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BÜCHNER'S WOYZECK: AN INVESTIGATION OF THE TEXTUAL DILEMMA

by

Frank James Machovec, Jr.

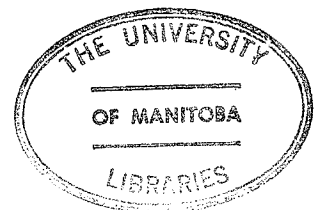
A Thesis

Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree
of Master of Arts

Department of German

Winnipeg, Manitoba

February, 1976



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A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of
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ABSTRACT

The text of Georg Büchner's Woyzeck has defied precise textual analysis for over 140 years. Many approaches have been used in order to determine whether or not the drama was complete at the time of Büchner's death and, if complete, how its pieces were meant to be linked, but Büchner scholarship has been plagued by many dubious, contradictory, or deceptive conclusions about the Woyzeck manuscripts and their state of completion. This thesis represents an endeavour to critically examine various Woyzeck texts and studies bearing on this textual dilemma. The first segment of the thesis reviews what has been done with the Woyzeck-related Nachlass by various editors of primary texts and other Büchner scholars. The second part of the thesis examines several potentially useful means of resolving textual questions left unanswered by the studies considered in Part One; included here is the study of probable Woyzeck sources and stylistic features which appear to offer clues regarding Büchner's apparent intentions for the drama. The findings presented in the latter two segments of the thesis are summarized in Part Three, which culminates in the

presentation of a list of scenes for a hypothetical Woyzeck text based on those findings. While many doubts about the text remain, it has been established that Woyzeck is probably incomplete and was written in four phases, the last of which is apparently incomplete and includes material revised from scenes in the preceding phases. The construction phase chronology suggested by Werner Lehmann in the Hamburger Büchner-Ausgabe (H_1 - H_2 - H_4 , with H_3 problematic) seems to be the most likely chronology yet presented. The hypothetical text outlined in the thesis consists of H_4 , the final phase, followed by the murder complex from the first phase, and the two gaps in the H_4 phase are filled with appropriate material from H_1 and H_2 ; the two scenes of H_3 are added as optional scenes because their Entstehung is highly problematic. Final answers to the textual dilemma are obviously not possible since no finalized text has yet been found and no definitive explanation of the intended form of Woyzeck has been presented, but close scrutiny of the presently available text reconstructions, manuscript analyses, and supplementary materials can apparently be used to form fairly reliable conclusions about the meaning and general structure of Woyzeck, as is evidenced by many successful interpretations and realizations which are not compromised by textual problematics.

--NOTE--

The manuscript phase and scene nomenclature suggested by Werner Lehmann in his Georg Büchner Sämtliche Werke und Briefe, Volumes I and II (München: 1972, 1974) will be used throughout this thesis, and references to or quotations from material in the Woyzeck manuscripts or Büchner letters, unless otherwise noted, will be made with respect to the latter work. See Appendix Three for a presentation of this system of phase and scene classification and Appendix Four for a comparison of the Lehmann system with those of other major Woyzeck editors--Bergemann, Bornscheuer, Buch, Krause, and Witkowski.

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INTRODUCTION

Ein unvollendet Lied, sinkt er ins Grab
Der Verse schönsten nimmt er mit hinab.

-- Georg Herwegh¹

Büchner's Woyzeck presents a number of serious textual problems, and these range from fundamental questions of scene order and construction to highly problematic orthographic and appellative considerations. In the many decades since Büchner's death in 1837 about forty Woyzeck or complete Büchner editions have appeared in the German language; within this group of forty or so editions are the works of eight editors who have produced primary editions based on the original manuscripts; yet, despite this seeming wealth of information and high degree of textual scrutiny, Büchner's intended Woyzeck has not been conclusively presented. These years of study, including the analysis of text fragments, Büchner's dramaturgy, apparent sources for characters and action in Woyzeck, letters to and from Büchner, and varied supplemental materials, have not eliminated the aura of doubt which surrounds the Woyzeck text. Büchner study has

¹This verse is on Büchner's tombstone; see Ernst Johann, Georg Büchner in Selbstzeugnissen und Bilddokumenten (Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag GmbH, 1958), p. 159.

indeed been highly systematic since the 1920's, which saw the work of Georg Witkowski, Fritz Bergemann, and others, but truly definitive answers regarding the order of scenes and the precise nature of their construction, Büchner's intended Woyzeck, will probably never be found because of complex problems surrounding the compilation, preservation, and interpretation of the Woyzeck manuscripts and supplemental materials.

Despite these textual problems, Woyzeck has been successfully staged on many occasions and has enjoyed considerable popularity since its first performance at the Münchener Residenztheater in November of 1913; additionally, Woyzeck was made into an opera (Wozzeck) by Alban Berg and was first performed in 1925. The performances of Woyzeck have been based on many textual reconstructions which have presented several different settings and outcomes for the drama. Of these varied Woyzeck texts, some have utilized great amounts of arbitrarily rewritten dramatic material while others have been based on close scrutiny of the original manuscripts; thus, great problems exist with respect to the question of textual authenticity--many texts apparently reveal more about their editor or director's dramaturgy than Büchner's. Simply stated, many dramatically effective Woyzecks are possible, as the many texts and well-received stage performances suggest, but not all texts or

performances apparently reflect Georg Büchner's designs for the drama.

The purpose of this thesis is to present an historical and critical review of over one hundred years of Woyzeck textual scholarship, and, through the integration of findings from a variety of areas pertinent to Woyzeck, to answer as many questions as possible about the intended nature of that text. The first two parts of the thesis will evaluate two basic approaches to the textual dilemma; the findings of these approaches will be summarized in the final part of the thesis which will culminate in the presentation of an outline for a hypothetical Woyzeck text based on these findings which, unlike many of its predecessors, includes no material deleted by Büchner and incorporates all of Büchner's apparent scene revisions.

The first part of the thesis, entitled, "The Textual Dilemma," will be an endeavour to briefly review what has been done with Büchner's Woyzeck- related Nachlass in the nearly 140 years since his sudden death on the nineteenth of February, 1837. The first area of concern will be the study of the truly bizarre set of circumstances surrounding Georg Büchner's Nachlass from the time of his death until 1924, when the extant pieces of the Nachlass were given to their present owners, the Goethe- and Schiller- Archiv in Weimar, by the Insel Verlag. The next subject will be the

description and evaluation of the many primary versions of the Woyzeck text from Karl Emil Franzos' version of 1879 to the text in Fritz Bergemann's twelfth Büchner edition of 1974. A review of hypotheses concerning Büchner's pattern of construction for Woyzeck will follow; this includes the review of various scholars' analyses based on the consideration of handwriting, ink, pagination, and apparent chronological/thematic relationships between the 49 scenes and four construction phases of Woyzeck. Part One will end with a critical review of the two leading Woyzeck text reconstructions; this review is intended to show how common textual assumptions have led to the evolution of quite different textual reconstructions with associated interpretational problems, and also to show some of the questions which remain unanswered about the drama's intended form despite years of intensive textual scrutiny.

The second part of the thesis, entitled, "Possible Tools for the Resolution of the Textual Dilemma," as its name implies, will be a consideration of several potentially effective means of answering questions which have defied analysis by the more conventional, manuscript-based approaches reviewed in Part One. This second avenue of textual inquiry is necessitated by the failure of the first to resolve many basic problems of scene and phase order; this second approach is based on the premise that clues to Büchner's dramatic

intentions in Woyzeck may be discernible in the stylistic and thematic minutiae of various phases and scenes. The first area to be investigated here will be the many parallels between three murder cases and the action and characters of the four phases of Woyzeck. It is quite clear that Büchner knew of the historical Woyzeck case, but it is also likely that he knew of the similar cases of Daniel Schmolling and Johann Diess and used elements from the accounts of these cases in the construction of Woyzeck; differential amounts of reliance on material from contemporary accounts of the three murder cases may reveal clues concerning Woyzeck's pattern of development. The implications of the parallels between the cases and the drama, then, will be the subject of the initial segment of Part Two of the thesis. Büchner's apparent use of biblical and other source materials in Woyzeck will next be considered in order to see if his use of this varied material gives apparent clues regarding the pattern of Woyzeck's construction. The final topic of Part Two will be a variety of stylistic features in the manuscript--Büchner's use of language, characterizations, dramatic form--which may have useful implications for the resolution of the textual dilemma.

Findings from the two basic approaches mentioned previously have been many, varied, and often contradictory; due to the unfortunate set of circumstances surrounding the

manuscripts, many unlikely hypotheses about the text must be accepted as possible because of the total absence of arguably genuine, negative evidence. The purpose of the third part of the thesis is to review the major findings about the textual dilemma mentioned in the previous parts without reliance on those findings which are highly problematic. These findings will then be used to present and defend a list of scenes for a Woyzeck text which, as far as is possible on the basis of presently available materials, respects Georg Büchner's apparent designs for Woyzeck. Part Three will conclude with the brief consideration of the extent to which Woyzeck's textual problematics compromise its interpretation--the issue of editors' versus Büchner's Woyzeck.

PART ONE

Chapter One

Büchner's Nachlass

The most perplexing issue relating to Woyzeck is without doubt the element of uncertainty which surrounds many potentially enlightening letters and documents of Büchner as well as the text of Woyzeck itself. While it is clear that the Büchner family and Georg Büchner's fiancée had access to material which has been denied, by their direct or indirect efforts, to all prospective students and editors of Büchner's works (with the possible exceptions of Karl Gutzkow and Georg Zimmerman), the precise nature of the missing material is, obviously, impossible to judge. It is known from various letters, editors' comments, statements, and analyses that the family and Minna withheld or edited pieces of Büchner's Nachlass, and this suppression or destruction of information has led to a wide variety of accounts of the nature of the manuscripts, letters, and miscellaneous writings left by Georg Büchner. Conjecture regarding the extent of interference with material ranges from the suggestion of overt destruction by Minna of the text of the drama Pietro Aretino (suggested primarily by Karl Emil Franzos and still

a controversial subject), to ideas of less deliberate interference through misplacement of material, fire, or the unconventional editorial practices of Georg's brother, Ludwig Büchner.² Simply stated, interference with the Nachlass has been conclusively established, but the extent of this interference defies accurate accounting.

The letters of Büchner, although only a handful survive as originals, are perhaps the best sources of information about his literary projects and their state of completion at the time of his death; the rather vague information given in these letters (approximately 70, many of which are fragments) can be interpreted in the light of other material of Büchner's which has been found, and one can then make assumptions about such things as the possibility of lost texts or documents on the basis of an integration of information from letters and the overall Nachlass.

Büchner revealed the intensity of his interest in drama in a letter written to his family from Strassburg on 1 January, 1836; in this letter Büchner remarks:

Ich gehe meinen Weg für mich und bleibe auf dem Felde des Dramas, das mit all diesen [social and political] Streitfragen nichts zu thun hat; ich zeichne meine Charaktere, wie ich sie der Natur und der Geschichte angemessen halte, und lache über die Leute, welche mich für die Moralität

²See Karl Emil Franzos, "Über Georg Büchner, "Deutsche Dichtung 29 (1901), 195-203 und 289-300.

oder Immoralität derselben verantwortlich machen wollen.³

In a letter of 10 June, 1836 written by Karl Gutzkow to Büchner, reference is made to "Ferkeldramen" which Büchner was supposedly writing; it has been assumed by scholars, through the sort of data integration previously mentioned, that Woyzeck is likely one of these so-called "Ferkeldramen" and was being actively worked on by Büchner in the summer of 1836.^{4,5} An oft-quoted letter from Büchner to his family dated September, 1836 mentions that he is working on two dramas which "sind Arbeiten, mit denen man nicht zu einer bestimmten Zeit fertig werden kann, wie der Schneider mit seinem Kleid."⁶ Another letter, really a fragment, written to Minna just before the onset of Büchner's fatal fever, dated "[Zürich, 1837]" suggests that Büchner would "in längstens acht Tagen Leonce und Lena mit noch zwei anderen Dramen erscheinen lassen."⁷ Scholars have argued about the identity of the dramas mentioned in the latter

³ Georg Büchner, Sämtliche Werke und Briefe, Historisch-Kritische Ausgabe mit Kommentar, ed. Werner R. Lehmann, Zweiter Band (München: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1972), p. 452. This work will be hereafter referred to as "H.A." (for Hamburger Ausgabe.)

⁴ H.A. II, p. 491.

⁵ Georg Büchner, Woyzeck Kritisch herausgegeben, ed. Egon Krause (Frankfurt/M: Insel Verlag, 1969), p. 73.

⁶ H.A. II, p. 460.

⁷ Ibid., p. 464.

three important letters, especially since most originals of Büchner's letters have been lost and the copies made by Ludwig Büchner for his, clearly incomplete, Nachgelassene Schriften (1850) are dubious, but Woyzeck is probably one of the dramas; the implied third drama may well be the controversial Pietro Aretino of which the Büchner family allegedly said "dass es sein bestes gewesen sei."⁸ These letters lack the clarity of reference vis-à-vis individual literary projects of Büchner which one might hope for, but they do chronologically place Leonce und Lena and Woyzeck to a certain extent--January 1836 to February 1837; the issue of the third drama, however, is hopelessly clouded by lack of evidence. It appears that Woyzeck was worked on for a rather long period of time; the long delay in its construction is quite easily explained by Georg Büchner's simultaneous involvement with "Dichtungen, naturwissenschaftlichen und philosophischen Studien...mit der Vorbereitung einer Probevorlesung und mit Vorbereitungen auf die Dozententätigkeit while residing in Strassburg and Zürich."⁹

⁸Cf. Georg Büchner, Werke und Briefe, ed. Fritz Bergemann (München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1965), pp. 347-348 and p. 345; Heinz Fischer, Georg Büchner: Untersuchungen und Marginalien (Bonn: Bouvier Verlag Herbert Grundmann, 1972), pp. 89-90; Krause, pp. 73-74; Walther Kupsch, Woyzeck Ein Beitrag zum Schaffen Georg Büchners (Berlin: n.p., 1920; reprint ed. Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint Limited, 1967), pp. 10-11.

⁹Krause, p. 74.

Caroline Schulz, wife of a friend of Büchner, left "Tagebuchaufzeichnungen über Büchners letzte Tage" which give a great deal of information about the course of Büchner's illness and allude to some Büchner material which has never been found.¹⁰ This Tagebuch states that Büchner's illness started on the second of February, a fact which enables one to suggest the date of the final letter fragment of Büchner, and that Minna arrived from Strassburg on the seventeenth of February, but the most important revelation of this Tagebuch lies in the entry for February 20, the day after Büchner's death. In this entry Caroline Schulz states that "wir lasen in einer Art Tagebuch, das sich unter Büchners Papieren gefunden hatte und reiche Geistesschätze enthält," and it also mentions the reading of "seine treffende Satire."¹¹ This Tagebuch of Büchner's was apparently only seen by Schulz and Minna Jaegle, the "wir" of Caroline's reference; it presumably remained in Minna's hands and has never been found, causing much speculation among Büchner scholars.¹²

The Nachruf of Caroline's husband, Wilhelm, gives a brief account of Büchner's literary Nachlass. This Nachruf, written for the Schweizerischer Republikner for 28 February,

¹⁰Bergemann, pp. 317-323.

¹¹Ibid., pp. 322-323.

¹²See, for example, Bergemann, pp. 347-348 and Fischer, pp. 89-90 concerning Minna.

1837, mentions Büchner's Victor Hugo translations from the Strassburg period (1836), but goes on to relate:

In derselben Zeit und später zu Zürich vollendete er ein im Manuskript vorliegendes Lustspiel, Leonce und Lena... Ausserdem findet sich unter seinen hinterlassenen Schriften ein beinahe vollendetes Drama, sowie das Fragment einer Novelle, welche die letzten Lebenstage des so... unglücklichen Dichter Lenz zum Gegenstande hat. Diese Schriften werden demnächst im Druck erscheinen.¹³

Woyzeck is certainly the drama mentioned here, but the existence of the third drama mentioned in Büchner's letters and the contents of the Tagebuch mentioned in Caroline Schulz' Tagebuch are matters not clarified in the piece.

Another Nachruf concerning Büchner was written by Gutzkow and appeared in the Frankfurter Telegraf for June, 1837. This piece contains much information about Dantons Tod and the relationship between Gutzkow and Büchner, but it concludes with some interesting statements about Büchner's Nachlass:

Die schönste Belohnung, die ich für diesen Nachruf erhalten konnte, waren die sauberen Abschriften des poetischen Nachlasses Büchners von der Hand seiner Verlobten. Es ist ein vollendetes Lustspiel "Leonce und Lena".... Dann das Fragment des "Lenz" und ein Heft von Briefen, ^{die} ohne Absicht geschrieben und doch voll künstlerischen und poetischen Wertes sind.¹⁴

Gutzkow's information, significantly, came from Minna Jaegle; the absence of a reference to Woyzeck is striking

¹³Bergemann, p. 325.

¹⁴Karl Gutzkow, Werke, ed. Peter Müller, Volume III (Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut, n.d.), p. 129.

and serves to raise questions about Minna, who almost certainly had the Woyzeck material for several months, and her role in the Büchner editorial dilemma.¹⁵

From letters of Minna written after Büchner's death, it is possible to glean some information about the existence of documents exclusively in her hands, but this information is neither detailed nor conclusive. A letter to Büchner's friend Eugen Boeckel of 5 March, [1837] verifies Caroline Schulz' account of Minna's arrival in Zürich and helps to give credence to the overall Schulz account; it is a letter written years later, however, that has stirred the most controversy regarding Minna's role.¹⁶ The letter was written to Karl Emil Franzos in 1877 after he had requested Minna to send him any Büchner material which he had; she stated quite categorically:

dass ich durchaus keine moralische Verpflichtung fühle, die besagten Papiere zur Öffentlichkeit zu bringen; teils sind es solche, die nur mich persönlich angehen, teils sind es unvollständige Auszüge und unvollendete Notizen. Das Andenken an Georg Büchner ist mir zu teuer, als dass ich wünschen könnte, etwas Unfertiges von ihm der Kritik der Rezensenten auszusetzen.¹⁷

Franzos suggests that Minna's memories of Georg Büchner were

¹⁵Krause, p. 80.

¹⁶Bergemann, pp. 327-328.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 335.

so dear that the notion of "etwas Unfertiges" also extended to material (like Pietro Aretino and perhaps a complete Woyzeck) which she thought displayed atheistic tendencies which she felt would tarnish the reputation of her late fiancé.¹⁸ Additionally, Minna apparently had a falling out with the Büchner family and, according to Franzos, was unwilling to deliver some of her papers (including Pietro Aretino) because of her desire to deprive the Büchner family of any additional royalties which would be received from the publication of the "new" material held by her.¹⁹ The vehemence and vagueness of the letter, the element of uncertainty about the contents of Büchner's Tagebuch, together with Franzos' allegations, have combined to create an aura of suspicion about Minna Jaegle; the Tagebuch was never found and no new pieces of Büchner material were found after Minna's death in 1880 despite extensive searches. The following observations by Ronald Hauser is a good summary of the possible extent of Minna's interference:

Unfortunately, Wilhelmine, who never married, refused access to her treasured mementos. When she died in 1880, not a single document of Büchner's could be found among her effects. Presumably she had destroyed everything. Besides the drama Pietro Aretino, and the final manuscript of Woyzeck, an undetermined number

¹⁸ Franzos, pp. 200-201.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 201.

of letters and, perhaps most unfortunately, Büchner's diary, which, according to Caroline Schulz, contained "rich intellectual treasures," were thus lost.²⁰

After many years of debate, the question of Minna's role as an obstructor of Büchner study has remained unanswered; unless new material comes to light--a seemingly unlikely event--this controversy will continue to plague Büchner scholarship.

With the exception of the Tagebuch and whatever other material was kept by Minna, Büchner's manuscripts remained with the Büchner family from sometime in 1838, when Minna returned some of the material she had taken while in Zürich, until July, 1875 when they were temporarily loaned to Karl Emil Franzos.²¹ Starting in late 1837, Karl Gutzkow attempted to compile a volume of Büchner's collected works, including Pietro Aretino of which he supposedly had a copy, but he was only able to publish a Nachruf, an essay on Büchner, part of Briefwechsel with Georg, and excerpts from Leonce und Lena (1838) and Lenz (1839); he had the support of Minna, but, because of political and financial problems, ran afoul of Büchner's father, resulting in an impasse.^{22, 23} Georg

²⁰Ronald Hauser, Georg Büchner (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1974), p. 23.

²¹Franzos, pp. 290-291; Krause, p. 80.

²²Hauser, p. 22.

²³Fischer, p. 90.

Zimmermann, a school friend of Büchner, had the support of the father, but was unable to complete his planned edition which was intensively worked on in 1838. The Nachgelassene Schriften of 1850, edited by Ludwig Büchner, was the first Büchner edition, but it was far from a complete version of Georg Büchner's Nachlass; Woyzeck, found undecipherable by Ludwig, is not in the edition and many letters are either not included or edited in an extremely conservative, family-image-serving fashion which seems highly questionable by virtue of its deliberate withholding of information about Georg Büchner.²⁴

A fire in the Büchner house in the 1850's destroyed many of the original letters of Büchner's; this fact, coupled with the mystery of Minna's holdings, the allegations about Pietro Aretino, and the peculiarity of Ludwig Büchner's editing of the 1850 edition has prepared the groundwork for violent controversy about the nature of possible differences between what we have of Büchner's work and that which was indeed written by him.

