

ASPECTS OF DISTORTED SEXUAL ATTITUDES IN GERMAN
EXPRESSIONIST DRAMA WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO
WEDEKIND, KOKOSCHKA AND KAISER

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ABSTRACT

This thesis attempts to demonstrate that Wedekind, Kokoschka and Kaiser display a variety of distorted sexual attitudes in their plays, sometimes consciously (for example, when Kaiser portrays incest) but more often unconsciously, by a tenacious adherence to conventional Wilhelmine attitudes towards sexuality. Conventionality as such does not, of course, constitute in itself a distorted sexual attitude. However, certain Wilhelmine assumptions can, from a present-day point of view, legitimately be seen as reflecting a distorted sexual attitude, most notably the notion that in sexual matters the male was essentially aggressive and the female essentially passive, which led in its turn to further distortions: the gearing of girls' upbringing to male expectations, the denial of female sexuality and the condonation of sexual violence. The mainstream of medical opinion encouraged the view that a respectable lady was sexless and a sexually eager woman was sick. Although this view did not go completely unchallenged, it certainly encouraged the belief that women of a certain type enjoyed rough treatment. It will be shown that Wedekind shared this tendency to condone sexual violence towards women.

At first sight, Wedekind, Kokoschka and Kaiser seem to challenge conventional views by choosing sexually dynamic women as their protagonists. This, in itself, was an achievement, as it brought sexuality to the foreground in German Expressionist drama and opened up the subject for further discussion. However, the actual fate of these female protagonists is usually such that their sexuality is completely negated, thus reinforcing rather than challenging the Wilhelmine tendency to deny women's sexuality. Evidence is also presented that women often accepted male assumptions concerning their sexuality, which stressed their biological destiny as mothers and insisted on a suppression of sexual desire. This acceptance makes many of the distortions found in the plays easier to understand. If women themselves misconstrued their own sexual impulses, male authors can

more easily be forgiven for not fully understanding female sexuality.

The satirical tone adopted by Wedekind and Kaiser cannot be criticised as such: however, it will be criticised when the satire descends to the level of a sexist joke, thus reinforcing the strong undercurrent of misogyny, derived from Schopenhauer and Nietzsche, which prevailed during the period under discussion.

FOREWORD

Middle-class Germans in the Wilhelmine era shared with their Victorian cousins across the water a supreme gift for dissembling. Grown women who had borne several children pretended they were weak and helpless, whilst little boys dressed up in manly sailor suits and pretended they were wise and strong. Against their doctors' advice, middle-class ladies laced themselves tightly to give themselves a Wespentaille and covered themselves from wrist to ankle, thus achieving decorum and a provocative shape at the same time. Piano legs and any suggestive items around the house were covered and draped by a generation which pretended it did not like to think about sex but which, as Foucault has pointed out, held constant discourse on the topic.¹ The hypocrisy to which this gave rise has fascinated English-speaking writers, and books for the general reader on Victorian sexuality are abundant.² However, there is very little equivalent literature in German. Erwin Haeberle has pointed out that although the roots of sexology are to be found in Germany, 'die sozialen und historischen Dimensionen der Sexualität [gerieten] weitgehend in Vergessenheit'.³ It was therefore essential in this study to deal mainly with the German primary texts in this area.

Wedekind, Kokoschka and Kaiser were selected for study because of the frequency with which they chose to deal with sexuality. In doing so, they displayed many distorted sexual attitudes which are sometimes outright perversions (as in Wedekind's sanction of violence towards women), but more often an inappropriate application of conventional views. The frequency of sexist jokes will also be noted. The nature of the distorted sexual attitudes will be discussed in Section I of the Introduction.

It will be seen that most of the plays under discussion were written before the reign of Kaiser Wilhelm came to an end in 1918 (the year of Wedekind's death). However, a little of Kokoschka's later work will be examined for thematic purposes, and a few of Kaiser's plays of the early 1920s will be discussed on the assumption that sexual attitudes

did not change overnight in the Weimar Republic. Where a change can be monitored through into the Weimar period, the cause has more to do with the private life of Kokoschka and Kaiser than with the sudden liberation of sexual attitudes in the 'Roaring Twenties'.⁴

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INTRODUCTION

I. ASPECTS OF DISTORTION

Just as there are many different things which make people healthy and happy, there are many different attitudes towards sexuality - as many attitudes, one could almost say, as there are people. It would be impossible to give a permanently valid definition of normal sexual attitudes, especially in a field where one's own value-judgements must of necessity play a part in the selection and analysis of material. Normality and distortion are both relative concepts: it is thus perfectly proper, in the 1980s, to speak of a woman's need for sexual gratification without infringing any conventional taboos, whereas this was not the case in Wilhelmine Germany (nor in Victorian Britain) and it might not be the case in, say, another hundred years' time. What will not have changed, however, is the physiology of women, who - whether in 1886, 1986 or 2086 - will have (or will have had) sexual urges which feel (or which have felt) much the same in the physical sense. These sexual impulses will have (or will have had) a different construction placed on them by the women themselves, according to the notions of sexuality current at the time. Erwin Haeberle highlights the potential for distorted attitudes towards sexuality to arise through social pressure when he points out that '... sexual behaviour in particular is influenced by social conditioning'.¹ Thus, social pressures during the Wilhelmine era produced attitudes accepted by both men and women which are now regarded as excessively restrictive.

Up to the end of the nineteenth century, pronouncements on sexual topics had been seen as the preserve of doctors and priests. At the end of the century a new science began to emerge: that of sexology (see Section III,iii). At first, the sexologists concentrated their research on

homosexuality, but gradually they paid more and more attention to the question of heterosexuality although, as men of their time, they found themselves unable to separate themselves from the strong misogynist current which prevailed at the time, especially in literature and philosophy (which will be discussed below at some length). Their incomplete and often faulty advice sometimes had more to do with moral support for the patriarchal structure of society than with any attempt to disseminate sex education and promote sexual health. It is perhaps appropriate to bear in mind that the belief that women had less sexual desire than men survived well into the second half of this century. The (all-male) Kinsey committee declared themselves somewhat taken aback by one of their key findings on female sexuality:

In spite of the widespread and oft-repeated emphasis on the supposed differences between male and female sexuality, we fail to find any anatomic or physiological basis for such differences.²

The conventional attitude towards sexuality in the nineteenth century can be seen as a distortion in so far as it (wrongly) embraced the notion that men were more sex-oriented than women, at least amongst the well-bred. This single misconception was the source of many further distorted sexual attitudes. For if the lady was sexually passive this meant - or was taken to mean - that the man was the active partner. There is frequent reference in contemporary literature to the dominance of the man and the submission of the woman as the correct state of affairs, although this might be done indirectly by making the dominant woman appear isolated and unattractive. Encouraged by the notion of the brutal and, to many, admirably virile Nietzschean Superman, the writers of the Wilhelmine era, especially those of the avant-garde Expressionist group,³ gave many instances of concealed or even open sadism on the part of the man which will be discussed in detail below (Section II,ii). The effect is that woman's sexuality is constantly denied or denigrated, so that prostitution is shown to be an escape route for the woman

with nymphomaniac tendencies, rather than the extreme form of male domination over the woman which the financial transaction forces it to be. The double standard also receives a degree of support as a necessity for the virile male.

Such distorted sexual attitudes must have placed many monogamous marriages under considerable strain, especially as there was frequently a generation gap between husbands and wives (see below, p.16), which in itself must have caused almost as much diversity in opinion towards sexuality as that caused by the generation gap which is often the topic in Expressionist drama, eg. Hasenclever's Der Sohn (1918) and Bronnen's Der Vatermord (1920). However, not everyone followed convention and there were no doubt countless happy, sexually-fulfilled marriages.⁴ Nevertheless, the conventional views were persuasive and seemed to be medically proven, and were no doubt internalised by many people who were thus led, unconsciously for the main part, into the adoption of the distorted sexual attitudes described above. It will be the task of this thesis to operationalise the concept of distorted sexual attitudes by means of a detailed examination of the plays of Wedekind, Kokoschka and Kaiser.

It is not surprising that these distorted sexual attitudes crept into the literature of the Wilhelmine period, giving rise to a number of ambiguities, especially where sexual matters are the topic. The ambiguities often appear to be paradoxical because the writers, especially those regarded as Expressionist, were generally viewed as enlightened, a conclusion justified by their open criticism of bourgeois patriarchal society in other respects. The most striking ambiguity occurs with Wedekind's work, which seems to make a plea for sexual liberation but which simultaneously condones violence towards women. Wedekind was not alone: the whole period of Expressionism leaves the question of female sexual emancipation in disarray. Sexuality was a subject which the Expressionists felt almost duty-bound to broach, but which they discovered, on closer acquaintance, to be a Trojan Horse, providing them with

further problems rather than solutions and almost always luring them into displaying the 'received misogyny' of the period. The only way to avoid this trap was to adopt John Donne's method of 'inquiring right':

... doubt wisely, in strange way
 To stand inquiring right is not to stray;
 To sleep, or runne wrong, is.⁵

Wedekind and Kokoschka seem to have made an attempt at 'inquiring right' with regard to female sexuality, but do not seem to have been able to avoid 'running wrong'. For example, Wedekind, when writing in prose and hence not tempted into the field of caricature, could make sensitive remarks on the liberating potential of sexuality for both men and women. Kokoschka's early study of Bachofen's Das Mutterrecht (1861) indicates an intellectual attempt to distance himself from the patriarchal society in which he grew up. However, these good intentions on the part of both men were not sustained in the plays: Wedekind's Rasseweiber, so magnificent at first sight, seem to challenge the notion that women with large sexual appetites were depraved: but the Rasseweiber, on closer inspection, are indeed found to be morally, mentally or physically sick. In a similar fashion, and with a more clearly detectable time-span, the sexually dynamic women in the earlier versions of the plays by Kokoschka are scaled down in the later versions of the same plays so that the Amazon is depleted of her strength. Whilst he does this, Kokoschka simultaneously introduces a tone of veneration for the mother figure, a veneration which Wedekind possibly shared, as he scrupulously avoids portraying mother figures in his plays, with a few notable exceptions such as the mothers in Frühlings Erwachen.

It is a paradox that Kaiser, the most prominent dramatist of the Expressionist era, who was hailed for his imaginative plea for the regeneration of mankind, supported the very society he wished to change by his adherence to patriarchal values, especially regarding the family. Thus Kaiser's attitude to female sexuality never went through an initial stage of 'inquiring right' and the result is a

curious inflexibility where his female character portrayals are concerned. For this reason, Kaiser can be regarded as the 'control' in this study, whilst Wedekind and Kokoschka are 'the experiment'.

The aesthetic distortion adopted as a deliberate strategy by the Expressionists, which gave rise to the discordant sounds, jagged lines and broken syntax in Expressionist music, art, and literature, will not be discussed in this thesis, although it will be an obvious and constant adjunct when passages from Expressionist plays are cited. It is ironic that the three writers chosen for this study frequently demonstrate an unconscious distorted sexual attitude whilst simultaneously utilising a high degree of deliberate aesthetic distortion.

The ambiguities to which this gives rise are legion. Kokoschka, for example, uses his explosive linguistic technique and startling props in order to express some very conventional ideas about his female characters, for example, in Der brennende Dornbusch, where the sexually eager woman is taught to stifle her sexual longing. Here, content and technique are entirely at odds in a way which Kokoschka, who regarded himself as avant-garde, certainly did not intend, and the same is often true of Wedekind and Kaiser. It will also be seen that Wedekind's chief method of aesthetic distortion, that of caricature, frequently deteriorates into sexist jokes.

In view of the fact that the Expressionists deliberately abandoned mimesis in favour of what the contemporary critic, Wilhelm Worringer, described somewhat censoriously as 'Abstraktion',⁶ it would be fruitless to attempt to analyse the characters in the plays as though they were realistic representations of real people, especially as the Expressionists themselves disliked the methods of the Naturalists, who tried to give a picture of their world through a painstaking attention to detail. The Expressionists were more concerned to convey their own subjective perception of a world they saw as disordered. Thus, though they do not represent real people in their plays, the Expressionist dramatists do represent real attitudes through

their characters. It is these attitudes, in particular those relating to sexuality, which will be under scrutiny in this thesis. Other material will be consulted where appropriate, for example, letters, diaries, and biographical data, in order to establish whether one character in a particular play is voicing the opinion of the author or not. It will frequently be seen that distortion is not a disguise, and a real distorted sexual attitude of the type already indicated above can frequently be detected in the most unreal situation.

It must be pointed out that literature does have an influence over the way people think and behave, and has a destructive as well as an instructive potential in any age. Thus, for example, the attempts by the three authors in this study to make the sexually eager woman look unhealthy or ridiculous must attract a degree of censure, especially as such women are portrayed as out of step with bourgeois society. Although at a superficial level the stuffy bourgeois code might appear to be satirised, the satire is often produced by a sexist joke which ultimately reinforces patriarchal attitudes. Possibly the distinction between sexism and harmless humour was less clear in the Wilhelmine period than in the present day, when there is an acute awareness of feminist issues. This endorses rather than removes the charge of sexism. If one takes Karl Kraus as an example, it is true to say that he poked fun at everyone and women are certainly not excluded. However, when Die Fackel's leading article boasts two and a half pages of aphorisms, the majority of which are highly sexist and misogynist, one surely has a right to object:

Die Frauen

Ob sündig oder sittenrein?
 Laßt sie doch lieber gleich begraben!
 Ich teile sie in Gefallene ein
 Und solche, die nicht gefallen haben.

Die weibliche Orthographie schreibt noch
 immer 'genus' mit zwei und 'Genuss' mit
 einem 's'.

Die Erotik des Mannes ist die Sexualität
 der Frau ...

Die Sexualität der Frau besiegt alle
Hemmungen der Sinne, überwindet jedes
Ekelgefühl. Manche Gattin würde sich mit
der Trennung von Tisch begnügen.⁷

Clearly, this type of aphorism passed as a joke at the time, but from today's perspective it can be seen as reinforcing the deep misogyny of such thinkers as Schopenhauer and Nietzsche. Furthermore, it indicates the degree of 'double think' some male Wilhelmine readers were prepared to tolerate in order to laugh. For these very same readers of Die Fackel no doubt had wives whom they treated with overt respect. This almost subliminal linkage of the sublime and the ridiculous constantly recurs in Expressionist literature when female sexuality is at issue. This sexism, in all its ambivalence, is in itself a distorted sexual attitude.

It must also be pointed out that sexist jokes of this type - which are liberally scattered in the plays of Wedekind and Kaiser - are very much the preserve of the male author and serve to subtly reinforce the domination of male authorship over female authorship during the period. It is easy to see how women writers could be dismissed as inferior if they had problems with elementary orthography, as Kraus suggests. The comments by Gilbert and Gubar illuminate this particular issue, as they suggest that male authors express their sexuality merely by picking up their pen: 'Male sexuality is ... not analogically, but actually, the essence of literary power'.⁸ A sexist joke thus acquires a secondary significance as an expression, on the part of a male author, of his sexual potency. Even in the absence of jokes, as in most of Kokoschka's plays, the potency of the male is a central issue, and the addition or subtraction of a single word can reduce the female to a servile position, as we shall see.

II. THE PATRIARCHAL HERITAGE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

(i) Middle-class Expectations of Sexuality

Prejudice, social conditions and a general state of ignorance as to bodily functions, especially sexual ones, meant that both men and women in nineteenth-century

Germany held a confused and often distorted (in the senses listed on p.10 above) view of relations with the opposite sex. Men were in a quandary as to whether they should revere and respect a woman or regard her as sexually exciting: in general, they found they could not hold both views of the same woman. Since they usually respected their mothers, they tended to seek a wife as much in line with their notion of the ideal mother as possible. This must have led to a good deal of confusion, as the wife was often simultaneously viewed as her husband's child (see Section II,vi). This is not entirely surprising when one remembers that there often was a large disparity in age between marriage partners, with the husband usually considerably older.⁹ Thus, genteel young ladies had to be extremely guarded when they projected their personalities in public - for if they appeared too sexually attractive they might well jeopardise their chances for the wife/mother role. Upper-class women were so conditioned as to their supposed lack of sensuality that they themselves might be alarmed if their sexual demands became too marked. However, the belief that women had less sexual desire than men did not go completely unchallenged. Peter Gay observes that:

... advocates of sexual purity, who invariably portrayed the natural woman as shrinking and passive in the sexual relation, seem to have become more diligent as the century progressed. But they never monopolised the field. Nor did eminent specialists agree with one another; early in the century and late, and into the twentieth century, some diagnosed women to be as passionate as men, others insisted on her natural frigidity.¹⁰

Nonetheless, as Gay concedes, the dominant view at the end of the nineteenth century was that the genteel lady had a low libido. Whilst working-class men simply expected submission,¹¹ men of the higher orders adopted the double standard whereby, whilst demanding absolute fidelity from their wives, they regarded themselves as free to seek sexual gratification where they could, usually with domestic servants or prostitutes. Many middle-class men actually preferred their sexual encounters with girls of a

lower class, finding themselves inhibited with women of their own class. This is understandable in view of the bombardment of social demands they received concerning decorum and sexual behaviour. Many men sincerely believed that their wives would rather not be importuned by sexual intercourse - once a week was regarded as ample - and there was a widespread belief that male seminal fluid was limited and had to be conserved.¹²

It is important to remember that only women of the higher classes were expected to be modest or indeed chaste - at least, by wealthy men. There was a common belief that girls of the lower orders were fair game for a gentleman since it was assumed that they were not virgins and had little to lose. Of course the reality was very different, and the social opprobrium which greeted their downfall was just as cruel towards them as it was towards their wealthier sisters. The literature of the late nineteenth century is full of such cases, though the girls might not steal the limelight. For example, in Ibsen's A Doll's House, Nora's quest for personal freedom seems a luxury when compared with the fate of her maid, Anna-Maria, forced to abandon her illegitimate baby.

It was not simply the case that women were generally assumed to be less sexually aware than men. Ploss probably assumed that middle-class women would agree with him when he stated: '... daß es die Mission des Weibes ist, Mutter zu sein und Kinder zu erzeugen'.¹³ The difficulty arose because men could not separate women's sexuality from their reproductive systems,¹⁴ and men's opinions of women's sexuality had an influence out of proportion to their accuracy. Many accepted unchallenged Krafft-Ebing's view that the lady had little desire for sex:

Ohne Zweifel hat der Mann ein lebhafteres geschlechtliches Bedürfnis als das Weib ... ist es geistig normal entwickelt und wohl-erzogen, so ist sein sinnliches Verlangen ein Geringes. Wäre dem nicht so, so müßte die ganze Welt ein Bordell und Ehe und Familie undenkbar sein. Jedenfalls sind der Mann, welcher das Weib flieht, und das Weib, welches dem Geschlechtsgenuß nachgeht, abnorme Erscheinungen.¹⁵

Closely connected to this belief in women's diminished sex drive was the fulsome praise of feminine modesty as woman's characteristic trait. Moreover, the German words Schamgefühl and Schamhaftigkeit are so closely linked to the notion of shame that it is but a short step to Freud's conclusion that modesty in a woman is camouflaged penis envy, as Freud was later to point out in Die Weiblichkeit (1933):

Der Scham, die als eine exquisit weibliche Eigenschaft gilt, aber weit mehr konventionell ist, als man denken sollte, schreiben wir die ursprüngliche Absicht zu, den Defekt des Genitales zu verdecken.¹⁶

It is quite clear that when Krafft-Ebing and Mantegazza speak of feminine modesty they genuinely intend to be complimentary to women. Indeed, Mantegazza argued heatedly for less ignorance and less hypocrisy in sexual matters ('minor ignoranza di cose sessuali ... minor ipocrisia').¹⁷

He was fascinated by the sexual customs of other lands, finding something to learn from each, but regarding Europe he was scathing, especially when he spoke of the deliberate way in which young girls were kept in complete ignorance of life. However, in the books which Mantegazza wrote for young men and women about to embark on marriage, L'Arte di prender moglie (1892), and L'Arte di prender marito (1894), there is no attempt made at providing sexual education. Mantegazza's moral advice to young men and women embarking on marriage does not go beyond generalities geared to making the young man feel responsible for his family and to making the woman proud of her role as mother. Krafft-Ebing completely concurred with Mantegazza's views on matrimony as the holiest of goals: indeed a single person reading their pages would be made to feel downright unhealthy or abnormal, or both:

Das Ziel und Ideal des Weibes, auch des in Schmutz und Laster verkommenen, ist und bleibt die Ehe ...

Schild und Zierde des Weibes in der Anstrengung dieses seiner einzig würdigen Zieles ist die Schamhaftigkeit. Mantegazza bezeichnet sie fein als 'eine der Formen der physischen Selbstachtung' beim Weibe.¹⁸

(ii) Active and Passive Sex Roles

Closely linked with the notion that respectable women did not enjoy sex went the belief that the male was by his nature aggressive in his sexual pursuits. This belief survived intact well into the twentieth century, so that Freud could write: '... wenn Sie männlich sagen, meinen Sie in der Regel "aktiv" und wenn Sie weiblich sagen, "passiv"'.¹⁹ Mantegazza's view that the prime source of all love constituted both aggression and defence was typical: '... la prima sorgente d'ogni amore è sempre un' aggressione e una difesa'.²⁰ A corollary to this view was the official sanction given to man's infidelity, which was regarded as inevitable even though medical men such as Krafft-Ebing expressed some disquiet:

Da dem Mann durch die Natur die Rolle des aggressiven Theils im sexuellen Leben zufällt, läuft er Gefahr, die Gränzen, welche ihm Sitte und Gesetz gezogen haben, zu überschreiten.²¹

There was also a non-medical school of thought which argued for a man to be actively promiscuous to prove his virility. Leo Berg considered that a man who remained a virgin up to his marriage was either impotent or a fool: 'Nun verlangt aber gar kein vernünftiges und heil gebliebenes Weib solch Nonsens von ihrem Mann'.²² Middle-class men thus had to conform to almost as stressful a norm as genteel ladies.

As the received wisdom of such German-speaking sex-ologists as Krafft-Ebing, Moll, Schrenck-Notzing and later Bloch gave medical support to the notion that the male sex role was aggressive and that of the female was passive, it is no wonder that a code was generated whereby a degree of unspoken sado-masochism was regarded as normal in sexual intercourse. The idea that the lover hurts the beloved was familiar to the ancients, for example in the legend of Amor and Psyche. Novalis drew attention to the close connection between cruelty and passion.²³ Nietzsche expressed much the same idea in Zarathustra's remark 'Schmerz ist auch eine Lust'.²⁴ Saint-Florent in de Sade's Justine gave an extreme variant of the same notion at the end of the eighteenth century:

... il peut et il doit se trouver une sorte d'hommes qui trouve autant de plaisir dans tout ce qu'inspire la cruauté, que les autres en goûtent dans la bienfaisance; mais ceux-ci seront des plaisirs doux, et les autres des plaisirs fort vifs.²⁵

Sacher-Masoch's Venus im Pelz (1870), which was extremely popular for several decades,²⁶ seems at first sight to reverse the situation of Justine:

... while de Sade discovers pleasure in the pain he inflicts, Sacher-Masoch attains the same ends by means of the pain he endures.²⁷

The novel documents the various ways in which the hero Severin (de Sade) persuades his mistress to torture him. The most usual method is flagellation, which Severin finds exquisitely painful. However, the end of the book virtually negates the rest of the narrative, as Severin - now cured of his perversion - declares that he was a fool to allow a woman to beat him. According to him, the moral of the tale is:

Daß das Weib, wie es die Natur geschaffen, und wie es der Mann gegenwärtig heranzieht, sein Feind ist und nur seine Sklavin oder seine Despotin sein kann, nie aber seine Gefährtin. Dies wird sie erst dann sein können, wenn sie ihm gleichsteht an Rechten, wenn sie ihm ebenbürtig ist durch Bildung und Arbeit.²⁸

Since the equality to which Sacher-Masoch here refers must have seemed as unlikely, in 1870, as space travel (except, possibly, to the Paris communards), Sacher-Masoch manages to make the book end with a highly misogynist message which the story itself does not generate: 'Hätte ich sie nur gepeitscht!'²⁹

There are constant references to flagellation in the plays of Wedekind and the inference is often that women enjoy rough handling. This in turn is a reinforcement of the particular type of contempt for women advocated by Nietzsche in Also sprach Zarathustra: 'Du gehst zu Frauen? Vergiss die Peitsche nicht!'³⁰

The patriarchal code which clearly gave the man the position of mastery over women could thus be warped, in the

hands of certain writers, to give the man - literally - the whip-hand over women. Throughout this study, constant reference will be made to this type of sado-masochistic encounter. Sometimes the writer tries to camouflage the distorted sexual attitude involved by making the woman seem to deserve (and/or enjoy) her chastisement. In the following passage it will be seen that Otto Weininger actually uses language itself as a means of sexual subjugation by making the verb 'koitieren' transitive (taking 'das Weib' as object) and this reinforces his general argument, which amounts to an authorisation for men to treat women roughly on the assumption that they enjoy it:

Die Frage ist: wie soll der Mann das Weib behandeln? ...
 Wenn er es zu behandeln hat, wie es behandelt
 werden will, dann muß er es koitieren, denn
 es will koitiert werden, schlagen, denn
 es will geschlagen werden, hypnotisieren, denn
 es will hypnotisiert werden ...³¹

Ellis stressed the abnormality of the circumstances in which pain 'acts as a powerful sexual stimulant'.³² He criticised Krafft-Ebing's dismissal of normal sexuality 'in half a dozen feeble and scrappy pages'³³ (the introduction!) and himself embarked on a lengthy, informed and compassionate examination of normal sexuality. It is indeed astonishing to observe that at the end of the nineteenth century in Germany, a large amount of writing was available on sexual deviancy,³⁴ yet there was scarcely anything available in German on normal sexuality, and such work as was available was often downright misleading. Mantegazza was scathing towards the doctors Raciborski and Mayer who advocated a safe period for intercourse which included the time of ovulation.³⁵ Although he criticised the hypocrisy of such men, Mantegazza himself held rigidly conventional views and was against male withdrawal as a method of birth control - though his reason was less conventional: he argued that the semen was a vital lubricant for the female uterus. Furthermore, the information in medical books was often obscured by the liberal use of Latin and this would discourage nearly all women and a large number of men from consulting them. Even when the doctor wanted to reach lay readers, he often resorted to genteel circumlocutions -

especially when describing the female anatomy.³⁶

The debate on sado-masochism did not go away - in fact, one could argue that it is still latently in evidence today. Freud considered the topic through the first three decades of this century and concluded that female masochism became pronounced when women were forced to subdue their aggressive feelings:

Die dem Weib konstitutionell vorgeschriebene und sozial auferlegte Unterdrückung seiner Aggression begünstigt die Ausbildung starker masochistischer Regungen, denen es ja gelingt, die nach innen gewendeten destruktiven Tendenzen erotisch zu bilden. Der Masochismus ist also, wie man sagt, echt weiblich.³⁷

Albert Moll, who in the medical world comes closest to speaking out for women's rights even to the point of defending their right to a career, found both sadism and masochism possible characteristics of nervous women:

Ebenso möchte ich als auf ein Charakteristikum vieler nervöser Frauen nochmals auf die sogenannten sadistischen Züge hinweisen, die man bei ihnen öfter findet, und die sich in dem Drang äußern, den geliebten Mann seelischen oder körperlichen Qualen auszusetzen. Auch das Umgekehrte findet sich, nämlich die Lust an eigenen Schmerzen.³⁸

The discussion of sado-masochism was conclusive in one way: it brought the notion of pleasure and pain as linked phenomena to the forefront of debate on sexual matters and provided a springboard for writers such as Strindberg and Kokoschka to describe the battle of the sexes without further apology.

(iii) Clothing and Class

The role-playing which began in bed on the wedding night continued in the outside world, where the woman had to be a credit to her husband whereas she might in all possibility be his intellectual superior. A lady's clothes indicated her husband's social status. The most affluent women were the most over-dressed as they did not have to work physically: it was a status symbol for the man to have an ornately-dressed wife.

The Wilhelmine lady was actually physically handicapped by the clothing she wore in obedience to convention,

which in this instance invited a distorted sexual attitude from even the most enlightened men, who could not help but feel freer and indeed superior in their smart suits - free of interior scaffolding - which permitted them to rush from home to work without the waste of time involved in toilette. The wealthy woman in the nineteenth century would cover her body with layer upon layer of redundant clothing, hooped and later bustled and always underpinned with an infrastructure of stays so tightly laced that permanent injury was often the result.³⁹ Many doctors spoke out against the practice of tight lacing, but Bebel went further and commented on the fact that woman's attire was an integral part of the male subjugation of woman:

Die Art der Frauenkleidung macht bis heute die Frau unbehilflich und zwingt ihr das Gefühl der Schwäche auf, was schließlich in ihrer Haltung und in ihrem Charakter zum Ausdruck kommt.⁴⁰

One can observe the weakening effect that clothing had on a lady's movements by the social custom - frequently alluded to in the plays and novels of the nineteenth century - which dictated that a woman was led into the dining-room by a man, who then held her chair whilst she seated herself and arranged her skirts. This is a classic example of the deception whereby a piece of sexual politics was construed as courtesy on the part of the man. There were very few voices who were prepared to criticise a situation where it was not considered proper for a lady to walk into a dining-room without assistance.⁴¹

August Bebel, when describing the clothing of the women of ancient Greece, commented that the Doric tunic allowed Greek women much greater freedom than the Ionian robe. He even approved of the practice of Spartan girls going naked until they reached marriageable age. To advocate nudity or even anything approaching it was quite shocking to late nineteenth-century morality. The picnics organised by Havelock Ellis, where the men stripped to the waist and the ladies removed their blouses, were considered scandalous. As with the missionaries who went to Africa, clothing denoted godliness and moral rectitude.

For Krafft-Ebing, the wearing of clothing was a sign of advanced civilisation. He found the notion of the public displays of sex in hot climates reprehensible and deplored the practice of nudity. He completely left out of consideration the difference in climate which prompted such near-nudity in the first place, and confused this with the quite separate issue of the desirability of privacy for sexual intercourse.⁴²

(iv) The Question of Heirs

The middle classes and the aristocracy dictated what ought to be considered moral at the end of the nineteenth century. Whether or not the working classes followed suit was not the main consideration in the strict (and in many instances hypocritical) regimen. The bourgeoisie sought to police its own stratum in order to ensure the purity of the line. It was also assumed that the working classes were more prone to lewdness. The pressure therefore fell on the genteel lady to be an example to society as well as a credit to her husband. There were harsh penalties for transgression, as in the case of Fontane's Effi Brest (1895) where Instettin fights his duel with Crampas less out of a sense of revenge than from the need to support a code of social conduct. A lady took a lover at her peril: the code of behaviour which allowed the male sexual freedom did not apply to well-born women, in whom infidelity was considered a crime. Even the moderate Krafft-Ebing felt this to be so:

Unendlich schwerer fällt moralisch in's Gewicht und viel schwerer sollte gesetzlich wiegen der Ehebruch des Weibes gegenüber dem vom Manne begangenen. Die Ehebrecherin entehrt nicht nur sich, sondern auch den Mann und die Familie, abgesehen davon, daß es heißt: Pater incertus.⁴³

This last was a crucial point in an age in which there was no reliable birth control method. The more misogynist writers such as Schopenhauer earlier in the century were content to state the matter quite baldly: woman's infidelity was an unnatural and unforgivable act. Schopenhauer gave the specious reason (half-heartedly disputed by Moll) that 'die Weiber ganz allein zur Propagation des Geschlechts da

sind'.⁴⁴ This view had a certain degree of church sanction especially if one remembers the dominance in politics of the primarily Catholic Zentrum from 1878. However, Schopenhauer's point was that, since men are not solely directed towards procreation as women are by their biology, they are unfaithful by nature whereas women are by nature faithful:

Demzufolge ist die eheliche Treue dem Manne künstlich, dem Weibe natürlich, und also Ehebruch des Weibes, wie objektiv, wegen der Folgen, so auch subjektiv, wegen der Naturwidrigkeit, viel unverzeihlicher, als der des Mannes.⁴⁵

It is remarkable that Schopenhauer's works, which had not been popular when first published, gained in readership as the century progressed. Nobody could present more of a contrast to Schopenhauer than the radical Bebel, who analysed bourgeois marriage as an institution dictated by property considerations: 'Die bürgerliche Ehe ist ... die Folge der bürgerlichen Eigentumsverhältnisse. In engster Verbindung mit dem Privateigentum und dem Erbrecht stehend, wird sie zur Erlangung "legitimer" Kinder als Erben geschlossen'.⁴⁶

Engels, in order to make his point that the distorted sexual attitudes involved in the double standard were closely linked to the capitalist system, actually went so far as to inveigh against monogamous marriage which, he thought, entailed the subjection of women from its inception: 'Um die Treue der Frau, also die Vaterschaft der Kinder sicher zu stellen, wird die Frau der Gewalt des Mannes unbedingt überliefert; wenn er sie tötet, so übt er nur sein Recht aus'.⁴⁷

Engels and Bebel stand out like beacons in their attempts to explain why women were in a position of subjugation. They wrote in the light of the recent anthropological revelations of J.J. Bachofen in Das Mutterrecht (1861) and L. Morgan's Ancient Society (1877). Engels based much of his argument on Morgan in Der Ursprung der Familie, des Privateigentums und des Staats, even to the point of mentioning the debt in the book's subtitle. Later editions of the book carried the additional mention of

Bachofen in a long footnote. Bebel draws on both Morgan and Bachofen in his lengthy book Die Frau und der Sozialismus (1879). Bachofen based his speculations on the customs of the ancient world, especially Greece and the Greek islands, and drew many of his conclusions from myth. Morgan was more concrete in his work, collating evidence from existing North American tribes without recourse to myth and incidentally without knowing of Bachofen. Both men regarded it as axiomatic that a primitive form of society had existed where inheritance was passed down through the mother, as the promiscuity of the sexual moeurs meant that paternity could not be certain. Patriarchy had supplanted this 'mother right'. Bebel and Engels interpreted this transition from mother right to father right as a drastic demotion of woman. Engels wrote:

Der Umsturz des Mutterrechts war die welt-
geschichtliche Niederlage des weiblichen
Geschlechts. Der Mann ergriff das Steuer
auch im Hause, die Frau wurde entwürdigt,
geknechtet, Sklavin seiner Lust und bloßes
Werkzeug der Kindererzeugung.⁴⁸

In an extension of this argument, Engels formed the view that working-class women are less subordinate to men than middle-class women, there being nothing to inherit. For both Bebel and Engels the economic factor determining patriarchy was of paramount importance. Bebel agreed with Engels on the evils of private property: 'Mit der Herrschaft des Privat-eigentums war die Unterjochung der Frau unter den Mann besiegelt.'⁴⁹ Bebel's views on women's rights came to diverge from the opinions of the rank and file SPD membership, where a general chauvinism was apparent as well as a specific hostility to the female work-force as a factor which deprived men of jobs and kept wages low. Bebel consistently argues that the middle-class notion of a woman's place being in the home was only for a privileged few - those 'übersättigt an Langeweile',⁵⁰ whilst he proved by tables of statistics that the majority of working women had to struggle to bring up a family and work. Facing this as incontrovertible fact, Bebel argued that the only step forward was to give women pay parity and acknowledge their equality. He was particularly in advance of his time in this defence of a woman's right to work, and his insistence that

obstacles to this were class-orientated.

(v) Prostitution

Against a background which offered the working-class girl a choice between the sweatshop, mill or household drudgery (all equally badly paid) prostitution held out hopes of good pay and a degree of independence. A working-class girl tended to drift into prostitution by force of circumstance rather than by a lewd hypersexuality, as was commonly supposed. In linking nymphomania with prostitution, Schrenck-Notzing voiced a commonly-held view: 'Die häufigste Folge leichterer Formen von Nymphomanie ist die Prostitution'.⁵¹ As Wedekind shows in Die Tagebücher, he himself subscribed to this view (see Wedekind chapter, p.55). He obviously felt that the prostitutes with whom he consorted in Paris were lucky if they could reach him (sometimes he refused to answer the door to one of his 'friends') and he was sparing with payment, almost regarding the sex act itself as sufficient remuneration. He certainly seemed unaware of the distorted sexual attitude which prostitution causes by allowing men to exercise their power over women in this way.

From 1850 onwards the rapid industrialisation and urbanisation which had been taking place in Germany caused a sharp rise in prostitution, the sheer scale of which forced itself to the attention of the general public. According to Richard Evans: 'What was new about the problem in the late nineteenth century was that it appeared to contemporaries to be both large-scale and endemic'.⁵² There were, broadly speaking, two schools of thought on the matter. One was that the prostitute actually protected the bourgeois lady by providing the man with a sexual outlet. This view is understandable when one remembers the assumptions made as to the man's greater sex drive. There was also the logistic difficulty found when young women married much older men - hardly anyone really expected the men to stay chaste for such a length of time. The other - more enlightened - school of thought was that the men ought to remain chaste, too. This became a tenet of feminist thought.

Bebel and Engels were in accord that prostitution was yet another phenomenon of capitalism and would disappear in the socialist revolution they predicted. Other liberated thinkers concentrated their criticism on the attempts by the authorities, notably the police, to control prostitutes. State control of prostitution meant in real terms police harassment, as in the round-ups for medical examination; however, the police in Hamburg and Mainz kept open the official brothels, although this was actually illegal from 1871 to 1900. The police clearly wanted to control prostitution but feared to infringe the Imperial Criminal Code which stipulated that anyone who helped to provide opportunities for prostitution would be imprisoned. The police were thus in a cleft stick and operated their own double standard in regard to society's double standard. Small wonder that their efforts at policing prostitution were bungled, brutal and ineffective.

Bebel pertinently pointed out that the medical examinations of prostitutes did nothing to counteract venereal disease and were counter-productive in that they gave the man a false sense of security, as well as being intolerably humiliating for the prostitute as there were no lady doctors to perform them.⁵³ Bebel rightly drew attention to the many innocent victims of venereal disease, who would in most cases be ignorant of the cause of their malady:

... ein Heer von Krankheiten bei Ehefrauen
und Kindern verdankt ehemännlichen, beziehungs-
ungsweise elterlichen Geschlechtskrankheiten
seinen Ursprung.⁵⁴

The cavalier way in which the police dealt with prostitution was changed abruptly after a murder case in Berlin in 1891 which caused such a scandal that a new law was introduced in 1892, the Lex Heinze (named after the murderer, a pimp). The Kaiser himself issued a proclamation urging tighter control of prostitution and the Prussian cabinet decided to give the police the power to extend the system of state-regulated brothels. This seemed to be an official acceptance of prostitution and there was furious debate in the nineties surrounding the issue, especially as the Lex Heinze also included repressive

measures concerning art and press censorship. It was finally passed, much modified, in 1900. During the decade of struggle, the satirical magazine Simplicissimus was muffled, artists had been intimidated to the point where the painting of nudes contravened the laws of decency and many writers, including Wedekind, had a more or less permanent struggle with the censor.⁵⁵

(vi) Woman as Both Child and Child-bearer

Over and above the sexual expectations which, as we have seen, tended to break down along class lines, women were in general believed to be physically and mentally inferior to men. Strong arguments were put forward that women were quite simply weaker by biological destination, and this weakness extended to their moral character. Kindly-disposed men were eager to support 'the fair sex' but less kindly men relentlessly exposed the weaknesses of women to ridicule. The physical struggle daily endured by working-class women was ignored almost as though such women were unthinking helots. Writers and professionals were middle-class men and when they spoke of women, they meant middle-class women.

Earlier in the nineteenth century Schopenhauer had alienated his own mother by his misogynist pronouncements:

Schon der Anblick der weiblichen Gestalt
lehrt, daß das Weib weder zu großen geistigen
noch körperlichen Arbeiten bestimmt ist.⁵⁶

Making use of the medical experiments which had shown women to have a smaller brain, Schopenhauer deduced a 'Mangel an Vernünftigkeit und Überlegung' which meant that women were forced to achieve what they wanted by dint of cunning: '... daher ihre instinktartige Verschlagenheit und ihr unvertilgbarer Hang zum Lügen'.⁵⁷

Schopenhauer castigated women for failing to develop as individuals (the central pivot of Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung, 1818). This meant that their development was arrested at childhood or thereabouts, so that they were suited to the care of young children because of their own immaturity:

Zu Pflegerinnen und Erzieherinnen unserer ersten Kindheit eignen die Weiber sich gerade dadurch, daß sie selbst kindisch, läppisch und kurzsichtig, mit einem Worte, Zeit lebens (sic) große Kinder sind ...⁵⁸

However, women were not suitable as guardians of the interests of older children because of their own need for guidance, especially in financial fields:

... Weiber sollten niemals über ererbtes, eigentliches Vermögen, also Kapitalien, Häuser und Landgüter, freie Disposition haben. Sie bedürfen stets eines Vormundes: daher sie in keinem möglichen Fall die Vormundschaft ihrer Kinder erhalten sollten.⁵⁹

Like Schopenhauer, Nietzsche was concerned with a broader canvas than the woman question per se, and his remarks on women must be seen within this larger context. Nietzsche was concerned principally with his definition of the Übermensch who would be untrammelled by the restraints of society. The Übermensch will live life according to the dictates of his will: woman is destined to be his willing echo: 'Das Glück des Mannes heißt: ich will. Das Glück des Weibes heißt: er will'.⁶⁰

In his misunderstanding of Darwinism, Nietzsche saw scientific determinism as the doctrine of the eternal struggle - and victory - of the strong. His ideas ultimately lent a tone of respectability to war: 'Der Mann soll zum Kriege erzogen werden, und das Weib zur Erholung des Kriegers: alles Andere ist Thorheit'.⁶¹

The battle of the sexes is not quite the same thing as the will to power, which is essentially an intellectual pursuit. Thus, to Nietzsche, the woman is a deadly opponent in the love game, but she can be rendered harmless by a simple expedient: 'Alles am Weibe ist ein Räthsel, und Alles am Weibe hat eine Lösung: sie heißt Schwangerschaft'.⁶² Nietzsche believed woman's sole functions were as nurse and mother. His abhorrence of the childless woman dovetails with his intense dislike of emancipated women and had a lasting effect on other writers who admired the vitalism of his ideas and absorbed his anti-feminism along with his broader philosophy. Writers like Ibsen, who tried to argue - through his plays - for more enlightened attitudes towards

women, earned Nietzsche's profound contempt. He regarded the mere quest for women's rights as a sign of disease:

Der Kampf um gleiche Rechte ist sogar ein Symptom von Krankheit: jeder Arzt weiß das ... Eine ganze Gattung des bösartigen 'Idealismus' - der übrigens auch bei Männern vorkommt, zum Beispiel bei Henrik Ibsen, dieser typischen alten Jungfrau - hat als Ziel das gute Gewissen, die Natur in der Geschlechtsliebe zu vergiften.⁶³

There is no doubt that Nietzsche held the most reactionary and pessimistic views on women: his belief that they had little power of thought and perception seems to have been genuine. Hence the need for women to obey the intellectually superior male is, in Nietzsche's opinion, a social necessity: 'Und gehorchen muß das Weib und eine Tiefe finden zu seiner Oberfläche'.⁶⁴

These misogynist pronouncements by Nietzsche found an echo in a wide range of writers and critics. Leo Berg was a literary critic much under Nietzsche's spell, though he shows some ambivalence in not being able to relinquish the conventional views on the well-bred woman (Nietzsche did at least want to destroy gentility along with everything else). In Das sexuelle Problem in Kunst und Leben, Berg reinforces Nietzsche's bitter criticism of the emancipated woman; she is a sexless old maid; or even worse, a childless woman with no raison d'être :

Das Weib von dreißig Jahren ohne Kinder. Von hier aus versteht man erst die Kampf Stimmung moderner emanzipationslustiger Damen. Die Gereiztheit gegen den Mann, das ewige Gethue und Gerede von entwürdigter Frauenehre. Warum doch entwürdigt? Weil die höchste Ehre des Weibes, die Kinder fehlen.⁶⁵

Leo Berg also shares Nietzsche's view of woman's possible redemption in motherhood:

Das Kind ist das Kriterium der Frau ... Was die Frau nicht im Kinde leistet, das liegt außer ihrer Leistungsfähigkeit. Das Weib ist so lange Kind, bis es liebt; erst durch die Liebe wird es zum Weibe; und erst durch die Mutterschaft zum Menschen.⁶⁶

Time and again Berg vacillates between wholesale condemnation of the 'Eve' in woman, the animal-like temptress, and

a grudging recognition that in her role as mother (the 'Madonna') she can achieve some sort of salvation:

Wer kann sagen, wo das liebende Weib aufhört
und die Mutter beginnt, wo das umgeworfene
Geschöpf und die über das Haupt des Siegers
hinwegzischelnde weiße Schlange sich trennen,
wo das spielende Kind und wo der Affe im
Weibe sich begegnen.⁶⁷

Yet Berg's negative opinion of woman remains uppermost. Indeed : she is primarily a predator, her characteristics are 'Fleischlichkeit' and 'Bestialitäten', she is even - as snake - a metamorphosed Satan:

Die Bibel bedient sich einer Tautologie;
sie läßt den Mann verführen durch das Weib
und die Schlange. O, es genügt schon des
Einen ! Das Weib umfaßt Beides, die Schlange
ist nur ein Unterbegriff.⁶⁸

And yet at the same time as portraying woman as predator, Berg insists on her childishness; the only chance she has to mature is through bearing children - thus leaving childless women as complete outcasts.

The notion that women were children was surprisingly strong and occurs frequently in nineteenth-century literature. The assumption made by Lord Windermere in Wilde's Lady Windermere's Fan is that a well-born wife should trust her husband implicitly. Lord Windermere repeatedly refers to his wife as 'child' as a term of endearment. In much the same way Torvald in Ibsen's A Doll's House pompously decides to forgive Nora and rediscovers his fatherly affection for his wife:

There's something indescribably sweet and
satisfying for a man to know deep down
that he has forgiven his wife ... It's as
if that made her doubly his - as if he had
brought her into the world afresh: in a
sense, she has become both his wife and
child.⁶⁹

The consensus of opinion on this play was that Torvald was a model of decorum who was really far too good for his frivolous wife. Ibsen's irony was largely missed. Leo Berg voiced mainstream opinion when he inveighed against Nora even to the point of doubting whether she had actually had any children:

Auch hat Nora ... etwas so peinlich Jung-
fräuliches, daß schon die Frage nach der

physischen Voraussetzung dieser drei Kinder berechtigt erscheint.⁷⁰

Here, Berg forgets his own pronouncements, which echo Schopenhauer's in the belief that women ought not to be in charge of boys, as they make them effeminate: 'Dies zu verhindern giebt (sic) es nur ein Mittel ... die Knaben von dem Tage an, da sie entwöhnt werden, möglichst vollständig dem Einflusse der Frauen zu entziehen.'⁷¹

Nora partly uses this argument when she tells Torvald: 'Didn't you say yourself ... that you daren't trust them [the children] to me?'.⁷² The extraordinary hypocrisy of Berg highlights the absurdity of men who operated not just a double standard, but at least triple. Woman is a temptress yet a child; she achieves moral recognition by giving birth but she is not sufficiently moral to bring up her children - at least, her sons. When she removes herself from home she is damned for neglecting her 'most sacred duties'.⁷³ The distortions are legion.

Another writer very much under the influence of Nietzsche was August Strindberg. By 1890, the publication date of By the Open Sea (I Havsbandet), Strindberg had read and corresponded with Nietzsche and had sufficient grasp of the notion of the Superman to devote a whole novel to the depiction of the loneliness of the Superman in his fight against a hostile natural environment and equally hostile fellow men. Alex Borg, Superintendent of Fisheries, feels so superior to his fiancée that he actually has to use his intelligence to the full to conceal this superiority. As he cannot raise her to his level, nor stoop down to her, only one possibility is open to him:

The only remaining alternative was the doubling of his personality; a splitting of himself in two, thereby creating a being which she could understand and appreciate; he must play the lover outwitted, admire her inferiority, act his part as she would like him to act it. And he must live the other half of his life silently and in secrecy; sleep always with one eye open ... Dead was the hope of his youth to find the woman whom he was seeking: the woman who had sufficient brain to acknowledge that her sex was inferior to his.⁷⁴

After much wavering - on the part of Borg - Marie and Borg consummate their love, but Marie immediately leaves the East Skerry. Borg is left alone in his battle against the community and eventually lapses into madness, taking his boat out to the open sea - to certain death. Strindberg shows an intellect which was quite simply too superior to survive amidst lower mortals. With Borg explicitly in mind, Leo Berg analyses the make-up of the Superman in relation to the Superwoman:

Will man das Weib in seiner ganzen Macht zeigen, dann muß man zurückgehen auf die Natur, wie es immer noch galt als Symbol der Natur. Umgekehrt beim Mann, mit dem man sich von der Natur entfernt, je höher er wächst. Das höchste Weib ist die reinste Natur, das Überweib wäre ein Stück Mensch gewordene Natur; während der höchste Mann der reinste Geist, der höhere Geist, der Übermensch ein Stück Natur gewordener Geist ist.⁷⁵

Even without the influence of Nietzsche, Strindberg's fundamental premise, that the sexes are in permanent conflict, would have come to the surface if only because of his tendency to weave his own experiences (especially in the field of marital conflict) into his works. Strindberg's influence on German literature at the turn of the century cannot be over-estimated; his subject matter was challenging and provoked discussion and reflection, and the form of his plays was innovatory. Where Schopenhauer and Nietzsche had been content to make derogatory remarks about the impossibility of wedded happiness, Strindberg covers the ground exhaustively. Unlike Nietzsche, who juxtaposed love and war, Strindberg fuses the two: love is war and will bring about the destruction of one of the partners. In The Road to Damascus (Till Damaskus), the guilt felt by the husband softens the atmosphere of struggle: there is a profound sadness at the realisation that to hurt one's beloved is almost inevitable. Strindberg had experienced the grief in the play at first hand and thus, though he blazes a trail into the future, he also shows links with that favourite amongst Romantic heroes, the cursed lover, doomed to destroy the person he loves.⁷⁶

III. PROFESSIONAL OPINIONS ON SEXUALITY AFTER THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

(i) Otto Weininger's 'M' and 'W'

Just after the turn of the century, the young philosopher Otto Weininger published his doctoral thesis as a book, Geschlecht und Charakter (1903). By 1906, when the first English translation was made, it had already run into its sixth edition. The book was ostensibly a philosophical work on the differences between the sexes. The book's argument is that woman is a completely sexual character whose one purpose is to ensnare the male. Weininger divides women into two broad categories: the 'Mütter' who are asexual and the 'Dirnen' who are all femmes fatales. It is Weininger's intention throughout to prove the genetic inferiority of the female. After a very dubious chemical dissection of male and female plasmas, Weininger discusses the laws of sexual attraction. The ideal couple ought to add up to a whole, so long as the femininity : masculinity ratio does not exceed 3/4 to 1/4. In other words a very feminine woman would suit a manly man, a very effeminate man would suit a manly woman. In both cases their paired sexuality would add up to one whole. M (Mann) thus tends to pair with W (Weib) by automatic selection. The quasi-scientific tone continues through much of the first part of the book before Weininger addresses himself to questions of homosexuality and women's emancipation: the latter he views as a 'Grundirrtum'. The second part of the book drops all attempt at careful substantiation and is stridently misogynist.

According to Weininger, women have defective memory and little desire for immortality: in fact, they are without a soul and only able to react to men: 'Was aber W sexuell anreizt, muß eine Eigenschaft von M sein'.⁷⁷ Weininger firmly believes that male possession of a soul puts woman at an automatic disadvantage, but the malady is difficult to correct: it would mean the renunciation of sexual intercourse between the sexes. Only in this way can man return to woman 'die ihr geraubte Seele'.⁷⁸ Left to himself, man would in any case prefer the 'höhere

platonische Liebe des Mannes'.⁷⁹ However, women clamour for sex, preventing men from restoring them to a position of intelligence. Sex creates the chains which bind women; to free them, sexual intercourse will have to be abandoned:

... der Mann muß vom Geschlecht sich erlösen, und so, nur so erlöst er die Frau ... Freilich geht sie, als Weib, so unter: aber nur, um aus der Asche neu, verjüngt, als der reine Mensch, sich emporzuheben ... Hiermit erst, aus dem höchsten Gesichtspunkte des Frauen- als des Menschenheitsproblems, ist die Forderung der Enthalttsamkeit für beide Geschlechter gänzlich begründet.⁸⁰

Weininger acknowledges that the human race would eventually die out and is quite prepared to face that fact, arguing that those who fear the death of the human species show a lack of faith in eternity and a fear of solitude:

Die Verneinung der Sexualität tötet bloß den körperlichen Menschen, und ihn nur, um dem geistigen erst das volle Dasein zu geben.⁸¹

What is astonishing about the book is not the ridiculous notion that everyone ought to abandon sex, but the tone of misogyny which pervades the whole work. Weininger is not alone in his advice that mothers should not bring up their own children, or that young ladies are simply looking for a man to support them, but he is quite alone in his view that women are 'unsinnig' - actually incapable of logical thought. This is a far cry from the previous discussion of childishness and intellectual inferiority. According to Weininger, 'man könnte bei ihr [der Frau] von... "logical insanity" sprechen'.⁸²

Weininger can see no positive attributes in women at all. They have produced no music because of a lack of 'Phantasie'. They cannot even appreciate men fully:

Wie kann nun aber eine Frau, wenn sie an sich seelenlos ist, Seele beim Manne perzipieren, wie seine Moralität beurteilen, da sie selbst amoralisch ist, wie seine Charakterstärke auffassen, ohne als Person Charakter zu haben, wie seinen Willen spüren, obgleich sie doch eigenen Willen nicht besitzt?⁸³

Weininger casts a further slur on women by suggesting

a tendency to sodomy (i.e. bestiality):

... daß sie von den Tieren minder weit
entfernt sind als der Mann, dafür zeugt,
daß sie zur Sodomie sicherlich mehr
Neigung haben als er.⁸⁴

Weininger did draw a sharp line, however, between animals and women: 'Die Tiere sind ferner bloß Individuen, die Frauen Personen (wenn auch nicht Persönlichkeiten)'.⁸⁵

Weininger anticipates Freud's postulation of penis envy when he assesses the woman's naked body as giving the impression of 'etwas Unfertigem, noch nach etwas außer sich Strebenden'.⁸⁶ However, he speaks of the male body with similar dislike. Weininger was an unhappy individual and he shot himself in 1903. His work is the most misogynist we shall examine, and it leaves us with the bleak notion that 'Liebe ist Mord'.⁸⁷

Weininger's book, which seems so offensive today, was not only widely read but highly regarded, as Gisela Brude-Firnaus has pointed out:

Zu dem sich rasch erweiternden Leserkreis gehörten illustre Namen: Sigmund Freud und Ludwig Wittgenstein, Oswald Spengler und James Joyce sowie zahlreiche deutschsprachige Schriftsteller, die noch keineswegs alle identifiziert wurden. Die bekanntesten sind die Autoren der großen Romane aus der ersten Hälfte dieses Jahrhunderts: Kafka, Broch, Musil, Doderer, dazu Stefan Zweig, Karl Kraus und Franz Blei.⁸⁸

Freud's presence in this list deserves some comment. Although he was 'the first to read and to reject an early version of Weininger's manuscript',⁸⁹ he found that he could not stand aside from the debate on bisexuality, as his acrimonious correspondence with Fliess demonstrates.⁹⁰ Fliess maintained that he had thought up the whole idea of bisexuality. Heller even suggests that an unspoken homosexual attraction between Freud and Fliess could have played a part in their quarrel.⁹¹

(ii) Sex and Psychoanalysis

Against a background in which it was accepted that the well-bred woman eschewed sensuality, Freud's writings

could be argued to be an advance in that by provoking a discussion of the sexuality of boys and girls, Freud was paving the way to a more open discussion of sexuality in general. The furore caused by the publication in 1905 of Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie demonstrates the level of obscurantism which still surrounded sexual matters well into the twentieth century. The linking of children to the sexual debate was felt by many to be perverse in itself. In spite of his new ideas Freud was, however, a man of his times, harbouring many of the inhibitions and misconceptions already described. After his major success with Die Traumdeutung (1901) it took Freud three decades to come to write specifically on female sexuality and even then he had to admit his limitations (see note 97). The two essays on female sexuality show the illiberality of Freud's views on women: 'Über die weibliche Sexualität' (1931) and 'Die Weiblichkeit' (1933). In 'Über die weibliche Sexualität', Freud spends a great deal of time analysing the little girl's attitude to her mother in an attempt to formulate an equivalent for the boy's Oedipus complex. However, the vital ingredient, the penis, is lacking. The girl's discovery of her castration wrecks the previously harmonious relationship she enjoyed with her mother:

Wenn das kleine Mädchen durch den Anblick eines männlichen Genitales seinen eigenen Defekt erfährt, nimmt sie die unerwünschte Belehrung nicht ohne Zögern und ohne Sträuben an ... Mit der Einsicht in die Allgemeinheit dieses negativen Charakters stellt sich eine große Entwertung der Weiblichkeit, also auch der Mutter, her.⁹²

The girl has to transfer her affections from mother to father if she is ever to achieve 'normal' sexuality: 'Erst eine ... recht umwegige Entwicklung mündet in die normal weibliche Endgestaltung aus, die den Vater als Objekt nimmt und so die weibliche Form des Ödipuskomplexes findet'.⁹³

Whereas the little boy usually manages to come through the Oedipus stage and develop his super-ego, not so the little girl. In 'Die Weiblichkeit' Freud writes:

Mit dem Wegfall der Kastrationsangst entfällt das Hauptmotiv, das den Knaben gedrängt hatte, den Ödipuskomplex zu überwinden.

Das Mädchen verbleibt in ihm unbestimmt lange, baut ihn nur spät und dann unvollkommen ab. Die Bildung des Über-Ichs muß unter diesen Verhältnissen leiden, es kann nicht die Stärke und die Unabhängigkeit erreichen, die ihm seine kulturelle Bedeutung verleihen, und Feministen hören es nicht gerne, wenn man auf die Auswirkungen dieses Moments für den durchschnittlichen weiblichen Charakter hinweist.⁹⁴

It is no wonder that the feminists were displeased - the super-ego was supposed to represent conscience, and a deficiency in it would indicate a moral flaw. Indeed, Freud says as much when he states that women have little sense of justice, and links this to penis envy:

Daß man dem Weib wenig Sinn für Gerechtigkeit zuerkennen muß, hängt wohl mit dem Überwiegen des Neids in ihrem Seelenleben zusammen, denn die Gerechtigkeitsforderung ist eine Verarbeitung des Neids, gibt die Bedingung an, unter der man ihn fahren lassen kann.⁹⁵

The intellectual woman misguided enough to seek help from Freud was likely to end up more thoroughly confused than before, as Freud regarded blue-stockings with such hostility that he put their desire for education largely down to penis envy:

Der Wunsch, den ersehnten Penis endlich doch zu bekommen, kann noch seinen Beitrag zu den Motiven leisten, die das gereifte Weib in die Analyse drängen, und was sie verständigerweise von der Analyse erwarten kann, etwa die Fähigkeit, einen intellektuellen Beruf auszuüben, läßt sich oft als eine sublimierte Abwandlung dieses verdrängten Wunsches erkennen.⁹⁶

Perhaps Freud was more honest when he admitted, right at the end of his essay, 'Die Weiblichkeit', that the topic eluded him:

Wollen Sie mehr über die Weiblichkeit wissen, so befragen Sie ihre eigenen Lebenserfahrungen, oder Sie wenden sich an die Dichter, oder Sie warten, bis die Wissenschaft Ihnen tiefere und besser zusammenhängende Auskünfte geben kann.⁹⁷

(iii) Sex and Sexology

Freud was in many ways a peripheral figure when one considers the great debate amongst medical men such as Bloch, Hirschfeld and Marcuse, who spear-headed research into sexology at the beginning of this century, a debate which was not without its factional splits. The continuity of the old guard sexologists, the chief of whom was undoubtedly Krafft-Ebing, was represented by such men as Moll, who continued his work into the twentieth century and even founded a rival society to challenge the newly-formed Ärztliche Gesellschaft für Sexualwissenschaft und Eugenik, founded in Berlin in 1913 by Bloch, Hirschfeld and other doctors. Bloch was deeply impressed by Ellis's attempts to take an overall view of sex rather than to examine deviancy piecemeal. His correspondence with Ellis dates from 1900 and in 1907 the scientific study of sex was finally given status - and a name, 'Sexualwissenschaft' - in Bloch's Das Sexuelleben unserer Zeit. This work gave immediate impetus to Magnus Hirschfeld (who was, incidentally, a Social Democrat as well as a doctor whose special field of research was homosexuality). By 1908, Hirschfeld had founded the Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft, a monthly publication which merged with Max Marcuse's periodical Sexual-Probleme a year later.⁹⁸

If Bloch was the 'Vater der Sexualwissenschaft',⁹⁹ Hirschfeld was its most productive author, although it must be stressed that Bloch's premature death prevented him from finishing his encyclopaedic Handbuch der Sexualwissenschaft in Einzeldarstellungen, so that only the definitive statement on prostitution - the first volume - was printed.¹⁰⁰ Hirschfeld's early works centred on homosexuality: Die Transvestiten (1910) and Die Homosexualität des Mannes und des Weibes (1914) which collated data from 10,000 case histories.¹⁰¹ Hirschfeld had already founded the Wissenschaftlich-humanitäre Komitee in 1897 as a protest against the Oscar Wilde trial and its house journal, the Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen, edited by Hirschfeld, was the best and most comprehensive regular publication on the topic for two decades. The theories

of a third sex had already been mooted by Karl Ulrichs in the 1860s who argued 'that the "urning" was the product of the anomalous development of the originally undifferentiated human embryo, resulting in a female mind in a male body or vice versa'.¹⁰² Weeks traces Ulrich's views through Edward Carpenter's theories of an intermediate sex to Hirschfeld, whose discoveries of the importance of hormones in determining sexual proclivity took the debate further and added scientific weight.

