Wagner's Ring and Theatre Practice in the German Democratic Republic

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Realism and Artifice: Innovation, Wagner’s *Ring*, and Theatre Practice in the German Democratic Republic

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Opera scholars have tended to identify Patrice Chéreau’s and Pierre Boulez’s 1976 *Der Ring des Nibelungen* production as the primary instigator of what David Levin calls the ‘the project of reimagining opera’.¹ Chéreau’s Shavian staging of the *Ring* as a critique of industrial capitalism profoundly unsettled the status quo in Bayreuth. Yet the iconic status to which the production has since been elevated undoubtedly owes something to the fact that Chéreau had the temerity to undermine accepted performing traditions at the shrine of the master himself. Arguably more influential was the sustained and penetrating drive to rethink opera performance in the German Democratic Republic during the second half of the twentieth century.² This is particularly the case where Wagner is concerned. The theatrical innovations of Walter Felsenstein and Bertolt Brecht in East Berlin in the 1950s inspired a generation of opera directors whose unconventional approaches had implications far beyond the narrow confines of the GDR’s borders. Both Joachim Herz and Götz Friedrich had pre-empted Chéreau with realistic stagings of the *Ring* in Leipzig (1973-76) and Covent Garden (1974-76)


respectively; an East German presence in Bayreuth was manifest through productions by Friedrich (Tannhäuser, 1972) and Harry Kupfer (Der fliegende Holländer, 1978, and Der Ring des Nibelungen, 1988), while Ruth Berghaus challenged Frankfurt audiences with her absurdist leftist productions of Parsifal (1982) and the Ring (1985-87).

At the crux of Levin’s project of reimagining opera is the renegotiation of the hierarchical relationships between the composer, director and audience, and the undermining of opera as a timeless, almost ritualistic event. In essence, it involves a confrontation of the illusion of distance that Adorno pinpointed as central to the bourgeois opera experience, an experience that calls for the opera house to function as a musical museum. Heather McDonald, for example, a vociferous critic of directors’ opera, argues that: ‘What is actually “fresh” about a Mozart opera, besides its terrible beauty, is that it comes from a world that no longer exists.’ The preservation of this world depends on illusionistic stagings that avoid attempts to ground opera in terms of its contemporary significance.

Compositional authority is frequently invoked in support of this traditional stance, particularly in the case of Wagner. For conservative Wagnerians the role of the director is essentially a curatorial one; his or her function is to maintain the composer’s emphasis on the timeless, mythical qualities of his operas, qualities that were enshrined by Cosima Wagner in her devotion to Wagner’s dictates of naturalism. Yet as James Treadwell observes, the timelessness of this naturalism is in itself an illusion; it involves

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5 Tellingly, in the same article, McDonald demands that Peter Gelb, who took over as general manager of New York’s Metropolitan Opera in 2006, make clear to prospective directors ‘that he is not interested in their opinions on contemporary class or sexual relations.’
a transformation ‘into the world of nineteenth-century German representations of a romantically and patriotic nature, with all the attendant historical and ideological baggage.’ Moreover, its authenticity is subject to question. Indeed the adherence in Bayreuth to illusionistic stage designs can be conceived of as a political act; the emphasis placed on naturalism allowed Wagner’s right-wing advocates to downplay both his youthful revolutionary tendencies and the socio-political content of his operas by precluding interpretations that contextualised them beyond a mythical realm.

The significance of the GDR in the development of contemporary opera performance negates the well-worn image of the state as culturally isolated and reactionary. On a closer look, however, its influence is perhaps not surprising. The tensions involved in accommodating the Germanic musical heritage into frameworks of Marxist historiography necessitated a reconsideration not only of the socio-political relevance of opera but also of the function of the authorial voice on stage. The demand for socio-political interpretations in the early years of the state displaced the notion of compositional autonomy in favour of productions that explored the wider context of the composer’s Weltbild or world view. In later years, as artists began to question the teleological narratives of history that had dominated in the foundation years of the GDR, there was a drive to dispense with interpretation altogether and to divorce the composer from the art work. Perhaps the most significant impetus for innovation by East German directors arose from the complexities of reconciling the fundamentally unrealistic art that is opera with the tenets of socialist realism. Questions surrounding the role that realism should play in opera and how it should be manifest in the artificial

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environment of the theatre prompted a large-scale re-evaluation of traditional production practices.

