as a woman who placed the interests of the fatherland before her own and Ernst Holznel's old Barkas attained almost mythical characteristics as the women sacrificed their city. The triumvirate was played by Willi Schroeder, Heinz Hinze, and Walter Kalthener, and the Scipio brothers by Willi Busch and Friedrich Mahner. The apparently highly successful production was attended by Dr Seyss-Inquart, the Reich Commissioner for the occupied Netherlands.

List of Reviews:

"Sinn und Ziel der Bochumer Grabbe-Woche 1941," Jahrbuch der Grabbe-Gesellschaft 1940, 3 (1940), p. 106.

Karl Bode, "Grabbes grosser Hannibal als letztes Vorspiel der Bochumer Grabbe-Woche," Westfaelische Landeszeitung (5 July 1941).

Josef Schwermann, "Die Tragoedie des Heerfuehrers Hannibal," Bochumer Anzeiger (5/6 July 1941).

Max Voigt, "Grabbes Hannibal-Tragoedie auf der Bochumer Buehne," Wattenscheider Zeitung (5/6 July 1941).

Josef Schwermann, "Festlicher Ausklang der Grabbe-Woche," Bochumer Anzeiger (14 July 1941).

"Hannibal und Hermannsschlacht zum Ausklang der Bochumer Grabbe-Woche," Rheinisch-Westfaelische Zeitung (14 July 1941).

Clemens J. Herbermann, "Genie ohne Volk. Hannibal-Tragoedie in der Grabbe-Woche in Bochum," Voelkischer Beobachter (14 July 1941).

Wilhelm Vernekohl, "Grabbe als Geschichtsdramatiker. Hannibal und Die Hermannsschlacht," Westfaelische Tageszeitung (14 July 1941).

K. Uthoff, "Hannibal und Hermannsschlacht. Abschluss der Grabbe-Woche," Luebecker Volksbote (16 July 1941).

Heinz Baumann, "Abschluss der Grabbe-Woche. Hannibal - Das Fragment Die Hermannsschlacht," Mainzer Anzeiger (16 July 1941).

(iii) Further Productions

The two dramatic presentations which have just been discussed were simply the most prominent and distinctive of the nineteen productions of Hannibal known to have been undertaken in the decade between 1934 and 1944. This figure does not include the stagings of the tragedy at the Grabbe Weeks and Days; without exception, these were guest appearances only by theatrical companies which presented the drama on their own stage before or after the celebrations in Detmold<sup>81</sup>. Although a preponderance of productions occurred in 1936 and 1941, all those during the Third Reich were significant. Their reviews may be equated with a seismograph recording aspects of current thinking and events, in addition to indicating various techniques of presentation.

Almost a year after the pronouncement of the new regime, Grabbe's Punic drama appeared at the L a n d e s t h e a t e r, O l d e n b u r g. There were three performances, on 17 and 27 January and 17 February 1934, the producer being Dr Rolf Roenneke who had taken part in the Dresden recital in 1916 and was responsible for the staging in Hanover in 1923. The Oldenburg production demonstrated a discernible link with some of those of the 1920s, for in the theatre programme (whose function during the National Socialist period was not merely to inform but to influence the opinions of theatre-goers), as well as in critiques of the performance, parts of the drama were again seen in terms of the Versailles Treaty, so despised by Hitler. A new, exclusively National Socialist interpretation was also put forward. In Deutsche Buehne. Mitteilungsblatt der Theatergemeinde Oldenburg 1933-34, Dr Hoyer defined the central problem of the drama as a racial one. The business-minded Carthaginians, including the triumvirate, were only able to judge the activities of their great general by their own standards

and consequently believed him to be conducting his campaigns from selfish motives. In contrast, the inhabitants of Rome all did their duty to the state as soldiers and citizens. In similar vein was an article in the Oldenburgische Staatszeitung of 18 January 1934 which painted the drama explicitly as a conflict between Semitic and non-Semitic peoples. The reviewer attributed the Carthaginian lack of insight in affairs of the state to their Semitic origins. Hannibal's family differed from the common people. By relinquishing the traditional merchant pursuits of the Phoenicians and adopting the art of soldiery, the Barcids had attained clear perception. Thus the general was fully aware of the dishonourable intentions of his compatriots and felt emotionally affiliated with the "northern" land of Italy:

Mit Neid und Bewunderung schaut der Afrikaner Hannibal bei seinem Abschied auf das nordische Land -- "du, prangend mit Helden, die nur von Ruhm und Eisen, nichts von Gold wissen"--; und voller Achtung schaut er zu dem roemischen Herrenvolk empor, das um die Ehre des Vaterlandes zu kaempfen weiss und den Krieg so lange fuehrt, bis der Gegner ueberwunden ist.<sup>82</sup>

Although the writer was careful to point out that the contrast between the two forms of government and the races in general was not intended by Grabbe as the predominating idea, he insisted that one could deduce the dramatist's own preference from Hannibal's admiration of the Romans and from Rome's single-minded intention to attain sole leadership over the Mediterranean area.

The confrontation of peoples was revealed in twenty-one scenes, the same number Roenneke had found satisfactory in 1923. As with this earlier production, his strength lay in his ability to create a stage environment which would allow for a swift progression from one picture to the next. He replaced the simple framework of curtains used in Hanover with easily movable side-scenes and a background of lantern

slides inspired by the scene-designer, Erich Doehler:

Die Vorderbuehne erhaelt eine einfache, leicht auszuwechselnde dekorative Andeutung, etwa durch seitliche Waende, einmal glatte, dann cannelierte, auch buntbemalte Saeulen. Nun aber der Hintergrund: fuer ihn wird das auf die Leinwand geworfene, von hinten erhellte Lichtbild verwendet. In starken oder auch zarten Pastellfarben ist es getoent und von einer eigentuemlich durchscheinenden Wirkung. Hier ergeben sich fuer den staendig veraenderten Schauplatz, ohne dass es zeitraubender Umbauten bedarf, reiche Moeglichkeiten.

In this setting, Otto Nissl portrayed the figure of Hannibal as a compelling mature man who remained great and steadfast in the face of all adversity and displayed a strength to act and an indefatigable spirit for new military encounters. His effervescent retainer was played by Richard Lauffen. Of the Synedrion, Johannes Braun's Melkir was cold and unapproachable, Hans Diedrich presented Hanno as superior and crafty, and Friedrich Kolander's Gisgon was described as hot-blooded, a characteristic which enabled him to be transformed into an heroic defender of Carthage. Opposite them was Barkas, venerable and dignified in the interpretation of the figure by Immanuel Medenwaldt who also played the role of Cato Censor. Fewer individual personalities distinguished themselves on the Roman side. Walter Rohne and Hans Becker presented cold, hard Roman leaders, Sellner gave a stylized rendition of King Prusias and managed to avoid endowing the monarch with any comic characteristics which Grabbe had not intended. Mention of the high quality of the acting of Theodor Goerlich and Hanna Duden as the commentators of the Battle of Zama as well as of so many other actors in a comparatively minor presentation testifies to the careful and painstaking attention Roenneke was reputed to have paid to all aspects of the production.

List of Reviews:

Play-bill.

Deutsche Buehne. Mitteilungsblatt der Theatergemeinde Oldenburg, 6  
(February 1934).

Alfred Wien, "Das Werk mit den grossen Heerstrassen. Grabbes Hannibal -  
Inszenierung Dr Rolf Roenneke," Nachrichten fuer Stadt und Land  
(18 January 1934).

Dr Woe, "Hannibal. Von Christian Dietrich Grabbe. Inszenierung von  
Dr Rolf Roenneke," Oldenburgische Staatszeitung (18 January 1934).

More than eighteen months passed before Hannibal was performed again. It was chosen by Alfred Noller as a suitable drama for the opening of the new theatre season at the S c h a u s p i e l h a u s, E s s e n on 17 September 1935 and was repeated on 20, 23 (youth performance), and 30 September, as well as on 7 October. There were indications that a more intense interest was now being shown in Grabbe. The premiere of his final work Die Hermannsschlacht had taken place on 10 June 1934 in the open-air theatre at Nettelstedt near Minden and Saladin Schmitt began the 1935/36 season in Bochum with a performance of Napoleon oder die hundert Tage on 19 September.

To substantiate the production of Hannibal, reviewers seized upon various biographical details, phrases, and excerpts from the dramatist's writings which seemed compatible with Nazism. Reference was made to his humble origins, reflected in his simple and conscientious Westphalian parents who, as the poet himself wrote in a letter, were foolish enough to send him to a secondary school<sup>84</sup>. An allusion to his dislike of jurisprudence which he had studied in a rather half-hearted fashion at the university (literature became his main interest), served to complete the impression of Grabbe as a "voelkisch" dramatist, the opposite of the "intellectual" for whom the exponents of Party ideals

had great contempt and who were constantly under attack in Mein Kampf <sup>85</sup>. In special conformity with current ideals seemed to be a passage quoted inaccurately from Grabbe's treatise "Ueber die Shakespearo-Manie" in which he stated his longing for a National German theatre: "Das deutsche Volk will treue und tiefe Empfindung finden, es will ein nationales und zugleich echt dramatisches, historisches Schauspiel, es will auf der Buehne das Ideal erblicken, welches sich ueberall im Leben nur ahnen laesst"<sup>86</sup>.

Grabbe's dream was said to have been brought much closer to reality by the coming to power of the National Socialist Party which was able to demonstrate its gratitude to him by the staging of his dramas. The production of his works could also serve another purpose. One critic acknowledged that the National Socialists lacked a truly great modern dramatist and dramas such as those of Grabbe might therefore be used as models from the past to inspire coming generations of authors. It was true that classical plays featured frequently in theatre repertoires during the Third Reich. This had a dual function. It hid the fact that there was a dearth of modern writers and at the same time gave public evidence of the Party's readiness to further German culture <sup>87</sup>.

One comparison was made between the Punic drama and the current state of affairs in the world. Under the heading "'Europa und Afrika stehen auf dem Spiel'", an actual quotation from Hannibal, Dr Keulers remarked in the Essener Volks-Zeitung of 19 September 1935 about the strange proximity between history and the present day:

Wer am Dienstagabend dem Schauspielhause zueilte, konnte von den Zeitungen das Wort von der "U m s c h m e l z u n g d e r L a n d k a r t e" erhaschen, die Parole zu einer kriegerischen Auseinandersetzung zwischen Europa und Afrika, die nun schon seit Wochen am politischen Himmel umhergeistert. Wer dann die Geschehnisse auf der Buehne verfolgte und mit seinen Geschichtskenntnissen die

Ereignisse zwischen Italien und Afrika aus dem Jahre 211 vor Christus mit der gespannten Lage unserer Tage verglich, musste unwillkuerlich zu dem Schlusse kommen, dass hier gespielt wird, was -- in Einzelzuegen natuerlich veraendert -- in der Wirklichkeit furchtbar ernst zu werden droht. Europa und Afrika stehen wieder einmal auf dem Spiele. Irgendwo in einer Szene des Hannibal faellt dieses Wort; es koennte morgen die Schlagzeile fuer die Kennzeichnung der politischen Lage werden.

The situation to which the critic was referring was Mussolini's pretension to imperial expansion which he set out to realize by his attack on Abyssinia in the autumn of 1935. The invasion and events leading up to it were of international significance. It may be of interest in this context, too, to note that Germans were also being encouraged to take a new look at the continent of Africa at that time, although no such ambitious step as that of the Duce was planned. Before the First World War, Germany had possessed colonies in Africa: Togoland, the Cameroons, German East Africa, and German South-West Africa, but she had been forced to relinquish these under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. Hitler attempted to defy this in all its aspects, adopting the attitude that all mandated territories were still legally German property. An intensive propaganda campaign to arouse awareness about the lost colonies was already under way in 1934 and 1935 in Germany at school and university level and amongst the Hitler Youth<sup>88</sup>.

Descriptions of the actual production indicate that Noller had adapted the drama himself, condensing it to twenty scenes by the removal of such pictures as "Strasse in Kapua" or by their integration with others. The most impressive were those in the Senate, on the plain of Cajeta, and in the palace of Prusias. Noller, who was considered something of a trend-setter, and whose choice of dramas had been known to inspire other theatres in the Reich, was assisted by the stage sets of Rochus Gliese, in charge of the scenery at the Staatstheater, Berlin, and a

guest of the Essen theatrical company. His use of the revolving stage accelerated the progression of scenes. With architectures, landscapes, and images of battle, he transformed Grabbe's poetic visions into optical effects which were underlined by penetrating sounds and music. The costuming was classical and genuine.

The title role went to a newcomer to the Essen theatre, Erwin Klietsch. His performance was not hailed in all appraisals as a success, for he was considered more suited to sharp character roles and he had the fault of overstepping his vocal capacity so much at times, especially in battle scenes, that he appeared pathological and hysterical. His manner of speaking seemed more appropriate to a larger stage, and he was at his best when portraying the quiet or dying Hannibal. Other critics, however, described him as having mastered the role convincingly and of having given a strong, psychologically shaded rendition of the Punic general. The acting of Georg Czimeg (Melkir), Wolfgang Schirlitz (Hanno), and Hans Joachim Recknitz (Gisgon) was also commended, as was that of Wolfgang Frees who as Prusias elevated the final scenes to the most memorable of the presentation. Noller was unable to fill all the roles with equally talented actors, and in a manner rather uncharacteristic of the press of that time, it was reported that the audience was hesitant in its reaction, especially at the beginning, but became more enthusiastic in the second half.

List of Reviews:

Play-bill.

Essener Tageszeitung. Spielzeit 1935/36, 1 and 2 (1935/36).

"Viermal Hannibal. Von der Probearbeit des Essener Schauspielhauses unter dem Intendanten Alfred Noller," Essener Anzeiger (8 September 1935).

Paul Lotz, "Grabbe," Essener Volks-Zeitung (11 September 1935).

E.A.S., "Grabbes Hannibal. Eroeffnung des Essener Schauspielwinters," Dortmunder Zeitung (18 September 1935).

Bd., "Das Spiel beginnt. Hannibal im Essener Schauspielhaus," Essener Allgemeine Zeitung (18 September 1935).

"Der Fall Grabbe und unsere Zeit. Hannibal als Eroeffnungsvorstellung des Essener Schauspiels, inszeniert von Alfred Noller," Rhein.-Westfaelische Zeitung (18 September 1935).

Cremers, "Hannibal im Essener Schauspielhaus. Eroeffnungsvorstellung am Dienstag," Essener Anzeiger (19 September 1935).

Dr Keulers, "'Europa und Afrika stehen auf dem Spiel'. Das Essener Schauspielhaus eroeffnet die Spielzeit mit C.D. Grabbes Hannibal," Essener Volks-Zeitung (19 September 1935).

Dr D., "Grabbes Hannibal im Essener Schauspielhaus," Westfaelische Landeszeitung (19 September 1935).

O.G., "Westdeutsche Grabbe-Auffuehrungen. Hannibal in Essen / Napoleon in Bochum," Der Mittag (20 September 1935).

"Grabbes Hannibal. Eroeffnung des Essener Spielwinters," Duisburg-Hamborner General-Anzeiger (20 September 1935).

ws., "Grabbes Hannibal in Essen," Tremonia (21 September 1935).

St., "Grabbe in Essen und Bochum. Spielbeginn mit Hannibal und Napoleon," Volks-Parole (21 September 1935).

H.L.S., "Erfolgreiche und eindrucksvolle Grabbe-Auffuehrungen in Bochum und Essen," Lippische Staatszeitung (22 September 1935).

H.B., "Grabbe in Bochum und Essen. Hannibal und Napoleon," Koelnische Volkszeitung (26 September 1935).

In the latter part of 1936, Hannibal appeared in the repertoires of no fewer than four theatres in diverse geographical locations in the Reich, Chemnitz, Hanover, Freiburg im Breisgau, and Karlsruhe. The incentive for this upsurge in the number of productions was the one hundredth anniversary of the dramatist's death on 12 September.

The first of the presentations was at the S t a e d t i s c h e s S c h a u s p i e l h a u s , C h e m n i t z in September and was produced by Walter Pittschau who had played the title role in

Maurenbrecher's Dortmund staging in 1922<sup>89</sup>. He followed the latter's example by employing Kilian's adaptation which he was said to have almost turned into a "Pittschau adaptation" because of his significant number of alterations. One deviation from Kilian's version was the inclusion of the attack of the oxen in the valley of Casilinum<sup>90</sup>. Reviewers were impressed by its ending which was marked by a silence followed by sudden powerful laughter from Hannibal which broke forth as the only sound on stage. Pittschau's treatment of other scenes was not always as effective or striking. It is a feature of the Hannibal drama that the protagonist's personality pervades events even in the four scenes prior to his entry and because of this, the producer's decision to have the stage in darkness at the moment of his first appearance was viewed as something of an anticlimax. The mass scenes, too, although lively in themselves, were not suited to the stage settings of Felix Loch which were too narrow and inhibiting for them and gave the impression that the stage was overcrowded.

In other respects, Loch's sets worked very much to the advantage of the production. They were geared to the requirements of fast changes, and his large, simple pictures captured the atmosphere of the action, especially in the scenes in the Senate, at Casilinum, on the Carthaginian boat, and before Moloch. The whole cast was involved in the performance, with some actors playing more than one part. Eugen Eisenlohr presented Hannibal as a lyrical rather than heroic figure, Fred Mahr was an agile Turnu, truly outstanding in his report of Carthage's fall: "Er wurde zu einem Siegeshymnus auf die Tapferkeit eines sterbenden Volkes, zum moralischen Sieg der Besiegten"<sup>91</sup>. Gustav Wehrle played Prusias in a tempered manner, avoiding any overacting. He also filled the roles of the consul and Scipio the Elder.

List of Reviews:

R. Glaeser, "Zum 100. Todestag von Christian Dietrich Grabbe. Im Schauspielhaus: Hannibal," Allgemeine Zeitung (14 September 1936).

Dr Hermann Mueller, "Schauspielhaus: Hannibal von Christian Dietrich Grabbe. Zum Gedächtnis seines 100. Todestages," Chemnitzer Neueste Nachrichten (14 September 1936).

Dr Karl Bachler, "Tragoedie eines Einsamen. Grabbes Hannibal im Schauspielhaus," Chemnitzer Tageblatt (14 September 1936).

H.B., "Grabbes Hannibal im Schauspielhaus Chemnitz," Dresdner Nachrichten (14 September 1936).

Dr M., "Wagner und Grabbe in Chemnitz," Dresdner Neueste Nachrichten (19 September 1936).

by., "Grabbe-Feier im Schauspielhaus Chemnitz," Rhein N.S.Z. Front (19 September 1936).

The second production of Hannibal in 1936 was staged at the S c h a u -  
s p i e l h a u s of the S t a e d t i s c h e B u e h n e n,  
H a n o v e r on 25 September. Alfons Pape perhaps had a greater  
responsibility than any previous producer to attain a high standard  
because his company had been singled out to present the drama on  
30 September at the forthcoming Grabbe Week in Detmold, the first  
attempt by the Propaganda Ministry to fête the dramatist and make  
him an official instrument of National Socialist propaganda:

Die Hannibal-Einstudierung des Schauspielhauses ist fuer  
uns Hannoveraner der Auftakt und der Beitrag zur Detmolder  
Grabbe-Festwoche. Welche Bedeutung diese Gemeinschaftsarbeit  
der grossen nordwestdeutschen Buehnen fuer eine etwaige  
Grabbe-Renaissance haben kann, wird abschliessend zu sagen  
sein; erst dann wird man ermessen, was im Lichte der voelkischen  
Wiedergeburt von dem Grabbeschen Dramengut fuer die deutsche  
Buehne zu retten ist.<sup>92</sup>

The great merit of Hannibal for such a purpose lay in the eternally-  
valid truth it could demonstrate: "Ein Volk, das sich selbst aufgibt  
und sich selbst verraet, loescht sich auch selbst aus"<sup>93</sup>. Only the

fusion of people and leader in the total devotion to a common cause could result in a state of invincibility like that achieved by Rome. Significant was also its topical appropriateness. The parallel was drawn between the abandonment of Hannibal by his people and the stab-in-the-back-theory of post-World-War-One Germany, but to this was added a comparison between Hannibal's plight in the drama and that of Hindenburg when he was left in the lurch by the parliament in 1932. It was maintained that the only thing which changed the situation was the emergence of a saviour from amongst the German people in the person of Adolf Hitler.

Perhaps in anticipation of the smaller proportions of the stage of the Lippisches Landestheater in the town of the dramatist's birth, Pape strove to simplify when adapting the work for the theatre. His eighteen scenes, obtained by deletion and amalgamation, contained a few inadequacies: the inclusion of the scenes of the tyrant of Capua was not considered essential and the uniting of "Am Gestade" with "Hinterverdeck des karthagischen Hauptschiffes" resulted in a lack of clarity. On the whole, though, he approached the task in a painstaking manner and gave an excellent impression of the spirit of Carthage and Rome. The differences were especially well captured in the two political scenes of the exposition. The Synedrion's chamber was said to resemble an under-cover counting house on Wall Street and the image of a preoccupation with economic matters was reinforced by Melkir who was compared to pictures of American millionaires often seen in illustrated magazines, men with hard, ghost-like heads and emaciated features. Melkir's hand movements were also slightly oriental<sup>94</sup>. The meeting of the Roman Senate was conducted in a light room filled with people attired in red and white clothing. Their faces were open and Nordic, their voices were bright, and they had an ability to make decisions quickly on military matters.

Much credit for the strong development of these facets went to the set-designer, Kurt Soehnlein, who had worked with Wieland Wagner at Bayreuth. He adhered to Pape's principle of simplification and used as a backdrop transparent curtains upon which various pictures were painted: images of a city wall, burning ruins, a sea shore with a harbour, mountains, and palms. These were illuminated from behind so that the necessary picture became visible to the audience. In other scenes, scenery and properties in the manner of the stylized stage were utilized, and still more were decorated in a naturalistic way. This was the case of the four scenes with inside locations: in Hanno's palace, the Roman Senate, and in the palaces of Barkas and Prusias. Certain scenes were described as opera-like and multi-coloured, for example the Moloch episode whose focal point, the deity itself, was grotesque and even tasteless.

An operatic tendency was also evident in the speech of some of the actors of the company, all of whom were involved in the production. It was suggested that Pape had misunderstood the pathos of the language and had advocated that it be rendered in a style which put the critics in mind of the Meiningen school of acting, where declamation and exaggerated gestures predominated. Such linguistic pathos characterized the first part of the performance of Theodor Becker in the role of the title hero, a part he had read in Dresden in 1916. His loudness was only temporary and he built up the figure in such a way that he appeared a broken giant at the end. Significantly his strongest moments were those where he was quieter: his breakdown at the end of the Cajeta scene, his departure from Italy, his negotiations with his enemy, and his death in Bithynia which was acted with restraint. The other actors found it difficult to attain his high standard. Like Hannibal, Ruth Willi's Alitta was also impressive in the scene of her

death, her costuming and make-up were very favourably commented upon but she was advised to bring more moderation into her performance. The members of the Carthaginian triumvirate played by Alexander Elgeti, Max du Menil, and Fritz Herbach, were drawn sharply and in a highly individualistic fashion. Elgeti's Melkir, as has already been mentioned, was noticed particularly. On the Roman side, Wolfgang Lukschy was an elegant Scipio the Elder whilst his brother was played by Werner Fuchs as a cold, hard, youthful victor. Hugo Rudolph gave a comic and effeminate rendition of the Bithynian King Prusias. Apart from the performance at Detmold, Pape presented the drama again in Hanover on 1 October and 3 December 1936.

List of Reviews:

Play-bill compiled by the Lippische Landesbibliothek.

Blaetter der Staedtischen Buehnen Hannover 1936/37, 3 (1936/37).

"Grabbe-Woche 1936 in Detmold. Zur Auffuehrung des Hannibal von den Staedtischen Buehnen in Hannover", Der Mitteldeutsche (23 September 1936).

"Grabbes Hannibal wiederbelebt," Luedenscheider General-Anzeiger (26/27 September 1936).

P.N., "Hannibal - Fuehrer ohne Volk / Grabbe-Erstauffuehrung im Schauspielhaus Hannover," Niedersaechsische Tageszeitung (26/27 September 1936).

o.r., "Hannovers Anteil an den Grabbe-Feiern. Hannibal im Schauspielhaus," Hannoverscher Anzeiger (27 September 1936).

"Grabbe-Gedenkfeier. Neueinstudierung von Hannibal," Voelkischer Beobachter (27 September 1936).

"Oper und Schauspiel," Hannoverscher Kurier (4 October 1936).

The third production of Hannibal in 1936 was staged by the S t a e d t i s c h e B u e h n e n, F r e i b u r g i m B r e i s g a u, on 9 November. It differed from those in Chemnitz and Hanover in that it was held in honour of two events, the one-hundredth anniversary of Grabbe's death and the thirteenth anniversary of Hitler's Beer Hall Putsch. The latter was an attempt by the future leader of Germany to overthrow the Weimar Republic in 1923 and its failure resulted in the killing of sixteen of his Old Guard comrades outside the Feldherrnhalle in Munich, his own apprehension, and the temporary disappearance of the Nazi Party from the public eye. In the wake of their coming to power, the National Socialists endowed the almost farcical episode with the qualities of a legend and each year ceremonies of commemoration were held on 9 November.

The administrative body of the Freiburg theatre deemed it fitting that Grabbe's "Feldherrndrama" should be performed to keep alive the memories of those who died -- "Zum Gedenken an die vor der Feldherrnhalle Gefallenen!"<sup>95</sup>. Grabbe and the sixteen men were believed to have in common the fact that they fought for principles and upheld ideals which had been misunderstood by their contemporaries. They became martyrs to the cause they espoused which had to wait for a new age to be recognized and appreciated. A statement by Rainer Schloesser made at the 1936 Grabbe Week in Detmold about Grabbe and similar poets was applied now to both the dramatist and the early heroes of the National Socialist Movement: "Die Kreuze all derer, die am Wege zu groesseren Zeiten starben, haben die Spaeteren das Ziel leichter finden lassen. Darum kraenzen wir die Grabsteine dieser Maenner. Darum ehren wir sie"<sup>96</sup>.

It was considered to be particularly important that the performance

be well attended, for a full house, especially on such a notable anniversary, could itself act as a powerful means of propaganda. Thus an effort was made through the medium of the press to attract people to the production by appealing to their national consciences and by pointing out the function of culture in National Socialist ideology. Most significant in this regard was an article by the Director of Propaganda for the Region (Gaupropagandaleiter), Schmidt, who argued that the idealism Hitler believed was so vital for the health of a nation could be ascertained from the cultural attainment of the people and the extent to which they were seen to support it:

Der grosse, weltanschauliche Kampf zwischen Idealismus und Materialismus ist in der Welt entbrannt. Diese Entscheidung bricht auf aus deutschem Lande, aus der idealistischen Haltung des deutschen Menschen. Die Haltung aber erweist sich als die Ueberwindung jeglicher Traegheit, also des Materialismus und andererseits als Erstarkung an die idealistische und ewige Sendung des deutschen Volkes. - Diese Sendung ist entscheidend wirksam im Kulturwillen und in der Kulturleistung des Dritten Reiches. Je staerker sich das Volk zu beiden bekennt durch Einsatz und Tat, desto gewaltiger wird die Ueberzeugung des deutschen Idealismus in die Welt wirken, besonders dort, wo die Nachbarvoelker durch offene Fenster der Grenzen schauen.<sup>97</sup>

The Fuehrer intended the theatre in cities like Freiburg, situated close to the border of Germany, to become cultural monuments to the people but the realization of this aim was dependent on the degree of their readiness to attend performances. The article ended with a direct exhortation to the public to fulfil the will of the Fuehrer and visit the theatre.

Spectators were well-informed about the dramatist and the tragedy they were going to see. Grabbe's family background, alleged prophetic powers, use of solitary leader figures as topics for his dramas, and the proximity of his own fate with that of Hannibal were pointed out. Because I have treated them already, they need not be discussed further.

One description of the work is worthy of mention, however, as it differs from any previously offered and demonstrates that even in a totalitarian state, variations of interpretation were possible. Devotion to the fatherland, shown by the title hero's family, Brasidas, Turnu, and later Gisgon, and in a different way by the Roman enemy was understood by one critic as the force underlying the whole drama and as the main reason for its relevance:

Hier haben wir den Angelpunkt des Ganzen, das Wesen auch dieses Dramas und seine erneute Wirklichkeit in unserer Zeit:

Heimatliebe und sich selbst opfernder Kampfeinsatz fuer das Vaterland. Macht und Groesse dieses Heiligtums bestimmen die Triebkraefte Hannibals; des Vaterlandes Untergang in Zwietracht, Parteienwirtschaft, Verrat bringen ihn um die Frucht allen Muehens, ziehen ihn mit ins Verderben. Heimatliebe fuehrt den Roemern das Schwert, das den Eindringling von der eigenen Scholle vertreibt; Heimatliebe schmiedet die Karthager zur letzten Abwehr zusammen, fuehrt den Abtruennigen zur Umkehr, und ehrenvoller, freiwilliger Untergang wird einem ehrlosen Gewaltfrieden vorgezogen.

The producer, Paul Riedy, outlined his conception of the tragedy and his proposals for it in Freiburger Theaterblaetter. He was of the opinion that it contained heroic, realistic, and imaginative components, all of which had to be exposed in the course of a theatrical presentation. He proposed that the words be spoken with "pathos" in the original meaning of "passion" as a method of bringing out the heroic. The heroic would also exert a decisive influence over the manner in which the stage setting was devised. By opening up the depth of the stage and breaking the flat stage floor into different levels, the painted decor would attain the appearance of an architectonic stage space and give an impression of monumentality. The revolving stage would also be used and to cater for the large number of scenes, a single superstructure would be created. The same basic layout for all pictures would not only render the scenic changes simpler to carry out

in the technical sense but create a unity of style. The realistic element required in the drama would come from the presence of the actors and the plasticity of the surroundings, whilst a projected stage picture would assist in stimulating the imagination of the audience.

When bringing the text into a form suitable for production, Riedy allowed what he termed the political content and ethical values to be his guide. He removed all action which seemed to be extrinsic. Episodes like the first market scene and the encounters with the despot in Capua had no place amongst his nineteen pictures. One criticism was levelled at the first part of the performance. A lack of restraint here meant that the intensification of action later on was not made obvious enough and the scene in which Carthage's fall was described seemed weak. Riedy's aim to render the style of speaking as pathos was only a partial success. In the heightened stage space, the actors' voices often had too human and isolated an effect.

For the creation of the acting space, set-designer, Toni Steinberger, had carried out the producer's instructions carefully. Instead of a "framework", he created a setting which gave the impression of a living actor, a moving space which was broadened in the acoustical sense by the accompanying music of Hans Faender. A shortcoming of the production was the lack of speed with which the scenes changed despite the use of the revolving stage, a tool which had contributed most favourably to the forward movement of the scenes in Noller's production. Although the pauses between pictures were not long, the empty silences brought a loss of momentum to the action. Ships and buildings in the background were indicated as colourful, faint hints.

Descriptions of Harry Buckwitz' rendition of Hannibal suggest that he gave a rounded portrayal of the title hero, bringing out demonic characteristics, nobility, and a gentler side of his nature. The elevation of the scene of the second Roman peace conditions to the climax of the drama was directly attributable to Wolfgang Engels' acting of Gisgon who grew convincingly during the performance into the leader of the final rebellion. Riedy as Prusias was careful, like the actors of the part in Oldenburg and Chemnitz, not to allow the figure to appear comic or ridiculous. Actors in smaller roles were also acknowledged. Richard Born and Maria-Luis Kloss were fresh and effective as the porter and his son, and even the chorus and dance groups were highly praised.

List of Reviews:

Play-bill.

Freiburger Theaterblaetter, 7 and 8 (1936/37).

D.S., "Die Feier des 9. November im Stadttheater mit Grabbes Hannibal. Der Lebenslauf des Dichters," Freiburger Zeitung (8 November 1936).