Hirschfeld's most important work, however, was written in later life: the three-volume Sexualpathologie (1916-20) and the five-volume standard reference work entitled Geschlechtskunde (1926-30). Even more significant for posterity was Hirschfeld's fulfilment of a life-long ambition when he founded the Institut für Sexualwissenschaft der Welt in Berlin in 1919, a centre for sexological research, therapy and counselling. The Institute also boasted a unique library, so unique, in fact, that its loss at the hands of the National Socialists when they plundered the Institute in 1933 could never be made good. Haeberle suggests the following reason for this officially-sanctioned act of vandalism:

... daß viele prominente Nationalsozialisten zu den Patienten des Instituts gezählt hatten und das Institut also über die Parteiführung 'zu viel wußte'.¹⁰³

Another of Hirschfeld's successes was the founding of the Weltliga für Sexualreform in 1928. Its first congress was in Copenhagen followed by London (1929), Vienna (1930) and Brno (1932). Although it is easy to understand why sexual reform was silenced in Germany under the National Socialists it is less easy to understand why debate collapsed in other countries. Hirschfeld's Weltliga für Sexualreform, which had had spectacular international support, found no one to carry on the work after his death in 1935.¹⁰⁴

Hirschfeld is typical of the sexual reformers in his ambivalence towards female sexuality. He was convinced that women were less intelligent than men, but also argued for sexual equality and worked towards sexual enlightenment for both sexes. As Charlotte Wolff points out in her biography of Hirschfeld, 'this conventional attitude contradicted

his progressive ideas about the equality of the sexes'.¹⁰⁵ There is also a very manipulative aspect to the whole notion of eugenic purity which he tried to promote. In particular, there is something very unpleasant about the Heirats-Zeugnisse issued by the Eheberatungsstellen in Berlin to healthy men and women who intended to embark on matrimony. At the back of such practices was, of course, the eugenics movement which had retained close links with the upward-moving science of sexology both in Britain and in Germany. In Britain the debate had fermented since Malthus's pronouncements, and both Ellis and Marie Stopes used the eugenic argument for racial purity to strengthen their arguments on birth control.¹⁰⁶ In Britain, these arguments were viewed with a certain distaste and eugenic societies became benign forums for debate only. In Germany, the sexologists regarded eugenics as a means of social engineering from the start:

Dies ist eine besonders schmerzliche Entdeckung und gilt vor allem hinsichtlich eugenischer Fragestellungen, Sterilisation und Zwangssterilisation, die in der Sexualforschung von Anfang an - durchaus nicht nur ablehnend - diskutiert wurde. Auch in der Sexualforschung der damaligen Zeit wird so in Ansätzen eine Ideologie propagiert, die später Morde an psychiatrischen Patienten und an ganzen Völkern rechtfertigen sollte.¹⁰⁷

Although it is clear that the bedrock for the science of sexology is to be found in German-speaking countries, this is not to say that it had an entirely smooth passage with the authorities. Even though Ellis's work Contrary Sexual Feeling was published in Germany in 1896 whilst being outlawed in Britain,¹⁰⁸ it must be remembered that Bloch's Das Sexuelleben unserer Zeit was prosecuted before being allowed publication in 1907. Freud's work was greeted with wrath from the medical profession at large. As Jeffrey Weeks points out, 'many of the most important works on sexuality scarcely attained any respectability before the 1920s'.¹⁰⁹ There are thus certain time lags which account for the fact that some Wilhelmine views on sexuality lingered on into the Weimar period, in spite of

the cataclysmic changes caused by the Great War. In addition, as mentioned in the foreword (note 4), the Sex Reform Movement, though it brought welcome changes for women in terms of full recognition of their sexuality, continued the process of male definition of the role of women which has been a constant feature in all the observations made so far on female sexuality.

IV. FEMINISM IN FOCUS

(i) Woman to Woman

Side by side with the pseudo-scientific pronouncements of the sexologists on sexuality, women themselves were beginning to investigate their own sexual attitudes. However, their conclusions are often ambiguous or contradictory, as this section on feminism during the Wilhelmine era seeks to show. The main reason for the complex nature of women's views on their own sexuality is that they often accepted contemporary patriarchal values without further questioning. Very few women were as perceptive as Helene Stöcker, who criticised Hirschfeld for allowing chauvinist articles to be printed in his Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen and recognised the ambivalence of his belief that women were 'of superior character, but of inferior mental capacity'.¹¹⁰

The fact that few women writers of the Wilhelmine era are to be found on present-day library shelves does not mean that women writers were not active or that their books were not widely read. Gabriele Reuter's Aus guter Familie (1895) was her first bestseller and reached a fifth edition by 1897 (and a twenty-eighth by 1931) whilst Hedwig Courths-Mahler's novels had an almost legendary appeal although, it must be added, on the level of Trivialliteratur. Elke Frederiksen lists Reuter along with Helene Böhlau, Hedwig Dohm and Margarete Beutler as having a deliberate literary goal which was 'to focus on social problems in order to improve the life of oppressed women'.¹¹¹ These four women were middle-class and wrote from a middle-class perspective: thus they frequently supported patriarchal values without a challenge, whilst at the same time they

manifested a clear desire to plead the cause of women.

This gave rise to a great many inconsistencies. Agathe, for example, in Aus guter Familie, brings unhappiness upon herself by rejecting socialism outright as 'sündiges Gift',¹¹² and thus losing all chance of a romantic attachment with her cousin Martin. Reuter's obvious sympathy with her heroine did not extend so far as to allow her to marry a socialist, and although Martin is shown to be successful in his work, he is portrayed as somewhat hard-hearted. His flirtation with a servant forces Agathe to realise that her feelings for Martin will not reach erotic fruition and she has a mental breakdown. At the end of the novel, her future is as bleak as that of Eugenie in Balzac's Eugenie Grandet, and for much the same reason: failure to find a marriage partner leaves the spinster in a most unenviable position. Reuter's final remark is that poor Agathe is not yet forty - a remark which demonstrates that Reuter accepted the contemporary value judgements as to spinsterhood. However, even this fate seems to be preferable to marriage to a socialist.

This type of ambiguity is also found in the work of the aristocrat Franziska zu Reventlow. Again, patriarchal assumptions are often accepted without question, as in Ellen Olestjerne (1903). Here the heroine is also let down by her lover, but this time the affair has led to a pregnancy. Reventlow allows Ellen to survive a long illness and difficult birth, but shows a curiously ambiguous attitude by stressing the joys of motherhood at the end of the novel, completely ignoring questions as to how Ellen will manage to bring up the child alone. Reuter was much more prepared to expose such problems, as she herself had an illegitimate child and used some of her experiences as material for Das Tränenhaus (1909).

It can be argued that even women who appear to have written without any deliberate feminist aim, such as Ulrika Woerner, whose play Vorfrühling appeared in 1909, nevertheless reveal aspects of a woman's experience in a way a male writer could not do. However, as it was difficult to break away from traditional attitudes even for writers with

a modicum of feminist commitment, writers with no such intent can seem very conventional indeed, as Naomi Stephan concedes:

Vorfrühling gibt den Standpunkt eines weiblichen Autors, verwendet aber zugleich das traditionelle patriarchalische Dreieckformat. (Der Mann zwischen zwei Frauen.)¹¹³

The difficulty did not simply stem from the fact that Wilhelmine women writers were so steeped in conventional views that they lacked a vocabulary with which to break new ground.¹¹⁴ There was a very real difference of opinion amongst women as to the wisdom or desirability of women's emancipation. Often a woman writer would support one cause (such as the call for suffrage) but not another, thus appearing inconsistent to the modern eye. Only the most radical women such as Adelheid Popp, Hedwig Dohm and Clara Zetkin gave unqualified support to the women's movement, but they tended to write non-fiction. Lily Braun, the aristocrat who was never quite accepted by the women's section of the SPD, is an exception as she wrote several novels as well as her autobiographical Memoiren einer Sozialistin (1909).

Such radical women were exceptions, however, rather than the rule, and it must be said that women writers were often actually reactionary in their views; in spite of the fact that they often seemed to be quite liberated:

In their writings and life-styles, women like Laura Marholm, Lou Andreas-Salomé (sic), Ellen Key, and Franziska zu Reventlow caused the term 'emancipated woman' to become identified with the sexually liberated woman, but they continued to acknowledge innate intellectual differences between men and women and to oppose the opening of new career and job opportunities for women, suffrage, and the very idea of a women's movement as injurious to their particular nature.¹¹⁵

In Lou Andreas-Salomé, the dichotomy between personal liberation and conventional beliefs is particularly striking. This dichotomy helps to explain Andreas-Salomé's long friendship with Nietzsche, whose misogyny she appears not to have fully grasped. It also goes some way to explaining how a woman with some claim to sexual liberation

could write so superficially on sexuality.¹¹⁶ She upholds the conventional belief that the woman is the 'bearer of the seed' and argues that for a woman, sexuality is a mystical, psychic phenomenon which revolves around reproduction. Like nearly everyone else at the time, she - wrongly - believed that women had a different sexual sensibility to men (see above, p.10). This ideological belief clouds her opinions on erotic love, which are couched in flowery prose:

Es /das erotische Empfinden/ erfüllt uns wie kein anderes die ganze Seele mit Illusionen und Idealisationen seelischer Art ... mit jedem offenen Blick auf das Wesen der Erotik assistieren wir gleichsam einem uralten, uranfänglichen Schauspiel, - einem Geburtsvorgange des Psychischen in seiner ganzen Pracht aus dem großen, allumfassenden Mutterleibe des Physischen.¹¹⁷

Instead of just saying that she enjoys sex with different partners, as a contemporary writer such as Erica Jong feels free to do, Andreas-Salomé accepts the conventional judgements of her time and even embroiders on them. Eroticism is first linked with the soul ('die Seele', 'seelischer Art') and then likened to an age-old drama in which the psychic is born from the womb of the physical. It is typical that the most important components in this passage are those which point towards birth ('Geburtsvorgang' and 'Mutterleib'), and the most complimentary words are used to support the birth process ('Pracht' and 'allumfassend').

Andreas-Salomé's acceptance of the patriarchal code shows just how complex was the area of women's attitudes to their own sexuality - indeed, to their own identity - around the turn of the century. Even when female writers with radical views are found, their opinions are liable to change. This is precisely what happened to Ricarda Huch, who at first argued vehemently for the education of women and for their right to a career, before coming to accept patriarchal structures and values. Possibly this happened as a result of a certain degree of pressure from the male literary world, who accepted her with increasing

enthusiasm the more conventional she became. There are few echoes in her later works of her spirited plea for a woman's right to a career:

Nichts scheint mir schöner und natürlicher zu sein, als daß die Frau, die im berechtigten Egoismus der Jugend Raum für ihre Persönlichkeit forderte, sich auszubreiten, wenn sie herangereift ist, sie zum Wohle des Ganzen wirken läßt, entweder mittelbar durch die Familie oder unmittelbar in einem der menschlichen Gesellschaft dienenden Berufe, wenn sich nicht, was das beste ist, beides miteinander vereinigen läßt.¹¹⁸

Later, it must be stressed, Huch gradually adopted a stance whereby she regarded motherhood as the ideal goal of woman and thus aligned herself with the establishment view. To criticise such a view does not mean that any vilification of maternity is intended: it simply means recognising that, in Mary Midgley's words, 'the idealisation of motherhood has been misused to justify narrowing women's lives'.¹¹⁹ The way this is done, either directly or indirectly by Wedekind, Kokoschka and Kaiser can be viewed as another facet of their general misogyny: however, as so many women (eventhose well aware of the issues involved, such as Huch) accepted the exaltation of the role of motherhood during the Wilhelmine period, the misogyny of the three male writers in this respect seems to have been impossible to avoid.

(ii) The Feminist Movement

Some of the ambiguities in male attitudes towards women can be understood better if one remembers that even the women who wanted reform were split into two main factions, those supporting proletarian aims and those supporting middle-class aspirations. The breach became apparent with the formation, in 1894, of the Bund Deutscher Frauenvereine from which the women's section of the SPD was excluded, ostensibly because the laws of association intimidated law-abiding feminists and prevented them from being politically active. This legal quibble did not deter the radical women in the SPD, but the prominent moderate

feminist, Helene Lange, argued later that there were no such things as 'sozialdemokratische Frauenvereine' because 'es durfte sie gesetzlich nicht geben'.¹²⁰ Clara Zetkin, editor of the SPD women's periodical Die Gleichheit, summed up the split thus:

Die bürgerliche Frauenrechtleri ist nicht mehr als Reformbewegung, die proletarische Frauenbewegung ist revolutionär und muß revolutionär sein. Die proletarischen Frauen werden durch ihre Klassenlage in das Lager der Revolution geführt, die bürgerlichen Frauen in das der Reaktion. Die Mehrzahl der letzteren muß den Bestrebungen der Sozialdemokratie nicht bloß verständnislos gegenüberstehen, sondern direkt feindlich.¹²¹

Zetkin vehemently criticised the bourgeois nature of the moderates' demands. She felt they fought men of their own class on matters such as property rights rather than tackle the real areas of reform, which for Zetkin would be such areas as the provision of child care for working women. In spite of much hostility, the SPD women's faction resisted all attempts to weaken its political stance and remained firmly radical, thanks to Ottilie Baader and Zetkin, who ignored all criticism (mainly from the non-Marxist Lily Braun) that her articles for Die Gleichheit were too intellectual.¹²²

The attitudes towards sexual matters within the SPD women's section were based on the ideas of Engels and Bebel as already outlined. It must be recalled that the SPD male members often needed to be converted to these emancipated views. Male members of the proletariat often regarded the idea of female workers with equal rights as a direct threat. There was no female mystique which the working woman had to counteract, but instead the uphill task of caring for the home and children as well as going out to work. The most radical members of the SPD sought political solutions to what they saw as political - not sexual - problems of exploitation. They were also concerned with issues much broader than feminism alone, not least the fight against capitalism.

Although the BDF still bore the traces of the charitable trusts which had preceded it, it found a forceful

leader in Marie Stritt from 1899-1910, and was the nucleus for a variety of offshoot groups such as the Verband für Frauenstimmrecht (1902) and the controversial Bund für Mutterschutz founded in 1905 by Helene Stöcker in collaboration with Max Marcuse. This society fought for the rights of single mothers and their illegitimate children and for a new sexual morality which would include the woman's right to have an abortion. Stöcker was on close terms with Iwan Bloch and Magnus Hirschfeld. She edited the periodical Mutterschutz and had a considerable influence on sexual reforms in the face of sustained attack from such conservative women as Helene Lange. Lange took it upon herself, as editor of the BDF journal Die Frau, to vigorously resist radical claims for more sexual freedom such as those made by Stöcker. She spearheaded the campaign which encouraged women to cherish their dignity as wives and mothers in the home: 'Denn bis jetzt ist die Frau keine Macht im Leben der Völker. Sie ist eine Macht im Heim als Mutter, als Gefährtin des Mannes'.¹²³ As discussed above (IV,i), this attitude had far-reaching effects on women's views of their own sexuality.

Lange's faction gradually won the day, especially when the Reichsvereinsgesetz was passed in 1908, making it legal for women to attend public political gatherings. The BDF reflected the change in its membership by electing the moderate Bäumer as its president in 1910.¹²⁴ Another reason for this shift in leadership was dissatisfaction among moderate feminists with the highly controversial declaration, issued by the BDF in 1907, of the 'Prinzipien und Forderungen der Frauenbewegung', which included wide-reaching demands for women's equality in marriage, education and legal standing, and added the highly controversial demand for the repeal of Paragraph 218 which punished abortion heavily. Girls seeking an abortion could be imprisoned (for six months to five years), as Klara is in Wedekind's Musik (1906). The abortionist was also punished severely. Adèle Schreiber of the Bund für Mutterschutz pointed out the class nature of Paragraph 218. Rich women found ways of circumventing the law, whereas working-class girls -



who were more vulnerable - were unable to pay their way out of trouble. Wedekind puts his criticism of the law (which he actually calls Paragraph 812, probably as a safety measure) in the mouth of the male protagonist, Josef Reißner, in the play Musik (1906):

Der eigentliche Zweck des Paragraphen
achthundertundzwoölf ... sei der, die
Eingeweide des weiblichen Körpers als ein
dem männlichen Unternehmungsgeist
reserviertes Spekulationsgebiet straf-
rechtlich abzusperren.¹²⁵

Bäumer represented the majority feminist view in her support for German militarism, and the BDF, with its adoption of Social Darwinist ideas, began to show a growing obsession with racial purity and the need to keep the birthrate up. By 1914 the Bund für Mutterschutz as well as the Deutscher Verband für Frauenstimmrecht were actually extinct. Feminists based any claim they had to a vote on their function as mothers rather than on their rights as people. By 1914 the BDF was considered so anodyne that it was asked by the government to co-ordinate welfare work at the outset of the war. Under the editorship of Bäumer, the house magazine Die Frau trod a path which led ever closer to the National Socialists.

Male reactionary elements were quick to exploit the conservative direction taken by the women's movement. In 1912, women were enlisted into the Bund zur Bekämpfung der Frauenemanzipation founded by Ludwig Langemann. The founding of this organisation coincided with the success of the SPD in the Reichstag in 1912, when it was the largest party, thus causing panic in the ranks of conservative women. The 'Anti-Liga' campaigned for recruits mainly amongst the bourgeois women's groups, as the middle classes were more sympathetic to its appeal, which was also anti-Semitic.

It became modish to regard feminine virtues as part of the female mystique, a superior quality with which to purify male-dominated society. Thus women, voluntarily for the most part, connived at their own bondage and acted against their own interests, reinforcing the conflicting attitudes to sexuality already discussed. Nobody loathed

the New Woman more profoundly than a moderate feminist after the first decade of the twentieth century. The blue-stocking was a pariah in society not only in Germany but in Europe and America as well. Bernard Shaw, in his skit-tish early play The Philanderer, devised an Ibsenite club where only the most 'unwomanly women' or 'unmanly men' qualified for membership - the smoking room was reserved for the women! Shaw, like Wedekind, could not resist making sexist jokes. As Roy Pascal points out with relation to the German writers, 'in general, the progressive writers tend to run down the "progressive" woman ... The negative attitude to the emancipated woman characterises nearly all male writers throughout the period'.¹²⁶

Moreover, the New Woman was looked on as unsuitable for marriage because of her apparent masculinity: she was regarded as sexually non-existent or indeed as actually being masculine. Radical feminists were thus viewed as perverts rather than as mere oddities by both men and women. There is thus a clear delineation between the moderate feminist and the very different New Woman. Dr. Arduin, writing in Hirschfeld's Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen at the turn of the century, argued in favour of equal rights for all those who were not Vollweiber, thus casting the slur of lesbianism indiscriminately on all those women who were independent or who were campaigning for women's rights. Arduin's list of those who are not Vollweiber includes nearly all the careers open to women at the time:

Unter ihnen befinden sich nicht wenige Lehrerinnen, Erzieherinnen, Buchhalterinnen, Nonnen - insbesondere Aebtissinnen -, Krankenpflegerinnen, vor allem gehören zu ihnen, wie schon der Augenschein lehrt, zweifellos viele der Führerinnen innerhalb der modernen Frauenbewegung. Sie bilden eine Klasse der homosexuellen Personen weiblichen Geschlechts.'¹²⁷

Thus a new category joined the age-old division of women into seductive Eves or virtuous Madonnas:¹²⁸ the sexually dubious New Woman, who is portrayed by Wedekind as an outright lesbian in the character of Countess Geschwitz. As already mentioned above (p.12), the three dramatists

chosen for this study display a respect for the role of wife and mother although they more often choose her opposite - the sexually attractive seductress - as their protagonist. None of the three give any credence to the issue of women's rights which generated the New Woman in the first place, and Wedekind and Kaiser show an uncritical acceptance of the class nature of female sexuality whereby the genteel lady is presumed to be lacking in libido, whilst working-class girls are almost expected to be sexually loose.¹²⁹ The sexual encounters to be found in Kokoschka's plays are too stylised to be described in terms of class.

In spite of the survival of such conventional attitudes towards female sexuality in German Expressionist drama, the Expressionists as a group were intrigued by a new cross-breed between Eve and Madonna: the pure prostitute modelled on the figure of Sonia in Dostoevsky's Crime and Punishment (1866). Sonia in her tawdry prostitute's dress is clearly a Madonna figure at the same time, and she inspired the imagination of a great many writers (including Trakl and the young Brecht). However, one must add that the image of the pure prostitute is a fantasy projected by male writers in an attempt to render the sexually active woman safe by giving her a moral superiority over her actions. The women writers never idealised the fallen woman in this way. This could, in part, be due to a greater clarity of understanding of the lot of the fallen woman (this would certainly be true in the case of Gabriele Reuter). Another reason, according to Gilbert and Gubar, is that the female author often fails to '... transcend the extreme images of "angel" and "monster" which male authors have generated for her'.¹³⁰ It is only now, in the 1980s, that these repressive stereotypes are being systematically evaluated and examined. It will be the task of this thesis to seek to highlight the distorted nature of such stereotypes as and when they occur.

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I. WEDEKIND'S MORAL STANCE

(i) General Remarks

Wedekind is an author who literally (as an actor) was prone to appear in his own plays as well as figuratively. His favourite role was Karl Hetmann in Hidalla (1903-1904) where he exaggerated his own limp, and his most self-consciously written Selbstporträt was Die Zensur (1907). His enthusiasm for living theatre can never be overestimated, and one is aware that a dimension is lacking in discussing the ideas behind the plays and thus often ignoring the dramatic niceties. Although, strictly speaking, only Wedekind's last works fall within the Expressionist decade 1910-1920, Wedekind is not simply a forerunner of Expressionism. It will be seen several times that he anticipated Freud (see below, pp. 83 and 90). His method of portraying dialogue as a series of interfaced monologues is Expressionist in idea, even though the characteristic reductions of Expressionist linguistic technique are largely absent. Above all, Wedekind's choice of sexuality as theme justifies the claim to regard him as an Expressionist. His main interest was in portraying female sexuality, although the generation conflict is sometimes a submerged theme, chiefly caused by Wedekind's own difficult relationship with his father.

By broaching the topic of sexuality in an outright manner Wedekind challenged many taboos, but he often demonstrated that he had a distorted sexual attitude of his own behind the deliberate distortions employed in his character portrayals. For example, his method of caricature frequently tempted him into making sexist jokes, and there are many occasions when he seems to sanction male aggression - indeed violence - towards women in a sexual context. This gives rise to a good deal of ambiguity, especially in his treatment of his female characters.

Wedekind's residual conventionality, though not in itself a distorted sexual attitude, was always in danger of becoming one. This is what happens with Wedekind's attitude towards prostitutes: by regarding them as virtual nymphomaniacs who enjoyed their trade, Wedekind represented

an extreme view of the Wilhelmine period. As mentioned in the Introduction (pp.10-11) this particular conventional attitude was (and still is) a distortion because it sanctions the power which the man wields over the woman simply because he can afford to pay. When Wedekind later singled out the financial transaction in prostitution as degrading (see below, p.70), his purpose was not to defend prostitutes but to defend a more liberated sexuality. He thus avoided discussing the wider issue of prostitution as a social phenomenon. Wedekind's curiously detached view is partially explained by consulting the diaries, especially for the Paris years 1892-94, which show him to be somewhat callous towards prostitutes whilst recording in intimate detail the sexual practices enjoyed with them (or, more accurately, their bodies).¹ It is clear that he simultaneously revelled in their sexuality and disapproved of them as social outsiders. Horst Laube refers to this ambivalence as 'eine gewisse Kühle des Herzens'.²

As a young man, Wedekind had several affairs of short duration, two of which resulted in the birth of an illegitimate son. The best-known liaison - because it involved Strindberg's former wife Frida - lasted only one year, from 1895-96. Surprisingly, no single woman looms large as an abiding influence on Wedekind's life and work. Even after his late marriage to Tilly Newes when he was 42, the relationship was racked by quarrels and jealousy on Wedekind's part (which was mostly groundless). He seems to have been fascinated by women as members of the female sex as a whole, but he found it difficult to form a lasting relationship with any one woman. This fact is of interest because of Wedekind's close concern with female sexuality. Arthur Kutscher gives essential confirmation that Wedekind's knowledge of female sexuality was gleaned from prominent sources, in particular Mantegazza, Charcot, Krafft-Ebing and Moll.³ A further source was H. Ploss's Das Weib (1887), which Wedekind noted in Notebook 39. Another source, annotated 'wie wohl überhaupt kein zweites Werk'⁴ is Pierre Dufour's Histoire de la prostitution chez tous les peuples du monde depuis l'antiquité la plus reculée jusqu'à

nos jours (1851-53).

It is thus not surprising that Wedekind gives us accurate and intimate details of behaviour in the brothel, as his reading matter and his own experiences in the Paris years (1892-94) gave him a fund of knowledge. For example, the anxiety of the customer not to be robbed is reflected in Jack's remark to Lulu: 'Wenn ich schlafe, kehrt man mir die Taschen um' (P.D.V., I, p.537).⁵ This is in fact precisely what Schigolch has done with Herr Hunedei's pockets, and is standard behaviour expected of the pimp.⁶ In view of such first-hand knowledge, it is surprising that Wedekind clung to the belief, current in his day, that prostitutes were particularly highly sexed - which was why they became prostitutes. As was shown clearly in the Introduction (pp. 27-29) prostitutes were more often the victims of social factors than of nymphomaniac tendencies.

Wedekind's significant achievement was to challenge Naturalism at the time when it had reached its peak of influence. Strich comments:

Er warf dem Naturalismus vor, daß er den Menschen nur als zahmes und gesittetes Haustier kenne, eingefangen in die Bedingtheit des Milieus, geschwächt von seelischen und sozialen Problemen ... Er sah, daß die naturalistische Bewegung nicht ein neues, unbürgerliches Menschentum erstrebte, sondern den bürgerlichen Kreis nur noch erweitern und in ihn einfangen wollte, was noch außerhalb stand oder ausgebrochen war.⁷

Here there is a clear invitation to see in Wedekind a social critic in so far as he exposes the hypocrisies of contemporary society. This is very much the argument Rasch uses in his effort to pinpoint Wedekind's viewpoint. Stressing the influence of Nietzsche's gospel of vitality, Rasch writes:

Wedekinds Anteil am Lebenspathos der Zeit besteht darin, daß er die Sexualität, die Schopenhauer als 'Brennpunkt des Lebens' bezeichnet, als naturhafte Regung und ursprüngliche Aktivität einer von den Ursprüngen entfernten, in Konventionen erstarrten Zivilisationswelt entgegenstellt.⁸

Rasch makes the point that Wedekind does not believe in

free love as such, but believes that the ways in which society curbs and channels sexuality are the wrong ones.

Both Rasch and Lorenz draw attention to the similarity between Wedekind's attack on bourgeois hypocrisy towards sexuality and Engels's outspoken views (outlined in the Introduction, pp.25-26). Lorenz states that Wedekind 'voices in his dramas social and cultural criticism. He adopts the dialectic method of the German socialists Engels and Bebel to unmask the double standards and incongruities inherent in contemporary society'.⁹ However, Lorenz is surely going too far in her speculation that Wedekind envisages an egalitarian socialist society where men and women are on an equal footing. Wedekind demonstrates repeatedly in his works that he has little sympathy with the social reformer (for example, Fürstin Russalka's second husband, who in spite of his stirring socialist speeches woos her from her feminist ways and insists on a church wedding) and even less with the emancipated woman, whom he persistently characterises as unfeminine or ridiculous (or both, as in the case of Elfriede von Malchus). Michelsen's point of view - that Wedekind's quest for a natural life is merely part of 'gut bürgerliche Tradition',¹⁰ - highlights an essential area of difficulty for the student of Wedekind. This is that in spite of the brouhaha surrounding bourgeois sexuality in the plays, Wedekind tends to fall into a position of himself subscribing to bourgeois values.¹¹ This is clear not just in his treatment of the New Woman, but in his portrayal of sexually active women, whose sexual appetites are shown to be grotesque and unhealthy.

Another major difficulty presents itself in the fact that Wedekind appeared to believe that any topic was ripe for satire - a fault also common in the early plays of Kaiser (see pp.185-86). Even if one admits the power of grotesque irony to make a statement, there is nevertheless a complete lack of any control experiment. It is easy to detect who and what Wedekind is attacking at any given point, less easy to see what he would substitute instead. His position as mocker thus becomes just as indiscriminate as that of the philistine in the audience whose 'gellendes Hohngelächter'

(P.D.V., I, p. 463) Wedekind sought to expose. The only play in which Wedekind adopts an unequivocal attitude towards his subject matter is Frühlings Erwachen (1890), where his anger at the blinkered attitudes of bourgeois adults towards adolescent sexuality is palpable throughout the play. Indeed, the strange 'vermummte/̄ Herr' is included in the play to underline the moral (P.D.V., I, p. 310), a technique never again used by Wedekind. He seemed to lose interest in fighting for a new morality and concentrated instead on fighting against the old.

In fairness to Wedekind, this policy was quite deliberate and intended to be provocative. In a comment on Erdgeist (1893-94) in which he defends his use of 'Realpsychologie' he writes, 'es kam mir bei der Darstellung um Ausschaltung all der Begriffe an, die logisch unhaltbar sind wie: Liebe, Treue, Dankbarkeit' (P.D.V., I, p. 945).¹² In spite of this statement, it can be argued that Lulu and Schön do love each other and demonstrate a degree of loyalty and dependence towards each other, though in the context of a sado-masochistic relationship which will be discussed later (see p. 98). Another example of an ambivalent moral stance occurs in the play Musik (1906), where some highly serious topics are touched on, amongst them the law against abortion, only to be abandoned amongst the general ignominy of the principal characters. This was deliberate on Wedekind's part, as he pointed out when writing to defend the play: 'Hätte ich den Stoff ernster auffassen wollen, dann hätte ich das Beste daran verloren' (P.D.V., I, p. 952). However, since the burden of criticism of a cruel law (Paragraph 218, which Wedekind dubs Paragraph 812 in the play) falls on the shoulders of the heroine, the discrediting of this heroine discredits a valid line of enquiry. (See Introduction, p. 50).

It is also legitimate, in view of lengthy pronouncements on morality and its mutations in the mouth of such characters as Casti Piani (in Tod und Teufel, (1905)), to enquire what Wedekind's own view was. It is astonishing that in spite of Wedekind's physical efforts in putting on and acting in his plays, an unambiguous viewpoint does

not emerge as it so unequivocally does with, for example, Brecht. An early critic to comment on this was Karl Kraus, who wrote in 1903, 'Wedekind hat nicht klar genug den Gesichtswinkel gestellt, aus dem seine Realität zu betrachten ist'.¹³ Much of the explanation for this ambivalence lies in Wedekind's own attitude towards sexual matters which, though treated in a cavalier way in the plays, seem to have caused him personal anxieties. Alan Best even suggests that Wedekind battled against impotence in his relationship with Tilly.¹⁴

Either in spite of or because of the problems Wedekind had with Tilly - outlined, to Tilly's dismay, in 1907 in Die Zensur - Wedekind seems to have changed his mind abruptly on female sexuality. From 1906 onwards the burning dynamism of Fleischgeist¹⁵ has gone, in spite of all Effie's attempts - in Schloß Wetterstein (1910) - to resuscitate it. None of the women in the later plays - Effie, Franziska, Delila - can approach Lulu in terms of sexual attraction, although the plays are on occasion more outspoken on sexuality. Claude Quigeur has suggested that this is because Wedekind's own opinion on Fleischgeist as a principle of spontaneous combustion was revised, as can be detected in Die Zensur where Buridan's insistence on a 'geistiges Band' linking him to Kadidja - even if he absents himself for a fortnight - constitutes a volte-face in Wedekind's eroticism: 'En aspirant à un au-delà des sens, Buridan restaure la vieille antithèse de la chair et de l'esprit'.¹⁶

Quigeur is adamant that, even allowing for the fact that a writer is always at one remove from the characters he creates, Buridan's dilemma is 'incontestablement une confession',¹⁷ mirroring Wedekind's own 'contresens'. Wedekind himself, whilst mocking society on an overt level, nevertheless wished and needed to be a part of it. This 'position fausse',¹⁸ generates many of the incongruities and distortions to be found in the plays. In spite of these defects, Wedekind's contribution in bringing sexuality into open debate must not be minimised. Nor, however, can the sexism which is sometimes present be condoned.

(ii) Schamgefühl

A concept which Wedekind tried to elucidate in two decades of writing, without successfully reaching a clear conclusion, is that of Schamgefühl ('bashfulness, modesty') and what seems to be its opposite: Schamlosigkeit ('immodesty, brazenness'). The matter is raised by Moritz and Melchior in Frühlings Erwachen when they discuss whether or not they will allow their children to grow up in a liberal or prudish atmosphere. Moritz decides that when he has children he will let both sexes sleep in the same room to observe each other getting dressed and undressed. Such a policy would produce a healthy attitude to the opposite sex and would vindicate his views that 'das Schamgefühl im Menschen nur ein Produkt seiner Erziehung ist' (P.D.V., I,p.247). Melchior retains doubts because of the inevitable moment when sexual urges rear their head, but Moritz counters this by saying that a strict regimen would ensure that the children slept soundly.

The impossibility of deciding which view Wedekind himself held is an example of his abiding ambivalence on these matters. The jottings following the fragment Die Jungfrau suggest that Wedekind himself advocated nudity as a liberal principle, condemned because misunderstood: 'An die Bösartigkeit, Schlechtigkeit der Nacktheit mußte der Mensch glauben, da er sie unmöglich verstehen konnte' (G.W., IX,p.199). Yet Wedekind closely connects this need for clothing as social good with Schamgefühl itself, citing his own daughter as proof: 'Anna Pamela ist ein Beweis dafür, daß angeborenes Schamgefühl existiert, da sie sich vor fremden Menschen nicht nackt auskleiden lassen will' (G.W., IX,pp.197-98). An example of this type of modesty is found in Mine-Haha (1899), when the girls are auditioned, presumably to select the ones who will soon be ready for the outside world:

So sehr wir es unter uns gewohnt waren,
 einander nackt zu sehen, so hatte sich
 doch keine, seitdem sie im Park war, je
 vor Erwachsenen ohne Kleidung gezeigt ...
 Jetzt sah ich bei einer wie der anderen,
 während wir uns mitten im Saal entkleide-
 ten, wie sie rot im Gesicht wurde, mit den

Augen zwinkerte und sich auf die Lippen
 biß. (P.D.V., I, p.217)

Wedekind seems to have been uncertain in his own mind whether to criticise Schamgefühl as a bourgeois straitjacket - following the above quotation mentioning his daughter, Wedekind speculates that this innate Schamgefühl might be a 'Hemmungsvorstellung', and Wedekind himself practised nudity within his family circle¹⁹ - or whether to defend it as a worthwhile phenomenon. In Die Tagebücher, Wedekind noted (uncritically) that his friend always kept a prostitute waiting for sex to determine whether or not she had sufficient Schamgefühl to restrain her from making the first move.²⁰ This imposition of a double standard on the prostitute - who in turn is part of the wider double standard in society - indicates the type of distorted sexual attitude which is so often the target of criticism in this study. It can be deduced that Wedekind's support for Schamgefühl was limited to a conviction that it was a useful sex aid - for the man - especially on the bridal night:

Der Wert der jungfräulichen Scham der
 Braut in der Brautnacht besteht darin,
 daß eine edle seelische Erregung, die
 sich im ganzen Körper des Weibes äußert,
 immer im höchsten Grad anregend auf die
 Potenz des Mannes wirkt. (G.W., IX, p.202)

Such an argument brings Wedekind in line with the mainstream of medical opinion, as was seen in the Introduction (Section II,ii) where male aggression and female passivity in sexual matters are regarded as normal. Wedekind is actually speaking conventionally rather than provocatively when he makes Og, in Simson (1913), remind Delila - nostalgically - that he had to rape her on their bridal night: 'Vergewaltigen muß ich dich' (P.D.V., II, p.561). Now that she no longer resists him he feels impotent:

... Damals
 Fühlt ich mich machtvoll, stolz, gewaltig,
 fürstlich,
 Weil schamhaft du dich meiner Liebeswerbung
 Versagtest. Dein verschämter Widerstand
 Gab das Gefühl mir höchster Manneswürde. (P.D.V., II, p.561)

Although Wedekind proceeds to make Og outlaw Schamgefühl because of his disappointments with Delila - who still loves Simson, thus fanning Og's jealousy - the

fundamental questions relating to the power struggle in the sexual arena remain unchallenged. Delila's reluctant and temporary reign as high priestess of Schamlosigkeit merely serves to demonstrate her blunder in aligning her fortunes with Og rather than Simson. Simson, for his part, is shaken from the emasculated lethargy into which he has fallen when he realises that Delila's life is in danger. Disregarding the humiliations he has suffered because of her disloyalty, he musters his strength at the end of the play in a welter of destruction. All hopes one might have entertained for a definitive statement on Schamgefühl, as promised by the play's subtitle Scham und Eifersucht, join the rubble which engulfs the characters at the end of the play. For this study, the interest of the play lies in the fact that rape is mentioned in positive terms, as Og presumes that Delila enjoyed the experience as much as he did. The fact that this is not an ironical portrayal on Wedekind's part, but the exposé of a serious belief, will be discussed below (pp.86-89).

II. CHARACTER CATEGORISATION

(i) Schamlosigkeit and Rasse

Wedekind seems to have operated his own double standard towards his male and female characters. The male characters pay lip-service to physical agility but usually excel in mental quick-wittedness. The female characters tend to lack intellectual power and exult in their physical excellence. Wedekind pays little attention to genteel bourgeois wives and mothers such as Leona Sterner in Oaha (1908) or to the nobility such as Schön's fiancée Adelheid, whom we only know through her portrait. This shadowy person, however, would presumably possess Schamgefühl just as Lulu equally certainly lacks it. Wedekind thus appears to adopt the ambiguous stance - so well-documented at the time - of assuming that the well-bred lady is modest, passive and sexually unexciting. As he hardly ever shows a bourgeois home as such, the 'angel' of such a home is lacking in his plays but also thereby escapes his scorching criticism, which is reserved for those women he purports to

prefer: the sexually eager Rasseweiber recognisable by the discerning man at first sight.

Not all Rasseweiber are prostitutes but most of them turn to prostitution at some stage in their lives, and others speak of the 'offene/n Markt' with a degree of envy. When Kadidja (in Die Zensur, P.D.V., I, p.800) and Wanda Washington (in Oaha, P.D.V., II, p.306) do this they clearly assume that the prostitute enjoys full sexual liberty. Wedekind speaks of the prostitute's Schamlosigkeit in approving terms in Die Jungfrau: since 'Ehre' is merely the regard of others in society, the prostitute's honour rates highly as 'Liebeskunst' (G.W., IX, p.192), whilst that of the wife is her 'Unnahbarkeit' (G.W., IX, p.185). There is thus authorial encouragement for us to view the phenomenon of Schamlosigkeit as a healthy exercise of sexual freedom. This is constantly undermined, however, because Wedekind's women with high libidos - the Rasseweiber - often succumb to grotesque fates.

There is, furthermore, a basic flaw in Wedekind's obviously genuine enthusiasm for the Rasseweib and that is the sheer animality of the concept. The Rasseweib is akin to the thoroughbred Arab mare: she can be recognised by her gait, and in fact when she moves it is often less of an attempt to reach a destination than an opportunity to display herself. In Lulu the propensity for exhibitionism is at its most obvious. Indeed, John Elsom has gone so far as to suggest that her dancing, far from being an activity indulged in to please men, is a form of auto-eroticism: 'The frenzy is stimulated, a form of masturbation'.²¹ Significantly, when Lulu catches sight of herself in a mirror, her narcissism is clear: 'Als ich mich im Spiegel sah, hätte ich ein Mann sein wollen ... mein Mann!' (P.D.V., I, p.450).²²

In view of this aspect of Lulu it is ironic that men should cluster round her, believing that they can command her affection. The exploitation is two-way and ends when Lulu runs out of men whom she can manipulate. The men, in their turn, indulge themselves by projecting their own fantasies on to Lulu's body. Escerny is the most blunt,

hoping to pass on a pedigree to his children through Lulu's physical superiority, very much on the race-horse principle: 'Sollten Kinder dieser Frau nicht fürstlicher sein an Leib und Seele als Kinder, deren Mutter nicht mehr Lebensfähigkeit in sich hat, als ich bis heute in mir fühlte?' (P.D.V., I, pp. 434-35). Similarly Keith in Der Marquis von Keith (1900) sees Anna Werdenfels as a body rather than a person, designing her dress for her singing debut in his notebook (where he should properly be keeping his accounts), and speculating as to the excellent stock the two of them will be able to breed. It is abundantly clear that Keith admires the Rasseweib in Anna, which raises her above the tawdry affection of Molly, who merely wants 'nichts als Liebe ! Möglichst viel und von der gewöhnlichsten Sorte !' (P.D.V., I, p. 656). Anna, like Keith, is ruthless, living on the fringe of society by native wit and clever manipulation. It is ironic but not at all surprising that Scholz asks her to be his mistress rather than his wife, recognising (in his own rather limited way) a Rasseweib when he sees one.

There are many situations in the plays which make the female sexual appetite appear risqué. In Die Büchse der Pandora,²³ Lulu is advised by Schigolch to take a book to bed for once - 'ausnahmsweise' (P.D.V., I, p. 510); her request for a 'kräftiges Mittel gegen Schlaflosigkeit' (P.D.V., I, p. 488) produces the ardent Hugenberg. Rodrigo speaks of the 'kolossale Menge Liebhaber' she has 'befriedigt' (P.D.V., I, p. 487). Lulu's constant pleas to Jack to stay the night with her are partly explained by the fact that she has been aroused by Herr Hunedei: 'Hat mich der Mensch erregt !' (P.D.V., I, p. 527). This is supported by her further remarks (in English) in the Monstretragödie of 1895 (never published): 'Did he excite me ! - I could have bidden (sic) off his nose !'²⁴ Effie speaks with pride of her 'starkes Verlangen' (P.D.V., II, p. 407), and is dismayed when the doctor attributes this to bad digestion. The audience would find this funny or shocking - which it is - but it also reaffirms the patriarchal assumption that genteel ladies did not have such strong sexual desires, and is misogynist in linking female sexuality to the stomach.

By the same token, there is a distinctly sexist element in Wedekind's delineation of a woman's ungovernable sexual desires. Felissa in Die Kaiserin von Neufundland (1897) is a psychotic danger to herself and those around her. When Eugen Holthoff fails to fulfil the doctor's prediction that Heiraten will cure Felissa, she first begs him to club her to death and finally strangles herself with her hair. The idea of a muscleman being a cure for boredom headaches can be found in the very roots of farce. Felissa's rejection of Napoleon and Alwa (who, in 1897, arrives in a motor car!) contains the elements of a good farce, but is marred by the grotesque exaggeration of Felissa's sexual frustration.

Felissa, like several other women of high libido, seeks a masochistic death. This masochistic streak is, in fact, a hallmark of the Rasseweib and will be dealt with in due course (see pp.82-86). The Rasseweib's lack of rational capacity forces her to seek alliances with men who, whilst they may be on the border of bourgeois society, such as Keith, nevertheless have to retain links with that society out of financial necessity. The Rasseweib remains aloof from bourgeois society even when she is married by remaining childless and retaining her sexual interest, both of which were regarded as distortions in many Wilhelmine minds. Her alliances with men are crucial and bring her downfall when the wrong man is chosen, as is the case with Lulu, Effie and Delila, as well as with Felissa. Thus Wedekind allows a problematic tone to dominate his portrayal of the very women one would have expected him to support and indicates that he himself held a distorted view of women of high libido.

(ii) Male Character Categorisation

In an early article published by the Neue Zürcher Zeitung in 1887 entitled 'Zirkusgedanken', Wedekind classifies people in terms of trapeze artists and tight-rope walkers (energetic and lethargic respectively). These categorisations can be applied to both sexes, but are most revealing when applied to men.

Even before Wedekind visited Paris, with its famous circuses,

he was already enthralled by the acrobatic feats of the circus artistes, who showed a breathtaking elasticity and physical fitness which has only in recent years been superseded by the higher standards seen in modern gymnastics. In spite of his slight limp and ungainly physique, or perhaps because of it, Wedekind retained a spellbound interest in athleticism throughout his life. It is apparent in most of the plays and was a factor in his private life - in his flat he kept a ball and drum and encouraged his wife and daughters to join in balancing exercises. Possibly the fact that Wedekind's mother had been a dancer fanned his innate interest in physical agility.

The trapeze artists in Wedekind's definition have a support from above (the hook securing the actual trapeze) which they take for granted, and their movements thus have greater freedom and flow than the nose-to-the-grindstone movements of the tightrope walker, whose support comes from below and gives little scope for flowing movements. The trapeze artist is thus less self-conscious than the tight-rope walker - unless the ropes give way, which is unlikely, whereas the tightrope walker will fall if he or she forgets him- or herself for one moment. Transferring these ideas to types of people, Wedekind included as trapeze artists:

... alle Wüstenprediger und Säulenheiligen,
auch viele politische Schwärmer, neuer-
dings besonders sozialpolitische, sodann
weitaus die Mehrheit der Poeten, hier
und da auch ein Philosoph, kurz, Menschen,
die sich für die nackte Idee begeistern
... da ihre Füße niemals den Erdboden
berühren, so werden sie in vielen Fällen
ganz bezeichnend 'Wolkentreter' genannt.
(P.D.V., I, p.885)

However, if the ropes break they fall to their deaths in a sickening plunge. The tightrope walkers, in contrast, are the more practical members of society, but their carefulness denotes a certain narrow-mindedness:

Sie setzen die Welt nicht durch fabel-
hafte salti mortali in Erstaunen, weil
sie ihrer ganzen Aufmerksamkeit bedürfen,
um den schmalen Pfad, den sie sich vor-
gezeichnet, ohne Fehltritt zurückzulegen.
Alles Schwärmen, alles Hingeben der
Persönlichkeit an abstrakte Probleme

erklären sie für Unsinn ... So sind sie denn, ein jeder auf seiner Bahn, gründliche Gelehrte, gewissenhafte Beamte, geschickte Handwerker, allsorgende Hausväter, liebende Mütter oder endlich harmonisch ausgebildete 'Menschen' geworden. (P.D.V.,I,p.886)

A similar division of character types is retained in Anna Werdenfels's division in Der Marquis von Keith: '... ich teile die Menschen in zwei große Klassen. Die einen sind hopp-hopp und die anderen sind ethe petete (sic)' (P.D.V.,I,p.610). This echoes the energy of the trapeze artist as contrasted with the lethargy of the tightrope walker and accompanies Wedekind throughout his most productive period. In 1911 a linguistic pun by the Herzog von Rotenburg in Franziska shows that Wedekind is very far from forgiving the 'etepetete' category their philistinism: 'Außerdem ist mein Volk Ethos Potetos, zu deutsch: Kartoffelseele' (P.D.V.,II,p.482). The thread of Wedekind's basic character division thus stretches unbroken from 1887 through to 1911 and beyond.

It is clear that Wedekind had little affection for 'potato souls' even though they are sometimes the main character in a play, as is the case in König Nicolo (1901). His admiration is reserved for characters with mental elasticity, which makes gymnasts out of men who seem at first sight to have a desk job, such as Schön or Sterner (in Oaha). Indeed, the only physically active 'hopp hopp' male is Fritz Schwigerling whose remark 'der Körper muß einen Ring bilden' (P.D.V.,I,p.346) reverberates through the plays, but always with reference to female characters. It is not until twenty-two years later that we have another male protagonist whose physical prowess determines his life: Simson (though there are several strong men in support roles). The most virile male characters thus depend on mental, not physical, gymnastics. Intellectual vigour rather than sexual potency is the hallmark of their success. Even a character such as Hetmann, who draws so heavily on the sensual arena for his ideas, lives and dies by his intellect.

Boone has noted the instances of disaster which befall the male characters in Wedekind's plays, and this has led

him to classify the men according to the degree to which they manifest the Oedipal situation of Wedekind's own childhood:

Gemäß dieser Vorstellung der 'ödipalen Situation' ist es möglich, eine Tabelle der männlichen Personen in Wedekinds Werken aufzustellen, wonach sie entweder Gewaltmenschen oder aber Opfer sind.²⁵

Such an approach causes confusion with characters such as Simson and Casti Piani (Tod und Teufel) which is resolved if one regards them as trapeze artists for whom the rope breaks. It is significant that even the strongest man, such as Simson, can be ensnared by a beautiful woman. The dangerous potential of Wedekind's sexually attractive women is ever present in the plays, providing them with a constant undertone of misogyny and undermining the Rasseweib.

(iii) Mistaken Identities

A supreme irony one finds when discussing Wedekind's character categories is the fact that so many of the characters do but slenderly know themselves. Frequently the character makes a mistake about his or her sexuality, causing us to have yet another layer of distortion in the play. 'Potato souls' such as Alwa Schön and Ernst Scholz demonstrate their weakness when they seek confirmation of their sexual prowess. Alwa even asserts that Lulu thought of him when she was in the arms of his father, a notion ridiculed later in the same scene when Dr. Hilti shows more concern over Alwa's corpse than Lulu does herself.

The sexual arena is the place where a female character's true strength is judged. Kadidja (Die Zensur) over-estimates her athletic and sexual prowess, making her dangerously vulnerable to Buridan's 'censure', which actually amounts to an assessment of her abilities as artiste whereby she is 'condemned by faint praise'. Buridan's self-knowledge seems to be as inadequate as his knowledge of Kadidja. The main problem seems to be the mis-mating of Buridan, who believes he can re-mould Kadidja, with a woman who for all her physical attractions could never be

a trapeze artist and remains, therefore, in the 'etepetete' static category. Buridan brutally brings this home to Kadidja by comparing her to a truly athletic Seiltänzerin whom he has seen in Palermo performing on an elasticated rope over an array of sharp knives, blades uppermost. Kadidja's bridal costume, ready for the show in which she is to appear, mocks her aspirations to become Buridan's legal wife, as does her narcissistic delight in her appearance as 'ein exotisches Tier' (P.D.V., I, p.818)²⁶ which falls so short of Buridan's yardstick, the Palermo dancer.

Kadidja and Buridan are simply examples from the many characters who mistake each other's qualities. Lulu calls Schön a 'Gewaltmensch' (P.D.V., I, p.441)²⁷ when he shows little evidence of being the raw brute for whom the term is usually reserved (although he is certainly the 'man of authority' which the term also implies), yet she shows a predilection for the real brute Jack, who with his bitten fingernails and his 'zottigen Favorits' (P.D.V., I, p.536) is almost the type of 'Lumpenkerl' (P.D.V., I, p.500) she says she could not sleep with. Many of the dramatic plots actually hinge on the main character's mistaken trust in his fellow men. Keith badly misjudges Anna, Sterner misjudges his staff on Till Eulenspiegel, and Hetmann misjudges Launhart's editorial integrity. In addition, many plots rely on completely mistaken identity such as König Nicolo.

To compound the confusion, Wedekind is not always consistent with his characters. Whether or not inserted deliberately to confuse the censor, his statement (in the 'Vorwort') that Geschwitz was the 'tragische Hauptfigur' (P.D.V., I, p.462) in Die Büchse der Pandora leaves one unconvinced. Similarly his own comment on Musik would carry more weight if he had remembered that the main character is called Klara, not Fanny (P.D.V., I, p.951).²⁸ There is a severe credibility gap between the Casti Piani of Tod und Teufel and Wedekind's declared intention that he was modelled on Goethe's Mephistopheles: 'Als Vorbild bei der Zeichnung der Hauptfigur, des Marquis Casti Piani, schwebte mir der Goethesche Mephisto vor ...' (P.D.V., I, p.

949).The analogy does not work because Casti Piani's arguments are either persuasive or silly but never actually wicked in the sense that Mephistopheles is wicked; nor does he have a Faust to play opposite (but instead Elfriede) and the very notion of his father beating mathematics into him robs him of all demonism. Such distortions are doubly confusing when related to a character's sexuality.

III. SINNENLIEBE AND THE BROTHEL

In the discussion of Schamlosigkeit it was clear that for all the advantages of Fleischgeist, Wedekind retained an ambiguous attitude to the prostitute. He prefers the type of unpretentious street-girl such as Ella in Elins Erweckung (1887) who declares herself to be 'ein ehrlich Straßenmädchen' (G.W.,IX,p.52), or the cheerful Ilse of Frühlings Erwachen who deliberately lives for the moment and for whom, having buried her childhood along with her toy tomahawk, the only certainty for the future is death (P.D.V.,I,p.282). Ella and Ilse ignore the prospect of financial gain in their occupation, unlike the more sumptuous courtesans of later works such as Effie and Delila. In Die Jungfrau, Wedekind makes it clear that it was the money aspect which was demeaning in prostitution, ignoring the imbalance of power involved;

Die Herabwürdigung des geschlechtlichen Verkehrs zum Zweck des täglichen Broterwerbs macht das Schimpfliche des Dirnenhandwerks aus. (G.W.,IX,p.193)

It can almost be stated that the masochistic tendencies of the prostitute increase pro rata with the money at stake: however, this would be to overlook Lulu's disastrous lack of professionalism with Jack (as discussed on p. 91). Wedekind seems to give some credence to the common idea of the time that the prostitute protected the middle-class home by providing the man with a sexual outlet:

Die Hure schützt die bürgerliche Gesellschaft vor Unzucht, Vergewaltigung, Verführung, Betrug, Ehebruch, Selbstbefleckung (Piraten, Mordbrenner, Seeräubervolk). (G.W.,IX,p.187)

This viewpoint gains a degree of support when the Madame in

Das Sonnenspektrum (1894) makes a similar comment in which she objects to being reviled by society:

Ich habe es satt, mich für anderer
Weiber Schäferstunden zu schinden und
ihnen ein komfortables Familienheim
zu geben, damit sie mich dem Scharf-
richter ans Messer liefern, wenn mir
das Räuberpack den letzten Blutstropfen
aus den Adern gepreßt hat. (P.D.V.,II,p.107)

Wedekind argues on two levels throughout this play, seeking to show the brothel as a haven where sexually orientated girls can find refuge and at the same time showing many jarring elements which intrude into the idyll, detracting from its portrayal as a 'Tempel der Freude und der Gesundheit' (P.D.V.,II,p.115). However, there is no serious statement to be found as to the desirability of equipping young girls with a knowledge of the facts of life so that they do not flee to the brothel, as Elise does, because the sexual urges become unbearable. On the contrary, Wedekind allows himself every latitude in the jokes he makes, as when the doctor suggests a diagnosis for the Madame's favourite, Minetta; 'Sie hat ja natürlich auch des Guten ein wenig zu viel getan?' (P.D.V.,II,p.95).

In such instances one is reminded of Wedekind's own indignation at the scurrilous jest used in 'Hoftheatern und Tingeltangeln' which, quite uncensored, 'täglich ihre gellenden dröhnenden Triumphe feiert' (G.W.,I,p.205). Wedekind does not seem to have realised that his own jokes could be construed in just such a way. His refusal to make a clear statement thus gives his writings a fundamental ambiguity which Quiguer refers to as 'le renom suspect de Wedekind'.²⁹ We thus have a luxurious establishment where the girls have a pleasure park, a pampered diet and a dazzling array of clothes. It is very much the type of exotic establishment Kitty Warren stoutly defends in Shaw's Mrs Warren's Profession (1898) and Casti Piani describes in Die Büchse der Pandora, albeit with a degree of irony (P.D.V.,I,p.502). Indeed, such establishments were arguably no worse than drudgery in service or (to use Shaw's example) a lead factory, and Lulu has a real chance of evading the law by flight to Cairo. However, the quarrelsome atmosphere in Das Sonnenspektrum indicates that

Wedekind seems to have reflected on the discord in such an establishment. He wrote later of the need to rid luxurious prostitution of its 'gänzlich falschen, sagenhaften, völlig ungerechtfertigten Romantik' (G.W., I, p.204) - by the adoption of franker social attitudes.

Unfortunately, what Wedekind construes as frankness sometimes comes perilously close to sleaziness and can result in an affirmation of the double standard, as is the case when the girls sing the sexually suggestive song which has already been introduced as a leitmotif by the pedlar. Tilly Wedekind knew the song in a slightly altered version as 'Ilse' before she knew her husband :

Ich war ein Kind von vierzehn Jahren,
Ein reines, unschuldvolles Kind,
Als ich zum erstenmal erfahren,
Wie süß der Liebe Freuden sind.

Er nahm mich um den Leib und lachte
Und flüsterte: Es tut nicht weh -
Und dabei schob er sachte, sachte
Mein Unterröckchen in die Höh'.

Seit jenem Tag lieb ich sie alle,
Des Lebens schönster Lenz ist mein,
Und wenn ich Keinem mehr gefalle,
Dann will ich gern begraben sein. (P.D.V., II, p.119)³⁰

The song is ambiguous because the very strong tone of menace - the age of the girl, the man's assurance that sex does not hurt and her acceptance that she is prepared to die when her beauty fades - is beaten back by the pervading tone of joy. Such words as 'süß', 'lachte', 'schönster Lenz' give support to the idea that the girl enjoyed being seduced. This is a standpoint Wedekind adopts on subsequent occasions (see pp.87-89). By making the girls in the brothel sing this song, Wedekind undermines his own efforts to show the lot of the prostitute in an unfavourable light. It must be pointed out, furthermore, that the notion of the short span of woman's physical charms has led to much misogynist comment, for example, Schopenhauer's essay on 'Tetramagie', which Bloch deplored.³¹

Most of the girls in the brothel were seduced as their initiation into sex, but instead of any forthright statement on the matter - beyond a consensus of disappointment

on the girls' part (P.D.V.,II,pp.125-26) - Wedekind makes extremely tortuous hints as to the realities of Mädchenhandel. The Madame is anxious not to be falsely accused of acquiring Elise through chloroforming her, yet Kadudja's introduction to sex was just that: 'Mich hat man chloroformiert' (P.D.V.,II,p.125). It is not clear whether or not the Madame was implicated in this or not. Kadudja mentions that she was made pregnant on this occasion (though we do not learn whether or not she had the baby). The girls seem suprisingly resigned to the matter of unwanted pregnancies, as Schneewittchen's remark indicates: 'Wenn einer eine wirklich liebt, dann fragt er sie gar nicht erst lange. Dann macht er ihr ein Kind' (P.D.V.,II,p.125). It is clear that the Madame fears that Elise's ample or 'üppig' (P.D.V.,II,p.108) figure is the result of pregnancy and she has to be reassured that this is not so. However, behind her adamant remark that her brothel is not an 'Absteigequartier für Kindbetterinnen' (P.D.V.,II,p.108) lies the glaring fact that for many seduced girls, there was nowhere else to turn.

In the question of the Rasseweib's reproductive potential Wedekind seems to have wanted to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds. In spite of several comments as to her breeding potential (by Escerny regarding Lulu and Keith regarding Anna) and a whole play devoted to the topic of eugenic breeding - Hidalla - Wedekind's Rasseweiber, as sexually active women, remain curiously barren, a fact which would not be lost on his middle-class audience in view of the emphasis placed on the role of the mother by Wilhelmine society. The girls in the brothel, by remaining childless, must be either procuring abortions illegally, having their children brought up elsewhere (as Magelone's daughter Kadidja is in Die Büchse der Pandora) or - a final possibility - they are themselves diseased.

Thus Minetta, absent on her sick-bed, is a warning to all the other girls that they too might succumb to metritis - inflammation of the womb - the name Kutscher gives to the malady.³² Kutscher also states that Wedekind studied various texts for this play (Krafft-Ebing, Charcot and Mantegazza are even mentioned in the text (P.D.V.,II,p.104)). He knew

of Charcot's experiments at his mental asylum La Salpêtrière in Paris in the 1880s. Charcot tried to prove that hysterical maladies were not limited to the female (the Greek word hysteron means womb), but he thought all cases of hysteria had a sexual origin. With Wedekind's most sexually eager women one is never far away from the notion of disease, whether physical (with Minetta) or mental (with Lisiska, for example). Thus Wedekind casts aspersions on the very women he seems to admire most: the Rasseweiber.

Walter Sokel has detected a change in Wedekind's works (from 'early' to 'late') which feature prostitutes, finding that in the late works 'the "fille de joie" tends to become the victim of the lust murderer'.³³ However, he is too optimistic with his assumptions as to Das Sonnenspektrum where 'a humane urbanity rules the relations between girls, customers, and madams (sic)'.³⁴ Quite apart from the sick Minetta, there are other worrying features. Kadudja is subject to Herr Theodor's beatings - all the more distasteful because he is so fastidious with his clothes. The Madame - too neurotic to show any 'humane urbanity' - has some uncomplimentary things to say about the girls who, she feels, are eating her out of house and home: 'Das kennt ja nichts als fressen und schlafen' (P.D.V., II, p.95). The group dynamics among the girls are also highly ambivalent. There is much cattiness towards Melitta when Edgar chooses her from the line of girls: 'Die alte Kuh' (P.D.V., II, p.115). Franziska is anything but supportive when she removes the terrified Elise's blouse (which she subsequently denies doing).