The first presentation of the Woyzeck material, albeit a poor deciphering containing 20 scenes, was the result of painstaking, chemically-aided interpretation of the Woyzeck material done by Karl Emil Franzos, and it appeared in the

²⁴Ibid.

newspaper Wiener Freie Presse on 5 and 23 November, 1875.²⁵

The Franzos edition of 1879, Georg Büchner's Sämtliche Werke und handschriftlicher Nachlass, contains the first full length publication of Woyzeck, read as "Wozzeck" by Franzos, and was the product of more intensive textual scrutiny and strenuous efforts aimed at the collection of supplemental material from a wide variety of sources.²⁶

Franzos' endeavors are aptly summarized by Hauser as follows:

Sparing no effort, he not only collected manuscripts, letters, and other documents pertaining to Büchner's life, but sought out, interviewed, and corresponded with as many people who had known Büchner personally as he could find.²⁷

Franzos indeed had the support of the Büchner family, but, as the letter from Minna Jaegle clearly shows, he received little or no help from her, and he was firmly convinced that she had manuscripts and letters which were very important and not held (and possibly not ever seen) by the family.

In 1918 the family sold the Georg Büchner Nachlass to the Insel Verlag in Leipzig; in the next few years Insel used the papers to produce three important primary Büchner

²⁵Dietmar Goltschnigg, "Der Erstabdruck von Büchners 'Woyzeck' in der 'Neuen Freien Presse' am 3. und 23. November 1875," ZfdP 94 (1975), 265-267.

²⁶Werner Lehmann, Textkritische Noten Prolegomena zur Hamburger Büchner-Ausgabe (Hamburg: Christian Wegner Verlag, 1967), p. 36. (For information about Franzos' work)

²⁷Hauser, p. 23.

editions--those of Witkowski (1920), Bergemann (1922), and Hardt (1924/25). In 1924 the Insel Verlag presented the Nachlass to the Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv in Weimar, where it remains.

.....

There are many questions about Büchner's Nachlass which have remained unanswered and will, almost definitely, remain so because of the unfortunate circumstances surrounding Büchner's death and the attitudes of his family and fiancée regarding the prompt and complete publication of all extant Büchner material. There are contradictory accounts of the Nachlass coming from people who were with Büchner at the time of his death--Minna (information about her coming mainly through Gutzkow), Caroline and Wilhelm Schulz, letters suggesting the existence of three dramas although only two (Leonce und Lena and Woyzeck) have been discovered in the Nachlass. found in Zürich, rumors about the existence of a complete Pietro Aretino (including a claim by Franzos that Gutzkow had and lost a copy which had been prepared by Minna), and certainly many lost letters--in short, given the chain of events relating to the family, Minna, and the Nachlass, precious little is certain.

It is safe to assume a rather severe degree of tampering with Büchner's letters by Ludwig Büchner, the fire obviously compounding this problem, and the loss of, at least,

letters by Minna to Büchner, but assumptions about interference with larger pieces of the Nachlass lie in the realm of pure speculation as do ideas about the content of the missing letters and Tagebuch. The allegations of deliberate tampering with or destruction of manuscripts, specifically with regard to Pietro Aretino and Woyzeck, will remain as allegations since the only conceivable evidence to support these charges has never been seen by anyone other than the supposed offenders. The Nachlass dilemma contains a major problem with respect to the question of interference with manuscripts and other materials; these materials clearly have been tampered with, but the degree of the interference is impossible to accurately judge. Parties to interference can be identified quite easily--Ludwig Büchner and Minna Jaegle are prime examples--but the precise objects of this interference are lost or simply not verifiable as such on the basis of sketchy available information. The extant Büchner material must be simultaneously used as final information about the Nachlass and as an indicator of what is apparently missing; the textual gaps suggested by certain letters and statements, most probably, will never be filled since extensive physical searches and editorial research have failed to unearth, for example, Pietro Aretino or additional Woyzeck textual or supplemental material. The Büchner analyst, in the fundamental region of the Woyzeck

text and closely related material, must walk a methodological/epistemological tightrope in order to evaluate the whole Büchner/Woyzeck picture; the set of truly unfortunate circumstances in the 1837 to 1880 period has rendered the straightforward analysis of most of the material impossible.

Chapter Two

The Editionsgeschichte of Woyzeck

The many extant editions of Büchner's works printed in the German language, both "complete" and Woyzeck editions, can be split into two distinct categories; these are the primary editions based on the interpretation of the original manuscripts (some of these are termed "critical editions") and the secondary editions copied or synthesized from previous primary or secondary versions. The nineteen editions clearly derived from the study of the original manuscripts, the products of eight editors (as of 1975), are the basis for all the Woyzeck texts which have been published; these versions, then, will be taken to form the Editionsgeschichte of Woyzeck since the secondary editions, being derivatives, tend to lie in even more difficult epistemological positions than the already problematic primary versions.²⁸

The Woyzeck material was indeed available for the 1850 edition, but Ludwig Büchner was unable to make sense of the

²⁸See Krause, pp. 243-244 for a graphic representation of the Editionsgeschichte for Woyzeck; see Appendices One and Two of this thesis for a list of Woyzeck editions and primary editions, respectively.

manuscripts in his possession. He explained that the material, though definitely at hand, was:

zum grössten Theile mit blasser Tinte geschrieben und durchaus unleserlich; die einzelnen Szenen, die entziffert werden konnten, sind durch das Ausfallende so wenig unter einander in Zusammenhang zu bringen, dass nichts davon in der Sammlung mitgetheilt werden konnte.²⁹

Nachgelassene Schriften von Georg Büchner, the first Büchner edition, then, did not include Woyzeck and the first text of the drama would not appear until after more than two decades had passed.

The first successful attempt at the deciphering and subsequent publication of a Woyzeck edition was Karl Emil Franzos' endeavor, Georg Büchners Sämmtliche Werke und handschriftlicher Nachlass, Kritische Gesamt-Ausgabe, published in 1879. Franzos described the condition of the manuscripts thus:

Ich hatte anfangs auch nicht die leiseste Hoffnung, dass mir die Entzifferung gelingen werde. Vor mir lagen vier Bogen dunkelgrauen, mürde gewordenen Papiers, kreuz und quer mit langen Linien sehr feiner, sehr blasser gelblicher Strichelchen bechrieben. Da war absolut keine Silbe lesbar. Ferner einige Blättchen weissen Papiers, mit ähnlichen Strichelchen bedeckt. Da hier die Zeichen grösser waren, der Hintergrund heller, so war da stellenweise ein Wort zu

²⁹Ludwig Büchner as quoted in Lehmann, Prolegomena, p. 36.

entziffern, aber nirgendwo auch nur ein ganzer Satz. Rathlos wendete ich die Blätter hin und her.³⁰

Franzos used chemicals to render the manuscripts more legible, but, despite his claims to the contrary, his work did not stop with the mere transcription of Büchner's work. His chemical treatment indeed aided deciphering of the fading material and perhaps saved it for posterity, but it eventually led to the further deterioration of the manuscripts, making chemical analysis of the ink used by Büchner, a possible source of useful information about the drama's Entstehung, quite problematic.³¹ Franzos' task after chemical treatment was not an easy one since "die Schriftzüge waren mikroskopisch klein" and Büchner "wenn er ~~rasch~~ schrieb" had "die unleserlichste Handschrift, die man sich denken kann," but Franzos compounded the orthographic and physical problems of the text through his own arbitrary editing.³² He used his personal judgment "um eine lesbare und spielbare Fassung zu erreichen," and this factor raises a very real question of Büchner's versus editor's intent with respect to this Woyzeck text.³³ The critic Henry Schmidt has summarized Franzos'

³⁰ Georg Büchners Sämtliche Werke und handschriftlicher Nachlass, Erste Kritische Gesamt-Ausgabe, ed. Karl Emil Franzos (Frankfurt/M: n.p., 1879), p. 202.

³¹ Lehmann, Prolegomena, p. 36.

³² Franzos, Sämtliche Werke, p. 203.

³³ Lehmann, Prolegomena, p. 36.

TABLE I

FRANZOS (1879):

1. Zimmer (Der Hauptmann. Wozzeck.)
2. Oeffentlicher Platz. Buden
3. Das Innere der Bude
4. Stube
5. Der Hof des Doctors
6. Freies Feld. Die Stadt in der Ferne
7. Die Stadt
8. Studirstube des Doctors
9. Strasse (Marie. Tambour-Major)
10. Strasse (Hauptmann. Doctor.)
11. Mariens Stube
12. Wirthshaus
13. Die Wachtstube
14. Wirthshaus
15. Freies Feld
16. Kaserne
17. Kasernenhof
18. Mariens Stube
19. Kramladen
20. Strasse (Marie vor der Hausthür, ihr Kind auf dem Arm...
Kinder spielen auf der Strasse)
21. Kaserne
22. Waldweg am Teich (Es dunkelt)
23. Wirthshaus
24. Waldweg Am Teich (Nacht)
25. Früher Morgen. Vor Mariens Hausthür
26. Secirsaal

Note-- This table, like the ones that follow, presents scene titles, often abbreviated ones, from a primary Woyzeck edition discussed in the text; the tables are intended to give the reader an appreciation of the variety of scene orders in Woyzeck primary editions. For complete scene titles and argumentation to support them, the reader should consult the primary editions themselves (see Bibliography). The numbers associated with individual scenes have been added by myself.

role in the Editionsgeschichte as follows:

To Franzos goes the credit of discovering this masterpiece and presenting it to the German public, but he was in large part responsible for inaugurating a long tradition of Woyzeck falsification.... He discovered that Büchner had composed the play in a nearly illegible shorthand. Being himself a prolific author, he set about filling in the gaps, clarifying where he thought the play needed clarification. One of his glaring errors was the misreading of the title, and until the 1920's the play was called Wozzeck.³⁴

Franzos' edition, despite its severe epistemological problems, was for many years the basis for secondary editions and much critical work; it was not until the early 1920's with the textual analyses and editions of Witkowski and Bergemann that Franzos' work was superceded.

Georg Witkowski's Woyzeck, Nach den Handschriften des Dichters herausgegeben (1920) was an attempt to decipher Woyzeck and evolve a viable scene order from its final manuscript phase; it should be noted that in contrast to Franzos, "Spielbarkeit und Lesbarkeit sind für Witkowski keine Kriterien," a fact which has brought him both praise and condemnation.³⁵ In Witkowski's "Nachwort" it is simply noted that "Büchners Woyzeck erscheint hier zum ersten Male

³⁴Henry Schmidt (trans.), Georg Büchner Woyzeck (New York: Avon Books, 1969), p. 80.

³⁵Quote from Lehmann, Prolegomena, p. 36; general information on Witkowski from Krause, pp. 13-14.

TABLE II

WITKOWSKI (1920)

1 - 31 = Die Entwürfe
 32 - 48 = Die Ausführung
 49, 50 = vereinzelte Szenen

1. Das Wirthshaus
2. Freies Feld
3. Nacht
4. Margarethe und Mädchen vor der Hausthür
5. Margarethe und Louis
6. Es kommen Leute
7. Das Wirthshaus
8. Kinder
9. Louis, allein
10. Louis an einem Teich
11. Gerichtsdienner. Barbier. Arzt. Richter
12. Freies Feld. Die Stadt in der Ferne
13. Die Stadt
14. Öffentlicher Platz. Buden. Lichter
15. Handwerksbursche
16. (Louisel. Woyzeck)
17. Anlastin. Tambourmajor
18. Buden. Volk
19. Das Innere der Bude
20. Margarethe (allein)
21. Der Casernenhof
22. Wirthshaus
23. Freies Feld
24. Ein Zimmer
25. Casernenhof
26. Der Officier. Louis
27. Ein Wirthshaus
28. Woyzeck. Doctor
29. Strasse
30. Woyzeck. Louisel
31. Louisel (allein)
32. Hauptmann. Doctor
33. Freies Feld. Die Stadt in der Ferne
34. Marie (mit ihrem Kind am Fenster) Margreth. Der Zapfen-
 streich geht vorbei, der Tamboumajor voran
35. Buden. Lichter. Volk (no text)
36. Marie
37. Der Hauptmann. Woyzeck
38. Marie. Tambour-Major
39. Die Wachtstube

40. Wirthshaus
41. Freies Feld
42. Nacht
43. Marie.Woyzeck
44. Woyzeck.Der Doctor
45. Wirthshaus
46. Woyzeck.Der Jude
47. Marie
48. Caserne
49. Der Hof des Professors
50. Der Idiot.Das Kind.Woyzeck

so, wie der Dichter das Werk kurz vor seinem frühen Tode niedergeschrieben hat."³⁶ This work, which still draws critical attention, has been widely respected for its faithfulness to the manuscripts, but it also draws rather severe criticism for inconsistencies in the presentation of Büchner's orthography and punctuation. Even Witkowski's faithfulness--a seeming virtue--has been the source of some criticism since his text includes some material which Büchner had crossed out; thus, the suggestion can be made that Witkowski failed to blend faithfulness with proper discriminatory judgment.³⁷ Witkowski's greatest accomplishment is certainly the breaking down of the manuscripts into three developmental phases--the outline, completion, and scattered scenes ("die Entwürfe, die Ausführung, die vereinzeltten Szenen"). This marked a clear shift from Franzos' purely aesthetic and arbitrary judgments into the realm of systematic textual analysis; Witkowski's three-part analysis, although not necessarily his precise scene order, served as the point of departure for Bergemann's four part division and other textual interpretations.

Fritz Bergemann, some of whose 12 Büchner editions have been heralded as being at the forefront of Büchner

³⁶ Georg Büchner, Woyzeck Nach den Handschriften des Dichters, ed. Georg Witkowski (Leipzig: Insel Verlag, 1920), p. 59.

³⁷ See footnote 35.

TABLE III

BERGEMANN 1 (1922)

1. Freies Feld.Die Stadt in der Ferne
2. Die Stadt
3. Buden.Lichter
4. Das Innere der Bude
5. Mariens Kammer
6. Beim Hauptmann
7. Vor Mariens Kammer?
8. Mariens Kammer
9. Beim Doktor
10. Strasse
11. Die Wachtstube
12. Wirtshaus
13. Freies Feld
14. Ein Zimmer in der Kaserne
15. Wirtshaus
16. Kramladen
17. Mariens Kammer
18. Kaserne
19. Weg zum Teich
20. An dem Teich

scholarship, saw his first, and most respected, edition, Georg Büchners Sämtliche Werke und Briefe, published in 1922. He redivided Witkowski's classification into four parts--outline into h_1 and h_2 , scattered scenes into hH , completion into H ; this classification scheme has been generally accepted, but Bergemann texts, especially the later ones, derived from these phases, have been severely criticized. Bergemann improved on Witkowski's work, but also picked up some of Witkowski's errors and added some new ones--mostly in the realm of orthography and punctuation (sometimes these are ascribed to the Insel Verlag's policy of textual modernization).³⁸ Bergemann's text of 1922 was based on the last manuscript phase, H , with seven additional scenes borrowed from h_1 and h_2 ; two scenes were merged into one in three places in the text.

Bergemann's 1926 text, coming after Ernst Hardt's Woyzeck, Eine Tragödie von Georg Büchner, Nach den neu entzifferten Handschriften, für Leser und Bühne, was radically different from the first text; Bergemann adopted Hardt's opening scene--the shaving scene--instead of the formerly used opening--"Freies Feld"--which clearly lies at ^{the} beginning of what Bergemann defined as the last developmental phase.

³⁸Lehmann, Prolegomena, p. 37.

Hardt's version, the basis for the change, was a synthesis of material from various developmental phases, grouped according to aesthetic judgments about dramatic effect; in addition, material which Büchner had crossed out on the manuscripts was included in both of these texts.³⁹

Bergemann's analysis of the manuscript phases and his textual reconstructions have all been incomplete to varying degrees; much of his work is brilliant, but Bergemann's failure to explain seemingly contradictory material in his later editions and his arbitrary scene mergers cast doubt on the validity of his texts. One critic, Henry Schmidt, states simply:

In 1922, Fritz Bergemann published a complete edition of Büchner's writings, including letters written to Büchner, documents relating to him, textual variants, and even passages deleted by the author. This edition was heralded as the last word in Büchner scholarship. In later printings, however, much of the textual apparatus was eliminated, and Bergemann decided to change the positioning of some Woyzeck scenes.⁴⁰

Textual alterations without commensurate rationales have tended to tarnish Bergemann's reputation; there is indeed an element of artificiality in his texts, but, given, the extreme irregularity of the whole Büchner/Woyzeck manuscript situation, this difficulty should not prompt the complete

³⁹Krause, p. 16.

⁴⁰Schmidt, p. 80.

TABLE IV

HARDT (1924)

1. Die Stube des Hauptmanns
2. Freies Feld. Die Stadt in der Ferne
3. Maries Stube
4. Buden. Lichter. Volk
5. Das Innere der Bude
6. Maries Stube
7. Stube des Doktors
8. Maries Stube
9. Strasse
10. Die Wachtstube
11. Vor dem Wirtshaus
12. Freies Feld
13. Kaserne. Nacht
14. Maries Stube
15. Hof des Doktors
16. Wirtshaus
17. Trödlerladen
18. Maries Stube
19. Kaserne
20. Die Strasse
21. Waldweg am Teich
22. Wirtshaus
23. Waldweg am Teich
24. Die Strasse
25. Waldweg am Teich

TABLE V

BERGEMANN 2 (1926)

1. Beim Hauptmann
2. Freies Feld, die Stadt in der Ferne
3. Die Stadt
4. Buden. Lichter
5. Das Innere der Bude
6. Mariens Kammer
7. Beim Doktor
8. Mariens Kammer
9. Strasse
10. Mariens Kammer
11. Die Wachtstube
12. Wirtshaus
13. Freies Feld
14. Ein Zimmer in der Kaserne
15. Der Hof des Doktors
16. Kasernenhof
17. Wirtshaus
18. Kramladen
19. Mariens Kammer
20. Kaserne
21. Strasse
22. Waldsaum am Teich
23. Das Wirtshaus
24. Am Teich
25. Strasse
26. Am Teich

TABLE VI

BERGEMANN 12 (1974)

1. Beim Hauptmann
2. Freies Feld.Die Stadt in der Ferne
3. Die Stadt
4. Buden.Lichter.Volk
5. Das Innere der hellerleuchteten Bude
6. Mariens Kammer
7. Beim Doktor
8. Mariens Kammer
9. Strasse
10. Mariens Kammer
11. Die Wachtstube
12. Wirtshaus
13. Freies Feld
14. Ein Zimmer in der Kaserne
15. Der Hof des Doktors
16. Kasernenhof
17. Wirtshaus
18. Kramladen
19. Mariens Kammer
20. Kaserne
21. Strasse
22. Waldsaum am Teich
23. Das Wirtshaus
24. Am Teich

rejection of Bergemann's work since no edition, on the basis of presently available material, is defensibly a representation of a text finalized by Büchner.

In 1947 Walter Schürenberg published Freiheit und Wahrheit, Georg Büchner, Dichtungen und Briefe; the Woyzeck version in this work is a synthesis of scenes from the various drafts with apparent omissions, printing errors, and inconsistent logic.⁴¹ Schürenberg's work is marred by his arbitrary and inconsistent approach to scene order; on the basis of his personal sense of the dramatic he placed the shaving scene first, suggests a new placement for the "Doctor/Woyzeck" scene, and insists that Woyzeck was not meant to die in the drama, yet, on the other hand, he ignores the admittedly dramatic scenes of H₃. Simply stated, he ignores much of the phase/scene order which has been established by Bergemann and Witkowski and has created a Woyzeck which is very dubious by virtue of faulty argumentation. The version's many printing errors and admitted orthographic alterations are additional features which render it prone to severe criticism as a primary edition designed to aid serious textual analysis.

Another new version, allegedly based on the manuscripts, came in 1951 (?) with Heinrich Leippe's Bühnenfassung of

⁴¹Krause, pp. 17-18

TABLE VII

SCHÜRENBERG (1947)

1. Der Hauptmann.Woyzeck
2. Freies Feld.Die Stadt in der Ferne
3. Marie mit ihrem Kind am Fenster,Margret
4. Buden.Volk
5. Unteroffizier.Tambourmajor
6. Das Innere der Bude
7. Stube
8. Woyzek (sic),Der Doktor
9. Marie.Tambourmajor
10. Hauptmann.Doktor
11. Marie.Woyzeck
12. Die Wachtstube
13. Wirtshaus
14. Freies Feld
15. Nacht
16. Der Hof des Professors
17. Kasernenhof
18. Wirtshaus
19. Woyzeck.Der Jude
20. Kaserne
21. Marie mit Mädchen vor der Haustür
22. Marie und Woyzeck
23. Das Wirtshaus

Woyzeck which has a text of 32 scenes taken from all phases beginning, unlike the later Bergemann versions, with "Freies Feld" (H₄,1) and not the shaving scene (H₄,5).⁴² This text "existiert nur als hektographiertes Rollenbuch"; in the view of Egon Krause, who has seen the text:

Aus Leippes Vorwort ist nicht ersichtlich, ob er tatsächlich an den Handschriften oder nur, was wahrscheinlich ist, an den Ausgaben von Witkowski und Bergemann gearbeitet hat. Auch dieser Text ist als 'Neuordnung der überlieferten szenischen Elemente' nicht haltbar, wobei zu bedenken ist, dass Leipzig für die Bühne arbeitete und nicht an einer Ausgabe.⁴³

Bergemann's versions have been the basis for many secondary Büchner or Woyzeck editions, but criticism of his work has been increasingly severe, especially because of his switch from the original "critical" to the later "popular" format.⁴⁴ In 1967 a new edition, as yet incomplete, had its first volume published; this edition, Werner Lehmann's Georg Büchner Sämtliche Werke und Briefe, Historisch-Kritische Ausgabe mit Kommentar (sometimes called the Hamburger Ausgabe, although the volumes are now printed in München),

⁴²Ibid., p. 18.