The scope and diversity of the approaches inspired by this process of re-evaluation emerges particularly clear in two productions: Joachim Herz’s Leipzig staging of the *Ring* and Ruth Berghaus’s Frankfurt *Ring.*

Close contemporaries – both were born in Dresden, Herz in 1924 and Berghaus in 1927 – these directors embodied distinct spheres of East German theatre. While Herz served his apprenticeship under Walter Felsenstein at the Komische Oper, Berghaus’s formative training was in dance and spoken theatre: she studied choreography with Gret Palucca in Dresden and theatre at both the Deutsches Theater and Brecht’s Berliner Ensemble, which she later directed. These disparate routes of learning resulted in very different production aesthetics and two quite contrasting approaches to realism on stage. Herz’s work was clearly imbued with the spirit of Felsenstein; he coupled the latter’s preoccupation with historical realism with a Brechtian abhorrence of illusion, and his paramount concern was to render opera accessible. Berghaus’s style, in contrast, like that of her friend and sometimes collaborator Heiner Müller, could be described as post-Brechtian. Shunning

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a didactic approach, she asked more of her audiences, presenting them with “open”
dramatic forms’ containing multiple possible interpretations.  

Placing the *Ring* in its Socio-Political Context: Joachim Herz in Leipzig

That Wagner emerged as a focal point for operatic innovation reflects his difficult position in the GDR. In the 1950s, in particular, he represented an ambiguous figure and his reception embodied the tensions associated with the drive to appropriate the bourgeois Germanic musical canon for the socialist state. Artists such as Brecht and Paul Dessau, who had spent the war in exile in the West, were sceptical of the role that this heritage had to play in a socialist society. During the heated debates about Wagner’s position in the socialist canon that erupted in the late 1950s, Dessau notably declared that the issue at stake was not Wagner’s genius itself but whether his genius had relevance in the political context of the GDR. Those of a Lukácsian bent, in contrast, stressed the importance of the bourgeois canon, and, drawing on Marx’s concept of history as an agent of change, argued that an awareness of history was essential to effect a trajectory to a socialist utopia. The problem, from this perspective, lay not in the musical canon itself but in the bourgeois tendency to divorce the canon from its socio-political origins. If contextualized in terms of these origins, the musicologist Georg Knepler argued, the canon had the potential to illuminate the historical precedents to the problems afflicting post-war German society. In the case of


Wagner, Knepler explained: ‘Wagner’s work is first of all a mirror of the German intelligentsia of the previous century with their ambitious ideals and hopes, yet also with their deep-seated pessimism and their incapacity to grasp the developmental trends of the time.’\(^{12}\)

Knepler’s observations found a practical expression in the work of Joachim Herz, whose Leipzig Ring represented the culmination of a prolonged engagement with Wagner that included a watershed staging of Die Meistersinger in Leipzig in 1960 and a full-length film of Der fliegende Hölländer, produced by the East German film studio DEFA in 1964.\(^{13}\) Herz’s productions were concerned specifically with uncovering the historical contexts of Wagner’s operas. While his Meistersinger was grounded firmly in sixteenth-century Nuremberg, his versions of Der fliegende Holländer and the Ring focused directly on the paradoxes and constraints of Wagner’s nineteenth-century milieu. Like Chéreau, Herz understood the Ring cycle not as a system of timeless symbols but as a network of nineteenth-century signs. However, while Chéreau interpreted these signs through a variety of lenses, juxtaposing historical and contemporary realism with the fairytale elements of Wagner’s original,\(^ {14}\) Herz’s mise-

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\(^{13}\) Other Wagner performances included productions of Lohengrin (Leipzig, 1965) and Tannhäuser (Frankfurt am Main, 1965). For discussion of the film version of Der fliegende Hölländer see Joy H. Calico, ‘Wagner in East Germany: Joachim Herz’s Der fliegende Hölländer (1964)’, in Jeongwon Joe and Sander L. Gilman (eds), Wagner and Cinema (Bloomington, Indiana, 2010), pp. 294–311.

\(^{14}\) Jean-Jacques Nattiez describes Chéreau’s dragon as ‘a dragon on wheels which, manipulated by Kabuki-like figures in black, springs straight out of the forest of Macbeth or the fairy tales of our childhood.’ Nattiez, trans. Thomas Repensek, ‘Chéreau’s Treachery’, October, 14 (1980): 71–100; here 84–85.
en-scène translated Wagner’s mythological constructs onto the single chronological plane of nineteenth-century Prussia. He explained: ‘We wanted to show for once that this is no Germanic mythological fairytale, but a critical engagement of the composer with his era.’

