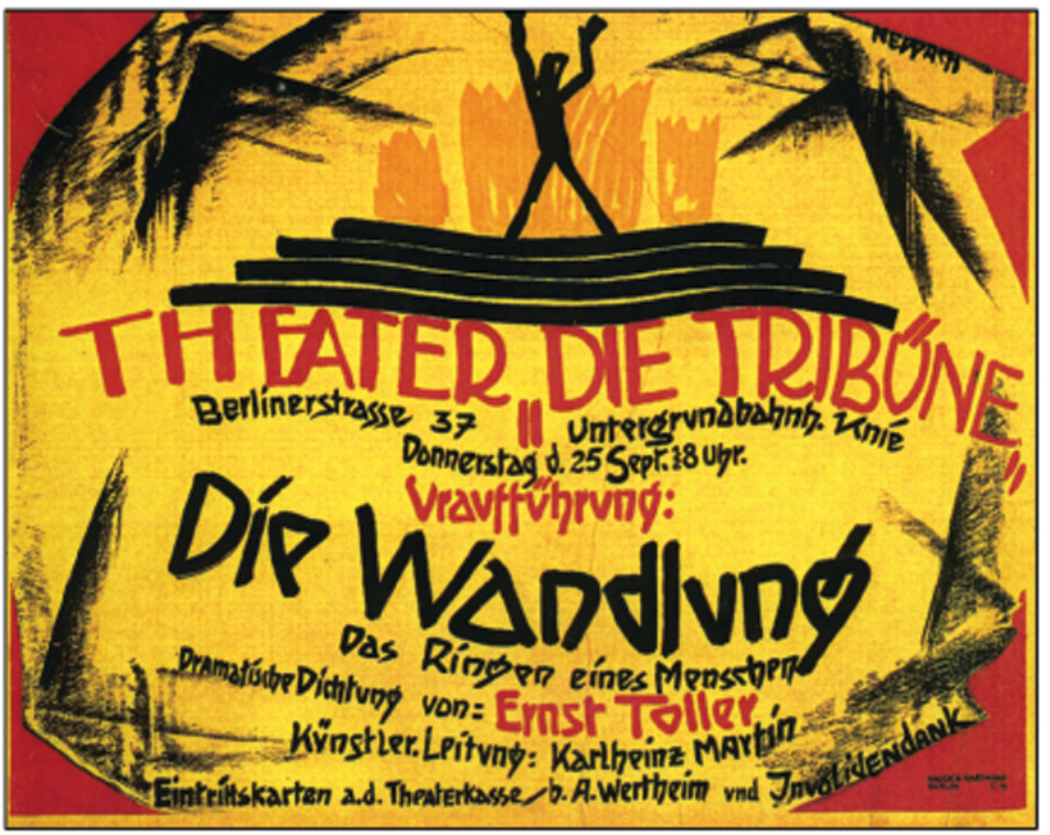
THE PLAYS OF
ERNST TOLLER

A REVALUATION

CECIL DAVIES



THE PLAYS OF ERNST TOLLER

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THE PLAYS OF ERNST TOLLER

A REVALUATION

Cecil Davies

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Franc Chamberlain

Portrait of Toller by Eugen Spiro, 1930.

LIST OF PLATES

(Between pp. 263–264)

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I am grateful to Edward Mendelson, Literary Executor of The Estate of W. H. Auden, for granting non-exclusive permission to reproduce the lyrics from *No More Peace* included in Appendix G. These lyrics are copyright by the Estate of W. H. Auden. I have been unable to trace the executor of Herbert Murrill, composer of the settings of the lyrics.

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If I have omitted anyone, I hope they will forgive me. But I must add to this list my wife, Marian, who has cheerfully tolerated my absorption in this work during years when she had every right to expect me to be virtually free of academic study.

I

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

It is now over half a century since the death of Ernst Toller, and 1993 has seen the centenary of his birth (1). It is an appropriate time to attempt to assess afresh his stature as man and writer. The present book has the more limited objective of re-examining his achievement as a dramatist, though such a re-examination must of course be carried out against the background of his life, his political opinions and activities, and of his non-dramatic writings. In particular this study aims to show that Toller's works transcend many of the limitations which a too facile tendency to attach labels to them and to their author has imposed on critical judgements and evaluations.

In his lifetime Toller "was undoubtedly the best-known German dramatist of his generation" (2). At first his reputation depended almost as much upon his personal notoriety as a political prisoner as upon the quality of his writing for the theatre. As early as 1919 Rowohlt published a pamphlet by Stefan Großmann, written within a few days of Toller's trial, which not only defends Toller against his accusers, but uses *Die Wandlung,* his only play then written, as evidence of his character and motivation (3). Großmann thinks that the key words in the play are the italicised:

> *wartet bis zum Mittag.*
> *(wait till midday)* (4).

By midday in the play's final scene, when the members of the crowd realise their own basic humanity, the time for revolution is ripe. But in Munich that time never came:

> He had never urged the mob to actions for which he did not find them inwardly ripe. In the hour of apparent victory in Munich, when Leviné and Lewien were drunk with the most dangerous applause, the most bitter doubt came into his mind (5).

Großmann's argument indeed smacks of special pleading, but he was

writing within the stream of contemporary events. For him *Die Wandlung* was primarily evidence — evidence not admitted in the trial — of its author's motivations and political aims.

Only three years later Toller was considered a sufficiently important dramatist to be included in a series of Theatre Guides (6). This little book, *Ernst Toller and his Works for the Stage*, by Fritz Droop, was the first actual book about Toller. From prison Toller contributed some — censored — autobiographical notes, and his letter to Landauer was also included. Droop, who considered that on the whole the current mode of disowning the inner experience of the war was as suspect as the enthusiastic rhapsodies in support of war which had inflamed everyone in 1914, wrote of *Die Wandlung*:

> But Toller's literary work is the confession of a man who struggled with himself in an impassioned fight, and who is leading us out of a dying century into a new age (7).

Droop also interpreted *Masse Mensch* in terms of Toller's political aims:

> His dream is the ideal anarchy which Dehmel's prophetic spirit promised us (8).

At the same time he perceived both plays' intrinsic depth. Of *Die Wandlung* he wrote:

> Toller's imagination is grounded in pain (9).

And of *Masse Mensch*:

> *Masse Mensch* is not one of those works which depend upon theatrical action. The drama is rooted entirely in thought, and it is difficult to indicate in a sketch of the content the profound ethos which gives it its impact (10).

Droop comments on *Die Maschinenstürmer* that it is not a propaganda piece (11) and that its message is that

> what is mechanical on earth must be subordinated to what is spiritual (12).

Droop was conscious of parallels between these plays and Toller's

choral works and lyric poems (13); and he regarded *Die Rache des verhöhnten Liebhabers* as an exceptional breaking out from "the iron ring of his [Toller's] serious creativity" (14). *Hinkemann,* though he had seen it only in manuscript, he described as mature and moving — the most moving play to appear for several decades.

The work of this perceptive critic shows how early in his career as a dramatist Toller earned the high reputation that he retained until his death (15).

After the Second World War his celebrity suffered eclipse, especially in the light of Brecht's growing international reputation.

A doctoral thesis presented in the University of Iowa in 1940 by W.A. Willibrand, only a year after Toller's death, was the first comprehensive scholarly treatment of Toller (16). A condensation was published in 1945 (17). Willibrand's was a pioneering work written long before any detailed bibliographical research had been carried out and at a time when much material was totally inaccessible. Partly perhaps because of the limited material available, Willibrand's thesis as published is very clear and uncluttered. Inevitably some of his judgements can be seen now to be at fault, but taken as a whole the thesis was an auspicious foundation for post-war Toller scholarship.

However, it was not followed up for over a decade, and the next comprehensive studies were those of Martin Reso (1957) and Hans Marnette (1963) (18). Both these unpublished theses were in German, Reso's being the first broadly-based one in Toller's native language, limited, however, by the fact that some of the plays were not available to him. Marnette's thesis does not take productions into consideration. It is written from a strictly orthodox Marxist viewpoint, and opens:

> In its research our Marxist literary study originates from the needs of building up socialism in our Republic [viz. G.D.R.], and consequently directs its work in accordance with the recommendations of the leading force in this process, the German Communist Party (19).

In spite of the rigidity of the restricted approach, Marnette's thesis embodies a great deal of valuable research and many interesting insights.

Reso's thesis, though less dogmatically ideological than Marnette's, nevertheless approaches Toller from a broadly Marxist angle and sees him as a transitional writer between bourgeois and socialist literature. It is a work of keen intelligence based on wide knowledge

and close research. Partly because of this, Reso's judgements are frequently better founded than those of Willibrand, with whom he often disagrees.

These two theses, particularly Reso's, exerted strong influence on subsequent work. This was in part due to their thoroughness and good scholarship, and in part to their comparative isolation between the work of Willibrand and the crucial work of John Spalek. A consequence of this has been that many students of Toller have repeated as objectively true, statements and judgements actually based on Marxist analysis and Communist ideology.

The turning-point in Toller studies came in the second half of the 1960s, primarily through the scholarship of John M. Spalek. In November 1966 Spalek published an important article, *Ernst Toller: the Need for a New Estimate* (20). This was based on Spalek' s own findings during the preparation, by then nearly complete, of his monumental bibliography, *Ernst Toller and his Critics* (21), which he published in 1968. This at once became, and still remains, an indispensable tool for all serious students of Toller. The 1966 article is in itself the germ of a "new estimate". From the enormous knowledge acquired in preparing the bibliography Spalek was in a position to survey all previous criticism, including that from both extremes of the political spectrum, and to suggest the lines along which a truer evaluation of the man and his works should be sought:

> . . . Toller's socialism was an ethical creed. He expressed it through his sympathy for the poor and the oppressed by identifying himself actively with the cause of the working class. His criticism of the capitalist system, quite radical during his early years, stemmed from the same source . . .
> . . . a man who, despite his participation in the revolution and his sharp criticism of the *status quo*, subscribes to the traditional values of humanistic culture . . .
> . . . not just a *Gefühlsmensch* . . .
> . . . a rational person able to judge himself and his environment objectively. On a number of occasions we see him as a person who is painfully aware of his limitations and skeptical about his achievements as a person and an artist . . . (22)

With Spalek's bibliography as groundwork and his seminal article as inspiration, Toller scholarship flourished for the next ten years, with ten or more major theses on various aspects of his work: his use of dramatic form, his prose, his political drama, his tragedy as a revolutionary, his position in the Weimar Republic, and many more.

A further and more popular impetus to renewed interest in Toller also came in 1968 with Tankred Dorst's play *Toller* (23). It is written with knowledge and sympathy. Dorst told the present writer he had been attracted to write on Toller because he felt an affinity with him (24).

Then, exactly ten years after the publication of the bibliography, Spalek and Frühwald brought out in 1978 Toller's *Gesammelte Werke* (25) in five volumes, followed by a companion volume, *Der Fall Toller*, in 1979. In the latter year there also appeared a comprehensive study of Toller by Malcolm Pittock in the series *Twayne's World Authors* (26). Even this book, however, did not wholly succeed in re-establishing Toller's position as a dramatist of major stature. In particular it still remained necessary to follow two lines of enquiry and to bring them together: to re-examine all the texts of the plays in a deeper historical perspective, and to re-create imaginatively their major stage productions. Fortunately there exists much primary and secondary material on these productions, as they have aroused critical and scholarly interest in themselves among students of theatre history. On the basis of these two lines of enquiry Toller's own work can be disentangled from that of his theatrical interpreters, and his independent qualities assessed anew.

In 1986 a major study of Toller's work by Richard Dove (27), had as its aims,

> to examine Toller's philosophy of revolutionary socialism and trace its development between 1917 and 1939, to place this development in its contemporary political context, and to examine the reflection of his political consciousness in his work (28).

Thus, while Dove in his very thoroughly researched thesis, often reaches conclusions in areas of common interest, which are in harmony with those of the present study, he does not attempt to see the plays in a deeper historical context or to examine in detail their principal stage productions.

In the following chapters each of Toller's plays is examined in its literary, theatrical, political and biographical contexts. Particular attention is paid to the historical position of each play in the traditions of German drama and indeed in the broader European traditions. Critical judgement of Toller's plays has been strongly influenced by their initial productions, especially those of Karl-Heinz Martin, Jürgen

Fehling and Erwin Piscator. These and other productions are examined in detail and an attempt made to reach evaluations of the plays which are not dependent upon these particular productions. It is argued that the great and lasting value of the plays resides fundamentally in Toller's language, an element too often neglected amidst the excitements of their theatrical and political aspects. A central chapter, placed between his plays written principally in verse and those wholly in prose, is devoted to Toller's use of language. In it his dramatic use of language is related to his non-dramatic, both in poetry and prose.

> Every author wants to push into his first work everything he knows, everything he has ever experienced. I did that too (29).

Thus Toller wrote in 1930 about *Die Wandlung*, and the study of the text reveals this to be true not only of what he called the private, lyrical elements (30), but also of his reading, even in boyhood, his awareness of cultural traditions, of German political theatre from Schiller onwards, of Judaeo-Christian religious mythology and its dramatic expression, of the influence upon him of modern left-wing thinkers like Landauer, and of German and Scandinavian dramatic literature from Goethe's *Faust* to Strindberg. In style the play is Expressionist, for, as Toller himself wrote, Expressionism was at that time an essential artistic form (31); nor was it, for him, merely a mode, it was an attempt to refashion the environment in its very essence, to change it and give it a juster, brighter face (32).