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴Ursula Paulus, "Georg Büchners Woyzeck," Jahrbuch der Deutschen Schiller-Gesellschaft 8 (1964), 226-246.

TABLE VIII.

LEHMANN (1967): Lese- und Bühnenfassung

1. Freies Feld.Die Stadt in der Ferne
2. Die Stadt
3. Buden.Lichter.Volk
4. Kammer
5. Der Hauptmann.Woyzeck
6. Kammer
7. Auf der Gasse
8. Beim Doctor
9. Strasse
10. Die Wachtstube
11. ~~Wirthshaus~~
12. Freies Feld
13. Nacht
14. Wirtshaus
15. Kramladen
16. Kammer
17. Caserne
18. Der Hof des Doctors
19. Marie mit Mädchen vor der Hausthür
20. Abend.Die Stadt in der Ferne
21. Es kommen Leute
22. Das Wirthshaus
23. Abend.Die Stadt in der Ferne
24. Woyzeck an einem Teich
25. Strasse
26. Gerichtsdienner . Arzt.Richter
27. Der Idiot.Das Kind.Woyzeck

is an attempt "sich dem Werk anders zu nähern als ausschliesslich ästhetisch."⁴⁵ The rationale for the new edition is related to flaws in Bergemann's work; these are aptly summarized by Margaret Jacobs, an editor of secondary editions who switched from the use of a slightly modified 1949 Bergemann text to the new Lehmann text, as follows:

There has been some criticism of the Bergemann text in recent years, but Professor Lehmann has conclusively established that it is deficient in a number of ways and cannot claim to be a reliable critical edition; the critical apparatus is incomplete and conflicting evidence has been suppressed; the spelling and punctuation have been altered, obscuring some of Büchner's dialect forms and other aspects of his style; doubtful readings have been allowed to stand.⁴⁶

Lehmann's edition contains all the manuscript phases of Woyzeck in sequence, a synopsis with all the manuscript scenes in parallel, and a new text called the Lese- und Bühnenfassung which is based on H₄, the final phase, followed by the murder complex of H₁ with the two scenes of H₃ added in appropriate positions. Lehmann avoids the use of material deleted by Büchner (from H₁ and H₂) in his second versions of some scenes (in H₄), thus apparently respecting Büchner's intent, but the degree of care used by Lehmann,

⁴⁵Lehmann, Prolegomena, p. 5.

⁴⁶Georg Büchner, Dantons Tod und Woyzeck, ed. Margaret Jacobs, 3rd ed. (Manchester: The University Press, 1971), xxxi.

though quite assiduous, does not necessarily, as Lehmann admits, yield an uncontaminated text.⁴⁷ Lehmann's deciphering of the Woyzeck manuscripts is painstaking and his endeavors to remain faithful to Büchner's orthography and punctuation are very impressive, but the question of manuscript phase and scene chronology--his synopsis--is ultimately based on sophisticated conjecture, and a difficulty remains because of the appellative problems in the four phases.⁴⁸ With respect to the Lese- und Bühnenfassung, Lehmann's truncation of some scenes and his placement of the two H₃ scenes can be criticized as arbitrary; for these and other reasons, the textual reconstruction, despite the beauty of Lehmann's rationale and the vehemance of his criticism of previous texts (in his Textkritische Noten Prolegomena zur Hamburger Büchner-Ausgabe), can only be accepted as a well-argued, though nonetheless contaminated, hypothetical Woyzeck--a logical creation from a systematic manuscript analysis, but by no means the only possibility, as indeed its author admits.⁴⁹ The Hamburger Ausgabe presents a very detailed and precise evaluation of the manuscripts, but its analysis of manuscript phase and scene chronology is problematic and its

⁴⁷Lehmann, Prolegomena, pp. 59-66.

⁴⁸See Lehmann's synopsis in H.A.I., pp. 337-406; see Appendix Seven of this thesis.

⁴⁹See footnote 47.

textual reconstruction is open to significant criticism.

In 1969 Egon Krause published Woyzeck, Texte und Dokumente, Kritisch herausgegeben von Egon Krause which contains a presentation of the manuscripts and analyses of previous texts based on the exhaustive study of the manuscripts and varied supplemental materials. Krause's work includes a critical study of the Hamburger Ausgabe--its manuscript analysis and text--which raises many questions about the actual usefulness of the so-called "critical editions" in connection with such a problematic text. The book represents an endeavor to carefully examine all facets of the textual dilemma with the intent, as Krause puts it:

Ziel unserer Ausgabe war es, einen kritischen Text nach den Handschriften zu schaffen, eine bessere und genauere Entzifferung als die bisherigen Ausgaben zu bieten, das Szenenfolgeproblem zu lösen und einen Anmerkungs- und Lesartenapparat herzustellen, welcher der Gesamtproblematik der Handschriften gemäss ist und mehr bietet, als der bisher einzige Apparat der Bergemann-Ausgabe von 1922. Die Handschriften sollen dabei nicht auf eine Stufe der Vollendung gehoben werden, die ihnen nicht zukommt.⁵⁰

The edition, a well executed blend of research in many areas, presents the four phases of Woyzeck, but, much like Witkowski, Krause does not integrate the pieces into a "final" text; this integration is not attempted because of differences in characterization and action perceived by Krause in the various

⁵⁰Krause, p. 29.

phases. The notion of scene revision is acknowledged by Krause, but he feels that there is not enough substantiation with respect to its precise nature to support a formal text; this decision not to attempt a phase/scene integration, perhaps the manifestation of an overly conservative attitude, and Krause's condemnation of the previous "critical editions" have recently drawn heavy criticism, notably from Werner Lehmann.⁵¹

.....

The Editionsgeschichte of Woyzeck is a fascinating subject; progress has indeed been made from the position of having an undecipherable set of manuscripts to a stage of sophisticated textual analysis yielding several promising texts, yet the basic problem of recreating (perhaps better termed "creating" since it has not been proven that Büchner had finished the potential whole) has not been solved. Obviously the subjective judgments and composition of Franzos and the aesthetically influenced textual interpretations of Hardt, Schürenberg, and (post-1922) Bergemann offer targets for searing criticism, but even the attempts at the presentation of "clean" Woyzecks are tentative because of the apparent lack of definitive information about the stage of Woyzeck's completion at the time of Büchner's death. Conjecture regarding the chronological relationships between

⁵¹Werner Lehmann, "Repliken-Beiträge zu einem Streitgespräch über den 'Woyzeck'," Euph. 65 (1971), 58-83.

the action in the various scenes of all the manuscript phases has indeed been logical, but it can not be considered final since the intent of Büchner may not be derivable from the material in his Nachlass.

The whole issue of textual rationale is keenly deceptive since even the most apparently logical analysis of the extant pieces may not be a complete one; all texts heretofore presented, then, have inescapable elements of artificiality, and more appropriate concerns lie in the recognition of the textual epistemological dilemma, the minimizing of textual artificiality, and the resolution of the problem of whether or not Woyzeck's precise form is vitally important for the reliable interpretation of the material. Definitive judgments, on the basis of currently available information, are seemingly impossible, but analysis of the manuscript phases, coupled with the consideration of the many possible Woyzecks which can be derived from these phases and the consideration of a wide variety of supplemental materials may offer the greatest potential insight with respect to Büchner's thematic and structural intent. The straightforward editorial approach to the Woyzeck problem, as the primary editions show, has proven problematic, deceptive, and often dubious; a synthesis of an editorial/objective approach and an analytical approach based on the careful study of Büchner's complete output, all logically possible Woyzeck texts and their interpretations,

and all available supplemental material bearing on content and style may indeed lead to a state of knowledge not possible with either approach alone. Considering the inadequacy of the conventional editorial approaches, this synthesis may resolve the textual dilemma; it should certainly give the critic a better understanding of that dilemma.

Chapter Three

The Entstehungsgeschichte of Woyzeck

The Woyzeck material consists of the three groups of scenes first isolated by Witkowski in 1920 which have been broken down into four distinct manuscript phases; this four phase system was initially suggested by Bergemann in 1922 and has been generally accepted by later critics (although a logical five phase system has been suggested by Wilfried Buch [1970] and Lothar Bornscheuer [1972]).⁵² The Entstehung of Woyzeck has been interpreted through the painstaking analysis of thematic, biographical, technical, and editorial considerations; the conclusions made by the analysts take the study of the Woyzeck material to an appealingly logical position, but this position, though the end-product of systematized textual scrutiny, does not yield the definitive answer to the problems of Woyzeck's intended form or developmental progression. The "conclusions" must, unfortunately, be accepted along with several gnawing assumptions about the

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Cf., Lothar Bornscheuer, "Neue Beurteilung der Woyzeck Handschriften," GRM 22 (1972), 113-123; Wilfried Buch, Woyzeck Fassungen und Wandlungen (Dortmund: W. Crümmel Verlag, 1970). See Appendix Four of this thesis for a presentation of the five phase system along with other systems of Woyzeck manuscript analysis.

relationship between Büchner's intended dramatic whole and that which has been found of his Nachlass; simply stated, what has been found may indeed be the whole of Büchner's Woyzeck, but, in view of the circumstances of the 1837-1880 period, the likelihood of there being missing material seems quite high and is certainly high enough to make the assumption of full possession of textual material ill-advised.

Franzos, as has been noted, was the first to decipher the manuscripts and his work, though in many respects haphazard, gives the first detailed account of the condition and nature of the manuscripts. After the chemical treatment Franzos reviewed the manuscripts; he describes them thus:

Was ich entziffert, waren offenbar zwei merklich verschiedene Entwürfe einer und derselben Arbeit. Die grauen Bogen waren der ältere und grössere, die weissen Blättchen der jüngere und kleinere Entwurf des 'Woyzeck.' Der erste Entwurf enthielt etwa zwanzig Szenen, theils nur angedeutet, theils dürftig skizzirt, die wenigsten ausgeführt. Die Reihenfolge war ganz willkürlich; auf die Katastrophe folgte ein Stück der Exposition, darauf fand sich die Schluss-szene angedeutet, dahinter jene Szene, mit der sich wohl die Dichtung eröffnen sollte u.s.w.u.s.w. Die weissen Blättchen enthielten nur etwa zehn Szenen, gleichfalls ohne logische Reihenfolge, theils Ausführungen solcher Stellen, die sich in den grauen Bogen nur eben skizzirt finden, theils neue Fragmente. Diese Szenen des zweiten Entwurfs beziehen sich sämmtlich auf die Katastrophe. Die Namen der Personen hat Büchner im zweiten Entwurfe geändert, bei einzelnen auch den Stand.⁵³

⁵³ Franzos, Sämmtliche Werke, p. 203.

Franzos, then, received the manuscripts in an order not necessarily as they were left by Büchner (Minna Jaegle, Karl Gutzkow, Georg Zimmermann and Ludwig Büchner had presumably gone through them before); this uncertainty, compounded by the fact that Franzos himself marked the manuscripts, will almost certainly plague Woyzeck scholarship forever.

The free groups of scenes which have been classified on the basis of differences in format are as follows:

1. 5 sheets in folio format with 30 scenes (H_1 and H_2); Folio version
2. 1 sheet in quarto format with 2 scenes (H_3); Partial version/ one-page quarto
3. 6 sheets in four-page format with 17 scenes, scene 3 without text (H_4); Quarto version,^{54,55}

The papers themselves, inks, handwriting, marginal additions, apparently intended deletions, and other features of the manuscripts have been carefully described and analyzed by Bergemann, Lehmann, and Krause (among others), but agreement on many points, such as the overall order of manuscript sheets, has not been reached; the three group division and the derivative four phase subdivision can be supported by apparently logical argumentation, but the limitation of possible missing material remains a confounding variable.

⁵⁴Translated from the manuscript description in Krause, p. 80.

⁵⁵Manuscript terms from Krause, pp.80-81 and Lehmann, Prolegomena, p. 38.

The folio version has been divided into two phases on the basis of differences in the names of characters and apparent duplication/revision of some action. Buch and Bornscheuer's five phase systems break the folio version into three parts; H_1 is divided into two segments called Ha (the so-called murder complex classed by Lehmann as H_1 , 11-20) and Hb (Lehmann H_1 , 1-10 and H_2 , 1), and H_2 is classed as He in the five phase scheme.⁵⁶ The main characters of H_1 , the first few sheets of this version, are Louis and Margreth, and in H_2 , the later pages, Franz and Marie. This appellative feature, and apparent changes in characterization concurrent with it, along with obvious scene revisions between the two parts prompted Bergemann to suggest the H_1 - H_2 division, which, with minor changes, is still generally accepted; there are, however, differences between Woyzeck/Louis, Marie/Margreth, and there is a problematic character, the Barbier, in H_1 which create a "mehrschichtige Unklarheit" which has yet to be conclusively resolved.^{57, 58} Franz and Marie are the names used in the last developmental phase which has scenes that appear to be revisions of several old ones with Louis and Margreth as characters; thus, Franz and Marie are accepted as the intended names, but the identity

⁵⁶See footnote 52.

⁵⁷Krause, p. 81

⁵⁸Wolfgang Martens, "Der Barbier in Büchner's 'Woyzeck'," ZfdP 79 (1960), 361-383.

problems of Louis/Margreth and the Barbier, who is probably not Woyzeck because of language and personality differences between the barber and Woyzeck, still exist.

Bergemann and Lehmann (also Krause) disagree on the placement of one scene in the H_1 - H_2 complex; this is the "Gerichtsdieners.Barbier.Arzt.Richter" scene which apparently belongs in the murder complex of H_1 , as Lehmann and Krause suggest, and not, as Bergemann contends, before the obviously introductory "Freies Feld" scene of H_2 although the two scenes (H_1 ,21 and H_2 ,1) do appear on the same manuscript sheet, H_1 ,21 at the top of the page (see Appendices Four, Five, and Six).⁵⁹ Other differences between Bergemann and Lehmann lie in their interpretation of scene division and Büchner's apparent revisions. Bergemann merged the "Es kommen Leute" scene (H_1 ,16) with the conclusion of "Margreth. Louis" (H_1 ,15) despite Büchner's obvious clarity in dividing the two scenes; an unconventional crossing out of words by Büchner in the "Unterofficier.Tambourmajor" scene (H_2 5), meant apparently as a guide to revision, is described by Bergemann as a normal deletion like those used elsewhere by Büchner to eliminate whole scenes in the H_1 - H_2 complex.⁶⁰ These differences between Lehmann and Bergemann, the leading

⁵⁹Krause, pp. 81-82.

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 82.

figures among Büchner editors, are the most significant ones in the category of manuscript interpretation; they are relatively minor compared to the problems caused by Bergemann's unfaithful transcription of material--a problem which lies in the phase analysis and resulting textual reconstruction and a problem area rather carefully avoided by Lehmann and Krause.

The second group of scenes, H_3 or He , consists of only two scenes which are thematically related to material in other phases of Woyzeck. This partial version does, however, have thorny problems regarding Entstehung since the scenes, though related to scenes elsewhere in the drama, contain much problematic material in terms of characters' relationships and personalities. The "Hof des Professors" scene (H_3 , 1) is unusual since it refers to a Professor and Doktor in a way not identical to the coverage in the H_1 - H_2 complex; the "Der Idiot. Das Kind. Woyzeck" scene (H_3 , 2) is problematic since it relates well thematically to the H_4 material, but does not apparently relate to the H_1 - H_2 complex which has no child and is, additionally, difficult to place chronologically in H_4 .⁶¹ Bergemann, Buch, and Bornscheuer suggest that He was the last phase of Woyzeck's construction since it relates best to the "suffering Woyzeck" version of Hd (H_4); Lehmann

⁶¹Ibid., p. 88.

places it before or during the construction of H_4 and Krause places it with the beginning of H_2 .

The final phase, the quarto version, H_4 or Hd is a fragment which apparently was meant to be combined with previously written material, possibly to create a complete drama. This version leaves out the murder complex (H_1 , 14-21), has a scene without a text (H_4 , 3), and has another scene with three quarters of blank page after it (H_4 , 9); these factors have prompted the assumption that material from earlier phases was meant to be integrated with H_4 .⁶² The handwriting in this phase is "insgesamt etwas sorgfältiger als bei h_1 - h_2 und h_3 " and there is duplication/revision of some previously written and crossed out material which further supports the idea of revision and overall scene amalgamation by Büchner; the H_4 /overall scene integration does indeed lead to a viable dramatic whole which may quite possibly be Büchner's intended drama.⁶³

.....

Scenes in the various phases were not numbered by Büchner and this has led to a search for other means of identifying scene order in the four phases. The running over of scenes

⁶²Ibid., p. 91.

⁶³See the chart in Krause, p. 242.

from one page to the next has helped analysts to place many scenes in short sequences, but other study, based on marks on the paper from folds, tears, etc., paper format differences (in a single phase), and other features has been far less successful and certainly more controversial. The running-over of scenes is a relatively sure measure of ascertaining Büchner's intent with respect to the order of a few of the scenes, but the other endeavors are logical exercises which lead to very tentative results; since it is not known how near completion the manuscripts were, the final letter of Büchner being of rather limited value in this respect, much of the intricate textual speculation, though eminently logical, is embroiled in very basic editorial and epistemological problematics.⁶⁴ Scene order conclusions, simply stated, have been relative and not absolute measures; the order of many scene groups has been discerned, as can be seen in the comparisons of editors' views in Appendix Four, but the overall order of scenes in phases remains the subject of debate.

The major problem in the analysis of the manuscripts is the simple fact that Büchner's order of them is unknown. Franzos, working nearly 40 years after Büchner's death, as

⁶⁴Cf. Bergemann, pp. 242-266; Krause, pp. 80-159; Lehmann, Prolegomena, pp. 35-66 and H.A.I., pp. 337-406.

can be seen in his previously cited comments, received the manuscripts in a state in which the original scene order was unclear; his chemical treatment and marking of the papers left his successors in an even more dubious editorial position than he had faced in 1875. As a result of this problem, for example, Witkowski, Buch and Krause do not agree on absolute scene order, but only on which scenes and scene fragments share single pages or run from one page to another (see Appendices Four, Five, and Six). This problem, then, allows great leeway in the creation of Woyzeck texts; the four phase argument has certainly gained predominance, but other arguments such as Buch and Bornscheuer's (suggesting five phases with three different conceptions of Woyzeck, the murder complex being the first phase) can nonetheless be rationally drawn from the manuscripts.^{65,66} Judgments about absolute order of scenes and phases are very problematic; simple judgments about order of small groups of scenes on a single page or on clearly successive pages are logically permissible, but of limited value since their larger framework remains an unknown.

The analysis of the chronological development of the Woyzeck phases has been quite extensive; it is based on editorial, thematic, biographical, and technical considerations.

⁶⁵See footnote 52.

⁶⁶Buch, pp. 66-67.

H₁ is generally considered the most "closed" phase since it provides a clear introduction, action, and a conclusion; it is indeed possible that this phase, which can be considered a complete Woyzeck, is the second drama alluded to in Büchner's September 1836 letter.⁶⁷ The tenth scene of H₁ contains a comment by the Barbier, "**I**ch bin ein spinosa pericyclica," which leads the analyst to an apparent insight; a letter from Büchner (2 September 1836) alludes fairly clearly to Leonce und Lena, which was written in the summer of 1836, and mentions Büchner's concern for philosophy and Spinoza in particular, and there are significant parallels between Büchner's life experiences circa Summer 1836 and those in Spinoza's life--exile, the "pericyclica" idea, etc.⁶⁸ There is also an interesting apparent allusion to Dantons Tod in the H₁ "Buden.Volk" scene (number 1), but it is generally felt that this does not suggest a date for H₁ closer to the time of Danton's creation.⁶⁹ H₁, then, is generally placed later in the Strassburg period (pre-October 1836) because of the modification idea suggested in the September 1836 letter to the family and the H₁-H₂ format, but exact

⁶⁷Krause, p. 76; H.A. II, p. 460.

⁶⁸Krause, pp. 74-76; H.A. II, p. 460.

⁶⁹Krause, p. 76.

chronological placement of these phases is quite difficult. H_4 with its apparent gaps for material from other phases and adaptation of H_1 - H_2 material is placed in the Zürich period, a contention supported by the final letter's indication of the drama's expected completion. The assumptions about H_1 coupled with the apparent deletions and revisions of Büchner make the generally accepted chronology of H_1 - H_2 - H_3 - H_4 appear to be a logical process of development, but this analysis is hardly a straightforward proposition, especially with regard to the two scenes of H_3 .

.....

