OVERLAPPING AESTHETIC PERSPECTIVES AS INTERNATIONAL,
REVOLUTIONARY SPACE IN PRESENTATIONS FROM THE GERMAN
REVOLUTION TO THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR

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by
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ABSTRACT

In this dissertation, through an extensive analysis of canonical and non-canonical German and Spanish publications dealing with the German revolution and the years leading up to Spanish Civil War (1918-1936) and 1936-1939 respectively, I theorize an international concept of ideology, geography and time accessed through a metaphor of space(s). I demonstrate a common aesthetic space in literature between Spanish newspaper coverage, articles and poetry in *La Acción, La Jornada, El País,* and *Solidaridad Obrera* from 1918-1919 and that in German publications of *Der Ziegelbrenner, Die Aktion,* and *Die neue Weltbuhne* during the same period. I show a distinct aesthetic and political development and parallel between German and Spanish theater such as Brecht’s *Trommeln in der Nacht* (1919/23), Ernst Toller’s *Masse Mensch* (1922), and Federico García Lorca’s *Bodas de Sangre* (1931) with later pieces as Toller’s *Hoppla* (1927), Lorca’s *La casa de Bernarda Alba* (1935/6), Max Aub’s *Pedro López Garcia* (1936), Rafael Alberti’s *De un momento a otro* (1938/9), Ludwig Renn’s *Mein Maultier, meine Frau und meine Ziege* (1938) and Brecht’s *Die Gewehre der Frau Carrar* (1938). The novel is also a form whose development I expose from an historical novel in Ramon Sender’s *Mr. Witt en el Cantón* (1935), to Alfred Doeblin’s montage historical novel *November 1918* (1937-1955) and finally Joan Llarch’s *La muerte de Durruti* (1973) and H.M. Enzensberger’s novelesque collage *Der kurze Sommer der Anarchie* (1972). A key to the aesthetic and political development and international parallel is a common presentation of geography (urban, rural, at the front), language, and identity as a revolutionary alternative to nationalism. Exemplified in publications of “Das Wort” and “El Mono Azul,” is a culmination of a ‘re-definition’ of commonness and foreignness, as opposed to nationalism, with a sharing of specific literary places and stories as well as sites of distribution, proliferation and audiences. My dissertation is a significant contribution to the broad discussion of literature and revolution and is unique in its comprehensive discussion of the German revolution, its spatial application in understanding aesthetic production as revolutionary, and the depth of the German-Spanish discussion of Spanish Civil War presentations.
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Si hay hombres que contienen un alma sin fronteras,
una esparcida frente de mundiales cabellos,
cubierta de horizontes, barcos, y cordilleras,
con arena y con nieve, tú eres uno de aquéllos.

La patrias te llamaron con todas sus banderas,
que tu aliento llenara de movimientos bellos.
Quisiste apaciguar la sed de las panteras,
y flameaste henchido contra sus atropellos.

Con un sabor a todos los soles y los mares,
España te recoge porque en ella realices
tu majestad de árbol que abarca un continente.

A través de tus huesos irán los Olivares
desplegando en la tierra sus más férreas raíces,
abrazando a los hombres universal, fielmente.
(Miguel Hernández, “AL SOLDADO INTERNACIONAL
CAÍDO EN ESPAÑA” 1937)

“…Alles liegt durcheinander, Spanier, Deutsche, unter ihnen Leute aus allen
Kompanien…..”

“…die Deustchen Schulter an Schulter gekämpft, und Madrid – die fremde Stadt,
die noch keiner der Freiwilligen kennt – haben sie verteidigt wie ein Stück iher selbst.”

“Madrid ist nicht mehr Fremde, Madrid ist Heimat geworden…”
(Budo Uhse, Das erste Gefecht, 1937)
Introduction:

In this dissertation I will define an international literary trend¹ evident in Spanish and German works from the German revolution (1918) to the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939). I argue that Spanish and German literature of these revolutions can be understood as international and aesthetically innovative through a commonly produced spatial sense of geography, ideology and time. Here I will develop a common, international perspective and strategy amongst authors and their works of history and fiction (Hayden White and Nietzsche) and production of revolutionary space (Henri Lefebvre) and its sense of expansion and sharing (Döblin, Brecht, F.G. Lorca, and R. Alberti). A new concept of ‘foreignness’ as well as ‘commonness’ – not based in nationality or language – will be proven. In addressing issues of ‘literariness’ and history and propaganda, a whole, broad array of Spanish and German-language works – from novels, theater and poetry to newspaper reports, articles and short stories – will be analyzed. Presentations of failure (i.e. of revolution) as a sort of historical dialectic (Marx, Rosa Luxemburg, Brecht) and strategies of didactic and evolutionary, experimental literature – expanding its physical audiences’ space into an international realm through technological advances in production, proliferation, performance and translation (Lorca, Toller, El Mono Azul, ¹ ‘Trend’ can be a difficult term for it can signify a general course, direction or tendency, even ‘drift’. It can also mean to tend to take a particular direction or extend in some direction indicated or even to turn-off or veer in a specified direction. My use and understanding of ‘trend’ then is more specific than ‘general’ and definitely stronger in its determination and intention than simply ‘drift;’ it is a closer part of the second part of the above definition, that is to say, following a turn or veering towards or to a particular or specified direction and this turn or move – which I would categorize as a ‘movement’ and the trend as a whole as a ‘development’ found (and forming) at a point ‘A’ (a loose period of time and collection of texts and aesthetic and political ‘tendencies’ or developments) to a point ‘B’ and point ‘A’ has a lot to do with the German Revolution (and what I follow which are presentations of it and influenced and motivated by it) and point ‘B’ has a lot to do with the Spanish Civil War. However, it is also not as strict as a ‘program’ (i.e. as a dogmatic political program).
Das Wort) as well as ideological aesthetic strategies of communication and interaction in the creation of revolutionary space (Brecht, Enzensberger) – will be explored.

In developing an historical-political as well as an aesthetic and literary common Spanish-German interaction, communication and hence space, I tap into and contribute to a long historical, political and artistic (spatial) relationship between Spain and Germany; the political history of the 16th century Spanish Catholicism fighting German protestants, to 19th century German freedom fighters helping Spain rid itself of Napoleon, and the ongoing aesthetic interchange from Cervantes, Calderon and Ortega y Gassett in Germany to Goethe, Nietzsche, Rilke and Kafka writing of Spain as well as received in Spain. And although for Rilke Spain was a romantic ‘other’ and Kafka a ‘foreign’ place, in the mid- and late-19th century writings of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels of revolution and Spain, a politically Leftist and internationally literary space is already created and advanced.²

In considering themes and strategies in presentations of the German revolution, a broad connection can be made between Germany - of a late 19th century and early 20th century Socialist movement and its dissidence (development in organization and political involvement), the technology and violence of World War I and aesthetic revolutionary impulse in Expressionism, Dadaism, montage-films and –novels, and proletarian-oriented publications and theater – with Spain – of the late 19th century and early 20th century rural and urban Anarchist organizational developments and political actions, from debates of the concepts of nationalism in las dos Españas in the 1910s to artistic experimentation of

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² Engels wrote “Die Bakunisten an der Arbeit. Denkschrift über den letzten Aufstand in Spanien” (Leipzig, Nov.1873) on the Bakunists and the failed canton revolutionary movement of the early 1870s. Marx wrote a series of articles (9 overall) in 1854 for the New York Daily Tribune dealing with revolution of the 18th and 19th century in Spain, concluding how their revolutionary struggle could provide a European-wide stimulus.
the ‘generación de 27’ in the 1920s (in line with broad international movements) and the 1930s political and aesthetic developments of a Republic and of an ever-more politically committed art – and ultimately the presentations of the Spanish Civil War. Now my discussion focuses on a unique Spanish-German literary trend – which already has a tradition upon which it developed - in the early-to-mid 20th century.

*History and Fiction:*

This dissertation is a part of a discussion of genres (and literature) and their exploration and definition. It is a part of a broader analysis of texts (as in New Historicism). As the works I analyze presented historical events, my project explores the discussion of history and fiction. Here, in *Content of Form*, Hayden White deals with the problem between narrative discourse and historical representation and in *Figural Realism*, he tries to show the literariness of historical writing and the realism of literary writing, seeking to establish a ‘mutual implicativeness’ of their respective techniques of composition, description, imitation, narration and demonstration. White sees each as a presentation (rather than representation) and production (rather than reproduction or mimesis). Likewise, in considering the ‘historicalness’ or ‘realism’ of literary writing and the ‘literariness’ of historical writing I question the classical distinctions between a historical work and literary writing. It is within this ‘murky’ area that the literature of my trend is bore. In the works I consider, the authors seek to present – not represent - to an audience their works and their interpretation of the revolution. They produce their works in the sense of creating; producing its drama and moral, not seeking to simply reproduce.
In each work is felt a distinct message (of moral/ethical stance aligning with Left politics, further definition often warning of ‘other’), lesson (exploring why there was failure) and ideology (international perspective of humanity) and there is organization and a language which is a part of this presentation, and the production of the presentation gives the author creative ownership of this work (as unique).³

White makes distinctions between historical writing and fictional narratives being one of content, and not form; writing:

…whether historical events can be truthful represented as manifesting the structures and processes of events met with more commonly in certain kinds of ‘imaginative’ discourses, that is, such fictions as the epic, the folk tale, myth, romance, tragedy, comedy, farce, and the like. This means that what distinguishes ‘historical’ from ‘fictional’ stories is first and foremost their content, rather than their form. The content of historical stories is real events, events that really happened, rather than imaginary events, events invented by the narrator. This implies that the form in which historical events present themselves to a prospective narrator is found rather than constructed (Content of Form 27).

And thus it is exploring this ‘construction’ that I argue there to be ‘created’ a unique and revolutionary sense of ‘space’ – as understood ideologically and geographically.

Understanding space:

The term ‘space’ functions as a useful metaphor in understanding internationalism and parallel literary strategies originating in the German revolution and climaxing later in

³ Hayden White’s considerations of history and fiction (in Metahistory) and Friedrich Nietzsche’s comments on history and literature, notably in his essay The Use and Abuse of History, help to understand the discussion surrounding historical literature; White writes: “Nietzsche’s purpose was to destroy belief in a historical past from which men might learn any single, substantial truth. For Nietzsche … there were as many ‘truths’ about the past as there were individual perspectives on it. In his view, the study of history ought never to be merely an end in itself but should always serve as a means to some vital end of purpose” (332).
Spain. The concept of physical space represented (as place) in literature is accessed in the narrative or stage through consciousness of senses (i.e. those of the reading or viewing audience) in developing a ‘perspective’ of this space. That is to say, through the sense of sight, sound, feel, perhaps even taste and smell – a physical space of revolution or civil war is established through the language of the text(s)’ figures and narrative voice(s) (as well as in theater through spatial perspectives from staging). From the physically accessed spaces, a further development of the consciousness of the space filters into the intellectual level. Physical places – through names or description or referencing – as well as ideas – through their mentioning – or lack thereof – are thus given ‘perspective’ which the reader takes in. For example, multiple physical descriptions of and associated character dialogues and narrative monologues within Berlin (or equally in Barcelona) during the revolution give way for multiple perspectives based in differing sites and positions (simultaneously or at different ‘times’) at the physical level and along with the contextual varying and paralleling ideology of rhetoric and language employed are further perceived at the intellectual level. Here, bringing in the reach of the consciousness of the reader defines the spaces of each perspective for the reader (as it originated with the author) and by the end of the work, a sort of patchwork of

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4 The concept of space in literature of the German revolution and Spanish Civil War will be understood and explored as both geography and ideology. My discussion works into a broader discussion of geography and ideology through Marxist thought, such as Andy Merrifield’s exploration of Marxism and urbanism in *Metromarxism* (2002). Here Merrifield discusses Marx and Engels writings on space as well as Walter Benjamin (the city and profane illumination), Henri Lefebvre (the urban revolution), Guy Debord (the city of Marx and Coca-cola), Manuel Castells (the city of Althusser and social movements), David Harvey (the geopolitics of urbanization) and Marshall Berman (a Marxist urban romance). In exploring geography and ideology and spatial sharing through interconnecting seen in communication and issues of the media of newspaper and pamphlet as well as radio and film (or even TV), this dissertation is a part of a larger 20th century Marxist discussion by the likes of Benjamin, Brecht, Enzensberger and more recently Habermas. I seek to expand the discussion of ideology in media (with a broad concept of media) with a unique discussion of geography. While my concept of ‘space’ (geography, ideology and time) is derived from literary presentations and accessed primarily through language, this project fits into Michael Bakhtin’s work (*The Dialogic Imagination*) on language and its socio-political and temporal space.
intellectual or conscious ‘overlapping’ within the city is envisioned with physical and intellectual coordinates in the abstract and somewhat fragmented mental map of the reader. The spatial radius is prompted by the artist but ultimately determined by the reader’s (or audience in the case of theater) ‘reach’ (or depth) of consciousness and reflection. In this project I argue that the resulting ‘overlapping’ takes place within not only a single work but also between multiple literary works, across national and linguistic boundaries, focusing on the specific case in Germany and Spain.

Seeing ‘spaces’ created in literature and literature itself as a product spatially positioned is not entirely unfounded or unique. Both Henri Lefebvre and Pierre Bourdieu have developed theories dealing with space and literature which are useful in explaining literary space. Lefebvre’s work helps us to understand both intellectual and physical space in literature. Most useful is his book, *The Production of Space*, in which he searches for reconciliation between mental space (the space of the philosophers) and real space (the physical and social spheres in which we all live). In this work Lefebvre considers metaphysical and ideological meanings of space as well as space as experienced in the everyday life of home and city. As Lefebvre, I also till out intellectual ‘meanings’ and examine space presented in the personal, private sense of the family and intimate spheres as well as geographical spaces such as the city, rural front or at sea. Ultimately Lefebvre is extremely relevant for he seeks to bridge the gap between the realms of theory and practice, between the mental and the social, and between philosophy and reality. In doing so, he ranges through art, literature, architecture and economics.\(^5\) He

\(^5\) Lefebvre writes that “any search for space in literary texts will find it everywhere and in every guise: enclosed, described, projected, dreamt of, speculated about” (14). In a sense then, Lefebvre implies that there are infinite spaces in literature (or anyone seeking to find spaces in literature would find an endless number of spaces). This does not discourage me from believing that literary space is still a useful approach
uses numerous examples, concentrating in the Middle Ages through to the 20\textsuperscript{th} century and quite regularly drawing on architecture for his specific examples. I do not focus as much on architecture as does Lefebvre, however the essence of bridging a gap, finding a common space between the physical and intellectual realms is important to my project for I seek to perceive in the texts of this trend, a common space between, for example, the geographical space of Spain as well as international Leftist ideological argument and rhetoric as evidenced in German and Spanish works.\textsuperscript{6}

One of the common strategies of my authors is presenting a space as a sort of common international community (i.e. the works themselves are a part of a literary community as well). Here, Helen Ligget references Lefebvre in that “the community is a representational space that encompasses the memory of a time and place, a fulfilling way of life and also a dream for the future” (252). My authors intend to create the perception, through their texts, of a common space, an international community within Spain during the period of the Spanish Civil War. And here the sense of time (as the same as well as urgent) is inherently a common denominator of the physical and intellectual (or mental as Lefebvre terms it).

Ultimately, (a common) space is created in and through works of literature. This is Lefebvre’s main thesis, that “(social) space is a (social) product” (26). For him, the implications of this statements are the following: (1) (physical) natural space is

\textsuperscript{6} As Lefebvre concentrated much of his analysis on architecture (mainly in Europe, referencing both rural landscapes and urban), his work, thus far, has been popularly used by urbanists (notably David Harvey, Edward Soja, Helen Liggett). I too consider his work useful in discussions of urban environment in cultural geography (with a tinge of Marxist thought), yet my discussion brings the discussion of space into a diverse geographical space with focus on literary production during a distinct period of time. For example, Harvey (in \textit{The Spaces of Hope}) talks about Marx’s \textit{Das Capital}, in a contemporary setting, and the relation of the body and space; here I also work with literature (most of which is of Marxist persuasion) but focus more on perspective concerned with aspects of the physical and intellectual and space.
disappearing (30), (2) every society--and hence every mode of production with its subvariants - produces a space, its own space, (3) Social space contains (a) the social relations of reproduction, i.e. the bio-physiological relations between the sexes and between age groups, along with the specific organization of the family; and (b) the relations of production, i.e. the division of labour and its organization in the form of hierarchical social functions and (4) if space is a product, our knowledge of it must be expected to reproduce and expound the process of production. The first implication is true as far as the space produced in my texts is not a natural space. Those of my trend intend to revolutionize their society, i.e. their space and support Lefebvre’s second implication. Reproduction also, at an abstract level, is intended through proliferation and persuasion of texts (similar to his third implication). His fourth implication is self evident and relates back to the third implication as well. I see space as being produced through the process of not only the writing of this literature but also through its reception and reading (i.e. by audience(s)) which gives way for a process of intended realization of ‘new’ definitions for one’s perspectives of things physical and intellectual. It is similar to interaction between the genesis of the idea for a space by the author who brings ‘space’ from the abstract of his/her mind into the physical realm, through ‘producing’ this in writing which is published and distributed. From here, the ‘idea’ of space is accessed again now from the ‘physical’ publication (or performance) – in reception – into the minds of the audience, once again being ‘intellectual.’ The hope then of the artists is that this idea of ‘space’ (revolutionary space) will then be realized again in the physical sense through the collective actions of their audience who will continue the ‘chain’ interaction between the intellectual and physical.
This ‘chain’ of conception, perception and lived ‘space’ is created, realized and produced through verbal (language) communication (or through reading of literature, experiencing of theater), through metaphor and metonymy. Again (social) space is a (social) product: then the city, the street, and the theater are communal, social spaces. The train and boat are social vehicles that move within and between social spaces. Literature, newspapers, and publications are a medium and communication - of social communication and interaction. This interaction is both physical and intellectual. It is physical in the sense of the actual publications and their distribution, or the physical stage and presence of an audience. It is intellectual in the connection between the content and aesthetic presentation and the reception and reflection of the audience. Following Lefebvre, I seek to reveal social space “in its particularity to the extent that it ceases to be indistinguishable from mental space and physical space” (26). In the literature I outline physical and intellectual (or mental) aspects and perspectives which ultimately overlap (i.e. are a part of the same). Communication and interaction serve as impetus to the realization of a space of opposition. Lefebvre writes that “a new space cannot be born unless it accentuates differences” (52). This is important, while the ‘space(s)’ I claim which is produced in and through literature of my trend defines itself as succinctly different than an ‘other,’ in the guise of a new concept of the foreign. Literature of the trend is concerned, is produced and seeks to ‘produce’ a revolutionary space for “a

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7 Andy Merrifield discusses how for Lefebvre the “street” was like a “stage” and how he wanted the cities to provide the means for “free conscious activity” and wanted everyday life to be reclaimed by itself by a “lived moment” and “this invariably involved some feat of collective and individual resistance: the occupation of buildings, street demonstrations, free expressionist art and theater, picketing, rent strikes, even a general strike” (84). Referencing the German Revolution, Rosa Luxemburg writes of the site of the “street” as a focal place and space of revolutionary activity (Luxemburg Reader 376). In the Spanish Civil War, the Anarchist writers of the paper “The Friends of Durruti,” wrote of the revolution and how the “power was in the streets” and “the people were armed;” here the newspaper paper was also “on the streets” (Guillamón 15).
revolution that does not produce a new space has not realized its full potential” (Lefebvre 52).

“Any space implies, contains and dissimulates social relationships – and this despite the fact that a space is not a thing but rather a set of relations ….” (Lefebvre 83). This is where literature plays such a crucial role as a means of communication between people, in which a common perspective and a sense of sharing defines those within.

The revolutionary space produced in literature of the Civil War competes with opposing forces. “The dominant form of space, that of the centres of wealth and power, endeavours to mould the spaces it dominates (i.e. peripheral spaces), and it seeks, often violent means, to reduce the obstacles and resistance it encounters there” (Lefebvre 46). Here authors write of the ‘other’ closely associated to ‘money’ which empowers them and supports ‘their’ (i.e. the other’s) – i.e. as perceived through the literature - authoritative and abusive ‘governing.’ Technology is a means through which they violently ‘destroy’ hopes of an oppositional space as defined by the revolutionary space.

Henri Lefebvre offers theoretical insight into the production of literary spaces – where social space is a social product - and unity between the physical and intellectual. Pierre Bourdieu offers insight into relative spatial positioning of literature itself with respect to the economic, social, cultural and symbolic. I am interested in what authors present in their works and how, as well as the audiences and the intended spatial proliferation of the works, and here Bourdieu’s *The Field of Cultural Production* is useful. In this work, Bourdieu lays out a theory of the cultural field which situates artistic works – as I do in organizing my spatial structures - within the social conditions of their production, circulation and consumption. He examines the individuals in institutions
involved in making products (not only the writers and artists, but also the publishers, critics, dealers, galleries and academies).  

The structural model of fields Bourdieu lays forth in “The Field of Cultural Production, or: ‘The Economic World Reversed” (in The Field of Cultural Production) is visually similar to that which I use. Bourdieu uses three fields in a square shape with class relations being the largest, all encompassing outer field, a field of power as the intermediary and the literary and artistic field as the inner field (38). In his structure, he visually helps to reveal the physical organization and relativity between spaces and boundaries as well as bringing up issues of permeability. Bourdieu’s ‘literary’ field is sort of over imposed by two other ‘macro’ fields (i.e. his literary field is like a center, inner layer with the field of power at the intermediary and class relations at the outer layer). In a sense, my model is almost like using his literary field and then breaking it down into layers (as in Chapters 1, 4 and 5) including issues of his class relations and field of power within my discussion of literary space.

The space created in texts of the German Revolution and Spanish Civil War as well as the works ‘that inhabit them’ compete in their production of a revolutionary space.

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8 Bourdieu’s metaphor of ‘game’ - meaning the experience of being “passionately involved in a kind of activity in which the physical and mental are merged in action” (Contemporary Sociological Theory 261) – is useful when applied to actual production of literature during revolution. Game’s description of different fields can be used similarly to describe a concept of revolutionary space as a social space redefined by literary perspectives of geography, ideology and time. Further, Bourdieu evaluates the structure of the cultural field itself, as well as its position within the broader social structures of power. I use the term space whereas Bourdieu uses ‘field.’ For him, the concept of field means “a social arena in which people manoeuvre and struggle in pursuit of desirable resources. A field is a system of social positions, structured internally in terms of power relationships. Different fields can be quite autonomous and more complex societies have more fields” (http://www.polity.co.uk/book.asp). Revolutionary writers are creating a sort of alternative field (revolutionary) to the traditional cultural field.
(which can be the most popular and potent in realizing common perspectives amongst audiences and writers) and in their ‘battle’ against the production of the ‘other.’

Bourdieu writes “the literary and artistic field is at all times the site of struggle between two principles of hierarchization” with the “heteronomous measured by success of book sales, theater performances, etc.” (i.e. economic capital) and the “autonomous principle” based on the “degree of recognition accorded by those who recognize no other criterion of legitimacy than recognition by those whom they recognize” (i.e. cultural or social capital) (38). Here, recognition no longer is in the bourgeois sense of status and accomplishment (in elitist sort of way), but rather recognition is sought in communal (strengthen the whole) and Marxist sense of revolution and change (i.e. economic). Further, by expanding location and ‘language’ of presentations (i.e. going to countryside, villages, proletarian and working class theaters, internationally, and translating works) as well as recognizing legitimacy in these expanded audience bases (not simply by other highly positioned authors) and negating influence of authors of the ‘other’ (i.e. non-revolutionary), a sort of new dynamic is sought which can be understood as a creation or production of a new literary field or new social space (as alternative to that already established).

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9 “Bourdieu’s metaphors indicate that this field is a field of war in which agents battle for capital (four types: economic, cultural, social and symbolic) and for the most advantageous positions within the field” (Eagleton). Authors in my trend carry out a ‘battle’ against an ‘other’ to convincingly communicate and persuade an ever larger audience to be a part of their common space.
The German revolution and Spanish Civil War as distinct and spatial:

Within the discussion of history and fiction and space remains the question: Why are presentations of the German Revolution (1918) and the Spanish Civil War (1936) unique – and distinctly spatial - with regards to a history of European revolutions (such as the 17th century English, 18th century French, 1848, and the 20th century Russian) which were presented internationally and often aesthetically innovative? I aim to prove that space – as (a) geographical and ideological (relationship) – is not only a useful and important construct, but distinct in 1918 and 1936 amongst presentations of revolution. For example, the revolution of 1918 and 1936 and their literature – although it can be seen within a common revolutionary tradition – differ from the 17th century English revolution whose literature is often exemplified with religion as a catalyst for both sides (i.e. fight for God), and emanating with talk of freedom of speech and democracy (amongst criticism of the monarchy and power) within a national space. The English revolution was “an ideological conflict, a war of ideas…the first modern war” (2); however the ‘ideology’ involved and the writing with a focus on religion and the king and his role and relationship to parliament is different and not a central focus in 1918 and 1936.10 Further, in developing a sense of ‘space’ through ideological and geographic perception, connection and interaction, political publications during the English revolution dramatically increased (from 300 to 3,000) in a variety of forms (tracts, pamphlets, booklets, etc.); however the reading audience in the mid-1600s was

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10 Kevin Sharpe and Steven Zwicker discuss the change of reading, from the pulpit (public sphere) to a private sphere, and a change from mystery to that of a demystification of the monarchy, and a language of reason and science and democratization (19). This differs from literature of the German and Spanish revolutions which was not catalyzed in religion, pursues a much more aggressive and (Marxist) Leftist political aim (i.e. sense of internationalism, more defined technical discussion of economics) and reaches specifically beyond and often in opposition to concepts of nation.
considerably smaller and still more elite than that of the reading audience in 1918 and 1936.\textsuperscript{11} In the \textit{Writings of the English Revolution} is stated that the “press” spread “word to the country at large” (\textit{intro}) and within a “national” sphere (64): here literature of 1918 and 1936 will be shown to work (aims) beyond this and through multiple languages as well.

Now ‘revolution,’ especially during the French Revolution, writes Renee Winegarten, was presented as a religion, presenting terror and catastrophe and then regeneration (in biblical metaphor and imagery), and the self-sacrificing revolutionary as ‘Christ-like.’ Here Bernadette Fort writes that the discourse of French revolutionary leaders and actors was “deeply infused with images of heroism, sacrifice and patriotism” (that they found in Greek and Roman antiquity) (11). In reading literature of the German and Spanish revolutions, there is a stronger temporal focus on their then ‘immediate’ or present situation, and urging is for the ‘now’ and more tangible means of realization rather than ‘rebirth’ (i.e. as third stage after ‘catastrophe’ as stated in religious writings), and an idealization or utopia of the future. While in the French revolution, “...the urge to die with the beloved was transferred to the nation; and heroic political suicide became eroticized” (Fort 25), in literature of the German and Spanish revolutions, sacrifice was not so eroticized or for the nation, but will be shown in defense of space (an ideology, a geography, and maintaining a moment). Further, Fort discusses ‘language’ of the French revolution with words such as \textit{nation}, \textit{citoyen} and \textit{patriote} becoming rallying cries (14);

\textsuperscript{11} Note here for example the high education of the German workers in 1918 and then the reading programs and libraries for not only urban but also rural Spanish Anarchists in the 1920s and 30s. Here, Pierre Broué (\textit{The German Revolution}), Gerald Brenan (\textit{The Spanish Labyrinth}) and Rudolf Rocker (\textit{Anarcho-Syndicalism: Theory and Practice}) can be further referenced.
here in literature of the German and Spanish revolution such spatial constraints – geographically and ideologically – are not rallying cries and are often even opposed.\textsuperscript{12}

The specific physical presentations of both the English and French revolutions differ from those of the German and Spanish revolutions. In taking the French revolution as an example; the extreme close physical violence and Terror – from the beheading of the governor of the Bastille with a pocketknife, fourteen-hundred prisoners slaughtered in 1792, the beheading of the king and queen in 1793, thousands killed on the guillotine and (perhaps) hundreds of thousands exterminated (in the Vendée and Loire) in 1794 – is by 1918 and 1936 different. For example, the guillotine is strongly associated and produced in presentations of the French revolution; this close physical, bloody violence of decapitation is not a part of the violence presented in literature of the German and Spanish revolutions. Further, the idea of canons, rifle butts, and bayonets used in the English, French and 1848 battles carry a less ‘powerful’ symbolic and tangible presentation in expanding revolutionary space in the technological dynamic presentations of the German revolution and Spanish Civil War with planes, bombs, grenades, machine guns, tanks, trucks, trains, and cars all a part of the expanded technological dynamic. The heightened technological aspect of violence (and death) has a spatial (geographically and ideologically speaking) as well as temporal (speed, moment of impact and detonation, source and style of attack and defense) element that will be shown quite distinct (from earlier presentations) and important.

\textsuperscript{12} The slogan of the French revolution of “Liberté, égalité, fraternité, ou la mort!” changes in 1918 (as well as to an extent in 1917) to what Rosa Luxemburg states as the distinguishing motto: “Form Workers’ and Soldiers’ Councils!” (in “Our Program and the Political Situation” from December 31, 1918, referenced in \textit{Luxemburg Reader} 366) which will be argued to carry with it an inherent and unique spatial quality (anarchic loose federation of urban space) – which then is further expressed in literature.
Physical descriptions of place of revolutionary discussion and ideological development in the English or French revolutions – from coffeehouses and salons - were now different in the German and Spanish revolutions (i.e. now being shipyards and docks, factories, train centers, and (Marxist and Anarchist) publishing buildings (whether as a whole building or in a house basement or attic apartment)).

Renee Winegarten writes that the French Revolution was “by men of the middle class” with the oath of 1789 taken at a Tennis Court (326); in 1918 and 1936 there is surely no mention of tennis courts, the tennis court is not a space of revolutionary ideology (with its bourgeois and elitist association). Although the urban space was a focal site of revolution – as London in the 17th century, and in 1789 and then again in 1848 decisive ‘battles’ took place in Paris (which was presented in 1848 by the Neue Rheinisch Zeitung as the major center of revolutionary impulse and perspective), in 1918 and 1936 neither London nor Paris are presented as the international revolutionary centre and pulse; rather a greater number and size of geographically scattered yet ideologically and technologically connected array of urban centers – such as Berlin, Barcelona, Munich and Madrid and other cities – as an urban pulse, become a part of the representational international revolutionary space (later be shown shared with that of the sea in 1918 and the rural in 1936).

And although ideologically the Levellers in England and the Jacobin club in France and geographically the revolutionary fervor in England and especially of 1789 and

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13 In literature of the French revolution, the invading of the Bastille (a jail) motivated a great number of plays reenacting it, and a mass of poems, engravings and songs (Heffernan Preface x). The jail and breaking out of a jail are also images created in the literature of the German and Spanish revolution; however there is no single jail which represents (so dominantly) either revolution, and literature of the German and Spanish revolution creates a greater spatial dynamic of confinement through interrelating both physical (as in jail) and intellectual (censorship) confinement at a broader scale (in geography of the rural, urban (i.e. multiple sites in multiple cities), sea and international).

14 With Marx writing that it was “the first great battle [that] fought the two classes that split modern society. It was the fight for the preservation or annihilation of the bourgeois order” (9).
1848 were, as 1918 and 1936, quite international - for example the 1848 spanning especially intensely in Paris (France), Vienna (Hungary), Italy, Poland, the Czech, and Germany – and presented as such; the literature of 1918 and 1936 seeks to oppose, break, and offer a new and revolutionary concept of ‘space’ (i.e. defined by Henri Lefebvre) – geographically, ideologically and historically speaking – versus that of a ‘national’ international perspective and thus sharply contrasted, for example, to the spatial demands of the “reunification of Germany” set forth by the revolutionary daily Neue Rheinische Zeitung in 1848.

Now the 20th century Russian and German revolutions are – although a part of this long revolutionary tradition – distinct in their geography and ideology. The Russian Revolution was predominantly based in St. Petersburg (or Petrograd) and Moscow with scattered rural movements (wikipedia). Both Russian revolutionary leader V. I. Lenin and German revolutionary leader Rosa Luxemburg point out the urban nature of the Russian revolution. Rosa writes: “the driving force of the revolution was the mass of the urban proletariat” (“The Russian Revolution” - written in September 1918, referenced in Luxemburg Reader 285).

The concept and hence space of the city – both physically and ideologically – was (and presented as such as well) different in Russia than it will be shown to be in Germany

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15 We can understand the literature of the German and Spanish revolutions different than that of the French Revolutions of 1789, 1848 and 1870 (Paris Commune) and even the Russian revolution 1917, in understanding economic-political differences between the events. Murray Bookchin, writes how in 1789, “the ‘people’ were united more by the social elements they opposed than by an authentic community of shared economic interests” (i.e. it was a ‘coalition’ rather than a class) (279). “Nationhood,” “Patriotism” and “republican virtues that inhered in the concept of citizenship barely concealed the widening antagonisms and diverging interests that coexisted within the so-called Third Estate” (i.e. term derived from feudalism) (Bookchin 279). By 1848, scientific socialism replaced the “ethically charged populist and utopian socialism,” workers were now “free…to work or to starve;” Liberty – in being rendered a political reality, was “an economic fiction” (Bookchin 279). Here Rosa Luxemburg talks of revolutionary developments – from the English to French to 1848 and then into the 20th century, noting the German revolution as moving from political (as in previous) to an economic revolution; this ‘economic’ quality of the revolution will be shown to be inherently spatial (i.e. “main task lies in the economic field”) (368).
and Spain. The Bolshevik revolt was clearly urban based, writes Andy Merrifield in *Metromarxism*, "yet their vision of socialism almost wanted to convert whole cities into giant factories, into colossal means of production and fodder for Five Year Plans" (with Old St. Petersburg fairing especially bad here) (2). The urban in 1918 and 1936 is not tied up with this Bolshevik "antiurbanism" (as Merrifield terms it). The mentioned Bolshevik sense of ‘utopianism’ is not as developed in 1918 and 1936 (i.e. there is a sense of local and organic evolution sharing space(s) versus centralized utopia); the city is the site to be taken or defended, and is the site or place of not simply factories, but is a preeminently social space; i.e. rather than a focus on simply material production, it is the site of dense interaction and connection (i.e. through communication, which is physical, ideological and needs time), and this interaction and connection are a part of the revolution – both ideologically and geographically (i.e. within city as well as between cities, between urban and sea (1918) and between urban and rural (1936)).

In considering the urban and rural there is a different dynamic between the Russian and German revolution. Leon Trotsky wrote in *Literature and Revolution* (1923/4): “our [Russian] revolution is the expression of the peasant turned proletarian;” here literature of the German Revolution is different, i.e. not based in the peasant turned proletariat, but in a proletariat as such; as an often second or even third generation proletariat in a highly urbanized, industrialized country. This is not to discredit the urban element of the Russian revolution, but rather to point out the disjuncture spatially: the

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16 Note here for example Trotsky’s words (i.e. who is a theorist quite in conflict with the more formalist, conservative dogmatic theorists of Soviet Socialist Realism): “Through the machine, man in Socialist society will command nature in its entirety….The machine is the instrument of modern man in every field of life” (252). This almost ‘exaltation’ of the ‘machine’ is really quite absent, not focal in literature and theory of 1918 and 1936 in Germany and Spain. The concern with technology in 1918 and 1936 seems more as a means to an end, a means to achieve revolutionary victory.
vast stretches of rural Russia that were literally distant from the revolution (i.e. weaker connection or ‘sharing’ with the urban) and the ideological perspective difference from the urban identity.\textsuperscript{17}

Germany was much more densely populated, more densely connected by rail (i.e. even street trains), more densely industrialized,\textsuperscript{18} carried on more international trade (i.e. more internationally connected), had a workforce that was more developed in their organization and education\textsuperscript{19} (think here of Trotsky’s lines of a peasant turned proletariat as well how a great number of skilled and educated people fled Russia during and after the revolution (\textit{wikipedia})), and its lines of communication – from radio and telephone and telegraph to theater and cinema and even per capita publishing - were denser spatially (i.e. than Russia). Further, the physical role of trains with greater ‘national’ and ‘international’ connectedness, boats,\textsuperscript{20} and now even planes (i.e. creating a further spatial perspective from sea and from ‘above’) – is strongly evidenced in 1918 presentations of Alfred Döblin and Ernst Toller and have obvious roles in 1936 in issues and portrayals of

\textsuperscript{17} The German revolution was – and is presented so – different. Here Rosa states that the German revolution was between cities, it was an urban revolution. Luxemburg, employs a very spatial language when discussing the German revolution, writing: “Only a solid front of the entire German proletariat, the south German together with the north German, the urban and the rural,……” (“What does the Spartacus league want?” 353). She writes further of how the German revolutionary movement was “confined to the cities” and “the rural areas remained virtually untouched” (“Our Program and the Political Situation” 370); but calls for “the abolition of the opposition and the division between city and country” (370). Conversely, Karl Radek’s spatial metaphors of the Russian revolution, when he talks about the Russians building a new ‘house’ is perhaps too formulaic and confining and thus not used in the German or Spanish revolution (“richten sich die russischen Arbeiter und Soldaten ein und versuchen, ein neues Haus zu bauen” (\textit{Die deutsche Revolution oder trau, schau, wem?} 23).

\textsuperscript{18} The Russian Reds did occupy the more populous and industrial as well as well-connected parts of Russia (Moscow, St. Petersburg, as well as other cities); but this pails in comparison to the sense of interconnectedness at a national scale in Germany.

\textsuperscript{19} The first street train was designed and implemented in Berlin in the late 1890s (\textit{Wochen-Post} June 2006).

\textsuperscript{20} Not really as present in 1917, although present in 1905 revolution. In Russia, from the sea, an admiral Kolchak was the White leader versus in 1918 sailors (i.e. from the sea) were leading revolutionaries in Germany.
urban bombings - as in Madrid, Barcelona (carrying out blackouts), and Guernica, as well as Franco’s troops crossing from Africa to Spain with ships and German planes.21

Luxembourg sees Lenin’s slogan as “All power in the hands of the proletariat and peasantry” (“Russian Revolution,” referenced in Mohrenschildt 289) and further writes of a struggle between the “urban proletariat” and the “mass of the peasantry” (and peasant boycott of the cities) (292). Lenin talks about securing revolutionary victories in Petrograd and Moscow, stating: “it is only our victory in the metropolitan cities that will carry the peasants with us” (“The Bolschviks must assume Power” (September 1917) 253). Thus, in the Russian Revolution arises the issue of bringing the rural (peasants) into the revolution, into the geography and ideology of the (urban) revolution. The German revolution is more urbanly exclusive and connected; however a sense of connection to the sea (through sailors) develops and by the Spanish Civil War there is a clear sense of the sea, urban and rural all sharing in international (Spanish-German) revolution (i.e. creation of new space). My approach, in considering greater urbanization as a great potential for communication spurred by political publications and materials - here ideology of print, pool of reception and speed of distribution and proliferation - are

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21 In Lenin’s proposal of ‘self-determination’ of nations and the dynamic between the urban and rural; the whole of the Russian revolution can also be understood spatially – as success(es) and failure(s) of (producing) space (geographically and ideologically). Trotsky writes of the disconnection, the lack of a common ‘space’ between the Russian rural and urban: “the peasant masses in many places had little notion of what went on in Petrograd and Moscow” (Luxemburg Reader 300). Rosa writes of a crippling of the “railroad, post and telegraph, and educational and administrative apparatus” after the October revolution (304). The German (and later Spanish) spatial element though is distinct from the Russian. Here economic references – which affect space - can be made to Pounds’ book: in 1914, the intensity of use (tonnage and passenger) of railway in Germany is second in Europe to only Belgium. The density of Germany’s rail, i.e. track (km) 1,000 per sq. km, is 117.2 versus only 3.1 in Russia (462). Germany also had the highest volume of import and export as well as the greatest manufacturing capacity of steel, machinery and chemicals (461). In 1910, 48% of Germany’s population lived in cities, only out-paced (in Europe) by Italy, Belgium and the Netherlands (410). Further data reference was made from seminar notes of ‘Film in der Weimarer Republic’ (Prof. Dr. Heinz Heller, Fall 2001) and ‘Europäische Wirtschaftsgeschichte: Die Industrialisierung im 19. Jahrhundert’ (Prof. Dr. Peter Borscheid, Spring 2002) at Philipps University in Marburg (Germany).
all important, integral elements of German revolution and later Spanish Civil War and are unique in their importance versus other revolutions due to the increased technical (nationally and internationally), urbanized and educated (literary) element.\textsuperscript{22}

Both historically and in literary presentation, the German revolution is arguably more geographically connected (at national spatial level) and urban, and the Spanish Civil War was both urban and rural and was also strongly influenced by Trotsky’s ‘peasant turned proletarian.’ The ideological and geographic situation – and its presentation – are further different than in Russia (which will be explored in the following chapters) in their strong Anarchist character - which is both ideological (de-centralized) and geographic (loose federation of spontaneous, local and organic revolutions) – and this connects Germany and Spain while it is already brewing during the German revolutionary period and is as well a part of the German revolution (to later be proven then a central part of the Spanish Civil War). Further, the ‘alternative’ and ‘revolutionary’ space sought – through art and politics – was in opposition to a different ‘foreign’ in 1918 (Nationalism and Nazism) in Germany and in 1936 (Nationalism, Nazism, Fascism) in Spain than was the case in Russia in 1917 (Tsarism and Capitalism).\textsuperscript{23}

\textsuperscript{22}German Revolution historian Pierre Broué as well as political emissary Karl Radek both discuss the educated (and organized) nature of the German revolutionaries. For example, Radek writes of “deutsche Marxismus” as the “älterer Bruder des russischen” (Möller 104) and how the Russians were “organisatorisch viel weniger erfahren als die Deutschen” and how the Russians had “viel vom Deutschland gelernt” (Möller 104).

\textsuperscript{23}In her essay on the Russian revolution, Spartacus (and German revolutionary) leader Rosa Luxemburg talked of a ‘revolutionary democracy’ sort of evolving after the revolution versus the centralizing and dogmatism of the Communists in the post-Russian revolution (note Lenin and Trotsky’s stricter program, utopia and centralization); this carries a distinct geographical element that is inherent in ideology - i.e. closer to Anarchism and Spain with a decentralized nature and (as Noam Chomsky’s comments of Rudolf Rocker’s) “ideals of self-help” and “taking action into hands” and the evolving quality of such a politics which is not a “utopia” and therefore starkly contrasted to “Russian communism” (Rocker \textit{preface}). This ‘connection’ – which is ideological and geographic – is negated by a Russian in German when Karl Radek criticizes Anarchism (\textit{In der Reihen der deutschen Revolution} 337-344). A further ideological and
Here my argument in this project is not as focused on the historical (and economical) issues\textsuperscript{24} as much as it is on literary presentations of the 1918 and 1936 revolutions and how these have an inherent spatial quality that is distinct (i.e. from 1917 Russian presentations). In presentations of the Russian revolution, Richard Freeborn writes:

...the evolution of the revolutionary novel of the Soviet period follows a course from camera-like or cinematic depiction of revolutionary events, the birth-death of a world, through elementalist, mass-oriented portrayal of revolutionary heroism, to myth-making and then gradually to more sober or realistic attempts to examine the ideological issues at work in the revolution (133).\textsuperscript{25}

Here the aesthetic goal of literature of the German revolution and Spanish Civil War differs, in its aggressive and critical didactic element, evolving forms, and spatial production. The image of a “world phoenix” is not used in my literature, nor is there a sense of “man-making” or such a defined heroic ideal (Freeborn 72).\textsuperscript{26} Revolutionary

\textsuperscript{24} For example, within a discussion of Marx’s predicted steps from feudalist economy to industrialized/capitalistic economy to socialism, Russia could be accused of, at least partially, skipping the middle step whereas Germany was – less arguably - fully amidst this step.

\textsuperscript{25} Trotsky writes (\textit{Literature and Revolution}): “It is fundamentally incorrect to contrast bourgeois culture and bourgeois art with proletarian culture and proletarian art. The latter will never exist, because the proletarian régime is temporary and transient” (\textit{intro}). Here, the issue of time is important in Russian literature of the revolution, according to Trotsky, in a sense of the feeling of a transitioning phase of event, i.e. leading towards classless society. In literature of the German revolution and Spanish Civil War there is a sense of things changing – less in a transitional sense - but in a creative sense (i.e. Lefebvre’s ‘new space’) with a strong, urgent focus on the now. Trotsky further writes of how the old and new poets and artist learn to “see it [revolution] from within and not from without” – this confirms the spatial sense of literary perspective when talking of revolution.

\textsuperscript{26} Early on Freeborn writes how the revolution was portrayed as nature (thunder, flood), as sexual license/release, and how time was condensed (77). In A. Bely’s novel \textit{Petersburg} there was no guidance by political ideas; in Vsevolod Ivanov’s novel \textit{Armored Train} (1922), it is the train of the Whites which is stopped by the Reds (Freeborn 83). This is in contrast for example to Döblin’s novel \textit{November 1918} where the train is of the revolutionaries spreading the revolution (starting at sea and extending out internationally). Further, in Toller’s autobiographical work, \textit{Eine Jugend in Deutschland}, a plane – absent in Russian presentations - attempts to connect the revolution from Munich to Berlin (87).
presentations and their strategies are different between Russia of 1917 and Germany of 1918 and Spain of 1936. For example, in the revolutionary novel *Two Worlds* (1921) by Vladimir Zazubrin, the literary space is more rural, distant and disconnected (i.e. in Siberia) and the majority of literary perspective is given to the counterrevolutionary ‘Whites’ – versus in 1918 the literature the geography is focused in and between urban settings and perspective often is a mix of those of the revolutionaries (with a scattering of with non-revolutionaries or ‘contemplating’ revolutionaries).\(^{27}\) Presentations of the sea and boats are different in the German and Spanish revolutions than those of the Russian revolution. In Sergei Eisenstein’s film *October* (1927) the battleship Aurora is in the St. Petersburg port, but the sailors are not shown as a pulsating power advancing the revolution – as say in Alfred Döblin’s novel *November 1918*. Likewise, in Eisenstein’s film *Battleship Potemkin* (1925), the revolutionary take-over of the ship (as a presentation of the 1905 revolution) – which then docks and is warmly greeted in Odessa – is not presented as penetrating deep into the land, i.e. advancing the revolution via train and into other countries as is the case in Döblin. Further in Einstein’s film, when the Potemkin meets another ship, they pass by one another without a battle; this is different than say Ramón Sënder’s sea battles (in *Mr. Witt en el Cantón*) presented as a part of the revolution or even Bertolt Brecht’s boat at sea in *Mother Carrar* whose sole occupant becomes a victim. In the Russian Vladimir Mayakovsky’s poem, “Ode on the Revolution” (1918), the ship is not a vehicle of revolutionary momentum as in 1918, but

\(^{27}\) This brings up the issue of vast rural areas which were poorly connected (due to technology as well as simply greatness of distance) which is sharply contrasted to well-connected, more compact and efficient geography in presentations of Germany in 1918 and even Spain in 1936.
is a “sinking ship” whose “gray admirals” will be driven out. Further spatial presentations are also different; for example in *October*, bridges are shown raised in Petrograd by the provisional government at different points leading up to the revolution to cut off and alienate the working class; this ‘raising’ of the bridges is not presented in the German revolution but rather there is an abstract presented fluidity created through multiple presentations – and presentations with multiple perspectives within the urban area and between urban areas with publications (newspapers) and rapid transit (trains) functioning as important medium in physical realizations (i.e. mimicking aesthetic strategies). By 1936 bridges and main travel pathways (roads, rails) are – and presented as - bombed from planes above. In 1918 and 1936 where specific names are often used to personify the figures, rather than a sense of a nameless, collective proletariat being personified, the revolution itself becomes a sort of ‘protagonist’ in 1918 as well as 1936 – which is inherently spatial. For example, in Döblin’s *November 1918*, the revolution is personified as an act; the creation of a sense of space – geographic, ideological and time – allows for the grasping of the revolution. Here Döblin, as others, do not necessarily concentrate on a sole or set of figures, but ‘link’ their perspectives together, or as Brecht states ‘knot’ together the multitude of (dynamic) perspectives, seeing how they overlap

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28 Further, the issue of translation is relevant with Mayakovsky, while in the proceeding chapters I will show how many German and Spanish texts were translated and found international audiences; Mayakovsky’s classic revolutionary epic “The 150,000,000” for example, has yet to be translated into English (“Trotsky, the Poets and the Russian Revolution”).

29 Ernest Simmons discusses the special role of poetry and the attempts to abolish the novel during the immediate period following the Russian Revolution (225). Simmons even claims that Russian Socialist realism has its roots in liberal-conservative controversies of the 1860s (227). Similarly, Freeborn writes of the Russian epic novel of the revolution in the 20th century being based in the 19th century and the “emancipation of the serfs” (133). Simmons writes that: “Socialist realism insists in the complete identification of literature and politics. The primary justification of its literary products is to offer ideological and practical instruction to readers and to subscribe to the moral that the Communist Party knows best. Its positive heroes have taken on lineaments of the all-conquering knights of medieval romance, with the difference that the Soviet hero commits no mortal sin because his heart is socialistically pure....” (228). Literature of the German revolution and Spanish Civil War was not as formalistic as the Russian Socialist Realism literature of the Russian revolution (i.e. hero figure).
Understanding the literary trend:

In the following six chapters I will present and develop my argument. In Chapter 1, I will analyze works written amidst and dealing with the German revolution and Spanish turmoil, including authors such as Ernst Toller, Bertolt Brecht, Ernst Jung, Erich Muehsam, and others. In Chapter 2, I will look into developing a parallel in aesthetic and political development in the theater work of Federico Garcia Lorca and Ernst Toller. Hereafter in chapter 3 I address issues of the historical novel of revolution during the outbreak of war exemplified in Ramon Sender’s Mr. Witt en el Canton and Alfred Doeblin’s November 1918. In Chapters 4 and 5, in developing a Leftist Spanish-German international aesthetic and politic, I will analyze a plethora of literature and publications written during the Spanish Civil War – including theater works of Bertolt Brecht, Ludwig Renn, Max Aub and Rafael Alberti (Chapter 4) as well as articles in Das Wort, El Mono Azul, Le Voluntaire and other publications (Chapter 5). To conclude the dissertation, Hans Magnus Enzensberger’s Der kurze Sommer der Anarchie will be seen as a sort of epilogue to the trend.

Now, the first chapter deals with establishing two initial, incubatory spaces, the (G1) German literature of German revolution and (S1) Spanish literature of turmoil and German revolution. In Chapter 2 (Lorca, Toller) and Chapter 3 (Sender, Döblin) a space
within the moment of the Weimar Republic and Spain’s Second Republic will be established; here there is a sharing of intellectual and physical space between each other as well as with the previously defined Spanish and German spaces in Chapter 1. In Chapters 4 and 5 a common time – that of the Spanish Civil War – along with sharing of intellectual and physical space in Spain between German and Spanish authors will help establish one grand common space (GS3); this German-Spanish space further exhibits sharing with all of the previously established spaces, as it is the culminating ‘space’ – if you will – of the trend and my discussion. At this point a direct current within the literature of the German revolution and Spanish turmoil through both Republics meeting in the Spanish Civil War is seen, defined and established.\(^\text{30}\) To conclude, in Chapter 6 (Enzensberger), I will highlight what I see as a last, a final movement of this trend beyond the time of the Spanish Civil War extending what we have thus far developed.

At the end of this introduction are accompanying graphs, which are a visual attempt at presenting an ‘organized’ sort of tangibility and relativity to the ‘spaces’ I have established. Space is a very useful metaphor in organizing, explaining and realizing this trend and establishing its features. Figure I-1 is a bit complicated. Like Pierre Bourdieu’s literary field I employ similar concepts and depictions or strategy of ‘space,’ grouping some of Bourdieu’s influencing forces within the intellectual. I focus on one of Henri Lefebvre’s endless, yet substantial literary spaces – as different (i.e. accentuating difference), revolutionary (seeking to create a new space) and as an attempt at bridging (or overlapping) intellectual and physical (or theory and praxis as Lefebvre writes).

My concentration is grouped around events (i.e. as socio-political attempts of new, alternative space(s) - as revolution) and literary ‘production’ (i.e. of/associated to

\(^\text{30}\) Reference Figure I-2 in Appendix.
this). I trace and plot what I see as the forces or simply matter – keep in mind that matter when broken down to its simplest element is ultimately energy or ‘a’ force - which enables me to define these spaces as existing; literature’s interplay or representation of force when or if harnessed – as in a tangible presentation in literature – can thus be ‘plotted.’ Returning to the graph, first, in using the metaphor of space, each of these ‘spaces’ I have outlined, if circular, has a center and a periphery. Each space represents a group of literature – and their associated authors – surrounding different events. The most important feature of this figure is to note the ‘spaces’ of sharing between the space (G1, S1, G2, S2, GS3, G4); it is these moments of sharing that signify both a trend, i.e. a movement forward or to the side, and an increasing commonness between the German and Spanish spaces (culminates into one common space in GS3). The axis are explained as follows: the temporal axis is the most obvious, along it one tracks time, in chronological continuum, where when the literature was written, it was ‘happening’ chronologically, but now as later critics, we can move forward or backward along its axis. The physical axis simply states actual geographical location and physical location – as in a person, an author or his/her work. Thus in G1 and S1, the degree of ‘physical’ sharing is slight as very few authors or texts actually shared the same physical space, geographically speaking, but the physical sharing is complete in GS3 while print and author, content and strategy of presentation, Spanish and German, shared almost completely. Finally, intellectual space is more ill-defined, not as tangible as the previous two variables, nonetheless I have argued that ideological and political beliefs and their representation in the literature written – as a product of their creator, the artist –
contribute to definition and mapping of this rather elusive, yet crucial element of space and spatial trend which I define.

Figure I-2 is simply Figure I-1 minus the inner boundaries. The space within the combined outer boundaries is the literature I discuss in the ‘whole’ project (i.e. from Chapter 1 through Chapter 6). In a rough, abstract manner, I show the path of the German literary trend, A, and Spanish literary trend, B, which collide and become a common trend C. In Chapters 1, 2 and 3, I construct A and B, moving towards a common point which will result in C. The authors – and their works - are shown as far as which role they play and where their position is in the development of the trend.

Ultimately, not only are presented spaces of the rural, urban and sea international, but come together and are unified as a whole (connected) through revolution. Figure I-3 at the end of the introduction, offers a visual representation of how each chapter contributes to this sharing of presented space(s) which ultimately overlap sufficiently – in literature – for the sea, urban and rural to be considered an international, revolutionary (German-Spanish) space. Chapter 1 will be primarily focused and motivated between urban areas – in Germany (as well as Spain). In Chapter 2, Lorca’s rural and Toller’s urban literary spaces will be proven to be international and shared in revolution. In Chapter 3 Sender and Döblin do the same with the space of the sea and urban. In the remaining chapters – 4, 5 and 6 – all three physical spaces will be brought together in presentations – connected as international and revolutionary. Furthermore, in Figure I-4 a very spatial sense of interconnectedness and overlapping can visually be seen as physically as well as aesthetically produced in trains, media and increased urbanization. 
A sense of high speed physical connection is created between urban areas (Northern
German cities, Ruhr, Alsace, and Bavaria as well as Madrid and Barcelona) as well as the sea and later rural areas (Andalucia, front lines) of people, ideas and print through boats, trains, planes and automobiles/trucks as well as media (radio, film, theater, and various publications) in literature as will be discussed in the proceeding chapters.
Appendix

Figure I-1: Literary Overlapping

Figure I-2: Literary Development

Trend: A and B show current towards civil war, C common current thereafter
Figure I-3: International Literary Geography

Figure I-4: Spatial Communication and Interaction

- City/Perspective Center
- Communication and interaction
Bibliography:


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Chapter 1: Literature amidst the German Revolution

Introduction

In this chapter I will analyze German and Spanish literature of the German revolution. First, I intend to summarize the German revolution from a historical perspective. I will talk about how the German revolution has been discussed up until now, both historically and literarily, and how my approach both fits into this discussion as well as how it contributes and is unique. This chapter joins the broader project involving the use of the metaphor of space to analyze the literature of the German revolution. I will introduce the political and revolutionary discourse – regarding the strike (Luxemburg), violence (Benjamin), and role of intellectual and art (Eisner, Brecht) - which found its way into literature (i.e. in numerous forms – from newspapers and journals, essays to poetry, novels and theater). Then, I discuss the literature of the German revolution, exploring authors’ strategies in presenting the revolution, ultimately highlighting major tropes (such as violence, death, sacrifice, urban geography, and internationalism) within this group of literature and defining a subgroup of authors within this literary movement who would later cast a literary glance towards and even physically enter into Spain at the time of the Spanish Civil War. At this point, through political connection in urban Anarchism and its influence in literature and the literary coverage of the German revolution in Spanish in Spain, Spain will be brought into the discussion: I will discuss the political and social context of Spain at the moment of the German revolution and highlight common Spanish-German political resonances and literary space by giving examples of a Spanish literary voice and perspective of the German revolution.
Germany around the turn-of-the-century was ripe for socialist revolution; Friedrich Engels stated that Germany was in the most advanced stages in this regards (i.e. revolution) and that only war would present an obstacle – which is what happened. However, during the First World War, numerous strikes and the rise of secret and revolutionary organizations persisted. The revolutionary successes of Germany’s Eastern neighbor Russia encouraged the German revolutionaries. Early in 1918, the Leftist political organization Spartacus popularized the slogan of the Russian revolution of ‘Workers’ and Soldiers’ councils” in Germany (Broué 108).

As the German war efforts were ever bleaker, revolutionary delegates and USPD leaders met more frequently. Revolutionaries from the North (Kiel) spurred and spread fervor of action through much of Germany in the following days. Here, the Workers’ councils on land fused with Sailors’ Councils and then blazed through Cuxhaven, Wilhelmshaven, Bremen, Hamburg, Düsseldorf, Halle, Erfurt, Hanau, Brunswick, Leipzig, Chemnitz, Friedrichshafen, Stuttgart, and Bavaria – all while ‘leaders’ in Berlin still hesitated to call out the revolution, stalled for lack of arms and troops, and stalemated in futile discussions. It was not until revolutionary leaders – with key documents - were arrested that a demonstration and revolution was unavoidable and necessary in Berlin. The revolution peaked in its realization the following day, November, 9th 1918 when the masses and their revolutionary leaders demonstrated and marched through Berlin.

31 On the eve of November 8th, Däumig who held the revolution’s plans in a briefcase was arrested in Berlin.
December 1918 was a month of unrest. The counterrevolutionary Free Corps started to be formed early in the month while in Berlin armed Spartakus demonstrated and a National Assembly was called. In the latter days of December sailors and soldiers clashed in Berlin, workers’ continued to demonstrate and the Vorwärts building in Berlin was occupied.

At this point, Friedrich Ebert and the governing body iterated that they wanted to avoid bloodshed. In Berlin, when a Social Republic for Germany was called out, many in the revolting crowds believed they had achieved a victory. At this point, the governing SPD negotiated compromise – after compromise - with the USPD and radicals – which stymied, slowed and disoriented many of the revolutionaries. Bourgeoisie, conservatives and the Centre simply played a game of words – supporting the ‘worker’s and soldiers’ councils’ republic’ – even dressing different – all the while maintaining their positions in the country’s bureaucracy and power in representation and the military. This compromise ended up cutting the legs from beneath the revolution’s momentum. Councils in Cologne, Kassel, Breslau, Duisberg, Recklinshausen, Bielefeld, Dresden, Frankfurt am Main, and Brunswick struggled with the compromise.

The uprisings of January 1919 were pivotal for the state of the German revolution. On January 4th, the firing of revolutionary-sympathetic USPD police chief Eichhorn caused great agitation amongst the revolutionaries. The following day over 200,000 people demonstrated in Berlin and numerous buildings were occupied.\footnote{Including the Anhalt station, the administration building of the railways, the official Reich printing establishment, the Vorwärts print-works, and the Wolff news agency building.} Demonstrators
gathered early in the morning, waited the whole day for calls from their (Leftist) leaders\textsuperscript{33} and ended the day going home - without a call from their leaders. Between January 6\textsuperscript{th} and 15\textsuperscript{th}, the Free Corps ‘restored’ order in Berlin, arresting and murdering many revolutionary leaders including Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht.

In February, 1919 the Free Corps began to cover the ‘country’. The Bavarian Republic survived varying degrees of success (and turbulence) until its brutal defeat in May 1919. In 1920 numerous revolutionary activities continued with demonstrations and strikes as well as a failed putsch in Berlin. By 1921, an organized revolutionary call in March kept revolutionary activity going in Central Germany, Mansfeld and the Ruhr.

In the following year, 1922, revolutionary fervor was still in the air. Striking continued with the railway, the metalworkers and the Palatinate. Further, in 1923, preparatory committees and conferences were called for a German insurrection. There were continued violent confrontations, notably in Essen, larger Saxony and Hamburg. Although revolutionary momentum was quelled with the assassinations in January 1919 in Berlin, revolutionary activity did continue through to the end of 1923.

\textit{Section II: Post-German Revolution in historical and literary discussion}

My project is a part of a long developing discussion (of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century) of the German revolution (as well as broader discussion of literature of revolution), yet very much different in the breadth of literature I consider and the comparative approach and spatial metaphor I employ. I will uniquely begin with analysis of German literature of and during the German revolution – finding parallels in Spain – and following a dual

\textsuperscript{33} Leaders spent the day ‘deliberating’ as far as the course of action – armed revolt (Spartacus) or continued negotiation (the Independents) – and issue of timing. Here, the SPD already was declaiming Spartacus and pressuring the Independents as it aligned with the military.
development between selected German and Spanish works whose culmination can be seen in literature of the Spanish Civil War. In this light, the German Revolution has received little critical attention as international – in ideological and geographical literary perspectives - and specifically in lieu of a parallel between its literature and that of Spain or a development towards Spain (albeit some isolated mentionings). Literary strategies and revolutionary presentations by authors such as Ernst Toller, Bertolt Brecht and Erich Weinert, as well as actual and literary figures such as Rosa Luxemburg and Hans Beimler, will help bridge a connection, establish a current and genesis of space based and originated in literature of the German revolution and culminating in (a) common Spanish-German literary space(s) during the Spanish Civil War.

Before I move forward with my argument of outlining literary spaces and developing what I see as a ‘literature’ of the revolution, it will be useful to explore how the German Revolution and literature of the revolution has been discussed from the immediate post-revolutionary area through to the present day. Literary discussions have often concentrated on sole authors such as Ernst Toller, Erich Mühsam or Franz Jung within complete works or articles, or a handful of authors may be grouped together regarding the revolution in a short paragraph or ‘section’ of an article (such as in Erdmann’s article). Literarily speaking, authors have also been categorized politically and according to geography, as Michael Fritton did in *Literatur und Politik in der Novemberrevolution 1918/1919* (1986). Fritton divides authors and works into two

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34 In Spanish, the German Revolution has been given some critical attention; for example in a recent publication by *Cuadernos de Formación Marxista* entitled: *La Revolución alemana de 1918*, which is highly political and bordering on the propagandistic. Historically, the German revolution receives scattered mentionings, such as those by Spanish historian Abel Paz who makes some loose references to the revolution, or at least revolutionary figures and groups in connection or influence of the rise of Anarchism and the figure Buenaventura Durruti in Spain through the 1920s and 1930s (*in Durruti*).
groups according to their geographical position during the revolution with Fritz Rück, Edwin Hoernle and Max Barthel amidst the Stuttgart revolution and Ernst Toller and Erich Mühsam in Munich.35 Fritton addresses each author’s active political role and belief and then this relationship to their literature, using poetry and dramas as examples. Fritton’s main thesis is to look into if and how political theory ‘wiederspiegelt’ in literary production, where the ideational content rather than aesthetic dimension is the focus.36

The idea of analyzing literature of the German revolution categorized according to geographical location is not unique to Fritton, both Kurt Keiler and Hansjörg Viesel discuss literature of the Munich Soviet Republic. In Die Schriftstellerrepublik (1978), Kurt Keiler explores Erich Mühsam, Ernst Toller, Gustav Landauer and Kurt Eisner; noting each author’s political profile and their “literaropolitischen Handelns” before breaking down literary forms into the drama, epilogue, “Gefängnis-literatur” and “Ausblick” (46). Meanwhile, Hansjörg Viesel compiled a much larger work exposing many more authors – also based in Munich during the revolution – entitled Literaten an

35 Geography is important while it presents a center from which each author gains their personal lived perspective. What I am interested in is exploring multiple perspectives of geography (of authors) which then, evident in the literature, leads to a broad, international geographical perspective. In Fritton for example, each location offers a perspective within the overall German revolution; Stuttgart was the location of the traditional labor leadership from the SPD, USPD, KPD and Unions (Gewerkschaften) whereas in Munich were the leading writers and intellectuals (4). Interesting is the absence of Berlin – as a location and space for authors. Yet Fritton does use ‘cities’ (urban spaces) as a pole or basis from which or within which a perspective and literature was ‘produced’.

36 Fritton works with the term “Dichtung” as defined by Wolfgang Kayser and states that he does not intend to be a part of the actual Marxist discussion and works with Brecht’s definition of “realistisch” and “volkstümlich” in discussing the ‘active function of literature’ as well as brings Eisner and Fruehwald into his attempt of synthesis of literary and historical investigation. He writes: “…in der vorliegenden Arbeit versuche ich historische und literarhistorische Aspekte des Anteils deutscher Schriftsteller an der Revolution in Stuttgart und Muenchen zu verbinden” (6). Fritton thus offers a first step towards developing a sense of common geography, here between Stuttgart and Munich, in literature of the revolution. I go a bit farther in including Berlin and other cities and linking this to presentations of not only sharing, but of an international perspective of geography.
der Wand: Die Münchner Räterepublik und die Schriftsteller (1980).37 A more recent discussion can be found from the 2004 'Erich Mühsam Gesellschaft,’ under the editing of Jürgen Wolfgang-Goette and Sabine Kruse, entitled: Die rote Republik: Anarchie- und Aktivismuskonzept der Schriftsteller 1918/1919 und das Nachleben der Räte – Erich Mühsam, Ernst Toller, Oskar Maria Graf u.a (Lübeck). The Munich based literature of the revolution seems to have been one of the more popular approaches thus far in literary discussion. As Fritton and the others, I will consider Munich and Stuttgart based authors, yet the geographical and literary breadth of my project is quite a bit larger as I consider authors in Berlin as well as authors who move between cities. My focus is also different while it deals with developing a literary space beyond simply the national event of the German revolution which allows for a sense of internationalism.

Numerous accounts of the German revolution sprang up immediately after its initial phases through the end of the Weimar period – by those with first hand experience, from both the Right – such as by Noske and Maercker - and Left - such as by Levi and Radek and from differing geographical perspectives.38 Literally speaking, Alfred Döblin’s tetrology November 1918, written between 1937 and 1958, is unique in its combination of thoroughness (i.e. in volume and research) and artistry (innovative montage form) when discussing literary presentations of the German revolution. His work amasses more than 2,000 pages and was mostly written while in exile. Unlike other

37 He includes, along with historical developments, excerpts from numerous authors as well as comments from authors – on authors who wrote of the revolution. Munich-area authors discussed included: Oskar Maria Graf, Erich Mühsam, Gustav Landauer, Ernst Toller, Eugen Leviné, Ret Marut, Ernst Niekisch, Albert Daudistel, Heinrich F.S. Bachmair, Erich Wollenberg, Jakob Haringer, Rudolf Hartig, and Alfred Wollfenstein.

38 There is a high concentration of works in Munich and then Berlin, with further considerations of Stuttgart and other regions such as Essen in Hans Marchwitza’s Sturm auf Essen (1930) or the Ruhr as in Karl Gruenberg’s Brennendes Ruhr (1928)
authors, Döblin lived in Berlin at the time of the revolution and was able to combine personal experience with extensive research in creating his novel.

The German revolution has not only been presented in accounts, memoirs, novels, poetry and drama – a presentation was also attempted in film. In 1958 in East Germany, Kurt Maetzig’s film, *Lied der Matrosen*, was the first part of a planned trilogy specifically addressing the sailor mutiny aboard the Kaiser’s fleet in Kiel in 1918 and the November revolution in Berlin. Although I do not consider this film in my project, I do consider cinematic techniques used in literature (important as experimentation and allow for multifaceted literary perspectives) and I will consider Döblin’s novel as well as a plethora of literature produced during and immediately after the revolution.

Nearly ten years later, Sebastian Haffner wrote a quasi-historical account of the German revolution, entitled *Die verratene Revolution* (1969). Here, Haffner presents the period between January and May 1919 as a “bloody” Civil War with thousands of victims. Haffner writes of how numerous people were unjustly murdered, such as sailors in the North and then whole neighborhoods in Berlin’s East side while middle-class families in other neighborhoods celebrated. He comments how the German Revolution has strangely escaped popular historical attention: “Aber merkwürdigerweise ist er [der Bürgerkrieg] aus dem deutschen Geschichtsbild fast vollständig verschwunden, getilgt, verdrängt“ (164). Haffner writes of the unusual coalition of Social Democrats and the Freikorps, who already in 1918/1919 exercised brutality and violence that was later to be

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39 This film can be linked to the many Russian films about revolution - from educational and documentary newsreels of *Kino-Pravada* to films on revolution from Sergei Eisenstein, Dziga Vertov, Lev Kuleshov and others – as well as the many ‘documentary’ films on revolutionary figures, such as Karl Liebknecht and Ernst Thaelmann.
seen again with the Nazis.\textsuperscript{40} By deduction, a direct link between elements of the ‘foreign’ presented in 1919 and the ‘foreign’ presented during the Republic and in the Spanish Civil War is established. In 1918/19 workers, writers, intellectual and leftist leaders are fighting Germans in Germany who later become known as ‘Nazis’, then when fighting ‘Nazis’ in 1936-39 in Spain, they are not fighting fellow ‘countrymen’ for the fraternity between these like-language and ‘official’ common nationalities no longer carries sufficient space in distinction nor unifying effect – this will be explicitly addressed in chapters 4 and 5, however the gist is: the ‘other’ or ‘foreign’ in 1918 in Germany was also the same ‘other’ or ‘foreign’ in 1936 in Spain. My project will address Haffner’s comment of the void of scholarly attention to the German revolution and analyze the literary presentation of the ‘other’ from 1918 and 1936. Unlike Haffner’s work my project has a literary focus and will span beyond the German revolution – temporally speaking, and beyond Germany – ideologically and geographically.

Two years after Haffner’s publication, one of the more in-depth researched works is French historian Pierre Broué’s \textit{La revolution en Allemagne, 1917-1923}. First published in 1971, it can be seen as a product of the global Left-wing upsurge of the 1960s and 1970s (\textit{Intro}).\textsuperscript{41} Broué writes of the waves of strikes and armed uprisings between 1918 and 1923, and the powerful industrial base and over 20 million German proletariats - steeled, educated and organized. He sees the Russian Communists fully

\textsuperscript{40} Many of the Freicorps would later become Nazis and their brutal aggression in 1918/1919 was to be seen again later in SA and SS organizations. Further, Haffner writes how this Civil War was a class war as all Civil Wars are, but strange here was that a social-democratic government led the war against its own working class (174), and he points out the uncalled-for violence and the fragmented nature of the movement: “Das blutige Geschehen wälze sich träge durch Deutschland, ohne je das ganze Land auf einmal zu erfassen” (165).

\textsuperscript{41} Broué’s work is divided into four sections: (1) from war to revolution: the victory and defeat of Ultra-Leftism, (2) the attempt to define the role of a Communist party, (3) from the conquest of the masses to a defeat without a fight, and (4) an undertaking condemned by History. In 2005 this work appeared in English translation as \textit{The German Revolution}. 
perceiving German events as a rapid evolution of the revolution which would be successful and aligned with Soviet Russia, anticipating 1923 as a “world-historical” turning point. As I will investigate internationalisms and international parallels, Broué also draws revolutionary comparisons, such as between the Russian soviets, the German councils and the Spanish consejos (158). However, the tragedy in Germany is presented in the lack of “comparable leaders and a sufficiently developed consciousness among the workers” (Intro). As Broué’s project includes perspective beyond Germany, so too will mine, although not so heavily of that of Russia. Further, my project will be literary whereas his is more historical and politically based, and although considering ‘Communism’ – as Broué - in the revolution, I will also discuss other ideologies.

Later, within the same decade that Broué published his work, East German playwright Heinrich Müller’s theatre piece, Germania (1977), among the many episodes in German history, revisits the failed German revolution in context of a German legacy of grotesque violence and revolutionary failure. His historical drama is in line with Brecht thematically (but also unlike Brecht in its pessimism and natural depiction of violence); Mueller challenges his 1970s audience (and still challenging audiences today) with his experimental-like theater, his use of explosive language and metaphors, and the ‘haunting’ of failed revolution and violence.\(^{42}\) As Mueller presents on stage, I too will address the concept of failure and the trope of trauma in literature of the German revolution and my larger trend as a whole.

Moving from theater to novel Klaus Kordon’s historical novel, Die Roten Matrosen oder eine vergessene Winter (1984, reprinted with a fresh note from Kordon in

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\(^{42}\) The German revolution is also referenced during this period in poems and songs, such as those of Wolf Biermann.
1998), which takes place in Berlin and revolves around the working family Gebhardt. Kordon wrote a ‘Nachwort’ in 1994/2003 where he references the revolution and the events as ‘civil war’ (Bürgerkrieg); with KPD fighting against the SPD and the SPD fighting against the KPD while the Nazis organized and grew in strength (462). He alludes to that if the councils’ republic had succeeded there may never have been a Hitler. Further, he states that Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht – whose texts were never published in full in the East – “sahen die bessere Zukunft der Menschheit in wahrhaft sozialistische Demokratien und nicht in Funktionärs-Diktaturen” (464). Why is this important? – he mentions that the hope of the 1918 revolutionaries of a life without war (and need (Not)) remains a ‘Traum’ in the beginning of a new millennium. I will, as Kordon, bring relevance to the literature and their authors of a revolution which occurred over 85 years ago. Mueller and Kordon do represent a continuum of the German revolution in artistic presentation, yet their works will not be included in my discussion while they do not contribute to my trend which – although developing from the German revolution, is focused on a developing international literary space, specifically exemplified between Spain and Germany.

Literarily the German revolution continued to receive attention; this was likewise the case with historical studies. In 1985, Ulrich Kluge perhaps accomplished one of the more thorough modern discussions of the German Revolution and its surrounding ‘discussion’ in Die deutsche Revolution 1918/1919. Kluge divides his project into seven sections, beginning discussion of the state of historical research on the German revolution by categorizing and summarizing developments in perspectives between East and West German research. Hereafter Kluge follows a chronological development in addressing
the revolution, from the war years 1914-1918, to 1918/1919, then discussing the army and the revolution, the new constitution of 1919, the international influences and finally concludes with the March revolution 1920. What is absent from his work is mention of the literature of the revolution; this is the niche in which my project resides, working with the literature – and history – of the revolution and this beyond simple (i.e. that of the event) time and place.

Less complete and researched than Kluge, yet nonetheless interesting is Rob Sewell’s *Germany: From Revolution to Counter-Revolution* (1998). Sewell writes that the German Revolution of November 1918 had an “earth-shattering effect on the course of international events” marking Germany as the “cradle of Marxism” and at the time having the “strongest workers’ party” – on a world scale, the most powerful party of the Second International. As Broué, the perspective of Sewell’s work seems limited to that of the events of the revolution and a ‘telling’ from the side of a narrow political ideology; to reiterate my project is first stemming from an examination of literature, not history, of the event, but in the course of the analysis, history will be discussed.

My project is a part of an already developed discourse on and of the German revolution and its presentation in multiple forms and media; it is also a part of new and more contemporary outlooks. As discussed, the German revolution continues to be the

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43 The structure of my above-outlined discussion was principally followed through a chronology of the developments of the German revolution as it was presented in literature, film, historical accounts and discussions, and literary discussions. It could equally be presented according to the aforementioned categories; here my project contributes greatly to the void of comprehensive literary discussion (i.e. including novels, poetry, theater and other publications from a variety of ‘places’) as well as takes part in the historical discussion of how the revolution was discussed of then (i.e. in past) and now (our contemporary). I distinctly – to be shown in the course of my argument – bring the discussion of the German revolution into a broader, international discussion in considering Spain and Spanish works – both contemporary to the German revolution as well as after (i.e. Spanish Civil War literature and its connection of the German revolution).
focus of historical – as seen in the translation and reprint of Broué canonical work - and literary presentations – for example by Nordert Göttler’s *Roter Frühling* (2004).^{44}

**Section III: The German revolution, literary space and the trend**

In establishing the German revolution as an event which is motivation for and presented – with varying strategies of presentation – in literature, I feel it is important to see this event and its literature as a part of an historical lineage and tradition, yet also as unique. It is from both of these perspectives, that of a part of a long-standing revolutionary and revolutionary literary tradition and as something new and unique, that my analysis will develop. How do I see the German revolution different from other revolutions? The most striking initial difference is that the German revolution took place after the ideological unifying and international credo of the literature of Karl Marx. His *Manifesto* famously ends with ‘All workers of the world – unite!’ inciting identity beyond the national. And unity and internationalism is presented as culminating in revolution. The 1918 German revolution is different than the 17\textsuperscript{th} century English, the 18\textsuperscript{th} century American and French, and the 1848 German (i.e. also European-wide) attempt, through its inherent ‘international’ ideological as well as geographical perspective. Another difference is the fact that this revolution was in the closing days of, till that time, the most destructive and technical world war. This ‘post-World War I era’ designation also, aside from weaponry, includes heightened international experiences in printing and distribution at international level, as well as use of advancing technologies in radio and even film (clips) associated with the literary production and influencing the presentation of the German revolution. Here the developed technicalization

^{44}The novel takes place predominantly in Munich, beginning in the fall of 1918.
(mechanicalization) and internationalization of media and violence help distinguish the German revolution. Now, the Russian revolution fits each of the aforementioned criteria, but unlike the Russian revolution, the German revolution did have a successful model (based on Marxist ideology (class struggle), geography (i.e. international) and literature (*Manifesto* as international) versus for example the French Revolution (i.e. pre-Marx) which also had served as model)) to encourage them, that obviously being the Russian revolution whose influence will as well work its way into literary presentations of the German revolution.⁴⁵

To further distinguish the German revolution, it may help to look at the ‘places’ of the revolution – and how these were presented in literature. All the revolutions I have mentioned (i.e. English, American, French, German 1848, Russian and German 1918/19) circulated propagandistic writing and pamphlets protesting oppression (by central power) and calling for change (i.e. radical, violent). The English revolution had a center in London and the American revolution took place within the confines of the then colonies, soon to be nation, with the ‘action’, ‘movement’ and ‘battles’ within the confines of a more-or-less ‘national’ or ‘territorial’ boundary. In France the revolution was focused within Paris. The failed German attempt is often portrayed in committed humanist terms, romantic verse and final disappointment with geographical focus in the congregations in Frankfurt and Prussian negation of terms, with hopes again for a national realm.⁴⁶ The 1871 Paris event was a commune, again isolated, in a city and within a nation. In the German revolution of 1918, movement is described and integral to the production of its

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⁴⁵ For example in specific figures coming from Russia – such as in the figure Karl Radek, or simply political reference.
⁴⁶ The German revolution of 1918 would affect the national status of the country, but it is more a part of a macro-progression.
literary presentation; starting at sea, from the North, and spreading – also with spontaneous grassroots revolutionary activity (i.e. comparable to the American) adding to the dynamically and evolving revolution, from war ships to trains, from city to city, from within Germany to beyond, and from outside of Germany to within. What I find unique in presentations of the German revolution, are the literary perspectives of geography (movement from ships to train to planes, between sea and land, rural and urban, within and beyond national boundaries),\(^{47}\) its sense of violence (with the backdrop and influence of mass international and technological violence of WWI), ideological association (i.e. with the ideological momentum from a Socialist/Communist Eastern (i.e. Russian) success), and experimental and innovative character (i.e. consider the ever-farther reaching and more densely propagated tentacles of modern media (i.e. radio, film)). With this statement in mind, I seek to explore an international literary trend, specifically exemplified in German and Spanish literature, I see developing in literature of the German revolution and culminating in literature of the Spanish Civil War.\(^{48}\)

The term ‘space’ functions as a useful metaphor in understanding the above-outlined internationalism and parallel literary strategies originating in the German revolution and climaxing later in Spain. A literary space, rather than determined through colors as in painting, is determined by an intellectual and often abstract perception gained through language. In language there are words which together form varying narrative voices enabling description of physical and intellectual space. The concept of physical space represented (as place) in literature is accessed in the narrative or stage through

\(^{47}\) Alfred Doeblin, for example, writes of the Kieler revolutionary sailors coming on trains through the Ruhr into France, bringing the revolution ‘outside’ of Germany’s geographical confines. Or Ernst Toller, as a revolutionary delegate, attempting to travel by plane from Munich to Berlin.

\(^{48}\) A broader discussion of the German (and Spanish) revolution(s) can be referenced in the Introduction of this dissertation.
consciousness of senses (i.e. those of the reading or viewing audience) in developing a ‘perspective’ of this space. That is to say, through the sense of sight, sound, feel, perhaps even taste and smell – a physical space of revolution or civil war is established through the language of the text(s)’ figures and narrative voice(s) (as well as in theater through spatial perspectives from staging). From the physically accessed spaces, a further development of the consciousness of the space filters into the intellectual level. Physical places – through names or description or referencing – as well as ideas – through their mentioning – or lack thereof – are thus given ‘perspective’ which the reader takes in. For example, multiple physical descriptions of and associated character dialogues and narrative monologues within Berlin (or equally in Barcelona) during the revolution give way for multiple perspectives based in differing sites and positions (simultaneously or at different ‘times’) at the physical level and along with the contextual varying and paralleling ideology of rhetoric and language employed are further perceived at the intellectual level. Here, bringing in the reach of the consciousness of the reader defines the spaces of each perspective for the reader (as it originated with the author) and by the end of the work, a sort of patchwork of intellectual or conscious ‘overlapping’ within the city is envisioned with physical and intellectual coordinates in the abstract and somewhat fragmented mental map of the reader. The spatial radius is prompted by the artist but ultimately determined by the reader’s (or audience in the case of theater) ‘reach’ (or depth) of consciousness and reflection. In this project I argue that the resulting ‘overlapping’ takes place within not only a single work but also between multiple literary

49 From this point is where I see relevance of Walter Benjamin’s *Arcades Project* as well as Henri Lefebvre’s *The Production of Space*. 
works, across national and linguistic boundaries, focusing on the specific case in Germany and Spain.

I believe such a theory of literary space unifies German and Spanish literature. How? The ‘geography’ of the revolution(s) presented, the physical space described (as sea, urban and rural) is not presented according to binding national boundaries, but rather is presented as an international space, connected by revolution. Equally important, ideology in the political and social landscapes presented likewise is not confined to national identity (i.e. intellectual space), but is international.

Space in the text can further be aligned with the text as a ‘product’, and the author’s actual physical, intellectual and temporal space. Literature of the German revolution can be viewed in layers – an inner/intermediate and intermediate/outer. The inner layer is composed of and defined by those artists and authors who were not only amidst, physically and intellectually, the revolution (such as in Berlin, Munich, Stuttgart, Prague, Vienna, and Brussels), but were physically and intellectually active, and committed in their writing of it. Here I will consider Ernst Toller, Erich Mühsam, Franz Jung, Fritz Rück, Edwin Hoernle, Max Barthel, and Friedrich Wolf. Within the intermediate, either outer areas of the inner/intermediate or the inner area of the intermediate/outer, are authors and works which were amidst the revolution – less active (politically) – yet gave a literary voice, a perspective of the revolution. Here I consider Kurt Tucholsky, Bertolt Brecht, Carl Einstein and Alfred Döblin. At the most outer layer would be those who loosely referenced the revolution in literature or ‘passed’ through it physically - perhaps later giving it voice less from personal ‘experience’ than authors within the most inner layer – such as Gustav Regler, Willi Bredel, and Erich Weinert. A

50 Reference Figure 1-1 in Appendix.
Spanish poem to Rosa Luxemburg occupies space - hence perspective - somewhere at the intermediate/outer layer while it directly references and gives perspective within and to the German revolution, yet is not based or bore from personal experience within the physical space, albeit shares a common Time. It further does attempt to reach ‘beyond’ the space of the German revolution. While this poem tends perhaps towards the outer layer, Brecht’s poem to Rosa occupies a position deeper in the intermediate, while he was physically and gradually intellectually within the space. Political publications and many of the revolutionary poems are within the most inner layer. Many of the ‘reflected’ dramas are at the inner/intermediate while many of the foreign (i.e. ‘outside’) and later works tend towards the intermediate/outer layer.

How does this ‘space(s)’ seen in literature of the German revolution fit into or help define a trend or movement? I consider a similar space (i.e. spatial organization of Lefebvre) in literature in Spain during the political-social turmoil of 1917-1923 and herefore the space(s) in literature of the German revolution and that of the Spanish turmoil share a common coordinate along the parameter of Time. Secondly, at the outer levels there is a sharing of space, a common space – defined along the axis of the physical and intellectual – shared, which is a part of both the literature of the German revolution and the Spanish turmoil. This could be considered from the Spanish perspective in the poem to Rosa and publication of perspectives of the German revolution, as well as perhaps in some of the publications by authors such as Salvat Passapeits and Angel Samblancat or

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51 Literary production is based on personal experience as a part of “representational space” and implies time according to Lefebvre (41). Personal experience is a part of the concept of ‘social space’ as referenced in Henri Lefebvre’s triad of the perceived, the conceived and the lived. The Body helps to understand the three moments of social space of (1) social practice (realm of perceived), (2) ”representations of the body”, and (3) “bodily lived experience” as “representational space” which is alive, speaks and “embraces the loci of passion, action and lived situations, and thus immediately implies time” (40-42).

52 Reference Figure 1-2 in Appendix.
found in *Solidaridad Obrera*. From the German perspective this is seen in literature which carries resonance towards Spain – i.e. beyond simply national and language – in the figure of Rosa Luxemburg, but also Anarchistic publications and tendencies within parts of the German literature - exemplified by Landauer, Toller, Mühsam, and Jung - and a physical current which lead many of these authors to Spain during the Spanish Civil War. This first chapter deals with establishing these two initial, incubatory spaces, the (G1) German literature of German revolution and (S1) Spanish literature of turmoil and German revolution. In the proceeding chapters I will establish further spaces and overlapping. In Chapter 2 (Lorca, Toller) and Chapter 3 (Sender, Döblin) a space within the moment of the Weimar Republic and Spain’s Second Republic will be established; here there is a sharing of intellectual and physical space between each other as well as with the previously defined Spanish and German spaces in Chapter 1. In Chapters 4 and 5 a common time – that of the Spanish Civil War – along with sharing of intellectual and physical space in Spain between German and Spanish authors will help establish one grand common space (GS3); this German-Spanish space further exhibits sharing with all of the previously established spaces, as it is the culminating ‘space’ – if you will – of the trend and my discussion. At this point a direct current within the literature of the German revolution and Spanish turmoil through both Republics meeting in the Spanish Civil War is seen, defined and established.\(^{53}\) To conclude, in Chapter 6 (Enzensberger), I will highlight what I see as a last, a final movement of this trend beyond the time of the Spanish Civil War extending what we have thus far developed.

At the end of this chapter are accompanying graphs, which are visual attempts at presenting an ‘organized’ sort of tangibility and relativity to the ‘spaces’ I have

\(^{53}\) Reference Figure 1-3 in Appendix.
established. Space is a very useful metaphor in organizing, explaining and realizing this trend and establishing its features.

To begin with, Figure 1-1 represents literature of the German Revolution. The outer/intermediate part of the circle represents the ‘space’ within the broader space of those authors who were ‘there’, amidst the revolution, but not necessarily actively engaged, yet wrote of it. The ‘inner’ space would be habited by authors who were actively engaged, and actively wrote of it. The literature, the works of the ‘inner’ circle are more urgent and more clearly circumstantial. A difference in presentation can also be a difference between the two ‘levels’ or positions within the larger macro space. In considering the presentations themselves; this graph represents in the inner/intermediate layer those works whose presentations do not extend much beyond the local and the works of the outer/intermediate layer representing a further ‘extension’ in the presentations. It is this ‘extension’ which enables a sharing with what we will see in Figure 1-2 and Figure 1-3 as Spanish literature and other spatial representations of the literary clusters I consider in this project.

Figure 1-2 is a bit more complicated. Like Pierre Bourdieau’s literary field I employ similar concepts and depictions or strategy of ‘space’, grouping some of Bourdieu’s influencing forces within the intellectual.\textsuperscript{54} I focus on one of Henri Lefebvre’s endless, yet substantial literary spaces – as different (i.e. accentuating...

\textsuperscript{54} In \textit{The Field as Cultural Production}, Bourdieu lays out a theory of the cultural field which situates artistic works – as I do in organizing my spatial structures - within the social conditions of their production, circulation and consumption. He examines the individuals in institutions involved in making products (not only the writers and artists, but also the publishers, critics, dealers, galleries and academies). Further, Bourdieu evaluates the structure of the cultural field itself, as well as its position within the broader social structures of power. I use the term space whereas Bourdieu uses ‘field’.
difference), revolutionary (seeking to create a new space) and as an attempt at bridging (or overlapping) the intellectual and physical (or theory and praxis as Lefebvre writes).\(^5\) My concentration is grouped around events (i.e. as socio-political attempts of new, alternative space(s) - as revolution) and literary ‘production’ (i.e. of/associated to this). I trace and plot what I see as the forces or simply matter – keep in mind that matter when broken down to its simplest element is ultimately energy or ‘a’ force - which enables me to define these spaces as existing; literature’s interplay or representation of force when or if harnessed – as in a tangible presentation in literature – can thus be ‘plotted’. Returning to the graph, first, in using the metaphor of space, each of these ‘spaces’ I have outlined, if circular, has a center and a periphery. Each space represents a group of literature – and their associated authors – surrounding different events. The most important feature of this graph is to note the ‘spaces’ of sharing between the space (G1, S1, G2, S2, GS3, G4); it is these moments of sharing that signify both a trend, i.e. a movement forward or to the side, and an increasing commonness between the German and Spanish spaces (culminates into one common space in GS3). The axis are explained as follows: the temporal axis is the most obvious, along it one tracks time, in chronological continuum, where when the literature was written, it was ‘happening’ chronologically, but now as later critics, we can move forward or backward along its axis. The physical axis simply states actual geographical location and physical location – as in a person, an author or his/her work.

\(^5\) In *The Production of Space*, Lefebvre searches for reconciliation between mental space (the space of the philosophers) and real space (the physical and social spheres in which we all live). In this work Lefebvre considers metaphysical and ideological meanings of space as well as space as experienced in the everyday life of home and city. As Lefebvre, I also till out intellectual ‘meanings’ and examine space presented in the personal, private sense of the family and intimate spheres as well as geographical spaces such as the city or rural front. Ultimately Lefebvre is extremely relevant for he seeks to bridge the gap between the realms of theory and practice, between the mental and the social, and between philosophy and reality. In doing so, he ranges through art, literature, architecture and economics. His architectural analysis is often similar to Walter Benjamin in his Arcades project (space as exhibited through literature of urban, cultural centers).
Thus in G1 and S1, the degree of ‘physical’ sharing is slight as very few authors or texts actually shared the same physical space, geographically speaking, but the physical sharing is complete in GS3 while print and author, content and strategy of presentation, Spanish and German, shared almost completely. Finally, intellectual space is more ill-defined, not as tangible as the previous two variables, nonetheless I have argued that ideological and political beliefs and their representation in the literature written – as a product of their creator, the artist – contribute to definition and mapping of this rather elusive, yet crucial element of space and spatial trend which I define.

My last figure is simply Figure 1-2 minus the inner boundaries. The space within the combined outer boundaries is the literature I discuss in the ‘whole’ project (i.e. from Chapter 1 through Chapter 6). In a rough, abstract manner, I show the path of the German literary trend, A, and Spanish literary trend, B, which collide and become a common trend C. In Chapters 1, 2 and 3, I construct A and B, moving towards a common point which will result in C. The authors – and their works - are shown as far as which role they play and where their position is in the development of the trend.

Section IV: Literariness of the nonliterary – ideology, urgency, the intellectual and history as basis for a trend.

During the period of the German revolution art and literature were ever more politicized. A variety of literary ‘movements’ evidenced political resonance and heightened contemporary critiques, such as Expressionism, Dadaism, the Bohemian and the Avant-garde. Numerous organizations – such as ‘Bund für proletarische Kunst’ (1919), ‘Proletarisches Theater’ (1920), the ‘AKS’ (1925) and Agitprop groups – and
new literary theories – as Johannes Becher’s literature as a weapon and the harmony of art and propaganda\textsuperscript{56} - were symptomatic in the development of a political literature, such as the proletarian revolutionary literature. The ‘strike’\textsuperscript{57} (i.e. as social tool and weapon of working class) and issues surrounding the use of violence\textsuperscript{58} became focal literary ‘events.’ The boundary between news print and literariness, history and fiction became very blurry, if existing at all (i.e. as sated by Hayden White). Further, advances in technology became a topic of critical discussion and as well offered mediums to broaden an artist’s audience, mediating a mass audience.\textsuperscript{59} It was within these discussions, this dynamic, accompanied and encouraged by the event of the German revolution, that the artist was finding and re-inventing his role and his work in society.\textsuperscript{60}

Notably, numerous intellectuals and artists were interested, motivated from and often actively participated in the German revolution. Many authors went further than only discussion and actively entered the revolution, notably Ernst Toller, Erich Mühsam,

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{56} Here a whole Leftist discussion evolved as far as aesthetics and politics, with notable correspondence between Ernst Bloch, Georg Lukacs, Bertolt Brecht, Walter Benjamin and Theodor Adorno.
\item \textsuperscript{57} For Spartacus leader Rosa Luxemburg, the strike was to be spontaneous: „Notwendigkeit spontaner und allgemeiner Massenbewegungen für das Gelingen des proletarischen Emanzipationskampf“ (Bock 42). “In Deutschland, die nichtorganisierte und zurückgebliebensten Schichten würden sich als die ungestümmsten und radikalsten Kräften erweisen” (Bock 45). Others disagreed. Both organized and spontaneous strikes took place, influenced the path of the German revolution, and as we will see in the proceeding paragraphs, were often written of.
\item \textsuperscript{58} In political discussion and in literature violence and its legitimacy – a topic inherited by the likes of Kant and Marx - figured prominently. Revolutionary political figures in Munich clashed on the issue, such as Eugen Levine - a Communist and advocate of violence - and Gustav Landauer and Kurt Eisner – who advocated a more non-violent approach. In other arenas of the revolution one finds further conflict on the issue, for example, René Schickele, who was a part of the publication \textit{Weißen Blätter} was “gegen Gewalt” (Erdmann 64). Franz Pfemert, on the other hand, a member of Spartacus and leading figure in the publication \textit{Die Aktion}, was for “Gewalt” (Erdmann 63). The issue of violence was well written of; notable at the time is Walter Benjamin’s “Zur Kritik der Gewalt”. As I present and discuss literature of the German revolution in this chapter, we will see how the issue of violence found a forum in the political discussion, daily publication and literature of the German revolution as it evolved – and its posmordum.
\item \textsuperscript{59} Significant influences here were Karl Kraus’ \textit{Dokumentarstueck} (such as \textit{Die letzten Tagen der Menschheit}) and Georg Kaiser’s theater, critical of technology (such as his \textit{Gas} trilogy).
\item \textsuperscript{60} During the revolution, for example, the intellectual Kurt Hiller called for the “politischer Rat geistiger Arbeiter.“ Already before the revolution Heinrich Mann addressed this issue in 1916 as well as Gustav Landauer’s “Ansprache an die Dichter” in 1918.
\end{itemize}
and Franz Jung (to name a few). Later in this chapter, I will explain both how individual artists, personally and through their work, entered the discussion and why.

In working to expose the connection between politics and the artistic intellectual, literature and its audience in the evolution of literature of the German revolution, Kurt Eisner, the proclaimer and prime minister of the ill-fated Bavarian Republic, is an early exemplary figure. In 1918, once released from prison, Eisner immediately launched a frenetic campaign for revolution and by November had seized control of the Bavarian government after coordinating a bloodless, popular revolution; his realization of a non-violent revolution later seeps into literary presentations of Ernst Toller and others.

In line with Lessing and Schiller, the politician and artist Eisner – as we will see with the literature of our trend - was interested in the concept of theater as a social tool. Eisner attacked questioning the ability of the masses to comprehend dramatic art, for he believed in the “Erziehung der Kunst zur Volksmasse” (Gurganus 31). This is important, while the literature of our trend is continually seeking to expand its space of reception, signifying a less-elite evaluation and an ever-broader audience casting (especially into the lower and working classes). Eisner thought by “involving the worker intellectually and emotionally in an immediate, common issue and challenging him to consider its solution,” for thus engaged, the reader became “selbst auch ein Teil dieser Kunst,…Mitschöpher dieser Kunst” (Gurganus 36). “Eisner’s works represent the first conscious attempt in the German Social Democratic movement at utilizing art as a vehicle of programmatic political education” (Gargunas 100). Although not specifically

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61 This parallels resonances in other German revolutionary arenas, such as his contemporary Berlin-based revolutionary Karl Liebknecht. The issue of escaping confinement and the creation of an oppositionary revolutionary space to confinement is exemplified here as a ‘lived’ and ‘documented’ experience which will become a sort of pivotal literary image in literature of this trend.
‘writing’ of the German revolution Eisner’s political activism and views of literature help demonstrate the tone for the genesis of the trend I am establishing.62

As Eisner exemplified the ever more intimate rendezvous between the literary intellectual and politics in the revolution and a further impetus for art as a social tool, others began presenting the revolution via a political tool as ‘history’. Many of the ‘political’ figures amidst and after the German revolution wrote extensively of it. Government officials, military and political figures – of both revolutionary and counter-revolutionary perspectives, as well as many intellectuals and artists accounted – in print - the revolution. An early example is Emil Barth’s *Aus der Werkstatten der deutschen Revolution*, published Berlin in 1919. Only two years later, in 1921, still during latter phases of the revolution, Eduard Bernstein wrote of the ‘Entstehung und ersten Arbeitsperiode der deutschen Republik’ in *Die deutsche Revolution 1918/1919*, which runs the course of 10 weeks from the fall of the monarchy to the national assembly on January 19th, 1919.