The tendency for *Die Wandlung* to be regarded as confessional rather than political was the result of the cuts and rearrangements made by Rudolf Leonhard in the text as produced by Karl-Heinz Martin. Brilliant though that production was in itself, it was in no way a definitive production of the play Toller wrote, but even so, contemporary critics realised that the vital element was speech — the speaking of Toller's language. At the same time critical opinion recognised that this play's production was momentous in the history of the theatre: it was seen as a turning point and as a new beginning. Both author and director had significant futures.

In his first play Toller revealed roots that reached back to the Middle Ages, but those of his second, *Masse Mensch*, reach even further — to Greek tragedy, while its central problem, the compatability or incompatability of non-violence and social revolution, has proved to be a major question of the twentieth century, with such figures as Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King embodying one answer, and such as Augusto César Sandino and Nelson Mandela another.

This play's second production, by Jürgen Fehling, was the important one, and unlike Karl-Heinz Martin's production of *Die Wandlung*, this was totally in harmony with the author's text and intentions. It was also highly influential, and not only on later productions of *Masse Mensch*.

Die Maschinenstürmer is in a real sense "Shakespearean" in form and style, but at the same time it anticipates some of Brecht's methods and techniques, particularly that of juxtaposition or Montage: indeed it may fairly be classed as an Epic Drama in the Brechtian sense. The character of its first production, again by Karl-Heinz Martin, was primarily determined by the vastness of Reinhardt's Großes Schauspielhaus, which made a mass spectacle inevitable. Linguistic subtlety, finesse of characterisation and constructional detail were unavoidably lost, so that once again one of Toller's plays has to be extricated from a powerfully striking but fundamentally inappropriate production before its own merits can be fairly assessed.

In view of Toller's imprisonment and political notoriety it was certain that the first productions of his plays should become entangled in immediate contemporary events, with the result that they tended to appear to be political ephemera rather than lasting works of art belonging to mainstream traditions. Thus the first night and early performances of *Die Maschinenstürmer* were dominated by the recent murder of Walther Rathenau, and although there had been six productions of *Hinkemann* before the "theatre scandal" at Dresden, those riots greatly influenced subsequent criticism, although in fact the play was merely a pawn in the Weimar Republic's internal conflicts. *Hinkemann* can now be recognised as a tragedy of universal validity, a tragedy of the insolubility of the insoluble which makes most other socialist drama appear shallow and facile in comparison.

After *Hinkemann*, nearly all Toller's plays were based on historical and political fact (33), but he still imparted to his material a universality that transcended particularities.

Der entfesselte Wotan is not primarily based on Hitler. It cannot therefore be fairly accused of trivialising the Nazi threat. It is based on the impracticable emigration plans of a fellow-prisoner of Toller's, and it is really remarkable that while Toller does actually anticipate Hitler's story in some minor particulars, many critics, even after the publication of *Mein Kampf (Vol I)* and the Beerhall Putsch, saw the play as outdated, not prophetic: Toller's political imagination, even when filtered through the medium of comedy, was truer than that of his critics.

Feuer aus den Kesseln anticipates by two decades the genre of post-World War II documentary. *Die blinde Göttin,* though based on a special and by no means straightforward case, in which Toller had taken a practical and humanitarian interest, does not lose its topicality, and its sad image of human shortcomings continues to ring true. His last play of all, *Pastor Hall,* is only weakened by the fact that, though well-informed, Toller had not lived in post-1933 Germany.

Most famous of these later plays and most difficult to detach from its celebrated Berlin production directed by Piscator, is *Hoppla, wir leben!* By examining on the one hand in detail Piscator's production as planned and recorded in his working prompt-copy, and on the other hand the extant versions of Toller's text, we can both reassess the theatrical and ideological qualities of Piscator's remarkable stage achievement and rediscover the independent meaning and values of Toller's play.

To look again at plays ignored or denigrated in most studies of Toller, *Die Rache des verhöhnten Liebhabers* and *Nie wieder Friede,* is to make interesting discoveries and raise our estimate of their author's powers. In its original German, now made readily available in the *Gesammelte Werke,* the latter, though still Toller's weakest play, is far superior to the published and acted English version. Toller must be held responsible for the way in which he revised the text and allowed it to be changed, but in his German typescript is to be found a far better written work than the translation would suggest, and one whose very faults can be seen, at least in part, as products of Toller's inner conflicts between his pacifist convictions and his belief that Nazism must be fought — by war if necessary. It was, in a new context, the dilemma propounded in *Masse Mensch,* and it was destined to destroy him.

Die Rache des verhöhnten Liebhabers on the other hand is well-wrought in every respect, — in structure, language, verse, and in the ways in which it improves, immeasurably in some respects, on its Italian source; but politically orientated critics have dismissed it as trivial and others have recoiled from its amoral sexuality. From the perspective it offers, however, we see afresh the importance of sexuality in all Toller's works. A sensual and passionate man, he made some aspect of sex or sexual relationships the key or climax to virtually everything he wrote, whether he was writing of the nesting swallows, the castrated ex-soldier, the body of the raped girl hanging on the barbed wire, or the adulterous lovers accused of murder. In the puppet-play itself Toller can be seen to have transformed a light and perhaps trivial Italian novella into a vehicle for conveying through a

delicately conventionalised form of drama certain quite profound insights into the nature of the basic instincts of self-preservation and that of the human species.

From this detailed and close textual, theatrical and contextual study of his plays Toller emerges as a dramatist of considerable stature and versatility. His plays represented and made noteworthy contributions to the developing styles of the period between the wars. At first he adopted Expressionism as being an established mode, but still a growing-point of contemporary style. He soon both enriched this and assimilated it into his own far more diversely and historically based dramatic art, fusing it with elements derived from Shakespeare and the Greeks as well as with the central German traditions stemming from Goethe and Schiller. At the same time he anticipated in practice some of the essential characteristics of epic drama as written and theoretically expounded by Brecht. He adapted himself to the requirements of the new wave of naturalism of the later 1920s and early 1930s without losing his ability as a poet to charge his language with more meaning than could a mere prose dramatist. In his creative dramatisation of documentary material he anticipated the documentary plays of the post-1945 period. After 1933 the loss of a German-speaking theatre audience deprived him of the stimulus to put his best creative energies into drama and diverted them to what proved to be his best non-dramatic prose works and his more directly political use of language.

A revaluation of his dramatic oeuvre thus not only reveals the individual plays as better written, more artistically constructed and both subtler and more profound in content, themes and characterisation than has usually been thought, but also sets their author firmly as a leading figure in the main stream of German and European drama during his two decades of activity and creativity.

II

THE PLAYS *DIE WANDLUNG* TO *DIE MASCHINENSTÜRMER*

DIE WANDLUNG (TRANSFORMATION)

In a study which proposes to set Ernst Toller's dramatic work in its literary, theatrical and political perspectives, *Die Wandlung* must be considered comprehensively in every respect. It is not only his first play, but it stands alone among his plays. Even as recently as 1980 Michael Ossar could write:

> . . . the seriously distorted view that has dominated Toller research to date and led to the common view that he was a man ruled by his emotions and out of touch with the realities of Weimar Germany is largely the result of an unjustified generalisation of the attitudes of *Die Wandlung* to all his other works. *Die Wandlung* is uniquely optimistic among Toller's works — it is the only one of his plays written before his experiences in the Munich Revolution. (1)

Not only, however, is this play the beginning of the author's personal development as a dramatist, but it is also a culmination of a number of lines of growth in German dramatic traditions, some having their roots as far back as the eighteenth century and some of recent origin. Indeed its structure as a "station" drama reaches right back to the religious drama of the Middle Ages. We must therefore not only set the play in its proper place in the Expressionist movement but in the longer traditions of German drama back to Goethe and Schiller. Within the Expressionist context we must examine its style, themes and content. We must therefore consider it autobiographically and confessionally (the two are not precisely identical), as reaction against the war, and as bearing on the strife between the generations (2). As it is also an overtly propagandist piece we must relate it to the long and rich tradition of plays of political and social propaganda, and to the continuous thread in the history of German drama and of the theatre considered as a moral institution. At the same time we must examine the immediate and specific political influences upon the play. After this we must analyse Karl-Heinz Martin's original production in detail,

especially as this production, which involved important alterations in the text, had enormous influence on subsequent assessments of the play and hence on wider judgements of Toller's oeuvre.

> In 1917 the play [viz. *Die Wandlung*] was for me a political pamphlet (3).

That was Toller's firm, and in fact italicised, opinion concerning his initial attitude to this play when he wrote some notes upon it from the fortress-prison at Eichstatt in October 1919. He defined his conception of 'political pamphlet' with some care:

> If 'political pamphlet' signifies a signpost or "guidebook" born from the necessity of outward reality, moral dilemma, and wealth of inner strength, then *Die Wandlung* may confidently be counted as 'pamphlet'. (4)

When Toller states that in 1917 the play was for him a political pamphlet, the implication is that by October 1919 it had become for him something else or something more. In the meantime it had been completed — during his first period of imprisonment (5) — and had been produced upon the stage (30. 9. 1919), while Toller himself had undergone the experiences of the Munich Revolution and was writing his first post-Munich play, *Masse Mensch*.

Ten years later, in 1929, re-assessing Expressionism as a war-time and post-war phenomenon, he wrote concerning that period:

> Never since Schiller's *The Robbers*, since *Cabal and Love*, had the theatre been such a tribunal for contemporary events, so washed around by the strife and conflict of public opinion (6).

Chronologically therefore it is reasonable to consider the play in the first instance as a 'political pamphlet'. Like a pamphlet, it was written to be read, elther aloud to a group, or privately. The dust-cover of the First Edition (7) justified its being printed as continuous prose with the words:

> Drama is the spiritual and intellectual expression of our time. Contemporary people read drama as yesterday they read a tale, an ordinary, gripping book (8).

It is impossible to date precisely the writing of the first draft. Toller simply tells us,

> This work came into being in its first draft in 1917, in the third year of world-slaughter (9).

Obviously it was before his hasty departure from Heidelberg on 21 December of that year because he tells us (10) that he read scenes from it to a circle of young people in Heidelberg before his flight to Berlin. We can also relate the date of the first draft to that of his first reading Gustav Landauer's *Aufruf zum Sozialismus*. On 20 December he received a letter from Landauer which he answered (11) in a letter which endorses many of Landauer's own ideas. He had by now read the *Aufruf*, but as Rosemarie Altenhofer has pointed out (12), the influence of Landauer on ideas and language in *Die Wandlung* begins only after Scene 7, 4th Station, where the play ceases to be in any sense autobiographical (though remaining 'confessional') and begins to present a "programme". She therefore concludes that the first seven scenes were written in Heidelberg *before* Toller had read the *Aufruf*. Once Toller had read this, however, it became an immediate political influence upon him, and the letter of 20 December not only reflects Landauer's own ideas but contains verbal similarities with the later scenes of *Die Wandlung*. This division of the play is of immense importance. It means that quite apart from the uniqueness of the whole play, as preceding Toller's Munich experiences, the first seven scenes have their own uniqueness in being his only dramatic work written before Landauer began to influence him: and Landauer was the most important single political influence in Toller's thought.

Landauer and his writings came into Toller's life at the very moment when Toller first became politically active. His first 'political' publication, written in Heidelberg, distributed as a leaflet and published in a Munich newspaper, the *Münchener Zeitung*, on 10 November 1917, was an appeal for academic freedom of speech in support of a Munich professor, Friedrich Wilhelm Foerster, a wholehearted pacifist who was convinced of Germany's war-guilt. The "Foerster Case" originated in an article by the professor published in Switzerland in May 1916 under the title *Bismarcks Werk im Lichte der großdeutschen Kritik (Bismarck's Work in the Light of Pan-German Criticism)*. When he returned to resume his lectures in Munich at the end of October 1917 students representing the newly-formed *Deutsche Vaterlandspartei (German Fatherland Party)* would have beaten him out of the lecture-

theatre had he not been defended by his own students. Toller's appeal, signed by 135 students of Heidelberg university, asked for no more than the freedom of academics to express their personal opinions outside the classroom and the university.

> *Outside the University* teachers *and* students must be entitled to unrestricted freedom in political movements (13).

Thus Toller first entered the political field as a pacifist and civil libertarian, without as yet any socialist or other ideological framework to support his direct personal response to his war experience. It must have been just at this moment that Toller, with his intense inner need to find a coherent framework for the totally new attitudes he had been driven to adopt, read Landauer's *Aufruf zum Sozialismus*, for the documents from his hand that immediately follow the Foerster Appeal are permeated with Landauer's ideas and words.

The Foerster Appeal was linked with a more ambitious attempt to combat the Deutsche Vaterlandspartei and to work for peace, namely, the founding of *Der Kulturpolitische Bund der Jugend in Deutschland (The League of German Youth for Culture and Politics)*. There is little or no evidence that this body had any real existence outside the University of Heidelberg, where the original group was formed and Toller at once elected Chairman (24 November 1917). However, an appeal for membership and for the forming of other groups was hectographed and sent to all German universities and to a large number of well-known persons in public and political life, some of whom expressed their agreement with it, including F. W. Foerster, Walter Hasenclever, Carl Hauptmann, Karl Henckell, Heinrich Mann, Walter von Golo and Alfred Wolfenstein. The covering-letter sent with the Appeal explained that this was only a first step and freely admitted that it did not present a programme:

> We know that it does not present a programme. That is not our intention (14).

Rather it was a statement of principles. These were founded on a Schilleresque call to be a person and to treat others as persons:

> Let each, radiating soul and spirit, act as person to person (15).