Hermann Schultze, "Grabbes Niedersachsenum," Freiburger Zeitung (8 November 1936).

Schmidt, "Zur Auffuehrung von Grabbes Hannibal im Freiburger Stadttheater am Montag, dem 9. November," Tagespost (8 November 1936).

D.W.R., "Staedtische Buehnen -- Grosses Haus: Hannibal / Tragoedie von Chr. D. Grabbe," Freiburger Zeitung (9 November 1936).

Zdenko von Kraft, "Grabbe kehrt heim," Tagespost (10 November 1936).

W. Winzer, "Staedtische Buehnen, Grosses Haus: Hannibal / Tragoedie von Chr.D. Grabbe. Zum Gedenken an die vor der Feldherrnhalle Gefallenen," Der Allemanne (11 November 1936).

Dr W.R., "Stadttheater zum 9. November: Hannibal, Tragoedie von Grabbe," Freiburger Zeitung (11 November 1936).

The B a d i s c h e s S t a a t s t h e a t e r, K a r l s r u h e was the venue for the final production of the Punic drama in the year of the important Grabbe anniversary. The presentation on 12 December was planned to coincide as closely as possible with the one hundred and thirty-fifth return of the dramatist's birthday on the 11th of the month. To awaken interest in the Westphalian's personality, Hanns Johst's drama, Der Einsame, based loosely on the poet's life, was also staged.

Throughout the history of the production of Grabbe's dramas during the Third Reich, the claim was made that the dramatist owed his "discovery" to the "great spiritual revolutionary movement of National Socialism" which was able to comprehend Grabbe's long misunderstood national perceptions<sup>99</sup>. One of these perceptions used to justify the production of Hannibal in Karlsruhe was the notion that the dramatist had recognized the only true form of state. The assertion was based on words from Die Hermannsschlacht which were taken as proof of his total sympathy with, and devotion to, the German cause and stamped him as a herald with whom the people under the Nazi Regime could feel a close bond:

"Welch ein Dummbart waere ich, wollt' ich was sein, ohne mein Volk! Kein Joch, und waere es sterngeschmueckt oder wetterleuchtend wie der Himmelsbogen, soll fortan uns wieder [sic] zwaengen oder einschuechtern.--  
Deutschland, verlass mich nicht mit Deinen Fluren, Bergen, Taelern und Maennern! Ich kaempfe ja nur Deinethalb: Die Feinde sollen Deine Waldungen nicht zum Schiffsbau zerschlagen, Dir Deine Herrlichkeit, Deinen Soehnen ihr Blut und ihre Freiheit nicht nehmen!"<sup>100</sup>

This demonstrates the readiness of propagandists to lift passages out of their context and even combine several as in this case to use them to their advantage, without considering whether or not they really reflect the sentiments and beliefs of the dramatist.

The producer, Felix Baumbach, thought it the duty of the German theatre to stage the work of such a significant German poet, regardless of the problems this might bring with it. He envisaged Hannibal as a great leader personality, motivated in all his actions by his passionate feeling of love for his people and his fatherland. Like Walter Pittschau in Chemnitz, Baumbach used Kilian's adaptation for his production. The fact that he presented twenty scenes, two more than the adaptor, was simply the result of his division of Kilian's IV, 1, "Karthago", into three scenes which correspond in content to Grabbe's (17), (18), and (19)<sup>101</sup>.

The memorable episodes of this series all occurred in the second half, Hannibal's meeting with Scipio the Younger, the description from the look-out tower of the history-making battle, Gisgon's outburst of rage against the Roman victors, Turnu's account of the conflagration, and Prusias' dramatic gesture towards the dead Hannibal.

Heinz Gerhard Zircher provided stage pictures of strength and colourful intensity by means of which he was able to make clear the contrast between the licentious African world and Roman civilisation. This antithesis was further underlined by the costuming of Margarete Schellenberg, especially by the make-up and coiffures of the Punic leaders and the noble contours of the Roman heads.

The producer described the character of Hannibal in Buehnenblaetter des Badischen Staatstheaters Karlsruhe: "In diesem Manne ist wilder Sturm und beschauliche Stille, phantastische Glut eines suedlichen Blutes und ruhige abgeklaerte Weisheit"<sup>102</sup>. Paul Hierl managed to capture these different shades of character. In the first scenes after his appearance, the inflexible general of the Alpine crossing was still in evidence but he became more and more subdued as

circumstances turned against him until his inner isolation at the end. His loyal retainer was portrayed splendidly by Karl Mathias. Theo Friedrich made Scipio the Younger seem youthful and gifted, whilst Otto Keinscharf presented a calmly reflective consul. Hans Herbert Michels played Cato Censor and then undertook the totally different role of Prusias in what was called an impressive fashion.

List of Reviews:

Play-bill.

Buehnenblaetter des Badischen Staatstheaters Karlsruhe, 3 (1936/37).

ibid., 7 (1936/37).

"Grabbes Hannibal im Bad. Staatstheater," Der Fuehrer (12 December 1936).

Dr Hessemer, "Hannibal ad portas! / Zur Erstauffuehrung von Grabbes Drama," Badische Presse (14 December 1936).

G. Roehrdanz, "Badisches Staatstheater: Grabbes grosser Sieg mit seinem Hannibal. Eine Auffuehrung von nachhaltigem Eindruck - Grosser Erfolg fuer Dichter und Schauspieler," Der Fuehrer (14 December 1936).

Dr Paul Zimmermann; "Badisches Staatstheater. Zu Christian Dietrich Grabbes 135. Geburtstag. Zum ersten Mal: Hannibal," Residenz-Anzeiger (15 December 1936).

In 1937, V i e n n a became the first city outside the borders of Germany to see Hannibal on the stage. It was performed at no less a Viennese institution than the B u r g t h e a t e r which, as early as 1776 had been elevated to the status of National Theatre by Kaiser Josef II. Dr Adolf Rott, a Rhinelander, attached to a theatrical company in Danzig, was invited to produce the drama and brought it before the public on 8 December 1937. If, as a German producer, he had intended to formulate any portion of the work in accordance with Nazi beliefs, this passed unnoticed by critics<sup>103</sup>. It was clear that, for the most part, the Austrian press was free from the constraints

imposed upon its counterpart in neighbouring Germany. Details of Grabbe's life and works were at times mentioned but not dwelt upon. Rather, reviews reflected an interest in theatre for theatre's sake and offered a diversity of opinions about the performance.

Like some of his predecessors, including Kilian, Jessner, and Pape, Rott fashioned Grabbe's Hannibal into a drama of eighteen pictures. Completely absent were the first market scene and the two encounters between the Capuans and their despotic ruler. All but the closing words in "Hoehe des noerdlichen Engpasses bei Casilinum" were deleted, and Gisgon's revelation about the blind folly of Carthage was moved forward to the Moloch picture. The latter, characterized by the incineration of children in the glowing mouth of the deity and the hysterical screaming of the mothers could apparently have been profitably dispensed with.

Most of those scenes which gained recognition, did so as a consequence of certain technical features inspired by the designer. This was Emil Pirchan who had created the sets for the premiere in Munich. He then worked with Leopold Jessner, amongst other things on the two famous Expressionist productions of Wilhelm Tell (1919) and Richard III (1920) in which the Jessner staircase was prominent, a device Pirchan drew on again in 1937 to break up the stage area and enable particular groups of actors to be highlighted. The stage itself was extended right into the auditorium and entrances and exits were possible through the orchestra, the wings, and from the rear of the stage.

The beginning of the presentation was likened to a Paramount film. The curtain was drawn back and on the open stage crowds, unable to be seen by the audience, could be heard yelling the words from history: "Hannibal ante portas!" and "Ceterum censeo Carthaginem esse delendam!".

The names of "Karthago" and "Rom" were printed in white block letters on the backdrop and on the dividing curtain, the suckling she-wolf, S.P.Q.R., and the image of Moloch were visible. The use of the lettering in particular was not received favourably by the critics:

"Die plakathaften Schauplatzangaben und Sprechchoere bei verdunkelter Buehne am Anfang, die allzuweit von jener Welt abliegen, die man heute ja doch noch Theater nennen darf, waren wohl ein Missgriff, ebenso haette es der auf den Vorhang projizierten Wappen vor Szenenbeginn kaum bedurft"<sup>104</sup>.

The scenes passed by at a very fast tempo against a background of suggestive decoration and colour. The Roman Senate relied on contrasts for its effect. Cato's red toga stood out vividly from the senators' white ones and the almost stiff manner in which the political discussion was conducted was offset by the tumult of the masses from behind the scene. Photographic slides to depict the invincible wall of Rome in "Vor Rom" and the fire in "Die Ruinen Numantias" left a most powerful impression. The departure of Hannibal's boat from Italy was carried out with the assistance of a sliding platform.

This, surprisingly, was not one of the many episodes singled out in the performance of Ewald Balser as Hannibal. His best moments were described as his reading of the letter from the Synedrion, his prayer of gratitude to Moloch at the prospect of his brother's arrival, his handling of the enemy at Casilinum, and his reaction to the death of his brother and later on, to the destruction of Carthage. Here his performance reached its peak. It was, however, felt that his death could have taken place in more intimate surroundings, a feature also of Jessner's production where the protagonist took poison in the large throne room of Prusias. Balser did not permit his Hannibal to become

too loud:

[Er ] gibt dem Hannibal maennliche Groesse, ohne aber die Gestalt, wie es nach der Dichtung nahelaege, zu uebertreiben. Er gestaltet wirklich nur ein strategisches, nicht auch ein politisches Genie, laesst dem Krieger einen notwendigen Beisatz von Unbeholfenheit und Primitivitaet und wirkt gerade dadurch so packend und stark."<sup>105</sup>

The three rulers of Carthage (Siebert, Reimers, and Kraus) came across as distinctly different personalities. Heinz Woester presented a brutal younger Scipio brother and Aslan rendered Prusias in a masterly fashion as a complacent, vain dandy with a silvery pale face and drawling nasal voice.

A description, although referring to the producer, sums up the consensus of the critics' opinions about the production:

Im ganzen laesst sich sagen: ein ideenreicher junger Regisseur, der, noch nicht immer mit Gelingen, versucht, das Theater vom Traditionellen wegzuspielen, indem er durchaus fruchtbare Regiegedanken der Nachkriegszeit wieder aufnimmt, und der mit jenem edlen Eifer an Werke war, an dem einzig sich Darsteller entzueden koennen.<sup>106</sup>

List of Reviews:

"Grabbes Hannibal in Oesterreich," Hakenkreuzbanner (23 June 1937).

"Grabbes Tragoedie Hannibal in Oesterreich," Muensterischer Anzeiger (24 June 1937).

"Grabbes Tragoedie Hannibal in Oesterreich," Mitteldeutsche National-Zeitung (26 June 1937).

Dr Joseph Gregor, "Burgtheater: Grabbes Hannibal," Neues Wiener Journal (9 December 1937).

"Burgtheater," Tagblatt (9 December 1937).

Rudolf Holzer, "Burgtheater: Hannibal," Telegraf (9 December 1937).

"Burgtheater. Hannibal von Christian Dietrich Grabbe," Volkszeitung (10 December 1937).

N-r., "Hannibal. Burgtheater," Wiener Neueste Nachrichten (10 December 1937).

Oskar Maurus Fontana, "Grabbes Hannibal im Burgtheater," Wochenschau N. W. T. (11 December 1937).

R., "Grabbes Hannibal," Wiener Zeitung (n.d.).

The outbreak of war in September 1939 brought only a temporary lull in productions of the Punic drama. On 25 May 1940, it appeared in the Schauspielhaus of the Muenchener Kammer-spiele and clearly the nation's involvement in military activities had not diminished its attractiveness to producers or its potential relevance to audiences:

In seinen [Grabbes] Werken ist Weltgeschichte, wie sie uns umgibt, hart, grausam, erbarmungslos wie die Natur, erhaben gross und erschuetternd klein in einem. Und e i n Wert allein ist es, der fuer ihn im vulkanischen Ausbruch der Daemonen Bestand hat: Volk und Vaterland.<sup>107</sup>

Repeat performances were held on 27 and 30 May. Arthur Mueller, a poet and dramatist, had been commissioned by the theatre to prepare the adaptation but had been drafted into the army before he was able to complete it. Karl Heinz Martin was therefore invited to take over the task and the Munich staging became the first of his two productions of the tragedy. It has been noted in the first part of this thesis that Martin was unique amongst the adaptors in not accompanying his version with an introduction or foreword<sup>108</sup>. He does, however, give a brief insight into his conception of the drama in the programme, describing it as simple and straightforward: "Die Inszenierung bietet ... keinerlei 'Probleme', sie hat so geradlinig, so einfach, so schlicht und damit so intensiv zu sein, wie das Werk Christian Dietrich Grabbes, dessen Sprache zu sprechen, dessen Gedanken zu denken ein Glueck fuer uns ist"<sup>109</sup>.

What little information that has survived about this eighteen-scene presentation pertains mainly to actors. The title role was played by Friedrich Domin who was most adequate and magnificent when he became a martyr for his people. Turnu was acted by Otto Brefin as stormy, loyal, crafty, and animal-like, whilst Carl Wery made Prusias appear as a straw-doll, an over-indulged weakling interested in literary matters.

Review:

Das Programm. Blaetter der Muenchener Kammerspiele im Schauspielhaus, 9 (1939/40).

Only a smattering of information has survived about the performances of Hannibal on 3 and 5 November 1940 at the H e s s i s c h e s L a n d e s t h e a t e r, D a r m s t a d t. The adaptation and production were in the hands of Jochen Poelzig who brought eighteen scenes on to the stage with the assistance of Max Fritzsche, the set-designer, and Fritz Gerhard who was in charge of the musical and sound effects. Hannibal was played by Julius Kandels; Melkir, Hanno, and Gisgon by Ernst Sladek, Paul Gehre, and Wolfgang Engels respectively. Engels had played the same part in Freiburg in 1936. The two Scipio brothers were acted by Martin Held and Walter Segler. Held also performed later in the drama as Prusias.

Review:

The only information is part of two programmes, one pertaining to the performance on 3 and the other to the performance on 5 November 1940.

On 9 November 1940, the S t a d t t h e a t e r, W u e r z b u r g followed the example of Freiburg in 1936 and chose to celebrate the "Remembrance Day for those who fell for the Movement" with a production of the Punic drama. The official and solemn nature of the occasion was brought to the attention of spectators by the programme for it contained Hitler's words to the Reichstag on the day war was declared, avowing his intention to continue the struggle until the security and rights of the Reich could be guaranteed.

The National Socialist Party's public promotion of Grabbe, especially with its first Grabbe Week in 1936, was accredited with arousing the interest of smaller theatres in his work. Because the Stadttheater was not large and was technically old-fashioned, the producer, Carl Max Haas, was well aware of the obstacles which could be caused by Grabbe's dramas and, as mentioned before, intended his adaptation for theatres such as this<sup>110</sup>. His twenty-two pictures which were staged again on 20 November, were played against the simple, attractive backdrops of Ernst Meissner. Other decorations were mounted on trollies, and the changes of scene were carried out speedily and smoothly.

Hannibal was played by the guest actor, Carl Bernhardt, Barkas by the producer, Melkir by Herbert Clemens, Hanno by Erich Brandt, and Gisgon by Karl Neuwirth. Karl-Heinz Kruse and Wolfgang Klugt were the Scipio brothers. The house was said to have been packed out and the main actors had to appear before the curtain time and again.

Review:

Play-bill.

Blaetter des Stadttheaters Wuerzburg, 3 (1940/41).

Hannibal. Tragoedie von Christian Dietrich Grabbe. In der neuen Buehngestaltung fuer mittlere und kleinere Buehnen von Carl Max Haas (Leipzig, 1940/41).

Amongst the five producers to turn their attention to Hannibal in 1941 was Heinz Haufe who prepared the drama for staging at the K l e i n e s H a u s of the W u e r t t e m b e r g i s c h e S t a a t s - t h e a t e r, S t u t t g a r t, on 30 April and 4 May<sup>111</sup>. The intention was to make the audience aware, through the medium of the tragedy, of the collective responsibility of all of Germany for the attainment of victory:

Christian Dietrich Grabbes Hannibal: das ist die Tragik des einsam Grossen, der, ein Held ohne ebenbuertige Heimat, im Kampf gegen den aeusseren Feind untergeht. Das Wichtige und Aktuelle, dass nur verschworene Einheit von Feldherr, Fuehrerschicht und Volk den Sieg sichert, wird hier wahrhaftig nicht nuechtern demonstriert, der historisch-politische Anschauungsunterricht wird in dem ungefuegen, gewaltsamen, bedraengenden und aufwuehlenden Werk eines Dichters gegeben.<sup>112</sup>

The didactic message could be construed from the drama's main conflict, the struggle between Rome and Carthage. This was now seen as an historical reflection of that struggle currently being carried out between Germany and England. One reviewer remarked quite openly about the parallels:

Darin [im Hannibal] sammeln sich viele Leitgedanken unsrer Zeit, so dass verstaendlich ist, dass nun die Grabbe-Renaissance gerade dieses Werk so sehr hervorhebt -- es wird ja zur Zeit an vielen Buehnen gespielt. Der Geist von Potsdam steht da -- modern ausgedrueckt -- gegen den Geist von Manchester, in gewissem Mass steht schon nordische Welt gegen semitische und orientalische Welt; Uneinigkeith, Selbstsucht, Genussgier stehen gegen das Gesetz eines wirklich "totalen" Krieges, bis es zu spaet ist.<sup>113</sup>

Even where the equation was drawn by implication, it was couched in such terms that it would have easily been understandable to readers of the day. A military and political people -- "ein soldatisches und politisches Volk" -- was confronting a mercantile people -- "ein Haendlervolk"<sup>114</sup>. Prior to the onset of hostilities, Germany had always regarded the British as sharing a common racial heritage with

them. The outbreak of war necessitated that a different view of the enemy be propagated amongst the German people. The National Socialists based their anti-British propaganda on ideas that had been developed for that purpose during the First World War. At that time, Werner Sombart had described the British as a "Haendlervolk" with no place amongst the "Heldenvoelker", as a people more similar to the Jews than to Germans. This impression was reinforced by Houston Stewart Chamberlain's reference to their preoccupation with money, whilst Oswald Spengler regarded the self-centred British individual as the antithesis of the Prussian whose individual will merged into the common will<sup>115</sup>. Such ideas were readily adopted again in 1939 and disseminated through the mass media. Inherent in the parallels drawn between Hannibal and the current political situation was also the notion that Germany, like Rome, would emerge as victor and Britain would lose the war as Carthage had done. In this interpretation, there remained the dilemma of where to accommodate the title hero. His admiration for Rome, however, enabled him to be considered a figure of German temperament.

One critic is worthy of mention because he has taken the comparison from a different point of view. Hermann Missenharter of the Stuttgarter Neues Tagblatt called the Romans sober, arrogant, unimaginative, and superstitious, with a penchant for using their auxiliaries as cannon fodder and mocking defeated opponents begging for peace. He too regarded Hannibal as a German character but saw a similarity between the enemy of Carthage and the English.

Like Haas, Haufe required twenty-two scenes to depict the confrontation of the two peoples. He aimed at bringing out the dramatic tensions, comic aspects, and the strength of the poetic word in each scene, and therefore was anxious that the milieu should not predominate or overpower.

This was to the disadvantage of such episodes as the market scene, the wine festival, and the burning of Carthage which could have been played in a livelier and more colourful fashion. Felix Cziossek, the designer, employed the same stage framework for all scenes and a measure of unity was obtained by a type of optical leitmotif, a huge dark-green statue of Moloch which glowed forth out of the darkness. Different decors were indicated by the use of symbolical properties. Two Corinthian pillars marked the Roman scenes. The summit of the pass consisted of a high scaffolding with steps at the side. The rear deck of the Carthaginian ship was suggested by a similar pedestal. Prusias was enthroned high up on a stair-case and seated under a canopy. The sets changed rapidly but it was a disturbing feature that the curtains remained open throughout the rearrangement of the scenes. The stage music of Josef Duennwald was appropriate and restrained. Restraint was also a hallmark of the style of acting. In portraying Hannibal, Gerhard Geisler exercised great control over his moods and managed without exotic exaggerated gestures. He showed the title hero as taciturn, given to hiding his sorrow rather than expressing it but this did not lead to a flat performance. His best moments came with his negotiation with Scipio the Younger and with the scene of his death. Fritz Brand as Melkir seemed an uncompromising incarnation of evil. Erik Haffner as Hanno gave the impression of an ancient Indian, and Heinz Rassaerts played Gisgon as a dark, wiry African who was convincing in his transformation into a patriotic Carthaginian. Brasidas was given the features of a soldier and patriot by Horst Kreuter. Siegmund Schneider's younger Scipio was compared to a German hero and Herbert Herbe's King Prusias was made up with feminine-looking cheeks and nails. The tragedy was reported to have been greatly appreciated by the audience who became increasingly gripped by the drama as the action progressed.

List of Reviews:

Play-bill.

"Grabbes Hannibal," Schwaebischer Merkur (28 May 1941).

Dr Max Loeffler, "Wuertt. Staatstheater. Ch.D. Grabbes: Hannibal, eine Tragoedie," Cannstatter Zeitung (2 May 1941).

Hermann Werner, "Christian Dietrich Grabbes Hannibal. Erstauffuehrung der Wuertt. Staatstheater," Schwaebischer Merkur (2 May 1941).

D., "Grabbes Hannibal im Staatstheater," Stuttgarter N.S. Kurier (2 May 1941).

Hermann Strenger, "Grabbes Hannibal / Erstauffuehrung im Staatstheater," Wuerttembergische Zeitung (2 May 1941).

Hermann Dannecker, "Grabbes Hannibal - die Tragoedie eines Einsamen," Stuttgarter N.S. Kurier (3 May 1941).

Hermann Missenharter, "Christian Dietrich Grabbes Hannibal," Stuttgarter Neues Tagblatt (n.d.).

The 1941/42 theatre season at the S t a d t t h e a t e r , A a c h e n , opened with Hannibal on 17 September. An article entitled "Hannibal und die Gegenwart" in the programme accompanying Hans Schalla's production indicates that it had a comparable educative purpose to Haufe's Stuttgart presentation earlier in the year. The British were again seen to resemble the Carthaginians in that both peoples were motivated by selfish commercial interests, but it was also made clear now, in accordance with Goebbels' own definition of "plutocracy", that these interests were only held by the plutocratic upper strata in Britain (by which were meant Churchill and the parliamentarians)<sup>116</sup> and the Synedrion in Carthage. The ordinary people simply had to submit to the policies made by those in power. In Germany, on the other hand, the economy was not a goal in itself but subordinate to the higher aim of the dissemination of culture in the world.

The article is important in that it demonstrates how propaganda was tailored to suit new political situations:

Betrachten wir nun den Hannibal im Lichte der neuesten deutsch-europaeischen Politik, indem wir die germanischen Staaten, einschliesslich England, als eine europaeische Blutseinheit ansehen, so koennen wir in unserem Kampf gegen England eine Parallele zu dem Ringen Hannibals mit dem Synedrion Karthagos finden. Es handelt sich ja heute schon nicht mehr um Deutschlands Schicksalskampf, sondern um den Schicksalskampf Europas. In diesem Kampf gilt es, das Handelsvolk Europas, England, zu zwingen, seine wirtschaftlichen Gegebenheiten den nationalen und kulturellen Aufgaben und Beduerfnissen Europas dienstbar zu machen, anstatt dass, wie es in den letzten Jahrhunderten der Fall war, England die nationalen Belange anderer Voelker seinem plutokratischen Egoismus zum Opfer bringt. Das deutsche Schwert, als kraftvoller Ausdruck des idealischen Fuehrertums, mit dem Ziel einer volkssozialen Zukunft Europas, wird die plutokratischen Ueberwucherungen des britischen Weltreiches vernichten und das englische Volk seiner natuerlich-historischen Bestimmungen zufuehren: seine handelspolitische Begabung dem wirtschaftlichen, sozialen und kulturellen Aufbau des neuen Europa in weitgehendster Weise zur Verfuegung zu stellen.<sup>117</sup>

The situation meant in the passage was that which had emerged as a result of Hitler's invasion of Russia on 22 June 1941. The drive towards the East gave rise to a new propaganda argument in Germany. "The choice for Europe was between German victory or Bolshevism"<sup>118</sup>, and the war was now conceived of as a struggle between Europe and Russia. Meanwhile, though, peace had not been made with Britain, and the equation of Germany's fight against the English, "the Jews among the Aryans"<sup>119</sup>, with Hannibal's struggle with the mercenary Synedrion made the audience aware of this fact and of the necessity for Germany to push for victory over her enemies to the West and draw the English people into a European community.

There is no record of the number of scenes played in the Aachen presentation of the Punic drama, but Schalla did seek to give expression to the essential aspects of the work. The stage decoration of Fritz Riedl was such that the places of action could be changed rapidly and

contrasts highlighted:

Die Bilder wechseln schnell, sie koennen es, weil Fritz Riedl mit grosszuegig entworfenen Projektionen einen fast pausenlosen Uebergang ermoeoglicht. Die Gegensaetze sind mitunter frappierend: hier der sybaritische Luxus karthagischer, politisierender Magnaten, dort der rustikale Senat der Roemer, die mit sturen Bauernschaedeln die widerwaertigen Geschehnisse meistern.<sup>120</sup>

Of greater interest to critics seemed to be the exposition of different figures by the acting ensemble. The performance centred around the Hannibal of Heinrich Wildberg. He rendered the nuances of the language well and mastered the parts where he was required to show temperament as well as the more lyrical passages, demonstrating his wide gradation of voice: "Die Charakteristik des afrikanischen Feldherrn ist eine ueberaus kluge Mischung zwischen verhaltenem Temperament und erlernter Beherrschung"<sup>121</sup>. His acting ability was particularly well illustrated in the scene "Kapua. Saal in Hannibals Wohnung" where he thanked Brasidas for his support and later in his monologue of praise to Italy. Karl Fuerstenberg as Turnu also appeared as a brilliant technician of speech. In the final scene he demonstrated his ultimate strength and picturesque power of expression with his description of the burning of Carthage. The three Carthaginian schemers (Guenther Guenthermann, Udo Loeptin, and Herbert Schneider) were balanced well against each other. Elselotte Hiddemann introduced Alitta in a promising manner but wavered in the scene of the fire. The producer was good as Scipio the Younger. The overall standard of the acting was said to be exceptionally high.

#### List of Reviews:

Play-bill compiled by the Lippische Landesbibliothek.

Hannibal. Stadttheater Aachen (October 1941).

Franz Achilles, "Der Mann ohne Volk. Grabbes Hannibal," Aachener Anzeiger (18 September 1941).

Franz Achilles, "Die schauspielerische Kunst im Hannibal," Aachener Anzeiger (23 September 1941).

Alfons Kruell, "Grabbe und Strauss in Aachen. Verheissungsvoller Opern- und Schauspielauftakt," Westdeutscher Beobachter (23 September 1941).

R. Zimmermann, "Theaterpflege in Aachen," Nationalzeitung (30 September 1941).

During the war, there were several productions of Hannibal undertaken outside the boundaries of the Reich proper, in occupied territory. The premiere of Hannibal in P r a g u e took place on 15 September 1942 at the D e u t s c h e s S c h a u s p i e l h a u s of the S t a e n d e t h e a t e r. Production was in the hands of Fritz Remond who played the part of Prusias. The tragedy was reduced to twenty scenes, a notable omission from which was Grabbe's (26) depicting Alitta's efforts to burn her city. Hannibal was performed by Rudolf Reif and design carried out by Frank Schultes.

Review:

Play-bill compiled by the Lippische Landesbibliothek.

Deutsche Theater in Prag. Staendetheater. Deutsches Schauspielhaus (1942).

On 18 February 1943 in R e v a l, Estonia, the Punic drama appeared in the V a e i k e t e a t e r - T o e o e l i s t e a t e r (Kleintheater - Arbeitertheater) in an Estonian-language version of Karl Heinz Martin's adaptation. The producer of the nineteen pictures, the same number played in Berlin in 1941, was Enn Toona. The theatre was taking a considerable risk in performing the drama because it only possessed a small and technically very limited stage. In many cases, therefore, the set-designer, Woldemar Peil, had to be content with giving

a mere indication of the setting leaving the rest to the imagination of the spectator. Curtains were also used on occasions to narrow the section of stage in which the action was taking place. The rather inadequate stage facilities had no adverse effect on the speed with which the scenes moved forward. Further strong points of the production were the music composed by Eduard Tubin and the choreography by Helmi Tohwelmann.

Karel Soeoedor showed unshakeable heroic greatness as Hannibal and his acting talents were superior to those of Enn Parwe and Lembo Maegi who played the Scipio brothers. Elmar Kiwilo gave a particularly good performance as Turnu. No other actors were singled out although the performance was said to be consistent throughout. A large portion of its success could be attributed to Ludwig Rost, the overall technical director who had to work with very restricted means.

Review:

Play-bill.

Dr Carl J. Brinkmann, "Grabbe: Hannibal. Auffuehrung im Kleinen Theater in Reval," Revaler Zeitung (23 February 1943).

The penultimate production of Hannibal during the Third Reich and the last to be undertaken within the boundaries of pre-war Germany was adapted and brought on to the stage by Dr Franz Ulbrich. It appeared on two occasions at the P r e u s s i s c h e s S t a a t s t h e a t e r , K a s s e l in 1943. Both performances were distinctive in being presented in a somewhat broader frame of reference than was usual for the majority of the productions so far discussed. On 6 June, the drama was played to mark the foundation of the Central German Division of the

Grabbe Society whose function was to arouse local interest in the dramatist. The official ceremony took place in the morning and was attended by a member of the Grabbe Society in Detmold, Dr Heinrich Hollo, who read an address: "Grabbes Lebenskampf in seinen Werken". A musical framework was provided by Rincken's Piano Quintet in A major and Beethoven's Eroica Symphony, and actor Carl Randt recited Ferdinand Freiligrath's poem "Bei Grabbes Tod". Present were also representatives from local universities and German authors including Hans Grimm.

The next Kassel performance coincided with the one hundred and seventh anniversary of the dramatist's death on 12 September and was also preceded by a morning celebration. This time the guest speaker was the Goettingen literary historian, Dr Pongs who spoke about Grabbe as an historical dramatist and pointed out to the audience the characteristics which made the dramatist so topical, his national aims and recognition of the need for unity between leader and people said to be apparent in his dramas. The Faust monologue from Don Juan und Faust was spoken by Carl Randt and three movements of Johannes Brahms' String Quartet in C minor were played. The backgrounds against which the Hannibal productions were placed were reminiscent of the Grabbe celebrations held in Detmold. It is perhaps worthy of mention that a considerable number of the press reports concentrated on this aspect rather than the production itself and in contrast with some earlier stagings in the 1940s, very little attempt was made to interpret Hannibal in the light of the existing political situation. One small example emerged, however, in G.M. Vonau's description of scenes in the Kasseler Neueste Nachrichten of 7 June 1943:

Die erste Szene ist ein ewiges Symbol des Krieges. Die Liebende nimmt Abschied vom Krieger, Alitta von Brasidas. In dieser einzigen wichtigen Frauengestalt des Dramas koennen wir - wie Dr Hollo es schoen ausdrueckt - die "daheimgebliebene Seele Hannibals" verkoerpert sehen. ... Den Geist ... Roms finden wir ... in der Senatsitzung, die etwas von dem Atem des totalen Krieges der Gegenwart hat.

The content of the play and the actors remained the same for both performances. Twenty scenes were staged, the same number as in Ulbrich's Meiningen production in 1920. "Am Gestade" was amalgamated with "Hinterverdeck des karthagischen Hauptschiffes", and the burning of Carthage by the women removed from the final group of scenes to the end of the fourth division before the Prusias episode, a solution already employed by Martin.