In short, the Entstehung analyses have been complex and rational, but have not removed the aura of doubt from Woyzeck. The study of ink has proven inconclusive, speculation about marks on the paper has been highly controversial, biographical/thematic integrations are not and probably can't be definitive, the appealing phase/scene chronological integration of Lehmann's synopsis (see Appendix Seven) can not be considered final and has been heavily criticized, and conclusions about scene order--from Franzos (1879) to Bornscheuer (1972)--must be viewed as tentative; as Lehmann (the author of the much-heralded Hamburger-Büchner Ausgabe) and others have come to realize, only provisional knowledge is available from the various editorial approaches

used with the Woyzeck material; doubt remains and the potential analyst must consider what has been done and what can yet be done with a keenly discriminating eye.

Chapter Four

The Problematics of the Textual Reconstruction-- Lehmann vs. Bergemann

Study of the manuscripts and classification of the drafts, then, have not resolved the dilemma of creating Büchner's intended Woyzeck; the drafts represent strands of interrelated material which the prospective editor of a text is forced to integrate on the basis of some methodological formula. Bergemann and Lehmann, editors of the two most widely respected Büchner editions yet published, do not agree on the precise division of the various draft scenes and several precise scene wordings and punctuations; their disagreements on the Entstehung issue are not severe, but they do eventually lead to significant differences in their textual reconstructions as the following brief analysis will show.

Bergemann (12. Ausgabe) worked with the various draft versions before he presented his own text, but he has linked the draft elements in a way which leaves him open to considerable criticism. His version, starting with the "Hauptmann. Woyzeck" scene, seems to lose much of the subtlety, insight, and unconventionality one would expect from Büchner (using

Lenz, Dantons Tod, and Leonce und Lena as rough indicators); this scene is out of place (vis-a-vis Danton) since it creates a very contrived social milieu in which Woyzeck's actions become, from the beginning, clearly predictable and mechanical. Such a beginning is apparently too arbitrary and overstated for Büchner considering his conception of the role of the dramatist as an "animator" of history; this opening and its manifestation on dramatic action tends to cloak or remove Woyzeck's humanity by promoting a heavy-handed materialistic (stimulus/response) approach.⁷⁰ This sort of interpretation is admittedly a tentative one (by no means the only possibility), but Bergemann also offers more straightforward problems in his text. He incorporated some material which Büchner had apparently intended to delete, and he altered spellings and dialogue at various points.⁷¹ Bergemann's hypothetical construction, then, can be severely criticized on both technical and aesthetic grounds; its value, however, should not be totally discounted since Büchner's actual intent is an unknown and even a seemingly implausible

⁷⁰The "shaving scene" is a very effective opening scene, as indeed several editors have noted, but in view of manuscript analyses which classify it as the fifth scene in H₄ (Krause and Lehmann) and the dramaturgical problems mentioned in the text, it is unlikely that the scene is the opening Büchner desired for the drama (see the discussion of Woyzeck's dramatic form in the third chapter of Part Two of this thesis).

⁷¹Jacobs, xxxi-xxxii.

text could be an accurate reconstruction.

Lehmann's goal was to delete material which Büchner had apparently intended to delete and, on the basis of highly systematic textual scrutiny, to synthesize H₁, H₃, and H₄ into a workable whole. This goal is obviously a desirable one, especially so considering the extreme irregularities of many other editions, but, given the uncertainties of the Woyzeck case, it is not necessarily an easily attainable one. Lehmann's admittedly hypothetical Woyzeck version, the Lese- und Bühnenfassung, can itself be criticized on both aesthetic and technical grounds; his placement of the two H₃ scenes can be considered quite arbitrary, his use of a crossed out scene like H₂,5 is highly questionable as is his use of an arbitrarily blended "Buden.Lichter. Volk" scene, and finally his use of a truncated H₁,21 scene at the end of the drama runs afoul of the very thorny Barbier/Woyzeck identity issue.⁷² The question of Büchner's intent is still unresolved and will probably remain so indefinitely, and this simple factor renders the whole debate about the Hamburger Ausgabe's technical superiority highly problematic; Klaus Kanzog's exclamation, "Woyzeck, Woyzeck und kein Ende", epitomizes the whole problem since each "critical edition"

⁷²The problems with characters' names will be discussed in Part Two.

seems to result in more critical uncertainty.⁷³

.....

The latest Bergemann version seems to have a three part structure reminiscent of classical tenets; Woyzeck and his set of interacting characters are introduced, Woyzeck recognizes his dilemma, and he, his hand forced in the tragic fashion, acts. The play starts with the dramatically effective shaving scene which clearly introduces Woyzeck as a victim, and this opening creates a materialistic mood which remains for the rest of the play. The first segment of this Bergemann text, as its first scene, shows Woyzeck as a societal victim (social, psychological, economic, and political forces have all been "seen" to explain his position); the "Hauptmann," "Doktor," and "Strasse" scenes are all in this segment--Woyzeck is abused on almost all conceivable fronts and recognizes Marie's actions. The second phase starts with the confrontation between Woyzeck and Marie and contains further abuse of Woyzeck which culminates in a confrontation with the Tambourmajor; in the next stage the knife is purchased, Marie killed, and Woyzeck drowned. This division is admittedly conjectural, but is seemingly logical; such

⁷³Klaus Kanzog, "Wozzeck, Woyzeck und kein Ende, Zur Standortbestimmung der Editionsphilologie," DVj 47 (1973), 420-442.

stage divisions incidentally have been applied to many Woyzeck editions, especially early ones.⁷⁴ It seems highly probable, as Ursula Paulus suggests, that Bergemann's post-1922 editions were written to fit preconceived norms; she observes:

Damit zeigt sich deutlich, dass Bergemann für eine Szenenanordnung des Woyzeck von Formvorstellungen ausgeht, die am klassischen Drama gewonnen sind.⁷⁵

The emphasis in the Bergemann versions, whether or not the stage analysis is absolutely correct, lies clearly on a social/materialistic plane; Woyzeck seems to respond predictably to a variety of stimuli which come from an apparently oversimplified social milieu. Bergemann's texts, while possible reflections of Büchner's intentions, seem to be constructed with an underlying rationale contrary to Büchner's notions about drama and the dramatist (see Part Two of this thesis).

The Lehmann text defies similar three stage classification because of its different scene order and the implications of this variant order. Woyzeck's recognition of Marie's actions, the end of the first stage in Bergemann's version, is not nearly as clear-cut in Lehmann's; indeed, Woyzeck

⁷⁴See, for example, Kupsch, pp. 43-44 (1920).

⁷⁵Paulus, p. 231.

seems to sense her actions rather than "know" about them. Lehmann starts with the "Freies Feld" scene, a scene which places emphasis on the metaphysical side of Woyzeck's life; he is perhaps an actor in metaphysical events, but he is certainly more than the simple victim suggested in Bergemann's version. Woyzeck's decision to buy the knife comes after the confrontation with the Tambourmajor as it does in Bergemann 12, but Woyzeck's motivation from this point in the drama is in no way as clear as it is in Bergemann. The Lehmann version, then, has a bizarre, metaphysical side which emphasizes Woyzeck's humanity and perhaps suggests a nihilistic or religious interpretation of the drama in contrast to the clear, materialistic leanings of Bergemann's text. Woyzeck is less predictable, still abused, and in touch with mysterious and hard to evaluate extra-societal forces (Bergemann's forces seeming mainly psychological) in the Lehmann version; Lehmann, simply stated, presents a more complex and human character than Bergemann, and this sort of character seems a likely inhabitant of a dramatic milieu created by the author of Dantons Tod, Lenz, and Leonce und Lena.

.....

Büchner, to be sure, is not an easy editorial target since his style is highly idiosyncratic and his orthography unconventional; these difficulties are compounded by the

difficulty experienced in trying to understand his handwriting and notations on manuscripts. The question of missing, disordered, or contaminated material adds yet another dimension of confusion to the situation. Woyzeck, then, offers several seemingly irreconcilable problems to the potential editor; Woyzeck texts such as the two reviewed previously, are, despite the beauty of their rationales, hypotheses and not final answers, and they should be viewed with respect to the whole of extant textual information. The Lehmann/Bergemann issue is indeed a convoluted one--both use material from the same sources, but analyse and integrate it differently; the analyst in such an uncertain position, as both Lehmann and Bergemann admit in their works, is forced to view potential Woyzecks, not defensibly authentic ones, and then turn to other questions such as the at least equally problem-ridden area of interpretation. The issue of textual rationale between Lehmann and Bergemann is really a keenly deceptive one; both texts have their share of artificiality and more appropriate concerns lie in the resolution of the questions of whether or not Woyzeck's precise form is vitally important and if any text likely to reflect Büchner's intent can be produced using available substantiating evidence.

.....

With respect to textual reconstructions Lehmann observes that "Die Frage ist nicht, ob kontaminiert werden darf oder nicht, sondern wie und wo."⁷⁶ This statement is quite true with regard to the so-called "critical editions" with their synthesized texts which presume as much as is possible, to be following Büchner's envisioned plan of construction, but another position, advocated by Egon Krause, David Richards, and others also deserves consideration.⁷⁷ These men pose the following question: Since the end of the apparent last phase H₄ is unclear, the exact chronological relationship between the phases and scenes is problematic, and there are differences in characterization between phases, can a textual reconstruction with obvious contamination serve a defensible function in the study of Büchner's drama? Richards notes simply:

Was aber Büchner zweideutig und offengelassen hat, darf der Herausgeber nicht eindeutig machen wollen, indem er sich für oder gegen die Möglichkeit von Woyzecks Ertrinken entscheidet.⁷⁸

The matter of the play's resolution is indeed an open one; it should consistently be borne in mind that in no scene or phase is Woyzeck killed, apprehended, or judged and this

⁷⁶Lehmann, Prolegomena, p. 59.

⁷⁷Cf. Krause, pp. 11-29; David Richards, "Anmerkungen zur Hamburger Büchner-Ausgabe, den 'Woyzeck' betreffend," Euph. 65 (1971), 49-57.

⁷⁸Richards, p. 55.

limitation is a major one which does raise a severe question about the role of the "critical edition" as a reflector of Büchner's dramatic intent. The main problem before Woyzeck scholarship should be to analyze every conceivable shred of evidence in order, hopefully, to gain a fuller appreciation of the textual dilemma of editors' versus Büchner's Woyzeck. Considering the wealth of unanswered or tentatively answered questions about the text, an editorial retreat from the so-called complete texts to the manuscripts and supplemental materials may be in order; perhaps the positions of Witkowski, Krause, and Bornscheuer, who feels that complete texts push the Woyzeck material to apparently unwarranted states of completion, will become the standard reference points of the next generation of Woyzeck scholars. Simply stated, it remains to be seen if the following position of Lehmann will remain a defensible stance vis-à-vis Büchner scholarship in view of the epistemological problems of the Woyzeck text:

Wie der Woyzeck hätte zu Ende gehen sollen, wissen wir nicht und werden wir voraussichtlich nie wissen. Aber das verbietet uns nicht, Gedanken darüber anzustellen, wie ein spielbarer Text aussehen könnte.⁷⁹

⁷⁹ Lehmann, "Repliken", p. 70.

--NOTE--

The murder case accounts which follow are compiled from descriptions of or official accounts on the Schmolling, Woyzeck, and Diess cases as given in several sources. These general accounts are intended to acquaint the reader with the three historical figures whose cases may have influenced Büchner and may be reflected in segments and characters of Woyzeck. The sources for the accounts are:

1. Schmolling

Lothar Bornscheuer, Erläuterungen und Dokumente, Georg Büchner, Woyzeck (Stuttgart: 1972), pp. 51-56.

Egon Krause, Woyzeck, pp. 172-184.

2. Woyzeck

Bornscheuer, pp. 56-65.

Ronald Hauser, Georg Büchner, pp. 95-110.

Krause, pp. 184-198.

Victor Price (trans.), The Plays of Georg Büchner (London: 1961), p.133.

Henry Schmidt (trans.), Woyzeck, pp. 103-106.

It should be noted that the English sources (Hauser, Price, and Schmidt) mentioned previously are occasionally inaccurate and prone to exaggeration in their accounts of the Woyzeck case; the reader should place greater reliance on the German sources (Bornscheuer and Krause).

3. Diess

Bornscheuer, pp. 65-67.

Krause, pp. 198-203.

PART TWO

Chapter One

Three Murder Cases and Woyzeck

Was ist das, was in uns hurt, lügt,
stiehlt und mordet?

--Georg Büchner, Dantons Tod¹

On the twenty-first of June, 1821 Johann Christian Woyzeck murdered the widow Johanna Christiane Woost in Leipzig and on the twenty-seventh of August, 1824 he was executed for this act; accounts relating to the Woyzeck-case--a cause celebre in its time--were undoubtedly used by Büchner as the basis for much of the characterization and action in the play, but it is likely, based on apparent parallels between the text and other murder cases of the time, that accounts or knowledge of the cases of Johann Diess and Daniel Schmolling were also bases for the construction of the action and characterizations in Woyzeck. Daniel Schmolling murdered Henriette Lehne in Berlin on the twenty-fifth of September, 1817; Johann Diess murdered Elisabeth Reuter on the fifteenth of August, 1830 near Darmstadt, Büchner's hometown. The

¹Dantons Tod, H.A.I., p. 41.

similarities between the three cases are quite striking, and it is highly likely that Büchner was exposed to accounts of all three cases. Additionally, Büchner probably was involved in the post-mortem examination of Diess' body in Giessen (1834).² These three cases, each the object of considerable controversy, have been investigated as possible sources for much of the material in Woyzeck; indeed it is possible that Büchner's Woyzeck is a composite of the three murderers, and other characters may have been derived from the various accounts of the cases. Krause summarizes the significance of the cases quite aptly:

Bereits die zeitgenössischen Fachleute Hitzig und Bopp weisen auf Ähnlichkeiten der drei Fälle Schmolling, Woyzeck und Diess hin, auch hierdurch musste der Dichter auf alle drei Fälle aufmerksam werden, und er musste auf die erstaunlich weitreichenden Übereinstimmungen in den Grundzügen stossen. Diese sind:

die Zugehörigkeit aller Personen zu den unteren und ärmeren Schichten des Volkes, ihre Armut und Bedürftigkeit;

jeder der drei Mörder ist Soldat gewesen;

sie haben eine Geliebte, mit der sie in engem Verkehr stehen, aber nicht verheiratet sind;

die Bedeutung eines unehelichen Kindes; im Fall Schmolling wird es erwartet; im Fall Woyzeck ist nur von einem Kind die Rede, das mit einer früheren Geliebten, also nicht mit der Ermordeten, gezeugt wurde; im Fall Diess ist das Kind etwa viereinhalb Jahre alt;

²Krause, pp. 160-163.

die Ermordung der Geliebten mit einem Messer
(nur im Fall Woyzeck spielt Untreue dabei
eine Rolle);

herbeieilende Leute nach dem Mord, Festnahme
des Mörders, Gerichtsverhandlungen.

Als weitere übereinstimmende Tatbestände
nach dem Mord...ergeben sich für den Leser
der Gutachten:

die Versuche der Gutachter die psychologischen
Vorgänge in den Mördern zu erfassen und die
Zurechnungsfähigkeit zu beurteilen;

Personalbeschreibungen der Mörder im Rahmen der
Untersuchungen.³

In this segment of the thesis, the three cases will be
sketched and the parallels between these cases and the text
will be considered in order: a) to see to what degree hist-
orical murder accounts were used by Büchner in Woyzeck; and
b) to see if Büchner's use of the varied historical murder
materials gives clues regarding Woyzeck's construction.

1. Daniel Schmolling

"Ob der Mord aus Liebe oder aus Hass, aus
Lebensüberdruß oder aus Eigennutz begangen
ist, ist eine ganz indifferente Sache."

Gerichtsakte Schmolling⁴

Daniel Schmolling was 38 years old at the time of the
murder; he was a journeyman tobacco spinner by trade and
had been in the West Prussian army between 1813 and 1814.

³Ibid., pp. 162-163.

⁴Lothar Bornscheuer, Erläuterungen und Dokumente, Georg
Büchner, Woyzeck (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam jun, 1972), p.55.

He lived with the widow of a tobacco spinner for several years, and after her death he married. This marriage lasted three years, resulting in a divorce. Schmolling then returned to Berlin, where he had lived with the widow, and shortly thereafter was involved in a sexual relationship with Henriette (Jette) Lehne, the illegitimate daughter of the widow by her late husband.⁵

The notion of killing Jette came inexplicably to Schmolling about three weeks before the murder; after Jette's death Schmolling revealed "ich hatte die L[e]hne so lieb, dass ich sie nicht lieber haben konnte."⁶ She had told Schmolling that she was pregnant by him--a fact which neither dismayed nor particularly pleased him, and he claims that he had planned to marry her (an arrangement supposedly quite acceptable to Jette); simply stated, the murder was without recognizable cause ("ohne eine erkennbare causa facinoris" in the words of the second defense argument) and aroused considerable interest among legal, medical, and psychological minds of the time.⁷

The idea of killing Jette and then himself came suddenly to Schmolling well before the murder, but it did not

⁵Krause, pp. 172-179.

⁶Ibid., p. 174.

⁷Krause, p. 180.

raise anxiety in him until about three days before the murder; in the period after the murder action and before the onset of anxiety, Schmolling's idee fixe about murder did not affect, nor was it mollified by, the nature of his sexual relations with Jette.⁸ The best account of the murder and its motivation comes from Schmolling's own statements in von Horn's Gutachten über den Gemüthszustand des Tobacksspinnergesellen Daniel Schmolling....:

In der Nacht vom Montag auf den Dienstag schlief ich zwar, doch wachte ich alle Augenblick auf, und dann trat mir immer der Gedanke, die [Lehne] zu ermorden vor der Seele, und dabei fühlte ich eine heftige Angst und Unruhe, welche mich nicht schlafen liess.⁹

After buying some bread, drinking a bit (but, according to testimony, not to the point of intoxication), and sharpening the knife he had found, Schmolling went to the house of Jette to bring her shoes and to murder her. The pair went searching for pine cones until Jette returned home to prepare supper; after this Jette returned to Schmolling and:

Wir gingen hierauf zusammen die Allee hinunter, und die Lehne gab mir ein wenig von ihrem Butterbrodte ab. Die L. gab ich ein wenig von dem mitgenommenen Speck, und von meinem Schnaps zu trinken.¹⁰

He then asked her:

⁸Krause, p. 174.

⁹Ibid., p. 175.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 176.

Wenn ich heir so sterben thäte, würdest du dann wohl mit mir sterben? Da antwortete sie, dass ich mir dock solche Gedanken nicht machen sollte, doch setzte sie hinzu: wenn du stirbst, dann sollte kein Anderer mehr an meine Seite kommen. Als sie dieses antwortete, hatte ich mein Messer schon aus dem Aermel herausgenommen, und hielt es in der Hand... Ich stach das Messer ganz hinein... Dann zog ich das Messer sogleich wieder heraus, da griff die L. nach dem Messer, hielt es, und sagte mir: ich sollte sie nicht mehr stechen, und ich antwortete, ich wollte sie auch nicht mehr, sondern mich selbst erstechen, worauf sie das Messer loslies. Ich sprang auf, riss mir den Rock auf, um mich selbst zu erstechen.¹¹

Schmolling then saw people approaching, and in panic he lost the knife; he ran off "um einen Stein zu suchen, und mir damit den Kopf einzuschlagen."¹² He returned to the scene of the murder since he thought someone else was suspected of having been the murderer and he wanted to turn himself over to the police. He surrendered, "Weil [er sein] Leben zu verlieren wünschte," and was led off; later, summarizing his act, he said:

Ich habe durchaus keine Ursache gehabt, die L[ehne] zu ermorden; der Gedanke dieses zu thun, ist mir ganz von selbst eingefallen, und ich begreife selbst nicht, wie er in mich gekommen.¹³

Schmolling was tried in Berlin, found guilty, and sentenced to death (March, 1819) because of the alleged absence of obvious proof of his physical or mental dysfunction; he agreed with the verdict and refused an appeal despite the

¹¹Ibid.,

¹²Ibid.,, p. 177 (both quotations).

¹³Ibid.,

fact that the expert testimony of "Amtsarzt" Dr. Merzdorff and "Justiz-Commissarius" Bode suggested his temporary insanity at the time of the murder and recommended preventative detention as a sentence.¹⁴ A third defense argument by "Geheim Rat" Dr. Horn was published in 1820; Bode published a second defense argument, once again urging preventative detention, in 1825. The death sentence was confirmed by the appellate court, but, on the recommendation of the justice ministry, the sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. On the nineteenth of February, 1825 Schmolling murdered a fellow prisoner to whom he had been subordinated. After this "Criminal-Rat" J. E. Hitzig published a paper exploring means of overcoming differences of opinion between legal and medical/psychological experts in such cases as that of Daniel Schmolling.

2. Johann Christian Woyzeck

"So wie ich nun glaube, mit psychologischen Gründen dargethan zu haben, dass Woyzecks Einbildungen bloß als Sinnestäuschungen, Irrthümer und Vorurtheile keineswegs aber Symptome eines kranken, den freien Vernunftgebrauch störenden, Seelenzustandes betrachtet werden müssen; so lässt sich dieses auch mit Beispielen aus der ärztlichen, ja sogar aus der gemeinen und täglichen Beobachtung belegen."¹⁵

Second Clarus-Gutachten

¹⁴Cf. Bornscheuer, Erläuterungen, pp. 51-52 and Krause, pp. 160-162.