The preamble to the specific principles ends, significantly:

> The community for which we strive can only grow out of the inner transformation of individuals *[Mensch-Wandlung]* (16).

The specific aims mentioned are obvious enough. For example: peaceful solution of international problems; the abolition of poverty through 'a form of economy which brings about sensible production and just distribution of material goods'; separation of church and state; abolition of capital punishment; lowering of the age of franchise; and so on. The League opposed what it called the `militarisation of youth, of eroticism, of school, university, leisure and physical education. ' It favoured comprehensive schools and wanted to publish cheap editions of such writers as Tolstoy, Carl Hauptmann, Henri Barbusse etc. The document ended:

> We demand the revolutionising of fundamental attitudes! (17).

While many prominent figures, including Heinrich Mann, supported the appeal, a public controversy developed in the press. The appeal was described by one newspaper (18) as the work of "muddle-headed people without historical or political education". Of course the appeal's anti-war views provoked the inevitable crop of sadistic anonymous letters. More practically serious was the attack mounted by the authorities and the Army High Command. Some Austrian women students who were members of the League had to leave the country within twenty-four hours. All male members were summoned to the District Command headquarters, where even those previously declared unfit were suddenly found fit for service and sent to barracks.

Fortunately for Toller (it was the first of several similar fortunate chances in the course of his life) he was in hospital with influenza and a high temperature on the day his flat was visited and searched, and he was warned by a fellow-student, a girl, that he must leave Heidelberg or face arrest. On 20 December, the day before he left, he received the letter from Landauer already referred to. Despite his illness and peril, he replied at once. His letter, though betraying his feverish condition, or perhaps *because* of it, is an exceptionally revealing document, not touched, as is so much of Toller's 'autobiographical' writing, by afterthought or artistic manipulation.

In the letter he tried to explain his own motives for being

involved in the peace movement, and these are expressed in highly subjective terms:

> What I do, I do not *only* because of distress, not *only* because of suffering at the *ugliness* of everyday life, not *only* because of indignation over the political and economic order — all these are causes, but not the only ones. I fight because of my own abundance of life . . . I'm not a religious ecstatic who sees only himself and God — not people; I'm not an opportunist, who sees nothing but the external conditions (19).

Toller makes big demands on would-be followers, who must be prepared to stake their whole lives — spiritually, intellectually and physically — for the cause. At the heart of the letter lies an existentialist concept of commitment and choice:

> In order to arrive at a conviction, as I understand it, one must do so through distress, through suffering in all its fullness; one must believe oneself to have been "uprooted", must have played with life and danced with death, must have suffered in the intellect and overcome it through the spirit — one must *have struggled with the human being* (20).

"One must have *struggled with the human being*": "Man . . . muß *mit dem Menschen gerungen haben*". The letter here echoes the sub-title of *Die Wandlung: Das Ringen eines Menschen*. This struggle with and within oneself is ultimately fought in isolation:

> In the *last* spiritual things we must experience our isolation — that is to say, our being alone with God, — not "tragically", but *joyfully* (21).

After referring to the need to fight war, poverty and the state, and to establish a community based upon peaceful barter, Toller resumes the subjective rôle:

> Finally there is only this: that I feel a peace in my innermost core which *is* freedom and which *gives me* freedom; that I can live in the greatest restlessness, can fight passionately and excitedly against dirt and narrow lack of judgement, and still this innermost peace remains with me (22).

In this letter Toller is expressing many ideas (particularly that of the inwardly free person) which he knew to be Landauer's own.

Gustav Landauer had translated Kropotkin's *Mutual Aid* into German in 1904, re-issued in 1908 (23), and in 1911 he published his own *Aufruf zum Sozialismus (Call to Socialism)* which, as its brief Preface states, is to be read as a speech, with all that implies (24). Landauer's debt to Kropotkin is considerable, and it seems certain that Toller read Kropotkin in Landauer's translation, at any rate before the writing of *Die Maschinenstürmer;* but at this point it was Landauer himself whom Toller read and absorbed. Landauer strikes his characteristic keynote on the opening page:

> Socialism is the endeavour to bring a new reality into being with the help of an ideal (25).

The roots of socialism were therefore to be found within the individual:

> . . . no kind of progress, technique or virtuosity will bring us salvation and blessing; only out of the spirit (*Geist*), only out of the depths of our inner distress and our inner wealth will the great change come which we today call socialism (26).

Such a view was strongly antagonistic both to Marxism and to Darwinism. The true teaching of Marx, says Landauer, is that when capitalism has triumphed completely over the remnants of the Middle Ages, progress is assured and socialism as good as there. Not for nothing is the Bible of Marxism called *Das Kapital*! Marxism, indeed, is the plague of our time and the curse of the socialist movement. (Die Pest unserer Zeit und der Fluch der sozialistischen Bewegung) (27). Marxism and Darwinism see human history as consisting of anonymous processes and the accumulation of many tiny mass events. For the socialist in Landauer's sense, history is carried forward by persons, and therefore responsibility and guilt exist. For the Marxist, the true Philistine, nothing is more important than technology and progress. Asked to choose between a new type of locomotive and Jesus on the Cross, the Marxist will choose the locomotive.

> The father of Marxism is not the study of history, nor is it Hegel, it is neither [Adam] Smith nor Ricardo, . . . nor is it any revolutionary-democratic situation in time, still less is it the will and desire for civilisation and beauty among people. *The father of Marxism is steam.*
> Old wives prophesy out of coffee-grounds, Karl Marx prophesied out of steam (28).

Marxism, in this view, is associated with centralisation, but, says Landauer, it is not the centralisation of capital (which could still operate economically with village and home industries) but the centralisation of industry, brought about by mechanisation (primarily through the steam-engine) which demands barrack-like factories and the subsequent barrack-like blocks of workers' flats. (In German these had long been called *Mietskaserne: barracks to let*). These two forms of centralisation are associated with each other, but there is another, independent of the other two, which flourishes in our time: the centralisation of the state, of bureaucracy, of the armed forces. These lead to two further types of 'barracks', for the army and for the civil service, while prisons and brothels are simply two more species of 'barracks' in the centralised state. It is not surprising that opposition to Marxism was growing in England and the Mediterranean countries and that the ideology was flourishing in the countries of the drill-sergeant and the civil servant: in Prussia and Russia. Landauer sees no hope in the kind of socialism that merely takes over the various forms of economic, industrial and political centralisation developed under capitalism. On the contrary, he prophesies all too clearly the road that Marxist socialism did in fact take in Eastern Europe, namely state capitalism. He foresees a time when a Marxist World Production Authority will poke its nose into everybody's affairs (in jedes Töpfchen gucken) and enter up in its books the exact amount of lubricating oil to be used on every machine.

Turning away from a centralised, technological socialism. Landauer emphasises the importance of land and agriculture.

> Hunger, hands and the soil are there, all three are there by nature, and apart from them mankind needs nothing except to order sensibly what goes *between* them (29).
> We must have the soil again. The communities of socialism must share out the ground anew. The earth is nobody's property. Let the earth not be private property: only then are the people free . . . *And the abolition of property will also be essentially a transformation of our Geist* . . .
> The *Geist* will create forms for itself; forms of movement, not of rigidity . . .
> So — Land and *Geist* — that is socialism's solution.
> *Socialism's fight is a fight for the soil; the social question is an agrarian question* (30).

Against this background we now examine the play itself *as a political pamphlet*. In the first instance this means the first seven scenes, and of

these especially the two scenes (3rd Station, Scenes 5 & 6) which Toller selected for distribution as a pamphlet in Munich in January 1918.

Following the regular pattern of the first four Stations, the 3rd Station consists of a realistic scene (forestage) and a dream scene (rear stage). Toller ran the risk that some details of the scenes taken thus in isolation might not be comprehensible to his readers.

In the first, Friedrich, the 'Toller' persona, sole survivor of a tiny volunteer party, lies in hospital. As a Jew (like Toller), constantly relating himself to the Wandering Jew, Ahasuerus, he has felt himself to be an outsider.

> FRIEDRICH (*in his fever*): Where are you others? Oh, the drifting desert sand . . . gritty fog . . . do not rest . . . further . . . don't know you . . . who are you . . . . Ahasuerus . . . . miserable man . . . go away back . . . . into towns gasping in nightmares, you'll not find caves here . . . I'm not journeying with you . . . no . . . (*cries out*) no . . . . (31).

We are not yet concerned with the autobiographical aspect of this, but Toller clearly believes that the Jew's sense of being an 'outsider' in German society will strike a chord with many of his contemporaries — not only Jews. In this assumption he was fully justified. Roy Pascal has demonstrated with detailed clarity the importance and distinctive features of German (and Austrian) anti-semitism in the latter part of the nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth (32). Although that anti-semitism "still fed on a primitive fear and hatred of a people of alien beliefs and manners" (33), the granting of civil rights to Jews added "resentment against a community whose liberation symbolised bourgeois liberalism . . . to the older hostility" (34). Jews were still barred "by custom if not by law" (35) from some professions, and were relatively more numerous in 'free professions' as private practitioners.

In the 1890s (that is, in the period of Toller's childhood) the traditional meaning of "Jew" as a believer in the Jewish religion and member of the Jewish community with its complex of distinctive ritualistic practices, who, when converted to Christianity ceased to be a Jew, was being replaced by the racialist anti-semitism later exploited by Hitler to supply what Pascal calls "the chief emotional drive" (36) of National Socialism.

Toller, by basing Friedrich's alienation from society upon his Jewishness, is using material readily and universally understood in

Germany and Austria. Pascal quotes Schnitzler, himself an Austrian Jew, as saying,

> It was not possible for a Jew, especially a Jew in public life, to ignore the fact that he was a Jew; nobody was doing so, not the Gentiles, and even less the Jews (37).

In this fictional, colonial war, Friedrich, the outsider, wins his civil rights through his military valour. An officer comes to him:

> The Fatherland knows how to value your services. Through me it sends you the [Iron] Cross. You were a stranger to our people. Now you have won your civil rights (38).

But no sooner has Friedrich rejoiced in his 'belonging', than he learns that his action has led to the deaths of ten thousand of the enemy, and the news shatters his joy:

> . . . Through ten thousand dead I belong to them. Why don't I burst out laughing? Is that liberation? Is that the Great Time? Are these the great people? (*His eyes stare rigidly out*) Now I belong to them (*Blackout*) (39).

Out of the context of the play the scene makes one, simple, anti-war, pacifist point: that the Iron Cross is won and its winner earns his place in society not simply through courage, but through causing the deaths of ten thousand human beings.

The second scene used in the pamphlet is a 'dream' scene on the rear stage, conceived so as to present in the theatre an overwhelming visual effect, with the immense, low room, the skull-headed doctor and the war cripples, who consist of torsos with mechanical limbs, like Otto Dix's card-playing *Crippled War Veterans* (1920) or the actual parodies of humanity whose photographs were later displayed in the International Anti-war Museum (Berlin, Parochialstraße 29, closed down and converted into an SA-Hostel in March 1933). Clearly, when the scene was read as a pamphlet the visual effect would be minimised: even the fact that two of the characters have Friedrich's face could not make its full impact; and one must consider primarily the verbal content to judge the effectiveness of the scene as a political pamphlet.

The key lines are spoken by the medical professor, once near the beginning and once at the very end of the scene:

> /We could call ourselves the positive branch,/The negative is the armaments industry./In other words: We are the representatives of synthesis,/The armaments industry proceeds analytically (40).

The satirical effect is very similar to that of Brecht's *Legende vom Toten Soldaten.*

> Es zog die Ärtzliche Kommission
> Zum Gottesacker hinaus
> Und grub mit geweihtem Spaten den
> Gefallnen Soldaten aus.
>
> Der Doktor besah den Soldaten genau
> Oder was von ihm noch da war
> Und der Doktor fand, der Soldat war k. v.
> Und er drückte sich vor der Gefahr.
>
> (The medical commission marched out to the churchyard and dug up the fallen soldier with a consecrated spade. The doctor examined the soldier meticulously (or what still remained of him) and the doctor found that the soldier was fit for active service and was shirking danger) (41).

Brecht's *Legend,* written in the same year as the early scenes of *Die Wandlung,* was his direct reaction to the realities of the Augsburg Military Hospital where he served as a medical orderly. He too evidently regarded his creation as 'pamphleteering', for he, like Toller, read it aloud in public. He sang the *Legend* (for he also composed its music) before an audience of war veterans in a Munich public-house, presumably anticipating a sympathetic reaction from them. But it is reported that, misunderstanding at whom the attack was aimed, they went for him with beer glasses (42).

Both Brecht's *Legend* and Toller's *Cripples* Scene can justly be described as 'political pamphlets, in that they are, each in its own *genre* and idiom, polemical writings aimed at influencing public opinion through satirical attacks on the misuse of medical knowledge and skills in the service of war.

The scene emphasises that within the war context even normally beneficent activities become evil. In performance, the Doctor's skull-head incorporates the image of the life-giver becoming the death-giver. Although the impact of their both having Friedrich's face is partly lost on the mere reader, the figures of the student attending the professor and of the padre are ironic comment on the Friedrich of the

previous scene. The Friedrich-student faints at the climax of the Doctor's exposition, when he declares that 'the possibility of reproduction has now been achieved; the joys of marriage, too, await these men.' With a patronising smile the professor remarks:

> Faint, young man, at the work of love?/How would it have been, then, out there on the field of battle? (43)

The reader takes the point that the same man who could faint at this parody of "the work of love", could win the Iron Cross. The Friedrich-padre who comes with the clichés and commonplaces of religious comfort, when he actually sees the cripples as they are, breaks his cross into pieces, crying that he cannot deceive these men with pious words. The scene highlights the passages in the realistic scene in which the Sister tells Friedrich:

> They found you tied to a tree. The sole survivor.
> FRIEDRICH: Not to a cross . . . The sole survivor . . . (44)

The two-scene pamphlet was thus purely anti-war, with a powerful emotional appeal and no ideological basis or constructive alternative. It was a direct appeal to the humanity of the reader.