Such negative signposts indicate to the spectator the fact that beyond the leisured life-style the girls have a clear desire, not for sex and more sex but for bourgeois respectability. Schneewittchen declares with no little jealousy that Minehaha and Peter 'werden sich nächstens heiraten' (P.D.V., II, p.101). Elise collapses in hysterics when Eoban, the resident poet, sings a ballad which outlines the gentlemanly action of a young man who marries a destitute girl rather than take advantage of her. This, together with the lack of information as to any babies born

in the brothel, clouds any idyllic aspect of what is, after all, the declared aim of the brothel: free love.

In Tod und Teufel there is a similar drawing back from a valid line of enquiry. Casti Piani, whose lack of any similarity with the 'Goethesche Mephisto' has already been discussed (p. 69 above) takes the arguments on 'Sinnengenuß' (P.D.V., II, p. 221) one stage further than the bantering irony which Dr. Puslowski and the Madame used to praise brothel life. Yet in spite of a tone of high earnest on Casti Piani's part and a fair measure of convincing arguments amongst the bombast, Wedekind's argument remains ambiguous in this play. It is almost mischievous on the part of an author to act in such a fashion having once chosen a serious topic for his Problematik. One speech of Casti Piani's will serve to show the fluidity of his logic. To the very pertinent question asked by Elfriede von Malchus (who is cast as the archetypal old maid) as to who takes care of any children born to women in the brothel, Casti Piani's reply is as follows:

Sorgen doch Sie dafür ! Oder haben Sie als Frauenrechtlerin vielleicht etwas Wichtigeres in dieser Welt zu tun ? Solange ein Weib unter Gottes Sonne noch fürchten muß, Mutter zu werden, bleibt die ganze Frauenemanzipation leeres Geschwätz ! Mutterwerden ist für das Weib eine Naturnotwendigkeit wie Atem und Schlaf ... Dieses angeborene Recht hat die bürgerliche Gesellschaft dem Weibe in barbarischer Weise verkürzt. Ein uneheliches Kind ist schon beinahe ebenso große Schmach wie der Liebesmarkt. (P.D.V., II, p. 213)

In examining this reply it becomes clear that Casti Piani does not share Wedekind's own views, but there are sufficient similarities to cause ambiguity. The passage begins with a refusal to answer the question. As this question of the raising of brothel babies was left open in Das Sonnenspektrum, the spectator begins to be impatient for an answer to a question which the play itself poses. No answer is forthcoming: instead there is a general jibe at the women's movement (in Das Sonnenspektrum this was confined to the Madame's refusal to allow the girls to wear

blue stockings) (P.D.V.,I,p.111). There is then the direct attack on the women's movement for allowing unmarried mothers to live in fear. One must recall that this play was written in the same year that Helene Stöcker and Max Marcuse founded the Bund für Mutterschutz to help such women. (See Introduction, p.49). Since Wedekind seldom seeks to hide his contempt for the women's movement, the temptation to see Casti Piani as Wedekind's mouthpiece here is almost irresistible. There is then the statement that women need to be mothers by biological necessity which amounts to the orthodox view of the time. Casti Piani then accuses bourgeois society of denying this right to a certain section of the community. Casti Piani argues that his prostitutes have a right to raise children whether society likes it or not. The final remark in the passage, which defends illegitimate children, is more like something Faust would say than Mephistopheles. This analysis of part of a speech by Casti Piani shows the shifting sands of his logic but also gives many clues as to Wedekind's own ambiguous stance. It is not as simple as branding Casti Piani a 'Moralist' (P.D.V.,I,p.214) - as he calls himself - or a charlatan.

D. Lorenz has pointed out that this passage refers to Bebel 'fast wörtlich' but she points out:

Der Unterschied zwischen Bebel und Casti-Piani (sic) liegt in Bebel's Forderung nach Geburtenkontrolle als emanzipatorisches Mittel, während Casti-Piani (sic) anachronistisch ein neues Mutterrecht fordert.³⁵

It will be recalled that Bebel described Bachofen's work in some detail (see p. 26). However, Bebel's argument runs as a clear, straight line throughout his book: it is that socialism would improve the lot of the working woman. Although Bebel devotes a good deal of space to the topic of prostitution, he is very far from claiming any value for this lifestyle. The comparison, indeed, does Bebel some injustice, especially as Casti Piani extends his argument to describe how well off a prostitute's children would be if the world would only elevate the prostitute's status:

Uneheliche Kinder sind bei der Mutter dann besser versorgt als die ehelichen beim Vater. Stolz und Ehrgeiz des Weibes sind dann nicht mehr der Mann, der ihm seine Stellung anweist, sondern die Welt, in der es sich den höchsten Platz erkämpft, den sein Wert ihm ermöglicht. (P.D.V., II, p.216)

Casti Piani heatedly defends the prostitute's right to sell herself to the highest bidder. Wedekind would certainly not have held this view as it was precisely the field of financial gain to which he objected in prostitution.

Rasch stresses that Wedekind distances himself throughout from Casti Piani's argument which ultimately centres on his sincerely-held belief that in a world of pain, the only hope for pleasure lies in sensual satisfaction:

Seine Existenz war auf die Überzeugung gegründet, daß in seinem Hause echtes Sinnenglück erlebt würde. Da er das als Illusion erkennt, erschießt er sich.³⁶

Although Rasch is correct in his summing-up, the distinction between Wedekind's own views and those of Casti Piani is not as clear-cut as he suggests. The question of the Rasseweib's reproductive function nagged Wedekind over a long period: he seemed to find the portrayal of a sexually exciting mother untenable in his work. Throughout the plays the Rasseweiber remain barren; only Franziska actually rears her son, and thereby forfeits her claim to be sexually exciting.

The whole argument about maternity sounds hypocritical coming from Casti Piani's lips, so that his remarks on the excellent upbringing a prostitute's children receive sound hollow indeed. He is much more convincing when he reverts to the description of prostitutes as 'Tigerinnen' (as opposed to 'Hündinnen') as this is familiar from the 'hopp hopp'/'etepetete' categories. Elfriede's ridiculous demand that Casti Piani should marry her forthwith gives rise to Casti Piani's statements on the Rasseweib whom he can recognise at first sight. In possessing this gift he joins Jack the Ripper, who could tell Lulu had a beautiful body from her gait, and the hero of the tale Die Liebe auf den ersten Blick who proposes to a woman having merely seen her

walk. In Franziska, we learn that for Veit Kunz a fleeting look at Franziska suffices to confirm in him a need to possess her, and this is true of Rüdiger in Schloß Wetterstein, for whom a glance at Leonore is the inspiration for him to engineer the deaths of her husband and his wife so that they will be free to marry. In many ways Leonore is a disappointment in her capacity as Rasseweib but Luckner confirms her noble potential which he - as 'Pferdekenner' (P.D.V., II, p.386) - feels qualified to judge (see below, p.92).

Elfriede manifestly lacks the 'Zartgefühl' and 'Schamgefühl' (P.D.V., II, p.219) which Casti Piani regards as essential components of the Rasseweib. His argument is particularly tortuous because he wrongly assumes that all Rasseweiber are prostitutes and then sets about claiming virtues for them which usually belong to the genteel lady. Thus his defence of Schamgefühl is different in kind from that of Wedekind (see pp.60-62). In Wedekind's plays the Freudenmädchen do indeed possess more than a fair measure of elasticity but they must also be schamlos by definition in order to pursue their calling - in the way that Kadudja is schamlos in Das Sonnenspektrum when she bares her bosom to Herr Theodor (who reacts with hypocritical shock). Thus Casti Piani's views diverge in a most critical way from those of Wedekind. Casti Piani tries to place his own sentimental evaluation of Schamgefühl on to his protégées, whilst Wedekind himself retained a rational, somewhat callous attitude towards prostitutes and tended to judge Schamgefühl solely in relation to its effect on male sexuality.

Wedekind's own viewpoint can be detected if one compares Lisiska's masochistic desire to be beaten to death with the similar desire for a wollüstiger Opfertod in such characters as Lulu and Effie (see Section V, iii below)*. Wedekind seems to have believed that sexual fulfilment achieved in this way was truly ecstatic. This tendency in Wedekind's work to condone violence towards women is a grossly distorted version of the Wilhelmine acceptance of the belief that women were the passive partners in sexual matters. Casti Piani is unable to accept this view of the Rasseweib's libido. By making him commit suicide, Wedekind prevents all further examination of the topic and seems to confirm the divergence between his

own views and those of Casti Piani. The fact that both have beaten their father (Casti Piani has actually killed his father) and that Casti Piani asks Elfriede the question which Wedekind put to every young woman he met, including Tilly: 'Sie - sind noch -- Jungfrau?' (P.D.V., II, p.209)³⁷ is a deliberate smoke-screen with which Wedekind envelops the play, which ultimately portrays an ambivalent and distorted version of Sinnenliebe.

IV. SINNENLIEBE AND MÄDCHENERZIEHUNG

It will be shown in this section that Wedekind was much less progressive than he claimed to be in his conception of girls' education, which was determined by his own - male - expectation that women should be pleasing to men, and not seek to challenge them intellectually. This typically Wilhelmine viewpoint provides an example of the way a conventional attitude could so often become a distorted sexual attitude when put into practice. Thus, although Wedekind made an impassioned plea for the young girl's right to a proper sex education in Frühlings Erwachen and the later essay 'Über Erotik', there is much evidence in the plays and pantomimes that Wedekind's ideal of a girl's education lay in physical fitness and musical accomplishment alone. This idea is first raised in Fritz Schwigerling (1891) where the acrobat Fritz has been hired to educate the bizarre Fürst Rogoschin's children in Savoir-vivre (P.D.V., I, p.324), which consists of acrobatic exercises. The physical abilities of children - especially girls - are used in the pantomimes Die Flöhe oder der Schmerzenstanz (1892), where the girls are aged six to seven, Die Kaiserin von Neufundland, where the 'Amoretten' are aged from seven to ten, and Der Mückenprinz where the girls are in their early teens. The pantomime Der Mückenprinz was published separately in the collection Die Fürstin Russalka (1897), then incorporated into the fragment Mine-Haha oder über die körperliche Erziehung der jungen Mädchen.

Inevitably, the inclusion of choruses of young girls in a sexually suggestive setting gives rise to a certain sense of insalubrity. Even the apparently innocuous fleas can be interpreted in a sexual context. As Jones points out: 'Maria Leczinska in Der Schmerzenstanz / Die Flöhe sleeps peacefully for the first time in years when she has the

flea, Nostradamus, under the covers and between her legs'.³⁸ In fact, the play is more subtle than Jones here allows, because Nostradamus is metamorphosed into the queen's missing daughter. However, this does not negate Jones's point that the underlying theme of the pantomime is sexual frustration. Similarly the girls in Mine-Haha enact a pantomime which consists of sexual innuendo, with sharp points used to prick the actors, thereupon producing swollen stomachs, and a hedonistic scene where the girls trample a disgraced Bäuerin in obedience to Prince Leonor's instruction. All of this is done in a state of ignorance on the girls' part as to any sexual connotations in their actions. Any opinion one might form as to the corrupt taste of the audience and the outside world as a whole is clouded by the realisation that the performing girls are being deliberately brought up in total ignorance of the world at large. One's normal reaction, which would be disbelief and repugnance, is countered by the Utopian euphoria evoked by the description. Where, one can validly enquire, is Wedekind's belief that girls require sexual education as of right? It is certainly not in Mine-Haha.

It could well be suggested that the progeny of brothels might account for the stream of young children 'die ins Haus gebracht wurden' (P.D.V., I, p.190). These small children are given into the care of slightly older children, a pattern which is repeated when the children are separated by sex after the age of seven. The story then deals exclusively with the experiences of Hidalla, the writer of the framework story who begins her account as she means to go on - by denigrating the Blaustrumpf and actually apologising for so unladylike an activity as putting pen to paper. (This does not strike one as satire - partly because Wedekind's ideas on bookish women coincide here with Hidalla's views.)

The girls are educated by their seniors in small units in a park, without adult supervision, to be excellent gymnasts, musicians and dancers. Book learning is completely absent, and the attempt thereby to evoke an atmosphere of entirely physical well-being is menaced by the girls' ignorance as to their future destiny (which is not

described - but one assumes from the ending that they will be given to the young men at the end of the play in a mass marriage ceremony). There is a further menace in the strictness of the regimen, which is introduced early in the story in the person of Gertrud, who uses her whip to teach the children how to walk and balance gracefully and thereby introduces a note of sadism and indeed masochism:

Gertrud lächelte immer, wenn sie zuschlug.
Manchmal schlug sie sich selbst mit der
Rute über die gestreckten Beine hinunter,
daß es nur so klatschte. (P.D.V., I, p.194)³⁹

The girls' total ignorance of their whereabouts is compounded by the fact that their transportation from the dual-sex 'primary department' to the single-sex 'secondary department' takes place in a sealed Kiste which sounds ominously like a coffin. However, Hidalla's tale stresses the happiness of the girls, who revel in their geisha-type accomplishments and who in their turn, as they grow older, receive young girls to instruct. Sex education goes no further than the belief inculcated into them that their friendships must not be too close, and the realisation which they pick up from their participation in Der Mückenprinz (reserved as an honour for the older girls) that 'das Zubettgehen zu zweien verboten war' (P.D.V., I, pp.226-27).⁴⁰

Mine-Haha cannot be discounted as an aberration on Wedekind's part because the tone of enthusiasm which he uses to describe the girls' athleticism ties in so closely with his known predilection for elasticity. However, he is not simply describing a boarding-school for young Rasseweiber. The girls' physical régime trains towards sensuality with no formal instruction - sexual or otherwise - and thus conflicts with Wedekind's pronouncement elsewhere that society disregards such instruction at its peril. There is an undertone of voyeurism which hovers just beneath the surface in much of Wedekind's work. It is often shown in a negative light - as with Dr. Goll's incapacity to refrain from rushing to the theatre when Alwa tells him that young girls are in the performance. Goll's whole attempt to make a little girl out of Lulu highlights his perversion. It is typical of Wedekind that he refuses to make a statement and,

indeed, he even gives Goll's paedophilia a veneer of respectability by showing Lulu at her happiest and most secure in his charge.

The audience described in Mine-Haha seems to be composed entirely of Dr. Golls who pack the theatre nightly to watch scantily-clad girls perform a suggestive pantomime which they themselves do not understand. However, Wedekind refrains from any social critique whatever in this tale, so that Diebold actually viewed it as showing 'die gute Erziehung der jungen Mädchen'.⁴¹ The positive tone adopted by Wedekind throughout the tale justifies Diebold's comment. Wedekind seems to be arguing in favour of a kind of education which, in effect, constitutes a stylised version of a normal girl's upbringing at the time, with its perpetuation of sexual ignorance and the value placed on the acquisition of accomplishments likely to please a future husband. The distortions involved in this type of education are intellectual as well as sexual. In his unpublished Die große Liebe (1907) - which Kutscher half suggests is a continuation of Mine-Haha⁴² - Wedekind concentrates on adolescent sexuality alone as subject matter.

V. SINNENLIEBE AND SADO-MASOCHISM

(i) The Tribulations of the 'Unglückswurm'

The idea that sexual activity and pain are linked has been mentioned in the Introduction, p.19. Wedekind's contribution to this field is a series of characters who demonstrate a degree of sadism, masochism or both. On occasion, the character receives a surprise by experiencing this sensation. The otherwise gentle Taubert in Schloß Wetterstein is taken aback by the intensity of his feelings of pleasure experienced in the castle's former torture chamber:

Da überkommt mich dann ein Glücksgefühl,
Denk ich, welch ungeheure Qualen in
Dem engen Raum einst ausgestanden wurden ...
Oft weiß ich mich vor Wonne kaum zu fassen.
(P.D.V., IIp.414)

Moritz Stiefel's awareness of his own death as a sacrificial offering on behalf of bourgeois society has overtones which culminate much later in the plans for Die große Liebe:

Ich wandle zum Altar wie der Jüngling im
alten Etrurien, dessen letztes Röcheln

der Brüder Wohlergehen für das kommende
Jahr erkauft. (P.D.V., I, p.279)

It is significant that Moritz could - almost - have been saved by the carefree prostitute Ilse. Scholz plays a similar game of roulette when he prostrates himself before the most unlikely recipients of his affection, first the servant Simba, who does not understand his egalitarian pronouncements, and then Anna Werdenfels, in whom he invests the power to dispose of his sanity: 'Alles hängt davon ab, was widerstandsfähiger ist, ihre Gefühllosigkeit oder mein Verstand' (P.D.V., I, p.651).

Wedekind seems to have anticipated Freud in his belief that female sexuality is closely linked to masochism (see the Introduction, p. 22). However, there are important differences in degree: the masochism of Wendla Bergmann, for example, in Frühlings Erwachen is indicative of sexual abstinence rather than of sexual activity, and is thus quite different from the desire for chastisement of, say, Lisiska. Even before Wendla's request for Melchior to beat her (which he does, much to his anger and against his better judgement), Wendla has already mentioned her desire to change places with her friend Martha, whose parents beat her at the slightest provocation. In the context of her conversation with Martha, Wendla's curiosity about chastisement sounds deceptively altruistic: 'Womit schlägt man dich, Martha?' (P.D.V., I, p.254). This is not so easy to mistake in the scene with Melchior, where Wendla admires a reed because it is 'zäh' and 'dünn' - a perfect whip.

Wendla's preoccupation with her friend's beatings to the point where she would willingly stand in for her for a week seems at first sight to be a clear example of masochism. However, as inmates of convents and monasteries down the ages have chastised themselves to get rid of thoughts of the flesh, it is impossible to avoid the notion that chastisement is in these circumstances a substitute for the sex act itself. After her sexual encounter with Melchior, Wendla abandons all talk of chastisement and speaks with a pathos far removed from all masochistic connotations: 'O Mutter, warum hast du mir nicht alles

gesagt!' (P.D.V., I, p.301).⁴³

As has already been mentioned, this earnestness towards both topic and treatment on Wedekind's part makes the play unique. All the children, in particular Melchior and Wendla but including even Hänschen Rilow and Ernst Röbel, whose homosexual kiss documents a normal stage of adolescent sexual development, are shown as healthy in their sexual attitudes in contrast to the adults. Whether through prudery (Frau Bergmann), deliberate cruelty (the teachers) or sheer hypocrisy (Frau Gabor), the adults devastate the lives of the children. Frau Gabor, so prepared to defend her son when she thinks he has merely written an essay on sex, is instantly persuaded to send him to the ruinous Korrektionsanstalt when it becomes clear that he has actually had intercourse with Wendla. There is not the merest curiosity shown towards the girl, let alone sympathy or concern for a possible grandchild.

Thus the masochism demonstrated by Wendla is different in kind as well as in degree from the masochism of Wedekind's later female characters in whom a high sexual libido becomes concomitant with a desire for an orgiastic death, as is the case with Lulu, Lisiska and Effie. It is also interesting that the nonchalant tone adopted by Ilse in Frühlings Erwachen is never again found in such an unequivocally carefree context, in spite of a whole succession of prostitutes who comment on their profession.

The masochism of Molly Griesinger is another variant of the willingness to prostrate oneself before the beloved as is shown by Scholz and on a much deeper level by Countess Geschwitz towards Lulu. However, whereas Geschwitz (in the 'Vorwort') is delineated as a sexual invert over whom hovers the 'Fluch der Unnatürlichkeit' (P.D.V., I, p.462), Molly's dog-like devotion to Keith seems to depend more on her general pessimistic attitude to life than on real affection even on her side. Molly's pedestrian occupations are an irritation to Keith, who addresses her as 'Kind' (P.D.V., I, p.635)⁴⁴ and labels her an 'Unglückswurm' (P.D.V., I, p.584) whilst openly preferring the exciting and sophisticated Anna, whom he terms his 'Königin'

(P.D.V., I, p.620). Keith's elasticity of mind seems to preclude any close personal relationship and in this respect he is like Hetmann, who seems to extract a degree of satisfaction from Fanny's servility (see p.105). The difference is that Keith is a survivor, whereas Hetmann seeks hedonistic oblivion. With Keith, women come and go and change their names in what is, for him, a perpetuum mobile. For Hetmann, women as real people beyond his sterile ideas do not really exist. For this reason Keith is right, on one level, to be more worried about saving himself from being lynched than about the devastated remains of Molly, whose rotting corpse is beyond help.

The tragedy for Molly is that there is no remedy which can rekindle a love that has gone cold. As Anna points out to Keith, belying the concern she has professed to feel for the missing Molly, she proves by her absence that she is 'völlig entbehrlich' (P.D.V., I, p.646). It is because Geschwitz is not 'entbehrlich' to Lulu that hope is rekindled in her again and again that Lulu will show some recognition of the money and the help she gives so freely. Geschwitz thus abases herself in front of Lulu through two plays, an 'Unglück in Menschengestalt' (P.D.V., I, p.445) in Schön's eyes and an 'unbedeutender Wurm' (P.D.V., I, p.515) in her own, whilst to Lulu she is complete anathema: 'Für einen Mann war der Stoff nicht ausreichend, und zum Weib hast du zuviel Hirn in deinen Schädel bekommen. Deshalb bist du verrückt!' (P.D.V., I, p.505).

To Jack in the Monstretragödie, Geschwitz is a 'poor beast' (M p.421) and a 'monster' (M p.436), whilst Lulu refers to her as an 'animal' (M p.423). In Die Büchse der Pandora these are translated into Jack's 'armes Tier' (P.D.V., I, p.537) and 'Ungeheuer' (P.D.V., I, p.539) respectively and Lulu's remark is omitted. However, it is quite clear that Wedekind regarded Geschwitz as abnormal and indeed unnatural, and in spite of the sympathetic treatment she receives in being shown as the only selfless character in the play, this can be turned against her if one regards her actions as calculated to extract a reward (Lulu's love) and masochistic in the extreme. If one remembers that

lesbianism is discussed in great detail in Krafft-Ebing's Psychopathia Sexualis, the same source where Wedekind probably found the account of Jack, the linking of the two seems deliberate and slightly detracts from the positive aspects of Geschwitz's characterisation, especially in view of the fact that the title of the Monstretragödie refers to three monsters: Jack, Geschwitz and even Lulu (see Introduction, note 130).

(ii) The Question of Rape

Wedekind's association of female sexuality with masochism finds its extreme form in his clear reluctance to condemn rape as a violent crime. Indeed, with his customary disregard for the seriousness or sanctity of any topic, Wedekind writes of rape and seduction in a cavalier fashion which exposes him to the accusation, at least, that he shared the very common male view that a woman enjoyed rape. The schematic notebook plans, whether subsequently published (Der Wärwolf, Die Jungfrau) or not (Was ist Vergewaltigung? Heft 39)⁴⁵ indicate Wedekind's abiding interest in the topic. Wedekind seemed to feel that a degree of violence was a welcome adjunct to the sex act itself. At its most horrific level, this violence is sublimated and stylised into ritual (Die große Liebe) or compressed into crime (the Ripper). At its most benign, the rape is given the code name 'seduction', as in the short story Der Verführer. Here the love-sick suitor finds that a daringly-executed rape secures the woman he is pursuing far more effectively than any amount of patient courting. He even justifies his action as a serious strategy, executed and planned with psychological finesse:

Ich tat es ... nicht aus Frivolität,
sondern aus psychologischem Interesse.
Und wie ich denn ein Mann von Grund-
sätzen bin, gelang es mir auch später,
ihre Zuneigung in dem Grade zu gewinnen,
daß sie sich teils durch Vernunftgründe,
teils durch Schmeichelworte dazu bewegen
ließ, meine Frau zu werden. (P.D.V., II, p.713)

The position of the Verführer remains unchallenged, the viewpoint of the woman is not given. In Die Jungfrau, however, the whole question is viewed from the woman's angle. The proposed plot, set in a vaguely Roman context (in spite of an entirely spurious direction referring to

the Russian Revolution) features the plight of a young Christian girl who is punished by rape ('von vier handfesten Kerlen') (G.W., IX, p.182) for not agreeing to be sent to the Kaiser as concubine. Wedekind adopts a mocking tone to describe the girl's sentiments:

Das Mädchen hat natürlich nicht den geringsten Genuß bei der Vergewaltigung empfunden. Im Gegenteil nur Schmerzen, die sie aufs höchste übertreibt, wenn sie darauf zurückkommt. (G.W., IX, p.183)

It is difficult to grasp quite what Wedekind means by the girl's exaggeration of the pain in her multiple rape. Hidden behind the words lurks the implication that the virgin really did enjoy the experience. This is reinforced by the fact that after the rape, to her great annoyance, the girl finds that her sexuality is awakened, and this is aggravated by her chaste lifestyle: 'Der Zorn über diese ihre eigenen Empfindungen ist der Nährstoff ihres Rachegefühls' (G.W., IX, p.183). Her revenge consists of educating the Praetor who instigated the rape as to what he has done by means of a play within a play, whereupon she stabs him. The plans for Die Jungfrau end abruptly, and Wedekind's notes on prostitution follow. There is a clear connection between the rape of a girl and her subsequent life of prostitution - which is a glorification of Schamlosigkeit, whereas the bourgeois woman - to Wedekind's approval - retains her Schamgefühl. There seems to be more than a hint that girls 'of a certain type' invite rape and are therefore partly to blame.

Unfortunately, this view is still quite prevalent today and is often used as a defence plea in rape cases. Mary Midgley has given a very perceptive analysis of this type of situation, where the man claims that he thought the girl was enjoying the sex act. She claims that this argument does not stand up to criticism because we all learn to distinguish between play and earnest at an early age:

Pretending to resist is not resisting. Fantasy itself does not incorporate real pain and fear ... 'Rape fantasies' cannot really be fantasies of rape, because rape is by definition what you do not

want ... Novelists who want to use rape in their stories while retaining their reader's sympathy for their characters do not usually represent it in detail, and this leaves readers free to conclude that consent was actually arrived at, even if by unorthodox methods. If it was not, there is nothing for anybody to be pleased about.⁴⁶

Wedekind shows a lapse in taste when discussing sexual brutality by trying to place it in a humorous context, as he does with every topic which he treats. Some topics - and rape is one of them - simply ought not to be satirised. Wedekind is forced to adopt the strategy mentioned in the above extract of inferring that the woman (or girl) consents to rough treatment. This encourages Wedekind to draw a succession of male characters who assume that women find their aggression as sexually stimulating as they themselves do. Og's protest (already mentioned on p. 61) that Delila no longer makes him feel potent because she no longer resists him are repeated by other characters throughout the plays. Luckner's brutality is clear when he states:

Sträubt sich das Weib, dann wächst beim
Mann die Kraft ins Übermenschliche. Je
verzweifelter der Widerstand, um so
kunstgerechter räumt ihn der Mann aus
dem Weg. (P.D.V., II, p. 388)

The oblique mention of the Übermensch in this context reminds us that Nietzsche had given full support to this type of thought and behaviour in the figure of Zarathustra. Basil's much more voyeuristic delight in the rape victim's discomfort is even more unpleasant. He asks his visitor, the scholar Kunz:

Hältst du den schönsten Mädchenleib
umfassen,
Dann reizt dich doch des Opfers hilflos'
Bangen?
Dich reizt des Widerstandes holdes
Spiel? (P.D.V., II, p. 331)

Kunz wants no such games: his desire is for sexual sensation, '...mein Gefühl zu fühlen' (P.D.V., II, p. 331). His dynamic sexual appetite has been trained to cope with two women at once ('wenigstens!') (P.D.V., II, p. 331) and when he realises that Basil cannot produce the orgies he

wanted he leaves in disgust '... da ich wieder wie ein Krater brenne' (P.D.V., II, p.332). Basil is left feeling sheepishly inferior.

At first sight it seems inconceivable that Wedekind had anything in common with characters as crude as Og, Luckner and Basil. However, it must be borne in mind that Wedekind had something of an obsession with virginity. Not only did he feel it necessary to confront every young woman with his question about their virginity, the characters also ask each other in the plays. The girls in Das Sonnenspektrum react with mock horror when they learn that Elise is a virgin. In Hidalla the plot twists and turns on the issue, first with Fanny's rejection by Gellinghausen when he finds she is not a virgin, but in a more sustained way by Hetmann's attack on society's hypocritical evaluation of virginity in an attempt to persuade the crowd to lynch him. Finally in Die große Liebe the virginal girl or youth surrenders her or his virginity in full view of the onlookers to incite orgiastic sexuality. Wedekind seems to have genuinely believed that a degree of physical pain fanned sexual pleasure, especially with women - and especially if they were virgins - and this becomes more pronounced with the later female characters such as Effie. This constant tendency to condone sexual violence towards women in Wedekind's work is the most unequivocal example of a distorted sexual attitude which will be discussed in this chapter.

(iii) Wollüstiger Opfertod

It has already been pointed out that Moritz Stiefel viewed his death as sacrificial. His suicide also had overtones of sexual frustration. The link between sexuality and death proceeds through the plays, becoming a specifically female sexual distortion with Lulu and Effie, who pursue their own deaths as a substitute for orgasm. Their deaths - and Lisiska's desire for death - are shown as perverse sexual manifestations. The desire for orgiastic self-destruction has some affinity with the Wagnerian model of Liebestod familiar from Tristan und Isolde, as well as

the Nietzschean adulation of power and destruction. Only in one short story, however, does Wedekind succeed in showing a true Wagnerian Liebestod in contrast to the masochistic deaths so far mentioned: the death of Klara in Der greise Freier. Here the main character is an invalid with a fatal heart condition. She begs her sister to allow her fiancé to visit her so that they can have at least one night of love. Her sister knows that this will kill Klara, and it does, but she does not regret her decision. The 'Freier' of the title is Death, who makes off with his spoils. Death is outwitted, however, by not having a virgin prey. Although the story is hardly an example of masochistic self-destruction it is actually more gruesome in its effect than, say, the suicide of Molly, who has everything to live for, even the unusual bonus of forgiving parents.

The desire for orgiastic self-destruction is a leit-motif in the whole of Wedekind's oeuvre. Apart from the trace element in Moritz, the earliest character to show the propensity is Lulu, who destroys her chances of happiness when she murders Schön. Even before she meets Jack she has seen him in her dreams: 'Mir träumte alle paar Nächte einmal, ich sei einem Lustmörder unter die Hände geraten' (P.D.V., I, p.492). Far from taking the dream as a warning, Lulu is propelled towards Jack 'wie die Motte dem Licht',⁴⁷ as Kraus aptly put it, recognising early on (1903) that Lulu's behaviour was masochistic. It is Wedekind's most brilliant coup that he made the sadist Jack mate with the masochist Lulu in a grotesque parody of the sex act. Wedekind's boast about his own Realpsychologie is amply vindicated in the portrayal of Lulu and Jack, who also show the opposite manifestation (sadism and masochism) in their personalities, Lulu in her dealings with Schön and Jack in his obvious desire not to stay with Lulu. Wedekind again anticipates Freud in showing that 'ein Sadist ist immer auch gleichzeitig ein Masochist'.⁴⁸

Lulu's unconscious desire to be possessed by a lover-killer to the point where she begs Jack to have sex with her for next to nothing is reinforced in the Monstre-tragödie, where - failing to act on Schneewittchen's max-

im - Lulu actually hands her ten shillings over to Jack. In Schneewittchen's words, 'man soll nicht mehr tun, als wofür man bezahlt wird' (P.D.V., II, p.99). This also applies to Effie, who is trapped when she allows herself to be overpaid by Mister Tschamper. Lulu and Effie both draw back from putting their extreme masochism into words, as Lisiska does when she begs Herr König to beat her to death:

... wenn Sie mit Ihrer tüchtigen
Bauernfaust meine Glieder züchtigen,
Das kann uns, wenn Sie Lust daran finden,
Bis mich der Tod Ihnen raubt, verbinden.
(P.D.V., II, p.227)

Although Lisiska's standpoint is introduced by Wedekind to debunk the views of Casti Piani and Elfriede simultaneously, it nevertheless ties in so closely with Wedekind's view of seduction and rape that we can say that Wedekind almost saw chastisement as a prerequisite for certain heightened forms of sex. The more sexually aware the woman, the more masochistic she is likely to be. Kaiserin Felissa commits suicide only because Holthoff denies her the thrill of being clubbed to death. Effie's willingness to drink Tschamper's poison is not a momentary aberration but the act of an impetuous person desperate for thrills. In fact, Sokel brands her as pathologically sick: 'The nymphomaniac pursuit of eros is in her a symptom of organic disease.'⁴⁹ Taubert, in trying to warn her that Tschamper has already brought about the deaths of two prostitutes, does not realise that he is simply fanning Effie's desire to meet him:

Mein Leben ist mir einfach nicht erträglich,
Wenn nicht ein Abenteuer mich erwartet,
Bei dem kein Mensch den Ausgang ahnen kann. (P.D.V., II, p.422)

In spite of a certain overt effort on Wedekind's part to show Effie as a similar but more successful courtesan than Lulu by such devices as having her men-friends find names for her (Äffchen - Goldkind - Pony - Epiphania - Versuchskaninchen) (P.D.V., II, p.415), her death has none of the horror that Lulu's does. Although her reaction to Tschamper is reminiscent of Lulu's instant

attraction to Jack - 'Nie ward ich Dirne, hätte mich ein Bändiger wie du gebändigt' (P.D.V., II, p.433) - there is still resistance on the part of the audience or reader to the actual motive Wedekind suggests for this form of suicide. Many of his characters have found it a sad experience to recall an unhappy childhood (Casti Piani, Franziska) or indeed a happy childhood as with Effie or Martha, the main character in the story Das Opferlamm. The young man who forces Martha to recall her childhood acts with deliberate unkindness but - unlike Tschamper - he is educated by the experience and departs a wiser and better man. Tschamper derives his sexual thrills from seeing his victims struggle in their death agony, and is thus a variant of the Lustmörder. However, it is stretching credibility too far to pretend that Effie's recollection of her kind father would precipitate her suicide. If one compares Effie's pampered upbringing with that of Lulu, a forlorn flower girl protected - at the price of sexual favours - by Schigolch and Schön,⁵⁰ the weakness of Wedekind's argument is immediately apparent. Even allowing for the trauma Effie relates having experienced when her father was brought home dead, there is no preparation for her death beyond the general theme, running through the latter part of the play, that she is extremely over-sexed. This in turn alerts us to her masochistic tendencies and it is this hedonistic masochism which triggers the suicide rather than the recollection of past events. The presence of Tschamper provides the spark for the tinder. In a grotesque fashion, the arch-sadist meets the arch-masochist and a wollüstiger Opfertod ensues.

In spite of these similarities, the play is flawed, partly because Effie's mercurial moods denote an alarming tendency in a Rasseweib, for whom consistency is a sine qua non. Leonore - a Rasseweib in her own right - becomes a faded 'potato soul' by the end of the play, prepared to live off Effie's immoral earnings with a feeble 'Kind, was mag das dich gekostet haben!' (P.D.V., II, p.409). Lulu, for all her changes of fortune and costume, remains a Rasseweib to the core. The Effie we see at the

beginning of the play, who shows no qualms when her mother Leonore marries her father's murderer, Rüdiger, seems far removed from the Effie at the end of the play who has suddenly discovered a sentimental streak. Her death itself is a logical concomitant of her doctrine of Sinnlichkeit⁵¹ which she has pursued with enthusiasm through the play, but the reason for her death seems to be the result of Wedekind's own belief that all his own ills stemmed from an unhappy childhood.

If one continues the comparison between Lulu and Effie, it is noteworthy that with Lulu there is much more direct stimulation in the plays in terms of naked flesh, with the dances in Erdegeist in particular. Effie's string of admirers seem curiously pale when compared with Lulu's entourage. We know of Effie's success with men because she talks about it, whereas with Lulu we actually witness her magnetism. Thus Lulu reigns supreme as Wedekind's most sexually attractive woman, winning handsomely over rivals such as Effie or Delila but nevertheless destined for a grotesque wollüstiger Opfertod.

In between the cases of Lisiska and Effie (chronologically) there is the most gruesome exposé of wollüstiger Opfertod in the unpublished fragment Die große Liebe (1907). In these repetitive pencil jottings (in notebooks 39-42) Wedekind describes the cruel customs of Tara, where a virgin is sacrificed at the spring festival and a youth at the autumn festival. Kutscher must have felt some discomfort in describing the rituals as he sought to justify them by quoting Wedekind's own statement that 'der Begriff des wollüstigen Opfertodes ... gehört wie der Gottesbegriff, wie die Begriffe von Raum und Zeit zu den dem Menschen angeborenen Begriffen und ist deshalb göttlichen Ursprungs',⁵² Kutscher also quoted many sources - amongst them Baron von Eckstein, Plato, Burckhardt and Mommsen (omitting the one source indicated in the notebooks - Ploss's Das Weib) - so that he suggests that little of the piece is Wedekind's original idea, as his borrowing was multiple:

... es war jedenfalls so viel, daß nur wenige und nicht sehr wesentliche Motive seines fanatischen Kultes der Liebe sein

Eigentum genannt werden können.⁵³

The accuracy of this statement is, however, open to challenge, especially as two salient motifs in Die große Liebe are practically hallmarks of Wedekind's work: the practice of whipping the victims and the question of rape. In the case of the female victim, the 'Opfermaid', the ritual slaughter takes place when she has been whipped and raped for three days. After a severe flogging at the 'Opfersäule' the girl is allowed to swim to relieve her pain and is then strapped to the 'Opferbett' where, held in a recumbent position by thongs round her wrists and ankles which are held securely by 'Göttermädchen' so that she can refuse no-one, each man in turn 'befriedigt seine Begierde an ihr'.⁵⁴ At the end of the third day the girl dies of exhaustion. The rape continues until the girl no longer shows signs of life. After the daily ordeal of the 'Opfermaid' the inhabitants of Tara enjoy sexual activity at night.

The slaughter of the 'Opferknabe' involves only one sexual partner, his chosen 'Todesbraut'. He, like the girl victim, is hung from an 'Opfersäule' for relentless whipping. Once released, he rushes to the 'Opferbett' to his bride 'um seine Liebesnot zu stillen'.⁵⁵ After three days the 'Opferknabe' is too exhausted to continue and is then lashed to death by the 'Todesbraut' whilst he is tied to the 'Opfersäule'. In the case of both victims, the 'Todeslob' to the god Gehoda is recited at a specific point in the ritual to give a spurious religious justification to the proceedings. In addition, it is assumed that the 'Todesbraut' will become pregnant and she is put away for nine months. If she bears a child it will be brought up in the 'Gladiatorenschule' to continue the cycle of violence and bloodshed.

Die große Liebe is interesting on several counts. Firstly, it is near-pornographic, and Wedekind, whilst choosing not to publish it, also chose not to destroy it. It is also somewhat surprising that he wrote it in the year after he married Tilly. Finally, the apparent gap in time between Lulu and Effie's deaths is bridged, with Die große Liebe providing

the missing link in the chain of orgiastic deaths as already detailed. Far from being an extraordinary but unimportant fragment, Die große Liebe represents continuity in Wedekind's work and justifies certain observations that have been made as to his tolerant attitude towards rape, his fascination with virginity and his general assumption that sexual pleasure is heightened by pain. The greater the pain - as we see in Die große Liebe - the more intense the sexual fulfilment is deemed to be. It is thus the paradigm for the whole category of wollüstiger Opfertod which has been examined, and represents a perverted view on Wedekind's part which he obviously sought to suppress, but which stubbornly surfaces upon occasion throughout his oeuvre. As Wedekind's diary has only a page and a half for the whole of 1907 (and only four more pages for the rest of his life), one can surmise that he used his notebooks more and more as a place to record his personal views. This can certainly be argued to be the case with Notebooks 39-42.

(iv) The Case of Lulu

Lulu's precocious sexuality has been a source of constant provocation to the critics, who have highlighted the destructive element in Lulu at the expense of all else. According to Leo Berg:

Die ist in der That so etwas wie eine Personifikation der Sünde, die inkarnierte Anarchie, ein weiblicher Don Juan, ein erotischer Würgengel von so ursprünglicher Zerstörungszucht, daß ein Grauen von ihr ausgeht, wie von etwas Überirdischem.⁵⁶

In a similar derogatory key, Peter Michelsen describes Lulu as '... das reine Naturwesen, bestehend aus Fleisch und Vulva'⁵⁷ denying Emrich's definition of her portrayal as representing 'eine universelle "menschliche" Moral'.⁵⁸ Peacock resolves the polarity by admitting that the characterisation of Lulu is 'multi-symbolic': 'She is a focus for at least three themes interweaving through the two plays: the Eros theme, the satire on bourgeois standards and decadence, and the tragedy of the human situation.'⁵⁹

Peacock further points out the virtual impossibility of an actress being able to do justice to the multiple role. Wedekind himself liked his wife Tilly's interpretation best because of her stress on Lulu's naïveté. Audiences preferred the overt sexiness of Gertrud Eysoldt - though they found Maria Orska's interpretation too animal-like. Wedekind's fear that audiences would become inured to Eysoldt's tiger-like performance was only too well-founded. Tilly's rendering was dismissed by the Münchner Zeitung as:

...zu normal, zu bürgerlich, zu weich.
 Sie lächelt, wo sie lauern sollte.
 Niemals wagen sich die Krallen aus den
 Samtpfötchen dieses feinen und süßen
 Hauskätzchens hervor.⁶⁰

However, the critics warmed to Tilly's performance which, Seehaus suggests, improved with time, and she continued to render the role into her mid-thirties. It seems clear that Wedekind underestimated the potential in the role for the destructive elements to become paramount, and overestimated the willingness of the audience to regard Lulu as a 'little girl lost':

Vielleicht war es auch ein Mißverständnis
 Wedekinds, wenn er 'Selbstverständlich-
 keit, Ursprünglichkeit, Kindlichkeit'
 ... durch eine Besetzung aus dem Naiven-
 fach als besonders leicht zu verwirklichen
 glaubt.⁶¹

In spite of the case one can make for Lulu's naïveté, the audiences reacted to her with shock and were not prepared to countenance the innocence of a girl with such a pronounced sex drive who indirectly causes so many deaths (the four husbands, if one includes Alwa as common law husband, Rodrigo, Hugenberg and Geschwitz). Actresses who tried to be faithful to Wedekind's directions found hostile critics who accused them of lacking Giftzähne.⁶² The audience preferred the vision of a tigress, snake, or other dangerous wild animal. Michelsen extends this idea when he describes Lulu's love for Schön as 'die einer Raubkatze zum Dompteur'.⁶³

The whip needed to bring the circus animal to submission is a symbol of mastery and as such weaves in and out of Wedekind's plays. It has already been mentioned that the

Rasseweib needs the help of a dominant man in order to form alliances. Lulu, the Rasseweib par excellence, is completely adrift without this guidance which is part of the two-way exploitation at the base of Lulu's sexual behaviour. Having risen from the gutter like Zola's Nana, she returns to it when she runs out of men who are prepared to rationalise the social blunder of consorting with her. In Erdgeist, a succession of men of higher social standing suppress their social snobbery in order to indulge their private sexual fantasies. Thus Goll idolises Lulu into a little girl Nelli, displaying his paedophilia, whilst Schwarz seeks to cover up his sexual inhibitions by idealising her into the innocent wife, a mistake which is clear even in the name - Eva - which he gives Lulu! Escerny's desire for a breeding mate has already been mentioned (p.64). Even Geschwitz, who legitimately claims a good deal of sympathy in the plays, is a social superior who courts Lulu for her own ends and sees in Lulu what she wants - an androgynous Pierrot.

Most importantly of all, Schön idealises Lulu into a waif and stray, Mignon, a significant name in view of his attempt (like Wilhelm Meister) to distance himself from his nubile protégée in order to marry an aristocrat - an upwardly mobile liaison for both Schön and Wilhelm Meister. The comparison is interesting because both Mignon and Lulu have respectively overt and covert incestuous origins.⁶⁴ Mignon's sexual longing for Wilhelm Meister occurs when she is on the threshold of womanhood, and Lulu's affection for Schön seems to have begun when he rescued her from poverty at the age of twelve. However, whereas Wilhelm Meister - aloof to Mignon's passion because he is blind to it - chooses to marry the sternly superior Natalie, thus avoiding all taint of incest, Schön closes a blind eye to Lulu's origins which are dubious in the extreme. In this aspect at least - that one cannot escape one's origins - Wedekind is a clear heir to Naturalism.

Lulu's unfeeling reaction to the deaths of Goll and Schwarz is understandable as neither was a match for her physical excellence. With Schön one can detect a meeting

of souls almost on a par with the match of Lulu and Jack, but in reverse: Lulu is the stronger partner. From the moment her attention-seeking strategies bear fruit in her marriage to Schön, she is mistress of the situation and causes him deliberate pain. Schön, who is apparently so effective in business, is actually a slave to his passion for Lulu, which is the real reason why he has never married his fiancée, in spite of a long engagement. Schön's relationship with Lulu is masochistic on his part because he knows, before he marries her, that their union will be disastrous. Yet he courts disaster by bringing Adelheid to the theatre to watch Lulu dance. It is significant that although Goll saw Lulu as a child, Schön and Lulu share a rare sexual equality; both of them refer to Adelheid as 'Kind' (although she is scarcely a year younger than Lulu) in recognition of her sexual inexperience.⁶⁵

Lulu's cruelty towards Schön is the dynamic factor in their relationship. Her apparent cruelty towards Geschwitz is born more of an instinctive loathing than a desire to cause pain: twice she abruptly leaves the stage when Geschwitz appears (P.D.V., I, p.503 and p.527). The boots and spurs which Lulu dons for Escerny and which evoke a sado-masochistic encounter are actually devoid of sexual connotations on Lulu's part beyond her general state of readiness to connive in male fantasies in order to extract her own advantage. Lulu oversteps herself by provoking Schön's Achilles' heel: his sexual jealousy. This has already directly caused the deaths of her two former husbands, Goll and Schwarz. Schön is not the man to die of a heart attack or to commit suicide: realising that Lulu has taken advantage of his Börsentag to turn his home into what amounts to a male harem, the bourgeois in him reasserts itself so that he turns his anger on Lulu, with disastrous results.

Even without the display of genuine emotion which indicates the extent of the catastrophe which Schön's death spells out for Lulu, the spectator can see immediately that without his protection Lulu will be defenceless in the face of predators over whom she rode roughshod

whilst Schön lived. The change in her fortunes is so great that it is almost impossible to speak of Lulu as a continuously cohesive personality in the two plays. In fact there are, on inspection, two Lulus in one breast: the sadistic tormentor of Schön in Erdgeist who overplays her hand, and the masochistic Lulu who, even before she meets Jack, resorts to actions which will cause her pain, chief among which is her decision to flee to London. Although as a criminal convicted of murder she has very little choice, her rejection of the luxury of a Cairo brothel and her simultaneous decision to flee to London orientate her to Jack and his knife with grim inevitability. Lulu deliberately turns away from the exotic mystique of the Orient in order to sample London, well-known as a hot-bed of crime and prostitution at the end of the nineteenth century. To many in Wedekind's audience, the word 'London' was almost synonymous with Jack the Ripper.⁶⁶

Just as all the extreme female masochists desired death as a sexual culmination, Jack deals out death as a substitute for the sex act. In the much longer conversation between Lulu and Jack in the Monstretragödie, Jack mentions that he has not slept with a woman for three years and is nervous of failure. However, after a truly spine-chilling chase,⁶⁷ Jack reveals that he has contributed many bodies such as Lulu's to medical science and suggests that medical students ought to be grateful to him for his 'collection' which provides them with material for experiments - dead bodies (M p.436).⁶⁸ One is reminded of Krafft-Ebing's observations that the most gruesome sex offenders refrain from actual intercourse, achieving their pleasure through a vicarious experience of the pain of the victim.⁶⁹

As already pointed out on p.86, Wedekind probably used Krafft-Ebing's factual account of Jack the Ripper as source material for his character. This sharpens the focus of the Lulu plays and indeed, undermines the mythological overtones with which Lulu is endowed by the titles of the plays Erdgeist and Die Büchse der Pandora. Silvia Bovenschen has pointed out that the attempt to portray a mystical female character in Lulu ultimately ends in failure because

Wedekind finds himself forced to opt for one of the real life choices open to women at the time, housewife or whore:

Es mag zum Eklat, den die ersten Aufführungen des Doppeldramas provozierten, beigetragen haben, daß Lulu sich dem einen Gebrauchstypus nicht annähert, daß sie die einzige positiv sanktionierte 'Rolle' des Weiblichen nicht spielt: die der Hausfrau und Mutter ... Sie wählt den zweiten Weg und wird zur Prostituierten. Und diesmal ereilt die Katastrophe sie selbst; sie wird das Opfer des Lustmörders Jack the Ripper. Ihr Widerstand ist gebrochen und damit auch des Autors Ideal einer ursprünglichen Weiblichkeit.⁷⁰

As has been shown, Lulu's lack of fight in her encounter with Jack is not just a breakdown of resistance, but rather an active propulsion towards self-destruction with masochism as its motive force. This type of extreme masochism is, of course, a perversion, and cannot be toned down in any of the ways hitherto employed by Wedekind when dealing with the question of rape (see above, V,ii) because of the degree of physical violence involved in Jack's mutilation.

VI. SINNENLIEBE: THE EMPTY SHELL

(i) Aborted Love

Although the elements of sado-masochism were sometimes unpleasant to examine, they give the works in which they occur momentum and an innate logic. When sex is reduced to a cerebral formula, as in Hidalla, or to caricature, as in Musik, the play lacks its vital pulse. In Oaha, Wanda Washington's failure to commit suicide because the sofa she wants to land on is too soft gives comic interest to a play which calls itself Die Satire der Satire. In the play Musik, the extraordinary behaviour of Klara Hühnerwadel is disturbing because, as in Tod und Teufel, some highly serious topics are momentarily raised. For example, the music teacher's seduction of Klara, his private pupil whom he has persuaded to leave the Konservatorium to live at his home, is a comment on social attitudes of the day in that Klara is almost as helpless as a servant would

be in warding off Reißner's advances. Else Reißner even tells Klara: 'Du bist ja nicht die Erste' (P.D.V., I, p.742).⁷¹

Wedekind makes a similarly valid point in holding the anti-abortion law up to ridicule. However, as has already been noted earlier in this chapter (p.58), he has no intention of making this play into an Ibsenite problem play although the basic ingredients at first sight invite this interpretation. Klara has had an abortion and the abortionist has received a four-year sentence. Klara tries to go to ground in Antwerp but later decides to serve her prison term in Germany. She receives a pardon after serving half of the eight-month sentence. In the prison scene the harshness of the system is shown with great skill: the brutality of the female warden, the pedantry of the male warden, the sheer inanity of the tasks set for the prisoners (Klara has to sort a pile of newspapers according to date). Up to this point in the play, there has been a degree of social critique.

However, Wedekind is quite determined not to allow the social comment to predominate. Klara goes back to Reißner and the whole situation repeats itself, but this time she decides to keep the baby - her baby. As she tells Reißner, 'dies Kind gehört mir!' (P.D.V., I, p.777). Klara finally rounds on Reißner, to whom she has actually loaned her inheritance, and declares that the child will help her to forget the hopes she had of making a career as a Wagnerian opera-singer. This last provides the play with a coherent argument, although Reißner's wife Else seems too long-suffering to ring true (it is she who secures Klara's release from jail).

In the final section of the play Klara's devotion to her child is shown as she desperately tends it during a fever from which it dies. Klara's elderly mother is made to thank Reißner for all the trouble he has taken with her daughter, and Klara collapses at this final irony. Wedekind inveighed against the poor interpretations which the actresses playing Fanny (sic!) had given, showing the heroine as 'sentimentaler Schmachtlappen' (P.D.V., I, p.951). He wanted to stress that Klara was a 'Karikatur einer Heroine'

(P.D.V., I, p. 952). However, Wedekind merely rationalises the play's flaws when he states that any alterations would have spoilt it. By trying to make a huge joke out of a girl who serves time for having an abortion, Wedekind comes extremely close to making the play appear a sustained sexist joke. The play is thus a reminder that Wedekind frequently lapsed into displaying the distorted sexual attitude which the maker of a sexist joke always reveals.

The play has several inborn contradictions. The chief fault lies in the fact that, as in Tod und Teufel, serious matters are raised only to be debunked. Wedekind regarded it as axiomatic that all topics were ripe for satire. However, the fact that this is not so can be clearly seen in this play, which has such a strong tone of menace beneath the caricature. Klara is misguided, naive, ambitious and in the last scene frantic (over the dying child) but she is never actually funny. A caricature needs an element of humour by definition. The death of the child also brings Wedekind perilously close to resembling the Naturalists whom he despised, if one remembers the death of the child in the second act of Die Familie Selicke by Holz and Schlaf. Finally, perhaps the greatest error for Wedekind which brought the others in its wake, Wedekind placed centre-stage a young mother with a young child, something he rarely does. However, the unmarried Klara is far from being a Rasseweib: in fact she admits to being 'spießbürgerlich' (P.D.V., I, p. 751). This produces a contradiction in characterisation which is not resolved. The caricature of the banal Else is much more effective.

A similar paradox occurs in Der Kammersänger, where we see the man behind the mask when the opera star Gerardo brutally rejects his mistress by telling her to go back home where she belongs, and to promise him: '... daß du deinen Pflichten als Mutter und als - Gattin genügen wirst' (P.D.V., I, p. 578). Gerardo's complete lack of feeling is grotesquely highlighted by the hurry he is in to sing the part of Tristan, the faithful lover par excellence. He also uses the double standard to his advantage by insisting

on Helene's duty to her family now that he wants to get rid of her. Gerardo has already demonstrated his emotional bankruptcy with Miss Coeure and Dühning, and his selfish and patronising treatment of Helene is thus entirely in character. For his part, Gerardo himself is manipulated by a contract which forces him to be a permanent pin-up. He is an artist bound to the treadmill of railway timetables and a lover pledged to celibacy. In few of his works does Wedekind treat the pleasures of the flesh so sardonically. Wedekind's own interest seems to flag when female sexuality is not at the heart of his Problematik.

(ii) Cerebral Sex

In Hidalla oder Karl Hetmann der Zwergriese, Wedekind shows just how sterile the academic discussion of sexual freedom can become. Hetmann has inaugurated an extremely far-fetched Internationaler Verein zur Züchtung von Rassemenschen where the entry requirement is simply that one should be beautiful enough to be admitted by the Großmeister Morosini, and the only requirement is that all members of the group should grant sex to one another on demand. There is an element of voyeurism from the start because Hetmann is too ugly to join his own organisation. As Helmut Arntzen points out, '... der Widerspruch in Hetmanns Intention ist von Anfang an eklatant'.⁷²

It is interesting to note that apart from the Nietzschean overtones (straining towards the production of an Übermensch by selective breeding) there was a wide interest in eugenics as a new science at the turn of the century. The work of Darwin and Galton in Great Britain laid the foundations for August Wismann's ideas in Germany. He concluded that 'only selective breeding could improve quality'.⁷³ A variety of eugenic societies grew up around the turn of the century, not always with the purest of intent as was pointed out in the Introduction (p.42). Wedekind's ideas will have seemed exciting and even scientific to the contemporary audience. However, Hetmann's stipulations on sex rob his society of credibility in the same way that the Rasseweib, eugenic in principle, was scotched. The 'Hetmannsche Lehre', which the group round

Launhart, the publisher, find so exciting, condemns three barbaric forms of life which are caused by convention:

Die wie ein wildes Tier aus der menschlichen Gemeinschaft hinausgehetzte Dirne; das zu körperlicher und geistiger Krüppelhaftigkeit verurteilte, um sein ganzes Liebesleben betrogene alte Mädchen; und die zum Zweck einer möglichst günstigen Verheiratung gewährte Unberührtheit des jungen Weibes. (P.D.V., II, p.177)

Pronouncements such as this tempt one to see in Hetmann a liberal spirit; however, he has no programme of reform beyond his Verein, and his statements begin to sound hollow in the light of subsequent events. Indeed, he singles out the notion of virginity in order to make a sufficiently shocking speech which he hopes will get him lynched. It is at that point merely a Mittel, not a belief hitherto held, and at the end of the play he renounces all his other views. Rather like Axel Borg in Strindberg's By the Open Sea, who drowns himself because he is an outcast in society (but has caused his own alienation), Hetmann seeks death to blot out the society which he wooed and which he now rejects in favour of 'meine durch nichts beschränkte Freiheit!' (P.D.V., II, p.196).

Opinions of the critics vary on Hetmann. Alan Best sees him in a positive light as a 'fine example of misplaced selflessness'.⁷⁴ Arntzen even sees parallels in him with Hitler in his abstinence from alcohol and charisma towards women.⁷⁵ Volker Klotz calls him 'der Makrogeist im mickrigen Körper'.⁷⁶ The characters in the play hold similarly conflicting opinions, but apart from Launhart's immediate realisation of the business potential for his paper (he even allows his office to be raided and Hetmann's manuscript to be found, so that Hetmann is imprisoned for six months as Wedekind was in similar circumstances), Hetmann's chief admirers are Fanny and Berta, who are both in love with him, and Walo von Brühl, who writes his PhD thesis on him and actually secures a lecturing post on the strength of it.

Berta and Fanny both demonstrate a degree of masochism in their love for Hetmann - Berta is the prototype of ugly

old maid whose champion he purports to be, but Hetmann treats her with marked scorn. However, she actually enjoys his insults, faute de mieux:

Ich kann mir freilich nur einen schwachen Begriff davon machen, wie süß es ist, von Ihnen geliebt zu werden. Wie wonnig es ist, Peitschenhiebe von Ihnen zu erhalten, davon machen Sie sich keinen Begriff! Aber Sie haben mich diesen Genuß gelehrt ... (P.D.V., II, p.175)

Fanny has an apparent advantage over Berta in that she is beautiful, but this actually alienates her from Hetmann. She is, however, a very weak character - Hetmann challenges her with being a 'Zwergseele' (P.D.V., II, p.161). Volker Klotz calls her a 'bürgerliche Penthiselea' whose downfall is caused because she loves Hetmann, which is of course 'programmwidrig'.⁷⁷

In spite of Fanny's spirited defence of herself when Gellinghausen jilts her 'als wäre man ein Stück Vieh' (P.D.V., II, p.145) on learning she is not a virgin, she seems rather too ready to join things, first the Frauenbewegung and then the Verein zur Züchtung von Rassemenschen in the space of minutes. The one loyalty Fanny has in the play is towards Hetmann. Her thankless devotion is so obsessive that she is even prepared to connive with him in planning his lynching. Whether or not to degrade the emancipated woman, Wedekind shows Fanny in a series of stooping postures as outlined by Klotz.⁷⁸ When she is not on her knees begging for Hetmann's love she is arranging flowers and showing more servile devotion than Geschwitz showed to Lulu. Berta has already warned her that Hetmann dislikes women who love him: 'Herr Hetmann entsetzt sich vor Frauen, die ihn lieben. Er sehnt sich nach Dirnen, die ihn mißhandeln! Darauf beruht seine ganze Philosophie!' (P.D.V., II, p.178).

Desperate to please Hetmann, Fanny suggests that he should have a group of girls as playmates to divert him:

Sie brauchen keine leidenschaftlichen Frauen, die Sie mit ihren Gefühlsausbrüchen auf die Folter spannen. Sie brauchen einfältige hübsche Mädchen, und nicht nur eine allein, sondern gleich ein halbes Dutzend, in deren Kreis Sie

wieder Leichtfertigkeit und Dummheit und Harmlosigkeit als unsere unentbehrlichsten Freunde schätzen lernen. (P.D.V.,II,p.171)

Hetmann's ready acceptance of this idea demonstrates his position as would-be reforming prophet to be as hypocritical as Fanny's pretence at feminism. It also highlights the game of cat and mouse they have been playing since they met. It is a different masochism on Fanny's part from that of Lulu or the sexually active women we encountered in that she does not want violence - indeed, Berta came closer in her reference to 'Peitschenhiebe'. Fanny is a Kartoffelseele at heart, no match for the mercurial Hetmann. Hetmann, for his part, shows the same degree of masochism in a desire for orgiastic death as we saw under the rubric of wollüstiger Opfertod. However, the difference is that the love element is missing - he wants to die for the sensational thrill alone, unlike Effie, who wanted to die in the presence of Mister Tschamper, and Lulu, who succumbed to the 'man of her dreams' in a grotesque parody of love. Hetmann in contrast wants a 'good death' by means of the lynching in line with the Nietzschean ideal of knowing the best time to die.⁷⁹ In Kaiser's Der gerettete Alkibiades, Sokrates demonstrates a similar deliberately provocative death-wish. Morosini, who receives a bad press within the play and who knows his own artistic and intellectual limits, referring to himself as 'ein Baßbariton, der seine Stimme verloren hat' (P.D.V.,II,p.157), nevertheless has the measure of Hetmann and understands his death wish as the perversion it is: 'Um das Leben so tief zu verachten, muß man freilich so verworfen sein wie dieser Zwergriese' (P.D.V.,II,p.191).

Hetmann seems determined to cause himself the maximum amount of pain in this play, founding a league which he cannot join and involving himself in sexual theories when he himself seems to be terrified of sex. It is probably safe to assume that he is a virgin, if only because he seeks this topic as his swan-song: however, rather than expose his own inhibitions and failings, he transposes his views on to female sexuality, thus throwing a smoke-screen over his motivation. Morosini might sound hypocritical

when he criticises Hetmann's effrontery in calling the bourgeois view of virginity 'eine schmachvolle Spekulation! ... ein jeder sittlichen Bewertung unwürdiges Sklavenmerkmal' (P.D.V., II, p.190) but at least Morosini has a right to be considered sexually potent whereas Hetmann can make no such claim. Furthermore, when he is confronted with a prototype old maid in the person of Berta (who later marries his researcher) Hetmann treats her with the utmost disdain. It is easy to presume that his attitude to the hounded prostitute (the other barbaric form of life for which he pleads) would be one of immobilised shock, since he can only cope with sexuality in the form of ideas.

