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DIE RUNDKÖPFE UND DIE SPITZKÖPFE oder  
REICH UND REICH GESELLT SICH GERN Ein  
Greuelmärchen: An Analysis of Bertolt  
Brecht's Creative Reception of William  
Shakespeare's Measure for Measure

A thesis  
submitted in fulfilment  
of the requirements for the Degree  
of  
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by  
Donald Brett Douglas

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## Abstract

This study is an analysis of the creative reception of William Shakespeare's Measure for Measure by Bertolt Brecht, whose parable Die Rundköpfe und die Spitzköpfe represents the fruit of this literary relationship.

Before the investigation of the reception process itself could be undertaken, an interpretation of the model, Measure for Measure, was required. This evolved on the basis of critical commentaries furnished by Shakespearean scholars.

The thesis is divided into three major parts, each of which corresponds to a chronological stage of the reception process. The discussion of Measure for Measure and of Brecht's initial creative response to the Shakespearean original, the fragmentary "Vienna" version, reconstructed by reference to extant plans and archive material, comprises the first part. Part Two commences with an examination of the first of seventeen complete versions deriving in varying degree from Measure for Measure (BBA 253) and concludes with an analysis of the play as contained in the Versuche series, finished shortly before Hitler's rise to power but not published until 1959. In the final part of the thesis, BBA 257, the first manuscript produced in Danish exile, and the Endfassung, published in the twenty volume Gesammelte Werke by Suhrkamp, are submitted to critical exegesis.

Individual analyses, both of the Shakespearean model and of Brechtian manuscripts and published texts, involve all aspects of the drama, not only plot, language and *dramatis personae*, but also form, theme and structure. The attempt was made to complement this approach by the inclusion of other pertinent or interesting material, such as work-plans, notes and the contributions proffered by individuals like

Ludwig Berger and Hans Hermann Borchardt. The adopted methodology favoured an investigation of the development by Brecht of key Shakespearean motifs.

The three stages of the reception process are distinguishable not only chronologically, but also by virtue of the particular orientation inherent in them. The first phase is overwhelmingly polemical in nature: Brecht, disillusioned by the Elizabethan drama because of its anachronistic political tendencies, attacks the moral world Shakespeare portrays in Measure for Measure. He achieves this mainly by supplying certain actions with a materialist motivation and by allowing figures to mock moral considerations. The Vienna-version is a parody, therefore, and also contains satirical elements. But the polemical aspect outweighs the satirical, and it appears likely that Brecht ceased to work on a Shakespeare parody because this imbalance could not be justified in a time of increasing social unrest. In the second stage of development Brecht renounces his parodic intentions and creates a wholly new play concerned with contemporary German political developments. The protagonist, the racist Angelas, is clearly the dramatic embodiment of Adolf Hitler, and the changes in his character during this stage do not derive from Measure for Measure, but from Brecht's political analysis. Throughout this period of work Brecht endeavours to grasp the phenomenon of Fascism in its racist form. In the early manuscripts the Fascist Angelas is portrayed as a tool wielded by the ruling class to introduce monetary reforms. Later he is depicted as an agent of finance capital ideologically suited to wage their struggle against the Communist threat. In the final stage of development Brecht continues to make politically motivated adjustments to his text, but the playwright's central concern is now with the theatrical reception of his work. He rearranges, deletes from, and adds to, his play with the intention of rendering its message more easily accessible to the

spectator of Brechtian theatre. One of his main methods is the inclusion of alienation effects such as songs and a prologue.

This analysis of creative reception demonstrates, finally, the inappropriateness of criticism of Die Rundköpfe und die Spitzköpfe and its apparently inadequate reflection of German political reality by reference to Brecht's presumed inability to free himself of Shakespearean influence. A consideration of Brecht's radically new, unique treatment of several Shakespearean motifs reveals that he was a poetic genius by no means inferior to his Elizabethan forbear. Those, conversely, who find fault with Die Rundköpfe und die Spitzköpfe on purely political grounds ignore the fact that Brecht's primary intention was not to reflect the contemporary German political scene, but to create a Marxist parable.

The Vienna-version, edited in accordance with the textual format of the 1967 Gesammelte Werke by Suhrkamp, has been appended to the thesis.

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I am most grateful to the Academy of Arts of the German Democratic Republic for permission to work in the Bertolt Brecht-Archiv, Berlin. In this regard I should like to extend special thanks to Frau Herta Ramthun of the Bertolt Brecht-Archiv for her indispensable help in deciphering and dating much of the unpublished material dealt with in this thesis.

Finally, I must thank my wife and family for their patience and untiring support during the last three years; but most of all I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to my teacher and thesis supervisor, Professor H.-W. Nieschmidt, to whom I respectfully tender Brecht's accolade: "Er hat Vorschläge gemacht".

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## Introduction

An analysis of the creative reception of William Shakespeare's Measure for Measure by Bertolt Brecht forms the subject of this thesis.

Although no study of this kind has ever been undertaken, several articles, as well as book-chapters and even a Suhrkamp "Materialienband" have been devoted to this field of research. The aims and methodology of the thesis derive from these critical antecedents.

### Critical antecedents

The first thorough analysis of the relationship between William Shakespeare and Bertolt Brecht with specific reference to the latter's Die Rundköpfe und die Spitzköpfe was executed by Richard Beckley in his 1961 M.A. thesis on Brecht and his adaptations of English plays<sup>1</sup>. Basing his comments on the two published versions of Brecht's work<sup>2</sup>, Beckley concentrates on showing how much of Shakespeare's Measure for Measure was incorporated by Brecht in his adaptation. He concludes that Shakespeare's plot was "retained in outline"<sup>3</sup>, but that the Elizabethan's main figures were thoroughly altered by Brecht, and others, such as the tenant-farmer Callas, added<sup>4</sup>. Beckley discusses Brecht's politicization of the original and his materialistic approach to certain of its features, but he confines his critical comments to dramatic problems, asserting, for instance, that the final scene fails because the spectator is not "surprised" by the turn of events<sup>5</sup>.

In the same year Johannes Goldhahn published his dissertation on Brecht's anti-Fascist parables<sup>6</sup>. He also takes account only of the published versions of Die Rundköpfe und die Spitzköpfe, but in contrast to Beckley he largely ignores questions of Shakespearean content in favour of a study of the play as a weapon in the struggle against Fascism. He discusses the parable form and its suitability for political purposes, as well as the socio-economic and political context in which Brecht was

writing. Goldhahn first formulates the criticism according to which the parable play does not adequately mirror the reality of German Fascism:

"In der Parabel nehmen die besitzenden Hintermänner Iberins Rassenfanatismus als notwendiges Übel in Kauf, das ihnen hilft, die ‚Sichel‘ niederzuzwingen. Die tschichischen Pachtherren finden aber während des ‚rassischen Intermezzos‘ und vor allem danach die volle Unterstützung ihrer tschuchischen Klassenfreunde. In der deutschen Wirklichkeit entwickelten sich die Dinge anders ..." <sup>7</sup>

A further year later, in 1962, Werner Mittenzwei's study of the period immediately preceding Brecht's exile and his Danish sojourn, appeared <sup>8</sup>. The chapter devoted to Die Rundköpfe und die Spitzköpfe contains for the first time concrete references to the early adaptation material and the attempt to convey an impression of the genesis of the play. But Mittenzwei's analysis is frequently vague. Discussing Brecht's first adaptation, which remained fragmentary, he states that "several" scenes were completed, when in fact a total of ten are held in the Brecht archives <sup>9</sup>. He also refers to "drafts" preceding the first completed version, but does not cite them in his otherwise comprehensive footnotes. Finally, the early plan reproduced in his appendix excludes all handwritten additions by Brecht and his collaborators. The main tendency of Mittenzwei's contribution is political, though, and like Goldhahn he draws attention to the rift between the plot of Brecht's parable and German political reality

"Ein adäquates Abbild jener Vorgänge, die sich zwischen 1932 und 1933 in Deutschland zwischen Hitler und der Spitze der deutschen Finanzbourgeoisie abspielten, gab er nicht und konnte er in der Form der Parabel nicht geben ..." <sup>10</sup>

Mittenzwei discovers the main source of this problem in Brecht's inability to free himself from the Shakespearean model. Of the figure of Angelo he states:

"Die Grundlinie des Angelo-Charakters bei Shakespeare ließ sich nicht einfach in den Charakter eines Faschistenführers ummodeln; vielmehr widersprach der eine dem

anderen oft in eklatanter Weise. All das führte dazu, daß sich Brecht bei der Gestaltung des Angelo mehr vom literarischen Vorbild als von der politischen Wirklichkeit bestimmen ließ." 11

Criticism of Die Rundköpfe und die Spitzköpfe lay dormant until Ulrich Weisstein's 1968 article, which is the first detailed analysis of Measure for Measure and its relationship to Brecht's play<sup>12</sup>. Weisstein is retrograde, though, in his focus upon the published versions, and in his vague summation of Shakespearean remnants ("The finished product is decidedly a new play, even though it offers a small nucleus of parallel scenes" <sup>13</sup>). Weisstein, too, finds fault with the play and echoes Mittenzwei in locating the problem in Brecht's dramatic ability. He declares that "from a purely literary point of view" <sup>14</sup> the play is "hardly one of Brecht's masterpieces" <sup>15</sup>, but unlike Mittenzwei he can find no reason for this.

In a dissertation on the general relationship between Shakespeare and Brecht completed two years after Weisstein's article, Rodney Symington includes a section on Die Rundköpfe und die Spitzköpfe in which, again employing only the final version of the play, he resumes the task of estimating the Shakespearean content of the parable <sup>16</sup>. He is more precise in his tabulation than either Beckley or Weisstein, but some of his conclusions are, at best, extremely tenuous. He claims, for instance, that Brecht's Scene Nine, in which Isabella and Nanna exchange clothes in Mrs. Cornamontis' brothel, is based upon Shakespeare's III;i and IV;i <sup>17</sup>, in which there is mention neither of an exchange of clothes, nor of Mrs. Cornamontis' intercession, and certainly not of her house of ill-fame!

In 1974, Gisela Bahr published her first contribution to the criticism on Die Rundköpfe und die Spitzköpfe <sup>18</sup>, providing more knowledge of the

early phases of the play's development, although her analysis resembles Mittenzwei's in its vague mention of a "first draft", followed by a "second draft"<sup>19</sup>. However, Bahr's work is most noteworthy for its discussion of the parable form and the lack of precise topical material. In contrast to Goldhahn or Mittenzwei, Bahr views Brecht's avoidance of topical material positively, justifying the playwright's standpoint with reference to the enthusiastic theatrical reception of Die Rundköpfe und die Spitzköpfe at the West German première:

"In the final analysis, the playwright who all along had emphasized the significance of the parabolic elements and attributed less importance to the topical aspects, was proved right. André Müller, in his review of the Roundheads première in Hanover (1963), observed: "Everywhere people discussed the play ... they were comparing the action of the play with reality as they had experienced it. Paradoxically, a play by Brecht whose ending did not correspond to historical fact as far as Germany was concerned stimulated the spectators' reflections to a far greater extent than any other of his plays."<sup>20</sup>

In the same year, Paul Kussmaul's study of Brecht and the English drama of the Renaissance appeared<sup>21</sup>. The chapter on Die Rundköpfe und die Spitzköpfe does not mark an advance on previous work: Kussmaul proceeds with the quantitative weighing-up of Shakespearean elements typical of Anglo-American research in this field to date, and repeats the criticism adequately stated by Mittenzwei that Brecht could not incorporate all features of the German political scene in his play because he was overwhelmed by the original:

"Die konkrete gegenwartsgeschichtliche Situation lässt sich nicht so weit abstrahieren, dass sie in das vorgegebene Muster einer Bearbeitung passt."<sup>22</sup>

Kussmaul insists that the play would have been better had Brecht removed the last scene in its entirety<sup>23</sup>. Kussmaul's work is remarkable for some curious errors, the spelling of Iberin as "Iberim", or the comment that Brecht doubled the substitution motif, when this is in fact an

integral part of the original<sup>24</sup>.

The first scholar to focus attention on the process of Brecht's reception of Shakespeare's Measure for Measure was Walter Pache, whose article on this theme appeared in 1976<sup>25</sup>. In contrast to previous researchers he affirms that an understanding of the process cannot be gleaned by a static weighing-up of Shakespearean content in Brecht's work, but rather by studying the "Dynamik der Entstehungsgeschichte"<sup>26</sup>. He looks closely at, and supplies more textual material from, the beginning of the adaptation process, but then abandons this detailed analysis to reiterate the generalizations about the genesis of the play already made by Mittenzwei fourteen years before, namely that Brecht introduces the racist theme and creates a parable<sup>27</sup>. Pache concludes the first half of his article by affirming that the reception process involved an analysis of the original's historical position, the formulation of a new theme, and the adaptation of the original to that theme<sup>28</sup>. The second half of the work describes the basic contrast between Shakespeare's tendency towards a moral disorientation of the reader or spectator and Brecht's unambivalent didacticism. For Pache the failure of Brecht's play is caused by this discrepancy:

"die elisabethanische 'Vorlage' entzieht sich durch ihre ganz andersartige Wirkungsstruktur dem radikalen Umformungsprozeß ..."<sup>29</sup>

Essentially this criticism does not differ from that expressed by Mittenzwei - both imply that the dramatist Brecht could not assert himself against his classical forbear. Brecht's inability "convincingly" to reflect current events in his play Pache sees rooted in his "einseitige ideologische Perspektive"<sup>30</sup> and in his closeness to those events ("der fehlende zeitliche Abstand"<sup>31</sup>).

In her second contribution to the research on Die Rundköpfe und die

Spitzköpfe, which was published in 1979, Gisela Bahr has presented scholars, firstly, with what she refers to as the stage-version of the play, that is, with the text of the 1936 Copenhagen première. This first performance was of course executed in Danish, however, and Bahr's version (BBA 259) is not a direct translation of the Danish, but simply the German manuscript approximating most closely to it. Secondly, and more importantly, Bahr has recreated the entire adaptation process of Die Rundköpfe und die Spitzköpfe by outlining its chronological stages and noting the archive material which belongs to each stage<sup>33</sup>.

### Aims and Methodology

Both Gisela Bahr and Walter Pache have revealed in their recent contributions the urgent need, apparent throughout the history of Rundköpfe scholarship, for a comprehensive and precise analysis of the reception process in all its stages. The following study is intended to fulfill that requirement, and should, furthermore, cast light not only on Brecht's working method, but also on the problems formulated by the play's critics. The study will commence with an exhaustive description of the Shakespearean original, Measure for Measure and proceed with the first attempt to reconstruct and edit Brecht's earliest adaptation work, henceforth designated the 'Vienna-version', by drawing together the relevant material to be found in the Bertolt Brecht-Archiv (East Berlin)<sup>34</sup>. This reconstruction will be carried out on the firm basis of three extant plans undoubtedly relating to the period preceding a first complete manuscript. A full investigation of the Vienna-version will be succeeded by a detailed examination of the process during which seventeen complete versions deriving in varying degree from Shakespeare's Measure for Measure were produced.

The study of the reception process will progress chronologically, in contrast to Pache's "systematic" method. Pache concludes that the reception process was of tripartite nature, involving the determination of the original's historical position, the formulation of a new theme and the adjustment of the original to conform to that theme. In the case of Die Rundköpfe und die Spitzköpfe, though, it must be queried whether an approach which conflicts with the facts of the reception process can do it justice - for Brecht's analysis of the model's "historical position", which Pache cites in full, was written approximately two and a half years after the playwright began work on an adaptation<sup>35</sup>. The systematic approach thereby conflicts with Pache's desire to appreciate the "dynamics" of the play's genesis.

The wealth of material connected with the development of Die Rundköpfe und die Spitzköpfe - seventeen complete drafts of a play, a fragmentary version thereof, innumerable notes, plans and other miscellanea - defied scholarly endeavours to grasp its essence until Gisela Bahr published her chronological scheme of the play's genesis. This study will proceed in strict accordance with her scheme. Thus, after the sections devoted to Shakespeare's Measure for Measure and the Vienna-version<sup>36</sup> - they comprise the first stage of the reception process, which probably constituted a period of only a few months, beginning in November 1931 - the second stage of the process will be considered. This stage incorporates five manuscripts, but the task of pinpointing each and every alteration which differentiates them should be left to the editors of an historical-critical edition. A good understanding of the reception process in its second phase can be gained by contrasting the first version completed after the Vienna fragment (BBA 253: MaB für MaB oder die Salzsteuer. Nach Shakespeare), in approximately mid-1932 therefore, with the last to be written before Brecht's departure from Germany (Versuche). The concluding

part of this study will be an analysis, again comparing only the first and last manuscripts, of the third and final stage of development.

Embracing twelve variants of the play (several of which are carbon copies with only slight changes), it commences with BBA 257 (Die Rundköpfe und die Spitzköpfe. Mit einer Musik von Hanns Eisler), the first new version realized in exile, and culminates in the "Endfassung". Included in the 1938 Malik-Verlag edition of the Gesammelte Werke and subsequently in the 1967 Suhrkamp edition, this was ready for publication in September 1934.

Individual analyses, either of the Shakespearean original or of subsequent Brechtian manuscripts, will involve all aspects of the drama, not only plot, language and *dramatis personae*, but also form, theme and structure. In the second part of both the second and third sections it was possible to discard this method in favour of more general headings. This procedure, it should be noted, was occasioned, even rendered necessary, by the material itself. As well as treating the appropriate versions contained in the three phases of the reception process, the attempt has been made to include other pertinent or interesting material, such as work-plans, notes, or even Hans Hermann Borchardt's collaborative suggestions. The writer's reconstruction of the Vienna-version, though fragmentary (it contains ten entire scenes and four scene-fragments), may be of interest to scholars and has accordingly been appended to this study.<sup>37</sup>

Footnotes:

- <sup>1</sup> Richard Beckley, "Some Aspects of Brecht's Dramatic Technique in the Light of his Adaptations of English Plays" (M.A. thesis, London, 1961).
- <sup>2</sup> The two versions are:
- (i) Bertolt Brecht, Die Spitzköpfe und die Rundköpfe oder Reich und Reich gesellt sich gern, in: Versuche. Heft 8, 1959; rpt. Frankfurt/M., 1977.
- (ii) Bertolt Brecht, Die Rundköpfe und die Spitzköpfe oder Reich und Reich gesellt sich gern. Ein Greuelmärchen, in: Gesammelte Werke in 20 Bänden. Bd. 3, Frankfurt/M., 1967.
- They will be referred to henceforth in this thesis as Versuche and GW respectively.
- <sup>3</sup> Beckley, op.cit., p. 254.
- <sup>4</sup> Op.cit., p. 259.
- <sup>5</sup> Op.cit., pp. 310-311.
- <sup>6</sup> Johannes Goldhahn, "Das Parabelstück Bertolt Brechts als Beitrag zum Kampf gegen den deutschen Faschismus, dargestellt an den Stücken Die Rundköpfe und die Spitzköpfe und Der aufhaltsame Aufstieg des Arturo Ui" (diss. Rudolstadt, 1961).
- <sup>7</sup> Op.cit., p. 62.
- <sup>8</sup> Werner Mittenzwei, Bertolt Brecht. Von der Maßnahme zu Leben des Galilei (Berlin, Weimar, 1962).
- <sup>9</sup> These scenes are published in the appendix of this thesis.
- <sup>10</sup> Mittenzwei, op.cit., p. 158.
- <sup>11</sup> Op.cit., p. 162.
- <sup>12</sup> Ulrich Weisstein, "Two Measures for One: Brecht's Die Rundköpfe und die Spitzköpfe and its Shakespearean Model," Germanic Review, 43 (1968), pp. 24-39.
- <sup>13</sup> Op.cit., p. 39.
- <sup>14</sup> Op.cit., p. 32.
- <sup>15</sup> Loc.cit.

- 16 Rodney Symington, "Brecht und Shakespeare" (diss. Montreal, 1968), pp. 126-136.
- 17 Op.cit., p. 132.
- 18 Gisela Bahr, "Roundheads and Peakheads: The Truth about Evil Times," in: S. Mews and H. Knust, ed., Essays on Brecht (Chapel Hill, 1974), pp. 141-155.
- 19 Op.cit., pp. 144-145.
- 20 Op.cit., p. 155.
- 21 Paul Kussmaul, Bertolt Brecht und das englische Drama der Renaissance (Bern, Frankfurt, 1974).
- 22 Op.cit., p. 104.
- 23 Op.cit., p. 103.
- 24 Op.cit., p. 100.
- 25 Walter Pache, "Measure for Measure und Die Rundköpfe und die Spitzköpfe: Zur Shakespeare-Rezeption Bertolt Brechts," Canadian Review of Comparative Literature, Spring (1976), pp. 173-196.
- 26 Op.cit., p. 177.
- 27 Loc.cit.
- 28 Op.cit., pp. 191-192.
- 29 Op.cit., p. 196.
- 30 Loc.cit.
- 31 Loc.cit.
- 32 Bertolt Brecht, Die Rundköpfe und die Spitzköpfe. Bühnenfassung, Einzelszenen, Varianten, ed. Gisela Bahr (Frankfurt/M., 1979).
- 33 Op.cit., pp. 233-240.
- 34 In manuscript references "Bertolt Brecht-Archiv" will hereafter be cited as BBA. The numbers accompanying this abbreviation (e.g. BBA 253/1) apply to the file or "Mappe" in which a manuscript is held and, after the diagonal, to the relevant page in that manuscript.

- 35 See p.67 of this thesis.
- 36 Several major errors in Bahr's tabulation of the "Vienna" material and of that immediately preceding BBA 253, the first entire version of an adaptation, will be corrected in the course of this thesis.
- 37 The Vienna version has been edited in accordance with the 1967 Suhrkamp Gesammelte Werke; it does not contain the fragment of the fifth act already published by Ludwig Berger (see Ludwig Berger, "Die Lust an der Kooperation," Theater Heute, 8 (1967), pp. 27-29).

PART I: The First Stage of the Reception  
Process: Measure for Measure and  
the Vienna-version.

1. Measure for Measure: The Shakespearean Source of Die Rundköpfe und die Spitzköpfe.

Basing its analysis on the knowledge that the première of the play took place at the court of James I on December 26, 1604, Shakespearean scholarship is now confident that Measure for Measure was indeed written in 1604, although the text is only extant in Ralph Crane's 1623 Folio as the fourth play of the Comedies section.

1.1. The Sources of Measure for Measure

According to Kenneth Muir <sup>1</sup>, the first literary treatment of the plot of Shakespeare's Measure for Measure was the Latin play Philanira (1556) by Claude Rouillet, to which Shakespeare apparently had no access. In 1565 an Italian, Giraldi Cinthio, completed a prose version containing the central motifs of the later play and incorporated it into his Hecatommithi, a work undoubtedly known to Shakespeare (who discovered the plot of Othello in it as well). Giraldi subsequently dramatized the story; it was published posthumously in 1583 with the title Epitia. The Englishman George Whetstone's play based on the material, The Right Excellent and Famous Historye of Promos and Cassandra, was published in 1578; a prose treatment of the same theme appeared in his Heptameron of Civil Discourses (1582). Whetstone's dramatic version is widely accepted as Shakespeare's primary source <sup>2</sup>, which, it should be remarked, he did not reproduce exactly. For example, Whetstone's heroine and Isabella's prototype, Cassandra, does in fact forfeit her reputation to save her brother's life. For Isabella, of course, a surrogate is found. Other changes are made, of which perhaps the most significant is the enlargement of the king's role.

## 1.2. Shakespeare's Plot

The action of Measure for Measure commences with the Duke of Vienna's temporary deputation of his supreme office to Lord Angelo, who, as the Duke stresses before his departure, must administer the city in the manner he deems fitting. Escalus, though senior to Angelo, becomes his chief councillor. The second scene of the first act reveals Angelo's intention within the framework of his ducal commission. Mistress Overdone, a brothel owner complaining of loss of clientele, confirms to Lucio and his noble companions that the deputy has ordered the arrest of Claudio, a fellow nobleman, on a charge of fornication with a certain Juliet, now pregnant, and that he is to be beheaded within three days. Angelo thus plans to enforce the harsh moral legislature of Vienna which has lain dormant for many years. With this intention he further commands that all brothels in the suburbs of Vienna be razed to the ground. The convicted Claudio appears in I,iii, accompanied by the Provost. Meeting his friend Lucio, Claudio asks him to visit his sister Isabella, an intending novice of St.Clare, in the hope that she can persuade Angelo to relent, which task Lucio successfully executes in the last scene of the first act.

The second act sees the development of the subplot involving Froth, Elbow, Pompey and their court-case. Constable Elbow's wife has, according to her husband, visited Mistress Overdone's "bath-house", now shifted from the suburbs where her establishment was closed as a consequence of Angelo's edict, and encountered a prune-eating Master Froth who had insulted her. Pompey, as Mistress Overdone's agent in the lawsuit, defends Master Froth in a manner intended only to confuse the issue - Froth and Pompey are given stern warning, but released by Escalus. Escalus then questions the totally incompetent Elbow and asks him to provide the names of other persons in his parish who, Escalus

clearly hopes, will do the job of the police more efficiently. The first scene ends with Escalus's inviting to dinner the justice who has been present throughout the scene, and his lament that Claudio must die. Angelo receives the suppliant Isabella in II;ii and, already incensed by her being, commands that she return the following day. He demands in their second meeting (II;iv), despite or because of Isabella's impassioned defence of her brother, that Isabella forfeit her virginity to save Claudio's life. The Duke, in the meantime, who has secretly remained in Vienna and donned as his disguise a friar's habit so that he can observe Angelo's activities undetected (I;iii), learns of Claudio's plight when he visits the "afflicted spirits" in prison and talks with the unfortunate Juliet, Claudio's lover (II;iii). He resolves to see Claudio and give him "instruction", just as Angelo had ordered the Provost in II;i.

Isabella decides not to succumb to Angelo's offer and hastens to the prison to tell Claudio that he must die and thus defend her chastity. Hearing of Angelo's blatantly wanton desire for his sister, Claudio casts off his resignation and begs her to free him by means of this expedient. She refuses to do his bidding and condemns him as a "faithless coward" and "dishonest wretch". At this point (III;i) the Duke, who had been eavesdropping on their conversation from a concealed vantage-point, intervenes. Taking Claudio aside he reconciles him to his fate and then, when the Provost has departed, he informs Isabella of Mariana's plight; she should have become Lord Angelo's wife, if her brother, bearing the marriage dowry, had not been shipwrecked and drowned. Angelo had then extracted himself from his vows by making certain insinuations about Mariana's good reputation. The Duke's plan is for Mariana, who agrees to the scheme in IV;i, to lie with Angelo on Isabella's behalf<sup>3</sup>. Although Angelo has grievously wronged her, she still loves him. Angelo will then be obliged to marry her, thereby restoring her

good reputation, Claudio will be spared the executioner's axe, and Isabella's honour preserved. Beyond that, the "corrupt deputy" will be "scaled". The sub-plot becomes more complicated in III;ii when the Duke learns from Mistress Overdone that Lucio, who persists in insulting the "absent" Duke in the "friar's" presence, had promised marriage to pregnant Kate Keepdown, whose progeny is cared for by Mistress Overdone, but then deserted her.

The Duke's scheme is dealt a blow in the fourth act by Angelo's breach of contract with Isabella: in ordering Claudio's execution for 4 a.m., not 9 a.m. as originally decided (II;i). When Angelo's messenger arrives in the prison, though, the Duke is again fortuitously present and, showing his official seal to the Provost, arranges a substitute for Claudio, the convicted murderer Barnadine. When the latter refuses to be executed, the Duke concurs with the Provost's suggestion of using the head of Ragozine, a pirate who had died of natural causes and whose countenance in death adequately resembles Claudio's. Dispatching the Provost on his ghastly errand in IV;iii, the Duke writes a letter to Angelo, announcing that his return is imminent and that he wishes to be received a "league below the city". Isabella interrupts him as he is doing this and she is informed that Claudio has been executed; the Duke then gives her a letter to carry to Friar Peter who will ensure that both Isabella and Mariana are present upon his "return" to Vienna. He tells Isabella that both she and Mariana should vehemently voice their accusations against Angelo. The scene concludes with Lucio's entrance; the Duke learns from him that Mistress Overdone's accusations are correct.

The Duke's complex arrangements meet with success, and the plot concludes with the trial and judgement of the participants. By a consecrated fount near the city the various parties assemble in response to the announcement of the Duke's return. In his presence Isabella publicly

reproaches Angelo for his actions. The Duke orders her arrest for this offensiveness, but sends nevertheless for Friar Lodowick (himself), whom Isabella has cited for his involvement in the affair. Friar Peter states that Lodowick is sick with the fever and cannot attend. At this point the Duke hands over the case to Angelo. Mariana now approaches and, veiled, addresses the Duke, insisting that Angelo is her husband and that he has known her carnally. Angelo removes her veil and confesses that he once had an affair, but that he has no carnal knowledge of Mariana. The Duke departs (to re-don his habit) after ordering that Lodowick be fetched. Returning as the Friar he quarrels with Lucio, who tears the hood from his face. All is thus revealed. The Duke bids Friar Peter to join in wedlock Angelo and Mariana forthwith, then orders Angelo's immediate execution. The sentence is annulled by the intercession of Mariana and Isabella. Barnadine is brought forward by the Provost and pardoned by the Duke, who delivers him into the hands of Friar Peter for holy instruction. Claudio, who also enters muffled, is pardoned and ordered to marry Juliet. As punishment for his slander of a prince, Lucio must marry Kate Keepdown. The Duke himself asks Isabella if she will consent to be his wife.

### 1.3. Theme

The highly problematical question posed by Measure for Measure is: what constitutes acceptable or adequate moral conduct? Ideally, of course, human actions should conform exactly to the stringent ordinances of society's moral code. However, man contains within him not only the capacity and desire to fulfil spiritual or moral absolutes (represented in legislature), but also natural, irrational forces which can and do impede the realization of those perfect goals. Justice must take account of man's inherent imperfection and admit that adequate moral behaviour lies somewhere between the poles of moral purity and utter depravity.

In this context the play treats thematically the dialectic of law and mercy, the uncompromising legal structure and its moderating agent, in its application both to governmental procedure (the Duke, Angelo, Escalus) and to general ethical behaviour (Isabella). Mercy, or degrees thereof, is the just response to human frailty. Walter Pater designates the mode of justice advocated by Measure for Measure "poetical justice", which goes beyond mere factual evidence:

"The action of the play ... develops in us the conception of this poetical justice ... the justice he (Shakespeare) requires of our hands, or our thoughts, is the recognition of that which the person, in his inmost nature, really is."<sup>4</sup>

The abstract legal principle of "measure for measure" forfeits much of its validity in this framework. The Duke states:

"An Angelo for Claudio; death for death.

... and Measure still for Measure." (V;i,407-409)<sup>5</sup>

But is the death-sentence a fitting punishment for Claudio's crime? Is Angelo's crime identical to Claudio's? The magistrate should pass judgement only after he has taken into account man's dual nature, that is, after he has examined each individual in his totality. That is the basic premise in this form of judicial inquiry. Each defendant, as a human being, should receive equal treatment. Beyond that, crime and punishment could differ vastly. For the substitute ruler and magistrate Angelo, self-knowledge, the awareness (through self-study) of man's inherent weakness, is the necessary step towards adequate law-enforcement. The idea of the play is thus clear: not "measure for measure", but "measure with measure", judgement with moderation. According to J-W. Lever, the commonplace "measure for measure" encompasses both meanings<sup>6</sup>.

The mode of judgement practised in Measure for Measure is idealistic, however. Only Duke Vincentio, an unreal, god-like figure, is able to prevent Claudio's execution. Without his presence there can be no doubt that the play would have ended in tragic disaster. Discussing the part of the action where Isabella is told by Angelo that no-one will believe

her accusation against him (II;iv,153-158), Bertrand Evans concludes:

"At this point Shakespeare twice underscores the central truth of the play, that ... mercy and goodness must go under unless an outside force, omniscient, omnipotent, and benevolent, rescues them." 7

#### 1.4. Characterization

On the statistical basis of spoken lines, the Duke of Vienna (with approximately 840 of the play's 2400) and Isabella (400) dominate the stage. Lucio (290) and Angelo (280) are also major speaking roles. The minor parts are taken by Escalus (190), Pompey Bum (155) and Claudio (100).

##### 1.4.1. Major Figures

###### a) The Duke

The Duke of Vienna is the most important figure in Measure for Measure, on the one hand because ultimately he alone drives the plot-mechanism, and on the other because he embodies the peak of learning Angelo, and perhaps Isabella, must attain. He entrusts his power to Lord Angelo so as to avoid the accusation of tyranny his people would direct at him were he to enforce the laws he himself had relaxed to an immoral degree (in the play's pre-history the Duke was clearly not an ideal ruler). But he cannot allow Angelo to rule without remaining in Vienna to watch over his actions. As the third act shows he had knowledge of previous misdeeds perpetrated by the new deputy, which give lie to the purity he professes. The Duke expresses his fears to the Friar:

"... Lord Angelo is precise;  
 Stands at a guard with Envy;  
                                   scarce confesses  
 That his blood flows; or that his  
                                   appetite

Is more to bread than stone. Hence  
                                           shall we see,  
 If power changes purpose, what  
                                           our seemers be." (I;iii,50-54)

The Duke believes that Angelo will execute the desired task of a moral purge in Vienna, but fears the consequences of a fusion of power and doubtful purity. The play thus becomes a test of Angelo's character.

Escalus testifies that the primary trait of the Duke's disposition is his constant desire to know himself. Indeed, the Duke demonstrates the significance of self-knowledge (as the means to an understanding of mankind itself) and its acceptance by the individual for the purposes of judgement when he assesses the case of Claudio and Juliet. Literal enforcement of the law has led to their condemnation for fornication. But the Duke, a model ruler created perhaps after the personage of James I<sup>8</sup>, transcends the factually strict legislature and analyses the human, all-to-human content of their actions, their mutual love. This new form of ethical inquiry, which admits man's imperfection, results in the quashing of Angelo's verdict:

"The Duke tempers or proportions justice with mercy, abstract reason with his perception of the analogical relationships between real people, in whom truth and error, sin and grace, are mingled in ways which mathematics cannot compute." <sup>9</sup>

The Duke's omnipresence and his omnipotent manipulation of the plot and the characters both in the guise of monk and as ruler of Vienna were not extant in Shakespeare's sources, where the Duke simply appeared at the conclusion of the play, a *deus ex machina* pronouncing judgement. These additions to the figure indicate his new function as an idealistic secular providence:

"... he typifies the most widely approved models of the age. Political theory, literary tradition, and the precepts of the ruling monarch cast him for the part of an earthly providence who is, if not divinely

omniscient, at least sagacious beyond the limits of the subjects he rules." 10

G. Wilson Knight argues that the Duke's ethic is the Gospel ethic, that the Duke is, therefore, a Renaissance Jesus <sup>11</sup>. It is incorrect to fault him morally for his lying, scheming and deceitfulness. Not only were such acts considered acceptable in Shakespeare's time for the purposes of good government <sup>12</sup>, but they are also necessary dramatic exigencies. W.W. Lawrence's conception of the Duke as a "stage Duke" <sup>13</sup>, with no possible counterpart in real life, is not inconsistent with the view of him as a quasi-divine entity:

"Lawrence had swept away those nineteenth-century objections to the play by conventionalising the Duke; Wilson Knight dismissed them by theologising him. But were the two arguments as contradictory as they seemed? Can the Duke not be Divine Providence and a 'stage Duke'? Undoubtedly in general terms he can be both ... He is a power precisely because of this special licence the convention allows him to do as he pleases and yet remain, by definition, a force for good." 14

Many of the Duke's actions do, however, make him an ethically dubious figure:

"Why does he sententiously urge Juliet to repent of her 'mutual entertainment' with Claudio, and then urge Mariana into Angelo's bed (assuring her it is 'no sin') - when the contract of neither pair has been blessed by the Church? ... Why does he manipulate events to bring about the marriage of the virtuous Mariana to a man who has attempted (in effect) both rape and murder?" 15

#### b) Isabella

Isabella resembles Angelo in that she also adheres to a moral absolute (chastity) and insists upon its universal application. Both profess moral purity. In Angelo's case, of course, appearances grossly deceive and the disapproval of many critics is unqualified. But the true nature of Isabella's character has occasioned a variety of often antithetical

evaluations, based mainly on analyses of Isabella's first encounter with Angelo (II;ii), her talk with Claudio (III;i) and the speech she gives in the last act which causes the Duke to pardon Angelo.

In pleading for her brother's life, Isabella commands Angelo to study his inner being, that he might become aware of man's dual nature and so be more mercifully inclined. But self-analysis could not deepen her insight. Unlike Angelo, she is fully conscious of man's innate frailty; nevertheless, she insists in practice upon the rigorous enforcement of the law. This means she can show no sympathy for Claudio, and yet pardon Angelo, because, from the legal standpoint, he does not realize his wicked intention. But a person with a truly legalistic conception of justice could not excuse Angelo because he not only commits breach of contract, but also breaks the strict law against fornication (for which Claudio was sentenced to death). Isabella herself exclaims.

"That Angelo's forsworn, is it not strange?  
That Angelo's a murderer, is't not strange?  
That Angelo is an adulterous thief,  
An hypocrite, a virgin-violator,  
Is it not strange, and strange?" (V;i,40-44)

In this respect the question of whether or not Isabella should forfeit her chastity is important. G.L. Geckle remarks that Isabella cannot be reproached for her unwillingness to submit to Angelo's demand, even if that refusal signifies her brother's death <sup>16</sup>. A Christian audience of the Renaissance would have praised Isabella's rigidity. Chastity was considered a supreme virtue, the base forfeiture of which meant eternal damnation. E. Schanzer states in opposition that Isabella's refusal to sleep with Angelo is evidence of an excessive legalism akin to Angelo's <sup>17</sup>. God, Schanzer reasons, would surely pardon her act of fornication, committed to save a brother's life <sup>18</sup>, just as his secular representative, the Duke, is able to forgive Claudio's "crime".

Some critics consider the grounds she cites for her intercession on Angelo's behalf insufficient to explain her motivation<sup>19</sup>. Why does Isabella really seek mercy when, as the Duke confirms, she has excellent cause to want revenge? E.M. Pope suggests that the answer lies in her divine, Christ-like nature. Unlike the Duke's mercy, which relies upon human insight and a reasoned judgement of circumstances, even unlike Mariana's mercy, spurred on by her love for Angelo, Isabella's mercy is Christian forgiveness, the "sheer, reckless forgiveness of the kind Christ advocates in the Sermon on the Mount"<sup>20</sup>. Mainly encouraged, it would seem, by Mariana's act of forgiveness, Isabella no longer displays in the last act the harshness she had shown towards Claudio. How then is her indignant self-righteousness and consequent dearth of compassion for Claudio to be explained or excused? R.W. Chambers answers:

"Isabella then, as Shakespeare sees her and asks us to see her, would frankly, joyously, give her life to save Claudio: and 'greater love hath no man than this.' And now Claudio is asking for what she cannot give, and she bursts out in agony. Have the critics never seen a human soul or a human body in the extremity of torment?"<sup>21</sup>

Indeed, there is sufficient textual evidence (II;iv,100-104) for treating Isabella as a Christian martyr<sup>22</sup>. Other scholars sense a development in her character from sanctity to humanity, declaring that her unfeeling behaviour toward Claudio is inadequate in terms of the play's moral, but that her forgiveness of Angelo accords with it and is to be praised. At the end, however, her strict opinion of Claudio's transgression has not altered ("... My brother had but justice,/In that he did the thing for which he died ... " (V;i,446-447)). Saint, martyr, legalistic Puritan, or student of the Duke's humane ethic? - Isabella's character alone is ample ground for the definition of Measure for Measure as a problem play<sup>23</sup>.

c) Lucio

Lucio appears frequently on the stage, but his function is difficult to determine because of the heterogeneity of his character. He moves with ease both in the upper social stratum of Vienna and in its seedy underworld. He is a good and faithful friend to Claudio and intervenes on his behalf, even exhorting Isabella to be more persuasive with Angelo. On the other hand he is a bawdy, cynical, often insincere and disruptive libertine, who would be an enemy of the kind of society envisaged by the Duke. J.W. Lever explains the "exceptional prominence of this role as well as his composite character" by assessing his dramatic function as a go-between for all social levels, "passing from Claudio to Isabella, from Overdone to the nun Francisca; drawing Isabella from her cloister, leading her to the presence of Angelo ...<sup>24</sup>. In the first two acts, then, by making Lucio the plot-catalyst, Shakespeare maintains dramatic tension (which the Duke's presence would weaken). In the second half of the play, when the Duke resumes full control, Lucio plays the role of a jester or Fool, providing much of the play's comic relief<sup>25</sup>.

d) Angelo

Lord Angelo is described as a man "whose blood/Is very snow-broth; one who never feels/The wanton strings and motions of the sense ... " (I;iv, 57-59). He suppresses his subconscious urges and cravings, if he is aware of them at all - hence the Duke's decision to test him, to discover whether or not appearances deceive. He is, in the Duke's terms, ignorant of himself and so blind to the predicament of others:

"Angelo's inexperience is enough to disqualify him as a lawgiver. Ignorant of the promptings of passion, he deceives himself into the belief that he has felt, understood, and mastered them."<sup>26</sup>

His (false) image of himself as morally perfect moves him, as a ruler, to take the precise letter of the law as his guideline. With tyrannical severity and swiftness he condemns Claudio to die for failing to obey the legal absolute forbidding pre-marital sexual intercourse. The cruelty of his character is made apparent when he leaves Escalus to judge Pompey and Froth, plainly stating that he hopes they will be whipped. He also threatens to torture Claudio. Angelo's encounter with Isabella marks the beginning of his self-knowledge. Inflamed with wanton yearning for her body, he must accept that he too is but a man, with both rational and irrational qualities. He confesses:

"We are all frail." (II;iv,121)

His subsequent deed, the altering of the execution hour, proves him to be a corrupt, perfidious ruler, a morally reprehensible hypocrite with double standards of judgement. W.W. Lawrence states that "there can be no doubt ... that ... Angelo ... must be regarded as a 'strong and fast'ned villain'." <sup>27</sup>. He changes the execution hour not because he believes Claudio should die for his crime ("Would yet he had lived." (IV;iv,30)), but because he fears that Claudio might take revenge against him for deflowering Isabella as the means for saving his life:

" ... He should have liv'd,  
Save that his riotous youth, with dangerous sense,  
Might in the times to come have ta'en revenge  
By so receiving a dishonour'd life  
With ransom of such shame ... " (IV;iv,26-30)

His name suggests not only the "fallen angel", but also the "angel of death". At the conclusion of the play, though, Angelo reveals a new honesty towards himself when he asks to be executed for his actions.

He does not deny, but accepts responsibility for, his "frailty":

" ... the horror of self-deception is at an end. For the first time in his life he is both quite honest with himself and with the world." <sup>28</sup>

Even Wilson Knight notes, though, that Angelo repents only when he realizes there is no escape for him. Some critics, however, consider it wrong to treat Angelo as a criminal <sup>29</sup>. His only crime, they insist,

is self-deception:

"But Angelo, though he is morally guilty of hypocrisy, meanness, and treachery, is not really a villain; he is a "sincere self-deceiver" ... " 30

#### 1.4.2. Minor Figures

##### a) Escalus

Escalus, the Duke's privy councillor, functions as a foil to Angelo. He emphasizes man's natural instincts to the detriment of the law when he pardons the licentious Pompey Bum, Mistress Overdone's tapster. Significantly, the Duke later reverses this judgement. Neither Escalus nor Angelo possesses the insight of the Duke, although Escalus does display qualities, such as tolerance and patience, which confirm the Duke's confidence in him and prove him more conversant with the ideal of a judge and ruler than Angelo. He also reveals considerable wisdom in advising Angelo to exercise care in judgement (II;i,4-16). E. Schanzer declares that Escalus does in fact embody the ideal judge <sup>31</sup>.

##### b) Pompey

Pompey Bum represents the thoroughly debauched Viennese underworld and counterbalances the asceticism of Angelo and Isabella. The sexual relations he promotes stand in stark contrast to the union consummated by Claudio and Juliet and described by Lucio in terms most critics judge beautiful (I;iv,40-44). His confession to Escalus - "Truly, sir, I am a poor fellow that would live." (II;i,220) - summarizes the life-philosophy of the underworld inhabitants. Their instinct for survival excludes any higher idealism: they stimulate and prey upon man's immoral, but natural instincts. Pompey, the clever, business-minded driving-force of

Vienna's low-life, emphasizes the problematical character of the conflict between nature and civilization, and thus of adequate justice, when interrogated by Escalus, who states that Vienna's sexual corruption is illegal and must therefore be stamped out. Pompey declares that nature has scant regard for the law and will continue to exert its influence. Justice must take account of this fact by determining the balance between the extremes of law and depravity <sup>32</sup>.

c) Claudio

Isabella's brother Claudio, the victim of Angelo's tyrannical justice, oscillates unsteadily between hope of pardon and resignation to his fate. He does not directly affirm Lucio's description of his crime as lechery, but merely replies "Call it so". He states that he loves Juliet and that only a dowry lacked to make their union socially valid and legal. Indeed, in Elizabethan times, the mere fact that two persons declared themselves man and wife, as Claudio and Juliet have done, constituted a legal marriage. Hence Claudio seems to feel, as the Duke does when judging him, that he deserves mercy. He suspects that Angelo is simply trying to make his reputation by so wielding his power. These considerations, together with his natural fear of death, explain the sudden lapses in the honourable behaviour Isabella requires of him. Why, though, does he simultaneously feel the deep shame and repentance which make him swear that he "will encounter darkness as a bride,/And hug it in his arms." (III;i,83-84)? E. Schanzer solves this riddle in a reference to contradictory Elizabethan thinking. Such private marriages were tolerated by the Church, but it also made clear, "to counteract the obvious evils to which such laws were bound to give rise" <sup>33</sup>, that they, and in particular their consummation, were "sinful and forbidden". Claudio, with the sense of honour inbred by his gentlemanly background, accepts the moral fault he has incurred.

### 1.4.3. Lesser Figures

The psychic make-up of the lesser figures is largely uncomplicated. In accordance with the tradition of comedy, the figures of low social standing (Elbow, Froth and Mistress Overdone) contribute significantly to the play's humorous moments. Elbow is an inadequate and foolish servant of the law:

"Elbow, chosen constable by his neighbours for seven years and a half, is not simply a stock figure of fun: those who are concerned for the validity of the law can hardly ignore the fact that its instruments may be as foolish as he." <sup>34</sup>

Froth is "an amiable, feather-headed young gentleman - to dislike him would argue an ill-nature, and a small one" <sup>35</sup>. Mistress Overdone, although a professional immoralist like her tapster Pompey, also displays human kindness in caring for Lucio's illegitimate child. A reflection of her lover Claudio, Juliet feels both shame and joy at her "crime":

"I do repent me as it is an evil,  
And take the shame with joy." (II;iii,35-36)

They have broken the strict letter of the law, but, in contrast to others in the play, "not from viciousness but from natural, warm human instinct ... They speak the neutral philosophy of average sensual humanity." <sup>36</sup>. Mariana's main trait is her "warm, potent, forgiving, human love" <sup>37</sup>, which enables her to disregard Angelo's despicable behaviour with the statement that "They say best men are moulded out of faults,/And, for the most, become much more the better/For being a little bad." (V;i,437-439). The Provost, although warmly sympathetic to Claudio's cause, is the exemplary loyal servant who faithfully executes his superior's orders. Barnadine is an amoral, unfeeling murderer (Wilson Knight talks of his "hard-headed, criminal insensitiveness" <sup>38</sup>) not present in Shakespeare's sources. Referring to this figure, M.C. Bradbrook states:

"Barnadine is contrasted with Claudio to show how much below panic-struck egoism is mere brute sensibility." <sup>39</sup>

According to Bradbrook, the case of Barnadine also shows that every human

Being is "an end and never ... a means" <sup>40</sup>, a comment echoed by

J.W. Lever:

"The basic need for Barnadine's existence on the stage was surely that he might assert the major truth, that no man's life was so worthless as to be sacrificed to another's convenience." <sup>41</sup>

Friar Peter <sup>42</sup>, the nun Francisca and Abhorson are largely devoid of personal attributes and simply execute functions demanded by the plot. Abhorson, however, does reveal a gruesome pride in his profession, which tends to weigh audience opinion in favour of the crude, immoral Pompey.

### 1.5. The Problem of Genre

M.C. Bradbrook argues that Measure for Measure is an allegorical drama which has its roots in the late medieval Morality. Accordingly the figures on the stage are seen as the personifications of ideas:

"Angelo stands for Authority and for Law ... the Duke ... is not only the representative of Heavenly Justice but of Humility, whilst Isabella represents both Truth and Mercy". <sup>43</sup>

However, the complex and even contradictory characters of the major personages, in particular Isabella, tend to defy this form of categorization. They are not sufficiently unambivalent. Most critics appreciate Measure for Measure precisely because of its human realism, the "flesh-and-blood" quality of the figures <sup>44</sup>. G. Wilson Knight makes reference to the allegorical or symbolic possibilities of interpretation, but correctly discusses the play as a parable. The social hierarchy of Measure for Measure does resemble that of Elizabethan England, for which also the thematic content is clearly intended; but the circumstances of the play are unreal. Shakespeare ensures that his play can enjoy universal application by constructing a theatre-world which does not correspond directly to any existing social complex. Vienna, in reality a land-locked Austrian city, becomes in Measure for Measure a duchy, has a predominantly Italian

populace and seems to lie in close proximity to ocean shipping routes. The Duke's deputization of his power to Angelo and the reasons he gives for his act endow the play with an artificial, experimental character<sup>45</sup>. Like Jesus in the Gospels, who teaches by means of parables, the Duke creates a fictional situation suitable to demonstrate a moral maxim. This moral maxim, deriving from the Gospels and particularly important for magistrates and rulers such as Angelo, but also applicable in the ethical behaviour of private individuals, is: we should judge others on the same basis as we would want to be judged by them ("More nor less to others paying, / Than by self-offences weighing." (III;ii,258-259)). This is the dominant thesis of the play. There can be no doubt, however, that the play presents several perspectives upon the basic conflict, "the fullest recognition of conflicting 'truths'"<sup>46</sup>, which tend to weaken the parable in favour of the problem play.

#### 1.6. Language

Linguistically Measure for Measure is of a diverse nature, containing 1604 lines of blank verse, 33 rhymed couplets and approximately 1000 lines of prose<sup>47</sup>.

Social factors determine the mode of language. Prose occurs consistently when the low-life figures appear on the stage, when, for example, Pompey and Mistress Overdone discuss the disastrous personal consequences of Angelo's reign of terror (I;ii). Escalus expresses himself in blank verse when conversing with Angelo at the beginning of the court-scene (II;i), but changes to prose when left to interrogate the defendants Pompey and Froth. Because the lower classes are the source of comedy, Shakespeare's prose becomes the vehicle of vulgar humour ("Well, then, imprison him. If imprisonment be the due of a bawd, why, 'tis his right. Bawd is he

doubtless, and of antiquity, too: bawd born." (III;ii,64-66)). Prose is also the language of everyday life and Shakespeare's prose abounds in realistic features, typified by remarks such as Barnadine's "A pox o' your throats!" (IV;iii,25), by paratactical sentence-structure and present in the lively immediacy and disjointedness of daily conversation or dialogue. Lastly, as G.L. Brook explains <sup>48</sup>, Shakespeare employed prose for formal documents and letters, and Angelo's message to the Provost (IV;ii,118-124) is no exception.

Blank verse is reserved mainly for the figures of high social standing, such as Claudio, Isabella or Angelo. The spontaneity and irregularity of the prose sections are replaced by the more disciplined rhymeless iambic verse. The comparative order of the verse is mirrored in the numerous axiomatic commentaries delivered by the main figures (I;i,32-40; I;ii,118-120; II;ii,59-63,127,176-177; III;ii,37-38; III;ii,254-261), in the logical argumentation (particularly of Isabella and Angelo) and in the reflective monologues (II;ii, II;iv, III;ii). That the syntax of the blank verse is generally more complicated than that of prose becomes clear when speeches by the Duke (I;i, I;iii), by Angelo (II;i, II;iv) or by Isabella (II;ii) are studied. Rhymed verse is rare in Measure for Measure, the most notable examples being the Duke's soliloquy at the end of Act Three <sup>49</sup> and Mariana's song at the beginning of Act Four. Shakespeare frequently concludes a scene with a couplet, which serves either pragmatically to round it off and sometimes to anticipate further action ("I'll tell him yet of Angelo's request,/And fit his mind to death, for his soul's rest." (II;iv,186-187) or to embody a thematic aspect ("That we were all, as some would seem to be,/From our faults, as faults from seeming, free!" (III;ii,37-38)).

Measure for Measure is, above all, a play concerned with concrete moral issues. There are few lyrical or romantic outbursts: the main figures debate and polemicize, defend or attack certain moral outlooks. The imagery is hence closely allied to thematic interests and rarely employed for purely aesthetic reasons<sup>50</sup>. Of the predominant images, "tongue" and "heart" represent either the dichotomy of law and mercy, of strict legislature and softening humanitarianism -

"In our remove, be thou at full ourself.  
Mortality and mercy in Vienna  
Live in thy tongue, and heart ... " (I;i,43-45)

- or outward appearance and true being:

"... Go to your bosom,  
Knock there, and ask your heart what it doth know  
That's like my brother's fault. If it confess  
A natural guiltiness, such as is his,  
Let it not sound a thought upon your tongue  
Against my brother's life." (II;iii,137-142)

Other images used to represent the law are the scarecrow which no longer frightens birds (II;i,1-4), the rod which the child mocks (I;iii,23-31) and the lion (I;iii,22-23; I;iv,64). The question of appearance and reality is further treated not only in coinage and counterfeit imagery -

"... Now, good my lord,  
Let there be some more test made of my metal,  
Before so noble and so great a figure  
Be stamp'd upon it." (I;i,47-50)

- but also in mirror imagery:

"Ay, as the glasses where they view themselves,  
Which are as easy broke as they make forms."  
(II;iv,124-125)

"Blood" and "appetite" represent the natural drives (I;iii,51-53; II;iv,15, 20,160,175,177; V;i,468), while the necessity for control and law-enforcement is expressed in equestrian images:

"Or whether that the body public be  
A horse whereon the governor doth ride,  
Who, newly in the seat, that it may know  
He can command, lets it straight feel the  
spur" (I;ii,148-151)

Human beings who succumb to their natural instincts are compared to rats

or mice (I;ii;121; I;iv,64). The "blood" imagery utilized by Angelo or Isabella to denote the natural impulses is complemented in the lower social sphere by crudely explicit metaphorical allusion. Pompey Bum refers to Claudio's crime as "groping for trouts, in a peculiar river" (I;ii,83). Lucio refers to it as a "game of tick-tack" (I;ii,181), but shortly afterwards describes Juliet's pregnancy as a natural, innocent and beautiful condition:

"Your brother and his lover have embrac'd;  
As those that feed grow full, as blossoming time  
That from the seedness the bare fallow brings  
To teeming foison, even so her plenteous womb  
Expresseth his full tilth and husbandry."  
(I;iv,40-44)

This more lyrical tendency is also to be found in the speeches by Claudio and the Duke on death. Claudio, for example, talks of death as a bride (III;i,83) and subsequently, to express the intense emotion of fear which grips him <sup>51</sup>, conjures up vivid images of the afterlife:

"... and the delighted spirit  
To bath in fiery floods, or to reside  
In thrilling region of thick-ribbed ice"  
(III;i,120-122)

### 1.7. Structure

Measure for Measure, in the form in which Bertolt Brecht was to begin the reception process, had a traditional five act structure. Originally divided by Shakespeare only into scenes <sup>52</sup>, subsequent editors of the text have superimposed the act framework. To determine whether the inner development of the drama may be subsumed under this act movement requires a detailed, step-by-step analysis of the seventeen individual scenes.

### 1.7.1. Scene Analysis and Discussion

I;i :The scene takes place in the council-chamber of the Duke's palace of Vienna. Escalus and the Duke discuss the viability of electing Angelo to the post of governor in Vienna in the Duke's absence. With Escalus' consent Angelo is summoned and given full power" ... to enforce or qualify the laws/As to your soul seems good" (65-66), although he is hesitant to accept the position as "Mortality and mercy in Vienna" (44). The scene continues with the departure of the Duke and the decision by Angelo and Escalus to meet and discuss their power and function.

I;ii :The scene is now a street in Vienna where Lucio discusses with two gentlemen the Duke's journey, which ostensibly has as its goal peace-talks with the King of Hungary. Mistress Overdone approaches and mentions Claudio's imprisonment and impending execution for impregnating Juliet. A proclamation is apparently the cause of this dire situation. Pompey enters and explains to Mistress Overdone that all brothels must be closed. Claudio, the Provost and Juliet approach. Claudio bemoans to the Provost the "demi-god", Authority" which has ordered his public shaming. Juliet departs with an officer and Claudio then explains to Lucio that he has been justly arraigned for lechery, but feels that the new governor has been too strict. He asks Lucio to see Isabella and persuade her to soften his resolve.

I;iii: The third scene of the first act takes place in a friar's cell. The Duke explains to Friar Thomas his situation. Angelo, "a man of stricture and firm abstinence" (12), is now in charge of Vienna and is meant to enforce the laws which have lain dormant for so long and so encouraged libertinism. The friar suggests that the Duke could have achieved this equally as well; but the Duke retorts that such an act would appear tyrannous, something he does not wish. The Duke wants to disguise himself as a friar, so that he can keep an eye on Angelo. He is unsure whether Angelo will be able to remain pure and virtuous in a position of power.

I;iv :This last scene of the opening act is set in the outer courtyard of a nunnery. Isabella has just arrived and talks with the nun Francisca, making clear that she seeks "strict restraint". Lucio comes and tells her of the deed committed by Claudio and Juliet. Isabella states that the solution is marriage. Lucio explains that the most strict, unsensual Angelo is now governor and has enforced the harsh sexual statutes of the city. Isabella agrees to try and help her brother Claudio by talking with Angelo. She will inform Claudio of her success "soon at night".

The first four scenes of the drama clearly comprise its exposition. All figures central to the plot enter the stage and the characterization necessary for the further development of the action in Act Two is undertaken - the audience is introduced by indirect means (the Duke's

conversation with Friar Thomas) to the ascetic Angelo and, through her own words, to the austere Isabella who seeks harsher restraint for the convent sisters. The exposition does, however, exclude one piece of pre-history: Angelo's liaison with Mariana is not mentioned until III;i. That the two main characters of Angelo and Isabella contain within them the seeds of the psychic changes we see take place in ensuing acts is suggested by the Duke's statement to the Friar that he must watch over Angelo in case power should corrupt, and by Isabella's readiness to approach the deputy on her brother's behalf, although, from her strict religious viewpoint, she can scarcely condone his deed. Lastly, this expositional act contains the thematic direction of the drama. In each successive scene the problematical task of adequate law-enforcement is the focus of concern.

As Mary Lascelles points out, the first scene of Measure for Measure functions as a form of prologue, and to a certain extent draws apart from the rest of the exposition<sup>53</sup>. To this end, the Duke's role resembles that of a theatre-director as he announces the beginning of action and establishes the dramatic situation, thereby endowing the play with its experimental, artificial atmosphere. In the second scene the action moves to a Viennese street where the dire consequences of the Duke's deputation of power, the play's first substitution, are shown on a broad scale, not only for the aristocracy, but also for the lower social echelons in the city. Angelo has issued a proclamation outlawing extra-marital sexual relations and prostitution. The incident which sets the main plot in motion has resulted: Claudio has been arrested and condemned to die for impregnating Juliet. His speech to Lucio touches upon the central thematic concern of the drama - the relationship between natural and civilized man, between irrepressible human drives and necessary legal restraints. In this scene the foil-function of the

Viennese underworld figures of the subplot is established. The anti-thesis of Angelo and Isabella, they actively encourage illegal sexual practices and demonstrate the necessity for a solution to the thematized problem. Unless appropriate measures are taken, Vienna is on a course of decay and anarchy. The enforcement of such measures is, as the Duke explains in the third scene, Lord Angelo's mission. The Duke, however, intends to observe his deputy - thus the folk-lore motif of the disguised ruler. The scene serves to reassure the audience that the play is a comedy and encourages it to relax, to observe the action from a distance and to appraise the moral issues which will be raised. Dramatic tension is deliberately lowered in this way. The last scene of the exposition introduces Isabella, Claudio's sister, and concludes with a motif anticipating the second act and rising tension: Isabella agrees to meet Angelo and will bring news to Claudio "soon at night".

II;i :The scene is set in a court of justice. Angelo and Escalus discuss modes of law-enforcement; the latter uses in his argument for moderation the possibility of fallibility on Angelo's part. Angelo insists nevertheless on absolute justice. At this moment the Provost enters with Elbow, Pompey Bum and Froth. A trial begins, which has as its subject a crime of a sexual nature. Angelo leaves the room, frustrated by Pompey's confusing story, Escalus continues the investigation, finally pardoning Froth as well as Pompey. Escalus then talks with Elbow, asking him to bring good officers to his house. Escalus invites the justice to dine with him, stating that he grieves for Claudio, but that he has no hope of mercy.

II;ii :The location has not changed. The Provost enters to find out whether Claudio is still to die for a crime which is so widespread, and Angelo confirms the execution time. Accompanied by Lucio, Isabella appears and defends her brother, vigorously encouraged by the Provost and Lucio. Angelo answers each plea with a counter-argument. Their discussion centres upon law-enforcement, mercy and human fallibility. Angelo requests Isabella to return the following day before noon. The Provost, Isabella and Lucio depart, leaving Angelo to recite a monologue, in which he reflects upon his own fallibility, his own human weakness.- he is inflamed by physical yearning for Isabella.

II;iii:The scene has moved to a walled courtyard before a prison. The Duke in friar's garb and the Provost are on stage. The former is explaining that he wishes to minister to the afflicted spirits in the prison, when Juliet approaches.

The Duke learns of her predicament and of Claudio from the Provost, and proceeds to inquire of Juliet about her feelings for her lover. He then enters the prison, stating that he will visit Claudio. The Provost and Juliet lament Claudio's imminent death.

II;iv :The scene is set in Lord Angelo's house. On his knees, he further reflects on his changed condition, on his succumbing to natural urges. A servant interrupts him to announce Isabella's presence. Angelo is again overcome by his desire for her, but when she is admitted their debate continues. Their roles reverse as Angelo now takes the side of natural man, and Isabella that of the law. The scene concludes with Claudio's fate apparently sealed - Isabella refuses to sleep with Angelo and departs to tell Claudio that he must prepare for death.

From the thematic point of view the four scenes of the second act are closely interrelated. Discussion of the conflict between the law and the natural, irrational side of human nature dominates the trial of Pompey Bum and Froth, the thematically and dramatically important meetings of Isabella and Angelo, and even the short third scene during which the Duke interviews Juliet, who realizes her liaison with Claudio is sinful, but still expresses joy at their natural act of love. On the pragmatic level, Isabella visits Angelo in the attempt to have her brother pardoned; but the hopes engendered at the close of the exposition by this course of action are dashed in the last scene of Act Two when she determines to see Claudio and "tell him yet of Angelo's request, /And fit his mind to death, for his soul's rest." (II;iv,185-186). The main plot movement of the second act is thus concluded in this monologue which crystallizes the situation and the audience looks forward to a fresh encounter, that between brother and sister, which must be climactic.

The first and the third scene disrupt the flow of the central action between Angelo and Isabella. The former can be understood in two ways. Firstly, the predominant tendency of the act is towards reflection: action is reduced to a minimum. The first scene encourages this tendency by disappointing audience expectation of the meeting between Angelo and

Isabella. Dramatic tension is broken by this intervention of the subplot and the audience forced to relax and to consider thematic questions. In this connection, the altercation between the law (Escalus) and the underworld (Pompey) serves, secondly, as a foil to the trial of Claudio, with Angelo as prosecutor and Isabella as defence lawyer. The third scene shows the Duke learning of Claudio's crime and of Claudio's feelings. It is a parallel scene to I;iii. As Mary Lascelles comments:

"It works a needed change upon the long-drawn-out dispute between Angelo and Isabel, serving a purpose not unlike that of sleep in our lives; it changes intricate preoccupation in simple sense of impending disaster. Moreover, it relieves physically, even as sleep relieves, yielding a sensation as of coolness and freshness ..." 54

In the second act there is a definite emphasis placed upon the scene to the detriment of the act movement. Instead of being subordinate to the promotion of rising tension (the traditional task of the second act), the main scenes (i, ii, iv), are exceptionally long and devoted to the exposition of ideas. In this way, not the audience's emotional capacity but, as Anthony Caputi explains, its critical faculty is stimulated<sup>55</sup>. The bipartite structure of the individual scenes is determined by the lengthy debate carried out by the figures involved. Escalus argues for law and the civilized man, Pompey for natural drives and chaos. Angelo insists upon the strict enforcement of laws, Isabella upon human weakness and hence upon mercy. A balance is also struck within the act when Angelo and Isabella reverse their roles at their second meeting. Whereas in II;ii Angelo had represented the law and Isabella humanity, in II;iv Isabella is forced to demand her brother's death when Angelo, through human frailty, threatens her chastity and so sinks to the level of the defendant Claudio.

The last scene of the act is particularly significant because of its framework structure. The debate between Angelo and Isabella is enclosed by two monologues (II;iv,1-17; II;iv,170-186), in which the two give expression to their changed outlooks. These monologues mark significant turning-points in the design of the play. Structural principles becoming apparent in Act Two and decisive for the general plan of Measure for Measure are those of repetition and contrast. This is evident not only in the parallel trial scenes (Escalus/Pompey, Froth; Angelo/Claudio), but also in the grouping of analogous figures (Escalus/Angelo/Isabella; Pompey/Isabella/Angelo).

III;i :The Duke, Claudio and the Provost are together in a courtyard before the prison. The Duke reassures Claudio about his execution and, in a long speech, reconciles him to death. Isabella enters, whereupon the Duke and Provost depart, the former seeking a place whence he can eavesdrop on the conversation between Isabella and Claudio. Isabella also attempts to soothe Claudio, who is at first agreeable. Telling him of Angelo's offer, however, Isabella is confronted with the demand that she succumb. With harsh words she turns from her brother and thereby his execution is decided. But the Duke comes forward at this moment; he calms Claudio again, then discusses with an acquiescent Isabella his plan to use a surrogate, Mariana, once intended for marriage to Angelo. Such an arrangement could free Claudio and bring Angelo and Mariana together.

III;ii :Elbow and his officers enter the courtyard with Pompey Bum in their custody. The Duke is disgusted by Pompey and his underworld occupation and instructs Elbow to incarcerate him. Elbow states that he first must be brought before Angelo, which occasions the Duke's vehement wish that those who appear to be faultless (Angelo) were in fact so. Lucio appears and a comic scene ensues, replete with bawdy wit. The Duke and Lucio then talk about the characters of the "absent" Duke and Angelo. The main subjects are their individual moral standing and natural, human libido. Lucio leaves and the Provost, Escalus and Mistress Overdone appear. Mistress Overdone is arraigned for her bawdiness, but not before she has mentioned Lucio and his relationship with Kate Keepdown. Escalus reaffirms the execution hour, then talks with the "friar" about the "absent" Duke and Angelo. The Duke refers again to the fatal consequences of hypocrisy for the magistrate. Alone, the Duke states in monologue that "He who the sword of heaven will bear/Should be as holy as severe" (253f.). He intends to thwart Angelo's evil:

"Craft against vice I must apply.

With Angelo tonight shall lie  
 His old betrothed, but despised:  
 So disguise shall be th' disguised  
 Pay with falsehood false exacting,  
 And perform an old contracting."  
 (270-275)

The third act contains the climax of the play. Isabella visits her brother in prison, explains Angelo's proposition and, begged by a desperate Claudio to submit, turns away in disgust and refusal. Isabella's reversal in outlook at this point forms, as does Angelo's in II;iv, a central structural pivot of the action of Measure for Measure. As David Stevenson notes, Isabella's transformation from a merciful to a rigorous, unforgiving attitude ironically marks, within the total context of the play, the turning-point toward "real justice and real mercy"<sup>56</sup>. The zenith of the rising action thus occurs at III;i,150. Tension lessens with the entrances of the Duke (III;i,151) and the audience prepares for the solution to the problems of the plot promised by the Duke in the monologue concluding III;ii. The play reveals structural symmetry in that the climax takes place almost at the mid-point of the 2705 lines (after 1261 lines). The new direction which the play follows at this crucial moment is signalled by the change from verse to prose, a transition which in itself relaxes the emotional tension.

As Mary Lascelles notes, scene division need only take place when a certain time has elapsed, the place changed or a set of figures has left the stage. This being so, there should be no break when Elbow and Pompey appear (III,ii), for the Duke has remained on stage and the location, a courtyard before the prison, has not altered. By spatial and temporal means the unity of the act is guaranteed. Pragmatically, the third act sees the intervention of the Duke as an all-powerful figure who stands in stark contrast to Angelo as he proceeds to establish the plot-motifs which will lead to the conclusion and true justice. In particular he

construes the plan of a substitute bed-mate for Isabella, just as he had arranged that Angelo should be his own substitute - the repetition of certain plot-motifs is an important structure-giving element in the drama. The figures of Angelo and Isabella also parallel Claudio and Juliet; Angelo's sexual involvement with Mariana exactly duplicates the one for which he had sentenced Claudio to death, both sets of lovers had intended marriage, and neither marriage is realized because of problems with the dowry. With the introduction of Angelo and Mariana as a couple identical to Claudio and Juliet, the audience realizes that the second half of the play will mirror the first: Angelo will now be on trial and his fate will depend on Isabella, who will be confronted with the same moral dilemma. Such repetition has caused David Stevenson to state that Measure for Measure is "overtly, almost grossly, schematic in its architecture"<sup>57</sup>. A further couple introduced for similar reasons of comparison and contrast are Lucio and Kate Keepdown. Mistress Overdone reports that Lucio impregnated, then deserted Kate, although he had vowed to marry her.

The second scene of Act Three includes episodes which are clearly intended for light entertainment and amusement - they can be justified neither thematically nor pragmatically. Such an episode is the witty and obscene interchange between Pompey and Lucio (III;ii,40-82). Much of the scene results, as Stevenson has remarked, in "greatly reduced tension"<sup>58</sup>. The play, he continues, "seems to relax, to pause for a survey of some of the less elevated, more casual aspects of man's liability to sexual desire"<sup>59</sup>. Thematically relevant, the comments by Pompey Bum, Mistress Overdone and Lucio balance the morally-weighted opinions about natural man voiced by Angelo and Isabella. Lucio, in particular, reminds the disguised Duke that he too is but a man, who must therefore be merciful. Lucio's statements seem to disturb the Duke, who seeks reassurance about his own character from Escalus. The underworld fantastic obliges the Duke to

reflect upon key concepts such as self-knowledge and the role of the magistrate, reflection necessary before the Duke can steer the plot towards its dénouement. The Duke's monologue (III,ii,254-275) is the result of their discussion. It shows that he is now in charge of the action and functions very much like an epilogue, summarising theme and situation before a return to feverish plot activity. There is good reason to suppose that an interval took place at this time.

IV;i :The scene is the garden of a moated grange, where Mariana is visited by the Duke in his friar's disguise. Mariana enters the grange while the Duke talks with Isabella about their scheme to deal with Angelo's perfidy. Mariana returns and Isabella takes her aside to confer. The scene concludes with mutual agreement between Mariana, Isabella and the Duke.

IV;ii :In the courtroom of the prison the Provost leaves Pompey Bum and Abhorson to discuss Pompey's suitability as a hangman's helper. The Provost returns and requests that the block be ready for four o'clock the following day. The Duke enters the guardroom in search of Isabella, who is not yet present. The Duke and the Provost talk about the deputy, the Duke again declaring that Angelo is acting correctly as long as he himself is not subject to the drives he is trying to control in others. The Duke assures the Provost that a pardon will yet arrive for Claudio. A messenger enters, and although the Duke believes it will be a pardon (Angelo having realized that he cannot execute someone for a crime of which he too is guilty), it is Angelo's order for early execution. Producing ducal insignia, the Duke arranges that the Provost execute Barnadine in Claudio's place.

IV;iii:The scene has not changed, and Pompey enters to describe amusingly the gathered prisoners and acquaintances. Barnadine refuses to be executed as the Duke had arranged. The Duke comes, followed by the Provost, who suggests Ragozine as the replacement for Barnadine. After the Provost has departed, the Duke writes a letter to Angelo, arranging his public trial at the consecrated fount a league outside the city-gates. The Provost returns with the head of Ragozine, a criminal who had died of natural causes. He is commanded by the Duke to take it to Angelo. Isabella enters and is informed by the Duke that Claudio has been executed, whereupon she weeps and curses Angelo. The Duke gives her a letter for Friar Peter, so that he will know to meet the Duke at Mariana's house. Lucio then arrives at the prison, and makes injurious statements about the Duke in his presence. Isabella leaves and Lucio proceeds to worsen his situation in regard to the Duke.

IV;iv :The scene is now a room in Angelo's house; Escalus and Angelo are bemused by the Duke's message, but are prepared to inform

the public of the meeting at the fount. With Escalus' departure, Angelo expresses in monologue his fears and thoughts. He wishes only that Claudio had lived.

IV;v :The scene takes place at the consecrated fount, where the Duke gives Friar Peter more instructions. Another companion of the Duke, Varrius, appears also.

IV;vi :Isabella and Mariana, in a street near the city-gate, talk of their instructions from the Duke. Friar Peter announces that a position has been found for them near the Duke.

The fourth act of Measure for Measure differs considerably from the two which precede it. The long reflective scenes typical of Act Two and, to a lesser degree, of Act Three, give way to shorter scenes in which Shakespeare's purpose, in answer to the Duke's declaration at the end of Act Three, is to unravel a complicated situation as quickly as possible in preparation for the last act:

"Act IV brings us back to the action of the play after the long pause of III;ii, and Measure for Measure begins its complicated pattern of descent from its climatic scenes to its final resolution. In terms of dramatic structure and design, Act IV is largely concerned with plot ... " 60

The first scene of the act, the meeting at the moated grange, is, as Mary Lascelles has perceived, favourably placed, because it relieves the depression long prison scenes have probably incurred. This scene also reflects I;i in the repetition of the motif of substitution. Only at this point does Mariana, like Angelo before her, agree to the Duke's scheme. Scene Two and Scene Three see a return to the confines of the prison. The substitution motif plays a further part as Barnadine, himself intended as a replacement for Claudio, is replaced by Ragozine as the victim. The murderer Barnadine, essentially superfluous to the plot mechanism, is a contrasting figure to Claudio who recalls Angelo's statement that pre-marital intercourse is equally as bad as murder (II;iv,42-46). In Barnadine's case, the thematically-based structural principle of

repetition for purposes of contrast overrides and retards the act movement, as it had done in the trial scene in II;i, for example. Stevenson comments:

"Barnadine's function in the penultimate moments of Measure for Measure, I take it, is to give the play, and its audience, a further sense of moral perspective." 61

Humorous episodes have again been incorporated into the plot, which are not vital to it, but reassure the audience that the ending will be a happy one. Examples of these are Pompey's quipping with the Provost and Abhorson (IV;ii,1-59), and his review of the prison inmates (IV;iii,1-18).

The two concluding scenes of the act are problematical. Scene Five has caused at least one eminent critic to state:

"Where, if anywhere, to put IV,5 with its peculiar difficulties is a question that may never be answered." 62

The last scene could quite easily be part of the fifth act, since no time can reasonably elapse between Friar Peter's "The duke is ent'ring" (14) and the entrance of the Duke. Indeed, the fourth act would end most appropriately after Scene Four with the Duke's invitation to Angelo to meet at the consecrated fount.

V;i :The scene is a public place outside the city-gates. All the main figures of the plot are present - Angelo, Escalus, the Provost, Lucio, Isabella and Mariana. The Duke has just "returned" and is greeted by Angelo and Escalus whom he thanks for their service. Friar Peter and Isabella approach: the latter brings her complaint against Angelo, who asserts that her "wits ... are not firm" (33). Lucio interrupts her explanation of the Angelo affair and is firmly scolded by the Duke, who states his disbelief at her story and orders her arrest. Before her removal, Isabella cites Friar Lodowick (the Duke's alias) as her accomplice. The Duke sends for the Friar, whom Lucio in the meantime has accused of insulting the Duke. Friar Peter approaches and defends not only Angelo but also Friar Lodowick, who, as Peter reports, is sick with fever. The trial begins. Mariana, in a veil, is the first witness and is interrogated by the Duke, himself constantly interrupted by Lucio. Mariana states that

she will not remove her veil until told to do so by her husband. Angelo then demands to see her face, at which point, significantly, she removes it. Angelo confesses his relationship with Mariana, who asserts that the marriage has now been consummated, which baffles Angelo, who requests of the Duke that he be allowed to handle the case. The Duke consents and, sending for Lodowick, absents himself. The Duke, disguised once again, returns and is almost imprisoned by Escalus for his slanderous statements about Vienna's perverted condition. Lucio harangues the disguised Duke and, enraged, tears the hood from his head. All is thus revealed. The trial proper begins. Angelo confesses instantly and requests that he be executed. The Duke commands him firstly to marry Mariana, and only afterwards to be executed. The Duke excuses himself before Isabella that he could not prevent Claudio's execution. Angelo returns from the nuptial ceremony and is sentenced to die. Mariana begs for his life and implores Isabella to help her. The Duke points out that she could do this despite the fact that Angelo caused her brother's death. Isabella kneels on Angelo's behalf. Without pronouncing his decision, the Duke turns to the Provost and asks why he put someone to death on the strength of a private measure. The Provost, however, produces Barnadine and the masked Claudio. Claudio's disguise is removed and he is pardoned. The Duke seeks Isabella's hand in marriage. Lucio, finally, is ordered to marry Kate Keepdown for slandering a prince.

The final act of the play is a closed and unified whole, because its entire action occurs in the one place, at a fount outside the city, and in strict, causal sequence. There are no time gaps in the dramatic action - after the Duke's entry the plot moves swiftly toward dénouement. Dramatic tension rises within the act itself as the Duke deliberately delays any intervention or revelation. Isabella approaches and accuses Angelo, as the "friar" had advised her to do, but the Duke orders her arrest. The intention is, clearly, not only to put Angelo on trial, but also to test Isabella by frustrating her and thereby inciting violent anger and deeper revenge. After this her request for mercy, which she could not voice for her own brother, has much greater effect and significance. The trial scene arranged by the Duke differs from the others in the play, for the defendant is now the judge. Whereas in the trial scene of II;iv Angelo the judge became Angelo the criminal with his proposition to Isabella, here the accused is called upon to judge, in effect, himself. Note-worthy, too, is that the second half of the play, dealing with the fate of Angelo and Mariana (equivalent to Claudio and Juliet), ends differently

from the first, with mercy for the accused man, not condemnation. Motif-repetition for purposes of contrast occurs also when three marriages are confirmed and one seems most likely. Lucio, Angelo and Claudio must all marry the women with whom they had illicit relationships; and the Duke asks Isabella if she will marry him. In this way all strands of the dramatic action are satisfactorily concluded.

### 1.7.2. Conclusion

The design of Measure for Measure is determined by a bipartite structural principle of repetition for reasons of contrast. The German scholar Horst Oppel notes the value of this structural feature in Shakespeare's oeuvre:

"Konstrastwirkungen in der Handlungs-  
führung eines Shakespeare-Dramas sind  
so offensichtlich, daß sich schwerlich an  
die Interpretation auch nur eines einzigen  
Stückes denken ließe, bei der nicht davon  
die Rede sein müßte." 63

In Measure for Measure the principle is based upon the titular and thematic concept of "measure" for "measure". One action or "measure" is constantly being contrasted with another. The most important example is Claudio's relationship with Juliet and Angelo's with Mariana. The play falls into distinct, symmetrical halves which mirror one another in detail, clearly highlighting this structural principle. The first half, which is dominated by the figure of Angelo, begins with the Duke's deputation of power in I;i, and ends not only with what is essentially the trial scene of Claudio in II;iv, but also with two reversals in character by Angelo and Isabella. Angelo the judge sinks to the same level as Claudio, that of criminal, when he propositions Isabella. Isabella, who had sought mercy, now seeks the death-penalty. The climax of the first half lies in III;i, with Isabella's delivery of the verdict to Claudio.

The second half commences also with the substitution motif when, in III;i, the Duke, who has replaced Angelo as the catalyst of the dramatic action, suggests that Mariana replace Isabella as Angelo's bed-mate. It closes, again corresponding to the first half, with the trial of Angelo arranged by the Duke. The same reversals occur when the Duke asks Angelo to judge the case, his own case, and when Isabella, again the crucial person, changes her verdict of the same crime. Angelo the defendant becomes Angelo the judge, and Isabella's rigour is superseded by mercy. To a certain degree there is justification in dividing the play into two unequal parts, the first ending with the Duke's monologue in III;ii, the second beginning with Mariana's agreement to the plan in IV;i. This does not really disturb the play's true symmetry, however. With the Duke's suggestion of a substitution in III;i there is no doubt that his plan will be executed. Mariana's agreement does not even warrant stage-time.

This inner structure does not conflict with the outer division into acts and scenes. The first half of the play climaxes in the third act with Claudio's death-sentence: it concludes the rising action of the second act. The expositional first act applies not only to the first half, but to the entire play: the second half of the play's development cannot be separated from the first, but comprises its thematic and pragmatic continuation and resolution. Stanton Millet concludes:

"Looking at Measure for Measure in simplest outline form makes the real unity of structure apparent. Act I presents all of the problems involved in the theme of government; Act II is devoted to Angelo's and Isabella's false ideas of law and judgement; Act III, by way of contrast, presents the Duke's true understanding of government; and Acts IV and V bring together the two opposing theories which have so far been developed separately. This extended contrast and comparison develops and explains all of the questions posed in Act I." 64

The second act, though, shows the tendency away from the act movement. The subplot disrupts at length (II;i is the longest scene of the play) the forward movement of the action. Together with the long second and fourth scenes, it demonstrates Shakespeare's concern to reflect upon the issues at the heart of the play. Other episodes, such as the one concerning Barnadine, are also evidence of this intention. However, the loose, episodic tendency particularly apparent in II;i does not mar the unity of the play. A general principle of "qualitative unity", based on that of contrast, may be distinguished:

"... in spite of a not infrequent failure to bring their different actions together in a unified piece of plotting, Elizabethan dramatists often achieved a kind of unity ... by throwing the different actions into some relation of reinforcing, complementary, or contrasting tones: for example, in repeating the same theme in different keys ..." 65

R.B. Parker refers to the rhythmic quality of Renaissance drama:

"... the chief principle of Renaissance structure is unity in multiplicity ... the parts being related sequentially but not causally, and some ... added purely for rhythmic purposes, as repetition or contrast, without furthering the cause-and-effect plot-line at all." 66

In his treatise on Shakespeare's problem plays, Ernest Schanzer defines the genre as one "in which we find a concern with a moral problem which is central to it, presented in such a manner that we are unsure of our moral bearings, so that uncertain and divided responses to it in the minds of the audience are possible or even probable." 67. The problem play thus seeks intellectual, not emotional reactions. A structural analysis of Measure for Measure lends support to its classification as such a play. Its structure clearly forces the audience to reflect upon thematic issues, to adopt a critical stance which hinders emotional identification.

### 1.8. Open and Closed Form in Measure for Measure

As Volker Klotz remarks in his study of open and closed dramatic form, the playwrights of the English Elizabethan period showed a clear preference for the open form. This tendency, he continues, is however not as marked as in German literary tradition. In contrast to the extreme "open" nature of plays written by J.M.R. Lenz or Büchner, for example, Shakespeare's works for the stage, including Measure for Measure, contain elements of both the open and the closed dramatic form.

Instead of a *dramatis personae* consisting only in members of the aristocracy, individuals belonging to the lowest levels of society are permitted to appear: Pompey Bum, for example, a common tapster in a brothel, has a speaking role comparable to those of either Claudio or Escalus, both of high social standing. The pluralistic nature of the cast, already typical of a mixed dramatic form, requires corresponding types of language. The audience is indeed confronted at one moment with monologues and moral maxims uttered in verse, at the next with everyday, spontaneous remarks, conversation and crude imagery in prose.

Further evidence of the presence of elements belonging to both the open and closed drama is supplied by reference to the play's structure and form. Shakespeare disregards the three unities adhered to so consistently by the classical French dramatists in particular. The location changes frequently and oscillates widely between the haunts of the underworld figures and the inner sanctum of the Viennese governmental circle, the council-chamber. Not only does the action take approximately four days to reach a dénouement (rather than Aristotle's twenty-four hours), but the author's relaxed attitude towards the question of time results in numerous discrepancies in the text. It must be noted, though, that

Shakespeare's anti-Aristotelean inclinations in Measure for Measure are by no means as strongly evident as in his historical plays. In King John, for instance, geographical location changes on an epic scale (the action oscillates between England and France). The second part of his treatment of the life of Henry the Fourth begins shortly after the rout of the rebels at Shrewsbury and ends with Henry's death, a time-span of ten years.

Although the greater part of the plot of Measure for Measure comprises a closely-knit, causally-related sequence of events, each dependent upon, and following, the other (again required by Aristotle and reiterated by post-Shakespearean dramaturgists such as Lessing and Schiller), episodes have been inserted which are pragmatically superfluous, but function as thematic foils to the main action:

"This sense of episode implies not developed situations which are essential parts of a whole, but variable particulars or details as distinct from the general essentials of the action, and it suggests the sense of something subsidiary or additional to the plot - relevant, and useful to clarify or amplify it, but not absolutely essential." 68

Here the model for the open drama's emphasis upon the scene to the detriment of the act is to be found. The play does, however, conform to the outer act structure, with exposition, climax and solution in the closed, Aristotelean manner:

"Having thus distinguished the parts, let us now consider the proper construction of the Fable or Plot, as that is at once the first and the most important thing in tragedy. We have laid it down that a tragedy is an imitation of an action that is complete in itself, as a whole of some magnitude; for a whole may be of no magnitude to speak of. Now a whole is that which has a beginning, middle, and end. A beginning is that which is not itself necessarily after anything else, and which has naturally something else after it; an end is that which is naturally after something itself, either as its necessary or usual consequent, and with nothing else after it; and a middle, that which is by nature after one thing, and also has another after it." 69

2. From Measure for Measure to the Vienna-version:The Genesis of Die Rundköpfe und die Spitzköpfe

An exact determination of the date upon which Bertolt Brecht began his adaptation of William Shakespeare's Measure for Measure is difficult to provide. The official Bertolt Brecht-Archiv catalogue, the Bestandsverzeichnis des literarischen Nachlasses<sup>70</sup>, contains fragmentary evidence that work had already commenced in 1929<sup>71</sup>. Further, Ludwig Berger, who had commissioned the adaptation for Berlin's Volksbühne, states in his report on his collaboration with Brecht that they had begun work towards the end of the 1920's:

"... so erinnert mich diese Paradoxie an meine Shakespeare-Gespräche mit Bertolt Brecht Ende der zwanziger Jahre in Berlin ... Wir begaben uns damals gemeinsam an ein Experiment. Ursprünglich sollte es eine Bearbeitung von MaB für MaB werden ..." <sup>72</sup>

Gisela Bahr makes reference to Berger's dating<sup>73</sup>, but prefers to cite Klaus Völker who, in his Brecht-Chronik, establishes November 1931, as the date of commencement<sup>74</sup>; and modern scholarship adopts Völker's dating unanimously.

According to Völker's analysis then, it must be assumed that between November 1931, and January 30, 1933<sup>75</sup>, Brecht completed a total of five versions of the adaptation (BBA 253, 254, 256, 260, 261). The titles of the various versions range from MaB für MaB oder die Salzsteuer Nach Shakespeare von Brecht (BBA 253) to Die Spitzköpfe und die Rundköpfe / oder / Reich und reich gesellt sich gern (BBA 261). Apart from these five complete versions, it is possible, on the basis of fragments, scene-plans and Ludwig Berger's contributions (the scene containing Isabella's visit to Angeler, the exchange with Mariana and the final scene<sup>76</sup>) to reconstruct Brecht's first attempt to come to terms with the Shakespearean model. This incomplete version, which has been called the Vienna-version, most closely resembles Measure for Measure.

It cannot be determined with any certainty which of the early versions of the adaptation was presented to the Volksbühne for consideration.

Goldhahn suggests:

"Die Bearbeitung - sie trug den Titel Die Rundköpfe und die Spitzköpfe oder Die Salzsteuer - wurde von der Volksbühne wegen der allzu deutlichen Beziehungen zur damaligen deutschen Gegenwart abgelehnt ..." 77

Despite the incorrectness of this title (there is no such entry in the Bestandsverzeichnis des literarischen Nachlasses), the mention in it of the salt-tax would tend to suggest that BBA 253, the only manuscript whose title has a reference to the salt-tax, represents the final stage of any commissioned work. As Goldhahn states, it was refused by the Volksbühne management, most probably owing to political considerations <sup>78</sup>. From Brecht's correspondence it becomes apparent that BBA 253, the only manuscript title containing a direct allusion to Measure for Measure (MaB für MaB) was completed in mid or late 1932. In a letter to Hanns Eisler sent from Utting in the summer or autumn of that year, Brecht states:

"Die MaB für MaB-Bearbeitung ist fertig und ganz gut (unaufführbar) geworden." 79

The fate of the fifth of the complete texts (BBA 261), originally to have been published by the Kiepenheuer-Verlag in early 1933 in the Versuche series, was determined by Adolf Hitler's rise to power. The National Socialists confiscated the plates necessary for its printing, and consequently it was first published in 1959 by the Suhrkamp-Verlag. With Hitler's acceptance of the chancellorship and the ensuing Reichstagsbrand Brecht left Germany on February 28, 1933, visiting Czechoslovakia, Austria, Switzerland and France before settling in December 1933, on the Danish island of Fünen. With the collaboration of Per Knutzon, Margarete Steffin and Hanns Eisler, the latter of whom arrived on Fünen in March 1934, work continued on the play, extant in the form of the Kiepenheuer print-proofs which Brecht had managed to retain. Knutzon, apparently assuming a manuscript to be ready, wrote to Brecht on January 22, 1934, inquiring

about the play <sup>80</sup>. But even in April and May of 1934 Brecht reports by letter to Karl Korsch that he is still working on the "Peakhead" or Versuche manuscript:

"Ich stecke immer noch in schwerer Arbeit an den Spitzköpfen ..." <sup>81</sup>

A further version (Die Rundköpfe und die Spitzköpfe. Mit einer Musik von Hanns Eisler (BBA 257)) was not completed until late May or early June 1934. In another letter to Korsch, which the editor of Brecht's correspondence dates "Mai/Juni 1934", Brecht states:

"Das Stillschweigen kam von einer letzten Kraftanspannung für die Rundköpfe, die wir ... ganz befriedigend in Ordnung bringen konnten." <sup>82</sup>

BBA 257 represents a turning-point in the growth of the new play: it contains the eleven scenes found in the final version <sup>83</sup>.

A Danish newspaper, Berlingske Tidende, announced on June 10, 1934, that Brecht's play, with the sub-title "Ein satirisches Drama zum Rassenproblem von Bert Brecht, Musik Hanns Eisler" <sup>84</sup>, would have its world première in Copenhagen <sup>85</sup>. And indeed, in September 1934, Brecht was in Copenhagen discussing with Per Knutzon the possibility of staging the Rundköpfe play. These discussions with the Danish producer finally bore fruit much later, however, on November 4, 1936, with the première in Copenhagen's experimental theatre "Riddersalen". It should be noted that by 1936 Brecht had already attempted more than once to have his play produced (Paris, 1933; New York, 1935 <sup>86</sup>). The version corresponding most closely to this Danish-language production is BBA 259 <sup>87</sup>.

On October 3, 1934, Brecht travelled to England where talks took place with Wieland Herzfelde of the Malik-Verlag <sup>88</sup> concerning an envisaged 1935 publication of Brecht's complete works. There can be no doubt that further rewriting had been undertaken between June and late September 1934, one product of which, BBA 431, is the version seemingly intended

by Brecht for publication by Malik. On the second title-page of a carbon-copy of BBA 431, BBA 2151, the original of which may be found in the Lenin library in Moscow, one discovers what is presumably the date of receipt of the manuscript, "25.9.34", also "Malik-Verlag", "1935", the intended year of publication, as well as instructions for the composer, probably written by Wieland Herzfelde himself. The complex of manuscripts beginning with BBA 431 (BBA 430, 2151) marks the final stage of the development of the play; at this point the texts are very similar to those published. BBA 2151, for example, contains the name-changes from Judith and Eskahler to Nanna and Missena.

The play was not published by the Malik-Verlag until 1938 in the second volume of the Gesammelte Werke; as Gisela Bahr notes, there is no model in the archives for this published version, nor, indeed, for any of the published versions<sup>89</sup>. The play was next published in the fourteen volume Suhrkamp/Aufbau edition of the Stücke (1957), and then again in volume three of Suhrkamp's twenty volume edition (Gesammelte Werke in 20 Bänden (1967)). An English translation by N. Goold-Verschoyle appeared in the fifth number of International Literature (Moscow) in 1937. The first production on the West-German stage took place on October 21, 1962, at the Landestheater in Hannover, under the direction of Günter Fleckenstein. The play was first performed in East-Germany on April 12, 1964, at the Landestheater in Halle, where the director was Kurt Veth<sup>90</sup>.

Excursus: Brecht's Theory of Adaptation and his Attitude towards Shakespeare 1926-1936

I

Brecht's ideas about dramatic adaptation do not form a systematic unity within this period, but are to be found in numerous, isolated contexts such as radio broadcasts, newspaper articles and private work notes. They are linked with his attitude toward the classical writers, not only the German such as Schiller, Goethe or Hebbel, but also the English, in particular Shakespeare.

Brecht's first extended treatment of the adaptation theme is contained in a group of observations compiled by the editor of the Gesammelte Werke under the title "Materialwert"<sup>91</sup>. Probably written in early 1926, they are the product of the aggressive, polemical Brecht striving to discard the old in favour of the new:

"Es ist ein großes allseitiges Interesse dafür vorhanden, daß nichts direkt Neues gemacht wird. Dieses Interesse herrscht auf allen Gebieten und ist dasjenige der Leute, die sich bei den alten Dingen und Verläufen wohl fühlen. Es ist verständlich, daß bei jenen, die etwas Altes nicht mehr haben wollen, die Meinung vorherrscht, ihr schlimmster Anblick seien jene, die sich wohl fühlen." (GW, 15, p. 105)

The main section of this polemical tract comprises a re-interpretation of the motivation of the Vandals, the wilful destroyers of Roman statues. Because the Vandals had not learnt the skill of writing, it was left to the Romans to record their activities. They concluded that the Vandals either did not like the Roman style of art or did not like art at all. According to Brecht, however, they were not fanatical aesthetes displeased with any particular form or direction or artistic creation; they emphasized on the contrary the "substance-value" (Materialwert") of art-works - the wood used in the construction of statues could be put to better use

in building fires. Their attitude towards culture was one of disrespect, an outlook Brecht advocates in conclusion as the only manner in which the artist can discover the "substance-value" of an entity:

"Es mag in einem höheren Sinn gegen uns sprechen (wie wir überhaupt von höherer Warte zunächst schlecht abschneiden), daß wir den Vandalismus nicht vom ethischen Standpunkt aus beurteilen, sondern daß wir lediglich daraus eine Lehre ziehen wollen. Sie ist: daß man nur durch Schnoddrigkeit zum Materialwert einer Sache kommen kann." (GW,15,pp.105-106)

Brecht does not therefore represent a radically negative approach to the cultural products of the past, as his opening statements may have suggested. The adaptation process implies an arrogant, provocative extraction of the valuable "substance" from a work of art. In the majority of cases, Brecht determines that solely the plot of a dramatic work is of value. For example, only the plot of Hebbel's Herodes und Mariamne is deemed worthy of retention, and even then the last act should be omitted! Brecht uses the image of a partly dismantled coach. As a coach it has outlived its purposes for a technological age; its parts, though, may still be of service in the creation of new products. An adaptation of Schiller's Wallenstein would also contain much of the plot, but it would require editing and an entirely new direction in the meaning of the play:

"Das Stück Wallenstein ... enthält ... einen gar nicht geringen Materialwert; die historische Handlung ist nicht übel eingeteilt, der Text auf ganze Strecken hinaus, richtig zusammengestrichen und mit anderem Sinn versehen, schließlich verwendbar." (GW,15,p.106)

In this context Brecht cites Ludwig Jessner, "der von der Presse gefeierte Anführer des derzeitigen Vandalentums auf dem Theater" (GW,15,p.107), who had revived Goethe's Faust for the contemporary German theatre. By means of extensive editing and restructuring and by stressing sections neglected by Goethe, Jessner had discovered the "substance-value" of the classical work. "Substance-value" can be equated to the other central Brechtian concept of "use-value", which he expounds in his lyric theory. Classical

dramas may be dissected and the parts judged from the point of view of their usefulness for the modern age. Only in this way is it possible to develop a modern repertoire:

"Wie soll man denn ein Repertoire aufbauen können, wenn man diese Sachen durch Argumente zerstört und als Ganzes ablehnt?" (GW,15,p.106)

Brecht was a violent critic of the culinary misuse<sup>92</sup> and reverent treatment of the classical repertoire by the bourgeois theatre. For the sake of self-preservation it had experimented on a formal plane with the classical drama, but unsuccessfully. Brecht states in "Wie soll man heute Klassiker spielen?"<sup>93</sup> that only through the adoption of "new viewpoints" ("neue Gesichtspunkte") and their application in the adaptation of the bourgeois classical repertoire could the latter survive. A "new viewpoint" might find expression on either the formal or the thematic plane. In his 1929 essay "Reinhardt/Jessner/Piscator oder Klassikertod?", which discusses twentieth-century drama and its relationship to the classics, Herbert Ihering praises Brecht's adaptation of Christopher Marlowe's Edward the Second for its objective, "epic" style:

"In einer Zeit, in der die Größe des Individuums selbst fraglich geworden war, konnten Postamente nicht helfen. Für Größe mußte ein anderer Begriff gesetzt werden. Brecht setzte für Größe: Distanz. Das ist seine theatergeschichtliche Tat. Er verkleinerte die Menschen nicht. Er atomisierte die Figuren nicht. Er entfernte sie. Er nahm dem Schauspieler die „Gemütlichkeit“, die sich temperamentvoll anbietet. Er forderte Rechenschaft über die Vorgänge. Er verlangte einfache Gesten. Er zwang zu klarem, kühlem Sprechen. Keine Gefühlsmogelei wurde geduldet. Das ergab den objektiven, den „epischen“ Stil." 94

Erwin Piscator had revived Schiller's Die Räuber by weakening the role of Karl Moor in favour of Spiegelberg. Both Brecht and Ihering deemed this production significant because of its thematic re-evaluation ("Weil sie dem Theater ... statt ästhetischer Finessen wieder Inhalt zuführte, Substanz ..." (GW,15,p.180).

## II

Brecht considered Piscator's political emphasis increasingly important. He was, however, against classical adaptations such as Die Räuber until the theatre as a social institution could accommodate and make effective contemporary dramaturgy with its revolutionary orientation:

"Ganz unumwunden: Ich meine, daß es nicht den geringsten Sinn hat, ein Stück von Shakespeare aufzuführen, bevor das Theater imstande ist, die zeitgenössische Produktion zur Wirkung zu bringen." (GW,15,p.113)

He stresses this point in a fragmentary text given the title "Kein Interesse am Stoff" by the Suhrkamp editor:

"Ein längst fälliger Einwand gegen uns ist, daß man uns ungeheuer gefördert hat. Zu diesem Zweck hat man uns die vorhandenen, völlig eingerichteten alten Theater überlassen, die uns schlankweg erledigten ... Es war der Ehrlichkeit des Prinzips wegen anererkennungswert, zum Beispiel von Shakespeare das aufzuführen, was das zeitgenössische Theater erfassen konnte, aber es wäre nötig gewesen, das sich anzusehen, was das Theater also erfassen konnte, und zuzugeben, daß es bei- nahe nichts war." (GW,15,pp.114-115).

According to Brecht then, the entire theatre apparatus at the disposal of the modern playwrights was of little use and, if used, detrimental to the new productions<sup>95</sup>. The classical works, on the other hand, could be utilized. Brecht compares their manipulation by the modern theatre in its pre-epic state to the slaughter of "completely healthy pigs" for the production of clothes-brushes - the modern theatre abused the classical works. Among the classical dramatists, Shakespeare was, to continue Brecht's metaphor, an outstandingly "healthy pig".

In the notes to his 1928 production of Die Dreigroschenoper, Brecht makes a reference to the Elizabethan drama, which is characterized as "dynamic", "idealistic" and as "focusing upon the individual" ("dynamische, ideell gerichtete, das Individuum behandelnde Dramatik" (GW,17,p.998)). Although its overriding tendency is idealistic, Brecht distinguishes a form of

materialism:

"Hierin lebt ein Etwas jenes Baconschen Materialismus, und auch das Individuum selber hat noch Fleisch und Bein und widerstrebt der Formel." (GW,17,p.999)

This materialism consisted in the attitude the writers displayed towards their dramatic material, the individual. They portrayed an individual existence in its totality and thereby imbued their works with vital, dynamic qualities:

"Die Konstruktion beseitigte hier nicht die Abweichungen der Individuen von ihrem gradlinigen Lauf, welche "durch das Leben" verursacht werden (hier spielen allerorten noch Beziehungen nach außen herein, zu anderen "nicht vorkommenden" Angelegenheiten, der Ausstich des Spatens ist ein viel größerer), sondern sie verwendet diese Abweichungen als Motoren der Dynamik ... Die ganze Wucht dieser Dramatik kommt von dem Aufsammeln der Widerstände." (GW,17,p.998)

They did not try to excise or rearrange elements of the plot which might not conform to a certain pattern - the "material" retained its peculiar character. Epic forms are the artistic consequence of this materialistic outlook:

"Überall aber, wo es Materialismus gibt, entstehen epische Formen in der Dramatik ..." (GW,17,p.999)

The prototype for this abstract analysis of Elizabethan dramaturgy may be found in Brecht's 1927 discussion of Shakespeare in the "Vorrede zu Macbeth". In the manner of an epic writer, Shakespeare records ("berichtet") human existence objectively, allowing it to take its natural course. He does not manipulate his material (again the fate of a single individual):

"Shakespeare biegt keineswegs den Verlauf eines Menschenschicksals im zweiten Akt etwas zurecht, um einen fünften Akt zu ermöglichen" (GW,15,p.119)

The formal consequence of the illogical, constantly disrupted and contradictory sequence of events so typical of life is, Brecht notes, the decentralization of the dramatic scenes ("szenische Dezentralisierung"),

a strong feature of his own productions for the epic theatre. Form reflects content:

"In der Zusammenhanglosigkeit seiner Akte erkennt man wieder die Zusammenhanglosigkeit eines menschlichen Schicksals ..." (GW,17,p.119)

In contrast to German classical writers like Schiller or Hebbel, Shakespeare does not envelop his plots in ideological constructions - the task of interpretation or the attempt to change the state of the portrayed material is left to the spectator ("Bei ihm konstruiert der Zuschauer"). This means that in his treatment of the best Shakespearean plays there is no need for the adapter to undertake a thematic or ideological re-evaluation or correction. Shakespeare's plots provide an undistorted depiction of reality, they are "pure material":

"... eine Generation, die gut getan hat, die ganze Klassik aus ihrem Gedächtnis auszutilgen, da sie ohne eine Umwertung der wesentlichsten Ideenkomplexe gar keine Existenzmöglichkeit hat, (fände) hier in der Dramatik des Shakespeare das tröstliche Beispiel für die Möglichkeit reinen Stoffes ..." (GW,17,p.119)

Brecht considered that the best Shakespearean works could not yet be staged because, in their epic-materialistic totality, they conflicted with contemporary aesthetic beliefs (Brecht cites Alfred Döblin's dictum: "... man könne aus einem Drama niemals das Leben, sondern nur den Geisteszustand des Dramatikers erfahren." (GW,15,p.118)) and therefore exceeded the confines of the present theatre. On the other hand, though, it is obvious that for Brecht Shakespeare could be included without difficulty in the repertoire of the rapidly developing epic theatre. Only the "epic style" would do full justice to the "philosophical content" of his works:

"Es gibt einen einzigen Stil für das heutige Theater, der den wirklichen, nämlich den philosophischen Gehalt Shakespeares zur Wirkung bringt, das ist der epische Stil." (GW,15,p.118)

What does Brecht mean by "philosophical"? Klaus-Detlev Müller declares in his excellent study that "philosophical" theatre is "Marxist" theatre<sup>96</sup>. In this connection he refers to Brecht's following comment from his 1929 analysis of Jessner's production of Ödipus:

"Die Entwicklung des großen Dramas und des großen Theaters führt in diesen Jahren Deutschland - das Fachland für Philosophie. Die Zukunft des Theaters ist eine philosophische." (GW,15,p.184)

Nevertheless, it is difficult to understand how Brecht could describe the content of Shakespearean plays as "Marxist"! Brecht stated much later, in the 1953 "Katzgraben-Notate":

"Mein Theater ... ist ein philosophisches, wenn man diesen Begriff naiv auffaßt: Ich verstehe darunter Interesse am Verhalten und Meinen der Leute." (GW,16,p.815)

This is a broader definition of the term and might be applicable in the context of the "Vorrede zu Macbeth": Shakespearean theatre, therefore, as philosophical in the sense of being concerned to describe human attitudes and behaviour. In this particular case, though, the term seems to mean: "preserving the truth of life" ("jene Wahrheit des Lebens ... konservieren"), delineating reality in its entirety:

"Das war das Theater ... wo die Wirklichkeit nicht in einem Tagesausschnitt, sondern in ihrer ganzen Fülle und Widersprüchlichkeit abgebildet war." 97

### III

In two further texts, probably written in 1927, Brecht continues his praise of Shakespeare. In "Jiu Jitsu" (=die leichte, die fröhliche Kunst)" Brecht admires Shakespeare's treatment of language, concluding:

"Aber eines solchen Mannes Interesse verteilt sich von vornherein richtig." (GW,15,p.120)

In "Heiterkeit der Kunst"<sup>98</sup> Brecht discusses Shakespeare's great artistic ability and understanding (in introducing in Hamlet the scene where

Hamlet sees Fortinbras' army march past). At the same time, however, as he investigates Shakespeare from an artistic viewpoint, Brecht engages in historical and sociological studies which concentrate more upon the actual content of Shakespearean drama and effect not only a change in his conception of the Elizabethan dramatist, but also of the question of adaptation.