This is also true of the rest of the first four Stations. (When Toller read from *Die Wandlung* in Heidelberg and in Munich, we do not know what parts he selected, or how much).

The *Prologue* ("which can also be thought of as an Epilogue", we are told) is called *Die Totenkaserne (The Barracks of the Dead)* and represents a broad graveyard by night, the only characters being *Der Kriegstod (Death In War), Der Friedenstod (Death in Peace),* and . . . skeletons. The conception of the scene seems to owe something to the last scene of Wedekind's *Frühlings Erwachen (Spring's Awakening)* in which Melchior, escaping from the reformatory, gets into the graveyard where Wendla and Moritz are buried. Melchior becomes involved in a life-and-death discussion between the dead Moritz, who appears with his head (which he blew off when he shot himself) under his arm, and *Der vermummter Herr (The Masked Man),* who represents the call to life, with all its unknowns and uncertainties. Wedekind himself played the Masked Man in the first production (11. 12. 1906), in a top-hat (45). In Toller's play *Death in Peace* wears a top-hat on his skull-head, and the scene is in effect a debate between the two *Deaths,* as that in Wedekind is between Moritz (Death) and The Masked Man

(Life). Both scenes, also, are written with irony and grim humour. But whereas the conclusion of Wedekind's scene (which is without question an *Epilogue*) is that Melchior should 'Choose Life!' (46), the conclusion of Toller's is that *Death in War* has in fact been defeated: he is subordinate to War and the War Machine. He is scorned by *Death in Peace.*

> You little death! / You swanking hypocrite with your puffed-up empty military phrases. / Commend me to your boss, the war system (47).

After the *Prologue* the first two Stations (4 scenes) contribute to the pamphlet-character of the play almost entirely in expanding and making explicit the events leading up to the Third Station. The Fourth Station (which consists of a single, realistic, scene) shows Friedrich's personal transformation after the shock administered in the Third Station. Therefore in choosing the Third Station to be printed as a political pamphlet Toller deliberately selected that part of the play then written in which the political element, rather than the personal and religious elements, predominated.

Thus the first four Stations of the play constitute (insofar as they form a complete entity) a *Flugblatt* against war, making an appeal to individuals as individuals to destroy in themselves the dream of *The Victory of the Fatherland* as Friedrich destroys his statue of that name, and to set out on the *Way* that leads,

> To God, who is *Geist* and love and strength,
> To God, who lives in humanity (48).

The structure of the play now changes. The following three scenes form a unity; they contain in dream images the process by which Friedrich becomes "human" (49).

In these three dream scenes Friedrich identifies himself in turn with a *Schlafbursche,* a prisoner and a *Wanderer.* A *Schlafbursche* is a man who cannot afford to rent a room, but only a bed (50). The Prisoner is in effect the Crucified One, and the Wanderer the Resurrected One:

> As if I had rolled away a heavy gravestone and rise again (51).

The three scenes lead to the *Volksversammlung (People's Assembly)* with Friedrich's first public political speech, and (with the intervention of

the *Mountaineers* scene, in which Friedrich's *persona* determines to climb ever higher) to the Square in front of the Church, with Friedrich's second and larger political speech.

The implied pattern by which social change takes place is that an unusually gifted individual undergoes some kind of personal "conversion" which he then transmits to the masses. This concept belongs entirely to the second half of the play and it derives directly from Toller's reading of Landauer. Hans Marnette, an acute critic of the play, though, as a Marxist deeply antagonistic to Landauer's ideas, writes:

> The essential ideological roots for the message of *Die Wandlung* lie in Toller's taking over particular ideas from Gustav Landauer. We are speaking deliberately not of learning from or making use of Landauer's ideas, but of taking them over directly (52).

Such an immediate adoption of another person's ideas naturally implies that in Landauer's writing Toller found the expression of what he himself was seeking, of thoughts so closely in harmony with his own that the second half of the play follows as naturally from the first as if it had been part of the original intention. Nevertheless, not only the content but the form of the latter part of the play is determined by Toller's reading of Landauer and is relevant to its "political message". Whereas Friedrich's conversion in the first four Stations is brought about through a series of external pressures and influences (mother, sister, friend, war experience, the ten thousand dead, and finally the meeting with his old wartime comrade as a beggar with a hurdy gurdy and his syphilitic wife) and is externalised in his smashing of the statue, while the related dream scenes are intensifications of real experiences, the first three scenes of Station Five show us instead Friedrich imaginatively projecting himself into human situations outside his personal experience, and by thus achieving empathy with the poor and the oppressed (the *Schlafbursche* and the Prisoner) learning the way he must go:

> I know the way to the place of work,
> Now I know it (53).

There is rich ambiguity in the word *Arbeitsstätte (place of work)*: it is both the place where the workers are to be found and the place where Friedrich must do *his* appointed work, that is, give his message.

Thus the play actually presents two versions of Friedrich's *Wandlung*, though in first reading or in performance the second will probably be taken simply as an internalisation of the first in greater depth. In fact this second version of the transformation is conceived in terms of Landauer's *Aufruf*: the need for the individual to discover and remake his own humanity. This process is an inward one, achieved in loneliness and isolation. In Landauer's opinion no truly humane society can come into being,

> so long as we have not discovered and newly created humanity in ourselves as individuals. Everything begins from the individual; and upon the individual everything is laid (54).

This is exactly what Friedrich is achieving in this sequence of dream scenes. In bed with the Daughter, the *Schlafbursche* with Friedrich's face learns (not merely cerebrally but in his feelings) the sufferings of the poor:

> Since the news came one day that the big hammer had crushed him, she groans every night; the eleventh child, which she was still carrying, she lost — of course it was dead — a great piece of luck (55).

Friedrich, the middle-class artist, is experiencing imaginatively the condition of the people, a far deeper and more certain way of "assimilation" than the heroic deed on the field of battle.

Next, he experiences the identity of Factory and Prison:

> THE NIGHT-VISITOR: . . . At first glance you think joyfully*, oho — there's a prison in store for somebody here. Strain your eyes! We've arrived already! Do you see the sign-board? You're trembling — let me read it — I'm not deceiving you: *The Big Factory!* (56)
> *Presumably because the *Schlafbursche*, being innocent of any crime, has nothing to fear from a prison.

The dream-identification of factory and prison derives immediately from Landauer's *Aufruf* where each is simply another kind of "barracks".

As we have already seen, Landauer associated Marxism with the centralisation not of capital but of industry and the state, and used the concept of "barracks" to typify both capitalist and Marxist indus-

trialised societies. The relevant passages in the *Aufruf* refer to:

> Factory-barracks, barracks-to-let, bureaucrats' barracks, soldiers' barracks, and "the further barracks": work-houses, prisons and penitentiaries, "and the brothels ('sex-houses') in which prostitutes are quartered in barracks" (57).

Landauer saw the steam-engine as the cause of industrial, and therefore of social, centralisation:

> . . . the steam-engine, which must have the working machinery and the working people near it, the centre of power, and has therefore created big factory concerns and highly specialised division of labour . . . So it was the technical necessities of the steam-engine that have produced the big factory-barracks and the barracks-to-let (58).

Toller creates an exact theatrical correlative of this statement. Friedrich has just left the *Mietskaserne* and stands before the building whose sign says *Die große Fabrik (= Fabrikskaserne)*. In the blackout that follows the Night Visitor's reading this notice, the audience hears the sounds of a steam-industrialised society:

> For several minutes the roar of pounding pistons, the boom of whirling wheels, the hiss of streams of white-hot molten metal (59).

When the lights go on again after "several minutes" (a long time in a blacked-out theatre) they reveal not the anticipated "Big Factory", but "the groundfloor of a prison". Factory is prison and prison is factory and both are "barracks" demanded by the centralisation of power in the steam-engine and the state. The sequence is a classic example of the translation of discursive intellectual content into the immediacy of pure theatre.

Landuer believes that the individuals who undergo the inward process of finding their humanity are essentially solitary.

> *Geist* withdraws into the individual . . . now it lives in individuals, geniuses . . . . . who are without *Volk*: lonely thinkers, poets and artists, who, without security, as if uprooted, stand almost in the air (60).

Such Toller creates Friedrich. He is an artist, a sculptor, from the start of the play. In this second part he becomes more and more isolated. At the conclusion of the sequence of three dream scenes he is the lonely Wanderer in thick mist, who gets up out of the ditch by a country road; while in Scene 12, *The Mountaineers*, he leaves his last companion (a persona of the Friend) behind on the mountain in order to retain his solitary integrity:

> 2nd MOUNTAINEER: You have gone too far already. Think of yourself. I'm afraid for you.
> 1st MOUNTAINEER: Because I will not abandon myself, I am abandoning you . . .
> Farewell! . . . (61)

One is reminded of Rilke's great poem, written under the impact of the outbreak of World War 1, *Ausgesetzt auf den Bergen des Herzens (Exposed on the mountains of the heart)*. Toller's Friedrich, like Rilke, must reach the peak of solitariness.

> –Aber
> ungeborgen, hier auf den Bergen des Herzens (62).

Where, asks Landauer, are the Columbus-like natures who prefer to sail away on the high seas in a frail ship into the unknown rather than wait for things to develop?

> . . . wo sind die Kolumbusnaturen, die lieber auf gebrechlichem Schiff und aufs Ungewisse hin aufs hohe Meer gehen als auf die Entwicklung zu warten (63).

But neither for Landauer's 'lonely thinker, poet or artist', nor — in the latter part of the play — for Toller's Friedrich, is the voyage of inner discovery an end in itself. For Landauer it is through these lonely individuals that socialism will come into being. These individuals

> speak out of the *Geist* to the people and of the people to come (64).

For these few isolated spirits are actually like the isolated people who make up the masses.

> And to these few isolated persons into whom the *Geist* has fled . . . correspond those who are isolated from each other, the many atomised persons for whom nothing remains except emptiness, inanity and misery: the masses, who are called the People, but who are only a heap of beings torn from their place and abandoned . . . the masses into whom the *Geist* must stream again (65).

Marnette rightly points out that all those characters who represents the People in this play do correspond with this characterisation of the masses: the Student (Scene 11) who laments, "What good is education to us when the *Geist* is tormented?" (66), the Lady, the Sick Man, the Girl Student.

Friedrich's political speeches in Scenes 11 and 13 are expressions of Landauer's political philosophy.

In his very first address to the people in Scene 11 Friedrich echoes the passage just quoted. He says he knows all about the people's misery (*Elend*) and says of the communist speaker (*Kommis des Tages*),

> But for him "people" is "mass". For he knows nothing of the people (67).

Friedrich understands that the Masses ("a heap of beings torn from their place and abandoned") are potentially the People, if the *Geist* can only stream into them again. For the communist the masses remain masses. (Here at the end of Toller's first play, the central conflict of his second, *Masse Mensch*, is already adumbrated). Friedrich attacks the Communist on precisely the same grounds that Landauer attacks Marxism: his god is the machine.

> The People is God! . . . God is a machine. Therefore the People is a machine. Nevertheless he will rejoice in the swinging levers, whirling wheels and pounding pistons (68).

The words are virtually identical with the stage direction between scenes 8 and 9. The Communist will actually rejoice in those very objects which created the necessity for the existence of the factory-prison. He is offering not freedom but slavery. Like Landauer, Friedrich is attacking in one breath and one image both the fact that Marxism is derived from industrial centralisation brought about by mechanisation, and the essentially mechanical operation of Marxist dialectical

materialism which sees the advent of socialism as the historically inevitable consequence of the rise of capitalism.

Landauer says that because all men and women, however alienated and abandoned, carry their humanity imperishably within them, they respond to the call of the gifted individual into whom the *Geist* has fled.

> *Geist* is something that dwells in the same way in the hearts and souls of individuals; something that with natural compulsion breaks out of everyone as a binding quality and leads everyone into a common bond (69).

Friedrich wants his hearers to feel the inner need for this *Geist*:

> I wanted you to feel spiritual need (70).

He goes on:

> I want you to be (spiritually) rich, people filled with life (71).

Both these sentences echo Landauer in thought and expression:

> . . . Only out of the *Geist*, out of the depths of our inner need and our inner wealth will the great change come which we call socialism (72).

In Friedrich's closing speech in Scene 13 one of the most striking Landauerisms is Friedrich's attitude to the wealthy, and his appeal to the people on their behalf.

> I know . . . about you, you wealthy man, who heaps up money and despises everyone, the others and yourself (73).
>
> Go to the wealthy and show them your heart, which was becoming a heap of rubbish. But be good to them, for they also are poor people who have gone astray (74).

The attitude expressed here comes straight from Landauer:

> The worker too knows far too little what fearful, unworthy and overwhelming troubles the capitalist has, what quite unnecessary, completely unproductive torment and destruc-

> tion is laid upon him, and the workers heed far too little this similarity between themselves and the capitalists (75).

Finally Friedrich cries to the crowd:

> O, if you were persons — absolute, free persons (76).
> O, wenn ihr Menschen wäret, — unbedingte, freie Menschen.