The bustling life in Carthage, the cool strength of the Roman Senate, the idyll of the wine festival, and the frivolous spirit of the court of Prusias were greatly enhanced by the stage decor of Friedrich Kalbfuss who was able to use it as a method of infusing much colour and tension into the different scenes. The varied foreground decorations merged with the backdrops and Kalbfuss employed a mixture of styles. In the portrayal of Carthage, for instance, both historical and modern motifs were used. The scenes owed much of their effectiveness to the costuming of Erich Doehler and the discretely incorporated music of Paul Hensel-Haerdrich.

Walter Jung was a Hannibal of impressive greatness who mastered his role well without declaiming. His opponents in the Synedrion were given Semitic features by means of make-up. F.W. Hanschmann was a malicious, wily Melkir, Karl Ebhardt a mistrustful Hanno, and Karl Mathias an upright, valiant Gisgon. Beryll Scharland presented Alitta as an heroic woman. The most distinctive of those actors playing parts of Romans was Walter Segler as Scipio the Younger, but Kurt Uhlig was a resolute Cato and Paul Cadow a sharply drawn praetor.

Allied bombing attacks on Kassel on 22 October severely damaged the theatre, making it impossible for the company to perform the drama on 29 and 30 October at the Detmold Grabbe Week as scheduled. These guest

appearances had to be postponed until 11 and 12 December.

List of Reviews:

The play-bills for the performances of 6 June, 12 September and for 11 and 12 December 1943.

L. Sch., "Ist Grabbe theaterwirksam? Eine Betrachtung zur Grabbe-Feier des Kasseler Staatstheaters," Kasseler Neueste Nachrichten (29/30 May 1943).

"Grabbe-Tag im Staatstheater," Kasseler Neueste Nachrichten (2 June 1943).

C. Lanczkowski, "Wer war Hannibal? Zur Grabbe-Erstauffuehrung des Kasseler Staatstheaters," Kasseler Neueste Nachrichten (6 June 1943).

G.M. Vonau, "Zum ersten Mal in Kassel: Grabbes Hannibal-Drama. Die Inszenierung Dr Ulbrichs ein voller Erfolg - Revision des Urteils ueber Grabbe," Kasseler Neueste Nachrichten (7 June 1943).

G.M. Vonau, "Rom gegen Karthago. Fuehrte der Rassengegensatz zum Krieg? / Die Sonderstellung Hannibals / Brutale Kriegsfuehrung," Kasseler Neueste Nachrichten (9 June 1943).

"Die Grabbe-Gesellschaft wirbt," Kasseler Neueste Nachrichten (12/13 June 1943).

Emil Echzell, "Grabbe-Feier in Kassel. Gruendung der Abteilung Mitteldeutschland der Grabbe-Gesellschaft," Lippische Staatszeitung (23 June 1943).

Emil Echzell, "Daemonisch und zwiespaeltig. Wie sah Grabbe aus?," Kasseler Neueste Nachrichten (1 September 1943).

Deerberg, "Grabbe als Geschichtsdramatiker. Morgenfeier im Preussischen Staatstheater," Kasseler Neueste Nachrichten (13 September 1943).

Emil Echzell, "Grabbe im Lichte neuer Wertung. Grabbe-Feier in Kassel," Lippische Staatszeitung (18 September 1943).

The final Hannibal production to be undertaken under totalitarian rule took place on 9 June 1944 at the T h e a t e r d e r G a u h a u p t - s t a d t R e i c h e n b e r g in the Sudetenland. Even at this comparatively late stage in the war, background information was not neglected and came in the form of an article: "Was ist uns Grabbe heute?" by Dr Hans Kloos in Die Zeit on 4 June. It conformed with others for previous productions in its elevation of the National Socialist promotion

of Grabbe and its disparagement of the earlier efforts to do justice to Grabbe's work but it did serve to acquaint the readers briefly with the research by Alfred Bergmann and Ferdinand Josef Schneider, and the Grabbe quotation with which it opened: "Da nur bekommt das Leben Wert, wo es in Gefahr geraet," indicated that the air of optimistic confidence about a German victory which was apparent at the beginning of the 1940s had gone in a country now on the defensive.

Production was in the hands of Walter Heidrich who followed Haas and Haufe in reducing Grabbe's twenty-eight scenes to twenty-two. This enabled the producer to give a taut scenic form to the work without losing sight of the essentials. He was supported competently by the set-designer, Manfred Miller, whose backdrops were mood-evoking and gave spacial atmosphere to the action which was performed on a slightly slanting stage. There was a balanced and well-apportioned utilization of light and the accompanying music was used sparingly. The care with which the producer approached his task was evident in his attention even to the smallest roles and details. He aimed at a concentration of emphasis on word and gesture.

A good unification of these two features was the strength of Walter Kottenkamp's most convincing rendition of Hannibal. The actor, a guest from Dresden but originally from Detmold, was physically extremely suitable for the part: powerful in stature, one-eyed with a weather-beaten, bearded face, furrowed brow, and unkempt white hair. The other actors, despite their excellent performances, were seen only as a foil for the Punic general. Of the Carthaginians, Brasidas was sympathetically played by Walter Hamel as a fiery youth, Alitta by Inge Grunewald whose portrayal demonstrated nobleness of heart and readiness for sacrifice. Hermann Stoevesand who had played the elder of the two Roman generals

in Essen in 1935, was now in the role of his younger brother and shared one of the climaxes of the drama with Kottenkamp when Scipio and Hannibal met for negotiations before the Battle of Zama. Willy Steegen captured an air of vain Byzantine complacency as King Prusias.

The production was said to rank amongst the best of that season in the Reichenberg theatre and was in fact the last play to have been performed there before all theatres in the Reich were ordered to be closed in September 1944 to help the war effort.

List of Reviews:

Play-bill compiled by the Lippische Landesbibliothek.

Dr Hans Kloos, "Was ist uns Grabbe heute?," Die Zeit (4 June 1944).

Dr Hans Kloos, "Die Tragoedie Hannibal. Grabbe-Erstauffuehrung in Reichenberg," Die Zeit (11 June 1944).

Emil Lindner, "Reichenberger Theaterbrief," Der Neue Tag (19 June 1944).

(iv.) Excursus: The Grabbe Weeks and Days

During the "brown" years, the works of certain dramatists favourable to the State were selected to become part of elaborate theatrical pageants under the aegis of the Propaganda Ministry. The Reich Theatre Weeks, as they were known, had a special function to fulfil:

Die Reichs-Theaterfestwoche ist im deutschen Theaterleben die repräsentativste Veranstaltung aus der theaterpolitischen Führung heraus. ... Sinn und Aufgabe der Reichs-Theaterfestwochen werden die gleichen bleiben, sie werden uns vor allem das Bewusstsein geben, dass wir ein deutsches Nationaltheater haben, das sich in festlichen Stunden offenbart.<sup>122</sup>

Between 1936 and 1944, Grabbe became the subject of eleven events of this nature, eight in Detmold, two in Hamburg<sup>123</sup>, and one in Bochum. Since Hannibal appeared in only five of them and the productions in question have already been examined, the Grabbe Weeks and Days are not strictly speaking an essential part of this study<sup>124</sup>. They do, however, present another most important facet of the National Socialist exploitation of the dramatist, and for this reason, I wish to devote some space to them. In order to avoid trespassing on ground already covered, I shall not provide detailed descriptions of the ideology expounded during these festivals or reexamine the Hannibal presentations but attempt to give a brief indication of the different plans and point out any distinctive features or highlights.

The 1936 Grabbe Week held in Detmold between 26 September and 2 October was the best documented of all the Grabbe spectacles and like the individual productions of Hannibal in the same year, it was born of the desire to pay a special tribute to the dramatist one century after his death. An article entitled "Detmold und das Grabbe-Jahr 1936. Eine Anregung" in the Lippische Staatszeitung

of 6 August 1935 envisaged the homage to take the form of the staging of many of the Westphalian's dramas throughout 1936 in the Lippisches Landestheater which would be consecrated as a Grabbe theatre. The idea of concentrating all the plays together as a Reich Theatre Week only emerged in 1936 as a result of discussions between several eminent citizens of Detmold who viewed such an event as a means of ridding Grabbe of the bad reputation that had been attributed to him<sup>125</sup>.

As the overseer of the Detmold branch of the National Socialist Cultural Association, it was Dr Heinrich Hollo's task to submit convincing arguments and a plan to the Reich Theatre Chamber for evaluation. Dr Hollo emphasized Grabbe's Lower Saxon peasant origins, drawing on his writings as proof of his strong feelings of kinship with the region of the Teutoburg Forest, a sentiment he claimed the dramatist had experienced even when absent from Detmold. Grabbe was understood to possess the added virtue of being able to see beyond the narrow confines of his home town and to recognize the concept of Germany as a whole. Those works deemed suitable for a festival were Kaiser Friedrich Barbarossa, Kaiser Heinrich der Sechste, Napoleon oder die hundert Tage, Hannibal, Die Hermannsschlacht, and Aschenbroedel. The latter two would be performed in the open, near the Hermann's Monument and in the palace gardens in Detmold respectively. The form the celebration was to take was to be a reflection of both the dramatist's local and national awareness. Dr Hollo wrote:

Veranstaltungstraeger ist die Reichskulturkammer. Ich gestatte mir diesen Vorschlag, weil ich glaube, dass eine Grabbefestwoche als reichswichtige Veranstaltung aufgezogen werden sollte. Gemass der obigen Begruendung dieser Aufgabe kann nur der Veranstaltungsort die Heimat des Dichters sein, weil er heimatgebunden war; das gesamte Werk des Dichters aber darf mit Recht Anspruch darauf erheben, das Interesse des deutschen Volkes zu finden.<sup>126</sup>

Each drama would be assigned to a Westphalian theatre, thereby introducing a variety of acting styles and scenery which would provide a stimulus to other German producers and visitors. The general organization would also be entrusted to local people. This plan was realized in most of its details. Dr Josef Goebbels agreed to become the patron whilst the convener was Dr Alfred Meyer, Gauleiter and head of the regional government of Westphalia and the two Lippe. It was not possible to make the festival week coincide exactly with the anniversary of Grabbe's death on 12 September as had originally been hoped, and the two Hohenstaufen dramas and Aschenbroedel were replaced by Marius und Sulla, Scherz, Satire, Ironie und tiefere Bedeutung, and Nannette und Maria.

A successful outcome of the festivities depended ultimately on the interest and attendance of the public, and for several months beforehand considerable efforts were made to mobilize the people to take up the fight for the dramatist. A series of lectures by Grabbe researchers was presented, a competition run for a suitable poster, and the public entreated to search for items from the Grabbe household which had been disbanded in the middle of the nineteenth century. A "Festschrift" was published, and quotations, as well as narrative works based on Grabbe's life featured in the press. As the time of the festival approached, the progress of the preparations, including the displaying of decorations, was carefully recorded in a number of articles, "Erlauschtes von der Grabbe-Woche 1936 " in the Lippische Tageszeitung. The decorations alone stamped it as a Nazi extravaganza after the style of the great rallies. They were arranged by Hans Wagner who had been responsible for the decorating at the Olympic Games and the Nuremberg Party Days of that same year. He had the square in front of the theatre and the theatre itself adorned with eleven-metre-long flags

and garlands of oak leaves entwined with gold ribbons, and the whole scene was flood-lit at night.

The programme for the Grabbe Week was set out in a small pamphlet and widely publicized in the daily press:

Saturday, 26 September

- |            |  |
|------------|--|
| 11 a.m.    | Public ceremony at Grabbe's graveside, accompanied by speeches |
| 12.30 p.m. | Opening of the Grabbe-Exhibition in the Landestheater          |
| 3 p.m.     | Reception of the press   |
| 8 p.m.     | Reception of the guests on behalf of the town of Detmold       |

Sunday, 27 September

- |         |   |
|---------|---|
| 11 a.m. | Commemorative celebration for Grabbe in the Landestheater. Addresses by Gauleiter Dr Meyer and Reichsdramaturg Dr Schloesser. Musical framework provided by the Staeddtisches Orchester, Muenster |
| 6 p.m.  | Performance of Johst's <u>Der Einsame</u> and Grabbe's <u>Marius und Sulla</u> by the Stadttheater, Muenster  |

Monday, 28 September

- |         |   |
|---------|---|
| 11 a.m. | Lecture in the Club House ("Vereinshaus") by Dr Hollo: "Grabbes Lebenskampf in seinen Werken" |
| 6 p.m.  | Performance of <u>Napoleon oder die hundert Tage</u> by the Stadttheater, Bochum              |

Tuesday, 29 September

- |         |   |
|---------|---|
| 11 a.m. | Bus trips departing from the Landestheater to the Hermann's Monument and Bad Meinberg             |
| 6 p.m.  | Performance of <u>Scherz, Satire, Ironie und tiefere Bedeutung</u> by the Stadttheater, Bielefeld |

Wednesday, 30 September

- |         |   |
|---------|---|
| 11 a.m. | Bus trips from the Landestheater to the Externsteine                |
| 6 p.m.  | Performance of <u>Hannibal</u> by the Staeddtische Buehnen, Hanover |

Thursday, 1 October

- |        |  |
|--------|--|
| 1 p.m. | Bus trips to the Germanic settlement at Oerlinghausen  |
| 7 p.m. | Music around Grabbe by Lortzing and Burgmueller presented by the Orchester des Lippischen Landestheaters, followed by <u>Nannette und Maria</u> by the Lippisches Landestheater, Detmold |

Friday, 2 October

6 p.m.                      Performance of Die Hermannsschlacht by the Staedtische Buehnen, Duesseldorf

The whole undertaking was conceived of by those officially involved in terms of a military exercise, and it was hoped that the multifarious programme would assist in bringing about a break-through in the fight for Grabbe, as far as his life, his work, and the production of his dramas were concerned. Each of these aspects was given ample exposure in the course of the seven days.

The first event, the ceremony at the dramatist's grave, set the tone for the week. It was attended by delegations from the S.A., S.S., and the Hitler Youth, by numerous dignitaries from the Party and State, and members of the general public, all of whom had gathered to hear speeches and partake in, or merely witness the laying of wreaths on the grave. The opening ceremony in the Lippisches Landestheater on the second day was composed of a medley of items. After a musical introduction of Beethoven's Coriolan Overture, Willi Molthof read Freiligrath's "Bei Grabbes Tod", and the festival was declared open by the Director of Culture for the Region, Fritz Schmidt. It fell to Dr Alfred Meyer, the Gauleiter, to divulge the contents of telegrams dispatched to the Fuehrer and Dr Goebbels and he expressed the hope that the Grabbe Week would provide a worthy conclusion to the great cultural events in the Olympic Year and succeed in paving the way in the recruitment of Grabbe for the National Theatre. This address was followed by an andante from Mozart's Symphony No. 40 in G minor, a reading of Grabbe's dramatic poem "Barbarossa" by actors Molthof, Rottluff and Wildberg of the Stadttheater, Muenster, and a speech by Reichsdramaturg, Dr Rainer Schloesser. The celebration was closed to the strains of Brahms' Tragic Overture Op. 81.

The nucleus of the festival was provided by the dramatic productions. These were undertaken in the spirit of a competition, the purpose of which was to demonstrate as convincingly as possible that Grabbe's dramas were able to be staged and to inspire other theatres to take up the cause. Saladin Schmitt's Napoleon and the production of Die Hermannsschlacht by Bruno Iltz emerged as the undeniable highlights of the Theatre Week. The Arminius drama, set in the vicinity of the poet's birth place, was hailed as the climax and most fitting conclusion to the festival. Kruchen's Scherz, Satire was successful, but production flaws were evident in Pape's Hannibal which lacked the spontaneous enthusiasm of Napoleon and there was some doubt whether his effort had been impressive enough to conquer the Punic drama for the German stage<sup>127</sup>. Hanke's Marius und Sulla and Will-Rasing's Nannette und Maria, which had both been excluded from the original plan, were described as quite uninspiring and could have been replaced to advantage by the Hohenstaufen dramas or Don Juan und Faust.

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"Plan einer Grabbewoche in Detmold," prepared by Dr H. Hollo.

"Grabbe-Woche 1936."

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Christian Dietrich Grabbe. Die Detmolder Grabbe-Woche 1936 im Urteil der deutschen Presse (Detmold, 1936).

"Detmold und das Grabbe-Jahr 1936. Eine Anregung," Lippische Staatszeitung (6 August 1935).

- ab - , "Wie Grabbes Werk geehrt werden soll," Lippische Tageszeitung (7 July 1936).

"Anruf an alle! Wer hat noch Erinnerungsstuecke an Grabbe?," Lippische Tageszeitung (2 August 1936).

"Grabbe-Woche in Detmold unter der Schirmherrschaft von Reichsminister Goebbels," Lippische Staatszeitung (5 August 1936).

- ab - , "Ein Blick in die Vorbereitungen der Grabbe-Woche," Lippische Tageszeitung (11 August 1936).

"Der Grabbe-Woche entgegen. Die Vorbereitungen in vollem Gange," Lippische Staatszeitung (3 September 1936).

- ab - , "Die Verdienste Dr Hollos um Grabbe," Lippische Tageszeitung (3 September 1936).

- ab - , "Dem Andenken Grabbes gewidmet," Lippische Tageszeitung (12 September 1936).

H. Hollo, "Vor hundert Jahren Christian Dietrich Grabbe gestorben. Aus dem westfaelischen Lebensraum," Lippische Tageszeitung (12 September 1936).

Paul Lindner, "Grabbes Stauferdrama: Kaiser Friedrich Barbarossa," Lippische Tageszeitung (12 September 1936).

"Die Grabbe-Woche in Detmold," Westfaelisches Volksblatt (16 September 1936).

- ab - , "Erlauschtes von der Grabbe-Woche 1936, I," Lippische Tageszeitung (18 September 1936).

- ab - , "Erlauschtes von der Grabbe-Woche 1936, II," Lippische Tageszeitung (19 September 1936).

- ab - , "Erlauschtes von der Grabbe-Woche 1936, III," Lippische Tageszeitung (20 September 1936).

- ab - , "Erlauschtes von der Grabbe-Woche 1936, IV," Lippische Tageszeitung (22 September 1936).

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- ab - , "Erlauschtes von der Grabbe-Woche 1936, V," Lippische Tageszeitung (23 September 1936).

- ab - , "Die Arbeit des Grabbeforschers Dr. Kauhausen," Lippische Tageszeitung (24 September 1936).

- ab - , "Detmolder seid dankbar! Ernste Worte zur Grabbe-Woche," Lippische Tageszeitung (25 September 1936).

- ab - , "Erlauschtes von der Grabbe-Woche 1936, VI," Lippische Tageszeitung (25 September 1936).

Mhd., "Ein Dramatiker fuer unsere Zeit. Gedanken zur Grabbe-Woche in Detmold," Lippische Staatszeitung (26 September 1936).

- ab - , "Erlauschtes von der Grabbe-Woche 1936, VII," Lippische Tageszeitung (26 September 1936).

J. Graber, "Chr. Dietrich Grabbe, Du wirst nicht vergessen!," Lippische Tageszeitung (26 September 1936).

"Das genaue Programm," Lippische Tageszeitung (26 September 1936).

"Wer kommt zur Grabbe-Woche nach Detmold?," Lippische Tageszeitung (26 September 1936).

Dr Wilhelm Schulte, "Heute beginnt die Grabbe-Ehrung in Detmold," Westfaelisches Volksblatt (26 September 1936).

Zdenko von Kraft, "Still verloeschte eine Flamme..." Bayerische Ostmark (26/27 September 1936).

"Feierlicher Auftakt zur Grabbe-Woche," Lippische Staatszeitung (27 September 1936).

"Die Eroeffnung der Grabbe-Ausstellung," Lippische Staatszeitung (27 September 1936).

"Der Gauleiter empfaengt die Presse," Lippische Staatszeitung (27 September 1936).

"Empfang der Ehrengaeste im Rathaus," Lippische Staatszeitung (27 September 1936).

Paul Lindner, "Grabbe-Woche 1936. Die Stadt Detmold am Tage der Eroeffnung," Lippische Tageszeitung (27 September 1936).

Oskar H. Stampfer, "Einfuehrende Worte zu den Grabbe-Auffuehrungen," Lippische Tageszeitung (27 September 1936).

Walter Thomas, "Warum spielen wir Grabbes Napoleon?" Lippische Tageszeitung (27 September 1936).

"Grabbe, der ringende Deutsche," Lippische Staatszeitung (28 September 1936).

"Deutschland ehrt Christian Dietrich Grabbe," Lippische Volkszeitung (28 September 1936).

Dr Wegmann, "Grabbe-Woche in Detmold," Rheinische Landeszeitung (28 September 1936).

-eck-, "Grabbe-Woche in Detmold. Der Sieg eines Einsamen," Wilhelmshavener Kurier (28 September 1936).

"Grabbe-Woche in Detmold. Die Festauffuehrung am ersten Tag," Lippische Post (29 September 1936).

Hermann L. Schaefer, "Grabbe-Woche Detmold 1936. Spiel des Stadttheaters Bochum / Napoleon oder die hundert Tage," Lippische Staatszeitung (30 September 1936).

"Zur Auffuehrung des Hannibal. Gastspiel der Staedtischen Buehnen Hannover," Lippische Staatszeitung (30 September 1936).

"Musik um Grabbe," Lippische Staatszeitung (30 September 1936).

A.U., "'Dieses widmet deine Mutter Dirr'," Niedersaechsische Tageszeitung (30 September 1936).

"Telegramm des Fuehrers an die Grabbe-Festwoche. Napoleon oder die hundert Tage als Festgastspiel des Bochumer Stadttheaters," Voelkischer Beobachter (30 September 1936).

Heinrich Heining, "Hannibal in Detmold. Auffuehrung der Staedtischen Buehnen Hannover," Berliner Tageblatt (1 October 1936).

k. sch., "Hannibal," Hamburger Fremdenblatt (1 October 1936).

W. Gossmann, "Hannoveraner in Detmold. Hannibal in der Grabbe-Woche," Niedersaechsische Tageszeitung (1 October 1936).

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Josef Bergenthal, "Grabbes Wiedereinsetzung. Scherz, Satire, Ironie und tiefere Bedeutung / Hannibal," Berliner Boersen-Zeitung (2 October 1936).

Kdt., "Vierter Theaterabend der Grabbe-Woche. Grabbes Hannibal und das klassische Drama," Der Mittag (2 October 1936).

N.-H., "Hannibal in Detmold," Bresdner Neueste Nachrichten (2 October 1936).

Dr Waesche, "Ehrung eines deutschen Dichters. Die Grabbe-Festwoche in Detmold," Hamburger Nachrichten (2 October 1936).

Ha. Me., "Die Grabbe-Woche in Detmold. Die Auffuehrung von Scherz, Satire, Ironie und tiefere Bedeutung und des Hannibal," Hannoverscher Anzeiger (2 October 1936).

Hermann L. Schaefer, "Grabbe-Woche Detmold 1936. Hannibal / Auffuehrung der Staedtischen Buehnen Hannover," Lippische Staatszeitung (2 October 1936).

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"Kameradschaftsabend im Hotel Stadt Frankfurt," Lippische Staatszeitung (2 October 1936).

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Dr. Stf., "Grabbe-Woche in Detmold. Hannover spielt Grabbes Hannibal," Tremonia (2 October 1936).

"Hannover spielte Hannibal. Vierte Festauffuehrung der Grabbe-Woche in Detmold," Voelkischer Beobachter (2 October 1936).

Dr Wegmann, "Vierter Abend der Grabbe-Woche. Die Auffuehrung des Hannibal erweist die Buehnenfaehigkeit des Grabbe-Dramas," Westfaelische Landeszeitung (2 October 1936).

k.u., "Grabbe-Woche in Detmold. Heroischer Pessimismus. Grabbes Hannibal - Aufgefuehrt vom Schauspielhaus Hannover," Westfaelische Zeitung (2 October 1936).

Paul Weber, "Grabbes Feldherrndramen. Die Auffuehrungen des Napoleon und Hannibal," Germania (3 October 1936).

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Dr. P.F., "Die Grabbe-Festwoche," Magdeburgische Zeitung (4 October 1936).

Dr Ernst Wachler, "Abschluss der Grabbe-Woche," Dresdener Nachrichten (5 October 1936).

Arno Taenzel, "Durchbruch zu Grabbe. Was lehrte die Grabbe-Festwoche in Detmold?," Bremer Nachrichten (6 October 1936).

Paul Vogelpoth, "Detmolder Tage. Eindruecke von der Grabbe-Woche," Duesseldorfer Nachrichten (6 October 1936).

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O.N.H., "Rueckblick auf die Grabbe-Woche," Wuerttemberger Zeitung (6 October 1936).

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Helmuth Viehoff, "'Schichtwechsel'. Nachklaenge zur Grabbe-Woche 1936 in Detmold -- Die technischen Leistungen im Buehnenhaus," Muensterischer Anzeiger (25 October 1936).

Hans Havemann, "4. Abend der Grabbe-Woche. Heldentum und Kraemergeist. Hannibal, aufgefuehrt vom Staedt. Schauspielhaus Hannover," Westfaelische Neueste Nachrichten (n.d.).

The success of the first Grabbe Week which was conducted as a type of experiment was confirmed unequivocally by the wording on the invitation issued for a second similar event a year later:

Die Grabbe-Woche 1936 hat den dichterischen Wert und die nationalpolitische Bedeutung des durch hundert Jahre verkannten westfaelischen Dramatikers Christian Dietrich Grabbe ueberzeugend dargetan. Nach diesem entscheidenden und erfolgreichen Anfang soll des Dichters Werk auch in Zukunft lebendig bleiben und den deutschen Menschen in seinem voelkischen Bewusstsein staerken. Darum haben der Reichsstatthalter in Lippe und der Praesident der Reichstheaterkammer alljaehrlich wiederkehrende

DETMOLDER GRABBE-TAGE

beschlossen, die erstmals 1937 am 29., 30. und 31. Oktober stattfinden. Sie haben gleichzeitig eine Grabbe-Gesellschaft ins Leben gerufen, deren Gruendungsfeier im Rahmen der Grabbe-Tage begangen werden soll.

A format comparable to that developed in 1936 was adopted for this festival, although the length of the celebration, choice of drama, and other details were varied. The Hannibal tragedy, for instance, was not performed:

Friday, 29 October

8 p.m. Premiere performance of Aschenbroedel by the Lippisches Landestheater, Detmold

Saturday, 30 October

12 noon Opening of the Grabbe-Exhibition in the Lippische Landesbibliothek  
 3 p.m. Reception of the press by the Director of Culture for the Region, F. Schmidt in the Hotel Kaiserhof  
 6 p.m. Performance of Don Juan und Faust by the Stadttheater, Muenster followed by a reception for the honoured guests in the Kaiserhof

Sunday, 31 October

- 11 a.m.                    Foundation of the Grabbe Society  
 Morning celebration in the Lippisches Landestheater  
 opening by F. Schmidt, address by Gauleiter Dr Meyer,  
 speech by the President of the Reich Theater Chamber  
 Dr Rainer Schloesser
- 6 p.m.                    Performance of Napoleon oder die hundert Tage  
 by the Stadttheater, Bochum.

The official founding of the Grabbe Society was the highlight of the 1937 Grabbe Days, despite the fact that this had to proceed without its president, Dr Schloesser, who was unable to attend. Its aims and objectives were outlined in the statutes:

Die Grabbe-Gesellschaft will die Erinnerung an den grossen deutschen Dramatiker Christian Dietrich Grabbe im deutschen Volke wecken und lebendig erhalten, die Grabbe-Forschung foerdern und mit allen Mitteln im Theater, in der Schule und im Schrifftum, durch Auffuehrungen, Vortraege und Veroeffentlichungen zur wahren Erkenntnis von Grabbes Eigenart und Bedeutung und zum tiefen Erlebnis seiner Werke fuehren.<sup>128</sup>

As part of this promotion of Grabbe, the Society was to arrange for the annual presentation of Grabbe Days during the winter theatre season. The permanent finale of these festivals was to be Die Hermannsschlacht and, where possible, the annual general meeting of the Society would also take place within the framework of the celebrations. Provision was made for the purchase of Alfred Bergmann's Grabbe collection for the town of Detmold and a plan put forward for the establishment of a Grabbe library.

List of Reviews:

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H. Hollo, "101. Todestag Christian Dietrich Grabbes," Westfaelische Zeitung (11 September 1937).

Otto Neumann-Hofer, "Festlicher Ausklang," Lippische Tageszeitung (2 November 1937).

Julius Lothar Schuecking, "Grabbe-Tage 1937 in Detmold," Westfaelische Zeitung (2 November 1937).

Walter Stang, "Grabbe als dramatischer Gestalter der Geschichte," Voelkischer Beobachter (6 November 1937).

The library was officially opened as a special section of the Lippische Landesbibliothek at the 1938 Grabbe Days in Detmold (13 to 16 October). Then, as in 1936, a concerted effort was made prior to the festival to captivate the interest of the public. Radio programmes about Grabbe were broadcast, lectures delivered, meetings held, and a small pamphlet totalling 20,000 copies as well as a more comprehensive publication were prepared. This contained the programme of the Grabbe Days:

Thursday, 13 October

7 p.m. Bandel Celebration at the foot of the Hermann's Monument to mark the 100th anniversary of the laying of the foundation stone by Ernst von Bandel, addresses by Dr Alfred Meyer and Baldur von Schirach

Friday, 14 October

9 a.m. Opening of the conference of the "Reichsbund der deutschen Freilicht- und Volksschauspiele e.V." in the Hotel "Stadt Frankfurt"

11.15 a.m. General meeting of the Grabbe Society in the small concert chamber of the Lippisches Landestheater: greeting by the Patron and address by the President and Dr Schloesser, with a guest lecture by Prof. F.J. Schneider: "Grabbe als Geschichtsdramatiker"

1.15 p.m. Opening of the exhibition: "Die deutschen Freilichtbuehnen" in the townhall

6 p.m. Performance of Hannibal by the Stadttheater, Bochum

Saturday, 15 October

10 a.m. Introduction to Grabbe's dramas by Dr Heinrich Hollo in the Club House

- 11.30 a.m.            Opening of the Grabbe Archives and the Bandel-  
Exhibition in the Lippische Landesbibliothek by  
Dr Meyer, accompanied by a lecture from Dr Alfred  
Bergmann
- 6 p.m.                Performance of Die Hohenstaufen , Grabbe's  
Kaiser Friedrich Barbarossa and Kaiser Heinrich  
der Sechste, by the Stadttheater, Muenster
- 9 p.m.                Reception for the honoured guests in the Kaiserhof  
by the Gauleiter and the Mayor of Detmold

Sunday, 16 October

- 11 a.m.                Commemorative celebration for Grabbe in the  
Lippisches Landestheater:  
addresses by Gauleiter Dr Meyer, and Reichsdramaturg  
Dr Schloesser, readings from Grabbe's works by  
Heinrich George, with music provided by the Orchester  
der Stadt Muenster
- 6.30 p.m.            Performance of Die Hermannsschlacht by the  
Stadttheater, Bielefeld

Early in 1938, it was suggested that the dramatist be brought to the attention of the young people by including his works in the school curriculum and presenting them as school prizes. This idea gained momentum in the Grabbe Days where provision was made for the participation of school children in the Bandel Celebration on the Grotenburg. A choir of 600 members of the Hitler Youth was to perform, with the main address to be delivered by the Leader of the Hitler Youth, Baldur von Schirach. As it happened, the programme was severely curtailed when wet weather forced the event to be transferred indoors to various lecture rooms in Detmold.