In "Sollten wir nicht die Ästhetik liquidieren?" (GW,15,pp.126-129), Brecht's answer in the June 1, 1927 edition of the Berliner Börsen-Courier to Fritz Sternberg's anonymously published text "Der Niedergang des Dramas/Brief an einen Dramatiker"<sup>99</sup>, Brecht states that the great Shakespearean dramas, "the basis of our drama", no longer have any effect. Producing at the turning-point from feudalism to capitalism, the plays have been "annulled" by the subsequent development of capitalist society. Shakespeare has become irrelevant and the continued performance of his works unjustifiable. Brecht clarifies his position in the record he kept of the debate broadcast by Cologne Radio between himself, Ernst Hardt, Fritz Sternberg and Herbert Ihering. Addressing Hardt, Brecht remarks upon the uncomfortable feeling experienced when viewing certain plays, such as Shakespeare's Othello or even Brecht's own Trommeln in der Nacht. This does not arise because the plays are not aesthetically pleasing, but because they convey a false picture of contemporary social reality. Shakespearean drama, which, as Herbert Ihering points out, deals with the fate of the individual, for example with the private tragedy of King Lear, is no longer adequate at a time when the fate of the proletariat is at stake. Sternberg declares:

"Und so wurde das Shakespearische Drama  
zum Drama des mittelalterlichen Menschen  
wie des Menschen, der sich immer mehr als  
Individuum zu entdecken begann ... " (GW,15,p.148)

Echoing Sternberg, Brecht states:

"Ja, die großen Einzelnen! Die großen Einzelnen waren der Stoff ... Shakespeare treibt durch vier Akte den großen Einzelnen, den Lear, den Othello, den Macbeth, aus allen menschlichen Bindungen mit der Familie und mit dem Staat heraus in die Heide, in die vollständige Vereinsamung, wo er im Untergang sich groß zu zeigen hat." (GW,15,p.149)

In a later text, "Der soziologische Raum des bürgerlichen Theaters" (1930), Brecht deepens his political analysis of the theatre, explaining that the bourgeoisie uses dramatic works to propagate its class-ideology - hence the one-sidedness or partiality of their content. In its self-defence it cannot afford to admit the reality of class-struggle ("An der wirklichen Sachlichkeit hat das Bürgertum absolut kein Interesse, da, wenn einer sachlich ist, ja immer die Frage vorliegt, was seine Sache ist." (GW,15,p.206). The new age, the period of late capitalism, of fascism and imperialism, is typified by the struggle of the greater part of society, the exploited proletarian masses, against the bourgeoisie, the small ruling class of capitalists. From a "scientific", sociological standpoint, a new historical phase requires a completely new kind of theatre. There are no "eternal" values ("Es gibt keine ewigen Werte in der Kunst. Das Drama, das in einem bestimmten Kulturkreis geboren ist, hat ebensowenig ewige Werte wie die Epoche, in der es geschaffen wurde, nicht ewig dauert" (GW,15,p.147)). Only the epic theatre is capable of adequately depicting the conflict of class-interests. It stands in irreconcilable contrast to Shakespearean drama. Important for the former is the promotion of that "kühle, forschende, interessierte Haltung, nämlich die Haltung des Publikums des wissenschaftlichen Zeitalters." (GW,15,p.153). Georg Kaiser, a notable precursor of epic theatre, seeks, in Brecht's judgement, a rational reaction, whereas Shakespeare tried to excite the emotions:

"Es war die sogenannte dramatische Form, und dramatisch bedeutet dabei: wild bewegt, leidenschaftlich, kontradiktorisch, dynamisch." (GW.15.p.149)

Both on the basis of form and content Shakespearean drama is ill-suited for the revolutionary purposes of epic theatre. Brecht drastically revises his earlier conclusions. Shakespeare is clearly categorized as belonging

to the Aristotelean theatre tradition. Brecht no longer mentions the scenic decentralization he had once discerned, and sees a far closer causal interdependency between the parts of the dramatic action - no element of the dramatic whole conflicts with or interrupts the sequence of events"

"Der erste Satz der Tragödie ist nur da für den zweiten, und alle Sätze sind nur da für den letzten Satz." (GW,15,p.149)

Whether the spectator is in fact able to react in a rational way, as Brecht had previously stated - "Das Shakespearische Theater ... konnte bei seinem Publikum ohne weiteres voraussetzen, daß es sich ... Gedanken über das Leben machen würde." (GW,15,p.118) - is cast seriously in doubt in the type of theatre Brecht now describes. According to Aristotle identification with the figures on the stage and concomitant catharsis should constitute the theatre experience. The "modern spectator" on the other hand, the observer of epic dramas, "wünscht nicht, irgendeiner Suggestion willenlos zu erliegen und, indem er in alle möglichen Affektzustände hineingerissen wird, seinen Verstand zu verlieren. Er wünscht nicht, bevormundet und vergewaltigt zu werden, sondern er will einfach menschliches Material vorgeworfen bekommen, um es selber zu ordnen." (GW,15,p.221). Seen within the context of Brecht's scheme differentiating forms of theatre, Shakespeare has been transferred from the "epic" side ("(Die Bühne) erzählt (einen Vorgang)"; (sie) macht (den Zuschauer) zum Betrachter"; (sie) weckt seine Aktivität"; jede Szene für sich"; "(die Geschehnisse verlaufen) in Kurven"; "(natura) facit saltus" (GW,17, pp.1009-1010)) to the "dramatic" ("(Die Bühne) verwickelt den Zuschauer in eine Aktion"; "(sie) verbraucht seine Aktivität"; "es wird mit Suggestion gearbeitet"; "eine Szene für die andere"; "die Geschehnisse verlaufen linear"; "natura non facit saltus" (GW,17,pp.1009-1010)). Lastly, Shakespeare's ideological objectivity can no longer be upheld: his drama is the product of a certain historical period and is inevitably an ideological expression of the socio-political tendencies

of that period.

#### IV

Brecht resumes his discussion of Shakespeare and of the problematical subject of adaptation in "Gespräch über Klassiker" (GW,15,pp.176-184), an imaginary debate constructed by Brecht in which key passages from Herbert Ihering's "Reinhardt/Jessner/Piscator oder Klassikertod?" are used to confirm or to counterpoint Brecht's own outlook. To a certain degree the "conversation" is a résumé of Brecht's attitude towards the classics and adaptation. The culinary treatment of the classical works by the bourgeoisie is again confirmed:

"Wo das Denken nicht ganz eingestellt wurde, wurde es immer kulinarischer. Man machte zwar Gebrauch von den Klassikern, aber nur mehr kulinarischen Gebrauch." (GW,15,p.177)

Brecht returns consequently to the theme of "substance-value" and literary vandalism, the only means of rendering the classics "nutzbar":

"Man hätte sich nicht so sehr vor dem Vorwurf des Vandalismus fürchten sollen. Aus Furcht vor dem Vandalismus geriet man ins Spießertum. Über die Vandalen sollte man überhaupt vorsichtiger urteilen. Sie verbrannten ja die Holzschnitzereien wahrscheinlich auch nicht nur, weil sie mit ihrem Stil künstlerisch nicht einverstanden waren, vielleicht nicht einmal, weil sie überhaupt gegen Holzschnitzereien waren, sondern weil sie Holz für Feuer brauchten. Man hätte unbekümmert an den Materialwert herangehen sollen." (GW,15.p.179)

Successful attempts at reviving the classical repertoire in the advocated vandalistic manner are cited (Piscator's Schiller adaptation and Brecht's own Leben Eduards des Zweiten von England). Brecht then makes the declaration, unexpected in the context, that he has "given up" all classical productions:

"Die Bemühungen (um Klassikeraufführungen) sind von mir aufgegeben worden." (GW,15,p.181)

He refers to the Coriolan production with Erich Engel and to the work on Shakespeare's Julius Caesar with Piscator and Sternberg. Sternberg reports on this latter collaboration in his recollections of Brecht and remarks upon the dramatist's doubts about the success of the adaptation. Sternberg's advice was that he should not only reshape and edit the original text, but creatively add to it -

"Wenn Sie bereit sind, Shakespeare durch Überbetonung gewisser Stellen und Weglassen von anderen zu ändern; wenn Sie somit schon etwas anderes bringen als jener Dichter, der unter Elisabeth seine Stücke schrieb und inszenierte - warum können Sie dann nicht auch, wenn Sie offen darauf hinweisen, neuen Text hinzufügen? Warum können Sie nicht ein Drama auf die Bühne bringen: Julius Cäsar, nach Motiven von Shakespeare, zum Teil neu geschrieben von Bertolt Brecht?" 100

- thereby going beyond mere adaptation and producing a new work. Brecht, though, did not heed this advice. Not on the theoretical level, at least. His difficulties with Shakespeare influence his attitude towards the entire body of classics. Elements he had perceived in the classical writer Shakespeare which are symptomatic of bourgeois drama, the cult of the individual and an intensely emotional, anti-rational bias, now typify all classical writers:

"Die Klassik diene dem Erlebteum ... Sie zeigen nicht die Welt, sondern sich selber. Persönlichkeiten für den Schaukasten. Worte in der Art von Schmuckgegenständen. Kleiner Horizont, bürgerlich. Alles mit MaB und nach MaB." (GW,15,pp.182-183)

Whereas Brecht had earlier determined that the treatment of the classics was culinary and that a vandalistic attitude could preserve them, he now asserts that the classical works themselves are culinary and hence irredeemable, even, apparently, by adaptation of the kind suggested by Sternberg. Brecht concludes:

"Der Nutzen der Klassiker ist zu gering ... Unsere klassischen Werke sind nur für das Auge verfertigt, nicht für den Gebrauch." (GW,15,p.182)

To be "useful", from Brecht's viewpoint, a drama must render the theatre-

spectator more able to come to terms with day-to-day social existence. Using as his example a school-production of Faust or Wilhelm Tell, he asks:

"Würden die Gedanken, die sie aussprechen müßten, eine Schulung für sie darstellen? ... Würden diese Knaben lebensfähiger sein als andere, oder wäre die Gesellschaft lebensfähiger, die sie ausmachten? ... in welchen Situationen hätten sie gestanden, in denen sie im Leben je wieder stehen würden?" (GW,15,p.182) 101

In this respect, of greatest consequence for the Marxist student Brecht, the classical works were found wanting. At this time, of course, Brecht was engaged in the production of the "Lehrstücke" (including several intended for children, such as the Ozeanflug or Der Jasager/Der Neinsager), plays meant to provide this "schooling for life".

## 2.1. Brecht's Critical Comment on Measure for Measure

Brecht left only one document that can cast light upon his critical opinion of Measure for Measure. It must be noted, though, that this document was not written in the early stages of work on the Shakespearean play, but considerably later, in the period of exile in Svendborg, for Brecht refers to his own adaptation as Die Rundköpfe und die Spitzköpfe, the title given to the play in May or June 1934. The text of the document is as follows:

"Measure for Measure gilt für viele als das philosophischste aller Shakespearischen Werke, es ist zweifellos sein fortschrittlichstes. Es verlangt von den Hochgestellten, dass sie nicht nach anderem Masse messen, als sie selbst gemessen sein wollen. Und es zeigt, dass sie nicht von ihren Untertanen eine moralische Haltung verlangen dürfen, die sie selber nicht einnehmen." (268/81)

Brecht does not describe the play as Shakespeare's "most philosophical" work, as many do, perhaps due to the confusion which might have arisen from the use of the word philosophical. Even in Brecht's works it has several shades of meaning, as was shown in the section on adaptation<sup>102</sup>. He employs instead the term "most progressive" and by this he means: Measure for Measure is the play of Shakespeare's most concerned with problems arising from the class-struggle. Correspondingly, Brecht's Marxist analysis concentrates solely upon the Angelo-Claudio conflict. Significantly, it ignores the private, family dilemma confronting Isabella, that is, the problem of individual morality which in Measure for Measure is equally as important as the theme of public office and magistracy. Brecht sees in the play an attack upon class-justice, upon the hypocritical ruler who uses a certain moral standard in determining the guilt of another, but does not apply the same standard to himself. The play demands of Angelo, in effect of all rulers, that he dispense justice on an all-embracing basis, not within the biased context of the class-struggle. In other words, a universally applicable means of judgement must be found and enforced.

## 2.2. The Collaboration with Ludwig Berger

According to Ludwig Berger, he began work with Brecht on an adaptation of Shakespeare's Measure for Measure in the late 1920's. Berger remarks that he had already directed the play twice for the German stage, extracting it from fifty years of obscurity. The first performance, in Hamburg, was a failure, but a year later, in 1918, the play, with Friedrich Kayssler in the role of the Duke, met with success in Berlin. But there were elements in the play which disturbed Berger. Acknowledging the producer's considerable experience with the drama, Brecht asked him to explain the reasons for his discomfort:

"Brecht forderte mich auf, ihm die Gründe meines Unbehagens genau auseinanderzusetzen, ehe wir uns in unser beabsichtigtes Wagnis stürzten." 103

### 2.2.1. Berger's Contribution

Berger's criticisms concerned three aspects of the play:

1. Isabella's character - Berger admires the strength of Isabella's chastity, but feels nevertheless that her character is too one-sided. He admits that she could scarcely have succumbed to Angelo's immoral approaches, but finds that she lacks the initiative and shrewdness of other Shakespearean female protagonists such as Portia (The Merchant of Venice) or Rosalind (As You Like It):

"Daß sie ... in ihrer Empörung über diese Zumutung vergißt, irgend einen Versuch zu unternehmen, um den Bruder zu befreien oder wenigstens durch ein scheinbares Nachgeben Zeit zu gewinnen, hindert uns daran, sie mit der gleichen Bewunderung zu lieben, wie Shakespeares soviel gescheiterte Porzia oder gar die einfallsreiche Rosalinde ...

die Gestalt der Jungfrau Isabella ist aus  
anderem Fleisch und Blut." 104

2. The mechanics of the substitution motif - the substitution of Mariana for Isabella, a part of the action Berger considers most important, is only reported through third parties of little interest to the spectator. Berger suggests that it should be integrated into the dramatic action on the stage so that the manner in which Angelo is deceived is clarified for the spectator.

3. The resolution of the plot - the conclusion of Measure for Measure is deemed unsatisfactory. The audience leaves the theatre by no means certain that the Duke's match-making will succeed:

"Die Schlußapotheose mit der herzoglichen Verfügung, daß der betrogene Betrüger nun die von ihm verlassene Braut Mariana heiraten muß, entläßt uns alle ohne jede Gewißheit aus dem Theater, ob diese angebliche Gnade Mariana auch wirklich zu Glück und Segen gereichen wird." 105

### 2.3. The Plans of the Adaptation

Of the planning stage of the adaptation there are extant in the Brecht archives three schemes which reveal Brecht's earliest intentions for a re-working of the model: 266/1-7, 266/22-28, 266/29-36. However, it may be assumed from a perusal of the "Vienna" material that other plans probably existed. Furthermore, there are fragments which should be included in the following plans, perhaps the most important of which is 266/38, almost indubitably the missing fifth act of 266/22-28.

1) 266/1-7

This is the earliest plan Brecht wrote of his adaptation. Most of the Shakespearean plot is recorded in type-written form, and suggestions for changes are made in Brecht's handwriting. Occasionally Brecht has already inserted a new idea into the text while typing the Shakespearean plot. The Italian names of several figures have been transliterated into German (Angelo-Angeler; Claudio-von Klausner; Lucio-von Lutz; Escalus-Eskaler, Eskahler). The Shakespearean division into act and scene is retained.

Act I

- i) As in Shakespeare, but a new reason is given for the deputization of power: the state is bankrupt. The answer provided by Angeler to the problem is "Reform", a possible allusion to Chancellor Brüning's reformist tactics. The Shakespearean Angelo's reinforcement of already existing sexual laws is clearly not planned. Angeler introduces new legislation.
- ii) Brecht stresses the differentiation into class-categories ("die Oberen und die Unteren"). The two noblemen, anonymous in Shakespeare, are named (Schaum, later involved with Pompey ("Pompeius"), and Schwind, a new figure). Angeler's new laws are mentioned ("die neuen Verordnungen") - a second possible allusion to the German political scene (Brüning's "Notstandsverordnungen").
- iii) As in Shakespeare 106.
- iv) As in Shakespeare, but Brecht provides the Herzog with a definite motivation: he wishes to view the consequences of the new government legislation and to see who its victims are. He is not so much interested in the individual Angeler, but rather in his socio-political effectiveness.
- v) As in Shakespeare.

Act II

- i) As in Shakespeare, but Pompeius does not argue only to save himself, but also to protect others, to avoid social scandal -

justice functions in a broader social context than in Shakespeare. Brecht emphasizes a Shakespearean blind-motif: Eskaler wants to strengthen the police. It is conceivable that Brecht is again thinking of the political situation, in particular of the consequences of Paragraph 48 of the Constitution.

- ii) As in Shakespeare. Brecht states that this is the first intensification ("1. Verschärfung"). Angeler will proceed against both the "inner" and the "outer" enemy. Here it would seem to imply that not only the poor, but also the rich will be attacked by Angeler. Not only Pompeius, but also von Klausner, who belongs to the "inner", closed circle of upper class Vienna.
- iii) As in Shakespeare, but Brecht indicates that this scene will be replaced by the shifting scene with Frau Ueberley. An encounter between von Lutz and the Herzog is also envisaged.
- iv) As in Shakespeare.

### Act III

- i) As in Shakespeare, but the Herzog's death speech to, and reassurance of, von Klausner, is not mentioned. Brecht weakens Shakespeare's all-powerful Herzog, calling this the "second intensification". The Herzog no longer suggests the substitution of Mariana, but, quite helpless, can see no solution and will be advised by others at a later time. In handwritten passages, the Herzog's insistence on his own omnipotence is deemed lunatic and megalomaniacal. The substitution of one of Frau Ueberley's prostitutes for Isabella is conceived.

### Act IV

- i) The scene with Mariana is removed. Instead the setting remains the prison and more and more people are admitted to its walls.
- ii) As in Shakespeare, although the discussion between the provost and the Herzog about Barnadine ("Bernadin") apparently precedes the scene in which the provost informs von Klausner he must die.
- iii) As in Shakespeare.
- iv) Brecht has removed the scene in Angeler's house. He replaces it with the fifth scene, the meeting with Friar Peter ("Pater Peter"). Brecht suggests a new possibility: the Herzog conspires with bankers.
- v) As in Shakespeare (IV;vi).

### Act V

- i) Brecht places the Shakespearean plot on the left hand side of the pages, and his own version on the right. The Shakespearean scene remains largely untouched, apart from the following changes: the Herzog no longer greets Angeler, Isabella no longer knows of the substitution, and Frau Ueberley's girl is summoned, not Mariana. At the end of the scene, Brecht suggests in handwriting the possibility of the Herzog's return and his reception by three men only, because all others are in prison.

Brecht retains in the scene-sequence of the model virtually all of the Shakespearean plot. Certain sections of the model interest him more than others - the court-case involving Froth and Pompey, Angelo's condemnation of Claudio, and the substitution of Isabella - and the number of handwritten additions to the scheme anticipate the extent of subsequent changes. Apart from the Duke, figures deemed worthy of consideration by Brecht are Angelo and Pompey. Claudio and Isabella, crucial in the later development of the play, are left largely untouched at this stage. Surprisingly, though, and not in accordance with the mood of the plan, the possibility of moral censure of Isabella for her part in the bed-substitution is denied, because Brecht, unlike Shakespeare, ensures that she knows nothing of it.

While the analysis shows that this plan is as yet a crude working model for an adaptation, barely possessing thematic or pragmatic cohesion, Brecht's intentions are obvious. A Marxist materialism determines the general tone of the whole, and occasions a revision and re-motivation of most significant actions executed in the play. Not only do the state's financial difficulties provide the starting-point of the action, but socio-political and economic considerations and consequences are predominant throughout. In this respect the correspondence of certain sections of the plot to aspects of the contemporary German political scene is noteworthy. The Shakespearean plot lends itself just as easily to such an analogy as to the beginnings of a Marxist class-analysis Brecht imposes upon it. The connection between class-distinction and the judicial process made through the figure of Froth forms the embryonic stage of the subsequent concentration upon the problem of class-justice. Brecht's anti-idealism is nowhere better apparent than in his replacement of the loving, selfless Mariana by a prostitute. Equally exemplary is his reduction of the Duke from an omnipotent, secular providence to a helpless bystander. The concept of an all-powerful figure able to

heal all ills is considered ludicrous. The Duke's speech on the exclusive reality of the after-life can play no role in this materialistically-orientated context.

## 2) 266/22-28

This is the second plan of the adaptation<sup>108</sup>. Handwritten additions to 266/1-7 have been typed into this text. The plan contains only a few handwritten passages by Brecht. Again, he has inserted new aspects while typing the plot scheme. The earlier versions (mostly without handwritten sections) of several pages may be found in BBA 267 (266/25=267/139; 266/26=267/140; 266/27=267/141; 266/28=267/142). The Shakespearean act and scene division is still extant. The plan is fragmentary, though, because the fifth act is, apparently, missing.

### Act I

- i) As in 266/1-7.
- ii) As in 266/1-7, but the class-allegiance is more clearly defined ("die Oberen (Schwind u. Schaum u. Lutz) und die Unteren (Mildner u. Ueberley)"). The figure of Pompeius has become "Mildner". The third scene of 266/1-7 has been included in this scene. Brecht stresses that von Klausner is the first "prominent" sacrifice of the new laws. The allusion to Brüning's "Notstandsverordnungen" is made more obvious ("Elendsverordnungen"). Act One now resembles its counterpart in the Arden edition: von Klausner's entrance no longer signals the commencement of a new scene.

### Act II

- i) As in 266/1-7, except that the case now involves von Schwind as well. Also, a scapegoat is found for the crime ("Schaums Kutscher"). Angeler now makes the statement that the police will be strengthened.
- ii) As in 266/1-7, but Angeler is now "irritated" by Isabella.
- iii) As in 266/1-7, although the envisaged scene between von Lutz and the Herzog has been dropped. The shift is termed a "Mauerschausezene", the Herzog an "observer".
- iv) As in 266/1-7, but Isabella's "Klagearie" is mentioned explicitly.

Act III 109

- i) The motif of megalomania recurs ("In dem noch wenig besetzten Gefängnis wird einer verrückt u. hält sich für Napoleon"). It is difficult to understand why this scene has been included.
- ii) Isabella's meeting with Klausner. She leaves the prison angrily, expressing her feelings to the Herzog. He is furious at Angeler and resolves to settle the matter.
- iii) Another "intensification": the Herzog notes that summary courts are forming in the prison.
- iv) The Herzog insists he can solve the problem. The others think he is mad and lock him up. He is helpless.
- v) Consequences of Angeler's "tightening-up" of the judiciary: both bankers, Mildner and Ueberley are imprisoned. The latter expresses her surprise that the bankers have been imprisoned ("Wenn das nur gut geht!").

Act IV

- i) Eskahler has executed Angeler's orders to the letter and for that reason will lose his job. The bankers should not have been imprisoned. Angeler insists that von Klausner still be executed as an example to others; for him it is a matter of principle.
- ii) The cells are cleared because of overcrowding. The bankers occupy the heated cells.
- iii) Pompeius' monologue and his new job. Isabella returns to the prison, to stay with her brother and pray with him. Von Klausner is not impressed with her sentiment and throws her out. Ueberley asks von Klausner what the trouble is.
- iv) The substitution of a whore for Isabella. The Herzog receives instruction from Mildner and Frau Ueberley. The latter concludes:  
"So was von Weltfremdheit!"
- v) The substitution scene itself, not in Shakespeare. Comments on virtue by Frau Ueberley.
- vi) A messenger enters and announces immediate execution. The ballad of J.G. Corrupt is sung. The Herzog is delirious. The moral is announced:  
"Auch im Verbrechen muss Mass sein"  
Ueberley returns and realizes that the substitution plan has not succeeded. The prostitute ("Nutte") does not return because she has met Schaum.
- vii) As in II; i a scapegoat must be found to protect the rich. "Bernadino" is not afraid of death.
- viii) When Bernadino refuses to die, the Herzog thinks of a solution. Ueberley and Mildner are more polite toward him.

The plan reveals far greater uniformity than the first, both on the thematic and the pragmatic level, while retaining most of the Shakespearean plot. The Shakespearean scenes which had disrupted the cohesion of the first plan have now been removed (insulting of the Duke by Lucio, the Duke's bribery of the provost, his meeting with Friar Peter, and the scene in which Isabella and Mariana wait at the gates for the Duke).

The substitution motif has been enlarged considerably, and its mechanics carefully worked out, probably at Ludwig Berger's suggestion. New motifs have been added: Eskaler's "Rausschmiss", the scapegoat in II;i, and the prostitute has an alliance with von Schaum. Mildner now takes the early part of Pompeius, although the latter appears again in the fourth act. The figure of von Lutz has become merely functional and Mariana deleted entirely. Frau Ueberley plays a more important role.

The tendencies visible in the first plan have undergone considerable development. In particular the problem of class-justice has become predominant: that the law is usually an instrument in the hands of the ruling class becomes evident when Frau Ueberley expresses her doubts at the imprisonment of the bankers. Significantly, the focal setting of the plan is the prison. In this context the figure of Angeler has been more strongly accentuated. Whereas in Shakespeare his control of the plot ended with the third act, he now directs events until the end of the fourth. Not Eskaler, but Angeler himself now wishes to increase the power of the police. His most important deed, though, is to employ the judicial system in a way detrimental to the ruling class. He is concerned with "principles" and this causes him to administer justice in all-embracing, non-class framework. His character is apparently contradictory, though, for he removes Eskaler from his official position for obeying orders too exactly! The Herzog, seemingly as weak as in the first plan (and hence, in light of the entire second plan, an ambivalent figure), is now more class-conscious. When Isabella informs the Herzog of her brother's suggestion (to succumb to Angeler), the Herzog is angry with Angeler for imprisoning a member of the Viennese aristocracy, not, in contrast to Isabella, with von Klausner for his moral reprehensibility. At the end of the fourth act he appears to have found an answer to the problem created by his deputy. As in Shakespeare he resumes control and will steer the plot to its dénouement - in this case the restoration of

the rights of class. Of the figures in the plan, only Isabella is comparable to the admittedly ambivalent Angeler in her adherence to a moral outlook. Her brother von Klausner is quite different from the Shakespearean Claudio. He has been endowed with ruthless characteristics enabling him to survive in a world dominated by wealth. He spurns his sister's religious comforts and simply organizes a substitute for Isabella through Frau Ueberley, the brothel-keeper.

At this stage, then, Brecht envisages a materialist parody or correction of the Shakespearean model. The idealistic, moral elements in Measure for Measure are re-motivated from a materialist viewpoint. The Herzog's class-motive for wanting to free von Klausner is the best example of this. In Measure for Measure the judicial superstructure had compromised with its counterpart, the sexual drives. In Brecht's plan, the infrastructure renders the superstructure powerless. Not morality, but money determines the shape of society:

"Unfähigkeit der Tugend, auch bei Bereitwilligkeit!"

### 3) 266/29-36

In all probability this is the last plan Brecht wrote before beginning creative work on the adaptation. It contains all the changes present in the previous two plans, but also several important motifs hitherto unmentioned. Textually the plan does not have the format of the other two: in acts three, four and five there is no numbering of scenes at all, and the act-numbering is handwritten. The plan tends therefore to look more provisional than the others. The majority of the handwritten additions are made by Elisabeth Hauptmann.

Act I

- i) The national debt has risen and taxes must be increased. The extravagance and immorality of the upper classes must be combated so that it will appear to the lower classes as if all social sectors are bearing the burden. The Herzog leaves this task to a deputy and sets out on a journey.
- ii) =266/22-28, I;ii, except that the scene in which the upper and lower classes express their opinions is deleted. Further, von Lutz is replaced simply by "a friend".
- iii) =266/22-28, I;iii, except that the Herzog is not now interested in the victims, only in the effects of the measures. The victims must be upper-class!
- iv) Isabella von Klausner promises to go to the deputy to help her brother. A handwritten arrow indicates that a section originally intended for the third act should be included here: Isabella asks a tenant-farmer's family (which stops her) for the rent so that she can pay her dowry to the nunnery.

Act II

- i) The chief judge sabotages the deputy's new laws in a court-case.
- ii) Isabella visits the deputy who will consider the matter the next day.
- iii) A brothel-keeper evades the court-injunction ordering the closure of her business. With the help of the police, she closes one set of premises and opens for business again, under a new name, on the other side of the street.
- iv) Isabella's second visit: to save her brother, she must sacrifice her virginity to the deputy.

Act III

The Herzog enters the prison to see who has broken the new laws. An inmate has an attack of megalomania and thinks he is Caesar. The Herzog reads an essay on death to the condemned von Klausner. The tenant-farmer's family, which belongs to the von Klausner estate, asks von Klausner for more time to pay the rent. He sends them to his lawyer. Isabella visits her brother and tells him of the deputy's suggestion. The Herzog and the warder listen to the conversation. Von Klausner asks her to go to the deputy for him. She refuses. The chief judge enters the prison to tell the warder that he must help Klausner to escape. An official informs Eskaler that he must go to the deputy as a case against him for violation of duty has been started. The chief judge advises his courts that even the rich may now be convicted. The Herzog and the warder do not believe Isabella's story. Brecht adds in handwriting:

"2 männer über die glaubwürdigkeit einer frau,  
die über einen mann ausgesagt hat."

As the prison fills, the Herzog forms a court in which the poor judge the rich. Von Lutz tells the Herzog somewhat cheekily what measures should be taken. The Herzog has had enough of the prison, but when he insists he is the Herzog, his megalomania causes the others to restrain him.

Act IV

The day of the execution. Angeler appears on the square. He is nervous that the girl has not yet appeared. The execution procession with the hooded criminal draws nearer. Isabella approaches, but attacks Angeler; everyone thinks she is mad, and Angeler must order the execution. Under the gallows the criminal's hood is removed - it is the Herzog. He orders that tables and people be fetched. Breakfast is eaten. Isabella is reproached for her "immoderate" egoism, although Frau Ueberley testifies to Isabella's readiness. Angeler is reproached for his "immoderate" penalties. The Herzog gives him a lecture on the advantages of marriage for curing "immoderation". The prostitute appears and begs on her knees. Frau Ueberley knows nothing. Angeler and the prostitute must marry.

Although the Shakespearean plot-outline is still clearly visible in this third plan, a significant new section has been inserted: the story of the tenant farmer's family which is seeking a postponement of the rent-payments to the landlord. It is noteworthy that this new material has been accompanied by the deletion of the second scene of the first act, in which the "lower" classes previously voiced their opinions. Frau Ueberley, the brothel-keeper, and her assistant Mildner are now presented as allies of the police (who help them change premises) and hence of the ruling elite. Other motifs have been introduced: Angeler's "Kniefallprojekt", the Duke as the substitute for von Klausner, the breakfast scene and Angeler's marriage to the prostitute.

The characters of key-figures have been more clearly delineated. Angeler closely resembles his Shakespearean prototype. Essentially a puppet exploited by the Herzog for political and economic reasons, the harshness and pride typical of his forerunner are his main traits. Whereas in previous plans Isabella had been made an innocent and virtuous figure, now her pious leanings are cast in a different light: she can enter the nunnery only through the exploitation of the tenant-farmers. Religious aspirations are a luxury of the ruling class. The Herzog is presented as a far more devious and calculating figure, as a political schemer intent only on strengthening the state's and his own position.

The materialist re-interpretation has been deepened and the social perspective widened. Angeler's task is to attack the lasciviousness of the rich; but this is merely a tactical manoeuvre planned by the Herzog to ensure that the taxes are accepted by those who must shoulder the heaviest burden, the masses (now represented by the tenant-farmer's family). The financial state of the farmer's family is evidence of the need for such a measure. The Herzog's "poor-court", in which the rich are supposedly brought to justice, is, it can be assumed, equally token. That the Herzog does not intend Angeler to shake the class-foundations of society, is demonstrated by his ploy to save von Klausner from the gallows. The real alliance between the wealthy and the judiciary, the truth of class-justice, is shown by the chief judge's "sabotage" of Angeler's legislation and by his attempt to arrange von Klausner's escape. The anti-idealistic tendency is particularly noticeable at the conclusion, where the Measure for Measure theme of moderation is reintroduced. Both Isabella and Angeler are reprimanded for their excesses. Isabella's chastity is viewed as egoism: chastity is a self-indulgence, as Brecht has already made clear. Ironically, of course, the Herzog is the main proponent of the society which permits such "egoism". Similarly, Angeler's legal astuteness is punished by the Herzog. In the class-society the judiciary must be prepared to make certain "concessions".

### 2.3.1. Additional Material to the Plans

The three plans of the early work can be complemented by the following archive fragments:

- 266/16 :A handwritten contribution by Elisabeth Hauptman referring to I;ii of either 266/1-7 or 266/22-28. The rumours about state bankruptcy and the closure of the banks comprise its content.

- 266/38 :That this fragment is probably the missing last act of 266/22-28 is suggested by the presence of the Nutte-Schaum motif. The fragment is remarkable for a number of motifs. Bernadino, not present in Shakespeare's final act, is here sentenced "to life" and Angeler suggests that he need only mention "salt" to be executed. This is the earliest reference to the salt-tax which plays such a predominant part in BBA 253. This conceivable allusion to Brüning's reformist measure tends to confirm the connection to contemporary Germany, further strengthened by the mention of a new cabinet. Another element which plays no role in the model is the discontent of the people, who do not realize that their situation could be much worse.
- 267/132 :This fragment is the strongest evidence of the existence of other plans, as it refers to Frau Ueberley's imprisonment as the second part of the fourth act; in the extant plans this occurs at the end of the third act. That it may have belonged to an early plan is suggested by the fact that Ueberley's business-manager ascertains that they are among their customers, an obvious repetition of Pompey's monologue in IV;iii.
- 267/138 :The fragment contains on the left-hand side of the page the text of 266/24, and on the right handwritten comments on each of the five sections of the second plan's third act. The comments comprise a total re-appraisal of the act: the imprisonment of Ueberley and the bankers is placed in the first part of the act, and the proceedings against Eskaler for sabotage occur in the last scene rather than in IV;i. Although the notes contain one important motif to re-occur in the third plan, the "Pächter", this alternative plan does not seem to have been further developed.
- 267/145 :Frau Ueberley's character, in particular her socio-political awareness, forms the subject of this fragment, which could belong to any of the plans. Frau Ueberley is not concerned with justice or injustice in any one case, but denounces the inherent injustice of class-division: "Ob der Herr von Angeler gerecht ist oder ungerecht ist gar keine/Frage gegenüber der Ungerechtigkeit seiner puren Existenz... (über Isabella) den ganzen Tag nichts tun, frisst sich raus, glaubt/das muss so sein und will irgendeinen anderen einen Verbrecher nennen!".
- 267/146 :This fragment, handwritten by Elisabeth Hauptmann, contains excerpts from 266/25 and 26 and hence belongs approximately to plan 2, Act IV. The beginning of Act IV, Eskaler's dismissal and Ueberley's opinion of the Herzog ("entweder ist wirklich schwachsinnig/oder wirklich ein Herzog!") is seen as a parallel scene to I;ii. The Herzog loses control of himself, and either von Lutz or Elbogen refuses to hand over a cell (for the Herzog?) because it is being used for the bankers.
- 267/153 :Essentially the same as 266/27, but with different handwritten changes by Elisabeth Hauptmann, the most curious of which is the reversal in the substitution: in this

version Isabella does in fact go to Angeler, while the prostitute waits outside. Hauptmann's intention may simply have been to emphasize the irony of the substitution.

#### 2.4. The Vienna-version

Brecht scholars have paid little attention to the first adaptation work on Measure for Measure<sup>110</sup>. Indeed, no critic had outlined what in fact constitutes the early adaptation material until Gisela Bahr recently concentrated her philological faculties upon the Vienna-version as part of an edition of the 1936 production of Die Rundköpfe und die Spitzköpfe<sup>111</sup>. However, her work in re-creating the Vienna-version on the basis of an exhaustive sifting of archive material is of little interest to scholars for three reasons: firstly, she does not compile all extant material, and, secondly, does not note that her "Vienna-version" is not necessarily a chronologically cohesive whole. Finally, some of her data are erroneous. As Gisela Bahr has realized, though, it is necessary to establish, in as far as this is possible, what the Vienna-version actually consists of in terms of archive material, before an adequate and thorough investigation of it may be undertaken.

##### 2.4.1. The Reconstruction of the Vienna-version

The following reconstruction of Brecht's first adaptation work on Measure for Measure is based upon a selection of material drawn from a number of "Mappen" held by the Bertolt Brecht-Archiv in East Berlin. We must assume either that the work remained fragmentary, that is, was not completed by Brecht, or that several of its parts have been lost in the passage of time. It must also be noted that some of these fragments are identical; where this is the case, it will be indicated in

brackets. Wherever handwritten changes have been made by someone other than Brecht himself, his or her name will also be included parenthetically (EB=Emil Burri; EH-Elisabeth Hauptmann; MS=Margarete Steffin).

Table One is a catalogue of all fragments held in the Bertolt Brecht-Archiv which appertain to adaptation work done before the transitional phase <sup>112</sup> leading to the first completed version:

TABLE ONE

<u>Act I;i</u>	- 262/1-2, 267/171, 266/10
I;ii	- 262/3-6, 267/161-164 (=262/3-6), 267/171-172
I,iii	- 262/7-8, 267/165-166 (=262/7-8)
I;iv	- 262/9-10, 267/167 (=262/9), 264/25
I;v	- 262/11-14 (MS), 267/168-170 (=262/11,13-14)
<u>Act II;i</u>	- 266/11, 267/182-186 (EB,EH), 267/131, 267/180, 267/155 (=267/180), 264/29, 267/181 (EB,EH)
II;ii	- 267/187-191, 267/156-160 (=267/187-191)
II;iii	- 266/12-15, 267/173-174, 267/176-179 (=266/12-15) 266/39-41 (EH)
<u>Act IV;iii</u>	- 268/18-25, Berger material ( <u>Theater Heute</u> , 8, 8 (1967), pp.27-29)
<u>Act V;i</u>	- Berger material ( <u>Theater Heute</u> , 8, 8 (1967), p.29)

It is also necessary to include here those archive pages which contain Shakespearean text (Reclam edition) pasted onto a sheet of paper and include Brecht's own text:

264/23 :The Shakespearean text begins on page 9 ("Eine Kupplerin kommt ...") and concludes on page 12 ("Wird Unzucht so

- bestraft?")
- 264/24 :Page 12 ("So steht's mit mir ...") - Page 13 ("Kommt, Schliesser; wir gehn. (Alle ab)")
- 264/26 :Page 15 ("Ein Nonnenkloster ...") - Page 16 ("Wer ist's, der ruft?")
- 264/27 :Page 16 ("er ist im Kerker ...") - Page 17 ("Oh, nehm' er sie zur Frau!") (MS)
- 264/50-51:Page 5 ("Angelo tritt auf ...") - Page 7 ("Ich folg Eu'r Gnaden. (Gehn ab.)")

There are extant also a number of pages upon which passages removed from the Reclam edition of Measure for Measure have been pasted, but no new text included (264/28, 30-35). Further material which belongs without doubt to the Vienna-version, but which cannot be categorized definitely as being, for example, the third scene of the fourth act can at least be identified as belonging to a certain act by reference to the plans of the adaptation compiled by Brecht. On the basis of these plans the following fragments may be added:

- Act III :267/144 (could belong to Act IV), 267/137, 267/175
- Act IV :267/130 (EH), 267/133 (267/134 is earlier version of 267/133, that is, it does not include handwritten additions) (EH), 267/135-136, 267/147, 149 (EB)

The attempt to recreate the actual Vienna-version involves the combination of as many parts of the extant material as possible with the intention of composing a cohesive whole. Where variants of a scene or speech are present, the later, or more modified, or more comprehensive version has been used (and the earlier, or less modified, or less comprehensive version/s cited on the opposite side of the table). It may not be assumed that the elements of the following, incomplete "Vienna-version" (Table Two) were intended by Brecht to be combined in the single version constructed here. It cannot claim to be a definitive, though fragmentary, Vienna-version.

TABLE TWO

	<u>VIENNA-VERSION</u>	<u>VARIANTS</u>
<u>Act I;i</u>	- 266/10, 262/1-2	264/50-51, 267/171
I;ii	- 262/3-6	267/171-172
I;iii	- 262/7-8	
I;iv	- 262/9-10	264/25
I;v	- 262/11-14	264/26-27
<u>Act II;i</u>	- 267/180, 266/11, 267/183-186	267/131, 267/181
II;ii	- 267/187-191	
II;iii	- 266/12-15	266/39-41, 267/173-174
<u>Act III</u>	- 267/175, 144	267/137
<u>Act IV;i</u>	- 267/133, 135-136	
IV;ii?	- 267/147	
IV;iii	- 268/18-25	Berger material
IV;?	- 267/149	
<u>Act V</u>	- Berger material	

The resulting compilation does not conform in its entirety to any single plan. Each element corresponds in varying degree to parts of all three plans; but there are indications that Brecht may have written at least one other plan before abandoning his efforts at a Vienna-version. Table Three shows to which plan or plans each fragment or fragment complex could belong, and indicates that the Vienna-version adheres, with notable exceptions, to the second plan.

TABLE THREE

	<u>VIENNA-VERSION</u>	<u>PLAN</u>	<u>VARIANTS</u>	<u>PLAN</u>
<u>Act</u> I;i	- 266/10	1,2	264/50-51	1,2
	266/1-2	1,2	267/171	1,2
I;ii	- 262/3-6	1,2		1
I;iii	- 262/7-8	1		
	(=second part of I;ii in 2;= I;ii in 3)			
I;iv	- 262/9-10	2,3	264/25	2,3
I;v	- 262/11-14	3?	264/26-27	3?
<u>Act</u> II;i	- 267/180	1,2,3	267/131	1?,2?
	266/11	2,3?	267/181	1?,2?
	267/183-186	2,3?		
II;ii	- 267/187-191	1,2,3		
II;iii	- 266/12-15	2?,3	266/39-41	?
			267/173-174	2?,3
<u>Act</u> III	- 267/175	2	267/137	2
<u>Act</u> IV;i	- 267/133	2		
	267/135-136	2		
IV,ii?	- 267/147	2		
IV,iii	- 268/18-25	2?,3?	Berger material	2?,3?
IV;?	- 267/149	2		
<u>Act</u> V	- Berger material	3		

Before commencing an analysis of the Vienna-version, it is necessary briefly to comment on certain aspects of the above scheme and to clarify the relationship between the main version and its variants.

1. Fragments which have been identified as belonging to the Vienna-version, but which bear no act or scene number, have been assigned a place according to the second plan. Examples of this procedure are 267/175, 267/144, 267/147 and 149. 267/175 contains an interchange between Eskaler and Frau Ueberley as the latter is being imprisoned; in the second plan the imprisonment occurs at the end of the third act (266/24: "Folgen der Verschärfung: die ersten Schwalben strömen ins Gefängnis, darunter die Bankiers, Mildner u. Ueberley."). 267/144 records a conversation between Frau Ueberley and the Herzog which probably took place shortly after the former's

imprisonment. Since there is no explicit reference to his conversation, it is possible that this fragment belongs in the fourth part of the fourth act (Cf. 266/26). 267/147 is headed in handwriting "4 Akt". That it precedes the third scene (the substitution of Isabella) is determined by Frau Ueberley's reflections upon whether the Herzog is a "real Duke" or a madman (Cf.266/26: "Ueberley; Er ist ja schwachsinnig./Entweder ist er wirklich schwachsinnig/oder wirklich ein Herzog."). The inadequacy of this procedure and simultaneously the strong possibility that at least one other plan existed are demonstrated by this fragment. According to the plan, the substitution scene is the fifth of the act (the number four has been crossed out and replaced by a handwritten five); however, the fragment held in the archives which contains the substitution scene (268/18-25) is headed IV;iii. Hence we must either ignore the numbering of the plan or assume the existence of another now lost or misplaced. The first act of the Vienna-version does suggest that a fourth plan, written after the third, may have existed. The correction to be found in the third plan, the placement of the Isabella-Meixner scene in Act I (Cf.266/30-31), has been executed; but a scene still present in plan two, the street scene (266/22: I;ii), which was removed from the third plan, has been reintroduced. Furthermore, the positioning of Frau Ueberley's plaintive speech ("So bringen mich denn teils der Krieg und teils das Quecksilber und teils die Armut und teils der Leichtsinn um meine besten Kunden ..." (262/8)) in the third scene of the first act is wholly unexpected. It was present in the second plan, as in Shakespeare, in I;ii and then excluded from plan three. There also exists the possibility of a plan written between the second and third. Evidence of this may be found in 266/39-41: the tenant farmer's wife interrupts Frau Ueberley as she is in the process of moving her establishment across the road. This motif occurs both in the second and the

third plan, but in neither does the tenant-family play a role. The scene itself retains an important element of the second plan (the presence of the Herzog) and previews the addition made in the third (the police assistance). But however suggestive such material is of either a plan bridging the second and third or one comprising a synthesis of the two, they belong nevertheless to the realm of conjecture, and it is equally conceivable that Brecht constructed no further scheme, simply modifying an extant plan or plans as he wrote.

2.A scene-by-scene analysis best illustrates the correlation of the main version and its variants:

I;i: 266/10 and 266/1-2 have two variants, 264/50-51 and 267/171. 264/50-51 contain the last ten lines of 266/10 and the entire text, with slight changes, of 262/1-2. They would seem therefore to embody the early nucleus of the greater complex formed by 266/10 and 262/1-14. That 264/50-51 might precede 266/10 and 262/1-2 is also supported by the fact that 264/50-51 are prefaced by Shakespearean text beginning at Angelo's entrance. The proximity of this Shakespearean text suggests an early stage of adaptation. This latter "proof" is doubtful, however, and demonstrates not only the difficulties involved in working with the Vienna-version, but also in depicting how, practically, Brecht carried out his adaptation work. While in this case it is possible that he began work, not with an entire plan before him, but only with a segment of the model, it is obvious in other cases that he employed this method of direct re-writing of the model even though three plans already existed (Cf. 264/26-27, which contains Shakespearean text and underneath the Brechtian re-writing, but already with the Meixner motif, only introduced in the third plan) <sup>113</sup>. It thus becomes clear that most statements

about the Vienna-version must be deemed provisional: 264/50-51, as well as 267/171, could have been written at any time, before, after, or during the writing of the above "main" version.

I;ii: 267/171 clearly belongs to a stage prior to 262/3-6. Unlike 262/3-6 it contains almost literal references to the Shakespearean text, but several lines have been omitted and Frau Ueberley's speech extended considerably. The personification of the noblemen has not yet taken place, although Lucio has been changed to von Lutz. In 262/3-6 Frau Ueberley's speech has been transferred to the end of the third scene.

I;iv: 264/25 is a slightly varying copy of 262/10.

I;v: 264/26-27 appears on the one hand to be a fair copy of a section of 262/11-13 (a handwritten note by Margarete Steffin on 262/12 is typed on 264/26), and on the other hand the latter appears to be a fair copy of the former (an entire line handwritten by Steffin on 264/27 is typed on 262/12). Margarete Steffin was, it may be assumed, assigned the task of checking the available versions or copies.

II;i: 267/131 is an alternative continuation of 267/180, probably preceding the complex formed by 266/11 and 267/183-186. 267/181, handwritten by Elisabeth Hauptmann with minor additions in handwriting by Emil Burri, is probably a copy and equivalent version of 267/131.

II;iii: 266/39-41 was probably written prior to 266/12-15: it contains a fusion of the shifting scene with the entrance of the poverty-stricken tenant-farmer's family. It is conceivable that this sequence belonged to a plan bridging the second and third, or even that it was devised after the third plan, of which 266/12-15 is undoubtedly the textual product. 267/173-174 is an earlier version of 266/12-15; the handwritten changes made to 267/173-174 have been typed in 266/12-15, and punctuation

errors corrected.

III: 267/137 is identical to 267/175, but does not contain the last five lines.

IV;iii:The Berger material, with slight variations, is equivalent to 268/18-23.

#### 2.4.2.Brecht's Text of the Original

In the construction of this adaptation of Measure for Measure Brecht employed a method typical of his approach towards classical works: original text was cut out, pasted onto a fresh sheet and followed underneath by the Brechtian version. Even twenty years later, in a vastly altered work environment, Brecht used the same method in his unfinished adaptation of Shakespeare's Roman tragedy Coriolanus. As his original text for this *modus operandi* Brecht mainly bought cheap Reclam editions and it seems unlikely that he read any other version as part of his adaptation work. In the case of Measure for Measure he took as his model the German translation made by Wolf Graf Baudissin in 1831 as part of the Schlegel-Tieck Shakespeare edition. Owing to certain exigencies of the German language the translation comprises approximately two hundred lines more than the English editions. Furthermore, the German translator divided the second scene into two scenes (the third scene thus begins at Claudio's entrance with the Provost), a procedure not adopted in English versions of the drama. It cannot be said with any certainty that Brecht was familiar with the original English text.

#### 2.4.3.A General Description of the Vienna-version

The Vienna-version retains the Shakespearean division into acts and scenes. It contains ten completed scenes (I;i,ii,iii,iv,v;II,i,ii,iii:

IV;i,iii)) and two entire acts (Act I and Act V, although the extant fifth act is so short in comparison to the Shakespearean that it is conceivable Brecht intended to write yet more). Contrasting the elements of this finished material with their Shakespearean counterparts, it becomes clear, in all but one case, that Brecht neither subtracts, nor adds large portions of text: I;i in the Baudissin translation, for instance, comprises 82 lines, Brecht's corresponding scene 90, IV;iii has 195 lines in the original and in Brecht's text, although it is quite different from the point of view of content, 191<sup>114</sup>. The first act is particularly comparable on the basis of text size as it contains only eight lines more than the model (Baudissin - 439; Brecht - 447). II;i is considerably shorter than in the model. Apart from this clearly definable material there exist also 177 lines, of which 26 belong to the third act, 35 to the fourth and 116 to the fifth. In its entirety the Vienna-version comprises 1368 lines, slightly fewer than half of the original.

The names of several figures left in their Italian form by Baudissin have been transliterated into German by Brecht (Angelo - Angeler; Escalus - Eskaler; Claudio - von Klausner; Mariana - Marianne; Lucio - von Lutz). New figures have been introduced, one of which, von Schwind (Schwindt, von Schwindt), has been extracted from the list compiled by Pompeius in IV;iii of the prisoners he recognises as former customers of Frau Ueberley ("Dann ~~haben~~ wir hier den jungen Schwindlich ..." (IV,iii, 14-15)). Other figures created by Brecht are the tenant-farmer Meixner and his family, a prostitute and an anonymous speaker in the prison. From the point of view of the *dramatis personae*, Berger's fifth act contains some name variations (Marianna, Herr von Schrumm (sic!), von Schwindt).

## 2.5. Theme

In Measure for Measure Shakespeare describes a struggle between human nature (in the form of sexual drives and desires) and abstract moral law. "Base" human nature is depicted as a powerful force in the shaping of society. The fantasy-land of Vienna has become under its influence an immoral swamp of degrading sexual activity. Pompey Bum and Mistress Overdone are its main representatives, actively encouraging and financially exploiting depravity. Not only the figures of low social standing, but also aristocrats such as Claudio, Lucio and the noblemen succumb to their natural impulses. These natural forces are defied by moral considerations, by the forces of good. Claudio breaks a moral law by committing fornication, but his love for Juliet mitigates this crime. Mariana agrees to sleep with Angelo on Isabella's behalf because she is deeply in love with the Duke's deputy. Isabella's actions are all motivated by the abstract moral demand of chastity. The Duke commissions Angelo to purge Vienna of its sinfulness, but he remains in the city to ensure that no travesty of justice occurs. The central idea of the drama is that all human-beings are weak or "frail": each case of miscreancy deserves an equal share of understanding on this basis. Justice, in other words, should not discriminate.

In his Vienna-version Bertolt Brecht attempts to demonstrate that this moral sphere is inherently idealistic and utterly inconsequential: economic exigencies assume the role of sensuality and, in reality, control the nature of society, including the moral superstructure. The Vienna-version is a de-idealizing, materialist re-interpretation of Measure for Measure which supports Bernard Evans' idea that "mercy and goodness must go under unless an outside force, omniscient, omnipotent, and benevolent, rescues them."<sup>115</sup> Brecht comes to terms with Shakespeare in the same way as Karl Marx treated Hegelian idealism.

Engels wrote:

"Bei Hegel ist also die in der Natur und Geschichte zutage tretende dialektische Entwicklung... nur der Abklatsch der von Ewigkeit her, man weiß nicht wo, aber jedenfalls unabhängig von jedem denkenden Menschenhirn vor sich gehenden Selbstbewegung des Begriffs. Diese ideologische Verkehrung galt es zu beseitigen. Wir faßten die Begriffe unsres Kopfs wieder materialistisch als die Abbilder der wirklichen Dinge, statt die wirklichen Dinge als Abbilder dieser oder jener Stufe des absoluten Begriffs... und damit wurde die Hegelsche Dialektik auf den Kopf, oder vielmehr vom Kopf, auf dem sie stand, wieder auf die Füße gestellt..." 116

Of course, Brecht is not combating the central orientation of a philosophical system; but he is trying to correct a certain conception of reality. Hence he places Shakespeare "upon his feet". The key issue raised in Shakespeare's work, that of adequate law-enforcement, undergoes a radical transformation: the magistrate determines right and wrong, not from the viewpoint that human beings contain both good and bad within them, but according to whether the defendant is rich or poor, or with the socio-political consequences of his judgement in mind. In the kind of society Brecht portrays, the class society, impartial judgements are the exception, not the rule.

The Shakespearean motif of "measure for measure", or rather of "measure" in the sense of "moderation", recurs in the final scene of the Vienna-version. The Herzog exhorts his subjects to be "moderate": "Alles mit Maß!" 117. The true implication of this advice is explained, significantly, by Mildner, Frau Ueberley's business-manager. Von Klausner protests that von Schrumm (Schaum) has been invited to dine at the Herzog's table. His moral outcry is immediately quashed by the Herzog, and Mildner states that our recollections (von Klausner remembers that an adultery-case was brought against von Schaum) should be voiced only

after a "measured" consideration of circumstances:

"„Gedächtnis mit MaB!" oder besser: „nach MaB", denn es kommt nur darauf an, was man vorne oder hinten abschneidet! Was unbequem ist, wird einfach abgeschnitten! Wenn's sein muB, auch ein Stück aus der Mitte heraus! Eine Gedächtnisart, die viel bei Politikern vorkommen soll: „Memoria politica", leicht mit dem Zollstock abzumessen, denn es reicht nie länger, als immer grad nur von einer Regierung bis zur nächsten!" 118

Morality may have a part to play, but only within the greater social, economic or political sphere. In Shakespeare moderation is equivalent to the compromise of strict law-enforcement and total leniency, with Brecht it means opportunism of any kind. In a society which emphasizes material values, a compromising attitude toward morality is advisable:

"Drum soll, wer essen will, am Richtblock sitzen, um auf das Beil zu sehn, bis ihm vergeht, zu denken, daB er hier als Richter steht!" 119

Brecht's materialist correction of the Shakespearean model mainly involves re-motivation of the kind already seen in the analysis of the plans for the Vienna-version.

## 2.6 Comparison of Brecht's Plot with that of the Model

a) There are eleven scenes in the Vienna-version which may be compared to their Shakespearean counterparts. Of these, from the point of view of basic plot, seven are virtually identical to the original scene, as Table Four shows:

TABLE FOUR

<u>SHAKESPEARE</u>	<u>BRECHT</u>
I;i :Deputation of power (Herzog et al.)	:Deputation of power (Herzog et al.)
I;ii :Street meeting (Lucio et al.)	:Street meeting (von Lutzetal.)
I;iii:Entrance of victim (Claudio)	:Entrance of victim (von Klausner)
I;iv :Disguise of Herzog	:Disguise of Herzog
II,i :Court-case (Elbogen et al.)	:Court-case (Elbogen et al.)
II;ii:Petition scene (Angelo, Isabella)	:Petition scene (Angeler, Isabella)
V;i :Return of Herzog	:Return of Herzog



The intention of Shakespeare's Duke had been purely moralistic; Brecht's Herzog uses morality as a diversionary measure, as the means to a materialist end.

In the second scene of the first act the noblemen, now personified as von Schwind and von Schaum (which signals Brecht's intention of thematizing class-differentiation), discuss the situation in Vienna. In contrast to the opening of the scene in Shakespeare, von Lutz is not yet present. The two noblemen no longer exchange blasphemous witticisms, but reflect upon the financial problems of their own country and of others (Hungary):

"VON SCHWIND

Wenn uns die Ungarn kein Geld geben

Dann sind wir unterm Hammer!

...

VON SCHAUM

Steht es wirklich so schlimm mit uns?

VON SCHWIND

Ich habe gehört, daß sogar ein Panzerschiff, das

Schon im Bau war und das wir dringend benötigen

Nicht mehr fertig gebaut werden soll.

VON SCHAUM

Das heißt - haben denn die Ungarn schuld?

VON SCHWIND

Nein, ihre Finanzen sind gleichfalls völlig  
zerrüttet."

(262/3)

Von Lutz approaches and the subject of Angeler's decrees is mentioned. For Frau Ueberley, who joins the group, the decrees mean the closure of the "Salon Ueberley, Hasengasse 24", her livelihood. Not Frau Ueberley, as in Shakespeare, but Mildner, formerly Pompeius, now enters with the news that von Klausner has been arrested and will be executed within three days. Brecht thus removes the confusing and superfluous double reference in the Shakespearean text to Claudio's crime and arrest<sup>120</sup>. The scene concludes, as in the model, with the shifting motif; in Brecht's version, though, new premises have already been found in the city, in the apartment buildings left vacant by the bankers who have fled to Paris with their families.

The third scene is essentially the same as its Shakespearean counterpart. Von Klausner is being led to prison; he confirms that he is a victim of the new laws and asks von Lutz to visit his sister and persuade her to intercede with the deputy on his behalf. The scene concludes, however, with the speech formerly made by Frau Ueberley before the entrance of Pompeius ("So bringen mich denn teils der Krieg und teils das Schwitzen und teils der Galgen und teils die Armut um alle meine Kunden ..." (I;ii,96-98)). This is a consequence of Brecht's structural alterations to Scene Two.

In the fourth scene of the first act the Herzog visits the director of the prison, informing him of this actions and requesting a disguise so that he can move freely in and out of the prison. It is noteworthy that he no longer visits a monk: this stresses from the beginning the close alliance between the ruling-class and the judicial system. For the Herzog to disguise himself as a monk, as in the original, would clearly be disturbing in this context, not only because the setting is comparatively modern and realistic, but also because the Herzog's previous role as a kind of secular providence has been totally excised by Brecht.

The second act begins, as in Shakespeare, with a court-case, in which an adultery charge is brought by von Schwind against his wife and von Schaum, who had apparently met one another in Frau Ueberley's brothel. The latter and her business-manager Mildner are arraigned on a charge of "gewerbsmässige(r) Kuppelei" (267/183). A number of changes have taken place. Brecht firstly replaces Elbogen with von Schwind: this not only renders the plot more probable (for only the richer strata of Viennese society seem to frequent Frau Ueberley's), but avoids confusing the main issue of class-justice. The judge who had played such a small part in the model (speaking three lines at the end of the

scene) is now a more important figure who takes control of the case at the beginning of the scene, but is forced to withdraw by Eskaler. A motif which had remained blind in the Shakespearean original, Escalus's request that Elbogen bring him the names of those persons in his parish who could carry out police duties, has been deleted from this scene and, it seems, placed in II;iii, where the policemen aid Frau Ueberley. The court-case concludes with the release of the defendants, not because Eskaler is over-lenient, but because there exists the definite possibility that members of the ruling-class might be involved. This is made clear when Mildner mentions high-ranking personages to Eskaler:

"MILDNER Wie gesagt, Herr Hofrat, ich sprach gerade von jener kleinen Gesellschaft, die ich in unser Haus Bäcker<sup>g</sup>asse 12 einlie<sup>B</sup>, als dieser Herr Schaum kam. Also Frau Ministerialrat B, Herr General a.D. von S ...

ESKALER Mit einem Wort, lieber Mann, Sie behaupten, da<sup>B</sup> die Anwesenden hier alle unschuldig sind.

MILDNER. *Wache*nd: Das ist es, Herr Hofrat. Darauf wollte ich hinaus ..." (267/185)

Not the facts of the case, but who is involved, ultimately determines the outcomes of trials in a class-society. A significant addition to the list of figures is von Schaum's coachman as a scapegoat for the crimes of the upper-class:

"ESKALER Was fällt Ihnen ein. Einer mu<sup>B</sup> doch schuldig sein ... Besinnen Sie sich, wer eigentlich schuld hat an der Sache. Braucht ja deswegen kein unnötiger Staub aufgewirbelt werden. Vielleicht haben Sie einen Kellner in Ihrem Haus ... oder

MILDNER Herr Hofrat, da mu<sup>B</sup> ich Sie auf einen Umstand aufmerksam machen, der mir gleich von Anfang an als wichtig erschien. Herr Schaum fuhr, wie er selbst zugab, mit einem Kutscher in die Bäcker<sup>g</sup>asse ...

ESKALER Na also!" (267/185)

In the struggle of classes the poor must always be defeated because the rich have control of the legal system.

The second scene of this act contains, as in the model, the confrontation

between Isabella and Angeler. Most of the Shakespearean text has been retained, albeit in a more prosaic form. This tendency of the adaptation towards expression in everyday language also results in the excision of the highly lyrical passages in Isabella's speeches. Brecht's general attitude towards the scene shows him intent to "defuse" a dramatically and psychologically engrossing scene (E.M.W. Tillyard writes of the scene's "powerful general effect" <sup>121</sup>). The omission of Angelo's monologue at the end of the scene should be seen as part of his intention. To a certain degree Isabella's lengthy plea is more justified in Brecht's adaptation, because his Isabella is more human and warmer, less capable, one suspects, of the cold reception Shakespeare's Isabella shortly after gives to her brother. It is noteworthy that Isabella's axiomatic reference to the thematic concepts of "measure" and "measurement" ("Miß nicht den Nächsten mit dem eignen Maß." (II;ii,129)) has also been removed, perhaps to avoid the confusion it would cause. In Brecht's Vienna the law and its servants know only one "measure" (socio-political importance). Brecht undertook several further changes. At the beginning of the scene he seemingly fuses the parts of the Provost and Elbogen, so that the latter now asks if Klausner is still to be executed as arranged. Secondly, Brecht introduces a new passage in which Angeler complains to Eskaler of the slow progress being made with the "moral cleansing" of the city:

"Herr von Eskaler? Ich bin nicht mit der  
 Art zufrieden, wie man  
 Die Dinge ausführt oder nicht ausführt  
 Die, lang erwogen, hier beschlossen wurden!  
 Die Säuberung im Innern unserer Stadt!  
 So nicht, so geht es nicht, von Eskalér."  
 (267/187)

In this way the dismissal motif (IV;i) has been prepared.

The final scene of the fragment is similar in outline to the model.

The Herzog has "returned" and proceeds to solve the problems created by his deputy. Angeler confesses at the beginning of the scene <sup>122</sup> and

begs for summary execution. The Herzog rebukes him and announces that marriage to Marianne would be a better solution than death. Von Klausner, the Herzog further states, will also be married that day to the girl he has impregnated, Julia von Gentzow. But the scene contains important alterations. Unlike his Shakespearean predecessor the Herzog has no intention of executing Angeler, who confesses his guilt in a passage similar to that found in the original:

"Mein Fürst, nicht länger halt' ich's zurück.  
 Ich mehrte nur die Schuld um neue Schuld noch,  
 wenn ich jetzt stillschwieg, da mich Eure  
 Hoheit gleich wie der höchste Richter ganz  
 durchschaut! Drum, prüfen Sie nicht meine  
 Schande, Fürst! Unmittelbares Urteil, schnellster  
 Tod ist alles, was ich bitte." 123

In contrast to the ending of Measure for Measure, the deputy is not reprimanded for his hypocrisy, but for his excessive purity. From the Herzog's clinical viewpoint, such an uncompromising outlook is unhealthy and only to be cured by marriage:

"Gänzlich maßlos ist Ihre Übertreibung, Herr von Angeler. Genau so krankhaft wie Ihr Über-eifer, die Laster überschätzend und sich schadend durch Anfälle von jäher Ordnungssucht, die mehr zerstört als daß sie bessert! Dies wird alles ohne Zweifel sich in Bälde auf ein gesundes Maß zurückführ'n lassen, und ruhig wird dann Ihr Urteil sein, wenn erst ein zweites Bett bereit im Zimmer steht." 124

Marriage, then, not as the union of two loving persons, nor even as an act of justice, but rather as a physical cure, a form of health tonic designed to save Angeler from the axe.

There is, furthermore, no intercession on Angeler's behalf by either Marianne or Isabella. Marianne, as a prostitute, would now only act if there were the possibility of financial reimbursement. Isabella herself no longer has a speaking role at all in the scene. The moral purity she shows would certainly not have any effect in this context, and the Herzog even finds her behaviour blameworthy. Frau Ueberley defends Isabella by stating, essentially, that Isabella was prepared to sleep

with Angeler:

"UBERLE     Darf ich stören, Durchlaucht? Ich sah, Fräulein von Klausner sucht ihr Taschentuch, da möchte ich ihr nur gern das von gestern nacht zurückgeben, das ich irrtümlicherweise eingesteckt habe, als wir um zwölf das Statthalter-Palais verlieBen!

HERZOG     So war sie dort?

UBERLE     Das sollten Sie gar nicht erst fragen, Durchlaucht! Eine Person von der Härte, Konsequenz und Unanständigkeit, wie Sie sie eben geschildert haben, existiert, Gottseidank, nur in den Lesebüchern der Gymnasien." 125

The message conveyed by Frau Ueberley and the Herzog is that (ruling) class-morality is the converse of the morality represented by Isabella. In this way Brecht forcefully de-idealizes the original, completely suppressing the once victorious intervention of love, selflessness and Christian mercy. A further important change to the model is that Marianne does not want to marry Angeler because she has met von Schaum: the prostitute seeks an alliance with the adulterer! There can be no doubt that Brecht undertook this alteration at Ludwig Berger's suggestion. The theatre-goer can still not be sure that Marianne will be happy, but at least the money possessed by the nobleman von Schaum will mean the end of her career as a prostitute <sup>126</sup>. In this materialistic context the ending is far more probable, and hence more satisfying theatrically. To reinforce the materialist emphasis of the play Brecht has greatly enlarged the parts played by Frau Ueberley and Mildner in the last scene. They now dominate the stage whereas in the original plot they had left it by the middle of the fourth act. A last indication of Brechtian materialism is that the Duke issues justice while eating at the breakfast table. Moral relativism or Mildnerian opportunism is the philosophy strongly suggested to those who wish to "eat" ("wer essen will"); it cannot be said whether this is meant existentially ("eating" meaning "living") or politically ("eating" as a privilege of the upper, ruling class). In Angeler's case, of course, both meanings are applicable.

b) Table Five demonstrates that Brecht made considerable structural changes in the early stages of his adaptation work:

TABLE FIVE

<u>SHAKESPEARE</u>	<u>BRECHT</u>
I;v :Sister learns of brother's plight (Isabella, Lucio)	:Sister learns of brother's plight (Isabella, Meixners, Lutz)
II;iii:Duke's prison visit	:Brothel shifting scene
IV;i :Substitute's agreement	:Eskaler's dismissal
IV;iii:Substitution of Claudio	:Substitution of Isabella

Of these four scenes only one (IV;i) is an entirely new creation by Brecht; of the other three two (II;iii and IV;iii) were present in the Shakespearean version, but not intended to be played on stage. At the end of I;ii in MaB für MaB Frau Ueberley complains about the strict enforcement of the laws by Angelo and asks:

"Was soll nun aus mir werden?" (I;ii,122)

Her astute tapster Pompeius replies that, although a change of premises may be required, she does not have to change her profession:

"... Wenn Ihr schon Euer Quartier ändert, braucht Ihr darum nicht Euer Gewerbe zu ändern... Ihr habt Eure Augen in Euerm Beruf fast aufgebraucht; über Euch werden sie schon ein Auge zudrücken."

(I;ii, 124-129)

The main substitution scene, that is, the scene in which Mariana replaces Isabella in Angelo's bed, takes place off-stage in the course of IV;ii of MaB für MaB (in line 73 of this scene we learn that it is midnight, a few hours before the execution; at this time Angelo and Isabella had arranged to meet (IV;i,34-35)). The third scene of the group present in the Shakespearean text (I;v) contains a significant new motif.

Analysis

The episode concerning the tenant-farmer Meixner and his family has been inserted in the last scene of the first act, which is otherwise identical to the model, and comprises 57 lines of new text. The family represents a class not present in the original: the lower class. They seek financial relief from Isabella and her brother, their masters, because, in arrears with their rent and taxes and unable to harvest adequate crops, they have been threatened with eviction:

"Ich bin der Pächter Meixner auf den von Klausnerschen Gütern in Niederau. Entschuldigen Sie bitte, daß ich und meine Frau Sie hier belästigen, aber wir sind in ganz furchtbarer Bedrängnis. Schon am nächsten Montag sollen wir von Haus und Hof gejagt werden, weil wir mit dem Pachtzins und den Steuern im Rückstand sind. Auch konnten wir die vertraglichen Naturalleistungen nicht aufbringen." (262/11)

From a Marxist point of view Frau Ueberley and Pompeius, clearly the poorest figures in MaB für MaB, belong to the lower middle class. The difference between the two classes is demonstrated by the fact that Meixner's daughter Marianne is being exploited by Frau Ueberley:

"FRAU MEIXNER Damit Sie sehen, gnädiges Fräulein, wie weit es mit uns gekommen ist, brauchen wir Ihnen nur zu sagen, daß unsere Zweitälteste -  
MEIXNER - unsere Marianne - sie ist im gleichen Alter wie Sie, Fräulein, seit dem letzten Frühjahr nicht mehr bei uns weilt, um dem Hungerleben zu entgehen, hat sie sich hier in der Stadt bei einer gewissen Frau Ueberley verdingt.  
(262/12)

The plight of the worker family points to a glaring contradiction and injustice inherent in the class-society: while the Meixners do not have enough money to save their daughter from prostitution, their labour is the means by which Isabella can devote herself to the pious existence of a nun. Morality is thus exposed as a luxury which only the exploiting class can afford.

Brecht considerably enlarged the parts played by Frau Ueberley and Pompeius because they were figures eminently suitable in a materialistic

context. For the same reason Brecht retains the shifting-motif, of which the reader of Shakespeare is barely cognizant, and creates from it a scene of seventy-one lines. The scene replaced by Brecht, in which the Duke has entered the prison, heard of Claudio's plight and their mutual love, could be incorporated only with great difficulty into the Vienna-version; for it contains a mode of judicial inquiry and characters quite alien to the tone of Brecht's fragment. The Shakespearean motif, to be found, characteristically, in a speech by Pompeius, already contains explicitly the idea of "turning a blind eye", of corruption. This is particularly emphasized by Brecht. If an institution is useful to the ruling class, and Frau Ueberley's brothel specializes in serving the wealthy -

"FRAU UEERLEY *zum Herzog*: Ich verstehe Herrn von Eskaler nicht. Was er macht, ist mir ganz unverständlich.  
 HERZOG Wieso? Kennen Sie ihn doch so genau?  
 FRAU UEERLEY Natürlich. Er kam doch immer zu mir. DaB der jetzt gerade durchgreift -  
 HERZOG Ja, was hat denn das damit zu tun -  
 FRAU UEERLEY Bei mir bekam er immer die Vierzehnjährigen - "  
 (267/174)

- or, rather, if the ruling class wants to protect its interests, then, irrespective of morality, it will employ the means at its disposal to do so. Hence the police, instructed by Eskaler, assist Frau Ueberley to move her establishment across the road, where she intends to open a "turkish bath", as she had announced in I;ii. There can be no doubt that Eskaler is aware she is not really closing her brothel. Only Elbogen expresses his doubts about the honesty of her intentions ("Ich mache Sie darauf aufmerksam, Frau Ueberley, daB sich in Ihrem neuen Etablissement keinerlei Badegelegenheit gefunden hat." (266/13)), but he is silenced by Eskaler even before Frau Ueberley produces the bathtub ("Ich muB Sie ersuchen, die Bevölkerung nicht überflüssig zu schikanieren, Herr Inspektor." (266/14)). The policemen not only help with the carrying of the furniture, but also whitewash the new premises.

While doing this they sing the "Lied von der Tünche", a song which reveals the role of the constabulary in a corrupt society:

"Ist wo etwas faul und rieselt's im Gemäuer  
Dann ist's nötig, daß man etwas tut  
Und die Fäulnis wächst so ungeheuer  
Wenn das einer sieht, das ist nicht gut."  
(262/12)

They appear to be cleansing the city of immorality; in reality they are promoting it. While Frau Ueberley is allowed to continue her illicit trade under the helpful guidance of the law, the poor and destitute cry out for aid -

*"Oben liegen verwahrloste Leute in den verwahrlosten  
Hausteilen und ausgebrochenen Fenstern und brüllen  
herunter:  
Sieh! Da ist was faul! Da rieselt's im Gemäuer!  
Ist das denn nicht möglich, daß man da was tut?!  
Sieh!! Die Fäulnis wächst so ungeheuer!  
Wenn uns einer sieht, das ist nicht gut!  
(Gar nicht gut!!)"*  
(266/13)

- but are ignored because the ruling class can gain nothing from intervention on their behalf.

In the second plan of the Vienna-version Brecht refers to the envisaged "Umzug"-scene as a "Mauerschausezene"<sup>127</sup>. Traditionally this dramatic device of teichoscopia ensures that the audience becomes aware of events which occur at the same time as those on stage, but are not as easily enacted. An observer atop a wall or hill tells the other figures on stage what can be seen from the vantage-point of, for instance, a raging battle. This double perspective of teichoscopia is detectable in II;iii. There is the closure of the brothel, on the one hand, something directly visible therefore, and the opening of the new on the other hand, which takes place covertly or "behind the scenes", but is thereby no less factual or real. The observer figure is also present in the form of the Herzog, although he is not the only means by which the double perspective is achieved. However, when at the end of the scene he bursts into laughter at a prostitute's invitation to enter the

new brothel and savour its delights, the audience is most effectively confirmed in its belief that a travesty of justice has occurred. The scene is not merely a variant "Mauerschauzene", moreover, but an entirely new and modern form of the species. Brecht uses the device of teichoscopia as a means of exposing a contradiction and as such, if Reinhold Grimm's definition of alienation as "(das) Sichtbarmachen von Widersprüchen" is acceptable<sup>128</sup>, it must be numbered among the more interesting of Brecht's numerous alienation effects. Furthermore, whereas the traditional observer figure provided the other figures on stage with information about background events, Brecht's Herzog serves to enlighten the audience, to deepen its understanding of a certain phenomenon. The concept of "Mauerschau" has thus been adapted to suit the purposes of a dialectical theatre form, and the entire scene becomes exemplary of Brechtian "aufgehobene Tradition".

The first scene of the fourth act in Shakespeare's MaB für MaB took place in a romantic setting, the moated grange, and even commences with a love-song. The atmosphere created was wholly unsuited to Brecht's adaptation, which is generally cold and business-like. The scene itself was not an important part of the Shakespearean plot, for Mariana's agreement to the Duke's plan was taken for granted by the audience as soon as he had suggested it to Isabella in III;i. Even as a contribution to Mariana's characterization it is scarcely justified, particularly since Mariana is a relatively insignificant figure. Brecht replaces it therefore with a scene in which Eskaler is relieved of his office by a furious Angeler. The message of the scene, as of the play, concerns the conflict between economic considerations and morality. Angeler demands Frau Ueberley's arrest and imprisonment, angry at her immoral practices, but is uncontrollably enraged when he learns that Eskaler has imprisoned the bankers, also for moral charges, because they are meant to place the financially ailing state back on its feet:

"... wir brauchen Geld, Herr von Eskaler, das haben Sie vergessen. Haben Sie die Stiftungen eingekassiert von den Herren ABC? Sie versprochen, jeder mit einer besonderen Stiftung dem Defizit des Lands zu steuern, das Geld sollte schon längst in der Regierungskasse liegen, auch wollten einige der Herren sich bei ausländischen Freunden bemühen. 's ist schon Geld da, und sprachen Sie mit dem Präsidenten der Finanzabteilungen über die neuen Steuern für die Kleinbetriebe? ..."

(267/135)

The scene is perhaps the most interesting and problematical of the fragment because it provides the best indication of Angeler's character.

Ludwig Berger had recommended to Brecht that he dramatize the substitution scene <sup>129</sup>, the intention being to create a humorous, farce-like situation; IV;iii is the successful result. The main figures involved in the substitution in MaB für MaB, Angelo and Mariana, are supplemented in the Brechtian version by Frau Ueberley, Isabella and Angeler's servant. Frau Ueberley and Marianne arrive at Angeler's house just as a weeping Isabella is about to enter. Frau Ueberley tricks Isabella into letting Marianne go into her place, because otherwise Ueberley will not get the payment promised <sup>130</sup>. Angeler promises to free von Klausner if, on the following morning at the place of execution, "Isabella" will beg on her bended knees for her brother's life. Marianne slips out of the house, her mission seemingly successful, but Angeler immediately orders the execution for four o'clock, not five. The servant's role is to retard the movement of the plot long enough to give Frau Ueberley the opportunity to effect the substitution. Isabella's presence is probably also the result of Berger's complaints about Shakespeare's chaste maiden <sup>131</sup>:  
Brecht's Isabella is prepared to sacrifice her chastity for her brother's life. But for Isabella to have slept with Angeler would detract from Brecht's central thesis. Thus Frau Ueberley's intervention:

"In dieser Fassung hat sich nun also doch Isabella dazu entschlossen, durch ihre Hingabe das Leben des Bruders zu retten, aber zu rechter Zeit kommt völlig unerwartet Frau Ueberley mit der verlassenen Mariana ins Statthalterpalais, und so wird - und das freute uns beide

am meisten - die Kupplerin zur Retterin  
der gefährdeten Tugend." (p.132)

Ueberley gives expression to the moral graphically demonstrated by the scene:

"... Es ist gewiß sehr beklagenswert, daß die Tugend zu nichts  
nutze ist! Umso mehr muß die Fassade in Takt gehalten  
werden ..." (268/21)

Virtue is totally ineffective, at best a facade, that is, a structure lacking solidity and strength. The humour of the scene is well displayed by the word-play on "in Takt" (referring of course, not only to an unruffled exterior - Frau Ueberley wipes the tears from Isabella's face - but also to the virgin's "intact" body).

There are extant of the third act only two fragments: in the one (262/175) Frau Ueberley's arrest by Eskaler takes place, in the other the Herzog approves of the "gesture" of a moral purification in the city ("Die Geste des Aufräumens wird vom Herzog gebilligt" (267/174)). The first of these fragments serves mainly as a contribution to Ueberley's characterization. The second is comparable to the whitewashing of Frau Ueberley's new premises; in fact the entire moral purge of Vienna is nothing but a "gesture" so that the state will appear reputable, when in reality it is totally corrupt. The remaining two fragments which belong to the Vienna-version (267/147, 267/149) contain portions of conversation in Act Four between Frau Ueberley and a prison-inmate about the Herzog. They do not know whether he is a Duke or a lunatic.

## 2.7. Characterization

The Vienna-version is fragmentary and therefore forms an unsound basis for the determination of major, minor and lesser figures. For the sake of clarity, though, it is helpful, as before, to separate the figures

involved in the plot according to the number of lines they speak. Using this method, the Herzog, Angeler, Isabella, Eskaler and Frau Ueberley belong to the category of major figures. The minor figures comprise Mildner, von Schwind and von Lutz. The lesser figures include von Schaum, von Klausner, the Meixners, Elbogen, the prison-director/Provost, Marianne, the judge, the servant, the policemen, the poor house-dwellers and the prostitute. It is clear that had Brecht finished the version several figures, von Klausner for instance, would have been re-categorized. Nevertheless, surprising changes have already taken place in the process of adaptation. Frau Ueberley, in particular, has moved from insignificance in MaB für MaB to a place of prominence. Eskaler, too, plays a more important role, while von Lutz, who formerly had the third largest speaking part, now shrinks to relative insignificance. The most noteworthy alterations made by Brecht are the division of figures according to class (the upper, ruling class - Herzog, Angeler, von Klausner et al.; the lower middle-class - Frau Ueberley; the lower class - the Meixners) and the creation of new, socio-economic relationships (landlord (von Klausner/Isabella) - tenant-farmer (the Meixners); employer (Frau Ueberley) - employee (Marianne)).

### 2.7.1. Major Figures

#### a) The Herzog

In his Herzog Brecht has created a figure bearing little resemblance to its Shakespearean counterpart. The Herzog entrusts his power to Angeler, as he had done in Shakespeare, but his motivation is quite different in the Brechtian version. In MaB für MaB he wants Angelo to undertake a moral purge of the city: the natural, primeval impulses in man have had free rein for too long, constituting a serious threat to civilized life. Brecht's Vienna, on the other hand, is bankrupt: hence the Herzog's

plot, as we learn from von Lutz, to encourage foreign investors by strengthening the state's moral reputation. Morality thus becomes the means to an end, a form of political propaganda. The "state" is the Herzog's main concern:

"... Erlaubt sei alles  
Was nötig ist, um unsern Staat zu retten." (262/1)

Shakespeare's Duke commissions Angelo because he is afraid of appearing a tyrant in the eyes of his people if he harshly enforces the laws he himself has relaxed. Brecht's Herzog echoes this rationalization:

"DIREKTOR  
Dir lag es ob, mein Fürst, zu ändern und zu strafen.  
Die Fessel des gebundenen Rechts zu lösen.  
Ein schrecklicherer Richter wärst du selbst  
Als dieser Angeler.  
HERZOG  
Zu schrecklich, fürcht ich, da meine Schwäche Freiheit  
lieb dem Volk  
Wär's Tyrannei, wollt ich mit Härte strafen  
Was ich solange erlaubt! ..."  
(262/9)

But in the context of the Vienna-version it is not credible that the Herzog would have carried out a moral purge, because it would be totally uncharacteristic of him. When Frau Ueberley is in the process of changing her premises, the Herzog, in his disguise, is present and, after the task has been completed by the police, enters with a roar of laughter to enjoy the delights of the new brothel. In stark contrast to Shakespeare's secular providence, he is a libertine who considers moral questions foolish:

"KLAUSNER ... Durchlaucht können  
mir nicht zumuten, daß  
meine zukünftige Frau  
Gemahlin mit einem  
Herrn wie Schrumm am  
gleichen Tisch zur  
Mahlzeit sitzt?!

HERZOG Wie schwach ist das  
Gedächtnis doch der  
Menschen! Noch eben lag  
dein Kopf auf dem Block  
und schon steckt er voller  
Albernheiten wieder!" 133

Clearly such a Duke could not have conceived the plan of a moral regeneration of the city as a means of re-filling the empty coffers. The Herzog's main objective in deputing Angeler is to "pass the buck", to extract himself from a situation he is not capable of handling. As Angeler whispers to himself:

"... Sie haben mir die Supp gekocht  
Ich soll sie auslöffeln." (262/1)

Von Lutz comments similarly:

"... Der Herzog hat sich  
verdrückt. Und Angeler soll den Karren aus dem Dreck ziehen."  
(262/4)

That is the main difference between Shakespeare's Duke and Brecht's: the former could in fact have executed the moral purge in Vienna himself, whereas Brecht's Herzog is weak and helpless when confronted with the problems of statesmanship and so resorts to Angeler, who has prepared a political manifesto. Like his Shakespearean predecessor the Herzog remains in Vienna, fearing that Angeler may be too strict in his application of the laws. But while the former, with his highly moral outlook, thereby tries to avoid any travesty of justice, the latter, as the plans reveal, hopes to stop Angeler prosecuting the wrong people, the wealthy.

The justice each metes out is formally comparable: "moderation" is the key-word. Shakespeare's Duke, though, issues moderate sentences after a careful consideration of the individual case. Right and wrong usually balance the scales and call for moderation or mercy. Brecht's Herzog, on the other hand, does not arrive at his verdicts after a moral balancing-act, or because he has been touched by pleas of mercy. As is to be expected, he reproves any adherence to moral categories. He condemns Isabella's chastity -

"... Denn der Mensch, der einzige unter uns,  
der unbeirrbar, jedwedes MaB verletzend, nur

nach innren Gesetzen handelnd, Recht verlangt,  
 nur Recht, scheint mir unmenschlich! Sicher  
 zwar aus Reinheit, und dennoch tadelnswert!  
 Du, Isabella, bliebst dir zwar selber treu,  
 doch keinem sonst! Dich trifft die schwerste  
 Klage!" 134

- because her actions are inhuman and selfish. This attitude is not typical of the Vienna-version - in the class-society man is not man's helper unless (as the examples of Marianne or the court-case show) social standing or money is at stake. The Herzog takes what is essentially a moral standpoint towards Isabella, and whether that moral standpoint derives from "bourgeois" or Marxist humanism is irrelevant. Other indications that the Herzog, unlike most figures in the fragment, has moral traits, can be found. He is, for example, left speechless when Frau Ueberley informs him that it is better for fourteen year olds to be sexually exploited because they thus earn more money than through normal work. The Herzog does not have the businesslike attitude displayed by the Meixners, who accept that their daughter is being exploited, but do not express moral outrage. The Herzog even feels guilty at the thought of his subjects' applause, because he knows they are soon to face harsh times <sup>135</sup>.

The Herzog, it should be noted, does not practice the moderation explained by Mildner in the penultimate speech of the fragment. But the plans suggest that had the drama been completed, he would, for instance, have given Klausner assistance because he is wealthy; and this is moderation in Mildner's use of the term - the result of a careful weighing of political, social or economic advantages or disadvantages.

Brecht's Herzog, then, is the opposite of his Elizabethan counterpart: he is a weak statesmen, though a cunning politician, a materialist and an immoralist. But he still has moral traits which are reminiscent of the Shakespearean Duke. The concept of the play as an experiment has

been discarded: the Herzog does not want to test Angeler, simply shirk a difficult task. He remains to watch over Angeler, but, unlike his omnipotent forebear, experiences problems when he tries to assert himself (the plans indicate that he is treated as a lunatic!).

b) Angeler

Brecht's Angeler is, apparently, very similar to his original. He is a strict moralist whom von Lutz describes as a machine<sup>136</sup>. Echoing the Shakespearean text, von Lutz also states:

"An seiner statt herrscht nun mit größter Vollmacht  
Graf Angeler. Ein Mann, dem wohl statt Blut  
Eiswasser in den Adern fließt. Dem jeder Sinn  
Für Vergnügung abgeht, der bewußt  
Durch Training, Arbeit, Fasten und Studieren  
Sich abstumpft, um nichts Menschliches zu spüren." (262/13)

Like Angelo, he enforces the moral laws which have lain dormant for so long. He declares:

"Das Recht darf nicht zur Vogelscheuche werden  
Die leblos dahängt und nach wenigen Tagen  
Den Vögeln, die, schnell an ihren Anblick  
Gewöhnt, zur Ruhstatt wird anstatt zum Schreck!"  
(267/180)

As part of his reform programme<sup>137</sup> he orders von Klausner's arrest and the closing of all brothels in Vienna. When he makes his infamous proposition to Isabella, as he would have done in II;iv, and then, having received the sexual satisfaction he craves, proceeds to ensure that von Klausner will be executed before the previously arranged hour, his hypocritical and morally corrupt nature is manifested.

Brecht has made Angeler a highly political figure, one who understands the political arena and seeks political power. When offered the post of deputy, Angeler does not request that his ability be tested, as in Shakespeare ("Oh, mein Fürst, / Laßt schärfre Prüfung mein Metall bestehn, / Bevor ein so erhabnes edles Bild / Darauf geprägt wird." (I;i,46-49), but cynically determines the true nature of the Duke's manoeuvre ("Sie

haben mir die Supp gekocht/Ich soll sie auslöffeln." (262/1)). Asked by Eskaler what his task will be in the new government, Angeler does not suggest they discuss this together, but declares that he will take total, dictatorial control. The Herzog mentions to the prison-director that Angeler has in fact long sought political power<sup>138</sup>. His political programme involves not only a moral purge, but the simultaneous boosting of the country's finances:

"... wir wollten die Moral in diesem Lande wieder  
aufrichten und nicht nur aus moralischen Gründen..."  
(262/135)

For this reason, of course, he had been chosen by the Herzog to take his place. As the fragment makes clear, morality and money are exclusive entities: when Angeler discovers that Eskaler has imprisoned the bankers who were meant to contribute to the financial rebirth of the nation, he dismisses him. The bankers had committed similar moral offences to Frau Ueberley, but because she is not important to Angeler financially, he insists upon her incarceration. Angeler practises class-morality and justice, and is thus very similar to Eskaler.

The plans indicate that Angeler's idea of a begging-scene (at the place of execution) is designed only to enhance his reputation<sup>139</sup>. Von Klausner suspects that Angeler's order to arrest him was issued also with this intention. The execution would then be a political manoeuvre, and even at the close of IV;iii Angeler is still contemplating its possibility:

"... Vielleicht  
DaB meine Strenge doch der Gnade weicht!!"

Unlike Angelo, he feels sorry for von Klausner and his reason for changing the execution hour is not the fear of revenge harboured by his predecessor. It seems more probable that, like other politicians (in particular Eskaler), he senses that justice must appear to be done, moral requisites appear to be fulfilled. Klausner will die, not because of his guilt, but because a "moral" sacrifice is needed.

Hence Angeler is not only the moralist who succumbs to natural sexual urges, commits the crime for which he has condemned another and then, corruptly, still makes arrangements for the other's execution. Not only a fallen angel, therefore, but a cynical political figure who, in the interests of the state, puts financial and socio-political considerations before moral. In the context of the Vienna-version, Angeler's political manoeuvring easily outweighs his moral intentions<sup>140</sup>.

c) Isabella

Brecht's Isabella is just as puritanical as Shakespeare's, as the opening of I;v demonstrates:

"ISABELLA  
 Und das ist alle Freiheit, die ihr habt?  
 FRANZISKA  
 Scheint sie dir zu gering?  
 ISABELLA  
 Nicht deshalb frag ich. Ganz im Gegenteil.  
 Noch abgeschlossener beinah wünscht ich mir  
 Mein künftig Leben im Santa Clara-Kloster."  
 (262/11)

This is further stressed at the end of II;ii, the scene in which she tries to dissuade Angeler from executing her brother von Klausner:

"ISABELLA  
 Ich muß Sie noch bestechen. Warten Sie.  
 ANGELER  
 Was, mich bestechen?  
 ISABELLA  
 Ja, mit Gebet.  
 Das auf zum Himmel schwebt und Einlaß findet  
 Vom ersten Sonnenstrahl! Gebet der Seelen  
 Die sich kastein und rein sind, abgekehrt von  
 Allem Zeitlichen." (262/191)

She promises to act on behalf of the Meixners, but it is clear that their cries will be unheeded, just as the wretched inhabitants of the decrepit buildings are not heard in II;iii. While Frau Meixner and her husband tell Isabella of the fate of their daughter, Isabella's thoughts are only with her brother:

"FRAU MEIXNER Ja, von seiner Wohnung kommen wir gerade, aber

man hat uns dort gesagt, er ist auf der Polizei. Gerade -!  
 MEIXNER Ja - gerade -

FRAU MEIXNER Damit Sie sehen, gnädiges Fräulein, wie weit es  
 mit uns gekommen ist, brauchen wir Ihnen nur zu sagen, daß  
 unsere Zweitälteste -

MEIXNER - unsere Marianne - sie ist im gleichen Alter wie Sie,  
 Fräulein, seit dem letzten Frühjahr nicht mehr bei uns  
 weilt, um dem Hungerleben zu entgehen, hat sie sich hier  
 in der Stadt bei einer gewissen Frau Ueberley verdingt.

FRAU MEIXNER In einem schlechten Hause.

ISABELLA

Mein Bruder auf der Polizei? Wieso denn?

(262/12)

Her character has been changed in one important respect: she overcomes  
 the desire to preserve her chastity, deciding that (her brother's)  
 death is a worse fate than the loss of virginity:

"... Ist schon der Weg

So schreckhaft, den Du gingst - wie erst sein Ende!!"

(268/18)

By making this adjustment to the Shakespearean original Brecht not only  
 makes Isabella more human, as Berger had sought, but also less complicated  
 psychologically. Isabella had caused, and still causes, Shakespearean  
 critics great difficulties, because although she had begged Angelo to  
 be merciful, she herself was unable to show mercy towards Claudio, her  
 own brother. In the final scene, however, she begs on bended knees for  
 Angelo's life, inspired by Mariana's love for him<sup>141</sup>. Now, of course,  
 neither Marianna nor Isabella is required to intercede on Angeler's  
 behalf. Isabella is thus a simpler figure, and one more theatrically  
 satisfying because she acts according to modern audience expectation.  
 Brecht did not want his audience involved in the complicated character-  
 analysis undertaken by the critics. Lastly, Brecht made this change to  
 demonstrate a certain materialist thesis: that money motivates more  
 strongly than brotherly love or merciful feelings. The weeping, fearful  
 Isabella is swiftly replaced by Marianne, Frau Ueberley's employee. The  
 moralist is no more than a helpless bystander.

d) Eskaler

Eskaler is still the lenient judge he had been in MaB für MaB, but his motivation has been radically altered. It is true that, as in Shakespeare, he advises Angeler to be moderate:

"ESKALER

Gut. Gut. Lasst uns ruhig scharf sein und ein bißchen  
schneiden.

Nur nicht gleich fällen - töten ..."

(267/180)

But he thinks of moderation in the same way as Mildner - a "measured" consideration of possible, social, political or economic consequences:

"Immer denken bei der Verhandlung. Dort verurteilen,  
wo es Sinn hat, und sich mit den Gesetzen nicht  
benehmen wie ein Elefant im Porzellanladen. Man kann  
alles geschickt und ungeschickt machen. Was in den  
, Verordnungen steht, das wissen wir alle ... aber  
dann muß man auch noch denken. ..."

(267/186)

In the original he had pardoned Pompey Bum and Master Froth because he did not consider their crimes heinous. He was strict in his censure of their activities, but tolerantly prepared to give them a second chance. In the Vienna-version he again pardons obviously guilty persons, but now for socio-political reasons. Mildner, who recognises an ally, mentions the high-ranking people involved, and Eskaler, seeing the disastrous consequences if the details were to be made public, instantly dismisses the case. The law-suits end differently in terms of each play 's theme. Whereas Escalus acts immoderately and must be overruled by the Duke, Brecht's Eskaler proves himself an able adept of Mildner's philosophy (with which the Herzog does not disagree). But Eskaler realizes that justice must appear to be done, otherwise it might look as though public monies were being misused:

"... Sonst heißt's wieder in den Zeitungen, daß das  
Gericht das Geld der Steuerzahler mit lauter Mißgriffen  
und Freisprechungen vertut ..."

(267/185)

Hence the need to find a scapegoat, in this case von Schaum's coachman. The main characteristic of the topsy-turvy world of Viennese society is thus visible: the guilty, because they are rich, are deemed innocent, the innocent, because they are poor, are deemed guilty!

Eskaler is an expert in creating the illusion of justice being done. In the shifting-scene he appears to be closing Frau Ueberley's brothel, but he watches the new premises being entered and a new sign erected at the same time as he is stating that these things must not be done:

*"Vor Frau Ueberleys Bordell in der Bäcker-gasse. Mädchen, Mildner und Polizisten tragen Betten und Mobiliar in das gegenüberliegende Haus.*

ESKALER zu Frau Ueberley: Also, Frau Ueberley, ich will hoffen, daß jetzt die Klagen aufhören. Es ist doch unmöglich, daß Sie am hellen Tage hier Ihr Gewerbe ausüben.

FRAU UEBERLEY Wofür halten Sie mich denn, Herr Hofrat?

ESKALER Ich hoffe, daß Sie die Schließung Ihres bisherigen Etablissements nicht nur als Formsache betrachten.

FRAU UEBERLEY Ganz im Gegenteil, Herr Hofrat.

ESKALER ... daß es sich hier nicht um etwas Äußerliches handelt. Und der alte Betrieb unter einem neuen Firmen-aufdruck irgendwo anders weitergeht.

*Zwei Polizisten hängen das gegenüberliegende Haus. Zum Schluß hängen sie das Schild davor auf: Türkisches Bad.*

(266/12) 142

As we learn from Frau Ueberley, he is a very good customer, who specializes in young girls. By supervising the closure of the old brothel he is simply protecting his interests. For this reason he swiftly silences Elbogen, who can find no evidence that the new establishment has a bathtub. Further evidence of his socio-political manoeuvring is his arrest of Frau Ueberley, admittedly executed under Angeler's orders. It is not done for moral reasons, but because a sacrifice is required to calm the people's anger:

"Also, Frau Ueberley, es nützt nichts, reden Sie nicht, ich mache das nicht gern, es ist ein Blödsinn, aber die Volkswut will ein Opfer haben, und da müssen Sie eben die Unbequemlichkeit auf sich nehmen."

(262/6)

Eskaler is a political manipulator, intent on protecting his own interests and those of the ruling-class. He subordinates morality to socio-political exigencies. Like the policemen whitewashing Frau Ueberley's new brothel, he constantly appears to be serving justice, but in reality he has quite different masters.

e) Frau Ueberley

Frau Ueberley is a major figure in the Vienna-version, her character, though, is no more complicated than that of Shakespeare's brothel-mistress. But she is a less sympathetic figure; there is, for example, no mention of her looking after Lutz's illegitimate child as in the original. She is an even more astute businesswoman than before. Whereas in MaB für MaB she despairs about her fate, in the Vienna-version she has already organized a new establishment shortly after the new decrees have been made official and, unlike Shakespeare's mistress, does not need her tapster's advice about what should be done:

"... Wer zahlt den Umzug? Wissen Sie,  
was eine Achtzimmerwohnung in der Stadt kostet? Zu  
*Milchner*: Hast du dir übrigens die Wohnung am Kärntner-  
ring angesehen? (262/6)

Whereas in Shakespeare she states that Claudio is "worth" five thousand of the noblemen -

"Schon gut! Eben wird einer verhaftet und ins  
Gefängnis gesteckt, der war mehr wert als  
fünftausend solche wie Ihr." (I;ii,71-73)

- and thereby implies that he possesses much greater moral qualities and so does not deserve to die, in the Vienna-version she sees him with less sympathy merely as a customer - his "worth" is gauged financially :

"... Hat er das nötig gehabt? Das  
heißt am unrechten Ort gespart. Die paar Schillinge,  
die er bei mir schon ausgibt! Bis an sein Lebensende  
hätte er bei mir verkehren können."  
(262/8)

Frau Ueberley is a very single-minded, selfish person who feels that she alone is being victimized:

"FRAU UEBERLEY ... die Sache ist  
 die: es soll durchaus was geschehen, und wenn's dann  
 geschieht, geschieht's immer am falschen Fleck.  
 VON SCHWIND Wie meinen Sie das?  
 FRAU UEBERLEY Der falsche Fleck, das sind halt wir, Herr  
 Major." (262/5)

Frau Ueberley is a figure highly typical of the Vienna-version. She demonstrates what Brecht has undertaken - a reversal of values - most adequately of all figures. Brecht makes his materialist devaluation of Shakespeare startlingly noticeable by having Frau Ueberley employ the terminology of idealistic morality to express her own money-morality. Hence "respectability" ("Anständigkeit"), which in Shakespeare's moral codex means purity and non-involvement in seedy sexual matters, now means exactly the opposite. Frau Ueberley thus states that if von Klausner had remained "respectable", that is if he had continued to frequent her brothel, then no-one could have found fault with him:

"... Wäre der junge Mann anständig geblieben und hätte ruhig und ordentlich und ausschließlich bei mir verkehrt, anstatt ein junges Mädchen vom Lande zu verführen, das sich hinten und vorne nicht auskennt, hätte ihm niemand einen Vorwurf machen können. ..." (262/8)

Moral issues in the Shakespearean sense play no role in Frau Ueberley's outlook. She thinks it better that fourteen year olds be sexually exploited than that they work in normal jobs because the wages (of sin) are higher. If it is financially lucrative, it is "good", if not, then it is "bad": such is Frau Ueberley's "moral" philosophy. She is Brecht's central materialist mouthpiece and asserts the main truth of the fragment, that business and financial matters are an inherent part of reality and cannot be brought to a standstill:

"Ach, Herr von Schaum, haben Sie schon die neuen Elendsverordnungen gelesen? Diese Maßnahmen? Die Herren oben am grünen Tisch haben keine Ahnung von der Wirklichkeit. Das geht doch alles praktisch gar nicht.

...  
 SchließBlich sind wir doch ein  
 lebenswichtiger Betrieb. Wir gehören doch zum Wirt-  
 schaftslieben! ..."

(262/4)

She is, lastly, Brecht's main source of humour (in particular in the substitution scene), a form of humour not content, as in MaB für MaB, with bawdy innuendo, but directed at a devaluation of morality and virtue.

### 2.7.2. Minor Figures

#### a) Von Schwind

Von Schwind, an army major, is one of the few figures in the Vienna-version who is not morally reprehensible. He is, for example, not acquainted with Frau Ueberley and her brothel; von Lutz must introduce her to him when she joins the group in I;ii. Furthermore, he accuses his wife of adultery, stating that he is in full agreement with a moral purge of Vienna:

"Exzellenz, ich bin ein Mann, der aus tiefster  
 sittlicher Überzeugung die verschärften Gesetze über die  
 öffentliche Moral begrüßt, weil ich darin das erste An-  
 zeichen einer moralischen Gesundung der Nation erblicke ..."

(262/11)

Unlike the Herzog, Eskaler or Angeler, von Schwind will be satisfied if the moral cleansing does not fulfil its intended financial goals, but simply "improves" the moral condition of the people:

"VON SCHAUM Hat er schon ein fest umschriebenes Programm?

VON LUTZ Na ja - in erster Linie Säuberung. Damit wir nämlich wieder Auslandskredite bekommen. Das heißt - so lautet das Programm. Was dahinter steckt, weiß natürlich kein Mensch.

VON SCHAUM Ja, was soll denn da noch dahinter stecken?

VON LUTZ Die Möglichkeit, daß wir eben keine Auslandskredite bekommen.

VON SCHWIND

Aber selbst dann - wäre das Volk endlich einmal moralisch gesund, was viel wichtiger ist. Moralische Ertüchtigung, Herr Kamerad."

(262/4)

He considers the inflationary condition of the exchequer a natural occurrence which cannot be combated by artificial, man-made means:

"VON SCHAUM

Ja, was ist denn schuld an dieser Kalamität?

VON SCHWIND

Niemand - es soll von selber gekommen sein."

(262/3)

In contrast to Frau Ueberley lamenting the loss of custom incurred by the flight of the bankers to Paris, von Schwind criticizes them as traitors:

"Das sind diejenigen, die ihr Vaterland schnöde im Stich lassen. Sie könnten mindestens so lange warten, bis wir sie rausschmeißen. Diese Kunden!"