Toller significantly uses the adjective *unbedingt* — unconditional, free of constrictions and limitations. For the Marxist, mankind's fate is ultimately *conditioned, determined* by the forces of dialectical materialism; for Toller as for Landauer, mankind can be unconditionally independent, the individual person can be a genuinely free agent. He or she can become *Mensch*, and when the *Menschen* who constitute the people (*Volk*) realise this, then comes the revolution.

The response to Friedrich's cry is in fact that very realisation. First the voice of a single youth, then those of a few women and girls, and then (notice the sequence: Youth, Women, All) the voices of all cry out:

> We are persons after all (77).
> Wir sind doch Menschen.

And after a moment's silence in which, in the theatre, the meaning sinks into the consciousness of characters and audience alike. Friedrich calls upon the people to "*March!*". This is the sequence by which, in Landauer's view, revolution comes about:

> The isolation of the individual.
> The renewal of the person through the renewal of *Geist* in the individual.
> The bearing of this *Geist* into the masses by the individual.
> The enlightenment of the masses through the *Geist*.
> Outbreak of revolution (78).

That which is the turning-point according to Landauer is what is chosen by Toller for the climax and conclusion of his play, namely:

> Puppets become Persons (79).
> Puppen werden zu Menschen.

The text of the play as published is preceded by what Spalek rightly describes as an *Author's preface in free verse* (80), presumably written, as prefaces normally are, after the completion of the play. As Marnette points out, this falls into three sections, clearly distinguished from each other typographically and in tone (81). In the first section is portrayed the twilit dream-world of pre-war youthful days, filled with imagination and the sense of wonder. The mood evoked recalls that of the opening stanzas of Hölderlin's *An die Natur*, with their descriptions of *goldne Kinderträume (childhood's golden dreams)* (82). Hölderlin's poem represents the beginning of the poet's recovery from his sense of alienation from Nature:

> In the lament for what has been lost apparently beyond recall,
> he becomes aware of its value (83).

For Hölderlin the dreams of youth were shattered by his philosophy studies under the influence of Fichte; for Toller they were shattered by his war experiences:

> *Da! mordend krochen ekle Tiere*
> *Flammenspritzend auf der Erde! (84).*

Italicised by the poet, these lines break into the dream:

> Wir blickten traumschwer blinzend auf
> Und hörten neben uns den Menschen schreien! (85).

In the third section, the Brother, the Wise Poet who bears within himself both the great knowledge (*Wissen*) and the great Will (*Willen*), will show the Way to build *enraptured temples of exalted joy* and to *open wide the gates to exalted suffering*.

> Ein Bruder, der den großen Willen in sich trug,
> Verzückte Tempel hoher Freude zu erbauen
> Und hohem Leid die Tore weit zu öffnen (86).

These lines recall two passages from the Bible:

> Jesus antwortete, und sprach zu ihnen: Brechet diesen Tempel,
> und am dritten Tag will ich ihn aufrichten.
> Da sprachen die Juden: Dieser Tempel ist in sechs und vierzig
> Jahren erbauet; und Du willst ihn in dreien aufrichten.

> Machet die Thore weit und die Thüren in der Welt hoch, daß der König der Ehren einziehe (87).

(Notice the actual verbal echoes: *Tempel . . . erbauen. Tore . . . weit zu öffnen*).

Though neither of these passages actually occurs in the Passion story, both are normally associated with it. The first occurs only in St John's Gospel, where it is placed with the story of Christ's driving the money-changers out of the Temple at the very beginning of his ministry. In the synoptic Gospels, however, the cleansing of the Temple occurs immediately after the Palm Sunday entry into Jerusalem and in popular tradition the declaration about the re-building of the Temple occurs then, as, for example, in the Oberammergau Passionspiele:

> *Christus*: Fort mit euch! Ich will daß diese entweihte Stätte der Anbetung des Vaters wiedergegeben werde!
> *Sadock*: Mit welcher Vollmacht tust du das?
> *Einige*: Durch welche Wunderzeichen kannst du beweisen, daß du Macht dazu hast?
> *Christus*: Ihr verlangt Wunderzeichen? Ja, eines kann ich euch geben: Zerstört diesen Tempel hier, und in drei Tagen werde ich ihn wieder aufbauen!
> *Ezechiel*: Sechsundvierzig Jahre hat man an diesem Tempel gebaut, und du willst ihn in drei Tagen wieder aufbauen? (88).

Similarly the passage from Psalm 24, a Psalm of David, is often interpreted as a prophecy of the entry of Christ, the Son of David, into Jerusalem. The entry into Jerusalem is, of course, an entry into *exalted suffering (hohem Leid)* — the Passion itself.

For those born into the European-Christian tradition Jesus Christ is an obvious archetype of Landauer's gifted individual who retreats into loneliness (as Christ into the desert), is filled with the Spirit (as at the Baptism by John) and then preaches his message to the multitudes. We have seen how in Scenes 9 and 10 Toller identifies Friedrich/Prisoner and Friedrich/Wanderer with the Crucified One and the Resurrected One. Here too, as the gates are opened wide to exalted suffering, the Brother is given a 'Christ' dimension.

Toller has not written here a private or purely lyric poem. Its title, *Aufrüttelung (Arousal)*, makes clear that it is to be read as part of the 'political pamphlet': the Brother who shows the way is identified with the Wise Poet. The question remains: what is the Way?

Marnette says (89) that the theme of the poem is that one person must show the way, *even though it is not clear which way it leads.* In fact Toller does make clear what is the way and where it leads. Jesus Christ said, "I am the Way" (Ich bin der Weg. Joh. 14. 6). and we might think that Toller's Poet/Brother, with 'Christ' associations, might be making the same claim. However, the verse Preface is preceded by a *Motto* (as Spalek calls it; but perhaps *dedication to the reader* would be more accurate) which reads:

> You are the way.
> (Ihr seid der Weg) (90).

Addressing his readers in the familiar second person plural, Toller tells them (us) in advance that they (we) are the Way. It is the readers' realisation — taught by the poet, the solitary — that they, like the poet, are free human beings that makes them (that is 'us', the readers) the Way to the revolution that ends the play. Thus from its very dedication the play addresses itself to the bringing about of social change. *Die Wandlung* (the title) is not merely *Das Ringen eines Menschen* (sub-title), as it was when only the first four Stations were written. In the play as completed the Transformation is not simply one man's struggle but the prelude to the Transformation of the Volk and from this the transformation of society: that is, revolution.

It thus becomes evident that Toller was wholly justified in regarding his play, in the revolutionary times during which it was completed, as a *Flugblatt,* a political pamphlet. And if it is to be seen as a political pamphlet it must be seen as a revolutionary one. This view, however, has not gone unchallenged. Towards the conclusion of his analysis of the play Marnette roundly declares:

> Toller's *Wandlung* is not a revolutionary drama (91).

This opinion is perfectly logical in Marxist terms. Toller neither portrays nor accepts the Marxist analysis of historical processes. He proceeds, like Landauer, from the renewal of the individual, not from the victory of the working-class. Marnette says truly of the play:

> The working-class is not given any form at all (92).

He knows that his Marxist readers will draw the immediate conclusion that this cannot be a revolutionary play.

The generalised and emotive criticism of the war is also taken to task:

> The criticism of war remains abstract and slips into irrationality (93).

The 'renewal of the person' is merely an 'idealist Utopia' — where 'idealist' as opposed to 'materialist' is chosen to evoke an automatically hostile response. It is fundamentally Toller's 'voluntaristic view of the world' (Die voluntaristische Weltsicht Tollers) that impairs both the realistic content and the structure of Toller's play (94).

The literary-critical conflict expressed here between Marnette the Marxist scholar and Toller the idealistic socialist was to be lived out in real terms in the struggles between Toller and Leviné in Munich even before *Die Wandlung* appeared on the stage or in print, for in Munich in the early months of 1919 Toller was working with Landauer, until the latter's murder on 2nd May, in opposition to the doctrinaire Marxists led by Levien and Leviné (95).

In fact *Die Wandlung* is both revolutionary and anti-marxist (96).

In re-emphasising that the play is designed as an *Arousal*, to use the title of its preface, we place it in a strong and honourable tradition of German political pamphleteering. The Brechtian *Lehrstück* is not the only possible kind of dramatic *Flugblatt*. Büchner's *Woyzeck* is another kind and his *Dantons Tod* yet another. Not for nothing has Toller been described as *A German Danton* (97). A political pamphlet may make a primarily emotional appeal, as does Büchner's own pamphlet *Der hessische Landbote* (*The Hessian Courier*), 1834. Though very different in tone from Toller's play, Büchner's pamphlet also is a primarily emotional *Arousal*, and draws, as does *Die Wandlung*, on the language and imagery of the Christian tradition:

> In the year 1834 it looks as if the lie were given to the Bible. It looks as if God had created the peasants and manual workers on the fifth day and the princes and aristocracy on the sixth, and as if the Lord had said to the latter: "Have dominion over every creature that creepeth upon the earth", and had regarded the peasants and town-dwellers as worms.
>
> Things look now in Germany as the Prophet Micah writes, Chap. 7, v. 3 & 4: " . . . the great man he uttereth his mischievous desire, and so they wrap it up. The best of them is as a briar; the most upright is sharper than a thorn hedge".

> You built the strongholds, then overthrow them and build the house of freedom. Then you can baptise your children freely with the water of life and . . . be on guard and arm yourselves in the spirit and pray yourselves and teach your children to pray:"Lord, break the sticks of those who drive us and let thy kingdom come unto us — the Kingdom of Righteousness. Amen" (98).

There are, of course, many hard facts and figures in Büchner's pamphlet, but the passages he emphasises typographically are written in the style here illustrated. They are an arousal to action through feeling, and they draw much of their emotional strength from their appeal to traditional and deeply rooted religious images and phrases. Familiarity with Luther's Bible is assumed, and Büchner uses direct quotation (Micah), close paraphrase (Genesis) and stylistic similarity (e. g. such phrases as *Wasser des Lebens.* cf. *Offenbarung S. Johannis* Chap. 22. v. 17.) in order to associate his political message with the traditional religious one. This, as we have seen, Toller does also.

This leads us to consider *Die Wandlung* in the German tradition of Political Drama.

Political drama, as illustrated in *Die Wandlung,* has a strong ethical element in it. The scenes used by Toller as a pamphlet primarily appeal to the reader's moral revulsion from war. This is a very different branch of the political tradition in drama from that which may be exemplified by Shakespeare's History Plays and Brecht's *Mutter Courage.* Whereas Shakespeare's history plays and Brecht's history play operate through the principle Brecht christened *Verfremdung,* and aim at the maximum degree of detachment of the audience from the stage, the maximum objective consideration of the political (including ethical) problems presented, Toller's scenes make a direct assault on the reader's emotions, inviting rather than discouraging the reader to identify with Friedrich. (The word "reader" is used deliberately here because the scenes are also being thought of as a printed pamphlet).

The close relationship between the ethical and the political is deeply rooted in the German tradition of drama. Schiller's 'political' plays are largely concerned with ethical questions. His own most celebrated and explicit statement on this theme is his lecture; *Was kann eine gute stehende Schaubühne eigentlich wirken? (What can a good permanent theatre really achieve?)* (99). Within the context of the undemocratic German states of his day, Schiller sees the first and most direct political effect of the theatre to be upon the rulers themselves and particularly that of influencing them in the direction of humanity and toleration.

> Humanity and toleration are beginning to become the ruling spirit of our time; their beams have penetrated into the halls of justice, and even further, — into the hearts of our princes. How much share in this divine work belongs to our theatres? Is it not they which gave humanity knowledge of itself and laid bare the secret mechanism according to which that divine work operates? (100).

When one bears in mind that virtually all theatres were Court Theatres, their importance as a politico-ethical influence is obvious.

> A noteworthy class of people has cause to be more grateful to the stage than all others. Here the great ones of the world hear what they never or seldom hear: truth. What they never or seldom see, they see here: the human person (101).

It may seem a long road from influencing the absolutist princeling to influencing the working-class of Munich, but the connection is real.

> The theatre is the common channel into which the light of wisdom streams down from the thinking, better part of the people and from there and in more gentle beams spreads through the whole state (102).

It was in this Schilleresque spirit that Toller acted when he first became involved in public politics, in the anti-war strike-movement in Munich.

> I go to strike-meetings, I would like to help, to do something, anything. I distribute war-poems among the women, the Military-Hospital and Cripple scenes from my play *Die Wandlung*, because I believe that these verses, born from the horror of war, strike at it and accuse it (103).

Friedrich himself is, if remotely, a descendant of the Schilleresque hero, the exceptional person, the idealist. Apart from the heroes he himself created, Schiller remarks how the example of August, offering the hand of friendship to the traitor Cinna, or Franz von Sickingen on his way to punish a prince and to fight for the rights of others, turning and seeing the smoke rising from his fortress where his hapless wife and child remain, but pressing on *to keep his word* can inspire us to similar noble deeds (104).

Friedrich is of the middle-class, like Toller himself. When he wrote the first four Stations Toller had never, he says, had contact with

real, socialist, working people.

> I went to Eisner's meetings in which workers, women and young people were looking for the way which brings peace and saves the people. In these meetings I saw the figures of workers which I had not encountered until then, men of sober understanding, social insight, great knowledge of life, hardened will, socialists who served the cause in which they believed, without considering any immediate advantage (105).

Between Schiller and *Die Wandlung* lies the entire history of nineteenth century German drama, culminating in the Naturalist movement of the 1890s, as well as the twentieth century movement from Naturalism to Expressionism.

For our present purpose we shall refer only to one dramatist before the inception of the Naturalist movement, Friedrich Hebbel (1813–1863) who, "alone among the dramatists of the nineteenth century formulated a tragic philosophy of life which was also an intellectual system. In thus wanting his tragedy to have intellectual justification he was related to Schiller" (106).