The presentation of the revolution was a means of remembering, of discussion and message. Herein arises the issue of history and fiction and the concept of ‘document’. Both concepts use words in narrative form in their presentation. An opposition of literature as art and autonomous versus history as documental and informative is not so convincing. Perhaps a better opposition is the way of considering each whereas with fiction concern is with how (form) it was written and history is more concerned with what (content). What constitutes history of the German revolution and what fiction? What can be considered literary? In my opinion, the difference initially

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62 Gurganus considers popular beneficiaries of Eisner’s efforts to communize art both Ernst Toller and Bertolt Brecht; also authors our literary trend.
appears elusive, as canonically considered ‘historical’ texts often have inherent literary qualities and many popularly regarded literary works are very much historical works as well.

In *Content of Form*, Hayden White deals with the problem between narrative discourse and historical representation and in *Figural Realism*, he tries to show the literariness of historical writing and the realism of literary writing, seeking to establish a ‘mutual implicativeness’ of their respective techniques of composition, description, imitation, narration and demonstration. White sees each as a presentation (rather than representation) and production (rather than reproduction or mimesis). Likewise, in considering the ‘historicalness’ or ‘realism’ of literary writing and the ‘literariness’ of historical writing I question the classical distinctions between an historical work and literary writing. It is within this ‘murky’ area that the literature of my trend is bore. In the works I consider, the authors seek to present – not represent - to an audience their works and their interpretation of the revolution. They produce their works in the sense of creating; producing its drama and moral, not seeking to simply reproduce. In each work is felt a distinct message (of moral/ethical stance aligning with Left politics, further definition often warning of ‘other’), lesson (exploring why there was failure) and ideology (international perspective of humanity) and there is organization and a language which is a part of this presentation, and the production of the presentation gives the author creative ownership of this work (as unique).  

White makes distinctions between historical writing and fictional narratives being one of content, and not form; writing:

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63 An author’s unique creation of historical material aligns with Aristotle’s positive take on ‘creative’ element in mimesis in *Poetics* (as discussed in *Theories of the theater*, Marin Carlson, Cornell University Press 1996).
...whether historical events can be truthful represented as manifesting the structures and processes of events met with more commonly in certain kinds of ‘imaginative’ discourses, that is, such fictions as the epic, the folk tale, myth, romance, tragedy, comedy, farce, and the like. This means that what distinguishes ‘historical’ from ‘fictional’ stories is first and foremost their content, rather than their form. The content of historical stories is real events, events that really happened, rather than imaginary events, events invented by the narrator. This implies that the form in which historical events present themselves to a prospective narrator is found rather than constructed (Content of Form 27).

The content of the works I consider a part of the trend is from a combination of ‘stories’ which were sought, experiences which were lived and simply ideas, notions which were created. It is the creative interlacing of background stories ‘found’ or ‘experienced’ with strategies in presentation, organization of this presentation, and language and ambient.64 By detaching the event from pure ‘fact’, a presentation of a ‘German’ revolution can be seen shared in another ‘place’, such as in writing in Spain and visa versa. It is ‘looking back’ at these texts that ‘history’ is found.

The German revolution is expressed in numerous printed forms, such as traditional literary forms of the drama, poetry, short stories and even longer novels, but this list needs to be expanded. There needs to be a broadening scope of consideration of texts; this includes a broadening of the literary field itself in order to more fully understand the literary spaces and sharing I am arguing exist. By considering, for example newspaper articles, formerly considered propaganda, and other non-literary (i.e. off the literary radar) works, a broader and deeper, more profound sense of the meaning

64 The background stories or ‘sources’ of some of my authors are immense. For example, historian Pierre Broué’s bibliography included: bibliographies, specialist journals, archives (private, governmental, and party), congress reports - from the USPD, KPD(S), VKPD, KPD, International, unions, councils and parliamentary debates. There are numerous newspapers, bulletins and journals ranging across the landscape – popularly in Berlin, Bremen, Chemnitz, Leipzig, Moscow and Vienna (to name a few), further published documents, biographies, autobiographies, memoirs, remembrances, numerous works contemporary to the events of the revolution published in a variety of literary forms and further post-revolution historical works and essays.
of the revolution’s presentation is accessed by this embracing of, as Gallagher and Greenblatt term, a “whole cultures of texts” (10).

There is a direct relationship and communication between printed productions in daily and weekly reporting media and traditional literary forms. Exposing this helps to understand part of the contemporary critique and sense of immediacy and urgency in the works of my trend as well as the influence this ‘quick writing’ has in the later creation process and styles in literary presentations of the revolution. In looking at newspaper and journal publications covering the German revolution, which were numerous, many contributing authors would later (or at the same time) publish poems, dramas, and novels of the revolution on their own accord. Some of the exemplary publications include: Weltbühne – with contributors such as Kurt Hiller, Carl v. Ossietzky and Kurt Tucholsky, the traditionally liberal oriented Vossische Zeitung, the Leftist publication - Die Rote Fahne – here numerous articles and speeches from among others, Liebknecht and Luxemburg, the Socialist publication Vorwärts, numerous Spartacus pamphlets – such as “Was will der Spartakusbund?” (Berlin 1918), Kain – with contributions from Erich Mühsam, Pleite – with contributions from Carl Einstein, Anti-Kain – with Kurt Hiller, Die Aktion – with a leading role from Franz Pfemfert and many others including Franz Jung and Carl Einstein, the Expressionist Der Sturm – including contributions from Franz Jung and Alfred Döblin, and Der Ziegelbrenner – with Ret Marut (a.k.a. B. Tavern).

Looking more closely at one of these publications will allow a glimpse into tangible language and contextual images which are also present in more traditionally accepted ‘literary’ pieces. Der Ziegelbrenner, published between 1917 and 1921, is an

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65 For example, Liebknecht’s “Das was ist” (21.11.18, Berlin) and “Trotz alledem!” (15.1.19, Berlin).
66 Einstein, after having written for Die Aktion, left to publish in Pleite (after its censorship) and then in Der blutige Ernst (Kiefer 239).
example of an, initially illegal, Anarchist publication dealing directly with the German revolution in print. On November 9th, 1918 the first page introduced a poem, entitled “Es dämmert der Tag,” addressing the moment of the revolution – looking forward to a new day, and provoking the reader to ‘think.’ Two months later, upon the assassinations of revolutionary leaders and a counter-revolutionary clap-down attempt in Berlin, its January 15th 1919 edition’s front page addresses the issue of “Zensur” and the late January (30th) edition begins, claiming “Die Welt-Revolution beginnt” evidencing the international flavor of presentation of the revolution. Is this an example of simple ‘news’ coverage or does it have inherent literary and historical value? Are these constructs of ‘news’ and ‘literature’ and ‘history’ even opposed? It encompasses all of the above. The Ziegelbrenner is a ‘literarisch-publizistische Bewährungsprobe’, a historical document, and a “bleibender Appell” (Richter 165). A number of works – poems, short stories, anecdotes – before being published as a collection or on their own – found a medium through which they could be presented and gain a reading audience in these types of journal and newspaper publications. I account for this prodigious output through a combination of elevated reader and writers’ interest as well as an ease in publishing pressure for freeing up the press. By opening up this arena for literary discussion, a common presentation and perspective from Spain can be established.

Casting an eye to Spain and evaluating their newspaper coverage of the German revolutionary events, it comes forth eerily similar to a fragmented historical book of revolution, reminiscent of the German author Alfred Döblin’s novel November 1918 minus the fictional literary characters and revolutionary excursions. The point is that the interplay, the literal intertextuality between popular ‘print’ and artworks, supposed
fiction, or historical fiction was often, sometimes at best, barely distinguishable and thus this adds to the unique quality of the literature of the revolution. Further, the fact that the revolution was followed so closely in print in Spain, will help us later to devise a Spanish literary perspective of the German revolution which in turn contributes to the establishment of what I see as a common German-Spanish literary space (i.e. as will be evidenced by examples in *La Accion*, *La Jornada* and *El País*). Publication with newspapers and journals was ‘immediate’. This ‘immediacy’ in printed materials of the German revolution is important when considering an author’s sources, often varied, in developing perspective and the process of creation and production. While authors such as Toller and Brecht drew upon personal experiences, others – say Döblin, used a mix of personal and ‘documental’ sources, including ‘official’ party and governmental publications or documents, along with various newspaper and journal articles - and yet later authors would solely use ‘documents’ (and other’s voices of lived experiences) and their poetic license in creating literary perspective of the German revolution.

The literature of my trend is a part of the politicization of literature of its time, but its ‘political’ or ‘ideological’ premise, its moral and audience, was international. It was literature as a social tool. The works held permeable frontiers with history and reporting, and were ever evolving in their literariness. News was to inform, now literature sought to inform. As news headlines seek to gain readership with shocking, provocative headlines, now literature sought to shock (in Brechtian sense, i.e. anti-hero, injustice not natural but shocking) as well as innovate and broaden its distribution (theater being played in new areas) and accessibility (poems and short stories or novel excerpts printed in newspapers

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67 Alfred Döblin, in Berlin during the November revolution, was “nahe” the USPD, also “Mitbegründer der expressionistischen Zeitschrift ‘Der Sturm’” (http://www.dhm.de/lemo/html/biografien/DoeblinAlfred/).
rather than bourgeois leather-bound collections). Also as news, literature employed new media (radio, film clips – montage styles, theater). As newspapers have a geographical scope, so too sought literature: from its perspective of Munich, Stuttgart or Berlin revolutionary activities to that of ‘international’ section of newspaper in its ever broadening geographical scope (i.e. German revolution in France, revolutionaries in Austria, Czech, revolutionaries coming from Russia, reference to activities in the US, England and Spain).

Section V: German-language literature of the German Revolution, during and shortly after the revolution.

As stated, there is a plethora of authors who wrote in various forms through numerous media of the German revolution – and its ‘counter-revolution’. How was the revolution presented in the novel, in theater and poetry during and shortly after the event? What were the authors’ (formal) strategies with these works? In the following paragraphs I will attempt to answer these questions in order to form a working consensus of the broad taste of this group of literature. I will look into works of some of the more well-known authors such as Kurt Tucholsky, Franz Jung, Erich Mühsam, Fritz Rück, Max Barthel, and Edwin Hoernle. Exposing the literature of the German revolution is necessary in addressing the question of how a common literary current, considering

68 To be noted here are the wide variety of ideological and formal approaches to the revolution in literature. Here Herman Broch’s trilogy Die Schlafwandler (1931) and Joseph Roth’s Das Spinnennetz (1923) included the German revolution as context, following literary counterrevolutionary protagonist in narrative form (near to Brecht’s anti-hero figure presentation to be discussed in next section). In a letter of 1930, Broch wrote that Die Schlafwandler would not only mirror the German, but also the Russian revolution (Osterle 954). Many critics have agreed that the trilogy anticipated National Socialism (and Antichrist linked with counter-revolution, i.e. Hitler). At the other end of the ideological spectrum were the much more conservative, proto-fascist counterrevolutionary narratives – as written of by Klaus Theleweit in Maennerfantasien.
strategy, content and style, can be paralleled in Spain. Here I will examine a subgroup of authors and their respected works within the literature of the German revolution who will later, both personally and literarily, share space with Spanish authors and their literature in Spain. In the final paragraphs of the chapter I will argue that during the period of the German revolution, a common literary space was already developing between German literature of the revolution and Spanish literature of turmoil and of the German revolution.

In discussing literary expression of the German revolution, the work of Kurt Tucholsky is representative yet unique. Under numerous pseudonyms, Tucholsky wrote a variety of poems and short stories revolving around the German Revolution. Tucholsky used satire and irony, in a very sincere and witty manner to both instill remembering the revolution and provoke further discussion, thought and potentially action as a part of a so-called ‘Gebrauchslyrik’. In 1919 Tucholsky wrote a poem of the assassinated Kurt Eisner – one of the revolution’s intellectual protagonists. Here Eisner was one who “glaubte noch an Ideale” and “zog den Degen,” “war ein Tapferer..und doch kein General.” The revolutionary proponent, of change, was brave without the security cloak of the military or the state’s call in war. He is dead but remains alive in “unser Aller Herzen.” He was killed, along with Jaurés, Liebknecht and Luxemburg’ while “die Bürger nicken.” The citizens are presented as sort of blindly going along with the assassinations of those who ultimately fought and lived for their society’s betterment. In the end, Tucholsky writes: “wir wissen ihre Werke…glauben weiter….warten.” The man is dead, the revolution countered, but the work remains in progress. Tucholsky

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69 In 1920 Tucholsky became a member of the USPD and until 1924 he resided predominantly in Berlin before leaving as a correspondent for the Weltbuhne and Vossische Zeitung in Paris.
70 Written February 27, 1919 under the psydouem Kaspar Hauser.
employs known figures of the revolution. This poem is written in a way in which Tucholsky’s Leftist audience can easily identify, and less radical readers sympathize with his message.

Not only figures, but also specific revolutionary events were contextually used, identifying with his audience and times along a political scale. Here, Tucholsky wrote a poem of the ‘general strikes’ where “Ihre alle aber seid darauf und daran, die Revolution zu versauen.” The revolution is again invoked in two poems entitled ‘Revolutions-Rückblick’ – one written in 1919 and the next a year later; it is iterated that the moment of the revolution has passed, it is “vorbei” with the remorsefully repeating chorus, reminiscent of the 1848 poetry, “es wär zu schön gewesen.” In the end, as a close friend that must be off, he writes: “fahr wohl Novemeber-Ideal!” Here, the idea is not negated, but remembered and discussed and hope is still in the air. The revolution is a traveler, off to find itself, maybe to return. In the poem, ”Zum 9. November,” he recalls the “Bruderkampf” where “in den die Reaktion erstarkte, erstarkte” (writing “erstarkte” twice). This poem, written exactly two years after the 9.11.18 beginning, strives to remember and continue: “Denkt daran und an jenem Novembertag, an dem sich beinah – beinah! – das deutsche Geschick erfüllt hat…..” – here leaving the sentence unfinished. The last stanza begins: “Und arbeiten unverdrossen für einen neuen Tag”. This last stanza gives tangible words and a community amongst the reading audience, of hope. Tucholsky’s poetry is an attempt to keep the revolution in print, in the minds and

71 Written under the name Theobald Tiger on March 7th, 1919.
72 Written as ’Kaspar Hauser’ on November 6th, 1919. Transl: you all are well there to hoax the revolution.
73 Transl: Brother-fight...in which the reaction became stronger, stronger.... Remember this and on all November days, on which almost, almost! – the German talent/fate was fulfilled....., and work relentlessly for a new day.
discussions of people, to continue to advocate the Leftist political agenda and critique the Right and the failures of the Weimar Republic. The revolution escapes the confines of a final judgement, and is personified as free-spirited as well as a fighter who has lost a bout, but soon will debut its comeback.

Tucholsky remembers and writes not only of the revolutionary past and its assassinated figures, but also of those still alive, jailed, and active; for example Ernst Toller. Tucholsky writes the short anecdote, ‘Tollers Publikum’ (1920) where an audience of 200 witnesses Toller’s theater piece which premiered in 1919 while he was still in jail. In the end, ‘das Publikum blieb stumm’ – they were silent; they didn’t get it, while it was not for them – as Toller telegraphed, it was for the workers. Toller’s piece, through the anecdote, was presented to the wrong audience, the ‘old’ or traditional bourgeoisie theater goers; Toller’s theater, as Tucholsky’s writing, was a new art created for a broader, new audience including the lower classes and especially the proletariat. Tucholsky’s anecdote embraces this; the fact of this new art and how it is still developing, ‘finding its place and self’ – so to say. In the piece, Tucholsky never writes Toller’s full name – Ernst Toller, rather simply Toller. This implies that ‘Toller’ is known to be Ernst Toller, the artist, the engaged intellectual who was jailed in Bavaria for his participation in the revolution. ‘Toller” was in the newspapers of the Right – propagandized heavily as a wanted man, a traitor while his Left counterparts extolled him. His name was known in the papers, now it need be known for its art. Tucholsky writes that the post-revolutionary press presented Toller with “unglaublichen Charakteristiken.” In the end, Toller’s piece was presented and Tucholsky wrote this

74 Rolf Seldmann considers Tucholsky, along with Toller, as the “Galionsfiguren der engagierten Literatur” in discussion of Die Weltbuehne (131).
75 Written as ‘Ignanz Wrobel’ on November 11th, 1920.
anecdote of him and will continue: “Laß mich noch kämpfen, Toller.” With Tucholsky’s poems and anecdotes there is the sense that the revolution will not be forgotten or will the fight wane – neither with time nor imprisonment. This anecdote further gives voice to a dialogue of which the audience – the ‘masses’ – need be a part of.77

Tucholsky wittingly employed the German revolution in his poems and short anecdotes, yet was not overtly involved in the revolution. He tended to present a literary perspective of the revolutionary and its victims. There is however a whole cluster of literature, whose authors were committed. and directly involved in the revolution and whose strategies in presentation evidence a more sincere attempt of identifying with the revolutionaries, sympathizing and understanding the psychological debates, learning from them, and perceiving, more in depth and broader, the revolutionary space. At this point, a short step away from the literature which will lead towards Spain, I will consider Franz Jung, Erich Mühsam, Fritz Rück, Max Barthel and Edwin Hoernle.

76 Further, Kurt Tucholsky was editor of the journal ‘Ulk’ in Berlin (1918) and later published the satirical montage-novel – which also included comments on the German revolution - Deutschland, Deutschland über alles (1928). He is quoted as stating: ‘We have not had a revolution in Germany, but we have had a counter-revolution (Gesammelte Werke, I, 407).
77 Poetry was a form which was mobile and assessable (i.e. they could be written quickly and published/presented through multiple mediums and presented in a variety of ways (as sole poems or as a collection). Here, Tucholsky’s poetry was a ‘Gebrauchslyrik’, writing: “Es hat zu allen Zeiten eine Sorte Lyrik gegeben, bei der die Frage nach dem Kunstwert eine falsche gestellte Frage ist: ich moechte diese Verse ‘Gebrauchslyrik’ nennen […]. Der politische, ethische oder religioese Zweck benutzt, um auf die Massen zu wirken, die Form der Kunst, deren nicht alltägliche Ausdrucksformen ihm sehr gelegen kommen. Die Wirkung soll sofort erfolgen, sie soll unmittelbar sein, ohne Umscheife… Die Verse der Gebrauchslyrik sind gereimtes oder rhythmisches Parteimanifest” (November 27, 1928 Die Weltbuehne). Tucholsky’s strategy in poetry is more tangible than say that of Ernst Bloch’s ‘not-yet-conscious- and ‘not-yet-become’ anticipatory illuminations of classless society (“Marxism and Poetry” (1935)). Ian King writes of the “Funktionalisierung der Literatur, ein Ablehnung von autonomer Kunstproduktion und rein aesthetischen Positionen zugunsten politischer Aufklärung” and thus sees Tucholsky aligned with the likes of Bertolt Brecht (Hauupostille 1927) and Alfred Doeblin (“Die Not der Dichter” 1920) (142). King further praises Tucholsky’s quality, from its “unbestechlichen Blick, und glasklaren Stil, seinem Engagement und seiner Menschlichkeit” (151).
Franz Jung was “inmitten der revolutionären Prozesse” both “Schriftsteller der deutschen Revolution” and “Aktivist in dieser ‘Revolution’” (Fähnders 220). As an anarchist, rebel, and revolutionary, he was active in Berlin, from the November 1918 outbreak through to 1923. Jung wrote extensively in the Roten Fahne (1921) and wrote numerous prose pieces involving issues and events of the German revolution, including three novels which directly address the German revolution entitled a “Chronic of the Revolution in Germany” with Joe Frank illustriert die Welt (1921), Die rote Woche (1921/2) (with illustrations by George Grosz), and Arbeitsfriede (1922). His poetry hereafter can also be seen highly charged from the German revolution. Jung’s works, in considering his Dada background, were at times rebellious in form. His literary strategy was overtly political; simply from the titles the Leftist didactic vision and struggle and revolutionary utopia are exposed and clearly and aggressively geared towards a more working class and revolutionary-minded audience.

From narratives and poetry to the inclusion of theater, along the same active current, both personally and artistically, as Jung, is Erich Mühsam, who was active in Munich. Mühsam’s workers’ drama, Judas (1920), is bore from his firsthand experience in the development of the German Revolution in the Munich strike in January 1918. The protagonist Schenk, betrays his pacifist professor Seebald, in favor of violent action following Flora’s advice; when all falls through, Schenk commits suicide. Mühsam’s

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78 There is a collection of Jung’s poems between 1918 and 1920 entitled “Vom Osten kommt das Glück herüber” and then 1921-1930 “Die Revolution verkracht – Überall nur Schieber” (In Franz Jung, Bd. 1).
79 “With his involvement in the Bavaria revolution, Mühsam’s political agenda took on a new intensity” (Shephard 115). This intentity can be seen in his literary output. He wrote poetry (such as his collection ‘Brennendes Erde’), an account of the revolution in Von Eisner bis Léviné (1929) and other dramas, such as Staatsräson (finished in 1928, it revolves around the arrest, trial and execution of Italian-American anarchists Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti).
presentation of violence, passion, failure of the revolutionary movement, betrayal and suicide is consistent with dramas of the trend. This piece was written in only 12 days while Mühsam was in jail – which was under similar urgent circumstances of many of the other authors of the trend, including Toller. Mühsam wanted to reach a broader audience; employing a heightened sense of ‘urgency’ in combating ‘oppression’. Judas, as will later be discussed in Brecht’s Trommeln in der Nacht, deals with love. The revolution is presented amidst and a part of the aura of love; thus the revolution is closely related to Mühsam’s figures’ passion, heart and even sensualness. Strategically Mühsam varies rhetoric and perspective and therefore thought of the revolution with different figures and as a main proponent he employs a bourgeoisie woman, as Toller (notably Masse Mensch and Hoppla) and as in the actual revolutionary figures such as Rosa Luxemburg.

As many of the authors mentioned thus far, Mühsam lived much of what he wrote about and sought to reach an ever broader, more critical and even working-class audience. He attempted to bring together formerly distinct concepts of the non-intellectual and the intellectual. With a liberal understanding of anarchism and communism, he tried to bring them together - theoretically and practically - in a “united revolutionary front” and further, in the relation of the intellectual to the proletariat, Mühsam, in defining the proletariat and establishing boundaries of the bohemian, attempted to “dissolve distinction between head- and handworkers” (Shephard 120).
As Mühsam wrote with motivation from Munich, other literary presentations of the revolution were written motivated by and produced from varying revolutionary geographies besides Berlin or Munich, as is the case of the Stuttgart revolutionaries and poets Max Barthel, Fritz Rück, and Edwin Hoernle. While in jail for his revolutionary activity Max Barthel wrote a collection of poems entitled “Revolutionäre Gedichte.” The poems are a means of inspiration for the spirits of the young workers and an ‘announcement’ of fraternity between the poet and worker, oozing an ‘abstract-utopic’ revolutionary idealism (Fritton 76). Here, Barthel presents the revolution, as we will later see with Brecht, associated with youth. And as Mühsam and others, Barthel sought conciliation between the poetic and labor.

The concept of the revolution and confinement were brought together in Fritz Rück’s lyric (Fritton 55). In his poem “Auf Golgatha” Rück compares the assassination of Luxemburg and Liebknecht with the crucifiction of Christ: “Zwei Menschen, Geistes, Kinder der Tat,/ an der eure Habsucht sterben wird,/ hängen auf Golgatha,/ Wochen, Monate schon.” (Fritton 63). His lyric is less optimistic than Tucholsky’s and its images hinge on the grotesque. Although in Stuttgart, Rück casts literary perspective to Berlin and the space of Berlin in the poem ”Berlin,“ where the main theme is that of the betrayed revolution. Besides Rosa and Karl, Rück also invokes the memory of the Munich based revolutionary leader Kurt Eisner in his poem “Eisner”, where the assassinated figure becomes a hero and revolutionary example (Fritton 66). Rueck’s

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83 Max Barthel, returned from war front to Stuttgart in October 1918 and in early November, along with Münzenberg, became the editorial manager of the Stuttgart publication of Rote Fahne. In December, he was arrested as a member of 'Spartacus'. Once released, he returned to Stuttgart and in January took part in the revolutionary action, occupying the ‘Neuen Tagesblatt’ building, only to again be arrested.

84 Rück was a representative of the USPD in Stuttgart, leading a massive demonstration on November 4th 1918 and was named the head of a leading workers’ council. By November 6th-7th he was arrested – along with August Thalheimer and other revolutionaries, only to be released on the 9th.
literary geography focuses within urban revolutionary fervor; here Berlin (Karl and Rosa), Munich (Eisner) and Stuttgart (Rueck himself) are explicitly presented. Each of these urban spaces takes on both specific and unspecific consequence. Through their name, for example, mentioning of Munich is associated with the anarchistic influence and short lived success of the Council Republic and then with Berlin it is the revolutionary militant activity of Spartacus and massive protest demonstrations. Stuttgart is likewise associated with demonstrations and building occupations. However, Berlin is unique in its location, while it is the site of the addicated Kaiser and the center of the newly formed Republic (government) which is significant while revolutionary activities then directly question and attack the government’s (and former monarchy’s) national legitimacy. City references in Rueck’s poems are also unspecific in their presentation of urban revolution. As the trend develops, the actual physical space, the geography, of the revolution becomes less a grounded specificity and takes on a broader, transcendental feel of place which allows for writing of a seeming ‘German’ revolution to be accessible in and directed towards Spain, and visa versa.

Next to Rueck, another Stuttgart revolutionary and artist was Edwin Hoernle. His poetry and lyric present a “dialectic between failure and victory” (Fritton 111). In his sonnet “Die Angeklagten” he tackles the issue of judgment where the “Richter” do not represent justice, rather “Macht” (Fritton 112). Violence is justified by the ‘other’, however death itself cannot – here realized through poetry – extinguish the revolutionary

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85 Out of the “Lazarett,” Hoernle was a member of the USPD and Spartakusbund. He was a part of an “Übernahme eines Zeitungsbetriebes” in Stuttgart, which was then converted into a “Streik-Zeitung” metaphorically called Die Rote Flut. Upon the failure of the revolution he was jailed.
will and fight. In the poem “Am Vorwärts,” a sense of “Selbstopferung” and abstract content can be felt (Fritton 117). In the insinuation of the sense of ‘sacrifice’ arises a literary trope which will continue to appear in ever stronger presentations. Through the revolutionary abstraction, both intellectual and physical space will be enabled to be re-defined in revolutionary literature beyond traditional concepts of nation and language. Further, Hoernle wrote a poem entitled “Spartakus” – following the revolutionary group, and “Noske träumt” – a satire of the ‘counter-revolutionary’ general. Both, identification with ‘Spartacus’ as a group or space of revolution – bore in the German revolution, and ‘Noske’ – as a personification of the authoritarian and oppressive violent ‘other’ – will continue to appear in literature of the German revolution thru the rest of the Weimar Republic, in Spanish literature in Spain during the Second Republic – in referencing a false or shine republic (Noske) or even revolution (Spartakus) and in Spanish and German literature during the Spanish Civil War again they take on a sort of personification of the villain, embodying the negative in Noske (the aggressive ‘insider’ deceiver) and Spartacus as the revolutionary organization and revolutionary hope.

These authors set the cornerstone of the ‘space’ of revolution or civil war literature, stretched the boundaries of literature by including other genres which was vital in reaching broader audiences, changing art, including incorporating (often competing

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86 Poetry is different formally than narrative. Poetry is more compact than narrative, rather than long, flowing sentences, its description and ‘stories’ are presented in much fewer words, in a form which is much denser than a narrative and meaning (and metaphor) of each word is to be milled over and reflected on with perhaps greater concentration and focus than with the ‘connected’ presentation of most narratives. A sole poem is much more mobile (able to be published on a sole sheet of paper in newspaper, magazine or pamphlet or read aloud at a gathering or in a simple exchange between two people) and more easily assessable than a long narrative as a reader only needs but a minute or two to read it over – versus the hours needed to work through a narrative. Yet a poem has the potential to be connected to other poems and a collection of poems could then offer nearly as vivid of a description and story as that of a narrative. A collection of poems then could rival the form of a montage novel in the sense of numerous literary voices and potential for multiple perspectives.
with as well) or mimicking new forms of media (radio broadcasting or film clips), and using technology (print, marketing and advertisement in radio) and the concept of mass audience. There were geographical differences in their literary motivation as well as presentation. I have tried to show a variety of literary strategies (satire, distancing, engaged, literature as a social tool, the revolution as repulsive, condemned, and judged, and as hope, not judged, not condemned, as graspable as well as intangible) in order to establish depth of the discourse and the broadness of its effect and of its audience. Within this literary dynamic I will now define a subgroup of authors and works which will lead our discussion to Spain.

Section VI: German-language literature of the revolution as the first step towards Spain

Thus far German speaking authors of the revolution have been highlighted and briefly discussed. At this transition, within the broader spectrum of authors and literature of the German revolution, I will consider a ‘subgroup’, namely a group of authors and intellectuals who wrote of the German revolution – many of whom were also personally actively involved – and who would later do likewise in the Spanish Civil War. These authors will help to establish the origin of the literary trend I set out to reveal in this project. In the following section I will highlight - to varying degrees based on sway within the trend - some of the more notable connecting authors and figures of the German revolution, including: Ernst Toller, Bertolt Brecht, Erich Weinert, Friedrich Wolf, Carl Einstein, Franz Werfel, Egon Erwin Kisch, Heinrich Mann, Gustav Regler, Willi Bredel, Karl Otten and figures such as Hans Beimler, Ernst Thaelmann, the Spartacus group, Karl
Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. What strategies did these authors pursue through their works? How can these authors, the German revolution and their literary production be the basis of a literary trend which culminates in literature of the Spanish Civil War?

First and foremost in addressing the aforementioned tasks and questions is the politically committed author Ernst Toller. His autobiographical account, *Eine Jugend in Deutschland* (1930), gives perhaps some of the most detailed sketches and background information of the Munich revolution, offering the reader a very insightful, first-hand experience of social and political dynamics in Germany at the turn-of-the-century, during the war and the early Weimar years.

Toller’s book begins with a one line dedication to his nephew Harry, who shot himself at 18 in 1928. This is a somber beginning, setting the reader up for perhaps inquiring as to why, in touch with the tragedy of it. In his chapter set-up, Toller begins his otherwise chronological narrative with a ‘look at the present’, entitled ‘Blick 1933’ – before beginning with pre-war Prussia and Germany. This immediately sets the tone of the piece, that what is to come has a lot to do with his then contemporary. The revolution begins on page seventy-eight, but before the reader arrives at the revolution, they read through Toller’s Prussian Jewish background, a narrative of the war, his early enthusiasm and later pacifism in leaving the front, to a grand strike, military jail, a mental institute.

87 Through the 1920s, after his involvement in the Bavarian Republic, he wrote many works, mostly dramas (e.g. *Masse Mensch, Hoppla wir leben*), which directly address the German revolution. Other Toller dramas dealt with issues of the revolution as well; such as *Die Maschinenstürmer* (1922) – set in England or *Fünfzehn Bilder aus der großen französischen Revolution* (1922). He also published a collection of poems, motivated by the German revolution, entitled *Der Tag des Proletariats* (1921). In 2000 James Jordon published a collection of previously unpublished Toller poems including 10 poems dealing with the German revolution.

88 John Fotheringham commends the vitality and conviction in addressing the issues of revolution and socialism of *Eine Jugend in Deutschland* in the same breadth as Toller’s *Masse Mensch, Hoppla* and *Feuern aus den Kesseln* (16). Fotheringham sees Toller comparable to George Orwell as both “defended the right of the artist or writer not only to take an active part in the major political struggles of their period but to seek to give artistic expression to these struggles in their creative work” (1).
and then the revolution. So, the movement goes from war to confinement – politically and then psychologically – to revolution. From the eighth chapter on (i.e. ‘Revolution’), the remaining second half of the book is devoted to the revolution, its ‘events’ and then Toller’s personal consequences in jail and the ‘continuing’ injustice that are enforced here. It is in jail, high on emotion and in debate on the revolution that he writes his pieces. On the surface, this is a very unique memoir in its breadth.  

In the chapter entitled ‘Revolution’, Toller begins with a long sweeping sentence:

Die Not in Deutschland wächst, das Brot wird schlechter, die Milch dünner, die Bauern jagen die Städter von den Höfen, die Hamsterer kehren mit leeren Taschen heim, die Soldaten an der Front, erbittert über das Prassen und Schwelgen der Etappe, über das Elend der Heimat, haben den Krieg satt. Gleiche Lohnung, gleiches Essen, wär’ der Krieg schon längst vergessen’, singen die Soldaten (78).

Here, immediately, Toller gives the impression that the situation within the national space of Germany is dire and getting worse. Then, he casts focus to the returning soldiers. Revolutionary causation need not be sought any further. Toller then continues, his narrative glides back and forth in paragraphs between Berlin, Munich, Hamburg, Bern, and Kiel – which gives the reader an impressive geographical scope, impelling a certain quasi relation between the events in the different ‘areas’ all occurring within a same period of a few days in 1918 and then into 1919. Toller’s sentences are very confident when he talks of the ‘collective’ (stating: “Did the German people want revolution? The German people wanted peace.”). Toller always includes the general time when ‘things’ happen, as well mentions dominant figures such as Luxemburg, Liebknecht and Eisner. With Karl and Rosa, he writes that they “wollen von den Räten sprechen, der Kongress

89 The work itself can also be viewed as a part of a dialectic process of discussion and revision; Toller had planned a trilogy with Eine Jugend in Deutschland, then “Briefe aus dem Gefängnis,” and a third work was already underway (Fruehwald 192).
lehnt ab” (83). Here, the concept of ‘space’ is relevant, the ‘revolution’, the ideology and reality of the ‘councils’ would not be ‘allowed’ into the institutional space, shunned from its intellectual discussion and ideology. This was the ‘old’ authority and the government – which were not mutually exclusive. Toller finishes the short chapter entitled “Revolution” with focus on Eisner, writing:

Eines unterschied ihn von allen anderen republikanischen Ministern, sein Wille zur Tat, sein Todesmut. Er wusste, dass ein Volk, ebenso wie ein Mensch, nur in täglicher Arbeit reift, aber nicht wenn eine Mauer zwischen Leben und Tat gesetzt ist. Und er fürchtete nicht den Tod. Das fühlte das Volk, und darum glaubte es ihm. Talente und Gaben sind vielen gegeben, aber nur dem, der die Furcht vor dem Tod bewusst überwand, folgen die Massen (86).

First, as the next chapter is entitled “Bavarian Council Republic,” this is a smooth ‘lead’ into the transition from the ‘overall’ revolution to the micro-sphere of Bavaria, where Eisner was a leading figure. Again, in the previous quote, Toller’s confidence with ‘Volk’ is obvious and also seems to whom he broadly directs his writing. Through using Eisner’s convictions, I believe Toller is revealing his own inclinations which is in a sense didactic, that of bringing thought into action void of the fear of death - a prerequisite for ‘successful’ revolution.

In Eine Jugend in Deutschland, the reader suspects that Toller found himself caught up in the German revolution. Toller especially explains well those who where involved, including the earlier leaders Leviné, Landauer and Eisner and their premature and unjust deaths. One of the greatest insights Toller presents the reader is how the Left, the Socialists in Berlin, had the opportunity – in the Reichstag when it convened, to take

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90 Here Cecil Davies references Toller’s Eine Jugend in Deutschland in discussion of presentation of “zeitgenössische” problems and “engagierte Literatur” (269).
power – but they did not take it; they gave it up in the late December assembly of 1918.\textsuperscript{91} Back in Munich, the Bavarian Republic was called and there was early success. The Bavarian Soviet Republic’s troops even marched (not on Toller’s orders, but by mistake) on Bamberg, successfully. However, there seemed constant internal strife. The Räterepublik was accused as being simply a ‘Scheinrepublik’ (94). There were mixed sects of Socialism, and the Communists were very displeased and wanted control for themselves.\textsuperscript{92} Toller talked of one of the big problems being leadership; that the worthiest and most able men, proletariats, were usually somewhat humble and not interested in positions of power whereas seemingly very incapable men ended up taking the positions of power, authority and decision-making, and herein lay a great mistake, error, and weakness in the movement. The revolution or revolutionaries were bombarded by propaganda from the Right (110). Amidst the fall of the ‘revolution’ and the ‘Räterepublik’, violence was rampant. Violence was a way of life for the Germans at the front, but now it entered into domestic affairs, with Germans fighting Germans. When the Right entered into Munich, Toller writes of their brutality with their Leftist German brothers (and sisters and their families). Many proponents or suspected proponents of the Räterepublik were beaten and simply lined up, according to Toller, and brutally shot.\textsuperscript{93} This handling of the ‘other’ is in stark contrast to how Toller explained the ‘Left’ treated ‘others’ who were caught. For example, when Bamberg was

\textsuperscript{91} Here he mentions Karl and Rosa and how when they were later brutally killed; many iterated that they deserved it.

\textsuperscript{92} Toller talks of how a handful of Russians in Bayern were praised and awed at and even a group of ladies who traveled through Russia at the time of their revolution came back to Bayern and were thought to be experts on revolution. Here Toller presents the revolution as perceived by some able to be inhaled, magically understood when within a physical space of revolutionary successes.

\textsuperscript{93} This is very reminiscent of accounts of later fascist shootings in both Spain and Germany. Not only violent, but also specific figures, such as Toller’s mentioning of ‘Hitler’, are mentioned within the discussion of the German revolutionary ‘other’ only to later be again presented in Spain.
taken, so too were a number of Rightist, which then instead of being punished or shot, were given the choice of staying on and supporting the Left or leaving the area to join the group they chose later. The perception of fraternity and brotherhood based in a common nationality and language breaks down in Toller’s presentation of the German revolution.

Upon the fall of the movement, Toller hid for a number of weeks before being caught and put in jail for five years (during which period he wrote many of his dramas). During this time he narrates of many further brutal and unjust murders and of the strict, still-monarchist-supporting judicial system in Bavaria. Toller talks of the problems of the people (die Masse) and how easily they can be swung to believe in something by a dynamic speaker and/or leader (153-160). The reader gets the sense that Toller is trying to be a dynamic, a personal and intellectual leader – but in an almost contrary sense to the abrasive, aggressive, egotistic and stubborn leaders he references - in his writing, and thought. As well, the reader feels a part of Toller’s debate. Guilt and contradiction of violence and non-violence enter his debate. In the end, he believes that the republic was a mistake; it was too early and it was too disorganized and there was too much confusion among the soldiers, food supplies were scant, leadership was inadequate, and the Communists resisted too strongly (96). The Räterrepublik failed, but it was a hope, and in jail this hope still remained, a hope for world revolution, a revolution that may continue once out of jail and was hoped to and seen as something much larger than simply taking place within the confines of a region or a nation; it was to be a uniting and justifying event (146). Toller’s writing, and especially accounts and discussions from Eine Jugend in Deutschland vividly present the German revolution at a very personal
level, its dynamics and its growing influence in the development in the politics of Weimar (from perspective of the narrator).\textsuperscript{94}

It is a document of its time and it is art, it is fact and fiction, mostly, it is a historical work and a literary creation. Toller’s work reads almost as if the narrator is attempting a dialogue as well as a story with its silent reader.\textsuperscript{95} It is one big ‘stream-of-conscious’ story and a direct ‘chat’ with his reader, similar to many of the other accounts and memoirs. However, it is different while it does not go into dry, repetitive details of facts, figures and dates, often boring even the most enthused and veteran readers; Toller’s focus is the story he is telling and maintaining dialogue with his reader. Toller makes the reader feel comfortable with him, the author, trusting in him, revealing much seeming ‘personal’ information. For example, the first full chapter is devoted to his ‘Kindheit’ including local ambiance but also simply a tactic of ‘getting to know the author or protagonist’. Here he immediately sheds the formal boundary which most other ‘accounts or memoirs’ have, which are often focused on the political, military and/or social aspects with a professional, often forceful and arrogant tone of narrative. Toller’s strategy is to establish a comfortable, informal repore with his reader, and try to show, not just explain, how the revolution came about, what happened, why it failed, the

\textsuperscript{94} Toller’s work is a part of the discussin in \textit{Die rote Republik}, where Ulrich Dittmann discusses anarchy and literature and Wolf-Dieter Kraemer specifically discusses Toller and the Boheme before Phillip Zettel writes of Max Weber and Toller in discussion of fundamentalism and ‘offene Gesellschaft’.

\textsuperscript{95} Here Benedikt Descourvieres sees the question of whether \textit{Eine Jugend in Deutschland} is autobiography or novel is the wrong question (noting how the work is a “Einsteig” into the historic dynamic of the revolution, and how much of the ‘Ich-Erzahler’ is distanced from being presented as ‘Toller’); here Desoureieres uses Althusser’s work, stating that: “…der Autor mit dem Erkannten seiner Wahrnehmung Verkanntes strukturiert hat. Neben der literarisierten Reproduktion empirischer Wirklichkeit wird mit der Betrachtung des Horens auch eine Struktur aesthetischer Wirklichkeit wirksam. Das Horen als Repräsentant der Möglichkeit subjektiver Wahrnehmung verändert sich im Text ueber mehreren Phasen hinweg” (70). Carel ter Haar sees both \textit{Eine Jugend in Deutschland} and \textit{Briefe aus dem Gefaengnis} as principally “Dichtung” (33).
consequences then and now – here hoping perhaps to thereby inform his reader and encourage them to take part in the contemporary and future dialogue and action.\textsuperscript{96}

Toller’s revolutionary pieces were performed within and outside of Germany, including Madrid during the period of Spain’s Second Republic.\textsuperscript{97} He would later write speeches and short addresses as well as a journal concerning Spain’s Second Republic and the Spanish Civil War. During the Civil War, Toller tirelessly worked to raise money for the Republican Spanish civilian population.

Next to Toller and the revolution in narrative, stands Bertolt Brecht’s theatrical comedy, originally deemed a drama entitled \textit{Spartacus, Trommeln in der Nacht} (1919/1922).\textsuperscript{98} In \textit{Trommeln}, the protagonist Kragler comes back to Berlin, being thought lost or dead, after four years in war in Africa, to his pregnant fiancée – daughter of factory owner (Balicke) who benefited from the war, about to marry (Murk). The revolution is staged as an aftermath as the return of disgruntled troops from ‘far away’ in the foreign to their country, Germany, which was now foreign to them. In despair, Kragler enters a bar, gets drunk, and joins the rebels (figure Grubb). However, at the moment in which he is to lead a group of revolutionaries - as a trained artillerist - who

\textsuperscript{96} Haar sees \textit{Eine Jugend in Deutschland} as a part of his dramas, as “Antlitz der Zeit” (30). Haar discusses the “ununterbrochene Reihe von Enttäuschungen und Hoffnungen” and then further partitions the work into an “Appell an die Jugend” (152), “Protest gegen Krieg” (156), “Such nach geistigen Führern” (158), a ‘Rebellion’ (162), sets forth the idea of a ‘Sozialist aus Erkenntnis” (164), a conversation with Communism and a discussion of revolution and the Raetherpublik. In talking of “die Notwendigkeit der Buecher mit der Vergesslichkeit der Zeit,” Haar sets Toller’s \textit{Eine Jugend} in discussion with Ernst Glaeser’s \textit{Jahrgang 1902} (1928) and Klaus Mann’s \textit{Kind dieser Zeit} (1932) (181).

\textsuperscript{97} Fruehwald already discusses Toller, his autobiographical work(s) and internationalism; stating that Toller is “in allem Weltsprachen übersetzt“ and quoting Toller himself: “[…] eine juedische Mutter hat mich geboren, Deutschland hat mich genaehrt, Europa mich gebildet, meine Heimat ist die Erde, die Welt mein Vaterland” (191).

\textsuperscript{98} Some of Brecht’s early poetry is also a part of the group of German revolution-based literature, in particular the poem “Ballade von der roten Rosa” (January, 1919). “Ballade” was published in the 1922 version of \textit{Hauspostille} in the “erste Lektion – Bittgänge” (i.e. poem # 7). Later Brecht wrote another poem to Rosa in 1929, “Grabschrift 1919,” which was published in “Lieder Gedicht Chöre” (1918-33).
have taken the newspaper building, his fiancée comes back to him and he leaves the revolutionaries. In the end, the red moon goes down – as did the revolution.99

In Januar 1919, upon the murders of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, Brecht stated how “unser Herz schlägt weit links, wenn auch weniger aus politischer Einsicht als aus jugendlichem Draufgängertum” (Münsterer 217).100 This is important, as the revolution is an event stirred by generational differences and encouraged by youthful romanticism, inspired by Marx’s vision of utopia and the then recent successes from the East in Russia – and briefly realized in the revolutionary reality in late war-period of November 1918.101 As all of the literature I am trying to establish in the trend; authors use the aura and event of revolution directly in their pieces; one strategy which Brecht attempts is portraying the ‘revolutionary’ furvor, its romanticism with an association to a ‘red’ moon which casts its light onto the masses, infecting and intoxicating them with romantic visions – a quasi-expressionistic quality - and giddniness to action.102

In the first act, the father of Anna, Baricke states: ‘Höchstens noch ein paar Wochen Bürgerkrieg! Dann Schluss’ (91). This ‘factory owner’ shows an ultimate

99 The metaphor of the ‘moon’ will be seen in later pieces, most notably Lorca.
100 Transl: our heart beat far Left, if not less from political intention as from youthful adventure.
102 Tony Meech places the piece in the familiar post-war German genre of Heimkehrerdrama, seeing Trommeln as different than the majority of his pieces which address contemporary issues starkly distanced through history and geography (49). Here I partially agree with Meech, the setting is – on the surface – localized and contemporary; however a sense of ‘distant’ geography is brought forth in Kragler (i.e. coming from afar) and the style of presentation further enhances this (i.e. to be discussed in following pages). Meech further mentions how Otto Falckenberg “took advantage of its [Trommeln] expressionist features – colour imagery, stark characterization, red moon – to produce a standard piece of expressionistic theatre. Brecht was far from happy with the result” (50). Here Tatlow continues the discussion mentioning the many revisions Brecht made to the piece (1922, ’23, ’27, ’53), and his changing interpretation (i.e. re-interpretations) of the piece – which fit into Bathrick’s discussion of Brecht (e.g. quoting Brecht from 1927: “Als ich das Kapital von Marx las, verstand ich meine Stuecke” (3), further quoting contradicting interpretations from 1928 then 1956 (5)) and the dialectic (which he argues is already present in this early piece, as would Meech’s discussion agree).
insensitivity, casually saying ‘Civil War’ for a couple of weeks and then ‘basta’. Here Brecht – as he does with Kragler – shows the sort of attitude and associated perspective that obviously is not revolutionary and although the figure is ‘German’, they are very much foreign to the ideology, the perspective and the physical ‘activity’ - in the Zeitungsviertel - of the revolutionaries.\textsuperscript{103} By using the term ‘civil-war’, Brecht reveals that even those ‘outside’ or opposed to revolution, deem it a Civil War. Further to note is that the site, the physical space of the revolution is the newspaper building.\textsuperscript{104} Brecht’s revolutionaries seek to take it over, to occupy this physical space which represents a means to reach many people through the medium of print. So by deduction, the revolutionaries are presented as seeking to occupy a physical space in order to then influence the broader intellectual space, through writing (and its intended proliferation). Through expanding its ‘intellectual’ realm, or space, more physical space can likewise be occupied. In a very direct sense, this understanding of the direct relationship between physical and intellectual space and the common denominator of ‘writing’ – in its physical and intellectual qualities – is presented within Brecht’s play as well as through the production of the play itself.

Within the discussion of space is the movement of Brecht’s protagonist Kragler, who came home to Germany from Africa through ‘Spanien’ (96). Here Kragler sees

\begin{footnote}
\textsuperscript{103} This agrees with Meech and Bathrick’s discussion of Brecht’s (early) analysis of the social situation and stark critique of the bourgeoisie. Hedwig Fraunhofer writes that “Drums in the Night already contains a critique of the economic conditions of bourgeois capitalism that can be interpreted as forshadowing Brecht’s later Marxist work” (360). Fraunhofer further writes, that the piece is ‘an anti-bourgeois drama, a satire of not only the tradition of the bourgeois or domestic drama, but also of its subject – the patriarchal bourgeois family – and of the paternalistic bourgeois societal structures based on it. My [Fraunhofer] analysis shows that contrary to Mitscherlich (\textit{Auf dem Weg zur vaterlosen Gesellschaft}) and the Frankfurt School, Brecht, in \textit{Drums in the Night}, interprets the collapse of the patriarchal family as a positive event. Since Brecht moreover thematizes the link addressed as well in Horkheimer and Adorno’s \textit{Dialektik der Aufkl\"{a}rung} between bourgeois ideology and National Socialism, his critique of the family and bourgeois ideology goes hand in hand with a critique of the emergence of National Socialism” (358-9).
\textsuperscript{104} Here Brecht creates a visual critique of media (target site of revolution) as well as produces a sense of interrelation between space and media.
\end{footnote}
Spain as an ‘other’, a far away place, a foreign place; this is in stark contrast to what Brecht and many others see and later will write. If though, Brecht is presenting Kragler as the anti-hero, a traitor to the revolution, then his view of Spain, passing through Spain as if it were another world, an other, is consistent in the contrariness to the spatial perspective presented of the revolutionaries, where national ‘boundaries’, even those of Spain, do not signify otherness, but rather commonness, a place of a common humanity and revolutionary utopia. When Kragler comes through Spain, Babusch states, he is “mit dem Mond gekommen” (99). Then in a sense he is coming out of Spain into Germany, and initially seemingly intoxicated with the revolution; it would not be a stretch to say that there is a connection here between the romanticism of revolution in Spain and that equaled in Germany. The gist of this argument is to show that in Brecht’s presentation, the issue of another space is brought up and Brecht challenges his audience to decide how they will judge, how they will perceive this space apparently physically removed, yet intellectually, ideologically related.

In the beginning of the second act, in discussion of the predicament of the relationship, Anna condemns herself whereby Kragler states that he does not know what she is saying, maybe it is ”der rote Mond;” he then blames the “roter Mond” for their situation of feeling different and things being different (103). Here, Brecht metaphorically plays with the concept, that if the revolution, der rote Mond, is the reason why those coming home ‘feel’ different and things are different, and if they are not content, then it is to blame. This plays twofold, on the one side it serves as a scapegoat for one’s actions, taking over or freeing one’s sense of their own responsibility and on the other side it can be turned on and blamed for failures and frustrations. This is the
perspective of Kragler and this is the perspective Brecht stages as his protagonist which is
to be warned against.

In the fourth act, with the note “ES KOMMT EIN MORGENROT” and in the
“kleine Snapsdestille” – a small man reading the newspaper states that “jetzt gibt es
Revolution” (122). So, again, the ‘redness’ of the intoxicating moon is still in the air,
rightly situated in a barstube. The image is clear: revolution and alcohol. Then, in being
‘intoxicated’ there is the sense of distance to reality, yet by distancing from reality, truth
in a clearer perspective of reality can also be argued to be found. Here Brecht
consistently plays with this; the revolutionaries being intoxicated by the ‘wave’ of
romantic notions of change, yet in a satirical or ironic way, Brecht challenges his
audience to reflect: are those of the revolution really ‘drunk’ in a manner of speaking, or
are those not able to be ‘intoxicated’, not in tune with their intuitive or sensual side, and
overtly rational, even fearful. Thus those unable to ‘feel’ the moon are not only out of
balance (i.e. between sensual and rational), but also liable to turn on those who are.
However, if one is only intoxicated, there is also a risk of straying too far from a balance
with the rational; Brecht writes in his comments, Zu ‘Trommeln in der Nacht’ of a failure
of the revolution existing in the ultimate difference of interests among the revolting, how
many simply along the way left and how the leadership demanded all to stay on board
without at least acknowledging it would be necessary for a short time.105

Further from this scene, is shown how the revolution is learned of in the paper.
Here Brecht, within the work shows – consistant with most works already discussed - a

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105 He writes that one can easily see, “woran die deutschen Revolution verloren ging: nicht nur an einem
Verrat der Führer, sondern auch an der Interessenverschiedenheit der revoltierenden Volksmassen” (960).
Here Bathrick writes that Brecht “suggests the interest represented by the revolutionaries did not entirely
meet Kragler’s needs. Thus, by deindividualizing the hero, Brecht comes to understand his behaviour, the
behavior of others, and ultimately the failure of the revolution” (138).
sort of ‘document’ within a ‘document’ (considering the theater piece a sort of document of its time). A person getting their ‘information’ and sense of ‘what’s going on’ from a paper, this both reflects the medium through which his contemporaries mostly perceived reality of events, and through which propaganda of hoped realities were transmitted – with these in mind Brecht’s macro content of the theater piece is a grander reflection of this micro moment within the piece.

In the fourth act, reminiscent of Büchner’s *Woyzeck*, Brecht employs a laughing drunkard to sing: “Meine Brüder, die sind tot/ Und ich selbst wär’s um ein Haar/ Im November war ich rot / Aber jetzt ist Januar” (126). Brecht employs a bit of end rhyme with the end, *tot* and *rot*. His brothers are dead and he barely escaped. This means he was with his brothers, within their space in some manner of speaking – physically or ideological and most definitely within the same ‘time’ as them. In November, in the past, he was red; here red consistently meaning a part of the revolution, a part of the youthful romanticism that accompanies it, and also a part of the reality of action and violence associated with it (noting Toller’s use of the figure Eisner, it is also necessary not to fear it). However, the present is January. The drunkard does not say whether he is still ‘red’ or not. You can speculate that he may not be, while he is still alive, but his brothers are not. This ‘chorus’ is also – as we will later see with Lorca and often in theater – a sort of preamble to what is to come; Kragler will live by betraying his brothers, many of whom will most likely die. Further, the singer is drunk, he is intoxicated. This is important while Brecht leaves the lines, the boundaries between political intoxication at the intellectual level and physical intoxication very fine, if they exist at all. Brecht’s presentation of a drunkard is consistent with some of the poetry, such as I will show with
that of Weinert, with the use of a ‘bum’ so to say, a social outcast which recalls the event and consequence of the failed revolution. The outcast is the victim of society and presented as suffering from the failings of revolution. With unwritten societal norms stating to ‘dismiss’ a bum – for he is unsuccessful, dirty, stinky and therefore probably sick and immoral – here Brecht uses him – as his contemporary Weinert in poetry and his predecessor Büchner in theater – to tell a truth, give insight, dare his audience to believe their words, and dare his audience to question ‘common’ knowledge or ‘accepted’ norms of behavior and perception.

In the final scene, Kragler does not believe in a better future, he strays from the revolutionary vision, from a Marxist utopian, “…die Welt ist zu alt für die bessere Zeit und der Himmel ist schon vermietet” (127). Kragler is not willing to fight for a better world for he believes that there is no better world to be had. His lack of commitment is obvious when he states: “ich kann das Hemd ausziehen fuer euch, aber den Hals hinhalten ans Messer, das will ich nicht” (134).

Brecht ends his piece, the revolution as theater, with Kragler leaving the bar with Anna:


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106 In F.G. Lorca’s tragedy, the ‘bum’ (Mendigo) figure presented as ‘death’ (to be discussed in proceeding chapter).

Leaving off from Toller; where he employed the ‘ideas and words’ of another figure, a contemporary and historical figure Eisner to incite what the revolution needs to be successful – not to fear death, bringing thought into deed; Brecht’s strategy is slightly different: he shows the lack of the necessary qualities in a man, a figure, which are needed for the revolution. Kragler is scared of death and therefore sees the revolution as a ‘bloodbath.’ In Kragler’s ridicule of the revolution, the ‘romanticism’ of it, he is presented himself as near the ridiculous, a figure who ridicules others for their passion to make a better world; he stands there on stage, a sort of ‘anti-hero’. By craftily presenting the ‘anti-hero’, Brecht demonstrates to his audience a figure’s lack of insight and respect for life and others, his fellow man, thus the ‘distance’ the audience should ‘physically’ and ‘ideologically’ maintain from them.

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107 (looks away from her face, weaves round, reaches for his throat): I’ve got it up to here. (*Laughs angrily.*) Cheap theatricals, that’s all it is. There’s some boards and a paper moon and a butcher shop in back – that’s the only real part. (*Runs round again, arms low, and fishes up the drum from the tavern.*) They left their drum. (*Pummels it.*) “the Half-Rotten Lover, or A Night of Love!” “Blood Bath among the Newspapers, or, The Man who Justified himself!” “stake in the Flesh, or, Tiger in the Gloaming!” (*Looks up, blinks.*) with your shield – or else without it. (*Drumming.*) the bagpipes play, the poor die among newspapers, houses fall down on them, morning dawns, they lie like drowned cats on the pavement, I’m a louse and the louse is going home. (*Takes a deep breath.*) I’ll put on a clean shirt, I’ve still ‘got my skin, I’ll take off my uniform, I’ll grease my boots. (*With a wicked laugh.*) the shouting will be over tomorrow morning but I’ll be lying in bed tomorrow morning and multiplying myself so as not to perish from the earth. (*Drumming.*) Stop that romantic gaping, you profiteers! (*Drumming.*) Cutthroats! (*Roars with laughter, nearly chokes on it.*) Bloodthirsty cowards! (*The laughter sticks in his throat. He has reached the end of his rope. He whips round and hurls the drum at the moon, which was a street lamp. Drum and moon fall into the river which has no water in it. But the man goes to the woman and goes home.*) Drunkenness and kd stuff. Now for bed- the big, white, wide bed. Come!
Brecht writes that *Trommeln in der Nacht* “verweist auf den historischen-politischen Zusammenhang: die Revolution von 1918,” showing the “falschen Proletarier, der, als die Geliebte zu ihm zurückkommt, der Revolution den Rücken kehrt und wieder zum privatisierenden Bourgeois wird” (*Trommeln*, I) and “die Revolution ... war verloren. Dieser Typ [Kragler] hatte sie gemacht. Das Wichtigste, was es gab, war, diesen Typ erkennen zu lernen“ (967). Kragler rejected the sacrifice demanded of the revolution. Brecht reveals the ‘weak link(s)’ within the dynamic of the space of the revolution and as well helps to understand and even define a concept of the ’other.’

In my opinion, the play has numerous levels to it, as most (all) of Brecht’s plays, he demands a certain level of reflection from his audience; through Kragler Brecht strategically reveals the psyche of this false revolutionary who will share uncanny similarities of those in power of the shine republic and later Nazis.

As with other authors of the trend, Brecht was directly involved in the revolution, being elected onto a soldiers' soviet in 1918, having strong connections with the Spartakus revolutionaries and even hiding Augsburg revolutionary leader Georg Prem in his apartment for a time (Münsterer, *Theater of Revolution*). This piece is both a document of its time and a unique artistic creation. Kaufmann writes of the ‘historical’ element – experiencing the fighting through “Wagenrollen und Kanonendonner, ferner hauptsächlich durch ‘Botenberichte’ und allenfalls durch kleine Dialoge anonymer Personen” (374). Brecht writes: “ich beschrieb hier, die Haltungen von Leuten, die ich

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108 Kaufmann sees the piece as a “lyrisch-rhetorisches Problemstück, als Revolutionsdrama als auch – in der Darstellung der Familie Balicke – Bourgeois-Satire” (374). He further brings the piece – bridging the “Gespensterstücks” with the democratic traditions of “Volkspoesie” and pre-revolutionary national literature, to Bürger, Schiller, Heine, and Büchner (in particular paralleling Woyzeck and Kragler) (376).

109 This strongly supports Frauenhofer’s assertions.
beobachtet hatte” (Zu Tromm 958).\textsuperscript{110} As in January (1919), “zahlreich Arbeiter und Soldaten im Glauben, die Revolution sei so oder so zu Ende, das Gewehr wegwarfen und zu Weib und Kind nach Hause gingen, eine wachsende und verhaengnisvolle Rolle” (Kaufmann 380).\textsuperscript{111}

In Trommeln, Brecht could even be seen accusing the audience of ‘counter-revolution’ (Oesmann 147). Brecht wrote that his piece was mistakenly performed for over 50 bourgeois theaters, rather than proletariat – whom need to be warned of the ‘false’ revolutionary (Zu Trommeln 962, 967). His comment is evidence of a dramatic concern and even shift of literary production for a broader and less elite audience. It is an entertaining piece, with a love story and bits of humor, and accessible – especially to his contemporary audience – while it dealt with contemporary issues, but the piece is also didactic, and an earlier, developing part of what would be his epic theater.\textsuperscript{112}

Brecht wrote the drama in only three days which suggests an urgency, quasi frantic and obsessed ‘writing’ or ‘creation’ process which is consistent in our trend and will later be evidenced in Toller’s Masse Mensch, Ramón Sender’s Mr. Witt en el

\textsuperscript{110} Münsterer describes the period in which Brecht wrote the piece: “Am 21. Februar wird Kurt Eisner ermordet, die folgenden Tage leiten die Rätezeit ein. Die Geister scheiden sich, auf der einen Seite heller Jubel..., auf der andern Seite knirschen Wut. Während wir im Augsburg bei den nächtlichen Straßenkämpfen dabei sind, beim Sturm aufs Justizgebäude und beim Waffenlassen im Artilleriedepot, und auf eisernen Öfenschirmen, die als Tragbahre dienen müssen, Tote und Verwundete abschleppen,...” (102).

\textsuperscript{111} Discussion of the period during which Brecht wrote the piece can be found in Brechts ‘Trommeln in der Nacht’ (1990) – edited by Wolfgang Schwiedrzik (i.e. in section ‘Erinnerungen von Zeitgenossen’ from Leon Feuchtwanger, Sergej Tretjakow, and others). Konrad Feilchenfeldt’s Bertolt Brecht ‘Trommeln in der Nacht’: Materialien, Abbildungen, Kommentar (1976) can further be referenced.

\textsuperscript{112} As Astrid Oesmann argues, I too agree that already Brecht began employing techniques of alienation, Verfremdung, in this piece in the use of place cards indicating scenes and places (i.e. in conflict with Meech). Further, Brecht utilized the chorus in the latter part of the work, which does not seem inline with most of the staging of the theater piece.\textsuperscript{112} This leaves the audience on edge in a manner, remembering that this is theater and sort of wondering where he (Brecht) is going with it. Further, Brecht creates a sense of alienation through his expressionist, dreamy, ill-defined geography of where Kragler comes from. In use of irony/comedy he creates a seeming unnatural, unanticipated part of ‘heimkehr’-revolution action. He also employs both a dialectic (anti-hero and the revolutionaries, the revolution versus capitalism and order) and didactic element (concern with state of society (as manipulatable) and ultimate role of individual (people) within this as well as).
Cantón, and all of the literature of the Spanish Civil War.\footnote{February 21, 1919 Kurt Eisner was murdered; Brecht “erlebt die Ereignisse in München” and it was during this moment that Brecht’s revolutionary drama was bore; here, the new drama “in drei Tagen niedergeschrieben wird und den Titel Spartakus trägt” (Münsterer 219).} There are different versions of the play as well (as Toller’s Hoppla plays), this is evidence of the evolutionary, the experimental nature of the artists in my trend.\footnote{Here Bathrick and Tantlow can be referenced concerning the dialectic process in Brecht’s revisions to the original from January 1919 to November 1919. In revising, the piece is both the time of the audience and the contemporary as well as not specific to either. Bathrick points out: the dialectic process in which “we see how every revision – from the BBA 2122 to the final criticism and reworking of the SV – reveals a new political awareness. Had Brecht lived longer, this process would have continued” (138).} As in many of the pieces of the trend, there is a fragmented subjectivity (as Döblin). Formally, the play relates plot and character through a montage of shifting references and quotations (Oesmann 140). This is evidence of the multiple perspectives - and sources – evoked. Trommeln in der Nacht’s “importance lies not in the political position of the protagonist Kragler, but in Brecht’s demolition of subjectivity, as a theatrical event that produces its own history – a history informed by a distinct notion of revolution – opening a variety of previously ignored aesthetic, cultural, and historical perspectives” (Oesmann 137). Whereas Toller’s ‘place’ of revolution is motivated from the Bavarian landscapes, Brecht’s is that in Berlin, although Oesmann sees the revolution “without a definable place” (144). I see the landscape as Munich and Berlin, as well as Stuttgart or Leipzig; Brecht presents elements of an urban environment – the newspaper building, a local bar, a house, all close in proximity, as well as mention to the streets and even trains – here the audience sees a city - amidst revolution - but it is not specifically Berlin. It does not even need to specifically be German – it could equally be Barcelona or Madrid; the central geographic specificity or tangibility is that of an urban environment and struggle between the revolutionaries and the counterrevolutionaries which plays out physically in the streets (barricades, ametralladores, and occupation of buildings), but is first decided in the minds
of each individual (as presented through Kralger). It is this indefinable geography of revolution presented in literature that gives it both physically and, correspondingly, intellectually an international characteristic which will later be shown common in and to Spain.

After the German revolution, Brecht would later write both a drama and poetry dealing with the Spanish Civil War. I will discuss in chapter 4 how Brecht’s approach developed as a social tool (in line with Schiller and Lessing), his commitment as a socially and politically engaged artist evolved and his audience expanded much beyond the German. There is direct motivation from – and intended effect to – the immediate Spanish and international dynamics in 1937.

As with Brecht, the German revolutionary period as motivation for a theater piece can be seen as well by Friedrich Wolf; this time with common currents stemming from Austria yet his piece finds realization and resonance in its theatrical presentation in Berlin amidst a predominantly German revolutionary audience. The revolutionary active Wolf wrote the drama, *Die Matrosen von Cattaro*, which premiered on Berlin’s Volksbühne in 1930. The work is based on a 1927 published account from Austrian revolutionary sailor – and later journalist – Brunno Frei. The piece outlines the February 1st, 1918 mutiny of Austrian sailors before Kotor. The sailors demobilized the officers and elected sailor councils, raising a red flag – demanding the Habsburg monarchy to abdicate and a Republic to be called. In the end, the insurgents were overcome, four sailors were executed and over 300 were jailed. Wolf’s drama is symptomatic and representative of a permeable perception of revolution, of revolution with or without

115 Wolf was a member of the workers’ and soldiers’ council in 1918. As of 1920 he worked as a “Stadtarzt” in Remscheid and in Berlin was active in the fight against the Kapp putsch. In 1928 he entered the KPD.
national – or language - specificity. Wolf’s revolutionaries are ‘romantic’ as are Brechts, and they have faith in action – as do the figures of Jung. Wolf, as Toller and others, continues the trend of drawing on revolutionary experience, presenting this as literature or here theater. Interesting with Wolf, is the revolution ’spurred’ at sea and taking place in a country different than the classic ’bounds’ of Germany, yet his piece was performed in Berlin – finding great resonance with the Berlin proletarian audience; this is consistent with the attempt of each of the authors in broadening their audience base with special focus on those of the working and lower classes. With the premiere in Berlin, again there is artistic constissancy by many artists – recall even the Stuttgart poets and Toller – with the center, unifying ’space’ of revolution from the urban center in Berlin.

In 1938, Wolf went to Spain to work as a doctor for the International Brigades. There is an ’uncanny’ affinity of the agents and authors of the German revolution, towards and of Spain. This demonstrates a continuing of the artistic and personal project of these authors, bringing their thoughts into actions and their actions into provoking, accessable artistic presentations.

In moving here from theater to poetry, the consistency of all of the authors in accessing a ‘broader’ audience continues. With poetry traditionally speaking perhaps more accessible to a wider range of ‘classes’ and ‘readers,’ theater’s audience was long confined, often more focused within the upper-classes. The playwrights I have highlighted decisively broke from traditional bourgeoisie focus - and increasingly with form - extending to the working and lower classes and often times initially adjusting or compromising the stage (as new stages, from traditional stages to make-shift and at

\[116\] This shows an ideological (Socialist, Anarchic, Communist) connection which was not limited by the geography of national boundaries or language differences and was international.
factories, arose; exemplified by Piscator) in order to reach such audiences. Further, with the ever-increasing role of ‘film’ in entertainment of a mass audience, artists of my trend incorporated cinematic techniques (which will be discussed in Chapter 2) and vied to compete in a certain respect to capture audiences by being innovative, entertaining and contemporary (as well as educational). Poetry found new audiences by escaping the bourgeois publications of collected poems and were increasingly printed in newspapers and other daily publications, finding means to reach audiences through political pamphlets as well as being read at organizational gathers and even in the radio.

The poetry of Erich Weinert, written from the latter periods of the revolution through the end of the Weimar Republic, carries strong content motivations from the German revolution. Weinert’s poems resonate with a sharp criticism of the “Scheinrepublik” and the lost revolution. The revolution is yearned for in “Koalitionslied” (1925). It is acknowledged that we have “versaut” the revolution in “Kriegslied” (1927). In “Deutsche Tage” (1925) and “1914-1925” (1925) the revolutionary events are narrated. The physical space of the revolution often comes forth as Berlin which is the space for a number of his poems, such as “Der Marsch auf Berlin” (1927) and “Krieger in Berlin” (1927). In “Noske träumt” (1929) (same title as the Barthel poem), he craftily brings the counterrevolutionary figure and embodiment of Noske as having a bad conscious and nightmares – a haunting - of the assassination of Rosa. Again, in the poem “15.Januar 1919” (1930) it is iterated that Karl and Rosa are

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117 A former soldier (1914-19), Weinert was active ‘ab’ 1921 in the political-literary cabaret in Leipzig and Berlin. As of 1924 he was a contributor to the Rote Fahne and as well was “im Dienst der deutschen Arbeiterklasse und ihrer Partei,” writing “das politische Gedicht” which was “zu scharfen Waffe” (Kaiser 6). As numerous other authors of our trend, Weinert was put under “Redeverbot,” experienced “Festnahme,” and unjust “Verurteilung” (Kaiser 7). A part of the trend, Weinert is discussed in the same breadth as Becher, Brecht and others in “Zur literaturgeschichtlichen Stellung Erich Weinerts” (Weimarer Beiträge 1971).
dead while Noske lives, but their deaths and the injustice of the perpetrators will never be forgotten. Time is the subject of poems, such as in “November” (1930). Through articulation and framing of a theater piece (Brecht) or a poem (Weinert) in time, it is distanced from the contemporary of its audience and through this distancing it can more easily be critically understood. Again, the revolution is narrated of in “Ein Arbeitlose erzählt von November” (1930) – it will not be forgotten. Here, Weinert uses a strategy already seen employed in theater (Brecht), and that is the use of a social outcast, a failed voice of the bum or unemployed in voicing a parable, this is new though in the poetry discussed thus far. The concept of a ‘Republic’ as ‘doppelspieler’ – as is presented in its role during the revolution – comes forth in a forewarning to Spain. Thus, Spain is grasped – upon calling out a Republic - in the poem “Spanien” (1931) – where “der Fall ist doch schon mal dagewesen” as the “König ..pensioniert, und sonst bleibt alles beim alten.” Revolutionary events, the ultimate failure of the revolution, its ‘opponents’ or the ‘other’ and its lesson and remembrance emerge as defining tropes in the poetry of Weinert. As with previous poetry discussed, Weinert’s work is similar in that the revolution continues as a major content point, and as a trauma. Defining though in Weinert’s work is his language; his poetry often rhymes and his language smooth (as of a Heine) and flows. Weinert’s poetry does not dissipate in its intensity of focus on the revolution, continually creating yet new perspective and new voices well beyond the revolutionary years. His poetry is most unique in the qualitative combination of ardent political message – through warnings, critique, and hope – and linguistic craft.

118 Silvia Schlenstedt writes of Weinert’s “Allgemeinheit” and “Zeitlosigkeit” of his critique, and how he ‘appeliert an den Einzelnen” (“Gedanken zur Parteilichkeit Erich Weinerts”, 203).
In 1937, Weinert was a member of the International Brigades in Spain. There are numerous examples of Weinert’s poems and short stories dealing with the Spanish Civil War, notably many were published in *Das Wort*.\(^\text{119}\)

From narrative work to theater and poetry, the German revolution was also presented in fragmented references, exemplified by the politically involved Carl Einstein.\(^\text{120}\) In Einstein’s *BEB II Projekt* there are ‘ausgearbeitete Texte von der Berlin Revolution’ (Kiefer 240).\(^\text{121}\) Revolutionary figures – named and unnamed, violence and death are narrated. Einstein mentions Karl Liebknecht and his assassination, and Georg Ledebour. He recalls the “Erschießung von 29 Matrosen....” (Kiefer 240, 254). There are mentionings of the “Kämpfe im Zeitungsviertel (sogenannte Spartakusaufstand)” and “Kämpfe in Friedrichstraße” (Jan. 1919) and of “Anna Matschkes (Deckname Rosa Luxemburgs);” further the revolutionary ‘space’ is well presented in the many “Stichwörter zu den Straßenkämpfen in Berlin-Lichtenberg, zum Ereignisfeld Kaserne” Einstein includes (Kiefer 252). Einstein’s ’Texte’ with revolutionary references demonstrate a continued ’documenting’ and ’working’ through, a sort of literary digestion of the event and presentational possibilities. In the fragmented nature of the revolutionary perspective, the reader is left to link the revolutionary perspectives and references in gaining a denser revolutionary vision. This vision is in Berlin, but is symptomatic of non-descript revolution as well. As Toller, Brecht, and Weinert presented, so too Einstein voices that the ‘Revolution wurde verraten’ (Kiefer 251).

\(^{119}\) Such as in his poem “Abschied von der Front” (1938).

\(^{120}\) During the beginning of the German revolution Einstein was in Brussels and was a member of the revolutionary council, in the “Pressekommission” of the “Brüsselrat (Anhänger der Spartakusgruppe).” The Brüsseler November was a “wichtige Phase seiner [Einstein] Politisierung” (Kiefer 245). Upon hearing of the action in Berlin, he left for the German capital. In Berlin, he was on the side of Spartacus.

\(^{121}\) Also, in Brussels, there is apparently a ‘Text’ that Einstein was a part of which included a “Schilderung der revolutionären Stimmung” (Kiefer 245).
Einstein later visited Barcelona during the Spanish Civil War and wrote short stories of the Durruti column and the front at Aragon – drawn by the realizations and notions of Spanish Anarchism and his own developing aesthetic concept. Here this shows a consistent innovative spirit on the artistic side accompanied by equally spirited ideological view, committed politically, which work together – charged in and of the German revolution and maturing later, in Spain - in both addressing and reaching international content and audience, helping to solidify the German-Spanish space.

There are a number of further writers and intellectuals who were involved and wrote of both the German revolution and the Spanish Civil War. For example, Heinrich Mann wrote of the German revolution – later to also write of the Spanish Civil War. The German speaking Czech authors Egon Erwin Kisch and Franz Werfel wrote of the German revolution and later the Spanish Civil War. Karl Otten, between Vienna and Berlin, Gustav Regler in Berlin and Will Bredel in Hamburg also were active in the German revolution, writing of it and later were in Spain. The reason for mentioning each of the previous names is not simply to bore you (my reader) with a list, but to familiarize you with artists whose works will form the crux of the Spanish Civil War literature and to demonstrate their earlier presence as individuals and developing artists in and influenced by the German revolution as an event and a presentation.

Besides authors, many figures of the German revolution remained figures – for the Left – in the Spanish Civil War, and were equally written of; this allows for a

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122 Gustav Regler was a soldier in WWI, joined the KPD upon his return, and was amidst the German revolution (and would later write about it in his short story, *Der revolutionäre Hochschulrat*, published in 1958). Regler was a leading member of the Spanish International Brigades and wrote numerous pieces of the Civil War in Spain. Willi Bredel wrote of the revolution in the Freie proletarische Jugend. Bredel was jailed in 1922 and again in 1923. In 1923, he took part in the Hamburger workers’ uprising in the November revolution. Bredel would later be a member of the International Brigades in Spain and write numerous articles and even a theater sketch of the Spanish Civil War (published in *Das Wort* – where he was one of the leading editors).
permeable, a shared literary presentation between events, authors, nations and languages. Exemplary here are Hans Beimler, Ernst Thaelmann, the Spartacus group, Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht and even ‘others’ – such as Faupel and Noske. Hans Beimler was a revolutionary leader in Berlin who would later lead a battalion in the Spanish Civil War. Ernst Thaelmann was the leading revolutionary figure in Bremen in 1919 and then Hamburg in 1923; his name would later be used for a whole International Brigade’s battalion in the Spanish Civil War. The Left-wing German Communist revolutionary organization ‘Spartacus’ and leading figures Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg would later be remembered and reviered in the Spanish Civil War. Finally, not only leftist authors and figures of the German revolution will be seen again in the Spanish Civil War, but also Rightist or ‘other’ figures are presented and used to personify the enemy in Germany 1918 as well as 1936 in Spain.123

Within the numerous presentations – and forms of presentations of the German revolution – I have established a current of authors and works which will lead towards Spain. Literary presentations of the revolution, already in 1918/19, allow for the breakdown of kinship defined by nation and language, and shift the sense of commonness to an international space. German revolutionary presentations were motivated by the events of the revolution, often personally experienced by the author, who then documented them in their work. However, their works, their literary revolution and message is not bound by specificity of time or place, neither by nation nor language. The trauma of a betrayed hope, a hope for a better reality of humanity, an egalitarian humanity is presented as

123 For example, Faupel, a staff officer tricked delegates from soldiers’ councils and 20 years later was commander of the Condor Legion in Spain. Ebert’s ‘bloodhound’ Noske was often recalled in Spain as well (Abel Paz). Even events such as the USPD compromising with the SPD – being sold out – would later be invoked when the Anarchists compromised with the Communists and the Social Democrats/Republicans in Spain in the beginning of the Civil War – a compromise which would later mean their own downfall.
ideological currents which abide by no national law or to territory or even language. Toller’s revolution, his ideological debates, warnings and conclusions, and the warmth and intimacy of his text are not confined to Germany or German. Brecht’s youthful revolutionary intoxication is felt and warnings of a false revolutionary understood beyond the context of simply the German revolution. The German revolution in Weinert’s ardent persistence and flowing images can be accessed and appreciated internationally. The presentation of the revolution and the literary production itself are international. The Tollers, Brechts, Wolfs, Weinerts, Einsteins of German revolutionary literature wrote with urgency, they documented and sought to broaden their audiences using a variety of strategies and means, shifting from the traditional bourgeoisie focus and literary mediums. They were political, as was their literature. They were amidst the revolution and their literary presentations re-create this ‘amidst’ the revolution for an audience with the keenness and wit of a critic, the intimacy and intuitiveness of an artist, and the vision and confidence of a politician. In chapters 4 and 5, Spanish and German authors, actually and literarily, share a common physical residence and printed space (similar techniques of and strategies with presentations) as well as sharing a common ideological banner during the period of the Spanish Civil War. In this first chapter, this later ‘sharing’ – which is so obvious – is already spawning in 1918/1919. I have demonstrated that the ‘German’ literary current – which will lead directly to Spain – was bore as a reaction to and direct personal involvement in revolution, which is obsessed about and represented and presented in ever more graspable and continued committed terms and images. This current – in literature - can likewise be found in Spain during the same period of the German revolution and therefore an emerging parallel and spatial sharing is dawning in
Section VI: The German revolution and establishing a connection with Spain – political developments, literature, and revolutionary presentations

During the period of the German revolution, Spain experienced social and political turbulence with attempts of Leftist (and Rightist) revolution - which was widely expressed in literature. A leading organizational group or space of identity behind much of the revolutionary spurring was the Spanish Anarcho-Syndicalist organization, the CNT. Anarcho-Syndicalism experienced rapid growth in Catalonia, most notably in the urban center of Barcelona. Rural Anarchism also grew, especially in Andalusia during this period.124 Previously, the rural were excluded from the political sphere. Many of the groups expressed a desire to read and learn, advocating an obrero consciente (Brenan 174). Between 1917 and 1919 were a wave of Anarchist strikes and worker-employer struggles in Andalusia, the Levante and Barcelona.125 Many Anarchist-leaning rural workers went to the cities in search of work and consequentially entered and strengthened the CNT’s political space. Between 1919 and 1923 there was a war of the pistoleros in Barcelona; here gunmen were hired by government and local police who fought against differing armed Anarcho-Syndicalist groups – with assassinations and bombungs rampant.

124 There can be seen two distinct Anarchist roots in Spain, that of the industrial workers of Catalonia and the agricultural workers of Andalusia (this could be compared with presentation of revolutionary origins in Germany from northern sailors to city proletariats and intellectuals).
125 This helps set the stage for Ch. 2 where Lorca’s works are motived in Andalusia and Ch.3 with Sender’s in Levante.
By September 1923 – the same year much of the German revolution was put down - the Spanish revolutionary tide was calmed – at the surface - with the beginning of the military dictatorship of Primo de Rivera and the illegality of many of the political groups and censorship of many of their publications. Ultimately, this period marked a grand failure of a great series of strikes, most notably in Andalusia and Barcelona. The failure of the movement – is common with a similar failure in Germany – which were both (i.e. both movements) widely written of. Albeit ‘failure’ is associated here with the revolutionary movement in Germany and Spain between 1917/8 and 1923, failure is not final: “…every revolutionary movement, every strike that fails after courageously defying authority, is a moral success in Spain and leads to an increase in the numbers of the defeated party” (Brenan 221). Growing examples of a presentation of revolution in literature in Spain and Germany gives way for an ever-emerging common Spanish-German space.

One of the strongest literary currents of this trend is the political. I have already discussed the ardent as well as the ‘left-leaning’ Marxist qualities in German presentations of the revolution. At this point, in order to strengthen the bond, the ‘ideological’ and ultimately physical sharing in literature, it would be useful here to work chronologically backwards. In the Spanish Civil War, as will further be discussed in Chapters 4, 5 and 6, Anarchism was the strain which lead the initial successful revolution in Barcelona at the outbreak of the Civil War. This ‘success’ was part of a long developing politics which was already brewing during the German revolutionary period. The metaphor of ‘Anarchism’ allows for initial attempts and success in the creation of a common space between revolutionary forces or elements in Germany and Spain. While
Anarchist space expanded in politics and in literature (i.e. presentation) in Spain, it dually developed and was represented in print in Germany. What does this mean? During the German revolution and the Spanish turmoil, an Anarchic characteristic is to be found in growing examples of literature and by Anarchic I mean both purely political – including popular and propagandistic slogans and mottos in literary figures and situations - as well as in form – by decentralizing subjectivity and place, non-linear structures and loosely connected narratives and stagings.

The growing ‘international’ political space of Anarchism permits for the equally international literary space. In the following paragraphs I will demonstrate this political ‘impetus’ for a Spanish-German space before analyzing associated literary examples.

During the period of the German revolution and the Spanish turmoil, there were numerous political attempts, notably spurred from Germany, to establish Anarchism within an international identity. It was the FAUD(S)\textsuperscript{126} in 1919/20, the RGI\textsuperscript{127} in 1921/22, and IAA\textsuperscript{128} in 1922, German-lead organizations, who worked towards an international – beyond German – identity and space, which included the CNT and Spain - holding conferences in Berlin. By 1933, the international ‘conferences’ moved from Germany to Spain. Leading German Anarchists, secretaries of the international organizations, were active in the German revolution\textsuperscript{129} and would later be active in the Spanish Civil War. Many German intellectuals - for example those involved in the Anarchist Experiment in the 1918/1919 Bavarian Soviet Republic - are within this

\textsuperscript{126} Freie Arbeiter-Union Deutschlands (Syndikalisten)
\textsuperscript{127} Rote Gewerkschafts-Internationale
\textsuperscript{128} Internationale Arbeiter-Assoziation der Syndikalisten
\textsuperscript{129} In Erfurt in March, 1919 Rudolf Rocker can be seen entering the political scene of the German revolution when he demanded that the munitions factory workers stop production immediately while their product was going into the hands of the enemy, the counter-revolutionaries. He would later physically be active as well as write and be published in both German and Spanish (e.g. \textit{Anarcho-Syndicalism: Theory and Practice} (1938)) in support of the Left in the Spanish Civil War.
developing common Anarchist space which is shared with Spain. Furthermore, the nature of the German revolution had examples of anarchistic support as well as evidenced inherent anarchistic qualities.

If the German revolution had Anarchist fervor and the German Anarchists initiated ‘common’ bonds with (among others) Spain, then there is an existing link or space between the German revolution and Spain within the political and ideological realm. This link can further be extended then to be a part of the literature, the texts – from propagandistic content to seemingly chaotic, disjointed presentations - of the German Anarchists. This link will continue to develop, to expand beyond simply ‘anarchist’ ideology (including Communist, Democratic, Anti-fascist resonance) and will fully embrace an identity beyond the national and linguistic.

Albeit the German revolution’s prodding groups may be overwhelmingly aligned within Left-wing Communist and Socialist political tendencies and ideologies, there were strong Anarchistic currents – which were often strongly shared and identified with by many of the intellectuals and authors who wrote of the revolution and continued through the 1920s and 1930s to be motivated by it, notably Ernst Toller, Erich Mühsam, Franz Jung and Carl Einstein. Mühsam held letter correspondence with Anarchist leaders Rudolf Rocker and Augstin Souchy. As a concept within the intellectual circles, Anarchism was far from foreign; the term “spontaneous Anarchism” can be seen in the German Avant-garde and Bohemia around the time of the First World War (Kiefer 234).

Andrew Carlson writes that: “It is a mistake to think of the anarchist movement in

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130 Anarchists Gesell was the people’s representative for finance, G. Landauer took over the office as the people’s delegate for education, and E. Mühsam further played an important role (Bartsch 21).

131 Critic Vogel confirms the “Ereignisse der Novemberrevolution” with a “stark syndikalistisch geprägten Charakter;” further narrating of how the ‘reorganized’ “Lokalgruppen schlossen sich die bestehenden Räteorganisationen an” (78).
Germany as a single coherent movement which exerted a continuing force. Anarchists in Germany covered the entire spectrum of anarchist thought: from highly individualistic to communistic anarchists” (6). This ‘Anarchist’ association and identity can be seen beyond simply the national, under strong influences by both Spanish and German figures and tendencies, and being presented in print in both German and Spanish.  

As Anarchism and revolutionary fervor is strongly represented in German literature of the time, so too is it strongly felt in Spanish literature. During the time of the Spanish turmoil, not only modern style but also leftist tendency appeared in literature, evident in Spanish authors such as Blasco Ibáñez and Baroja. Here, Benito Pérez Gáldos had been cultivating the leftist political novel during the final third of the XIX century. Within this discussion Spaniard Valle-Inclán also need be mentioned. He searched for expressive forms, initiated ‘revolutionary experimentation’, and criticized political practice and social decadence of his age (Santiáñez 482). During the first third of the twentieth century, authors such as Baroja and Sender wrote of the eruption of politics in much of rural Spain. Not only did individual authors take up these issues, but there were – as already voiced in Germany – numerous journals and newspaper publications where content motivated from the turmoil could be found. The Anarchist journal, Avenir, and the official Anarchist periodical (of CNT), Solidaridad Obrera (est. 1907), are further medium and sources of printed materials of the turmoil and revolution (Resina 546).

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132 Mühsam, for example, in 1918 founded – in Bavaria – the "Vereinigung revolutionärer Internationalisten“ and ten years later inspired the forming of the German-wide “Anarchistischen Vereinigung” (Bartsch 16). Mühsam further had numerous intimate encounters with Spanish Anarchist leader Buenaventura Durruti in the late 1920s.

133 He was to later write Antifascist pieces, an historical novel (as Sender), disjointed narratives (as Döblin), and employ musicality (as Lorca) (Santiáñez 484).

134 This was mostly due to policies of taxation, conscription and the repression of the Civil Guard and Army.
Within this movement I believe there to be a parallel to the German revolutionary authors in Spain, notably in Catalonia with authors such as Salvat Papasseit, Angel Samblancat and Lluis Capdevila. Here, we have examples of authors in Barcelona – amidst the revolutionary fervor, motivated by it and writing of it. Early on, Papasseit, Samblancat and Capdevila were the heart of the radical Anarchist publication, *Los Miserables*. Further examples of political writings are Papasseit’s ‘*Glosas de un socialista*’ (1916) and Samblancat’s *Renovación proletaria* (1923). In 1918, Papasseit and Samblancat published *Humo de fábrica* - a “homenaje al gran escritor ruso Máximo Gorki” – translating into Spanish a number of the Russian’s revolutionary articles as well as contributing their own work. Here the political responsibility is the focus in the article entitled “El revolucionario,” the role of the poet is addressed in “Palabras del poeta”, and finally a view of Germany and its Leftist political movement – with reference to revolutionary and Spartacus leader Rosa Luxemburg – comes into print, in Spanish, in 1918 in the article “*Germanía socialista*”.135

From Spanish print of Spanish turmoil to Spanish print of German turmoil; ultimately, the German revolution is directly referenced in Spanish print, giving way to a common literary space.136 It stood side by side in publications with the Spanish

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135 During this latter period Papasseit continued to experiment with poetry. He has even been considered a Catalan poet of action who wrote of the essence of Syndicalism (Resina 551). Samblancat also wrote further both popularly, such as *Barros en las alas*, and politically.

136 Within this discussion, the long literary connection between Germany and Spain is followed by Gerhard Hoffmeister in *España y Alemania*. From the Middle Ages, through the Renaissance and Barrack periods as well as in Spain’s rediscovery by Germans during the Enlightenment of Spanish literature by Lessing and Herder. Spain appears in works of Goethe and Schiller, and Calderón was mentioned in Germany; Goethe and Schiller also received review in Spain. During the Romantic period awakened new connections. Common literary space can be seen in Cervantes in Germany, Böhl de Faber, and then Heine and the lyrical renovation in Spain. At the turn-of-the-century and the early years of the twentieth century, Hofmannsthal, Rilke, and Nietzsche were in and wrote of Spain. Later, Spanish playwrite F. García Lorca was translated into German (250). For Franz Kafka, Spain was an ‘other,’ foreign (referenced from a lecture given by Walter Sokel at the University of California at Berkeley in March 2005). During the 1920s and 1930s,
revolutionary movement and its turmoil between 1918 and 1923. For example, in reviewing Spanish articles in *La Jornada*, *La Acción*, and *El País*, the reading audience follows the events of the German revolution – its stages, movements, major figures, the anxieties, tensions, turmoil, violence, successes and failures – as if reading a historical novel (e.g. Döblin’s montage historical novel *November 1918*). Simply from article titles of the German revolution in *La Jornada* (Madrid) from 15.12.18 to 4.5.19 and in *La Acción* (Madrid) from 6.11.19 to 4.5.19, a sense of division and discordance among revolutionaries emerges (1919). The spaces of the revolution were often the *calles* and one reads of how the revolution spread and expanded its space. The writing in Spanish conveys a sense of *caos* - contributing to the idea of a dynamic reality of the revolution and multiple perspectives. Its episodios, violencia, the cárcel, and ultimately death are strongly presented in numerous articles. With the failure in *Alemania*, or as the revolution failed, there was less coverage of events in the newspaper.

In *Acción*, the revolution is first written of in Kiel (8.11.18). The demands of the revolutionaries are voiced in the subtitle: “Lo que piden los revolucionarios” (8.11.18). The German revolutionaries are given a direct voice in Spanish print while at the same time as it is also being ‘read’ of in Germany. This is important in developing a common German-Spanish literary space here evidenced by common time of production and content of presentation. The movement is narrated as ‘expanding,’ “el movimiento revolucionario se ha extendido a Rembsburgo, Ekernferde, Hadersleben, Flensburgo y Apenrade…” (9.11.18). It spreads to all of Germany; “el movimiento revolucionario en toda Alemania: en Stuttgart, la estación de Nauen” (11.11.18). As later a German playwright...

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many Modern German dramas were performed in Spain. In the 1930s and early 1940s, many exiled German authors found themselves in or traveling through Spain.
reading audience in the Spanish Civil War reads of Spanish ‘cities’ and regions, here is an early example in our trend of a Spanish reading audience becoming ‘familiar’ with German ‘spaces;’ this is important while it ultimately will help to ‘break-down’ the foreignness – and develop a commonality through literature. Between the 9th of November and 10th of December nearly all of the revolutionary centres are mentioned, including Berlin, Cologne, Frankfurt, and Bavaria. “Huelgas,” “disturbios,” “desorden” are continually reaffirmed in Germany through late December and early January. There is fighting in the streets reported in Berlin with the title “ametralladoras en la calle” (11.12.18). The government is reported as being in ‘crisis’ and the situation of great “gravedad.” A Spanish reader could easily detect the similar ‘phrases’ of violence and disturbance in print here of Germany with the Spanish turmoil. The councils’ delegates were reported meeting in late December and then resigned from the National Government in the title “Ministros que se van” – here presented as Haase, Pittmann, Barth (30.12.18). The Eichhorn affair was covered: “Graves disturbios desarrollados en Berlín” with the subtitles “Destitución de Eichorn,” “empiezan los desordenes,” “contra la prensa” (i.e. censorship) and further articles of the “manifestaciones y discursos” in Berlin and other parts of Germany (8.1.19). Throughout the revolutionary tide, the Spartacus organization was closely followed. On January 11th, 1919, the title was “la revolución en alemania” with subtitled articles revolving around speculation of Liebknecht’s death, “Liebknecht - ¿asesinado?”, and the continued fighting - “Los que pelean”, “Luchas en las Calles”, death - “muertos y heridos,” and the organizing group, “Los espartaquistas” (10.1.19). With Eichhorn, but more importantly Liebknecht, the Spanish reader of 1919 becomes familiar with the names and the figures of the German revolution, many of which will
continue to be found in both German and Spanish print. In a newspaper article and poetry of 1919, the passionate, descriptive presentation of revolution and ‘figures’ will flourish in print, in literary presentations and even in the names of a Spanish battalions in 1936. The sense of ‘struggle’ and revolution and the ever ‘de-nationalizing’ and ‘internationalizing’ of it is a bedrock of the common ‘literary’ space I am arguing to exist.

Spanish publications of the German revolution continue in 1919. In Jornada there is a full article regarding “Cómo han muerto Liebknecht y Rosa Luxemburgo” (18.1.19). The deaths of the revolutionary leaders only drive those alive further into the revolution: “Liebknecht y Rosa Luxemburgo han sido muertos: su asesinato provoca nuevas violencias de los espartacos” (18.1.19). In April, there is the title: “En Bavaria es proclamada la República de los Soviets: Comienza la revolución en Munich y otros puntos – se declara la huelga general – temores de que se extienda el movimiento a toda Alemania” (9.4.19). The revolution is perceived alive, and spreading. This is important while it is likewise a common image undertaken by many German authors of the German revolution. Again, this concept of the spreading and movement of the German revolution is reaching a Spanish audience – just as it had and continued to reach a German audience; here then is an example of a common reading audience – across nation and language – witness to a common literary presentation, image and focus of the German revolution.

The popularity and support of the revolution is perceived differing depending on perspective presented; note Jornada’s coverage: “La República de los Soivets en Baviera

137 In chapter 3, I will discuss this image presented by Spanish author, Ramon Sender before the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, and German author Alfred Doeblin.
es acogida con la oposición del pueblo: El país y los partidos socialistas se oponen a la República de los Soviets. – el Gobierno de Baviera abandona Munich. Entre los soviétistas se inicia la división” (10.4.19). This last qoute is important in demonstrating the role ‘perspective’ plays in print and how a reader would be influenced here thinking the revolution is not popularly supported and its movement is disipating. It offers the reader though the option, with continued ‘coverage’ or ‘reports’ from ongoing revolutionary activity, of how they will judge the printed perspectives, whether to confide or distance themselves from the material.

In this Spanish print, as we have already seen in German, focus is not only on Munich, but across Germany: “Proclamación del estado de sitio en Dusseldorf y en Essen” (10.4.19). Again, this contributes to a process of literary familiarization as well as the presentation of movement and the common presentation – in both Spanish and German – where the city or cities and/or leading figures are the focal point of presenting the revolution.

Violence and strikes are a common concentration in presentation of the revolution. Then: ‘Eichhorn’ was written as being ‘culpable’ for 196 ‘muertos en enero’ and 1,175 ‘en marzo,’ further ‘huelgas’ were written of in Zwicksu, Essen, and in Magdeburg (11.4.19). The Munich Republic is presented as short lived – ending in violence and death. In an article, it is written: ”varios espartacos han sido linchados por la población, que ha acogido a las tropas liberadoras con entusiasmo” (4.5.19). The ‘other’, the Free Corps are narrated of as well: “En Munich combaten los espartaquistas y los habitants de la ciudad organizados en Cuerops de voluntarios que apoyaban al Gobierno de Hoffmann” (4.5.19). Here, although presented directly, a bit raw, the
language states that the government is the ultimate source of repressive violence, in support of the ‘other’ troops – if we work off of my previous definition – and therefore are foreign to the citizens, the revolutionaries, within their supposed ‘boundaries’ of sovereignty. This image is presented in what we have already discussed in the German literature and here then is a further example of a Spanish reading audience ‘sharing’ in written presentation of the German revolution. Further, as I have been working through the analysis, the name, the term of ‘espartacos’ clearly gyrates with revolutionary tension, a term that is shared by Spanish and German authors in presentation. From the initial sparks through the culminating demonstrations and urban battles to the crash of assassinations and arrests, the German revolution was well presented in Spanish print.

The deaths of Spartacus leaders Liebknecht and Luxemburg was written of in Acción and Jornada, and by many other Spaniards. For example, in El País (1.26.19), there are three pieces devoted to the occurrences in Germany relating to the role and ultimate brutal assassinations of revolutionary leaders Karl and Rosa, entitled: “Una poesía a Rosa Luxemburgo”, “Rosa Luxemburgo y Carlos Liebknecht”, and “La deshonra del pueblo alemán”. The publication of a poem dedicated to Rosa Luxemburg in January 1919 is a parallel strategy of presentation in both Spain and Germany (between El País and, for example, Bertolt Brecht’s “Ballade von der roten Rosa”).

The Spanish poem begins “Descansa en paz. Tu vida rebelde y generosa.” Her cause was “gloriosa” and her call “magnífica.” This was not bound to her alone, for the Spanish author, the Spanish perspective voices a common identity with her, in “nuestra roja bandera” and her hyme was one of “Fraternidad.” There is a sense of sacrifice – yet her sacrifice will not be forgotten and is not in vain. She is admired, and loved – by ‘us’,
by the “pueblo.” Note that this was written by a Spanish author who finds and expresses a gesture of common identity in a metaphorical sense, adopting a geographical extension from Spain to Germany at the same moment of time that equal a common literary strategy and content in German, in Germany. In the poem, Rosa almost achieved victory, “ya casi de un triunfo en la cumbre.” Her death was brutal and performed by ‘imbeciles’ and an “impulso de cobarde.” Thus, the identity or space of the ‘other’ or ‘foreign’ begins to develop. This is an early ‘critique’ of the ‘other’ who is an ‘ideological’ outsider – thus intellectually and physically foreign by the act of violence waged against those tangible figures who intend to perpetrate the revolution and create its realization. Rosa’s sacrifice is presented as almost Christ-like – also portrayed in Hoernle’s poem. Ultimately, her sacrifice and death will not be forgotten, and her work will continue; the poem ends: “Que tu fuego en la nieve de otras almas se encienda,/ Y otros mártires signa, / decididos, tu senda/ Sin volver, temerosas, la mirada hacías atrás.”