(262/6)

There can be no doubt that Brecht has incorporated in von Schwind a political philosophy propagated with full force at the time he was engaged in writing his adaptation. The representatives of this philosophy - one might think of any of the extreme right-wing political parties - largely avoided detailed financial analysis, preferring to voice idealistic and irrational slogans<sup>143</sup>. Their reasons, Brecht subtly implies, were twofold. On the one hand to preserve the status quo of capitalistic class-differentiation. Von Schwind is a member of the ruling-class and not seriously affected by the monetary crisis - his reaction is to sip champagne:

"... Jedenfalls, mein Lieber, müssen wir uns daraufhin zunächst mal einen Schampus genehmigen. Ohne Champagner hält man nämlich auch die schönste Not nicht aus."

(262/3)

It is in his own interests that the lower classes, represented by the Meixners, do not reflect upon their situation in materialistic terms; were they to do so, their attention would be directed at the contradictory nature of capitalist society. On the other hand, their intention is, clearly, to realize capitalist-imperialistic war-plans - von Schwind refers to a war-ship "urgently needed" by the country (262/3).

b) Mildner

Mildner retains the essential characteristic of his model, Shakespeare's Pompeius: he promotes immorality for financial reward. But Mildner is a far cleverer figure than Pompeius. Whereas Pompeius, like Mildner, diverts justice from its true course by introducing irrelevant facts into the trial, he is ultimately forced to concede defeat, offering as his only excuse that he is a poor man who must in some way make a living. Mildner, on the other hand, forces Eskaler to free him and the other defendants by hinting at social scandal; he does not need to rely on Eskaler's merciful attitude towards frail humanity, simply on his socio-political insight. Hence Mildner is able to dictate the terms of punishment imposed upon von Schaum's coachman:

"MILDNER Dieser Kutscher hatte sehr wahrscheinlich kupplerische Absichten. Wenn Herr Hofrat gestatten.

*Er nimmt das Gesetzbuch.*

ESKALER Bitte.

*Sie setzen sich zusammen.*

MILDNER Paragraph 58 vielleicht. Vorschubleistung unter dem Deckmantel eines Dienstverhältnisses."

(267/186)

It is Mildner who expresses the message of the play: moral considerations are outweighed by social or economic demands. Brecht has undertaken a significant change. Pompeius puts the case of natural human sexuality against morality; Mildner, however, shows that the main enemy of morality is not sex, but the class-structure of society.

c) Von Lutz

The figure of Lucio in MaB für MaB has caused Shakespearean criticism many problems because of the heterogeneity of his character. Brecht has simplified the figure to a certain degree. The bawdy, jester-like Lucio has been excised completely. For this reason his role has

become much smaller; he is, for instance, not present at all in the fifth act of the play, and the second plan reveals that he would not have been present in the third act, at which point he is most vocal in MaB für MaB. But the cynical critic of the Duke remains; as in Shakespeare, he voices a deprecating opinion of the Herzog's departure:

"... Der Herzog hat sich verdrückt. Und Angeler  
soll den Karren aus dem Dreck ziehen."  
(262/4)

In MaB für MaB he had called the Duke a "Duckmäuser" (III;ii,158), and had been wrong, now his interpretation of events is undoubtedly correct. In Shakespeare his cynicism had seemed shocking and morally reprehensible; in Brecht's Vienna it is the basis for a reasonable analysis of politics. He still moves from one social level to another, but in this he is no different from Eskaler or the Herzog. They are all morally corrupt and frequent Frau Ueberley's brothel - this is a privilege of the ruling-class. As in Shakespeare he is a good friend to von Klausner, not only visiting his sister Isabella, but actively encouraging her when she petitions Angeler. Again, he helps von Klausner not only because they are friends, but also because he fears that others may be accused of the same crime. Implicitly, of course, he is thinking of himself. Brecht strengthens this selfish motivation in an amusing way. When von Lutz hears the news of von Klausner's arrest, he instantly asks whether the laws will be backdated:

"VON SCHWIND ... In  
drei Tagen heißt's mit ihm: Kopf ab. Die neuen Gesetze,  
meine Herren.  
VON LUTZ Eine bescheidene Frage, Herr Major? Haben die  
neuen Gesetze auch rückwirkende Kraft?"  
(262/5)

In MaB für MaB, contrastingly, he expresses at the same moment his sorrow at Claudio's fate:

"Kupplerin. Ich sage Euch, es ist gewiß; ich  
sah ihn verhaftet, ich sah ihn weggeführt;  
und was noch mehr ist, binnen drei Tagen soll  
ihm der Kopf abgehauen werden.  
Lucio. Nun, trotz allen Torheiten von eben, das  
sollte mir leid tun. Weißt du's denn gewiß?"  
(I;ii,79-84)

The most important change is that von Lutz is no longer an enemy of the society planned by the Herzog, but complies with the standards it requires of the individual.

### 2.7.3. Lesser Figures

The lesser figures can be divided into three categories:

- a) the wealthy (von Klausner, von Schaum),
- b) the poor (the Meixners, Marianne, the house-dwellers),
- c) the servants of justice (Elbogen, the judge, the prison-director (=Provost?), the policemen).

There remain the nun Franziska, Angeler's manservant and the prostitute who talks with the Herzog: these figures are purely functional.

- a) According to von Schwind, von Klausner is "ein ausgesprochener Weichling" (262/5). And, indeed, like his predecessor Claudio, von Klausner is a morally weak person. He is a valued customer at Frau Ueberley's and has committed the sin of pre-marital sexual intercourse. Like most of Frau Ueberley's customers, he is aware of the attraction of the female body:

"Ich hoffe viel von ihr, denn wenn sie will -  
 Sie ist sehr schön - gewinnt sie jeden."  
 (262/8)

He is thus more crudely realistic than Shakespeare's Claudio, who believes that what his sister says in her appeal to Angelo will also be of value. The scene most crucial for a characterization of von Klausner is not extant (III;i), but the plans reveal that he was conceived as a more callous, more calculating and materialistic person than the model. He does still possess extenuating moral traits: he intends to marry Julia, whom he has impregnated, and he even objects that an immoral person like von Schaum should be allowed to sit at the same

table as his future wife. His attempt to escape the executioner's axe is largely motivated by his suspicion that Angeler is simply trying to establish his reputation; that, like Claudio, he is also deeply afraid of death, cannot be determined.

Von Schaum is identical to his Shakespearean original, Master Froth: both are foolish, immoral individuals. Von Schaum's ignorance provides both von Schwind and von Lutz with the opportunity to explain the problems besetting Austria. His immorality, which consists in his illicit affair with von Schwind's wife, is the reason for the court-case. His stupidity when defending himself (like the Herzog he tries to extricate himself from trouble by placing others, in this case von Schwind's wife, in a difficult situation) serves only to counterpoint Mildner's intelligent understanding of class-justice.

b) The fate of the poor is portrayed by the tenant-farmer's family, in which the mother is most vocal. They show that the true nature of the problems confronting the people of Austria is financial, not moral. They do not judge their daughter's new job as a prostitute from a moral standpoint, but as a necessary step to avoid starvation: their complaints manifest the complete irrelevance of morality for the deprived section of the class-society. Only those unaffected by the financial disaster, the wealthy like champagne-sipping von Schwind or Isabella, can "afford" to concern themselves with moral reflection. Brecht's devaluation of the Shakespearean text is best revealed in the figure of Marianne (Shakespeare's Mariana): as the daughter of poor parents she is no longer a loving and merciful figure, but a prostitute who will execute good deeds only for monetary reward. The context of the Vienna-version makes it clear that capitalism and the class-society have caused this transformation. Significant, lastly, is that the voice of the poor is never heard, their grievances never heeded.

c) Elbogen is still an inadequate and foolish servant of the law, because he has not grasped the essence of justice in a class-society. Thus he stupidly complains that Frau Ueberley's new establishment has no bathtub. He does not realize that Eskaler, because he appreciates Frau Ueberley's "service", only wishes to produce the appearance of justice being done. Taking the lines previously spoken by the Provost, Elbogen expresses his disbelief that Angeler will have von Klausner executed and advises caution. He takes the viewpoint that the crime for which von Klausner will die is committed by many, and that to execute him alone is unjust. He understands neither class-justice nor the political import of von Klausner's execution. Elbogen stands in contrast to the prison-director/Provost, who is no longer merely a loyal servant of the law, but a close and old friend of the ruling-class. This is evident in the Herzog's greeting when he visits the prison-director seeking assistance with a disguise:

"DaB ich um ein geheim Asyl dich bitte  
 Hat sehr geheimen Grund. Du kennst mich lang!  
 Du - neben Eskaler - mein einziger Freund ..."  
 (262/9)

The judge, who now plays a much larger role than in MaB für MaB, is an adept of class-justice who tries to delay the trial and even seeks its adjournment because he knows it will have uncomfortable social repercussions:

"Ich gebe nur zu bedenken, daB der Fall unangenehme  
 Folgen hat. Man rührt dabei zuviel Schmutz auf."  
 (267/184) 144

The policemen are highly corrupt: they sing the "Lied von der Tünche", promising a new era, but they only appear to be executing justice, and indeed, for their "duties" they receive material rewards (beer and cigars) from a grateful Frau Ueberley.

2.8. Genre

Brecht's early work on an adaptation of Shakespeare's MaB für MaB assumes the form of parody. His political schooling had led him to reject the belief implicit in the model that the moral superstructure is the predominant factor in the determination of socio-political life. To negate this central bias in favour of his own materialist viewpoint, Brecht retains most of Shakespeare's plot-skeleton, enlarges motifs and adds new sections of text, but throughout the fragment replaces moral motivation by economic or socio-political. Exemplary of this devaluation are the Herzog's deputation of power, the political bias of the moral purge and the class-justice practised by Eskaler. Throughout the Vienna-version Brecht mocks and debunks moralists and morality. Angeler is exposed not only as a hypocrite, but as a clever, political schemer, Isabella the prospective nun is, by implication, a harsh exploiter of labour. In a variety of ways Frau Ueberley makes fun of morality. Her complete devotion to the economics of brothel-keeping and total lack of moral sensibility reveal in an amusing manner the irrelevance of moral considerations:

"VON SCHWIND Das sind diejenigen, die ihr Vaterland schnöde im Stich lassen. Sie könnten mindestens so lange warten, bis wir sie rausschmeißen. Diese Kunden!  
 FRAU UEBERLEY Ganz recht, Herr Major, diese Kunden! Gerade jetzt, wo ihre Frauen in Paris sind! Wie soll ich da auf meine Kosten kommen?  
 VON SCHWIND Liebe Frau Ueberley, auch Sie werden sich in dieser Zeit umstellen müssen.  
 FRAU UEBERLEY Habe ich schon getan! Alles schon in die Wege geleitet, Herr Major. Wir eröffnen ein spanisches Wellenbad mit anschließendem Schönheitssalon am Kärntnerring. Mein Geschäftsführer, Mildner - hat schon alles arrangiert."(262/6)

In the substitution scene she openly mocks morality:

"... Religiosität ist gewiß etwas sehr Schönes, aber kein ausreichender Grund dafür, daß man die Strähnen bis auf die Nase herunterhängen hat. ..."  
 (268/20) 145

The tone of the parody, generally light-hearted, alternates between the quasi-tragic (the fate of the Meixners or of the inhabitants of the dilapidated buildings) and the farcical (the substitution scene).

The conception of the play as an experiment with strong parabolic overtones is rejected by Brecht. The Herzog is no longer a Jesus-like figure creating a story with a message; he is a shirker incapable of confronting difficult political problems. The moral of the play (Mildner's "measured" consideration of socio-political or economic consequences) is no longer meant to have universal application, but is portrayed as the philosophy of a certain group in a specific social and historical context. Brecht has supplanted Shakespeare's artificial, timeless Vienna with a real Austrian city in the grip of a monetary crisis typical of late-capitalism. Correspondingly the names of the figures have been germanicized, and they speak modern German with South German and Austrian characteristics; real street names have also been included ("Hasengasse", "Bäckergasse"). As part of his almost naturalist portrayal of reality, Brecht places his adaptation historically in late-nineteenth century Vienna (in the court-case von Schwind gives as his year of birth 1845). The parable has been replaced by the "Zeitstück".

There can be no doubt that Brecht wanted his theatre-audience to distinguish a connection between the condition of Viennese society and that of Germany in the early nineteen-thirties. Although, as Klaus Völker comments in his Brecht-Chronik, Brecht stopped work on his early adaptation material in late 1931 so that he could concentrate on Die Mutter, which was to be performed by the "Gruppe Junger Schauspieler" under the direction of Emil Burri <sup>146</sup>, it cannot be proven that he did not carry out further alterations to the Vienna-version. It is conceivable that he continued work on it even towards the end of 1932, despite the fact that by January, 1933, he had written four entire

versions of an adaptation, all of which display quite different tendencies to the Vienna-version. In particular the Hitler analogy seems more likely if the scholar assumes that Brecht had witnessed the political events of 1932 before abandoning his Vienna-version.

It is obvious that the financial crisis avoided by the Herzog is a reflection of the world-wide inflation which followed the collapse of the Wall Street stock market in October 1929, and continued to have a considerable effect in Germany in the early 1930's. The "Elendsverordnungen" recall Chancellor Brüning's emergency decrees ("Notstandsverordnungen") and the manipulation of the statute-book by Eskaler and Mildner, with the explicit references to certain articles, could even be an allusion to the infamous Article 48 of the Weimar Constitution, which allowed the President of the Republic to use the police as he deemed fitting for the restoration of law and order. Furthermore, the deputation of power which sets the plot of the Vienna-version in motion finds its equivalent in the German political scene: Hindenburg had appointed Heinrich Brüning to the Chancellorship in 1930, and in 1932 appointed two further men, von Papen (May 30) and von Schleicher (December 2), in the hope of solving the enormous problems burdening the Weimar Republic. It seems unlikely, however, that Brecht was still working on the Vienna-version when von Schleicher was commissioned by Hindenburg. It is thus conceivable that at this early stage, part of Brecht's intention was to make a satirical comment on the German political scene - which the figure of von Schwind reinforces - and that he even portrayed Angeler as a Hitler figure (the plot-setting is Vienna, where Hitler had spent his formative years and to which he referred in his speeches, Angeler, like Hitler, has ambitiously and egotistically sought highest political power for a long time and is, lastly, the proponent of a seemingly idealistic political programme).

That Brecht thereby may have foreseen the ominous deed of January 30, 1933, is evidence that he was an astute political observer and thinker, but, on the other hand, it must have seemed probable to many that Hitler could become Chancellor. He had virtually demanded the position after his National Socialist Party had become the strongest faction in the Reichstag in July 1932, gaining 230 seats, more than twice the number it had received in the elections of September 1930. Alan Bullock, author of a standard biography of Hitler, described him as being, in the middle of 1932, "the most powerful political leader in Germany, knocking on the doors of the Chancellery at the head of the most powerful political party Germany had ever seen." 147

Several factors, however, oppose the hypothesis that Angeler was envisaged as a satirical version of the Nazi leader. Firstly, Angeler's social origins lie in the aristocracy, whereas Hitler's father, originally of peasant stock, had climbed the social ladder to become a minor civil servant. Secondly, Angeler's political manifesto contains no explicit references to the forms of idealism expounded by Hitler. It is in fact von Schwind who embodies the emphasis upon natural-irrationalistic categories to the detriment of the logical, who invokes ardent nationalism and talks in phrases reminiscent of those used by Hitler ("moralische Gesundung des Volks"). Thirdly, not Hitler, but Chancellor Brüning was better known for a "reformist" approach to the state's problems.

## 2.9. Brecht's Treatment of Shakespeare's Language and Language Modes

In his address to Angeler in the opening scene of the adaptation, the Duke of Vienna declares:

"Angeler!  
Du darfst dich nicht vergraben!"

Du selbst mit deinem Wort gehöörst nicht dir!  
 Gott tut mit uns, wie wir mit Fackeln tun:  
 Sie leuchten nicht für sich. So unsere Kraft.  
 Strahlt sie nicht von uns aus - wär's ganz so gut  
 Als hätten wir sie nicht. Doch jetzt zur Sache."  
 (266/10 - 262/1)

Whereas his Shakespearean counterpart utters fourteen lines which abound in imagery and metaphor, Brecht's Duke of Vienna ceases any comparable rhetoric after only six lines, and his last statement suggests that he considers any such poetical allusion irrelevant when financial matters are at stake. "Doch jetzt zur Sache", roughly translatable as "Let's get down to business now", serves as a useful motto to Brecht's treatment of language and language modes. His generally "business-like" attitude towards the original, which consists in altering the motivation in favour of materialistic exigencies and in debunking moral concepts, finds its parallel in the predominance of modern, everyday prose over the more elevated and poetic blank verse, and in the excision of lyrical or metaphorical passages. Brecht does, however, retain Shakespeare's rhyming couplets and even adds songs in rhymed verse to the text.

Almost a half of the Vienna-version (approximately 600 lines) is written in blank verse. As in Shakespeare, the blank verse is used only by figures of high social rank. It is possible that the sections of blank verse represent early parts of the adaptation, when Brecht had not yet changed over to prose (whereas in the petition scene with Isabella, virtually identical to the original, Angeler speaks in blank verse, later, in the newly added dismissal scene, he uses prose). On the other hand, Ludwig Berger confirms that he and Brecht tried to preserve the tone of the original - "Wir versuchten uns beide nach Möglichkeit der Schlegelschen Tonart anzupassen, damit eine sprachliche Naht nicht spürbar werden sollte."<sup>148</sup> - and this may have required the retention of the blank verse. Generally Brecht does not seem to employ blank verse to

expose the expression of ideology (as in Die Heilige Johanna der Schlachthöfe). In places, though, the use of blank verse is particularly effective. In the Herzog's opening speech, for example, there is a clash between the blank verse with its almost poetic language ("Der Morgen kommt ... zu jeglicher Minute ... wenn wir Monde rechneten") and the materialist subject-matter ("Bankrott"). At the end of the court-case, Eskaler's pronouncement in verse that the case has been rigorously handled and settled and that justice will not tolerate any further miscreancies, is contrasted and relativized not only by his manipulation of the law in alliance with Mildner, but also by his subsequent statement in prose that there are far more factors to be taken into consideration in a court-of-law than "mere" guilt:

"ESKALER

So streng der Fall ist erledigt.  
Stellen Sie sich wieder hinunter da.  
Sie sind also noch einmal entlassen, - aber alle  
Erhalten einen scharfen Verweis. Sie sind alle vorgemerkt  
Und wer sich noch einmal, auch nur das geringste zu  
Schulden kommen läßt, bei dem gibt's nur Köpfe und Hängen.  
Sie können gehen.  
Der Schlendrian wird aufhören.

RICHTER Herr Hofrat ...

ESKALER *zündet sich eine Zigarre an*: Immer denken bei der  
Verhandlung. Dort verurteilen, wo es Sinn hat, und sich  
mit den Gesetzen nicht benehmen wie ein Elefant im Por-  
zellanladen. Man kann alles geschickt und ungeschickt  
machen. Was in den Verordnungen steht, das wissen wir  
alle ... aber dann muß man auch noch denken. Morgen. *Geht  
ab.*"  
(267/186)

The formal change in mode, from official statement to natural confidence, emphasizes the contradiction between appearance and reality.

In contrast to MaB für MaB, the Vienna-version has prose as its most common language form. This change is in accordance with the modern, realistic setting of the adaptation. Not only the lower social strata (the Meixners, Mildner, Frau Ueberley), but also the aristocrats (von Schwind, von Schaum, von Lutz, Angeler, Eskaler) speak in prose. Brecht's prose, with its South German and Austrian characteristics, is the colourful language of everyday life:



Nicht zarte Myrten, doch der Mensch, der stolze  
 Mensch,  
 In kleine, kurze Majestät gekleidet,  
 Vergessend, was am mindesten zu bezweifeln,  
 Sein gläsern Element, wie zorn'ge Affen  
 Spielt solchen Wahnsinn gaukelnd vor dem Himmel,  
 DaB Engel weinen, die gelaunt wie wir,  
 Sich alle sterblich lachen würden.

Lucio. Nur weiter, weiter, Kind; er gibt schon  
 nach;

Es wirkt, ich seh es.

SchlieBer. Geb' ihr Gott Gelingen!

Isabella.

MiB nicht den Nächsten mit dem eignen MaB.  
 Ihr Starken scherzt mit Heil'gen. Witz an euch  
 Ist, was am Kleinen nur Entweihung wär'."

(II;ii,110-131)

### BRECHT

"ISABELLA

...

... O - groBartig!

Wer eines Riesen Kraft besitzt - doch grausam

Wer sie auch wie ein Riese braucht.

VON LUTZ

Sehr richtig.

ISABELLA

Der GroBe gilt, der über Heiliges lacht

Als geistvoll. Doch beim kleinen heiBt's, er lästert."

(267/191)

One of the rare moments of lyrical beauty in the Shakespearean text is  
 also excised:

### SHAKESPEARE

"Lucio.

...

Er half zu einem Kinde seiner Freundin.

Isabella. Herr, macht mich nicht zu Euerm Scherz.

Lucio.

's

ist wahr;

...

Isabella. Ihr lästert das Erhabne, mich verhöhnd.

Lucio.

Das glaubt nicht! Kurz und wahr, so steht die Sache:

Eu'r Bruder und sein Liebchen herzten sich;

Und wie die Speise füllt, der blühnde Mai

Den dürrn Furchen nach der Saat verhilft

Zu schwellnder Fülle, also zeigt ihr SchoB

Sein fleiBiges Bemühn und emsig Tun.

Isabella.

Ist jemand von ihm schwanger? Muhme Julia?"

(I;v,29-45)

BRECHT

"VON LUTZ

...

Das Mädchen, das er liebt, bekommt ein Kind.

ISABELLA

Soll das ein Scherz sein?

VON LUTZ

Nein, 's ist Wirklichkeit.

ISABELLA

Ein Kind von ihm? am End - Kusine Julia?"

(262/13)

As in Shakespeare, rhymed couplets are used by Brecht at the end of a scene to round it off and even preview possible future action on the pragmatic level - ("Da ich als Kranker kam/Liegt mir als Arzt zu gehn nicht fern/Vielleicht, daB in der Maske ich zu heilen lern." (262/10)). - or to express some aspect of theme ("... bis ihm vergeht/zu denken, daB er hier als Richter steht!")<sup>150</sup>. Of the songs in the Vienna-version, the stanza sung by the Meixner child is nothing more than a pathetic plea designed to be more effective than the parents' explanation of their plight because it emerges from the "mouths of babes". It is not simply a lyrical outburst, but a planned manoeuvre, which reveals not only the Meixners' cunning, but also their desperation. The "Lied von der Tünche", unlike many major Brecht songs, does not function as an authorial commentary on the action of the shifting episode; on the contrary, the action delivers a verdict upon the validity of the message expressed in the song. The audience realizes that the policemen are whitewashing Frau Ueberley's new establishment only so that she can continue her illicit trade in "clean" premises. The policemen, in other words, only appear to be correcting a morally dubious situation. In the context, "whitewashing" is not a symbolic action implying a moral purification or cleansing, but rather, assumes the sense of "covering-up" crime, of preserving the immoral status quo. Their actions belie the promises they make at the end of the song:

"Gebt uns Tünche, dann wird alles neu  
Und dann habt ihr eure neue Zeit!" (266/12)

Hence the audience can also conclude that the sad condition of the poor and destitute, who continue the policemen's song (*"Oben liegen verwahrloste Leute in den verwahrlosten Hausteilen und ausgebrochenen Fenstern und brüllen herunter: Sieh! Da ist was faul! Da rieselt's im Gemäuer!"* (266/13)<sup>151</sup>), will, in reality, not be improved by the state. The "new age" is empty propaganda. Little can be said of the ballad of J.G. Korrup (267/149), because it was probably intended to be longer and has not yet been placed in a dramatic context by Brecht.

## 2.10. The Extent of Brecht's Adaptation Work

In the course of the adaptation process Brecht clearly attempted to retain as much of the original Shakespearean text as possible. There are, for instance, very few changes in the famous petition scene, in which Isabella pleads for her brother's life. Wherever it was feasible to express his own viewpoint by making only slight alterations, then Brecht saw no need to undertake large-scale re-writing. Often he only changes a single word -

SHAKESPEARE: "Der Herzog hat höchst seltsam sich entfernt;"  
(I;v,51)

BRECHT : "Der Herzog hat höchst seltsam sich verdrückt"  
(262/13)

- or occasionally a phrase is replaced:

SHAKESPEARE: "... Lieb ich gleich das Volk,  
Wünscht' ich doch nicht, zur Schau mich ihm  
zu stellen.  
Ob wohlgemeint, doch mundet mir nicht wohl  
Sein lauter Ruf, sein ungestümes Jauchzen;  
Noch scheint mir der ein Mann von reifem  
Urteil,  
der sich daran erfreut. Nochmals, lebt wohl!"  
(I;i,66-71)

BRECHT : "Denn lieb ich auch das Volk - lieb ich's doch  
nicht  
Mich ihm zur Schau zu stellen. Und was wohl-  
gemeint  
Sein lauter Beifall - tut mir jetzt nicht  
wohl

Da ich die Not der nächsten Wochen spüre.  
Lebt wohl denn." (262/2)

Furthermore, it is obvious that Brecht wanted his adaptation to look like the original, not only by retaining its approximate length<sup>152</sup>, but also by preserving the Shakespearean structure within scenes: the first scene of MaB für MaB, for example, is divided into two sections, the discussion between the Duke and Escalus (23 lines) and the deputation of Angelo (59 lines), a pattern repeated by Brecht (26,64 lines). Nevertheless, of the 1368 lines which constitute the Vienna-version, only 21 are virtually identical to their Shakespearean originals, a further 333 closely resemble them, and the remaining 1014 are newly created by Brecht. Of the eleven extant scenes, seven are equivalent in basic plot to their Shakespearean originals, and four are entirely new. While it is therefore not unreasonable to talk even at this early stage of a completely new literary phenomenon rather than of an adaptation, it should be noted that the considerable scene changes were undertaken by Brecht as part of this parodic intention, not with the plan of writing a play about the class-struggle or contemporary Germany.

Measure for Measure - Vienna-version: Summary

In his theoretical writings on adaptation and the classics Brecht had considered it pointless to produce or adapt Shakespeare because the Elizabethan drama conveyed a false picture of contemporary reality; written during the transitional phase from feudalism to capitalism it dealt with the fate of the individual, whereas modern society is typified by the struggle of the proletariat. Despite this negative attitude, and possibly because he needed the money, Brecht accepted the commission to prepare MaB für MaB for the Volksbühne. Considering his theoretical standpoint, it was perhaps natural that his first reaction was to attack the Shakespearean play. He polemicizes against the moral bias with which Shakespeare endowed his plot, by remotivating certain actions, by mocking morality - Frau Ueberley excels in this endeavour - and, lastly, not only by transforming central Shakespearean concepts, but also by toying irreverently with them. The idea of "moderation" ("MaB") is exemplary of this latter tendency. "Moderation" particularly annoyed Brecht, who regarded it as typically bourgeois:

"Kleiner Horizont, bürgerlich. Alles mit MaB  
und nach MaB." (GW, 15, p. 182)

There is no need to refer again to Mildner's reinterpretation of "moderation"; but it is important to show that in places Brecht was content playfully to mock the term:

"KLAUSNER Ich dank dir, Schwester, als hättst  
du es getan!  
HERZOG Dank ihr mit MaB, Freund, denn dies  
fremde Fräulein tat mehr für dich als  
sie! Mit MaB! Mit MaB!  
ÜBERLE *grinsend zu Mildner, ihrem Bierzapfer:* Sie  
haben droben wieder was Neues gefunden;  
darauf reiten sie jetzt vergnügt  
spazieren. Schling nicht so! Du sollst  
mit MaB fressen, Mildner! Hast du nicht  
gehört?  
MILDNER Und du mit MaB quatschen, Tante! Diese  
maBlose Quasselei ertrag ich nicht  
länger." 153

The Vienna-version is, therefore, a parody of Shakespeare, a polemic against the English dramatist who, owing to the brilliant Schlegel-Tieck translations, had become, and is still, a part of the German literary tradition. Undoubtedly Brecht hoped his adaptation would shock audiences accustomed to faithful reproductions of the original, in much the same way as Piscator with his Schiller adaptation had wanted to show that "150 Jahre keine Kleinigkeit seien" <sup>154</sup>. Within the context of Brecht's theory of adaptation, Shakespeare's MaB für MaB, adapted and produced from a modern, materialistic viewpoint, could be highly effective and justifiable.

As part of his parodic intention, Brecht introduces a modern setting: the period of late-capitalism and its class-differentiation. There are even allusions to the contemporary German political scene. In this way the Vienna-version comments not only on Shakespeare, but also on the corrupt state of modern society. But its dual nature is, conceivably, the reason that Brecht did not complete the Vienna-version, for the polemic against Shakespeare easily outweighs the social criticism. The proletariat, whom Brecht, as a Marxist, considered an integral part of political life, as the driving force of social change, plays only a very slight role in the Vienna-version. The Meixners serve only to show that morality is a luxury of the wealthy <sup>155</sup>, and the destitute house-dwellers with their weak plea for help are no more than a token addition to the plot. It is unconceivable that, at a time when the contradictions in late-capitalism were becoming more and more harshly apparent, Brecht could be satisfied with a mocking, occasionally playful critique of Shakespearean morality. The Vienna-version had to remain fragmentary because a Shakespeare parody and an adequate Marxist treatment of German socio-political reality in the 1930's, which meant the drastic enlargement of the role of the proletariat, were incompatible.

Footnotes:

- 1 Kenneth Muir, "Measure for Measure," in: G.L.Geckle, ed., Measure for Measure. A Collection of Critical Essays (New Jersey, 1970), pp.13-20. The collection of critical essays in which Muir's article appears will hereafter be cited as "Geckle".
- 2 For a detailed analysis of Shakespeare's sources and for numerous references to research on this aspect, see the introduction to the Arden edition of the play (William Shakespeare, Measure for Measure, ed.J.W.Lever (1965; rpt. London, 1976), pp.xxxv-lv.
- 3 The Duke refers to specific conditions which must hold when Mariana sleeps with Angelo:
 

"...only refer yourself to this advantage; first, that your stay with him may not be long; that the time may have all shadow and silence in it; and the place answer to convenience..."(Measure for Measure, ed.J.W.Lever (1965; rpt. London, 1976), Act Four, Scene One, lines 244-247).

Subsequent quotations from the text refer to this Arden edition of Measure for Measure; act, scene and line numbers only will appear in parentheses immediately after each textual reference.
- 4 Quoted from the introduction to the Cambridge University edition of the play (William Shakespeare, Measure for Measure, ed.A.Quiller-Couch and J.Dover Wilson, paperback edition (Cambridge, 1969), p.xxvi).
- 5 The play concludes with a clever fusion of strict law and mercy: because Claudio is still alive, Angelo cannot be executed (and so "Measure still for Measure"). In this way Shakespeare does not indicate that "measure for measure" must be enforced, but rather that mercy must not go beyond the law, but be compatible with it.
- 6 Introduction to the Arden edition, p.3.
- 7 Bernard Evans, Shakespeare's Comedies (Oxford, 1960), p.194.
- 8 Several of his qualities recall the English monarch: his dislike of the crowd, his fondness for mystification and his self-appraisal as "a scholar, a statesman and a soldier" (III;ii,142). See Ernest Schanzer, The Problem Plays of Shakespeare (London, 1963), pp.121-126.
- 9 F.Fergusson, "Philosophy and Theatre in Measure for Measure," in: Geckle, p.82.
- 10 Introduction to the Arden edition, p.xciv.
- 11 G.Wilson Knight, "Measure for Measure and the Gospels," in: Geckle, p.34.
- 12 See E.M.Pope, "The Renaissance Background of Measure for Measure," in: Geckle, pp.50-72.
- 13 W.W.Lawrence, Shakespeare's Problem Comedies, 2nd ed. (New York, 1960), pp.102-112.
- 14 C.K.Stead in the introduction to Shakespeare: Measure for Measure, ed.C.K.Stead (London, 1971), p.16. This selection of critical essays will hereafter be cited as "Stead".
- 15 Op.cit., p.17.

- 16 Introduction to Geckle, p.7.
- 17 Schanzer, op.cit., p.100.
- 18 Loc.cit.
- 19 Cf.Pope, op.cit., p.70 and Geckle (Introduction, p.10).
- 20 Pope, op.cit., p.70.
- 21 R.W.Chambers, Man's Unconquerable Mind (London, 1939), p.290.
- 22 Op.cit., pp.292-293.
- 23 The various interpretations of Isabella and her ethical behaviour lend support to Schanzer's theory that whereas in Measure for Measure "the private moral issue is treated problematically, the public moral issue is not..."(op.cit., p.130). Murray Krieger argues that the problems Isabella creates result from a confusion of "two technical patterns" with "different moral demands" (Murray Krieger, "Measure for Measure and Elizabethan Comedy," Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, 66 (1951), p.783).
- 24 Introduction to the Arden edition, p.xcvi.
- 25 See W.W.Lawrence, "Measure for Measure and Lucio," Shakespeare Quarterly, 9 (1958), pp.443-453.
- 26 D.A.Traversi, "Measure for Measure," Scrutiny, 9 (1942), p.5.
- 27 W.W.Lawrence, "Real Life and Artifice," in: Stead, p.133.
- 28 Wilson Knight, op.cit., p.47.
- 29 Kenneth Muir, op.cit., Wilson Knight, op.cit., and Mary Lascelles, Shakespeare's Measure for Measure (London, 1953), pp.72-73.
- 30 Muir, op.cit., p.19.
- 31 Schanzer, op.cit., pp.116-117.
- 32 D.A.Traversi refers to the problem of "liberty" and remarks aptly:  
     "It represents an institution which must not indeed overstep the restraining limits of the law but which must somehow, in the interests of harmony, be freely incorporated in them."  
     (op.cit., p.42)
- 33 Schanzer, op.cit., p.76.
- 34 L.C.Knights, "The Ambiguity of Measure for Measure," in: Stead, p.147.
- 35 Walter Raleigh, quoted from W.W.Lawrence, "Real Life and Artifice," in: Stead, p.129.
- 36 D.L.Stevenson, "Design and Structure in Measure for Measure," in: Stead, pp.214-215.
- 37 Wilson Knight, op.cit., p.46.

- 38 Op.cit., p.28.
- 39 M.C.Bradbrook, "Authority, Truth and Justice in Measure for Measure," Review of English Studies, 17 (1941), p.387.
- 40 Op.cit., p.388.
- 41 Introduction to the Arden edition, p.xc.
- 42 In the introduction to the Arden edition of Measure for Measure J.W.Lever explains the presence of two friars in the text and other problematical figures (Justice, II;i;Varrius, IV;iv) in terms of text corruption or revision and of Elizabethan stage technique (op.cit., pp.xvii-xix).
- 43 Bradbrook, op.cit., pp.385-386. D.A.Stauffer argues that Measure for Measure is a morality play, and that "its characters take an added interest from seeming to represent abstract qualities in addition to counterfeiting human persons", but that the figures cannot be categorized in allegorical fashion (D.A.Stauffer, Shakespeare's World of Images (London, 1976), p.157).
- 44 E.M.W.Tillyard states:  
 "The simple and ineluctable fact is that the tone in the first half of the play is frankly, acutely human and quite hostile to the tone of allegory or symbol. And, however much the tone changes in the second half, nothing in the world can make an allegorical interpretation valid throughout."  
 (E.M.W.Tillyard, Shakespeare's Problem Plays (London, 1951), p.123)
- With the Duke's entrance in the second half of the play, Tillyard argues, "reflection has encroached on reality" (op.cit., p.126). See also the recent study of the play by R.Miles (R.Miles, The Problem of Measure for Measure (London, 1976), p.232).
- 45 Cf. Fergusson, op.cit., F.R.Leavis, The Common Pursuit, 3rd ed. (London, 1958), p.165 and Stevenson, op.cit., pp.214-215.
- 46 Knights, op.cit., p.150. See also Clifford Leech, "The 'Meaning' of Measure for Measure," in: Stead, pp.152-166.
- 47 Conflicting opinions concerning those parts of the play which may or may not belong in fact to Shakespeare's hand have been presented by many scholars. Perhaps the most representative of these are J.Dover Wilson (Cambridge edition of Measure for Measure, pp.97-113) and J.W.Lever (Arden edition, pp.xi-xxxv).
- 48 G.L.Brook, The Language of Shakespeare (London, 1976), p.160.
- 49 See Lascelles, op.cit., pp.103-104.
- 50 Of the imagery in Measure for Measure Ivor Evans remarks:  
 "Delight in the patterns of speech for their own sake has gone, and so have the more decorative of rhetorical flourishes. Instead there is argument, analysis, compression...No longer an acceptance of experience with an employment, sometimes almost breathless in its crowded variety, of

a mounting imagery, but a questioning, with a sterner use of words to explore the enigma."

(Ivor Evans, The Language of Shakespeare's Plays, 2nd ed. (London, 1959), p.138)

- 51 For an analysis of this aspect of Measure for Measure see H.Fluchère, Shakespeare (London, 1953), pp.178-179.
- 52 Cf.Nigel Alexander, Shakespeare: Measure for Measure (London, 1975), p.12.
- 53 Lascelles, op.cit., p.47.
- 54 Op.cit., pp.70-71.
- 55 Anthony Caputi, "Scenic Design in Measure for Measure," in: Geckle, p.88.
- 56 David Stevenson, The Achievement of Shakespeare's Measure for Measure (New York, 1966), p.30.
- 57 Op.cit., pp.9-10.
- 58 Op.cit., p.52.
- 59 Loc.cit.
- 60 Op.cit., pp.54-55.
- 61 Op.cit., p.57.
- 62 Lascelles, op.cit., p.45.
- 63 Horst Oppel, Shakespeare. Studien zum Werk und zur Welt des Dichters (Heidelberg, 1963), p.264.
- 64 Stanton Millet, "The Structure of Measure for Measure," Boston University Studies in English, 2 (1956), p.217.
- 65 Madeleine Doran, Endeavors of Art (Wisconsin, 1954), p.290.
- 66 R.B.Parker, "Dramaturgy in Shakespeare and Brecht," University of Toronto Quarterly, 32 (1962/1963), p.236.
- 67 Schanzer, op.cit., p.6.
- 68 Doran, op.cit., p.274.
- 69 Aristotle, On the Art of Poetry, trans. I. Bywater (Oxford, 1920), pp.39-40.
- 70 H.Ramthun, ed., Bertolt-Brecht-Archiv Bestandsverzeichnis des literarischen Nachlasses, Vol.1, (Berlin, Weimar, 1969).
- 71 Op.cit., p.58.
- 72 Ludwig Berger, "Die Lust an der Kooperation," Theater Heute, 8, 8 (1967), p.27.
- 73 Bahr, "Roundheads and Peakheads ...", p.141.
- 74 Klaus Völker, Brecht-Chronik (Munich, 1971), p.53.

- 75 Bahr argues that as the manuscript was in Brecht's hands by : February 28, it may be assumed, considering the time required for type-setting, galley-proofing and the other preparations of an envisaged publication, that BBA 261 was completed before January 30 (Bahr, "Roundheads and Peakheads ...", p.141, note 5).
- 76 Berger, op.cit., pp.27-29.
- 77 Goldhahn, op.cit., p.40.
- 78 See also Mittenzwei, op.cit., p.18.
- 79 Bertolt Brecht, Briefe, ed.Günter Glaeser (Frankfurt/M., 1981), p.157.
- 80 Harald Engberg, Brecht auf Fünen: Exil in Dänemark 1933-1939, trans. H.Kulas (Wuppertal, 1974), pp.119-120.
- 81 Briefe, p.203.
- 82 Op.cit., p.203.
- 83 BBA 258 and 2152 are textually almost identical to BBA 257, although BBA 2152, the original of which may be found in the Lenin library in Moscow, employs a narrower type-spacing. BBA 2193 and 255 are two further versions very similar to BBA 257.
- 84 The addition of Eisler's name in the newspaper report suggests that BBA 257 has in fact been completed.
- 85 Engberg, op.cit., p.130.
- 86 Völker, op.cit., pp.56, 65.
- 87 See Bahr, Bühnenfassung, pp.231-233.
- 88 For further information about the Malik-Verlag, see J.H.Fraser, "German Exile Publishing: The Malik-Aurora Verlag of Wieland Herzfelde," German Life and Letters, 27 (1974), pp.115-124.
- 89 Bahr, Bühnenfassung, p.240.
- 90 For a discussion of the reception both of these performances and of the Danish production in 1936, see Engberg, op.cit., pp.149-159, and Bahr, "Roundheads and Peakheads ...", pp.154-155.
- 91 GW, 15, pp.105-108. References to the published texts under consideration here (designated Versuche and GW) or to unpublished archive material will be given after each textual quotation, rather than in a footnote. Quotations from the Vienna-version (see Appendix) appear in edited form (in accordance with the format of the 1967 Suhrkamp edition), whereas those from BBA 253 and BBA 257 and elsewhere do not.
- 92 R.B.Parker describes culinary theatre as "theatre in which the elements of visuals, speech, and music all co-operate to make a single Wagnerian impression." (R.B.Parker, "Dramaturgy in Shakespeare and Brecht," University of Toronto Quarterly, 32 (1962/1963), p.235).
- 93 GW, 15, pp.111-113. The title is provided by the editor. The essay itself is Brecht's answer to questions posed in the Berliner Börsen-Courier of December 12, 1926 (cf. GW, 15, Anmerkungen, p.4).
- 94 In: Herbert Ihering, Die zwanziger Jahre (Berlin, 1948), p.166.

- 95 In his discussion of Piscator's innovations in his Berlin theatre Brecht concludes:
- "Damit ist also das Theater auf dem besten Weg, die Aufführung moderner Stücke oder eine moderne Aufführung älterer Stücke zu ermöglichen ... Was Piscator ermöglicht, ist das Erfassen neuer Stoffe."(GW, 15, pp.136-137)
- 96 Klaus-Detlev Müller, Die Funktion der Geschichte im Werk Bertolt Brechts: Studien zum Verhältnis von Marxismus und Ästhetik (Tübingen, 1967), p.34.
- 97 Käthe Rülicke-Weiler, Die Dramaturgie Brechts (Berlin, 1966), p.105.
- 98 GW, 15, pp.120-121. The title is provided by the editor.
- 99 Sternberg's polemic appeared in the Berliner Börsen-Courier on May 12, 1927 (cf. GW, 15, Anmerkungen, p.5).
- 100 Fritz Sternberg, Der Dichter und die Ratio (Göttingen, 1963), p.35.
- 101 Ernst Schumacher remarks:
- "In dem erwähnten "Gespräch über Klassiker" von 1929 erklärte er, er habe "die Bemühungen (um Klassikeraufführungen)" aufgegeben. Als Grund gab er an, die klassischen Stücke gäben zu wenig her für die Erziehung und Vermittlung von gesellschaftlich produktiven Haltungen für die Zuschauer ..." (Ernst Schumacher, Brecht: Theater und Gesellschaft im 20. Jahrhundert (Berlin, 1973), p.247)
- 102 Cf. p.60 of this thesis.
- 103 Berger, op.cit., p.27.
- 104 Loc.cit.
- 105 Loc.cit. In general, Berger's suggestions are made from the point of view of the theatre-producer, and aim at producing an enjoyable theatrical experience. Brecht's intentions went beyond simple entertainment, but did not exclude it. Hence he was prepared to accept Berger's ideas, but adapted them according to his own conception of the play. In one respect, though, Berger's analysis is unsatisfactory. The Shakespearean text does not, admittedly, include the staging of the substitution scene; but it does provide exact details of how it could succeed (cf. above, note 3).
- 106 In the German translation of Measure for Measure by Wolf Graf Baudissin (William Shakespeare, MaB für MaB, trans. W.H.G.Baudissin (Stuttgart, 1971)), the first act constitutes not four, but five scenes, as Scene Two has been split in half; Scene Three commences with von Klausner's entrance. Scenes Four and Five correspond to Three and Four respectively of the Arden edition. That Brecht's plan of the first act contains the five scenes of the Baudissin translation is a firm indication that it formed the basis of his adaptation work. Furthermore, excerpts from the Baudissin edition, published by Reclam, may be found in the archive material. Subsequent references to the original derive from this text; they will not be contained in footnotes, but succeed each quotation.

- 107 Brecht's third act has only one scene, in contrast to both the Baudissin translation and the Arden edition. However, the material falls spatially into two sections, the second of which corresponds in content to III;ii.
- 108 Mittenzwei includes the plan in the appendix of his study of Brecht (op.cit., pp.373-375), but although he has utilized the handwritten scene numbering of the plan, he has not inserted the numerous handwritten additions. Nor has he mentioned the possibility that 266/38 might in fact be the plan for the missing last act of 266/22-28.
- 109 Whether Brecht intended the numbered sections in both Acts Three and Four as scene divisions is unknown. It is clear, however, that an analysis must follow his numbering.
- 110 See the section on critical antecedents (pp.1-6).
- 111 Bahr, Bühnenfassung, p.237.
112. Gisela Bahr describes this phase with archive references in her 1979 edition (p.237). See pp.152-155 of this thesis for a critique of her work on this transitional period.
- 113 Walter Pache makes two notable errors in his article on Brecht's reception of Shakespeare. He states firstly that the earliest version is probably contained on those pages bearing pasted text from Baudissin's translation:

"Die früheste Version stellt wohl eine Art  
Klebmanuskript dar, für das Brecht aus einem  
Reclam-Bändchen wesentliche Teile der Baudissin-  
Übersetzung von MaB für MaB ausschnitt."(Pache,  
op.cit.,p.178)

This is not correct. 267/171-172, for example, which contains only Brechtian text, clearly belongs to an earlier stage of adaptation than 264/26-27, upon which Shakespearean text has been glued, but which was obviously written only after the third plan had been considered (the Meixner motif). Secondly, Pache states in a footnote (p.178, note 18) that 262/1-14 is a "Klebmanuskript"; neither this writer's research nor the Bestandsverzeichnis supports this hypothesis. 262/1-14 is not composed of the Baudissin translation glued onto sheets of paper and interspersed with notes and additions in Brecht's handwriting, as Pache affirms. 262/1-14 consists of typewritten Brechtian text, not one line of which is exactly equivalent to its Shakespearean counterpart, and which only contains one handwritten addition (by Margarete Steffin, on 262/12).

- 114 The following table shows on the left-hand side the number of lines in the Baudissin text, on the right-hand side the number in the Brecht version:

Act/Scene	Baudissin	Brecht
I;i	82	90
I;ii	134	137
I;iii	78	57
I;iv	54	40
I;v	91	123
II;i	328	237
II;ii	193	176
II;iii	43	71
IV;i	75	79
IV;iii	195	191

- 115 See p.18 of this thesis.
- 116 Friedrich Engels, Ludwig Feuerbach und der Ausgang der klassischen deutschen Philosophie, in: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Werke, Vol.21 (Berlin, 1962), pp.292-293.
- 117 Berger, op.cit., p.29.
- 118 Loc.cit.
- 119 Loc.cit.
- 120 Cf. MaB für MaB, I;ii,71-104.
- 121 Tillyard, op.cit., p.138.
- 122 It is probably incorrect to refer to the "beginning of the scene", as it is unlikely that the extant material constitutes the final scene as Brecht would have envisaged it.
- 123 Berger, op.cit., p.29.
- 124 Loc.cit.
- 125 Loc.cit.
- 126 Brecht was conceivably inspired to this change by the following lines from MaB für MaB, in which the Duke assigns Angelo's chattels to Mariana:
- "... All seine Güter,  
Obwohl nach dem Gesetz an Uns verfallen,  
Sind Euch als Wittum und Besitz verliehn;  
Kauft damit einen bessern Mann."(V;i,435-438)
- 127 See p.73 of this thesis.
- 128 Reinhold Grimm, Bertolt Brecht. Die Struktur seines Werkes, 4th ed. (Nuremberg, 1976), p.7.
- 129 See p.69 of this thesis.
- 130 In the plans to the Vienna-version, the Herzog apparently commissions Frau Ueberley to organize the substitution (see above, p.71).
- 131 See pp.68-69 of this thesis.
- 132 Berger, op.cit., p.27.
- 133 Berger, op.cit., p.29.
- 134 Berger, op.cit., p.29.
- 135 He remarks:
- "... Und was wohlgemeint  
Sein lauter Beifall - tut mir jetzt nicht wohl  
Da ich die Not der nächsten Wochen spüre."  
(262/2)

- 136 Von Lutz asks:  
 "Vielleicht ist der Herr von Angeler eine Maschine?"(262/5)
- 137 Angeler announces to Eskaler that "reform" is his intention ("Nur eines sag ich gleich, von Eskaler:/Reform ..." (262/2)). His programme is described in more detail in a preliminary version of the court-scene (II;i):  
 "doch nun eskaler wollen wir sogleich herangehen/  
 an die reformen: eherecht. bekämpfung/der korrup-  
 tion der aemter. härteste besteuern/verschwend-  
 erischer lebenshaltung ..." (267/131)
- In the preliminary material Angeler is referred to both as a prince (267/131) and as "Graf Finkenburg" (267/181).
- 138 The Herzog confides:  
 "... er (hat) lang sich nach der Macht geseht"  
 (262/9)
- 139 A handwritten note by Elisabeth Hauptmann indicates that Angeler wishes to "sun himself" in the glory attached to his act of mercy:  
 "Angeler sonnt sich im zukünftigen Glanz seiner  
 Milde"(266/34)
- 140 Mittenzwei's analysis of Angeler cannot be upheld:  
 "Aus der Shakespeare-Gestalt des Angelo wurde  
 bei Brecht ein moderner Don Quijote. Dieser  
 Angeler, wie er zunächst hieß, glaubt, auch  
 in der Klassengesellschaft mit gleichem Maß  
 messen zu können."(Mittenzwei, op.cit., p.151)
- 141 See above, pp.20-22.
- 142 Reinhold Grimm discusses this technique, "Diskrepanz zwischen Reden und Handeln", in his study of alienation as the unifying structural element in Brecht's works (Grimm, op.cit., pp.40-41).
- 143 Hitler's National Socialist Party provides the obvious example of these tendencies. In his excellent study of the National Socialist phenomenon Karl Dietrich Bracher refers to its "romantisch-irrationalistische(n) Träumereien, denen die Konkretheit praktisch-politischer Zielsetzung fehlte" (Karl Dietrich Bracher, Die deutsche Diktatur: Entstehung, Struktur, Folgen des Nationalsozialismus, 2nd ed. (Cologne, Berlin, 1969), p.155) and asks:  
 "Stand nicht das ganze Programm auf negativen  
 "Werten" wie Antisemitismus, Antiparlamentarismus,  
 schrankenlosem Nationalismus und Imperialismus,  
 während die eigentlichen politischen Probleme -  
 Republik oder Monarchie, Einheits- oder Bundes-  
 staat, Sozialismus und Kapitalismus, Revolution  
 und Legalismus, Bodenreform und Schutz des  
 Privateigentums - weder präzisiert noch wirklich  
 durchdacht wurden?"(Op.cit., p.161)
- 144 His questioning of von Schwind -

"RICHTER Wie heißen Sie?  
 VON SCHWIND Von Schwind, Hoher Gerichtshof, das  
 schwere Unrecht, das...  
 RICHTER Halt. Ihr Vorname?  
 VON SCHWIND Ulrich von...mir von diesem Herrn,  
 der bislang mein Freund...  
 RICHTER Geboren?  
 VON SCHWIND 13. Januar 1845. Meine Frau ist in  
 schwangerem Zustand...  
 RICHTER Ihr Vater?  
 VON SCHWIND Heinrich Eduard von Schwind."  
 (266/11)

- is a delaying tactic, and is quite unlike Escalus' interrogation of Pompey Bum, which is the attempt to understand the true facts of the case. In his naivety Ellbogen does not perceive what the judge is striving to avoid, and he rebukes him for what he thinks is an annoying case of forgetfulness ("Er ist ein Vetter des berühmten Musikers. Sie wissen schon!"(266/11)):

145 Cf. also:

"... Weinen Sie nicht! Über eine rote Nase  
 hilft auch die schönste Tugend nicht weg! ..."  
 (268/21)

146 Völker, op.cit., p.53.

147 Alan Bullock, Hitler: A Study in Tyranny (London, 1974), p.218.

148 Berger, op.cit., p.27.

149 Berger, op.cit., p.29.

150 Berger, op.cit., p.29.

151 The genesis of the "Lied von der Tünche" is noteworthy. In the preliminary version of the shifting scene (267/173-174), the song comprises eighteen lines, all of which are sung by the policemen. In the final version Brecht has added a line ("Gebt uns Tünche, dann wird alles neu"), and divided a line of the first version into two parts ("Wenn uns einer sieht, das ist nicht gut! (Gar nicht gut!!)" - "Wenn uns einer sieht, das ist nicht gut!/(Gar nicht gut!!)"). The last four lines of the preliminary version (which begin with "Sieh! ...") are now spoken by the poor. It is true that there was a natural break in the song with the line "Und dann habt ihr eure neue Zeit!", and that the motif-repetition after this line could be deemed superfluous - that therefore the preliminary version needed alteration - but it is nevertheless also true that Brecht's addition of a socio-critical aspect has the appearance of being arbitrary and even token.

152 See above, note 114.

153 Berger, op.cit., p.29.

154 In "Wie soll man heute Klassiker spielen?" Brecht communicates:  
 "Nach seiner Räuber-Inszenierung sagte mir  
 Piscator, er habe erreichen wollen, daß  
 die Leute, die das Theater verließen,  
 gemerkt hätten, daß 150 Jahre keine Kleinig-  
 keit seien."(GW, 15, p.112)

155 Walter Pache comments incorrectly:

"Durch Addition eines neuen Motivkomplexes versucht Brecht also, das offenbar unzureichende Shakespeare-Modell als Träger seiner eigenen politisch-ökonomischen Parabel ... funktionsfähig zu erhalten."  
(Pache, op.cit., pp.180-181)

Part II: The Second Stage of the Reception  
Process: BBA 253 - Versuche

3. The Second Stage of the Reception Process: BBA 253 - Versuche

3.1. BBA 253

BBA 253 is the first entire version completed by Brecht in the course of his adaptation work; it bears the title MASS FUER MASS oder DIE SALZSTEUER / NACH SHAKESPEARE VON BRECHT. The text itself comprises BBA 253/2-132.

Page 133 contains a handwritten plan for scenes 7-13. On the basis of the handwritten material to be found in BBA 253, Brecht's main collaborator appears to have been Margarete Steffin, although Emil Burri also made several additions and alterations. Pages 19, 31, 41, 61, 71, 74, 79, 90, 93, 106, 109, 111, 114, 117, 130, 132 contain additional material to be inserted at handwritten indicated points in the main text. There are two anomalous sections in the text. Mildner, in the Vienna-version Frau Ueberley's business-manager, appears on pages 23 and 24 -

"DER OBERSTE  
 RICHTER : (ZU MILDNER) Und Sie?  
 FRAU CORNA-  
 MONTIS : Das ist mein Geschäftsführer, Herr  
 Mildner. Er hat mit der ganzen  
 Sache nichts zu tun.  
 DER OBERSTE  
 RICHTER : Sie sind der Mildner?  
 MILDNER : Ganz recht, Mildner. Der Fall  
 wird künstlich aufgebauscht.  
 MANN : Pass nur auf, dass wir Dich  
 nicht abbauschen.  
 DER  
 GERICHTS-  
 SCHREIBER : Ruhe."

- but this part of the court-case (Scene 4) is crossed out in handwriting. On pages 116 and 118 the police-inspector is referred to by his earlier name ("Ellbogen").

### 3.1.1. The Preliminary Material of BBA 253

Gisela Bahr outlines the preliminary material of BBA 253 in her edition of the 1936 stage production of Die Rundköpfe und die Spitzköpfe. She divides the material into two sections or work-stages:

- "(i) Mappe 267/61-129: Szene 2-7; Mappe 264/1-22, 36-39, 54-55: Szene 8.
- (ii) Mappe 264/01, 40-49, 55-86: Szene 1-7; Mappe 267/2-58: Szene 8-10; Mappe 266/85-151: Szene 11-14." 1

This description is, firstly, too general. The correct textual order of the material could be indicated to facilitate archive research: in the first stage of the work, for example, Scene Two is to be found at the end of 267/61-129 (267/119-129), whereas Scene Seven is at the beginning (267/61-70). Bahr does not explain that in the first phase there are in fact two versions of Scene Five (267/88-90, 267/91-94), one of which is complete, the other not. In the second phase of work it should be made clear that 264/40-49 represents Scene One, and 264/56-86 contains Scenes Two-Six b. Secondly, the material outline might be misleading. Not all of 267/61-129 comprises preliminary textual material for BBA 253: nine of those pages contain miscellanea such as newspaper-cuttings or drawings. 11 pages of 266/85-151 comprise a handwritten commentary by Borchardt. Furthermore it is not made clear that the material consists of 16 scenes (Brecht wrote two extra scenes: Six b and Ten b). There are, lastly, errors in this general outline. 264/1-22 and 264/54-55 contain not only Scene Eight, but also portions of text from Scene Seven. 264/40-49 and 264/56-86 do not include any text from Scene Seven. 267/2-58 does not conclude with Scene Ten, but with Scene Ten b.

The following categorization of the material with manuscript commentary is a revision of Gisela Bahr's work and would be of greater assistance to the scholar engaged in archive research. Gisela Bahr's division into work-

stages has been retained.

I

a) Scenes Two - Six b:

Scene 2 (253/10-16) = 267/119-129

Scene 3 (253/17-20) = 267/113-117

Scene 4 (253/21-33) = 267/97-110

Scene 5 (253/34-37) = 267/88-90

Scene 6 (253/38-39) = 267/74-76  
267/91-94

Scene 6b(253/40-47) = 267/77,79-86

b) Scenes Seven (253/48-53) and Eight (253/54-81):

264/55, 264/1, 264/54, 264/1-22, 264/38-39,

264/36-37

The manuscript pages 267/74-129, in the construction of which Brecht collaborated with Elisabeth Hauptmann and Margarete Steffin, do not form a temporally cohesive whole. Normal capitalized text may be found, but usually there is no use of capitals (there are even sections which are a mixture of capitalized and non-capitalized text). In some places the nomenclature of BBA 253 ("Calausa", "Cornamontis", "Callas") is already present in typed form (Cf. 267/119-129, Scene Two), but in Scene Four (267/97-110), which is typical of 267/74-129, the alteration of Hornberger (previously Frau Ueberley) to Cornamontis or Meixner (also Meixenego) to Callas, which corresponds to the new, South American plot-setting (Peru), is in handwritten form. Of Scene Five there are two versions: because of its textual closeness to BBA 253, 267/88-90, although incomplete, is undoubtedly the later version and probably belongs more correctly to the second work-stage. The text of 267/74-129 is in its entirety very similar to BBA 253; only the handwritten name-changes and manifold small additions differentiate them. The family Perez formerly

bore the name Schunirello (abbreviated to Schnirl) - but this has been crossed out at this stage and the name given to one of the landlords. Thomas Angeler has become Thomaso Angelas.

Margarete Steffin seems to have been replaced by Emil Burri in the work on Scenes Seven and Eight, which are categorized above in their textual sequence. Thus 264/55 contains the opening of Scene Seven (253/48-49), whereas 264/54 is probably the missing link of Scene Eight between 264/1 and 264/2. That 264/54 belongs to 264/1-22 is lent credibility by their common usage of the variant name form Escalo (for Eskahler). The relative disorder and hence preliminary character of 263/1-22 is shown by the mixture of text on 264/1: it includes the continuation of Scene Seven (from 264/55), as well as two unconnected parts of Scene Eight. On page 264/9 there are further sections of Scene Seven (253/52-53), and they are preceded by portions of Scene Eight (253/63). The incomplete material for Scene Seven extant here (264/55, 264/1,9) represents the preliminary stage of 267/61-70, which undoubtedly belongs to the second work-stage, a fact overlooked by Gisela Bahr in her treatment of the manuscript. 264/36-39 contain the last part of Scene Eight (253/77-81).

II            a) Scene One (253/2-9):

264/40-49

b) Scenes Two - Six b:

Scene 2 = 264/56-62

Scene 3 = 264/63-65

Scene 4 = 264/66-74

Scene 5 = 264/75-77

Scene 6 = 264/78-79

Scene 6b= 264/80-86

c) Scene Seven:

267/61-70

d) Scenes Eight - Ten b:

Scene 8 (253/54-81) = 267/23-58

Scene 9 (253/82-88) = 267/12-20

Scene 10(253/89) = 267/2

Scene 10b(253/91-94)= 267/3-10

e) Scenes Eleven - Fourteen:

Scene 11 (253/95-104) = 266/137-151

Scene 12 (253/105-109)= 266/132-135

Scene 13 (253/110-119)= 266/117-130

Scene 14 (253/120-132)= 266/85-103

The same collaborators assisted Brecht during this second work stage, although Elisabeth Hauptmann's contribution is undoubtedly the greatest. An unknown person also added handwritten sections. In the material first treated at this point (Scenes 1,9,10,10b,11,12,13,14), the same type of handwritten corrections may be found as in the previous work-stage. Names, in particular, are altered (Herzog-Vizekönig, Meixner-Callas, Hornberger-Cornamontis). The text of these scenes is in uncapitalized form, and the handwritten additions made by Brecht and his helpers are typed in the manuscript of BBA 253.

Most of the material under scrutiny for a second time before being incorporated into BBA 253 (Scenes 2,3,4,5,6,6b,7,8) is virtually in its final form, and there are very few handwritten sections. In 267/23-58 (Scene Eight), for example, there are 20 pages of text identical to the corresponding parts of BBA 253. BBA 253/10-18,20-29,35-40,42-47 constitute an exact copy of 264/56-86 (Scenes Two - Six b). Handwritten additions and alterations were, of course, subsequently made to 253, and the text of 264 not only excludes several sections of 253 (253/19,30-34,41), but also extends only as far as "wenn der Name Callas fällt" on 253/47 (thereby omitting a stage-direction and the final speech by Perez ("Callas, bei wem sitzt du?")).

### 3.2. A Description of the Plans of BBA 253

Two plans can be identified as preceding BBA 253: 266/60-65 and 266/43-52. In these plans the names of the important figures correspond to those employed in the Vienna-version and in the early preliminary material: Thomas Angler, Hornberger, von Klausner, Meixner. It seems most likely that 266/60-65, which contains a general description of fourteen scenes, is the earlier plan of the two, preceding the highly detailed individual scene-analysis to be found in 266/43-52.

Notably absent in both plans is the theft of the landlord's horses undertaken by Callas in BBA 253 (which occurs in Scene Five, and involves Scenes Six and Six b). Furthermore, although with the enlargement of the role of the tenant-farmer Meixner a significant development has taken place since the Vienna-version, there is as yet no indication of an open class-struggle in the form of revolutionary activity against the state. The racial question, which first appears in these plans, is introduced by Eskahler as a means of countering the economic difficulties of the country ("ferdinand eskahler erklärt entstehung und zweck der tschichenverfolgung in zeiten wirtschaftlicher zerrüttung."(266/43)). Apart from the theme of racial discrimination and the enlargement of the tenant-farmer's role, new elements introduced at this stage are the Herzog's job with Frau Hornberger and the strike of the civil servants. Several motifs recall the third plan of the Vienna-version (266/29-36<sup>2</sup>): common to this plan and to the two plans of BBA 253 are an emphasis on taxation, the fact that the Meixners must pay Isabella's dowry and the poor-court held to try the rich. It is even conceivable that 266/29-36 constitutes the first plan of BBA 253, that it in fact was written after the fragmentary Vienna-version.

The source of the racial division into "tschichen" and "tschuchen" also becomes apparent in these plans: because the plot is set in Prague (Bohemia),

it is natural that Eva Meixner is referred to as "die arme tschechin"(266/64), subsequently altered by Brecht to "tschuchin", presumably to avoid any problems of identification. Since Brecht locates his plans in Bohemia, not Czechoslovakia (established 1918 as a state), it may be assumed that the historical period is the same as that of the Vienna-version (late nineteenth-century). The scene-numbering is handwritten in 266/43-52, but typed in 266/60-65. All handwritten additions were made by Brecht himself.

a) 266/60-65

Scene 1:The Herzog of Bohemia hands over his power to the "tschichenverfolger" Thomas Angler.

Scene 2:The day after Thomas Angler takes control, the persecution of "tschichen" begins in the city of Prague.

Scene 3:The ruined tenant-farmer family (the Meixners) gain new hope. The tenant-farmer families have all received letters demanding the rent, which will enable Isabella ("braut Kristi") to enter the nunnery.

Scene 4:The "tschiche" Joachim von Klausner is sentenced to death by Angler for seducing a Czech maiden ("tschechischen mädchens").

Scene 5:Entering the nunnery, Isabella von Klausner hears of her brother's arrest. The tenant-farmer demands that the rent be forgotten. The abbot places Meixner's hand on his own head.

Scene 6:Isabella von Klausner begs for mercy on her brother's behalf. (Angler?) speaks strangely. Isabella has nothing to be happy about. Meixner (?) handles the matter badly.

Scene 7:Isabella informs her brother of her talk with Angler. Von Klausner demands that she succumb to Angler and thereby save him. The prison is filled with members of the upper-class. Meixner's family shake their fists at the "tschichen".

Scene 8:Frau Hornberger, ordered by the court to close her brothel, opens turkish baths. The Meixners bring their daughter once again to the brothel (it is only for a short time, and it is after all only a turkish bath).

Scene 9:At Frau Hornberger's advice the rich "tschichin" is substituted by the poor "tschechin": Eva Meixner is prepared to pay the price for the liberation of her seducer instead of Isabella. Frau Hornberger must pay for the shift. Who will pay?

Meixner's cows will probably have to be sold. Frau Hornberger enters the prison, where her customers are to be found.

Scene10: Thomas Angler decrees the imposition of a salt-tax. He receives a person he assumes to be Isabella von Klausner and, eager to prove that she is not innocent, he violates her ("er hat mit seinem engel gerungen").

Scene11: Thomas Angler is hindered in his cleansing of the apparatus of government by the necessity of borrowing money with the salt-tax as collateral.

Scene12: The cows have already been sold when Meixner wants to buy the salt. He refuses to pay the salt-tax and, in a fit of anger, knocks the salt-agent to the ground. The Schnürl family.

Scene13: The poor-court. The prison is again full, this time with the poor.

Scene14: The Herzog of Bohemia takes over the government of the land again. An amnesty is declared for all except those who have committed the crimes of trespass or libel (Meixner).

### Commentary

The plan's brevity makes it difficult to grasp the context of several of the motifs involved. What, for instance, is the role of the Schnürl family in Scene 12? Must Meixner's cows be sold to pay for Frau Hornberger's shift? If so, why? Why do the Meixners shake their fists at the "tschichen"?

Beyond the division into scenes Brecht appears to have superimposed another pattern on the plan by inserting handwritten Roman numerals. Scenes 1-5 comprise a first grouping, Scenes 6 and 7 a second, Scenes 8, 9 and 10 a third, Scenes 11, 12 and 13 a fourth, and Scene 14 a fifth and final. Scene 13 could belong to the last grouping, but the handwritten "IV" is much firmer and darker than the "V".

Scene 1:As in 253, a plot summary of which is contained in the next chapter (3.3.).

Scene 2:As in 253.

Scene 3:As in 253, but the family does not receive a letter; that the money is needed for Isabella is made clear by Calausa in the previous scene.

Scene 4:As in 253.

Scene 5:As in 253, although Callas does not demand the release from the rent, but steals the horses. The proof of racial similarity carried out by the Abbot occurs much later in 253 (Scene 5), and is executed there by the Mother Superior.

Scene 6:In 253 this is Scene 7.

Scene 7:In 253 this is Scene 10b; both poor and rich are imprisoned. The tenant-farmer family is not present.

Scene 8:In 253 this is Scene 9.

Scene 9:In 253 this is Scene 11; neither the necessity for the shift to be paid for, nor Hornberger's visit to the prison, nor the sale of Meixner's cows recur in 253.

Scene 10:In 253 the salt-tax is decreed in Scene 8. The reception of the false Isabella by Angelas does not take place in 253, nor therefore does he rape her.

Scene 11:In 253 this is Scene 8; Angelas needs money for his campaign, and issues the decree so that the landlords know they will get their money back.

Scene 12:As in 253. But the Schnürl (Perez) family has no function in the scene. Only in the last scene of 253 does Callas mention his cows: they have been removed by the lawyers as payment for their work in attempting to free Calausa.

Scene 13:As in 253.

Scene 14:As in 253. But there is no mention of an amnesty in 253, and Callas is not an exception, for he receives the same "sentence" as Calausa.

b)266/43-52

This plan contains a description of Scenes 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10 only.

Scene 1:The scene, the essence of which is contained in the heading "DER HERZOG VON BOEHMEN UEBERGIBT DIE REGENTSCHAFT AN DEN TSCHICHENVERFOLGER THOMAS ANGLER"(266/43), is divided by handwritten numbers into six parts:

- i) The rulers learn exact details about the state of their land from the newspapers.
- ii) Ferdinand Eskahler explains the growth and intention of the persecution of the "tschichen" during economic depressions, and the theory that economic disasters are like natural disasters.
- iii) Thomas Angler will put an end to the increasing oppression of the lower classes.
- iv) In a political discussion it is concluded that the taxation of the poor (tenant-farmers, artisans, petite-bourgeoisie) is needed to prevent the encroachment on large private-property.
- v) Thomas Angler assumes the leadership bound only to introduce a heavy salt-tax.
- vi) The Herzog of Bohemia departs, intending to make his way alone. Angler bows deeply and Eskahler (apparently) puffs on his cigar.

Scene 4: The scene bears the title "TSCHUCHISCHE RECHTSPFLEGE" and is divided into eleven sections:

- a) The "tschiche" von Klausner, charged with the seduction of a "tschuchin", is forcibly brought before a court by a mob of "tschuchen". The court must postpone another case to handle von Klausner's.
- b) The court cannot decide the racial issue by referring to the extant legislature of the land.
- c) Von Klausner reports that the girl recognized and addressed him. The court believes his (true) statement because he is a wealthy man.
- d) The girl ("eva meixner") is sentenced to three weeks jail for public lechery.
- e) Her father, a tenant-farmer, delivers a speech (which is untrue) on rent-racketeering.
- f) Thomas Angler enters and gives an example of racial law-enforcement. He "puts the case right" and makes Meixner into a "Roman father".
- g) A court-clerk announces that the mob is bringing von Klausner back.
- h) Thomas Angler's speech, in which he divides the people into two parts.
- i) Eva Meixner is freed, the houses belonging to Frau Hornberger closed and von Klausner sentenced to death.
- j) Von Klausner's lawyer rushes to the scene.
- k) The populace opposes the upper class and applauds when Meixner demands that rent be abolished. Angler is frightened by this, and censures Meixner, declaring that such monetary considerations are immaterial. Meixner interprets this literally.

Scene 5: The scene, which contains the negotiations concerning Isabella's noviceship between Klausner family lawyers and the nunnery of Saint Barbara, comprises six sections:

- a) The lawyers express their hope that the new government will guarantee Isabella's dowry by intensifying rent-collection.
- b) Isabella describes her desire to remain chaste.
- c) To counter the beginning racial persecution, the nunnery takes over the novice's inheritance.
- d) News of von Klausner's incarceration.
- e) During the scene the Meixner family waits outside. The tenant-farmer tears up the letter from the estate-management.
- f) The convent's business-manager approaches the rebellious tenant and places the latter's hand on his own head as proof that he, the new landlord, is also a "tschuche".

Scene 6: In two paragraphs the petition scene is described:

- a) Angler states how repulsive it would be if he behaved like von Klausner, and how just if Isabella had to share Eva Meixner's fate by sacrificing herself for a relative.
- b) Before Isabella leaves in fright, she asks the dictator if Meixner's refusal to pay the rent is lawful. Angler denies it; precisely because he has received justice means that he should fulfil his duties. Angler must admit that the tenant-farmer, the "tschuche", thinks too little of his honour, and too much about physical needs, while Isabella is quite the opposite. Angler throws Meixner out. The whore laughs: "siehst du".

Scene 7: The scene, entitled "BRUDER UND SCHWESTER", consists of eight paragraphs:

- a) The prison is filled with rich people, accused of abusing either their financial superiority or their high office. Washing-baskets replete with denunciations are carried through. The inmates are mainly "spitzköpfe".
- b) An astonished von Klausner asks if only "tschichen" are guilty of such crimes and is told that only they had been investigated. Whoever had been investigated, though, was found guilty.
- c) Von Klausner is in mortal terror when he learns from his lawyer (a "tschiche") that an example is being made of him and that his death is needed for the salt-tax.
- d) Instantly he realizes that Angler simply wants to misuse his sister. He summons those present as witnesses, which causes his sister deep shame. Everyone believes him.
- e) Von Klausner describes the much worse fate of the Meixners and their kind. He thereby reveals that he is fully aware of his social crime ("dadurch enthüllt er sich als bewusster sozialverbrecher.")
- f) The abbot visits him and reads Lucretius. (he is imprisoned for atheism).

- g) Von Klausner declares that he has no intention of being hanged either for a whore or a nun. This corresponds to the aversion of the lower classes for suffering pain on behalf of virtuous and just gentlemen of higher social standing (Brecht notes).
- h) He orders that the rent should be collected for his sister and the Meixners' cows used for (the financing of) the trial.

Scene 8: The shifting scene ("DER UMZUG DER FRAU EMMA HORNBERGER"):

- a) Frau Hornberger hires the Herzog of Bohemia as a furniture-mover.
- b) Meixner negotiates with Frau Hornberger his daughter's employment in the bath-houses.
- c) The Herzog of Bohemia, alias Albert, intimates to Meixner that he belongs to the upper classes and wants to write a book. He harbours a certain suspicion about which he will reveal nothing until it has been confirmed.

Scene 9: The substitution scene, comprising six parts:

- a) Isabella seeks of Frau Hornberger confirmation that Eve Meixner is a prostitute.
- b) The Meixner family sits on the steps of the brothel eating soup. Albert explains to Meixner that he has not grasped the art of poverty.
- c) Eva Meixner is exalted as a maiden and as a "tschuchin".
- d) The image of the button ("vom knopfwerfen"): tenant-farmer or landlord?
- e) Albert reveals that he is the Herzog of Bohemia. He can do nothing because the salt-tax has not yet been decreed. The Meixners fall on their knees before the false Isabella, who frees them from the burden of the rent.
- f) Albert suffers racial persecution at the hands of Mildner ("ein tschuchenverfolger"). All those in the brothel are imprisoned.

Scene 10: The announcement of the salt-tax by Thomas Angler:

- a) Thomas Angler indicts the pillars of society: the judge, the abbot and the lawyer.
- b) A deputation of "tschichen" demands the release of von Klausner. The denial of the summons contains the concept of rent-racketeering.
- c) Determined to "cross the Rubicon" and punish social crimes, Angler traces the capital crime which caused crisis in Bohemia: the wealthy deposited their money across the border as soon as it failed to yield interest. The once condemned are fetched from prison and confronted by "XX", the country's biggest financier.
- d) The wealthy, enraged, rush to the scene, just as Angler wants ("ihr kommt mir gerade recht!").
- e) The civil-servants have departed.

Commentary

Assuming that Brecht could have altered the plot sequence within individual scenes (as he had done in Scene 1), it may be supposed that the remaining scenes are as he intended them.

Scene 1:The scene is very similar to its counterpart in BBA 253, although the fourth part, the necessity of taxation, is already discussed by Eskahler and the viceroy before Eskahler mentions Angelas' race theory (ii).

Scene 4:a)As in 253.  
 b)As in 253.  
 c)As in 253.  
 d)In 253 Judith is not in fact sentenced.  
 e)In 253 Tomaso Angelas has already entered before Callas gives his speech: (f) thus precedes (e). The applause of the populace (k) directly follows Callas' speech.  
 g)Von Klausner does not leave the court-room in 253.  
 h)As in 253.  
 i)As in 253.  
 j)In 253 the lawyer enters before Calausa gives his evidence.  
 k)(Angelas' censure of Callas)As in 253.

Scene 5:a)In 253 (a) follows (b).  
 c) Not in 253.  
 d)Occurs at end of scene in 253.  
 e)Not in 253.  
 f)To be found in Scene Seven in 253, where the Mother Superior, not a male representative of the convent, shows Callas the irrelevance of racial differences.

Scene 6:In 253 this is Scene 7; the absence of the Kohlhaas motif (the expropriation of the horses by Callas) precludes Scenes 6 and 6b of 253.

a)As in 253, although the encounter between Callas, Judith and the Mother Superior and Isabella, as well as Eskahler's questioning of Angelas about the salt-tax, are not yet planned.  
 b)Only the last aspect recurs in 253, and there it is placed almost at the beginning of the scene.

Scene 7:In 253 this is Scene 10b.

a)As in 253, but the motif of the washing-basket occurs in Scene 14 of 253.  
 b)Not in 253.  
 c)In Scene 8 of 253 Calausa informs the Inspector of his fear that an example is being made of him. There is no mention of the salt-tax at this point; earlier in the scene the rich landlords see the necessity of Calausa's death if the salt-tax is to be successfully enforced.

- d)As in 253.
- e)Not in 253.
- f)In 253 the abbot has entered with Isabella at the beginning of the scene, does not read Lucretius, and is denounced by the Mother Superior when he states that reliance on God means that the situation is hopeless. The denunciation takes place, furthermore, at the end of the scene.
- g)As in 253.
- h)Not in 253(but cf.Scene 12 of 266/60-65).

Scene 8:In 253 this is Scene 9.

- a)In 253 the viceroy becomes Cornamontis' business-manager.
- b)In 253 there are no negotiations between Callas and Cornamontis.
- c)Not in 253.

Scene 9:In 253 this is Scene 11.

- a) Not in 253.
- b)In 253 the family arrives towards the end of the scene. This part of (b) should be combined with the second part of (e)(they fall on their knees before the false Isabella). In 253 Albert explains to Meixner that he does not understand the art of being poor in Scene 12, not at this stage.
- c)In 253 the reference to Judith's exalted state is to be found in Scene 6b.
- d)In 253 the throwing of the button occurs in Scene 4.
- e)The first part (Albert's revelation) does not take place in 253.
- f)Not in 253.

Scene 10:In 253 this is Scene 8.

- a)To be found in Scene 8 of 253.
- b)In 253 the rich landlords seek Calausa's release.
- c)Not in 253.
- d)Not in 253.
- e)To be found in Scene 8 of 253, but precedes Angelas' indictment of the Mother Superior, the judge and the lawyer (a).

### c)Scene-sequence Variants

Contained in the Brecht-Archiv are five variants of the scene-sequence; although none of these variants can be dated exactly, they probably all belong to the second stage of the adaptation process (the salt-tax motif, excised in the third stage of development, is extant in four of the

variants; the fifth is to be found on the last page of the manuscript folder containing BBA 253). Four of the variants (three of them on 266/66 and the other on 253/133) were, presumably, written by Brecht himself, the fifth (1974/25) by Ruth Berlau. Each variant, apart from the third on 266/66 and 253/133, comprises twelve scenes, although Brecht's variants on 266/66 begin at Scene Five and, on 253/133, at Scene Seven. Table Five is a graphic presentation of the variants.

TABLE FIVE

i: 1974/25	ii: 266/66	iii: 266/66	iv: 266/66	v: 253/133
<p>1.Danger of Black Flag.</p> <p>2.Counting the profits from the harvest; Black Flag threat; Tschichen banished.</p> <p>3.Landlord denounced.</p> <p>4.False verdict.</p> <p>5.The horses.</p> <p>6.</p> <p>7.</p> <p>8.</p> <p>9.Judith's return.</p> <p>10.Substitution.</p> <p>11.Salt-depot</p> <p>12.Poor-court.</p> <p>13.</p>	<p>Convent.</p> <p>Salt-tax and plea.</p> <p>Salt-depot crime.</p> <p>Shift and Judith's return</p> <p>Brother and sister.</p> <p>Substitution.</p> <p>Poor-court.</p> <p>Conclusion.</p>	<p>Plea.</p> <p>Brother and sister.</p> <p>Shift.</p> <p>Substitution.</p> <p>Salt-tax.</p> <p>Salt-depot crime.</p> <p>Poor-court</p> <p>Conclusion.</p>	<p>Convent.</p> <p>Plea.</p> <p>Salt-tax.</p> <p>Brother and sister.</p> <p>Salt-depot.</p> <p>Shift and Judith's return.</p> <p>Substitution.</p> <p>Poor-court.</p> <p>Conclusion.</p>	<p>Shift.</p> <p>Court-case.</p> <p>Plea.</p> <p>Brother and sister.</p> <p>Substitution.</p> <p>Poor-court.</p> <p>Restoration.</p>

### 3.3. The Plot, Shakespearean Remnants and New Material

#### 3.3.1. The Plot

Because the manuscript BBA 253 has never been published, a detailed summary of its plot is requisite. Each of the manuscript's sixteen scenes is prefaced by a short description of place, *dramatis personae* and action. The numbering of Scenes Three, Four, Six, Eight, Nine, Ten, Eleven and Twelve was originally typed, but subsequently handwritten (covering the typed number). Of the remaining scenes, One, Two, Thirteen and Fourteen are numbered by hand, Six b and Ten b by machine only.

Scene 1: It is four o'clock in the morning when the viceroy of Peru and his privy councillor Fernando Eskahler decide to hand over the leadership of the country to Tomaso Angelas, a racist determined to eradicate a particular section of Peruvian society (the "Tschichen"). Angelas, summoned to the palace, accepts his commission, knowing that he must introduce a salt-levy. With agreement reached on the terms of the commission, the viceroy departs.

Scene 2: The scene shifts to a small street in the old part of the city. Property owners (Herr Callamassi and a neighbour), business-people (Herr Palmosa the tobacconist and Frau Cornamontis the brothel-madam), tenants (the fat lady), civil servants (court-clerk and police-inspector) and an Angelas soldier discuss the possible repercussions of the change in government. The various speakers then leave, and Judith Callas, a prostitute employed by Frau Cornamontis, emerges from her mistress's house. She beckons to the "Tschiche" Calausa, her first lover and parents' landlord; when he insists that the rent owed by Judith's parents be paid, although this means they will starve, Judith betrays him to Angelas' men, who are purging Lima of "Tschichen", the racial enemy. They drag him off to prison, while his companions and fellow landlords watch impassively because one of their number (Herr Schunirello) is also a "Tschiche".

The persons present at the beginning of the scene now return and again comment on what has happened.

Scene 3: The tenant-farmer Callas is approached by Perez, another tenant-farmer, and asked whether he can pay his rent. Callas, who has been waiting three days in vain for a message from his daughter Judith, admits that he cannot and agrees to enter the revolutionary union of tenant-farmers (the "Black Flag"), as advocated by Perez. Just as they confirm their allegiance to one another and their common cause, the news comes that

Angelas has seized power and that Calausa has been imprisoned. Callas immediately withdraws from the agreement just made. Perez, a "Tschiche" whose home has been razed to the ground as part of the racial purge, asks Callas for asylum, but is turned away by his friend, who departs for the city to buy salt for the winter.

Scene 4: The location is again the palace of the viceroy.

A court-hearing is in session: the Abbot representing the "barefooted mendicant monks" of Saint Stephen is suing the nunnery of Saint Barbara (represented by the Mother Superior) for building a new chapel which has drawn parishioners away from Saint Stephen. The case is interrupted by a mob, which wants Calausa tried for seducing a "tschuchisches Mädchen" (Judith Callas). The judge is prepared only to sentence Judith for soliciting in a public place, but the mob insists that Calausa, Frau Cornamontis and the lawyer (accused of twisting the law) stand in the dock. Angelas, called for by the crowd, has already slipped in unnoticed. Judith's father, Callas, also arrives, ready to give evidence in the case against his landlord. In a fit of anger at the way the judge is handling the affair, Angelas dismisses him and takes over the case himself. He pardons Judith, orders the closing of Frau Cornamontis' brothel and sentences Calausa to death. Frau Cornamontis, Callamassi, Palmosa and the fat lady reflect upon what has occurred, and the scene ends when several spectators congratulate Callas on his success.

Scene 5: In the convent of Saint Barbara Isabella Calausa, sister of the condemned landlord, her lawyers and the Mother Superior discuss the requirements which must be met before Isabella can begin the chaste life of a nun. When they have completed their negotiations, the Mother Superior orders that Isabella's coach be driven up. A nun then informs the astonished group that Callas, surrounded by a huge crowd and accompanied by his daughter, was passing the nunnery when he espied the coach belonging to the Calausa family. He had then hit the coachman over the head and unharnessed the horses, declaring that Calausa could walk to the gallows. This is the first Isabella has heard of her brother's unfortunate situation.

Scene 6: On the premises of a grain merchant Callas explains his expropriation of the horses to a group of men. He tells them to view the horses, which he has tied up outside, and then asks the merchant for oats. The latter refuses to give him anything unless he pays for it. The men return from their inspection of the horses and confirm that Callas could indeed open a haulage firm. Callas, though, is furious that the dealer has turned down his request and leaves.

Scene 6b: The tenant-farmer Callas and his daughter are given drinks by the patrons of an inn opposite the grain-merchant's building. Four members of the "Black Flag", one of them Perez, are tied up outside by Angelas

militiamen. Judith talks to Perez, who says that the policemen guarding them could easily be bribed. Judith passes the message to her father, who states that he is not afraid of being considered a confederate of the "Black Flag". Three rich landlords, one of them Herr Schunirello, enter the inn accompanied by the Calausa family lawyers. Thinking that Judith may have forgotten to speak to her father, Perez despatches the policeman into the inn to approach his friend Callas, who will reimburse him. Callas tells the policeman that he is too busy to go out. An Angelas soldier asks Callas if he has friends in the "Black Flag". Callas must admit that he knows Perez to be a farmer in his district. When asked by the curious soldier if they know Callas, the captured revolutionaries remain silent, then beg for water. Returning to the inn, the soldier asks Callas if the rebellious farmers should be given water. Callas says no, whereupon the soldiers insist on drinking a toast to him. The rich landlords refuse to do this and leave, an act not unnoticed by the Angelas men, who promptly pursue them. The lawyers approach Callas and offer to lower the rent if he will commit perjury and thereby free Calausa, an offer violently rejected by Callas. The lawyers depart hurriedly and Callas joins a group of patrons; in his drunkenness and despite Judith's efforts, the farmer reveals that he had lied in the course of the trial. The grain-merchant has overheard this and, with a hateful glance at Callas, leaves the inn. Perez, being led away, asks Callas whom he is sitting with.

Scene 7: Callas and Judith are waiting in a courtyard of the palace to see Angelas, when the Abbot, the Mother Superior, a nun and Isabella enter. The tenant-farmer and his daughter hurl insults at them, and one remark about Calausa causes Isabella to faint. The Mother Superior shows Callas that she is of the same race by placing his hand on her (round) head. Eskahler enters the viceroy's room, in which Angelas is presiding, and asks him if he has read the draft of the salt-tax (he has not). Eskahler then announces the presence of the two parties in the courtyard. Isabella is permitted to see Angelas, but Callas must wait until the following day. Isabella begs for her brother's life in vain; Angelas asks her if it would be just and morally acceptable if he were to compel her to sleep with him (as Judith had had to sleep with Calausa). Isabella and the nuns leave the room, just as the rich landlords burst in. They report to Eskahler that Schunirello and two other landlords have been attacked and now lie in hospital. They demand not only that anyone attacking rich landlords like Schunirello be harshly punished, but also that Calausa be freed. Angelas acknowledges their demands, but does not receive them.

Scene 8: Preparations are being made in the palace for the appeal trial instigated by Calausa's lawyers. Asked by the new judge whether the government will soon pay long overdue salaries, Eskahler assures that the salt-tax will improve the government's credit-rating and enable it to procure

a loan. He places the draft of the tax on Angelas' table. In the courtyard the "Black Flag" rebels are brought in, and the court officials agree to strike at midday if their wages are not forthcoming. The various parties involved in the case enter the courtyard: the Mother Superior, the lawyers, the former chief judge, Isabella, Judith and Callas. The trial begins: the lawyers insist that Calausa and Judith were in love and that their relationship was not soiled by material matters (the horses), and the Mother Superior states that Judith had known men carnally before her affair with Calausa. In defence Judith informs the court of the lawyers' bribery attempt and Callas accuses the chief judge of corruption.

The scene shifts to the viceroy's room, where the rich landlords demand to see Angelas. Eskahler sends a note to Angelas, who, ordering the judge to adjourn for fifteen minutes, proceeds to Eskahler. The rich landlords repeat their demands that the case against Calausa be dismissed and the Angelas militia-men tried instead. Angelas orders the soldiers who had attacked Schunirello placed in custody, then returns to the trial. The rich landlords again summon Angelas, who declares publicly that he will not be bribed. Meanwhile, not only have the officials gone on strike, but a man informs the rebels that the Angelas troops have been overrun. The landlords, realizing the danger of the situation, tell Angelas that he will need money quickly to build up his forces again and to pay the civil servants. They are confident that their loan will be covered by the salt-tax. When Callas learns from the lawyers that the eaves-dropping grain-merchant is prepared to testify against him, he knows he must accede to their wishes; but the need does not arise, for Angelas orders his men to occupy the palace and, told that the people support him, not only confirms the death-penalty for Calausa and sentences the Mother Superior, the judge and the lawyers, but also announces the salt-tax. Furthermore, he declares that Callas must forfeit the horses belonging to his landlord. The strike concludes, and Judith, at her father's bidding, tries to persuade Calausa to forgo the rent-payment, but is unsuccessful.

Scene 9: In the old part of the city Frau Cornamontis is arranging her shift to new premises, the court having decreed that her house of ill-fame be closed. The fat lady, Frau Tomaso, has had to vacate her rooms because she cannot afford to pay the rent; her living quarters are to be Frau Cornamontis' new business-premises (she intends to open a "turkish bath-house"). Frau Cornamontis asks the viceroy, who is loitering in the street looking for work, to move on lest the police, who are about to seal off her old premises, think she is still pursuing her illegal occupation. The viceroy insists that she treat him like an employee. The police-inspector arrives, officially closes the brothel, helps the former madam shift across the road into

Frau Tomaso's old residence, then disappears to buy cigars from Herr Palmosa. The viceroy's acting was so convincing that Frau Cornamontis hires him as her business-manager. Callas and Judith approach the now closed brothel in the hope that Judith will be able to get her old job back. Directed by the viceroy (alias Albert) to the new establishment, Judith is reinstated by a hesitant Frau Cornamontis, receives a small advance and gives it to her father, telling him to return home. He states that he will buy the salt first. When he has departed and Judith gone inside, the Angelas men appear and put up the official notices decreeing the salt-tax.

Scene 10: In the street outside the prison Isabella and the Abbot are discussing Calausa's fate. In contrast to Isabella, the Abbot is optimistic.

Scene 10b: Isabella and the Abbot enter the prison to find Calausa in the death cell, the four "Black Flag" men squatting in the second cell, and the Mother Superior, the lawyers and the former chief judge in another cell. The Abbot informs the inmates that the tenant-farmers refused to pay the rent on the due date as a direct result of the Calausa case. The "Black Flag" members are ecstatic, whereas the Mother Superior and her friends curse the profligate Calausa and threaten the rebels with horrible deaths. Isabella then repeats to Calausa what Angelas had said at their meeting. Calausa, like the Abbot, interprets this as a blatant proposition and bids Isabella to sleep with Angelas. An indignant Isabella refuses, but the prisoners, who see this as an opportunity to compromise Angelas, exhort her to obey her brother, for her action will be of benefit to all. The Abbot states that only God can help them now, that their situation is therefore hopeless, whereupon the Mother Superior denounces him instantly as an atheist.

Scene 11: Isabella has resolved to forfeit her virginity for her brother's life and visits Frau Cornamontis' brothel to learn how she should behave when she is with Angelas, and how to avoid such undesirable consequences as pregnancy. She talks at first with Albert (the viceroy), who in turn summons Judith. The latter suggests that her employer is the best authority to consult. After initial conversation, Frau Cornamontis explains that the rich have no need to submit to such trials; there are persons willing to take their place for monetary reward. It is decided that Judith will be Isabella's substitute in Angelas' bed. While Albert and Frau Cornamontis inspect Judith in her disguise and teach her refined manners and speaking, a crowd throws stones at Frau Cornamontis' former house. While Judith goes upstairs to wash her hands and Albert returns to the accounts, the brothel madam encounters Frau Callas and her children. They are searching for the head of the family, but have not found him; they are hungry and ask to see Judith, who would give them money for food.

Frau Cornamontis says that Judith is occupied, but has Albert prepare them some soup. As Judith is leaving the house for her rendezvous, Frau Callas mistakes her for Isabella; at her prompting the children beg for leniency in the matter of the rent. With a smile Judith removes her veil momentarily and tells them that they do not need to pay.

Scene 12: Albert informs the people standing at the salt-depot that they do not understand the art of poverty. Callas has almost reached the counter when both "Tschuchen" and "Tschichen" discuss the Calausa case. Tolling bells proclaim the defeat of the rebel farmers just before Callas, unaware of the salt-tax and hence upset at the exaggerated price, tries to seize the sacks of salt from the official. Ignoring the news of Angelas' victory in the south, Callas continues to struggle with the official and, insulted, hits him over the head with a sack. Someone calls the police.

Scene 13: Several poor people, including Albert, have been led into the prison. At Albert's request the important inmates are identified. Callas, too, enters and is locked in death cell three, situated next to Calausa's. Interested in the various commentaries given by his fellow prisoners, Albert decides to hold a court-hearing in the prison, with the poor acting as magistrates. Judgement is passed on Calausa, the Mother Superior, the Abbot, the lawyers and Angelas. The police-inspector is shaving Calausa and Callas in preparation for execution when the order comes that Calausa should proceed immediately to the gallows. Calausa's lawyer has a plan, according to which Callas can save himself a year's rent, but it is Albert, wearing a hood, who leaves the prison with the inspector and his assistants.

Scene 14: The scene, set in the viceroy's palace and in the courtyard, opens as Angelas and Eskahler discuss whether or not Calausa should be executed. They are in a dilemma because the salt-tax requires his death, the payment of the rent, on the other hand, his continued existence. The inspector interrupts them with the news that the condemned man is growing impatient. They have concluded that only the viceroy can free Calausa when the rich landlords arrive and insist that their confederate be freed. Ignoring their plea, Angelas decides that the condemned man be executed. As the final preparations for hanging are being made, the victim removes his hood to reveal his true identity: it is the viceroy. Hungry and tired after his travels, he orders that food be brought, and that Calausa and his sister Isabella, aboutwhom he has questioned Angelas, be fetched. Judith and Callas, both disguised, enter the courtyard with the four "Black Flag" men. The viceroy removes the disguises from the prostitute and the tenant-farmer, then he begins his meal, further ordering that Isabella, Calausa and the Mother Superior and her companions (whom he wants in his service), come before him. Isabella enters accompanied by Frau Cornamontis, who feigns total ignorance of the affair. More tables and food are being carried into the courtyard

when Calausa, the Mother Superior, the lawyers, the chief judge and the Abbot arrive. The viceroy pardons both Calausa and Callas; but while the tenant-farmer hurries back to the land to begin work, his landlord decides to have a wash and change his clothes. When the prostitute and the nun have bid one another farewell, the viceroy thanks Angelas for his assistance, but orders him to relinquish his racial theory.<sup>3</sup>

### 3.3.2. Shakespearean Remnants

The Shakespearean elements still extant in BBA 253, consisting of five entire scenes comparable in basic plot to their Elizabethan models, the shifting-scene (growing from a minor motif in MaB für MaB), the scene in which Judith replaces Isabella (not enacted by Shakespeare), and four important motifs are delineated in Table Six.

TABLE SIX

	<u>SHAKESPEARE</u>	<u>BRECHT</u>
I;i	:Deputation of power	= Scene One
I;ii	:Street meeting	= Scene Two
I;iii	:The shifting of the brothel	= Scene Nine
I;v	:Entry into convent	= Scene Five
II;i	:Court-case	= Scene Four
II;ii	:Isabella's plea	= Scene Seven
II;iv	:Angelo's proposition	= Scene Seven
III;i	:Meeting of brother and sister	= Scene Ten and Scene Ten b
III;ii	:Substitution of Isabella	= Scene Eleven
IV;ii, IV;iii	:Substitution of Claudio	= part of Scene Thirteen
V;i	:Return of Herzog	= Scene Fourteen

a) The deputation of power: Scene One

In his Vienna-version Brecht retains the structure of the opening scene of MaB für MaB: the discussion between the Duke and Eskahler comprises only a third as many lines as the section following Angelas' entrance. In BBA 253, however, the relationship between the two parts of the scene, itself now twice as large as before, is reversed. The conversation between the viceroy and Eskahler is almost twice as long as the talks between the two of them and Angelas<sup>4</sup>. Eskahler's lengthy description of Angelas' race theory is not the only reason for this change. Whereas in the Vienna-version the Duke merely states that Austria is bankrupt, now the reasons for Peru's catastrophic fiscal problems are analysed in detail. At the viceroy's bidding, Eskahler mentions, among other factors, overproduction, rationalization and the flight of capital:

"Hier stehen die Gründe: Die Erde gibt zuviel her! Der Mensch frisst zu wenig. Die Maschinen sind zu vollkommen. Die arbeitende Bevölkerung arbeitet zu wenig! Gebaut wird zuviel! Und es wohnen zu viel Leute in den Erdhöhlen. Die Besitzenden verdienen nichts und verschieben es über die Grenze! Die Weltwirtschaft ist ein dunkles Kapitel! Die Professoren haben sich auch geirrt. Alles ist unsicher!"(253/2)<sup>5</sup>

Eskahler also describes the widespread social upheaval caused by the financial collapse:

"Sie(die Pächter)sind bankrott. Und auch Im Aufruhr. Im Süden dieses Lands sind grosse Massen wild in Bewegung. Unter schwarzen Fahnen fanden sich Tausende. Und im Aufruhr sind die Banden des Angelas und im Aufruhr die grossen Pachtherrn"(253/2-3)

In MaB für MaB the Duke of Vienna does not explain why he has seconded his power to Lord Angelo until the fourth scene of the first act. Brecht alters this in the Vienna-version by rationalizing the act of deputation in the first scene: the Duke confirms that the state is bankrupt and needs a strong man as its leader. How the moral purge

undertaken by the puritanical Angeler will restore the financial solvency of the country is elucidated by von Lutz: the revival of Austria's moral reputation will encourage foreign investment. In BBA 253, in contrast, the solution lies in the infrastructure, not in the mediation of the moral superstructure: a salt-tax has been advanced as the best means of overcoming bankruptcy:

"Leute die viel verstehen von Geld und Wirtschaft  
weil selbst gewohnt mit Geldern umzugehn  
schlagen sehr dringend eine Salzsteuer vor.  
Auf jeden Pfund Salz sieben Pesos. Das  
gäb aus. So meinen sie."(253/3)

As in MaB für MaB and the Vienna-version, Angelas is chosen to assume the reins of government because he is acknowledged to be a high-principled, scrupulous person. But whereas previously the moralist was engaged to execute a moral catharsis, in BBA 253 he is burdened with the introduction of a salt-tax. Angelas is ideally suited for this difficult task not only because he is generally regarded as unselfish and concerned wholly for the welfare of the state, but also because he is an enemy of the government:

"VIZEKOENIG :... Jetzt muss der starke Mann  
her, der  
vor nichts zurückschreckt.  
ESKAHLER : Auch vor  
der Salzsteuer nicht?  
VIZEKOENIG :Solch eine Steuer  
ESKAHLER : die für den Staat  
so dringend nötig ist  
VIZEKOENIG :kann durchführen nur ein völlig  
lauterer Mann  
der nur auf den Bestand des Staats  
bedacht ist  
uneigennützig und als so erkannt  
ESKAHLER : Wer  
könnt das  
jetzt sein?  
VIZEKOENIG : Ein Anderer! Ein ganz  
Anderer als wir!  
s müsst einer sein, der mit uns nichts  
zu tun hat  
wie schwarz und weiss von uns ver-  
schieden ist  
ja, unser Feind ist.  
ESKAHLER : Fürst!  
VIZEKOENIG : Doch:  
Angelas!  
Bitt mir den Angelas her!"(253/4)<sup>6</sup>

Angelas is chosen because he is an individual in whom the people can place their trust<sup>7</sup>. The government has lost the confidence of its subjects not only because it has allowed the development of a crisis, but also, as the above interchange between Eskahler and the viceroy implies, because it appears to serve only its own interests. It is noteworthy that Angelas has not been selected by the viceroy on the basis of his political programme of reform or of his racial theory. His reputation is the decisive factor. The viceroy proves to be ill-informed about the precise nature of Angelas' ideas:

"ESKAHLER : Nun, er verlangt  
ganz neue Macht. Stärkung des  
Staats. Reform  
der korrumpierten Aemter,

ER LIEST IN DER ZEITUNG

der  
Justiz. Der Sittlichkeit.  
Das Eigentum.....

VIZEKOENIG (WIE VON DER TARANTEL GESTOCHEN)  
: Was mit dem Eigentum?

ESKAHLER :Es soll geschützt werden -  
VIZEKOENIG: Steht  
das da?

ESKAHLER : Steht da.  
VIZEKOENIG:Her mit dem Mann!

ESKAHLER SPRICHT ETWAS ZUR  
TUER HINAUS

ESKAHLER : Nur eins: Der  
Mensch hat  
doch diese fixe Idee vom zweifachen  
Stamm des Volkes!  
VIZEKOENIG:Was ist das wieder?"(253/4-5)

The viceroy's discovery that Angelas intends to protect private property certainly confirms his belief that he has made the right decision; but the fact that Angelas is supported by both tenant-farmer and landlord -

"VIZEKOENIG:Wie stehn zu ihm die grossen  
Pachtherrn?  
ESKAHLER :Erwarten viel von ihm, wie  
doch sehr viele Pächter"  
(253/6)

-plays no role in the issue.

b) The street meeting: Scene Two

In the Vienna-version Brecht emphasized the division into classes: von Lutz, von Schwind and von Schaum belong to the wealthy aristocracy, while Frau Ueberley and her business-manager Mildner represent the (relatively) poor. In BBA 253, Scene Two, which contains no lines from either MaB für MaB or the Vienna-version<sup>8</sup>, Brecht refines his social classification by including numerous new figures in the action. The state bureaucracy or civil service is personified by the police-inspector and the court-clerk, the rich by Calausa and his companions, the poor by Judith Callas, the lower middle-class by Frau Cornamontis, Herr Palmosa and the fat Frau Tomaso, and the middle-class by Herr Callamassi. In addition, Brecht delineates the interrelationships derived from this social structure: the tenant-farmer Callas must pay rent to the landlord Calausa, his daughter Judith is exploited by the brothel-mistress Frau Cornamontis, the house-owner Callamassi receives his income from the fat tenant Frau Tomaso and the tobacconist Herr Palmosa, and the civil servants live off the taxes paid by all these social strata<sup>9</sup>.

As in the Vienna-version and MaB für MaB, one purpose of the scene is to demonstrate the effect created by the change of government. Each section of society has selfishly concluded that Tomaso Angelas is working to its financial advantage alone: Herr Palmosa is of the opinion, gleaned from the newspaper, that Angelas is striving to curb the oppression of the poorer classes (of which he is a member), the civil servants on the other hand believe that the new government will ensure the payment of their salaries, while house-owner and tenant declare confidently that rent will be raised or lowered respectively. There is, therefore, a contradiction between the people's shared trust and confidence in Angelas, anticipated by the viceroy, and their actual social existence. The message of the

scene is that unless major social restructuring is undertaken, the populace, contrary to its own (erroneous) belief, cannot in its entirety benefit from the change in the leadership. Only after the barriers of class have been removed can a true community spirit be engendered.

In this scene a deed is committed typical for the reign of Angelas: one member of a certain class (the fat Frau Tomaso) betrays another member of the same class (the corn-merchant), declaring that he is a "Tschiche":

"... (ZUM ANGELASSOLDATEN) Sehen Sie dort oben  
die Fenster, an denen die Läden geschlossen  
sind, dort wohnt ein Tschiche."(253/12)

The biological difference of race divides individuals of the same class: class-unity is thus weakened by Angelas' theory. If class-unity is weakened, there can be no possibility of any improvement of social conditions on a wide scale. It should be noted that the reason for this betrayal derives from economic reality - Frau Tomaso wishes self-interestedly to dispose of business rivals ("Er ist Getreidehändler") - not from the belief in race-ideology. The truth implicit in the play is that the best interests of the individual are served by the class to which he or she belongs.