One could assume that the advent of Cotrelly with his Mephistophelean overtones and the suggestion that Hetmann, the self-styled philosopher, should become a clown, is the trigger for Hetmann's suicide. However, it must be noted that Hetmann has just a few moments previously promised to consummate his love for Fanny, promising to belong to her 'mit Leib und Seele' (P.D.V., II, p.194). In the light of this, the suicide presents itself as an escape route from several unpleasant realities at once. Having withdrawn his support for his own ideas, Hetmann no longer has an excuse to watch the random mating of the members of the group and can no longer take a voyeuristic pleasure in chiding Fanny for not indulging in sexual licence.⁸⁰ Stripped of his moral philosophy which contained the seeds of the ritual worship of beauty which Buridan wants to examine in Die Zensur (P.D.V., I, p.802), and which would have found fruit in Die große Liebe, where the physically most beautiful are sacrificially slaughtered, Hetmann is exposed for what he is: ugly and sterile. With characteristic ambiguity, Wedekind demonstrates the bankruptcy of sexual discussion when it is not founded on a vitalistic groundswell of physical desire, yet he simultaneously gives a degree of support to this very same detached attitude towards sexual matters, indicating that the conflict within him between the Bürger and the Bürgerschreck was never resolved. This conflict lay at the heart of Wedekind's own distorted sexual attitudes which have been mentioned in this chapter.

(iii) Wedekind and the New Woman

A remarkable feature of Wedekind's work is his complete opposition to female emancipation. In this and in his enthusiasm for physical prowess, Wedekind is similar to Nietzsche: however, the war imagery is completely lacking in Wedekind. Men and women are not so much at war with each other as at war with themselves. In addition, Nietzsche's contempt for women prevented him from discussing them in any great detail whereas Wedekind's interest in his female characters is immediately apparent in his works. Given the fact that so few of his women manage to achieve a satisfactory relationship with a man, one might have assumed that Wedekind would have been tolerant towards the woman who tried to be independent. Instead, like Shaw and Lawrence, he either mocks or ridicules the New Woman. It is the one occasion where he makes an unequivocal statement right through his works, with no alteration of opinion from Die Fürstin Russalka (1897), to Franziska (1911), which constitutes his final position on the matter.

Wedekind introduces us to the New Woman by dressing her as a man. Katharina's swashbuckling behaviour in Fritz Schwigerling is accounted for by the fact that as a girl she was brought up (like Christina of Sweden) as a boy, wearing boys' clothes and riding and hunting. This accentuates her masculinity and casts immediate aspersions on her sexual proclivities.⁸¹ In the early play Die junge Welt (1889), the schoolgirls plan a life of independence for themselves but this idea finally crumbles when Ricarda reveals that she has married in spite of earlier protestations that she will not.

Although Wedekind's New Women refrain from smoking cigars, they cut their hair in a bob and don male attire when they can: for both Fürstin Russalka and Countess Geschwitz, the opportunity arises at the Künstlerinnenball. It will be recalled that Geschwitz is first introduced into Erdegeist - evocatively wearing a manly 'Husaren-Taille' (P.D.V., I, p.443) - when she tries to induce Lulu to accompany her to the ball dressed as a man. The fact that Geschwitz forms the resolve to join the women's movement at the end

of Die Büchse der Pandora would confirm in the mind of the audience the suspicion that most New Women were clandestine lesbians, a disgrace to the female sex.

Fürstin Russalka, who still seems to blame the barrenness of her first marriage on herself even when she has given birth to a son in her second marriage, relates her involvement in the women's movement to her friend with a good deal of shame:

Ich schnitt mein schönes Haar ab, trug kein Korsett mehr, ging in Männerkleidern auf den Künstlerinnenball und schrieb über die Frauenfrage ... In der Premiere von 'Hedda Gabler' lernte ich Dr. Rappart kennen ... Seine ersten Worte waren eine herzinnige Beschwörung, bei der Weiblichkeit, die in mir lebe, bei dem hohen Beruf, als Frau einen Mann glücklich zu machen, ich möchte doch dieses wüste Treiben aufgeben. (P.D.V., II, p.717)

Russalka gives up her excursion into 'the Cause' and settles back into a life of domesticity. In this story Wedekind gives sufficient indication of his own viewpoint, such as the reference to Hedda Gabler, Ibsen's emancipated heroine, in what amounts to a pejorative context, for us to take this story at face value.⁸² Not many of Wedekind's female characters are young mothers, but when they are, quite special rules apply to them. In Musik, piercing through the caricature of the role of Klara one could see a real attempt by Wedekind to show a frantic mother of a sick child. In spite of Wedekind's challenge to bourgeois society, he cannot conceal his opinion that young mothers belong at home with their children. This is especially applicable to the play which promises so much in terms of female emancipation: Franziska.

It is probably the case that Wedekind had read the strange and tragic story of the 'Gräfin S' alias 'Graf Sandor' in Moll and Krafft-Ebing.⁸³ This particular case involved the actual marriage in an aristocratic circle of two women, one of whom (the 'wife') was duped into thinking she had married a man by the male attire of Sandor, who even wore a false priapus in her

riding breeches which aroused the suspicions of her father-in-law. The case was well known and is even reported by Havelock Ellis. The tragedy of the whole bizarre episode was that Sandor and Marie were actually in love - at least during their travesty of a marriage. After Sandor's discovery and imprisonment, she was tortured most of all by not being allowed to communicate with Marie, whom she still adored.

In Franziska, the scenes where 'Franz' is married to Sophie (Act 2) deliberately forfeit the pathos claimed by the real-life story by the device of rendering the whole act in verse. This is Wedekind's attempt to cast Franziska in the part of a female Faust, with a formal pact in Act I whereupon verse is used to stylise the action, which shifts to the Weinstube Clara, Wedekind's version of the Auerbacher Keller. Here the intervention of the chorus, who welcome Laurus Bein in Knittelvers and Bein's own plagiarisms such as 'der Schriftsteller schafft am Webstuhl der Zeit' (P.D.V., II, p.460) demonstrate that Wedekind's intention is clearly satirical.

Wedekind portrays Franziska's pact with Veit Kunz as grotesque and ridiculous, which indeed it is: seldom does Wedekind satirise an idea which is so patently banal:

VEIT KUNZ ... Ich lasse Sie zwei Jahre hindurch das Leben eines Mannes führen, mit aller Genußfähigkeit, aller Bewegungsfreiheit des Mannes ...

FRANZISKA Gott sei Dank!

VEIT KUNZ Dafür sind Sie nach Ablauf der zwei Jahre bis an Ihr seliges Ende mein Weib, meine Leibeigene, meine Sklavin.

FRANZISKA Wenn ich will! (P.D.V., II, p.451)

This grotesque parody of Faust's quest for experience gives rise to a good deal of ribald humour, for instance the fact that whilst 'Franz' is reproached by her 'wife' Sophie for the fact that they are childless, Franziska is pregnant by Veit Kunz. The text makes it clear that she brings on a miscarriage (by frantic indulgence in sporting activity) in order to take part in a play for the duke:

VEIT KUNZ Hast du dich etwa nicht gegen das Gesetz vergangen, um deine Mitwirkung bei diesem Gastspiel zu ermöglichen?

FRANZISKA Ich habe geturnt, ich habe geschwommen, ich bin geritten, ich habe Tararabumdieh getanzt. Einem jungen Mädchen wird das doch wohl erlaubt sein! (P.D.V.,II,p.490)

Finally, however, Franziska succumbs to her female destiny by bearing a child, the paternity of which is uncertain: either Ralf Breitenbach or Veit Kunz is the father, as the boy's name, Veitralf, indicates. Most spectators find Franziska's reversion to the orthodox role of mother in the final act harder to accept than her assumed role as 'husband' of Marie: it is quite simply out of character, almost as if Lulu had decided to become a nun. Wedekind seems to have found it impossible to imagine a sexually alert mother (there are none in his plays). It is as though the act of giving birth draws the curtains on all further sexual enjoyment. Franziska therefore has to be made into a Madonna - literally, in Almer's painting which is modelled on a 'Madonnenbild' (P.D.V.,II,p.526). This Franziska we see at the end of the play, full of motherly concern for Veitralf's health, is in stark contrast to the earlier Franziska who - like Hedda Gabler - felt revulsion at the thought of being pregnant.⁸⁴ This is almost what one would expect from a Rasseweib; what one cannot accept is the sudden change of perspective when a Rasseweib becomes a Kartoffelseele, which is what happens with Franziska (and Leonore in Schloß Wetterstein with less disastrous results because Effie has the main role). Franziska and Leonore are the only characters who actually move from one category to another in the plays, although there is a marked shift in Lulu's personality dictated by the gravitational pull of Schön and Jack respectively.

The problems with Franziska are particularly interesting because the play ought to work, and the fact that it does not indicates a loss of touch on Wedekind's part. All his favourite trade marks are there: several bickering marriages held up to ridicule - 'Franz' and Sophie and the duke and

his wife, as well as the retrospective quarrels of Franziska's parents which caused her such childhood pain that the memories have to be exorcised by Veit Kunz on the castle steps of her former home (P.D.V.,II,p.502).⁸⁵ Yet the play fails to convince as a whole, partly because any attempt to emulate Goethe's Faust backfires and makes Franziska seem childishly amateur, but mainly because of the portrayal of Franziska herself. Her outrageous behaviour as an emancipated woman right through to her orgiastic dance which ends the play within a play - 'Tanzwut ausgebrochen !Nymphomanie! Flagellantismus!' (P.D.V.,II,p.514) - prepares us for a bad end such as that encountered by Lulu or Effie. Nothing prepares us for Franziska's metamorphosis from New Woman to old, which is certainly a variant on the familiar Eve : Maria dichotomy. One either has to assume that Wedekind showed the reformed Franziska as a Maria to underline his patent disapproval of the New Woman , or that the whole final act is a satire, which seems unlikely.⁸⁶

In order to present the spectator with the only happy couple in his plays⁸⁷ (one assumes Karl Almer will actually marry Franziska) Wedekind is prepared to bend the logic of the rest of the play. Possibly Wedekind's profoundly pessimistic views shifted as he grew older and more ill. In Franziska and Simson Wedekind says - at the end, not at the beginning, in each case - that some residues of human affection such as Franziska's love for her child and Simson and Delila's abiding bond, can survive the failure of the sexual sphere which has proved such a gruelling testing field in the rest of the plays. Perhaps even Wedekind believed that beyond his own Zirkusarena, beyond the satire, lay pockets of happy couples whose tale he did not choose to tell.

CHAPTER 2KOKOSCHKA

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I. THE MAN AND HIS WORK

(i) Autobiographical

Kokoschka's place in this study is central. Whilst Wedekind is usually viewed as a forerunner of Expressionism, Kokoschka's explosive plays can be seen as the quintessence of Expressionist drama both in dramatic technique and in theme (the violence between the sexes). It is paradoxical that the innovative dramatist can be viewed as a conventional Wilhelmine man at one and the same time, displaying certain attitudes to women which become distortions when applied to sexuality (see Introduction p.10). In Kokoschka's case, the main distortion is a denial of woman's sexuality, which he achieves by discrediting women who display marked sexual impulses. This attitude hardens with time and can be elucidated by a close scrutiny of the various texts for each of Kokoschka's early plays, with the exception of Orpheus und Eurydike, which was not revised. It will be seen that Kokoschka's early admiration for Bachofen left him in a position where he could choose to either admire or fear the strong matriarchal woman. The events which made him veer towards fear (and sometimes even hatred) will be investigated in some detail.

Kokoschka seems to have been an extremely sensitive person and certain early experiences, such as the death of his younger brother when Kokoschka was five, must have had a damaging effect in contributing to his morbid propensity.¹ When a neighbour drowned in a nearby well, Kokoschka began to sleep-walk, a habit which came to coincide with the presence of the full moon.² The powerful attraction which the moon had for Kokoschka ultimately became translated into the image of the dangerous Mondfrau (to be discussed in Section II). However, not all Kokoschka's early experiences were negative: he was close to his mother, brother and sister and though he was less close to his father, the latter understood his son sufficiently well to give him appropriate gifts. A particularly well-chosen present was the Orbis Pictus by Comenius, which Kokoschka found profoundly influential: '... es hat ein Leben lang auf mich gewirkt'.³

In his writings, Kokoschka deliberately and

unapologetically uses his personal experiences as artistic raw material. Writing in his autobiography Mein Leben, he says of Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen: 'Mein Stück ist kein Lehrstück im Sinne des Theaters als moralische Anstalt, es drückt bloß meine eigene Einstellung zu meiner Welt aus'.⁴ In the same work he specifically explains the connection between the play Orpheus und Eurydike and his experiences with Alma Mahler: 'Darin - so nahe ich kommen konnte mit Worten - rollte das Erleben, das ich im Innern geschleppt hatte, auf der Bühne ab'.⁵

Many lithographs and charcoal drawings of the period 1907-1917 echo the violent clash of man with woman. An underlying anxiety on the part of the man can be detected, as in 'Mann im Grab, auf dem das Weib sitzt'. Here a man buried alive is trying to leave a grave, but is hampered because a woman is sitting on his tombstone. Kokoschka's first reaction to his own sex drive was one of awe and dread: 'Das Weibliche in erotischer Annäherung bedrohte in einer gleichzeitig unsicher werdenden Umwelt mein mühsam gewonnenes Gleichgewicht'.⁶ It was at this stage that he began to read Bachofen and to study the ancient Greek world in earnest, pondering the connection between love and death: 'Tage- und nächtelang grübelte ich über dem Geheimnis, das sich hinter Liebe und Tod verbirgt'.⁷

Kokoschka's mother had a strong personality and a mystical streak - she possessed second sight. There is no doubt that Kokoschka regarded his mother's personality as crucial to his own sexual development. Hodin comments: 'Ihr Bild bestimmt seine Vorstellung vom Weiblichen in hohem Maße'.⁸ Although Kokoschka made light of his mother's interference with Alma (whom she labelled 'Circe'), her disapproval probably contributed to the break-up of the affair - she once even threatened suicide if Kokoschka kept a rendezvous with Alma. However, the major factor in the break-up was undoubtedly Kokoschka's ungovernable jealousy towards the dead Mahler. He seems to have shared Emile Zola's private obsession that a woman belonged to her first mate to the point that children born to a second husband would resemble the first.⁹ In her autobiography,

Alma Mahler describes her affair with Kokoschka, whom she met in 1912, in terms of extremes of joy and despair: 'Die drei folgenden Jahre mit ihm waren ein heftiger Liebeskampf. Niemals zuvor habe ich soviel Kampf, soviel Hölle, soviel Paradies gekostet'.¹⁰

The affair ended with a degree of rancour. Kokoschka volunteered as a dragoon and was wounded in the head and chest at the Russian front. He continued to brood for more than a decade over his broken affair with Alma. It seems that Kokoschka simply could not accept Alma's rejection of him, hence the bizarre episode with the life-size doll which Kokoschka had made for him in Dresden in 1919, which was to resemble Alma Mahler right down to the private parts.¹¹ In discussing this doll it must be borne in mind that we are dealing with an actual sexual perversion on the part of the author rather than unravelling a disguised sexual attitude. It is quite clear that Kokoschka wished to use the doll as a fetish, although he did at the same time intend it to be a model for his paintings. The doll became a grotesque fixation for Kokoschka, as can be seen from the barrage of letters which he wrote to the doll-maker, Fräulein Moos, in which Kokoschka himself refers to the doll as 'der Fetisch'. These letters reveal how impatiently he waited for it to be ready. He constantly advises Fräulein Moos as to the materials she should use and exhorts her not to let the stitches show:

Die Hand endlich pfirsichähnlich im
Angreifen, und nirgends Nähte erlauben
an Stellen, wo Sie denken, daß es mir
weh tut und mich daran erinnert, daß
der Fetisch ein elender Fetzenbalg ist,
sondern überall dort, wo ich nicht so
hinschaue und wo nicht die Kontur oder
der natürliche Fluß der Linien und
Glieder gestört wird.¹²

Kokoschka even trained the maid Hulda, whom he renamed Reserl, to be the doll's lady-in-waiting. Frank Whitford asserts that Reserl was in love with Kokoschka, but that Kokoschka kept their affair platonic.¹³ It will probably never be possible to verify this, but if Reserl did desire Kokoschka sexually, the games of make-believe which she had to play with him and the doll must have been intensely frustrating. According to Kokoschka, Reserl had to spread

rumours about the doll even before it arrived:

Reserl mußte in meinem Auftrag Gerüchte über den Liebreiz, die mysteriöse Herkunft der 'Stillen Frau' unter die Leute bringen, zum Beispiel, daß ich einen Fiaker gemietet hätte, um sie an sonnigen Tagen ins Freie zu fahren, eine Loge in der Oper, um sie herzuzeigen.¹⁴

In the account in the second 'Brief aus Dresden' (1920), Kokoschka implies that the doll was unpacked at a lavish party, that he was bitterly disappointed with it and that it was left unceremoniously in the garden, to be reported to the police by the postman next morning as a suspected corpse. Kokoschka notes: 'Es war ein fürchterlicher Schlag, und jedes Wort bleibt zu schwach, meine Enttäuschung auszudrücken'.¹⁵ However, this account does not seem to be quite true. Contrary to the impression Kokoschka gives here and in his autobiography,¹⁶ he must have had the doll for several months, long enough for him to make about twenty sketches of it and one oil painting, 'Frau in Blau' (1919), and long enough for it to deteriorate so dramatically that Kokoschka wrote a bitter letter of complaint to Fräulein Moos in April 1919: '... die ganze Geschichte klappt zusammen wie ein Fetzenbündel'.¹⁷ Alma Mahler would have relished this detail as she was fully aware of the implications which the doll had for her, personally. She would also have been amused and perhaps shocked by another complaint Kokoschka makes in the same letter, that it was impossible to dress the doll in its dainty Parisian underwear! Ultimately Alma knew that the doll was a grotesque effigy of herself rather than, as Kokoschka tried to make out, a model for use in his painting:

In Dresden ließ Oskar Kokoschka eine lebensgroße Frauenpuppe herstellen ... mit langen blonden Haaren - und bemalte sie vollkommen nach meinem Ebenbilde - so schilderte man es mir. Die Puppe lag immer auf dem Sofa. Kokoschka sprach tagelang mit der Puppe, wobei er sich sorgfältig einschloß ... und hatte mich endlich da, wo er mich haben wollte: ein gefügiges Werkzeug in seiner Hand!¹⁸

The doll fetish can be detected as a theme in the first 'Brief aus Dresden' (1919) where Kokoschka gives a nightmarish description of a chance encounter with a woman

who carries a chillingly lifelike doll in her basket, and in the story Die Mumie (1913) later re-written as Ann Eliza Reed (1952). Here Ann Eliza wishes she could be as helpless as a doll, and becomes quite irrationally jealous of an Egyptian mummy carried round by the man she loves - Glasberg (see below p.175). Just how difficult it was for Kokoschka to overcome the loss of Alma is clear from the fact that many years later he continued to pester her. Even as late as 1929 she wrote:

Und wieder kam eine Karte von Oskar
Kokoschka aus Kairo und rührte mein
Inneres auf. Warum tut er das nur?
Es ist, als ob wir mit einer geistigen
Nabelschnur aneinanderhängen.¹⁹

Alma invites the reader to believe that this promising love affair was spoilt by Kokoschka's jealousy and unkindness. As Alma herself sums it up: 'Roheit war die Ursache, daß ich Oskar Kokoschka ließ'.²⁰ There are numerous other allusions to Kokoschka's cruel streak: indeed, Manuel Gasser pinpoints it as an integral component in Kokoschka's dealings with his models: 'Wenn Kokoschka von seinen Modellen spricht, so tut er es mit einem Ton verliebter Grausamkeit'.²¹ Hodin argues that the cruel streak can be observed throughout Kokoschka's work, not just in the early plays:

So findet sich in den Selbstzeugnissen
Kokoschkas aus seinen frühen expressio-
nistischen Dramen der Jahre 1908 bis 1909,
aber auch aus späterer Zeit, immer wieder
ein zugespitztes Erleben des Kampfes der
Geschlechter ... worin sich ... auch
immer wieder ein Zeichen eines leichten
Sadismus, eine merkwürdige Verbindung
von Liebesrausch und Blutvergießen,
äußern.²²

Hodin even goes so far as to consider whether Kokoschka could be termed mentally sick - quite apart from the head injury sustained during the war. However, speaking in the context of Kokoschka's and Rudolf Blümner's invention of an imaginary daughter Virginia so that their plans for her could enliven bleak and hungry evenings in Berlin in 1910, Hodin remarks that in his evaluation, the young Kokoschka just about remained within the bounds of what can be considered as normal:

... vom Standpunkt des Psychiaters aus eine solche selbst für einen Künstler ungewöhnlich gesteigerte Phantasie-tätigkeit zwar aus dem normalen Rahmen fällt, aber eine Grenzsituation einer besonderen psychopathischen Veranlagung darstellt, die auch wohl eine erhebliche psychische Labilität mit sich bringt, aber keine Geisteskrankheit im eigentlichen Sinn.²³

It is quite a different matter when one examines Kokoschka's theoretical writings on art. Here, in stark contrast to the sadistic tone of brutality in much of the dramatic work, Kokoschka is earnest and even didactic as to the function of art. Indeed, he mounts a veritable crusade for people to experience life cogently. He believes that it is the mission of the artist to convey experience: '... die Essenz der Kunst war immer Vermittlung menschlicher Erlebnisse'.²⁴ In a lecture which he delivered in Vienna in 1912,²⁵ Kokoschka introduced his idea on the nature of visions:

Das Bewußtsein der Gesichte wird nie ganz zu beschreiben sein und seine Geschichte nie zu begrenzen, weil es das Leben selber ist. Sein Wesen ist ein Strömenlassen und Gesichtesein, ist die Liebe, die sich darin gefällt, sich ins Bewußtsein zu betten. (S.W., III, p.11)

Five years later he returned to the same topic: 'Allein was wir erleben, gehört wirklich uns!'²⁶ Such pronouncements have led Horst Denkler to see the theoretical writings as producing a 'Gefühl metaphysischer Verantwortlichkeit, das die Schriften Kokoschkas durchgehend prägt'.²⁷

It is indeed noteworthy that a man who believed firmly in the spiritual value of art and who, in later life, displayed gentleness and tolerance and preached pacifism, should in his early attempts at drama treat the battle of the sexes with belligerent fervour. Kokoschka seems to have waged his own private war in a vacillation between a preference for Eve-like women and an admiration for the more motherly Maria-type. His conflict was resolved when he married Olda who, though over twenty years younger than Kokoschka, presented no threat to arouse his fear.²⁸ The late play Comenius bears a veiled tribute to Olda in the character of

Frau Stoffels, Rembrandt's faithful servant in the play. This play was written in 1936-38 and revised as late as 1972. It is interesting that, having laid the ghosts of his turbulent youth to rest, Kokoschka makes no further attempt at drama beyond Comenius. There is no evidence of distorted sexual attitudes in this play and it will not be discussed, especially as it lies so far outside the time-scale chosen for discussion in this thesis.

(ii) Kokoschka and Greece

Kokoschka's interest in Greek culture began early and remained with him throughout life. The world view of the Ancient Greeks was frequently hewn into stone: this was the age of sculpture rather than painting, a point made by Burckhardt in his Griechische Kulturgeschichte. Greek sculpture undoubtedly fired Kokoschka's imagination. In particular, his interest in the strong woman - whose power must be subdued - seems to have stemmed from his interest in matriarchal legends. The settings, too, often evoke Classical Greece: Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen is set 'im Altertum'; Sphinx und Strohmann invokes the Sphinx legend, and the Orphic legend is re-worked in Orpheus und Eurydike, which mostly takes place in the underworld. In addition to the Greek names given to the characters such as Psyche, there is a tendency to make the male figure into a fused Dionysus/Apollo, much along Nietzsche's suggested lines. The Superman who emerges has the phallic ability of Dionysus but is generally associated in some way with the sun. Even so, these potent men invariably deny sex to the women protagonists.

Kokoschka does not name Apollo in the plays but this is chiefly because he stereotypes his characters as 'Mann' and 'Frau', or gives them familiar biblical names which have a spurious connection with the originals - Hiob and Eva, for example. Two types stand out in the early plays: the Mondfrau and Kokoschka's version of the Übermensch, the sexually potent sun king. Their struggle is both recurrent and hopeless of resolve. Kokoschka leant heavily on J.J. Bachofen, a close friend of Burckhardt, whose work he read enthusiastically as a young man: 'Damals hatte ich Bachofen, sein Werk

über das Matriarchat zu lesen begonnen mit dem gleichen Enthusiasmus, wie andere die Schriften von Karl Marx'.²⁹ This acknowledged debt to Bachofen has been largely ignored by critics who have analysed Kokoschka's plays.³⁰ However, Bachofen's central tenet: that patriarchy (with the worship of Apollo) superseded an earlier stage of matriarchy in Greece (with the worship of Dionysus and with the moon dominant over the sun) is an illuminating theory and sheds a great deal of light on Kokoschka's early plays. It also indicates Kokoschka's early open-mindedness towards feminist topics (see Introduction, p.12) - an attitude which was to change.

Bachofen interpreted tomb engravings and sifted through the myths of various sites in Greece in order to produce Das Mutterrecht, which traces the development of patriarchy. Bachofen argues that the shift towards patriarchy was slow and can be traced by ascertaining which of the heavenly bodies had hegemony at any given stage: 'Von den drei großen kosmischen Körpern: Erde, Mond, Sonne, erscheint der erste als Träger des Muttertums, während der letzte die Entwicklung des Vaterprinzips leitet',³¹ Bachofen argued that there were three corresponding stages in Greek culture. The first was tellurian, an age of swamps where sexuality was 'hetaeric' - women simply mated at random. At this stage there was 'no agriculture and ... nothing resembling a state'.³² Aphrodite was the goddess during this period of development: the Amazons were the principal fighting force. Property was passed from mother to daughter, the left hand was preferred to the right and the moon was regarded as virginal. Day was born out of night, which had primacy over the day.

In the middle - lunar - stage which Bachofen labels 'das Matriarchat', Demeter is the dominant goddess: moon symbolism is that of the conjugal mother. The male god Dionysus seeks to raise the rights of the male above those of the female, without success: the sun is still dominated by the moon at this stage. This position is reversed in the third and final stage of development when Apollo breaks free of any bond with woman. This final stage of Hellenism

corresponds with the Hellenism so detested by Nietzsche in Die Geburt der Tragödie, because of Apollo's rational connotations. Nietzsche maintained that the spirit of Dionysus was actually present at the performances of the great Greek tragedies. According to Nietzsche, Socrates killed tragedy with his crushingly boring questions. It is intriguing to note that Nietzsche - who knew of Bachofen only through their mutual friend Burckhardt - uses the same argument as Bachofen (though to a different end): that Hellenism is hostile to matriarchy. It is also important to note that Kokoschka mentions Nietzsche's works specifically in his autobiography, and he was thus able to make his own critical comparison of Nietzsche and Bachofen.

The seminal text to show the triumph of patriarchy in Hellenic Greece is The Oresteia by Aeschylus. In the final play of the trilogy, The Eumenides, Apollo appears as a deus ex machina to solve the blood feud in the house of Atreus. By arguing that the mother is not the true parent of the child but simply the bearer of the seed, Apollo states that Orestes is not guilty of matricide. Athena supports his argument as she has only one parent: Zeus. The victory over the furies denotes patriarchal victory over Mutterrecht. Bebel devotes a whole chapter of Die Frau und der Sozialismus to a discussion of the consequences of this victory as shown in the Oresteia.

In Kokoschka's plays it is not feasible to identify a tripartite division as laid out by Bachofen. Kokoschka merely took the general notion from Bachofen that matriarchy preceded patriarchy and was characterised by sexual licence on the part of the woman. Likewise the subtlety of Bachofen's descriptions of the planet-worship passing from virginal lunar to sexually dominant lunar in the stage of Matriarchat is much simplified. In broad outline, the sun in Kokoschka's plays represents an aggressive male, the moon an equally aggressive female, locked in bitter and never-ending conflict. Bachofen tried to be much more specific than this. He even stated that a culture identifies its dominant sexual habits by showing a preference for the sun or the moon in its rituals.³³ It must be stressed that Bachofen himself made

no actual indication of preference for matriarchy, but simply posited that it had preceded patriarchy. Kokoschka does not seem to have doubted that matriarchy existed, but shows a change of opinion in the course of writing the plays from support for, to disapproval of, matriarchy.

(iii) 'Ewige Wiederkunft'

In the ancient Greek world, the egg was a symbol for the beginning of all life. It was, according to Bachofen:

... die Muttermaterie, das ursprünglich-gegebene, aus dessen dunklem chaotischem Schoße die Schöpfung ans Licht des Tages heraustritt. Es ist selbst die Gans, die es gebiert, selbst Nemesis, die es in ihrem Schoße empfängt.³⁴

Nietzsche expresses a similar view when he gives his own version of 'die ewige Wiederkunft':

Die Welt besteht; sie ist nichts, was wird, nichts, was vergeht. Oder vielmehr: sie wird, sie vergeht, aber sie hat nie angefangen zu werden und nie aufgehört zu vergehen - sie erhält sich in Beidem ... sie lebt von sich selber: ihre Exkremente sind ihre Nahrung.³⁵

Kokoschka specifically mentions having read Nietzsche's Der Wille zur Macht³⁶ where the above quotation is found.

Bachofen used the egg motif in order to show the tensions - never resolved - in the ancient world view. Discussing the Grabbild of the Roman Villa Pamfili, Bachofen argued that the three black-and-white eggs in the picture express the eternal dichotomy between life and death. In this painting, the upper part of the eggs is white, earthly or female in principle, whilst the bottom half is dark, denoting heaven and the male principle. The two halves perpetually strive for unity in reunification, but never achieve this in spite of the constant process of life brought forth from itself. Such obliquely sexual symbolism fascinated Kokoschka, who saw the problem in a very specific and significant way: in the dichotomy of Eros and Thanatos. This gives rise to a constant depiction in his imaginative works of the close link between death and love. In the earliest works, the favourite motifs chosen to show the ewige Wiederkunft of the conflict are the sun and the

moon which, even when stripped of all reference to Greek myths, are still diametric opposites in the experience of all mortals. This may help to explain the unaccountable weakness of the woman in Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen: it is dawn, with the cock crowing, time for the sun to run his course, but the Moon Lady will be back at dusk. Similarly in Der weiße Tiertöter, the murdered girl reappears miraculously - entirely in keeping with her function as Mondfrau. In Der brennende Dornbusch, the woman with her voluptuous yearnings will never be satisfied because the man she has chosen, intimately connected with the sun, has a different orbit to run.

In Orpheus und Eurydike, the daily struggle is transformed into the longer-term battle of life and death. The notion of recurrence is by no means as automatic as it is in the sun/moon struggle, in spite of Eurydike's pregnancy by Hades which indicates life after death in an intriguing and novel way. Kokoschka shows that life and death are separate, but his vision is shocking because it is harder to die than to live in this particular play. Eurydike's spirit is tormented in the half-way stage and she begs Orpheus to reconcile their quarrel, thus releasing her to the peace of the underworld. Orpheus for his part also finds it difficult to destroy himself. Fundamentally, however, Kokoschka avoids the idea of the permanence of death by making Hades a sexually potent male. In avoiding this particular question, Kokoschka is able to dwell on what is, for him, the crucial problem: that of sexual jealousy. Orpheus finds it infinitely more difficult to cope with Eurydike's infidelity than to cope with her death.

Just as with Wedekind there is never a sexual relationship which is actually happy, with Kokoschka there is never a relationship which is actually healthy. Sexual love brings either death or disease (which might be mental, but is still destructive). The combatants in the struggle will use every means they can to gain dominance - from violence to the more subtle sucking away of strength. This vampirism is present in Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen and Der brennende Dornbusch, where the man preys on the woman; it is then submerged in

the plays where jealousy is the dominant theme (Sphinx I and II , Hiob and Orpheus und Eurydike) only to resurface in another form in the story Die Mumie, where the body of the dead Egyptian woman plays as large a part in the story as do the other protagonists. The sexual attitudes portrayed in Kokoschka's plays are distorted by the metaphor of conflict: he depicts a predatory struggle devoid of pleasure, joy or hope in a predictably recurrent cycle of pain. Furthermore, Kokoschka's residual conventionality towards female sexuality leads him into several major unforced errors in his basic assumptions towards women. These errors largely concern his belief - unchallenged by the critics - that a woman's renunciation of her sex drive will somehow 'do her good'.

(iv) Pleasure and Pain

The close link between pleasure and pain has already been discussed in the Introduction, where it was also mentioned that Nietzsche expected women to be nurses and mothers (p. 30). He expected men to fight men, not women. He greatly admired the hardness and lack of pity of the Greeks where the masters exercised their authority over their slaves without compunction. He intended that his Übermensch would show a similar degree of Machtgelüst. Kokoschka differs from Nietzsche in viewing woman as actually worthy of combat. However, in Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen the 'Mann' resembles Nietzsche's Übermensch in the way he summarily inflicts pain on the woman, branding her as one brands cattle, to show possession. If he were simply to stride straight off the stage, killing all comers, he would be wholly intelligible in this Zarathustran context. The difficulty arises because the woman's sexual needs are inflamed by the branding. There is thus a good deal of sado-masochism involved, especially in the first version which retains the reference to vampirism.

Kokoschka continually altered his plays and the trend is always away from the more brutal and violent actions (such as the man's cruelty to animals in the first version of Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen) towards a more mystical standpoint. However, this attempt to give brutality a sort of mystical sanction - as is found in Der brennende Dornbusch

- is not satisfactory because, as will be seen, there is a logical difficulty in converting an Amazon to a Madonna (see below, p.146). The play retains a good deal of mental cruelty (on the man's part) in spite of the pruning out of much of the sexual imagery. Almost without exception, a second thought on Kokoschka's part results in a lack of dynamism, a weakening of the argument. Having chosen sexual conflict as his battle ground, the best fights are invariably the bloodiest. The bloodlust in the early version of Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen actually provides the play's rationale; in Sphinx und Strohmann (1907) the bawdiness is equally vital.

It is all the more surprising that Kokoschka did not tone down the violence in his early work Die träumenden Knaben (1907), where the conflict between Eros and Thanatos is raised for the first time. This beautifully illustrated book of poems was originally conceived as a children's book, but the contents are anything but suitable for children. The girl 'Li' points towards the 'herzlose Lilly' of the 1907 Sphinx und Strohmann who in turn seems linked to the mythical demon Lilith who possessed destructive powers (see below, p.149). She also reminds one of Lilith Lang, one of Kokoschka's fellow art students in Vienna. Lilith wore a red skirt (Kokoschka's favourite colour) and certainly aroused Kokoschka sexually. The poems - which flow into each other in the printed text but which are set in a distinctive frame in the illustrated version - clearly suggest adolescent yearning:

nicht die ereignisse der kindheit gehen
 durch mich und nicht die der mannbarkeit
 aber die knabenhaftigkeit
 ein zögerndes wollen
 das unbegründete schämen vor dem wachsenden
 und die jünglingsschaft
 das überfließen und alleinsein
 ich erkannte mich und meinen körper
 und ich fiel nieder und träumte die
 liebe. (S.W., I, p.11)

The poem does not describe sex in any detail apart from the dream, and before the writer lapses into the dream he is busy with the very unromantic job of cutting fish up, with blood everywhere:

rot fischlein
 fischlein rot
 mein messerlein ist rot
 meine fingerlein sind rot
 in der schale sinkt ein fischlein tot. (S.W.,I,p.8)

Fish are, of course, a Freudian phallic symbol, and the connection between the sadistic satisfaction of wallowing in the red blood of the fish and experiencing sexual thrill is firmly established. The same idea is accentuated a little later when the 'ich' of the poem is a werewolf seeking women as his prey:

ihr milden frauen
 was quillt in euren roten mänteln
 in den leibern die erwartung verschlungener
 glieder seit gestern und jeher? ...
 - ich bin der kreisende wärwolf -
 wenn die abendglocke vertönt
 schleich ich in eure gärten
 in eure weiden
 breche ich in euren friedlichen kraal. (S.W.,I,pp.9-10)

However, as the poems develop and the themes overlap, the girl 'Li' is drawn with increasing sympathy. After the description of himself as a werewolf, the narrator of the poems edges away from the images of cruelty and violence towards a recognition that his own clumsiness is also shared by the girl. The physical longing in both young bodies is the cause of their mutual suffering. In describing 'Li' in this way, Kokoschka draws the only sympathetic portrait of a woman in his early works:

aus den verworrenen vogelwäldern des nordens
 und von den seen der roten fische des südens
 spürte ich dich her
 fühlte die geste der eckigen drehung deines jun-
 gen leibes
 und verstand die dunklen worte deiner haut
 und der kindlichen mit glasschnüren behängten
 gelenke
 und vor dir flüchtete ich in die gärten...(S.W.,I,p.12)

The cruel elements in Die träumenden Knaben are seen from quite a different angle: the narrator is a victim of society's censorious moral standards, and instead of seeking vicarious pleasure in the contemplation of blood, he seeks to rid himself of the inhibitions which prevent him from releasing his pent-up sexual energy:

weg du popanz meines sündhaften vorbehalts...(S.W.,I,p.12)

In an attempt to exorcise his shame, the narrator seeks to

conjure up an Arcadian setting in which nature and animals would conspire to create a situation free of tension. The narrator could then seek refuge in the security of his 'Hütte':

ich warte wieder in meiner hütte
 vom ufer her liefen zwei ottern über den lehm
 der baumlosen ebene
 ein mädchen besucht mich ...
 ich sage laut
 dich liebt das seegras auf dem du liegst
 und ich sage wohl auch
 dich liebt ein mann
 der neben dir auf dem seegras ruht in der hütte
 unter dem grünen baum.,(S.W.,I,p.13)

Die träumenden Knaben ends on a note of desolation. The narrator, still ashamed of his physical desires, is alienated from his surroundings - 'es ist fremd um mich' (S.W.,I,p.15) - and is reduced to the level of a beast on all fours:

und ich war ein kriechend ding
 als ich die tiere suchte und mich zu ihnen hielt...
 (S.W.,I,p.16)

The bravado of the werewolf who wants to inflict pain gives way to a recognition that sexual desire, unconsummated, is pain.

The dreamlike atmosphere of these poems encourages a speculatively Freudian interpretation, especially as the references to Freud in Kokoschka's autobiography demonstrate that Kokoschka was familiar with Freud's work.³⁷ However, Freud's description of phallic symbols as representative of a disguised desire for sex is a benign notion when compared with Kokoschka's plays and poems, where sexual union is always desired but never achieved. In the plays, pain is inflicted either directly in the form of violence or indirectly by withholding sex from a partner who desires it.

It is interesting to note that in the earliest pieces which he wrote, Kokoschka did not seem to share the idea - still commonly held even in the first decade of the twentieth century - that the modest woman did not desire sex. It has been seen how this idea bedevilled the work of Wedekind. For the young Kokoschka it is axiomatic that woman desires sex as much as man; only after his disastrous experiences with Alma does a censorious tone creep in. This is done in an oblique way whereby the sexually attractive Amazon is gradually depleted of her strength, so that she no longer seems a worthy combatant of the man. One could almost say, in view of the changes made to the successive versions of the plays,

that Kokoschka's plays show their own form of patriarchal supplanting of Mutterrecht, occasioned by Kokoschka's own increasing readiness to criticise the sexually motivated woman.

II. THE THREAT OF THE MOON LADY

(i) Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen

The moon itself had a power over Kokoschka which he treated with due respect even without the overlay of significance it receives as a symbol in his work. In his autobiography he relates that he was nervously susceptible to the moon:

Von Kindheit an hat der Vollmond meine
Nerven irritiert, so daß man zu Hause
Vorkehrungen traf, damit ich im Schlafe
nicht zum Fenster hinaus steigen konnte.³⁸

Kokoschka blames the moonlight as a contributory factor when recounting his weird experience of 'flying':

Wahrscheinlich hatte das Mondlicht, Voll-
mond, dazu beigetragen, daß ich fühlte,
nicht ganz bei mir zu sein.³⁹

On coming round after receiving a head wound (and just prior to being bayoneted) he thought he saw both sun and moon in the sky: 'Gleichzeitig schien die Sonne und leuchtete der Mond ...'⁴⁰ He singled out incompatibility as a theme of prime importance when writing Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen:

In meinem ersten Schauspiel hatte ich
mich gegen die Gedankenlosigkeit unserer
männlichen Zivilisation mit meinem
Grundgedanken vergangen, daß der Mann
sterblich und die Frau unsterblich sei
und daß nur der Mörder diese Grundtat-
sache in der modernen Welt umkehren
will. (O.K.S., pp.50-51)

In Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen the question as to the immortality of either partner, male or female, is interpreted by means of the cyclic day/night conflict. The man as the day or sun is an offspring of the woman who is associated with the night and the moon. Bachofen expressed a very similar notion in Das Mutterrecht:

Die ewig auseinanderfallende, in ewigem
Wechselmorde sich selbst vernichtende
Zweiheit gehört dem Weibe, dem Grabe,
der Nacht, die den Tag aus sich gebiert,
um ihn wieder in ihren schwarzen Schoß
aufzunehmen.⁴²

Hans Schumacher stresses both the notion of giving birth

and the eternal nature of the conflict described in the play:

Der Mann ist das Kind der Frau, ihre gute Hoffnung, zugleich aber ihr Mörder. Den Turm zersprengt Feuer, durch die 'Feurgasse enteilt der Mann', der als der 'Schmerzensmutter verscheuchter Knabe' wiederkehren wird. In der Urdramatik ist also die ewige Wiederkehr angelegt, die Hoffnung auf eine 'lineare' Zukunft, auf Ausbrechen aus dem Kreislauf von Grauen zu Grauen bleibt utopisch, bleibt nur Zeichen, wie der zerberstende Turm.⁴³

Thus the woman's death is merely symbolic; the nature of the conflict is eternal and repetitive. Horst Denkler underlines the Pyrrhic nature of the man's victory:

... immer wieder wird er, laokoongleich und sisyphushaft, das gleiche Erlebnis zu bestehen haben, wird er unterliegen und wird er siegen.⁴⁴

The instant mutual attraction of the man and woman prompted Paul Westheim, an early critic, to comment on Kokoschka's early desire to be a chemist.⁴⁵ The notion of instant chemical attraction goes back to Goethe's Die Wahlverwandtschaften. However, in Kokoschka's play the attraction which the man and woman have for each other results in the immediate war footing which is established and the irresistible impulse they have to inflict mutual pain.

There are four versions of Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen⁴⁶ but as the first and second versions (I and II) (1907 and 1913) are broadly similar I shall refer to them as 'A', and as the third and fourth versions (III and IV) are likewise very similar, I shall refer to them as 'B', for the sake of clarity and to avoid duplicating some of the textual information given by Horst Denkler.⁴⁷ Like the first version of Sphinx und Strohmann (1907) the play is very short but unlike Sphinx und Strohmann, it contains no humour. The action deals grimly with the battle between 'der Mann' and 'die Frau', and takes place at night, ending with the dawn (complete with cock-crows); in B we have the added information 'im Altertum'. There is a classic simplicity as to stage props - a tower with a grid door is the only requirement (except for the man's horse!). The characterisation is entirely abstract: the lack of names reduces the protagonists to representatives of their sex.

The main changes from A to B are that the references to the animal world are severely pruned. In particular, the images used to describe the woman in A as 'Panther', 'Äffin' and 'Natter' are downgraded to the singularly unpleasant 'Spinne' in B: 'Die Spinne ist aus dem Netz gestiegen' (O.K.S., p.144). The spider is a cold-blooded insect, often deadly to its mate. In addition, the spider's whole raison d'etre consists of making a web to trap unsuspecting insects. Thus, with its treacherous intent and killer-instinct, the spider equals the panther's claws and the adder's venom, but its diminutive size denotes a severe demotion of the woman's status from the nobility of the panther or the sleek coils of the adder. Even the largest scorpion can be trodden underfoot. Another reference to the woman's cold blood and predatory intentions (in that she desires sex) is found in B: 'Fischin hakt sich Fischer' (O.K.S., p.144).

The woman in A, who is so like the jungle beasts, has a strange Tarzan-like empathy with animals which is omitted in B: 'Man sagt, Vögel kommen zu ihr und lassen sich greifen' (D.B., p.17). She no longer commands the epithet 'wie ein Tier' (D.B., p.17) (used in A as a compliment).⁴⁸ The man in A is cruel to animals:

Zweiter Mann: Tiere martert er, wiehernde
Stuten erdrückt sein Schenkel ...

Dritter Mann: Vögel, die vor uns liefen,
mußten wir blenden, rote
Fische im Sande ersticken. (D.B., p.16)

These allusions to the man's cruelty are dropped in B, with the effect that the branding scene appears even more arbitrary and brutal in B than in A (although this was probably not Kokoschka's intention), since the preparation for it is reduced to a bantering between the male and female chorus. In both A and B the warlord is warned that the woman is a predator for sex: 'die hat keine Scham!' (D.B., p.17, O.K.S., p.145). Far from denying it, the woman agrees: 'Warum bannst Du mich, Mann, mit Deinem Blick, fressendes Licht, verwirrst meine Flamme, verzehrendes Leben kommt über mich Flammende. O nimm mir entsetzliche Hoffnung - und über dich kommt die Qual' (Sturm, p.156). It is significant that the word 'Flammende' is dropped from A I to A II (and from B), and

the last few words - mentioning 'Qual' are dropped in B (D.B., pp.17-18, O.K.S., p.145). The gruesome branding scene follows immediately, with the woman's knifing of the man as an act of instinctive revenge.

Horst Denkler has interpreted the attempt to scale down the imagery and expunge as many words like 'Flammende' as possible as an indication that version A was written under the influence of Weininger who, it will be recalled, regarded women as completely predatory upon men - they had no thoughts beyond satisfying their sexual cravings. Denkler provides an attractive theory, especially as in Sphinx und Strohmann II and Hiob the allusion to the soul in the pig's bladder could be a reference to Weininger's instruction for men to return women's souls to them - by withholding sex. Also, the mere sight of the man for the woman and vice versa sets in motion a chain of events very much on Weininger's lines (when 'M' meets 'W').⁴⁹ The flaws in this argument are twofold. Firstly, Kokoschka makes no mention of Weininger in his work and is usually ready to acknowledge any debt. (As a student in Vienna he must have heard of Weininger.) The second flaw is that Kokoschka's male characters tend to withhold sex from women - as in Der brennende Dornbusch and Hiob - at just the point where Denkler argues that the influence of Weininger was being expunged. It seems that there is no great problem in accepting an open verdict on the question of Weininger's influence, but there needs to be another reason for the changes which Kokoschka makes, not just from Mörder A to Mörder B, but from Sphinx to Hiob and from Schauspiel to Der brennende Dornbusch. It is as though Kokoschka's faith in das Matriarchat crumbled and died: the fiery Amazon becomes a spider, a patriarchal world is heralded in. The most obvious explanation seems to lie in Kokoschka's relationship with Alma, in the trauma of their broken affair coupled with the truly appalling wounds Kokoschka sustained in the war. Kokoschka, like Wedekind, had his own Eve to exorcise. The following time chart of revisions highlights Alma's central position:

1907	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918
Sphinx I →			Schauspiel	→				Orpheus und Eurydike		
Mörder I →					Sphinx II				Mörder III	Mörder IV
					Mörder II					
					Met Alma	Affair with Alma				Hiob
										Der brennende Dornbusch

It can be seen at a glance that none of the plays remained untouched by Alma's intrusion into Kokoschka's life.

Seen from the level of myth, the knifing of the man with his accompanying remark on the 'Sonnensturz' ties in closely with the discussion of Bachofen's work. Less acceptable, however, is the masochistic trait exhibited by the woman, whose sex drive becomes heightened by the sight of the wound. In version A the woman's sexual arousal is at one with her desperation to make contact with the man:

Sie ... greift lüstern nach dem Gitter
 ... Rüttelt verzweifelt ... langt mit dem
 Arm durchs Gitter und greift in seine
Wunde, geil böswillig keuchend ... (D.B., p.19)

In version B the word 'lüstern' is changed to 'gezwungen' and the words I have underlined are omitted (O.K.S., pp.147-48). Kokoschka obviously wished to remove the particularly nasty idea of the woman poking in the wound, but the result is that she is left to prod rather aimlessly through the bars. By dropping the words 'lüstern' and 'geil' Kokoschka drastically alters the sense of the woman's action.

The woman makes a statement which reinforces the information we already have as to the man's pallor: '... bleich wie eine Leiche ist er' (D.B., p.19., O.K.S., p.148). She now moves to a position so close to the railing that a physical contact can be established. The man seems to draw all the strength from the woman in a vampiric orgy, so that his words are all explicable in terms of a blood-sucking vampire, a notion which is reinforced by the cock crowing (a traditional warning to the vampire to return to the grave before daybreak):

Warum wirst Du blässer?... Wer nährt mich?
 ... Wer säugt mich mit Blut? Ich fraß

Dein Blut, ich verzehre Deinen tropfenden Leib. (Sturm,p.157)⁵⁰

The woman, having already realised the revenant state of the man - 'Du, Leichnam' (D.B.,p.20) - is powerless to resist the man: 'Ich will Dich nicht leben lassen, Du Vampyr, frisst an meinem Blut, Du schwächst mich ...' (Sturm, p.156).⁵¹ The man, however, is now rejuvenated: he tears down the grid door and strides off into the dawn whilst the woman, formerly so glorious in her red dress and yellow hair, is now 'ganz weiß'. What Kokoschka does in version B is to carefully erase all mention of the blood-sucking, possibly because he felt it was offensive. The omission of the vital 'Du, Vampyr' of A, which in B is simply 'Du!', seals the later version of the play in a logical limbo. The result is a sharp drop in momentum. One's logic demands an explanation as to why the woman should collapse so suddenly and die. The branding alone is simply not sufficient to actually kill her, whereas the vampirism of version A is ample explanation for her sudden demise. There is a logical span in A, from the arrival of the warlord, apostrophised as 'Blasser' in A and B (with a head-wound) to his subsequent vampiric feed, necessitated by the weakening knife-wound he sustains. Leaving the woman drained of strength he can stride off, now referred to as 'der Teufel' in A and B, and capable of killing those in his way 'wie Mücken'. Neither the woman's sudden weakness nor the man's sudden strength is explicable in B - nor, incidentally, is the triple cock-crow which teases some critics into postulating a religious interpretation. Denkler found it '... sicherlich eher als Symbol für den anbrechenden Morgen denn als Anspielung an den Verrat des Petrus zu verstehen'.⁵²

Just why Kokoschka balked at vampirism but found no difficulty in leaving the branding scene intact remains a puzzle: possibly it was no more than an urge to tinker with his works. It is often the case with Kokoschka that a work becomes reworked almost beyond recognition. The effect of the alterations with this play is to make the man's brutality in B seem psychopathic rather than, in A, instinctive, however unpleasant. The woman's words as she struggles

with the man - quoted above - are explicable in A as an attempt by the victim to ward off the vampire. In B, a sequence of comments builds up an impression of the woman's masochism, so that her pleas for sex with the man strike the reader as incongruous: 'Vergiß mich nicht ... Mann!! schlaf mir (sic) ...' (O.K.S., pp.149- 50). In A, the context of the vampirism heightens the bloodlust, linking love and death in a vampiric kiss. In B, the man's response is a churlish 'ich fürchte mich' before his sudden bound of strength and the woman's collapse.

Joseph Sprengler in an early review attempted to pass the play off as a dream:

Ja, ein Traumspiel ist es, was Kokoschka gibt. Alles, was er bisher geschrieben hat, ist ein Traum ... absoluter Traum.⁵³

This comment seems somewhat inadequate, especially in view of the fact that Kokoschka sustained the tone of violence throughout the early plays. It is all too easy to decide that the Amazon queen is despatched at the end of the play regardless of whether she is compared to an adder, a panther, a spider or a fish. Kokoschka, however, is using an elaborate code whereby he is portraying the woman as a worthy combatant in Mörder A and a figure of altogether less worth and stature in Mörder B. In A, the Moon Lady is vanquished, in B, the spider is squashed. It seems more than possible that the rancour which Kokoschka undoubtedly felt towards Alma Mahler whilst he revised version B crept into the play and contributed towards these changes.

(ii) Der weiße Tiertöter

A much deadlier Moon Lady is found in Der weiße Tiertöter (1908) which reappeared with charcoal drawings in 1913 entitled Der gefesselte Columbus. Unlike Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen there are no significant changes from one version to another, apart from the title.

In this story the same dreamlike atmosphere prevails as was found in Die träumenden Knaben but in a much more mystical setting, very evocative of the Endymion myth. Endymion, King of Elis, was put into a permanent deep sleep so that Selene, the moon goddess, who had fallen in

love with him, could visit him and kiss him every night. Columbus, however, - the 'ich' of the dream tale - dreams that he murders a girl with a knife. From the very beginning of the story, the girl of the dream has been associated with the moon: 'Im Mond war lebensähnlich die Gestalt einer Frau' (S.W., I, p.18), and at the end of the story she is directly addressed as 'Mondfrau' and 'Mädchen Mond' (S.W., I, p.23).

The link with a knife and fish is established:

Columbus is served 'einen schlagenden Rotfisch' by his friend who is clearly the Moon Lady alias Selene, who has returned pale-cheeked in response to his guilt feelings and is simply masquerading as 'Tischmagd':

Zu Lande bin ich ein Schatten unter
dem Spiegel des Tages, zur Nacht
flüssiges Feuer, wenn Du im Traume
ertrinkst. - Ich kann Deine Küsse
nicht vergessen. (S.W., I, p.21)

Columbus might murder the 'Tischmagd' on one level but on another level - as 'Mondfrau' - she is indestructible. She returns to haunt Columbus as a vague longing which will ultimately ruin him.

The title Der weiße Tiertöter prepares one for a similarity with the warlord in Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen, whose pallor and cruelty to animals have already been discussed. However, the 'ich' of the prose piece does little more than frighten away a white bird with a stone. The second title is much more accurate in conveying the meaning of the story - the 'ich' is enthralled - literally - by the Moon Lady, a lonely Columbus on the sea who discovers a new world for himself, but who dies in the process. His beloved is a chimera, a ghostly 'Gestaltlose' (S.W., I, p.21). Indeed, Columbus even chides the bodily incorporation of the Moon Lady for her pallor: 'noch im Arm mir, bleibt Dein Gesichtchen blaß' (S.W., I, p.21). The beloved tries to rub some colour into her cheeks, but it fades away just as quickly.

The years pass, during which Columbus fritters away his life in fruitless Hoffnung. At last the Moon Lady takes pity on him and helps him to cross over the waters

which separate them. Columbus feels that his body hinders their union, and wants to strip it off: 'Kann ich mein warmes Kleid schon abstreifen, darin ich bin?' (S.W., I, p.23). The idea that the physical body is a hindrance to heavenly bliss is familiar in religious doctrine, but Kokoschka reworks the idea in a sexual setting. Love and death are, for Kokoschka, intimately connected, and in all his early works this basic premise recurs in many guises (see above, p. 123). In Kokoschka's 'Sketch for a Poster' dated 1908, the male character's flayed skin in this charcoal sketch echoes Columbus's desire to be rid of his body.⁵⁴ Orpheus has the same thought: 'Wenn man seine Haut abzieht?' (O.K.S., p.288). In the later story Die Mumie, the main character Ann Eliza feels that she cannot behave with sexual freedom until she is dead. In a grotesquely ironic scene she murders the man she loves (Glasberg) so that he too, can be free of his body - she is not dead, however, but has simply been declared dead and placed in a coffin. Columbus fervently hopes that the Mondfrau will accept him without his body: 'Mondfrau, ist es gestattet, nachdem ich den Leib verloren, daß wir beieinander bleiben?' (S.W., I, p.23).

The Columbus story firmly reinforces the cycle of love - violence - death which will become a familiar feature of Kokoschka's early work, and continues the theme, discussed on p.129, of female immortality vis à vis male mortality. This gives the woman an obvious superiority and the Mondfrau leaves no doubt as to her power over Columbus. Matriarchy triumphs in this short piece. The lunar realm is the seat of femininity and is intimately bound to the earth, to which the winds and sea are subject. The male has little chance in such an environment: the power of the Moon Lady is deadly and irresistible, in this story at least. In the plays, the early versions of Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen and Sphinx und Strohmann reinforce this idea, whereas the later reworkings reveal Kokoschka's attempt to render the female safe.

(iii) Schauspiel and Der brennende Dornbusch

In Schauspiel (1913) later renamed Der brennende Dornbusch,⁵⁵ the Moon Lady is vanquished in a humiliating fashion, by the withholding of sex. Kokoschka thus reinforces the conventional Wilhelmine denial of female sexuality (see above, p.114). Patriarchy emerges triumphant from this play. The battle is not just the cyclic day/night struggle but the struggle of the intellectual Apollo to beat back the phallic Dionysus and for Kokoschka to - symbolically - relegate the woman to a subordinate position. The woman, with her luxurious floor-length hair and the fact that she is in bed on the stage enumerating her lovers, is reminiscent of the hetaeric period, described by Bachofen, which pre-dated matriarchy. In a very complex way Kokoschka makes this Amazon into a virginal Madonna at the end of the play. The moon imagery is restrained but nevertheless present from the start. The woman is riveted to the sickle moon: 'Meine Augen hängen an der Sichel, die meine Schonzeit kürzt. Nicht lange ist meine Stunde und schon nah!' (D.B., p.42, O.K.S., pp.174-75). Gordon has noted the fact that the sickle moon supports the Madonna in Dürer's 'Madonna of the Apocalypse' (1498).⁵⁶ The sun imagery is channelled into the lighted torch which the man carries round with him as a visual leitmotif: when the woman mortally wounds him, the stage directions tell us that 'die Sonne geht unter' (D.B., p.61, O.K.S., p.195).

The predatory aspect of love is continued in this play by use of a vampiric symbolism similar to that discussed in Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen. There is also reference to the red fish and white bird familiar from Der weiße Tiertöter and a reference to the Wärwolf familiar from Die träumenden Knaben (where the red fish is also prominent). These signposts alert us to the potential violence of the play long before it actually occurs, and help to explain the woman's apparent over-reaction to the man's obstinacy in withholding sex from her:

Wacht auf, Schläfer!
 Ein weißer Vogel fliegt im Zimmer, hat
 meine Augen ausgehackt -
 Wacht auf, Schläfer!

Ein roter Fisch schwamm durch, hat
 mein Blut vollgetrunken .
 Schlagt ein das Tor, Schläfer! Ein
 Wärfwolf rannte aus, hat mein Herz
 abgefressen - (D.B.,p.46, O.K.S.,p.179)

The woman reinforces the fact that the man intruded on her and fed off her (albeit metaphorically) in the third scene, where she screams as though in childbirth:

Weh mir -
 er lebt mit meiner Kraft.
 ... Er brach ein.
 In mir weidet er. (D.B.,pp.51 and 52, O.K.S.,pp.184 and 186)

The vampiric theme is upheld in the reference to the man as 'Todsgestalt' (sic) (O.K.S.,p.191, which is not in Schauspiel) and by the woman's insistence that the man (the sun) is destroying her (the moon):

Sonne bleicht den Mond -
 Eisiger Reif
 Greift in mein Fleisch. (D.B.,p.57, O.K.S.,p.191)

The major departure in this play is not in the symbolism as such, which almost amounts to 'plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose', but the introduction of the entirely new idea of 'the transformation of physical desire into spiritual light'.⁵⁷ Most critics agree that this transformation is entirely beneficial, enabling the woman to develop spiritually her 'angelic innocence and purity'.⁵⁸ Denkler, using his umbrella interpretation that Kokoschka's first drafts were influenced by Weininger and that the sexual imagery was later toned down, sees the process undergone by the woman as 'Pointierung im Sinne des expressionistischen Programms' by which he means that a 'Neuer Mensch' emerges at the end of the play:

... die Polarität der Geschlechter,
 Sinnbild für das zwischenmenschliche
 Verhalten überhaupt, ist am Schluß
 aufgehoben in der durch die Wandlung
 der einzelnen herbeigezwungenen Welt
 gewandelter, neuer guter Menschen.⁵⁹

There is some support for the emergence of the 'good person' - both versions end with the chorus lamenting 'warum bist du nicht gut?' (D.B.,p.62, O.K.S.,p.196). Regina Brandt interprets the whole play in the light of this quest for goodness as synonymous with self-knowledge:

Gut nennt Kokoschka den Menschen, der sich selbst verwirklicht, indem er sich in alle Bereiche des Wirklichen versetzt, der auch in die Grenzbereiche des Abgründigen, Bösen und Todbringenden vorstößt und seinen Erfahrungshorizont nicht begrenzt.⁶⁰

However, Brandt's premise that - for Kokoschka - experience approximates to goodness is not really in keeping with the tone of the play, where, as we have seen, the images of violence noted in the earlier works are sustained. It is remarkable that all the critics, even the woman critic Regina Brandt, subscribe to the idea that the spiritual rebirth of a highly-sexed woman is a good thing in itself. This involves overlooking the whole substructure of sexual conflict which is implicit in the play. This is in fact what Brandt does when she interprets the play in the light of Kokoschka's 1912 lecture (see note 25 above). This gives rise to serious discrepancies. For example, her analysis of the flame motif as artistically creative - as described in the lecture - ignores the Freudian implications which the flame has in Die träumenden Knaben and Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen and disregards the connection with the sun, a grave omission in view of the fact that the woman has clearly identified herself as a Mondfrau in the play.⁶¹ It seems cruel and indeed perverse to use sex as a bargaining counter to force the woman into acquiring insights which she really does not want. Schvey, whilst counselling caution with regard to Brandt's wholesale interpretation of Kokoschka's works in the light of the essay 'Vom Bewußtsein der Gesichte', nevertheless regards the essay as essential to an understanding of Der brennende Dornbusch.⁶² It can certainly be said that the notion of 'ewige Wiederkunft' reaches a new stage of development. For Kokoschka 'Gesichte' are autonomous particles immune to death and decay:

Es gibt keinen Platz des Todes mehr,
weil sich die Gesichte wohl auflösen
und zerstreuen, doch nur, um sich in
anderer Weise wieder zu sammeln. (S.W., III, p.10)

This goes some way to making the references to visions and consciousness intelligible, as in the comment by the chorus:

Erzwungen, erscheint ein Gesicht
eine Welt dem Bewußtsein. (O.K.S.,p.197)⁶³

The woman's birth pangs are also intelligible in the light of this discussion of visions: as Kokoschka tells us, 'die persönliche Wahrheit, die wir Erlebnis nennen, ist ein Akt des Gebärens' (O.K.S.,p.48). It is significant that Kokoschka continues the trend, noted in the Introduction, of regarding female sexuality and female reproduction as interchangeable concepts (see Introduction, p.17). This automatically makes female sexual impulses seem suspect when they are not directed at the goal of reproduction. Kokoschka de-sexes the woman protagonist in Der brennende Dornbusch by making her give birth, not to a child, but to an idea: a correct view of herself. The distortions which this involves in making a woman accept a male opinion of herself are ignored.