This literary perspective and sharing of space with German revolutionaries from 1918 to 1923 is exemplary in the aforementioned poem; there were numerous similar publications, for example, in 1922, amidst volatilities and concern surrounding relations of the CNT and the Third International, and in discussing the victims of the ‘pistoleros’, Spaniard Abel Paz writes: “la orientación de algunos periódicos anarquistes en esta época era filo-bolchevique….en uno de los números …artículos consagrados a ‘la Santa Rosa Luxemburgo’” (Paz 84). Thus, amidst the 1917-1923 turmoil in Spain, are convincing examples of intellectual – i.e. ideological - sharing in print; a common space presented

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138 Transl: ‘the orientation of some Anarchist newspapers during this period was of the Bolshevik line…en one of the editions…..[are] articles of the ‘Saint Rosa Luxemburg’. 
between the Spartacus and the Anarchists, of Spanish turmoil and German revolution or simply of turmoil and revolution.

**Conclusion:**

In establishing my trend, I have defined the process of the formation and the strategy of literary spaces. Not only authors and figures, but presentational strategies and defining and paralleling characteristics within selected works have been analyzed. Already in the literature of the German revolution there is an international space. Here, the narration and creation of a ‘civil-war’-like atmosphere leads to a definition of friend and foe, a new definition of ‘foreign’ beyond and aside from nationality and language, opposed as well to ‘friend’, ‘comrade’, ‘fellow man’ or ‘common intellectual’ equally free from distinction based on language or nationality. This highly agitated and ever-more-polarizing ‘atmosphere’ is in the literary discussion and presentation surrounding the trope of violence – as an issue of whether or not to use, when and how as well as the ultimate brutality of violence – most notably when imposed by ‘others’, leading to death. Secondly, there is also the presentation of the strike – which connects to issues of the masses and mass movements, issues of organization and spontaneity – which further evoke discussion of leadership – and false leadership associated with the German revolution and its failure which extends to international revolution and its failure. Next, the issue of ‘memory’ and literature of the German revolution, relates to presentations of: longing, regret, pain, trauma, defeat as well as victories, hope, a lesson, an example, motivation, and the concept of a basis. Further, in print, in publication, simply in writing
– the revolution, its perspectives and dynamics are remembered, often to provoke thought and action – the pieces of my trend are a part of a tradition of art as a social tool. In 1918/19 one sees a varying alignment of political identities with Communism, Socialism, and Anarchism across the literary spectrum of German revolutionary literature – which perhaps attempt to share space yet fail to really define, maintain and sustain it; yet by 1936/7 a less disputed common space seems achieved for a moment, perhaps under the guise of antifascism, but pulsating ideology from many perspectives – notably forming in literature of 1918/19. One can see a definite politicization and heightened urgency - as well as new perspectives - which is bore in literature of the revolution – and continues to develop towards the Spanish Civil War. The trend has been revealed, both in German and Spanish literature discussed in this chapter. I will continue to shown its varying strategies of presentation, its increasingly political qualities and continual experimentation with presentation of material and as a medium of presentation. An ever-clearer relationship and interplay as well as blurry boundary between history, document and fiction and creation emerge. Authors continue to broaden audiences. Their art is of urgency. I will show how both the revolution and sense of identity are presented as a convincingly international, Spanish-German, space.
Appendix

Figure 1-1: German Revolution Literary Spatial Layers

Figure 1-2: Literary Overlapping
Appendix

Figure 1-3: Literary Development

Trend: A and B show current towards civil war, C common current thereafter.
German Revolution Bibliography:


Roth, Joseph. *Das Spinnennetz*. 1923


Historical background:


Spanish Background:


Ramos, Juan Ignacio. *De noviembre a enero: la revolución alemana de 1918*. Cuadernos de Formación Marxista 3.


Spanish Newspapers (referenced on microfiche at the National Library in Madrid (Spain)):

*Acción* (Madrid, 1919)

*Jornada* (Madrid, 1919)

*El País* (1919)
Chapter II: Literature during the Republics: Ernst Toller and Federico Garcia Lorca.

Introduction:

Considering Federico Garcia Lorca’s *Bodas de Sangre* and *La casa de Bernarda Alba* parallel with Ernst Toller’s *Masse Mensch* and *Hoppla, wir leben!* gives convincing evidence of a development of a shared Spanish-German literary space similarly produced through a created perspective of geography (i.e. the physical), time and ideology (i.e. the intellectual). Through a common sense of actual and created ‘time’ (historical, contemporary, artistic) as well as a similar sense of change in artistic geographic and ideologic perspectives presented and realizations of their works (i.e. technologies, broader audiences both within own countries and internationally) – Toller and Lorca will be shown to represent a distinct (but definite) moment of common literary production.¹³⁹ Through theatrical presentation, Lorca and Toller blur the boundary between fact and fiction, historic document and literature. Each dramatist also similarly creates artistic perspective of physical place as geographically rural or urban, which will be shown relating to how their presentations (ever more pointedly social and political) became increasingly assessable internationally. In this chapter, by first presenting and drawing parallels between Toller’s *Masse Mensch* (1919/1922) and Lorca’s *Bodas de Sangre* (1932) and then doing the same with their later pieces *Hoppla, wir leben!* (1927) and *La casa de Bernarda Alba* (1936),¹⁴⁰ overwhelming similarities in form (expressionist, poetic, technical, direct), theme (violence, authority and resistance) and strategy (social and political critique) in each set of pieces as well as a distinct development between

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¹³⁹ As a part of a trend of German-Spanish literature culminating during the Spanish Civil War.

¹⁴⁰ In this chapter, they will be paralleled, but each piece can still be understood as very unique in their own respects.
each dramatist’s early and later piece will be evident. Ultimately, by considering their works together and defining an artistic development, I will give evidence to an international phenomenon (not nationally exclusive, such as Spanish or German) whose resonance will be shown to contribute to Spanish-German literary space (as being defined in this project).

**Artist background:**

Ernst Toller wrote – prose, poetry, drama and many public addresses during Germany’s Weimar Republic. He was artistically and politically active and personally well-acquainted with major personalities and thought in both arenas. His first dramas are heavily laden with the dynamic and consequences of the failed 1918/1919 German Revolution. After the failure of the Bavarian Republic in 1919, which was violently overthrown, he escaped execution but spent five years in jail during which time he wrote four plays and (actively) continued from jail in politics. As of 1933 he lived in exile from Germany. His earlier pieces are heavily Expressionistic with some closely aligning to ‘Agitprop’ or even ‘revolutionary’ or proletariat theater, while his later plays are often considered amidst the New Objectivity movement and his last works as a part of German

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141 Note here that Bodas and Bernarda were the first and final part of a trilogy.
142 Here Figure 1-2 from chapter 1 can be referenced.
143 Both are often considered poets who entered into the realm of theater. Lorca considered himself a ‘poeta dramtico and eschewed the title of dramturgo, he called his theater ‘poetry that lifts off of the page and onto the stage. Budo Uhse states that Toller “ist zu sehr Lyriker, um sich den Gesetzen der Dramatik zu unterwerfen” (he is too much of a poet to confine/subject himself to the laws of drama) (VIII).
144 Once released, he continued writing theater, but also gave speeches, wrote columns in newspapers and traveled.
Exile literature.\textsuperscript{145} While exiled in New York Toller committed suicide in May, 1939 - at the conclusion of the Spanish Civil War and outset of the Second World War.\textsuperscript{146}

Federico García Lorca is (by far) the most celebrated author of Spain in the late 1920s and early 30s during Spain’s Second Republic and was one of the very few with real international fame. He was first renown for his poetry through most of the 1920s – its themes of sexuality, color, symbolism, cultural ambiance of Andalusia and rhythm (to vaguely highlight but a few). In the late 1920s he began to find success also in drama; in 1932, he initiated a return of the theater to the people, to the villages, in ‘La Barraca’ (the Hut).\textsuperscript{147} During this period Lorca became a leading figure in the Spanish avant-garde (and literary group ‘generación de 27’).\textsuperscript{148} By the mid-1930s he continued to experiment with theatrical cinematic techniques (montage) and was becoming ever more social and political with his works (e.g. \textit{Comedia sin titulo} (1934/6)). In July 1936, at the outset of

\textsuperscript{145} Toller’s use of the failed revolution in theater parallels to an extent with Georg Kaiser - both use similar yet still unique styles. Numerous other authors (already discussed in Chapter 1) also employ the theme in a variety of genres (notably Tucholsky, Brecht, Döblin, and Roth). Uhse sets Toller aside Brecht, Wolf, Kaiser and Bronnen as “einer der bekanntesten und umstittensten Bühnenautoren” of the time (VIII). Further, Erdmann places \textit{Masse Mensch} in a period of the politicization of the theater (1917-1920) with a heighten consciousness of the dramatists “Autorenbewußtsein” (with precursors in \textit{Sturm und Drang, deutsche Jakobiner, Befreiungsliteratur} and \textit{Vormärzautoren}) (67).

\textsuperscript{146} Budo Uhse accounts his last encounter with Toller, where Döblin, himself and Toller talked (in \textit{Vorwort}). Further, at the eulogy for Toller, Sinclair Lewis stated (in 1939): “Er (Toller) war ein Symbol der Revolution, mehr als ein Symbol – ein Mensch. Wir brauchen mehr Menschen seiner Art. Wir sollten nicht Einzelne wegen seines Todes schmähen, sondern die Welt insgesamt. Laß uns weitermachen und für die Ideale kämpfen, für die er stand” (he was a symbol of the revolution, more than a symbol – a man/human being. We need more people like him. We shouldn’t attribute anyone solely for his death, rather the whole world. Let us move forward for the ideals he fought and stood for).

\textsuperscript{147} Upon his return from New York and Cuba (1929-30), his works changed decidedly. In \textit{La Barraca} he worked with Eduardo Duarte and a theater company composed mostly of students (Barea XIV). Classics were performed; Lorca also staged his own plays. Alejandro Casona was abreast with Lorca at the time in trying to bring theater to the villages (i.e. classical theater).

\textsuperscript{148} His dealing with ‘social’ issues or being ‘socially’ committed is abreast with a certain trend in Spanish literature (even theater) already strong in works of the ‘generación de ‘98’ (especially poetry of Antonio Machado – which continued to stoke strong resonance even through the Civil War).
the Spanish Civil War, he left Madrid for Granada where in August he was gunned down by Fascist troops.\textsuperscript{149}

Section I: \textit{German-Spanish theatre as artistic space}

\textit{Section I, Part I: Time shared}

Time is a key parallel when considering works from Toller and Lorca. They share a common time during which they lived and produced their dramas. The time from which they found and constructed their work is very similar. Their act of producing as well as the presentation itself demonstrate an increasing sense of ‘urgency’ and paralleled dramatic ‘time’. Both artists show great concern for their contemporary in their presentations. In Toller’s essay \textit{Arbeiten} (1924), he states that “Nie war große Kunst zeitlos (es waren aktuelle Probleme)” (referenced in Riemer 157). Likewise for Lorca, Minik talks about the ‘crítica universal’ and ‘el ojo del poeta [Lorca] se hace ojo crítico para observer la realidad circundante’ (32).\textsuperscript{150}

Lorca and Toller’s artistic relation to their contemporary political and social ‘time’ is obvious and albeit in different languages and nations, very similar. All four works considered were written amidst similar moments in which a country’s (people’s) political and social situation were in flux and challenged. Tradition such as the role of Church, Military, great Landowners, Big Business, Government, and Family – through art and proposals of new political and social structures – was being challenged.

\textsuperscript{149} Lorca became a symbol (martyr of sorts) for many of the Loyalists in the War and his death the topic of mass concern and investigation.

\textsuperscript{150} Transl: ‘universal critique’ and ‘the eye of the poet critically focuses to observe reality the circumstances. In an interview with Luis Bagaría en \textit{El Sol} (Madrid) in 1936, Lorca states: “Ningún hombre verdadero cree ya en esa zarandaja del arte puro, arte por el arte mismo. En este momento dramático del mundo el artista debe llorar y reír con su pueblo. Hay que dejar el ramo de azucenas y meterse en el fango hasta la cintura para ayudar a los que buscan las azucenas.”
Challenges or reforms were seen in agriculture, education, levels of association and organization, new roles of women, art and even the artist in society.\textsuperscript{151} This challenge (on the surface) directly in a democratic form of government; i.e. two republics – that of the Weimar and Spain’s Second Republic – was something foreign to the established form of rule in each respected country. Each republic was a reaction to previous authoritarian forms of rule and whose corruption and demise ultimately anticipated a return to future dictatorship.\textsuperscript{152} The dynamics surrounding these issues are well captured and expressed by artists of the time – and Toller and Lorca are no exception. In the deeper grains of Spanish and German society, the pre-Republic powers simply wore new faces, disguised in a short-lived cloak of democracy.\textsuperscript{153} The pieces to be analyzed were written at similar moments of a (European) Republic - the earlier piece having been written in the initial phases of a Republic, and the second piece in its latter stages. In being able to establish similar artistic responses to similar national political phases, a sort of international artistic political response can be deduced.

In all four of the pieces each artist found specific motivation from ‘real’ or historic events; albeit written with poetic liberties. Both Lorca and Toller look back to personal experience and bring it into the contemporary – giving it significance and

\textsuperscript{151} Experimentation – seen in numerous ‘-isms’ - and increasing engagement – politically and socially speaking - could be seen (amongst others) as two major artist themes of the period.

\textsuperscript{152} Consider political history at a superficial level: Germany going from a ‘monarchy’ to Weimar Republic and then Hitler dictatorship; Spain going from Primo de Rivera’s dictatorship to Second Republic to Franco dictatorship.

\textsuperscript{153} There has been a conservation of power for a long time. Here Jose Cruz writes of the period 1750-1850 when there was a failure of bourgeois revolutions, failure of aristocracy and a melting into the proprietor class as well as failed agricultural and industrial revolutions. Lorca’s Andalucia specifically experienced a long dire agricultural and social situation with many early 20th century attempted social organizations and movements (and their failures) (Gerald Brenan, Raymond Carr and Joseph Perez can further be referenced).
relevance through presentation in theater. Toller looks ‘back’ to the ‘not so distant’ failed revolution and his personal involvement in the revolution in *Masse Mensch* and the then contemporary events and failings of a ‘shine’ (Weimar) Republic in *Hoppla, wir leben!* Lorca was first motivated for his piece *Bodas de Sangre* when he read of a murder (‘el crimen de Nijar’) amidst a wedding celebration (Josephs 27). The home and original dynamic of Lorca’s *La casa de Bernarda Alba* was motivated and spurred from the memory of his childhood neighbors. Doña Bernarda was in ‘la casa vecina de Lorca’ (Josephs 90).

Why is it important that pieces are based on (an historical situation and) historical events? As we have learned (chapter 1) form is found in a historical event, not constructed; then the presentation, the creation out of something found is unique. I argue that through Toller and Lorca’s theater, history can be shared through art - this is to say specific geographical and even temporal restrictions of nation and time are lifted through art. Time (historic events, situations) and perspective of space (as in geography, physical space or even an ideology or politics in an intellectual sense of space) are not limited to specific, local (or national) definition, but through art [theater] take on symbolic, broader representations. For example, Lorca’s local violent rural tragedies are symbolic for those

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154 In writing *La casa de Bernarda Alba*, Lorca ‘cabe pensar que el cambio se debió sobre todo a ‘la circunstancia’, a los hechos que estaban sucediendo alrededor suyo y a la tremenda presión histórica …” (Gullón 30) (fits thinking that the change should have above the circumstances, the things that are happening next to you and the tremendous historical pressure…).

155 His autobiography, *Jugend in Deutschland*, offers firsthand narration of the events. Numerous figures, arguments, and events were based on real people and events; such as the figure of Sonja Irene L. (*die Frau*) in *Masse Mensch* – a wife of friend who hung herself in jail, named Sonja Lerch (Altenhofer.72). Further, the election of Wandsring and assassination of Minister Kilman in *Hoppla* echo the election of Hindenburg and earlier assassination of Rathenau, and the conflict between violence and non-violence in *Masse Mensch* mirrors a dispute between Toller and Eugene Levine occurring during the *Räterrepublik*. 
in Germany and Toller’s urban revolutionary failures become that of Spain (i.e. resonate in Spain).\textsuperscript{156}

If art [theater] does not work through history and see it as a part of the contemporary, it is not art. Lorca states:

El teatro que no recoge el latido social, el latido histórico, el drama de su gente…no tiene derecho a llamarse teatro, sino sala de juego o sitio para hacer esa cosa horrible que se llama ‘matar el tiempo (Charla sobre teatro).\textsuperscript{157}

Through literature, Spanish history can become German history and history itself becomes ‘contemporary’. For example, Toller specifically mentions Spanish history in review of Herman Kesten’s historic novel on Ferdinand and Isabella; he reflects that the novel presented history as if it were contemporary “als wäre jene Zeit unsere Zeit, als wäre die längst Vermoderten unsere Zeitgenossen….Die Historie wird zur bedrängenden Aktualität ohne das die Aktualität je gesucht ist” (\textit{Ferdinand und Isabella} 151).\textsuperscript{158} Art carries a sort of obligation, a responsibility in its presentation of history and artistic presentation of history is equally contemporary and neither artistically presented history nor contemporary is bound by concepts of nation (or language) and thus are international. Specifically, Toller further presents a sense of a common historical and contemporary perspective between Spain and Germany – creating a common space – across national and language borders and time, when he writes:

Als die deutsche Novemberrevolution an den Litfaßsäulen ankündigte, die Sozialisierung marschierte, erklärte die Großindustrie, sie werde einen Teil ihrer Habe dem Staat schenken. Als der Sturm der Revolution vorüber war und die

\textsuperscript{156} For visual reference, Graphs from Chapter 1 – i.e. specific part of Toller/Lorca bubble can be referenced here as to where they share and where they are different and where they lead towards full sharing.
\textsuperscript{157} ‘if a theater doesn’t take a social and historical beat, the people’s drama …then it doesn’t have a right to call itself theater, rather a salon of games o place to do this horrible thing called ‘killing time’.‘
\textsuperscript{158} ‘..as if any/this time was our time, as if those long killed were our contemporaries….History becomes our contemporary/reality without it every having been sought.’
wirklich revolutionären Kräfte aufgerieben schienen, wurde das Angebot Ähnlich zurückgezogen und heute ist es vergessen. Ähnlich war es in Spanien (*Das neue Spanien* 241).\(^{159}\)

**Section I, Part II: Theater – expanding its spaces:**

With a keen sense of history and contemporary void of simply a national condition, but permeable into that of the international, Toller and Lorca, in being paralleled, are not confined as German and Spanish, but rather are artists – and see their art - of an international space (stature, perspective). Their perspective of place (physical space) within their theater, of their theater and of themselves expanded to share common space (German-Spanish).

As reality changes, so too should presentations of it.\(^{160}\) Both Lorca and Toller developed their style and place of presentation. The physical space – that in which the artistic character/figures in each work find themselves is Spain in Lorca and Germany in Toller. However, focus of the ‘national’ nature of space is lifted in examples of ‘exaggerated’ spaces in both Lorca and Toller. Further, in their second pieces, by somberly creating a ‘closed’ (physical) space in their presentations, they in essence become metaphoric (representations) for that far beyond the sense of locality. Each, in a physical sense, changes aspects of their theater in order to reach a broader audience.

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\(^{159}\) Transl: As the German November revolution was announced, the socialization marched, proclaimed big business, they would give the state a part of their goods. As the storm of the revolution was over and the real revolutionary powers seemed rubbed out, the offer was similarly taken back and today it is forgotten. It was similar in Spain.

\(^{160}\) During this same time/period, technology was increasing its role and influence in both societies – already exposed in vast death through technical weaponry in the previous World War, in rapid movement of people and goods by train and then cars and production of mass forms of entertainment and expression in radio and film. Technology of theater offered new opportunities in presentation (revolving stages, lighting, sound effects, film screens). The early part of the 20\(^{th}\) century (1900-1936) saw Spanish theater go through changes and become a thriving industry as well as a network of communication between classes (issues for nation, pleasure, battle of sexes). Theater was reformed (1923-36) with four major advances being: an expansion of thematic range (sexuality, social injustice and institutional oppression), change in economic structure, modernization of stagecraft and staging of Avantgarde theater (by Spanish and foreign companies) (Dougherty 587).
Toller and Lorca both sought to expand the types and places of their audiences. From perhaps traditional settings in Spain (theater houses in Madrid and Barcelona for example), Lorca branched out his audience breadth through the theater of *la Barraca*\(^{161}\) by bringing theater to non-traditional rural areas. Further, with *Bodas de Sangre* he reached a mass audience (i.e. more mainstream than his previous pieces) gaining commercial success through his Avant-garde techniques and even enjoyed success internationally. He reached international audiences with his piece(s) as well as also physically producing theater works abroad, such as in Argentina and Uruguay in 1933 and 1934.

Equally, Toller sought to reach broader audiences through his theater. He developed his style: his earlier piece was an experiment with presentation of reality and dream, while in the later piece he used new strategies of ‘simultaneous stage’ and cinematic additions (film clips) – working with Erwin Piscator - in an attempt at a sort of ‘neue Gesamtkunstwerk’ (Schürer 144).\(^{162}\) Toller’s pieces were performed in larger cities like Munich and Berlin for an urban, working-class audience as well as in smaller playhouses, in amateur sets and with – like Lorca – even amateur actors (experimental as Brecht). Many of his pieces were eventually translated and performed abroad. Toller encouraged artists to present their works in all lands, outside of their ‘nation’ (182). He writes of the “große Gemeinschaft zwischen Bühne und Publikum” and of a

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\(^{161}\) Later, *la Barraca* even was influential and could be considered ‘trend-setting’ during the Civil War; with theater performed at the Front (in mold of old *farándula*) (Byrd 205).

\(^{162}\) Transl: ‘new all-incompassing artwork’
“Weltgefühls” (114). Toller sees his audience as a part of his theater and a part of an international (worldly) space.

Lorca and Toller are representative of a developing Spanish-German (theatrical) artistic space (as a part of larger artistic internationalization). In the late 1920s and early 1930s, a mix of traditional and contemporary Spanish and foreign pieces were increasingly performed (proletariat Nosotros group or later Madrid’s municipal ‘Teatro Español’) in Spain, including original German pieces dealing with revolution written by Friedrich Wolf, Georg Kaiser and Ernst Toller (Dougherty 593). In the 1929/30 work Nuevo Romanticismo (Asturias-Madrid), Toller is specifically mentioned as one of the playwrights whose works were performed in Spain as a part of a ‘new’ theater. Thus the ‘new theater’ in Spain, in Spanish shared a literary ‘Germany’ perspective produced specifically by Ernst Toller. It was through the urban centers of Barcelona and Madrid that German theater entered into Spain. There was perspective and a common artistic space developing from Spain to Germany as well. Lorca included German playwright Franz Wedekind as an influence and example of how theater can teach its public (Charla sobre teatro, 35). During this period Lorca was also first translated into German and published in Germany (1927 – in Die moderne spanische Dichtung, then again in 1938 as Zigeunerromanzen by Enrique Beck). Further, his first theater piece performed in (Stuttgart) Germany was appropriately Bodas de Sangre (Hoffmeister 251).164

The theater and role of both artists was increasingly international. Lorca ‘detested the Spaniard who was only a Spaniard’ (Duran 1). Lorca’s goal was to “rise above

163 He sees himself and his art unique in line since Schiller (when things were presented black/white, good/bad with “Ablehnung…zum kollektiven Subjektivismus” (128)), to “Junge Deutschland” writers to Expressionism and now as a part of the new type of proletarian art which is an “aktive und ein denkendes Wesen” (anders als Hauptmann und Büchner) (127).

164 Although not until after the Second World War, in 1947.
Granada, above gypsy folklore, Andalusia and Madrid, even Spain…” (Duran 2). In no other – than Lorca – is the ‘understanding of a foreign and ‘exotic’ culture so penetrating and so complete’ (Duran 2). In understanding a formerly defined ‘foreign’ or ‘exotic’ culture there is an artistic process of re-definition, re-conceptualizing the term, the concept of ‘foreign’ and ‘exotic’ itself; in so doing, Lorca breaks with a traditional sense then of commonality (common language, nation, and history) and leaves open the limits for finding or feeling a commonness which makes him international.

Lorca refuses to identify with his own age, with his own country. Yet he does not seek to shrug off responsibility thereby. On the contrary, he wishes to assume a wider responsibility, to suffer not only as a Spaniard of the twentieth century, but as an American, as a gypsy, as a primitive man for whom myths are still alive, as any one of the million amorphous souls caught in the dilemmas of an impersonal industrial society (Duran 13).

In this quote, Duran brings forth a number of key issues that connect Toller and Lorca and give meaning to this connection. Both authors see themselves and their work as part of more than their immediate contemporary – here history works in. They are not bound to a sense of identity limited to a national perspective but are rather examples of artist and artistry sharing in an (German-Spanish) international perspective.165 Both Toller and Lorca (similarly) use theater as a means of creating a (very common) perspective and voice of (international) social and political critique.

165 “Lorca’s work is profoundly and revealingly Spanish and at the same time universally human” (Barea VII).
Section I, Part III: A common (Spanish-German) literary political perspective in creating a new and alternative space of opposition:

Both Lorca and Toller sought to artistically express a political and social perspective, in critique of overt nationalistic propaganda and often aligned with (international, Leftist) sentiment of revolution. Lorca was artistically and politically revolutionary; stating himself ‘soy revolucionario’ (referenced in Cat 87). “The emotional forces he [Lorca] released became part of the shapeless revolutionary movements of Spain whether he intended or not” (Barea 6). I would add to this statement “…revolutionary movements of Europe and internationally.” This is part of Lorca’s connection with that beyond simply Spain; his producing a sense of human (revolutionary) emotions which are not bound by language or nation, but are accessible, felt and identified with beyond Spain and Spanish – this is what is needed for an international art, for an art to have an international audience.

Both artists sought to create a perspective(s) of an alternative, an oppositional space (physical, intellectual) to that of over-run authority and rigid tradition.166 Lorca can be seen an ‘anhelo de orientar una nueva espiritualidad, de formar una nueva cultura’ (Jaun Chábas in Luz 1934 (p.130), ref. in De Rios 87). Likewise, Toller considered his art, writing and theater as a part of an opposition to counterrevolutionary perspectives.

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166 The theoretical work of Henri Lefebvre (The Production of Space) is relevant here. I, as Lefebvre, seek to reveal social space “in its particularity to the extent that it ceases to be indistinguishable from mental space and physical space” (26). In the literature I outline physical and intellectual (or mental) aspects and perspectives which ultimately overlap, are a part of the same. Ultimately communication and interaction serve as impetus to the realization of a space of opposition – to whose end both Lorca and Toller’s theater serves. Here, Lefebvre writes that “a new space cannot be born unless it accentuates differences” (52). This is important, while the ‘space(s)’ I claim which is produced in and through literature of my trend – specifically here in this chapter - defines itself as succinctly different than an ‘other’ (overtly traditionalist, ‘nationalistic’ or fascist literature), in the guise of a new concept of the foreign (as well as commonness). Literature of the trend is concerned, is produced and seeks to ‘produce’ a revolutionary space for “a revolution that does not produce a new space has not realized its full potential” (Lefebvre 52).
He talks of how the dictators of the world fear the power of the written word (149); however the power of the dictators is begrenzt (150). “Jenseits der Grenzen sind sie ohnmächtig...Am Ende ist die Macht des Wortes stärker und überdauert” (Über die Macht des Wortes (1935) 150). Here Toller explicitly presents the ‘other’ in a different space, using ‘spatial’ language and time in metaphor of the conflict between ‘the other’ (counterrevolutionaries) and ‘us’ (revolutionaries) – talking of space ‘beyond’ simply the concept of nation [Land]. He creates the sense of a common international intellectual and artistic space – and an associated political responsibility of artist and art. Toller sees the greater task (Aufgabe) of the writer as producing “ein Serum gegen geistige (und faschischtchen) Epidemien“ (Das Wort 194).

Each addresses the notion of individual responsibility and of that in their theater – two concepts that were (are) being threatened, drowned, confined and alienated in the twentieth century ‘modern’ world. Duran talks of Lorca’s “intuitive grasp of the barren complexities of the modern world, of the inarticulate existence of the ‘lonely crowds’” (2). The dilemmas of the modern world were not unique to Lorca’s Spain nor to Toller’s Germany (nor were theatrical impetus dealing with them). Byrd writes that Lorca lived “on the fringe of politics, but within the real soul of the people” (208). Lorca himself states:

siempre soy y seré partidario de los pobres. Yo siempre soy y sere partidario de los que no tienen nada y hasta la tranquilidad de la nada se les niega. Nosotros

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167 Beyond the boundaries they are helpless...in the end the power of words is greater and will persevere.
168 Both are authors were engaged, socially, as ‘escritor engagé’ (Josephs 85). Doménech writes that “Lorca es un escritor de izquierdas” (209). Further, Lorca talked of the theater and its ‘acción social’ (in Obras Completas I, p.1215, ref. in Ynduráin 130).
169 In 1930, J. D. Fernandez argued for a “vuelto a lo humano” (return to human [art]) and asked that playwrights address the actual conditions of those who could never afford a ticket to the theater: “el teatro moderno es un teatro de masas, un teatro para el pueblo,” later in 1932 Ramón Sender stated that proletarian theater is “la única modalidad que responde a las íntimas características de nuestra época” (Dougherty 590).
As Lorca declared himself as creating with a sincerity towards the 'poor', Toller write for those suffering. Riemer writes that for Toller, it is the proletariat as a class, that “am meisten unter der gesellschaftlichen Situation leidet” (163).

Through their theater, both presentationally embrace an international humanism and create a perspective of a(n) (international) revolutionary artistic and political, ideological spirit quite sympathetic with (even align or a part of) much Socialist and other Leftist political ideology (versus Rightist-Nationalism, Fascism, and Nazism of the 1930s). Further, they share an artistic and political anarchistic perspective. Lorca states that the “poeta es siempre anarquista en el mejor sentido de la palabra” (II, 917,

170 Transl: I always am and will be a supporter/follower of the poor. I always am and will be of those that have nothing...

171 Not to forget here that much of Lorca’s work was also highly intellectual; however his themes and sincerity and the emotions he produces through his theater are deeply connected to (his contemporary reality of) those suffering.

172 Both authors exhibit high degrees of ‘sincerity’. Toller’s “Kampf gegen den Nationalsozialismus im Vergleich zu anderen Emigranten war intensiver und auch wirkungsvoller” (Schürer, Lit. Eng. 52).

173 Transl: those that suffer the most under the societal situation. He writes of the great “Versagen des Pazifismus in Deutschland” and how “die Welt ist größer als Europa” (182).

174 Personally, both authors adjusted their art and their lives to the political situation. Toller increased his speeches and artistic appeals for socialism and true democracies in the 1920s and against growing international Fascism in the 1930s. Minik places Lorca as always having been ‘un liberal progresista’ and ‘un espíritu libre muy responsable’ (19). In between the periods in which Lorca produced Bodas and Alba, he wrote an unfinished theater piece whose first act, originally entitled ‘El sueño de la vida’, but published as Comedia sin título (1934-6) was set amidst turmoil of a workers’ uprising. In 1935 (Septiembre 13), in an interview with Lorca published in Dia Gráfico in Barcelona, Nadal states (314): “la auténtica revolución, aun por llegar, deberá “echar abajo las paredes o las puertas del teatro” – “Y nos salvaremos todos” [dice el Autor]. La contrarevolución también está en ciernes, y es al fin lo que llega, matando a los obreros revolucionarios y quemando la possible “escuela del pueblo”. Entre esperanzas, amenazas y destrucción, urge liberar la corriente subversive de la sinceridad social – lucidez, valentía y grave amor en el arte y en el trabajo, en el querer, en la acción revolucionaria -, única verdad capaz de sobreponerse a cualquier “tragedia política”.
Likewise, Toller’s pieces equate to “anarchistische Humanismus” (Altenhofer 71) and his program amounts to “anarchism…both in political principle of the primacy of the individual and its economic organization” (Ossar 92). Ultimately, their works compliment each other through their urban and rural anarchistic resonance.

Lorca and Toller sought to produce a similar sense of development, change and innovation in theatrical presentation (form, content, and place). In the proceeding section of this chapter I will attempt to show how their artistic style developed and their content became ever more socially and politically engaged (direct, with clear message for activism), and the sense of ‘place’ (geography) within the piece as well as the actual location(s) of presentations or performances (i.e. rural, urban, domestic, international, different types of audiences – lower classes, proletariat, rural audiences – as well as intellectuals) broadened.

Without reading them side-by-side, one can still see an internationalism of sorts, however in reading them side-by-side the trend towards the Spanish Civil War, specifically these texts as a part of a Spanish-German literary trend, can be better understood. A common literary resonance is evident between even – on the surface – far-reaching differences (geography and language) such as rural Andalusia and urban

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175 Transl: the poet is always anarchist in the best sense of the word.
176 ‘Anarchism’ as a politico-social movement was really only realized as a significant movement of any sorts in Spain; the major resonances (perspectives/spaces) of Anarchism were primarily of two distinct flavors – that of the rural Southern type in Andalusia (where Lorca is from and of this environment he wrote) and the urban type in Barcelona (consider Toller – a German of Anarchic tendencies whose perspective is more-or-less bore from the urban space (Berlin/Munich) with romantic, religious sort of sentiment characteristic of both certain parts of traditional and historical Spanish character and politics). Importantly - ‘failed’ anarchistic-like political movement bore the literary trend (Council or Soviet-style Republics claimed all over Germany, ultimately being infected by ‘other’ politics – jargon of corrupted Socialism and dogmatic Communism; ultimately failing) and a substantial realization of this political in the Spanish Civil War whose event bore literature that epitomizes the overall trend (whose figure ‘Durruti’ will conclude the project).
177 Reference graphs in Chapter 1.
Munich and Berlin which are brought together through similarities in theatrical and artistic strategies, a developing literary perspective and presentation of geography and broader perspectives of space (and a beginning of performances and gaining audiences between Spain and Germany).

Section II: Common strategy and perspectives in Bodas de Sangre and Masse Mensch

In the proceeding chapter section, I will explore how Toller and Lorca, through Masse Mensch and Bodas de Sangre, present tragedy, issues of violence and death, complexity and failures of their modern societies as well as with technique and language evidence a common Spanish-German artistic perspective (and thus space).

Lorca’s Blood Weddings: Tragedy in three acts and seven scenes (Bodas de Sangre) (1932),\(^{178}\) revolves around a mother whose son is to be wed, but dies tragically in the end after his bride runs off with a former lover. The groom – referred to as the Novio (boyfriend, here Bridegroom) works on the family vineyards (recently purchased) in rural southern Spain where he lives with his mother. His father and brother had been dead, killed in a family dispute by cousins (the clan Felix); this is an early note of the theme of the violence of man (and the women who suffer through it). The wedding almost seems more of a matter of finance and formality, than love; the mother, La Madre, is skeptical about the wedding and the bride herself seems to be constantly fighting doubts.\(^{179}\) When all finally convene for the wedding, La Novia and Leonardo, swept by passion, run off

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\(^{178}\) It premiered in 1933, in the Beatriz Theater in Madrid. Del Rio writes that in Bodas de Sangre we can ‘detect the breadth of classical influence, a touch of Mediterranean tragedy and even a certain Shakespearian quality’ (151). Barea writes that Bodas de Sangre enjoyed success not only in Spain, but also in Argentina (XIV); however an English version was much less successful in New York (Josephs).

\(^{179}\) Perspective of the action shifts when La Madre and El Novio go to the cave home of the bride (La Novia) and her father (El Padre). There are also intervals of mentioning of Leonardo, a member of the Felix clan and former fiancé of La Novia, and his wife, La Mujer (who is La Novia’s cousin).
into a mystical forest setting where they are pursued by the Novio. In the woods new figures of La Luna (moon), La Muerte (death) presented as a bum ‘La Mendiga,’ and woodcutters or woodsmen (Los Leñadores) appear – forecasting the tragic conclusion. In the end, the Novio and Leonardo are dead and the mother denies the Novia’s existence and their names are voided of meaning upon the death of the Novio.

Toller’s *Masses and Man: A piece from the social revolution of the 20th century* (*Masse Mensch*) (1919/22) develops its plot primarily around the dilemmas of revolutionary action as non-violent or violent as voiced by the figure of the Woman, Sonja Irene L. She is first presented amidst workers finalizing a planned strike. Here Toller contrasts scenes by beginning the following one as a dream tableau (*Traumbild*) taking place at the Stock Exchange where amongst the calls of bankers, the Woman – lead by a ‘Schreiber’ – call for ‘Menschen’, only to be dismissed. In the end a brothel is established for officers and soldiers disguised as a patriotic undertaking; those present dance in jubilation. Toller then shifts the theme, from a strong chaotic sense of money idolatry to aggressive chants for war when in the next scene (Realbild), der Namenlose (the Nameless One) calls out for violent revolution, war and the Woman eventually goes along with the plan. The issue of individual and the masses is presented in the following ‘Traumbild’; the Nameless One is with guards in a high-walled court; the Woman figure is in the role of a prisoner. In the following scene (Realbild), it is morning, there is violence and the revolution at first seems to be going well, then goes sour. The Women (Sonja) is accused of betrayal (*Verrat*); the quarters of the revolutionaries’ meeting is stormed by soldiers. The question of guilt is addressed in the next ‘Traumbild’ and in the

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180 Dove writes here Toller presents ‘the resilience of the system which the revolution is trying to overthrow, culminating in establishing a brothel for officers and soldiers – disguised as a patriotic undertaking’ (119).
end, after confronting the Namelesss One, her husband (an official), and a priest in prison, the Woman – as a sort of sacrificial lamb as well as representative of ethical contradiction (of means and ends) - is executed. ¹⁸¹

Upon scanning the titles, the overriding themes, the rough plots and actions of these two theater pieces, the initial, most basic parallel between the pieces is the produced tragedy. ¹⁸² According to Aristotle, tragedy is an imitation not of persons, but of actions and life, of happiness and misery and ultimately in the presentation there is a sense of catharsis. ¹⁸³ Another, simple definition is that tragedy is basically a literary presentation of a somber theme carried to a tragic conclusion (mournful, melancholy, pathetic, or disastrous) – often befalling those with flaws or shortcomings which are universal. In his title, Lorca deems his piece a ‘tragedia’; it is the tragedy of multiple figures – depending on which or how many perspectives one takes. It is the tragedy of the Mother, the Novio, Each piece was written during a period of a younger European – including similar and unique currents in Spain and Germany – generation’s avant-garde movement. In my opinion, Masse Mensch is dedicated to political and social content – but has been overwhelmingly viewed within this narrow paradigm and entails much more; whereas Bodas de Sangre may seem apolitical in intention (i.e has been), it still (strongly) permeates into the political arena with presentations of basic conflicts, relevant to political and social discussion of the time (i.e. 100+ years of division between conservatives and progressives in Spain much like a family feud).

¹⁸¹ Each piece was written during a period of a younger European – including similar and unique currents in Spain and Germany – generation’s avant-garde movement. In my opinion, Masse Mensch is dedicated to political and social content – but has been overwhelmingly viewed within this narrow paradigm and entails much more; whereas Bodas de Sangre may seem apolitical in intention (i.e has been), it still (strongly) permeates into the political arena with presentations of basic conflicts, relevant to political and social discussion of the time (i.e. 100+ years of division between conservatives and progressives in Spain much like a family feud).

¹⁸² Formally each employs a sort of common tradition, theatrical sense of tragedy with a common Greek history. In each Masse Mensch and Bodas de Sangre one can find classic characteristics of theatrical tragedy – such as choral songs, seemingly supranatural forces, and misfortune befalling human beings. There is a sort of sacrifice and the use of ‘choirs’ which hint and reveal sentiment of the action of the play. In Toller, there are ‘Rückgriffe auf die Form der griechischen Tragödie’, in the commentary of the dream scenes with the function of the choir and in the real pictures with the “Masse als Chöre’ which ‘[die] Handlung begleitet und erläutert’ (Altenhofer 74) (reverting back to the form of the Greek tragedy.......”masses as choirs’......’accompany and expound on the action/drama). Further, in Toller, the ‘Schicksal’ is ‘nicht mehr metaphysisch als göttliches Verhängnis...’; the “Zwänge [sind] nicht mehr göttlichen, sondern menschlichen Ursprüngen” (Altenhofer 74) (fate – no longer metaphysical as a divine …motivations are no longer divine, rather of humane origin). There are choirs or song which forecast and accompany the main action in Lorca as well – such as early singing of la nana and the Leñadores; the Moon and Mendigo forecast Lorca’s tragic ending.

¹⁸³ Referenced from his Poetics; further historical development of ‘tragedy’ can be referenced in Theories of the Theater (Marvin Carlson, Cornell University Press 1996).
Leonardo, the Novia, and the Wife. It is a ‘family’ tragedy, a village’s and a rural tragedy, a ‘Spanish’ and even human tragedy.\(^{184}\)

*Masse Mensch* is also a (representational) tragedy. Toller’s tragedy is one of the Women.\(^{185}\) Altenhofer writes that *Masse-Mensch* ‘ist die Tragödie einer Revolutionärin’ (68).\(^{186}\) Not only of a person, but the tragedy is that of the failed German revolution; it’s representative of universally failed revolutionary movements. The tragedy in *Masse Mensch* – as in Lorca – is of a collective body; with collective perspective. In Toller, the tragedy is also of the ‘masses’.\(^{187}\) Also as Lorca, it is symptomatic of a society in conflict and therefore also a ‘national’ tragedy and even a universal tragedy. The long Spanish feud between conservatives and liberals, between traditionalists and revolutionaries or progressives through Lorca’s production and presentation can equally be felt in Toller’s 1920s/30s Germany. Likewise, the long German strife between social progressives and the military, the Left and big business, revolutionaries and the conservatives, resonates strongly through Toller’s creation in Lorca’s Spain of the 1930s. The history of the tragedy of centuries of class and gender difference and segregated roles and inequality is shared between Germany and Spain. Both artists create and present a very internationally accessible tragic atmosphere in and through their plays.

\(^{184}\) Del Rio sees the essential element of tragedy as ‘beings who are scorched by a deep passion against which it is futile to struggle’ (149).

\(^{185}\) Sokel writes that the main ‘problem’ of Toller’s tragedy is ”das Hervorgehen des Bösen aus dem Guten, des blutrünstigen bolschewistischen Rache- und Mordwillens aus der idealistischen Menschheitsrevolution” (302) (the bringing forward of evil out of the good, of the bloody Bolshevistic revenge and murdering out of idealistic humanist revolution).

\(^{186}\) Schürer writes that amongst many Expressionist plays it was very typical for them to have an optimistic ending (for example “Hölle Weg Ende” by Kaiser), but this was “nicht in Toller’s Dramatik” (*Lit. Eng.* 46). Martinson aligns Toller’s *Masse Mensch* and what he terms ‘pessimistic humanism’ with others, such as Gerhart Hauptmann’s *Florian Geyer*, Theodor Lessing’s *Geschichte als Sinngebung des Sinnlosen* and even the pathos of Friedrich Schiller’s *Maria Stuart* (254).

\(^{187}\) Referring to Lorca,’s piece, Minik writes of the ‘España trágica’ (26).
In each piece, the images of weaponry, arms, their association with violence and death comes forth. The aforementioned issues are initially addressed and expressed through a female voice in each work. In Lorca’s opening scene, the Novio wants the knife or blade (la navaja) to cut grapes for his lunch when he is at the vineyard; here the Mother begins a rant that continues throughout the work – in disdain of weapons and man – who uses them. She iterates: “la navaja, la navaja…Maldita sean todas y el bribón que las inventó” (94). The weapon and its associated violence are attributed to man. She continues: “Y las escopetas y las pistolas y el cuchillo más pequeño, y hasta las azadas y los bieldos de la era” (95). Even tools are used as weapons of violence and to kill. Upon questioning the Bride when visiting her and her father, she mentions her son – long deceased - would be 22 years old “si los hombres no hubieran inventado las navajas” (111).

Ultimately, the Madre almost seems crazy from the beginning conversation with her son, her conversations with her neighbor, to the initial meeting with the father and then at the wedding she is tormented and traumatized, hounded by past violence. In the end her fears come true again; here Lorca critiques this type of thinking and mindset - a fearful mindset, afraid to laugh, to smile (i.e. she is rigid), afraid to move forward and beyond one’s past (family, region, nation, humanity) and live with hope and a willingness to risk for a better life, a better future, rather than sit, scorn, judge, prophesize and predict evil and disaster, and only in the end be a part of your fearful prediction coming true. The Madre states: “mientras una viva, lucha….” - where is their room for beauty, for

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188 Transl: knives/blades,…cursed are all and the rascal that invented them.
189 Transl: and the rifles and revolvers and the knife – smaller, and until the hose and the winnowing rake.
190 She seems like a figure that has not smiled or laughed for many years.
aesthetics, for creative impulses, for chance in such an outlook? By presenting the mother figure as such, Lorca expresses a sense of the failure of this type of perspective.

She is always iterating silence, be silent (calla) (116, 119); this is reminiscent of Lorca’s later piece *La Casa de Bernarda Alba*, but also of this intellectual mindset rather than discussing things and realizing the complexity and dynamic of life and feelings and of people and perspectives (i.e. not just black and white, overlapping colors, overlapping spaces of identity, of time, etc…), her perspective is closed; there is to be no discussion, but rather quiet and silence (through fear)! Lorca is starkly critiquing this perspective; for if there was discussion, open discussion and not this sense of censorship, then perhaps the tragic events, and the feud, would not have happened and not continue. If one could only forgive and forget the presented conflicts may be hoped to be defused; however Lorca (as Toller) presents a society and cultural tradition and system that remember and seek revenge.\(^\text{191}\)

This is very relevant to Lorca’s Andalusia; it applies to Spain as a whole and also applies to Germany and is an international critique. Why is this important to Toller? In a sense each work complements one another. They each revolve around a women figure; both critique and lament the reality of violence. Both are guilty of accepting violence themselves under a time of pressure (Sonja to the masses, the Mother’s advocacy of her son pursuing Leonardo and her beating of the Novia). Sonja seeks discussion and is forced into silence, the mother demands silence; in the end of both pieces it is silent (whether through censorship or simply lack of discussion and social interaction) in the social space.

\(^{191}\) Tradition and the ‘system’ are presented as disallowing forgiveness. The Mother, upon seeing Leonardo at the wedding, states to the Father: “Tengo en mi pecho un grito siempre puesto de pie a quien tengo que castigar” (132). Similarly, Toller’s guard states “Vergeben ist Feigheit” (31).
Lorca presents social space as a space of violence and the concept of ‘social’ itself defunct of a sense of true interaction and community. In the second act, in talking to the father, the mother iterates that “los varones son del viento! Tienen por fuerza que manejar armas. Las niñas no salen jamás a la calle” (132).\textsuperscript{192} The social space is violent and discriminating: If the street is a social space, then women are not encouraged or even allowed to partake in this communal space or society at large, thus the concept of a society of interaction (of all people) does not exist in Lorca’s presentation; there is not a true common social space. Much later, in the final act, as Leonardo and the Bride attempt to escape, the three woodcutters converse about how they [i.e. ‘others’] will find them and kill them, with ‘escopetas’ and ‘cuchillos’ – with “su casta de muertos en mitad de la calle” (142).\textsuperscript{193} Again, Lorca presents the space of the street as a place of violence; he critiques society at large through his use of space.\textsuperscript{194} We will later see that Toller’s urban street parallels Lorca’s rural street as a place, a physical space of violence which is an expression and critique by both authors of the violent, aggressive nature of their contemporary and historical societies – as the ‘street’ is a ‘social’ space. Through reading these two pieces side-by-side, there is an artistically created sense of an international social space of violence.

\textsuperscript{192} Transl: men are of the wind. They have to have weapons. The girls can never go out on the streets) In Act II, she says [referring the arrival of Leonardo and his wife] “sigue en toda la mala ralea [de su familia], manejadores de cuchillos” (131).
\textsuperscript{193} Transl: “shotguns blades” – with “their caste of dead in the middle of the street“ (142)
\textsuperscript{194} As in a revolution, as was reality in Spain (and Germany), unjust violence is also presented in cities. It is personal – occurring between family members – as cousins or comrades; later it becomes even more so in entering the family dwelling (i.e. the home). De Rios writes that in Lorca’s work, “encontramos los valores de una cultura social en crisis, en transe conflicto” (81) (we find the values of a social culture in crisis, giving way to conflict).
In Lorca’s dreamy final act, La Luna states: “La luna deja un cuchillo abandonado en el aire, que siendo acecho de plomo quiere ser dolor de sangre” (144). His figure ‘La Luna’ represents death (here also blood); then death and its associated violence is not a specific Spanish case, not limited to Spanish identity, Spanish nation, but the moon is seen around the world – and casts its light on the rest of the world - and this is a truly ‘international’ presentation, perspective and space.

Death is a constant figuration in Lorca – the Mendiga, the Moon, even el Caballo are associated with death. Death of the Mother’s husband and other son could have been avoided, but was not due to the existence of weapons and man. In the end, both Leonardo and the Bridegroom are dead (muertos) (160). Lorca brought the trauma of death out at the beginning of the play – as the mother lamented, and continued to lament – of her husband and sons’ premature deaths – at the hands of members of the family Felix. The play ends with death (Novio and Leonardo). Those that remain alive are united in their lament of the avoidable deaths. There is a sort of trauma; they are remembered. Death is constantly feared, yet a part of life. Lorca presents death not only as an aura, as the end stage of life, but he personifies it. His figure Death (Mendiga) states ‘conozco esta tierra’ (149); thus Death knows this land, yet Lorca, by setting this scene in a supernatural sort of atmosphere (setting), ‘esta tierra’ is not simply Spain, it is beyond Spain, it can represent other lands, other geographies and spaces; he allows for a

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195 [Luna] “the moon lets the abandoned blade in the air, that is lying in wait of the feather that would like to be a bloody pain. Also in this act, Los Leñadores then sing of death: ‘ay triste muerte, mala muerte, dejé para el amor la rama verde” (149) ([Leñadores] oh sad death, horrible death, leave for love the green branch).

196 Equally Toller’s dream scenes relinquish the context from geographical specificity and therefore allow for an international, a nation-less sense of space (and place).

197 The Novia declares that with “este cuchillo se quedan dos hombres duros con los labios amarillos” (166).
sense of nationlessness (or better internationalism). His figure Death could equally be in Toller’s Germany.

Now, moving from Lorca’s presentation to Toller’s; there is strong and significant commonness in theatrical presentations of violence and death. In *Masse Mensch*, a central conflict is that of whether to use violence as means to an end: the Woman initially professes strike and pacifism in argumentation, but others – both in pursuit of common and different ends - advocate violence and war. In Toller there is death and mention of weapons and war. In the second picture, stockbrokers talk of a ”Waffenwerke” (weapons factory) and praise war for its inherent financial possibilities and role and function within the ‘system’ (13). The images of weapons, again associated with man, are produced and are abundant. As the work develops, the Nameless One professes “Krieg! Revolution! Gewalt! Waffen!” (24). As in Lorca, Toller presents men looking to violence to solve hardships and problems, to achieve an end through the means of weapons, violence, and ultimately murder. To this issue, the question is posed, “Wer heiligt Gewalt?” (30). In Lorca it was explicitly explained as men (man) and inexplicitly the inertia of a tradition of societal injustice (supported by a strong, closed sense of ideological identity, i.e. the ‘family’ or even ‘nation’). In Toller one finds the answer retorted as “Schulen, Kasern, Krieg”; that is to say one learns to accept and hail violence in society’s institutions – which is also a long tradition (30). This seed of ‘perspective’ and thought is thus presented as planted at a young age and reinforced throughout social structures (work), actions and policy (war). In the fifth picture, it is morning and the violent revolution has already begun; the Women says to the Nameless One that “Kampf mit Eisenwaffen

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198 Transl: War! Revolution! Violence! Weapons/Arms!
199 Transl: Who justifies/hails violence?
200 Transl: schools, barracks ,war
vergewaltigt” whereby he reciprocates that “auch Kampf mit Geisteswaffen
gvergewaltigt” (33).\textsuperscript{201} Thus a step further, not only tangible, material weapons kill, but
intellectual weapons can kill as well. Toller explicitly gives voice (in a complementary
way) to Lorca’s inexplicit critique of religious and institutional pressures.

Toller presents a worker reporting to the Woman many dead, “viele hunderte” at
the train station – “der Platz bäumt sich vor Toten” (34).\textsuperscript{202} As the conflict develops in
*Masse-Mensch*, the “Strassen” are “gesperrt” (35). There is death in the streets. Here in
a city space, a communal and social space there is death. In Lorca it was the streets of
the village; in Toller it is also in public spaces that death is presented. Violence and
death are similarly presented in society, in common, social (international) rural and urban
space.

Towards the end in Toller, the Woman states [to the Nameless One]:

Ihr mordet für die Menschheit, Wie sie Verblendete für ihren Staat gemordet. Und
einige glaubten gar durch ihren Staat, ihr Vaterland, Die Erde zu erlösen. Ich
sehe keine Unterscheidung: Die einen morden für ein Land, Die andern für die
Länder alle. Die einen morden für tausend Menschen, Die andern für Millionen.
Wer für den Staat gemordet, Nennt ihr Henker. Wer für die Menschheit mordet,
den bekränzt ihr, nennt ihn gültig, Sittlich, edel, groß. Ja, sprech von guter,
heiliger Gewalt (48).\textsuperscript{203}

Both Lorca and Toller used a female voice during a time in which society was dominated
by male voices to critique a history and contemporary saturated with man’s violence in
dealing with conflict and dilemmas.

\textsuperscript{201} Fighting with weapons of iron rapes/murders/mutilates…. [later] – also fight with intellectual weapons
\textsuperscript{202} Transl: many hundred….‘the place is full of dead’
\textsuperscript{203} Transl: You kill for humanity, as they the blind died for your State. And some believed that through
your State, your country, they could save the world. I see no difference: The one murders for a nation, the
other for all nations. The one kills for thousands of people, the other for millions. Who kills for the State,
they call him executioner. Who kills for Humanity, him they crown and deem kind, noble, great. Yes,
speak from good ole holy violence.”
Physical suffering and even death is imposed by machines in each. In Toller, “Machinen hämmern unsre Leiber Tag für Tag” (machines hammer our bodies day after day) (20). In Lorca, the neighbor mentions another neighbor’s boy maimed by a machine “hace dos días trajeron al hijo de mi vecina con los dos brazos cortados por máquina’ (98). Technology and the machine are inhumane and brutal; the individual is not protected, the humane not revered. Both artists create an artistic atmosphere of death which is predominantly embittering, a source of constant fear and social fragmentation. Produced is a sense that death is unjust and the conflict that provoked it remains unresolved (through human error) and herein lies the (international) ‘tragedy’ of each piece.

Within the presentation of tragedy, each Lorca and Toller create dynamic concerning responsibility for the tragedy(ies), its conflicts and dilemmas, by presenting differing voices which represent different perspectives of common issues. Hereby with each disclaimer of guilt or responsibility, they invite their audience into the discussion, for ultimately they leave the conflict unresolved as was their past and is their contemporary; their theater reflects this common, international sense of unresolved socio-political turmoil and feud and hereby challenges their audience to perceive (feel, accept and critically contemplate) and understand the dynamic and shun black and white, yes and no, good and bad, simple propagandistic (dualistic) claims to guilt of social problems.

204 Amidst the atmosphere of violence and threats of death Toller and Lorca presented figures calling for self-sacrifice. In both pieces, it is a woman who hints at self-sacrifice. In Lorca, the Novia says to Leonardo, “quita de mi cuello” (149). In Toller, it is the Frau: “So schießt! Ich sag mich los…ich bin so müde” (30). In Lorca, it is the mystique of nature, personified in the figures of ‘La Luna’ (from ‘above’) and ‘La Muerte’ – as “gran oficiantes” (Josephs 60). Here one can talk of submission of ones ‘fate’ – to higher ‘authority’ or power in the rural order – ‘nature’, in Lorca versus in Toller it is an urban order – a fate perceived mystic in sense that it is based outside of ‘reality’ and even outside or beyond the ‘rational’.
Both Toller and Lorca offer a humanistic sense of complexity (and depth) to social issues and the need for (in my opinion) honest, open, direct discussion (versus polarized allegations of single people or ‘groups’ being root of all evil in society). Each of their figures truly carry guilt – perhaps to varying degrees – for the ineffectualness and failure, and break-down of their ‘common’ space, of society. The presented concept of a hoped alternative society to the idealized nation-state is a borderless or international human space in which no government has sovereignty neither physical nor intellectually.

Each playwright presents perspective of an international, humanist space often as isolated and alone amidst a modern, starkly violent and incriminating (national social) space. In each piece, there are those who are alone (either by the dissolution of a potential common space or exclusion or alienation from one). ‘Feeling’ is condemned in each piece in the presented conflict between the individual and the larger group. It is ‘feeling’, passion which brings the Novia and Leonardo together and takes them to an unknown and yields them merciless to ‘others’, to their fate. Leonardo and the Novia were alone in their passion. In Lorca, the Wife, the Girlfriend, and the Mother are alone in the end (i.e. in rural setting the women alone while men went to the cities). In Toller, Sonja was often ‘alone’ in her position of pacifist resistance, and alone in her condemnation at the end. The individual feels, but is vulnerable while it feels. The Frau iterates “Gefühle zwängt mich in Dunkel” (feeling drives me into darkness) – feelings lead her into the unknown, a place where one is vulnerable to ‘others’ and to fate (25). By drawing on feelings of being alone, each author contrasts that of being a part of a larger group or identifying with the many. This is vital: a Spanish author expressing loneliness of the individual felt in rural Andalusia and a German author presenting
isolation in urban Germany – both perspectives share a sense of solitude, loneliness, disillusion, and disappointment. Here is a truly common, international perspective, void of definition of rural or urban, void of definition of language or nation, but a common, international, human voice presented lone amongst many.

Toller uses imagery of a bridge (Brücke) which fails to be constructed (metaphorically) to unite opposing forces. Here Martinson iterates that ‘the writer [Toller] seems to be conveying the idea of the ‘moral’ responsibility of the individual in an increasingly collective society’ (255). These words ring true but go beyond the individual - when considering the author’s own words, spoken in 1933:

Ich denke, wenn jemand Schriftsteller ist, wenn er ein mutiger Geist ist, wenn er sich dessen bewußt ist, daß in der Welt außer Gewalt auch moralische Gesetze herrschen, so muß er sprechen, muß er einstehen für das, was er denkt und die, welche wie er denken, aber nicht das Glück haben, reden zu können.

Here Lorca can be referenced again when he states: “…. si no está muerto, está moribundo …. el teatro que no recoge el latido social, el latido histórico, el drama de sus gentes y el color genuino de su paisaje y de su espíritu, con risa o con lágrimas…..” (Charla sobre teatro). In theater, through theater, Toller and Lorca give a common voice of the advocacy of responsibility (social/communal) which starts with the individual and a sense of moral responsibility which is not subject to the laws of nations nor the limits of language (but resonantes with the greater vibe and space of humanity).

Who is guilty of or responsible for the violence and for death in Lorca? Let us start with Leonardo when he states: “Después de mi casamiento ha pensado noche y día

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205 Economic and social inequality is a primary seed for guilt in Lorca. Further, guilt is presented attributable to nearly every figure in each piece, as well as none at all (i.e. guilty is life, nature, fate). In Lorca, Leonardo could be seen paying with his life for his responsibility in the affair; the Novio perhaps guilty of entering into the woods with the intent of ‘violence’ and the Mother guilty of not halting her son
de quién era la culpa, y cada vez que pienso sale una culpa nueva que se come a la otra; ¡pero siempre hay culpa!” (119). Lorca presents the sense that the guilt of conflict and violence is overwhelmingly deeply and broadly spread and it is difficult for an individual, nonetheless a collective of individuals to accept this. Later in the drama, Leonardo relieves himself of guilt while escaping stating that “no tengo la culpa” and continues: “la culpa es de la tierra y de ese olor que te sale de los pechos y de las trenzas” (151-2).

The tierra is seen economically (source of livelihood) and institutionally (church, governmental area, wealthy proprietors) as is the Novia’s body seen economically (source of children) and institutionally (maintaining proper role as permissive wife in society); guilty here is the system of maintaining economic inequality and the governing forces who claim ownership over it (land, one’s body). Class and Money is a reason for Leonardo to rise up and try to claim his ownership of what he did not get legally. It is Leonardo who could not afford the Novia. The mother-in-law of Leonardo is conscious of ’family’ wealth, commenting on the wealth of the bride and groom’s family, “ellos tienen dinero” (105). Why do they have money? Because they own fruitful land.

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206 Transl: guilt is of the land and of this sent that comes out of one’s chest and braids.
207 This is further discussed by Lima (196).
But money – which is here synonymous with power, authority, and right – is divided – as the tierra is divided, and as Spain itself is divided (and as there are internationally resonating divisions). When the mother of the groom and father of the bride meet; the father voices the difference of economic standing to the mother of the groom: "Tú eres más rica que yo” (110). The lands on which the father lives are difficult to cultivate and are separate from those on which the mother lives: “Las viñas valen un capital. Cada pámpano una moneda de plata. Lo que siento es que las tierras…estén separadas” (110). Guilty is a past and present system which unequally divided and claimed governance of the land – and its fruits and fertility - and peoples’ bodies; this is not simply unique to Lorca’s Spain, it is also felt in Germany.

In the end, the Novia leaves herself to the Mother’s verdict. The mother sarcastically says to the Novia: “Ella no tiene la culpa, ¡ni yo! ¿Quién la tiene, pues?” (163). Again, Lorca hints at the class issue: the mother cannot fathom that poor Leonardo would use violence to take what he could not afford legally or legitimately. Further, the servant, the Criada has no independence – no land nor husband – and therefore is socially and economically suppressed. Also, through the figure of ‘death’ which is also presented as a beggar (Mendigo), Lorca positions poorness (economically speaking) and death (i.e. not living) together, which equates then to a statement that the poor do not live: life in the economic system, in society is for those not poor, and wealth is valued by land and money. In Lorca’s presentation it is quite clear that this system is significantly faulty and inhumane.  

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208 Transl: the vines equal money/capital. Every leaf a silver coin. What pains me is that they are separated from each other
209 Minik writes of Bodas de Sangre, “con la denuncia de la falta de libertad para elegir un personal, profundo y veraz camino amoroso, siempre vinculado al despotismo rural y económico de la clases más
Moving from Lorca to Toller, there is a consistency in theatrical perspective concerning guilt of social conflict. Toller uses the term guilt numerous times in his work; on the surface it almost loses its significance for everyone is guilty: the masses are guilty, the woman is not-guilty then guilty, God is guilty, institutions are guilty, money is guilty and life itself is guilty. However, the answer to the basic question as to why his workers and the woman (Sonja) striking in the very beginning of the piece is simply stated: unequal distribution of power and money. The strike turns to violence with the Nameless One and people die. Here the Nameless One is guilty of igniting the chant of violence in pursuit of change; however the seed of this appeal was the initial, underlying circumstance of economic inequality. The woman is condemned. Why is she condemned? Because the laws – those imposed by religion, the state and family (represented by the woman’s final visitors of the priest and her husband – the official) impose them. Why do these laws govern? Apparent in the drama, it is because the military and police will impose them and are greater in number and brute force than those who consider themselves not a part of the military or police – and they have coerced individuals into a perspective of identity associated closely to that of ‘the masses’ which then either actively or at least silently passively support them.

Impressionable are Toller’s scenes in the stock market with the bankers dancing upon the outbreak of war; here he creatively presents a sense of the intimate relationship between money and violence, the motivation of governments and military and church being power and that [power] being associated with money. So, who carries guilt? Who is responsible for this system of inequality, for its associated violence and brutal deaths?

acomodadas” (with the denouncement of the lack of freedom to elect a personal, profound and lively path, always related to rural and economic despotism of the more comfortable classes) (30).
In Toller it is the masses who are guilty of supporting these system(s) – whether in Germany or Spain (quit transparent) – and these ‘masses’ are composed of individuals. As Lorca, Toller also presents each figure – guilty and guiltless – at the same time; sort of leaving his audience to make the final judgment (as to what type of perspective they will take regarding their sense of identity (universal individual or institutional mass), physical space (restricted or open) and time (shared or not shared)).

At this point, one can talk about a similarity in each work in its presentation of a consciousness in the physical sense – of distancing and spacing. This seems to have basically two significant contributions to our discussion. First, Toller and Lorca use a common technique through creating a sense of ‘distance’ (i.e. things being distant from one another) or spacing (in sense of confining people within small area) which then directly relates to a (very similar) socio-political critique (i.e. influencing thought, intellectual perspective). Secondly, each artist (as already stated) creates a sense of non-specific or ill-definable geography which allows for a break from national confines and a sense of internationalism.

In Lorca each setting is different in its space and distance from others. There are the vineyards (home), the home of Leonardo and that of the Bride, the church and the woods. There is constant consciousness of the distance between these ‘spaces’. When the mother and Novio visit the Father and Novia – there are numerous references to the great distance between these two spaces. To reach ‘la cueva de Novia’ it requires ‘four hours on the road and [through it all] not a single house or tree [to be seen]’ (110). When all are supposed to go to the Church, there is complaint of the ‘lejania of the ‘iglesia’

Martinson sees the problem of guilt – not only raising questions of freedom and responsibility – but also the nature and destiny of the human race (253).
Leonardo and his wife dispute over taking a ‘coche’ or ‘caballo’ to the church. It is ten leagues to the Church for the wedding ceremony from the cave; all travel the same distance back for the reception. In essence, Lorca presents the Church physically – and intellectually – distant, estranged from the people. It is not a part of the daily activities, daily lives and not organic with the people – but spatially and intellectually (ultimately ideologically and politically) distant. There is a constant sense of the distance (great) between people and homes; Lorca creates a physical sense of dislocation, alienation, lack of cohesion and lack of interaction between people which is expressed in physical geography and ultimately equates to both physical and intellectual distance. Here then it is difficult to share a common perspective, difficult to find a ‘common’ space other than a common space of ‘foreignness’ to one another. Although physically distant, the church is associated with a sense of penetrating intellectual confinement (i.e. social dictatorship of thinking and definition of relationships/interaction).

In Lorca’s second act he presents the event of a wedding, both physically and intellectually. The wedding itself is an escape for the Novia from her true feelings; a form of escaping with her marido, saying to Leonardo “me encerraré con mi marido’ (119). Marriage is dually confinement as well as escape from one’s individuality (already seen in examples of marriages between the bride’s Father and mother and perhaps Leonardo and his wife). It is similar to the physical confinement of the daughters who never enter into “la calle” (fear of physical violence versus sort of intellectual torment). An intertwined physical and intellectual sense of restriction and confinement

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211 Soufas notes how spatial perspective ‘shifts’ as the drama unfolds (100).
212 Transl: I will lock myself in with my husband.
continue in the presentation of the final scene set in a white room with arches and thick walls – here starkly symbolic of a church as a site for mourning the dead. Here, Leonardo’s widow is advised by her mother to live with [her] “puerta cerrada” (158). Then, the Mother of the Novio talks of enclosing herself within her “cuatro paredes” (161). Lorca critically creates a sense of a society in which there are no open doors; there is no unregulated interaction or relations (a stark contrast to the idea of a community of free or frictionless interaction).213 There is distance and confinement; physically and intellectually speaking.

The ‘forest’ in the third act is a space in stark contrast to the dryness and tangibility of the previous physical spaces; it also offers an ‘other’ space.214 Through the escape to the forest there is the attempt to find refuge outside of the enclosed space. From the ‘enclosed’ societal – both physically and intellectually - space Leonardo and the Novia attempted, but failed, to escape when they “han huido” (139).215 In a spatial sense, Lorca plays (i.e. experiments) with presentations of physical spaces and their interrelation with each other and that of the metaphysical or intellectual, and their ultimate tangibility or intangibility.216 The forest is also a mystical, ill-real space and therefore is not restricted to a specific geographical site; Lorca does not define this space, his forest space is not a national space, but is a nation-less space (or international space). Further, his technique of inter-relating the sense of physical geography and the intellectual climate is

213 There is the contrast between a ‘free’ or open space, and that enclosed or restricted – both in a physical and intellectual sense. Physically there is confinement of those ‘condemned’ by the law, evidenced when the mother talks of prison – where the murders live – in the outskirts, ‘en los montes’ (94, 127). The “principal characters of this drama live within the confines of an ancient moral and social code” (Lima 190).
214 Further discussion can be referenced in Josephs and Caballero (75).
215 One could argue that ‘love’ is a form of resistance, rebellion and even revolution of sorts.
216 Exaggerated, surreal, illogical yet mystic language and space is created in Lorca and Toller.
equally accessible (by audience) and representative beyond the borders of a nation and language.

In examining Lorca’s presentation of physical space and it’s interrelation to intellectual perspective, Toller’s theater is strikingly similar and analyzed together they support the claim of an international artistic perspective of physical space, notably that of Spain-Germany. First, the spaces of Toller’s dream tableaus are contrasted with those of his real tableaus. The third, fifth and seventh take place in “visionärer Traumferne.” The setting is not bound to national boundaries, but is nation-less, as is Lorca’s woods. Intellectual differences are expressed with a sense of physical distance when for example the Woman says to the Mann: “Schlucht gräbt sich zwischen uns….“ (10). In the city, space is crowded, contained and organized. The strike represents a physical gathering, a physical formation in opposition to the established space. It is a sort of escape (Ausweg). The second picture is a dream picture in a “Saal der Effektenbörse” – a distant yet familiar ‘space’. It is tangible as a familiar space – a place where the gold bull is idolized - yet intangible (and international) as it is set in a dream tableau. In the third picture, workers are pushing themselves into the space of the ‘Saal’ where, upon a table, sits the Woman. Space is overcrowded. The fourth picture is in a ‘hochummauerter Hof’ – a walled in space; again – far off as it is a ‘dream’ picture. This is contrasted with the fifth, which is a free, uninhibited room (unbegrenzter Raum). Also contrasted is the cage in the middle of this open space. As Lorca presented his figures – confined by nature (in a cave), by the church (through marriage, physically) – Toller positions his figures walled in by their modern, business-minded, military-run authoritative so-called ‘society’. The

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217 Here Lixl praises Toller’s piece, which he sees poetically – through “ästhetische Montage realer und traumhafter Szenenbilder” which relayed a “humanistische-fortschrittsgläubiges Ethos” (56).
218 Transl: a riff separates us
last picture, takes place in a prison cell (Gefängniszelle). As Lorca ends his piece in the church-like white room – symbolic of the authority and power of the institution (and tradition), so too Toller ends his piece in a physical space of confinement and judgment. Both artists produce – as an (artistic) international phenomenon – a sense of interaction between physical space and ideology.

The content in each piece has been shown paralleled. Further, through common strategies in form, according to language (sense of rhythm, visual and nature metaphors) and formal presentations (chorus, forecasting, non-traditional characters, figure types) each is a part of an international theater history and contemporary avant-garde. Each Lorca and Toller utilize rhyme and rhythm in creating a physical ambient – Lorca’s gypsy rhythms (cultural) and the rhythm of nature and Toller’s curt and repetitive urban rhythm.²¹⁹

Toller employed a language with a reduction to a simple keyword, formulism or stereotype or signal.²²⁰ The longer speeches are almost always similar and rhetorical; exemplified by the Brückenbild (i.e. image of bridge (23, 26)). Dialog often culminates in an “übergeordneten” keyword, such as “Mensch, Liebe, Gemeinschaft, Seele” for Sonja or “Masse, Kampf, Sache, Gewalt” for the Namenlose (Erdmann 75).²²¹

Lorca masterfully used “poetry and song for more auspicious circumstances” (Lima 194). Kiosses points out the role of ‘song’ – such as that of the wedding song or

²¹⁹ Both authors invoke dance in their pieces. In Lorca, there is dancing at the wedding. The Novia does not want to dance, for if she danced it would be her own death of sorts - she would lose herself, her spirit, passion, instinct, intuition for the sake of form, tradition, institution, cool rationality and honor; literally and metaphorically if she continued with the wedding it would be the death of her individuality. In Toller, the ‘dance’ is a ‘Totentanz’ as well. There is dancing around the “goldene Kalb.” In the second picture, the “Drahtzieher tanzen.” In the fourth picture, the Nameless One calls "zum Tanz! Ich spiele auf" (28) and the convict calls “zum Totentanz” (29).

²²⁰ For example in discussion between Nameless One and Woman (25).

²²¹ Transl: ‘over-ordered’…’Man/Human being, Love, Community, Soul’…’Mass, Fight, Thing, Violence’.
the singing of Los Leñadores reflecting the action of the drama and resonating with imagery (148). The “aspecto musical (música y danza)” is to create “el efecto de la tragedia’ and ‘desdibujar el realismo” (Josephs 67). Both created a unique sound to their theater through language.

Both Toller and Lorca utilize colors visually, with one outstanding commonality being ‘red’. In German and Spain in the 1920s and 1930s – and well beforehand, red was very closely associated with the political ideology of the Left (Communism, Socialism, even Anarchism) as well as the historic association and representation of blood. By reading these pieces side-by-side, the reader gets both the contemporary and historic sense of the political ideology and the reality of mortality in associated violence and death.\(^2\)

Lorca and Toller similarly employ natural metaphors in a very physical and intellectual association to man/humans. It is important to keep in mind here that the role of nature (language also) is not completely the same in each piece – this is not what I am arguing – but there are striking similarities in its employment which contribute to the overall paralleling of these two pieces and the artists as a whole. Nature is expressed in a very physical sense in Spanish literature, very organic, closely related to la tierra’s rhythms and its role in human life (rains, wind, sun, heat/cold, the hills, barren or fruitful lands – in agricultural sense). Most obvious in Lorca is the constant reference and consciousness to the physical landscape, the tierra surrounding and of those in the piece...

\(^2\) In the banker scene (Bild 2), “Blut und System” go hand in hand (18). In the end, there is blood - a lot. There is a “Meer vom..Menschenblut” and “Werk wird rot vom Menschenblut” (a sea of...human blood and work/factories will be red from human blood) (46). In Lorca, the mother talks of her son’s death where there was blood, sangre, “derramado en el suelo” (133). The mother states that upon the running off of the Novia and Leonardo, what was previously a time for a wedding and uniting of two individuals and families, now becomes “la hora de sangre” (140). Here, the red of blood, the ‘blood imagery’ in Bodas de Sangre, can be seen as an “archetypal symbol for death and family bonds (and, by extension, honor)” (Kiosses 136).
its weather and characteristics: dryness of certain lands, fruitfulness of others – metaphoric for fertility of people/woman. Nature cannot be escaped; it is beauty (visual images, birth) and a part of human passion (as that of Leonardo and the Novia) but it can also be harsh (dry lands, mortality). Nature is expressed in Toller in urban atmosphere as the nature of revolution, the rhythm of revolution explicitly as if it was a natural human cycle, a choke between primitive nature and civilization or ‘kept’ nature. In Toller, as in Lorca, man cannot escape nature as in the sixth (dream) picture the guard says of man - “wie Baum und Pflanze, Schicksalsgebundene“ – thus nature and fate are aligned (42). Ultimately, nature is presented as the nature of the human being, the unadultered, instinctive and even primitive human – in actions (passionate, also brutal) – but also in mind at an intellectual level (basic yearnings and humanness); here Toller and Lorca explore a language of nature at the physical and intellectual level.

Each artist presents social and political (between ideologies, failure of impetus for change, machinery/technology as dangerous) conflict, producing similar constructs of violence and death. In each title one can find conflict: blood and wedding, man and masses. This sheds light on basic conflicts which remain unresolved in the piece - which mirror problems in each society as a whole. Through artistic innovation of irreal, mystic, dreamy setting, a sense of non-specificity geographically speaking, a lifting from

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223 In the last act, the first scene takes place exclusively in ‘nature’, in the woods with things of the natural and supernatural world personified. Here Lorca uses unique metaphor and the beautiful (powerful) imagery in the opening lines of La Luna – ‘Cisne redondo en el río, ojo de las catedrales, alba fingida en las hojas soy. No podrán escaparse’ (144). Around swan in the river, the eye of cathedrals a faked soul/spirit in the leaves is the moon: the moon cannot be escaped (i.e. it is death, it is a bloody death), whether in nature, through institutions/church, or passion or death. Further, here man as the leñadores create more space - by cutting down trees - for the moon’s light to shine on, thus creating more space for blood and death (this is what the moon represents and is associated with). Man kills nature, which in essence means man kills man.

224 His Women figure calls out to the workers that “Menschen ruft Streik” and “Natur ruft Streik” (People call for a strike, nature calls strike) (7).

225 Further, nature (as unadulterated environment) is longed for but violated by the urban, voiced by a group of land-laborers stating: “Die fremdlosen Städte zerbrechen unsre Kraft – wir wollen Erde” (21).
confinement of a physical mapping and a sovereign political-cultural boundary and a common ‘international’ (non-national) space is created.

Toller’s drama takes place in an office setting, the market place, an urban setting; Lorca’s in the countryside, in a rural setting, a small village, yet these ‘settings’, these physical spaces are brought together through their ‘mystic, irreal’ settings which are not defined. Through this common break and elevation beyond specificity into a realm of the ill-defined, intangible, there is a similar sense of space, of physical presence in this ill-defined space which then becomes defined through its commonness. With these ‘parts’ of each of the two dramas established as ‘common’, then the rest of each drama, the rural in Lorca and the urban in Toller, share a common space; Lorca’s rural space is also Toller’s (artistic) rural space and Toller’s urban space is also Lorca’s (artistic) urban space. Tradition, the Church and family feuds in Lorca’s piece become a part of those in rural Germany through Lorca’s break with geographical specificity and definition; likewise Toller’s produced urban tensions, strikes, and brute machinery become a part of those in urban Spain equally through Toller’s break with geographical specificity and definition.

They each define perspectives as ‘forces’ in a socio-political ‘dynamic’ of conflict through ‘types’ (i.e. mother, boyfriend, girlfriend, father, servant, child, husband, worker, official, business person) which allows for identity to these ‘types’ not secluded or bound to locality or nation (or language), but internationally. A conservative, over-bearing, tradition-wrought and embittered mother is equally identifiable in Lorca’s Andalusia of 1930 as it is in Toller’s Germany of 1922 or 1930. A striking ‘worker’ in Toller’s drama is equally identifiable in Berlin or Stuttgart of 1922/1930 as it is in Madrid or Barcelona.
of 1930 or 1936. Each of these authors masterfully craft an artistic production which is bore of organic, local events and present them in a fashion that make their work accessible, real and relevant and even important to an audience much beyond the linguistic and national source of its creation.

Section III: *Hoppla, wir leben!* and *La casa de Bernarda Alba*

A second parallel, between Lorca’s *La casa de Bernarda Alba* and Toller’s *Hoppla, wir leben!*, is necessary to demonstrate that the first parallel was not simply a fluke or a one-time occurrence (coincidental), but is a part of a ‘trend’ – an international literary trend with the focus here specifically on that between Spanish and German theater. Continuing the discussion with a second example of parallel will also evidence growth and development in the trend – most notably through further artistic experimentation in style and techniques (reaching broader audience(s)) as well as more clearly and definitively presented critical socio-political perspectives. In the proceeding section I will specifically explore common artistically produced space as confined, society as controlled by elitism and money, and literary perspective creating (and advocating) a break through this intellectually and physically.

To begin with, Lorca wrote *The House of Bernarda Alba: Drama of women in villages of Spain (La casa de Bernarda Alba)* (1936)\(^\text{226}\) as three acts with an intention of photographic document. As an intended mechanical reproduction, in black and white, he experiments with style, with directness, and with a transcendent sense of division. The play takes place in the house – again in Southern rural Spain - of Bernarda Alba with her

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\(^{226}\) Ynduráin writes that the manuscript was completed on Friday, June 19\(^\text{th}\), 1936 (only two months before Lorca was to die) (129).
servants and five girls who are all single, supposed virgins and between the ages of 20 and 39 years old. The slightly senile grandmother Maria Josepha lives in the house; both the grandfather and Bernarda’s husband are dead. Bernarda rules with strict authority. The servant, La Poncia, 60, seems a sort of intermediary voice. Events, sounds and stories from ‘outside’ the house are gossiped of within, amongst the daughters. Angustias, the oldest daughter as well as that with the largest inheritance, is supposed to wed Pepe el Romano. However, the youngest two sisters Adela and Martirio are also in love with Pepe. Pepe in the meantime has been sort of double-playing between Angustias and Adela. In the end Adela ends up killing herself once Bernarda and the rest of the family learn of the affair.

Toller’s Hoppla, We Live! (Hoppla, wir leben!) (1927) has a prologue and five acts with cinematic pictures in between acts.227 As Lorca, the form of his presentation is experimental, more direct and very contemporarily accessible. The prologue takes place in a prison in 1919, where a group of revolutionaries – Karl Thomas, Eva Berg (who is a young woman in love with Karl), Wilhelm Kilman, Albert Kroll, Frau Meller and a sixth unnamed convict - await their execution. To their surprise they are relieved of their death sentences. Karl apparently goes ‘mad’ and is taken to a mental institute. Kilman is unbeknown to the rest of those convicted, pardoned on grounds of having been in the ranks of revolutionaries against his will. The rest finish their sentences and are later released. In the first act, the action continues eight years later in 1927, as Karl Thomas is released from a mental institute and enters a world foreign to him. He encounters his

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227 The title is taken from a chanson from Walter Mehring. Toller’s Hoppla premiered in the Kammerspielen in Hamburg and was then performed – with the cinematic features – as an Erwin Piscator production in Berlin at the theater at Nollendorfplatz. Toller’s original Hoppla was only four acts; but adaptations were made for the Piscator premiere – which is the edition that has popularly remained in print and from which I will proceed with my analysis.
earlier revolutionary ideals outdated, forgotten, or betrayed by many. Eva Berg, now an activist and strike organizer, takes him in. Karl learns that Wilhelm Kilman was now active in the government as a minister – hobnobbing with bankers and upper-class aristocrats. A Socialist, Communist and the Right-wing conservative compete in rather corrupt elections with the minister of war being elected. Karl is frustrated. Upon acquiring a job as a waiter in the Grand Hotel – through a friend Mrs. Meller – he debates an attempt on Kilman’s life, decides not to shoot him but in this exact moment a Nationalist student – disguised as a waiter – turns out the lights and assassinates Kilman. Karl is blamed and commits suicide in jail, just moments before the real killer is found.

In these two pieces, Lorca and Toller create a very parallel sense of distinct social hierarchy or even class repression. Their figures are quickly judged, restricted in their movement – physically and intellectually – within social spaces. An atmosphere is created which is threatening to one’s personal space. Each playwright makes a point of distinguishing each figure’s economic situation – even more precisely than in their first pieces (Bodas and Masse Mensch) – and presenting consciousness of this between figures. There are contrasts between the wealthy, the nobles, military, and landowners with that of the working class, laborers and servitude. This social restrictiveness and unjust politics is evenly felt in Toller and Lorca and by considering these pieces side-by-side one does not come away with separate senses of a Spanish problem and a German problem, rather there is a sense of a common Spanish and German conflict. It is important that the pieces be experienced together in order to fully understand the international phenomenon they are a part of.

228 In the first two pieces discussed, Masse Mensch and Bodas de Sangre, there was the force of the economic disposition; here this develops into a more clearly defined and elaborated structure of hierarchy and its infiltration into spaces.
Lorca creates an artistic hierarchical space in which his mother figure Bernarda rests at the top. She has servants – ‘la Criada’ (not named) and ‘la Poncia.’ In between the top and the bottom level, are her daughters. Even her daughters are distinguished by their financial worth – according to their inheritance. Angustias has the greatest inheritance (herencia), the others less (181-2). Bernarda shows her disdain and distance from the ‘poor’ - “los pobres son como los animales; parece como si estuvieran hechos de otras sustancias” (122).\(^{229}\) Here the perspective of the ‘wealthy’ see the poor as not humane – thus there is no hope for social interaction or a sense of common community. Relationships are based on money, as Pepe (the suitor) “viene por el dinero” (140). The working class harvesters, “los segadores” are ‘outside’ of the house and are “de muy lejos” (i.e. far away) – again defined by their social role and class as outsiders and as workers (160). La Poncia talks well of them, but she is of their same class. Bernarda states to La Poncia, who is the daughter of a prostitute, “Me sirves y te pago. ¡Nada más!...Eso es lo que debías hacer. Obrar y callar a todo. Es la obligación de los que viven a sueldo” (134).\(^{230}\) In Bernarda, Lorca creates a figure that is wickedly judgmental and direct in her castigations. Bernarda says of her children: “No hay en cien leguas a la redonda quien se pueda acercar a ellas. Los hombres de aquí no son de su clase” (134). A social perspective and attitude in seeing people defined by their financial standing and class which stifles and dominates the aesthetic is artistically produced. Ultimately, it permeates (resonates) as a representation much beyond the local, rural physical space of

\(^{229}\) Transl: the poor are like animals; they seem as if they were made of other material/substances.

\(^{230}\) Transl: You serve me and I pay you. Nothing more! This is what you ought to do. Work and shut up. This is the obligation of those who work for a living.
Southern Spain and beyond the Spanish language; it is equally assessable as well as (artistically) present in Germany, and in German.

In Toller, there are many obvious social class hierarchies and contrasts presented. In the beginning, there is of course the “Bankier und Sohn” who advocate further oppression of those below them with “Überstunden und Lohnsenkung” (23). Toller creates class distinction in the form of address, Minister Wilhelm Kilman is referred to as “Exzellenz Kilman” by Karl – who is lonely, recently released and unemployed; that is to say of the lower level of hierarchy (30). Distinction is financial, it is a matter of power, and it is clear; Wilhelm makes it clear, that “für Arbeitgeber” there is the “Presse, Geld, und Waffen” whereas the “Arbeitnehmer” has only his “leere Fäuste” (36). Those 'below' are “arbeitlos” and have “Hunger” (59). In Toller, there are also the intellectuals, privileged, who have a “Geistige Versammlung” with figures such as the “Philosoph, Lyriker, Kritiker“ that convene “um dem Proletariat geistig zu erlösen“ (79). They are of a privileged class and position below those of real power yet above the poor and those of little means. Further, the rural figure is from outside and not of the power clan – seen in the figure ‘Pickel’ (81). The “Inflation” has dealt a blow to the ‘Hausdiener’ who gambles his money (84). Those of different classes clash both physically and intellectually. It is those of the lower classes, the working class that have but the means to strike, gather in protest in the “Großstadt” and form “Mengen in Straßen” (shown in Filmisches Zwischenspiel) (53). During the election, “300 Arbeiter protestieren“ while they are “nicht in Wahlliste“ (57). Later, the unemployed Karl retorts

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231 Martinez writes of realistic elements in Lorca’s La casa de Bernarda Alba, with one being an analysis that “hace Lorca de la situación humana en términos de clase y dinero” (57).
232 Transl: ‘Overtime and reduced wages’.
233 Transl: for the employer there is the press, money and weapons whereas the employee has only his empty/bare fists.
to the intellectuals, “Ihr wollt das Prolet erlösen? Wo wart ihr?” (80). Those with the power, or ‘authority’ speak a different language than those below – as Bernarda speaks differently than those below her, so too does Karl denote to Wilhelm: "Wir sprechen verschiedene Sprachen“ (37). Lorca and Toller’s distinguish their figures not only through their ‘roles’, but also by their language and how they speak to each other. Each author uses specific figures, with names and a specific situation, which are then symbolic for the broader group of perspectives with whom they share; such as the dominating class in Spain, the dominating class in Germany, even the dominating European class. Each directly critiques the (international) tradition of class society.

Lorca and Toller create through sole figures representatives of the grander dominating group which exercise strict authority – i.e. a sense of ownership over both intellectual and physical space. This authority rejects challenge to it and disobedience and accepts no higher authorities than itself. In Lorca’s piece, this ‘authority’ is obviously embodied in the figure of Bernarda Alba. She represents past and contemporary abuse of power. “Bernarda es la clase dominante española, clase de terratenientes de vieja estirpe, clase acostumbrada al uso y al abuso del poder” (Martínez 60) and is of “la mentalidad de la vieja derecha española” (Doménech 193). It is Bernarda who is against “todos” (124). As in their earlier pieces, now even more poignantly portrayed and defined, this restrictive perspective – of authority and tradition,

234 Transl: ‘metropolis’ and form ‘groups in the streets’ (shown in cinematic interludes); ‘300 workers protested’ while they are not in the ‘voting lists’. ‘You want to save the Proletariat? Where were you’; (lastly) ‘we speak different languages.

235 Rice draws an interesting parallel between Lorca and Sastre’s Escuadros hacia la muerte, (where five individuals are subjected to tyrannical authority with no way out), here personal sacrifice is necessary if tyranny is to be overthrown; she draws parallels between the Sastre’s Corporal and Lorca’s Bernarda (337).

236 Transl: Bernarda es the dominant Spanish class, the class of landowners of the old lineage/stock, a clase accustomed to the use and abuse of power; [Domén] ‘the mentality of the old Spanish Right’; against ‘everyone’. 
filled with fear and hate, is almost by its ‘produced’ definition through art against any sense of community, working together, discussion or progress; it represents a perspective whose ‘space’ of reality will not mix or share with those (perspectives) who are different. Thus, there is an easily definable sense of the politics – and polarizing division - of these figures: that of the Right and the growing aggressive Nationalism, Fascism, Nazism in Spain and Germany versus an organic Anarchism, community minded-Socialism and the propagandized brotherhood/sisterhood of the proletariat in Communism.\textsuperscript{237}

Through his figure Bernarda, Lorca is able to capsulate emotion and concentrates his audience in creating a sort of omni-present dictator. Bernarda is the epitome of vigilance; accusingly asking Angustias “A quién mirabas?” (130-1).\textsuperscript{238} In conversation with Poncia, Bernarda retorts – as if the absence of her control would result in the house turning into a brothel, “lupanar” (173). Bernarda demands obedience (\textit{obedecer}) (177). And any child of hers that disobeys, a “hija desobedecida,” is an enemy (\textit{enemigo}) (182).

Lorca uses very direct, pointed vocabulary. She believes her vigilance is all-encompassing; “Mi vigilancia lo puedo todo”, but here there are differing opinions as to the depth her authority reaches, “no por el interior de los pechos” voiced by la Poncia (192). Lorca creates a sense of exuberant interrogation, violation, and arrogance associated with the dominant perspective.

\textsuperscript{237} Further attributing forces contribute a stifling of free movement or thought, such as tradition and societal pressures, others’ view – both visual and intellectual as in opinion – of the individual. In Lorca, through the authority of Bernarda, others within are infected; such as the other sisters within the house; thus family can be seen (once again) as an authority or body of ‘order’ in support of ‘confinement’. The restrictive, conservative perspective needs to maintain utmost control of their physical surroundings and any ‘intellectual’ threat is immediately quelled: again this is not distinctly Spanish in Lorca or German in Toller, but when read side-by-side recognizable as a presentation and literary strategy which is beyond nation and language, it is international.

\textsuperscript{238} Transl: Who are you looking at?
Lorca and Toller both create authoritarian figures which are clearly – more defined than in their first pieces - representative of broader political and social perspectives – in their countries as well as at an international level. In Toller, control and authority are presented in figures of the government and military – those in power. The “Kriegsminister” iterates that “Authorität” is needed; “lieber Diktaturen” than “liberale Utopien” and “Demokratie” (25). Authority and tradition with respect to society and class – in German terms – can be seen in the uniform and figure of Baron Friedrich (26). The authority has control over those in the confined space; proven when Eva is given an “Entlassungbrief” (51). Those in power are presented as controlling society of both present and past.240 In the work, it is those inline, instep with authority that support and contribute to the ‘confinement’ – both physical and as a matter of perspective, inhibiting growth or movement of the intellect as well. Further, with authority, there is no room for humor. Humor is not tolerated. Karl, for example, jokingly states that “Wir Revolutionäre sind alle Tote auf Urlaub (11). In Lorca, Bernarda equally shows no capacity for self-reflection or amusement. During a relatively similar period in historical time, both authors, albeit in different countries and languages, created in their art a very similar perspective and associated atmosphere of restriction, corruption, rigidity, and censorship which then become not a Spanish or German artistic movement and political critique, but a unique Spanish-German, an international art and critique.

239 Transl: ‘minister of war’ ‘authority’: ‘rather dictatorships’ than ‘liberal utopias’ and ‘democracy’.
240 Ironically, Toller presents those in power as having determined History, where “früher Geschichtsschreiber – jetzt Journalisten (Zeitungen)” – a group controlled by, a pawn of those in power (82). Further exposed in the scene between Karl and school children Fritz and Grete where they know virtually nothing of the revolution from their history class – where they only learn important ‘dates’ of battles. Transl: early History writers – now ‘journalists’ (newspapers)
Each artist expresses their hierarchical and authoritative environment ultimately decisively confining. In *Bodas de Sangre* and *Masse Mensch* each created an intellectual restrictiveness amidst ill-defined or distant geographical spaces; now in *Bernarda* and *Hoppla* they present a very direct and defined sense of intellectual and physical confinement. Both pieces begin in ‘jail-like’ atmospheres; for Toller it is an actual jail and for Lorca it is the ‘casa.’ This is first most apparent at the physical level; but seeping through is the - attempt at - intellectual confinement, which is most vivid in authoritarian, order and power-seeking forces inhibiting the individual figure’s free (frictionless) intellectual movement. Lorca and Toller present the upper level of hierarchy trying to create (and succeeding) a sense of one’s physical and intellectual reality likened to a jail, hell, and a place of war.\(^{241}\) Again, the confined space – through this parallel – is not uniquely Spanish nor German, but a common Spanish-German presentation of confinement; it signifies an international artistic sense of restricting physical and intellectual perspective.

In Lorca’s piece, it is - ‘la casa’ – a space walled in, where ‘others’ are rarely allowed in, a space ruled by Bernarda.\(^{242}\) Ruiz Ramón comments “…la casa de Bernarda Alba es un mundo cerrado en el interior de otro mundo cerrado” (referenced in Josephs 96). The girls, all inside, are not allowed to move or act freely, nor think freely outside or within. There is no room for creativity, little room for humor, and flexibility is non-existent. Thought is stymied and opposition cannot declare itself openly.\(^{243}\) There is a

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\(^{241}\) In Lorca, Angustias refers to the house as an “infierno” (148), Adela a jail (203), and for Poncia it is a “casa de guerra” (194).

\(^{242}\) MiniK mentions the beginning scene of 200 neighbors (*vecinas*), a situation ‘documental … como unas Cortes…[conocido en España], presididas por Bernarda Alba’ (MiniK 30).

\(^{243}\) Bernarda says to Poncia, “hay cosas que no se pueden ni se deben pensar” (171). Opposition declare itself through the senile grandmother María Josefa, “con su locura a cuestas, su fascinante rebeldia y sus
sense of “miedo” created by Bernarda (Doménech 195). Lorca’s creates a space in which multiple perspectives are not allowed and an atmosphere of near ‘terror’ is imposed. Right from wrong and sanity are determined not by those ‘confined’, but by those doing the ‘confining’. It is a closed space, confining physically and intellectually (psychologically). The sense of socio-political critique is artistically shared between contemporary and past, between Spain and Germany.

Lorca creates a sense in which the confined space is sacred (as in a nation) and outside space is foreign and a place of wrong doing (i.e outside the nation, in international space). By creating such a perspective (i.e. through Bernarda), he critiques it and in ultimately showing its failure can be seen advocating a perspective which invites a broad sense of space – accepting and being a part of that ‘outside’ the house; thus metaphorically creating a sense of internationalism.

In Toller there is physical confinement within the spaces of the prison, the Irrenhaus (lunatic asylum) and within the physical societal structures exposed in buildings and the hard cement of the city. The revolutionaries are confined in the jail in the beginning of the piece, awaiting their execution; they are confined physically within a

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244 Tradition – wrought in Church, concept of family and currents of rural Andalusian culture – helped define “un mal estado social” and the ‘injusta’ of life and its ‘real arbitrariedad’ – which plague those inside the house (Minik 28-9). Bernarda Alba’s repression of this individual’s, her daughter’s sexuality, ‘no puede ser más universalmente humana’ (96).

245 There is a similar artistic response to national inflexibility and suppression; note here “España invertible” and Asturias 1934 as well as Nazi dictatorship and its many discriminatory, repressive measures.

246 For example, in the corral the criada was sexually abused by the father, the horse (symbol of death) resides here and Pepe meets the daughters out here. Further, Bernarda states to her daughters Martirio and Magdalena: “no ha de entrar en esta casa el viento de la calle. Hacemos cuenta que hemos tapiado con ladrillos puertas y ventanas” (128). Poncia, in talking to Bernarda of the case of Paca la Roseta, she is “mala,” spatially “es de muy lejos,” and those that perpetrate wrong, immoral acts – these “hombres” - are not from ‘here’ but are ‘forasteros’ – they are intellectually and physically foreign, distant from the confined, ordered – physical and intellectual - space Bernarda tries to portray and impose (132).
cement structure and through the verdict of judgment, are pressured intellectually - cut-off from their life-lines and starved. All are ‘physically’ freed from the jail outside; but Karl is to go to the Irrenhaus – a further ‘physical’ confinement, but here he is also interrogated and mentally badgered. Once ‘freed’ from the Irrenhaus, he is again within the ‘city’ – cement, buildings, and society which confines, restricts, pressures, blocks, and censors. Eva refers to the conditions, to their treatment as “gefangene Tiere” (44). Both Toller and Lorca create an artistic space in which the individual is treated as an animal, not a unique, thinking human being. In Karl’s venture, Toller creates a sense of multiple levels of confinement. The individual is caged both physically and intellectually. Through dialogues with Kilman and the bankers and then the workings of the elections, the ‘system’ – with its corruption (exposed in the elections) and brutal oppression of resistance (displayed through the dissolution of planned strikes) – is confining. In the end, Karl finds himself once again confined to the Irrenhaus after the assassination of Kilman (90). But here it is apparent to him, after being chartered around – from one physical building to another to the city and back, that the whole of the world is confinement, that the world is a Irrenhaus. As in Lorca, opposition is found through the guise of insanity.