He bridges the gap between the older dramatists who wrote high tragedy in monumental style, seeking to create myth in dramatic form, and the Naturalists. He points forward to Ibsen, especially in his radical yet tragic viewpoint, in his narrative realism, in his psychological understanding of lonely individuals alienated from God, and in his social criticism.

The fullest exposition of Hebbel's philosophy of drama is to be found in his essay of 1843, *Mein Wort über das Drama.* The very first sentence of this establishes the fact that Hebbel's views are completely remote from those of *l' art pour l'art* and that he takes as his starting-point the relationship of art to life:

> Art has to do with life, both inner and outer, and I suppose it can be said that it portrays both at the same time — its purest form and its highest content (107).

Moreover art must depict life both as Being and Becoming (*als Sein und als Werden*). In particular, drama represents the process of life in itself (*Das Drama stellt den Lebens prozess an sich dar*) (108). It is this ability of drama to represent the actual process of being and becoming that makes Hebbel declare elsewhere that drama is *die Spitze aller Kunst (the peak of all art)* (109). But drama does not present life in all its breadth,

as epic poetry does. Instead it is concerned with one particular and fundamental process of life, namely:

> . . that it represents for us the questionable relationship in which the Individual, released from the original nexus faces the Whole, of which, in spite of his (her) incomprehensible freedom, he (she) still always has remained a part (110).

In these phrases Hebbel epitomises a whole tragic philosophy embracing the eternal tragic problems of Freedom and Necessity, Free Will and Causation, and of the tragic situation of the human being, both part of and separate from the universe. The words have not only a cosmic application, but also a social one: the individual is both part of and separate from the fabric of society, an aspect of tragedy to which Hebbel gave expression, particularly in *Maria Magdalena.* It is the aspect that most interested the Naturalists from Ibsen through the nineties and has been re-expressed in the mid-twentieth century by Arthur Miller in his important essay *On Social Plays,* which he printed as an introduction to *A View from the Bridge,* where he writes:

> The tragic figure must have certain innate powers which he uses to pass over the boundaries of the known social law — the accepted mores of his people — in order to test and discover necessity (111).

With whatever aspect of the *Whole* the Individual is in the *Questionable Relationship,* be it physical, metaphysical or social, the individual acquires Guilt (Schuld), but this guilt, says Hebbel, is quite unlike the Christian Original Sin (Erbsünde). Drama must never weary of repeating the eternal truth that life, as a process of individuation which knows no limit, does not produce guilt by chance but necessarily and essentially includes it and causes it. Christian guilt arises from the way the human Will is directed, whereas dramatic 'guilt' arises directly from the Will itself, from the expansion of the Ego, which occurs intransigently and without any outer authority. It is therefore a matter of complete indifference whether the hero comes to grief through a splendid endeavour or a reprehensible one (112).

Hebbel's profound account of the tragic predicament applies equally well to Greek tragedy, Shakespearean tragedy or modern existentialist tragedy as exemplified in the plays of Sartre.

Obviously, as drama must portray both Being and Becoming, it must show not static characters but characters in the process of

formation, and that process is in the conflict between the individual Will and what Hebbel calls *der allgemeine Weltwillen (the universal world-will)*. The concept is not easy, but appears to be very similar to that of Thomas Hardy's *Immanent Will* (though for Hardy the tragedy is of a different nature, mankind being victims of the blind Will).

Hebbel goes on to consider more closely the relationship of the factual material out of which drama is created and the drama itself. He asks, for example, how far, in the relationship of drama to history, drama must be historically correct. Certainly, he says, drama must provide the atmosphere of the period, but in the last resort naive questions about naturalism are irrelevant, because nothing in art is 'real', nothing in drama is 'real'. Ultimately not only the drama as a whole, but every one of its elements, is symbolic.

> . . . it has been recognised that drama, not simply in its totality, which goes without saying, but in every one of its pre-existing elements, is symbolic and must be regarded as symbolic, just as the painter does not distil from real human blood the colours with which he gives his figures red cheeks and blue eyes but uses vermilion and indigo quietly and without fuss (113).

This leads Hebbel to consider also the artificiality of Form. Art uses the material of life,

> But the content of life is inexhaustible and the medium of art is limited (114).

The threads of life are continuous and lead to infinity, but in art the threads must be worked into a circle.

> . . . and this is the point which Goethe alone could have in mind when he declared that all her Forms (i. e. the Forms of Art) bring with them something inauthentic (115).

Hebbel next demonstrates that the German drama of that time was developing in three directions: social, historical and philosophical. He, however, aims at transcending these categories:

> Now a fourth [sc. category] is still possible, a drama which unites in itself the trends characterised here and for that very reason does not allow any single one to predominate dis-

> tinctly. This drama is the goal of my own efforts, and if I have not made clear what I mean through my own actual experiments in writing drama, through *Judith* and *Genoveva*, which is to appear some time soon, it would be foolish to try to help by developing it in the abstract (116).

In the following year (1844) Hebbel developed his theories further in his *Vorwort* to his play *Maria Magdalena*.

"Drama", he says, " as the peak of all art, should illustrate the *state of the world and of mankind* of each period in its *relationship to the Idea.*" In a complex parenthesis Hebbel seeks to explain what he means by *the Idea* in this context. It is the *moral centre* which is the precondition of everything, a moral centre whose existence in the world-organism we must assume, simply because it is necessary for its self-preservation.

The highest form of drama, epoch-making drama, is therefore only even possible when a decisive change is taking place in *the state of the world and of mankind*. Hebbel appears here to be arguing that only in certain periods of history — namely those when distinct changes are taking place in the state of the world and of mankind, periods, one assumes, like the Renaissance, the French Revolution or the First World War — can the greatest drama be written. Drama is therefore, he says, a product of the age, but only in the sense that such an age is itself the product of all preceding ages and is in fact the link which joins a chain of centuries just ending to another just beginning.

According to Hebbel, Shakespeare had put the conflict within the Ego, the individual, the person, but Goethe had laid the foundation-stone for a new kind of drama by putting the dialectic, the conflict, in the *Idea* itself, that is, in that 'moral centre' already referred to, round which the ego must move. This Goethe had done, he says, in *Faust* and in the novel *Wahlverwandtschaften (Elective Affinities)* which he claims to be 'dramatic'.

What Hebbel appears to be saying here is that whereas the earlier dramatists, including Shakespeare, assumed a stable moral centre upon or around which the conflict within the ego took place, Goethe has, so to speak, de-stabilized that moral centre by portraying conflicts within it. This is consistent with Hebbel's view expressed in *Mein Wort* that life does not produce guilt by chance or merely by misdirection of the Will, but necessarily and essentially. Such a view is also basically modern and can be applied to the plays of Toller: not so much to the fundamentally optimistic *Wandlung* as to the later plays of ideological conflict and ineluctable tragedy.

With all this Hebbel believed that the kind of drama he was advocating and attempting to write had an historical-political-social purpose and function:

> . . . dramatic art should help to fulfil the world-historical process which is taking place in our days and which intends not to overthrow existing institutions, political, religious and moral, of the human race, but to establish them more deeply and thus secure them against overthrow (117).

Art is thus seen as having a real historical function to fulfil: it is seen as able to produce, or at least contribute to, the production of definite historical consequences. In Hebbel's view these consequences, however revolutionary they may appear to be, are actually conservative and conserving in their effects.

Toller, too, when in prison, discovered what he called *conservative elements* in himself and wondered whether he had only become a revolutionary *out of a utopian conservatism* (118). In his last play, *Pastor Hall*, written when the Hitler régime was destroying the best elements in German conservatism, he presented in the character of General von Grotjahn a positive image of that conservatism.

There is not the least suggestion that Hebbel saw drama as anything so immediate, or indeed ephemeral, as a 'political pamphlet', but he clearly saw it as reinforcing the great, underlying processes of historical change and development. It did this, in effect, by giving philosophy artistic form and thus bringing it from the realm of the abstract to that of the concrete.

> . . . art . . . is philosophy made real, as the world is the idea made real (119).

Although Hebbel appears superficially to be standing Plato on his head (Plato's Ideas being more real than his Appearances), he is effectively using a Platonic image to explain what he sees as the nature of drama. Behind the concrete appearance (reality) of the world lies the abstract idea, the logos. But the world is simply the totality of brute fact. Philosophy gives meaningful form to the world, to this totality of brute fact, but only in the abstract; art, by imposing an intellectually determined order upon a representation of brute facts, gives abstract philosophy concrete, tangible appearance.

Thus Hebbel is restating in terms of the nineteenth century and in terms of the deeper philosophical scepticism of his own age and in

terms of his own artistic philosophy of the inevitability of tragedy, what Sir Philip Sidney had stated in terms of the sixteenth century in *An Apologie for Poetry*:

> The Philosopher therefore and the Historian are they which would win the gole, the one by precept, the other by example. But both not having both, doe both halte. . . . Nowe doth the Peerelesse Poet performe both: for whatsoever the Philosopher sayth shoulde be doone, hee giveth a perfect picture of it in some one, by whom hee presupposeth it was doone. So as hee coupleth the generall notion with the particular example. A perfect picture I say, for hee yeeldeth to the powers of the minde an image of that whereof the Philosopher bestoweth but a woordish description: which dooth neyther strike, pierce, nor possesse the sight of the soule so much as that, other dooth (120).

We turn now to the play to which this celebrated *Vorwort* was written, bearing in mind that the *Vorwort* was both conceived and written after the completion of the play. While not a political play in the narrow sense, *Maria Magdalena* is based upon an implied criticism of bourgeois society of the *Vormärz* period, namely that its limited code of morality could not accommodate powerfully sexual natures. In the *Vorwort* Hebbel described the play as *ein bürgerliches Trauerspiel (a bourgeois tragedy) (121)* and claimed that in it he had raised that *genre* to universal significance. The class of society in which tragedy was set, he said, was unimportant.

> It is really a matter of indifference whether the hand of a clock is made of gold or brass (122).

Tragedy must go beyond concern for the fate of an individual arbitrarily selected by the author, to a fate common to all human beings (*ein allgemein menschliches*), even if this is depicted in an extreme form; also, tragedy must depend upon *insoluble* problems (as Toller later showed in *Hinkemann*). Indeed, Hebbel's tragic view, as we have seen, is that the universal human problems are indeed insoluble.

Considering his importance as a theoretician of drama who was also a practising playwright, Hebbel's drama had, and has, little popular appeal, and his plays are not often seen on the German stage. In Berlin, East and West, between 1945 and 1970, for example, there were only seven productions of plays by Hebbel, of which three were of *Maria Magdalena*. For comparison, there were in that period in Berlin,

14 productions of Kleist, 21 of Ibsen, 41 of Goethe and 52 of Schiller (123). In academic circles on the other hand his plays have generated a vast body of secondary literature on account of the interesting aesthetic and critical problems they present. Yet, Hebbel, through Ibsen, did exercise an important influence on the German Naturalists.

> . . . Ibsen once expressed surprise that he should be hailed as a pioneer in the country that had nurtured Hebbel. In *A Doll's House, The Lady of [sic] the Sea, John Gabriel Borkman,* the central thesis is, as so often in Hebbel, the rights of the individual. Hebbel's influence on the succeeding generation of Realists thus came through the intermediary of a foreign dramatist rather than direct (124).

Both Hebbel and Ibsen wrote tragedies based on the conflict between the sexual drive and the social mores of nineteenth century society (*Maria Magdalena* and *Ghosts*), but neither thought of his plays as being in the more limited sense, 'political'.

It was the German working class which 'adopted' the originally middle-class naturalistic drama as its own. Darwinism and *Milieu-Theorie* were major elements in the intellectual framework of working-class clubs, debates and discussions.

> The working class associated its theatre with the new art of Naturalism. An art which professed to portray life as it really is might well seem suitable to be associated with revolutionary politics which want to change reality (125).

Thus Heinrich Braulich, writing from a strictly Marxist viewpoint, introduces the contrast between a tragic viewpoint (which he dubs 'pessimistic') and the basic optimism of dialectical materialism. Nevertheless, –

> The revolutionary workers used the critical elements of the naturalistic plays as an opportunity to confirm their class war with the bourgeoisie. They politicised the naturalistic theatre (126).

Even if Braulich's dogmatically Marxist approach is discounted, his last sentence expresses a truth: it was in the theatre, and above all through the new working-class audience that the middle-class naturalistic drama of social criticism became political.

The marriage was brief. By the mid-nineties Ibsen had moved and Hauptmann was moving away from Naturalism, the one towards symbolism, the other towards poetic fantasy, and the political theatre was left without a school of dramatists developing in and with it. The production lists of the Freie Volksbühne and the Neue Freie Volksbühne (the two great working-class theatre-audience organisations) from the mid-nineties until the end of the First World War (127), where we might reasonably expect to find plays representing growing-points of political drama, show increasing dependence upon the plays of the Naturalist *Blütezeit*, the later plays of the former Naturalists, the classics and lighter works. Wedekind and Shaw are the only two significant names that appear on these lists in the realm of socially critical drama until Kaiser's *Gas* (8. 2. '19).

The figure bridging this apparent gap between the socio-political drama of the Naturalists and that of the Expressionists is that of Strindberg. His *Preface* to the 'naturalistic tragedy' *Miss Julie* is in many respects a direct successor to Hebbel's *Vorwort* to *Maria Magdalena*. To take only two important examples:

Just as Hebbel insisted that drama must show both Being and Becoming, so also Strindberg eschews the 'middle-class conception of the immobility of the soul' (128).