The notion of renewal implicit in this process supports the cyclic theme already inherent in the sun/moon imagery and gains further support at the end of the play, when a whole area of Christian imagery is introduced. The idea of permanence is also conveyed in the title of Der brennende Dornbusch, which is an allusion to the biblical motif of the bush which burned without being consumed. In Exodus 3.2, the bush is a miracle, a vehicle for God's voice, whereas Kokoschka uses the metaphor completely differently - the woman is a prey to her sexual desires, burning in anticipation without fulfilment. This is seen more clearly in Schauspiel, where the woman looks forward to the man's physical approach (lacking in Der brennende Dornbusch):

Deine Hitze über mir -
Dein Körper über mich. (D.B.,p.44)

It is the man's mission to teach the woman that light - which enlightens spiritually - is better than the fire of passion, which burns a person:

... Flammen schlagen rote Wunden,
Wo Liebe ward süß Mann und Frau. (D.B., p.50,
O.K.S.,p.182)

The man's torch reminds us of his original identification with Apollo, and several of his speeches are only

intelligible within this context. For instance, in the second scene where the man and woman are in adjacent rooms, the stage directions tell us that criss-crossing light beams from both rooms at first intensify and then slowly die down in the woman's room, where 'sie atmet kaum hörbar und wird schwach' (D.B.,p.50, O.K.S.,p.182). The reason for this, at the level of myth, is given in her line at the end of the scene: '... schließt über mir Tagesschein' (D.B.,p.50, O.K.S.,p.183). The man's speech which precedes this is greatly altered in Dornbusch, making the connection with the sun quite clear if one remembers the imagery of Mörder: 'Mach dich Hoffnung aufsehn! Bald gehst du aus dem Hause ...'⁶⁴

The notion that night gives birth to day, as discussed on p.121, now becomes a dominant theme, with the major difference that Apollo wishes to go beyond this stage and break the connection with the female as life-giver. This would explain the man's vitriolic attack on the woman as:

Kreißende, hoffnungslose Wöchnerin!
Die vor Schwachheit nicht Austragen wagt! (D.B.,
p.56, O.K.S.,p.190)

In Schauspiel the word 'unfromme' is used instead of 'hoffnungslose', and the speech goes on to chide the woman for her promiscuity:

Untreue, die im Traume noch Männer
wünscht, wie eine Essenswütige im
Schlafe schluchzend schluckt. (D.B.,p.56)

In Dornbusch the man omits all mention of the woman's promiscuity in order to lecture her on the great value of sexual renunciation:

Feuer brennt zu Asche,
Licht zuletzt ganz freundlich aussieht! (O.K.S.,
p.190)

These two very different speeches are the answers to the woman's plea (unchanged from Schauspiel to Dornbusch) for a release from her consuming sexual need, which can only be satisfied by the man (pale and white, as in Mörder):

Ein Bann geht von diesem Weißen aus.
Mein Leib ist ein brennender Feuerstrauch,
Du mein Mann. Nährender Wind!
Meine Brust zwei Feuerzungen.
Du, widerwillige Stimme!

Meine Hände weiße Flügel,
 meine Beine brennende Kohlen -
 weiß und rot - weiß und rot brenne ich;
 im Feuerkleide langer Qual, in Scham recht
 Erglühte,
 brenne und verbrenne nicht.
 Tritt ein zu mir, auslösche und erlöse
 mich. (D.B.,p.56, O.K.S.,p.190)

The woman's reaction to the man's refusal to grant sexual release is identical in both versions. She alternates between accusing the man of draining her strength - 'Reißender der mich ausgesogen!' - and pleading for deliverance: 'O nimm mich aus der Marterwelt' (D.B.,p.57, O.K.S., p.191).

The woman simply cannot understand the man's stubborn refusal, because she knows they are equally attracted to each other:

Ich weiß, du willst sein
 mein Freier und Befreier,
 mir Unreinen, Ungekannten
 Und bist mein böser Feind
 Und Kerkermeister! (D.B.,p.57, O.K.S.,pp.191-92).

Now the man, too, recognises that he has caused pain: 'Das Weib ist unschuldig'. In Dornbusch the insertion of two extra lines reinforces his sorrow at causing suffering:

Ausgeweint, umgewendet,
 scheidend blickst du mir ins Gesicht ... (O.K.S., p.192)

It has been a long, weary process educating the woman and in any case, the day is nearing an end:

Müde bin ich.
 Weib, geh frei aus meiner Hand. (D.B.,p.58, O.K.S.,p.192)

It is at this point that the woman mortally wounds the man with a stone, an act of revenge very similar to that in Mörder, but whereas the knifing aroused the woman sexually, Kokoschka brings us to a very different conclusion: the woman gives immediate first aid in response to the man's demand, 'Schwester, trockne meine 'Stirn' (D.B.,p.58, O.K.S., p.193), and in the next scene the woman reappears, leaning over the dying man in a 'Stellung der Pietagruppe' (D.B., p.60, O.K.S.,p.193). A little later they have haloes - 'Gloriole'. This attempt to reintroduce the woman as a Madonna in both versions of the play forces her into a

false stance which has already been mentioned on pp.125-26. However, the Madonna symbolism reinforces the idea of sexual renunciation through Mary's conception without intercourse. Kokoschka is now free to deal with one of his favourite images - that of the adoring mother - which is, after all, at the heart of Bachofen's treatise on Mutterrecht. To aid this transformation, a 'Jungfrau' (in Dornbusch changed to Psyche) appears fleetingly at the end of the third scene to act as a link between the tormented woman and the enlightened Madonna. Referring to her lover Amor she says: 'Ich bin so froh, seit er mich heimsuchte. Warum sind nicht alle Menschen gut?' (D.B.,p.58, O.K.S.,p.189).

The mention of goodness forces a return to the educative process which involved the woman becoming an independent person. The battle was not won without heavy losses, and her few words in the last scene contrast with her volubility in the rest of the play, suggesting overwhelming loss rather than any attendant gain:

Verlorenes,
Vergessenes bespült mich,
verrinnt.
Weißgebrannt. (D.B.,p.61, O.K.S.,p.195)

The woman's silence is compensated for by the comments of the mother in the final scene, who has to explain the scene of devastation to her boy, who sees things at face value: the man dead and the woman sad. As both Denkler and Brandt point out,⁶⁵ the mother's initial damning of the sex act per se in Schauspiel is tempered in Dornbusch to a religio-philosophical statement approving the educative process we have observed: a swing totally in keeping with the other major changes which have been described. In Schauspiel, the boy's enquiry is 'Mutter sag, wenn Gliederkampf von Mann und Weib gnadenvoll war, wird unreines Opfer so wohlgefällig?'. This brings forth the harsh rejoinder from the mother:

Verflucht die Vorstellung im Geiste,
Wo des Gedankens Unnatur Liebe schleicht.
Zum Gespenst wird da das Weib, der Mann! (D.B.,
p.60)

The version in Dornbusch is completely changed so that the boy's words are a passive requiem instead of enquiry as

to the nature of sex:

Ein Grabhügel voll von Trauerleuten.
... Gott legt den Kopf in seine Hand
und weint. (O.K.S., p.194)

The mother turns this into a positive reaffirmation of 'Licht':

... Ein Dornstrauch brannte auf einmal.
Die Dürre schleicht dem Wurm gleich weg.
Gott läßt zu sich das Licht empor. (O.K.S., p.194)

The intrusion of the mother and boy into the play strengthens the 'Pietà' symbolism but deals the coup de grace to the sun/moon symbolism which made the play intelligible on the level of myth, with the austere Apollo conquering the lusty wine-bibbing Dionysus or, to be precise, the male overcoming the female by the inverse of rape. The result is unsatisfactory at every level. In fact, for all its brutality, Mörder is a better play because the imagery is cohesive.

Der brennende Dornbusch is a veritable shifting sands of metaphor. It moves away from the vitriolic clash of man and woman to preach a very specious doctrine of renunciation; it brings in a visionary theory of visions, and finally there is a rather weak attempt to give the play Christian overtones, even to the point of suggesting Christ's passion by an indirect reference to the sponge soaked in vinegar, transforming the man into Christ as the woman is transformed into the Madonna:

Er dürstet, weil du gereicht hast den
liebleeren Körper? Den Schwamm mit Essig
getränkt. (D.B., p.54)⁶⁶

Even here the sexual imagery - 'liebleeren Körper' - is predominant. This welding of sexual imagery with Christian symbolism is not altogether successful. However, Christ's passion was, to Kokoschka, a mystical event with a lesson for everyone, to be relived daily:

Dies ist die Passion als die ewige
Menschengeschichte. Selbst das Wunder
der Auferstehung kann menschlich begrif-
fen werden, wird es in dem Sinne erlebt,
daß man nicht damit schon Mensch ist,
daß man geboren ist. Man muß als Mensch
täglich neu auferstehen.⁶⁷

The 'Mann' of Der brennende Dornbusch will live on in perpetuity, as Sonne, Apollo and Christ.

The late inclusion of Christian symbolism makes the ending of the play stand out from the early plays, which draw their strength from violent sexual conflict set in the antique world of myth. However, the play relies heavily on the whole area of sexual struggle and any critic who accepts Kokoschka's case at face value (that the woman must be persuaded to forego sex) ignores the underlying mental cruelty which this involves. An excellent example of such cruelty is the man's covering of the woman's head early in the play (D.B., p.46, O.K.S., p.179), in much the same way that birds in a cage are silenced when the cage is covered. Although the image is meant to convey the smothering of passion it also conveys the idea of trickery - the birds are silent because they think it is night. It also indicates the power of the man over the woman: like so many of the men in Wedekind's plays, he has the whip-hand and expresses his power in sexual terms.

It was noted in the chapter on Wedekind that the least successful of his characterisations occurred when he made a Rasseweib into a Madonna (see above, p.111), and exactly the same thing is true when Kokoschka forces a Moon Lady to become a Maria. Ultimately both men feel safe only in the presence of a mother figure. It is easy to see the spell Alma Mahler had for Kokoschka as she was both a mother (of Mahler's two daughters) and a sexually attractive woman in her own right. One can surmise that Kokoschka's inability to browbeat Alma acted as a spur for him to revise the power relationship of man to woman in Der brennende Dornbusch, so that male dominance in sexual matters is strengthened.⁶⁸

III. THE POISON OF JEALOUSY

(i) Sphinx/Hiob

In Mein Leben Kokoschka remarks on the physical helplessness of the person who has fallen in love:

Versucht man schein die Arme um den Leib
des Wesens zu legen, in das man tödlich
verliebt ist, beginnt das eigene Herz zu
klopfen, als ob man ein Sakrileg beginge,
und nur Gott allein, falls es ihn gibt,
wüßte, wie man leidet, wenn man liebt.⁶⁹

In this passage the familiar notions of pain - death - love are rehearsed yet again. Kokoschka had hit upon the area of sexual jealousy as being especially poignant in his earliest piece Sphinx und Strohmann (1907): it was, however, still an area where jokes could be made. During and after his experiences with Alma, when Kokoschka had felt for himself the poison of retrospective jealousy in his emotions regarding Alma's first husband, the plays portray the conflict aroused specifically by jealousy - which in German has always been regarded as a sickness.⁷⁰ The mythological imagery which dwelt on the Moon Lady and Apollo gives way to a new complex of symbols and allusions - Orpheus's great love turns to hate and Job's sufferings are ridiculed. Sexual jealousy receives exhaustive treatment as the dominant strand in any love relationship in the works which Kokoschka wrote after 1912.

With the Sphinx/Hiob plays there is an interesting progression from the bizarre to the mystical, and the theme, though dealing with sexual conflict as in Mörder, differs from that play in that the mythological content of the sun/moon imagery is not used and instead of violence we have a good deal of wit.

Although the first version of the play was originally entitled Sphinx und Strohmann. Komödie für Automaten, it was never actually played by marionettes. The events in this brief (four-page) play are that Herr Firdusi, having lost his wife - 'Herzlose Lilly'-to an 'adonischen Anatomie-mann' and feeling the need to provide his rubber finger puppet 'son' Adam with a mother, marries a woman he has not seen because she has turned his head right round by creeping behind him. Only at the end of the play does Firdusi manage to see the woman in question - she is now busy coquetting with Herr Kautschkmann, and the shock of seeing this and the wedding photo, both of which prove that he has married his own wife whilst being simultaneously cuckolded, brings about his death, presumably from a heart attack.

Sphinx und Strohmann. Komödie für Automaten was probably performed by drama students privately in 1907 and was

performed publicly in Vienna in 1909. It was first published in Wort in der Zeit⁷¹ where a misleading footnote says that the original 1907 version was entitled Sphinx und Strohmännchen, Ein Curiosum - but this is commonly taken to be the second version.⁷² They will be referred to as Sphinx I and II. The matter is further confused because the four-volume edition of Kokoschka's works (S.W.) gives the Curiosum text of 1913 but dates it 1907. No such confusion arises with Hiob, except that the 1917 Berlin edition had charcoal drawings but later editions did not.⁷³

The absurdity of the play's situation is reflected by the stage directions, which are sometimes patently ridiculous (e.g. 'Photograph ... bringt erst morgen Abzüge', which is even contradicted, as a photograph is produced at the end of the play), and the stage props, chief amongst which is Firdusi's enormous and movable straw-coloured head and his evening dress, matched by his rival Herr Kautschukmann's top hat. Such details (altered in the later versions of the play) made this piece a natural choice for the Dadaists at their first night at the Galerie Dada in Zurich, April 1917. The play also contains examples of the alienating effect of addressing the audience directly, anticipating Brecht by at least a decade.⁷⁴ Twice Herr Firdusi addresses the audience directly - and rudely - and the character 'Tod' reassures the audience that the play will contain no real dead bodies,⁷⁵ a redundant speech in view of the play's lack of even the most tangential connection with reality.

As we find repeatedly in Kokoschka's plays, the names of the dramatis personae give strong indications of their characterisation. Herr Kautschukmann is the only character to retain his name in all three versions of the play. His elasticity is an obvious advantage, giving him the mental and physical mobility necessary in his role of seducer. The only major speech of his which remains intact in all three versions of the play demonstrates his double-talk, since it is addressed to the man whose wife he intends to seduce, and displays his knack of convoluted yet sophisticated reasoning: 'Ansichten austauschen heißt nicht Einsichten

ausdeuten, sondern Aussichten eintauschen' (W.Z.,p.145, O.K.S.,pp.157 and 120).

The character of Lilly reminds one of the girl 'Li' in Die träumenden Knaben (who in turn is based on the real person Lilith, see p.126). However, whereas 'Li' herself in the poems is treated with respect, there is - in Sphinx II - a direct link with the dangerous aspect of the Moon Lady of Der weiße Tiertöter via the mythological Lilith known in Jewish folklore (Hebrew lilatu = night). Lilith was a nocturnal demon considered especially dangerous to children and was much dreaded by Mesopotamian Jews until the seventh century A.D.⁷⁶ As we saw in Mörder, the connection between the woman and the moon led to a mortal conflict between her and the man (sun) and although this imagery is lacking in Sphinx/Hiob, the title 'Sphinx' is sufficient to send up warning flares. In ancient Greek mythology the Sphinx (meaning 'strangler') had a woman's bust on a lion's body and throttled those who could not guess her secret. The 'herzlose Lilly' of Sphinx I is, then, every bit as potentially dangerous as is suggested by the play's title. Lilly's loyalty to Firdusi is in doubt from the moment she steps on stage and admires Kautschukmann's muscles rather than her groom, 'der Dicke', very much as Lulu in Wedekind's Erdgeist admires Rodrigo's muscles (P.D.V.,I,p.449).

Herr Firdusi's name seems to have been brought in with the express purpose of providing the pun when he is introduced to Kautschukmann by Lilly (Anima in Sphinx II), giving his hand and saying his surname to produce the double entendre: 'Führdusie!' (Sphinx I), 'Führ' du sie!' (Sphinx II) to which Kautschukmann gives the reply, which should be ominous to anyone but a straw man, 'ich hatte bereits das Vergnügen' (I) (W.Z.,p.147) and 'großes Vergnügen' (II) (O.K.S.,p.162).

Kautschukmann, of course, does not need a second invitation to abscond with Lilly/Anima, however little Firdusi had intended this interpretation. Thus the notion of sexual jealousy rises to prominence, and all Firdusi's attempts to exorcise painful memories of his faithless first wife, in Sphinx I, are aborted when he realises

'ich habe meine eigene Frau geheiratet' (W.Z.,p.148).

Herr Firdusi is a walking conglomerate of received misogyny. In order to assert his superiority as a male he resorts to familiar clichés to persuade himself, and anyone who happens to be about, that women should be treated with contempt: 'Frauen soll man nur über die Achsel ansehen' (W.Z.,p.146, O.K.S.,p.159). He justifies his attitude by complaining that women demand that men should treat them roughly:

Ist man zart und scheu in der Liebe, so
fühlen sich die empörten Amazonen nicht
genug begriffen, ist man aber roh und
gebieterisch, erschrickt die Sensibilität
der eigenen Nerven. (W.Z.,p.146)⁷⁷

Such ideas go right back to Nietzsche's view (expressed via Zarathustra) that men needed a whip in their encounters with women (see Introduction, p. 20), and Weininger added that women actually enjoy being beaten. Horst Denkler again bases his whole interpretation of Sphinx/Hiob on what he sees as the intensity of the influence of Weininger in the early writing, with an attempt to expunge the influence later on. As an example of this, Denkler cites Lilly's evolution from a sexually active wife in Sphinx I, greeting Firdusi as 'meine Flamme', to the more subdued Anima in Sphinx II greeting Firdusi as 'mein Licht, meine Weisheit'. He argues that this is an ironic comment as Weininger, of course, argued that women had no intelligence.⁷⁸ However, bearing in mind the spiritual enlightenment of the woman in Dornbusch, written at the same time, this new sobriety in Kokoschka's language could just as easily be another reference to his views on 'visions', as already discussed. There is also the fact, which tends to be forgotten, that Kokoschka had met Alma by the time he wrote Sphinx II. Part of the toning down of the sexual imagery could well reflect his own new-found contentment, which turned to wrath as we shall see in Hiob and Orpheus und Eurydike, when the affair with Alma had collapsed.

A possible indication of Weininger's influence could be the fact that in Sphinx II, Firdusi has confiscated his wife's soul and is carrying it round in a pig's bladder, whilst he denies his wife sex so that she can develop as

a person. Weininger, it will be recalled, denied that women had souls.⁷⁹ It is tempting to read much into Denkler's argument because of the insistence on the word 'Seele'. However, Kokoschka states, in Sphinx II, that a woman acquires a soul through having sexual experience, which is the opposite of what Weininger says. Weininger's whole argument is for sexual abstinence so that women can achieve immortality. Kokoschka's argument - in so far as there is an argument beyond the satire - is that the sexually eager woman is dangerous to men. The person concerned with immortality is not Anima but Firdusi. There is really as much to contradict Weininger's influence as to support it, not least the title of the play, as Weininger refused to consider woman as Sphinx: 'Das Weib als Sphinx!... Der Mann ist unendlich rätselhafter, unvergleichlich komplizierter'.⁸⁰ Nor is Firdusi Weininger's ideal 'Mann': indeed, in Sphinx II he is the first to recognise his shortcomings: 'Ich hatte ein Weib, ich machte einen Gott aus ihr, da verließ sie mein Bett' (O.K.S., p.154).

It is really no surprise to find that the Sphinx finds the choice between a straw man and a rubber man perplexing: her husband does not seem to know the facts of life and is palpably insane, as demonstrated by his attempts to provide his finger puppet 'son' with a mother (Adam in Sphinx I, promoted to Emmanuel in Sphinx II); her lover-designate is barely able to control his lasciviousness. In Sphinx I we are told that Herr Kautschukmann '... kommt schnaufend, Lilly setzt ihm, noch auf Firdusi hängend, Fußspitze an die Nase, zärtliches Popotremolo' (W.Z., p.147).⁸¹

Quite understandably, Lilly declares that she prefers her dog:

Oh mein süßer Hund heißt Piefke, so wie
 der verstand ein Mann mich nie, dem
 Geliebten bot ich resignierte Lippen,
 und dem Gatten spöttische Melancholie. (W.Z., p.146)

Anima in Sphinx II takes refuge in a book, but the tale of sexual dissatisfaction is the same:

Einen Zug nahm ich von einem, einen an dem
 andern wahr, dem Geliebten bot ich resignierte Lippen, und dem Gatten spöttische

Melancholie. Von dem einen zu dem andern, muß ich ewig wandern, wandern. (O.K.S.,p.160)

Of course, Kautschukmann's role in Sphinx I has been to arouse jealousy, as he does in Sphinx II, but the comedy is less pronounced: he is en route to becoming the refined Mephistophelian sadist of Hiob. In Sphinx II he introduces himself as 'Arzt', soon to be qualified to 'Priester der Wissenschaft' (O.K.S.,p.157). In Hiob there is a further shift in that he introduces himself as 'Psycholog' (O.K.S., p.120) which is reinforced by the statement 'ich bin kein Arzt' (O.K.S.,p.211), a medical distinction volubly deplored by Freud.⁸² The character of Firdusi takes on many of the facets of the personality of Büchner's Hauptmann in Woyzeck in Sphinx II and Hiob.⁸³ The horror vacui expressed by Firdusi in Sphinx II (O.K.S.,p.154) and Hiob (O.K.S.,p.205) is reminiscent of the Hauptmann's 'Daseinsangst'. Firdusi's remark, in Sphinx II, 'der Gedanke an eine Zukunft macht die Gegenwart gerinnen' (O.K.S.,p.162) seems to echo remarkably closely the notion expressed by the Hauptmann to Woyzeck: 'Es wird mir ganz angst um die Welt, wenn ich an die Ewigkeit denke'.⁸⁴

It is interesting that although this remark is deleted from Hiob, as is the feverish telephone conversation whereby Firdusi tries to establish his own identity,⁸⁵ the similarities with Büchners Woyzeck are increased rather than decreased in Hiob. Herr Kautschukmann is fascinated by the study of what jealousy can do and is deaf to the pleas for help from Firdusi: 'Mich interessiert das Experiment' (O.K.S., pp.157 and 211). In Hiob he even discovers the recalcitrant bacillus to be 'der Erotococcus' (O.K.S.,p.211) which sounds very like the doctor's Latinisms - such as the non-existent 'Hyperoxydul'-in Woyzeck.⁸⁶ The doctor's delight in seeing Woyzeck suffer: 'Den Puls, Woyzeck, den Puls!'⁸⁷ is directly echoed by Kautschukmann in Hiob, who, seeing Hiob distressed by his twisted head, cries: 'Lassen Sie mich Ihren Puls fühlen!' (O.K.S.,p.212). The driving force behind both plays is sexual jealousy: however, whereas Büchner attacks society in his play, Kokoschka makes no attempt at social criticism.

Sphinx II is in many ways a transitional drama, standing at a mid-point between the successfully zany Sphinx I and the successfully mystical Hiob. Some vital facts from Sphinx I are left out in Sphinx II, for example the exchange of rings at the 'wedding' ceremony. This leaves a logical gap so that Firdusi's instructions to the servant Johann, in Sphinx II, to bring a mirror, red rose and photographer do not quite make sense. The stage direction describing Firdusi's ridiculous attempt to find somewhere to put the rose now that his head is back to front (a remainder from Sphinx I) and the new addition whereby 'er spiegelt sich den Popo' (O.K.S.,p.160) is comic in itself, but much more successfully so in Sphinx I, where Firdusi's attempts to spruce himself up for his wedding are completely parodied by the appearance of Lilly - plus dog - in all her finery, 'gelangweilt' (W.Z.,p.146).

The parrot, which has a small role as echo in Sphinx I, has a slightly larger role in Sphinx II, where it actually alerts Firdusi to the fact that he is a cuckold by saying, instead of the usual 'Anima, süße Anima', the words 'O mein süßer Herr Kautschukmann' (O.K.S.,p.164). In Hiob, the parrot is capable of rational argument; it pesters Hiob by settling on his shoulder and finally 'explodiert und zieht als rosa Wölkchen in den Himmel ein' (O.K.S.,p.225). The philosophically gifted parrot in Hiob is not altogether successful, not that it strains the credibility of the audience too far (this ought properly to have snapped after the play's opening motto, 'Pein für Bein'), but because all attempts to enlarge the parrot's character in Hiob have an aura of being forced. In order to prove the parrot's intelligence, Anima takes over the role of echo in Hiob and the parrot laments the sad lot of the male: 'Ach und amen - Mann ein Weh!' (O.K.S.,p.206). This is just one example of many where one can detect that Kokoschka, in re-working an idea, overdoes it, spoiling the effect.

The death of Firdusi takes a somewhat different path in the various alterations which end with the death of Hiob, who is ignominiously felled by Anima landing from a window onto his head 'wie ein reifer Apfel' (O.K.S.,p.224).

In Sphinx I, Firdusi is 'voll Schreck' at the appearance of death in the company of a priest (W.Z., p.147).⁸⁸ In Sphinx II, Firdusi shoots himself with an air pistol as a result of his unhappy experiences with Anima and against a backcloth which shows 'eine große mausfangende Katze' (O.K.S., p.164). Death in Sphinx II appears as 'lebender normaler Mensch' and declares that his own destructive powers are negligible 'seitdem die männliche Phantasie in Europa durch die Gynolatrie vollständig gebunden ist' (O.K.S., p.163).

The whole problem of Anima's sexual promiscuity is not resolved by Firdusi's comment that 'Frauen haben einen irdischen Leib, aber eine unsterbliche Seele' (O.K.S., p.161).⁸⁹ True, it makes it easier to accept the speed with which Death absconds with Anima at the end of Sphinx II, but there is too much confusion as to whether we are to make any connection between this remark on women's immortality, and the confiscated soul in the pig's bladder. On the one hand we have a serious proposition to consider, on the other hand a burlesque joke. The vamp-like character of Lilly in Sphinx I is a much more successful portrayal because, in spite of certain mystical elements, the play had a tangible coherence in its overt sexuality. In Hiob, the spiritualisation of Firdusi into a mythical character, Job, makes it easier to accept all the other characters at the level of myth, Anima included. The spiritualisation of Anima alone in Sphinx II robs the play of much of its rationale and dynamism. The root problem seems to be that woman acquires an immortal soul by means of sex, using men as mere instruments to that end:

Ein Weib, das die Jungfernschaft für
eine Seele verlor, wandert jetzt von
einem Mann in den andern, verspinnt
sich und verpuppt sich und verläßt ein
einziges Mal die leergefressenen Männer-
schädel als prächtiger Schmetterling, nur
um ihr Ei abzulegen. (O.K.S., p.156)

The distasteful thing about this diatribe is that it probably reflects Kokoschka's own view. It is a feature of all the plays under discussion that the woman is denied sex (in Eurydike's case, Orpheus withholds spiritual

liberation which Eurydike seeks as a sublimation of sex). In Mörder the resulting violence is almost a relief; in Schauspiel/Dornbusch the woman sees that she will be a better person - the man, by withholding sex, is 'being cruel to be kind'. The insight which the woman gains supposedly makes up for the physical sacrifice. As was pointed out in relation to Schauspiel/Dornbusch, a major factor to be taken into account is Kokoschka's 1912 lecture included later in Vom Bewußtsein der Gesichte (see above, p. 140). Kokoschka seems to have decided to make Firdusi try to educate his wife, and the name Anima leads us into the realm of the abstract. However, the germ of the play - Sphinx I - resists the didactic straitjacket, producing cracks in the form of the inconsistencies already pointed out.

The chorus plot a similar course from the bawdy to the didactic from Sphinx I to Sphinx II. In Sphinx I they are thoroughly vulgar. As Horst Denkler points out,⁹⁰ they all make spluttering noises as they comment on sex, poking their ten heads through ten holes 'automatenhaft' before disappearing 'mit Gestank'. Just as Lilly was easier to understand than Anima, these chorus men have an earthy clarity lacking in the pseudo-philosophical utterances of the men in Sphinx II. The second man's comment, in I, is directly helpful to an understanding of the play in that it reminds us of the Sphinx motif: 'Ich löste die Frage der Sphinx nicht' (W.Z.,p.148). The same is true of the ninth man's comment:

Am Tage schweigt das Geschlecht, aber
in der Nacht gellt der Schamschrei des
jüngsten Mädchens und des ältesten
Greises an unsere Ohren. (W.Z.,p.148)

In contrast, the chorus in Sphinx II content themselves with comments which criticise women without explaining the lure of sex, as with the second man: 'Der Tod hat seine Gewalt an ein Weib abgegeben' (O.K.S.,p.165).⁹¹ This somewhat unjustly implies that Anima has killed Firdusi intentionally. The fifth man brings in the question of the soul:

Herr Firdusi, der von einem Weib
abstammen soll, hat sein Erbteil, die

männliche Phantasie, seiner Frau
zurückgegeben, und jetzt leidet sie
an der Seele. (O.K.S.,p.165)

A pedantic note is struck by the tenth man reinforcing Kokoschka's idea that it is vital for a person to have insights, and incidentally introducing a patronising tone towards women which reminds us of the constant transfer of power which takes place as the plays are revised:

Der Mann muß unter den Qualen, die ihm
seine Frau bereitet, gern leiden, weil
er die Gründe erkennen kann, aus denen
sie ihm unähnlich lebt. (O.K.S.,p.166)

The importance attached to mental rather than physical processes is reinforced by Firdusi's absolutely final words - in contrast to his final words, where he demands a priest - (Kokoschka seems to have oscillated between a desire to stress the comedy of the situation and a feeling that he wanted to make a serious remark):

Zur Leidenschaft gehört als Filter
Geist, sonst überflutet sie Leib und
Seele und macht beide unrein. (O.K.S.,p.167)

In Hiob this speech is (slightly altered) in the ninth man's mouth, and the word 'Wissenschaft' noticeably replaces 'Leidenschaft', completely altering the sense. We shall see that in Hiob, the swing away from overt discussion of sexuality is completed, marking yet another toning down, as was observed from version I to II of Mörder, and as can be argued for the transition from Schauspiel to Der brennende Dornbusch.

Turning now to Hiob, we can see the biblical influence from the title, the difference being that in the Bible, God causes Job's sufferings directly to test his faith; there is no question of a sexual conflict. In Kokoschka's play, Anima is the source of Hiob's distress and there is no mention of God. The physical disabilities are also very different - Hiob's twisted head carries over the central motif of Sphinx I and II whereas the biblical Job was plagued with boils. The allusions to Büchner's Woyzeck have already been mentioned on p. 152; Hiob also contains allusions to Goethe's Faust (which also relies to a degree on the biblical story of Job).

Mention has already been made on page 132 of Kokoschka's feelings of angry frustration towards Alma whilst he wrote Hiob, which were heightened by the fact that Alma had actually married twice in the intervening three years since the end of her affair with Kokoschka. A full discussion of Kokoschka's emotional involvement with Alma will be deferred until the analysis of Orpheus und Eurydike. For the moment it must suffice to say that Hiob is about sexual jealousy whereas Sphinx I was merely about sex.

The character of Adam is greatly extended in Hiob: indeed, there is no connection with the 'Gummifigur' of Sphinx I and II. It is Adam, not death, who leaves the stage with Anima at the end of the play, and Anima tells the audience what they already cannot have failed to guess, given the constant allusions to apples in the final act - 'Anima ... Ist - Eva' (O.K.S., p.229). The play starts with a description of Adam's bad luck at having a rib stolen to create Eva (a novel interpretation of Genesis 2.21-22). The speaker of the lines is not identified:

Weint Adam, in der Nacht von einem
Rippenstoß erwacht: 'Ei'
Und da mit Eva sich begattet fand:
'Mein Gott, hätt' er mir nur mein Bein
mit Ruh gelassen'. (O.K.S., p.203)

Adam, 'der Gärtner', is thus mentioned at the start and appears at the end of the play, without having any lines at all to speak during the play. The main raison d'être for his role seems to be the investiture of Sphinx/Lilly/Anima with yet another negative characteristic: that of seductress. Even though Firdusi has gained all the prestige of being Hiob, the outlook for him is bleak when pitted against such a woman.

Herr Kautschukmann, described already as 'Schlangemensch' in Sphinx I and II, is a mixture, in Hiob, of the serpent tempter of the biblical story and the minor devil Mephisto in Goethe's Faust. Even with the difficulties inherent in such an amalgam, the characterisation would be consistent if the lasciviousness of Kautschukmann in Sphinx I and II were now toned down rather than increased.

Instead, after the initial comic entrance of Kautschukmann in the second act - clothed as a poodle and misquoting from Faust: 'Verzeihen Sie die närrische Verkleidung - Ich bin des Pudels Kern!' (O.K.S., p.209),⁹² - the attempt to link the satanic strands inherent in the idea of 'Schlangemensch' (Sphinx I and II) and Mephistopheles (Hiob) is abandoned and Kautschukmann reverts to type. In fact his lasciviousness is increased and he is now a slavering voyeur. We are told: 'Er schnüffelt neugierig am Schlüsselloch ...' (O.K.S., p.210). Later we read: 'Hiob sieht, wie Kautschukmann mit nassem Mund und gierigem Auge am Schlüsselloch klebt' (O.K.S., p.212). The cool irony introduced by the spoof on Mephistopheles is abandoned, and Denkler is right to comment that:

Herr Kautschukmann tritt auf wie Mephistopheles im Pudelkostüm, wird aber der damit angedeuteten Verführerrolle nicht ganz gerecht.⁹³

Kautschukmann's main function in Hiob is to arouse Hiob's jealousy regarding Anima, and in this he is successful. The astonishingly close verbal parallels to the doctor (in particular) in Woyzeck have already been noted. For all his sadistic pleasure in seeing Hiob suffer, he never becomes a convincingly wicked character in the way the doctor in Woyzeck does by indirectly causing the deaths of Woyzeck and Marie. The play is too openly humorous, swinging away from the didacticism of Sphinx II and back to the hilarity of Sphinx I. There are moments of high comedy, as for instance, Hiob's attempts to dodge the surgical saw wielded by Kautschukmann, who has prescribed a head amputation to cure Hiob's ills:

... Kopf ab, beherzt!
Kopflös gelebt, lässt sich das Übel nicht
halb
So schlimm an! (O.K.S., p.213)

In spite of several attempts to blacken Anima's character, as with the 'Kammerjungfer's comment that she spins a net to catch victims (similar to the woman in Mörder), we only have Hiob's testimony as to Anima's faithlessness. The information we had in Sphinx II as to her use of sex in order to acquire a soul is repeated with

almost the same words in Hiob (by Firdusi, not Anima):

Eine Seele für die Jungfernschaft
erhandelt -
Von einem Mann zum andern geschlüpft. (O.K.S.,
p.204)

Gone, however, are the portable soul in a pig's bladder and all the attendant problems - only to be replaced by a jarring note struck by the parrot when, in reply to a question from Hiob: 'Was ist dem Mann - ein Zeitvertreib?' it answers, 'Anima - deine Seele, dein Weib' (O.K.S.,p.206). Anima has now become Hiob's soul, a novel twist. Some clarification of this comes when one considers that Hiob's chief complaint about Anima is that she does not obey him: 'Meine Herrschaft hängt wie eine - Schweinsblase in der Luft!' (O.K.S.,p.208). It is this lack of dominance that causes his 'Horror vacui!' (O.K.S.,pp.205 and 208). Later, with rare insight, Hiob recognises his own shortcomings and admits he cannot match Kautschukmann as lover: 'Ich bin's nicht, wer dem Antagonisten gleicht ...' (O.K.S.,p.224).

Kautschukmann also reinforces the biblical idea of remoulding clay. Hiob wished to mould Anima, but failed. When Kautschukmann first tears Anima to him, he tells Hiob:

Der Bibeltext vom alten Töpfer?
Das Weib - ist nicht aus Ihrem Lehm
gemacht! (O.K.S.,p.215)

This probably refers to Isaiah 64.8, but this or the other references to potter's clay⁹⁴ in the Bible all draw attention to God's power as potter to mould clay (man) as he wishes. The point is that Hiob has singularly failed to mould Anima, and Adam's comment - to the dead or dying Hiob - is that he should not have tried to set her on a pedestal:

Zu hoch hast du dein Weib
In den Himmel versetzt. (O.K.S.,p.224)

The parrot's wise comment shows the cyclic nature of the conflict between Hiob and Anima; even if they wanted to part, they cannot, as Anima points out:

Ich kann dich nicht erleichtern -
Verbunden sind wir!
Ewig - eins. (O.K.S.,p.207)

Hiob's genuine distress, though largely self- inflicted,

gives rise to the appearance on stage of Eros, whose clumsiness and mystical progeniture remind one of Euphorion in Faust II. Kautschukmann is quick to ask Anima for an explanation of his parentage, in much the same way that he asked Firdusi to explain the parentage of Adam/Emmanuel in Sphinx I/II:

Ich will nur sachlich bemerken,
Daß mich die Entstehungsgeschichte
Ihres mythologischen Knaben
Zu einer Erklärung auf natürlichem
Wege drängt. (O.K.S.,p.217)⁹⁵

In Sphinx I and II, Firdusi replied to Kautschukmann with a plea for him to be more guarded when speaking of such matters: 'mein Sohn ist noch so unverdorben' (W.Z., p.145)⁹⁶ - obviously a sardonic allusion to the ignorance in which children of the day were kept of the facts of life (a theme given treatment in Wedekind's Frühlings Erwachen). Such jokes indicate a certain ambivalence on Kokoschka's part in that he was tempted to make satirical jokes at the expense of bourgeois society, but nevertheless reinforced the patriarchal code by his anxious attempts to make his female characters accept the dominance of the male.

In the third and final act we again approach the biblical story of Job when we see Hiob being goaded by a chorus of girls to recognise his cuckoldry:

... Ja! Wenn zu ihr ein junger
Heißsporn zu Besuch kommt,
So legt sie sich gleich ins Bett.
Er möge entschuldigen -
Einen roten Kamm muß er haben! (O.K.S.,p.218)

We also have a further link with Faust I when Hiob goes into his house and 'bringt eine Giftflasche, einen Totenkopf und zwei Totenbeine ans Fenster, betrachtet den Schädel, setzt die Flasche an den Mund' (O.K.S.,p.222). Instead of a Faust-like failure to take the poison by the intervention of the 'Osterchor', Hiob has a drum solo played to him by the tenth girl on the bones, and throws the poison bottle at her, whereupon the girls leave, singing a folksong. The presence of the skull reminds us of the prominence of the skull in the scene in Orpheus und Eurydike where Orpheus and Eurydike escape from Hades by boat. This slight though important cross-reference reminds

us that Hiob was written during the same gestation period as Orpheus, and this explains such phenomena as, for instance, the appearance of Eros (Psyche's lover in Orpheus) in Hiob and the general tone of uncontrollable jealousy which distorts all the sexual relationships in both plays.

Hiob tries to leave the house but the parrot forces him to observe the shadows of Kautschukmann and Anima undressing. Again we hear the existential telephone call of Sphinx II, and Anima's reply to Hiob's question 'was treibt man mit mir?' is again 'Geisterbeschwörung', without the addition 'ich lasse mich erlösen' (O.K.S.,p.223).⁹⁷ Impotently, Hiob vents his anger by calling the recalcitrant couple names - 'Teufel' and 'Hexe', but is rudely interrupted when Anima lands on his head from the window, killing him. Kautschukmann, true to form, continues his lecherous advances in spite of the untoward circumstances: 'Herr Kautschukmann stellt noch ihrer Tugend vom Fenster aus deutlich nach' (O.K.S.,p.224).

It is left to Adam to - literally - pick up the pieces and provide the play with a final cascade of comic relief. He first tells the chorus of ten men to take their turn in speaking 'alle der Reihe nach ... aber mit den Beinen nicht schlenkern, sonst bricht die Wand ein' (O.K.S.,p.226). Such a breaking of dramatic illusion echoes Firdusi's remarks (see n. 74) and is reminiscent of scenes in Tieck's Der gestiefelte Kater, especially the final scene, when the set is dismantled in front of the audience's eyes. Adam busies himself with providing the last rites to Hiob and admonishes Kautschukmann for causing his death:

Der Arzt erfand die Krankheit,
Der Patient bezahlt die Rechnung. (O.K.S.,p.227)

Hiob is a successful pastiche, with borrowings from Büchner, the Bible, and Goethe pasted on to the skeleton of what remains of the prototypes, Sphinx I and II. As a spoof on the jealous husband, it is successful if one disregards the irrational hostility to Anima, the villain of the piece who causes her husband's death. The portrayal of Job as distraught with sexual jealousy is mildly blasphemous, whereas the Adam/Eve insert underpins the notion of woman bringing sin into the world. As we have seen,

Lilly in Sphinx I was quite dangerous enough. The success of Hiob undoubtedly rests on the fact that the anti-woman sentiments, though prominent, are controlled, and Kokoschka is able to make jokes about sexuality which are not necessarily misogynist. In fact, the Sphinx plays (I and II) and Hiob are the only funny plays written by Kokoschka. Elsewhere, as has been seen, the violence of the sexual conflict left no room for humour, and in the next play which Kokoschka wrote - Orpheus und Eurydike - there is no attempt at humour; jealousy continues to distort sexual relationships.

(ii) Orpheus und Eurydike

In Orpheus und Eurydike, Kokoschka's earlier morbid fascination with the link between love and death reasserts itself (see p.115). The theme of jealousy is also continued, but it is a particular kind of retrospective jealousy about which little can be done by either partner, as the damage has already been done. This irremediable jealousy causes Orpheus to have a distorted sexual attitude which has so far been little discussed in this study: that of Schadenfreude, i.e. pleasure in hurting the beloved.

Orpheus und Eurydike is commonly regarded as the pinnacle of Kokoschka's dramatic achievement, because of the successful interweaving of the Orphic myth, complete with a lyre which sings after Orpheus's death (a change from the legend that Orpheus's head sang as it floated down the Hebrus, decapitated by Thracian maenads), with the personal life of the author, especially his affair with Alma Mahler (1912-14). Hans Schumacher describes the play as 'Höhepunkt und Ende des Expressionismus in den Schriften Kokoschkas ... der konsequente Abschluß der Dramenreihe'.⁹⁸ Sprengler judged the play to be Kokoschka's 'bedeutendstes [Schauspiel]'.⁹⁹ Kokoschka himself records in his autobiography that he wrote the play from memory, having first conjured it up in the form of hallucinatory conversations with Alma during his recovery from a head wound at the Russian front in 1915:

So ist aus meinen, mir auf dem Lager von Wladimir-Wolhynsk ständig wiederholten Halluzinationen das Stück 'Orpheus und Eurydike' entstanden, das ich später aus dem Gedächtnis aufgeschrieben habe.¹⁰⁰

Nowhere are the biographical details more important for an understanding of Kokoschka's drama than in this play, where the influence of Alma Mahler intrudes so obviously. The play can be said to document the collapse of the love affair between Alma and Kokoschka in a symbolical way. The affair had started with enthusiasm on both sides. Indeed, Kokoschka had been extremely anxious to persuade Alma to marry him, even to the point of arranging the ceremony - without telling Alma! For her part, Alma admired the genius in Kokoschka but felt constrained by his unreasonable demands, which went far beyond the bounds of normal jealousy:

Er beleidigte alle meine Besucher und
lauerte mir überall auf. Die Kleider
mußten am Hals und Arm geschlossen
sein; mit gekreuzten Beinen durfte ich
nicht sitzen ... es grenzte ans Absurde.¹⁰¹

David Gordon interprets the biographical background to the play in the context of the Oedipus myth:

Kokoschka almost changes the Orpheus
story into another Greek myth altogether:
that of Oedipus of Thebes ... It is true
that Oskar and Alma, on some unconscious
level, had often acted out the roles of
Oedipus and Jocasta.¹⁰²

It seems plausible that Alma did indeed, if only temporarily, supplant Kokoschka's own mother Romana as the main motherly influence in his life.¹⁰³ Much more pronounced in the play is the theme of deadly jealousy which runs hand in hand with a desire to dominate and - ultimately - to inflict pain, as mentioned above.

Alma seems to have both loved and feared Kokoschka. At one point she reports that she left Kokoschka 'weil ich mich retten wollte'¹⁰⁴ and yet her affection is obvious too:

Ich liebte dieses Genie und das ungezo-
gene, störrische Kind in ihm. Es wäre
schön gewesen, wenn er mir das geglaubt
hätte. So aber jagten seine Eifersucht
und sein Mißtrauen unsere Bindung zu
Tode.¹⁰⁵

Commenting on Kokoschka's painting of her in 'Die Windsbraut' (1914), Alma describes Kokoschka's desire to

dominate her - though this was probably unconscious:

In seinem großangelegten Bild 'Die Winds-
braut' hat er mich gemalt, wie ich im
Sturm und höchsten Wellengang vertrauens-
voll an ihn geschmiegt liege - alle Hilfe
von ihm erwartend, der, tyrannischen
Anlitzes energiestrahlend die Wellen
beruhigt.¹⁰⁶

Paul Westheim, writing in the same year that Orpheus und Eurydike was published, suggested that Kokoschka's connection with Alma could well have encouraged his somewhat neurotic concern with death: his earliest memory was, according to Westheim, the burial of his brother (mentioned on p.114), and his first love affair was with a woman recently widowed:

Die Frau, das gerade wird wiederum
Berührung mit einem Toten. Der Schatten
des verstorbenen Mannes steht wie Drohung
und Herausforderung hinter ihr.¹⁰⁷

Westheim goes on to draw attention to Orpheus's vital question to Eurydike in the play: 'Sag nur noch, siehst Du - Ihn, wenn ich bei Dir bin?' (O.K.S., p.272).

Possibly Kokoschka felt that Alma's two daughters by Mahler bound her to her dead husband: certainly he had an ingrained respect for the relationship of mother to child. At all events, he found it necessary to forbid any possessions of the dead Mahler being brought into the house he had rented as a retreat for Alma and himself. Mahler's death mask was expressly forbidden: yet this did arrive, and was unpacked by Alma.¹⁰⁸ Kokoschka makes this unpleasant episode largely responsible for Alma's decision to abort Kokoschka's child, a fact for which he never forgave her:

Warum mein Verhältnis bereits vor dem
Krieg zu Ende gegangen ist, daran war
diese Operation in der Klinik in Wien
schuld, die ich Alma Mahler nicht ver-
zeihen wollte.¹⁰⁹

It is sad to read the two autobiographies side by side, showing so much affection yet complete incompatibility. Kokoschka obviously did not like the frequency with which Alma spoke of Mahler, and yet Alma continued her practice of setting up a shrine to Mahler wherever she stayed:

Ich hatte in allen Wohnungen, seit
Mahlers Tode, seinen Arbeitsschreibtisch
stehen, auf dem alle seine Noten und
Bilder von Kind auf bis zu seiner
letzten Zeit standen.¹¹⁰

Alma reports how Kokoschka on one occasion impetuously kissed all the photographs of Mahler: 'Es war in weiser (sic) Magie geschehen - er wollte den dunklen Eifersuchtsdrang bekämpfen'.¹¹¹ In point of fact, although Alma genuinely grieved the death of Mahler, the marriage had not been entirely serene; Alma describes how Mahler had unintentionally stifled her own pretensions regarding musical composition. By 1915, when Kokoschka began Orpheus und Eurydike, her emotional life was directed more to the future than to the past, either with Kokoschka or Mahler. When, in May 1915, she made the following entry in her diary, she was already married to Walter Gropius:

So, auch das wäre vorüber. Etwas, das
ich für dauernd hielt: Oskar Kokoschka
ist mir abhanden gekommen. Ich finde
ihn nicht mehr in mir.¹¹²

It could be argued that Alma herself showed a degree of Schadenfreude towards Kokoschka. The play can certainly be viewed as an attempt by Kokoschka to exorcise his jealousy. However, in spite of the unhappy circumstances which generated the play, the possibility of happiness between man and woman is not completely ruled out. This is indicated by the prominence of Psyche (who acts as Eurydike's conscience) within the play. Psyche has a happy - if chaste - love affair with Amor. Nevertheless, the play is predominantly pessimistic in tone and the theme of death is never far away. Indeed, by making Eurydike's affair with Hades explicitly sexual, Kokoschka introduces a necrophiliac theme which blends in successfully with the ancient myth.

Eurydike, in spite of her pregnancy, is clearly not properly alive. It is quite clear from her remarks and behaviour when she leaves the underworld that the realm of the living is no longer her true element. The stage direction informs us that 'Eurydike zieht wie eine Last am Arm des Orpheus aus dem Eise hervor' (O.K.S., p.258). Her bright remarks do not carry conviction: 'Fühle meine Kräfte! ... Sieh' meinen freien Schritt' (O.K.S., p.259). Orpheus's reply confirms our doubts:

'Gib mir Deinen Arm fester' (O.K.S.,p.259). She needs a good deal of pushing and prompting to get her to board the ship, and even then, when she is ostensibly sailing off to safety, her comment reveals a gulf of existential doubt: 'Sprich's - ein Wort - ich lebe' (O.K.S.,p.262).

Eurydike is fetched from the underworld because of Orpheus's need, not her own. He insists that his claim to her extends beyond the grave - an idea vehemently rejected by Ann Eliza Reed, as will be discussed later in the analysis of the story of that name (see below,pp.174-75). The binding nature of the wedding vows is symbolised in the wearing of the wedding ring by both Eurydike and Ann Eliza. In the case of both women, the ring falls off at a crucial stage in the action: with Ann Eliza it is when she is at the mercy of Glasberg and Gwendolin, her husband having gone off fishing although he knows his wife's labour has started. With Eurydike, the ring falls from her finger when she receives the fatal snake bite in the heel.

When we first see Eurydike she is fingering her ring, reading its motto and musing on the way her destiny is closely linked to that of Orpheus:

Wie dieser Ring zusammenschmiedet Orpheus
und Eurydike, so
dreht den Ring
ewig Eines Glück im Andern. (O.K.S.,p.233)

When Orpheus comes to abduct her from Hades, he notices her empty ring finger at once, and his suspicions are aroused. His concern is understandable, given the ancient Greek regard for keepsakes and symbols. The ring is the symbol of their love: its absence cannot be overlooked and Eurydike's attempt to assuage Orpheus's fears are futile. It is clear from the dreams they have on board the boat that they are repressing their inner desires. Orpheus, as yet in ignorance about Hades's and Eurydike's affair and the resulting pregnancy, dreams that Eurydike kills her unborn child (see note 109). This can be interpreted as a transferred desire for Orpheus to kill whatever threatens his relationship with Eurydike. Eurydike, who is gradually becoming aware of her pregnancy, dreams that Orpheus, not Hades, is the father of her child and that he - Orpheus -

unkindly rejects her:

Mir träumte, Du wolltest mich
verstoßen, in die Kälte, und ich trage
Dein Kind unterm Herzen - (O.K.S.,p.271)

Both dreams follow Freud's belief that a dream is a fulfilment of a wish.¹¹³ It must also be recalled that Kokoschka felt Alma had killed his baby, though a direct parallel would exist only if the baby had been Mahler's. Significantly enough, Kokoschka was superstitious as to the possibility that Mahler might still have some influence over Alma:

Fast fürchtete ich, daß durch irgend-
welche Magie das Kind, das sie trug,
die Züge des Toten haben könnte, von
dem sie nun öfter, als mir lieb war,
sprach.¹¹⁴

It is clear from the three poems 'Allos', 'Makar' and 'Allos Makar', all written in 1913, that the affair with Alma was stormy. The final poem ends with a cryptic message on a note:

Ich nahm ihn und las ihn, im Staube
gebückt.
Lachen die Lippen zur täuschenden Ruh,
Anders ist glücklich. (S.W.,I.,p.28)

This points forward to the inscription Orpheus finds in Eurydike's defaced ring whereby the motto mentioned on p. 166 comes to mean the virtual opposite. Hans Schumacher has drawn attention to the Greek allos makar as being an anagram for Alma Oskar.¹¹⁵ An interesting feature of the comparison between Orpheus and Kokoschka is that Orpheus feels he is the wronged husband, whereas Kokoschka is actually jealous of the real husband, though he is dead.

The reappearance of Eurydike's wedding ring, plucked by the fool from the teeth of the skull which rolls into their cabin, makes further concealment of the affair with Hades impossible. The ring has been partly defaced so that the motto mentioned above now reads quite differently, fuelling Orpheus's jealousy:

Das Band zerrissen, der Ring?
Die Inschrift ausgekratzt!
Laß lesen, was noch blieb:
'Allos Makar'
- Glück - ist anders!

An even worse construction can be put on the motto: 'Der

andere glücklich'.

The accusations now levelled at Eurydike are patently unfair, since she did her best to resist Hades's advances, symbolically keeping herself veiled. All this despite her craving for sex: '... wie eine brennende Flamme war mein Gelüst' (O.K.S.,p.276).

It is ironical that when Hades tells Eurydike that her virtue (symbolised by the wearing of her ring and veil) has broken his will - 'Ein Ring, da, mich preßt, hat mir das Herz gebrochen!' (O.K.S.,p.277) - Eurydike gives herself to him in gratitude, abandoning her scruples regarding infidelity. The wearing of clothes has the result of stifling the sexual impulse, whereas nakedness brings with it an implication of lust. Eurydike reports that her words to Hades when she unveiled herself were: 'Was sollen die Fetzen der Nackten da! So bin ich schamlos!' (O.K.S.,p.277). Ann Eliza similarly connects clothing with modesty (see n.126). The point at issue is the sexual frustration of both women.

Orpheus's jealousy reveals a masochistic streak in him which intensifies as the play progresses. Eurydike points out during the interrogation, 'Du willst Dein Unglück' (O.K.S.,p.274). Orpheus simply cannot accept that Eurydike's death has broken the bond between them. Whereas love was once his motivating force, he is now gripped by a death wish. He destroys the former home he shared with Eurydike, digs his grave and then, with orgiastic intensity, invites the bystanders to lynch him: 'Stoßt die Schaufel in die Brust mir dann!' (O.K.S.,p.280). After a wild dance and a veritable orgy of wanton bloodshed (which, by the entry of a warrior on the scene, could have a tangential connection with the First World War, as Werner Hofmann has suggested)¹¹⁶ Orpheus is indeed hanged, but he survives and unhooks himself. Having wished for and presumably enjoyed his lynching, he is unwilling to believe that he is still alive. He is certainly in no mood to brook contradiction, as his Canute-like commands demonstrate:

Stehen bleiben Mond!...
Sonne zieh dich zurück, sag' ich,
Nacht ist's. (O.K.S.,p.293)

So we have the black humour of Orpheus indignantly

protesting his death first to his mother's spirit: 'Tage-lang bin ich schon tot' (O.K.S.,p.291), and then to Eurydike's spirit: 'Ich bin verschieden und Dein Tun ist nicht mein Kind' (O.K.S.,p.294).¹¹⁷ Eurydike has returned to plead for Orpheus's recognition of the suffering he has caused her. Without this recognition, she cannot die in peace. She is well aware of the undead state she is in and even made use of it when she fled back to Hades, mentioning in passing that no mirror will show her reflection - a certain indication that she is a revenant:

... - in der Weile nahm
ich meinen Vorteil wahr, flüchtend rückwärts
mich zum Tode, blendete mit einer Handvoll
Asche Dich!
In die so geröt'ten Augen fing kein Spiegel
Eurydike
mehr ein! (O.K.S.,pp.297- 98)

Orpheus remains unimpressed by the mention of her rotting corpse: 'Wo Du mich anrührst, werd' ich schimmelig' (O.K.S.,p.294). Finally Eurydike unveils herself to Orpheus to show her dead body. The scene is stripped of the sexual implications connected with clothes because the veil is a shroud:

Die Schleier los!
Der Leichnam bloß!
Beweist wie ich gepeinigt bin!
Wie roh Du bist! (O.K.S.,p.297)

The masochism we have detected in Orpheus's nature is now matched by an equal degree of sadism. Orpheus feels no sympathy for the tortured spirit of Eurydike which now finds itself in a limbo. It is useless for Eurydike to protest that she merely succumbed to her fate like an 'Opfertier' (O.K.S.,p.298). Orpheus's great love has been transformed into hate. He decides to exploit the power he has over Eurydike to the full:

Ich hasse Dich! ...
Er ließ Dich nicht leben, Hades!
Du da! Triumph! Ich laß Dich nicht sterben!
(O.K.S.,p.300)

His final words are an expression of sadism and not 'ein Gebot der Menschlichkeit' as Werner Hofmann suggests.¹¹⁸ Orpheus, intoxicated with mirth, finds that he can quote the sixth commandment as justification for withholding

the verbal coup de grace from his wife: 'Du sollst nicht töten - nicht töten -' (O.K.S.,p.301). Hofmann, in an attempt to trace specific anti-war propaganda in the play, takes the words at face value without scrutinising their immediate context.

At this point Eurydike, unable to endure Orpheus's mockery any further, throttles him so that she can die in peace. In like manner, Ann Eliza slits Glasberg's throat so that she can live in peace. Both women kill the man they love in self-defence. Both Glasberg and Orpheus inflict the maximum of pain on their beloved, Glasberg by performing the Caesarian section on Ann Eliza and (almost) killing her, and Orpheus by not allowing Eurydike to die. Orpheus's final words on love underline the message of all Kokoschka's plays (with the exception of the fragment Comenius): 'Hinter der Liebe bis in den Tod steckt - Haß!' (O.K.S.,p.301).

It has been seen that the play's major departure from the Greek myth is Eurydike's pregnancy. Another departure is the interweaving of the myth of Psyche and Amor, alias Anima and Eros - familiar characters from the earlier plays. The myths blend surprisingly well: Psyche and Amor's ultimately successful love offsets the tragedy of Orpheus and Eurydike. Psyche also has an intimate connection with Eurydike in her primary meaning of 'soul'. It will be recalled that in the early play, Sphinx und Strohmann (version II, 1913) the topic is raised with Anima (whose name of course means 'soul', one must remember), only to be parodied: Anima's confiscated soul was in a pig's bladder in the safe-keeping of her husband Firdusi. In giving Psyche to Eurydike as child companion, Kokoschka invests Eurydike with a soul. Psyche is also an integral part of Eurydike's consciousness, and several times a parallel is drawn between Psyche's and Eurydike's faces. Early in the play we are told that Orpheus traces the oval of Eurydike's face over Psyche's sleeping face, saying:

Deckt nicht der Schatten des arglos
schlafenden Wesens Dein Gesicht, das mir so
nahe steht ... (O.K.S.,p.239)

Psyche's relationship towards Eurydike is certainly an advance on the portable soul in the pig's bladder. Indeed,

Psyche is marked out by her great faithfulness to Eurydike. She regrets that it was her forgetfulness which allowed the Furies to pass through the door into Eurydike's room. She accompanies Eurydike to the underworld and is unflinching in her attempts to act as Eurydike's conscience and to keep her faithful to Orpheus. This is no mean feat in view of Eurydike's sex drive and her faded memory of Orpheus.

In many ways one could say that Kokoschka has provided Eurydike with a super-ego. This indicates that Kokoschka could have been up to date in his reading of Freud. By 1915, Freud was finding that the vocabulary of psycho-analysis needed to be widened and new concepts needed to be formulated. In his essay 'Das Unbewusste' (1915), Freud states that 'ein psychischer Akt im allgemeinen zwei Zustandsphasen durchläuft, zwischen welche eine Art Prüfung (Zensur) eingeschaltet ist'.¹¹⁹ These ideas were then expanded in Das Ich und das Es (1922). The internal evidence of the play suggests that Kokoschka might also have read Freud's essay 'Das Motiv der Kästchenwahl' (1913). Here Freud demonstrates the remarkable predilection in tales and legends for those chosen from a list of three. For example, Psyche, Cordelia and Aschenputtel are all the youngest and most attractive of three sisters. (Freud also includes Aphrodite who was the choice - from three contenders - of Paris. Aphrodite has a double role as, in her capacity as mother of Psyche's lover, she plagued Psyche by setting her three impossibly difficult tasks.)