¹⁵Bornscheuer, Erläuterungen, p. 64.

Johann Christian Woyzeck was 41 years old at the time of the murder; he was born of "moderately well-to-do parents, who ^{both} died by the time he was thirteen."¹⁶ Woyzeck then (1790's) travelled as a "wigmaker, barber, and illuminator of copper engravings"; having trouble finding permanent work, he served in various German, Swedish, and Dutch armies.¹⁷ In 1810, while in the Mecklenburg army, he met and fell in love with a woman named Wienberg who bore him a child; she, however, was unfaithful to him, and after considering the possibility of marrying her, Woyzeck deserted to the Swedish army. Allegedly, Woyzeck began to have hallucinations at this time. After the Congress of Vienna, Woyzeck's unit was transferred to the Prussian army; Woyzeck then requested demobilization and returned to his home, Leipzig. In Leipzig he sought work as a hairdresser, but the economic conditions were bad and he was unsuccessful; he tried to join the Saxon army, but was turned down because of supposed problems with his demobilization papers. It was in this Leipzig period that Woyzeck met Johanna Christiane Woost, the widow of a surgeon, with whom he had an affair; unfortunately Mrs. Woost had a predilection for soldiers, and eventually she spurned Woyzeck and refused to appear in public with

¹⁶Schmidt, p. 103.

¹⁷Ibid.; general information on the Woyzeck case is primarily from Schmidt, pp. 103-106 and Krause, pp. 184-198.

him (apparently despising his poverty)--facts which often evoked violent reactions on the part of Woyzeck.

On the day of the murder, Woyzeck went to a shop to purchase a handle for the broken knife he had bought a few days before.¹⁸ Previously Woyzeck had heard an inner voice telling him that he should stab Mrs. Woost to death, but his conscience fought that impulse, yet the voice returned to insist that he would indeed kill her. While passing a pond, Woyzeck thought of throwing the knife away, but he failed to do so; around dusk he saw Mrs. Woost on a street, and, apparently to spite her (since their relationship had recently been quite strained), he insisted on walking her home. At about 9:30, as they approached the door to Mrs. Woost's home, the woman enraged Woyzeck through her suggestions that he leave; at this point Woyzeck stabbed her seven times, killing her immediately, and walked off. He thought of suicide, but decided to wait until later for this--shortly thereafter he was arrested. He tried unsuccessfully to get rid of the murder knife. While being taken to the police station, he asked if Mrs. Woost was dead; receiving no answer, he said, "Gott gebe nur, dass sie todt ist, sie hat

¹⁸Cf. the accounts of the Woyzeck case in Hauser, pp. 95-96; Victor Price (trans.), The Plays of Georg Büchner (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 133; Schmidt, pp. 103-106.

es um mich verdient!"¹⁹ During interrogation that night he made a full confession and corroborated the testimony of several eye witnesses to the murder.^{19a} In the police records his answers were cited for their responsiveness and clarity.

The trial seemed to be a mere formality in view of the detailed confession, but doubts about Woyzeck's sanity, fueled by reports in the press, led to the appointment of an official medical examiner, Dr. Johann Clarus. After examination Clarus found no evidence--physical or mental--to support the defense of Woyzeck as the victim of insanity at the time of the act, and on 11 October 1821 he was sentenced to death by beheading. In the next few months a new defense motion was heard and rejected, and a request for the commutation of the sentence was twice rejected. The defender, Hänsel, revealed that Woyzeck had heard voices on many occasions before the murder and had delusions of persecution by Free Masons; a second Clarus investigation was launched, but Clarus' findings were unchanged and Woyzeck's execution was set for 13 November, 1822. A private defense motion was filed on 5 November alleging Woyzeck's insanity ("der Delinquent habe wirklich von Zeit zu Zeit Handlungen vorgenommen welch Verstandesverwirrung zu verrathen geschienen") and Clarus prepared his second "Gutachten" about

¹⁹Krause, p. 188. ^{19a}Hauser, p. 96.

Woyzeck.²⁰ A third defense argument appeared in print, and the medical faculty of the University of Leipzig was asked to review the case--they supported Clarus' analysis. On 27 August, 1824 Woyzeck was beheaded in the market square of Leipzig. In subsequent years--1825 to 1838--many reports on the case were published; many supported Clarus' claim that Woyzeck's moral degeneration caused his actions, but many compelling arguments were made alleging Woyzeck's obvious psychological instability. In recent years, however, the opponents of Clarus have been proven correct; in the light of modern psychological knowledge and through careful analysis of Clarus' own argumentation, it is clear that Clarus' argument is, at best, very weak since it is plagued by contradictions arising from a dubious cause/effect perspective.²¹

3. Johann Diess

"Wir sehen uns deshalb zu der pflichtmässigen Erklärung gemüssigt: dass aus keinem Grunde eine Geistesabwesenheit des Johann D[ie]ss zur Zeit der Ermordung der E[li]sabeth R[eu]ter behauptet und gefolgert werden könne." Gutachten des Medizinal-Collegs²²

²⁰Bornscheuer, Erläuterungen, pp. 59-60.

²¹Hauser, pp. 99-112.

²²Bornscheuer, Erläuterungen, p. 67.

Johann Diess was 37 years old at the time of the murder; he was a journeyman linen weaver and had been in the army until 1818, when, after a year's imprisonment for desertion and various other improprieties, he was released. In the words of his captain, he had been a "durch seine Liederlichkeit und Zügellosigkeit im ganzen Bataillon berüchtigtes Subject" whose actions while in the military had been highly erratic--including threats with a sidearm against women and guards, suicide attempts, and desertions.²³ After his imprisonment, Diess worked with several masters; he became acquainted with Elisabetha Reuter, who bore him a child and whom he intended to marry. The child was 4½ years old at the time of the murder.

A few weeks before the act, Diess had a conversation with a teacher in which he asked if God would forgive a violent act--perhaps a murder was on his mind then; a letter to Elisabeth's employer also mentions "böse Gedanken" which were apparently directed to the woman.²⁴ On the day of the murder, Diess and Elisabeth went to church and a disagreement arose when she refused to go see the pastor with him. Later, on the way home, Diess met Elisabeth and the pair had an altercation ending in verbal abuse; Diess stabbed her several times with a pipe reamer and ran into a forest from

²³Krause, p. 199; cf. Bornscheuer, pp. 65-67 and Krause, pp. 198-203.

²⁴Ibid. pp. 200-201.

which he returned several days later in order to surrender to police.

Diess was tried in Darmstadt and, despite defense arguments to the contrary, was found responsible for his actions and sentenced to 18 years imprisonment on 7 December, 1831. In January of 1833 the verdict and sentence were confirmed. On 23 May, 1834 Diess died in the penitentiary at Marienschloss; his body was transferred to the University of Gießen for autopsy. In 1836 a report on the defense motions appeared, and the report, prepared by Bopp, alluded to the similarity in the cases of Diess, Schmolling, and Woyzeck.

4. Reports on the Cases

In each of the three cases, mental incapacity at the time of the murder was the plea of the defense, and in each of the cases great controversy surrounded the judicial decisions and their legal, medical, and psychological rationales; considerable attention was drawn to the cases through various published reports, at least some of which Büchner apparently read. In the case of Johann Diess, as has been noted, Büchner probably was involved in the preparation for autopsy, and he almost certainly knew of the case since it took place--murder and trial--in his hometown and caused much commotion.

A Chronology of Contemporary Reports on
Diess, Schmolling, and Woyzeck²⁵

- 1820 Dr. Horn on Schmolling Archiv für medizinische Erfahrung.
- 1824 Dr. Clarus II on Woyzeck Book form: Leipzig
- 1825 Dr. Clarus II on Woyzeck Zeitschrift für die Staatsarzneikunde (hrsg. Henke)
- Counterargument by Dr. Marc Book form: Bamberg
- Counterargument by Prof. Heinroth Book form: Leipzig
- Justiz-Commissarius Bode 2nd. defense position on Schmolling Zeitschrift für die Criminal-Rechtspflege (hrsg. Hitzig--mentions 1824 Clarus, Marc, Schmolling case)
- 1826 Dr. Clarus I on Woyzeck Zeitschrift für die Staatsarzneikunde (hrsg. Henke--mentions Marc and Heinroth)
- 1827 Various accounts Zeitschrift für die Civil- und Criminal-Rechtspflege (hrsg. P. Gans)
- 1836 Attorney Bopp on Diess Zeitschrift für die Staatsarzneikunde--mentions Dr. Horn, Bode, Clarus II, Marc (hrsg. Henke)

The journal Zeitschrift für die Staatsarzneikunde, as can be seen in the chronology, published reports on the Woyzeck and Diess cases (1825/1826/1836) and a report alluding to the Schmolling case (1836); additionally, the 1826 and 1836 articles made references to Woyzeck reports published elsewhere. Striking parallels between information--medical/

²⁵This chronology has been compiled from information given by Bornscheuer, Erläuterungen, pp. 51-67 and Krause, pp. 160-162.

psychological and historical--given in the accounts and material in Woyzeck can be rather easily discerned, especially with regard to Schmolling and Woyzeck; these similarities support the contention, advanced by many critics, that such journal articles were principal sources for much of Woyzeck. Büchner saw the dramatic writer as a figure who adapted and animated lifeless historical accounts; he summarizes his conception quite aptly in the following passage from a letter written to his family in July of 1835:

der dramatische Dichter ist in meinen Augen nichts, als ein Geschichts_schreiber, steht aber über Letzterem dadurch, dass er uns die Geschichte zum zweiten Mal erschafft und uns gleich unmittelbar, statt eine trockne Erzählung zu geben, in das Leben einer Zeit hinein versetzt, uns statt Charakteristiken Charaktere, und statt Beschreibungen Gestalten gibt.²⁶

Büchner, as the latter would suggest of his own work, made extensive use of historical material--Oberlin's diaries for Lenz, many sources for Dantons Tod--and the argument for similar use of historical material in Woyzeck is quite appealing.²⁷ As far as these articles are concerned, Büchner had obvious access to the Zeitschrift für die Staatsarzneikunde and almost certainly had access--through university or other sources--to the others. Büchner's father apparently had a

²⁶H.A. II, p. 443.

²⁷Hauser, pp. 107 ff.

whole set of Zeitschrift für die Staatsarzneikunde and was a contributor to the journal as Krause notes;

Ernst Büchner, der Vater des Dichters, war als Arzt selbst gelegentlich als Gerichtsmediziner tätig und veröffentlichte auch Gutachten in der bekannten Zeitschrift für die Staatsarzneikunde, in welcher die Gutachten über die Mörder Woyzeck und Diess erschienen.^{28,29}

A look at the following lists of parallels between the actual cases, as reported in the journals, and Woyzeck will show that Büchner apparently used the Clarus accounts of the Woyzeck case and most probably used one or both of the Schmolling accounts; the role of the journal-derivable Diess material, however, is much less clear.

5. Parallels to the Cases of Schmolling, Woyzeck, Diess

The following four tables, compiled and translated from the work of Bornscheuer and Krause, show major parallels between the Woyzeck text and material from the cited journal articles about the historical murder cases.³⁰ Only major points of congruence are listed since the many points of great similarity between the three cases make identification

²⁸Schmidt suggests (p. 106) that Ernst Büchner had a complete set of the journal.

²⁹Krause, p. 162.

³⁰Cf. Bornscheuer, Erläuterungen, pp. 3-36 and pp. 49-67; Krause, pp. 160-203.

of all text/historical source parallels very problematic; only features in scenes not crossed out by Büchner are listed. The fourth table, translated from Krause, shows the historical material (in summary form) as it relates to each of the four phases of the Woyzeck text.

TABLE IX

JOHANN DIESS

H ₁ ,15	Multiple stab wounds; flight after the murder
H ₃ ,2	Love for the child
H ₄ ,2	Child by the subsequently murdered lover
H ₄ ,14	Brandy motif

(see Bornscheuer, pp. 65-66.)

TABLE X

DANIEL SCHMOLLING

H ₁ ,11	Accidental finding of the knife
H ₁ ,12	Biblical command: "Thou shalt not kill"
H ₁ ,15	Circumstances around the murder: Night; walk around the city; the victim had little time; responsibility to prepare supper; the murderer asks the victim to be seated; caressing; obscure allusions to death; cries for help from the victim; people come to the scene; flight of the murderer
H ₁ ,16	Pedestrians find the victim
H ₁ ,17	Shoe motif
H ₁ ,18	Declaration of the locale
H ₁ ,19	Search for the knife at the scene of the crime
H ₂ ,7	Motif of passing
H ₄ ,1	Conversation as diversion from hallucinations
H ₄ ,2	Anxiety during the time before the murder
H ₄ ,8	Diagnosis of partial mental incapacity and the <u>idée fixe</u>
H ₄ ,13	Struggle with the conscience
H ₄ ,14	Inn and brandy motif
H ₄ ,17	Declaration of regimental affiliation

General features:

Anxiety

(see Bornscheuer, p. 51.)

Heat motif (as in Bode)

TABLE XI

JOHANN CHRISTIAN WOYZECK

H ₁ ,2	Fair (<u>Kirmes</u>) motif; figure of the non-commissioned officer
H ₁ ,15	Motif prompting the murder: "I don't know what you want!"; multiple stab wounds
H ₁ ,20	The idea of throwing the murder weapon in the pond.
H ₁ ,21	The figure of the barber
H ₂ ,7	Diagnosis of the examining physician
H ₃ ,2	First name (Christian) of the historical Woyzeck for the child; love for the child
H ₄ ,1	Visions in the open field; superstition about Free Masons in connection with persecution mania
H ₄ ,2	Figure of the drum-major; illegitimate child; mangled marriage conditions of the common soldier; general conditions of psychic disorder
H ₄ ,5	Rushed movements; anger over the compliment "that he's a good man"
H ₄ ,7	"Change in his mental condition" through jealousy; faithlessness of his lover
H ₄ ,8	Hallucinations; proper execution of his military duties
H ₄ ,9	Full-blooded (apoplectic) constitution
H ₄ ,10	Unsettling impressions of the lover's dancing at the fair dance with someone else; motif: "again and again, again and again"
H ₄ ,11	Jealousy scene with the lover
H ₄ ,12	Frequent flight to open areas; compulsive imperative: "Stab Mrs. Woost to death!" and warning voice from the conscience

- H₄,13 Exertion in duties as a soldier; simple sleeping arrangements with a comrade; unsettling dreams; struggle with the conscience
- H₄,14 Refusal of a drink in an inn; sentence motif: "The fellow whistles until blue in the face"; Woyzeck lets himself be beaten without defense
- H₄,15 Figure of the Jew
- H₄,17 Testimonial distribution of possessions; thirtieth year as crucial point in life

(see Bornscheuer, pp. 57-58.)

TABLE XII

CASE OF SCHMOLLING:

H₁-- Anxiety at night; disquiet, thoughts of murder, search for a pub; murder circumstances including picking up the victim, walking, sitting down, murder locale, murder with a knife; people passing by; flight after the murder and return to search for the knife.

H₄-- Anxiety at night; disquiet, thoughts of murder.

CASE OF WOYZECK:

H₁-- Running to the open field; impressions of lover's faithlessness; as soldier quartered in bed with a drum-major; dreams and voices urging murder; evenings in bed with impressions of musical instruments and the lover dancing with the rival; dance in a pub.

H₂-- Persecution mania connected with Free Masons; visions outside of the city; impressions of lover's faithlessness; drum-major; quarrel with the lover; doctor; examination, feeling of pulse.

H₃-- Doctor; examination, feeling of pulse.

H₄-- Anxiety at night; disquiet, thoughts of murder; persecution mania in connection with Free Masons; running to the open field; visions outside the city; references to faithlessness; drum-major; dreams and visions urging murder; evenings in bed with impressions of musical voices and the lover dancing; meeting of the lover and rival on the dance floor; quarrel with the lover; quarrel and boxing with landlord Warnecke.

CASE OF DIESS:

H₂-- The child; quarrel with the lover; captain.

H₃-- The child.

H₄-- The child; quarrel with the lover; captain and his observations.

(see Krause, pp. 164-166.)

The preceding tables show the wealth of apparent similarities between the text of Woyzeck and the Woyzeck and Schmolling cases; the Diess case, having many similarities to the other two cases, has no really distinctive text/case parallels. The Woyzeck case has, of course, the most striking parallels since each of the four phases of the play has obvious points of congruence with the Clarus account and at least two obvious paraphrases of Clarus material--"Musst sterben Luder" and "der Kerl soll dunkelblau pfeifen"--can be easily recognized.³¹ The Schmolling case has many parallels, but the most striking of these are in H₁, especially in the murder complex; this has led Krause to suggest that the Schmolling case was the main source for the drastic resolution of that first phase and that Büchner switched to a more Woyzeck-case oriented structure in H₂, and H₄.³² The Diess case, as has been mentioned, has no striking parallels since its points of text/case congruence are similar to those of the other cases (since the existence of the child and the character of the "Hauptmann", the main points of distinction in a strict sense, are not really conclusive); it is, however, possible that this case, the last of the three cases, a case discussed in the Bopp article

³¹Krause, p. 163.

³²Ibid., pp. 166-172.

(in the important Zeitschrift für die Staatsarzneikunde) which also mentions the other two, and the case with which Büchner almost definitely had the most personal contact, led the author to the accounts of the other cases and served as a generalized influence on the text's construction.^{33,34}

While it is probable that the characters and action of Woyzeck are primarily based on a combination of Schmolling, Woyzeck, and Diess material, it is nonetheless possible, as Hauser, among others, contends, that the play is based solely on the reworking of Woyzeck case material.³⁵ Hauser believes that the Woyzeck of the drama was primarily based on the historical Woyzeck who, at the age of 30 (the age given by Woyzeck in H₄, 17), was a soldier, had an illegitimate child, was in love with a woman who was unfaithful to him, started to hear voices and see visions and was tormented by those who called him "ein guter Mensch." Incidentally, using this age hypothesis which assumes Büchner's conscious selection of characters' ages based on historical facts, Schmolling would be too old (around 35) and Diess too young (around 26) to fit the age criterion set by Büchner in the final scene of H₄. Hauser explains Büchner's manipulation

³³See Hauser, pp. 110-111 about the child and military situation.

³⁴It should be noted at this point, that the preceding hypothesis about the Bopp account (appearing in Spring, 1836) is compatible with the prevailing arguments about Woyzeck's Entstehung.

³⁵Hauser, pp. 109-112.

of historical features in the following manner:

As has been pointed out, the Woyzeck-Woost relationship had been a stormy and ill-defined affair, and there was no child involved. Nevertheless, even this difference cannot be regarded as an inaccuracy in characterization, for the relationship Büchner develops is just as solidly rooted in the historical source. He simply placed the dramatic focus on an earlier period in Woyzeck's life, i.e., on the time when he was still a soldier./.../Instead of forty-one, he is just over thirty years old, exactly the age of the historical Woyzeck in 1810, when he and the woman named Wienbarg were planning to marry, when he was in the Swedish military service, and when his hallucinations first began to trouble him.³⁶

This is indeed a logical hypothesis, and it certainly avoids a thorny problem arising from Krause's thesis (i.e., if the conclusion of H_1 is Schmolling-based and the rest of the play is essentially Woyzeck-based, then the sort of textual reconstruction used by Lehmann, Bergemann, and others may well be a blend of anachronistic components--pertaining to Schmolling and Woyzeck--which Büchner never intended to unite).³⁷ The obvious weakness of Hauser's analysis is that he fails to recognize the significance of the Schmolling case parallels in the murder complex of H_1 . While Woyzeck case material certainly predominates, and access to the Clarus

³⁶ Ibid., p. 110-111.

³⁷ It should be remembered, however, that the historical Woyzeck committed murder at the age of 40 and did not kill the woman who had borne him a child ten years earlier; thus, Hauser is suggesting that Büchner manipulated features from different stages in the historical Woyzeck's life.

accounts in the Zeitschrift für die Staatsarzneikunde is a logical assumption, it seems clear that Schmolling case material is also in Woyzeck and in a crucial point of the play--the only account of murder; Hauser's hypothesis, without an explanation for the seeming wealth of Schmolling material, is prone to severe criticism. In contrast to this sort of very risky argumentation, Krause's contention that there are fundamental differences between H_1 and H_4 in terms of differential reliance on historical material stands as well substantiated; Krause rightly does not put an undue degree of reliance on case/text parallels alone since he realizes their limited role and notes:

Die Gesamtheit der Übernahmen aus den Gutachten sowie die auf eine Mordabsicht hinweisenden Stellen bilden nur noch eine Schicht in der Gesamtplanung Büchners.³⁸

Hauser, Krause, and Bornscheuer have, simply stated, investigated the many similarities between Woyzeck characters and actions and those in the accounts of three historical murder cases, and they have shown that accounts printed in journals, particularly the Clarus accounts, were apparently used as sources by Büchner. These findings may, when integrated with other information about sources, show possible construction patterns and help in the development of a "cleaner" Woyzeck text, but, as is the case in many

³⁸Krause, pp. 171-172.

other avenues of Büchner investigation, many questions remain without satisfactory answers.