In conjunction with the Grabbe Days, there was also a conference of the "Reichsbund der deutschen Freilicht- und Volksschauspiele e.V.". The invitation to hold this in Detmold came from Dr Meyer who had attended an open air production of Die Hermannsschlacht at Porta Westfalica in June. The virtue of the outdoor performances was described as their promotion of a return to naturalness which corresponded with the ideals of the Youth Movement. At the meeting of the Grabbe

Society, the importance of bringing the young into contact with the dramatist by means of school essays, exercises, and lectures was again accentuated. Detmold had a singular advantage when embarking on such a project. Not only did it possess an active theatre, but it was fortunate in having many Grabbe specialists residing in the area, as well as the Grabbe library. In deference to the man who had collected the material, this was given the official title of the "Grabbe-Archiv Alfred Bergmann" and the opening ceremony in the Lippische Landesbibliothek was enhanced by a Bandel-Exhibition. After a musical introduction of Haydn's Lerchenquartett, words of greeting were spoken by Dr Wiegand, Director of the Library, who commented upon the great improvement in the facilities of the institution since the Nazis had assumed power. Dr Alfred Bergmann explained how his collection had come to Detmold and gave an insight into its content, and the ceremony closed, as it had begun, with music by Haydn.

The final day-time event was the Commemorative celebration in the Landestheater. Dr Meyer gave credit to the work of the Grabbe Society in inspiring Germans to view the dramatist through totally different eyes, and the humour in Grabbe's work was touched upon by Dr Schloesser who maintained that it formed an essential ingredient of Grabbe's racially determined personality and was a Westphalian characteristic he shared with Till Eulenspiegel and Muenchhausen.

The three dramatic works selected for the occasion were all historical dramas, two of which had been performed in 1936 by other theatrical companies. Saladin Schmitt's Hannibal was said to have been hardly recognizable as the same drama presented in 1936 and was viewed as a necessary correction of Pape's abridged rendition. To ensure that the twenty-eight scenes in his production progressed smoothly on the

small Detmold stage, Schmitt brought a company of two hundred people with him from Bochum. A larger acting space was obtained by the use of the orchestra pit and of an upper stage which was suspended above the surface of the stage proper. The drama gave the impression of breaking out of the limits of the stage framework, and despite the fact that the presentation was highly praised, its immensity was considered to be a deterrent rather than an inspiration to other companies to whom such resources were unavailable. The contribution which commanded the greatest interest was Erich Pabst's Die Hohenstaufen, a condensed version of Grabbe's Kaiser Friedrich Barbarossa and Kaiser Heinrich der Sechste in seventeen scenes. Alfred Kruchen's adaptation of Die Hermannsschlacht was well received on the last evening of the festival.

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Curt Hotzel, "Grabbe-Tage," Hakenkreuzbanner (21 September 1938).

-Ko.-, "Detmolder Grabbe-Tage -- ein kulturelles Ereignis," Lippische Staatszeitung (4 October 1938).

"Zu den Grabbe-Tagen geruestet," Lippische Staatszeitung (9 October 1938).

"Dem Andenken eines deutschen Dichters. Die Christian-Dietrich-Grabbe-Tage in Detmold," Salzburger Volksblatt (11 October 1938).

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Ludwig Baete, "Das Hermannsdenkmal," Muensterischer Anzeiger (13 October 1938).

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Wilhelm Westecker, "Grabbe als Geschichtsdramatiker. Beginn der Detmolder Grabbe-Tage," Berliner Boersen-Zeitung (15 October 1938).

"Festlicher Beginn der Grabbe-Tage 1938," Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung (15 October 1938).

Dr Emil Strodthoff, "Grabbe-Tage in Detmold," Duesseldorfer Nachrichten (15 October 1938).

"Die Detmolder Grabbe-Tage 1938," Hamburger Nachrichten (15 October 1938).

W.K., "Auftakt der Grabbe-Tage in Detmold. Freilichtspieltagung / Festsitzung der Grabbe-Gesellschaft / Grabbes Hannibal," Der Mittag (15/16 October 1938).

Dr Friedrich Rasche, "Grabbe-Festtage in Detmold," Hannoverscher Anzeiger (15/16 October 1938).

Hanns Meseke, "Grabbes Hannibal als Festauffuehrung," Hannoversches Tageblatt (16 October 1938).

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"Sinndeutung der Dramen Grabbes. Vortrag von Dr. Hollo im Vereinshaus in Detmold," Lippische Staatszeitung (16 October 1938).

Wilhelm Vernekohl, "Der Held ohne Volk / Hannibal, Tragoedie von Grabbe," Muensterischer Anzeiger (16 October 1938).

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Guenther Stoeve, "Grabbes Hannibal. Die Tragoedie eines heldischen Mannes als erste Auffuehrung auf den Detmolder Grabbe-Tagen," Voelkischer Beobachter (16 October 1938).

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Ernst Heiss, "Hoehepunkte der Detmolder Grabbe-Tage 1938," Dresdner Neueste Nachrichten (17 October 1938).

Dr Emil Strodthoff, "Grabbe-Tage in Detmold," Duesseldorfer Nachrichten (17 October 1938).

Dr Friedrich Rasche, "Der ganze Grabbe / Rueckblick auf die Detmolder Grabbe-Tage," Hannoverscher Anzeiger (17 October 1938).

Hanns Meseke, "Detmolder Grabbe-Tage 1938. Festauffuehrung des Hannibal -- Eroeffnung des Grabbe-Archivs," Lippische Post (17 October 1938).

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Wolfgang Steinecke, "Der Geschichtsdramatiker Grabbe. Die Festauffuehrungen der Detmolder Grabbetage," Rheinisch-Westfaelische Zeitung (17 October 1938).

Dr Richard Moes, "Die Grabbe-Tage in Detmold. Hannibal / Gastspiel des Stadttheaters Bochum," Westfaelische Zeitung (17 October 1938).

Julius Lothar Schuecking, "'Die ~~Hohen~~staufen' / Gastspiel des Muensterischen Stadttheaters," Westfaelische Zeitung (17 October 1938).

Kurt Beyer, "Grabbe -- tragisch und humorvoll," Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger (18 October 1938).

Dr Ernst Wachler, "Grabbe-Tage in Detmold. Drei Werke des Dichters: Hannibal, Die Hohenstaufen und Die Hermannsschlacht," Breslauer Neueste Nachrichten (18 October 1938).

Ti--, "Grabbe, ein voelkischer Seher," Neue Westfaelische Volkszeitung (18 October 1938).

Paul Lindner, "Die Hohenstaufen. Kaiser Friedrich Barbarossa - Kaiser Heinrich VI.," Neue Westfaelische Volkszeitung (18 October 1938).

Hollo, "Detmolder Grabbe-Tage. Grabbes Persoenlichkeit - rassistisch gesehen," Westdeutscher Beobachter (18 October 1938).

Karl Zimmermann, "Grabbe-Tage 1938," Frankfurter Zeitung (19 October 1938).

Herbert Saekel, "Erziehung zu Grabbe. Die Detmolder Grabbe-Festtage 1938," Muenchner Zeitung (19 October 1938).

Wilhelm Westecker, "Grabbe lebt. Abschluss der Detmolder Grabbe-Tage," Berliner Boersen-Zeitung (20 October 1938).

"Grabbe-Festtage," Muenchner Neueste Nachrichten (20 October 1938).

Clemens Heselhaus, "Geschichtsdrama und Weltsatire / Die Detmolder Grabbe-Tage 1938," Berliner Tageblatt (21 October 1938).

Gerhard F. Hering, "Dreimal Grabbe. Die Festauffuehrungen in Detmold," Koelnische Zeitung (22 October 1938).

Just as no individual productions of Hannibal took place in 1939, neither was there a Grabbe festival. As if to make up for this omission caused by the turbulence on the political scene, the 1940 Grabbe Days were arranged for February and took place over two consecutive weekends, differing from those already referred to in that they were held in four separate towns in the Westphalian area: Detmold (10 February), Bielefeld (11 February), Gelsenkirchen (17 February), and Muenster (18 February):

Saturday, 10 February (Detmold)

- 3 p.m. Meeting of the committee of the Grabbe Society in the Hotel "Stadt Frankfurt". Reports by secretary Dr Hollo and treasurer Dr Oppermann, general business on the subject of new plans
- 8 p.m. Evening presentation in the Lippisches Landestheater:  
Fantasie und Fuge Ch. D. Grabbe, music composed using the letters of Grabbe's name by August Weweler,  
greeting by the Gauleiter Dr Alfred Meyer,  
readings from Grabbe's works by Paul Verhoeven,  
Norbert Burgmueller's Symphony No. 1 in C minor.  
The musical items played by the Orchester des Lippischen Landestheaters

Sunday, 11 February (Bielefeld)

- 11 a.m. Commemorative celebration in the Stadttheater. Addresses by Dr Meyer and Dr Schloesser, a lecture by Prof. Heinz Kindermann: "Das Werden des Hermannmythos von Hutten bis Grabbe". Music from Haendel and Brahms played by the Staedtisches Orchester, Bielefeld
- 7 p.m. Performance of Scherz, Satire, Ironie und tiefere Bedeutung by the Stadttheater, Bielefeld

Saturday, 17 February (Gelsenkirchen)

- 8 p.m. Lecture by Dr Hollo: "Grabbes Lebenskampf in seinen Werken" followed by a performance of Scherz, Satire by the Stadttheater, Bielefeld in the Stadttheater, Gelsenkirchen

Sunday, 18 February (Muenster)

- 11 a.m. Commemorative celebration in the Kammerspiele, Muenster, opened and closed by Lortzing's music composed for Grabbe's Don Juan und Faust, a recital of "Bei Grabbes Tod", and an introduction to the Kosciuszko fragment, followed by the premiere of the work played by the Staedtische Buehnen, Muenster
- 7 p.m. Performance of Die Hermannsschlacht by the Staedtische Buehnen, Muenster in the Stadttheater

On 1 September 1939, Hitler, mindful of the fact that many people were opposed to the outbreak of the war, proclaimed it the duty of every Gauleiter to ensure that the morale amongst the civilian population was kept high and that a desire for victory was fostered<sup>129</sup>. Dr Meyer, in his speech opening the Grabbe Days, argued that the Fuehrer had kept the theatres open for just this reason. He maintained the mere fact that it was still possible to visit such places of entertainment was directly attributable to the skill of the armed forces in keeping the enemy at bay. In return, the soldiers at the front deserved the full cooperation of the German people in the supply of weapons, clothing, food, and, most important of all, in engendering a feeling of confidence and hope. The Gauleiter implored the civilians to appear contented especially to those soldiers required to return

home for any reason, since this would give the impression that Germany was a land worth fighting for. The Grabbe Days could prevent spirits from flagging in a very positive way because of the heroic and military ideals contained in the dramas and the dramatist's sense of humour which was mentioned at the previous Grabbe Days:

Alles, was wir im Kriege tun, wollen und sollen wir fuer Deutschland tun. So haben auch diese Grabbe-Tage ihre Bedeutung, ihren tiefen Wert und sind innerlich berechtigt, weil sie uns bestaerken in unserem fanatischen Kampfes- und Siegeswillen, in unserer soldatischen Haltung und hoechster Einsatzbereitschaft. Sie moegen aber auch Kraft und Freude in uns erwecken und unverwuestlichen Humor. Humor ist es, wenn man trotzdem lacht, wenn man sich trotz aller Einschraenkungen und Schwierigkeiten des Krieges nicht erschuettern laesst, sondern den Gleichmut der Seele und einen gesunden Humor behaelt.<sup>130</sup>

List of Reviews:

Jahrbuch der Grabbe-Gesellschaft, 3 (Detmold, 1940).

Grabbe-Tage im Gau Westfalen-Nord. This includes the programme for the Grabbe Days, lists of the actors and their parts, and a survey of the history of the Grabbe Days.

In 1941, there were two full-scale Grabbe Weeks within the German Reich. The first of these which has been alluded to regarding Saladin Schmitt's 1941 presentation of Hannibal<sup>131</sup> took place from 6 to 13 July in the city of B o c h u m whose Staedtische Buehne contributed to the 1936, 1937, and 1938 Detmold festivities.

Following the tradition of the other great Classical Festival Weeks in Bochum, a "Festschrift" was published. It contained introductory remarks from Dr Meyer, Dr Schloesser, and the Mayor of Bochum, Dr O.L. Piclum, and articles by Professor Josef Nadler (the literary historian best known for his study of literature according to the regions and races of the German people), Professor Carl Niessen (the theatrical

historian), and Dr Alfred Bergmann (the Grabbe biographer). To give a more rounded picture of the dramatist, it also included photographs of the various productions and a leaflet indicating the order in which they were to appear on the stage. Although the Christian Dietrich Grabbe Week was put on with the assistance of the Grabbe Society and the programme bore a resemblance to those for the Detmold festivities in its combination of musical items, lectures, and theatrical performances, it contained certain unique features:

#### Sunday, 6 July

- 11 a.m. Festive opening of the Grabbe Week at the Staedtische Buehne:  
August Weweler's symphonic poem Christian Dietrich Grabbe, greeting by Mayor of the city of Bochum, opening address by the President of the Grabbe Society, Dr Rainer Schloesser, followed by the final movement from the Mozart Variations music by the Staedtisches Orchester, Bochum
- 4 p.m. Reception of the press by the Patron of the Grabbe Week, Gauleiter Dr Alfred Meyer in the Parkhotel "Haus Rechen"
- 7 p.m. Performance of Herzog Theodor von Gothland by the Staedtische Buehne, responsible for all performances for this Grabbe Week.

#### Monday, 7 July

- 11 a.m. Lecture by Hermann Burte: "Christian Dietrich Grabbe" in the Ernst-Moritz-Arndt-Haus
- 5 p.m. Committee meeting of the Grabbe Society in the Parkhotel "Haus Rechen"
- 5.30 p.m. Special meeting of the Grabbe Society
- 6.30 p.m. Performance of Die Hohenstaufen (Part I):  
Kaiser Friedrich Barbarossa

#### Tuesday, 8 July

- 11 a.m. Opening of the exhibition "Grabbe und seine Umwelt" by Dr Alfred Bergmann in the City Portrait Gallery
- 6 p.m. Performance of Die Hohenstaufen (Part II):  
Kaiser Heinrich der Sechste

#### Wednesday, 9 July

- 11 a.m. Lecture by Dr Heinrich Hollo, Secretary of the Grabbe Society: "Christian Dietrich Grabbe und seine westfaelische Heimat" in the Ernst-Moritz-Arndt-Haus
- 6 p.m. Performance of Don Juan und Faust

Thursday, 10 July

11 a.m. Visit to the Bergschule and to the Bergwerks-Museum  
 7 p.m. Performance of Scherz, Satire, Ironie und tiefere Bedeutung

Friday, 11 July

11 a.m. Lecture by Werner Deubel: "Grabbe und das Drama der Gegenwart" in the Ernst-Moritz-Arndt-Haus  
 7 p.m. Performance of Napoleon

Saturday, 12 July

7 p.m. Performance of Hannibal

Sunday, 13 July

11 a.m. Festival concert in the Parkhaus to close the Christian Dietrich Grabbe Week. Music: Richard Wagner's Faust Overture, Robert Rehan's Overture to Don Juan und Faust, and Richard Strauss' Don Juan, a symphonic poem  
 7 p.m. Performance of Die Hermannsschlacht

The main attractions of the festival, the dramas themselves, were the sole undertaking of the one theatrical company which worked under the guidance of its Intendant, Saladin Schmitt for six years until its repertoire of Grabbe's works was large enough for a Theatre Week to be contemplated. After Napoleon (1935) and Hannibal (1938), Don Juan und Faust was added in 1940, and Herzog Theodor von Gothland, Scherz, Satire, and the two Hohenstaufen dramas were included in 1941. Die Hermannsschlacht was also prepared for production that same year and was the only dramatic work not seen on the Bochum stage at some time prior to the Grabbe Week.

Schmitt believed he could best present a unified impression of the dramatist by showing as much of his work as possible, a principle not only visible in the large number of dramas he selected (eight in all) but in the unabbreviated way they were played. The Grabbe Cycle which took place on the largest stage in West Germany at that time, was

alleged to have been Schmitt's most comprehensive theatrical festival. In choosing the works, he eliminated Nannette und Maria, and Marius und Sulla which had been unfavourably received in 1936 at the first Grabbe Week, Aschenbroedel, and the fragment Kosciuszko. He was, however, of the firm opinion that Grabbe's first drama, Herzog Theodor von Gothland, was admissible, and even important, on the grounds that it contained the seeds from which the later dramas were to develop and led to his three great historical works, Napoleon, Hannibal, and Die Hermannsschlacht. Thus the programme began with Gothland and proceeded in what was thought to be chronological order with Kaiser Friedrich Barbarossa (evening two), Kaiser Heinrich der Sechste (evening three), Don Juan und Faust (five), Napoleon (six), Hannibal (seven), and Die Hermannsschlacht (eight)<sup>132</sup>. Scherz, Satire was staged on the fourth evening deliberately out of sequence in order to give the actors and audience a little light relief in the middle of a very heavy programme.

#### List of Reviews:

Festschrift zur Christian-Dietrich-Grabbe-Woche 1941. (Bochum, 1941).

"Christian Dietrich Grabbe - Eine Festwoche zu Ehren des westfaelischen Dichters."

"Was die Grabbe-Woche bringt. Auch Tagung der Grabbe-Gesellschaft," Berliner Lokalanzeiger (6 June 1941).

Dr Ernst Wachler, "Heroisch-politische Dramatik. Anlaesslich der Grabbe-Festwoche in Bochum," Westdeutscher Beobachter (14 June 1941).

"Die dramaturgischen Absichten der Bochumer Grabbe-Woche," Bochumer Anzeiger (18 June 1941).

Dr Schloesser, "Grabbes Bedeutung fuer die Gegenwart," Niederdeutscher Beobachter (3 July 1941).

"Die letzten Vorbereitungen zur Grabbe-Woche," Westfaelische Landeszeitung (4 July 1941).

Karl Bode, "Grabbes grosser Hannibal als letztes Vorspiel vor der Bochumer Grabbe-Woche," Westfaelische Landeszeitung (5 July 1941).

Dr Hollo, "Grabbes Existenzkampf in seinen Werken," Westfaelische Landeszeitung (5 July 1941).

Josef Schwermann, "Die Tragoedie des Heerfuehrers Hannibal," Bochumer Anzeiger (5/6 July 1941).

Dr Marc André Souchay, "1801 - 1836. Ein kurzes, inhaltsschweres Dichterleben," Bochumer Anzeiger (5/6 July 1941).

Dr Hanns-Ulrich Metzger, "Was bringt die Grabbe-Woche Bochum 1941?," Bochumer Anzeiger (5/6 July 1941).

Max Voigt, "Grabbes Hannibal-Tragoedie auf der Bochumer Buehne," Wattenscheider Zeitung (5/6 July 1941).

Dr Heinz Kindermann, "Ch.D. Grabbe. Zur Bochumer Grabbewoche," Westfaelische Landeszeitung (6 July 1941).

Dr Josef Schwermann, "Musik zur Grabbe-Woche," Bochumer Anzeiger (14 July 1941).

"Hannibal und Hermannsschlacht zum Ausklang der Bochumer Grabbe-Woche," Rheinisch-Westfaelische Zeitung (14 July 1941).

Clemens J. Herbermann, "Genie ohne Volk. Hannibal-Tragoedie in der Grabbe-Woche in Bochum," Voelkischer Beobachter (14 July 1941).

Wilhelm Vernekohl, "Grabbe als Geschichtsdramatiker. Hannibal und Die Hermannsschlacht," Westfaelische Tageszeitung (14 July 1941).

K. Uthoff, "Hannibal und Hermannsschlacht. Abschluss der Grabbe-Woche," Luebecker Volksbote (16 July 1941).

Heinz Baumann, "Abschluss der Grabbe-Woche. Hannibal - Das Fragment Die Hermannsschlacht," Mainzer Anzeiger (16 July 1941).

The magnitude and success of Bochum's project made it necessary to justify publicly the holding of a further Grabbe Week later in 1941. The D e t m o l d G r a b b e W e e k from 13 to 19 October was presented by the press as an appropriate acknowledgement of victory in the battle for Grabbe begun in 1936 and as an accolade to the work of Dr Meyer and Dr Schloesser on the dramatist's behalf. The programme was structured in a totally different way to that in Bochum, with the two historical dramas, Hannibal and Die Hermannsschlacht, acting as a type of framework around the whole festival:

Monday, 13 October

4 p.m.

Special performance of Hannibal by the Schiller-Theater, Berlin for the "Strength through Joy" Organisation of the Westphalian region

Tuesday, 14 October

- 9.30 a.m. Ceremony at Grabbe's graveside  
 10 a.m. Greeting of participants by the representative of the town in the town hall
- 11 a.m. Opening ceremony followed by the unveiling of busts of Wagner and Grabbe, address by Dr Alfred Meyer, music of Liszt and Wagner played by the Staedtisches Orchester, Bielefeld
- 3.30 p.m. Reception of the press in the Kaiserhof  
 5 p.m. Repeat of Hannibal for the general public

Wednesday, 15 October

- 11 a.m. Lortzing morning celebration concentrating on works from his Detmold period including the overture to Andreas Hofer, interlude from Staberts Hochzeit and Fanchon, and ballet music for Der Loewe von Kurdistan  
 Lecture by Schramm: "Lortzing in Detmold"
- 12.30 p.m. Opening of the Lortzing-Exhibition in the Landestheater
- 5 p.m. Performance of Prinz Caramo (Lortzing) by the Stadttheater, Bielefeld

Thursday, 16 October

- 11 a.m. Freiligrath celebration, containing Freiligrath's songs and ballads set to music by Loewe  
 Lecture by Dr Schloesser, and music by Beethoven
- 4 p.m. Special performance of Prinz Caramo for the "Strength through Joy" Organisation of the Westphalian region
- 5 p.m. Meeting of the Grabbe Society in the Hotel "Stadt Frankfurt", speeches by the president Dr Schloesser, and secretary Dr Hollo  
 Music by Brahms

Friday, 17 October

- 11 a.m. Lecture by Otto Daube: "Hans Sachs von Lortzing und Wagners Meistersinger" in the Hotel "Stadt Frankfurt"
- 5 p.m. Performance of Hans Sachs by Die Buehnen der Stadt der Reichsparteitage Nuernberg

Saturday, 18 October

- 11 a.m. Lecture by Oskar Kloeffel: "Grabbe als heroisch-politischer Dichter der Deutschen" in the Hotel "Stadt Frankfurt"
- 5 p.m. Performance of Die Hermannsschlacht by Die Buehne der Stadt Bochum

Sunday, 19 October

- 4 p.m. Special performance of Die Hermannsschlacht for the "Strength through Joy" Organisation of the Westphalian region

The most distinctive aspect of this week was the inclusion of two of Grabbe's contemporaries, Albert Lortzing and Ferdinand Freiligrath. Their place in the festival was acceptable in the eyes of the Propaganda Ministry not only because of their association with Detmold and Grabbe, however tenuous this may have been, but because, like him, they were understood to have rebelled against the constraints of the Biedermeier period. Lortzing, a Berliner, was born in the same year as Grabbe and came to Detmold in November 1826 as an actor and singer. He was responsible for composing the music for Grabbe's Don Juan und Faust and performed in it on 29 March 1829. Freiligrath was a Detmolder, born in 1810 in the house adjacent to the one in which Grabbe died on Unter-der-Wehme in 1836. He left Detmold at the age of fifteen, later became involved in the Revolution of 1848, and went into exile in England. It was Dr Schloesser's own suggestion that he be honoured, despite his dealings with Karl Marx. The Reichsdramaturg saw Freiligrath as an example of a true German who was unable to produce anything of note whilst in political exile but required the atmosphere of his fatherland and more specifically of Westphalia as an inspiration. His German nature was further evinced by the fact that he later dissociated himself from Marx. Both Lortzing and Freiligrath were afforded their own special celebrations, and a Lortzing-Exhibition, made up of material from Georg Kruse's collection, was on display in the Landestheater. Arrangements were made for it to become part of a Lortzing Archive in the Lippische Landesbibliothek.

This was the first Grabbe festival to make provision for special performances for members of the "Strength through Joy" Organisation. These people, who did not come from the professional or particularly well-educated classes, were issued with cheaper tickets in an effort to encourage them to attend the theatre where their presence could be

used as propaganda<sup>133</sup>. A critic writing in the Lippische Staatszeitung of 14 October 1941 about the presentation of Hannibal on the previous evening described it as refreshing to see artisans, factory and office workers, and members of the armed forces in the theatre. Karl Heinz Martin's Punic drama and Saladin Schmitt's Hermannsschlacht won equal acclaim as the outstanding performances of the Grabbe Week.

List of Reviews:

"Detmolder Grabbe-Woche 1941 vom 13. bis 19. Oktober."

E. Meinhard, "Detmolder Grabbe-Tage 1941. Hannibal in der Auffuehrung des Berliner Schiller-Theaters," Westfaelische Tageszeitung (14 June 1941).

"Grabbe-Festtage 1941. Festauffuehrungen des Berliner Schiller-Theaters, der Nuernberger Oper, des Bielefelder Stadttheaters und der Staedtischen Buehnen Bochums," Voelkischer Beobachter (15 June 1941).

Dr Heinrich Hollo, "Warum Grabbe-Woche in Detmold?," Westfaelische Tageszeitung (9 October 1941).

-Ko.-, "Auftakt zur Detmolder Grabbe-Woche. Schaffende Volksgenossen erleben Hannibal. Sondervorstellung des Berliner Schillertheaters fuer die NSG.'Kraft durch Freude'," Lippische Staatszeitung (14 October 1941).

Hanns Meseke, "Aufklang der Detmolder Grabbe-Woche," Hannoverscher Anzeiger (15 October 1941).

C.K., "Lortzings Begegnung mit Grabbe. Aus Feindschaft wurde Freundschaft / Zur Detmolder Grabbe-Woche," Hessische Landeszeitung (15 October 1941).

"Die grossen Tage Grabbes'. Gauleiter und Oberpraesident Dr. Alfred Meyer eroeffnete die Detmolder Grabbewoche 1941 - Grossartige Hannibal-Auffuehrung," Westfaelische Tageszeitung (15 October 1941).

Carl Ludwig Herbst, "Die Grabbe-Woche in Detmold. Gedenkstunde am Dichtergrab - Enthuellung von Wagner- und Grabbebesten," Westfaelische Zeitung (15 October 1941).

"Hannibal. Das Gastspiel des Berliner Schiller-Theaters," Westfaelische Zeitung (15 October 1941).

Karl-August Deubner, "Heinrich George als Hannibal! Auftakt der Grabbe-Woche -- Berliner Schillertheater im Detmolder Landestheater," Kasseler Neueste Nachrichten (16 October 1941).

Gerhard F. Hering, "Die Detmolder Grabbe-Woche 1941," Koelnische Zeitung (16 October 1941).

Kurt Uthoff, "Heinrich George als Hannibal. Gastspiel zur Detmolder Grabbe-Woche," Westfaelische Landeszeitung (16 October 1941).

Paul Kersten, "Ein guter Deutscher. Dr. Schloesser sprach auf der Freiligrath-Feier," Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger (17 October 1941).

Fritz Kageler, "Herbstliche Feier um Grabbe. Die Detmolder Grabbe-Woche 1941," Hannoverscher Kurier (17 October 1941).

Raimund Pissin, "Detmolder Grabbe-Woche 1941," D.A.Z. (18 October 1941).

Gerhard F. Hering, "Die Detmolder Grabbewoche 1941," Koelnische Zeitung (18 October 1941).

Kurt Heifer, "Detmolder Grabbe-Woche 1941. Lortzing und Freiligrath," Der Mittag (18/19 October 1941).

Dr Ernst Wachler, "Aus der Vielfalt der Grabbe-Woche. Hannibal -- Prinz Caramo -- Freiligrath-Balladen," Suedhannoversche Zeitung (18/19 October 1941).

August Uerz, "Grabbe und Lortzing in Detmold. Die Schauspiele und Opern der Festwoche," Niedersaechsische Tageszeitung (20 October 1941).

Raimund Pissin, "Grabbe-Woche 1941. Der soldatische Dichter," D.A.Z. (21 October 1941).

Wilhelm Vernekohl, "Grabbe-Woche 1941," Rheinisch-Westfaelische Zeitung (21 October 1941).

Kurt Uthoff, "Grabbe - Lortzing - Freiligrath. Rueckblick auf die Detmolder Veranstaltungen," Berliner Boersenzeitung (23 October 1941).

Dr Weise, "Die Detmolder Grabbe-Woche," Duesseldorfer Nachrichten (23 October 1941).

Erich Meinhard, "Die Detmolder Grabbe-Woche 1941," Westdeutscher Beobachter (28 October 1941).

Dr Ernst Wachler, "Grabbe als heroisch-politischer Dramatiker der Deutschen. Anlaesslich der Grabbe-Festwoche in Detmold," Wehrfront (24 November 1941).

The dramatist again shared the honours with Albert Lortzing at the

D e t m o l d G r a b b e W e e k from 13 to 19 October 1942.

In the light of Dr Meyer's statement in 1940 about the role of cultural events in the boosting of morale and at a time when the German armies were involved in heavy combat at Stalingrad, it may not have been entirely coincidental that dramas of a generally more light-hearted nature were selected. Not one of Grabbe's historical tragedies was staged and even the Grabbe Society's resolution to close each festival

with Die Hermannsschlacht was dispensed with for the first time. The only tragedy to be performed was Grabbe's Don Juan und Faust which was placed at the end of the programme and thereby served to draw together the two contemporaries because of Lortzing's close associations with the drama alluded to with respect to the 1941 Detmold Grabbe Week.

Tuesday, 13 October

4 p.m. Special performance of Scherz, Satire, Ironie und tiefere Bedeutung (Grabbe) by the Thalia-Theater, Hamburg for the "Strength through Joy" Organisation of the Westphalian region

Wednesday, 14 October

4 p.m. Reception for the press in the Kaiserhof  
6 p.m. Repeat of Scherz, Satire for the general public

Thursday, 15 October

11 a.m. Grabbe lecture by Prof. Benno von Wiese, Erlangen  
6 p.m. Performance of Die Rolandsknapen (Lortzing) by the Stadttheater, Bielefeld

Friday, 16 October

11 a.m. Ceremony at Grabbe's graveside  
4 p.m. Special performance of Die beiden Schuetzen (Lortzing) by Die Buehnen der Stadt der Reichsparteitage Nuernberg for the "Strength through Joy" Organisation of the Westphalian region  
5 p.m. Inspection of the Grabbe Archives in the Lippische Landesbibliothek

Saturday, 17 October

11 a.m. Lortzing celebration: lecture by Dr Rainer Schloesser on the subject of light-hearted German opera  
4 p.m. Meeting of the Grabbe Society  
7 p.m. Repeat of Die beiden Schuetzen

Sunday, 18 October

11 a.m. Morning celebration for the Westphalian division of the Hitler Youth: "Grabbe, ein Westfale unter Westfalen". Speeches by Dr Meyer and Dr Schloesser  
6 p.m. Performance of Don Juan und Faust (Grabbe) by Die Buehnen der Stadt der Reichsparteitage Nuernberg

Monday, 19 October

4 p.m. Special performance of Don Juan und Faust for the "Strength through Joy" Organisation of the Westphalian region

Review:

Detmolder Grabbe Woche 1942.

H. Hollo (ed.), Westfale unter Westfalen (Detmold, 1942).

The plan for the 1943 Detmold Grabbe Days (27 to 30 October) diverged only in individual details from the pattern which had been established in the first festival seven years before:

Wednesday, 27 October

6 p.m. Special performance of Der Wildschuetz (Lortzing) by the Stadttheater, Bielefeld for the "Strength through Joy" Organisation and the armed forces in the Lippisches Landestheater

Thursday, 28 October

11 a.m. Lecture by Gustav Leuteritz: "Von der Wortgewalt Grabbes" in the Landesmuseum  
6 p.m. Repeat of Der Wildschuetz for the general public

Friday, 29 October

11 a.m. Ceremony at Grabbe's graveside  
12 noon Annual meeting of the Grabbe Society in the Landesmuseum  
6 p.m. Performance of Hannibal by the Preussisches Staatstheater, Kassel in the Lippisches Landestheater

Saturday, 30 October

11 a.m. Morning celebration in the Landestheater, address by Gauleiter Dr Meyer, lecture by Hermann Burte: "Bekentnis zu Grabbe", closing address by Reichsdramaturg Dr Schloesser  
6 p.m. Special performance of Hannibal for the "Strength through Joy" Organisation and the armed forces

However, the war was now exerting a severely disruptive influence and the programme was unable to be carried out in the form anticipated.