The various strata of Peruvian society are not unified by anything real or concrete - the reality of the class-society still divides them, although they do not see this - but by nebulous hope, the product of rumour ("heisst es"; "ich habe gehört") and propaganda. The medium of the newspaper has, of course, a prominent function in the transmission of such (politically-coloured) information<sup>10</sup>, but Brecht dramatizes the mechanics of propaganda most effectively from an audience point of view through the Angelas militia-man, whose image of Angelas as a swashbuckling hero -

"Schon die Art, wie Tomaso Angelas die Macht ergriff,  
zeigt den ganzen Mann. Er ist mitten in der Nacht,  
als im Regierungsgebäude alles schlief, dort  
eingedrungen und hat den Vizekönig zu sprechen  
verlangt. Er soll vor dem Vizekönig auf den Tisch  
geschlagen und geschrien haben: Schluss damit!

Er soll sich auf gar keine Bedingungen eingelassen und den Vizekönig nach kurzem Wortwechsel abgesetzt haben. Schon nachmittag gab er Zuhause an, man möge der Regierung, gestern wenn sie anriefe, sagen er sei in den Palastlichtspielen. Er muss also schon gestern gewusst haben, dass es sich nur noch um Stunden handeln kann. Der Vizekönig soll schon auf der Flucht sein."(253/11)

- is a complete misrepresentation of the actual facts of the process of deputation. The episode, pointedly exposing a conflict between reality and ideology, stirs the audience's critical faculties and prepares it for the task of differentiating the claims of class (reality) and race (ideology).

In the Shakespearean original and in Brecht's first adaptation work, a report on the crime committed by Claudio/von Klausner is delivered in this scene. In BBA 253, in contrast, the "felony" takes place on-stage in the course of the scene, for it is vitally important that the spectator of the play be familiar with the true facts of the case if he is to grasp the mechanics or rather machinations of the court-proceedings which ensue. The affair is simple and straightforward: Judith attempts to persuade Calausa to dispense with the rent owed by her parents, who will otherwise starve to death; when Calausa refuses to help, she betrays him to the marauding Angelas men. The spectator should note that Calausa is taken prisoner because he is a "Tschich", not because he has seduced or raped his tenant-farmer's daughter, as is later claimed. Judith's monologue, in which she explains that Calausa was her first lover, that he had secured her a job with Frau Cornamontis and that her family had benefited from their liaison, is also important in the light of later events.

### c) The shifting of the brothel: Scene Nine

In a number of significant aspects this scene corresponds to, or parallels, the second scene of the play. Frau Tomaso, filled with hope in Scene Two that her rent would not only be lowered, but abolished, has been forced to vacate the premises she has inhabited for twenty-five years. Herr

Palmosa the tobacconist, who had shared her belief, now shares her fate. The rumours he had heard that the bankers would give extensive financial aid to languishing small-businesses, have proven disastrously false<sup>11</sup>. The upward tendency which began in Scene Two and was expressed in the high expectations of the people that Tomaso Angelas would ameliorate social standards, ends in Scene Nine in a disappointing return to the social status quo of Scene Two. It is noteworthy that the wealthier elements depicted in Scene Two have suffered no cruel blows of fate<sup>12</sup>; as Scene Two itself made clear to the aware spectator, a change in leadership alone cannot alter the essential socio-economic constellation. The reign of Angelas, which the people conceived of as a progressive, linear movement towards a better Peru, has now revealed itself to be of a reactionary nature; its basic tendency is circular.

The shifting of Frau Cornamontis' house of ill-fame into new premises, which functioned in the Vienna-version as a critique of class-justice, now serves to symbolize the development of the play between Scenes One and Eight. Frau Cornamontis has been convicted of a racial crime by Angelas and ordered to cease her brothel-keeping activities; and indeed the police-inspector seals off her former establishment. But there is no doubt that Frau Cornamontis, who takes up residence in Frau Tomaso's now empty rooms, has simply changed her dwelling, not her profession: her brothel-business will prosper as before. The movement of the household-effects across the road and the official closure of her old premises appear to constitute a movement forward, a progressive step taken in the interests of (racial) morality, but betray in reality a circular motion, a return to the starting-point.

The shifting of the brothel, therefore, is a symbolic expression of, and fitting conclusion to, the regency of Tomaso Angelas. It should be noted that Frau Cornamontis now takes down the white flag with the hanging of

which she had been so preoccupied at the beginning of Scene Two. Correspondingly, the scene contains the re-emergence of the viceroy, who further emphasizes in symbolical terms what has happened in the play thus far<sup>13</sup>. The circle image recurs in his commentary on the fate of the tenant-farmer Callas -

"Er wird sich senken, der nach oben ging"(253/87)

- and he concludes the scene with the image of the moon:

"Nun sitz ich auf der Treppe eines Hauses  
auf nackter Strasse sehe ich den Wechsel  
des Monds. Die schlimme Zeit ist, denk ich, nun  
verbracht.  
und der neue Mond hält den alten im Arme die letzte  
Nacht."(253/88)

Just as the moon assumes different shapes as it passes through its various phases, so too the person of the overlord changes (viceroy - Angelas - viceroy); but further implicit in the viceroy's metaphor is the belief that the position of overlord is a natural phenomenon, and as such eternal and unchanging. Angelas was doomed to describe a circle with his ruling hand; progress and change can only result when the "natural", static system of overlord and people is re-examined, and the impetus for this must come from the people.

#### d) The entry into the convent: Scene Five

In MaB für MaB this scene serves not only as an important pragmatic link in the play's chain of events (Lucio's report about Claudio and his persuasion of Isabella), but also to characterize Isabella and, indirectly, Angelo. It retains both functions in the Vienna-version, although a new motif is added (the fate of the Meixner family), which reveals that morality is a luxury available only to the wealthy. In BBA 253 the thematic tendency of the scene, its socio-critical pointe, assumes greater importance than either characterization (of Isabella only) or plot (the fact that Calausa is to be executed and Callas' expropriation of the landlord's horses, a new motif<sup>14</sup>, are mentioned in the last few lines of the scene). In the scene there is no longer any trace of either MaB für MaB

or the Vienna-version. The dramatic personnel, in particular, has undergone considerable change: the Mother Superior, who had never before appeared but was referred to by Isabella at the end of the scene, now plays a dominant role, as does Isabella's lawyer. Isabella certainly requires a lawyer to act on her behalf: her eager questions about the desired ascetic conditions in the nunnery reveal that she is naively ill-acquainted with the world's materialistic ways and contrast strongly with the Mother Superior's demands.

The scene parallels the opening section of Scene Four, when the Abbot of Saint Stephen and the Mother Superior of Saint Barbara confront one another in the legal context of complainant and defendant (the similarity between Scene Five and the beginning of the previous scene is suggested by the analagous scene-titles ("ALS PARTEIEN STEHEN EINANDER GEGENUEBER ..."; "EINANDER GEGENUEBER SITZEN ALS ZWEI PARTEIEN ...")). The chief judge provides the key to an understanding of Scene Five. He declares angrily that he does not wish to be disturbed:

"Was ist los? Ich wünsche bei der Verhandlung, die um hohe Werte geht, nicht gestört zu werden.(253/21)

For these supposedly religious people, the "high values" are not, as might be thought, the basic tenets of Church dogma, but in fact large amounts of money. Although the message retained from the Vienna-version is made more explicit ("Und damit Sie hier keusch in Demut sind und nichts besitzen/müssen andere sich verkaufen und auf dem Acker schwitzen." (253/36)<sup>15</sup>), the main tendency of the scene in BBA 253 is to manifest the conflict between the ideology adhered to by certain individuals or institutions (their apparent "values") and their praxis (their actual "values").

In Scene Four the chief judge refers to the inmates of the nunnery as "die Bedürftigen Schwestern von Sankt Barbara"(253/21). "Poverty" is

their central tenet, the "high value" the nuns (and many of their real-life counterparts) stress above all others. Hence, when Isabella states that she wishes to live not only chastely and humbly, but also in poverty, the Mother Superior replies:

"So leben wir hier, Kind, und so wirst Du leben ..."(253/35)

But the practical arrangements for entry into the convent made throughout the scene (the stipulation of silver cutlery, cherrywood furniture, fifty metres of hand-woven cloth and one half of the rent collected from the Calausa estates) belie her statement. The scene demonstrates not only that certain ideological claims, in particular the Church's teaching on poverty as a virtue, but also its entire metaphysically-orientated dogma, are highly questionable in view of its practices (the scene, therefore, is a satirical commentary on the Church and its "sehr irdisches Interesse für die Güter dieser Welt"<sup>16</sup>), but also that the importance of ideology is negligible when compared to that of the material basis. The scene is thus thematically integrated into the entire play as a contrast to those scenes in which Angelas attempts to impose his ideological system of race upon a social structure dominated by financial exigencies.

e) The court-case: Scene Four

Very little of either MaB für MaB or the Vienna-version is extant in this scene<sup>17</sup>. In both previous works the scene (II;i) had belonged to the subplot; the trial of Emanuele Calausa, however, is an integral part of the main plot of BBA 253. Although the scene is now much longer than it had been in the Vienna-version and is indeed approximately the same length as in Shakespeare's drama, only the replacement of the chief judge by Angelas (similar to Angeler's angry dismissal of the judge in the Vienna-version), and the questioning of Calausa by Angelas (similar to Escalus' interrogation of Pompeius and the judge's examination of von Schwind in the Vienna-version) recall either the original or the first adaptation work.

The crime at the basis of the proceedings which occur in Scene Four was committed towards the end of Scene Two, when Judith had approached Calausa to beg for leniency in the matter of the rent. The prostitute Judith Callas, who is employed in a brothel and so not legally permitted to solicit customers on the street, is, as the chief judge explains, the only guilty party; Calausa the landlord, on the other hand, whom the crowd has not only dragged before the court, but spat upon and physically maltreated<sup>18</sup>, is, as the spectator is aware, completely innocent:

"Herr Calausa ist bereits vor drei Tagen aus seiner ungesetzlichen Haft entlassen worden. Er war es, der belästigt wurde."(253/22)

"Liebe Leute, der Fall ist schon untersucht worden, und es hat sich herausgestellt, dass der Mann, den Ihr eines Verbrechens bezichtigt, unschuldig ist ..."(253/22)

Contrary to the accusations of the people ("... Die Leute behaupten, durch den Calausa sei ein tschuchisches Mädchen verführt worden"(253/21)), these are the true, objective facts of the case. Obligated, nevertheless, to re-try Calausa, the judge attempts to vindicate his designation of Judith as the wrong-doer by asking her if the facts as he knows them are correct:

"... (ZU JUDITH) Sie haben den Herrn auf offener Strasse angesprochen. Und sind in dem öffentlichen Haus der Frau Cornamontis beschäftigt? Sie wissen, dass darauf drei Wochen Arbeitshaus stehen ..."(253/24)

When she does not reply, the judge asks the same question of Calausa, who confirms the judge's interpretation of the affair ("Jawohl, Herr Richter. Ich wurde von ihr angesprochen, als ich meinen Vormittagsspaziergang machte. Sie ist die Tochter eines meiner Pächter und bat mich, ihrem Vater die Pacht zu erlassen."(253/24)). Although the judge has apportioned guilt correctly, there can be no doubt that his sympathies lie with Calausa, the man of high social standing. He is prepared to accept the landlord's version of the matter, even though he knows that the landlord has much to gain from false testimony. It is also noteworthy that in the previous

hearing the only witnesses were also rich landlords (Herr Schunirello and Herr Espata). The lawyer representing Calausa describes *in nuce* the prejudice (essentially "might is right"!) influencing the judge in the landlord's favour:

"Auch die soziale Stellung meines Klienten verbürgt, der auf der anderen Seite höchstens die Aussage einer gemeinen Strassendirne gegenüberstehen könnte, verbürgt, denke ich, die Wahrheit."(253/24)

Until shortly before Callas' entrance, the crime at the basis of the proceedings is without doubt Calausa's supposed rape of Judith. The chief judge acts in accordance with this accusation. It is noteworthy, however, that even though eventually the crowd vociferously and explicitly brings the charge of rent-racketeering -

"DIE STIMME VON  
 OBEN :Vielleicht fragst Du Deinen Klienten, wer sie zur gemeinen Strassendirne gemacht hat!  
 ANDERE STIMME :Wir verlangen, dass folgende Personen auf der Anklagebank sitzen: der Pachtwucherer ..."  
 (253/25)

- the chief judge prefers to ignore their cries and again sentences Judith for soliciting:

"Nach den Paragraphen des Gesetzbuches hat allein das Mädchen sich schuldig gemacht."(253/26)

Only at Angelas' insistence does this representative of the ruling-class - who has attempted to protect the landlord by adhering to the first accusation of rape (of which Calausa is innocent) - try Calausa for rent-racketeering (of which he is guilty):

"Sie behaupten also, dass Ihr Pachtherr bei der Bemessung des Pachtzinses aussergewöhnlich und über das gesetzlich zulässige Mass hinausging."  
 (253/27)

Before he can pass judgement, however, Angelas takes over the trial.

Tomaso Angelas practises racial justice. A comparison of Escalus' questioning of Pompeius in MaB für MaB with a similar passage in BBA 253 shows this clearly. Escalus wants Pompeius to confess his occupation, the true cause of his arraignment:

"Escalus. ... wie heit Ihr, Meister Zapfer?  
 Pompeius. Pompeius.  
 Escalus. Wie weiter?  
 Pompeius. Pumphose.  
 Escalus. So! ... Pompeius, Ihr seid ein Stck von  
 einem Kuppler, Pompeius ... Seid Ihr's nicht?  
 Kommt, sagt mir die Wahrheit, es soll Euer Schade  
 nicht sein.  
 Pompeius. In Wahrheit, Herr, ich bin ein armer Junge,  
 der gern leben will."(II;i,240-252)

Angelas, in contrast, tries to penetrate beneath all outer distinctions, because he believes that the root of the problem lies on the existential plane of being:

"ANGELAS : (PLOETZLICH ZU CALAUSA) Was sind  
 Sie?  
 CALAUSA : Pachtherr.  
 ANGELAS : Was sind Sie?  
 CALAUSA : Mitglied des Landadels.  
 ANGELAS : Ich frage Sie, was Sie sind ...  
 CALAUSA : Katholik.  
 ANGELAS : (LANGSAM) Was sind Sie?  
 CALAUSA : (SCHWEIGT)  
 ANGELAS : Sie sind Tschiche. Und das ist der  
 Kern des Falles!"(253/30)

Calausa was born with a peaked head, Judith was not: in these circumstances Angelas is automatically biased in Judith's favour. The confusion Angelas creates arises from the fact that his racial enquiry appears to be an indictment of the ruling-class, appears, therefore, to be the form of class-justice advocated by the poor.

Callas is typical of those who see in Angelas the saviour of the oppressed classes. His introductory comment, however, is the first evidence that he and Angelas will not be able to communicate; he declares that he is the defendant's tenant-farmer:

"Ich bin der Pchter des Angeklagten."(253/25)

He describes himself in socio-economic terms, not from an existential or biological viewpoint("Und hier ist der Vater des Mdchens."(253/25)). The gulf dividing Callas and Angelas widens as the former insists that his landlord has been indicted on a charge of rent-racketeering:

"Ich bin von meinem Pachthof hierhergekommen, um im Verfahren gegen meinen Pachtherrn, welcher wegen Pachtwucher vor Gericht steht, als Zeuge aufzutreten."(253/26)

As the scene proceeds it becomes clear that the gathered populace shares Callas' conception of Angelas. His demands that rent be abolished and the price of grain lowered are greeted with cries of approval and general applause.

The trial assumes comic proportions: Angelas superimposes his ideological interpretation upon Callas' admissions, and is immediately countered by the tenant-farmer's materialism:

"ANGELAS :Sind das die Kleider, die Sie ihr gekauft haben?  
 CALLAS :Nein, natürlich nicht.  
 ANGELAS :Nicht wahr, das sind nicht die Kleider, die Sie, ein einfacher Bauer, der mit der schwierigen Hand die Scholle bearbeitet, seiner Tochter kauft.  
 CALLAS :Das kann ich gar nicht. Bei der Pacht!!  
 ANGELAS :Und Sie würden es auch nicht, wenn Sie könnten? Ihrem einfachen und geraden Geschmack sind solche Fetzen zuwider. Wieso kann Ihre Tochter solche Kleider kaufen?  
 CALLAS :Sie verdient doch ganz gut."(253/28)

The earthy Callas is unreceptive to Angelas' moral-idealistic thinking. Asked by Angelas whether he recognizes in the fashionable Judith "das fröhliche Kind, das an seiner Hand über die Felder ging"(253/28), Callas merely gapes uncomprehendingly. The trial concludes when Angelas sentences Calausa to death: he has abused his economic superiority by seducing a round-headed maiden("Sie, ein Tschiche, haben Ihre wirtschaftliche Macht mißbraucht, um ein tschuchisches Mädchen zu verführen."(253/30)). From the standpoint of the poor the sentence of death upon a landlord is a positive measure; but the reasoning behind the verdict must, from the same standpoint, be judged negatively. Callas himself had considered Calausa's readiness to "abuse his economic superiority" advantageous, just as the members of the poor-court organized by the viceroy are prepared to forgive

the lawyers because they know how to twist the law. Angelas' moral-idealistic justification of his sentence is the cause of Callas' downfall:

"In dieser Begründung des anscheinend so günstigen Urteils hätten von Anfang an alle Keime des weiteren Unglücks des Pächters gelegen."(266/42)<sup>19</sup>

Callas is unable to understand that a landlord could be executed for any reason other than one which derives directly from the class-struggle; he does not understand the mechanics of racial justice. Hence he is still able to insist that the rent be abolished, not realizing that such a demand conflicts with Angelas' ideological theorems:

"CALLAS : (SCHREIT) Und die Pacht wird gestrichen!  
ANGELAS : Was redest Du von Pacht? Das ist das Kleinste was Dir geschah. So nebensächlich ist's und Du erhebst Dich nicht zu mehr, wo mehr ist! Ein tschuchischer Vater Du!..."(253/32)

Herr Callamassi and Herr Palmosa believe that a new age has dawned for Peru, an epoch in which even the poor man can be justly treated. Frau Cornamontis demonstrates that the class-struggle will continue despite Angelas:

"HERR CALLAMASSI : Meinen Sie nicht, Frau Cornamontis, dass auch einmal ein armer Mann im Kampf mit einem Reichen siegen kann?  
FRAU CORNAMONTIS : Wollen wir das Schicksal befragen? In Gestalt eines Knopfes? (SIE DREHT DEM TABAKHAENDLER EINEN KNOPF VOM ROCK) Wenn die Löcher oben sind, siegt der Reiche, ja?  
DER TABAKHAENDLER : Gut.  
FRAU CORNAMONTIS : (WIRFT DEN KNOPF)  
DER TABAKHAENDLER : (HEBT IHN AUF) Die Löcher sind allerdings oben.  
HERR CALLAMASSI : Ja, bei einem Knopf geben die Löcher doch durch, Frau Cornamontis?  
FRAU CORNAMONTIS : (LACHT SCHALLEND) Sehen Sie! Das ist es ja eben!"(253/31,33)

The audience - which in Brecht's theatre comprises individuals like Callas - must understand that racial justice only appears to solve social problems, only appears to satisfy the need for justice. Brecht comments:

"das verlangen nach gerechtigkeit, das ein verlangen nach einem aufhören der wirtschaftlichen unterdrückung der unteren schichten ist, soll in den blossen kategorien des symptomatischen, abgeleiteten, abstrakten befriedigt werden."(266/54)

Scene Four contains two separate, paradoxical and confusing trials: the chief judge, who represents the ruling class and presides over a case involving a racial crime, decides in favour of the wealthy man, whereas the racist Angelas, confronted by the angry tenant-farmer with his accusation of rent-racketeering, finds the wealthy man guilty. The chief judge does not twist the facts in favour of the landlord - he does not need to - but if the facts were different, if Calausa were in reality guilty, it is clear he would do so. Angelas, of course, does twist the facts in favour of the poor farmer's daughter; but only because she is a round-head, and it is equally clear that Angelas could in fact have arraigned Callas (he does sentence Frau Cornamontis), and that in another case only the poor man would have been found guilty. Angelas' ideology stands above class-differences. The ultimate message of the scene, then, is that for the struggling, oppressed classes any recourse to legal means is doomed to failure.

f) Isabella's plea and Angelo's proposition: Scene Seven

The second and fourth scenes of Act Two in MaB für MaB, which contain Isabella's plea and Angelo's proposition respectively, are the most crucial in the entire play. In contrast to those scenes following the climax in III;i, II;ii and II;iv, though dramatically effective, are notable mainly for their thematic contribution. Together forming what may be termed the trial of Claudio, they present a multiplicity of reflections upon the theme of law and mercy, with application both to the ruler (Angelo) and to the private individual (Isabella). According to the plans of the Vienna-version, Brecht intended to retain both scenes; only the first is extant, however. Although Brecht removed most of the lyrical passages and generally made Isabella's language and the tone of the scene more prosaic, the scene itself preserves its Shakespearean character. In BBA 253 Brecht has reduced and amalgamated these two large

scenes, comprising 374 lines; they now form a small part (64 lines, or barely more than a third) of Scene Seven. Of MaB für MaB there remain only two, slightly altered lines ("Ein Laster gibts, das ich vor allem hasse/dem ich gerechte Strafe vor allem wünsche"(253/50);"Es gibt ein Laster, mir verhaßt vor allen,/Dem ich vor allen harte Strafe wünsche" (MaB für MaB,II;ii,31-32).

Isabella's plea consists solely of the first argument proffered by her Shakespearean counterpart:

"...Ich bitt nicht um ein Recht.  
 Ich bitt um meinen Bruder, und der ist  
 im Unrecht, wie Ihr sagt!...  
 ...  
 Für ihn bitt ich um Gnade: er ist schuld!"(253/50-51)<sup>20</sup>

Condemn the crime, but not the criminal! In MaB für MaB this request had instigated the lengthy debate between Isabella and Angelo, but it was by no means strong enough to soften the harsh Angelo. In BBA 253, though, this pathetic, unselfish and loving appeal occasions immediately what appears to be a proposition:

"...Das wär  
 als ob jetzt ich, der Tschuch, an Sie, die Tschichin  
 denns wär doch möglich, dass Sie mir gefielen  
 ich sag nur, möglich wärs, denn Sie sind jung  
 dies sag ich nicht als müssige Schmeichelei  
 das wär, als ob ich jetzt an Sie heranträt  
 mit dem Antrag, Sie sollten diese Nacht  
 ganz plötzlich, also ohne Ueberleitung  
 so, wie Sie sind, in dieses Zimmer kommen  
 Zu mir, dem Tschuchen, der so seine Macht  
 ausnützte, die er hat, denn nicht, ich habe sie?  
 Ich kann den Bruder Ihnen nehmen und nicht.  
 Aber wär das Recht? Ich frag Sie?"(253/51)

Angelas is not as direct as his Shakespearean counterpart ("Ich sag es frei und klar, ich liebe dich."(MaB für MaB, II;iv,141)); not only for the student of Shakespeare, however, familiar with a similar suggestion made by an aroused Angelo -

"Nehmt an, kein Mittel gäb's, ihn zu erretten  
 (Zwar nicht verbürg ich dieses, noch ein andres,  
 Und setze nur den Fall), Ihr, seine Schwester,

Würdet begehrt von einem Mächtigen,  
 des hoher Rang und Einfluß auf den Richter  
 Den Bruder könnt' erlösen aus den Fesseln  
 Allbindender Gesetze; und es gäbe  
 Den einz'gen Ausweg nur, ihn zu befreien,  
 Daß Ihr den Reichtum Eurer Schönheit schenktet  
 Dem Mächtigen, wo nicht, stürb' Euer Bruder; -  
 Was tötet Ihr?"(MaB für MaB,II;iv,88-98)

- but also, and more importantly, in the eyes of Calausa and his fellow inmates, Angelas, though couching his "offer" in hypothetical terms, has in effect invited Isabella to share his bed. This is perhaps confirmed by Angelas' final comment to Isabella, in which he reflects how just it would be if Isabella had to sacrifice herself in the same manner as Judith:

"Und dabei wärs noch  
 nicht mal so ungerecht, wenn Du jetzt für den  
 Verwandten aufgeopfert würdest, denn ich erinnere mich  
 dass jene Tschuchin sich für ihre Leute  
 hingab! ..." (253/51)

But Brecht, unlike Shakespeare, has ensured that Angelas' statement to Isabella only suffices to raise doubts in the minds of some (the Abbot and Calausa) about the deputy's moral fibre<sup>21</sup>, and so to give them renewed hope, which expresses itself in Calausa's insistence that Isabella go to Angelas. In a play concerned with the problem of racial justice in the class-society, the meeting between Isabella and Angelas is no longer thematically important, but merely serves a pragmatic purpose.

In MaB für MaB the meetings between the novice and the deputy are enclosed by material expressing Angelo's inner condition (the monologues), which is a central determining factor of Claudio's fate. In the Vienna-version the political environment - Angeler's threatened dismissal of Eskaler - disturbs this individualistic, spiritual tendency. This politicization occurs far more extensively in BBA 253 as the racial question, the struggle against the "Black Flag" farmers and the problem of the salt-tax are introduced by Callas and his daughter, the Mother Superior, the rich landlords and Eskahler.

In Scene Four Angelas passes his fateful verdict on the landlord Calausa and therewith encourages Callas to expropriate the horses he needs for a living. The tenant-farmer cannot distinguish between the claims of race and private property, and in his ignorance wants Angelas to legalize and justify from a racial viewpoint a deed committed in the class struggle:

"Ich werde ihm schon ein Licht aufstecken, wie seine Befehle durchgeführt werden. Er wird schon sagen, ob ein Tschiche das Recht hat, einem Tschuchen die Gäule wegzunehmen, die er zum Ackern braucht."(253/48)

The inevitable failure of his plan to receive Angelas' blessing is presaged by the Mother Superior:

"AEBTISSIN :... Sie bilden sich wohl etwas darauf ein, dass Ihr Kopf rund ist. Sie meinen, dann brauchen Sie nichts mehr zu zahlen? Wissen Sie, an wen Sie zahlen werden?

DER PAECHTER  
CALLAS

:An Tschichen nicht.

DIE OBERIN NIMMT SEINE HAND UND LEGT SIE SICH AUF DEN KOPF

JUDITH :Was meinen Sie damit?  
OBERIN :Das eben werden Sie sehen. Jedenfalls sind unsere Köpfe auch rund."(253/48-49)

The fusion of class and race issues typical for Callas' outlook is emulated by Angelas' men, who attack not only Herr Schunirello, the racial enemy and landlord, but also two of his landlord friends (who are "Tschuchen"):

"Kaltblütige Schandtät! Ungeheuerliche Meldung! Soeben wurd auf offener Strasse Herr Schunirello schändlich angefallen er liegt im Krankenhaus. Mit ihm zwei weitere Pachtherrn und angefallen nur, weil sie anständig angezogen. Diese zwei sind Tschuchen! Schuld dran sind solche Fälle wie der Calausa-Fall!"(253/52)

This general misinterpretation of the racial condemnation of Calausa is a new determinant of Calausa's fate.

Having expressed their anger to Eskahler at the attack on Schunirello, the landlords comfort Isabella:

"Seien Sie völlig beruhigt, Fräulein Calausa, die Sache Ihres Bruders wird in Ordnung gebracht. Die Lage im Süden spitzt sich so zu, dass die Tschichenverfolgungen aufhören müssen."(253/52)

The battle against the tenant-farmers being waged by the troops of Angelas is another factor to be considered in the landlord's case. Angelas' racial ideology - which, as Scene Two shows, unites a people normally divided by the class-conflict - is viewed by the landlords as a temporary measure for suppressing the revolution. With the collapse of the uprising the class-society will be restored (and Calausa pardoned). In the scene, though, the landlords do not sense the contradiction between their demand for the release of Calausa - which means the breakdown of the race-system - and the necessity for the battle in the South of his continued incarceration - which sustains the people's belief in Angelas.

A further element significant here is the urgent need of financial aid, not only for the payment of the civil servants, but also to re-equip the Angelas troops.

The case of Emanuele Calausa, decided in MaB für MaB by the clash of two individuals and their effect on one another, is thus placed by Brecht in a broad socio-political context, against the background of which the focal interview between Isabella and Angelas seems trivial.

g) Meeting of brother and sister: Scene Ten and Scene Ten b

In MaB für MaB the equivalent of these two scenes (III;i) contains the moral disputation on private ethical behaviour - what are the consequences for Isabella if she agrees to Angelo's proposition (eternal damnation?), would her sin be outweighed morally by the sacrifice she would commit for her brother? - which is of thematic importance for the drama. Brecht's

two scenes are much shorter and simpler, firstly, because this question plays no role in BBA 253: the only dispute which takes place concerns whether Angelas' statement constitutes a proposition or an example<sup>22</sup>. The brevity of Brecht's version is further accountable to the ambiguity of Angelas' remarks: whereas in MaB für MaB Isabella had deliberately avoided telling Claudio of the proposition so that she could first prepare him for death and also explain, indirectly, the moral consequences of her sleeping with Angelo, in BBA 253 Isabella is so confident that Angelas has made no immoral offer that she does not hesitate to repeat his exact words almost immediately. Lastly, the scenes are simplified not only by the customary removal of lyrical passages (of which the Duke's or Claudio's speech on death is typical), but also by alterations in character: Isabella reveals no depth of thought on the moral consequences of a forfeiture of her chastity, and Calausa lacks the sense of honour which compels Claudio to show understanding for his sister's dilemma. In BBA 253 Isabella simply refuses to do her brother's bidding, and Calausa, unlike Claudio, is equally adamant that he will die neither on his sister's, nor on Judith's, behalf. The meeting of brother and sister concludes when the Mother Superior and the lawyers beg Isabella to help them because they had tried to help Calausa:

"Wir haben zugehört. Auch wir glauben, dass es ein Antrag ist und kein Beispiel. Und auch uns, die ja für Ihren Bruder ins Unglück gekommen sind, würde geholfen sein, wenn Sie es täten."(253/94)

Isabella had shown concern for her brother's fellow inmates at the beginning of the scene - "Mein Bruder wird gehenkt, zweimal zum Tod/verurteilt; die ihm halfen sind im Kerker./Sie waren hohen Stands. Sie halfen aus Güte." (253/89) - and it is perhaps the fact that they were prepared to sacrifice themselves for Calausa (not for any philanthropic reasons, as Isabella surmises, but for money) which supplies the motivation for Isabella's change of mind and subsequent visit to Judith Callas.

Scene Ten, which is set in a street at the entrance to the prison<sup>23</sup>, is comparable to the passage at the end of III;i in MaB für MaB in which the Duke and Isabella discuss Angelo's evil deed. The Duke, cognizant of Angelo's immorality, solves Isabella's dilemma with his suggestion of the Mariana substitution. In BBA 253, however, the Abbot, the Duke's modern counterpart, although he cannot be certain what Angelas intends, senses only the "human, all-too-human" possibilities - more Brechtian criticism of the Church's worldliness - of the deputy's statement to Isabella:

"Daß a l l e s aus ist, scheint mir nicht. Ich sagte:  
 an einem Haar hängt's! Schau! Aus all dem Wirbel  
 tauchte heut nacht in mir - ich schlafe schlecht -  
 ein Wort auf, das Herr Angelas gesprochen  
 bei Deiner Fürbitte um des Bruders Leben.  
 Drin lag, so schien mir's heut nacht, ein Schimmer  
 von Möglichem, nicht Ausgesprochenem  
 in kaltem Rechtssinn etwas Menschliches  
 ein Strohalm schien mir's, den er Dir da zuwarf  
 denn jetzt ist Menschlichkeit die einzige Hoffnung  
 denn Menschlichkeit, darunter ist, das wird Dir,  
 da Du sehr jung bist, nicht geläufig sein  
 etwas Zwiefältiges zu verstehn; einerseits  
 etwas ganz Hohes, denk an Gnade, Kind  
 und andererseits etwas, das so herauskommt  
 wenn man sagt: menschlich - allzumenschlich."(253/89)

In contrast to the Duke, who attempts to combat Angelo's immorality, the Abbot views Angelo's possible hypocrisy positively, as a ray of hope, not as a calamity. Throughout the play it can be seen that the human element cynically referred to by the Abbot ("sich wendend an die Schwäche/ward keiner noch enttäuscht. Wer drauf baut/der baut auf Felsengrund."(253/89)) is a strong determining factor in, for instance, Peruvian legal practice: the chief judge, for example, has a weakness for fish, and with the prospect of a fish-dinner (donated by the defendant) he swiftly forgets any objective, impartial criteria of judgement. The encounter between Isabella and her brother ends with the Abbot's imprisonment for atheism: thus Brecht ensures that the Abbot, a mouthpiece of ruling-class ideology, will be tried by the poor-court and, subsequently,

by the viceroy. The assurance given by the Duke of Vienna in MaB für MaB that Angelo is simply testing Isabella's virtue -

"... Angelo hatte nie die Absicht, sie zu verführen;  
er hat nur einen Versuch auf ihre Tugend gemacht,  
um sein Urteil über das menschliche Gemüt zu  
schärfen ..."(MaB für MaB, III;i,163-166)

- is echoed, albeit with a racial accent, in Scene Ten b by the Mother Superior and her confederates:

"Sicher will er nur den Nachweis führen,  
dass Tschichinnen nicht keusch sein können,  
wenn es um ihren Vorteil geht."(253/94)

h) The substitutions of Isabella and Claudio: Scene Eleven and Scene Thirteen

In MaB für MaB Mariana agrees to take Isabella's place in the deputy's bed because she is in love with him. In the Vienna-version, in which the substitution scene is staged, Brecht attacks this idealistic construction by showing that only the promise of financial reward suffices to procure the services of a substitute: the prostitute usurps the loving bride-to-be. Brecht's intention was to demonstrate through the figure of Frau Ueberley ("Ja! Ich wünscht' nur, Ihr Herr Chef könnt' einmal zusehen - lieber Freund, wie's in der Wirklichkeit zugeht!"(268/23)) the truth about reality ignored by Angeler. The playwright has the same intention in BBA 253: to reveal the ineffectiveness of idealism. The opposing factions, however, are not Brechtian materialism and Shakespearean morality, but class-differentiation and racial discrimination.

As in the Vienna-version it is a private business-arrangement, not the intervention of an omniscient, wise demi-god (the Duke), which determines the nature of both substitutions. Isabella, resolved to submit to Angelas' proposition, visits Frau Cornamontis' brothel, seeking reliable information on such matters as, for instance, how she should behave towards Angelas or how pregnancy can be avoided. Judith, whom she

approaches at first, refers her to Frau Cornamontis, who explains that Isabella's social standing and wealth mean that she does not have to suffer the indignity suggested by Angelas:

"ISABELLA :So gibt es nichts, was dagegen spräche,  
dass ich diesen Kelch leere.  
FRAU CORNA-  
MONTIS :Nichts

STILLE

FRAU CORNA-  
MONTIS :Doch, etwas.  
ISABELLA :Und dies wäre? Sprechen Sie! Oh, sprechen Sie!  
FRAU CORNA-  
MONTIS :Ihr Geld, meine Liebe! Das spricht sogar sehr  
dagegen. Warum sollten Sie, in Ihrer Stellung,  
sich etwas vergeben? Warum das Geringste tun,  
wozu Sie keine Neigung verspüren?"(253/98)24

Like his sister Isabella, Emanuele Calausa is also the victim of racial justice. Just as Angelas implies that it would be just for the "Tschichin" Isabella to be submitted to the same degrading treatment as the "Tschuchin" Judith, so too the "Tschiche" Calausa is sentenced to death for seducing a "Tschuchin". Racial justice is thwarted again, though, for Calausa is not only a "Tschiche", but also a landlord: hence his tenant-farmer, whose daughter Judith agrees to be Isabella's substitute, is willing to act as his substitute. Class-differentiation, therefore, takes precedence over racial discrimination - the victims of the class-structure (victims in the racial altercation) will attempt to liberate the victims of the racial altercation (the stalwart overlords of the class-structure) - and the social conditions existing before the rule of Angelas are re-established.

This circular movement of the play is emphasized by Brecht in the financial arrangements agreed upon by the two parties. Isabella is prepared to pay 100 pesetas to Frau Cornamontis, who in turn will reimburse Judith for her task of freeing the landlord. Calausa, represented by the lawyer, will release Callas from the payment of the rent for one year. The poor appear to have profited from the substitutions; but the movement of funds describes

in reality a circle, a veritable *circulus vitiosus*, because the money transferred from the Calausa coffers into Judith's purse originated in her father's labour - Callas, in other words, is paying his daughter to free his landlord. The abolition of a year's rent is thus an illusion: Callas himself pays for the privilege of climbing the scaffold on his landlord's behalf! In this way Brecht proves not only that the infrastructure is primary, but also that it is highly contradictory.

In MaB für MaB it may be said with justification that the person of the substitute is not important. Mariana, admittedly, is an obvious choice because of her liaison with Angelo, but for the general purposes of the Duke's plan (to save Claudio's life, reveal Angelo's hypocrisy and preserve Isabella's chastity) any well-disguised female would be adequate; it is equally of no consequence who replaces Claudio (according to the Duke, Ragozine's death is "ein Glücksfall"). But in BBA 253 it is of the utmost significance that precisely Judith and her father accept the tasks of substitution: Brecht thereby integrates the motif of substitution, in MaB für MaB of predominantly pragmatic status, fully into the thematic parameters of his play.

In the Vienna-version Frau Ueberley and Marianne intercept Isabella just before she enters Angelo's house and they hurriedly deceive her into relinquishing the necessary clothing. In BBA 253 it is noteworthy that the disguising of the substitute becomes more important and graphically demonstrates the central thesis of the play. In the course of Scene Eleven Judith Callas is made to dress, move, think, speak and even smell like Isabella Calausa. When all these preparations have been completed, Frau Cornamontis realizes that racially the two are still distinguishable:

"FRAU CORNA-  
MONTIS :Um Gotteswillen, wir haben das Wichtigste  
vergessen!  
ALBERT :Was?  
FRAU CORNA-  
MONTIS :Sie ist eine Tschuchin! Sie hat einen runden  
Kopf!"(243/102)

Judith's hair is quickly **dressed** so that she appears to have a pointed head. The brothel-mistress declares:

"Soviel Euch jetzt noch unterscheiden mag, Eure Stellung und Eure Vermögenslage: der Kopf ist der nämliche!"(253/103)

The proceedings of the scene and of the play make it clear, however, that the possession of either a pointed or a round head is of importance only to ideologues like Tomaso Angelas. In reality human beings are not divided by the shape of the nose or the colour of the skin, but by the unequal distribution of wealth. As in Mann ist Mann, which involves a similar case of substitution or transformation, an entirely new individual is created, but this no longer means that a new life can begin or social barriers be crossed. Judith deceives her own family as they eat their soup on the doorstep (when she appears, the children beg for dispensation from the rent). She lifts the veil to show them her face and her "Ich erlasse sie!" ironically underlines her true powerlessness. The scene itself also serves to "unveil" the essential irreality of racial differences.

This is the implication of Frau Cornamontis' long philosophical speech about the individuals who pay her so that they can escape into an unreal world:

"So verkehrt bei uns zweimal die Woche einer der obersten und grausamsten Richter, der von einem meiner Mädchen folgendes verlangt: sie hat ihm einen Teller mit rohem Fleisch auf einen Schemel zu stellen und ihn für kurze Zeit allein zu lassen. Er selbst, in diesen Minuten überzeugt, ein Hund zu sein, der an unstillbarem Hunger leidet, pflegt sodann sich dieses Fleisch auf allen Vieren kriechend durch ein Schnappen anzueignen. In diesem Augenblick kehrt das Mädchen zurück und züchtigt ihn, durch diesen Mundraub erzürnt."(253/100)

She views this perversion as a reflection of the confused social circumstances of the time -

"In Wirklichkeit ist es...eine merkwürdige Spiegelung der äusseren Umstände, die in unserer Zeit in eine besondere Verwirrung geraten sind."(253/100)

- and concludes:

"Leider begnügen sich die Menschen allzu leicht mit dem Schein."(253/100)

Significantly, at this very moment an angry, stone-throwing crowd approaches her old establishment and condemns its racially impure activities ("Da ist dieses Haus, in dem sie ein tschuchisches Mädchen festgehalten haben. Sie wurde an reiche Tschichen verkauft."(253/100)). The message becomes clear: in a time of perverted, contradictory social conditions (such as those visible in the play and particularly in the substitutions), there is a tendency to seek escape in irreality - and the concept of race to which people adhere is no less a fantasy than the judge's transformation of himself into a dog. Like the judge, the people (Callas) who succumb to delusion must eventually "pay for" their mistake.

i) The return of the viceroy: Scene Fourteen

Although its text is completely dissimilar to that of the original, the final scene of BBA 253 is more obviously modelled on the last act of MaB für MaB than the Vienna-version, which, possibly because it is not extant in its entirety, lacks the disguise motif, the strict "measure for measure" theme and the small passage at the end in which the Duke expresses his thanks to his servants<sup>25</sup>. On the other hand, though, the various marriages so important in MaB für MaB are contained in the Vienna-version, but not in BBA 253. Common to all three texts is the trial nature of the last scene, and the necessity to re-establish the order disturbed by Angelo/Angeler/Angelas. A non-Shakespearean motif introduced in the Vienna-version, the meal at the breakfast-table, is enlarged in BBA 253, and the Duke's final speech, which in the Vienna-version summarizes the thematic tendency of the action, is, significantly, of an open-ended nature in the first completed version of the adaptation.

Just as Angelas and Eskahler are reflecting on the dilemma posed by Calausa, the rich landlords enter the palace and declare that the deputy has now fulfilled his purpose - the salt-tax is secure - but that his insistence on the death of Calausa threatens the payment of the rent, a state of affairs noted by Eskahler at the beginning of the scene:

"Herr, hartnäckig hält im Land das Gerücht  
dieser Calausa wird gehängt jetzt wegen  
Pachtwucher. Diese Körbe hier enthalten  
zehntausend Anzeigen allzu hoher Pacht.  
Auf keinem Gut, drauf tschichische Pachtherrn sitzen  
wurd Zins bezahlt an diesem Ersten! Und auch  
auf den Gütern, die an diese grenzen  
und wo ja auch die Pacht nicht niederer ist  
wird auch den tschuchischen Pachtherrn  
die Pacht verweigert."(253/120)

The only solution is the pardon of Calausa, but Angelas confirms his guilt and therewith his execution. At this point the viceroy, who, like the Duke of Vienna in MaB für MaB, has disguised himself in order to trap Angelas, reveals his true identity and resumes his government of the state. In the Vienna-version Angeler is reprimanded because he has been too rigorous in his application of the law (not for hypocrisy); the viceroy of Peru rebukes Angelas for the same reason:

"Ja, schuldig wohl. (ER NIMMT DIE KAPPE AB)  
Doch sollen wir uns wirklich  
aufhängen drum?"(253/124)

Angelas has attempted to enforce racial laws or what he believes to be objective, impartial justice; the viceroy demonstrates that society and its legislative system function according to different criteria - Judith has acted as Isabella's substitute and Callas as Calausa's. For the same reason that the poor people are prepared to take the place of the rich - money - the viceroy must overrule Angelas: the state needs the revenue being withheld by the tenant-farmers. In contrast to the ending of MaB für MaB, which suggests that a new form of judicial enquiry will be undertaken in future, the final scene of Brecht's play represents a return to the starting-point, to the kind of society which existed

before Angelas came to power. This is indicated not only by textual repetition - the interchange between Eskahler and Angelas ("ESKAHLER: Wer könnt ihn uns jetzt freigeben?/ANGELAS:Ich kanns nicht."(253/122)) recalls similar statements by Eskahler and the viceroy in Scene One<sup>26</sup> - but also by the viceroy's reversal of the verdicts passed by Angelas and the poor-court.

In the Vienna-version the Herzog issues his verdicts from the breakfast table. He states that those who wish to eat cannot afford to be too scrupulous - the presence of the block and axe should suffice to cool any moral ardour (such as that displayed by Angeler or von Klausner, who is enraged that von Schaum the adulterer should be allowed to sit at the same table as his wife). A similar image is employed by the viceroy of Peru:

"Jetzt aber denkt Euch über diesen Esstisch  
ein Schwert gehängt an einem dünnen Haar.  
Vor solchem Essen unter solchem Messer  
sei keiner allzu wählerisch in Bezug  
auf seinen Nachbarn."(263/127)

As in the Vienna-version, moral considerations are by no means absolute. In contrast to the Vienna-version, though, in which all social strata sit together at the table, in BBA 253 only the rich partake of the meal; Calausa eats, while Callas brings the food to the table:

"Sie leben beide, doch zum Essen setzt sich der  
und der geht weg, und schafft das Essen her."(253/128)

In Vienna moral relativism is (polemically) propagated as a philosophy for general usage; in Peru it typifies the outlook of the ruling-class (and of its class-opponent, the poor; only the lower middle-class, from which Angelas comes, concerns itself with concepts of objective justice). When the viceroy calls the court-hearing of Callas and Calausa to order in the following way -

"...Auf, zu Tisch!  
Denn wir sind Essende, das heisst am Ende  
wünschen wir doch zum Essen uns zu setzen.  
Und dies begrenzt uns manche Ueberlegung!"(253/127)

- his intention is obvious: the viceroy is a consumer of food, that is, a member of the ruling-class and this allegiance will determine his judicial thinking and practice. The viceroy wants to preserve the class-structure:

"Doch bleibe jeder, der es war, ein Esser!"(253/127)

On this background the viceroy's application of "measure for measure" in the trial of landlord and tenant is nothing more than empty formalism, the semblance of objective justice<sup>27</sup>. Justice and "eating" are incompatible:

"Aber jetzt bitt ich  
mir aus, dass dieses viele Reden von  
Gerechtigkeit aufs rechte Mass gebracht wird.  
Ists doch nicht schicklich, solche hohe Worte  
zugleich mit Beefsteaks in den Mund zu nehmen."(253/128)

The viceroy concludes the scene with a speech in which, despite the apparent stability of the class-system, he envisages the possibility that it is not as eternal as the natural phenomenon to which it is compared:

"Vielleicht fällt Regen doch von unten nach oben!"(253/132)

This ultimate post-prandial reflection, not uncharacteristic of the whimsical viceroy, is clearly aimed by the playwright Brecht - it is noteworthy that the viceroy's guests have begun to smoke - at his audience, the victims of the structure protected by the viceroy. The image of falling rain, found elsewhere in the play<sup>28</sup>, is thought-provoking: rain, of course, cannot defy gravity, according to natural law it must fall towards the earth - which implies that the social structure is equally eternal, unchanging and unchangeable. The idea of rain falling upwards is ridiculous. But, the dialectically aware spectator will ask, is it not conceivable that this image cannot be applied to the class-society? Is the class-society a natural phenomenon or a product of man? If the latter is true, then the class-society, man's creation, can be re-created by man. The tactics necessary to effect a re-creation, social change, which would consist in the abolition of exploitation of the many by the few, are contained in the play itself, and the hindrances produced by the ruling-class (the question of race) clearly indicated.

### 3.3.3. New Material

The non-Shakespearean material included by Brecht in BBA 253 comprises Callas' betrayal of Perez and the tenant-farmer cause (Scene Three), his encounter with the grain-merchant (Scene Six) and subsequent visit to the coffee-house (Scene Six b), the second trial (Scene Eight), Callas' misfortunes at the salt-depot (Scene Twelve) and the poor-court (Scene Thirteen).

#### Analysis

##### a) Callas' betrayal of his class-ally Perez; Scene Three

As in MaB für MaB, Scenes One and Two of BBA 253 show the governmental decision to appoint a deputy and the effect of the early part of his rule on the populace. In Scene Two representatives of various social levels express their opinion: the middle-class, the lower middle-class and the civil bureaucracy. In Scene Three of BBA 253 a further social element, which plays a minor part in the Vienna-version (the Meixners' intervention in the convent-scene), is introduced: the savagely exploited lower-class - the insertion of this scene and of the entire tenant-farmer complex obliterates the previously clear, Shakespearean plot-outline and profoundly changes the play's socio-political message.

Callas and Perez, both tenant-farmers, have resolved to fight with the revolutionary army of the "Black Flag" against the system oppressing them:

"In dieser furchtbaren Lage, in der sich alle befinden, haben die Pächter Perus sich in heimlichen und in letzter Zeit sogar offenen Versammlungen zusammengetan. Sie haben sich gegenseitig verpflichtet, am ersten des folgenden Monats keinerlei Pachtzins mehr zu zahlen."

(253/17)

Just as they confirm their solidarity by joining hands, the village bells toll, and the news of the landlord Calausa's imprisonment arrives.

Although Frau Callas discovers that Calausa has been indicted for a racial offense - not for rent-racketeering, as had been assumed at first ("... ich glaube, wir brauchen nicht nach dem warum zu fragen, weil das klar ist. Der Grund ist Pachtwucher."(253/18))- her husband Callas decides to support the racist Angelas simply because he appears to govern in the personal interests of the tenant-farmer:

"genug, perez, ich habe keinen grund, an dieser regierung zu zweifeln. sie ist erst 5 stunden im amt, und mein pachtherr ist schon verhaftet."(253/19)

Although he has no conception of the true nature of Angelas' philosophy and in spite of Perez' warning ("...Du wirst Dich täuschen. Niemals habe ich gehört, dass von diesen Leuten jemand etwas herschenkt um der Form eines Kopfes willen."(253/20)), Callas acquiesces in his racial division of the population. His betrayal, the consequence of a wholly inadequate political awareness, consists in his refusal to allow Perez to take refuge in his house during the worst period of racial persecution, and in his broken oath of allegiance to the "Black Flag". In contrast to the petty misdemeanour of the fat Frau Tomaso, who betrays a class-ally (the corn-merchant) for the same reason as Callas, the tenant-farmer's desertion of his confederates and advocacy of their bitter enemy, the Angelas regime, constitute a crime of considerable proportions because the "Black Flag" is the only instrument of social improvement in Peru<sup>29</sup>. In essence, then, by weakening the unified class-front ("Unsere Abgaben waren gleich, unsere Ansichten waren auch gleich."(253/20)) in favour of the race-struggle, Callas commits a crime against humanity.

b)Callas' dispute with the grain-merchant: Scene Six

In the trial presided over by Tomaso Angelas (Scene Four), the peak-headed Calausa is sentenced to death for seducing the round-headed Judith, but the material demands made by the tenant-farmer (the abolition of the rent) are not fulfilled. Consequently Callas expropriates the horses belonging

to his landlord: at the convent (Scene Five) the nun reports that Callas had espied the horses, insisted they were his and that they were needed for ploughing his fields. In Scene Six, however, he declares that his intention is to open a haulage-firm:

"... Und jetzt mache ich ein Fuhrgeschäft auf.  
Zwei Gäule, das ist doch etwas anderes  
als so ein Boden, aus dem nichts herauskommt ..."  
(253/38)

He betrays the cause of his class-confederates, then nurtures the plan of improving his own existence by joining the ranks of the small business-people, the petite-bourgeoisie. Neither revolutionary nor reformist, the traitor Callas is a selfish opportunist who, like the petit-bourgeois he aspires to be, mouths idealistic slogans in the service of a vulgar materialism. The family "honour" restored by Angelas could not satisfy the tenant-farmer.

In a recent article Siegfried Mews provides an excellent description of the relationship between Brecht's Die Rundköpfe und die Spitzköpfe and Heinrich von Kleist's Michael Kohlhaas (1810)<sup>30</sup>; but his analysis is based only on the published versions of Brecht's drama and does not take account of any unpublished archives material. In BBA 253, the scene in which Callas approaches the grain-merchant not only confirms Mews' conclusions ("Callas ... als inkonsequenter und kompromißbereiter Anti-Kohlhaas ..." <sup>31</sup>), but complements his discussion of the links between the two works.

Mews refers to the scene in Michael Kohlhaas in which the inspection of the horses occurs and cites the corresponding passage in Scene Six of the final version of Die Rundköpfe und die Spitzköpfe:

"Callas' wiederholte Aufforderung an Herrn Callamassi, seine neu erworbenen Pferde in Augenschein zu nehmen, ruft die "Okular-Inspektion"...ins Gedächtnis, die Kohlhaas zur Identifizierung seiner herunter-gekommenen Pferde vornehmen muß..."<sup>32</sup>

This inspection takes place in BBA 253 also; not in Scene Six b (the coffee-house scene) of the play, however, in which Callas simply states that the gentlemen should look at the horses (they do not), but in the grain-merchant scene:

"CALLAS:Die Pferde stehen draussen, sehen Sie  
sie an, meine Herren. Meine Tochter  
hält sie.

DIE MAENNER GEHEN HINAUS, SICH DIE  
GAEULE ANZUSCHAUEN"(253/38)

In contrast to the horses Kohlhaas must view, the animals being guarded by Judith are in excellent condition("Es sind wirklich zwei ausgezeichnete Pferde und sehr gut gehalten."(253/39)), but later in the play, unfed and neglected, they have been reduced to emaciated, sickly specimens:

"ANGELAS:Man sagte mir, die Pferde sehen schlecht  
aus  
sie sein im Regen gestanden eine Nacht lang  
und weil Du ihnen nichts zu fressen gabst  
sieht man die Rippen jetzt durch ihre Haut,  
Freund!"(253/80)

This corresponds to the physical decline of the horses stolen from Kohlhaas by Junker Wenzel von Tronka<sup>33</sup>. In contrast, again, to the strong, healthy horses which symbolize the triumph of justice ("die 'von Wohlsein glänzenden' Pferde...als dingsymbolische Verkörperung der triumphierenden Gerechtigkeit"<sup>34</sup>) at the conclusion of Michael Kohlhaas, Callas' wretched beasts represent the collapse of hopes based on an illusory justice, or the unproductive methods employed by the tenant-farmer.

Lastly, the oats motif ("Hafer") is also paralleled in Michael Kohlhaas. In the scene in which Kohlhaas approaches Martin Luther for assistance - a scene of particular interest to Brecht, as Mews notes<sup>35</sup> - the latter observes that Kohlhaas would have been better advised to forgive the Junker and return home with the horses, which he could then have restored to good health. The horse-trader retorts:

"...kann sein!...kann sein, auch nicht! Hätte  
ich gewußt, daß ich sie mit Blut aus dem  
Herzen meiner lieben Frau würde auf die

Beine bringen müssen: kann sein, ich hätte  
 getan, wie Ihr gesagt, hochwürdiger Herr,<sup>36</sup>  
 und einen Scheffel Hafer nicht gescheut."

Kohlhaas knows that to follow the reformer's suggestion implies the renunciation of justice and legal rights; he refuses to make any such concessions. His counterpart Callas is prepared to beg for the oats:

"CALLAS :Würden Sie mir ein paar Scheffel  
 Hafer (sic!) für die Gäule geben?  
 HAFER-  
 HAENDLER :Aber gern, Herr Callas.  
 CALLAS :Ich kann aber erst in einigen Tagen  
 bezahlen..."(253/38)

Kohlhaas realizes that the legal rights he seeks can only be gained by continuing the struggle. Callas, on the other hand, suffers under the illusion that justice has already been done. But when he begs for the oats, he is indeed making the compromise with the system rejected by Kohlhaas. Only when Callas has been confronted by the "rights" of private property and the laws of capitalism ("Ich kann doch meinen Hafer nicht herschenken."(253/39)) does he voice (short-lived) revolutionary sentiments:

"Bevor man Euch nicht Euren Hafer auf die  
 Strasse schüttet, dass ihn die haben, die  
 ihn brauchen, wird es nie besser. Euch  
 muss man mit Gewalt kommen."(253/39)

The proletarian must learn that unless the infrastructure has been radically altered, any form of justice is an illusion.<sup>37</sup>

### c) The coffee-house: Scene Six b

The scene serves as a prelude to the second court-case, in which the lawyers appeal against Calausa's death-sentence and Callas seeks official confirmation of his ownership of the horses. One of the rich landlords remarks that Angelas' ruling against Calausa was a cunning move because it divides the tenant-farmers and so weakens the struggle against the ruling-class:

"es ist schlau von diesem angelas, der doch ein grosser staatsmann zu sein scheint, dass er zunächst einmal dem pächter gegen den pachtherrn recht gab. seit diesem spruch sollen viele pächter, die schon drauf und dran waren, sich unter die schwarze fahne zu stellen, sich für die regierung entschieden haben..."(253/41)

In these circumstances a reversal of the verdict might be disadvantageous to the landlords, but they are afraid of the personal consequences of Calausa's imprisonment - the brutal attack and multiple injuries they report to Eskahler in the following scene justify their fear - and so hopeful he will be released:

"Hoffentlich kann bei dem Prozess morgen nichts passieren. Wir können uns sonst ja nicht mehr über die Strasse trauen."(253/42)

Callas' theft of the horses also becomes an important issue, for if Angelas decides in favour of the tenant-farmer, the sanctity of private property will inevitably be violated:

"SCHUNIRELLO :Hoffentlich hat er keinen Anspruch auf diese Pferde.  
ANWALT :Warum?  
EINER DER  
ZWEI ANDEREN  
HERREN :Wenn so etwas durchginge, wäre das Eigentum in Peru keinen Schuss Pulver mehr wert. Man bedenke; der Pächter enteignet seinem Pachtherrn auf der Strasse, und der Staat gibt ihm noch recht! Das ist nichts anderes, als was die Schwarze Fahne fordert."(253/42)

The landlords thus present a united front, both for personal reasons, and, more importantly, in the wider interests of the class to which they belong.

Paradoxically, then, Callas, who expropriated the horses on purely mercenary grounds, has become inextricably involved in the class-struggle; but the entire situation is complicated by the Angelas regime. The militia-men have captured Perez and three other tenant-farmers on their way to join the "Black Flag" revolutionaries. The landlords, of course, applaud this action and buy the Angelas soldiers a round of drinks. Callas, too, whose motivation is purely selfish, complies with the

generally negative consensus of opinion against the tenant-farmers. The class-opponents are thus united in their condemnation of the captives; but whereas the landlords interpret events from a political point of view, Callas' outlook is basically apolitical. The scene shows on the one hand that Callas' position is potentially revolutionary, and on the other hand signals his unqualified adoption of a reactionary, petit-bourgeois consciousness. The Angelas militia-men and the other round-heads acclaim the racist Callas, while the political realists, the landlords and the lawyers, must effect a swift escape.

d) The second trial: Scene Eight

The action of the scene unfolds on two levels: in the foreground Callas seeks the retention of the horses, while the lawyers try to free Calausa, and in the background - behind the "closed doors" of the viceroy's office - the landlords, Eskahler and Angelas deliberate upon the broader socio-political context in which the trial takes place. The *in camera* activities of the ruling-class are not appreciated by the tenant-farmer Callas, although one of the "Black Flag" rebels warns him that his plight is hopeless:

"Bauer, was stehst Du da und mthst Dich ab um  
Recht, das Du nie kriegst hier, sieh sie Dir  
doch an!"(253/61)

This advice is not needed by Callas; his class-counterparts in the theatre-audience, though, are suitably positioned to be able to see what Callas cannot see and why he must fail. The tenant-farmer neither understands Angelas' philosophy, nor is he aware of the issues which effectively determine the course of the trial.

Angelas' race-ideology does stand in a relationship to the material basis - it flourishes in times of economic crisis, for example - but contains no revolutionary plan for altering its structure, the private ownership of property. The philosophy of racial division is thus deeply conservative;

like the viceroy, Callas could have learnt this fact from the newspaper -

"ESKAHLER : Sie lasen die Zeitung  
von gestern abend?...

...

Das Eigentum.....

VIZEKOENIG:(WIE VON DER TARANTEL GESTOCHEN) Was mit dem  
Eigentum?

ESKAHLER :Es soll geschützt werden..."(253/4)

- but he succumbs to the illusion of (social) justice. When the trial concludes with the confirmation of the death-sentence and the imprisonment of the Mother Superior, the lawyer and the chief judge, and Callas instantly inquires about the rent and the horses, he is therefore firmly rebuffed:

"Nicht diese Walze, Bauer! Du, nimm Dich in acht!  
Von allem, was bewegt des Tschuchen Brust  
hast Du begriffen nur, dass Du nicht zahlen musst!  
Jedoch was Feuer gibt, dort gibt es Rauch.  
Das Recht, das oben gilt, gilt unten auch.  
Willst Du da für Deine Ehre Pferde nehmen?  
Als wärs ein guter Tausch! Du sollst Dich schämen!  
Nehmen zu wollen, was Dir nicht gehört."(253/78)

The racist is in reality an`apologist of the established social order.

Rejected by the deputy, Callas analyses what he assumes to have happened without his knowledge:

"Sie haben sich nicht an die Abmachung  
gehalten. Sie haben den Haferhändler zum  
Statthalter gebracht, so dass er wusste,  
die Pferde gehören mir nicht. Hätte ich  
doch geschwiegen im Kaffeehaus! Jetzt habe  
ich die Pferde deswegen verloren!"(253/78)

But he does not realize that the foreground activities of the various participants in the trial are of trifling importance in contrast to occurrences in the larger socio-political sphere - the strike of the civil servants and the battle in the South against the "Black Flag" insurgents. After Herr Schunirello has been attacked by the Angelas militia-men, the rich landlords approach Angelas, seeking a pardon for their confederate Calausa in the hope of avoiding further attacks. Angelas declares that the case will be tried, orders his men placed in custody and then returns

to the trial, while the landlords, reassured by Angelas' action, comfort Isabella. When the trial subsequently develops in Callas' favour, the landlords are enraged and again demand to see Angelas, who announces that the wealthy landlords will not be able to corrupt him:

"Man sagt mir, ein Geschwätz durchlaufe Lima  
dass ich, besessen, aus einem Sumpf von Unrat  
den guten Boden wieder zu gewinnen, vorhätt  
nun halt zu machen vor des Reichtums Macht:  
Man wird sich täuschen! Diese Hand ist rein  
und diese Tasche leer! Und wird leer bleiben!"  
(253/66)

Angelas is on the point of reprimanding the landlords when the news arrives that the "Black Flag" has had considerable success against the Angelas troops. Furthermore, the civil servants have gone on strike because they have not received their salaries from the government. In contradiction of his previous declaration, Angelas is thus obliged to form an alliance with the landlords: he needs their financial resources to pay the civil servants and to strengthen his army in the South, and they are prepared to make the loan because he is combating their class-enemies. Angelas then condemns Calausa and his supporters, not solely because they are corrupt and mendacious, as he proclaims, but also because the people will only pay the salt-tax - required as collateral for the loan from the landlords - if they believe that justice has been done:

"...Der Calausa aber, der  
muss dran glauben, auch die andern drei.  
Damit gerecht erscheint, was jetzt geschieht  
den Leuten, die dies leider tragen müssen."(253/73)

The racial verdict of the first trial is now a planned political manoeuvre. The landlords concede that Calausa's death may be necessary for the purposes of the salt-tax and consequently they ignore Isabella when she seeks information from them which previously they had volunteered. To Isabella the turn of events appears confusing and incomprehensible. But the structural division of the scene into foreground and background action demonstrates to the spectator not that the various occurrences are in fact confusing or incomprehensible, but that a particular viewpoint - one which encompasses

only the insignificant, basically unreal foreground action - is inadequate.

e) The salt-depot: Scene Twelve

The scene begins with a comic interlude which has polemical traits more appropriate to the Vienna-version than to BBA 253. Albert (the viceroy) states that he has concluded the studies obviously forming part of the plan referred to in the first scene of the play ("... Auch verfolgt mich/seit je ein Plan, den ich mir gern ausdächt/und ein Gedanke quält mich, den ich gern/bestätigt sah..."(253/8-9)). The humour of the episode derives from Albert's disappointment that the poor do not understand the art of being poor:

"ALBERT :...Ich habe herausgefunden, dass die einfachen Leute die Kunst, arm zu sein, so wenig verstehen, wie gewisse Neu-reiche die Kunst, reich zu sein. Es fehlt beiden am gleichen: am richtigen Maass. (ZU CALLAS) Sehen Sie, Ihre Kleidung z.B. ist ganz falsch und un-überlegt. Sehen Sie sich meinen Arbeitsanzug an! Das ist der einfachste Stoff, den Sie sich denken können, aber er ist haltbar. Sehen Sie her, wie ich ihn zusammenknüllen kann: er fällt immer wieder in die Fassung zurück. Er ist etwas teurer als der Ihre, aber das ist er wert. (DA IHM CALLAS NICHT ANTWORTET, ZU DEM MANN HINTER IHM) Was haben Sie z.B. für Ihren Anzug bezahlt?"

DER MANN:10 Pesos.

ALBERT :Ja, meiner kommt allerdings auf 180, aber dafür trage ich ihn auch länger. Diesen Anzug habe ich gut und gern ein halbes Jahr. Wie lange tragen Sie Ihren Anzug?

DER MANN:Schon 6, 7 Jahre.

ALBERT :So."(253/105)

Brecht is clearly criticizing or mocking those who, like the viceroy, consider the difference between rich and poor a matter of aesthetics, not one of economics. The poor do not lack money, simply taste! - such prejudices are the means by which real issues are avoided. The clothing-motif occurs elsewhere in BBA 253: in the substitution of Isabella, for

example, when it becomes clear that "clothes do not make the person", and during the first court scene, in which Angelas gives expression to an aesthetic outlook similar to that of the viceroy:

"ANGELAS :Sind das die Kleider, die Sie ihr  
gekauft haben?  
CALLAS :Nein, natürlich nicht.  
ANGELAS :Nicht wahr, das sind nicht die Kleider,  
die Sie, ein einfacher Bauer, der mit  
der schwierigen Hand die Scholle be-  
arbeitet, seiner Tochter kauft.  
CALLAS :Das kann ich gar nicht. Bei der Pacht!!  
ANGELAS :Und Sie würden es auch nicht, wenn Sie  
könnten? Ihrem einfachen und geraden  
Geschmack sind solche Fetzen zuwider."  
(253/28)38

The remainder of the scene reveals that Eskahler's scheme of passing negative verdicts on Calausa and his corrupt associates has been successful: the people queue to buy salt and so to pay the duty required by the ruling-class in its struggle. In a section reminiscent of the discussion in the third scene between Callas and Perez after they have learned of Calausa's arrest<sup>39</sup>, roundheads and peakheads argue about the significance of the Calausa-Callas trial:

"1.TSCHUCHE :Wann wird dieser Calausa gehängt?  
2.TSCHUCHE :Morgen früh um vier.  
TSCHICHE :Oder auch nicht.  
2.TSCHUCHE :Morgen früh um vier, und es ist  
nicht der letzte Tschich.  
TSCHICHE :Niemals hängt der! Und zwar weil  
er Geld hat!  
1.TSCHUCHE :Und was meint Ihr dazu, dass erst  
gestern ein Tschuche recht bekommen  
hat, der kein Geld hat, und zwar  
gegen vier der reichsten Leute der  
Stadt Lima?"(253/105,107)

The attitudes expressed in this scene do not differ from those of either Perez or Callas in Scene Three: the roundheads adhere to Angelas' philosophy, and the peakheads represent an economic viewpoint. Unlike the peakheaded Perez, however, the latter do not, or can no longer, take revolutionary action. The people are completely unaware of the political and economic manoeuvres which determined the outcome of the second trial; nor do they understand the function of the salt-tax. But when the news is

announced that the "Black Flag" insurrection has been crushed - "Der Statthalter lässt bekanntgeben, dass der Aufruhr der Schwarzen Fahnen im Süden des Landes mit Gottes Hilfe blutig niedergeschlagen ist". (253/107) - very few of the gathered people applaud and the majority remains silent ("ZWEI VON DEN ANSTEHENDEN SCHREIEN LAUT: ES LEBE DER STATTHALTER! EINIGE ANDERE SAGEN ES MUERRISCH MIT. ALLE ANDEREN STEHEN SCHWEIGEND"(253/107)). In this way Brecht seems to indicate that they have now realized the implications of their support of the Angelas regime. The bloody defeat has been accomplished not by divine intervention, as Brecht ironically inserts, but by the masses themselves.

f) The poor-court: Scene Thirteen

The concept of a court-hearing in which the poor are the judges appears already in the third plan of the Vienna-version<sup>40</sup>. Although the idea was never realized as part of the Vienna-version, its general tendency, a working-class anti-moralism, is extant in the Vienna-version material, a typical example (from a variant of the shifting-scene) being Frau Meixner's reaction to the news of her landlord von Klausner's arrest and incarceration:

"UEBERLEY :So, der hat etwas im Gefängnis zu tun?  
Den haben sie eingesperrt.  
FRAU  
MEIXNER :Was? Eingesperrt. Das ist doch nicht  
möglich! Weswegen denn?  
UEBERLEY :Er hat einem Mädchen ein Kind gemacht.  
FRAU  
MEIXNER :Und deswegen sperren sie ihn ein?  
(*ganz untröstlich*) Die sind wohl ganz  
verrückt. das ist ja ganz und gar  
lächerlich ... Wegen so einer Kleinig-  
keit kann man doch einen Menschen nicht  
einsperren!!!"(266/39-40)

The trial-scene, which stands in contrast to Scene Eight (the moral verdicts passed by Angelas) and Scene Fourteen (in which the viceroy reverses or inverts the class-interpretation of the poor), is instigated by the viceroy, whose interest has been aroused by the blatant immoralism of the working-class inmates. Like Callas, who in the first court-hearing admits the material gains deriving from Calausa's relationship with Judith,

or indeed like the Abbot who considers human weakness the only safeguard of justice, the poor have a positive attitude towards immorality because it frequently has consequences advantageous to the poor:

"Ich kenne genug Pächter, die froh wären, wenn ihr Pachtherr sich für ihre Tochter interessierte! Sehen Sie, es gibt einen Staatsrat, er heisst Esballas oder so ähnlich, der treibt es mit Minderjährigen. Was glauben Sie, was so ein Mädchen dafür geben würde, auf diese Weise aus den Quecksilberminen herauszukommen!"(253/110)41

The defendants in the trial are not condemned for offences against morality, therefore, but because they have "sinned" against the working-class<sup>42</sup>. Whereas the landlord Calausa has been sentenced to death by Angelas for his seduction of Judith, the poor-court magistrates pardon him on this charge - "Wir möchten ihm die Hurerei verzeihn/dass er nicht von uns wie von Muckern denkt."(253/113) - but pronounce the death-penalty because he has exploited the poor:

"Jedoch er trieb, selbst faul, von Armen  
Pachtzins ein  
dafür wird er, ging es nach uns, gehenkt."  
(253/113)

The court views the Abbot's atheism favourably, but it condemns his hypocrisy in preaching the existence of God, thereby reconciling the poor to their wretched earthly plight (by comforting them with the thought of the after-life) and encouraging counter-revolutionary piety:

"2.INSASSE:Dass er nicht gläubig war, ist doch  
nicht schlimm.  
Hätt ers nur laut gesagt, wär mancher  
gut gefahrn.  
Doch sorgte er, und das verübelt ihm  
dass Andere schlecht fuhrn und gläubig  
warn.  
1.INSASSE:Wir wollen ihm sein Gottlossein verzeihn  
und bitten, dass man ihm dafür noch etwas  
schenkt.  
Doch redete er Armen Frommsein ein.  
Dafür werd er noch rasch vorher gehenkt!"  
(253/113,115)

The Abbot's "crime" is thus his ideological contribution to the security of the ruling-class. The magistrates approve of the chief judge's corrupt dealings - this weakness could mean that an innocent man is pardoned! -

but because he also passes judgement in return for his salary only and according to the laws (which favour the wealthy), because, therefore, he is an acquiescent servant of the ruling-class, he should be executed. The working-class judges have also understood clearly the function performed by the racist Angelas - he has diverted the attention of certain individuals from the class-struggle and so preserved the endangered system:

"Wir wollen ihm sein "Tschich- und Tschuch-"  
verzeihn.  
Doch wenn er damit arme Teufel fängt  
wird hier dies Arm und Reich noch ewig sein  
und dass er das will, dafür werd er gehenkt!"  
(253/114)

The revolutionary tribunal judges, with their rational insight into the functioning of society and their consequent understanding of the only expedient open to the poor (the elimination of the ruling-class) contrast strongly with the figure of Callas who, when the poor-court has concluded, begs his landlord for leniency in the matter of the rent ("Ich ersuch Sie noch einmal, mir in der Pachtfrage entgegen zu kommen."(253/116)). Callas' demands are just, but Calausa enjoys the privileges of his class:

"Dort kämpft der Pachtherr mit dem Knechte.  
Recht hat der Eine und der Andere hat Rechte."(253/116)

The poor-court, in which all previous revolutionary statements are adroitly summarized, demonstrates that in the class-society true justice can only be realized by radical means, not by compromise. There are three modes of justice in BBA 253: racial justice (which Angelas claims is true justice), the class-justice administered by the ruling-class (which serves to protect the ruling-class), and the class-justice advocated by the poor - this approximates most closely to true justice, because the poor seek the abolition of a system which permits the brutal exploitation of the productive masses for the benefit of the unproductive few, a manifestly unjust system. The natural justice cited by the viceroy -

"...Es gibt ein Recht  
das über uns, von Menschen nicht gemacht  
und auch nicht änderbar von Menschen, schwebt  
und dem wir nur genug tun können oder

auch nicht genug tun können: dennoch bleibts!"  
(253/112)

- does not exist. All justice is human justice, created and executed by frail man. But the justice embodied in the poor-court conflicts least with natural justice: it has as its goal the most equitable solution on the widest social scale.

### 3.4. Characterization

The tendency discernible in the Vienna-version towards social classification and the description of socio-economic relationships is far stronger in BBA 253. The *dramatis personae* of Brecht's first adaptation work, still comparable to that of MaB für MaB, has been substantially expanded through the inclusion, not of individuals (Callas is the important exception), but of the agents of socially significant groups. Only a small nucleus of Shakespearean figures remains: Angelas (Angelo), the viceroy (Duke), Eskahler (Escalus), Frau Cornamontis (Mistress Overdone), Isabella, Calausa (Claudio), Inspektor (Elbow) and Judith (Julia and Mariana). Certain Shakespearean figures, the Mother Superior mentioned by Isabella at the conclusion of I;v and the judge (II;i of MaB für MaB and the Vienna-version), have much larger roles in BBA 253.

In BBA 253 approximately 60 different individuals have speaking parts. To facilitate the task of characterization, therefore, the *dramatis personae* have been divided into major figures on the one hand, and into representative groups on the other. According to the number of lines they utter (together considerably more than half of the total number of lines), seven figures distinguish themselves clearly from the others: Angelas (387), the viceroy (312), Callas (275), Eskahler (227), Frau Cornamontis (210), Judith (201) and Isabella (167). It can be seen that Angelas, for instance, has twice as many lines as Isabella, but her designation as a major figure is justified by the fact that Calausa, the next most verbal figure, speaks only 79 lines.

Because there is a multiplicity of figures barely separable on the basis of spoken lines (such as Calausa or the chief lawyer), and because Brecht's class-analysis encourages this methodology, the remaining cast have been discussed in accordance with their social status. The five groupings most adequately encompassing the dramatic personnel of BBA 253 are, therefore, the landlords, the tenant-farmers, the lower middle class (in the discussion of which the middle-class will be considered), the Church and the civil service. Figures such as the lawyers have aligned themselves with the landlords, and there are numerous anonymous individuals expressing either pro-Angelas ("STIMME VON OBEN"; "ANDERE STIMMEN" etc.) or pro-tenant-farmer ("EINIGE ZUSCHAUER"; "STIMME VON DER GALERIE" etc) sentiments; they require no analysis because their outlook is identifiable with that either of the deputy or of the tenant-farmers.

#### Major Figures

##### a) Tomaso Angelas

To understand the figure of Angelas it is first necessary to be familiar with his philosophical outlook. Eskahler remarks to the viceroy that Angelas, according to his published political programme, wants to reform the corrupt public offices, the judicial system and morality, reforms which will lead to a strengthening of the state. But when Angelas employs the term state, he does not imply the class-system; he means rather the particular race which constitutes the people of Peru. He divides the population of the country into two racial groups - the "roundheads" ("Rundköpfe") and the "peakheads" ("Spitzköpfe"). The roundheads are the true, original inhabitants of Peru - "Den einen Stamm, den mit dem platten Kopf/nennt Angelas Tschuch und sagt von ihm, er sei/der Scholl Perus von Anbeginn verwachsen/und guten Bluts."(253/6) - whereas the peakheads are homeless aliens:

"Der andere, am spitzen Kopf erkenntlich  
ist fremdes Element, hat sich ins Land gedrängt  
selbst ohne Heimat..."(253/6)

Each group possesses certain characteristics, which are described throughout the text of BBA 253. Noteworthy for the roundheads are not only honesty and loyalty, but also a sense of responsibility and a total disregard for physical well-being when a (higher, idealistic) goal is at stake ("denn von Natur aus ist der Tschuch bereit/das leibliche Wohl nicht allzu hoch zu setzen/und höher das Ziel...(253/7)). Lastly, and most importantly, the roundhead respects property and believes in the institution of private ownership:

"Das ist des tschuchen innerste natur  
dass ihm das eigentum geheiligt ist  
und lieber hungert er und frettet sich  
eh er, ein lump, von fremdem teller isst  
...  
doch der am fremden gut sich frech vergreift  
und seis an einem hut und einer brotkrust  
den soll man rechtens in der luft zerreißen!  
eh wird nicht ruh, eh dem sein blut nicht floss!  
dies gierige aug, es sei herausgerissen!  
und diese faust, die fremdes gut begehrt  
drein soll man rechtens staub und moder stopfen!"  
(253/69)

These are ideals ignored by the peakheads; they are cunning, materialistic, calculating and inclined to perfidy. As might be expected from a person who places little emphasis on outer distinctions, Angelas does not accept that an individual with a round head is therefore racially pure; he acknowledges that roundheads may be adversely affected by the peakhead spirit. Because Angelas does not restrict his attacks to one section of the populace, his mode of justice might appear preferable to that advocated by the poor-court; it should not be forgotten, however, that he is automatically biased against a large proportion of the populace. But Angelas believes that his racial justice is completely objective and as natural and God-given as the arrangement of the heavenly bodies:

"...Aus sich heraus ist es begründet.  
Die Ordnung der Gestirne hängt davon  
ob sie der Mensch begreift, nicht ab. Sie ist."  
(253/68)

Angelas the idealist imposes a totally abstract interpretation of the world upon the Peruvian class-society. He is unaware of the real, economic roots to the problems with which the land is beset, and subsumes

all phenomena under natural or metaphysical categories. Hence not only the biological-racial cause of the country's decline ("Der tschichische Geist nun ists, nach Angelas, der/an allem Unglück dieses Landes die Schuld trägt." (253/6)), but also the deputy's inability to communicate with the earthy Callas in the first court-hearing (Scene Four), and his condemnation of the Mother Superior, the chief judge and the lawyers, not as socio-political schemers, but because they are naturally mendacious:

"ZUR OBERIN

Nicht Armut wars, die Dich zum Lügen brachte  
nein, nein! Von Anbeginn war diese da  
zur Lügnerin geboren!

ZUM OBERSTEN RICHTER

Und dem Mann war  
das Recht für einen Fisch feil von Natur!

ZUM ANWALT

So wie der Lügen sammelt, weil er Lügner ist!"(253/77)

Angelas' strict adherence to the philosophy outlined here explains not only his apparently dubious manoeuvres in the course of the play, but also his generally uncomfortable relationship with all social strata, in particular with the government, the landlords and the rebellious tenant-farmers. Summoned by the viceroy and asked to take control of Peru and ultimately to impose a salt-tax, Angelas, a political opponent of the government, accepts the task because he thus receives the opportunity to realize his idealistic aspirations, the racial purging of all social sectors. He only decrees the salt-tax, which he has adamantly refused to discuss with an insistent Eskahler, when it becomes necessary to fund his struggle against the "Black Flag" rebels, whom he despises for their peakheaded lack of respect for private property and for their creation of an "artificial" class-schism:

"denn solch ein mensch teilt unser einziges volk  
so in zwei Klassen künstlich kalt berechnend!  
spitzfindig! tschichisch! eh ist nichts getan  
eh nicht in staub die letzteschwarze fahn!"(253/69)

Because his troops are fighting the insurgents, the ruling-class gladly negotiates with the useful Angelas, but he is by no means their willing and compliant servant. Their alliance is most uncordial. When, shortly before the bad news from the front is announced and the strike begins, the landlords insist that Calausa be freed, the racist is quite prepared to imprison them!

"DIE REICHEN

PACHTHERREN :Jetzt aber Schluss, Angelas!  
 Geh hinunter  
 und sprich uns den Calausa  
 schleunigst frei!  
 Und nimm zurück, was Du auf jene  
 häufst  
 die jetzt allein mit uns zusammen  
 diesen  
 Taifun beschwichtigen können, der  
 heraufzieht.

ANGELAS :Niemals! Und Euch verhaft ich! ..."  
 (253/70)

The landlords and Angelas have fundamental differences of opinion about the true rulers of Peru:

"DIE REICHEN

PACHTHERREN :Gib unser Geld zurück!  
 ANGELAS : Was für ein  
 Geld?

DIE REICHEN

PACHTHERREN :Das wir Dir liehen für Dein Heer!  
 ANGELAS : Ihr  
 liehts?  
 Dies Heer von Tschuchen lieh sich  
 selbst sein Geld!  
 Dies tschuchische Heer gehört...

DIE REICHEN

PACHTHERREN : Nun,  
 wem gehörts? .

ANGELAS :Der Nation gehörts!

DIE REICHEN

PACHTHERREN : Und wem gehört  
 die Nation?"(253/67

In the last scene, despite the angry threats of the landlords, Angelas still refuses to pardon Calausa:

"INSPEKTOR :Herr, sollen wir?  
 ANGELAS : Jawohl, der  
 Mensch ist schuldig!"  
 (253/124)43

An exemplary roundhead, Angelas does not compromise his idealism. His acquiescence in the command of the viceroy -

"VIZEKÖNIG :denn jetzt gilts noch so  
 manchen gierigen wunsch  
 in deinen reihn zu dämpfen.  
 die begeisterung  
 die ordnung schaffte selber  
 jetzt zur ordnung  
 zu rufen. dies sei deine  
 fernere aufgab  
 nicht deine schlechteste!  
 und zur verfügung dafür  
 sein posten und ämter vor-  
 gemerkt den fñhrern.  
 nur: ordnung, lieber Freund!

ANGELAS : Jawohl mein fñrst!

VIZEKÖNIG :DROHT MIT DEM FINGER LAECHELND  
 und nicht mehr tschich und  
 tschuch!

ANGELAS : jawohl mein fñrst!

VIZEKÖNIG :TRINKT IHM ZU  
 dank lieber freund!

ANGELAS : ich danke  
 euch, mein fñrst!"  
 (253/132)

- can only be explained by his high estimation of the quality of loyalty:  
 the viceroy is his superior and must be obeyed. Lastly, in contrast to  
 his counterparts in either MaB für MaB or the Vienna-version, Angelas does  
 not fall prey to Isabella's charms. His talk with her is, admittedly,  
 ambiguous, but it is typical of the idealist that he is not aroused by  
 the woman herself, but by the idea that justice would be served if the  
 peakhead Isabella were obliged to demean herself in the same fashion as  
 the roundhead Judith. Angelas thus conceptualizes the concrete, physical  
 situation between man and woman. Consequently he has no intention at all  
 of sleeping with Isabella; although she (Judith) waits in expectation,  
 he simply states:

"Die Schwester dieses Menschen sitzt seit Stunden  
 vor meiner Tür. Sie wär zu viel bereit  
 ganz wie die andere. Das ist ein kleines Entgelt  
 dass die gezwungen wurd, herabzusteigen!"(253/123)

The figure of Angelas in BBA 253 is quite different from either his  
 Shakespearean predecessor or Thomas Angeler. In contrast to the political  
 Angeler of the Vienna-version, he is concerned with justice for its own  
 sake, not as a means for improving a political reputation. Calausa remains  
 condemned because he is guilty, not because a moral sacrifice is needed.

Whereas Angeler hypocritically renounces his moral outlook for financial reasons by imprisoning Frau Ueberley, but not the bankers, Angelas only stoops to economic measures (the salt-tax) for the higher purposes of his idealistic, but reactionary beliefs. Angelas has in fact inherited more traits from von Schwind than from his namesake. The two share not only an unsullied moral reputation, but also an arch-conservative, irrationally-based idealism<sup>44</sup>. Politically common to both is their ardent nationalism. Apart from the more consequential and highly developed racial philosophy to which Angelas adheres, a major modification of BBA 253 is the change in the deputy's social background. Although his profession is not explicitly stated, he is certainly no longer an aristocrat. It is noteworthy that his main supporters and those with whom he feels most sympathy are lower middle-class:

"...Hauptsächlich stehen  
die Schullehrer hinter ihm, der kleine Kaufmann  
die Ärmeren Leute mit der höheren Bildung  
die Kleinrentner! Kurz - der verarmte Mittelstand.  
Diese Art Volk nennt er im kühnen Bild  
das Herz und Mark und Rückgrat der Nation."(253/6)

In a work-note containing a general description of the plot of the play, Angelas is, significantly, a school-teacher from Lima<sup>45</sup>.

#### b) The viceroy

In the Vienna-version the Duke is a weak figure who, unable to solve the problems confronting the state<sup>46</sup>, resorts to Angeler and his plan to encourage foreign investment in the state by bolstering its moral reputation (and thereby, presumably, reassuring the creditors that Austria can be relied upon to repay the loans it receives). The viceroy of Peru, on the other hand, can extract the country from its financial quagmire by decreeing a salt-tax. He prefers to let Angelas fulfil this task, knowing that the racist will experience far fewer difficulties because he enjoys a reputation capable of securing the confidence of the tax-payers. The viceroy insists that he himself cannot introduce the salt-tax because it is unjust:

"Nur nicht die Salzsteuer! Das macht böses Blut! Und ist auch nicht gerecht denn jeder isst Salz, doch hat nicht jeder gleich viel Geld und soll doch gleichviel Steuern zahlen. Das ist nicht gut."(253/3)

But his moral reservations are nothing more than an empty facade. Politically he is too realistic to let morality hinder any revival of the state; when he says he cannot, he actually means that his own reputation is not good enough to ensure the success of the salt-tax. Angelas is, therefore, not the last resort of a weak statesman, but the intelligent choice of a clever politician.

The viceroy resembles Shakespeare's powerful, omniscient and omnipresent Duke more than Brecht's (who, the plans reveal, is imprisoned as a lunatic when he attempts to reassert his authority!). The viceroy allows Angelas to assume control of Peru, but as soon as the racist has decreed the salt-tax the viceroy "returns" to ensure that events conclude satisfactorily. Hence, whereas Angelas dominates the stage until the end of Scene Eight and does not appear thereafter until the denouement, the viceroy is "absent" until Scene Nine (the shifting-scene, in the course of which he finds employment with Frau Cornamontis) and then remains until the end, although, unlike his counterpart in MaB für MaB, he is not present when brother and sister meet (Scenes 10 and 10b). In contrast to Shakespeare's progressive Duke, however, who ultimately endorses a new form of justice, the viceroy, as the official representative of the ruling-class, re-establishes the class-justice practised before the reign of Angelas.

In the first scene of the play, the viceroy announces his plan to observe "des Lebens/erstaunlich Schauspiel"(253/8) and to confirm the truth of an idea which has long been plaguing him. He creates an image of himself as a kind of philosopher, who desires only to sit and meditate:

"Könnte ich da ab und zu, wie ich mir gedacht habe, vor dem Haus sitzen und meinen Gedanken nachhängen? Das ist das Einzige, auf das ich Wert legen würde."(253/85)47

Part of this image is an avowed interest in moral issues:

"Meine Herren, die Ergebnisse der letzten Tage haben in mir Zweifel ausgelöst, ob eine halbwegs ins Gewicht fallende Gerechtigkeit überhaupt...möglich ist."(253/111)

But just as the viceroy's moral doubts about the salt-tax are complete fabrications, so too is his assumption of the philosopher's mantle a deception clearly deriving from the Shakespearean Duke's idea of disguising himself as a monk in order to monitor the corrupt deputy's activities. Although the viceroy thus appears to be a humorous eccentric (particularly when he bemoans the lack of taste shown by the poor), he is in reality safeguarding the interests of the ruling-class. In an inversion of the Shakespearean situation, the corrupt head-of-state spies upon the virtuous deputy.

Brecht's viceroy is a master of deception and propaganda, constantly blurring the harsh contours of reality, although, or precisely because, he is a realist fully aware of his socio-political position:

ESKAHLER : Herr, Ihr kommt wie gerufen!  
Eben zerbrachen wir uns schon die Köpfe  
ob wir den Mann, auf dessen Tod ganz Lima  
mit Spannung wartet, weil die Leute darin  
den Anfang der Gerechtigkeit erblicken -  
VIZEKOENIG :Ihr meint wohl mich?  
ESKAHLER : Nein, den Calausa doch!  
ob wir ihn hängen sollen oder nicht.  
VIZEKOENIG :So habt Ihr einen Mann gefunden, der  
nach aller Ansicht hängen müsst, und es  
bin weder ich noch seid es Ihr? Den Mann  
muss ich mir ansehen! Holt ihn!"(253/124)

The viceroy proclaims his love of clarity - "Ich liebe Klarheit!" (253/127)

- but cynically proceeds to conceal the true reason for his release of

Calausa:

"Natürlich hingest Du mit selbem Recht  
wie etwa ich. Das weiss ich heut. Warum  
lass ich Dich also frei? Weil diese Schwester  
die Dich wohl kennt, Dich für so würdig hielt  
dass sie, ein rührender Fall, für Dich bereit  
zu jedem Opfer war..."(253/12')

The seemingly just verdict he passes on Calausa and Callas is also nothing more than a sardonic misrepresentation of the truth.

c) Callas

An understanding of this figure is best gained by Siegfried Mews' method of contrasting Callas to the literary figure upon whom he is clearly modelled: Kleist's Michael Kohlhaas<sup>48</sup>. Analysing the reaction of the two protagonists to the unjust treatment they receive from their social overlords and noting that Kohlhaas prefers open, violent struggle whereas Callas employs the customary judicial channels, Mews concludes:

"Dies läßt keinen anderen Schluß zu, als daß Callas von Brecht von vornherein als inkonsequenter und kompromißbereiter Anti-Kohlhaas konzipiert worden ist."<sup>49</sup>

Indeed, from the beginning Callas resists any radical measures. Despite Perez' declaration that the only conceivable means of overcoming the dire problems faced by the tenant-farmers is revolutionary violence - "Noch vor 5 minuten wolltest du mit uns unter der schwarzen fahne kämpfen, welche den pachtzins abschaffen wird, was doch nur mit gewalt geht!" (253/19) - Callas refuses to accompany him on his march to the "Black Flag" camp: with his betrayal of the tenant-farmers' cause Callas divides the class-front and so directly contributes to the preservation of the unjust social system. On a personal level he causes the capture of Perez, who would undoubtedly have reached the rebel camp had he not delayed his departure an extra three days as Callas waited for news from Judith, sent by her father to beg for leniency. The most conclusive evidence of Callas' constant desire to adapt to, and to realize his aspirations within, the existing social structure is provided by an analysis of the contradictory descriptions he gives of the relationship between himself and Calausa, in particular concerning the use of the horses ensuing from the landlord's affair with Judith. In the first court-case (Scene Four), when his circumstances must appear to be oppressively unjust, he explains that he could use the horses twice for fetching wood, but that otherwise the animals had to be hired at an exorbitant price. In Scene Six, on the other hand, he must justify his theft of the horses and so states that Calausa had

promised them the ownership of the horses, but then re-appropriated them after six months. Finally, the drunk Callas - *in vino veritas* - confides to fellow roundheads in the coffee-house that Calausa simply turned a blind eye whenever his tenant-farmer used the horses.

Like his similarly oppressed fellow tenant-farmers, Callas is seeking better and fairer social conditions:

"Ich beantrage...dass die Pachtsumme ein für alle Mal gestrichen wird und der Getreidepreis so ist, dass wir von unserer Arbeit leben können."(253/26)

Callas' materialism is common to almost all figures in the play. But the tenant-farmer lacks the socio-political insight of his friend Perez and of the other "Black Flag" insurgents - that the fate of the individual depends upon his commitment to the collective. Callas views the unified class-initiative as a hopeless last resort ("die aussicht ist zu gering. wenn es ginge, wäre es das beste, aber es geht nicht"(253/19)), not as the only real solution. His perspective is too narrow and self-centred; he is unable to reflect upon his own position or upon any issue within the greater context of the class-society: hence his individualistic opportunism. This undeveloped political intellect ("Mangel an realistischer Denkweise"<sup>50</sup>) causes him to succumb to the hope engendered by Angelas. The tenant-farmer places his trust in the deputy not because his idealism attracts him, but because the racist has arrested his landlord. Callas views Calausa's impeachment on a purely individual level ("Ich finde nicht, dass es ein Unglück ist. Jedenfalls nicht für alle. Für uns ist es kein Unglück."(253/18)). He cannot see beyond the immediate limits of his relationship with Calausa - his socio-political activity is confined completely to this interpersonal sphere - and thus blindly acquiesces in a philosophy which differentiates accordingly (by defining Calausa as the enemy). As a consequence of his political shortsightedness, his subjective orientation, Callas unwittingly conceives of racial justice as social justice, and of Angelas as a saviour. Because he thinks only of his own

landlord Calausa, and not of the class of landlords, of landlords who might be roundheaded, he cannot see his error. Callas is comparable to those people described by Eskahler who, incapable of appreciating the socio-economic totality, focus their ill-feeling upon an easily identifiable, tangible object:

"Allein das Volk, nicht sehr geübt in solcher  
Abstraktion, durch Not auch ungeduldig  
es will vom kosmischen Zusammenhang nichts hören  
und sucht die Schuld als ein gewohntes Wesen  
mit Mund und Ohr und auf zwei Beinen laufend  
und auf der Strasse jedermann beugend."(263/5)

Although Callas is therefore an unconscious convert to Angelas' race-theory - as his bewilderment in the first court-hearing shows - he does begin to employ racial terminology -

"DIE ANWAELTE:Wir können Ihnen jetzt mitteilen,  
dass eine gewisse Familie unter  
Umständen bereit wäre, Ihnen in der  
Frage der Pacht entgegen zu kommen.  
JUDITH :Wofür?  
CALLAS :Es handelt sich wohl um eine gewisse  
tschichische Familie?  
...  
ANWAELTE :Sie können sich vorstellen, dass von  
gewisser hochstehender Seite alle  
Hebel in Bewegung gesetzt werden,  
dass das Urteil revidiert wird.  
CALLAS :Von tschichischer Seite."(253/45)

- and even assumes a (roundheaded) moral pose. In reply to the lawyers' offer of reduced rent, he bellows:

"Macht, dass Ihr weiterkommt. Und die Herren hier  
sind Zeugen, dass Sie versucht haben, meine Tochter  
zu einem Meineid zu bewegen! Und der Oberin von S.  
Barbara sagen Sie von mir, sie sei eine dreckige  
Lügnerin!"(253/46)

He adopts this standpoint, however, only because he believes he will receive official confirmation of his ownership of the horses and so be able to open a small business: the prospect of personal social advancement into the ranks of the petit-bourgeois strengthens his adherence to Angelas' idealism. When the lawyers threaten him with the testimony of the grain-merchant, Callas instantly relinquishes his racial-moral perspective.

Only rarely does the tenant-farmer reveal any political understanding. Even at the conclusion of the second trial he is oblivious of the general political situation and of the possible repercussions of a legal confirmation of his ownership; he mistakenly believes that the lawyers used the grain-merchant to persuade Angelas. At an early stage of the play, shortly after his theft of the horses, Callas does utter revolutionary class-sentiments ("Bevor man Euch nicht Euren Hafer auf die Strasse schüttet, dass ihn die haben, die ihn brauchen, wird es nie besser. Euch muss man mit Gewalt kommen."(253/39)), but this is merely an expression of Callas' anger at the rejection by those with whom he is beginning to feel solidarity (the petit-bourgeois). When he catches sight of Perez in the poor-court scene, his "Halt Dein Maul!" shows that Callas is aware of his social crime, that he need not be reminded of his stupidity, and at the end of the play the tenant-farmer's political observations are more frequent and more accurate. Ultimately, however, his general outlook has not changed - he is prepared, as before, to negotiate privately with his landlord - but the social climate, on the other hand, is no longer conducive to revolutionary thought or action.

#### d) Eskahler

The character of Shakespeare's wise councillor is greatly altered by Brecht in the Vienna-version: he becomes not only a sexual pervert, but also an agent of the ruling-class who is prepared to twist the law in favour of the wealthy and prominent. In BBA 253 his dubious sexual activities are almost entirely deleted (apart from a suggestion by one of the prison-inmates that he has illicit relations with very young girls!), and his political role is emphasized. Through the figure of Eskahler Brecht most clearly demonstrates the primacy of economic considerations and forces over political.

In the first scene of the play Eskahler's share in the functioning of the

governmental apparatus has increased. He is no longer the councillor summoned simply to ratify the decision of the Duke; instead he provides the viceroy with a detailed analysis of the social and economic difficulties confronting the government. Unlike his predecessors he is in possession of a solution to these problems - the salt-tax. However, although his awareness of the general political condition of Peru obviously exceeds that of the viceroy, it is the latter who conceives the scheme of employing Angelas for the task of decreeing the tax. Ultimately, as in MaB für MaB and the Vienna-version, the head-of-state is the mastermind.

Eskahler is not only the viceroy's councillor, but also an intermediary between the government and the landlords, the true rulers of Peru. The draft of the salt-tax Eskahler shows the viceroy has been prepared by the landlords as a measure for ending the bankruptcy. Eskahler identifies the interests of the government with those of the landowners -

"ESKAHLER :Bedenken Sie: Wir hängen einen Mann  
 der zwar ein Tschuch ist, der sich zwar verging  
 doch auch ein Pachtherr ist: ein Mann wie wir.  
 ANGELAS :Ein Mann wie wir?  
 ESKAHLER : Nun ja, er lebt von Pacht."  
 (253/121)

- and throughout the play furthers their cause, frequently explaining their demands to Angelas. He advises the racist, for example, not to confirm Callas' right to the horses:

"Mitunter, Herr, gewinnt ein kleiner Vorgang  
 höchste Bedeutung: hier sind es zwei Pferde  
 die, weggeschenkt, vielleicht bedeuten können  
 dass Eigentum nicht mehr Eigentum ist.  
 Der geistige Wall, mit soviel Müh gezogen  
 um den Besitz, die Quelle allen Rechts  
 an einem Punkt durchbrochen, und der Pöbel  
 stürzt brüllend drauf."(253/75)

Like his counterpart in the Vienna-version he considers the judiciary a tool in the hands of the influential -

"Der Mann ist gut, der geht für uns ganz weit  
 Jedoch es kostet eine Kleinigkeit.  
 Damit ein Mann das tut, was wir verlangen  
 Muss man ihn mit Gehalt und Ansehn fangen.  
 Ja ohne Schmierung fehlt dem Recht der Witz:  
 Die leere Kasse ist kein Richtersitz."(253/54)

- and so encourages Angelas to decree the salt-tax, fearing the breakdown of what he terms justice:

"Herr Angelas, die Stund ist jetzt gekommen wo Ihr Euren Namen, dem Ihr Ruhm verschafft als den gerechtesten, den Freund des Volkes unter die Salzsteuer setzen müsst. Nicht länger ists aufzuschieben. In den Aemtern fühl ich schon Unruhe. In entleerten Kassen wuchert die Ungesetzlichkeit wie Schwamm. Der Arm des Rechts erlahmt."(253/55)

The relationship between Eskahler and Angelas has also changed. Whereas previously Eskahler has been the deputy's servant whose advice is ignored by Angelo/Angeler and who, in the Vienna-version, is even dismissed from his position because he has not executed Angeler's orders, in BBA 253 Eskahler's power is much greater. He regards Angelas with considerable suspicion because he does not share his conception of the state - "Er sagt: ich rett den Staat. Wird ers erreichen?/Er sagt: den Staat. Und meint sich selbst und seinesgleichen."(253/8) - and, consequently, at the most crucial moments he is present to guide his decisions. In the viceroy's "absence", then, Eskahler, the political realist who negotiates the details of Angelas' commission in Scene One, carefully monitors the deputy's movements. He not only dictates tactics -

"ANGELAS :...(ZU ESKAHLER) Zeiget Ihr mir nicht heut morgen eine Mappe, die ich unlängst aus hoher Hand empfang? Ihr spracht vorhin davon. Es ist die Steuer. Ich will sie zum Studium.

...  
ESKAHLER :Unklug, mein Freund! Gerad dieser Prozess ermöglicht alles erst. Nun, wohnt ihm bei!"  
(253/65)

- but most significantly, takes control when Angelas lapses into depressed inactivity after the defeat of his army and affirms that the salt-tax must now be introduced:

"ESKAHLER : Was ist beschlossen?  
DIE REICHEN  
PACHTHERREN: Nichts.  
Dass Geld beschafft wird. Und Calausa frei wird.  
ESKAHLER :Und Sie, Herr Angelas? (DER ZUCKT DIE ACHSELN)  
Ich fänds  
nicht klug

Wenn Ihr den Weg verliesset, den wir  
gingen.  
Der Weg war gut. Hier ist die Salz-  
steuer. Die  
wird jetzt herausgegeben. Ihr gebt  
Vorschuss."(253/73)

e) Frau Cornamontis

Although Brecht endowed his brothel-keeper in the Vienna-version with fewer sympathetic traits than the Shakespearean original, and created a financially more astute figure, Frau Ueberley still elicits a not unfavourable reaction from the reader, not only because of her witty immorality, but also because she feels victimized by the new deputy. To a certain extent, as in MaB für MaB, she is the passive object of politics (this is particularly evident when Eskaler insists that she must be imprisoned because the people need a scapegoat upon whom they can vent their anger - a political manoeuvre Frau Ueberley does not comprehend<sup>51</sup>).

The figure of the brothel-keeper in BBA 253 is quite different, firstly, because she has a far greater understanding of the social, political and economic scene and so is able to control her own fate more deftly. Frau Cornamontis' insight into the mechanisms of the class-society exceeds that of most other figures in the play. When the tobacconist and even the house-owner Callamassi suggest that a law-court could pass judgement without taking account of a defendant's social standing, Frau Cornamontis mockingly refutes their naive theory with her button-throwing experiment (Scene Four). Frau Cornamontis' vast experience in the ways of the world (Judith declares: "Ich kann mir denken, was Sie wissen wollen and würde Ihnen vorschlagen, die Patronin zuzuziehen. Sie hat eine ungeheure Erfahrung."(253/97)) enables her to talk dispassionately about such strange cases as that of the judge who pays to be treated like a dog (253/100), and to confirm disinterestedly the immoral privileges of wealth:

"ISABELLA :Sie müssen wissen, dass das Leben meines Bruders davon abhängt, dass ich zu einem hochgestellten Herrn gehe, auf den ich, wie man mir sagt, Eindruck gemacht hab. Ich weiss nicht, wie ich mich benehmen soll und kaum, ob diese Art, Liebe zu gewähren und zu verlangen, üblich ist.

CORNAMONTIS:Durchaus."(253/97)

Although she faints when Angelas orders her brothel closed - which is understandable, because she had believed that the Angelas regime would be financially advantageous for her - she quickly recovers and, despite all evidence to the contrary, insists correctly that class-differences will ultimately be decisive. In the final scene, summoned before the viceroy whom she immediately recognizes as Albert, Frau Cornamontis proceeds calmly to deny any knowledge of the substitution:

"CORNAMONTIS:Um Gottes willen, mich trifft der Schlag:  
dort sitzt Albert, mein Geschäftsführer,  
und isst Frühstück, während alle stehen.

ESKAHLER :Hier ist die Frau!

VIZEKOENIG : Sie sind Frau Cornamontis?  
Wir haben uns schon einmal getroffen?

CORNAMONTIS:(SCHUETTELTE DEN KOPF)Ich kann mich nicht  
erinnern.

VIZEKOENIG :Wer ist dies Mädchen?

CORNAMONTIS:?

VIZEKOENIG :(AUF JUDITH DEUTEND)Kennen Sie dieses Mädchen?

CORNAMONTIS:Nein.

...

FRAU CORNAMONTIS GEHT RUHIG AB"(253/126-127)

Frau Cornamontis is more coldly calculating and politic than her predecessors; her instinct for survival is more finely honed<sup>52</sup>. This development in her character is accompanied by a humourlessness foreign to Frau Ueberley in the Vienna-version. The latter's delighted amusement at Isabella's religious garb is replaced by Frau Cornamontis' detached appraisal (itself part of her plan of persuading Isabella to use a prostitute's services):

"ISABELLA :...sicher ist auch dieser Aufzug, in dem ich gehe, nicht günstig.

CORNAMONTIS:Sehr günstig.

ISABELLA :Es ist das Kleid der Novizen.

CORNAMONTIS:Eben.

ISABELLA :Entschuldigen Sie meine Verwirrung - Soviel kaltes Leinen?

CORNAMONTIS:Möglichst viel Leinen. Sehr gut, Leinen.

ISABELLA :Ein nicht weniger kaltes Wesen.