At the crux of Herz’s performing aesthetic was the emphasis he placed on rendering realistic the content of opera; his work was characterized both by the historical veracity of his dramaturgy and his determination to present Wagner’s characters as plausible human beings rather than mythical figures. His Ring production, in a reading that recalled Hans Rosenberg’s analyses of the decline of the German Sonderweg, presented Wagner’s cycle as a commentary on the power struggles of the Gründerjahre. His conception traced the tense relationship between the old order of Prussian elites and new industrial capitalists of the late nineteenth century, charting the trajectory from their early power struggles (Wotan and Alberich), to their later symbiotic relationship (Gunter and Hagen) and ultimate downfall. The central theme of the production was the inability of industrial capitalism to offer any genuine social reform; despite the failure of the aristocracy, reflected in the decline of the gods, industrial capitalism represented no real break from Prussian feudalism; Prussian values continued to shape the industrial world, and as Herz made clear in his depiction of the


17 Christoph Hamm, who worked with Herz on the conception of the Ring, notably observed ‘Alberich signifies new methods (capitalism) in the old basic system (exploitation system).’ Letter exchange between Hamm and Herz in Arbeitsheft, 21, p. 22.
relationship between Gunter and Hagen in *Götterdämmerung*, capitalists were dependent on the aristocracy for their power and survival.\textsuperscript{18}

Herz’s attention to historic detail was reflected in the set design and costumes of Rudolf Heinrich, who had also trained at the Komische Oper. Nibelheim and Walhalla were clear representations of the two poles of nineteenth-century power. While Nibelheim was depicted as a foundry, Walhalla, as Carnegy describes, was a ‘stately pile modelled on elements from the Palais de Justice in Brussels, the Emperor’s Staircase of the Burgtheater in Vienna, the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele in Milan, and the Germania Niederwalddenkmal on the Rhine’.\textsuperscript{19} The imperial robes of the gods clearly marked their privileged but increasingly anachronistic status; cement gray in colour, dusty and tattered, theirs was a fading grandeur.\textsuperscript{20} Alberich was dressed in oil-stained overalls,\textsuperscript{21} and Heinrich modelled the costumes of the giants on images of manual labourers and photographs of dockworkers from the 1850s.\textsuperscript{22} This sense of historical place was maintained throughout the four operas. Hunding’s house bore the dark fittings of a reactionary bourgeois lodging, and the Giebichung Hall embraced a more streamlined Jugendstil design, reflecting the chronological progression of the cycle. Steam was replaced by electricity, wood by steel, and the costumes of its inhabitants were both shinier and more sophisticated than those of their predecessors.\textsuperscript{23}

A commitment to realism also underpinned Herz’s portrayal of the cycle’s characters. Indeed, his emphasis on character motivation in the drama was perhaps the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{18} He notably compared their relationship to that of Krupp and the Kaiser. See Herz in Arbeitsheft, 21, p. 31.
\item \textsuperscript{19} Carnegy, 336.
\item \textsuperscript{20} Benz, 261
\item \textsuperscript{21} Ibid., 262.
\item \textsuperscript{22} Arbeitsheft, 21, p. 43.
\item \textsuperscript{23} See Benz, pp. 265-66.
\end{itemize}
clearest manifestation of his studies with Felsenstein. The latter demanded that every
action be implicitly determined by the content of the opera to the extent that a character
should convince the audience that he is singing the text not because it is a requirement
of the dramatic action but because ‘no other mode of expression but song is available to
him’. In preparation for their production, Herz and Heinrich adopted a similar
approach, examining not only the broader narratives of the Ring but also teasing out the
intricacies of the cycle’s content in minute detail. The individual actions of each
character were studied in impressive depth. Herz, for example, pondered Brünnhilde’s
refusal to part with the ring in Götterdämmerung, asking from whose perception this
was a folly: from the official standpoint of Walhalla or her own? Ultimately, the
Leipzig team aimed to portray characters and scenarios that were primarily logical and
credible. Heinrich, in this context, was particularly preoccupied with the case of the
giants. How had two giants constructed Walhalla by themselves and why was Wotan
afraid of them given their lower status in the pecking order? He concluded that they
represented the increasing power of the masses in the newly industrialised world of the
nineteenth century, and depicted this power by presenting Fasolt and Fafner as the
leaders of two sizeable teams of masons.