In an official letter of 26 October from the Reich Propaganda Office, Muenster, it was announced that the performances of Der Wildschuetz and Hannibal would be brought forward to 3.30 p.m. because the air raid alarms had been sounding early, whilst Leuteritz' Thursday morning lecture was to be delivered at 10 a.m. in order to accommodate an unscheduled address by Dr Schloesser at 12 noon on important cultural-political issues of the day. There was also an indication that the Kassel theatrical company might not be able to attend with its production of Hannibal since the area had been heavily bombed. The later confirmation of this fact upset the special balance provided for in the plan in which the seriousness of Grabbe's tragedy was to be offset by the cheerfulness of Lortzing's opera, and this meant that Grabbe's literary works could only be experienced indirectly by means of speeches.

The first of these was delivered by Gustav Leuteritz on the second day of the festival and sought to demonstrate how Grabbe's language had become pithier and simpler with each drama and paved the way for writers like Hebbel and Hauptmann. With the altered programme, the third day became the focal point around Grabbe, beginning with a ceremony at the old cemetery in Weinbergstrasse where the dramatist was buried. The prevailing situation made its mark on the next item on the agenda, the meeting of the Grabbe Society. Dr Burte was delayed by difficult traffic conditions and arrived too late to deliver his speech. Words spoken at this gathering and at the celebration in the Landestheater which had been moved to Friday afternoon, provide an accurate gauge of the tenor of National Socialist propaganda in 1943, something which could not be ascertained from reviews of individual Hannibal performances of 1943 and 1944.

By the middle of the 1940s, Germany had suffered considerable setbacks. Goebbels did not share Hitler's conviction that it would be impossible to lose the war and he regarded the total involvement of the German population as a viable preventative measure against a grim fate<sup>134</sup>. He adopted a propaganda of pessimism and fear to urge a whole-hearted tenacious commitment to the war effort. The role of, and justification for, culture in this total war situation was explained by Hippler, the State Controller of Films:

In a total war nations fight each other as wholes, and every expression of a nation's being is a weapon in the war -- no matter whether it weakens the enemy nation's fighting spirit or stimulates that of one's own country; that is to say, by offering diversion, concentration and relaxation.<sup>135</sup>

It is hardly surprising that similar elements were contained in speeches by Dr Schloesser, Dr Hollo, and Dr Meyer. In addressing the Grabbe Society, Dr Schloesser claimed that the enemy had gone so far as to attack German culture which was now having to be used by Germany as a weapon in the battle:

Wir stehen heute bewusst im haertesten Totaleinsatz, den das deutsche Theater je durchgemacht hat. Es ist somit im wahrsten Sinne des Wortes zu einem t h e a t r u m m i l i t a n s geworden. Es geht dabei nicht nur um die deutsche Kunst, die von uns geschuetzt wird, sondern um die Kultur des ganzen europaeischen Kontinents.<sup>136</sup>

At this time, the people were constantly being reminded that surrender was a notion no German could ever contemplate. Dr Hollo praised the Grabbe Society for demonstrating a special resilience. In cities like Kassel and Hamburg, it had continued its work in spite of the devastating enemy air raids. The theme of German defiance was reinforced in the Landestheater later in the day when Dr Meyer claimed that Germany would not allow the enemy to dictate to her in any sphere

and implored the people to go on to the final victory, setting before them as a warning the dreadful fortune of Hannibal and Carthage, a destiny they would surely share if they shirked in their duty of complete involvement and failed to follow the Fuehrer unquestioningly through all adversity. For the first time, then, Hannibal was employed specifically to inspire a mood of resilience and resistance. The closing ceremony was enhanced by a reading of the Faust monologue from Don Juan und Faust and passages from Die Hermannsschlacht. When the Punic drama was eventually performed on the Detmold stage by the Preussisches Staatstheater on 11 and 12 December 1943, the whole event, not just the content of the drama, was regarded as a symbol of dogged determination in the face of very difficult problems.

List of Reviews:

Programme.

Detmolder Grabbe-Woche 1943.

"Dichter des Uebermenschlichen. Zur diesjaehrigen Grabbe-Woche in Detmold," Schleswiger Nachrichten (27 October 1943).

WVs, "Die Detmolder Grabbe-Woche 1943," Koelnische Zeitung (31 October 1943).

Erich Meinhard, "Die Grabbe-Woche -- ein Bekenntnis zum 'Trotzdem !'," Lippische Staatszeitung (31 October 1943).

Magdalene Vogt, "Grabbes Bekenntnis zu Deutschland. Der Dichter ein Rufer im Kampf um die voelkische Freiheit," Westfaelische Tageszeitung (31 October 1943).

"'Die Wortgewalt Grabbes'. Vortrag des Schriftstellers Gustav Leuteritz, Hamburg," Westfaelische Tageszeitung (31 October 1943).

"Detmold im Banne Grabbes. Ansprachen von Gauleiter Dr Meyer und Reichsdramaturg Dr Schloesser," Berliner Boersen-Zeitung (2 November 1943).

Christel Koenig, "Bekenntnis zu Grabbe. Detmolder Grabbe-Woche 1943," Deutsche Zeitung in den Niederlanden (2 November 1943).

Hanz Kretzer, "Notwendiges sagen und Ewiges kuenden. Von der Aufgabe heroischer Dichtung / Detmolder Grabbe-Tage 1943," Westfaelische Neueste Nachrichten (2 November 1943).

Dr Wilhelm Schoof, "Bekenntnis zu Deutschland. Zu den Detmolder Grabbe-Tagen," Der Gesellige (3 November 1943).

Emil Eczell, "Die 7. Grabbe-Woche in Detmold," Rheinisch-Westfaelische Zeitung (3 November 1943).

Hans Kretzer, "Die Detmolder Grabbetage. Gleichklang von Schwert und Geist," Voelkischer Beobachter (3 November 1943).

H.J. Berges, "Grabbes Bekenntnis zu Deutschland. Detmolder Grabbe-Woche 1943," Leipziger Neueste Nachrichten (4 November 1943).

"Detmolder Grabbe-Woche 1943. Vorlesungen aus seinen Werken," Westdeutscher Beobachter (5 November 1943).

Erich Meinhard, "Bekenntnis zum trotzigen Dennoch! Gastspiel des Preuss. Staatstheaters Kassel mit Grabbes Hannibal in Detmold," Westfaelische Tageszeitung (14 December 1943).

The final homage paid to the dramatist in D e t m o l d on 9 and 10 December 1944 bore only a slight resemblance to its predecessors. The worsening situation which had led to the closing of the theatres put paid to such ambitious projects as the guest performance of Napoleon by the Preussisches Staatstheater, Kassel, which had already been suggested at the beginning of the year, and the festival assumed very modest proportions, consisting of two events. At the meeting of the Grabbe Society on the first day, the Reichsdramaturg, Dr Schloesser, paid tribute to the cultural-political work that had been carried out in Westphalia and expressed his confidence that German art and culture would survive. The growing interest in Grabbe was proven by the formation of branches of the Society in Erfurt, Karlsruhe, and Munich. An hour of commemoration was held the next morning at which Dr Meyer reiterated the value and strength one could draw from Grabbe's work, for the benefit of those people who considered even such a small-scale celebration to be an inappropriate extravagance at that time. The sole literary contributions were readings from Don Juan und Faust by the guest actors Eugen Kloepfer, whom Brecht had had in mind for a role in his Hannibal adaptation in 1922, and Bernhard Minetti, and actress

Anna Dammann. Chamber music by Beethoven was presented by the Professor Stross Quartet.

List of Reviews:

"Grabbewoche in Detmold," Bruesseler Zeitung (11 February 1944).

Mhd, "Grabbe-Gedenken 1944," Lippische Staatszeitung (11 December 1944).

#### 4. Productions between 1946 and the Present Day

##### (i.) Hans Schalla's Production of Hannibal

The vigorous promotion of Grabbe's dramas on the stage during the Third Reich was followed for some years after 1945 by an almost total disregard of his works on the part of producers. The Nazis' popularization and politicization of Grabbe had undoubtedly played a major part in bringing the dramas into disrepute. Their absence from the theatre, however, may also be ascribed to another factor. To be really effective, they require a large theatre and many of these had been destroyed in the hostilities, including the Staedtische Buehne in Bochum where Saladin Schmitt had won renown for his comprehensive and impressive productions. Finances for the restoration of such buildings and for resources like scenery and costuming were sadly lacking in a country under foreign occupation until 1948. It may perhaps be significant that the reappearance of Hannibal in the theatre at the beginning of the 1950/51 season was occasioned by the opening of a new stage, the Saalbuehne of the S t a e d t i s c h e B u e h n e, B o c h u m. The production was undertaken by Hans Schalla who had assumed the position of theatre director in Bochum on Schmitt's death in 1949. Although he had presented Hannibal and had acted in it himself in Aachen in 1941<sup>137</sup>, press reports in 1950/51 made it clear that he sought to avoid any aspect in his new staging which might suggest a National Socialist understanding of the Punic drama. From hindsight a profound awareness emerged of flaws and anomalies in the conception of the drama put forward in the 1930s and first half of the 1940s, and the extent to which heroic elements had been overstressed and ideas distorted in the interests of Party policy became patently obvious. Schalla's production was not envisaged

as an attempt at a Grabbe renaissance but as a spiritual revision of the misinterpretations of the previous era. He aimed at giving emphasis to modern drama and looked to its precursors which he saw in the works of Grabbe and Buechner. The latter's Dantons Tod had been brought into the repertoire of the Staedtische Buehne in September 1949:

Seiner [Schallas] verstaerkten Pflege moderner Literatur entsprach die Auffuehrung Buechners (Dantons Tod), mit dem nun als Ouvertuere zu Schallas zweiter Saison Grabbe zusammenklingt. Durch diese beiden Dramatiker wird eine der Wurzeln freigelegt, aus denen die zeitgenoessische Theaterdichtung wuchs: mit Buechner die Tragoedie des Nihilismus, mit Grabbe die Tragoedie der Immanenz des Irdischen, die entscheidende Wendung vom transzendentalen Idealismus der Klassik zur Selbstgesetzlichkeit der realen Geschichte. In beiden von der Bochumer Buehne programmatisch herausgestellten Dichtern schaeumt das moderne Problem der Masse als Gegenspieler der grossen Einzelpersoenlichkeit auf.<sup>138</sup>

This reviewer's references to the ideas which attracted Schalla to the poet's dramas echoed terminology of the literary historian, Benno von Wiese, whose critical work, Die deutsche Tragoedie von Lessing bis Hebbel, was published for the first time in 1948 in two volumes, and who also contributed an article to the programme of the 1950 Bochum production under the title "Christian Dietrich Grabbes Tragoedie Hannibal". The article, the function of which was to provide the audience with a guide to interpretation, set out von Wiese's conception of Grabbe's historical dramas in particular:

Dramatische Welt als Geschichte: das ist der Schauplatz, in dem ueber Groesse und Elend, Macht und Ohnmacht, Glanz und Erniedrigung des Menschen entschieden wird, bedroht von Vergaenglichkeit und Tod, ueber die hinaus keine Bruecke in ein anderes Land fuehrt. Wir spueren die Lebensbewegung selber, die wie eine Welle hinauftraegt und hinabreisst, aber auch im Chaotischen noch etwas raetselhaft Grossartiges und angespannt Schoepferisches hat, geladen mit den unheimlichen Energien der Menschenseele. In dieser vitalen Naehe zur Geschichte ist Grabbe der modernste von allen Dramatikern des 19. Jahrhunderts.<sup>139</sup>

He recognized that the Detmolder's portrayal and understanding of history corresponded with the views of modern man and had a particular validity for his own contemporaries. The Hannibal tragedy was seen in a new light. One critic's experience of recent events prompted him to describe Grabbe as "einen fruhen und unheimlich eruptiven K u e n d e r d e s m o d e r n e n N i h i l i s m u s"<sup>140</sup>.

The events that had taken place in Germany during and after the war had given rise to a profound feeling of insecurity and disillusionment amongst the people, many of whom sought comfort in already existing philosophies<sup>141</sup>. Particularly attractive were the Existential Philosophy of Martin Heidegger and Karl Jaspers which had been popular in the 1920s and 1930s, and the Existentialism of Jean-Paul Sartre (a former pupil of Heidegger's) and Albert Camus. Whilst the two philosophies differed on many points, they had in common their concentration on the individual in an alien world and his responsibility for his own actions. The plays of Sartre were performed frequently in Germany at this time and Camus's novels were widely read. A comparison was drawn between Camus's drama, Caligula, and Hannibal, not only because of the way in which human fate was depicted but because the two works were said to bear a similarity to each other in their structure. In the matter of form, too, Grabbe and Buechner were upheld as forerunners of modern theatre. Their place in a tradition moving towards Epic theatre was recognized by Brecht who described it as follows:

Die Linie, die zu gewissen Versuchen des epischen Theaters gezogen werden kann, fuehrt aus der elisabethanischen Dramatik ueber die Lenz, Schiller (Fruehwerke), Goethe (Goetz und Faust, beide Teile), Grabbe, Buechner. Es ist eine sehr kraeftige Linie, leicht verfolgbar. (Brecht und Grabbe, p. 5)

To make the connection between Grabbe's drama and the epic theatre immediately visible, Schalla introduced a narrator in the person of Rolf Mueller whose task was to explain the scene, give stage directions, and commentate into the audience. He announced each of the twenty pictures, occasionally intervening with quite obvious remarks. In this way a distancing effect was achieved, and Mueller's presence was said to have given the evening a certain didactic character. He was even able to make reference to material omitted, thus ensuring that the understanding of the course of action did not suffer. Schalla's deletions consisted of Grabbe's (8), (10), (12), (13), (14), (15), (18), and (26) and the absence of an adaptation or prompt book makes it impossible to determine whether any portions of these were retained and incorporated into other pictures. The following scenes were played:

#### I. Hannibal ante portas

1. Bild Karthago, Saal im Hause der Alitta
2. Bild Grosser Marktplatz in Karthago
3. Bild Karthago. Kabinett in Hannos Palast
4. Bild Rom. Kapitol
5. Bild Vor Rom

#### II. Numantia und Kapua

6. Bild Die Ruinen Numantias
7. Bild Kapua. Saal in Hannibals Wohnung

#### III. Abschied von Italien

8. Bild Tal bei Casilinum
9. Bild Weite schoene Flur bei Cajeta
10. Bild Hinterverdeck des karthagischen Hauptschiffes

## IV. Gisgon

11. Bild Karthago. Gemach in Melkirs Palast
12. Bild Halle im Palast des alten Barkas
13. Bild Zelt der Scipionen
14. Bild Die Ebene zwischen den beiden Heeren
15. Bild Warte ueber einem Haupttor Karthagos
16. Bild In Karthago. Platz vor der riesigen erzenen Bildsaeule des Moloch
17. Bild Saal in Gisgons Hause

## V. Koenig Prusias

18. Bild Hauptstadt Bithyniens. Thronsaal im Palast des Koenigs Prusias
19. Bild Ein Zimmer im Palast des Koenigs Prusias
20. Bild Villa vor Bithyniens Hauptstadt

A short interval was placed after the sixth and a larger one after the tenth scene.

The sequence of pictures unfolded with a maximum of strong colours and a great deal of movement. Mass scenes such as that in Carthage and the Roman Senate were stylized. The action on the plain of Cajeta was particularly memorable. Schalla, as Jessner had done in 1925, paid careful attention to the manner in which the mood was built up during the wine festival. Two boys danced behind masks in the roles of Bacchus and Nymph, accompanied by the Pan pipes, so that the jubilation had reached a peak when a severed head rolled bloodily into the midst of the scene, and Hannibal, accustomed to the harshness of battle, wept. The sacrifice before Moloch was also impressively carried out. The irony and the sharp satire of the Prusias scenes attracted comment, especially when the great general, homeless and defeated, was forced to bow before the vain potentate.

In staging the drama, Schalla avoided the technical means of a mechanized theatre which had been employed in some of the previous productions of Grabbe's works in the form of a revolving stage<sup>142</sup>. Instead he made use of a stage technique considered far more progressive. Decorator, Walter Gondolf, designed a permanent "Einheitsraum" which tapered to fourteen metres in depth. The two side walls remained fixed, with their lower parts consisting of thick pieces of twine. To evoke the impression of new scenery, Gondolf utilized sparing accoutrements such as paper-thin drop curtains, quickly movable trellis-work, and symbolical properties constructed out of grid iron. Behind the trellis, for example, the Carthaginian Synedrion met. The naturalistic fall of leaves in the tenth picture stood out from this anti-illusionist environment. The scenes changed with lightning speed on the open stage and the whole setting had the effect of concentrating the dramatic events on the psychological basis of the characters.

The attire designed by Therese van Treeck was of special significance. All figures wore a uniform costume in keeping with the uniformly permanent frame of action. Going back to the time of the writing of the drama (1835), van Treeck had clothed the men in grey Biedermeier suits and the women in Empire-style dresses which had an alienating effect. To differentiate between the nationalities, African stylized cord garments were thrown over the Carthaginians, coloured togas over the Romans.

Apart from the narrator, Schalla employed a large cast, many of whom were responsible for the rendition of several different figures. This applied mainly to the smaller roles, where one actor would often take on as many as three or four parts, as occurred in the case of Sylvester Schmidt. He played a merchant, consul, priest of Moloch, and courtier

in different scenes. The protagonist was acted by Alfred Schieske whose association with Hannibal dated back to Saladin Schmitt's productions in which he had played Turnu. To portray Hannibal, he was brought as a guest to Bochum. The actor had the ability to regulate his powerful voice convincingly and had been given free reign to extend the figure of Hannibal, some of his actions seeming to be an exaggeration of Grabbe's image of his hero. He gave the impression of an uncontrolled man of power who trampled on those creeping before his feet, howled and roared. His mastery of the role was of a standard which called to mind that of Heinrich George<sup>143</sup>. The audience could identify with Schieske's Hannibal because of his existential isolation in the face of the two-fold opposition from his homeland and his enemy. This became the dominant theme from the time of his return to Carthage and defeat at Zama until the end of the performance where, without the comfort of a beyond, he accepts the finality of death; to use Grabbe's words, he experiences "das kleine Ende im unermesslichen Chaos des Gemeinen" (WuB, VI, 148). A commendable performance was also provided by the three men of the Synedrion, played by Peter Probst, Walter Kaltheuner (Gisgon in Schmitt's production), and Hans Messemer. Probst gave Melkir a devilish cunning and corpulence, but of the three it was the new actor Messemer who stood out by providing a sharp, polished study of Gisgon which made him an exciting counterfigure to Hannibal. Holger Kepich as Brasidas and Eva-Katharina Schultz as Alitta were also new to the ensemble. Erwin Kleist portrayed Turnu but was physically not extremely suitable because of his tall height, and he appeared to be too subservient. The Roman brothers, Wilhelm Grimm and Claus Hofer, were at times too inflexible and emotionless and underlined their words with flashing movements of the sword. Adolf Rebel's acting of Prusias brought out clearly the great humiliation to which the homeless, uprooted hero was subjected

in his presence.

Schalla's Hannibal production marked an important regeneration and redirection in the history of the reception of Grabbe's historical tragedy. It represented a radical departure from the National Socialist form of presentation in shunning monumentality. In addition, its progressive treatment by the producer brought out vividly elements of Existentialist thought and demonstrated the drama's close connection with Epic theatre. This made its overall effect one of "einer grossartigen Demonstration modernen Theaters, das einen seiner Wegbereiter heimholte auf die Buehne der Gegenwart"<sup>144</sup>.

List of Reviews:

Play-bill compiled by the Lippische Landesbibliothek.

Blaetter der Staedtischen Buehne Bochum, 1 (1950/51).

W., "Von Grabbe bis Zuckmayer / Die Plaene des Bochumer Schauspiels," Westfalenpost (27 June 1950).

Johannes Jacobi, "Grabbes Einzug ins Theater. Bochums neuer Versuch mit Hannibal," Rheinische Post (29 September 1950).

W.O., "Grabbes Hannibal in Bochum," Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung (29 September 1950).

Charlotte Klatt-Krieser, "Grosser Schlachtenlaerm in Bochum. Das Stadttheater eroeffnete mit Grabbes Hannibal unter Schallas Regie," Neue Ruhr-Zeitung (30 September 1950).

Wilhelm Westecker, "Tragischer Held oder Spielball der Maechte? Grabbes Hannibal in Bochum," Westfalenpost (30 September 1950).

F. Heerwagen, "Aktualisierte Klassik. Julius Caesar und Hannibal auf westdeutschen Buehnen," Die Welt am Sonntag (1 October 1950).

Dr Hannes Schmidt, "Zwischen Studio und Exkurs. Schalla inszenierte Grabbes Hannibal in Bochum," Die Welt (3 October 1950).

Fritz Heerwagen, "Grabbe und das Theater. Hans Schalla inszeniert Hannibal in Bochum," Frankfurter Allgemeine (3 October 1950).

Rolf Trouwborst, "Moderner Caesar und Hannibal. Shakespeare bei Sellner, Grabbe bei Schalla," Darmstaedter Echo (4 October 1950).

Johannes Jacobi, "War Grabbe 'voelkisch'? Eine Revision in Bochum - Schallas Neuinszenierung des Hannibal," Luebecker General-Anzeiger (6 October 1950).

Heinz Beckmann, "Gelichteter Grabbe. Bochums Hannibal mit Alfred Schieske," Rheinischer Merkur (7 October 1950).

J.J., "Kritische Umschau. Schalla uebernimmt sich," Rheinische Post (9 October 1950).

Edmund Pesch, "Das Drama des Nihilismus. Grabbes Hannibal als Bochumer Gastspiel in Hagen," Westfalenpost (4 November 1950).

(ii.) Heinrich Koch's Production of Hannibal

The producer, Heinrich Koch, who became well-known for his many productions of Grabbe's Scherz, Satire both in Germany and in the Americas<sup>145</sup> staged Hannibal at the Grosses Haus of the S t a e d t i s c h e B u e h n e n, F r a n k f u r t in September 1957. The possibility of performing the drama had already been under serious consideration by the theatre for three years and the plan eventually came to fruition in the form of the third premiere of the 1957 season. As with Tralow's production in that same city in 1922, there was speculation amongst reviewers that Koch's choice of drama may have been inspired partly by the fact that the dramatist had resided there for a period of time in 1834 and had worked on the second version of his tragedy in a room in the Grosse Bockenheimer Gasse. When conducting detailed preliminary studies for his production, Koch had examined the merits of this draft (known as the Hallgarten manuscript) along with the other existing variations. From it he adopted the Cajeta scene which contained the episode of the Roman messenger's murder, a feature subsequently removed from the drama by Grabbe on the advice of Karl Immermann<sup>146</sup>.

The basis on which all the dramas for the 1957/58 season were selected was outlined in the programme:

Fuer die Auswahl der Werke war vor allem die innere Gegenwartsnaehe ihrer Themen entscheidend. Jede Auffuehrung beleuchtete den Standort des Menschen inmitten unserer anonymisierten und kommerzialisierten Gesellschaft von einer neuen Seite. So findet Grabbes Hannibal, zwischen dem Kraemergeist und der Militaermacht Roms zerrieben, ein "kleines Ende im unermesslichen Chaos des Gemeinen".<sup>147</sup>

The theatre personnel conceived of the tragedy in much the same way as Schalla had in 1950, and this was substantiated by press reports

of the time. Yet another link with the first production after World War II was discernible, for reference was made to the drama's realistic historical conception in which the "idea of history" was reflected. In critical appraisals, several other interpretations were also offered. In one case, the work was described as an ironic negation of the durability of military fame. In another, the war between Rome and Carthage was construed as a mirror of recent history in that it depicted the annihilation of a people. Hannibal was also seen as a tragedy in which the masses began to play a role beside the great individual, demonstrated by the slaves' seizure of the despot in Grabbe's (12). Much in evidence was a tendency to consider the drama in terms of the cinema. The word "Kinodramatik" was applied to it not only with regard to the mass scenes which seemed to anticipate the film but in particular with regard to the structure of the tragedy. Once again, then, its epic form characterized by its many short scenes and dramatic contrasts made a strikingly modern impression.

Koch was the only producer apart from Schmitt who ventured to present Hannibal almost without cuts. Twenty-seven scenes were played, broken by a single interval after "Hinterverdeck des karthagischen Hauptschiffes". The one significant alteration to the outer construction occurred with the amalgamation of Grabbe's (14), "Eine Hoehe mit dichtem, dunklem Kastanienwald bei Kapua", and (15), "Am Gestade". This meant that many of the smaller pictures, often omitted by producers, were retained and enriched the performance with their historical colouring and the dynamic structure and the distinctive and unique effects of the dramatic contrasts also became apparent. Koch's skill as a producer came to the fore especially in his treatment of mass scenes. The noise of the lively, gesticulating dealers filled the Carthaginian market

place, giving a sense of great activity and making it stand out within the framework of the whole performance. The same was true of the oxen attack against Fabius Maximus at Casilinum and the wine festival at Cajeta in which the sharp contrasts of mood were brought out especially well<sup>148</sup>. Other scenes whose impact was remarked upon were that of the rebellion of the slaves against the despot, the general's departure from Italy, the description of the Battle of Zama by the porter and his son, as well as the activities at the altar of Moloch, the sacrifice of the women of Carthage, and the Bithynian scenes.

To give the scenes impact, Koch employed techniques of the modern theatre. The drawing of the curtains between individual pictures which had notably exerted an annoying and retarding effect on the flow of scenes in Jessner's production, was dispensed with and the scenes changed rapidly on the open stage as they had in Haufe's Stuttgart production in 1941<sup>149</sup>. New locations were clearly indicated by means of placards lowered from above. For the acting surface, Koch employed a slanting, circular apparatus known as the "Koch-Platte" which the actors and actresses could approach by means of paths and steps. This acting area was used in a symbolical way. Initially Hannibal was seen in spacious surroundings, and for the clash between the Carthaginians and Romans the whole diagonal was used. In accordance with the increasing constraint put upon the protagonist and his ejection from his own world, his acting space was restricted, so that his encounter with Prusias took place on the apron at the front of the stage. The designer, Ekkehard Gruebler, who had been trained under Rudolf Caspar Neher, was responsible for the modest and understated decoration. The stage was left almost bare, with properties being used in moderation. Gruebler erected a scaffold for the market place and the site of the battle, showing particular locations by a

number of different backdrops which amounted to simplified suggestions of storm-faded landscapes and cities rather than abstractions. The action was punctuated by the music and sound effects of Enno Dugend. War songs, Roman tubas, the sound of breaking walls, sea noises, and the crackling of flames were inserted at the appropriate parts of the performance. The critic writing in the Ludwigsburger Kreiszeitung of 10 September 1957 described the productions as possessing "Tempo im Ineinandergreifen der Szenen, Intensitaet und eine schlechthin atemberaubende Atmosphaere"<sup>150</sup>.

It was a difficult task for the Staedtische Buehnen to fill the many roles with adequate actors, but Heinrich Koch was fortunate in being able to engage Hans-Dieter Zeidler for the title role. He had come to Frankfurt from the Barlog-Buehnen, Berlin and had also worked in Goettingen with Heinz Hilpert. Although only in his early thirties, Zeidler's comparative youth did not prevent him from giving an impressive rendition of Hannibal, in contrast to young Hellmuth Pfund's attempt in Cologne in 1919. Furthermore Zeidler's large size and his voice were compared with those of Heinrich George who was still considered a yardstick for a successful Hannibal in 1957, a fact which gave almost prophetic meaning to a statement made about George's performance in 1941: "Von seinem Hannibal wird man spaeteren Darsteller- und Zuschauer generationen berichten". Zeidler was able to regulate his voice and emotions in a masterly fashion, yelling, sobbing, laughing, and commanding the stage in all respects. Emphasis was placed on the human side of the general's nature. When he heard in Capua of his brother's approach, he demonstrated a joy which was stifled and transformed to sorrow by the discovery that his relative was to tread the same treacherous path as he did. In Cajeta he wept at the sight of his brother's head. The kneeling Hannibal at the feet

of his grandfather had a particularly strong effect, as did his encounter with the Byzantine king and his last moments at the court of Prusias.

Otto Rouvel in the part of Turnu emerged as the second star of the evening. Sigfrit Steiner portrayed Melkir as a man with a greed for power, and Konrad Georg made a spiteful, yet brave Gisgon. Koettenich was the remaining member of their band. Gisela Fischer gave Alitta pride and charm. The two Scipios were played by Veit Relin and Dietrich Kerky. Opinion differs about their suitability for the parts of the Roman generals. On the one hand, they were felt to lack heroic stature and sought effect by marching and by their external pomp rather than by their military strength. On the other hand, Scipio the Younger is described as having come across as proud, witty, and cutting, suggesting that Kerky rendered Grabbe's conception of him adequately. The brothers were attired in white half-boots and sky-blue trousers with gold metal bands round their waists. Their compatriots wore green and blue overalls and air-raid helmets. Wolfgang Schirlitz was outstanding as Prusias whom he portrayed as a preciously affected dandy with a lascivious bearing. He had played Hanno in 1935 in Essen. Even some of the holders of minor roles excelled, especially Josef Wageck and Werner Berndt, the commentators at the desperate battle of Zama.

The enthusiastic reaction of the audience was mainly attributed to the acting talent of Zeidler and the production skill of Koch.

#### List of Reviews:

Programme.

"Tragoedien der Vereinsamung. Frankfurter Schauspiel-Premieren im Kleinen und Grossen Haus," Hanauer Anzeiger (6 September 1957).

Georg Hensel, "Aus Grabbes Moritatenschatz. Hannibal im Frankfurter Grossen Haus," Darmstaedter Echo (7 September 1957).

Willy H. Thiem, "Premiere im Frankfurter Grossen Haus: Zeidlers Hannibal und Grabbes wilde Voelkerscharen. Grosser Theateraufwand fuer mehrere Einsame," Die Abendpost (7 September 1957).

Hans Schwab-Felisch, "Grabbes Dolchstoss-Tragoedie. Hannibal im Frankfurter Grossen Haus," Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (7 September 1957).

Jutta W. Thomasius, "Hunde sind des Hasen Tod. Grabbes Hannibal gewann in Frankfurt eine Schlacht," Frankfurter Nachtausgabe (7 September 1957).

Guenther Ruehle, "Der tolle Grabbe in Frankfurt. Der Tiger und der Stapelplatz / Zur Frankfurter Auffuehrung des Hannibal," Frankfurter Neue Presse (7 September 1957).

Erich Lissner, "Spektakulum vom Hannibal. Eine glanzvolle Grabbe-Premiere im Frankfurter Grossen Haus mit Hans-Dieter Zeidler in der Titelrolle," Frankfurter Rundschau (7 September 1957).

-tz-, "Die Welt war fuer den Helden zu klein. Grabbes Hannibal wurde in Frankfurts Staedtischer Buehne zu einem grossen Erlebnis," Generalanzeiger (7 September 1957).

Heinz Friedrich, "Eine Lanze fuer Grabbe. Heinrich Koch inszeniert Hannibal in Frankfurt," Rheinische Post (7 September 1957).

R., "Grabbes Hannibal - jung und modern. Heinrich Kochs Frankfurter Inszenierung ein sehr mutiger Versuch," Darmstaedter Tagblatt (9 September 1957).

H.K., "Grosser Theaterabend mit Grabbe. Hannibal an der Frankfurter Staedtischen Buehne," Heidelberger Tagblatt (9 September 1957).

Hermann Dannecker, "Eisige Einsamkeit und gluehendes Leben. Grabbes Hannibal in einer erregenden Inszenierung von Heinrich Koch," Weser-Kurier (9 September 1957).

Th.H., "Grabbes Hannibal in Frankfurt," Wiesbadener Tageblatt (9 September 1957).