CORNAMONTIS:Das kälteste."(253/98)

These changes in the character of Frau Cornamontis are mainly determined by the emphasis Brecht places in BBA 253, in contrast to the Vienna-version, upon her profession: she is, like Calausa, a harsh exploiter of human labour. Judith, for example, remarks in the first court-hearing upon the excessively rigorous conditions in Frau Cornamontis' brothel in comparison to other such establishments:

"ANGELAS :Schildern Sie Ihr Leben in dem öffentlichen Hause, in das Sie so kamen.  
 JUDITH :Ich beklage mich nicht. Nur die Wäschegelder sind hoch und die Trinkgelder bleiben uns nicht. Wir sind alle sehr an die Besitzerin verschuldet. Es gibt auch Häuser, in denen es gestattet ist, bestimmte Herren abzulehnen.  
 ANGELAS :Aha! In diesem Hause waren Sie also gezwungen, die Umarmungen jedes bezahlenden Gastes zu erdulden?  
 JUDITH :Jawohl."(253/29)<sup>53</sup>

It is true that Judith and her parents are grateful that Frau Cornamontis is willing to employ the farmer's daughter; but, unlike Mistress Overdone, who tends Lucio's illegitimate child because she is of a generous nature (which Brecht would probably consider a falsification of reality), Frau Cornamontis' motives are purely materialistic<sup>54</sup>. Angelas passes the following apt verdict on both Calausa and Frau Cornamontis:

"Ihr, die Ihr kauft, was nicht verkäuflich ist und nicht entstand durch Kauf, Ihr, die nur kennt was Wert hat, wenns entäussert wird und nichts kennt was unveräusserlich ist, wie dem Baum das Wachstum untrennbar von ihm wie die Form der Blätter  
 Ihr, die Ihr selber fremd, uns uns entfremdeten..."(253/30)

Frau Cornamontis views Judith's potential in terms of her exchange-value. When the young girl no longer appears to possess the necessary qualities of a prostitute, therefore, Frau Cornamontis is unwilling to reemploy her:

"CORNAMONTIS:... (BETRACHTET DIE ZURUECKGEKEHRTE JUDITH) Nur wenige Tage aus meinem Haus und schon so vernachlässigt! Ich kann wieder ganz von vorn anfangen mit der Erziehung! Wozu habe ich die teuren Gesichtswasser in Dich hineingeschüttet, wenn schon nach zwei Tagen alle Anmut wieder zum Teufel ist! Der Strumpf hängt herunter! Und was hast Du denn wieder in Dich hineingefressen die zwei Tage! Dein Teint ist nicht zum Anschauen! Und das Lächeln kannst Du Dir nicht einfach abwaschen! Dieses Mädchen hat gelächelt

wie eine Aphrodite, jetzt grinst es! Und diese schweinischen Bewegungen mit der Hüfte wie eine Strichhure - Ich werde es mir sehr überlegen müssen."(253/86)

As capitalistic as Calausa, Frau Cornamontis extracts profit from the labour of others and induces, as Angelas remarks, their self-alienation; furthermore, like the viceroy who criticizes the bad taste of the poor, which he himself occasions, Frau Cornamontis hypocritically describes Judith as lazy, and even finds her inquiry about the payment she will receive for the substitution brazen and shameless, although she herself has just negotiated the price. Brecht thus ensures that the exploiters themselves expose the unjust nature of the class-society.

#### f) Judith

Judith embodies the Shakespearean figures of Mariana and Juliet, who are in love with Angelo and Claudio respectively. She is basically an entirely new creation meant to contrast with Isabella and demonstrates the primacy of wealth over race (Judith is a roundhead, but also poor) and the subservience of morality to economic interests<sup>55</sup>. The daughter of the harshly exploited tenant-farmer Callas, she must find work as a prostitute in Frau Cornamontis' brothel. She declares that Calausa, the landlord, had been her first lover, but even this relationship was sullied by materialistic contingencies:

"Eben ging Herr Calausa die Strasse hinunter. Er macht seinen Spaziergang vor dem Essen und muss sofort zurückkommen. Ich muss mit ihm sprechen...Er war mein erster Liebhaber und eigentlich der Anlass, dass ich, eine einfache Pächterstochter, in das gutgehende Haus der Frau Cornamontis kam. Meine Familie hatte damals so manchen Vorteil von ihm."(253/12-13)

For Judith, in contrast to the women upon whom she is modelled, love is of secondary importance, although it cannot be denied that she is affectionately and kindly disposed towards her family. In the hypocritical manner typifying the representatives of the ruling class, Calausa, who causes the misfortunes

of the Callas family condemns Judith because her outlook, as he correctly perceives, is too materially orientated:

"Dein Unglück, Judith, war es immer, dass Du zu niedrig denkst"(253/81)

As victims of economic exploitation the poor cannot afford moral thoughts or considerations - thus Judith's malevolence towards Isabella: the tenant-farmer's daughter knows that her immoral labour will enable the landlord's sister to remain chaste ("...Gestern waren wieder sechs Freier da, damit Ihre Schwester ihren faulen Hintern bei den Schwestern von Sankt Barbara einreihen lassen kann."(253/14)). Judith is, therefore, fully aware of the injustice of her predicament, and generally displays a realistic understanding of the world. In the final scene of the play, for example, she swiftly destroys the illusion of justice created by the viceroy ("So gibt er beiden Freiheit nun und Leben/und hat doch Beiden jetzt das Gleiche nicht gegeben..."(253/128)). Frequently she proves more cautious and politic than her father, trying to stop him, in his drunken condition, from revealing the truth about the horses or advising him to bear in mind that he may be thought of as harbouring "Black Flag" sympathies if he confers with the rebel Perez outside the coffeehouse. But Judith's greater realism does not generate a revolutionary activism; learning that her father intends to fight under the banner of the rebel tenant-farmers, she considers it more advisable to appeal to Calausa for greater leniency in his rent demands:

"Meine Mutter schreibt mir, dass mein Vater, der Pächter, weil er die Pacht wieder nicht zahlen kann, auf unrechte Wege gerät. Er hat sich schon dem Bund der Schwarzen Fahnen angeschlossen, die für einen gewaltsamen Aufstand aller Bauern sind. Da will ich lieber bei Herrn Calausa um Pachterlass nachsuchen!"(253/12-13)

Judith's reaction to social inequity is one of hopelessness and resignation, she deems it better to acquiesce in existing conditions:

"Mein Vater, der alte Dummkopf, glaubte doch im Ernst, er könne gegen sie durchdringen. Solche einfachen Leute, die Zeit ihres Lebens grobe Arbeit verrichtet haben, glauben doch immer wieder, es werde für sie besser. Und damit beleidigen sie natürlich dann, Opfer ihrer

Einbildung, gerade diejenigen, die ihnen ihr  
Los etwas erleichtern könnten..."(253/81)

Although her father foolishly succumbs to the illusory promise of the Angelas regime, of which Judith is constantly and justifiably suspicious, his readiness to join the "Black Flag", even as a last resort, marks him as more progressive than his daughter. Judith cannot transcend the resentment she feels at her own fate, an embitterment which expresses itself in numerous vituperative attacks upon Isabella.

g) Isabella

Not only is Isabella, like her predecessors, eager to retain her virginity, but she is also a wealthy peacock - the landlord's sister thus functions as a contrasting figure to Judith Callas (and together they demonstrate the central thesis of the play). Isabella possesses none of the strength of the Shakespearean original, and does not realize, but rather counters, the intentions nurtured by Brecht and Berger during their collaboration on the Vienna-version (to instil in Isabella some of the artfulness of great Shakespearean women like Portia or Rosalind<sup>56</sup>). Isabella is constantly represented by others, by the lawyer, for example, who negotiates with the Mother Superior of Saint Barbara, or, indeed, by the Mother Superior herself, who replies on Isabella's behalf to the insults hurled by the Callas family in Scene Seven. Isabella cannot fend for herself because she does not appear to have reached full maturity. She reacts to the lawyer's assertion that her life in the nunnery will depend upon harsh exploitation with the peevish insistence of the spoiled rich child accustomed to receiving everything it demands:

"ANWALT : (ZU ISABELLA)  
Das Leben, das Sie sich vorgestellt  
Kostet eine Menge Geld.  
Und damit Sie hier keusch in Demut sind und  
          nichts besitzen  
müssen andere sich verkaufen und auf dem  
          Acker schwitzen.  
ISABELLA: (WEINT, WEIL DAS SCHOENE LEBEN SO SCHWER  
          ZU HABEN IST)

Was ich will, das will ich. Und es ist  
nichts Unrechtes."(253/36)

Her reply poses certain question: is Isabella too young and inexperienced to appreciate how unjust it would be for her to enjoy the idle life within the walls of the nunnery while others must labour to support her, or is she, like her brother, callously uncaring for the wretched plight of the poor? Calausa refers to her as a "Persönlichkeit von hoher sittlicher Vollkommenheit"(253/81), and at the end of the play she is, it would seem, genuinely grateful to Judith for protecting her chastity and so enabling her to enter the nunnery ("Nun dank ich Dir, dass Du mir dies geordnet/kehr ich doch jetzt zurück zur stillen Mauer/denk nicht, ich hätt für niedriges mich gespart:/Enthaltbarkeit und Armut wartet meiner." (253/129)). Her final statement to Judith - "Sei nicht zu leichtfertig mit Deiner Jugend!"(253/129) - does infer innocence and naivety. Were Isabella aware of her own role in furthering the injustice of the class-society, her last words would represent the zenith of upper-class hypocrisy. There is, however, no evidence to support this. As her constant need for support and advice from figures such as the lawyer or Frau Cornamontis demonstrates, she is ignorant of the socio-political situation.

Isabella does appear to feel some affection for her brother. Callas' cruel declaration in Scene Seven that Calausa will soon be hanging by the neck causes Isabella to faint. On the other hand, her speech of supplication to Angelas is very brief and has none of the persuasive power of the original. When confronted by the choice of forfeiting her chastity or allowing her brother to die, Isabella is seemingly firm in her denial of the deputy's "offer". But because the Mother Superior and her companions have been imprisoned in the course of their endeavours to help Calausa - Isabella wrongly assigns to them philanthropic motives (further evidence of her naivety) - Isabella decides to make a sacrifice in return. Evidence that this may be the reason for her change of mind is provided by her concern,

at the entrance to the prison, for Calausa's fellow inmates, and it is noteworthy that they themselves appeal to her before she departs (253/94).

Isabella is thus portrayed as an immature person who, like her Shakespearean counterpart, genuinely desires to become a nun. She is an unsophisticated, but warm-hearted individual who has had a sheltered, over-pampered childhood and is, as a consequence, easily manipulated by others - a character trait clearly deriving from the Vienna-version, in which, ironically, Frau Ueberley the brothel-keeper is dispatched to save "endangered virtue". Brecht does not conceal his hostility towards this figure ("WEINT, WEIL DAS SCHOENE LEBEN SO SCHWER ZU HABEN IST"(253/36)), and, indeed, from an objective point of view, Isabella's position is blatantly unjust; but she herself does not seem aware of this - she lacks the consciousness of the hypocrite. Compared to Shakespeare's fascinating and deeply enigmatic novice, Brecht's Isabella has an uninteresting, flat character, and her presence is largely functional. Of the *dramatis personae* of MaB für MaB, Isabella, in contrast to Claudio or Angelo, is least readily adaptable to Brecht's purposes, and the traits she retains for the Shakespearean original make her a unique, if not incongruous addition to the ruling clique of BBA 253.

### 3.4.2. Social Classes and Groups

#### a) The landlords

The landlords who own a third of the land are the true rulers of non-industrial Peru, not only directing government policy (the salt-tax), but also providing the politicians with their main source of income ("Ja, das sind die Herrn, und/uns geben sie nichts mehr."(253/3)). Apart from the revolutionary tenant-farmers, they have the most realistic outlook of any social group within Peruvian society. They clearly realize the

significance of the stolen horses, for example, and have given the racist Angelas their financial backing because they know he is an opponent of the class-struggle. They "employ" Angelas to combat the "Black Flag"; this is stated explicitly towards the end of the second trial ("Gib unser Geld zurück!...Das wir Dir liehen für Dein Heer!(253/67)), but as early as Scene 6b Herr Schunirello declares that they will have a serious discussion with Angelas about the illegally expropriated horses as soon as he has crushed the uprising in the South ("...Ueberhaupt werden wir mit Herrn Angelas noch ein Wort zu sprechen haben, sobald die Schwarze Fahne niedergeschlagen ist."(253/42)). The manuscript reveals that even Eskahler is unaware of the landlords' manoeuvre; a section in which he states that the landowners are giving Angelas powerful support ("...und im Aufruhr/die grossen Pachtherrn, die, man sagts, die Leute/Angelas unterstützen mit Geld und vielem Geld."(253/3)) was subsequently and almost totally excised by Brecht (he removed the secondary clause and replaced it with "Und der Staat zerfällt").

The landlords are astute political observers and cunning manipulators, but they have not foreseen all the possibilities of the Angelas regime. They did not predict that he would pardon a tenant-farmer to the detriment of a landlord - they had considered him a pliable tool or instrument completely under their control - nor did they suspect its adverse consequences: landlords, notably Herr Schunirello, have been attacked and grievously wounded by Angelas militia-men. The landlords react to this, significantly, as a class, demanding Calausa's release:

"Holt den Angelas her! Wir hören, der  
 Prozess geh über alles Mass hinaus.  
 Nicht nur, dass er schon den Calausa hängt  
 nun brandmarkt er den ganzen Pachtherrnstand!  
 Und hier Herr Schunirello: krumm geschlagen  
 weil man uns Pachtherrn preisgibt! Her mit Angelas!"  
 (253/63)

Their subsequent rebuttal of Calausa (after the victory of the "Black Flag" in the South) represents a change in tactics, but not in basic philosophy: the landlords unite to better the interests of the majority of their class -

Calausa must be sacrificed in the same manner as the young Communist Party member in Die Maßnahme.

The landlords are represented publicly throughout the play by the two lawyers, who should be differentiated from the Chief Judge and other officials because they are not servants of the state, but independent income-earners who align themselves with those paying the highest wages - invariably the landlords. As the proceedings of the poor-court demonstrate, they are the worst, or from the viewpoint of the landlords the best, rent-collectors in Peru, sometimes twisting the facts in their employers' favour, sometimes merely citing the extant legislature ("Das Recht reicht völlig zu, unrecht zu tun."(253/115)). During the second trial, in which they are striving for a reversal of the verdict against their client Calausa, they not only condone perjury, but constantly attempt to bribe Callas. One of the imprisoned lawyers even laments that the prison-wardens are no longer corruptible:

"Seit die unteren Beamten wieder im Geld schwimmen, sind sie wieder so gemein geworden, wie sie immer waren. Früher konnte man für eine Zigarette von einem Wärter so etwas wie Menschlichkeiten erlangen. Jetzt überbieten sie sich wieder an Roheit."(253/91)

Of the defendants in the poor-court trial, only the lawyers are pardoned (not because they are innocent, of course, but because their gifts could be advantageous to both rich and poor - "Vielleicht sind wir einmal gestellt auf den/vielleicht kann er uns, wenn wir schuldlos sind, befreien"(253/115)). After this verdict it is not surprising that the viceroy ensures that those "pillars of society" remain in his employ:

"Ich sah mich um in diesen Tagen und erfuhr dass gegen mich und einige meinesgleichen so manche Klage schwebt, und sollt ich frei gesprochen werden, was ich dringend wünsche so brauche ich gute Helfer, darum bitt ich um diese zwei Verteidiger Calausa die, wie ich höre, nicht so sehr genau sind"(253/126)

aa)Calausa

In the Vienna-version the complaints of the tenant-farmer Meixner reveal that von Klausner is a brutal overlord, demanding excessively high rent. But whereas in the earlier adaptation work this aspect plays only a slight role, in BBA 253 the Catholic landlord Calausa's heartless business practices constitute a central motif of the plot. Calausa is a typical representative of the Peruvian ruling class; like Perez and many others of his class, Calausa's tenant-farmer is unable to meet his exorbitant requirements:

"PEREZ :Kannst Du die Pacht an den Calausa bezahlen?  
 CALLAS :Nein. Seit Jahren haben wir die Milch, die wir in die Stadt verkaufen, durch Wasser gestreckt, das Getreide nicht ausgedroschen, in die Linsen Steinlein geschüttet. Aber auch mit diesen Mitteln können wir dieses Jahr die Pacht nicht mehr herauswirtschaften."(253/17)

An element not present in either MaB für MaB or the Vienna-version is Calausa's hypocrisy; whereas an inbred sense of honour and the instinct for survival struggle for supremacy within Claudio, the moral side of Calausa's character asserts itself either as a facade to protect purely materialistic interests or when his concrete interests are not at stake. In the penultimate scene, for example, Calausa accuses Callas of sloth and of being a shameless beggar - "...Sei nicht zu faul und nachlässig, dann wirst Du nicht nötig haben, zu betteln...Dass Sie sich nicht schämen, immerfort etwas geschenkt haben zu wollen!"(253/116) - moral sentiments which conflict with his own position as an unproductive social parasite ("Der Bruder des Fräuleins, Herr Calausa...lebt ausschliesslich von den Pachteinahmen!"(253/35). Furthermore, in reply to Judith's insistence that her starving parents should take precedence over Isabella (and the dowry she needs for her novitiate), Calausa declares that Judith should show greater respect towards chastity:

"Liebe Judith, meine Schwester ist im Begriffe, sich bei den Bedürftigen Schwestern von Sankt Barbara einem jungfräulichen Leben zu weihen. Das sollten

auch Sie achten. Denn wenn es auch nicht nötig ist, dass alle Mädchen keusch leben, so ist es doch nötig, dass sie davon hoch denken."(253/13)

When his own life is threatened, however, he swiftly renounces this moral standpoint and, cruel and unfeeling, demands his sister's compliance in the deputy's wishes:

"Stell Dich nicht an! Und spiel hier nicht die Heilige!  
 Mich hängen sie! Und weder für die Hur  
 noch für die Betschwester will ich gehängt sein! Schluss!"  
 (253/94)

Calausa no longer possesses the extenuating, genuinely honourable traits of the Shakespearean original - his sexual relationship with Judith is, of course, no longer a moral crime to be ashamed of, but a social (class) privilege to be enjoyed - and allows himself to be dominated utterly by his deep horror of death ("Ach, Judith, mir gehen auch andere Dinge im Kopf herum: Hör doch nur wieder das Geschrei! Sie verlangen wieder meinen Tod!" (253/81)<sup>57</sup>. Calausa rarely transcends this elemental fear, an emotion fuelled by the suspicion that his death is to have an exemplary function ("Herr Inspektor! Ich habe nur eine Angst, dass an mir ein Exempel statuiert wird! Das sind immer die unangenehmsten Fälle!"(253/81)).

#### b) The tenant-farmers

In a prose passage contained in the miscellaneous material pertinent to this stage of development, Brecht describes social conditions in Peru through the eyes of a traveller, who remarks that most of the roundheaded tenant-farmers, particularly Callas, succumb to the vain hope inspired by Angelas ("Die Uebernahme der Regierung durch den Tschichenverfolger Thomas Angelas, einen Schullehrer aus Lima, habe ihn wie die meisten tschuchischen Pächter davon (der Bewegung der Schwarzen Fahnen) abgehalten."(266/42)). In spite of this widespread betrayal by their confederates, the remaining tenant-farmers, of whom Perez is the mouthpiece, constitute a major threat

to the existing social order in Peru. United under the symbol of the "Black Flag" they set in motion a violent revolution which has as its goal the expropriation and socialization of the property owned by the landlords, the economic oppressors who cause the wretched living conditions of the tenant-farmer masses (Callas' predicament is representative: "Wir lebten von Holzäpfeln und Wurzeln, da wir das Getreide in die Stadt abliefern mussten. Unsere Kinder sind fast das ganze Jahr unbekleidet. Die Schäden am Hause können wir nicht reparieren, sodass es langsam über unseren Köpfen zusammenfällt."(253/27)). In contrast to Callas, the revolutionary tenant-farmers consider illegal methods, that is, the abolition of private ownership (the foundation-stone of Peruvian law), the only adequate solution to social misery; that they have grasped the essence of the problem is proven by the counter-measure of financial support given to Angelas by the landlords, whose political instincts rival those of the insurgents. Curiously, Angelas' critique of the tenant-farmers provides the best key to an understanding of their outlook. They adhere, firstly, to an "artificial" class-division of society - "denn solch ein mensch teilt unser einziges volk/so in zwei Klassen künstlich kalt berechnend!"(253/69) - and, secondly, in their singleminded concentration upon the issue of social inequality they are undistracted by (ruling-class) ideology:

"der kennt nicht gott und kennt kein vaterland  
und keine pflicht!"(253/79)

### c) The lower middle-class

Figures belonging to the lower middle-class, small business-people like Frau Tomaso and Herr Palmosa the tobacconist, are, according to Eskahler, Angelas' main supporters; it must be inferred, therefore, that they are receptive to his idealistic conception of the state as a racially pure organism. Indeed, though almost as impoverished as the tenant-farmers, they are strongly opposed to their class-analysis and revolutionary strategy - both Frau Tomaso and Herr Palmosa, whose son is among the

troops marching to the South, applaud the formation of an army to combat the "Black Flag". Furthermore, Angelas has promised a purge of the civil service and of the corrupt upper class, programmatic aims coinciding with the aspirations of the lower middle-class, which feels threatened not only from below (the tenant-farmer revolution), but from above as well - Frau Tomaso resents the high wages of the government servants ("Das grösste Glück wird sein, wenn jetzt endlich die Beamten abgebaut werden. Es gibt zu viele, und sie werden zu hoch bezahlt."(253/11)), and both she and the tobacconist are agreeably surprised by Calausa's arrest ("Jetzt geht es den Reichen an den Kragen!"(253/15)). The idealistic predisposition of the petit-bourgeois, whom Brecht depicts in Scene Two discussing their economic interests, seemingly hinders their perception of the inconsistencies between reality and their chosen leader's propaganda statements. They ignore, for example, the contradiction implicit in the fact that Angelas, through the medium of the newspaper (virtually his party organ!), has promised, on the one hand, to lower rents - which secures the confidence of the lower middle-class tenants - and, on the other hand, to raise them - a move greeted by the middle-class landlords (Herr Callamassi and his friend), who, though divided on the mortgage issue, know that Angelas will preserve the socio-economic hierarchy:

DIE DICKE FRAU:Die Mieten sollen ja jetzt gesenkt werden.  
 CALLAMASSI :Nein, ich habe gehört, sie sollen erhöht werden.  
 DIE DICKE FRAU:Das kann nicht stimmen. Höchstens die der Tschichen. Ich jedenfalls zahle sobald keine Miete mehr.  
 CALLAMASSI :Sehr bald, Frau Tomaso, sehr bald!  
 (ZU DEM ANGELASSOLDATEN) Diese einfachen Leute haben von Politik keine Ahnung!"(253/12)

Politically naive and economically ignorant, Frau Tomaso and Herr Palmosa pay the price of their adherence to the racist and his illusory promises when, in Scene Nine, they are obliged to vacate the premises they occupy because the rents have been increased. In the play, only the lower middle-class and the tenant-farmers are adversely affected by the Angelas regime.

But Brecht's portrayal of the petit-bourgeois in BBA 253 is unsatisfactory because he does not expose the decisive cause of their inclination towards Angelas and his programme. Is it simply a matter of a common idealistically-orientated consciousness, or do Frau Tomaso and Herr Palmosa favour Angelas only because he attacks their socio-economic rivals - do Frau Tomaso and the tobacconist share Angelas' genuine belief for instance, that the "Black Flag" is inspired by the "peakheaded spirit", or do they regard it quite concretely as an organization opposed to the private ownership they support? - or must the reason be sought in a fusion of both aspects?

#### d) The Church

The representatives of the Church, the Mother Superior of Saint Barbara and the Abbot of Saint Stephen, are introduced at the beginning of Scene Four: the Abbot is endeavouring to wrest a huge sum of money from the Mother Superior as compensation for the depleted congregation ensuing from the construction of a new church by the convent. The tone of Brecht's treatment of the Church is thus established: the religious bodies are not concerned with their parishioners as children of God for whom the place of worship is irrelevant, but view them as pawns in financial dealings which lack none of the competitiveness of the open market (it should be noted that the Mother Superior successfully halts any manoeuvres the Abbot may have planned during her incarceration by bringing charges of atheism against him). Religion is business: this is made clear throughout the play, but particularly in the scene in which the Mother Superior and the lawyer negotiate the crassly material terms of Isabella's novitiate.

The morality of the Church is inseparable from that of the large land-owners; the Mother Superior, for example, is indifferent to the suffering of the tenant-farmers, cold-heartedly demanding of the Calausa estate an amount which, she is aware, only their more brutal exploitation can realize.

The poor-court condemns the injustice and hypocrisy of her position; she preaches the importance of virtuousness, but depends parasitically upon the labours of the poor, who, like Judith, thereby cannot afford the luxury of morality. It is also typical that only the Mother Superior's male counterpart, the Abbot, detects the immoral message concealed in Angelas' speech to Isabella.

The strong economic links between the Church and the landed gentry oblige the former to assist Calausa in the court-case against him. The Mother Superior, in connivance with the lawyers, even commits the crime of perjury in the attempt to secure a favourable verdict for her financial provider (a deed referred to by the viceroy with his usual laconic humour: "Desgleichen holt die Oberin von Sankt Barbara/die als sehr streng bekannt, dass sie für mich/ein Zeugnis ablegt..."(253/126)). The Abbot, of course, is accused by the poor-court of acting as an ideological prop to the ruling-class.

#### e) The civil-service

In BBA 253 the civil-service mainly comprises the officers of the law, the Chief Judge, his deputy, the inspector, the court-clerk and the policemen, but includes also the salt-tax official and the steward in the viceroy's palace. That the state, their employer, can no longer afford to pay the salaries of the civil-servants, almost poverty-stricken<sup>58</sup>, is a matter of grave concern to Eskahler, and he deems it imperative that drastic measures be adopted to obtain the necessary monies. Eskahler's manoeuvres reveal the extreme importance of the civil-service for the state: it is an organization designed to protect the interests, not of the people, but of the ruling clique (the viceroy, Eskahler and the landlords). For this reason the wages of the civil-servants are very high (Frau Tomaso complains about this, and it is noteworthy that the inspector can afford to buy ten cartons of cigars from the tobacconist). The civil-servants are not merely

employees, but (legally) bribed accomplices! Most of the officials (the policemen, the salt-tax official, the court-clerk) are unaware of their political role and are content, since they receive excellent salaries, unquestioningly to execute the orders of their superiors. The deputy judge expresses their attitude most adequately:

"Von Politik verstehe ich nichts. Aber ich muss  
mein Gehalt haben."(253/54)

It is also unnecessary for the deputy judge, for example, to be initiated into the secret of his true function; generally it is sufficient that the legislature be enforced - it is stressed constantly that the laws themselves have been construed in favour of private ownership and so need not be twisted or falsely interpreted. The police-inspector (formerly Ellbogen) betrays a greater understanding of the political scene than most of his colleagues - he confidently affirms that Calausa will never be hanged (253/81)(implying that the system is based upon the protection of the rich) - but it is, above all, the Chief Judge who would be a suitable target of Angelas' campaign("Reform/der korrumpierten Aemter..."(253/4)). In his first appearance, at the beginning of Scene Four when he is presiding over the case involving the Abbot's huge damages claim, he reveals that his highest values are monetary, not moral:

"Was ist los? Ich wnsche bei der Verhandlung,  
die um hohe Werte geht, nicht gestrt zu werden."  
(253/21)

The poor-court does not condemn the Chief Judge because, like the lawyers, he is corrupt - "Der Richter dort soll bestochen sein./Er ist dafr wohl mal gerecht gewesen."(253/115) - but because he passes unjust verdicts in return for his salary alone ("Doch dass er sonst fr den Gehalt allein/unrecht erteilt - dafr wird er gehenkt."(253/115)). Indeed, the Chief Judge is a fully conscious and willing advocate of the privileged classes. In Scene Four he insists, rather ambiguously, that the court will administer justice in the correct manner - "Das Gericht tut, was es fr richtig hlt"(253/22) - but then inquires of Angelas how the case should be treated ("Exzellenz, wie wnschen Sie diesen Fall behandelt?"(253/26)).

He strives to fulfil the requirements of his employers, not those of objective justice.

### 3.5. Structure

The most striking aspect of BBA 253, in contrast to the original and the Vienna-version, is Brecht's relinquishment of the act-division. The first completed draft of the adaptation is divided into sixteen scenes: the scene, therefore, is clearly distinguished by the playwright as the fundamental dramatic unit and must constitute the focal point of a structural analysis.

A study of the play's time-structure which disregards slight irregularities - Brecht's treatment of time can scarcely be termed stringent - does reveal, nevertheless, the existence of five temporally integrated groups of scenes: Scenes One to Three (Day 1), Scenes Four to Seven (Day 4 - this second group begins three days after the first), Scenes Eight and Nine (Day 5), Scenes Ten to Twelve (Day 6) and Scenes Thirteen and Fourteen (Day 7). To discover whether this chronological division of the scenes is structurally significant, representing perhaps a latent five-act pattern inherited from MaB für MaB, each scene must be examined individually and its relationship to the other scenes within the group assessed. Brecht's scene-titles provide the best introduction to this inquiry:

#### 3.5.1. The Scene-titles

##### GROUP ONE

Scene 1:"PALAIS DES VIZEKOENIGS

DER VIZEKOENIG VON PERU UND SEIN STAATSRAT  
FERNANDO ESKAHLER SITZEN IM ARBEITSZIMMER DES  
VIZEKÖNIGS VOR ZEITUNGEN UND SEKTFLASCHEN.  
ES IST MORGENS VIER UHR."(253/2)

## Scene 2:"GASSE DER ALTSTADT

AUS DEM OEFFENTLICHEN HAUS DER FRAU CORNAMONTIS HAENGEN MAEDCHEN EINE GROSSE WEISSE FAHNE HERAUS, AUF DER DER KOPF DES ANGELAS AUFGEDRUCKT IST. UNTEN STEHT FRAU CORNAMONTIS UND DIRIGIERT DAS AUFHAENGEN. BEI IHR STEHEN EIN POLIZEIINSPEKTOR UND EIN GERICHTSSCHREIBER, BEIDE BARFUSS UND ZERLUMPT. IN EINEM FENSTER DES HAUSES IN HER MITTE SIEHT MAN EINEN MANN SICH RASIEREN, UND UNTEN VOR DEM TABAKLADEN STEHT DER TABAKHAENDLER, DIE ZEITUNG LESEND. AUS EINEM FENSTER ZU EBENER ERDE DES HAUSES RECHTS LEHNT EINE DICKE FRAU. VOR DEM FENSTER STEHEN DER HAUSBESITZER UND EIN SOLDAT DER ANGELAS-MILIZ MIT WEISSER BINDE UND GROSSEM STROHHUT, BIS AN DIE ZAEHNE BEWAFFNET. ALLE SEHEN DEM HERAUSHAENGEN DER FAHNE ZU. AUS DER FERNE HOERT MAN DEN MARSCHTRITT VORUEBERZIEHENDER TRUPPEN."

(253/10)

## Scene 3:"HAUS DES PAECHTERS CALLAS

AM TISCH DIE FAMILIE CALLAS: DER PAECHTER, SEINE FRAU, VIER KINDER. HEREIN TRITT DIE FAMILIE PEREZ MIT ZWEI KINDERN. DIE PEREZ SIND TSCHICHEN."

(253/17)

GROUP TWO

## Scene 4:"PALAIS DES VIZEKOENIGS

DER HOF, IN DEM DAS GERICHT STATTFINDET. ALS PARTEIEN STEHEN EINANDER GEGENUEBER: DER ABT VON SANKT STEFANO UND DIE OBERIN VON SANKT BARBARA."(253/21)

## Scene 5:"DAS KLOSTER SANKT BARBARA

EINANDER GEGENUEBER SITZEN ALS ZWEI PARTEIEN ZWEI KLOSTERFRAUEN VON DEN BEDUERFTIGEN SCHWESTERN VON SANKT BARBARA UND ISABELLA CALAUSA MIT IHREN ZWEI RECHTSANWAELTEN."(253/34)

## Scene 6:"LADEN EINES FUTTERHAENDLERS

DER PAECHTER CALLAS INMITTEN EINES HAUFENS VON MAENNERN."(253/38)

## Scene 6b:"DAS CAFEHAUS GEGENUEBER, AUS DEM DIE WEIBE FAHNE DER ANGELASLEGION HÄNGT. AN EINEM TISCHCHEN

CALLAS UND JUDITH. VON DEN NACHBARTISCHEN WERDEN IHNEN SCHNAEPSE SPENDIERT UND WIRD IHNEN ZUGETRUNKEN"

(253/40)

## Scene 7:"HOF VOR DEM GERICHTSSAAL

DER PAECHTER CALLAS UND SEINE TOCHTER JUDITH WARTEND."(253/48)

GROUP THREE

## Scene 8:"DAS PALAIS DES VIZEKOENIGS. VORBEREITUNGEN

FUER DEN GROSSEN GERICHTSTAG. DAS GERICHT FINDET IM HOF STATT. DORT STEHT DER RICHTER UND ZIEHT SICH SEINE ROBE AN. ER SPRICHT MIT ESKAHLER."(253/54)

## Scene 9:"DIE GASSE DER ALTSTADT. ES IST ABEND

UND NIEMAND AUF DER STRASSE. ES TRITT

AUF DER VIZEKOENIG. WAEHREND ER SICH  
EINE ZIGARRE ANZUENDET, KOMMT FRAU  
CORNAMONTIS HERAUS UND STELLT SICH  
MITTEN AUF DIE STRASSE."(253/82)

GROUP FOUR

Scene 10:"STRASSE VOR DEM GEFAENGNIS  
ISABELLA CALAUSA UND DER ABT VON SANKT STEFANO"  
(253/89)

Scene 10b:"IM GEFAENGNIS  
IN DER „TODESZELLE" SITZT EMANUELE  
CALAUSA. IN DER NR.2 ZUSAMMENGEFFERCHT  
DIE 4 VON DER SCHWARZEN FAHNE. IN EINER  
GEMEINSCHAFTSZELLE NEBENAN SIND DIE  
OBERIN VON SANKT BARBARA, DIE BEIDEN  
ANWAELTE UND DER FRUEHERE OBERSTE RICHTER."  
(253/91)

Scene 11:"VOR DEM HAUS DER FRAU CORNAMONTIS  
STEHT ISABELLA."(253/95)

Scene 12:"VOR DEN SALINEN DES VIZEKOENIGS  
ES IST ABEND. IN ZWEI LANGEN SCHLANGEN  
STEHEN TSCHICHEN UND TSCHUCHEN VOR EINER  
BARRIERE AN, HINTER DER IM FREIEN EIN  
BEAMTER SALZ IN IHRE SAECKE ABFUELLT. UNTER  
DEN ANSTEHENDEN DER PAECHTER CALLAS UND  
ALBERT."(253/105)

GROUP FIVE

Scene 13:"GEFAENGNIS. ES WERDEN EINIGE ARME LEUTE  
HEREINGEFUEHRT, DARUNTER ALBERT."(253/110)

Scene 14:"DAS PALAIS DES VIZEKOENIGS AM FRUEHEN MORGEN. IM  
ZIMMER DES VIZEKOENIGS SITZEN UEBERNAECHTIG ANGELAS  
UND ESKAHLER UND STUDIEREN AKTEN. AB UND ZU  
FISCHT ESKAHLER AUS EINEM DER WASCHKOERBE EINEN  
BRIEF.  
IM VORZIMMER EINIGE SCHLAFENDE ANGELASSOLDATEN.  
UNTER IHNEN SITZT DICHT VERSCHLEIERT DIE FALSCH  
ISABELLA.  
IN DEN HOF, IN DEM SONST GERICHT GEHALTEN WIRD  
UND WO JETZT EIN DUENNER GALGEN EBEN FERTIG  
GEMACHT WIRD, WIRD VON DEM INSPEKTOR EIN GEFESSELTER  
MANN MIT EINER MUETZE VOR DEM GESICHT  
GEFUEHRT. DIESER HAUFE BLEIBT BEWEGUNGSLOS WARTEND  
STEHEN.

ZIMMER DES VIZEKOENIGS (253/120)

The scene-titles show that on the pragmatic level none of the chronological groups forms a tightly-bound unit: there is considerable spatial variation within each group and no immediate connection between scenes is

forged by a figure or figures remaining on stage. The individual scene thus gains greater independence than is apparent in the Shakespearean original.

On the other hand, the semblance of discontinuity and diversity is allayed to a certain degree by scene-repetition: trial-scenes, "eine zentrale dramaturgische Form des Brechtschen Theaters überhaupt"<sup>59</sup>, occur at prominent chronological stages of the play (Scenes Four and Eight), and the last scene is obviously an echo of the first, a coincidence which requires further investigation and indicates that the general tendency of the Shakespearean original has undergone a radical transformation. The dénouement of BBA 253 no longer represents a synthesis of various conceptions of justice, as was the case in the final climactic scene of MaB für MaB, but signals a retrogression to the beginning. Angelas' commission is the preservation, not the improvement, of the pre-established (socio-political) order ("Mir aber bleibt, Euch auszudrücken nun/höchste Zufriedenheit. Noch einmal habt Ihr/den Staat gerettet, der uns teuer ist/und eine Ordnung, die uns sehr gewohnt."(253/131)). The viceroy ignores the champions of social advancement (the members of the tenant-farmer tribunal), whereas his Elizabethan counterpart allows himself to be overruled by Mariana and Isabella. Shakespeare's progressively-orientated, pyramidal structure is superseded, therefore, by a circular structure<sup>60</sup>. The negative development of the play is emphasized in a number of ways: through the recurrence in Scene Fourteen of the initial situation (the viceroy/Angelas and Eskahler are seated at a very early hour in the viceroy's room, confronted by a dilemma only a third party - Angelas and the viceroy respectively - can best resolve), in the ubiquitous moon-imagery (253/7,8, 88,131) and also by means of the symbolism of the shifting-scene (Scene Nine).

### 3.5.2. Scene Analysis

#### Group One

It is impossible to discuss the three scenes of Group One as forming a closed expositional phase of BBA 253, for expositional material is disseminated throughout the text and only found in greater proportion in these opening scenes. Pragmatically the scenes are interrelated: Scene Two shows the immediate effects of the deputation of power (Scene One) on the various social strata dwelling in the city, and also contains the encounter between Judith and Calausa which determines the outcome of Scene Three. There is a cause-effect relationship, but Scene Two does not lead directly to Scene Three; the tenant-farmer families react at first to the dire economic situation (the compelling reason behind the deputation), and only hear of Calausa's arrest from a messenger at the mid-point of the third scene. Although the scenes are sequentially not interchangeable, therefore, the bonds between them are comparatively loose - Käthe Rüllicke-Weiler talks of their "relative independence" ("in der Fabel der Brecht-Dramaturgie folgt nicht eins aus dem andern, sondern eins nach dem andern; die Teile sind relativ selbständig und können einzeln betrachtet werden...Die Teile der Fabel sind zueinander in Beziehung gesetzt, und obwohl allein verständlich, kann kein Teil weggelassen werden, ohne den Zusammenhang der Handlung zu beschädigen..."<sup>61</sup>) - and this freedom manifests itself in a variety of scene-types.

There is, firstly, the court-scene ("Staatsszene") with its simple structure. Scene Two, however, attempts to portray the wider social ramifications of the change in leadership and is, consequently, far more complicated: Judith's betrayal of Calausa to the peakhead-baiters lies at the centre of the scene, within a framework formed by the commentaries of the lower middle-class and the house-owners,

who appear at the beginning of the scene, depart as Judith enters, then reappear after Calausa has been dragged away. The scene ends, furthermore, with an address to the audience by Frau Cornamontis, who explains that nothing more than empty hopes unite the economically divided people. This discourse from a higher plane of reflection, one of the few "epic" techniques employed in BBA 253, serves thoroughly to disturb the smooth flow of the action. Structurally, the third scene of the group is most interesting because it possesses its own dramatic tension. Callas and Perez have agreed to fight together under the "Black Flag", when suddenly the news of Calausa's arrest arrives from the city. At this point the scene takes an entirely new direction as Callas breaks the agreement with his friend and adopts Angelas' racial ideas. It might even be said that the turning-point within the scene resembles the peripety or discovery demanded by Aristotle of a complex plot. It is noteworthy that in his The Art of Poetry Aristotle even mentions an ideal peripety produced by the arrival of a messenger:

"A Peripety is the change from one state of things within the play to its opposite of the kind described...as it is for instance in Oedipus: here the opposite state of things is produced by the Messenger, who, coming to gladden Oedipus and to remove his fears as to his mother, reveals the secret of his birth."<sup>62</sup>

The three scenes comprising Group One are by no means a tightly-bound pragmatic whole, and reveal highly individualistic qualities; they belong together, nevertheless, because common to each of them is an act of political reception: the viceroy (Scene One), Frau Tomaso (Scene Two) and Callas (Scene Three) are all portrayed as they form their opinion of the racist Tomaso Angelas. The different social standing, awareness and material needs of the recipients determine the disparate scenic forms. A motif recurring in Scenes Two and Three - that of betrayal (Frau Tomaso betrays the grain-merchant, Judith her former lover Calausa and Callas his friend Perez) - typifies this act of reception for the lower classes.

Group Two

Scene Four, the first major trial-scene ("Gerichtsszene") of the play, is undoubtedly the most interesting scene within this group. It consists, essentially, of two parts: on the one hand the trial of Calausa by the Chief Judge, and on the other hand the landlord's subsequent examination by Angelas. In the first half of the scene, preceding Angelas' entrance, it becomes clear that the judge is biased in favour of the landlord, that, in other words his mode of judgement is based upon material interests. Angelas, in contrast, is inclined to favour the racially pure - his outlook is ideologically orientated. This structural influence of the thematic bipolarity of race and class is also visible in the "dialogue" between an earthy Callas and his "saviour", the cerebral, conceptualizing Angelas. The scene itself moves towards a climax as the crowd becomes more restless in face of the Chief Judge's attempts to divert attention from Calausa's true (social) crime and as the trial, under Angelas' guidance, subsequently takes a course which receives general acclamation; but the first seeds of a "stereometric" structure are present which remove the "fourth wall" and encourage the theatre-audience to adopt a more rational stance towards the dramatic proceedings<sup>63</sup>. Just as the mood of the mob reaches an almost feverish pitch in the early stages of the trial, a man steps forward to address the audience and to explain, in rhymed verse which emphasizes the unique nature of the speech, the significance of what is happening on stage:

"RUFÉ :SchluB mit dem Verschieben! Wir haben gleich  
gesagt, diese Bude muss man unten anzünden!  
Der Richter muss auch aufgehängt werden! Man  
muss das ganze Pack aufhängen, ohne Verhand-  
lung!

DER MANN  
ZUM

PUBLIKUM:Dies ist die wahre Milde, die hier spricht.  
Sie ist für das Opfer und für die Verbrecher nicht!  
Der spricht für die Betroffenen mitleidsvoll  
der sagt, dass man die Betreffter ohne Mitleid  
treffen soll."(253/23)

The scene thus develops on two levels: immediate dramatic action on the one hand, and philosophical reflection on the other. A similar commentary

function is performed by Frau Cornamontis' experiment with the button at the end of the fourth scene. Her demonstration, which proves that in a capitalist society the poor man must always be defeated, does not evolve organically from the preceding action, but stands in contradiction to it. The dramatic process is viewed in a critical light and tension is reduced to a minimum, as at the end of Scene Two.

Scenes Five and Six also contribute less to the forward movement of the plot than to exposing the dominance of material values, of the infrastructure. Both scenes portray virtually identical situations: the lawyer (Scene Five) and Callas (Scene Six) are confronted by the unyielding laws of capitalism as they endeavour to strike a favourable bargain. The total subordination of plot to thematic contingencies is best evident in Scene Five. In MaB für MaB the scene (I;v) is devoted almost entirely to Lucio's delivery of Claudio's message and to his attempts to convince Isabella that she must act on her brother's behalf. Isabella's inquiries about life in the nunnery comprise only a small part of the scene. In BBA 253 these circumstances are reversed: the scene deals mainly with the economic prerequisites of Isabella's novitiate and only at the end, in a small paragraph, is the news of Callas' theft and Calausa's arrest brought by a nun:

"Schwester Oberin, wir wollten Sie nicht stören, aber auf dem Hofe hat es einen schrecklichen Auftritt gegeben. Mit einem ganzen Haufen von lärmenden Leuten ist ein Mann vor dem Kloster vorbeigekommen. Ein geschminktes junges Frauenzimmer war auch dabei. Er hat die Pferde gesehen und behauptet, es seien die seinen, und er sei der Pächter, und er brauche sie zum Ackern. Er hat den Kutscher über den Kopf geschlagen, die Pferde ausgespannt und weggetrieben. Und dann sagte er noch: Der Herr Calausa können zu Fuss zum Galgen gehen."(253/36-37)

The pragmatic nexus to Scene Seven (Isabella's plea) is thereby established, but by no means as directly as in MaB für MaB ("Ich geh sogleich...noch vor Nacht/Send ich ihm sichere Nachricht des Erfolgs."(I;v,86-90)). Scene Six does show Callas at variance with the laws of the market (the grain-merchant cannot give Callas oats unless he is paid) and so parallels the previous

scene; but the scene has been created above all to contrast Callas with his Kleistian model, Michael Kohlhaas, who refuses to relinquish his ideals for a "bushel of oats". Scene Six thus contributes to characterization; from the pragmatic point of view it is almost superfluous.

After the inertia of Scenes Five and Six, the last two scenes in this group signal a return to more rapid plot activity. This is particularly true of the coffee-house scene. The manifold manoeuvres executed in the course of this scene - the landlords buy drinks for the Angelas soldiers, the lawyers make Callas an offer, Perez asks Callas for help, Callas confides with other patrons of the inn (while the revenge-seeking grain-merchant eavesdrops) - serve not only to show the change which Callas' psyche has undergone since Scene Four, but also to expose the forces massing against him. The scene creates a dramatic tension - between the seemingly all-powerful Callas and the groups he has enraged - which only the appeal-hearing can resolve. The final scene in this group, Scene Seven, has a more clearly defined structure than its predecessor. The meeting between Isabella and Angelas forms the nucleus of the scene, and takes place within a framework formed by the discussions and protests of Callas, Judith, the Mother Superior and the landlords. The encounter between the deputy and the prospective nun is emphasized by its structural position, whereas the truly decisive issues - the Mother Superior's demonstration of the irrelevance of race, the salt-tax (mentioned by Eskahler), the attack on the landlords and the battle in the South - appear to play a subordinate role. There exists, therefore, a conflict between content and form. This conflict between what appears to be the central issue and what is in reality of basic importance characterizes the entire scene-group: on the one hand Angelas and his disciple seem to be gaining supremacy, on the other hand it is made clear that economic and class interests must predominate.

It is plain that this group of scenes does not possess the unity of the first group. It is not even completely certain, and is in fact most doubtful,

that Brecht intended all five scenes to be chronologically connected. It cannot be said that tension mounts from scene to scene in preparation for the climax of Scene Eight; only in Scenes Six b and Seven does any sense of dramatic urgency manifest itself. The contribution of Scenes Five and Six to the pragmatic development of the plot is, conversely, very slight. Significant features of the group are, however, Callas' inner growth from ignorant tenant-farmer (Scene Four) to racist (Scene Seven: Er wird schon sagen, ob ein Tschiche das Recht hat, einem Tschuchen die Gäule wegzunehmen, die er zum Ackern braucht."(253/48)) and Tomaso Angelas' ascendancy, which is counter-balanced by the class-struggle.

### Group Three

The first of the scenes in this group, Scene Eight, a further law court-scene, has a well-defined structure: the plot alternates regularly between the court-room and the viceroy's chamber. At an early stage of the trial, for instance, Angelas leaves the court-room to talk with Eskahler in the viceroy's study, where he learns from the privy-councillor that the salt-tax must be decreed (253/55). A short time later, back in the court-room, Angelas receives a second summons from Eskahler, for the landlords are highly displeased with Angelas' handling of the trial and wish to admonish him (253/63-64). Analysis shows that this oscillation from location to location is not only spatial, but also thematic: in the court-room Angelas' racial ideas hold sway, whereas behind the closed doors of the viceroy's apartment the requirements of the class-struggle and economic measures are debated. The pressure built up in the course of the scene finally resolves itself in the climactic declaration of the salt-tax, a political action which unites both factions. The decree of the salt-tax is a central pivot of the dramatic action of BBA 253; it represents the point at which Angelas' usefulness to the government and its financial supporters is exhausted. An aspect of Scene Eight which gains importance within the play's entirety

is Angelas' condemnation not only of Calausa, but of those individuals prepared to adopt even illegal methods to defend him: the Chief Judge, the Mother Superior and the lawyers ("Der Statthalter verurteilt den Emanuele Calausa von neuem zum Tode! Seine zwei Anwälte wegen Betreibung falschen Zeugnisses, die Oberin von Sankt Barbara wegen Verleumdung und den Obersten Richter wegen Bestechung zu Gefängnis!"(253/77))

Despite its changed location and seemingly unrelated content (the closure of Frau Cornamontis' brothel), Scene Nine is closely linked to the climactic Scene Eight, serving in fact as a symbolic appendage to it. The period of time during which Angelas rules is comparable to the journey Frau Cornamontis undertakes when, at Angelas' command (Scene Four), she shifts from her first establishment into the building previously occupied by Frau Tomaso. The brothel-mistress has no intention of changing her profession and there can be little doubt that her licentious trade will flourish as before - the movement from one set of premises to another represents, in other words, not moral progress, but a "return" to the old circumstances. In the same way, although Angelas appears to be the harbinger of a new social system, the declaration of the salt-tax in Scene Eight signifies the victory of the reactionary forces (Eskahler and the landlords) - the old system merely consolidates its strength. Scenes One to Eight thus inscribe a circular pattern (it might even be justified to refer to a spiral development). It is not surprising, therefore, that numerous motifs extant in the early scenes of the play recur in Scene Nine. The flags hoisted in Scene Two to symbolize the aspirations of the people are taken down, for example, and those who had sought relief from harsh rental demands are forced to vacate their homes and small businesses. Most importantly, the viceroy returns and, intent on executing the plan mentioned in the first scene, accepts an offer of employment from Frau Cornamontis - unofficially, then, the circular movement of the play is complete.

Group Four

Scene Eight constituted the "climax" of the play, the point at which the salt-tax was decreed and Angelas' mission successfully accomplished. But although the country of Peru has thus been spared a socio-economic collapse and its oppressive political system safeguarded, the most powerful representatives of that system have been imprisoned and one of them even faces execution. The fourth and fifth groups of the play are primarily concerned with the problem of their release and hence with the complete re-establishment of the old regime. In Group Four, the action of which probably takes place on the first day of the new month, the day after the main trial, the encounter between Isabella and Angelas (Scene Seven) bears fruit. The first three scenes within the group emanate from the proposition motif and show its consequences. Scene Ten, in which the Abbot refers in veiled terms to the conceivably base intentions of the deputy, is followed by the scene containing the meeting between brother and sister and the former's demand that Isabella forfeit her virginity. In Scene Eleven, which takes place either hours or even a day or days later (how long does Isabella need to change her mind?), the prospective nun, resolved to assist her brother even at the cost of her chastity, approaches Judith and subsequently Frau Cornamontis for advice. The brothel-mistress, eager to reap financial profit, suggests that Judith could replace Isabella in Angelas' bed. This motif of substitution mirrors the inherently circular movement of the play: the prostitute, hoisted high onto the shoulders of admiring Peruvians during the ascendancy of the racist Angelas, tumbles to the ground again as economic "normalcy" returns - Isabella "rises" as Judith "falls". The fourth scene in this group, Scene Twelve, occurs several hours after Scene Eleven (it is now evening, and some time must be allowed for the viceroy to leave Frau Cornamontis and join Callas at the salt-depot). The scene is connected neither pragmatically nor thematically to the three preceding scenes of the group, but takes an entirely new direction and belongs, if anywhere, to the fifth group: Callas' arrest for assault prepares the ground for the trials and

substitution which dominate Scenes Thirteen and Fourteen. Although the fourth group of scenes may be chronologically homogeneous - and even this is not absolutely certain - it does not possess the unity of either the first or the third groups.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the individual scenes differ so markedly from one another. Scene Ten, for example, consists of a simple dialogue (Isabella and the Abbot) which functions as a pragmatic link between Isabella's meeting with Angelas and the prison-visit to her brother. In Scene Ten b the mild increase in tension caused by the previous scene is annulled by the mood of the prison-inmates, who despair at the rough treatment of the guards and are depressed by the Abbot's news:

"DER ABT :Die Pachten wurden nicht gezahlt am ersten.  
 ...  
 ALLE INHAF-  
 TIERTEN :Das ist entsetzlich! Oh! Wir sind verloren!"  
 (253/91)

Tension increases again as Calausa's hopes are raised by his sister's admissions, and a climax is attained within the scene when Isabella refuses to obey her brother and occasions his violent ultimatum ("... Und weder für die Hur/noch für die Betschwester will ich gehängt sein! Schluss!"(253/94)). Any dramatic tension is immediately dispelled by Isabella's exit and the diversion of attention to the Abbot's atheistic comments. Scene Ten b, more complex and interesting than Scene Ten, is superseded by the considerably larger and even more complex scene in which the substitution is effected. Although the location (reception room (?), study (?), street) and the set of figures on stage constantly change in the course of the scene, a dramatic pattern is nevertheless discernible. Approximately the first quarter of the scene is devoted to Isabella's quest for knowledge about her proposed affair with Angelas and its consequences. Frau Cornamontis' deliberately unsympathetic, but frank attitude drives Isabella to the point of despair. A dramatically effective silence ensues at this crucial moment, when Isabella's situation seems most hopeless.

The dramatic tension consciously engineered by Frau Cornamontis to place Isabella in a conducive frame of mind is broken as soon as the brothel-madam explains her scheme:

"ISABELLA :So gibt es nichts, was dagegen spräche, dass  
ich diesen Kelch leere.

FRAU

CORNAMONTIS:Nichts.

STILLE

FRAU

CORNAMONTIS:Doch, etwas.

ISABELLA :Und dies wäre? Sprechen Sie! Oh, sprechen Sie!

FRAU

CORNAMONTIS:Ihr Geld, meine Liebe!"(253/98)

Hereafter the manifold preparations for the substitution dominate the stage, interrupted only by Frau Cornamontis' lengthy philosophizing on the bizarre nature of contemporary society. The twelfth scene of the play, bound only chronologically to the fourth group, contains three distinct parts: the viceroy's lament (about the bad taste of the poor), which is pragmatically superfluous and barely justifiable from a thematic point of view, the heated discussion between the gathered peak- and round-heads, and finally the attempt of the tenant-farmer Callas, who had stated in Scene Nine that he intended to buy the necessary salt before returning home, to procure his ten kilos by violent means, an act resulting in his incarceration (Scene Thirteen). The scene's underlying structure and certain of its motifs recall Scene Three. A fundamental change of outlook caused by the report of a messenger occurs in both. In Scene Three there is a transition from unity and political insight to ignorance and disunity; in Scene Twelve there is a reversal of this situation - the vociferous and racially divided Peruvians of the first half of the scene realize their own part in the defeat of the "Black Flag" and join in silent mourning.

#### Group Five

The two scenes comprising this group are chronologically tightknit: the time-span stretching from the beginning of Scene Thirteen to the end of the last scene is little more than two hours. They are also connected by the constant presence of the viceroy, who moves from the prison (Scene

Thirteen) into the palace courtyard (Scene Fourteen). The two scenes reveal a similar construction: Scene Thirteen begins with a trial and concludes with the arrangement of a substitute (Callas, who had achieved prominence as a roundhead, now "falls" - like his daughter Judith - as class-differences again assert themselves), whereas in the final scene the exposure of the substitutes is succeeded by a further trial. A mirror effect is created; the trials are not identical, however, but rather complement one another. In Scene Thirteen the "pillars of society", Calausa, the Mother Superior and her companions, already sentenced by Angelas in Scene Eight, are tried by the poor tenant-farmers and found guilty; in the following scene the verdict is overruled by their peer, the viceroy, whose return to power signals the official re-establishment of the old system.

### 3.5.3. Conclusion

David Stevenson says of Measure for Measure that its architecture is "overtly, almost grossly, schematic"<sup>64</sup>. The validity of this statement is beyond doubt: Shakespeare's drama is of a strictly symmetrical nature, each of its halves mirroring the other in detail and coinciding perfectly with the editorially superimposed five act division<sup>65</sup>. Brecht's adaptation also possesses five parts, but they do not comprise a latent act division, the shadowy remains of the original structure. Three of these groups (the first, third and fifth) are clearly quite deliberately constructed by Brecht - it may not be said of them that they exist because the model exerted an influence too powerful for the adaptor to resist. The scenes within each of these groups are welded together chronologically and by other means: the scenes forming Group One, for example, all contain the same basic act of political reception (albeit from different perspectives). The symmetrical pattern of the original has also been abandoned by Brecht, although it should be mentioned that, as in Measure for Measure, the first half of the

play "belongs" to Angelas, whereas the second, to a certain degree (for the viceroy only supervises the action, he does not intervene like the Duke), "belongs" to his counterpart, the viceroy. The overall structure of the adaptation contrasts strongly with that of the model: the "pyramid" is superseded by the "circle". This alteration has important consequences: because there is no longer a forward precipitation of the plot towards a "higher truth", the individual scene gains greater autonomy and tension often mounts, not from scene to scene, but within a scene - the analysis has shown that some scenes (particularly Scene Three) have an inner development which Aristotle recommended as suitable for an entire play. Thus, although the general development is circular, the line forming the circle would be composed of numerous small curves or minor "pyramids". The climax of the play should not be thought of in traditional dramatic terms as the final, almost explosive release of amassed tension, but rather in terms of the figures themselves: Calausa has "fallen" from his lofty position at the top of the circle to its nadir, whence Angelas and Callas have advanced to replace him. The conclusion of the play signals the point at which these positions are reversed - the plot has gone "full circle".

Structural principles determining the nature of the play are those of repetition and variation; these are also found in the original, but Brecht is less rigid or schematic in his application of them than Shakespeare. Evidence of these principles is provided by the first group of scenes, but also by the last, in which the same body of persons is tried by two different courts (and was earlier sentenced by Angelas). The court-scene is a typical phenomenon of the play and of Brechtian drama itself. It has a stereometric structure - it demands that the theatre-audience act as a kind of silent judge over the legal proceedings on stage:

""Gerichtsszenen finden sich in fast allen Lehrstücken, aber auch in anderen Dramen Brechts...Ihre besondere Eignung für eine offene Dramaturgie liegt darin, daß Gerichtsverhandlungen an sich immer öffentlichen Charakter haben. Auch in der profanen Realität fühlt sich das Publikum einer Gerichtssitzung als Mitrichter,

die Reden des Anklägers und des Verteidigers, des Angeklagten und der Zeugen gegeneinander abwägend und sich sein eigenes Urteil bildend. Dieser öffentliche Zug wird auch an der Bühnen-Gerichtsszene wirksam... immer wird sich der Zuschauer mit in der Rolle des Gerichtspublikums fühlen. So wird auf der Bühne ein Rechtsfall zur Entscheidung gestellt, über den auch das Theaterpublikum zum Richter bestellt ist."66

A further example of this stereometric or epic-narrative structural element in the text is the address to the theatre-audience by one of the figures on the stage (Scenes Two and Four)<sup>67</sup>. One of the more interesting instances of the repetition principle is found in the recurrence of an identical scene-structure: in Scenes Three and Twelve (equidistant from beginning and end respectively) there is the same change of consciousness incurred by the arrival of a messenger (both times announcing a victory by Angelas). Insight into the class-struggle and concomitant unity with class-equals is replaced by ignorance and so disunity in Scene Three; in Scene Twelve the reverse occurs as the gathered people become aware of their foolishness. Other examples of repetition are the betrayal and substitution motifs, of which the latter are more important thematically and reveal most vividly the influence of the circle concept for the structure of the play. Judith must take Isabella's place in Angelas' bed, and Callas Calausa's position on the scaffold - the circle closes as the poor "fall" and the rich "rise". Brecht emphasizes this aspect in the financial arrangements agreed upon by all parties<sup>68</sup>.

In contrast to the Shakespearean original and to other Brechtian creations of the same period as BBA 253, such as Die Heilige Johanna der Schlachthöfe, this first completed draft of an adaptation lacks structural solidity. In the play about the Salvation Army girl Johanna Dark, Käthe Rülicke-Weiler distinguishes five phases which correspond to the stages of the capitalist economic cycle<sup>69</sup>. The five parts of BBA 253 are not subordinated to any similar underlying tendency. One weakness (among others) of the draft is the simultaneous existence of strongly bound groups (One, Three and Five) on the one hand, and loosely knit on the other. The fourth group is particularly

weak; Scene Twelve belongs chronologically to the fourth group, but has strong pragmatic links to the fifth, the cohesion of which it would undoubtedly disturb, however.

### 3.6. Form

A comparison between the Vienna-version and BBA 253 shows that Brecht has embodied more aspects of contemporary socio-political life in Germany in the latter work. A German audience of the time would have acknowledged the references to inflation, to overproduction<sup>70</sup>, to a racist aspirant to political office, his middle-class backing and his newspaper attacks on the government (Hitler), and even to the salt-tax which, as Walter Pache notes, was levied on the fourteenth of June, 1932, by Chancellor von Papen<sup>71</sup>. However, although many small farmers rose up in open rebellion - by throwing stones at the tax-offices - when the confiscation of their holdings took place during the depression<sup>72</sup>, an organized revolutionary association of farmers as depicted in BBA 253 (the "Black Flag") has no historical foundation. Furthermore, Germany was a highly industrialized country, not an essentially feudal, agrarian society of landlords and tenant-farmers<sup>73</sup>. This mixture of German and non-German elements has been explained by Gisela Bahr, who suggests that Brecht was an avid observer of the Italian political scene and so probably familiar with Alfred Kurella's study on the subject<sup>74</sup>. The numerous parallels between Brecht's work and Kurella's description of conditions in Southern Italy, in particular, support this hypothesis. Italy's internal situation in 1922 closely resembled that of Germany ten years later. In a state of social chaos unchecked by a weak parliament, Mussolini, at the head of a rapidly growing terrorist organization, had negotiated with the government and been appointed as Prime Minister by King Emanuel III. The plan of the ruling class, according to Kurella, had been to exploit Mussolini's Fascist group to crush the rebellion of the

Southern farmers, then to discard him<sup>75</sup>. The example of Italy would have revealed to Brecht not only that Germany could tread the same Fascist path, but also that a play whose basic motif is one of substitution or deputation in difficult political circumstances could provide an excellent basis upon which an artistic treatment of German politics might develop. Thirdly, Brecht would have realized that a naturalistic portrayal of his country's political scene might not be as adequate in its representation of general tendencies as one in which blatantly anachronistic, feudal elements were included<sup>76</sup>. However, although Brecht depicts a feudal society based on his knowledge of Italian affairs probably acquired from Kurella, he locates this society in the South American country of Peru.

Two tendencies thus become visible. On the one hand Brecht's intention of employing the Shakespearean original as a means of conveying his ideas about contemporary German politics is signalled by his inclusion in the manuscript of historical data. On the other hand, the committed playwright senses the need to enclose his material in a fictitious framework: the social parameters of BBA 253 are neither wholly German, Italian or Peruvian - Brecht's creation has no historical counterpart. The analogous relationship between fabricated text and socio-political reality strongly suggests the parable form<sup>77</sup>. The complexities of German political life in the early 1930's have been reduced to a simple pattern, the feudal structure, which nevertheless manifests the principle characteristics and tendencies of the society to which it "refers":

"...the Italian setting in a play on Nazi Germany provided an ingenious formula to isolate the essential factors in a complex situation. Brecht was able, without further elaboration, to typify the power structure of the Weimar Republic in its last phase."<sup>78</sup>

The "unreal" parable form should involve no loss of satirical effect; Brechtian realism does not demand of the creative artist that he faithfully reproduce "reality" in the manner of the Naturalists, only that he depict

the - Marxist - truth about reality<sup>79</sup>. Realism is no longer a question of form:

"Jeder, der nicht in formalen Vorurteilen befangen ist, weiß, daß die Wahrheit auf viele Arten verschwiegen werden kann und auf viele Arten gesagt werden muß. Daß man Empörung über menschliche Zustände auf vielerlei Arten erwecken kann, durch die direkte Schilderung in pathetischer und in sachlicher Weise, durch die Erzählung von Fabeln und Gleichnissen, in Witzen, mit Über- und Untertreibung. Auf dem Theater kann die Wirklichkeit dargestellt werden in sachlicher und in phantastischer Form."<sup>80</sup>

In BBA 253, however, the highly abstract plane of the parable has not yet been attained. Scattered throughout the text are passages which belong in tone to the Vienna-version - several of Frau Cornamontis' humorous speeches, for example, or the viceroy's reflections on the aesthetic inclinations of the proletariat, or even his farce-like return to the city (the "plan" and subsequent employment with Frau Cornamontis).

Furthermore, the situation differs from that of Measure for Measure, in which the Duke's obvious intention is to create experimental conditions. In BBA 253 the deputation is part of the dramatic action, not the deed of an all-powerful being who wishes to conduct a moral test. Brecht's audience is not informed in any similar fashion that the events on stage have been artificially created to prove a certain hypothesis - the narrator-figure typical of the parable is missing. Lastly, Brecht's manuscript is at this stage too direct in its references to historical actuality - Walter Pache thus speaks appropriately of the "historical parable":

"Indem Brecht aus einem ganzen Bündel von authentischen Gesetzen gerade jenes herausgreift, das zwar objektiv nicht am einschneidendsten ist, aber durch seine Handgreiflichkeit die stärkste Symbolwirkung verspricht, nimmt er eine überaus charakteristische Verschiebung vor: der reale Hintergrund bleibt erkennbar, wird allerdings zur Modellsituation stilisiert. Aus dem historischen Drama wird die historische Parabel."<sup>81</sup>

#### 4. The Versuche-version

This version of the play, bearing the title DIE SPITZKÖPFE UND DIE RUNDKÖPFE oder REICH UND REICH GESELLT SICH GERN, marks the final part of the second stage of development<sup>82</sup>. Meant to appear in Volume Eight of Kiepenheuer's edition of the Versuche, its imminent publication was interrupted by the Nazi seizure of power in January, 1933, and Brecht's subsequent departure, with the proofs, from Germany. In this self-imposed exile further drafts were written, and an entirely new play emerged from these labours, but the version completed before January 1933, did finally appear in the Suhrkamp edition of 1959. The play contains a brief preface:

"Das Schauspiel „Die Spitzköpfe und die Rundköpfe“ oder „Reich und reich gesellt sich gern“ ist der 17. der „Versuche“. Dieses Schauspiel ist auf Grund von Besprechungen entstanden, welche eine Bühnenbearbeitung von Shakespeares „MaB für MaB“ bezweckten. Der Plan einer Erneuerung von „MaB für MaB“ wurde während der Arbeit fallen gelassen."  
(Versuche,p.248)

It should be noted, firstly, that although Brecht originally had the desire to adapt or "renew" MaB für MaB for the modern theatre, this plan had been discarded at an unspecified time in the course of work. Secondly, Brecht employs the term "Schauspiel" to describe his creation, which could either be intended neutrally (to mean "play"), or imply that his drama belongs to the tragi-comic genre.

##### 4.1. Brecht's Collaboration with Hans Hermann Borchardt

Hans Borchardt is familiar to Brecht scholarship primarily through his assistance in the writing of Die Heilige Johanna der Schlachthöfe<sup>83</sup>.

Klaus Völker notes that Borchardt was a teacher who left Germany for Russia in 1933<sup>84</sup>. Although there is little biographical information about Borchardt, his influence on Brecht in the work based upon MaB für MaB should not be ignored (as has previously been the case) and may be gauged from an analysis of the material, extant in the Brecht archives (266/104-115), which he probably submitted to Brecht for scrutiny. That Borchardt's name does not stand beside those of Emil Burri and Elisabeth Hauptmann as collaborators is no indication of non-involvement. Margarete Steffin, whose assistance is manifested by numerous textual additions, is not mentioned either. His material consists of twelve handwritten pages and constitutes an interesting example of what may have been required of collaborators, or, at least, of what certain collaborators may have considered their task to be. It should be mentioned that the name "Susanne Borchardt" also appears on several of these pages, suggesting that she too may have been involved in the process of collaboration. Gisela Bahr declares that certain parts of BBA 256 - she could equally include the Versuche in this statement - obviously reflect Borchardt's ideas, but she expresses no opinion as to the manuscript he must have consulted<sup>85</sup>. Since BBA 254, the second completed draft, appears already to contain alterations deriving from this material, it seems most likely that his critique is based on BBA 253. To reveal where Borchardt's critical faculties were most concentrated, it is helpful to divide the material into four parts, which show that he executed the function of a proof-reader, but also felt free to comment on textual areas such as theme, character and plot. However, there can be no doubt that his interest lay predominantly in the mechanics of the plot.

I The correction of typing and similar errors  
Borchardt notes seven pages upon which purely clerical mistakes can be found.

## II Plot alterations

- a) Scene 1 - Eskahler tells the viceroy he cannot introduce the salt-tax because of Angelas. In the dialogue between Eskahler and the viceroy it must be evident that the latter had long nurtured the idea of commissioning Angelas (266/104).
- b) Scene 2 - Judith's monologue should be a dialogue ("Monolog der Judith wegen Voreingenommenheit der Kritiker besser Dialog. (Weil direkte Mitteilung ans Publikum, d.h. Beleidigung der Theaterkritiker)") (266/106).
- c) Scene 4 - Angelas' confirmation of the rent's secondary importance must be emphasized more strongly. Callas' misunderstanding is a dramatic nodal point ("Dramatischer Knoten: das Mißverständnis des Callas") (266/108).
- d) Scene 5 - Shorten the negotiations (266/109).
- e) Scene 6a - There is no need to retain this scene. Callas can mention the horses at the beginning of Scene 6b (266/109).
- f) Scene 7 - Does Angelas know nothing of the horses? Before the audience granted to Isabella by Angelas takes place, more should be revealed about the court-case (Scene Eight): the appeal by Calausa, the two horses, the attack on Schunirello, the verdict against the "Black Flag" men (266/109-110). The meeting between Isabella and Angelas is perhaps superfluous. Angelas' suspicious words can be spoken in the court-hearing (Scene Eight). Angelas should not reject the salt-tax at this stage (he believes it is just) (266/114).
- g) Scene 8 - The strike-scenes must be removed, because they hinder the movement of the plot, and "oppose the idea and also the figure of Angelas ("sind gegen die Idee, auch gegen die Angelas-figur"). This second court-hearing must be better anticipated and more compact ("Die zweite Verhandlung muss besser vorbereitet und zusammengedrängt werden."). The salt-tax must be prepared for in the opening scenes, perhaps in the following way: Angelas refuses to decree the tax immediately. The people's sacrificial mood must be stimulated by true justice and by the eradication of the "Black Flag" (266/111).

- h) Scene 9 - Is the viceroy's "plan" necessary?  
(266/112-113).
- i) Scene 12 - The viceroy's speech at the beginning is unnecessary. The scene showing how the viceroy is imprisoned is missing (266/115).

### III Character

- a) ANGELAS - He is accepted by the landowners because he hates the "Black Flag" ("die eigentlichen Kommunisten"), by the poor on account of his patriotism, his justice and his racial division of the population. Angelas is foolish and will quickly destroy himself ("so wird er des Vizekönigs Arbeit tun, sich schnell abwirtschaften (nachher) im Stück sehn wir dann, daß er noch ganz andere und raschere Mittel, sich selbst zu liquidieren, anwendet) (Denn die Dummheit ist tiefer denn ein Meer und schwindlicher denn ein Abgrund, sie ist immer noch dümmer als man erwartet"). Angelas hates Callas when he talks of the rent (and not of racial matters). Angelas is a reactionary: he greets the salt-tax because it is fair, and dislikes the idea of a proportional tax because it is prejudiced against those with property ("Eine progressive Einkommensteuer greift das Princip an! es müssen auch reiche Leute geben. Besitzsteuer ist Raubbau an der Substanz! Salzsteuer ist die gerechteste. Angelas feste Überzeugung, mit der er das Amt übernommen hat. Also darf er den Gesetzentwurf nicht zurückschieben."). The audience should feel that Angelas is in a state of near exhaustion ("Man muß das Gefühl haben: Angelas ist dreiviertel alle. Er muß jetzt die schwarzen Fahnen niederwerfen und die Pächter. Er muß gegen das ganze Volk regieren. Das können die Pachtherren nicht dulden.").
- b) VICEROY - He knows that the "Black Flag" is not being financed by peakheads. Although he himself is a landowner, certain landowners do not consider him reliable enough. He wants Angelas to do his own work for him, and believes that the racist will swiftly make himself a liability afterwards.
- c) CHIEF JUDGE - Replaced by Angelas because he is a materialist (the heart of the matter is moral).

d)ESKAHLER - He is astounded that in a period of social upheaval Angelas will try to overcome the country's problems by being "just" ("durch gerechte Justiz").

#### IV Theme

"Die nationale Einheitsfront des Angelas": The unity of the lower middle-class merchants and farmers, otherwise non-existent, is attained by exposing their common enemy, either a foreigner or a Jew ("der nicht anwesend ist, also ohne Gegenrede "schuldig" zu sprechen ist").

Those of Borchardt's suggestions adopted by Brecht will be discussed in subsequent chapters.

#### 4.2. Overproduction and the Tenant-farmer Revolution

In the Versuche Brecht portrays a society in which the crucial problem of overproduction has arisen and dominates socio-political existence. The tenant-farmer revolution is the method adopted by the deprived masses to overcome the crisis by destroying its foundation, the institution of private property (the private ownership of the means of production).

##### 4.2.1. The Phenomenon of Overproduction

The realization of surplus-value ("Mehrwert") is the intention of the capitalist. There are two parts to the process of surplus-value or profit creation: the immediate exploitation of human labour in the production of wares, on the one hand, and the sale of those wares in the market-place, on the other hand. The sale of goods depends to a large extent upon the consumer ability of society, which is determined "weder durch die absolute Produktionskraft noch durch die absolute Konsumtionskraft; sondern durch die Konsumtionskraft der großen Masse der Gesellschaft auf ein nur innerhalb mehr oder minder enger Grenzen veränderliches Minimum reduziert." <sup>86</sup>. Overproduction in the Marxist sense

does not imply that too much has been produced for the community to consume, that, in other words, the social organism has devoured enough to satisfy itself, but not been able to exhaust the entire stocks of, for example, foodstuffs; overproduction means rather that more has been produced than the greater part of society is able to procure economically for its continued existence. The ability of man to fulfil his needs and wants is impeded by the degree of exploitation (to which he is submitted by the employer) and the competitive struggle of business. Overproduction in the context of capitalism thus really signifies the "underconsumption of (the) necessaries of life" <sup>87</sup>.

This internal contradiction - hunger and poverty amidst abundance - occurs because the capitalist acts according to the rule of profitability, not to meet the basic demands of the producers:

"Die wahre Schranke der kapitalistischen Produktion ist das Kapital selbst, ist dies: daß das Kapital und seine Selbstverwertung als Ausgangspunkt und Endpunkt, als Motiv und Zweck der Produktion erscheint; daß die Produktion nur Produktion für das Kapital ist und nicht umgekehrt die Produktionsmittel bloße Mittel für eine stets sich erweiternde Gestaltung des Lebensprozesses für die Gesellschaft der Produzenten sind." <sup>88</sup>

The capitalist system engenders a crisis in which a certain quantity has been produced and could promote the general welfare of the community, but the living standards of the majority remain wretchedly low because it cannot afford to buy the necessary goods, and because the capitalist will only release them in exchange for a profit-bearing sum of money. The requirements of the people and of their oppressor conflict.

### Scene Analysis

The following analysis concentrates only upon those scenes in which significant changes concerning overproduction and the revolution have taken place.

Scene 1

The most noteworthy alteration in Scene One is that Eskahler no longer describes numerous features of the capitalist system which either typify or occasion its increasingly frequent crises - the perfection of machinery (rationalization), unemployment, the flight of capital - but concentrates upon the initially mentioned aspect of overproduction ("Die Erde gibt zuviel her!" (253/2)):

"Der Überfluß ists, Herr, der uns verzehrt.  
Denn unser Land Peru lebt durch Getreide  
und stirbt auch durch Getreide. Und jetzt stirbts.  
Und am Zuviel stirbts. Denn in solchem Unmaß  
trug unser Acker Korn, daß den Beschenkten  
dieses Geschenk begrub. Der Preis sank so  
daß er die Fracht nicht aufwog. Das Getreide  
bringt nicht soviel ein, wie das Mähen kostet.  
Gegen die Menschen wuchs das Korn herauf.  
Der Überfluß erzeugte Not." (Versuche, pp.250-251) <sup>89</sup>

In a feudal society, in which the producers are the consumers, overproduction - an excellent harvest - would be a welcome occurrence. In Brecht's fictitious land of Peru it represents a disaster, for although the significant social relationships are feudal (land-owner/tenant-farmer), the underlying economic system is capitalist. The grain is viewed in terms of its exchange-value ("Der Preis sank so ..."). There is an excess of produce on the one hand, and abject poverty on the other <sup>90</sup> - attention is drawn by Brecht to this perverse, inherently capitalist contradiction through such startling, dialectical phrases as "Der Überfluß ists, Herr, der uns verzehrt." or "Der Überfluß erzeugte Not ..." <sup>91</sup>.

In BBA 253 the "Black Flag" uprising and the ugly mood of the Angelas soldiers and of the landlords were the consequences of the general economic depression - there was no direct link forged between any particular feature of the economic crash and the subsequent social

disorder. In the Versuche Brecht simplifies the problem: grain overproduction affects those who depend economically upon agriculture - the tenant-farmers and their masters. The tenant-farmers like Callas have been unable to gain a reasonable financial return in the marketplace for their goods - "Dieses Jahr wuchs das Getreide in solchem Unmaß, daß man für einen ganzen Wagen nicht soviel bekommt wie sonst für einen Eimer" (Versuche,p.262) - and so cannot afford to pay their rent, which is also exorbitant. Hence they unite under the symbol of the sickle to protect their interests by force.

As a consequence of overproduction, then, the farmers cannot, and do not want to, pay the rent they owe to their landlords. This refusal is a revolutionary act - "Die Pächter/verweigerten die Pacht. In seinem Grund-/gefüg wankte der Staat ..." (Versuche,p.251) - because it threatens to remove the basis of exploitation in Peru, the landlords' ownership of the means of production (the fields etc.). The issue of the rent, intimately connected with those of the revolution and overproduction, assumes far greater relevance in the Versuche. Whereas in BBA 253 Eskahler confesses that the government is, in general, too "lax" (253/3), in the Versuche he acknowledges its weakness in collecting the rent:

"ESKAHLER: Wenn Sie nicht können  
dann müssen die Pachtherrn ran.  
VIZEKÖNIG: Die zahlen  
doch nicht.  
ESKAHLER: Wir sind ihnen zu lasch im Pachteintreiben."  
(Versuche, p.252)

The viceroy does not ask vaguely about Angelas' attitude towards property ("Was mit dem Eigentum?" (253/4)), but wants to know specifically

about the rent ("Was ist mit der Pacht?" (Versuche,p.254)). The strike, which in BBA 253 had been simply another phenomenon typical of the inflationary period, is, in the Versuche, a direct result of the overproduction crisis. Because the economic foundation of their existence is unstable, the landlords and their tenants refuse to pay the taxes which support the bureaucratic apparatus of the government. A strike of the civil servants is therefore imminent, and this makes the position of the landlords particularly difficult, because they rely upon the judiciary (the courts and the police) to enforce the rent-contracts. The landlords are caught in a dilemma of their own making ("Denn ein Vertrag ist nicht von Natur aus./Sperrt das Gericht zu und es gibt ihn nicht mehr!/Und ohne Polizei gibts keine Pacht!" (Versuche,p.251)).

The viceroy, now described as Peru's largest landowner - the political and economic spheres merge ("Reich und reich gesellt sich gern") - again refuses to intercede personally by decreeing a salt-tax. But whereas in BBA 253 he harboured the clever plan of deputing Angelas to execute the delicate task <sup>92</sup>, in the Versuche he depends entirely upon Eskahler's wisdom - the shrewd and politically able viceroy of BBA 253 is superseded by the considerably weaker figure of the Versuche <sup>93</sup>, whose apparently moral stance ("Nur nicht die Salzsteuer! Das/macht böses Blut! und ist auch nicht gerecht." (Versuche, p.251)) is now relativized by certain concessions ("Salzsteuer! Freilich wär das gut." (Versuche,p.252)) and by his cold-blooded restorative activities in the final scene. Lastly, although Brecht has placed greater emphasis on Eskahler, the viceroy is still a cautious politician who fears - correctly - that Angelas may slip from their control:

"ESKAHLER:...

... Doch  
sollen wir die Salzsteuer zur Bedingung  
machen  
oder abwarten, bis die Sichel bekämpft  
ist und  
sie dann einfach erlassen und sie ihm  
als eine Sache mehr der Verwaltung hin-  
stellen  
die aufgebaut auf das Vertrauen des nun-  
mehr  
durch ihn geeinten Volkes den Bestand  
des neuen Staates uns verbürgen würd?

VIZEKÖNIG:Nein, dafür bin ich nicht. Wo ist  
die Salzsteuer?

ESKAHLER (*zeigt eine rote Mappe*): Hier der  
Entwurf.

VIZEKÖNIG Den wird er unterschreiben.  
Damit er weiß, was los ist. Und wirs  
wissen.

ESKAHLER:Und wenn ers dann nicht macht? Denn  
diese Salzsteuer  
ist eine Kugel am Bein von solcher  
Schwere ...

VIZEKÖNIG:Grad diese Kugel soll an seinem Bein  
sein  
sonst rennt er uns das Firmament ein und  
nützt uns gar nicht. Wir machens davon  
abhängig." (Versuche,pp.254-255)

Eskahler, not the viceroy, is the mastermind of the scheme to exploit Angelas in the attempt to re-establish the socio-political status quo <sup>94</sup>. In BBA 253 the people would pay the salt-tax mooted as the solution to the problem if they felt they could trust the person who demanded it of them; it was, therefore, Angelas' good reputation which had secured the interest of the government. In the Versuche Eskahler must find someone able to destroy the "Sickle" ("... 's müßt einer sein, der erst die/Sichel zerbrechen kann ..." (Versuche,p.252)) - government measures against inflation or economic reformism is superseded by open class-struggle, in which the dominant economic stratum seeks to quash the rebellion of the numerically stronger, exploited lower class.

The salt-tax, it should be noted, must still be decreed, but this can only be accomplished after the "Sickle" has been crushed and national unity thereby achieved - the entire nation must contribute to the economic rebirth<sup>95</sup>. Angelas is chosen for the task, not primarily because of his reputation, but because he opposes the class-struggle in favour of the race-conflict:

"Er setzt an Stell des Kampfs von Arm und Reich  
den Kampf der Tschuchen gegen die Tschichen."  
(Versuche,p.254)

The diversion of attention from economic to biological differences will defuse the antagonism between landlord and tenant-farmer, and encourage the growth of a new community spirit on a racial basis.

#### Scene 6

The scene commences as Callas explains to the patrons of the coffee-house that he has expropriated the horses belonging to his landlord. This speech is the only remaining section of the grain-merchant scene (BBA 253, Scene 6), deemed superfluous by Hans Borchardt in his study of the earliest manuscript<sup>96</sup>. More significant than this structural alteration, however, is Brecht's addition to the text of Scene Six of projected information ("... Auf der Rückseite eines ... Hauses läuft eine Leuchtschrift ..." (Versuche,p.280)) about the violent encounters in the south and north of Peru between government troops and the revolutionary tenant-farmers. Whereas in BBA 253 the attention of both the audience and the dramatic personnel is directed at Callas' theft of the horses and Calausa's fate, these aspects must now be considered in a broader, epic perspective. The figures take cognizance of, and comment on, the shifting tide of battle:

"DIE LEUCHTSCHRIFT: AUS ALLEN TEILEN DES SÜDENS

KOMMEN MELDUNGEN ÜBER WIDERRECHTLICHE ANEIGNUNGEN DER LÄNDEREIEIEN DURCH DIE PÄCHTER. NEUERDINGS KOMMEN SOLCHE MELDUNGEN AUCH AUS DEN NÖRDLICHEN DISTRIKTEN.

DER EINE PACHTHERR: Wie ein Taifun kommt das herauf! Niemals hätte ich gedacht, daß es zu so offensichtlichen Räubereien kommen könnte. Sie nehmen das Land einfach weg." (Versuche, p.284)

Occasionally their actions are determined by the news they receive. In BBA 253 the observer can only assume that Callas' refusal to acquiesce in the lawyer's proposal is inspired by his nascent petit-bourgeois consciousness; in the Versuche a politically shrewder Callas bases his decision on the state of the revolution:

"ANWÄLTE: Klipp und klar: Sie können jetzt zwei Pferde geschenkt bekommen, wenn Sie klug sind. (*Die Anwälte setzen sich an einen Seitentisch. Beide Tische verhandeln leise.*)

DIE LEUCHTSCHRIFT: AUCH AUS DEN NÖRDLICHEN BEZIRKEN WERDEN JETZT KLEINERE AKTIONEN AUFSTÄNDISCHER PÄCHTER GEMELDET.

CALLAS: Es steht schlecht für sie. Das ist gut. Da werden sie nachgiebig. Wir dürfen unsere Rechte nicht für ein Butterbrot wegschenken. (*Zu den Anwälten, die wieder an den Tisch getreten sind.*) Meine Antwort ist: nein!" (Versuche, p.286)

In Scene Nine, when he meets the viceroy on the steps of Frau Cornamontis' brothel, Callas confirms that his ownership of the horses ultimately depended upon the success of the "Sickle" revolutionaries:

"Es war alles sehr gut im Schuß. Drei Tage lang. Hätte es an diesem letzten Tag nicht geregnet und hätte ich etwas im Magen gehabt, wäre alles jetzt anders. Aber weil es regnete, ging ich in dieses Kaffeehaus, und weil sie mir, um mich zu ehren, zu trinken gaben, aber nichts zu essen, vertrug ich nichts und redete mich um mein sichereres Glück. Nein, sagte ich, als sie mir die Pferde anboten. So an einem Haar hat es gehangen und ich hätte die Pferde bekommen. Aber damals war freilich die Sichel noch im Vormarsch, und dann lieb sie leider nach!" (Versuche, p.325-326)

### Scene 7

In BBA 253 this scene possesses a distinct framework structure in which the meeting of Isabella and Angelas extant from the Shakespearean original forms the centre-piece. Interest is thereby drawn to this encounter and not to the flanking sections, where, paradoxically, the more important motifs are to be found (the salt-tax, the attack on the landlords). In the Versuche, probably at Borchardt's suggestion <sup>97</sup>, Brecht has transposed a mass of material from Scene Eight into Scene Seven with the obvious intention of preparing the ground for, and reducing the overwhelming proportions of, the second trial. In this process, the audience granted by the deputy pales into comparative insignificance (Borchardt actually considered it superfluous).

Of sole concern to the landlords in BBA 253, Scene Seven, is that Angelas should pardon Calausa in the appeal trial and punish those who bodily assaulted them ("Sie wünschen Rücknahme/des Urteils gegen den Calausa, das/wie sie behaupten, sie der Strasse preisgibt/und harte Strafe für jene, die an Männern/wie Schunirello sich vergreifen." (253/52)). The "Black Flag" revolution is not regarded as an issue of importance, and the two brief statements about the balance of power in the South contradict one another <sup>98</sup>. In Scene Seven of the Versuche, the personal attacks on the landlords become less relevant as the focus of attention moves to Callas' illegal, *per se* revolutionary expropriation of the farm animals and the defeat of the government troops in the South. According to Eskahler's plan Angelas will be permitted to practise the form of justice he advocates, for this will encourage the Peruvian people to pay the salt-tax, the necessary condition of further financial backing from the landlords in the struggle against the "Sickle" <sup>99</sup>. The setting is thus constructed for a trial whose terms

of reference, far broader and more complicated than before, are ultimately defined by the circumstances of the tenant-farmer revolution <sup>100</sup>.

A minor alteration mirroring the major shift in emphasis is the replacement of Eskahler's query about the salt-tax ("Lest Ihr den Entwurf der Salzsteuer? ..." (253/49)) by a passage in which the captured Perez expresses the outlook of the "Sickle" movement:

"ANGELAS (*zu den vier von der Sichel*): Ihr seid Räuber, wie?  
 PEREZ:Nein. Wir sind solche, die Geraubtes zurück-holen wollen.  
 ANGELAS:Ich werde euch hängen lassen!  
 PEREZ:Ja. Einige von uns. Nicht alle.  
 ANGELAS:Das wird für euch keinen Unterschied machen.  
 PEREZ:Doch, es macht einen.  
 ANGELAS:Das ist der Tschich, der so spricht.  
 PEREZ (*auf die andern drei deutend*):Und das sind die Tschuchen." (Versuche,p.290)

A similar indication of Brecht's desire to incorporate the revolution more fully into his work may be discovered in Scene Fourteen, when Perez, repeating the statement he had made in Scene Three, assures Callas that union with the revolutionary forces was his only chance:

"Und doch war da, Callas, ein Tag  
 in dem alles in deiner Hand lag  
 hattest Gewalt über dein Geschick.  
 Hättst du die Sichel nicht zerbrochen, brauchtest du jetzt  
 keinen Strick!  
 Liefst weg von der Gewalt hinter einer Gerechtigkeit her.  
 Ist deine Gewalt weg, gibts für dich keine Gerechtigkeit  
 mehr!  
 Als du deine einzige Aussicht wegwarfst, weil sie dir zu  
 klein schien, hast du alles verloren, denn mehr hattest du  
 nicht." (Versuche,p.359)

### Scene 8

The shift in emphasis from the salt-tax to the uprising caused by over-production is most evident in Scene Eight <sup>101</sup>. When challenged by the

newly appointed judge, Eskahler retorts that the payment of the civil servants' salaries is conditional, not, as in BBA 253, on the salt-tax, but on the outcome of the struggle against the rebel farmers:

"DER NEUE RICHTER:... Glauben Sie denn, daß wenigstens heute ... (*Er macht die Bewegung des Geldauszahlens.*) ...?  
 ESKAHLER: Wenn wir die aufrührerischen Pächter nieder kriegen, bekommen wir sofort Kredit."  
 (Versuche, p. 302)

The judge, a peakhead-hater <sup>102</sup> who is confessedly apolitical, then questions Eskahler about the battle ("Übrigens: Wie steht die Schlacht?" (Versuche, p. 303)), an enquiry repeated, significantly, eight times during the scene by interested parties (Angelas and the landlords).

The main climax of the play now occurs when the news of the government victory, formerly announced in Scene Twelve (253/107), reaches the capital:

"EINE STIMME VON HINTEN: Sieg!  
 RUF: Hoch Angelas!  
 DIE STIMME: Gewonnen ist die Schlacht! Am Boden liegt die Pächtersichel! Sieg!  
 RUF: Hoch  
 Angelas!  
 (*Der Inspektor bringt Eskahler eine Depesche.*)  
 DIE PACHTHERREN: Wirklich?! Ein Sieg?  
 ESKAHLER (*leise*): Der Sieg. Der Aufruhr ist mit Gottes Hilfe blutig niedergeschlagen!"  
 (Versuche, p. 315)

This information is transmitted only after five hours of ill-boding silence, however, and brings welcome relief to the deeply depressed landlords. An anxious Saz, who has even gone to the extent of packing his bags and is ready to leave on the next train, curses when told by his friends that there will probably be no vacant seats:

"DIE FÜNF PACHTHERREN: Die Schlacht, wie steht sie?  
 ESKAHLER: Seit fünf Stunden nichts. Kein Wort und keine Zeile.  
 DIE PACHTHERREN: Schlechtes Zeichen!  
 SAZ: Noch eine halbe Stunde wart ich, dann reise ich ab. Die Koffer sind gepackt.

DIE PACHTHERREN: Seit heute früh sind alle Züge, die  
zwei Tage lang, seit der Sichel Vormarsch  
gestoppt war, beinah leer fuhrn, überfüllt.  
Und jetzt ist Streik. VergiB das nicht.

SAZ: Ver-  
dammt!" (Versuche, p.314)

It is possible that this new motif was contributed by Ruth Berlau, whose notes refer to the "Black Flag" and so belong to this second stage of development <sup>103</sup>. It is even conceivable that Brecht laid greater stress on the revolution at her suggestion; in her plan of the drama, the danger of the "Black Flag" and the problem of the harvest are accentuated <sup>104</sup>.

### Scene 9

In conversation with the police-inspector who has orders to close her brothel, Frau Cornamontis admits that business has been suffering as a result of overproduction. The absurd, inhuman nature of overproduction in the capitalist system is underlined by their implicit condemnation of the good harvest:

"FRAU CORNAMONTIS: ... Wir merken die schlechte  
Zeit sehr. In diesem Jahr wird am wenigsten  
geliebt von all den Jahren, die ich dieses Haus  
führe. Es soll zuviel Getreide gewachsen sein.  
INSPEKTOR: Ja, es ist schrecklich."

(Versuche, pp.322-323)

The audience is obliged to conclude that a society in which such conversations can take place is unnatural or fundamentally "out of joint" and must be changed. In these circumstances it is also understandable that Frau Cornamontis is not in a financial position to offer the viceroy employment, but Brecht has in any case excised the almost farcical motif of the viceroy's plan to get a job and so to establish contact "mit den einfacheren Leuten" (253/82) <sup>105</sup>. Accordingly, the viceroy now reappears in Lima because he has heard the bells signalling the suppression of the rebellion -

"Wohl schon vergessen hier in meiner Stadt

kehr ich zurück, ich hoffe: unbemerkt.  
 Dies Läuten hier beweist, daß ich gesiegt  
 wenn ich auch nicht weiß, wie. Nun, jedenfalls  
 verlaß ich schon das Dunkel, das mich barg."  
 (Versuche,p.321)

- and is present as Angelas militia-men post signs announcing the victory (in BBA 253 these notices bear the salt-tax edict). It should be noted, lastly, that a structural alteration has been undertaken within the scene which was clearly occasioned by the increased importance of the revolution as a part of the dramatic action. The prominent speech concluding the scene in BBA 253 and containing the viceroy's quasi-oracular summary of events ("Nun habe ich wieder ihnen mich gesellt...") now precedes the return of Callas and his daughter Judith to the brothel. By thus dividing the scene into two parts, Brecht draws attention to the fate of the tenant-farmer Callas, in particular, the exemplary individual whose activity significantly weakened the front presented by the "Sickle" forces and ultimately induced its collapse.

#### Scene 10

In this scene, to which the brief dialogue between Isabella and the Abbot (BBA 253, Scene 10a) has been affixed, Calausa's fellow inmates (the lawyers, the Mother Superior and the Chief Judge) attempt to persuade him that the defeat of the "Sickle" means that there is no longer any necessity for his execution - Calausa's condemnation was only a ruse to convince as many Peruvians as possible that Angelas could realize the justice they sought and hence to lure aspiring revolutionaries away from their confederates<sup>106</sup>. The inmates even view Angelas' "offer" within the context of the tenant-farmer revolution. They agree with the fearful Calausa that Angelas wants to sleep with Isabella, but affirm that this kind of blackmail was only possible prior

to the rout of the "Sickle":

"DIE INHAFTIERTEN: Natürlich ist's ein Antrag!  
                                   's ist Erpressung!  
 Versucht, bevor die Sichel zerschlagen  
                                   war.  
 Und damals konnte er uns auch erpressen  
 jetzt aber, ach, begreif das doch,  
                                   Calausa  
 hat er sie nicht mehr, diese Sichel.  
                                   und  
 kann nichts erpressen mehr. Das nicht  
                                   zu sehn!" (Versuche,p.331)

### Scene 12

This scene was not extant in BBA 253, but Brecht included it already in the second draft<sup>107</sup>; it is composed of passages removed from BBA 253 (Scenes Eight and Fourteen) and of completely new material. The climax of BBA 253, the proclamation of the salt-tax, is attained in the Versuche when the government troops quell the "Sickle" insurrection; the salt-tax must still be imposed (as a concrete means of refilling the state coffers), but, Eskahler and the viceroy agree in Scene One, only after the rebels have been subdued and the country unified. This is achieved in Scene Eight, and Angelas, furthermore, has been able to consolidate his reputation as a truly just ruler on the basis of the Calausa trial. Taking these factors into consideration and noting the continued strike-action of the civil-service, Eskahler concludes that the tax should now be decreed:

"Herr Angelas, die Stund ist jetzt gekommen  
 wo Ihr Euren Namen, dem Ihr Ruhm verschafft  
 als dem gerechtesten, dem Freund des Volkes  
 unter die Salzsteuer setzen müßt. Die Sichel  
 habt Ihr zerbrochen, so das Volk geeint.  
 Nun rettet ihm den Staat. ..." (Versuche,p.342)

In the second half of BBA 253 the rent issue plays a minor role - Callas sends Judith to beg for leniency as soon as the salt-tax is

proclaimed (Scene Eight), in the first prison scene (Scene 10b) the message arrives that the tenant-farmers have refused to pay the landowners, and in Scene Thirteen Callas and the poor-court judges also refer to the problem of the rent. But the matter is not discussed on a governmental level until the final scene, and then it is swiftly resolved by the viceroy. In the Versuche, in contrast, the significance of the salt-tax has decreased considerably<sup>108</sup>, while the revolution and the concomitant question of the rent have moved into the foreground of interest. This is evident throughout the first half of the play, but more noticeably so in later scenes where the rent was previously unmentioned. In Scene Nine, for example, Callas laments, as before, the dispossession of the horses, but adds now that there still exists the possibility he will not have to pay his rent:

"... Ich habe allerdings noch die Aussicht, daß ich die Pacht nicht zahlen muß. Ich rechne so: wenn der Pachtherr gehängt wird, muß doch der Pächter keine Pacht mehr zahlen! Der Angelas hat ja selber gesagt: die Pacht ist nebensächlich."

(Versuche, p. 326)

In this version of the play the rent is anything but "nebensächlich", a fact ratified by the viceroy's sceptical reaction:

"VIZEKÖNIG: Was hat der Angelas gesagt?  
CALLAS: Die Pacht ist nebensächlich.  
VIZEKÖNIG: Soso, die Pacht ist nebensächlich....  
CALLAS: Ja, das ist ein großes Wort.

...

VIZEKÖNIG: Die Pacht ist nebensächlich"

(Versuche, pp. 326-327)

Calausa even refers to the rent when imploring his sister to save him from the gallows:

"Ich hab's verlangt! Und er verlangt es auch!  
Und 's ist auch nicht nur meine Sach. 's ist  
deine  
Wenn man mich hängt, zahlt dir kein Pächter  
Pacht.  
Und deine Keuschheit liegt am freien Markt.  
Sie will bezahlt sein und das liegt an dir."  
(Versuche, p. 332) 109

In the Versuche, then, Calausa's imminent death, the lawful execution of a landlord, becomes a matter of serious political concern - its revolutionary potential, the non-payment of the rent, is emphasized by Brecht. The conversation about Calausa which takes place between Eskahler and Angelas at the beginning of BBA 253, Scene Fourteen ("Herr, hartnäckig hält im Land das Gerücht/dieser Calausa wird gehängt jetzt wegen/Pachtwucher . . . Ach, Staatsrat/glaubst Du, mir läß an dieses Tschichen Tod?/dass Du so in mich dringst, als wär ich ein/blutdürstiger Henker." (253/120-121)) has been incorporated into the text following the edict of the salt-tax (Versuche, p.343). Already in Scene Twelve, therefore, and not as late as the final scene, the problem is deliberated by the heads of state (Angelas, Eskahler and the landlords) <sup>110</sup>.

### Scene 13

The viceroy is still present in this scene, but his lament at the un-aesthetic clothing of the poor has been removed. In BBA 253 the gathered peakheads and roundheads talk about the Calausa case ("Wann wird dieser Calausa gehängt?" (253/105), the salt-tax ("Was nützt dem Pächter seines Pachtherrn Hals?/Das, was er bräuchte, wär ein billiges Salz!" (253/107)), and the "Black Flag" ("Ich werde Euch sagen, wer gehängt wird: die von den Schwarzen Fahnen: weil die keine Salzsteuer zahlen!" (253/107)). This general discussion is replaced in the Versuche by an analysis concentrated upon the rent and the relevance of Calausa's execution:

"DIE PÄCHTER: Wir sind acht Personen und drei Kühe, wie sollen wir da mit zwei Zentnern über den Winter kommen? Es kommt jetzt alles darauf an, wie es mit der Pacht werden soll . . . Ein Pachtherr ist ja schon zum Tode verurteilt wegen Pachtwuchers. Das bedeutet doch, daß die Regierung die Pachtherrn fallen läßt . . . Pacht und Salzsteuer wäre ja auch unmöglich, das kann sich ein Kind ausrechnen. Richtig, eigentlich kann man aus der Salz-

steuer allein schon schlieBen, daB die Pacht  
wegfallen soll! ..." (Versuche,p.350)

#### Scene 14

At the beginning of this scene in BBA 253, the viceroy asks his fellow inmates to identify the more distinguished-or conspicuous prisoners, and Calausa is only one of several (Callas, the Chief Judge, the lawyers) they describe to him. The burning issue of the rent is mentioned only once by an imprisoned tenant-farmer, who opines that Calausa's execution will have no revolutionary repercussions:

"Und wenn er gehängt wird? Die Pacht muss weiter  
bezahlt werden." (253/110) lll

The decisive modification undertaken by Brecht in the Versuche becomes obvious in the two opening speeches of the scene:

"VIZEKÖNIG:Was ist los hier?  
DER TABAKHÄNDLER:Es heiBt, daB der Tschiche  
Calausa - das dort oben ist er - heute nacht  
gehängt werden soll, das hier (*Er zeigt auf  
die Umstehenden.*) sind hauptsächlich Pächter  
aus der Umgebung, die sich persönlich über-  
zeugen wollen, ob sie wirklich einen Pacht-  
herrn einfach aufhängen. Sie würden darin eine  
Preisgabe der Pachtherren durch die Regierung  
erblicken und dann die Pachtzahlung verweigern."  
(Versuche,p.352)

The execution of Calausa as government-sanctioned, legal revolution now determines the entire direction of the scene. From his cell Callas delivers a lengthy speech, not extant in BBA 253, which is distinguished by its verse form (doggerel, corresponding to his low background and lack of education and so guaranteeing the genuineness of the "message") and by the frequent references to the rent:

"Als ich von meinem Hofe ging  
war, was ich wollte, nicht gering.  
Ich wollte keine Pacht mehr zahlen  
sondern mein Korn für mich mahlen  
...  
Die Ehre machte mir schon Spaß  
doch brauch ich noch den Pachterlaß.

...

Drum was man immer aus mir macht:  
ich frag, wie ist es mit der Pacht?

...

Von Ehre sprach man jetzt zwei Wochen  
doch von der Pacht wurd nicht gesprochen!

...

Seis, wie es will, was man mit mir auch macht:  
ich muB jetzt wissen: was ist mit der Pacht!"

(Versuche, p. 353)

Callas shares the same revolutionary goal with the "Sickle" farmers, production for self-consumption ("mein Korn für mich mahlen"), a further indictment of the system in which the means of production are in the hands of the non-productive. But he does not emulate their illegal methods. The scene now reflects their different outlooks structurally: the "Pächtergericht", in which the ideas closest to those of the playwright are expressed, is the centre-piece in a framework formed by Callas' struggle to realize his hopes by begging. The "Pächtergericht" itself is no longer convened under the auspices of testing the viceroy's eccentric theories about justice ("Meine Herren, die Ergebnisse der letzten Tage haben in mir Zweifel ausgelöst, ob eine halbwegs ins Gewicht fallende Gerechtigkeit überhaupt in unserem Lande möglich ist. Ihre Ansichten sind mir so erstaunlich, dass ich Sie bitten möchte, mir in zusammengefasster Form zu zeigen, wie Sie die Dinge beurteilen. Ich schlage die Form eines Gerichtshofs vor." (253/111)), but rather to examine the Calausa case:

"VIZEKÖNIG: Meine Herren, Ihre Ansichten sind mir sehr interessant. Soviel mir bekannt ist, will der Statthalter, der ein großer Freund des Volkes ist, hier einen Mann hängen, den Sie alle hassen. Anstatt nun darin nur einen Akt der Gerechtigkeit zu erblicken, sehen Sie darin für sich eine Gelegenheit, sich um die Pachtzahlung zu drücken.  
DIE PÄCHTER (*grob*): Wenn du das nicht verstehst, dann frag die da oben. Die vier von der Sichel werden dir schon ein Licht aufstecken. (*Sie rufen hinauf.*) Was ist mit dem Calausa? Warum soll er hängen, und warum braucht er nicht zu hängen?"