As Hebbel distinguishes between original sin (which is a religious conception and is thought of as arising from the misdirection of the Will) and guilt (which he sees as inherent in the nature and existence of Will) so Strindberg treats of 'guilt' as the inevitable consequence of "a whole series of motives . . . "which he then lists, adding with irony, "I have not even preached a moral sermon; in the absence of a priest I leave this to the cook. " (129). Later he says:

> The Naturalist has abolished guilt with God, but the consequences of the action. . . . he cannot abolish (130).

It is true, of course, that Strindberg's naturalistic plays are not political or even social in the way that Ibsen's are (or the way Ibsen's may be taken) but they are Darwinian and thus closely related to the political thought of their period.

> *Miss Julia* is the tragedy of the Darwinian ethos. The concepts in it are through and through Darwinian, but the tragic interpretation is itself a critique of Darwinism (131).

Strindberg, however, is the bridge or link because he was not only a supreme practitioner of Naturalism, but also the major predecessor, both in techniques and in subject-matter, of Expressionism.

> Strindberg came to regard Naturalism as something he had outgrown . . . A moral difference separates his "Naturalist" from his later "Expressionist" plays. In the former the fantastic element is merely a demonic force which wrecks lives; in the latter it is also the creative fancy and imagination which are associated with religion: in them the irrationality of life leads not to the frightening joy in living of *Miss Julia* but to religious resignation. Naturalism and Expressionism, the twin poles of the Strindbergian mind, are two answers to the challenge of a Darwinian world. They are not philosophies. They are the two archetypal patterns of defeat in the modern world: defeat at the hands of naturalistic nihilism and defeat at the hands of a compensatory supernaturalism (132).

Later in his seminal book *The Modern Theatre*, Eric Bentley says, — seriously, but with a wry and critical smile:

> Dramatic Expressionism has three roots: Strindberg, adolescent despair, and electric light (133).

Adolescent despair in the period of the First World War was inextricably involved in youth's reaction against the war and against the social system which had engendered the war. Both the causes of this despair and its consequences were in part political. Toller's frail optimism, as seen in Friedrich's recovery from despair, is expressed in political terms. Thus through Expressionism, Strindberg, Ibsen and the German Naturalists, and Hebbel, we can trace the political aspect of *Die Wandlung* straight back to Schiller's concept of the theatre as a moral institution, whose moral nature has political effects.

While some of Toller's later work is directly related to the traditions of the working-class amateur dramatic movement, with its Speaking Choirs and propagandist *tableaux vivants*, in this play the middle-class poet is offering in Friedrich an idealised persona of himself as a leader of the masses. Out of Toller's attempt to put such leadership into practice during the hectic weeks of the Munich *Räterepublik* grew the deeper understanding of the problems of politics, the inner conflicts and the sense of tragedy that give the best of his work from then on its claim to greatness. *Die Wandlung* is his only optimistic play. If this play looks back to Schiller through the lens of

Expressionism, he was soon to be drawing strength from the 'other' dramas of the nineteenth century, from Büchner, Lassalle and the named and anonymous dramatists of the working-class, social-democratic clubs and societies between 1848 and his own times.

Die Wandlung does not, however, belong only to the tradition of political drama. Toller's division of the play into *Stations* places it also in the tradition of religious drama. In many religious dramas of the later middle-ages throughout Europe various Stations were simultaneously presented and the action focused on each in turn; in other places the multi-storeyed waggons visited various Stations in the city to perform the various stages or stations of biblical story.

The oldest and most fundamental 'Station' series is that of *The Stations of the Cross*, the fourteen episodes from the condemnation of Christ to death, to the Deposition in the Sepulchre, that were and are placed around the walls of a church to be visited in turn with appropriate prayers. Thus the figure of Christ is inextricably associated with the concept of Station Drama. As Michel Bataillon reminds us, one does not define Station Drama simply as a linear succession of scenes. It is a dramatic *genre* which must not be confused with Epic dramaturgy, despite profound analogies. In the first place, he points out, there is in Station Drama "hypertrophy of the function of the hero" (134) linked with a schematisation of the world with which he is confronted. In the best of Station Drama there is a progress, at once physical and mental of the central individual figure. This is true in the case of the Stations of the Cross, which Bataillon sees as to some extent the prototype of the *genre*. In varying degrees Christ's earthly progress is a kind of thread running through these plays. He suggests that this is true of Strindberg's *To Damascus* as well as of *Die Wandlung*, in which the hero is also a 'younger brother' of Ahasuerus, the Wandering Jew.

Thus the genealogy of *Die Wandlung* can be traced right back to the late medieval passion plays such as the *Osterspiel von Muri* (Aargau, mid-13th Century), the so-called *Wiener Passionsspiel* (c. 1315), the *Frankfurter Passionsspiel* (about 1350) and even the still-running *Oberammergau Passionsspiele*.

As a passion play that is still a living part of twentieth century theatre, this last merits somewhat closer examination in this context. For the original play of 1634 a text was provided by the neighbouring monastery at Ettal. This underwent many changes and by the latter part of the eighteenth century the text in use (*Passio Nova* by P. Ferdinand Rosner) was thoroughly Baroque in character. The play was rewritten in 1810/1811 by a Benedictine Father, Othmar Weis, with music com-

posed (also in 1810) by the remarkable local composer and teacher, Rochus Dedler. This is in effect the text used today (1984 production), with important modernisations in 1850/1860 by the priest of that period, Jos. Alois Daisenberger. The most recent modifications, made in 1983 for the 1984 production (350th anniversary), included striking out what remained of passages which could be regarded as anti-semitic. Dedler's music, which had suffered during the nineteenth century from inappropriate orchestral accretions, was also restored to its pristine simplicity in 1950, by Prof. Eugen Papst (135).

The structure of Weis's play is by no means that of a simple chronicle of events. The stage that has been built to meet its requirements embodies and reflects its complexity. It is a very wide, relatively shallow open stage, recalling the Greek theatre, and will accommodate enormous crowd scenes. In the centre of the stage-buildings which form the permanent backing to this open stage, and raised a little above it by a couple of shallow steps, is a proscenium-arched inner or rear stage which can he artificially lit and where pictorial scenery can be prepared and displayed. Each side of this are large arched entrances wide enough for rapid mass entrances and exits, and leading to hints of further "streets" off-stage. Beyond these entrances, left and right, are pillared 'houses' (in the sense of the medieval stage) led up to by broad, slightly convexly curved flights of some eight or nine steps. These can represent specific locations, that on the actors' left normally serving as the Temple and that on the right as the seat of Roman power. Finally, at extreme right and left are downstage entrances primarily used by the chorus.

The play consists of a Prologue, two Parts (*Abteilungen*) and a closing 'Station' (*Schlußvorstellung*). The first Part runs for two-and-a-half hours, the second for two-and-three-quarter hours. The Parts are divided into sections each of which is called a *Vorstellung* (literally Performance). In effect each *Vorstellung* is a Station in the play. Each Station contains several elements. Not every Station contains every element, but the typical, fully developed Station has this, or a very similar, pattern:

1. *Prologue.* The mixed Chorus of 48 enters very formally from right and left and the Prologue speaks from centre Stage. The Prologues are written in Classical Lyric Metres (e.g. Sapphics), their language is clear and forceful, but quite complex, and their matter is the theological content of the Station and often refers to Old Testament parallels to or foreshadowings of the passion story. Here, as an example, are two stanzas from the Prologue to the Fifth Station:

The Traitor. After two stanzas referring to Judas, the Prologue continues:

> Gleicher Sinn verhärtete Jakobs Söhne,
> Daß sie unbarmherzig den eig'nen Bruder
> Um erbärmlichen Preis in der fremden Wuch'rer
> Hände verkauften.
>
> Wo das Herz dem Götzen des Geldes huldigt,
> Da ist jeder edlere Sinn geschwunden;
> Ehre wird verkäuflich und Manneswert,
> Liebe und Freundschaft. (136)

The fine rhetorical speaking of the complex rhythms and language of these Prologues is one of the most impressive features of the whole performance.

2. The rest of the *Vorstellung* normally falls into two sections, marked *A* and *B* in the printed text.
   A is the *Vorbild*, the *Example*, that is, the Old Testament parallel or foreshadowing. This usually consists of:
   i) a sung chorus.
   ii) The Chorus swings back from the centre, and the rear stage opens for a *tableau vivant* of the Old Testament incident. (e. g. in the Fifth *Vorstellung*, the sale of Joseph by his brethren for twenty pieces of silver: Judas' price was thirty).
   iii) The rear stage closes and the Chorus leaves very formally by the side entrances.

The words of the sung choruses are in traditional hymn-like metres, the language much simpler than that of the spoken Prologue, while Dedler's settings of these choruses often recall traditional Chorales, though in general his music has a Haydnesque flavour.

> Rochus Dedler was a child of his time. Haydn and Mozart exercised great influence upon his compositions. His music is popularly traditional and rooted in his native soil, and rises in many places to thrilling beauty and massive dimensions (137).

B is the *Handlung*, the *Action*. This is the actual passion story written in simple naturalistic prose, with many echoes, naturally, of the biblical text. In performance even this is not presented as simple naturalism: for example, when crowds or groups speak or shout they do so *in unison*, as they would in an oratorio or musical Passion and not at random as in a naturalistic play. Certain scenes, too, are presented in

heightened style. For example, while Christ distributes the Bread and Wine at the Last Supper a hidden chorus sings a chorale, so that the impact resembles that of a sung Mass, and the ritual connection between the Mass and the original Supper is brought home to the audience in theatrical terms and by theatrical means.

The *Handlung* in any one *Vorstellung* may consist of several Scenes (*Auftritte*).

Although there is no question of Toller's owing a direct debt to the Oberammergau play, the parallels between this nineteenth century Station Drama and *Die Wandlung* are close enough to be of interest. The conception of a "Station" (*Vorstellung*) as a unit in the play, containing not only part of the action, but also other elements with the functions of intensification, internalisation and parallelism (e.g. *The Mountaineers*) is shared by the two plays, though the structure of the Stations in *Die Wandlung* is much simpler than that of the *Vorstellungen* in the Passion Play. In particular the use of the rear stage for the Old Testament *tableaux vivants* which intensify and at the same time universalise the significance of the Action scenes on the front stage, anticipates and has much in common with Toller's use of the rear stage and different style for his Dream Scenes. Each play has a *Vorspiel* (*Prologue* — the same word is used) in non-naturalistic style, not part of the actual story but introducing its essential theme. In the Oberammergau play the double origin of the play is shown: 1) the Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise; 2) the Oath taken by the people of Oberammergau in the churchyard in 1633 (138).

Although the example of the *Passionsspiele Oberammergau* shows that religious Station Drama was, as it still is, a living *stage* tradition in German, and not merely a literary inheritance, it was certainly not directly from these station-dramas that Toller derived the form of *Die Wandlung*, but from Strindberg. As we have already seen, Strindberg is the link between the socio-political drama of the Naturalists and the socio-political drama of the Expressionists. He is also the link between traditional religious Station-drama and Station-drama as practised by the Expressionists, and as Eric Bentley (139) pointed out, it was when Strindberg expressed "creative fancy and imagination . . . associated with religion" that he wrote his "expressionist" plays, of which that which concerns us in this context is the Station-drama *To Damascus*, whose very title alludes to the conversion (or 'transformation', *Wandlung*) of St Paul on the Road to Damascus. Thus through Strindberg's 'religious' plays Station Drama re-emerged in the modern theatre.

Die Wandlung has many important analogies with *To Damascus,* and Toller almost certainly owes a direct debt to this play through his reading, even as a schoolboy.

> I love the books which the school forbids: Hauptmann and Ibsen, Strindberg and Wedekind (140).

As Bataillon suggests, Toller's play in its completed form owes a structural debt to Strindberg's.

Part I of *To Damascus* consists of seventeen scenes cyclically arranged around Scene 9 (9 is the Square of the Trinity), thus:

Sc. 1	Street Corner	Sc. 17
Sc. 2	Doctor's House	Sc. 16
Sc. 3	Room in an Hotel	Sc. 15
Sc. 4	By the Sea	Sc. 14
Sc. 5	On the Road	Sc. 13
Sc. 6	In a Ravine	Sc. 12
Sc. 7	In a Kitchen	Sc. 11
Sc. 8	The 'Rose' Room	Sc. 10
	Sc. 9 Convent	

(141)

Toller also uses an uneven number of scenes — 13 — with number seven (another 'holy' number, especially in Jewish traditions (142) as the 'hinge' of the whole work. The 'realistic' and 'dream' scenes (6 of each) are balanced, though less regularly than in the Strindberg scheme, before and after this scene, which is the only single-scene Station:

Stn. 1:	Realistic . . . . Dream
Stn. 2	Realistic . . . . Dream
Stn. 3	Realistic . . . . Dream
	Station 4: Realistic.
Stn. 5	Dream . . . . Dream . . . . Dream . . . . Realistic
Stn. 6	Dream . . . . Realistic

(143)

Bataillon suggests that the dream scenes change in function in the second part (after Sc. 7), and that as Toller gives no directions as to whether Scene 7 (Station 4) is to be played on the fore-stage or the rear-stage, it is probable that he intends the whole stage to be used for this

key scene. In view of the big break (in terms of experience even more than of time) between the writing of the first and second parts (Stns 1–4 & Stns 5 & 6), one must exercise caution in ascribing too careful authorial intention to Toller. A case can be made for regarding Stations 1–4 as originally conceived to be a complete entity, beginning with Christmas and ending with the transformation of the protagonist — a sunrise scene contrasting with the evening scene at the opening. But the decision to extend the play resulted in changes. Ahasuerus, the Wandering Jew, disappears as a symbol of the protagonist's fate, and Christ takes his place. This occurs in the sequence of three Dream Scenes (Stn 5, Scs 8, 9 & 10) which follow Stn. 4, Sc. 7. In this second part of the play dream scenes precede realistic scenes and show the psychological processes which lead to those realistic scenes: a totally different function from the dream scenes of the early part, which show the psychological *consequences* of what has occurred in the realistic scenes. The sequence of three scenes certainly breaks the neat schematisation established in the early part; but it also gives scope for the 'new' Friedrich to be developed before he reappears to make his two long public speeches.