At all events, Psyche in the play is indispensable to Eurydike, whose words betray her dependence when she flees back to the underworld:

- in die Wohnung
der Schatten entfliehe ich, Schwester
Psyche,
zu Dir! (O.K.S., p.277)

It comes as quite a surprise that a play so full of emotional charges should end on a peaceful note. Psyche, though she has frightened Amor away, is confident that he will return to her:

Winke zärtlich mit der Hand Dir,
weil ich Mal der Küsse wiederfind!
Amor! Bin nicht mehr so bang,
wie ich - dabei - war! (O.K.S.,p.304)

The lyre, the flowers, the well-behaved chorus of girls and boys give the play a lyrical end which rather conflicts with the emotional violence already discussed. Kokoschka obviously wanted to express the ambivalent nature of passion, which embraces both pleasure and pain, as encapsulated in Eurydike's wistful final speech:

Eintönig Lied der Erde -
Was wir umringen, ewig Glück ist anders -
Ob es Haß ist, solche Liebe?
Dies Verlangen - (O.K.S.,p.302)₁₂₀

III. Die Mumie and Ann Eliza Reed

At first sight it might appear gratuitous to include a study of the short story Die Mumie/Ann Eliza Reed in this thesis. The gap in time is indeed remarkable between Orpheus und Eurydike and Die Mumie (1931) which was revised and expanded, to include a framework, in 1956 with the new title Ann Eliza Reed. It is even more remarkable that in spite of the many events in Kokoschka's life - including his marriage to Olda and their eventual settlement in Britain - the story continues many of the themes which have so far been outlined. Ann Eliza kills the man she loves because he will not grant her the sexual favours for which she pleads, and in doing so she joins the company of the Frauen in Mörder and Der brennende Dornbusch and Lilly/Anima in Sphinx/Hiob. However, she is neither an Amazon nor a vamp, but more like a corpse when she murders Glasberg, having suffered a three-day Scheintod. In this close link between love and death we can again observe not only the echoes of the relationship between Orpheus and Eurydike, but also the early interest which Kokoschka himself had in the link between Eros and Thanatos. In addition, Glasberg's mummy reminds Ann in the story - and us as we read it - of a doll. Kokoschka's doll fetish thus reappears, in a different guise, years after it was buried in his garden. Just as the 'Frau in Blau' had to be exorcised with a mock burial, the mummy has to be exorcised

in the story. Until this happens, it infects the Reeds' household with the poison of jealousy in a subtle way.

Although there are no specific references to Kokoschka's knowledge of Sir Walter Scott in works by or on Kokoschka, the brooding tale of Ann Eliza could have been written at the height of the Romantic period, with the remote Scottish setting so reminiscent of Scott (for example, in The Bride of Lammermoor) and the blurring of the boundary of reality much in the manner of Tieck or Hoffmann. Indeed, the Egyptian mummy which Glasberg insists on carrying round with him in a case reminds us of the doll Olimpia in Hoffmann's story, Der Sandmann. Here the life-size doll has seductive powers strong enough to induce a mental imbalance in the hero Nathanael which ultimately brings about his death, but not before he has tried to murder his fiancée Clara. The mummy likewise holds a power of fascination for Ann Eliza Reed. For Glasberg, the mummy is a fetish and at the same time an antiquarian possession. Thus Glasberg is linked to Kokoschka not just by the doll motif but by the link with museums conjured up by the mummy and by the fact that Glasberg meets Ann Eliza again after a lapse of twelve years in the British Museum. Manuel Gasser has pointed out that Kokoschka too, loved museums: 'die liebste Erholung, die sich dieser Mann gönnt, ist der Museumbesuch'.¹²¹

Glasberg also reminds us of Kokoschka in his passionate pursuit of chemical experiments in his Hexenküche which he erects at the Reeds' home. The ring motif, so important in Orpheus, is one of several important points which make a difference to an understanding of Die Mumie and Ann Eliza Reed respectively. In Die Mumie it is clear that Ann Eliza has been the former sweetheart of Glasberg: she is the recipient of a Pharaonenring which he sends her from the Orient together with his only letter in twelve years. This Pharaoh's ring is brought into the story again at the end, when Ann Eliza has murdered Glasberg in a fit of insanity. When she realises what she has done she takes the ring off and hands it to her husband with the words:

Wenn dir das Schicksal vergönnt, dies
 alles zu vergessen, so bringe eine arme
 unglückliche Frau von hier fort. Diesen
 Ring aber gib den Toten zurück. (O.K.S.,p.102)¹²²

In Ann Eliza Reed, the ring is Ann's wedding ring and she hands it to her husband to keep until he has taken her away from the scene of such traumatic events, with the instruction 'Dann gib mir den Ring wieder' (S.W.,II,p.38).¹²³ This takes place within a context in which a moralising tone has crept into the story - quite absent in Die Mumie - in that Reed, attending the 'burial' of his wife (actually of the mummy) has become aware of his marriage 'als ein Sakrament'. However, the logic of the story is weakened in the second version because it is never clear that Ann Eliza was the recipient of the 'goldener Ring' and thus the story loses much of its dynamism. In Die Mumie the assumption that Glasberg and Ann Eliza have been lovers - platonic or not - distinctly furthers the plot, making the eternal triangle which is broken by the death of Glasberg. It is noticeable that there is very little outspoken jealousy in the story, in contrast to Orpheus und Eurydike: yet it is indeed strange that the newly-wed Reeds should invite Glasberg (a doctor) to their Scottish estate merely on the strength of his former acquaintanceship with Ann Eliza. The attitude of the three protagonists is extremely ambivalent: Ann Eliza remains fiercely loyal to Reed, but in a way which makes it seem forced, as her words to Glasberg before he performs the operation on her show:

Ich darf mich nicht von dem großen
 Toren trennen, doch weiß ich nicht, wie
 ich zu solch einem Mann kam. Ich lasse
 das Gesetz über mich ergehen, doch es
 erdrückt mich. (S.W.,p.370)¹²⁴

In Die Mumie she contradicts herself by telling Reed that she wants to be his beyond the grave but by later declaring - when she thinks she is dead - that she no longer owes him any affection. In Ann Eliza Reed she points out to Reed that their contract is only valid whilst she lives, indicating the degree of her frustration.

While the men play a cat-and-mouse game round Ann, she suppresses her love for Glasberg, regarding herself as Reed's property whilst she is alive. The degree of suppression can be guessed at by her reactions when she believes herself dead, and free of marital shackles. It is also revealed in her wish to be a child or a doll, to be cared for and pampered:

Für die man denkt und handelt ... wenn
ich eine Puppe wäre, so führte mich mein
Geliebter jede Nacht in einer schönen
Kutsche in den Park, in dem die Vögel
singen. (O.K.S.,p.92, S.W.,II,p.376)

It is impossible not to make the immediate comparison with Kokoschka and his plans for the doll (see pp.116-18). However, Ann goes on to express her desire to be like the dead mummy, which is so carefully tended by Glasberg in a manner bordering on necrophilia: it is clear that Ann envies the mummy, hence her remark to Reed: 'Ich möchte an der Stelle der Mumie sein' (S.W.,II,p.377).¹²⁵ The mummy thus extends the sexual images which have been discussed in this chapter, not just by its similarity with Kokoschka's own fetish but by the formation of a new link with the theme of love and death.

As the mummy has not had a decent Christian burial, we can draw a parallel between the undead state of Eurydike and the strange power the mummy has over Ann, which ceases abruptly when the mummy is buried (albeit by accident) and Glasberg is dead. We have already had cause to mention vampirism in Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen, but that was somewhat diluted by the sun/moon symbolism. In Die Mumie and Ann Eliza Reed there is an undertone of vampirism in that the undead (the mummy) preys on the living (Ann) until exorcised. Glasberg could be seen in this context as the assistant of the undead, much as Nosferatu needed his aides. Glasberg's attachment to the mummy cannot be seen in any other light than the psychotic. When he performs the Caesarian section on Ann, we are reminded that the mummy has a scarab over the same place on her body in the picture which is painted on her coffin. Clearly, Glasberg is not acting in Ann's interest, in view of the lethal nature of the operation at that time.

In her delirium when she wakes from the Scheintod which followed the operation, Ann believes that she is now freed from the wedding vows which bound her to Reed, making a liaison with Glasberg out of the question. Now, in a fever of excitement she approaches Glasberg as a 'Furie der Liebe' (O.K.S., p.100, S.W., II, p.384). She revels in her nakedness just as Eurydike had found sexual pleasure in nakedness.¹²⁶ In using this motif, Kokoschka shows a curiously ingrained adherence to the bourgeois rejection of nakedness as immoral, which was mentioned in the Introduction, pp.23-24.

Glasberg's reactions to Ann's sudden revival cannot be explained in rational terms. He consents to her request to put the mummy in her coffin to be buried in her stead, and sets about trying to tend Ann's wound. Even though his quarters are set apart from the main part of the house, it is incomprehensible that a doctor should not summon help. However much his patient Ann raves, it is Glasberg who seems to be insane. His emotional life is so petrified that he cannot react to the demands of the situation. It was his role to be the passive third of the triangle, and the demands that Ann now makes for his love to be declared are quite beyond his brief. This merely serves to drive Ann into more of a frenzy, and she diagnoses his trouble as being the fact that he is still alive: 'Du willst nicht glücklich sein, weil du noch lebst' (S.W., II, p.385).¹²⁷

Glasberg hears the sounds of the angry funeral party which intends to lynch him and assumes that it is because they have found out that he has put the mummy in the coffin for a counterfeit burial. Giving himself up, he opens the door and waits for his fate, but this is not the expected lynching. Instead Ann Eliza takes the scalpel which he had used on her and slits his throat, hoping to help him to die so that he can share the delights of love with her. The shock of the lynching party brings her back to her senses, so that she immediately feels ashamed of her nakedness and aware of the horror around her. In Die Mumie we see the sinister aspects from Glasberg's angle: 'Er hatte in der

Übermüdung offenbar gehandelt, wie ein Dämon es ihm eingab, der ihn heimlich lange schon besaß' (O.K.S.,p.101).

In Ann Eliza Reed, the demonic element is sensed by Ann as she comes to her senses: 'Die Greuel in ihr und um sie herum zeugen dafür, daß der Teufel, oder etwas von seiner Art, sein Werk in diesem Raum getrieben hat' (S.W.,II, pp.386-87). This reinforces a trend noted throughout: that Glasberg is a more pleasant character in Die Mumie than in the later story. In spite of his correctness, he is in a sense a Frevler towards Ann because of his fundamental dishonesty in their relationship. Werner Hofmann sees features of Kautschukmann in the character of Glasberg.¹²⁸ There are superficial similarities in that Kautschukmann has some claim to being a doctor and he tries to seduce Firdusi's wife. However, Glasberg's refusal to seduce Ann has sadistic implications, and he is far from being the lecherous voyeur that Kautschukmann is.

The ending of the story is somewhat unsatisfactory in both versions. Ann's husband is so unstable as to raise a severe doubt in the reader as to his mental sanity. Having harboured Glasberg for so long, in fact having persuaded him to stay because his medical skills might be useful to Ann in her pregnancy (a grotesquely ironic detail), he is the first to turn on Glasberg after the funeral: 'Nicht sein Freund war der Arzt gewesen, eher der von Ann Eliza' (S.W.,II,p.383).¹²⁹ Reed is a cold character, refusing to support Ann Eliza in the feud with Gwendolin, whose jealousy towards Ann tones in with the undercurrent of sexual jealousy which has propelled the story onwards.

Jealousy, pleasure in hurting and a deliberate withholding of affection - let alone sex - are the hallmarks of this tale. Ann Eliza is jealous of the mummy (which if it does have mysterious powers, is jealous of her), Gwendolin is jealous of Ann Eliza as she feels Reed ought to have married her. Reed is jealous of Glasberg in a subtle way (more clearly shown in Die Mumie than in Ann Eliza Reed). Glasberg seems too dislocated a person to feel anything properly, even jealousy: his sunglasses, worn inside the house (in Scotland!) indicate his blinkered emotional attitude. The

characters perpetually stalk one another in the half light of the Scottish mists. It is a bleak view indeed of love between the sexes - worse, perhaps, than the open warfare of the sun and moon. Just as with Wedekind there is, in Kokoschka's plays and other writings, not a single happily married couple, and no ray of hope for a satisfactory sexual relationship between man and woman. Psyche and Amor's relationship survives precisely because it is unconsummated.

In all the female characters which have been discussed in this chapter, Kokoschka shows that the woman's frustrated sexual desire forces her to kill her lover or husband. This profoundly pessimistic view undergoes various nuances, as Kokoschka came under various influences (Bachofen, Nietzsche, Freud and possibly Weininger) as well as suffering from the affair with Alma and his war injury. Thus, in spite of the feminist potential in Kokoschka's early interest in Bachofen, the fact that all the women protagonists in the plays murder the men they love seems to indicate a deep-seated fear of women as predators on Kokoschka's part which produced a fundamentally distorted view of femininity and of sexual relationships, and this lingered on throughout several decades, as the discussion of Die Mumie/ Ann Eliza Reed demonstrated.

CHAPTER 3KAISER

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I. KAISER'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS SEXUALITY

It was stated in the Introduction (p.13) that Kaiser acted as the 'control' in this study whereas Wedekind and Kokoschka were viewed as 'the experiment'. It is certainly the case that Kaiser was at ease in the bourgeois Wilhelmine domestic milieu, and his portrayals of the conventional type of domesticated woman display many of the distorted sexual attitudes which most Wilhelmine men of the day shared: acceptance of the double standard, for example, and sexual hostility towards the independent woman. Kaiser demonstrates the conventional Wilhelmine refusal to see the independent woman as anything but 'manly' in a letter he wrote to his fiancée, Margarethe Habenicht, rebuking her for taking walks unchaperoned:

Dies widerspricht für Deine Person (wie überhaupt die Person einer Frau) meinem besseren Empfinden. Ich sehe stets etwas Robustes darin, das dem Männlichen vorbehalten sein mag. Ein Gerieche von Studentinnen und ihrer Übelkeit liegt leicht darüber. Bedenke Dich bitte noch einmal dieser Tat.¹

In addition, the plays show that Kaiser made the mistake, so commonly made by Wilhelmine men, of assuming an ineradicable link between female sexuality and female reproduction. Although the two are obviously linked, modern methods of birth control have enabled men and women, especially the latter, to treat them as separate issues to which different criteria (such as pleasure or duty) might apply in different circumstances. As was shown in the Introduction (p.10), many men frowned on the idea of a respectable lady harbouring sexual desires. Kaiser twists this particular idea - which is itself distorted - so that he makes women who desperately want a child appear to be actually craving for sex, and at such a level of frustration that men are chased away. Most women, even those with a false consciousness who act against their own interest on occasion, can distinguish between whether they want a child (which is a long-term commitment), or sexual gratification.

The sexually eager women in Kaiser's early plays are incapable of making this distinction, and are thus completely different from Wedekind's Rasseweiber and Kokoschka's

Mondfrauen , who do not want to bear children. This does not mean that Kaiser treats this category of woman with any sympathy, but it does mean that one particular layer of ambiguity has been stripped away: Kaiser does not masquerade as an admirer of the Rasseweib or Mondfrau, only to demonstrate all her faults at great length. He acknowledges that the woman with a large sexual appetite is viewed as sick by society, and it could almost be argued that he uses his ironical treatment of such women as a means of highlighting the error of this particular attitude. However, the persiflage is too grotesque to allow this interpretation, especially as there is nothing to show that Kaiser did not actually believe that women of high libido were as depraved as he is showing. These grotesque female portrayals seem misogynist from a feminist perspective today, and this misogyny, as a demonstration of a distorted male attitude to female sexuality, will be scrutinised at several points in this chapter.

It must be added that the male characters in Kaiser's plays have almost as many sexual problems as the female characters. This was not true of Wedekind's male characters, who were confident of their sexual potency, however different they were in other respects. Kokoschka's men felt they had to battle against the women in the plays, but they held the trump card in these encounters. Kaiser's men are never as sexually secure as this. In addition to the characters who find their marital relationships problematic, several male characters are actually shown to be perverse. Kaiser thus deals with a wider variety of sexual difficulties than either Wedekind or Kokoschka did, by including such topics as incest and impotence amongst his themes. In this way he can frequently be viewed as being highly innovative in his choice of theme. This capacity to be both unconventional (in choice of Problem-atik) and conventional (in attitude towards sexuality) at one and the same time gives Kaiser an ambiguity which the critics have allowed to pass largely unexamined. One of the difficulties is that Kaiser uses different criteria for different sexes and different age groups. Young men

who have sexual problems are not held up to ridicule in the same way that the nubile Judith is in Die jüdische Witwe (1904) or the Dornfeld spinsters are in Die Dornfelds (1904). Senile and impotent men such as Judith's husband, Manasse, are treated with a degree of scorn, whilst women beyond un certain age are assumed to be both sexually uninteresting and uninterested. This sexist ageism is just one aspect of the general tone of misogyny in the Wilhelmine period (see note 31 to the Wedekind chapter).

An interesting feature of Kaiser's work is that his treatment of sexuality changes radically with the progress of time. This is particularly noticeable in his portrayal of female characters. In the early plays, which will be the main subject matter of this discussion, with a dividing line around 1922, female sexuality is treated in a conventional manner - which was probably done unconsciously on Kaiser's part - within a context which is often deliberately unconventional. Often the plots seem to be a challenge to bourgeois respectability by placing a sexually eager woman - Eve - centre-stage, but the Madonnas who patiently wait at home are shown to be the women who have authorial approval. Kaiser's early puritanical streak is deliberately erased in the plays written after about 1922, when Kaiser himself had embarked on what was to be a duplicate marriage in all but name with Maria von Mühlfeld. Whilst this affair remained a close secret until after Kaiser's death, his own awareness of his ambiguous (not to say hypocritical) stance seems to have found its way into the plays. The way Kaiser confronted this particular problem will be outlined briefly at the end of this chapter. It must also be borne in mind that a good deal of sexual emancipation was gained by women during the twenties, symbolised by the flapper girl dancing the Charleston in a skirt which daringly showed the knee. This breakthrough did not come overnight, however; nor was it specifically woman-oriented, as was mentioned in the Foreword (note 4). In Kaiser's work, a gradual recognition that women would often have to settle for something less than bourgeois domesticity is a feature of the works from the early 1920s on. This

no doubt had something to do with the Frauenüberschuß which resulted from the slaughter of so many men in the war, but it also reflects Kaiser's personal predicament with regard to his mistress.

Kaiser was fully aware that his own ideas and beliefs propelled his plays into existence, and he viewed his work as a mirror or confession in which he could see and learn from his own reflection. In one of his aphorisms he wrote: 'Ich versuche mir in meinen Werken klar darüber zu werden, wer ich bin'.² Paradoxically, a constant process of what Pausch terms 'Image-Pflege'³ accompanied this introverted approach. Kaiser, like the Romantics, placed great weight on the position of the artist. His introverted self-exploration encouraged him to view himself as someone special, even before he had made his name as a dramatist. In this respect, his immediate debt was to Nietzsche's idea of the Übermensch which in itself owed much to the Romantic ideal of the genius. This helps to explain Kaiser's extraordinary hubris when he claimed, at his trial for fraud in 1920, that he was a first-class writer on a level with Heinrich von Kleist and Georg Büchner, to whom the normal laws of society did not apply.⁴

This hubris in a man whom Steffens calls a 'pathologisch introvertierter Egoist',⁵ coupled with Kaiser's practice of living as far away from the public gaze as could be achieved, resulted in Kaiser's tendency to live vicariously through his pen, so that his characters were more real to him than ordinary people in the population at large. Unlike Wedekind, who frequented the cafés in order to observe people and acquire ideas for his characters, Kaiser felt he had no need to research his characters beyond applying the rigour of thinking an idea through to the end. This explains why so many of his characters seem stilted and why much of the sexual discussion, in particular, appears to be contrived. Diebold, an early critic, described Kaiser as a 'Denkspieler' and enquired of the three one-act love plays Friedrich und Anna (1910), Claudius (1910) and Juana (1918), 'wo pocht das Herz?'⁶ This lack of erotic momentum is a feature of all the plays which deal with

sexuality as the main theme. Kaiser seems to have sensed this himself, as he declared in an essay entitled 'Die Sinnlichkeit des Gedankens' (1925) that the creative process itself was more erotically charged than anything real life could offer. No physical passion with a woman could equal the passion produced by thought:

Es ist sehr reizvoll, von einer Frau im Blut entzündet zu sein - aber es ist nicht stark. Sehr eigenartig können Probleme zwischen Frau und Mann pendeln - aber es sind Verwicklungen, Anlässe zu erbärmlichen Spannungen. Sie mit dem Mittel der Kunst darzustellen - heißt auf halbem Wege stehen bleiben. Lyriker, Romantiker, Naturalist sein. Halbwelt. Vor der Sinnlichkeit des Gedankens erzittern - ist Geburt der Kunst. Im Katarakt des Blutstroms, der am Gedanken aufschäumt, heiß werden: das ist Erotik, die anders nicht gefunden wird. (G.K.W., IV, p.587)

There is a contradictory aspect to this argument because, by 1925, Kaiser had written a number of plays which have 'Probleme zwischen Frau und Mann' as their theme. Kaiser's motive in writing this essay seems to have been the desire to describe the process of creativity in exalted terms, as Kokoschka did (see p.119). In Kaiser's case, it is as if his inner demon commanded him to 'schreiben ... sich frei'.⁷ It is clear that creative writing for Kaiser was both an escape from society at large and an activity which provided its own form of sensual pleasure. This attitude towards artistic endeavour is very like the attitude found in Plato's writings (such as The Phaedrus), and indicates the degree of Kaiser's indebtedness to Plato, which he was willing to acknowledge.⁸

An equally clear influence, though less easy to document, is that of Nietzsche. According to Helt and Pettey, '... no other source provided such substantial and enduring influence upon Georg Kaiser as the works - and person - of Friedrich Nietzsche'.⁹ In particular, Also sprach Zarathustra fascinated Kaiser as it did all the Expressionists (see Introduction, note 3). Since both Plato and Nietzsche denigrated women in their own ways,¹⁰ it is not surprising that Kaiser should absorb some of their misogyny without necessarily viewing it as such. It must

be recalled that Zarathustra's argument that women should be nurses and mothers to the warriors of the belligerent new age did not differ significantly from entrenched Wilhelmine views as to the status of woman as helpmeet to man and sanctified mother. Zarathustra's crude remarks, mentioned in the Introduction (p.30), are simply an extreme version of conventional attitudes which Kaiser, too, seems to have shared. These implications are ignored by critics such as Walter Fix,¹¹ who describes the influence of Nietzsche as beneficial without any comment on the misogynist implications of Nietzsche's work. Thus, when Fix describes Kaiser as following in Nietzsche's footsteps in his plans for the birth of the New Man, he ignores the fact that New Women are excluded, an omission which is discussed in Section III. Neither Fix nor indeed Kaiser seem to have thought about whether women might have wanted more than the status of mother to the New Man. This particular kind of male arrogance is surprisingly resilient in German literature and resurfaces in later male-oriented Utopian visions such as that described by Hesse in Das Glasperlenspiel (1943) and Werfel in Stern der Ungeborenen (1946).

In view of Nietzsche's pronounced dislike of the emancipated woman, it is not surprising to find that Kaiser also adopted a reactionary stance to the Frauenfrage. This also means that prominent causes for which emancipated women campaigned are treated with persiflage, regardless of the wider issues involved. Thus, in 1905, the year in which Helene Stöcker founded her Bund für Mutterschutz in an attempt to ameliorate the lot of the fallen woman, Wedekind and Kaiser draw upon a similar theme - Mädchenhandel - in order to burlesque the whole idea of the woman social reformer. It has already been seen (p.76) how Wedekind belittles the Internationaler Verein zur Bekämpfung des Mädchenhandels through his debunking of Elfriede von Malchus in Tod und Teufel (1905). Kaiser similarly discredits the whole idea of an Internationaler Kampfbund gegen die Mädchenhändler in Der Präsident (1905). Both plays directly undermine Helene Stöcker's initiative. By a very selective use of their irony, Wedekind and Kaiser

support the bourgeois status quo of society. Of course, this is in itself a stance towards society, and Paulsen is justified in complaining that Kaiser persistently falls short of social critique!..von einem systematischen Studium der sozialen Grundlagen seiner Zeit hören wir nichts'.¹² Bubser also complains of the lack of social perspective in Kaiser's plays:

Man sucht bei Kaisers Tragikomödie vergeblich die durch die typisierende Darstellung beabsichtigte Veranschaulichung des sozialkritischen Engagements des Allgemeingültigen und typisch Menschlichen.¹³

What Bubser neglects to say, however, is that although Kaiser's main characters often meet an unfortunate end in ridiculous circumstances, a camouflaged statement does exist beneath the surface of the plays which endorses Wilhelmine social and sexual values, and which, on that level, does represent the 'Allgemeingültige und typisch Menschliche', though not in the way envisaged by Bubser. The humdrum female supporting characters who accept their stereotyped roles usually enjoy a degree of happiness and security which is the envy of the more iconoclastic characters, and this clearly reinforces the Wilhelmine patriarchal code which idealised the selfless, domesticated woman.

II. THE PROBLEMS OF MARRIED LIFE

(i) Conventional Marriage

Although there are persistent examples of marital strife in Kaiser's works, the bourgeois home such as that in Rektor Kleist (1903) remains the constant focal point of the action and is never ridiculed as such. Kaiser indicates his own subscription to bourgeois values by showing hard-working fathers and domesticated mothers in positive terms, whilst the more mentally agile and ambitious characters burn themselves out. Rektor Kleist, whose twisted body and childless state suggest impotence (though the idea is not pursued), relies heavily on his wife's small attentions such as the supervision of soft-boiling the eggs or the laying out of clean linen for his bath. These occupations seem to make a dullard out of Frau Kleist,

especially in view of her husband's greater intellect. However, his many faults, which are unfolded as the play progresses, from irascibility to inflexibility and then to what amounts to crime, allow Frau Kleist to emerge at the end of the play as the only character with some honour left. It is significant that however angelic the angel in the home, she has little power to alter the course of events. Kaiser pays no attention to the deleterious effects of domesticity on such a woman as Frau Kleist.

The bond of marriage is a constant reference point to which the female characters are related. This means, of course, that unmarried women have very little status. It also means that they will be permanently childless and it is this factor which Kaiser shows to be the most frustrating element in the fate of the Dornfeld spinsters. The destiny of woman as childbearer is intensely strong in some of the early plays, such as Die Versuchung (1909), where Karla becomes pregnant through mental rather than biological necessity, a theme which is reworked in the later play Gats (1924), where the protagonist underestimates his bride's desire for children and renders her sterile with the dangerous fluid, 'Gats'.

The marriage bond also confers a duty on the wife to be faithful to her husband, a duty which he does not have to reciprocate. Unfaithful wives sometimes sacrifice themselves in order to atone for their breach of the marriage bond (see Section II, iv. b). In other cases they are killed by the outraged husband - as in König Hahnrei (1910) and Claudius. In Der Fall des Schülers Vehgesack (1901-02), the wives of the schoolmasters all want to be unfaithful but only Frau Hornemann actually is unfaithful, and only then because her husband has decided to abstain from sex as a form of birth control. Thus, even in this early play, one can see the biological urge of a woman to bear a child, an urge which will break all barriers. It is typical of Kaiser that this theme is distorted almost beyond recognition in the glimpse we have of Frau Hornemann at the end of the play, heavily pregnant, dressed as

Schiller's 'Jungfrau von Orleans'.

Although the bourgeois home is sometimes shown to be stuffy and restricting in Kaiser's plays, the characters leave it at their peril. This happens in Hete Donat (1904), where Hete tries to reject the conventional milieu by marrying a man whose Bohemian ways appeal to her but finally ruin her. Donat is shown in every possible negative light: he squanders his wife's money and is unfaithful to her. Yet Hete refuses to see any wrong in her husband, a refusal which her brother-in-law, William Breitner, views as pathological on her part. It also reduces Donat to the status of Hete's lap-dog. Breitner confides to a friend: 'Mir erscheint sie schuldig am Untergang dieses Menschen' (G.K.W., V, p.284). The Breitners give the impression of a happy and stable family in comparison with the Donats, to whom they have selflessly offered a home, money and employment, considerably impoverishing themselves in the process. When Donat murders Hete at the end of the play and strides out to freedom, a murderer-at-large, the play seems to have a catastrophic end. However, the rectitude of the Breitner household, where the husband works diligently to support his family and the wife accepts her role as wife and mother with complete contentment, is reinforced by the contrast with the unhappy Donats. The supporting characters are fused together at the end of the play to emerge as a single protagonist: the secure family.

Almost exactly the same process repeats itself in Die Versuchung where another tight-knit family closes ranks to try to protect an aberrant member. The direct challenge to the sacrament of marriage that is posed in Rust's book on female reproduction is warded off by Kaiser's device of highlighting the instability of the main character, Karla, in comparison with her upright brother (Rolf) and sister (Änne). Rust's premise that a woman should obey biological imperative alone in her reproductive life (becoming pregnant by a man other than her husband if necessary) contains the notion of eugenic breeding which resurfaces in Europa (1914) and in a

sterile form in Gats. It has already been discussed in relation to Wedekind's Hidalla (see p.103). Kaiser seems to expect that his audience or spectators will accept his own (and Karla's) intellectual argument as to why she should become pregnant by Rust, whereas the liaison would be quite understandable from the physical angle, as Rust is an old admirer of Karla's from before her marriage and she has not allowed her husband to consummate their marriage. This fundamentally valid reason for their affair is, however, completely submerged by mental and moral debate, which Kaiser even allowed to intrude into the first title of the play, Die Muttergottes, which was changed because of its blasphemous connotations. In a foreword to the play, written in 1917, Kaiser referred to a new 'Sturmunddrangzeit' heralded in by Nietzsche and Ibsen with relation to the family:

Hohe These wird die Aufwärtsentwicklung des Menschen; Kind und Ehe. Die Frau inmitten dieses Dramas macht sie sich körperlich zu eigen: das Kind ist mehr als die Ehe. Um der Schöpfung willen des schönen und klugen Kindes irrt sie und zerbricht an diesem Irrtum. (G.K.W., IV, p.543)

Kaiser's suggestion seems to be that a stronger woman than Karla, possibly a woman like Ann in Shaw's Man and Superman (1903),¹⁴ would have been able to carry her plan through. However, the play's inner logic does not support this. As Karla loses in credibility, the other women - Rolf's fiancée Hilde and, to a greater degree, Anne Forbrig, consistently demonstrate correct behaviour. The result is that Karla appears in a very negative light when she tries to behave in a bourgeois way because, in committing adultery, she has cut herself adrift from the bourgeois code. Her purchase of pretty baby garments now seems out of keeping with her situation, and the web of lies she begins to spin demonstrates in a grotesque way the degree of her isolation. Her little tricks at the beginning of the play (such as watering down her husband's wine to discourage him from drinking it) turn into major falsehoods (such as her attempt to make her husband believe that he has made love to her

in a drunken stupor, thus causing her pregnancy). Schein and Sein come to dominate the plot: Karla's family finally regard her pregnancy as a phantom pregnancy and she, too, clutches at this idea: 'In meinem Kopf - - da war es zuerst am Leben ... - Kann denn ein Kind im Kopfe geboren werden??' (G.K.W., I, p.361).

Tunstall has demonstrated that Kaiser's ambivalence towards Nietzsche permeates Die Versuchung, with a negative evaluation of Nietzsche (especially of Also sprach Zarathustra) apparent in the figure of Rust, whose ready wit and disregard for social decorum constitute 'a caricature of Friedrich Nietzsche'.¹⁵ However, even Kaiser's disapproval fluctuates. For example, Rust's book is at first hailed as a work of genius but by the fourth act is regarded as dangerous by Rolf, the 'pillar of society' in the play. Regarding the favourable allusions to Nietzsche in this play, Tunstall writes:

Two conceptions from Nietzsche's work appear to have impressed Kaiser very favourably: the idea of a better humanity to come and - immediately related to this - the concept of a higher form of health.¹⁶

The higher form of health is epitomised by the character of Rolf (who is a doctor), whilst Karla embodies the eugenic debate.

The real issue, however, is not the degree of Nietzschean influence nor the question of eugenic breeding, but the sanctity of the marriage bond which Karla has breached. She atones for her error by committing suicide, leaving the morally unstained members of her family almost relieved at her death, as they had assumed that she had taken to drink and was in danger of becoming a bad influence on her nephew and niece. Anne, who uses her lovely voice to sing her children to sleep instead of pursuing a career as opera-singer, gains in stature during the play, as does Frau Kleist, but both women only receive authorial approval because they accept the confines of their domestic role, which in both cases involves frustrations and sacrifice. In contrast, Kaiser shows that the rebellious and sexually delinquent Karla is no match for the Zarathustran quest

upon which she embarks. In fact, Rust's instructions are intensely anti-feminist, as he argues that women are avoiding their duty if they do not bear as many children as nature allows:

Jede Frau muß genau die Anzahl Kinder gebären, die die Natur zuläßt ... Die Frau hat nicht das Recht, Leben zu unterdrücken. (G.K.W., I, p.314)¹⁷

Karla mistakenly thinks that these ideas indicate a liberating principle. Her attempt to be an Eve fails completely, as she does not have the courage of her convictions. However, in Die Versuchung as in Hete Donat, we have an important collective protagonist in the supporting characters who uphold the Wilhelmine values. In this way, Kaiser demonstrates that any 'quest for Leben'¹⁸ which undermines these values and threatens conventional marriage contains the seeds of its own demise.

In Margarine (1906), the pressure society puts on a wife to give birth to children is parodied by the plot in which a young girl can inherit her grandmother's settlement only if she is married with a baby by the time she is twenty. Again, Kaiser avoids direct social comment (such as an exposure of the genteel young lady's desperate quest for a match, especially when money was at stake) by debunking the young girl in question, Judith Vierkant, and by highlighting the problems of her suitor Konstantin Strobels, who feels that the Leistungsdruck will render him impotent. Kaiser stressed the role of the male protagonist - and his sexual dilemma - when he renamed the play Der Zentaur in 1916 (the centaur was supposed to be half man, half horse). In 1920 he again renamed the play, adding a section to make a division into five acts instead of four. This version is called Konstantin Strobels (Der Zentaur) and is, apart from the extension, identical with the other versions.

These name changes indicate a certain dissatisfaction with the play on Kaiser's part and this is reflected by the critics, who on many occasions actually misunderstand the plot, which has major ambiguities.¹⁹ Disregarding the tasteless allusion to the margarine which engulfed Strobels

senior and which probably inspired the fate of Herr Lucker-middle in Brecht's Heilige Johanna der Schlachthöfe (1932), the plot hinges on the paternity of the child born to Alma, the Vierkants' maid. As the text makes it quite clear that Alma is sacked by the Vierkants because she is pregnant, and that she is then employed by Strobel - who has seen her once only, at the Vierkants' - there is no reason for critics persistently to view Alma's child as having been fathered by Strobel.²⁰ This is merely the impression Strobel wishes to give to the rest of society. The whole dynamism of the play thus hinges on the false suppositions as to the paternity of Alma's child. The true father's identity remains undisclosed, and as Alma herself has only one line to say in the play it is clear that Kaiser had no interest in her portrayal. Through this omission, Kaiser underwrites the conventional middle-class attitudes of the day towards girls of the lower orders, who were supposed to be sexually loose. The Vierkants would be considered justified in sacking Alma, and on that level Strobel is, to a degree, altruistic in supporting her, although he does so for his own ends and abandons her with as much agility as he befriended her when Frau Siebeneicher beckons. Nowhere does Kaiser exhibit his conservatism more than in the portrayal of such minor female characters as the humble Alma, to whom the middle-class notions as to the sanctity of motherhood do not apply.

(ii) Unmarried Women

Kaiser makes the assumption throughout his early plays that it is a calamity for a woman to remain single. Although marriage is no guarantee of sexual fulfilment, the unmarried state is a certain guarantee of sexual frustration for the woman. In adopting this attitude, Kaiser aligns himself with the accepted notions of the day which held that the old maid was virtually a social outcast. The unmarried daughters in Die Dornfelds illustrate this dilemma in as much as Alwine and Franziska, (in contrast to their sweet-tempered younger sister Minchen, who is engaged to Otto), are drawn with biting caricature.

Although Die Dornfelds is heavy-handed and although its plot revolves around the absent brother Alfred to an excessive degree, Kaiser is skilful in showing the daughters' position from two angles: that of their own and that of their mother. From Frau Dornfeld's perspective the girls are lazy in the house, frittering away their time with needlework when they could be helping her. With obvious reluctance, she suggests that they ought to try and find work, though she qualifies her argument to the point of nullifying it when she states that '... es gibt viele ehrenwerte Männer, die eine Frau heiraten, die schon mal gearbeitet hat!' (G.K.W.,V,pp.365-66). The clear implication is that prospective husbands dislike the idea of working women - a view which was certainly Kaiser's own if one remembers his possessive attitude towards his wife. Frau Dornfeld expresses her reservations more clearly later in the play:

Denn die Arbeit - ist keiner Frau Beruf
... - schafft euch aus Not einen Beruf,
wie ja alle Frauenberufe bare Notstände
sind - : nur um nicht traurig - nicht
schlecht zu werden!! (G.K.W.,V,p.395)

During this discussion it is also revealed that the working women known to the Dornfeld family have unchallenging posts (as book-keeper and telephonist), thus increasing the disincentive for Alwine and Franziska to make the effort to find work. From their angle they are trapped in a home where absent brothers have more rights than they do. 'Wer sind wir hier im Hause? - Die Schindluder und Stiefelputzer - und Eckensteher!' (G.K.W.,V,p.398). Realising full well that their mother would like them to leave home, they bitterly refuse to comply: '... den Gefallen tun wir nicht und weichen aus der Wohnung'. (G.K.W.,V,p.399).

In this play, Kaiser assumes that a woman's sexual appetite is virtually identical with her desire to have children. As already indicated above, this was a typical, though not universal, male Wilhelmine assumption, and Kaiser is merely following convention in demonstrating this particular distortion in his attitude towards his female characters. It is no doubt equally difficult for female writers to convey an accurate perception of male

sexuality, but the portrayal is not distorted - as that of the male writer can be - by the necessity of taking pregnancy into account as a possible consequence. Kaiser seems to recognise that the conventional attitude towards spinsters in Wilhelmine Germany was offensive, but - with typical ambivalence - he also upholds the conventional code in the play by showing the opinions of Frau Dornfeld, Otto and Minchen to be correct, whilst the two old maids are so deviant that they forfeit all sympathy. The statement which the play makes is not: 'this is what distorted Wilhelmine values lead to', but: 'this is where unbridled and thwarted female sexuality can lead'. In order to acquire a baby, Alwine and Franziska - realising the full extent of the barrenness of their lives - direct their frustrated libidinal energy into destructive channels, causing the death of their brother Alfred and finally of their mother. Any social comment which could have been made in the play, especially with regard to social convention, is undermined and finally suppressed by the grotesque portrayal of the spinsters, who are the sole object of satire in the play.

In Europa, the plot again centres round an unmarried woman, this time the Europa of Greek myth, who was carried off to Crete by Zeus who had taken on the form of a bull. In Kaiser's play, Europa returns to her father the next day, whereas in the myth she remains in Crete and her brother Kadmos sets out to search for her. In Europa, Kadmos never appears on stage although he is the cause of much of the action. (The same was true of Alfred Dornfeld.) In Kaiser's play, Kadmos has absconded from his father's court because he found the atmosphere too effeminate. King Agenor now fears that his dynasty will be without an heir, so he tries to persuade his daughter, Europa, to marry one of her many suitors. Europa, however, has persistently rejected these suitors, all of whom dance with exquisite daintiness. Most of the first act is taken up with the suicide of one of these rejected dancers. This is in itself ironic, because the dainty dancing steps simply increase Europa's boredom, yet Agenor has insisted upon dainty dancing in order to entice Europa to choose a husband. Diebold speaks

scathingly of Agenor as 'Tanzabendarrangeur'.²¹ Hermes, Zeus's messenger in the play, is rather more tactful:

AGENOR eifrig. Seid ihr unseren Männern begegnet?

HERMES. Wir genossen den Anblick auf der Wiese.

AGENOR. Sind sie nicht geschaffen, das Herz eins Mädchens zu erfreuen?

HERMES. Sie erschienen uns selbst wie feine Mädchen.

AGENOR. Haben sie nicht alles abgestreift, was grob - was roh ist?

HERMES. Sie schritten nicht mehr - sie tänzelten.

AGENOR. Der Tanz ist die letzte Stufe. Im Tanz ist unsere Rauheit bis auf den Kern gelöst. Der Tanz ist der Ausdruck für die vollkommene Mäßigung der Regungen. Wir sind so weit, es sollte der Gipfel sein -

HERMES. Er ist es. (G.K.W., I, pp.601-02)

This amusing exchange satirises Agenor's ideas very effectively and also indicates a debt to Nietzsche, whose ideas on the advantages of unrestrained dancing are diametrically opposed to those of King Agenor. As Tunstall points out, 'the act of dancing is one of the major characteristics of Zarathustran levity'.²² Kaiser prepares the way for a contrast to be brought into play by stressing the effeminacy of Agenor's ideal of the dance, which will be decisively rejected by his own courtiers when the predatory warriors from Kadmos's land come to his court, introducing a new ideal of Zarathustran machismo. The warriors bring with them the vigour and vitality which will revive the flagging energy of the women of Agenor's court. In fact, the creation of a eugenically strong race is their express purpose. In the 'Anführer''s words: 'Wir schaffen kräftiges Leben' (G.K.W., I, p.650).

Europa, Agenor's lovely daughter, languishes in this rarified and emasculated atmosphere without being able to quite define what she wants. To the observer, of course, it is plain from the beginning that she needs a man.

After her night spent away from court, during which Zeus carries her off to her rather feeble protests and, presumably, rapes her, Kaiser shows her to be a changed person. She is now full of vitality, her senses are keen and she is more than eager to accept the 'Anführer der fremden Krieger' as her mate. The warriors' rapacious seizure of Europa and the women of the court follows Zarathustra's aggressive precepts. One could even speculate that Kaiser had read Marinetti's Mafarka le futuriste (published two years before Europa was written). Although this book was swiftly banned for obscenity, its hero Mafarka - a Futurist Zarathustra - is not so very different from Kadmos (as far as we can judge from his warriors). In the play, the place left vacant by Kadmos is filled by the virile figure of Zeus. Kaiser, unlike Marinetti, took no risks with the censor, and gives no more than a strong hint that Europa enjoyed being raped. (In Mafarka, this is crudely dwelt upon.²³) However, Kaiser certainly seems to align himself with the mainstream of opinion, as discussed in the Introduction, whereby it was accepted that male sexuality was inherently aggressive, whilst female sexuality was passive to the point of welcoming rough treatment. This, of course, is exactly what Europa does, making her father's anxiety seem ludicrous:

AGENOR. Meine Tochter eine Nacht -
Europa eine ganze, lange, dunkle Nacht
nicht im Hause, es ist nichts Schwärzeres
unter den Sternen auszudenken als solche
Nacht. (G.K.W., I, p.639)

Kaiser, in contrast, portrays the night of absence through Europa's eyes as the very thing she needed in her aimless, unmarried state. Indeed, she has become so physically aware that she can actually smell the presence of virile men when she comes home:

EUROPA. Wie riecht es hier?

AGENOR. Hier?

EUROPA. Scharf - bitter nach Fett. (G.K.W., I, p.646)

When the 'Anführer der fremden Krieger' has claimed Europa as his booty, Agenor marvels that his daughter is not disgusted by the smell of the furs he is wearing:

EUROPA ihre Wange auf die Brust des Anführers bettend und mit den Händen über das Fell streichend. Es ist alles so wahr.

AGENOR. Es ist wahr - du sinkst nicht nieder. Der scharfe und bittere Dunst bringt dich nicht von Sinnen, der von diesen Fellen strömt. Du atmest noch an der offenen Brust des schwersten Kriegers.
(G.K.W., I, p.648-49)

This undercurrent of support for male aggression is a misogynist element in the play which should not be ignored, in spite of the moments of brilliant humour which are present. This is one of the few plays by Kaiser to have a woman in the title role, and although Europa has none of the grotesquely negative features of Alwine and Franziska Dornfeld, her needs are defined entirely in relation to men, as is the case with the other major female character in Kaiser's early work - Judith in Die jüdische Witwe.

(iii) Unconsummated Marriage

Throughout his life, Kaiser seems to have been fascinated by sexuality as a topic. The early plays, in particular, evince an intense degree of sexual anxiety. Tunstall singles out impotence as the chief source of worry: 'The problem of impotence appears to have occupied, indeed plagued, the dramatist himself during these early years'.²⁴ Such problems as existed did not automatically disappear when Kaiser married in 1908. Ingrid Schuster suggests that '... im Falle der "Jüdischen Witwe" könnten krankheitsbedingte Impotenz und Eheprobleme eine Rolle spielen'.²⁵ Armin Arnold points out that Kaiser found himself under pressure from his mother-in-law when five years had gone by without the arrival of a grandchild, a situation immortalised in Der Pfahl im Fleische (1913):

Darin ist Albin Achilles das Spiegelbild
Georg Kaisers; statt Kinder zu zeugen,
sitzt er am Schreibtisch.²⁶

It is possible that Kaiser, whom Steffens sees as 'ein sehr erotischer Mensch'²⁷ remained a virgin until marriage; this would in part explain the nervous atmosphere towards

sexual matters in the early plays.

The men in Kaiser's plays frequently leave the women sexually unfulfilled, not out of cruelty (as with most of Kokoschka's men) but out of sexual inhibition, a feeling that they are under Leistungsdruck. Kaiser will have encountered this notion in Hebbel's Judith (1841), where Judith remains a virgin during her six months' marriage to Manasse because she showed enthusiasm on her wedding night and thus rendered Manasse impotent. In Kaiser's Die jüdische Witwe, the twelve-year-old Judith (who is fourteen in Hebbel's play) is forced to marry the impotent old man, Manasse, whose enjoyment of his wife's physical attractions is voyeuristically restricted to a desire to watch her take her bath. Manasse attempts to trap Judith into seducing the eunuch Simson (whose name gives an indication of the mocking irony which pervades the play), thus putting Judith in the wrong rather than himself, as Jewish law insists upon conjugal rights but is equally strict about infidelity.

Judith's state of sexual frustration is very similar to that of the girls in Die Dornfelds, written in the same year, and again Kaiser draws back from any social critique, preferring instead to trace Judith's odyssey to achieve sexual fulfilment with sardonic humour. Kaiser, like Wedekind, regarded any topic as a valid recipient of his irony and this is often a detrimental element in his plays. In Die jüdische Witwe, Kaiser draws on the apocryphal, semi-historical personage of Judith and also the psychologically rich portrayal in Hebbel's Judith, but he also brings to bear the debunking element which Nestroy uses in Judith und Holofernes (1849), where Holofernes falls in love with Judith's twin brother, who is dressed as a woman. Amidst the mocking jests there are clearly some serious topics raised by Kaiser, a fact which led Ingrid Schuster to view Judith as an 'Opfer aller Formen der sexuellen Demütigung und Repression'.²⁸ However, the tone of skittish parody is such that it is difficult to accept Schuster's attempt to see a feminist statement in the play:

Judiths Schicksal steht - bei aller Komik
- stellvertretend für das der unterdrück-
ten Frau schlechthin.²⁹

Schuster, in common with the majority of critics (who are usually male), treats Judith as a mature woman whereas in the play, she is only twelve in the first scene in which she is forced to marry Manasse, and thirteen plus when she is deflowered by Jojakim. By making Judith so young, Kaiser evokes the Lolita stereotype which would, if handled in a different manner, suggest that he is mocking Wilhelmine sexual hypocrisy. However, the continual parody of Judith's sexual desire encourages the critics to take her characterisation at face value, so that she is not seen as a girl abused by the men who ought to protect her (not least of them, Jojakim), but as a girl who is so desperate for sex that Diebold calls her a 'Tierchen',³⁰ and Kenworthy remarks that 'Judith achieves the satisfaction of her ruling impulse'.³¹ Schürer adds a very similar comment: '... her wish is ultimately fulfilled'.³² These comments indicate a very facile reading of the play, at least in their acceptance of Kaiser's attitudes towards female sexuality.

As in Die Dornfelds, the link between female sexuality and female reproduction is shown to be inextricable. Judith can take all the taunts from Manasse except one: his threat to keep her barren, which of course is merely a rationalisation of his impotence. He tells Judith, 'ich werde es mir sehr überlegen, ob du nicht überhaupt unfruchtbar bleibst' (G.K.W., I, p.146). Judith reacts with alarm to this suggestion, as the blight of barrenness was the most dreadful fate which could befall a wife in biblical times. Hebbel's Judith expresses the same idea:

Ein Weib ist ein Nichts; nur durch den
Mann kann sie etwas werden: sie kann
Mutter durch ihn werden. Das Kind, das
sie gebiert, ist der einzige Dank, den
sie der Natur für ihr Dasein darbringen
kann.³³

It is ironic that Hebbel should place this deeply anti-feminist statement in the mouth of a woman. As the foundation for this remark - the sanctity of motherhood - became a tenet of Wilhelmine thought, we have here an example of

how a conventional attitude could be, at the same time, a distorted view. Hebbel and Kaiser both voice a latently misogynist view in giving authorial support to this evaluation of woman. Kaiser, unlike Hebbel, allows Judith's desire for a child to become subsumed under her hedonistic search for a man, so that she finally appears to be little more than a mannstolle [s] Triebbündel'.³⁴

Holofernes evokes the masterly Superman in his brutality in battle and his open contempt for women. This is clear in his remark to the struggling Judith (who is dressed as a boy), 'wer beißt, ist Weib' (G.K.W., I, p.171), and in his peremptory command to Judith when he wants to sleep with her: 'Komm! - Weib!' (G.K.W., I, p.179). It is reinforced when Holofernes shows reluctance to eat Judith's food, if one recalls the allusion in Also sprach Zarathustra to 'Manns-Kost':³⁵

HOLOFERNES. Rührst du nichts von allem an?

JUDITH. Aus meiner Tasche - Feigenkuchen!

HOLOFERNES. Muß ich auch - ?

JUDITH. Feigenkuchen ist nicht für dich!

HOLOFERNES. Soll der Mann Fleisch verzehren?

JUDITH lacht. Ja! (G.K.W., I, p.173)

The incident with the fig-cake has even more importance than at first sight, as it is a direct reference to the biblical story, where Judith tells Holofernes:

Ich darf noch nicht essen von deiner Speise, daß ich mich nicht versündige; sondern ich habe ein wenig mit mir genommen, davon will ich essen.³⁶

The food to which Judith refers in this biblical extract is also 'Feigenkuchen'. In addition, Kaiser is faithful to his source in portraying Holofernes as brutal: he is reluctant to let Judith return to her people 'unberühret' in the biblical account.³⁷ This is an example of Kaiser's free use of source material whereby he is attentive to detail whilst ignoring wider historical accuracy - in this case, Judith's purity of motivation, which is the main

feature of the biblical story.

The characterisation of Jojakim in Kaiser's play is designed to shock as much as the characterisation of Judith: not because biblical priests were necessarily celibate, but because of their sacred duties as moral authorities. Kaiser's somewhat risqué ending shows how far he was from advocating women's rights in this play: indeed, the Bible awards Judith much more respect as a woman without, of course, taking her sexual inclinations into account when describing her murder of Holofernes. In contrast, Kaiser makes Judith's whole mental process depend on her sexual desire, and all the jokes in the play refer to her libido - even the ironical detail that Judith despatches Holofernes because she prefers Nebukadnezar. However, Kaiser's Problematik forces him to raise valid issues, such as arranged marriage and the dilemma of the child bride, which he fails to develop. These issues have much wider implications than Kaiser's ridicule allows.

(iv) Marital Infidelity

(a) Liebestod : A Mockery of the Myth

Although Kaiser's predilection for the bourgeois family seems ineradicable, the idea of marital infidelity fascinated him too and is referred to constantly throughout a lifetime of writing. Infidelity is at first treated as a joke (in the person of Frau Hornemann) but it swiftly turns into a serious and blameworthy act, as in Die Versuchung. Women who commit adultery seldom survive: they frequently commit suicide if they are not killed by their husbands. In Claudius, the husband has been out every night killing potential rivals without knowing that his wife - lonely at his absence - sought solace elsewhere. Claudius's revenge is swift and brutal. In König Hahnrei, Kaiser gives the question of adultery satirical treatment, but refrains from his common practice of showing the stable family as ultimate victor. Instead, he sustains his tone of mockery throughout the play, satirising every facet of the plot: sexuality, kingship, the legend of Tristan and finally, Wagnerian Liebestod.

The Liebestod of Tristan and Isolde in König Hahnrei represents a reworking of the Tristan legend by Gottfried von Straßburg in the light of Wagner's opera Tristan und Isolde. Whilst retaining some of Gottfried's detail such as the use of Brangäne as a substitute for Isolde and the sprinkling of flour as a trap for Tristan (which he circumvents), Kaiser rejects much of the original legend, including the love potion which Tristan and Isolde drink by mistake, and Isolde's survival of the ordeal by hot iron: in fact, Kaiser uses borrowed material only when it relates to sexuality. Sometimes Kaiser retains a detail - such as the lovers' banishment, only to alter its spirit (in the legend, Marke finds Tristan and Isolde asleep, separated by a sword, and believes in their innocence). From Wagner's opera Kaiser took and reworked the death of the lovers, but robbed it of its romantic connotations. Indeed, the love of Tristan and Isolde in Kaiser's play is a sustained parody of the legend of faithful love. To make his parody even more searching, Kaiser shows that Marke has a grotesque fixation in his belief that Isolde has had a sexual relationship with her small brother. This perversion makes King Marke the most disturbed of Kaiser's male characters. It is also a clever strategy of Marke's which he adopts in order to rationalise the real relationship which threatens his marriage: the love affair between Tristan and Isolde. Brian Kenworthy skilfully delineates Marke's dilemma:

Kaiser shows, with relentless and terrifying penetration, a man struggling to avert approaching insanity which his innermost, irrational conviction tells him is yet more bearable than the stress of his conflict with reality.³⁸

By hiding in an acacia tree (a hilariously funny theatrical detail), Marke overhears Isolde describe her emotions when Tristan first told her about Tintagel. Confusing excitement at the prospect of travelling to Tintagel with what was really nascent love for Tristan, Isolde emotionally embraced her six-year-old brother. In the same conversation Marke hears how he has been duped by having Brangäne in his bed every night instead of Isolde. Marke's

reaction is an extraordinary mental somersault: he concludes that as he has been sleeping with Brangäne since his marriage, Isolde must still be chaste. Although he at first seems to believe the truth: 'Sie haben mich ... mit einer Dirne abgespeist', he decides that this is only imagination: 'Das sind - Vorstellungen!!!' Isolde is 'rein' and 'keusch' (G.K.W., I, p.377).

In absolving Tristan and Isolde of guilt, Marke has to find a scapegoat and his choice is Isolde's young brother, whose hearty hug is now interpreted by Marke as a sexual exchange:

Das Kind!!! ... Das Kind hat - sie
berührt --! mit Händen hinterm Hals --
mit Armen auf die Brust -- mit Füßen im
Schoß -- die ist berührt - sie ist nicht
rein - sie ist nicht keusch ... (G.K.W., I, p.378)

Marke's obsessive preoccupation with Isolde's brother, whom he insists on seeing as his sexual rival rather than Tristan (a facet of the play mainly ignored by the critics) runs parallel with his equally obsessive desire to observe Tristan and Isolde together. Marke thus distances himself from unpleasant feelings of jealousy by choosing a remote object of envy, and proceeds to live vicariously through Tristan and Isolde's love affair as a peeping Tom.³⁹ This makes the play very different from the plays which have already been discussed, because Kaiser does not make any authorial statement whereby it can be seen that conventional morality triumphs in the end. This indicates that even in his early works, Kaiser was aware of certain ambiguities in his stance. The ambiguity is particularly noticeable in this play because an actual perversion lies at the heart of the Problematik, and we are not simply trying to detect a camouflaged distorted sexual attitude. Although there is no actual proof that Kaiser had read any of Freud, it is probably safe to assume with Huder and Fivian that he was aware of Freud's theories on psychoanalysis.⁴⁰ Schürer surmises the following:

It is very likely that Kaiser had read Sigmund Freud's Interpretations (sic) of Dreams (1901) and his later Psychopathology of Everyday Life (1904) and the

General Introduction to Psychoanalysis (1910).⁴¹

To this, one should surely add the Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualität (1905) especially in relation to König Hahnrei. This work caused a scandal by stating categorically what nursemaids and mothers knew but preferred to ignore: that children have sexual instincts which pass through various stages. For example, the six-year-old boy passes through the Oedipal stage of sexuality - by wishing he could kill his father and marry his mother - before he lapses into a period of latent sexuality which lasts until puberty.

It is legitimate to assume that Kaiser has this notion of infantile sexuality at the back of his mind when he sends Marke to the scholar with the question:

... seid ihr der Ansicht... daß in einem
sechsjährigen Knaben Gefühle der Leiden-
schaft nach dem andern Geschlechte --
nach dem Weibe in Regung sind? (G.K.W., I, p.386)

It is ironic that both Marke and the scholar decide that the answer is 'no' (although Marke remains unconvinced), whereas Freud's thesis was that children do indeed have sexual urges, though not towards their older sisters in the grotesque way postulated by Marke.

The six-year-old boy to whom such lasciviousness is imputed is not brought on stage and Marke makes further efforts to conquer his delusion. Twice with the scholar and once with the priest he grapples with his perversion, finally turning to magic in an attempt to conjure it away. Just at the point where he believes he has conquered his obsession, further proof comes of Tristan's infidelity with Isolde, and Marke reacts by ordering his 'Steuermann' to sail to Ireland to abduct the young prince. Marke finally banishes Isolde, not for deceiving him but for allowing her brother to embrace her:

...-- zeichne mir aus der Luft, was ich
nicht sehe!!! -- das --- Kind !!!!! (G.K.W., I, p.424)

Marke's voyeurism is a refined variant of the sado-masochism which has frequently been discussed in this study. He renounces his own claim to Isolde - he could, after all, force her to sleep with him as she sleeps with Marke in Gottfried's epic - in order that all three of them should

suffer.

In his sane moments, Marke realises his own emotional bankruptcy and this reinforces his need to keep Tristan and Isolde constantly near to him. This explains why he will not hear of their being permanently banished to a remote corner of a forest: there they would be able to indulge their love without his participation as voyeur. Andret and the other three barons regard the punishment of banishment as quite severe enough: '... was Verbannte in der Verbannung tun - das streift uns nicht mehr!' (G.K.W., I, p.440). Marke, however, is beside himself without his quarry. From being the victim of deception he has managed, through adroit manipulation, to make Tristan and Isolde his victims.

The reason why Marke kills Tristan and Isolde at the end of the play is not the fact that he has final proof of their adultery but on the contrary, that their love has died, leaving him with nothing to watch. In a grotesque parody of Wagner's notion of Liebestod, Marke kills first the lovers' love and then the lovers themselves. Isolde comments wearily, 'Marke - hat unsere Liebe getötet' (G.K.W., I, p.444). With a cynicism which suggests that Kaiser himself viewed romantic love as a myth, Kaiser debunks the legend of the greatest love affair in Western literature by making Tristan, the faithful lover, pay suit to Brangäne behind Isolde's back: 'Der Schlingel Tristan -- hat mit der Magd - gelegen --!' (G.K.W., I, p.453). This final twist to the tale marks the end of the only love affair in the early plays where sexual love is - if only fleetingly - enjoyed and treasured by the lovers themselves. Kaiser reduced the concept of Liebestod to banality when Marke kills both lovers - from behind - with a spear.

One of the reasons why Kaiser's play is so different in tone from those discussed hitherto is that Isolde is not the central character and her sexuality is not the burning issue; instead, the problems are caused by Marke's projections of her sexuality. The desire for a child, which conferred a degree of validation on the sexual quest of Judith in Die jüdische Witwe and Karla in Die Versuchung,

is entirely absent, so that Isolde appears curiously sexless. This is in itself remarkable in a play where the fundamental issue, according to the legend, ought to be her sexuality. However, as already indicated, Kaiser was more interested in demonstrating Marke's perversity.

(b) Opfertod

As though obedient to his puritanical streak, Kaiser does not permit his female characters in the early plays to survive for long if they have been possessed by more than one man, unless they are minor characters such as Phryne in Der gerettete Alkibiades (1917-19). The ambiguities which surrounded the portrayal of Isolde have been noted, and it must be stressed again that the delineation of Isolde departs from what can be seen as the norm in Kaiser's early works, where he shows a strong predilection for the self-sacrificing Madonna type of woman and allows the sexually aggressive Eves such as Judith in Die jüdische Witwe to appear ridiculous. Ruth Schwertfeger gives an interesting classification when she comments '... seine [Kaisers] Frauengestalten sind entweder farblos - statische Geschöpfe ... oder gewissenslos und skrupellos'.⁴² However, this classification fails to take into consideration the question of childbearing which has been so crucial in analysing the female characters so far.

Kaiser seems to have held the residual belief - at least until the early 1920s - that a husband had a permanent claim on his wife. Zola believed this and it is found as a leitmotif in all his works, though Kaiser will probably have been familiar with it from Zola's play Thérèse Raquin.⁴³ In the Kokoschka chapter, this idea is discussed in relation to Kokoschka's fears that Alma's child (by him) might resemble the dead Mahler (p.115). Kaiser's premise that the marriage bond lasts until death (and beyond) gains a macabre dimension in some of his plays, as violated and seduced women destroy themselves, realising, on an unspoken level, that they can only truly belong to their husbands again in death. It is a noteworthy feature of the suicides of such women that they accept the male assumptions which censor their sexual behaviour. They do not seem to

regard themselves as autonomous people. In this, Kaiser demonstrates a very conventional streak if one remembers the tutelage which represented the Wilhelmine wife's position vis à vis her husband.