Gernot Roemer, "Hannibal -- verjuengt und modern. Heinrich Koch inszenierte Christian Dietrich Grabbes Tragoedien in Frankfurt - Ein mutiger Versuch," Freie Presse (10 September 1957).

H.D., "Grabbes Hannibal in Heinrich Kochs erregender Inszenierung," Ludwigsburger Kreiszeitung (10 September 1957).

Helmut Olles, "Die Wirklichkeit der Geschichte. Grabbes Hannibal in Frankfurt," Westfaelische Nachrichten (10 September 1957).

Alfred Happ, "Frankfurt riskiert Hannibal / Grabbes Drama unter H. Koch," Die Welt (11 September 1957).

Joachim Kaiser, "Die Frage nach der Substanz / Frankfurter Theaterbrief," Stuttgarter Zeitung (12 September 1957).

Wolfgang Bartsch, "'Schwerer Held' plaediert fuer Grabbe. Zur Frankfurter Einstudierung des Hannibal," Der Mittag (17 September 1957).

Heinz Friedrich, "Trivialitaet und Groesse," Deutsche Zeitung und Wirtschaftszeitung (18 September 1957).

GF, "Im Grossen Haus. Grabbes Hannibal," Hoechster Kreisblatt (25 September 1957).

(iii.) Further Productions

At the time I was carrying out the research and writing of this study, I was able to find evidence of only three other presentations of the Hannibal tragedy in this final period. All of these were confined to the 1950s, the earliest being the work of the Dutch producer, Gillis van Rappard, who was engaged at the L i p p i s c h e s L a n d e s - t h e a t e r , D e t m o l d , in 1951. The performance on 19 December of that same year was in celebration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Grabbe's birth, and the difference between van Rappard's conception of the drama and that put forward ten years before in the same theatre by Martin captured the attention of the reviewers. It was maintained that a drama of resistance and resilience had been seen on the stage in 1941 (an interpretation of Hannibal shown by this investigation to have emerged somewhat later, in 1943). It was stated, too, that opponents of Grabbe directly after the war had come to regard the figure of Hannibal as a dramatized Hermann Goering who ruled his troops to the very last, then fled and took poison in defiance of the victors who intended to put him to death. In 1951, emphasis was given to the existential problem of human isolation:

Heute ruehrt uns doch allein jene mitleidslose Einsamkeit, in die sich der Held gestellt sieht, und aus der ihn weder Goetter noch Freunde zu erloesen vermoegen. Zweifellos ist es das besondere Verdienst des Oberspielleiters Gillis van Rappard und des Hannibal-Darstellers Hans Rathmann, dass sie in Regie und Rollenausdeutung gerade jenes Moment besonders hervorarbeiten, um so dem Werk einen Sinn zu geben, das mehr als ein Jahrhundert hindurch lediglich als ein Verzweiflungsschrei eines verkannten Dichters galt. ... Hannibal zerbricht ja nicht letztlich an seiner Umwelt, nicht an den Roemern und nicht an den Karthagern sondern allein an seiner Einsamkeit, die er ebenso nach seinem glorreichen Sieg bei Cannae wie bei seinem Kampf auf verlorenem Posten zur Verteidigung Karthagos spielte. Die Einsamkeit an sich ist also das eigentliche Problem des Stueckes. 151

To accommodate the drama on the Detmold stage, van Rappard was required to abbreviate the original, leaving out all the mass scenes. He introduced a style of production which was new to Detmold. He was ill-disposed to all shouting, noisy outbursts, and overemphatic sound effects from the wings and sought a suppressed tone which would not overpower and obscure the substance of the drama. There were glistening pictures of Carthage's splendour and misery; a penetrating red signified the African desert and blue, the stylized Capuan landscape, but many scenes were given an almost sparse decoration. The Senate scene was bare, as was that played in the pass, and there was no dwelling on the grisly sacrifice to Moloch and no splendid fire after the flares were thrown in the palace. The Prusias scenes were acted in a controlled and low-key fashion.

Unlike Gondolf in Bochum a year previously, the set-designer, Sautter, had used the revolving stage and the acting space itself was far more generous. His sets were of monumental proportions and were projected on to a round horizon. The theatre was forced to economize on new props and costuming, and the wardrobe mistress, Ellen-Carola Carstens, drew to a large extent on costumes already present in the theatre's collection in order to create such figures as sheiks, dancers, priests, and messengers.

It was necessary for several actors to be cast in more than one of the forty-three roles and van Rappard stepped into the part of Cato Censor. He frequently acted on the stage in Detmold, and in the same season played Robespierre in Buechner's Dantons Tod. The performance raised doubts as to the suitability of Hans Rathmann as Hannibal. He was not an actor of great talent and much of what he said was unable to be understood. This exerted a most unfortunate

effect since he placed the emphasis of his portrayal heavily on the word. The first half of the drama, with the exception of Rathmann's suppressed cry of torment at the sight of Hasdrubal's head, was somewhat overshadowed by the second part where his dialogue with Scipio the Younger and his humiliating encounter with Prusias created outstanding moments. Of the co-actors, it was Franz-Josef Steffens as Turnu who emerged as the most convincing with his suppleness and warmth. Kurth Groth depicted the younger Scipio brother as cold and dictatorial, and Georg Born was able to prevent Prusias from appearing as a comic figure.

The efforts of the producer and his technical assistants combined to change the public's initial reserve to enthusiasm. The overall effect was described in an appraisal in the Lippische Landeszeitung of 21 December 1951:

Sehr verhaltenes und beherrschtes Theater ist es, was der Oberspielleiter uns bietet, aber trotz allem lebendiges Theater, das sich nicht in Lyrismen erschöpft, das in hoechst souveraener Weise Akzente zu setzen, lapidare Wirkungen zu erzielen weiss,<sup>152</sup>

List of Reviews:

Programme.

"Hannibal zu Grabbes 150. Geburtstag," Westfalen-Zeitung (25 October 1951).

Alfred Bergmann, "Hannibal von Christian Dietrich Grabbe," Lippische Landeszeitung (19 December 1951).

-eck-, "Einsamer Grabbe - einsamer Hannibal," Freie Presse. Lippisches Volksblatt (21 December 1951).

Dr. H.G.P., "Vergeistigtes Hannibal-Drama," Lippische Landeszeitung (21 December 1951).

H.P., "Tragoedie des verlassenen Helden," Westfalen-Zeitung (21 December 1951).

b-, "Tragischer Held," Freie Presse. Lippisches Volksblatt (10 January 1952).

Ulrich Haase, "Chr.D. Grabbe und sein Hannibal," Lippische Landeszeitung (10 January 1952).

H.H., "Zum Gedaechtnis Grabbes," Westfalen-Zeitung (10 January 1952).

One attempt which should not go unrecognized, although it was on a small scale and was limited to a few scenes was that undertaken by pupils of the Helmholtz-Gymnasium of Bielefeld, under the guidance of the teachers, Messrs Tripp and Nieschmidt in July 1957. At the time, it was very difficult to revive any interest in Grabbe, and teachers, especially in the area of North Rhine-Westphalia, made it their task to draw attention to Grabbe's historical dramas and his comedy, Scherz, Satire, Ironie und tiefere Bedeutung. After the war, scholars were the first to attempt a reexamination of the Detmold dramatist's works, and the two afore-mentioned teachers aimed at an interpretation of Hannibal by means of play acting. This approach was a novelty in the sphere of German education, more in line with the long-held French view that drama is not complete without the theatre and the stage. Ultimately Grabbe was to receive a place in the school curriculum and be mentioned in the guidelines for teachers of German in the Federal State of North Rhine-Westphalia. The performance, prefaced by introductory lectures, was held on the occasion of the annual general meeting of the Grabbe Society in the Hotel "Stadt Frankfurt", Detmold, and was made up of scenic excerpts from those pictures which formed the kernel of the drama: the Senate scene in Rome, Hannibal ante portas, the meeting between the younger of the Scipio brothers and Hannibal on the plain just prior to the Battle of Zama, the final conversation between Hannibal and Turnu in the villa in Bithynia, and the satirically

comical epilogue of Prusias. The young actors were not clad in historical costumes but were distinguished by the colour of their dress, with the Carthaginians in blue and the Romans in red. There was also no use of stage accoutrements or a simulation of theatrical reality. In this way the full emphasis fell on the words of the tragedy. The scenes apparently succeeded in promoting the idea of the indissoluble bond between the Carthaginians and their hero, which the dramatist had sought to depict, were well-played, and won lively accord from those gathered for the occasion.

List of Reviews:

E.M., "Jugend formt sich Grabbes Geschichtsbild. Arbeitsgemeinschaft des Helmholtz-Gymnasiums mit Szenen aus Hannibal," Lippische Landeszeitung ( 5 July 1957).

-matz, "Schueler spielten Grabbes Hannibal," Westfalen-Blatt (10 July 1957).

The final production of Hannibal to be studied within the scope of this investigation was held in F r i e s a c h , A u s t r i a , as part of the Friesacher Burghofspiele. Friesach at that time was reputed to have possessed one of the greatest stages for amateur dramatics in the German-speaking area, and the festival of plays, which was an annual event, opened on 28 June 1958 with Grabbe's Punic drama. Very little information has been preserved regarding this last recorded performance of Hannibal but the adaptation was declared excellent and the holder of the title role was Hannes Sandler whose acting helped to make the event a masterpiece - "eine Meisterleistung"<sup>153</sup>.

List of Reviews:

"Hannibal in Freisach [sic] ," Hamburger Abendblatt (20 June 1958).

"Einen Festspielsommer lang ...," Funk und Film (21 June 1958).

"Hannibal ante portas," Westfalen-Post (24 June 1958).

"Grossartige Dichtung und lebendiges Theater. Grabbes Hannibal auf den Friesacher Burghofspielen in Kaernten," Lippische Landeszeitung (16 August 1958).

## Conclusions

The aim of this part of my thesis has been to examine statements and reviews recorded mainly by a privileged group of theatre-goers, the theatre critics, and to use their appraisals as a key to a closer understanding of the history of Hannibal on the German stage. This history embraces the years from 1916 to the present day only, and the limited time span has enabled me to consider each of the productions on its own merits, regardless of its size or importance, although the major performances have naturally predominated. Whilst this approach has the disadvantage that certain terminology and ideas must be repeated frequently if the impressions of each production are to be noted accurately, it does mean that a comprehensive picture of the reception of Hannibal over a clearly defined period of time can be obtained and allows some conclusions to be drawn about tendencies in interpretation and dramaturgical problems or trends.

The original purpose of dividing my investigation into three historical periods (apart from the 1916 recited portrayal which was treated separately) was simply one of convenience because the dramatic presentations seemed to fall neatly into these time slots. The more closely the material was studied, however, the more evident it became that the productions were firmly linked with, or seen in the light of, political situations, or ideological or philosophical ideas prevalent in the period of the staging. Reviews of the Dresden performance (1916) already reveal that the relevance of Hannibal for that time stemmed from the affinity between aspects of the drama and contemporary history. The Carthaginian and German armies were fighting on foreign soil, hampered by a lack of supplies and confronted by an enemy superior in number. For the good of the country both the people of Carthage and Germany had been exhorted to hand in their items of value.

The nature of the 1916 portrayal allows it to be described as a prelude to the theatrical history proper which began at the end of 1918. The triggering mechanism for this was the political situation itself which had altered radically in the space of two years. Germany had been defeated, chaos had erupted at home, and punishment had been meted out to the vanquished nation in the form of the Armistice demands. The tragedy, in showing the disunity and indifference of the Carthaginians and the laying down of the Roman peace conditions, seemed a harsh but accurate reflection of the contemporary German situation and comparisons were even drawn between the Roman intent to capture Hannibal and that of the British to arrest and possibly execute the Kaiser. The seemingly prophetic content of the nineteenth-century drama which appeared even more topical after the signing of the Versailles Treaty in June 1919, was the specific motivating force for other early productions (Cologne, 1919, Breslau, 1920, and Dessau, 1921). By the middle of the 1920s, the intensity with which the parallels were felt had diminished somewhat but did not slacken completely, for the injustice of Versailles was alluded to in a review of the final production of the 1920s in Kiel, 1927.

This understanding of the drama was not forgotten, either, in the time of the Third Reich and was kept alive because of the Nazis' radical rejection of the Treaty. Hannibal was, though, also regarded against the background of the current National Socialist ideology and a variety of interpretations were put forward, the most pertinent of which will be summarized here. In Oldenburg (1934), it was comprehended as a demonstration of a racial ideology in which the Semitic merchants of Carthage with their preoccupation with economic matters were confronted by the Romans with their soldierly skills and concept of racial unity.

The struggle of Europe and Africa depicted in the tragedy reminded a critic of the Essen production (1935) of the struggle between the same two continents in 1935 which manifested itself in the form of the Italian invasion of Ethiopia. In Hanover (1936), the importance of the unity of people and leader was stressed and was one of the ideas most often put forward about Hannibal during that time. After the outbreak of the Second World War, the state of Germany's fortunes determined the image the public received of the drama, and the reasons behind the playing of the work varied considerably during these years. In the early phases of the hostilities when Germany's future seemed bright, parallels were drawn between the Germans and the Romans, the British and the Carthaginians, the implication being that Britain would ultimately share the same fate as the Punic state. As the fighting intensified in the east in 1941/42 and the war was conceived of in terms of a battle between the two land masses of Europe and Russia, the Punier's attempt to gain the cooperation of his compatriots in the Synedrion to repulse their Roman enemy was equated with the Germans' confrontation with the British, the lowest of the Aryans, who had to be brought into the European community to ensure the continent's victory against the Bolsheviks. By 1943 with a very real prospect of German defeat, Carthage's demise was used as an example to shock the audiences into a frame of mind which would induce them to resist the enemy to the last.

It was a feeling of pessimism and despair engendered by the outcome of the Second World War in Germany that gave the same tragedy its relevance in the 1950s. The drama's presentation of an isolated hero forced out of his world by historical circumstances, was in accord with aspects of Existentialist philosophy to which many people were

attracted, and Hannibal's reappearance in the theatre was also attributable to the renewal of interest in historical drama. Reviewers of the Frankfurt staging (1957) brought forth new interpretations arising from observations of the previous era. The tragedy was regarded as an illustration of the impermanence of military fame, and as showing the extermination of a people.

Comments about the 1916 performance contain a pointer to the drama's late arrival on the German stage. The stumbling-block for producers at that time lay in its structure with which the theatre was unable to cope. Just over two years later, however, the dramatic form provided a stimulus for the premiere. Now that Expressionist drama, often characterized by a telegraphic style, was beginning to appear on the stage, the lapidary prose and twenty-eight short scenes of Hannibal captured the attention of producers and spectators. In the National Socialist period, the dramatic structure was not viewed critically but glorified as the unique form of the great historical drama which could present a fine and inspiring model for modern writers. In the 1950s, it came to be recognized as an early type of Epic theatre, a fact producers were keen to make obvious by the inclusion in their stagings of such features as a commentator, movable side screens (a style of decor used by Brecht at the Theater am Schiffbauerdamm, Berlin), props of grid-iron, and descriptive placards. In 1957, film-like elements in the structure were also remarked upon.

The stage adaptors, as my investigation in the first part of this thesis has revealed, all made modifications to the construction of the work which seemed too unwieldy and massive for portrayal in its original shape. Their methods of revision amounting mainly to the deletion of, or drawing together of scenes, were utilized also by the majority of the producers of the Punic drama. Reviews indicate

that although it was staged on occasions in as few as fifteen scenes (Dessau in 1921, Bremen in 1925), most stage-managers believed that justice could not be done to it in fewer than eighteen or nineteen, and some considered as many as twenty-two to be a more suitable and still manageable number (Wuerzburg in 1940, Stuttgart in 1941, and Reichenberg in 1944). Only two producers attempted more. Koch (Frankfurt, 1957) staged twenty-seven pictures whilst at Schmitt's performances (Bochum, 1938 and 1941), the audience had been treated to the work in its entirety.

The rate at which these scenes moved across the stage was of the utmost significance for the effect of a production. Numerous critical observations showed that technological solutions which would allow for the maximum speed and continuity of action needed to be sought, and a wide variety of dramaturgical means was employed during the history of Hannibal in the theatre, the most effective of which warrant mentioning. Kilian's double stage which catered for an alternation of scenes from a small front area to a larger expanse at the rear, proved valuable in Breslau (1920) and Dortmund (1922). In Hanover (1923), simple, long, flowing curtains provided a good stage framework whilst in Berlin (1925), Jessner sought to make the change of scenes less problematic with the use of light and colour to create variations of milieu, the division of the stage into different levels, and the utilization of movable steps and few props. In Oldenburg (1934), portable side sets and lantern slides projected onto the backdrop from behind, allowed for a fast progression of scenes, whilst the revolving stage was an adequate solution in Essen (1935). It may be of note that Schmitt, when producing the whole drama, opted for a very simple method of scenic change, drawing the end of each scene to the front portion of the stage which was then cut off

from the back by curtains, behind which props could be rearranged out of sight of the spectators. In Bochum (1950/51), an "Einheitsraum" decorated only with sparing props meant that the scenes could change at a very rapid pace. The curtains were never closed, as was the case in Frankfurt (1957) as well, where the action took place on a circular apparatus known as the "Koch-Platte". Here the stage was left almost bare.

Important though sound technological solutions were for a dramatic presentation, it was reinforced throughout the history of the reception of Hannibal in the theatre that a production stood or fell according to the abilities of the holder of the title role who could impart a strong sense of unity to the work. Between 1916 and 1958, the figure was portrayed in a multitude of ways by many different actors, but it was clear that to render the part well, an actor had to conform with certain requirements which were inherent in Grabbe's characterization of the general. Hannibal is a complex figure possessing harsh traits alongside an ability to display warmth and sentiment. To stress one attribute at the expense of the other results in an unbalanced performance. Rounded portrayals were given by Steinrueck (Munich, 1918), Teschendorf (Hanover, 1923), Buckwitz (Freiburg, 1936), and Jung (Kassel, 1943). Nachbaur (Meiningen, 1920), on the other hand, was able to project the emotional side of the protagonist but his somewhat weak voice did not lend itself to a good presentation of his heroic traits. A similar comment was made of Rathmann (Detmold, 1951). Other actors tended towards loudness and declamation. Franck (Breslau, 1920) was said to have shouted, an observation made about Krauss (Berlin, 1925) who emphasized the obstinate, military Hannibal, and about Klietsch (Essen, 1935). Schieske (Bochum, 1950/51) stood out

for his skill to regulate his voice effectively. The role of Hannibal demanded an exceptional acting talent and speaking ability, but the most memorable performances were given by those who were also commanding in stature. This applied most particularly to George (Berlin, 1941), but to Meinecke (Bochum, 1938 and 1941) and Zeidler (Frankfurt, 1957) as well. In contrast, Franck (Breslau, 1920) and Feist (Frankfurt, 1922) were criticized as being too small for the part. The desirability of an imposing person to portray the protagonist was clearly not a feature of Nazi theatre only, with its propensity for grandioseness but was called for by the monumental heroism of the drama. Even Brecht, in spite of his intention to dispense with heroic elements, envisaged his Hannibal as being of impressive physical proportions. In his adaptation, reference is made to the gigantic shoulders of his title figure<sup>154</sup>, the portrayal of whom he explicitly wanted to entrust to Kortner. It is not by chance that some of the greatest German actors of this century have undertaken the role of Grabbe's Hannibal.

The history of the reception of the Punic drama shows that the often commendable efforts of smaller theatres were generally unable to match the impact of productions by the larger theatrical companies. This was partly attributable to the demanding features outlined above but also to the drama's numerous secondary and minor figures, all of whom contribute in a significant fashion to the adequate unfolding of an historical panorama and help to ensure that a strong differentiation is brought about between the three continents of action. This strained the resources of even the truly large theatres. In the Nationaltheater, Munich, the Schiller-Theater, Berlin, and the Staedtische Buehnen, Bochum, all members of the ensemble were

involved and in the case of the first of the three play-houses, the assistance of the opera company was also called upon. Many of the secondary figures, and even those who appear only in one or two scenes, have been endowed by Grabbe with sharply defined personalities, such as the three men of the Synedrion, or charged with the carrying out of important tasks within the framework of the dramatic action, like the porter and his son who commentate on the historical battle. Thus for these roles, as for Hannibal, actors of talent, able to interpret their parts with sensitivity, were a distinct advantage and more readily available in big ensembles. Prusias, for instance, in some of the smaller productions came across as a comic figure. In this regard the rendition of him by Rudolph (Hanover, 1936) and Wery (Munich, 1940) comes to mind.

The two companies most renowned for their productions of Hannibal during the Third Reich, the Staedtische Buehnen, Bochum and the Schiller-Theater, Berlin, were invited by the organizers of the Grabbe Weeks and Days in Detmold to make guest appearances at the festivals of 1938 and 1941 respectively. Such state-run celebrations in honour of the dramatist enabled not merely Hannibal but a great variety of Grabbe's works to reach very wide audiences and formed the climactic events in the Grabbe renaissance which occurred during the 1930s and 1940s. In the course of the National Socialist rule, Grabbe acquired an important position in the history of drama and the theatre for the first time and an examination of the reception of his Punic drama reveals that these years were the most productive as far as its staging is concerned. The Nazis' attention to the dramatist was to have a detrimental effect on the further reception of his work after 1945. This was clearly manifested in the hesitancy on the part of theatres to perform Hannibal. When

it did reappear on the stage, it never regained the popularity it had during the Third Reich or in the 1920s and the interest Grabbe holds for German producers today lies in dramas like Scherz, Satire, Ironie und tiefere Bedeutung and not in his great historical dramas amongst which Hannibal ranks as the most outstanding.

Footnotes:

- 1 -dt., "Grabbes Hannibal im Residenz-Theater," Dresdner Nachrichten (23 November 1916).
- 2 A.L. Gowans (ed.), A Month's German Newspapers, ed. and trans. A.L.G. (London/Glasgow, 1915), p. 260.
- 3 rt., "Theater. Grabbes Hannibal," Dresdner Volkszeitung (23 November 1916).
- 4 R.A. Bermann in "Grabbes Hannibal. Eine dramaturgische Studie," Deutsche Theaterzeitschrift, III (1910), pp. 753 ff., 770 ff. , had already discussed possibilities of staging Hannibal and thought it within the capabilities of many theatres in 1910. He put forward his practical suggestions for this.
- 5 A hand-written note on the prompt book held at the library of the Bayerisches Staatsschauspiel shows that the work was to be repeated on 23 Dec. 1918, 3 Jan. 1919, 10 Jan., 20 Jan., 27 Jan., 17 Feb., 31 March, 25 July, 2 August, and 25 August 1919.
- 6 G. Hirschfeld, "Die Theater Muenchens," Velhagen und Klasings Monatshefte, VIII, 7 (1919), p. 70.
- 7 Cf. Ruehle, Theater fuer die Republik 1917 - 1933 im Spiegel der Kritik, p. 12.
- 8 This opinion was expressed by Max Osborn in "Grabbes Hannibal. Auffuehrung im Staatstheater," Berliner Morgenpost (20 October 1925). Eisner was a pacifist and an opponent of Prussian militarism.
- 9 See this thesis, p. 13.
- 10 R.B., "Hannibal. Tragoedie von Ch. D. Grabbe. (Urauffuehrung im Nationaltheater, Grosses Haus, am 20. Dez.)," Muenchener Zeitung (21 December 1918).
- 11 Th. Birt in his treatise, "Hannibal" (Velhagen und Klasings Monatshefte, VIII, 7 (1919), p. 57), points out that during the war the comparison was often drawn between Carthage and England or Germany, depending on the state of hostilities. Thus the equation would have been familiar to people in 1918.
- 12 R.M. Watt, The Kings Depart. The German Revolution and the Treaty of Versailles 1918 - 19 (London, 1969), p. 46.
- 13 G. Lichtheim, Europe in the Twentieth Century (New York/Washington, 1972), p. 118.
- 14 Ludw. Seyfried, "Festspieleroeffnung im Prinzregententheater," Bayerischer Kurier und Muenchener Fremdenblatt (26/27 July 1919). Seyfried's quotation is inaccurate but conveys the same meaning as Grabbe's: "Denn einen halben Frieden lieben wir nicht; er gibt dem Feind nur Zeit, sich zum neuen Kriege zu staerken" (WuB, III, 104).

- 15 See fn. 35 for Part I. Watt, The Kings Depart, p. 398, also remarks that "Carthaginian Peace" was applied to the Treaty of Versailles.
- 16 Seyfried, Bayerischer Kurier und Muenchener Fremdenblatt (26/27 July 1919).
- 17 Watt, The Kings Depart, pp. 11 and 55.
- 18 Cf. this thesis, p.42.
- 19 Steinrueck added this himself to the prompt book. It appears written by hand in Christ. Dietr. Grabbe's saemmtliche Werke. Erste Gesamtausgabe, ed. R. Gottschall (Leipzig, 1870), Vol. II, pp. 152 - 153.
- 20 E. Kilian, "Grabbes Hannibal auf dem Theater," Der Merker: Oesterreichische Zeitschrift fuer Musik und Theater, 12 (1921), p. 88.
- 21 Bermann, Deutsche Theaterzeitschrift, III, (1910), p. 771, also suggested that scenes from Flaubert's Salambo might form the model for decor in the Carthaginian scenes. He based his ideas for production on Gottschall's edition.
- 22 Declamation by the title hero was, though, often noted throughout the whole history of Grabbe's Hannibal on the stage.
- 23 G. Droscher, Die vormals Kgl., jetzt Preussischen Staatstheater zu Berlin. Statistischer Rueckblick, 1886 - 1935 (Berlin, 1936), p. 78.
- 24 C.D. Innes, Erwin Piscator's Political Theatre. The Development of Modern German Drama (Cambridge, 1972), p. 181, outlines some technical features of Expressionist theatre.
- 25 A. Kerr, "Grabbes Hannibal im Staatstheater," Berliner Tageblatt und Handels-Zeitung (19 October 1925).
- 26 Introduction to Jessner's adaptation, p. 7.
- 27 See my discussion of Jessner's adaptation, p. 39.
- 28 Herbert Ihering, "Hannibal. Staatstheater," Berliner Boersen-Courier (19 October 1925).
- 29 ibid.
- 30 See introduction to Jessner's adaptation, p. 9.
- 31 Cf. W. Laqueur, Weimar. A Cultural History 1918 - 1933 (London, 1974), p. 226.
- 32 Confront the table of Jessner's scenes in this thesis, p. 39.
- 33 See this thesis, p. 39.
- 34 J. Willett, Expressionism (London, 1970), p. 152.

- 35 Berliner Boersen-Courier (19 October 1925).
- 36 Alfred Muehr, "Werner Krauss als Hannibal. Inszenierung: Leopold Jessner Staatliches Schauspielhaus," Deutsche Zeitung (19 October 1925).
- 37 During this time there were at least two other plans to perform Hannibal. The first has already been discussed with regard to Brecht's adaptation. The second was to take place in the Stadttheater, St. Gallen in Switzerland during the 1922/23 season according to a newspaper article, "Die Spielzeit 1922/23 des Stadttheaters," Galler Tageblatt (8 September 1922). A letter from the Stadttheater, St. Gallen of 16 July 1975 confirms that the plan fell through.
- 38 -y-, "Hannibal von Grabbe," Rheinische Zeitung (3 November 1919).
- 39 Bermann, Deutsche Theaterzeitschrift, III, (1910), p. 751, was convinced that at the time of his writing, a producer would have to draw on a number of decorative styles when staging Hannibal. He believed that the development and increasing sophistication of cinematography would one day enable the plays of Grabbe to be produced using only one dramaturgical technique.
- 40 Representative of critics struck by Grabbe's prophetic powers is Erich Freund, "Lobe-Theater. Montag, 2. Februar: Hannibal. Tragoedie von Christian Dietrich Grabbe," Breslauer Morgenzeitung (4 February 1920).
- 41 See this thesis, p. 28.
- 42 Wa., "Breslauer Theater. Lobetheater," Breslauer Zeitung (4 February 1920).
- 43 WuB, III, 39. Martin later permitted Turnu to stab the Roman. See this thesis, p. 54.
- 44 Kowalk, Das Raumproblem, p. 185.
- 45 See this thesis, p. 39.
- 46 See this thesis, p. 106. Again the similarity with contemporary drama and parallels with the situation in Germany were noted. The latter were keenly felt by the Lower Saxon audience. Lower Saxony has always been a particularly nationalistic part of Germany.
- 47 The warmer side of his nature was shown in the Cajeta scene, in Hannibal's departure from Italy, and in the final scene of the drama.
- 48 J. Hagemann, Die Presselenkung im Dritten Reich (Bonn, 1970), p. 13.
- 49 E. Leiser, Nazi Cinema, trans. G. Mander and D. Wilson (London, 1974), p. 49.
- 50 U-K. Ketelsen, Heroisches Theater. Untersuchungen zur Dramentheorie des Dritten Reiches (Bonn, 1969), p. 42.
- 51 Ernst Wachler, "Grabbe als heroisch-politischer Dramatiker der Deutschen," Die Sendung (13 April 1941).

- 52 Franz Goetze, "Grabbes Hannibaldrama. Von Karl-Heinz Martin im Schiller-Theater der Reichshauptstadt inszeniert," Der Westen (31 March 1941). The underlining is mine.
- 53 Die Sendung (13 April 1941).
- 54 Ketelsen, Heroisches Theater, pp. 167 ff..
- 55 ibid., p. 148.
- 56 Rudolf Poertner, "Ein monumentales Heldendrama. Karl-Heinz Martin inszenierte Grabbes Hannibal im Berliner Stadttheater," Westfaelische Tageszeitung (2 April 1941).
- 57 W. Dahle, Der Einsatz einer Wissenschaft. Eine sprachinhaltliche Analyse militaerischer Terminologie in der Germanistik 1933 - 1945 (Bonn, 1969), p. 39.
- 58 Motto of the Programme, p. 3.
- 59 Wilhelm Westecker, "Der einsame Feldherr. Grabbes Hannibal im Schiller-Theater," Berliner Boersenzeitung (31 March 1941).
- 60 Confront the table of Martin's scenes in this thesis, p.50.
- 61 Cf. my discussion of Martin's adaptation, p.60.
- 62 Paul Fechter, "Grabbes Hannibal. Schillertheater," Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung (31 March 1941).
- 63 Cf. this thesis, p. 52.
- 64 Walter Kaul, "Grabbes Hannibal im Berliner Schillertheater," Der Mittag (2 April 1941).
- 65 Kowalk, Das Raumproblem, p. 189, draws attention to Prusias' portrayal in Berlin 1941 as the circus king. See also this thesis, p. 59.
- 66 See this thesis, p. 51.
- 67 Dietzschmidt, "Hoehepunkt deutscher Schauspielkunst. Heinrich George als Hannibal im Berliner Schiller-Theater," Der Neue Tag (4 April 1941).
- 68 See this thesis, p. 59.
- 69 Der Westen (31 March 1941).
- 70 H. Mau / H. Krausnick, German History 1933 - 1945. An Assessment by German Historians, trans. A. and E. Wilson (London,<sup>6</sup> 1964), p. 107.
- 71 Hannibal was also performed before the public a week before the Festival as a final rehearsal.
- 72 "Sinn und Ziel der Bochumer Grabbe-Woche," Jahrbuch der Grabbe-Gesellschaft 1940, 3 (1940), p. 106.