Chapter Two

Woyzeck Sources and Parallels

In addition to the accounts of the three murder cases, modern researchers have found other sources apparently used by Büchner in the construction of Woyzeck; these include many biblical quotes or paraphrases of biblical passages, and a wide range of other materials such as songs, poems, fairy tales and possible allusions to other dramas. These will be briefly discussed here since, as was the case with the murder case parallels, study of Büchner's differential reliance on individual (Bible, etc.) or typical (folk songs, etc.) sources in the four phases of the drama may enable the critic to discern features of Woyzeck's construction which, in turn, may help in the resolution of the textual dilemma. This study will be done in two parts:

- 1) Biblical allusions; and 2) Other Sources/Parallels.

.....

1. Biblical Allusions

There are many features in Büchner's background which suggest that Protestant theology had a strong influence upon him; Krause notes the following about Büchner's theological

background and its likely influence upon him:

Georg Büchner, der aus einer protestantischen Familie stammt, hat nach dem Verlassen des protestantischen Gymnasiums in Darmstadt in einem auffallenden Masse Umgang mit protestantischen Theologen gehabt. Es wäre erstaunlich, wenn dieser Verkehr, der das Leben des Dichters oft entscheidend mitbestimmte, sich nicht auch auf seine Dichtungen ausgewirkt hätte.³⁹

In Strassburg he lived with the pastor Johann Jacob Jaegle, and he probably came into contact with his uncle Eduard Reuss, a famous theologian, while in the city; additionally, Büchner had several friends--Eugen Boeckel, Adolf and Daniel August Ehrenfried Stöber--who were students of theology (the latter two, incidentally, were instrumental in allowing Büchner to get the Oberlin material used in the writing of Lenz).⁴⁰ There were also many other people--students of theology--with whom Büchner came into contact in Strassburg and whose friendships with Büchner are suggested by correspondence. Later, in Giessen, Büchner met August Becker, who had given up the study of theology, and pastor Friedrich Ludwig Weidig, who helped in the editing of the Hessischen Landbote. This information about Büchner's many close acquaintances in the field of theology, coupled with the knowledge of Büchner's religious scepticism which can be

³⁹ Ibid., p. 204.

⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 204-205.

gleaned from such accounts as Friedrich Zimmermann's (a schoolmate of Büchner and the twin brother of Georg Zimmermann who attempted to edit Woyzeck in the late 1830's) memories of the writer, clearly support Krause's contention that it would be incredible if Büchner's broad theological background had no influence on his writing; with this sort of background, the many similarities between portions of the Woyzeck text and passages from the Bible can hardly be ascribed to simple coincidence.⁴¹

The following list of the apparent Biblical allusions in Woyzeck is borrowed from the work of Egon Krause; line, page, and scene numbers from Krause's work are paired with listings of parallel passages in the King James Bible.⁴²

H₁

...

12 (p. 37; l. 14-15)--Exodus 20:13; Matthew 5:21; Luke 18:20; James 2:11.

15 (p. 39; l. 22-23)--Revelation 6:12; The Acts 2:20.

20 (p. 42; l. 16-17)--see H₁, 15.

H₂

...

1 (p. 43; l. 28/p. 44; l. 1-4)--Revelation 1:10; Revelation 1:12; Revelation 16:18-19; Revelation 17:3; Genesis 19:24-26; II Peter 2:6-7; see also Revelation 8:5; II Peter 3:10; Luke 17:29 and 31-32.

⁴¹Friedrich Zimmerman in Georg Büchner, Werke und Briefe Gesamtausgabe, ed. Fritz Bergemann, 12th. ed. (Frankford/M: Insel Verlag, 1974), pp. 552-554.

⁴²Krause, pp. 227-233.

- 2 (p. 45; 1.17-18)--see H₂,1; Revelation 16:18-19; Genesis 19:24-26.
- 3 (p. 46; 1.8-9)--I Corinthians 3:18.
- 6 (p. 50; 1.5-9)--Revelation 10:3; Revelation 14:15; Revelation 14:18; Revelation 16:1; Revelation 16:8; Revelation 16:17-18.
- 7 (p. 52; 1.31-36)--Matthew 5:37; James 5:12; II Corinthians 1:17.
- 9 (p. 54; 1.16-17)--I Peter 2:22; Isaiah 53:9; Revelation 14:4-5.
- H₃
...
- 1 (p. 55; 1.1-2)--II Samuel 11:2-4.
- H₄
...
- 1 (p. 57; 1.22-24)--Revelation 1:10; Revelation 1:12; Revelation 8:5-7; Revelation 8:8; Revelation 8:10; Revelation 16:18; Genesis 19:24-26; Luke 17:29; Luke 17:31-32; I Peter 3:10; II Peter 2:6-7.
- 2 (p. 59; 1.8-10)--Genesis 19:28; Revelation 9:1-2; see H₄,1.
- 5 (p. 59; 1.1-2)--Mark 10:14; Luke 18:16; Matthew 19:14.
- 8 (p. 65; 1.16-18)--see H₂,6.
- 11 (p. 68; 1.24-26)--Revelation 8:12; Revelation 9:2; see H₄,2.
- 16 (p. 71; 1.5-10)--John 8:3-11; see H₂,9. (p. 71; 1.20-25)--Luke 7:37-38.

.....

2. Other Sources/Parallels

There are many parallels to sources other than murder accounts and biblical passages in Woyzeck; these include

apparent adaptations of material from folk songs, poems, and varied literary works. Of the many folksongs in the text, Gonthier-Louis Fink (using the 1948 Bergemann text) notes the following about their frequency of occurrence and distribution throughout the text:

Die Lieder sind bedeutend zahlreicher geworden [compared to Dantons Tod] und vor allem über das ganze Stück ziemlich gleichmässig verteilt. In zehn von 24 Szenen finden sich 14 vereinzelte Strophen und Verse.⁴³

These miscellaneous parallels are not as frequently present or obviously important as the biblical quotations/paraphrases and murder case accounts which run throughout the play, but they do aid in the play's characterizations and plot, and, additionally, they tend to support modern analyses of Woyzeck's development by focussing attention on an apparently more "refined" H₄ phase.

The following list of alleged similarities, some of which are obviously far-fetched, between the Woyzeck text and varied sources is compiled from the findings of Bornscheuer, Fink, and Knight; line, page, and scene numbers from Krause's phase analysis are paired with listings of possible source material.⁴⁴

⁴³Gonthier-Louis Fink, "Volkslied und Verseinlage in den Dramen Büchners," in Georg Büchner, ed. Wolfgang Martens (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1973), p.472.

⁴⁴Cf. Bornscheuer, Erläuterungen, pp. 3-36; Fink, pp. 443-487; A. H. J. Knight, Georg Büchner (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1951), pp. 118-125.

H₁

...

2 Lenz, Die Soldaten II, 2.14 (H.A.I., p. 151; l. 14-18)--Verse cited in Des Knaben Wunderhorn.17 (p. 40; l. 24-27 and p. 41; l. 1-2)--Folk song (part of which was used in Lenz).H₂

...

3 see H₁, 2.H₃

...

2 (p. 56; l. 1-3)--Commonly known rhyme.H₄

...

1 (p. 57; l. 8-13)--Folk song. (p. 57; l. 22-23) see Faust II 4666-4678.2 (p. 58; l. 12-13)--Song (dating problematic). (p. 58; l. 25-30)--believed to be song. (p. 58; l. 31 and p. 59; l. 1-3)--Song.4 (p. 59; l. 28-31)--Alsatian verse. Earrings--Faust I.5 (p. 62; l. 9-11)--Alsatian verse. See Lenz, Die Soldaten I, 6.8 (p. 64; l. 19-21)--Allusion to Wilbrand, Handbuch der Naturgeschichte des Thierreichs.10 (p. 67; l. 3-5)--Folk and student song from the Rhineland.11 (p. 68; l. 14-19)--Folk song. (p. 68; l. 21-23)--Allusion to Lenz, Die Soldaten, III, 2.13 Knife--Shakespeare, Macbeth.

- 14 (p. 70; l. 16-17)--Folk song. (p. 70; l. 20)--Lenz, Die Soldaten, III, 2 and IV, 1.
- 16 (p. 71; l. 17-18)--Fairy tale from the Alsace.
- 17 (p. 72; l. 4-5)--From Hoffmann, "Der leidende Christ...", of 1735; these lines also appear in Lenz.

The other Woyzeck sources or parallels--biblical quotes and the varied materials mentioned in the previous list--even assuming that all the alleged similarities reflect Büchner's deliberate adoption of pre-existing material, are not as obviously significant as the murder case accounts in terms of the play's basic action, but their usage reveals a few interesting features of the play's construction. The Bible quotations/paraphrases seem to give H_1 an "apocalyptic and fateful" milieu, but they give H_2 , with its biblically based emphasis on inner conflict in Louise and Woyzeck, and H_4 , with its emphasis on a passive and more human Woyzeck, apparently different tones; this difference supports the notion of interphase conceptual progression in Woyzeck--changes in characterization and action between manuscript phases--and also raises doubts about the validity of texts composed of H_4 and the murder complex of H_1 .⁴⁵ At this point it should be noted that the only murder in Woyzeck occurs in H_1 and in no scene or phase is Woyzeck apprehended, judged, or killed; thus, differences in tone, characterization, or action between the phases might actually mean that

⁴⁵Krause, pp. 208-226.

all intended Woyzeck material is not in the four phases and that the linking of H_1 and H_4 is an arbitrary and dubious practice. The study of non-biblical parallels, particularly folksongs, has brought to light many probable sources used by Büchner; the folksongs are obviously integral parts of the plot and characterizations of Woyzeck since they, as Fink notes, aid in the development of the tragic milieu of Woyzeck:

nicht nur Nebenfiguren wie Andres und Käthe, sondern selbst Marie, und in h_1 und h_2 sogar Woyzeck, kommentieren die Situation im Liede; andererseits erstellte sie den allgemeinen geistigen Hintergrund, worauf sich die Liebestragödie abheben konnte.⁴⁶

With respect to Woyzeck's development, the relatively great number of folk song and poem occurrences in H_4 , coupled with the apparent thematic significance of the songs and poems, suggests that H_4 is a more deliberately constructed phase than the "complete" H_1 or fragmentary H_2 and H_3 ; this obviously adds support to the contention that H_4 was the final manuscript phase. In short, the study of Büchner's probable sources, murder case accounts as well as other materials, has apparently revealed several important features of Woyzeck's construction which may help in the development of a more defensible Woyzeck text by helping to answer questions about the drama's state of completion and pattern of construction.

⁴⁶Fink, p. 484.

CHAPTER THREE

Stylistic Considerations and the Textual Dilemma

The study of stylistic features in Woyzeck manuscripts, involving both modern and pre-1922 scholarship, has revealed many striking features in the text which suggest, in the light of many complementary findings about the drama coming from the evaluation of the manuscripts, murder cases, allusions, etc., that the four manuscript phases represent an H_1 to H_4 developmental progression which includes significant differences in the characterizations of Woyzeck and Marie. The implications of the stylistic findings are controversial; the idea of developmental progression is generally accepted by critics, but the precise nature of a "final" text is highly problematic because of interphase differences and the apparently incomplete nature of H_4 which logically enable the postulation that Büchner's Woyzeck could be different in plot from any text made from the extant pieces of drama. In this section of the thesis, stylistic findings and their implications for the textual dilemma will be reviewed; this study will consider: 1) Büchner's use of language; 2) Woyzeck's characters in the four phases; and 3) the dramatic form of Woyzeck.

1. Büchner's Use of Language

Helmut Krapp and Franz Mautner produced two promising studies of dialogue and word usage in Woyzeck in 1958 and 1961, respectively; both works focus on varied elements of Büchner's style and, after considerable critical examination of these stylistic elements, draw conclusions about the problem of Woyzeck's resolution.^{47,48} Both works are based on the editions of Bergemann (mainly the sixth edition of 1953), but both assume a critical stance vis-a-vis Bergemann's conclusion of the text; the Mautner article is the more precise work since it, in contrast to Krapp's broad approach, deals with features in some of the "variant" scenes (those not in the acting text of Bergemann 6).

Mautner's article includes the consideration of numerous unifying stylistic features in Woyzeck, but centers on the following two points:

1. Im Sprechen derselben Menschen tauchen immer wieder dieselben Wörter auf oder solche, die einem einheitlichen Stimmungsbereich oder Sinnbezirk entstammen, Quellen übermächtiger Assoziationen und Träger themen-
anzeigender Bedeutung...Die in dieselbe Richtung--auf seelische Bereiche oder ihre physiognomischen und mimischen Symptome--zielenden Bemerkungen der Figuren übereinander tragen in konzentriertester Form zu jener unmittelbaren Intensität des Eindrucks bei.

⁴⁷ Helmut Krapp, Der Dialog bei Georg Büchner (München: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1958).

⁴⁸ Franz Mautner, "Wortgewebe, Sinngefüge und "Idee" in Büchners 'Woyzeck,'" in Georg Büchner, ed. Wolfgang Martens (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1973), 507-554.

2. In den meisten Szenen strahlten einige wenige Wörter--meist Substantive oder Adjektive--durch ihre ihnen gemeinsame Eigenart oder durch Wiederholung ihre Bedeutung oder Färbung in die ganze Szene aus, so dass fast jede ihren eigenen Charakter hat und sich dadurch scharf von anderen Szenen absetzt.⁴⁹

Mautner rightly observes Büchner's association of words and phrases suggesting the psychopathic (his term), erotic, sexual, sentimental and pseudoscientific with Woyzeck, Marie, the Tambourmajor, the Doktor and Hauptmann, respectively, and he traces these thematically and stylistically significant associations through scenes from the four phases of the text. He also draws attention to the occurrence of verbal motifs which run through the text giving it an additional element of unity; of these motifs he notes:

Wortwiederholung, nicht nur auf eine Person beschränkt, gehört auch zu Büchners bevorzugten Mitteln, seinen Szenen thematische oder atmosphärische Einheit zu verleihen.⁵⁰

The latter element is traced throughout Woyzeck and included in the study are such motifs as the recurrence of references to "red" qualities in the murder complex (H₁, 11-20).⁵¹

Mautner also notes Büchner's use of the interplay of opposite word/character associations such as those in the shaving

⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 511-512.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 521.

⁵¹ Ibid., pp. 542-544.

scene ($H_4, 6$).⁵² Mautner's study of varied features of Woyzeck's style is systematic and logical, and it certainly pinpoints elements which give the play stylistic and thematic unity, but the study suggests that many obvious congruities in individual characters' traits run through the different phases of Woyzeck--this clearly undermines the postulation that there are highly significant differences in the characterizations of Woyzeck and Marie in the four phases. It is unfortunate that Mautner did not make more use of the original Bergemann text since his study would have been much more worthwhile had it considered the textual variants while looking explicitly for differences in the Woyzecks and Maries of the four phases. As it stands, Mautner only notes one problem, though hardly a minor one, which applies to texts composed of H_4 and the murder complex of H_1 ; he, as the following passage confirms, believes that the drama was not fully revised and that the final murder scenes would have been modified in an unknown manner:

Wir kennen nicht das ganze Drama 'Woyzeck', das Büchner geschrieben hätte, wenn er länger am Leben geblieben wäre. Änderungen und Streichungen früher vorhandener und Einfügung neuer Szenen verändern deutlich des Autors Tendenz, die 'Idee' des Dramas--wenn eine vorhanden ist--in der letzten Ausführung der ersten neunzehn oder zwanzig Szenen des

⁵²Ibid., pp. 521-523.

Fragmentes H, verglichen mit den älteren Entwürfen, und machen es fast sicher, dass die folgenden acht Szenen aus den Entwürfen, die jetzt den Schluss des Dramas darstellen, auch verändert worden wären.⁵³

This contention is based on the commonly-held logical assumption that H₄ is the final revised phase which is obviously incomplete and would likely be completed through a revision of previously written material, similar to that done by Büchner in scenes H₄:7,8,9,10,11,12,13,14, and 16. Mautner, however, recognizes the obvious religious coloration of the last scene (H₄,17) which, perhaps significantly, is not picked up in any other part of the extant manuscripts and is conceivably incompatible with the tone and action of the murder complex.⁵⁴ In short, Mautner's article offers great potential for providing evidence concerning the development of Woyzeck, but, as a result of his failure to deeply investigate possible interphase differences, much of its potential is not realized; Mautner's contribution to the study of the textual dilemma lies in his conclusions about the apparent incongruity of the murder complex with the atmosphere created by Büchner in what is apparently the last scene written by him.

Helmut Krapp's book, in its segment on Woyzeck, covers

⁵³Ibid., pp.549.

⁵⁴Ibid., p.550.

much of the same material dealt with in Mautner's article, but it does so in a much more general fashion. His concerns lie with repeated and isolated words and rhythm in dialogue, but nowhere in the work does he mention the four phases of Woyzeck's construction. Krapp believes that the drama is incomplete and concludes the following about its resolution:

Der Substanzcharakter aber auch der Sprache und der Szene verbietet es, einen Woyzeckschluss nach der kausalen Schlüssigkeit im Sinne der überlieferten Dramatik zu konstruieren. Das vorhandene Szenenmaterial weist nur Statuarisches auf, Situationen, Aufblendungen in die Welt, ohne um den konsequenten Gang der vorgezeichneten Geschichte sich noch sehr zu kümmern.⁵⁵

Krapp's belief is that Woyzeck was conceived as a fragment and that critics' oft-manifest desire for a firm conclusion is rooted in inappropriate application of rules taken from classical dramaturgy.⁵⁶ The problem with this contention is Krapp's failure to explain how pieces of the extant four phases were meant to be linked in the fragment; he seems to realize the dramatic significance of scenes like H₁,16,H₁, 21, and H₂,3, but simply overlooks the fact that his accepted text is composed of pieces drawn, depending on which of the subsequent manuscript phase analysis is used, from three (Krause or Lehmann), four (Bergemann), or even five (Buch or Bornscheurer) phases of Woyzeck's construction. With

⁵⁵Krapp, p. 92.

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 93.

respect to the textual dilemma, Krapp's contribution is dubious since his conclusion about Woyzeck's resolution is based on an obvious lack of knowledge concerning the chronological development of the text.

2. Woyzeck's Characters in the Four Phases

Many critics have drawn attention to differences in the personalities of Woyzeck/Franz/Louis and Marie/Margreth/Louise in the various manuscript phases of Woyzeck; these changes, coupled of course with other findings about the text, have prompted the assumption that H₄ is the final manuscript phase and, through implication, have suggested that the combination of material from the various phases into a single text is problematic vis-a-vis Büchner's apparent dramatic intent. Roy Cowen has observed the following which, except for its apparent oversimplification of the significance of class or professional allegiance to characters' actions, aptly reviews the nature of Woyzeck and Marie.

In Woyzeck, two qualities distinguish Woyzeck and Marie from all of the other characters: identity as individuals and feelings of conscience. They are almost the only persons in the play to whom Büchner has given names, and they are certainly the only prominent characters whose actions are not enmeshed in their allegiance to a class or profession.⁵⁷

⁵⁷Roy C. Cowen, "Identity and Conscience in Büchner's Works," GR 43 (1968), 264.

Woyzeck and Marie are indeed the prominent figures in the drama, and the obvious differences in Büchner's characterizations of them suggest a developmental progression in Woyzeck culminating in the apparently incomplete H_4 phase; thus, the study of differential characterizations seems to offer a few clues for the possible resolution of the textual dilemma.

In H_1 and H_2 , to use the summary of J. Elema from his appraisal of the textual situation:

Wir fanden einen Dichter am Werk, der in der ersten Handschrift, in balladesker Szenenfolge, die Hauptlinien der Handlung bis zur Verhaftung schon festlegt, dabei aber noch vieles unmotiviert oder sogar offen lässt; der dann in der zweiten Handschrift aufs neue ansetzt, konsequent motiviert und verbessert, dabei aber nicht sehr weit kommt, offensichtlich auch in grosser Eile arbeitet.⁵⁸

The latter review is straightforward except for the apparent equation of the barber and Woyzeck in the so-called "Verhaftung" where the barber verbally confronts members of the murder commission (H_1 , 21); Martens has shown on the basis of striking differences in dramatic personality that the two are far from identical. Martens concludes that the barber is a barber-surgeon and contrast figure to Woyzeck; his argument is summarized thus:

⁵⁸ J. Elema, "Der verstümmelte Woyzeck," Neuph. 49 (1965), 153-154.

Der Barbier des Woyzeck, so glauben wir sagen zu können, ist, nach dem Modell des literarischen Barbiers, typus konzipiert, eine als Barbier und Chirurgus fungierende komisch-groteske Kontrastfigur im Spiel um Woyzeck, die vom Dichter im Fortschreiten der Arbeit offenbar wieder verworfen wurde. Die Gerichtsdienerszene zeigt diesen Barbier als Mitglied der Mordkommission am Tatort.⁵⁹

On the basis of intensive study of the Woyzeck phases, Wilfried Buch has suggested that there are three different characterizations of Woyzeck in H_1 , H_2 , and $H_{3/4}$, respectively; of the Woyzeck of H_1 he summarizes:

Der egozentrische, triebhafte, dumpfe Woyzeck, der aus wilder Eifersucht mordet, nach dem Mord ins Wirtshaus geht und versucht, sich um seiner selbst willen zu retten. Er steht den realen Vorbildern, wie sie die gerichtlichen Gutachten zeigen, noch recht nahe.⁶⁰

The sympathy-engendering features of Woyzeck's torment by the Hauptmann and Doktor and Woyzeck's love for his child, so striking in H_4 , are absent in this first phase, and this first Woyzeck figure seems a relatively shallow character (compared to the H_4 character) whose act of murder is indeed the result of "simple" jealousy. With respect to the second Woyzeck and Louise (from H_2) he notes:

Der charakterlich und geistig 'interessante' Fall' bestimmt durch 'groteske' Paradoxa: der ungläubig-abergläubisch-blashemische-religiöse

⁵⁹ Martens, "Barbier," p. 381.