As in Bodas and Masse Mensch, Lorca and Toller continue (in Bernarda and Hoppla) with the sense of alienation of the individual in the world. However, it is in the second pieces that the individual, with their passions and intuitions and feelings – distinctly human traits – are more directly challenged, alienated and critiqued than in the

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247 This caged animal metaphor is also used by Lorca – not only as the ‘poor’ caged in ‘society’ but also as emotion or passion caged in; here one can reference the “caballo” in the corral, wanting to escape with “golpe en los muros” (182).

248 In the end he and the others are in jail (Gefängnis) again – alle verhaftet (107). They are confined once again – physically and also intellectually.
first pieces. In the second piece Lorca and Toller present the individual (voice) amidst less confusion (morally speaking) and more clearly set their perspective as being aggressively and unjustly negated. For example, early on, Karl talks of the need to risk to escape or to follow instinct: “Wagen muss man,” even if irrational (9). Later, in conversation, Kilman represents the “Staat” (order) and tells Eva, “seien Sie vernunftig“ (24). The authoritative perspective in both Toller and Lora is always, irrevocably, presented as being firm in their sense of rationality and sanity, and disobedience to this is simply irrational and insane. Bernarda is supposed to be or considers herself rational, stating: “aunque mi madre esté loca, yo estoy en mis cinco sentidos’ (145).

Each author creates a sense of a vicious cycle, a sense of the repetition of events (failures) under the watchful eye and within a system of hierarchy, authority, and confinement. In Lorca, Martirio states “las cosas se repiten (terrible repetición)” (136). However, albeit each presents a sense of the repetition of awful things – past and present – they both also produce a strong perspective and impetus for action to change what has been repeating; not to simply accept or wait. For example, in Toller’s prologue, Karl and the others wait – statically - for death in jail; here he states that waiting for death can poison one: “warten auf dem Tod…vergiftet” (14). How do Toller and Lorca prescribe that things can change? Perhaps less confident and clear in their sense of direction in the first two pieces, in the second two both Toller and Lorca seem much more direct and clear with their didactic message; to use one’s senses (see, listen) and act (even if it means sacrifice).

249 There is a conflict between authority and the individual, between the “ser humano” and the “ser colectivo” (Josephs 98). Josephs sees Lorca’s La casa de Bernarda Alba as “an expression más radical…del conflicto entre el individuo y la sociedad” (93).
Each author offers through the sense of sight and sound moments of hope of escape from confinement. Here, in my opinion, each author (didactically) advises their audience to listen and see around them, seek ‘cracks’, breaks, loop-holes in the confined space you live and realize that there is a greater space (find a perspective of this and contribute to its realization). For example, in Lorca, other people can be heard outside of the walls of the house. Martirio hears others in the coral, “oir gente en el corral” (164). La Criada hears a crowd in the street, “gentío en la calle” (177). Noises can be heard from a far; such as “los campanillos lejanos” (160). There is even dancing and ‘fun’ outside when the Poncia talks of the harvesters (160). Through “ventanas” the daughters are able to escape and catch a visual glimpse of the outside, i.e. experiencing the ‘outside’ of confinement (note Adela and Angustias with Pepe). These (artistically implied and anticipated) ‘outside’ spaces seem like communal, social places of (freer) interaction which is a stark contrast to the space within the house.\footnote{In both Lorca – through María Teresa – and in Toller – through Karl – Doménech’s view that “la locura” can be seen as “una rebellion frente al orden social autoritario” ring true (208). María Josefa states: “quiero casarme” – perhaps through marriage one can escape - and escape the house, “irme de aquí” to “al mar” (145), “vamos a la orilla del mar” (196). Further, Poncia also desires to escape, to go outside of the house, “a mi me gustaría cruzar el mar y dejar esta casa de guerra” (194). Minik writes that “muchas mujeres se marchen del hogar en busca de otros pueblos con ríos o con mar” (the many women who leave their home in search of other villages with rivers or a sea) (27).}

As in Lorca, in Toller the window is a break in the space which offers visual escape and hope of full physical escape “durch das Fenster” (8).\footnote{Transl: through the window.} Confinement should be thought of as an ‘international’ sense of confinement and an international opposition – here expressed and catalyzing – through art. Within the pieces, with the sense of a vicious cycle of repression within the confinement, each author then creates the break (as in window, with senses of sight and sound) as encouragement that there is a greater space and an alternative to the confinement and vicious cycle in which their reality resides; here
Toller and Lorca – a step further and more precise than in the first pieces – present a strong, clear and direct sense of sacrifice, of seeing and hearing the alternative and then acting, sacrificing oneself to spur the wheel of change, to plant a seed of an alternative and new space, an oppositionary space, a revolutionary space. This artistic gesture is neither Spanish nor German, it is truly international.

Lorca and Toller both present multiple instances of death in their works. However it is the final death presented that is the most important. In the end, death’s final form is one of resistance. Death is expressed in suicide as a form of self-sacrifice. Earlier in the piece, Karl states “einer muss sich opfern” (60). In the end, Karl kills himself, with “Strich” (109). In Lorca, Adela also hangs herself. Both kill themselves, leaving their bodies to be found by those within the confined space – as an act of expression, rebellion and dissidence. The pure physical presence of ‘death’, a hanging body – whether defeated or relieved – is seen by the other figures in the plays as well as by the audience, as an ornament hanging from the ceiling, which in the ‘confined’ space is an extreme expression and image. Intellectually, both are innocent, the suicides are acts of defiance to reality - to authority, society, and the world. Through these last two ‘tragic’ deaths is presented a failure in being accepted, a failure to create a space for ones own existence (or oppositional space to that of confined reality) – but the impetus to do so.

Leydecker brings up an interesting argument when he compares Toller’s earlier and latter versions of Hoppla. In the first version Karl does not commit suicide, but remains locked up in the Irrenhaus which Leydeckers sees as a sort of ‘hiding’ and ‘an interpretation of his madness’ (131).

Adela was supposedly pregnant; with her also died, literally, a new perspective (and perhaps a change) – that of the future child. In consideration of Adela, one can even talk about a “lucha” of the “individual anárquica” (Josephs 95).

Associated with death is the idea of betrayal. Adela is betrayed by sisters. In procession to death, Angustias is betrayed by Pepe. Karl is betrayed by comrades, perhaps society. Karl accuses Wilhelm of being a betrayer of the revolution, a “Verräter” (36). Envy “la envidia” leads to betrayal (153). Betrayal
not to simply be talked about but to be seen, to be intensely imprinted as an unforgettable act and image in the minds of the audience.

With visual images and plot and figure representations being more direct and defined, so too is the language - different than that in the previous two pieces. Here, the conversations are longer, not so curt nor condensed. The rhetoric is infrequent; the aspects of rhythm and color are not as highlighted nor varied. In Toller, there are new words or foreign words and expressions used, in line with the vogue language of the late 1920s. Toller’s language used is “spröder” and “sachlicher“ (Hermand 161). Erdmann writes of Toller’s use of a “veränderte Sprache als Zeichen einer veränderten Gesellschaft” (206). A telegram and reporting style can be seen in the film addition realized with a sort of ’montage’ technique and the radio scene in the hotel (Schürer 142).

Lorca also uses, once again, colloquial language, a “lenguaje andaluz” (Josephs 75). However, this time it is a language which “precisa más y más el enfoque” and a dramatic image which is “nítida, pura, objectivamente crítica, lisa, lúcida” (Minik 31). Doménech sees an almost elimination of verse in this piece (190). The language employed is considered “economía expresiva,” enhanced by the role of “silencio” in the piece (Ynduráin 135). Del Rio writes that Lorca’s goal was to reach cold, objective, essential tragedy in realism and not poetry (153). Both pieces entail a scent of objective language, use of tangible named realistic figures and settings; not only is the social and

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255 New or Foreign words such as dinieren, unterminieren as well as other common colloquial expressions (such as “wurscht”) are used (106).
256 Toller’s piece for example is a montage, an expression of the ‘complexity’ of forces – both personal and societal – that inhabit(ed) reality. Hermand writes of Hoppla as a portrayal of a “komplexeren Sicht der Geschichte” (170).
257 Transl: clear/vivid/sharp, pure, objectively critical, smooth/straight, lucid.
political content and dynamic significantly similar, but there is then a continuation (i.e. evident in first comparison) of an international theatrical trend and innovation (i.e. giving evidence of common Spanish-German international artistic space).

Here developments in language and form are parallel. In form, Toller’s piece is innovative with the addition of documentary-like clips in the “filmische Zwischenbilder.” The cinematic and ‘simultaneous stage’ additions contextualize the piece within the dynamics of a modern society and add a visual effect in black and white. The power of technology further enters Toller’s text, introduced with the “Radio” (64) and a ”Lautsprecher” that blurt out “Nachrichten” from around the world (75). Toller shows a personal and artistic consciousness of his contemporary and the relationship between the rural and the urban and a strong perspective of the international. Dove sees in Hoppla Toller’s intended new form of ‘collective drama’ (Kollektivdrama) (299).258 One of his ultimate goals in the new form is to reach broader audiences.

Lorca’s piece is referred to as a ‘cinematic documentary’ – that which is visual, technological and both presentative and representative. Stylistically it is unique, experimental, more objective and historical in nature and closer to his contemporary than any of his previous pieces. What does this mean? Artistically Lorca is stating that history needs to be re-written, ‘we’ need to be in control of its writing. Thus, there is a more direct, political intent which is urgent and more clearly realistic. La casa de Bernarda Alba is ‘la obra más realista que escribió [Lorca],” it is “fotográfico,” “una foto

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258 In 1926 Toller stated: ‘Theater, Presse, Radio, Film, - heute ist uns der faschistische Ideologie-Apparat Kraft seiner ökonomische Basis sogar noch in seinen krisenhaften Todeszuckungen überlegen” (ref. in Lixl 164). Further, “Toller möchte “zu allen Bereiten” sprechen” (in ‘Briefe an Paul Z.’ in GW5, s.192, refer. in Riemer 165). Riemer states that as of the mid-1920s, Toller “eine Politik der kleinen Schritte vertitt, die alle Menschen, partei- und klassenunabhängig, ansprechen kann” (165). This aim was successful while Hoppla – performed in Hamburg, Berlin and Leipzig and was translated into over 10 languages; being performed in England, France, Denmark, Japan and the Soviet Union (Lixl 170).
en blanco y negro” (Josephs 74). Minik states that “con La casa de Bernarda Alba, el poeta español [Lorca] anuncia un teatro político esencial y polémico” (32). As Toller adapted modern techniques and intended to broaden his audience, so too did Lorca. Josephs states that La casa de Bernarda Alba is an “obra universal” (72, 96). Toller and Lorca’s contextual dynamics and artistic perspectives and technique and place of presentation became ever more obviously international and political (aligning with the Left, oppositional to Right).  

**Conclusion**

**Conclusion, Part I: common development**

In conclusion, there is a distinct development between and paralleled in each author’s earlier and later pieces. The audience (and times) which Toller and Lorca were reaching to in the latter pieces was a slightly different audience than they addressed with their earlier pieces; this acknowledgment is seen in an associated development in the latter pieces. In the first two pieces, the language and presentation, organization and structure is more expressionistic, evoking more exaggerated and flowing use of symbolism and metaphor. In contrast, in the second two pieces the language and presentation is more objective; the message clearer and more direct. This is not to say

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259 Being black and white – as photos of the time were, one could further draw a stretch to the political situation in Spain, where sides were aligning, with one being either on one side or the other, a situation in black and white (divided as clearly as the opposing colors black and white). In considering Lorca’s ‘realism’ and visual duality one can reference R.A. Young in seeing “la condición de una España al borde de la Guerra civil” (La casa de Bernarda Alba: A microcosm of Spanish Culture.” In Modern Language, L., June, 1969) (quoted from Ynduráin 128). Alberto del Monte (Belfagor, XX, March, 1965) and Miguel Martínez (Revista Estudios Hispánicos, April 1970) note in the dramatic conflict an “anuncio de la guerra civil.” Likewise, one could claim that in Toller’s Hoppla there is announcement of the unavoidable failure of the Weimar Republic and unfortunate rise of dictatorship.

260 Ynduráin says that ‘la dramaturgia lorquiana iba siendo cada día más y más comprometida’ (131). This may give us insight into, when in the summer of 1936, Lorca said to Guillén: “Now I see clearly in which direction my theater is going to develop” (referenced in Duran 14).
that Lorca or Toller have dropped their use of symbolism and metaphor in the second piece, but when compared - derived from this examination - there is a definite difference in the level (i.e. intensity) and role of symbolism and metaphor.

In the first two pieces, (*Masse Mensch, Bodas de Sangre*), there is only one figure with a proper name (Sonja Irene, Leonardo); in the second pieces almost all of the figures have proper names. No longer are the figures defined by their ‘role’ – as man or woman, as worker, girlfriend, boyfriend, servant, neighbor or beggar – or ‘ideas’ (*Ideeträger*), but there are proper names, developed personalities, tangibility and a sort of objectivism. Each author moves from presenting figures as a critique of broad social roles, historical structures and systems, to pinpointing exact, specific figures using (personal) names and thus reveals personal (and representative) responsibility (i.e. associated to a name and face).

Both of the second pieces have inherent visual ‘documental’ qualities; Lorca’s in a photographic sense and Toller’s with inclusion of cinematic additions (*Vorspiel* and *Zwischenspiele*, also technique of ‘Simultan’). This presents a common, growing urge to take control of ‘documenting’, shows progressive, innovative spirit, as well as a harmony between form and content, aesthetic and politics. Each presents a shared artistic and political push for a revolutionary change (not bound to country or language). This sense of objectification is in line with New Objectivity and a growing soberness in Germany, paralleled in Spain with political commitment of a growing number of artists.

In the first two pieces, there is concern for spacing, distance between – but in the second set of works this develops into confinement. In the first pieces there is hierarchy, but in the second two pieces there is a clearer (and personal) identity of authority.
Resistance to authority and escape from ‘confinement’ take on elevated significance in each of the latter two pieces.

The role of sanity, rationality and associated science of psychology is more directly addressed and questioned, and shown and deemed or determined by authoritarian figure or system. What was an ‘other’, a contrast to the social, but yet imposed an authority in the first pieces – that of ‘nature’ in Lorca or simply ‘fate’ in Toller - a mystic, higher force, greater than the individual’s will or power, leaving the individual ultimately seemingly merciless, helpless before it, before its ‘fate’ – now in the second pieces comes forth in a more concrete form of authority. With the concept of ‘nature’ and an ‘other’ – even ‘dream’ world, arose – with consciousness to space - the perception of both free and closed space (or even an un- or ill-defined space). Here, the spaces (setting) of each piece are real, tangible spaces; the dream or fantastic characters and spaces present in the first set of pieces analyzed are absent in these two latter pieces.

The sacrifice in the second two pieces in stronger; it is less a mystery (less blurry) and more an objective (clearer), conscious decision and statement of those who sacrifice. The questioning of ‘guilt’ and culpability one felt in the first pieces changes to that of active ‘responsibility’ in the second pieces: Karl and other figures try to be ‘responsible’ for what they believe in in a constructive manner, whereas in the first piece Masse Mensch the Women is caught being accused and wallows in sorry of the situation;\textsuperscript{261} even Knoll – through the system – is finding a way to express his influence. The ‘guilt’ in the first pieces seems to develop in the second pieces into both a stronger inclination to escape (to find the crack, break, loop-hole through which to escape, to create an

\textsuperscript{261} There are more active and confident female characters in latter piece seen in Lorca’s Adela and Toller’s Eva and Mrs. Meller.
alternative, a revolutionary space) and a stronger sense of individuality, moral and ethic over a popular political compromise to and acceptance of social injustices.\textsuperscript{262}

In the first pieces there was violence and death as there is in the second pieces. There is death in all of the pieces, but ‘violence’ is intentionally brought forth in the first two, whereas in the latter pieces the death and the dynamics, the forces leading to and the significance of the death supercede the act of violence itself. The ‘violence’ is less poignant and eschewed to the side for death. Violence is more directly expressed, traumatic and more forwardly (and emotionally) portrayed in the first pieces. However, in the latter pieces there is a heightened consciousness, tangibility and clearer understanding of the ‘why’ of death (relates to greater focus of the forces which lead to this death). Death is more real and tangible in these latter pieces than it is in the first two; while in the first two one does not actually see the dead in Lorca and in Toller death is distanced through ‘dream’.

The time in which the pieces take place – in whose intellectual and physical spaces they occur - is equally important and distinct. Each earlier piece begins – thought of and written during – the early phase of an experimental Spanish and German Republic (creating political and social circumstances). Each latter piece is written during the latter phase of these Republics; a phase whose culminating failure would see violation of humanity, of social, political, and personal justice and violence – in numerous physical

\textsuperscript{262} The intellectual perspectives are first dominated in the pieces by the political – as in Toller, presented in obvious forms like that of the government and military, in Lorca perhaps less directly political but leading to it, bearing or at least grasping its forces, the personal resonances that will become, mature into what is within and is the political. One also finds the ‘social’, or perspective and thought of the social, its institutions, its organizations, and family. Deep in the definition of intellectual, is the personal – which shares space and energy with the political and social but yet deserves its own definition. It is presented (expressed) as love, it is sexuality, it is sensual, it feels and moves, acts often alone, lonely but is free and inherently poorly-controlled if conscious of itself; it is anarchistic and is a driving force in the ‘\textit{lucha}’ (\textit{Kampf}) and deeply affected (even destroyed) by the ‘tragedy’.
spaces: in urban – in streets and the take-over of public buildings – and rural spaces – villages, in country-sides and later at the fronts. Time within the pieces is limited, there was waiting, consciousness of the ‘moment’ of decision; in the earlier pieces this moment arrived with the individual being condemned by society and a societal imposed sacrifice or judgment; in the latter pieces the moment arrived with the conclusion of a self-imposed sacrifice in death. Time is more urgent, there is heightened consciousness of time passing with little change. In the latter pieces, the individual no longer waits to be condemned to death, they willfully and decisively take their own lives as an expression of their self-determination, an active stance of self-expression, of defiance to forces which they will not accept, which impose ‘personal’ growth and expansion. The second pieces are less traditional tragedies while the ‘higher’ force (whether mystic, of fate or simply the un-resolvability of conflict or combination of all) did not inevitably conclude with tragic verdict, but the individual who decided the ultimate act.\footnote{263 The created sense of ‘urgency’ associated with an active impulse for revolutionary change is a strong link to the Spanish and German literature of Chapter 1 and will be shown to be an inherent springboard for the German and Spanish literature of this trend during the Spanish Civil War.}

\textit{Conclusion, Part II: common artistic German-Spanish international perspective}

In experiencing Lorca and Toller’s theater side-by-side, a distinct Spanish-German international artistic perspective and technique is evident. The conflict and tragedy each presents is very similar. It is presented as a sort of germinating conflict and tragedy, it is growing, but also staggering in its ‘pressure’ build-up; it has a past, but focus [of artist in and through pieces] is on their then contemporary. Here, the dynamic of the issues surrounding the conflict and tragedy are explored. One starts to see the development of the sense of the ‘forces’ which are for or against one. The relation(ship)
of the dynamics of the conflict with this ‘other’ or foreign [later] are increasingly explored and exposed by each author.

The developed sense of distance, foreignness and otherness created in all of the pieces is not defined by nation or language which this allows for (in artistic presentation) Spaniards to consider other Spaniards foreign and Germans to consider other Germans foreign. Likewise, it allows for Spaniards to consider Germans common and Germans to consider Spaniards common.

One’s sense of identity and even sense of physical space is not defined by nation or language. The perception of physical space as national (Spanish, German) is sidelined for a focus on the regional (Andalusia, Berlin, Munich) as representative – its climate and weather and atmosphere as spatial attributes, its structures, landscape, and distances between that which is inside it. In Lorca it is the ‘rural’ physical space whereas in Toller all is experienced in the ‘urban’ physical space, with its rhythms and aesthetic – both familiar yet curious to a universal audience. Lorca’s rural and Toller’s urban complement one another. Lorca’s rural Spain becomes metaphorically, symbolically representative of German and an international rural space and Toller’s urban Germany becomes metaphoric for Spanish and an international urban space.

Lorca and Toller each give a common artistic voice as perspective and present artistic action in pursuit and sacrifice of creating a revolutionary alternative to the ‘other’ – the domineering, authoritative, rigid and inflexible in their pieces. Here rural and urban not only become international, but are connected through revolutionary impulse and advocacy.\(^{264}\) The common artistic perspective created by Lorca and Toller where identity

\(^{264}\) Both rural and urban together share as setting of presentation of critique and common revolutionary inkling (i.e. rural and urban become connected through their revolutionary potential).
and physical geography in this revolutionary space are not based on language or nation – is only accessed through experiencing their works together and proves that they are an important part of the development of the literary trend I outline in this project.\textsuperscript{265}

Each has been seen as prophetic in their own right – Lorca in the ensuing murderous failure of rebellion in his country against an ever-aggressive and daring authority and Toller in the rise of Hitler and the consequential blood and murder destroying his country and rampaging across Europe and beyond.\textsuperscript{266} Each is prophetic in their impetus towards an international literary perspective in their presented concept of time, identity and space. I draw on perhaps some resonances less focal – by most (of their) critics – yet no less important [in my opinion] to show how strong this parallel across language and nation is and how this contributes to a growing German-Spanish literary space.

\textsuperscript{265} In our development of the discourse, discussion and paralleling a strand of literature in German and Spanish, that of Toller and Lorca, later Döblin and Sender, then the whole lot of selected Spanish Civil War texts; one needs to re-account that Germany and Spain have different physical boundaries and topography, different languages and different histories – literary, cultural, political, social, and religious. Spain is often an ‘other’ sphere for German writers, one which had been seen romantically and as backwards. Germany had also been an ‘other’ – military, efficiency, industrialized, enlightened – from Spanish perspective. I do not deny nor overlook these differences – which are substantial. Unique in my project, in this chapter, are the similarities, the ‘common’ current I grasp in literature. In Lorca and Toller one finds two young representatives – in the same generation – artistically pushing the envelope of and with the avant-garde, finding new space, perspective and new presentations. In a similar moment – albeit in different language and history – each developed presentations amidst a new, yet failing national political space or reality of a republic. Their art would be translated into each other’s languages and even performed in each other’s countries – their art is international. When one mentions Toller or Lorca there is a different poetic or artistic aura about them; each often heavily associated with seeming divergent images; Lorca with the rural culture of southern Spain, the sexual, sensual gypsy poetic and a national theater, while with Toller it is the failed Bavarian Soviet Republic, his jail time, exile and moodswings of fervent socialist/democratic political appeals/discussions.

\textsuperscript{266} Lorca was ‘De profeta, porque él parecía adivinar el resultado de la lucha que se avenecaba’ (Martínez 64). Further, Martínez writes of the suffocating “calor”: “la misma temperatura social y política del momento en que la obra fue escrita, en 1936, unos días antes de que estallara el polvorín español, unos días antes del comienzo de la lucha fratricida, de la rebelión de las Adelas contra las Bernardas” (62). With Thomas wanting to kill Kilman and then the Rightist student actually killing him; this mirrors the extremity and radical action resonating from both Left and Right at the time (reference Dove for further discussion on Toller, 325).
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Chapter 3: Historical literature of revolution as forebode on eve of war

Introduction:

The Spanish author Ramón J. Sénner’s novel, *Míster Witt en el Cantón* (1935) and the German author Alfred Döblin’s novel, *November 1918* (1939-48) demonstrate striking parallels with regards to literary agenda, use of historical context, and presentation of the dynamics surrounding perceptions of failed Leftist revolt. Both novels were written (in different languages and from different nations) at the end of a Republic and on the eve of the outbreak of war – one a ‘Civil’ War spawned in Spain by Fascism, the Military and the Right; and another, ‘World’ War II bore and facilitated by Fascists in Germany. In writing of revolution, both Sender and Döblin continue an already established theme of literature within their respected national literatures. However, I believe their works are distinct and are a part of the unique and not yet established literary trend across national and linguistic borders that I have set out to define in this dissertation. I will explore literary strategies - and their importance - of Döblin and Sender in presenting failed Leftist revolution. First, I will look at each of these authors’ views on writing and how this relates to the two specific works analyzed in this chapter. Sender and Döblin see their role as author – and their literature – with a unique sense of creativity and responsibility. Hereafter, I will examine the initial literary spaces of the revolution in each novel by considering the three criteria of the physical, intellectual and time. Literary space is defined (as in previous chapters) as the space created through perspective produced in literature (through figures as well as narrative description). The physical presentations I will examine include revolutionary sites in the city (most notably the street) and at sea as well as personal positioning and broader
concepts of geography (national and international). In defining the presentation of revolutionary space, the role of information, and specifically the movement of information and publications - literature as persuasive, as a document, and as a critique – as produced in the texts - will be evaluated and given relevance in the discussion. At the intellectual level, I explore the authors’ strategies of employment of presentation of their figures’ psyche, trauma, political ideology and sense of commonness as well as foreignness. At this point I will look into a unique re-definition of the concept of foreign as pertains to the revolution, rather than simply defined along national criteria. Here the importance of the revolutions presented within an international scope will be addressed. Amidst the establishment of physical and intellectual literary spaces, I will further look into a literary sense of urgency and timing created in the novels. The role of what I deem as crucial moments of ‘division’ (confrontation and violence) in which the tempo of the literary revolution is either accelerated or slowed will be examined. Finally, as both revolutions ultimately failed; I will analyze the presentation of the sources of failure (such as treason, death) and their significance (as temporal closure as well as source of memory and identification) to further strengthen the tie between these two works and their role within this literary trend.267

*Introducing the novels:*

The context of Ramón J. Sender’s novel is the 1873 Cartagena uprising which took place during a period when the broader ‘country’ was attempting to establish

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267 My concentration uniquely contributes to academic work on Sender and Doeblin. A good starting point for discussion of Sender’s *Mr. Witt* is José María Jover’s introduction in Editorial Castalia’s 2001 edition of the novel. Doeblin and the development of discussion concerning *November 1918* is nicely presented by Wolf Kuepke in *The Critical Reception of Alfred Doeblin’s Major Novels* (Camden House 2003).
(ultimately failing) its First Republic (1873-1874) (proclaimed after king Amadeus abdicated in February, 1873). This was a turbulent political time evidenced by the ongoing fighting in the second Carlist wars in northern Spain (1872-1876). Local or regional versus federal (national) governance, taxes and mandatory military inscription were some of the hot points of contention. The capital of the Republic, Madrid, struggled with the wars in the north while at the same time southern uprisings resulted in cantons (albeit short-lived). From June onwards, the uprisings spread, although unorganized, among many major as well as less major cities in Andalusia, such as in Seville and Cordoba, and in Valencia’s Murcia, Alcoy, Granada, Malaga and Cartagena. Most of these cities were recaptured by the government within a few weeks. The most famous conflict was that of the resistance in the southeastern seaport city of Cartagena. Under the leadership of Juan Contreras y San Ramon the canton of Cartagena resisted until ultimately surrendering to government troops in January of 1874.\footnote{In January of 1874 there was a military coupe by General Pavia. In December of 1874 the monarchy was restored.}

Sender’s novel, \textit{Míster Witt en el Cantón}, is situated in Cartagena beginning in March 1873. The novel’s primary protagonist is Jorge Witt, a retired English naval engineer who is married to a Spanish woman, Milagritos; the couple has been living in Cartagena for over 15 years.\footnote{Milagritos’ cousin, Froilán Carvajal is also a very important figure in the novel. Carvajal died a few years previous and his ashes are in an urn in Witt’s apartment. Carvajal was a poet and voice of earlier resistance; Witt failed to intervene in his execution and is later plagued by suspicions of adultery between him and Milagritos.} The novel follows both the personal path of Mr. Witt and Milagritos as well as developments, battles and issues of the canton. The narration ends with the canton in shambles and Witt and Milagritos leaving Cartagena in December of 1873.
Sender’s novel builds on an already established literary discourse of the Cantonese affair and follows a growing social and political commitment in his own writing. *Mr. Witt en el Cantón* was written in 1935 and published just months before a military-lead insurgency and the outbreak of Civil War in Spain.

The context of Alfred Döblin’s four volume novel is that of a failed Leftist German revolution in 1918-1919, which was initiated by sailors in the closing days of the First World War. Sailors in Northern Germany mutinied when ordered on a suicide mission against an English fleet. The sailors along with worker-proletariat groups established governing councils in a number of Northern German cities. The revolution spread to numerous cities throughout Germany with Berlin and Munich as the two most visible arenas of the revolutionary fervor. In Berlin there were mass demonstrations and confrontations with the newly established government of the Weimar Republic, aggravated and ring mastered by the Leftist radical group Spartacus. In the spring of

270 Notable Spanish novels previous to Sender which address the Cantonese uprising were: V.B. Ibáñez’s *La Bodega*, E.P.Bazán’s *La Tribuna*, and Benito P. Galdós’ works in *Episodios Nacionales – La Primera República* and *De Cartago a Sagento* and Puig Antonio Campello’s *El Cantón Murciano* (1932). Interestingly, a further addition to this list is the German Friedrich Engel, who wrote an essay on the 1873 uprising which is entitled “The Bakuninists at Work: An account of the Spanish revolt in the summer of 1873” (Leipzig, Nov.1873). According to Engels the uprising could be seen as a culmination of the Spanish bourgeois revolution of 1868-74. Engels focuses on the involvement of the Spanish Bakuninists in the abortive cantonal revolts. And although before the 1873 uprisings, Karl Marx did write a series of 9 articles for the *New York Daily Tribune* during the late summer and early fall of 1854 dealing with revolution and Spain; outlining 19th century revolution and civil war in Spain and then seeing Spain as a potential catalyst for European revolution (later to be published as *Revolution in Spain*). Does Marx’s ‘Revolution in Spain’ (as a text and as an idea) have any place here? – Yes and no. As will be discussed in the proceeding chapter, Spain did experience an organic sort of revolution (which is being argued to be quite international), initiated and realized by small predominantly urban working class groups, although they were more of an Anarchist sway (i.e. motivated locally and with Bakuninst influence), than a strict or dogmatic Marxist Communism (or later Bolshevism). However, Marx’s (German) literary perspective of Spain, as a geographical space of international revolutionary potential is a part of the overall discussion in this project.

271 In considering the ‘timing’ of the novel, Montaner refers to Sender’s *Mr. Witt* as a “novella de urgencia” (645). Dollenmayer also considers Döblin’s *November 1918* “with a heightened sense of urgency” (124).
1919 a Räterrepublik\textsuperscript{272} was established in Munich. The revolution was however short-lived; it ultimately failed.

Döblin’s work, \textit{November 1918}, is a tetralogy structured around the “political crisis of the German revolution” (Dollenmayer 126). The first novel of the tetralogy, \textit{Soldaten und Bürger} (Soldiers and Citizens), begins on November 10\textsuperscript{th}, 1918, the first day of the first German Republic and the day after Kaiser Wilhelm II had abdicated and fled to Holland. It spans from the end of the First World War, with much of the first part of the novel taking place in Strasbourg and the later parts focused on Berlin. \textit{Verratenes Volk} (A People Betrayed) begins on November 22, 1918 and is a narration of revolutionary and Republic developments in Berlin. It ends with a right-wing putsch on December 6, 1918. The putsch was aborted and in the end a number of Left-wing demonstrators were killed by government troops. The third novel, \textit{Heimkehr der Fronttruppen} (The Troops Return), begins on December 8, 1918 and covers issues of the treaty of Versailles and Woodrow Wilson. The final novel, \textit{Karl und Rosa}, primarily follows the course of the revolutionary leaders Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, and concludes with vivid narration of their murders on January 15, 1919.\textsuperscript{273}

In \textit{November 1918} Döblin revisits a political and social discourse (of Marxism, failed revolution, nationalism, spirituality and technology) already established in literature.\textsuperscript{274} The first volume of Döblin’s novel was written in exile amidst the Spanish

\textsuperscript{272} Republic of councils
\textsuperscript{273} It is difficult to pinpoint a true traditional literary protagonist in Döblin’s novel while over 50 different stories are brought forth and followed in the course of the novel. However, narration of the figure of the German officer Friedrich Becker is followed from Strasbourg - where he was injured – to his train ride back to Berlin and his physical and mental hardships and recovery. He then enters his pre-war profession as a teacher of Classics, later finds himself amidst revolutionary combat, spends a short stint in jail, finds Christianity and ends up leaving Berlin.
\textsuperscript{274} Discourse of revolution especially that of human and political aspects were also written of in German Expressionism and later Agitprop theatre of the late teens and early twenties. Most prominent pieces on the
Civil War and published in November, 1939, just two months after the outbreak of the Second World War.\textsuperscript{275}

Section I: Sender and Döblin on writing

By examining Sender and Döblin’s concept of and intent in writing – a number of common strategies will be shown relevant and important in later (i.e. in this chapter) cultivating understanding of specific literary parallels and their significance in Mr. Witt and November 1918. To begin with; Sender distinguishes himself and his writing, setting himself and his literature a part from the literature preceding him,\textsuperscript{276} thus defining a part of the trend that I am proving to show and of which he was a part of. He ridicules numerous 19\textsuperscript{th} century novels and criticizes the literature of the first 30 years of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century as not being authentic, of being false over everything and irresponsible (nym 160).\textsuperscript{277} For Sender, the epoch which has arrived is that of \textit{responsibilidad} (nym 159).\textsuperscript{278} This is a responsibility of the author to society as well as a responsibility of the reader. The epoch of literature before him was not responsible, did not deem nor understand what he terms “el principio vital,” (vital/fundamental principle) which is within ‘each of

\textsuperscript{275} \textit{November 1918} was a historical novel, “der in jedem Augenblick die Gegenwart meint” (Mayer 126).
\textsuperscript{276} Sender “es el nuevo gran escritor que ha venido a animar nuestra literatura” (Sáenz, 79).
\textsuperscript{277} For example, novels in which the protagonist goes to a national foreign, uncivilized place often set in Africa or in the wild among indigenous people. There is a sense of adventure and little if any sense of social responsibility portrayed in such novels. Here Sender brings a supposed civilized ‘foreigner’ into ‘Spain’.
\textsuperscript{278} The concept of responsibility of author and reader can be seen at work in authors of the movement I am outlining. For example, Ana Escartín Arilla writes of a correlation between the idea that Max Aub and Ramón J. Sender expressed in their writings about the “responsabilidad del narrador” (352).
Concerning both works, this personal responsibility is important for the author and reader in a very social sense.

In understanding and evaluating a text, the critique is the responsibility of each reader, as Döblin [the] “Schlußfolgerungen dem Leser überlassen ..... ihn zu bestimmten Einsichten in gesellschaftliche Zusammenhänge, zu urteilen und zu persönlichen Entscheidungen zu veranlassen“ (Links 310). For Döblin, reading is an active, not passive, experience. It is an individual experience and a personal sort of exercise and challenge to delve into a novel and decide – for yourself (the reader) – the meaning and message of what it is that was read. Here, there is also a community component to this; Döblin mentions the specific views in relation to community. Thus, the reader need be challenged to be able to decide, think on their own accord, not be bullied or persuaded or simply lack-lusterly go along, but to take their own intellectual initiative to make a decision of their view, their interpretation, their judgement. They are not in a world alone with their 'I-ego’, they live within a world of many people; vivir es convivir (as Sender wrote) – and the individual decision need be seen amidst, as a part of this community of people. Herein lay a distinct meaning and further didactic sort of essential element to writing and the reader’s reception - what the reader gains from the reading experience. Both Döblin and Sender were politically unsympathetic with the Right and were warm - to varying degress – to the Left. Döblin was perhaps less overtly propagandistic politically (although very sympathetic with the Left and Socialism), but socially concerned, artistically progressive, and as a doctor was more scientific and rational,

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279 Döblin also writes of previous literature not being responsible enough. In reference to the rise of Hitler, Döblin writes “wir haben unsere Pflicht versäumt” (we’ve failed in our responsibly/task) (Briefe, Austellung, 459).

280 “To leave conclusions to the reader....for him to judge specific insights into certain societal interrelations and leave him/her to make own personal decision.”
psychologically curious and later pursued more spiritual and religious inquiry. Sender on the other hand, moved from Anarchism to Communism (later distancing himself from Communism). Their shared idea of there being a peculiar authorial responsibility was an idea that figured prominently in socialist thought (especially Marxism-Leninism).281

The responsibility of the author and the reader has a lot to do with the advocacy of perceiving literature as a social experience between author and their reading audience. It is about realizing the self as a part of a larger society of ’selves’. One’s own life cannot be perceived (nor the lives within the novels) without being consciousness of the larger panoramic, perspective and the point of reference (Sender, nym 161). The individual needs to be conscious of the larger (historical) moment in which they exist and their role within that dynamic. Döblin writes of historical responsibility in considering the rise of Fascism in Germany: “die Verantwortung für die historische Entwicklung“ is “nach wie vor dem einzelnen aufgeladen“ (referenced in Links 305).282 The individual need also be conscious of the larger physical geography or spaces and vastness of intellectual perspectives – and their interaction. The individual (and reader) does not exist alone, rather amongst others. Sender writes that “to live” means that one “lives with others”, vivir es convivir, and perspective of ‘others’ gives way to the greatest human product which is the “creación en común” (nym 161).283 In a sense, both authors invite their reader to take part, actively in their novels. They each try to produce a sort of communal

281 Here, Siegfried Lokatis’ Der rote Faden (Cologne: Böhlau 2003) addresses issues of author responsibility, predominantly during the post-WWII period. The issue of author responsibility is not new; Lokatis recalls Kant’s appeals as well as Karl Marx’s words “....der Zensur ist unverantwortlich“ (censorship is irresponsible) (19). Lokatis continues with responsibility developing from two sort of perspectives: one from the feeling of a moral responsibility to society, community and the greater of humanity – and another sort of responsibility which developed from (or into) the stark Communist line of (what he phrases) “juristische Haftbarmachung“ (judicial accountability) (23).
282 Transl: Responsibility for historical development is as before left to the individual.
283 Mr. Witt en el Cantón exhibits consciousness of “la esencia de lo popular” (Nueva Cultura 21).
perspective – with their literature. It is of a Leftist-political sway, but it is not overtly propagandistic. Luis Ponce de León observes that in Sender’s novels “se ve el interés...por el hombre y su libertad y dignidad como valores superiores a los partidos” (124). Both politically and artistically, the novels produce a sense of importance and focus on social (many) versus individual (sole) perspectives. Sender’s literature exemplifies this principle: “Su credo (de Sender)...es un espíritu muy representativo de nuestro tiempo; porque afirma lo social y lo vital en contra lo antiviral y lo individual” (Nueva Cultura 22).

One of the most outstanding qualities of each of these works I am looking at is the authors’ acknowledgement of and dedication to the ‘socio-political’ and human(e) aspect, its complexity and dynamic. For example, in the words of Sender, in using the ‘we,’ reality is seen “dialectically, not ideally, which is analytical and critical, but also a part of a dynamic conception of reality” (nym 166). In terms of applying this concept to his own writing, in Mr Witt en el Cantón, Sender successfully incorporates a multiperspectivismo that attempts a presentation of a dynamic and complex reality in literature (Carrasquer 90). For both authors, this dynamic ‘reality’ is one which is wanted to be understood. The intricate relationships in reality are unveiled in literature.

Döblin also perceived a reality as dynamic and often wrote of the author’s role in writing of such a reality. He sees the author as a scientist who plays “mit der Realität” which can lead to an “überreale Sphäre” (Überrealität) and a “neue Realität” which in

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284 Zamora may sum up one of the most outstanding threads in each novel when he writes that Mister Witt en el Cantón carries a message of “compromiso ... con la condición humana: con la humanidad” (607).
285 His crede (i.e. Sender)...is a spirit very representative of our time; because it affirms the social and fundamental in contrast to the antiviral and the individual.
286 Sender’s literature crosses boundaries. It is a universal and human literature with a “preocupación social” (El Sol, 25.4.36).
287 Furthermore, in “El realismo y la novella” Sender is concerned with revolution, its reality and perspective.
turn may unveil new truths (*BW*, 223). According to Döblin, the author and poet have “mehr Zugang zur Realität und zu mehr Realität Zugang als sehr viele andere” (R&W, 308).  

Döblin’s author is a social, political and psychological scientist. The subject under study in both novels is a failed revolution – and oftentimes the psyche of those amidst it. Although physically brutal and sensually demanding, a revolution is delicate, dynamic, volatile and unpredictable. Assuming the role of a scientist, the author prods and pokes the revolution. He observes it and runs experiments.  

A scientist invokes rhetoric or images of the study of cause and effect relationships, timing and size of additions and subtractions, conditions, reversibility, substitutions, finding and disrupting equilibriums, calibrating, proposing and dismissing hypothesis, testing, and simply experimenting. As scientists, each author reveals dynamics within the spaces of the context, being a revolution, and their message to the reader through literature. They further seek to understand the interaction of individual forces which together maintain equilibrium; these novels at times seem to be a sort of scientific, literary presentation of social equilibrium and disequilibrium.

One of Döblin’s literary strategies in producing a form through which this sort of responsibility as well as a means for his experimenting, is montage. The literary style of montage served as a “means of the figuration of new, visionary social space (in the 1920s)” (Jennings 132). In creating perspective of space, both Sender and Döblin develop, shift, contrast and conflict perspectives. Some literary perspectives and spaces are ‘walled’ in such as with Sender’s figure Witt. Both authors create perspectives aware

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288 “More access to reality and to more reality access than many others.”
289 Koepke states that *November 1918* is not only an experiment, but an expedition in a new unknown land (199).
290 This ‘new, visionary social space’ has a lot to do with Lefebvre’s ‘revolutionary space’ discussed in preceding chapters.
of distancing: from above, outside, below, and hearing things from distance. In a sense, there is a literary attempt at an ‘omni-eye’ created through multiple perspectives and a sort of ‘overlapping.’ For example, Döblin’s narrative follows a number of stories (over 53) throughout his work. Let us say, for example, he writes from Hilde’s perspective for a few pages, then on to Becker’s, then Maus’, then Stauffer’s, then President Wilson’s and back to Stauffer’s and so on. We can say that each ‘character’ or personality is presented to the reader along with ‘their space’ of reality, their ‘perspective’ of their reality and the reality around them; this all occurs at distinct times, i.e. within distinct temporal frames or a defined moment. Within each of these ‘figure spaces’ is the revolution. We could then for examples say that ‘the revolution’ is a densely shared space in Döblin’s work. The revolution is not a figure per se and is not defined through a conscious (a thinking body) perspective as are the figures. However, the revolution, with the multiplicity of spaces overlapping upon its coordinates, becomes a densely shared space and could therefore be considered a point of reference, an axis or even basis of connection and linking of each of Döblin’s figures’ as well as ‘other’ spaces and perspectives. The ‘space of the revolution’ grows, becomes ‘more filled in’ as Döblin’s narrative perspectives continue to develop. The space of the revolution is analogous to a canvas of undefined shape. As more and more perspectives are brought forth, more and more ‘colors’, objects, things began to take form on the canvas until upon the canvas one sees a detailed painting within a bounded space. In other terms, increasing perspectives increases the pixel density and therefore clarity and definition. The

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291 The sense of distance between figures and places – already extensively discussed in theater of Lorca and Toller – now is also important in developing a critical sense of geographical and ideological space in novel form in Sender and Doeblin.
dynamics of the ‘revolution’ and ‘failure’ become increasingly ‘denser’ shared space as Döblin’s and Sender’s novels develop.

Ultimately, artistic innovation is revealed as agenda through form. Created is a whole composed of many unique entities. I hesitate or rather abstain from saying ‘parts’ for the term implies incompleteness, absence of sovereignty and an appendage-like quality – this is something Döblin would adamantly disdain concerning the make-up of a novel. As discussed above regarding individual and reader responses, so too is the novel itself viewed by Döblin – his social and literary perspective carry significant consensus. Each part is as autonomous as a part of the whole or on its own.292 Döblin wrote: “Wenn ein Roman nicht wie ein Regenwurm in zehn Stücke geschnitten werden kann und jeder Teil bewegt sich selbst, dann taugt er nicht“ (Bemerkungen zum Roman 126).293 The different parts of each work occupy its own space and takes responsibility for itself within larger spaces. Sender writes: “..que nuestras obras tiene una vida en sí mismas” (nym 169). This relates to Sender’s principio vital and the earlier discussion of responsibility; both concepts are demonstrated with this literature.

Through the experience of reading, one learns, and relearns how to perceive. Through perception space is produced. Through physical perceptions – as in rural and urban landscapes, objects, and appearances - a physical space is produced. Through intellectual perception – argumentation, rhetoric, thinking processes, and discussion - intellectual space is created. As the individual (and individual reader) is unique yet a part of a whole community of people (reading audience), the parts of a novel together

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292 In a sense, each part is individually responsible but yet a part of the whole, of the community of parts. This could also be considered within the frame of the term “democratization of literature” posed by Jost Hermand in Die Kultur der Weimarer Republik.

293 If a novel cannot be cut into ten pieces as an earthworm with each part still moving itself, then it is not worth anything.
compose an entire novel yet are autonomous on their own; so too are moments in time a part of a grander chronology of history as well as unique, individual moments. Each of these novels are historical – in presenting a past ‘moment’, yet these past moments are as well a part of the reader’s contemporary (time of publication).

This literature is a test, a challenge, a source and historical reference. Both *Míster Witt en el Cantón* and *November 1918* take place in a historical and written during a contemporary moment of political fervor. Döblin writes that "der Dichter soll nicht politizieren;“ he sees the responsibility of the author to "humanisieren und kultivieren” (S&S 163). However, whether intended or not, the author is inherently political. Döblin writes that “Es gibt keinen unpolitischen Schriftsteller” (SuP 233). He continues: “Soll der Schriftsteller, dieser Geistige, Politik treiben? Ja, und durchaus ja” and “Der Schriftsteller soll Politik als einen integrierenden Teil des Geistes, als wesentlichen Äusserung des Geistes erfassen” (SuP 234).

Writing and reading, as intellectual acts, cannot be separated from the politics of the author – nor the reader. In considering politics and the novel, Sender wrote: “Cuando me he acercado a la política me he conducido como poeta y entre los escritores me consideran a menudo un político” (*Los cinco libros de Ariadna*, Schneider 29). Their literature seeks not to be simply art for art’s sake nor is it purely political propaganda; it lies somewhere in between and seems to uniquely seek a balance, a symbiotic equilibrium between the two. These two different

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294 “The writer should not politicize…..to humanize and cultivate.” Here, Kiesel sees Döblin’s work preoccupied with the question of “How did Hitler come about?” outlining the rise of National Socialism as the “culmination and conclusion of the ill-fated German revolution” (215). Ultimately Kiesel states that the novel “reveals the political weaknesses of the protagonists, the misguided course of history, and man’s lapse into evil” (230).
295 “There are no apolitical (unpolitical) authors (233).” “Should a writer, this intellectual, pursue politics? Yes, and again yes…..the writer should grasp politics as an integral/integrating part of the intellect, as a statement of the intellect.”
296 Schneider writes that “Sender meets the challenge of incorporating politics into a work of art without sacrificing aesthetic integrity” (29), and further “he does not write to persuade; he writes to reveal” (40).
authors, from different countries, speaking different languages, both write of writing in a very similar manner, sharing a sense of social and literary responsibility, (historical) timing, and impetus for artistic innovation and balance with Leftist sympathies.  

Section II: Spaces of the revolution

The initial ‘spaces’ of the revolution are similarly created through literary perspective in each novel (i.e. the boat and sea, the train, the city and the ‘streets’ within the city). Through these spaces the literary arena of the revolutions is established and this provides a basis from which the dynamism of and interaction between figures and forces can be understood. The sea and the city present spaces where the revolutions were founded and transpired. The boat and train were means for the growth of the revolution; through them borders were established and pushed. Within the city streets the heart of the revolutionary discourse most visibly transpires in the novels.

In Döblin’s novel, the revolution began within the space of the boat. The revolution transpired from ‘sea’ to land. Upon land, Döblin presented the ‘train’ within which the definition and boundaries of the revolution could be established. The

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297 For example, with focus within an intellectual space and consideration of temporal and physical spaces, a growing human and political identity and lagging national identity can be seen. Sender wrote of the development of a proletariat literature, during the same moment (i.e. early-mid twentieth century) and shared perhaps similar intellectual and physical spaces of his own literature. Proletariat literature’s conception is seen influenced by that of Russia and the Russian revolution. However, Sender (as other authors) is aware and advocates of a consciousness, a perspective beyond simple physical and temporal constraints. Sender discusses literature of the proletariat nature ‘outside’ of Russia (talla international) - and the ultimate development – of Sender’s contemporary but also hope of future literature, of a literature ‘beyond’ Russia. He is writing of a literature beyond a simply national identity or association and also therefore beyond, outside of or better expanding past spatial boundaries of temporal significance and event (Literatura Proletaria).

298 Sender’s novel is referred to as “una novela de la ciudad” (Nueva Cultura, 22). Döblin’s novel has also been deemed a “Berlin” novel (Dollenmayer).

299 In Northern Germany sailors revolted against their officers (B&S 158-16).
spreading of the revolution from the Northern German seaports to the mainland and beyond occurred with the train. In the text, a train, full of recruits, reaches Strasbourg:


Further, the train transported wounded and defeated front soldiers from the Western and Eastern fronts to Germany. These soldiers entered, by train, into the physical space of the revolution; deciding their role within that space. The train not only represented a medium to strengthen but also weaken the revolution while opposing forces entered the revolutionary space by train as well.

In Sender’s novel, the ‘barco’ (boat) was an insurgent vehicle used to support, defend and advance the revolution. The boat was also used by opposing forces to impede the revolution. Sender writes of various ‘battles’ which took place within the space of boats. There is constant observation by the literary figures of the boats in the novel, their movement, number, and sort - insurgent, enemy or intended neutral forces. Within the boat and the train the revolution attempts to advance to other spaces outside of the

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300 With heavy horns, rolling over scattered tracks, not stopping at any station, a special convoy from Wilhelmshaven to Osnabrück, Münster, Düsseldorf, Cologne. It had 220 sailors of the high see ship, members of the revolution’s avantgarde, Alsaser, now all sleeping on benches, in the walk-ways. They wanted to rescue Alsace from the French.
301 “Im Zug” (B&S 144).
302 For example, Becker’s ‘train’ brought the sick, wounded, mangled and traumatized back into Germany.
303 Döblin’s third volume is entitled “Heimkehr der Fronttruppen,” here the front soldiers arrive in, entering into Berlin by train.
304 For example, in the narration of “el tren para Hellín” (330). It is by train that the leaders of the Cartagena insurgency discuss ‘going’ to other sites to help (i.e. Valencia).
Through the boat and the train forces also try to isolate and invade the revolution’s space of the city. Both authors use the same vehicles when discussing physical movement into/or in pursuit of the ‘space’ of the revolution. This becomes important then when discussing who controls and owns these means of transportation and their production (popular take-over, banks and national or regional or international governing bodies/institutions) which will ultimately influence the tide of the revolution as well as representing the aesthetic of revolution (modern, issue of tempo - speed – and positioning and size, including people within). Individuals move ‘together’ – as people - within these medium. It symbolizes the maneuverability and the power and/or success of the revolution during moments of expansion.

The city becomes a central arena for the revolution in both works. The city is a modern, social, communal space. In Döblin the urban revolutionary space in the beginning is Strasbourg, but then perspective shifts and stays predominantly in Berlin with excursions to Munich. In Sender the city space is that of the walled port city Cartagena. “Lo esencial” of the novel is “el pueblo de Cartagena y su experiencia cantonal” (Montaner 635). It develops its own persona, significance, and a more defined and acute space in the narrative. Within the city space, the revolution

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305 Narration of the “ferrocaril” (341) in Sender adds a technological dimension. He writes of “la avanzada del cantón para ir creando a su alrededor un cinturón de acero” (336).
306 Also description of the “Städtchen” Haguenau by Strasbourg. In Döblin’s novel, the physical space in the beginning is ‘foreign’. I will come back to this later.
307 Other cities are mentioned – like Madrid, Valencia, Seville, but they are an ‘other’ space. Rather smaller city spaces of Hellin and Chincilla are entered.
308 The canton lives in the city. Here, Patrick Collard states that “el gran acierto” of the novel lies in a “perfect thematic and structural equilibrium between the conception, short but intense life and death of the canton and on the other side the moral crisis of the English engineer (Witt)” (Ramón J. Sender en los años 1930-1936, p.195).
309 “Era la ciudad asediada, herida, hambrienta, bajando los últimos tramos de la desesperación” (485). When under attack, “toda Cartagena vibraba” (525).
transpires on the streets. The cantonal family was born in the streets and lived in the streets (Ahumada 9). Much of the narrative description of mass rallies, demonstrations, confrontations, movement and violence occurs in the city streets. How do these (boat, cities, sea) portrayals differ from other revolutionary works, for example, of the French revolution? What does this tell us about the nature of the revolutionary discourse? Both are presented with technology, mechanization and an ideology that strove beyond language and nation in a way seemingly different than previous revolutionary presentations. There is a geographical, historical and ideological international sense of revolution presented. Sender’s presented Spanish revolution is representative and accessible to a German audience as is Doeblin’s to a Spanish or other international audience. Both novels present revolution amidst a grave sense of urgency and seeming chaos. There is a strong sense of time; the moment of time one is within as well as physical (and intellectual) movement. It is loud and interactive. Information becomes important in defining what is going on. Each author tries to present a revolution in multiple perspectives. By being in an urban atmosphere, numerous perspectives of figures are used in creating a multi-perspective consciousness of the revolution. With the use of trains and boats, there is a heightened sense of dynamism and tempo – from movement on feet within the city to movement to and out of the city with boat and train – there is a heightened, and multi-layered, variant make-up of the presented (i.e. created) commotion. On the streets, the city spaces – the buildings which tower over individuals,

310 In regards to literature on the Cantonese uprising, Engels also writes of the space of the streets. He writes of a shootout in Alcoy, as the first street battle. This is a commonality in Civil War accounts in Barcelona and Madrid as well as in Döblin’s Berlin.

311 For example, in Döblin, there are “Massen in der Strassen” after a burial of revolutionaries (B&S 262). The “Mordkommision” is “in der Friereich/Karlstrasse” (VV 160), and the “Reichkonferenz in der Wilhelmstrasse” (VV 137).
are literally pillars of power as well as places of hiding and/or surprise. By keenly presenting perspectives from varying positions and places within the city and means in and out of the city, Sender and Döblin create a very dynamic, interactive atmosphere for revolution.

Within the commotion of the revolution, the flag is something that is utilized symbolically by both authors. In Strasbourg there is focus on the “Fahne” and its “Farbe wechsel” (B&S 116). The “Rote Fahne” is often mentioned in Döblin (VV 390); it is the “Fahne der Revolution” (VV 409). The red flag is also a ‘sign’ of the revolution in Sender as the “bandera roja” was raised; however the insurgents’ only red flag was a Turkish flag (233) which carries historical symbolism of religious conquest (and blood).312 With the fervor of religion, it becomes a political symbol – of Leftist conquest. The red flag is highly visible – from the streets, within the city or at sea, entering by train or boat.

The revolution in each novel is presented as taking place within the minds of its figures. It takes place within the psyche of individual figures and in turn carries on with presented interaction between figures and groups of figures. In developing the physical spaces of the revolution, a sense of identity strongly linked to class status and political stance plays an important role in intellectual discussion and sort of pairing of revolutionaries versus counterrevolutionaries. Issues of politics and associated identity ‘for,’ ‘against,’ undecided or oscillating between movements dominates (characters’/narrator’s) intellectual concern. These concerns help to establish figures, not only physically deduced from the senses (sight, sound, hearing, taste, smell) but now

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312 The raising of the Turkish flag references a (national) history; of the end of Judaism, Islam and Christianity living together in Spain, of Islam conquering the Iberian Peninsula and the great Muslim civilization here, and of the later forceful Christian take over, their crusades and Inquisition.
intellectually within or outside of the revolution (and to what degree or depth they are a part of it). Social and political distinctions are continually observed in the presentations. In Döblin, issues of being ‘German’, a part of the ‘Volk’ and political connotations arise whether the character is for or against the revolution. Likewise in Sender the identity of la gente is presented in relation to class and social status. In Döblin, the ‘early’ Räte were those of the military and workers.\(^{313}\) In Sender the “military men” were distinguished from the volunteers and workers (333). Each author fits figures and movements within political and social perspectives. Social structure is observed by Witt as he talks of the Republic being formed from “abajo arriba” (215).\(^{314}\) Sender and Döblin present revolutionaries as a part of a community of different yet similar people. They show that there is a difference of occupation amongst many of the revolutionaries, but they worked, moved and acted together and interacted with their thought. Nationality is not the focal calling cry for a common sense of identity, but rather common social and political ideals (from the working classes and/or previously disenfranchised and those simply frustrated) unite. Further, inconsistencies in action – such as treason to the revolution and apathy – are usually first presented at this intellectual level.

The sense of revolutionary time and intellectual perspective of the revolution are linked through presentations of historic memory and politics which are highly relative and charged in each of these novels.\(^{315}\) In establishing and exploring the spaces of the revolution(s), they need to be understood within an historical relativity. There is a

\(^{313}\) Döblin’s figure Motz, a former soldier, found a “Ersatzgeliebte” through political identity with Marxism in the “liberale Revolution,” touched “mit Glacéhandschuhen” (HF 272).

\(^{314}\) From perspective of those above, there was not to be ‘violence.’ Witt states that “Pi y Margall quieren evitar la revolución” (219) as did Ebert and others in Döblin wanted to avoid “Blutvergissend” (HF 72).

\(^{315}\) November 1918 is a political novel as much as it is historical novel (Auer 93). And Jennings writes that “November 1918 attempts to occupy both temporal and political extremes of Weimar” (133).
beginning and an end. The novels are each situated within an ‘historical’ moment.\textsuperscript{316} Here, both authors invoke historic memory, creating a narrative drawing on past national events – presented with a sense of internationalism - and associated figures\textsuperscript{317} dominated by a failed Leftist revolution amidst a contemporary moment laden with rising turmoil.\textsuperscript{318} Sender recreates “una historia relativamente reciente y unos hechos que empezaban a reproducirse de nuevo en la década de los treinta” (Montaner 638).\textsuperscript{319} Thus, history is not an event that is so far removed, but is something with relevance, often cyclical and an object of study and learning - are all included in these authors’ works. The works are a mixture of fiction and fact and therefore are a valuable source of not only artistic study, but a vital source of historical reference. “Döblin sought to show the history of the German revolution in its totality” (Kiesel 217). This is inline with the montage approach where the greater the density or overlapping of perspectives of the revolution, the more ‘total’, all-encompassing the work and the better presentation he can make to his audience. In reception of Döblin’s first volume, Brecht praised the work as a reference for all writers: “Döblins großes episches Werk über die Revolution von 1918 stellt einen Triumph des neuen Typs eingreifender Dichtung dar, ein politisches und ästhetisches Unikum in der deutschen Literatur, und ein Nachschlagewerk für alle Schreibenden“

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{316} \textit{November 1918} is a historical novel “different in kind of earlier novels….it impinges directly on the time of its writing” (Dollenmayer 124).
\item \textsuperscript{317} Both Döblin and Sender employ fictive and historic figures. Döblin brings historic characters, such as the following, into his narrative: Liebknecht, Luxemburg, Ebert, Scheidemann, Wilson, Clemente, Llyod George, Noske, Wels, Gröner, Radek, Ludendorf, Hindenburg, Marshall Foch, Kurt Eisner (\textit{VV} 192). Sender does the same, with characters such as Antonete, Carvajal, Colau, Lobo, Bonmati, Barcia, and others.
\item \textsuperscript{318} Carrasquer praises Sender’s \textit{Mr. Witt} as a “novella hecha y derecha” with a “unidad perfecta” and comments on the context as “una historia relativamente reciente” (87). The ‘timing’ of the novel is outstanding: “la lección que se desprende de \textit{Mister Witt} es de conducta revolucionaria en su totalidad que tanto habría podido server de haberla aprendido en la inminente convulsión de 36” (105); it is a “lección para el presente y el futuro inmediato de España” (106).
\item \textsuperscript{319} ‘a history relatively recent and some facts that started to reappear again in the 1930s’.
\end{itemize}
Both works are political and aesthetic in their message; something that is not inherently exclusive. Each of these novels presents a reference of a plethora of perspectives during multiple moments. *November 1918* is “doppel geschichtlich geworden: ein Erzählwerk über die gescheiterte Revolution 1918/19 und ein Dokument der Bemühungen des antifaschistischen Exils um eine Neuordnung Deutschlands zwischen 1939 und 1948“ (Koepke 198). In *Mister Witt en el Cantón*, Sender displays his literary capacity “al fundir y recrear dos momentos históricos del presente y el pasado” (Díez-P. 348). Sender and Döblin uniquely and (with finess) created a historical and (then) contemporary political critique through literature. Politics, literature (aesthetics) and time (historical moment) come together.

The actual moment of the production of each work is equally similar and important in understanding the authors’ intention. Each author critically recreates a significant ‘historic’ moment – in different ‘countries’ and languages - under a very similar contemporary situation. The ‘timing’ of each work is an important parallel. Sender finished his piece in Spain in late 1935 - less than a year before his country, which at the time was experiencing a short stinted Second Republic, broke out into Civil War. Döblin began his first volume in 1937; Germany’s Weimar Republic already failed and

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320 Döblin’s great epic work about the 1918 revolution presents a triumph of the new typ of indepth prose, a political and aesthetic unity in German literature, and a reference work for all writers.

321 The context of the novel was still well alive: “la Primera República estaban muy vivos para los hombres de la Segunda. Especialmente el cantonalismo…” (Collard 199). Díez-P. writes of the parallels seen in figures such as Gálvez and Indalecio Prieto, that of Paco el de la Tadea and Francisco Largo Caballero, Galán and Froilán and Witt with Azaña (345).

322 Boixadós argues that the Spanish conditions in 1873 and 1935 were similar, but “básicamente distintas” (485). I argue that the distinctions she makes miss the basic and most profound similarities that do exist and would ultimately override petty differences.

323 There are strong similarities with episodes of the Second Republic. Pina wrote: “Hay episodios de esta lucha que recuerdan otros recientes de la segunda República. Ello demuestra, desde luego, que algunas circunstancias históricas no han variado gran cosa en España desde 1873.”
his country, heavily involved in the Spanish Civil War, was on the eve of starting a (Second) World War.\textsuperscript{324}

In writing an historical novel, the text is a mix of fact and fiction. Both authors present very ‘believable’ stories to their audiences. Döblin writes, “Dinge, wenn sie nicht historisch sind, müssen wenigstens möglich sein“ (\textit{dhRuW} 293).\textsuperscript{325} Their ‘history’ is presented through multiple narratives and perspectives interweaving past and contemporary events and varying intellectual perspectives.\textsuperscript{326} This creates an historical novel that adheres to a concept of reality and history that is dynamic, complex, and multi-perspective.\textsuperscript{327} This approach is a political approach, not presenting a story or situation with a sole perspective, but rather with many. Not writing with suave flowing lines and paragraphs that join together into one, long, chronological narrative, but rather many narratives, at times disjointed and fragmented, coming together into a whole. This approach is political as well as scientific and artistic. It mimicked a world after the first technological modern and gruesome world war. It mimicked the chaos and high times of roaring lifestyles equally grappling to understand and apathetic in forgetfulness (of historical failures). They both adopt this approach as a response to – and critique of - the inadequacies of previous approaches (i.e. as a part of their artistic genius, curiosity and creativity), but also this approach itself is political as well as modern. The world of their

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{324} Döblin writes: “mit Historie will man was.” With political perspective, Roland Links directly points out Döblin’s “aktive antifaschistische Kampf” and call for “Verantwortlichkeit” (302). Döblin himself stated: “Wir müssen mithelfen, den Geist zu entwickeln, der dem Dritten Reich entgegenwirkt” (303).

\textsuperscript{325} Anne Kuhlmann argues that Döblin’s work can be simultaneously a “Histographie” and a “literary fiction.” Similarly Fransis Lough argues that “the historical and fictional strands are equally important and complementary” in considering Sender’s text (107).

\textsuperscript{326} Weichert sees Döblin’s attempt to write “Zeitgeschichte aus der menschlichen Perspektive” from the view of “des damals Miterlebenden” (5).

\textsuperscript{327} In Döblin there are numerous characters which are followed before the figure of Becker sort of takes on a protagonist role, albeit the revolution itself could be seen as being the protagonist as well, for it is the central axis of the novel, as it is by Sender.}
contemporary reading audience involved radio, loudspeakers, movies and news clips –
technology was flowing in every direction of people’s lives and cities were booming; authors responded, critiquing and praising, but mostly intending to reach this new, modern audience. Politics were sharply polarized and nationalism was (often) presented as a counter-cry to international revolution. Psychology – the (abstract) anatomy of the intellect – instinctive behavior, trauma and rationale – interacting, embedded behind the actions of the person – were popular tools of authors of this time.

The novels were contemporary, yet ‘historicized’ - with a wide range of sources. The issue of sources is important to the actual ‘production’ of the work; it links these pieces to a realistic context, figures and places which their readers can identify with. Further it attests to – questions and challenges norms of acceptance regarding issues of the validity or definition and the form of presentation of a ‘document’ and art, fact and fiction. It legitimates the novels as historical reference as well as artistic creation through unique compilation and presentation. Ultimately, the broader the range of sources these authors delve into, the greater the multitude of perspectives they could historically create, the more detail and personalities and personality quarks they could include. The more sources employed, the more vivid they could produced a literary dynamic. For example, Döblin employed a wide range of sources in establishing and forming his setting and in following and creating believable historical accounts and events. His sources ranged from focus on the revolution and early war and Weimar politics to Christian literature and daily news. Among his many sources employed were personal accounts, novels, and essays of the revolution by authors such as Eduard Bernstein, Gustav Noske, Rosa

[328] Here, Max Auer writes of Döblin’s narrative levels with respect to the public political area and source usages (pp.65-77).
Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. Döblin also used a number of pamphlets and newspaper sources such as the Berliner Tagesblatt (right-liberal), Vossische Zeitung (ultraconservative), Vorwärts (organ of SPD), Die Rote Fahne (organ of Spatacus), and Freiheit (organ of USPD) (Auer 68). The use of documents for Döblin’s portrayal of the revolution “may be described as tendentious” (Kiesel 217). Functionally, Döblin states that the novel is a “Bericht von der Gesellschaft und von der Person. Jeder gute Roman ist ein historischer Roman“ (Der historische Roman und wir 303).

Döblin’s novel adheres to a historical obligation that entices a certain transmitting of accepted history or ‘news.’ In Sender and Döblin’s works, there are examples of intertextual reporting (reports within the novel) and a sense that the novel as a whole is a grand ‘report’ or ‘reportage’ of sorts – informing its readers. Döblin notes the Bericht or Reportage element, which is intrinsic for a work in this respected genre of novels. The reportage is a novel of special function (R&W 305). In the November 1918, this special function may be to pass information through means of ‘newspapers’ or political pamphlets. Figures get ‘information’ of what is ‘going on’ from newspapers and analyzing it themselves. The newspaper was a “means” to communicate, to enter other spaces or broaden a space through informing people. There is description of the political

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329 Auer points out direct uses of speeches, pamphlets and bill boards by Döblin in scenes “Der 6. Dezember” (VV 428) and “Die Volksmarinedivision doer Die Revolution sucht eine feste Anstellung” (K&R 107).
330 Jennings states that the work sets itself many challenges in “a commemorative or, in Walter Benjamin’s terminology, redemptive historiography” (135).
331 Reporting of revolution by Spanish newspapers, like La Jornada and La Acción (1918/1919) eerily resemble reading Döblin’s novel.
332 There are two forms of reporting: the überreale and of the Fabulierens (BW 222). It is through this that the negation of the real sphere and the guarantee of a playing with reality occur and a new and besondere (special) reality is found. In deviation from pure reporting, Döblin justifies an author’s creation of a “Scheinrealität” und role to please, tenses, empowers und raises the reader (“uns erfreut, entspannt, kräftigt und steigert”) (Roman, 295).
333 That is to say, the “Zeitung als Mittlen“ (HF 68), “als Gerüchtverbreiter, Stimmungsbestimmer, Kommunikationsmittel“ (HF 115).
developments in the papers which are often read aloud and then passed on or relayed to other figures. A discussion will often times develop. There are numerous examples of political fliers and pamphlets calling for demonstrations being shared and scattered about. In Döblin, pamphlets warned those in Berlin of the Spartacus movement (HF 72). They were distributed in the city to call for mass protests (HF 169). They were means of finding a common identity within the revolution, for example that of a “proletariat” (HF 115). When the Berlin Police Chief Eichhorn was let go by the Prussian Domestic Minister Hirsch, news spread like wildfire and everyone rushed to the papers until “ganz Berlin wußte die Neuigkeit” (KR 268).334

In developing his novel, Sender’s research was also extensive; he visited Cartagena, referenced local papers and witnesses, and was strongly influenced by Puig A. Compello’s historical novel, El Cantón Murciano (1932) (Jover, intro, 51). Within Sender’s novel, as with Döblin, passing of information by newspaper helped to establish the spaces and state of the revolution. Events in Hellín are ‘learned’ of through reading the local newspaper, El Cantón, where at first it was falsely understood with “noticia de ‘gran’ triunfo en Hellín” (348). The first naval encounter was reported in El Cantón and reactions spread to the streets.335 The government’s perspective of the revolution is brought into narrative through the newspaper when Witt reads words of Pi y Margall: “Qué quieren los intransigentes?” (215).336 Use of newspapers and pamphlets heightens the historical presence in each novel.337 Information is a key element and means in each

334 “Flugblätter” were then distributed, there was to be a Massendemonstration (4.Januar).
335 The “respuesta de Contreras, cello en la vigilancia, tragedia en el mar, en El Cantón se adviertan claramente…todo eso transcendia a la calle” (393).
336 Discussion of the revolution and the passing of information arises in discussion between Witt and an editor of the ‘Times’ newspaper (27th of August).
337 Along with newspapers and pamphlets, letters are also a major means of sharing of information in both novels. In Sender pivotal issues are brought to the narrative through letters from Carvajal, Colau, and
novel. Through passing of ‘information’ in the texts there is a development, discourse and discussion of the revolution. The effect and role of writing within writing is important – it is reflective; as the newspaper influences figures in the novels, so too these novels – as written material – may influence their reading audience. It also is a critique of the bounds of literature, blurring to an extent the difference of daily publications and the classic ‘novel’ form. Why should a novel also be newspaper-eske and likewise why can a newspaper not also be artistically, literarily valuable? Further, the press was more layered at this point than in previous times; through technology it was complemented by radio and cinematic news clips (also intermingling of art and news seen in artistic radio bulletins and radio-theater). The ability of ‘news’ and ‘print’ to reach larger and broader audiences (internationally) and faster is a distinct feature of this period (in comparison to previous periods). Print was also translated and became ever more international (Fascist print translated from Italian, Communist materials translated from Russian). Also, politically speaking (although perhaps less unique) print was an important tool in persuasion and was even a sort of weapon (using it at front lines, factory theaters, proletariat stages in Berlin and Madrid, translated publications from abroad). At this time, print publication and the revolution was building upon a tradition since 17th century England with an ever more literate and internationally connected (and often urbanized) audience.

official English letters. In Döblin letters also play a similar role. There is letter correspondence between Stauffacher and Lucie, and Hilde and Becker (Briefe an Hans (B&S 113), Ansichtskarte (B&S 216), Hindenburgs brief an Ebert (HF 61), Drei Briefe an Becker (HF 191)). 338 Other authors of these uprisings have referenced ‘newspaper sources’ such as Engels and Karl Kraus. Engels utilizes excerpts from the ‘report of the New Madrid Federation.’ Engels mentions the quick spread of the revolution - “growing like an avalanche” (15). Karl Kraus synthesized newspaper headings, lines and clippings to create a text of the senselessness of the First World War (i.e. Die letzten Tage der Menschheit (1918)).

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Section III: The Foreign

Having established the central perspectives of spaces – the focal physical sites as well as the psychology and ideology associated with the revolution - and the sense of time (of urgency, and history and contemporary), a crucial distinction – produced by both Sender and Döblin – is a developing concept, amidst the revolution, of those for the revolution and those against it. In these authors’ presentations of revolution, there is evidence of a distinct concept of ‘foreign’ which strays from classic definitions based in national and linguistic boundaries. Through analyzing their presentation at an international level as well as simply those forces in support of and those in contra, a new definition of foreign arises. The interplay and confrontation of diverging intellectual perspectives takes place within tangible physical space, however it is not only presented between individual literary figures or groups of figures, but also takes place within the psyches of sole personas as well. The term ‘foreignness’ (i.e. against and outside of the revolution) and commonness (i.e. within the revolutionary geography and intellectual perspective) develops along criteria ever less associated with national German or Spanish identity, but evermore so due to the literary figure’s social positioning – class and geography – and political and ideological perspective.

In considering foreign from a national perspective, there are parallels in the interaction of boundaries of national spaces and a common element of time in each of the

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339 En La Libertad (2.1.36) the novel is seen as “una novela psicológica que tiene por fondo la sublevación de los federales de 1873 y el Cantón de Cartagena.”

340 The revolutions have been known to take place predominantly within their respected ‘national’ space, that of Germany and Spain. First, in each work there are ‘foreign’ elements that fit within the classic national space(s); that of Spanish or German space, at the physical level as in a country, the temporal - a Spanish and German history and tradition, at an intellectual level of national identity and its associations. There is a foreign ‘national’ space outside of the Spanish or German ‘national’ space(s). Secondly, there is also a concept of foreign, that is beyond or apart from the national boundaries; this is a foreign that is simply ‘foreign’ to the revolution, outside of or opposing its intellectual space. This ‘foreign’ melts away much of the sentiment of national identity between German and Spanish in proceeding chapter of civil war.
works. For example, in the initial phases of the first volume of *November 1918* the time is the historical moment of the waning days of the First World War in and near Strasbourg, France. This is interesting while Strasbourg (Alsace) had oscillated between German and French occupation in previous years. In *Bürger und Soldaten* (volume 1 of tetralogy) there is the question as to whether Alsace was to be German or French (46). Döblin devotes two subchapter titles to Strasbourg, in the first he ensues to describe the local area, giving some historical background (“Strassborg” 111). He then proceeds to present Strasbourg as becoming chaotic (176). The ‘people’ of Strasbourg entered the space of the revolution, gathering as a ‘mass’ on the streets: “Von Mittag ab, alles was Beine hatte, auf der Strassen” (80, 262). The physical site and the people’s presented perspectives seem to be in route towards full revolution. However, with the failed German war effort – nationally speaking - Strasbourg becomes foreign once again to the German (and ultimately to the revolution). Here, Döblin vividly accounts the individual and grander movements of the German exodus from Strasbourg in “Die letzten deutschen Tage von Strassburg” (266).

Amidst the commotion, two developments important in defining the revolutionary spaces occur which are concerned with Döblin’s Strasbourg narrative and the concept of ‘foreign.’ The German revolution enters Strasbourg’s space. In Strasbourg, there is ‘news’ of the mutiny aboard a German ship in the waning days of the war and the alleged revolution that precipitated. The fervor of the revolution reaches Strasbourg. In route to Strasbourg, Döblin’s figure, the German sailor Thomas, states: “Wir verlangen unser Elsaß. Wir lassen uns von keinem unser Elsaß nehmen. Sie fühlten die Macht der

341 “From mid-day on, anything with legs was on the streets”
Revolution in ihren Knochen. “Wir tragen die Revolution nach dem Elsaß” (B&S 152). With a red flag raised Thomas intends to ignite the revolution. The flag is a physical symbol, visible from a far which claims the space around it as revolutionary. However, the revolution is not supported in France; this is evident in discussion with French Socialist leader Pierre:


The Frenchman is given a voice, his perspective peers through an intellectual lens which recognizes nations and national boundaries and national tradition; although a Socialist and thus to an extent politically aligned with basic revolutionary premise, he is clearly tired from the war, lacks Thomas’ revolutionary spontaneity and sense of (a revolutionary) moment.

The revolutionary attempts in Strasbourg, with questions of ownership or national identity, were squashed. This is illustrated in a discussion between revolutionaries Bottrowski and Thomas.


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343 We’re leaving Alsace. We won’t let anyone take Alsace from us. They felt the power of the revolution in their bones. We’ll take the revolution to Alsace.

344 Think, comrade Thomas…why? In Kiel and Wilhelmshaven you drove out the admirals and navy officers. Here there are no admirals, no way, we have no ship captains. Prussians are there. They are leaving by themselves. On the twenty-first, at 12 o’clock sharp mid-day marches the last over the Kehler bridge. The French have taken care of this. For this we do not need a revolution.
unten in der Aubette gesehen habe, da habe ich mir gesagt, das kommt für den Matrosen Thomas nicht mehr in Fragen (B&S 223).

There is foreignness between those with differing national identities; however, Döblin also distinguishes sides through politico-economic perspectives of capitalism and socialism. As in Sender, Döblin’s novel begins – when considering national – with narrative elevation of a consciousness and perspective of ‘foreign’ for the reader. Through Thomas and the red flag currents of the revolution do reach the space of Strasbourg, i.e. - the ‘other,’ but they are dampened and fizzle out due to the inability to spread and gain the confidence and share ideology with the local constituents. Revolutionary fervor from outside is here presented as meeting a tired and worn-out people (due to war). The Germanness associated with the individual revolutionary/ies is not overlooked or able to be detached from the history of the German ‘occupation’ in the area (and lack of revolutionary tradition versus for example the French and their 1789 successes) and the revolution is not organic, and the locals are foreign to it.

From the episodes in Strasbourg, foreign perspective outside the revolution is often employed and represents counter-revolutionary forces. A French perspective defines the Germans: “die Deutschen.....sie identifizieren sich mit dem Kaiser, mit dem Armee, mit dem Krieg“ (VV 307). The boundary of their ’new’ space becomes the Rhine, but it is stated that the “Deutschen müssen von uns überwacht werden“ (B&S

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345 Bottrowski: Without the French it would have happened. I swear it. But with them, Socialism cannot compete, for the citizen. They want their flags and uniforms and officers and medals. Patriotism, glory to you in victory crown or the Marseillaise. The capitalists are waiting above and rubbing their hands together. – Thomas: Perhaps I’ll go on the sea, on a trading shiff, English or Dutch. I cannot stay here Bottrowski. When I saw them today down there in the Aubette, here I said to myself, that for sailor Thomas this is out of the question.

346 In considering spaces of the revolution, this is a unique account in that historically it had been the French infiltrating its revolutionary influence in Germany and here Döblin writes of a German-breed revolution permeating into France, albeit unsuccessful.

347 The Germans...they identify themselves with the kaiser, with the army, with war.
This perspective is important for the ‘opposing’ forces to the revolution are brought into light “… niemals wird die deutsche besiegte Schicht - Kaiserhaus, Generale, Offiziere, Alldeutsch Verband - auf Revanche verzichten” (VV 308). The situation in and perspective of the foreign space helps to define the space of the revolution as well as lay ground for understanding of the hate and frustration which was later to consume counterrevolutionary perspectives.

From Strasbourg, Döblin shifts the focus of his narrative perspectives to Germany, with much of the rest of the novel taking place predominantly in the Berlin area. Interesting here is Döblin’s foreign interjections of macro events amidst micro domestic events. The end of the First World War, the negotiations between ‘countries’ are brought into the narrative with short anecdotes and newspaper or other informative interjections. The foreign forces which ‘defeated’ the German empire in the war are given spaces in Döblin’s novel although they are often ‘distant’ from the German perspective. They are not interwoven or directly integrated into the micro contexts and they ‘remain’ foreign, influencing, but often not directly entering the space of the revolution. There is sharing of time, certain aspects of intellectual perspective, and this does help to establish the spaces ‘of’ the revolution and those ‘not’ of the revolution and ultimately movement between the two.

The concept of foreign associated with nationality is established early in the novel and continues to be presented, albeit in different ways, throughout the rest of the novel.

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348 The Germans must be observed/guarded by us.
349 Which also constituted some of the same forces that later contributed to the rise of Hitler and the Second World War. The French General Foch talks of the ‘defeated’ Germans and states that “die Deutschen verstehen Mildé nicht” (B&S 311). This is a commonality with between an almost prophetic and contemporary critique found in both Döblin and Sender of the rise of authoritarian politics and the faults of their opposition.
350 ...the defeated German class – the Kaiser’s house, generals, officers, the all-German club – will never not seek revenge.
There are nationally ‘foreign’ forces prevalent within Germany which affected the revolution. Although it is referred to as a ‘German’ revolution, in all actuality – through positive and negative influences outside of the ‘German’ identity and nation, Döblin really presents the revolution as an international revolution (or perhaps better, ‘international’ failure). The two most influential and voiced foreign forces in Döblin came from the East (Russian) and from the West (United States). America, embodied in the historical figure of President Woodrow Wilson, demanded stability of the newly forming German Republic. Döblin describes further historical figures foreign to Germany and the revolution, such as the Englishman Lloyd George and French statesman Clemenceau. However, neither of these Western characters enter the geographic space of Berlin, that of the heart of the revolution. Döblin helps raise the reader’s consciousness of the temporal moments of the revolution within the larger historical space through Wilson’s voice: “Im Krieg...man muss aber, wenn man sie beurteilen will, über eine grössere Zeitspanne blicken“ (HF 90). At the macro level, the post-war chaos, its clashes, suffering, demilitarization, and border issues, was a space like a “Boxkampf“ (HF 94). Conflict within foreign intellectual space occurs in Versailles. In this space Wilson enters with his perspective, his 14 points, as a foreigner in a foreign land with foreign ideas. However, his presence and his politics during the time of the revolution – affect the revolution.

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351 The president is referred to as the great world judge (B&S 304) and the great rational one (HF 478). Many pages are dedicated to Wilson (“Woodrow Wilson,” HF 9). He is also considered within America in “Kurzer Blick auf Amerika” (HF 450).
352 “Ich hoffe, wir sind nicht zu spät gekommen” (HF 90).
353 Term ‘Boxkampf’ describing urban environment was often employed and written of by Döblin’s contemporary Bertolt Brecht.
354 The space surrounding “Der Vertrag von Versailles” was one of an “alte zynische Kultur, Barberei, and rohe, perverse Krieg” (HF 447).
Wilson represented a foreign perspective of the Germans in contrast to that of the French, and states in the novel: “... die Deutschen sind nicht anders als andere Menschen“ (*HF* 92). From the novel then the reader gets the sense that if taken serious by the ‘other’ foreign forces, the revolution may have gained more favor and swayed less to the radical side. Wilson is presented as supporting the abdication of the Kaiser and the change of governing bodies in Germany: ”Ich bin froh, daß sie ihre imperialistische und militärische Herrschaft abgeworfen haben. Die hat sie korrumpiert“ (*HF* 92). Through the figure of Wilson, Döblin establishes a ‘foreign’ body to those forces which confided in violence to solve conflict. Problems should be solved with rationality, the mind and a sense of common humanity. Döblin gives Wilson a voice with perspective of the larger physical geography and intellectual perspective and rhetoric of Europe, conscious as well of the historical moment: ”Man muss den Europäern klarmachen, was gesiegt hat: dass man fährt besser mit der Vernunft und dem Gewissen als mit dem Gewehr“ (*HF* 85). His figure conveyed a sort of cosmopolitan, trans-national sentiment, versus that of a provincial, nationally limited scope. Through his hopes for ‘peace,’ perspective, and collaboration, the foreign force embodied in Wilson may have perhaps been seen as (if not an attempt to enter the space of the revolution), a gesture less foreign to it (revolutionary ideals at least) than other quote en quote ‘foreigners’.

Other notable ‘foreigners’ in context of nations are referenced in the text. In a section subtitled ”Anny und René sucht Trost beieinander” Spain is mentioned by the soldier René whom Anny is visiting in Paris (*HF* 289). This is an interesting and relevant

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355 He states “...nur im Gesellschaftlichen, im Menschlichen und Politischen blieben sie zurück“ (*HF* 91).
356 Also: “...ein Volk sucht sich seiner tyrannischen Herren zu erwehren“ (*HF* 93).
357 In the end, Wilson states: “Wir müssen den Leuten zeigen, nachdem wir gesiegt haben, nicht wer, sondern was gesiegt hat. Sie müssen sehen: Man fährt besser mit dem Gewissen als mit dem Gewehr“ (*HF* 95).
segment for us, while it continues to help establish the spaces of the revolution with respect to the concept of ‘foreign;’ it also connects this German text of the revolution with Spain and it’s ‘Civil War’. First, the figure René talks (to Anny) about the Spanish – tens of thousands of students and writers – who joined the legion to fight and die against the Germans: here the intertextual time is very craftily presented. First, within the text René talks of his recent ‘past’ which is the contemporary of the German revolution (and there is a sensation of physical and intellectual influence for Spain combating with – in movement towards – Germany). Secondly, during the time in which Döblin was writing the first volume of November 1918 – i.e. outside the novel - German students and intellectuals (actually) went to Spain to fight against a military regime. The national boundary between Germany and Spain is presented as permeable – there is a strong, dynamic interaction between ‘Germans’ and ‘Spaniards’. Further in the text, René mentions a Catalan troop and writer, Pujuli i Valles, who fought and died in the war (301). Döblin’s intention with this mentioning is not obvious, however with the 1936 revolutionary movements in Catalonia and the 1936/1937 international intellectual

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358 In 1938, during the period that Döblin was writing his first volume of November 1918, he addressed the Spanish Civil War in the essay “Politik und Seelengeographie”. In returning to the discussion of intellectual perception, the spatial construct in geographical terms becomes realized through the intellect. Here Doeblin writes: “Laender gruppieren sich um uns wie Stuecke unseres Denkens”. For example, he writes of Russia, the Soviet Union being a quasi “landgewordener Gedanke” (380). Physical geography, physical space’s realization in – here a country - its ‘boundaries’ are determined by thought and then thought is realized in physical space in geography. With this in mind, Spain – in 1938 – is relevant. Döblin writes “…wie fuhl man sich festgelet, ausgesprochen, real mitgenommen im Falle Spanien. Spanien bis da nur abseits, unbekannt, und jetzt taucht es mit brennenden Farben an die Oberflaeche unseres Bewusstseins” (380). Spain, once ‘unknown’ and ‘foreign’ is – in the mind of authors (Doblin at least) – at the top, the surface of the consciousness, on the verge of being realized in geography. Döblin writes further: “‘Das bist Du’ im geographischen Bilde, in politischer Projektion” (380). Here, geographic space is a political projection, the intellect’s projection, the intellect of each person. In Spain Doeblin sees reference to ‘Fascism’ as false; it rather being an age old struggle – fight – between the people and the generals and feudality. Just as ‘Fascism’ is falsely used – a quickly ascribed ideology - in describing the fight in Spain, so too is ‘Democracy’ for many of the so-called western ‘democracies’, it is the ”Elende Diktatur der Phrasen” (381). It is hear that literature ridicules and plays with, challenging ‘phrases’ as such and seeks to unveil true dynamics for/to their audience.
commitment in Spain (i.e. of writers) – all of which enduring great losses at the hands of Franco and German and Italian nationalist intervention, Döblin creates a very similar sense of international movement, sacrifice and revolutionary dynamic between his literary 1918/19 context and 1937/38 contemporary reality. Further in the novel, the figure René kept hope for Wilson - as in the later Spanish affair (i.e. civil war) there was also hope of an American intervention (Roosevelt actually did have a top secret plan in the works). The Spanish motto of “no passaren“ (in Spanish – ’no pasarán’) was mentioned; “Ihr werdet nicht durchkommen, und wenn ihr durchkämt, nur auf einen Aschenhaufen“ (HF 302).³⁵⁹ Presenting the Spanish popular expression in French in a predominantly German text, Döblin shows the fluidity of intellectual perspective between languages and validity during varying historical moments and places. Objectively, René talks of the poor Spaniards with a sense of guilt in sitting in a cafe in Paris, alive, after so many sacrificed themselves in the war, dead. Guilt is then associated with those (in literature – or even readers) who did not act sufficiently for those who sacrificed – with a dual sense of past guilt in the text (1918/19) and the reader (if uninvolved with the Left) of present guilt.

The discussion thus far has concentrated on ‘foreignness’ from outside the physical space of the revolution. The ‘foreign’ does enter into the ‘sphere’ of the revolution (i.e. ‘for’).³⁶⁰ One of the most referenced and influential foreign forces is that of Russia. Temporally speaking, the success of the Russian revolution of 1917 was

³⁵⁹ Transl: You (pl) will not come through, and if so, only on a pile of ashes.
³⁶⁰ Inspiration from a nationally foreign but intellectually shared space is iterated in Rosa und Karl when there is reference to continue what has already been started from abroad: “Arbeiterinnen! Arbeiter! Fünf Tage ruhte die Arbeit in allen Betrieben von Wien und Budapest. Was unsere österreichisch-ungarischen Brüder angefangen haben, das müssen wir vollenden“ (26) (Female and male workers! Five days all businesses were quite in Vienna and Budapest. What our Austrio-Hungarian brothers have started, this we must carry through).
recent. Physically, Germans are presented as returning from Russia to Germany and Russians as entering Germany to partake in the revolution. Intellectually it was politically significant in Germany. In the formation and development of the ‘revolution,’ numerous references to Russia are made by leaders and followers alike when talking of the revolution in Germany.

From the Russian side Döblin recreated historical characters. Lenin’s emissary Karl Radek is the Russian representative that is most forthcoming. Radeck was a vibrant Red from the Russian revolution that was a foreigner within Germany supporting the revolution, having seen how it succeeded in Russia. He is presented as moving more decisively than many of his German comrades.

There is much sharing of space between this ‘foreign’ and the German revolution. Russians and Germans share the red flag (politically symbolic and visible). The ‘foreign’ Russian presence is narrated extensively, by Döblin and his literary figures, amongst the German revolutionaries, especially the likes of Karl Liebknecht. In the subchapter, “Unter deutschen Revolutionären,” the Russian Radek, and Germans Liebknecht and Luxemburg are together (VV 384). Russian and German are then in the same intellectual space of discussion of the revolution, agreeing that the “Hauptsache” is “keine Sabotage“ and “Uneinigkeit gefährdet alles“ (VV 389). There are similarities between the two revolutions as there is talk of the revolution being a putsch of the “Geistiger” (HF 374).

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361 There is consciousness inflicted by Döblin’s narration of ‘other’ Leftist revolutions, both successful and unsuccessful; examples of successful being Russian and French, unsuccessful – but continuing – that of 1848 in Germany, when “wir fingen an” (HF 270).
362 Albeit before 1917, Engels even references the Russian brigand as model for all true revolutionaries in discussing the Cantonese uprising.
363 There is also a white Russian, a former officer, who Döblin places as an actor wearing his uniform for short film clips for money; a figure rather misplaced.
364 The “main thing” is “no sabotage” and “lack of unity endangers everything.”
Radek states “in Russland sei die Revolution auch vom einem Intellektuellen gemacht worden” (HF 377).³⁶⁵

However, amidst the momentous tide of revolutionary thought and fervor, the limitations of the German space of revolution are craftily interjected in the novel. The German revolution is not a Russian revolution: ”Diktatur nach russischen Muster gibt’s nicht“ (VV 389).³⁶⁶ Germans are not Russians, maintained by Döblin’s continually references to Radek as “der Russe” and Liebknecht as “der Deutsche” in the text (VV 396). Liebknecht was no Lenin, “wie anders sah Lenin aus“ (VV 448).³⁶⁷ The ‘foreignness’ of the Russian in regards to Germany and the revolution is ultimately maintained; the difference between success and failure are evident. A true common international sense of identity – and physical space – although initiated, fell far short.

Döblin presents the ’foreign’ trying to positively infiltrate not only physical but also intellectual space. Radek, the Russian, tries to stimulate the German Liebknecht with the necessity to be spontaneous in the revolution, “sei spontan“ (VV 396). From Radek’s perspective the German revolution is ready: ”Ihr habt eine solche gebildete und wohlerzogene Revolution“ (HF 262).³⁶⁸ They had the masses (VV 396). The situation is ripe for success:

[Radek] In Deutschland lagen die Verhältnisse für eine Revolution doch wahrhaftig besser als in Rußland, wo es lauter flaches Land mit Bauern gab, und hier waren Städte und Industrie und eine geschulte und organisierte

³⁶⁵ Transl: In Russia, the revolution was also made by an intellectual. Here, the question remained: “Soll die Revolution den Geist oder der Geist die Revolution bestimmen“ (HF 377) (should the revolution determine the intellect or the intellect the revolution).
³⁶⁶ Transl: There will be no dictatorship according the Russian mold.
³⁶⁷ Without a Lenin-figure, who will lead the revolution - “wer soll bloß bei uns Revolution machen, und wer soll sie führen?“ (HF 272). “Wenn Dummköpfe oder Lumpen regieren, so ist man selbst daran schuld“ (HF 379).
³⁶⁸ Transl: You have such an intellectual and accomplished revolution.
Arbeiterschaft. Warum soll in Deutschland nicht gehen, was in Rußland gegangen ist? (KR 252).

Radek helps to define the moment (time) and intellectual perspective, stating if ’we’ do not act, ’they’ will: „Entweder schlagen die Generale zu, mit dem Rest ihrer Truppen, oder das Volk schlägt zu,...bei uns gibt es keine Revolution, höchstens eine Gegenrevolution“ (HF 270). Herefore – physically and intellectually – a nationally foreign figure is used by Döblin to prod the revolution.

The forces presented as producing the revolution are met by opposing, counterrevolutionary perspectives which are presented in thought and action being starkly formed within Germany. The counterrevolutionary force is outside the space of the revolution and foreign while it threatens and impedes revolutionary development. Döblin presents this dynamic through a variety of figures. In Berlin, Chancellor Friedrich Ebert, the Weimar’s leading political figure, is a foreign force. Not being a part of the revolution, he becomes a leading figure against it. His credo was for “Ruhe und Ordnung” (peace and order) (VV 335). However, within the space of the revolution there was unrest: “hetzen” and ”streiken” (agitation and striking) (VV 332). Doeblin presents Ebert fearing a dictatorship of the proletariat: “...und da will man sich in einen Bürgerkrieg einlassen wegen der Frage, ob Republik oder Monarchie, und will dem Land

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369 Transl: In Germany the situation/circumstances for a revolution were even probably better than in Russia, where there was a large flat country with farmers, and here there were cities and industry and a schooled and organized labor force. Why shouldn’t there be in Germany, what was in Russia?

370 Transl: either the generals will attack, with the rest of their troops, or the people will....with us there will be no revolution, at best a counter-revolution.

371 Referred to as “der Doppelspieler” (KR 160) and “der Verhinderer” of the revolution (KR 107).

372 At one point, Ebert locked himself in his office, in attempt to escape the revolution (VV 332). He is foreign to the revolution intellectually, but is also foreign to it physically when later forced to leave Berlin when his own life is presented as being threatened by the developments of the revolution.
eine Diktatur des Proletariats aufdrängen (genug Töte)” (HF 132). Through pressure from international forces (i.e. other foreign forces) and fear, Ebert established the aggressive ‘opposition’ or foreign force to the revolution. He is foreign while Döblin’s revolutionary figures never mention Ebert within an identifying light; although he may be ‘German’, his national identity holds no sense of commonness with the revolutionaries. His aggressive opposition involved a military that just lost a war. German soldiers from the front entered a space, entered a Berlin that was different than that they left during the war: “Ihr verließet ein Altes und findet ein Neues, Willkommen in Berlin” (HF 152). Thus, it was the urban space of Berlin which Döblin chose to focus the lens of his presentation of revolution and counterrevolution. Areas of Berlin where the counterrevolutionaries reigned (although German) became quite foreign to the revolutionaries. Here, a common ‘national’ identity and geography did not distinguish commonness from foreignness as ‘Germans’ fought and killed ‘Germans’ within ‘German’ space. Political ideology – international revolutionary versus authority-warm counterrevolutionary - and ‘revolutionary space’ versus ‘counterrevolutionary space’ serve as more appropriate defining concepts of identity and geography in Döblin’s presentation.

The Right’s counterrevolution enters from ‘outside’ the Berlin arena. It intrudes and invades the sphere of the revolution. The central military figure that Döblin brings

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373 Transl: ... and here to one wants to lets himself fall into a civil war, over the question of whether it is a republic or monarchy, and wants a proletarian dictatorship fo the country to break through (with enough deaths).
374 In “Die Auflösung des Heeres,” “der Rückmarsch des Millionenheeres ließ sich in Ordnung bewerkstelligen, die Demobilisierung arret in Chaos aus, nach Berlin” (HF 99).
375 ‘You left an old one and find a new one, welcome to Berlin.’
376 From the concept of foreign, to that of ‘outside’ of the revolution, to those ‘opposing’ it, develops the concept of the enemy and the spaces friend versus foe of the revolution. Exemplary is a conversation between Maus, Hilde and Becker in the book Heimkehr der Fronttruppen on December 14 where the forces
to the foreground of the counterrevolution is Noske, nicknamed “the bloodhound.”


There was a push to weaken the revolutionary forces and strengthen the opposition. The civilian population was to be demilitarized and all “Arbeitlosen“ and “entlassenen Soldaten“ in the streets were called to join the ”Freikorps“ (HF 231-2).

Döblin presents the military as desperately wanting to take over, “Die Generale wollen Berlin überrumpeln“ (VV 329), and bring order as “Träger der Ordnung“ (VV 377) to Berlin. The “Fronttruppen rücken in Berlin ein und werden mit der Säuberung beginnen“ (VV 357). The counterrevolution constituted forces foreign to the revolution, from the perspective of the revolutionaries; it was seen as a military putsch: “die deutsche Gegenrevolution… der Militärputsch ist da.” (HF 477). Ebert allowed General Lequis to enter into Berlin with heavy artillery and he ordered the later firing on the castle and at Marstall. The development of the revolution is clearly presented by Döblin to the reader as heavily influenced by ‘foreign’ forces within the space of the revolution, here that of Berlin, most specifically its streets. Talk of revolution in such

contra the revolution can be visited at a micro, personal level. Maus identity changes with time. It is post-war Germany, shortly before the Versailles treaty is signed, he talks of “das Resultat” being “die Hauptsache” (399). There arises the issue of guilt and one and one’s environement, Maus states: “ich bin ein anständiger Mensch, der an dem Schicksal seiner Umgebung teilnimmt“ (403). Maus talks to Becker about a governement – not of emperors nor fursts nor generals (406) – but from "Menschen aus unseren Reihen“ (407). “Laß uns aber erst einmal an die Macht kommen“ (406). Maus admits he is “kein guter Mensch,“ “aber die guten Menschen machen immer schlechten Politik“ (413). He and Becker continue to debate. They have become 'Feinde" (due to politics, due to Hilde) (415). Maus leaves and debates joining the “Freikorps“ (421).