- 73 D. Schrage, "Saladin Schmitt am Stadttheater Bochum 1919 - 1949" (diss. Wien, 1967), p. 268.
- 74 Grabbe's Lower Saxon origin and predilection for solitary leader figures as his heroes were reiterated.
- 75 Clemens J. Herbermann, "Genie ohne Volk. Hannibal-Tragoedie in der Grabbe-Woche in Bochum," Voelkischer Beobachter (14 July 1941).
- 76 A. Hitler, Mein Kampf, trans. R. Manheim (London, <sup>2</sup>1977), p. 139.
- 77 Voelkischer Beobachter (14 July 1941).
- 78 Kowalk, Das Raumproblem, p. 190.
- 79 Voelkischer Beobachter (14 July 1941).
- 80 Leiser, Nazi Cinema, p. 19.
- 81 To obtain this figure, I have counted Schmitt's 1938 and 1941 productions as one. The cast and theatre were the same. Martin's 1940 and 1941 productions, like those of Pittschau in 1936 and 1941, involved different actors at different theatres and have in each case been counted as separate productions. (See the table of productions for the 1941 Pittschau staging.) Planned performances in Berlin (1936) and Hamburg (1941) do not seem to have eventuated and have been left out of my aggregate.
- 82 Dr Woe, "Hannibal. Von Christian Dietrich Grabbe. Inszenierung von Dr Rolf Roenneke," Oldenburgische Staatszeitung (18 January 1934).
- 83 Alfred Wien, "Das Werk mit den grossen Heerstrassen. Grabbes Hannibal - Inszenierung Dr Rolf Roenneke," Nachrichten fuer Stadt und Land (18 January 1934).
- 84 Paul Lotz, "Grabbe," Essener Volks-Zeitung (11 September 1936), erroneously states that the letter was to the Crown Prince of Prussia, Friedrich Wilhelm IV. The words appeared in a letter to Tieck on 8 March 1923 (WuB, V, 63).
- 85 Cf. W. Ebenstein, The Nazi State (New York/Toronto, 1943), pp. 165-166.
- 86 Bd., "Das Spiel beginnt. Hannibal im Essener Schauspielhaus," Essener Allgemeine Zeitung (18 September 1935). The original version is in WuB, IV, 53.
- 87 See R. Grunberger, A Social History of the Third Reich (Harmondsworth, 1971), p. 466.
- 88 See S. Erckner, Hitler's Conspiracy against Peace, trans. E. Burns (London, 1937), pp. 91 ff..
- 89 The exact date of this production is not known but it is unlikely that it was played later than the Hanover performance on 26 September. Therefore I feel justified in classing it as the first of the 1936 productions.

- 90 See this thesis, p. 29.
- 91 Dr Hermann Mueller, "Schauspielhaus: Hannibal von Christian Dietrich Grabbe. Zum Gedächtnis seines 100. Todestages," Chemnitzer Neueste Nachrichten (14 September 1936). Pittschau's 1941 production can not be discussed since the only surviving information is in the form of photographs with small captions. Gustav Keune played Barkas (acted by Max Kuehne in Chemnitz).
- 92 P.N., "Hannibal - Fuehrer ohne Volk. / Grabbe Erstauffuehrung im Schauspielhaus Hannover," Niedersaechsische Tageszeitung (26/27 September 1936).
- 93 o.r., "Hannovers Anteil an den Grabbe-Feiern. Hannibal im Schauspielhaus," Hannoverscher Anzeiger (27 September 1936).
- 94 Leiser (Nazi Cinema, p. 19), points out that in Nazi films at least audiences are steered towards the desired interpretation of a situation by the use of stereotyped images. Americans, for instance, were often depicted smoking cigars and drinking whisky, and bankers, hoteliers, and newspaper publishers could not be trusted.
- 95 Play-bill.
- 96 W. Winzer, "Staedtische Buehnen, Grosses Haus: Hannibal / Tragoedie von Chr.D. Grabbe. Zum Gedenken an die vor der Feldherrnhalle Gefallenen," Der Allemanne (11 November 1936).
- 97 Schmidt, "Zur Auffuehrung von Grabbes Hannibal im Freiburger Stadttheater am Montag, dem 9. November," Tagespost (8 November 1936). See also Grunberger, A Social History of the Third Reich, p. 472.
- 98 D.W.R., "Staedtische Buehnen -- Grosses Haus: Hannibal / Tragoedie von Chr. D. Grabbe," Freiburger Zeitung (9 November 1936).
- 99 Nazi commentators either ignored or vilified efforts made in the 1920s to stage Grabbe's dramas.
- 100 Fritz Becker, "Der 'neuentdeckte' Grabbe," Buehnenblaetter des Badischen Staatstheaters Karlsruhe, 3 (1936/37), p. 30. (The correct version is in WuB, III, 346 and 336f.. The quotations are cited in this order in the Buehnenblaetter.)
- 101 See this thesis, p. 30.
- 102 Felix Baumbach, "Hannibal. Tragoedie in fuenf Aufzuegen von Christian Dietrich Grabbe," Buehnenblaetter des Badischen Staatstheaters Karlsruhe, 7 (1936/37), p. 66.
- 103 All German producers were required to belong to the Reich Theatre Chamber. See E.K. Bramsted, Goebbels and National Socialist Propaganda 1925 - 1945 (London, 1965), p. 77.
- 104 R., "Grabbes Hannibal," Wiener Zeitung (n.d.).

- 105 ibid.
- 106 N-r., "Hannibal. Burgtheater," Wiener Neueste Nachrichten (10 December 1937).
- 107 Wolfgang Petzet, "Mai 1940," Das Programm. Blaetter der Muenchener Kammerspiele im Schauspielhaus, 9, (1939/40), p. 62.
- 108 See this thesis, p. 50.
- 109 Das Programm. Blaetter der Muenchener Kammerspiele im Schauspielhaus, 9 (1939/40), p. 61.
- 110 See this thesis, p. 62.
- 111 Martin's March, Schmitt's July productions, and Pittschau's 1941 presentation are included in this number.
- 112 Hermann Strenger, "Grabbes Hannibal / Erstauffuehrung im Staatstheater," Wuerttembergische Zeitung (2 May 1941).
- 113 Hermann Werner, "Christian Dietrich Grabbes Hannibal. Erstauffuehrung der Wuertt. Staatstheater," Schwaebischer Merkur (2 May 1941).
- 114 Hermann Dannecker, "Grabbes Hannibal - die Tragoedie eines Einsamen," Stuttgarter N.S. Kurier (3 May 1941).
- 115 See R.E. Herzstein, The War that Hitler won. The Most Infamous Propaganda Campaign in History (New York, 1973), pp. 325 ff..
- 116 ibid., p. 336
- 117 "Hannibal". Stadttheater Aachen, pp. 1-3.
- 118 Herzstein, The War that Hitler won, p. 331.
- 119 Bramsted, Goebbels and National Socialist Propaganda 1925 - 1945, p. 418.
- 120 Franz Achilles, "Der Mann ohne Volk. Grabbes Hannibal," Aachener Anzeiger (18 September 1941).
- 121 ibid.
- 122 J. Wulf, Theater und Film im Dritten Reich. Eine Dokumentation (Guetersloh, 1964), pp. 58-59.
- 123 The two Hamburg Grabbe Days were held from 24 to 28 April 1942 and 30 April to 2 May 1943. Information pertaining to the first one is unavailable and the second consisted of lectures and readings only. They were of minor significance in comparison to those in Detmold and Bochum and will not be discussed in this context.
- 124 The Hannibal productions taken to Detmold were those of Pape (Hanover, 1936), Schmitt (Bochum, 1938), Martin (Berlin, 1941), and Ulbrich (Kassel, 1943). Schmitt's was also staged at his own Grabbe Week in Bochum in 1941.

- 125 Bermann, Deutsche Theaterzeitschrift, III (1910), p. 753, expressed a wish to see a Grabbe Cycle performed on the occasion of the seventy-fifth anniversary of Grabbe's death in September 1911.
- 126 "Plan einer Grabbewoche in Detmold," prepared by Dr H. Hollo, pp. 9-10.
- 127 See this thesis, p. 182.
- 128 "Grabbe-Tage 1937," p. 12.
- 129 Cf. D. Orlow, The History of the Nazi Party. Vol. II. 1933-1945 (Newton Abbot, 1973), pp. 263-264.
- 130 Jahrbuch der Grabbe-Gesellschaft 1940, 3 (Detmold, 1940), p. 25.
- 131 See this thesis, p. 167.
- 132 Don Juan und Faust was published by Kettembeil in 1829, Kaiser Friedrich Barbarossa and Kaiser Heinrich der Sechste in 1829 and 1830 respectively.
- 133 See Grunberger, A Social History of the Third Reich, pp. 472 f..
- 134 See Z.A.B. Zeman, Nazi Propaganda (New York/Toronto, 1964), p. 173.
- 135 Leiser, Nazi Cinema, p. 60.
- 136 Erich Meinhard, "Die Grabbe-Woche -- ein Bekenntnis zum 'Trotzdem!'," Lippische Staatszeitung (31 October, 1943).
- 137 See this thesis, p. 203.
- 138 Johannes Jacobi, "Grabbes Einzug ins Theater. Bochums neuer Versuch mit Hannibal," Rheinische Post (29 September 1950). Klatt-Krieser in the Neue Ruhr-Zeitung (30 September 1950), described Hannibal as a reflection of the remilitarization of Germany taking place at that time. Schalla, though, was not interested in political theatre but in theatre as pure art (see R. Hayman (ed.), The German Theatre. A Symposium (London/New York, 1975), p. 249).
- 139 B. von Wiese, "Christian Dietrich Grabbes Tragoedie Hannibal," Blaetter der Staedtischen Buehne Bochum, 1 (1950/51), p. 1.
- 140 Edmund Pesch, "Das Drama des Nihilismus. Grabbes Hannibal als Bochumer Gastspiel in Hagen," Westfalenpost (4 November 1950). In each of the previous eras discussed, the designation of prophet was applied to Grabbe. See this thesis, pp. 282, 155.
- 141 See P. Schallueck (ed.), Germany. Cultural Developments since 1945 (Munich, 1971), p. 31.
- 142 The revolving stage was used by Juergens (Bremen, 1925), Noller (Essen, 1935), Riedy (Freiburg, 1936), and Martin (Berlin, 1941).
- 143 See this thesis, pp. 161f..

- 144 Rheinische Post (29 September 1950).
- 145 In 1961, Koch staged Scherz, Satire in a German version in Santiago in Chile. Following this, the company went on a tour of fourteen South American countries and performed in the United States.
- 146 WuB, VI, 164. The producers, Waldemar Juergens (Dessau, 1921) and Karl Heinz Martin (Berlin, 1941) also allowed the messenger to be murdered in their presentations.
- 147 Programme.
- 148 One critic, Erich Lissner (Frankfurter Rundschau (7 September 1957) ), described the Cajeta scene negatively.
- 149 In Haufe's production this technique was criticised as disturbing.
- 150 H.D., "Grabbes Hannibal in Heinrich Kochs erregender Inszenierung," Ludwigsburger Kreiszeitung (10 September 1957).
- 151 -eck-, "Einsamer Grabbe - einsamer Hannibal," Freie Presse. Lippisches Volksblatt (21 December 1951).
- 152 Dr. H.G.P., "Vergeistigtes Hannibal-Drama," Lippische Landeszeitung (21 December 1951).
- 153 "Grossartige Dichtung und lebendiges Theater. Grabbes Hannibal auf den Friesacher Burghofspielen in Kaernten," Lippische Landeszeitung (16 August 1958).
- 154 Nieschmidt, Brecht und Grabbe, p. 33.

### Concluding Statements

The results of this investigation of the reception of Grabbe's Hannibal in the German theatre may best be understood by a brief recapitulation of findings which emerge in the exposition and in the two major parts of the study:

1. Grabbe's Hannibal was written in 1834/35 and published in June 1835 in Duesseldorf. In the course of the one hundred and forty years from then until 1975, the drama was republished in eight complete editions, seven collected works, and appeared on three occasions as a separate text. In this way, a broad base for its reception by general readers and literary critics, as well as by the theatre and its public was provided.
2. From 1901 until 1940, five stage adaptations of the Punic drama were also printed, with a view to assisting the theatre to perform the tragedy, and the majority of these adaptations became the basis of at least one theatrical production. In addition, comments and suggestions for staging Hannibal were made in the form of a journal article in 1910. Brecht's fragmentary adaptation of 1922, even if never seen on the stage, provides an interesting example of a productive reception of Grabbe's tragedy by a modern playwright.
3. After an initial recited presentation of Hannibal in 1916, its history in the German theatre began with its premiere in 1918 at the Nationaltheater, Munich. The reception process initiated by this first staging falls into three distinct periods: 1918 to 1932, 1933 to 1945, and 1945 to the present day, and amounted to some forty productions. Each of these phases stands out from the others

by virtue of particular political, ideological, or philosophical factors which acted as a spur to the productions. Between 1918 and 1932, the political and social consequences of the Treaty of Versailles provided a motivation for the presentation of the drama. From 1933 to 1945, it was used as a vehicle for the propagation of National Socialist ideology. After 1945, Hannibal was brought on to the stage for philosophical as well as artistic reasons. In each of the historical periods of the reception of Grabbe's play, two productions may be singled out as having been particularly noteworthy in that they not only reflected the general tendencies of the productions of their time but were played by theatres of great renown and by some of the most famous German actors.

For the time being, the process of the theatrical reception of Grabbe's Hannibal has come to a standstill in Germany but will no doubt be revived at some stage in the theatres of the German-speaking countries.

DOCUMENTATION

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<u>No.</u>	<u>Date of first Performance</u>	<u>City and name of theatre</u>	<u>Producer</u>	<u>Stage painter</u>	<u>Actors and Actresses in sequence:</u> Hannibal, Alitta, Melkir, Hanno, Gisgon, Scipio d.Ae., Scipio d.J., Prusias	<u>Remarks</u>
1	22.11.1916	Dresden Residenz-Theater	Carlo v.d. Ropp	-	Becker, Jauk, Meyer, Roenneke, v.d. Ropp, v.d. Ropp, Roenneke, Meyer	This was a recited portrayal only. Explanation were given by Dr. Rudolf Glaser
2	20.12.1918	Muenchen Nationaltheater (Grosses Haus)	Albert Steinrueck	Emil Pirchan	Steinrueck, Lena, Wohlmuth, Hoefler, Ulmer, Graumann, Janssen, Waldau	
3	31.10.1919	Koeln Vereinigte Stadttheater (Schauspielhaus)	Johannes Tralow	Puetzhofen-Esters	Pfund, Baumbach, Turrian, Diehl, Gode, Froitzheim, Assmann, Goetz	
4	2.2.1920	Breslau Lobe-Theater	Richard Gorter	-	Franck, Remond, Veit, Schybilski, Stein, Schoenwasser, Kulisch, Halpern	
5	15.4.1920	Meiningen Hof- und Landes- theater	Franz Ulbrich	-	Nachbaur, Orelli, Nowack, Homburg, Lerch, Hoffmann- Harold, Dammann, Berger	
6	22.2.1921	Dessau Friedrich-Theater	Waldemar Juergens	-	Mehring, Hartung, Eichhorn, Kroeter, Wahrmann, Goethel, Hoepcker, Kanzenel	

7	6.2.1922	Dortmund Stadttheater	Wilhelm Maurenbrecher	Hans Wildermann	Pittschau, Hilgenstock, Kurth, Binder, Bogenhardt, Schoening, Greving, Schoening
8	4.11.1922	Frankfurt/M Schauspielhaus	Johannes Tralow	Ludwig Sievert	Feist, Sagan, Spanier, Luley, Engels, Baumann, Andersen, Odemar
9	11.4.1923	Hannover Staetdtisches Opern- und Schauspielhaus	Rolf Roenneke	-	Teschendorf, Heine, Geissler, Reimer, Gaede, Reichert, Grueters, Reimer
10	May 1925	Bremen Stadttheater	Waldemar Juergens	-	Gruen, Falken, Gerlach, Thomass, Weingaertner, Troendle, Orlemann, Kastner
11	June 1925	Duesseldorf Stadttheater	Muench	Schlonski	Malkowsky, -, -, -, Balser, -, -, Brand
12	17.10.1925	Berlin Staatliches Schauspielhaus	Leopold Jessner	Sigfrid Sebba	Krauss, Straub, Florath, Trutz, Hart, Keune, Ebert, Faber
13	18.11.1925	Baden-Baden Staetdtische Schauspiele (Grosse Buehne)	Hans Waag	Heinz Porep	Lindikoff, Reinhardt, Rube, Paulsen, Derzbach, Hermes, Rieber, Schmack
14	6.1.1927	Kiel Stadttheater	Alfred Stoeger	F.X. Scherl	Wandrey, Mueller-Stempel, Peter, Nissen, Kuntze, Stroeh, Schwuerenberg, Danza

15	27.1.1934	Oldenburg Landestheater	Rolf Roenneke	Erich Doehler	Nissl, Daun, Braun, Diedrich, Kolander, Rohne, Becker, Sellner	
16	17.9.1935	Essen Die Buehnen der Stadt Essen (Schauspielhaus)	Alfred Noller	Rochus Gliese	Klietsch, Pierenkaemper, Czimeg, Schirlitz, Recknitz, Stoevesand, Krampen, Frees	
17	Sept. 1936	Chemnitz Schauspielhaus	Walter Pittschau	Felix Loch	Eisenlohr, Behrens, Freiberg, Mayerhoff, Bernhardt, Wehrle, Kreuzinger, Wehrle	
18	25.9.1936	Hannover Staedtische Buehnen (Schauspielhaus)	Alfons Pape	Friedrich Kranich	Becker, Willi, Elgeti, du Menil, Herbach, Lukschy, Fuchs, Rudolph	
19	30.9.1936	Detmold Landestheater	Alfons Pape	Kurt Soehnlein	Becker, Willi, Elgeti, du Menil, Herbach, Lukschy, Fuchs, Rudolph	Guest performance of the Hanover theatre
20	9.11.1936	Freiburg i.Br. Staedtische Buehnen (Grosses Haus)	Paul Riedy	Toni Steinberger	Buckwitz, Leuze, Kallenberger, Becker, Engels, Bluehm, Schmiedel, Riedy	
21	12.12.1936	Karlsruhe Badisches Staatstheater	Felix Baumbach	Hans-Gerhard Zircher	Hierl, Paust, v.d.Trenck, Momber, Dahlen, Ehret, Friedrich, Michels	

22	Dec.1937	Wien Wiener Burgtheater	Adolf Rott (as guest)	Emil Pirchan	Balser, Stepanek, Siebert, Reimers, Kraus, Herterich, Woester, Aslan	
23	19.7.1938	Bochum Stadttheater	Saladin Schmitt	Johannes Schroeder	Meinecke, Baluschek, Schroeder, Bartz, Kaltheuner, Busch, Mahnert, Grimm	This was taken to the 1938 Grabbe Week for a per- formance on 14 Oct. 1938
24	25.5.1940	Muenchen Muenchener Kammer- spiele im Schauspielhaus	Karl Heinz Martin (as guest)	Eduard Sturm	Domin, Nicklisch, Voelger, Menhardt, Sauer, Fiedler, Ponto, Wery	The adaptation of <u>Hannibal</u> by Arthur Mueller was to be used but he was drafted before he could complete it. Martin's was then adopted
25	3.11.1940	Darmstadt Hessisches Landestheater (Grosses Haus)	Jochen Poelzig	Max Fritzsche	Kandels, Dietrich, Sladek, Gehre, Engels, Held, Segler, Held	
26	9.12.1940	Wuerzburg Stadttheater	Carl Max Haas	Ernst Meissner	Bernhardt (as guest), Nau, Clemens, Brandt, Neuwirth, Klugt, Kruse, Scharwenka	
27	1941	Potsdam	Walter Pittschau	-	Pittschau, -, -, -, -, -, -, -	There are only two stage photos of the actual performance which was described as part of a Grabbe- Celebration held in the

						Schauspielhaus. No other documen- tation is available
28	29.3.1941	Berlin Schiller- Theater	Karl Heinz Martin	Josef Fenneker	George, Terno, Stahl- Nachbaur, Legal, Caspar, Kluesner, Clausen, Kemp	
29	30.4.1941	Stuttgart Wuerttembergische Staatstheater (Kleines Haus)	Heinz Haufe	Felix Cziossek	Geisler, Ebert, Brand, Haffner, Rassaerts, Koempel- Pilot, Schneider, Herbe	
30	12.7.1941	Bochum Staedtische Buehnen	Saladin Schmitt	Johannes Schroeder	Meinecke, Hoeter, Schroeder, Hinze, Kaltheuner, Busch, Mahnert, Grimm	This was part of the 1941 Grabbe Week in Bochum
31	17.9.1941	Aachen Stadttheater	Hans Schalla	Fritz Riedl	Wildberg, Hiddemann, Guenthermann, Loeptin, Schneider, Weiland, Schalla, Haars	
32	Oct. 1941	Detmold Lippisches Landestheater	Karl Heinz Martin	Josef Fenneker	George, Terno, Stahl- Nachbaur, Legal, Caspar, Kluesner, Clausen, Suessenguth	This was brought to Detmold as a guest production for the Detmold 1941 Grabbe Week
33	15.9.1942	Prag Deutsche Theater in Prag Staendetheater (Deutsches Schauspielhaus)	Fritz Remond	Frank Schultes	Reif, Bothmer, Mittelhaus, v. Xylander, Klevenow, de Maal, Bennet, Remond	

34	18.2.1943	Reval Vaeiketeater (Toeoelisteater) Kleintheater (Arbeitertheater)	Enn Toona	Wold. Peil (as guest)	Soeoedor, Wiisimaa, Maegi, Falk, Ots, Parwe, Maegi, Teetsow	This was played in the Estonian language
35	6.6.1943	Kassel Preussisches Staatstheater	Franz Ulbrich	Friedrich Kalbfuss	Jung, Scharland, Hanschmann, Ebhardt, Mathias, Reichert, Segler, Randt	
36	11.12.1943	Detmold Lippisches Landestheater	Franz Ulbrich	Friedrich Kalbfuss	Jung, Scharland, Hanschmann, Ebhardt, Mathias, Reichert, Segler, Randt	This was planned to take place in October during the Grabbe Week but because of damage done to the theatre in Kassel during a bombing raid, it had to be post- poned until December
37	9.6.1944	Reichenberg Theater der Gau- hauptstadt Reichenberg (Grosse Buehne)	Walter Heidrich	Manfred Miller	Kottenkamp (as guest), Thomas, Meierhoefer, Kittel, Hellmann, Schwarz, Stoevesand (as guest), Steegen	
38	Season 1950/ 1951	Bochum Staedtische Buehne	Hans Schalla	Walter Gondolf	Schieske, Schultz, Probst, Kaltheuner, Messemer, Grimm, Hofer, Rebel	

-39	19.12.1951	Detmold Lippisches Landestheater	Gillis van Rappard	E.W. Sautter	Rathmann, Brams, Hartung, Beron, Boehnert, Krumm, Groth, Born	Played in recog- nition of the 150th anniversary of Grabbe's birthday
40	July 1957	Detmold Hotel "Stadt Frankfurt"	Kurt Tripp H-W. Nieschmidt	-		This was underta- ken by pupils of the Helmholtz- Gymnasium in Bielefeld for the Grabbe Society
41	Sept. 1957	Frankfurt/M Staedtische Buehnen	Heinrich Koch	Ekkehard Gruebler	Zeidler, Fischer, Steiner, Koettenich, Georg, Relin, Kerky, Schirlitz	
42	28.6.1958	Friesach (Oesterreich) Laienspielbuehne)	-	-	Sandler, -, -, -, -, -, -, -	This play opened the "Burghofspie- le" which took place from 28 June till 24 August

# NATIONAL-THEATER

## GROSSES HAUS

MÜNCHEN, FREITAG DEN 20. DEZEMBER 1918

51. statt 50. Vorstellung der Platzmiete in Abt. IV

Uraufführung:

# HANNIBAL

EINE TRAGÖDIE IN FÜNF AKTEN VON CHRISTIAN DIETRICH GRABBE

LEITER DER AUFFÜHRUNG: HERR STEINRÜCK

### DIE KARTHAGER:

BARKAS	Herr Jacobi
HANNIBAL, sein Enkel	Herr Steinrück
ALITTA, seine Enkelin	Frl. Lena
BRASIDAS, deren Geliebter	Herr Heinrich
TURNU, ein Negerhäuptling	Herr Stieler
GISGON	Herr Illmer
MELKIR } Männer des Synedrions	{ Herr Wohlmuth
HANNO	Herr Höfer
SKLAVENHÄNDLER	Herr Stettner
ERSTER } ZIERBENGEL	{ Herr Carey
ZWEITER	Herr Wellenberg
KAUFHERR	Herr Esseg
ALTER MANN	Herr Lanz
SIEGESBOTE von Cannä	Herr Gehring
ZOLLBEDIENTER	Herr Haller
SCHEICH	Herr Delcroix
BOTE DES SYNEDRIONS	Herr Haller
BOTE HAZDRUBALS	Herr Florath
NUMIDIER	Herr Haller
SOLDAT	Herr Baer
GESANDTER des Synedrions	Herr Trautsch
DIENER des Melkir	Herr Ibelher
HAUPTMANN UND HEROLD	Herr Geldern
DER FRIEDENSVERMITTLER	Herr Hirrlinger
DER PFÖRTNER CARTHAGOS	Herr Basil
DESSEN KNABE	Frl. Neuhoff
DAS WEIB mit dem Kinde	Frl. Hohorst
ERSTER } PRIESTER	{ Herr Geldern
ZWEITER	Herr Esseg
DER SKLAVE HANNIBALS	Herr Florath

### DIE RÖMER:

CONSUL	Herr Schröder
PRÄTOR	Herr Geldern
SENATOR	Herr Trautsch
LICTOR	Herr Schmidt
TRIBUN	Herr Kunz
CATO CENSOR	Herr Gura
SCIPIO der Ältere	Herr Graumann
SCIPIO der Jüngere	Herr Janssen
TERENZ, ein Dichter	Herr Benofsky
ALLOCHLIN, Celtiberierfürst	Herr Lohfing
DESSEN BRAUT	Frl. Pricker
EIN CELTIBERIER	Herr Nadler
DESOT VON CAPUA	Herr Gura
ERSTER } Bürger von Capua	{ Herr Stettner
ZWEITER	Herr Müller
GREIS DER WINZER	Herr Hildebrand
JUNGLING	Herr Menhart
ERSTES } MÄDCHEN	{ Frl. Schmidtbauer
ZWEITES	Herr Krüger
EIN ATELLAN	Herr Carey
EIN TANZENDER SATYR	Herr Wellenberg
VERKLEIDETER RÖMER	Herr Jacobi
GESANDTER ROMS	Herr Lützenkirchen
FLAMMINUS	Herr Gehring

### DIE UM PRUSIAS:

PRUSIAS	Herr Waldau
HÖFLING	Herr Lohfing
PROVESTIAR	Herr Delcroix
LEIBPAGE	Frl. Schmidbauer
MALER	Herr Flatau

Karthager, Karthagerinnen, Marktfrauen, Sklaven, Senatoren, Tribunen, Liktoren, römische Soldaten, Celtibrier, Satyren, Nymphen, Winzer, Priester, Hölige usw.

Dekorationen, Kostüme und Requisiten von Herrn Pirchan.

Technische Leitung: Herr Lothar Weber.

Die neuen Dekorationen sind ausgeführt in den Werkstätten der National-Theater.

Nach dem zweiten und vierten Aufzug findet je eine längere Pause statt.

ABENDKASSE ab 6 Uhr

ANFANG 6<sup>11</sup>/<sub>12</sub> UHR

ENDE gegen 10 Uhr

„DER ZWISCHENAKT“ Blätter der National-Theater. Nr. 1 zu HANNIBAL Preis 30 Pf. an der Kasse.

Table 3



# St a a t s - T h e a t e r

## Schauspielhaus

Berlin, Freitag, den 23. Oktober 1925.  
235. Abonnements-Vorstellung.

# Hannibal

Tragödie von Christian Dietrich Grabbe.  
Bearbeitet und in Szene gesetzt von Leopold Jessner.

Hannibal . . . . .	Werner Krauß
Der alte Barkas . . . . .	Fritz Valk
Alitta . . . . .	Agnes Straub
Brasidas . . . . .	Otto Laubinger
Melkir . . . . .	Albert Florath
Hanno . . . . .	Wolf Trutz
Gisgon . . . . .	Ferdinand Hart
Turnu . . . . .	Gad Shelaso
Gesandter . . . . .	Arthur Menzel
Hauptmann . . . . .	Veit Harlan
Mutter . . . . .	Elsa Wagner
Scheich . . . . .	Otto Mannstädt
Sklavenhändler . . . . .	Arthur Menzel
Bote . . . . .	Alexander Kökert
Karthagerin . . . . .	Helene Uebermuth
Alter Mann . . . . .	Hermann Leffler
Sterbender . . . . .	Toni Zimmerer
Marktweiber . . . . .	Hanna Hoff, Helene Wagenbreth
Konsul . . . . .	Arthur Kraußneck
Cato Censor . . . . .	Heinrich Witte

Fortsetzung des Programms auf der nächsten Seite.

### Fortsetzung des Programms.

Scipio, der Aeltere . . . . .	Gustav Keune
Scipio, der Jüngere . . . . .	Carl Ebert
Terenz . . . . .	Hans Jüngst
Fabius Maximus . . . . .	Leopold von Ledebur
Reiterfeldherr . . . . .	Ernst Keppler
1. Gesandter . . . . .	Georg Paeschke
2. Gesandter . . . . .	Hans Jüngst
Prätor Titus Flaminius . . . . .	Heinrich Witte

Fürst Allochin . . . . .	Max Schreck
Seine Braut . . . . .	Elsa Ehser
Ullos Sohn . . . . .	Walter Werner
Gefangener . . . . .	Robert Staerk
Gefangenes Weib . . . . .	Marla Faber du Four
Numidier . . . . .	Hans Eggarter
Winzergreis . . . . .	Erich Dunskus
Winzermädchen . . . . .	Edith Wilhelmi

König Prusias . . . . .	Erwin Faber
Protovestarios . . . . .	Reinhold Köstlin
Höfling . . . . .	Anton Loerding
Maler . . . . .	Wilhelm Krüger
Sklave . . . . .	Ernst Keppler

Bühnenbild: Sigfrid Sebba. — Musik: Herbert Windt.

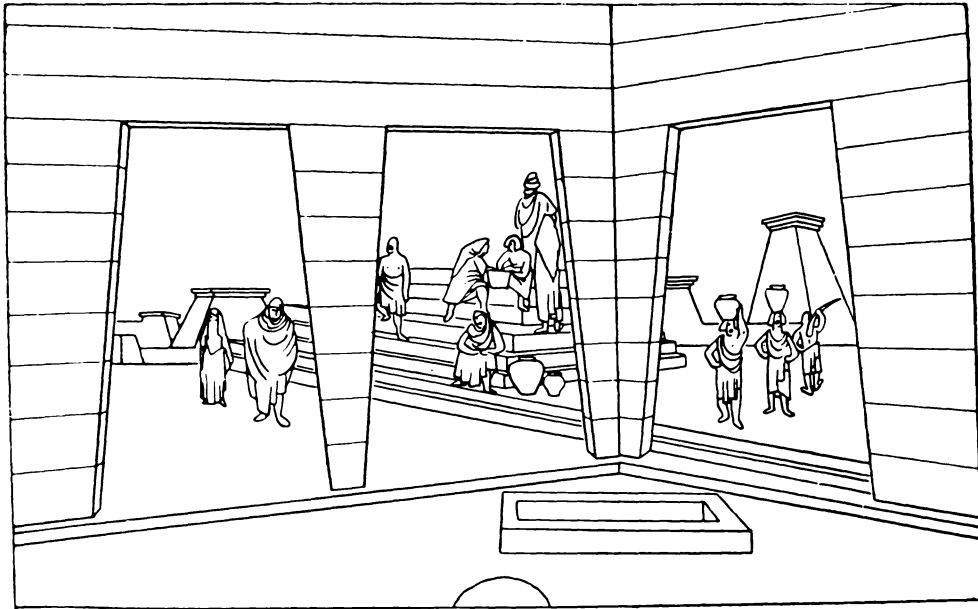
Nach dem 9. Bild (Abschied von Italien) 15 Minuten Pause.

Schriftliche Anfragen ohne Portoeinlage bleiben unbeantwortet.