In Das Frauenopfer (1915-16), Kaiser gives a paradigm for this kind of sacrificial death. Gräfin Lavalette has been subjected to repeated rape in prison, having enabled her husband to escape by exchanging clothes with him. At first, Graf Lavalette tries to rationalise the rape in a similar way to König Marke when he tried to persuade himself that Isolde was still a virgin: 'Gewalt nötigte dich ... - So bliebst du unberührt!' (G.K.W.,V,p.693). However, the Count cannot let the matter rest there; he has to 'think it through to the end' and concludes that his wife must have enjoyed the repeated rape, otherwise she would have killed herself: 'Du bliebst nicht starr - dein Leib bog sich dem Druck entgegen- und genoß!!' (G.K.W.,V,p.694).

Gräfin Lavalette subsequently manipulates herself into a position where she can again shield her husband by exchanging clothes with him and is shot in his place as a result. The reader or spectator has to suppress the first reaction - which is disbelief that anyone could find Graf Lavalette worth dying for - in order to understand the death as an Opfertod to be interpreted according to Kaiser's views on infidelity, when it becomes perfectly understandable, as does the death of Sylvette in Der Brand im Opernhaus (1917), which restores Herr von ..'s self-respect.

Kaiser, probably sensing the fundamental hypocrisy in a character he did not wish to satirise, inserts a criticism of Herr von .' in the comment which his friend, Der alte Herr; makes on Herr von .'s choice of an orphan bride, whom he acquired virtually sight unseen from the orphanage: 'Sie griffen ziemlich blindlings zu' (G.K.W., I,p.722). This exposes Herr von .'s selfish motive in idolising his wife: he feels (ironically) that he is safe from the threat of a rival as the orphans are 'keusch' (G.K.W.,I,p.722). Consequently his anger at being proved wrong is all the more vindictive. Steffens highlights

the major problem with the play when he points out that Kaiser concentrated on Sylvette's Problematik to the exclusion of her husband's, which appears 'unwahrscheinlich'.⁴⁴

To a degree, Herr von '.' resembles the other betrayed husbands Marke and Graf Lavalette in that he blots out reality from his mind. Having boasted of the virtues of his wife to the old roué, his former acquaintance, it is difficult for him to accept his wife's infidelity. However, Paulsen comments with a good deal of indignation, '... welches Recht hat dieser Herr von '.' auf eine Frau ... die er sich mehr oder weniger zu seinem Spezialvergnügen gekauft hat?'.⁴⁵ Kaiser gives us more evidence of the worthlessness of Herr von '.' when the latter conceives of the idea of sending Sylvette to the king with the ring of his former mistress, in the hope that the king will take Sylvette as his new mistress. Whereas the infidelity with the opera-singer was an inadmissible stain on Herr von '.''s honour, Sylvette's liaison with the king would bring riches and glory to them both. Sylvette - tortured by her husband's refusal to recognise that she is still alive - decides to educate her husband by re-entering the fire, where she perishes. Her portrayal is not ironic, and it is clear that Kaiser sees her self-sacrifice as noble.

Herr von '.' plays a cat-and-mouse game with Sylvette under the specious guise of a search for 'Reinlichkeit' (G.K.W., I, p.738). By withholding or granting recognition that his wife is alive he can exercise absolute control over her. Her insistent 'ich lebe' reminds us of Kokoschka's Eurydike, who needed encouragement to leave the world of the dead: 'Sprich es - ein Wort - ich lebe!' (see p.166). Sylvette needs encouragement to re-enter the world of the living. Herr von '.', like Orpheus, cannot overcome the infidelity of his spouse: Eurydike flees the anger of Orpheus and returns to Hades, and Sylvette - with a strong hint of authorial approval - seeks justification by fire, atoning for her adultery in her Opfertod, and thus upholding the values of bourgeois society.

A similar form of Opfertod takes place in the one-act play Juana where Juan is presumed dead, so that Juana feels

free to marry his friend Jorge (a plot somewhat similar to that of the full-length play Der mutige Seefahrer, (1910)). When Juan returns home, Juana is given the poison cup and told to choose which man will drink it, whereupon she drinks it herself, ostensibly to show her support for the principle of male friendship, but also in order to settle the more pressing question of infringed male territorial rights through another Opfertod.

(v) The Question of Incest

It has already been pointed out above (p.181) that Kaiser deals with a broader range than Wedekind and Kokoschka when writing about sexual behaviour, and this has already been seen in the sexual disturbance of König Marke, which is nothing short of perverse. It will be recalled that brother-sister incest lay at the heart of the Problematik in König Hahnrei, and this is also true of the one-act play Der Protagonist (1920). In both plays, the influence of Freud seems to be present, though it is difficult to substantiate (Kaiser could have had Freud's Totem and Tabu (1912-13) in mind when writing Der Protagonist). Both Marke, who simply imagines Isolde's incestuous behaviour, and the 'Protagonist', who actually experiences incestual instincts, are portrayed as deranged, showing Kaiser's attitude to this type of sexual impulse to be one of censure. However, whilst Marke's Schadenfreude feeds upon itself, discrediting Marke as a character, the 'Protagonist's' actions indicate an unmistakable support for patriarchal attitudes on Kaiser's part, especially with regard to the male double standard, which is the topic of the two mimes rehearsed by the players. In the first mime, which puts the brother into such a jolly mood, the farcical situation is produced because the man (played by the 'Protagonist') has two women languishing after him, one of them his wife, whose love is so steadfast that she repulses the advances of the monk (a further ironic detail) and agrees to share her husband with his mistress. The comedy is increased because the female roles are actually taken by men, as the play is set in Elizabethan England. In the mimes, the

farcical situation is turned into a tragedy by the simple device of making the wife unfaithful.

The situation is now radically altered. Rejected by his wife, the husband in the second mime now finds no enjoyment in the arms of his mistress. In the first mime, the 'Protagonist' had rushed frantically but happily between his wife and his mistress, kissing them alternately, and the entrance of the sister brought about a happy ending (sealed by her kiss). In the second mime, the 'Protagonist' transfers his sexual jealousy on to his sister whom he now, as surrogate wife, brands as a 'Dirne' (G.K.W., V,p.740) for announcing the news of her betrothal. The grotesque murder illustrates not only the 'Protagonist's' mental and sexual disorders but also the quite blatant acceptance of the double standard on Kaiser's part as a springboard for the whole plot. A triangle with one man and two women is treated as funny, but the joke turns sour when the triangle consists of one woman pursued by two men, a situation outlawed by bourgeois convention.

It is noteworthy that there are two separate distorted sexual attitudes in this play: the actual perversion of the brother, whose solicitude is so obviously more than fraternal affection that the landlord openly mocks 'die Dame Schwester' (G.K.W.,V,p.728), and the conventional attitude of Kaiser towards the double standard. This is a clear example of Kaiser's ambiguity - as on a number of other occasions, he chooses an unusual, not to say iconoclastic plot, but cannot quite eradicate his own attitudes which remain firmly rooted in Wilhelmine values. This is also true of another play, Kanzlist Krehler (1922), where Kaiser introduces another shocking idea, the incestuous attraction of a father for his daughter which actually leads him to murder his son-in-law. However, Kaiser treats the character of Krehler with reserve and indeed censure. Kaiser seems to have simultaneously sympathised with the sexually repressed Krehler and disapproved of his dereliction of duty as pater familias. It must also be noted that the date of the play indicates that Kaiser's attitude towards sexual matters on a personal level had begun to change,

so that his portrayals of sexually attractive women are no longer satirised de rigueur. In this way, Ida can be discussed as a happy and balanced woman in her attitude towards sexuality, whereas this was not possible with regard to the women characters in plays written a decade or so earlier, who tended to be either destructive Eves or sexless Madonnas.

The single event which unhinges Krehler is not the fact that he unexpectedly has his first Monday off in his career, but that his daughter now belongs to another man. Although the globe which he buys has attracted a good deal of attention because of its 'symbolic value'⁴⁶ in showing Krehler worlds where he cannot go and in offering only a hollow promise of excitement, a much more central symbol of the play is the sofa. Each character demonstrates his or her sexual libido by making a reference to it. Because Krehler is so thwarted in his sexual desire for Ida, he directs a good deal of hostility towards the sofa as it constantly reminds him that his daughter has spent the night away from home for the first time. Krehler expresses his jealousy of Max by means of nostalgic allusions to the former sleeping arrangements in the flat. These are now altered for good. He complains of the upheaval involved in making room for the female relatives overnight (who slept in the master bedroom and Ida's room, leaving the sofa for him):

Nacht auf dem Sofa. Wann schlief ich je so? Sonst Bett mit Nebenbett - Gattenharmonie. Tochter im Beigemach - schönste Ordnung. -Alles verkehrt! (G.K.W., II, pp.156-57)

This complaint is reinforced when Krehler's employer, Herr Rat (aptly named because of the good advice he offers), reminds Krehler of how little sleep the latter has had:

HERR RAT. Zwei Stunden Schlaf -

KREHLER. Im Sofa. (G.K.W., II, p.164)

Krehler lacks the vocabulary to admit, even to himself, that it is not the sofa which has offended him but the fact that Ida was elsewhere, enjoying her wedding night. His sensitivity on the issue is shown again when Frau Krehler suggests an afternoon nap for Ida and Max. Krehler

at once takes the suggestion as a personal affront:

FRAU KREHLER. Für Max und Ida das Sofa
nach dem Tisch.

KREHLER. Wo werde ich nicht im Wege
stehen? (G.K.W.,II,p.177)

In contrast, Frau Krehler seems to have little idea as to the mechanics of a honeymoon. She reads the situation on the level of 'Nachmittagspause' followed by 'Kaffeetrinken'. By ensconcing Max on the sofa, she unwittingly contributes directly to the tragedy:

FRAU KREHLER. ... Ins Sofa, Max - dir
schicke ich Ida. (G.K.W.,II,p.180)

The presence of a bride and bridegroom of one day stretched out on the sofa would be a topic of interest and possibly embarrassment in any bourgeois family such as that depicted in this play, and it is to Kaiser's credit that he makes the sexual shortcomings of Krehler and his wife apparent in so subtle a way. He also handles the healthy sexual appetite of Max and Ida with considerable skill. For them - understandably - the sofa is quite inadequate, and they soon disappear through the 'erste Tür links':

MAX. Dein Mädchenzimmer - Ida! (G.K.W.,II,p.181)

The stage directions specify that Max shuts the door, a fact which is not lost on Krehler who is following events from the balcony. Frau Krehler, however, once again indicates her lack of sexual awareness by construing the situation in terms of a rest:

FRAU KREHLER. So kann auch ich in
Gnaden pausieren. (G.K.W.,II,p.182)

Krehler's attitude is entirely the opposite: for him, the end of the world (at least, his world) has come:

KREHLER. Hier ist die zwölfte Stunde. (G.K.W.,
II,p.182)

Krehler insists that his wife must now agree to starve to death with him rather than accept food from Max. His repeated command to his wife - 'hungere!' (G.K.W.,II,pp.182-83) - shows how perverted the sexual appetite in him has become. Instead of retiring to the bedroom with his wife, as a sexually secure man might do in these circumstances, his priority is to stop Max and Ida from having intercourse,

which he does by banging on the bedroom door. This brings a very confused Max into the sitting room and, within a short space of time, Krehler has murdered the man whom he saw as the usurper of his own place as sexual elder and breadwinner in the family.

Accordingly, it is somewhat inadequate to read the play in terms of the crippling effect society has on the functionary.⁴⁷ The power of the state cannot reach into the bedroom, and the pitiful conditions which reduced the sex lives of the working class to the level of furtive and emotionally wretched encounters in the nineteenth century do not apply to the Krehlers' comfortable middle-class home.⁴⁸ Krehler tries to put the whole responsibility for his lack of sexual vigour on to his wife, whom he hates for allowing petty details to sap her vitality so that, for her, a sofa or a bed is simply a place to sleep. The world of work has undoubtedly dehumanised Krehler, but he has applied a similarly repressive formula in relation to his wife, whose role he sums up in the one word 'Frau' (G.K.W., II, p.165). The only sexually alive person in the household is Ida, who bears the weight of her father's sexual interest without either of them being aware of the fact. When Krehler realises that the globe offers no real escape from his problems, he tears it to pieces in an action which gives advance warning of what he will do to the rest of the family. For that moment the globe is Max, and from that moment Max is doomed.

Ida, unaware of her father's inner turmoil, continues to play a game of 'Robinson Crusoe' with Max long after the globe has been destroyed. Their bantering voyage from the sofa round America (the table) past Africa (the chair) and Australia (the mirror) leads directly to Ida's bedroom. The destruction of Max follows almost immediately. Krehler's hatred of his wife is thus rooted in a personal rather than a social situation. It is a cry of anguish principally occasioned by the realisation that the sexual jealousy which he feels for his daughter cannot be remedied by recourse to his wife, and he sees no solution other than in the death of Max. Steffens, in dismissing the play

as 'kraftlos'⁴⁹, ignores the psychological interest of Krehler's role, especially in his pathological stance towards his daughter. This stance has clear overtones of incest - which, in this play as in Der Protagonist - are treated with authorial disapproval. In this way, Kaiser shows that sexual perversity has a ruinous effect on domestic life.

III. FOR MEN ONLY

(i) The Birth of the 'Neuer Mensch'

The distorted sexual attitudes which have been examined in this thesis are given unequal prominence in Kaiser's five great Expressionist dramas Von morgens bis mitternachts (1912), Die Bürger von Calais (1912), Die Koralle (1916), Gas (1917) and Gas II (1918): for example, in Von morgens bis mitternachts, the theme of distorted sexuality is uppermost whereas in Gas II it is completely absent. One cannot simply say that Kaiser's attention was diverted by the war, as he wrote several other plays dealing with sexual topics during this period such as Der Brand im Opernhaus. It is clear, however, that Gas is a superior play to Der Brand im Opernhaus, a fact which can perhaps be explained by Kaiser's increasingly missionary zeal in warning mankind that renewal was a necessity, not a luxury: the 'Neuer Mensch', he believed, must be born. It will be shown in this section that rebirth is a male prerogative, a fact which reveals Kaiser's fundamental and almost certainly unintentional misogyny.

The term 'Neuer Mensch' is supposedly applicable to both sexes but the masculine gender anchors it in a patriarchal code, and it is usually translated as 'New Man'. This is appropriate enough in Kaiser's major plays, where no woman of any stature attempts to become a 'Neuer Mensch' in her own right, although two fallen women turn from vice (see below, pp.223-24, p.228). The nearest a respectable woman comes to such regeneration is in the promise of the 'Milliardärsohns' daughter to give birth to the New Man: 'Ich will ihn gebären' (G.K.W., II, p.58). (This contrasts with Toller's approach, where women such as Sonja in

Masse Mensch (1921) undergo Erneuerung.) Because the women are excluded from Erneuerung as such in Kaiser's plays, they are relegated to a secondary position which is reflected in their names, which merely denote domestic status: 'Mutter', 'Frau', 'Tochter', whilst the men are either given names or are known by their job title. This has the effect of giving them a higher status, although it must be added that the men who undergo Erneuerung usually die in the process, and thus fail to live up to the promise of their conversion.

In Von morgens bis mitternachts, the 'Kassierer' sets out on a journey of discovery which ends in disaster, although he does learn to understand the false lure of money in the process. As Durzak points out:

Die sozialkritische Komponente einer solchen Darstellung lässt sich nicht übersehen, auch wenn sie bei Kaiser keine spezifischen gesellschaftsanalytischen Akzente trägt.⁵⁰

Koester, too, points out that 'Kaiser unmasks and indicts contemporary society,⁵¹ by stressing that a mechanised lifestyle in a society geared to the worship of Mammon has dehumanised the 'Kassierer'. A feature of this dehumanised society is sexual repression, which is exhibited by all the characters in the play, whether male or female. However, it will be argued that the voyeurism in the 'Kassierer''s sexual attitude constitutes a distortion which cannot wholly be blamed on social factors. This will be discussed below.

It is intriguing to speculate what kind of play might have resulted if Kaiser had chosen the mysterious and sexually charismatic Italian woman for the process of Aufbruch and Erneuerung. Kaiser seems to indicate, through the reactions of the Bank Manager and the 'Kassierer', that he, too, was overwhelmed by the idea of the sexually potent woman, and a variety of negative signposts are woven into her characterisation. However, these signposts do not disguise the fact that the Italian woman is exciting, a challenge to the stuffy deutsche Gemütlichkeit in the play and a salutary character in that sense. Kaiser seems

to be undecided whether to applaud the liberating potential of Eros or whether - with Plato, St. Augustine and a host of other thinkers - to view it with scepticism. This ambiguity in Kaiser's own attitude can be detected throughout the play.

As greed and sexual excitement are closely interlinked throughout Von morgens bis mitternachts it is legitimate to see the play within a framework of late medieval morality plays, whereby the 'Kassierer' succumbs to the two deadly sins of avarice and lust simultaneously as a result of being tempted by the Italian woman, whom Huder terms a 'Reinkarnation der Frau Welt'.⁵² As in the morality plays, the 'Kassierer' receives an ultimatum from death in the manner of the Everyman play. He asks for a stay of execution, which he receives (like Everyman) and passes through various 'Stationen' (G.K.W., I, p.514), until he reaches the final 'Station' - in the medieval plays, the Cross, and in Kaiser's play, the grotesque cross formed by the 'Kassierer's' outstretched arms. His dying whisper of 'Ecce Homo' also seems to give a Christian signpost, although this is not without ambiguity.⁵³ Man's Fall, which is the subject of the Cranach painting entitled 'Adam and Eve', is re-introduced at the end of the play in the 'Kassierer's' allusion to Paradise in the mention of 'uralte Gärten' (G.K.W., I, p.516). The 'Kassierer' also experiences a feeling of memento mori when he looks round his living-room for the last time, realising that his possessions will outlast him. Within this religious interpretation on the lines of a morality play, the role of the Italian lady as Dame Venus is, of course, crucial, as it makes her particularly dangerous.

Richard Sheppard has indicated that a more modern source which would confirm the dangerous potential of the Italian lady is Sacher-Masoch's Venus im Pelz (1870), as the 'Kassierer's' 'Dame' is wearing a fur coat when he first sees her and comes from Florence.⁵⁴ In the dream at the beginning of Sacher-Masoch's novel, the mystical woman (who is wrapped in a huge fur) warns that she is a

danger to men:

Ihr könnt mich nur bannen und verfluchen
oder selbst in bacchantischem Wahnsinn
vor meinem Altar als Opfer schlachten.⁵⁵

This is actually the fate which awaits the 'Kassierer' in a grotesque form. Although the perverse sexual abuse of Venus im Pelz is entirely lacking in Kaiser's play, there is a certain similarity in theme: one could perhaps say that where Severin in Venus im Pelz exorcises his tormentress, the 'Kassierer' is too weak to do so. He is sacrificed on the altar by the Salvation Army girl, who seems to be a variant of the exotic 'Dame'.

The theme of sexuality is never abandoned for long in this play. Even the apparently innocuous conversation between the lady and her son on the Cranach painting has sexual overtones, as the painting shows an erotically-charged portrayal of Adam and Eve.⁵⁶ It is ironical and very amusing that the 'Kassierer' should declare that he is 'im Bilde' (G.K.W., I, p.477), since he neither understands the situation he is in, nor is he an Adam to match the Eve before him in the Italian lady, though like Adam, he is tempted and falls.

The Bank Manager's insulting remarks to the 'Dame' in her presence, and his slanderous attack in her absence, persuade the 'Kassierer' to view the Italian lady as a loose woman. It must be noted, however, that this invective from the 'Direktor' actually tells the observer more about the 'Direktor' himself and his fear of sexually attractive women than it does about the 'Dame'. His tone of familiarity, in which he refers to their 'Freundin aus Florenz' (G.K.W., I, p.471), changes abruptly when the letter of confirmation comes from the lady's home bank.

The 'Direktor''s new sobriety takes place too late for the 'Kassierer', who has already absconded with the money. With the 'Direktor''s pejorative words still fresh in his memory, he even tries to adopt a peremptory tone with the 'Dame', repeatedly issuing the semi-command when she fails to comply with his plans: 'Jetzt müssen Sie doch!' (G.K.W., I, p.480). Kaiser's skill in portraying the physical attraction of the Italian lady is seen in the desire to browbeat her which both the Bank Manager and the cashier

manifest, a desire which is only too understandable in terms of sexual politics and which seems preposterous in view of the lady's respectability. She seems to behave much better than they do, and one begins to doubt that she is Dame Venus at all. However, by making the lady rest her hand in that of the 'Kassierer' for just a moment too long, Kaiser indicates that she might be the flirt which the men take her to be. The 'Dame' is thus a highly ambiguous woman to whom Kaiser himself had several different attitudes, which fluctuate between admiration, fear and disapproval.

Whether the Italian woman is viewed as an ancient or modern temptress, she certainly has a magnetic power to which the 'Kassierer' is safely immune until their hands touch. As Armin Arnold says, 'etwas ist im Kassierer erwacht'.⁵⁷ The 'Kassierer's whole behaviour changes: he becomes reckless, his tongue is loosed, so that he is actually loquacious in the next scene - it is fascinating to note the change of tone adopted by the 'Kassierer' in his long monologue in the snowfield. It is as though the knowledge of the proximity of death sharpens his wits, so that his speech reveals a clarity and intelligence which one could hardly have expected from the 'Kassierer', given his servile speech and behaviour up to this point. Kaiser either chose to ignore this aspect of the monologue in order to produce a witty scene, or the 'Kassierer' is indeed a bright and lively interlocutor whose every mental function, including his speech patterns, are suppressed by his job. However, the former explanation seems more likely as the 'Kassierer' immediately lapses into his more surly persona in the next scene at home, a fact which focuses the tension of the scene in sharp relief. Only in the final speeches of the play does he approach something of the elegance of this monologue, although his observations at the races also show an intelligence which his dull and brutal remarks at the 'Ballhaus' seems to belie. Kaiser clearly wished to make certain authorial statements through the mouth of the 'Kassierer', which on occasion are too refined for the character to convey entirely convincingly.

It could perhaps be argued that the 'Kassierer's

family connive in their repression within the home, but this would be to ignore the impossibility of their breaking free from their environment. All the exciting activities in which the 'Kassierer' indulges (at the races and in the 'Ballhaus') are reserved for men with money in their pockets. Only the Salvation Army opens its doors to both sexes, rich and poor. Not surprisingly, the women of the 'Kassierer''s family have decided to settle for genteel idleness, although the boredom this involves results in as much sexual repression for them as it does for the 'Kassierer'. The daughters indicate by their choice of piano music ('Tannhäuser') the degree of their sexual frustration. This choice seems to be highly ironic as it is difficult to see the docile daughters as putative temptresses. The 'Kassierer' similarly misjudges his machismo when he sees himself as a toreador (see below, p.221).

The fact that the 'Kassierer''s mother dies when he leaves the house without having had lunch has led one critic after another to view the incident as another example of the 'mindless daily routine'⁵⁸ which has stifled the 'Kassierer'. Yet the 'Kassierer' exercises his own form of tyranny within the household, reducing his wife to the level of cook. His difficulty in speaking to her demonstrates that he is still in the thrall of the 'strange Dame':

KASSIERER zur Frau. Du?

FRAU. Ich will die Koteletts braten.

KASSIERER nickt. Die Küche.

FRAU. Ich brate dir deins jetzt.

KASSIERER wie vorher. Die Küche.
(G.K.W., I, p.488)

The persiflage with which Kaiser treats the death of the grandmother indicates that he has a certain degree of criticism to make of this milieu, but the criticism is muted because of Kaiser's own ingrained paternal instincts, which have already been discussed in this chapter. He would certainly be in favour of punctual

meals and obedient daughters. By making the 'Kassierer''s wife a pars pro toto for the kitchen, Kaiser demonstrates his own personal veto with regard to the possibility of regeneration for his female characters. This helps to explain why the women are stylised as Eves (the 'Dame', the prostitutes and, ironically, the Salvation Army girl) or Madonnas (the three generations of women in the 'Kassierer''s home) and then left to their fate. Another ten years have to elapse before Kaiser can treat a sexually exciting woman in a serious fashion, as he does (somewhat grudgingly) in Die Flucht nach Venedig (see below, Section III,iii). At least the urge to debunk such female characters as Judith in Die jüdische Witwe is on the wane, though not extinct, as was shown in the discussion of Europa, the next play Kaiser wrote after Von morgens bis mitternachts.

Although in many respects the scene in the 'Kassierer''s home resembles that in Die Dornfelds, Kaiser does not demonstrate that the bourgeois home and conventional marriage are the ultimate victors in Von morgens bis mitternachts. This is because he has a quite different aim in view. Whereas the Dornfeld spinsters generated an interesting (if misogynist) plot by their desperate quest for a baby, the 'Kassierer' has a different quest; one that many other men will make in Kaiser's plays and (at least in the period under discussion) no women: that of self-discovery. It is an indication of Kaiser's pessimistic view of humanity that he should choose such a slavish protagonist to become a 'Neuer Mensch'. As Helt and Pettey point out:

It is this Sklavenmoral of the Herde/
Masse which both Kaiser and Nietzsche
saw as the hindrance to man's way 'über
sich hinweg'.⁵⁹

Indeed, the 'Kassierer''s Aufbruch seems to be so unlikely as to appear almost ironic. The 'Kassierer''s home may be stifling but at least it is safe: and yet, paradoxically, to break out of this environment would constitute liberation. Kaiser is in two minds about the domestic home in this play, and seeks to resolve the dilemma by raising and

answering certain questions as to the 'Kassierer''s sexuality.

It transpires during the course of the play that sexuality in this particular character is more than repressed: it is perverse. The 'Kassierer', perhaps through impotence, seeks sexual gratification by means of voyeuristic titillation. Like Krehler, who is equally perverse, he seeks to rationalise his shortcomings by blaming them on everyone and everything, including his wife, money and ultimately 'the system'. Da Silva regards the 'social material'⁶⁰ in the play as the main factor which governs the 'Kassierer''s behaviour, including his sexual attitudes. However, as with Krehler, the actual cause of sexual inadequacy lies in a distorted sexual attitude within the character himself, and other factors can only be taken into account as secondary.

The 'Kassierer''s voyeuristic penchant is an underlying theme at the cycle race. Whilst the 'Kassierer' appears to be preoccupied in laying bets, and incidentally, draws much admiration for his skill in counting banknotes, he uses the money to drive the crowd into an orgiastic frenzy which he can enjoy on a voyeuristic level. His sadistic pleasure in seeing a man crushed is all part of the 'Leidenschaft' of the spectacle (G.K.W., I, p.496). In the 'Ballhaus', his voyeurism continues when he seeks to experience hedonistic oblivion by watching a prostitute dance. It is an ironic detail that the 'Kassierer' hums 'Carmen' to himself as he enters the 'Ballhaus' (G.K.W., I, p.501), no doubt imagining himself as the toreador without realising the incongruity of a toreador who cannot or will not dance. Without precisely timed footwork, the toreador would immediately be gorged by the bull. The 'Kassierer', however, is determined to remain seated. By making the prostitute his surrogate, he denies himself the liberating potential which, as discussed above (p.195), Nietzsche claimed for the act of dancing. It is heavily ironic that the prostitute who is called upon to dance cannot do so because of her wooden leg.

The 'Kassierer''s brutal rejection of the handicapped

prostitute probably reflects Kaiser's own view. Eben's comment that this incident represents 'a disgusting encounter with life'⁶¹ indicates the difficulty experienced by most people, not just Kaiser and his Wilhelmine contemporaries, in shaking off the thought process which accepts prostitution as inevitable and expects prostitutes to be beautiful, or at least pleasing to men. Sheppard, in his interpretation of this part of the play, refers to the wooden leg as a phallic symbol with which the prostitute 'shatters the Kassierer's dreams of ever achieving uterine bliss through erotic excitement'.⁶² Sheppard argues that the prostitute joins the other women in the play who all conspire to ensnare the 'Kassierer'. However, whilst it is true that all the 'Kassierer's' misfortunes are caused by women, directly or indirectly, one must not overlook the 'Kassierer's' own exploitative attitude to women and his voyeuristic propensity.

Predictably, the 'Kassierer' in the final scene is still trying to experience life vicariously through the confessions of others, and is still hoping for a love interest which will bring his regeneration to fruition. His journey has thus been cyclic rather than linear, and when the Salvation Army girl betrays him to the police, the 'Kassierer' sacrifices himself as a victim on the altar of Dame Venus in masochistic ecstasy. He has been constantly drawn towards a sexual imperative which he has been unable to translate into action, yet equally incapable of ignoring. Masochism, not Mammon, destroys this man as surely as the more overt pathological disturbance in Lulu brings about her death.

In the four other major Expressionist dramas, Kaiser subsumes the sexual debate under other topics, which tend to deal with Aufbruch within the context of a plea for humanitarian ideals, reminding us that the Great War formed the backcloth against which Kaiser worked on these plays. There is an attendant warning of the holocaust which can be expected if there is no renewal of mankind. It is immediately apparent in Die Bürger von Calais and the Gas trilogy, however, that the problems revolve round

the male characters, whilst the female characters are sketchily drawn and are excluded from most of the decision-taking. This is particularly the case in Die Bürger von Calais, where the serious questions raised about the nature and necessity of sacrifice take place amongst the men behind closed doors. This partitioning-off creates an anomaly in Kaiser's argument when he seeks to show that the sacrifice of the 'Dritte' and 'Vierte Bürger' is impure because they both hope to be reprieved. The anomaly arises because such a hope, when set in the context of a desire to protect one's nearest and dearest, appears natural and even good in itself to the impartial observer. Such a complete blind spot towards human nature on Kaiser's part is reinforced by the submissive acceptance by the 'Vierte Bürger''s wife of the decision made by her husband. She is reduced to uttering four words by which she evaluates herself entirely within her role as mother: 'Dein Kind - mein Kind' (G.K.W., I, p.545). Such ready compliance on the part of the female characters smoothes the way for the male characters to continue the process of purification and contemplation. The concept of sacrifice - and hence, the possibility of rebirth as a 'Neuer Mensch' - is shown to be the preserve of an all-male masonic élite.

In the Gas plays, which form a loose trilogy, Kaiser at first seems to want to redress the balance, but he makes matters worse by presenting us with a 'reborn' prostitute on the very first page of Die Koralle. It is impossible to construe Kaiser's portrayal of the prostitute's excitement at being given a voucher for entry to a 'Magdalenenheim' as an adequate response to the way fallen women were rehabilitated. Kaiser, like Wedekind, views prostitutes as fair game for persiflage and makes no attempt to speak out on their behalf, beyond showing that such acts of charity performed by the 'Milliardär' on his 'offenen Donnerstag' are merely a sop to pacify his conscience.

It was noted (pp.87-88) that Wedekind's satirical treatment of rape raised fundamental feminist questions, and Kaiser's parody of the reborn prostitute can also be

viewed as an inappropriate male response to what Peter Gay describes as 'the crusade against prostitution',⁶³ which was a feature of bourgeois life throughout the Wilhelmine period. No man, of course, was ever an inmate of such a home, which Pabst depicts in the film 'Tagebuch einer Verlorenen' as late as 1929, showing the punitive conditions in which the girls lived. What Pabst includes in his film, and Kaiser omits from his play, is a direct indictment of a system of society which turned a blind eye to male promiscuity, but punished fallen women as though they were the only ones to blame. It sometimes seems to be the case that Kaiser thought that making a joke actually was a form of social critique. Too often, however, these jokes - as the prostitute's 'halleluja amen!' (G.K.W., I, p.656) demonstrates - appear sexist to the modern reader, especially when, as in this instance, the woman is the only recipient of ironical treatment.

The real potential for renewal is possessed by the 'Milliardär's son and daughter, both of whom rebel against their father and go their own ways, in spite of their father's attempt to apply emotional blackmail to make them stay. Thus, the 'Milliardär's reaction to his daughter's decision to tend the sick and wounded in the riots in her father's own factories results in his selfish and manipulative question: 'Willst du mich opfern?' (G.K.W., I, p.682). As the daughter steadfastly refuses to be deflected from her purpose, the 'Milliardär' repudiates her, telling his secretary to ignore her if she should be seen in any factory disturbance:

Verleugnen Sie sie - ich kenne meine
Tochter nicht! (G.K.W., I, p.683)

The daughter is only seen once more when she visits her father in prison, believing, of course, that she is identifying her father's murderer. She then completely disappears from the play and is not seen in either Gas or Gas II whereas her brother, who had likewise rebelled against his father and had actually triggered the latter's emotional breakdown (and provided the gun used in the murder of the secretary), becomes the principal character in Gas. The potential for renewal is handed down to the 'Milliardärsohns

Tochter', who is such a compliant figure - in contrast to her robust aunt, who had such social awareness - that she fails to criticise her father even when he indirectly causes the death of her husband by withholding help when needed. One could speculate that the 'Milliardär' takes his vengeance a generation later for the disobedience of his daughter.

It must be noted that the discussion of sexuality in Gas and Gas II is severely restricted, as Kaiser had other intentions in writing these plays than the depiction of family life, although this is not entirely absent in Gas. It is certainly true to say that the action has moved away from the domestic milieu, and family relationships ultimately become less consequential than the needs and desires of the masses. In Gas, the stylised behaviour of the 'Milliardärsohn' and his daughter contrasts strongly with that of the workers who - at least in the fourth act of the play - show a vigour and solidarity which is actually rather remarkable within the context of Kaiser's work. The complaints of the girl, the mother and the wife build up a dossier of justified grievance against the capitalist system, especially as experienced by the industrial working class which they represent. In no other play does Kaiser come so close to making a direct reference to Marxist ideology. At certain points in the play, such as the reference to the fact that the factory system reduces a man to a mere part of his body (the one needed by the machine), the similarities with passages in Das Kapital (1867-78) are striking. Marx wrote:

Die besonderen Teilarbeiten werden nicht nur unter verschiedene Individuen verteilt, sondern das Individuum selbst wird geteilt, in das automatische Triebwerk einer Teilarbeit verwandelt und die abgeschmackte Fabel des Menenius Agrippa verwirklicht, die einen Menschen als bloßes Fragment seines eignen Körpers darstellt.⁶⁴

This is very similar to the girl's complaint in Gas, about her brother's death:

Wo blieb mein Bruder? ... in Arbeit stürzte er. Die brauchte er (sic)

nur die eine Hand von ihm - die den
Hebel drückte und hob - (G.K.W., II, p.39)

The mother's recollection of her son's crushed body, with its staring eyes, is equally intense. The wife complains that only her husband's foot is needed by the machine: 'Bloß sein Fuß ist wichtig -' (G.K.W., II, p.41). Kaiser develops the discussion on a more intimate level than Marx by showing how the evils of capitalism affect individuals. He demonstrates that the complaints made by the girl, the mother and the wife (who also points out how sexually frustrating life is when one can only have a husband for a day - the wedding day) are entirely justified. In this brief interlude, Kaiser shows a rare compassion for ordinary people and for their needs, acknowledging sexual pleasure to be one. The solidarity of the men, who now promise to stand by the women, seems to point the play in an unmistakably Marxist direction if one recalls the final words of the Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei (1848): 'Proletarier aller Länder vereinigt euch!'⁶⁵

However, Kaiser - as pessimistic about the renewal of the masses as he was about that of the 'Kassierer' - shows that the workers' solidarity against injustice disintegrates, and they return to the factory system which degrades them acting, as Marx would point out, against their own interest. Kaiser shows that he has little interest in revolutionary renewal, but having once raised the issue, his solution - to bring forth just one New Man, as he does in Gas II - seems an inadequate response to the problem which he himself has raised. In addition, the 'Milliardärsohn's' questions about the creation of a New Man sound hypocritical coming from a man who only moments before has contributed to the suicide of his son-in-law (in Gas):

Sage es mir: wo ist der Mensch? ...
Wann besteht er den Fluch - und leistet
die neue Schöpfung, die er verdarb: - -
den Menschen?! -- (G.K.W., II, pp.57-8)

The daughter fulfils her role in the play by promising to bring forth this new 'Mensch', but ironically, her son will find mankind so recalcitrant that he has no choice but to destroy his fellow men at the end of Gas II. Spiritual

renewal is not only a male preserve, as was seen in Von morgens bis mitternachts and Die Bürger von Calais: it is, in Gas, the preserve of the intellectual. This is also the case in Der gerettete Alkibiades, written in the same year as Gas (1917), and especially so in Gas II. Steffens regards this rather aloof treatment of social problems as a trait typical of the Expressionists:

Der Sozialismus der Expressionisten war wesentlich ein Sozialismus des Gefühls; selbst die Vertreter des Aktivismus in der expressionistischen Epoche waren Humanisten ekstatisch-religiöser Prägung, die sich kaum um die Verbindung ihrer utopischen Vorstellungen mit der historischen, gesellschaftspolitischen und sozialen Wirklichkeit kümmerten. 66

In spite of their defects, some of which have been discussed above, the five Expressionist plays Von morgens bis mitternachts, Die Bürger von Calais, Die Koralle, Gas and Gas II, show Kaiser at the height of his powers. There is a balance between intellectual argument and action which is not always achieved in other works, such as Der gerettete Alkibiades, where there is very little action. The one fault which consistently mars the plays is that Kaiser seems to leave human nature out of his calculations, and this is particularly jarring when sexuality is touched upon. It is also very clear that Kaiser's interest in renewal is for men only.

(ii) The Masculinity of the Creative Mind

Following what has by now become an established pattern, Kaiser excludes women from intellectual activity with the notable exception of George Sand, who is treated as an honorary man (see below, pp.230-34). Nowhere is this more strikingly apparent than in Der gerettete Alkibiades, where women are excluded from any serious discussion as, of course, they would have been in Ancient Greece. Thus, when Alkibiades wants to speak to Sokrates, Xantippe is sent out of the room with a curt 'Kundschaft, Frau' (G.K.W., I, p.773). Whilst the men debate weighty topics - in this play, the future of Athens - with a vigorous, often

satirised dialectic between 'Geist' (Sokrates) and 'Leben' (Alkibiades) - or, one could also say, between Platonic and Nietzschean ideals - the women's roles are left in the static stereotyping which has been so often observed in this study: Eve or Madonna. Xantippe's barrenness is overcome at the end of the play when she takes up the profession of midwife, whilst the courtesan Phryne undergoes a moral conversion similar to that of the 'Fräulein in Taffet' in Die Koralle, which was written in the previous year. As Phryne's conversion is prompted by what she construes to be Sokrates's moral and intellectual superiority - but which is merely Sokrates's impotence on account of his sore foot - we can legitimately ask why it is given to Sokrates (and not Phryne) to see the light and be reborn at the end of the play, as happens with Eustache de Saint-Pierre.⁶⁷ The answer is, of course, that intellectual creativity is a male preserve and Kaiser's interest in renewal is always intellectual.

The sexism which can be observed in Kaiser's portrayal of Phryne was almost certainly unconscious on Kaiser's part. Just as he felt that he could assume that a prostitute ought to be beautiful in Von morgens bis mitternachts, he assumes here that the prostitute is unintelligent. In Der gerettete Alkibiades, Phryne is portrayed as very beautiful and very silly. Because Sokrates refuses even to talk to her, she tries to seduce him with words which simply demonstrate the gulf between her mind and his:

PHRYNE. Du liebst - Sokrates - wie andere nicht lieben.

SOKRATES. --

PHRYNE. Ich weiß - Sokrates - du wirst mich mit deiner Liebe lieben.

SOKRATES. --

PHRYNE. Du bist verliebt in deine Liebe - wie ich verliebt bin in dich, Sokrates.

SOKRATES: -- (G.K.W., I, p. 796)

Whilst Phryne is busy removing her clothes, Sokrates

limps painfully into the next room, leaving Phryne to realise to her horror that her charms have no attraction for this man: '---- Liebling!! ---- du kommst nicht??!!' (G.K.W., I, p.797). The irony of the situation is increased because Sokrates does not reject Phryne for any purist reasons, as she supposes. The shock of being rejected makes Phryne realise how exposed her position really is, but Kaiser prevents this realisation from becoming any sort of general statement on male domination over the prostitute. Instead, he makes Phryne act as a respectable lady would: she links nakedness with feminine modesty and asks Alkibiades for his coat so that she can cover herself. This reaction is entirely what men expected of women (see Introduction, p.24, Wedekind chapter, pp.60-61, Kokoschka chapter, pp.168 and 176). Phryne's conversion towards a more moral standpoint is thus, on reflection, not funny at all, but yet another example of the way Wilhelmine prejudice could work its way into the most innocent-seeming scene.

However, the play's irony is so intriguing that the scene with Phryne contains even more layers of meaning than those already discussed. When Phryne rejects the physically magnificent Alkibiades as 'gemein' (G.K.W., I, p.798), she seems foolish to do so, as he is genuinely eager to make love to her. However, on another level, Alkibiades is 'gemein', as - soon after Phryne's words - he destroys the sacred 'Hermen' and allows Sokrates to take the punishment: death. It could be argued that Phryne has some of the qualities which go towards the making of the 'Sonia' figures as mentioned in the Introduction (p.52). However, her good qualities - which amount to recognising the superiority of Sokrates over Alkibiades - are so satirised that even this potential for betterment is shown to bring evil in its wake by making Alkibiades jealous.

Earlier in the scene the weakness of Alkibiades's character is shown in a series of questions he puts to Phryne:

Wer ist Alkibiades? Wer ist mit diesen
Armen - diesen Beinen Alkibiades? Wer
ist mit Atmen und Schlafen Alkibiades?
Wer ist mit seiner Begierde vor dir
Alkibiades? (G.K.W., I, p.799)

Such rhetorical questions do not seem out of place in the mouth of such a one as Herr Firdusi (see Kokoschka chapter, note 85) but they sound very odd indeed coming from the mouth of the powerful Athenian warlord. Such mental disorientation and use of the body as reference point reminds one of Büchner's 'Tambourmajor' in Woyzeck in his capacity as 'decorated phallus'.⁶⁸ There is thus a very basic problem for the reader or spectator of this play, and that is that Sokrates is shown to be so clever as to be actually stupid in practical matters, and Alkibiades is shown to be so physically orientated that he finds it difficult to form coherent thoughts. This gives the play a humorous dimension but sometimes forces the characters to act out of character, so that the discussion between the great philosopher and the great warrior - 'Geist' and 'Leben' - is satirised and the idea of renewal is obscured.

A similar antithesis between 'Geist' and 'Leben' is found in Die Flucht nach Venedig (1922) where, according to Hugo Garten, '... "Geist" is embodied by George Sand'.⁶⁹ However, just as Alkibiades left the observer puzzled, Musset as embodiment of 'Leben' falls well short of the mark. He is either sick or absent in most of the play, and is always considerably less dynamic than Sand. However, Kaiser seems to defer to Musset's creativity, the result of hard intellectual endeavour, whilst he seems to disapprove of Sand's creative skills because of the parasitic nature of her inspiration. Even so, Sand is a fascinating portrait because Kaiser, at this date, stood on a threshold with regard to his women characters. He was no longer content to relegate them to a secondary position and had less desire to debunk their sexuality. He was also, by 1922, far less enthusiastic about bourgeois domesticity than he was in the earlier plays.

According to Klaus Petersen,⁷⁰ Kaiser's chief source material for the play was Dora Duncker's George Sand. Ein Buch der Leidenschaft (1916), lent to him by his mistress at that time, the Hungarian actress Blanche Dergan. It is clear from the internal evidence of the play that Kaiser felt that Sand's predicament as a writer closely paralleled

his own. For Sand, as for Kaiser, men and women were figures who could be moved around at will. Thus, in the play, Sand's devoted follower, the 'Deutsche [s] Fräulein', has already committed suicide in Sand's imagination. As was pointed out on p.184, Kaiser felt that his 'Figuren' were more real to him than the public at large, and the act of writing was construed as an erotic experience. For Sand, too, creativity and sexuality are inextricably linked.

In portraying Sand's literary ability, Kaiser feels it necessary to stress the masculinity of her mind. Thus, Musset seems to speak with authorial approval when he links Sand's bisexuality with her creative talents. What seems to be praise is actually very damaging, even vindictive:

Furchtbar wenn es [das große künstle-
rische Gesetz] sich in einer Frau nieder-
läßt ... Der geteilte Mensch - Hälfte
Mann und Hälfte Weib - hat sich vereinigt
... Verführerisch schön wie nie eine
Frau-Mann in ihrem schöpferischen Geist.
Tödlich für uns Halbheiten, die noch
begehren - und vom Mann in ihr wie
Gimpel erdrosselt werden! (G.K.W., II, p.237)

In this bitter speech, Musset continually tries to minimise Sand's achievement by constant reference to her bisexuality. Whatever talent she has shown is claimed for the male sex, whilst all her faults are bracketed together as components of her dangerous feminine charms which are 'verführerisch' and even 'tödlich'. Kaiser does not seem prepared to probe the motives which might drive a gifted and independently minded woman of the mid-nineteenth century to take a man's name and don masculine attire. However, as was noted in the Introduction (p.15), the art of creative writing was viewed as a virtually phallic activity, forcing women writers to adopt a variety of stratagems in order to get their works published and read. These stratagems are described in detail in The Madwoman in the Attic where we read: 'George Sand and (following her) George Eliot most famously used a kind of male-impersonation to gain male acceptance of their intellectual seriousness'.⁷¹

In her female persona - dressed as a woman - Sand achieves the conquest of the Italian doctor which arouses

such jealousy in Musset (and in the young English woman), and it is at this level, that of the femme fatale, that the dynamic of the play is sustained. It is also at this level that most of the ambiguities creep in. Kaiser no doubt chose the figure of Sand because of her charismatic sexuality, which is legendary, and because of her creative skill. However, he has some difficulty in adjusting his focus: the conventional Wilhelmine in him rejects the notion of the gifted woman, but he seeks to overcome this, partly by showing Musset to be weak. The problem is that if Musset really were as weak as his portrayal suggests, it is difficult to imagine anyone travelling hundreds of miles to see him, as Sand does.

Of course, Sand is attractive to both sexes, as Kaiser shows through the infatuation of the 'Deutsche[s] Fräulein' for Sand. In this, Kaiser is following biographical information on Sand's life. What he adds is a negative dimension whereby Musset suggests that Sand lives parasitically on other people and that she is incapable of any relationship which is not manipulative. In her 'half dead' state, she has to feed off the living in order to live - and write. She is 'lebendig tot - und gestorben lebend' (G.K.W., II, p.243). Her sexual appetite is thus inextricably linked to her even greater need to find material for her work. In calling her a 'Vampyr' (G.K.W., II, p.236) Musset includes both notions of sexuality and parasitism.

It is interesting that the influence of Wedekind seems to be even stronger in this much later play than it was in the earlier schoolroom plays (Der Fall des Schülers Vehgesack and Rektor Kleist) which were modelled on Frühlings Erwachen. In Die Flucht nach Venedig, Erdgeist is the model. With her 'Deutsche[s] Fräulein' shadowing her footsteps, Sand is very reminiscent of Lulu, who is followed everywhere by Countess Geschwitz, but in her readiness to don male attire and court women she is also a continuation of the figure of Franziska as discussed in the Wedekind chapter (pp.108- 12). However, far from turning to domesticity as Franziska does at the end of the play, Sand remains independent: a sexually dubious

New Woman and a femme fatale in one person. Thus, the outcome of the scene in which Musset threatens to kill Sand is very different from the scene in Erdgeist where Schön threatens to kill Lulu but is killed by her instead, in spite of the fact that Kaiser includes certain direct allusions to Wedekind's play, as in Musset's suggestion that Sand has a supply of lovers in the room: 'Wo steckt noch ein Liebhaber? Hinter der Gardine?' (G.K.W., II, p.267).⁷² Unlike Schön, Musset is able to control his sexual jealousy - after all, he is not married to Sand. He thus fights her on her own terms, by stressing her weak spot, which is the parasitism mentioned above. With biting irony, Musset points out that Sand cannot yet abandon her new conquest of the previous night: '... du brauchst ihn für den Schluß' (G.K.W., II, p.273).

Kaiser even allows us a glimpse of this parasitism at work when Sand questions the young Italian doctor about his encounter with the Englishman whose wife he has seduced. The encounter was far from being the clash which Sand had anticipated:

DIE SAND rasch. Ohne jeden Zorn?

DER ITALIENISCHE ARZT. Mit vollkommener Höflichkeit ...

DIE SAND. Sahen Sie alles deutlich?

DER ITALIENISCHE ARZT stutzt.

DIE SAND. Sprechen Sie doch. Jeder Vorfall ist wichtig. Ich könnte das nie erfinden! (G.K.W., II, p.273)

This has the effect of making Sand look small, and this undermining of her literary achievements - begun by Musset - is continued as a theme throughout the play. Kaiser parodies her writing skills by showing that, at two crucial points in the play, Sand (as a woman) is at a loss for words and has to resort to little notes. In the first note, Sand tells the Italian doctor what a coquettish glance has already conveyed: 'Ich liebe - liebe dich -----' (G.K.W., II, p.239).

In the second note - for Flaubert, but intercepted

and kept by Musset - Sand writes: 'das Wort tötet das Leben' (G.K.W.,II,p.276). Sand's actual literary production in the play is thus represented by a four-word jingle and a rather cryptic sentence which highlights the many ambiguities in the play. Petersen points out that the second note really applies to Musset because he cannot live and write at the same time - in fact, this was why he escaped from Sand and fled to Venice in the first place. If the note is applied to Sand, Petersen observes that for her, 'das Wort erwächst aus dem Leben',⁷³ so she would only cease to 'live' for the space of time whilst she is actually at the writing desk. 'So braucht sie trotz aller Einsicht in die Gefahren ihres Künstlertums am Ende nicht zu zweifeln.'⁷⁴

Petersen's encouraging words in Sand's favour are not, however, borne out by the text, in spite of the apparently conciliatory parting between Musset and Sand. Musset's words still demonstrate that his pride has been wounded by Sand's infidelity, as his dry remark that he will be 'in good hands' with the Italian doctor shows. His appreciation of Sand's skills has not changed during the play; when he speaks to her on literary topics it is still as man to man, and still demonstrates his belief in her parasitism, as his final, parting words to Sand show: 'Nur mit der größten Lüge bist du aufrichtig' (G.K.W.,II,p.276). We are left with the impression that Sand will start another symbiotic cycle the moment she reaches Paris. Thus, the play ultimately gives a clear statement on the position of the woman writer: however good she might be, she can never be genuine, never free of 'Lüge' - because she is not a man.

IV. CONCLUDING REMARKS

It has been seen in this study that Kaiser at first seemed to support bourgeois domesticity, and characters who rejected conventional values were shown as outcasts. The support for the domestic milieu is never entirely withdrawn in any play, but Kaiser found it too confining in later

plays and his satirical treatment of women characters also disappears. As mentioned on p.182, it was the declared aim of this chapter to examine Kaiser's early plays rather than his later plays, since they yield the richest harvest of sexual themes and display much of the received misogyny of the times.

Kaiser's marital infidelities, first with Blanche Dergan and then with Maria von Mühlfeld, seem to have had a certain effect on his attitude towards his female characters. The plays from the early 1920s onwards show a new stance towards marital infidelity. It is no longer the case that a wife who has slept with a man other than her husband (for whatever reason) needs to undergo a cleansing Opfertod. Love is now viewed as a spiritual force which overrules biological considerations. The paternity of a child is often invoked to show that the biological father of a child is actually less important than a woman's spiritual lover, to whom she is bound in a form of unio mystica.⁷⁵ The appearance of young children in the plays written from 1925 onwards camouflages the fundamental physical bankruptcy of the situation, as Königsgarten points out:

So sehr all diese Liebesdramen vom heißen Atem der Erotik erfüllt sind, so geht es in ihnen doch nie um die physische Vereinigung, sondern um die Idee: die Erweckung zu einem neuen, reicherem und reinerem Erlebnis des Daseins ... Im Grunde sind also auch die Liebesdramen von der Idee der 'Erneuerung' geprägt.⁷⁶

Thus Kaiser can be said to have pursued his idea of spiritual renewal even in plays where a brutal murder seems to preclude the suggestion. However, in these plays the renewal is on such a restricted plane, relating simply to the mental outlook of the protagonist and even then appearing vulnerable to any application of searching criticism, that one must call in question the whole notion of such mental renewal through love. Such love is basically asexual, and when children are mentioned they are a Kopfgeburt, the embodiment of an idea and, as Kenworthy suggests, ultimately a pars pro toto representing Kaiser's work itself. Kenworthy's comment on Agnete (1935) as a

variant of Heimkehrerliteratur demonstrates Kaiser's whole attitude to his writing vis-à-vis society at large:

Kaiser geht es vor allem um das Kind
seines Genies: sein Werk, weniger um
die sozialen Probleme.⁷⁷

Kaiser's increasingly ambiguous attitude to infidelity is clarified, to a certain degree, if one consults the brief novel Es ist genug (1932). Here the protagonist copes with his double life with two women by persuading himself that his wife - Isa - is dead. This novel probably documents the brief period in 1927 when Kaiser lived with Maria von Mühlfeld and their daughter Olivia in Montan-Vermala. This is corroborated by the text which speaks of a five-year-old daughter Doris, Isa's daughter. (Olivia was five years old when the novel was written.) This extremely atmospheric work lacks an actual plot but nevertheless conveys a lyrical and forceful tone of longing, regret and guilt.

Looking back on Kaiser's extremely productive career as a dramatist, it is justifiable to point out that his approach to sexuality in the early plays represents an uneasy truce between iconoclasm and conventionality. Kaiser's earlier plays show many of the distorted sexual attitudes which were common in Wilhelmine society, such as the stress laid on woman's destiny as a childbearer coupled with the attendant disapproval of her sexuality, a willingness to accept the double standard and a tendency to condone rape and, of course, contempt for emancipated women. In the later plays, Kaiser is much less conventional in that he no longer seeks to show the bourgeois home and the patriarchal family in an idealised light. He does not use his lack of conventionality to preach libertarian views, however, contenting himself instead with placing a mystical construction on marital infidelity. Whilst one can say that the early plays demonstrate an attempt at flight from personal (possibly sexual) neuroses, one must add that Kaiser's later plays (from the mid 1920s) represent - when they deal with sexual matters - a mental escape route for a man boxed into a corner. In spite of the love of two families, Kaiser felt essentially alone: indeed, he revelled in his isolation,

believing to the last that, as he wrote in Villa Aurea
(1938-39): 'Der Mensch ist einzeln - oder er ist nichts!!'
(G.K.W., IV, p.379).

Notes to Foreword

- 1 M. Foucault, L'Histoire de la sexualité, 3 vols (Paris, 1976-84), I (1976), p.47.
- 2 For example:
 P. Gay, The Bourgeois Experience, 2 vols (New York and Oxford 1984 and 1986), F. Harrison, The Dark Angel. Aspects of Victorian Sexuality (London, 1977), R. Pearsall, The Worm in the Bud. The World of Victorian Sexuality (Harmondsworth, 1969) and S. Markus, The Other Victorians (London, 1964). In addition there are many books for the more specialised reader, for example, within the historical context: J. Weeks, Sex, Politics and Society. The Regulation of Sexuality since 1800 (London and New York, 1981).
- 3 E.J. Haeberle, Anfänge der Sexualwissenschaft (Berlin and New York, 1983), p.8. (Brochure to accompany the Sixth World Congress for Sexology held in Washington, 1983).
- 4 According to A. Grossmann, women's sexuality was still directed by the advice of male doctors and by male attitudes in general even after the enfranchisement of women in 1918: 'The woman and sex questions, so often banned into political marginality, moved to the center of political and social discourse, especially during the crisis years after the First World War and then again during the Great Depression (1929-1933). These tensions fostered a Sex Reform movement which embraced and accepted, but also sought to discipline and control, the "New Woman"', in 'The New Woman and the Rationalization of Sexuality', p.4 of an unpublished paper read to the 1982 conference at the University of Liverpool on 'Art, Sexuality and Politics in the Weimar Republic'.

Notes to Introduction

- 1 E. Haeberle, The Sex Atlas (London, 1983), p.63.
- 2 A.J. Kinsey and others, Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female (Philadelphia and London 1958), p.641. Masters and Johnson, with their experimental laboratory to help people with sexual problems, confirmed the Kinsey findings in an empirical way and furthered scientific knowledge with the publication of their Human Sexual Response (1966) and Human Sexual Inadequacy (1970).
- 3 Nietzsche was widely read by all major writers of the period, but the Expressionists made him almost a cult hero. Armin Arnold ranks Also sprach Zarathustra with the Bible as 'eines der Schlüsselbücher des Expressionismus'. A. Arnold, Die Literatur des Expressionismus, (Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz, 1971), p.62.
- 4 Weeks makes this point with regard to Victorian Britain but insists that sexual ignorance ruined many marriages before they had properly begun. See J. Weeks, Sex, Politics and Society, p.39.
- 5 J. Donne, 'Satyre III', in John Donne. A Selection of his Poetry (Harmondsworth, 1950), p.107.
- 6 W. Worringer, Abstraktion und Einfühlung (Munich, 1908). Worringer's seminal work argued that mimetic art indicated the artist's harmonious attitude to society, whilst the abstract art of the Modernists indicated their own anxiety vis-à-vis the world: 'Denn diese abstrakten, von aller Endlichkeit befreiten Formen sind die einzigen und höchsten, in denen der Mensch angesichts der Verworrenheit des Weltbildes ausruhen kann' (p.177). The first description of mimesis as an artistic representation of reality was formulated by Plato in The Republic (Part 10, Theory of Art).
- 7 K. Kraus, 'Abfälle', Die Fackel, 7, no.198 (1906) pp.1-2. As no author is specified, Kraus probably wrote the aphorisms himself.
- 8 S.M. Gilbert and S. Gubar, The Madwoman in the Attic. The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth Century Literary Imagination (New Haven and London, 1979), p.4
- 9 Eda Sagarra makes this point in A Social History of Germany, 1648-1914 (London, 1977), p.414.
- 10 P. Gay, The Bourgeois Experience, I (1984), p.153.
- 11 This was still the case in 1953 when Kinsey reported that '... Slater and Woodside 1951:167 still found evidence in the British working class that responsiveness in the wife was hardly expected, and if too marked was disapproved'. Kinsey, p.373, n.20.

- 12 Such advice as the following was on offer: 'Nature has provided us not only with the sacs for the retention of seminal fluid, but its retention is necessary in order that this vitalising and life-giving fluid may be re-absorbed into the system, and become the vitalizing and strength-giving source of added physical and intellectual power ...'. Dr. Sylvanus Stall, What a Young Man Ought to Know (Philadelphia, 1897), p.75.
- 13 H. Ploss, Das Weib, 2 vols (Leipzig, 1884) II, p.585.
- 14 'The assumption that women were dominated by their reproductive systems (women belonged to nature, while men belonged to culture) was implicit in all medical attitudes'. Weeks, p.43. Moll, however, disagreed (see note 44).
- 15 R.v.Krafft-Ebing, Psychopathia Sexualis (Stuttgart, 1887), p.10. [First published in 1886.]
- 16 S. Freud, 'Die Weiblichkeit', in Studienausgabe, edited by A. Mitscherlich and others, 10 vols (Frankfurt am Main, 1982), I, 544- 65 (p.562).
- 17 P. Mantegazza, Gli Amori degli Uomini (Milan, 1892), p.251.
- 18 Krafft-Ebing, p.12.
- 19 Freud, 'Die Weiblichkeit', p.546.
- 20 Mantegazza, p.237.
- 21 Krafft-Ebing, p.12
- 22 L. Berg, Das sexuelle Problem in Kunst und Leben (Berlin, 1901), p.79.
- 23 'Sonderbar, daß der eigentliche Grund der Grausamkeit Wollust sei'. Novalis, 'Fragmente', in Werke Briefe Dokumente, 3 vols (Heidelberg, 1957), II, p.333.
- 24 F. Nietzsche, Also sprach Zarathustra, in Werke: kritische Gesamtausgabe (Berlin, 1968-), VI,i (1968), p.398.
- 25 O.A.F. de Sade, Justine (Paris, 1973), p.301. [First published in 1791].
- 26 F. Kuna, Kafka. Literature as Corrective Punishment (London, 1974), p.39: '... by the turn of the century few can have been ignorant of Sacher-Masoch'.
- 27 H.J. Stenning in his Introduction to his translation of L. von Sacher-Masoch's Venus in Furs (London, 1965), p.5.
- 28 L. v. Sacher-Masoch, Venus im Pelz, edited by H. Strutzmann (Vienna and Munich, 1985), p.137.