377 Others such as Wels, Lequis, Hindenburg, Ludendorff also mentioned (KR 241).
378 Döblin wrote of ‘Hitler‘ being the “glatte Fortsetzung” of Noske (Döblin an Fischer, D-Austellung 447).
379 In Verratenes Volk and Heimkehr der Fronttruppen, the soldiers are seen as tools of their superiors and the citizens as slaves of their “Tribe“...so the question remained: “wo in dieser Gesellschaft Menschen sind, die aus eigener Entscheidung mehr wollen als die Befriedigung des Besitzverlangens im Materiellen und Sexuellen“ (Links 315). The perspective of groups being 'slaves' also arises in Sender. For Witt, the majority of people “están destinados a sucumbir ante la naturaleza, a convertirse en sus esclavos“ (Ahumada-P. 9).
380 The front troops break into Berlin and will start with the cleaning process.
narrative terms is not completely peculiar to Döblin and the 20th century setting, however, unique is his extensive literary persona used and style of interweaving their stories, their experiences – with some directly coming into contact and overlapping in time and place and others only connected through a vague time spectrum or in the most extreme instances simply through their sharing print in a common literary work. The agitation and striking is perhaps more common in late 19th and early 20th century revolutionary accounts, but the sense of urgency and depth of inquiry into the figures’ psyche and elements of the personal, ‘national’ and even ‘international’ trauma of the war and the revolution accompanied by the invasion of technology into the narrative, gives rise for a unique, quite modern, dynamic form of revolutionary presentation in literature.

Through examining the concept of ‘foreign’ in Döblin, the role of certain forces (presented as in international persona and events, political leaders and intellectual arguments) and boundaries is more easily defined and more clearly perceived for the reading audience in regards to their relationship to the revolution. This same approach can be paralleled with very similar results in Sender’s novel. As ‘foreignness’ is manifested in Döblin’s nationally foreign figures of Wilson and Radek as well as those simply foreign to the revolution as Ebert and Noske, Sender also develops concepts of ‘foreign’ through his literary figures to establish a dynamic of the intellectual and physical perspectives ‘pro’ and ‘contra’ to the revolution. In Sender, the revolution itself takes political motivation and thus shares intellectual perspective with events and forces physically foreign to their own movement. For example, the Cartagenian obreros (workers) associate themselves with the ‘First International,’ which was started in England just a few years prior to their movement. They were also encouraged by the
success of the Paris commune and French Anarchist movement (pp.192-4). As Russia was viewed as place of successful revolution in Döblin, so was France in Sender. At an intellectual level with a broad perspective of ‘time’, the revolutionaries in Sender’s novel find a common sense of identity outside of the ‘nation’ and beyond their immediate contemporary so that they and their revolution are international and through their historic perspective and broadened identity, they then have a sense of sharing a common (international) revolutionary tradition. In Sender (as discussed in Döblin), foreign forces are presented physically directly entering in support of the revolution. For example, during a naval battle, a French boat intervened on behalf of the revolutionaries, loosing men when piercing the space of the revolution (394).

The (literally) outside perspectives of other nations are constantly monitored in narration. This functions as a check and balance on the development of the space of the revolution. The French, English and German all have ships viewing the events. Differing foreign perspectives of the revolution either create or dull relationships outside the revolution, for example: “La simpatia de Francia nos cuesta el odio de Alemania” (288). Consciousness of the threat of foreign forces enters directly into the presented minds of the literary revolutionaries and therefore plays a role in both physical (i.e. revolution in international water-space) and intellectual space (affecting revolutionary decision making) of the revolution. Despite opposition of certain foreign powers, the revolutionaries are resolute as their leader Antonete states: “Inglaterra…Alemania tiene

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381 This view is also highlighted in the introduction of the book’s recent critical edition by José María Jover. In Engels’ essay, for example, he also mentions the French example (1870) – an outside successful revolution - in relation to the Cantonese uprisings. Furthermore, in referencing the Cartagena uprising, Engels references not only physically but more temporally foreign episodes in the Peasant War and the German insurrections of May 1849 (15).

382 Sender’s seaman aboard the ship Friedrich Karl had a German name, Werner (355).

383 Transl: The sympathy of France will cost us the hate of Germany.
This statement demonstrates, with consciousness of the foreign, a driving intellectual force of the revolution. In the face of national – and potential ‘international’ opposition, Sender presents the revolutionaries steadfast in their ideals of a common people – here with no mention of language or nationality – which can and will prevail against seemingly greater material wealth. The key here is the needed coherence of a concept of commonness (under cloak of revolution) amongst the people – against those foreign to the revolution.

As in Döblin, in the ‘nationality’ realm of the concept of ‘foreign,’ there are threats to the revolution in Sender. Troops are sent by the government, from Africa, to ‘relieve’ the volunteers in Cartagena (228). This represents a ‘foreign’ body from an ‘other’ space, here another continent, which disrupts, invades, and pierces the space of the revolution. This shows a certain weakness of the national government in needing to bring soldiers from abroad to attack within their own national boundaries. In this, there is then a sort of re-definition of boundaries, of commonness and foreignness while national boundaries no longer suffice in defining a common ‘people’. National geography and national political ideology is not coherent and is portrayed as being an insufficient source of identity (rather a sort of disidentity). In bringing troops from Africa, Sender depicts the national ‘government’, moving troops from one ‘foreign’ place of disruption, to another. In so doing, Spanish occupied parts of Africa and the canton share in their dismay and rebellion against (any notion of commonness held in) Spanish nationalism as well as Spanish imperialism. The government is equally foreign in Africa as it is in the Canton. Furthermore, the actual representatives and physical governmental buildings

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384 England…Germany have more canons, but they’ll serve little against the uproar of a whole people.
reside in Madrid which is a space foreign – geographically and intellectually - to the revolution. They (i.e. those of the government), as in Döblin, compose a force ‘outside’ and ‘against’ the canton.

Sender personifies numerous figures as foreign in their counterrevolutionary perspectives and actions. For example, Salcedo and Capitan Lobo represent central military opposition. However, Sender’s premiere ‘foreign’ figure and the novel’s main protagonist is Mr. Witt. Both ‘Mister’ and ‘Witt’ emanate the non-Spanish, the foreign; an ‘English’ influence. It is not ‘Señor Witt’, but “Mr. Witt”, both the title and the name are foreign. In the title Sender cues the reader in to the space of the ‘foreign’ and its relation to the Spanish revolution. The title of Sender’s novel is *Mr Witt en el Cantón*.385 This invokes an image of the Cantonese insurgents not permeating Witt’s space nor he theirs, but yet there is common space and a foreign element among (within) the space of the revolution.386 Physically Witt is within the space of Cartagena (although his perspective of physical space is quite different than that of the revolutionaries), but intellectually he is distant and outside it (i.e. different intellectual perspectives). He is in the canton as a foreign body within a Spanish space.387

Physically and intellectually, Witt is within the Spanish space in an attempt to escape his own space, “le cansaba un poco la civilización, como a todo inglés culto…a veces lo odiaba,” and Spain offers him an ’other’ space388 that he likes, “por eso le gusta”

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385 The title of Sender’s novel has been translated in English as *Mr. Witt among the rebels*.
386 Döblin could perhaps had called his book *Becker among the rebels*.
387 Collard supports this assertion when he emphasizes Witt being a foreigner (un extranjero) in the canton (196). This is a sort of inversion of 18th and 19th century novels, such as *Huck and Tom among the Indians*, where protagonists are portrayed amongst popularly accepted uncivilized or savage, wild people in a sort of ‘other’ land. Here Sender presents his English-born protagonist living in Spain amongst the revolutionaries – only to ultimately leave. Thus ‘Spain’ is the site of ‘visiting’ foreigners unable to feel or think themselves common in a local sense.
388 As did his marriage.
As a space, Spain is presented as being a place and a people different from that (England) where Witt originated; this implies Spain – or at least the area in which Witt resided - was perceived as an escape from ‘civilization’ such as notions of refinement, sophistication, and high culture – and as such hints then at being thought to be rough, degenerative and even ignorant. This attitude creates a stigma of arrogance – associated with Witt and his bourgeois English background and sense of identity – which in turn rather than harboring commonness, promotes a sort of inflexible, rigid alienation and foreignness to the local community. Sender’s figure of Witt finds security and confidence in rationality. Mr. Witt, rather than being addressed with a first name (Jorge), creates a certain distance with those who encounter him. It is not warm, welcoming, brotherly, a part of the family, nor Spanish. It is rather cool, distant and foreign. Although in Spain, Witt continually disassociates and distances himself from the ‘Spanish’ identity and thereby relieves himself from responsibility and justifies not actively entering the space of the revolution. He is a prime example of inaction which is a stark contrast to the revolutionary figures in Sender’s novel.

The figure of Witt articulates a physical distance, even though he is amidst the revolution, which is defined through his inaction and foreign or ‘outside’ perception of

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389 “He was a bit tired of civilization as all cultured English...sometimes he hated it....”
390 The word ‘backward’ has often been associated with Spain at this point by the likes of Borkenau. Engels also utilizes this term “backward’ in drawing parallels between the situation in Spain to that in Germany and past revolutions – where in some ‘backward’ town, the General association of workers suddenly gains large temporary following (9).
391 This shows a further opposition to his surroundings such as that of Spanish tradition, customs and superstition.
392 When actually physically within the space of the revolution in the street, there is danger. Witt tries to act as if he is indifferent to the danger, “fuera de situación” (519). Witt is always trying to escape the danger of the revolution, himself, and reality.
393 Witt’s wife Milagritos was “absorbicada en absoluta por la revolución” (353), while Witt “retrocede en el hogar” (398). So too was the warm-blooded revolutionary fighter Colau as well as Carvajal, the poet, who died for the revolution. Further, Antonete, a Canton leader, is in stark contrast to Witt, professing his position “yo para todo el mundo...todo el mundo para mi,” one quite in contrast to the self-centeredness of Witt (257).
the revolution. This is an important technique Sender uses; he produces a perspective within physical revolutionary space which cannot share in the intellectual space of the revolution. Witt hears or sees the revolution from his apartment balcony, referred to by Sender as his watchtower, “atalaya” (534). Here, Collard even suggests an alternative title for the work as *Mister Witt en el balcón* (196). Outside his room was the space of the revolution. “Todo este mundo bullente y cálido estaba muy lejos del gabinete de mister Witt” (209). Witt views the revolution from a distance. From a distance Witt hears the revolution, the “ruido de la calle,” (186) and agitators chanting “no entrarán” (219). He sees the revolution, through binoculars, from a distance (489, 518). As the revolutionaries raise a red (Turkish) flag, Witt observes this from his balcony with his *gemelos* (opera glasses), as if it were a performance. Witt impassively experiences tides and turns of the revolution as a spectator. Sender continually writes of Witt ‘seeing’, but rarely acting. He views the revolutionary Colau “por los gemelos” (468) and sees the poor and hungry outside. The opera glasses also symbolize through their historic association a social and class distance to the revolutionaries. Outside of his personal area, physically and due to his lack of involvement or commitment to the movement, it is also outside of him emotionally. He confirms his distance and difference; his occupying of different spaces, both physically and intellectually, foreign to those who were amidst the spaces of the revolution. Sender does not only hint of this detachment; he explicitly presents it through Witt when he states that he is “lejos de aquellos seres [españoles]”

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394 Collard writes of the core conflict between the two poles of the street and Mister Witt’s home (198).
395 “All of this lively warm world is very distant from the closed surrounding of Mr. Witt.”
396 Turner and others hear chants form outside and below of “viva España” (268).
397 By developing the concept of ‘foreign’, the ‘non-foreign’ is also evident. The agitators were united in enthusiasm. There is similar unity displayed among participants in the Berlin demonstrations in Döblin. Further, Jover points out that this chant *no entrarán* is eerily coincidental to and perhaps prophetic of chants of the Left in the defense of Madrid in 1936 (Jover, footnote, 219).
Nothing outside of his room, outside of his space interests him (220). He sees and hears the revolution, yet remains detached, foreign to it and it foreign to him. Witt is “un extranjero” (a foreigner) and stays this way, not attempting to enter a communal space (Tres Novelas Nuevas 75). He creates his own personal space. Ahumada-Peña writes that “este hombre [Witt] respetado, que se mantiene ajeno al mundo que lo rodea, tiene conciencia de haber construido un espacio personal” (7).

Through Witt, Sender demonstrates literally how the disallowing of his statement of ‘vivir es convivir’ takes on anti-social and therefore anti-revolutionary (even ‘foreign’) connotation. Both Sender and Döblin aggressively attack inactive figure-types in relation to the revolution through Becker and Witt. Here, they present a personal space and a space of the event clearly established. There is an invasion of ‘event’ into ‘personal space’ while at the same time there exists a resistance of this invasion by the personal. The ‘event’ is a part of a broader communal or ‘public’ space. Döblin writes that when one is outside the public realm, natural relationships can resume and it is in these ‘natural’ relationships that individuals come to themselves and to ‘community’ (Kaes 387). In community one can then, once ‘to themselves,’ find cohesion and a sense of

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398 Later it is the Spanish perspective of Milagritos – and representative of the ‘Spanish” which becomes estranged from Witt (the foreign) “lejos de él” (524).
399 In Döblin, the revolution is viewed by Becker from a distance, through his “Fenster” (B&S 192). In the introduction to Heimkehr der Fronttruppe, Döblin wrote of Becker, distant from the revolution: “Man möchte dich schütteln: Mann, Friedrich Becker, komm zu dir, wach auf, sieh bloß zum Fenster hinaus, was draußen vorgeht, die Welt ist in Aufruhr.”
400 “This respected man, that maintains foreing to that world that surrounds him, knows he has constructed a personal space.” Ahumada-Peña writes that through Milagritos Witt’s space – intellectual and physical - is intruded: “La fuerza elemental del exterior ingresa al mundo interior. El espacio cerrado es invadido por lo vital, personificando en la figura Milagritos” (8).
401 A certain confrontation could be seen in November 1918 in Becker’s “Ich-Findung” and society. Auer writes “die Aktion nach außen stets eine Konsequenz dieses Prozesses der Selbst-Findung” (82).
402 Jennings cites that the public sphere, according to Döblin, is a ‘Moloch’ (147).
403 Becker does enter the public sphere. Towards the end, he sees the young woman proletariat in front of him, he iterates: “Sie hat sich geopfert. Und du versteckst dich und schämst dich nicht? Becker
completeness. In contrast to community are strict states. Döblin writes that in the “strictest states one finds the loneliest people” (Kaes 387). Both Witt and Becker, although living within an urban area and always in close proximity to many ‘people,’ seem very lonely. Their loneliness – associated with inaction in their society and specifically in the revolution - connects them to a sort of archetype of constituents under the authority of a strict state, namely the opposition of what was presented as counterrevolutionary forces. Here both authors then offer their ‘protagonists’ as a contrast to figures which accept individual responsibility for their life. Here, community can be achieved in which relationships would flourish naturally in comparison with the lonely fragmented and forced situation under an imposing authority. By not accepting Sender’s statement “vivir es convivir”, alienation and foreignness to the community in which a revolution is taking place signifies being foreign to the revolution, being ‘lonely’ and escaping into oneself.

Certain figures attempt to escape reality and the space of the revolution by seeking refuge in an intellectual space, that of the ‘personal’ and ‘psychological.’ Due to circumstance both Witt and Becker are physically and temporally (i.e. during the moment of) within the uprisings. Both refuse this reality and try to escape into

spontaneously decides to pick up arms” (Links 319). Becker accomplished something that Ebert could not, spontaneity.
404 Becker’s mother advises him to go out "unter den Menschen," to enter the public sphere as does Milagritos to Witt (HF 193).
405 Within a political ‘Leftist’ perspective, the idea of leaving ‘personal’ space for public, leaving ‘individual’ for ‘community’ or collective space and broadening one’s perspective by no longer seeing or acting solely for the self, but for others, with and within ‘perspectives’ of others is one of the strongest binding themes in each novel.
406 As early discussed in Chapter one (esp. Brecht), part of the literary strategy of Sender and Döblin is to enter the psychological realm of their figures and of their audiences; portraying a sort of psychological dissection of their figures amidst the revolution and through this to warn audiences of harm (and benefit) of certain types of thinking or internal arguing.
themselves through intellectual argumentation. Each digs deep into an induced refuge in a personal, closed intellectual space. For example, Sender presents Witt as selfish and egoistic (352). He therefore does not reach out with concern for others. He does not take on social responsibility for those in his community and as proposed by basic humanitarian ideology, and fails in his responsibility of common cause with his wife Milagritos. Further, he avoids any political implication; in a sense almost not even taking responsibility of his own opinion. Ultimately, Witt finds himself ever deeper entangled in a meta-physical reality, becoming decadent (353) and sad (364). Witt has an “alma vacio” (367), a “gran vacio interior” (374). This ‘tristeza’ is a result or condition of being ‘outside’ the revolution, community and associated responsibility. It is almost like a form of internal emigration. Here Sender is starkly critiquing academic indecision and futile argument versus simple, decisive action, unwavering commitment and compassion.

The idea of ‘distancing’ oneself from ‘those’ actively involved surfaces likewise in Döblin. His figures Stauffer and Becker are distant to those ‘others’ who partake in the revolution and political activities. Each figure then attempts to relieve themselves

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407 Each finds a certain recluse in literature, Witt with Emerson and Carlyle and Becker with Wagner and Sophocles. With Sophocles’ work “Antigones’ Döblin brings in the concept of the ‘mind’ (Gewissen) in contra to state sanctions, proving an invasion of the revolution even in the posed refuge of the mind.

408 In Döblin, his figures Rosa and Becker seem to almost develop a mental illness in their escape of reality.

409 From outside of Witt’s space, from Milagritos’ perspective, she had observed “con cierta distancia” the moral collapse of her husband (Ahumada-P. 14).

410 Döblin’s Becker finds himself in a similar condition to that of Witt. Once in Berlin, he seems to slowly lose his connection to the reality of the world around him; delving into psychotic fits and hallucinations, spending much time sort of locked away in his mother’s home. The further he strays from the revolution, the greater it seems is his mental stability. He is suicidal at one point. In the end he completely leaves society, becoming a sort of wandering bum.

411 Döblin presents numerous figure contrasts; most obvious is that between the ‘involved’ figures and those ‘not’ involved. Those deeply involved in the revolution are seen in politicians from starkly opposing sides (Ebert, Noske, Liebknecht, Radek) or others such as Imker who follows the revolution. Then there are those with a lesser or confused conviction, such as Maus who oscillated between the revolutionaries and the Freikorps. Amongst those not involved, the most representative characters are Stauffer and Becker. Auer
of the responsibility of action and thereby justify their inaction. Ultimately, both authors present an in-depth psychological study into the process of inaction and the ‘deflation’ of revolutionary space.

In this intellectual space outside of the revolution, in a deep psychological sense, a sort of foreignness with or in regards to oneself is developed. Döblin’s figures Becker and Rosa are the most transparent examples in this category. Becker initially comes back from the war wounded and traumatized. He never fully seems to regain his sanity. In the early stages of the revolution, he is at times oblivious to the events occurring around him. He falls into disillusioned episodes. For a short stint Becker is reunited with his old career as a teacher of Classics, but then is fired and seems to withdraw from society and reality. With Döblin’s figure Rosa Luxemberg, a personal space distinct from reality is created through psychological episodes with her dead lover and the devil, perhaps motivated by sensitivity to the rapidly shrinking spaces of the revolution.

In the end, presentation of the dynamics of the revolution become clearer: a classic definition of the foreign based on national and linguistic boundaries breaks down and a new concept of ‘foreign’ as relates to intellectual perspective of (i.e. deeply entrenched in a figure’s political ideology and psychology) and physical positioning (multi-perspective, within/outside) as regards the revolution, arises.

sees the figures of Becker and Rosa as representing contrasts to the “allgemein politischen Bereich” whereby they could also be seen as contrasts to the “oberflächlich-eskapistischen Lösungsversuche” seen in Stauffer, Lucie, Hilde and Maus (87). Further contrasts are seen between historic figures and fictional ‘everyday’ types contrasted with fantastical figures such as animals, Satan, the mystic Johannes Tauler, and Rosa’s dead companion Hans. This helps the reader see personal figure definition of those within and outside of the revolutionary space.

The concept of ‘distancing,’ as with Brecht, induces the reader to reflect: “Die Verfremdungen und Distanzierungen sollen das Kunstwerk nicht als Spiel ohne Sinne denunzieren, sondern vielmehr daran erinnern, daß einem Sinn zuliebe das ganze Panorama überhaupt inszeniert wurde” (Links 313).

There are numerous examples of discourse in a fantasy world. For example, he encounters talking animals and the devil during certain episodes.

Sender, as Döblin, also develops the personal and revolutionary space and associated interaction and friction through perspectives of main narrative figures, most notably Witt.
Section IV: Division and confrontation

Within the already defined ‘spaces’ of the revolution, and with a heightened understanding of the concept of foreign, increasing definition of division has both place and definition for impending confrontations in the novels. Each confrontation in turn contributes to literary tempo. Sender and Döblin produce (social) time (remember social space is a social product); thus (social) time becomes a (social) product of literature. They each produce a series of relationship between the reader and the ’past’ of the novel. The reader is brought in to identify with their contemporary as it relates to the ’past’ of the novel and their past. The confrontations or pivotal events in each novel induce this sense of time, with each pivotal event the sense of ‘urgency’ is elevated and feeling of desperation and division greater.

In the narration, demonstrations and confrontations are presented within moments of flux or depression of the spaces of the revolution. In Sender, in a village bordering Cartagena, a young man (Christobaliyo) dies and around his adoptive father, gather protesters who head to Cartagena to find those guilty of the boy’s death. The death of Cristobaliyo catalyzes a mini-revolt. This moment serves as an example and motivation for the expansion of the revolution. Ahumada-Peña writes that the death of Cristobaliyo and later that of the “aljecero” catalyze a social commitment and a collective conscious of the Cartagenans (11). The sense of ‘now is the moment’ evolves, gaining ever more (willing) consensus in perspectives. Here the intellectual space as defined by a common revolutionary ideology, and the physical space defined as the tangible geography of the revolution and those bodies supporting it, gain momentum.
The momentum of expansion is halted when events continue ‘outside’ Cartagena in the failed military campaign in Hellín, on the way to Valencia. Here, the enemy general Salcedo attacked and defeated the revolutionaries. The physical and intellectual expansion of the revolution is thwarted; time becomes peril as the revolutionaries realize that their space is limited. Revolutionary comradeship begins to lose its consensus within Cartagena. Antonete’s leadership is confronted by fellow leader Contrereas. Hereafter, more internal conflicts arise. Within Cartagena a popular protest, lead by Hozé, between the “fanaticos” and “cuadillos,” continues to divide those within and weaken the revolutionary space (Jover, note, 455). People lose their common identity as simply revolutionaries and begin to separate off into varying other identities. There is a difference between the “intransigentes” and those “tolerantes” in the city. Class differences survive in the city. Doctor Eladio and his father, of the ‘upper’ class are within Cartagena, but in stark contrast socially and politically to those a part of the revolution. With increasing division and isolation, the sense of the limits of time become ever clearer. The ultimate revolutionary space, the street, becomes the epitome of contrast and division. Social animosity erupts in protests against the wealthy people of “Calle Mayor.” The conflicts vary between the space within and at the edge of the revolution. Outside the city, Capitan Colau had a short-lived victory at sea, forcing his opponent Lobo to retreat. It is a surge of pure passion, rather than a calculated rational event. Ultimately, the events help define revolutionary weakening and fragmentation. Those from ‘outside’ the revolutionary space are pushing in to invade. Those ‘outside’ the revolutionary ideology (its intellectual space) are proving as sources of weakening of the revolutionary space.\footnote{Here Piña sees toward the end of Sender’s work the bourgeois concept clashing with the revolutionary,} Time in the meanwhile runs out.
As in Sender, there are heightened moments of division meticulously presented in Döblin’s novel. For example, in Berlin, vibrancy and energy of the revolution are presented in a speech by Liebknecht after the death and public burial of eight revolutionaries. Other figures, such as Maus and Motz, are attracted to the gathering and enter the revolutionary space (B&S 244). Later, in Verratenes Volk there is a mass Spartacus demonstration on December 6th which became known as Black Friday (428). The revolution is catalyzed by multiple deaths on Black Friday. Amidst the masses “kugeln spritzten und die Menschen fielen“ (VV 434). Grayness, rage and hate grew. Social and political association or disassociation as well as those alive and those dead are established: “Die Berliner Arbeiter werden gemordet...sechzehn Tote, zwanzig Verletzte … Lehrmädchen tödlich getroffen“ (VV 434). Innocent people died. The counterrevolution is further defined within this moment. “Aus dem Linksputsch wurde ein Rechtsputsch“ with a will of “Schluß mit diesen Soldatenräten” (VV 434). Döblin presents this vivid scene of unjust deaths which stirr the act of gathering and memorial (remembering so that their deaths would not to have been in vain) in the burial procession; this causes many figures to come together in an agitated commonness. Thus commonness has nothing to do with nationality here, but everything to do with a common sense of identity in sympathy and association to the dead figures’ sacrifice and rage towards the perpetrators. Repeatedly during these moments of heightened division and confrontation Döblin writes, very descriptively and vividly, mentioning names, feelings and always with a sort of literary overriding consciousness of ’time’ with regards to the etappe of the revolution. He brings the reader in the closest during these ’moments’ so

and the revolutionary aspirations clashing with the indecisiveness of a sector of the petty-bourgeoisie (which also belongs to all the political leaders of the movement).
that they can not only perceive it but also ’feel’ the event. At times, it is as if the reader him/herself is experiencing it in slow motion, as a sort of mock run for any correlating moments the reader may later experience of such dynamic confrontation. It seems like almost like an attempt of ’re-telling’ the story of the revolution (with exaggerated vividness), but also preparation for the reader’s mind and their ability to perceive and judge and act upon their perceptions. This is where understanding the revolutionary spaces (physical and intellectual), time, and the concept of foreign assist the reader with the artistic (historical reference, multi-perspectivism, dynamism) and political (Leftist) messages in the novel.

Continuing with focused presentation of division and confrontation, the next pivotal moment is seen in the “Weihnachtsgefecht am Schloss.” The revolutionaries demanded higher wages and a confrontation arose between sailors and civilians versus the government. The incident helps to further define forces affecting the spaces of the revolution. Another important moment is narrated in Karl und Rosa where the revolutionaries call their forces to take up arms. The Spartacus group called for “Gewalt gegen Gewalt” (KR 27). Spurred by the firing of police chief Eichhorn, the “Polizeipräsidium” is taken over and there is a mass demonstration on January 6th 1919 (KR 302-330). The whole city was in motion, “die ganze Stadt war in Bewegung” (KR 307). Uncanny is Döblin ability to create a genuine sense of motion and sound in words (i.e. without a video camera or even a sound clip) with the aforementioned scene. The reader does not need to stretch to actually feel the power and passion of this massive body of people clogging the city streets. With this moment, the masses wait for a call to

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416 The reaction to the Eichhorn affair within the revolutionary space was that of active resistance and intention by a “bewaffneter Widerstand gegen die Beseitigung Eichhorns und Sturz der konterrevolutionären Regierung Ebert-Scheidemann” (KR 278).
fight; however their leaders fail them and the fury dissipates. The build-up of this scene which ends in the dissolution of this powerful mass into straggling bands of individuals is a beautifully captured example of produced time – the upward swing of the pendulum and the crash of this pendulum as the crowd disbands and the revolutionary might fizzles. The reader would be hard-pressed not to finish these lines without an identifying, common sense of frustration with the demonstrators in the lost moment.

As a sort of last hurrah, and physically less confrontational, is Döblin’s presentation of the Nationalversammlung. Here he presents the national assembly as a time when those of the revolution do not enter into the space of the ‘institution’ of the Republic by not voting. By this time, the reader is left to feel that the base of the revolution is already weak (physically) and now politically is meeting inward pressure and being cornered in.

The peaking potential of the revolutionary power – its figures, gatherings and physical occupations as well as its momentum and seeming ideological consensus – which is felt so intensely in the aforementioned scenes discussed, ultimately failed to break or change pre-revolutionary power structures. Sender’s figure Vila in talking to the tavern owner La Turquesa states that “los mismos mandan hoy que antes” (178). This is paralleled in Döblin amidst the German revolution and in lieu of the establishment of the Republic. The literary message is clear when Döblin writes in Über November 1918 that “in Deutschland“ it was “die alte Macht mit neuen Waffen“ that “stürmisch aufsteigt“

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417 Spartacus representatives in conversation with Rosa state that “die Nationalversammlung hat für uns gar keinen Zweck” (KR 254). This is reminiscent of the Anarchist boycott of the first and second Spanish Republic elections.
418 In considering the temporal space, issue of aging is important. Figures, such as Becker and Witt, grow old and so too does the chance of success for the revolution.
(KR 799). A paralleled sense of division is presented (produced) in each novel. These divisions are not only presented spatially, but also in the minds and souls of the figures. Friends and families in different urban areas and even different countries (and speaking different languages) are divided. These divisions are highly politically charged. There is a sincere, almost wild hallucinatory rage and push to want change of the social and political order. Each author uses historic examples in their novels which are relevant before (feudal system, Prussian military authority) and after the presented literary event (feverish Right-wing Nationalism, Nazism, Fascism). Before there was the Cartagena outbreak the same powers that ruled to calm the revolutionaries also ruled in previous episodes and continued to rule during the time of the work’s publication. This is the same anecdote for Döblin. Each author uses then their novel as an example to highlight this and to show how they failed. They attempt to show a social and political pattern whose sense of literariness and fact is quite blurry to the reader. Through vivid literary focus on pivotal intimate arguments (within minds of single figures as well as between figures and groups) and resulting physical confrontations (precisely presenting the forces for and against, and disallowing the existance of a true intended neutral force due to its negative consequence ‘for’ the revolution) there is almost a sense of a vicious cycle or repeating chronology of a failed revolution. Each authors show how the revolution fails not simply at the end, but through the compilation of many small failures (often first hatched in the minds of their figures).

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419 Those in command, dictate. Döblin’s figure Maurice Barrès states: “Was wir erlebten haben, ist die Entlarvung der Philosoph der Eroberer” (B&S 345). This relates as well to Marx’s essay, “The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon” (1851-52) where the conclusion that ‘if a revolution is to survive, it must eliminate the bourgeois machinery of the state” but inherent in failure is rather the ‘perfection’ of this machine instead of its abolition.

420 This is not to be confused with a ‘natural’ cycle; each author presents the revolution amidst human failure due to specific actions that are alterable.
Section V: Failure

Those representing the ‘revolutionary’ forces fail to permeate non-revolutionary spaces, both physically and intellectually. The authors narrate the weakening of revolutionary spaces in its failure to expand the moment (time, longevity) of the revolution, and its physical (geography) and intellectual (broadening common sense of ideology) spaces. The train was a means of expanding the revolution early in the novels but by the end of the novel it becomes idle. Early in the novels, pamphlets and newspapers spread news of revolutionary development. As the novels progress, the passing and sharing of information becomes less fluid and more negative. The oppositional forces are perceived as being stronger, invading and overtaking possession, ultimately occupying and destroying revolutionary spaces.

Internal revolutionary spaces (trying to buck the old despotic guard and re-create and re-define the social power structure); its physical hold (cracks in the front lines, thinning of the guard and munitions), its ideological rhetoric and chant (disillusionment) and its time (of existence, even sense of urgency wanes) become weak. With a plunging morale and ever fewer positive narrative perspectives, the revolutionary spaces become fragmented and isolated.421

Poor revolutionary leadership is criticized (as being disorganized and traitors) in each novel and contributes to the weakening of revolutionary spaces.422 In Sender, the leadership is criticized and confused. For example, there is the question of ‘Who to

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421 For example, in Döblin, there was failure of German workers to connect and share space with the International (KR 42).
422 Engels writes that the Cantonese uprising was, from the start, led by less than noble leaders. It had confused and inadequate leadership that did not know what to do with their power (13). Cartagena fell due to internal disorganization of its defenders (fell into dictatorship); neither the Bakuninists nor the masses knew what they wanted (22).
follow?’ in the episode of discussions between leaders Antonete, Carvajal, Paco de la Tadea, and Colau. The Cantonese uprising lacked discipline, cooperation and was plagued by separation, fragmentation, and isolation (i.e. echoing Engels). Early in Sender, in the first attempt to expand the revolution in Hellín, “los artilleros” are suspected and then found to be traitors. Revolutionary leaders are criticized as being bums in both novels. In Döblin: the revolution is accused of being organized by supposed bums, deserters and thieves. There was “Verrat” and “Gegenrevolution.” In Döblin, there are informants, doubting politicians, betrayal in the Reichstag and a selling out of Liebknecht.

As narrated proponents of the revolution are cast in an ever weakening state, the produced literary space of the revolution, both physically and mentally (intellectually) seems ever more fragile. There is hunger and sickness and a lack of arms. The revolution is unable to nourish its spaces. After the war in Döblin and amidst the development of the Cartagena canton, multiple images of weak, wounded and ill are presented. Hunger grows as failure takes its roots. In Sender there are poor and hungry described in the later pages of the novel as the revolution fails. In Döblin, Imker states: “Wir haben schon genug Revolution. Nischt zu fressen, keine Nahrung für einen Menschen, und keine Kohlen“ (VV 260). In such an atmosphere, expansion and maintenance of the physical space of the revolution becomes more difficult. The reader

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423 Theme also common of failure narrated in Spanish Civil War literature.
424 Colau is criticized as being a ‘pirata.’
425 There are multiple references in Döblin (B&S 80, 224).
426 “We’ve had enough of the revolution. Nothing to eat, no food for anyone, and no coal (for heating).” In Döblin, food was difficult to come by. “Wer in Berlin essen und trinken wollte, mußte viel Geld haben. Auch waren Reisbrotmarken beliebt” (VV 141). Both nationalistic as well as revolutionary propaganda tried to gain the confidence of those struggling; blaming their counterpart for the misfortunes and hunger.
feels the tide of the revolution ebbing downwards with a negative momentum that will not stop.

It is difficult to sustain revolutionary spaces viably. Here the physical is presented as influencing the intellectual and ultimately the tempo of the revolution. Rosa states that the German “Ideen über Sozialismus sind richtig aber mit ihrer Realisierung im Augenblick steht es schlecht” (KR 21). In Döblin the “Geistigen” (the intellectuals) discuss, but are unable to actualize their ideas and thus remain outside of the space of the revolution. The force of discussing the revolution is of little value to the force of actual physical realizations; the latter was grossly lacking and the former stifling in its presence which ultimately resulted in a revolutionary moment which was too short to have succeeded (i.e. to find sustainable success). “Die Sachen der deutschen Revolution braucht mehr als vier Wochen” (HF 122).

As sharing of revolutionary spaces breaks down, there is less communal space evidenced in the decline of communal perspectives presented and an increase of (disassociated) individual perspectives. Communal information does not penetrate the individual. Forces within the revolutionary spaces failed to be responsible and join communal spaces. Döblin’s figure Imker states: “Das ist nun die Revolution .... Fahne, Blatt, Proletarier, Internationale, keiner kümmert sich um was. Jeder macht, was ihm Spaß macht. Die Leute haben viel Zeit“ (VV 265). This leads to Rosa’s statement that

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427 Ideas about socialism are correct, but concerning their realization at the moment – it doesn’t look good.  
428 “A German revolution needs more than four weeks.” Further, this is perhaps not the answer if one references Radek’s view, discussed earlier, of the time being ripe but the leadership not able or willing.  
429 That is the revolution, flag, leaflet, proletariat, the International, no one worries about anything. Everyone does what seems fun, the people have a lot of time.
ultimately “das deutsche Proletariat hat versäumt“ (KR 41). Failure seems to be the word of the day. Each author presents revolutionary failure with much detail.

The spatial depiction is more than simple social order; many of the revolutionaries are of the working class or leftist leaning, anti-authoritarian artists and intellectuals, however there are also military, civil and political leaders, policemen and even business owners which support the revolution and give it breadth. A disjunction between the former sharing of personal-communal and social space (i.e. sense of identity) is ever more defined as the revolution fails. Early on the individual was closely associated with the larger identity of the community of revolutionaries, but as the revolution fails, revolutionaries are killed off, run away and disband and identity falls back into a narrow, rigid presentation of the self with little connection or perspective of the self’s relation to others. Here the driving force becomes ‘me’ and not ‘us’.

The voice and means of passing information of the revolution become quieted. Rather than loud voices seeking community, sole voices are heard. The figures disassociate themselves from former communal spaces. Perspectives become negative. There are increasing narrations of doubt.

There are explicit instances presented of individuals distancing themselves from revolutionary spaces and from responsibility. In the end of the novel, through the ambitions of Witt and Milagritos, the inability of a true melting between the foreigner and the Spaniard is evident. This is due to the inability or lack of courage or simply inability to feel Spanish and be accepted as so by Witt. In Döblin, there are failed

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430 The German proletariat has failed.
431 Witt and Becker doubted themselves and the revolutionary movements. They were both disillusioned.
432 While Milagritos displays hope in leaving Cartagena temporarily to go to Madrid and get help from a doctor; Witt could not enter her space of enthusiasm nor did he intend to return to Cartagena.
attempts to sustainable shared spaces between Becker, Maus, Imker, Stauffacher, and Hilde. Failure of individuals to share common intellectual space, signify a distinct suppression of community and hence the individual remaining outside of the revolution.\textsuperscript{433} With a lack of internationalization and universalism (themes since the French revolution) the revolution fails.

In each novel, there is a breaking down and a minimizing of consciousness. Towards the end of each novel, the sheer multitude of perspectives decreases; there are fewer ‘new’ perspectives. The established vehicles and voices of the revolution weaken, age and become tired. This is symptomatic of a decrease of the kinetic element of the revolution’s spaces. Associated with a slowing down of kinetic energy is a decrease of agility, wit, and flexibility of revolutionary forces. Rather than initiators, active doers, perpetrators and creators of spaces, they become witnesses, targets and victims of their own disillusion and failure. The revolution is silenced through the impediment of its spread by train, passing of information, sharing of common intellectual perspectives and geography and intrusion by ‘other’ forces.

Failure is presented through perspectives of the intellectual, physical and temporal. Intellectually, the ideology of the revolution, its politics and rhetoric lose momentum through the abovementioned internal weakening. At the physical level the loss of space is presented as in geography and the city spaces of the revolution, but also in the physical sense of the loss of figures (body) in death. Each revolution is presented as beginning and ending in an aura of death. In Doblin it was the grander aura and

\textsuperscript{433} Each figure does enter space of revolution, briefly, in the end of the novel. Witt – through an attempt to kill Colau – sets a boat on fire. Through this ‘crime’ he must leave the canton. Witt’s action contributes to an image of ‘failure’ of the revolution. Becker finds himself amidst a gun battle on the side of the revolutionaries and ends up in jail, while Rosa and Karl are murdered, therefore as Witt, also being (albeit different) amidst the end of the experience.
trauma of death from the First World War. In Sender, the death of the boy Christobyl ignited the revolutionary fire. Death is continually amidst the figures of the novels and slowly engulfs and ends literary lives as well. Each author brings an onslaught of death-images in the end of their novel. A very traumatic and gloomy realism is created. The deaths of revolutionaries – as Sender’s Carvajal and Calnegre - are seen as sacrifice for their cause; they are also victims as are Döblin’s Karl and Rosa of the violent perpetrations of ‘others’. Ultimately, death in the revolutionary spaces – in the city of Cartagena and Berlin – is abreast with failure of the revolution. Death is a temporal closure for many figures in the novels and ultimately for the revolution. Spatially death signifies the closure of the existence of the figure in a physical sense (to fight) as well as their perspective (intellectual contribution). Death is a source of writing and a source of giving writing meaning, for through writing those ‘dead’ can live on in the minds of the reader. Through reading these novels, the death of literary figures and the failure or death of (a) revolution is remembered and lives on.

In the end, with the impending failure, the whole physical and intellectual perspectives presented seem quite foreign to those presented earlier in the novel. Within

434 For example, in Sender, the revolution – as is the reality of the novel’s figures – is always close to death. The revolutionary Carvajal speaks of “buscando la muerte” (463). Death is not feared here, but accepted as a part of the revolution, as a sacrifice for the revolution. There is a continually stream of recollections and descriptions and mentioning of death. A revolutionary lieutenant dies in Hellin, “el sargento lo mató en Hellin” (340). “El aljecero” was killed by a “banda de enemigos invisibles” (442). Death is real (accounts are not sugar-coated). There is an accidental death of two Frenchmen who intervene in a battle (394). Here there are no neutral forces in this novel. In the end of the novel, there is a massive onslaught of deaths presented. Sender narrates a brutal gruesome scene ‘viewed’ by Milagritos and Witt in which a man is roasted alive. Here Sender exhibits both the passion with which revolutionaries are willing to die for their political cause as well as the brutality in the realization of their deaths. Eladio witnessed volunteers killed while escorting a man to prison. Volunteers die due to grenade blasts. No physical space is safe from dying. The leader Calnegre dies with his failed revolution (478). Witt encounters a cadaver on the street; here even the dead body seemed to symbolically serve the revolution through its sacrifice more than the still alive body of Witt (515).

435 In 1937, Döblin’s work could also be seen as an Auseinandersetzung with the failure of the Weimar Republic (Koepke 201). Sender’s novel could likewise be seen as a discussion of the failure of Spain’s Second Republic.
the novel, the revolution itself becomes a thing of the past; the revolution becomes ‘history’ within the historical novel.\textsuperscript{436}

**Conclusion**

The aforementioned approach in examining this literature and strengthening parallels contributes to highlighting aesthetic and artistic innovation and value as well as the formulation of the authors’ agenda and its relationship through literature with the reader and their reality. Each author used many historical sources in motivation of their timely novels. Through re-thinking history in historical presentation and in the relationship between fact and fiction; the reader’s contemporary perspective is joined by a sense of a ‘communal’ omni-perspective developed through literary montage. Sender and Döblin each employed unique literary style in using multiple figure perspectives from varying physical positions, entering the narrative at a variety and simultaneous times. These authors experimented with flow and sense of time by mixing and matching stories, events and perspectives with a distinct, precipitated sense of interconnection and/or interrelation which heightens the relevance of a reader’s reality (their past, present and future).\textsuperscript{437} Through employing such a style, a sense of dynamism and (simultaneous)

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\textsuperscript{436} Outside of the novel, the reader though is left with the sensations when – walking in a city street, crossing the path of a governmental building, riding in a train or ship and in seeing a red flag raised – of revolutionary association and potential – as they were objects and sites of the literary presentation. During moments of steadfast solitude or reclusive internal emigration, the reader may be reminded of the literary passages of Witt or Becker in their physical distance and intellectual withdrawal from their communities and ultimately the revolution.

\textsuperscript{437} Auer writes that \textit{November 1918} is “gedacht als ein konstruktiver Beitrag zur Analyse der egenwärtigen Situation (nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg) und als ein Angebot möglicher Lösungen (die immer beim Individuum einsetzen müssen” (90). Both novels were written cultivating a historical context as a critique of their contemporary. Their works were published too late. Only Döblin’s first volume was published in 1939 and the second not until mid-War. With respect to both novels, arms had already been taken: “Cuando el libro [Witt] se publicó era demasiado tarde, porque las armas estaban ya cargadas” (Zamora 608).
interconnectedness of figures and their perspectives – intellectually and physically – is achieved.

Each author created a sense of revolutionary spaces through literary perspectives - at the physical level (city, train, sea, streets) and intellectual level (minds of figures, political ideology). Herein, they created distinction between those within the revolutionary spaces and those outside or foreign to the revolution. In each novel, revolution, although seemingly ‘national’, was actually international. International forces and personalities were presented not simply as nations, but as to their relevance and role regarding the revolution in each novel; here defined by their role of being ‘within’ or ‘outside’ of the revolutionary space. Thus each author re-examines and re-define the concept of ‘foreign’ (and by relativity, commonness as well) along lines of politics and physical positioning. Sender and Döblin broke-down national identity in presenting moments of political ideology (i.e. in revolution) where national identity was trumped by a non-nationalistic revolutionary sense of identity.

These novels are not sugar-coated novels; Sender and Döblin wrote of gruesome, brutal deaths, without happy endings. They ultimately presented Leftist failure. Why? They critique previous styles of writing. The novels are written as such to stir their reader, to involve their reader emotionally and to break with previous ‘accounts’ of history and prove that a literary historical account can be potent both as reference and art. Each author wrote in a way, present their figures and the revolution in a manner in

438 Both authors attempted to achieve this with fiction, through a historical novel. Link writes (323): “Aus dem auf die Gegenwart abzielenden und bis in sie hineinreichenden historischen Roman ist schließlich ein Gleichnis vom Menschen geworden, der erlöst werden kann, wenn er immer strebend sich bemüht. Dieses Bemühen kann in der revolutionären Tat gipfeln, wenn eine Gewissensentscheidung sie verlangt. Bewußtheit im betonten Gegensatz zu blindem Konformismus gehen voraus.” (From the directed at the contemporary and extended into it historical novel is in the end an equality of man, which can be
which the reader is inclined towards sympathy with the revolutionaries/insurgents (through their passion, compassion and personability). You (as reader) want to get into the heads (minds) of the debating protagonists (Witt, Becker) and straighten them out (i.e. contribute to their discussion); you feel encouraged in a sense to be active (which cannot be possible in the past literary fiction, but could still be possible for reader’s contemporary).

The line between fact and fiction, past and present is quite blurry in the novels and for the reader.

There was a failure to recognize and take responsibility in the author’s past and contemporary; herein developed a concern by each author of the future and their personal responsibility manifests in these novels. A dissection of social and political dynamics of each author’s past and present perceptions was intimately undertaken and the literature that was created has undeniable parallels from different countries (Spain and Germany) and in different languages (Spanish and German) but during the same time (eve/beginning of Spanish Civil War) and is abreast with a literary trend established in this project.

saved when one continually strives. This striving or effort can culminate in revolutionary action, when a question of conscience demands it. Consciousness in emphasized contrast precedes blind conforming.)

439 In consideration of spaces from a macro and micro level and within spaces and perspectives of the ‘community’ and that of the individual, ultimate failure and dissolution of revolutionary spaces are to be exemplarily at the individual level. For Sender, ultimate closure to the space of the revolution could be seen in Witt’s decision in the end of the novel. Witt orders the igniting of the boat, here lies “su responsabilidad al poner fin a un universo, el universo cantonal” (Ahumada-P. 14). The great mistake “reside en el criterio que siempre ha ejercido Witt para aceptar o reconocer la singularidad humana del otro” (Ahumada-P. 15).
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Introduction:

The Spanish Civil War (1936-39) and its literature garnered much international attention. The defense of the Republic attracted the notice and sympathy of many intellectuals, professionals, writers and artists - worldwide. In this chapter I investigate a common literary strategy, profoundly evident in Leftist German and Spanish literature of and during the Spanish Civil War, which seeks and appeals to re-define a sense of commonness based - rather than on nationality, language, race, ethnicity or religion - on a spatial concept of internationalism, bringing together similar perspectives and senses of commonness in sacrifice, death and its memory, in political ideology, and a sense of urgency and justification to act against a common enemy. I will evaluate and categorize German and Spanish literary examples according to the author’s appeal and place as well as their intended audience in order to gain insight into the common literary strategy and production across national and linguistic boundaries. I will explore authors’ employment of strategies of argumentation, identification, empathy as well as alienation in gaining and strengthening audience base and a common sense of geographical, temporal and ideological perspective. In the works of this chapter and the following (i.e. chapter five), I divide literary works into three groups (i.e. spatial layers): (1) theater which appeals to those outside the space of war to actively join the fight (to be discussed in this chapter), (2) publications which (predominantly) seek to support and unify those within the war (chapter five), and (3) publications which intimately applaud and rally those most deeply involved in the war (chapter five). The specific literary examples I will use in the first group include: Bertolt Brecht’s drama Die Gewehre der Frau Carrar, Ludwig Renn’s
theatrical sketch Mein Maultier, meine Frau und meine Ziege, theater works Pedro López García from Max Aub and De un momento a otro from Rafael Alberti.  

**Section I: A brief historical account of the Spanish Civil War**

The dates of the Spanish Civil War are officially recorded as beginning in the summer of 1936 and finishing in the spring of 1939. Numerous conflicts and associated episodes of turmoil – such as problems with agrarian, land and educational reforms – began during the years of the Second Republic. In early 1936, the popular front government, composed of Republicans, Socialists, and Communists, took control of Spain’s Second Republic. These first months of a Left-leaning government contributed kindle to the growing fire of animosities between the political Right and Left. In the summer, political assassinations further contributed to mounting tension, which erupted on July 17th 1936, in a military insurgency in Spanish-controlled Morocco under the leadership of General Francisco Franco. Uprisings in Spain resonated in the following days amidst the military’s attempted coup to take over the Republic. Those within Spain soon took sides supporting or resisting the military insurgents; those outside of Spain took sides as well. In late July, German and Italian planes – sent by Hitler and Mussolini - arrived in Morocco in support of Franco’s nationalists. In August France and Britain, followed by the U.S., issued statements of ‘nonintervention’. In October,

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440 To be discussed in the following chapter are: works from Das Wort, works from the German edition of Le Volontaire de Liberté (Volunteer for Liberty), pieces from El Mono Azul, and a poem by Rafael Alberti.
441 Led first by Manuel Azaña in February, then in May by Santiago Casares. In February Anarchist groups – who formerly boycotted the elections – now partook and help sway the outcome Left (from its Right sway in the 1934 elections).
442 Of Lieutenant Castillo (July 12th) – by Falangist - and Monarchist Calvo Sotelo (July 13) – by Communists.
443 As General Franco’s offense began in the South, General Mola attacked from North.
Russian arms and cadres arrived in support of the Republicans.\textsuperscript{444} In addition to these official international responses, in this same month the Republican government approved the formation of the International Brigades. The first International Brigade (XI) – composed of German, French and Belgian volunteers - was formed under the leadership of the German Hans Beimler.\textsuperscript{445} Franco’s troops, assisted by German and Italian technical help, weaponry and soldiers, along with thousands of North African troops clashed with the Republican side composed of Loyalists and supported by a mix of numerous Leftist groups (Communists, Socialists) and Anarchists.\textsuperscript{446} The International Brigades battled Franco’s troops in Madrid in November, 1936 – and for many months successfully defended the nation’s capital. In March (20-23) Italian Fascist troops fell to the International Brigades in Guadalajara; this signified one of the great victories for the Republic, boosting morale. However the brutal bombing of the northern city of Guernica by German planes on April 24, 1937 was bitterly felt by both Loyalists within Spain and

\textsuperscript{444} In the beginning of the war, Soviet Russia had an official non-interventionist policy, but formed the ‘Comintern,’ which was busy with non-military aid to the Republic. Mexico was the only country to openly support the Republic – sending rifles and ammunitions – and the only to later not recognize Franco’s victory.

\textsuperscript{445} Beimler’s first Battalion was the German Edgar André, II – Commune de Paris, III – Dabrowsky. The majority of Germans who fought for the Republic were concentrated in the defense of Madrid and on the Aragon front – numbering over 5,000 (Kantorowicz 93). Kantorowicz writes that there were hundreds of prose, essays, poetry, reports, scenic works, papers and magazines in German concerned with the Spanish Civil War (92). Other international Republican sympathizers came to Spain and entered the Spanish Civil War, forming further battalions such as the Garibaldi (XII, Nov.36); Garibaldi’s first Battalion was the German Thaelmann, II – Garibaldi, III – André Marty, and Dabrowsky (XII, Dec.36), Marseillaise (XIV, Dec.36), XV (Feb.37), 150\textsuperscript{th}, 129\textsuperscript{th}, and 86\textsuperscript{th} (June-July ‘37). Numerous nationalities were represented in the battalions, such as: German, French, Belgian, Polish, Hungarian, Yugoslav, Italian, Balkans, British, U.S., Canadian, Czechoslovak, Bulgarian and Albanian.

\textsuperscript{446} Some of the most influential and well organized groups were: CNT (Confederación Nacional del Trabajo) – Nacional Labor Conderation (Anarcho-syndicalist Union), FAI (Federación Anarquista Ibérica) – Iberian Anarchist Federation, POUM (Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista) – Workers’ Marxist Unification party, PSOE – Spanish Workers’ Socialist party, and the UGT (Unión General de Trabajadores) – General Workers’ Union of Socialist origin. These groups were in opposition to the military coup, at times formed common alliances, but also often squabbled and through difficulties in finding common ground in leadership were lamed in managing a more popular and stronger resistance to Franco. The Communist party, initially a minority in representation (winning only 4% in February 1936 elections), slowly grew to take on more importance - mostly due to Russian intervention.
harshly criticized outside of Spain. In July, 1937 intellectuals from around the world made their voices heard regarding the Civil War in the Second Writer’s Congress in Valencia and Madrid. Ernest Hemingway, Stephen Spender, Rafael Alberti, Jose Bergmín, Antonio Machado, Miguel Hernández, and many others were in attendance and supported the Republic. Nevertheless, by April 1938, Nationalists had cut Republican Spain in half and a Nationalist victory seemed eminent. On July 5th, 1938 a plan was devised by the Nonintervention Committee for the withdrawal of volunteers. Barcelona surrendered in January 1939 and the whole of Catalonia quickly capitulated. Nationalist troops entered Madrid in late March, 1939 in victory. Hereafter the German Condor Legion left Spain. The Spanish Civil War officially ended (in Spain) on the eve of the Second World War.

Section II: Towards an internationalization of intellectuals and literature

Although geographically limited to the national boundaries of Spain (and Spanish-Morocco), in many respects the Spanish Civil War was much more than a closed national event. Rather, it was politically international and attracted attention and involvement from many countries, groups and individuals. This internationalization was evident in the literature surrounding the war.

Both German and Spanish intellectual and literary personalities urgently advanced information in appeal for active entrance into common physical and intellectual spaces of the Civil War. There was a German appeal from within the intellectual space of the Leftist movement, directed towards outside spaces, to an audience outside of the Spanish “physical” space, to the German people and specifically to other international audiences.
such as those in France, England and the United States. The German appeal within a common intellectual-political forum and temporal moment was voiced in multiple forms. Thomas Mann addressed the ‘intellectual’ community, appealing to (all) writers to be aware and active in the fight against “Schurkereien der Welt” (villainy of the world) (Spanien, 192). 447 In writing of geistige Rettung (intellectual rescue) Mann alludes to saving intellectual space (193). Mann continued, writing: “In Spanien wütest das Interesse” (194), connecting ”das spansiche Volk“ with “...moralischen Kräfte“ (196). According to Mann, the writer should “in die politische Arena hinabsteigen” (192). Many claim that they are apolitical. However, “In Tagen, wo die politische Frage so sehr zur Frage der Humanität, des Menschentums selbst geworden ist wie heute, wäre es heucherlisch und feige, sich aufs Unpolitische hinauszureden zu wollen“ (196). 448 Mann’s stance demonstrates a change, as many, to his position in World War I. In the Spanish Civil War, the intellectual and writer state that there was a need for ‘all’ to enter into the political space; either for or against. Hence, one can almost deduce a sense that one leaves the space of humanity or one is not within the space of the ‘humane’ and ‘humanity’ if one is apolitical at this point.

For example, Ernst Toller’s intellectual commitment is concerned and conscious of spaces ‘outside’ (i.e. of the national, in his appeal to America): “Liebe Freunde in Amerika, lebende Zeugen eines Krieges, bei dem es nicht nur um Spanien, bei dem es um die Demokratie der Welt geht – ich frage Sie, haben wir das Recht, blind und taub zu

447 Such an appeal and language is very reminiscent to that utilized in discussion in the previous chapter of Alfred Döblin. This gives further cohesiveness to the two chapters and supports the literary trend as a whole.
448 In days, where the political question has become so much a question of humanity, of man itself today, it would be terrible and cowardly, to want to talk oneself into the apolitical
verharren? ("Am Sender von Madrid" 213). In his appeal, the definition of the event is inherently international, it’s dividing as well as unifying forces span beyond geographical space, beyond the national confines of Spain. In the German print publication, *Die neue Weltbühne*, Heinrich Mann calls on Germans to come out of “Stummheit“ (muteness/silence) (“Es ist Zeit," 73) and take note from Spain: “Spanien lehrt…nach ihrem Willen zu leben in Geist und in der Wahrheit” (“Spanische Lehren“ April, 1937). He draws international attention to the Spanish fight against Fascism as exemplary, attempting to ’draw into’ the space of this fight those sympathetic or who identify with the forces opposing Fascism.

Many Spanish authors directly parallel German authors in their political commitment and in their engaging appeal to an ever broader audience. Numerous literary strategies (varying genres) and forms of publication were employed, including poetry – in collections or printed in newspapers, magazines or political pamphlets (notably by Miguel Hernández and Antonio Machado), historical accounts (such as Ramón Sénder’s *Contraataque*), theater (performed both in the cities and at the fronts), short stories and essays, and even songs (to boost morale, sung over the radio, in defense of cities, or at rural fronts). Distinction between a civil and military audience were ever less defined. Authors and audiences of literature of the Spanish Civil War became increasingly international. The Spanish audience was increasingly exposed to international authors. Literariness and political commitment embraced each other ever more intimately. The

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449 Friends in America, witnesses of this war, by which it not only is about them, but about the world’s democracy, I ask you – do we have the right to stand here blind and dumb?
450 There is a connection between Toller’s appeals for Spain and the earlier appeals in Germany regarding the 1918 German revolution, e.g. his physical presence, the common conflicts between violence and pacifism arise and the ‘enemy’ of a capitalistic and hegemonic nature.
451 Spain teaches…to live according to one’s will in consciousness and truth.
Spanish Civil War was a space to which many authors felt themselves drawn – both intellectually and physically - entering with pen, and (later) with arms.\(^{452}\)

Section III: Spanish-German example of common spaces in the internationalization of author and audience

This chapter contributes to an already established discourse of literature of the Spanish Civil War,\(^{453}\) but this chapter is not simply a review of Spanish Civil War literature. Literature of Germans in Spain has traditionally been categorized as that of exile writers, antifascists, members of the International Brigades, socialists, communists, anarchists or intellectuals associated with other political groups, and propounding to actively ‘engage’ or ‘fight’ in the war.\(^{454}\) In this chapter I aim to further strengthen critical parallels between works across borders of (national) geography, identity and language. Why does it matter we see these parallels? – The parallels are important in understanding these works, not as a national German or Spanish literature, but as part of an international literary trend in opposition to nationally focused bodies of literature in Hitler’s Germany or Franco’s nationalist camp. Until now each Spanish and German

\(^{452}\) Ramón J. Sémon, went as a reporter to the fronts and ended up staying, actively fighting (wrote Contraataque). Issue can be further referenced in F. Benson’s Writers in Arms.  
\(^{453}\) This is a plethora of literature – much too abundant to be properly addressed within the confines of one chapter. Spanish literature has been reviewed, as is rich in volume – theater, poetry, short stories and journal-like accounts. As with German literature, much of the literature produced ‘after’ the war was often in exile and has been categorized accordingly. Many authors – such as Hemingway, Dos Passos, Maulraux, Orwell and others wrote definitive works based on and from the Spanish Civil War, albeit there has been some critique that the great Spanish novel of the war has eluded to be defined (reference G.Thomas and Costa).  
\(^{454}\) In this chapter I focus on literature in support of the Republic, but account and analysis of literature of the Right would bring in interesting elements to further discussion. German involvement has been - with sheer forces of people, advisors, propaganda, arms and finances - perceived dominated by the Nazi influence and support of Franco (here one can reference Viñas, Brenan, and Borkenau). The literature in Germany during the Civil War heavily reflected this (Rightist) perspective (here one can reference Peter Monteath’s articles and bibliography, and J.M. Armero “Corresponsales extranjeros en el bando nacional”), (Periodismo y Periodistas en La Guerra Civil), articles in Aesthetic Partisanship, and even Rightist examples such as accounts of Condor Legion in diary form by for example Taufloft).
literature has been mostly investigated separately, either as a national or purely political text. Further, much of the German literature has been analyzed either as exile literature (Alfred Kantorowicz, Helmut Kreuzer), as war literature (Martin Franzbach or Georg Pichler) or simply within a broad category of leftist literature (Alice Goldfarb Marquis). \footnote{In addressing `German writers` Henri Plard, in `Les écrivains allemands` (Paris, 1973) brings into the discussion Herman Kesten`s `Die Kinder von Guernika`, reports and the like from Klaus Mann, then he focuses on Ludwig Renn for a while before moving to Bertolt Brecht`s `Die Gewehre der Frau Carrar`, then on to Johannes Becher`s `Sonets`, Stefan Andrés `Wir sind Utopien`, Ernst Jünger and finally Max Frisch.} Spanish literature usually gets lumped into simply ‘Civil War’ literature and categorized according to genre or form (novel, poetry, drama) and/or political stance. Thus, certain works considered a part of Civil War, national, exile and/or political literature are also a part of a literary trend that spans beyond the aforementioned groupings and the category of the Spanish Civil War.\footnote{That is to say `it spans` the trend I am outlining in the dissertation as a whole.} My approach of looking at both German and Spanish works dealing with the Civil War is not completely unique. There are two exemplary comparative studies which look at both German and Spanish works. In 1982, Torre Barrón utilized a comparative method in revealing both artistic and political intention in Bertolt Brecht`s theater piece “Die Gewehre der Frau Carrar” and Pablo Neruda`s lyric on the Civil War. More recently, Edgar Bazing`s 2000 dissertation, *Internationale Lyrik zum Spanischen Bürgerkrieg (1936-1939): ästhetische und politische Tendenzen in Gedichten von Rafael Alberti, Erich Arendt, Paul Eluard, Stephen Spender und anderen*, compared aesthetic and political tendencies of the lyric of the Spanish Civil War. The parallels which I seek to uncover, complement and are a part of the aforementioned academic discussion of literature during the Spanish Civil War; however these parallels are most important in addressing a break-down of the differences
in nationality and language which hitherto had starkly defined both senses of commonness and foreignness.

What types of situations and figure dynamics did German and Spanish authors present in their Spanish Civil War literature which makes them so similar? What strategies did these authors employ in and through their works? Who were the intended audiences of these works? Why? I believe a crucial starting point in addressing the questions above is trying to understand the intentions and aims of the authors through their works and the ‘perspectives’ presented in accomplishing this. Here, I am interested in evaluating the significance and depths of similar literary presentations of the concepts of commonness and ‘foreign’ as well as sharing death in Spain. I believe there to be a common sense of identity formed in this literature through the presentation of an opposition to a new concept of foreign not based on nationality or language. The sense of common identity is strengthened and given depth when death is presented as both unjust at the hands of the ‘foreigner’ and as a sacrifice, it is presented as physically realized and remembered in opposition to the foreign.

The passage of ‘information’ and the forces of ‘technology’ are critically important in understanding and defining the spaces in the Civil War literature I will consider, as is the theme of ‘movement’ to the fight (front). Here, there is a unique sense of all joining and entering a common active space of women, children, and even former ‘others’. Through joining in a common space created through perspectives of identity, ideology, time and geography, there is a break-down of boundaries and a re-definition of ‘foreign’ occurs. Foreign is no longer an ‘other country’, or even an ‘other time’, not

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457 There is a common identity, in a sense, in a broad appeal to humanity; but here specifically is a tighter sense of identity intertwined with Leftist ideology in a re-definition of foreignness and commonness.
even an ‘other’ politics or class. It often simplifies to that of ‘those against us’ and ‘those for us’ and is realized as a spatial construct. The sense of ‘urgency’ to join spaces is created in literature of the trend through both fictive and non-fictive anecdotal and direct appeals to actively enter the space of the revolution and fight to maintain and expand its boundaries and densities. This literature demonstrates a new and heightened sharing of physical presence and geographical perspective as well as a common sense of identity and ideology – including definition of cause of adversity (rooted in Leftist thought) and justification to actively/morally combat it - at an intellectual level. My definition of literature comprises not only traditionally accepted forms such as theater, poetry and short stories which help to present clear and diverse image of the Leftist literary perspectives, but also articles and reports.

In this chapter, as in chapter one, I see literary perspectives achieved through language enabling for the creation, or production of a space. If the perspective deals with physical senses – such as smell, sight, sound, feel or even taste – then a sense of a physical space (fictive or actual) is produced. Further, an abstract space is also perceived and produced at the intellectual level through literary perspective and its ideology, sense of identity, politics, argumentation and use of language. The distance a perspective can reach – either physically through the senses or intellectually through association and reflection – defines the ‘boundary’ of the distinct space. The density of the space is

458 Whereas much of the Leftist perception of friend-foe is presented based in differences in ideology according to class struggle and gives rise to a new and revolutionary sense of geography, the conservative theorist Carl Schmitt conceptualizes the political ‘within the totality of human thought and action’, in terms of the primordial and seminal antithesis between 'friend' and 'enemy': ‘just as in the field of morals, the ultimate distinctions are good and evil, in esthetics, beautiful and ugly, in economics, profitable and unprofitable, so the significantly political distinction is between friend and foe’ (The Sovereignty of the Political). Further, Schmitt writes: 'defining one's enemy is for him the first step towards defining the innermost self: 'Tell me who your enemy is and I'll tell you who you are,' For 'an enemy exists only when, at least potentially, one fighting collectivity of people confronts a similar collectivity (29).
defined through the precision and details associated with perspective. Further, the phenomena of ‘sharing’ or ‘overlapping’ perspectives make space denser. In the literature I analyze, each author produces perspectives which give way to varying senses of ‘density’ as well as ‘distance’ from a center. If this abstract notion of space is visualized as two dimensional, then the literature in this chapter can be divided into three distinct groups, or more specifically, three spaces with a common center yet varying degrees of density and stretch. These three ‘spaces’ constitute ‘layers’ – an outer, intermediary and inner - of a large, common space of the Spanish Civil War. By using this framework of analyzing the texts and their elemental tropes, we are able to distance ourselves as critics from strict notions of nation, language and even political ideologies, and see and understand the literature paralleling in spatial terms.

Literature within the outer layer is most likely to touch ‘other’ spaces (i.e. those ‘outside’ of the space of the Left in the Civil War). Those ‘outside’ may simply be: ‘others’, ‘foreign’, or ‘the other’. The audience of the literature at the most outer layer is at the periphery or beyond (outside of) the Civil War space. The aforementioned

459 Or one may say different layers of spatial ‘occupation’. Space would be bounded within, say, the shape of a circle. Reference Figure 4-1 in Appendix.

460 Again, to reiterate, literature from the perspective of the Left will be considered.

461 In the previous chapters, space was concerned with that of ‘revolution,’ here the space is that of a ‘Civil War’, albeit different terms, perspective of space can be maintained. Revolution would be more inherent with ‘change’ and ‘Civil War’ would signify more simply opposition – in form of war - to ones domestic ‘opposition’. The same sort of dualistic approach to forces within spaces is maintained with interchange of these terms; with those within one’s space signifying forces supporting and in expansion of this space and those outside of – would be considered an ‘other’ and ‘foreign’ to those within; and are perpetrators of oppositional force to one’s own space, i.e. that of the Revolution and/or Civil War. There are revolutionary forces within the concept of Civil War and visa versa. Further, the Left and the Loyalists to the Republic (obviously the Anarchists) represent a revolutionary agenda, as revolution is associated with social and economic change; while the ‘old’ powers and structures in Spain – adhering to tradition – well represented better by the Right and Franco (i.e. the Church, the Military, highly hierarchical social structures) rather than by those opposed to them.
theater works of Brecht,\textsuperscript{462} Renn, Aub and Alberti will be considered and evaluated at this most outer layer. The middle layer contributes a stabilizing effect and plays an intermediary role between layers. The audience of the middle layer is considered to waver between the kernel spaces of the Civil War and the outer layer. Literature of this layer, as evidenced in \textit{Das Wort}, was written by authors who were for the most part in Spain: some fought actively, some only wrote. \textit{El Mono Azul} is a comparable literary medium in Spanish at the intermediate layer. The inner layer is the kernel or nucleus of the literary space. Both the audience and many of the writers were directly within the active fight of the Civil War. Representative works include pieces from the German edition of the literary organ \textit{Le Volontaire de Liberté}, Rafael Alberti’s poem to the fallen German Hans Beimler, and associated publications.\textsuperscript{463} Further criteria for definition of literature of differing layers are the elements of ‘time’ and ‘atmosphere’. That is to say, with theater – the audience needs more time and therefore a more stable atmosphere to ‘experience’ the performance of a piece which requires a coordinated organization of multiple people, whereas with a short story and a poem – the piece is experienced by an individual with the text in much less time and even experienced – in the most extreme situations – between intervals of fighting or other interruption.

Those with the most undisturbed time and atmosphere are the ‘farthest’ from commotion and turbulence of a Civil War; those with the most turbulent and chaotic and unpredictable time and atmosphere – are those ‘deepest’ within the spaces of the Civil War. Therefore, the poem and the short report, anecdote or story are found in the

\textsuperscript{462} Brecht was never in Spain and his piece – discussed here – was also not performed in Spain during the Civil War.
\textsuperscript{463} Textual analysis of literature of the inner and intermediate layers will follow in the proceeding chapter.
intermediate to inner layers and the theater at the outer most layers of the Civil War.  

Further, publications for an international reading audience are more difficult to obtain at the inner most layers versus publications specifically for battalions and those actively within the space of the Civil War; this establishes a distinction between literature of the intermediate (or outer) and the most inner space. Normally, pieces do not move between spaces, but a piece can simultaneously be a part of more than one space. However, audiences may determine the meaning of the piece at slightly varying locations. Therefore, titles or ‘names’ of publications are a further characteristic of layer definition. The titles of each of these pieces distinguish the space in which it will predominantly serve as means and vehicle of passing, spreading information and influence and drawing the greatest identification and effect. The pieces at the outer layer carry titles (i.e. the theater pieces) – as traditional literary pieces – directed, accessible, and identifiable to a ‘broad audience’. The publications at the intermediary layer – are titled *El Mono Azul* and *Das Wort* – which entails a part of the atmosphere within the space of the Civil War and which are – exclusively through their titles – directed to and identify with the cultural, intellectual and active audience within the spaces of the Spanish Civil War. They are more ‘specific’ than the titles of the theater pieces. Finally, the publications – *Le Volontaire de Liberté* and *Hans Beimler* – are specifically directed towards and identifiable with an ‘inner’ audience. All of the literature of the different layers play an

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464 Regarding ‘accessibility’ of the theater – as art – to be at once committed (politically) and accessible (i.e. in its realization) was difficult. Alberti helps define the ‘category’ into which he fits his theater – which also contributes to definition of the ‘outer layer’ I am outlining –: “…Podemos considerar literatura urgente, útil, eficaz, necesaria, los miles de romances y poemas que en hojillas, revistas y recitales recorren las trincheras, las calles, lugares de reposo y trabajo; así también como cierto tipo de crónica rápida, precisa, que recoge tal o cual suceso o hazaña, esta o aquella anécdota mínima, preciosa, de nuestro pueblo y sus soldados. Pero ¿y el teatro? Poco, muy poco, casi nada se ha hecho en este sentido. Lo que hasta ahora ha caído en mis manos no responde a las exigencias actuales ni a los medios de que disponemos para su realización” (*Boletín de Orientación Teatral*. Madrid, núm 1, 15-2-38).
important role in perception, maintenance, expansion, and moments of sharing of spaces – demonstrated in literature - of the Civil War. The following analysis will help to understand and set-up permeability between boundaries and establish the significance of the moments of common perspectives of the different layers which strengthens the space as a whole.

*Developing spatial theory:*

My approach of seeing ‘spaces’ created in literature and literature itself as a product spatially positioned is not entirely unfounded or unique. Both Henri Lefebvre and Pierre Bourdieu have developed theories dealing with space and literature which are useful in explaining literary space.

Lefebvre’s work helps us to understand both intellectual and physical space in literature. Most useful is his book, *The Production of Space*, in which he searches for reconciliation between mental space (the space of the philosophers) and real space (the physical and social spheres in which we all live). In this work Lefebvre considers metaphysical and ideological meanings of space as well as space as experienced in the everyday life of home and city. As Lefebvre, I also till out intellectual ‘meanings’ and examine space presented in the personal, private sense of the family and intimate spheres as well as geographical spaces such as the city or rural front. Ultimately Lefebvre is extremely relevant for he seeks to bridge the gap between the realms of theory and practice, between the mental and the social, and between philosophy and reality. In doing so, he ranges through art, literature, architecture and economics.  

465 Lefebvre writes that “any search for space in literary texts will find it everywhere and in every guise: enclosed, described, projected, dreamt of, speculated about” (14). In a sense then, Lefebvre implies that
examples, concentrating in the Middle Ages through to the 20th century and quite regularly drawing on architecture for his specific examples. I do not focus as much on architecture as does Lefebvre, however the essence of bridging a gap, finding a common space between the physical and intellectual realms is important to my project for I seek to perceive in the texts of this trend, a common space between, for example, the geographical space of Spain as well as international Leftist ideological argument and rhetoric as evidenced in German and Spanish works.

As Lefebvre concentrated much of his analysis on architecture (mainly in Europe, referencing both rural landscapes and urban), his work, thus far, has been popularly used by urbanists (notably David Harvey, Edward Soja, Helen Liggett). I too consider his work useful in discussions of urban environment in cultural geography (with a tinge of Marxist thought), yet my approach brings the discussion of space into a diverse geographical space with focus on literary production during a distinct period of time. For example, Harvey (in The Spaces of Hope) talks about Marx’s Das Capital, in a contemporary setting, and the relation to the body and space; here I also work with literature (most of which is of Marxist persuasion) but focus more on perspective – concerned with aspects of the physical and intellectual - and space.

One of the common strategies of my authors is presenting a space as a sort of common international community (here the works themselves are a part of a literary community as well). Here, Ligget references Lefebvre in that “the community is a representational space that encompasses the memory of a time and place, a fulfilling way

there are infinite spaces in literature (or anyone seeking to find spaces in literature would find an endless number of spaces). This does not discourage me from believing that literary space is still a useful approach and concept in evaluating literature. For are not numbers themselves infinite yet mathematics continues to define them and study their relationships. This is how I feel about literary spaces.
of life and also a dream for the future" (252). Here, my authors intend to create the perception, through their texts, of a common space, an international community within Spain during the period of the Spanish Civil War. And here the sense of time (as the same as well as urgent) is inherently a common denominator of the physical and intellectual (or mental as Lefebvre terms it).

Ultimately, (a common) space is created in and through works of literature. This is Lefebvre’s main thesis, that ‘(social) space is a (social) product’ (26). For him, the implications of this statements are the following: (1) (physical) natural space is disappearing (30), (2) every society—and hence every mode of production with its subvariants - produces a space, its own space, (3) Social space contains (a) the social relations of reproduction, i.e. the bio-physiological relations between the sexes and between age groups, along with the specific organization of the family; and (b) the relations of production, i.e. the division of labour and its organization in the form of hierarchical social functions and (4) if space is a product, our knowledge of it must be expected to reproduce and expound the process of production.

The first implication is true as far as the space produced in my texts is not a natural space. Those of my trend intend to revolutionize their society, i.e. their space and support Lefebvre’s second

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466 Lefebvre then proceeds to set up a spatial triad of the perceived, conceived and lived. He presents space as a process, as produced in inseparable, yet shifting physical and social contexts (6-7). He focuses attention on the production of space by, among other things, constructing a model of various "processes of assembly" (31-33). These include "representations of space," "spatial practices," and "representational spaces." The model tends to distinguish professional practices such as planning (representations of space) from spatial patterns of everyday life (spatial practices) from the symbolic meanings enacted in spatial form (representational spaces). In “City Sights” (in Spatial Practice (1995)), Helen Ligget suggest "Lefebvre's categories are the most powerful when they are used as tools of analysis, not applied as mutually exclusive categories to be sought out and observed. To ask questions such as, "Is this representation of space or a spatial practice? . . . is to reduce their potential for the project of interpreting processes of assembly at work in the social/physical space. Instead, and this is Lefebvre’s real gift to urbanists, the three categories are a beginning from which to analyze space as an activity and to ask questions about the dialectical relations in terms of which space is formulated and functions" (255). The space I propose in my texts is also concerned with this literature as process and production, its function is a part of a process of the creation of space, of a revolutionary space.
implication. Reproduction also, at an abstract level, is intended through proliferation and persuasion of texts (similar to his third implication). His fourth implication is self-evident and relates back to the third implication as well. I see space as being produced through the process of not only the writing of this literature but also through its reception and reading (i.e. by audience(s)) which gives way for a process of intended realization of ‘new’ definitions for one’s perspectives of things physical and intellectual. It is similar to interaction between the genesis of the idea for a space by the author who brings ‘space’ from the abstract of his/her mind into the physical realm, through ‘producing’ this in writing which is published and distributed. From here, the ‘idea’ of space is accessed again now from the ‘physical’ publication (or performance) – in reception – into the minds of the audience, once again being ‘intellectual’. The hope then of the artists is that this idea of ‘space’ (revolutionary space) will then be realized again in the physical sense through the collective actions of their audience who will continue the ‘chain’ interaction between the intellectual and physical.

This ‘chain’ of conception, perception and lived ‘space’ is created, realized and produced through verbal (language) communication (or through reading of literature, experiencing of theater), through metaphor and metonymy. Again (social) space is a (social) product: then the city, the street, and the theater are communal, social spaces. The train and boat are social vehicles that move within and between social spaces. Literature, newspapers, and publications are a medium and communication - of social communication and interaction. This interaction is both physical and intellectual. It is physical in the sense of the actual publications and their distribution, or the physical stage and presence of an audience. It is intellectual in the connection between the content and
aesthetic presentation and the reception and reflection of the audience. Following Lefebvre, I seek to reveal social space “in its particularity to the extent that it ceases to be indistinguishable from mental space and physical space” (26). In the literature I outline physical and intellectual (or mental) aspects and perspectives which ultimately overlap (i.e. are a part of the same). Communication and interaction serve as impetus to the realization of a space of opposition. Lefebvre writes that “a new space cannot be born unless it accentuates differences” (52). This is important, while the ‘space(s)’ I claim which is or are produced in and through literature of my trend defines itself as succinctly different than an ‘other’, in the guise of a new concept of the foreign. Literature of the trend is concerned, is produced and seeks to ‘produce’ a revolutionary space for “a revolution that does not produce a new space has not realized its full potential” (Lefebvre 52).

“Any space implies, contains and dissimulates social relationships – and this despite the fact that a space is not a thing but rather a set of relations ….” (Lefebvre 83). This is where literature plays such a crucial role as a means of communication between people, in which a common perspective and a sense of sharing defines those within.

In the literature discussed in this dissertation, technology and death are presented as deeply affecting social relationships. Technology is presented as ‘something’ which utilized ‘together’ can help to maintain and realize (at accelerated pace) a revolutionary space. It is equally presented as a means through which ‘the other’ can eliminate the (social) space of the revolution. In respect to ceasing the production of revolutionary

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467 As Lefebvre seeks to combine time and space (p. 7), Helen Liggett suggests that “the constitutive relations among various modes of assembly can be seen as modes of articulation or ways of making sense. She relates the time/space of analysis to the time/space of social production through the creation of photographic images and narratives that re(enact) spatial patterns”. Such images are presented along with narratives within the publications I outline that do exactly this, re-enact a spatial pattern.
space, death is often presented as an intended strategy of the ‘other’ to eliminate interaction with the deceased (their ideas and as well as halting their actions). However, literature of the trend uses the concept of death to strengthen their space, to maintain and continue a ‘social’ space through interaction which is created through literature (death as shared sacrifice, death as a common memory and not in vain).

The revolutionary space produced in literature of the Civil War competes with opposing forces. “The dominant form of space, that of the centres of wealth and power, endeavours to mould the spaces it dominates (i.e. peripheral spaces), and it seeks, often violent means, to reduce the obstacles and resistance it encounters there” (Lefebvre 46). Here authors write of the ‘other’ closely associated to ‘money’ which empowers them and supports ‘their’ (i.e. the other’s) – i.e. as perceived through the literature - authoritative and abusive ‘governing’. Technology is a means through which they violently ‘destroy’ hopes of an oppositional space as defined by the revolutionary space.

Henri Lefebvre offers theoretical insight into the production of literary spaces – where social space is a social product - and unity between the physical and intellectual. Pierre Bourdieu offers insight into relative spatial positioning of literature itself with respect to the economic, social, cultural and symbolic. I am interested in what authors present in their works and how, as well as the audiences and the intended spatial proliferation of the works, and here Bourdieu’s The Field of Cultural Production is useful. In this work, Bourdieu lays out a theory of the cultural field which situates artistic works – as I do in organizing my spatial structures - within the social conditions of their production, circulation and consumption. He examines the individuals in institutions involved in making products (not only the writers and artists, but also the publishers,
critics, dealers, galleries and academies). Further, Bourdieu evaluates the structure of the cultural field itself, as well as its position within the broader social structures of power.\textsuperscript{468} The structural model of fields Bourdieu lays forth in “The Field of Cultural Production, or: ‘The Economic World Reversed” (in \textit{The Field of Cultural Production}) is visually similar to that which I use. Bourdieu uses three fields in a square shape with class relations being the largest, all encompassing outer field, a field of power as the intermediary and the literary and artistic field as the inner field (38). In his structure, he visually helps to reveal the physical organization and relativity between spaces and boundaries as well as bringing up issues of permeability. Bourdieu’s ‘literary’ field is over-imposed by two other ‘macro’ fields (i.e. his literary field is like a center, inner layer with the field of power at the intermediary and class relations at the outer layer). In a sense, my model is almost like using his literary field and then breaking it down into three layers including issues of his class relations and field of power within my discussion of literary space.

Using examples from the French literary field in the second half of the nineteenth century, the “art-for-art’s-sake” artist,\textsuperscript{469} Bourdieu:

\ldots maps, both in words and diagrams, the possible positions in the field in terms of genres, literary movements and cultural institutions, the relations between these positions, their levels of consecration, their potential for economic profit, and the size of their audiences. Though the diagrams inevitably suggest that the field is

\textsuperscript{468} I use the term space whereas Bourdieu uses ‘field’. For him, the concept of field means “a social arena in which people manoeuvre and struggle in pursuit of desirable resources. A field is a system of social positions, structured internally in terms of power relationships. Different fields can be quite autonomous and more complex societies have more fields” (http://www.polity.co.uk/book.asp).

\textsuperscript{469} Further, these artists “will despise bourgeois art and the philistinism of the audience and will, perversely, see his greatness in the absence of a market for his work, and yet this position of superior disinterestedness is maintained, as in Flaubert’s case, by inherited wealth” (Mary Eagleton). Further, he states that whatever the degree of independence, it (autonomous field) continues to be affected by the laws of the field that encompass it, those of economic and political profit (39). “The degree of public success is no doubt the main differentiating factor” (39) and “the literary and artistic world is so organized that those who enter it have an interest in disinterestedness” (40).
two-dimensional and frozen in time and space, Bourdieu stresses that the elements are relational, constantly in motion and constantly changing in value (Eagleton).

Similarly I offer an explanation – with spatial relativity – of genres within a literary trend with multiple ‘movements’ within space (i.e. communication and interaction) and the role and importance of the intended audience.

As explained above, the space created in texts of the Spanish Civil War as well as the works ‘that inhabit them’ compete in their production of a revolutionary space (which can be the most popular and potent in realizing a common perspectives amongst audiences and writers) and in their ‘battle’ against the production of the ‘other’. “Bourdieu’s metaphors indicate that this field has no pastoral connotations; it is a field of war in which agents battle for capital (four types: economic, cultural, social and symbolic) and for the most advantageous positions within the field” (Eagleton). Authors in my trend carry out such a ‘battle’ to convincingly communicate and persuade an ever larger audience to be a part of their common space.470

Bourdieu writes “the literary and artistic field is at all times the site of struggle between two principles of hierarchization” with the “heteronomous measured by success of book sales, theater performances, etc..” and the “autonomous principle” based on the “degree of recognition accorded by those who recognize no other criterion of legitimacy than recognition by those whom they recognize” (38). Authors of my trend are principally motivated by a different capital, but do seek recognition and commonness with their fellow authors and intended audiences. Eagleton writes that Bourdieu “sees the

470 Thus, obtaining or gaining advantageous positions within the ‘field’ or ‘space’ has a lot to do with identifying with the audience; hence my partition into three layers where each set of literatures specifically and enthusiastically addresses an audience with the function of gaining and strengthening common perspective using images and a language through which and with which they [audience] can identify with.
literary field as operating within the field of power but working to establish its autonomy, its own rules, practices, institutions, modes of evaluation.” In my spatial model, the literary ‘space’ (i.e. Bourdieu’s field of sorts) super-imposes over the field of power and class relations, sort of overlapping each in pursuit of re-defining structures of power and class relations according to a Leftist political agenda.471

In conclusion, space helps us to understand this literature better while it offers a concept within which we can evaluate and position relative similarities between works and outside of which we can distinguish, spatially, differences. It helps to understand ‘commonness’ and ‘foreignness’ (i.e. alterity) if we state that that which is inside the space is common and that outside is foreign. It offers a ‘boundary’ between the foreign and common. In being abstract it allows for multiple inclusions, perspectives of what it can help to understand, (i.e. not bound to geography nor linear in its expression).472

Section IV: Theater at the periphery

In defining literary perspective and intention in a three layer model, I have chosen four theatrical works, two in German and two in Spanish, to highlight and define what I see as a literature of the Spanish Civil War positioned at the outer most spatial layer. The

471 Another way to think of this is to simply focus on Bourdieu’s literary and artistic field, realizing that this field also is a part of the centers (i.e. the center parts) of both the field of power and that of class relations.
472 For example, I do not say, ‘the space’ of Spain and Germany can be redrawn so that those of the Left and Right will be shown to occupy their own ‘new’ geographical space. If I would do this, then there is a tangible break for first, Spain and Germany are physically removed from one another and a common space would be like saying island A in Spain and island B in Germany represent a new Leftist ‘international’ ‘state’ space. This is not what I am aiming at. I work through a literary lens which simultaneously, as most of this literature is political, somewhat circumstantial and historical, is both inclusive of reality yet removed, in an artistic world; here space offers a very conducive metaphor, a concept which with I can move back and forth, frictionless between fictive and factual/historical worlds, figures, and perspectives. It comes back to my views on perspective; perspective of the artist and perspective of his audience and how from this space is given a center from which it exists. But it only exists once it is produced and its production is initially realized in literary presentations which include details of physical surroundings and associated intellectual (ideological) persuasions (i.e. Lefebvre) and are a part of a dynamic and space of presentations (i.e. Bourdieu).
perspective and function of literature at the most outer layer is established as follows. It is one of appeal to those outside or beyond the space and therefore entailing an inherent inclination of broadening and expansion of the space and secondly, a communication with those already within the space(s) of the Civil War and therefore presents a strengthening of already established spaces of the whole. First, German artist Bertolt Brecht and his piece *Die Gewehre von Mutter Carrar,* will be evaluated with concern for appeal, argument and message in establishing the first example of literature at the outer most layer. I am interested in exploring Brecht’s theatrical approach and strategy, including his form of argumentation to appeal to his audience and the didactic qualities associated with this. Hereafter a critique of fellow German Ludwig Renn’s theater at the front, exhibited in *Mein Maultier, meine Frau und meine Ziege* will contribute to the aforementioned argument. Finally, Spanish works by Max Aub (*Pedro López García*) and Rafael Alberti (*De un momento a otro*) will be analyzed and their strategies paralleled with the German theater considered at the outer most layer.

The Spanish Civil War theater of both Germans Brecht and Renn dovetail with a major current in Spanish ‘theater of circumstance’ – as exhibited by Aub and Rafael - during the war. Each of these artists ‘produced’ their works (i.e. created and presented) in relatively short periods of time. The didactic element is also urgent. Each artist tries to convincingly persuade their audience to immediately enter the war effort (invoking calls for sacrifice), with an immediate sort of baiting and ‘hooking’ their audience personally using examples of the intimacy and the family where the Civil War unjustly

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473 The Spanish Civil War is also invoked in Brecht’s “Furcht und Elend des Dritten Reiches” (later acts, 22 and 23) where Hitler has already/is defeating opposition in Germany and is taking it out further on Spain (warning). The issue of German in Spain is further addressed in his poem “Mein Bruder war ein Flieger.”
474 Translates in English as “Señora Carrar’s Rifles.”
475 The title translates in English as “My Mule, My Wife and My Goat.”
breaks apart any sense of security, well-being, even reason without entering the war effort. Along with unjust deaths, destructive technology is strongly associated with an ‘other’ presented as ‘foreign’.

From the outer layer of literary space created during the Spanish Civil War Brecht’s (i.e. as a sort of prototype for pieces in this group) one act theater piece, Die Gewehre der Frau Carrar (1937) is exemplary. It was performed at the (geographical) periphery, premiering outside the physical space of the Civil War and Germany in Paris, with later performances in Denmark and Sweden. It did however reach those within the spaces of the Civil War through references and reviews in numerous publications. It directly appeals to those outside and justifies the positions of those within the space of the Civil War. The piece was Brecht’s contribution for “das Waffenarsenal des republikanischen Spanien” (Mittenzwei 144). The intellectual and artist, Brecht, actively entered the intellectual space of the Civil War, fighting with his pen. According to Mittenzwei, he saw his task, “mit literarischen Mitteln dafür zu kämpfen, daß der Aggression der Faschisten Einhalt geboten wurde“ (149).

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476 With respect to the temporal space, Brecht’s piece is also a literature of circumstance with a ‘realistic’ style – similar to that of Alberti. It also entails a didactic quality in its ‘teaching’ – invoking thinking and a lesson learned, one of failed neutrality and the necessity to actively enter the Civil War. The piece maintained temporal relevance, proving subsistent value through later performances in 1960s & 70s (Actas del Encuentro International: Brecht en España, 32).
477 It premiered in Germany after World War II at the Berliner Ensemble. Hanssen writes that it was one of Brecht’s most successful pieces (186). Torre claims it is one of the most important contemporary works of the time in its unity of art and politics (108).
478 Examples include, but are not excluded to, Die neue Weltbühne and Das Wort.
479 Brecht writes that the piece is an Aristotle drama, where a short documentary film of the situation in Spain could be shown beforehand (“Anmerkung über Einfühlungsdramatik”).
480 Weapons arsenal of the Republican side.
481 Brecht did not personally go to Spain, but when he sent actor Ruth Berlau to Spain in 1937 to collect material for his piece, she picked up arms and stayed to fight (Mittenzwei 146).
482 To fight with literary means, so that Fascist aggression would be opposed
intimate and personal spaces, technology, resentment,\textsuperscript{483} the establishment of the ‘other’ and the ‘foreign.’

The setting and physical space of \textit{Carrar} is a fisher’s house in Andalusia Spain in April, 1937.\textsuperscript{484} The piece begins with the widow Theresa Carrar home with her younger son José. She had previously sent her older son Juan out fishing (21). The characters gather around a central prop: the fishing boat. Here the boat, within the spaces of political turmoil, is, as in previous works, a vehicle; a means of movement which is itself a space that pierces into other spaces. The audience will see, that what was once considered a vehicle and means to achieve livelihood (i.e. to fish), takes on new definition within the space of the Civil War by becoming militarized – whether as aggressor or as victim; as do families, as do people. José peers through the window from time to time and looks out at the distant light from Juan’s fishing boat. This shows a consciousness of ‘where’ the boat is spatially and which action is the boat taking, that of pursuit or a static state. The boat seems to be static, but it is distanced from the house.

At this point, the domestic space of family is ruptured (i.e. intruded upon) by news of the Civil War. Theresa’s brother, a worker named Pedro\textsuperscript{485} has come from the San Juan subscribes resentment as a revenge motif present, but shattered in \textit{Carrar} (28, 33).

\textsuperscript{483} San Juan subscribes resentment as a revenge motif present, but shattered in \textit{Carrar} (28, 33).
\textsuperscript{484} As is all of the literature in this chapter, the setting is contemporary to the Civil War. While Brecht’s piece was very contemporary, it was dependant on the historical situation and his most important sources in developing this work, were newspaper reports from the Copenhagen paper ‘Politiken’ (Bohnen, 57). The Irish author J.M. Synge’s work \textit{Riders to the Sea} served as a model for Brecht’s \textit{Carar} (original 1904, transl. into German in 1935) (Bohnen 184). The setting stems from País Vasco, but the action is transferred to Andulacia (Merlino). The setting is motivated by actual, historical geography in Spain, yet the ‘geographical’ setting presented is different even somewhat distant from the actual geography from which it is motivated; it is created, produced (very similar sense of geography presented in Brecht’s many Chicago based pieces). This is a strategy of Brecht’s in letting his audience know, feel that what they are experiencing is theater.

\textsuperscript{485} Müske writes of that the dialogue structure in the work is tightly connected with the figures’ occupations (199).
front in Malaga and bears the news.\footnote{He moves from within the space of the Civil War to that seemingly ‘outside’ or at least more distant from the core.} In Malaga he has seen the tragedy of war - 50,000 innocent killed - and the financial motivations by ‘Moors,’ Italians and Germans (321-3). Thus, the first elements of the Civil War to pierce, invade the family space, are those of death and the foreign – as aggressor and murderer.\footnote{One may add ‘money’ here as well. The power of money to pierce and run rampant through spaces presents opposition to spaces of the Civil War; this also surfaced with Toller and surfaces in Aub’s theater.} Death is associated with the ‘innocent’ and their being killed by the ‘other,’ those outside of one’s space.\footnote{In Brecht’s talk to the Writer’s Congress, he iterates what it is that the ‘others’ had attacked and are attacking; they are attacking the economic and political positions of the German and Italian (now Spanish) worker, then the coalition of freedom of the worker, freedom of the press, Democracy and Culture.} At this point in Brecht’s theater piece, death is present within one’s consciousness and as perspective, but it is still in ‘another’ physical space; not that of one’s own. It is a feeling and an ever-increasing or more apparent reality to the perspectives of the figures in the play (as evidenced from initial distant (Malaga) and past (father) to later nearer (neighbor) and present (son)). Brecht uses death to instill fear, sorrow, as well as anticipation and later as a means of sacrifice. Rather than being objectified, Brecht almost personifies death which not only influences character perspectives, but nearly is given its own perspective.

Pedro wants Theresa’s husband’s rifles for the cause.\footnote{Pedro spends time at the house. In discussion, it is revealed that Theresa’s husband, Carlos, was a devote Republican and died (Lungenschuss) in the Asturian miners revolt in Oviedo (1934), of which it seems Theresa had supported her husbands active role (310). The Asturians were violently thrown down by the then Rightist Republican government.} The weapons are hidden under the floor. Quite literally, the family has grown around them, but death is born from the hearth. Through the demand for mechanized weapons, technology is established as a means to maintain and expand as well as a threat to the space of the Civil War.\footnote{Here and through-out, when talking of ‘space of the Civil War’, I am not refereeing to maintenance of constant war, but rather the space in which pro-forces of the Republic and the Left are represented and present.} Those
within the space of the Leftist Civil War need more weapons to maintain, defend and expand their space.\textsuperscript{491} The weapons of a dead man, the late husband of Carrar and father of José and Juan, are now urgently sought to be used. However, Carrar is not convinced they should be used. She is not ready to actively enter the space(s) of the Civil War and remains foreign, and seemingly justifiably outside of this space.

The appeal to actively enter the spaces of the revolution is most pointedly voiced by younger figures. The son José says: “Wenn man nichts wagt, kann man auch nichts gewinnen“ (313).\textsuperscript{492} This is a call and a challenge to enter the political and revolutionary space. In the meantime, one of Juan’s female classmates stops by to ask where Juan was during the meeting at the school house. At the meeting, the group of students agreed that all that were able should join the fight against the Fascists. At this point it is apparent (or seems so) that Theresa may have known of the meeting and thus sent Juan out fishing purposely missing the meeting and thus avoiding being directly called upon to fight.\textsuperscript{493} The young girl condemns the mother’s behavior: “Leute wie Sie sind Schuld daran, dass es soweit gekommen ist…” (316).\textsuperscript{494} By continuing to mount his argument to enter the spaces of the Civil War – not only intellectually in support of or understanding of it, but by physically picking up arms and doing this ‘now’ (i.e. not waiting, entering the current temporal space, at the current ‘moment’), Brecht helps define urgency and action which encourage the sharing of a common perspective with those already actively maintaining the ‘space’ of the Civil War.

\textsuperscript{491} The issue of a lack of munitions arise which is a crucial element in all texts of the movement.

\textsuperscript{492} “If one does not take a risk, one cannot win.” This relates to Brecht’s words in the Writers Congress to actively unite against the “Barbarei,” to move “vom Protest zum Appell, von der Klage zum Kampfruf” (from protest to appeal, from complaining/accusing to a call to fight/war) (73).

\textsuperscript{493} Again, it is the boat, if not used to aggressively propose it, it brings one into the space to be victimized.

\textsuperscript{494} English: people like you are the reason why it’s come so far….
News of the war and appeal to enter the space pierced, sort of breaking into, the family space which before was sacred, idyllic, of itself and not ‘interested’ in the greater outside world. With this Brecht shows the permeability of the family space, a part of one’s personal or private space and the greater space. In a sense he dissolves the perception that the family or personal space is different - independent of or autonomous to the ‘greater’ space of reality of the Civil War. Brecht continues his assault on neutrality by breaking down arguments not to join as formed by the ‘other’. The next figure to enter the house is Father Francisco (as Franco). In discussion about the Civil War and violence Pedro asks the priest – after quoting the Bible saying ‘thou shall not kill’ - if one is being attacked by another can one not kill in order to defend thyself and thy life? The priest basically avoids directly answering the question. Here, Brecht tries to simultaneously expose hypocrisy in religious sectors support of violent spaces as well as break-down any hindrance those adhering to the religion would have in entering the Civil War. Pedro is probing, perhaps representing those forces that have not yet actively entered the Civil War and trying to justify entering. The previous passage weakens parts of the argument ‘not’ to enter the Civil War. This is part of Brecht’s strategy; to slowly, through one example after another, out-argue and convince his audience that there is nothing left to do, but enter the Civil War.