⁶⁰ Buch, p. 66; This discussion of Buch's ideas is related, somewhat imprecisely, to the Lehmann scene classification system. H_1 = Buch's Ha+Hb (without Hb, 10 and 11); H_2 =Hc (with Hb 10 and 11); $H_{3,4}$ = Hd+He.

'dogmatische Atheist,' der 'feig, geflissentlich' und mit 'Wissenschaft' rasonierende Mensch, der Gott und die Welt, auch den eigenen Schmerz so lange wie möglich als unverbindlich 'grotesk' zu stilisieren sucht und dann doch den 'echten, schönen' Mord begeht.

Lousie hat hier das Kind, aber es bedeutet dem in sich versponnenen Woyzeck nichts.⁶¹

This review of H₂ includes a distinct element of overstatement, but it points nonetheless to the unique nature of the second Woyzeck; he is obviously the victim of some form of mental dysfunction, but he is clearly not the more complex, sympathetic, suffering individual one recognizes in H₄. Additionally, in H₁ the female character, Margreth, is not well-developed (vis-à-vis her later (H₄) nature) and does not apparently have regrets about her conduct with the Tambourmajor; in H₂, however, this character is more fully developed, and she indeed shows distinct hints of the feeling of remorse in the final scene.⁶² Although some of Buch's descriptive terms are obviously too strong, obvious differences between the Louis and Margreth of H₁ and the Woyzeck and Louise of H₂ are present in the Woyzeck material, and the latter characters are indeed less human or sympathy-engendering than their counterparts in the later phases H₃ and H₄. The latter findings about characterizations and name changes

⁶¹Ibid.

⁶²Holger Hamann, "Zum Namen der weiblichen Hauptperson in Büchners 'Woyzeck,'" Orbis Litterarum 25 (1970), 259-260.

in the initial phases of Woyzeck, even if not correct to the smallest detail, are important as indicators of a significant developmental progression in Büchner's conceptualization of characters and possibly, action for the drama.

In H_4 some of the material from previous phases, as has been noted is restated in a revised or "compressed" (to use Margaret Jacobs' term) form, and the female character, Marie in H_4 , is much more prominent and complex.⁶³ Of the nature of this final, revised female figure, Holger Hamann notes:

Marie bereut ihre Sündhaftigkeit und ist wie Marie Magdalena zur Sühne bereit.--Um so stärker wirkt es daher, dass Büchner die biblische Lösung dieses Problems nicht anerkennt: Maries Worte--'Herrgott, gib mir nur so viel, dass ich beten kann' und 'Alles tot! Heiland! Heiland! ich möchte dir die Füße salben!!--besagen mit erschütternden Klarheit, dass von Gott keine Rettung zu erhoffen ist.⁶⁴

Hamann further postulates that Marie identifies with Mary Magdalene, suggesting that Büchner revised his conception of the female protagonist (along with her name) in H_4 . Büchner reviews the final Woyzeck, based on H_4 , H_3 , and the murder complex of H_1 , as follows:

Aus dem Egozentriker wird der Mensch, der liebend, mitleidend und stellvertretend

⁶³Margaret Jacobs, "Franz Theodor Csokor: Büchners 'Woyzeck'--Versuch einer Vollendung," Oxford German Studies I (1966), 32.

⁶⁴Hamann, p. 260.

leidend teilnimmt; an Marie, an seinem Kind,
am Wir der 'armen Leut,' am Menschen schlecht-
hin, am Tier, an 'allem.'

Aus dem triebhaften wird der rücksichtsvolle,
zärtliche, aus dem dumpfen der demütige, aus
dem redseligen der verstummende Woyzeck. Dieser
Woyzeck ist nicht mehr der Mörder aus Eifersucht.
Ihr allein hielte er wohl stand. Aber er wird
von allen Seiten her und in allen Schichten seiner
Person erniedrigt und 'blutig geschlagen': von
Marie, dem Tambourmajor, dem Professor, von
'Himmel und Hölle.' Selbst die Katze, die er
zärtlich hält, beißt ihn. Und sein Kind, das
er liebkosen will, 'wendet sich weg und schreit.'⁶⁵

H₄, called the suffering version by Buch (H₁ being the
"jealousy version; H₂, the "grotesque version") includes, in
addition to a more fully characterized female figure than
the one in the previous phases, a very human, intensely
suffering Woyzeck whose actions at the end of the phase are
not explicitly given and could logically be directed to the
Tambourmajor, himself, or, as is the case in the murder com-
plex, to his unfaithful mistress. The H₄ phase, however,
includes no murder or clear implication of one; thus, the
relationship of this phase to its predecessors is problematic
and the possibility advanced by Krause, though not apparently
a strong one, thus exists that the H₄ Woyzeck might forgive
the repentant Marie.

Considering the name and characterizational changes in
H₁ (where the only murder occurs and the barber exists), H₂,

⁶⁵Buch, p.66.

and H₄, it is not clear whether or not all of the drama's intended pieces are extant. Most texts add the murder complex to H₄ in order to conclude the play, but this practice, considering the significance of Marie's feelings of remorse in H₄ and the more passive Woyzeck alleged to exist in H₄ by Krause and Buch, may not reflect Büchner's final design for the drama. The belief of Krause that Woyzeck, despite the facts of the historical case and the implications of the only "complete" text (H₁), would forgive Marie, resolving the drama without a murder, is a possibility because of the apparent differences in scenes between the phases; there is, of course, only very weak evidence to support the latter view. Editorial knowledge and the detailed study of character changes clearly point to a developmental progression from H₁ to H₂ to H₄, H₃ being very difficult to evaluate chronologically, but the findings about differences in characters, considering the point at which H₄ ends, seems to raise new questions about the state of Woyzeck's completion and its intended design.

3. The Dramatic Form of Woyzeck

The dramatic form of Woyzeck has been studied by many critics and two basic views about the drama's form have emerged; these are a) the view of older critics who saw a closed dramatic form which some felt was Büchner's conscious

adaptation of principles from the dramaturgy of Lenz, Shakespeare, and commedia d'ell arte; and b) the view of more modern critics who see the drama as having an open form which is uniquely Büchner's. The question of Woyzeck's dramatic form is related to the textual dilemma since studies of the sort previously mentioned offer the apparent potential of discovering dramaturgical principles manifest in Woyzeck which might provide clues to a single, formally necessary arrangement of material from the manuscripts; generally speaking, however, this potential has not been realized since the older notions of closed, conventional form (which would suggest that there is a formally necessary Woyzeck recognizable in the manuscripts) have been superseded by ideas about Woyzeck's open form.

Walther Kupsch, who wrote a treatise on Büchner's work in 1920, will be used here as an example of the older school of Woyzeck study. He felt that Woyzeck, still thought to be Wozzeck in his time, was a drama of closed form which was based on the adoption of dramatic principles from Shakespeare (influenced by Lenz) and the commedia d'ell arte. Kupsch contends, as the following quote shows, that Woyzeck is a drama with a strong affinity to Shakespearean dramaturgy:

Der shakespearesche Realismus ist eine der Grundlagen für das formale Schaffensprinzip Büchners im 'Wozzeck.' Sowohl im Aufbau der Handlung, als auch in der Gestalten und nicht

zuletzt in der sprachlichen Durchbildung
kann man es erkennen.⁶⁶

Büchner's admiration of Shakespearean principles (which emphasized the role of man) and a simultaneous rejection of Greek classical dramatic tenets (which emphasized the role of divinities over man) was, in Kupsch's view, aroused by the dramaturgical writings of Lenz which Büchner had presumably read.⁶⁷ Kupsch goes on to postulate that Shakespeare's "Regellosigkeit" and some of Lenz' dramatic conceptions are clearly present in Woyzeck, but no specific evidence is given to support his view. One can indeed cite possible allusions to Lenz' work in Woyzeck, Büchner's familiarity with Lenz' life, and letters of Büchner demonstrating his admiration for Shakespeare, but this evidence alone is much too vague to enable the rational contention that Büchner's Woyzeck is based on the conscious borrowing of dramatic principles, from either Lenz or Shakespeare, and one is compelled to agree with Rudolf Majut that:

No influence of Shakespeare on Büchner can be traced in Woyzeck. The master helped the disciple to find his own form. To compare a plebian Othello of about 1830 with Shakespeare's aristocratic general would be too far-fetched.⁶⁸

⁶⁶Kupsch, p. 77.

⁶⁷Ibid., pp. 78-79.

⁶⁸Rudolf Majut, "Some Literary Affiliations of Georg Büchner with England," MLR 50 (1955), 32.

With respect to the commedia d'ell arte, Kupsch describes parallels between ten character types in the commedia and characters in Woyzeck and suggests that Büchner's stage directions were meant to facilitate the improvisation characteristic of that Italian form; for the latter reasons he concludes:

Deshalb stelle ich dieses Drama in seiner technischen Struktur neben diese alten Volkskomödien und möchte behaupten, der 'Woyzeck' sei eine deutsche Commedia d'ell arte im edelsten Sinne des Wortes.⁶⁹

These ideas about the commedia d'ell arte are dubious because many of the cited parallels are quite superficial and Kupsch's ideas about stage directions are based on a text (his own reconstruction) which is an arbitrary blend of the four phases with much contamination coming from the acceptance of many of Franzos' erroneous readings and a lack of appreciation of the textual dilemma (understandable since the work pre-dates Witkowski and Bergemann and is not based on the original manuscripts).⁷⁰ Kupsch compounds the latter problems by breaking the text into four acts and three days on the basis of speculation about dramatic effect clearly influenced by anachronistic dramatic principles; he also suggested that the drama receives a dynamic unity through its handling of three themes--social, passionate, and sexual.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Kupsch, pp. 82-83.

⁷⁰ See the text description in Kupsch, pp. 80-93.

⁷¹ Ibid., pp. 43-44 and pp. 93-96.

In short, Kupsch's resolution of the textual dilemma (for he states "dass wir in diesem Drama Büchners kein Fragment vor uns haben, sondern eine in sich geschlossene Dichtung") must be rejected because of its use of simplistic and overstated argumentation based on what can only be termed weak evidence.⁷²

Modern criticism has rejected the belief of men like Kupsch, that Woyzeck is a drama of closed, more or less classical form and accepted the notion that it is an open drama which starts in medias res and covers related dramatic events from different perspectives. The open form of the play, however, provides no apparent clues to intended scene order, and controversy about the drama's conclusion continues to plague Büchner scholarship. The editorial analyses of Bergemann, Lehmann, and Krause, to name a few, have established with virtual certainty that H₄ was the last phase and that interphase revisions were made by Büchner (see Appendix Three): Analyses of dramatic form made in the light of these more recent textual studies tend to accept, that the drama has an intentionally conceived sequential character as summarized by the following observation by Rosenthal:

[Die] lose Szenenbildung und der fragmentarische Charakter der Sprache führen zu einer raschen Bilderfolge, die oft das gleiche Ereignis behandelt, indem sie es von den verschiedensten

⁷²Ibid., p. 115.

Positionen aus beleuchtet.⁷³

The formal unity in Woyzeck, then, comes from individual contributions to the plot made by self-contained scenes; this unifying process is aptly described in the analysis of Erwin Scheuer thus:

Der reale Vorgang einer Scene ist gegeben durch die Handlung des Dramas, aber auch im 'Woyzeck' ist die Scene nicht nur ein Mittel zum Zweck, sondern selbst eine Erfüllung, sie eröffnet von ihrem besonderen Platze aus einen Blick auf die Gesamtheit des Gehaltes, sie ist ein Mikrokosmos.⁷⁴

This view of Woyzeck scenes as a series of self-contained microcosmic views related to a common overall theme, without a hint of conventional scene or act divisions, is commonly held today, although ideas about unity through locale--the common street through which the characters walk and around which they act--or other features can still be found.⁷⁵ Modern criticism, then, has abandoned the simplistic, but certain, positions of men like Kupsch and adopted more sophisticated and problematic points of view concerning the form of the text.

⁷³Erwin Theodor A. Rosenthal, "Aspekte der dramatischen Struktur der beiden Tragödien Büchners," GQ 38 (1965), 283.

⁷⁴Erwin Scheuer, Akt und Form in der offenen Form des Dramas dargestellt an den Dramen Georg Büchners (Berlin: n.p., 1929; reprint ed., Nendeln. Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint Limited, 1967), p. 64.

⁷⁵See, for example, Walter Schäfer, "Die Wandlungen der dramatischen Welt Darstellung im Spiegelbild der Bedeutung des Bühnenortes von der Klassik bis Heute," Der Deutschunterricht 181 (1966), 20-33.

Simply stated, the text is generally seen as a highly unconventional work for its time which uses an open dramatic form. This view of the drama's form offers no apparent help in resolving the textual dilemma since the form, being so open, enables the logical postulation of several scene orders and gives no obvious clues regarding a single, formally necessary, set of phase and scene relationships for the Woyzeck material. The precise overall scene order, then, is apparently impossible to judge on formal grounds, but it also is apparent that the precise scene order is not critically important since many scenes--these being accepted as self-standing, microcosmic glimpses at a coherent whole--can be relocated without damage to the structure of the drama.⁷⁶

.....

Study of stylistic features in Woyzeck in the context of complementary editorial findings has established the following three points:

1. There is an apparent developmental progression in three of the four phases of the text--H₁-H₂-H₄ with H₃ problematic (after H₁ and possibly even after H₄).
2. This progression, ignoring the problematic scenes of H₃, culminates in H₄, a phase which is apparently incomplete since it ends before the

⁷⁶See Henry Schmidt on Woyzeck's dramatic form in Schmidt (trans.), Woyzeck, p. 79.

murder mentioned in the murder complex of H_1 .

3. There are significant differences in the characterizations of the male and female protagonists in H_1 , H_2 , and H_4 .

Simply stated, there is general critical agreement on the latter three points, but the perceived implications of these findings are quite varied. The study of characters has revealed a great deal about differences in the manuscript phases which counterbalances the arguments made about unity in Woyzeck based on Büchner's use of language; the implications of the latter two areas of inquiry, however, are coincident in their suggestion that Woyzeck, as it is now known, is probably incomplete. The dramatic form of Woyzeck is generally accepted as an open form consisting of a series of scenes without linear chronological development which contribute microcosmic glimpses at a thematically coherent whole, but this conclusion has a variety of implications concerning the textual dilemma. The previously cited stylistic considerations alone cannot resolve the textual dilemma since they have shown too many elements of disunity among the four phases of Woyzeck and have clearly established the possibility that the drama may have been intended by Büchner to have a different conclusion than that in any text reconstruction heretofore presented.

PART THREE

CONCLUSION

Seht ich wollte unsre Nasen wärn zwei
Bouteillen und wir könnten sie uns einander
in den Hals giessen.

--Georg Büchner, Woyzeck¹

.....

In the preceding sections of this thesis, the complexities of the Woyzeck textual dilemma have been sketched, and it is clear that difficulties exist on virtually all levels of analysis, since no finalized manuscripts or clarifying materials have been found and disputed interpretations of the extant manuscripts are common. The editorial approach to Woyzeck, based on analysis of the four phases, a few largely-cryptic letters, and related materials, then, has not brought forth a resolution of the textual dilemma, since even the editors of the two most respected editions have produced texts which are open to significant criticism with regard to scene order and manuscript analysis. The editorial arguments of modern (post 1922) critics, involving questions of relative scene order as they can be considered through the running-over of scenes, apparent deletions or

¹H.A.I., p. 149.

revisions, gaps in the manuscripts, etc., tend to be eminently logical, but are ultimately based on educated guesswork about relative likelihoods of given scene orders and scene relationships. The basic problem with these arguments is that the Woyzeck material and much of the other Büchner material from which comparative judgments have been attempted are too tentative to allow reliable conclusions on the basis of what are essentially statistical approaches. There are, simply stated, too few reliable reference points of "authentic" Büchner material to allow tenable arguments based on what is or is not a likely scene order or manuscript pagination. The analyses of source materials and stylistic features have complemented the more conventional editorial arguments, but they have not provided straightforward evidence to support any of the established textual interpretations. In short, distinct elements of unity and disunity among the manuscript phases and scenes have been found and, as a consequence, many textual problems remain unresolved.

Many doubts remain, but some points such as the ones which follow, have been established with a fair degree of reliability. Analysis of the manuscripts has led to the conclusion that the Woyzeck material consists of 49 scenes in four manuscript phases which were apparently written between January of 1836 and February of 1837. The manuscripts

represent three basic attempts to construct a drama; all of the peices of the envisioned drama may be in the 49 scenes, but no final plan for the drama is evdient. There is distinct evidence to suggest that many scenes were revised from phase to phase, culminating in an obviously incomplete H_4 phase which terminates before the murder presented (only) in the final scenes of H_1 .

More precise information about the manuscripts and the relationships of their scenes is decidedly more problematic. Analysis of source material--murder accounts, biblical allusions, and other allusions--strongly suggests that Büchner used material from the accounts of the Woyzeck and Schmolting murder cases in the drama, and that he changed his conceptualization of the central figure while creating the play; this revision of the Woyzeck figure is suggested by differential reliance on the murder case accounts and the use of varied biblical and other material, both elements pointing to H_4 as a final, refined phase of construction. Stylistic analyses have also strongly suggested that there are apparent changes in the major male and female characters in the play, cluminating in relatively complex and highly sympathetic figures in H_4 . Study of the dramatic form of the Woyzeck material has established that the play was apparently meant to have an open form in which scenes do not obviously have a single logically or chronologically necessary order.

It can be reasonably assumed on the basis of varied findings that H_1 was the first phase and was followed by H_2 and H_4 ; H_3 was apparently written at some point after H_1 . The suggestion that there are five construction phases is, of course, logically possible, but it is not probable based on the argumentation presently offered by its proponents; the problem of the H_1 , 21 scene, clearly in the murder complex, which is obviously out of its apparently context in Hb (before the murder) of the five phase scheme is sufficient to render this particular phase hypothesis dubious.

In sum, then, the textual dilemma has not been conclusively resolved since the possibility of missing material exists; the overall situation is aptly summarized by J. Elema as follows:

Der handschriftliche Text von Büchners 'Woyzeck' ist uns nur fragmentarisch überliefert; es ist zwar möglich, dass es einen besseren und vollständigeren Text gegeben hat, der ist uns aber nicht bekannt. Kommt uns nicht ein glücklicher Zufall zu Hilfe, so werden also mit dem jetzt überlieferten zufrieden sein müssen. Die chronologische Folge der 'Fragmente' steht nicht absolut fest, die einzelnen Szenen können in verschiedener Weise verbunden werden, auch über die künstlerische Bedeutung dieser Fragmente...besteht keine Einigkeit.²

On the basis of contemporary textual knowledge, there are five basic possibilities for the resolution of Woyzeck, and

²Elema, p. 131.

each has been advanced at some time by at least one critic; these are: a) the trial of Woyzeck for murder; b) Woyzeck's forgiving of a repentant Marie; c) a resolution based on missing material; d) Woyzeck's death, possibly suicidal, by drowning; and e) Woyzeck's survival in a world in which he is totally alienated. The first three possibilities are purely speculative and have to be recognized only because of the incomplete nature of H_4 and the possible significance of its variant tone as compared to those in the previous phases. The suggestion of forgiveness seems especially unlikely given Büchner's fatalistic view of history; the trial idea is possibly suggested by the "Gerichtsdienner" scene ($H_1, 21$), but there is no evidence that Büchner intended to finish the play in a manner similar to the resolution of any of the three historical murder cases. Death by drowning is more likely than the previous possibilities, but it should be remembered that the stage direction "er ertrinkt," the source of many misconceptions about the drama, was the arbitrary addition of Karl Emil Franzos and was not written by Büchner. The most likely resolution, on the basis of extant material, is that Woyzeck lives on after the murder and finds himself divorced from both his mistress, through death, and child, through rejection, as suggested by the bleak $H_3, 2$ scene which apparently takes place after the murder of Marie.

.....

The manuscripts are apparently incomplete, but in view of the final Büchner letter indicating his imminent completion of the drama, it is nonetheless possible that the extant 49 scenes do constitute the whole of Woyzeck; the precise nature of Büchner's scene revisions for the final draft is, of course, an unknown, but a text, such as the one to be outlined here, which is based on the integration of H_4 with the murder complex of H_1 , incorporates all scenes apparently revised by Büchner, includes no scenes deleted by him, and constitutes a viable, dramatic whole which could indeed be the intended drama. The scene list which follows is admittedly hypothetical, but, if one accepts the likelihood that the 49 scenes represent a Woyzeck version which was revised by Büchner at least up to $H_{4,17}$, and that the basic manuscript analyses of Krause and Lehmann are correct, then the following represents, as far as is possible to judge from presently available material, the outline for a defensible textual reconstruction of Woyzeck.