### Wochenspielplan.

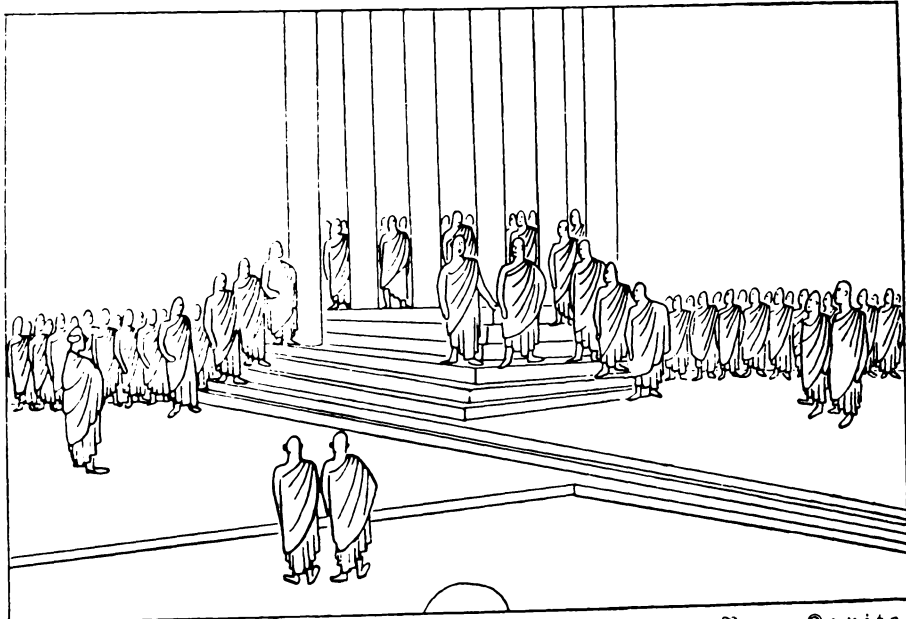
24. Okt.: 236. Abonnements-Vorstellung.	<b>Hannibal.</b>	Anfang 8 Uhr.
25. . . . . 237. . . . .	<b>Hannibal.</b>	Anfang 8 Uhr.
26. . . . . 238. . . . .	<b>Hannibal.</b>	Anfang 8 Uhr.

Anfang 8 Uhr. Ende gegen 11 Uhr. Die Kasse wird um 7 Uhr geöffnet



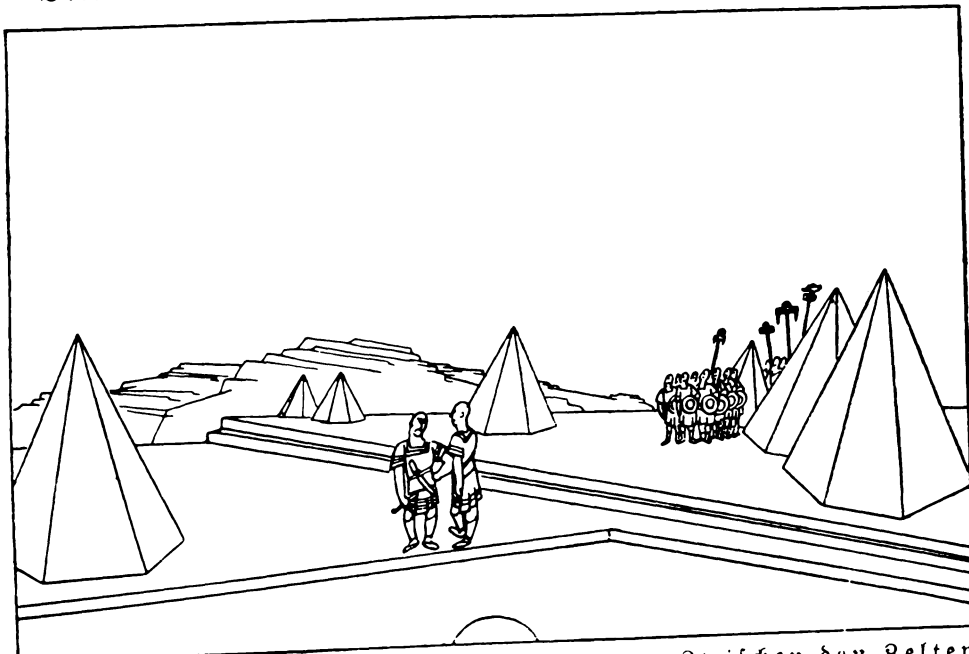
Erstes Bild

Karthago



Drittes Bild

Rom. Kapitol



Zwölftes Bild

Zwischen den Belten

# HANNIBAL

Tragödie in neunzehn Bildern von Christian Dietrich Grabbe

Spielleitung und Bühneneinrichtung: Karl Heinz Martin

Bühnenbilder und Kostüme: Josef Fenneker

Musik: Ludwig Fischer-Schwaner / Musikalische Leitung: Helmut Frank

## KARTHAGER:

Hannibal	Heinrich George	
Gisgo	die „Dreimänner“ des Karthagischen Rates	Horst Caspar
Hanno		Ernst Legal
Melkir		Ernst Stahl-Nachbau
Brasidas	Will Quadtlieg	
Barkas, Hannibals Großvater	Eduard von Winterstein	
Alitta, seine Urenkelin	Gerda Maria Terno	
Turnu, ein Negerhauptmann	Karl Meixner	
Erster Bürger	Hans Stiebner	
Zweiter Bürger	Helmut Weiß	
Bote des Karthagischen Rates	Werner Völger	
Alter Sklave	des Gisgo	Hans Herrmann Schaufuß
Junger Sklave		Hans Heßling
Hausmeister im Palast des Gisgo	Paul Rehkopf	
Sklavenhändler	Knut Hartwig	
Erster „Unsterblicher“	Helmut Weiß	
Zweiter „Unsterblicher“	Erwin Aderhold	

Krieger Hannibals, Sklaven und Sklavinnen

## RÖMER:

Scipio der Jüngere	Claus Clausen
Scipio der Ältere	Karl Klüsner
Erster Konsul	Lothar Koerner
Zweiter Konsul	Georg Hoffmann-Philipp
Cato, der Zensor	Artur Malkowsky
Fabius Maximus	Ludwig Andersen
Titus Flamininus	Wolfgang Lukschy
Gesandter Roms	Herwart Grosse
Hauptmann	Fritz Schröder-Jahn
Terenz, Lustspieldichter	Hans Halden
Liktor	Otto Rubahn
Verkleideter Römer	Werner Scharf
Keltiberischer Krieger	Hans Meyer-Hanno
Gefangener aus Numantia	Paul Rehkopf
Greis aus Cajeta	Hans Sternberg
Mädchen aus Cajeta	Elisabeth Scherer

Senatoren, römische Krieger, Winzer und Winzerinnen,  
Gefangene aus Numantia, Gefangene Keltiberier

## HOF DES PRUSIAS:

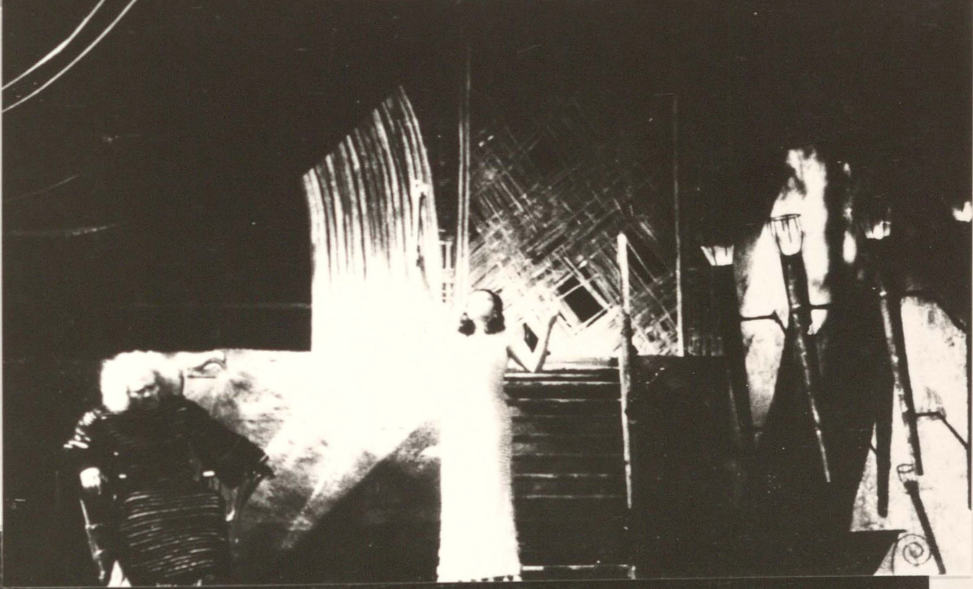
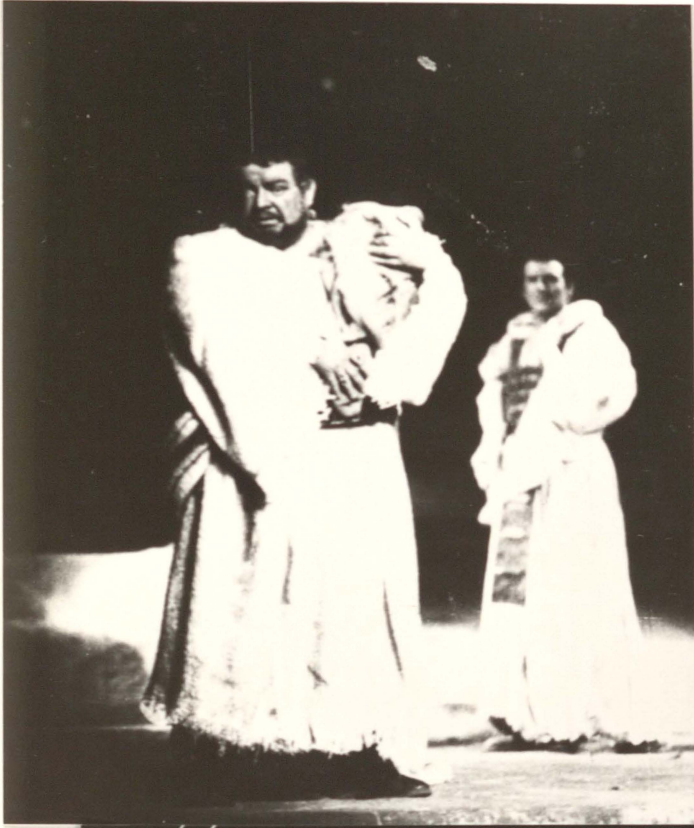
König Prusias	Paul Kemp
Höflinge des Königs	Albert Stumpf, Helmut Weiß
Sklave des Königs	Werner Kepich

Musikanten, Maler, Schreiber

Pause nach dem elften Bild

Der Neo-Bechstein-Flügel ist aus dem Stammhaus Berlin N 4, Johannisstraße 6

Table 7



7. ABEND

# Hannibal

Tragödie in 28 Bildern

Spielleitung: Prof. Dr. S. Schmitt – Kostümentwürfe: Ernst Lemperle

<b>1. Bild: Bei Alitta</b> Alitta Brasidas	Gisela Hoeter Geert Brüdern	
<b>2. Bild: Marktplatz</b> 1. Ausrufer 2. Ausrufer Marktweib 1 Marktweib 2 Marktweib 3 Ein Markjtunge Ein Karthager 1. junger Karthager 2. junger Karthager Ein Bote Der Scheich Der Zollbediente	Paul Gerlach Hans Dieter Schobermayr Charlotte Fraedrich Magda Reichardt Liesel Alex Hans-Günther Cornelius John Schmidt Ein Weib Willi Bitttern Fritz Siemers Herbert Bendey Willy Mayenknecht Alfons Höckmann	
<b>3. Bild: Kabinett bei Hanno</b> Melkir Hanno Gisgon	Willi Schröder Heinz Hinze Walter Kaltheuner	
<b>4. Bild: Rom</b> 1. Konsul Prätor 2. Konsul Cato Zensor Adil Scipio der Jüngere Scipio der Ältere	Hans-Helmuth Koch Heinz Holthuyesen Sieg hart Vollerthun Wilhelm Grimm Willi Fleer Friedrich Mahnert Willi Busch	
<b>5. Bild: Vor Rom</b> Hannibal Turnu Ein Bote	Hannibal Turnu Ein Bote	Gerhard Meinecke Alfred Schieske als Gast Willi Bitttern
<b>6. Bild: Ruinen Numanties</b> Terenz Scipio der Jüngere Scipio der Ältere Ein Gefangener Ein Weib Ein Knabe Adil Allochlin Begleiter Allochlin Allochlin's Braut Ein Celtiberier Ein Liktor	Terenz Scipio der Jüngere Scipio der Ältere Ein Gefangener Ein Weib Ein Knabe Adil Allochlin Begleiter Allochlin Allochlin's Braut Ein Celtiberier Ein Liktor	Viktor Ahlers Friedrich Mahnert Willi Busch Kurt Oligmüller Gisela Harke Karl Nußbaum Willi Fleer Paul Gerlach Hans Dieter Schobermayr Sigrid Seyler Adolf Schneider Alfons Höckmann
<b>7. Bild: Capua, Saal bei Hannibal</b> Hannibal Brasidas Ein Bote	Hannibal Brasidas Ein Bote	Gerhard Meinecke Geert Brüdern Fritz Siemers
<b>8. Bild: Straße in Kapua</b> 1. Bürger 2. Bürger Der Despot der Stadt	1. Bürger 2. Bürger Der Despot der Stadt	Heinz Holthuyesen Willi Pelsler Franz Rehfeldt

<b>9. Bild: Tal bei Casilinum</b> Hannibal Brasidas Turnu	Gerhard Meinecke Geert Brüdern Alfred Schieske als Gast	Allochlin Ein Leichtbewaffneter Brasidas Ein Celtiberier	Paul Gerlach Karl Nußbaum Geert Brüdern Adolf Schneider
<b>10. Bild: Engpaß bei Casilinum</b> Fabius Maximus Reiterfeldherr Ein Flamen	Hans-Helmuth Koch Sieg hart Vollerthun Hans-Günther Cornelius		Gerhard Meinecke Friedrich Mahnert
<b>11. Bild: Weinlese bei Cajeta</b> 1. Winzer 2. Winzer 1. Winzerin 2. Winzerin Ein Greis Ein Atellan Ein Reiter Hannibal Der junge Punier Ein verkleideter Römer Turnu	Willy Mayenknecht Karl Nußbaum Anneliese Römer Gisela Harke Willy Mayenknecht Herbert Bendey Fritz Siemers Gerhard Meinecke Geert Brüdern Sieg hart Vollerthun Alfred Schieske als Gast		Willi Schröder Walter Kaltheuner Heinz Hinze Heinz Holthuyesen Alfred Lehmbrock Herbert Bendey Alexander Richter Curt Oligmüller, Willi Pelsler, Karl Nußbaum, Alfons Höckmann, Willi Fleer, Hans Dieter Schobermayr, Fritz Siemers, Hans-Günther Cornelius, Becker
	Tänzer, Winzer, Winzerinnen		
<b>12. Bild: Kapua, im Schlosse des Despoten</b> Despot 1. Sklave 2. Sklave	Franz Rehfeldt Alfons Höckmann Hans Dieter Schobermayr		
<b>13. Bild: Vor Kapuas Nordtor</b> Hannibal Ein Sklave Brasidas	Gerhard Meinecke Paul Gerlach Geert Brüdern		
<b>14. Bild: Kastanienwald</b> Hannibal	Gerhard Meinecke		
	Stimmen der Flottenoffiziere		
<b>15. Bild: Am Gestade</b> Brasidas 1. Gesandter 2. Gesandter Hannibal	Geert Brüdern Willi Bitttern Fritz Siemers Gerhard Meinecke		
<b>16. Bild: Verdeckt des Hauptschiffes</b> Brasidas Hannibal Turnu	Geert Brüdern Gerhard Meinecke Alfred Schieske als Gast		
<b>17. Bild: Karthago, Gemach bei Melkir</b> Hanno Gisgon Ein Hauptmann Hannibals Ein Diener	Willi Schröder Heinz Hinze Walter Kaltheuner Herbert Bendey Alfons Höckmann		
<b>18. Bild: Marktplatz in Karthago</b> Marktjtunge 1. Mann Ein Marktweib Ein Hauptmann	Alfred Lehmbrock John Schmidt Charlotte Fraedrich Herbert Bendey		
<b>19. Bild: Halle bei Barkas</b> Barkas Alitta Brasidas Hannibal	Ernst Holznagel Gisela Hoeter Geert Brüdern Gerhard Meinecke		
<b>20. Bild: Bei Zama</b> Scipio der Ältere Scipio der Jüngere	Willi Busch Friedrich Mahnert		
<b>21. Bild: Ebene zwischen beiden Heeren</b> Hannibal Scipio der Jüngere			Gerhard Meinecke Friedrich Mahnert
<b>22. Bild: Warte über einem Haupttor Karthagos</b> Melkir Gisgon Hanno Pfortner Knabe Krieger			Willi Schröder Walter Kaltheuner Heinz Hinze Heinz Holthuyesen Alfred Lehmbrock Herbert Bendey Alexander Richter
Verwundete			Curt Oligmüller, Willi Pelsler, Karl Nußbaum, Alfons Höckmann, Willi Fleer, Hans Dieter Schobermayr, Fritz Siemers, Hans-Günther Cornelius, Becker
<b>23. Bild: Karthago, vor dem Moloch</b> Ein Weib Priester Melkir Gisgon Hanno Ein Krieger Ein Gesandter 1. Volksführer			Gisela Harke Willy Mayenknecht Willi Schröder Walter Kaltheuner Heinz Hinze Herbert Bendey Sieg hart Vollerthun Franz Rehfeldt
<b>24. Bild: Saal bei Gisgon</b> Ein Sklave Der Gesandte Gisgon Hanno 2. Gesandter			Alfons Höckmann Sieg hart Vollerthun Walter Kaltheuner Heinz Hinze Willi Refj
<b>25. Bild: Thronsaal bei Prusias</b> Prusias Ein Höfling Oberbekleider Hannibal Ein Maler			Wilhelm Grimm Franz Rehfeldt Adolf Schneider Gerhard Meinecke Hans-Günther Cornelius
<b>26. Bild: Karthago, Halle bei Barkas</b> Barkas Alitta Turnu			Ernst Holznagel Gisela Hoeter Alfred Schieske als Gast
<b>27. Bild: Zimmer bei Prusias</b> Prusias Höfling Flamininus			Wilhelm Grimm Franz Rehfeldt Alexander Richter
<b>28. Bild: Zimmer bei Hannibal</b> Hannibal Turnu Ein Sklave Prusias Flamininus Höfling			Gerhard Meinecke Alfred Schieske als Gast Alfred Lehmbrock Wilhelm Grimm Alexander Richter Franz Rehfeldt

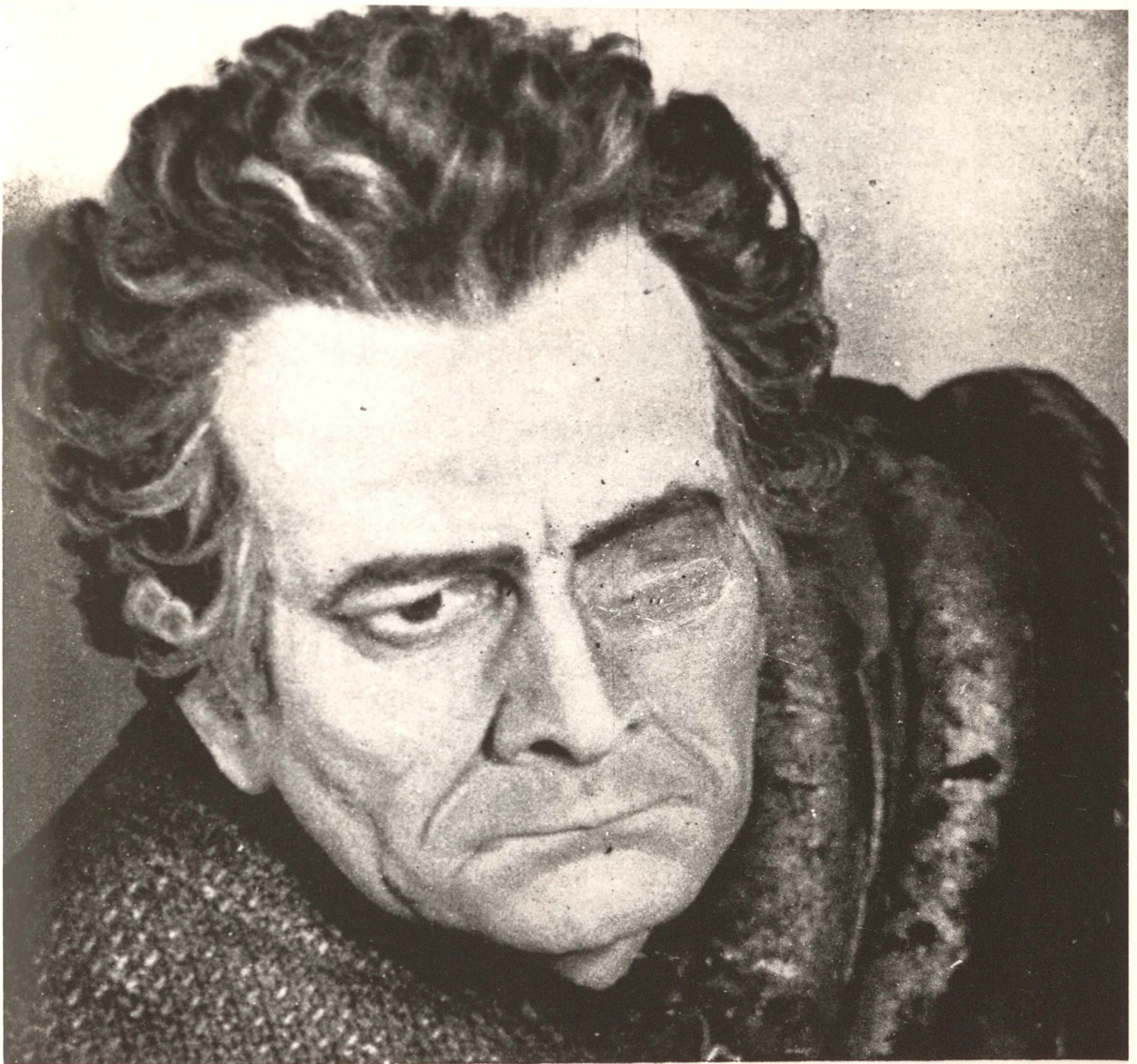
Spielwart: Julius Schweitzer

Pause nach dem 12. Bild

Anfang: 19 Uhr

Ende: 22,15 Uhr

Table 9



Hannibal

Gerhard Meinecke in der Titelrolle

Table 10

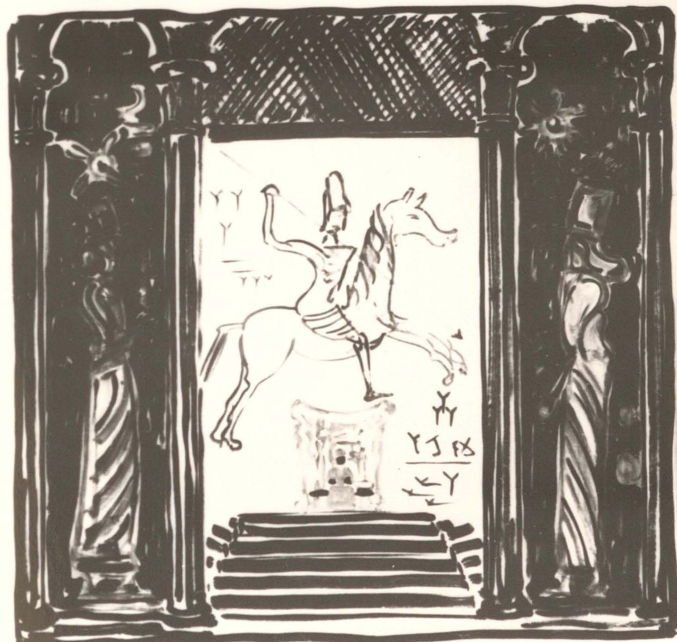
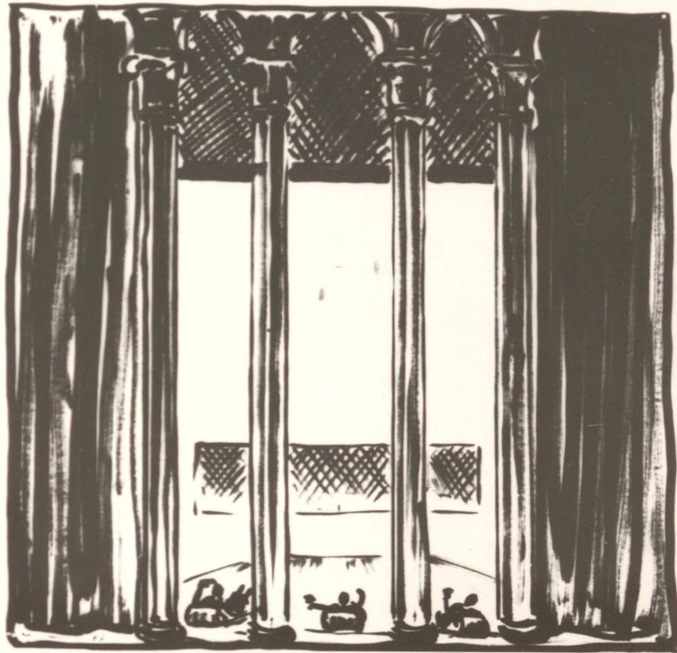


Table 11

DIE BUEHNE DER STADT BOCHUM

HANNIBAL

Spielzeit 1950/51

Inszenierung: Hans Schalla

Buehnenbild : Walter Gondolf

Kostueme : Therese van Treeck

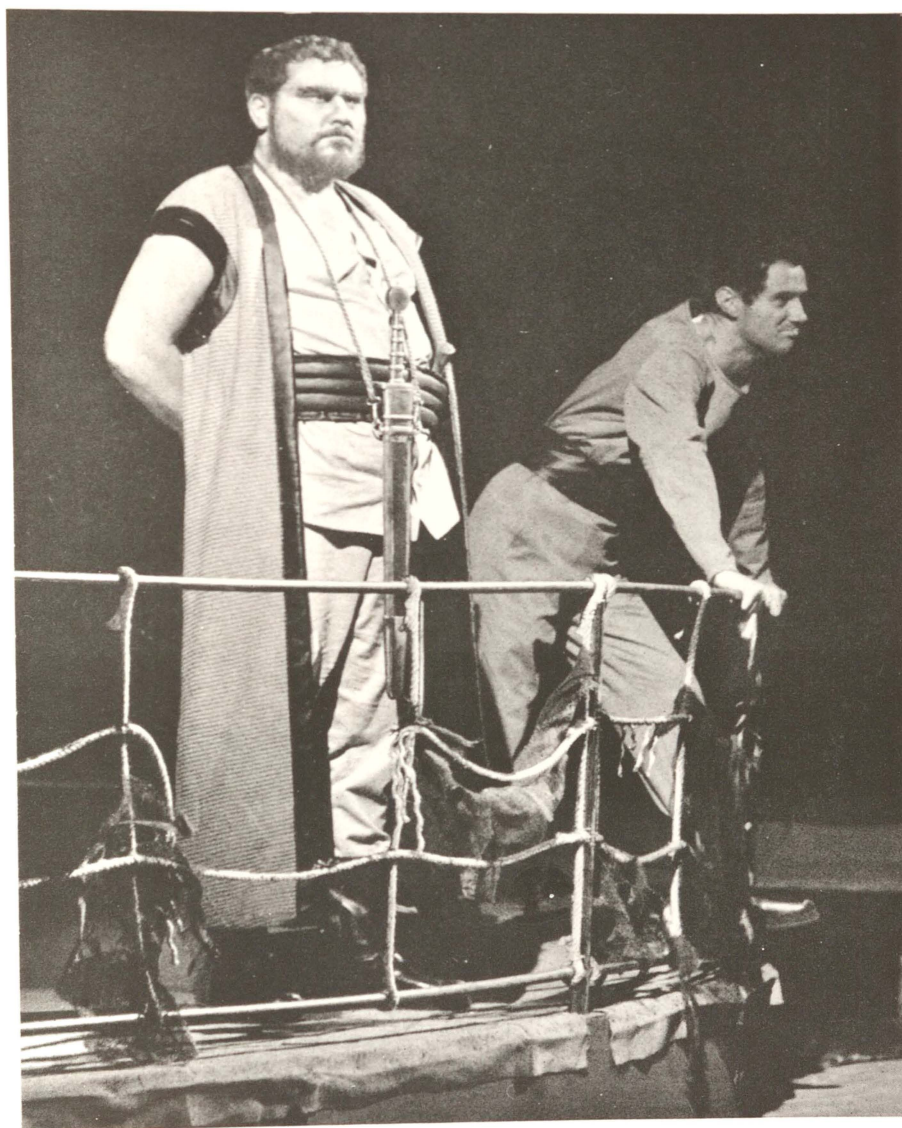
Buehnenmusik: Emil Peeters

Hannibal .....	Schieske
Turnu .....	Kleist
Brasidas .....	Kepich
Alitta .....	Schultz
Barkas .....	Lindemann
Melkir .....	Probst
Hanno .....	Kaltheuner
Gisgon .....	Messemer
Scipio der Juengere .....	Hofer
Scipio der Aeltere .....	Grimm
Terenz .....	Lossen
Bacchus .....	Schlosze
Nymphe .....	Rothe
Pfoertner .....	Schlosze
Knabe .....	Schlese
Prusias .....	Rebel
Protovestiar .....	Rothe
Flaminius, ein Praetor Roms .....	May

Table 12



Table 13



Christian Dietrich Grabbe

**HANNIBAL**

Inszenierung Heinrich Koch

Bühnenbild und Kostüme

Ekkehard Grübler

Musik

Enno Dugend

Hannibal Zeidler

Turnu Rouvel

Brasidas Mandel

Alitta Fischer

Barkas Luley

Melkir Steiner

Hanno Koettenich

Gisgon Georg

Despot von Kapua Dommisch

Scipio der Jüngere Rglin

Scipio der Ältere Kerky

Fabius Maximus Lohkamp

Terenz Troxbömker

Pförtner Wageck

Sein Knabe Berndt

Prusias Schirlitz

Protovestiarios Mensching

Karthagisches Weib

Anagnostopoulos

Winzermädchen Ullerich

In weiteren Rollen:

Bahmann · Benofsky

Beuckelmann · Boltze · Braun

Bülow · Dennechaud

Doddenhof · Eubell · Hofmann

Kaus · Knur · Matschuck

Müller · Pohle · Schildkraut

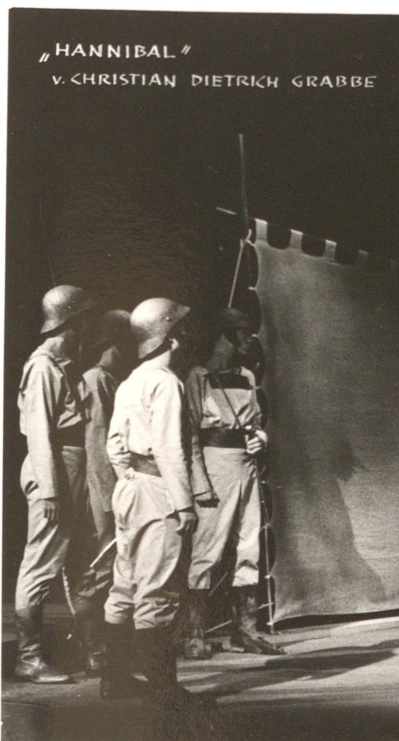
Serchinger · Staudenmeyer

Tobien · Windhorst

Hans Dieter Zeidler

Edgar Mandel

Table 14



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