News of the fluxes of the Civil War spaces reaches the house through people - like Pedro - as well as through technology. For example, the neighboring Perez family

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495 Initially, the personal, family sphere still seems separate, distant and different than the larger ‘public’ sphere of the civil war. However, within my ‘layers’ the personal and ‘public’ sphere meld together until there is no longer a focused difference, the personal is public and the public is personal.
496 Keep in mind here that those of the Catholic Church (in Spain), the greatest landowner in Spain were predominantly in support of Franco.
497 Both Pedro and the father agree that the world is not perfect (321).
blare the radio from time to time with ‘news’ from the front. As means and medium for
information; depending on perspective, the radio can inhibit or expand boundaries of the
revolutionary Civil War space. Mrs. Perez comes over to visit. Apparently her daughter,
a school teacher, recently fell at the front. Here, there is death again and the periphery of
the space - the ‘distant’ front – is real (i.e. not mythical or fictional). It becomes more real
than ever before in this piece. Its presence and influence is ever more interlaced in the
fabric of this personal or seemingly private space; it is ever more integral in the identity,
memory and perception of those within. Death is not yet personal, but close. The irony
is that her holiest daughter fought against generals, who were financed by the Church.
Another of Mrs. Perez’s children joined the Right; they do not talk of this child anymore.
Here, the dynamics within the family, sibling fighting against sibling are exposed. This
helps to define and establish occupancy in the spaces and those of the opposing forces.
Thus, Brecht establishes those within and those ‘outside’ or ‘foreign’ (opposing forces)
not according to nationality, nor religion or even family – for those sharing each of the
aforementioned criteria may still be ‘against’ one another.

As Brecht’s piece develops, José and Pedro continually preach to their mother
how one needs to fight actively against Fascism. The younger generation was trying to
bring consciousness to the older generation. If you are not for us you are against us,
either one presents a force which strengthens or weakens space; there are no neutral
forces in space. If you do not fight for the Republicans, then you are for the

498 As in the theatrical works of Aub and Alberti.
499 With respect to Brecht’s piece, Bohnen writes of the problem of the neutral politics of England and
France, where he talks of “die Frage der Mitschuld” (the question of sharing of the responsibility) (176).
Brecht takes the line from Goebbels – “Wer nicht mit uns ist, ist gegen uns!...Neutralität kann nicht
anerkannt werden“ (who ever is not with us, is against us). Bohnen writes: “Die Antwort gibt Brecht in
aller Entschiedenheit, und dies gibt dem Stück einen bisher nicht so deutlich gesehenen Akzent” (the
This helps to define boundaries of space, those of the ‘other’ and those within. The dynamics within or outside of the space is not simply national or even political; Brecht makes it personal through his use of family dynamics. Mrs. Carrara naively believes that when the Fascists come through (durch), she and her sons would perhaps be spared (verschonen) if they did not fight. She reiterates many times how they are poor and ‘what can they do?’ This is a central question that is aggressively attacked by Brecht – and others – at this ‘outer’ level of literature which is mostly preoccupied with appealing to those ‘neutral’ forces outside (and within) the spaces of the revolution to inform them of how, where and why to actively enter the space. Thus, the critique is directed against the neutrality – “la politica de no intervención por parte de las democracias occidentales” (Merlino 110). The personal sphere seems ever more intruded upon by realities outside itself, until these realities of the larger sphere become apparent to the figure that their smaller private sphere and the greater public if you will, overlap completely. However, within this overlapping is yet a different distinction which I propose that Brecht allows us to conclude, that this is based not on nationality, it spans internationally. The political, ideological commonness is presented as not being distant, removed and of the ‘politicians’ and political process of an institution (as a government)

answer is given by Brecht with full decisiveness, and this gives the piece a seldom seen accent/touch) (176).

500 This dualistic definition of opposing forces in Brecht’s piece can be seen in articles he reviewed in ‘Politiken,’ where for example, it was stated “je nach politischer Überzeugung ergreift man in Europa entweder für die Aufständischen oder für die Regierungstruppen Partei” (Andreas Vinding “Vom Guckfenster der Touristen zum Todeswagen – Skizzen aus dem Land des Bürgerkrieges’ Politiken,” 11.9.1936).

501 With temporal perspective, Brecht had seen what had happened - the failure to pressure or hamper Hitler in his own country - and now Germany was supporting the Rightist movement in Spain and the Left. In his piece, each of the figures represent “alegoriza tipos, situaciones sectores sociales,” and their responsibility “frente a la guerra, y hasta hechos significativos de la historia de España” (Merlino 110).
or even ideology (negating what it is); here Brecht brings it full swing back to the individual to make it personal again.502

As a sort of personified trope, death continues to enter the family space as a topic and a reality. Towards the end of the piece, José and Pedro attempt to steal the guns, but Frau Carrar adamantly refuses to let them take the weapons. She would hang herself if her boys entered the fighting.503 In the end, Juan is brought home by three English women.504 He was apparently killed in the crossfire while innocently fishing. Due to a hat, an old hat, that he was wearing he was mistaken for Antifascist. The hat becomes symbolic. Frau Carrar takes the sail from her son’s boat, soaked in his own blood and says: “Vorhin habe ich eine Fahne zerrissen. Sie haben mir wieder eine gebracht” (334).505 Here, as in the previous chapter(s), the flag is symbolic and takes on a tangible status for and within the revolution. It is an aesthetic means by which Brecht aligns himself artistically with strategies of others of the trend, presenting a red flag - red as a tangible color of blood of the dead and blood of the fight as well as red as ideological, as in political representations of the Anarchists, Socialists and Communists. It is a sail used as a flag which does not represent a nation (as does a German or Spanish flag), but represents a common predicament and political cause and the motor of transport and movement.

502 For example, through death of a family member, death of others outside one’s familiar space also become important and seen as sacrifice and therefore one becomes a part of this larger space, yet at the same time it returns full swing back to you and is personal. Then the personal and the larger domain of the Civil War interact and overlap.
503 As with the earlier religious discussion, this too echoes the conflicts iterated by Toller of ‘thou shall not kill,’ and the question of when is violence justified as means to end with no violence.
504 This may be seen as a symbolic gesture by Brecht of the need for English intervention on part of the Republic. It also helps establish that nationality is not criterion for neither position to nor representational force within the space of the Civil War.
505 Previously I shredded a flag, now you’ve brought me another.
The boat - in whose space he was - moved neither ‘for’ nor ‘against’ the space of the revolution. In not being utilized as a vehicle and means in the Civil War; it was a target – for both sides. There was death upon water in the boat. Was the death innocent due to the (intended) neutral stance of the deceased? Brecht defines the ‘other’ while it was the ‘other’ who convicted the intended ‘neutral’ force; thus establishing and reinforcing the notion that within and outside of the space – there are no neutral forces. At the periphery there is a heightened aspect of death. Pedro, José, and mother Theresa Carrar (for Juan’s sake) leave the house to fight. Thus, death of a family member, of an innocent and thought neutral force justifies and spurs involvement, actively entering space(s) of the revolution.

Brecht wrote a short prologue and epilogue attached to the piece where the question “Wozu kämpfen?” (Why fight?) is asked (336). *Frau Carrar* seems written to convince and ignite an answer to this question, through whose significance the outer space of the revolution broadened. Through the dynamic presented in this piece, Brecht presents an aesthetic call to those who are against Fascism to fight and stop asking the question ‘Wozu?’, because it will soon be too late. Therefore, there is the sense that the temporal space into which one can actively enter was limited and closing. “Das einzige Aussicht, friedliches Leben zu verteidigen, ist, es an die Front zu werfen und selbst das

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506 Carrar’s decision to enter is the culmination of the theater. Anna Seghers writes Carrar’s justification in reference to the last scene as: ”Ich bin die Mutter, das ist mein Sohn. Er hat die letzte Zeit an Gewicht abgenommen“ (135). Andersen-Nexö states she becomes ”eine Kämpferin für das Leben“ (a figher in the name of life).

507 This supports Brecht’s closing statement at the Writer’s Congress of actively, tangibly entering the space of the Civil War: “Die Kultur, lange, allzu lange nur mit geistigen verteidigt, angegriffen aber mit materiellen Waffen, selber nicht nur eine geistige, sondern auch und besonders sogar eine materielle Sache, muß mit materiellen Waffen verteidigt werden.“

508 With Frau Carrar in a French concentrations camp. Here, “daß sie diese Frage so lange stellten, das war einer der Gründe dafür, daß wir geschlagen wurden, seht ihr. Und wenn ihr diese Frage einmal stellen werdet wie sie, dann werdet auch ihr geschlagen werden” (that the question was asked for so long, that was one of the reasons why we were beat. And if you (pl) would ask this question once more, than you (pl) you be beat as well).
Gewehr zu nehmen und in den Kampf für den Frieden zu gehen, mit eben diesem Leben als Einsatz“ (Nexö 140).\footnote{The only prospective to defend a peaceful life is to throw oneself on the front and pick up a rifle and go into the fight for peace, with only this life as commitment.} This signifies a fight against the ideology of the ‘other’ and in a sense for the ideology within the Leftist sphere which is also presented as an ideology of the existence of a sort of personal perspective interacting and shared with that of a collective.

Brecht wrote this piece for those oppressed and to highlight the conflict and its bearers internationally. In Brecht’s piece, the intellectual and temporal (seen in history and tradition) spaces can relate to a ‘cultural’ concept that is being defended (i.e. not only political or simply ‘humanity’). Merlino writes: “Sólo la lucha revolucionaria es capaz de acabar con la falsa dicotomía entre los alimentos y la Guerra….Brecht concluye que la acción fascista implica una ofensiva general contra la cultura en general” (113).\footnote{Translation: Only the revolutionary fight is capable of ending the false dicotomy of food and war..Brecht concludes that Fascist action implies a general offensive against cultura in general.} Further, Brecht writes:

Wenn ich mich nicht bemühe, einen Weg für sie zu finden aus ihren Leiden, wie sollen sie den Weg zu meinem Schreiben finden?...Ich versuche zu zeigen, wie schwer sie (Carrar) sich zu diesem Kampf entschließt, wie sie nur in der äußersten Not zum Gewehr greift. Es ist ein Appell an die Unterdrückten, aufzustehen gegen ihre Unterdrücker, im Namen der Menschlichkeit (251).\footnote{If I would assert myself, to find a way out of their pain, how can they find a way to my writing?..I try to show, how difficult it is for her (Carrar) to fight, how she – only in greatest dire (emergency) picks up arms. It is an appeal to all those oppressed, to stand up against their oppressors, in the name of humanity.}

And although Brecht was never in Spain, his “mode of seeing the Civil War from outside, permitted him to situate a fight in an international environment, that reproduced a conflict between two concepts of the world in a determined territory” (Merlino 110).\footnote{Through this piece Brecht breaks down boundaries between Spain and Germany and creates a common temporal and intellectual space. Brecht talks about the “terrible communal cause” – the destruction of Guernica and the occupation of German syndicates in May of 1933, citing food problems during the end of}
concept was based on international revolution of the proletariat for a utopian egalitarian world, peaceful and free of the proposed slavery of economic competition and distinction; and the other concept was founded on the concept of the state, as an organic, selective nationalism which repudiated any acceptance of peace and any concept of a shared international community.

Although the theatrical performance was physically removed from the Civil War, it was a part of an intellectual (i.e. political or ideological) space which was international, and permeated out from Spain. Brecht’s setting is a small Spanish village, but the metaphor and intimate potency of his message is international. A common identity versus foreignness is no longer defined according to language or nationality. Violence is initiated by an ‘other’ and the sole form of opposition is to combat violence with violence, heavy-hearted, yet passionate. The decision for involvement is not made, not justified, until there has been a death which need be a sacrifice for it not to have been made in vain. Brecht acts this out on stage, step by step through the rhetoric and argumentation of his figures – bringing his audience into the dialogue. The piece is short, yet it is urgent and potent. Through Carrar and its commitment to the Spanish Civil War, Brecht further established that “…nicht alle, die die deutsche Sprache sprechen, es mit den Generälen halten und Bomben und Tanks in ihr Land schicken“ (i.e. not all Germans were Nazis) (Über Frau Carrar Feb. 1938).513

As does Brecht, German Ludwig Renn, in his theatrical sketch Mein Maultier, meine Frau und meine Ziege (1938), also raises direct questions and appeal to his audience to actively enter the space of the Civil War. His piece is likewise short yet uses

the war in Germany with Hess calling out ‘Canons or Butter’ whereas in 1937 it was Hitler ‘Canons or Slavery’ - thus relating this issues to the Spanish affair (Merlino 113).

513 Transl: …not all who speak German, are with the generals or send bombs and tanks into your country
presentations of figures with seemingly contemporary perspectives and personalities. They are motivated by the author’s contemporary historical event of the Spanish Civil War, yet the presentation itself and the specific character dynamics are created. In the beginning, Renn’s figure Juanrazon (i.e. Juan Reason) says to Pelaqueso,\textsuperscript{514} who wants to be released from the military for his lack of intelligence to go home to his Maultier, Frau and Ziege: "Mensch, hast du denn keine Ahnung, wofür du kämpfst?“ (114).\textsuperscript{515} Renn brings in foreign or ‘other’ perspective as well as contemporary international appeal. For example, Franco appears and in discussion states: “Heute kriegen die Roten keine Waffen, dank England und seiner Nichteinmischung – das ist ja der wahre Grund meiner Siege“ (114).\textsuperscript{516} The color ‘red’ is used to represent those sharing revolutionary perspective. Franco has bought his planes (Flugzeuge), and perhaps his victory while selling Spain (117). Foreign ‘technology’ and financing a common cause are presented as characteristics of the ‘other’. Then, there is talk of Spain dying (116).\textsuperscript{517} People are dying within the geographical spaces of Spain. The sense of a surviving common space in Spain among many different people is also dying. As in Renn’s Germany, now in Spain the ‘other’ is purporting a violence which needs to be combated. As Brecht’s Carrar comes to the understanding to actively enter the spaces of the revolution, so too does Renn’s figure Pelaqueso. He comes to understand that it is not time to go home, rather it is time to fight against Franco: “Ich habe verstanden, daß jetzt nicht die Zeit ist, nach Hause zu gehen und mein Maultier zu streicheln. Erst muß Franco in seinem Flugzeug abgehauen sein in ein andres Land. Ihn selbst erwischen werden wir wohl leider

\textsuperscript{514} ‘Pela’ can be translated into ‘peseta’ (money), ‘queso’ being ‘cheese’, with other more negative colloquial connotations (smelly).
\textsuperscript{515} Man, do you have any idea, what you are fighting for?
\textsuperscript{516} Today the Reds don’t get any weapons, thanks to England and their ‘non-intervention’
\textsuperscript{517} This dovetails Aub’s critique of Spain being for sale (discussed in the following pages).
It is Franco who needs to be pushed out of the space; he had intruded upon the spaces of the revolution. In the end, a woman calls for a common will (ein Wille) to unite the people (einige das ganze Volk!) and this ‘will’ can be found in (identifying with) the Volksfront (120-1). Both Renn and Brecht use the figure of a matured (older) woman as the means to voice the final verdict of the work’s dialogue. In the end, Renn not only raises and significantly answers the question of ‘Wozu?,’ but he also attempts to specifically create a common ‘identity’ – with actual terminology - of those ‘within’ the space of the Civil War.

Appeal to enter and expand spaces as well as increased communication and definition within spaces of the Left Civil War is dramatized in both German and Spanish theater during the Spanish Civil War. Spanish artists Max Aub and Rafael Alberti are equally exemplary – as Brecht and Renn – at the outer most layer of literature of the Civil War.

518 English: “I have understood, that it now is not the time to go home and pet my mule. First, Franco in his plan must be driven out into another country. To catch him ourselves is improbable…” Renn writes in another work that “daß Feinde des spanischen Volkes auch die Feinde des deutschen Volkes sind” (II/1, p.88, Rieck 74). This helps to establish a common ‘other’, a common ‘foe’.

519 Even if up against an overwhelming opponent, the fight was necessary. Neubert writes of a discussion (1950s) with Hanns Maassen, in which Renn “habe die Auffassung vertreten, daß die Hoffnung auf einen Sieg der republikanischen Seite sich trotz aller Tapferkeit der antifaschistische Kräfte – der spanischen wie der ausländischen – und auch trotz der Solidarität der Sowjetunion mit dem spanischen Volk rasch verschlechtert habe. Er habe dies gesehen und gewußt, dennoch sei der Kampf im historischen Sinne erfolgreich gewesen, weil gegenüber dem Faschismus nicht kapituliert, sonder gekämpft worden sei” (70).

520 The aesthetic unity in theater developing amongst the Left between Spain and Germany is very convincing. Brecht’s piece, albeit not performed in Spain – was reviewed in Spain. Renn’s piece fulfills the above criteria) and was performed in Spain. Even the famed German director Piscator was in Spain – visiting the theater in Barcelona (12.4.36) and commended and justified the need for theatrical influence, “el teatro y en general la cultura son armas de combate igual que los cañones” (Oliva 11). Piscator’s Das politische Theater can further be referenced.

521 Other works of Aub - Las dos hermanas (1936), Fábula del bosque (1937), Juan rie, Juan llora (1937) Por Teruel (1937), ¿Qué has hecho hoy para ganar la guerra? (1937) - and Alberti - Radio Sevilla, Numancia, Los miedosos valientes – were written during the Civil War and are a part of a ‘teatro de urgencia’, or ‘teatro de circunstancias, teatro de agitación, teatro de guerra, teatro del momento’ (Oliva 63). Many others were involved – such as Miguel Hernández, Dieste, and Altolaguirre. The Spanish theater during the Civil War was centered through different companies in Madrid, Valencia and Barcelona – being
Max Aub’s “Pedro López García” (two acts with a scripted intermission, 1936) is a part of this outer layer of literature during the Civil War. The storyline revolves around and within the space of the family and opens with the protagonist Pedro, a son and shepherd (*pastor*), and his mother. While the characters talk, the sounds of war – ‘detonacion’ and ‘tiros’ - are heard in the background. This establishes the space of the war front being very near and technology being very real. The war therefore enters first through the sense of hearing, then physically when a soldier and Falangist sergeant enter the household, permeating the family space from ‘outside’, akin to foreign intrusion. The intrusion will be shown to ultimately lead to death.

Not only whether to fight or not, but the question ‘whose’ side, for which space is one fighting, as in Renn’s piece, is purposefully presented. Further, this also brings up characters that represent conflicting tendencies towards the Civil War; one being not to enter, the other being to enter with violence. The sergeant (i.e. Francoist) is recruiting and wants Pedro to be a part of his forces and subscribe with the captain in the village. The sergeant states that he’ll turn the boy into a soldier for a good cause (*soldado de la buena cuasa*), of the true Spain (*de la España verdadera*) (273).

Pedro López García premiered in late 1936, in the first months of the military rebellion, through the university theater ´El Búho´ in Valencia (Monleón 287). Performances of ‘El Búho’ – of which Aub organized – were held throughout the Spanish Levante (i.e. the provinces of Murcia, Valencia, Alicante and Castellón), performed in a variety of adhoc stages, from salons to churches (Oliva 10).

As in plays of Lorca and Toller, there is a non-traditional character, here ‘la Araña’ (the spider), who is Pedro’s friend. Pedret writes: “Los personajes realistas y los imaginarios, los vivos y los muertos, se unen para explicar la historia de un pastor” (87).

This is inline with the concept of ‘foreign’ or ‘other’ intruding (as already discussed in Brecht); here evidenced both physically and intellectually.

In Toller’s piece(s) – as well as in Brecht - this was a central representation, i.e. of the conflict between pacifism and violence in order to express belief (action).
In the attempt to persuade Pedro to enter the space of the ‘other’ and fight, those of the ‘other’ define and establish opposing spaces between patriots. That is to say those against the Falange and Nationalist Spain are not of the ‘true’ Spain and if fighting, would therefore be fighting the ‘bad’ cause.

In Brecht the mother initially abstains from entering the Civil War space and the son (younger generation) is willing; here Aub reverses roles. The mother makes accusations against the sergeant, telling him that ‘sois los mismos enemigos del pueblo’ and refers back 100 years calling him a ‘carlista’ and ‘traitor’ (273). The ‘other’ is established as a long standing ‘enemy’ of the people – expanding temporal conscious - under a new political name of Falangist or leadership of Franco or support from ‘Hitler’ - hiding the fact that they are in opposition to the ‘people’ and ‘traitors.’ Thus, the ‘other’ is not only an ‘other’ conceived in the contemporary, but needs – through the observations of the mother – be identified as ‘foreign’ to the interests of the ‘people’, those ‘within’ the true space of the revolution, and has been and is a ‘threat’. But there is or will be resistance, a counter-force, a reaction. She finishes ‘pero ya vendrán los liberales y os darán vuestro merecido’ (273). The mother presents fierce and spontaneous resistance to the aggression and argument of the ‘other’ and is ultimately killed by the sergeant. The son is enlisted in the nationalist army.

At this point Aub introduces the ‘Enmascarado,’ a figure of classical theater, distancing and provoking his audience. The ‘Enmascarado’ discusses murdering and war

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526 Again, the concept of ‘red’ being eminent in each of the pieces discussed so far.
527 Perspective of broader historical perspective is acknowledged, the ‘other’ has not only been created and established contemporarily, but also in past – this also appears in Lorca, Sender, Döblin, and Le Volontaire. As presented through the mother, there is then hope of a (new) space where justice will prevail. The ‘other’ is considered violent and a ‘murderer.’ With force, the sergeant retorts that the woman’s son will serve the ‘Cuadillo’ (i.e. Spanish equivalent of German term ‘Führer’) (274).
528 ‘masked man’
with the sergeant, and accuses the sergeant to have murdered and of continuing to murdering in order to be alone in the end with himself: “matas para quedarte solo y hacerte entonces la ilusión de ser grande.”\footnote{kill to be alone and create the illusion that your grand/great} The sergeant states that it is war and people will die. The ‘other’ is established here as an instrument of killing and nonchalantly accepts this.\footnote{Notice the portrayed difference between the Falangist figures ease at intellectual level to kill in stark contrast to the inherent and projected difficulty of Brecht’s and others’ ultimate Republican figures.} The perspective of the ‘other’, of Loyalist opposition, is presented as accepting violent conflict as a constant variable within their reality and any space which is a part of or infringes on this reality. Here, Aub is posing to the audience the question as to whether or not they should let those ‘outside’ the space of the revolution, define this space. The ‘Enmascarado’ replies “¿Gente de tu sangre y tu lengua?” (276). The Spanish are killing their own countrymen, their own blood and people of the same language; they are killing their families and their futures. Within a sort of intellectual space, different perspectives are clearly defined and presented between those within the revolutionary space and those in opposition to it. These differences then help define impermeable moments in intellectual space which in turn establishes abstract spatial boundaries. Violence is presented as an accepted and almost preferred reality for the ‘other’ while, as in Brecht and now to be shown in Aub, it becomes a means of last resort, justified as a brief necessity (i.e. means to an end) for those within the Loyalist camp.

At this point, there is an intermission where a \textit{Vendedor} (salesman) comes forward, wanting to know if anyone would like to buy ‘Spain’: “¿Quién me compra España?” He mentions Italian and German purchases within Spain and asks if there are any Fascists around. A soldier steps up and talks, he wants to buy himself. He asks if he
can pay with a village, planes, tanks, mortars, or ammunitions. As Brecht, Renn, and Lorca and Toller before, money surfaces and again is associated with the ‘other’ and the ‘foreign’. Deducing from what has been established thus far, these ‘foreigners’ are not necessarily distinguished by an exclusive nationality (even if they advocate the concept of nation), but by which space they occupy; those foreign to the space of the Left in the Civil War are thus defined as the ‘foreigners’ perhaps buying - or selling – Spain. Aub presents the perception of gaining geographical space and ideological, political support through money.531

Aub is considered a Spanish author (having lived in Spain, speaking and writing in Spanish), yet his roots point back to France and Germany (his parents were French and German) and a Jewish background. He wrote and organized performances of his pieces while within Spain and saw his audience as a passionate people. Those of the Loyalists are not perceived in it for money, but rather through a strong belief and identity with the failing republic, the agresssed people and the international opposition to Fascism. In presenting the ‘other’ associated to money (i.e. also using bourgeois labels here), he attempts to further stir his audience’s passion to fight with a grander disdain of the other. Thus selling a country is symbolic for selling one’s own perspective and therefore ‘space’. These foreigners do not care about the Spanish or Spain – for ultimately it is either meaningless to them or subordinate to other spaces or simply it is not their home. Through the figure of the Vendedor, Aub shows a criticism of the anti-Franco camp to the

531 This is contrasted to gaining support through rational argument not based in money rather feeling, emotion, and common cause. He addresses the issue of being paid to fight versus fighting of one’s own free will. Here is a grand difference between that of one, a person and a people (a group, or people in general) being coerced, forced to act and to believe (whatever it is the ‘enforcer’ wills) versus a person and people acting and thinking of their own free will, perhaps encouraged or persuaded (through argument, not threats). In the later exists the possibility for a common movement supported by great diversity and the prior supports a movement supported by fear and homogeneousness, a sort of standardization of thought through force.
Franco camp; he poses to them, in an abstract sense, a sort of intellectual mirror. They are selling their identity, their language.\(^{532}\) The multitude of languages and redefinition of the concept of identity is presented as enlightening, purer when concerned with the Loyalist side, yet those of the ‘other’ side are presented as ‘changing’ their identity and even following, being subservient to ‘other’ languages (German, Italian). That is to say they are presented by Aub as selling themselves. The figures fighting ‘against’ the other, the Fascists, are never shown as fighting for money or financial gain, rather it is always the Fascist or Nationalist (ironically) who is presented as fighting their own brothers for financial gain whereas the Loyalists are presented as fighting with passion, in vengeance of their ‘fallen’ international brothers and sisters. Non-Spanish languages (we will see) become ever more accepted and integral within the Leftist space of the Civil War, and are here stated, from the perspective within - of those ‘outside’ - as not successfully sharing.\(^{533}\) The melting of national identities and creation of collective identity with

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\(^{532}\) Intrusion of ‘foreign’ language is pertinent; for example it surfaces in a short story where a German guard talks in German to Spanish children (Historias de 36, Aub). This is but a curt example of how German of the ‘other’ remains foreign to Spain, German from ‘within’ – becomes a part of the collective space, a space of sharing and creation of new identity.

\(^{533}\) An ‘Altavoz’ (loudspeaker from the front) enters the conversation and talks of ‘un sencillo español que defiende su libertad y su independencia’ (a simple/modest Spanish that defends its liberty and independence) (281). Here, Aub iterates (i.e. similarly to Sender) the responsibility of literature to talk of and to this voice. As with Renn, there is a direct attempt by Aub to establish and strengthen the identity of those within the Leftist space of the Civil War. The Altavoz talks of the truth, and asks those under foreign influence for perspective that (they) we are losing our Spain and the future Spanish children will speak the language of their invaders – “el idioma de los invasores.” If so, communication, next to technology, then represents amongst and from the ‘other’ space a threat which rather than being manipulated to unite (as presented amongst the Loyalist camps) is here perceived to pervert, sort of infecting space with an uncommonness; rather than achieving a sense of unity through multiple languages, the language of the ‘invaders’ is foreign (The ‘German’ of the ‘other’ is associated with the ‘invader’ and ‘oppressor’, their language is considered foreign and a threat; this is in stark contrast to attitudes toward German ‘within’ the space of the revolution – which becomes a supporting part of the space.). It is not so much a problem of speaking ‘another’ language or being bilingual, but it is the perception that another language would be forced upon people, not invitingly shared as is presented within the Left Loyalist camps (Here, there is a similar critique of colonist invasions – with the Nazi Germans aligning with the Spanish military and monarchy – two forces with a history of invasions (i.e. North Africa, the Americas)).
collective wills seem less true within the Fascist- or ‘other’-space, rather there is more a sense of slaving, in servitude to authority and to financial motivation.\footnote{The theme regarding the hierarchical structure and hegemonic power of the ‘other’ was already exhibited in presentations of Toller, Lorca, Döblin and Sender.}

In the second act (cuadro), two officials talk of the war, and the great success of the Italians and the many deaths due to the high-level of technology they posses, mentioning *aviones*, like the “nuevos Savoias”. Presentations of technology, of machinery have progressed in literature of the movement - from purely boats and trains, now planes and their bombs more vividly inhibit, oppose and intrude spaces of the revolution. “The Germans receive the best munitions, the Italians the next best, the Moroccans average, and the Spanish the worst” (280). In this statement, war technology is presented as a material possession, from the perspective of the ‘other’, according to nationality, ethnicity and its associated language. Further, technology seems to be associated with or support a sort of hierarchy while in the aforementioned quote, planes are not evenly distributed amongst those fighting and across national identities, but rather are keenly divided according to nationalities; then by deduction, those with the better technology (here planes), have a higher potency and greater precision to kill, and also reside in a higher position within the hierarchy. With this sort of hierarchical ‘distribution’ of technology, there is further division rather than unity, comradeship, or commonness. Technology as a weapon, as stated by Aub’s figures ‘the officials’, is a piercing force between spaces; ie. from the ‘other’s’ space into the space (here) of the Loyalists, where it finds its victims. In being a weapon of ‘destruction’ rather than ‘creation’, specifically destruction of life; it is inhumane. Through its use as a medium for killing from a distance (i.e. such as the planes) technology is as well impersonal.
In this war, one no longer has to be capable of killing face to face, one can kill, murder sitting down five thousand meters away from one’s target victim. The idea and preoccupation with positioning (i.e. spatial relativity) between killer and victim emerges. Inhumane acts are made possible, and at grander scales, with technology. One loses awareness of their actions and consequences with the use of technology. The sergeant enters into a conversation with the officials; the official (1) states that ‘lo humano ha ido perdiendo importancia a medida que la máquina se ha ido perfeccionando’ (282). Technology, the ‘machine’ is foreign to the ‘humane’ and to a common sense of humanity; in a weird twist of irony, the Leftist side - those within the space, in lacking arms and technology is – when technology is inhumane – rich in humanity. The other, with Aub’s use of technology, is distant from the ability to embrace humanity and is cold in its steely, mechanic association and language.

A new figure, La Tierra, enters the scene, talks to Pedro of the capitalists “de mucha carne” and asks “¿No sientes pesar sobre tu pecho la opresión de sus siglos?” Here, there is an attack to be conscious of one’s position within a broader temporal space. La Tierra persuades Pedro to enter the space of the Republican side “de una forma plenamente consciente” (Sirera 39). At this point, Pedro, after thinking of his mother, leaves the Nationalist troops and decides to join the Republicans. The remembrance of dead loved ones (mother), that they did not die in vain – as in Brecht - contributes to Pedro’s conversion. He then grabs the loudspeaker and calls each of his ‘compañeros,’ - concrete persons with full names – “Luis Sánchez Pereira, Timoteo Lacalle Rodríguez,  

535 The humane has been loosing importance as the machine has been perfected.  
536 i.e. - earth, soil, ground, land. Has a sort of ‘didactic’ role.  
537 Don’t you feel the weight on your chest of its centuries of oppression?  
538 PEDRO: No acabo de entender lo que me dices. Pero creo que debo pasarme. LA TIERRA: Pasarás, pero debes saber el porqué. (go to the other side, but you should know ‘why’)
Servando Sancho Camino...” He goes on iterating the many names of his Spanish friends on the Nationalist side – heightening the personal aspect – to enter the Republic space as he has done. Here, names become important. They are names of friends and are personal and provoke a sense of individual responsibility and an awareness of the community of the individual’s actions. They may become the names of the dead. Two foreign officers tell the soldiers not to listen. Here, the foreign, the ‘other’ wants those listening to forget what they hear, they do not want those listening to be stirred, to actively enter the Republican, Leftist, Democratic, less-technical (presented then as more humane) spaces of the Civil War. This literature serves to oppose these foreign voices.

How does this relate to the above statement in which Spanish are destroying Spain? There are too many people who attempt(ed) to be neutral, but in doing so are liquidated (killed) or manipulated and forced to join the effort (increasingly the Fascists side). This is a further argument to join the Leftist war effort in opposition to the ‘other’. There are no neutral forces within or outside of the spaces of the Civil War presented by Aub. He wrote: “No sostengo aquí que ‘el que no esté conmigo está contra mí’, sino que los que no están ni con los unos ni con los otros inexisten; y lo que no existe, mal puede sobrevivir” (Aub, in Monleón 287). As with Brecht and Renn, the work is deeply connected with Aub’s contemporary and the developments of the historical spaces of the Spanish Civil War. According to Ruiz Ramón, Pedro López

539 Many Spanish are presented in Aub’s piece, destroying Spain, although this work is also a voice of appeal beyond just the Spanish language, perspective and geographical confines; it is international in many respects. For the Italians, Germans and North Africans are presented as actively, influentially being a part of the war. By his omission of other nations such as England, the US and France, Aub (through silence) critiques their ‘non-intervention’. However, more important than simply drawing national critique, Aub’s ‘non-intervention’, non-commitment, is addressed and critiqued – as with the other authors of the trend – at the intimate, personal level.

540 I’m not suggesting that ‘who is not with me is against me, rather that those that are not with one side or another, don’t exist; and for that which does not exist, it is hard to survive.
García is an important dramaturgical step for Max Aub toward the ‘realidad histórica’ (Pedret 88). In this (and other) pieces, Aub is immersed in problems of the collective and utilizes theater as a poetic instrument of political and historical investigation (Monleón, teatro, 49). The dynamics and motivations behind the current events are hoped to be established, perspectives and their associated forces within and between spaces defined, and the audience encouraged to actively join the space of the Civil War.

Alongside Aub’s piece, Rafael Alberti’s “De un momento a otro” (prologue and three acts, 1938-39) is another theatrical example in Spanish at the outer layer. As with Aub and Brecht, Alberti’s piece is a drama of a Spanish family in a small (southern) town. It is, as are all of the pieces in this chapter, written during and takes place in the then contemporary period of the Spanish Civil War. Much of the drama takes place in the streets; Alberti’s work enters the common space of the streets – as does the artist himself - being a “dramaturgo en la calle” (Nebrera 181). The ‘house’ as a space of the family, also becomes a space of importance. Temporally, the drama finishes on July 18, 1936 which was the actual day of the military insurrections in Spain. Thus, as with each of the previous pieces, it is not a stretch to understand these works as a means of historical investigation, yet a contemporary social and aesthetic product.

Alberti’s drama is ultimately a story of Gabriel, a young brother and a son, who feels ostracized and pressured by his family. Gabriel is “un militante de la España

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541 Oliva writes here of Aub’s symbolistic tone, ‘a flor de piel, que no impide el carácter final de arenga, con frases dedicadas al espectador” (64).
542 The piece was not performed in Spain during the Civil War, while as Alberti was finishing it – the war came to an end (Monleón, tiempo, 206).
543 F. de Diego draws a further connection between theater (general) of Brecht and Alberti in “la antítesis de la aristotélica” (147).
544 Alberti write: “Se trata de una obra casi autobiográfico y creo que la primera, en lengua castellana, que plantea de manera cruel, directa, el problema dramático del intelectual de origen burgués que se acerca a la revolución proletaria” (Gagen 15).
545 As did the poet Alberti decide to “bajar a la calle, contrae el compromiso...” (Gagen 23).
republicana y marxista” (Nebrera 179). He is intelligent, goes to school and then the university, but instead of pursuing a traditional structured academic path; he ends up joining a revolutionary cause. When at home, he accuses his family of aimlessly and senselessly following tradition in wake of a time where action to change and help for the oppressed is necessary. The family, once a common space – becomes ‘foreign’ to Gabriel; “contra mi…todos los de esta casa” (97). His tío Vicente, his tías – Josefa, Ángela and Gertrudis, mother, and siblings (outside of Araceli) oppose Gabriel’s revolutionary inklings. His uncle Vicente mocks the French revolution and shudders at Communism. Within the space of the traditional family, Gabriel is questioned – his mother accuses him of being crazy (loco) and when he winces and feels weak, mentioning suicide; she seems more concerned with the social reactions and consequences to this, than for her son himself: “¡Un suicida en la familia! Has perdido la fe, la religión….” (102). This confirms that Gabriel has nothing to lose. As with both Brecht and Aub, Alberti presents figures who oppose the revolution, with a heightened degree of reflective inflexibility; that is to say they seem to lack an adept ability to reflect as to how and why they think. As Alberti, each of the dramatists so far presents the other with seemingly less intellectual depth and herefore an intellectual rigidity. Note for example in Alberti’s work the blind embracing of tradition, overt confidence in authoritative governmental structures (state), and even a very narrow, closed and cold definition of family. With the presentation of such an inflexible intellectual figure(s), each author, and here specifically Alberti begrudgingly portrays to his audience why the other is the other, unable to access, to contemplate intellectually and therefore unable to share revolutionary perspective which leaves the revolutionary space impermeable to
them. The above presentational strategy basically relays to the audience that such a naïve perspective would not be able to perceive the revolution from within its space (i.e. only from outside the revolution). The above argument is a central division between Gabriel and his family. Generational disputes are easily illustrated within literary framework of the family and are further sources of friction. Those of Gabriel’s family or those that become defined as ‘other’ refuse “any idea that comes from outside;” Alberti equates “the class struggle taking place in the nation at large with the process of disintegration that occurs in one family” (Popkin 94). The younger sister, Araceli, is caught in the middle, basically supports her older brother but does not have the initiative to follow him. As Brecht, Renn and Aub, here Alberti also addresses the conflicted figure that has not yet actively entered the space of the revolution.

Feeling estranged to his own blood family, Gabriel seeks and finds a new family, “fuera de la vida, rodando por los muelles y las estaciones…” – at the docks and the train stations he finds solidarity (97). This solidarity amongst the workers is a part of the space of the revolution within which there is a sense of personal relationship and community. The revolutionary space is collective, yet it is intimate, replacing (or at least overlapping) previous familiar space. It is personal and political. Appeal to actively enter the space of the revolution – as in previous works discussed - is initially exemplified by Gabriel. In the figure Gabriel, surfaces an “actitud de compromiso intellectual” (Nebrera 178). Alberti connects issues of ‘actively’ fighting (need of entering space) with strengthening and expanding of this space. Each finds a different

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546 Poplins writes further that the “interests of the drama could best be served by portraying [his] ideological and social conflict within a specific human setting” (95). Brecht and Aub do the same.

547 The issue of gender and generational problems are here very similar to those found in Lorca’s pieces.

548 In this piece, Alberti “put his pen to the service of the ‘revolution’ (Jimenez 142).
way to join, Gabriel states: “Cada uno llega a la Revolución por diferentes caminos,” but the most important is not how one enters, but that one does – “lo serio, lo grande es creer y darlo todo” (109). In many respects, Gabriel is the voice of Alberti. It is the voice of Alberti’s childhood frustration(s) as well as the voice Alberti pertinently employs during the Civil War.

Initially, as Gabriel – a proclaimed intellectual - attempts to enter the space of the ‘workers’ (obreros) (and later revolutionaries) - he is not taken seriously. His brother Ignacio and friends present attitudes oppositional to the revolution, closer to those of “fascistas”; they mock and dissuade the intellectual Gabriel’s enthusiasm for the revolution: “La política acabó contigo, con el gran escritor que parecía haber en ti” (136).

In the third and final act, Pablo talks with a fisherman. The question of what is happening in Spain, in their city is posed. Pablo retorts: “¿Qué sucede al pueblo, que ayer luchaba sin fusiles, que ayer sólo oponía como muralla al enemigo la frágil fortaleza de su pecho?” But today is different. The fisherman (Pescador) says: “Mi fusil es una conquista. Aún ayer su cañón me miraba de frente” (147).

The figure, without a name other than that of his social occupation upon and of the sea, acknowledges the situation, the moment, and decides to actively enter the revolution, willingly with arms. The nameless character, as with Lorca, Toller and Aub, here with Alberti, is used as a voice, profoundly announcing a change in the action of the play, in the tide of events. A strike

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549 English transl: Each enters the revolution by different paths, …… ‘the serious, the most important is that one believes and gives everything for this
550 The political ends with you, with the great writers that you seemed to be
551 English transl: What happened to the village/people, that fought yesterday without weapons, that yesterday only using their chests as a wall of fragile fortress to oppose the enemy?……(Pescador): my rifle is a conquest. Although yesterday their canon was pointing at me.
Communication lines are down. Soldiers are abandoning enemy (Nationalist) lines and uniting with the pueblo. Here **pueblo** represents the ‘people’ rather than ‘the nation’. And here in literature, the Left breaks down the concept of the nation and redefines identity using the concept of ‘international’. The pueblo is also used in German, ‘Das Volk’. It is used by both the Right and the Left. For the Left it signifies the people, the simple people, humanity, the common person, the poor and the rural people; it is a concept which has been utilized differently through various epochs. But here for the Left it represents a sort of unadulterated, organic concept of community, whereas for the Right it is much more closely associated with the state.

Amidst the strike, Gabriel and Ignacio are in the streets. As the town’s people revolt, Gabriel is killed. He failed, but knew that if he failed it would be his responsibility. In this transformation at the end, Gabriel is a character who will go unflinching into the street battle and there meet his death (Gagen 26). Through his death and sacrifice he is accepted. In the end, the fisherman states: “Murió lo mismo que los héroes: en la calle” (151). “Los obreros de la revolución, ante el cadáver de Gabriel, aceptan enrolarlo, ya sin reservas, en sus filas” (Nebrera 180).552 Through Gabriel’s death, as a martyr and hero of sorts, motivation and justification for people to actively enter the space of the Civil War is a crucial element of Alberti’s play. There is death as one from within the space is ‘killed’ by those foreign or outside of the intellectual revolutionary space. In the play, the true murder is never revealed; it is speculated to be supported by his former friends – instigated by his older brother Ignacio.553 The former

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552 He died as a hero in the streets (151) “the workers of the revolution, with Gabriel’s corpse, accepted to enlist, without reservations, en the lines of the Republicans
553 Here, the personal conflict and confrontation within the intimate familial space ends tragically in death. Jimenez, compares the conflict between Gabriel and Ignacio with an earlier poem of Alberti’s, “Balada de
definition of friend and foe dissolves, in the clash of opposing forces, brother kills brother. The fact that Alberti does not explicitly name Gabriel’s slayer leaves room for the critique that the ‘other’ is nameless, there is no sense of responsibility on the part of the assassin for the act of the violence which leaves the act very impersonal when viewed from the perspective of the ‘other’. In the end, Alberti leaves his audience with a sense of urgency for definition of spaces in order to survive. Traditional family no longer suffices as definition for friend or foe. Brecht, Aub, Renn, and Alberti use a sort of pathos and empathy for those who sacrificed and urgency to join as common strategies in provoking their audience.  

Alberti’s work, as the previous theater works discussed, fits inline with a literature considered to be at an ‘outer’ layer – where there is an appeal for those not actively fighting to join and where there is clearer definition of spaces and justification of actions outside to enter and for those already within and significance in death for victims los dos hermanos” (ballade of two brothers), which explores the “unbridgeable ideological and psychological chasm separating the speaker [Alberti or Gabriel] from one of his brothers [Ignacio]” (152).

554 Here Carl Schmitt’s definitions of friend versus foe and a concept of public/private sphere are again a relevant oppositionary view of definition. According to Schmitt, ‘the distinction of friend and enemy denotes the utmost degree of intensity of a union or separation, of an association or dissociation. It can exist, theoretically and practically, without having simultaneously to draw upon all those moral, aesthetic, economic, or other distinctions. The political enemy need not be morally evil or aesthetically ugly; he need not appear as an economic competitor (26-7) – although in literature of the Left he/she often is. If Bourdieu is referenced in our distinction of space then there is a sort of economic difference between those common and foreign. Further, the ‘aesthetic’ presentations (as in literature) differs as well as does those of revolutionary perspective when concerned with ‘moral’ stance of the ‘other’. In a sense Schmitt seems to allude to a perspective that the enemy is a stranger and is existentially different and even alien. I prefer the concept of ‘foreigner’ rather than alien, but the strong and definitive difference outlined between ‘friend’ and ‘foe’ is supported in the literature of my trend. However, I also believe this distinction, for example ‘the foreigner’ is an ‘other’ but there is the small bleak hope – especially evidenced in literature at the outer layer, that ‘others’ with perhaps weak, half-hearted conviction and confidence in their perspective could be persuaded to change. Schmitt’s two tier, public-private morality – perhaps understood by those of the Right – breaks down in the literature of the Left here where the sense of morality is produced consistent both according to his concept of public and private.
Alberti presented his drama at the level of an individual crisis that takes “la postura de un intelectual junto al pueblo que combate” (Nebrera 190). He employs the strategy of presenting the ‘protagonist’ to fight alongside ‘el pueblo’ against the ‘other’. This ‘other’ is foreign to the common identity created between the protagonist and the ‘pueblo’. Ultimately, in this work, Alberti (through Gabriel) “toca de cerca el tema de la participación del intelectual – del poeta – en la empresa del pueblo, en la guerra de los de abajo, en la contienda de sangre y palabras” (Nebrera 193).556

In the theater pieces analyzed, the audience was both inside and outside of Spain. The authors’ appeal extended beyond that of the space of the Civil War. The Civil War was international.557 Opposing armies were composed of multi-national troops and logistic organizers. On Franco’s side were heavy technical support from the German and Italian government and militaries. Further, he used troops from Morocco. On the Loyalist side, volunteers came from many different countries as well as ‘official’ government support from both the Soviet Russia and Mexico. However, within Italy and Germany, came support from varying Leftist groups (workers’ groups) as well. Franco’s leadership

555 Guerrero Zamora praised the work as “el major logro de teatro comprometido de toda la bibliografía albertiana” and this work also stands in line with Brecht in its theatrical chronicle of a tragic vision of life and its intellectual commitment/engagement (Nebrera 181).

556 He touches the theme of intellectual participation – of the poet – in service of the people, in the war of those suppressed, en the conflict of blood and words

557 It became a war beyond or even to an extent a part from a Civil War, rather a war of ideologies taking place in a space which was, simply put, manipulated. Certain groups of literature surrounded itself with the issues of Communism against Fascism or Democracy against Fascism, most strongly presented by ‘outsiders’ who became ‘insiders’ – ie. once determining the ‘inside’ space – such as the Soviet Union, Germany and Italy (to another extent England, France and the US). At another level were struggles bore within the space of Spain itself – a class struggle of sorts, also an ideological, social and political struggle (from feudal days, also against military, as well were regional struggles – i.e. identity struggles within the concept of ‘nation’ – most pronounced (still) in Catalan, the Vasque country). The concept then of ‘international’ regarding the war in Spain, was crucial, it crucially altered the war – from a militaristic perspective; but simply through the ranks – on the ‘anti-insurgent’ side the internationalism could be seen both ‘positively’ and ‘negatively’. Positively in the sympathy and many sympathizers – and international brigadists – many of whom joined with the ‘peoples’ fight ahead of ‘political dogma/ideology in priorities/importance. Negatively in the ‘dictatorship’ of Communist policy – most forcefully organized and pushed with Russian influence - which wiped out the organic morale and victories from spontaneous revolts and revolutions countering the military insurgents. All of this can be seen in literature.
traveled from Northern Africa to Spain, with meetings in Germany. His troops were
given access through parts of Portugal. On the Left, there was also movement between
Russia and Spain and back. However, the majority of physical fighting took place within
Spain and intellectual concern and debate, and political maneuvering and fighting took
place within and outside of Spain – in the US, England, and France. Here, when authors
write in and of Spain, they are not only addressing a previous (i.e. before the war, or in
contrast to national identity as understood by the opposition in the Fascist and/or Nazi)
defined ‘Spanish’ audience, but an international audience within – and outside of or
beyond Spain. In order for this effort to be successful, focus needed to be made not on
differences, but on similarities and these similarities needed to be the fabric of a new
identity that could withstand the blow of its enemies – both physically (in a unified
military front) – and intellectually (common ideology and cause as well as tradition). In
my opinion, writers picked up on this, and aggressively and urgently produced literature
through or with which they seek to establish identity, identifying with their audience
(encouraging their audience to identify with each other) in pursuit of advocating active
involvement in creating, producing a successful common identity of opposition, a
common ‘space’ created through consciousness of sharing commonalities in perspective,
a sort of communal, human internationalism in opposition to a sort of nationalism
amongst nations in Fascism, Nazism, Nationalism. By harping on similarities, also
increasingly apparent differences to the other were as well hoped and intended to be
highlighted – thus creating of a perspective whose view encompasses and creates a space
in opposition to the new ‘foreign’.  

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558 The broad concept of an international literature is not new. Marx’s *Manifesto*, in many respects, is a
defining and early example of political international literature.
Appendix

Figure 4-1:
Bibliography:

Primary Works:


Secondary Literature:

---. Anmerkung über Einfühlungsdrmatik.“


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**Historical Background and other references:**


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Chapter V: German and Spanish literature during the Spanish Civil War  
Part B: From the intermediary to center with Das Wort, El Mono Azul, Le Volontaire and “Hans Beimler”

Introduction

In this chapter I continue the discussion of German and Spanish literature written during the Spanish Civil War. As began in the previous chapter’s discussion of the periphery layer (i.e. theater which appeals to those outside the space of war to actively join the fight), I now continue by addressing the intermediary and then inner layer of this literature beginning with a discussion of: (1) publications which (predominantly) seek to support and unify those within the war and (2) publications which intimately applaud and rally those most deeply involved in the war. The specific literary examples I will use include: works from Das Wort, works from the German edition of Le Volontaire de Liberté (Volunteer for Liberty), pieces from El Mono Azul, and a poem by Rafael Alberti.

Section V: Literature in the intermediary

The outer layer of Spanish Civil War literature intentionally appeals to audiences physically and intellectually within as well as explicitly those outside of Spain. Another group of authors who were physically and intellectually engaged in Spain wrote literature which is more properly seen at an intermediary, rather than outer layer, and was also predominantly directed to an audience also in Spain. However, literature at this intermediate layer exhibits uniqueness in its strengthening spaces from within and as acting as a sort of interlocutor between the literature of the outer and most inner layers of literary perspectives of spaces of the Civil War.
From a German perspective within this intermediate layer the literary monthly publication, *Das Wort* (1936-1939), offers great insight. In *Das Wort*, the appeal, artistry, literary development of perspective and spaces continues. The essence of the publications was short prose – articles, talks, poems, *Nachdichtungen* and novel excerpts - by witnesses of the war in the form of stories and reports. Critic Werner Rieck calls *Das Wort* “eine neue zeitgeschichtlich orientierte Qualität in die deutsche Gegenwartsliteratur des Exils” (58). The literature found in *Das Wort* evidences continuity with numerous categories of literature – here for example Exile literature; it also brings up many culture issues and debates – from Expressionism to the tradition of the ‘Agit-Prop’ pieces (Rieck 65). In the proceeding discussion, I will consider pieces published in *Das Wort* from authors such as: Thomas Mann, Bertolt Brecht, Rudolf Leonhard, Bodo Uhse, Eduard Claudius, Egon Erwin Kisch, Willi Bredel, Hans Marchwitza, Ludwig Renn, Erika und Klaus Mann, Erich Weinert, and Gustav Regler. The importance of this literature is emphasized in establishing a forum and means of

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559 *Das Wort* was founded in 1935 of the initiative of the Pariser conference in defense of Culture. Other literary mediums at perhaps an intermediary layer – as that of *Das Wort*, are *Maß und Wert* (Zürich), *Internationale Literature – Deutsche Blätter* (Moskau), and *Die neue Weltbühne* (Prague). In *Die neue Weltbühne*, for example, there can be seen different forms of literary communication such as speeches, direct appeals, poems, and reports. Some of the most piercing issues are those of technology, “Brüderlichkeit”, and the concern for happenings “zu Hause.”

560 In Spanish are comparable stories in Aub’s *Historias de 36*, written by Spanish authors in exile (i.e. outside of their country) as were works in *Das Wort* written by predominantly German/Austrian authors in exile (outside of their country).

561 Its publishers were Lion Feuchtwanger (southern Franch Sanary), Bertolt Brecht (in Danish Svendborg), and Willi Bredel (Moskau).

562 Free rendering

563 “Kernstück der Berichterstattung bildete die kurze Prosa der Augenzeugen: die Geschichten und Reportagen.” Many excerpts from larger works were printed in *Das Wort*, such as parts of Hermann Kesten’s *Die Kinder von Guernica*, Budo Uhse’s (1944) *Leutnant Bertram* as well as theatrical sketches and ‘Proben’ – by the likes of Brecht (such as scenes form *Furcht und Elend des Dritten Reiches*) (Rieck 64-65). Connecting to literature of the periphery, *Das Wort* also voiced the production and premieres of Brecht’s *Die Gewehre der Frau Carrar* (Rieck 70).

564 A new contemporary-historically-oriented quality in German contemporary literature of exile

565 Bredel was one of the original editors in Moscow, but then left to go to Spain.
It served as a means to establish, define and exhibit the creation of a new concept of foreign in Spain – justifying the presence of those previously considered foreign (German) now within a common space in opposition to the ‘new’ foreign. The role of technology and significance of death are themes which surface in the writing and help further establish and strengthen perspective and spatial boundaries at the intermediate layer (as well as the space as a whole).

Part of the motivation of German authors entering the space(s) of the Civil War as writers was not only to ‘report’ or relay information, but to employ varying strategies of presentation - deemed necessary and useful in support of the Leftist space of the Civil War. The communication of information represented a force that pierced each of the three spaces and intruded into ‘other’ spaces. This writing then played an important role in the expansion of space. Communication represents a medium through which perspective is defined, persuaded, informed, or even negated.

Through communication – for example at the verbal level – interaction between people at an intellectual level can take place. Through this interaction, perspectives are shared. Through sharing of perspectives, space is strengthened, and expanded. The greater (more sincere) the moment of communication, the more deeply develop the bond, understanding and

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656 Rieck writes that Das Wort was an important historical chronic of the Spanish Civil War (58).
657 For as Brecht wrote, “Society cannot share a common communication system so long as it is split into warring classes. Thus for art to be ‘un-political’ means only to ally itself with the ruling class” (in A Short Organ for the Theater, entry 55, 196). As in theater: “Once the content becomes, technically speaking, an independent component, to which text, music and setting ‘adopt attitudes’; once illusion is sacrificed to free discussion, and once the spectator, instead of being enabled to have an experience, is forced as it were to cast a vote; then a change has been launched which goes far beyond formal matters and begins for the first time to affect the theater’s social function” (Brecht, “The Modern Theater is the Epic Theater” 39). Thus, “the exposition of the story and its communication by suitable means of alienation constitute the main business of the theater” (Brecht, Organ 202). Here, as already discussed with montage novels, now Brechts writes of how some exercise in ‘complex seeing’ is needed (“The Literarization of the Theater” 44). Linking together seemingly separate or even ‘foreign’ incidents/events is brought together, or as Brecht states ‘knotted’ (Organ 203); this works into the concept of ‘overlapping’ spaces and strengthening commonness in revolutionary space.
consciousness of common perspective. Likewise, through printed communication, i.e. in publications in newspapers or magazines or books, or even theater – a greater number of individual people in a larger physical, geographical area are reached (i.e. the greater the publication or performance area, the larger the potential audience and potential space of reception and influence). For example: If two people talk in a café in an urban setting or at one of the rural frontlines of opinions or strategies of the war, after some time each at least may walk away from one another with a sense of what the other is thinking, gaining the other’s perspective on the topic while also sharing their own. Without communication this would be difficult to achieve. If they find a common ground on something, then I could say they are sharing a common perspective. In literature and the creation of spaces, communication is not unadulterated or neutral, but rather communication is laden with stark intentions. Now, if there is an audience of 100 people watching a theater performance in Madrid, and another audience of 100 in Barcelona and then another 100 people reading the printed script in various spots on the front, there is greater ‘physical’ space in which communication is taking place - from author and/or artist(s) to audience - and the intention is then, if the audience can identify with what is being presented to them (on stage, in print), there develops a common perspective which then is evidence of a strengthening of intellectual space (and securing physical space).

For a conclusion of sharing perspective(s) occurs at the metaphysical level, i.e. intellectually. However, this discussion thus far portrays only one-way communication.

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568 Brecht mentions that the smallest ‘social unit’ is ‘two people’ (Organ 197) and writes that “the main subject of the drama must be relationships between one man and another” (“Interview with an Exile” p.67) and here find out “how man can improve his condition” and it has been learned that this cannot be achieved “purely privately” (68); thus communication is needed, a social space is needed.

569 This relates to Brecht’s discussion of the audience seeing that they can change the ‘state of society’ – as is his epic theater defined (“Theaterarbeit: an editorial note” 246).
Once the audience replies with their position, a ‘reflected’ response, a form of interaction, a two-way communication process takes place and the future artistic works will increasingly bear these influences.\footnote{Brecht’s concept of art’s communication with its audience is similar to his critique and notions of radio when he writes of the radio and how it should be an apparatus of two-way (not simply one way) communication (\textit{The Radio as an Apparatus of Communication} 51); it should communicate to and change as an audience communicates back to it: this in turn would ensure consequence for those presenting, here audience and society should be brought into a relationship rather than isolated (\textit{Radio} 52). The audience should be turned into not only pupils (through didactic art), but also teachers (\textit{Radio} 52). Two-way communication between not only audience members, but also audience and those ‘presenting’ is evidenced by Brecht in his discussion of how “the workers [i.e. audience] were not afraid to teach us nor were they afraid to learn” (“The Popular and the Realistic” p.111). In pursuit of expanding spaces, this relates to Brecht’s statement of theater ‘leaving its spectators productively disposed’ (\textit{Organ} 205). Here Walter Benjamin (in essay ‘What is Epic Theater?’), writes: “In every instance, the epic theater is meant for the actors as much as for the spectators. The didactic play is a special case largely because it facilitates and suggests the interchange between audience and actors and vice versa through the extreme paucity of the mechanical equipment. Every spectator is enabled to become a participant. And it is indeed easier to play the ‘teacher’ than the ‘hero’” (\textit{Illuminations} 52).} Furthermore, with greater proliferation of printed materials, communication takes place between artists and works themselves. The key is for the artist to create a presentation in which they are able to induce the creation of common space, i.e. bringing those experiencing the art to consciously believe they share a common perspective – this is often done with varying strategies often including empathy, rational argumentation and alienation (Brecht). A successful literary presentation depends on correct, proper (to conditions, audience, specific aim) information which would induce this joining of space (i.e. through critical communication as evoked in Brecht’s epic theater).

The strategy in communicating ‘information’ is vital in gaining or losing an audience. According to words from Brecht published in \textit{Das Wort}, the Fascist dictators have already begun, with the methods, that they used on their own workers, now to apply “auf fremde Proletariate,” they treat the Spanish people as if it were the German or Italian people (\textit{Volk}) (‘Rede zum II. Internationalen Schriftstellerkongreß zur Verteidigung der Kultur,’ Madrid 7.37). Here, Brecht breaks down traditional definitions or reverence for
national criteria; as the ‘other’ view invade previous national boundaries, so too must the forces opposing ‘the other’ join and be informed. This displays the element and importance of information appealing to those outside of the Left’s Civil War space to join.\textsuperscript{571} The writing and spreading of Brecht’s message, insures, according to Thomas Mann “..den nicht mit fashistischem Griffel wird diese Geschichte geschrieben” \textit{(Spanien, 2.37)}.\textsuperscript{572} Their words were spoken and heard inside and outside of Spain and shared in the intellectual and temporal space of the Left in the Civil War and were – through the medium such as \textit{Das Wort} – read in Spain; they physically entered this space. The words published in \textit{Das Wort} resonated to the outer layer and beyond the spaces of the Civil War; they also flowed to the most inner layers as well. During a pause in battle in Madrid, the German Hans Beimler brought friends issues of \textit{Das Wort}:

\begin{quote}
Du hättest sehen sollen, wie die bärtigen Krieger sich darum rissen und wieviel Freude darüber geäußert wurde, daß wir doch, gleich wo wir in aller Welt zertreut leben, arbeiten, kämpfen, wir alle für die gleiche Sache und das gleiche Ziel einstehen (II/6, p.111, referenced in Rieck 59).\textsuperscript{573}
\end{quote}

Those fighting were presented as motivated and inspired by the literature of \textit{Das Wort}. In the above example, it was a ‘German’ who was the means to spread the publication.\textsuperscript{574}

\textsuperscript{571} There are ample examples in the publication exhibiting direct ‘joining’ or entering the space of the Civil War. Women, children, and many ‘others’ joined. For example, Klara Blum wrote a poem, in which she joined in order to continue her husband’s – who had been shot and killed – fight against Fascism (Rieck 62).

\textsuperscript{572} Transl: “...History will not then be written with the Fascist pencil.” Excerpts from speeches of Thomas Mann (October 1938) and Bertolt Brecht (October 1937) were published in \textit{Das Wort}. Neither T. Mann nor Brecht were physically present in the space of Spain.

\textsuperscript{573} Transl: You should have seen them, how the bearded fighters were in joy, that we – dispersed in the world, living, working, fighting, that we all stand for the same thing and common goal.

\textsuperscript{574} The first issue of the German exile publication, \textit{Das Wort} appeared in Moscow in July 1936 and the final issue appeared in March 1939 as Madrid fell. There were over 27 German correspondents actively contributing to the publication and actual fight in Spain. The correspondence was published in \textit{Das Wort} both outside of Spain as well as reaching front lines such as at Madrid, Teruel, Valencia, Huesca, Las Rosas, Guadalajarra, Tortosa, Albacante, Pozoblanco, near the Ebro river and by Valsequillo. Some pieces were as well broadcasted in Madrid and Barcelona (Rieck 57).
The concept of the foreign in Spain, being within and a part of the space of the Civil War is very evident in the literature of Das Wort. As in previous chapters, the foreign was a force(s) outside of the revolution(s), with certain foreign elements imposing and threatening spaces and others strengthening. In Das Wort, the foreign is displayed in stories, with references to the past, of ‘how’ the former ‘foreign’ became a part of the Civil War space. The ‘foreign’ – previously simply viewed foreign for possessing a differing nationality – now occupies a same space with Spanish. The foreign, from an ‘outside’ space, enters the Spanish space and through sharing common physical, temporal and intellectual space, sheds his foreignness from the perspective of those considered not foreign. A new notion of the ‘other,’ those ‘outside’ of this common space begins to serve as criteria, and contributes to the creation, definition and development of a new concept of the foreign.

The presence of Germans in Spain on the side of the Republic is plentiful in German literature. A weekly German edition of the International Brigades publication, as well as the critical publications Die neue Weltbühne, Weg und Ziel, Kommunistische Schriften, and Das Wort were distributed to varying degrees. With arguably between 2,000 and 5,000 Germans fighting alongside the Republic, magazines, newspapers and political pamphlets (along with radio addresses) kept language and national differences from being barriers to a sense of commonness alongside those with a shared cause. In Das Wort, regional identity was oftentimes presented as overriding the national. For

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575 There is also a strengthening ‘historic’ effect in numerous references in Das Wort to historical cases of international brigades, Ludwig Uhland’s ballade of the Basque party leader Mina in 1813 and 1823 resistance against the French, and the 1837 counter-reaction of volunteers from France, Germany, Greece, Italy and Poland – lead by an Alsace Conrad and a German adjutant Höfken (mentioned by Rieck 76-8).

576 Not only native speakers of German were published in Das Wort, but texts, speeches, poems, letters were translated from Spanish, Russian, English, Danish, and other languages. There were also pieces concerned with other physical spaces, such as the situation in Austria and the anti-Japan national front in China (Rieck 70).
example, in Hans Marschwitza’s story “Von Teruel,” people whom the narrator fights with were referred to not by nationality, but rather by region of origin. Thus, there was a “Bayer,” a “Berliner,” a “Hamburger,” a “Thüringer,” a “Sachse” and “Saarländer” actively fighting in Spain, in Teruel (124-127). In Willi Bredel’s story “Here is the “Lincoln”, what shall we do?,” the young German workers were from the Rhine - “deutsche Jungarbeiter aus dem Ruhrgebiet” (92). National and regional identities as well as occupation (worker) were included in presenting the figures. There is not only mention of regional presence, but also remembrance of German figures in Spain. In Budo Uhse’s story “Das erste Gefecht,” (the great fight) Germans actively fight on the side of the Loyalists; having adopted the name of Edgar André - a German comrade executed in Nazi Germany – for their battalion. In Spain there are Spanish fighting against Spanish, Italians against Italians, Moroccans against Moroccans577 and Germans against Germans. This is illustrated in Das Wort numerous times, helping to define boundaries of spaces – not by criteria of nationality. For example, the Germans within the space of the revolution confront their own countrymen (Braunhemden) in the space of Spain (Uhse 64). The issue of friend and foe is beyond simple national boundaries or identities; perspective is then of those within your space and those in opposition to it which is defined along a new set of criteria.

The ‘other’s’ or Right’s ideology of nationalism was undermined through a parade of strategies offering an alternative to ‘nationalism’, in an internationalism, of common identity based in the individual and shared with others. They called on the working classes and those oppressed in the defense of buzz concepts such as ‘culture’ or

577 In “Arganda” (by Hans Marschwitza), the Moraccan Selim fights on the side of the Loyalist against fellow Moraccans who fight under Franco.
even ‘humanity’ - which trumped the confined pool of recipients to national calls whose ideology rose from a sort of ‘organic’ nationalism, rooted in ethnicity, race, language and even religion. The geopolitical boundaries of the nation-state were boundaries, i.e. limiting the potential sense of commonness. The Left drew on an already rich concept of internationalism, with global concern which was well rooted in its theory. Thus Leftist writing in the Civil War sought to reach a much broader audience, at a deeper individual level and competitively combat nationalism.

How did these former ‘foreigners’ come to Spain to enter Spanish tierra and contribute to the strengthening of this common space? The stories iterate ‘German’ figures not only finding a ‘new home’ and a ‘common space’ with those of the Left Civil War; they were in Spain because it presented a physical space in which they could fight. “Hier kann ich mich wenigstens wehren” (Marschwitz, Von Teruel 124). Here is an example of first a sense of ideological stance being developed and then Spain representing and physically being a place to put this into action. The movement of those previously ‘foreign’ entering into the spaces of the Civil War is well narrated. In E.E. Kisch’s piece “Die drei Kühe,” the young Austrian farmer narrates his travels from Tirol to Spain - “Geld hab ich keins gehabt, ich habe meine Küh verkauft, um herzufahren” (65). In Spain, the temporal moment to fight aligned with (and overlapped) the intellectual space of support, and the physical means to realize it. In this space they had the ability to fight. While “in der Heimat” they had “den Griffen der Mörder

578 At least I can defend myself here.
579 I didn’t have any money, but I sold my cow so that I could come here
579 As in chapters three and four, this is often portrayed occurring in a city (or pueblo) and specifically in the streets. But, in these stories it is different, it is more personal. In R. Leonard’s “Carmen” the city and street are spaces of action. In his “El Hel” the occupation of the structure of the building (el Hel) in the village is the focal point of the narration.
entronnen“ (Bredel 92). Here they found new responsibility. Regler’s Ackermann found himself leading a battalion in battle for the first time (143). Within the spaces of the Civil War they could avenge past deaths and persecution. In Marschwitzza’s “Teruel” the German Leftists are fighting, motivated by Hitler’s murdering of their brothers (128). This new space is a new home and a space in which those ‘previous’ foreigners fall in love and are loved. This new space presented new hope. In Budo Uhse’s short story “Im Lazarett,” a German doctor left his practice to offer practical help. He also, amidst bombing and war, builds a children’s home. Those outside actively enter this space and have hope; these literary figures serve the reading audience as examples and justification for entering this common space. Hope in an informative sense is a means of attempting to unify as well as expand spaces. Hope is spurred by ‘other’ foreign – both physically and temporally – exemplified when Claudius’ figure hears of Lenin (49). Kisch’s poor Austrian farmer joins the Republican side – even though he is reminded by another on the train to Spain – that Franco’s side is militarily much “günstiger” (more favorable) (78). In the spaces of the Civil War this is hope for “Recht in die Welt“ (Weinert, Ein Brief, 137). In the end, the space of the Civil War – earlier and traditionally deemed foreign to German Leftist – its soil and its cities were no longer foreign. In Uhse, Madrid is no longer “fremd” (foreign); it is “Heimat geworden” (it’s become home) (64).

The issue of technology, or lack of, is prevalent in almost of all the literature. With technology one can pierce other spaces and defend one’s own space. Technology is used to re-invade in forms of planes in Uhse’s “Spanische Episode” (28). In the same story, a young girl has hopes that her father will return to the Fascist occupied village “mit einem großen Gewehr” (a large weapon) (24). In Marschwitzza’s “Araganda”

581 Justice in the World
“Lastautos” transport soldiers. In many of the stories ‘trains’ brought ‘foreign’ soldiers to Spain. Technology is useful, however often lacking in the Loyalist spaces. In Marschwitza’s “Araganda,” munitions are low. However, invasion is proven possible even without technology in Rudolf Leonhard’s “El Hel,” when a group of villagers retake their village (space) from the Fascists without weapons (unbewaffnet) (13). In the literature, there is more to battle and victory than technology. Klaus und Erika Mann report that the war is to be won – not only with “Flinte” and planes, but with “Gedanken” (thoughts) and “Buch” (book). In the space of the ‘other’, technology is a goal and is often seen as abundant and a part of their inhumanity. Brecht states “...wenn die faschistische Diktaturen ihre Flugzeugparks fabrizieren, bekommt das eigene Volk keine Butter und bekommt das fremde Volk Bomben“ (7).

582 Here Brecht plays with words; the ‘other’ produces technology with desctructive, violent intentions; nurishment of their own ‘people’ is of no concern. And in response, artists as Brecht and others, work to best present an imperative, urgent need to change ‘people’s’ concepts of their identity, and those who share this. Production of this urgency is catalyzed through presenting the ‘other’ utilizing technology for the sole function of violently liquidating resistance to their space – whether intellectually (i.e. politically, ideology), physisally and/or both. Through technology, the ‘other’ is shown succeeding in causing death to resistance within the space of the Civil War.

Death is a central theme that surfaces in each story. Death is significant and remembered. Through writing of death, boundaries of the spaces of the Civil War are further defined. Figures die who were previously deemed foreign based on their

582 Transl: ...when the Fascist Dictators produce their plane parks, their own people get no butter and a foreign people get bombs.
nationality and language, but now are viewed as a common friend, fallen in Spain during the Civil War. Weinert writes of the faces (Gesichter) of those dead which he remembers – each life and death were significant and lived on in memory and through writing (157-166). E. Claudius writes that their deaths are “...nicht umsonst” (not in vain) (49). Regler’s Ackermann dies, sacrificing his life for his battalion. In R. Leonard’s ”Carmen,” there is death. A young daughter of one of the revolutionaries, Marguerita is killed in Uhse’s “Spanische Episoden” (28). In “El Hel” a young Leftist prisoner is brutally killed as he calls out through a caged window from prison to those outside. In Bredel’s “Lincoln” it was the young German Communist workers from the Rhine that entered the blood soaked soil of Spain, to die themselves: “…. hier auf Spaniens blutgetränktem Boden gefallen” (92). There is homage and are numerous dedications to those ‘fallen’ within and for the space of the Civil War. Hans Beimler is an example of a German remembered. Also remembered, is Fedrico Garcia Lorca;

dessen Versen ‘man in den literarischen Zirkeln Madrids und an den Brunnen der Landarbeiterdörfer Andalusien und Estremaduras begegne’, von den Fascisten ermordet wurde, und er beantwortete sie, indem er den Vergleich mit Deutschland herstellte: ...wie im Dritten Reich Hitlers kein Platz für Heine, Thomas Mann und Einstein ist. Wo der Faschismus lebt, kann die Kunst nicht leben… (Vgl. II/2, p.59, Rieck 66).

Through death, foreignness is lost, through death there is a common memory, a common death in Spain.

Death is written of in congruence to most war literature; unique with this literature is an aspect of international literary involvement. In literature of the First

583 Transl: ...fell here on Spain’s blood stained floor
584 Whose [Lorca] verses one finds in Madrid’s literary circles and at the fountain of a village laborer in Andalusia and Estremadura, killed by the Fascists and he answered them with a comparison bore in Germany: where in the Third Reich there was no room for Heine, Mann or Einstein. Where Fascism is, art cannot live.
World War, for example, death was as well gruesome. There is a great number of works which take place in the trenches, as say Erich Maria Remarque’s *Im Westen nichts Neues* (1928) or English poetry – as that surveyed by Paul Fussel (*The Great War and Modern Memory* (1975/2000)). Fussel writes of a great part of the war presented as taking place in the psyche and of those in the trenches not knowing their enemy. Further, his English poetry viewed evidenced of a strong sense of a national literature. Remarque’s *Im Westen nichts Neues* presented the destruction of war, the death of many young, naïve lads who were never given a real chance to live on and here presents a genuine disgust of war from a narrated humanistic perspective. The Spanish Civil War literature presents death as something not just tragic but unjustified and calls to remember death and use it as motivation to avenge the dead. The literature I am reviewing is often ardently political and seeks to justifiably involucrate its audience in the Civil War with a sense of commonness. The factual presentation of death in this Civil War literature was not as important as how it was presented. These authors are creating art out of death; creating art with death, using death as a central part of their art. The authors do not see death as something final or absolute in the sense of a conclusion and failure. They attempt to use death in their art as something that can unify rather than dissuade, divide and weaken. Further, they present death as a part of a sense of international camaraderie. Death is not lamented or forsaken. The authors write of it gingerly, with empathy, sensitive and respectful of it – it ‘should’ not have had to have happened, yet it was the ‘other’ who is to blame and sacrifice in combat to this ‘other’ is both the only logical and emotional response.
The tropes of death, technology, justification of former German presence on the Republic side and a new creation of the concept of ‘foreign’ and ‘other’ surface in Das Wort. Further, through literature at this intermediate layer, information is passed along, relayed in an appeal for others to join. It is also evidence of support for those who are already active within the space of the Civil War. This all is important in identifying and understanding spaces - created through a literary medium at the intermediary layer – of the physical and intellectual with respect to time.

One exemplary Spanish literary medium at this intermediate layer – often directly mirroring Das Wort - is El Mono Azul (1936-1939),” a publication of the Spanish section of the International Spanish Alliance of Antifascist Writers. The audience of El Mono Azul was predominantly within Spain, within the spaces of the Spanish Civil War. Here, there are calls for intellectuals, artists, writers and professionals, all friends of ‘culture’ – “la hora histórica exige que nos unamos fraternalmente” (Monleón 35). Those not yet in the space were called to actively enter. There is appeal to actively join, “la política de neutralidad ya aparece a los ojos de todo el mundo como una traición” (Charles Vildrac in Monleón 37). Those not within are then against, an ‘other’ who “asesinan, mutilan y queman vivos a millares de mujeres y niños” (Monleón 39).

Concern and voice to those not yet active within the space is unique at the intermediate layer while it directs attention to those within the physical space of Spain, both active and

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585 Translates in English to ‘The Blue Overall’. The name was developed by José Bergamín and Rafael Alberti, while ‘la major parte de los contertulios (i.e. los escritores que constituían el grupo fundacional) vestía con mono azul” (Monleon 15, Seoane 32). Others principally responsible for the publication included María Teresa León, Rafael Dieste, Lorenza Varela, Vicente Salas Viu and artists Antonio Luna and Arturo Souto. The list of contributors is very large, including Juan Ramón Jiménez and Antonio Machado.

586 “Alianza de Intelectuales Antifascistas para la Defense de Cultura,” founded in 1935, the magazine was published from August 1936 to February 1939, releasing forty-seven issues in all.

587 i.e. - assassinate, mutate and burn alive thousands of women and children
inactive. *El Mono Azul* was in stark contrast to Nationalist publications during the Civil War such as *Arriba España* (Pamplona) or *Jerarquía* (Navarra) whose primary interest seemed to propound a cultural aspect; these publications were more ideological, intellectual and literary than informative and under a ‘vaso de prosa imperial’, writers employed ‘el rebuscado esteticismo, el barraquismo lírico, la exquisitez verbal, y la mania arcaizante’ (Seoane 29). The Nationalist language and content seemed less grassroots, more difficult to access for a broad audience and therefore itself very ‘distant’ from the perspectives produced in Leftist publications such as *El Mono Azul*.

As does *Das Wort*, *El Mono Azul* fits into the intermediate (middle) layer. It has been cited as an “hoja de combate, una revista de agitación, que llegaba a los combatientes en los camiones de Cultura Popular y se proponía …llevar a la calle y a los frentes y traer de ellos ‘el sentido claro, vivaz y fuerte de nuestra lucha antifascista” (Seoane 26).\(^5\) Its aim was to “afirmar las obligaciones políticas de los artistas y levantar, directa e indirectamente, una crónica apasionada de la Defensa de la Capital [Madrid]” (Monleón, *tiempo*, 155). By entering the streets and the front, information was circulated and consciousness is raised through the medium of writing. The space

\(^5\) Transl: “A paper of combat, a magazine of agitation, that was brought to the combatants in the trucks of the Popular Culture and they supported….brought to the street and to the fronts and brought to them a clear sense, vivid and strong of their Antifascist fight.” Forty-seven issues of *El Mono Azul* were published in Madrid between shortly after the outbreak of the Civil War in August, 1936 through to February, 1939. Seoane writes that: “por ello *[El Mono Azul]*, estaba abierta a la colaboración espontánea de los combatientes y de los trabajadores y los escritores profesionales adaptaron un estilo claro y directo. Su sección más célebre era ‘el romancero de la guerra’ que ocupaba las páginas centrales en sus 11 primeros números, dedicadas luego a consejos ilustrados con gráficos sobre el modo de protegerse de los bombardeos en aquellos días terribles de Madrid de noviembre de 1936” (26). *El Mono Azul* went through three phases: first as a publication heavily distributed in supporting the defense of Madrid, hereafter it became more of a publication of those in the trenches, and finally the last 3 issues appeared later in the Civil War, larger and more literary, slightly more distant to the combatants than before.
between the center and the periphery, defined as the intermediate, is strengthened through the literary medium as exemplified by *El Mono Azul*.\(^{589}\)

Writing takes on a new responsibility under the then contemporary circumstances and with a new audience. It was “una responsabilidad más grande que la que habían sentido jamás en sus anteriores publicaciones” (Seoane 32). In the initial moments “entre metralla, bomba y fusiles…la soberbia tradicional del intelectual dejó paso a un auténtico deseo de ser útil, de acudir allá donde se pudiera llenar una función;” one such function being “para fijar poéticamente las hazañas heroicas del pueblo y que el pueblo se reconozca a sí mismo en la poesía” (Zambrano 3).\(^{590}\) The ‘pueblo’ was a force and an identity within the space of the Civil War. This literature’s intent - through its mirroring effect – was to inform and strengthen (Leftist) shared perspectives.

Through reviewing selected articles from *El Mono Azul*, it is possible to gain further perspective of the concept of ‘foreign,’ previously discussed issues surrounding this literature, and continue to define spatial boundaries and forces.\(^{591}\) Numerous articles and stories were published in Spanish from German writers (translated) as well as ‘of’ or ‘dedicated to’ German writers. In literature at this intermediate layer – between that of

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\(^{589}\) In its inaugural publication, Alberti wrote: EL MONO AZUL tiene manos,/manos que no son de mono,/que hacen amainar el tono/ de monos que son marranos./ No dormía, / ni era una tela planchada / que no se comprometía. / EL MONO AZUL sale ahora / de papel, pues sus papeles / son provocarle las hieles / a Dios Padre y su señora. / ¡A la pista, / pistola ametralladora,/ mono azul antifascista! / ¡Mono azul!: salta, colea,/ prudente como imprudente, / hasta morir en el frente / y al frente de la pela. / (Ya se mea / el general más valiente.) / ¡Salud!: mono miliciano, / lleno, inflado, no vacío, / sin importarle ni pío / no ser jamás mono-plano. / Tu fusil / también se cargue de tinta / contra la guerra civil. (8.27.36, p.1)

\(^{590}\) Transl.: between shrapnel, bombs and weapons...traditional intellectual arrogance/pride left in an authentic desire to be useful, to go where they could serve a function...to poetically follow the heroic deeds of the people, that the people would recognize themselves in poetry.

\(^{591}\) Beyond *El Mono Azul; Hora de España, Madrid*, and *Nueva Cultura* were other influential publications in support of the Republic. *Arriba España, Jeraquia* and *Vértice* were prominent publications of the Nationalist side.
the outer and inner awareness, acceptance and importance of the ‘foreign’ within the common spaces of the Civil War develop.\textsuperscript{592}

The perspective of a German reporting the war, a German reporting events and issues of and from within the spaces of the Civil War to a Spanish speaking audience reveals and helps establish two things. First, it helps to establish the German as a medium through whose writing (literature and passing of information) was intended to expand its proliferation geographically and address an ever greater audience with succinct urgency. If successful, then intellectual accordance and support would be strengthened. Secondly, these ‘German’ writers and reporters were more than simply German; they were a part of the common space of the Civil War cause. They were within the physical boundaries of

\textsuperscript{592} This literature obviously shares broad similarities of political intention and urgency with other propaganda literature. A central difference between the propagandistic element of this literature and that of many others, is first that it was truly internationally focused, yet the actual physical war took place predominantly within the geographical space of Spain. There are ample examples of propaganda literature in both World Wars, where both actual fighting and concern was obviously international. In other revolutions and periods of war, say as in the American or even French revolutions, fighting was restricted predominantly within a national boundary or territory and international appeal was not as much of a focal goal of the literature – as was with the Spanish Civil War literature. During the Civil War there are further propagandistic examples: there were Italians, Russians, and Americans fighting in Spain who also wrote of the war and whose work was presented alongside Spanish works. Italian and German literature shares the common sense of being able to fight in Spain while both Italian and German Loyalist supporters – and writers – found Spain a space in which they could fight – knowing they had ‘lost’ their space back in Italy and Germany (but sort of carrying on their fight in a different geographical site). Thus Leftist German and Italian literature in Spain is very much influenced during the thirties, by their failures and frustrations with dictatorships in their place of origin. The Russian literature had a much more hard-lined Communist stance, when translated. American, English and French literature tended more towards light Socialism and even Democratic appeals. Through the years, for many German (as referenced in Chapter one) writers – as well as politically engaged activists (1848), Spain was a sort of romantic place, perhaps technologically inferior, yet inviting and passionate. I think there is a certain aspect of organization and association in the German literature in Spain that is unique. There is organization of intellectuals and associations – due to well organized political groups as well as the large number of exiled people/intellectuals – across much of Europe and into parts of North and South America as well. There is the argument that other literature has long been imported, and translated in Spain. This is true in many places. In Germany, the US, and France, (and the Scandinavian countries) literature had long been imported and translated. I think it is very common in Europe, especially the Western European countries to find a tradition of imported and translated works considering the many different countries, with different languages so closely bound together geographically speaking, but also in many respects culturally speaking (based in Latin and Greek origins, many Christian based beliefs and laws (also Islamic and Jewish history in Spain), experiencing numerous wars and revolutions, sharing of intellectually achievements, interaction in trade and commerce, etc....).
the spaces of the Civil War (i.e. Spain, battlefield, front). They were within the temporal spaces, conscious of but not focused neither on past events nor future events, rather their concern and attention was dedicated to that of the contemporary. They were also completely sharing intellectual space.\textsuperscript{593} Their vehicle for passing information was publications within the spaces of the Civil War.\textsuperscript{594} These ‘German’ writers shared a common literary mission with very similar presentational strategies with many Spanish writers. In so doing, their physical and literary presence was not foreign – as would be defined by the Nationalist side of the events – but rather deeply common.

Numerous stories of German writers were published in \textit{El Mono Azul}; some of these being the same stories, issues and events that were published in German in \textit{Das Wort} and \textit{Le Volontaire}. \textit{El Mono Azul} published three issues dedicated to ‘los intelectuales alemanes’ (Monleón 23).\textsuperscript{595} Both Hans Marschwitza’s article “De una carta” and Budo Uhse’s “Episodio Español” (30.9.37) were published. These are the exact same stories which appeared in German in \textit{Das Wort}, now paralleled in Spanish through \textit{El Mono Azul}. Thus, German literary contribution is not impeded by language; it

\textsuperscript{593} There are numerous examples of articles by German authors in Spanish through various literary vehicles. In this section I am highlighting those of \textit{El Mono Azul}; however others exemplary pieces are: an article from Gustav Regler in \textit{Frente Rojo} (18.4.37) entitled “En las trincheras de España contra los fascistas del mundo: Al líder encarcelado” – where Regler describes the fight in the trenches against the Fascists and the encarcelation of one of the Republican leaders; then in \textit{El Liberal} - “Congreso de los escritores internacionales antifascistas” and “La Brigada móvil Internacional muestra en un escrito su agradecimiento por el aguinaldo recibido” Regler references the Writer’s congress and recognition of writing commitment. Further, Ludwig Renn writes – proponing movement forward in his article “Nuestra Consigna: ¡Ataque!” in \textit{Al Ataque}. Will Bredel praises and outlines the efforts in two years of fighting in “Ein ruhmreiches Kampfjahr” in \textit{Zwei Jahre spanischer Freiheitskampf – ein Jahr Bataillon} from 2.12.38 (pp.253–55).

\textsuperscript{594} Photography was another vehicle for passing information, images and perspectives. The Germans displayed in many photos is evidence of their commitment and sharing space. For example, in \textit{Al Ataque}, Regler is displayed with General Lukacs. Spanish and others who occupied common ground were reported through photography by Germans, such as Gerda Taro, who was a famed \textit{Fotoreporterin} (photo-reporter) in the Spanish Civil War. She was the girlfriend and confidant of the American photographer Robert Capa – who supplied the defining photo collections of the Spanish Civil War (\textit{Death in the Making, Heart of Spain}). The camera was her weapon. She had been in Germany during the 1918 revolution. She died in Spain (Brunete) in July 1937.

\textsuperscript{595} To German intellectuals
penetrated into the ‘Spanish’ speaking spaces of the Civil War. Further, through its translation and the existence of an audience, the German writers are a part of and become ever more deeply entrenched within the spaces of the Civil War. Erich Weinert’s poem "Campesino, ¡De Pie!“ (23.9.37), calls for the ‘campesino’ (the farm laborer) to stand up, to actively enter the space of the revolution. The perspective within the spaces – the physical, temporal and intellectual dynamics are outlined in Spanish by a German writer when a page from Gustav Regler’s diary is published as "Escrito con fiebre: página de mi diario” (23.9.37). The concept of the attack and technology is brought forth by Ludwig Renn in “Ataque con tanques” (23.9.37). Both technology and the concept of being active within the space, moving forward to expand the circumstance are relayed through writing. Concern for the building El Prado and its art is displayed by Egon Edwin Kisch in “El’Prado, Solo” (23.9.37). The German literary voice is not German, but rather simply a literary voice within and common to its Spanish audience.

In the literature is evidence of a need for a new and better concept of one’s space(s) of identity rather than simply nationalism. They have lost their nation, and move on not simply by ‘not needing it’, but rather by creating their own concept. By creating interplay from the very intimate, personal self – as in theater Brecht and Alberti did with the family – and then to develop the concept of oneself within a community, a human (and political) community that does not recognize – neither rewarding nor chastising based on – nationality, a broader international identity forms, presented as political and human. Space is a term describing literally what ‘Spain’ and even ‘Germany’ represent; previous definitions of nation-state are portrayed as perverted by overtly zealous nationalism and here some authors present this ‘space’ not with its historical and
contemporary nationalistic baggage, but as empty, and therefore now being malleable, ready to manipulate and re-define. And rather than re-define this single ‘space’ of a sole nation, my authors draw multiple (formerly separate) spaces – here Spain and Germany – together. This is in opposition to opposing literature in which national characteristics were often seen as organic to a people of a certain land (already voiced for example in Fichte’s organic, romantic version). Thus the opposing view was based on a sense of identity to one another, between people living within a certain geographical boundary and supposedly sharing a common political and cultural history and present perspective – and this is where one, a person, was to base their pride and judge success – with that of the nation. And for the good of the nation one should sacrifice and those who do not are bad for the nation. With literature supported by Hitler, Mussolini and Franco, a common race and religion (also ideology in praising classic aesthetics yet very interwoven in technology - at least in Nazis art) – were the bedrock of the concept of commonness within the nation state. I believe, in a certain respect, many of my authors simply present arguments denying the concept of nation or abandoning it as a worn-out structure of hope. If there is no nation, then how can a person base their identity – their history or past, their commonness and difference to other people - and how is geography defined if there are no national boundaries? How is time defined if there is no historiography of nations? Here Leftists theory focuses more on the history of classes, not nations. Talk of ‘nation’ is very limited – in comparison to the Right - in the literature of my trend. What I am proving in these chapters of Spanish Civil War literature is that authors are trying to convince their audience to base their identities – their perception of intellectual and physical ‘surroundings’ - on something else. My authors help their audience to
understand their geographical space not according to national boundaries and intellectual space not based on national rhetoric or simple rhetoric of the nation; thinking and physical space were to be defined by each individual’s perspective. Each individual was neither empowered nor limited by a concept of nation. Rather, through literature, authors intended (with strong bias) to increase these perspectives, through numerous strategies (argumentation, empathy, urgency and alienation) in creating a sense of common identity not based on one’s nation or even language, but a hope and interest for a world that could challenge and change (space, concepts of reality, persuasions of perspective) that in which they lived. Not only was the concept of nation negated in many respects, but in translating from German to Spanish – and visa versa – the notion of language as a differentiating (or distinguishing) characteristic was equally challenged.

The pure physical sharing of space was often published through the medium of newspaper.596 The presence of Germans and German writers are acknowledged and celebrated in El Mono Azul. The presence of German authors Renn and Kisch are mentioned in “Ludwig Renn saluda al Congreso” and “Egon Edwin Kisch” (22.7.37). This contributes to the strengthened perception of the accepted physical sharing of space.

In the front page article from September 23rd, 1937, German intellectual commitment597 contributes to the establishment of ‘German’ within the intellectual

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596 In Mundo Obrero German sharing of space and the surfaced of issues arose in articles like “El Pueblo alemán no es Hitler,” “Hoy cumple cincuenta y un años el jefe del proletariado alemán” (Thaelmann) (2.4.37) and “Gustav Regler – Hombres de las Brigadas Internacionales.” In the Cuenca Rojo, consciousness, care and reporting of German movements are published in “Regler y Lukacs, Brigada Internacional: Regler de paso por Cuenca.” In the Vers la Liberté:Journal du Bataillon “A. Marty (21.4.37), there is a homage to Germans within common space in the article “Hommage á notre grand Ami Ernst Thaelmann, Gustav Regler.” In Frente a Frente (Número 5), there is a salute to Germans and others within common space “¡Salud! Mocha Pijade – Thaelmann – Renn – Vilar.” The “Semana Literaria Popular” (Valencia, 26ª) further exhibits the same trend.

597 Publications further outline the acknowledgement and significance of intellectual commitment, a commitment beyond nationality. In an article entitled “La Alianza de intelectuales” (21.10.37, Núm.37), the
spaces of the Civil War, exemplified in literary references to common identity and brotherhood. The title was printed in both German and Spanish - “Deutsche Schriftsteller mit Spanien/los escritores alemanes, con España.” Germans are referred to as comrade writers (camaradas escritores) who “left their country to be able to continue the war against our (i.e. – Spanish) Fascism.” The entering of the German commitment into Spanish space is significant as the motivation for this was to join the common intellectual (i.e. ideology) space of the Civil War; this occurred with a physical – in Spain - and temporal (i.e. as same moment) sharing of spaces as well. Further elements of sharing are presented in both a common enemy and a common hope, which was “inquebrantable’. A sense of (as Sender termed) ‘responsabilidad’ burned in the words of the authors and was allocated to their audience.

With literature as a medium to inform, German-named writers - Hans, Renn, Regler, Weinert and Osten – are claimed and claim to be the true German people (i.e. not Hitler’s pack) - “Sois el pueblo alemán.” They were ‘desterrado’ (exiled). However, after winning their fight ‘aqui’ (i.e. – in space of Spain), this would be a win for their ‘patria,’ implicating a return to their place (home). This is a concept that surfaces – i.e. the representation of a Germany other than the Nazis in Spain – in all layers and is one of the unifying and strengthening elements between each literature. Although there is

“tragedia optimista” by Vischmiewski was written of. Here, the perspective of Russian theater and intellectuals (relates to conferences in Paris and Valencia of Antifascists authors) are seen as being in same space of revolution. Here Spanish literary figures Rafael Alberti and Luis Cernuda are mentioned in same breath as intellectuals of the Soviet Union. The perspective of the intellectual commitment, the sharing of intellectual space is hoped to lead to expanding the density and sharing in the physical and temporal spaces of the Civil War.

598 Monleón writes, in discussion of El Mono Azul and an art of urgency: “Hay que conservar vivo el recuerdo constante que entra los sentidos, que les hace ver su responsabilidad’ (105). While for those “de la generación del 27, tan profundamente interesados por los problemas de la forma, el ‘arte de urgencia’ supone una profesión de civismo y de humildad, una vía por donde acceder ‘a la calle’ y liberarse de las concepciones puras de la estética” (113). The art of urgencia, of which our works belong entered the streets.
brotherhood, there is also the idea, from the Spanish perspective, that the Germans are ‘here’ in Spain with ‘us’ Spanish representing the ‘true’ German people and upon victory here, this would be a victory for their country and signify a return to their country. German Loyalist fighters and their literary committed share and strengthen all three spaces of the Civil War. Temporally speaking they all share in the experience (moment). Thus identity or the space of identity is very distinct. German does not mean Spanish and visa versa.

Temporally speaking, this ‘brotherhood’, fight ‘together’ is ‘temporary’, for a moment, to obtain victory, but then this ‘sharing’ of common physical space will no longer exist hereafter, it is conditional, albeit a common, - partial again – intellectual space and ‘historic memory’ (temporary space) will be (i.e. future temporal space) shared. The moment, the experience of the moment with its sharing of each intellectual and physical space, will be an instance that is fully shared by both German and Spanish. The concept of identity and association is elevated to a level beyond that of national identity. This moment and experience will be something that cannot be taken away. Later, in future moments, this past moment of sharing, of common identity, of common space, will remain just that. It will become a memory, but a shared memory, a memory also of sharing and significant. The process is the act of experiencing the Civil War together (physically) as authors and their audience during the Civil War. There is also a shared experience in reading the literature which spans from the period of the Civil War and continues. It is the memory of those there and is intended to be a part of the memory of those not there but who experience its preservation in literature.  

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599 This issue of memory and literature will be discussed in depth in the proceeding chapter dealing with post-war literature.
The article continues:

nuestra guerra es una guerra universal en que una nueva civilización humana lucha para vencer definitivamente las tiranías contra el trabajo y la inteligencia porque es la guerra de la defensa de la cultura, estos escritores alemanes nosotros hemos podido encontrarnos en España como compañeros y hermanos, como verdaderos camaradas.

Thus they are not referred to as ‘Spanish’, but are real comrades and brothers. Here, the focus and identity variable is not defined within the terms of nationality, but rather within the concept of those ‘with us’ versus those against us. And those with us include German intellectuals, who then share ‘our’ common concept of identity (as ‘brothers’), intellectual perspective (political ideology) and therefore conceive of themselves (through their war experience and/or through literature) – and are presented thus – as sharing ‘space’. This dovetails with the family metaphor discussed in the previous chapter and signifies at a very personal level that they are intimately within a common space, and share a part of a common identity. They are fighting for a civilization, a cultura and these ‘authors’ are considered to be fighters, ‘luchadores’ – which is significant, for such a term implies an action; thus this brings them out of or perhaps better beyond simply the intellectual ‘fight’ – evidenced through their polemic writing - and into a sense of a being a part of the actual, ‘physical’ fight. This metaphor and image is very important for the Spanish writers of German writers and especially important for the German writers and their significance and acceptance within a common geography, ideology and moment of the Civil War.

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600 Transl: Our war is a universal war in that a new human civilization fights to thoroughly defeat the tyrannies opposed to work and intelligence because it is the war in defense of cultura, we’ve asked these German writers if they could meet us in Spain as friends and brothers, as true comrades.
The issue of the inhumane war and death – instigated by the proponents of technology is captured in *El Mono Azul* by German author Maria Osten’s article “Primavera en Madrid” (30.9.37, Núm. 34). The article starts out: “Acusaciones y proclamas; estas dos cosas puede expresar la pluma. Lo difícil es acercar la verdad a los hombres, la realidad escrita en el papel, para que sientan la guerra.”

Here, the reality in the Civil War space is relayed through the author. The author is the active medium to spread this element of the revolution to ‘other’ spaces, to increase consciousness. The city, Madrid, is the space of the Civil War in this piece. Technology from the ‘other’ threatens the spaces of the Civil War. It pierces not only physically – disrupting time as it is unleashed, but also intimidates and infiltrates through weak boundary points in the intellectual space. The city is being bombed and the author hears this. It is cruel; there is blood on the sidewalk. In crossing the street, a dead child is found. There is death. There is death of an innocent child in the street. Here, there is no mention of Spanish or German, there is no mention of Red or Fascist; there is simply death in the Civil War space. There is inhumanity through coldness of technology, through the impersonal offense and violence of the ‘other’. The ‘other’, that outside and foreign to the space of the revolutionary Civil War, attacked and killed from a distance, and showed no face, no identity – only the result of death. Through writing there occurs the passing of this occurrence, the remembrance and significance of the innocent’s death - not to be in vain.

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601 Transl: Accusations and proclamations; these two things can be expressed with the pen. The difficulty is to access truth to people, a reality written on paper to them to feel the war.
602 As in other examples, the space of the street *(la calle)* and identifying with the people *(el pueblo)*, often surface in *El Mono Azul* (Monleón 17).
603 In 20th century literature, writing of and remembering death – whether of the unknown soldier or civilian – or the heavily documented – was a big deal. Death is also a common trope in each layer of literature of this chapter as well as the literature of the trend as a whole. A further important example is the writing of
In the intermediate layer there is death – often achieved through faceless technology, but received, remembered personally – written of by both German and Spanish writers, published in German and Spanish in *Das Wort* and *El Mono Azul*, and read with a common perspective of geography, ideology and time. More than death, there was acceptance of a former ‘foreign’ and clear definition of the current ‘other’, the new ‘foreign’. In both literary medium, short stories, ‘informative’ reports and even poems (often accompanied by graphic presentations such as sketches of confident (victorious), working class soldiers) dominated the structural form of presentation. Through writing, information was passed, common perspective in revolutionary spaces was strengthened and spread within and between layers.

**Section VI: Literature at the center**

Moving from the intermediate layer inward brings perspective to the most inner or central layer. Here, the urgent sharing of both physical and intellectual spaces is most intense. The concept of ‘foreign’ is further defined and understood in depth which aids in spatial establishment and boundaries. Exemplary at this core level, where a German literary perspective from within the deepest trenches of literary spatial representations, where one finds the common tropes of death, technology, appeal and common identity, is the weekly German edition of the paper of the international brigades, *Le Volontaire de la Liberte: Organe des Brigades Internationales* (1937-1938).

Spanish representations in *El Mono Azul* include (in 28.10.37 issue) two sonnets (“Dos Sonetos a Garcia Lorca”) by Antonio Aparicio entitled “Una campana muerta” and “La muerte.”