.....

Woyzeck: A Textual Outline³

1. $H_{4,1}$ Freies Feld. Die Stadt in der Ferne. Woyzeck und Andres schneiden Stöcke im Gebüsch
2. 2 Marie (mit ihrem Kind am Fenster) Margreth. Der Zapfenstreich geht vorbey, der Tambourmajor voran.

³Scene nomenclature is from Krause, pp. 31-72.

3. 3 Buden, Lichter, Volk. (no text - 1½ pages blank):
H₂, 3; H₁, 1/2
4. 4 Marie sitzt, ihr Kind auf dem Schooss, ein
Stückchen Spiegel in der Hand
5. 5 Der Hauptmann. Woyzeck, Hauptmann auf einem
Stuhl, Woyzeck rasirt ihn.
6. 6 Marie. Tambour-Major.
7. 7 Marie. Woyzeck.
8. 8 Woyzeck. Der Doctor.
9. 9 Hauptmann, Doctor (3/4 page blank) + H₂, 7 (com-
mencing with the arrival of Woyzeck)
10. 10 Die Wachtstube. Woyzeck. Andres.
11. 11 Wirthshaus. Die Fenster offen, Tanz. Bänke vor dem
Haus. Bursche.
12. 12 Freies Feld. Woyzeck.
13. 13 Nacht. Andres und Woyzeck in einem Bett.
14. 14 Wirthshaus. Tambour-Major. Woyzeck. Leute.
15. 15 Woyzeck. Der Jude.
16. 16 Marie (allein, blättert in der Bibel).
17. 17 Kaserne. Andres. Woyzeck, kramt in seinen Sachen
(H₃, 1) Der Hof des Professors. Studenten unten, der
Professor am Dachfenster.
18. H₁, 14 Margreth mit Mädchen vor der Hausthür.
19. 15 Margreth und Louis.
20. 16 Es kommen Leute.
21. 17 Das Wirthshaus.
22. 18 Kinder
23. 19 Louis, allein.

24. 20 Louis an einem Teich,
 25. 21 Gerichtsdienner, Barbier, Arzt, Richter,
 (H₃, 2) Der Idiot, Das Kind, Woyzeck,

The H₄ phase, which has been generally accepted as the final manuscript phase and which obviously incorporates many scenes which are revisions of H₁ and H₂ scenes, is linked here with the murder complex of H₁, the only scenes in the manuscripts which relate to a murder.⁴ The two gaps in the H₄ manuscript phase are filled with the scenes from H₁ and H₂ which are thematically appropriate and of the proper length to fill the gaps (based on Lehmann and Krause's manuscript analyses).⁵ The two scenes of H₃ relate well to the H₄ phase, but are added only as optional scenes because of the controversy which surrounds conclusions regarding their Entstehung; H₃, 1 is added immediately before the murder complex since it describes torment of Woyzeck obviously occurring before a murder, and H₃, 2 is placed at the end of the play because of the idiot's mention of Woyzeck's having fallen in the water and the logical appropriateness of the child's rejection of his murderer father. Problems of inconsistency in characters'

⁴The "murder complex" used in the preceding text consists of H₁, 14-21, the eight scenes after the last apparent scene revision done by Büchner. This murder complex should not be confused with the "murder version" or murder complex, H_a, of Buch and Bornscheuer which includes a scene which was subsequently revised by Büchner (the H₁, 13 scene which was apparently revised to form H₄, 13).

⁵Cf. H.A.I., pp. 337-406 and Krause, pp. 31-72 and pp. 106-159,

names (especially in H₁, 21 which has the "Barbier") exist in the outline because of the use of material from all four phases and the desire not to change textual material in any way; problems of precise orthography within scenes are beyond the scope of this analysis and should be evaluated by the individual reader through consideration of the interpretations of Lehmann and Krause (which are by no means coincident).⁶ As has been noted before, no crossed-out scenes are included and all apparently revised scenes are incorporated.⁷

The textual outline presented here is basically in agreement with the scene orders in the Lese- und Bühnenfassung of Werner Lehmann and the text outline of Klaus Kanzog, and the outline is based on the manuscript scene order and general analyses of Lehmann and Krause.^{8,9,10} The outline

⁶See footnote 5.

⁷Cf. Appendices Three, Four, Five, Six, Seven.

⁸H.A.I., pp. 407-431.

⁹Klaus Kanzog, "Wozzeck, Woyzeck und Kein Ende," Dvjs 47 (1973), 420-442.

¹⁰Scene nomenclature in the outline is, as has been noted, from Krause, pp. 31-72; the scene nomenclatures of Lehmann, Krause and Kanzog are, in many points, different--cf. Krause, pp. 31-72; Kanzog, pp. 420-442; Lehmann, H.A.I., pp. 337-406. When agreement between this outline and the interpretations of Kanzog and Lehmann is cited, reference is to scene designation (H₁, 1, H₃, 2, etc.) and not necessarily to precise scene names.

differs from Lehmann's interpretation in that the scene H₄,3 (number three in the outline) is made up of material from H₂,3 ("Öffentlicher Platz, Buden-Lichter."), H₁,1 ("Buden.Volk Marktschreier vor einer Bude."), and H₁,2 ("Margreth. [Allein].") and does not include material from H₂,5 ("Unterofficier.Tambourmajor."), a crossed-out scene; in the outline the manuscript scene order of H₁ scenes is used--not Lehmann's Lese-und Bühnenfassung order of H₁: 17,19,20,18,21. The outline differs from Kanzog's interpretation in three ways: a) the H₄,3 scene is listed in the outline as one scene (composed of H₂,3, H₁,1, and H₁,2)--not two scenes (H₁,1, H₂,3, H₄,3, and H₁,2) as done by Kanzog; b) H₃,1 is included in the outline as an optional scene while Kanzog deletes it as a scene alleged to be a predecessor of H₂,7 and H₄,9 (these scenes occur as his scene ten); and c) the manuscript order of H₁ scenes is used in the outline, not Kanzog's order of H₁: 17,19,20,18,21.

In the outline, H₄, the final phase, is used in its entirety with the two gaps (H₄,3 and after H₄,9) filled with material from previous phases which is logically appropriate and of the proper length. After H₄, the murder complex is inserted in its entirety, but the scene order from Lehmann and Krause's manuscript analyses is not altered as it is in Lehmann's text or Kanzog's outline; thus, in the outline

presented here, the "Kinder" scene (H₁,18) occurs before Woyzeck's return to the Teich--the problematics of the H₁, 19 and 20 scenes which may have been written after H₁,21 as suggested by Kanzog, are acknowledged, but the literal manuscript order of Lehmann/Krause H₁,18,19,20,21, is used as the basis for this outline because of the desire to remain faithful to the scene order in the manuscripts.¹¹ The H₃,1 scene, which is particularly problematic, is placed immediately after H₄ (as done by Lehmann) in order not to place a scene from a different phase within the H₄ phase arbitrarily, but Kanzog's suggestion that this scene may be the first draft of the scene revised as H₂,6 and finalized as H₄,8, is a distinct possibility which might prompt the reader to delete the H₃,1 scene (optional in this outline) from a hypothetical text.¹² H₃,2, also an optional scene in the outline, is placed at the end of the drama for the logical/dramaturgical reason previously cited; the scene is still a problematic one in terms of Entstehung, but its placement in this outline is the same as that in the text of Lehmann and the outline of Kanzog.

Assuming that all the Woyzeck manuscript pieces are extant, this text represents a probable form of Büchner's

¹¹See Kanzog, p. 429.

¹²Ibid., pp. 439-440.

Woyzeck; it links the final, revised manuscript phase with the only set of concluding scenes, but it should be remembered that these eight concluding scenes were not apparently revised by Büchner. This text, like all reconstructions of Woyzeck, does not present a text finalized by Büchner; it is an attempt to link parts of the Woyzeck manuscripts into a dramatic whole with as little contamination and as much respect for Büchner's apparent intent as is possible on the basis of the textual information currently available.

.....

The preceding text presents the suffering, very human Woyzeck who has been described by many Büchner scholars; he is a common man who, after considerable and undeserved torment at the hands of the doctor, captain, drum-major, and Marie, commits a murder which eliminates the main elements that had made his life bearable. The textual dilemma--the problem of presenting Büchner's intended Woyzeck--remains unresolved and a legitimate question can thus be raised about the degree to which interpretations of the drama are compromised because of uncertainty about the drama's intended form.

Interpretations of Woyzeck have tended to fall into three basic categories--social, sociological, or materialistic; nihilistic; and theological--and many, probably the

majority, of these interpretations are curiously independent of difficulties resulting from textual problematics. The interpretations of Kurt May, Hans Mayer, Karl Viëtor, and Benno von Wiese, to name a few of the prominent Woyzeck analyses, are based on the study of contaminated texts (usually Bergemann texts), but in each case an awareness of the textual dilemma is evident; the conclusions of the works are far from coincident, but they are derived from the considerations of elements of Woyzeck which in the major critical texts are not fundamentally problematic--the terse, open form of its scenes, general dramatic milieu, basic characterizations, and general plot.¹³ Final answers are obviously not possible since no finalized text is extant, but close scrutiny of the presently available text reconstructions, manuscript analyses, and supplemental materials can apparently be used to form fairly reliable conclusions about the meaning and general structure of Woyzeck.

¹³Cf. the following studies of Woyzeck: Kurt May, "Woyzeck," in Das deutsche Drama II, ed. Benno von Wiese (Düsseldorf: August Bagel Verlag, 1964), pp. 89-100; Hans Mayer, Georg Büchner und seine Zeit, 2nd ed. (Frankfurt/M: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1972), pp. 331-347; Karl Viëtor, Georg Buchner (Bern: A. Francke Verlag, 1949), pp. 189-212; Benno von Wiese, Die deutsche Tragödie von Lessing bis Hebbel (Hamburg: Hoffman und Campe Verlag, 1958), pp. 513-534.

APPENDIX ONEBüchner/Woyzeck Editions (German Language)

- 1850 Ludwig Büchner--no Woyzeck
 1875 Karl Emil Franzos--Wozzeck (newspaper)
 1879 Karl Emil Franzos--Wozzeck
 1909 Paul Landau--Wozzeck
 1912 Rudolf Franz--Wozzeck
 1919 Wilhelm Hausenstein--Wozzeck
 1920 Georg Witkowski
 1922 Fritz Bergemann (1)
 1923 Arnold Zweig--Wozzeck
 1924/25 Ernst Hardt
 1926 Bergemann (2)
 1927 Adam Kuckoff
 1929 Katharina Danzig
 1940 Bergemann (3)
 1944 Carl Seelig
 1946 Klaus Herrmann
 Ingeborg Strudhoff
 Verlag Herman Meister
 1947 Walter Schürenberg
 1948 Kasimir Edschmid (1963)
 1949 Bergemann (4)
 1951 Heinrich Leippe
 Walter Widmer
 1952 Otto C. A. zur Nedden (1955ff. Reclam)
 Bergemann (6)
 1953 Bergemann (6)
 1954 Margaret Jacobs (1--1963, 1968, 1970)
 1956 Goldmann Taschenbuch (1)

- 1958 Bergemann (7)
1959 Paul Stapf (1961)
1960 Goldmann Taschenbuch (2) (Bergemann 1?)
1962 Bergemann (9)
Walter Killy
1963 Hans Mayer
Hans Jürgen Meinerts
1964 Walter Müller-Seidel
1965 dtv Gesamtausgabe (Bergemann 9)
1967 Werner Lehmann (Hamburger Ausgabe, Vol. 1)
1968 Bergemann (10)
1969 Egon Krause
1970 Wilfried Buch
1971 Margaret Jacobs (2)
1972?? Bergemann (11)
Lothar Bornscheuer (Reclam)
1974 Bergemann (12)

APPENDIX TWOPrimary Editions with Woyzeck (Wozzeck)

1875	Karl Emil Franzos (Newspaper)
1879	Karl Emil Franzos (Text)
1920	Georg Witkowski
1922	Fritz Bergemann--1
1924/25	Ernst Hardt
1926	Bergemann--2
1940	Bergemann--3
1947	Walter Schürenberg
1949	Bergemann--4
(1951	Heinrich Leippe)
1952	Bergemann--5
1953	Bergemann--6
1956	Bergemann--7
1958	Bergemann--8
1962	Bergemann--9
1967	Werner Lehmann
1968	Bergemann--10
1969	Egon Krause
1972??	Bergemann--11
1974	Bergemann--12

APPENDIX THREE

Manuscript Phases and Their Apparent Relationships

h₁

1. Buden.Volk.(to h₂,3)
2. Das Innere der Bude.(to h₂,3)
3. Margreth. (Allein).
4. Der Casernenhof.(to H₄,10)
5. Wirthshaus.(to H₄,11)
6. Freies Feld.(to H₄,12)
7. Ein Zimmer.(to H₄,13)
8. Kasernenhof.
9. Der Officier.Louis.
10. Ein Wirthshaus.(to H₄,14)
11. Das Wirthshaus.
12. Freies Feld.
13. Nacht.Mondschein.(to H₄,13)
14. Margreth mit Mädchen vor der Hausthür.**
15. Margreth und Louis.**
16. Es kommen Leute.**
17. Das Wirthshaus.**
18. Kinder.**
19. Louis.Allein.**
20. Louis an einem Teich.**
21. Gerichtsdienener.Barbier.Arzt.Richter.**

h₂

1. Freies Feld.Die Stadt in d.Ferne.(to H₄,1)
2. Die Stadt.(to H₄,2)
3. Öffentlicher Platz.Buden.Lichter.(see H₄,3)
4. Handwerksburschen.(to H₄,11)

5. Unteroffici~~c~~ier.Tambourmajor.
6. Woyzeck.Doktor.(to H₄, 8)
7. Strasse.(to H₄,9)
8. Woyzeck.Louisel.(to H₄,7)
9. Louisel, (Allein) Gebet.(to H₄,16)

h₃

1. Der Hof des Professors
2. Der Idiot.Das Kind.Woyzeck.

h₄

1. Freies Feld.Die Stadt in der Ferne.
2. Marie (mit ihrem Kind am Fenster) Margreth.
3. Buden.Lichter.Volk (no text)
4. Marie sitzt, ihr Kind auf dem Schooss.Ein Stückchen Spiegel in der Hand.
5. Der Hauptmann.Woyzeck.
6. Marie.Tambourmajor.
7. Marie.Woyzeck.
8. Woyzeck.Der Do~~c~~tor.
9. Hauptmann.Do~~c~~tor.
10. Die Wachtstube.
11. Wirthshaus.
12. Freies Feld.
13. Nacht.
14. Wirthshaus.
15. Woyzeck.Der Jude.
16. Marie (Allein,blättert in der Bibel).
17. Kaserne.

 = crossed out by Büchner ** = murder complex per Krause
 (to h₂,3) = apparent scene revision
 Spelling, etc. based on Krause.

Witkowski's system: Die Entwürfe = $H_1 + H_2$
 vereinzelte Szenen = H_3
 Die Ausführung = H_4

Entwürfe = H_1 : 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21;

H_2 : 1, 2, 3, 4, 5;

H_1 : 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10;

H_2 : 6, 7, 8, 9.

vereinzelte Szenen = H_3 : 1, 2

Ausführung = H_4 : 9, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 10, 11, 12, 13, 7, 8,
 14, 16, 17.

See Appendix Six for Witkowski's pagination analysis.

APPENDIX FOUR

Manuscript Phase/Scene Analyses

Sheet	Page	Scene	a	b	c	d	Sheet (d)
I	1	Buden.Volk	h1	H1	h1	Hb	II
		Das Innere der Bude					
	2	Margreth. (Allein)					
		Der Casernenhof					
		Wirthshaus					
	3	Freies Feld					
		Ein Zimmer					
		Casernenhof					
	4	Der Officier.Louis					
		Ein Wirthshaus					
II	1	Das Wirthshaus				Ha	I
		Freies Feld					
		Nacht.Mondschein					
	2	Margreth mit Mädchen...					
	2/3	Margreth und Louis					
	3	Es kommen Leute					
	4	Kinder					
		Louis allein					
		Louis an einem Teich					
III	1	Gerichtsdienner...	h2			Hc	III
	1/2	Freies Feld...		H2	h2		
	2/3	Die Stadt					
	3	Öffentlicher Platz...					
	4	Handwerksburschen					
		Unterofficier.Tambour-...					
IV	1/2	Woyzeck.Doktor					IV
	2/3	Strasse					
	4	Woyzeck.Louisel					
V	1	Woyzeck.Louisel					V
		Louisel (allein)...					
----	1/2	Der Hof des Professors	hH	H3	h3	He	---
	2	Der Idiot.Das Kind...					
I to VI		See Appendix Three for	H	H4	H4	Hd	
		scene names and					
		Appendix Five for man-					
		uscript pages and scenes					
		in H4					

a=Bergemann; b=Lehmann; c=Krause; d=Buch/Bornscheuer

APPENDIX FIVE

Manuscript pages and Phases/Scenes--Krause/Lehmann

I,1: $h_1, 1, 2$.

I,2: $h_1, 3, 4, 5$.

I,3: $h_1, 6, 7, 8$.

I,4: $h_1, 9, 10$.

II,1: $h_1, 11, 12, 13$.

II,2: $h_1, 14, 15$ (partial).

II,3: $h_1, 15$ (end), $16, 17$ (partial).

II,4: $h_1, 17$ (end), $18, 19, 20$.

III,1: $h_1, 21$; $h_2, 1$ (partial).

III,2: $h_2, 1$ (end), 2 (partial).

III,3: $h_2, 2$ (end), 3 .

III,4: $h_2, 4, 5$.

IV,1: $h_2, 6$ (partial).

IV,2: $h_2, 6$ (end), 7 (partial).

IV,3: $h_2, 7$ (partial).

IV,4: $h_2, 7$ (end), 8 (partial).

V,1: $h_2, 8$ (end), 9 .

I,1: $h_3, 1$ (partial).

I,2: $h_3, 1$ (end), 2 .

I,1: $H_4, 1$ (partial).

I,2: $H_4, 1$ (end), 2 (partial).

I,3: $H_4, 2$ (partial).

I,4: $H_4, 2$ (end).

I,5: $H_4, 3$ (No Text).

I,6: $H_4, 4$ (partial).

I,7: $H_4,4$ (end),5(partial).

I,8: $H_4,5$ (partial).

II,1: $H_4,5$ (end).

II,2: $H_4,6$.

II,3: $H_4,7$.

II,4: $H_4,8$ (partial).

II,5: $H_4,8$ (partial).

II,6: $H_4,8$ (end).

II,7: $H_4,9$ (partial).

II,8: $H_4,9$ (end).

III,1: $H_4,10$ (partial).

III,2: $H_4,10$ (end), 11 (partial).

III,3: $H_4,11$ (end).

III,4: $H_4,12,13$.

III,5: $H_4,14$.

III,6: $H_4,15$.

III,7: $H_4,16$.

III,8: $H_4,17$.

APPENDIX SIX

Manuscript Pages and Phases/Scenes--Witkowski

- | | |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| I,1: (Entwürfe=) E,1,2,3. | II,12: A,7. |
| I,2: E,4,5 (partial). | II,13: A,8 (partial). |
| I,3: E,5 (end), 6,7 (partial). | II,14: A,8 (end), 9 (partial). |
| I,4: E,7 (end),8,9,10. | II,15: A,9 (end). |
| I,5: E,11,12 (partial). | II,16: A,10,11. |
| I,6: E,12 (end), 13 (partial). | II,17: A,12. |
| I,7: E, 13 (end), 14. | II,18: A,13 (partial). |
| I,8: E,15,16,17. | II,19: A,13 (partial). |
| I,9: E,18,19. | II,20: A,13 (end). |
| I,10: E,20,21,22. | II,21: A,14. |
| I,11: E,23,24,25. | II,22: A,15. |
| I,12: E,26,27. | II,23: A,16. |
| I,13: E,28 (partial). | II,24: A,17. |
| I,14: E,28 (end), 29 (partial). | II,25: (vereinzelnte |
| I,15: E,29 (partial). | Szenen=) |
| I,16: E,29 (end), 30 (partial). | v.S.1 (partial). |
| I,17: E,30 (end). | II,26: v.S.1 (end), 2. |
| | |
| II,1: (Ausführung=) A,1 (partial). | |
| II,2: A,1 (partial). | |
| II,3: A,1 (end), 2 (partial). | |
| II,4: A,2 (end), 3 (partial). | |
| II,5: A,3 (partial). | |
| II,6: A,3 (end). | |
| II,7: A,4 (No Text). | |
| II,8: A,5 (partial). | |
| II,9: A,5 (end), 6 (partial). | |
| II,10: A,6 (partial). | |
| II,11: A,6 (end). | |

APPENDIX SEVENLehmann's Synopsis of Phase/Scene
Chronological Relationships

H ₄	H ₃	H ₁	H ₂
1			1
2			2
3		1	3
			4
			5
		2	
		3	
4			
5			
6			
7			
8			
9			6
			7
10		4	
11		5	
12		6	
13		7	
		8	
14		9	
		10	
		11	
15			
		12	
		13	
16			
17			9
	1		
		14	
		15	
		16	
		17	
		18	
		19	
		20	
		21	
	2		

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