The first scene in the second part (Stn 5, Sc. 8) marks a new departure in the use of dream figures with Friedrich's face. In scenes 2, 4 & 6 the dream figures are in situations (the military transport train, No-Man's-Land, and the Military Hospital) which Toller himself had experienced (not, of course, as a padre). In Stn. 5, Sc. 8, however, the Friedrich figure is a *Schlafbursche* (a man who cannot rent a room but only a bed or part of a bed, and often only for the night *or* for the day). The scene thus represents Friedrich's mental and spiritual efforts to identify with the working class. We see him sharing the bed with the young woman forced into prostitution and then see him taken from his bed by the Night-Visitor, who takes him from the *Mietskaserne* to that other 'barrack', the factory-prison. The dream-shift from *Die große Fabrik (The Big Factory)* to the ground-floor of the prison is, as already noted, made during blackout to the accompaniment of factory noises.

Although Friedrich in Sc. 8 is not identified with Christ, the audience will recall, when that identification does come in Sc. 9, that Jesus was criticised for his association with sinners, including prostitutes (144). For the reader (and the play's director) Sc. 9 is clearly headed *Tod und Auferstehung (Death and Resurrection)*, and as the lights come on, the dying prisoner (with Friedrich's face) is lying on the concrete floor with his head thrown back and his arms outstretched *"as if he were crucified"*. It must be emphasised that this is the first time in

the play that any identification of Friedrich with Christ has been suggested. It is impossible to know whether it had been in the author's mind from the start (Stn. 1, Sc. 1 is Christmas) or whether he now saw the way forward in this light. In any event this scene continually emphasises the Christian aspect:

> The Christian command of the Church
> He has twice transgressed in sin (145).
> It was not Romans who nailed him to the cross:/
> He crucified himself (146).

In this scene, too, the relationship between a Station-Drama and the Stations of the Cross is made explicit:

> We ourselves go through painful Stations
> And send out children
> To their own crucifixion (147).

Or later:

> Helpless, we watch the *via dolorosa* (148).

The prisoner himself dies, but in his dying words he prophesies that his unborn child may be able to redeem himself through crucifixion:

> Perhaps, crucified, he can redeem himself
> Rise again to great freedom (149).

At the end of the scene the child is actually born and the mother holds it out bathed in joyful light to the awe-stricken prisoners, while the ceiling arches up to the infinite skies.

Immediately afterwards appears the Wanderer, with Friedrich's face, not this time the Wandering Jew, but the Risen Christ:

> I feel as if I was awakening today for the first time,
> As if I had rolled away a heavy gravestone
> And rise again (150).

In a final touch, the Wanderer refers to the judges and the accused each putting aside their dignity or their ignominy like *crowns of thorn*. This is the end of the close Friedrich-Christ identification, and the final words of the scene lead back to the world of reality:

I know the way to the work-place,
Now I know it (151).

So the last (reality) scene of the Fifth Station presents a public (evening) meeting in which Friedrich, entering upon his role as a public figure, joins in a public debate. An old soldier with his military decorations, a university professor and a priest all speak for the 'establishment' and are answered by an advocate of violent revolution. Friedrich intervenes, putting his Landaueresque answer to socialism through violence. With apparently little dramatic justification he asks the people to wait until midday (?symbolically) the next day, when he will put his case to them in the market-place outside the Church. The scene has a curious coda in which Friedrich resists two temptations:

1) to become a personal *Führer* (that is the word used), and
2) to accept the love of a girl-student who wants to bear his child.

After this comes a further post-script in which an anonymous man with his coat collar turned up high, tells Friedrich he hates him and that he ought to turn monk.

The first (dream) scene, Sc. 12, of the final Station (6) is called *Die Bergsteiger (The Mountaineers)*. In this two mountaineers have the faces of Friedrich and his Friend from Sc. 1 and Sc. 7. The Friedrich figure must push on to the heights, while the Friend figure gives up. The Mountaineer figures are a completely new element in the dream sequences and are unrelated to any of the earlier dream figures. While the image of the dauntless mountaineer (e.g. the 'Excelsior' figure) is common enough, there could well be a direct link between this scene and Rilke's poem, already referred to, *Ausgesetzt auf den Bergen des Herzens* (152). Certainly no apparent link between Toller and Rilke can be ignored.

In the last scene Friedrich first has to recapitulate the 'stations' by which he has reached his final position. The Friend has already been disposed of in Sc. 12. He has to encounter his Mother, the Uncle referred to in Sc. 1, the Doctor of the Military Hospital, and a sick man with shifty eyes, who seems to be related to the war invalid of Sc. 7, after meeting whom Friedrich had nearly killed himself, but was prevented by the hospital sister. The sick man with shifty eyes wants to persuade *Mankind* to commit suicide, not through war, but voluntarily. He advocates building "hygienic places for self-annihilation", a curiously horrible prophecy of the Nazi gas-chambers which Jews entered having been told they were baths. Here, at the very beginning of

Toller's career as a writer we find his persona having to battle with the temptation of suicide.

After a short scene with a woman who equates love with lust (*Liebe peitscht Leiber: Love whips bodies (153)*) the Sister comes again, as in Sc. 7 to give Friedrich final encouragement.

The scene and the play then end with Friedrich's impassioned speech calling for bloodless revolution and with the positive reaction of the crowd. The sacrifices that seemed to threaten the Friedrich figure as Mountaineer are not demanded of him in the course of this play, even though the final scenes were in fact written in prison: but Toller had not yet experienced extremities of conflict between his pacifist and his socialist ideals.

Even at the end of the play the quasi-religious character of Toller's and Landauer's revolutionary ideals are kept in sight, partly through biblical allusion:

> Go to the soldiers, they should beat their swords into ploughshares (154).
>
> (155)

There is another entirely different thread that links *Die Wandlung*, though less directly, with the station-dramas of the late Middle Ages, and that is through the medium of Goethe's *Faust*.

One critic of the first production (see below, note 227) remarked that the sub-title of the play suggested to him: *My Golgotha, Via Dolorosa,* and *Faust*. As the influence of Goethe's *Faust* on subsequent German literature and drama has been all-pervasive, seminal and inescapable, a mere generalised suggestion of a *Faust/Wandlung* connection would be facile. The real interest lies in the specific and particular way in which Toller's play is linked with Goethe's.

Goethe's knowledge of the Faust legend came to him from two sources: a late eighteenth century publication of the 1725 version of the *Faust-Book*, and a *Faust* puppet-play he saw when a boy. The eighteenth century *Faust-Book* gave him many motifs of the Faust tale, but in this version there was virtually nothing left of the "stormy, scholarly mind" (156) which was still vitally alive in the original 1587 *Faust-Book*. That original 1587 *Faust-Book* had soon made itself felt in England, and before his early death in 1593 Christopher Marlowe had used it as the basis for his *Tragicall History of Doctor Faustus*.

Marlowe's play was probably first taken to Germany in 1592 by Robert Browne (157) and in some form, probably prose, was in the

repertory of the *Englische Komödianten* who toured Germany at least until 1659 and exercised such enormous influence there. The play continued to be toured and adapted in Germany throughout the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth, though the earliest surviving German version dates from about 1800 (158). In this the comic Hanswurst rôle is much developed and Faust himself, while he has lost much of the Titanism of Marlowe's creation, retains his thirst for knowledge. With the rise in popularity of marionette theatres in the later seventeenth century, the Faust play entered their repertoire. There were many versions, some perpetuated in oral family traditions and some in written texts. After the publication of Goethe's *Faust Fragment* in 1790 and especially after the publication of *Faust I* in 1808 the interest these aroused led to the collection of some of the marionette versions. It is not known which version the young Goethe saw. Nor, as we learn from his diary, did he read Marlowe's play until 1818 (159). The essential point for our argument, however, is that the puppet-play which he saw with enthusiasm as a boy and recalled in detail throughout his life, was derived ultimately from Marlowe.

It is accepted that Marlowe's *Faustus* owes many features of its form to morality plays. The Good and Evil Angels, for example, occur in the morality play *The Castle of Perseverance* (160), as do the Deadly Sins. The morality plays, like the mystery plays, often were in effect 'station' dramas. Instead of the Stations being stages in the development of the biblical story (often associated in performance with specific physical 'stations' grouped and presented as a multiple, simultaneous setting), in the morality plays they took the form of stages in the testing and development of one protagonist called, for example, *Mankind* or *Everyman*. Thus there is one character running through the play and the connecting thread is not an external objective conflict, but the internal, subjective conflict resulting in the protagonist's moral development as he encounters personifications of various vices and virtues at each stage. The Stations thus become (as indeed they are in *Die Wandlung*) not stages in a *story* but in a *moral process.*

This form Marlowe adopts with the modification that (except at the very beginning and end of the play) Faust is accompanied by Mephistophilis: even so this on-stage conflict between Faustus and Mephistophilis is purely an externalisation of Faustus' own inner moral processes. Faustus passes through a series of 'Stations'. As Erich Trunz has said, Marlowe's grasp seizes upon what he calls "die großen Situationen" (the great situations) (161): the opening monologue in which Faust examines all branches of learning and turns to magic; the

conjuration; the pact; intervention in high politics; the conjuration of the spirit of Helen of Troy; and finally repentance, and the longing, all too late, to burn the books of magic; and his midnight damnation. Marlowe's play can thus fairly be described as a tragic station-drama, a Station Tragedy.

Goethe's *Faust I* is similarly constructed. Goethe had originally no overall plan for it, as he had for *Faust II*, but built it up out of individual scenes, each the product of passionate inner vision. The scene-headings themselves suggest the idea of 'Stations': *Nacht, Vor dem Tor, Studierzimmer, Auerbachs Keller, Hexenküche, Straße etc (Night, Outside the Gate, Study, Auerbach's Cellar, Witches' Kitchen, Street, etc)*, locations connected only by the figure of Faust and serving in the process of his moral downfall. Seen thus *Faust I* is very close to Bataillon's definition of Station-Drama. As in morality plays and in Marlowe, the conflict is within the soul of the protagonist and the real action subjective. ("Zwei Seelen wohnen, ach! in meiner Brust, ": Alas, two souls dwell within my breast. *Faust I.* 1112.) Goethe himself fully understood that the drama of *Faust I* was the subjective, inner drama of the individual:

> The First Part is almost entirely subjective. It all stems from one diffident, passionate individual (162).

Faust II was seen by its author in a very different light:

> In the Second Part, however, there is practically nothing subjective; there appears here a higher, broader, brighter, more dispassionate world (163).

So far we have adduced nothing that could not be explained by regarding *Faust I* and *Die Wandlung* as totally separate developments from religious and moral station-drama. But there is a remarkable parallel between the beginning and ending of the "*Ur-Wandlung*" (Stations 1–4 regarded as originally complete in themselves) and Goethe's *Faust*, a parallel close enough for it to be argued that in writing the *Ur-Wandlung*, Toller was influenced (whether consciously or unconsciously is not the issue) by Goethe.

Die Wandlung begins with Christmas and evening, and ends, (in Stn. 4) with the transformation of the protagonist, and sunrise. The stage direction at the beginning of Stn. 1, Sc. 1 reads:

> Fore-stage. A room in a town correspondingly disfigured. In the twilight forms and colours are blurred and wavering. In the houses on the other side of the street the candles on the Christmas Trees are lit. Friedrich leans at the window (164).

The room is 'disfigured' in urban style. The implication is that taste is poor or corrupt, furniture and decoration lack form or beauty. In addition the twilight blurs colours and forms so that they seem infirm and wavering. Friedrich feels himself a part of this uncertainty and corrupt ambiguity, for he refers to himself in the first few moments as *Ekler Zwitter* (165) (*a loathsome hermaphrodite, a disgusting hybrid*), a being of uncertain shape, like the setting in which we see him.

The opening of *Faust*, too, is full of darkness, semi-darkness and ambiguous forms. The *Dedication*, the first words a reader of the work meets, begins:

> Once more you approach, you hovering forms,
> Who at one time, early, showed yourselves to my clouded sight . . .
> You crowd near me! good, then, — you may prevail,
> As you rise around me out of haze and fog (166).

The first scene, simply headed *Night*, is full of similar images of visual uncertainty:

> It is becoming cloudy above me,
> The moon hides its light
> The lamp is extinguished!
> It grows misty — red beams flutter around my head
> A horror drifts down from the vault and seizes me (167).

In the second scene also, the visual uncertainties persist as Faust sees the approaching poodle streaming a trail of fire. Wagner says:

> You are probably suffering from an optical illusion (168).

The openings of the two works are also parallel in that each takes place in the context of a major feast of the Christian Year, though these are used by the two dramatists for very different purposes. *Die Wandlung* begins on Christmas Eve, with the candles on the Christmas Trees emphasising for Friedrich his exclusion as a Jew from the sense of belonging to German-Christian society. *Faust* begins on Easter Eve and