Publications considered from February 1937 through March 1938.

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the death of F.G. Lorca. There are numerous poems and articles dedicated to him. Through the numerous examples, he sort of becomes a spirit-like figure, which offers motivation and is a symbol of the fight against Fascism and control. Specific examples in *El Mono Azul* include (in 28.10.37 issue) two sonnets (“Dos Sonetos a Garcia Lorca”) by Antonio Aparicio entitled “Una campana muerta” and “La muerte.”

604 Publications considered from February 1937 through March 1938.
literature at the inner layer are dually exemplified through consideration of a single poem – “Hans Beimler” by Rafael Alberti - and related periphery publications.

Through reading the *Volontaire* information is passed along, perspectives and space are produced. Images are created in print and then influence perspectives of the reader. In reading *Volontaire*, images are created of the self, as well as those intending to be neutral, and those fighting both in favor of and against the revolution. Not only is a perception conceived, but a perspective is developed, is intended to be produced through reading which clearly unites those within as common and those outside as an ‘other’ and foreign. As established with Sender, Döblin and other literature previously discussed, information is a major means of spreading and therefore expanding perspective and geographical space and intellectual comradeship. There is equally the threat of diluting or an invasion of the Leftist Civil War space through information of the ‘other’ or poorly presented information.

Reporting (*berichten*), the proliferation of information is crucial when discussing the literary vehicle and its relationships to spaces. This is exemplified for example in the articles outlining one year of fighting for unity back home, “Ein Jahr Kampf in Spanien für die Einheit in der Heimat” (1.2.38, p.6). Here, in continuing with the concept of information and revolution and the passing, movement and spread (and/or impediment) through means of print, the newspaper itself is a sort of ‘weapon’ (*Waffe*); with one strain of its uses being that of keeping together, strengthening and spreading a political consciousness (*politisches Bewußtsein*), which was often argued and presented [in writing] in the form of political appeal (1.37). With concept of *berichten* - is also

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605 Articles in the German publication, *Kommunistische Zeitschrift* could be seen as a literary medium, albeit dauntingly partisan, in appeal to identify with, enter and strengthen the spaces of the Civil War in
consciousness of the writing of the ‘enemy’ or opposition (i.e. ‘other’ or ‘foreign’) and its threat to pierce and demise one’s own spatial creation (intellectually, physically, temporal).

Here, for example Jürgen Habermas’ ‘public sphere’ (in *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*) is defined as a sphere of private people who join together to form a public. In my literature this concept has much more to do with perspective, plus entry – as outlined by Habermans - did not develop from a concept of qualification based on education (as he mentions regarding the literary public sphere) nor is the sphere an institution or institutionalized (as he states was the political public sphere). Nonetheless, his concept of a common space is relevant as a medium of common political critique and identity. Whereas Habermas sees the family sphere sort of leading towards the public sphere, I see this previous private space (not necessarily the family) being overlapped and shared – simultaneously – with the greater space of common identity.

With urgent hopes of unifying and strengthening the sense of commonness within the intellectual and physical space of the revolution, authors wrote, calling for “Einheit.” In being printed, read and pursued, a developing unity was intended to strengthen the opposition to Franco and his supporting forces for the German reading audiences (outside) of Spain. Interesting here also, is the *Zeitschrift* in the German language as a means for a voice from and of Spain, Spanish voice in the German language. A similarly oriented magazine at the time was *Weg und Zeit*, published in German in Prag, and *Einheit: Zeitschrift der Internationalen Solidarität.* In the *Kommunistische Zeitschrift*, key concepts – which already have surfaced in previous chapters and continue to surface in this chapter – are set forth in order to achieve the aforementioned goals. There exists the need to unite (*Einigkeit*), which would increase density and radius of the common revolutionary, Republic, and anti-Fascist space (articles by Duval and Passionaria). There is a calling for the independence (*Unabhängigkeit*) for the people of Spain (notably in article from André Marty). There is concern with time and weakness in leadership (*unbegabte Leitung*) and traitors (*Verrat*) (in articles from Conorera and Hernandez). Spaces and the relationship within and between spaces of forces are outlined. Through literature, through print, there is voiced an appeal to those outside of the immediate space with concern and a voice stemming from within; this phenomena could be considered brushing with a literature at the ‘outer’ layer of spaces, but with insight and identification with those in the intermediate and inner layers as well.
density or depth of overlapping perspectives and therefore that of the overall space. In the article, “Wir im fernen Vaterland geboren” (2.12.37, p.12) a specific space of identity and therefore union – amongst those who were not born in Spain - for those physically removed from the grounds of their home country is created. This space is common, though not exclusively; it is a part of the larger union of those ‘within’ the reading audience of the inner layer.

Authors continually present a sense of consciousness of those ‘on our side’ and those who are against us or who we are against (i.e. forces against our space). For example, in the article “Einheitsfront im Kampf” (collective front in the fight) (17.3.37, p.2), Julius Deutsch writes of the revolutionaries of all countries being ‘on our side,’ thus hoping to give perspective and confidence that the intellectual and even physical space is perhaps larger than its reality knows.

Through this writing, authors present the concept, idea or force to maintain and expand spaces through actively ‘fighting’ against imposing forces. Authors call their readers to fight against hunger, illiteracy, and the Fascists and to fight for Freedom, Democracy, and Humanity. A common denominator in nearly every article is an unrelenting appeal to either actively enter the revolutionary space or if already within the space to perceive justification in actively maintaining and expanding it. For example, as in previous chapters, the space of the city, here Madrid, presents a concentrated arena for the reactions and counter-reactions of forces. The authors appeal to their audience to defend the city: “Alles für Madrid! Ein Aufruf an alle Antifaschisten Spaniens und der Welt” (14.3.37, p.1). In a sense, the defense of Madrid presents a sort of kernel of

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606 English: “we, who were born in a homeland far away.” It is published as a translation in Spanish.
607 English: Everything for Madrid! A call on all Antifascists in Spain and the World
spatial interactions. Further, numerous examples informing of or promoting physical expansion of the revolution instill and project a perspective that the spaces of the revolution are expanding intellectually and physically. Supporting this claim are articles such as "Die Bedeutung der Offensive" (27.6.37,p.1), “Sieg in Teruel” (10.1.38, p.1-2),609 and those of victories in “Guadalajara”. The language used is confident and specific.

Information helped the ‘German’ speaker within the Leftist space to understand their role and realize their potential force within the space. Information through this publication helps establish the pure physical presence, that of the body, of Germans in Spain.610 Physical presence and positive physical movement continually appeared in print. Authors presented movement in expansion of the revolutionary space as evidenced by reporting of military advances as well as movement from outside of the Civil War space to join inside. For example, Egon Erwin Kisch writes to his audience to write him, to tell of their stories to Spain (26.7.37, p.6). This was common at the intermediate level – found in Das Wort and El Mono Azul – and contributes to a sense of justification of presence, identification and personalization, and the sensation that the common revolutionary space is and has been growing.611

The headlines and articles promoted a sense of common political cause and shared physical presence and movement to maintain and expand space. This was often achieved through a persuasive style of reporting information. Reporting as well as creating stories of death were further techniques in attempting to not only inform, but motivate and draw

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608 There are multiple examples strictly devoted to the defense of Madrid.
609 English: The meaning of the offensive, Victory in Teruel
610 This also surfaces in literature of Das Wort, but here it is a distinct reality for the space of the reader.
611 This further evidences critical communication between art and audience and then audience to audience through the medium of newspaper print.
international audiences closer in their pursuit of maintaining and expanding Civil War space. Death was presented as a way of remembering those who fell in the war as well as a justified sacrifice for the war effort. The perspective of presentation of the event of death determines the significance for the reading audience. When referring to a person, a member of the cause, one within the political space, it is referred to as death (or sacrifice). When referring to the means, that usually of technology (often planes or grenades), it is presented as murdering. Death achieved through technology is very impersonal and of the ‘other’ (i.e. performed by the ‘other’); this has already been exhibited to be true in the literature presented earlier in the previous chapter. Death is not defined nationally. Technology of the other is presented negatively, as a means of killing whereas in possession of the Left, it is a means to expand space and eliminate the ‘other’. Therefore it is appealed for. For example, in “Wir müssen das Argument der Maschinengewehre mit der politischen Diskussion verbinden” (12.4.37, p.4) (i.e. by ideology and physical reality together), the need for an overlapping or sharing of intellectual and physical spaces is evident. There also exists hope to expand space, such as in the poem "Der Flieger der Republik“ (Pilot fighters of the Republic) (21.6.37, p.3).

Ultimately presentations of technology threatening the space of the revolution and humanity, dominate. The German brigadier Gustav Regler is hurt by technology in “Granaten” (21.6.37, p.6). The city space of Madrid is threatened by technical weapons in "Granaten gegen Madrid“ (1.5.37, p.2).613 Death is presented in Madrid in general but also specifically in the article, “Beimler gefallen“ (2.12.37), which reports and discusses the death of the German Internationalist Hans Beimler in Madrid (lamenting death yet

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612 We must connect the argument of machine guns with political discussion
613 Grenades against Madrid
hailing the man). Many die in Madrid, German, Spanish; simply those within the space. The deaths of Pando (Kommandant PANDO (10.1.38, p.11)) and Durruti are presented. Germans and Spanish share common print and presentation in death. Death is real, it is written of and is not forgotten. It is significant, personal and directly named. In being at the inner layer, the reading audience recognizes and identifies with these names. They would find ever less important significance at the outer layers or beyond, but at the inner layer actual names, rather than simply generic characters (as at the outer layer) are used.

‘Names’ are constantly appearing, giving tangibility and nobility to those within the space. German names such as Edgar André, Thaelmann, Beimler, Regler, Renn, Kisch, and many others are frequently mentioned. There is a poem dedicated to "Edgar André" (2.12.37, p.15). Many names are mentioned in their ‘roles’ – such as doctor, reporter, commissioner, lieutenant – and often become a part of each soldier’s repertoire and motivation. Names – fossilized through publication – enter the linguistic realm, associated with a motivation to fight, paraded as names of battalions under which and for which common space is created. Here, some even become mythical. Ernst Thaelmann is written of in the revolutionary space of the city and associated under the banner of a flag, “Unser Spanische Bruderbataillon Ernst Thaelmann” (10.1.38, p.11).

With the presence of Germans in Spain surfaces the idea of there being two Germanys. The concept of two Germanys rises and parallels the ideas of two Spains as well as the broader intellectual concept of two political states in Europe. \(^{614}\) The threat to

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\(^{614}\) Early 20\textsuperscript{th} century Spanish intellectuals Antonio Machado and Jose Ortega y Gasset both wrote of there being two, or even three Spains. Jose Ortega y Gasset wrote of the role of the author as an “observador de la sociedad” and in the conflict filled times in the first part of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century, he saw the necessity ‘de colocarse por encima del partidismo para observer más claramente la vida espanola”’. As many of the writers of his generation, Ortega y Gasset was concerned with his ‘patrìa’ and wrote many essays about the modern Spanish crisis. For example, in 1921 in his essay \textit{España invertibrada}, he seeks to explain the confusion and anarchy that characterized Spanish politics due to the fact, in contrast to France for example,
democracy in Europe and the world imposes both an intellectual and physical space in the article, “Den demokratischen Staaten” (10.1.37, p.7). The schizophrenic concept of nation seems less tangible than that of simply the space of the revolution and that of those ‘foreign’ to it. Perspective is political and personal and creates a space defined beyond and not of simply a criteria or boundary of nationality. For example, in “In unserem Lager ist das wahre Deutschland” (24.2.37, p.4), there is clear distinction, boundaries if you may, of each of these two Germanys laid out. There is the Germany of those that drop bombs from planes on innocent children and women, those of Hitler. There is also an ‘other’ Germany from those that simply watch and are ashamed of the first Germany (i.e. those that say “ich schaeme mich ein Deutscher zu sein”). There is a Germany and Germans like Thaelmann, André, and others who fight (in Spain) against this first Germany: “Wir zeugen für den Freiheitswillen unseres Volkes, dessen Massen im Geiste mit uns sind, wie wir im Geiste mit ihrem Heldenkämpfe im Lande selbst sind.” This last Germany will fight to free those who share the intellectual space, who take on this ‘grosse Verantwortung’ (great responsibility). In this last Germany is “das wirkliche
Deutschland.” It is for this Germany, “dem die Liebe und die Achtung der Volksmassen in der Welt gehören wird, kämpfen wir auch hier.”617 They are proud, and although they are currently oppressed, they will be freed in the near future. Multiple appeals are made to this latter Germany. In “Botschaft an das deutsche Volk” (message on the German people) (17.4.37, p.1), the common enemy is Hitler; an enemy who is still being fought in Spain. This presents the same ‘other,’ only it is perceived and fought in and from different physical space. In another article, “Hitler für Franco – das deutsche Volk für die Republik” (18.7.37, p.7), there is an “offizielles Deutschland and ein anderes Deutschland.”618 In Spain, Germans - of the real Germany, against Hitler - are out of their chains and able to move and fight; they have a voice. In the article, there are perspectives of workers in Germany anxious to read (news) papers of the events in Spain.619 Here, the article talks of reporting (berichten) to others within the space and its role in expanding the space. There is a new unity created in sharing of common political identity, exemplarily described between “Kommunist” and “Sozialdemokrat.” This is further iterated in “Das erste Bataillon gegen Franco: Bataillon Edgar André XI. Brigade” (14.10.37, p.6). Rather than identities defined through nation or even political party, I suggest a more adequate and clearer concept of simply ‘space’ (intellectual and physical) in which former criteria help define space to which one identities. That is to say political identity and ideology would be a major part of the definition of an intellectual space. However, this ‘space’ only exists through perspective which is created by the author and realized through the process of reading on the part of their audience. Now, physical space is more obvious, but also has varying strata. Again it starts with perspective. The

617 Transl: ..which the love and attention to which masses in the world belong, we also fight here
618 Hitler for Franco – the German people for the Republic….official Germany and an ‘other’ Germany
619 This overriding the infectious Nazi press through which Hitler utilized scare tactics.
reader gains a sense of immediate local geography within urban centers of Madrid and Barcelona as well as rural geography at the front. There is further a sense of a larger geography encompassing areas beyond which one could actually see, yet they exist in a very abstract, non-linear sort of form through classical boundaries within and outside of Spain and Germany. One element which is strongly represented in the paragraph above is the political. But, it is the combination of numerous elements maintaining an understanding of the relationship under certain conditions that make for a unique substance, or in this case, literary space. This literature presents a sense of geographical space, urgency and timing, as well as a common sense of ideology and varying politics.

The literature presents a strengthened and heightened perspective of ‘those’ before ‘us.’ ‘Those’ refers to those within the same intellectual space. ‘Before use’ would be considered within a broadened temporal space. Alfred Kantorowicz references the founding of the volunteers, creating identity within the space in Spain, in “Das Geburt des Volentaire” (1.2.38, p.4). Identity and history contribute to heightening and justifying common space with reference in an article to 1848 in “Internationale Brigade vor 100 Jahren” (14.10.37, p.14). Here, the author mentions the German Ludwig Uhland, a politically active poet, and Gustav Höpfen leading the first German international brigades in Spain. Thus, the concept of ‘Germans’ entering into a common space with ‘Spaniards’ for a common cause (i.e. sharing intellectual space) has already been established in time. This common cause was not based on national identity, but rather a sense of international identity (in a sort of international narrative of identity). An historical mirroring effect is drawn on through this article which is a strategy already seen utilized by Sender and Döblin in chapter three. The prior assertion also holds true.
literarily speaking a hundred years ago, with a German author writing a poem of a Spanish General. Consciousness of the then contemporary moment and its place in the greater strata of history is evidenced in, for example, the article: “Einheitliche Weltaktion für Spaniens Volk! Vor einem historischen Wendepunkt?” (26.6.37, p.1).620

References to the past are neither exclusive to one event nor simply to Germans in Spain. The German Revolution and its proponents are referenced and enter the space in Spain during the Spanish Civil War. For example, in referencing “Lenin, Liebknecht, Luxemburg” (20.1.38, p.5), the author writes:

...in ihrem Geist kämpfen wir hier. Die Antifaschisten der ganzen Welt denken in diesen Tagen, da der Tod Lenins, sich zum vierzehnten Male, die vihisch Ermordung Liebknechts und Rosa Luxemburgs zum neunzehnthal Male jährnen, der drei grossen Führer der revolutionären Bewegung, die auf einem Sechstel der Welt mehr als 170 Million Menschen ein neues Leben geschaffen hat und die begründete Verheisung für alle Werkstätigen ist, dass die Freiheit sich auch in den anderen fünf Sechstel erkämpfen lassen wird.621

Here, the murders are presented as being remembered, and the politics and revolutionary quality of the 1918 German revolution as ‘living on’. The definition between countries is not emphasized, rather physical space and identity, strengthened through a common sense of sacrifice, is seen as that of or in terms of the ‘world’:

Wir, die wir hier auf Vorposten dieses Kampfes für Freiheit, Gerechtigkeit und ein menschenwürdiges Dasein der Volksmassen aller Länder stehen, wir deutschen Kameraden gedenken in diesen Tagen der schier unendlichen Reihe der Opfer, die von Liebknecht und Luxemburg zu Edgar André, John Scheer, Fiete Schulz die besten und fortgeschrittensten Freiheitskämpfer unseres Volkes bereits gebracht haben... (20.1.38).622

620 Transl: unified world action for Spain’s people! At a historical turning point
621 Transl: in whose name we fight here. The Antifascists of the whole world think in these days, that the death of Lenin, - 14 years ago, the brutal massacre of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg – nine years ago, who were three great leaders of the revolutionary movement, which has begun amongst a sixth of the world a new life for more than 170 million people, and which is a founded catalyst for all employed (workers), that freedom for the other five sixths will be fought
622 Transl: we, who stand here on of this fight for freedom, justice and a human-noble existence of the people’s masses of all countries, we German comrades think in these days on the shear unending victims,
Intellectual space of the German revolution and the Spanish Civil War is commonly presented during the time of the Spanish Civil War. Of course there were other important revolutionary events, past Spanish wars and disputes, the French revolution and obviously the Russian revolution. However, unique in the literature I am analyzing is the specific German-Spanish international space.

Within the inner most layer as exhibited through *Le Volontaire* the concept of ‘other’ and ‘foreign’ along criteria other than that of the national was created, defined and expanded upon. Further, [German] presence, its justification and sharing with Spanish was strongly voiced in this publication. Sharing was presented amidst a common time, geographical place and movement, and intellectual perspective and persuasion. Commonness was exemplified and supported through references of the tropes of sacrifice and death. Literary presentations addressed questions of who, how, why, where, and produced its remembrance or a tangible memory through print, and explained the role of technology in death. The language used was ever more potent, direct and persuasive. This all occurs at the inner layer while the intended reading audience not only shared the same contemporary (the same time) with one another, but the content (the purpose) of the literature (publication) presented perspectives of intellectual and physical spaces in which this audience most densely resided and whose reality this audience most closely shared. The reading audience was not simply intellectuals outside of Spain who sympathized with the Republic, nor were they simply intellectuals within Spain who sympathized or even wrote in or to support the Republican side; they were those Germans, Spanish, the

from Liebknecht and Luxemburg to Edgar Andre, John Scheer, Fiete Schulz – the best and most advanced freedom fighters of our people are
(viewed) nation-less unselfish audience whose reality was justified, proliferated and to be remembered through this literature at the inner layer. Time was presented as a concept through which further sharing was established. A hundred years of international cause and identity are justified and a common historical trans-national identity is created in print. Reference to the German Revolution and its figures further fits into this common rubric of time in which continuity in the development of a common identity strengthened through political perspective is presented. During the Spanish Civil War, by the fact that Germans are a part of the literary space of the Left in the Spanish Civil War which includes Spanish, establishes a common sense of identity, place and time between Spanish and Germans presented. The sum of overlapping perspectives regarding (intellectual) identity, place and time, presented in publication, gives way for a sense of an abstract literary space. The literary form of choice was short anecdotes, reports and even poetry. Space is also common regarding the physical circulation arena and intellectual discussion of the publication itself in which both authors and audience resided. This is not exclusive to publications in German; it is also exhibited in Spanish publications.

In moving the literary lens to Germany from Spain and from Spanish perspective of Germans in Spain, a distinct interplay is evident in Spanish and German literature. With consideration of events in the past, an historical optic contributes to this common physical and intellectual space. As previously discussed, acts of printing and common memory become symbolic for political and causal associations. These associations then become forces, both defining and sustaining, of the space of the Civil War. Emilio Mistral wrote of Luxemburg in “Rosa Luxemburgo, alma y vida del movimiento
There was a newspaper for the Rosa Luxemburg battalion - “Organo de Batallón Rosa Luxemburgo” (1937) and the Karl Liebknecht battalion - “¡Alerta! Organo del Batallón Kart Liebknekt”’. As previously in Germany (most notably Berlin), now ‘Spartacus’, the political group of Karl and Rosa, was written of in Spain, in Spanish, in the Civil War in “Espartaco”. Thus, Spanish reference to names such as *Rosa Luxemurgo, Karl Liebknecht* and *Espartacus* whose reality was most directly associated with their integral role and significance in the German Revolution, display a direct literary connection between the Spanish Civil War and the German Revolution. These “German” names were used as battalion names (as Thaelmann or André Edgar ([623](#)) and this connects a German ‘past’ across national borders. Both the revolutionary leaders Luxemburg and Liebknecht were executed in Germany, but their names lived on in Spain, in the Spanish Civil War. Their names, though German and of the ‘past,’ were common and not foreign in Spain during the Spanish Civil War in spaces of support for the Republic.

In the Spanish paper, *El Sol*, an article published on 2.12.36 addressed the death at the Madrid front of the man Hans Beimler. ([624](#)) A complete homage to Hans Beimler was published in Spanish, entitled *Madrid honra a Hans Beimler*. Beimler was named a “ciudadano español de honor,” a “procesión” that “vaya por dentro” (5). Beimler was a citizen of a common space, for their was no classic ‘state’ to which he belonged. During the Civil War, with so many ‘international’ individuals and groups aligning together politically, their heed was not unified with a concept of nation, rather a common political compromise (including varying international ideologies – as antifascist - ranking from

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623 André Edgar was a labour and Communist leader executed by Nazis in Germany.
624 Beimler’s death was written of in numerous papers of the time, *El Sol* was the most notable publication.
Anarchism, through to Democracy, Socialism and Communism) and a common enemy who was not a citizen, rather a foreigner. This sense of ‘citizenship’ is distinct from that of Beimler’s opponents – which was cheered on by race, religion and ‘morality’ orchestrated by a central, authoritative state which basically defined and advocated a sense of identity based on nationalism. Here Beimler’s commonness, as presented, came from within, and being from a different geographical area and speaking a different language did not disqualify him from being common. He fought in Spain, “lucha aquí con nosotros” (5). Through the physical sharing of space, he was able to share in the intellectual space, in a common identity.\(^625\) There is significance in his death.

Hans Beimler ha lavado con su sangre parte de la mancha vergonzosa que el opresor Hitler ha echado sobre el verdadero pueblo alemán. Su muerte ha demostrado a nuestros hermanos españoles que Adolfo Hitler no es Alemania y que sus mejores hijos combaten por la defensa de la Libertad y Paz mundial, codo con codo con el pueblo español… (26).\(^626\)

He shed his blood in Spain. He fought with “la bandera de Frente Popular” (32). The fight was one of consciousness of the space beyond one’s own physical space as well as beyond simply the physical battle in which one took part: “si ayudamos a nuestros hermanos españoles….., ayudamos también a nuestros hermanos de Alemania e Italia” (32).\(^627\) Through his example, the Germans helped create an international link: by being not only Spanish against Spanish, but also German against German on Spanish ground, it became a more inviting international fight. The idea to follow active ‘people’ (here a German) like Beimler who partook actively in the event correlates with analysis of

\(^{625}\) He wasn’t Spanish, but fought as if he were – “Hans Beimler no era español, pero luchó como si lo fuera” (8).

\(^{626}\) Hans Beimler cleaned with his blood part of the embarrassing stain that the oppressor Hitler made over the true German people. His death demonstrated to our Spanish brothers, that Hitler is not Germany and that her best children fight for the defense of world liberty and peace, elbow to elbow with the Spanish people

\(^{627}\) If we help our Spanish brothers…we are also helping our German and Italian brothers
literature on events, directly exhibiting a common ground physically by Beimler’s presence and historically connecting the German revolution (“tomó parte activa como marinero revolucionario en la revolución de noviembre de 1918 en Alemania” (32)) and Spanish Civil War through the person Beimler and further establishing and concretizing this within Civil War spaces through literary dedication to the figure, his death and significance.

Further within the most inner layer of literature, Spanish artist Rafael Alberti’s poem, “Han Beimler, Comunista, defensor de Madrid,” to the fallen German is perhaps the most applicable Spanish example. 

528 Alberti also wrote a poem dedicated to General Kleber (“Al General Kleber”); these two poems are a part of a set of poems of military and political figures. Heroic celebrations of events (“Defensa de Madrid – Defensa de Cataluña”) also encompassed political themes of his Civil War literature (Wesseling, 62). Alberti’s poetry of the Civil War is comprised of 24 poems in section IV of De un momento a otro and is called Capital de la Gloria (1936-1938). One widely discussed poem of the collection is “Madrid-Otoño” in which Alberti “render[s] the siege of Madrid as a private as well as a universal symbol of the war” (Wesseling 61). Here, Miguel Hernandez’s Viento del Pueblo, Cesar Vallejo, Pablo Neruda, and Nicolas Guillen’s poetry of the war are often discussed with that of Alberti.

- ¡Frente Rojo! – dijo el héroe;
y cayó en tierra Hans Beimler.
Lo oyeron los españoles;
Lo oyeron sus alemanes,
Franceses e italianos;
Lo oyó Madrid; lo oyó el aire;
Lo oyó, temblando, la bala
Nacida para matarle.
- ¿Frente Rojo! - y cayó en tierra
castellana, de leales,
quien vino desde muy lejos
a sembrar aquí su sangre.
- ¿Frente Rojo! - Que lo escuche
la Alemania de las cárcelles
y verdugos que levantan
las secas hachas, que caen
sobre los cuellos que nunca,
jamás quisieron doblarse.
-¿Frente Rojo! - Suene, silbe,
cruce como bala, estalle
por mar, por tierra, por cielo,
por astros, por todas partes,
vertiginoso, este grito:
-¡Frente Rojo! – hasta clavarse,
profundo, en los corazones

secas de tanto gritarle.
-¡Frente Rojo! – Silba el tren
campo de España adelante.
Se descubren las aldeas,
los pueblos y las ciudades.
Entre huertos y jardines,
banderas y naranjales,
Valencia saluda el cuerpo
- ¡Frente Rojo! - de Hans Beimler.
Los mares de Cataluña,
sus viñas, sus olivares,
las Ramblas de Barcelona
- ¡Frente Rojo! - a verlo salen.
¡Paris! ¡Paris! Tus obreros,
cantando, en hombros lo traen,
levantándolo hacia los barcos
que se llevan a Hans Beimler,
ya que su patria alemana
caminos no quiere darle.
- ¡Frente Rojo! - Por Moscú,
por la Plaza Roja, grandes
cortejos y multitudes
y cantos van a enterrarle
-¡Frente Rojo!- Junto a Lenin,
alli, tranquilo, descanse.

628 Alberti also wrote a poem dedicated to General Kleber (“Al General Kleber”); these two poems are a part of a set of poems of military and political figures. Heroic celebrations of events (“Defensa de Madrid – Defensa de Cataluña”) also encompassed political themes of his Civil War literature (Wesseling, 62). Alberti’s poetry of the Civil War is comprised of 24 poems in section IV of De un momento a otro and is called Capital de la Gloria (1936-1938). One widely discussed poem of the collection is “Madrid-Otoño” in which Alberti “render[s] the siege of Madrid as a private as well as a universal symbol of the war” (Wesseling 61). Here, Miguel Hernandez’s Viento del Pueblo, Cesar Vallejo, Pablo Neruda, and Nicolas Guillen’s poetry of the war are often discussed with that of Alberti.
que lo quieran, que lo amen,
que lo griten - ¡Frente Rojo! -,
como lo gritó Hans Beimler.
Madrid, que tiene memoria,
lo gritará hasta quedarse
las bocas de sus fusiles

The title of the poem\textsuperscript{629} begins with a name, a German name, Hans Beimler. The title continues with a political association (communist), a role (defender) and a place (the Spanish city of Madrid). Thus, association to the figure’s past is considered and this temporal perspective is broad, while Beimler was an active force in the German revolution and escaped execution by Hitler to go to Spain. There is a common space created in literature between the two events. Within political context he [Beimler] found common intellectual space with former ‘others’ and a significance in the defense of the physical space of the revolution which became common, that of Spain; here specifically that of Madrid.

The poem begins by giving the German in Spain a voice in Spanish. His words were one of unity and political awareness (¡Frente Rojo!). Alberti uses a lot of repetition in his poem, creating rhythm as well as a decisive exclamation (note his punctuation). The line ‘Frente Rojo’ becomes a sort of powerful chant. These are the same words

\textsuperscript{629} Han Beimler, Comunist, Defender of Madrd, / Red Front! – said the heroic, / and Hans Beimler fell to the ground / The Spanish heard him; / His Germans, French and Italians heard him / Madrid heard him; the air heard him; / the bullet, trembling, heard him / bore to kill him / - Red Front / and he fell to the Castilian ground /, of the faithful / who came from far away / to sow their blood here. / Red Front! - / That it would be heard / by the Germany with prisons / and witnesses that rise / the dried axes, that fell / over the necks that never / again wanted to bend. / - Red Front! -. / Sounds like, a whistle, / crossing like a bullet, exploding / through the sea, through the land, through the sky, / through the asteroids, through all parts, / vertiginous, this call: / - Red Front! - until it gets stuck, profound, in the hearts / that want it, that love it, / that yell it – Red Front -. as Hans Beimler yelled it out. / Madrid, which has a memory, / will yell this out until the weapons / remain dry from yelling it so much. / - Red Front! – The train whistles / coutryside of Spain forward. / The hamlets, villages and cities discover it. / Between homes and gardens, flags and orange groves, Valencia salutes the body – Red Front! – of Hans Beimler. / The seas of Catalan, its vineyards, olive groves, Las Ramblas of Barcelona – Red Front! – of Hans Beimler – to see him leave – Paris! Paris! Your workers, singing, on their shoulders they carry him / bringing him to the boats / which take Hans Beimler, / since his country German / wouldn’t give him pass. / - Red Front! -. Through Moscow / through the Red Square, grand / and multitudes / procession and songs will bury him. / - Red Front! -. Next to Lenin, / there, tranquil, he rests.
which also appear as appeal and concept of identity and unity in *Le Volontaire*. Beimler’s words were to be heard and were heard, piercing spaces at different levels, highlighted here are those of the physical. His words became words and appeals of others, they were shared, as national differences melted and Germans and Spanish occupied the same spaces. Alberti continually uses images of hearing and voicing – drawing on the importance to be observant and listen and then not to be silent, but to be bold, passionate, and be heard – as Beimler was and still is (in death through writing).

Spain accepted and acquired Beimler; the German in Spain became the same. There is a going ‘beyond’ the concept of national boundaries. His words become not only the words of Spain, but are heard and identified with internationally. As the train left Northern Germany to spread the revolution in Döblin’s *November 1918*, now Alberti utilizes the literary image of the train which now begins in Spain. It moves ahead, spreading the revolution and consciousness, through words and appeal. The train is warmly greeted as it travels through varying cities, in numerous countries. The train travels internationally as the revolution is international. The poem offers a peering through and intercourse with the different strata of spaces – social (workers), intellectual, physical (cities, countryside), with other vehicles (boat, train), into former other spaces (other countries, other temporal spaces, other intellectual spaces), unifying them (i.e. - there is looking back, expanding temporal spaces in reference even to the successful Russian revolution through Lenin).

The city, as a revolutionary space, was where he fell. He died in Madrid, defending a space of the revolution. The city is personified, it fought with Beimler and it will remember him. In the poem, Alberti brings Beimler through Valencia, Barcelona,
Paris and Moscow – all urban centers of resistance. Identifying with Beimler and the space of the revolution within and outside of the geographical space of Spain are international. Beimler was killed by a steel ball, by technology - impersonal and inhumane, by the weapon of a nameless enemy. This common enemy is permitted very sparse mentioning, while Alberti focuses his literary production on Beimler, who he deems a ‘hero’. Alberti finds a positive and productive means of presenting death. It was not in vain, but rather a justified and important sacrifice. In Beimler’s death Alberti presents a sharing of memory and significance. The physical space of the revolution, its political call, a nameless assassin, and death are presented in a manner which reaches intimately to an international audience. At the inner layer, an international audience reads, confined within the Civil War geography of Spain, and resonating beyond this layer is an audience physically removed yet strongly identifying with the cause and sacrifice within Spain.

**Conclusion:**

In his poem, Alberti achieves a revealing of the interconnectedness, the sharing and commonality between those within the spaces of the Left Civil War.\(^{630}\) Through writing – significance in death, the role of technology, boundaries between and definition

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\(^{630}\) This poem has received little critical attention – as the majority of his Civil War poems; albeit in *Hora de España* in 1937, editor Sánchez Barbudo and then in 1968 Lechner both praised the poems. In 1983, Pieter Wesseling explored Alberti’s Civil War poems where he highlighted “tradition and revolution, the past and the future, intimate consciousness and historical awareness [are] held together in dynamic juxtaposition” (*Conflict*, 39). Here, one can see the ‘energy’ in the poem; its awareness and presence in a broad temporal space. Further, Wesseling writes that “these poems can best be read now as tributes to the cause to which Alberti was committed – as a kind of public offering in the spirit of the nineteenth century patriot poetry of Quintana (*Conflict*, 40). The poem(s), including *Hans Beimler*, then enter the public space, a space of the ‘people’ (*gente, pueblo*), which was the space of the revolution. More recently (2001), Bazing included a few of Alberti’s poems in a comparative critique, seeing *Defensa de Madrid* (1936) as in which the event of resistance is mythologized (153). In *Los Campesinos* (1936) Bazing sees a fight for social justice and in *El Otoño y el Elbro* (1938) the role of the poet in war is brought forth (p.168-193).
of the ‘other,’ the ‘foreign’ (and foe) and that of those ‘within’ is established. Along with these elements, other literary examples were highlighted and defined within an intermediary and outer layer of literature of the Spanish Civil War in previous sections. New in this chapter (and chapter four) was the characteristic that this was a literature with a content of predominantly contemporary issues and events. Further, it was a literature of appeal more direct than seen in previous chapters. Within each ‘layer’ of spaces analyzed, time is important: there is reference to the past, concern for the future, a future which is seen dependant on present actions and justified by those of the past. In each layer the ‘physical’ is important: there is reference to the physical presence and movement, the body and to death. Within the literature of each layer the element of the ‘intellectual’ is also present and important: there are intellectual arguments set forth to strengthen Leftist position and weaken opposing positions, there is a heightened sense of identity with those ‘within’ and greater sense of estrangement to the ‘other’, the ‘foreign’, the ‘foe’ – those ‘outside’.

I have analyzed the dynamics between and of literature at the outer, intermediate and inner layers in chapter four and now chapter five. Literary production was expressed through theater, as well as short stories, reports, editorials and poetry published in Civil War newspapers and magazines. A consensus of the creation of a new concept and criteria for ‘foreign’ has been established. The German in Spain was not primarily defined by his language, nationality nor that of association to Hitler and the Nazis in literature. A common space is perceived, its boundaries established, and its dynamics followed through a precise examination of German and Spanish literature during the Spanish Civil War.
The results of the aforementioned analysis, contributes to the broad discussion in this dissertation of the establishment of a literary trend based in literature as consequence of the failed German Revolution of 1918, through literature resulting during the failing German and Spanish Republics, and culminating with the context of the Spanish Civil War. In this and the previous chapter I have dissected what I believe to be major resonances in exemplary works written during the Spanish Civil War to continue the discussion. Literature of the Spanish Civil War written after the event will be evaluated in the proceeding (and final) chapter.
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Chapter VI: German montage as critical, international Spanish-Civil-War literature

Introduction:

In 1972 the German author Hans Magnus Enzensberger published an historical novel, *Der kurze Sommer der Anarchie: Buenaventura Durrutis Leben und Tod*, consisting of twelve chapters, a prologue and an epilogue, filled with a collage of (many translated) first hand accounts alternating with eight personally written ‘Glossen’ (commentaries), all predominantly revolving around the life and controversial death of the mythical Spanish Anarchist leader Buenaventura Durruti who died at the front in Madrid in November, 1936. In this chapter I argue that in/through Enzensberger’s work literary perspective(s) are produced which allow a sense of a common international (German-Spanish) geographic and ideological space and time (i.e. contemporary and history). In embarking on proving this argument, I will first introduce Enzensberger as an artist and novelist and establish a literary discourse permeating from Enzensberger through his novel (including - politics and literature, history and fiction, role of author and relationship to reader). Hereafter I will situate my critique of the work amidst literary discussion of Enzensberger, *Kurze Sommer* and the montage novel. I will then develop a discussion of how literature enables space referencing Michael Bakhtin’s work on language and the novel, Henri Lefebvre and Pierre Bourdieu’s work on space and

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631 The novel begins and ends with accounts of Durruti’s funeral procession in Barcelona. The novel’s chapters in a loose chronological form cover Durruti’s origin, time spent (in exile, in hiding, on the run) outside of Spain during the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera and in Spain during the Second Republic, Barcelona’s successful (anarchist-lead, Durruti involvement) resistance to the insurgents, fighting at the front (i.e. Aragon) and finally his death in Madrid (in defense of the city against Franco). In between chapters Enzensberger interjects with his own narrated (printed in italics) commentaries of ‘history as a collective fiction’, the background of Spanish Anarchism, and further social and political dynamics in Spain from 1917 through the time of Durruti’s death in 1936. At the end of the novel Enzensberger includes a commented bibliography, referencing the voices he used – from Durruti, his sister Rosa or widow Emilienne Morin, to fellow Anarchists Ricardo Sanz or Federica Montseny, fellow Anarchist and later historian Abel Paz, anonymous accounts and newspaper articles – which in total numbered over a hundred.
literature, Friedrich Nietzsche and Hayden White’s concepts of history and literature, and David Harvey, Homi Bhabha, and Arjun Appadurai in discussion of literature and concepts of globalization versus internationalization. Then, in the second half of the chapter, I divide the discussion into a four-sectioned development of the text: a) montage, b) issue of time, c) Spanish-German space and d) text examples. In the first section, Enzensberger’s strategy and style of montage will be aligned with Sender and Doeblin and will be critically commented on in its unique contribution to montage literature and internationalism. In the second section, the textual interplay between Enzensberger’s contemporary – in Spain and German – and past, the critique of documentary literature, and the blurry distinction between history and fiction will be explored. In the third section, I will address Enzensberger’s text as part of an international group of literature on the Spanish Civil War (i.e. post-civil-war era). Here an international literary perspective will be developed. In the final section specific text examples will be explored – building off of the earlier described discussion – in understanding spatial creation of (esp. German-Spanish) internationalism through literary perspectives of time, ideology and geography.

**Section I: Introducing Enzensberger**

One of the key issues when discussing Enzensberger and specifically his Durruti novel is that of the distinct montage style he used and how this expresses a unique concept of author – one in which all in society form a collective (subjective) author. In *Interview mit Hans Magnus Enzensberger* (1971), Enzensberger states (regarding the role of the author):
Ich halte den Schriftsteller fuer einen gesellschaftlichen Spezialisten, der die Aufgabe hat, die gesellschaftliche Realitat zum Sprechen zu bringen. Das heisst, er ist zwar der Spezialist, der den Text herstellt, aber was er zum Sprechen bringt, ist nicht allein seine eigene Subjektivitaet, sondern in gewisser Weise sind ja alle Angehoerigen in einer Gesellschaft Autoren, und der Schriftsteller, der das nun von Berufs wegen macht, der hat, glaube ich, nicht nur das Recht, sondern auch die Pflicht, sich darum zu kuemmmern, was die anderen produzieren (77).

Dovetailed with the notion of author is the issue of history and fiction - addressed directly by Enzensberger’s when asked to reply to the relation between his work and dramas of the documentary theater:


As all the authors of the trend, (esp. in his Durruti novel) he challenges the concept of the categories of fiction and nonfiction.632

Enzensberger’s work is very political; he sees this as an integral part of literature. “Man muss dann ein Thema finden, das einerseits jeden interessiert, wirklich jeden interessiert, und das…einen politischen Aspekt hat” (Interview 90). In developing a Leftist political obligation, Enzensberger further sees this beyond simply the bounds of one language or nation. For example, Enzensberger begins his Berlin Gemeinplaetze (in Kursbuch, January, 1968) with “Ein Gespenst geht um in Europa, das Gespenst der Revolution” which is a direct reference to Marx’s opening line in his Manifesto. The only difference is his changing of the Marx’s word ‘communism’ to ‘revolution’. Here

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632 Enzensberger further states that “die Authentizität der Dokumentarliteratur ist jedenfalls ein Köhlerglauben” (Kesting 203).
then he connects to an historical tradition (directly to perhaps the foundation pulsing basis) of the concept of international literature.

Enzensberger’s Durruti novel fits into the discussion of the unique role of author and society, is critical of the concepts of history and fiction, and is political; further the novel is a part of Enzensberger’s critical position of how a work is published and by whom (as Toller, Lorca, and Brecht). Enzensberger is very critical of what he terms the bourgeoisie power behind publishing companies (who have monopolies in this area). 633

Breaking the publication of presentation from the power structure, Enzensberger attempted a non-profit publication of Kursbuch and also sought to break into television. 634 Enzensberger states that through the “System von Belohnungen und Bestrafungen….Der Hauptstoff richtet sich auf die Lohnabhaengigen,…..die ganze Struktur dieser Medien ist ja heute eine vollkommen einseitige, das heisst, die Leute werden zu passiven Teilnehmern gemacht” (Interview 87). Important for this chapter is Enzensberger’s production of the novel and challenge of participation (to be discussed in montage section) to the reading audience in his Durruti novel. 635

Through varied forms of and roles in presentation (poetry, essays, political and literary/aesthetic magazine, theater, political and artistic discussion groups – which also

633 Without interaction, Enzensberger states that the media (in an Orwellian manner) “in der Hand des Klassenfeindes” (Interview 78) leads its audience into an “entpolitisierung” (Baukasten 162). However, Enzensberger is optimistic regarding hopes of opposition, stating: “…ich habe niemals behauptet, dass die Manipulation absolut sein koennte” (80).
634 This is inline with Lorca’s La Barraca, Toller and Brecht’s expanding to proletarian audiences and producing own works, as well as Spanish Civil War literature’s small printing companies, socialist owned, poems/stories published in newspapers, pamphlets and magazines rather than through consumer oriented bougousie medium; also Doeblin and Sender – as they both published novel excerpts in newspapers. This awareness and struggle of the artist to not only create their works but to actualize them, to publish/produce them and reach an audience then works into Bourdieu’s theory of fields and struggle (i.e. challenging legitimacy of bourgeois culture capital and economic structures). Here these authors are aggressively seeking to create an alternative to consumerism and ramped capitalism and simply to the long-standing power structures in (their international) society.
635 Not only its basis for the later television documentary, but simply Enzensberger’s book is set-up much like a film documentary with narration and interviews.
were filmed/broadcasted, ongoing role of translator, editor, organizer and publisher); Enzensberger, as demonstrated in his Durruti novel, challenges the limits of an art’s medium, technique and role. He states: “…man muss sich dann Sachen heraussuchen, die man noch nicht kann, und die muss man lernen. Das sehe ich auch als die einzige Möglichkeit, von der Selbstwiederholung wegzukommen” (Interview 90). Further, Enzensberger (as others of trend of project) is important in wanting to reach a broad audience with socio-political critical art and include them in the discussion (i.e. as the montage of Doeblin, the theater of Brecht, publications during Spanish Civil War). Enzensberger not only invites, but almost requires his audience to be critical and be a part of the art; a concept foreign and profusely critical of the media, film and television which ‘verhindern’ communication as they do not allow for a ‘Wechselwirkung zwischen Sender und Empfänger’ (Baukasten zu einer Theorie der Medien, 162).

The concept of geography (physical space) and ideology and politics (intellectual perspective) are important in understanding Enzensberger’s Durruti novel and both are critically addressed in essay form during the period in which he was writing this novel. Enzensberger specifically addresses physical space as the environment and its relation to intellectual space (politics) in his essay “Zur Kritik der politischen Ökologie” (1973). In the end of this essay, it is a political ideology found in Marx’s writing which is united with the physical. Further, in the essay “Revolutions-Tourismus” (1972) (critique and

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636 Enzensberger continued to push the boundaries of medium and limits of audience reception (with a contemporary perspective of the historical). For example, Enzensberger states: “Der naechste Schritt muss dann wirklich die Beschäftigung mit manifest politischen Texten sein, und da gebe ich der Lyrik eine sehr geringe Chance. Deshalb wuerde ich viel lieber beispielsweise Texte fuer eine Beat-Band schreiben” (Interview 88). Further, when asked to talk about “Wirkung Majakowskis, Erich Weinerts in den zwanziger” in a contemporary setting, Enzensberger replied that they would have changed their forum; Majakowski would be in film/tv rather than going to 200 different sites to recite poetry (Interview 85).

637 Here, he discusses the issue of the environment and society and politics and predominantly criticizes capitalism (globalization); in the end he offers some hope with USSR and Chinese policy in the event of
discussion of ‘tourism’ of revolution), Enzensberger critiques intellectuals’ failure in their act of visiting (i.e. tourism as bourgeoisie privilege) and writing of their visits to areas of revolutionary realization (USSR, China, Cuba) which often was void of perspective depth (of situation, of paradoxes and conflicts between Leftist theory and praxis).638 His work, Der kurze Sommer der Anarchie, is a response to the above mentioned critique while he attempted to present the discussion of revolution not from that of an outsider, an intellectual, or bourgeoisie, but rather through numerous and sometimes conflicting voices from geographically and often socially (i.e. from working class) within the area. Through his Glossen Enzensberger then adds his own comments which (as an author who did not experience the revolution nor is Spanish is then an outsider) are structurally distanced from the chapters composed of those recollecting. Here, he lets his reading audience explicitly see (know) that he cannot carry the exact same perspective and organic geographic relationship to Durruti and the revolution as those voices interviewed, yet by the fact that his comments639 are presented together with the interviews in a single published work under the title of ‘novel’ reveals the capability of collective sharing (time, geography, ideology) through literature.

638 As a sort of attempt against the tourist trend, Enzensberger favorably highlights (and analyzes) a poem of Herberto Padilla (referencing Cuba from Cuba), writings of André Gide (1936/7 of USSR) and then the Swede Jan Myrdal’s Bericht aus einem chinesischen Dorf (1962) (i.e. China). Enzensberger as an author both lived in areas of revolution (Cuba) as well as traveled extensively (USSR).

639 Also not to forget is his work as translator; recall here Benjamin’s notion of only being able to truly understand a written work by physically re-dictating it oneself.
Section II: Literary Survey of discussion of Enzensberger’s novel and the montage novel

*Der kurze Sommer der Anarchie* is a part of the discussion of German documentary prose, historical and montage novel, political literature and literature of Spanish Civil War. At this point I would like to develop a specific sense of the literary discussion surrounding Enzensberger’s Durruti novel and indicate how my project is a unique contribution to this discussion.

To begin with, Reinhold Grimm’s *Bildnis Hans Magnus Enzensberger* (1974, pub. 1984) offers an early, and perhaps the most complete presentation of Enzensberger’s aesthetic (and political) development from the 1950s through the earlier 70s (i.e. later critics often focus more on the late 60s through to the end of the 70s). As I consider *Kurze Sommer* a literary presentation deeply associated with Enzensberger’s experimentation and work with film, radio, and television, so too does Grimm see this work (along with *Louisiana Story* and *Das Verhoer von Habana*) (59). Grimm discusses the different forms and genre labels of Enzensberger during the 60s and early 70s:

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640 Generally speaking, Enzensberger’s text comes after discussion of West German literature (i.e. ‘literature versus politics’ discussion) of the 1950s and amidst the end of a period of stark ‘politicization of literature’ (1961-8) and the beginning of a ‘Tendenzwende’ between ‘Innerlichkeit’ and ‘alternativen Lebensformen’ (1969-1977) – presented through autobiographical styles, issues of contradictions (and reconciling) private and public (spheres), a sort of ‘new subjectivity’ and even a ‘de-politicization/radicalization’ (i.e. late 70s) - which developed into discussion of the literature of the 1980s (aesthetic of resistance) (e.g. in Frenzel’s *Daten der deutschen Dichtung* and Metzler’s *Deutsche Literatur*). Within Marxist literary theory, Enzensberger is very much at odds with, say, Lukacs and his concept of ‘historical novel’ and his formal unity and heroic images (as well then Enzensberger would not be apart of the strict Russian Socialist Realism); he is close to Brecht’s Verfremdungseffekt and Russian Formalist concepts of ‘defamiliarization’. Enzensberger’s novel can also be included as a part of ‘reception theory’ developed/ing in Germany during the 1960s – with writers such as Rolf Hochhuth, [Hans Magnus Enzensberger] and Peter Handke who were ‘challenging accepted literary formalism by increasing the direct involvement of reader or audience’ (here Hans Robert Jauss, *Rezeptionaesthetik*, also Wolfgang Iser *The Act of Reading: A theory of aesthetic response* (1978) can be referenced) (Selden 52). Enzensberger works in with Benjamin and his critique of mass media (loss of art), as well as the issue of ‘translation as a literary mode’ (as he translated much of this work). The concept of ‘rereading’ history against the grain – by Brecht (and admired by Benjamin) – is a strong component of Enzensberger’s text: ‘breaking down the relentless narratives of history and opening the past to reinscription’ (Selden 103).

641 Grimm considers Enzensberger “der wichtigste deutsche Schriftsteller seiner Generation” (96). This is important for me, while I build off of this concept seeing his work as representative not in an absolute sense, but in at least its resonance, a sort of partial sharing of literary impulse(s).
analysis, theory, rubric, reconstruction, description – the list goes on. Interesting for us is the montage – as an optical and/or even acoustic ‘Bildes’ which is in Kurze Sommer; here Grimm notes his earlier collection of aphorisms of Berliner Gemeinplaetze and Gemeinplaetze, die Neueste Literatur betreffend as an aesthetical background to what would come in his Durruti novel. Grimm does not connect Enzensberger’s work per se to the broader context and discussion of Spanish Civil War literature, nor does he fully address the internationalism of Enzensberger’s text; however Grimm does make a formal connection between the innovative “Tableua, Bildersaelen” or “Galerien” of Enzensberger (specifically in his poetry collection entitled “Museum der modernen Poesie”) and another Spanish Civil War author, namely Andre Malraux (63). As I also mention, Grimm sees Enzensberger’s Durruti novel as turning his 1957 critique of Bewusstseinsindustrie: “Sie ist ein Instrument der Laehmung, nicht zur Enfaltung des Bewusstseins” on its head (67). Grimm begins the discussion of Enzensberger as an important German author of his generation, highlighting his critiques of technology yet exploration of them through literature and obviously his politics (not dogmatic party man, yet very much sympathetic with the concept of the Left, Anarchism and even revolution and critique of capitalism). 642

642 A decade later, Pier Paolo Pasolini wrote (originally in Italian) the article “Hans Magnus Enzensberger: Der kurze Sommer der Anarchie” (1984), where he methodically goes through the text according to its greater themes of the history of Durruti, the style which Enzensberger uses to present the novel, noting the “Geschichte Durruts” as a “Paradigma,” ending with the assertion that “Enzensbergers dichterische Vision von Durruti ist der Schlüssel zu diesem politischen Buch…und sehr wahrscheinlich deckt sich seine Vision mit der Wirklichkeit.” The article fails to discuss Enzensberger in the larger picture as an artist or amongst other artists or trends and is simply a short and limited focus on the sole Durruti novel; however it does keep the novel in academic discussion.
David Caldwell (German Documentary Prose of the 1970s (1987)) discusses Enzensberger’s documentary works amidst those of other German writers of the 1970s.643 Caldwell sees German literature of the 1970s reflecting an increasing lack of accepted sources of authority644 and notes that while many scholars and critics have paid considerable attention to German documentary literature, including its historical precedents, no study has “incorporated the various directions taken by documentary prose of the 1970s, emphasized the distinctly optical nature of documentation during this period, or viewed the literature in context of Zeitgeschichte” (7). As Caldwell, I am also concerned with the optical presentation, especially in exploring how the optical perspective leads to a sense of space created through the literature; further my analysis and scope are concerned with a broader historical and international perspective.645

643 Specifically: Guenter Walraff (volumes of reportage), Max Frisch (Der Mensch erscheint in Holozän 1979), and Alexander Kluge (Neue Geschichten 1977).
644 He states: “…the focus on the documentary process not only helps reveal the relationship of documents to literature, but also to other art forms” (3). Further writing: “Postwar documentary literature comes to terms with the reality of collective experience. It breaks from the bourgeoisie concept of literature as the mouthpiece of one autonomous author and articulates instead the interest of an entire class. The documents within these works represent an added voice within the literary experience, permitting a collectivity of expression. The author thus assumes the position of mediator between those who write and those who do not” (Caldwell 5). I take this discussion into international Spanish-German voices.
645 Holger-Heinrich Preusse’s section “Enzensbergers Hinwendung zu Formen dokumentarischer Literatur’ (1989) (in a larger book discussing Enzensberger’s political and social commitment) fits within a broad discussion of political and social aspects of Enzensberger’s work (from mid-1950s to mid-80s), specifically within forms of documentary literature (with Das Verhör von Habana (1970) and Der Weg ins Freie (1975)). Preusse is useful in understanding the ‘documentary’ element of Enzensberger’s literature (beyond simply Der kurze Sommer der Anarchie); I add to this discussion with a broader historical and international perspective. Further, Friedemann Weidauer’s article, “Autor, Kollektiv und historisches Subjekt: Enzensbergers Der kurze Sommer der Anarchie” (1993), addresses issues of the author, the collective, and the historical subject in Enzensberger’s text. Weidauer writes “Wie gewaltsam Enzensberger die Geschichte der Anarchisten als seine Geschichte eines unentfremdetes Subjekt des Widerstands umzählt” (333) and “Die Leistung dieses Romans liegt darin, einmalig die Gelegenheit gegeben zu haben, dass die unterschiedlichen Stimmen der überlebenden Anarchisten zusammenkommen konnten” (334). I agree with Weidauer concerning his comments on form as well as that one of the major accomplishments (and intentions) of the work is that of discussion; “Schafft er die Möglichkeit für einen weiterführenden Diskurs.” Enzensberger’s Durruti novel continued to receive attention, although it also was considered as a prelude to his later, more melancholic and disillusioned works regarding revolution and political change. Here Ingeborg Gerlach focuses more on his Der Untergang des Titanics (1979), but also mentions Der kurze Sommer der Anarchie (1972) in Abschied von der Revolte: Studien zur deutschsprachigen Literatur der siebziger Jahre (1994).
In the article, “Prolegomena zu einer Poetik des Kontrafaktischen“ (1993), Christoph Rodiek is the first to discuss Enzensberger’s text within an international literary context and a broad concept of history and literature. Working from French/Napoleon examples, he develops a concept of the “historische Alternative,” a “Gedankenexperiment, mit dem die faktische Niederlage in einen kontrafaktischen Sieg verwandelt wird” (270). He brings Enzensberger into discussion with Spaniard Carlos Rojas’ Lorca novel and German Dieter Kühn’s Napoleon text - all three heavily researched and published. Here Rodiek further sees, as I do, Enzensberger’s text as polyphonic text in the sense of Bakhtin. Rodiek helps to understand a modern presentation of the historical novel – as an international phenomenon which equally is a part of the author and reader’s contemporary. This will later be shown to be very useful in my consideration of time, place and style of Enzensberger’s work. Whereas Rodieck works his analysis from French and English writers and settings, I am more focused on a specific German-Spanish international literary perspective developed through common literary geography, time, and ideology.

Continuing the discussion, in Brüderkämpfe: Zum Streit zu den intellektuellen Habitus in den Fällen Heinrich Heine, Heinrich Mann und Hans Magnus Enzensberger (2000), Markus Joch sees Heinrich Heine, Heinrich Mann and Enzensberger in a “Traditionslinien” and “Literaturfehden”; with the Heine-Börne controversy, the

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646 Rodiek works with terms “Gegengeschichte” and “Uchronie” in the historical novel and discusses the difference between history and fiction and the “Entsakralisierung der Historie” (bringing Kant and Renouvier into the founding discussion). He writes: “Der Leser reagierte auf die uchronische verfremdete Ausgangssituation mit einer gewissen Perplexität” and “…ein kontrafaktische Ereignisfolge ist … nichts anderes als eine mögliche Welt” (terminus von Leibnitz) (270).

647 He contrasts: “Faktizität ihrer Helden mit einer Reihe von Hypotesen und Alternativen, wobei sie der Freude am Intertext und der anti-teologischen Tendenz im biographischen Schreiben der letzten Jahrzehnte in je besonderer Weise Ausdrück geben… Die literarische Ergiebigkeit des Spiels mit fingierter Autentizität is bei jedem der drei Author beträchtlich” (277).
“Entzweitung” from Thomas and Heinrich Mann and the discussion regarding Enzensberger’s “Kurswechsel” connected through the:

Auseinandersetzung um spezifische intellektuelle Verhaltensweisen: zum einen, die intellektuelle Streitfrage, ob besagte Autoren die Anschaft für universelle Werte, d.h. die klassische Intellektuellenrole, glaubwürdig vertreten (Legitimitationsfrage), zum anderen, ob derartige Ambitionen überhaupt wünschenswert sind (Statusfrage) (1).648

Joch, as other literary critics, addresses the issue of “der Autor als Dokumentarist,” the form of the novel, and the issue of the (role of) author and the collective subject. As Rodiek traces back to Kant and Leibnitz, now Joch brings in contributions from J.J. Rousseau, Humboldt and F. Schlegel, before seeing Enzensberger as part of an early 20th century break – started by Alfred Doeblin - from its 19th century tradition (and also differentiation from 20th century critic and writer Georg Lukacs).649 In the end, he aligns Enzensberger’s presentation, with Alexander Kluge and even Peter Weiss (connecting them back to Brecht). Joch’s connecting Enzensberger in the same tradition as H. Mann and especially the aesthetics of Brecht and Doeblin also dovetails my connecting Enzensberger with Weimar (Left) writer(s) (and even humanist tradition in literature).

The critical difference (contribution) of my project, is that my analysis in not simply German (language) literature, but my consideration and imperative inclusion of Spanish and hence an international literary perspective.650

648 Instead of contrasting “engagierte Literatur” and “reine Artistik,” Joch sees it much more productive to “die von den Autoren vorübergehend oder dauerhaft eingenommenen Standpunkte als Strategien prestigeträchtiger Unterscheidung (Distinktion) im literarischen Feld zu beschreiben” (1).
649 Here Joch discusses Döblin’s “einnmontierte Selbstausserungen” and “disparate Materialien” and his “Wechselspiel von einmontiertem Fremdmaterial und fiktiven Erzählstrang, Wechsel der Erzählperspektiven und Schauplatz;” seeing Enzensberger different in that he is “eingeschränkt,” lacking the “filmkompatible Verfahren” (324).
Richard Faber (more recently) discusses montage\textsuperscript{651} and Enzensberger in his article, “Prinzip der Montage” (1997).\textsuperscript{652} He first addresses the question of ownership in a “juristichem Sinn” – ultimately agreeing that the presentation and organization is itself a critique and unique (as I also agree), but stating that without the ‘found’ material, there is no work.\textsuperscript{653} Interestingly, Faber brings in a critique of Enzensberger’s work by ‘altMarxist’ Wolfgang Harich, comparing it to that of the Berlin police’s critique of a 1928 leftist Wochenschau montage of unaltered “Wochenschau Bilder der UFA;” here Faber ultimately sees simultaneously something created in their presentation (technique) yet not created (in actual material). His discussion of the legitimacy of montage as art and its antecedents are helpful, hinting that the technique, organization, the translation (as in Enzensberger), editing (etc) together is a part of creating a work (even if it is primarily

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\textsuperscript{651} Otto Keller’s (‘Epos der Moderne’ (1980)) analysis of montage and Doeblin helps establish Enzensberger as a part of this modern, 20\textsuperscript{th} century literary aesthetic (novel) and help define the break with previous Romantic (Goethe, Schlegel) and Bourgeoisie notions of the novel. Giaco Schiesser’s article “Es handelt sich um einen vertrackten Anschein. Montage, Dokumente und Fiktion bei Alexander Kluge, Alfred Andersch und Otto F. Walter” (1985) contributes a more recent perspective to the German montage discussion.

\textsuperscript{652} Faber references montage base back to the Romantic and Greek-Roman and Jewish antiquity, pointing out its culmination during the Avant-garde movement after the First World War (i.e. Futurismus, Dada, Surrealism, Cubism and collage, Proletkult, photomontage, silent film, epic theater as well as literature of Kraus, Doeblin, Jocye, Pound and Dos Passos), with all directions heading towards a ‘demontage’ of the organic artwork (referenced from David Roberts) (571). Enzensberger’s is a part of a lineage of montage art and discussion; from the Futurist and Dadaist movements of the 1910s/20s, the poetry of Benn, photomontage – Alfred Kemenyi photomontage – as a weapon (“Photomontage als Waffe im Klassenkampf” (1932) in Der Arbeiter-Fotograf), to advertising and photojournalism, political theater (from G.Buechner to G. Kaiser, K.Kraus, E.Piscator, and B.Brecht), to architecture of Weimar Bauhaus and film, such as Sergej Eisenstein’s Battelcruiser Potemkin (note his essay, “Die Montage der Attraktionen” (1923)), Walter Ruttmann’s Symphony of a Great City, and ultimately in prose – such as Walter Benjamin’s One Way Street, Thomas Mann’s Doktor Faustus and Alfred Doblin (Wallenstein (1919), Berlin Alexanderplatz, and November 1918). Also a part of this montage tradition are Enzensberger’s contemporaries: (not exclusively) W.Koeppen (Das Treibhaus 1953), Peter Weiss (Marat/Sade 1964), H.Heissenbueffel (D’Alumberts Ende 1970), Alexander Kluge, Alfred Andersch, and Otto Walter.

\textsuperscript{653} ‘Texte…insofern sie dokumentarisch sind….dass sie zugrundliegende Texte ‘fuer sich sprechen’, the ‘Konstellierungsarbeit macht die Selbststaendigkeit von Montage/Collage aus’ (Faber 573).
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composed of material, as in literature, of others). Faber quotes that there is “Einheit nur durch die Brüche hindurch” (575); and therefore I argue that it is the author (Enzensberger) that creates a unity between the breaks (literally through his Glossen) intellectually and physically in the actual physical organization and publishing as a sole work. This article is evidence of the rich discussion surrounding montage and its importance for artists – culminating during much of the early period I am discussing in this project; however my approach is unique as I explore the technique of montage not only as a socio-political critique, but also in creating (an associated) perspective of space (of content, geographically and ideologically) which allows for what I argue are a sharing of literary space (i.e. through perspectives) between Spain and Germany.

Concerning Enzensberger and montage, one of the most recent contributions to the discussion is Marianne Ping Huang’s 2004 article “Montage and Modern Epic: Transmissions between the Avant-Garde and the Novel – Alfred Doeblin to Guenter Grass” in Reinventions of the novel: Histories and Aesthetics of a protean genre. Interesting is her approach in seeing a “constellation between the novelistic tradition and a transmission (Tradierung) not only of avant-garde techniques and formal features of aesthetics, but significantly also of avant-garde strategies of social critique and critical tactics” (252). I argue that this goes further into even ‘political’ action (not simply critic). She considers Doeblin, Dada Berlin – here Kurt Switters and John Hearfield – in the earlier coining of montage and then she looks at Guenter Grass’ Mein Jahrhundert (1999) as a continuation and continued legitimization of the ‘montage’ (avant-garde) significance and use in today’s novels. I agree with Huang on the still critical effect of avant-garde, especially montage novels in ‘re-opening’ historical reflection and in ‘re-
invention’ of history. She does not mention Enzensberger in her analysis and here my analysis is a contribution to her work, as well as distinct in my pursuit of specific ‘spatial’ considerations, i.e. taking ‘re-opeing’ and ‘re-invention’ into a specific critique light of the Spanish-German example. Huang’s work on addressing perceptual experiences in the novel, montage and use of Bakhtin’s ‘chronotope’ are all a part of my discussion; again, I take a more ‘political’ association to geography and the rural and urban, and with a specific Spanish-German development I broaden her analysis with an international perspective (i.e. with discussion of the issue of ‘foreign). Nonetheless, her discussion is very interesting and a part of which I partake and even build off of. I also agree and contribute to Huang’s final reference from Libbie Rifkin (2000) who states:

… avant-garde techniques serve in an ongoing reinvention not only of history, but also of the Novel. Rather than attempting to alter history, this reinvention aims to make way for presentations of a multi-layered and multi-voiced history in the form of an Epic of modernity (263).

The specific Enzensberger work - most notably - by Grimm, Caldwell and Joch, including Rodiek’s international literary perspective along with the montage discussion by Faber and Haung help to position my argument within discussion of history and literature, the role of the author in montage and montage as political and artistic criticism - and understand its contribution, broadening discussion within international perspective (i.e. Spanish-German example) and further pursuing issues of geography, time and ideology (as focus of literary perspective which enables literary space).

654 Not just urban – in which she focuses, further I use Lefebvre, Bourdieu and Harvey – which she does not.
655 I align myself with Haung in opposition to Blume and Maerz’s criticisms of montage (1994) (its ‘loss of critical potency in the age of globalization) in today’s literature – in the still critical effect it has. I agree that the audience of today’s montage novels is different than that of those of the past and yes, they (we) are witness to ‘advertisement’ collage presentations; yet the montage novel is important in offering an alternative to not simply the ‘linear, monumental narrative’, but also offers opposition to the critical-less (emptiness) of the abuse of its form; offering intellectual depth, meaning and explanation (implicit).
Section III: Literary space as international

In his text Enzensberger creates (international) literary space which can be understood geographically (i.e. physically), ideologically (i.e. intellectually) and as relates to time.\footnote{How does space help us understand the literature better? Space helps us understand the dynamism and collective perspective – how each individual (as author, reader, text figure or simply narrative voice) is a unique (and subjective) point of reference and perspective of consciousness as well as how each perspective of consciousness overlaps at multiple levels, through multiple dimensions. There is a whole ‘world’ of stimuli which the literature presents and expresses and space equates those into – in my opinion, the most comprehensive (and flexible) construct to understand, imagine, and access that which was written. Without communication, there is no (social) space; through communication space exists for it is based in perspective and through sharing of perspective(s) – which is accomplished through communication – space is perceived and consciousness heightens. In Enzensberger, there is communication between the author, his literary voices (i.e. between literary voices as historical and contemporary voices as well), and the reader.} In developing a sense of ‘space’ in literature Henri Lefebvre has proven useful in bridging the gap between theory and practice. He helps to understand the international ‘space’ through geographic, ideological and historical perspective as ‘new’ and ‘revolutionary’, and in opposition to the ‘dominant’ space (that of Enzensberger’s literary content as well as he and his author’s contemporary). Pierre Bourdieu’s work is helpful in understanding positioning within space through his field models, specifically that of the literary field. Enzensberger’s text, not only through its content, but through its production, distribution, translations, and reception has a position and perspective within a physical space that is simultaneously an ideological reflection and, as earlier pointed out, is revolutionary in its opposition to the dominant and thus is a part of ‘revolutionary struggle’. At this point, Mikael Bakhtin’s work provides further insight into the unity of content and form, and space (place) and time (present, history).

At the heart of Bakhtin’s concept of language is a sense of opposition and struggle, keeping things apart and making things cohere and “the most complete and complex reflection of these forces is found in human language, and the best transcription
of language so understood is the novel” (*intro* xviii). The form of Enzensberger’s presentation is the novel. Enzensberger explores and creates depth in not only the number of literary voices, but depth in the meaning of language using voices whose language is often produced differently and in opposition to the ruling class;\(^{657}\) Enzensberger’s craft as translator further expands the linguistic arena into an international linguistic arena. Bakhtin writes:

> At any given moment…a language is stratified not only into dialects in the strict sense of the word (i.e. dialects that are set off according to formal linguistic [especially phonetic] markers), but is…stratified as well into languages that are socio-ideological: languages belonging to professions, to genres, languages peculiar to particular generations, etc. This stratification and diversity of speech (*razvorechivost*) will spread wider and penetrate deeper levels so long as a language is alive and still in the process of becoming (*intro* xix).

Enzensberger uses voices, whose language is recorded; it is an antiquated language – with an originally large variation in its dialect (from rural and urban, northern and southern Spanish and Catalan dialects to differing examples of French, German, English, Italian, Russian, Portuguese, and Dutch), yet revitalized and brought together through its translation; it is also a socio-ideological language of workers, of activists and therefore is political and through its use in the novel is associated to a political critique.\(^{658}\) In language, a sense of spatial socio-ideological division is created and heightened with a geographic component through (a linguistic) international collective achieved through translation in the novel.

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\(^{657}\) “Verbal signs are the arena of continuous class struggle: the ruling class will always try to narrow the meaning of words and make social sign ‘uni-accentual’, but in times of social unrest the vitality and basic ‘multi-accentuality’ of linguistic signs becomes apparent as various class interests clash and intersect upon the ground of meaning” (Selden, 40).

\(^{658}\) I am interested in Bakhtin’s ‘extraordinary sensitivity to the immense plurality of experience’ which is part of the essence of Enzensberger’s presentation.
“Form and content in discourse are one, once we understand that verbal discourse is a social phenomenon….organic unity of style and work’s semantic components” (Bakhtin 259). Here Bakhtin brings together form (montage novel) and content (ideology). His ‘heteroglosia’ asserts the way in which context defines the meaning of utterances, which are heteroglot in so far as they put in play a “multiplicity of social voices and their individual expressions” (intro xix). Language, according to Bakhtin, as an essential part of social interaction, can disrupt authority and be liberating for alternative voices (i.e. part of linguistic intent of Enzensberger). In Bakhtin, there are no ‘neutral words and forms’ - this implies that there is intent (contributes to Döblin’s statement that an author cannot be ‘non- or apolitical’) and helps understand how Enzensberger uses words and a form of presentation (montage) as highly political (i.e. not neutral). Enzensberger’s montage novel aligns with Bakhtin’s critique of the presumption of absolute language and attests then to a non-authoritarianness in its polyphonic form. “Literary language is not represented in the novel (as in other genres) as unitary, completely finished off, indubitably adequate language – it is represented precisely as a living mix of varied and opposing voices” (intro). Perspective of geography, ideology and time is produced through language in the novel and its breadth acutely defined through variation and opposition. Bakhtin writes:

Various epochs and periods of socio-ideological life cohabit with one another…. there exists a common plane that methodologically justifies our juxtaposing them [i.e. languages/ways of speech]…encounter one another and coexist in the consciousness of real people – first and foremost in the creative consciousness of those who write novels.  

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659 The supreme self-consciousness (consciousness of the other) marked by the heteroglossia of the novel.  
660 Bakhtin uses the terms ‘chronotope’ in defining the novel’s distinctiveness by means of its history, charting changes using differing rations of time-space projection; this name is given for the intrinsic connectedness of temporal and spatial relationships that are artistically expressed in literature (inseparation of space and time…..space becomes charged and responsive to the movements of time, plot and history)
In line with Bakhtin’s assertions, I seek to explore in Enzensberger’s text how the socio-ideological, geographic and time (as contemporary and historical) overlap in the novel in language, producing a unique sense of space.

As will later be explicitly discussed, the concept of time – the present and the past (history) – is important when discussing ‘space’ (derived from perspective) and literature. Hayden White’s considerations of history and fiction (in *Metahistory*) and Friedrich Nietzsche’s comments on history and literature (notably in his essay *The Use and Abuse of History*) help to understand the discussion surrounding historical literature; especially in the Enzensberger’s aesthetic innovations and critique. White writes:

Nietzsche’s purpose was to destroy belief in a historical past from which men might learn any single, substantial truth. For Nietzsche … there were as many ‘truths’ about the past as there were individual perspectives on it. In his view, the study of history ought never to be merely an end in itself but should always serve as a means to some *vital* end of purpose (332).

Enzensberger’s inclusion of ‘multiple’ perspectives (as Doeblin in montage, and as numerous civil war or revolutionary article entries or coverage in a newspaper/magazine publication) leads to a sense of multiple truths and it is through these, with these multiple truths that the author and the reader can work as a means through critical thought and discussion to a purposeful (practical) end. Enzensberger’s discussion of a ‘Gegen-Geschichte’ is aligned with Nietzsche and is a reaction and critique of authoritative, tradition aristocratic, Christian and bourgeoisie concepts and presentations of history.\(^{661}\)

\(^{661}\) *Dialogic Imagination*, 84. In this chapter (as well as previous), I analyze some of the chronotopes Bakhtin maps out, such as encounter/road (243), threshold/crisis/break (248), and the dialogue (252).

White states: “The desire to believe that there was one, eternally true, or ‘proper’ idea of history was, in Nietzsche’s opinion, another vestige of the Christian need to believe in the one, true God – or of Christianity’s secular, counterpart, Positivist science, with its need to believe in a single, complete, and completely true body of natural laws” (332).
The boundaries between history and fiction as stated by Enzensberger himself are now re-iterated by White.662

In developing a broader perspective of ‘history’ and ‘literature’ and taking a step towards understanding and incorporating an element of geography into the literary analysis, Homi Bhabha’s work (post colonialism) and consideration of ‘marginalized voices’ (i.e. as those recorded in Enzensberger’s work) is useful. Enzensberger is a part of Homi Bhabha’s discussion of a “transnational and translational sense of the hybridity of imagined communities,” a revision in concept of “human community,” and broader “historical trauma.”663 Bhabha writes of a ‘beyond’, and of ‘…articulated …. cultural difference, transnational character of contemporary culture, local space, mapping new international space of discontinuous historical realities’ (Location of Culture 217). My analysis of Enzensberger’s text considering a new, international spatial perspective is a part of Bhabha’s discussion. Bhabha’s interest in ‘experience of social marginality’ ties into Enzensberger’s Gegengeschichte in his use of fairly ‘socially marginalized’ voices (in Germany, in Spain 1972).664 Further, my discussion of literary space and Enzensberger’s montage as a sort of hybrid form of resistance further aligns with

662 A part of the broader discussion of what is literature and what is history are: the canonical considerations of the definition of literature is an area of studies between history and literature in which ideas from ‘New Historicism’ (Catherine Gallahger and Stephen Greenblatt) in which there is no unity story; here a broader consideration of texts (i.e. not just the traditionally accepted ones or even forms), further the statement of inability to transcend one’s own historical situations, and British cultural materialism (under influence of Althusser and Bakhtin) of a history of resistances to dominant ideologies.

663 In Nation and Narration, Bhabha writes of “…space of modern nation-people never [being] simply horizontal...(intersections of time and place)” and “…counter-narratives of the nation...(continuing to evoke and erase its totalizing boundaries) (301).”

664 Enzensberger’s text can be seen in line with what Bhabha states as the ‘flaws, fissures and splits’ of the ‘rich text’ of the civilizing mission (Selden 226). Considering Hitler’s Nazis and Mussolini’s Fascists as sort of seeing Spain as a colonizing space (did end up so, but in certain light it was a practice ground for military technology as well as a source of raw materials – later used for war); then Enzensberger’s novel presents voices en contra, and marginalized (defeated and killed) by those invading/colonizing (even Franco’s Spanish Nationalists represent resonance of Spain’s historical colonizing attitude and position). Here Angel Viñas’s work can be referenced.
Bhabha’s use of Bakhtin’s sense of “hybridity” in developing a “third space of enunciation” as part of a theory of resistance (227 Selden).

Within contemporary discussion of geography (space), ideology and literature, David Harvey’s work, notably in *The Space of Hope*, concentrates on two concepts: globalization (pinnacle of today’s capitalism) and the ‘body’ (a recent focus of resistance). As Lefebvre states “(social) space is a (social) product,” now Harvey states that the “body is a social construct” (16). Extending Lefebvre’s thought, Harvey is a part of the discussion on re-understanding geography and its relation to the intellectual; he uses useful concepts such as “re-territorialization” and “re-spatialization” of social thought (58). Harvey then uses literature, of the past, e.g. Marx’s *Capital* and *Manifesto*, as relevant in today’s world and concept of globalization. In a sense then, Harvey helps to understand the individual and their physical space (body) as a means of resistance (ideology) and here then re-iterates the ideological issue of geography, perspective of physical space and its relation to the intellectual and even time (i.e. connection of past and present through international literature found in Marx).

Similar to Harvey, who draws on work from ‘utopianism’ thought, which offers with regard to the human character, nature and the dynamics of change an alternative to globalization; Arjun Appadurai talks about ‘imagination’ as a social force (Harvey’s body and Lefebvre’s space), as a social practice, iterating that there is a link between the work of the imagination and the emergence of a post-national political world (22). In *Modernity at Large*, he looks at mass migration and electronic mediation, developing five ‘scapes’ (as building blocks of ‘imagined’ worlds) whose flows sort of help understand ‘overlapping’ and disjunctions in globalization (33). Here, Enzensberger (as

665 These include ideoscape, financescape, mediascape, ethnoscape, and technoscapes.
many others in the trend – Brecht, Toller, Doeblin, Lorca) taps into these issues and ‘scapes’ in creating resistance (to dominant) in something new and alternative. Amidst discussion of globalization and the break-down and lack of sovereignty of the traditional nation-state, Arjun Appadur (in Globalization) further questions the tradition of research, calling for a “new architecture for area studies,” continuing: “Regions are best viewed as initial contexts for themes that generate variable geographies, rather than as fixed geographies marked by pregiven themes” (9). Here ‘German’ literature need not be confined to simply ‘German’ events or ‘within’ a national ‘German’ space likewise neither should ‘Spanish’ literature be confined to simply ‘Spain.’ My project is a part of seeing traditionally deemed ‘German’ or ‘Spanish’ texts - which often have been bound to critical review within the narrow confines of their associated linguistic and national area of studies (German studies, Spanish studies). I see this project as a part of the impetus to move beyond this academic narrowness as well as move beyond a simple national and linguistic perspective. Appadur offers a concept of spatial (perspective) alternative and resistance to globalization in a “globalization-from-below,” addressing a “transnational public sphere,” which is a concept that many of the authors of the trend already (many years before the present) understood their works reaching, i.e. a trans- or international public sphere (heading towards the post-national).

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666 Relevant here is Noam Chomsky’s critiques of Western scholarship and the “policy of authoritarian centralization” which “still dominates today in the writing of history” and relates to Appadur and the call for a new architecture in studies (Chomsky on Anarchism (2005) 68).

667 Appadur writes: “we need to attend to this varied set of public spheres and intellectuals who constitute them, to create partnerships in teaching and research so that our picture of areas does not stay confined to our own first-order, necessarily parochial, world pictures” (10).

668 Appadur sees the dominant concern for human sciences as nationalism and the nation-state with a major void being the need to find a framework relating global, national and local (188). Here, Enzensberger’s novel and my approach is a part of addressing this void.
Section IV: Montage

Enzensberger’s novel is unique and aesthetically abreast with this project’s trend in his use of montage. Albeit laden with other people’s accounts, Enzensberger did translate, organize, and decide which accounts to keep, how much of them and where to place them. Within the collage of voices, Enzensberger artistically mixed in his own voice and analysis. A variety of people were directly interviewed to create this novel; from intimate friends and family, to casual and professional acquaintances, both friends and foes of Durruti. In considering the many voices used, many perspectives arises in the text. In reading the novel, one sees the numerous names in print after each account, with some repeating, others not. Enzensberger accompanies a large bibliography and explanation of the names, the voices who supplied accounts which he used in the novel. This gives voice or perspective to the atmosphere and experiences (moments or events); these other ‘names’ become a part of the story (the novel). Through the whirlwind of voices presented, some similar yet many different perspectives help the reader to enter the dynamic and slowly form their own perspective and gain baring of the relationship to ‘others’ based on multiple perspectives.

The collection of perspectives is artistically brought together in novel form with inherent visual qualities. This novel is “ein [historisches] Gemälde des spanischen

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669 Enzensberger states that “der Kopf eines Autors ist immer ein Radiokopf, voller Stimmen und Echos’, that ’Literatur’ is ’eine kollektive Arbeit“ (Kesting 201).
670 Enzensberger periodically gives Durruti a direct voice as well as direct quotations – from radio speeches or in recorded or documented interviews (227-228, 241). The novel voices perspectives not only of the image and figure of Durruti, but Anarchists and Anarchism itself. Batillo states that Enzensberger’s novel is “una creación colectiva, una voz anónima y popular,” and praised in its “inteligentismos montaje” (42) and for Grimm it is a “riesigen Montage“ with a "Doppeltitel", a “Doppelbildnis“ - “das sich zu einem dokumentarischen Roman zusammenfügt. Die Bilder Durrutis, eines exemplarischen Anarchisten, und des Anarchismus selbst“ (63) (transl: collective creation, an anonymous and popular voice’, ‘intelligent montage’, ‘giant montage’, ‘doble title’, ‘doble portrait, that it brings together in a documentary novel: The images of Durruti – an exemplary Anarchist and those of Anarchism itself).
671 Rodieck writes of the “Rohzustand“ of the “Redevielfalt“ and how this makes easier for the reader the “Identifizierung der verwendeten Stimmen durch präzise Quellenangaben“ (276).
Anarchismus“ (Preuße 150). The novel’s “mosaic-like structure in itself is a sort of anarchic puzzle meant to provoke the reader’s historical – or….poetic imagination and creativeness” (Grimm Poetic, 115). Through montage, Enzensberger builds visual images (such as that of Barcelona and even later Madrid) during a period when he became more involved with other mediums of expression - such as film, radio and television. The material for the novel was planned originally for television: “dieser Roman ursprünglich als Fernsehfilm gedreht wurde“ (Grimm 67). With reference to the original cinematic motivations of the project, Jorissen notes the ‘außerliterarische Mittel technischer und visueller Art’ of Enzensberger’s novel (189). The novel’s realization and presentation is technically innovative. I believe the cinematic motivation and quality of the novel is essential in Enzensberger’s aesthetic innovation and political critique; aesthetically it ushers him into the late 20th century technology, media and audience – bridging technology with classical literature in a sort of hybrid noveleske form. Politically, the cinematic element is inline with early movements of the likes of Doeblin – breaking from the bourgeoisie novel – and Leftist artists (from Dada to

672 Transl: historic painting of Spanish Anarchism.
673 Enzensberger criticized the “Medien, Film, Rundfunk und Fernsehen” as “Randbereiche – Tourismus, die Mode and Teile der Kybernetik” and a “Bewußteins-Industrie” (Grimm 57-8).
674 It was aired in West Germany’s Channel 3 in 1972 (Grimm 59). The book “entstand…aus einer Gelegenheitsarbeit...im Frühjahr 1972 hatte das Dritte Programm des Westdeutschen Rundfunks, in Köln [Enzensberger] mit einer Fernsehsendung über den spanischen Anarchisten Durruti betraut” (Pasolini 73).
675 Transl: ‘beyond-literary means of a technical and visual sort’. Further, Jorissen writes that the “wahre Leistung“ of Enzensberger’s Durruti-project “liegt im seinerzeit unterschätzten Film, der weitaus experimenteller und radikaler ist als das Buch“ (191) and notes Enzensberger’s novel “im Rahmen eines puristischen ′Film-Roman′” (182). This claim then is in conflict with Joch’s claim that this ‘cinematic’ element – especially in comparison with Doeblin - was not as strong in Enzensberger; downplaying the significance of the film, seeing it as much less successful than the book (320). I side with Jorissen on this issue, while I believe there are stark cinematic qualities in the book and the act of making a film in conjunction with the book is itself a feat and a part of an aesthetic and politics that is very avant-garde and innovative.
676 Enzensberger was a part of a contemporary discussion (not only past) of film and literature; note essays by Rolf Busch (1973) and Siegfried Lenz (1976). Heinz-B. Heller’s article “Historizitaet als Problem der Analyse intermediäler Beziehungen: die ‘Technifizierung der literarischen Produktion’ und ‘filmische’ Literature” (1985 Goettingen conference, pub. Niemeyer: Tuebingen, 1986) further addresses film, literature and history.
Eisenstein) and now critiquing and equally entering into the media (i.e. medium) of monopoly and authority (as noted in Interview (1971) and Baukasten). With the latter, Enzensberger simultaneously connects himself to a past critique and artistic experimentation – of the likes of Brecht (Radiotheorie) and Benjamin (Kunstwerk essay) – as well as catapults himself into the late 20th and early 21st century technical age of global entertainment and communication medium (i.e. anticipating internet, etc.). Politically and aesthetically – as I will soon discuss – it allows for a unique perpsective of space (geography) as it relates to ideology and time.\footnote{In the 2002 Spanish Edition, its praised as a: “…género novelístico de nuevo tipo. Las fuentes han suministrado la material para la concepción de una obra cuya originalidad reside en el trabajo selectivo, la reelaboración de las fuentes, y la organización armónica de las partes. Los comentarios del autor son un contrapunto reflexivo, una pausa de meditación histórica en medio de la multiplicidad, la rapidez y la violencia de la acción.”}

In the employment of multiple voices, multiple perspectives are created in the narrative, which help to establish boundary spaces and demonstrate artistic innovation in the form of the novel. His presentation is a polyphonic text in using Bakhtin’s concept – which is non-authoritarian in its unique, less sovereign author role. As author, Enzensberger includes similar and conflicting voices, exposes conflicting accounts, builds suspense, anticipation and a sense of wondering. Enzensberger states that “eine...innere und äußere Montage ist ja formal nur möglich durch Widersprüchlichkeit“ (Kesting 203). For example, Durruti’s death is accounted differently by different voices and the figure Durruti is portrayed with conflict - by some as leader and hero and others as a thief and bandit. Rodiek sees Enzensberger, as Dieter Kühn, bringing the reader “durch das bloße Juxtaponieren alternativer Versionen zur kritischen Stellungnahme“ (275). This means that the reader is not only encouraged, but challenged into the discussion of the conflict in the novel. Further, there is a Brechtian sense of Verfremdung.
taking place while the reader realizes that this is a novel (as its title deems it) and, are not ‘novels,’ albeit historical, also fiction? This creates a sense of skepticism in confiding in the voices and comments as truths or even as linear ‘wholes.’ Here, the reader then has to take a step back and debate and reflect as to what exactly do they think happened; and also take stead in the voices used and realize that they are – and cannot escape being – subjective. There is a double layer of subjectivity with the overlapping of the author’s subjectivity in his/her choice of voice(s), organization and translation of the (subjective) voices. Third, the reader then – in realizing the textual subjectivity in the voices, the subjectivity in the author’s presentation, also realizes their own subjectivity. Yet, they are not abhorred from commenting and contributing for the whole of the ‘novel’ would be negated if discussion were to be negated simply due to the limits of subjectivity. The important point then is that the ‘subjectivity’ is aware of itself and engages itself with ‘others’ – and through interaction and ensuing contradictions and juxtapositions – not an absolute truth is sought, but simply awareness of subjectivity and the necessity of the discourse and the interaction of ideas/voices is the goal (rather than rigid, dogmatic stance). The reader comes to understand themselves as a part of a subjective collective (and is critical of subjective role of author of book, director of movie or newswriter).

What can we learn from Kurze Sommer long after the 60s? Plenty (moreso now than ever before). Enzensberger presents a collective history and a collective fiction. In a tradition of critique of mass media and mass culture, Enzensberger creatively (30 years after say Benjamin and Brecht) presented single voices which were and still are unique;

678 In many respects this relates back to Nietzsche’s critique in The Use and Abuse of History.
679 In this light, Weidauer writes that “durch die Form des Romans .... ohne ... übergeordneten Rahmen,“ that he creates the “Möglichkeit für einen weiterführenden Diskur“ (334).
680 This works into the discussion, of Jauss for example, of ‘reception theory’.
in the fact that they contradict and disagree, juxtapose one another – they are unique and individual and this individuality and uniqueness is decisively highlighted and integral in Enzensberger’s critique – aesthetically and politically – of mass media and culture. In allowing contradiction, more voices can be heard.\textsuperscript{681} In including variations of similar things (events, descriptions, opinions) and even in the inclusion of almost identical stances and perspectives on the same person, event or thing – the fact that he [Enzensberger] does include these different voices is evidence of the importance of the individual voice as a part of a collective subject and society and humanity (there are also – sometimes only slight, yet noticeable - linguistic differences that distinguish the voices – i.e. in word choice),\textsuperscript{682} this is in stark contrast to images and narrative or broadcasting voices booming out of the radio, out of newspapers or television news stating opinions or trends of the ’nation’ or of the ’people’ or of any other collective group (a part of the socio-cultural, economic landscape then and now, perhaps today more global). Enzensberger starkly criticizes the concept of using a sole voice to represent a collective and creates the sense that each voice is a unique part of a collective of voices.

The language Enzensberger used in translating\textsuperscript{683} and in writing the \textit{Glossen} is an integral part of his ’collective’ aesthetic. Pasolini writes: “Enzensbergers dichterische Vision von Durruti ist der Schlüssel zu diesem politischen Buch...und sehr wahrscheinlich deckt sich seine Vision mit der Wirklichkeit“ (78). It is innovative: “...die ideologische und sprachliche Konfrontation diverser Fragmente wird als Stilmittel

\textsuperscript{681} In the Dutch edition, Francisco Carrasquer, in referencing the eight commentaries, talks of a “clamor popular” and in this, “hasta las mentiras irradian su parte de verdad” (Batillo 42).
\textsuperscript{682} This relates to Bakhtin’s work on language and the differences not only in dialects or accents, but in the words as a part of a socio-ideological foundation.
\textsuperscript{683} Note here translation has also been considered an important mode of literature by the likes of Walter Benjamin.
eingesetzt, ist als moderne Prosa durch die Abwägung von Individualstil mit charakterisierender Dialogizität gekennzeichnet“ (Jorissen 189). Here Bakhtin’s work regarding the novel’s unity of style and form is evident. The Schreibweise is “überpersönlich“ and entails a “gewissen Ökonomie“ which is, according to Enzensberger, “sprachlich reicher“ and a method which is “sehr sparsam“ (Kesting 202). Enzensberger craftily positions accounts to forecast, placing narrations in specific order which slowly give multiple perspectives of events such as that of an attempted assassination on the king (66). In other examples, he builds suspense with his weaving of accounts such as in those leading to Ascaso’s death (121-124). Pasolini also notes this ordering of the “Zeugnisse“ and the “hochdramatische Steigerung“ (77). Enzensberger brings a curt overview (account), then a detailed one, then one that sort of touches it but is different. Albeit only forty pages of the novel are personally ‘written’ by Enzensberger and the remaining are translations and organized accounts, his role as author is a unique break from classic novel-author relationship.

The use of montage is a key aesthetic and political link to past literature, most notably that of Alfred Doeblin. As by Döblin, it is the “Autor“ in the “Rolle“ as

684 Transl: Enzensberger’s poetic vision of Durruti is the key to this political book...and most probably this vision is covered with reality (78), ‘...the ideological and linguistical confrontation of diverse fragments is the stylistic medium/means, it is noteworthy as modern prose through its dissension from individualistic style with a more character-filled dialogue-ness.’
685 Transl: linguistically richer, yet efficient.
686 It remained “ohne..in die etablierten Strukturen einer bürgerlichen Literatur einzumünden“ (Preuße 150).
687 As a montage novel, Enzensberger is a part of a long tradition of montage art. In the 1920s, montage served, in short, as “the primary means to the figuration of a new, visionary social space“ – it was “the dominant syntax in the formal language utilized by artists, writers, and architects on the left in the Weimar Republic“ (Jennings 132). It is this new, visionary ‘social space’ which is produced through a collective of literary perspectives. The space sought and ‘able’ to be realized in the 1920s is different than that in the 1960s/70s (Enzensberger’s text and initial reading audience) and this is yet different than the space (still) created with a reader of today (2006). If we work then with Lefebvre’s ‘(social) space is a (social) product’ and Harvey ‘the body is a social product’; then ‘body = social product = (social) space’ and therefore ‘body’ = (social) ‘space’. Enzensberger’s focus on ‘Durruti’ – as a sole person, as a sole ‘body’ then is
“Beobachter“ for Enzensberger (Weidauer 336). In both Enzensberger and Döblin, the author plays many roles: for Döblin it was that of artist, scientist and reporter. The many roles Enzensberger plays in the novel is like that of those of the content; Weidauer writes: “...wechseln die Anarchisten ihre Berufe wie Hemden – so wie Enzensberger als Essayist, als Herausgeber, als Übersetzer, als Fernsehautor und reisender Reporter ...und einem Roman gelegentlich ‘Dichter’ ist“ (334). Both Döblin and Enzensberger leave their work, their book, as a collage and dynamic, to the reader, for each reader to uniquely piece together, to take in their own collection of perspectives in forming consciousness and opinion. Enzensberger states: “Von dem Augenblick an, wo er sein Buch aus der Hand gibt, ist der Autor seiner nicht mehr Herr, die Schrift hört nicht mehr auf ihn, sie hört auf ihre Leser“ (Erinnerung an die Zukunft 8). Döblin demonstrates a similar perspective on writing and the reader. Equally for Enzensberger as for Döblin, it is “der Leser ist ....der letzte, der diese Geschichte erzählt“ (Grimm 67).

Die riesige Zitatmontage der Dokumente, die zusammenstoßen, überlappen, Lücken zwischen sich lassen, einander bald stützend und bald widersprechend, zieht den Leser in ihre stumme Debatte hinein und zwingt ihn dazu, selber Stellung zu beziehen. Schon ihre Struktur verlangt, daß man ‘weitererzählt’ (Grimm 67).

representative of a presentation of social space, i.e. he produces a sense of ‘social’ space (Durruti’s body is presented as social space).

Caldwell writes that “it is left to the reader to find in the historical data from Spain a relation to the situation in Germany some fifty years later” (71). Enzensberger believes the Durruti story holds lessons for succeeding generations, and he indicates a responsibility to counteract historical amnesia (Caldwell 86). “Sein leben [Durruti] ist in seinen Handlungen aufgegangen. Diese Aktion war politisch und zu großen Teilen illegal. Es handelt sich also darum, ihre Spuren aufzufinden, die eine Generation später nicht mehr ohne weiteres zutage liegen; sie sind verwischt, vergilbt, nahe daran, vergessen zu werden“ (Enzensberger 14). Batillo writes of the historical space (situation) of Enzensberger’s novel, claiming this space as a “fuente inagotable de enseñanzas” (42), writing: “este libro nos enseña no solo una nueva forma de novella; nos enseña también, y sobre todo, que si los anarquistas españoles cometieron muchos errores, supieron evitar el supremo error: perder su fe en la capacidad del hombre para entenderse con el hombre” (43). However, the novel was ‘keine Parabel’ (Lan 291). What the novel means today is that the reader can still partake in its ‘weitererzählen’ and also in historical and artistic disourse.
In the novels of Enzensberger and Döblin, the form used gives rise to the idea of an omni-eye – the cinematic concept of montage, of grasping numerous ‘shots’, glimpses into a situation, event, thing, object from different positions and perspectives. Here Enzensberger builds on the issues of ‘limits of consciousness’ and thus ‘complexity’ again arises (as already addressed by Sender and Döblin). Stylistically, Enzensberger takes this a step further in his ‘non-traditional’ narration and his ‘glimpses’ and ‘fragments’ which are ‘shorter’ and ‘smaller’, but more varied and combined in ‘higher’ collective density. Both Döblin and Enzensberger create and utilize cinematic approach in a text to create (or re-create) a reality, an occurrence(s), and situation(s). Further, they include another dimension to their creation - beyond a simple two-dimensional plane of the intellectual and physical - using perspectives and moments from before and sometimes, especially with Enzensberger, after. This third dimension has to do, temporally speaking, with the ‘historical’ or so-called lived and experienced. ‘Time’ and ‘perspective’ are employed in both Enzensberger’s and Döblin’s work creating ‘space’ that are each unique, having set boundaries and definition, but also sharing common space.

690 The issue of ‘perspective’ is important: there is the cinematic feature, along radio and simple rapid ‘movement’ of information – by phone/telegram, train, car and plane – which contribute to the growing technology (and time) associated with literary presentation of perspective. The issue of ‘perspective’ and space has to do with how space exists through the intellectual (i.e. mind) and (then) physical (senses) perspective; this is narrated of, created and exposed through literature.

691 Space is created through the multiple perspectives – and contexts and places – in the novels. Perspectivism enables space - much has been written on this point. In breaking from 19th century tradition, Friedrich Nietzsche is important as he presented the “philosophical view that all perception and ideation takes place from a particular perspective in terms of a corporeal-hermeneutic form” (wikipedia online). In the 20th century, there is a plethora of literature and criticism regarding perspectivism and space. Here, Franz Kafka’s The Castle has been brought into the space/perspectivism and literature discussion, where after Albert Einstein’s theory of relativity (i.e. number of spaces inherent in life increased beyond calculation to equal the number of moving reference systems of all the matter of the universe) and Nietzsche (space only consists of points of view and interpretations, not objective facts) – the old notion of there being a single reality and absolute space breaks down (essay “The Nature of Space in Kafka’s The Castle, 123HelpMe.com 2005). Further, Bakhtin, Lefebvre, and Harvey can be referenced. Bakhtin helps
If one looks at the titles, *November 1918* and *The short Summer of Anarchy*, ‘time’ is inherent in each. Each title represents a space of time. Each voice narrated represents a perspective – therefore a physical residence and intellectual space – as well as a moment. During each moment, two or more spaces share the same or part of the same space (the moment and perhaps for example tropes or forces within concepts of foreign or death). Spaces created through narrated perspectives ‘overlap’. The more spaces that ‘overlap’ or share part of a space or moment, the ‘denser’ in a sense then this space is (in terms of colors this would mean the darker this part is). The denser a shared space - which now becomes a sort of micro space of a grander space - the denser or greater is the collection of narrative experiences, accounts and voices the author chose to

to understand (as already discussed) the unity of place-time through a linguistic perspective. Lefebvre contributes to the overall discussion of literary space and space as inherently social and politically critical (i.e. connecting ideology and geography/physical social space). Harvey then brings literature (Marx) into the discussion of the (individual) body and social space. Here, Homi Bhabha and Arjun Appadurie’s work on transnationalism and ‘globalization from below’ furthers the discussion of perspective/space and literature into the 21st century. There are many further contributions to the overall discussion of perspective and literature. For example, Federick Tygstrup, within a discussion of ‘tableau’, addresses space and the novel in “The textual Tableau: Models of Human Space in the Novel” (in *Reinventions of the Novel* 2006). Jaishree Odin writes of space and perspectivism (*The Performative and Processual: A Study of Hypertext/Postcolonial Aesthetic*), working within a postcolonialism political discourse; here Odin begins with a historical account (referencing David Harvey’s *The Condition of Postmodernity*) of geography and topography and place/space symbolizing money, power and wealth through rational ordering. Hereafter Michel de Certeau’s discussion of stories as spatial trajectory (*The Practice of Everyday Life*) – helps move spatializing discussion from the attention “from structures to actions, from place to space” (Odin). Other interesting contributions to the discussion include (to name but a few): R. Weimann’s “Kommunikaiton und Erzaehlstruktur im Roman” (in *Weimarer Beitraege*, 17, 1971), V. Neuhaus’ “Typen des multiperspektiven Erzaehlens” (1971), S.S. Lanser’s “The narrative act” (1981), and J. Sander’s “Perspective in narrative discourse” (1991).