(Versuche, pp. 354-355)

The viceroy's return to re-establish "order" is now motivated not only by the objective proof that Calausa dare not be hanged, but also by the news that his own tenants have refused to pay the rent:

"DER OBERSTE RICHTER: Auf den Ländereien des Vizekönigs, der doch der größte Pachtherr Perus ist, sollen die Pächter am Ersten die Pacht nicht bezahlt haben. Der Vizekönig muß also sehr bald zurückkommen."  
(Versuche, p. 359)

### Scene 15

In the final scene of BBA 253 Eskahler declares that Angelas has successfully decreed the salt-tax; the defeat of the "Black Flag" is mentioned almost as an afterthought:

"Mein Fürst! Zurückgekehrt und sehr willkommen trifft Ihr die Lage sehr gebessert an:  
Die Salzsteuer, dies sehr prekäre Werk ist unter Dach. Herrn Angelas Verdienst. Freilich ist dies ein Schritt nur, nur der erste. Doch ist der erste schwerer als die weitem. Viel ist noch nötig, manche Last, sie wartet der Schultern noch. Die Schwarze Fahne liegt am Boden. Auch Herrn Angelas Verdienst."  
(253/130) 112

In the later version the importance of the salt-tax has dwindled to the extent that the viceroy is prepared to halve the amount due:

"Die Steuer scheint zu hoch. Er kanns nicht zahlen. Sie muß ermäßigt werden. Ich ermäßige sie: Ein Kilo, nicht ein Pfund für sieben Pesos!"  
(Versuche, p. 368)

This is a simple device for ensuring that additional revenue is still earned by the state and that the tenant-farmers are content to pay ("Das will er zahlen, sagt er. Gut, so seis." (Versuche, p. 368)).

That "order" has been restored, not by economic reform, but by the destruction of the social forces threatening the stability of the state, is reinforced by the viceroy's reference to Angelas' diversionary, anti-class division of the population ("Gestehn wirs jetzt, es stand auf Messerschneide./Dein Vorschlag aber, Angelas, war für uns das/Ei

des Kolumbus. Neue Einteilung!" (Versuche, p. 370)) and by the execution of the captured rebels:

"VIZEKÖNIG: Was gibts noch?

INSPEKTOR: Eure Exzellenz werden entschuldigen, aber die zum Tode verurteilten Pächter vom Bund der Sichel-Fahne warten auf die Exekution. Jetzt sollen wohl auch sie freigelassen werden?

VIZEKÖNIG: Wieso?!

INSPEKTOR: So soll die allgemeine Amnestie zu Ehren der Rückkehr Eurer Exzellenz also für die Sichel-Fahne nicht gelten?

*(Der Vizekönig schüttelt erstaunt den Kopf ...)*  
(Versuche, pp. 369-370) <sup>113</sup>

In the light of this mass execution of exploitable human material it becomes even more imperative and understandable that the viceroy pardons Callas and facilitates his cooperation by lowering the tax.

#### 4.3. The Character of Angelas and his Relationship with the Ruling Class

Tomaso Angelas' racial idealism and his belief in racial justice as the realization of an unbiased or objective law-enforcement are, because they constitute the government's solution to the problem of the present revolt, emphasized more strongly in the Versuche. The manifold additions in the text to the philosophy he propagates can be subsumed under three headings: opposition to the class-struggle, rejection of economic solutions and the yearning for a new form of social community based upon spiritual and other ties. It seems highly probable that these major textual changes derive directly from the Völkischer Beobachter of October 21, 1932, held in the Brecht-Archiv and containing Hitler's criticisms of Franz von Papen's Chancellorship. In this edition of the paper may be found not only the often quoted "Das wirtschaftliche Denken ist der Tod jedes völkischen Idealismus" (266/69-70) and similar attacks upon economic policies, but also the affirmation of the National Socialist ability

to overcome class differences ("Während die Nationalsozialisten durch die Einführung einer allgemeinen Arbeitsdienstpflicht nicht nur ein Arbeitslosenreservoir entleeren, sondern zur Überwindung unserer inneren Klassengegensätze die dt. Jugend ohne Ansehen ihrer Person und Herkunft zum Begreifen der Arbeit als sittliche Pflicht erziehen wollen ..." (266/70)) and, finally, the declaration that, confronted by spiritual adversity ("Sie müßten und würden dann auch begreifen, daß die deutsche Not keine Verfassungsnot, sondern im tiefsten Sinne des Wortes eine seelische Not ist" (266/71)), a new, unifying philosophy is necessary:

"Es ist daher auch nicht, wie Sie glauben, Herr von Papen, die Zukunft der deutschen Nation oder der deutschen Wirtschaft abhängig von einer neuen „Verfassung“, sondern vielmehr abhängig von der Wiedergewinnung einer für das staatliche Leben geeigneten einheitlichen weltanschaulichen Auffassung." (266/82)

Angelas is, therefore, more obviously than before modelled on Adolf Hitler, and now expresses an antipathy towards the ruling class as extreme as the latter's ("Ich setze mich daher gegen Sie und Ihre Politik mit meiner Bewegung so zur Wehr, als ob wir „das geistige, soziale und politische Gewissen der Nation“ wären" (266/82)).

### Scene analysis

#### Scene 1

In BBA 253 the government summons Angelas to levy the salt-tax, not only because he enjoys a good reputation, but also because he opposes the present regime. In the Versuche he receives a mandate on the basis of his political philosophy:

"ESKAHLER: ...  
 Ich wüßte einen ...  
 VIZEKÖNIG: Sagt schon: Angelas.  
 ESKAHLER: Der selbst dem Mittelstand entstammt,  
 so weder  
 Pachtherr noch Pächter ist, nicht reich,

doch auch  
 nicht grade arm. Drum ist er gegen  
 den Kampf der reichen und der armen Klasse.  
 Reichen wie Armen wirft er Habsucht vor  
 niedrigen Materialismus. Er verlangt  
 Gerechtigkeit und Strenge für die Armen  
 und für die Reichen. Denn für ihn ist  
 unser  
 Zusammenbruch ein seelischer."  
 (Versuche,p.253)

This textual addition succinctly embodies those elements probably  
 extracted from the Völkischer Beobachter. Tomaso Angelas attacks  
 crude, egotistical materialism and, denying that the social collapse  
 has economic roots, strives to heal the spiritual wound inflicted by  
 the struggle between classes.

Furthermore, by thus explaining the material basis of its idealism,  
 Brecht radically improves his previous depiction in BBA 253 of the  
 "Mittelstand" <sup>114</sup>. The significance of Angelas' lower-middle class  
 origins is clarified: because the artisans, petty bureaucrats and small  
 businessmen are neither poor nor rich, belong, therefore, neither to  
 the exploiting, nor to the exploited class, they have comparatively  
 little interest in the class conflict or economics, and so concern  
 themselves with moral-spiritual issues which exceed class-boundaries <sup>115</sup>.  
 Brecht graphically portrays the unique perspective of the lower-middle  
 class in a passage not extant in BBA 253. In Scene Six Callas never  
 gives more vehement expression to Angelas' anti-materialism than when  
 the prospect of his own small business, of social advancement, there-  
 fore, into the lower echelons of the "Mittelstand", is strongest:

"Sie wollten mir die Pferde schenken. So weit habe  
 ich sie also schon. Aber ich sollte eine unehren-  
 hafte Handlung begehen. Das ist echt tschichisch!  
 Sie glauben, daß man alles und jedes nur vom nied-  
 rigsten wirtschaftlichen Standpunkt aus behandelt.  
 Oh, wie recht hat der Statthalter! Meine Herren!  
 Die Zeit, wo ich meine Ehre verkaufen mußte, ist  
 vorbei. Ich kann diese Dinge heute nicht mehr von  
 einem so niedrigen Standpunkt aus behandeln."

(Versuche,p.287)

Scene 4

The speech in which Angelas announces his intention of presiding over the Calausa trial has been lengthened by a passage indicating the deputy's sincere faith in the objectivity of racial justice:

"Als einfaches Beispiel tschuchischer Rechts-  
 pfleg soll  
 dieser Fall uns dienen. Ein bestimmter Geist  
 soll hier bekämpft sein. So wie unsre Truppen  
 den aufsässigen Pächter zügeln werden  
 wird das Gericht den zügellosen Pachtherren  
 verweisen in die Schranken tschuchischen  
 Rechts.  
 Hier gelt' nicht die Person, ob arm, ob reich  
 ist gleich der Übergriff, sei auch das Urteil  
 gleich." (Versuche,p.272)

With the growth in importance for the play of Angelas' idealism, the Shakespearean motif of "measure for measure" - if two individuals commit the same crime, then, regardless of social standing, their punishment will be identical - is incorporated more fully into the text. In a passage newly added to the Versuche, Calausa's analysis of Angelas' legal theories (Scene Ten), the closely related Biblical motif of a "tooth for a tooth" <sup>116</sup> appears ("Was ich genommen hab, muB ich bezahlen/Hie Schuld, hie Sühne. Hie GenuB, hie Rechnung./ Das ist doch klar: das Recht ist wie ein Handel./Hier gilt es Zahn für Zahn und Aug um Aug." (Versuche,pp.332-333)) <sup>117</sup>. A statement of this nature from Calausa, the shrewd, albeit fearful cynic, effectively manifests the new emphasis upon, and the force of, Angelas' idealism, and also intimates the success of the deputy's plan to unite the salt-tax payers by practising non-class (racial) justice:

"Nur nicht die Salzsteuer! Nur die Salzsteuer nicht!  
 Das kann ich nicht! Noch nicht! Als mich der Vize-  
 könig beriief, behielt ich mir den Zeitpunkt  
 ihrer Verordnung eigens vor. Noch ist  
 das Volk geeint nicht. Opferfreudigkeit  
 entsteht nur, wo Gerechtigkeit geübt wird."  
 (Versuche,p.299) <sup>118</sup>

Perhaps to balance Angelas' greater influence, Brecht now introduces a speech in which Calausa's lawyer immediately attempts to crush his client's firm belief in Angelas' objectivity and repeats, in ironic terms, the central theme that guilt and innocence or good and bad are dependent upon subjective factors like social position:

"Und ist das Handel, wenn der Zahn des Reichen  
nicht mehr wert sein soll als des Armen Zahn?  
Das wär: ein guter Zahn für einen schlechten.  
Ein Handel zwar, jedoch ein schmutziger Handel."  
(Versuche, p.333)

### Scene 8

A fanatical idealist is the individual least capable of compromise or of elasticity in human relationships; this is especially true of the zealous Angelas portrayed in the Versuche. The rift between him and the ruling class, above all the landlords, is much deeper than in BBA 253. Even at the beginning of the play the viceroy suspects that he may be difficult to handle ("Grad diese Kugel soll an seinem Bein sein/sonst rennt er uns das Firmament ein ..." (Versuche, Scene One, p.255)), and the landlords, who in Scene Seven have an angry encounter with Angelas when they seek retribution for their injuries ("*Während Eskahler geht, um den Auftrag zu erteilen, stehen Angelas und die Pachtherren feindselig schweigend ...*") (Versuche, Scene Seven, p.295)), doubt the wisdom of placing their fate in his hands:

"DIE FÜNF: Wie steht die Schlacht?  
ESKAHLER: Seit neun Uhr  
keine Nachricht.  
Bis dahin stand sie günstig.  
DIE FÜNF: Der Prozeß?  
ESKAHLER: Wird auch vorbeigehn.  
DIE FÜNF: Das wird lustig  
werden.  
Ob das jetzt richtig war, sich diesem  
Menschen  
so in die Hand zu geben und alles nur  
Auf den Ausgang der Schlacht, die er uns  
schlägt, zu setzen?" (Versuche,  
p.303)

The gap dividing the idealist and the political realists now grows wider as the second court-case proceeds. When Eskahler pleads with Angelas to reassure the landlords - so that they will confidently advance the salaries of the striking civil-servants <sup>119</sup> - the deputy issues a firm refusal from his lofty, idealistic position:

"Wenn es so wär, wie es nicht sein kann, würd  
ich  
vor diesem Standgericht bei Tag und Nacht  
jedweden aburteilen. Soll das Recht  
von ein paar Krämern abhängen, dies bezahlen  
wenns ihnen beliebt, und nicht bezahlen, wenn  
nicht?  
Das Recht wirkt aus sich selbst und ist durch  
sich und ewig." (Versuche,p.313) <sup>120</sup>

The worsening relationship between Angelas and his financial backers is associated with fresh affirmations of his idealist ambition, the spiritual oneness of the people. Asked by Eskahler whether he intends to preside over the appeal-trial, Angelas is concerned that he has failed in his mission, and declares that the court-case must serve the same unifying purpose as the struggle against the "Sickle":

"Ach, Eskahler, ich fühls, mein Urteil hat  
in diesem Fall des Pächters und des Pacht-  
herrn  
den Streit nicht aus der Welt geschafft,  
den ewigen.  
Nur überwältigt war der Tschiche und  
nicht überzeugt, und dieser Pächter hat  
begriffen nichts, als daß er stehlen darf.  
Drum will ich heut von neuem alles durch-  
gehn  
denn ach! mir scheint, nicht eher kann die  
Schlacht  
die äußerliche, glücken, als bis die innere  
geglückt ist. Drum, in diesen Stunden, wo  
ich  
in blutigem Kampf die Sichel niederwerf  
und damit Habsucht schlag und Niedrigkeit  
und so die Einheit dieses Volkes herstell  
muß ich auch auf dem Feld des Rechts, dem  
geistigen  
die Einheit herstelln." (Versuche,p.304)

The "puppet" of the ruling elite anticipates a catharsis of the materialistic urges nestling in the breast of man:

"Das wirtschaftliche Denken ist der Tod  
 jedes völkischen Idealismus. So wie  
 der innere Feind des Volks, die Tschichen-  
 Sichel  
 in blutigem Kampf zerbrochen werden muß  
 so muß in unsrer eigenen Brust der Ur-  
 feind  
 des niedrigen Denkens ausgerottet sein.  
 Nie wird zerbrochen diese Sichel werden  
 wenn dieser innere Aufschwung uns miß-  
 glückt.  
 Niemals mit Geld und niemals mit Kanonen  
 wird solcher Sieg errungen! Niemals!"  
 (Versuche,p.315)

On this background it is not surprising that the court-case no longer concludes to the mutual satisfaction of the deputy and the landlords. In BBA 253 the two parties agree, though for different reasons, that Calausa and his confederates must be condemned. But in the Versuche the battle in the South has already been won by the government troops, a state of affairs rendering Calausa's death warrant superfluous ("Es ist geschafft! Du hast geschafft, Mann! Jetzt/auf unsre Güter! Pacht eintreiben! Und/Schluß mit Prozessen, Angelas! Geh hinüber/ und sprich uns den Calausa schleunigst frei." (Versuche,p.316))..

The landlords underestimate Angelas' strength and independence of mind, however; he is adamant that an "inner revolution" ("der innere Aufschwung") must take place and so, despite their dictum, confirms the death-sentence. The breakdown of the alliance is complete. As in BBA 253 the landlords have achieved their purpose (the defeat of the rebels or the re-establishment of the old order), but the second half of the play, concerned with the release of Calausa, is now more interesting because of the revolutionary potential of Angelas' decision to execute a landlord.

Scene 12

There can be little doubt that the addition of this scene <sup>121</sup> to the play was occasioned primarily by Tomaso Angelas' more extreme idealism, which determines his inflexible attitude towards Calausa and the consequent clash with the "Big Five". When Eskahler advises his superior to pardon Calausa, Angelas no longer replies, as in BBA 253, that he will acquiesce in the requirements of the state ("Wenns der Staat verlangt/hängt der Calausa, und wenn nicht, dann nicht" (253/121)), but directly reaffirms his adherence to the anti-peakhead catechism:

" Ach, Staatsrat  
glaubst du, mir läg an dieser Tschichin (?)  
Tod?  
DaB du so in mich dringst, als wär ich  
ein  
blutdürstiger Henker? Nur dies tschich-  
ische Wesen  
muB aus der Welt. Der Pächter ist am  
Boden.  
Der Pachtherr hat die Macht, er darf sie  
nicht  
miBbrauchen jetzt." (Versuche,p.343) 122

Berating "Isabella" for her attempt to free Calausa by sacrificing her virginity, Angelas now voices a strident anti-capitalism - "Recht ist euch Handel, Menschen sind euch Ware./Ertappt auf Menschenkauf, bietet ihr grinsend/als Lösegeld euch selbst, nun selber Ware./Denn ihr seht nichts an andern, was nicht käuflich/und nichts an euch, was nicht verkäuflich wäre." (Versuche,p.344) - destined only to cause greater difficulties with the landlords. Indeed, he even nurtures the plan of lowering the exorbitant rent they impose, and thereby aligns himself with the tenant-farmers, of whom he earlier constructed an idealistic image (Scene Four). The "tool" wielded by the powerful quinquevirate thus turns against it and threatens to destroy what it was commissioned to defend (rent-exploitation). The landlords, informed that Calausa will still be executed, leave the palace in a state of shock:

"DIE FÜNPF: Das sollte man nicht glauben. Kommt!  
 Dem Mann  
 ist nicht zu helfen. Niemals sah ich  
 solche  
 Weltfremdheit! Kommt!"  
 \* (Versuche, p.348)

Only the return of the viceroy can avert the disastrous consequences of an idealist with total power, a fact recognized at once by Eskahler, who ignores Angelas' orders throughout the scene, preferring to send messengers in search of the elusive head-of-state.

### Scene 15

As in BBA 253, the viceroy returns to the seat of government and again takes control of the state, but, although Angelas must ultimately yield to his higher authority, he now finds him far less amenable to the festive mood of the occasion because the racist knows that his idealistic goal of spiritual unification has been destroyed:

"Ich bin in eine Falle gelockt! Man  
 hat  
 mich hier verschoben! Was ich wollt,  
 war anderes.  
 Was geht mich eure Salzsteuer an und  
 was  
 ist eure Pacht für mich, der anderes  
 wollte  
 was über Pacht und Salzsteuer steht,  
 laßt sie  
 doch ihre Pacht zahlen, ach, erpreßt  
 die Salzsteuer!  
 Doch ihr gebt preis den tschuchischen  
 Gedanken!" (Versuche, p.363)

The deputy, scorned by the landlords as a dreamer ("Weltfremdheit! Dilettant! Er will nicht lernen!" (Versuche, p.363), justifiably feels he has been exploited to realize ambitions other than those he himself cherishes:

"VIZEKÖNIG: ...  
 Ich find Euch trüb gestimmt, Herr  
 Angelas.

ANGELAS: Erspart mir, Herr, das Reden. Trübes  
 Schicksal  
 scheint mir, hat mich gelenkt, wohin  
 ich nicht  
 eben hinaus wollt."  
 (Versuche, p. 367)

#### 4.4. Race or Wealth?

Angelas opposes the economic struggle between classes, and replaces it with the biological race-conflict. Because the application of this philosophy to the political sphere will occasion the weakening of the class-front, Angelas is commissioned by the Peruvian government to assume the leadership of the country. This major alteration to the plot is reflected in numerous textual additions, which either reinforce the racial aspect or demonstrate the superiority of economic contingencies.

#### Scene Analysis

##### Scene 3

The additions to this scene reveal most convincingly the greater significance assigned by Brecht to the conflict of race and class. When Frau Callas rushes outside to gather more precise information about the change of government and its immediate effects, she is now confronted by a town-crier expounding Angelas' racial policy:

"Tschuchisches Volk! Befallen ist seit langem  
 dies Land Peru, ob arm, ob reich, von tschichischem  
 niedrigem Geist, ders zu vernichten droht!  
 Dem Geist der Habsucht und des Bruderzwists!  
 Drum habe ich, Tomaso Angelas, mich  
 entschlossen jetzt, den Geist der Niedrigkeit  
 bei arm und reich ganz auszurotten, und  
 was tschuchisch ist, zu sammeln gegen alles  
 was tschichisch ist! Tschuchisches Volk, verein dich  
 unter Tomaso Angelas weiBer Fahne jetzt!"  
 (Versuche, p. 263)

The key aspect of this announcement is the insistence upon the division of the population into roundheads and peakheads. Brecht graphically depicts the consequences of this shift of emphasis - the sabotage of traditional class loyalties - by means of what Käthe Rülicke-Weiler terms "erzählende Arrangements":

"Das Arrangement soll den Sinn der Vorgänge, mit ihrer Beschaffenheit also auch ihre Widersprüchlichkeit aufdecken ... Gruppierungen und Gänge machen Aussagen über die Haltung des Theaters zur Welt, berichten über menschliches Verhalten ... Ob die Interessen der handelnden Figuren einander widersprechen oder ob sie übereinstimmen, wird im Arrangement durch ihr Auseinander- oder Zueinandergehen ausgesagt." 123

At the beginning of the scene, the stage directions explain, the two proletarian families are seated together, despite their racial dissimilarities ("(Die beiden Familien setzen sich. Spitzkopf sitzt friedlich neben Rundkopf.)" (Versuche, p.262)). They are united by poverty and their joining of hands effectively expresses this solidarity. But when Frau Callas returns to the house with confirmation of the peakheaded Calausa's imprisonment, she draws her children closer to her ("(Frau Callas ist zurückgekehrt. Sie sieht die Perez nicht an und gruppiert ihre Kinder enger um sich.)" (Versuche, p.263)). Their segregation on racial grounds finally occurs, and the two families move to opposing corners of the room:

"Die beiden Familien haben sich getrennt, in der einen Ecke stehen die Spitz-, in der anderen die Rundköpfe." (Versuche, p.264)

#### Scene Four

To emphasize the class-division caused by Angelas' "neue Einteilung" Brecht not only creates Scene Three, in which Callas betrays Perez, but also adds to Scene Four a passage, extant in the Shakespearean original, in which Calausa appeals in vain for help from his fellow

landlords:

*"(Calausa wird weggeführt. Er kommt an einer Gruppe reicher Pachtherren vorbei, die wegschauen.)"*

CALAUSA: Oh, Don Duarte, hilf mir! Und ihr Herren ihr müßt mir beistehn heut! Erinnert euch wie wir an manchem Tisch gemeinsam saßen. Alfonso, du kannst für mich sprechen! Du hast einen runden Kopf! Drauf kommst heut an! Sag, daß du das, was ich getan, auch tatest! Was schaut ihr weg? Schaut nicht weg! Oh, nicht gut  
ists, was ihr an mir tut! Schaut diesen Rock an! Wenn ihr mich preisgebt, kommt ihr morgen dran! Und euer runder Kopf hilft euch nichts mehr!  
*(Die Pachtherren tun weiter, als kennten sie ihn nicht. Er wird abgeführt.)"*  
*(Versuche, pp.275-276)*

To those familiar with the corresponding episode in Measure for Measure, when Lucio happily agrees to assist his friend Claudio, the change effected by racial division will be most strongly obvious.

### Scene 9

To the end of this scene Brecht has affixed the small segment of BBA 253, Scene Eleven, in which a group of enraged citizens throw stones at Frau Cornamontis' former establishment (253/100). In BBA 253 it is implied that their racist behaviour is no less an escapist fantasy than the judge's masquerade as a voracious dog; in the Versuche the unreality or irrelevance of racism is exposed when, immediately prior to the stone-throwing episode, both peakheads and roundheads prepare to enjoy "die Ware Liebe":

*"(Einige Besucher kommen, sie hängen ihre Hüte im Vorraum an den Rechen, dabei sieht man, daß es teils Tschuchen, teils Tschichen sind.)"*

*(Ein Haufen Leute kommt durch die Gasse.)*

DIE LEUTE: Da ist dieses Haus, in dem sie ein tschuchisches Mädchen festgehalten haben. Sie wurde an reiche Tschichen verkauft.

*(Sie werfen Steine auf das einstige Haus der Frau Cornamontis und gehen weiter.)"*

*(Versuche, pp.326-327)*

The racists, unlike the sybarites, do not know that Frau Cornamontis has shifted into new premises and so their gesture of defiance remains inconsequential, for trading in the marketplace of sexual gratification continues without interruption. Money is the more powerful opponent and it circulates freely, heedless of biological distinction.

### Scene 10

It is conceivable that Brecht wanted to revivify a scene which, in BBA 259, had lost much of its former thematic consequence, for his figures now debate the merits of class and race. In the first completed draft Calausa had sought Isabella's help because he feared death and was convinced by the shouts of the people outside the prison that his execution was imminent. In the Versuche, despite reassurances from his lawyers that a landlord could never be hanged because such an action would endanger the payment of the rent ("Die Pacht wird nicht gezahlt, wenn man Sie h"angt./Sagt Ihnen das nicht, daB man Sie nicht h"angen kann? (Versuche,p.331)), Calausa cannot be dissuaded from the belief that he will be hanged for his racial impurity:

"CALAUSA:Oh, Isabella, ich bin aus. Man h"angt mich.  
Ich will nicht sterben! Du, ich kann nicht  
sterben!

DER ANWALT:Hat er schon wieder Angst?

OBERIN: Der Arme!

DER ANWALT: Hallo!

Sie brauchen als Pachtherr keine Angst zu  
haben!

CALAUSA:Aber als Tschiche.

DER ANWALT: Sie sind Pachtherr!

CALAUSA: Tschiche!

...  
CALAUSA:... Ach, - er will mich umbringen, weil ich  
ein Tschiche bin, wof"ur ich doch nichts kann.

DER OBERSTE RICHTER (*m"ilde*):

Sie sind ein Pachtherr.

CALAUSA: Ich bin Tschiche.

DER OBERSTE RICHTER (*w"utend*): Pachtherr!"

(Versuche, pp. 329-330)

It is noteworthy, though, that Calausa's total submission to elemental fear is now balanced by an unemotional, calculating attitude more appropriate to his socio-economic position:

"Seht, sie versteht mich. DaB ich hängen soll.  
Und jetzt kommts darauf an, so schnell wie irgend  
da es ja nun feststeht, daB man überfallen  
und ausgeraubt sein soll, zu überlegen  
was man ausliefern soll: um was es mehr  
und um was weniger schad ist, ob man nicht  
anstatt des Kopfs was anderes bieten kann  
das einem weniger fehlte und dem andern  
mehr nützte ..." (Versuche,p.332)

### Scene 11

Frau Cornamontis' philosophical discourse on the bizarre nature of the world (253/100) has been replaced in the Versuche by a terse interchange between the brothel proprietor and several Angelas militiamen recently returned from the south and eager to sample the pretty girls on sale:

"DIE ANGELASSOLDATEN:Haben Sie hübsche Mädchen hier?  
FRAU CORNAMONTIS:Sehr hübsche. Aber es kostet eine Kleinigkeit.  
DIE ANGELASSOLDATEN:Ja, sehen Sie, wir sind von der Angelas-Legion und habe unsere Löhnung noch nicht bekommen. Es könnte sich aber, was die Bezahlung anlangt, höchstens um ein paar Stunden handeln.  
FRAU CORNAMONTIS:Um diese Stunden müßte es sich allerdings dann handeln. Ich habe gestern abend schon einigen Herren von der Regierung sagen müssen, daB ich nicht ewig anschreiben kann." (Versuche,p.338)

Implicit in this episode are the categorical imperatives according to which Frau Cornamontis manages her business: exchange-value and its immediate realization are required by the vendor except in the case of those belonging to the upper echelons of society - the laws of the market and of the class-system prevail <sup>124</sup>. The Angelas soldiers harbour completely irrelevant suspicions of racial prejudice:

"Das ist eine ganz verdammte Tschichin! Diesen Betrieb muß man unter die Lupe nehmen. Da kommen wohl nur Tschichen herein." (Versuche,p.338)

### Scene 13

The primacy of economics over racism becomes manifest in this scene as roundheads and peakheads ignore their biological differences and help one another to estimate the new price of salt:

"...Hundert Pesos hat mir meine Frau mitgegeben! Das ist ja jetzt gar nichts! ...Wieviel ist Hundert durch sieben, Spitzkopf? ...Vierzehn! ...Kilo? ... Nein, Pfund...Nein, das Kilo kostet jetzt sieben Pesos...Nein, das Pfund, lies doch!" (Versuche, p.351)

### Scene 14

Perez, the most intelligent mouthpiece of his class, points to the fact, misunderstood particularly by Callas (Scene Four), that Angelas has condemned Calausa because he is a peakhead:

"VIZEKÖNIG (zu den Pächtern) : Haben Sie gehört: die Pacht muß natürlich bezahlt werden.  
 DIE PÄCHTER:Ja, das sagen die immer. Aber der Angelas selber hat gesagt: die Pacht ist nebensächlich.  
 PEREZ (*ist ans Gitter getreten*): Glaubt ihr das?  
 DIE PÄCHTER:Er hängt doch auch die Pachtherren wegen Pachtwucher auf.  
 PEREZ:Nicht wegen Pachtwucher.  
 DIE PÄCHTER:Sondern?  
 PEREZ:Wegen der Form ihres Kopfes! Wenn n er sie aufhängt! Und darum müßt ihr auch die Pacht bezahlen, selbst wenn er sie aufhängt!"  
 (Versuche,p.354)

Perez thereby gives expression to a central theme of the play: racial justice is not synonymous with class or social justice.

#### 4.5. Cyclical Structure and the Motif of the Circle

In the first completed draft of the play the dramatist's aim is to show that the rise to power of Tomaso Angelas does not represent a progressive development, but simply a method devised by the ruling class to stabilize its shaken economic and political position. The moon-image, the brothel-shifting scene and the substitutions all indicate the reactionary nature of the racist's interregnum. In the Versuche several alterations, particularly to the last scene, reaffirm the circularity of the plot.

##### Scene analysis

##### Scene 11

Disguised as a nun and about to leave Frau Cornamontis' brothel for the palace, Judith now makes a statement to Isabella in which it is implied that Angelas had the effect of setting in motion a social "wheel", so that Judith (a roundhead), previously at the bottom (a whore), moved to the top; Judith's decision to go the palace in Isabella's place signals the return of the wheel to its original position - she becomes a prostitute again:

"So geh ich, daB sich alles wieder dreh  
und so in Ordnung komm. Denn wenn ich  
geh  
geht nicht die Tschuchin für die Tschichin  
nur  
Arm geht für Reich und für die Nonn die  
Hur." (Versuche,p.341)

This employment of a wheel image to describe a social phenomenon is the first explicit anticipation of the later "Ballade vom Wasserrad".

The subsequent rape of Judith (Scene Twelve) by a group of Angelas

militiamen is a further addition - from Measure for Measure (the "rape" of Mariana) - to the plot of the Versuche and its considerable irony emphasizes most effectively that Angelas has in no way altered the state of society, that nothing has changed. Angelas insists upon "measure for measure", that the peakhead must share the fate of the roundhead:

"Und wenn nichts sonst erreicht wurd,  
 haben wir diese  
 hierhergebracht, daB sie am eignen  
 Leib  
 erfahr, was jener Tschuchin widerfuhr."  
 (Versuche,p.345)

But the truth of the viceroy's declaration in Scene Fifteen that the legal category of "measure for measure" should only be enforced at certain times - when economic interests are not adversely affected- is confirmed here. Because it is, of course, Judith, and not Isabella, who, for financial reasons, is in a position rendering inescapable her physical degradation at the hands of the brutal soldiers, just as once before economic constraints led to her seduction by the landlord Calausa - the identical situation recurs. Brecht thereby reinforces the structural principle of repetition inherited from the original, but only to demonstrate that Angelas has achieved nothing, that the same social injustices continue despite his insistence upon the idealistic "measure for measure". Shakespeare, on the other hand, construes the reappearance of motifs to show that circumstances are never truly identical (compare, for instance, the three formally similar relationships between Claudio and Juliet, Angelo and Mariana, Lucio and Kate Keepdown), and that the abstract formula of "measure for measure" is therefore far from adequate as a basis of judgement.

#### Scene 15

In the final scene of BBA 253 Brecht indicates that the play has returned

to its starting-point, that, in other words, the plot has inscribed a circular pattern, by placing Eskahler and Angelas in a position identical to that of Eskahler and the viceroy in Scene One. This is confirmed by the literal recurrence of certain statements <sup>125</sup>. In the Versuche Brecht lays greater stress on this circular development: Angelas, for example, now repeats verbatim the first five lines of the viceroy's opening speech in Scene One <sup>126</sup>, and even expresses the same desire to vanish from the public eye ("Ich träte gern ins Dunkle ..." (Versuche,p.365) <sup>127</sup>.

Lastly, that the brief possession of power by Angelas represents only one "cycle" in a cyclical process (the capitalist crisis-cycle) is disclosed by the viceroy ("Ach, es bedarf die Zukunft wohl noch manchen/Vorschlags von solcher Kraft" (Versuche,p.370)) and gives new meaning to the open-endedness of his final speech.

BBA 253 - Versuche: Summary

Although Brecht added almost one thousand lines to the fragmentary Vienna-version, his avowed aim was to retain the mood of the Shakespearean original. Not only did he attempt to preserve the structure of individual scenes and of the entire play, but he also strove to employ as much of the Elizabethan text as possible. Furthermore, most of the figures in the Vienna-version are essentially Shakespearean. Despite the large tracts of new material, therefore, it is justifiable to refer to the Vienna-version as an adaptation in the customary sense of the word - Brecht used the term "Erneuerung".

In their analysis of the material including and succeeding the first completed draft in the reception process, BBA 253, Brecht scholars have usually concerned themselves with the question of how much of the Shakespearean original has been kept or relinquished. Paul Kussmaul, for example, asks:

"Was bleibt von der Shakespeare-Fabel übrig?" <sup>128</sup>

As a consequence of this mode of inquiry Walter Pache is able to draw such conclusions as "Schon die erste vollständig erhaltene Fassung ... ist relativ Shakespeare-fern" <sup>129</sup> or to allude to "Brechts ...noch halbherzige Umdeutung der Shakespeare-Vorlage" <sup>130</sup>. The fruitlessness of this approach is shown by BBA 253, Scene Fourteen, which outwardly resembles the final scene of Measure for Measure more closely than its counterpart in the Vienna-version. Brecht reintroduces the disguise motif, the strict "measure for measure" theme and the small passage in which the Duke thanks his loyal servants, but now omits the marriages which are so important in the original and also take place in the Vienna-version. On the basis of these additions and deletions, it is obvious that this question of quantity is not as productive or relevant as

a decision regarding the adaptor's attitude towards, and use of, his material. Not the huge decline in the number of extant Shakespearean lines <sup>131</sup>, nor the rejection of the traditional pyramid structure and the act-division, but above all the dramatist's treatment of key Shakespearean motifs, scenes and figures reveals that in the second stage of development Brecht conceives of the literary creation as his own and of the original work as material to be "vandalized" - the plot forfeits its characteristically Shakespearean properties.

Common to both Measure for Measure and Brecht's work in this second phase is the substitution motif: Ragozine/Callas replace Claudio/Calausa, and Isabella's place is taken by Mariana/Judith <sup>132</sup>. But whereas Shakespeare's choice of substitutes, particularly for Claudio, is to a considerable extent arbitrary, it is now highly significant that Judith and her father act as substitutes. Brecht employs the motif to demonstrate a central theme of the play, and the Shakespearean motif thus undergoes a radical reevaluation - Shakespeare's substitutions are mere dramatic devices ensuring that justice is served, Brecht's prove *per se* that in the class-society justice an illusion. The general structural principle of repetition is treated in a similar fashion. Brecht utilizes it literally to show that precisely the same event (such as Judith's physical abuse) which has occurred before is occurring again, that, in other words, Angelas has not altered the infrastructure. Shakespeare, contrastingly, wanted his audience to detect the shades of difference between situations seemingly identical, the various relationships between Claudio, Angelo, Lucio and their lovers Juliet, Mariana and Kate, for example. This total dissimilarity in outlook is also evident in their conception of "measure for measure": Brecht considers it idealistic or utopian, yet his Elizabethan predecessor believes that his abstract formula is inadequate and must be

superseded <sup>133</sup>. It would thus be less appropriate to say that at this stage Brecht has adapted a Shakespearean motif than that the two dramatists, each in his unique way, have reworked a Biblical motif.

A scene well illustrating Brecht's ruthless treatment of the original material is the meeting between Isabella and Angelas, which dominates the second act of Measure for Measure and contains much of the play's thematic substance. In BBA 253, and even more so in the Versuche, it shrinks to a level of minor pragmatic importance. Borchardt actually advised Brecht to excise it completely and made suggestions as to how its function could be executed in a different way <sup>134</sup>, but the playwright clearly felt that such an alteration was unnecessary - the meeting is dramatically plausible, succinct, and does not disturb the thematic direction of the play, it possesses, in short, "Materialwert".

One of the most interesting examples of Brecht's artistic control over the original is his adaptation of the reversal and substitution motifs. In Shakespeare's play the role-reversals of Angelo and Isabella <sup>135</sup> are thematically and pragmatically distinguishable from the substitution. In the second stage of development Brecht employs the same material more adeptly by drawing the two motifs more intimately together - Callas, for instance, agrees to take Calausa's place on the gallows and each thereby re-occupies the social position apparently forfeited with Angelas' rise to power: the reversals and substitutions are thus linked in an original and creative manner. The proposal that Brecht was so overwhelmed by the Shakespearean model that he was unable to undertake large-scale editing or radical alterations to character or motif cannot be justified, but Werner Mittenzwei insists that in his characterization of Tomaso Angelas Brecht succumbed to the all-powerful influence of Measure for Measure:

"Die Grundlinie des Angelo-Charakters bei Shake-

speare lieb sich nicht einfach in den Charakter eines Faschistenführers ummodeln; vielmehr widersprach der eine dem anderen oft in eklatanter Weise. All das führte dazu, daß sich Brecht bei der Gestaltung des Angelo mehr vom literarischen Vorbild als von der politischen Wirklichkeit bestimmen ließ." 136

Mittenzwei implies that Angelas closely resembles his Shakespearean counterpart, and it is undeniable that both protagonists insist upon the death-penalty for Claudio/Calausa until the end of the play. But their individual motivation is quite different; whereas the racist sincerely believes that objective justice would be realized by Calausa's demise, Angelo, disregarding questions of guilt or innocence, simply fears that Claudio might take revenge on him for his dark deed and hence must die:

"...He should have lived,  
Save that his riotous youth, with dangerous sense,  
Might in the times to come have ta'en revenge,  
By so receiving a dishonoured life  
With ransom of such shame . . ." (IV;iv,26-30)

Angelo, whose prototype Promos is described by George Whetstone as a "wicked man . . .worse than any Infydel" <sup>137</sup>, possesses morally reprehensible qualities not shared by Tomaso Angelas - Brecht's idealistic portrayal of the National Socialist leader Adolf Hitler has its roots in an inaccurate political evaluation, not in Measure for Measure <sup>138</sup>. Brecht now reverses the Shakespearean scenario: the corrupt head-of-state spies on the virtuous deputy.

To analyse such a reversal of the original situation in terms of parody is a misinterpretation: Brecht's attitude towards his material during this phase of work is not of a polemical nature, as in the Vienna-version, but is one of indifference - he no longer wishes to "attack" the idealism of Measure for Measure. In a recent study of the play, the reference to BBA 253 as a Shakespeare parody <sup>139</sup> is only possible because Brecht maintains his materialistic bias: a

prostitute does still act as a substitute for Isabella, but Brecht is no longer content merely to demonstrate the materialistic truth that money, not love, determines social existence, for it is Judith, an exploited tenant-farmer's daughter with a round head, not a nameless whore, who now takes Isabella's place, and this has important ramifications unconnected with parody. That the dramatist's orientation is not polemical is also indicated not only by the enlargement of the role of the proletariat - in the Vienna-version Meixner's brief appearance served the parodic purpose of devaluating Isabella's aspirations - but above all by the rejection of the Vienna-version's realism in favour of the parable form.

The second stage of development embraces the growth towards a purer parable form. An analysis of the changes which occur between BBA 253 and the Versuche shows that Brecht, whose sovereignty over the literary material is proven by his unique treatment of motifs and other plot elements, and by his application of the montage technique<sup>140</sup>, improves the quality of the parable, not as he struggles to free himself from the Shakespearean original<sup>141</sup>, nor as he tries to excise parodic elements, but primarily as he comes to terms with the socio-political phenomenon of Fascism<sup>142</sup>.

In the course of the second stage of development Brecht alters his conception of the political function of the Fascist leader Adölf Hitler. In BBA 253 he is portrayed as a tool wielded by the ruling class to introduce monetary reforms designed to overcome the economic insolvency of the state; in the Versuche, aligning himself with the consensus of the KPD<sup>143</sup>, Brecht depicts the racist as an agent of finance capital, ideologically suited to wage its struggle against

Communism. As the dramatist thus succeeds in grasping the essential characteristics of German Fascism<sup>144</sup>, the parabolic form of the play undergoes radical change in three important respects. Firstly, although an overproduction of a wide variety of goods actually took place as Brecht worked on those versions culminating in the Versuche, it did not have the revolutionary repercussions which generate the deputation of power in Peru - by excising the broad spectrum of socio-economic problems extant in BBA 253 and making the social upheaval dependent on overproduction, by thus combining historically unrelated, but verifiable phenomena, Brecht intensifies the alienation effect inherent in the parable while ensuring that his audience will still be able to draw a comparison between Peruvian politics and contemporary German. Secondly, the alterations perceived in the text of the Versuche reveal a simplification deriving from Brecht's comprehension of the function of Fascism: the thematic tension between racism and the class-struggle is emphasized to the exclusion of all else, and as a consequence the "message" conveyed by the parable is more easily discernible. Thirdly, Brecht endows his creation with far greater structural unity by drawing the individual parts of the work more tightly together. The seemingly diverse problems which arise in the course of the plot all emanate from a single source, the ubiquitous spectre of overproduction. The stronger cohesion of the drama is achieved because it delineates one stage of the capitalist crisis-cycle. The issue of the rent, like overproduction a problem of the utmost importance for, and immanent in, the fictitious society Brecht creates, also dominates the play. In this concentration of the plot the Versuche represents an artistic refinement of BBA 253.

Footnotes:

- <sup>1</sup> Bahr, Bühnenfassung, p.237.
- <sup>2</sup> See above, pp.76-79.
- <sup>3</sup> The text of this scene is published in Bahr, Bühnenfassung, pp.165-175.
- <sup>4</sup> Of the 203 lines contained in the scene, the first section comprises 133 lines. The first scene of the Vienna-version, in contrast, is 91 lines long, of which only 26 precede Angelas' entrance. The Vienna-version had contained 32 lines taken almost literally from the original; only one of these lines recurs in BBA 253, and even it has been altered slightly. 12 lines, 2 of them verbatim, remain from the Vienna-version in BBA 253.
- <sup>5</sup> This speech was originally spoken by the viceroy; but handwritten additions to the manuscript indicate that Brecht wanted Eskahler to be its author (in contrast to Walter Pache's assertion ("In der Fassung von 1932 nimmt der Vizekönig schon in seiner ersten Rede Bezug auf die konkrete Situation ..." (Pache, op.cit., p.184))).
- <sup>6</sup> Walter Pache states incorrectly that Angelas is chosen by the viceroy although he is an enemy of the state's present government ("Als Beauftragter für diese unpopuläre Maßnahme will man den Angelas gewinnen, obwohl er ... der gegenwärtigen Regierung feindlich gesonnen ist ..." (Pache, op.cit., p.184)). Angelas is chosen precisely because he is their enemy:
- "ESKAHLER : Sie lasen die Zeitung  
von gestern abend? Seinen wilden  
Angriff?  
Auf uns und alles, was wir tun und  
nicht tun?  
VIZEKÖNIG :Ich las sie. Eben drum."(253/4)
- <sup>7</sup> Angelas also stresses that the success of the salt-tax depends upon the individual imposing it:
- ESKAHLER :...  
Glaubst Du, das Volk ...  
...  
würde auch seinerseits die neuen  
Lasten tragen  
die jetzt kommen?  
ANGELAS : Jawohl, das würde es.  
Gereinigt würde -  
ESKAHLER : auch eine Salzsteuer  
zahlen?  
ANGELAS :Es kommt darauf an, wer sie von ihm  
verlangt"(253/7)
- <sup>8</sup> Frau Cornamontis' speech at the end of the scene recalls Ueberley's lament at the loss of custom in Scene Three of the Vienna-version (see above, p.96); however, it is no longer a subjective summing up of events ("So bringen mich denn teils der Krieg ..."), but an objective analysis of the situation in Lima:
- "Drei Tage befand sich die Stadt Lima in einem  
Freudentummel ... arm und reich verbrüdeten  
sich, drei Tage lang, endlich geeint und durch

nichts geeint als durch ihre Hoffnung."(253/16)

<sup>9</sup> At a later point in the play the salt-tax becomes necessary to stop the strike undertaken by the civil-servants.

<sup>10</sup> Cf.:

"Ich lese eben in der Zeitung, Tomaso Angelas, welcher ein grosser Freund des Volkes sei, habe die Macht ... ergriffen ..."(253/10)

"In der Zeitung steht heute morgen: jetzt kommt eine neue Zeit."(253/15)

<sup>11</sup> Even Judith, upon whom the Callas family depends and whose fortunes seemed to improve when the landlord Calausa was captured by the Angelas men, is now forced to return to the old profession she despises.

<sup>12</sup> The civil-servants, themselves not actively involved in the class-struggle like Callas or Frau Tomaso and Palmosa, appear to have benefited from Angelas' rule; it should be noted, though, that they were prepared to take effective political action (by striking for their rights).

<sup>13</sup> The scene thus corresponds to III;i of MaB für MaB, when the Duke of Vienna assumes the guidance of the plot to its dénouement. The viceroy's employment by Frau Cornamontis enables him to monitor plot activity and be aware of the various substitutions which now take place. Angelas does not appear again until the last scene of the play.

<sup>14</sup> This motif is discussed at a later point (pp.205-208).

<sup>15</sup> Paul Kussmaul remarks:

"Reinheit und Unberührtheit sind ein Privileg der Reichen. Nur der kann sie sich leisten, der das nötige Kleingeld hat."(Kussmaul, op.cit., p.98)

This theme, however, though typical of the Vienna-version and its materialist attack on morality, does not do justice to the entire content of Scene Five of BBA 253.

<sup>16</sup> Engberg, op.cit., p.177..

<sup>17</sup> Of the scene's 333 lines, not one has either a literal or almost literal counterpart deriving from the original or the Vienna-version.

<sup>18</sup> There are definite allusions in the scene to the arrest and "trial" of Jesus Christ as described in the Gospels. Calausa, like Jesus spat upon and manhandled, is also innocent of any other crime than that of being a "Tschich" (Jesus was crucified as the "King of the Jews"). The chief judge is also reminiscent of Pilate, the Roman governor who is most hesitant to sentence Jesus. As in the Bible, it is the insistence of the people which ultimately results in the death-sentence.

<sup>19</sup> Callas has brought charges against the landlord Calausa, but Angelas sentences the "Tschiche" Calausa to death.

<sup>20</sup> Cf.:

"Mein Bruder ward verdammt, den Tod zu leiden.  
Ich fleh Euch an, laBt seine Sünde tilgen,  
Den Bruder nicht!"(MaB für MaB, II;ii,35-37)

Isabella's description of her weak brother ("Er ist nicht stattlich, und er ist kein Licht ... Schon als Knabe war er dick und ängstlich!"(253/50-51) recalls her counterpart's confirmation of the weakness of man and the concomitant necessity of mercy.

- 21 In the second plan of BBA 253, Angler was far more direct in his intimations:

"angler schildert wie hässlich es wäre wenn er wie klausner handelte und wie gerecht, wenn sie das los eva meixners teilen müsste, indem sie für einen verwandten aufopferte. bevor sie (Isabella), sehr erschreckt, geht ..."  
(266/47)

Brecht planned that Angler should speak more strongly, or at least strongly enough to frighten Isabella; in BBA 253 Isabella is unaware of any threat to her virginity: Angelas says enough to convince Calausa and the Abbot, but not enough to compromise himself.

- 22 Only Calausa's "Gibts eine Hoffnung?"(253/92), his "Bericht, was er auf Deine Fürbitte sagte"(253/92) and the fearful "Ja, soll ich sterben?" (253/94) recall similar lines in the original.

- 23 The location of III;ii in MaB für MaB.

- 24 Throughout the scene there may be found humorous, even cynical criticism of the "virtuous" rich girl living off the hard labour of others:

"Wäre es nicht geradezu unpassend, wenn Sie, für die andere, weniger empfindsame Leute unter solchen Anstrengungen Geld schaffen, etwas täten, was Sie bei diesen Leuten ins Gerede brächte!"  
(253/98)

In reply to her mistress's question as to what reasons she would give for wanting to become a nun, Judith states:

"Ich habe das Geld dazu, aber einen Mann zu heiraten, der mir gefiele, habe ich nicht genug Geld. Bei den Bedürftigen Schwestern habe ich meine Bequemlichkeit, ich tue fast nichts den ganzen Tag, jedenfalls keine körperliche Arbeit, aber ich esse gut und wohne, ohne belästigt zu werden. So habe ich keine Sorgen wie andere!"  
(253/101-102)

- 25 The passage in MaB für MaB is echoed when the viceroy thanks Angelas for his achievement:

"dank lieber freund!"(253/132)

- 26 Cf.:

"ESKAHLER :...  
... Wir müssens machen.  
VIZEKÖNIG : Ich  
kanns nicht. Wer immer solches könnte:  
ich  
kanns nicht."(253/3)

- 27 If "measure for measure" is correctly applied (as in the Duke's verdict in MaB für MaB) in the class society, it is only because the circumstances allow it:

"... Mass für Mass. Die eine wurde erniedrigt so, warum die andere nicht? Das ist doch die Gerechtigkeit, die wir bereit sind, unter Umständen zu geben."(253/125)

Isabella should suffer the same humiliation as Judith, but the favourable position of the wealthy class at the time thwarts such objectivity.

28 Cf.:

"... Was würden Sie sagen, wenn der Regen eines Tages von unten nach oben fiel? ..." (253/98)

29 Cf.:

"Diese Bewegung sei bei der Schwäche der Regierung und der Zerrüttung der Staatsfinanzen nicht ohne Aussicht gewesen." (266/42)

30 Siegfried Mews, "Brechts 'dialektisches Verhältnis zur Tradition': Die Bearbeitung des Michael Kohlhaas," in: E.Bentley et al., ed., Brecht-Jahrbuch (Frankfurt/M., 1975), pp.63-78.

31 Op.cit., p.67.

32 Op.cit., p.70.

33 Kleist refers to "die jämmerlichen Tiere, die alle Augenblicke sterben zu wollen schienen ..." (Heinrich von Kleist, Sämtliche Werke und Briefe, ed.H.Sembdner, 3rd ed. (Munich, 1968), Vol.4, p.50).

34 Mews, op.cit., p.71.

35 Mews, op.cit., p.65.

36 Kleist, op.cit., p.40.

37 This is the message of an early note by Brecht:

"meixner kann seine ideellen rechte wohl erhalten, aber nicht halten solange er seine materiellen pflichten hat

die rechte der unteren sind illusorisch bei solchen pflichten" (266/53)

38 A further reference to clothes may be found in Eskahler's speech in Scene One on the reasons for the bankruptcy:

"Die Leute tragen ihre Anzüge zu lang, bevor sie neue kaufen." (253/2)

It was subsequently removed from the text of BBA 253.

39 The tolling bells, the racial division and the salt-motif are common to both scenes; but in the latter the bells signal the unification of the people, not their segregation.

40 See above, pp.76-79.

41 Eskahler's predilection for affairs with minors is a relic of the Vienna-version.

42 A handwritten note expresses the sexual tolerance of the poor:

"Armengericht: Verständnis f. Übertriebenen Sexus."  
(266/19)

- 43 See also Angelas' reply to Eskahler when refusing to receive the landlords:

"Sagt ihnen, dass ich für die Sorge von ein  
paar ängstlichen Krämern kein Interesse hab."  
(253/53)

- 44 Cf. their shared conception of the economy as a natural phenomenon. Eskahler describes the racist's outlook:

"In Wirklichkeit kommt unsrer Kassen Flut  
und Ebbe nirgendsher. Das ist das Schlimme.  
So wie im Haushalt der Natur die fruchtbaren  
Zeiten  
wechseln mit mageren, Ueberfluss mit Mangel  
so auch im Haushalt der Nationen. Woher  
kommen die rasenden Taifune? Woher steigt der  
feurige Schleim der Erde im Vulkan?  
Was ist der Mensch? An was trägt er schon Schuld  
auf solchem winzigen Rücken? Müssige Frage! Woher  
das kommt?  
Frager, woher kommst du?  
Der arme Bauer, der durch sieben Jahre  
gewohnt war, seinen ganzen Unterhalt  
dem Boden zu entnehmen, staunend steht er  
im achten Jahre vor dem leeren Boden.  
Warum ist da nichts drinnen? fragt er misstrauisch.  
Nun, sollen wir, vor leeren Kassen stehend im achten  
Jahr  
auch fragen, warum nichts drinnen ist? ..."  
(253/5)

See pp.120-121 of this thesis.

- 45 Cf. 266/42. Brecht refers to racial justice as "school-teacher justice" ("den schulmeister interessiert nicht, was den Leuten fehlt, sondern was für fehler sie haben."(266/59)).

- 46 Cf.:

"Ich selber werd gewiß nach 14 Tagen  
Wenn ich mit ausgeruhtem Kopf zurückkomm  
Dem Staate mehr helfen können als nun eben  
Da mir dem Müden Hoffnung fast gebricht."  
(262/1)

- 47 This is without doubt a remnant of the Vienna-version; in a fragmentary section of the fourth act Frau Ueberley compares the Herzog to Ludwig II of Bavaria:

"Der Mann benimmt sich immer mehr wie ein  
wirklicher Herzog.  
Vorhin war er ganz normal.  
Der leistet sich einen Privatwahnsinn.  
Da gab's einen König, der liebte sich  
Felsengrotten bauen und  
Magisch beleuchten, dann setzte er sich auf  
einen elektrisch  
Getriebenen Kahn, der auf einem künstlichen  
Teich schwamm, und - dachte  
Dachte! Dachte so über alles nach. Über die  
Welt, die Menschen  
Dachte, wie ein anderer Holz hackt."  
(267/147)

- 48 The connections between Callas and Kohlhaas are more obvious than those between Callas and the Frenchman Pierre Calas, whom Voltaire once defended in a murder trial. Walter Pache comments:

"Trotz der nahezu identischen Namengebung sind die Beziehungen von Brechts Stück zum Fall Calas eher allgemein thematischer Natur: Brecht interessiert nicht so sehr der Fall selbst ... als die Verurteilung eines Unschuldigen, der (wie Kohlhaas) den fortschrittlichen bürgerlichen Kapitalismus verkörpert, nach den Maßstäben einer in religiösen Vorurteilen befangenen feudalen Klassenjustiz."(Pache, op.cit., p.181, note 25)

- 49 Mews, op.cit., p.67.

- 50 Mews, op.cit., p.68.

- 51 Cf.:

"Ich verstehe Herrn von Eskaler nicht. Was er macht, ist mir ganz unverständlich."(267/174)

- 52 She displays no sympathy towards the evicted Frau Tomaso, whose home she needs as her new premises:

"Beeilen Sie sich, Frau Tomaso, ich muss noch heute abend mit allem drin sein."(253/82)

- 53 See also:

"Hier habe ich einen kleinen Vorschuss herausgequetscht. Aber vergiss nicht, dass ich dafür hart arbeiten muss."  
(253/87)

Even "Albert" receives strict instructions about the conditions of his employment - total devotion to work is required at the cheapest possible price (253/85).

- 54 Callas observes:

"Ich habe nichts gegen Frau Cornamontis, aber sie sieht schon etwas auf ihren Vorteil."  
(253/85)

- 55 It may be assumed that Brecht modelled his Judith on the Old Testament Judith. The similarities between the two are obvious: both are beautiful women who, as representatives of the oppressed starving and thirsty, cause the downfall of the oppressor (in the Bible this is Holofernes, the head of King Nebuchadnezzar's army of invasion). But the Biblical Judith differs in two important respects from her modern counterpart: she is, on the one hand, extremely wealthy and after the demise of her husband remains celibate, and on the other hand she views Holofernes' death as the beginning of a widely-based struggle for liberation.

- 56 See pp.68-69 of this thesis.

- 57 He speaks also of the "Angst des Todes"(253/129).

- 58 Brecht provides a rare description of outer, physical traits in the stage-directions for Scene Two:
- "BEI IHR STEHEN EIN POLIZEIINSPEKTOR UND EIN  
GERICHTSSCHREIBER, BEIDE BARFUSS UND ZER-  
LUMPT."(253/10)
- 59 Walter Hinck, Die Dramaturgie des späten Brecht, 4th ed. (Göttingen, 1960), p.74.
- 60 See Reinhold Grimm, Strukturen. Essays zur deutschen Literatur (Göttingen, 1963), pp.8-43.
- 61 Käthe Rüllicke-Weiler, Die Dramaturgie Brechts (Berlin, 1966), p.91.
- 62 Aristotle, op.cit., pp.46-47.
- 63 See Andrzej Wirth, "Über die stereometrische Struktur der Brechtschen Stücke," Sinn und Form. Zweites Sonderheft Brecht (1957), pp.346-387.
- 64 Stevenson, The Achievement of Shakespeare's Measure for Measure, p.9.
- 65 See pp.45-47 of this thesis.
- 66 Hinck, op.cit., p.74.
- 67 See Grimm, Brecht. Die Struktur seines Werkes, pp.52-53
- 68 See above, pp.197-198.
- 69 Rüllicke-Weiler, op.cit., pp.137-146.
- 70 "In the winter of 1932-1933, German agriculture was "cursed" with a record harvest. There was a surplus of grain, potatoes, and even meat ..." (J. and S.Pool, Who Financed Hitler: The Secret Funding of Hitler's Rise to Power (London, 1979), p.475). See also Konrad Heiden, Der Fuehrer, trans. R.Manheim (London, 1944), Vol.2, p.403.
- 71 Pache, op.cit., p.185. The tax amounted to twelve pence per kilo.
- 72 Pool, op.cit., p.230.
- 73 The Pools do refer to the "feudal atmosphere" lingering in the "mist-laden region east of the Elbe"(Pool, op.cit., p.479).
- 74 Alfred Kurella, Mussolini ohne Maske. Der erste rote Reporter bereist Italien (Berlin, 1931). Cited from Bahr, "Roundheads and Peakheads ..." p.148, note 19.
- 75 Bahr, "Roundheads and Peakheads ...", pp.147-149, and Bahr, Bühnenfassung, pp.227-230.
- 76 It is also conceivable that Fritz Sternberg exerted an influence here; he explained to the as yet politically unschooled Brecht the nature of the feudal society:
- "Im Altertum wie im Mittelalter wurde die Tatsache der Ausbeutung von beiden Seiten, von der Ober- wie von der Unterklasse, von den Freien wie von den Sklaven, von den feudalen Fürsten wie von den

hörigen Bauern, für selbstverständlich, indiskutabel und niemals zu beseitigen gehalten. Gerade weil beide Teile davon wußten, lagen die Klassenverhältnisse so offen zutage; gerade weil die Landwirtschaft der absolut dominierende Produktionszweig war, konnte man noch im ganzen Mittelalter die Ausbeutung der Unterklassen mit aller Deutlichkeit "sehen". (Sternberg, op.cit., p.47)

Feudal exploitation was transparently obvious; in the modern industrial state exploitation is no less brutal, simply more difficult to perceive:

"Heute, in der modernen Industriegesellschaft kann man die verschiedenen sozialen Schichten nicht einfach mit den Augen sehen. Gehen Sie einmal in eine Fabrik, sehen Sie, was die Unternehmer, was die Direktoren, was die Angestellten, was die Arbeiter tun. Wenn Sie all dies gesehen haben, wissen Sie gar nichts." (op.cit., p.15)

To a dramatist concerned only that his audience should "see", the viable portrayal of capitalism and its problems within a feudal structure must have seemed desirable.

- 77 In his study of the function of history in Brecht's work, Die Funktion der Geschichte im Werk Bertolt Brechts: Studien zum Verhältnis von Marxismus und Ästhetik (Tübingen, 1967), Klaus-Detlef Müller includes an excellent analysis of the dramatist's inclination towards the parable. There are four factors determining this artistic choice. The parable is, firstly, of an analogous nature - the fictitious work of art has its roots in concrete reality. Secondly, it alienates reality by presenting it in a different, simplified light and so delineating its underlying laws. The parable is, thirdly, a didactic art-form, the message of which derives from a philosophical system. And lastly, the parable belongs to the epic genre. Müller concludes:

"(Die Parabel) ist diejenige Form, die Brechts Intentionen am nächsten kommt, weil sie sich unmittelbar aus seiner Kunstanschauung ergibt." (Müller, op.cit., p.213)

- 78 Bahr, "Roundheads and Peakheads ...", p.149.
- 79 "Realistisch heißt: den gesellschaftlichen Kausalkomplex aufdeckend/die herrschenden Gesichtspunkte als die Gesichtspunkte der Herrschenden entlarvend/vom Standpunkt der Klasse aus schreibend, welche für die dringendsten Schwierigkeiten, in denen die menschliche Gesellschaft steckt, die breitesten Lösungen bereit hält/das Moment der Entwicklung betonend/konkret und das Abstrahieren ermöglichend." (GW, 19, p.326).
- 80 GW, 19, p.327.
- 81 Pache, op.cit., p.185.
- 82 See Bahr, Bühnenfassung, pp.237-238 for a description of the manuscripts written between BBA 253 and the Versuche version.
- 83 Reinhold Grimm, Bertolt Brecht, 3rd ed. (Stuttgart, 1971), p.33.
- 84 Klaus Völker, Bertolt Brecht. Eine Biographie (Munich, Vienna, 1976), pp.173 and 332.

- 85 Bahr, Bühnenfassung, p.238.
- 86 Karl Marx, Das Kapital, in: Marx, Engels, Werke, Vol.23, p.254.
- 87 R.Freedman, ed., Marx on Economics (London, 1970), p.170.
- 88 Marx, Das Kapital, p.260.
- 89 In her Bühnenfassung, p.109, Gisela Bahr includes Eskahler's detailed economic analysis in her version of Scene One of the second complete draft (BBA 254); it should be remarked, though, that a handwritten line diagonally transversing this section and the preceding speech ("Nur eines ist nicht klar: woher das kommt."(254/5)) does suggest that it was meant to be excised at this stage. Furthermore, on 254/8 Brecht has included a brief analysis of the scene containing the statement "die gründe gestrichen". The speech on overproduction was first inserted in BBA 256, the third draft (256/4-5). Eskahler's speech in BBA 253, in which he analyses economic change in terms of natural development ("So wie im Haushalt der Natur die fruchtbaren Zeiten/wechseln mit mageren, Ueberfluss mit Mangel/so auch im Haushalt der Nationen ..."(253/5)), is not extant in the Versuche, but clearly forms the basis for the description of overproduction.
- 90 Callas does not consume the abundant product of his labour, but must deliver it to the city:
- "Wir lebten von Holzäpfeln and Wurzeln,  
da wir das Getreide in die Stadt ab-  
liefern mußten ..."(Versuche, p.271)
- 91 The contradictory nature of the capitalist overproduction is also stressed in Scene Five:
- "DER ANWALT (*zur Oberin*):Bedenken Sie, daß das  
Getreide dieses Jahr, da die Ernte zu reich war,  
nichts einbringt, so daß auch die Pachtherrn  
sich manchen Luxus versagen müssen.  
OBERIN:Wir haben auch Felder. Und leiden also  
auch."(Versuche, p.279).
- 92 The influence of the Shakespearean original diminishes further as Brecht removes the section of BBA 253 in which Angelas is admitted to the viceroy's chambers. Brecht is interested in the machinations behind the deputation, not in the deputation itself.
- 93 In the Versuche the viceroy's refusal to decree the tax is not motivated in any way. Cf. BBA 254:
- "... Ich  
kanns nicht. wo doch der Angelas schon gegen mich  
trommelt,  
ich saugte das Volk aus, so die Macht misbrauchend,  
durch  
welches Getrommel er selbst zu solcher  
Macht gekommen ist. Salzsteuer! Wer immer  
solches könnte: ich kanns nicht."(254/7)
- 94 The viceroy, informed by Eskahler that he has already summoned Angelas, states:
- " Freilich. Ich vergaß.  
Du bist sehr tüchtig."(Versuche, p.255)

95 Cf.:

"ANGELAS :...  
 Ich hätte Vollmacht?  
 ...  
 ESKAHLER : Ja.  
 'sist nur die Salzsteuer  
 ANGELAS : die ich machen  
 müsst.  
 das könnt man, wenn mans könnt, nicht  
 heut und morgen  
 erst müsst das Volk ein volk sein. eine  
 Einheit."(254/15-16)

In BBA 256, the draft preceding the Versuche, the salt-tax complex has been excised in its entirety.

96 See above, pp.270-274.

97 See above, p.272.

98 Compare "Die Lage im Süden spitzt sich so zu, dass die Tschichenverfolgungen aufhören müssen."(253/52) with "Und wirklich/sind die Berichte aus dem Süden ängstlich./Die Schwarzen Fahnen sind im Vormarsch. Auch/sind Ihre Truppen, Herr Angelas, ohne/genügend Mittel, da die Kassen leer sind."(253/52).

99 Cf.:

"... Der Calausa freilich  
 der muB dran glauben, auch noch einige andre.  
 Damit gerecht erscheint, was jetzt geschieht  
 denn nur in einem Blutbad von AusmaB  
 wird dieser Sichel Aufruhr jetzt erstickt.  
 Drum jetzt: Gerechtigkeit, und drum jetzt: Geld!"  
 (Versuche, p.299)

100 The revolution is, of course, inseparable from the rent:

"DIE TSCHUCHEN:Nehmt doch das nicht ernst. Der Mann  
 ist krank und aufgeregt. Doch er verschafft  
 uns unsere Pacht zurück, das ist die Haupt-  
 sach.  
 Die Sichel muB weg. Dieser Calausa freilich  
 ist nicht zu retten. Jetzt muB erst das  
 Eigentum  
 gerettet sein. Die Pacht: unsre und eure."  
 (Versuche, p.300)

101 Overproduction, or rather a means of surmounting it, is mentioned in this scene by the lawyer who, upon hearing Angelas order Callas to be diligent and productive ("Dein FleiB ists, nicht dein Jammer, was wir brauchen./ Was deinem Boden mangelt, das bist du!/Und was dein Boden nicht hergibt, gib du her!"(Versuche, p.319)), declares that it would be better to leave the field fallow for a year and so allow the price of bread to recover:

"Und besser noch, laB deinen Boden liegen  
 und ackere einmal ein Jahr gar nicht  
 damit der Brotpreis sich erholen kann!"  
 (Versuche, p.319)

102 Cf.:

"Die Tschichen kann ich nicht leiden."  
(Versuche, pp.302-303)

103 Cf.:

"die bahnhöfe sind überfüllt wegen der abreisenden  
tschichen"(1974/27)

104 See above, p.166.

105 Another instance of Brecht's removal of irrelevant comic sections from the text may be found in Scene Two, where the Angelas trooper no longer boasts that his commander awaited the decision of the government while ensconced in the "Palastlichtspielen"(253/11).

106 The Abbot concludes that the Mother Superior will be freed since the "Sickle" no longer poses a threat:

"Ich muß gestehn, ihr Hingehn schien mir erst  
ganz unvermeidlich. Aber eines leuchtet  
mir jetzt doch ein: der Sieg verändert alles.  
Dann kommt ihr wohl auch wieder heraus?"  
(Versuche, p.333)

107 Although in BBA 254 the scene was numbered "12b" and followed the episode at the salt-depot ("VOR DEN SALINEN DES VIZEKÖNIGS").

108 Cf.:

"Beinahe nebenbei gibt er die Salzsteuer heraus."  
(Versuche, p.342)

109 This addition to the text alters the basis of Isabella's decision to forfeit her chastity - it is now less likely to be interpreted as a philanthropic act than as the attempt to protect her economic status - and shows that Brecht is trying to change this figure according to the requirements of the class-struggle (in which only economic motivation is credible). It is noteworthy that Brecht excises the appeal made by Calausa's fellow prisoners (253/94).

110 This scene and the entire problematical area of Calausa's death sentence will be discussed in greater detail in the section on Angelas' character and his relationship with the ruling class (see pp.293-302).

111 In the Versuche this interpretation is represented only by the ruling clique ("VIZEKÖNIG (zu den Pächtern):Haben Sie gehört: die Pacht muß natürlich bezahlt werden."(Versuche, p.354)) and their lackeys ("INSPEKTOR (zu einigen Angelassoldaten):Wieder einer, der glaubt, daß er die Pacht nicht bezahlen muß. (Zu Callas) Lieber Freund, machen Sie hier keinen Lärm. Selbstverständlich müssen Sie die Pacht zahlen, das wäre ja noch schöner."(Versuche, p.354)). See also Perez' attitude to Angelas' condemnation of the landlord in the section on race and wealth (p.307).

112 In the corresponding speech in the Versuche, in which he replies to Angelas' assertion that he has failed his mission, Eskahler attaches as much value to the suppression of the "Sickle" as to the salt-tax, and even mentions the overproduction:

" Gewiß ein wüster Haufen, doch  
 wenigstens nicht bankrott. Vergeßt die  
 Salzsteuer nicht!  
 Und daß die Sichel aus ist und die Pächter  
 jetzt zahlen müssen! Nein, wir sind jetzt,  
 denk ich  
 doch überm Berg. So werden wir sogar  
 mit dieser Sintflut von Getreide fertig  
 die uns den Staat beinah verschlungen hätt.  
 Das war nicht leicht. Und das ist Euer  
 Verdienst."(Versuche, p.362)

The landlords now omit all mention of the salt-tax when trying to persuade Angelas to free Calausa.

113 It should be noted that the viceroy's sardonic references to the quality of justice in the class-society -

"Nun ist die Frühe da. An solchem Morgen, wo  
 gehängt wird, kräht kein Hahn. Nun wär ich  
 jetzt ohne Schuld, stünd keiner mir wohl bei.  
 Und diese Menschheit wüß mir, der sie brauchte  
 nur dieses Seil zu!"(253/122)

"Ich habe gehört, hier soll gerichtet werden.  
 Als ich bedacht, in welcher Art man wohl  
 am besten geht, wenn wo gerichtet wird  
 fand ich: als Täter. Diese Rolle schien mir  
 noch die gerechteste."(253/124)

- have been excised.

114 See above, pp.245-247.

115 Cf. also:

"...  
 ... Jedoch  
 der kleine Kaufmann, Handwerker, Beamte  
 mit einem Wort: der Durchschnitt sieht das anders.  
 Er sieht nur Not und sieht den Aufruhr nicht.  
 Er ist für den Besitz, doch zögert er  
 dem blassen Hunger ins Gesicht zu treten."  
 (Versuche, p.252)

116 Matthew, 5, 38.

117 The description of the law as "Handel" conforms stylistically to extant material ("Und was die Sache Calausa anlangt:/Fäll ich morgen den Spruch so wie ein rechtlicher/Kaufmann den Tausch vollzieht ..."(253/53)).

118 This addition in the Versuche seems to be a further result of Borchardt's collaboration. The greater importance now assigned to the idea of sacrifice ("Opfer"; "Opferfreudigkeit"; "Opferkraft") suggests the conscious employment of National Socialist jargon (Cf. Rainer Pohl, Strukturelemente und Entwicklung von Pathosformen in der Dramensprache Bertold (sic!) Brechts (Bonn, 1969), pp.45-46, and Richard Koenigsberg, Hitler's Ideology (New York, 1975), pp.43-46).

119 Brecht retains the strike motif despite Borchardt's advice to excise it on the grounds that it hinders the movement of the plot and is "gegen die

Idee, auch gegen die Angelas-figur" (see p.72). The problem hinted at by Borchardt is probably the fact that Angelas clearly has not succeeded in creating a new form of community spirit purged of economic interests if the civil-servants strike because they have not been paid. To a certain extent Brecht solves this dilemma, for Angelas is now deeply disappointed by the strike:

"ANGELAS (*erschüttert*): So. Gingen sie?  
*(Er geht gebrochen zum Fenster.)*"  
*(Versuche, p.314)*

120 See also:

"SCHUNIRELLO (*ist zögernd auf Angelas zgetreten*):  
 Niedrig, die Welt.  
 ANGELAS (*ohne umzuschauen*): Oh ja...  
 SCHUNIRELLO: Kennt nur den  
 Vorteil.  
 ANGELAS: O Krämerseelen!  
 SCHUNIRELLO (*ihm die Hand zart auf die Schulter  
 legend*):  
 Nehmt es nicht so schwer!  
*(Angelas sieht plötzlich auf und erblickt den  
 spitzen Kopf des Tschichen.)*  
 SCHUNIRELLO: Ja, er ist spitz.  
 ANGELAS (*stöhnt und wendet sich schaudernd ab.*)  
*(Versuche, p.314)*

121 A conceivable model for the scene can be found in a newspaper clipping contained in the Brecht archives: a photo removed from the Völkischer Beobachter entitled "Alles blickt auf Adolf Hitler!" (266/84), shows Hitler seated writing letters, a huge pile of which lies before him (Angelas is reading through a washing-basket full of letters sent to him by tenant-farmers). In the background government representatives are shaking hands with an army officer - the parallel to the plot of the Versuche is obvious. Identical circumstances occur in BBA 253, Scene Fourteen - is it possible that Brecht completed the draft as late as October-November 1932? - although both Eskahler and Angelas are occupied with the task. The version contained in the Versuche conforms more closely to the "model", and would have been more swiftly recognized by audiences of the time.

122 In the first court-case Angelas' penultimate speech is lengthened by a passage in which, significantly, Calausa's crime is explicitly condemned:

"Seht ihn jetzt stehn mit seinem spitzen Kopf!  
 Ertappt auf niederm Mißbrauch seiner Macht.  
 Denn nicht die Macht ist schlecht: der Mißbrauch  
 ists." (Versuche, p.274)

123 Rüllicke-Weiler, op.cit., pp.199-209 and Abbildungen 18-25.

124 Frau Cornamontis complies with these rules of business in her dealings with Isabella.

125 See p.202 of this thesis.

126 Compare the following:

"VIZEKÖNIG: Genug, Eskahler.  
 Der Morgen kommt und unser ganzes Forschen  
 Mit Hin und Her und noch einmal von vorn

das Ganze durch, ergab zu jeglicher Minute  
 doch immer nur, was wir nicht wissen  
 wollten ..."(Versuche, p.250)

"ANGELAS:Genug, Eskahler.

Der Morgen kommt und unser ganzes Forschen  
 mit Hin und Her und noch einmal von vorn  
 das Ganze durch, ergab zu jeglicher Minute  
 doch immer nur, was wir nicht wissen  
 wollten ..."(Versuche, p.361)

127 Cf. also:

"Von den gleichen Stühlen ertönen die gleichen  
 Reden ... (Der Vizekönig) steht, wie einst Angelas  
 selber, schon im Hof."(Versuche, p.361)

128 Kussmaul, op.cit., p.100.

129 Pache, op.cit., p.177.

130 Op.cit., p.182.

131 Whereas the first scene of the Vienna-version contains thirty-two lines removed literally from the model, only one line of BBA 253, Scene One can be deemed Shakespearean. In Scene Five, similarly, the sixty-nine lines of the Vienna-version which recall the original have all been deleted in BBA 253.

132 Kussmaul's statement concerning the substitutions - "Das Stellvertretermotiv wird bei Brecht verdoppelt." (op.cit., p.100) - is incorrect.

133 Mittenzwei comments:

"Shakespeare lieb ... sein Stück mit einem Kompromiß enden. Auch sein Herzog mißt am Ende nicht mit gleichem Maß, gibt nicht „gleiches Recht für alle.". So verdeckte Shakespeare mit dem Schluß von Liebe und Gnade jene Probleme, die er in seinem Stück selbst mit aller Schärfe gestellt hatte."(op.cit., p.150).

But the Duke does indeed enforce "measure for measure" - because Claudio is in reality alive, Angelo too must live. Not "death for death", therefore, but "life for life". This does not mean, though, that Shakespeare advocates strict, objective categories of judgement; it implies rather that mercy should be compatible with the law, be in harmony with it. The ending represents an ideal fusion of law and mercy, not a compromise.

134 See above, p.272.

135 See pp.45-46 of this thesis.

136 Mittenzwei, op.cit., p.162. Bahr also concludes that "the model of Lord Angelo was still there, and the real-life model never quite asserted itself ..."( "Roundheads and Peakheads ...", p.146).

- 137 Quoted from the introduction to the Cambridge University edition of Measure for Measure (op.cit., p.ix).
- 138 It should not be forgotten in this context that Angelas inherits more character traits from the Brechtian figure of von Schwind than from his Shakespearean namesake (see above, p.224).
- 139 Pache, op.cit., p.183.
- 140 See Gerhard Seidel, Die Funktions- und Gegenstandsbedingtheit der Edition. Untersucht an poetischen Werken Bertolt Brechts (Berlin, 1970), p.52.
- 141 Rodney Symington places too much emphasis on the literary aspect of the reception process when he characterizes it as the endeavour by the playwright to cast off the shackles imposed by Measure for Measure ("Anhand der verschiedenen Manuskriptfassungen im Bertolt Brecht-Archiv kann man leicht feststellen, wie sich Brecht allmählich von seinem Modell zu emanzipieren versuchte ..."(Symington, op.cit., pp.126-127)). That during the second stage of development Brecht added to his work material from the original (Claudio/Calausa's appeal for help, for instance) alone suffices to refute Symington's theory.
- 142 Gisela Bahr has made the only previous attempt to capture the essence of the second stage of development. Although she declares that her 1979 essay will "focus on the stages of the play preceding and including the Peakheads version, i.e., it will primarily deal with the hitherto unpublished materials written in 1932 ..." (Bahr, "Roundheads and Peakheads ...", p.143), this promise of concentrated, detailed analysis is not fulfilled. This becomes particularly evident in her description of the material comprising the second stage of development. Noting Brecht's politicization of Scene One, she states:

"With these additions the basic function of the scene was established; in this form it was included in the first completed text, entitled Measure for Measure or The Salt Tax (BBA, 253). The further changes this scene underwent in the next two versions were primarily designed to clarify certain points. The economic crisis and the impending revolt of the tenant-farmers became more prominent issues, and the hostility of the Fascists against the rebellious farmers was emphasized more strongly...Brecht added to the Fascist rhetoric by borrowing phrases from Hitler's open letter to Chancellor Papen..." (Bahr, op.cit., p.145)

Disregarding the most obvious error (the misquotation of the title of BBA 253), her comments contain a number of inadequacies. She discusses, firstly, only the development of the first scene, not of the entire play. Secondly, the changes she records were not "primarily designed to clarify certain points"(?!), but, to employ an observation by Werner Mittenzwei (made when defining the overriding preoccupation of Communist writers like Brecht), they were the product of the playwright's desire to expose "das wahre Gesicht des Faschismus" (Mittenzwei, op.cit., p.144). Gisela Bahr mentions, thirdly, an "economic crisis", when the critical socio-economic problem ultimately underlying the plot is in fact overproduction; that almost all scholars have ignored this aspect has led to a lack of under-

standing of Brecht's creative activity during this stage of development (only Weisstein (op.cit., p.32) and Goldhahn (op.cit., P.46) acknowledge the factor of overproduction). Associated with this, lastly, is the inability to view the various changes as interrelated facets of a single process, to show the intimate connection between the material drawn from the Völkischer Beobachter and Brecht's altered perception of Fascism, for example.

143 See W.Aabendroth, ed., Faschismus und Kapitalismus (Frankfurt, 1972), p.10.

144 Franz Norbert Mennemeier provides a most concise analysis of Brecht's theory of Fascism and its dramatic application (Franz Norbert Mennemeier, Modernes Deutsches Drama (Munich, 1975), Vol.2, pp.44-54).

PART III: The Third Stage of the Reception  
Process: BBA 257 - Endfassung

5. The Third Stage of the Reception Process: BBA 257 - Endfassung

5.1. BBA 257

On the day after the fire in the Reichstag Brecht left Germany with his family and travelled extensively throughout Europe before finally settling in late 1933 in Skovsbostrand, near Svendborg at the southernmost tip of the Danish island of Fünen. Although very little definitive information is available - apart from the fact that in June 1933, Brecht had talked with Ernst Josef Aufrecht about a production of Die Spitzköpfe und die Rundköpfe in Paris <sup>1</sup> - it seems most likely that the bulk of work on a version superseding the Versuche was carried out after Hanns Eisler's arrival in Skovsbostrand in March 1934, and completed in June of the same year (on June 10, 1934, the newspaper Berlingske Tidende refers to a version of the play in the production of which Hanns Eisler collaborated <sup>2</sup>).

Klaus Völker declares in the Brecht-Chronik that besides Eisler only Margarete Steffin assumed a collaborative role <sup>3</sup>, but reference particularly to the handwritten sections of the manuscript of BBA 257 (which bears the title Die Rundköpfe und die Spitzköpfe. Mit einer Musik von Hanns Eisler) reveals that Brecht's wife, the actress Helene Weigel, also made a considerable contribution.

A noteworthy alteration to the introductory part of the new version, to which an appendix containing variants of Scenes Six and Eight has been affixed <sup>4</sup>, is the inclusion of descriptions not only of the country in which the play is set - "Das Land Jahoo (Sprich: Jahuh) ist eine transatlantische Insel von südlichem Typus. Die Hauptstadt Luma zeigt deutliche Spuren raschen Verfalls. Die Häuser sind baufällig, aber von zarten Farben, sodass der Eindruck einer bezaubernden Landschaft

entsteht." (257/3) - but also of the individual scene-locations:

"Das P a l a i s d e s V i z e k ö n i g s (1,4,7,11) ist ein leichter, dreiteiliger Bau. Zimmer des Vizekönigs, Vorzimmer und Hof sind gleichzeitig zu sehen. Beispielsweise sieht man in 7, während das Gericht im Hof tagt, Eskahler im Zimmer des Vizekönigs arbeiten und im Vorzimmer die Wache Karten spielen. Hinter der Hofmauer ragt ein Zeitungsgebäude auf, an dessen Front mitunter eine Leuchtschrift sichtbar wird.

Die Gasse der Altstadt (2,8,11) erweitert sich zu einem kleinen Platz, an dem das Kaffeehaus der Frau Cornamontis seine Rückfront hat. Einander gegenüber liegen zwei Viktualienläden, dazwischen ein Tabakgeschäft. Die Häuser sind hoch und schmal. Über der Gasse hängt Wäsche an Stricken.

Die H ü t t e d e s P ä c h t e r s Callas (3,11) ist winzig und arm. Das Dach ist halb zusammengebrochen.

Das Zimmer des Klosters Sankt Barbara (5) ist ein kleiner, weiss getünchter Raum mit ein par Holzstühlen und einem Kreuz an der Wand.

Das Kaffeehaus der Frau Cornamontis (6,9) ist zweiteilig. Man sieht den Barraum und das Nebenzimmer. Im Nebenzimmer hängt in einem goldenen Rahmen Tizians "Irdische und himmlische Schönheit".

Das Gefängnis (10) besteht aus eisernen Käfigen, welche so aufgestellt sind, dass sie nach hinten einen Gang bilden. An der Hintermauer klafft eine vergitterte Öffnung."

(257/3)

The actress Helene Weigel's collaboration and these scene-descriptions are the most obvious indications of the theatrical orientation of the third reception period. Throughout this phase Brecht is concerned to prepare his work for the stage.

## 5.2. Scene Analysis

For purposes of methodological continuity and because the changes evident in BBA 257 are best understood on a scene-to-scene basis, the analysis of the manuscript will proceed as, firstly, those scenes which derive originally from Measure for Measure (Scenes 1,2,4,5,9 and

11) and, secondly, Brecht's own creations (Scenes 3,6,7,8 and 10) are discussed.

### 5.2.1. Shakespearean Scenes

#### Scene 1

Brecht endeavours to clarify the political message already extant in the Versuche and adequately conveyed by the triad "landlords - tenant-farmers/revolution - Iberin (formerly Angelas)/Fascism". The most obvious sign of his intention is the distillation of the germane problem of the class-struggle from the economic issues which tend to obscure it. In the Versuche Eskahler acknowledges the occurrence of overproduction and its disastrous effects, notably the formation of the "Sickle"; but he continues to say that the country - now called "Jahoo", a completely imaginary or unreal land, therefore <sup>5</sup> - has fallen into a state of serious decline because the taxes essential for the smooth functioning of the government and its representative bodies have not been paid:

"...Und der Staat zerfällt.  
Denn Steuern zahlt nicht Pachtherr und nicht Pächter.  
Am letzten dieses Monats können wir die  
Gehälter nicht bezahlen. Das ist das Chaos."  
(Versuche,p.251)

In BBA 257, however, attention is focused directly upon the group of rebellious tenant-farmers - their activity above all threatens the stability of Jahoo:

"...Und im Süden des Lands  
sammeln die Pächter sich um eine Fahne  
auf der gross eine Sichel steht: das Zeichen  
des Bauernaufstands. Und der Staat zerfällt." <sup>6</sup>  
(257/6)

Correspondingly, the salt-tax suggested as a means of boosting the state's weak economy has been excised and the landlords, the social class which previously played a negligible role until the sixth scene

of the play, move into the foreground as the true controllers of Jahoo's fate; the landlords alone are able to render the financial aid necessary to save the country and they, not Eskahler, demand the destruction of the "Sickle" -

"VIZEKÖNIG :Wenn wir die Bahnen noch verpfändeten?  
 ESKAHLER :Sie sinds. Und zweimal.  
 VIZEKÖNIG : Und die Zölle?  
 ESKAHLER : Sinds auch.  
 VIZEKÖNIG :Die Grossen Fünf? Vielleicht gewähren die  
 uns eine Anleih, die uns weiter hilft?  
 Ueber ein Drittel allen guten Lands  
 besitzen sie allein. Die könntens.  
 ESKAHLER : Ja.  
 Nur, sie verlangen, dass man erst den Aufruhr  
 der Sichel bricht, der alle Pacht gefährdet."  
 (257/6)

- and, although they apparently leave the solution of this problem to the viceroy and Eskahler, the latter, in reply to a question from his superior - "Halt! Die grossen Fuenf!/Sind sie für ihn? Sonst ist es Essig mit ihm!" (257/8) - which is additional evidence of Brecht's desire to highlight the class-front, reveals that Angélo Iberin has been financially supported and promoted in secret by one of the "Big Five" landowners ("Er wird von einem hergebracht, der ihn/auch heimlich finanziert." (257/8)).

The Fascist task assigned to Iberin by the wealthy ruling clique <sup>7</sup> is more emphatically stated than in the Versuche; instead of citing the future dictator's description of his impoverished petit-bourgeois followers as "das Herz und Mark und Rückgrat der Nation" (Versuche, p.254), Eskahler now refers to their all-important military strength:

"...Kurz: der verarmte Mittelstand.  
 Das sammelt er in seinem Iberin-Bund  
 der übrigens ganz gut bewaffnet sein soll."  
 (257/10-11)

Finally, Brecht attempts to reveal more effectively the distinction between the truth and the perception of the small business man and his social equals; the existential and the political (hitherto contraposed in the terse formula "Er sieht nur Not und sieht den Aufruhr nicht" (Versuche,p.252)), are now contrasted in a simpler, less abstract fashion:

"...Nun ist zwar die Sichel  
 der reine Abschaum, der nichts zahlen will  
 ...  
 ...der Durchschnitt meint jedoch  
 dass uns der Pächter nicht mehr zahlen k a n n."  
 (257/7)

## Scene 2

Brecht's treatment of this scene consists mainly in presenting its inherent contradictions as vividly as possible, with the theatre-spectator in mind. The central aspect of the scene, the conflict between the people's united belief in Iberin and social reality, which concrete economic laws and especially the moral dictum of "dog-eat-dog" determine, now becomes manifest as the citizens converse with one another in the street. When the landlord Callamassi advocates that the civil-service be drastically pruned in numbers and its wages lowered, his friend Mungosi points out that this would have disastrous consequences for his tenant:

"Das müssen Sie Ihrem Mieter sagen, dass Sie  
 seine letzten Kunden abbauen wollen!" (257/14)

The fat proprietess of a delicatessen defends the prices she asks for her goods by reminding an enraged customer that she has to pay rent to the owner of the premises:

" (Aus dem Viktualienladen rechts stürzt  
 eine Frau mit einer Markttasche)

FRAU : Sie sind viel zu teuer! In einer solchen Zeit für ein Ei einen Peso zu verlangen! Meinen Sie, ich kann das Geld scheissen als einfache Möbelladen-Besitzerin?

EINE

DICKE

FRAU : (ist unter die Ladentür getreten und ruft ihr nach) Ich soll Ihnen wohl meine Eier schenken! Dann dürfte der Hausbesitzer auch keine Miete verlangen..." (257/14)

The function of exposing the fallacy that Iberin will abolish social ills and introduce a "new era", that he can in fact fulfil the expectations of all sectors of society, a fallacy previously indicated by Frau Cornamontis ("...Niémals noch war die Armut so gefeiert worden, arm und reich verbrüderten sich, drei Tage lang, endlich geeint und durch nichts geeint als durch ihre Hoffnungen." (Versuche, p.261)), has also been executed by a brief exchange between the fat lady, the tobacconist Palmosa and Callamassi -

"DIE DICKE

FRAU : Jetzt geht es den Reichen an den Kragen!

CALLAMASSI: Meinen Sie?

PALMOSA : Die Pachtherren werden nichts zu lachen haben!

CALLAMASSI: Aber gegen die Pächter, die die Pacht nicht zahlen wollen, geht es auch!

PALMOSA : In der Zeitung steht heute morgen: jetzt beginnt eine neue Zeit!

(Man sieht: man sollte nicht alles glauben, was in der Zeitung steht.)" (257/23)

- but above all by the "Hymne des Erwachenden Jahoo". This song, which is dramatically motivated ("...wir wollen den Ausmarsch der Truppen ansehen und uns an dem Gesang der Bevölkerung beteiligen." (257/18)), but nonetheless, because of its poetico-philosophical nature <sup>8</sup>, retards, and stimulates the audience's critical attitude towards, the action of the play, increases the satirical implications of the drama (the "awakening Jahoo" is a barely veiled allusion to the Nazi theme-song "Deutschland erwache!" <sup>9</sup>) and expresses in a more pregnant, pithy form the contradictions evident on the dramatic level:

"Bittet den Iberin, dass er die Mieten uns senke!

Und sie zugleich  
 Auch noch erhöh in sein'm Reich  
 So auch des Hauswirts gedenke!" (257/19)

In the Versuche it is strongly suggested that the fat lady's reason for exposing her peakheaded neighbour is materialistic, but the section in which the betrayal takes place is brief and, Brecht clearly felt, not explicit enough. In BBA 257 the woman's motive is unambivalent - "Da gehen Sie doch zum Tschichen! Da! Dort kriegen Sie die Eier für einen halben Peso! Dort ist es aber auch Gottseidank geschlossen seit heute morgen!" (257/14) - and her subsequent act of betrayal, the basis for the rise to power of Iberin/Hitler, enacted at length and provided with a musical accompaniment for emphasis ("EINE MUSIK SETZT EIN, WELCHE DIE GRAUSAMKEITEN UND WIDER-SINNIGKEITEN EINER VERWIRRTEN ZEIT ANDEUTET." (257/15)) <sup>10</sup>.

To demonstrate one of the main truths of the play, that a betrayal of one's class-allies and subscription to socially neutral, racial-biological theories is a betrayal of one's own economic interests, Brecht includes a small episode in which the fat delicatessen owner is blackmailed into buying a sign confirming her racial purity, but does not receive the change owed from the transaction:

"3.HUA :...Das Plakat kostet dreissig Pesos.  
 Aber das Geld verzinst sich mit dreihundert Prozent, das kann ich Ihnen versichern!  
 DICKE FRAU:Geht es nicht für zehn! Ich verkaufe doch nichts.  
 IBERIN-SOLDAT :(drohend) Es gibt auch Leute, die den Spitzkopf im Herzen haben!  
 DICKE FRAU:Geben Sie her! (Sie zahlt aufgeregt) Können Sie auf fünfzig herausgeben?  
 (sie hängt das Plakat "Tschuchisches Geschäft" auf)  
 3.HUA :Jawohl. Zwanzig Pesos zurück. Treu im Kleinen  
 (Aber er geht weg, ohne zurückzugeben)"  
 (257/16)

This episode, indeed the entire scene, shows the far greater power wielded by Iberin's henchman, the prison commandant Zazarante, and his followers, the "Hutabschlägerstaffel" or "Huas", obvious ciphers for the SS and SA <sup>11</sup>. Brecht portrays the latter, not as racial idealists, but as racketeering gangsters intent only on reaping financial gain. When, therefore, they condemn the greed and materialism of the peakhead ("...Der Tschiche ist von niedrigem Materialismus beherrscht. ..." (257/18)), the audience becomes aware of considerable hypocrisy and is obliged to doubt the validity of their subsequent assertions:

"Nur nach seinem Vorteil strebend, verleugnet er sein Vaterland, in das er überhaupt nicht hingehört. Der Tschiche kennt keinen Vater und keine Mutter..." (257/18)

In this way Brecht provokes criticism of the key aspects of Nazi race-ideology.

#### Scene 4

In the Versuche, Scene Six, Brecht inserts projected material which reports on the conflict in the South between the government troops and the farmers. The importance of this struggle becomes obvious in the course of the scene as Callas and the landlords take cognizance of it and adapt their thinking and strategy accordingly. In BBA 257 these signs appear in the course of Scene Four, a thematically more logical placement, for it stresses the political function of racism. The first sign informing the people gathered in the courtyard about events on the national level has been placed at the beginning of the scene and it states that Iberin, the landlords' willing puppet, is avidly interested in the tide of battle ("DER STATTHALTER NIMMT STUENDLICH DIE BERICHTE UEBER DEN STAND DER GROSSEN SCHLACHT ENTGEGEN ...")

(257/34)), and that the strength of the "Sickle" is being sapped by the desertion - instigated by the arrest of de Guzman (formerly Calausa) - of many tenant-farmers to the government side ("...DAS UEBERLAUFEN VON PAECHTERN ZU DEN REGIERUNGSTRUPPEN DAUERT FORT." (257/34)). Iberin finally assumes control of the de Guzman case just as it is announced that the tenant-farmers have broadened their attack:

"LEUCHTSCHRIFT-

:AUCH AUS DEN NOERDLICHEN BEZIRKEN WERDEN  
JETZT KLEINERE AKTIONEN AUFSTAENDISCHER  
PAECHTER GEMELDET.

IBERIN :Da das Gericht den Kern der Sache nicht  
herausfinden konnte,  
übernehme ich den Fall..." (257/43)

That the trial is not essentially the product of racial fanaticism, but rather a clever manoeuvre in the class-struggle thus becomes glaringly apparent to the spectator.

Brecht also attempts to delineate more effectively the viewpoints held by the parties involved in the court-case. The common people want to see de Guzman hanged, of course; they succumb to the illusion, which has caused many of the tenant-farmers, typified by Callas, to relinquish their arms, that Iberin, the prophet of the "new era", is a practitioner of (lower) class-justice:

"EIN ANDERER MANN:Auch das Gericht soll wissen,  
dass für das Land Jahoo eine  
neue Zeit und eine neue Gerech-  
tigkeit angebrochen ist!

LEUCHTSCHRIFT :DER STATTHALTER BEZEICHNET IN  
EINER REDE VOR DEN SCHULLEHRERN  
DEN KAMPF IM SUEDEN ALS EINEN  
KAMPF DES RECHTS GEGEN DAS UN-  
RECHT.

DIE MENGE :Setzt Euch alle nieder und geht  
nicht weg, bevor hier ein gerech-  
tes Urteil gefällt und der Pacht-  
herr gehängt ist!" (257/36-37)

The news-flash, which, it should be noted, has been positioned by

Brecht to interrupt, and show the false basis for, the hopeful cries of the poor, reinforces the truth that Iberin's "neue Gerechtigkeit" stands beyond class differences; he does attack a landlord, but also the tenant-farmers, and insists that both campaigns, the legal and the armed, are being waged under the aegis of justice.

Perhaps to counter the impression which might arise in the mind of the spectator that Iberin does represent impartial justice, Brecht has transferred to Scene Four material from the second court-case (Versuche, Scene Eight) in which the lawyers take the position that the relationship between Judith and Calausa involves love. In the monologue in Scene Two Judith mentions Calausa as her first lover and there can be no doubt in the audience's mind that they do in reality feel affection for one another. This becomes evident in de Guzman's reply to the accusation that he took advantage of his economic superiority when seducing Judith -

"Ich hatte den Eindruck, dass es ihr nicht unangenehm war, als ich mich ihr näherte." (257/46)

- and in Judith's reaction to Iberin's subsequent inquiries:

"IBERIN: (zu Judith) Was sagen Sie dazu?

JUDITH SCHWEIGT

IBERIN: (zum Inspektor) Führen Sie den Angeklagten hinaus!

(de Guzman wird hinausgeführt)

IBERIN: (zu Judith) Wollen Sie sich jetzt darüber äussern, ob Ihnen die Annäherung des de Guzman angenehm war oder nicht?

JUDITH: (unwillig) Ich kann mich nicht erinnern."  
(257/46)

Because there is the strong possibility that love has played an important part in their affair and that the case against de Guzman will therefore have to be dismissed, Iberin resorts, significantly, to mockery of the peakheaded de Guzman's physical appearance and readily accepts as binding evidence the testimony of the roundheaded Frau Cornamontis ("Ich muss

sagen, dass Judith Callas, so tüchtig sie sonst ist, eines meiner temperamentlosesten Mädchen ist." (257/47)), although he despises her. The expression of his racial bias culminates in his triumphant "Sie sind Tschiche! Und das ist der Kern des Falles! ..." (257/48)).

To contrast both the people's hatred of the wealthy and Iberin's racism, Brecht accentuates the Chief Judge's political allegiance. When the clerk of the court explains that the mob has dragged de Guzman from his cell and intends to have him tried again, the Chief Judge no longer merely answers that de Guzman was released because he, and not Judith, was the injured party, but refers primarily to the defendant's social standing -

"Herr de Guzman ist einer der grössten Pacht-  
herren des Landes. Er ist bereits vor drei  
Tagen aus seiner ungesetzlichen Haft ent-  
lassen worden. Er war es, der belästigt wurde."  
(257/35)

- and so betrays his class-bias. He is, furthermore, content that the rich landlords testify as witnesses in the case, and the angry crowd's objection to this decision ("Feine Herren gegen arme Leute als Zeugen!" (257/38)) provokes nothing more than a warning against perjury. De Guzman himself expects sympathy and help from the judge; when asked what happened when he and Judith met in the street, de Guzman relates his version of the incident, then surreptitiously begs for asylum:

"...(Leise) Ich bitte, mich in Haft zu nehmen."  
(257/38)

In BBA 257 Frau Cornamontis' button-throwing experiment, which remained unchanged throughout the second stage of development, undergoes a considerable transformation, although its basic function does not alter. Now in song-form, as the "Ballade vom Knopfwurf", it interrupts dramatic continuity more definitely and delivers a broader commentary than

before. In BBA 253 and the Versuche Frau Cornamontis, referring in particular to the trial, demonstrates to Callas that the poor man will ever be downtrodden in the capitalist system; now she explains that money is the decisive factor in all human affairs, whether it concern love ("Dir wird Liebe nicht geschenkt hienieden/Wenn du Liebe brauchst, musst du bezahlen." (257/51)), the family ("Wenn du Ruhe willst und halbwegs Frieden/Musst du deinem Bruder das bezahlen." (257/52)), or, as in Callas' case, the law ("Was du immer anfängst, Freund, hienieden/Unrecht oder Recht: du wirst bezahlen!" (257/53)). Like the "Hymne des Erwachenden Jahoo" the ballad is well integrated into the scene ("Ich werde Euch eine kleine Geschichte erzählen, damit Ihr meine Meinung über solche Fälle kennen lernt." (257/51)<sup>12</sup>) and is still intended as a warning to Callas, who ignores it:

"Sie haben wohl Dreck in den Ohren, liebe Frau!  
Der Statthalter hat ausdrücklich betont, die  
Pacht ist nebensächlich! Ich bin gerettet!"  
(257/53)

Brecht requires of the actor playing Callas that, having made this statement, he behave like a man suddenly inflicted with blindness, so implying that Frau Cornamontis is correct in her analysis of the situation and ensuring that the audience does not fall prey to Callas' illusion:

"(Frau Cornamontis bricht in ein schallendes Gelächter aus und zeigt mit dem Finger auf den Pächter Callas, der sich genau so benimmt, wie man es von einem mit Blindheit geschlagenen Mann erwarten kann.)" (257/53)

### Scene 5

The most notable modification to this scene is that the parties concerned are already aware that de Guzman has been condemned and awaits execution; when the family lawyer objects to the Mother Superior's

demands, declaring that de Guzman depends for his livelihood entirely upon the income from the rent, she retorts:

"So viel ich weiss, ist Herr de Guzman im Augenblick leider nicht mehr in der Lage, viel repräsentieren zu müssen."  
(257/57)

In these circumstances Isabella does not wish to enter the convent for religious reasons, as before; the plan is rather that the convent should protect her in times of racial persecution -

"... Vielleicht denken Sie aber daran, dass das Fräulein nicht ohne Grund hier eintritt...Wir sprachen bereits von der Abstammung." (257/59)

- and, as a racially pure establishment, assume responsibility for the property belonging to the de Guzman family:

"ANWALT:Gut, da hatte ich nur noch einige Fragen. (er liest von einem Zettel ab) Ob die Gueter dann in die Obhut des Klosters uebergehen? Ob die Beduerftigen Schwestern unter Umstaenden um sie auch Prozesse fuehren wuerden? Ob sie diesbezüglich sofort eine Verpflichtung eingingen?" (257/58)

Because he underlines the importance both of racism and private property, but above all because he enlarges the role of the Church and gives new depth to the titular theme of "Reich und reich gesellt sich gern", Brecht blends the scene more thoroughly into the play, from the thematic and the pragmatic points of view. Furthermore, although he has already made it clear that Isabella's motives for desiring the unworldly life of a nun are not as pure as in previous versions, Brecht introduces a device meant to cast more shadows upon her character - both Isabella and the lawyer read from a sheet of paper the respective reasons for their visit, and the playwright's intention is, without doubt, not to contrast the two events, but to infer their similarity and so to suggest that Isabella's outlook, like the lawyer's, is coolly rational, that her religiosity does not spring from deep emotional wells. One of the truly Shakespearean remnants, Isabella's saintliness, is thereby suppressed <sup>13</sup>.

The scene's structure has also been adjusted and it now resembles Scene Three with an Aristotelean peripety caused by the arrival of a messenger. At the beginning of Scene Five, the Mother Superior asserts that racial differences are unimportant in comparison to financial agreements:

"ANWALT: ...Wir kommen jetzt zu dem Wichtigsten, Frau Oberin.

OBERIN: Ja, allerdings.

ANWALT: Aha, Sie sehen das auch als eine Schwierigkeit an!

OBERIN: Leider.

ANWALT: Ja, die Abstammung des Fräuleins können wir nicht in Abrede stellen.

OBERIN: (erleichtert) Ach so, das meinen Sie? Ich meinte etwas anderes!

(Sie steht auf, geht auf Isabella zu und fährt ihr mit der Hand unter die Haube. Sie lacht laut.)

OBERIN: Spitz, das ist nicht zu leugnen. Nun, das hat hier nichts auf sich. Das sind Aeusserlichkeiten. Wenn sonst alles in Ordnung ist, hat das nichts zu sagen. (Sie setzt sich wieder) Also jetzt das Wichtigste: der monatliche Zuschuss ..." (257/56-57)

But when the nun she has summoned informs her of occurrences in the courtyard, and the lawyer requests that Isabella receive immediate protection - "Frau Oberin, unter diesen Umständen möchte ich Sie bitten, das Fräulein unter Ihre Obhut zu nehmen. Die Strasse scheint mir gewisse Gefahren zu bergen." (257/60) - the Mother Superior, like Callas when confronted by Lopez' appeal for shelter in Scene Three, adopts a completely new attitude towards the problem of race and it again creates a schism between economic allies:

"ANWALT: Soll das heissen, dass Sie dem Fräulein ein Asyl verweigern?