Crucially, Herz’s emphasis on rendering the content of the Ring realistic did not
extend to an illusionistic staging. It is interesting in this context to consider his take on
Wagner’s own production of the cycle. Herz argues that Wagner’s use of mythology

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25 See letter exchange between Herz and Heinrich in Joachim Herz, ed. Ilse Kobán, Theater - Kunst des erfüllten
26 Arbeitsheft, 21, p. 43.
27 There were forty–five giants in all. See Carnegy, 334.
effectively functioned as a *Verfremdungseffekt*, forcing his nineteenth-century audiences to engage with the contradictions in their society to which they had become inured.\(^{28}\) In his view, the impact of this effect diminished over time, and by the twentieth century the mythological framework had become an impenetrable cloak which prevented viewers from engaging with the deeper issues in the cycle.\(^{29}\) Thus, by avoiding an illusionistic setting in his own production, Herz aimed to revitalise what he saw as the underlying impetus of the cycle. He offered his audience a series of visual cues to the nineteenth century, but made no attempt to stage a seamless recreation of the period. His props were not naturalistic but simply signs or references to the nineteenth century and the artifice of the theatre played a significant role in his conception. Stage lights were visible and the stage surround was often bare; both the dragon and the fire surrounding Brünnhilde’s rock were depicted by the dancers of the Leipzig ballet; and frequent use was made of photomontages.\(^{30}\) The disjunctions created by the juxtaposition of artifice and realism were central to Herz’s fundamental ethos of opera production. As he explained in an essay of 1965: ‘One should prevent the public from dreaming and provoke them into thinking.’\(^{31}\)

**A Post-Brechtian Ring: Ruth Berghaus in Frankfurt**

While Herz endeavoured to decode Wagner’s nineteenth-century signs for a contemporary audience, Berghaus was less concerned with interpreting Wagner’s


\(^{29}\) Arbeitsheft, 21, p. 76.

\(^{30}\) See Benz, 267–69 for an extended discussion of the emphasis placed by Herz on the artifice of the theatre in his *Ring* production.

authorial intent, conscious or otherwise. She viewed artworks as living entities and was sceptical of the value of grounding Wagner’s operas in terms of his own experiences and writings. As she observed to Heiner Müller:

I always come back to the example: ‘The Rhine flows from right to left.’ From here I know where and when the work was composed, that Wagner viewed Germany from France, and that means: he had distance. As a consequence, I can’t blindly trust Wagner’s pronouncements on political and cultural questions. Or: when I direct a work of yours, I can’t read everything that you have said about cultural politics in newspapers etc., I have to read the work.32

This disassociation of the author from the work and the privileging of the text in the Barthesian sense can be viewed as a manifestation of the historical consciousness that characterised artistic thought in the final decades of the GDR. As the promised socialist utopia failed to materialise and the revolutionary spirit of the post-war years ground to a halt, the uncomplicated narratives of history that had dominated cultural thought in the early years of the state began to falter. In the 1970s and 1980s, artists deconstructed the iconic status to which historical figures such as Goethe and Beethoven had been elevated, and challenged the unified teleological trajectories of Marxist historiography that shaped interpretations of past.33 In the case of canonical art works, this involved not only viewing them independently of the supposed socio-political perspectives of their authors but also confronting the notion that a work could be reduced to single coherent interpretation. This shift in thought had significant implications for theatre practice;


directors such as Berghaus and Heiner Müller shunned didactic interpretations in favour of productions that exposed the multiplicity of a text, transferring the onus of interpretation from the director to individual audience members.

In terms of the Frankfurt *Ring* production, Berghaus explained: ‘we tell in the tetralogy a tale of gods, a family tale, social and historical events. … But I would consider it vandalism of Wagner, if one was to settle for only one of these named processes.’

Her staging consciously avoided a coherent narrative; instead of translating Wagner’s semiology for her audience, she and the set designer, Alex Manthey, added their own layers of playful signs. Spherical shapes, for example, featured prominently, while masks played a central role: the gods held up placards depicting unhappy faces when Freia was taken hostage by the giants; the Nibelungen were represented by ‘cluster-groups of quasi-African white masks’, and the dragon by an ‘ominous red-smeared mouth-and-nose-deathmask’. Berghaus’s emphasis was always on the signifier rather than the signified. ‘The theatre’, she remarked, ‘subsists on signs. The very stage is a sign.’

This philosophy extended to the characters on stage; she made no attempt to humanise the figures of the *Ring*, but presented them instead as absurdist puppet-like ciphers.