692 Inherent in the title is a time period which is short or limited. It is a summer, a time that is ripe, a time of growing and harvest, often a ‘Blüteperiode’, and a time of intense heat. It is also a short time, limited, ‘kurz’ (corto). “Dem Sommer der Anarchie müssen eben notwendigerweise der Herbst und Winter folgen” (Weidaur 335). Anarchy is political, presents to many a sense of chaos yet organized chaos, and a sense of small, local movements – therefore not of the national or centralized and this may help alleviate focus on nationality and re-define common spaces along new criteria. “Enzensberger hatte mit dem Titel “Der kurze Sommer der Anarchie“ dem Studentenprotest am Ende der 60er Jahre den Namen gegeben und mit dem letzten Satz des Buches, “Man macht nicht zweimal dieselbe Revolution” (293), gleichzeitig eine nachträgliche Begründung dafür zu liefern versucht, warum der anarchistische Aufstand der Studenten scheitern mußte. Wer mit den verbrauchten Parolen und Programm von gestern antritt, der wird auch auf die gleichen Schwierigkeiten treffen, in denen der Niedergang des Anarchismus von einst begründet lag“ (Preuße 151).
use and therefore the greater the consciousness of both the reader (intended by author) and author of this point, grouping or overlapping space. Now, this point of overlapping is a sort of axis or point of reference for many spaces of which the author wrote or created. It is also an axis or point of reference and basis for the whole of the representation of an oppositional space to authority (or an ‘other’ or even failure, i.e. the failure presented by the author) – as outlined by Lefebvre (i.e. ‘new space’ as revolutionary). Now some questions may arise at this point as far as to: What are the effects of the ‘overlapping’? How does the overlapping affect the shared space? In order to answer this one would have to try to analyze the space(s). This is interesting, for the overlapping space is itself a space, but undefined by the author and therefore abstract and intangible; left to the reader to understand in a sense. In Enzensberger for example, by including multiple voices regarding the ‘death’ of Durruti the reader ultimately is left to decide which they think is and perceive to be ‘true’ or which ‘combinations’ – here portions of a whole account or if thought in spatial terms parts of a space which has a certain perspective – may lead to what ‘really’ happened. The reader is able to decipher, construct a boundary between which ‘words’ are associated with a perspective of the ‘other’, which are convincingly true and which straddle the line – between these two and hence, just with this one example, solely taking place at the intellectual level, a space of Durruti’s death, with perspective(s) from within, a sense of a boundary with that of the ‘other’ and a sense of distance ye farther one strays the lighter, weaker, and more sparse is the ‘overlapping’ of perspective and therefore common space. This all has a physical virtue and temporal one as well. In Enzensberger’s novel, the figure Durruti is

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693 This relates to the comments of Keller, Preusse and Grimm regarding the sense of an environment and picture (mosaic) created which is colorful (i.e. greater color – denser the sharing). It works with Bakhtin’s chronotopes’ focus on street scenes and social spaces of interaction in the unity of time-place.
metaphoric for (social space of) revolution, its intellectual perspectives, physical realizations and actual moments of occurrence.

Now if we take Döblin’s novel, for example, he writes following a number of stories throughout his work. Let’s say, he writes from Hilde’s perspective for a few pages, then on to Becker’s, then Maus’, then Stauffer’s, then President Wilson’s and back to Stauffer’s and so on. We can say that each ‘character’ or personality is presented to the reader along with ‘their space’ of reality, their ‘perspective’ of their reality and the reality around them; this all occurs at distinct times, i.e. within a distinct temporal frame(s) or if you like, defined temporal space(s). Within each of these ‘figure spaces’ is the revolution. We could then say that ‘the revolution’ is a densely shared space in Döblin’s work. The same is true of Enzensberger’s work. The revolution is not a figure per se and is not defined through a conscious (i.e. thinking) perspective as are the figures. However, the revolution, with the multiplicity of spaces overlapping upon its coordinates, becomes a densely shared space and could therefore be considered a point of reference, an axis or even basis of connection and linking of each of Döblin’s or even here Enzensberger’s figures’ as well as ‘other’ spaces and their associated perspectives. The space of the ‘revolution’ or ‘resistance’ to space of the ‘other’ grows, becomes ‘more filled in’ as Döblin’s or Enzensberger’s narratives, and hence perspectives continue to develop.

Literature is analogous to painting. The space of the revolution is like a canvas (albeit only two-dimensional) of undefined shape. As more perspectives are brought

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694 Recall here the connection between Lefebvre and Harvey: (social) space = (social) product = body.
695 If Döblin’s literary subject is the revolution (its personification) and Enzensberger’s is Durruti, then they each are defined – not by themselves, but through the perspectives of others; as literature/art is not defined by itself but by those who experience it.
forth, more ‘colors’, objects, things begin to take form on the canvas until upon the canvas one sees a detailed painting. The ‘revolution’ and ‘failure’ become increasingly ‘denser’ shared space as Döblin’s novel develops. In Enzensberger’s novel, not only the ‘failed’ revolution, but the concept or complex of Durrutti is a ‘point’ or basis of overlapping and therefore ‘shared space’. Unlike the picture on a canvas, the space of the (literary) revolution can be defined beyond the tangible, visual x-y dimensions on a canvas. Here, through the montage, the space of the revolution is not determined solely by the visual – rather through the collective perception of all one’s (reader) senses and mind in grasping a reality of space(s) (of revolution). In a painting there is distinction between colors and images created, seen, imagined relative to the shapes, things, figures; there is also blending of colors which leads to a blurriness in definition of color and form (often giving way to new sense of form or formlessness as well as new colors) – which is comparable to the sense of spatial definition created through words in literature. Literature is also predominantly accessed ‘visually’ – although not exclusively (e.g. brail reading – i.e. feel, and also can be ‘heard’ when there is an orator reading literature, i.e. sound).

In a text, space, rather than determined through colors, is determined by an intellectual, abstract perception gained through language. In language there are words which together form predominantly narratives of descriptions or characters’ voices. In literature, as in art, a wide array of ‘reality’ or ‘consciousness’ is created through perspective. A picture invokes its admirer/viewers senses as well as intellect, so too does

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696 With literature, as in the novel, language is by nature restrictive in a way that painting is not; painting can be assessed by all those who can see; literature needs to be translated to be internationally accessible. This is one area where Enzensberger and Doeblin (i.e. some examples from English and French to German) share; although Enzensberger’s textual translation is in far greater proportion than Doeblin.
literature for its reader. Physical places – through names or description or referencing – as well as ideas – through their mentioning – or lack thereof – are thus given ‘perspective’ which the reader takes in. Equally, when sounds or smells or tastes are narrated of or even associations invoked, the reader is again given ‘perspective’ (exemplified in the text by: sounds of violence, landscape/natural sounds, urban sounds, smell of gun smoke, of food, blood, taste of tears, of smoke, dust). Now, the acquiring of perspectives for the reader gives rise to space for the distance from the perspective to its farthest reach can be considered a radius with the ‘perspective’ in the center, thus a sort of circular space originates and evolves from this perspective. The radius is determined by the reader’s intellect in association, a sort of ‘radius’ or ‘reach’ of consciousness.697

For example then, multiple physical descriptions of Berlin in Doeblin or Barcelona in Enzensberger during the revolution give way for multiple perspectives based in differing sites and positions,698 bringing in the reach of the consciousness of the reader defines the spaces of each perspective for the reader (as it originated with the author) and by the end of the novel, a sort of patchwork of intellectual, consciousness ‘overlapping’ within the city could be seen in the ‘meta-map’ of the reader.

By incorporating a temporal dimension to the equation no longer can this ‘meta-mapping’ of ‘overlapping’ be drawn out on a single-planed abstract-like ‘canvas’. One could imagine a sort of literary geography; for example a Berlin A below a Berlin B and a Berlin C above the Berlin B. With ‘A’ representing moments before, B and C

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697 An analogy to the visual would be the phrase of ‘as far as the eye can see’ where if there was a wall in front of you then the wall would signify your ‘outer’ boundary and the distance between the eye of the beholder and the wall would be the ‘radius’ of the visual space or if one was looking out at the ocean, the radius would be the farthest ‘distance’ on the horizon the eye could grasp.

698 As from the street, within a factory building or train station or perched upon a roof or in a park or in a house/apartment or on the docks - all simultaneously or during a more generally time.
moments after A, so within the same ‘physical’ coordinates would develop a sort of
‘layer’ of spaces and between these ‘layers’ there would be ‘perspectives’ which would
also evoke spaces whose planes cut across more than one temporal plane – thus a sharing.
The farther ‘back’ in time, the ‘deeper’ the planes; likewise the more ‘ahead’ the higher
the plane and the more associations between ‘times’ signifies more instances of ‘cutting’
across and sharing. For example, Enzensberger presents quotes which relate the
contemporary to the past; relating Che and hippies, the time of Enzensberger’s Glossen,
and the time in which he wrote and organized the piece; the time which is created through
recollections and their presentation (i.e. the time of the 1920s, 1930s within piece), the
time of the reader (i.e. 1970s until the present day) and also an abstract continuum of time
(sort of minute overlappings) with the genre of the historical novel and montage, the
issue of literary presentations of leftist revolution and Anarchy (reaches ‘back’ in time,
embracing the present as well as reaching ‘forward’ in time).^699

Section V: Exploring literary time – as historical and contemporary

Enzensberger creates a unique literary dynamic and thus discourse between
fiction, history and his contemporary. If one considers Enzensberger’s novel as a
“documento fundamental,”^700 then Döblin’s November 1918 may also be referenced in
the same breath if one recalls Bertolt Brecht’s words praising Döblin’s work as a valuable

^699 Can montage show lack of coordination? Yes and no. First, in its lack of seeming coordination it
critiques on one side the political lack of coordination of anarchism. Yet, it also embraces this lack of
coordination and needs intellectual ‘work’ of reader to be realized. Space is produced, not simply
grounded ontologically. It is produced with intention of the author and then again with that of the reader.
There is intention [a bias], association and communication - the reader provides the communication (with
and) between the fragmented voices in the text.

^700 The quote continues: “…para la comprensión del anarquismo en general y del anarquismo español en
particular. A través del libro se revela claramente la sorprendente magnitud y profundidad que tuvo el
anarquismo en España” (Spanish Edition 2002).
reference (*Nachschlagwerke*) for all writers. As an historical novel, Enzensberger’s novel is comparable not only to Döblin, but Sender’s *Mr. Witt en el Cantón* as well. Each Sender, Döblin, and Enzensberger included the use of newspaper and pamphlets in form and content. Enzensberger’s research, as that of Sender and Döblin, was “umfangreich” and “mühsam” (Lan 290). The different consciousnesses used by the authors vary from that of simple recollection by characters, to narrative description of experiences and events, to historical description from the narrator or through narration or consideration of newspaper clips and articles. However, historical presentation cannot avoid a subjectivity imposed by the author – already discussed in Sender and Döblin; it is now also addressed by Enzensberger. Each Döblin, Sender and Enzensberger outline in historical novel format the cycles of a past ‘revolution,’ from its kernels, its explosion and successes, to its failure.

Enzensberger’s may be considered, with a conventional perspective of written documents, on the surface more ‘documentary’ – while Döblin’s figures seemed more

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701 These novels are similar, yet unique. Considering size, Döblin’s work is 4 volumes while Enzensberger’s comprises barely 300 pages – closer to the size of Senders. Stylistically, Döblin and Enzensberger share more closely than with Sender while each exhibits a unique style of writing: one curt, more abrupt, and the other more explicit and flowing. Concerning language used, Toller could even be included, the critics consider him a good lyriker but say little of his critiques and the lyricists praise his critiques but shy from positive comment on his abilities as lyriker (Grimm 46).

702 As discussed, Joach also addresses this issue. Further, Preuße points out (as others) the “Widersprüche” and “wie wenig Dokumente einen allgemein verbindlichen Wahrheitsanspruch für sich geltend machen können” (149), quoting: “Der Nacherzähler hat weggelassen, übersetzt, geschnitten und montiert und in das Ensemble der Fiktionen, die er fand, seine eigene Fiktion eingebracht, mit voller Absicht und vielleicht auch wider Willen; nur daß diese eben darin ihr Recht hat, daß sie den andern das ihre läßt.” Döblin had also stated this similarly regarding the subjectivity of writing of history or a novel.

703 Thematically all three – Döblin, Sender and Enzensberger – similarly dovetail common issues: the dynamics and ultimate failures of revolution. Each heavily narrates violence, personal decisions and conflicts involved in the aura and multiple perspectives of an urban revolution and a complex of issues transcending simply linguistic and national boundaries. Presented are issues of the oscillating narrated perspectives of the forces of the revolution - from thugs to valiant fighters. Thematically, Durruti’s march into Madrid ended disastrously, in failure, as did the revolution’s marches, demonstrations, ambitions and movements in Döblin’s Berlin, Munich, and Strasbourg; so too in the failed movement at the front, at sea or in Cartagena in Sender’s novel as well. Döblin, Sender and now Enzensberger recreate in an historical novel scenes from an urban revolution and movements between the urban and rural.
distanced from the documentary as many appear with fictional names and stories – as with Sender – only loosely based in ‘history’ and Enzensberger meanwhile uses ‘only’ actual historical figures and names, weaving them together with his commentaries to create a document and fiction. Joch notes that Doeblin announced a new direction in literature back in the 1910s/20s with the montage style; now Enzensberger’s use of montage is multi-fold; it is a part of a (his then contemporary) literary trend of using interviews in documentary/historical type works (Weiss, Kluge, and others), a break from bourgeoisie linear (individual author) narratives and a critique of history, literature, and especially of historical literature and literary histories. Enzensberger, “war es, der in der dokumentarischen Literatur ein neues Arbeitsfeld für Literaten endekchte” (Gerlach 36). With Enzensberger’s novel, “die Völker schreiben die Geschichtsbücher nach dem Stand ihrer eigenen Interessen um” and the “kollektive Fiktion hielt sich hartnäckig gegen die Konstruktion der Historiker” (Gerlach 124). With the “lack of absolute trust in

704 The aspect of ‘translation’ is a further distinguishing character in Enzensberger’s novel. Further, Caldwell writes of the documentary prose of the 1970s particularly emphasizing visual representations, in the process criticizing our acceptance of documentation that has distinctly ‘visual characteristics’ – one sees in Enzensberger clear visual separation with his own formulations appearing in italics – separated from the rest of the text; and material form other sources (7).

705 During this time, there was a literary movement, “um Sozialekfolkte durch Versachlichung zu dokumentieren, statt mit Fikionalität zu verbrämen (F.C. Delius, H.G.Wallraff, Erika Runge)” and here “die neue Zweckformen der ‘Bio-Interviews’ und ‘Protokolle’ bildeten eine ‘Literatur der Nicht-Autoren’” (Frenzel 726). The interviews are important for an historic novel while they offer a multiplicity of voices, a sense of collective subjectivity in narrating, telling of the past. Groups such as “Dortmunder Gruppe 61,” further the “Werkkreis fuer Literatur der Arbeitswelt, bemüht die anonyme Reserven zu mobilisieren,” thus “von den an vielen Orten begründeten Werkstätten sollte Literature ausgehen” (Frenzel 726). The interviews offered a response to the “Sprachskepsis” (e.g. Fritz Mautner, Ludwig Wittgenstein und Wiener Neopositivismus geführter Kompf gegen die Verführungsmacht der Sprache) and a new sort of ‘Sprachrealismus’ which ‘wendete sich gegen eine fiktionale, erfindende und damit erfundene künstliche Sprache….Sprachproduktion als Sprachkritik und Gesellschaftskritik” (Frenzel 727). Further discussion can be found in the collection of critical articles, Literatur als Praxis (1976).

706 The reference from archives and recorded and translated voices of earlier Anarchist were used to present a “Gegen-Geschichte” (Kurze Sommer 260). Jorissen writes of very differential consequence of the presentation of Gegengeschichte “im Sinne Walter Benjamins ästhetisch und technisch zu realisieren” (190). This presentation is not simply unique to German literature, but Enzensberger uniquely positions his literary production within an international literary movement. In discussing presenting historical alternatives, the concept of “Gegengeschichte“ and “Uchronie,” Rodiek places Enzensberger, along with
documents being evident,” Enzensberger “provides a variety of documents, often intentionally contradictory, with the result that the reader is required to engage in an individual process of sorting out facts in a critical fashion and to question the wisdom of relying on documentation for one’s understanding of reality” (Caldwell 5).  

Not only the time of which – the period of the Spanish Civil War from 1936 through 1939 - but that during which Enzensberger wrote this novel is important to consider in developing insight into understanding this work through the theoretical framework of spaces and as a part of a literary trend. The novel, with consideration of the author’s contemporary turmoil and socio-political movements, re-creates and re-tells a past and re-evokes historic memory; thus spurring discussion and discourse in the present. Both artistic and innovative in literary form it re-creates a perspective (and therefore an associated ‘space’). The novel was created during time when the remaining survivors as witnesses, perpetrators and victims of the Spanish Civil War were aging and these firsthand voices, who experienced and lived the events, would soon cease to


How do both authors deal with their belatedness, their after-the-fact quality? How do they deal with failure? They critically re-present it and literarily intend to reveal the force(s) or perspectives which supported and doomed it; they each present an event which has distanced itself from their contemporary ‘collective’ (immediate) memory and ‘re-tell’ it. They use it to explain their contemporary’s failures (i.e. failure as human and seemingly cyclical due to repetition of ‘events’ and the lack of ‘change’ in social structures - those who ruled before, still rule now…only with different masks). They also invite discussion, not presenting their views as final judgment on issue, as well through writing of it they leave the possibility of the historical failure to be learned from and be a part of a future success (i.e. emitting or at least leaving space for historic optimism). The reader gets the sense that a past Leftist political failure was not well presented in Doeblin nor Enzensberger’s time, so these novels seem to be a reaction to this, offering a re-creating of perspectives which together, as a collective subject, re-tell and re-produce the dynamic, the conflicts, the contradictions, the aura – and in presenting a collective subject (Enzensberger literally, Doeblin was the subjective author but presented a collective of subjects) also make the critique that they as authors as we as individuals and as are we as a collective society (or any political party) limited by our own consciousness and our reach of perspective(s) and any event (history) and any art (literature) is also – and always – fact and fiction – depending on who is judging (i.e. from/with which perspective(s) they experience(d) the event and/or the art)).
As the Civil War is the culminating moment, the fading away of its survivor signifies a loss of personal - lived and experienced - perspective of the (not yet) non-narrated space(s). Enzensberger uses a calculated mixture of survivors’ recollections – often presented in the work as (translated) direct quotes, in ‘past’ newspaper and radio excerpts, as well as his own voice.

Voices – which spoke in the past of Durruti – now during Enzensberger’s contemporary, were recorded and presented in his novel; there is a direct, physical connection between Enzensberger’s contemporary and the past. The voices in the text, those who knew the Spanish Anarchist leader, Buenaventura Durruti, were getting older – and were not going to be around forever; therefore interviewing them - collecting firsthand accounts, not simply relying on printed versions of History – was (as regards time and geography) important. The survivors were in exile, or otherwise dead or their whereabouts were unknown in 1972. Enzensberger’s novel is ultimately organized by him, but is a story, a novel of many: "Eigentlich ist das gar nicht meine Geschichte, sondern eher die Geschichte derer, die da erzählen“ (Kesting 189). In the novel, a ‘moment’ is recreated. In reference to Enzensberger’s novel and the figure and time of Durruti, Walter Haubrich writes that it was “der einzigen Epoche in der er [Durruti] eine Chance zur Verwirklichung seiner Ideen hätte“ (FAZ 1972).

Enzensberger thus creates a fluidity of perspective between past and present through literature. However, the

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708 Sénder’s novel was predominantly based on written accounts, from revolutionary contemporary and historical of 1873; however as he wrote Mr. Witt en el Cantón in 1935 (over 60 years after the event), as with Enzensberger, the last remaining survivors, witnesses of the failed Canton revolution were disappearing (José María Jover and Luis López Martinez (Murgetana 1972) can be referenced regarding Sender’s sources).

709 This invokes Lefebvre’s elements of his triad – the lived and ‘perceived’.

710 Transl: basically this is not my story, rather a story of those that told it. In 1972, the novel was culminating with ‘unabashed praise of those stern Spaniard in Exile” (Grimm, Poetic 115).

711 Transl: ‘the only epoche in which he [Durruti] had a chance to realize his ideas’.

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perpetrators of this moment, experienced, and lived this moment in the past, but gave voice to it in Enzensberger’s contemporary: “Diese Revolutionäre aus einer anderen Zeit sind gealtert, aber sie wirken nicht müde“ (283) and they present a “Gegenbild zum verspießerten Gegenwartsbürger (Weidauer 333).”

Enzensberger created an artistic production in which his contemporary’s Leftist politics found resonance with the presentation of Leftist politics of the past. Der kurze Sommer der Anarchie: Buenaventura Durrutis Leben und Tod was published in 1972 – by a German author whose temporal context was predominantly historically based in Anarchistic perspectives in Spain of the 1920s and 1930s. Enzensberger uses a content in his novel - of anarchy, resistance, terror and death – which in many respects mimics the content of his contemporary reality - with growing terror(ism), resistance and assassinations. In the late 1960s and early 1970s the famed student movement of 1968, anti-Vietnam sentiment, civil rights movements, and cultural revolutions of sorts in music

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712 Translations: ‘these revolutionaries from another time are older, but aren’t tired’ and they …’alternative to the consuming contemporary citizen’, ‘alternative history’ (260), ‘alternitive’. He wanted to present a ‘Gegenbild’, ‘einen Revolutionär und eine Revolution, die explizit nicht mit dem zu schaffen haben, was hier und heute unter diesen Termini verstanden wird” (Lan 290) (a revolutionary and a revolution, that explicitly has nothing to do with what is here and now under this banner understood).

713 A major difference between Enzensberger versus Doeblin and Sender is the role of anarchism in the form and content of the work. Here, Noam Chomsky’s critique can help to understand the historic connection and physical connectedness through the concept of anarchism. Chomsky’s (Chomsky on Anarchism (2005)) views of anarchism help to overlapp ideological language and form with both contemporary and historical Spain and Germany. Understanding then Enzensberger’s text within not only a Spanish Civil War space-time (Bakhtin) chronotope, but also that of the beginning of the chapter, the German Civil War, is not difficult. As the Spanish anarchism spurred the Spanish revolution and Spanish authors also shared space with German communists (and anarchists), Chomsky notes how “radical Communism merges with anarchist current” (in figure Panckoek) (128). Chomsky specifically sees “political similarities of movements” between the German councils of 1918/19 and the Spanish revolution in 1936 (as well as Italy after WWI) (126). In anarchism, Chomsky mentions basic ‘units’ as the workplace and the ‘neighborhood’ (129). Enzensberger’s text, as much of the literature in trend, can be seen highly focused on the action which occurs in these two places (i.e. streets, factories, shipping and rail yards, homes and apartments, even public buildings). A further discussion of Anarchism in Germany can be referenced – published in the same year as Enzensberger’s Durruti novel - in Guenter Bartsch’s Anarchismus in Deutschland (1972).

714 Here, Lan writes that Enzensberger, in the spring and summer of 1972, embarked “auf der Suche nach der verlorenen Revolution” (289).
and fashion were strongly resonating in both Spain and Germany. Growing polarization at multiple levels in society – generational, societal, cultural, political and economically speaking – was increasingly evident during the time. In Germany, dominating themes, for example, found in the student movement, including the “Notstandsgesetze” and the “Vietnamkrieg,” its “Entwicklungsfaktoren” in the great coalition, the events on July 2nd 1967, the Springer and anti-Springer campaigns and problems with “Hochschulreform” fueled a sense of conflict and division (Bauß 13). It was a time when Enzensberger – as many others – experienced an “allmähliche Öffnung…nach außen, …von Deutschland zur Welt” (Grimm 51). Germany was a ‘Geiseln der Weltpolitik’, and in considering the Vietnam war (Algeria, Latin American populist movements, and other world events), discussion surfaced of the “Gegensatz zweier Welthälften,” that of the so called “zivilisierte Welt” and “dritte Welt” - where the “‘scheinbare antiquierteste’ Begriff – Kolonialismus” was renewed as a source of criticism of the contemporary inequalities and divisions (Grimm 53). National spaces were not an appropriate forum for international issues and contemporary opposition – to hierarchy and authority – which were renewing their aggressiveness (e.g. finding connection to past movements such as Anarchism and militant Spartakus). The German revolution was in the air when Enzensberger’s historical novel of Spanish Civil War

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715 This was a sentiment beyond simply the nations of Germany and Spain; look simply to France (Paris), the United States, Czechoslovakia (Prague), and beyond. Grimm writes that in Germany, “im Mai 1968: ’Bedenken sind nicht genug, Mißtrauen ist nicht genug, Protest ist nicht genug. Unser Ziel muß sein: Schaffen wir endlich, auch in Deutschland, französische Zustände” (49, from Tintenfisch 2).


717 Transl: gradual opening..outwards..from Germany to the world’. ‘hostages of world politics’….‘object of two world halves’, ‘civilized world’ and ‘third world’ where the ‘apparent antique term’ – colonialism.
Anarchist Durruti came to print, with growing association to the revolutionary Spartakus group, revival of its name and figures and its militant political action in the late 60s/early 70s.\(^{719}\) Amidst mounting frustration with the German state, for example, the Baader-Meinhof Gang attempted to ‘kickstart’ world revolution with its terrorist war, deeming 1968-1977 the decade of terror. There was urban violence in Berlin and Paris, terrorist bombings in Munich in 1972, and guerrilla warfare surging in Latin America in lieu of the 1973/4 world economic crisis.\(^{720}\) The political and moral authority had been called into question amidst the Vietnam debacle and governmental scandals and the popularity of the term ‘terrorism’ and conflicts of groups who felt themselves increasingly ‘disenfranchised’. Here, “German literature of the 1970s reflects [this] increasing lack of faith in accepted sources of authority“ (Caldwell 1-2).\(^{721}\) Appropriately, perhaps paralleled in theme yet quite distinct when one evaluates ‘details’; “the notion of anarchic departure from law and order, feared by many Germans during the 1970s, became the theme of [H.M.] Enzensberger’s documentary novel” (Caldwell 6).\(^{722}\) The situation in West Germany was ripe for a historical example from the Anarchism of the Spanish Civil War.

\(^{719}\) i.e. the rebaptized Frankfurt Sociology Department as ‘The Spartakus Department’ early in 1969 (The Dialectic Imagination, Jay xii)

\(^{720}\) For example, with bombs in Berlin; this contributes to an atmosphere – explicitly narrated in Enzensberger’s text - of urban warfare.

\(^{721}\) Preuße draws connection to Günter Wallraff and Ulrike Meinhoff in use of documentary materials as a basis of literary activity (zur Grundlage seiner literarischen Aktivitäten zu machen) (142) and writes that next to the question of Socialism – addressed in his Das Verhör von Kuba, the second most important “politischen Strömung, die in der Studentenbewegung diskutiert wird, nämlich mit dem Anarchismus” (148). For example, Kursbuch (19) from 1969 is full of discussion of Anarchism, from reproduced letters from Bakunin, to discussion of Anarchism in China, on Piccadilly, and Eric J. Hobsbawm’s article (i.e. translated into German) “Was kann man noch vom Anarchismus lernen?” (pp.47-57).

\(^{722}\) Enzensberger has ‘created a documentary myth, with which he informs his readers of the often-ignored anarchist role in European history and offers an example for analogy with current political conditions” (Caldwell 85). However, rather than simply superficially paralleling, Enzensberger himself states that ”der spanische Anarchismus’ …habe…kaum etwas mit dem Neoanarchimus heutiger studentischer Gruppen zu tun” (ref. in Lan 293).
In Enzensberger’s novel, the definition between past and present are blurred through both visual and ideological literary perspectives. In referring to Durruti and his band of Anarchists, Enzensberger brings in quotes from Jaime Miravitlles that they had “etwas Hippieartiges” about them, it was “Hippies mit Handgranaten und MGs” (139). Visual descriptions of Barcelona after the anarchists succeeded and occupied the city may be recalled here, while it was a “phantastisches Bilderbuch”, and “bunt” – reminiscent of a 1960s and 70s aesthetic of hippy fashion (215).

In Kurze Sommer, Enzensberger – through connecting past and present – is further able to expand geographical perspective. For example, Enzensberger’s novel enters the aftermath of Cuba’s 1956 revolutionary success, where myth and legend grew, and cult status was achieved in the figure of Che Guevara - when he likens the Spanish Anarchist Durruti with Fidel Castro’s side-mate, the Argentinean-bond Cuban revolutionary, utilizing a quote from Federica Montseny: “in unseren Tagen hat Che Guevara, eine ganz ähnliche Role [wie Durruti] gespielt” (290).

In order to obtain a basis of information, such as documents and first-hand accounts from those survivors of the experience, Enzensberger spent time, not in Spain, but rather predominantly in France and the Netherlands researching and interviewing still exiled Spaniards. In creating an interconnectedness and blurry boundary between past

723 Transl: Full quote: [subtitle: ‘Ein Mann ohne Sitzfleisch’ dealing with Durrutis Kolonne arriving on the Aragón Front] “Es sah ungeheuer aus: ein Wirrwarr von Uniformen, Freiwillige aus allen Erdteilen, die Kleider bunt gewürfelt und zusammengeflickt. Sie hatten etwas Hippieartiges, aber es waren Hippies mit Handgranaten und MGs, und sie war entschlossen, bis zum Tod zu kämpfen” (Jaume Miravitlles, 139), then: ‘fantastical picture book’, ‘colorful’ (215), ‘in our day Che Guevara played a very similar role [as Durruti] (290). Caldwell comments that Enzensberger evokes ‘parallels to contemporary conditions by occasionally yanking back into the 1970s” (83).

724 With Che hunted down and killed in Bolivia – with assistance by the U.S.’s CIA, an interesting parallel of literary presentation (in book El Che) of the questionable ‘deaths’ of these two Leftist revolutionary leaders would lend for interesting future discussion.
and present, history and fiction, Enzensberger also (to be discussed in proceeding section) produced an international geographic perspective in his novel.

**Section VI: Developing a common literary geography: Germany and Spain.**

From Germany, Enzensberger casted his literary perspective to Spain and brought it ‘back’ into his contemporary Germany and into German – i.e. from a historical context (Spanish Anarchism and the Civil War) and a (previously perceived) different geography. The content of Enzensberger’s *Der kurze Sommer der Anarchie* is international as it takes place amidst numerous countries in the 1920s and 30s. It was written over thirty years after the end of the Spanish Civil War. It belongs to a plethora of German and Spanish, not to mention international, post-Civil War literature. To sufficiently survey this literature is beyond the scope of this project and would entail multiple volumes of discussion. However, mentioning a few works and a handful of the important issues brought up will help to situate this novel and contribute to the proceeding discussion.

On the German side, canonical works were predominantly published in novel or short story form, often narrating in a journal-like fashion personal or fictive experiences at the front and involving somewhat changing and chaotic political circumstance.\(^{725}\) Gustav Regler’s journal-like account of war at the fronts and political dynamics, *Das große Beispiel*, and his short autobiographical story, *The Owls of Minera*, along with Herman Kesten’s short novel of a Basque family torn apart and ending in exile in Paris, *Die Kinder von Guernica*, are arguably the most canonical works in German published in

\(^{725}\) Another West German novel of the Spanish Civil War (whose protagonist goes to Spain to take part in armed resistance in Spain until September 1938) and recipient of much literary attention - with innovative form - was Peter Weiss’ *Die Ästhetik des Widerstands* published in 1975 (shortly after *Kurze Sommer*).
the West. Other journal-like war accounts, especially followed in East Germany, included: Ludwig Renn’s *Begegnung am Ebro*, Alfred Kantorowicz’s *Spanisches Tagebuch*, Bodo Uhse’s *Leutnant Bertan*, Eduard Claudius *Grüne Oliven und nackte Berge*, and Walter Gorrisch’s *Um Spaniens Freiheit*. Furthermore, the theme of Buenaventura Durruti in German literature is not unique to Enzensberger, as exhibited in Carl Einstein’s short stories, “Die Kolonne Durruti” and “Die Front von Aragon.”

The majority of German Leftist veterans of the Spanish Civil War were either alive or mythologized – not in Enzensberger’s West Germany – but in East Germany. If one looks to the East during this time (i.e. another German-reading audience), there was an already established ‘cult’, as Arnold Krammer terms it, of the Spanish Civil War in East Germany. Albeit thematically similar, the overall presentation of Enzensberger’s Durruti novel is in stark contrast to the East German Civil War literary canon. The Spanish Civil War was not only the source of many “dedicated future state-builders” for the German Democratic Republic, but came to represent the “ultimate anti-fascist’s heroism” (Krammer 532-3). Ernst Thälmann and Hans Beimler – fallen, became icons. Ludwig Renn, Wilhelm Zaisser, Karl Heinz Hoffmann, Franz Dahlem, Alfred Neumann, Kurt Bürger, Hans Kahle, Friedrich Dickel, Richard Staimer, Fritz Köhn, Heinrich Rau, Georg Stibi, Erich Mielke – to name but a few – all fought in the International Brigades.

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Einstein presents an interesting literary connection between the German Revolution of 1918 and the Civil War, while also having been a member of the revolutionary and political group Spartacus in Berlin and writing for *Der blutige Ernst* and *Die Pleite*. In “Die Kolonne Durruti,” Einstein begins with Durruti’s death. Einstein iterates, first of all, there is ‘kein Ich,’ it is a literature of ‘we,’ but yet identity is ‘anonymous.’ He wrote of Durruti representing and leading a people sharing common spaces, albeit coming from different spaces - a composition of those previously oppressed and relatives of those murdered by Fascists, where even children fought (460). The Durruti column, Einstein iterates, was a school; it was a place where intellectual space grew ‘organically’. In “Die Front von Aragon” Einstein wrote of how the meaning of war changed with international financiers, ”damit wir der Bürgerkrieg in einen kolonialen oder internationalen verwandelt” (463). Further, he writes of the collectivization of the Anarchists and that revolution and war are identical (464).
in Spain and held important military and SED leadership roles in East Germany (538). “Heroic actions” turned into “myths” and “the intellectual basis of the German Democratic Republic” (Krammer 541). Enzensberger’s novel addresses the concept of ‘myth’ surrounding, not these German figures, but a Spanish figure for a German reading audience, at a time in the West where Spain seemed a forgotten parallel by most popular medium. Contrastingly, in East Germany, newspapers trumpeted Vietnam and Spain as “interchangeable” (Krammer 550). Enzensberger’s novel is a part of a “western historiography“ which “continued to alter its view of the Spanish Civil War as new findings, biographies and previously unknown archives came to light, the view of the war remained static in the East“ (Krammer 556). Formally, Enzensberger’s novel diverges from East German coverage in its avant-garde presentation (i.e. non-linear, multiple voices, contradictions) and thematically (critique of censorship and accessibility internationally – versus ’nationally’ as ’East German’ or ’East block’) – concerning West German Civil War literature - he uniquely and critically uses the events of past anarchism in lieu of his contemporary. He may have found resonance in nostalgic Leftist circles – both in the East and West; however through his novel he not only critiques the authority and sovereignty (past and present) of the political Right (and the media), but also critiques the dogmatism (and naivety) of the former and current Left (through form and theme), and further interesting is, in my opinion, the depth of his aesthetic and political internationalism and critique both geographically and as relates to time.

Peter Monteath writes: “the East Germans have used the Spanish experience to legitimize the existence of their own state and to establish an identity quite distinct from that of the other German state” (ref. in Krammer 541, from ‘German Historiography and the Spanish Civil War: A Critical Survey’, European History Quarterly, 20 (London 1990), 260).
Enzensberger’s Civil War theme is a part of German as well as Spanish literary discussion. On the Spanish side, the forms of expression are a bit more varied; including novel and short story, but reaching beyond this into theater, poetry and even film. To briefly mention Spanish authors and titles would be highly incomplete as the quantity of works numbers well into the thousands (over 400 novels alone) – versus the number of German works reaches barely into the hundreds. However, a few very thorough bibliographies of Civil War literature – Spanish and international – as well as journal articles discuss post-Spanish Civil War literature with selected genre focuses. Maryse Bentrand de Muñoz’s *La Guerra Civil Española en la Novella: Bibliografía Comentada* and Juan García Durán’s *La guerra civil española: Fuentes / Archivos, Bibliografía y Filmografía* offer perhaps the best collection of Spanish works. Gareth Thomas’ *The novels of the Spanish Civil War (1939-1975)* (Cambridge 1990) and Luis F. Costa’s article “The Elusive ’Great’ Novel of the Spanish Civil War“ (Camden House 1992) offer a good starting point in discussion of the post-Spanish Civil War novel. The first waves of post-Civil War literature dealing with the Spanish Civil War were from mostly exiled authors writing either memoirs or journal-like accounts; later emerged more plays and short stories, and coded references (in Spain due to censorship) or better ‘reflections’ written by authors who were not actively involved while they were

\[728\] In his *Einzelheiten II*, Enzensberger also wrote of Spanisch Civil War author and fallen Republican supporter César Vallejo in essay form as “Die Furien von César Vallejo” (1963).

\[729\] Over 65 films were made in Spain between 1936 -1986 with the central theme of the Spanish Civil War.


\[732\] Enzensberger’s work is a part of an international literature of the Spanish Civil War. Here, at this international level, Fedrick R. Benson’s *Writers in Arms* (New York: New York University Press, 1967) has long been a mainstay in critical review of canonical Spanish Civil War texts. Peter Monteath’s *The Spanish Civil War in Literature, Film, and Art. An International Bibliography of Secondary Literature* (West Port (Ct), London: Greenwood Press 1994) offers another more recent point of departure for discussion.
either too young or not born yet (i.e. not having experienced the war firsthand). There are numerous authors and works that deserve mentioning and are exemplary or even canonical for this body of literature. For example, in exile, Max Aub wrote numerous stories and novels, including the Magic Labyrinth which encompassed six volumes – narrating pre-war stories through post-war encampment and exile. Ramón Sënder also wrote numerous stories and novels evoking dynamics and issues of the Civil War – including Réquiem por un campesino español and El rey y la reina. Camilo Jose Cela’s short novel, La familia de Pascual Duarte, explores the issue of violence from a recent, post-war perspective. Francisco Ayala’s La cabeza de cordero and Arturo Barea’s trilogy, La forja de un rebelde, especially the third volume, La llamada, taking place predominantly in Madrid, examine causes and effects of the Civil War. In post-war theater, Pedro Salinas’ Los Santos, Rafael Alberti’s Noche de Guerra en el Museo Prado and Alfonso Sastre’s Escuadra hacia la muerte have been popularly discussed in academia as creatively addressing the issues surrounding the Civil War, including violence of war. Women writers such as Ana María Matute’s Primera Memoria and Carmen LaForet’s Nada offer child recollections involving the Civil War. A further highly discussed piece is Juan Benet’s Volverás a Región which presents in a unique narrative form a thematic of Civil War recollection. In film, those of Carlos Saura have

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733 On both the German and Spanish sides, much literary work – until shortly after the period of the publishing of Enzensberger’s novel, was done in exile. In a sense, critic Weidauer ironically finds resonance, as Anarchism – perhaps one of the dominating themes in Enzensberger’s novel, was also sort of “heimatlos” (334). Here, José María Naharro Calderón’s article, “Twentieth Century Literature in Exile” (in Cambridge, 2005) discusses the concept and issues surrounding exile literature including the “extensive diaspora” following the war in 1939 as well as how their “histories” would become “politically correct” in the nineties (620).

734 Martha Halsey’s article “Theater in Franco Spain” (2005) can be referenced for discussion of Spanish theater in Spain during post-Civil-War Franco years.
received much attention. Further, there are numerous volumes of collected short stories and poetry as well (e.g. Historias de 36 edited by Max Aub, 1974).

Enzensberger’s novel, with the theme of the Spanish Civil War in post-war literature, is a part of this grand plethora of post-civil-war literature, yet it is also unique. Enzensberger’s calculated mixture of survivors’ recollections – often presented in the work as (often translated) direct quotes, or from ‘past’ newspaper and radio excerpts, as well as his own voice is different than much of Spanish Civil War literature where most pieces are either of a ‘memoirs’-sort in journal-like form (as in Gustav Regler’s works) or are with fictive figures placed amidst the Civil War (as Max Aub’s magic labyrinth) or later and recollect (as Juan Benet’s Volverás a Región).

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735 With help from the Frenchman Andre Malraux and Spaniard Max Aub, Sierra de Teruel is an example of an early Civil War film classic (1938). American Abe Osherhoff’s critical (and award winning) documentary, Dreams and Nightmares (1974) (i.e. Lincoln brigade in Spain, critical of U.S. policy regarding Spanish Civil War and post-war relations with Franco), parallels Enzenberger’s style (interviews, documentary). The film To die in Madrid parallels the end ‘place.’ More recently, Ken Loach’s 1996 film, Tierra y Libertad, presents an Orwell-styled creative insight into the Barcelona and Aragon front-politics amidst the Left and Anti-Fascist fighters; here the German-Spanish connection is presented in the marriage of a German Republican volunteer to a Spanish woman on the Republican side.

The issue of the Civil War – and German-Spanish connection - in film has continued to be relevant, with movies like Niña de tus ojos (1997) - where Spanish actors are contracted with the Nazis at the end of the Civil War to make a film, and more recently Soldados de Salamina (2003), based on the book, which explores the Civil War from the perspective – looking back at memoirs and taking accounts of an escaped fascist leader. The issue of the figure Durruti, addressed in Enzensberger’s novel, is also addressed in films of the leader’s death and column produced by the CNT in 1936 and 1937 (reference in Abel Paz). Durruti as a theme in film has since continued, for example in the 1999 French-Spanish film Buenaaventura Durruti: anarchiste and more recently the 2002 American produced film Durruti (Pacific Street Films, New York). The Spanish Civil War as a theme or background for film continues to be well represented by recent Spanish films, such as Mariposa, El Espinazo del Diablo, La Virgen de la lujuria as well as in television (extremely popular show - ‘Cuéntame como pasó’ - deals with issues stemming from Civil War presented in latter years of Franco (1968-75)). Films continue to be made internationally which deal with the Spanish Civil War; most recently is a Finnish produced film El Perro Negro (2005) (presents Catalán industrialist view of war). Marvin D’Lugo’s “Film and censorship under Franco” (2005) offers further cinematic discussion in Spain during the Franco years.

736 A discussion of post-Civil-War Spain poetry can be referenced in Guillermo Carnero’s "Poetry in Franco Spain" (2005).

737 Interesting is the emergence of second and third generation anti-fascist descendent writers, such as Jane Duran (poetry collection - Silences from the Spanish Civil War (2002)) and C.M. Hardt (film - Death in el Valle (2005)) - Duran’s father and Hardt’s grandfather fought on the Republican side (Duran’s going into exile, Hardt’s having died in prison in the 1940s). Duran and Hardt, for example, found reference from other authors (past generation) of the Spanish Civil War. Further, the film, La Virgen de la lujuria found reference from work(s) of Max Aub – here Enzensberger’s work is also a part (as others of my trend) of an artistic continuation and reference.
Enzensberger’s novel is international in its sources, audience, and politics. This novel was written by a German and in German, but revolves around the life and death of a Spanish figure taking place predominantly in Spain. Many of the names are Spanish; many comments hint (although amidst discussion of the past figure Durruti) at or explicitly address (such as some of the Glossen) the contemporary (critiques of censorship, mentioning of dictatorship and Franco). It was written and published, while in Spain the dictator Francisco Franco - the personification of the Republic’s defeat in 1939 - was still alive, but losing power due to economic, political and social developments.738 Dissidence, growing activism (especially by students groups and most coherent in Catalonia) and terrorism by groups such as ETA (i.e. Basque country) challenged Francoism. Music and fashion were also mediums of resistance.739 Economically speaking the post-Civil War dictatorship was no longer sustainable. Although Franco was not to die until 1975, still in the early 1970s, Spanish authorities only allowed Enzensberger a ”Drehgenehmigung” (as his project was originally planned for only a film) for ”Architekturaufnahmen” for his film (Jorissen 182).740 In 1972 Spain, there were still those that were silent, many archives remained “geschlossen” and people “Untergrund” (258).741 Here, Enzensberger’s attempt to give a literary perspective, in critique of censorship and authority and inline with that already established in the trend

738 Economically, Franco’s closed economy of the 1940s and early 1950s was by the early 1970s – as was the country socially and politically – turned on its head, with his former ‘base’ support already waned and foreign influence – and internal resistance - on all three fronts ever more difficult to control.
739 Mini-skirts or singing in Catalan rather than the official ‘Castilian’ language and using metaphors such as breaking ‘el silencio’ were forms of resistance, exemplarily found in Bob Dylan-styled singer Raimon. Here (regional) language itself catalán, euskurdi and gallego were sources of identity and collective forms of resistance to Franco.
740 Durruti: Biographie einer Legende was aired on October, 2 1972 in West German television (Jorissen 182).
associated with revolution, equally finds resonance in Spain in 1972 and his Anarchist figure and thematic is not uniquely German.\footnote{Michael Ugarte's article “The Literature of Franco Spain, 1939-1975” (in Cambridge, 2005) outlines the different stages of Franco censorship.}

In Spain in the early 1970s, the consideration of the death of Buenaventura Durruti for context of an historical novel is parallel with the Spanish author Joan Llarch who wrote \textit{La muerte de Durruti}, published just after Enzensberger’s novel, in 1973 in Barcelona, Spain.\footnote{Janet Perez’s article, “Prose in Franco Spain” (in Cambridge 2005) presents a discussion of the literary situation after the Spanish Civil War, during the Franco years. Llarch’s work is a part of a latter literary phase of the Franco era, which has often been divided into three literary periods: \textit{triunfalismo/tremendismo} of the 1940s, social literature and critical ‘Realism’ of the 1950s to mid-60s and then the ‘new novel’ and \textit{apertura} of the mid-60s until Franco’s death (Perez 631).} In this mirroring - dealing with Durruti, written at nearly the same moment in time, Llarch offers a Spanish narrative perspective of Durruti – at a moment when resistant movements increased their fervor as Franco neared his end.\footnote{Other Spanish exile authors wrote of Durruti – outside of Spain – and numerous accounts appeared after Franco’s death. Further Spanish books on Durruti are ample since Franco’s death. Abel Paz is one such surviving Spanish Anarchist who wrote extensively of Durruti, in traditional historical fashion and chronological form, for example in the English version \textit{Durruti: The People Armed} (1977), Cesar Vidal’s \textit{Durruti, la furia libertaria} (1996), and the 2004 edition of Paz’s \textit{Durruti y la revolución española}.} In contrast to Enzensberger, who begins and ends his novel with the death of Durruti and the procession scene in Barcelona in November 1936, Llarch begins his novel in Madrid, on November 19$^{th}$ 1936 and ends his novel, before a ‘testimonio’ of the burial, in Barcelona, on July 18$^{th}$, 1936. This is somewhat reversed, as Enzensberger begins with Durruti’s death and then takes his reader back – to the beginning of the man and the times, leading the reader more or less chronologically towards the end of Durruti. Llarch, conversely, begins rather than in Barcelona in Madrid\footnote{Enzensberger only dedicates a very few pages near the end to Madrid.} and ends with the beginning of the Civil War in Barcelona.

In Llarch’s novel, the common Leftist German identity is rather absent, aside from vague references aligned with the Nazi support of Franco. Llarch begins the novel...
with a quote from the German Hölderlin – “...en la oscuridad lucen brillantes indígenes” (7). A Spanish author beginning an historical novel on Durruti with a quote from German - i.e. translated from German to Spanish – supports the idea and permeability of a German-Spanish literary perspective and associated space. In the beginning pages, Llarch mentions the many international brigadiers who fought for the Republic and their special importance and role in the defense of Madrid (8). The city, Madrid, its neighborhoods, buildings and difficulty in knowing where enemies and where friends where hidden emerges early in the novel (7-9). Whereas Enzensberger devotes equal amount of effort in a re-creation of Barcelona – the capital of Anarchism and site of successful resistance and revolution, Llarch concentrates on a narrative presentation of Madrid – the ‘city’ of Castile and capital of Spain.

Llarch mentions how the death of Durruti ran through all of Spain; “noticia corrió por toda España” and how Barcelona was traumatized, “Barcelona traumatizó.” This is reminiscent of narration of another famed death, that of Beimler in Alberti’s poem. The city of Barcelona is briefly personified here as well. Moving along, Durruti’s background, his birth and acquiring the trade of mechanic, his early exile and travels during the Primo de Rivera dictatorship and the forming of “los solidarios” builds the crux of Llarch’s chapter three, entitled “Trágicos destinos” (48-74). Llarch ends each chapter with a testimony (testimonios), employing many of the same – as well as different – voices as those used by Enzensberger. As Enzensberger mentions the aging voices of those giving testimony so too does Llarch; although Llarch also mentions the “silencio” of those still living in Spain (el país) concerning what happened over 40 years ago (75). Where the city of Zaragoza surfaced to seem of great importance for Durruti in
Enzensberger – a place that Durruti unyieldingly yearned to reach and if so would signify victory, it holds equally important in Llarch where it receives its own chapter (Chapter 5). One glaring difference is that opposing views to Durruti and what he stood for are given much more consideration and a stronger voice in Llarch. Llarch’s sixth chapter, ‘Durruti y José Antonio: ideologías antípodas’ outlines the leader of the Spanish Falange (Spanish Fascists) and considers his death – occurring only hours apart from that of Durruti (122). Llarch gives a much stronger and personified voice to the ‘other’, to the Right, than Enzensberger. However, the ultimate diversity and number of voices used is well in favour of Enzensberger while Llarch’s biography is much smaller (only a quarter the volume) than that of Enzensberger.746

Enzensberger’s novel seems substantially more artistic, dynamic and ultimately more innovative (through his concept of the author and presentation in montage) than Llarch’s; however the parallel of a historical novel in the early 1970s – published only a year apart - focused on Durruti – in Germany and Spain, in German and in Spanish, from German and Spanish perspective – establishes a common space in literary thematic and warrants attention.

Thematically Enzensberger is a part of an international, Spanish-German literary perspective (space). Formally, he furthers the interplay between Spain and Germany,

746 Jose Batillo writes: “En 1973, Joan Llarch había publicado un libro que tenía cierto parentesco con el de Enzensberger, La muerte de Durruti; sólo que silenciaba las fuentes de primera mano (si las tuvo), trataba el conjunto con una ligereza y superficialidad muchas veces irritante y los testimonios no eran la parte esencial del libro, sino contrapuntos a un texto ‘novelero’. Los resultados eran, por supuesto, completamente distintos: el libro del poeta alemán sitúa a una figura legendaria en su exacto contexto histórico, destruyendo una mitología más reciente que apologética; el de Llarch agotaba los lugares comunes con una contumacia digna de mejor causa” (42) (In 1973, Joan Llarch published a book that had certain similarities with that of Enzensberger; The death of Durruti; only that it silenced the firsthand sources (if it had them), attempted the theme with a laxness and superficiality – often irritating and testimonies that weren’t an essential part of the book, rather counterpoints…the results were, of course, completely distinct: the book of the German poet situated a legendary figure in his exact historical context, destroying a myth …; that of Llarch uses/wears out common places with a dignified stubbornness of a better cause).
Spanish and German through his international literary perspective (through translations and sources), his blurring the difference (definition) between history and fiction, and critiquing what is accepted as literature and what is not (a part of New Historicism). Enzensberger used newspapers and even radio interviews and broadcasts. In writing of ‘Durruti’ and simply narrating of and with the name, ‘Durruti’, his use of the CNT’s official newspaper the *Solidaridad Obrera* and then the newspaper of the Durruti column, *Frente*, should be considered in literary discussion. Durruti as a printed personality, especially through newspaper press, was not uncommon in the Civil War during and after his life. The proliferation in numerous publications of print evidences the inspiration and symbolic importance of the figure and name Durruti. Consider the Anarchist publication *Vida Nueva: organo la Federación local de sindicatos únicos de Tarasa* which reported on fighting in Teruel (1.38). Here, the ‘other’ was not simply Fascist Spain, but “el Fascismo internacional” that “bombardea con saña nuestras poblaciones costeras” (21.1.38). On 22.1.38, it was “las tropas de origen confederal siguen la senda del inolvidable Durruti: la División 26” and here Durruti is ‘unforgettable’. Some other publications include: *El Amigo del Pueblo - Portavoz de los Amigos de Durruti* (27.5.37), *Durruti: Portavoz del cuartel (de ingenieros)(Barcelona)* (23.1.37), and *Nervio* – where it is stated “un solo nombre resume los ideales y la resistencia del pueblo español: Durruti” (1938). In these publications, attached to the name Durruti are ‘ideals’ and the sense of physical resistance in name of the ‘people’. Under a picture published in

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Durruti (20.11.37) it is written: “Durruti: figura immortal, la figure [Durruti] cumbre de la revolución española, el militante más destacado y más activo del anarquismo español.” Durruti is not mortal, rather immortal and perhaps the most qualified figure to represent revolution, accomplished physical (militarily speaking) and intellectual (in political form of Anarchism) resistance. He is mythologized in Spanish print in 1936/7 and Enzensberger’s 1972 German historical novel of the legend of Durruti is within and a part of ‘literary’ space. In the newspaper – as in Enzensberger’s text, Durruti is quoted; e.g. in the paper under “palabras de Durruti” he is presented as stating: “por nada del mundo aquellas tiranos fascistas pasarán por donde estamos.” Ultimately, the ‘other’, neither intellectually (here referring to the political in the concept of Fascist) nor physically (i.e. their bullets) will invade ‘us’: notice this ‘us’ is neither Spanish nor German, but simply those unifying against the ‘other’. Direct words of Durruti appear (albeit infrequent) in Enzensberger’s novel. The figure Durruti in these past Civil War Anarchist publications, as well as in Enzensberger’s novel becomes a concept for collective identity in literary presentation where intellectual and physical perspectives help establish a sense of both ‘common’ and ‘other’ space.748

Section VII: Defining literary space in the text

Perspective of time, geography and ideology are critically defined through Enzensberger’s presentations of confinement, violence, death, the urban and rural, and a

748 This intertextualization of Spanish print [news] and Durruti novel is similar to the phenomenon described in chapter 1 and 3 regarding the Spanish print of the German revolution reading almost as a montage novel (and aligned with other publications in Germany at the same time). A difference here is a shift of central perspective which instead of permeating from Germany (as in Chap. 1 and 3) now permeates from Spain outward - moves significantly within many countries – France, Belgium, Netherlands, Germany, and Latin America (i.e. content) - yet is still organized and presented from Germany (i.e. technique and creation by Enzensberger).
specific German-Spanish commonness. First, Enzensberger creates a sense of physical and its associated intellectual confinement (as in Toller and Lorca). He continually presents the concept of being locked up and then jailed and the cycle, yet absurdity of this and how one can escape physically from this (with examples of figures escaping) and intellectually (still organizing and planning opposition from within jail\textsuperscript{749}). The whole of the 1936 elections were given multiple ‘voices’ in the novel in which the CNT’s\textsuperscript{750} motivation to vote was based on over 30,000 prisoners being let free from the jails (89).\textsuperscript{751} Some, however, could or would not wait for the elections and took matters into their own hands.\textsuperscript{752} The issue of ’confinement’ in jails surfaced frequently enough in accounts that Enzensberger dedicated a whole subtitle to the issue in “Neue Gefängnisse“ (new jails), using accounts to narrate the 1934-5 era (101).\textsuperscript{753} When the Civil War broke out and military insurgents threatened the city of Barcelona, the “Gefängnis“ was “geräumt“ (cleared out); thus the confinement was broken in the name of revolution (120).\textsuperscript{754} Those confined are victims of the ’others’ confinement and through this confinement the space of resistance and revolution is inhibited while upon their ’escape’ or ’release’ there are greater numbers, more power to create, maintain and even expand the revolutionary space. The interrelation of revolutionary space – physically and intellectually – is profound. Literarily it can be understood as geographical, as a space on

\textsuperscript{749} Here there almost develops a certain ‘mockery’ of the concept of state imposed jails, similar to notions of contemporary (and past) criminals continuing their activities ‘from’ jail.

\textsuperscript{750} CNT (Confederación Nacional del Trabajo) : National Labor Confederation (Anarcho-syndicalist Union).

\textsuperscript{751} “Das Volk hat nicht für die Politiker sondern für die Gefangenen gestimmt“ (105).

\textsuperscript{752} The “Gefängnisse“ were “überfüllt” and in Barcelona “meuterten die Gangenen und steckten das Zuchthaus in Brand“ (91). There was “Massenflucht von politischen Gefangenen“ in Barcelona, through a “Tunnel“ (100).

\textsuperscript{753} This aligns with, during the same period, Lorca’s (and Toller) theater pieces in which the concept of ‘confinement’ and will to gradually and violently escape from this confinement.

\textsuperscript{754} As the Civil War is presented as developing, Enzensberger gives voice to the idea of letting those out of Russian jails to come to Spain to fight, that those in ”politische Gefängnissen“ ”entlassen werden“ to ”kämpfen“ (220).
a map by the presentations of physical jails, where literary perspective, once out would not be confined to the coordinates of the jail, often presented united with other revolutionaries (i.e. increasing overlapping) in, for example Barcelona, and/or they would then disperse (physically) - to expand revolutionary space beyond the densest areas (using pamphlets calling for demonstrations or other action, traveling by train, truck or boat, holding meetings and recruiting) - filling in the gaps and seeking a broader geographical overlapping. All the while, the 'intellectual’ space expands (likewise) with an increase in multitude of common ideological and political perspectives. Presented confinement further takes on an historical and contemporary sense to it. Ultimately, it is presented - not bound to nation or language, but as an international (Spanish-German – through unity of content (Durruti) and form (montage, language)) confinement.

Enzensberger presented ‘violence’ as a topic of discussion and as a physical reality. Violence was presented as a means for revolutionaries to combat and break out of confinement in creating a new ‘space’. Enzensberger’s literary violence was not specifically ‘Spanish’, but international, both historically and contemporarily. For example, the Spanish Civil War is presented as a part of a history of violence, with the First World War, “das Schauspiel des Krieges erweckte den Geist der Gewalt“ (52). Enzensberger begins first in Barcelona then spreads accounts covering different areas of Spain before its explosion in the Civil War. Enzensberger creates the sense of constant, continued warfare – in the cities, in the countryside, during the monarchy, the dictatorship, the Republic and its culmination in the Civil War. In the text, a connection between munitions, weapons and power are presented together in an account after a successful resistance to the insurgents in July 1936 and successful revolution in
Barcelona: “die Stadt gehört ihnen, das Proletariat von Barcelona ist jetzt vorzüglich bewaffnet” (131). As the perspective (time, geography, ideology) of the Civil War develops in the text, Enzensberger presents voices which show concern not to let weapons get into the hands of others, which could mean avoiding one’s own death (166). With Durruti and his gang at the front – distant from the urban Barcelona and kernel of the revolution - in Aragón, attempting advances towards Zaragoza, the sense of continued expansion (of space, here physically) is hindered through the lack of weapons at the front (168). They needed “keinerlei Einsatzreserven” but suffered “Mangel an Waffen und Munition” (143). Enzensberger then contrasts the rural perspective with accounts in the city: “jedesmal wenn Durruti nach Barcelona kam schäumte er wenn er sah wie viele Waffen hier auf der Straße spazierengeragen wurden“ (190). On the front were “genügend Kämpfer“ but “Waffen fehlte“ (217). Weapons became important in defense and the ability to physically maintain space as well as intellectually in the overall state of morale. From revolvers to bombs, arms as voiced in the Civil War but also during the riots and chaos of the 1917-1923 turmoil through dissident as well as oppressive means during the Republic, contribute to an atmosphere of violence and many deaths.

In resistance to confinement and amidst violence, Enzensberger presents death as an event and as a memory, serving to give significance to intellectual space and reality to physical space. He continually uses voices which mention assassinations, of and by both those of the political Right and Left. Through multiple accounts, Enzensberger re-creates an early twentieth-century atmosphere where ‘death’ by assassination is ‘zum alltag’. Death is not accounted necessarily chronologically, but it is ever present. During the early riots in Barcelona and Andalusia to the stand off in Asturias and the Civil War

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755 Transl: ‘the city belongs to them, the proletariat from Barcelona is now well armed’.
fronts of rural Aragón or urban Madrid – literary voices talk of death. Death is of fellow Anarchists, its leaders and workers. It becomes personal. For example, of the original group of the *Solidarios*, Ascaso’s death is first narrated, not once, but through multiple voices. ‘Death’ is brought from the newspaper and simply ‘vision’ and ‘hearing’ it around - into consciousness and emotions at the personal level (121). In the Barcelona resistance to the state and then to the military insurgents many dead are presented (121). Literary voices are presented as referring to the 1917-1923 turmoil as a “Menschenjagd” (manhunt) (126). From a perspective in the 1930s, Enzensberger’s presented literary voices creating a sense of history repeating itself (i.e. death and violence), recollecting that there “sind viele 1919, 1920 gefallen“ (291).757 There is, as previously stated, in the end and the beginning of the narration the death of Durruti which becomes symbolic and symptomatic as “tausende von namenlosen Durrutis in unserer Bewegung steht“ (291).758 Towards the end of the novel, after one already experienced in the beginning glimpses of the burial procession in Barcelona for Durruti’s death, then through the course of the book the reader learns of Durruti and his life and then his death; there is question concerning Durruti’s death. His death is real, yet mythical.759 Enzensberger starts with comments, accounts of sureness that it was this or that group - first it was suspected to be

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757 Recall that this is the same period when in Germany there were those with the same perspective – and same space - ‘falling’.
758 Transl: ’1919, 1920 there were many who fell’, ’there were thousand of nameless Durrutis in our movement’.
759 Pasolini writes of Durruti’s death, “er stirbt, vor einer Kugel in den Rücken getroffen (wie die Helden des antiken Epos, gefällt von den Verrätern, die ihnen nicht offen entgegenzutreten vermögen)” (78). The Durruti story seems to hold much the same significance for Enzensberger as Durruti himself does to one of the author’s Spanish sources, who remarks, “Durruti war ein Mann, mit dessen Namen man noch nach seinem Tod eine Schlacht gewinnen konnte – so wie mit dem Namen des Cid” (262, refe. in Caldwell 90).
a Fascist sharp-shooter, then perhaps one of his own men, and then the Communists - then there is an air of speculation – propagated by Fascist press, then finally Enzensberger gives multiple witness accounts of the accident – thus successfully re-creating the aura, the mood, the suspense and speculation as well as ultimate embarrassment and tragedy of it all. Newspapers, radio, voices of those outside and within, and the other and the atmosphere of antagonism and growing or already peeked mistrust show their influence upon the verdict and event of death; varying perspectives give way to varying ideological and geographical spaces (261-280).

Through multiple literary voices in montage is created a strong sense of challenge and often full contradiction to the sovereignty of judgment (one-sided) and condemnation of those ’confining’ (i.e. concerning those trying to ‘break’ the confinement; much like Lorca, Toller, Doeblin, Sender and others). Early on in the novel as the Durruti gang is forming – and trying to survive amidst a corrupt monarchy and state, Ricardo Sanz is quoted, regarding the robbing of banks: “Wir brauchten das Geld ja nicht für uns. Wir nahmen es, weil die Revolution Geld brauchte. Wir waren die ersten, damals in Spanien, die Erfinder sozusagen. Damals hieß es, das ist unmoralisch. Heute weiß jeder, es ist moralisch; damals hieß es ungerecht, heute weiß jeder, es ist gerecht” (48). It is

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760 As with Durruti, so too was the death of another iconic fallen anti-fascist fighter also “under questionable circumstances” (Kramer 533). Hans Beimler, was apparently, “killed during a night action in Madrid in December 1936;” he ‘may’ have been killed by a bullet in the back, perhaps as a result of his increasing protests against the growing influence of the Soviet secret police in Spain” (Krammer 533, noted from Terence Prittie ‘Germans against Hitler’ (London 1964), however both Gustav Regler (The Owl of Minerva) and Hugh Thomas (The Spanish Civil War) disagree).

761 Here the reader can take part in the process, discussion, decision and share a textual opinion or create their own; there is also a sense of skepticism due to the ‘literary’ quality of the text; people are ‘talking’, but through literature (i.e. reader needs to step back and reflect on this). Basically here Enzensberger creates a multi-voiced discussion of critique of power (those ‘confining’, the ‘other’).

762 Transl: we needed the money, ja not for us. We took it while the revolution needed money. We were the first, at that time in Spain, the so-called inventors of this. At that time it was called ‘immoral’. Now everyone knows that its moral; at that time it was unlawful/wrong, today everyone knows that it is lawful/right.
continually reiterated of how Durruti never took a penny for himself; he stole, but for the people, for families, schools, and publishers (multiple examples, 76). “Durruti war das Gegenteil eines Bonzen er hat nie fünf Pfennig von der CNT oder von der FAI genommen“ (94). The press often painted Durruti as either one of two extremes: as gangster, Irre, and ruthless or as savior-type of the people. Here, the “Grenze zwischen Kriminalität und Staatsgewalt löste sich auf” (55). Regarding laws and government, according to Durruti in Enzensberger’s text: “kein Mensch hat das Recht einen anderen zu regieren” (77). The whole concept of ‘law’ and ‘morality’ is simply subservient to ‘perspective’ – here narrated perspective. The events Enzensberger organizes and comments on are significant beyond their physical, intellectual or even temporal constraints. One senses in the text that judgment of ‘right’ and ‘wrong’ was in the eyes of the beholder; there was little trust of the perspective of the ‘other’ – whether that was the monarchy, the police, the military, the state or the fascists.

Through montage, the perspective of space as urban or rural is both distinct and common in the novel. Early on, there were meetings in the rural, “Treffen auf dem Land“ (58); often in meetings in rural space action for the urban space was planned.

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763 FAI (Federación Anarchista Ibérica) : Iberian Anarchist Federation.
764 Press: Solidaridad Obrera vs. Communist propaganda for a “Kundgebung” (85). In Enzensberger, other’s views come forward – for example through the Zeitung La Batalla and then in figures such as Rivas (als Irre) and the defaming of the CNT/FAI.
765 Enzensberger references Engels’ writing on the 1873 incident and noted the “bürgerliche Partei” in 1936 to be that of the “Kommunisten” that ruined the revolution (236). Further references to the past are ample: Durruti is noted as being from the 19th century (272), a Gladiator of sorts, a Legende (268). Karl Heinz Bohrer saw in the novel an “ästhetische Utopie” and a “Topos vom ewigen Erlöser, von Spartakus’ and continued stating ‘die Anarchisten sind wie Indianer und Durruti wie Tecumseh.” Lan sees the “Anarchisten” in Enzensberger as an “Inbilder des verlorengegangenen Menschen,’ they ‘hassen den Kapitalismus’ and are ‘gegen die moderne Welt” (293).
766 The state, the Republic represented the same as it did in Germany for Döblin with “alles beim alten“ (82) and “in der Staatsbürokratie saßen immer noch die gleichen Leute die zuvor der Monarchie gedient hatten“ (87). These exact words are used in numerous figures – in critique of power – from literature in chapter one, to that of Toller, Doeblin, Sender and Spanish Civil War literature.
767 They are physically ‘united’ as both share the path of a train Durruti is narrated as escaping on during his ‘pre-exile’ days (“Güterzug“ from the North to Barcelona) (57).
Intellectual space is thus common. Urban and rural workers are presented alike when Enzensberger writes that the “Probleme der Arbeiter und der Bauern blieben ohne Antwort“ (80). There is an interesting mix of building descriptions, with social function and then their changed role in the war (114), such as the “Fußballplatz“ rather than for sport being a common meeting and collaborating place (116) as well as the “Casa Cambo Gebäude“ and then the “Generalstab der Revolution“ - “wo früher die Hochfinanz und die Industrie ihre Direktionsbüros hatten tagten jetzt in Permanenz die Räte die Ausschüsse und die Stäbe der Arbeiterchaft von Barcelona“ (130).768 The march from the city lead those who fought through and to the rural, through Lérida and over the river Ebro towards ‘another’ urban center, and the goal of the movement, Zaragoza (142). There is a sense of strength when a line can be established from one urban center to another – but it is through the ‘rural’ that this occurs and thus the ‘rural’ need be a part, abreast with the ‘urban’ for the space to avoid fragmentation. The ‘front’ represented yet a distinct coordinates of this common space, and although often in the ‘rural’ was not always inhabited by those ‘of’ the rural. For example, in the rural area it was the “Einwohner” in the “Dörfer und Kleinstädte” that “ihr eigenes Terrain bewachen mit kein einzigen Mann an die Front” and therefore Durruti must “aus Barcelona rekrutierte” (148). An important difference of street versus land warfare and the issue of being perhaps physically misplaced, albeit intellectually of common space, were the “Stadtguerilla” when “auf dem Land” (146). The rural was also brought into the urban as well. “Bauern Leben in der Stadt besser als auf dem Land…doppelt so gut“ (203).769 The rural fighters at the Aragon front entered the urban defense of Madrid later in the

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768 Transl: were previously the High Finance and Industry had their offices, now the councils and assemblies of the workers meet here.
769 Transl: the farmers live twice as well in the city as in the country.
novel. Both presentations of rural and urban are common in the sense of their resistance to confinement and the violent atmosphere. Urban and rural become united through ideology in opposition to the ‘other’, through the physical act of ‘defense’ and even ‘offense’, a common physical space is created. Creation and work are commonly presented in both spaces. Enzensberger presents voices which portray the proletariat finding strength in his work, in the fight in the urban space and the rural. Here, “ wir bauen… Paläste, Städte gebaut… in Spanien, in Amerika, … überall, wir tragen eine neue Welt in uns“ (173)\textsuperscript{770} - a new political, non-capitalistic force can build “die neue Stadt“ or Barcelona after the ”Sieg“ (174-6). Capitalism is narrated as being “fremd“ (foreign) and “äußerlich” (external/outward) in Spain – which gives way to a concept of the ‘other’. In this process then develops ever more intimate definition of those presented within this new space and those outside.\textsuperscript{771}

Enzensberger creates discussion of the ever-differing spaces and associated perspectives of friend and foe, and the re-definition of a common personal space and that of family and the space of an ‘us’. This is not only expressed through human personalities, for even the city is personified, its streets and areas well apart of things. Those of the ‘Solidarios’, Ascaso and Durruti and Jover are not blood brothers, but are narrated as being closer: “sie stehen nebeneinander wie Brüder, näher vielleicht“ (114). There are numerous organizations mentioned to which people belong and identify with. In the defense of Barcelona to the military insurgents there is even the “Verbrüderung zwischen Arbeitern und Wachen“ and the comment that the “Polzisten“ turned into

\textsuperscript{770} Transl: ‘we built – palaces, cities – in Spain, in America,…overall, we carry a new world in us.’

\textsuperscript{771} As especially evidenced in chapter 2 by Lorca and Toller, then chapter 4 and 5; the rural is a part of the urban, and visa versa; further it is international, ceasing to be national – through ideology and concepts of geography, but also through the form, the technique of montage and the sort of distance and dis-unity between places.
“Menschen“ (116). As the insurgency began, there are growing numbers of references to the concept of ‘antifascist’ - amidst the establishment of different ideologies – from Socialists, POUM\(^{773}\), FAI and CNT, Communists, and other Left-leaning groups – attempting to come together; this space initially succeeded but ultimately failed: “Es sind nicht nur Anarchisten sondern auch Sozialisten, Katalanisten, Kommunisten dabei, Leute von der POUM und sie alle rücken vor auf den Cinco de Oros zu....Lumpenproletarier ..Fischer“ (117). Even Räuber and Diebe (thieves) were included, ”es konnte sich jedermann für einen Anarchisten ausgeben” (149). They all felt a part – for a moment – of a common intellectual space – and are here narrated joining together within a common physical space as well. In further creating common identity, a “Zentralkomitee der Antifaschistischen Milizen” was formed (134). Society was changed, “Syndikalismus wird zur Basis der neuen Gesellschaft” (136).\(^{774}\) The “Kolonne Durruti” was established, having its own “Zeitung” (paper), Frente, which is important while it – as literature within literature, suggests communication, as Enzensberger was doing through the novel, in print as a physical means - to expand intellectual space through perspective (138-40).\(^{775}\)

The ’Feind’ (enemy) seemed to change as a Civil War within a Civil War progressed.\(^{776}\) “Die Faschisten haben ausländischen Bomben bekommen. Sie wollen das spanische Vok vernichten. Genossen, wir schützen Spanien!” (170). “Es sei nicht wahr

\(^{772}\) Transl: workers and guards becoming brothers, police turned into humans/people.
\(^{773}\) POUM (Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista) : Workers’ Marxist Unification Party.
\(^{774}\) Transl: syndicalism became the basis of a new society.
\(^{775}\) There was common space in the goal, in the end as the war began: “Heute lassen wir alles andere sausen. Es gibt nur eines und das ist der Krieg“ (169) (Today we let all else to the side. There is only one thing and that is the war).
\(^{776}\) “Durruti baute die Armee auf. Ohne Erbarmen erschoß er Banditen und Deserteure. Hier wird nicht von Programmen geredet hier wird gekämpft. Jetzt ist nicht Zeit zu streiten. Erst muß der Faschismus vernichtet werden“ (170) (Durruti built an army. Without remorse he shot bandits and deserters. Here the program was not talked of, here one fought. Now is not the time to argue. First Fascism must be destroyed).
Enzensberger wrote a whole four pages exclusively, and so titled, “Über den Feind“ (210-214). Within the common space of resistance there were “Offiziere – oft ausländische Revolutionäre mit Kriegserfahrung“ (216) and the “erste Freiwilligen“ were “aus Frankreich, Italien“ (217). Nationality no longer sufficed to determine difference as there was a “Deutsche“ and then “internationale Truppe“ in Aragón (160). Ultimately, a crucial common perspective was that “jeder weiß wofür er kämpft…nicht objektiven Feind“ (218). They were “gegen jegliche Diktatur, für die Freiheit“ and “wer uns nicht hilft den werden wir vernichten“ (222). Those within the space, were neither war-machine nor droids, “nein sie wissen einfach warum und wofür sie kämpfen“ (240). The prerequisite of a perspective of ’intellectual’ space (seen in ability to reflect and grasp multiple perspectives) – before creation of ’physical space’ (i.e. in fighting) was imperative. Not knowing what you are fighting for and carrying the perception of a machine was an image those within the common space had of those ’outside’. Durruti is directly quoted: “Disziplin haben das heißt für mich nicht anderes als die eigene Verantwortung und die der andern achten“ (241). Once again, as with Sender and Döblin, responsibility – for the author, for the person, was crucial. In the text, Enzensberger finds a voice, defining the affair as not simply national, but rather “er war ein internationaler Konflikt“ (290) and the boundaries of friend and foe, perspective(s) and therefore ’space’, were accordingly re-defined.

777 The fascists received foreign bombs. They want to destroy/exterminate the Spanish people. Comrades, we need to protect Spain! It is not true that the anarchists were against the Popular Front, it is also not right that other countries didn’t have an anarchist movement, rather their center was in Spain.

778 Transl: Discipline means to me nothing more than to carry responsibility for yourself and respect others.
Enzensberger develops a common German-Spanish space in the novel (as seen in previous chapters). There is Germany and are Germans presented sharing space with Durruti and those around him. There is also a Germany and are Germans that remain foreign, outside of Durruti’s space, not sharing a common perspective. Neither language nor nationality serve as sufficient variables to determine either commonness or foreignness. In Enzensberger’s third chapter: ‘Das Exil’, through an account from Durruti’s wife (widow) Emilienne Morin, the Spaniard Durruti went to, i.e. entered into, Germany (75). In the German city of Berlin, he spent time with Germans Rudolf Rocker, Fritz Kater and Erich Mühsam. Mühsam was a German author who wrote poetry of the Spanish Civil War; here the readers’ protagonist of sorts and mythical, yet also historical figure Durruti is accounted as sharing the same physical – and through political discussion – also intellectual space as Mühsam; a moment of sharing between Spanish and German; neither nationality nor language can deny this. Enzensberger uses an account from Augustin Souchy who gives further voice to the discussions, which “drehten sich um die Revolution” (76). Enzensberger interviewed Souchy in Munich, Germany to obtain accounts of Durruti. Again, from the physical space of Germany a voice common in Spain (many years later) was found. There was common literary space – signifying a common physical and intellectual space – as well. Enzensberger uses the voice of Madeleine Lehning in the fourth chapter, “Die Republik,” accounting of “kleine Heftchen in deutscher Sprache die wir illegal nach Deutschland schickten“ (96). This was voiced amidst the Spanish Republic, 1934 and printed in Barcelona (press of the

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779 Souchy was an Anarchist who emigrated under Hitler, then in 1936 ‘besorgte den deutschen Informationsdienst der CNT-FAI’ in Barcelona. The Prussian government is also mentioned and is the ultimate reason why Durruti had to leave Germany. (transl: was German intelligence for the CNT-FAI in Barcelona)

780 Transl: small pamphlets in German that we illegally sent to Germany.
Solidaridad Obrera) during the constant strikes and turmoil. Through the text is a literary connection between the events in Barcelona and the myth of Durruti and the German language and entering the country. In the same chapter Enzensberger gives further narrative voice to another German, Heinz Rüdiger, a German Anarchist who fought in Spain, stating “der Betrieb ist die Univeristät des Arbeiters” (94). Neither language nor nationality served as points of focus, rather as an intellectual platform which was common to German and Spanish alike.

In his viertes Glosse, ‘Über die spanische Zwickenmühle (1931-1936),’ Enzensberger brings into the discussion the German Right as example and relevance in Spain. He mentions “Hitlers Deutschland und Mussolinis Italien boten Beispiele dafür wie die Reaktion sich von ihren restaurativen Träumen lösen und zur Offensive übergehen konnte“ (82). In “Die Republik” under the subtitle “Der Wahlboykott” (election boycott), he uses accounts from José Peirats and Stephen John Brademas who again draw the parallel with Germany, from Spain the perspective goes to Germany. They narrate: “Wie war es in Deutschland? Die Sozialisten und die Kommunisten wußten ganz genau was Hitler vorhatte und dennoch sind sie zur Wahl gegangen und haben ihr eigenens Todesurteil unterschrieben“ (98). In the fifth Glosse, “Über den Feind“, Enzensberger writes of “die europäischen Mächte miteinander konfrontierte Rußland Deutschland, und Italien“ (213). Here he mentions the “Feinde“ and Germany and Italy’s collaboration with Franco but also the Left’s failure to take notes from the failure of the German Left. Enzensberger offers a voice and view of the ’other‘, of the ’Fascist‘ when using an account from the German Karl Georg von Stackelberg, a member

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781 She describes it as “Operettenhaften.”
782 Transl: How was it in Germany? The Socialists and the Communists knew what Hitler planned and they went to the elections in Germany and wrote their own death sentence.
of the Legion Condor, to talk about Durruti (287). Ultimately, Enzensberger seems to
directly parallel the consequential failure of the Weimar Republic (i.e. in Germany) by
bringing this into a Spanish perspective during the failing of their own Republic thus
strengthening a sort of similar space. What is new here is also a perspective
(consideration) from the Right.

German voices are repeatedly presented throughout the novel. Enzensberger uses
numerous accounts from the German Sociologist Franz Borkenau. Enzensberger also
employed 'nameless’ German figures, accounted of by Spaniards, in common physical
residence and intellectual perspective. In 'Tagebuch von Pina’ "drei Deutschen...robben
auf das Haus zu“ and “der Deutsche...die Suppe für uns kochen“ (157). Language was
different, but not a barrier when it is here narrated: “ich übersetze dem Deutschen diese
Auskünfte“ (158). When all were told to go ”zurück,“ “schimpft der Deutsche“ (158).
The German figure was apart of the group and wanted to be active and fight to not only
maintain but expand space. Amidst the "Schützengräben“ and "Warten“ one could hear
the "Seufzer der Deutschen…er hatte offenbar Angst," all went "in Deckung", the
narrator “mit dem Deutschen in die Küche” to again "Warten" - near “Bujaraloz.” The

783 In the fifth chapter: "Der Sieg,” Borkenau’s voice comes through in creating images of the chaos and
violence in the latter days of the Republic, especially that of Barcelona, and the route to the CNT short-
lived successes (including descriptions of Barcelona churches burning (126)). Borkenau is narrated,
describing the atmosphere as "ein Bild des Schreckens“ (127). Again, in ‘Die Etappe’ Enzensberger uses
Borkenau’s accounts of the revolution in Barcelona, its success and ‘Die neue Stadt’ where ‘die Macht
gehört dem Volk’ and ‘Die Männer’ were in ‘blauen Overall’ (174-5) (Trans: ‘picture of terror’ (127), ‘the
new city’, ‘the power belonged to the people’, ‘the men were in blue overalls’). He describes the Barcelona
collectivization and the factory situation where the ‘Schrift’ was ‘hergestellt unter Arbeiterkontrolle’ (181).
Further, the voice of Borkenau brings the concept of Revolution forth within the larger historical
perspective (listing off the years 1792, 1871 and 1917) and their connection with Barcelona in 1936 (175).
German here was not an ‘other’ but a part of the rural band exploring in hopes of expanding space - physically, already fully sharing in the intellectual space.\footnote{784}

Enzensberger brings the figure Santillán in the narrative as an intellectual connection to Germany. He “ist einer der wenigen Intellektuellen des spanischen Anarchismus“ and “in Madrid Philosophie und in Berlin Medizin studiert....er war immer Pazifist“ but “muß gegen Prinzipien um Sieg“ (225).\footnote{785} One can think of the connection not only to Germany, but also to Spartacus, the group and movement in Berlin in 1918-19 – still finding space in the Civil War – here once again drawn on in an account from A. and D. Prudhommeaux, directed to the “Volksarmee und Soldatenräte“ from the “deutschen Genossen“ regarding the “Militarisierung der Milizen“ and ending with a “Liste von Aufgaben von Spartakus“ (229-230). At the end of the chapter, ‘Die Etappe’, under the subtitle “Die Grundsätze,” it is the “Trümmer von Maschinen auf, vernichtet auf deutschen Bombenwerfen” (170). There are German’s against ’us.’ Then Durruti himself is quoted by Enzensberger of the ”deutschen und chinesischen Arbeiter der faschistischen Barbarei ausgeliefert hat“ (172). Germans are also presented with ’us’, i.e. in our space, with our perspective fighting for and against the same forces.

Wir wollen die Revolution hier in Spanien und zwar nicht nach dem nächsten europäischen Krieg, sondern jetzt in diesem Augenblick. Wir machen Hitler und Mussolini heute mehr Kopfzerbrechen mit unserer Revolution als die ganze Rote Armee. Mit unserem Beispiel zeigen wir der deutschen und der italienischen Arbeiterklasse wie man mit dem Faschismus umgehen muß (172).\footnote{786}

\footnote{784} Transl: three German (157), the German cooked the soup for us, I translated the directions for the German (158), the German complained when we had to go back (158), in the trenches and waiting one could here the breathing of the German – he was afraid...with the German in the kitchen, to again wait.

\footnote{785} Transl: is one of the few intellectuals of the Spanish Anarchism’ ,’studied philosophy in Madrid and medicine in Berlin, was always a pacifist, but had to go against his morals for victory. Here one could think of Toller and the conflict of ends and means.

\footnote{786} Transl: we want the revolution here in Spain and not after the next European war, rather now at this moment. We make more headaches for Hitler and Mussolini with our revolution than the whole Red army. With our example we are showing the German and Italian workers how one deals with Fascism.
As a mirror for Germany, Durruti is presented as aware of the pleite of German workers and the failure of Stalin and Communism. The characteristic of being or speaking 'German' is not necessarily a distinguishing factor when establishing perspective of intellectual and physical space in opposition to the 'other' in Spain.\textsuperscript{787}

With Enzensberger, 'confinement' is presented by an 'other' - which helps to establish that there was space to oppose and overcome and even escape through the creation of one's own space.\textsuperscript{788} Violence and death were presented as a path of action and event with a common identifying of self-sacrifice to maintain perspective – and thus spaces - against an 'other,' and victimization by this ever developing concept of the 'other' (i.e. foreign or outside of newly emerging common space). With developing characteristics and parameters of the physical space of opposition and creation;

\textsuperscript{787} The sense of a German-Spanish space – i.e. shared perspective of geography and ideology – revolving around the Anarchist figure Durruti is also evidenced in Spanish (by Abel Paz, Durruti en la revolución española (2004)). Abel Paz’s quite frequently presents the myth and history of Durruti and anarchism within a perspective that is shared between Germany and Spain, between Spanish and German. For example, Paz writes that “el único país de Europa donde el movimiento anarquista poseía aún cierta fuerza organizada en aquellos momentos (i.e. cerca 1928) era Alemania” (207). Paz mentions Souchy, Rocker, Muehsam, Paul Kampfmeyer, Alexander Granach, and Kurt Einstein – and their connections to Durruti and Anarchism. There are literary (printed) connections in German Anarchists, having been in Spain – writing of it in German; such as Rudolf Rocker’s Revolución y regression (Paz 207) and Agustin Souchy’s Entre los campesinos de Aragón: el comunismo libertario en las comarcas liberadas (1937, reprinted 1977) (Paz 42).

Amidst the ‘revolution’ in Barcelona and the distribution of ‘cuarteles’, a connection between not only German and Spain but also this 1936 revolution and that of Germany in 1918/19 can be seen again when “los anarquistas, por no ser menos, les pusieron los nombres de ‘Bakunin’, ‘Solvucha’, ‘Spartacus’, y otros” (Paz 520). Paz writes that he [Durruti] “murió en anarquista, luchando por la revolución social y víctima de la contrarrevolución, como...Gustavo Landauer lo fue de Noske en Alemania” (726). Here, victimization as well as representation as a fighting, active voice for ‘social’ revolution – aligned with that associated with the German revolutionary leader Landauer. Noske, an ‘other’, one of the persons epitomized as the ‘enemy’ in the German revolution is compared to the ‘other’ in Spain in 1936; he is feared – “en denuncian las armas de la contrarrevolución...flotaba en el aire un cierto perfume de Noske” (Paz, quote from writer in 1936, 625). This ‘aíre’ is associated with Caballero and the issue of the CNT’s collaboration with the democratic-bourgeoisie (which surfaced as deceit in the German revolution – a marriage to the military and Right and a death sentence in 1918/19). “Caballero era en septiembre [1936] el Noske de la revolución española” (Paz 572). Anarchist leader Orobón Fernández urged Spain to take note (in 1936) of the failures in Germany (Paz 365). Durruti’s death is compared – by a German – to the questionable death (assassinated by Communist) of Hans Beimler in Antonia Stern’s written version (1937-39) of his death (Paz 711) [Hans Beimler Dachau-Madrid ein Dokument Unserer Zeit – excerpts appeared in Suplement a Espagne Nouvelle (3.39, pgs.2-3)].

\textsuperscript{788} Very similar to presentations of confinement in Toller and Lorca in chapter 2.
perspectives were presented in both urban and rural space, created as the geography of events – this alternative space to confinement was not bound to strictly an urban-rural dichotomy. Each the presented rural and urban become a part of a ‘common’ space created through narrated perspective(s) of the intellectual (i.e. of the mind) and the physical (based in the senses). The intellectual space of opposition – to confinement and imposed authority – is further defined through contradictions to sovereignty and judgment of those ‘confining’ which then leads to a further concretization of the concept of friend and foe, those within and of the oppositional space and those of the ‘other’, and it is here that a so-called new concept of ‘foreign’ evolved. The German-Spanish common identity breaks apart former features of defining the foreign and ultimately serves convincingly in confirmation of parallels highlighted between literary works examined of the two languages.

Conclusion

Enzensberger’s novel is a part of a plethora of post-Civil War literature, but has been situated uniquely ‘produced’ in Germany of 1972 with perspective of Spain – past and contemporary. Two inherent clusters of revolutionary activity dominate this novel – with those being the period of turmoil, especially highlighted in Barcelona, in the years

789 The city is once again personified (as in Döblin, perhaps to an extent also in Toller and Sender). As in Lorca, there is resistance in Andalusia and Catalonia and their differences and similarities are exposed (Chapter 1).
790 This is in a similar literary strategy as that of Lorca, Toller and the Spanish Civil War literature outlined in chapters 4 and 5, in presenting merging, sharing of urban/rural space.
791 There surfaces previously discussed important terms such as the Blue Overalls, as well as issues of conflict such as whether to compromise - here the difficulty of compromising one’s principles or ideology, the difficulty of finding and maintaining a common space, i.e. that of ‘antifascist’ space with fight between Socialists, Anarchists, Communists, other international influences. This helps us understand our literature, its importance and this novel’s role in the trend to help expose not only the common identity, but the struggle to maintain it and its ultimate failure not only to the officially created ‘Feind’ but also internal strife.
1917-1923 and then the period of the Spanish Civil War – beginning with its eruption in 1936 and continuing through its conclusion in 1939 (becoming accessible for an audience in 1972). I argue that Enzensberger is an extension of the literature that I have outlined in this chapter (reference figures from chapter 1). Using literature as a social tool, Enzensberger is a part of the literature from Schiller and Lessing, and then explicitly voiced by Eisner in the German revolution. Enzensberger re-defines the author’s role, and in a Brechtian sort of way creates a sense of ‘Verfremdungseffekt’ or Russian Formalist ‘defamiliarization’ in the new, somewhat awkward, distanced role of the author, presenting the least sense of his own voice and challenges his reader (there is the sense that you’re getting to know actual people, not just literary figures). Further, he re-creates, personifies and gives tangibility to legend – not dominated by his own voice nor that of Durruti himself, but presented as a mosaic of voices – from numerous sources and different times (for the self is defined by others). He is still advocating a political message through the voices he chooses and challenges the legitimacy of perspective(s) and the boundary between history and fiction. His literature evidences a common ‘heightened’ perspective of the Leftist political (content) and experimental form (as Brecht, Toller, F. Jung and Döblin). Enzensberger went a step farther, not only including cinematic techniques (as Döblin) or film clips (as Toller, Brecht), but actually realizing his novel as a television documentary film. As in the Spanish Civil War literature, literature is art and a historical document, urgent (survivors dying), and it creates a sense of intellectual (political, ideological) and physical (geographical) internationalism; neither nation(ality) nor language (defined or) confined it. Enzensberger’s text is starkly (directly) translated from (predominantly) French and Spanish – through the multitude of
interviews he supercedes any of the previous ‘reporting’-like styles of the Spanish Civil War. It is not just German into Spanish in Spain (as in Chapters 4 and 5), but now bringing Spanish into German, in Germany, as international history – and literature.\footnote{Enzensberger presented more voices of actual other people, a deeper geographical scope and used more translation than Doeblin. By referencing Durruti amidst 60s/70s revolutionary forum, Enzensberger likenes himself to all of the writers in this project: to those of the Spanish Civil War by using the (often) same theme, a simiar response/inclusion of past revolution (German revolution, past struggle) – to Doeblin, Sender, Toller and Lorca in referencing/recounting (relatively recent) past revolutionary sentiment. He also continues the issue of intertextualization – newspaper clips of Durruti, now novel – similar effect as Doeblin novel and Spanish newspaper coverage.}
Bibliography:

Primary:


Secondary:

*Aesthetics and Politics: The key texts of the classic debate within German Marxism.* London/NY: Verso 2002 (sixth printing).


Keményi, Alfred. “Photomontage als Waffe im Klassenkampf” (1932, in Der Arbeiter-Fotograf) referenced in *The Weimar Sourcebook*.


Newspapers (Spain):

Solidaridad Obrera

Frente

Amigos de Durruti

Nervios
Conclusion:

In this dissertation, literary discussion of a multitude of varying sources of presentation of the German revolution as well as Spanish turmoil was developed. This discussion was furthered with specific examples in theater – of Toller and Lorca – and novel – of Sender and Döblin. Here a common sense of ideology – found in strains of thought from Anarchism, Communism, Socialism and Democracy - and geography – as beyond national, as international and connected physically and intellectually between spaces of the urban, rural and sea – in opposition to a similar foreign – was developed. Literary perspectives helped to define space. A sense of a new, revolutionary space was argued to have been sought and produced in and through the works. Spatial confinement – as intellectual and physical – was advocated to be broken through innovative perception and active participation. A new sense of commonness was developed as ‘foreignness’ was re-defined. Failure was not final, but rather a source of learning and a part of an historic dialectic. In literature of the Spanish Civil War, the developing literary trend peaked as literary strategies and realizations shared a fully common space, as shown with theater of the Civil War and in publications such as Das Wort, El Mono Azul and Le Volontaire – translated and distributed, experienced at the same time, in the same languages, and in the same physical place. A full swing back to the original Anarchic aesthetic and political resonance in the German revolution and early Spanish turmoil was then brought back into the Spanish Civil War and the late 60s and early 70s – as those voices which perceived these events firsthand were documented and translated and were constructed into an aesthetic presentation that spanned all of the aforementioned physical
and intellectual spaces and times in yet a new and innovative, revolutionary form in Enzensberger’s novel.\footnote{Enzensberger’s aesthetic discussion is equally political historically and contemporarily. For example, one may deduce from his work, the question: why should the so-called 1st world countries speak for the good of 3rd world countries? How can nation ‘officials’ or ‘representatives’ actually claim – and through the media be presented as so – that they speak for ‘their people.’ This was a valid aesthetic and political critique in the 1960s and is so today as well. The Internet is a great example of Enzensberger’s strategy being built upon with websites being able to be contributed to by a large group (i.e. posting files, comments, etc…) and equally open to a large, international, global audience (often only limitation is access – which is still widespread – but ever less so).}

The German revolution and the Spanish Civil War are still quite alive in contemporary discussion. For example, publications referencing the Spanish Civil War (and their accompanying geographical and ideological disputes) are prevalent both nationally and locally through recent Spanish printed press coverage of the debate over ownership and geographical location of Civil War documents and files – having been stationed in Salamanca under Franco, now Catalan documents have been commissioned to be returned to Barcelona. Here printed materials of the Civil War are presented amidst a dispute between two ideologies, two geographies, that started long ago and that continues today – which brings up the issue of literature and history.\footnote{In La Gaceta (regional level, in Salamanca), on 6.16.04, the front page headline reads: “El Gobierno anuncia que decidirá con una ley el futuro del Archivo”. In the online version of El País (national level), an article title reads: “Los papeles de Salamanca llegan al Archivo Nacional de Cataluña” (1.31.06).}

Through a spatial discussion of literature of the German revolution and Spanish Civil War, the dissertation dovetails a sort of rejuvenation in recent discussions of geography and its importance, such as that of Harm de Blij in Why Geography matters? (New York: Oxford University Press 2005). Here he implores the science of geography as a fundamental concern (including issues of borders and language) in many historical and contemporary economic and political developments and conflicts.\footnote{The developed-in-this-project international perspective (includes those defined as Third World and) is abreast with the artistic expansion of space of the authors of the trend: Döblin’s literary critique of (European- imperial/colonial) civilization taking place in South America (Amazonas) – written during the}
literary space, the redefinition of identity – as foreign or common – amidst violence and changing perspectives of space and geography (i.e. amidst globalization) dovetails many past (Marx, Engels, Luxemburg, Liebknecht and Benjamin) as well as contemporary discussions (as for example Amartya Sen’s *Identity and Violence. The Illusion of Destiny: The Illusion of Destiny* (New York and London: W.W. Norton and Co. 2006) where he discusses choice of relative importance of different identities).

This project is a part of learning from presentations of failure(s), rather than presentations of success(es) in the 20th century relationship, development and discussion of politics and aesthetics. It continues a long tradition – from 17th century England to 1789 and 1848 – of revolution and literature of revolution and develops this discussion distinctly and into the 21st century. It is a part of the discussion of a revolutionary space - as presented in literature - as an alternative to the dominant. This discussion continues with contemporary and future discussions of multi-media, the internet, cell phones and yet-to-be-contrived medium of expression, presentation and communication. The seemingly ‘past’ contextual examples used here – of the 1910s to 1930s – regain contemporary significance amidst current 21st century criticism and discussion of reporting, accounts and coverage of war and violence, of propaganda, media, publishers and political spin and access to and intention with (ever-evolving) audiences. With Spanish Civil War, Brecht’s plays in China (and Döblin’s also permeating eastwards into India and China), Toller and Sender’s writings on Afrika, Budo Ohse in Colombia, Regler, Sender and Aub in Mexico (to but name a few), and Lorca’s Mediterranean resonance and his work in South- and North America and Cuba. This further fits in with Brecht’s notions of the epic theater (*Verfremdung*) as well as contemporary postcolonial discussion.

Bourdieu also writes on how globalization “threatens the achievements of social struggles and the building of relatively autonomous fields” (*Contemporary Sociological Theory* 259). Here, these revolutionary spaces were achieved (sought to be achieved) through social struggle (in literary production) and sought autonomy as alternative(s) to the dominant space/field.

For example, in media – as well as literary studies – the issue of the ‘news’ broadcasted in radio or TV or a film or book labeled ‘documentary’ or ‘based on a true story/event’ are all part (to differing degrees)
‘countries’ ever more connected – and disconnected – economically and politically, literature and media – through translation and technologies in publishing and proliferation – play an ever more important role in understanding and in the discussion of space. The relevance of a spatial perspective and its creation and presentation – to be understood ideologically, geographically, and historically – is again a lesson that direly remains to be learned and further explored. Literature of the German revolution and Spanish Civil War, explored as a revolutionary trend of spatial presentation, offers a fascinating glimpse and source of contemplation in our 21st century world discussion(s).
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