OBERIN: Ich bin für diese stillen Mauern verantwortlich, mein Herr. Ich hoffe, Sie verstehen die Situation, ohne dass ich aussprechen müsste, was ich ungern ausspreche." (257/60)

The motif of betrayal, the key to the success of Iberin/Hitler and his retinue, occurs herewith for the fourth time in the play and cannot escape the scrutiny of the audience, particularly since each act of class-disloyalty receives a musical accompaniment. Economic interests

are not forgotten, however, for although the Church refuses to intervene on Isabella's behalf, it will attempt to protect de Guzman's property:

"ANWALT:Und was wird aus den Abmachungen, die de  
Guzmanschen Gueter betreffend?  
OBERIN:Wir stehen zu unserm Wort, wo wir irgend  
koennen." (257/60) 14

### Scene 9

The thematic intention of this scene, in which Judith grooms herself until she is an exact "replica" of Isabella, is to demonstrate that racial differences are only skin-deep, that the factor separating human-beings from one another is wealth. Brecht now reinforces this message - "Arm geht für Reich und für die Nonn die Hur." (257/125) - when Isabella expounds the three main virtues of chastity, obedience and poverty:

"...Ach, ich wünschte mir stets, meine  
Kindheit möge nie enden  
Wünschte mir froh meine Tage und still meine  
Nächte.  
Ach, gesichert zu leben in reinlicher Kammer  
vor Mannes-  
gier und Roheit für immer, ist, was ich möchte.  
...  
Aller Tugenden schönste ist der Gehorsam.  
Wie soll ich wissen, was für mich gut ist? Das  
Eine  
Weiss ich: der Herr meint es gut mit mir, und  
drum sag ich:  
Nicht mein Wille geschehe, sondern der seine.  
...  
Aber vor allem, was sein muss, ist Armsein das  
Erste  
Und es soll mir nicht Last, nicht Opfer, noch  
Harm sein.  
Ach, verlange von mir, Deiner Dienerin, immer  
das Schwerste!  
Um das, was Du willst, zu tun, oh Herr, muss  
ich arm sein." (257/122-123)

Isabella, because she is rich, can embrace these virtues voluntarily.

Judith, because she is poor, has no choice but to espouse the "virtue" of poverty; consequently she cannot afford, in the most literal sense of the word, to be chaste and must tolerate the advances of every solvent suitor - Frau Cornamontis, not God, is her "lord and master". The goal of this new episode is not primarily to re-emphasize that the moral stance is a luxury, but to manifest in the most effective way what really differentiates the two figures: they are, respectively, the subject and embittered object of political economics. In this new section which fuses the episode in which Frau Cornamontis refuses the Angelas soldiers because they have no money and the repetition of Isabella's speech from Scene Five when she expresses her desire to enter the nunnery, Brecht achieves his purpose more economically and more emphatically because he concentrates on the scene's central figures, Isabella and Judith.

### Scene 11

This scene contains textual material already extant in the last scene of the Versuche, excerpts from Scenes Seven and Twelve of the previous version, and an abundance of new material. The greater part of the new scene to emerge from Brecht's rewriting is connected with the figures of Iberin and Zazarante, and will be analysed in a separate chapter<sup>15</sup>. It should be noted at this point, though, that the shift in emphasis particularly obvious in BBA 257, Scene Ten from the confined theme of class-justice (the "Pächtergericht") to a general affirmation of history as a continuum of class-struggle<sup>16</sup> is also reflected in this final scene. As in Scene Ten, material specifically concerned with the problem of justice<sup>17</sup> has been expurgated, and the attention of the audience drawn towards the substitutions - which confirm the

circularity of the play's action and the universal prevalence of class distinctions over any other <sup>18</sup> - by means of a musical "commentary" ("DIE MUSIK SETZT EIN, WELCHE DIE GRAUSAMKEITEN UND WIDERSINNIGKEITEN EINER VERWIRRTEN ZEIT ANDEUTET." (257/144)) and because the viceroy now describes their respective backgrounds, thus clearly indicating their thematic significance:

"Ich hör, Du hast da einen reichen Mann  
zum Tod verurteilt, weil er einem armen  
die Tochter nahm. Er soll zum Galgen gehn.  
Er ist ein Tschich und durft nicht Unrecht tun.  
Da steht ein Mann. 's ist wohl der reiche Tschiche?  
...  
Herr Iberin, die Tochter dieses Manns  
ging für den Vater einst zum tschichischen Pachtherm.  
Hohe Gerechtigkeit, von Dir geübt  
schickte den Pachtherm in den Tod. Und nun  
ging, wie ich weiss...  
...  
des Pachtherm Schwester, eine Tschichin, wie  
die Tschuchin einst, für ihren Anverwandten  
zu helfen ihm, auf Frauenweis, durch Hingab.  
Ein Tschuche fand sich, der das Opfer annahm.  
So fingst Du einen zweiten Fisch: die Tschichin  
und Pachtherrnschwester..." (257/143-145)

Brecht further ensures that the audience reflects on the meaning of the substitution by having the viceroy declare cynically that de Guzman should be released because his vassals love him so dearly!:

"Warum, de Guzman, geb ich Dich wohl frei?  
Weil, nun, weil dieser da, Dein Pächter, es  
so wenig wünscht, dass Du gehängt wirst, dass  
er lieber selber geht, gehängt zu werden.  
Des weitem geb ich Dich auch frei, weil diese  
des Pächters Tochter, lieber auf den Strich geht  
als dass sie Dich gehängt sehn müsst, das heisst, weil  
Du so beliebt bist, drum geb ich Dich frei."  
(257/146)

### 5.2.2. Brechtian Scenes

#### Scenes 3, 6

#### Scene 3

In this scene the emphasis shifts from the issues of the rent and the

salt-tax to the themes of revolutionary struggle and the private ownership of the means of production. The "Sichellied", already in the form it assumes in the final version, is perhaps the best indication of these changes, but there are numerous others. The tenant-farmers no longer agree to forgo payment of the rent on the first of the month, for example, but are "entschlossen, zu den Waffen zu greifen" (257/26). In a passage newly included in the scene Lopez (formerly Perez) proclaims their revolutionary goal, not simply an economic measure but the overthrow of the entire class-system:

"...Es ist heute der 11. September, ein Tag, den Ihr Euch merken müsst, denn an ihm greifen die Pächter zu den Waffen, um für alle Zeiten die Unterdrückung der Pachtherren abzuschütteln oder zu sterben."

(257/27)

Furthermore, Callas is now interested, not in acquiring two bags of salt, but in expropriating his landlord's horses ("Ich komme nicht ohne Gaul zurück!" (257/32)), for without them he must act as his own horse:

"So, Kinder, sieht euer Vater aus, wenn er vom Pflügen zurueckkommt, weil er sein eigener Gaul ist." (257/26)

The most noteworthy aspect of the scene, however, is that it is now one and a half times larger than in the Versuche, the additional material elaborating upon the contradiction inherent in the scene between Callas' perception of Iberin's justice as social justice and its true, racially-based nature. The audience is made to realize more clearly the falseness of his conception as Lopez, Callas and the other farmers discuss Iberin's "seizure" of power and first official act. One - peakhead - landlord may be in prison awaiting sentence, but the other - roundhead - landlords retain their economic control:

"CALLAS :Ich gehe jetzt in die Stadt Luma und melde mich bei dem Iberin. Wenn er mir die Acker-  
gäule verschafft und die Pacht erlässt,  
brauche ich nicht mehr zu kämpfen. Der de  
Guzman ist ein Tschuche und muss das Maul  
halten.

ERSTER  
PAECHTER :Ja, Euer Pachtherr ist ein Tschiche, aber  
unserer ist ein Rundkopf.  
...

DRITTER  
PAECHTER :Also sollen die Pächter jetzt nicht mehr  
gegen die Pachtherren vorgehen?  
PARR :Doch: die tschuchischen Pächter gegen die  
tschichischen Pachtherren!  
LOPEZ :Und die tschichischen Pächter, sollen die  
auch gegen die tschuchischen Pachtherren  
vorgehen?  
PARR :Tschichische Pächter gibt es wenige. Der  
Tschich arbeitet ungern.

FUENFTER  
PAECHTER :Aber tschuchische Pachtherren gibt es viele.  
PARR :Das ist diese Zweitragt: Tschuchen gegen  
Tschuchen, die aufhören muss.  
LOPEZ :Dass der Regen da durch das Dach läuft, muss  
auch aufhören.  
PARR :Der Tschich ist auch schon verhaftet.

VIERTER  
PAECHTER :Aber durch mein Dach regnet es auch, und  
mein Pachtherr ist ein Tschuch."  
(257/30-31)

The racial division does not coincide with the class-front.

Finally, whereas in the Versuche Callas decides to support Angelas before the messenger arrives to announce his racial policies, in BBA 257 he only reaches his decision after this occurs. He is thus confronted both with his landlord's arrest and its racial motivation - prior to his resolve to desert the "Sickle". In this way his tragic political shortsightedness is presented with greater clarity; for in the Versuche it may have seemed to the spectator that Callas was justified in his action, based as it was only on a consideration of the fact that Calausa had been imprisoned.

## Scene 6

This scene falls clearly into two parts. The first part, consisting to a great extent of material from Scene Six of the Versuche and new text, is set, as before, in the coffeehouse and has approximately the same length as Scene Six in the previous version. The second part takes place in the backroom of the same coffeehouse; textually it incorporates a large proportion of new matter, as well as those sections of the Versuche, Scene Seven, in which the injured landlords, Eskahler and especially Angelas determine the trial's terms of reference. By means of the spatial division of the scene, Brecht re-employs his technique of using different localities to highlight differences of outlook<sup>19</sup>. Callas, the naive political thinker, individualist and racist, is contrasted more directly than in the second stage of development with the landlords and their associates, who shrewdly weigh up the political situation, ever mindful of their collective or class interests.

In the first half of the scene, Brecht's intention is to delineate Callas' position more sharply. The third song included in the play indicates this. In contrast to its predecessors in the text, the "~~Was-man-hat-hat-man-Lied~~" is totally unmotivated dramatically and provides an example of what Reinhold Grimm terms "die offene Verwandlung des Schauspielers in den S"anger"<sup>20</sup>. Like the "Hymne des Erwachenden Jahoo", it does not deliver a direct authorial commentary, but rather reflects in poetic form tendencies or attitudes on the dramatic plane. As previous versions of the scene demonstrate, Callas' interests are purely venal, but unlike Lopez he lacks a supra-personal, class consciousness and so can subscribe happily to the racism of the acting head-of-state. The song, particularly its refrain, tersely expresses

this fusion of idealism and self-centred materialism:

"Heil Iberin! Aber  
Nur  
Was man hat, hat man!" (257/63)

Callas' theft of the horses is, *per se*, a revolutionary act - Saz' reaction to Callas' joyful rendition is one of firm condemnation ("Das ist der nackte Aufruhr." (257/64)). Quasi-tragic undertones therefore become perceptible as Callas' daughter Judith, when asked for her opinion regarding the lawyer's offer, reminds him of the (wrong) path he has chosen to follow:

"Ich meine, dass wir die Gäule nehmen sollen. Es sind zu wenige bei der Sichel. Zu viele sind wie Du weg-gelaufen." (257/66)

The song and Judith's remark assume the function previously executed by the episode in which Callas' selfishness is manifested by his refusal to help his friend Perez.

Callas' faith in Iberin must eventually be disappointed, not only because it is based on a false understanding of his philosophy, but also because the racist represents the landlords. Dramatic irony and the spectator's awareness of a contradiction are thus heightened as Callas asserts, in a speech with strong satirical overtones <sup>21</sup>, that Iberin will rubberstamp his ownership of the horses:

"...Dass wir bekommen, was wir brauchen, das hat uns der Iberin versprochen! Wenn man einem Tschichen etwas nimmt, das kann nie eine Missetat sein. Gemeinnutz geht vor Eigennutz, das ist versprochen. Ich kann einem Tschichen alles wegnehmen, wenn es das Gemeinwohl verlangt. Ich nehme da nur, was mir gehört und zwar rechtmässig. Dass das eine Missetat sein soll, das ist ganz falsch. Ausserdem ist es versprochen."  
(257/67)

An element found throughout this new draft of the play - the problem of private property (embodied above all in the stolen horses) - occurs here also. In the opening section of Scene Six of the Versuche Callas

and Judith are supplied with free drinks after the waiter has announced that Callas is the first man in Peru to be accorded true justice. In BBA 257 this issue of justice for the poor man has been forgotten; the scene commences as the Huas greet Callas in the coffeehouse and inquire instantly about the horses he has acquired:

"Herein, Callas, alte Pächterhaut! Sind das Deine neuen Gäule? (257/62)

Shortly afterwards, the Huas propose a toast, not to Callas and Judith, but to Callas and his two horses:

"Jedenfalls bitte ich alle Anwesenden, auf die Gesundheit des Herrn Callas und seiner beiden Gäule zu trinken!" (257/63)

In the second part of the scene, Brecht introduces a change which parallels the emphasis on the horses. Not the rent, but the land being seized by the tenant-farmers - the matter of private ownership, therefore - becomes the focal point of the landlords' interest. Their scheming is not instigated by the injuries they receive at the hands of the Iberin soldiers, but by the information that their land is being taken from them, that the means of production are passing into the hands of the producers. Just as Peruner announces that his wounds are a matter of indifference to him as long as his property is secure, Frau Cornamontis brings the bad news:

"HERR PERUINER: Solang man mir die Güter schützt, kann man  
mir auch mal auf den Kopf haun. Kein  
Gejammer!

HERR SAZ : Das sind doch Kleinigkeiten!  
Schöner  
Trost!

(Eintritt, von der Strasse kommend, Frau Cornamontis. Sie zeigt eine Zeitung)

FRAU CORNAMONTIS : In Luma laufen schreckliche Gerüchte um, meine Herren, und hier ist ein Extrablatt! Eine Meierei des Klosters Sankt Barbara ist geplündert, alle Landgüter sind gefährdet.

(Die Herren reißen ihr die Zeitung aus

der Hand und machen sich darüber)

HERR SAZ :Das ist entsetzlich..." (257/69)

Because the scene in its entirety now immediately precedes the main trial, Callas' plan to gain official approval of his act of expropriation, previously mentioned only in Scene Six of the Versuche and playing but a slight role in Scene Seven, is more prominent. This is reflected in the landlords' demand that Iberin confiscate Callas' booty by legal means.

Particularly conspicuous in the second half of the scene, as in Scene One, is the revolutionary "Sickle". Saz, for example, declares that only when the "Sickle" has been crushed will they execute the Huas who attacked them. And even before Eskahler informs the landlords that the battle in the South has been virtually lost, they have concluded that before they concern themselves about Callas or de Guzman, they must help Iberin to crush the "Sickle":

"Was soll das Jammern? Vor die Sichel nicht zerbrochen ist, kann der sich Gäule nehmen und jeder, was ihm fehlt. Helft Iberin die Sichel erst zerbrechen und es kehrt zurück de Guzmans Macht und auch de Guzmans Pferd." (257/70)

The landlords, of course, are depicted as much stronger and abler than before. In conversation with Eskahler and Frau Cornamontis, whose coffeehouse, it should be noted, the landlords have been able to save from the closure ordered by Iberin<sup>22</sup>, they decide what the trial must achieve. It is no longer something they try to influence, but is organized and set in motion by them. Their rise in status is accompanied by a decrease in the real power wielded by Iberin. He is now absent when the nature of the trial is determined.

Excursus: Iberin and Zazarante

In BBA 257 the audience seemingly learns more of Angelo Iberin's personal habits and origins when the tenant-farmers appraise their new leader in Scene Three:

"...Ich habe gehört, er lebt ganz einfach, trinkt nicht, raucht nicht und ist selber der Sohn eines Pächters ..." (257/30)

As much credibility may be assigned to this rumour, however, as to the Iberin soldier's version of the "seizure" of power (Scene Two), particularly since Eskahler has informed the viceroy in Scene One that Iberin is not of tenant-farmer or landlord stock ("Der ... dem Mittelstand entstammt, so weder/Pachtherr noch Pächter ist ..." (257/9)). This addition to the text clearly has the satirical intention of prompting doubts about the character of Adolf Hitler and his supposedly ascetic existence. But Iberin's altered relationship with the ruling class means that only a pack of lies construed in his favour could engender popular support. In Scene One Shakespeare's bipartite scene structure recurs as Iberin is introduced and appears on stage well before the end of the scene. In contrast to either his Shakespearean predecessor or the defiant Angelas of BBA 253, Iberin acquiesces silently in the scheme to exploit his racial philosophy. He has accepted the financial backing proffered by the landlords, and displays a weak, almost servile exterior to their political representative, the viceroy ("Der vizekoenig ist beruhigt und Eskahler oeffnet die Tuer ins Vorzimmer. Er winkt dem wartenden Mann dort. Dieser erhebt sich unsicher und tritt ins Zimmer des vizekoenigs, wo er sich tief verneigt und an der Tuere stehen bleibt.") (257/8) <sup>23</sup>. The speech by the Iberin soldier extolling his leader (Scene Two) has been changed to accommodate these alterations in Scene One. Whereas before the

contradiction of myth and reality became most apparent when the soldier stated that Angelas made no compromises (the salt-tax was a considerable compromise), now the propaganda nature of the speech is indicated when the soldier stresses Iberin's strength and violence (in harsh contrast to the docility and nervousness of the hireling portrayed in Scene One):

"...Mitten in der Nacht, als im Regierungsgebäude alles schläft, dringt er mit einer Handvoll todesmutiger Männer dort ein und verlangt mit vorgehaltener Pistole den Vizekönig zu sprechen..." (257/11)

Brecht's conception of Iberin/Hitler has clearly altered since his departure from Germany. The formerly strong-minded, independent idealist is now a conscious and willing puppet of the ruling class. His absence in Scene Six, when the landlords discuss the course the trial must take, testifies to his new role - he no longer disputes the superiority of the "Big Five", nor does he insist, in the final, definitive speech of the scene, upon objective justice<sup>24</sup>. Indeed, he implies during the second trial that his relations with the ruling clique in Jahoo are most cordial:

"Ich hör, es lauf in Luma ein Gerücht  
dass ich, weil ich den tschichischen  
Pachtherrn strafte  
ein Feind der Pachtherrn sei. Nun,  
nichts ist falscher!  
Nicht gegen Eigentumerging mein Ur-  
teil  
nur gegen seinen Missbrauch. Holt die  
Herren! (257/91)

This speech also reveals a stronger emphasis upon his attitude towards private property, a phenomenon which has become predominant in BBA 257 and which Iberin has been chosen to protect. Its sacrosanct quality is affirmed at key points in the text<sup>25</sup>, and when, for instance, Eskahler mentions to Iberin that de Guzman is in danger of losing his possessions, the latter is adamant that he retain them:

" Jetzt kämpft er noch  
um seine Habe. Nun, die soll er haben!"  
(257/82)

Whereas in the Versuche Angelas' reactionary activity could be deduced from his idealism, Iberin's idealistic outbursts always succeed the deeds he commits on behalf of his masters - the idealistic philosophy has been debased to the level of ideology or political whitewash. In Scene Eight of the Versuche, Callas approaches Angelas to inquire about the horses, and receives in reply a stern rebuke for his lacking idealism. The negative answer is implicit in the philosophy. In BBA 257, Scene Seven, Iberin orders that Callas be deprived of the horses ("Die Pferde sind ihm abzusprechen." (257/98)), and only then does he employ idealistic phrases - which no longer comprise the motivating force, but have become mere accessories to the fact. In the Versuche, Scene Seven, Angelas announces his avid desire to destroy the "Sickle" because it is infested with the peakheaded spirit ("Doch der am fremden Gut sich frech vergreift/und seis an einem Hut und einer Brotkrust/den soll man Rechtens in der Luft zerreißen!/Eh wird nicht Ruh, eh dem sein Blut nicht floß!/Dies gierige Aug, es sei herausgerissen!/ ...Und dieses Maul, das fremdes Gut begehrt/drein soll man Rechtens Staub und Moder stopfen!/ ...Eher ist nichts getan/ eh nicht im Staub zerbrach die letzte Sichelfahn!" (Versuche, p. 291). Herein lies the *ultima ratio* for his subsequent actions. In BBA 257, Iberin repeats this diatribe, but only at the end of the second trial, after the "Sickle" has been crushed. In BBA 257, Scene Eleven, finally, when the viceroy has freed Callas, but condemned Lopez and his companions, Iberin provides his superior with an ideological justification for his verdicts:

"(auf Callas deutend)  
 In meinen Augen hat der Mann sich schwer  
 vergangen wohl. Jedoch wir können ihn nicht  
 (er deutet auf einen der Sichelleute)  
 mit dem vergleichen! Er mag aufgehetzt sein  
 doch dieser ist der Hetzer selbst. Der Urfeind!"  
 (257/148)

Again, in the Versuche this speech was the earnest expression of an idealist belief and served no immediate political purpose.

Brecht portrays Iberin as a foolish figure, an insubstantial dreamer who is over-eager to please. In the final scene of BBA 257, however, Iberin casts off this image of the weakly, compliant puppet to reveal the darker, more cynical side of his character - he revels in his reactionary role. A first indication of this change may be found in his comments at the beginning of the scene. In the Versuche he laments at this point that a spiritual renewal has not taken place; in BBA 257 he notes drily that he and those he represents have gained power ("...In unsern Händen liegt/die Macht. ..." (257/138)). Idealism has been superseded by political realism. It is therefore surprising, even to Eskahler, that Iberin announces a four-point programme which appears to favour the poor and downtrodden:

"IBERIN: Ich hab vier Punkte ...

(Er zieht einen Zettel aus der Westentasche)

Luma ist sehr verfallen: neuer Aufbau.

...

Zweitens: das Volk ist sehr verhungert.  
Ich denke an grosse Sammlungen.

...

...Drittens: der Unterschied  
der Lebenshaltung zwischen Arm und Reich  
ist noch zu gross. Wir machen einen Tag  
wo es verboten ist, mehr zu essen, als  
in einen Topf geht.

...

Viertens: ich hör, dass Pächter sich beschweren  
Sie würden verjagt von ihren Höfen, wenn  
sie nichts herauswirtschaften. 's wird verboten  
sie zu verjagen!" (257/138-139)

Each aspect of this programme, which promises a new era and persuades even the poorest and most destitute to view Iberin as a saviour<sup>26</sup>,

is realized before the end of the play, but in such a manner as to expose the programme as a fabrication - more criticism of National Socialist policy - and Iberin as a cruel and callous manipulator. The rich and the poor do indeed eat from a single pot, but the former make their selection from a huge container overflowing with a variety of delicacies:

" (Drei Iberinsoldaten schleppen keuchend einen Riesentopf herein. Sie stellen ihn auf den Tisch)

IBERIN: An diesem Tag der Gleichheit sieht Jahoo auf jedem Tisch in Hütte und Palast nur ein Gericht. Und Arm und Reich isst nur aus einem Topf. Und dies soll sein, damit nicht, der es besser hat, sich besser dünkt. Und auch der Pächter sieht: heut isst mein Pachtherr freudig aus einem Topf! Genau wie ich!

(Sie fischen aus dem Topf grosse Hummern, Kapaunen, Aale und Ferkel) (257/149-150)

Iberin's seemingly pro-tenant-farmer edict is in reality the condemnation to a life of utter wretchedness, for Callas receives perpetual rights to the lands whose infertility he bitterly complained of in Scene Four <sup>27</sup>:

"IBERIN: So sprech ich, Pächter, Dir nun einen Sumpf zu für alle Ewigkeit! Als Deinen Erbsumpf! Hier ist die Urkund, sorglich aufgemalt dass keiner Dich daraus vertreiben darf! Bei Straf des Todes! Nur der älteste Sohn soll ihn bewirten dürfen. Euer Geschlecht allein sei nun für alle Zeit teilhaftig seines Ertrags ! ..." (257/151)

The stage-directions preceding Iberin's decree advise that Callas' farm-cottage, mentioned by him during the first trial <sup>28</sup>, is now in worse condition than ever - poignant proof that Iberin's dictatorship has not brought the promised changes, that he has in effect officially endorsed the original system of exploitation <sup>29</sup>. Brecht underlines Iberin's malevolence when he depicts his plan to help the impoverished - Hitler's Winter Help campaign ("Winterhilfe") is strongly implied - as contradictory

in nature; Iberin seeks to eliminate privation by collecting the chattels of the deprived:

"IBERIN: Und nichts sei zu gering erachtet; keine Hand  
auch nicht die schwieligste, die abgekehrte  
sei hier zurück gestossen. Jeder Peso  
sei freudig angenommen und seis der letzte.  
Auch Gegenstände alltäglichster Art  
Schuh, Hut und Leinenzug, auch das ärmlichste  
es sei gesammelt..." (257/152)

Brecht's negative evaluation of Iberin concludes with the "Lied von der Tünche". Iberin introduces this song with his announcement that the "inner catharsis" which has been achieved will now be followed by an outer:

"Und dass der innern Reinigung die äussre  
nun folge, sollen Hütte und Palast  
in neuem Glanz erstehn: sie sein neu angestrichen!  
Risse und Sprünge sein durch reine Tünche  
sorgsam verdeckt..." (257/152)

The petit-bourgeois and their overseers, the Iberin soldiers then sing the "Lied von der Tünche" as they paint - it heralds the "new age" in the glory of which both poor and rich ("Hütte und Palast") can share. But that this new age is nothing more than an empty propaganda claim intended, like the other aspects of Iberin's programme, to consolidate the wealth of the ruling class, is indicated not only by the white-washing motif, a favourite of Brecht's, but also by the dramatic context. The outer cleansing covers up an inner development which has not taken place, for the peakheaded delicatessen owner scorned and betrayed by the fat lady in Scene Two has reopened his business and enjoys a jovial relationship with his former oppressors; the fat lady and the tobacconist Palmosa, on the other hand, have been forced to close down:

"(An dem Viktualienladen rechts hängt immer noch  
das Schild "Tschuchisches Geschäft zu vermieten".  
Auch vor dem Zigarrenladen steht ein Schild "Aus-  
verkauf". Der Viktualienladen zur linken Seite ist  
wieder geöffnet. Unter der Tür steht der Tschiche.  
Er klopft einem Iberinsoldaten freundschaftlich  
auf die Schulter..." (257/153)

Helene Weigel's handwritten addition to this stage-direction shows that behind the whitewashed facade of the "new era" the laws of the market-place prevail:

"...Zwei Iberinsoldaten kommen von hinten mit Sammelbüchsen. Die Kleinbürger stecken mit der linken Hand Geldstücke in die Büchsen, mit der rechten Hand streichen sie weiter...der Tschiche gibt besonders reichlich..." (257/153)

Iberin is therefore a contradictory figure. His behaviour is predominantly docile and weakly, but at the end of the play he is cruelly efficient and self-assertive; he still harbours idealistic aspirations, yet can act exclusively in the interests of political expediency. To understand Iberin fully, however, it is necessary to analyze the figure of Zazarante.

Zazarante is the governor of Holy Cross prison, but nothing concrete can be learned of his social origins, although Iberin stresses that Zazarante understands the people's needs<sup>30</sup>. Like Iberin, Zazarante is neither firmly idealistic, nor totally political in his thinking. He angrily criticizes the landlords as they give their testimony in the second trial.

"'s ist lächerlich! Schon wieder sind sie dran sich weiss zu waschen, jedermann beweisend dass sie unschuldig sind! Wahnwitzige Waschweiber! Unschuldig sein und zugleich Pachteintreiber! Geldgierig und unschuldsvoll! Das kann man ja nicht anhören!" (257/91)

- yet his strong desire to execute de Guzman, apparently rooted in racial beliefs ("Lass Dich nur nicht mit diesen Tschichen ein!/Diesen de Guzman musst Du hängen!" (257/81)), is also manifestly a political manoeuvre:

"Richt aus: der Tschiche muss verurteilt bleiben, da sonst die Kampfstaffeln protestieren." (257/87)

Furthermore, although Iberin affirms his lieutenant's devotion to ideals ("Selbstlos, nur der Idee/ergeben, kämpft er gegen tschichischen

Geist..." (257/140)), Zazarante's rationale for denying Callas the horses is not based on any adherence to the sanctity of property:

"IBERIN : Der Pächter  
verlangt die Pferde.  
ZAZARANTE : Was verlangt der Hund?!  
Gib sie ihm ja nicht! Luma ist schon unruhig  
Ich kanns nicht halten, wenn Du sowas machst.  
Und auch ein Urteil gegen diesen Callas  
kann ich nicht brauchen, vor der Sieg da ist  
sonst machen wieder meine Leute Stunk."  
(257/81)

But the most important aspect about the new figure of Zazarante is that he controls not only considerable military power (as the head of the Huas and of the Iberin militia <sup>31</sup>) but also Iberin himself. Zazarante is the aggressive, driving force behind the victory of Fascism in Jahoo. Whereas Iberin is strikingly insipid in character and must rely on propaganda to achieve notoriety <sup>32</sup>, Zazarante's reputation for fearful brutality is obviously established on fact <sup>33</sup>. Zazarante not only insists that the first trial against de Guzman should take place, as the Chief Judge learns from the police-inspector ("...Sie müssen der Menge nachgeben und die Verhandlung führen, auf der ... Herr Zazarante besteht. ..." (257/37)), but also determines the entire course of the second court-case. Iberin relies upon his judgement to hear Isabella's submission, a matter of relatively minor importance, until Zazarante tells him how he must answer her plea.

Critics discussing the figure of Zazarante have usually assumed that he was introduced by Brecht to make the immoral proposition to Isabella and so remove the contradiction of an idealist willing to renounce his ideals <sup>34</sup>. Ulrich Weisstein insists, for example, that "by thus splitting up the figure of the deputy in Measure for Measure, Brecht sought to save Iberin's image in our souls ..." <sup>35</sup>. The above analysis proves, however, that in BBA 257, the point at which

Zazarante was first included in the drama, this hypothesis has no textual foundation. Not only because Zazarante's considerable role should not be reduced to one of mere dramatic convenience, but also because it may not be said with any justification that Iberin remains as idealistic as his prototype Angelas. Indeed, in moral terms Iberin is no better than his Lieutenant - he is simply less vigorous and less able to execute the function assigned to him. Zazarante does make what de Guzman and his friends treat as a proposition -

"2.ANWALT :Ich stand daneben und ich sprach ihn an.  
 Mir schien, es war in seinem Aug ein  
 Blinken  
 als er das Fräulein ansah. Auf die Frage  
 obs nicht doch Möglichkeiten gäb, liess  
 er  
 durchblicken: wenn das Fräulein zu ihm  
 käme  
 wollt er die Sache mit ihr durchsprechen,  
 aber  
 's müsst morgen früh sein, zwischen vier  
 und fünf.

DE GUZMAN :Das ist die Rettung!" (257/106)

- but only because it would not be credible from a psychological point of view were the vacillating Iberin to undertake such a bold move. The addition of the strong figure of Zazarante to BBA 257 and the concomitant weakening of Iberin indicate that Brecht's conception of the political arena in Nazi Germany has altered since his departure; he clearly considers Hitler little more than a figurehead or strawman behind whom the true Fascists - the S.A. ("Huas") and the S.S. (Hutabschlägerstaffel) - plot their machinations and manoeuvres. Whether Zazarante represents any particular real personage, such as Heinrich Himmler, is a matter of conjecture <sup>36</sup>.

Scenes 7, 8, 10Scene 7

This scene now contains the second trial, formerly found in Scene Eight of the Versuche, and is composed of textual excerpts from Scenes Seven, Eight and Ten of the previous version. However, considerably more than two-thirds of the scene comprises completely new material, because the nature of the trial itself has been radically altered. A comparison of the two scenes preceding the trial in both the Versuche and BBA 257 reveals this. In the former the landlords decide to give their financial backing to Angelas in his struggle against the tenant-farmers. In return for the loan, Eskahler asks Angelas to place his signature under the salt-tax edict, which will ensure that the landlords do not forfeit their investment. But Angelas insists that he cannot do this until justice has been done in the court-case against Calausa<sup>37</sup>, for the people of Peru will only be willing to pay the tax to a government it knows to be fair and unbiased. In these circumstances the landlords accept that Calausa will have to remain condemned. The issue of the horses expropriated by Callas: they mention only as an afterthought. In BBA 257 the trial is no longer a display by Angelas of impartial justice, with the proviso that it will alleviate the collection of the salt-tax, but simply an example of class-justice instigated by the landlords. In return for their loan to Iberin, they insist that the stolen horses be taken legally from Callas:

"ESKAHLER :Was wollt Ihr?  
 HERR SAZ : Dass man diesem Callas den  
 Prozess macht! Oeffentlich und gleich! Und  
 ihm die  
 zwei Gäule abspricht! Oeffentlich und gleich!"  
 (257/71)

The primary concern of the court is not the relationship between de Guzman and Judith, the discussion of which matter lasted for nearly

half of the Versuche-trial, but has been excised completely in BBA 257. Rather, the judiciary, lawyers and Iberin have been given the task of upholding the right to private property, in the context of the play an eminent factor in the class-struggle<sup>38</sup>. Because Iberin is nothing more than a puppet in the hands of the landlords, there is no force able to counteract their aims, and the case unfolds smoothly in their favour as the convent brings its claim against Callas ("Das Stiftskloster der Bedürftigen Schwestern von Sankt Barbara beantragt ein Verfahren gegen den Pächter Callas wegen ungerechtfertigter Aneignung zweier Pferde." (257/83)), and the lawyers introduce various witnesses, not only the landlords, but even the tenant-farmer Parr, who testify that it is not customary for a landlord to present his vassals with horses in return for the favours of their daughters. As Parr declares:

"Da müsste ja der de Guzman viele Gäule haben, wenn er für jedes Weib zwei hergeben sollte!" (257/90)

Callas, like Parr, can only put forward the defence that he, as a producer, needs the horses, the means of production. The rights of respective classes clash, and although objectively Callas has indeed committed a crime, he declaims the verdict as "landlord-justice":

"DER RICHTER :Das Gericht erkennt für Recht, dass Du die Gäule ablieferst.  
CALLAS :Dann will ich Euch etwas sagen: ich scheisse auf Euer Recht, wenn ich die Gäule nicht bekomme, die ich zum Ackern brauche! Das ist kein Recht! Das ist kein Recht für mich, wenn ich die Gäule nicht kriege, die ich brauche! Das ist ein Pachtherrenrecht!..." (257/99)<sup>39</sup>

The proceedings parallel those of the race-trial in Scene Four: in the latter the right man, de Guzman, is condemned, despite the facts, in the former the wrong man, Callas, is condemned, but in accordance with the facts (of the case). In BBA 257, Scene Seven, de Guzman is no longer sentenced to death for a second time, nor are his closest associates imprisoned.

Just as the motif of the salt-tax as the underlying justification for the trial is now redundant, so too the strike by the civil-servants has been removed from the plot. The reason for its occurrence, the landlords' lack of faith in Angelas and their fear of what he might accomplish by means of the judicial process, no longer holds true, and in its place, affirming the power of the landlords, there appears at the beginning of the scene the "Lied von der belebenden Wirkung des Geldes". The main message of this lyrical interlude, sung by the civil-servants after they have received their salaries, indirectly, from the landlords, is that goodness and justice are dependent on money:

"Aber wenn der Gute etwas Geld hat  
 Hat er, was er doch zum Gutsein braucht.  
 ...  
 Man erkennt, was Pferd ist und was Reiter.  
 Und so wird das Recht erst wieder Recht."  
 (257/77)

The song thereby affirms in a different form Eskahler's laconic statement at the opening of the Versuche trial:

"Ja, ohne Schmierung fehlt dem Recht der Witz:  
 Die leere Kasse ist kein Richtersitz."  
 (Versuche, p. 303)

When money becomes scarce, either because salaries have not been paid, or because overproduction has taken place, social strife is the consequence -

"Aus der Fruchtbarkeit wird Dürre  
 Wenn der gute Strom versiegt.  
 Jeder schreit nach was und nimmt es, wo ers  
 kriegt.  
 Eben war noch alles nicht so schwer  
 Wer nicht grade Hunger hat, der verträgt sich  
 Jetzt ist alles herz- und liebeleer.  
 Vater, Mutter, Brüder: alles schlägt sich!"  
 (257/77)

- and the system of "horse-and-rider", the class-system, collapses:

"Keiner will mehr Pferd sein, jeder Reiter.  
 Und die Welt ist eine kalte Welt."  
 (257/77)

The "Lied von der belebenden Wirkung des Geldes" implies above all that from the standpoint of the civil-service the division into rich and

poor is just, proper and good. The proceedings of the ensuing trial are thus placed in a critical perspective, and Callas' bitter denunciation justified.

In the Versuche trial the battle in the South is constantly mentioned both by Angelas and the landlords. It does not have any direct influence on the course of the trial, however. Rather, the condemnation of the landlord has had the effect of causing tenant-farmers to lay down their arms, believing, like Callas, that Angelas represents true, social justice. In BBA 257, Scene Seven, as in Scene Four, the state of the struggle against the "Sickle" revolutionaries - transmitted by projected material - has a significant bearing on the trial. Shortly before the commencement of the trial, the landlords discuss tactics with their lawyers; they are astounded to learn that because fresh government troops are advancing on the "Sickle" it will be possible to admit that a landlord may commit a crime without fear of retribution:

"2.ANWALT :...

Ich bin dafür, dass man das Unrecht zugibt  
und nur sich auf den Standpunkt stellt, es  
sei  
nicht landesüblich, dass der Pachtherr  
solch ein  
Unrecht vergütet mit zwei Pferden. Punktum.

HERR DE HOZ:Meint Ihr, man kann das zugeben, dass ein  
Pachtherr  
ein Unrecht tut und es nicht gut machen muss?

2.ANWALT :So wie die Schlacht steht, kann mans zugeben,  
scheint mir."  
(257/80)

This is one example of several, the most important of which is perhaps Iberin's request of the landlords that they give Callas two horses as a gift, a manoeuvre rendered necessary when it appears as though the counter-revolution has failed. The landlords react accordingly:

"HERR DE HOZ :Das deutet nicht auf Sieg!  
HERR DUARTE :Das sieht  
bö's aus.  
HERR SAZ :Sie haben schlechte Nachricht..."  
(257/95)

This change in the status of the tenant-farmer uprising accentuates not only Iberin's weakness, but also the class basis of Fascism.

### Scene 8

This scene incorporates most of the contents of Scene Nine of the Versuche, although the important motif of the brothel-shift, inherited from the original and substantially developed by Brecht, has been removed in its entirety. The function of this motif, to demonstrate (by symbolic and, perhaps, too oblique means) that Iberin, the vice-roy's replacement, has not altered the infrastructural division of rich and poor, that the socio-economic conditions of the beginning of the play again hold, is now executed in a more direct, dramatic manner by the return of the peakheaded delicatessen owner to his business -

"DIE DICKE FRAU :Das Einzige, was er erreicht hat, ist, dass wenigstens der Tschiche von drüben abgeholt wurde!

(Ein Mann von sehr scheuem Wesen mit einem grossen Hut ist die Strasse heruntergekommen. Er schliesst die Ladentür des Viktualienladens links auf. Es ist der tschichische Händler)

DIE DICKE FRAU :(mit ihren Koffern abgehend) Ich verstehe die Welt nicht mehr!"  
(257/103-104)

- and by the landlord Peruiner's appearance without a hat to cover his pointed skull:

"DER TSCHICHISCHE  
HÄNDLER

:...Sie haben vergessen, den Kopf zu bedecken, Herr Peruiner!

PERUINER

:Keineswegs! Sagen Sie eher, dass ich einige Tage vergessen habe, meinen Kopf zu entblößen! Ich gehe eben zu einer Konferenz mit der Regierung, auf der diese gefragt wird, wie sie sich die Zurückzahlung der Anleihe denkt, mit deren Hilfe sie den Sieg erfochten hat..." (257/104)

However, it is the "Ballade vom Wasserrad", sung by Judith as she attempts to gain re-employment in Cornamontis' brothel, which most fittingly concludes Iberin's interregnum by thematicising its circular, non-progressive nature <sup>40</sup>. Before she sings her ballad, Judith indicates to her father that it is a matter of indifference whether the Mother Superior collects the rent, or de Guzman, for rent will still be collected, the system of exploitation will persist:

"...Heute ist es die Oberin von Sankt Barbara, die die Pacht eintreibt, und warum soll es nicht morgen wieder Herr de Guzman sein?" (257/109)

Analogously, a change in state leadership, from the viceroy to the landlords' strawman Iberin, does not affect the class-structure of society; the outer appearance of the ruler may alter, but not his function:

"Ach, wir hatten viele Herren  
Hatten Tiger und Hyänen  
Hatten Adler, hatten Schweine  
Doch wir nährten den und jenen.  
Ob sie besser waren oder schlimmer:  
Ach, der Stiefel glich dem Stiefel immer  
Und uns trat er..." (257/110)

Judith's "Ballade vom Wasserrad" expresses poetically the essence of the dramatic action involving the racist deputy - his "seizure" of power is no different from the convent's law-suit on behalf of de Guzman ("Reich und reich gesellt sich gern." (257/109)) - and in addition, by means of the image of the water-wheel set in motion by the poor and oppressed <sup>41</sup>, it indicates a truth of universal validity:

"Das Wasserrad wird zum marxistischen Emblem, das auf den Klassenantagonismus zwischen Herren und Knechten und auf die fortwährende Exploitation der Unterdrückten durch die Mächtigen verweist. Geblieben ist das Rad des historischen Wechsels, auf dem sich die Großen dieser Erde in Aufstieg und Niedergang ablösen, aber die Rolle der Glücksgöttin Fortuna haben die Versklavten und Ausgebeuteten übernommen. - Wie die Energie des Wassers das Mühlrad, so treibt der Frondienst der Knechte das Rad der Herrschaft unaufhörlich und liefert die Voraussetzung für das bewegte Leben der Großen. Die Dauer der Knechtschaft garantiert die Fortdauer der Herrschaft, so daß sich der Klassenwiderstreit als eigentliche Triebkraft der Geschichte erweist." <sup>42</sup>

The central Shakespearean encounter, the meeting between Isabella and her brother, which still retained some of its original importance in the second stage of development, where it encompassed an entire scene (Scene Ten), has been drastically reduced to approximately one half of its Versuche size and integrated into BBA 257, Scene Eight. A significant change in the scene, now set in the street, not in prison, is the absence of Shakespeare's "abbot", who no longer consoles and encourages Isabella. Furthermore, the discussion of their plight held by the incarcerated lawyers, the Mother Superior and the Chief Judge at the beginning of the scene, as well as the insults hurled at the captured "Sickle" members, the abbot's atheism and the comments on justice by the lawyer and Calausa at the end of the scene, have all been expunged. Indeed, the meeting has been considerably simplified and functionalized - it is only of importance inasmuch as it motivates the ensuing substitutions.

#### Scene 10

Because the relationship between Iberin and the landlords is harmonious, and the salt-tax motif has been omitted, Scene Twelve and Thirteen of the Versuche, in which, respectively, Angelas pours forth his hatred of the rich landowners and Callas assaults the official at the depot, have become superfluous, and are deleted by Brecht. As a consequence, BBA 257, Scene Ten corresponds to, and draws much of its material from, Scene Fourteen of the Versuche version. At the end of this scene, Calausa's lawyer reacts to the news brought by the Chief Judge and Mother Superior that Isabella has not yet managed to avert possible disaster by persuading Callas, as the audience learns in the final

scene, to take his master's place on the gallows. In BBA 257, however, it is no longer arranged off-stage, but, with the addition of new material, dominates the penultimate scene. It thereby parallels the immediately preceding scene in which Judith is groomed by Frau Cornamontis to replace Isabella; indeed, Callas now concludes Scene Ten with a couplet vividly reminiscent in structure and rhyme of that spoken by his daughter at the end of Scene Nine:

"Tschuch geht für Tschich. Und Unrecht geht für Recht.  
 Arm stirbt für Reich und für den Herrn der Knecht."  
 (257/135) 43

The "poor-court", which lay at the heart of Scene Fourteen in the Versuche and revealed the essence of class-justice from the standpoint of the poor, has been superseded by the more apposite "Lied eines Grossen", sung by a trio comprising de Guzman and his lawyers. This song reminds the audience that the substitution is not an isolated occurrence, but a further manifestation of the privilege of class. Callas will stand on the gallows for his landlord, just as previously he had ploughed his soil -

"ANWAELTE :Ja, wer pflügte denn da Ihren Acker?  
 Warn das etwa Sie, der ihn versah?  
 DE GUZMAN :Nein, dafür warn doch die Knechte da.  
 Irgendwelche Leute, wissen Sie, von unten  
 haben meinen Acker umgegraben."  
 (257/129)

- and a poor woman (Callas' wife?) had nursed him in early childhood:

"ANWAELTE :Ja, wer hat Sie denn da gross gezogen?  
 War das Ihre zarte Frau Mama?  
 DE GUZMAN :Nein, dafür war eine Amme da  
 Irgendeine gute Frau von unten  
 Der sie dafür ein paar Groschen gaben."  
 (257/129)

As ever, Callas is keeping the water-wheel, upon which the wealthy perch, in motion. The productive individual must sacrifice himself for the weakly parasite <sup>44</sup> - such is the nature of the historical process.

## 6. The Final Version

The subsequent analysis of the "Endfassung" of the play, the last element in the reception process, will concentrate on the version contained in the 1967 Suhrkamp edition of the Gesammelte Werke, according to the editor Elisabeth Hauptmann a reproduction of the play as published by the Malik-Verlag in 1938 in volume two of the collected works, for which, as noted above <sup>45</sup>, there is no archive model <sup>46</sup>.

As the handwritten material included on the first pages of BBA 431 indicates <sup>47</sup>, Brecht considered work on the Rundköpfe und Spitzköpfe complete in late September 1934. The chronological period separating BBA 257, the first stage of the third phase of development, and BBA 431, the archive text approximating most closely to the final version to appear in the Malik edition, embraces therefore almost four months.

### 6.1. Scene Analysis

Methodologically, the analysis will proceed as for the Versuche version; the new material added to the text at this point can be adequately accommodated under several general headings, namely:

- a) The Prologue and Songs
- b) The Marxist Parable: the War-complex
- c) Character Variations
- d) Dramatic-dramaturgical Additions and Alterations

### 6.2. The Prologue and Songs

### 6.2.1. The Prologue

Throughout the critical literature on Brecht, the function of the prologue in terms of epic theatre theory and practice has never been considered problematical <sup>48</sup>. In his recent article on Die Rundköpfe und die Spitzköpfe, however, Walter Pache notes that the prologue, "like the songs", was written for the last version and "signalisiert vielleicht Brechts Zweifel an der Durchschlagskraft der Parabel" <sup>49</sup>. Pache thereby implies that the prologue represents a last-minute effort on Brecht's part to ensure that his audience would understand the thematic direction of the play. This is a problematical conclusion, for it begs the question of whether the songs must not be viewed equally as the emergency measures of a playwright who felt he would be misunderstood or not understood at all. Such questions cast doubt on the entire theory of epic theatre, presupposing, as they do, that the epic techniques of prologue or song are not integral parts of that theory, but merely random accessories. The available archive material reveals, though, that neither the songs nor the prologue were produced only for the last version of the play. Apart from the "Lied von der Tünche", which was already present in the Vienna-version, the majority of the songs appeared in BBA 257, at the beginning of the last period of work, therefore. The evidence suggests that Brecht had begun work on the prologue also at this early time. In one of the archive fragments of the prologue, Brecht identifies himself to the audience by recalling that his photo had recently appeared in the newspaper:

"unser stückschreiber (sein bild stand neulich  
in der zeitung)" (432/87)

Harald Engberg, the most reliable source regarding Brecht's sojourn in Denmark, states that the playwright, who was most reluctant to be photo-

graphed, did give permission for a snap to be published in the "Ekstrabladet" of 20 March, 1934<sup>50</sup>. This must be the photo to which he refers in the prologue fragment. Although the word "neulich" is not an exact indicator of time elapsed, it is reasonable to assume that Brecht was occupied with the prologue, if not in the period immediately after the 20 March, then at least not too much later than that. There is, therefore, no justification for discussing the prologue as anything other than a normal part of Brecht's preparations for a theatrical realization of his work. It differs in no way from similar preparations evident in BBA 257.

As the Bestandsverzeichnis compiled by Herta Ramthun of the Brecht archives records, there are thirteen entries related to the prologue. Of these, it should be noted, eleven are virtual copies of the entire final version of the prologue, or of sections thereof, and only two (432/86-87 and 268/93) contain enough variant material to merit individual attention. The most interesting prologue fragment (432/86-87) indicates that Brecht at first intended to emphasize his own precarious position as an exile - "und keiner halte sich für sicher noch/und keiner für gerettet und geborgen/die glücklichste berechnung hat ein loch/und auf ein seliges heute folgt ein morgen."<sup>51</sup> - and to delineate the consequent necessity for the exile, and indeed for every individual, to concern himself with world events, rather than with personal matters:

"der ist nicht aus ihr, der die welt vergisst!  
tiefsinnig starrend auf den eigenen nabel!  
besser ihr seht die welt wie sie wirklich ist  
und sei es auch nur hier: in der parabel." (432/86)

In the second part of this fragment Brecht the exile is also predominant:

"geehrtes publikum, das stück fängt an.  
der es verfasste, ist ein weitgereister mann.  
der darsteller des statthalters:  
er reiste übrigens nicht immer ganz freiwillig...

der vizekönig (bringt ihn mit einem durchbohrenden  
blick zum schweigen)

...

unser stückschreiber (sein bild stand neulich in  
der zeitung)" (432/87)

In the second significant prologue fragment, though, this aspect does not merit mention at all. It thus approximates more closely to the final version of the prologue, but it in turn does not contain certain parts of the other fragment which do play an important role in the published text. In 432/86-87, as the above quotation shows, the introduction is given by two actors in conversational form, and they discuss the various struggles the playwright has witnessed on his travels. In 268/93 one actor alone is responsible for the opening of the prologue, and there is no mention of the altercations between white man and black, between Finn and Swede. It thus seems most likely that Brecht fused these two fragments to construct the first half of the final version of the prologue. It begins with the theatre-director's reference to the general theme of the play and ends with his introduction of the actor who, destined to play the part of Iberin, begins the task of handing out costumes and requisites to the other players. The general commentary is succeeded by the practical preparations for the performance.

The prologue itself commences as seven actors - the theatre-director (the viceroy), Iberin, Callas, Nanna (formerly Judith), de Guzman, Isabella and Lopez - appear before the curtain; Lopez and Iberin each bear weighing-machines, the former's containing on one side noble clothes, on the other rags, the latter's pointed and round skulls. It is the theatre-director, however, who addresses the audience ("Geehrtes Publikum"). He immediately cites the author of the play (later referred to expressly ("Auf Wunsch Herrn Bertolt Brechts..." (GW,p.912)), noting that he is a well-travelled man, who did not always travel of his own free

will:

"Der es verfasste, ist ein weitgereister Mann.  
 (Er reiste "übrigens nicht immer ganz freiwillig.)"  
 (GW,p.909)

This is an obvious allusion to Brecht's departure from Nazi Germany, but the theatre-director does not dwell on this aspect, using it only to introduce the "furchtbare Streitigkeiten" ostensibly, but improbably, witnessed by the traveller:

"Er sah den weißen Mann mit dem schwarzen ringen.  
 Einen kleinen Gelben sah er einen großen Gelben  
 niederzwingen.  
 Ein Finne schmiß nach einem Schweden einen Stein  
 Und ein Mann mit einer Stupsnase schlug auf einen  
 Mann mit einer Hakennase ein."  
 (GW,p.909)

The playwright/traveller then inquired as to the nature of the various quarrels, and learns of the skull-distributor":

"Unser Stückeschreiber erkundigte sich, worin ihr  
 Streit besteht.  
 Da erfuhr er: durch die Länder geht  
 Jetzt der große Schädelverteiler  
 Das ist der Allerweltsheiler  
 Der hat allerhand Nasen in seiner Tasche und  
 verschiedenfarbige Haut  
 Damit trennt er den Freund vom Freund und den  
 Bräutigam von der Braut."  
 (GW,pp.909-910)

Questioned about what he has seen, the itinerant playwright concedes that there are physical differences between human-beings, but that these differences are not ultimately decisive:

"Und überall wurde unser Stückeschreiber verhört  
 Ob ihn der Unterschied der Schädel nicht auch stört  
 Oder ob er unter den Menschen gar keinen Unterschied  
 sieht.  
 Da sagte er: ich seh einen Unterschied.  
 Aber der Unterschied, den i c h seh  
 Der ist größer als der zwischen den Schädeln nur  
 Und der hinterläßt eine viel tiefere Spur  
 Und der entscheidet über Wohl und Weh.  
 Und ich will ihn euch nennen gleich:  
 Es ist der Unterschied zwischen arm und reich."  
 (GW,p.910)

The parabel or "Gleichnis" the audience is subsequently to view will,

therefore, not merely prove that racial differences are less important than economic inequality, but rather that the division into rich and poor is more consequential than any other kind of human segregation, be it nationalistically ("Ein Finne schmiß nach einem Schweden einen Stein") or biologically ("Er sah den weißen Mann mit dem schwarzen ringen.") orientated. The parable will not comment in a narrow sense exclusively upon events in Germany (although there are satirical elements), but is intended to make a general statement about the world. The "skull-distributor" may be interpreted as Hitler <sup>52</sup>, but also stands for all who disregard, or even deliberately divert attention from, the problem of rich and poor. The universal perspective of Brecht's Die Rundköpfe und die Spitzköpfe is assured not only by the deletion from the final version of the prologue of most references to the dramatist's particular situation in exile, but above all by its similarity to the "Vorspiel auf dem Theater" at the beginning of Goethe's Faust. Goethe's theatre-director's concern that the performance be "fresh and new" ("Wie machen wir's, daß alles frisch und neu/Und mit Bedeutung auch gefällig sei?" <sup>53</sup>), and his desire to encompass the entire world on a narrow stage ("So schreitet in dem engen Bretterhaus/Den ganzen Kreis der Schöpfung aus/Und wandelt mit bedächt'ger Schnelle/Vom Himmel durch die Welt zur Hölle!" <sup>54</sup>) are closely echoed in the Brechtian director's final statement:

"Rundkopf und Spitzkopf , erstens: ist vorhanden.  
 Der Unterschied von arm und reich: ist da.  
 Und jetzt Kulisse her und Praktikabel  
 Und frisch die Welt gezeigt in der Parabel!"  
 (GW,p.913)

In the second half of the prologue Lopez and Iberin hold up their sets of scales and proceed to demonstrate, by forcing down one side or the other, what they consider important. Iberin depresses the roundhead

pan -

"Wer mit meiner Waage wiegt  
Der wird sehen, wo das Recht und das Unrecht liegt."  
*Mit dem Finger drückt er die Schale nieder, auf der  
die Rundköpfe liegen. (GW,p.911)*

- and Lopez the one containing noble garments:

"Wer mit meiner Waage wiegt  
Der kann sehen, wer auf der Welt den Kuchen kriegt."  
*Mit dem Finger drückt er die Schale nieder, auf der  
die noblen Kleider liegen. (GW,p.911)*

The gathered actors then choose their costumes for the play - the land-lord takes the pointed head, and his tenant the rounded. The second half of the prologue is thus noteworthy for several reasons. Firstly, it paves the way for the recognition of a society based on class-distinction as beyond the judicial pale - in the context of the parable only Iberin's scale can decide the issue of justice. Secondly, Brecht uses the actors themselves as participants in the prologue - the theatre-director is also the viceroy, for example. The artificiality of the events to occur on stage, the fact that this is not reality itself, but only a theatrical reflection of it, is therewith firmly impressed upon the spectator and the possibility of Aristotelean identification lessened. The actors remain actors. The prologue represents, thirdly, a development of the framework structure of Measure for Measure. In the first scene of the model the Duke of Vienna arranges an experiment which he will supervise. The figure of Angelo is the subject of the test. In Die Rundköpfe und die Spitzköpfe similar experimental conditions are created - "Ihr, die ihr Spieler der Parabel seid/Wählt vor dem Publikum jetzt Kopf und Kleid/Wie es euch vorgeschrieben ist im Stück./ Und hat der Stückeschreiber, wie wir glauben, recht/Dann wählt ihr mit dem Kleide das Geschick/Nicht mit der Schädelform. Auf zum Gefecht!" (GW,p.912)<sup>55</sup> - but the director of the experiment is, in effect, the playwright, no longer one of the figures. The viceroy, unlike his

Shakespearean predecessor, does not control events, but remains an almost powerless onlooker<sup>56</sup>. The plot unfolds according to the laws of the class-struggle, not under the watchful eye of a demi-god. In contrast to the original, again, the outcome of the test is known here in advance. The spectator's attention is focused, as Goldhahn recognizes, on the mechanics of the plot, not on the final result:

"An die Stelle der Spannung auf den Ausgang tritt die Aufmerksamkeit auf den Gang der Handlung... In der Parabel wollen wir den Lösungsweg genau betrachten." 57

### .The Songs

#### a) "Nannas Lied"

Each stanza of this song, which has been incorporated into Nanna's opening speech (Scene Two, pp.931-932), gives expression to the girl's awareness of her self-alienation, the gulf separating her basic humanity from her social function:

"Meine Herren, mit siebzehn Jahren  
Kam ich auf den Liebesmarkt  
Und ich habe viel erfahren.  
Böses gab es viel  
Doch das war das Spiel.  
Aber manches hab ich doch verargt.  
(Schließlich bin ich ja auch ein Mensch.)"  
(GW,p.931)

In the refrain she comes to terms with her awful reality by affirming its transience:

"Gott sei Dank geht alles schnell vorüber  
Auch die Liebe und der Kummer sogar.  
Wo sind die Tränen von gestern abend?  
Wo ist der Schnee vom vergangenen Jahr?  
(GW,p.931)

This is, however, a self-deception, for just as the snow will inevitably return, so too will another suitor enter the "love-market" and tears be shed anew. The song thus gives the spectator a deeper understanding

of Nanna's motivation for approaching de Guzman ("DaB ich ihn ihn jetzt <sup>381</sup>  
wieder um etwas bitten soll, ist mir nicht angenehm. Aber so etwas geht ja  
schnell vorüber." (GW,p.931)), and simultaneously, particularly through its  
use of the snow image, distances him from her limited view of the world.

b) "Lied von der Tunche"

With the excision of the four-point programme proposed by Iberin <sup>58</sup>, the  
"Lied von der Tunche" forfeited its function in the final scene and has now  
been inserted as a "Zwischenspiel" between Scenes Two and Three. In this position  
the song, which compares the new epoch of Iberin to the mere whitewashing of  
decrepit buildings, a superficial and fruitless endeavour, encourages the  
audience to adopt a more critical stance towards the events of the preceding  
scene, and towards the forthcoming encounter between Callas and Lopez. The  
spectator must understand that Callas has been deceived.

c) "Das neue Iberinlied"

The song has been included in Scene Six, and is sung by the Huas in reply to  
Saz's question regarding Callas' "Was-man-hat-hat-man-Lied":

"Meinen Sie wirklich, daB das im Sinne des Herrn  
Iberin ist?" (GW,p.970)

Introduced as part of Brecht's re-evaluation of the Iberin soldiers <sup>59</sup>, it  
comprises two stanzas separated by a prose commentary from one of the Huas.  
In the first stanza the relationship between landlord and tenant in pre-  
Iberin times is described:

"Der Pachtherr grübelt Tag und Nacht  
Was er alles noch kriegen kann  
Und wenn er sich etwas ausgedacht  
Das Pächtervolk schafft es ihm ran."  
(GW,p.971)

Iberin's advent (referred to in the prose section: "In dieser Lage ... ging  
das Pächtervolk zu seinem lieben Herrn Iberin ..." (GW,p.971)) reverses  
the circumstances of the first stanza - the tenant-farmer becomes master:

"Das Pächtervolk sinnt Tag und Nacht  
 Was es alles noch kriegen kann  
 Und wenn es sich etwas ausgedacht  
 Sein Pachtherr, er schafft es ihm ran."  
 (GW,p.972)

The song, accompanied by a visual demonstration of the changes wrought by the new leader <sup>60</sup>, reveals that the Huas support Iberin because they believe he can create, if not a wholly egalitarian society, then at least one in which the majority (the tenant-farmer masses) exploits the minority (the "Big Five" and their confederates). As Goldhahn correctly observes, though, their motivation is more opportunistic and materialistic than socialist:

"„Das neue Iberin-Lied" ...vereint in sich alle die vulgär-materialistischen Sehnsüchte der Unterdrückten, die dem Iberin zugelaufen sind: der ‚Führer‘ werde den Reichen ‚zeigen, was eine Harke ist‘ und den Armen zu einem Schlemmerleben verhelfen, wie es bislang die Reichen führten." 61

d) "Kuppellied"

Frau Cornamontis sings her "Kuppellied" in response to Isabella's doubts that Nanna will agree to be her substitute in return for money ("Aber wird sie auch gehen gegen Entgelt?" (GW,p.1013)). In both stanzas of the song the brothel-madam mocks any idealization, as implied by Isabella, of the relationship between man and woman:

"Ach, man sagt, des roten Mondes Anblick  
 Auf dem Wasser macht die Mädchen schwach  
 Und man spricht von eines Mannes Schönheit  
 Der ein Weib verfiel. DaB ich nicht lach!  
 ...  
 Wie soll er und wie soll sie  
 Sehnsuchtsvoll und unbeschwert  
 Auf den leeren Magen lieben?  
 Nein, mein Freund, das ist verkehrt."  
 (GW,p.1013-1014)

Frau Cornamontis thereby reasserts the Marxist truth that economics, not higher ideals (such as Iberin's racial theories), determine social behaviour.

### 6.3. The Marxist Parable: the War-complex

The entire war-complex which appears in the final version should not be seen as an attempt on Brecht's part to predict what might happen in Germany; but rather as his endeavour to strengthen the play's parabolic or universal relevance by aligning it with Marxist theories of monopoly capitalism, specifically, it would seem, with Lenin's analysis of imperialism as nothing more than a capitalist manoeuvre <sup>62</sup>.

#### Scene 1

Whereas in BBA 257 the loan from the "Big Five" is considered by Eskahler and his master to be the solution to the problem of overproduction in the final version Missena, as Eskahler is now called, proposes that a war could ease their predicament:

"MISSENA

Es gäb wohl eine Lösung, aber die  
Ist blutig und gefährlich auch...

VIZEKÖNIG

Wahrscheinlich  
Nicht das!

Sprich das nicht aus!

MISSENA

Hier hört uns niemand. Krieg  
Könnt neue Märkte schaffen für dies schreckliche  
Zuviel an Korn und manche Fundgrube bringen  
Für das, was wir entbehren." (GW,p.916)

The "Sickle" is not to be destroyed as a means of assuaging the landlords' fears for their rent, but because Missena wants to create the right atmosphere or mood for war, an aspiration thwarted by the "Sickle":

"Der innre Feind ist's, der uns daran hindert  
Den äußern uns zu langen. Welch ein Zustand!  
Was einen Stahlhelm trägt, muß sich verkriechen  
Als wär's Geschmeiß! Ein General kann schon  
Bei Tage nicht mehr auf die Straße! So als  
Wär er ein Mörder, wird er angesehen.  
Gäb's diese Sichel nicht, wär alles anders."  
(GW,p.916) <sup>63</sup>

Brecht thereby satirizes the myth of Germany and the "inner enemy", the Jew, exposing its true, economic basis. "Germany" is in fact the ruling class, and the Communists constitute its (inner) enemy.

### Scene 11

The viceroy now makes a triumphal entrance in the last scene at the head of the army, clad not only in a smoking-jacket but also steel-helmet and army greatcoat - a mixture of clothing which further de-idealizes the war myth. The viceroy proceeds to dress Callas in a soldier's garb, and declares that he will be needed for the "lofty" purpose of conquering the neighbouring land of "squareheads":

"Ich ruf dich, wenn ich dich zu Höh'rem brauche  
Und dies kann bald sein.-Einen ersten Schritt, Herr  
Iberin

Hast du gemacht, doch nun wird GröBeres nötig.  
Das Reich, das ihr in diesen Wochen bautet  
Wird es nicht ausgeweitet, schrumpft es ein.  
Denn, wie ihr wiBt, im Süden überm Meer:  
Wohnt dieses Volk, das unser Erbfeind ist  
Des Untertanen eckige Köpfe haben  
Was leider hier zu wenig noch bekannt ist.

...

...auf uns zu zieht jetzt ein Krieg von solcher  
Niemals gesehener Blutigkeit, daB jeder  
Gesunde Mann aufs dringendste gebraucht wird."

(GW,p.1036)

An audience as yet without insight into the falseness of such war propaganda and of its creators cannot but become aware of a contradiction as, while Missena proclaims the eternal peace ("Denn nun ist Friede unser einziger Wahlspruch/Friede und noch einmal Friede..." (GW,p.1039)), a large cannon is lowered over the banquet table<sup>64</sup>.

Of the fact that the viceroy announces the forthcoming war, Paul Kussmaul says:

"Wenn Iberim (sic!) gleich Hitler ist, dann müssten die Andeutungen über die Kriegspläne auch aus seinem Mund kommen und nicht aus dem Munde des Vizekönigs." 65

By 1938, the publication date of the final version, Brecht would certainly have become aware that Iberin/Hitler also had war-plans, and had Brecht wanted to change the text accordingly, there is no doubt that he could have done so. That he did not do this can only be explained by his desire to create above all a Marxist parable. Hence, although there is obvious textual evidence of satire, there are also indications that Brecht did not want to over-emphasize this aspect of the play, Thus, for this final version he excised Iberin's four-point programme for the reconstruction of Jahoo, a blatant allusion to Hitler and his policies. In the notes to the Copenhagen performance he states:

"Angelo Iberin wurde mit keiner äußeren Hitler-ähnlichkeit ausgestattet. Schon die Tatsache, daß er in gewisser Weise ein sehr idealisiertes Abbild eines Rassepropheten ist (was für die Parabel ausreicht), verbot dies auch dort, wo es die Polizei nicht verboten hätte." (GW,17,pp.1085-1086)

Brecht was concerned with the requirements of the parable, not about a superficial copy of reality.

#### 6.4. Character Variations

##### a) Angelo Iberin

Iberin appears on stage less than ever in the final version of the play. In the first scene, for example, he no longer takes part in the machinations of the viceroy and his councillor. His presence in BBA 257, Scene One, had indicated his corruptness as an acquiescent tool of the ruling class; his absence in the final version (he stands outside in the ante-room) as the viceroy and Missena concoct their emergency measures emphasizes more effectively his complete servility - they do not even invite him to take part in their conversation - and keeps the attention of the spectator focused upon the central issue (Iberin's function in

the class-struggle).

The Iberin of the final version differs considerably from his counterpart in BBA 257, losing, as Mittenzwei has noted <sup>66</sup>, the idealistic traits he formerly possessed. This is first obvious in Scene One when Missena remarks that Iberin is unselfish or, "at least", known to be so, a stark contrast to Eskahler's "uneigennützig und als so bekannt." (257/8). Both in Scene Four and Scene Seven Iberin insists, not on the realization of racist ideals, but that all decisions be based on the state of affairs in the South <sup>67</sup>. When he orders the closure of Cornamontis' brothel, he now stipulates merely that the madam should not admit peakheads:

"IBERIN Ich urteile so: Das Mädchen wird freigesprochen.  
 Das Kaffeehaus der Frau Cornamontis wird, da in ihm  
 ein tschuchisches Mädchen mit Tschichen verkuppelt  
 wurde, geschlossen...  
 FRAU CORNAMONTIS *halblaut*: Das kommt gar nicht in Frage.  
 IBERIN ... für Tschichen,,," (GW,p.957)

In the concluding scene, furthermore, Iberin is even prepared to renounce his racial beliefs:

"IBERIN *nach schwerem innerem Kampf*:  
 Und wenn ich selbst  
 bereit wär  
 Den Tschichen freizugeben?  
 MISSENA  
 Ihr?  
 IBERIN  
 Ich bin's!  
 MISSENA *verlegen*:  
 Nun, das kommt unerwartet. Und die Lehre  
 Von Tschuch und Tschich?  
 IBERIN *fest*:  
 Das braucht Euch nicht zu kümmern.  
 's ist meine Sach." (GW,p.1031)

Iberin has become the perfect representative of the wealthy, and the decisive changes in his character have made the figure of Zazarante, in BBA 257 the true Fascist leader, superfluous, although he still performs the pragmatic function of "propositioning" Isabella.

Iberin's readiness to lend assistance to the state is, then, not to be understood in terms of his idealism, nor as the act of a fervent patriot; he desires, rather, to enjoy the feel of political power:

"Angelo Iberin wurde nun zum politischen Hasardeur,  
der vor nichts zurückschreckt." 68

Hence the viceroy's fear of him ("Den will ich nicht./Dies ein für allemal, den will ich nicht." (GW,p.917)), and Iberin's disappointment in Scene Eleven that he has not been consulted about the army's triumphant return to the capital:

"...Doch was den Einzug in die  
Hauptstadt angeht, und wer da an der Spitz ist  
Da werd ich noch ein Wort mitsprechen, mein ich!"  
(GW,p.1031)

#### b) Missena

Scholars have usually assumed that the figure of Missena (formerly Eskahler) stands for Franz von Papen, the former cavalry officer who became a favourite of President Hindenburg and was invited by him to take the office of the Chancellor, an offer he accepted<sup>69</sup>. In the light of the close relationship between von Papen and the old President this interpretation is quite plausible, but Brecht's new name for Eskahler, Missena, gives rise to another possibility, namely that Eskahler/Missena is Otto Meissner, the Secretary of State. Beyond the obvious similarity, further evidence of a connection is the fact that Missena is the Latin equivalent for the German city of Meissen, an inhabitant of which is referred to as a Meißner, or Meissner!

#### c) Nanna Callas

K.-D. Müller suggests that the name change from Judith to Nanna was

probably intended to endow the figure with the greater significance deriving from her namesake, the prostitute Nanna in Pietro Aretino's Ragionamenti <sup>70</sup>. Müller's conclusion cannot be refuted and is, indeed, a productive contribution to the research on the play, but it is noteworthy that in his work material Brecht only envisaged the names "Celia" and "Therese Anna", apparently wishing to give the play more Peruvian colour <sup>71</sup>.

In addition, Brecht has deepened Nanna's political awareness, so that she now acts as a foil to her father, constantly correcting his viewpoint and exposing his shortsightedness. This is particularly apparent in Scenes Six and Seven. When, in the coffeehouse, Callas declares that the lawyers have made the offer of the two horses because Iberin is on his side, Nanna contradicts him, confirming that everything is dependent on the state of the revolution:

"DER PÄCHTER CALLAS Der Iberin ist für uns, darum sind sie so nachgiebig. Wir brauchen unsern guten Namen nicht für ein Butterbrot wegzuschenken. Was meinst du?  
NANNA Ich meine, daß wir die Gäule nehmen sollen. Es kommt nicht darauf an, wofür der Iberin ist. Es kommt alles darauf an, wie die Schlacht steht." (GW,p.975)

Dismissing most of what she reads in the newspaper as "lies", Nanna still realizes that the "Sickle" is advancing, but because the revolution has been weakened by the desertion of those like Callas, it could collapse at any time - in these circumstances, Nanna concludes, they should accept the horses and leave the city. This is undoubtedly the wisest solution, but Callas decides to stay. In the following scene Nanna reiterates her fears ("Es scheint schlecht zu stehen mit der Sichel...Das ist nicht gut für uns." (GW,p.985)), well-grounded, as the audience is aware, but her father ignores them.

Nanna offers alternative, more intelligent modes of action to those of her father, but her outlook, as Brecht stresses in the notes to the

Copenhagen production <sup>72</sup>, is only apparently more realistic. The "Ballade vom Wasserrad", above all, reveals her essential lack of insight, for by the end of the second court-scene Callas acknowledges that he should have fought with the "Sickle", that the vicious circle of the class-struggle can be broken, and only by armed revolt <sup>73</sup>.

#### d) The "Huas"

Perhaps to avoid the impression that Iberin's soldiers are professional fascists, Brecht now characterizes them as poor individuals with the same desires as Callas - to amass as much material wealth as possible during Iberin's reign. Hence, as de Guzman is delivered to the court in Scene Four, they are occupied with a dice-game to determine who is to receive his trinkets ("Die Huas beginnen, um die Ringe des Pachtherrn zu würfeln" (GW, p.945) <sup>74</sup>. They applaud Callas' "Was-man-hat-hat-man-Lied" (Scene Six), and sing their own version of his song ("Das neue Iberinlied"). Like Callas, too, they are deceived by Iberin, and when the boots they had received wear out and are not replaced <sup>95</sup>, they also turn to the "Sickle" (one of the Huas paints the sign of the "Sickle" on the wall behind the gallows <sup>76</sup>).

#### 6.5. Dramatic-dramaturgical Additions and Alterations

In this section the remaining means Brecht introduces to achieve the desired theatrical effectiveness of his work are analysed; this is best executed on a scene-to-scene basis, although not all scenes require attention.

Scene AnalysisScene 2

To demonstrate the conflict between the shared aspirations of the lower middle-class as regards Iberin and their social inequality, Brecht has enlarged the role of the Iberin soldier, who previously had simply read the passage in the newspaper concerning his superior. Each time a statement is made about the rent, the soldier gives it his approval, irrespective of whether the speaker seeks an increase in, or the abolition of, the rent:

"DER TABAKHÄNDLER PALMOSA ruft in den ersten Stock hinauf zu dem Mann, der sich im Fenster rasiert, dem Hauswirt Callamassi: Mit dem Materialismus ist es jetzt aus! Herr Callamassi, Sie sind sich wohl darüber klar, daß es mit dem Zahlen von Ladenmieten jetzt vorbei sein muß?

DER IBERINSOLDAT Sehr richtig!

DER HAUSBESITZER CALLAMASSI Im Gegenteil, mein Lieber! Die Ladenmieten werden in Zukunft pfändbar sein. Hören Sie den Marschtritt der Bataillone? Das sind die Kampfstaffeln des Iberinbundes. Sie marschieren, um die aufständischen Pächter, die die Pachten nicht zahlen wollen, niederzuwerfen! Überlegen Sie sich das, Herr Palmosa, der Sie Ihre Ladenmiete nicht bezahlen wollen!

DER IBERINSOLDAT So ist es." (GW, p.928) <sup>77</sup>

This simple device, which despite, or precisely because of, its terseness, has considerable stage-potential, enabled Brecht to remove from the scene superfluous material, namely the episode in which the fat lady and the furniture-shop proprietress, though united in their esteem for Iberin, argue over the price of an egg. An equally slight, but nonetheless effective, alteration is the stage direction requiring the Iberin men to look to the gathered citizens for approbation, which they render by nodding their heads in sheep-like unison:

"DER IBERINSOLDAT *erstaunt*: Tatsächlich, er flaggt nicht. Er sieht alle der Reihe nach an. Alle schütteln den Kopf.

...

ZWEITER HUA Die Iberinflage in den schmierigen Pfoten  
eines Vollbluttschichen!  
*Der Hua sieht alle der Reihe nach an. Sie schütteln  
den Kopf.*" (GW,p.926)

### Scene 3

In this scene Brecht for the first time indicates that a speech is to be directed at the audience, not at the other figures on stage. The third tenant-farmer, resolved to join the "Sickle", explains to the spectators in the theatre why he has decided this:

"DRITTER PÄCHTER ...*Zum Publikum:*  
Pachtherr und Pächter sollen einig sein  
Weil ihre Köpfe rund sind und nicht spitz!  
Ich zahl die Pacht und jener steckt sie ein!  
Und beide sind wir einig! 's ist ein Witz!  
Was soll das, daB wir beide tschuchisch sind?  
Dann soll er mich nur von der Pacht befreien!  
Sonst trennt uns eben Hunger, Frost und Wind.  
Das teilt uns mächtig in zwei Teile ein!"  
(GW,p.942-943)

This speech, not in BBA 257, Scene Three, is replete with thematic significance and, particularly with its poetic form (in contrast to the prose of the rest of the scene), but also through its language, it vividly recalls the prologue. Iberin's public declaration, which serves to split the farmers, now contains, on the one hand, more satirical elements <sup>78</sup>, but also, on the other hand, references to the "new division into roundhead and peakhead" which align it with the thematic red thread commencing in the prologue:

"Wie aber kennst du ihn heraus? Am Kopf!  
Am spitzen Kopf erkennst du ihn! Der Spitzkopf  
Ist's, der dich aussaugt! Und drum habe ich  
Angelo Iberin, mich jetzt entschlossen, das Volk  
Neu einzuteilen in Rund- und Spitzkopf ...  
...  
Eint unter Iberins weiBer Fahne euch  
Jetzt gegen euren Feind, den tschichischen Spitzkopf!"  
(GW,p.939)

The technique of drawing attention to significant thematic statements or occurrences by inducing the actor to address the audience is further found in Scenes Nine and Ten, when Nanna and Callas refer to the substitutions they must perform <sup>79</sup>.

### Scene 6

The second half of this scene, in which the landlords take refuge in the backroom of the coffeehouse, has been reduced in size. All mention of Zazarante, the scheme for de Guzman to contribute part of the loan to Iberin, and the proposals that the convent file suit on de Guzman's behalf and that the landlords appear as witnesses have been removed from the text. There are two possible reasons for these excisions. On the one hand, even without this material the audience becomes aware of the context in which the forthcoming trial will take place ("Schön, wenn ihr zahlt - wir machen den Prozeß." (GW,p.980)). The reduction in size thus makes this aspect clearer, for the audience is no longer caught up in - excessive - details. That Frau Cornamontis now does not read from the newspaper about the expropriation of land in the South, which occasions the landlords' feverish activity, but that the lights are simply extinguished (a sign that the farmers have overrun the power-station) is part of this attempt to sharpen the impact of the scene. On the other hand, the removal of the landlords' machinations may also be one of the means of weakening their seemingly overwhelming superiority, which their multiple preparations certainly consolidate. There is no doubt that Brecht wanted to alter the play at this stage so that the wealthy would appear less omnipotent and the poor more so. In the notes to the Copenhagen première Brecht states explicitly that he wants the viceroy to forfeit the "volle Überlegenheit des deus ex machina" <sup>80</sup>.

In the last scene, therefore, he was to be portrayed as an alcoholic <sup>81</sup>. In addition, unlike Shakespeare's Duke of Vienna he no longer takes an active part in the unfolding of the plot, but remains throughout the performance in the audience <sup>82</sup>. For this reason, it can also be assumed, the landlords are shown at the beginning of Scene Six waiting for a train to take them to safety ("Ein guter Einfall, uns hier aufzuhalten/Bis unser Zug geht." (GW,p.967)). They have, at least momentarily, lost control of events. The Sickle undergoes the opposite transformation, begun in Scene Three where they are presented as weapon-bearing revolutionaries, whose conviction that they will ultimately be victorious is stated at the beginning of Scene Ten -

"DER HUA zu dem Pächter, den er schert: War es so wichtig, überall dieses Sichelzeichen hinzuschmieren?  
 DER PÄCHTER Ja.  
 DER HUA Wer wird denn jetzt euren Frauen durch den Winter helfen?  
 DER PÄCHTER Das wissen wir nicht.  
 DER HUA Und wer wird die Acker pflügen im Frühjahr, wenn ihr nicht da seid?  
 DER PÄCHTER Das wissen wir auch nicht.  
 DER HUA Werden überhaupt noch Äcker da sein im Frühjahr?  
 DER PÄCHTER Auch das wissen wir nicht.  
 DER HUA Aber daß die Sichel einmal siegen wird, das wißt ihr?  
 DER PÄCHTER Ja, das wissen wir." (GW,p.1019)

- and at the end of the last scene, as the captured farmers twice sing the "Sichellied" and shout "Es lebe die Sichel!" (GW,p.1038). Loud drumming accompanies their chorus and forces Callas to throw down soup-bowl and soldier's garb. Furthermore, not only the fact that the "Sichellied" now concludes the play, and not the landlords' table-song, but also the reappearance of the sign of the Sickle - which Iberin declares he has destroyed forever <sup>83</sup> - strongly indicate that what is will not always be:

"Wenn der Gesang zu Ende ist, nimmt im Hof der Hua die Stellage von der Mauer: er braucht sie zum Hängen. Da kommt hinter ihr auf der neugetünchten Wand ein großes rotes Sichelzeichen zum Vorschein. Alle sehen es und betrachten es erstarrt..." (GW,p.1040) <sup>84</sup>

Scene 7

The tendency evident in BBA 257 to contrast the first trial and the second, race and class justice, is more pronounced in the final version. The altercation between Callas, Judith and de Guzman's party no longer immediately follows the "Lied von der belebenden Wirkung des Geldes", which still prefaces the second trial, but is preceded by Iberin's entrance. He confides to Missena that, as the trial is completely dependent upon the struggle against the revolutionaries, he will only make his decision when his troops have been victorious. Until then he leaves the trial in Missena's hands, who swiftly takes the judge aside to advise him, it must be assumed, of what he must do. From the beginning, then, the class basis of the trial is made overt: not the racist, but the political representative of the wealthy and his lackey<sup>85</sup> will preside over the hearing, whose outcome will be decided by the success of the counter-revolution.

With Iberin's withdrawal from the proceedings the considerable amount of textual material connected with his presence, particularly his relationship with Zazarante, but also the Shakespearean encounter with a suppliant Isabella, has been deleted<sup>86</sup>. Furthermore, after the opening section of the scene has unambivalently established its class prejudice, there is no further need for the appearance by the landlords and de Guzman, which, while impressing the true nature of the trial upon the spectator, tended to draw the scene out to excess. In its shorter form the scene is dramatically more interesting and less inclined to dull the spectator's awareness; with its concentration upon the courtroom debate between Callas and his wealthy opposition it also resembles more closely the trial in Scene Four. A further parallel between the two scenes is strengthened when Callas employs a racial argument in his

case for the horses, and the Mother Superior counterattacks with "crude" materialism:

"DER PÄCHTER CALLAS ...Ich beantrage, daß der Statthalter selber das Urteil spricht, da es sich nicht um gewöhnliche, sondern um tschichische Pferde handelt. Ja, das ist es, es handelt sich um tschichische Pferde.

...

OBERIN Ich möchte darauf aufmerksam machen, daß sie jetzt in tschuchischen (Händen) sind.  
Es handelt sich um unsere Pferde, Herr.  
Und wir sind Tschuchen. Wären's Tschichenpferde  
So wär doch Eigentum noch Eigentum!  
Wer darf das stehlen? Herr, da stehn zwei Pferde.  
Man geht drum rum. Man prüft. Man schätzt. Sieht man Ihnen ins Maul schauend, eine Tschichenhand?  
Mitnichten, Herr. Denn, Herr, was ist ein Pferd?  
Ist es ein tschichisch, ist's ein tschuchisch Ding?  
's ist keins von beiden! 's ist etwas, was hundert  
Und soundsoviel Pesos wert ist, 's könnte  
Auch Käse oder Stiefel sein für hundert  
Und soundsoviel Pesos! Kurz, was dort  
Mit seinen Hufen scharrt, sind hundert Pesos!"  
(GW,pp.990-991)

This is a reversal of the circumstances in Scene Four, in which Callas and Iberin confront one another, the materialist and the idealist.

### Scene 8

In BBA 257 the delicatessen owner returns, to the fat lady's amazement, to his shop. This demonstrated that the status quo existing before Iberin's rule had re-established itself, but it also signified, Brecht realized, that at least some, even the poor, could profit from his seizure of power. To avoid this impression, the delicatessen-owner now opens his shop again, but only to collect his suitcase and leave again:

*"Glockenbluten. Aus dem Viktualienladen links tritt wieder der tschuchische Händler. Er hat nur seine Koffer geholt und geht jetzt ebenfalls ab: auch er muß seinen Laden schließen..." (GW,p.997)*

The subsequent episode, in which Peruker removes the hat concealing his

peakhead to symbolize the victory of the rich, was rendered unnecessary by this poignant alteration to the scene. The fact that the poor man, whether peakhead or roundhead, has suffered, means that the old system of rich and poor again holds sway.

The remainder of the scene has also undergone a transformation: Nanna and her father now appear in the street before de Guzman and his entourage. But Nanna's "Ballade vom Wasserrad" is not sung when she and her father make their entrance, but at the end of the scene, in response to Palmosa's assurance that de Guzman will be hanged:

"Fräulein Callas, Sie haben etwas Wichtiges versäumt.  
Eben kamen sie mit dem de Guzman vorbei. Er wird  
nach Heilig Kreuz überführt. Sie haben also wenigstens  
die Genugtuung, daß dieser Mensch aufgehängt wird."  
(GW,p.1007)

In this end position it is more striking as a comment on the development of the play in the first seven scenes ("Gestern verurteilte uns der Vizekönig, heute tut es Herr Iberin" (GW,p.1007)) and on the nature of the class-society itself. Such a commentary is also perfectly positioned to lessen, if not completely quell the tension created by the fact that de Guzman still faces execution. In this connection it is noteworthy that Brecht better motivates Callas' desire to remain in the city. In conversation with Palmosa, he is made aware that the question of the rent has not yet been resolved:

"DER TABAKHÄNDLER PALMOSA Haben Sie wenigstens Erfolg  
gehabt mit Ihrer Anregung in dem Prozeß gegen den  
de Guzman, daß die Pacht gestrichen werden soll?  
DER PÄCHTER CALLAS *erschrocken*: Die Pacht? Richtig!  
Davon ist ja in dem Trubel überhaupt nicht mehr  
die Rede gewesen. Das muß ich sofort in Erfahrung  
bringen! Mensch!" (GW,p.1000)

Palmosa does not understand what Callas has in mind as he runs off -

"DER TABAKHÄNDLER PALMOSA Am besten ist es, Sie gehen  
sofort zum Herrn Iberin.  
DER PÄCHTER CALLAS Zum Iberin? Zu dem gehe ich nicht  
mehr, mein Lieber. Aber herausbringen muß ich es.

*Er geht weg, immer mehr ins Laufen kommend.*  
 DER TABAKHÄNDLER PALMOSA Wohin laufen Sie denn?  
*Er geht kopfschüttelnd in seinen Laden zurück.*  
 (GW,p.1001)

- but the audience knows he can only be on his way to de Guzman, the controller of the rent, and may even suspect, particularly after Nanna's ballad, that this is the first in a chain of events leading to de Guzman's release. The remaining alterations to the scene are connected with the other substitution (Isabella-Nanna): the seriousness of de Guzman's position, specifically his own mortal fear, is given greater visual immediacy. De Guzman appears with a sign around his neck, which states that he has defiled a roundhead maiden and will be executed. Pale-faced, he refuses to take another step after the inspector concedes that the Holy Cross prison is a place of certain death:

"HERR DE GUZMAN  
                                   Ich bin verloren, Schwester!  
       Ich komm nach Heilig Kreuz!  
 ISABELLA  
                                   Nein!  
 DER TSCHUCHISCHE ANWALT *zum Inspektor:*  
                                   Ist das wahr?  
 DER INSPEKTOR Herr, es ist wirklich kein gutes Zeichen.  
       Aus dem Gefängnis Heilig Kreuz ist noch keiner lebend  
       wieder herausgekommen.  
 HERR DE GUZMAN  
       O Gott, ich geh nicht weiter, keinen Schritt!  
       *Er setzt sich auf den Boden.*" (GW,p.1002)

This new material makes it more understandable that Isabella, despite her moral revulsion, is prepared to sacrifice her virginity on her brother's behalf.

BBA 257 - Endfassung: Summary

According to Werner Mittenzwei the period of exile work is noteworthy for Brecht's further transformation of the figure of Angelas, and for the greater emphasis placed upon both the racist's landlord backers and the revolutionary movement<sup>87</sup>. The present analysis supports Mittenzwei's general comments. Iberin does indeed differ from his counterpart in the Versuche. He has forfeited the idealism which had made him such an uncomfortable tool in the hands of the ruling class. In BBA 257, however, he remains an ambivalent figure, for there is evidence that, although he willingly employs idealistic phrases to justify the inhumane acts of the wealthy and cruelly and self-assertively condemns Callas to perpetual wretchedness, he is an ineffectual individual who still believes sincerely in his racial philosophy. The figure of Zazarante is not introduced in BBA 257 to vouchsafe Iberins' idealism, as Weisstein and Kussmaul assert. For, on the one hand, Angelo Iberin himself is no longer simply the disappointed idealist of the Versuche version. And on the other hand, Zazarante's role is too large to be reduced to one of dramatic convenience (the Isabella "proposition"). On the contrary, Zazarante's inclusion in the plot can only derive from Brecht's analysis of the German political scene. The addition of this strong figure, who controls the Fascist forces with an iron grip, would seem to have occurred because Brecht conceived of Hitler as nothing more than a figurehead behind whom the true Fascists (SA, SS) were operating. In the final version this state of affairs altered radically: Brecht devalued Zazarante's role in favour of Iberin, portraying him as a cynical power-seeker prepared to make any sacrifice for political advancement. Again, this revision could have been a consequence of the changed political climate in Germany, for in late June 1934, Ernst

Röhm and hundreds of his followers were murdered at Hitler's command. Even such powerful men as General von Schleicher and General Bredow lost their lives in the June 30 massacres. Others, such as Brüning and von Papen, narrowly escaped death. After such bloodshed there could be no question of presenting Adolf Hitler as an irresolute strawman.

Further, the landlords and the revolutionary farmers are more prominent in this third stage of development, but Mittenzwei does not refer to the variation in their status evident between BBA 257 and the final version: the landlords active in the first text had obviously appeared too strong, too invincible, for in the latter they are portrayed as considerably less able, whereas the revolutionaries are endowed with weapons and an unswerving determination to gain the ultimate victory.

Mittenzwei's analysis of the developments evident in the third stage of reception is adequate on a general level then, but does not take sufficient account of Brecht's predilection for fluctuation and change. More importantly, though, Mittenzwei has not grasped the outstanding feature of the four month period separating BBA 257 and the Malik-Suhrkamp edition, namely the desire to prepare the work for the stage, for theatrical reception by an audience. This tendency distinguishes the final stage of work from the preceding, which is significant above all for its political orientation, for the attempt to embrace in literary form the essence of Fascism. This does not mean that in the last period, for instance, the political aspect does not play a part at all. Brecht's work on the figure of Iberin, for example, is undoubtedly politically inspired. But the basic contours of Fascism in its racist form have been established. Subsequently, Brecht's main endeavour is to rearrange, add to, or delete from, the plot so that an

audience will more easily be able to discern this truth or understand the elements which contribute to it. One of the more interesting examples of this is Brecht's experimentation with Scene Two, to which, in BBA 257, he adds material, such as Mungosi's "Das müssen Sie Ihrem Mieter sagen, dass Sie seine letzten Kunden abbauen wollen!" (257/14) or the egg-buying episode, intended to make the scene's basic contradiction most apparent. Obviously dissatisfied with the effectiveness of the latter addition, Brecht removes it from the last version of the play and replaces it with the Iberin soldier's blanket affirmation of the lower middle-class's conflicting hopes. A further example is Brecht's transplantation of the lawyer's correct assertion that Judith/Nanna and de Guzman were lovers from Scene Seven to Scene Four. In this new position it indicates most unambiguously Iberin's racial bias. Another of the manifold instances revealing the playwright's efforts at accentuating extant material for the benefit of a theatre-audience may be found in Scene Nine. Isabellas' exposition of the three virtues of chastity, obedience and poverty pregnantly expresses the decisive difference between the prospective nun and the prostitute - money. Even the changes noted above to the status of the landlords and tenant-farmers are connected with Brecht's wish to distil in the most effective form the essential points of the plot and its constituent parts. Brecht recognized that an important aspect of late-capitalism inherent in the play, the necessity or inevitability of social changes, had been understated, and so proceeded to energize the revolutionaries and debilitate the ruling class.

Brecht thus achieved his goal by a variety of means. The most important method he employs, however, is the introduction, or reinforcement, of alienation devices: the action proper is now prefaced by a prologue, and eleven songs have been spread throughout the text. But the main

alienation technique strengthened during this phase is the parable form. The plot now unfolds on the completely fictitious island of Jahoo, and overt references to Nazi Germany found in BBA 257, such as Iberin's four-point programme for the rebuilding of Jahoo, or the dictum "Gemeinnutz geht vor Eigennutz", have been excised, and only a small corpus of veiled satirical indicators ("Hutabschlägerstaffel"; "Heil Iberin"; "Schutzkamp"; "Sautschich") remains. In accordance with this, the prologue stresses that the play is a Marxist parable, a work primarily meant to demonstrate the supremacy of economic differences, therefore, not simply the nature of Nazi anti-Semitism. For this reason, too, Brecht incorporates the issue of private property and the war-complex in Die Rundköpfe und die Spitzköpfe. His concern is to convey the truth about the (capitalist) world, of which Germany is only a part. The land of Jahoo, this "enchanted landscape" with its predominantly feudal system, represents outwardly neither Germany nor a society in the advanced stages of capitalism. It is thus well-suited to encourage an audience's rational or critical understanding of the laws governing both, laws inherent in the socio-economic and political structure of Jahoo.

Structurally the play has been reduced in the final phase to eleven scenes: the first five scenes of BBA 257 are basically identical to the first five of the Versuche, and Scenes Eleven, Fourteen and Fifteen of the latter version correspond to Scenes Nine, Ten and Eleven, respectively, of the former. Scenes Twelve and Thirteen of the Versuche, which contained the altercation between Iberin and the landlords, and Callas' visit to the salt-depot, have been deleted almost entirely, although fragments of Scene Twelve may be found in BBA 257, Scene Eleven. BBA 257, Scene Eight now embodies Scenes Nine and Ten of the

previous version, and Scene Seven has become the second trial scene. Scenes Six and Seven of the Versuche have been absorbed into BBA 257, Scene Six, although, again, some fragments of Scene Seven are to be found in the course of the second trial.

The Shakespearean content diminishes during the last period, for the encounter between Isabella and Iberin, still present in BBA 257, Scene Seven, has been dropped from the final version. Brecht's brainchild, the brothel-shifting motif deriving from Shakespeare, has also been excised, together with the "poor-court" (Versuche, Scene Fourteen). The elimination of the "poor-court" means that the penultimate scene only contains the substitution of de Guzman by Callas. It thereby closely parallels the previous scene, in which Nanna prepares to take Isabella's place. The play in its final form has undoubtedly developed further the structural principle of repetition and variation inherited from the original. Scenes Four and Seven (race and class) and Nine and Ten (the substitution motif) consolidate the pattern already formed by recurring scene structures (Scenes Three and Five both have an Aristotelean peripety caused by the arrival of a messenger), the fourfold appearance of the betrayal motif and the similarity of Scenes One and Eleven (although the return to the beginning of the play signalled by the recurrence of the "Sickle" sign points ironically to the destruction of the status quo just re-established). The stereometric structure already evident in BBA 253 is also now a ubiquitous feature of the text.

Apart from Scenes One to Three, which take place on the same day (September 11), the five chronological scene groupings perceived in the first completed manuscript have been dissolved. Scenes Four and Five are close-knit, both occurring within hours or even minutes of one another,

three days after the change of leader (September 16). Scenes Seven to Eleven all unfold in a matter of hours (on September 22, eight days after the first trial). Presumably the chronological unity of the last five scenes and the play's symmetry - Scenes One to Five and the first half of Scene Six are determined by Iberin and his race-bias, whereas the second half of Scene Six and the remaining five scenes represent the reverse development - have induced John Willett to refer to Die Rundköpfe und die Spitzköpfe as being "cast in more or less orthodox form" <sup>88</sup>. However, the scenes have not forfeited the "relative independence" they possessed in BBA 253, and there is, moreover, a variety of scene-location, a time-span of eleven days and a broad epic perspective involving the representatives of several social classes and institutions. These aspects, as well as the stereometric structure and the principle of motif and scene repetition point to the unorthodox, non-Aristotelean nature of the play.

Footnotes:

- 1 Völker, Brecht-Chronik, p.56.
- 2 Engberg, op.cit., p.130.
- 3 Völker Brecht-Chronik, p.59.
- 4 See Bahr, Bühnenfassung, pp.238-239, where the transitional phase of work between the Versuche and BBA 257 is also briefly summarized.
- 5 Brecht's set-directions make it clear that he wanted to create a magical, fairy-tale atmosphere ("Die Häuser sind baufällig, aber von zarten Farben, sodass der Eindruck einer bezaubernden Landschaft entsteht."(257/3)).
- 6 In his final speech Eskahler no longer anticipates the last day of the month as the deadline for the payment of the civil-service salaries, but rather, should Iberin fail, as "die Zeit ... wo/die Sichel Luma stürmt ..." (257/11).
- 7 The decision to hand over power to Iberin is even less obviously than in the Versuche a purely political stratagem; its socio-economic or class rationale ("Reich und reich ...") becomes more apparent as Brecht stresses the viceroy's social position and allegiance ("(Der Vizekönig seufzt. Eine Seite (sic!) ist in ihm zum Erklingen gebracht worden: er ist selbst Gutsbesitzer.)"(257/6)).
- 8 Although the song is relatively firmly integrated into the dramatic action, it should be noted that the singers have become "Mitwisser des Stückeschreibers", the Brechtian phrase for those who step out of their assigned role to address the audience; in the context of the play they are capable neither of the insight contained in the song, nor, at this point, of the attack upon Iberin ("Dort ist der Sumpf/Und hier erwarten wir dumpf/DaB uns ein Führer hineinführt."(257/19)). For a full discussion of the song in Brecht's oeuvre, see in particular A.Wirth, op.cit., R.Grimm, Brecht. Die Struktur seines Werkes, pp.59-62, W.Hinck, op.cit., pp.41-47, H.Jendreiek, Drama der Veränderung (Düsseldorf, 1969), pp.82-86 and I.Fradkin; Bertolt Brecht, trans. O.Törne (Leipzig, 1974), pp.429-439.
- 9 The scene now contains a number of reminders, mostly in "alienated" form, of Nazi Germany: "Sautschich", "Schutzkamp", "Vollbluttschiche", "Volksgenossin" (See R.Pohl, op.cit., pp.45-46).
- 10 This musical element, undoubtedly the fruit of Eisler's collaboration, may be found throughout the text of BBA 257 at significant junctures (in Scene Three, for instance, when Callas refuses to help Lopez).
- 11 An analysis of this shift in emphasis from Iberin/Hitler to Zazarante and his band will take place in a forthcoming chapter (pp.356-364).
- 12 Reinhold Grimm describes the various kinds of dramatic integration of songs in his study of alienation (cf. Brecht. Die Struktur seines Werkes, p.61). Just as the two songs have been incorporated into the play in a very different manner, so too their respective natures are dissimilar, the hymn serving as a poetical reflection of, and the ballad as a philosophical commentary on, the dramatic action.
- 13 When, in Scene Nine, Isabella rebukes Judith for implying that her motives

are financial - "Ich habe das Geld dazu. Wenn ich es hier (in the convent) nicht anlege, dann wird es mir womöglich noch weggenommen."(257/121) - the suspicion now grows that Isabella is a hypocrite. Her character remains ambivalent, though, and in the context of the play this minor figure must be deemed the least convincing or successful. In Scene Nine Judith continues to say that for Isabella recourse to the convent is her only chance of protecting her money, as marriage would be impossible:

"... Ich habe nämlich einen Spitzkopf. Eine Heirat hilft da nicht. Einen Spitzköpfigen mag ich nicht heiraten, denn er bietet mir keine Sicherheit in diesen Zeiten, und ein Rundköpfiger nimmt mich nicht ..." (257/121)

This is not only a further slight upon Isabella's professed spirituality, but also an allusion to the increasing anti-Semitism in Nazi Germany; although the Nuremberg laws prohibiting intermarriage were not decreed until September, 1935, already in August, 1933, members of the Reichswehr were forbidden to intermarry, and it was even then inadvisable for any "Aryan" to contemplate marriage to a Jew.

- 14 In BBA 257 the phenomenon of private property is far more significant than in earlier versions; in this scene the Mother Superior is shocked, not by de Guzman's imprisonment, but by Callas' theft of the horses, and she feels less concern for the members of the de Guzman family than for their belongings:

"Ich glaube allerdings, dass für die Güter der Familie de Guzman mehr Gefahr bestehen dürfte als für die Familie selbst." (257/60)

- 15 See Excursus, pp.356-364.

- 16 See p.372.

- 17 The viceroy's comments on "measure for measure", for example - "Die eine wurde erniedrigt so, warum die andere nicht?/Das ist doch die Gerechtigkeit, die wir/bereit sind, unter Umständen zu geben." (Versuche, p.364) - or his demand that the chief judge and the lawyers be released ("... darum bitt ich/um diese zwei Verteidiger Calausas/ die, wie ich höre, nicht so sehr genau sind/und einen Richter brauch ich, der gern iBt." (Versuche, p.364)).

- 18 See above, pp.196-198.

- 19 Cf. above, pp.210-213.

- 20 Grimm, Brecht. Die Struktur seines Werkes, p.61.

- 21 The Nazi dictum "Gemeinnutz geht vor Eigennutz", the theme of an essay by Brecht with the title "Über den Satz 'Gemeinnutz geht vor Eigennutz'" (GW, 20, pp.230-233), is included in Callas' speech. The spectator cannot overlook this reference, and is obliged to conclude that Hitler is no different from the landlords' henchman Iberin, and that only fools (such as Callas) could be persuaded by propaganda of this kind.

- 22 Cf.:

"... Wir sind den Herren sehr verpflichtet, sie haben die gerichtliche Schliessung des Kaffeehauses verhindert." (257/64)

23 As the viceroy departs, Iberin again "bows deeply"(257/11).

24 Iberin is now prepared to ignore the question of right or wrong in the interests of political expediency; when there has been no news from the South, and it seems that the government troops are losing the battle, he suggests a compromise to the landlords:

"Ich wende mich jetzt an die Pachtherren. Nochmals möchte ich die Frage stellen, ob nicht vielleicht ganz ausserhalb von Recht und Unrecht doch die Pachtherrn ein grosses Beispiel geben wollen tschuchischen Opfersinns und diesem Mann der schwer um seine Existenz kämpft, nunmehr zwei Pferde schenken könnten ..." (257/95)

Iberin remains a slightly ambivalent figure, however, for there is evidence that he does adhere sincerely to certain idealistic notions, such as the extermination of all peakheads:

"Iberin hat immer wieder betont, dass das Ziel sein muss: Ausrottung der Spitzköpfe, wo immer sie nisten!"(257/18)

This could be seen as the expression of a mendacious propaganda (it is spoken by an Iberin soldier), but Eskahler's *in camera* remarks to the landlords cannot:

"... Herr Iberin ist sehr bedrückt ob dieser niedern Raffgier mancher Pächter.  
...  
Seid mir behutsam, wenn man jetzt von Geld spricht!  
Sein hoch fliegender Geist verträgt es kaum dass man mit niedern Dingen ihn behelligt.  
Er glaubt, der tschuchische Geist bezwingt aus sich  
ohn äussere Hilf den Feind ..." (257/72)

25 Cf. for example:

"Pacht? Pacht ist Eigentum und das ist heilig."  
(257/71,139)

26 Palmosa tries to convince the fat lady who has been evicted that she should persevere until the government's plans are executed:

"Könnten Sie nicht noch so lange durchhalten, bis die grossen Pläne der neuen Regierung ausgeführt werden? Morgen am Tag des erwachten Jahoo, heisst es, verkündet der Statthalter ein Programm, das das ganze Land von Grund auf verändern soll."(257/103)

27 Cf.:

"Ich kann bezeugen, dass die Pacht unerschwinglich war. Der Boden ist sumpfig ..." (257/40)

28 Cf.:

"... Die Schäden am Hause können wir nicht reparieren, sodass es langsam über unseren Köpfen zusammenfällt ..." (257/43)

29 Brecht ensures that any pity felt for Callas is tempered by recognition of the fact that the tenant-farmer is himself to blame for his decline -

the convicted farmers standing beneath the gallows sing their revolutionary "Sichellied" as the stage revolves and Callas' shack becomes visible (257/151).

30 Cf.:

"Doch will ich noch den Zazarante hören  
mein treues Ohr, das mir ins Volk hinein-  
horcht.

...

... Mit dem Volk  
in seinen unteren Schichten eng verbunden"  
(257/81)

31 Cf.:

"... Das sind die Huas, die gefürchtete Hut-  
abschlägerstaffel des blutigen Zazarante ..."  
(257/15)

"... der gefürchtete Zazarante, der Kommandant  
der Iberinsoldaten ..."(257/35)

32

When Iberin becomes more assertive in Scene Eleven, the suspicion arises that Brecht did not so much intend to alter his essentially ineffectual image as want to strengthen the satirical attack upon certain aspects of Nazi policy. Earlier in Scene Eleven his inherent insecurity and helplessness become manifest in his reaction to the landlords' demands for Calausa's release; in the second stage of development he repels them with a vigorous attack upon their materialism (Versuche, p.348), now he is confused and hesitant:

"(Iberin hat verstört von einem zum andern  
gesehen, als begreife er die Welt nicht mehr.  
Jetzt geht er zögernd und schwerfällig, von  
den Pachtherren und dem Staatsrat gefolgt,  
in den Hof)"(257/143)

33

Zazarante is referred to by different parties as "bloody Zazarante", as the "feared Zazarante", and as a "bloodhound".

34

It should not be forgotten, though, that Angelas' "proposition" may be interpreted as nothing more than the idle reflection of a race-idealist, who perceives that justice would be realized if a peakhead were forced to submit to the physical degradation already suffered by a roundhead (see p.223 of this thesis).

35

Weisstein, op.cit., p.36. See also Kussmaul, op.cit., p.101.

36

However, in the variant of Scene Seven appended to BBA 257 Zazarante is referred to as the "Herr der Polizei und ihrer Helfer"(257/182).