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35 Carnegy, p. 370.
36 Ibid.
37 Sutcliffe, p. 154.
39 Many of the female characters were doll-like in their portrayal. The Rhinemaidens were affixed to plinths which glowed red in response to danger, while the female vassals in *Götterdämmerung*, as Sutcliffe describes, were akin to ‘mannequins or Stepford wives, lips and eyes wide in brainless surprise’. Sutcliffe, p. 156.
The apparent impenetrability of Berghaus’s *Ring* has led some commentators to question whether her work can be situated in the context of Marxist theatre traditions. Carnegy, for example, asks: ‘Was Berghaus really, in heart and soul, the Marxist people’s artist that her affiliation with Brecht and Dessau would suggest? … No aspect of her productions could conceivably be described as socially realist, socially aware or reaching out to a broad audience.\(^{40}\) Yet, this perspective, which assumes that accessibility and realism go hand in hand, betrays a narrow interpretation of Marxist art, and overlooks the experiments of directors active in the GDR such as Benno Besson, Müller and Berghaus herself to combine artistic realism with more formalistic or abstract stagings. These experiments drew attention to the micro- rather than macro-structures of works, and explored how realism in art could be effected not through narrative but through processes of *aktualisace* (“foregrounding”), Brechtian alienation, and a renewed emphasis on the sensory experience of theatre. There was a consistency, for example, in Berghaus’s use of signs in the *Ring* – Holtz aptly likens the array of hand gestures employed throughout to a Passacaglia\(^{41}\) – that foregrounded underlying themes of suppression, property ownership, and the uneasy relationship between power and love.

A crucial difference between Berghaus’s approach and Herz’s theatrical realism was her emphasis on questions of *how* rather than *why*, an emphasis that recalled Brecht’s early *Lehrstücke* and effectively preferred style over content. Her focus was invariably directed at the process of interpretation; reflecting her choreographical background, she was interested more in the gestures and movements that define an action than in the meaning of the action itself. In a discussion of how to stage a scene in

\(^{40}\) Carnegy, p. 374.

\(^{41}\) Holtz, p. 250.
Müller’s *Der Lohndrücker* that involved beer drinking, for example, she explained that she would start by considering what defines the act of drinking beer, and explore with the actors how this act differs from drinking wine.[^42] A similar approach is evident in her study of power in the *Ring*; instead of elucidating the narratives of power in the drama, she played with the dichotomous elements of power itself. Her gods tottered on high platform shoes that reflected not only their lofty status, but also the constraints that this status implied. Sutcliffe aptly describes the shoes as an ‘uncomfortable privilege’.[^43] This privilege was one that weighed increasingly heavily on Wotan as the cycle progressed. In *Die Walküre*, his desire to escape the constraints of the kingdom he had created was reflected in his change of footwear: he entered wearing a raincoat and plain black shoes. He was reminded of his duties, however, by Fricka, who ‘hung his boots of office with their built-up box bases round his neck.’[^44] Finally, following the riddle scene in *Siegfried*, Wotan left his godly shoes in Mime’s cave, a gesture that marked his ultimate abdication from power.

Other leitmotifs highlighted the restrictions facing female characters. Of particular significance was the guilded kitchen chair carried by Fricka in *Die Walküre*, a sign that embodied not only her own desire that Wotan provide her with domestic bliss, but also the wider power and powerlessness of women.[^45] This theme resurfaced at the end of the opera, marking the constraints of domesticity implied by Brünnhilde’s transformation from Valkyrie to mere mortal. When surrounded by flames, Brünnhilde

[^43]: Sutcliffe, p. 150
[^44]: Ibid., p. 152.
'was enthroned on a kitchen chair on top of what looked like a cone.' Another recurring theme was that of Wotan’s absent eye, which served as a spring board for a study of the limited perspective of humanity. Berghaus had Wotan, the Wälsungen and later the Song Bird all cover one eye with a hand, a gesture that nodded at their relatedness, but also hinted at the tunnel vision of the characters in the opera, of their insistence on seeing the world not as it is but as they want it to be. Only Loge, who Berghaus notably bestowed with spectacles, viewed the world in its dialectical entirety, embodying that ‘which could be thought between the characters, but won’t be thought.’

Conclusion

Uniting the endeavours of Herz and Berghaus was the emphasis they placed on undoing the seamless structures that dominate traditional stagings; Herz’s juxtaposition of historical realism and theatrical artifice and Berghaus’s Sontagian ‘flight from interpretation’ exposed the contradictions in canonical opera, and in doing so shattered the fundamental passivity of the Adornian bourgeois opera experience. Arguably, the GDR’s most significant legacy in the field of modern opera practice lies not in the attempts of its directors to expose the socio-political relevance of canonical opera, but in

46 Sutcliffe, p. 152.
47 Berghaus, ‘Gespräch zur Ring-Konzeption’, p. 158
48 Interview with Berghaus on Südwestrundfunk, 21 June 1987; cited in Holtz, p. 250.
the varied methods they employed in order to compel audiences, consciously or otherwise, to engage with this relevance. The Wagner of ‘Art and Revolution’ would have approved.