- 29 Sacher-Masoch, p.137.
- 30 Also sprach Zarathustra, p.82. The fact that these words are spoken by an old woman adds a wry twist to the remark.
- 31 O. Weininger, Geschlecht und Charakter (Berlin, 1932), p.449. [First published in 1903.] Weininger's views will be discussed in Section III,i.
- 32 Havelock Ellis, Studies in the Psychology of Sex, 4 vols (New York, 1936), I,p.171. [First published in 1897]. Ellis was tried in 1898 for obscenity and had great difficulty in getting his work published abroad satisfactorily.
- 33 Ellis, I, p.xxi.
- 34 e.g. A. Moll, Untersuchungen über die Libido Sexualis (Berlin, 1898), (part I deals with normal sexual behaviour, part II with deviancy) and Die conträre Sexualempfindung (Berlin, 1891) which mainly deals with perversions of which homosexuality is singled out for lengthy discussion. Also Das nervöse Weib (Berlin, 1898). Baron von Schrenck-Notzing in Die Suggestionstherapie bei krankhaften Erscheinungen des Geschlechtesinnes mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der conträren Sexualempfindung (Stuttgart, 1892), lays much of the stress of his medical argument on hereditary factors (as does Krafft-Ebing): 'Und genau genommen sind doch auch erbliche Neigungen nichts Anderes als die Rückwirkung der durch wiederholte und gehäufte Handlungen erworbenen Gewohnheiten unserer Vorfahren',p.150.
See below (Section III, iii) for Hirschfeld's contributions on homosexuality.
- 35 Mantegazza writes angrily: 'Aber wir haben noch eine konstitutionelle Heuchlerei, nämlich die von Raciborski, Mayer und anderen, welche uns lehren, daß, wenn man bis zum zweiten, dritten bis achten Tage nach Ablauf der Menstruation sich vom Beischlafe enthält, man dann sicher sein kann, die Wahrscheinlichkeit der Befruchtung zu verringern.' Quoted for the sake of clarity from the German translation of Igiene dell'amore (Florence 1903), Die Hygiene der Liebe (Berlin, 1914), p.347.
- 36 Sylvanus Stall attacked corsets for 'pressing not only inward, but also downward, upon the abdomen and that which is the most sensitive and delicate organ which God has placed below the waist' pp.187-88. I have underlined the sixteen words which Stall prefers to use rather than mention womb.
- 37 Freud, 'Die Weiblichkeit', p.547.
- 38 A. Moll, Das nervöse Weib, p.172. Moll's comment on a woman's right to a career is characteristically low-key and noncommittal: 'Wenn ich somit auch das Recht des Weibes auf einen wissenschaftlichen Beruf anerkenne,

so folgt daraus nicht, daß die Vorbereitung zu diesem in einer Geist und Körper zerrüttenden Weise geschehe' (p.199).

- 39 The following description gives an insight into the damage caused by corsets:
 'A fashionable woman's corsets exerted, on the average, twenty-one pounds of pressure on her internal organs, and extremes of up to eighty-eight pounds had been measured ... some of the short-term results of tight lacing were shortness of breath, constipation, weakness and a tendency to violent indigestion. Among the long-term effects were bent or fractured ribs, displacement of the liver, and uterine prolapse.'
 B. Ehrenreich and D. English, For Her Own Good (London, 1979), p.98.
- 40 A. Bebel, Die Frau und der Sozialismus (Berlin and Bonn, 1980), p.72. The book first appeared in Leipzig in 1879 under a different title to avoid the banning order: Die Frau in Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft.
- 41 Mary Wollstonecraft was quick to see through such social customs. In her Vindication of the Rights of Woman, first published in 1792, she wrote: 'I lament that women are systematically degraded by receiving the trivial attentions which men think it manly to pay to the sex, when in fact, they are insultingly supporting their own superiority ... So ludicrous, in fact, do these ceremonies appear to me that I scarcely am able to govern my muscles when I see a man start with eager and serious solicitude to lift a handkerchief or shut a door, when the lady could have done it herself, had she only moved a pace or two' (Harmondsworth, 1983), p.147.
- 42 In Psychopathia Sexualis, Krafft-Ebing makes the point thus: 'Der geschlechtliche Akt entzieht sich nicht der Öffentlichkeit und Mann und Weib scheuen sich nicht, nackt zu gehen'. p.2.
- 43 Krafft-Ebing, p.12.
- 44 A. Schopenhauer, 'Über die Weiber' (1851) in Sämtliche Werke, 6 vols (Leipzig, 1873-74), VI (1874) pp.649- 62 (p.653). Moll's contribution to this debate is the following: 'Ich möchte hervorheben, daß in der That die Annahme, das Fortpflanzungsbedürfnis beherrsche das ganze Weib und dürfe somit als Trieb aufgefaßt werden, in vielen Fällen nicht richtig ist'. Das nervöse Weib, p.171.
- 45 Schopenhauer, Zur Metaphysik der Geschlechtsliebe (Berlin and Leipzig, 1891), p.113. [First published as a supplement to Book Three of Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung, 1818, revised 1844.]/
- 46 Bebel, p.424

- 47 F. Engels, Der Ursprung der Familie, des Privateigentums und des Staats. Im Anschluß an Lewis H. Morgan's (sic) Forschungen (Zurich, 1884), p.33.
- 48 Engels, p.32.
- 49 Bebel, p.63.
- 50 Bebel, p.408.
- 51 Schrenck-Notzing, Die Suggestions-Therapie, p.32
- 52 R.J. Evans, 'Prostitution, State and Society in Imperial Germany', Past and Present, 70 (February 1976), 106- 29 (p.108).
- 53 R. Pascal, From Naturalism to Expressionism (London, 1973), p.204 writes that '... women were admitted to medical courses at the Baden universities from 1891'. However, he adds that progress in Prussia was much slower, with resistance from the professors in particular.
- 54 Bebel, pp.192-93.
- 55 Wedekind was actually imprisoned in 1899 for six months for lèse-majesté. He depicts his struggle with the censor in Oaha (1908) and shows the circumstances of his arrest in the arrest of Karl Hetmann in Hidalla (1903-04).
- 56 Schopenhauer, 'Über die Weiber', p.649.
- 57 'Über die Weiber', p.652.
- 58 'Über die Weiber', p.650.
- 59 'Über die Weiber', p.661.
- 60 Nietzsche, Also sprach Zarathustra, p.81.
- 61 Also sprach Zarathustra, p.81.
- 62 Also sprach Zarathustra, p.80.
- 63 Nietzsche, Ecce Homo, in Studienausgabe, VI, 3, pp.304-05.
- 64 Also sprach Zarathustra, p.82.
- 65 Berg, p.18.
- 66 Berg, pp.76- 77.
- 67 Berg, p.22.
- 68 Berg, p.27. The whole quotation is in parentheses.

- 69 H. Ibsen, A Doll's House (Harmondsworth, 1983), p.224. /First published 1879./ Ibsen stresses the hereditary factor in vice and immorality and in this respect has close affinities with Zola's Naturalist school.
- 70 Berg, p.20 (footnote).
- 71 Berg, pp.27-28.
- 72 Ibsen, p.226.
- 73 Ibsen, p.227.
- 74 A. Strindberg, By the Open Sea (New York, 1973), p.140 and p.239. /First published as I Havsbandet, 1890./
- 75 L. Berg, Der Übermensch in der modernen Literatur. Ein Kapitel zur Geistesgeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts (Leipzig, 1897), p.213.
- 76 e.g. Byron's Manfred. The topic is discussed in M. Praz's The Romantic Agony (Oxford, New York, Toronto and Melbourne, 1979).
- 77 Weininger, p.269.
- 78 Weininger, p.332.
- 79 Weininger, p.447.
- 80 Weininger, pp.456-57.
- 81 Weininger, p.458.
- 82 Weininger, p.185.
- 83 Weininger, p.270.
- 84 Weininger, pp.383-84. It is interesting that Kinsey makes the following remark: 'Human males, and not the females themselves, are the ones who imagine that females are frequently involved in sexual encounters with animals of other species': Kinsey, p.502. Thus Weininger's remark, though unpleasant in itself, is true to type.
- 85 Weininger, p.384.
- 86 Weininger, p.311.
- 87 Weininger, p.324.
- 88 G. Brude-Firnau, 'Wissenschaft von der Frau? Zum Einfluß von Otto Weiningers "Geschlecht und Charakter" auf den deutschen Roman', in Die Frau als Heldin und Autorin, edited by W. Paulsen (Berne and Munich, 1979), pp.136-49 (p.136).

- 89 P. Heller, 'A Quarrel over Bisexuality', in The Turn of the Century. German Art and Literature 1890-1915, edited by G. Chapple and H.H. Schulte (Bonn, 1983), pp. 87-115 (p.99).
- 90 The exchange of letters in 1904 seeks to establish the originator of the notion of bisexuality. Although Freud in his letter of 27 July 1904 admits that the 'Novum' came from Fliess, the matter is complicated by the fact that Freud had treated Swoboda (Weininger's friend) as his patient. There was subsequently a confused debate as to the extent of Weininger's plagiarism and as to whether or not this stemmed from Freud's suggestions to Swoboda in the course of treatment. The letters are discussed by David Abrahamsen in The Mind and Death of a Genius (New York, 1946) pp.43-44.
- 91 Heller, p.95.
- 92 Freud, 'Über die weibliche Sexualität', in Studienausgabe, V, pp.274-92 (p.282).
- 93 'Über die weibliche Sexualität', p.279.
- 94 'Die Weiblichkeit', pp.559-560.
- 95 'Die Weiblichkeit', p.564. By 'Neid', Freud means 'Penisneid'.
- 96 'Die Weiblichkeit', p.556.
- 97 'Die Weiblichkeit'. p.565.
- 98 Sexual-Probleme was the new title given to Helene Stöcker's periodical Mutterschutz, the mouthpiece for the Bund für Mutterschutz founded in 1905.
- 99 Haeberle, Anfänge der Sexualwissenschaft, p.1.
- 100 Haeberle comments on Bloch's book on prostitution: 'Er betrachtete Prostitution als das zentrale Problem der Sexualwissenschaft, weil sich in ihr die biologischen und kulturellen Aspekte der Sexualität besonders deutlich und bemerkenswert treffen', p.4.
- 101 Haeberle calls this an 'Enzyklopädie der Homosexualität', p.4.
- 102 Weeks, p.104.
- 103 Haeberle, p.6.
- 104 Haeberle (p.6) lists the following as speakers at the three congresses which followed Copenhagen: J.H. Leunbach, Norman Haire, Max Hodann, Kurt Hiller, Helene Stöcker, Vera Brittain, Marie Stopes, Ernst Gräfenberg, Harry Benjamin, Elise Ottesen-Jensen, Bertrand Russell, George Bernard Shaw, Ernst Toller, Wilhelm Reich, Friedrich S. Krauss and Benjamin B. Lindsey. In view

of such an illustrious body of talent it is all the more remarkable that the Liga was allowed to die.

- 105 C. Wolff, Magnus Hirschfeld. A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology (London, 1986), p.88.
- 106 Weeks cites the following circular sent by Stopes in 1922 to all prospective candidates at the General Election asking them to declare: 'I agree that the present position of breeding chiefly from the C3 population and burdening and discouraging the A1 is nationally deplorable, and if I am elected to Parliament I will press the Ministry of Health to give such scientific information through the Ante-natal Clinics, Welfare Centres and other institutions in its control as will curtail the C3 and increase the A1'. Quoted in Weeks, pp.190- 91.
- 107 F. Pfäfflin, 'Grußwort' to Haeberle's Anfänge der Sexualwissenschaft, p.vii.
- 108 The German title was Das konträre Geschlechtsgefühl (published in Leipzig, 1896). Ellis's work had a far-reaching effect in Germany where he was very well-regarded.
- 109 Weeks, p.142.
- 110 Wolff, p.87.
- 111 E. Frederiksen, 'German Women Authors in the Nineteenth Century: Where are They?', in Beyond the Eternal Feminine, edited by S.L. Cocalis and K. Goodman (Stuttgart, 1982), pp.177-201 (p.198). ('Writers' in the Contents.)
- 112 G. Reuter, Aus guter Familie (Berlin, 1898), p.220.
- 113 N. Stephan, 'Die Frauenfrage in Gerhart Hauptmanns Einsame Menschen und Ulrika Woerners Vorfrühling: Universal oder Trivial?', in Die Frau als Heldin und Autorin, pp.190-200 (p.196).
- 114 Verena Stefan confronts this particular problem in Häutungen (Munich, 1975).
- 115 S. Cocalis and K. Goodman, 'The Eternal Feminine is Leading Us On,' in Beyond the Eternal Feminine, pp. 1-45 (p.25).
- 116 According to Angela Livingstone, Andreas-Salomé lost her virginity in her late thirties (to the young Rilke) and then had a variety of lovers: 'The late sexual awakening had set going a kind of late adolescence, with new powers, new needs, new growth'. A. Livingstone, Lou Andreas-Salomé (London, 1984), p.116.

- 117 Lou Andreas-Salomé, 'Gedanken über das Liebesleben', in Die Erotik. Vier Aufsätze (Frankfurt am Main, Berlin and Vienna, 1985), pp.45-82 (p.54). The essay was written in 1900.
- 118 R. Huch, 'Über den Einfluß von Studium und Beruf auf die Persönlichkeit der Frau', in Gesammelte Werke, 11 vols, (Cologne, 1966-74), V (1971), p.753.
- 119 M. Midgley and J. Hughes, Women's Choices. Philosophical Problems Facing Feminism (London, 1983), p.214.
- 120 H. Lange, 'Es gab keine sozialdemokratischen Frauenvereine', in Lebenserinnerungen (Berlin, 1930), p.222. /First published in 1928./
- 121 C. Zetkin, 'Reinliche Scheidung', Die Gleichheit, 4 (18 April, 1894), p.63.
- 122 It is noteworthy that Die Gleichheit was the sole voice to criticise the war until it was silenced in 1915, when the SPD (whose mouthpiece, Vorwärts, was also banned) chose to expel Zetkin rather than unite with her in condemnation of the war. Zetkin became a leading communist in the Spartakusbund with Luxemburg, Liebknecht and Mehring.
- 123 Lange, p.269.
- 124 Richard Evans gives an interesting analysis of this important shift in attitude and direction in his article, 'Liberalism and Society: the Feminist Movement and Social Change', in Society and Politics in Wilhelmine Germany, edited by R.J. Evans (London, 1978), pp.186-214.
- 125 F. Wedekind, Musik in: Prosa Dramen Verse, 2 vols, (Munich, 1960), I, p.746. It is typical of Wedekind that the character who makes this remark is the 'villain' of the play and the penetrating remark is accredited to someone else, the mild but silly (and aptly-named) Lindekuh. Henceforth all references to this edition will be cited by using the initials P.D.V. with the volume number and page reference.
- 126 Pascal, p.209. One must note that in spite of Shaw's irony (which he uses to make the New Woman appear manly, as with Vivie, for example, in Mrs Warren's Profession (1898), where Vivie has a handshake like a vice), Shaw became progressively more attentive to the matter of women's rights. This is seen especially when he writes in prose (e.g. The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism (1928)). His attitude thus contains a degree of ambivalence. See also Kaiser chapter, note 17.

- 127 Dr Arduin, 'Die Frauenfrage und die sexuellen Zwischenstufen', Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen, 2 (1900), 211- 23 (p.216).
- 128 The dichotomy corresponds with Weininger's categories of 'Mutter' and 'Dirne' (see p.35).
- 129 For a full account of the motives which led girls into prostitution and a discussion of their portrayals in Naturalism and Expressionism see Nancy Mc Coombs, Earth Spirit, Victim or Whore? The Prostitute in German Literature 1880-1925 (New York, 1986).
- 130 Gilbert and Gubar, p.17. 'Angel' and 'monster' are simply variant terms for 'Madonna' and 'Eve', but Wedekind uses the word 'monstre' to indicate the predatory nymphomania of Lulu as well as the 'Unnatürlichkeit' of Geschwitz in his Lulu plays (originally conceived as a Monstretragödie - with Jack, of course, as the worst offender). See Wedekind chapter, p.86.

Notes to Chapter One

- 1 Wedekind was amused that Alice, one of the prostitutes in Paris, was shocked that he wrote his 'cochonneries' down: 'Es scheint ihr nicht recht glaublich, daß ich solche Schweinereien zu Papier bringe'. F. Wedekind, Die Tagebücher. Ein erotisches Leben (Frankfurt am Main, 1986), p.285. Almost one half of the book is devoted to the two years spent in Paris 1892-94.
- 2 H. Laube, 'Eine gewisse Kühle des Herzens', Der Spiegel (1 December 1986), 230-35.
- 3 A. Kutscher, Frank Wedekind. Sein Leben und seine Werke, 3 vols (Munich, 1927), I, p.337. The four writers mentioned here all offered the conventional wisdom of the day, as outlined in the Introduction.
- 4 Kutscher, Frank Wedekind, I, p.337.
- 5 Compare Die Tagebücher, p.238, where Wedekind reports that his friend Morgenstern was robbed of 200 francs in similar circumstances in Paris. Wedekind wrote the Schauertragödie, later to become Die Büchse der Pandora, in Paris.
- 6 Kinsey relates that prostitutes first alerted researchers to the phenomenon of their clients' loss of awareness when sexually aroused so that the pimp can actually walk round the room without being noticed. Kinsey, p.614.
- 7 F. Strich, Dichtung und Zivilisation (Munich, 1928), pp.180-81.
- 8 W. Rasch, 'Sozialkritische Aspekte in Wedekinds dramatischer Dichtung. Sexualität, Kunst und Gesellschaft', in Gestaltungsgeschichte und Gesellschaftsgeschichte. Literatur-, kunst- und musikwissenschaftliche Studien /Fritz Martini zum 60. Geburtstag/, edited by H. Kreuzer (Stuttgart, 1969), pp.409-26 (p.414).
- 9 D. Lorenz, 'Wedekind und die emanzipierte Frau. Eine Studie über Frau und Sozialismus im Werke Frank Wedekinds', Seminar, 12 (1976), 38-56 (p.38). In her article, Lorenz makes an exaggerated claim for a social message in Wedekind's works which is not borne out by the plays themselves.
- 10 P. Michelsen 'Frank Wedekind', in Deutsche Dichter der Moderne, edited by B. von Wiese (Berlin, 1969), pp.51-69 (p.56).
- 11 Strich commented: 'Dieser Schreck der Bürger hatte in sich selbst ein bürgerliches Element, das er niemals überwunden hat, ein Bedürfnis nach Ruhe, Geborgenheit und Sicherheit', p.188.

- 12 Wedekind wrote a series of brief comments on his major plays, each headed 'was ich mir dabei dachte'. These are printed at the end of volume I (P.D.V.).
- 13 K. Kraus, (untitled editorial), Die Fackel, 5 no.142, (1903), p.17.
- 14 A. Best, Frank Wedekind (London, 1975), p.18. Tilly's autobiography would support this view: 'Er beschäftigte sich damit / Liebes- und Eheleben / theoretisch, aber tatsächlich spielte es gar keine so große Rolle bei ihm ... er war vor allem in Sorge, sein Partner, also ich, könnte anspruchsvoll sein.' T. Wedekind, Lulu . Die Rolle Meines Lebens (Munich, Berne and Vienna, 1969), p.100.
- 15 In 'Über Erotik', Wedekind states that 'das Fleisch hat seinen eigenen Geist', in Gesammelte Werke, 9 vols (Munich, 1912-1921), I (1912), pp.197-206 (p.199). Henceforth this will be referred to as G.W., with the volume number and page reference.
- 16 Cl. Quiguer, 'L'Érotisme de Frank Wedekind', in Études germaniques, 17 (1962), 14-33 (p.29).
- 17 Quiguer, p.30.
- 18 Quiguer, p.33
- 19 According to Kutscher, Wedekind Leben und Werk (Munich, 1964), p.209. This is a compressed and modernised version of the three-volume Frank Wedekind.
- 20 Die Tagebücher, pp.272-73.
- 21 J. Elsom, 'Lulu Dancing', in Erotic Theatre (London, 1973), p.97.
- 22 In like fashion, Kadidja in Die Zensur actually kisses the mirror when claiming to be an 'exotisches Tier'.
- 23 It is particularly difficult to put a date to Die Büchse der Pandora. The date given in P.D.V. (1893-94) is misleading, as the play did not reach publication until 1902, in Die Insel. Kutscher gives details of the genesis of this play and its twin Erdgeist in Wedekind Leben und Werk pp.109- 39, where the five-act hybrid, the Monstretragödie, is also discussed.
- 24 Wedekind, Die Büchse der Pandora. Eine Monstretragödie (Handschriften-Sammlung der Stadtbibliothek München, 1895), p.422. Further references to this manuscript will simply be preceded by an 'M'.
- 25 C.C. Boone, 'Zur inneren Entstehungsgeschichte von Wedekinds Lulu: eine neue These', Études germaniques, 27 (1972), 423- 30(p.428). Boone also states that the female characters are 'eigentlich alle als Opfer zu betrachten...'

- 26 See also note 22. The trigger to Kadidja's suicide is thus jealousy, however remote the rival in time or space. This also occurs with Delila who emasculates Simson - much against her own interest as it turns out - because he told her of a woman whom he greatly admired. In this case the rival was even safely dead.
- 27 Although Lulu is taunting Schön at this point and actually manages to assert her authority over him, the accepted notion of Schön is as a ruthless magnate. This is clear in Schwarz's reference to 'ein Gewaltmensch von seinem Einfluß' (P.D.V., I, p.405). It must be added that Schwarz is no judge of character.
- 28 This is a minor inconsistency in itself, but it indicates that Wedekind was not so very concerned with this play.
- 29 Quigeur, p.32.
- 30 The pedlar's contribution is in P.D.V., II, p.104. The ballad 'Ilse' is in P.D.V., I, p.21. For Tilly's description of her début in front of Kraus in the winter of 1904-05 (where she sang this song), see Lulu. Die Rolle meines Lebens, p.39.
The song's changes in 'Ilse' are that the girl is one year older and the man whispers 'O welch ein Glück' whilst pushing Ilse back onto the pillow. This considerably lessens the shocking nature of the song.
- 31 See I. Bloch, Das Sexuelleben unserer Zeit (Berlin, 1907), p.274ff where Bloch criticises Schopenhauer's suggestion for a new type of 'chain' marriage whereby two men would possess one woman at a time, discarding her when her beauty faded.
- 32 Kutscher, Frank Wedekind, I, p.336.
- 33 W. Sokel, 'The Changing Role of Eros in Wedekind's Drama', The German Quarterly Review, 39 (1966), 201- 07 (p.205).
- 34 Sokel, p.202.
- 35 Lorenz, p.51.
- 36 Rasch, p.419.
- 37 Tilly was asked this when she first met her husband: Lulu. Die Rolle meines Lebens, p.45
- 38 R.A. Jones, 'Frank Wedekind: Circus Fan', Monatshefte, 61 (1969), 139- 56 (p.149).

- 39 Gertrud is an exemplary Rasseweib. Hidalla 'sees' her years later in the stance of a horse in the park. 'Diese Stellung der Füße war Gertrud ... alles rief mir Gertrud vor Augen' (P.D.V., I, p.210).
- 40 In their ignorance, girls performing in the pantomime construe from the audience's reaction that it is as outrageous for two members of the opposite sex to go to bed together as for two members of the same sex. The punishment for a lapse such as getting into bed with another girl is lifelong imprisonment, in a servile function, in the park. Mild homosexual leanings would, of course, be quite normal amongst the adolescent girls, which makes their régime particularly brutal.
- 41 B. Diebold, Anarchie im Drama (Frankfurt am Main, 1921), p.152.
- 42 Kutscher, Wedekind. Leben und Werk, p.206: 'Mine-Haha bekommt den Titel: Die große Liebe'.
- 43 Rothe describes the beating scene as a sado-masochistic encounter without considering its crucial timing. See F. Rothe, Frank Wedekinds Dramen (Stuttgart, 1968), pp.23-24.
- 44 See also Introduction, p.32.
- 45 This two-page plan for a play with rape as the topic is similar to the scheme for Die Jungfrau.
- 46 Midgley and Hughes, pp.134-35.
- 47 Kraus, 'Die Büchse der Pandora', in Die Fackel, 7, no.182 (1905), p.6.
- 48 Freud, Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie, in Studienausgabe, V, p.69.
- 49 Sokel, p.207. Sokel mis-spells Effie 'Effi'.
- 50 It is implied in both Erdgeist (P.D.V., I, p.409) and Die Büchse der Pandora (P.D.V., I, p.511) that Schigolch has a sexual interest in Lulu, and that this has been the case since she was nine (she is nineteen at the beginning of Die Büchse der Pandora). David Midgley points out that Schigolch's 'obsessive sexual interest' in Lulu is much more clearly stated in the Monstre-tragödie than in the final versions of the 'Lulu plays': 'Wedekind's Lulu: From 'Schauertragödie' to Social Comedy', in German Life and Letters, 38, (1985), 205-32 (p.221). See also note 64.
- 51 Effie declares: 'Welchen höchsten Triumph sucht denn das Weib, das keine Kinder bekommt? - Sinnlichkeit!' (P.D.V., II, p.398).
- 52 Kutscher, Frank Wedekind, II, p.138.

- 53 Kutscher, Wedekind Leben und Werk, p.206.
- 54 Die große Liebe, Notebook 39, 'Frühlingsfeier', p.24.
To be found in the Handschriften - Sammlung der
Stadtbibliothek München.
- 55 Notebook 40, 'Herbstfeier', p.7.
- 56 L. Berg, Der Übermensch in der modernen Literatur,
p.211.
- 57 Michelsen, p.55.
- 58 W. Emrich, 'Die Lulu Tragödie', in Das deutsche Drama
vom Barock bis zur Gegenwart: Interpretationen, edited by
B.von Wiese, 2 vols (Düsseldorf, 1958),II,pp.209-30(p.213).
- 59 R. Peacock, 'The Ambiguity of Wedekind's Lulu', in
Oxford German Studies, 9 (1978), 103- 18 (p.115).
- 60 Quoted in G. Seehaus, Frank Wedekind und das Theater
(Munich, 1964), p.403.
- 61 Seehaus, p.384.
- 62 Seehaus, p.386. The review of Gisela Liedtke-Stein's
1920 portrayal of Lulu described her thus: 'War diese
Lulu eine Schlange, so besaß die jedenfalls keine
Giftzähne'.
- 63 Michelsen, p.59.
- 64 Goethe's Mignon is the incestuous daughter of the
Harper (by his sister); Schigolch - who is Lulu's
father-figure if not her actual father - might have
had sexual relations with her (see note 50). In
Der Wärfwolf (G.W.,IX,p.282), we read (in a schematic
note): 'Es bleibt dahingestellt, ob er bei einer
früheren Begegnung einmal mit seiner dritten Tochter
geschlechtlich verkehrt hat'. Elins Erweckung -
where the shadowy figure of Schigolch appears from
behind a grave - has brother-sister incest as its
theme. Wedekind thus has incest at the back of his
mind on several occasions. Rothe omits this aspect
when he mentions Mignon, pp.40-41.
- 65 Lulu annoys Schön by referring to Adelheid as 'Kind'
(P.D.V.,I,p.415), but it would be natural for Schön
to use this expression as was pointed out in the
Introduction (p.32). Goll indirectly refers to Lulu
as a child when Schön asks him if he wants to have
children and Goll replies, 'Ich habe an dem einen
vollkommen genug' (P.D.V.,I,p.389). Hibberd sees
the child-like aspect of Lulu as one of the many
components of the 'natural life-force' which Lulu,
as paradigm woman, represents. J.L. Hibberd, 'The
Spirit of the Flesh: Wedekind's Lulu', Modern
Languages Review, 79 (1984), 336- 55 (p.346).

- 66 For a description of late-Victorian London see R. Pearsall, The Worm in the Bud.
- 67 To indicate the terror of the scene for Lulu in the Monstretragödie, Wedekind makes Lulu slip from the English she has hitherto used with Jack to German: 'laß los!' (Mp.431) ... 'Er schließt mir den Leib auf' (Mp.432) - and back to English: '-They rip me up!' (Mp.433).
- 68 Rothe pp.56-58 discusses Jack's Chirurgie.
- 69 Krafft-Ebing, p.38: 'Die Phantasie des ungesättigten entarteten Individuums schafft Vorstellungen, die in aggressiven Situationen gegen das Opfer der Sinnelust sich bewegen, und diese Vorstellungen werden von Lustgefühlen bis zu Affekten betont. Das entartete Individuum findet eine Quelle für eine Steigerung seiner Wollust in den von Lustgefühlen betonten Vorstellungen des physischen Leidens des Opfers.'
- 70 S. Bovenschen, Die imaginierte Weiblichkeit. Exemplarische Untersuchungen zu kulturgeschichtlichen und literarischen Präsentationsformen des Weiblichen (Frankfurt am Main, 1979), pp.53-54.
- 71 It is not clear whether or not this is meant to be a general comment such as Mephisto's 'die ist die Erste nicht!' / Goethe, Faust in Werke, 14 vols, (Hamburg, 1960), III, p.137_ / or whether Reißner has seduced pupils before.
- 72 H. Arntzen, 'Der Ideologe als Angestellter' in Viermal Wedekind, edited by K. Pestalozzi and M. Stern (Stuttgart, 1975), pp.7-21 (p.14).
- 73 Weeks, p.131.
- 74 Best, p.54.
- 75 Arntzen, p.19.
- 76 V. Klotz, 'Wedekinds Circus Mundi' in Viermal Wedekind, pp. 22-47 (p.44).
- 77 Klotz, p.33.
- 78 Klotz, p.43.
- 79 Nietzsche devotes a whole chapter of Also sprach Zarathustra to the topic: 'Vom freien Tode'.
- 80 The voyeuristic aspect of Hetmann's behaviour has some parallel with Wedekind's own behaviour. In Die Tagebücher (p.259), Wedekind records having watched his friend making love to a prostitute. Voyeurism is a constant theme in the plays, as pointed out on p.81.

- 81 Katharina constitutes a veritable vignette of sexual frustration at the beginning of the play, but she finally manages to form a successful alliance with Fritz Schwigerling. As Fürst Rogoschin importunes her for most of the play, there is a good deal of sexual tension on his part as well.
- 82 See the Introduction, note 63, for Nietzsche's (and probably Wedekind's) view of Ibsen.
- 83 The story is in later editions of Krafft-Ebing's Psychopathia Sexualis and is in Moll, Untersuchungen über die Libido Sexualis, p.97.
- 84 It must be noted that as Hedda is a married woman, her stance could be construed, within the context of the times, as a more distorted sexual attitude than the libertarian stance of Franziska.
- 85 Kutscher records that Wedekind noted for this scene 'Freudsche Theorie der Auflösung der Folgen seelischer Verletzungen durch den Koitus auf der Treppe . . . Franziska fühlt sich erleichtert, Veit Kunz fühlt sich ihrer dadurch sicher'. Kutscher, Frank Wedekind. III, p.249.
- 86 Hector Maclean in 'Polarity and Synthesis of the Sexes in Frank Wedekind's work', in Australian Universities Language and Literature Association. Proceedings and Papers of the Thirteenth Congress held at Monash University, 12-18 August 1970, edited by J.R. Ellis (Melbourne, 1970), pp.231-42 (p.241), describes how Kunz, so dominant during the play, has sunk to becoming head of a detective agency which specialises in divorce: 'In the fifth act the sterile and parasitic Kunz is placed beside the banality of Franziska and her child. They are reduced to a caricature of male and female'. Willeke writes that 'Wedekind seems to have attempted here an exaltation of maternal womanhood as a parallel to Goethe's apotheosis of the active male spirit'. A.B. Willeke, 'Wedekind and the Frauenfrage', Monatshefte, 72 (1980), 26-38 (p.34).
- 87 Occasionally the stories contain a happy couple such as Rabbi Esra - though we do not actually see him with his wife.

Notes to Chapter Two

- 1 Frank Whitford mentions this and another disturbing event (the fact that Kokoschka's mother reportedly gave birth in bed beside Kokoschka) in Oskar Kokoschka. A Life (London, 1986), p.4.
- 2 Oskar Kokoschka, Mein Leben (Munich, 1967), p.38. See below, p.129.
- 3 Mein Leben, p.38.
- 4 Mein Leben, p.67
- 5 Mein Leben, p.131
- 6 Mein Leben, p.62.
- 7 Mein Leben, p.62.
- 8 J.P. Hodin, Oskar Kokoschka. Eine Psychographie (Vienna, 1971), p.157.
- 9 Zola weaves this into Germinál in the stranglehold Chaval has over Catherine, who really loves Étienne. In Goethe's novel Die Wahlverwandtschaften, Charlotte's child bears a resemblance to the Hauptmann, her true 'chemical' mate. The idea was resilient during the nineteenth century and survived into the twentieth century. Otto Weininger wrote in Geschlecht und Charakter: 'Der Mann... von dem eine so starke Wirkung auf die Frau erwartet werden könnte, daß ihr Kind auch dann ihm ähnlich würde, wenn es nicht aus seinem Samen sich entwickelt hat, dieser Mann müßte die Frau sexuell in äußerst vollkommener Weise ergänzen' (p.277). See also Kaiser chapter, p.206
- 10 A. Mahler-Werfel, Mein Leben (Frankfurt am Main, 1960) p.58.
- 11 'Fetisch-Briefe', Der Spiegel (7 March 1983), p.201. Der Spiegel also prints two very immodest diagrams of the doll's torso which accompanied the letter of December 10th, 1918.
- 12 Oskar Kokoschka, Briefe, edited by H. Spielmann and O. Kokoschka, 2 vols (Düsseldorf 1984 and 85), I [letters 1905-1919] (1984), p.301. (Letter of 10.12.1918.)
- 13 Whitford, pp.122-24.
- 14 Mein Leben, p.191.
- 15 'Brief aus Dresden', in Oskar Kokoschka. Das schriftliche Werk, edited by H. Spielmann, 4 vols (Hamburg 1973-6), II (1974), p.198. Henceforth this edition will be referred to by using the initials S.W. with the volume number and page reference.

- 16 Mein Leben, p.66.
- 17 Briefe, I,p.312.
- 18 Mahler-Werfel, p.130.
- 19 Mahler-Werfel, p.199.
- 20 Mahler-Werfel, p.184.
- 21 M. Gasser, 'Schöpferische Augenblicke', in Oskar Kokoschka. Ein Lebensbild in zeitgenössischen Dokumenten, edited by H.M. Wingler (Munich, 1956), pp.60-64 (p.62).
- 22 Hodin, p.231.
- 23 Hodin, p.234.
- 24 Mein Leben, p.306.
- 25 'Vortrag 1912' is the first section of the three-part 'Vom Bewußtsein der Gesichte'.
- 26 'Aufsatz 1917' is the second section of 'Vom Bewußtsein der Gesichte'. The third and final section is entitled 'Bild, Sprache und Schrift' and dated 1946.
- 27 H. Denkler, 'Das Drama des Expressionismus im Zusammenhang mit den expressionistischen Programmen und Theaterformen' (PhD dissertation, University of Münster, 1963), p.60. Revised and published as Das Drama des Expressionismus (Munich, 1967).
- 28 Edith Hoffmann is full of praise for Olda: 'Uncritical, always practical, and unsurpassingly devoted, she made herself an instrument unhesitatingly at his service', in Kokoschka: Life and Work (London, 1947), p.224.
- 29 Mein Leben, p.62.
- 30 Bachofen's influence is usually mentioned en passant, although P. Vergo and Y. Modlin show an awareness of the extent of the debt in their introduction to the catalogue for the 1986 exhibition of Kokoschka's paintings in their essay 'Murderer Hope of Women: expressionist drama and myth' in Oskar Kokoschka 1886-1980 (London, 1986), pp.20-31 (pp.25-27). See also D. Gordon, 'Oskar Kokoschka and the Visionary Tradition', in The Turn of the Century, pp.23-52 (pp.40-44).
- 31 J.J. Bachofen, Gesammelte Werke, 10 vols, (Basle, 1943-67), II/III(1943)Das Mutterrecht, II,p.58.
- 32 G. Boas, Introduction to Myth, Religion and Mother Right (the English translation of Das Mutterrecht) (London, 1967), p. xix.

- 33 Das Mutterrecht, II, p.58: 'So durchaus gesetzmäßig ist der Zusammenhang, daß aus dem Vorherrschen des einen oder des anderen der großen Weltkörper in dem Kulte auf die Gestaltung des Geschlechtsverhältnisses im Leben geschlossen und in einem der bedeutendsten Sitze des Monddienstes die männliche oder weibliche Benennung des Nachtgestirns als Ausdruck der Herrschaft des Mannes oder jener der Frau aufgefaßt werden konnte.'
- 34 Das Mutterrecht, II, p.233.
- 35 Nietzsche, Werke VIII, 3 (1972), p.166.
- 36 Mein Leben, p.141.
- 37 Mein Leben, pp.91, 119 and 236.
- 38 'Vom Erleben' in Oskar Kokoschka. Schriften 1907-55 edited by H.M. Wingler (Munich, 1955), p.51. Henceforth this edition will be referred to by the initials O.K.S. with the page reference. Wherever possible, the plays were cited from this edition because certain discrepancies in dates were found in the 4-volume edition edited by Spielmann - 'S.W.'. See, for example, note 55 below.
- 39 Mein Leben, p.68.
- 40 Mein Leben, p.155.
- 41 Das Mutterrecht, II, p.155: 'In der Unsterblichkeit der Frau gegenüber der Sterblichkeit des Mannes hat das Vorherrschen des Muttertums einen der ältesten Religionsanschauung angehörenden Ausdruck erhalten. Dem Vaterrecht entspricht das Umgekehrte, in der Mythenwelt viel häufigere Verhältnis, in welchem die Unsterblichkeit auf Seite des Vaters, die Sterblichkeit auf der Mutterseite liegt.'
- 42 Das Mutterrecht, III, p.717.
- 43 H. Schumacher, 'Oskar Kokoschka', in Expressionismus als Literatur, edited by W. Rothe (Berne, 1969), pp.506-18 (p.515) H. Schvey interprets this notion slightly differently, as renewal rather than rebirth: 'Man is both a murderer and a bearer of hope for woman, since the act of physical destruction is also an act of spiritual liberation'. H. Schvey, Oskar Kokoschka. The Painter as Playwright (Detroit, 1982), p.39.
- 44 Denkler, Dissertation, p.91.
- 45 P. Westheim, Oskar Kokoschka. Das Werk Kokoschkas in 62 Abbildungen (Berlin, 1916), p.16: 'Kokoschka hat in den Werdejahren das Begehren, Chemiker zu werden ... welch ein Leben in den Reagenzgläsern! Welche Konflikte, welche Katastrophen!' (See also note 9 regarding Weininger's ideas on the instant mutual

attraction of the ideal Mann and Weib.)

With regard to Kokoschka's interest in chemistry, it is clear in his autobiography (p.43) that he felt little inclination for the subjects taught at the Realschule which he attended (physics, chemistry and mathematics), and he would have preferred to have gone to the Gymnasium which, however, was more expensive, as the course lasted nine years compared to the seven years at the Realschule. Kokoschka's interest in chemistry was probably an attempt to make the best of the situation. G.S. Lischka in Oskar Kokoschka. Maler und Dichter (Berne and Frankfurt am Main, 1972), wrongly states that Kokoschka went to the Gymnasium (p.52).

- 46 I. Mörder Hoffnung der Frauen, Der Sturm, I (14 July 1910), 155-56
 II. Hoffnung der Frauen, in Dramen und Bilder (Leipzig, 1913). Page references for Mörder A will be from this edition (which will henceforth be abbreviated to D.B.) unless the Sturm version shows a large discrepancy.
- A
 B III. Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen (Berlin, 1916). (Limited edition of 100.)
 IV. Mörder Hoffnung der Frauen, Schauspiel, in Der jüngste Tag, 41 (Leipzig, 1917). Reprinted in O.K.S. from which all references for B are taken.
- 47 H. Denkler, 'Die Druckfassungen der Dramen Oskar Kokoschkas', Deutsche Vierteljahresschrift für Literatur und Geistesgeschichte, 40 (1966), 90-108.
- 48 Compare the loss of dynamism from A to B:
 A: Der Mann: Wer ist die, die wie ein Tier stolz unter den Ihnen weidet? (D.B., p.17)
 B: Der Mann: Wer ist sie? (O.K.S., p.144).
- 49 Frau: Wer ist der Fremde, der mich sah? ...
Mann: Sahst Du mich an, sah ich Dich? (D.B., p.16, O.K.S., p.142).
- 50 Mörder A (II) drops the words: 'Ich fraß Dein Blut' (D.B., p.120).
- 51 Mörder B (II) (D.B., p.20) is slightly altered to 'Frißt an mir'. Thus, as in the previous reference, the idea of blood is erased.
- 52 H. Denkler, 'Druckfassungen', p.102. Kokoschka probably intended both meanings to be conveyed by the metaphor. In Mörder, the context of dawn discourages the religious interpretation but one must bear in mind Kokoschka's facility - as in Schauspiel/Dornbusch - to slip from one metaphor to another. (See below, p.145)
- 53 J. Sprengler, 'Kokoschka's Bühnendichtung', Hochland, 19 (1921-22) 670- 78 (p.671).

- 54 D. Gordon argues that this sketch is a preparation for the very similar 'Allos Makar' lithograph 1915 and should be dated 1915, not 1908, because 'the suggestion of flaying becomes explicit ... only in the year 1915' (p.38). Whilst this may be true of the drawings it is not true of the writings, where the desire to step out of one's skin is present in the early Der weiße Tiertöter. Incidentally the sun and moon figure large in both lithograph and sketch, indicating a continuity in Kokoschka's use of this symbolism. Gordon appears not to have read Der weiße Tiertöter.
- 55 Schauspiel appeared in Dramen und Bilder (1913) and underwent major changes to become Der brennende Dornbusch, printed in Der jüngste Tag in 1917 and reprinted in O.K.S., which will be used for page references in conjunction with D.B. where appropriate. Spielmann asserts that his version of Der brennende Dornbusch was written in 1907 and is 'gleichlautend mit der Veröffentlichung in "Der jüngste Tag"' (S.W., I, p.276), an assertion which completely leaves the 1913 Schauspiel out of consideration.
- 56 Gordon, p.38, n.31.
- 57 Schvey, p.51.
- 58 Schvey, p.59.
- 59 H. Denkler, 'Schauspiel und Der brennende Dornbusch von Oskar Kokoschka', Der Deutschunterricht 17 (1965), 34-52 (p.45).
- 60 R. Brandt, Figurationen und Kompositionen in den Dramen Kokoschkas (Munich, 1968), p.49.
- 61 Schauspiel (D.B., p.42): 'Am Tage bin ich ein Zweifelswesen von Menschenähnlichkeit. Erst nachts bläst mir ein Mann den Atem ein und glaubt an die Gestalt'. Der brennende Dornbusch is almost identical, but 'Heut nacht' replaces 'Erst nachts' (O.K.S., p.174).
- 62 Schvey, p.50.
- 63 In Schauspiel (D.B., p.62) this is: 'Erzwungen, erscheint eine Welt, ein Gesicht im Bewußtsein'.
- 64 The same speech in Schauspiel is rather different: Mann: Zum erstenmal sterb ich in dir (D.B., p.50).
- 65 Denkler, 'Druckfassungen', p.106; Brandt, pp.46-47.
- 66 In Dornbusch, 'den liebleeren Körper' is omitted (O.K.S., p.187), completely altering the sense. The words are spoken by the 'Erster Alter' to the woman.
- 67 Mein Leben, p.61.

- 68 Denkler speculates that Alma influenced Schauspiel; however, the play was begun in 1911 and Kokoschka met Alma in 1912, when the play was presumably finished (it was published in 1913). See Denkler, 'Schauspiel und Der brennende Dornbusch', p.36.
- 69 Mein Leben, p.64.
- 70 Originally the word 'Eifer' meant 'Eifersucht' and was used with this connotation over 90 times in Luther's Bible. It was in a transitional stage in 1542 when Herold wrote: 'von der toechten sucht("Krankheit") des Eifers'. Kluge, Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache (Berlin, 1960), p.156.
- 71 Sphinx und Strohmann. Komödie für Automaten, in Wort der Zeit, 2 (1956), 145-48. Henceforth I shall refer to this version as Sphinx I.
- 72 Sphinx und Strohmann. Ein Curiousum, in Dramen und Bilder (1913) and reprinted in O.K.S., pp.153-67. I shall refer to this version as Sphinx II.
- 73 The 1917 version is virtually impossible to obtain. The text alone is in O. Kokoschka Vier Dramen (Berlin, 1919) and reprinted in O.K.S.
- 74 Compare the waiter's speeches at the end of Act 2, Trommeln in der Nacht, which give the audience direct information as to the events in the play. B. Brecht, Gesammelte Werke, 20 vols (Frankfurt am Main, 1967), I,p.100.
- 75 Mentioned in Otto Kamm's unpublished dissertation, 'Oskar Kokoschka und das Theater' (Vienna, 1958), p.13.
- 76 It is intriguing that the mythological Lilith was Adam's first wife, as Kokoschka uses this notion at the end of Hiob, where Lilly - now metamorphosed as Eva - absconds with Adam. The important point of the myth is that Lilith refused to subordinate herself to Adam and was punished accordingly. According to Gilbert and Gubar, '... the figure of Lilith represents the price women have been told they must pay for attempting to define themselves' (p.35).
- 77 Sphinx II has a slightly different version where 'zart' becomes 'menschlich' and 'scheu' becomes 'ehrfurchtsvoll' (O.K.S., pp.159-60).
- 78 Denkler writes in 'Druckfassungen', p.97, 'Lillys Beschwörungsformel zeugt für die unkomplizierte Eindeutigkeit des Geschlechterverhältnisses, während Animas Ruf sich ironisch die von Weininger entworfene Typologie zunutze macht und nun ins Grotteske verkehrt.'
- 79 Weininger, p.270. See also Introduction, n.78.

- 80 Weininger, p.268.
- 81 A very similar passage is found in Sphinx II (O.K.S., p.162).
- 82 S. Freud, Die Frage der Laienanalyse. Studienausgabe, Ergänzungsband, p.275: '... Laien = Nichtärzte, und die Frage ist, ob es durch Nichtärzte erlaubt sein soll, die Analyse auszuüben'. Freud's reply is, of course, a resounding 'yes'.
- 83 Denkler lists Büchner as an early influence on Kokoschka within a veritable 'rogues gallery': 'Mit Recht ist immer wieder von der Wirkung des Wiener Theaters vom Barock bis zur Jahrhundertwende, vom Eindruck der Stücke Büchners, Wedekinds, Strindbergs, Claudels, von der Bedeutung der Schriften Nietzsches, Kraus' und Freuds für Kokoschka gesprochen worden, ohne daß die Vorbilder in der bildenden Kunst, Romako, Klimt, Hodler, van Gogh, Munch, vergessen worden wären', in 'Schauspiel und Der brennende Dornbusch', p.39.
- 84 G. Büchner, Woyzeck edited by M. Jacobs (Manchester, 1970), p.77.
- 85 Sphinx II: 'Wer bin ich?' (O.K.S., p.164).
- 86 Büchner, p.79.
- 87 Büchner, p.88.
- 88 Denkler surmises that the figure of Death might have been inspired by Wedekind's 'Vermummter Herr' (Dissertation, p.81).
- 89 In Sphinx I this reads: 'Frauen sind Gespenster, wenn man auch schon geschieden ist, leben sie in uns fort. Eine Geliebte hat eine unsterbliche Seele, aber kein Herz' (W.Z., p.146).
- 90 Denkler, 'Druckfassungen', p.98.
- 91 Denkler in his dissertation (p.79) presumes that 'die Rolle des Chors wird von einem einzigen Sprecher gesprochen'. The stage set has painted men on a backcloth with holes for heads and the stage direction states (slightly ambiguously): '... zeitweilig ein Kopf erscheint und ... spricht, worauf der nächste Herr antwortet, so läuft durch die ganze Reihe das Gespräch' (O.K.S., p.165). It is hard to say how many men there are.
- 92 Compare Faust's words: 'das also war der Pudels Kern!' Goethe, Werke, III, p.46.
- 93 Denkler, 'Druckfassungen', p.99.

- 94 Jeremiah 18.2; Romans 9 and 21; Revelations 2.27.
- 95 Compare Sphinx I: 'Aber ich möchte doch sachlich bemerken, daß zur Gültigkeit der Geburt eines Nachkommen die Existenz der zu mindest unerläßlichen Erzeuger nötig war, nach der bürgerlichen Weltordnung' (W.Z.,p.145). Sphinx II has a slightly different format (O.K.S.,p.158).
- 96 In Sphinx II, 'Kind' replaces 'Sohn' (O.K.S.,p.158).
- 97 Compare Sphinx II (O.K.S.,p.164):
HERR FIRDÜSI Was treibst Du?
ANIMA Spiritistische Experimente, Geisterbeschwörung.
Ich lasse mich erlösen.
- 98 Schumacher, p.516.
- 99 Sprengler, p.677.
- 100 Mein Leben, p.161.
- 101 Mahler-Werfel, p.61.
- 102 Gordon, p.47.
- 103 Romana Kokoschka died in 1934.
- 104 Mahler-Werfel, p.130.
- 105 Mahler-Werfel, p.59.
- 106 Mahler-Werfel, p.130.
- 107 Westheim, p.13.
- 108 This accounts for the intrusion of the skull as a motif in Hiob and Orpheus und Eurydike.
- 109 Mein Leben, p.132. A drawing of 1910 entitled 'Die Kindesmörderin' shows a woman about to stab a baby with a pin. Compare Eurydike's dream on p.166.
- 110 Mahler-Werfel, p.60.
- 111 Mahler-Werfel, p.61.
- 112 Mahler-Werfel, p.79.
- 113 S. Freud, Die Traumdeutung, in Studienausgabe, II, p.242 [first published 1900]: 'Der Traum kann nicht anders als einen Wunsch in einer Situation als erfüllt darstellen'.
- 114 Mein Leben, p.135. See also note 9 above.
- 115 Schumacher, p.516.

- 116 W. Hofmann, 'Oskar Koksochka', Wort in der Zeit, 2 (1956), 129- 39 (p.136).
- 117 There seems to be no particular reason to identify the spirit of the 'Mutter' with Eurydike, as Schvey does (p.96). The 'Mutter' chides Orpheus in quite a different way than Eurydike does when she pleads for deliverance. Schvey refers to Orpheus's words 'Du sollst nicht töten' as his dying words (thus a reproach to his murderess). However, these words are spoken as a hysterical jibe to Eurydike, who throttles Orpheus to put an end to his Schadenfreude.
- 118 Hofmann, p.136.
- 119 Freud, 'Das Unbewußte', in Studienausgabe, III, pp.131-2.
- 120 Kokoschka could well have had Mahler's 'Lied von der Erde' in mind at this point.
- 121 Gasser, p.63. Bachofen also enjoyed his visits to the British Museum.
- 122 Ann Eliza is actually called Anna Elisa in this version. Die Mumie is in O.K.S. but not S.W.
- 123 In the later version of the story the 'anglicised' name is in keeping with Kokoschka's greater knowledge of Britain since his emigration in 1938. Ann Eliza Reed is in S.W. but not O.K.S.
- 124 'Kind' is found instead of 'Tor' in Die Mumie (O.K.S., p.87).
- 125 Die Mumie is slightly different: 'Ich möchte Glasberg's Mumie sein' (O.K.S., p.93).
- 126 A lithograph executed by Kokoschka in 1952 entitled 'Ann Eliza Reed und Glasberg, die Mumie haltend' shows Ann kneeling up in her coffin, naked.
- 127 Die Mumie has 'darfst' instead of 'willst'. (Compare Eurydike's words to Orpheus 'du willst dein Unglück' (p.168 above).
- 128 Hofmann, p.137.
- 129 In Die Mumie, this change in Reed's stance is more understandable: 'Als Reed alle Verwandten und Fremden so auf sich einreden hörte, schien ihm eine Verteidigung seines früheren Freundes schwer, zu dem er nun selber feindlich stand, seitdem Anna Elisa fort war' (O.K.S., p.99).

Notes to Chapter Three

- 1 G.M. Valk, 'Ansätze zu einer Bibliographie', in Interpretationen zu Georg Kaiser, edited by A. Arnold (Stuttgart, 1980), pp.7-29 (p.12).
- 2 'Aphorismen', in Georg Kaiser Werke, 6 vols, edited by W. Huder (Frankfurt am Main, Berlin and Vienna, 1971), IV,p.633. Henceforth the works from this edition will be cited by using the initials G.K.W., volume number and page reference.
- 3 H.A. Pausch, 'Die Literatur über Georg Kaiser: ein Forschungsbericht', in Georg Kaiser Symposium, edited by H.A. Pausch and E. Reinhold (Berlin and Darmstadt, 1980), pp.279-97 (p.280).
- 4 He was nevertheless convicted of theft and sentenced to one year in prison. (He served only two months).
- 5 W. Steffens, Kaiser (Hannover, 1974), p.34.
- 6 B. Diebold, Der Denkspieler Georg Kaiser (Frankfurt am Main, 1924), p.105.
- 7 This is the advice Pilenz receives from Pater Alban in Grass's Katz und Maus (London, 1971), p.125 [first published in 1961/].
- 8 The debt to Plato is acknowledged in two crucial essays, 'Das Drama Platons' and 'Mythos', both in G.K.W., IV. Kaiser counted Plato as a dramatist because of the dialogue by means of which he conveys Socrates's views.
- 9 R.C. Helt and J.C. Pettey, 'Georg Kaiser's Rezeption of Friedrich Nietzsche: The Dramatist's Letters and Some Nietzschean Themes in His Works', Orbis Litterarum, 38 (1983), 215- 34 (p.230).
- 10 Plato simply made it clear that true, higher love could only exist between men, whereas Nietzsche was more vehemently anti-feminist.
- 11 W. Fix, 'Es ist nichts so, wie es ist', Deutsche Rundschau, 7 (May 1950), 474-78 (p.476).
- 12 W. Paulsen, 'Literatur aus Literatur: Die Technik der Sprache und die Technik der umkehrbaren Thematik in Kaisers Frühwerk', in Georg Kaiser Symposium, pp.59-84 (p.65).
- 13 A.K. Bubser, 'Umwertung und Ausbruch: vom "Schellenkönig" zur "Jüdischen Witwe"', in Georg Kaiser Symposium, pp.85-94 (p.89).
- 14 According to Arnold in Die Literatur des Expressionismus, 'wir dürfen ruhig annehmen, daß Kaiser Shaw kannte' (p.113).

- 15 G.C. Tunstall, 'The Turning Point in Georg Kaiser's Attitude toward Friedrich Nietzsche', Nietzsche Studien, 14 (1985), 314- 36 (p.319). Rolf pays tribute to Rust (and Nietzsche) in his remark 'ecce Rust!' (G.K.W., I, p.313).
- 16 Tunstall, p.321.
- 17 Bernard Shaw uses the same argument in a different way in Man and Superman. Tanner defends Violet's right to have an illegitimate baby as she would fulfil 'her highest purpose and greatest function - to increase, multiply and replenish the earth', B. Shaw, Man and Superman (Harmondsworth, 1946), pp.67-68. However, the play reveals that Violet is married after all, so Shaw's challenge to convention is minimal.
- 18 H.W. Reichert, 'Nietzsche and Georg Kaiser', Studies in Philology, 61 (1964), 85-108 (p.101).
- 19 Diebold in Der Denkspieler Georg Kaiser, p.91 makes Strobel a 'Martyrer der Erkenntnis'. Kenworthy states that Strobel believes the child to be his: B.J. Kenworthy, Georg Kaiser (Oxford, 1957), p.13, and Schürer writes: 'His sense of duty demands that he first prove his masculinity, so he tries his luck with the servant girl. The experiment is successful'. E. Schürer, Georg Kaiser (New York, 1971), p.71. This sounds very much like a plagiarism from Fivian: 'Aus dem Pflichtgefühl heraus ... erprobt er nun seine Fähigkeit an seinem Dienstmädchen - und hat Erfolg'. E.A. Fivian, Georg Kaiser und seine Stellung im Expressionismus (Munich, 1947), p.15. A. Arnold in Interpretationen zu Georg Kaiser (p.45) makes the same - wrong - assumption that Alma's child is fathered by Strobel.
- 20 When Strobel's mother tells him about the Vierkants' disgraced maid, Strobel does not know who she means: 'Wer ist Alma?' (G.K.W., I, p.278).
- 21 Diebold, Anarchie im Drama, p.149.
- 22 Tunstall, p.333.
- 23 Biba, the youngest and most beautiful woman in the mass rape scene, 'poussait des cris de joie douloureuse ... tue-moi ainsi. Oh, oh! tu me bourres d'un plaisir chaud'. F. Marinetti, Mafarka le futuriste (Paris, 1909), p.31. Arnold discusses the importance of this work for German Expressionism in great detail in Die Literatur des Expressionismus.
- 24 Tunstall, p.325.
- 25 I. Schuster, 'Die jüdische Witwe', in Interpretationen zu Georg Kaiser, pp.54-60 (p.55). Die jüdische Witwe was written in 1904 and revised in 1908-09.

- 26 A. Arnold, 'Auf der Suche nach dem eigenen Stil: 1895-1918', in Interpretationen zu Georg Kaiser, pp.37-53 (p.41).
- 27 Steffens, p.33.
- 28 Schuster, p.59.
- 29 Schuster, p.59.
- 30 Diebold, Anarchie im Drama, p.137.
- 31 Kenworthy, p.7.
- 32 Schürer, p.72.
- 33 F. Hebbel, Judith, [Reclam] (Stuttgart 1981), pp.17-18. [First published in 1841.] (Reclam use the 1901 text of Hebbel's Sämtliche Werke.)
- 34 Fix, p.475.
- 35 Also sprach Zarathustra, p.375.
- 36 Judith 12.2.
- 37 Judith 12.12. In Luther's original script this is 'unbeschlafen'.
- 38 Kenworthy, p.9.
- 39 Paulsen, 'Literatur aus Literatur', p.83.
- 40 Fivian, p.17. Huder, 'Nachwort zu den Bänden eins bis drei', (G.K.W., III, p.875) describes König Hahnrei as 'ein theatralisches Meisterstück der psychoanalytischen Methode unter Verwendung des Tristan-Stoffes'.
- 41 Schürer, p.55. The German titles are Die Traumdeutung; Zur Psychopathologie des Alltagslebens; Über Psychoanalyse.
- 42 R. Schwertfeger, '"Idee" und "Vision": Zu Georg Kaisers Dramatik der Jahre 1918-1927' in Interpretationen zu Georg Kaiser, pp.70-83 (p.80).
- 43 Arnold speculates that Kaiser probably saw the play at the theatre. See Interpretationen zu Georg Kaiser, p.43. See also note 9 to Kokoschka chapter.
- 44 Steffens, p.96.
- 45 W. Paulsen, Georg Kaiser. Die Perspektiven seines Werkes (Tübingen, 1960), p.45.
- 46 Schürer, p.89.
- 47 Schürer, p.91, describes Krehler as 'one who has been victimized by society'.

- 48 For a description of such conditions in Britain see Fraser Harrison, The Dark Angel (Glasgow, 1977), pp.159- 84.
- 49 Steffens, p.114.
- 50 M. Durzak, Das expressionistische Drama. Carl Sternheim and Georg Kaiser (Munich, 1978), p.125.
- 51 R. Koester, 'Kaiser's "Von morgens bis mitternachts" and Hesse's "Klein und Wagner": Two Explorations of Crime and Human Transcendence', in Orbis Litterarum 24 (1969), 237- 50 (p.245).
- 52 W. Huder, 'Von morgens bis mitternachts', in Interpretationen zu Georg Kaiser, pp.61-65 (p.63).
- 53 One must remember Nietzsche's book of that title.
- 54 R.W. Sheppard, 'Unholy Families: The Oedipal Psycho-pathology of Four Expressionist Ich-Dramen', Orbis Litterarum, 41 (1986), 355- 83 (p.369).
- 55 Sacher-Masoch, p.9.
- 56 Discussed by L. Shaw in 'The Strategy of Exchange. Georg Kaiser's Von morgens bis mitternachts', in The Playwright and Historical Change (Madison, Milwaukee and London, 1970), pp.68-116 (pp.90-92). The painting hangs in the Courtauld Institute, London.
- 57 Arnold, 'Georg Kaiser', in Expressionismus als Literatur, p.486.
- 58 R. Benson, German Expressionist Drama. Ernst Toller and Georg Kaiser (London, 1984), p.109. The same type of comment is made by Shaw (p.68) and Schürer (p.84).
- 59 Helt and Pettey, p.229.
- 60 M. Helena Goncales da Silva, Character, Ideology, and Symbolism in the plays of Wedekind, Sternheim, Kaiser, Toller and Brecht (London, 1985), p.60.
- 61 M.C. Eben, 'Georg Kaiser's "Von morgens bis mitternachts" and Eugene O'Neill's "Emperor Jones": Affinities in Flight', in Georg Kaiser Symposium, pp.263-76 (p.270). Similar comments are made by Benson (p.111), Schürer (p.85) and Shaw (p.69).
- 62 Sheppard, p.370.
- 63 Gay, p.389.
- 64 K. Marx/F. Engels, Das Kapital I in Werke, 39 vols (Berlin, 1956-68) XXIII (1962), pp.381-82.
- 65 K. Marx/F. Engels, Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei in Werke, IV (1959), p.493 .

- 66 Steffens, p.45.
- 67 With both Sokrates and Eustache, the stage directions stress that light breaks through over the corpse: G.K.W., I, p.873 and G.K.W., I, p.579 respectively.
- 68 H.J. Schmidt, Satire, Caricature and Perspectivism in the Works of Georg Büchner (The Hague and Paris, 1970), p.54.
- 69 H.F. Garten, 'Georg Kaiser Re-Examined', in Essays in German and Dutch Literature, edited by W.D. Robson-Scott (London, 1973), pp.132-55 (p.139).
- 70 K. Petersen, 'Das Wort tötet das Leben. Möglichkeiten des Künstlertums in Georg Kaisers Drama "Die Flucht nach Venedig"', Colloquia Germanica, 11 (1978), 149-65 (p.149).
- 71 Gilbert and Gubar, p.65.
- 72 Compare Erdgeist (P.D.V., I, p.455), Schön to Lulu: 'Hast du noch mehr Männer hier versteckt?'
- 73 Petersen, p.163.
- 74 Petersen, p.164.
- 75 B.J. Kenworthy, 'Die Dramen 1928-1945: Apotheose der Subjektivität', in Interpretationen zu Georg Kaiser, pp.126-40 (p.132).
- 76 H.F. Königsgarten (alias H.F. Garten), 'Georg Kaiser', in Deutsche Dichter der Moderne, pp.463-81 (p.477).
- 77 Kenworthy, 'Die Dramen 1928-1945', p.130.

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