37

Cf.:

"Die Anwälte der Familie Calausa beantragen die  
Revision des Urteils gegen den zum Tod verurteilten  
Pachtherrn Emanuele Calausa ..."(Versuche, p.305)

38

It is noteworthy that a high proportion of the material retained from the Versuche in the scene relates to the issue of private property, for example in the landlords' assertion that the law exists to protect private ownership -

"HERR DE HOZ :Besitz hängt nicht von unserer  
Kopfform ab.  
HERR DUARTE :Das Recht ist da, uns den Besitz  
zu schützen.  
DIE OBERIN :Und was ihn nicht beschützt, ist  
es kein Recht!"(257/94)

- or the lawyer's reminder to the court of the greater significance  
of the horses:

"... hier sind es zwei Gäule  
die weggeschenkt, vielleicht bedeuten können  
dass Eigentum nicht Eigentum mehr ist.  
Der geistige Wall, mit soviel Müh gezogen  
um den Besitz, die Quelle allen Rechts  
an einem Punkt durchbrochen, und der Pöbel  
stürzt brüllend drauf."(257/89)

39 This is reinforced by Zazarante:

"'s ist lächerlich! Schon wieder sind sie dran  
sich weiss zu waschen ..." (257/91)

40 For analyses of the song both in its dramatic context and as a separately  
published poem, see Reinhold Grimm, "Brechts Rad der Fortuna," German  
Quarterly, 46 (1973), pp.549-565, and H.-W.Nieschmidt, "Glücksrad und  
Wasserrad - Produktive Rezeption einer Motivtradition im Drama Bertolt  
Brechts," in: G.Köpf, ed., Rezeptionspragmatik (Munich, 1981), pp.  
149-166.

41 Cf.:

"Freilich dreht das Rad sich immer weiter  
Dass, was oben ist, nicht oben bleibt.  
Aber für das Wasser unten heisst das leider  
Nur: dass es das Rad halt ewig treibt."  
(257/110)

42 Nieschmidt, op.cit., pp.158-159.

43 See also:

"... Denn wenn ich geh,  
geht nicht die Tschuchin für die Tschichin nur:  
Arm geht für Reich und für die Nonn die Hur."  
(257/125)

44 The physical, mental and social differences between the two are emphasized  
throughout the scene, not only in the argument retained from the Versuche  
between Callas and de Guzman (CALLAS:Die Pacht ist zu hoch, da können wir  
nicht leben. DE GUZMAN:Wovon soll ich leben ..." (257/133)), and in the  
"Lied eines Grossen", but also in the lawyers' dealings:

"Sehen Sie, solch ein reicher Mann ist  
derartigen Situationen nicht gewachsen.  
Er ist durch Wohlleben verweichlicht, das  
rächt sich jetzt. Unter uns gesagt, er  
ist eine richtige Memme. Da seid Ihr  
Pächter doch andere Leute! ..." (257/133)

45 See p.53 of this thesis.

- 46 As Gisela Bahr remarks in the edition of the Bühnenfassung, p.240. The so-called stage-version of the play published by Gisela Bahr (BBA 259) will not be considered in this thesis, because, as Bahr herself concedes, it is not identical with the Danish original (BBA 2156):
- "Mappe 259 ... eine gekürzte Bühnenfassung (vermutlich von 1934), die weitgehend (sic!) dem Text der dänischen Übersetzung entspricht ..."(Bühnenfassung, p.240)
- 47 See this thesis, p.53.
- 48 Cf. Grimm, Brecht. Die Struktur seines Werkes, pp.50-51.
- 49 Pache, op.cit., p.194.
- 50 Engberg, op.cit., pp.122-123.
- 51 Goldhahn cites this fragment in his 1961 dissertation, but states incorrectly that the poem "in wirrer zeit", the first stanza of which is quoted above, is followed by the prologue (Goldhahn, op.cit., p.44); it is in fact succeeded only by an early version of it.
- 52 It should not be forgotten that the "skull-distributor" of the prologue moves "durch die Länder", whereas Hitler had, in 1934, not yet begun his succession of annexations.
- 53 J.W.Goethe, Werke, ed.E.Trunz, 7th ed. (Hamburg, 1964), Vol.3, p.10.
- 54 Goethe, op.cit., p.15.
- 55 See also:
- "Ich werde euch ein Gleichnis schreiben  
In dem beweis ich es jedermann  
Es kommt nur auf diesen Unterschied an."  
(GW, p.910)
- Furthermore, Brecht refers to the play in the notes to the Copenhagen performance as the "Iberin-experiment" (GW, 17, p.1085).
- 56 Cf. pp.392-393 of this thesis.
- 57 Goldhahn, op.cit., p.45.
- 58 See pp.359-361.
- 59 The figure of the Hua will be discussed in the chapter on character (p.389). The song, as Grimm remarks, can serve not only to interrupt, and pass (the playwright's) comment on, the dramatic action, but also to contribute to characterization (Grimm, Brecht. Die Struktur seines Werkes, p.53).
- 60 See:
- "Das Lied haben die Huas an dem Pächter Parr demonstriert. Sie haben ihn in der ersten Strophe vor den Pachtherren geduckt, aber in der zweiten haben sie ihn auf den Tisch gehoben, ihm den Hut des Herrn Saz, die Zigarren und die Gläser der Herren de Hoz und Peruiner verliehen. Und der Pächter Parr hat mit einem kleinen Holzschuhstep mitgewirkt."*(GW, p.972)

- 61 Goldhahn, op.cit., p.60.
- 62 R.N.Carew Hunt devotes a chapter of his study of Communism to Lenin's doctrine of capitalist imperialism (R.N.Carew Hunt, The Theory and Practice of Communism (Pelican, 1963), pp.204-212).
- 63 Cf. also:  
 "Solang die Sichel steht  
 Gibt's keinen Krieg."(GW, p.918)
- 64 Brecht similarly unmasks propaganda lies in Scene Two when, just after the viceroy and Missena have determined that Iberin should pave the way for war (by crushing the revolution), an Iberin soldier defends Iberin as the herald of peace:  
 "DER TABAKHÄNDLER PALMOSA Wird es nun Krieg  
 geben? Mein Gabriele ist gerade zwanzig  
 geworden.  
 DER IBERINSOLDAT Wo denken Sie hin? Kein  
 Mensch will Krieg. Herr Iberin ist ein  
 Freund des Friedens ..." (GW, p.924)
- 65 Kussmaul, op.cit., p.102.
- 66 Mittenzwei, op.cit., p.163.
- 67 Cf.:  
 "DER RICHTER zu *Iberin*; Exzellenz, ich stütze  
 mich auf die Aussagen einiger der bedeutend-  
 sten Pachtherren des Landes.  
 IBERIN Stützen Sie sich lieber auf die Meldungen  
 vom Kriegsschauplatz!" (GW, p.949)  
 "IBERIN ...  
 Wenn es ein Sieg ist, fülle ich den Spruch  
 Und nicht vorher." (GW, p.983)
- 68 Mittenzwei, op.cit., p.163.
- 69 Weisstein, for instance, refers to Missena as "von Papen-Mephisto" (op.cit., p.37).
- 70 Müller, op.cit., p.83, note 13.
- 71 Cf. 811/38.
- 72 GW, 17, p.1086.
- 73 In BBA 431, Scene Eleven, Callas even steals a rifle from one of the Huas, with the intention, it would seem, of beginning the revolution anew (he is taking up the weapon he refused in Scene Three).
- 74 A manifest allusion to the scene of the Crucifixion (see Part Two, note 18).
- 75 Cf.:  
 "DER HUA Sieh dir mal meine Stiefel an! Sie waren  
 gratis, aber die Besohlung heißt es bezahlen.  
 Ich trete schon keinem mehr gern in den Arsch  
 mit diesen Stiefeln." (GW, p.1025)

76 Cf. also:

"I m H o f / *Einer der Zimmerleute hat sich hinter der Holzstallage zu schaffen gemacht, die an der Mauer lehnt. Als er wieder vortritt, faßt ihn einer der Huas ab.*

DER HUA Was machst du denn da?

DER ZIMMERMAN Nichts.

*Der Hua öffnet ihm die rechte Hand und sieht eine rote Kreide drin. Er tritt hinter die Stallage und sieht nach. Grinsend tritt er wieder vor. In diesem Augenblick ruft ihn eine Stahlhelmwache an.*

EIN SOLDAT IM STAHLHELM Was hat er gemacht?

DER HUA Nichts. Seine Arbeit. *Leise zu den andern Huas: Die sollen mir erst meine Stiefel besohlen lassen.*"(431/125)

77 The same pattern recurs in the debate between the fat lady and Cornamontis:

"DIE DICKE FRAU *zu ihrer Hausbesitzerin, Frau Cornamontis: Haben Sie gehört, die Mieten sollen jetzt gesenkt werden!*

DER IBERINSOLDAT Ja, das ist richtig.

FRAU CORNAMONTIS Nein, meine Liebe, ich habe gehört, sie sollen erhöht werden.

DER IBERINSOLDAT Ja, das stimmt auch."

(GW, p.929)

78 Iberin, like Hitler, denounces the enemy as an oppressor and parasite (see Koenigsberg, op.cit., pp.19-20, 33).

79 Nanna's "So geh ich, daß sich alles wieder dreh ... Arm geht für Reich und für die Nonn die Hur."(GW, p.1019) has even been shifted to the end of Scene Nine, where its effect is, of course, greater.

80 GW, 17, p.1085.

81 Loc.cit..

82 Loc.cit.. The speech previously given by the viceroy at the end of Scene Eight ("Wohl schon vergessen hier in meiner Stadt ...") is now to be delivered from the theatre-stalls (GW, 17, p.1085).

83 Cf.:

"Herr, diese Sichel, denk ich, dieses Zeichen  
Des Aufruhrs und der Unzufriedenheit  
In Eurem Land und Eurer Stadt ist's jetzt  
Für ewig ausgetilgt."(GW, p.1039)

84 In Scene One Missena draws the sign of the Sickle on the wall of the viceroy's office as a means of persuading the viceroy to follow his advice. When the Hua reveals his hasty artwork on the courtyard wall, it is by no means an indication that the plot has gone full circle, that the old regime has comfortably re-established itself, but, ironically, suggests quite the opposite.

85 The judge's class bias is emphasized at the beginning of Scene Four, where he denies that de Guzman could have raped Nanna because he is "einer der fünf größten Pachtherren des Landes"(GW, p.945). Brecht has excised the

line in which the judge justified releasing de Guzman because he was in fact assaulted by Nanna ("Er war es, der belästigt wurde"(257/35)). In this way morality is transformed into class-morality.

86 It is noteworthy that the speech in which Iberin affirms his friendly ties with the landlords ("Ich hör, es lauf in Luma ein Gerücht/DaB ich, weil ich den tschichischen Pachtherrn strafte/Ein Feind der Pachtherrn sei. Nun, nichts ist falscher.") is among the material retained by Brecht.

87 Mittenzwei, op.cit., pp.162-164.

88 John Willett, The Theatre of Bertolt Brecht, 4th ed. (London, 1977), p.176.

## Conclusion

The object of this study was to analyse Bertolt Brecht's Die Rundköpfe und die Spitzköpfe in terms of a creative or productive reception of William Shakespeare's Measure for Measure. The emphasis lay therefore not upon gauging Shakespeare's influence on the German dramatist by enumerating retained motifs, figures or scenes, but rather upon revealing how Brecht applied his creative faculties to existing literary material.

The reception process comprises three stages of development, which are distinguishable not only chronologically, but also by virtue of the particular tendency or orientation inherent in each stage.

The first stage of development stretches from November 1931, when Ludwig Berger commissioned Brecht to adapt Measure for Measure for the stage, until an unknown point in 1932. Textual evidence indicates that Brecht could have been working on the Vienna fragment until late 1932, although time must be allowed for him to write five early drafts of Die Rundköpfe und die Spitzköpfe before January 1933. The overwhelming tendency of this first phase is polemical, although the Shakespearean act-structure and language are retained. Brecht, whose theoretical writings on the classics express a deep reluctance to produce or adapt Elizabethan drama because it conveyed a false picture of contemporary reality, attacks the moral world Shakespeare portrays in Measure for Measure. He achieves this by supplying certain actions with a materialist motivation, by allowing selected figures to mock morality, and by toying irreverently with key Shakespearean ideas ("MaB"). The Vienna-version is a parody then, although there are detectable elements of satire: the plot unfolds in a

modern setting, and there are veiled references to German politics. But the polemical aspect outweighs the satirical - the poor and exploited, for example, are introduced only as part of the parodic intention. It seems likely that Brecht renounced his planned Vienna-version precisely because of this imbalance, scarcely justifiable at a time when the contradictions in late capitalism were becoming more and more harshly evident. There is no evidence that Brecht failed to complete his Shakespeare parody because the commissioning body (the Berlin Junge Bühne) withdrew payment. Indeed, according to one critic even BBA 253 was submitted to the management of the Junge Bühne as part of commissioned work, but refused because of its over-obvious satirical content.

The second stage of development commences in late 1932 with the first completed draft of a play deriving from Measure for Measure - MaB für MaB oder die Salzsteuer. Nach Shakespeare (BBA 253) - and terminates with the Versuche (Die Spitzköpfe und die Rundköpfe oder Reich und Reich gesellt sich gern), which was ready for publication in January 1933. Whereas in the first stage of development Brecht had endeavoured to retain as much as possible of the Shakespearean text while conveying his polemical message, he now forgoes any such plan and treats the Shakespearean model as material to be "vandalised" - the plot forfeits its characteristically Shakespearean properties, as typically Brechtian features such as the loose, episodic scene-form appear. An excellent example of Brecht's influence on the model is his development of the substitution motif. Shakespeare's substitutions are mere dramatic devices ensuring that justice can be done; Brecht's on the other hand, prove, *per se*, that in the class-society justice is an illusion. In Measure for Measure the figure of the substitute is unimportant, whereas in Brecht's play the exact opposite holds true. Conversely, a thematically vital feature

of the model, the debate between Isabella and Angelo, shrinks in BBA 253 and succeeding manuscripts to a level of minor pragmatic significance. The overall tendency of this phase of work is, then, by no means polemical-parodic. Any reference to BBA 253 as a Shakespeare parody is only possible because Brecht maintains his materialist bias: a prostitute does still act as a substitute for Isabella, but the intention is no longer to show that money, not morality, is the main social motive, but rather to indicate that racism is not as important as economics.

In this second part of the reception process Brecht's work is determined, not by Shakespearean morality, but by the attempt to come to terms with contemporary German political developments. The racist Angelas is clearly the dramatic embodiment of Adolf Hitler, and the changes in his character during this stage do not derive from Measure for Measure, but from Brecht's political analysis. The idealistic Angelas portrayed in the Versuche is in no way comparable to Shakespeare's Angelo. Both condemn Claudio/Calausa until the end of the play, but the latter's motivation is fear of revenge, while the former sincerely believes that Calausa's death would accord with objective justice.

Above all, Brecht endeavours to grasp the phenomenon of Fascism in its racist form. In BBA 253 Hitler/Angelas is portrayed as a tool wielded by the ruling class to introduce monetary reform (the "salt-tax") designed to overcome the state's economic insolvency; in the Versuche Brecht depicts the Fascist as an agent of finance capital, ideologically suited to wage the struggle against Communism (the "Black Flag"). Other aspects intimately linked to Brecht's understanding of Fascism, such as the revolution and the role of the landlords, are also emphasized more strongly during the second stage of development. As the playwright perceives the laws underlying political events, the parable form already evident in

BBA 253 is purified. An overproduction crisis, which in fact took place in Germany at this time but did not have the wide social consequences presented in the Versuche, is now incorporated in the play as the sole cause of the revolution. It replaces the broad spectrum of actual socio-economic problems in BBA 253 and so intensifies the alienation effect produced by the parable.

The final period of reception, commencing with Brecht's departure from Nazi Germany in February 1933, and the subsequent writing of BBA 257 (Die Rundköpfe und die Spitzköpfe. Mit einer Musik von Hanns Eisler), culminates in the completion of the "Endfassung" (Die Rundköpfe und die Spitzköpfe oder Reich und Reich gesellt sich gern. Ein Greuelmärchen) in September 1934. During this time changes still occur which are politically influenced - this is most apparent in the Iberin-Zazarante complex - but the playwright's central concern is now with the theatrical reception of his work. He engages in rearranging, deleting from and adding to his play with the intention of rendering its message more easily accessible to the spectator. For example, the section containing the lawyer's affirmation that de Guzman and Nanna were once lovers has been transferred from the second trial (Scene Seven) to the first (Scene Four). That Iberin ignores this obvious truth and condemns de Guzman most effectively reveals his racial bias and the real nature of the trial. Eisler's musical accompaniments to each successive act of betrayal could also be mentioned, but the difference between this stage and the preceding is perhaps best exemplified by Brecht's treatment of the landlords and the tenant-farmer revolutionaries. In the previous stage he accentuated their roles as he understood the class-basis of Fascism. Now he renders the landlords weaker and the revolutionaries correspondingly more powerful - a shift in emphasis which certainly could not have been occasioned by any

insight into political occurrences in Nazi Germany! - to convince the audience that change will eventuate if the exploited are unified in their challenge to the system. One of Brecht's main methods is the inclusion of alienation effects such as the songs and the prologue. The parable is also strengthened - obvious allusions to contemporary Germany have been excluded and the plot setting "distanced" even further ("Jahoo"). The issue of private property and the war-complex are also introduced to ensure that the play will have universal dimensions. It embodies a critique not only of Nazi Germany, but of the whole capitalist system as described by the "classical" writers (Marx, Engels, Lenin).

In the small volume of criticism relating to Die Rundköpfe und die Spitzköpfe the main fault found with the play concerns its inadequate reflection of German socio-political history. Werner Mittenzwei, for example, affirms that Brecht's Angelas is totally unlike Adolf Hitler. According to Mittenzwei, who is representative of others (Paul Kussmaul, Walter Pache), the reason for this lies in Brecht's inability to free himself from the "shackles" of the Shakespearean original. Gisela Bahr, on the other hand, justifies the play with its lack of precise topicality by citing the favourable reaction of theatre-goers at the West German première of the play. This analysis of the creative reception of Measure for Measure by Bertolt Brecht demonstrates, however, that a defence of the play, and, by analogy, of Brecht, in terms of theatrical reception is superfluous. A review of several features of the play confirms this.

One need only consider Brecht's radically new, unique treatment of Shakespeare's substitution motif, or his fusion of the substitution and reversal motifs, but perhaps above all his employment of the minor Shakespearean motif of the brothel-shift. The necessity for Shakespeare's

Mistress Overdone to change her premises, but not her trade, a motif which occupies sixteen lines of Measure for Measure, is developed by Brecht into an entire scene. In the Vienna-version, endowed with the double perspective of teichoscopia, which has been adapted to suit the purposes of a dialectical theatre form, it brilliantly exposes the truth that the interests of the rich take precedence over moral considerations. In the second stage of development the scene undergoes a transformation and is now closely associated with Brecht's critique of Fascism, symbolizing that it is nothing more than a surface phenomenon beneath which the laws of the class-society still function. In the final stage of development Brecht excises this scene, to which he was undoubtedly deeply attached, but only because he had created a more effective means of conveying its message, namely the famous "Ballade vom Wasserrad".

The study of the reception process reveals, then, that Brecht was a poetic genius by no means over-awed by his Elizabethan forbear. He was his worthy successor, not an incompetent imitator. In this context Kussmaul's assertion (the logical extension of Mittenzwei's argument) that the play would have been improved had Brecht been able to excise the last scene, appears absurd. Had Brecht wished to expunge the finale, there is no doubt that he could have done so. Other reasons must be sought for the play's present form; perhaps in the playwright's one-sided political outlook, which refused to acknowledge that phenomena such as racism or Hitler's rise to power might have psychological or pathological causes; or in the play's function as a Marxist parable. Its simple message, the ultimate primacy of economics over all else, was not, Brecht may have felt, truly refuted by Hitler's twelve year rule.

APPENDIX: THE VIENNA

VERSION OF THE PLAY

Erster Akt

1

*Herzog. Eskaler. Sitzen über Büchern.*

HERZOG

Jetzt ist's genug, Eskaler.  
 Der Morgen kommt und unser ganzes Rechnen  
 Mit hin und her und noch einmal von vorn  
 Das Ganze durch ergab zu jeglicher Minute  
 Doch immer nur, was wir nicht wissen wollten  
 Und was selbst, wenn wir Monde rechneten  
 Doch stets herauskäm: völlige Zerrüttung  
 Des Staats: Zerfall. Mit einem Wort: Bankrott.

ESKALER

Mein Fürst!

HERZOG

Es scheinen stärkere Hände nötig als die meinen.  
 Ich träte gern ins Dunkel einige Zeit  
 Um manches zu bedenken. Hier ist die Vollmacht.  
 Jetzt muß (1) der starke Mann her, der vor nichts  
 Zurückschreckt und es mit frischem Mut probiert.  
 Ruft mir - nein, bittet Angeler zu mir,  
*Diener ab.*  
 Wie, meinst du, wird er meinen Platz vertreten?  
 Denn du mußt wissen: mit besonderer Absicht  
 Ist gerade er erwählt, an unserer statt zu herrschen  
 Und Strafgewalt, Recht zur Begnadigung  
 Kurzum Vertretung meiner ganzen Macht  
 Sei ihm gegeben! Nun sprich - wie scheint dir das?

ESKALER

Wenn irgendeiner es in Wien verdient  
 So schwierige Sach zu führen  
 Ist es Graf Angeler.

DIENER

Graf Angeler.

HERZOG

Ich bitte.  
*Angeler herein.*

ANGELER

Stets Ihrer Hoheit Willen untertänig  
 bitt ich um Ihren Auftrag.

HERZOG

Angeler!  
 Du darfst dich nicht vergraben!  
 Du selbst mit deinem Wort gehörst nicht dir!  
 Gott tut mit uns, wie wir mit Fackeln tun:  
 Sie leuchten nicht für sich. So unsere Kraft.  
 Strahlt sie nicht von uns aus - wär's ganz so gut  
 Als hätten wir sie nicht. Doch jetzt zur Sache.

---

1.MS.: muss. Orthography and punctuation have been  
 standardised according to the 1967 Suhrkamp edition.

Des Staats Finanzen sind - du weißt's - zerrüttet.  
 Und unsere letzten Mittel sind erschöpft.  
 Was morgen kommt - weiß niemand. Umsomehr  
 Liegt's nun an uns, die Lage durchzuhalten  
 Bis neues Geld aus neuen Quellen strömt.  
 Wir beide rechneten die ganze Nacht  
 Und haben - glaub ich - einen Weg gefunden  
 Nur tät ein neuer Mann jetzt dazu not  
 der ohne Vorurteil mit starker Hand  
 Frisch durchgreift. Drum rief ich dich.  
 Hier nimm - die Vollmacht.  
 Solang ich fern - entscheide du in Wien.  
 Sei rücksichtslos und geh den Weg der Härte  
 Den du so oft im Rat uns anempfahlst.  
 Was gestern noch Kritik war und ein Vorschlag  
 Setz es um und schaffe Taten draus, die neu uns kräftigen.  
 Kurz: ein Programm.

ANGELELER

Ich versteh, mein Fürst. *Zu sich:* Sie haben mir die Supp  
 gekocht

Ich soll sie auslöffeln.

HERZOG

Ich selber werd gewiß nach 14 Tagen  
 Wenn ich mit ausgeruhtem Kopf zurückkomm  
 Dem Staate mehr helfen können als nun eben  
 Da mir dem Müden Hoffnung fast gebricht.  
 Ich bau auf dich.

ANGELELER

Nur eins bitt ich, mein Fürst:  
 Wir müssen vorher uns genau besprechen  
 Wie weit ich gehen soll, mit welchen Mitteln -

HERZOG

Die Eile läßt's nicht zu. Sie sollten wirklich  
 Mit keinem Zweifel sich belasten, Angeler.  
 Denn ihre Macht ist ganz der meinen gleich.  
 Sie schärfe oder ändre die Gesetze  
 Wie's Ihre Ansicht heischt. Erlaubt sei alles  
 Was nötig ist, um unsern Staat zu retten.

ANGELELER

Die ganze Macht - in meinen Händen?! Und Eskaler?

HERZOG

Ist Ihnen unterstellt.

ANGELELER

Und wieviel Zeit hab ich, mein Fürst?

HERZOG

Nun - bis Sie fertig sind. Doch  
 Schon ist es Tag und ich muß eilig fort.  
 Denn lieb ich auch das Volk - lieb ich's doch nicht  
 Mich ihm zur Schau zu stellen. Und was wohlgemeint  
 Sein lauter Beifall - tut mir jetzt nicht wohl  
 Da ich die Not der nächsten Wochen spüre.  
 Lebt wohl denn.

ESKALER

Gott geleite euch.

ANGELELER

Kommt ausgeruht zurück, mein Fürst.

HERZOG

Ich dank euch.  
*Herzog ab.*

ESKALER

Da ich, von Angeler, Ihnen unterstellt bin, frag ich  
Was denken Sie mir zu - welches Ressort?

ANGELER

Zunächst werd ich das Ganze übernehmen  
Da ich das Ganze der Verantwortung  
Zu übernehmen hab. Ich lege mich nicht fest.  
Nur eines sag ich gleich, von Eskaler:  
Reform. Und jetzt entschuldigen Sie mich.

ESKALER

Ganz recht.  
*Angeler ab.*  
Reform. Reform.  
Ab. (1)

2

VON SCHWIND

Wenn uns die Ungarn kein Geld geben  
Dann sind wir unterm Hammer!  
Dann können Sie sich Ihren Saustall einsalzen lassen,  
mein Freund.

VON SCHAUM

Steht es wirklich so schlimm mit uns?

VON SCHWIND

Ich habe gehört, daß sogar ein Panzerschiff, das  
Schon im Bau war und das wir dringend benötigen  
Nicht mehr fertig gebaut werden soll.

VON SCHAUM

Das heißt - haben denn die Ungarn schuld?

VON SCHWIND

Nein, ihre (2) Finanzen sind gleichfalls völlig  
zerrüttet.  
Haben Sie nicht gelesen (3), daß die gesamten Donau-  
matrosen  
Schon vorgestern nach Budapest zurückgekehrt sind,  
um  
Noch rechtzeitig ihre Bankdepots abzuheben!

VON SCHAUM

Ja, was ist denn schuld an dieser Kalamität?

VON SCHWIND

Niemand - es soll von selber gekommen sein.

VON SCHAUM

Ja, vielleicht hört sie dann auch von selber wieder  
auf.

VON SCHWIND

Ja, das ist eure ganze Hoffnung, die ihr habt.

VON SCHAUM

Wirklich?

---

1.MS.: Ganz recht. (Angeler ab) Reform. Reform. (Im Anfang  
war das Wort) (ab).

2.MS.: Ihre.

3.MS.: gelsen.

VON SCHWIND

Was?

VON SCHAUM

Welche Hoffnung haben wir?

VON SCHWIND Nun, daß die Kalamität von selber wieder aufhört. Jedenfalls, mein Lieber, müssen wir uns daraufhin zunächst mal einen Schampus genehmigen. Ohne Champagner (1) hält man nämlich auch die schönste Not nicht aus.

*Von Lutz kommt dazu.*

VON LUTZ Tag, Major. Tag, Alter. Habt ihr (2) schon die neuen Elendsverordnungen gelesen?

VON SCHWIND Worum handelt es sich?

VON LUTZ Hauptsächlich und zuerst um eine Hebung der Moral im allgemeinen.

VON SCHAUM Wieso Moral?

VON LUTZ *Geste des Geldgebens:* Wir brauchen moralischen Kredit. Der Herzog hat sich verdrückt. Und Angeler soll den Karren aus dem Dreck ziehen.

VON SCHAUM Auf seine Weisheit haben wir gerade gewartet.

VON SCHWIND Sagen Sie das nicht. Der kommt mit dem eisernen Besen. Mit der Laschheit des Herzogs wär's sowieso nicht mehr weitergegangen.

VON SCHAUM Hat er schon ein fest umschriebenes Programm?

VON LUTZ Na ja - in erster Linie Säuberung. Damit wir (3) nämlich wieder Auslandskredite bekommen. Das heißt so lautet das Programm. Was dahinter steckt, weiß natürlich kein Mensch.

VON SCHAUM Ja, was soll denn da noch dahinter stecken?

VON LUTZ Die Möglichkeit, daß wir eben keine Auslandskredite bekommen.

VON SCHWIND

Aber selbst dann - wäre das Volk endlich (4) einmal moralisch gesund, was viel wichtiger ist. Moralische Ertüchtigung, Herr Kamerad.

*Frau Ueberley tritt dazu.*

FRAU UEBERLEY Ach, mein lieber Herr Major! Ach, meine Herren -

VON SCHWIND Wer ist das? Kenne ich nicht.

FRAU UEBERLEY Nein? Also gut.

VON LUTZ *stellt sie vor:* Salon Ueberley, Hasengasse 24. Moralische Ertüchtigung, Herr Kamerad.

VON SCHAUM Na, was gibt's denn, Frau Direktor.

FRAU UEBERLEY Ach, Herr von Schaum, haben Sie schon die neuen Elendsverordnungen gelesen? Diese Maßnahmen? Die Herren oben am grünen Tisch haben keine Ahnung von der Wirklichkeit. Das geht doch alles praktisch gar nicht. Das ist ja Bolschewismus. Räumung bis zum 1. April! Sämtliche Häuser in der Hasengasse! In der Hasengasse, Herr von Lutz, wo die bestrenommierten Häuser der Stadt sind! Schließlich sind wir doch ein lebenswichtiger Betrieb. Wir gehören doch zum Wirtschaftsleben! Ja, soll denn die ganze Wirtschaft von unten her abgedrosselt werden.

VON SCHWIND Wieso von unten? Das ist eben Ihre Perspektive, meine liebe Frau.

---

1.MS.: Schampagner.

2.MS.: Ihr.

3.MS.: wieder.

4.MS.: andlich.

- FRAU UEBERLEY Ja, meine und die meiner Besucher. Nur die vergessen es meist sehr schnell. Nein, die Sache ist die: es soll durchaus was geschehen, und wenn's dann geschieht, geschieht's immer am falschen Fleck.
- VON SCHWIND Wie meinen Sie das?
- FRAU UEBERLEY Der falsche Fleck, das sind halt wir, Herr Major.
- MILDNER *kommt dazu*: Eben haben sie wieder einen eingesteckt.
- FRAU UEBERLEY Wen denn - um Gotteswillen.
- MILDNER Einen unserer besten Kunden, Herrn von Klausner.
- VON LUTZ Von Klausner? Deshalb. Ich hatte eine Verabredung mit ihm. Er war sonst immer pünktlich.
- VON SCHWIND Ich will Ihnen nicht zu nahe treten, Herr von Lutz, aber Herr von Klausner war ein ausgesprochener Weichling.
- FRAU UEBERLEY Aber was ist denn mit ihm passiert? Um Gotteswillen!
- MILDNER Ihm ist nichts passiert, aber Fräulein von Gentzow, sie kriegt ein Kind von ihm.
- FRAU UEBERLEY Und dafür ins Gefängnis?
- VON SCHWIND Das dürfte wohl noch nicht ausreichen. In drei Tagen heißt's mit ihm: Kopf ab. Die neuen Gesetze, meine Herren.
- VON LUTZ Eine bescheidene Frage, Herr Major? Haben die neuen Gesetze auch rückwirkende Kraft?
- VON SCHWIND Ja, habt ihr denn die Verordnungen nicht gelesen?
- VON LUTZ Ja, wie denkt sich das der Herr von Angeler? Sowas läßt sich doch nicht einfach von heute auf morgen abstellen. Vielleicht ist der Herr von Angeler eine Maschine?
- MILDNER Es handelt sich dabei natürlich im Vertrauen gesagt nur um einen interimistischen Zustand. Es darf nur so lange nichts geschehen, bis die neue Verkehrsregelung heraus ist.
- FRAU UEBERLEY Und in der Zwischenzeit soll alles, was drum und dran hängt, in den Rauchfang gehängt werden? Herr Major - sind Sie sich der Tragweite bewußt - -
- VON SCHWIND Erlauben Sie mal - -
- FRAU UEBERLEY - Wohin dieser Schwindel führt? Ich denke, es soll endlich einmal gespart werden. Und jetzt? nichts als Kosten, Kosten. In den Vorstädten werden unsere Salons ausgerottet. Wer zahlt den Umzug? Wissen Sie, was eine Achtzimmerwohnung in der Stadt kostet? *Zu Mildner*: Hast du dir übrigens die Wohnung am Kärntner-ring angesehen?
- MILDNER Sie werden lachen. Sämtliche Wohnungen von 8 Zimmern aufwärts stehen leer. Man bekommt sie direkt nachgeworfen. Die Bankiers haben merkwürdigerweise alle plötzlich Sitzungen in Paris. Auch ihre Frauen und Kinder sollen schon dort sein.
- VON SCHWIND Das sind diejenigen, die ihr Vaterland schnöde im Stich lassen. Sie könnten mindestens so lange warten, bis wir sie rausschmeißen. Diese Kunden!
- FRAU UEBERLEY Ganz recht, Herr Major, diese Kunden! Gerade jetzt, wo ihre Frauen in Paris sind! Wie soll ich da auf meine Kosten (1) kommen?

---

1.MS.: (Unzuchts)Kosten.

VON SCHWIND Liebe Frau Ueberley, auch Sie werden sich in dieser Zeit umstellen müssen.

FRAU UEBERLEY Habe ich schon getan! Alles schon in die Wege geleitet, Herr Major. Wir eröffnen ein spanisches Wellenbad mit anschließendem Schönheitssalon am Kärntnerring. Mein Geschäftsführer, Mildner - hat schon alles arrangiert.

VON SCHAUM Da bringen sie von Klausner.

MILDNER Und Fräulein von Gentzow ist auch mit dabei. Da sieht man's wieder. Nur die Anständigen fallen rein.

3

*Gefängnisdirektor, von Klausner, Ellbogen und Fräulein von Gentzow.*

VON KLAUSNER  
Mensch, warum muß die ganze Welt mich sehen!  
Bring mich zum Kerker, wie dir aufgetragen.

DIREKTOR  
Ich tue dies nicht aus eigenem bösen Willen, doch  
Hat's Graf Angeler mir streng befohlen.

VON KLAUSNER  
Ja, so ist Halbgott, wer das Szepter führt.  
Wen's trifft, den trifft es. O Gerechtigkeit!

VON LUTZ  
Nun sag doch, Klausner, woher solcher Zwang?

VON KLAUSNER  
Von zuviel Freiheit, Lutz, von zuviel Freiheit.  
Auf Übermaß folgt Fasten und Entbehren.

VON LUTZ  
Wenn ich im Arrest noch so gescheit reden könnte  
So würde ich mir gleich ein paar von meinen Gläubigern  
Rufen lassen.

DIREKTOR  
Fort, Herr, wir müssen weiter.

VON KLAUSNER  
Ein Wort, mein lieber Lutz, ein Wort mit dir.

VON LUTZ  
Ein Dutzend, wenn dir's irgend helfen kann.

VON KLAUSNER  
Du kennst doch Julia. Sie ist ganz mein Weib  
Nur, daß wir nicht in aller Förmlichkeit  
Getraut sind! Und dies unterblieb nur  
Weil eine Mitgift abzuwarten ist  
Die noch in Händen ihrer Vettern steckt.

VON LUTZ  
Sie kriegt ein Kind?

VON KLAUSNER  
Zum Unglück ist es so.

Denn unseres Herzogs neuer Stellvertreter  
 Sei es, daß ihn die Neuheit treibt und blendet  
 Sei's, daß Hochmut ihm im Herzen wohnt  
 Ich weiß es nicht, genug: der neue Richter  
 Weckt mir die längst verjährten Strafgesetze  
 Und hetzt ein schläfrig altvergessen Recht  
 Frisch auf mich los und macht sich seinen Namen.

VON LUTZ

Sende doch dem Herzog Botschaft und appelliere an ihn.

VON KLAUSNER

Das tat ich schon, doch ist er nicht zu finden.  
 Ich bitte dich Lutz, tu mir einen Dienst.  
 Heut tritt ins Kloster meine Schwester ein  
 Und ihre Probezeit beginnt sie dort  
 Erzähl ihr die Gefahr, die mich bedroht  
 In meinem Namen flehe ich, daß sie Freunde  
 Dem strengen Richter schickt, ihn selbst beschwört.  
 Ich hoffe viel von ihr, denn wenn sie will -  
 Sie ist sehr schön - gewinnt sie jeden.

VON LUTZ

Hoffentlich. Auch für alle die, die sich  
 Ohne daß sie es genau wissen, in der gleichen Lage  
 befinden und  
 Plötzlich angeklagt werden. Donnerwetter. Vor allem  
 aber

Deinetwegen. Ich gehe zu ihr.

VON KLAUSNER

Ich danke dir, du mein bester Freund.

VON LUTZ

Sofort.

VON KLAUSNER *zur Polizei:*

Jetzt kommt. Weiter.

*Alle ab.*

FRAU UEBERLEY *wehklagend:* So bringen mich denn teils  
 der Krieg und teils das Quecksilber und teils der  
 Galgen und teils die Armut und teils der Leichtsin  
 um meine besten Kunden. Wäre der junge Mann an-  
 ständig geblieben und hätte ruhig und ordentlich und  
 ausschließlich bei mir verkehrt, anstatt ein junges  
 Mädchen vom Lande zu verführen, das sich hinten und  
 vorne nicht auskennt, hätte ihm niemand einen Vor-  
 wurf machen können. Hat er das nötig gehabt? Das  
 heißt am unrechten Ort gespart. Die paar Schillinge,  
 die er bei mir schon ausgibt! Bis an sein Lebensende  
 hätte er bei mir verkehren können.

4

HERZOG *zum Gefängnisdirektor:*

Daß ich um ein geheim Asyl dich bitte  
 Hat sehr geheimen Grund. Du kennst mich lang!

Du - neben Eskaler - mein einziger Freund  
 Vor dem ich meine Schwäche nicht verberge.  
 Ja, ich war schwach, Freund, 14 Jahre lang ließ ich  
 Gesetz und Satzung schlafend liegen  
 Gleich einem alten Löwen in der Höhle.  
 Der nicht mehr beißt und raubt. Was soll die Rute  
 Wenn sie die Kinder lachend hängen sehn  
 Und wissen ganz genau, sie hängt zum Schreck  
 Nicht zum Gebrauch da, denn der schwache Vater  
 Schwingt sie wohl drohend manchmal durch die Luft  
 Doch braucht sie nicht. Zum Spott wird da die Rute.

DIREKTOR

Dir lag es ob, mein Fürst, zu ändern und zu strafen.  
 Die Fessel des gebundenen Rechts zu lösen  
 Ein schrecklicherer Richter wärst du selbst  
 Als dieser Angeler.

HERZOG

Zu schrecklich, fürcht ich, da meine Schwäche Freiheit  
 ließ dem Volk  
 Wär's Tyrannei, wollt ich mit Härte strafen  
 Was ich solange erlaubt! Drum, lieber Freund  
 Hab ich auf Angeler dies Amt gelegt  
 Der mag im Schutze meines Namens walten  
 Derweil ich selbst fern von Kampf mich halte  
 Und prüfe, was er tut, und schau ihm zu.  
 Nicht zufällig erschein ich grad bei dir  
 Hier im Gefängnis werd ich alle sehn, die er verurteilt  
 Alle Neubestraften. Denn da er lang sich nach der Macht  
 gesehnt  
 Mag Angeler leicht zu streng als Richter sein  
 Dies werd ich sehen, und sehend will ich lernen  
 Denn das bisher Gelernte reicht nicht mehr.  
 Gib mir ein Amt denn, das mich voll berechtigt  
 Hier im Gefängnis ein und aus zu gehen  
 Bei Tag und Nacht, ohn daß Verdacht mich treffe  
 Der sonst mein Hiersein zwecklos macht.

DIREKTOR

Kein Amt, nur eine Maske brauchen Sie, mein Fürst  
 Ein Kleid, dem sich vertrauensvoll die Menschen nahen  
 Wie wär's als Arzt?

HERZOG

Da ich als Kranker kam  
 Liegt mir als Arzt zu gehn nicht fern  
 Vielleicht, daß in der Maske ich zu heilen lern.

5

KLOSTER

ISABELLA

Und das ist alle Freiheit, die ihr habt?

FRANZISKA

Scheint sie dir zu gering?

ISABELLA

Nicht deshalb frag ich. Ganz im Gegenteil.

Noch abgeschlossener beinah wünscht ich mir

Mein künftig Leben im Santa Clara-Kloster.

STIMME

He! Friede diesem Ort!

ISABELLA

Was ist das? Wer ruft da?

FRANZISKA

Es ist ein Mann. O liebe Isabella

Schließ du ihm auf und frag, was sein Begehrt.

Du kannst es ruhig tun, ich nicht, du schwurst noch  
nicht.

Bist du geweiht, dann sprichst du nie mit Männern

Wenn nicht die Oberin dabei ist. Und auch nur

Wenn du ganz verschleiert bist. Hebst du den Schleier  
hoch

Darfst du nicht sprechen. Er ruft schon wieder!

Ich bitte dich, gib ihm Antwort.

*Verschleiert sich und tritt zurück.*

ISABELLA

Heil und Frieden! Wer ist's, der draußen ruft?

*Eintreten Meixner mit Familie.*

MEIXNER Ich bin der Pächter Meixner auf den von Klausnerschen

Gütern in Niederau. Entschuldigen Sie bitte, daß ich und

meine Frau Sie hier belästigen, aber wir sind in ganz

furchtbarer Bedrängnis. Schon am nächsten Montag sollen

wir von Haus und Hof gejagt werden, weil (1) wir mit dem

Pachtzins und den Steuern im Rückstand sind. Auch konnten

wir die vertraglichen Naturalleistungen nicht aufbringen.

FRAU MEIXNER Und warum nicht? Weil's nicht geht.

ISABELLA

Ich habe mit der Gutsverwaltung nichts zu tun.

Denn das sind Dinge, die mein Bruder ordnet.

MEIXNER Ja, Ihr Herr Bruder -

FRAU MEIXNER - konnte uns nicht sprechen.

MEIXNER Ja, wir sind eigens deshalb in die Stadt gekommen,

um um Stundung zu bitten.

FRAU MEIXNER *korrigiert ihn:* Nachlaß! Stundung hilft doch

nichts.

ISABELLA

Mein Bruder wohnt Schwarzenbergstrasse 8.

FRAU MEIXNER Ja, von seiner Wohnung kommen wir gerade, aber

man hat uns dort gesagt, er ist auf der Polizei. Gerade -!

MEIXNER Ja - gerade -

FRAU MEIXNER Damit Sie sehen, gnädiges Fräulein, wie weit es

mit uns gekommen ist, brauchen wir Ihnen nur zu sagen, daß

unsere Zweitälteste (2) -

MEIXNER - unsere Marianne - sie ist im gleichen Alter wie Sie,

Fräulein, seit dem letzten Frühjahr nicht mehr bei uns

weilt, um dem Hungerleben zu entgehen, hat sie sich hier

in der Stadt bei einer gewissen Frau Ueberley verdingt.

---

1.MS.: wil.

2.MS.: Zweiälteste.

FRAU MEIXNER In einem schlechten Hause.

ISABELLA

Mein Bruder auf der Polizei? Wieso denn?

FRAU MEIXNER Er war auch nicht mehr auf der Polizei.

MEIXNER Er war schon ganz woanders.

FRAU MEIXNER

Wo wir ihn nicht sprechen konnten.

Wenn Sie uns jetzt nicht eine Bescheinigung geben

Daß Sie diesen Monat auf die Pacht verzichten -

Dann weiß ich nicht -

VON LUTZ *von draußen:*

He - Friede diesem Ort!!

PÄCHTERSKIND *von der Mutter gestupst:*

Ach, lieber Herr von Klausner

Erhören Sie unsere Klagen

Tun Sie die guten Eltern nicht

Von Haus und Hof verjagen.

ISABELLA

Ich werde an meinen Bruder schreiben, Kind.

VON LUTZ

He - Friede diesem Ort.

*Franziska bedeutet (1) ihr zu öffnen.*

ISABELLA

Wer ruft? Ich öffne.

VON LUTZ *tritt ein:*

Heil Jungfrau! Sind Sie eine? Doch natürlich

Das sieht man ja. Sind Sie vielleicht so freundlich

Und führn mich zur Novize Isabella

Der schönen Schwester des unselgen Klausner!

ISABELLA

Warum unselgen Klausner, frag ich Sie?

Ich selbst bin Isabella - seine Schwester.

VON LUTZ

O gnädiges Fräulein, Ihr Herr Bruder grüßt Sie

Und - kurz heraus: er sitzt im Staatsgefängnis!!

ISABELLA Mein Gott. Frau Meixner, bitte tun Sie mir die

Liebe und lassen Sie uns jetzt allein. Ich will mir die Sache überlegen.

FRAU MEIXNER Ja, es ist nur der letzte Termin, Fräulein, der allerletzte.

ISABELLA Ich werd's auch meinem Bruder sagen. Sicher. Ich weiß, daß es für Sie sehr wichtig ist.

FRAU MEIXNER Sie werden's sicher nicht vergessen?

ISABELLA Nein. Ich kann jetzt nicht. Sie sehn doch, liebe

Frau. *Die Meixners alle ab.* Im Staatsgefängnis? Sprich?

Für was? O Gott!

VON LUTZ

Für was? Wofür, wenn ich sein Richter wär

Er Dank und keine Strafe sollt empfangen!

Das Mädchen, das er liebt, bekommt ein Kind.

ISABELLA

Soll das ein Scherz sein?

VON LUTZ

Nein, 's ist Wirklichkeit.

ISABELLA

Ein Kind von ihm? am End - Kusine Julia?

VON LUTZ

Ganz recht. Die ist's.

ISABELLA

Die nimmt er gern zur Frau!

VON LUTZ

Ja, wenn's so ging. Doch leider steht's recht schlecht.  
 Der Herzog hat höchst seltsam sich verdrückt  
 Hat seine Freunde sitzen lassen, mich auch  
 Dem er schon längst ein hohes Amt versprach!  
 Nun ja, Versprechungen von hohen Herrn  
 Das kennt man ja - wer lang genug beim Bau ist -  
 An seiner statt herrscht nun mit größter Vollmacht  
 Graf Angeler. Ein Mann, dem wohl statt Blut  
 Eiswasser in den Adern fließt. Dem jeder Sinn  
 Für Vergnügung abgeht, der bewußt  
 Durch Training, Arbeit, Fasten und Studieren  
 Sich abstumpft, um nichts Menschliches zu spüren.  
 Der kramt, um Lust und Freiheit einzudämmen, ein alt  
 Gesetz hervor  
 Gefährlich streng. 's geht plötzlich um Ihres Bruders (1)  
 Kopf.  
 Sofort (2) setzt man ihn fest und schafft ein Beispiel  
 Wie man in Zukunft das Gesetz befolgt.  
 Wir haben keine Hoffnung, wenn nicht Sie, mein Fräulein  
 Durch süßes Flehn den Angeler erweichen.  
 Dies ist's, was ich von Ihrem Bruder Ihnen bestellen  
 sollt.

ISABELLA

So will er ihm ans Leben?

VON LUTZ

Er sprach sein Urteil und gab schon Befehl.

ISABELLA

Gott, was kann denn ich - um ihm zu helfen?

VON LUTZ

Versuchen Sie erst Ihre Macht.

ISABELLA

Die Macht! O ich verzweifle.

VON LUTZ

Zweifel sind Verräter  
 Die uns um manche Möglichkeit betrügen.  
 Durch Scheu vor dem Versuch. Gehn Sie zum Angeler  
 Belehren Sie's ihn, daß, wenn uns Mädchen bitten  
 Wir Männer freigebig wie Götter sind. Wenn sie weinen  
 Wenn sie erst weinend knien, sind ihre Bitten  
 So gut wie schon erfüllt.

ISABELLA

Ich will's versuchen.

VON LUTZ

Doch schnellstens.

ISABELLA

Ja. Sogleich. Nur der Äbtissin meld ich's vorher.  
 Ich danke Ihnen, Herr. Grüßen Sie meinen Bruder.  
 Noch vor Nacht send ich ihm Nachricht, was ich erreicht.

VON LUTZ

Also empfehl ich mich.

ISABELLA

Gut, Herr. Adieu.

---

1.MS.: Brudres.

2.MS.: Spfort.

## Zweiter Akt

1 (1)

ANGELELER

Das Recht darf nicht zur Vogelscheuche werden  
 Die leblos dahängt und nach wenigen Tagen  
 Den Vögeln, die, schnell an ihren Anblick  
 Gewöhnt, zur Ruhstatt wird anstatt zum Schreck!

ESKALER

Gut. Gut. Lasst uns ruhig scharf sein und ein bißchen  
 schneiden.

Nur nicht gleich fällen - töten. Ach, der Herr, für  
 den ich bat

Hat einen feinen Vater. Bedenken Sie, Herr Graf  
 Ich weiß genau (Sie sind so tugendhaft wie kaum ein  
 zweiter)

Ob nicht auch Sie, wenn's grad zusammentrifft  
 Zeit und Gelegenheit - Stimmung und Wunsch -  
 Ob nicht auch Sie, denn mächtig treibt das Blut  
 Und drängt vom Vorsatz weg zu heißen Zielen  
 Ob nicht auch Sie im gleichen Punkt  
 Sich irren könnten, den Sie jetzt verdammen  
 Und selber dem Gesetz verfallen!

ANGELELER

Versuchung fühlen, Eskaler, und straucheln  
 Sind zweierlei! Ich geb es zu: oft sitzt  
 Unter den zwölf Geschworenen bei Gericht  
 Ein Dieb - auch ihrer zwei - die schuldiger sind  
 Als der, den sie verdammen. Nur was der Richter weiß  
 Das richtet er. Sonst nichts. Was kümmert's das Gesetz  
 Daß Diebe über Diebe richten? Klar ist's: die Perle,  
 die man findet

Hebt man auf. Warum? Weil man sie sieht. Was man nicht  
 sieht

Darüber geht man weg und denkt nicht daran.  
 Es ist nicht klug, ihn damit zu entlasten  
 Daß ich vielleicht denselben Fehltritt tu.  
 Nein, lieber sagen Sie, tu ich, wie er  
 Sei auch für mich mein eigenes Urteil bindend.  
 Und nichts begünstige mich! Freund, er muß sterben!!!

ESKALER

Wie Sie entscheiden.

ANGELELER

Sorgen Sie dafür, daß Klausner morgen früh um 9 Uhr  
 stirbt.

Der Geistliche soll heut ihn vorbereiten  
 Auf diesen Endpunkt seiner Pilgerschaft.  
*Angeler ab.*

ESKALER

Nun, Gott vergib ihm. Und uns anderen Menschen auch. Denn:

---

1.MS.: ZWEITER AKT. Erste Szene. (Beginn der  
 Gerichtsszene).

Manch einer kommt zur Macht durch Schmutz und Schutt  
 Manch einer geht durch Anstand schnell kaputt  
 Wer stets den Lastern frönt (1) - den trifft es nicht  
 Wer einmal strauchelt - den packt das Gericht.

ANGELER *zum Richter*: Fangen Sie jetzt an, und Sie wissen:  
 Ich will nichts hören von mildernden Umständen, Vertagen  
 und Bewährungsfristen!  
*Der Richter schellt. Ellbogen kommt mit Herrn von Schwind,  
 von Schaum und Mildner.*

ELLBOGEN Exzellenz, diese zwei Herrschaften und dieser Mann  
 haben sich nach den Buchstaben der neuen Staatsverordnungen  
 strafbar gemacht. Dieser Herr hier hat nämlich gegen diesen  
 Herrn hier Anzeige erstattet, daß dieser Herr mit der  
 Frau jenes Herrn in einem gewissen Haus mit Hilfe jenes  
 gewissen Herrn da etwas getan hat: Das Haus war das  
 Bordell der Frau Ueberley, und Herr von Schaum hat sich  
 mit Frau von Schwind drin getroffen. Sie sind alle sehr  
 verdächtig.

RICHTER Also Sie sind der Mann, der Anzeige erstattet hat.  
 VON SCHWIND Ja.

RICHTER Wie heißen Sie?  
 VON SCHWIND Von Schwind, Hoher Gerichtshof, das schwere  
 Unrecht, das...

RICHTER Halt. Ihr Vorname?  
 VON SCHWIND Ulrich von... mir von diesem Herrn, der bislang  
 mein Freund...

RICHTER Geboren?  
 VON SCHWIND 13. Januar 1845. Meine Frau ist in schwangerem  
 Zustand...

RICHTER Ihr Vater?  
 VON SCHWIND Heinrich Eduard von Schwind.

ELLBOGEN Er ist ein Vetter des berühmten Musikers. Sie  
 wissen schon!

ANGELER *greift wütend ein*: Kommen Sie zur Sache!! Fragen  
 Sie endlich danach, gegen wen und wegen was dieser Mann  
 Anzeige erstattet.

VON SCHWIND Exzellenz, ich bin ein Mann, der aus tiefster  
 sittlicher Überzeugung die verschärften Gesetze über die  
 öffentliche Moral begrüßt, weil ich darin das erste An-  
 zeichen einer moralischen Gesundung der Nation erblicke.  
 In diesem Sinn muß ich, zutiefst (2) entrüstet, Anzeige  
 gegen Frau Maria Ueberley erstatten, welche im Anwesen  
 Bäcker-gasse 14, wie ich mich selbst vergewissern (3)  
 konnte, einen bordellartigen Betrieb aufrechterhält.  
 Leider mußte (4) ich bei dieser persönlichen Augenschein-  
 nahme (ich wollte nämlich dort ein Gläschen Kognak  
 trinken, weil mir schlecht war) die traurige Erfahrung  
 machen, daß dieser Herr dort, Herr von Schaum, wie gesagt  
 bislang ein Freund von mir, sich dort mit einer Dame der  
 Gesellschaft getroffen hat... welche meine Frau ist! *Er  
 schreit*: Meine Frau wußte selbstverständlich nicht, daß  
 das Lokal der Ueberley ein öffentliches Haus ist. Sie  
 wäre sonst nicht hineingegangen.

ELLBOGEN Herr Gerichtsrat - ich habe den Herrschaften lang  
 zugeredet, von einer Anzeige Abstand zu nehmen, aber es

1.MS.: fröhnt.

2.MS.: zu tiefst.

3.MS.: vergewissen.

4.MS.: müßte.

war nichts zu machen.

MILDNER Moment! Ich verklage Sie jetzt, als Geschäftsführer der Frau Ueberley, wegen übler Nachrede. Mein Name ist Mildner, und wir haben eine ordentliche Schankkonzession.

ANGELEER Warten Sie, bis Sie gefragt werden!

VON SCHWIND Meine Frau ist in schwangerem Zustand. Sie werden doch nicht behaupten wollen, daß sie (1) in solchem Zustand in ein solches Haus gegangen wäre, wenn sie (2) gewußt hätte, was für ein Haus es ist!

MILDNER Natürlich werde ich das nicht behaupten!

ELLBOGEN Ich muß feststellen, daß der Herr Mildner das nicht behauptet hat!

MILDNER Ihre Frau ist überhaupt unschuldig an der Sache. Das ist doch klar!

ANGELEER Wir stellen hier fest, wer schuldig ist, um ihn zu bestrafen. Schuldig sind dieser Mann und die Frau dieses Mannes wegen Ehebruchs! Die Frau Ueberley und dieser Mann wegen gewerbsmäßiger Kuppelerei, und Sie?

VON SCHWIND Ich will nichts gesagt haben.

ANGELEER Dann wird geprüft werden, ob bei Ihnen nicht böswillige Verschweigung und Vorschubleistung vorliegt. *Zu von Schaum:* Erkennen Sie an, daß die gegen Sie (3) vorgebrachte Beschuldigung zurecht besteht?

VON SCHAUM Ja, ich bin vollkommen unschuldig. Wenn hier jemand schuldig ist, kann es sich leider nur um die Frau des Klägers handeln, welche mich aufgefordert hat, (wie weit mit Mitwissen ihres Mannes, weiß ich nicht), sie in jenem Haus (von dessen zweideutigem Ruf ich natürlich nichts wußte) zu treffen. - - Was ich jederzeit, auf mein Eid zu nehmen, bereit bin.

VON SCHWIND So, und jetzt verklage ich Sie (4) außerdem noch wegen übler Nachrede, Sie Schwein!!

RICHTER *schüchtern:* Exzellenz, der Fall ist ungeheuer verwickelt. Ich denke, das Beste ist, die Verhandlung zu vertagen!

ANGELEER Hier wird nichts vertagt!

RICHTER Ich gebe nur zu bedenken, daß der Fall unangenehme Folgen hat. Man rührt dabei zuviel Schmutz auf.

ANGELEER Und wenn das ganze Pack ins Gefängnis kommt! Man hat die Augen viel zu lang zgedrückt. Gericht ist wieder Gericht. *Zu Ellbogen:* Sie können diesen Mann abführen. Er ist so gut wie überführt. Lassen Sie auch diese Frau Ueberley verhaften, ihr Inventar beschlagnahmen und ihr Haus schließen.

MILDNER Halt halt halt. Das ist ja ein furchtbarer Mißgriff, der Ihnen, mit Verlaub, da unterläuft, Exzellenz. Einen Moment, Exzellenz, wenn Sie erlauben, werde ich Ihnen den Fall jetzt darstellen, wie er wirklich war. Dieser Herr - *zeigt auf Herrn von Schwind* - geht darauf aus, anständige Leute ins Unglück zu stürzen und Ehen zu zerrütten und noch Schlimmeres. *Zu von Schaum:* Aber Herr von Schaum, geben Sie zu, gegen 5 Uhr in das Haus Bäckergasse Nr. 12 gekommen zu sein.

1.MS.: Sie.

2.MS.: Sie.

3.MS.: sie.

4.MS.: sie.

VON SCHAUM Ja.

MILDNER Sehen Sie, Exzellenz, ich bleibe bei der reinen Wahrheit. Hier wird doch nichts verheimlicht, Exzellenz.  
*Zu von Schaum:* Geben Sie weiterhin zu, von Ihrem Kutscher in die Bäckergasse gefahren worden zu sein... nun?

VON SCHAUM Ja.

MILDNER So, sehen Sie, so kommt die Wahrheit Stück um Stück ans Licht. Sagen Sie nun weiter aus, Herr von Schaum, haben Sie nicht drei Glas Schnaps getrunken, die ich Ihnen selber einschenkte? Erinnern Sie sich genau, Herr, denn ich will nachher nicht als Lügner vor Gericht stehen.

VON SCHAUM Ja.

MILDNER Drei Wahrheiten!! So werden nach und nach alle Schleier von dieser Sache fallen. Sie werden sehen, was an den Tag kommt. Exzellenz, vielleicht viel unangenehmere Geschichten, als Sie erwarten. Zum Beispiel: Trafen Sie nicht die Frau Ministerialrat, nun, wie heißt sie noch gleich - im Gang -

RICHTER Wäre es nicht angetan, weitere Zeugen zu laden, und die Verhandlung zu vertagen?

ANGELER *steht auf:* Sprechen Sie das Urteil an Hand der neuen Gesetze. *Zu Eskaler:* Lieber Herr von Eskaler, leider rufen mich noch andere wichtige Geschäfte, ich bitte Sie, führen Sie den Fall weiter. (1)

ESKALER *zu dem Richter:* Führen Sie jetzt den Fall zu Ende.

RICHTER Das scheint mir nicht so leicht, Herr Hofrat. Es scheinen wirklich schwere Vergehen vorzuliegen, die die Angeklagten vertuschen.

ESKALER Das geht Sie nichts an. Sie müssen mit so einem Fall in zehn Minuten fertig werden - wenn draußen noch andere Parteien stehen. Dafür bekommen Sie Ihr (2) Geld, alles andere ist Ihre (3) Privatsache, mit der Sie andere Leute nicht aufhalten können.

RICHTER Herr Hofrat...

ESKALER Jetzt schauen Sie mir zu, wie man so etwas macht. Sie richten mit Ihrer (4) Fragerei noch das größte Unheil an. Glauben Sie, wir brauchen noch mehr Skandale? Es kommt schon sowieso genug Unnötiges an die Öffentlichkeit. *Zu Mildner:* Also Sie!

MILDNER Wie gesagt, Herr Hofrat, ich sprach gerade von jener kleinen Gesellschaft, die ich in unser Haus Bäckergasse 12, einließ, als dieser Herr Schaum kam. Also Frau Ministerialrat B, Herr General a.D. von S...

ESKALER Mit einem Wort, lieber Mann, Sie (5) behaupten, daß die Anwesenden hier alle unschuldig sind.

MILDNER *lächelnd:* Das ist es, Herr Hofrat. Darauf wollte ich hinaus. Ich halte es fürs beste.

RICHTER Aber vorhin haben Sie doch zugestanden...

ESKALER Seien Sie ruhig. Ich führe den Prozeß. Wenn Sie so alt sind wie ich, dann machen Sie den Mund auf, jetzt passen Sie auf! Also, ich habe aus dem Lauf der Verhandlung auch den Eindruck gewonnen, daß hier durch unglückliche

1. Between this speech and the subsequent stands the following:  
 (Verse).

2.MS.: ihr.

3.MS.: ihre.

4.MS.: ihrer.

5.MS.: sie.

- Zusammentreffen und Irrtümer völlig unschuldige Leute in eine unangenehme Sache gebracht worden sind.
- MILDNER Wir können also gehen?
- ESKALER Was fällt Ihnen (1) ein. Einer muß doch schuldig sein. Sonst heißt's wieder in den Zeitungen, daß das Gericht das Geld der Steuerzahler mit lauter Mißgriffen und Freisprechungen vertut. Besinnen Sie sich, wer eigentlich schuld hat an der Sache. Braucht ja deswegen kein unnötiger Staub aufgewirbelt werden. Vielleicht haben Sie einen Kellner in Ihrem (2) Haus... oder
- MILDNER Herr Hofrat, da muß ich Sie (3) auf einen Umstand aufmerksam machen, der mir gleich von Anfang an als wichtig erschien. Herr Schaum fuhr (4) wie er selbst zugab, mit einem Kutscher (5) in die Bäcker-gasse...
- ESKALER Na also!
- MILDNER Dieser Kutscher hatte sehr wahrscheinlich kupplerische Absichten. Wenn Herr Hofrat gestatten.  
*Er nimmt das Gesetzbuch.* (6)
- ESKALER Bitte.  
*Sie setzen sich zusammen.* (7)
- MILDNER Paragraph 58 vielleicht. Vorschubleistung unter dem Deckmantel eines Dienstverhältnisses.
- ESKALER Nicht übel. Aber ist einfacher, Paragraph 67, gelegentliche Kuppelei und Verführung, unterzulegen. *Zu Ellbogen:* Was warten Sie denn noch. Gehen Sie los, verhaften Sie diesen Kutscher. Bringen Sie ihn (8) her, oder besser, führen Sie ihn sofort ins Gefängnis.
- MILDNER Er hat's lang verdient. Sie haben ganz recht, Paragraph 67 trifft den Nagel auf den Kopf.
- ESKALER  
So streng (9) der Fall ist erledigt.  
Stellen Sie sich wieder hinunter da.  
Sie sind also noch einmal entlassen, - aber a l l e  
Erhalten einen scharfen Verweis. Sie sind alle vorgemerkt  
Und wer sich noch einmal, auch nur das geringste zu  
Schulden kommen läßt, bei dem gibt's nur Köpfen und Hängen.  
Sie können gehen.  
Der Schlendrian wird aufhören.
- RICHTER Herr Hofrat... (10)
- ESKALER *zündet sich eine Zigarre an:* Immer denken bei der Verhandlung. Dort verurteilen, wo es Sinn hat, und sich mit den Gesetzen nicht benehmen wie ein Elefant im Porzellanladen. Man kann alles geschickt und ungeschickt machen. Was in den Verordnungen steht, das wissen wir alle... aber dann muß man auch noch denken. Morgen. *Geht ab.* (11)

- 
- 1.MS.: ihnen.  
2.MS.: ihrem.  
3.MS.: sie.  
4.MS.: führ.  
5.MS.: KUTSCHER.  
6.MS.: (NIMMT DAS GESETZBUCH).  
7.MS.: SETZEN SICH ZUSAMMEN.  
8.MS.: in.  
9.MS.: STRENG.  
10.MS.: hofrat.  
11.After the stage-direction, Emil Burri has added by hand the word "Servus".

2

DIENER

Die Sitzung ist bald aus. Dann kommt er gleich.  
Ich meld Sie an.

ELLBOGEN

Ja, danke.  
*Diener ab.*

Ich muß wissen:

Was will er? Will er wirklich? Kaum doch. Ach?!  
Nicht anders als im Traum tat jener Unrecht  
Ob alt, ob (1) jung - der Allerfrömmste (2) tut's  
Und er soll dafür sterben!

ANGELER *tritt auf:*

Wo ist Eskaler?

DIENER

Noch in der Sitzung.

ANGELER

Hol ihn.  
*Diener ab.*

Nun, mein Lieber?

PROVOST

Soll Klausner wirklich morgen früh sterben?

ANGELER

Hab ich dir's nicht gesagt? Hast du nicht Order?  
Was fragst du?

ELLBOGEN

Nur, um nicht zu rasch zu sein.  
Ich hab's erlebt - doch nicht für ungut, Herr  
Daß nach der Hinrichtung die Herren Richter  
Den Spruch bereuten!

ANGELER

Überlaß das mir!  
Tu, was dir obliegt, oder laß es bleiben!  
Man kann auch dich ersetzen.

DIENER *meldet:*

Herr von Eskaler.

ESKALER

Was gibt's, von Angeler?

ANGELER

Herr von Eskaler? Ich bin nicht mit der Art zufrieden,  
wie man  
Die Dinge ausführt oder nicht ausführt  
Die, lang erwogen, hier beschlossen wurden!  
Die Säuberung im Innern unserer Stadt!  
So nicht, so geht es nicht, von Eskaler.  
Das kennt man schon: was stark von oben  
Ein Strom, der nach der Schmelz von Gebirg  
Ins Tal sollte brausen und die Wiesen reinigen  
Versickert matt, bevor er noch ins Tal kam  
Ein Bach im Steingeröll! Statt, daß die Faust man spürt,  
die zupackt  
Hört man nur von ferne, gänzlich gefahrlos  
Fast zum Spott geworden, zerbrochne Worte, die ein Echo  
lallt.  
Die Penitenz der Ämter, Eskaler, ist unerhört. 's ist  
Sabotage, Eskaler!

---

1.MS.: Ob alt und.

2.MS.: allerfrömmste.

Wenn mir der Apparat, den die Regierung  
Braucht, um Gesetze auszuführen, zu träg wird  
Zerschlag ich ihn mit meiner Faust. Von jetzt ab  
Wird ausgeführt. Ich will nun Taten sehn.

ESKALER

Gut - Taten.

ANGELELER

Herr von Eskaler, ich höre, daß immer noch  
Die öffentlichen Häuser voll in Betrieb stehn!  
Wie erklären Sie das?

ESKALER

Ich werd sie schließen lassen, Herr von Angeler!

ANGELELER

Das ist's, was ich erwarte. Soll das Unkraut  
Durch trübe Nachsicht weiter blühn (1) und wuchern  
Bis unser Acker zum Gespött wird? 's hilft nichts  
Wenn unsere Anschläg auf den Straßen hängen  
Und wen sie treffen sollen, steht davor  
Und liest sie schmunzelnd. Herr von Eskaler  
Wann wird etwas geschehen?

ESKALER

Noch heute.

ANGELELER

Gut denn.  
*Entläßt ihn. Eskaler geht.*

DIENER

Die Schwester des Verurteilten ist draußen  
Und bittet um Audienz.

ANGELELER

Hat er eine Schwester?

PROVOST

Ja, Herr. Ein äußerst tugendhaftes Fräulein  
Grad im Begriff, ins Kloster einzutreten.

ANGELELER

Gut. Führ sie herein.  
*Diener ab.*

PROVOST

Ich gehe, Herr.

ANGELELER

Nein. Du bleibst noch da.  
*Eintritt Isabella und Lutz.*

ANGELELER

Willkommen, gnädiges Fräulein. Bitte.

ISABELLA

Ich komm, ein kummervoller Anwalt, Herr  
Doch bitt ich trotzdem, hörn Sie mich.

ANGELELER

Zur Sache.

ISABELLA

's gibt ein Laster, das ich tief verabscheu.  
Das ich verdammt zu sehn mir sehnlichst wünsch.  
Für das ich niemals eintritt, müßt ich's nicht.  
Für das ich niemals bitten müßt - wär ich nicht  
Im Zwiespalt mit mir - will - will nicht -

ANGELELER

Zur Sache.

ISABELLA

Mein Bruder ist verurteilt. Ich beschwör Sie  
Verdammen Sie den Fehltritt, den er tat

1.MS.: blün.

Doch meinen Bruder nicht  
PROVOST

Herrgott, sie rührt ihn.

ANGELER

Den Fehltritt - nicht den, der ihn tat, verdammen?  
Der Fehltritt ist, bevor man ihn noch tat, verdammt  
schon.

Nein. Mein Amt wär völlig sinnlos, wollt ich die Fehler  
strafen

Wie's Gesetz ist, und ließ die Täter laufen.

ISABELLA

Streng und hart. Und richtig.  
So hatt ich einen Bruder. Gott mit Ihnen.  
*Sie will weg.*

VON LUTZ

Was denn? So schnell? Sofort zurück zu ihm. Und weiter.  
Sie müssen niederknien. Sein Kleid berühren  
Das ist zu kalt so. Viel zu lasch. Als ob Sie  
Um eine Stecknadel bitten, hört sich's an. Zurück doch.

ISABELLA

So muß er wirklich sterben?

ANGELER

's gibt keinen Ausweg, gnädiges Fräulein.

ISABELLA

Doch, 's gibt einen. Ich meine  
Wenn Sie ihn begnadigen wollten  
Denn niemand nähme Ärgernis (1) daran  
Gott nicht. Die Menschen nicht.

ANGELER

Ich will's nicht tun.

ISABELLA

Doch könnten Sie's, wenn Sie nur wollten.

ANGELER

Sehen Sie: was ich nicht will, das kann ich auch nicht  
tun.

ISABELLA

Doch sollten Sie's, denn niemand wär geschädigt.  
Wenn, wenn doch Ihr Herz voll Mitleid schlug für mich  
Wie meins für ihn!

ANGELER

Zu spät. Er ist verurteilt.

VON LUTZ

Noch viel zu stark.

ISABELLA

Zu spät? Warum denn? Nein. Kann man nicht widerrufen  
Das Wort, das man gesprochen? Jeder weiß das, jeder!  
Und jeder weiß, daß keine Pracht, wie sie zum Thron  
gehört

Daß keine Krone und kein Feldherrnschwert  
Kein Marschallstab und kein Talar des Richters  
Nur halb so gut den Menschen zu Gesicht steht  
Wie Gnade! Wär ich an Ihrer Stelle  
Und ich an seiner, möglich auch, Sie irrten  
Doch er - an Ihrer Stell - wär nicht so steinern.

ANGELER

Ich bitte, gehn Sie.

ISABELLA

Hätt ich Ihre Macht und Sie wärn Isabella!  
Stünd's dann so? Nein, zeigen wollt ich, wie ein Richter

Wie ein Gefangner aussieht?

VON LUTZ

Weiter jetzt! So geht es!

ANGELELER

Ihr Bruder ist schon dem Gesetz verfallen!  
Und Sie verschwenden Ihre Worte.

ISABELLA

Weh mir. Verfallen warn wir alle und unsere Seelen  
Bis der, dem höchste Macht gegeben war  
Den Weg zur Rettung fand. Wie stünd's um Sie  
Wollt er - der höchste Richter - so Sie richten  
Wie Sie's hier tun. O daran denken Sie.  
Und Milde würd wie Atem durch die Lippen  
Einströmen in Ihr Herz.

ANGELELER

Mein schönes Fräulein, nicht ich, nein, das Gesetz  
Straft Ihren Bruder. Wär er ein Vetter, Bruder, ja, mein  
Sohn

Es wär nicht anders: er müßt morgen sterben.

ISABELLA

Schon morgen? Nein, das ist zu schnell. Erbarmen!  
Er ist noch nicht bereit. Das Wild selbst, das wir  
schlachten

Hat seine Schonzeit! Sollen wir den Himmel  
Mit weniger Respekt bedienen? O seien Sie gütig!  
Wer mußte je für solch Verbrechen sterben!  
So viele schon begingen's.

VON LUTZ

So ist's richtig.

ANGELELER

Ja, diese vielen hätten's nie begangen  
Wenn gleich der Erste, der sich so verging  
Für seine Tat gebüßt hätt.

ISABELLA

Herr - Erbarmen.

ANGELELER

Erbarmen zeig ich - zeig ich mich gerecht!  
Erbarmen gegen all die Unbekannten  
Die, übt ich heute Nachsicht - später leiden müßten  
Auch gegen ihn, der sein Verbrechen abbüßt  
Und so nicht lebt, ein neues zu begeh'n  
Ich bitt Sie: tragen Sie's gefaßt: denn er muß sterben.

ISABELLA

Weil Sie als Erster dieses Urteil sprechen  
Muß er als Erster sterben. O - großartig!  
Wer eines Riesen Kraft besitzt - doch grausam  
Wer sie auch wie ein Riese braucht.

VON LUTZ

Sehr richtig.

ISABELLA

Der Große gilt, der über Heiliges lacht  
Als geistvoll. Doch beim kleinen heißt's, er lästert.

VON LUTZ

Das ist der rechte Weg. Nur vorwärts so. Nur weiter.

ISABELLA

Beim Hauptmann sagt man: 's war ein zornig Wort  
Doch beim Soldaten heißt's gottverdammtes Fluchen.

VON LUTZ

Wo nimmt sie all das her? Doch weiter.

ANGELELER

Was überhäufst du mich mit tausend Sprüchen?

ISABELLA

Weil, du selbst, wo sie irrt, Autorität  
 Stark wie ein Balsam offene Wunden heilt.  
 Mit Haut die Laster zudeckt. Gehn Sie in sich.  
 Hier-klopfen Sie - ob nichts im Herzen wohnt  
 Was meines Bruders Fehltritt ähnlich sieht  
 Denn finden Sie ein Gran nur seiner Schwäche  
 Dann darf kein Wort mehr über Ihre Lippen  
 Das meines Bruders Tod verlangt.

ANGELEER

Sie spricht, und 's steckt ein Sinn dahinter, der mich  
 anweht.

Leben Sie wohl.

ISABELLA

Nein, bleiben Sie, mein Herr.

ANGELEER

Ich überleg mir's. Kommen Sie morgen wieder.

ISABELLA

Ich muß Sie noch bestechen. Warten Sie.

ANGELEER

Was, mich bestechen?

ISABELLA

Ja, mit Gebet.  
 Das auf zum Himmel schwebt und Einlaß findet  
 Vom ersten Sonnenstrahl! Gebet der Seelen  
 Die sich kastein und rein sind, abgekehrt von  
 Allem Zeitlichen.

ANGELEER

Gut. Kommen (1) Sie morgen zu mir.

VON LUTZ

Jetzt Schluß! 's ist gut. Wir gehn.

ISABELLA

Der Himmel segne Ihre Hoheit.

3

*Vor Frau Ueberleys Bordell in der Bäckergasse. Mädchen, Mildner und Polizisten tragen Betten und Mobiliar in das gegenüberliegende Haus.*

ESKALER zu *Frau Ueberley*: Also, Frau Ueberley, ich will hoffen, daß jetzt die Klagen aufhören. Es ist doch unmöglich, daß Sie am hellen Tage hier Ihr (1) Gewerbe ausüben

FRAU UEERLEY Wofür halten Sie mich denn, Herr Hofrat?

ESKALER Ich hoffe, daß Sie die Schließung Ihres (2) bisherigen Etablissements nicht nur als Formsache betrachten.

FRAU UEERLEY Ganz im Gegenteil, Herr Hofrat.

ESKALER ... daß es sich hier nicht um etwas Äußerliches handelt. Und der alte Betrieb unter einem neuen Firmenaufdruck irgendwo anders weitergeht.

*Zwei Polizisten tünchen das gegenüberliegende Haus. Zum Schluß hängen sie das Schild davor auf: Türkisches Bad. Beim Tünchen singen sie das Lied von der Tünche.*

POLIZISTEN

Ist wo etwas faul und rieselt's im Gemäuer

Dann ist's nötig, daß man etwas tut

Und die Fäulnis wächst so ungeheuer

Wenn das einer sieht, das ist nicht gut.

Da ist schon wieder ein neuer

Fleck am Gemäuer!

Das ist nicht gut! (Gar nicht gut!)

Da ist Tünche nötig! Tünche ist da nötig!

Wenn der Saustall einfällt, ist's zu spät!

Gebt uns Tünche, und wir sind erbötig

Alles so zu machen, daß es noch mal geht.

Gebt uns Tünche, macht doch kein  
Geschrei

An uns fehlt es nicht, wir sind  
bereit!

Gebt uns Tünche, dann wird alles  
neu

Und dann habt ihr eure (3) neue  
Zeit!

*Oben liegen verwahrloste Leute in den verwahrlosten Hausteilen und ausgebrochenen Fenstern und brüllen herunter:*

Sieh! Da ist was faul! Da rieselt's im Gemäuer!

Ist das denn nicht möglich, daß man da was tut?!

Sieh!! Die Fäulnis wächst so ungeheuer!

Wenn uns einer sieht, das ist nicht gut!

(Gar nicht gut!!)

FRAU UEERLEY Es wird schon Herbst, Herr Hofrat.

HERZOG *der abseits steht, winkt ein Mädchen mit dem Stock her:* Handelt es sich hier um die Schließung der öffent-

1.MS.: ihr.

2.MS.: ihres.

3.MS.: Eure

lichen Häuser?

MÄDCHEN Ja, wir müssen bis heute um elf Uhr das Haus geräumt haben. Wollten Sie uns besuchen?

HERZOG Ja, es ist doch verboten.

MÄDCHEN Ja, ja.

HERZOG Ist es denn nicht schlimm für Sie alle?

MÄDCHEN Es kostet halt alles so viel Geld. Es muß alles ganz neu tapeziert werden, in einen solchen Saustall konnten wir doch nicht hineinziehen. Es war ein Einfamilienhaus.

ELLBOGEN *Kommt herüber zu Frau Ueberley:* Ich mache Sie darauf aufmerksam, Frau Ueberley, daß sich in Ihrem neuen Etablissement keinerlei Badegelegenheit gefunden hat.

FRAU UEBERLEY Es ist ja ein türkisches Bad, Herr Inspektor.

ESKALER Ich muß Sie ersuchen, die Bevölkerung nicht überflüssig zu schikanieren, Herr Inspektor.

ELLBOGEN Zu Befehl, Herr Hofrat.

ESKALER Servus. *Geht ab.*

*Die Sitzbadewanne wird vorbeigetragen.*

FRAU UEBERLEY *vorwurfsvoll zu Ellbogen:* Das ist wohl keine Badegelegenheit!

ELLBOGEN Frau Ueberley, wenn ich mir sagen lassen muß, ich schikaniere die Leute, dann schmeiße ich die Sache hin.

FRAU UEBERLEY Sie wissen, Herr Inspektor, daß ich Ihnen jederzeit bestätigen werde, daß Sie Ihre reine Pflicht getan haben.

ELLBOGEN *zu den Polizisten:* Seid Ihr fertig?

*Die Polizisten wischen sich den Schweiß ab, bekommen Flaschenbier und von der Ueberley persönlich Zigarren.*

POLIZISTEN Ja.

ELLBOGEN *geht in das alte Haus:* Bitte übergeben Sie mir jetzt die Schlüssel, Ueberley. *Er haut die Türe zu, schließt ab, versiegelt die Türe.* Ich mache Sie darauf aufmerksam, daß jede Verletzung dieses Siegels schwere Strafe nach sich zieht. Ihr Bordellbetrieb ist hiermit laut Paragraph 5 der Verordnung Nr. 37 polizeilich geschlossen.

FRAU UEBERLEY Ist recht, Herr Ellbogen. *Beim Hineingehen in das neue Haus zum Herzog:* Guten Abend, Herr Baron. Kleiner Abendspaziergang? *Ab.*

*Ein Mädchen kommt aus dem "Türkischen Bad".*

MÄDCHEN *zum Herzog:* Jetzt können Sie hereinkommen. *Herzog lacht schallend.*

Dritter Akt (?)

(Scene number not indicated by Brecht) (1)

ESKALER Frau Ueberley, es geht nicht mehr anders, wir müssen Sie in Haft nehmen. Machen Sie keine Geschichten, Seien Sie vernünftig, es wird den Kopf nicht kosten, aber rein müssen Sie. Es muß leider durchgegriffen werden.

FRAU UEBERLEY Herr Eskaler, ich verstehe Sie nicht. Sie, ein vernünftiger Mensch, kommen mir mit sowas! Sie sehen doch, daß ich alle Hände voll zu tun habe. Ich habe einfach die Zeit nicht.

ESKALER Also, Frau Ueberley, es nützt nichts, reden Sie nicht, ich mache das nicht gern, es ist ein Blödsinn, aber die Volkswut will ein Opfer haben, und da müssen Sie eben die Unbequemlichkeit auf sich nehmen. (2)

(Scene number not indicated by Brecht) (3)

FRAU UEBERLEY *zum Herzog*: Ich verstehe Herrn von Eskaler nicht. Was er macht, ist mir ganz unverständlich.

HERZOG Wieso? Kennen Sie ihn doch so genau?

FRAU UEBERLEY Natürlich. Er kam doch immer zu mir. Daß (4) der jetzt gerade durchgreift -

HERZOG Ja, was hat denn das damit zu tun -

FRAU UEBERLEY Bei mir bekam er immer die Vierzehnjährigen -

HERZOG Das macht er?

FRAU UEBERLEY Jawohl, das macht er.

HERZOG Aber das ist ja unerhört?

FRAU UEBERLEY Wieso denn? Das ist besser für die, als wenn die Kinder arbeiten müssen, dafür bekommen sie doch Hungerlöhne, die armen Würmer.

*Herzog schweigt betreten.*

1. The extant fragment bears the title: "Frau Ueberleys Verhaftung".

2. The text concludes with the following direction: "(Zum Schluß verlassen die Ueberleys und P. Mildners das Land, weil man darin nicht leben kann. Einmal so, einmal so; immer was anderes und dazu noch die vielen Sorten Steuern usw., da kann man nur auswandern)".

3. The fragment has the following title: "Die Geste des Aufräumens wird vom Herzog gebilligt".

4. MS.: das.

## Vierter Akt (1)

## 1 (2)

ANGELELER Schon (3) vor einer halben Stunde gab ich die Anweisung, daß man Herrn von Eskaler sofort hierher holen sollte.

Wieso ist er nun noch nicht hier?

DIREKTOR Er muß jeden Augenblick hier sein. Herr von Eskaler ist ins Gefängnis gefahren, da dauert's etwas länger.

ANGELELER So. Auch Sie scheinen sich sehr sicher zu fühlen, Direktor, auch Sie scheinen es nicht genau damit zu nehmen, daß meine Anweisungen prompt ausgeführt werden. Aber merken Sie sich, auch Sie sind ersetzbar.

*Eskaler erscheint.*

ESKALER Wo brennt's?

ANGELELER Jetzt ist es genug, Herr von Eskaler. Ich enthebe Sie mit dem heutigen Tag Ihres Amtes als oberster Richter. Sie wissen schon, warum.

ESKALER Nein, aber es würde mich interessieren, das zu erfahren - ich bin mir keiner Schuld bewußt.

ANGELELER So. Und was ist mit der Schließung des Hauses der Frau Ueberley? Es sollte geschlossen werden! Es ist ein Skandal!

ESKALER Es wurde auch geschlossen, sogar in meinem Beisein, ich selbst habe es mir nicht nehmen lassen, trotz der ungeheueren Überlastung, darüber zu wachen, daß dieser Sumpf verschwindet. Kann ich dafür, wenn die Frau versucht, ihr (4) altes Gewerbe unter anderm Schild wieder zu betreiben? Ich frage Sie, kann ich dafür? Wir Beamten haben infolge der sich jagenden Verordnungen derart viel zu tun, daß es ganz unmöglich ist, alles zu sehen. Sie sagen mir übrigens nichts Neues, ich selbst erfuhr bereits heute morgen, daß Frau Ueberley es fertig gebracht hat, unter dem Namen Türkisches Bad ihren alten Betrieb weiterzuführen, ich eilte, um ihre sofortige Verhaftung zu veranlassen, wahrscheinlich sitzen sie und ihr sauberer Geschäftsführer bereits hinter Schloß und Riegel. Ich muß mich sehr wundern, von Angeler - Ihre (5) Verdächtigungen -

ANGELELER Und was ist mit den Haftbefehlen gegen die Herren XYZ, die Sie wieder aufgehoben haben. Die sitzen vielleicht auch schon hinter Schloß und Riegel?

ESKALER Ganz richtig, die sitzen im Untersuchungsgefängnis und erwarten ihre Aburteilung -

ANGELELER Was Sie da treiben, ist Sabotage, Sabotage gemeinster Art. Raubbau am Volk. Wenn der Herzog zurückkommt, ist nichts geschehen, alles beim Alten, Sumpf auf der ganzen Linie und kein Geld in den Kassen. Und Sie, der oberste Richter, leisten der Unmoral und den Vergehen und den

1. The following handwritten material succeeds the act-heading:  
"a) Eskaler wird wegen Sabotage entlassen!"
2. Brecht has not indicated that this is in fact the first scene of Act Four, but its designation as such is strictly in accordance with the plans of the Vienna version. This is also the case with Act Four, Scene Two.
3. The following precedes "Schon": "(Verse)".
- 4.MS.: Ihr.
- 5.MS.: ihre.

Übertretungen Vorschub. Ihr Fall ist einzig in der Geschichte unserer Nation.

ESKALER Von Angeler, Sie vergessen sich! Sind Sie sich dessen bewußt, was Sie reden?

ANGELER Ich bin mir dessen voll und ganz bewußt, Sie sind ein Verräter des Landes, wir wollten die Moral in diesem Lande wieder aufrichten, und nicht nur aus moralischen Gründen, wie Sie sehr wohl wissen, und Sie, Sie, ich finde keine Worte - wir brauchen Geld, Herr von Eskaler, das haben Sie vergessen. Haben Sie die Stiftungen eingekassiert von den Herren ABC? Sie versprachen, jeder mit einer besonderen Stiftung dem Defizit des Lands zu steuern, das Geld sollte schon längst in der Regierungskasse liegen, auch wollten einige der Herren sich bei ausländischen Freunden bemühen. 's ist schon Geld da, und sprachen Sie mit dem Präsidenten der Finanzabteilungen über die neuen Steuern für die Kleinbetriebe? Wo waren Sie, Herr von Eskaler, als man Sie brauchte?

ESKALER Ich führte Ihre Gesetze aus, Herr von Angeler. Hier die Listen der Inhaftgenommenen. Die Schnellgerichte arbeiten schon, ich hoffe, daß alle den gerechten Lohn finden! Hier - Herr von A, in Haft genommen wegen ... usw. Es sind noch nicht alle!

ANGELER *nimmt die Liste und erbleicht:* Sie sind entlassen, Eskaler! Das ist ja ungeheuerlich.

ESKALER Ich nehme Kenntnis von meiner Beurlaubung bis zur Rückkehr des Herzogs!

ANGELER Entlassen!! Entlassen!!

ESKALER Guten Morgen.

ANGELER Jetzt nimm deinen Lauf, Gerechtigkeit. (1)

ESKALER Nichtunangenehm ist's mir, den Urlaub anzutreten an dem Tage, wo mein Amt mich anfängt zu erdrücken. Machen Sie es allein, Exzellenz, mit diktatorischer Gewalt. Wenn die Gerechtigkeit ihren Lauf nimmt, ist's bald aus.

2 (2)

FRAU UEBERLEY *als der Herzog rast:*

Das ist sehr bedenklich.

EINER Was? Sie sagen doch auch kaltes Wasser.

Der gehört in ein Irrenhaus, Mensch, wenn ich so Paragraph 51 hätte

Wie der, hätte ich meinem Rechtsanwalt nie Sorgen gemacht. (3)

FRAU UEBERLEY

Das ist in (4) anderer Beziehung bedenklich.

Der Mann benimmt sich immer mehr wie ein wirklicher Herzog.

Vorhin war er ganz normal.

Der leistet sich einen Privatwahnsinn.

Da gab's einen König, der ließ sich Felsengrotten bauen und

Magisch beleuchten, dann setzte er sich auf einen elektrisch

1. The following stage-direction precedes Angeler's speech: "(spricht Verse; das Gute, das sich ins Böse verkehrt,)"
2. The fragment is headed "4 Akt".
3. The following handwritten material concludes the line: "H.2 Verse an die Tür schlagend..."
- 4.MS.: ein.

Getriebenen Kahn, der auf einem künstlichen Teich  
 schwamm, und - dachte  
 Dachte! Dachte so über alles nach. Über die Welt,  
 die Menschen  
 Dachte, wie ein andrer Holz hackt.  
*Mildner lacht furchtbar.*  
 Wer so was tut, ist meindestens Landesfürst -  
 Jedem andren würde man den Arsch vollhauen.

EINER

Der Mann ist wahnsinnig, liebe Frau.

FRAU UEBERLEY

Ich weiß nicht. Es kann ja sein, daß er wirklich  
 wahnsinnig ist  
 Und kein Herzog. Dann hat er zum mindesten (1) Geld  
 wie Heu.  
 Denn so was hätten ihm  
 Die Kassenärzte aber unter allen Umständen ausge-  
 trieben

EINER

Ist ja Unsinn, was Sie (2) sagen.

FRAU UEBERLEY

Mein lieber (3) Herr, ich, mit dreißigjähriger  
 Bordellerfahrung  
 Weiß, auf was Leute kommen, die keine Sorgen haben.  
 Das  
 Können Sie (4) mir glauben.  
 Der ist ein Jemand, verlassen Sie (5) sich drauf.  
*Geht zum Herzog.*  
 Was ist denn los, lieber Herr.  
 Ja, haben Sie (6) das anders erwartet?

3

*Vorzimmer*

DIENER *läßt Isabella herein:*

Hier, Fräulein! Und verstand ich recht? Sie sagten,  
 Sie sind

Hierher bestellt?

ISABELLA Ganz recht, so sagt ich!

Von Herrn von Angeler!

DIENER

Ganz recht! Was frag ich!!

1.MS.: mindestens.

2.MS.: sie.

3.MS.: leiber.

4.MS.: sie.

5.MS.: sie.

6.MS.: sie.

Ich geh und meld Sie gleich! Ist's nicht schon spät?  
's schlug grade Mitternacht! Ich geh jetzt!

ISABELLA

*Diener geht.*

Danke!

Für was denn dank ich ihm? Weil er die Tür mir  
Zu höchst verdammter Nacht aufschloß. Und führt mich  
Die dunkle Trepp hinauf - zu dunkler Tat!  
Ja, spät - denn blieb ich reglos auch wie Stein -  
Und ohnedasß ein Wort, ein Blick, ein Lächeln  
Mich selbst dran mahnt, daß ich noch lebe, - kalt,  
Als ob ich tot wär! - blieb es dennoch Tat!  
Nicht seine! Meine! Mir wird sie gebucht!  
Denn schlimmer hier als tun ist lassen! Bist Du's?  
O Isabella? War's Dein Geist nur, der  
Sich durch die Gassen schlich - geduckt - im Schatten  
Daß ihn kein Mondlicht träf? Ist schon der Weg  
So schreckhaft, den Du gingst - wie erst sein Ende!!  
*Frau Ueberley, mit der verhüllten Marianne, tritt ein.*

FRAU UEBERLEY

Es ist seltsam genug - sag ich, daß die Tür offenstand -  
Die Diener sind hier eben nicht geschult, wie bei mir!

Mir

Sollte einer mit offenen Türen kommen! Anzeigen würd ich  
Den Kerl sofort - wegen Unanständigkeit! Aber wenn  
Auch die Tür offenstand - so ist das noch lange kein  
Grund, zögernd davor stehen zu bleiben! Zögern ist  
Auch nicht immer vornehm.

*Zu Marianne:*

Sprich nicht so viel, hörst Du? Das Entscheidende in  
Allen entscheidenden Augenblicken des Lebens ist, daß  
Man sein Maul hält. Nur wenn einem gar nichts mehr  
einfällt

Soll man reden! Solange einem aber noch das Geringste  
Einfällt, behält man's besser für sich!

*Sie sieht Isabella. Isabella wendet sich ab.*

Steht da nicht jemand? Warum drehen Sie sich um  
Fräulein? Ach so! Merkwürdig - wie unverständlich diese  
Schamhaftigkeit berührt. Wenn man erst einmal weiß  
Daß alle diese Gesten nichts anderes sind als  
Ein Sprungbrett, das uns die Natur so hilfreich unter  
Die Füße schiebt, um uns den Sprung übers Seil  
Zu erleichtern! Erst einmal geschämt, dann springt  
Man gleich dreimal so hoch! He - schönes Fräulein!

*Der Diener kommt.*

DIENER

Graf Angeler läßt bitten, Fräulein.

ISABELLA

Danke!

*Sie wischt sich die Tränen ab.*

FRAU UEBERLEY *erkennt Isabella:*

Was denn, Sie? Das kann doch nicht  
Ihr Ernst sein!

Das wäre ja der reine Brudermord!

ISABELLA

Wer sind Sie? Schickt mein Bruder Sie? Zu spät.

FRAU UEBERLEY *zum Diener:* Sie sehen, ich kenne diese Dame.

Ich bitte Sie also um Gotteswillen - lassen Sie mich  
einen Augenblick mit ihr allein. Es handelt sich um

Dinge von geradezu grundsätzlicher Wichtigkeit! Mensch, stieren Sie mich nicht so an. Habt Ihr denn gar keine Manieren hier? Wißt Ihr nicht einmal, was Ihr einer Dame schuldig seid, die Euch bittet, allein gelassen zu werden! Und das soll ein tonangebendes Haus sein?!  
 DIENER *vollkommen verdattert*: Ich bitte um Verzeihung.  
*Geht.*

FRAU UEBERLEY zu *Isabella*: Ihr Taschentuch, Fräulein. Mit verheulten Augen hineinzugehen, ist wirklich zwecklos, Fräulein. Sie werden einsehen, daß ich Ihnen das nicht gut vor dem Bedienten sagen konnte. Das hätte leicht als Taktlosigkeit gedeutet werden können. Nein - was man tut, muß man richtig tun. Nehmen Sie mal vor allen Dingen den Mantel ab. Der erschwert Ihnen jede Bewegung. Marianne! *Sie gibt Marianne den Mantel mit heimlichem Zeichen, ihn anzuziehen.* Und die Haare - mein Gott! Hier, nehmen Sie meinen Kamm. Religiosität ist gewiß etwas sehr Schönes, aber kein ausreichender Grund dafür, daß man die Strähnen bis auf die Nase herunterhängen hat. Die Haube - Marianne! *Sie gibt sie ihr mit der Anweisung, sie aufzusetzen.* Vor allen Dingen hören Sie auf zu weinen! Ein Mensch, der sich selbst so leid tut, hat auch nicht den geringsten Anspruch mehr auf das Mitgefühl seiner Mitmenschen! *Sie gibt Marianne das Zeichen, hineinzugehen.* Interessant! Die Idee, daß Sie in Ihrer Schwesterntracht hierherkommen, mitten in der Nacht, hätte ich allerdings als frech und unwahrscheinlich abgelehnt! Dabei hat das natürlich gerade seinen gewissen Reiz! *Zu Marianne, die gerade hineinverschwindet:* Mach die Tür zu! Unsereins ist eben noch immer viel zu primitiv, um hinter all die Schliche zu kommen, die sich die rauhe Wirklichkeit aus Laune austüftelt!! Schwesterntracht - das ist direkt eine Nuance! Meine Köchin wird's haut-gout nennen! Ihr Taschentuch! So! *Sie wischt ihr Gesicht ab.* Jetzt aber Schluß mit den Tränen der Einfalt! Es ist gewiß sehr beklagenswert, daß die Tugend zu nichts nutze ist! Umso mehr muß die Fassade in Takt gehalten werden. *Der Diener kommt zurück.* Da sind Sie ja schon wieder, Mensch! Sollte ich Sie ohne mein Wissen gerufen haben? Denn daß Sie hereintreten - ohne daß man Sie ruft - ist für einen Menschen mit guter Kinderstube glatt unvorstellbar.  
*Es schallt.*

DIENER Einen Augenblick!

FRAU UEBERLEY Bitte! Uns hat's nicht pressiert. *Diener geht.*

Was suchen Sie?

ISABELLA Die Haube!

FRAU UEBERLEY Um Gotteswillen - dann ging die ganze Frisur zum Teufel!! Weinen Sie nicht! Über eine rote Nase hilft auch die schönste Tugend nicht weg! Hier - Puder!

DIENER *kommt zurück*: Ich muß die Damen bitten, morgen wiederzukommen. Für die nächsten fünf Stunden ist Exzellenz besetzt!

ISABELLA Was denn? Er bat mich selbst hierherzukommen!?

DIENER Exzellenz ist gerade heute besonders stark in Anspruch genommen!

ISABELLA Das heißt - mein Bruder stirbt! Ich muß hinein!

DIENER Ich habe ausdrücklichen Befehl, niemanden hineinzulassen!

ISABELLA Ich muß! Ich muß! Ich bitt Dich! Laß mich zu ihm!  
Hier, nimm das letzte, was ich hab - die Nadel -

DIENER Ich bin nicht bestechlich, Fräulein!

FRAU UEBERLEY Warum diese Exaltiertheit, Fräulein? Das kann Sie noch in die größten Unannehmlichkeiten bringen, wenn Sie an den Unrechten geraten! Der Mann hier ist, wie er selbst zugibt, nicht bestechlich! Er hat also keinerlei Grund, aufzubrausen! Aber kommen Sie mal an einen, der bestechlich ist!

ISABELLA Weh mir! Er will mich nicht! Zu spät! Mein Bruder!  
*Sie bricht heulend vor der Tür zusammen.*

DIENER *indem er alle Kerzen löscht, bis auf eine:* Ich muß jetzt leider die Damen herunterbringen!! Exzellenz hat strikte Order gegeben!

FRAU UEBERLEY *Isabella aufhebend:* Glauben Sie mir, Fräulein, wenn Sie in diesem Zustand zu Herrn von Angeler gegangen wären, das wär eine glatte Katastrophe geworden!! Erstens hätte der Herr wirklich kein Vergnügen davon gehabt. Beim besten Willen nicht! Zweitens aber: wäre dann Ihr Herr Bruder natürlich doch geköpft worden! Warum also, ich bitt Sie!! Bloß, weil Sie sich's in den Kopf gesetzt haben, daß es nun gerade heute sein muß!! Unsinn!

DIENER Bitte, meine Damen!!

FRAU UEBERLEY Ja! Ich wünscht nur, Ihr Herr Chef könnt einmal zusehen, lieber Freund, wie's in der Wirklichkeit zugeht! Da heißt's immer Reform! Reform! - Jawohl! - Am grünen Tisch! Wo denn sonst noch? Nicht mal die Jugend läßt sich reformieren! Solang's noch Jungfra'n gibt, bleibt alles beim Alten! Sie weinen, wenn sie ihre Tugend verlieren! Sie weinen, wenn sie ihre Tugend behalten!  
*Sie gehen.*

ANGELER *Marianne verfolgend, die in seltsamem Zustand hereinhuscht und schnell die letzte Kerze auslöscht, so daß es stockfinster ist:* Enteile nicht! O Nymphe - Deine Keuschheit ist keuscher jetzt noch, da sie mich erhöht, und macht mich zweifach toll! Denn nie geschah mir's, daß mich Erfüllung glühender entzündet als die Begierd', die nach Erfüllung schrie! O bleib! Versteck dich nicht! Ist auch die Scheu, die vor Berührung flieht, kostbarstes Wunder, denn keiner Dirne wilder Liebeskuß schmeckt halb so süß als Dein verschämt Sichsträuben!!  
Du Heilige, die Reinheit strömt aus Dir  
Und färbt die Schlachtbank weiß und hebt in Wolken den sünd'gen Leib, der dampfend bei Dir liegt!  
Ich küsse Deinen Fuß! O bleibe! Laß mich!  
Dein Bruder lebt! Hörst Du mich, Isabella?  
Sag ja!

MARIANNE

Ja, Herr!

ANGELER

Wenn Du zum Richtplatz gehst  
Hör zu, in aller Früh, um fünf schon! Hörst Du?

MARIANNE

Ja, Herr!

ANGELER

Denn dazu ist's zu spät, daß jetzt noch Papier und Schrift zur Nacht den Richtspruch ändert  
Nein, weil Du mich im Stillen hast erhört  
Will ich vor tausend Zeugen Dich erhören!  
Drum merk es Dir genau, um fünf, am Richtplatz

Dort fällst Du auf die Knie, die Trän' im Auge  
Und flehst mich an, hörst Du mich, Isabella?

MARIANNE

Ja, Herr!

ANGELELER

Du rufst und schreist und weinst zugleich:  
"O Gnade! Gnade! Rette meinen Bruder!"  
Und wenn ich hart bleib, denn nicht allzuschnell  
Nein, äußerst langsam muß mein Sinn sich wenden, sonst  
Wirkt's nicht glaubhaft, fährst Du bittend fort:  
"Mein Bruder darf nicht sterben! Was er tat, ein  
Fehltritt war's nicht Sünde! Gnade! Gnade!"  
Hörst Du mich, Isabella?

MARIANNE

Ja.

ANGELELER

Im Staub das Haar wie Wind im Wasserfall, so licht  
Um Brust, um Schulter, und den Rücken spritzend  
Seh ich den zarten Leib vor mir sich windend  
Was ich erfüllt im Dunkel, fühlt mein Blick  
Abtastend wieder, und ich hol den Bruder, gerührt  
Durch solches Leid, vom Richtblock weg!  
Welch' tränenselig Fest des Wiedersehens!!  
*Man hört eine Tür gehen.*

War das die Tür?

Wo bist Du, Isabella?

Sag mir ein Wort! Ich spür nicht Deinen Atem!

Wo? Isabella!!

*Er rennt hinaus, kommt mit einem Licht zurück.*

Fort! Weg! Franz! Wo steckt Ihr?!

*Zu den Dienern:*

Durchsucht das Haus! Die Gänge! Überall!!

Laßt keine Maus hinaus! Die Wache! Vorwärts!

Nein! Halt! Was steht Ihr?! Bringt mir die Papiere!

Mehr Licht! Das heißt am falschen Fleck gespart!

Ihr seht doch, daß ich schreiben will! Das Urteil!

Wo ist das Urteil! Glotzt mich nicht so an!!

Ach, daß man stets umringt ist von Idioten!!

Nun, geht schon! Du nicht! Du, Franz, weißt von

Nichts, hast niemanden, der bei mir war, gesehn!

Weck mich um vier! Ich muß in aller Früh

Eh' noch der Hahn kräht - auf - zum Richtplatz gehn!

*Er schreibt.*

Der arme Klausner tut mir leid! Vielleicht

Daß meine Strenge doch der Gnade weicht!!

4 (1)

FRAU UEBERLEY

Wenn einer nichts machen kann, und er macht wirklich  
nichts

1. A handwritten "4" appears at the end of this fragment, which, according to the second plan, immediately follows the substitution scene (Scene Three).

Dann ist das ein Grad von Weisheit, der selten ange-  
troffen wird. (1)

Johann Gottlieb Korrup, der Erfinder der Korruption.

Da sprach Hans Gottlieb Korrup

Ja, ja, das seh ich schon

Da muß man was erfinden

Und erfand die Korruption (2)

- 
1. This fragmentary speech by Frau Ueberley, not necessarily the opening speech of the scene, concludes with "wie er".
  2. This is clearly a draft of the ballad meant to be sung by the inmates of the prison (Cf. above, p. 75).

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Mappe 254 Reich und reich gesellt sich gern. Nach Shakespeare.

Mappe 255 Die Rundköpfe und die Spitzköpfe oder Reich und reich gesellt sich gern. Dem Stück liegt die Fabel von Shakespeares 'MaB für MaB' zugrunde. Mit einer Musik von Hanns Eisler.

Mappe 256 Die Spitzköpfe und die Rundköpfe. Nach Motiven aus Shakespeares 'MaB für MaB'.

Mappe 257 Die Rundköpfe und die Spitzköpfe. Mit einer Musik von Hanns Eisler.

Mappe 259 Die Rundköpfe und die Spitzköpfe (C).

Mappe 260 Die Spitzköpfe und die Rundköpfe oder Reich und reich gesellt sich gern.

Mappe 261 Die Spitzköpfe und die Rundköpfe oder Reich und reich gesellt sich gern.

Mappe 262 Bearbeitung MaB für MaB - 1 -.

Mappe 264 Bearbeitung MaB für MaB - 3 -.

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